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The Construction of the Translational Field in Poland

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Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Acknowledgements | 3 |
| Introduction | 9 |
| Chapter 1: System Theories and Sociological Undertones in Translation Studies | 14 |
| 1.0 Overview | 14 |
| 1.1 The Development of Translation Studies | 16 |
| 1.1.1 Susan Bassnett’s Diachronic Study..... | 17 |
| 1.1.2 Prediscipline, Discipline, Interdiscipline and Post-discipline..... | 21 |
| 1.1.3 Holmes’s Map of Translation Studies..... | 24 |
| 1.1.4 Summary | 24 |
| 1.2 Manipulation School..... | 25 |
| 1.2.1 The Manifesto and Impact of Manipulation School | 26 |
| 1.2.2 Manipulation School Criticism | 28 |
| 1.2.3 The End and Legacy of the Manipulation School..... | 29 |
| 1.3 Polysystem Theory | 29 |
| 1.3.1 Russian Formalism..... | 30 |
| 1.3.2 General Characteristics of Polysystems | 30 |
| 1.3.3 Polysystem and Translation | 32 |
| 1.3.4 The Criticism of the Polysystem Theory | 35 |
| 1.3.5 Summary | 36 |
| 1.4 Rewriting Theory..... | 36 |
| 1.4.1 The Issue of Interpretation | 37 |
| 1.4.2 Rewriting Theory as a System Theory..... | 38 |
| 1.4.3 Translation as Rewriting | 41 |
| 1.4.4 Rewriting Theory in Practice | 42 |
| 1.4.5 Lefevere’s Work on Cultural Capital..... | 43 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1.4.5 Summary | 44 |
| 1.5 Descriptive Translation Studies | 44 |
| 1.5.1 The Background for DTS | 45 |
| 1.5.2 Norms in Translation | 47 |
| 1.5.3 Descriptive Research | 49 |
| 1.5.4 Shortcomings of Toury's Theory | 51 |
| 1.5.5 Summary | 53 |
| 1.6 Hermans's Sociocultural Norms | 54 |
| 1.6.1 Social Background | 54 |
| 1.6.2 From Convention to a Decree | 55 |
| 1.6.3 Specifics of Sociocultural Norms | 57 |
| 1.6.4 Critical Comments on the Sociocultural Norms | 59 |
| 1.6.5 Summary | 59 |
| 1.7 Andrew Chesterman's Norms | 60 |
| 1.7.1 General Descriptive Laws of Translation Behaviour | 60 |
| 1.7.2 Norms in Translation | 61 |
| 1.7.3 The Professional and the Expectancy Norms | 63 |
| 1.7.4 Translation Strategies | 64 |
| 1.7.5 Summary | 65 |
| 1.8 Conclusion | 66 |
| Chapter 2: Pierre Bourdieu and the Field Theory | 68 |
| 2.0 Overview | 68 |
| 2.1 The General Assumptions of Bourdieu's Theory | 69 |
| 2.2 Key Concepts: Field, <i>Habitus</i> and Capital | 71 |
| 2.3 Application of the Field Theory: Text Analysis | 75 |
| 2.4 Field Theory Analysis: Example of the Literary Field | 78 |
| 2.4.1 The Emergence of the Literary Field | 78 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 2.4.2 ‘Hero’ Figures in the Field..... | 82 |
| 2.4.3 Trichotomous Division of the Emerging Field: Avant Garde, Bohemia and Popular Art | 83 |
| 2.4.4 Reconstruction of Positions and Dispositions: Flaubert’s Example | 85 |
| 2.4.5 The Structural Changes in the Field on the Example of Literary Genres | 88 |
| 2.4.6 Relations Between Fields: Literary Field vs. Political Field and Art Field | 90 |
| 2.4.7 Current State of the Field: Publishing Houses | 92 |
| 2.4.8 Current State of the Field: Social Age of Artists | 94 |
| 2.4.9 Current State of the Field: From External to Internal | 96 |
| 2.4.10 Current State of the Field: Illusio and Who Creates the Creator | 97 |
| 2.5 Key Characteristics of the Field | 99 |
| 2.5.1 Relation with the Field of Power | 100 |
| 2.5.2 Field Boundaries | 102 |
| 2.5.3 Illusio and Investment in the Game | 103 |
| 2.5.4 Positions and Dispositions | 104 |
| 2.5.5 Autonomy of the Field | 106 |
| 2.5.6 Correspondence Between Structures | 107 |
| 2.5.7 Social Trajectories | 109 |
| 2.5.8 Habitus and Social Background..... | 110 |
| 2.6 Traps in the Field Research | 112 |
| 2.7 Criticism of Literary Theories | 116 |
| 2.8 Conclusion..... | 121 |
| Chapter 3: Interview as a Tool and a Method in Qualitative Research..... | 122 |
| 3.0 Overview | 122 |
| 3.1 Fundamental Characteristics of Qualitative Research..... | 123 |
| 3.2 Interview as the Qualitative Method | 126 |
| 3.2.1 Etymology of the Word | 130 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 3.2.2 Typology of Interviews | 131 |
| 3.2.3 Sampling | 135 |
| 3.2.4 Working with the Interviews | 139 |
| 3.3 Understanding Interviews | 142 |
| 3.3.1 Bourdieu's Understanding | 142 |
| 3.3.2 Kaufmann's Understanding (Comprehensive) Interview | 148 |
| 3.4 Conclusion | 154 |
| Chapter 4: The Outline of a Study of Certified Translators | 156 |
| 4.0 Overview | 156 |
| 4.1 Institutionalisation | 157 |
| 4.1.1 Consecration | 157 |
| 4.1.2 Education | 159 |
| 4.1.3 The Market | 160 |
| 4.1.4 Institutional Control | 162 |
| 4.2 Relations with Other Fields | 162 |
| 4.3 Hierarchy of Translation | 165 |
| 4.4 Life Trajectories | 167 |
| 4.4.1 Initial Choices and Entering the Profession | 167 |
| 4.4.2 Social Maturing and Getting Old | 169 |
| 4.5 Verbalisation and Linguistic Conventions | 170 |
| 4.6 Conclusion | 171 |
| Chapter 5: The Secret Life of Certified Translators | 172 |
| 5.0 Overview | 172 |
| 5.1 Conducting the Interviews | 173 |
| 5.2 Analysing and Translating the Interviews | 175 |
| 5.3 Respondents in the Study | 177 |
| 5.4 The Secret Life of Certified Translators | 182 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 5.4.1 The Translation Studies, or Lack Thereof | 184 |
| 5.4.2 The Irreplaceable Role of the Master-Apprentice Relationship | 191 |
| 5.4.3 Two Worlds: Before and After the State Exam | 194 |
| 5.4.4 What Makes Certified Translators Tick..... | 202 |
| 3.4.5 Frédéric's' of the Translation | 210 |
| 5.4.6 All Rise! or a Translator in Court | 214 |
| 5.4.7 The Worthless and the Invaluable Translation | 221 |
| 5.4.8 "It's Complicated" – on the Relationship Between Certified Translators and Their Clients | 228 |
| 5.4.9 The Scapegoat and the Real Criminal..... | 234 |
| 5.4.10 "I Am My Own Rudder, Sailor and Vessel"..... | 239 |
| 5.4.11 The Mysterious Case of Lost Time..... | 243 |
| 5.4.12 Translators and the Boundaries of Other Fields..... | 247 |
| 5.5 Conclusion..... | 252 |
| Conclusion..... | 258 |
| References | 263 |
| Appendix: Interview dispositions (in Polish)..... | 276 |
| Summary in English..... | 279 |
| Summary in Polish | 281 |

Introduction

Translational field (Castro, 2018; Wolf, 2006), translation field (Sela-Sheffy, 2016; Wolf, 2011) or the field of translation (Prunč, 2007) – all these notions refer to the same new perspective brought by the sociology of translation, which focuses on translators perceived as active agents and on the social structures which they both function in and shape. While the first traces of the sociology of translation can already be observed in the 1980s, the peak interest in sociology and the following sociological turn in translation studies have taken place in the first two decades of the 21st century.

The sociological turn in translation studies¹ may be and often is viewed as a descendant of the cultural turn (Wolf, 2007, p. 3). The cultural turn—represented by Lawrence Venuti (1995), Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1998)—is often credited with being fruitful cooperation between translation and cultural studies, which allowed for changing the perspective on translated texts from disconnected pieces of work to contextualised networks heavily influenced by and simultaneously influencing culture. Once the element of culture has been introduced into translation studies, more and more scholars (for instance, André Lefevere and Theo Hermans) voiced the need to include the element of society as well, hence slowly building the connection between translation studies and yet another discipline – sociology.

In the sociology of translation, translation is perceived as a part of a social system; it is conditioned by the society and its organisations as well as performed by agents who function in the social structures. The emphasis is no longer placed on the text of translation but on the agents: thinking individuals with the capability of undertaking actions, unlike translation itself. This revolutionary point of view for translation studies, in which translators and other agents involved in translation are finally “viewed as socially constructed and constructing subjects” (Wolf 2007, p. 3), brought new theories, tools and methods to a large degree drawn from sociology.

Wolf (2007, pp. 14-18) notes that there are three prevalent currents that can be discerned in the sociology of translation: the sociology of the cultural product, the sociology of agents, the sociology of the translation process. The sociology of the cultural product focuses on translation viewed as text shaped by many external conditions, including both social and cultural ones. Moreover, translation is simultaneously viewed as a shaping factor itself. An

¹ The sociological turn in translation studies, its development, new perspectives and relation to sociology have been discussed at more length in Karpińska (2019).

example of a translation study within this current is the model of the global system of translations offered by Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro (2007), who analyse the market of translation and the power relations therein. In the sociology of agents, the emphasis is placed on the agents and the agency of all individuals involved in the translation process. They are viewed as entangled in the social system(s) that shape them, and simultaneously, as shaping the social system(s) in which they participate. There is a change of perspective from what is 'objective' to the 'subjective' and the appreciation of subjectivity as being equally important. An example of research inscribing in the sociology of agents may be the study by Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen (2014), exploring the status of Danish translators working in the national companies and those working for the European Union. In the sociology of the translation process, the scholarly interest revolves around the process of translation itself and its elements, i.e. the transfer in translation, the discourse, the translation strategies, etc., related to the social system.

Apart from the works that could be classified as belonging to one of those three main currents in the sociology of translation, there are also numerous theoretical papers which do not aim at research but rather explore the assumptions of the sociological turn, offer new framework and perspective in which translation and translators could be examined, and transfer sociological theories into the grounds of translation studies (e.g. Chesterman, 2007; Sapiro, 2017). One of the most commonly explored theories is the field theory by Pierre Bourdieu, which offers the idea of the translation field.

Now I would like to discuss the study conducted as part of this thesis from a more personal perspective and take the reader on the journey towards the sociology of translation and the final shape of this thesis. Surprisingly, it all began with disappointment. I had just finished my first bigger research project, which was a part of my Master's thesis. In the study, I explored English to Polish translation from the postcolonial perspective, placing emphasis on the transfer of culture-bound items in translation. While the study itself did not encounter any obstacles and the results were straightforward, I found it impossible to draw conclusions. I was left with the impression that postcolonial studies in translation serve ideological goals rather than objective research; furthermore, the cultural framework offered by the postcolonial studies did not seem sufficient as if certain key elements influencing the results of the study were missing.

It was then that my supervisor suggested to me an article that he found. The article discussed the global language system by Abram de Swaan and its implications for translation. It also mentioned the emergence of a new perspective in translation studies, i.e. the sociology of translation. Following the sources, I found myself reading Andrew Chesterman's "Bridge

Concepts in Translation Sociology” (2007) and many other papers on the sociology of translation.

While the read was fascinating and seemed to provide that element I considered to be missing when concluding the previous study, I somehow had even more questions and doubts than previously. It occurred to me that though the sociological concepts presented in translation studies appeared revolutionary at the first sight, their careful examination indicated that they were only a small step away from the cultural turn.

That was the moment when I turned to the original source: the works of Pierre Bourdieu, who seemed to be the most often cited sociologist of the sociological turn. Reading about the field of literature, an idea for research within the sociology of translation occurred to me: a study drawing from Bourdieu’s field theory, which would investigate the translation field in Poland. The difference between the study on the literary field in France that served as an inspiration and the study on the translation field in Poland lied in the fact that I had access to living respondents and instead of reconstructing the structure from the available historical documents, it was possible to retrieve information on the translation field from the source, i.e. translators themselves.

Applying Bourdieu’s key concepts, such as *habitus*, *nomos*, *illusio*, capital, etc., I designed a study on translators which aimed to verify a hypothesis commonly repeated in the works of sociological turn: i.e. that the field of translation exists. The research questions were translated into simple open-ended questions to elicit responses from the respondents. That moment was the first when I had to verify the original goal of this study. In order to investigate the existence of the translational field, it would be necessary to prepare a different interview scenario for each specialisation, be it literary, medical, or certified. While the scenarios would possibly overlap and the preparation of several different dispositions for the interview would not be that time-consuming, it would still be necessary to achieve data saturation within each of the specialisations. That could potentially lead to as many as hundreds of in-depth interviews: an amount of empirical material that is impossible to be managed without a team of researchers. Furthermore, it could be expected that the hierarchy of languages discussed, *inter alia*, in the works of de Swaan (2001), influenced the social world of translators; translators of rare languages could be expected to find themselves in a favourable position in comparison to translators of common languages.

Thus, two decisions were made: firstly, to focus on translators representing only one specialisation and, secondly, to consider only translators of one language. As a result, the study was reformulated to include only certified translators of the English language. The change also

implied that the study could no longer claim that it verifies the existence of the translation field; however, it still could investigate the elements of the field and apply the field theory to explore the social space(s) in which the participants functioned. Ironically, when I was ready to face the respondents, the whole world stopped due to the pandemic and no one was allowed to face anyone except for the closest family. That was the second time when the study was reformulated; it was not clear when the pandemic would end, hence the study had to be moved into an online reality.

In the end, the study offered as a part of this doctoral thesis turned out to be a small-scale study. Even though the sampling method was designed in such a way as to reach a close community, I was not able to expand the study after a certain point. Simultaneously, the analysis of the gathered empirical material indicated that the data saturation was reached to a certain degree. There were numerous threads, expressions and themes that reoccurred throughout the interviews. The first analysis left me with an impression that the field of translation does exist; the interviews presented elements that were strikingly similar to the elements indicated by Bourdieu as signs of a new field emerging; thus the title of this thesis—*The Construction of the Field of Translation*—as the interpretation of the material guided me towards the conclusion that the field of translation is currently ‘under construction’. It was only during the last reading of the material when it suddenly struck me that there is another, more coherent interpretation of the material and what I had interpreted as *nomos* (new order) could be in fact a display of symbolic violence and domination over certified translators.

While the conclusions drawn from this research are highly tentative, I do hope that certified translators (and perhaps translators of other specialisations as well) who happen to read this work will find their own experiences mirrored herein. Studies of sociological nature serve not only to understand the social world but also to change it. While such a small-scale study cannot result in a wider change, perhaps it will cause a small-scale change in the translators reading it; it will make them reflect on their own positions, power they hold, experiences they had, and lead them to their own conclusions and, ideally, the change of patterns they are forced to follow and reproduce.

The structure of this thesis reflects my journey described hereinabove. The thesis comprises five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the theories representing the Manipulation School and the subsequent cultural turn in translation studies. The growing interest in the social aspects and social research is indicated and, whenever possible, similarities between the discussed translation theories and Bourdieu’s field theory are indicated. The discussed theories include the polysystem theory by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990a, 1990b, 1978/1990c), refraction

(or rewriting) theory (1982/2012) and the cultural capital in translation (1998) by André Lefevere, or norms in translation as presented by Gideon Toury (1995), Theo Hermans (1995, 1997/2009), and Andrew Chesterman (1993/2017a, 2006/2017b).

The second chapter focuses on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. In the exploration, there are no secondary sources used; the reference is made solely to the works written by Bourdieu himself. The chapter offers an overview of the basic assumptions that guided Bourdieu in field research, a definition of the concepts related to the field and used in the study thereof (e.g. *habitus*, *nomos*, *doxa*, *illusio*, capital), a demonstration of how these concepts are applied in research on the example of the literary field, as well as a discussion concerning the application of Bourdieu's theory to translation studies.

The third chapter explores the applied methodology and provides information on the interview, which is treated as both the tool and the method. Due to the fact that interviews are not a commonly used method in translation studies, they are discussed in detail, including the sampling methods, the interview typology, the transcription and the analysis of the empirical material. The emphasis is placed on the selected methods that have been applied in the study presented in Chapter 5.

The fourth chapter presents a design of the original research project: the individual in-depth interviews with certified translators of English. The notions indicated by Bourdieu as being key in the study of any field are translated first into research questions and then into questions that could be asked to the respondents.

The fifth chapter comprises an analysis of the empirical material gathered through in-depth interviews with certified translators of English. The chapter is divided into two parts; the first part describes particular stages of research, encountered difficulties, and decisions undertaken during the course of the study. The second part presents the results of the analysis, including the education of certified translators; the role of the apprenticeship; their stance towards the state exam; the relation between the certified translators and the field of power; the relation between the certified translators and the economic field; the hierarchy of capitals; the *illusio* they are imbued and their *habitus*; their status and the value of their work, etc. The repeating and unusual expressions are also subject to the analysis.

The conclusion offers final remarks on the study. Tentative though the conclusions are, they might serve as a starting point for future studies on translators and the field of translation in Poland. Thus, potential directions for new research are also indicated.

Chapter 1: System Theories and Sociological Undertones in Translation Studies

1.0 Overview

The first chapter presents an overview of several relevant theories—such as Itamar Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory, André Lefevere’s rewriting theory, Gideon Toury’s and Theo Hermans’s translation norms—functioning within the realm of translation studies (henceforth: TS), and indicates the slow turn towards the sociology of translation. The chapter is divided into seven sections, each dedicated to a thorough exploration of one issue or theory discussed in the subject-matter literature, by focusing on the examination of the origins of various ideas seen as influential to TS. All presented theories are closely linked and show the development of the concept of translation as a product immersed in a sociocultural context. Moreover, they discuss translators as social agents intertwined in social relationships and numerous social realities that drive their choices on the stage of TS.

The chapter begins with a concise presentation of the development of translation theory and the discussion on the evolution of TS from the 70s up until today. This part serves firstly to provide a wide timeframe to appropriately place further issues discussed within the history of the discipline but also to show that the presented thesis aims to address the calls for the ‘post-disciplinary’ research. The works discussed here include the history of translation theory as presented by Susan Bassnett (1980/1991), the debate over the development of TS as a discipline by Edwin Gentzler (2014), the questions regarding its future, and the map of the discipline proposed by James Holmes (1975/1988).

The second section focuses on the overall concepts and ideas presented by the Manipulation School since the history shows that their works were the ones that allowed to contextualise translation and increasingly place emphasis on the translator as a social being. The section presents the analysis of the group manifesto written by Theo Hermans in 1985, exploring the impact of the group and their legacy. It is also supplemented with the criticism by Mary Snell-Hornby (2006).

The following sections comprise the theoretical achievements of some of the key figures from the Manipulation School: Itamar Even-Zohar, André Lefevere, Gideon Toury, and Theo Hermans. The part on Even-Zohar focuses on the polysystem theory. The investigation starts with a short description of Russian Formalism that served as the basis for Even-Zohar’s system theory and induced the change in the perception of literature as a science. The system

construction as well as binary oppositions introduced by Even-Zohar, such as canon and non-canon, or centre and periphery, are investigated. The emphasis is placed on the position of the translated literature within a polysystem and on the consequences that can be observed at the textual level of analysis.

The section devoted to Lefevere presents two of his theories: rewriting theory (in detail) and cultural capital theory (briefly). It begins with the discussion on the issue of text interpretation and criticism as it served as a starting point in the creation of the rewriting theory for Lefevere. Rewriting theory is also one of the system theories – it was classified as such by the author himself; the systemic characteristics of the theory are therefore investigated here as well. The discussion is supplemented with the examples of research conducted within the framework of the rewriting theory (Erdmann & Gawrońska-Peterson, 2017) as well as the presentation of the shortcomings of the theory as pointed out by Hermans, who was not only Lefevere's colleague from the Manipulation School but also one of his outspoken and harsh critics. The discussion ends with the short introduction of Lefevere's work on cultural capital, which was unfortunately never finished due to his tragic death but proves highly relevant to this thesis.

The section devoted to Toury comprises his two interlinked, essential concepts: norms in translation and the notion of the Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). The section opens with the discussion on the series of definitions and postulates created by Toury that allowed to shift the focus solely on the target text. Then, the norms in translation, a concept of which Toury is considered to be a forefather, are investigated in detail, as well as the well-known and recognised DTS. The discussion is supplemented with the critical voices of other TS scholars and examples of research using the concepts in question (Karpińska & Olejniczak, 2019; Munday, 2016). The chapter ends with the presentation of the impact that Toury made on the discipline.

The next section presents Hermans's work on sociocultural norms, which constitute his answer to Toury's work. It begins with the presentation of the social background of the theory, which shows a growing interest in the sociological perspective on translation. Hermans's scale, extending from conventions, through norms and rules, to decrees, is discussed. The emphasis is placed on the analysis of the concept of sociocultural norms, their distinct characteristics, development in comparison to Toury's work, and implied changes in the perceived role of a translator in the process of translation.

The next section consists of the discussion on the concept of norms as presented by Andrew Chesterman. Though Chesterman's works never became a part of the Manipulation

School, he was nevertheless closely tied therewith. He was also an avid critic of both Hermans and Toury. The investigation of his professional norms is particularly interesting as it reveals the previously concealed weaknesses of the overall concept of norm and calls for a more intense involvement of social sciences in the study of translation.

1.1 The Development of Translation Studies

This theoretical chapter also begins with a short overview of the development of the discipline. The aim thereof is twofold: firstly, to understand better the links between further presented theories and their overall importance; secondly, to see the struggle of TS as a scholarly discipline and to acknowledge its relationships with other disciplines, such as sociology, and their potential.

One of the approaches to the history of translation theory distinguishes four separate stages: (1) from Ancient Rome (especially Horace and Cicero) to “Essay on the Principles of Translation” written in 1791 by Alexander Fraser Tytler, which is a period that is characterised by its focus on the translation practice; (2) from 1791 to 1946, which displays an increasingly scientific approach to translation, “a period of theory and hermeneutic inquiry with the development of a vocabulary and methodology of approaching translation” (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 40); (3) from the 1940s onwards, which focuses on the introduction of linguistics into the study of translation; and, (4) from the 1960s onwards, which introduces an interdisciplinary perspective on translation by establishing links with numerous other disciplines, such as literary studies, gender studies, sociology, or ethnography (Steiner 1975, p. 236ff; after Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 40).

However, as Bassnett argues, Steiner’s proposal only shows the deadlock in the systematic and historic study of the development of translation theory and, consequently, the discipline. The proposed periods are surprisingly uneven, two shortest periods overlap, and the overall division is disputable as the tendencies found in translation and discussed translation theories last independently of the proposed periods (Bassnett, 1991, pp. 40-41).

In this section, three different perspectives on the development of TS are presented. Firstly, a diachronic study of tendencies offered by Bassnett, starting with the ancient times and ending with the 20th century. Secondly, a four-period view on the most recent developments in TS as a discipline proposed by Edwin Gentzler, covering only the 20th and 21st centuries. Finally, the perspective of James Holmes, who looked into the future of the discipline and whose “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” became one of the most insightful and influential articles for TS theorists.

1.1.1 Susan Bassnett's Diachronic Study

Bassnett begins her inquiry into translation theory with the works of Romans, noticing that the two main figures in this context—Horace and Cicero—began the discussions on certain translation concepts which are still ongoing and have inspired the intellectual development of the theory for ages (1980/1991, p. 43).

It is worth noting that translation played a different role in Roman society than it does today. First and foremost, most of the translations were from Greek – therefore, they were rooted in the culture that Romans felt were descendants of and in the language most of them spoke (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 43). This in turn must have shaped Cicero's and Horace's views on translation. They were the first to introduce the famous distinction between two approaches to translation: *verbum de verbo* (i.e. word for word) or *sensum de sensu* (i.e. sense for sense) (p. 44). Both poets voted against word-for-word translation and placed emphasis on the artistic value of translation. This is not surprising, as Romans perceived translation in terms of “the enrichment of the literary system” (p. 44). Such an approach also led to the appearance of new words in Roman, either borrowed from Greek or newly coined. It was a process that Romans viewed as natural; when Horace commented thereon, he equalled it to “the changing of the leaves in spring and autumn” (p. 44). The authors' endorsement for the ‘enrichment’ of the language and sense-for-sense translation that aims to be the work of art itself cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration one important circumstance; namely, that it was not uncommon for Romans to be able to read not only translation but also the original. Bassnett notes that “the translated text was read *through* the source text” (1980/1991, p. 45). The translator would focus more on the form and other aesthetic values of translation rather than on scrupulous reporting on the source language (henceforth: SL) text's content. *Ergo*, even though the views of Horace and Cicero shaped translators' minds for centuries, the Roman translation ought to be perceived in different terms than the modern translation.

Another crucial episode in the history of translation and translation theory is connected to Christianity and the Bible. Here, however, translation played a role in which not only its aesthetic value was of utmost importance but also its ability to proselytise (Bassnett, 1980/1991, pp. 45-46). One of the first and most famous translations was performed by St Jerome, who claimed to apply the Roman *sensum de sensu* rule. Yet, in the case of the Bible, such an approach appeared to be highly dangerous as it was the word of God in translation and any departure therefrom could have been treated as heresy and cost a translator his head (1980/1991, p. 46). This issue was of central importance for the Church up until the 17th century. Some of

the Bible translators attempted at describing the process of translation in a prescriptive manner so as to create a guide for subsequent translators. For instance, the second Wycliffe Bible presents such a description, summed up by Bassnett in the following words:

The Prologue describes the four stages of the translation process: (1) a collaborative effort of collecting old Bibles and glosses and establishing an authentic Latin source text; (2) a comparison of the versions; (3) counselling “with old grammarians and old divines” about hard words and complex meanings; and (4) translating as clearly as possible the “sentence” (i.e. meaning), with the translation corrected by a group of collaborators. (1980/1991, p. 47)

The aim was to reach a simple man and to make the Bible accessible to him – it intensified even more after the invention and popularisation of the print. Soon, the Bible and its translations became a key tool in political fights. While William Tyndale and his translation of the New Testament were burnt at the stake under the accusation of ‘heresy’, the Protestants were growing stronger and stronger, and the subsequent translations were proliferating (Bassnett, 1980/1991, pp. 47-49). The rise of national languages was also not without any significance as it stimulated the demand for translations. In 1530, Martin Luther published “Circular Letter on Translation,” in which he applied interchangeably the terms ‘to translate’ and ‘to Germanize’ (p. 49).

Works on translation also sprang up in non-religious contexts. Gianfranco Folena, who investigated the Middle Age literature, divided translation at that time into vertical and horizontal (1991; as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 52). Vertical translation took place when the target language (henceforth: TL) and SL were not equal, for instance, translation from Latin to Italian, whereas horizontal translation occurred when the involved languages occupied a similar position in the hierarchy. However, Folena was not the first to discuss the issue. It was observed already in the 13th century and discussed by Roger Bacon and Dante. Moreover, Bacon also analysed the issues of borrowing and loss in translation (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 52).

The invention of the print, accessibility of texts, and subsequent changes in the structure of societies and cultures altered the role of a translator and resulted in the coining of numerous theories (Bassnett, 1980/1991, pp. 53-54). The growing importance of the translators and translations is confirmed by the study of Edmond Cary, who characterises the period in question in the following words: “it was primarily a dispute between translators. Translation became an affair of state and a matter of Religion. The Sorbonne and the king were equally concerned with it” (1963, pp. 7-8; as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 55).

In 1540, Etienne Dolet presented his requirements to be a good translator, which included complete understanding of the source text, great expertise in the involved languages, avoidance of *verbum de verbo* technique in translation, and application of common and relevant language register (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 54). Thus, a picture of the translator as a competent professional begins to appear. Similarly, George Chapman, the translator of *The Iliad*, claimed that “a translator must: (1) avoid word for word renderings; (2) attempt to reach the ‘spirit’ of the original; (3) avoid overloose translations, by basing the translation on a sound **scholarly** investigation of other versions and glosses” (as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 55, bold mine).

The centuries to follow present the increasingly growing influence of scientific theories. In the 17th century, John Dryden presented his theory of three types of translation: metaphrase (similar to *verbum de verbo* translation); paraphrase (similar to *sensum de sensu*); and the new type, namely imitation (according to which, a translator is allowed to depart from the source text if he or she wishes to do so) (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 60). Dryden himself argued that it is the paraphrase that appeared to be the most sensible manner of translation. On his own translation of *Aeneis*, he wrote the following: “I endeavoured to make Virgil speak English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England, and in this present age” (as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 60). Besides the triage of translation, Dryden also listed requirements for a good translator that remained in complete agreement with the previous statements by, for instance, Dolet or Chapman. He was also among the first to use the metaphor of the translator as a painter – it was clear that the painting of the translator would not be the same as that of the author but, as Dryden claimed, it should at least be similar thereto.

The 18th century brought a significant shift in the approach to translation. In “The Principles of Translation” (1791), which Bassnett describes as “the first systematic study in English of the translation processes” (1980/1991, p. 63), Alexander Fraser Tytler presents his views on translation and translator’s duties:

- (1) The translator should give a complete transcript of the idea of the original work.
- (2) The style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original.
- (3) The translation should have all the ease of the original composition. (as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 63).

This stands clearly in opposition to what Dryden claimed; what is more, Tytler thought that Dryden’s concept of a paraphrase resulted in numerous translations that moved too far from their original (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 63).

Another relevant translation theory of the 18th century was proposed by Goethe. Goethe distinguished three stages that are characteristic of any translated literary text (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 62). Firstly, the source culture is introduced with the use of the target culture, i.e. the familiar and well-known. Then, a certain sense of foreignness is introduced, yet still in domestic terms. Finally, there is the third phase, whose goal is “perfect identity between the SL text and the TL text, and the achieving of this mode must be through the creation of a new ‘manner’ which fuses the uniqueness of the original with a new form and structure” (1980/1991, p. 62). Interestingly, this concept is still relevant in TS. For instance, Lawrence Venuti brought it once again to life using the concept of ‘bridging the gap’ (2000, pp. 491-494).

The period between the 18th and 19th centuries was particularly abundant in literary translations. However, the amount of translated literature resulted in the change of emphasis from the investigation of translation processes to the focus “on the impact of the translation in the target culture” (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 65). Furthermore, the view of the translator also underwent changes. There was still an image of the translator as a creator, who works in order to make the target literature even more wealthy and well-developed. But another image, i.e. of the translator who is simply a mechanic worker, emerged as well, resulting in the lowering of the status of the translator (pp. 65-66). This shift in the attitude may also be the consequence of the growing importance of national languages, which brought patriotism and belief in the value of national cultures over ‘the other’ (pp. 69-70). In such environment, ‘enriching’ the culture with foreign works was not viewed as necessary as it was before. The translator became merely a reporter on someone else’s words. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow claimed, for example, that the one’s task “is to report what the author says, not to explain what he means; that is the work of the commentator. What an author says and how he says it, that is the problem of the translator” (as cited in Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 70).

The 19th century is also marked by the appearance of Friedrich Schleiermacher’s (1813) theory. Schleiermacher is the author of the famous metaphor, in which translation is viewed as a journey. He viewed that “either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him” (1813/2006, p. 49). The first metaphor describes the situation in which the translator attempts at creating a target text that would have a similar influence on the target readers as it had on the source ones. It should be as if a reader knew the source language and read the original text on his or her own. Therefore, the text should arouse in a reader a certain feeling of unfamiliarity, so that the reader would have in his or her mind that the text in his or her hand was not written in the sphere of the target culture but somewhere else

(1813/2006, p. 51). The second metaphor implies that the translator tries to imagine the author as if he or she were born and raised in the target country and tries to create a text that such an author would have written (had he or she existed) (1813/2006, p. 56). In this situation, the origins of the text are concealed, and the aim is to make the text feel familiar to the reader. Schleiermacher illustrates this idea by claiming that “[i]n a certain sense, it is possible for us to think of how Tacitus might have spoken had he been German, or, to be more precise, how a German would speak whose relationship to our language was the same that of Tacitus to his own” (1813/2006, p. 56). However, in the very next sentence, he adds “and happy is he who is able to imagine this so vividly that he can really make him speak!”, revealing both his critical approach to the translation of this kind but also reflecting his thoughts on previous translations of, for instance, Dryden.

Bassnett (1980/1991, p. 71) sums up the industrial and colonial times, claiming that there were five main tendencies in translation theory: a strong focus on the source text and the assumption that it is better than any of its translations; view of translation as only a stimulus to reach for the source text; view of translation as a factor in one’s development through the purposeful unfamiliarity and sense of the foreign introduced in the text; view of “translation as a means whereby the individual translator who sees himself like Alladin in the enchanted vaults . . . offers his own pragmatic choice to the TL reader” (1980/1991, p. 71), and finally, view of translation as a possibility to enhance the position of a source text and a source language, especially if it came from the culture considered to be ‘worse’ in the target country.

Bassnett ends her historical overview of translation theory at the beginning of the 20th century; the emergence of TS as a scholarly discipline and its development are not within her scope of interest. It is, however, thoroughly investigated by Edwin Gentzler, whose findings are summarised in the next subsection.

1.1.2 Prediscipline, Discipline, Interdiscipline and Post-discipline

Edwin Gentzler (2014) distinguishes four periods of TS: pre-discipline, discipline, interdiscipline, and post-discipline. The time of the proposed pre-discipline comprises the 50s and the 60s of the 20th century, yet it is worth noting that translational activity and reflections thereupon are rooted already in the ancient times, as it has been demonstrated in the previous subsection. This period is represented by such prominent figures as Cicero, Horace, and Saint Jerome, with the main focus on the Romanian translations from the Greek and on the numerous translations of the Bible (e.g. Bassnett, 1980/1991; Munday, 2016); Gentzler, however, shifts his attention to another ancient civilisation and notices that Romanian and Greek were not the

only cultures in which translation flourished at that time. He points to the case of the Silk Road, an ancient trade road that created a link between empires of that time and around which first economic translation proliferated (2014, p. 14). Nevertheless, it appears that only one issue was explored within that sphere of culture, namely word-for-word or sense-for-sense translation, and the aim of said reflection was deeply and solely prescriptive.

Gentzler places the pre-disciplinary period in North America and dates it back to the 50s and 60s of the 20th century. One of the reasons behind the sudden boom is that “many creative writers during this period, frustrated with English-only journals and isolationist policies of the country, turned to translation to import new ideas and forms” (2014, p. 15). Another reason is the sudden change of the world and the upsurge of globalisation, which was particularly visible in the United States, assuming at that time its dominant position in the political, economic, and cultural spheres (2014, pp. 15-16). Gentzler also acknowledges that the period was particularly fruitful in terms of non-academic translation for Iran; hence, it should not be a surprise that the most prominent scholars, soon establishing the new discipline of TS, came from that geographical area.

Interestingly, Gentzler does not take into consideration quite a significant amount of scholarly (mostly linguistic) publications that took place at that time and abandoned the old *verbum pro verbo* versus *sensum pro sensu* discussion in favour of exploring issues such as equivalence, untranslatability, and shifts in translation. For instance, Eugene A. Nida published his *Toward a Science of Translating* in 1964. Even though a couple of years later James Holmes questioned the use of the term ‘science’ in relation to TS², the title of this landmark publication marks the change in the approach towards translation. One year later, J. C. Catford published *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*.

Furthermore, there are also less known scholarly publications on translation that date back to the 50s of the 20th century. Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darblenet wrote *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais* (1958), in which they dealt with the issues of equivalence and proposed a list of translation procedures. Betlem Soler Pardo cites also Georges Mounin’s *mot-a-mot* theory, exploring translation from the linguistic point of view, yet also indicating the

² Holmes claims that “more than a few would question whether linguistics has yet reached a stage of precision, formalization, and paradigm formation such that it can be described as a science, and while practically everyone would agree that literary studies are not, and in the foreseeable future will not be, a science in any true sense of the English word, in the same way I question whether we can with any justification use designation for the study of translating and translations that places it in the company of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, or even biology, rather than that of sociology, history, and philosophy – or for that matter of literary studies” (Holmes, 1975, p. 70). Indeed, today the scholars do not discuss the “science of translation” but “Translation Studies” – the term advocated by Holmes himself (1975).

cultural and social significance of translation (2013, p. 8). In Poland, Olgierd Wojtasiewicz published his *Wstęp do teorii tłumaczenia* (1957), focusing on the issues of linguistic and cultural untranslatability. All these works should be acknowledged as significant contributions because they had prepared the ground for the creation of TS as a self-contained discipline.

According to Gentzler, the first signs of the emergence of the discipline are the publications of such articles as “The Nature of Translation” by Anton Popovič in 1970 or “Name and Nature of Translation Studies” by James Holmes in 1972; yet the real landmark of the discipline is the conference that took place in Belgium in 1976, which hosted the most prominent TS scholars of the time, such as Itamar Even-Zohar or André Lefevere (2014, p. 17). TS were then characterised by numerous disputes concerning the right approach and the correct paradigm, as various theories arose regionally – linguists fought with literary scholars, structuralists argued with post-structuralists etc. The newly emerged discipline lacked in communication and cooperation.

The situation did not change during the period of interdiscipline, as Gentzler notices that instead of communicating with each other and looking into each other’s work, the TS scholars started to look into other disciplines. First signs of interdisciplinarity appeared at the beginning of the 1990s, and even though the period did begin with the calls for combining the already-existing approaches in TS, the attempts did not prove to be fruitful and did not bring any milestone publications (Gentzler, 2014, p. 18). It was rather the time, in which TS recognised and examined other fields of study, “focus[ed] on parallel developments within different disciplines, and the fields developed in their own paradigms, only occasionally overlapping” (Gentzler, 2014, p. 18). Nevertheless, it resulted in beneficial collaborations between TS and postcolonial studies, gender studies, linguistics, psychology, philosophy, religious studies, media studies, and cultural studies, to name just a few. The discipline developed dynamically and gained recognition – but it was not without any flaws. Ginette Michaud points out that the interest on the side of TS was only superficial; it raised only several issues and did not analyse the theory in depth (1998; as cited in Gentzler, 2014, p. 18). Michaud expressed her concerns regarding the cooperation between TS and psychology, yet the same concern seems to be applicable in other cases as well.

Post-discipline, a period that follows the one of interdiscipline, marks a shift in the interest of TS from what is taking place in other disciplines to what is taking place ‘in’ translation (Gentzler, 2014, p. 19). The term was first proposed by Siri Nergaard and Stefano Arduini in 2011; their idea was to start a new transdisciplinary field, in which translation would serve as a tool of research and interpretation, and to change the perspective from looking

'inside-out' into 'out-inside', investigating translation from the stance of other disciplines (2011, p. 8; as cited in Gentzler, 2014, p. 20). Firstly, the change from interdiscipline into post-discipline seems to answer the postulates for closer cooperation between the disciplines, formulated by Michaud. Secondly, Gentzler provides another strong argument supporting this change of view, claiming that "often the discourse of the outside field can help scholars better identify and analyze the translational phenomena within those discourses than those developed from within the discipline of translation studies" (2014, p. 21).

1.1.3 Holmes's Map of Translation Studies

Some scholars claim that the most actual and appropriate approach to the development of TS is represented by Holmes and his map of the discipline, which is still applicable (e.g. Munday 2016). Holmes developed his map, acting as both a thorough and careful researcher as well as a conscious foreseer. In his view, TS can be divided into three main branches: Descriptive Translation Studies, theoretical TS, and applied TS. DTS aims "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" (Holmes, 1975/1988, p. 71) and it can be further divided into product-oriented, focusing on the description of translations that are already created (p. 72); function-oriented, addressing the issue of their functioning in the target culture and society (p. 72); and process-oriented, contemplating the processes taking place in one's mind while translation (pp. 72-73). Theoretical TS' goal is "to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena [of translating and translation] can be explained and predicted" (Holmes, 1975/1988, p. 71). Holmes divided this branch into general TS and partial TS, claiming that the utmost aim of this branch should be the creation of a theory so extensive, coherent, and complex that it could explain and predict all phenomena connected to translation (p. 73) – one of the very few of his postulates which would be criticised and considered impossible today. Holmes proposed such categories of partial TS as medium-restricted, area-restricted, rank-restricted (concerned with a specific linguistic rank), text-type restricted, time-restricted, and problem-restricted theories (pp. 74-76). Finally, the branch of applied TS deals with such issues as translation teaching, translation aids (for both teaching and working), translation policy, and translation criticism (Holmes, 1975/1988, pp. 77-78).

1.1.4 Summary

To sum up, this brief presentation of various approaches to the development of TS indicates that there is no agreement in the discipline regarding even such an issue as its development.

Gentzler distinguishes distinctive periods and focuses on their shortcomings, whereas Bassnett argues against the periodisation of translation history and sees it as continuous development in numerous areas and directions. Hurtado includes in the analysis such figures as Nida, Vinay and Darbelnet, or Catford, while Gentzler does not acknowledge their existence. Finally, there is the map created by Holmes: even though it was created in the 70s, it may be treated as the map of the development of the field, partly due to the fact that has occupied such a significant spot in TS that it has been treated in terms of a guidepost by some scholars.

Perhaps, for the purpose of this thesis, it is Gentzler's approach that seems to be the most appropriate, as it creates space for studies such as this one. If we were to assign this thesis to any of those periods, it would qualify as pertinent to a post-discipline, since it aims to apply selected sociological theories (Pierre Bourdieu's field theory) and tools (e.g. Jean-Claude Kaufmann's comprehensive interview) to offer a new perspective of translation and translators in particular. Therefore, without a doubt, it is an 'out-inside' investigation, the goal of which is to forget what we think we know as this knowledge comes from the 'inside' and to observe and examine from the 'outside'. Another change is the shift in the research focus from the translation to the individuals producing and dealing with translation; persons, for whom translation is their life, not solely a product of everyday life. However, it is worth noting that perhaps there is still a bit of the interdisciplinary spirit here as well – especially in the theoretical investigation, aiming at revealing the contact points between the theories of TS and sociology. The purpose of this treatment is to justify the choice of theory and to prove its applicability.

1.2 Manipulation School

Theo Hermans, one of the representatives of the Manipulation School, views the School as the inheritors of a Czechoslovak group (including Holmes [see section 1.1]), which functioned in the 1960s (1997/2009, p. 11). The group was among the first to pay attention to translation and its role and they explored such matters as inherent properties of translation in the context of metatexts; comparison of the source and target texts and the possible account of the divergences between the two texts; or the function of the translated texts from the historical point of view (Hermans, 1997/2009, p. 11). The group ended their functioning around the 70s, yet at that time there was already another group of scholars ready to take over. Among its members, there were personas such as Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, José Lambert, André Lefevere, Susan Bassnett, Maria Tymoczko, and Theo Hermans.

The Manipulation School did not only introduce a new paradigm, revolutionary and highly productive at the time but also struggled vigorously for the popularisation of TS and its

acknowledgement among other scholarly disciplines. Hermans describes their early endeavours – the first publications did not appear in any recognised journals or publishing houses (1997/2009, p. 12). However, Hermans claims that, paradoxically, the difficulties at the beginning of the functioning of the group made it only stronger: the Manipulation School representatives collaborated in their writing, edited one another's works, or quoted one another in order to survive and elevate the status of the group (1997/2009, p. 12). All these measures probably resulted also in another 'side-effect' – the theoretical stance of the group was solid, coherent, and innovative.

Yet the activities of the Manipulation School were not confined solely to publishing; the members of the school promoted their work and TS in general. As a result, translation workshops became part of other conferences and congresses but also of other research work (Hermans, 1997/2009, p. 13). Perhaps, the ideas propagated by the Manipulation School were spread in the most compelling way owing to the Centre for Translation Studies (CETRA) summer schools, organised by Lambert (Hermans, 1997/2009, p. 14). Numerous professors running the summer schools were members of the Manipulation School, though others also participated, including figures such as Lawrence Venuti, Anthony Pym, and Hans Vermeer.

1.2.1 The Manifesto and Impact of Manipulation School

In 1985 the group published *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*, which could be treated as its manifesto. In short, the main goal of the group was to introduce a new approach to the study of translation, in both theory and research. In the introduction, Hermans discusses the theoretical background shared by the members of the group:

a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures. (Hermans, 1985/2014, pp. 10-11)

There are several other significant assumptions underlying the works of the Manipulation School. The first one regards the interplay between the theory and practice; Hermans notices that theory plays two roles: it is a structured thought creating the reality and it is a tool allowing for researching this reality (1985/2014, p. 12). The more innovative view of

the reality the theory offers, the more it is engaging for the researchers. This view on the theory was revolutionary at the time, as Hermans highlights that insofar the literature studies proliferated in theories that could not be tested or simply did not pass the tests. The Manipulation School postulated a close relationship between the theory and research, in which the theory models the research and the research results improve the theory. They believed that the theory remained only “a tentative construct” as long as it was confronted with the reality through proper research (1985/2014, p. 12). Secondly, their work was innovative in the context of TS, as the Manipulation School moved away from the still prevalent prescriptive approach. Their aim was not to create a set of rules for the translator to abide by, nor to criticise any translational work but, through a careful analysis of the translations, to find determinants influencing the final shape of these texts (Hermans, 1985/2014, pp. 12-13). Furthermore, the descriptive approach entailed the abandonment of the long-lasting and unfruitful search for the definition of ‘translation’; according to Manipulation School, the translation designates each text that is generally thought to be a translation. As a result, such an approach also allowed the shift of emphasis on the source context and the original towards the target context and target text (Hermans, 1985/2014, p. 13). The change of the point of view from source to target is also the source of the name of the school, as Hermans claims that “from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose” (Hermans, 1985/2014, p. 11). However, Mary Snell-Hornby points out that the Manipulation School was a name invented only in 1987 and not by the members themselves but during a discussion at a conference in which the representatives of Manipulation School participated as well (2006, p. 48)

The change of focus resulted in the change of the key research questions. Hermans (1985/2014, p. 13) mentions two areas in which Manipulation School was most involved: the description of various procedures influencing the final shape of the target text with the emphasis on their functions, and the behaviour and role of translation in the target context. The former area of research concentrated on the texts themselves, determining the norms operating in translation, as well as other factors and subjects exerting pressure on the system and, consequently, shaping the translation. The latter area of research focused on the context in which translations functioned and on the effects caused by translations. Furthermore, the paradigm offered in TS changed its nature from prescriptive to pragmatic and functional (Hermans, 1985/2014, p. 13). The explanations did not focus on single texts or provided decontextualised descriptions – on the contrary, the focal point of this scientific endeavour was “to take into consideration larger wholes (collective norms, audience expectations, period

codes, synchronic and diachronic cross-sections of the literary system or parts of it, interrelations with surrounding literary or non-literary systems, etc.) in order to provide a broad contextual framework for individual phenomena” (Hermans, 1985/2014, pp. 13-14). The goal was to go even beyond the systems and to discover suprasystemic and lasting fashions and standards.

1.2.2 Manipulation School Criticism

Snell-Hornby seems to be particularly critical of the Manipulation School. She notices that the scholars representing the movement focus solely on comparative literature and only investigate the translations of literature, “which the linguistically oriented German theorists dismissed as being deviant language inaccessible to rigorous analysis or scientific explanation” (1995, p. 23). Not only did the linguists discard the Manipulation School but also the Manipulation School discarded the linguists and their work, which is visible in the preface to *The Manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation* (1985). Snell-Hornby notes that such attitude and hostility on both sides made the cooperation impossible. However, to be fair, such hostility and arguing seems to be a characteristic of the period of discipline in TS, as described by Gentzler (2014) and discussed above.

Snell-Hornby describes the works of Manipulation School as “concrete and empirical, with a strong emphasis on practical fieldwork and case studies” (1995, p. 24); a comment that seems to be praise. Yet, at the same time, she criticises their emphasis on the descriptive approach rather than the prescriptive one, as well as the shift of attention towards translational response and socio-cultural and historical contexts, claiming that they share more characteristics with the literary studies they attempt to escape than they would like to admit. Moreover, Snell-Hornby argues that the descriptiveness and target-text orientedness are most likely incorrect, as they are missing the evaluative side of translation that should be also present (1995, pp. 24-25). The scholar even accuses the Manipulation School of dividing the TS internally by introducing the categories of “translation scholar” and “translation trainer” (p. 36).

Finally, Snell-Hornby puts forward the argument that even though the Manipulation School allowed to quit the constant application of the notion of equivalence, their ideas were in fact significantly unoriginal – “the same principles and guidelines for a good translation have been formulated with almost identical words at least since Renaissance” (1995, p. 25). What is more, she does not view the movement as any advancement or possible future development in TS. Interestingly, the quite harsh critique presented here is already a toned down version thereof. As Snell-Hornby herself admits, she deleted a couple of verses from the second edition

of her book, as “[t]he potential foreseen in Theo Hermans’ ‘new paradigm’ . . . has indeed been fulfilled” (1995, p. 134), and the Manipulation School crossed the borders of comparative literature or even literary studies.

1.2.3 The End and Legacy of the Manipulation School

Hermans notices that in recent years the activity of the members of the Manipulation School has begun to decline (1997/2009, p. 14). The scholar critically acknowledges that some of the developers of the paradigm, for instance, Even-Zohar and Toury, stopped in their search for new ideas and focused instead on polishing their works published so far. Moreover, others have changed the vectors of their interests and begun the exploration of other paradigms and issues. Hermans cites here the cooperation between Bassnett and Lefevere, who reoriented themselves towards gender studies, postcolonial studies, and ideology in translation (1997/2009, p. 14). As he continues: “the empirical paradigm has in a sense become part of a broader, less clearly defined trend, which, to an extent, it also helped to foster by drawing attention to translation as a force and an instrument in cultural history” (Hermans, 1997/2009, p. 15). This statement is indisputable; the members of the Manipulation School became key figures in TS and their colossal effort in the popularisation and development of the discipline is unmistakable. Even though almost 50 years have passed, their theories remain one of the most significant and popular within the field and the traces of their thoughts can be seen in numerous other theories and paradigms. Finally, as we will soon see, the Manipulation School created a paradigm and proposed theories that show numerous similarities and points of contact with the field theory by Bourdieu, allowing the transfer and application thereof for the use of TS.

1.3 Polysystem Theory

Even-Zohar was one of the scholars participating in the ground-breaking conference in Leuven in 1976; however, he first started working on the polysystem theory already in 1969. The theory is rooted in the principles established by Russian Formalism, a school of literary studies functioning at the beginning of the 20th century, especially dynamic functionalism³ (Even-Zohar, 1990a, pp. 1-2) and it seems plausible to discuss them here. What is more, this section introduces basic assumptions that underlie the polysystem theory, and presents in detail the approach to translation from the perspective of polysystem theory, to finally offer the criticism that has been made on the topic.

³ It is worth noting that in an interview with Dora Sales Salvador, Even-Zohar mentions other sources of inspiration in his work, among them Edward Sapir, Bronisław Malinowski, or Pierre Bourdieu (2002, p. 5).

1.3.1 Russian Formalism

From the very beginning, Russian Formalism attempted at grasping the interdisciplinary spirit of literature. Even-Zohar highlights that the school focused on literature and issues connected thereto, yet simultaneously, Russian scholars did not share the view of the literature prevailing in the West—according to which, literature is a separate field—but saw its connection with numerous other fields, such as culture studies, anthropology, or linguistics, and encouraged the collaboration between those fields (1990a, pp. 1-2). Therefore, based on those principles, the polysystem theory also places literature in a wider context. Even-Zohar notices that such an approach was against the trends present at that time in the literary studies but argues that it had the potential to bring only positive effects, such as blurring the highly guarded borders of the field and viewing literature “not as an isolated activity in society, regulated by laws exclusively (and inherently) different from all the rest of the human activities but as an integral – often central and very powerful – factor among the latter” (1990a, p. 2). What is crucial to this thesis, the author cites in this context Pierre Bourdieu and his scientific achievements as, even though rooted in a different field, closely related and remarkable to the polysystem studies, and literature studies in general (Even-Zohar, 1990a, p. 3).

Even-Zohar argues that dynamic functionalism did not gain popularity among Western scholars due to its discordance with the Western school of thought and literature studies (1990a, p. 3). Among others, dynamic functionalism adopts the view of ‘the science of literature’, whose aim is “to operate in accordance with certain controllable procedures that are currently accepted and acknowledged as ‘the rules of the game’ of this intellectual activity” (Even-Zohar, 1990a, p. 3). The quote is essential to this thesis as even its wording indicates a close connection to Bourdieu’s field theory. At the same time, it implies that the science of literature discarded other activities, often central to literary studies, such as the interpretation of texts, the study of authors, or the search for an answer regarding the requirements the literature should fulfil in order to truly be ‘the literature’ (Even-Zohar, 1990a, p. 3).

1.3.2 General Characteristics of Polysystems

Prior to offering a specific description of the polysystem theory in regard to translation, it is worth summing up some more general characteristics of polysystems. Polysystems function on the basis of the rule of inclusion – they allow, or even require, the inclusion of research objects that so far used to be excluded from the research, either intentionally or unintentionally (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 13). It is the result of the assumption that the objects do not exist in the vacuum and, hence, should be studied in a proper context; for instance, children’s literature should be

studied along with the adult literature, or translations should be examined in relation to their originals. On the other hand, polysystems do not allow the choice of the study objects on the basis of their subjective values – polysystem theory is not to study only ‘high’ literature. Even-Zohar (1990b, p. 13) highlights this argument, claiming that literary studies often represented such an elitist approach and that it commonly occurred that the two different activities of scientific study and literary criticism were not properly distinguished. It is worth noting that similar issues bothered at some point TS as well, and not that long ago Susan Bassnett (1998) was postulating the inclusion of all literary genres and all kinds of literature in the research on translation.

Another assumption underlying the polysystem theory is that it is characterised by heterogeneity. Therefore, the parts that appear not to agree with each other in utmost possibility belong to different, competing systems (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 13). The systems are competing as they are in a hierarchical relationship with each other; the fight between different layers of the polysystem is what makes the system a dynamic entity (1990b, p. 14).

The hierarchical order of the polysystem is connected with certain binary oppositions operating within the system, such as canonised and non-canonised, primary and secondary, central and peripheral. Canonised strata “means those literary norms and works . . . which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage” (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 15). The non-canonised stands in the opposition, hence it reflects rules that are not accepted, and the society does not put effort in order to secure its works; however, the non-canonised may become canonised over time. Canonised and non-canonised strata ought to exist in the competing relationship, as the competition enforces the occurrence of actions within the canonised strata and does not allow its deterioration; Even-Zohar asserts that without the competition, the system falls into stagnation and eventually becomes either deserted or destroyed (1990b, p. 16). The canonised strata are usually equal with the centre of the polysystem and the adhering norms that are enforced by a group controlling the centre. The controlling group may either maintain the said norms or change them – both actions having the same goal, namely the control over the centre of the polysystem (1990b, p. 17). In the discussion of the canonised strata, Even-Zohar recognises two types of canonicity: static and dynamic. Static canonicity refers to the fact of including a certain text into the canonised strata, whereas dynamic canonicity refers to accepting a model into the canon and replicating it by other works (1990b, p. 19).

Another binary opposition of the primary v. the secondary refers to the state of the elements in the system. Secondary products are created in a conservative polysystem; hence, a system that presents a fixed repertoire and strict norms (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 21). Even-Zohar notices that secondary products are highly likely to follow those strict norms or, if not, become rejected. Primary products belong to a system promoting innovation – “the models it offers are of the ‘primary’ type: the pre-condition for their functioning is the discontinuity of established models (or elements of them)” (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 21). Primary and secondary options also compete with each other, which influences the stratification of the system and hierarchical order in the polysystem. Therefore, they are closely connected with the two others pairs of oppositions: canonised and non-canonised, and central and peripheral. (The latter opposition is described below in detail in the context of translation within the polysystem).

Finally, Even-Zohar underlines the integrity of the polysystem approach. The scholar argues that if one would like to work with the polysystem theory, it requires adopting it completely, not just some of the postulates (1990a, p. 4). He asserts that the theory may be applied in order to categorise authors and their works, or it can be applied along with the methodology perceiving literature solely as texts and ignoring the links between the system and its content, or “between production, products, and consumption” (1990a, p. 5) – yet in such case, the theory will not support the scholar; it will not provide fruitful results; it may even hinder the scientific investigation. As it is demonstrated below, the claim about the integrity of work and its usefulness only if the said integrity is maintained, as well as many other claims concerning the competition, the game and the fight, is also reminiscent of the claims made by Bourdieu regarding his field theory (see Chapter 2 below).

1.3.3 Polysystem and Translation

Published in 1978, Even-Zohar’s article entitled “The Position of the Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem” was an attempt to change the perception of translation from individual (and often ignored) works to complex and significant part of the literary system. Even-Zohar claimed that translations are strictly connected to the literary polysystem twofold: the connection is displayed, firstly, in the works chosen for the translation and transfer into the target polysystem and, secondly, in the manner in which they are translated (1978/1990c, p. 46). As a result, Even-Zohar argued that translation cannot be excluded from any scientific exploration of the literary polysystem as it was not only a significant part thereof but also “a most active system within it” (1978/1990c, p. 46).

Translated works can assume in the target literary polysystem either a central or peripheral position. If translations occupy the centre of the polysystem, they influence the construction thereof (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, p. 46). Moreover, in the said constellation, translation brings innovation to the polysystem and plays a significant role in numerous historic occurrences related to the literature. Consequently, the boundary between the foreign and the domestic texts is blurred; authors oftentimes become translators themselves. Translation can also transfer dissimilar elements into the polysystem, such as genre, specific use of language, and means of composition, but also specific techniques or features (1978/1990c, p. 47).

Even-Zohar names three situations in which the translated literature can occupy the centre of the polysystem; firstly, “when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is ‘young’, in the process of being established” (1978/1990c, p. 47). In this case, the transfer of foreign literature allows the application of a new language for different genres; furthermore, in the beginning, a newly created literature has a restricted repertoire at its use and, hence, translated works answer the need for different text types and allow the broadening of experience.

Secondly, the translated literature can be found in the centre of the polysystem, “when a literature is either ‘peripheral’ . . . or ‘weak’ [in a supranational polysystem], or both” (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, p. 47). The author notices that if national literature occupies a peripheral position in a polysystem, it may be lacking in a manner similar to the young literature, as both of these do not have adequate resources. Therefore, the ‘peripheral’ literatures do not possess the abilities of ‘central’ systems. This may result in the ‘gaps’ in their repertoires in comparison to central systems, which are often sealed with the transfer of foreign literature. Another result of the discussed situation is the ‘weak’ position of the national literature in terms of the introduction of novelties. The novelties, in this case, are usually introduced by means of the literature translated from the centre of the megapolysystem (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, pp. 47-48), strengthening the power relations in action. Even-Zohar provides here the example of European literatures as a supranational polysystem. In this case, the power relations have been stable for centuries and the peripheries are usually occupied by the smaller nations (e.g. Poland, Czech Republic, Croatia, Greece), whereas the centre consists of dominating nations. The peripheral position may also be the result of the literary history of the given megapolysystem as, according to Even-Zohar, peripheries shaped their national polysystems on the basis of transferred models (1978/1990c, p. 48). Nowadays, translation in such constellation functions as a means of bringing popular and up-to-date material to the national polysystem but also as ‘the alternative’.

Thirdly, the translated literature assumes the central position in the polysystem “when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature” (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, p. 47). Such a situation takes place, for instance, when the following generation is not satisfied with the previously accepted and reproduced models (1978/1990c, p. 48). Even-Zohar notices that the said situation may take place in both central and peripheral polysystems, though it is significantly more difficult for the latter.

If translations occupy peripheries of the given polysystem, they replicate schemes that are already present therein (Even-Zohar, 1990, p. 48). Furthermore, translated texts follow the rules which were previously introduced and maintained by the national literature occupying the centre, and do not play a significant role in the events taking place in the polysystem. Hence, in such a polysystem, the national literature might be a source of innovation, whereas the translated one follows the ‘old’ rules, which may be no longer applicable in the centre (1978/1990c, pp. 48-49). Even Zohar suggests that the described situation may be, for example, the aftermath of changing relations within the polysystem: once revolutionary translations had assumed the centre of the polysystem but, upon becoming detached from their original polysystem, remained unchanged for a period of time and were eventually replaced with the national literature that was better appealing to the changing circumstances (1978/1990c, p. 49). Nevertheless, translations are usually found in the peripheries of the polysystem; Even-Zohar comments that this empirical result is in accordance with the underlying theory, as translated works may take up the centre only under specific circumstances, such as the literary crisis or creation of a new polysystem, which are all only temporary and somehow abnormal situations (1978/1990c, p. 50).

Finally, it is worth noting that neither translated nor national literatures should be treated as an inseparable entity – hence, even if a part of the transferred literature gains the centre of the polysystem, the rest does not automatically move to the centre as well but may occupy the peripheries thereof (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, p. 49). An example of such stratification may be found in the Polish polysystem. For a few years now, Scandinavian crime stories have reached enormous popularity and have often been translated, which in utmost probability gives them a central or at least high position within the Polish polysystem. Simultaneously, other genres have not been subject to bold import from Scandinavian literature.

The position of the translated works in the polysystem does not remain unaffected by the manner in which the translation is performed. If the translated literature occupies the centre of the polysystem, the focus of the translator changes from the search of models already present in the polysystem to the creation of new models (Even-Zohar, 1978/1990c, p. 50). *Ergo*, the

translator should be ready to disobey the rules regulating the existing models. Even-Zohar concludes that such a text is more likely to “be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original)” (1978/1990c, p. 50), or, as Lawrence Venuti would have put it, the text is more likely to be foreignised (1995). Even-Zohar notices, however, that if a translator acts too aggressively and the translation is too far from the applicable norms, the text may be rejected by the receiving audience (1978/1990c, p. 50). Yet, it is still possible to “[open] the system gradually” by attempting to shorten the distance between the target and source literatures⁴ (1978/1990c, p. 51). If the process of transfer is successful, the target polysystem gains new literary means at its disposal. In the opposite case, when translated texts are placed in the peripheries, the translator focuses on the search for the applicable models which are already present in the polysystem. In effect, the translation is faithful to the target standards and not necessarily to the original content; Venuti’s terminology applied, such translation is an effect of the domestication (1995).

1.3.4 The Criticism of the Polysystem Theory

The polysystem theory is not free of any criticism. Hermans admits that it was one of the first theories placing translation within a wider socio-cultural context, yet there are several imperative issues therewith (1997/2009, p. 118).

Firstly, Hermans points out that the theory is in fact severely detached from reality and does not take into consideration any human factor (1997/2009, p. 118). This is the result of inconsistencies embedded in the polysystem – for instance, even though the theory acknowledges that the literary polysystem is a part of a larger socio-cultural setting, it does not explore thoroughly the relevant power relations or establishments acting within the polysystem. Therefore, the polysystem appears to strive for ‘higher’ levels but remains solely within the textual sphere. Polysystem is presented as a battlefield, but the theory does not aim at revealing what constitutes the stakes in the struggle. Furthermore, the fight is presented in such a manner that it may seem as if it were literary models fighting themselves and not persons involved in the polysystem, with their own interests. All in all, once the human factor is excluded from the system, it may seem to act automatically and deterministically.

The human factor aside, the polysystem theory also avoids the investigation of the underlying principles governing the polysystem. Hermans recalls that the latter argument was also brought up by Bourdieu in his criticism of Russian Formalism (1997/2009, p. 118).

⁴ This situation was also described and examined by the already mentioned Goethe and, in a modern context, by Venuti under the term of „bridging the cultural gap” (2000) (see here: *1.1.1 Susan Bassnett’s Diachronic Study*).

Secondly, the polysystem theory comprises numerous pairs of oppositions (e.g. primary and secondary, canonical and non-canonical, centre and periphery) that turn out to be distinctively problematic. Hermans claims that “the pattern of binary oppositions with which polysystem theory operates, and their multiplication when a more complex field is studied, leads to highly structured accounts of systems which are themselves shown to be highly structured” (Hermans, 1997/2009, p. 119); as a result, the whole construction of the system seems to be artificial.

What is more, the complex construction of the system does not fulfil its function adequately. Hermans also quotes the research on the polysystem theory performed by Yalahom and D’hulst who have proven difficulties with the classification of certain models (for instance, “in-between systems” seem to function) and claims that the rigid twofold structure is not able to comprehend its object completely (1997/2009, p. 119).

1.3.5 Summary

To sum up, the polysystem theory is certainly not impeccable, yet it is still one of the most relevant and widespread theories in both translation and literary studies. It allowed to finally place emphasis on translation as a significant part of the socio-cultural reality and, at the same time, it placed translation within a wider context, escaping the trap of isolation. It was not only vastly applied by other scholars but it also inspired them to develop their own theories. The two of such scholars were André Lefevere and Gideon Toury, both of whom belonged to the Manipulation School and cooperated closely with Even-Zohar before moving on to their own works. Their theories—the rewriting theory and the norm theory respectively—are discussed below as they also present ties to the sociological approach and are one of the milestone theories in TS.

1.4 Rewriting Theory

Lefevere was one of the key scholars in the development of early TS but also later, in the development of the so-called cultural turn in TS. He began his scholarly work with the Manipulation School and polysystem theory, in order to make a swift move to his own ideas and his own rewriting theory, which is also an example of system theory in TS. Later, he showed a significant interest in the social sciences, introducing sociological concepts and theories into his work; a work that was never finished due to his tragic death. In his work, Lefevere was also an advocate of bridging practice and theory, which he felt were too often driven apart (Heydel, 2009, p. 223).

Interestingly, it seems that Lefevere's journey to his final theory was long and windy. Hermans recalls Lefevere's presentation during the 1976 conference in Leuven entitled "Translation Studies: The Goal of the Discipline," in which Lefevere stated that "the goal of the discipline is to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the production of translations" (1978, p. 234; as cited in Hermans 1997/2009, p. 125). Such a statement stands directly in opposition to the Manipulation School and its very basic assumptions. Furthermore, his highly prescriptive approach was visible in his other publications, such as *Translating Poetry: Seven Strategies and a Blueprint* published in 1975 or *Literary Knowledge* published in 1977, on which Hermans speaks as of "a slight and bizarre book, ill-tempered, barely known and best forgotten" (1997/2009, p. 125). The change came in the 1980s when Lefevere became interested in Even-Zohar's work but quickly noticed its shortcomings and started to develop his own system theory that he felt would be more suitable and closer to the practice.

1.4.1 The Issue of Interpretation

Lefevere roots his rewriting theory deeply in disagreement with certain trends present in the literature studies of his time, mostly regarding the issue of interpretation; for instance, he quotes Edward Said, who points out that there is a move from seeking 'the truth' in the text towards acknowledging that the 'correct' and 'true' interpretation of the text is not possible; hence "all reading is misreading" (Said, 1983, p. 38; as cited in Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 215). As a result, all interpretations hold the same status. Stout, on the other hand, claims that interpretation should first and foremost display one quality: it should be engaging (Stout, 1982, p. 7; as cited in Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 215). Lefevere notices that the new approach destroys the foundations of interpretation as a scholarly activity, as it is based on the search for the truth or at least for a sound explanation (1985/2014, p. 216).

The argument, even though made in the context of literary studies and literary criticism, is not without any significance to TS, since every act of translation involves an act of interpretation as well (e.g. Tabakowska, 2017). Hence, all arguments made by Lefevere apply to translation as well; the above postulate would imply that the link between the original text and translation is inevitably destroyed (or rather never existed in the first place). Translation would be considered good as long as it would be engaging or interesting. Simultaneously, the reasons for establishing TS as a scholarly discipline would be invalidated and any translation theory – prescriptive, descriptive, functional, etc. – would be denied any significance and meaning.

Nevertheless, the ‘old’ view of interpretation is criticised as well. Lefevere argues that interpretation (translation) and the interpreter (translator) do not serve the truth but other purposes, such as ideology (1985/2014, p. 217). Hence, the scholar postulates a significant change in the scope of theoretical interest. The emphasis should be placed not on interpretation or criticism but on regulations governing the creation of texts (written and rewritten), on the relation between these two categories of texts and its influence on the acceptance or disavowal of various works, as well as on the development of the literary system and the role of rewriting therein (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 219). The change may result in:

a theory that would not focus primarily “literary practice as an intimate mental process of writing” (Dubois: 1978: 34) since a few decades of focusing on that aspect seem to have made us sadder rather than wiser, but on “the concept (and the reality) of a socialized apparatus that takes literature in charge and organizes it” (*ibid.*). (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 220).

Even though the quote concerns literature and literature studies, the same could have been claimed in regard to translation and TS.

1.4.2 Rewriting Theory as a System Theory

The proposed theory is described as a system theory by the author himself. Lefevere justifies the choice of paradigm claiming that system theories have the ability to comprise various phenomena within one frame of research, are not overcomplicated, and allow a fluent shift from theory to practice or even action (1985/2014, p. 223). He understands the term ‘system’ as a web of building blocks connected to one another and displaying properties which are typical only of the web in question, making it distinguishable, distinct, and separate from other webs (1985/2014, pp. 223-224).

Sharing the common belief of the Manipulation School, Lefevere also claims that it is possible to view literature as a system comprising both individuals and products of their literary actions (1985/2014, p. 225). The system presents individuals with various regulations, yet the individuals still possess their will and may choose either to obey the rules and not to cross the borders of the ‘acceptable’ in the system, or to break the rules. The latter may imply, for instance, creating texts by using different poetics than accepted or rewriting them in terms of the ideology that is not sanctioned.

The system of literature belongs to another, bigger system, which comprises numerous systems – i.e. society (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 226). Therefore, a given society creates an

environment for the system of literature. Lefevere notices that society and literature remain in a relationship, in which they influence each other reciprocally. As literature is only one of the numerous systems comprising the society, it is regulated in such a manner as to remain in agreement with other systems. The regulation comes from both inside and outside of the system, but the source thereof is shared – namely, the society.

The inside control of the system is performed by translators, literature and translation scholars, literary critics, lecturers teaching translation and literature, etc. (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 226). It may happen that these individuals will act to remove texts violating the regulations of a system in an especially brutal manner, e.g. by promoting an ideology that is forbidden in a system. However, their typical action is to rewrite texts, if necessary, so that they function within the present constraints of a system.

The outside control of the system is performed by the ‘patronage’, which is “the powers (persons, institutions) which help or hinder the writing, reading or rewriting of literature” (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 227). It focuses mostly on the ideology inscribed in the text. Lefevere divides patronage into three components: ideological, economic, and related to status. The ideological component regulates which topics can be taken up, as well as how they can be taken up. The economic element is designed to finance the individuals in the system for their appropriate actions, e.g. by hiring translators, creating posts for teachers of literature and translation, paying for reviews, etc. The third component, related to the status, has undergone a significant change within the last few centuries; it used to be connected with the elites and other higher spheres of society, but nowadays it is related to acceptance and inclusion (Lefevere, 1985/2014, pp. 227-228).

Patronage can assume numerous forms: it is enforced by the publishing houses, media, institutions of political, religious, cultural nature, or just individuals (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 228). It functions to subtly affect the system rather than act overtly and forcefully. The control is performed through other bodies, such as the educational system, academic system, or government. Because there are so many forms of patronage, one can distinguish two types thereof: undifferentiated and differentiated. Undifferentiated patronage implies that the elements of status, ideology, and economy can all be traced back to one patron. Lefevere notices this type of patronage occurred mostly in the previous times; nowadays, it is associated rather with totalitarian governments (1985/2014, p. 228). Differentiated patronage occurs when the said elements are connected to various patrons, e.g. when representing a given ideology is not associated with achieving status or financial reward.

Conveying and transmitting information in the system takes place due to the code, which Lefevere refers to as poetics (1985/2014, p. 229). Poetics can further be divided into microlevel – “an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, symbols, prototypical characters and situations” and macrolevel – “a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in society at large” (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 229). At one point, poetics becomes codified – this action determines further shape and changes occurring in the system. It implies that while some actions become acceptable, others are barred. Finally, once codification occurs, canonisation can take place as well, rewarding literary works that present values and elements most similar to the ones fixed in the process of codification (1985/2014, pp. 230-231).

The ideological component of the patronage exerts influence on the poetics and its function. The situation is relatively simple in the case of undifferentiated poetics. However, if the patronage is performed by various patrons, the fight over the dominance of poetics and the creation of the prevalent discourse will transpire (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 231), which occurs mostly through education.

Therefore, poetics is not given once and for all. As Lefevere notices, it poses as if it were unchanging and natural, as if it were the only possible choice, while in fact poetics is constantly modified and it moves further and further away from what was originally codified (1985/2014, p. 232). The system may be aiming at stability, but it is a place of continuous struggle, where opposing movements clash and result in the system’s development.

Besides poetics and patronage, all individuals functioning in the system are subject to two additional constraints: discourse and natural language (Lefevere, 1985/2014, pp. 232-233). Discourse refers to subjects and objects acceptable in literary works at a given time. Natural language refers to the issues caused by both the language and the culture, such as different grammar, lack of proper vocabulary, and lack of certain concepts. Rewriting is connected with one more obstacle regulating the work, namely the original text. Lefevere argues that “translation is probably the most obvious instance of rewriting” (1985/2014, p. 234). But there are also other examples of rewriting such as censorship applied not only to translations but also to original texts, anthologies assigning certain status to other literary works, or even summaries of books that decide for the reader which elements of the text are more important and deserve attention (Lefevere, 1982/2012). All these forms of rewriting cooperate with one another, thereby strengthening the changes introduced to the poetics⁵ (1985/2014, p. 235).

⁵ The term ‘rewriting’ presents quite interesting history. At first, for instance in his famous article “Mother Courage’s Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature,” Lefevere used the term ‘refraction’ instead, defining it as “the adaption of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention to influencing

1.4.3 Translation as Rewriting

Translation in the rewriting theory is subject to all five above-mentioned constraints, from which Lefevere acknowledges the original text to be the most significant (1985/2014, p. 235). The complexity of the situation increases as the source text itself has been created in a different system with different constraints. This in turn influences the issues of language and discourse; oftentimes, there will be elements in the text which do not exist or are not acceptable (i.e. are not part of the discourse) in the target system, which may result in untranslatability. In the case of translational difficulties, Lefevere's approach is, however, clearly distant from prescriptivism. He does acknowledge that the discourse of the source text should be present in translation, "though nobody is quite sure in what form" (1985/2014, p. 235).

Patrons also influence the process of import to their system; hence, mostly the process of translation (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 236). Here, the concept of the literature itself plays a significant role. Lefevere illustrates the issue with the examples of France and Germany. Two hundred years ago, there was a picture of French literature as a masterpiece, full of intelligence and grace. As a result, French literature was very careful with their imports (not many literary works were 'good enough'), and if it did import something, significant changes were introduced so that the imported works would comply with their poetics; a similar process was employed even in the case of some native works. At the same time, Germany presented a completely reversed approach to the import, importing the source poetics along with the works. The imported works and poetics were treated as "liberating influence" and were supposed to help Germany create their own poetics and gain recognition (1985/2014, p. 237).

Therefore, translation may be one of the crucial tools in the development or change of a system (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 237). It is not surprising that translation is subject to control, sometimes very strict. Lefevere treats also all kinds of prescriptive TS as a form of control, which aims at binding the translator with regulations that serve some ideology.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from viewing translation in terms of rewriting. Firstly, that "translation can no longer be analysed in isolation, but that it should be studied as part of a whole system of texts and the people who produce, support, propagate, oppose, censor them" (Lefevere, 1985/2014, p. 237). Secondly, Lefevere makes an important comment regarding the education of translators. He argues that the lecturers of translation usually focus on the issues connected solely to the language and choose to be latent in the case

the way in which that audience reads the work" (1982/2012, p. 205). Soon, he replaced 'refraction' with 'rewriting', without any further explanation. The replacement may be even more confusing as, for example, in Poland mostly the equivalent 'refrakcja' functions in the context of rewriting theory.

of other constraints, feeling that there is not much to be done to act on them somehow (1985/2014, p. 240). Lefevere believes that translational education should not end there but it should focus on the system and its regulation; the teacher should “make them [students of translation] understand why those demands are made, why they must be so complex, and why they are likely to change” (1985/2014, p. 240).

1.4.4 Rewriting Theory in Practice

When Lefevere was working on his rewriting theory in the 80s and 90s, he could easily claim that the phenomenon of rewriting (and connected thereto ideological manipulation) was not given sufficient recognition. However, nowadays the situation is significantly different and there are numerous translation analyses preserving the spirit of his studies. An example of such research may be the one conducted by Susan Erdmann and Barbara Gawrońska-Pettersson on the Polish and Norwegian translations of the *Anne of Green Gables*.

In 2012, Gawrońska-Pettersson conducted a study regarding the clarity of adjectives used in the Polish translations of *Anne of Green Gables* (and, consequently, the clarity of translations themselves) performed in 1912 by Rozalia Bernsteinowa and in 2003 by Agnieszka Kuc. Then, she and Erdmann attempted the same research for the Norwegian translations – one from 1940 by Mimi Svedrup Lunden and another from 2014 by Kristina Quintano. They discovered that it was possible to conduct the investigation due to the fact that the translation from 1940 lacked most of the adjectives. A more careful text analysis allowed them to establish that the first translator significantly interfered with the text – the outcome being the disappearance of whole passages. The interference with the text primarily concerned poetic descriptions, parts connected to religion (including prayers, descriptions of the minister and especially his young wife), or scenes depicting certain behaviours and features of Anne and her friends (e.g. jealousy towards other girls from school or gossiping). The analysis of the translator’s background allowed for the conclusion that these were conscious treatments of the text which resulted from the ideology in which the translator believed – she wholeheartedly supported the women’s education and women’s rights, and she could probably be described as a feminist (Erdmann & Gawrońska-Pettersson, 2017). Even though the authors in their analysis do not use the term ‘rewriting’, and even claim that they are not fond of the term ‘manipulation’, their study shows that the concept presented by Lefevere survived and is still present in the translation research.

It is worth noting that Hermans, who was also a member of the Manipulation School, heavily criticises Lefevere. He points out that Lefevere had issues with both terminology and

definitions, for instance, switching from the already described ‘refraction’ to ‘rewriting’, or from ‘universe of discourse’ to ‘cultural script’, and then suddenly to ‘textual grid’ (1997/2009, pp. 127-128). Furthermore, Hermans notices that Lefevere underplayed – or even ignored – the role of language as a restricting factor in the process of translation (1997/2009, p. 128). He also dispraises Lefevere’s research, viewing that Lefevere restricted the role of translation to mirroring the currently prevailing ideology and poetics (1997/2009, p. 129). In Hermans’s opinion, translation—even though it is claimed to be a significant part of the system and an excellent example of rewriting—never plays an active part in the system in Lefevere’s research. The scholar views that this “one sidedness may stem from Lefevere’s tendency to flit from one case study to another without ever digging very deep, but perhaps also from an inconsistency in his own theory” (1997/2009, p. 129) – such as, for instance, placing translators as both internal controllers of the system and the subject to the control of the system. Moreover, Lefevere does not pay enough attention to the institutional exercise of the control and its overall construction (1997/2009, p. 129).

1.4.5 Lefevere’s Work on Cultural Capital

At the end of his life, Lefevere became interested in sociology and its application in TS. One of his last articles, published already after his death, “Translation Practice(s) and the Circulation of Cultural Capital: Some Aeneids in English,” explores the idea of cultural capital as coined by Bourdieu.

In the article, Lefevere roughly distinguishes four types of translation, based on the theory of text types (1998, p. 41). The aim of the first type is to convey information. Lefevere claims that the overwhelming part of modern translated texts falls into this category. The aim of the second type is “the circulation of cultural capital,” understood after Bourdieu as “what you need to be seen to belong to the ‘right circles’ in the society in which you live” (1998, p. 41). The goal of the third kind is to amuse – these are translations of film subtitles or popular literature. The fourth kind might be considered ideological, especially in the light of Lefevere’s earlier work, as its goal is to influence the receiver of the text in a certain way and preferably cause an action on his or her side.

In brief, translation is the means of importing, exporting, sharing, and controlling cultural capital (1998, p. 41). According to Lefevere, there are several components on which these processes depend: “(i) the need, or rather needs, of the audience, or rather audiences . . . , (ii) the patron or the initiator of the translation, and (iii) the relative prestige of the source and target cultures and their languages” (1998, p. 44). Regarding the third factor, Lefevere claims

that the higher prestige of the source text, the more difficult challenge awaits the translator as he or she may expect the translation to be thoroughly examined and compared to the original (1998, p. 45). The patrons, hence the second factor, aim at creating and distributing the translation, though they do not necessarily pursue these actions themselves. According to Lefevere, they influence the final shape of translation, e.g. in terms of applied strategies. It may happen that the patron will be overt, yet usually establishing a patron is a challenging task. In modern times, it may be even the audience's needs that will indirectly perform the role of the patron (1998, pp. 45-46). The first factor also serves to inform the translator on the preferable strategies in translation (1998, p. 51).

The adoption of such text division seems a bit odd—such basic text type theory has already proved to be problematic—especially since Lefevere himself notices that a text usually performs more than one function. What is more, a text may perform various functions for different readers or in different environments/systems; or it may change its function over time. Finally, Lefevere's distinction between patrons and public needs and their respective functions seems to be a bit unclear and too overlapping. The presented analysis does not take into account any factual translation techniques (or even translated text at all) or tie it with the presented theory.

1.4.5 Summary

The reception of Lefevere's work is unequivocal. On the one hand, his theory is well-developed, anchored in the socio-cultural context, and places emphasis on the human factor in translation. On the other hand, it seems that his work was indeed a bit chaotic and not explored enough, lacking in practical applications and research, and displaying internal tensions. Still, the rewriting theory belongs to the canon of the most significant modern works in TS and Lefevere is considered to be one of the crucial figures and 'forefathers' of the cultural turn in the discipline. Regarding his work on the cultural capital, again, one could make an allegation that he was chaotic and too superficial – the theory itself seems to be too general and the ties between Lefevere's work and Bourdieu's work on cultural capital appear to be weak and not thoroughly explored. Nevertheless, Lefevere demonstrates a possible transition from TS to sociology and the application of sociological concepts (including Bourdieu's) to serve the development of TS.

1.5 Descriptive Translation Studies

Gideon Toury was one of the participants in Leuven conference and one of the Manipulation School members. This Israeli scholar began his work as a student of Even-Zohar and for some

time developed the polysystem theory, before he started working on his own Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and the idea of translational norms. Today, Toury is considered to be one of the most important figures in TS and one of the pioneers of research in translation (Bukowski & Heydel, 2009, p. 205).

1.5.1 The Background for DTS

There are several assumptions underlying Toury's approach that made it revolutionary at the time. Some of these assumptions remain in accord with the approach of Manipulation School approach, whereas some could be considered a novelty. First and foremost, Toury's starting point was translation in its environment, hence target culture, as he treated translations as "facts of the culture which hosts them" (1995, p. 24). Toury focused on the purposes of translation, translational actions, shapes that translations assumed, and procedures applied in the course of translating, viewing all those actions not as coincidental but strictly related to one another. Such a target-oriented approach was unusual at the time; as Toury points out, when he was developing his theory, the source-oriented approach prevailed, and the studies on translation focused mostly on such issues as translation criticism or teaching of translation (1995, p. 24). Toury presented an utterly different approach, stating that

there is nothing too perverse in claiming that a text's position (and function), including the position and function which go with a text being regarded as a translation, are determined first and foremost by considerations originating in the culture which hosts them. (1995, p. 26)

Toury notices that the application of the systemic view to translation implies that translation and original function within different systems and occupy various positions therein (1995, p. 26). Thus, translation functions and is affected by a different system than the original text; the relationship is reciprocal, and translation affects also its target system (1995, p. 27). Toury highlights that it is also the target system that starts the process of translation. As a rule, the action is motivated by certain lacks in the target culture and the necessity to eliminate them. Change is inscribed in the process of transfer as each transfer brings a modification to the target culture; for the subject of the transfer is a text that did not exist in the target culture before. Even if the text presents several translations, each new translation means a new element in the target culture as there are no two identical translations, even of the same text. It may happen that the subject of transfer will not be a text but a model – thus, either a body of texts sharing certain characteristics or one significant and highly valued text (1995, p. 27). Notably, the

change brought by texts does not have to be confined solely to the novelty of the text; translations might also not conform to the binding regulations – and they quite often do so. Toury views the roots of this breach in “retaining invariant at least some features of the source text” (1995, p. 28); however, this argument seems to be dangerously close to the notion of invariant core and, hence, should be disregarded or at least taken with a pinch of salt.

Another Toury’s postulate calls for the need for contextualisation of the investigated texts (1995, p. 29). In the process of contextualisation, any researcher should be aware of the complexity of the situation and should not assume that the language and culture are easily and straightforwardly related, as it may lead to making a mistake. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in the course of its ‘life’, translation may function in several contexts in the system. Toury claims that the most significant is the first one – “this is the only position which may be claimed to have actually governed its [translation] generation and the decisions made in its course” (1995, p. 30). The scholar claims that the first position of translation in the system can be pinpointed after careful research – or rather suggested, as Toury himself accepts the fact that this can be done only “with reasonable certainty” (1995, p. 30). The first position of a text is determined by taking into account elements such as the shape of the text, its relationship with the original, and the knowledge regarding applicable norms in translation. This postulate reveals the very tentative nature of Toury’s study – the original position of the text can be established only speculatively, while at the same time it is crucial to the investigation and determines a significant part thereof.

The notion of the assumed translation is also of utmost importance in Toury’s study. Toury discards any definition of translation, viewing that it “would involve an untenable pretense of fixing once and for all the boundaries of an object which is characterized by its very **variability**: *difference* across cultures, *variation* within a culture and *change* over time” (1995, p. 31; bold and italics by Toury). Therefore, the author replaces the definition of translation with the notion of assumed translation: hence, in his study, the translation becomes every text that is named translation (1995, p. 32). Toury argues that the notion of assumed translation allows the inclusion of research objects in accordance with reality instead of a definition and is flexible enough to be functional, not normative (1995, p. 33). The assumed translation implies also three strictly-connected postulates called the Source-Text Postulate, the Transfer Postulate, and the Relationship Postulate. The Source-Text Postulate assumes that there is (or was) a text that was created before translation and that served as its basis; the text itself is, however, not a viable part of the research (1995, pp. 33-34). The Transfer Postulate assumes that in order for translation to exist, a kind of transfer takes place and there are two texts that present the same

components (1995, p. 34). And finally, the Relationship Postulate assumes that the source and target texts have a relationship that is a result of the above-described transfer (1995, p. 35).

1.5.2 Norms in Translation

Toury's scientific interests focused on two strictly connected issues: translational norms and DTS. According to Toury, “‘translatorship’ amounts first and foremost to being able to *play a social role*, i.e. to fulfil a function allotted by a community . . . in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference” (1995, p. 53, italics by Toury). Hence, in order to be a translator, one needs to act in compliance with the applicable norms.

In the case of translation, the issue is even more complicated as the applicable norms are rooted in two or more cultures and speech: source- and target-text ones (Toury, 1995, p. 56). The norms applicable in the case of source text system and target text system will definitely vary, sometimes to the point that they will be in utter disagreement. Therefore, the decision between one or the other should be made; this decision constitutes the initial norm. If the source text norms are taken into consideration, the translated text will be created in accordance with the norms applicable in the source context. Toury calls this procedure “the pursuit of adequate translation” (1995, p. 56) and notices that this choice may result in disagreement between the translation and its new target system. The second option means the adoption of the target norms and a move towards the acceptability of translation rather than adequacy (1995, pp. 56-57). Toury claims that even if translation submits to the source norms, it will still entail shifts in the text in comparison with the original; however, the manner in which these shifts are realised is determined by the norms (1995, p. 57). None of the norms will yet act in a total manner – they are regularities rather than dominants.

Toury divides translational norms into two categories: preliminary norms and operational norms. Preliminary norms, which refer to the actions before very translational action, comprise two key issues: translation policy and directness of translation. The translation policy is connected with the influences on the decisions which texts should be translated. Toury notices that translation policies are not unified in a system but they may vary and may depend on the type of the text translated or even on a publisher (1995, p. 58). The directness of translation refers mostly to the issue of indirect translation: whether it is acceptable to translate on the basis of another translation, not the source text; which languages can act as mediators and which cannot; whether the indirect translation is overt or not, etc.

Operational norms, which govern the creation of text, are further divided into matricial norms and textual-linguistic norms. Matricial norms influence such aspects of translation as the

completeness of text (whether some parts are removed in the process or not), the division of the text into segments, and the placement of the parts of the text (whether parts thereof are relocated in comparison with the source text or not) (1995, pp. 58-59). Textual-linguistic norms decide on the shape of translation from the linguistic point of view. They can be divided into general, hence applicable to all text types, or particular, hence applicable only in certain cases (1995, p. 59). Toury states that “operational norms as such may be described as serving as a model, in accordance with which translations come into being” (1995, p. 60). Depending on the applicable initial norms, the model may be based on the source norms, target norms, or both. A chosen model serves as a guide for a translator, prompting which choices in translation are preferable and which are disregarded – or even forbidden. The scholar notices that if the initial norms point towards the source norms, the translational product does not fit into the target system; it is not compatible therewith (1995, p. 60). If the initial norms point toward target norms, the source text is deformed in such a way as to fit into the given frames. Therefore, “it is norms that determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested by actual translation” (Toury, 1995, p. 61).

Toury detects that there may be two main obstacles in any study of norms stemming from their very nature: their socio-cultural boundedness and the lack of stability (1995, pp. 61-62). The norms change depending on the socio-cultural context; even in one society, there may be numerous competing norms, active in different parts thereof. Furthermore, they also change—quickly or slowly but inevitably—over time. Translators also participate in the change of norms, attempting to actively influence the norms through the promotion of ideology (present also in the translation theory), participation in proper institutions, or translation criticism (1995, p. 62). As a result, according to Toury, at least three sets of norms can be usually found in a system: mainstream norms, hence the most popular ones; previous norms, which do not disappear suddenly but remain still active after being degraded from the position of mainstream norms; and new norms (1995, pp. 62-63). At this point, Toury goes back to his postulate for contextualisation, noticing that the norms can be marked properly only from the historical point of view – for instance, one cannot immediately categorise a norm as ‘a new norm’ until the time shows that the norm will survive and enter the mainstream (1995, pp. 63-64). Finally, if there is a normative behaviour, there surely must be also a non-normative one. And there is, however rare, as the punishment from the system may be acute and not many translators decide to take a risk (1995, p. 64).

Determining the translational norms may be even more difficult than it seems at the first glance, as the norms themselves are rarely put down and available in their pure form – what is

available is the product, the creation of which was governed by the norms. Toury indicates two starting points from which one may attempt at deriving the norms: textual and extratextual (1995, p. 65). Textual source is a collection of translations. Extratextual source comprises all translational activity but translational text; *ergo*, translation theories, translation criticism, opinions voiced by individuals participating in translation, etc. Toury warns that the extratextual source may be valuable but, at the same time, one should be careful in making use thereof, as it may be influenced by personal interests, propaganda, and subjective understanding of the process (1995, pp. 65-66).

1.5.3 Descriptive Research

Regarding DTS, Toury offers a set of directives on how to approach the study of translation rather than a strict tool. The scholar advises that the study should begin only with the text (or texts) of translation and be directed toward the issue of acceptability (1995, p. 71). The reason behind it is of psychological nature. If the study concerns solely assumed translations, the texts are treated as a part of the target system and they can be analysed without any preconceptions or expectations. However, once the source text enters the analysis, it seems difficult to look at translation as a separate and independent entity – it becomes “a representation of another text” (Toury, 1995, p. 71). Importantly, the lack of source text does not exclude the study from the realm of TS. Toury argues that such research already provides an amount of information on certain regulations applicable to translations and translations only, pointing toward varieties between native target texts and translated target texts.

Toury presents several possible configurations in DTS focusing solely on target texts. For instance, it is possible to compare translations of the same text which were created around a similar time and in the same language (1995, p. 72). This study seems to be the least difficult, yet finding the proper material may be challenging. A more difficult option is the one concerning the comparison between translations of the same text, created in the same language, but at various times (1995, p. 73). It is also possible to study translations of the same text but in various languages. Toury points, however challenging this study may be, that it might reveal which issues in translation depend on the linguistic and cultural boundedness and which are beyond these boundaries (1995, pp. 73-74).

Once the issue of acceptability is resolved, one may introduce the source text into analysis in order to investigate the relationship between the source text and its assumed translation (Toury, 1995, p. 74). Toury draws attention to the fact that it may happen that establishing which text is the right one will be more than arduous. For instance, the source text

may function in several versions; it may even function in several languages, e.g. because the author created the text in several languages or because one is dealing with the issue of mediated translations (1995, pp. 74-75). The choice of a proper source text is crucial and one should not assume directly that it was the original that served as one (1995, pp. 75-76). Toury notices that in the cases when a researcher has several candidates for a source text, its establishing should constitute a part of the proper study and, hence, should be described along with the categories that pointed the researcher toward one of the texts (1995, p. 74).

The issue of what should be compared is also discussed. Toury notices that the relation between the source and target text is usually established on a level lower than a complete body of texts. Therefore, the study is based on “a series of (ad hoc) coupled parts of replacing + replaced segments,” joined on the basis of translation problems and solutions, and “determining each other in a mutual way” (1995, p. 77). There is no rule regarding the portion of the text serving as the basis for comparison – even the lowest level items may appear to be significant (1995, p. 78). Furthermore, the replacing and the replaced segments do not have to be on the same level or the same size, as it might have happened that the text was either deleted or added in the process of translation (1995, pp. 78-79). Hence, Toury’s final description of the process of coupling is as follows:

the analyst will go about establishing a segment of the target text, for which it would be possible to claim that – beyond its boundaries – there are no leftovers of the solutions to a translation problem which is represented by one of the source text’s segments. (1995, p. 79).

Finally, Toury argues that one should remember that comparative analysis is never absolute; it is only possible to compare selected aspects. Furthermore, the aspects are not compared directly but by means of certain terms and concepts – therefore, the analysis should be supplied with an adequate theory (1995, p. 80). The choice of theory and compared aspects also determine the shape of the pairs of replacing and replaced segments. Hopefully, a significant amount of studied pairs should reveal regularities in their construction – hence, the underlying translation norms (1995, p. 81).

The ultimate goal is to grasp how translation is perceived and how it functions in a given systemic context. According to Toury, this process is based on discovering the rules governing the subsystem, but it is possible only once translation is viewed positively; thus, the traditional thinking about translation in terms of success and defeat is abandoned, or in other words, of what translation fails or succeeds to transfer from the source text (1995, pp. 84-85). Toury

moves towards the concept of invariance, claiming that what remains in both source and target texts should be closely and carefully researched and treated with utmost attention (1995, p. 85). Furthermore, the scholar argues that the equivalence in translation should be established on the basis of this invariant core. Equivalence is assumed, similarly as in the case of assumed translation – however, “what remains to be uncovered is only the way this postulate [of assumed equivalence] was actually realized, e.g. in terms of balance between what was kept invariant and what was transferred” (1995, p. 86).

1.5.4 Shortcomings of Toury’s Theory

There is a number of controversies with Toury’s theory. First and foremost, he uses concepts that have a long history in the discipline but have been at some point considered inadequate or overcomplicated. One of such concepts is the invariant or the invariant core. The term was first proposed by Anton Popovič and it represents “stable, basic and constant semantic elements in the text” (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 27). Hence, the idea is that even if numerous translators took up the same text, there would be semantic features common to all the translated texts. This implies the conviction regarding the ‘truth’ inscribed in the text. Such a belief discredits interpretation on the reader’s side and his or her influence on the text, which today is often regarded as an inherent part of the reading (Bassnett, 1980/1991, p. 84). What is more, in his dispute over norms, Toury leaves certain questions without answers. For instance, “who is ‘allowed’ by a culture to introduce changes and under what circumstances such changes may be expected to occur and/or be accepted” (1995, p. 64).

Hermans also points to the issue of ‘adequacy’ and ‘acceptability’ dichotomy (1997/2009, p. 76). He notices that Toury borrowed the concept from Even-Zohar, for whom Adequate Translation is “a reconstruction of all the pertinent textual relationships of the source text” (1997/2009, p. 76). However, as Hermans underlines, the use of adequate translation was discredited even before Toury wrote his book as it is impossible to reconstruct everything from the source text – only the source text itself can achieve that (1997/2009, p. 76). The author also notes the confusion around the concepts of ‘adequacy’ and ‘acceptability’, especially since Toury applies them in a non-standard manner (1997/2009, p. 77). Finally, Hermans raises objections against the issue of the initial norm and its dualistic nature, claiming that the problem is significantly more complex than presented and that more emphasis should be placed on a compromise between source and target norms as well as on the context, e.g. on the position of the source text, on the translational tradition, on the corresponding cases, on the target circumstances, etc. (1997/2009, p. 77).

Munday adds another argument to the discussion, which is based on his own research performed with the application of DTS methodology. Munday conducts a comparative analysis of two translations of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* written by J. K. Rowling (Italian and Spanish) and the original (2016, pp. 191-193). The analysis shows that the mapping of segments is “still far from systematic”⁶ (2016, p. 194). Munday also asserts that the study should place the emphasis less on the texts and more on the context – “the interaction between culture, ideology and text, and to look at the translators and publishing industry” (2016, p. 194).

Similar conclusions were drawn in the study of translational norms and patterns in the translation of sex-related vocabulary in the English to Polish translation of the erotic literature (Karpińska & Olejniczak, 2019). In the study, the authors combined the qualitative (comparative and descriptive) and quantitative (corpus-based) methods to investigate how sex-related vocabulary is translated. While the corpus of the analysed material was quite small—it comprised only three pairs of the source text and its translation—the results were indicative of a remarkable trend in favour of removing any marked vocabulary, either through a paraphrase or removal of the marked vocabulary. However, the authors conclude that the study did not allow them to make any assumptions—other than tentative hypotheses—regarding the nature and the source of such strong norms (Karpińska & Olejniczak, 2019, p. 231). One of the reasons behind such limited results is the fact that while the DTS paradigm notices the need for investigating the extratextual circumstances of text production, it does not offer any tools to perform such an investigation.

Anthony Pym also notices that even though Toury seems to be one of the first scholars to notice the human factor in translation research, there are no individuals actually included in his theory or his practice (1998, p. 108). Furthermore,

we still find insistence on norms as behavioural “regularities”, as something that might be accessible to sociological statistics and fingers that can count (not that, to my knowledge, Toury has even indulged in actual numbers – sociology is much easier to cite than to do) (1998, p. 108).

Furthermore, Pym undermines the legitimacy of the explanatory potential of norms, citing research by John Milton, who applied Toury’s concept of norm (1998, p. 110). Milton investigated the translation of popular literature from English to Portuguese in Brazil and his

⁶ Interestingly, Munday writes in the same paragraph that the study is replicable. It seems that these two claims should exclude each other.

research revealed a recurring pattern that could be treated as a norm – there was no correspondence between non-standard use of English and non-standard use of Portuguese. However, there appears to be an issue on the level of describing the norm in the proper sociocultural circumstances and assigning other variables thereto. Firstly, in 1994, Milton connected the norm encountered with censorship that was present in Brazil at the time. Yet, in his subsequent paper, Milton reinterprets the results of his study and assigns the norm to financial and time constraints imposed on the translator. Finally, Pym claims that when he recently had a private conversation with Milton and raised the topic, Milton suggested that perhaps the translations simply followed a model typical of native literature of the same kind.⁷ Therefore, once again it seems that even when the norm is established, further research provides more tentative claims and questions rather than factual answers.

Pym suggests that one should start research looking for ‘signs’—or instance, in reviews, translators’ prefaces, readers’ opinions, etc.—hence, exactly in the sources discredited by Toury (1998, p. 111). The ‘signs’ help to properly locate the research: they point toward the conflict or tensions that might have triggered the use of one norm over the other and they suggest which areas should be further explored by a researcher. As a result, “the centre of our interest . . . has now shifted from the nature of the norms themselves to the social confrontations in which they are, indeed, negotiated” (1998, p. 112). Pym claims that the shift from regularities to ‘oddities’ in a sense results in the proper study of translation: a study of change.

Finally, Andrew Chesterman criticises Toury’s overall understanding of norm, pointing out that Toury uses “a scale which ranges from relatively absolute rules to pure idiosyncrasies,” viewing the first as objective to human beings and the latter as subjective (1998, p. 92). Chesterman argues that applying the duality of subjectivity and objectivity is pointless as norms “are intersubjective if they are anything” (1998, p. 92).

1.5.5 Summary

It is worth noting that despite its shortcomings, Toury’s DTS created an enormous impact on TS and is still being explored. In 2008, Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni edited a book entitled *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies. Investigations in homage to*

⁷ Pym argues here that if it is the case, then we deal with target culture norms rather translation ones. However, if we ponder over this suggestion, the question to be raised is where is the border between target culture norms and translation norms. There is a multitude of textual elements present in both native and translated texts – even culture-bound items, including the foreign ones. Yet, if culture-bound items appear in the same form in translated and native texts, does it imply that the norm is not a translational one? I would like to argue here with Pym that these two norms may simply overlap and, thus, similarities between native and translated texts should not discredit a norm as translational one.

Gideon Toury. The book comprises articles such as “Arabic Plays Translated for the Israeli Hebrew Stage. A Descriptive-analytical Case study” (Amit Kochavi, 2008), applying both Toury’s and Even-Zohar’s methodology; “When a Text is Both a Pseudotranslation and a Translation. The Enlightening Case of Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441-1494)” by Andrea Rizzi, who makes use of the concept of pseudotranslation, heavily explored by Toury; or Anthony Pym’s “On Toury’s Laws of How Translators Translate.” What is more, the collection presents papers such as “Translators and (Their) Norms. Towards a Sociological Construction of the Individual” (Reine Meylaerts, 2008), presenting both DTS approach and Bourdieu’s concept of habitus; or “Translation Constraints and the ‘Sociological Turn’ in Literary Studies” (Denise Merkle, 2008), referring to Bourdieu’s theory. These papers show somehow natural development towards sociology.

1.6 Hermans’s Sociocultural Norms

Following Toury’s introduction of the concept of translational norm, numerous other scholars have taken up the issue. One of them was Theo Hermans, who investigated norms from the sociocultural perspective and saw the concept of the norm as a successor to the issue of equivalence (1996, p. 25).

1.6.1 Social Background

Hermans’s socio-cultural perspective implies viewing translation as an act inscribed in a specific socio-cultural environment. The emphasis is placed not on the impersonal system, as it was in most of the previously discussed theories, but on persons, since “translation involves a network of active social agents, who may be individuals or groups, each with certain preconceptions and interests” (Hermans, 1996, p. 26). Each of the social agents participating in the translational process enters it because they have certain motives and reasons to do so. Once a translation is commenced, it involves making various choices, applying different techniques, and fulfilling numerous objectives. Hermans views that these are all conditioned to some extent by norms.

The starting point is the process of transfer, which begins before the proper translation takes place. Hermans notices that translation is only one of the options allowing the transfer of cultural goods and information – besides translation, one may export or import untranslated source text, its description, review, adaptation, etc. (1996, p. 27). It is usually the target culture’s agent that commences the process of transfer and determines its mode, though it may be initiated on the part of the source culture as well. The form of transfer is established by a given

socio-cultural context – by the agents conducting transfer, technological restrictions, dominating political or ideological mood, involved relevant institutions, as well as distributors and producers. All these factors exist in one environment and are intertwined in power relations, as the process of intercultural transfer involves individuals and institutions functioning therein – “agents who are both conditioned by these power structures or at least entangled in them, and who exploit or attempt to exploit them to serve their own ends and interests, whether individual or collective” (1996, p. 27).

Norms become already relevant at this level. They direct choices regarding, for instance, the issues of export and import, the modes thereof, or the very process of translation (Hermans, 1996, p. 28). However, their reign is not totalitarian; there are also other factors at play, such as the target system itself and its relationship with the source system. Moreover, norms seem to be more relevant on the level of proper translation – they help the translator to decide how to translate, which techniques and strategies to apply, and which options are preferable. Hermans paints even quite overdramatic picture, claiming that “if it were not [for norms], translators faced with a source text, however short and simple, would either be unable to opt for one solution rather than another and throw their hands in despair, or make entirely random decisions, like a computer gone haywire” (1996, p. 28).

1.6.2 From Convention to a Decree

Hermans roots his theory of norms in the communicative approach. The translation is viewed as communication, whereas communication could be defined as “a form of social behaviour,” in which it is necessary for both (or more) parties to cooperate (1996, p. 29). Yet, wherever there is communication, there are also communicational issues – to which norms and the like constitute remedy.

Firstly, there are conventions. Conventions appear as somehow imperative remedies to certain issues that occurred more or less regularly in the communication between the parties (Hermans, 1996, p. 29). If they solve the issues in question, they become commonly applied by the parties in the reappearing situation; hence, they are created on the basis of habitual social activity. Conventions exist if they are widely known and consented to by all parties. There is also a mutual expectation involved in the course of social activity; if we behave in one way, we expect another party to respond correspondingly (1996, p. 30). Therefore, as a result, conventions point individuals toward preferable behaviours in a given situation, making, at the same time, other behaviours unattractive. They are what makes communication possible to foresee.

If a convention is particularly successful, i.e. it resolves the communicational issues effectively and holds for an extended period of time, then “the expectation . . . that a certain course of action will be adopted in a certain type of situation may grow beyond a mere preference, i.e. beyond a preferential and probabilistic expectation, and acquire a binding character” (Hermans, 1996, p. 30); the convention becomes a norm.

Norms can be viewed as ‘grown-up’ conventions. They share the roots, hence they both exist because there are commonly known and consented to; mutual expectations appear as well. However, in the case of norms, one can already observe their internalisation by individuals (Hermans, 1996, p. 30). Furthermore, norms have a ‘mission’ – they aim to inform, restrict, and influence. The modality changes, as if in the case of sentence transformation, in which someone changed the modal verb *may* or *could* into *should* or *ought to*.⁸

Norms have a significant influence on a person by presenting possible behaviours and implying which are preferable, and simultaneously restricting the choice and excluding other possibilities (Hermans, 1996, p. 31). They may work either positively, i.e. by praising behaviour induced by the norm, or negatively, i.e. by punishing behaviour that goes against the norm. If one does not follow a norm, the punishment is not particularly tough. Following a norm is always a choice, hence even if one does not follow it, it does not imply that the norm in question is invalid; “provided that breaches do not occur persistently and on a large scale without any effective sanction, norms are able to cope with a relatively large amount of discrepant behaviour” (Hermans, 1996, p. 31).

Hermans argues that there are two types of norms in translation – constitutive and regulative (1996, p. 42). Constitutive norms constitute what texts are considered translations; they set boundaries between translations and other types of texts such as “creative writing, imitation, adaptation, plagiarism, burlesque, etc.” (1996, p. 42). Regulative norms, on the other hand, constitute the notion of the correct translation. Hence, they inform on what translators can and cannot do in order to succeed in their performance of the translational task.

Once norms stop being a preference and become an obligation, they transform into rules (Hermans, 1996, pp. 31-32). Rules are usually not dependent on internalisation and unwritten common agreement to follow a certain pattern of behaviour, but they are marshalled and exerted by various institutions. If the consequences of obeying or contesting the rule are the only motivation to follow the said rule, then the rule becomes a decree. Decrees are always

⁸ To illustrate the issue, compare the following sentences: “You may thank your hosts for the meal, it is considered a good behaviour” and “You ought to thank your hosts for the meal, it is considered a good behaviour.”

established officially by a state and bring about severe punishment for breaching them (Hermans, 1996, p. 32).

1.6.3 Specifics of Sociocultural Norms

Frequently, there is more than one norm applicable in a given situation; it is especially visible in situations that occur for the first time and when there is no clear pattern for one to follow (Hermans, 1996, p. 34). If there is more than one norm applicable, it is up to an individual with the decision-making capacity to choose which norm should govern. Hermans points out that such choice is commonly motivated by other (even external) circumstances and likens these practical choices to Bourdieu's habitus. This is not the only use of Bourdieu's theory in Hermans's work. What is more, Hermans claims "that norms and rules are social realities, involving not just individuals, groups and communities but also the power relations within these communities" (Hermans, 1996, p. 35). Such a socio-cultural view on translation is supposed to be in agreement with numerous other works and, therefore, "it does not greatly matter whether one thinks of this context in terms of a 'system' in the sense of systems theory or in terms of, say, a 'field', such as the field of cultural production in Bourdieu's sense" (Hermans, 1996, p. 35).

The abundance of norms can be explained by the complexity of the environment in which they function. Various norms imply various stances and options; they may be applied depending on the aims or wishes of an individual (Hermans, 1996, p. 36). The possible variety also entrenches two other conclusions: firstly, if there are so many norms, the modification of the pool of norms is possible at all times; and secondly, the possibility of modification and stratification of norms imply their strong connection to power relations. Furthermore, it can be observed that norms are imposed by individuals, groups or institutions that hold power in a given field.

Norms imply what is correct in a given society – what is positive and desired (Hermans, 1996, p. 36). Therefore, they are the bearers of values. Values will not be effective unless they are commonly agreed upon and internalised. This is why education becomes a key element in the reproduction of norms. In order to be easily assimilated, norms are usually taught as models or patterns. If one wants to function effectively within a given socio-cultural context, the adoption of norms appears to be a necessity (p. 37). However, as it was already highlighted, norms do not possess a total control over an individual; it is viable to defy. Nevertheless, the price to pay for such behaviour may be high.

Finally, let us take a look at the possible implications of applying Hermans's norms to translation. In this approach, "translating 'correctly' . . . amounts to translating accordingly to the prevailing norm, and hence in accordance with the relevant, canonized models" (Hermans, 1996, p. 37). The acquisition of norms takes place through the educational process, thus it is performed by universities, other higher education instances, or translation facilities. This entrenches the stability of norms to some degree, which is in the interest of norm-governing entities. Regarding the content of translational training, Hermans follows Lefevere and claims that translators are taught to follow dominant 'poetics', defined here as "a set of principles and practical rules for 'good writing', and a set of examples of good practice" (1996, p. 38). This, however, does not mean that dominant poetics will be applied in every single translation, as there may be groups that will promote other poetics, hence promoting other norms and values. Agents functioning in the system navigate through different options also to fulfil their own interests. Furthermore, in the case of translation, there are at least two sets of norms that are in power – those of the source culture and those of the target one as well. Translation is a product based on a text created in a different time and different socio-cultural context, therefore, it is not inscribed solely in one system; it will signal its difference to the received, "as the systemic 'otherness' of the source is unlikely to be wiped out altogether in translation" (Hermans, 1996, p. 38).

Such an approach sheds also finally some light on the person of the translator and gives him or her some power, which lies in the fact that, potentially, only the translator possesses adequate linguistic competences to understand the content he or she is to translate (Hermans, 1996, p. 38). The relation of trust on the one side and loyalty on the other must be built. Hermans notices that the issue is particularly visible in the case of interpretation. He quotes a historical example of Columbus, but in order to acknowledge the power held by the translator or interpreter, one may ponder over the case of the modern court translations.

According to Hermans, establishing which norms influenced and shaped translation is a crucial part of the research on translation (1996, p. 39). The analysis pinpointing the applied models and decisions taken up during the translational process possibly allows the researcher to establish how translators approached the norms and which strategies they consequently used, what they aimed at, and what they were averting. Furthermore, Hermans points to the usefulness of other translational actions—such as critique, whether professional or not, comments made by persons involved in the process, e.g. translators or publishers—as these also inform on the applicable norms.

1.6.4 Critical Comments on the Sociocultural Norms

Chesterman views that Hermans's theory of norms is flawed at its very roots as Hermans understands norms as behavioural reappearing patterns. Chesterman argues that these two are not the same and they should be carefully distinguished (1998, p. 92). The scholar also emphasises that one of the common issues in TS is 'strategies' – the term often applied by Hermans in his work. Chesterman argues that translation strategies are not well-studied, comprehended, or properly introduced to TS (1998, p. 96). Hence, the involvement of an underdeveloped term may possibly create further confusion and requires further inquiry. Finally, Chesterman views that the course taken up by Hermans in his theoretical work deepens the already existing gap between theory and practice in TS. He comments that:

there is a real danger here, that Translation Studies risks becoming too much of an inward looking activity, a kind of mutual citation club, too concerned with its own status as academic discipline and not concerned enough with the real processes at the messy grassroots of life in a big translation company. (Chesterman, 1998, p. 97)

Perhaps, such movement toward finesse was legitimate when TS fought for its existence in the scholarly universe; however, now, indeed, it brings the risks of TS becoming more philosophical discourse rather than research on practice.

Interestingly, Chesterman, in his discussion on further research in TS, notices that the role of the translator as an agent has been neglected so far (1998, p. 93). Chesterman refuses the viability of research focusing on translator's visibility (perhaps referring to Venuti's work from 1995) and claims that research in TS should instead be "focusing on external, sociological issues, such as pay, working conditions, public image and status, professional organisations, etc." (1998, p. 93).

In his reaction paper, Pym criticises not so much certain aspects of the theory presented by Hermans, but his overall work, arguing—similarly to Chesterman but in more harsh words—that it is a strange theoretical meander, unrelated to reality and proposing hypotheses that are impossible to either confirm or falsify. Pym ends with the following bitter words – "sorry, but I preferred the doubting Theo Hermans who once wanted to check such things" (1998, p. 109).

1.6.5 Summary

Hermans himself claims one should not expect straightforward and clear results from the study of norms as translation is a part of an intricate system (culture), which in turn is a part of another,

even more sophisticated construction (society) (1996, p. 39). Additionally, translation belongs to more than one system, which further complicates the matter. Thus, one should “expect to find a variety of competing, conflicting and overlapping norms and models which pertain to a whole array of other social domains” (1996, p. 39). Especially that the set of norms is not given once and for all but is a subject of dynamic changes as it is part of power relations that involve constant struggles and fights for domination (1996, p. 40). Hermans’s theory presents a step further towards the inclusion of social sciences and its achievements into translation theory. Nevertheless, it is also unclear, highly structured and impractical. Perhaps it should be treated as a theoretical experiment rather than an applicable tool in the study of translation.

1.7 Andrew Chesterman’s Norms

Andrew Chesterman is one of the scholars that started exploring the issue of norms soon after their popularisation by Toury. His critique comments can be found in the section on Hermans’s theory as he was one of its faultfinders. Chesterman himself was not part of the Manipulation School but later he became one of CETRA professors, which implies close links between his works and the works of the Manipulation School. In his theory of norms, he refers to Toury quite often – however, the changes introduced by Chesterman actually reveal the weaknesses of the norms theory, including its prescriptivity, high subjectivity, and internal disagreements.

1.7.1 General Descriptive Laws of Translation Behaviour

To begin with, Chesterman proposes the so-called ‘general descriptive laws of translation behaviour’ (1993/2017a, p. 168). These would be a step forward from the previously proposed laws and norms as Chesterman refuses to focus solely on literary translations as his predecessors did. He claims that “general descriptive laws of translation behaviour could be set up . . . for any and every kind of translator, however competent, and for any kind of translation” (1993/2017a, p. 168).

What is implied here is that it would not be significant whether a translator would be a professional with years of experience or not, whether a translation would be literary, medical, certified, etc., and whether it would be deemed proper or not. The only restriction, similarly to the previously discussed theories, is that the text must be deemed translation – however, it is the translator this time who possesses this ‘name-calling’ ability. Chesterman notices that it may happen that the audience will not accept the text as translation; then, “the translation status of the text is in dispute” (1993/2017a, p. 168). The discussed laws would not state what happens

in translation but what could happen in translation if specific circumstances are fulfilled (1993/2017a, p. 169).

Interestingly, Chesterman also undermines his own argument that it is necessary to consider all translations, suddenly claiming that the knowledge of general descriptive laws must be supplemented by distinguishing good and bad translations, judging on translator's behaviour, and establishing what is good and professional (1993/2017a, p. 169). In sum, "translation theory, if it is to take the form of a theory of translation behaviour, must include both a descriptive and an evaluative element" (1993/2017a, p. 170).

Chesterman overlooks at this point one crucial question – why? What does the evaluative element offer (besides evaluation)? Why is it necessary and is it truly necessary? As this brief description of his theory will soon prove, this is not the only prescriptive or regulatory element in his work; an element that is not properly explored by the author but that, at the same time, reveals previously concealed weaknesses of norm theories.

1.7.2 Norms in Translation

Besides laws, Chesterman distinguished also norms (though the division between these two does not seem to be properly explained). In his understanding of norms, Chesterman follows Bartsch and views them "as the 'social reality' or 'correctness notions'" (1993/2017a, p. 170). Same as Hermans, Chesterman acknowledges that there are two conditions in order for a norm to function: it must be known and it must be internalised. Its functions are strikingly similar as well: norms point where to draw the line between what is acceptable and what is not, but they also make social contacts easier and more predictable (p. 171). What is different is that the author views the norms in question as "a subclass of technical norms" that can be further divided into "(a) production norms, having to do with the methods and processes; and (b) product norms, having to do with the form of the end – results of processes" (Chesterman, 1993/2017a, p. 171). This division is reflected in the two classes of norms introduced by Chesterman, as discussed below.

Norms need to be validated. There are two sources of the validation of norms: the authority with proper power or simply the fact that the norm exists (1993/2017a, p. 171). Chesterman presents the validation of norms with precise rules, first established by Raz (1975):

A valid norm . . . exists to the effect that x ought to do H under condition C in society S if and only if the following conditions hold:

1. Most members of S regularly do H under C.

2. If somebody does not comply with the rule [i.e. norm], he or she will be criticized by other members of S and such criticism will be looked on as justified by other members of S, such that this criticism is not criticized by them.

3. Members of S refer to the rule [norm] by expressions like “An x should do H when C,” or “It is a rule [norm] that x ought to do H when C” in order to justify their actions, or demands made of others, or criticism of behaviour” (as cited in Chesterman, 1993/2017a, p. 171).

Such strict, almost math-like formulation appears to be quite odd in the context of a social phenomenon, which typically tends to have blurred boundaries and escape thinking in black and white categories. Furthermore, the confusion arises as Chesterman suddenly introduces the term ‘rule’, which is supposed to be a norm.

To distinguish the two sources of validation, let us consider the example of talking on the phone. If one talks on the phone in the hospital, one violates the norm established and written down by proper authorities and risks not only being criticised but also receiving a fine. This is an example of a norm validated by proper authority. However, if one talks on the phone during a social event, such as a wedding, one risks only being heavily criticised; we do not talk on the phone during weddings because we know that it is considered to be a rude and disrespectful behaviour. Yet, there are no norm authorities in this case; this norm is simply validated by its existence. Chesterman points out that it is possible for a norm to be jointly validated by these two sources. This is the case when, for instance, a norm set up by a proper authority validates an already common behaviour (1993/2017a, p. 172).

However, before norms can be validated, they first need to come into existence. According to Chesterman, there are two sources from which norms come into existence. The first one is translators – yet not any translators, only “competent professional translators” (1993/2017a, p. 173). The other one pertains to translated texts – however, not any translated texts but only those that are texts of high quality and have presumably been translated “by competent professional translators.”

This, again, reveals the utmost prescriptivism of the norm approach. If we were to accept Chesterman’s stance fully, it would imply that we do not investigate reality but a kind of a ‘desired’ reality. For instance, let us imagine that there are two groups of translators – one group translates culture-bound items using transfer without explanation (and this group is significantly more numerous than the other one), whereas the other translates them by using the recognised equivalent. Chesterman’s approach applied, one could still claim that only the latter group

comprises “competent professional translators” and that the translation norm is to translate culture-bound items with recognised equivalents, thus completely ignoring the first group that is a majority and that, in fact, establishes the norm as well.

1.7.3 The Professional and the Expectancy Norms

Chesterman distinguishes two types of norms – professional and expectancy norms. In general, “professional norms are the norms constituted by **competent professional behaviour**” (1993/2017a, p. 173, bold mine). As they are related to the process of production of translations, they correspond to the aforementioned production norms. Professional norms can be further divided into the accountability norm, the communication norm, and the relation norm (1993/2017a, pp. 173-174). The accountability norm implies that whoever hires and remains in a professional relationship with the translator may rely on his or her loyalty. The communication norm means that the translator should do everything in his or her power to ensure effective communication between the parties for whom he or she mediates. Furthermore, the communication should not be distorted in any way. The relation norm states that the translator should pay attention to the link between the source and target texts. The relation norm appears to be an odd mixture of DTS and functionalism, as Chesterman claims that “the nature of this relation – the type and degree of equivalence, in other words – is determined by the translator on the basis of his or her understanding of the intentions of the original author and/or commissioner, the type and skopos of the text, and the nature of the prospective readership” (1993/2017a, p. 174). Chesterman points out that there are two sources of professional norms – they are established by both practice (hence their very existence) and relevant authorities.

Expectancy norms are related to what is expected of translation by its readership, ergo they are in a way superior to professional norms (1993/2017a, p. 174). Unlike professional norms, they are validated solely by their presence; a norm-governing authority is very rare (p. 175). The aim of the translator—however, according to Chesterman, only a professional one—is to recognise expectancy norms and comply thereto. Professional and expectancy norms are closely linked as “it is in thus seeking to meet the expectancy norms as adequately as possible that the translator de facto conforms to the professional norms” (Chesterman, 1993/2017a, p. 175).

In the context of expectancy norms, Chesterman makes one more prescriptive excursion. Chesterman criticises the audience for not expecting enough – “unfortunately, it may be well that such expectations are not very high, given the daunting quantity of badly written texts that translators themselves are the first to complain about” (1993/2017a, p. 175). Accordingly,

Chesterman argues that expectancy norms should take into account only more sublime expectations relating “to good native texts, not just any native texts or even most native texts” (1993/2017a, p. 175). Again, the theory becomes an ideology, aiming at the prescriptive regulation rather than a reflection of the reality.

1.7.4 Translation Strategies

Laws and norms are closely linked to strategies. When the translator is confronted with a translation problem, certain options come to his or her mind as remedies thereto. The translator applies what he or she thinks is best in the given circumstances (1993/2017a, p. 178). Chesterman paraphrases the Rationality Principle and claims that the process of translator’s choice may be again described with a math-like precision – “if the context is C, and the goal is G, a rational thing to do is A” (1993/2017a, p. 178). Applying the rule to translation context, one could say that the context comprises such elements as the original text, the agreement that the translator entered, the target language, or the audience of translation. The goal of the translator is a translation product that will not violate the aforementioned norms. A rational act is an applicable translation strategy.

Chesterman lists five reasons that may serve to expound on why certain strategies are chosen over others (1993/2017a, pp. 181-182). The first explanation is the source text – the use of a given strategy is triggered by the existence of certain features in the source text. The second is the target language norms; therefore, applying certain strategies is a means to conform to expectancy norms. The third explanation is the existence of normative translation laws. The fourth and the fifth explanations are general communication maxims and ethical values respectively, both related to professional norms.

Interestingly, even if a significant number (or most) of the translators decide to apply a given strategy in certain circumstances, it is nothing more than “a probabilistic law of translation behaviour” (Chesterman, 1993/2017a, p. 178). It becomes “a normative law” only if it “turns out to be regularly used by competent professional translators” (1993/2017a, p. 178). Normative laws (which, as Chesterman suggests, are the laws most worth studying) belong to a more general group of descriptive translation laws but they are representing the practice of the highest quality and professionalism (1993/2017a, p. 178). Chesterman explains his idea of laws, norms, and strategies on the example that is best quoted (all bolds mine, italics by Chesterman):

Let us assume that there is a kind of professional translation norm, derived from the communicative norm, to the effect that: *in certain text types, source-language culture-bound terms should be expanded or explained in translation*. This professional norm is governed by the expectancy norm which states that readers do not expect unknown concepts in a text of this type. There might even be a general descriptive law of translation behaviour to the effect that, say, 70% of translators tend to explain culture-bound terms in such texts and 30% tend not to. Obviously, the 70% that do are following the norm: consequently they are **better** translators in terms of this parameter. But general descriptive laws cannot neglect the existence of **less good** translators who do not follow this norm, **perhaps because they are not aware of it**. A normative translation law would state that, say, **99.9%** of competent professional translators do follow this norm; and indeed this is why we know it *is* a norm, this is how it is validated. (1993/2017a, p. 179)

This may perhaps be one of the most prescriptive statements in the theory of norms; however, at the same time, it is highly relevant in this theoretical discussion. By introducing slight changes in the norm theory, Chesterman lays bare the prescriptive, previously concealed nature of norm theories. The lack of proper reflection over the inscribed values, institutionalisation, internalisation and introduction of norms is now made visible. Norms allow for fairly easy manipulation, showing not the social reality as it is but as one wants it to be and may become an active tool in the power struggles between various authorities.

1.7.5 Summary

After a couple of years, Chesterman focused again on the issue of norms in translation, noticing that the term ‘norm’, which has become now widely recognised within the field of TS, may be variously understood. He distinguishes two main understandings: the first one identifies norms with general trends taking place, “the idea of what is ‘normal’” (2006/2017b, p. 186). There are no values inscribed in this view of norms, it simply serves to show the reality as it is. The second sense is the one already discussed in this section, meaning the norms that imply what should be. Chesterman claims that it is the second understanding of norms that is worth studying and that may bring results that will be valuable to TS. However, as it was demonstrated in this part, norms in such understanding may become an ideological tool – and should be, perhaps, best avoided. At the same time, norms as tools for investigating reality do not exclude investigation of values, social activities and movements, ideologies, etc.; nevertheless, one should be careful

not to transgress a very thin line between investigating norms, and values and ideologies therein, and between making norms a tool in their own ideological fight.

1.8 Conclusion

Below, there is a graph presenting the development of TS as discussed by Genzler (2014). Each of the periods is supplemented with several theories typical of the given temporal framework and displaying the characteristics provided by Genzler:

Figure 1.1

The Classification of Chosen Theories According to the Periods of Discipline by Genzler (2014)



Source: own study, PK.

Firstly, the graph indicates that the discussed periods overlap with each other and their boundaries are not clear-cut. I would like to argue that while Toury's translation norms from 1995 belong to the discourse typical for the period of 'discipline', Lefevere's rewriting theory first published in 1982 already presents characteristics of the interdisciplinary period. What is more, even though "The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies" (Bassnett, 1998) and "Translation Practice(s) and the Circulation of Cultural Capital: Some Aeneids in English" (Lefevere, 1998) were published in the same book edited by Bassnett and Lefevere, I would like to put forward an argument that while Bassnett's article is one of the milestones for the cultural turn in TS and a manifestation of cultural turn (hence, interdisciplinary period), Lefevere's text is one of the first steps toward the period of post-discipline.

Secondly, the graph illustrates how the explored theories are all intertwined with each other and developed on the basis of each other. Even-Zohar formed his thought on the basis of Russian Formalism; both Toury and Lefevere worked first with Even-Zohar and were heavily influenced by him and his system theory when they started working on their concepts; Hermans created his sociocultural norms as an answer to Toury's work, etc. While the scholars attempt to overcome the shortcomings in the theories of their predecessors, the intense need for cooperation with other disciplines is becoming more and more conspicuous. More and more is being borrowed from relevant disciplines, such as cultural studies, gender studies or sociology, yet it seems that while one issue becomes resolved, two more ones arise in its place, including the increasing abstractness of theories and the growing distance between theories and practice.

The next chapter continues the argument unfolded here. It is demonstrated that Bourdieu's field theory possesses numerous characteristics typical of TS system theories as well; hence the link between TS and sociology is indicated in order to justify the transfer of Bourdieu's field theory. The following chapter also explores how Bourdieu's work can work in order to answer the needs of TS and overcome difficulties displayed and discussed in this chapter, including the growing abstract nature of theories as well as the increasing disassociation of theory from practice.

The works that could be assigned to the sociological turn in TS are not discussed at length in this part of the thesis. Relevant research on the translator's status, translator's *habitus*, the hierarchy of the capitals, and more, is cited and discussed in the analytical part of the thesis. The articles presenting Bourdieu's theory from the perspective of TS are not discussed here at length either, as the choice has been made to use solely the primary sources, i.e. the works of Bourdieu, instead. However, the discussion concerning the theoretical works, the sociological perspective offered by TS and the application of Bourdieu's field theory to translation may be found in the chapter "The Sociological Turn in Translation Studies and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology: A Case of Convergence or Divergence?" (Karpińska, 2019).

Chapter 2: Pierre Bourdieu and the Field Theory

2.0 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to present the figure of Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most famous and influential French sociologists. I would also like to bring closer his ideas and discuss in more detail his field theory. This part starts with a section explicating some of the general assumptions of Bourdieu's theory by emphasising some of the dualities present in social (and not only) sciences, e.g. micro and macro, objective and subjective, etc. Through presenting Bourdieu's views on subjectivity and objectivity in research, I would like to put forward an argument that his ideas can prove beneficial for TS as they attempt at overcoming some of the obstacles that are significant to TS as well.

What follows is a section on the main and original Bourdieu's concepts, including field, *habitus*, capitals, *illusio* and *doxa*. Bourdieu preferred to introduce his ideas based on his research and to reduce the theoretical apparatus to the minimum; however, considering that sociological ideas are quite new to TS, it is perhaps best to discuss them at the beginning to ensure their clarity and to agree on their meaning. It seems especially significant as some of Bourdieu's concepts may give rise to common associations (e.g. *habitus* with 'habit' or *illusio* with 'illusion'), whereas the author himself stated firmly that such associations lead to misguided assumptions regarding his ideas and that the roots for his concepts and their names are different.

Further sections of this chapter present the field theory and its applicability. Firstly, there is a section demonstrating how the field theory can be used in the analysis of texts (fictional and non-fictional) to reconstruct the underlying structure and the existing net of relations. It is performed on the basis of *Sentimental Education* written by Gustave Flaubert. Secondly, Bourdieu's analysis of the literary field in France is referred to in order to demonstrate how the key concepts work and how the analysis of both social events and texts is performed. The analysis comprises such elements as the historical and social circumstances of the field emergence, the organising structures, and the current state of affairs and its relation to past events (especially constant reproduction of organising oppositions and an attempt at concealing the structures). These two sections serve as an introduction to the field theory and the field analysis, yet their aim is to present in short a sociological analysis as well since it is not such a standard tool in TS.

The next two sections present the applied methodology and relate it to TS. The sixth section presents the characteristics typical of all fields. This part is written on the basis of Bourdieu's *The Rules of Art*, yet after Bourdieu investigated numerous other fields, for instance, the academic field, the social field, or the legal field. It concerns processes and elements that appear to be common to all investigated structures such as the relations with other fields (especially the field of power), field boundaries, investment in the field, positions and dispositions, the autonomy of the field, social trajectories, *habitus* and more. They are discussed not only in terms of the literary field but also other structures investigated by Bourdieu. This section served as a guide in designing my own study on the sworn translators as it emphasises what research questions should be posed and what should be examined in the course of a similar study.

What follows is the discussion concerning the potential issues or 'traps' that await a researcher who attempts at investigating not only the field but perhaps any social structures. Such traps are, for instance, 'the addressee trap' (related to works of art and the problems with the audience and including them in research as potentially key in creating a text); 'the isolation trap' (dealing with the issue of performing sociological analysis without including enough context therein); or 'the ideological trap' (pointing out that the theories are carriers to different ideologies and whenever a theory is applied, it should not be followed blindly); and others. All discussed traps are related to TS and illustrated using some of the issues encountered in the field.

This chapter concludes with a section summing up Bourdieu's criticism of early literary studies. It is particularly relevant as many of the theories openly criticised by Bourdieu served as the basis for the building of TS, and either their traces or even the whole paradigms function in TS till this day. In this part, I mention and discuss several TS theories and their drawbacks from the point of view presented by Bourdieu (e.g. translation as a communication process).

2.1 The General Assumptions of Bourdieu's Theory

Bourdieu was (and perhaps still is, even after so many years) often perceived as a scholar going against the current. From the beginning, his work aimed at overcoming various oppositions and differences present in social sciences. Firstly, he wanted to create a set of notions that could be used in research in numerous disciplines; hence his goal was to propose work that would be interdisciplinary at its very core. It is now reflected in the popularity of his theory, which is still being applied not only in TS, but also in media studies, journalism, education, and other humanistic sciences. Secondly, Bourdieu tried to overcome certain dichotomies that seem to be

typical not only for social sciences but for other disciplines as well, such as subjectivity and objectivity, theory and practice, macroperspective and microperspective, material and symbolic plains, or individual and structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 8-9); the field theory is an embodiment of his attempt at doing so. It is a set of different tools, which is supposed to be applicative in various areas and transferable, yet remains quite simple in its nature to avoid becoming an overgrown theoretical apparatus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 10).

I would like to present the case of subjectivity and objectivity, as it plays a crucial role in sociology, but also in TS and linguistics as well. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 11-13) argues that the strength of the objective analysis of the society lies in its ability to investigate the object from the ‘outside’, in performing the rupture with the view of the object that is held on the everyday basis. The rupture allows noticing patterns—relationships between subjects—that remain invisible otherwise. With proper tools, it is then possible to reconstruct the patterns, notice their repeatability, and understand the organising rules. However, if solely an objective analysis takes place, then a significant portion of information remains out of the researcher’s reach; it results from the fact that objective analysis suggests that structures act on their own, make decisions and behave as if they were human beings. A human being remains hidden in the objective analysis, and so is his or her understanding of the investigated structures. Any conclusion regarding individual actions and relations is based solely on the interpretation and projection of the researcher. Hence, the objective analysis must be supplemented with subjective understandings and points of view of individuals entangled within the structure. The structure exists objectively, but it also exists subjectively in the minds of agents, and its subjective existence cannot be ignored. If the subjective goes unnoticed, a researcher will not be able to grasp the perception patterns or value systems.

On the other hand, it is important not to give too much significance to the individual and his or her perception. The key is to notice that objective structure and subjective understanding—structure and individual—are not in opposition but complement each other, and both need to be considered in order to investigate deeply any social plain. The complementation is reflected, for instance, in the correspondence between the mental and the social structures, meaning that the social patterns are reflected in the minds of the society participants (such as the rules dictating divisions between different fields and groups). Furthermore, Bourdieu claims that one’s cognition and categories that he or she applies, including their hierarchy and importance, are also rooted in the social system (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 14-17). He even argues that in the modern world the agreement

between the objective and the subjective structures is stronger than ever before, which is due to the educational system (Bourdieu & Wacqaunt, 1992/2001, p. 17).

Subjective structures are the result of being under the constant pressure of given social circumstances. The pressure results in the ‘imprint’ on the minds of everyone involved, internalisation of the outside world and its rules. The internalisation is further reflected in the *habitus*, which could be called ‘secondary level objectivism’, as it is a display of objective structure after its internalisation (more on the *habitus* and related concepts below). Bourdieu notices that the structures do not perform only the cognitive function; they also serve to maintain control. Hence, their hidden aim is to organise society in such a way as to revolve around given values, categories and hierarchies. Because ideologies are concealed as shared cognitive patterns and, thus, they are widely accepted as well, the promoted order is further fossilised and appears to be a necessity and only suitable option. They also become subject to the fight for power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 18).

Hence, as demonstrated above, Bourdieu focused not on any side of the contradictory pair, which he found superficial, but on the relationship between them. His approach is also reflected in the field theory, in which he emphasises the oppositions, the relations between them and the relations between the positions, dispositions and individuals in the field.

2.2 Key Concepts: Field, *Habitus* and Capital

Bourdieu introduced the notion of the field to avoid the opposition between the internal and the external, which repeatedly appeared in the sociological studies and the studies on the products of culture (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 277). By introducing the field, Bourdieu wanted to depart from structuralism and its way of thinking in order to promote a more relational approach. This act was inspired by the works of Russian Formalists (1992/2001, p. 278, see also section 1.3 on polysystem theory). Bourdieu himself considered the first attempts at applying his own notion to be failures to a large degree, especially his first study of the intellectual field. By focusing on the subjective level of relations between persons involved, he did not notice at first the underlying objective net of relations between positions and dispositions that structured the investigated personal relations. He noticed the ‘second plane’ only in his study of religious objects. After that, Bourdieu’s main aim was to investigate numerous various fields in order to reveal the structures and to confirm that they were to a certain degree universal, only differently realised (1992/2001, pp. 278-279). After conducting multiple studies, Bourdieu recommends treating each one of the fields as a special case, an individual realisation of more general

mechanisms and forms because fields change and differ depending on their cultural and social context⁹ and time (1992/2001, p. 281).

In short, a field is a net of relations between different positions existing in the social space. Each of the positions is related to a specific form of capital. The order prevails not only objectively on the outside but also on the inside; it is internalised by the participating individuals and assumes the form of *habitus*. *Habitus* can be observed on the outside, as it constitutes the patterns of thinking and acting (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 20). Below, I refer to each of the three concepts that constitute the field theory separately.

Bourdieu argues that society is not a homogenous construct; quite the opposite, it consists of numerous spaces that follow different rules, present different cultures, perform different functions, create different conflicts and establish different authorities (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 20). Each of these independent spaces is called a field, for instance, the economic field, political field, intellectual field, etc. The boundaries of one field are reflected in the range of the applicability of its order; hence the field reaches as far its rules and values. What is more, the field determines the understanding and perception of the actors inside it, as it possesses the power to deform and reform the outside events and pressures. It acts similarly to the prism: everything that falls inside the field is changed in accordance with the field's structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 21). The more independent the field is, the stronger the change (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 88).

The metaphor of the prism is not the only metaphor that can be used to explain the functioning of the field; it can also be perceived in terms of the battlefield. All actors participate in the struggle for power. Power is deposited in the form of capital, which is specific for each field. The one who possesses power—hence, the desired capital or the capital in the desired constellation—may either preserve the existing order and values or may change it. The results in the hierarchy have further repercussions, as they may change the borders of the field (e.g. to include or to exclude someone) or they may influence the relationship with other fields, especially with the field of power, which is the most significant of all fields. Therefore, a field is a dynamic and ever-changing social structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 21).

Two other significant notions are related to the field: *illusio* and *doxa*. *Illusio* is related to the investment in the game: it is what draws people to the game; what makes them obey the rules and engage in the competition. *Illusio* is different for each field. *Doxa* is the belief in the significance of the game. In order to acknowledge the game, one has to simply participate in it;

⁹ Hence, technically the same field may vary from country to country.

Bourdieu argues that one acknowledges the game and obeys its rules even if he or she refuses to participate and withdraws therefrom. One may participate if he or she possesses cards. The cards reflect one's capital. Thus, they will have a different value in different fields and at different times, depending on the hierarchy and structure of capitals in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 78-79). Without the proper capital, one may not enter the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 91).

There are three main types of capital: cultural, economic, and social. Besides that, each one of them possesses subtypes and the symbolic capital, which is the form that the given capital assumes once viewed through the prism of the field. Bourdieu claims that in the overall perspective, the economic capital plays the most significant role of them all in the capitalist society. Social capital can be defined as the real and the potential resources one has due to his or her social relations. Cultural capital exists in three forms: objective, institutionalised and embodied (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 104-105).

Capital works as leverage in any game; without the capital, one does not really exist in the field. With the proper capital, one may fight for power, possess power, exert pressure on others, and change the rules of the game (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 79-80). The capital influences the choices one makes (therefore, the choices preferred by the *habitus* and displayed as the most desirable); however, the relation between them is not a simple one. The choice is influenced by the type and amount of the capital, by various capitals gathered, and by the manner in which they were gathered (its evolution). Besides the capital, the choices are also shaped by one's dispositions, which shows how closely capital is related to the *habitus*. Players who compete in the game have two options: they either play to maintain and increase the capital they already have—they play to keep the abiding rules—or they play to change the prevailing structure of the capital in the field—they play to change the rules (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 80-81).

Bourdieu revived the notion of *habitus* in protest against the reign of structuralism and the reduction of the significance of the human subject. Presenting *habitus* around the same time as Noam Chomsky did his generative grammar, Bourdieu sees certain similarities between these two theoretical concepts, yet he underlines that he has never concerned *habitus* to be something innate: it was rather acquired, inventive and probable (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 274). It attempts at explaining ritual actions (but not habits), yet it strays away from objectivity that would view them as nearly automatic and mindless, as well as from subjectivity that would see therein calculation and conscious achievement of goals (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 106-107).

Habitus is the result of the internalisation of the external structures: it is socialised objectivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 113). *Habitus* reveals itself in contact with the field for each it was designed: it is visible in the set of options that occur to one in situations and events typical for a given field. *Habitus* not only constitutes the mentioned set of options but also dictates: which are acceptable, which are desired, which are risky, which are out of the question. Therefore, the choices made by *habitus* are quite systematic, and there are observable patterns, yet *habitus* does not determine one's behaviour utterly. *Habitus* is also changeable, just like the structures on which it is based (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 22-23).

The definition of the *habitus* suggests that *habitus* and field cannot be investigated separately or without considering another, as they constitute and complement each other. Their togetherness results from Bourdieu's conviction of the inseparability of structures and individuals, which is discussed herein. In Bourdieu's words, there are no social structures without the acts of social agents, who cannot be perceived as solely biological robots; their cognition and decisions must be considered as well. It is necessary to change their perception from mindless cogs into thinking and acting individuals with the power of changing the structures and deciding for themselves (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 23-24). Bourdieu argues that even the act of refusing to participate in the game that takes place in the field is, in fact, the act of acknowledging the game and is also determined by one's *habitus* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 25-26). It may also result from the fact that *habitus* is activated only once it comes in contact with the field with which it corresponds; *habitus* decides what appears significant or insignificant to one and in what one is likely to invest himself or herself (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, p. 27).

Summing up, all three discussed concepts are closely interlinked and can function and be understood only together. The field shapes the *habitus*, as *habitus* is the internalised structure of the field, yet at the same time, it is the *habitus* that provides the meaning, significance, and understanding of the field in which one functions. If *habitus* and field correspond, one knows what to do and how to do it, without consciously planning his or her actions or without calculating the gains and losses (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 114-115). Lack of correspondence, on the other hand, leads to confusion, lack of interest in the game, and either fight or withdrawal¹⁰. Capital plays a key role in entering the field; without proper capital, one

¹⁰ It should be mentioned at this point that Bourdieu warns against the anticipation of complete correspondence between the field and the *habitus*; for instance, it may even happen that the social circumstances and the structures of the field change drastically and dynamically, whereas *habitus* is in general rather stable in its structure, thus lack of agreement between the external and the internal will occur (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001, pp. 118-119).

cannot participate in the game. The amount, type, and structure of the capital also determine which options and actions are accessible to one in the field, together with one's *habitus*. Capital also influences one's dispositions that constitute *habitus*. Thus, all three elements are inseparable in the analysis applying the field theory.

2.3 Application of the Field Theory: Text Analysis

In *The Rules of Art*, Bourdieu (1992/2001) demonstrates on the example of *Sentimental Education* by Gustave Flaubert how a text can reveal underlying social structures and relations and how the analysis of the textual level can unravel the complex social net, otherwise invisible to one's eye. The discussion below is only a concise summary of the analysis performed by Bourdieu, and its aim is to present the various possible ways of applying the field theory to research.

One of the main subjects in Bourdieu's analysis is the field of power. In the novel, the field of power is represented by the family of Dambreuse. The family is also associated with the field of politics and the field of economy. They are the symbol of the bourgeoisie's dream: they have significant economic capital, and they gather around themselves significant figures, such as high officials, doctors, scientists, famous personas, or parish priests. The social meetings at their house are marked by seriousness, reluctance towards change (or rather desire to maintain the current state of affairs), and traditional approach to social order, such as the assigned gender roles. Access to the family is not easy; proper recommendations and social background are required. The family of Dambreuse is put in contrast with the family of Arnoux. Mr Arnoux is closely related to the world of art, as he is an art dealer, somehow functioning on the verge of the economic and art fields (the duality that will become his undoing). The house of Arnoux is full of artists, the dominating views are the ones supporting the revolution, and certain frivolousness takes place. The two worlds, Dambreuses' and Arnouxes', meet in the demimonde represented by Rosanette (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 18-27).

As Bourdieu argues, the contrasting families provide a proper background for a social experiment: Flaubert places there numerous figures, each with a different set of dispositions (i.e. certain innate characteristics) and different capitals, and observes how the field of power affects each of them. Thus, actors entering the field of power differ in terms of what Bourdieu calls heritage (1992/2001, p. 29), as well as in their attitude to that heritage (whether they would like to simply retain or accumulate it). In effect, they are presented with varying opportunities in the field, and they put these opportunities to use in a different manner. The moment of inheritance is presented as a key moment in one's life, and it does not always have to take place.

Individuals can truly inherit the heritage with all its components—symbolic, cultural, social, material—only when they allow the heritage to inherit themselves: when they agree to play the assigned roles and invest in the game, they are presented with. This is a critical moment for young individuals, as for the first time, they have to take part in one of the socially played games and start investing in that game. They approve of and share certain *illusio* with other individuals playing the game (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 27-36).

Perhaps the forces acting in the field are the most visible in the case of Frédéric, a young protagonist, who at the very beginning of the novel finds himself exactly at the point of contact between the field of power represented by the family of Dambreuse and the field of art represented by the family of Arnoux. Even though he is presented with the heritage that allows him to enter any of these two fields, he refuses to be inherited by his heritage, to play any of the games with all their seriousness, and to invest himself and his heritage. Frédéric possesses an array of various options, yet he is unable to choose any of them. Bourdieu sees the essence of his undecidedness in the scene when Frédéric and his friend Deslauriers visit a bordello and Frédéric retreats at the last minute because he is not able to make a choice. Deslauriers, on the other hand, is contrasted with Frédéric as he is able to choose, but he does not possess the economic capital to do so (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 35-36).

The borderline position is also reflected in the choices Frédéric makes in his love life. When he is at his highest social status, he commences his affair with Mrs Dambreuse; the relationship is not passionate or affectionate, but it serves him as a means to an end, namely power. However, every time his plans fail and his status is lowered, Frédéric comes back to Louise Roque, a girl from the country who is in love with him, yet whom he previously thought of as too simple and plain for his taste and lifestyle. There is also Mrs Arnoux, for whom Frédéric has great feelings but who, at the same time, remains pure, idealised, and out of his reach, similar to the art she is so close to. Finally, there is Rosanette, who coexists with both Mrs Dambreuse and Mrs Arnoux. She is always available to Frédéric, and they even have a son, who dies soon after his birth, yet the relationship never leads anywhere (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 46-48).

Frédéric's unwillingness to invest himself in any of the fields results in his lack of success in both professional and personal spheres. However, his defeat is not as spectacular as the one suffered by Mr Arnoux, who actively attempted at playing the games in both the field of art and the field of economy and, in consequence, lost everything, including all of his money and his wife. As Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 24-26) argues, Arnoux's defeat is strictly related to the fact that he participated in contradictory and excluding games. As an art dealer, on the one

hand, he functioned in the field of art, where the economic capital was not valued; it was the symbolic capital in the form of fame and recognition that played a part and was of interest to the artists. On the other hand, he also functioned in the field of economy, where the economic capital was valued the highest. Hence, taking advantage of the artists and their lack of consideration for economic matters, Arnoux tried to win two contradictory games at the same time. Consequently, the rigid structures of the field punished him for the double game, leaving him with nothing.

As Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 53-54) argues, in reality—in opposition to fiction in general—there is no agreement between the various social positions one can take. It is not possible to take more than one social position, and it is not possible to choose freely. The choice is not only restricted but also reciprocal; the structures choose someone for the position as well. Finally, once someone assumes a position, he or she is marked by that position. The belonging to a place in social structures is reflected in the way one thinks, and in the way one speaks (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 54-55). It also involves belonging to a net of relationships and being subject to various forms of control, all of which create an illusion of stable, unchanging and objective reality. It is not possible to rise above the structure and to be untangled, as Frédéric desires. Frédéric, as well as others working against the structure, are consequently punished by the structures.

Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 61-63) claims that *Sentimental Education* achieves levels of sociological analysis that sociology could probably never achieve because it is also based on duality: on the duality of reality and fiction. Hence, the novel is based on social structures and faithfully reproduces them in the form of an engaging story. The characters are also entangled in the structure to the point that their mental structures correspond to the positions they assume. Flaubert cleverly reveals in his novel the structure of the field of art and analyses the relations and tensions present. However, he is able to do so only because he disguises the real structure as part of the unreal story. And, after all, our reality and its understanding are just a commonly shared and approved illusion as well (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 64).

Most importantly, the analysis performed by Bourdieu shows the varied applicability of the field theory, which can be used for the analysis of both social worlds (as it is presented in the further part of this chapter) and their events, as well as the texts produced therein. The analysis of texts may be the key part on its own or it may serve to supplement the analysis of the social world, as it is in the case of the literary field discussed below. The analysed texts do not necessarily have to be works of fiction. Reviews, legal documents such as contracts, regulations or codes of conduct, drafts, diaries, interviews, newspaper articles, and scientific

papers—these are all bodies of texts that can be a valuable source of information and subject to analysis with the application of the field theory.

2.4 Field Theory Analysis: Example of the Literary Field

In his sociological work, Bourdieu analysed numerous instances of fields: religious field, the field of power, political field, intellectual field, etc. Below I present a summary of his analysis of the literary field, or rather a literary field along with the field of power, economic field, the field of art, and the field of cultural production as these are all closely related and the proper analysis requires taking into consideration all of them.

The reasons for referring to his research in such detail are plentiful. Firstly, Bourdieu was reluctant to present his thought in a strictly theoretical manner. He believed that social concepts can be truly grasped only during fieldwork and should be presented only in a manner allowing one to understand how they work and how they should be operated in research. Therefore, even an elaborate chapter on his theoretical findings would not provide such a detailed insight into his theory and its subtle mechanisms as a closer investigation of his own studies and research reports. The summary of his research on the literary field, which is presented below, is no exception, and it develops as well as provides a deeper understanding of the presented concepts. Secondly, his analysis of the literary field is perhaps one that is potentially closest to the possible translation field. Hence, a close examination of his research allowed me to structure my own research in a corresponding manner: it was a guideline regarding the elements that I should be looking for and paying attention to, as well as the manner in which I should be approaching them. At the same time, I would like to underline that I have attempted at refraining myself from formulating any assumptions or hypotheses that could potentially influence the outcome of my research. Thirdly, the analysis of the literary field presents how information can be retrieved from documents, academic texts, interviews, as well as social events, providing support for own further research.

2.4.1 The Emergence of the Literary Field

Bourdieu begins his analysis of the literary field with the analysis of the circumstances accompanying its emergence. An investigation considering wider social circumstances and other fields reveals a change in the social constellation that created space for the emergence of the literary field. One of these crucial social events significant for the shaping of the literary field was, for instance, the occurrence of the bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 78-86). Bourgeoisie did not value either intellectual or artistic craftsmanship highly; they viewed

education and pleasures of the soul as redundant and believed only in the power of money. At the same time, their appearance had led to significant changes in the relations between various fields, including the field of power, field of politics, or field of economy, and changes in the structure of capitals, making the economic capital a crucial type. Almost everything that the bourgeoisie represented stood in direct opposition to the values shared by artists, writers and other intellectuals. What is more, their increasing influence and popularity had possibly made the artists and writers feel threatened and resulted in the feeling of hostility and resistance, which was often explored in their works of art.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the relations between artists and their commissioners had undergone a striking metamorphosis. Up until the 18th century, the commissions were mostly based on the direct relationship between the artist and the patron. The emergence of the bourgeoisie introduced *subordination structural*, meaning that the pressure on individuals related to literature and art was now indirect and uneven, depending on one's role and position. It was exerted firstly by means of the market, in the form of, for instance, numbers of sales, readers, and viewers, or the new roles related to journalism, illustration etc. that appeared as the press transformed. Secondly, it was exerted through the institution of salons, where artists could establish their relationships with the representatives of high society. It was exactly them that pressured the writers and artists, however it suited them, either through sanctions or through financial and symbolic gains (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 80-81).

Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 83-85) pays special attention to the institution of salons as they were a point of contact between the field of power and the emerging field of literature. On the one hand, representatives of the field of power attended the salons to legitimise their worldview through arts. On the other hand, artists attended the salons to gain control over their remuneration and representation, even to the slightest degree. An example of such as salon can be one hosted by Princess Mathilde. Even though her own particular taste in literature and arts was reminiscent of the bourgeoisie, she aspired to host the greatest artists of the time. What is more, her role comprised also acting as the protector of the ones faithfully visiting her salon: she supported her friends in gaining numerous highly valued titles and positions, thus supporting the process of legitimisation of art created not for the bourgeoisie but for the sake of art. Hence, salons had their share in the shaping of the literary field, also due to the fact that they quickly became exclusive places. Some salons gathered only popular writers supporting the current political power, and other salons were visited only by masters of the art who often opposed politics and did not necessarily belong to the canon of most-read artists (such as the

one of Princess Mathilde). Finally, there were salons gathering artistic bohemia. Hence, salons partook in the polarisation of the emerging field.

It is also worth paying attention to the changes affecting the press, as they were closely related to the literature. As Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 85-86) points out, before the era of the bourgeoisie, the press had been highly diversified. The emergence of the bourgeoisie resulted in the press being controlled thereby. As a result, even the most aspiring newspapers, such as the famous *Le Figaro*, published gossip, curiosities, and essays in order to indulge the people in power. The relation between the press and the power resulted in the editors being one of the most significant persons visiting salons and remaining in close relationships with people in power. Writers respected editors as well, knowing that one note in a proper newspaper might have either boosted or ruined their writing career, as everyone—from the poor to the wealthy—read the opinion-forming columns of *Le Figaro* or *La Presse*.

Such a dynamic development of the press was a sign of the changing market of cultural goods, which had become more accessible than ever before (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 87-88). The availability of cultural goods resulted in the emergence of another social group of young educated people without significant economic or social capital. However, while the press market was expanding and was offering new roles and positions, there still were not enough vacancies for everyone interested. Young individuals, often arriving in Paris from smaller towns or the countryside, did not stand a chance against the educated children of the bourgeoisie who, in addition to education, also possessed proper economic capital and social background. Consequently, instead of working in the offices or press, they often assumed the roles of writers and artists.

The sudden influx of ‘fresh blood’ into the literary world was certainly not without any effect on the process of its autonomisation (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 88). However, functioning therein was not an easy task at the time. As it was already mentioned, the relations within had just undergone tremendous change and the model of work changed from an almost intimate relationship between the artist and the patron to a free market. As Bourdieu (1992/2001, p. 89) points out, the free market did not necessarily imply any freedom for the artists. It rather meant further, more complex and more strict control. Individuals did gain new possibilities and new roles, but these all implied new forms of control and coercion, perhaps more harsh and unforgiving than the previous ones.

Such circumstances led to the emergence of a social group functioning in separation and trying to overcome the boundaries forced on them by the society and by the emerging field—namely, the artistic bohemia (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 89). As a new social being, bohemia

needed recognition of other social groups. The act of recognition took place mostly through numerous performative texts produced by individuals functioning in the shaping literary field: while pretending to describe the reality, the texts in fact cleverly designated the reality, in which there was a place for writers and intellectuals, as well as their values, identities, norms, and characteristic ways of living, challenging the lifestyle of other social groups, especially the middle class (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 89-91). However, even after such measures, bohemia remained an ambiguous phenomenon. On the one hand, their economic capital made them similar to the poorest populace. On the other hand, they possessed cultural capital that allowed them to indulge in their extravagant fads, which made them similar to the aristocracy. Moreover, further development of the bohemia and the growing number of young people joining it has led to the internal split into the 'golden bohemia', enjoying the flamboyant and glitzy lifestyle, and the 'second bohemia', performing any jobs to survive.

Fierce stratification and the following repercussions in the form of gratification or punishment led to a certain duality present in the minds of inhabitants of the emerging literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 92-93). Firstly, they held a dual picture of their audience: they viewed the public as both intriguing and repulsive at the same time. Secondly, they held a dual picture of themselves and their own role, which, according to Bourdieu, was particularly visible in their lack of stability regarding political matters, as they had a tendency to always support the strongest.

Nonetheless, the attempts at establishing a new social sphere were successful. They were triumphant up to the point that artists managed to build their own market of cultural goods and created an *illusio* of this 'opaque' world so strong that no one who entered the literary field dared to defy it (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 93). However, the literary world, created in such strong opposition to the world of the middle class, defied the bourgeoisie, already fixated on control and forceful coercion to make everyone share their norms and values. As a consequence, the bourgeoisie attempted at declassifying and demystifying the newly established literary field, showing it as a recourse for degenerates. In order to do so, they used one of their own, namely the press. Some gave to the pressure and searched for the consecration of the bourgeoisie, working for the press and courting for privileges and titles, whereas others resisted (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 97). These actions led only to further detachment and autonomisation of the literary field.

The independence of the literary field that followed was possible because it was based on solid ground. At that time, the literary field was autonomous enough to have its fundamental laws of functioning inscribed in the structures of the social world and the mental structures of

the individuals participating. Therefore, when writers and artists began their resistance movement against the control of the bourgeoisie, it was accepted as ‘natural’ and expected. Not only that: the resistance was also understood and brought other nonmaterial profits with it, such as respect. As a result, defying the field of power and cutting the ties therewith became one of the rules of functioning in the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 97-98).

2.4.2 ‘Hero’ Figures in the Field

In the case of the French literary field, it is possible to distinguish a figure of a ‘hero’, the first person to declare its independence and become the field’s legislator, namely Baudelaire (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 99-100). One of such heroic acts of Baudelaire was his application to Académie Française, an institution set up by the bourgeoisie to enforce their control over literature and to consecrate their rules: an act that shocked and appalled both the resisting and the giving in authors. By putting forward his candidature, Baudelaire undermined the existing order in both worlds. On the one hand, he forced Académie Française to show its lack of competencies by not accepting his candidature and, at the same time, he confirmed his status in the literary field. On the other hand, by raising distaste among his friends and associates, he forced them to see that the agreement for the ‘old’ order was still deeply rooted in them. What is more, by his actions, Baudelaire showed that the world of bohemia and the world of the middle class were not that different in certain aspects for the writers. Even though one was associated with poverty and immorality and the other with surrender and complaisance to please the bourgeoisie, the main goal of both was in fact to moralise; they only opted for different kinds of morality (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 102). Finally, Baudelaire also denounced the institution of art critics, proving that they did not possess the competences to perform their tasks. At that time, literary criticism was mostly based on the fuzzy idea of an ‘ideal’, whereas Baudelaire demanded that each and every literary work should be read through its own prism and on its own basis. As Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 107-108) argues, this was another step towards the autonomisation of the field, in which authors had the right to create autonomous works, not related to and not judged on the basis of previous texts.

It seems that in the beginning, both Baudelaire and the earlier discussed Flaubert assumed similar positions and roles in the literary field. The fact that their later stories differed so significantly—Baudelaire died at the age of 40 in poverty and in exile from France, whereas Flaubert was celebrated with his own museum and monument (“Gustave Flaubert,” 2022)—is perhaps rooted in their different dispositions. It was most visible when they were both accused of immoral writing. Flaubert, on the one hand, mobilised the net of his friends and colleagues,

including the ones from high society, which resulted in him winning the process and only strengthening his position (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 83-84). Baudelaire, on the other hand, stood against any of the institutions and any of the orders and, without proper support, lost the process. His failure led consequently to his exclusion from various circles, including salons, and to the lack of interest in his further publications and other editions of the already written works (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 104).

Once Baudelaire paved the way with his heroic and, at that time, outrageous acts, others followed in his footsteps, simultaneously normalising the acts and making them part of the competition in the field. Actions defying the existing order resulted in symbolic repressions, especially in undermining the authorities that represented the opposing norms and values. It was especially visible in the case of points of contact between the fields impersonated by, for instance, publishers, with whom writers had rather tense relations. Another example is the case of Edmond About, who was often writing for the bourgeois theatre. When his new play, *Gaetana*, was played in the theatres, young representatives of the literary field came to the theatre to boo the play. As a result, the play was cancelled after just four days. What is more, as the literary field was becoming more and more autonomous, the (mostly hidden) critic of the upheld values started to appear even in the works of the bourgeois writers (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 108-110).

2.4.3 Trichotomous Division of the Emerging Field: Avant Garde, Bohemia and Popular Art

All discussed events and processes led to a trichotomous division of art. Firstly, there was commercial or popular art created for the bourgeoisie. Popular art was supposed to be ‘easy to digest’, simple and light. It developed rapidly due to the bourgeois attempts at control of literature and press and their willingness to invest economic capital in this undertaking. Secondly, there was ‘realistic’ or ‘social’ art, represented mostly by the artistic bohemia. Thirdly, there was an art for art’s sake, which objected to both commercial and social currents (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 112).

As Bourdieu (1992/2001, p. 113) argues, the represented current and the related position in the field of literature reflected in this case the relationship with the field of power. Authors writing the commercial literature were usually closely connected with the bourgeoisie, sometimes even belonging to this very social class. They shared bourgeois norms, values and topics of interest, all of which they reflected in their literature. As a result, they were awarded significant economic and symbolic gains. Authors writing social art demanded that writing should perform various political and social functions; it should not be meaningless (Bourdieu,

1992/2001, pp. 114-117). Their group comprised mostly of representatives of the left-wing and revolutionists. They felt a connection with the poor and the ruled, which was the result of their own social background, *habitus* and social dispositions: some were closely related to this social class, and others belonged thereto. Their social background and capital influenced their position in the literary field reciprocally. Finally, there were authors creating art for art's sake or pure art (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 118-121). They stood in opposition to both social and commercial arts and, in fact, the art that they created was the most radical of all, simultaneously building the foundations for the proper literary field. Bourdieu claims that they were the ones who started the symbolic revolution, and they noticed that even though social and commercial arts stood in opposition to each other, they were still performing the moralising functions. What they attempted was to create a new aesthetic order that did not resort to any kind of moralisation. Art for art's sake was a new invention of the 19th century: there were no suitable positions in the literary field for its creators to assume nor corresponding positions in the field of power. Therefore, its precursors had to revolutionise the field and transform it in such a way that there would be a place for them and had to devise the artist creating art for art's sake, including his or her dispositions¹¹.

Hence, the newly arisen group of artists creating art for art's sake had to destroy the bonds with both bourgeoisie and bohemia (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 121-122). They attempted to resist through contesting official literary organisations and titles, yet at the same time, they were careful not to become associated with bohemia, who did the same. Therefore, they preached the purity of style, hard work and new aesthetic order to separate themselves from the simplicity, or even sometimes vulgarity, of the literary works produced by mostly insufficiently educated writers of bohemia.

The rupture can be personalised in the figure of Baudelaire. On the one hand, he was dressing up and behaving extravagantly, which Bourdieu associated with his wish to separate himself from the rest, especially the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, Baudelaire objected to simple pleasures and romantic poetry; he opted for constant work over oneself, difficult art requiring effort, and continuous development of one's intellectual abilities (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 123). Another significant sign of the rupture is the contempt the artists of this fracture expressed towards their public, especially the bourgeoisie. Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp.

¹¹ It should be noted, however, that the new group would not have arisen without the bohemia; it was the bohemia that began the intellectual ferment. Nevertheless, the bohemia did not possess proper capital or dispositions to transform their revolution into lasting change of the field. The group of artists creating art for art's sake did (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 144).

124-125) relates it to the need to underwhelm the audience in terms of creating works of art that go against the current; works that are not associated with popular topics, genres, or values. However, the upfront expression of contempt can be perhaps also connected with the role of ‘poor relatives’ played by artists in the field of power and their attempt to step out of this role.

The world of ‘reverse’ economy was established, as the new group with Flaubert at the lead arrived at the conclusion that works of ‘pure’ art are priceless. Since they were priceless, they could not be bought at any price and, thus, they did not belong to the economic market. The hiatus between the audience expectations and the content of the literary works pushed the latter only further away from the economic market (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 129). For some time, the only audience for the new works of art was the rival authors. What is more, Flaubert expressed his view that not only works of art are priceless but also that artists should not be paid for their literary work; they should have earnings from other sources because the true freedom of creation was given to the artist only by not awarding him or her economically for his or her work (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 128). One could become truly successful in the literary field only if he or she failed completely in the economic field. Economic success became associated with poor writing and subordinate mind. As Bourdieu points out, the situation led to the increasing importance of inherited capital and the family’s economic stance, as having economic heritage became the only way one could function efficiently in the literary field. It allowed one not to undertake writing jobs that were thought to be inferior—e.g. writing essays for the press—to withdraw from the market, and yet to still exist in the literary field. Moreover, inherited money gave security and allowed writers to be uncompromising in their writing (1992/2001, pp. 130-132).

The requirement of possessing proper economic capital, which was in most cases inherited, resulted in the group of artists writing for art’s sake consisting mostly of sons of doctors, aristocrats, lawyers, or politicians (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 134-135). Interestingly, most of their fathers appreciated arts, took care of the proper education of their children, or were even involved in some artistic activities; for instance, Baudelaire’s father enjoyed painting in his free time. Their sons were equipped with significant cultural, social, and economic capitals, and they were predestined to occupy central positions in the field of power. It is not surprising, therefore, that they assumed similar, central positions later in the literary field.

2.4.4 Reconstruction of Positions and Dispositions: Flaubert’s Example

I would now like to shift focus to Flaubert, perhaps the second most significant persona in the literary field next to Baudelaire, the author of the already discussed *Sentimental Education*.

Bourdieu claims that in order to understand a literary work truly, one has to reconstruct the author's position in the field along with all the potential choices, possibilities and restrictions (1992/2001, pp. 138-139). Therefore, significant work has to occur in order to recreate a net of objective relations, in which an author is entangled. What is more, such reconstruction still does not give one access to the 'mind' of an author, as some literary critics would want and would claim possible. It gives an understanding of the situation in which the author found himself or herself and allows them to investigate the choices he or she made.

If we analysed Flaubert and his art through the prism of modernity and the current state of the field, we would not be able to understand his uniqueness. However, if an effort is invested in the reconstruction of the historical circumstances and the historical state of the field from the time when *Madame Bovary* or *Sentimental Education* were written, it will become clear that the modern shape of the field is partly merit to Flaubert and incredible work he put in the transformation of the field. We will be able to see Flaubert before he became the Flaubert we know today and, perhaps, we will be able to understand some of the decisions that he had made (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 155). For example, the reconstruction of the real and the fictional field allows us to see that Flaubert was trying to place himself at the point of contact between different fields and different powers. If we go back to *Sentimental Education*, we will see a striking resemblance between him and Frédéric, one of his characters. The fundamental difference lies, however, in the fact that while Frédéric denied investing himself in anything, Flaubert created a project of his own, in which he invested heavily (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 157-158).

Paradoxically, it was the creation of Frédéric and the description of his adventures that made Flaubert's story so different from the one of Frédéric's (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 165). Another analogy can be found in the topics discussed by characters in both *Madame Bovary* and *Sentimental Education*. The characters discuss concepts such as 'vulgarity', 'realistic literature', 'democracy', etc. or go through real, significant events, such as the revolution of 1848, thus tackling issues valid for the contemporary readers. Flaubert performed a rupture between his characters and these concepts, and through this action, he replicated his own rupture performed in the real world (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 161-162). Furthermore, it was Flaubert's own contradictory position located in-between various fields and various forces that allowed him to capture the picture of the reality so faithfully and represent the structure of the field, positions and dispositions in his writing (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 163).

One of the elements of the net of objective relations is the (everchanging) hierarchy of literary genres (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 140-141). At the time when Flaubert decided to write

Madame Bovary, the novel was considered to be one of the lowest genres in the hierarchy. Due to Flaubert's effort to transform both novel and its social understanding, the genre started to be appreciated first by other authors and then by the public as well, moving up in the hierarchy. Interestingly, after the success of his novel, Flaubert was appointed the leader of the realistic school, which he in fact detested and protested against (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 145). In *Madame Bovary*, he used everyday life theme, which was perhaps decisive in his association with the realistic school. However, he also used impeccable and unique style, which separated him from the realistic school that opted for simple and straightforward language. Writing about most common life and events, Flaubert was using most uncommon wording; hence, he was trying to achieve the impossible by assuming a position in the field that did not exist at the time (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 152-153). Furthermore, Flaubert was fascinated with the sciences, rapidly developing at the time. In his writing, he attempted at applying the cold rationality, determinism and logic of the sciences, trying to dissect the society, which also separated him from the realistic school (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 157).

Among other reasons, Flaubert was against realism because he viewed it as a revolution that failed (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 165). Realism stood in opposition to the bourgeoisie art, but only to introduce its own ideology in place of the bourgeois. Instead of showing the life of the highest spheres of society, realism was showing the life of the lowest and the underprivileged. It was pretending to overthrow the binding hierarchy yet, in fact, realism was just promoting its own hierarchy, which was evident in its consistent choice of topics and circumstances in the literary works. In his novels, Flaubert attempted at overcoming both hierarchies by depicting the whole societal array, from its poorest to its wealthiest and most potent representants. He attempted to transform the literature in such a way as to not create new aesthetics based on the topic but to create new aesthetics based on the form, which could present most ugly topics in a most beautiful manner (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 166-167).

Bohemia was not able to achieve aesthetics invented by, among others, Flaubert, because they were too involved in their art, including the fact that they had made an art of their own lifestyle, whereas the new aesthetics required complete detachment and neutrality (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 171-172). The new artist was required to live a life deprived of pleasure and comfort but organised on the canvas of his or her constant work (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 174-175). The new artist was developed by writers and poets who possessed significant cultural and social capital, usually together with the economic one, and wanted to overcome restrictions of various nature.

2.4.5 The Structural Changes in the Field on the Example of Literary Genres

The field is not a constant; it evolves and changes or is changed by the individuals associated therewith. The structural changes are usually vividly reflected in the social events related to the field. For instance, the hierarchy of the literary genres and the changes that took place are significant factors and indicators of the changes taking place in the literary field as well.

Bourdieu notes that while in the 17th century the hierarchy of genres in both economic and literary fields had overlapped, it diverged in the 18th century up to the point that it became total opposition (1992/2001, pp. 179-181). In the 18th century, the genre hierarchy in the economic field looked as follows: at the top there was theatre play, allowing to earn the most money, and at the bottom there was poetry, with very little prospect of any income, whereas novel remained somewhere in the middle. In the literary field, the most appreciated genre was poetry, perhaps due to its heritage of the Romantic epoch. The least appreciated was theatre play as it was strongly associated with the bourgeoisie, their norms and values, and the literary consecration that bohemia and new artists tried to undermine. The novel remained somewhere in the middle. While Flaubert transformed the novel into a genre of high expectations regarding its sublime form, Emile Zola managed to achieve also a financial success, making it possible for the artist to become free of the ties with the bourgeoisie even without proper heritage. The inverted hierarchy was related to the fact that the literary field while becoming autonomous, made its art priceless and replaced the economic capital with the symbolic one.

The already mentioned Zola became one of the precursors of the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 183). He was particularly interested in the genre of the novel, and he devised a new subgenre himself, namely the experimental novel. There are certain similarities between him and Flaubert that point toward the dispositions of the new artist. Firstly, Zola was also interested in and highly influenced by the dynamically developing sciences, including medicine. He created the experimental novel to be like a doctor that treats a patient: cold and distant toward the object of his interest. It allowed him to dissect the ugliest parts of society without appearing to be vulgar or immoral. Secondly, he paid great attention to the language and style he used. When his characters could use churlish or offensive language, the narrative was also 'pure', written with visible effort and skill.

The end of the 19th century was marked by a significant differentiation in the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 185-186). In poetry, various schools and connected thereto various -isms¹², as Bourdieu calls it, proliferated; since poetry did not have many readers and

¹² For instance, naturalism, spiritualism, materialism, dynamism, idealism, anarchism, etc.

the audience consisted of mainly other poets, the genre was prone to experimentation. The novel, on the other hand, was undergoing a crisis, simultaneously trying to fulfil the expectations of a new category of readers: demanding, highly educated and raised on the novels of Flaubert and other representatives of new, 'pure' aesthetics. Moreover, some of the poets reoriented themselves and started writing novels, creating serious competition for other writers as they often had higher cultural capital than novel writers. The reorientation of poets also resulted in the transfer of schools they created; soon enough, the genre of novel became just as divided as poetry. Nonetheless, the internal fights were an important part of the process of autonomisation of the field, and they led to the clear differentiation of genres, each having a set of its own, distinctive features (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 214-215).

Another significant change concerns theatre: since writing theatre plays was the most lucrative undertaking, numerous writers tried their luck in the genre (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 186-187). Most of them failed due to two reasons: firstly, they did not have the proper capital and social background to be accepted as one of the bourgeois writers. Secondly, when they tried promoting other values in their plays, the audience itself was protesting, as it was mostly of bourgeois origins. Nevertheless, even such famous representatives of the literary field as the Goncourt brothers or Zola attempted at writing theatre plays at some point. In 1887, André Antoine opened the first avant-garde theatre. Even though the theatre went out of business quickly, Antoine participated actively in the further transformation of the field by paying attention to the role of director for the first time in the history of the theatre. Antoine viewed directing as a complex and complicated process consisting of numerous own, artistic decisions. His remarks on the position of the director not only questioned the pre-existing order but also led to the emancipation of theatre and the emergence of a new field.

Overall, Bourdieu observes a general tendency regarding all literary genres: the polarisation into popular and avant-garde (1992/2001, pp. 188-189). At the same time, the field was increasingly unified. The opposition between the 'pure' art created for a small audience and the popular art aiming at fulfilling the expectations of its readers was more significant than the differences and divisions between genres. Nevertheless, 'pure' and popular art were still representatives of the same, only its two extremes. Bourdieu interprets this division as the recreation of the original rupture between the economic field and the field of cultural production (1992/2001, pp. 189-190). The subfield of the 'pure' art was also further divided, in which it was reminiscent of the previous opposition between the new aesthetics and bohemia, only at the end of the 19th century the participants were parnassists, representing the consecrated art and being descendants of previous new aesthetics, and decadents, further divided on the basis

of their lifestyle and social background and being descendants of the bohemia. The representatives of Parnassism and symbolism were usually stemming from the rich bourgeoisie or even aristocracy, hence possessing high cultural and social capital. Decadents were usually stemming from poor bourgeoisie or populace, being nearly automatically forced to assume less significant positions in the field due to their social history and capital, or rather lack thereof.

At the end of the 19th century, the field was characterised by a nearly constant, yet internal revolution. Schools and currents were proliferating and fighting with each other, trying to overthrow the current order and become the next successor. Most of them were so insignificant that they are not remembered today. Everyone wanted to have their moment and to become part of the history of the field, thus recreating the original revolution and rupture. Revolution became one of the basic rules of functioning in the field and the model of achieving power and status. At the same time, the rapid passage of the social time in the field and the obsession regarding succession in the field allowed anyone or anything to be discredited solely on the basis of being 'outdated' and not merit (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 194-196). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why some of the writers were reinventing themselves, their genre, and their style. For instance, once the psychological novel became popular, and the competition started to grow, Zola changed the genre and his style of writing, as if he wanted to be one step ahead of everyone else (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 198).

2.4.6 Relations Between Fields: Literary Field vs. Political Field and Art Field

Bourdieu remarks that while constant revolution could be the source of the new gamut of cultural products offered by writers, it was not enough to make the change permanent (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 198-200); other specific circumstances outside of the field were necessary. In the case of the revolution in the literary field, it was the improving economic situation, which in turn led to a significant increase in the number of educated people. Due to this change, there were more and more people interested in earning a living with their intellectual abilities, for instance, writing for magazines, newspapers or creating other cultural products. At the same time, there were more and more people consuming cultural products, thus supporting the development of the field of cultural production. In other words, while the revolution and change can take place on its own and internally, whether it remains permanent or not depends on other external circumstances and often on relations with different fields and situations therein. For example, the dominance of naturalism and writers such as Zola was possible not only due to the internal work performed by Zola and other novel writers but also due to the good economic condition of the field that allowed them to write for a living (and to

live from writing) and due to the expansion of the audience connected to the increase of the number of open-minded, educated readers. Similarly, the fall of naturalism took place not only due to the internal changes in the field and fierce competition but also due to the fact that at the same time there was a crisis in the field of intellectual production, negating the achievements of sciences and leading to the era irrationalism and spiritualism (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 197-198).

Having said that, let us now look at the relations between the literary field and two other fields: the field of intellectual production and the field of art. The connection between the literary field and the intellectual field is impersonated by the figure of an intellectual designed by Zola (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 201-203). Zola himself had become the first intellectual when he entered the political field with an intent to introduce there the same values that were upheld in the literary field. Thus, the intellectual came into being when the interference in the political field took place to protect the order produced and binding in the literary field: to protect the independence of the literary field. While functioning in the political field, an intellectual still followed the logic and order of his or her own field and did not get entangled in other debates or issues. The emergence of the figure of intellectual had a mutual effect on the literary and intellectual fields: it was the result of the processes taking place in the field of politics, yet it influenced the autonomisation of both literary and intellectual fields.

The relationship between the field of literature and the field of art is even more intense. Bourdieu claims that their process of development can be truly understood only once both of these fields are taken into consideration as their processes of autonomisation were taking place at roughly the same time, making it possible for both of the fields to put to use achievements accomplished by the other and being, in fact, one and the same process (1992/2001, p. 206). For instance, painters were the ones who introduced the figure of a rebellious and cursed artist, standing misunderstood against the world, later used by the writers. However, it was the writers who first ruptured their links with the field of power and official institutions, making an example for the painters to follow (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 208). Then again, the concept of art for art's sake, in which one does not need a purpose and which justifies art in its own terms of existence, came into literature from the field of art and painted works. The term itself was uttered for the first time in the context of sculpture (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 209-210). What is more, on the one hand, writers helped painters to perform their rupture, and they were the ones to invent the market of the reversed economy and symbolic goods, later used by painters as well. On the other hand, that help was not without any benefits to the writers, whose support of the painters preaching neutrality of theme had an effect on the main assumptions of the 'pure'

art (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 211). Finally, Bourdieu notes that, paradoxically, when the painters managed to become free of the bourgeoisie, they fell under the reign of writers themselves, who were given the power to judge what is and what is not considered to be art and who usually underappreciated paintings, using them for their own goals (1992/2001, pp. 212-213).

2.4.7 Current State of the Field: Publishing Houses

After the investigation of the circumstances in which the literary field came into existence, it is time to examine its current state. It seems that the field of cultural production is still organised around two contradictory logics: economic and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 219-220). On the one hand, there is a belief arising from the development of 'pure' art that economic capital does not matter. Its supporters are not invested in having economic gains but aim at the accumulation of symbolic capital. Their works do not aim at fulfilling a currently existing demand; they rather fulfil expectations and demand which do not exist yet but perhaps will in the future. They do not follow the rules of the economic market but apply to the rules of the literary field. These are the works of a so-called long production cycle. On the other hand, there is a strong belief in the success being measured in the number of readers, sales, and profit made on the sale of a book. Its supporters view works of art as any other market goods. Works sold in order to achieve financial success usually comply with the previous expectations of the audience so as to minimise the risk of a financial fiasco. What is more, they are supported by advertisements and other proper tools of popularisation in order to ensure quick money inflow. These are the works of a short production cycle, as Bourdieu calls it.

The polarisation of the field is reflected in the structure and politics of the editors and publishing houses: there are small publishing houses with usually a couple of authors that they publish for years, printing reeditions of their works, and there are large publishing houses, having a significant number of authors who change quickly and frequently. Bourdieu discerns that the centre of the field is represented by old, traditional publishing houses which throughout the years of work managed to gather their own symbolic capital. Some of them are so successful because they succeed at combining the opposing logics and have at their disposal both lucrative and avant-garde undertakings (1992/2001, p. 223). A closer look at the main characteristics of the publishing houses also reveals that large publishing houses hire a lot of staff, sell their books in hundreds of thousands of copies and invest not only in advertising but also in active search for new best-seller authors. Around half of their assortment consists of translations of literature that was successful abroad. Small publishing houses hire only several people, sell their books

in numbers not exceeding several thousand per year and refuse to invest in advertisement. They manage to stay afloat due to their publications that start bringing economic gains after the accumulation of given symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 224).

The two discussed cycles of production—short and long—are connected to two cycles of ageing (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 227-228). Cycles of ageing concern not only works of art but also the artistic projects and artists themselves. For instance, in the case of a large publishing house, the economic capital is earned quickly, but it is also spent quickly to secure the next income. The cycle is relatively short and, at the same time, it involves numerous other people and institutions: there are employees specialised in talent hunting, PR, promotion, advertisement, trend research etc. Small publishing houses, conversely, are usually managed on a more family-like basis. The owner of the house is usually also the one who performs the selection of works, supported in this task by advisers who are often associated authors. The commercial apparatus is reduced to the absolute minimum, and the reduction of advertising is a conscious choice. The future of a publishing house of this kind depends on the support of publishing authors and the number of successful long-term investments.

Interestingly, the survival of publishing houses based on the symbolic capital of their authors also depends highly on the system of education (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 228-229). Firstly, in order to have an audience for works characterised by high symbolic capital, individuals need to possess certain dispositions predisposing them to be interested therein. These competencies are shaped in the process of schooling and education. Secondly, the system of education participates actively in the consecration of authors, grouping the literary works into the ones that are canonical and the ones that are not. The act of ultimate consecration takes place through the inclusion of a literary work into the school curriculum.

On the commercial pole, the value of work is measured by its financial success (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 229-230). This success is quite often created artificially, through the publication of sales, the publication of bestseller lists, or the popularisation of opinions of critics that ‘foretell’ a splendid success of the given work. On the symbolic pole, commercial success is even something undesired and suspicious, as if it devaluated a work. The artistic project should be commenced and finished without any prospect of or hope for financial gains. Bourdieu underlines how difficult is a publishing undertaking on the symbolic pole (1992/2001, p. 231). It needs to maintain the illusion of not being interested in the economic capital while, at the same time, economic capital still provides the means for its survival as well as supports the realisation of other revolutionary, avant-garde projects. Balancing the two contradictory logics is nearly impossible.

2.4.8 Current State of the Field: Social Age of Artists

Connected to the cycle of production is the social age of artists. Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 233-234) argues that avant-garde artists are young twice: firstly, they are young because of the young, revolutionary art that they invest themselves in. Secondly, they are young because they give up the potential financial gains, which work as a significant ageing factor. Artists who work within the realms of already existing schools and norms are 'old' twice: because they work on the model of art which is already old and because they accept financial remuneration.

The social age of artists seems to be connected to the cycle of production also in terms of the livelihood of the works they produce. If the authors are socially young, they produce works that inherit this trait and have a 'long life' ahead of them, making it possible for them to be part of the cycle of long production. Conversely, if the authors are socially old, so are their works and they are only parts of the cycles of short production because they die quickly of old age.

The division into old and young artists is also coherent with the division into large and small publishing houses (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 237-239). Large publishing houses usually gather 'old' writers: they are often awarded and hold various titles; they publish bestsellers, and they follow the models that brought financial gains already in the past. Small publishing houses gather 'young' writers: they are not honoured with awards or titles as often as their 'older' colleagues; they do not publish bestsellers, their books may barely sell, especially at the beginning; and they create their own models of writing rather than follow the expectations of the public. The study conducted by Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 239-241) implies that there is no correlation between social and biological age. Writers of the same biological age may have different social age, as social age is the result of their dispositions and their application.

According to Bourdieu, preferential treatment is given to the youth, but in order to understand truly the opposition between the young and the old in the literary field, a wider context has to be considered (1992/2001, p. 242). Firstly, the process of becoming old takes place in very specific circumstances: when the products or production are outdated and have characteristics typical of the past and when they enforce fossilised perception schemas, refusing to accept changes that have come. The process of social ageing is related to the constant fight taking place in (and through that, forming) the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 243-244). Ageing happens when the dominant, persistent modes of perception and thinking lose to new, previously peripheral modes, which undermine the dominant position in order to survive and leave their mark in the history of the field. While the dominant always attempts at stopping

the time, fossilising the current situation, the peripheral always attempts at changing and replacing it, as it is the only way in which it can exist in the field.

Numerous groups, schools and currents fight and ignite a revolution to leave their trace. Each one of them possesses certain distinctive features and promotes its own patterns of perception, which also explains why it was so significant for the authors to be linked to the movement they truly supported¹³. The link involved more than just a name but also a whole set of thinking patterns, hierarchies of values, accepted ways of living, etc. The name itself was also significant as it served to distinguish one school from another, which explains why there were so many -isms in the 19th century, or so many arts in the 20th century if we turn to painting (e.g. pop art, body art, conceptual art, abstract art, etc.).

The process of ageing and the need to be distinguished is reflected in the arrangement of the publishing houses (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 245). Hence, a closer investigation of writers associated with given publishing houses reveals that they are also divided on the basis of their social age or schools: there are publishing houses attracting the socially old, and there are publishing houses attracting the socially young. They all co-exist, but they rarely mingle: the socially old do not acknowledge the new and tend to look into the past when their masters have lived, whereas the socially young do not find any similar contemporaries and they look rather into the future when their time comes (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 246).

The replacement of the dominant usually takes the following pattern: each social time has its consecrated authors. However, as their position becomes more and more stable, as their popularity grows and as they become more and more acknowledged, they are also becoming banaler. They are usually overthrown through a set of specifically designed strategies introduced in newly designed cultural products that manage to reach a group of susceptible consumers. However, each deposition implies the change of consecrated authors, modes of production, patterns of thinking, and dominating taste. After the deposition, the net of symbolic relationships between all positions and subjects in the field changes as well (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 246-247).

Bourdieu claims that this model of the literary field is particularly visible today as the field has become unified. Each modification in the field implies a shift of all the already existing positions (1992/2001, pp. 247-249). At the same time, the field strives for unification. Its structure is visible through its works of art, connected through a subtle and barely visible net of allusions to other works and other authors.

¹³ For instance, think about Flaubert and how resentful he was towards the connection made between him and the school of naturalism.

2.4.9 Current State of the Field: From External to Internal

Bourdieu argues that the structure of the literary field has been organised around the same opposition for so long that it has become part of everybody's internal world. Let us briefly review the case of theatres to illustrate the issue.

Some theatres could be classified as commercial, and some could be classified as avant-garde. In Paris, for instance, they are already separated on the level of their spatial existence as they occupy opposing parts of the city. What is more, there is a visible distinction in the profile of theatres' visitors—their age, educational background, profession, etc.—in the topics accepted as proper for theatrical plays, in the profile of the play writers, and in the arrangements on the theatres' part. Hence, on one side of the city, there are avant-garde theatres that stage controversial plays with innovatory themes and topics, which are also directed in a novel manner. They attract mostly young intellectuals and they sell tickets at lower prices. On the other side of the city, there are commercial, significantly more expensive theatres, which play it 'safe'. They do not experiment when it comes to the topics of the plays, their authors, or staging itself. Everything has been already tried before and brought success. Their clientele comprises mostly older, well-established professionals. Apart from these two, similarly, as it was in the case of the publishing houses, there are theatres staging mostly classic plays and established authors with high symbolic capital. These theatres are visited by the young intellectuals and elder professionals equally.

Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 251-252) claims that this structure is so widespread and exists for such a long time that it is no longer only a structure of the field; it has also become a mental structure on the basis of which we all perceive and judge literary works and decide what can be called art and what cannot. What is more, due to the fact that there is a correspondence between the structures of the fields (e.g. between the literary field and the field of power, between the literary field and the field of cultural goods) and between the relevant structures of the literary field and the mental structures, it is possible for the cultural products and for the consumers' expectations to overlap (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 253). The overlap may be perfected by the conscious application of the economic laws aiming at selling as many copies of books as possible.

Summing up, the structures of the field organise our perception and patterns of assessment and assign value by simultaneously being the mental structures (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 256-257). It means that theatres, publishing houses and other institutions of the literary field, which are also organised by this pattern, perform the classifying function. By their

position in the field, they are tied to certain values, ways of production, schools, names, etc. They also allow the consumers to categorise and identify themselves and they help the avant-garde artists notice what has been already done; what is being done at the moment; and what could potentially be done in the future, by hinting at gaps on this social map of the field. Bourdieu (1992/2001, pp. 257-258) claims that some of the failures in the field may be explained by the lack of correspondence between the position of, for instance, the publishing house and the author. The position of the publishing house implies further what kind of audience will be interested in the book, who will be the critic, who is going to write about the book, etc. Hence, if the dispositions of the author and his or her product and the position of the publishing house do not coincide, the product is going to fail to some degree.

However, just as the literary structures create mental structures, so do other fields, such as the field of power. Because of that and because of the relations of the literary field with other fields, none of the works can truly follow *only* the rules characteristic of the literary field. Hence, all literary products are to a certain degree created in order to perform functions also outside the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 259). This is why neither of the poles of the opposition—‘pure’ art and commercial art—can be truly achieved. What is more, these two poles are tied to each other as they present two extremities of the same perception schema. Their opposition and the conflict between the two extremities is the fundamental rule of the existence and functioning of the literary field. The negation of the other side serves as the basis for the field. Thus, practices aiming at the reception of remuneration are negated, for instance, as well as artists who decide to monetise their symbolic capital. Furthermore, artists who are already consecrated are also negated, only by the young adepts for whom negation is the best way of surviving and marking themselves in the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 260).

2.4.10 Current State of the Field: Illusio and Who Creates the Creator

Bourdieu views that while the permanent struggle in the field constitutes its existence, a researcher should not focus only on that because the fight draws attention away from the fact that in order to participate, one needs to agree to a certain set of rules first (1992/2001, p. 260). If one wants to participate in the field and make any gains from it, one needs to accept the rules which are not subject to negotiation or negation. What is more, these rules make one not question the ideology of creation: they make everyone pay attention to the product, at the same time hiding its creator and hiding who or what created the creator in the first place (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 261).

If we dare to ask the question of who created the creator, we will notice at first that he or she is in fact created by numerous other persons in the field, including the publishers, other authors, or critics (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 261-262). Taking the example of the publisher, we can see that when the publisher decides to publish an author, he or she at this very moment creates the author by showing that the existence of the author is significant—the higher the symbolic capital of the publisher, the more important the decision to publish an author. Once introduced into to cycle, the author will remain therein. However, if we stop here and simply view the publisher as the one who created the author, two complications occur: firstly, the relation of dependence between the publisher and the author will remain hidden. Secondly, another question appears, namely why the publisher possesses the power to create the creator (Bourdieu 1992/2001, p. 263)

Bourdieu claims that the creative power lies not in the hands of any person acting in the field but in the very structures thereof (1992/2001, p. 263-264). What constitutes the ‘magic’ powers assigned to the creator is the faith in these powers. Hence, the fact that writers may build their myths and may function as ‘gods’ of creation lies in the common faith in these myths and gods of everyone involved in the field. Without faith, the actions of authors would be insignificant and meaningless. This is revealed in the actions attempting to expose faith and lie. An example of such are the works of Ben Vautier, usually referred to as simply Ben. Among some of his works, there is a painting claiming “L’art est inutile. Rentrez chez vous” (“Art is useless. Go home”); another painting with the only word written on it: “bad.”; a happening entitled “KUNST IST ÜBERFLÜSSIG” (“Art is Superfluous”); or a box of matches which calls for its use in order to destroy art (Artnet, n.d.). While Ben’s intention is to reveal the basis of art and strip it down of its faith, his works are treated with all seriousness in the field of art, like manifestos, and he is a celebrated artist. The field does not allow to reveal the truth about itself unless it is covered (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 264).

The dependency of the artist or writer on his or her potential receivers is currently stronger than ever before. The institutions dealing with art proliferate, the number of art workers (museum personnel, publishing houses staff, etc.) is on the rise, and there are more and more art and culture festivals all around the world (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 265-266). The constantly developing discourse on art serves not only the audience to help them understand the work of art but it serves mostly the author, building the value of the work by its very existence. It is perfectly illustrated by an interview with Marcel Duchamp, a famous French painter and sculpturer. The interviewer asks Duchamp about some of his works of art, including the geography course book that was left at the mercy of the weather. The interviewer interprets

the work as an attempt to present the idea of time and its passage in spatial terms, when Duchamp corrects him, claiming that it was made just for fun and only for fun. This interview reveals the truth about the meaning of artistic creation: it is not established by the author, but it is established in the art discourse, by everyone interested in the work in one way or another. The value is assigned by all participants, resulting not in one creator but even in hundreds of thousands of them. Similarly to religious artefacts, works of art gain value because of the belief one places in them (Bourdieu, pp. 266-267).

Bourdieu emphasises that investigation of the literary field (as well as the fields of art, philosophy, etc.) is particularly challenging due to the above-discussed belief in the uniqueness and nearly God-like, magical abilities of everyone involved in the field (1992/2001, pp. 283-285). The belief hinders attempts at scientific recognition of the field and its structure because it leads to the profanation of something sacred. What is more, a researcher studying cultural objects needs to perform a rupture with this belief himself or herself first to be able to investigate them properly. The desecrating lack of belief in art, similar to the acts performed by Ben or Duchamp (only these were recognised as art themselves), reveals the underlying structures, the misleading selflessness and sacrifice in art, as well as the faith itself, on the basis of which the field stands. Nevertheless, the rupture, even if temporary, is arduous: in the investigated sphere of culture, any educated being is taught from the very beginning to respect and appreciate the culture. The given order of things is so deeply rooted in them that only a deep crisis would be able to introduce any change, such as the search for the explanation of why things are the way they are. Bourdieu argues that it is even visible in numerous study methods from the Literary Studies, where authors are treated as unique beings, often investigated on their own without proper looking into their social background, and the meaning of literary works is assigned only to the author himself or herself (1992/2001, p. 286).

Another trap is the temptation to investigate a preconstructed subject and to focus on what appears to be important, which mostly consists of objects that were already exposed to the processes of classification and consecration within the field. Therefore, the phase of the reconstruction is crucial, as well as a critical approach to the readily provided information and research tools (1992/2001, p. 287).

2.5 Key Characteristics of the Field

After defining the basic concepts and presenting how they function in research, it is now time to move on to the description of field in general. After investigating numerous fields and noticing certain pertaining elements therein, Bourdieu claims that they possess certain universal

characteristics, which allows establishing the same research pattern for each one of them and points to certain research questions that should always be explored (1992/2001, p. 327). Therefore, this part is particularly relevant for the design of my own study of translators with the application of the aforementioned concepts.

However, first and foremost, regarding any study of the field, there are three steps that should be taken. Firstly, the relation between the analysed field and the field of power should be established and analysed. Secondly, an attempt should be made at reconstructing the structure of the field, including the existing positions, the relations between them, the stakes in the game and the rules regulating the field. Thirdly, and lastly, attention should be paid to the *habitus* characteristic for a given position in the field in order to discover what are the dispositions (capital, innate traits) valued in the field. Hence, in the context of translation, the question asked should *not* be who is or who was a translator but what are the features of translators, what are their social trajectories, what are the positions that they assume and how these positions change, and what makes them choose their paths.

2.5.1 Relation with the Field of Power

Let us begin with the relation between the analysed field and the field of power. Field of power is a structure that connects various subjects coming from numerous fields that hold dominant positions in their own fields (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 329). These subjects are engaged in a further rivalry in the field of power, whose aim is to establish which capital and which forms of power will be highest in the hierarchy. Hence, the situation is analogical to the fight taking place inside the field: the field of power gathers the winners and makes them fight for their values again.

In modern societies, the field of power is usually closely related to the economic field, which is due to the fact that economic capital plays a particularly significant role therein and is placed high in the hierarchy of capitals. Therefore, the relations between the field in question and the economic field should be investigated as well. For instance, the relation between the literary field and the economic field is best personated by the figure of the art dealer. The literary field imposes the rule of the reversed economy, yet it is still tightly connected to the economic field, even by this attempt at its discrediting. The art dealers value the economic gains highest, and they manage to achieve them in the literary field by playing the already discussed double game: they pretend to be selfless in their help offered to the artists, whereas in fact their moves are calculated in terms of the potential income, and they take advantage of the reversed economy (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 330).

The relation between the field of power and the economic field explains why the literary field assumes a peripheral (or subordinate) position in the former (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 330-331). While the inside of the field may be structured on the basis of the reversed economy, the field itself is still subject to numerous external influences, and the fact that it refuses to participate in the economic or political games dominating in the field of power makes it weak therein. The contradiction is reflected in the internal state of affairs, namely the opposition between art for art's sake and commercial art. The first one follows the internal rules of the field promoting the reversed economy, whereas the second follows the global order. Art for art's sake remains central to the field and its cause because the literary field is autonomous enough to be able to defend and enforce its own internal perception and order. A universal rule regarding the functioning of the fields is revealed here: the more autonomous the field is, the more effective it is in promoting its own ideology (such as the one of the reversed economy, in the case of the literary field) and rewarding the ones who follow it. If the field is more dependent, it relies more on the external hierarchy promoted by the field of power. Hence, in the case of the literary field, the division between the commercial authors and art for art's sake authors is, in fact, the division between the authors following the external and the internal hierarchy. This split also represents the strongest polarisation in the field: the opposition is so fierce that its participants may have nothing in common but participation. Bourdieu notes, however, that such strong opposition is a rare case in the structure of the field (1992/2001, pp. 332-333).

Thus, as demonstrated above, the autonomy of the field is reflected in its power to develop its own logic and rules and to enforce them on the game participants. The autonomy of the field can be further measured by its ability to distort external influences in such a manner so that they would be in accord with the internal order of the field. Finally, it can be assessed on the basis of both repercussions awaiting players that follow external order and rules and awards or positive enforcement for those that follow internal order (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 336). The autonomy of the field is not its constant feature: it changes over time. The increase in autonomy is possible due to the accumulation of capital in the field. Those who follow the internal rules are awarded symbolic power. In contrast, those who agree to follow the external rules or to perform jobs for the external subjects (especially those from the field of power or the economic field) are awarded heterogeneous power. In the case of the literary field, the presence of heterogeneous power and commercial authors significantly decreases the value of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 337).

2.5.2 *Field Boundaries*

When it comes to the structure of the field, a crucial step is the establishment of field boundaries. For instance, in the literary field, the boundary is reflected in the dispute over the definition of an artist: the definition draws the line regarding who can be called an artist and who cannot, either including one in or excluding one from the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 340). For example, when the artists creating art for art's sake offer the definition of an artist who does not seek popularity or economic remuneration, they try to exclude from the field the commercial artists by taking away their right to call themselves artists. The definition is more than just a definition: it is a stance from which the boundaries are drawn up, the field is defined, the divisions (or *nomos*) are created, and finally, the rules regulating the entrance to the field are established (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 341). When studying the field, it is dangerous to simply accept the already offered definitions, especially when they appear natural: they are usually the results of long disputes, exclusions, revolutions and fights for power. The fight over the power to decide who can be included in the definition (in other words, fight for the consecrational power) is one of the fundamental fights in the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 341-342). In the study of translators, it is crucial then to investigate the dispute over the definition and to establish how the rules of the entrance are stated, as well as by whom they are stated and to what degree they are accepted (especially, who tries to undermine them).

The definitional dispute results in the issues concerning the sampling in the research (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 342). If the sampling is based on the definition currently dominating in the field, then the whole group of individuals fighting in the field, yet not possessing the consecrational power and being excluded from the definition, is not taken into account; only those who are currently winning are included. Therefore, the research of the field should not begin with preliminary characteristics of those involved but it should be designed in such a manner as to scrutinise the definition and be able to reveal its tentative and exclusive nature (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 343). As a result, the research will display not only the ongoing fight but will also undercover the set of dispositions necessary to pretend to the positions in power.

To have the power to impose the definition means to have the power to control the boundaries of the field and the entrance thereto (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 344). Hence, the most revolutionary changes occur in the field when the entrance is suddenly overrun and numerous new figures appear in the field, as was the case in the above-discussed literary field. These newcomers bring into the field their own hierarchies and their own order, changing the rules of the game. What is more, once new figures appear in the field, even the act of their exclusion on

the side of the dominating is, in fact, the act of recognition. Bourdieu notes that the first avant-garde theatres could rise and achieve success simply because the commercial theatres started to criticise them and aim for their suppression, simultaneously recognising them and, through this recognition, allowing them to join the fight.

The boundaries of the field can be dynamic or static. The boundaries reach as far as the effects of the field (its special perception, order, logic, etc.) are in force. If the boundaries are dynamic, the very rules of the game are the subject of the game taking place in the field. In the case of dynamic boundaries, it is easier to enter the field and join the game. Fields with dynamic boundaries are also more diversified in terms of the positions they offer, dispositions they require, or rules that come into force. The literary field is an example of such a field. Fields with static boundaries can come up to the point where the boundaries are regulated legally. The rules of the entrance are clearly stated, the boundaries are not permeable, the rules of the games are transparent, and the game does not require one's total approval anymore. An example of such a highly codified field is academia (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 345).

2.5.3 Illusio and Investment in the Game

Another characteristic of each field is *illusio*. *Illusio* is closely related to the definitional dispute –to fight, one needs to believe in the game and think that it is worth investing therein. *Illusio* is a term used to describe investing in the game, meaning also that the game is perceived as worthy of action, raising emotions and being significant. There would be no game without *illusio* because no one would be willing to play it, yet at the same time, there would be no *illusio* without the game because it is its product (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 347). *Illusio* is always present except for the times of significant crisis: then, the game appears to be simply what it truly is.

Illusio differs for each of the fields. For instance, in the case of the literary field, it assumes the form of the cult of culture and its products as well as belief in the creational powers of writers and other artists (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 349). To reveal *illusio* during an investigation of any field, a researcher should take into account all institutions and other subjects that participate in the production of *illusio*. In the literary field, these are literary critics, art dealers, publishers, theatres, committees awarding titles etc., but also the educational system, universities and other artists. All these institutions actively influence the field as well as the market of cultural goods, creating and sustaining the common faith in the products of culture. Bourdieu argues that by focusing only on an artist and his or her closest surroundings, the *illusio* is reproduced and the faith in the mysterious creative powers remains; such research does not

reveal the real nature of the social world and mechanisms therein that resulted in the rise of artists and products. In order to properly investigate any field, a researcher should be able to perform a rupture between himself or herself and *illusio* in the investigated field yet not exclude *illusio* from the study as it is part of the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 351).

2.5.4 Positions and Dispositions

Another element common for all fields is the existence of positions and related thereto dispositions and acts of taking positions. As Bourdieu claims, the field consists of various positions available therein and the relations between them (1992/2001, p. 352). The ‘position’ of the position in the field is determined by these relations as well as by the current situation in the field and the potential it has to find itself in another situation. Its current situation depends on the prevailing structure of the capitals in the field as well as on the prevailing forms of power, which are strictly related to other gains in the field. Each position is also related to the act of taking a position; for instance, in the literary field, such an act may be a publication of a manifesto. The more institutionalised the field (such as the academic field), the easier it is to establish positions present in the field. In the opposite case, the positions may be grasped solely by finding patterns in the dispositions of those who assume them. Finally, the positions are not taken accidentally: the act of their taking is usually a conscious move of the players that have certain interests in such action (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 353).

None of the fields functions in a spatial or social void: therefore, a wider context must be taken into account in the research as well, especially considering the external pressures on the field. What is significant is that the pressures do not function directly, but once they enter the field, they are distorted, or restructured, in order to align with the field’s internal structure. If the field is not highly autonomous, the distortion will not be significant. However, if the field is highly autonomous, the restructuration of the pressures is major (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 354). What it implies is that even severe external pressures may be reflected in a surprising manner in the field. For example, the emergence of new markets resulted in an increase of authors and the expansion of the audience in the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 354-355).

The external and internal pressures and forces differ depending on the position in the field. What is crucial, the field reaches as far as its effects (the internal logic and the restructuration of the external pressures); hence, its effects constitute at the same time its boundaries. Furthermore, as it was already indicated field is a place of the fight: positions are one of the wages in the fight and acts of taking positions are one of the actions undertaken in

the fight. The act of taking a position has a value assigned to it, which is determined by other acts of taking positions: hence, when the possibilities of performing the act change—for example, new acts are available or old acts are perceived negatively—the value and perception of other acts change as well (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 355). Bourdieu uses an illustration from the literature, paying attention to the fact that, firstly, the pantheon of classical literary works is modified all the time, even though it pretends to remain unchanged, and secondly, an attempt at reviving old values and ‘recreating’ past works is usually perceived in other times in terms of pastiche (1992/2001, pp. 355-356).

The position and acts typical for a given position are related through the ‘space of the possible’, which is the social space of acts that have already taken place. In other words, the acts that occurred throughout history establish what is acceptable and what is restricted. The understanding and perception of the space depend on the *habitus*; consequently, it is the *habitus* that determines why some acts seem to be necessary or attractive, while others are found unattractive (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 358). New acts need to find themselves in favourable conditions in order to be accepted. Firstly, there needs to be some kind of a structural gap in the system, hence an act that has not occurred yet but exists potentially in the structure. The structural gaps cannot be filled in by anyone: one needs to occupy a specific position in the field and display discontent with the current state of affairs, as well as possess specific *habitus*, necessary to notice the gap, and a certain amount of freedom that will allow acting (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 365). Secondly, there has to be an audience, even a limited one, that will be able to understand the act once it takes place. Bourdieu illustrates the issue with the example of jogging. Even though nowadays it is a common view, seventy years ago a running person in neon clothes would be considered mad. The change happened gradually and only once the necessary conditions occurred (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 359).

The space of the possible is available to any individual who adopted the perception of the field and internalised its structure. It is common for everyone in the field (and sometimes to some individuals outside the field, for instance, some of the audience in the case of the literary field) and it appears as obvious and natural in the field. It can be compared to grammar: similarly to the sentence construction, there is always more than one proper option to choose from. The more common the option is, the more correct it is considered to be. It is possible to ‘invent’ new structures (like poets who attempt at reinventing the language) as long as they follow the established rules. If they do not, they will be rejected (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 360-361).

2.5.5 Autonomy of the Field

Once the field is autonomous, the changes taking place therein are usually the result of its own structure and internal events rather than external ones (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 365). A small transformation in one space of positions in the field may conclude in a more general change, and, therefore, it is usually not possible to identify where the changes arise from. However, Bourdieu notices that they are usually initiated by those who do not possess the capital to be someone and to act in the field: the revolution and the modification of the rules are a way for them to become and not to solely exist in the field. It is especially clear in the case of the literary field, where in order to exist one needs to distinguish himself or herself from the rest, hence one needs to challenge the structure to find a place and position for himself or herself. To do that, one rejects previous schools, styles, genres and creators, at the same time rejecting any signs of admiration and appreciation, identified by Bourdieu also as the signs of social ageing (1992/2001, p. 366). The rejection is displayed in actions such as creating parodies, boycotting or writing manifests, even if the point is solely to show that someone is different from what prevails. It can also be illustrated by the development of the genre of the novel and how at one point its development consisted of scrupulous removal of any elements that were considered to be typical of novels. The validation of this treatment can be found in at least two reasons: firstly, in the fact that novel was considered to be a 'low', 'feminine' and 'accessible' type of writing and its authors were trying to elevate its status, but secondly, in the attempt to undermine the existing order (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 368).

Bourdieu notes that as fields gain more and more independence, they also become more and more reflexive (1992/2001, p. 370). What it implies is that the knowledge of the history of the field becomes one of the requirements to enter the field fully. In the case of the literary field, one is required to possess an insight into the development of genres and to be familiar with the relevant classifications and other studies performed by academics and critics. It is particularly well displayed by the avant-garde artists who, in order to exist in the field, have to cross the boundaries of what has been done before. Therefore, they must demonstrate their knowledge of the history of the field, as well as of the previous revolutions. Only those fulfilling the criteria and performing a conscious rupture will stand a chance at reaching the status of consecrated artists. However, as a result, the events taking place in the field are becoming more and more closely related to its history and not to the social conditions prevailing at the given time and they can be explained properly only if located correctly within the field's history (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 371).

Therefore, the acquaintance with the history and with the current problematics of the field, which are the result of the field structure and which determine what one can or cannot do, becomes the requirement to enter an autonomous field. The more developed the field is, the more visible is the tendency (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 371-372). The clearest examples are perhaps the academic field or the legal field: in both demonstration of great skill and techniques preferred by the field as well as of the impeccable knowledge of the current and previous issues is required to enter the field. In the academic field, to have only a slim chance at being recognised and being given an opportunity to enter the field, PhD students must first display their scientific and academic skills and write their PhD dissertation, all of which is conducted in terms of the rite of passage.

It is still possible to encounter the ‘naifs’ in the field, meaning those who have no knowledge of the history of the field or the rules of its game. However, it is the field itself that chooses and creates the ‘naifs’ (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 372). This time an example can be found in the field of art. On the one hand, there is Marcel Duchamp, who seems to have been predestined to be part of the artistic field. He came from a family of artists, and he attended Académie Julian, a private art school, supplementing his education with numerous meetings with other artists and writers. His great understanding of the rules and history allowed him to cross the boundaries consciously. Even his later refusal to paint was treated as one of his biggest artistic acts (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 378-380). On the other hand, there is Celnik Rousseau, a representative of the *art brut*, who was a ‘naif’ created by others in the artistic field through their conscious acts of referring his works to other schools and famous painters, about whom he had no knowledge of. Another example from the *art brut* is the treatment of the works of schizophrenics or children as art, without acknowledging that they are becoming objects constructed by those who are already in the field. Hence, the creation of a ‘naif’ is a fact lying on the side of the ‘discoverer’ who usually already possesses high capital and position in the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 376-377).

2.5.6 Correspondence Between Structures

The fact that the supply and demand exist and correspond to each other is based on the correspondence between the fields: in the case of the literary field, it is realised by the avant-garde authors writing for other authors and the commercial authors writing for the field of power; however, the correspondence is true for any other investigated field and the field of power (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 382). The field of cultural production (comprising publishing houses, theatres, movie production houses, etc.) is structured to offer various and differing

content, which is related to various and differing values, histories, etc. However, the fact that a cultural product finds an audience and that consumers are interested therein is not a result of its conscious attempt at fulfilling their needs, or at least it is never only the result thereof. It is rather coincidental, a consequence of numerous accidental and independent events leading to the correspondence between the field in question and the field of power (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 383).

The correspondence, or homology to use Bourdieu's term, is reflected not only in the relationship between the supply and demand but also in various institutions, such as clubs, academies, associations, etc., which both are based on it and serve to its maintenance and strengthening (1992/2001, pp. 383-384). Bourdieu provides here the examples of salons and focuses especially on the role of women: the salons were institutions where, as it has already been indicated, the literary field and the field of power met. In the field of power, women's position was similar to one of the authors and other artists – 'the dominated among the dominants'. The similarity of their stances made women predisposed to be advocates for the authors. It might also explain the fact why there were so many private relationships established between them and the artists.

The correspondence between the literary field and the field of power is the one which is closest, yet it is not the only one; the literary field and any other field also correspond to the global, social field. For instance, the authors who suffer due to their economic position feel a connection with others suffering due to their economic lacks but functioning in various fields. This connection is prone to mistakes and misunderstandings due to the differences in the overall structures that the individuals function in (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 385), yet it does not mean it cannot be fruitful at any point. Especially in times of crisis, the authors are given a special power to mobilise others who are dominated and to challenge the structure and the order. The homology between the authors, i.e. the dominated among the dominants, and the dominated strengthens the authors' powers to become the voice of the people and the willingness of the crowd to support the written ideas (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 387).

The relation between the investigated field and other fields also reveals itself during internal struggles. As it was already indicated, the internal fights are caused by the internal structure of the field, and they arise from the internal conflicts; however, their effect depends on their external relationship with the field of power or the social field and the ability to find a connection with other external fights and to find external supporters willing to engage (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 387). For instance, the change in the hierarchy of genres in the literary field was possible due to two independent processes that occurred at the same time: firstly, a

new wave of authors appeared in the literary field who were fighting for their consecration with a new type of genre but also, secondly, new consumers with new cultural preferences appeared in the social field. The correspondence between the new genre and the new group of consumers with preferences different than before allowed deep structural changes in the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 388).

What is more, other fields participate in the ageing process of cultural products. The actions of the avant-garde are based on their proposals for the new systems of values and assessment, which at the same time make previous systems and any products related thereto appear outdated. The original effect of avant-garde products wears off as it is repeated by other works of art, but also as it is fossilised by academia or through acts of reading. Hence, when the cultural products aim at finding their audience, they actually sign their own testament once they do: the more widespread and commonly acceptable their values and perception are, the banaler they become, turning into an easy target for the next avant-garde artists to come. Moreover, the more consecrated the work is, the more audience it gets; the more audience it gets, the banaler and more devaluated it is; the more devaluated it is, the even more audience it gets (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 388-389). Thus, in their attempts to become recognised, the cultural products fall into a trap ending their life cycle. The ageing process could not be completed if the inside endeavours did not meet with the interest of the outside: the interest of the audience in a given product makes the ageing process nearly palpable. The process is oftentimes used as an argument by the newcomers trying to find their place in the field: they put into use the assumption that a numerous audience implies low quality and low values.

2.5.7 Social Trajectories

A string of positions assumed chronologically by an individual (or a group) is called a social trajectory; in other words, these are biographical events that can be subject to scientific inquiry. The events are understood and interpreted in relation to the current state of the field. It allows determining one's position in the field but also the value and meaning of one's actions and decisions in a wider social context. It makes it also possible to attempt at the reconstruction of one's capital at a given time as any position—and especially changes of positions—depends on the capital and its restructuration (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 396).

The social trajectory can be understood in terms of the *habitus* displaying its dispositions as one moves around the social space. The options that one perceives as acceptable and possible depend on his or her *habitus*, and so do the choices later made. Each of the choices and the

movements from one position to another changes (usually restricts) the original range of options and is part of one's process of social ageing (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 397).

Regarding the movements, it is possible to distinguish two main trajectories: intragenerational and intergenerational. There are two types of intragenerational trajectories: the first one involves staying within one sector and accumulating one type of capital (e.g. avant-garde artists accumulating symbolic capital and refusing any economic gains). The second one means changing sectors within the field and transforming one capital into another (e.g. poets who turn to writing novels for money, changing their symbolic capital into economic one). There are more intergenerational trajectories: one may differentiate the ascending trajectory, moving upwards from one social class to another, e.g. a writer from the countryside whose family gathered enough money to send him to the city and provide with regular money inflow; transversal trajectory, which is constant or moving slowly downwards from one social class to another and involves temporarily dominant positions in the field of power based on the cultural capital or moving towards cultural enterprises; and nil displacements (hence, staying in the same place on the social map) (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 397-398).

While *habitus* and its disposition advise which options and choices seem the most desired, the capital and its structure decide which range of options is available. The range of options also depends on one's position in the field at the given time, as the options fluctuate. What is allowed and what is plausible is further enforced and displayed by other institutions issuing licences or holding examinations, by formal requirements, public nominations and announcements, or by simply quiet approval. If someone does not choose from the array of possibilities that are presented to him or her, one may expect to be perceived as an ignorant, incompetent person, or to experience negative consequences (even formal punishments) (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 399).

2.5.8 *Habitus and Social Background*

According to Bourdieu, *habitus* and its dispositions appear to be closely related to one's social background. For instance, it seems that being born in a high social class fosters apt recognition of society or bravery. Hence, individuals possessing high *and* varied capital are the most prone to assume new positions or to even create new positions because they have proper dispositions, making them act in a risky manner but also allowing them to recognise which risky investments may be truly fruitful because they are the investments that precede their time and are not faulty in their nature and assumptions (1992/2001, p. 401).

On the other hand, individuals coming from low social classes do not possess such abilities and they are usually tempted by the currently dominating positions, which are bound to fail due to the gains they offer and increased interest they arise. Therefore, while the individuals possessing the social aptness abandon these positions, those who do not move towards them (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 402). Furthermore, if one does not possess social aptness, he or she is more likely to invest in an incoherent project and often attempts to position oneself in spaces where he or she appears to be out of place and is not accepted. Such a person is likely to cherish the values and order that take away his or her own value. An example from the literary field is the person of Léon Cladel; he was born in a craftsman family and finished legal studies, however, instead of pursuing his legal career, he moved to Paris and became a writer. His story is full of struggle and movements between Paris and his village, in neither of which he felt at ease. His creations are similarly struggling: he uses artistic, flowery, poetic language (similar to the one used by artists writing for the art's sake) to describe the life of poor, vulgar villagers, which results in parodistic, yet not intended, effect (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 402-403).

Dispositions, or *habitus*, which is understood as a set of specific dispositions, can be fulfilled only in certain circumstances. Firstly, its actualisation depends on the overall structure of the field and, secondly, it depends on one's position in the field. Hence, *habitus* needs to encounter a structure of possibilities and positions related to certain social traits that fit the *habitus*. Then, even if the dispositions and the assumed position do not complement each other completely, the potential of the position may be revealed. It appears that dispositions are more decisive in the environment where the positions and structures are not fossilised and where there is a possibility to create a position rather than assume one (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 406-408).

The dominant positions in the field are usually occupied by groups that are homonymous regarding their dispositions and capital. The dominated positions, on the other hand, especially when they are created in contradiction to the dominant ones, are characterised by great variety and heterogeneity of dispositions and capitals. Their integrity is usually based on the negative relationship with the dominants and the leadership of one individual. It explains why numerous groups fall apart once they start moving towards the dominant positions: the contradiction loses its power, and only a small group of individuals possessing certain qualities is rewarded in the field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 409). As a result, conflicts arise within the group but also the group becomes more homonymous, and one needs to fulfil precise requirements to become its member (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 410-411).

2.6 Traps in the Field Research

In the study of the field, several traps are awaiting a researcher, for instance, the isolation trap, the geographical trap, or the addressee trap. It is worth reviewing them as well as other methodological issues before moving on to the discussion of the properties of the field and the study of sworn translators, especially since they seem to be particularly relevant to the study of translation from the sociological point of view in general.

First and foremost, the most important rule that should be adopted by a researcher is the rule of reflexivity (or what we could call an ‘ideological’ trap), meaning that in the reconstruction of the universe of possible positions and their points of view, a researcher should bear in mind that numerous scientific tools, analyses and theories are rooted in the field and perform functions of ideological programmes, enforcing certain interpretations, highlighting given issues, or creating non-existent problems and false conflicts (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 297). An example of such a misleading approach is a belief that literary works may be analysed and deeply understood solely on the basis of their reading and that no other context—social, historical, political, etc.—is necessary. It is widely considered to be true that any text can be ‘deconstructed’ or ‘decoded’ simply on its own and that the literary work is autotelic. The practice of reading and interpreting literary works without any context is further imposed by the educational system promoting this approach, which is in fact rooted in the common faith in the creative power of the author (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 298-299). It is then further fossilised and enforced by its popularity and wide application, including significant figures in the intellectual field, which is a common mechanism of empowering given discourses (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 300).

It seems that there are at least two ideological traps in TS. Firstly, TS replicates the ideology of ‘an author as a God’ and ‘his/her divine intentions’ inscribed in literary work. In numerous TS theories, especially those rooted in Literary Studies, the author and the original are placed on the pedestal. As a result, the text becomes a sacred object, whereas a translator becomes a blasphemer, meddling with something that should not be deconstructed and reconstructed by any human being. The violation may be one of the reasons why translators—especially the literary ones—are so often ignored in society, so little paid, and why the profession enjoys such a low status in general.

The second ideological trap might be the image of the translator himself or herself as presented by TS. A translator is pictured as almost a superhuman being with numerous rare qualities, such as the ability to slip into another person’s skin, or rather into the skin of numerous

other people at the same time (the author and imaginary reader), who is presented with the nearly impossible task of transferring an object that cannot be transferred and understanding fully something that can never be fully understood. It is visible in the following quotes:

Translation is a curious craft. You must capture the voice of an author writing in one language and bear it into another, yet leave faint trace that the transfer ever took place. (The translator extraordinaire Charlotte Mandell calls this transformation “Something Else but Still the Same.”) Though spared the anguish of writer’s block, the translator nonetheless has to confront the white page and fill it. The fear: being so immersed in the source text, adhering so closely to the source language, that the resulting prose is affected and awkward—or worse, unreadable. Yet immersion is inevitable. In fact, it’s required.

Like the ghostwriter, the translator must slip on a second skin. Sometimes this transition is gentle, unobtrusive, without violence. But sometimes the settling in is abrupt, loud, and even disagreeable. (Vergnaud, 2018, n.p.)

Just as fragments of a vessel, in order to be fitted together, must correspond to each other in the minutest details but need not resemble each other, so translation, instead of making itself resemble the sense of the original, must fashion in its own language, carefully and in detail, a counterpart to the original’s mode of meaning, in order to make both of them recognizable as fragments of a vessel, as fragments of a greater language (Benjamin, 1923/2012, p. 81).

These two quotes, both discussing the nature of translation yet coming from nearly 100 years apart, clearly depict the ideology underlying the translation myth. Nevertheless, every day, thousands and thousands of people commence the task of translation without being superhumans, and they more often than not succeed at it. TS scholars should be more than careful when using TS theories and tools as these may hide inside them, similarly to the Trojan horse, the ideology of the God-like author, sacred text, or superhuman translator.

Another trap is the one that we could call ‘the isolation trap’. What should be kept in mind is that fields (or any other structures) do not function in the void but in the universe of numerous other fields and structures, to which they are related, sometimes closely and sometimes loosely. Therefore, coming back to the example of the literary field, one cannot simply investigate the field itself in isolation from other fields. Other structures, such as the field of power, field of economy, or field of art, highly influence the literary field through

various symbolic exchanges that take place, symbolic violence, establishing order and enforcing it by means of various institutions, etc. It is similar in the case of any other field: if it is investigated in separation, isolated from the wider context in which it functions, the yielded results will be incomplete, and the imposing explanation of various mechanisms and structures will be rooted only in the one side to the story. If the aim is to present something in terms of a field, any attempts at reductionism are inexcusable (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 305-306).

Examples illustrating this trap are the very system theories in TS. Considering Russian formalism and other theories, including Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978/1990c), Bourdieu points out that the systems conceptualised by these theories are functioning again in the vacuum. There are mentions of their connections to other literary systems and about the system of systems, which are nevertheless highly abstract. It is true that system theories introduced the notion of dynamism, opposition, and rivalry finally into literary studies and TS as well. However, by such closure, a researcher is forced to view the system as its driving force and cannot see or search for other driving forces and influences on the outside. What is more, the power of consecration is also viewed only in the literary system and its previous states and the change is considered to be only natural, nearly automatic (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 309-310). While Bourdieu agrees that the change in the system depends on the array of possibilities present at the given time and place, he also emphasises that these possibilities vary and depend on other symbolic relations, institutions and fights. Moreover, possibilities play also their part in the game, being part of strategies or bids in the field (1992/2001, p. 311).

Simplifying the model of the structure is one of the examples of reductionism present in research, yet not the only one. In both literary and translation studies, it happens often that a study concerns a unique figure or text: for instance, Daniel Simeoni's investigation of Domenico Valentini (2007). However, Bourdieu argues that a proper study of the field should include both figures that hold positions of power and that are models and those that solely aspire to them (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 294). Especially the individuals that by numerous other schools and theories are considered to be solely insignificant background upon which the 'talented' may shine play the crucial role. Due to their position, they have the tools to exert pressure on the rest of the field, and they are more predisposed to be critical and to notice any discrepancies, incoherence or shortcomings (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 294-295). Hence, investigation including only one of the positions, either dominating or dominated, will always be incomplete; in the case of the dominating, it will present the fascination and worship, whereas in the case of the dominated, it will present disillusion or even demonisation. Only the

combination of both points of view may reveal the underlying structures, rules of exchange, or bids made in the game.

Another trap awaiting researchers is what could be called ‘the geographical trap’, or ‘*Zeitgeist* trap’. The political or geographical site should not serve as any basis for assuming the internal unity and coherence of the structures. Using the example of the literary field one more time, the history of the development of the field and its current relation with other fields, including the field of power and the political field, are of utmost importance. However, at the same time, one should ask whether symptoms such as visiting the same places, publishing at the same publishing houses, or participating in the same events are truly the indicators of autonomous space comprising a complicated relational micro-universe, functioning on the basis of its own rules and logic. Clearly, the question regarding the influence of the state—in the case of the literary field, mostly through the educational system—should also be asked as the state participates in numerous interactions and promotes certain order, yet it is neither the only nor the dominating factor (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 307-308).

The fifth trap could be called ‘the addressee trap’. On the example of the literary field, the addressee trap would lay in the conviction that a literary work should be read and interpreted through the prism of its target group as it reflects their stance and understanding of the world. Bourdieu emphasises that, besides again ignoring any external circumstances, the task of determining the target audience is already more than arduous: should it be the group represented by the author? If not, then how would the author know what is their worldview if he or she were not part of that group? And how can we be sure that the group for which the author designed his or her literary work is the actual target audience? Not to mention the fact that the audience is seldom homogenous (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 311-312). Bourdieu argues that the target audience should not be considered as part of the creation process. Due to this argument, he stands in opposition to numerous TS theories claiming that the target audience plays the most significant part in both creations of the original and the translation. Nevertheless, the questions asked by Bourdieu strikingly resemble the critique of functional theories and their shortcomings and point to the dilemmas that insofar have been neither truly confronted nor resolved.

Finally, the last trap could be called the ‘functional trap’. Again using the example of the literary field, Bourdieu warns that by excessive focus on the function played by cultural products in the society, there is a risk of forgetting about other subjects and actors involved in their creation, about their specific, repetitive structure, and the governing internal logic of the field. It is not the function that dictates the order in the field but the relations between subjects, institutions and their positions. What is more, Bourdieu claims that any external requirements

regarding the function of the cultural product first fall into the structures of the literary field and are deformed by the prism of its own internal logic and order (1992/2001, pp. 313-314). At the same time, it is important not to fall into a ‘relational trap’ – not every relationship is of key meaning, a researcher should be able to reconstruct these relations that serve as the basis for the objective net of the field (1992/2001, pp. 315-316).

2.7 Criticism of Literary Theories

In the *Rules of the Art*, Bourdieu not only focuses on proposing his own model of the literary world but also scrutinises some of the literary theories, arguing why their lens is incorrect and pointing to the harm they can do if applied in social studies. In this part, some of the arguments that appear to be particularly relevant to this work are presented, and the link between the discussed theories and the TS is provided. They are supplemented with other relevant comments made by Bourdieu on the social research of products of a culture in general. Some of the criticism has also been already presented in the part entitled “Traps in the field research,” in the discussion on ‘the ideological trap’.

Regarding his criticism of the literary theories, for instance, Bourdieu claims that the coincidence of numerous literary approaches is based on the fact that they study the same subject, namely the subjective perception of the work of art, at the same time downplaying the importance of their social circumstances and the grounding of both the work of art and its experience. Hence, Bourdieu argues that by the adoption of such a lens, literary studies treats an individual case as a universal matter and incorrectly derives norms on these bases. What is more, due to the absence of social circumstances in the analysis, literary studies close their path to the analysis of either the conditions prevailing at the time when the literary work was created or the conditions shaping the aesthetic sense of the receiver and his or her experience (1992/2001, p. 436). Among others, Bourdieu criticises Roman Jakobson and his attempt at describing the factors that transform a text into literary work; a fact which seems particularly relevant due to Jakobson’s participation in establishing the basis for TS (1992/2001, p. 437). He compares the endeavours of literary studies scholars to a vicious circle, in which they attempt at finding an answer to the question of whether they themselves create a work of art through their perception or whether the work of art creates itself in their perception due to certain qualities it possesses.

Furthermore, Bourdieu scrutinises the definitions of literature. One of the definitions that he criticises—the one proposed by Arthur Danto—is particularly worth mentioning here. Danto draws a line between the works of art and the rest on the basis of recognition. Hence, if

a work of art becomes recognised by artists, it is enough evidence to classify it as one. Bourdieu puts forward an argument that Danto's definition is not truly useful; it takes a leap from subjective experience to constructing objective rules, when in fact, it simply underlines the existence of institutions. The scholar argues that in order to understand what is a work of art, one needs to pay attention to these institutions, to the way in which they were brought to life, to the structure of the field and other institutional instances therein, or to how one is shaped to notice and to appreciate works of art (1992/2001, pp. 438-439). Bourdieu's comment on the definition of literature and the approach to literature remains valid in the context of translation, which is deeply rooted in both linguistics and literary studies and duplicates some of the approaches present therein. There is a strikingly similar definition of translation formulated by Gideon Toury, according to whom a translation is every text that is named translation (1995, p. 32).

According to Bourdieu, a study of the works of art should also comprise the development of one's taste, as the appreciation for art is not innate but shaped and taught (1992/2001, p. 440). The fact that one is able to notice a piece of art and treat it on its own terms, meaning as a purposeless object created solely for aesthetical pleasure, is rooted in several events. Firstly, a group of artists preaching such a lens had to appear, and the field had to become autonomous. Secondly, a group of outsiders, i.e. individuals not belonging to the field, nevertheless being able to adopt the artistic lens, had to appear as well. Thirdly, a system supporting the shaping of the lens had to be implemented (e.g. schools promoting the appreciation for art, walks to the museums, field trips or different cultural events, etc.). It is necessary for a researcher to keep in mind that even though the appreciation for the works of art seems universal, it is still a product of a society that could arise due to specific circumstances.

The fact that certain behaviours or viewpoints appear natural is the effect of complete agreement between the dispositions and the structure (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 440-441). The institutions exist on two planes: on the structural plane in the form of the field and on the mental plane in the form of the dispositions. When the dispositions are shaped by the field, the correspondence between them is nearly perfect, which also results in the field being meaningful and worthy for the individual. The described dependency has two other implications. Firstly, it is utterly difficult to overcome one's predispositions, and if one already possesses a set of dispositions corresponding to their field, they will not be able to notice the underlying rules, mechanisms and myths as long as they do not encounter a counter-experience. Secondly, it explains why individuals from other fields and without the necessary dispositions feel lost once they are in contact with the field and the field's products or institutions. Bourdieu provides here

as an example of the feelings of confusion and lack of understanding expressed by individuals deprived of the cultural capital once they enter a museum.

Bourdieu attempts himself at answering the key question regarding what makes a work of art and differentiates it from other works of non-art; what makes an artist and differentiates him or her from other talented individuals; why an everyday object becomes a work of art if displayed in a museum and signed with a name of an artist; and where the magical power of artistic creation comes from (1992/2001, pp. 442-443). He argues that in order to answer these questions, a researcher has to disassemble the creation myth and investigate the process of transformation from a simple object into a work of art. Hence, one should search for the answers in the history and development of the field rather than in the object itself. The aim should be to reveal the social mechanisms constructing the figure of an artist and giving him or her the magical powers. In order to do so, one needs to analyse the development of the field as an autonomous structure, paying attention to any signs of artistic independency (e.g. contracts, signatures on the works, associations) as well as any signs of the field independency (e.g. institutions consecrating art, artistic education, or other individuals interested in the field, such as collectors). In other words, it is necessary to determine how the lens enforcing such interpretation has been formed and how it is being spread (1992/2001, pp. 443-444). What is more, Bourdieu postulates the supplementation of such study with research on how artists view each other, how they view their own works and the works of others, how they are viewed by the consumers of art and how all these representations influence the field (1992/2001, pp. 446).

This is again a comment crucial for TS, whose approach to investigating translation is eminently similar to the one of literary studies, based on the investigation of text or most immediate social circumstances rather than overall structure. Perhaps the adoption of a more holistic approach, such as the one of the field, would yield new results and offer new explanations for trends visible in TS, on the translation market, and in the everyday practice of translators. Nevertheless, it is clearly a tremendous task requiring years of work, both gathering and analysing data (new and already existing), cooperation between numerous disciplines and researchers, application of varying tools, etc., which partly explains why it has not been done before.

Another Bourdieu's comment is related to the perception of structures in research and some of the previously discussed ideologies underlying the theoretical works. As a field becomes autonomous, more and more individuals participate in the fights that take place therein. Thus, in the case of the literary field, in the beginning, the most significant role was played by the writers themselves. However, as the field was becoming increasingly

independent, it also involved critics, art dealers, publishers, mediators, etc., all of whom participate in the same fight (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 449-450). Bourdieu contends that the numerous unsatisfactory results of literary studies, frustrating for the researchers, are the result of their own unconscious involvement in the fights. Furthermore, it is necessary to acknowledge that the perception categories that partly constitute the Literary Studies are also present in other discourses and are applied by numerous users of the language. As a result, they are fuzzy and fluid even when used in a scientific debate, as the language users representing different stances and different understandings modify the content of terms through their application. The modifications may go sometimes as far as to include contradictory elements (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 450).

The perception categories are also capitalised by artists and critics in their fights for positions and power in the field and their content varies depending on one's position and aim. Later they become part of the academic debate and they enter the scholarly theories without proper treatment or reflection: namely, they are treated as theories or tools of categorisation rather than masked schemas whose sole aim is to give its users vantage in the fight (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 452).

Finally, it is not possible to establish the universal truth of the field as the truth is also the subject of the fights. Hence, approaches, perception categories or classification may pretend to be universal, whereas, in reality, they are only temporary truths in the field. The aim of researchers should not be then to establish universal truths, as they do not exist in the everchanging world of culture, but to establish the logic of the field: the temporary truths, the rules of the game, the stakes, the strategies, etc. (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 453).

Similarly, the ability to read in a 'pure' manner, as it is postulated by the literature scholars and critics, is a product of the field shaped simultaneously with 'pure' works of art and their writers (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 458). What is more, Bourdieu argues that the figure of a reader reinforced by the theory of literature is based on the experience of the researcher himself or herself, without being first properly analysed: it serves as the basis to construct the 'experienced reader' or 'implied reader' (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, pp. 458-459). The sociologist contends that no amount of empathy can lead to the postulated 'true' understanding as it would involve a reader and the author exchanging places and being able to experience the specific circumstances conditioning the work and the social pressures placed on the author (1992/2001, pp. 459-460). He claims that the romantic visions of one true meaning of the text and attempts at constructing the true reader (equalling to the author-reader) or placing oneself in the reader's

shoes¹⁴ should be abandoned in favour of the search for the ‘generating formula’; hence, analysis of the circumstances leading to the creation and success of a given work of art (1992/2001, p. 460). He argues that it is not the ability to be in one’s shoes that provides the real understanding of their work but the real understanding of their work that leads to the ability to be in one’s shoes. The analysis that he postulates includes the research on the development of ‘pure’ literature and its readers, along with the research on the process of growing independency of the field, and on the development of the consecrating institutions, including the educational process (1992/2001, p. 462)

Bourdieu’s remarks could even serve as an explanation why some authors claim that they would have written their own works differently now: after gaining new experiences, possessing another capital, being in a different position, they themselves stop being the readers designed for their own works. Further, these comments again serve as implied criticism of TS. TS theory is abundant in both postulates for empathy and figures of implied, non-existent readers who are supposed to condition the translator’s work. For instance, Elżbieta Tabakowska cites in her work a model of personal relationships coined in literary studies. According to that model and modifications introduced for the needs of TS, there are at least a dozen or so personae participating in translation. The first and most important distinction should be made between the intratextual and extratextual relationships (Tabakowska, 2009, p. 34). At this point, it is possible to distinguish already *three* personae of the author himself or herself: firstly, there is an author as a real, living human being; secondly, there is “a subject of creative activities,” who is a persona conjured by the author to perform the task of writing; and thirdly, there is “internal author” who may or may not be the same person as the narrator and who is part of the fiction world. Clearly, a translator needs to be able to tell all these persons apart and identify the imprints that they leave in the text. Similar abundance takes place regarding the text readers. Hence, there is an “internal addressee” in the text; then, there is the already mentioned above “ideal reader,” from whom it is required to possess knowledge of all possible interpretations of the text and who is non-existent; and finally, there is the “real reader,” who by no means is the same as the “ideal reader” (Tabakowska, 2009, p. 35). At this point, there are at least six personae participating in the process of reading and interpreting, yet the situation becomes even more complicated in the case of translation. The figure of a translator is introduced: and again, there is a real, physical person of a translator, who creates “a subject to translation activities”

¹⁴ Bourdieu calls such an approach a *hermeneutic narcissism*, claiming that it serves rather to build a researcher’s ego, proving to him or her that due to their extraordinary empathy, they are able to understand some of the greatest minds (1992/2001, p. 461).

to perform the task of translation. Not only that, but a translator is also required to become an “ideal reader,” who—as already indicated—does *not* exist. What is more, the process of translation introduces two more figures of readers: an “ideal reader of translation” and “real reader of translation” (Tabakowska, 2009, p. 35). This is now a crowd of personae on the stage and as a result, the attention is paid only to them as at this point they probably managed to cover with their own bodies any background, surroundings or additional circumstances conditioning translation: hence, any elements that, according to Bourdieu, may truly have potential to lead to any understanding of the literary mechanisms as well as underlying meanings.

Bourdieu notices that such analysis as he proposes is particularly challenging as it requires the abandonment of some deeply rooted ideas and convictions. He argues that even though we are slaves to our perception and lenses that make us read temporality as universality, it is possible to overcome one’s own thinking patterns through historical thinking (1992/2001, p. 463). What is required is the double historicisation: a researcher should be able to analyse the thinking patterns that structure one’s world (including his or hers) and their application (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 471). It can be achieved through the reconstruction of the field: the space of possible positions identified on the basis of dispositions and the space of the possible. The sociologist argues that without the understanding of the wider context, one is determined to either consider his or her own thinking as the only ‘right’ thinking or still be unable to understand the structuring rules. In order to understand tradition, one needs to become detached from it, and notice the temporal distance between the emergence of tradition and its application. Such detachment allows an objective analysis of the subject (Bourdieu, 1992/2001, p. 472).

2.8 Conclusion

Summing up, the field theory and the concepts such as *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, etc. proposed by Bourdieu seem to be suitable for researching translators. In Bourdieu’s study on the literary field, one may find numerous parallels between the world of writers and translators, which hint at how the field theory could be used to the benefit of TS. What is more, Bourdieu offers certain critical, yet valuable, comments on the literary theories, some of which served as the basis for establishing TS. While many TS scholars themselves noticed and discussed the very same drawbacks, oppositions or tensions in, for instance, the system theories, there are not many other methodological proposals or models that would attempt at overcoming them. Bourdieu’s field theory potentially offers a systemic approach to translation and translators, simultaneously trying to resolve the said conflicts or to at least find an explanation for their existence that is rooted in the social world and in the structure itself.

Chapter 3: Interview as a Tool and a Method in Qualitative Research

3.0 Overview

This chapter is devoted to the presentation of interviews, which may perform a twofold role in social research: they may serve as a tool for gathering data, or they may be given the status of a stand-alone method. Both these approaches are investigated below. The chapter serves also to indicate the methods and tools selected for the study proposed in Chapter 4 and to justify the choice.

The chapter opens with a concise presentation of the main characteristics of qualitative research in the context of the social sciences; the description is supplemented with a comparison to quantitative research, and the emphasis is placed on the differences between these two types of research. Aspects such as the control of variables and environment, sampling, quality assurance or the status of generalisation are explored.

The first part of the chapter is devoted to the interview viewed as a tool for gathering data. It offers an overview of the issues such as interview typology, sampling, and analysis. Typology is based on the proposal of one of the key Polish sociologists, Jan Lutyński (1994), which places emphasis on the degree of standardisation of an interview. It is complemented by Steinar Kvale's (2007/2010) idea of an expert interview. The part concerning sampling presents a dichotomous division into probability and non-probability sampling. Particular attention is devoted to snowball sampling, a type of non-probability sampling that has been applied in this study as well, to underline its usefulness in the study and the value of information that can be gathered solely from the application of this sampling method. Various approaches to the analysis of interviews are presented, drawing from the work of Kvale (2007/2010); this part also discusses the importance of transcription in the context of analysis and its purposes.

The second part of this chapter focuses on the perspective offered by Pierre Bourdieu (1994) and Jean-Claude Kaufmann (2007/2010), who both claim that interviews are more than just tools for gathering data; they view interviews as a complete method. First, Bourdieu's methodological comments are investigated. They concern issues such as power relations in interviews and counteractions that can be taken against symbolic violence, the key role of active listening and empathy, the imposition effect, and the role of interpretation. Second, Bourdieu's method is supplemented by Kaufmann's. The closeness between their views is indicated, and

Kaufmann's practical remarks regarding the analysis of the interview and the text elements that should draw the researcher's attention in particular are discussed and illustrated with examples.

3.1 Fundamental Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is perhaps most common in the social sciences, humanities, and psychology – in linguistics, quantitative studies appear to be more prevalent. Hence, it seems reasonable to present certain basic aspects of qualitative research in comparison to quantitative research—with the emphasis on their role and application in social sciences—before transferring chosen qualitative methods into TS ground. In this short introduction, a comparison between the following aspects of these two kinds of research is performed: making generalisations, controlling variables and environment, quality assurance, and sampling.

Almost every study aims at making 'true' or 'real' statements about the world – therefore, the researched objects are supposed to allow the researcher to make generalisations. Quantitative studies recreate worlds in miniature and numbers in order to extrapolate believable results onto the 'real' world; however, this is not the case in qualitative research. The primary difference is rooted in the very questions asked by researchers; as Mike Allen et al. state, "qualitative researchers, whether they employ interviews, ethnography, participant observation, or some combination thereof, are interested in asking 'how questions'," whereas "quantitative researchers tend to ask and answer 'what questions'" (2009, p. 3). In the book on one of the qualitative methods, *Case Study Method*, Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba entitled their piece of work "The only generalization is: There is no generalization" (2000). This statement may be too far going as even in the case studies, the authors' goal is to conclude their research somehow (and, hence, make generalisations) but the generalisation in the qualitative studies presents quite a different nature than in the quantitative ones (Flick, 2007/2010, pp. 80-81). Uwe Flick claims that to understand this contrast between varying generalisations, one should refer to the work of Joseph Maxwell, who proposes the term "external generalisation" and "internal generalisation" (2005). The former is characteristic of quantitative research; it allows the researcher to hypothesise on the studied sample and the real world. In contrast, the latter is typical of qualitative research and allows making statements applying only to the researched sample (Maxwell, 2005, p. 115, as cited in Flick, 2007/2010, p. 81). The issue of generalisation is closely related to the goal of research and its achievement. Allen et al. note that while the fundamental aim—i.e. the theory production—is shared by both qualitative and quantitative studies, it is achieved differently. Qualitative studies place emphasis on understanding the experiences and worldviews of the respondents, thus aiming for the deepening of the gathered

material. Quantitative research, on the other hand, achieves the said goal “through systematic observation of hypothesized connections among variables” (Allen et al., 2009, p. 4). Hence, one’s expectations towards the end result of the qualitative study should be different than in the quantitative one.

Moreover, the attitude towards the quantitative and qualitative studies variables differs significantly. In quantitative research, the researchers attempt at controlling as many variables and as much context as possible; such a strict control ensures the validity of obtained results (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 82). In qualitative research, the control over these dimensions is neither required nor even accepted. Surely, certain variables need to be taken into account in the process of comparing or searching for the cause of the differences in the respondents; however, it is quite common that the main variable that needs to be controlled is the qualitative method itself. For instance, Flick (2007/2010, p. 82) states that if the researchers use the interview as their method, they should prepare a guide that will be more or less applied during the research, depending on how the situation unfolds. Once the method of the study is controlled, the researcher may look for the explanation of the occurring differences, not in the context but the respondents themselves.

Another significant difference regards the issue of quality. In quantitative research, quality is related to the standardisation – strict application of the method, control of the environment and variables, and following regulated procedures (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 110). Unfortunately, the issue of quality is not so straightforward in the case of qualitative studies. Flick (2007/2010, p. 115) notes that there were (still are and, in most probability, will be) numerous attempts in creating a list of criteria allowing one to judge the quality of the research, but they have all failed to a certain degree. For instance, one of the often proposed criteria is credibility – however, there is no common agreement on what credibility exactly signifies or on how to measure credibility and what kind of qualitative research is more credible than others.

Nevertheless, this dispute does not mean that quality is not an important matter in qualitative research; quite the opposite, it is crucial, only verified differently. Flick (2007/2010, pp. 110-115) lists a number of procedures that should be followed in order to ensure the quality of research, e.g. adequacy, indication, rigour. Adequacy is connected to the verification of the method on two levels: first, the researcher ensures that he or she knows the method very well and is able to apply it successfully in his or her study, e.g. by performing piloting interviews; second, the researcher constantly asks himself or herself whether the previously chosen method is the best one and confronts it with the circumstances and environment of the study (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 112). Indication relates to the choice of the methods, which needs to be

reasonably validated and based on the already-existing knowledge of the issue in question (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 111). Rigour is related to the consequence in their application – hence, the researcher should follow his or her method (e.g. the plan of the interview) elastically but without any significant changes and should follow the chosen logic of the sampling (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 113). In order to allow other specialists to judge the quality of the research, one should prepare a report in which he or she describes his or her journey through the research—the choice of methods and theoretical perspective, the encountered problems, the possible solutions and the chosen solutions, etc.—therefore, a researcher’s private diary of a kind (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 116).

Sampling is one of the crucial steps in both qualitative and quantitative research as wrong sampling may jeopardize the study. Both qualitative and quantitative studies aim at the representativeness of their sampling; yet, it is again worth noting that the representativeness is understood differently therein. Quantitative research intends to recreate the world and the occurring patterns on the basis of the miniature (i.e. the sampling) – hence, the sampling should comprise enough cases and reflect certain features in such a way as to allow for the generalisation (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 56). In the case of qualitative research, the goal is also representativeness yet it is understood as the representation of diverse practices and attitudes regarding the studied phenomenon (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 61). Two opposing methods of building a sample can be distinguished: formal and strategic. In formal sampling, the researcher assumes that certain demographic features (e.g. age, education, profession) influence the respondents’ attitudes towards the issue in question and constructs the theoretic sample (its size, number of men vs. women, number of young vs. elderly, etc.) before the research begins. Flick presents an example of formal sampling from his own research: when the sociologist decided to study the concept of health, he suspected that the age and the sex of respondents would be crucial variables providing varying views on the researched issue and constructed his theoretical sample beforehand (2007/2010, pp. 56-57).

In strategic sampling, the researcher applies a *tabula rasa* approach – he or she has as few preconceptions as possible and samples his or her respondents on the basis of the ongoing research and analysis, following the course of his or her study (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 57). Flick highlights that in qualitative research, strategic sampling is more common and often recommended as the study of this nature does not necessarily aim at creating a miniature reflecting the features of the ‘real’ world but at an in-depth understanding of a given phenomenon. Therefore, in prevalent cases, only strategic sampling offers a desired variety of respondents as well as their diverse experiences and attitudes towards the studied issue (Flick,

2007/2010, pp. 58-59). The researcher should not grasp solely extreme, ‘border’ cases or only common, ‘middle’ ones but endeavour to comprehend the wide spectrum of varying practices and views relating to the issue in question (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 61).

Sometimes, it may happen that the strategy of constructing a sample changes over time. For instance, Flick changed his strategy from formal to strategic when he discovered in the aforementioned study that it was not the sex of the respondents that influenced their view of the concept of health but the support they received from their relatives and significant others in their sickness (2007/2010, p. 65). The researcher’s view and understanding of the studied field may evolve and change as the study proceeds – therefore, flexibility in the sampling method appears to be a necessity.

Finally, it is worth noticing that a researcher’s approach towards qualitative data may vary depending on the data itself. There are three main kinds of data in social research: verbal data collected during, for instance, interviews and analysed mostly in the form of transcriptions; data resulting from the transformation of various documents (written, oral or multimedia) and collected into corpora that are later subject to analysis; and data produced during observation and ethnographic research in the form of notes, diaries etc. Besides those three, there is also a fourth approach based on the analysis of the data already produced by another research. Each of the kinds of data relates to different methodological approaches (Flick, 2007/2010, pp. 136-137).

To sum up, while qualitative and quantitative studies share the same goal, i.e. producing or rectifying the theory, they achieve it in a different manner. The data generalisation or the control of the variables are understood differently; the gathered data varies; the preferred sampling strategy stands in opposition, etc. This influences the overall role of a researcher: while in a quantitative study, the researcher aims “to be a precise analyst of data,” in the qualitative study, he or she performs the role of “a careful and reflective observer” (Allen et al., 2009, p. 4). In the further part of this chapter, the focus will be placed on the interviews, as it was the method chosen to conduct the study presented in this doctoral dissertation.

3.2 Interview as the Qualitative Method

Interviews accompany humanities from their very beginning; as Steinar Kvale notices, they were used as a tool for developing knowledge already by some of the most prominent Greek philosophers, including Socrates (2007/2010, p. 32). The use of interviews in the 20th century has significantly transformed the perception of numerous mental processes, emotions, and subjectivity, and has deeply changed disciplines such as psychology or pedagogy (2007/2010,

p. 33). Though not very common, interviews were also used in TS. For instance, to quote a few, Matthieu LeBlanc (2013) conducted a series of interviews with translators (supplement with the shadowing sessions) in order to understand how new technologies changed their professional perspective and status; Gisèle Sapiro (2013) used in-depth interviews in a study applying Bourdieu's concepts (social trajectories, habitus, social properties) to analyse translator's professional identity; Maialen Marin-Lacarta and Mireia Vargas-Urpi (2019) applied interviews to investigate the translators' stance towards the revision process and to understand the decisions they made.

The interview has become nowadays so widespread and ever-present that Paul Atkinson and David Silverman proposed the term of the Interview Society (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 36). The method has nearly taken over consumer research, allowing the accurate predictions of the customers' behaviours and creating the basis of economic research in the era of mass consumerism. What is more, it has become a tool of self-construction in society, which is partly visible in the popularity of interviews with celebrities and famous persons from each field of life, from movie stars to cancer researchers and astrophysicists. For some reason, however, they have not become the subject of a scholarly reflection until the second half of the 20th century (2007/2010, p. 33).

Perhaps the best argument supporting the application of the interview technique in research is the passage opening Kvale's *Doing interviews*:

If you want to know how people understand their world and their lives, why not talk with them? Conversation is a basic mode of human interaction. Human beings talk with each other, they interact, pose questions and answer questions. Through conversations we get to know other people, get to learn about their experiences, feeling and hopes and the world they live in. In an interview conversation, the researcher asks about, and listens to, what people themselves tell about their lived world, about their dreams, fears and hopes, hears their views and opinions in their own words ... The research interview is an inter-view where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and interviewee (2007, p. 1).

Nevertheless, an interview is not a conversation *per se*. In an everyday conversation, the involved persons ask each other questions, answer them, and express their opinions and beliefs on equal terms. In a qualitative interview, the interviewer steers the conversation in such a way as to gain information that is of interest to him or her (and, hence, holds power). What is more, the exchange of information is unequal as well. While the respondents share their views, beliefs,

and experiences, the researcher remains silent and does not express his or her opinion on the investigated subject¹⁵ (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 29). The goal is to ask such questions and explore such topics as seeing the world in the respondent's eyes, reconstructing his or her reality, and gaining as much information as possible. Moreover, one should not forget that an interview is a research tool and, therefore, certain strict rules of application and conduct apply in every step.

Hence, there are several concerns that should be kept in mind while using interviews as a research tool. Perhaps, first and foremost, it should be mentioned how different it is to conduct this kind of qualitative study from the quantitative one. There are no clear-cut answers regarding how many respondents one should have, whether the transcription of interviews is necessary, or what the most suitable manner of data presentation is (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 38). The lack of standard procedures is rooted in the fact that, as it has already been pointed out, the scholarly reflection over interviews is only quite recent but also in the very nature of the tool, which, in fact, determines the conduct of research.

What is more, an interview aims not to investigate the objective truths about the world but to reveal one's inner and subjective understanding thereof. Interviews are designed specifically to allow one to express their point of view, describe their feelings, and share their own experiences. Therefore, a person conducting an interview attempts at understanding one's life, choices and viewpoints. It is encouraged that a researcher should reformulate his or her respondent's words, ask additional questions, etc., in order to ensure that he or she correctly interprets the message already during the interview (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 42-43).

The figure of the researcher also differs greatly from its standard projection. The researcher's stance should be characterised by naivety. What it implies is that one should be open to an encounter with another person and to that person's experiences. A researcher should suspend his or her judgement and the process of categorisation in order to acquire a respondent's description of his or her inner world in its most developed form. It is impossible if an interviewer follows a strict plan of an interview and is not truly invested in his or her respondent's story. To be a skilled interviewer, openness, the suspense of categorisation and judgment, and a conscious and critical approach towards one's own hypotheses and presuppositions are necessary (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 44).

¹⁵ However, it is worth noting that, for instance, Pierre Bourdieu did not withhold his opinions if their expressing was to his advantage. Kvale quotes parts of Bourdieu's interviews with marginalised people in France, in which Bourdieu (1999) presented a critical and negative approach towards some of the stories that his respondents shared in order to retrieve more information or to expose clear contradictions present in the speakers (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 30-32).

Interestingly, a researcher still needs to possess certain knowledge on the investigated issues as he or she ought to be sensitive to them during an interview and it seems impossible to be sensitive without being competent; Kvale provides here an example of a music lover and music ignorant, considering the former to be a better interviewer on the matters of, for instance, music sensitivity (2007/2010, pp. 45-46). This requirement, however, stands in opposition to the requirement of naivety discussed in the paragraph above and illustrates one of the many tensions present in the methodological considerations involving qualitative interviews.

The requirement of openness influences the structure of an interview. The researcher prepares topics and issues that interest him or her beforehand and constructs the questions in such a manner as to place focus on them. At the same time, the questions remain open and allow the respondents freedom in their responses. The aim is to collect specific information on a given topic, but not to manipulate or force respondents into viewing it in a certain manner or expressing a particular opinion thereon. The researcher actively listens throughout the interview, ensures that they understand the respondent's point of view correctly (without making any suggestions or implications) and directs the conversation onto the issues that are the subject of the research. The role of the researcher and his or her clarifying competencies become especially significant when there are certain inconsistencies or even contradictions in the respondent's answers: the researcher should be able to tell apart contradictions resulting from difficulties in communication and those resulting from the existence of other, outer contradictions which they only reflect (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 45).

Finally, an interview is a setting that creates an uneven power balance, giving significantly more power to the researcher. An interview is not a conversation between two equal partners, as it usually takes place in everyday life, but a conversation conducted by a skilled and educated researcher with a set of specific competencies, who aims at gathering information on a certain topic and, hence, determines the shape and topic of the conversation.

Furthermore, there is one person who asks questions and one who answers, yet it is the one who asks questions that later receives the power to interpret the answers and claim that their interpretation is the correct one. The uneven power balance may result, for instance, in the respondent's attempts to answer the questions in the 'expected' manner or in their resistance reflected in hiding information, giving untrue answers, asking questions and discrediting the interviewer or even interrupting the interview (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 47-48). Hence, it is the researcher's task not to take advantage of the power imbalance, ensure that their respondent is comfortable, or even allow back questions and common interpretation.

The issues mentioned above are explored in more detail in the second part of the chapter, where Pierre Bourdieu's and Jean-Claude Kaufmann's methodologies are discussed. In this part of the chapter, the following issues will be explored: the common (mis)understanding of the word 'interview', the typology of interviews with the emphasis on in-depth semi-structured interviews, sampling methods in qualitative research with the focus on the snowball sampling, and common approaches to the interviews, their transcription and analysis.

3.2.1 Etymology of the Word

In both Polish and English, the word 'interview' belongs to the category of quite common and well-known words with multiple meanings. According to one of the leading online dictionaries, 'interview' is positioned between levels 7 and 8 on the 21-level scale of word difficulty, meaning it is used on a daily basis by numerous people (Dictionary.com, n.d.).

In English, 'interview' can function in the sentence as either noun or verb. According to Dictionary.com, the noun carries the following meaning:

1. a formal meeting in which one or more persons question, consult, or evaluate another person
2. a meeting or conversation in which a writer or reporter asks questions of one or more persons from whom material is sought for a newspaper story, television broadcast, etc.
3. the report of such a conversation or meeting. (Dictionary.com, n.d.)

Cambridge Dictionary adds one more meaning to the list: "a meeting in which the police ask someone questions to see if they have committed a crime" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). It is only Merriam-Webster that mentions the application of the word in the scientific context in the definition: "a meeting at which information is obtained (as by a reporter, television commentator, or **pollster**) from a person" (Merriam-Webster, n.d., bold mine). The last definition also describes the closest of all available definitions of a situation in which a researcher and respondent are placed during a qualitative interview. The dominance of other meanings, especially those relating to newspapers, television, and famous persons, should not be surprising; as it has been mentioned above, already in 1997, Paul Atkinson and David Silverman used the term "interview society" to describe contemporary society and concluded that talk shows are a sign of modernity (as cited in Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 36-37).

Interestingly, in Polish dictionaries, the meaning of the word ‘wywiad’ relating to the scientific context is one of the most prominent ones. *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* presents the following meanings:

1. «rozmowa dziennikarza z kimś, zwykle ze znaną osobą, w której odpowiada ona na zadawane pytania; też: ta rozmowa opublikowana w radiu, telewizji lub w prasie»
2. «**metoda zbierania określonych informacji i badania opinii publicznej, polegająca na przeprowadzaniu odpowiednio ukierunkowanych i planowych rozmów**»
3. «rozmowa lekarza z chorym mająca na celu zebranie informacji o jego problemach zdrowotnych i warunkach środowiskowych»
4. «instytucja mająca na celu zbieranie tajnych informacji dotyczących obcych państw; też: ludzie pracujący w tej instytucji»
5. «działalność mająca na celu przekazywanie tajnych informacji». (*Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, n.d., bold mine)

What is more, Polish *Słowosieć* promotes the scientific-related meaning as the first available; however, the terms used in its definition are ‘sondaż’ [survey] and ‘ankieta’ [questionnaire], hence other research methods that can but do not have to have anything in common with ‘wywiad’ and are particularly misleading in the context of in-depth interviews. Further, when we decide to follow the path to the highest hypernym, we will learn that the lowest hypernym of ‘wywiad’ is ‘sondaż’ (*Słowosieć*, n.d.). This relation between ‘wywiad’ and ‘sondaż’ appears to be quite contradictory and faulty in its nature as ‘wywiad’ is related mostly to the qualitative methods of research, whereas ‘sondaż’ is a quantitative method of study. Consequently, ‘survey’ is indicated as its English hypernym whereas the word ‘interview’ is nowhere to be found. Hence, even though the dictionaries highlight the scientific meaning of the word, there is clear confusion regarding the term ‘wywiad’ in Polish. Perhaps it results from the prevalence and appreciation of quantitative research and reflects the diminishing and undermining of qualitative ones.

3.2.2 *Typology of Interviews*

Due to the fact that interviews are a relatively new technique in qualitative research, the field still lacks agreement regarding the classification of interviews or sometimes even the terminology used. Furthermore, different disciplines will offer varying typologies and will apply the technique differently. Finally, as Jan Lutyński points out, qualitative techniques are

far less strict than the quantitative techniques: they are rather guidelines for a researcher or a set of rules to follow at one point or another, but in the end, they require a fair amount of creativity on the researcher's side. Hence, if a researcher decides to conduct a study applying, for instance, a questionnaire interview, there are certain rules regarding the overall process, its steps and the general form of the interview. However, the particular structure, questions, conduct or gaining respondents is an issue for a researcher to solve and rarely there will be two similar situations (1994, pp. 111-112). This further complicates the matter of providing a typology with clear-cut categories or one that could be applied universally across disciplines and studies.

What can be stated about all types of interviews is that they are based on communication. To be more precise, they are characterised by a closed circulation of information, which begins with a researcher asking for information and ends with a respondent answering (Lutyński, 1994, p. 118). Lutyński notices that for an exchange of information to be successful, it is required that both a researcher and a respondent understand each other and interpret the requests and answers in a similar manner.¹⁶ Simultaneously, a researcher has to consider the fact that numerous psychological processes occur during an interview and some of them might impede the overall process, for instance, when the respondent's expectations do not match the reality or when the questions raise unwanted feelings, e.g. shame, which might lead to hiding information from the researcher. Lutyński provides an example of an interview with a highly educated person who was asked how many books they had read in the previous six months. If they realise that it was only one book or even none at all, they may refrain from sharing this information due to the feeling that they failed the (societal) expectations (1994, p. 119). Hence, even such a simple and 'innocent' question may, in certain circumstances, lead to complex psychological processes and undesired reactions on the respondent's part. This remark leads back to the issue of the distinction between various types of interviews: while there may be different schools and methodological guidelines, they can offer only highly general remarks concerning the conduct of interviews. The rest is up to a researcher to face alone and to come up with solutions to the issues encountered. Several typologies drawing on research conducted within social sciences

¹⁶ Lutyński claims that the understanding should be identical for both parties involved (or more, in the case of focus group interviews); however, as numerous linguistic scholars have already pointed out, it is impossible to treat communication in terms of simple coding and decoding of messages and full understanding might not be achievable as the message is subject to interpretation (e.g. Radden & Dirven, 2007, pp. 56-57). This is why it is so important during the interview to ask additional questions, paraphrase the answers, and make sure that our interpretation overlaps with the interpretation of the respondent.

(especially sociology) are presented below. The emphasis is placed on Lutyński's proposal, which is based on the degree of standardisation.

Perhaps the simplest distinction is offered by Richardson, Dohrenwend and Klein, who distinguish between a scheduled interview and a non-scheduled interview (1965, as cited in Przybyłowska, 1978). A *scheduled interview* is characterised by its rigid structure: an interviewer is obliged to ask all respondents the same questions in the same order. In such a type of interview, there is no room for asking additional questions, deepening some issues or following threads that emerged during the conversation. In the *non-scheduled interview*, the circumstances are quite different. The interviewer does not have a list of questions at all, only a list of pieces of information he or she should obtain from the respondents. During each of the interviews, the interviewer should manage to retrieve all the information from his or her checklist; however, the way in which the questions will be asked and their order are for the interviewer to decide and to make them fit both the respondent and the situation in which they find themselves (Przybyłowska, 1978, pp. 54-55).

Ilona Przybyłowska offers another typology on the basis of Jan Lutyński's work (1968, 1972) and her own research (1978). Lutyński orders the interviews on the basis of their standardisation. The sociologist understands standardisation as the unification of the research process and following instructions prepared beforehand, which concern the sampling of respondents, conducting the interview (e.g. the situation of the interview, the form and the order of the questions, the coding of answers, etc.), recording the data, etc. (Lutyński, 1994, pp. 122-123). The more definite the rules, the higher the standardisation, which ultimately aims to unify data up to the point that allows for quantitative analysis. However, it should be noted that standardisation in the context of interviews, and qualitative research in general, should be understood in a less strict manner. As it has been already pointed out at the beginning of this section, communication is never 'absolute', misunderstandings occur, and so do numerous processes that a researcher cannot control during an interview. At the same time, the focus of the qualitative inquiry is placed not on the 'width' of a phenomenon but on its 'depth' – the main aim is not to generalise and investigate how widespread is the investigated issue but to understand it deeply.

The typology offered by Lutyński begins with the survey interview being the most standardised and ends with the free interview being the least standardised. Lutyński notices that even a given type of interview can vary when it comes to its standardisation. Hence, when it comes to *survey interviews*, it is possible to distinguish highly standardised survey interviews with the list of closed-ended questions being formulated long before the actual interview, which

are always asked to the respondent in the same order and the same form, and less standardised interviews comprising both closed-ended and open-ended questions, which are asked in the same order but may be supplemented with additional questions to clarify or to develop the respondent's answer. *The free interview* could be further divided into unstructured, being the least standardised type of interview in Lutyński's typology, and structured. Open, very general questions characterise an unstructured interview; there is no list of questions prepared beforehand, and the interview is tailored to its respondents. There are not many questions, but they are asked in such a manner as to elicit longer and more complex in-depth responses.

The lack of rigidity also characterises the structured interview, yet when the interviewer enters the interview situation, they already have dispositions containing questions – these might be research questions or actual questions to be asked to the respondents. The questions are directed in such a way as to focus on particular issues that interest the researcher, yet they are still open-ended questions tailored to the respondent. While the survey interview overlaps with the category of scheduled interviews and free interviews with non-scheduled interviews, Przybyłowska adds here another type of interview that seems to escape this division, namely *free interview with the standardised list of sought information*. This interview is characterised by a list of information that needs to be retrieved from each respondent, making it similar to a survey interview. At the same time, though there might be a list of suggested questions, the interviewer is free to formulate the open-ended and closed-ended questions in the manner suitable to the respondent and the situation (Przybyłowska, 1978, pp. 62-67).

Lutyński himself notices that the typology that he offers differs from other methodological schools in terminology (1994, p. 127). Thus, for instance, the free interview with a structure is in most methodological books called a *semi-structured interview*. Kvale adds that semi-structured interviews are mostly applied in research to grasp how respondents understand a phenomenon or phenomena that interest the researcher. The questions may be formulated ahead, but they can be freely reformulated or moved around during an interview in such a way as to follow the respondent's train of thought and deepen the threads offered during the conversation (2007/2010, p. 100). Hence, even though the terminology used varies, the definitions provided by Lutyński and by Kvale prove that, in fact, they refer to the same type of interview.

Finally, Kvale distinguishes special types of interviews on the basis of the respondents, e.g. intercultural interviews, interviews with children, and elite interviews. While there were no respondents from other cultures or children participating in the study, some of the conducted interviews were *elite interviews*, as some of the respondents were, in fact, declared as subjects

of professional respect or even admiration by others. According to Kvale (2007/2010, p. 123), elite interviews are a special type of interview when a respondent is simultaneously an expert in the investigated field, community, etc. This person may assume the position of power but not necessarily. The elite interviews differ from typical interviews of any kind due to the fact that a researcher is not an expert anymore; it is his or her respondent that possesses significantly more knowledge and power. Due to that fact, the power relation usually constructed during the interview, in which the researcher holds power, steers the conversation, asks questions, decides when it is necessary to gain more information and when to stop, may be reversed.

Finally, Kvale notes that experts are accustomed to the interview situation, which may be both a downside and an upside: on the one hand, they are more reflexive and have more experience and insights on the given issues than other respondents. On the other hand, their responses might be serving purposes other than simply providing information: they might be playing their own game, to use Bourdieu's metaphor. Therefore, it is particularly important for a researcher to be well prepared for this kind of interview in terms of knowledge of both the investigated issue and the respondent.

In the study offered in the thesis, the free interview with a structure (or a semi-structured interview) has been applied. The reasoning behind the choice of this particular type of interview was as follows: the elements of the interview referred to the concepts and phenomena indicated by Bourdieu as crucial in the study of any field. The research questions have been reformulated into research questions (see Chapter 4). Simultaneously, the aim of the study was to offer an in-depth understanding of the social space(s) in which translators function; thus, the structure of the interview could not have been too rigid. The free interview with a structure seemed to be the most suitable choice as it allows for changing the order of the questions, asking additional questions, confronting interpretations, and following the respondent in their story.

3.2.3 Sampling

In interviews, a researcher does not have 'direct' insight into studied phenomena, but they can investigate them only through the 'lenses' of respondents' stories and answers (Flick, 2007/2010, p. 139). Hence, sampling becomes a key issue heavily influencing the outcome of a study with humans.

In general, sampling can be divided into probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling can be further divided into simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, cluster sampling, systematic sampling, and multi-stage sampling, whereas non-

probability sampling into quota sampling, snowball sampling, judgment sampling, and convenience sampling (Taherdoost, 2016, p. 20).

The principal aim of probability sampling is to ensure the generalisation of the study. The difficulties characterising probability sampling lie in the cost of such sampling, the time necessary to conduct it, and the need to possess the complete list of all respondents. Probability sampling comprises several different, quite distinct methods: simple random sampling implies that each of the subjects in the population may be chosen for the study with equal chances. Systematic sampling is based on the idea that a researcher chooses each n-th respondent from the list, e.g. each tenth physician from the list of all registered physicians. Stratified random sampling involves dividing the population into different strata first. The basis for such division may constitute age, employment, profession, education, etc. Then, the same number of respondents is randomly chosen from each of the strata. Stratified random sampling is applied when one deals with a huge and highly varied population as it allows for reducing the sampling errors and the risk of overrepresentation or underrepresentation of one of the groups. Cluster sampling assumes that the population is divided into clusters, e.g. due to the geographical arrangements. The task of a researcher is to apply simple random sampling to each of those clusters. Finally, multi-stage sampling consists of a mix of the discussed methods; only in this particular case, a researcher does not decide on the method beforehand but makes *ad hoc* decisions in the course of the study (Taherdoost, 2016, pp. 20-22).

Non-probability sampling is preferred in qualitative research, which aims to deepen the knowledge and investigate real-life phenomena and not to offer generalisations. The study participants are not chosen at random but on purpose, following a specific and logical train of thought (Taherdoost, 2016, p. 22); a researcher should look for persons that have a specific kind of experience and/or are engaged in specific practices. Moreover, respondents should display certain interpersonal and psychological qualities, such as reflexivity and the ability to verbalise their experiences in a comprehensive manner (Flick, 2007/2010, pp. 139-140).

Quota sampling is a method in which respondents are chosen on the basis of certain characteristics; the goal is to compose the sample in such a manner as to reflect “the same distribution of characteristics as the wider population” (Taherdoost, 2016, p. 22). The snowball sampling method begins with several respondents who later recruit the next respondents, hence building a snowball. It is a preferred sampling method when the respondents are difficult to access or not willing to participate in the study, e.g. they belong to a closed profession and are not prone to sharing their thoughts. Convenience sampling takes advantage of the respondents who are already accessible and available; it is one of the most popular sampling methods among

beginning researchers who do not have the skills and resources to use other methods. Finally, purposive (judgemental) sampling is applied by a researcher when he or she knows that certain information can be obtained only from specific individuals and chooses them specifically for the study, e.g. due to the fact that they are experts, hold the position of power, possess unique experiences, etc. (Tanderhoost, 2016, pp. 22-23).

Having drawn the general division between various sampling methods, I would like to focus on the snowball method, which was also applied in this study. The snowball method relies on the respondents providing contact information for the next, potential respondents. The process is repeated until the researcher is satisfied with the amount of material or when the source ‘dries up’ or, in other words, the snowball stops ‘rolling’. Chaim Noy (2008) notes that the snowball method belongs to one of the most commonly chosen in social sciences, either as a primary or auxiliary method when the first-choice method does not yield the expected results. While the method remains popular, the researcher notices that it has not been a subject of scholarly interest, being treated in terms of an informal and technical aspect of research. Its value has been noticed only in the context of its effectiveness in research on closed, inaccessible or hidden populations, e.g. the marginalised and stigmatised groups excluded by the society, or quite the opposite, the elites that exclude themselves from the public eye on purpose (2008, pp. 330-331).

However, following his own research, Noy concludes that the snowball sampling method provides information not only through the conducted interviews but also through the overall process of sampling, which is due to the fact that it “relies on and partakes in the *dynamics of natural and organic social networks*” (2008, p. 329, italics by the author). This bears significant consequences in at least two dimensions: social knowledge and power relations. Regarding the former, the knowledge produced in the study using the snowball sampling places emphasis on the fact that it emerges during the encounter between the respondent and the researcher, being “primarily dynamic, processual and emergent” (Noy, 2008, p. 329); hence, this concept of knowledge stands in opposition to the traditional and prevailing positivist view of knowledge being static, unchanging and universal. Regarding the latter, snowball sampling changes the power dynamics between the researcher and their respondents and informs on the power dynamics between the respondents themselves; here, the researcher gives a significant amount of power to the respondents. While a researcher may still decide who will begin the snowball process, how many contact details they will ask for, how many of them they will actually contact and which interviews or information from the interviews will be included, all these decisions are restricted in their nature by the sampling

process that the respondents themselves direct. Hence another name for the method – “respondent-driven” (Noy, 2008, p. 332).

Furthermore, Noy argues that due to the fact that snowball sampling involves “natural social networks,” it also involves social capital as it was defined by Pierre Bourdieu, for whom it was rooted in “membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit” (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 248-249, as cited in Noy, 2008, p. 335). Following the development of the snowball and drawing from the emerging networks may allow a researcher to determine who of the respondents possesses more social capital and, thus, is located centrally in the network, which is reflected in the knowledge of the network, a number of contacts, references and back-references to the respondent (Noy, 2008, p. 335).

This overlooked aspect of the snowball method can be illustrated with Noy’s research on backpackers. From the beginning of the research, Noy noticed that the backpackers were eager to share their travel stories and experiences. After the interview, they were equally enthusiastic about sharing their contacts. What is more, the response rate was unbelievably high as well: there was only one negative response to a hundred issued inquiries. The massive development of the snowball in this particular research started to acquire new meaning and resulted in providing new information once combined with the results from the interviews: the analysis indicated that the network of the backpackers put a lot of pressure on its members. Backpackers more than often were describing their common activities, saying that they ‘dragged’ or ‘pushed’ others into participation. Moreover, their language was characterised by persuasion or even showed signs of a mission they were on. Hence, Noy concluded that participation in the interview had become another activity in which the backpackers were being ‘dragged into’ and could not or felt as if they could not refuse if they wanted to stay in the social network (2008, p. 337).

The snowball sampling method has been chosen as the sampling method in the study offered as part of this thesis. Two reasons dictated the choice: firstly, certified translators—who were the subject of the study—constitute a closed profession of public trust and are not eager to engage in the interviews and other qualitative studies. Snowball sampling ensured a certain connection that could indicate a relationship of trust and, in many cases, elicited a response that had not occurred without recommendations from other professionals. Secondly, snowball sampling provides information on the social capital of the respondents and the social network in which they function; this element also constituted one of the key aspects of this study, making the snowball sampling particularly relevant.

3.2.4 Working with the Interviews

There are two stages of working with the interviews after they have been conducted, both of which are also particularly interesting from a linguistic perspective: transcription and analysis. In most cases, transcription (full or partial) is a necessary step, without which proper analysis cannot take place.

Kvale notices that interviews themselves are usually not treated as empirical data; it is their transcriptions that serve this purpose (2007/2010, p. 154). However, one should keep in mind that, similarly to the process of translation, transcription is a process more complex and challenging than it might seem in the first place. It involves changing the medium from a speech to a text, which entails changing a discourse from spoken to written as well. Since these two discourses are very much different from each other, it is necessary to take numerous decisions in the process and remain vigilant while analysing the text. Furthermore, there are numerous approaches to transcription (e.g. literal, conversational) and choosing one of them depends on the type of analysis that is to be conducted on the basis of the transcription.

While it is quite common that transcription is prepared by a third party (e.g. a secretary, a paid professional, students learning the research practice, trained member of the research team), Kvale points out that it is beneficial for researchers to prepare the transcriptions themselves. Firstly, deciding on the particular form of transcription is one of the analytical tasks, which should be discussed in the report as well. It should correspond to the overall aim of the research and answer the needs of the analysis. Secondly, a researcher who listens to their own interviews in an open-minded manner might acknowledge their own style of work, strengths and weaknesses (or even mistakes). Such auto-analysis is beneficial as it allows to improve one's research practice. It might also help improve the interview structure, interview scenario or dispositions. Thirdly, transcribing the interviews allows the researcher to start deconstructing the meanings hidden in the text and start following various interpretations, patterns, or thoughts (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 157). It is the first encounter of the researcher with the matter, which already enforces thinking about the further analytical steps.

There are numerous approaches and paradigms when it comes to analysing the interviews; however, the procedure, in general, is quite similar in each case. It begins with inducing spontaneous answers from the respondents. Then, the respondents start to ponder over their own experiences and stories, putting to the test new interpretations and connections that they make in the process. During the interview, it is up to a researcher to listen actively and attentively while asking additional questions (if necessary) and verifying their interpretations

with the respondent. Therefore, a significant part of the analysis takes place already during the interview; hence it is crucial that the theoretical background has been established and methodological concerns have been resolved before interviewing the respondents. The final steps include the controlling interviews, when the researcher comes back to the respondents to verify their final interpretations, and the change introduced by the respondents as a result of the interview experience. Not all steps have to occur, and even if they do, these steps do not have to occur in the given order (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 168-169).

Regarding the analysis of the interviews, Kvale offers the following division: meaning-oriented analysis, language-oriented analysis, bricolage, and theoretical interpretation. *Meaning-oriented analysis* can be further divided into coding, content analysis, meaning condensation, and interpretation. Coding serves as the basis for grounded theory or working with computer programs supporting qualitative analysis rather than being the heart of the analysis itself. In short, the aim of coding is to assign certain keywords to the given part of the analysed text. Content analysis is to produce a qualitative description of the content of the interview: it does not dwell on multiple interpretations or dive deeply into the 'hidden' content. It aims to simply analyse what was said during the interview. Content analysis often uses coding and, sometimes, categorisation, which may provide a quantitative perspective on the gathered data. Meaning condensation is quite similar to summarising: longer excerpts are summed up in a sentence or two, grasping the gist of the utterance. The point is to distinguish the units of meaning from the text as indicated by the respondent and compose it into a unified description and connect it with the main aims of the research project. Meaning interpretation contests the overt meaning and analyses what was said covertly. It is an in-depth analysis that focuses not only on the text but also on the context and wider framework, attempting to draw the links between the text of the interview and the outside world, its relationships and overall structure. It does not reduce the meaning but rather develops it (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 170-178).

The language-oriented analysis pays utmost attention to the various aspects of language, hence to the medium in which interviews are conducted. It often uses tools and techniques developed by linguistics to analyse the material. It comprises linguistic analysis, conversational analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis and deconstruction. The linguistic analysis focuses on one or more of the linguistic means applied by the respondent (e.g. the used metaphors, particular use of grammar: tenses, passive voice, etc.). Kvale comments that linguistic analysis does not always need to be planned ahead; he applied linguistic analysis in his own research on grading when he noticed during the analysis that the respondents

persistently used first-person pronouns when they referred to positive or neutral events and third-person pronouns when they referred to negative events (2007/2010, pp. 178-179).

Conversational analysis of the interviews focuses on how the conversation is structured and how the understanding is achieved and sustained. Harvey Sacks developed this method in the 1960s; it is mostly applied when the research aims to analyse various types of conversations or conversations in different contexts (Kvale, 2007/2010, p. 180). The narrative analysis places its focus on the stories told as part of the interview, both their form and structure. In the analysis, the researcher may focus on each of the particular histories or create one joint narrative. This method has its roots in the analysis of Russian tales performed first by Vladimir Propp and then by Algirdas Julien Greimas and William Labov, hence in one of the classic linguistic works (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 181-182). Discourse analysis of the interviews aims at discovering how truth is produced within the given discourse. Discourse is given here the role of the medium, whereas the respondents become sources themselves. The modern discourse analysis in social sciences has been inspired by the study of Michel Foucault in 1977 (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 182-183). Deconstruction is derived straight from Jacques Derrida's work; it first deconstructs the interpretation in order to allow construing new ones. This type of analysis does not go in-depth into the text or searches for hidden meanings but focuses on what a given term means, what it does not mean and how it is connected to other terms (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 184-185).¹⁷

Finally, bricolage is a term used to combine several different techniques of analysing the data. The techniques can be freely used and applied; some of them may be planned ahead of the proper analysis, whereas others may be added later, as the material requires. The techniques do not compete with each other but rather cooperate in order to establish the meaning 'hidden' in the interviews. Kvale notes that bricolage is one of the most common approaches to the analysis of interviews (2007/2010, p. 186). Finally, theoretical analysis is focused on the theoretical paradigm. It does not apply any techniques and methods of analysis other than an interpretation of the text through the prism of the chosen theory and its assumptions. In order to properly apply theoretical analysis, it is necessary to design the interview dispositions or the questions in such a way that they are grounded in the theoretical framework. This type of analysis was preferred by, for instance, Pierre Bourdieu (Kvale, 2007/2010, pp. 188-189).

¹⁷ As it is now visible, the distinction between the meaning-oriented and language-oriented analysis is quite arguable; for instance, meaning interpretation is quite reminiscent of some interpretative paradigms in TS, which are considered to be part of the applied linguistics. However, Kvale himself notices that while the terminology might be quite unfortunate, its basis lies not in the separation between the meaning and the language but in the different techniques applied within the methods, e.g. transcription.

Particular techniques and methods applied to analyse the interviews in this doctoral dissertation are discussed in detail in the next section.

3.3 Understanding Interviews

While the previous part of this chapter offered a wider perspective on the interviews, including issues such as the classification of the interviews depending on the level of their structuration, sampling, or various methods of transcription and analysis of the interviews, this part offers more detailed comment on some of the methodological issues mentioned above. The methodological approach of two famous French sociologists is presented here: Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Kaufmann. The section concerning Bourdieu's work includes a discussion on issues such as the balance of power relations in an interview setting and remedies a researcher can resort to, an imposition effect—thus, unwitting enforcing of the researcher's interpretation—transcription, the obligation of a researcher towards their respondents, and the preparation of the report. This part is supplemented with the review of Kaufmann's concept of the understanding (comprehensive) interview. Kaufmann draws heavily from the works of other sociologists, including Bourdieu, yet he offers a more practical guide to working with the interviews. Both overlapping and discrepant parts of their methodologies are investigated. Kaufmann provides his readers with practical guidelines regarding the analysis of the interviews, the elements prominent, and the interpretation; the relevant parts thereof are discussed at the end of this chapter.

3.3.1 Bourdieu's Understanding

While Bourdieu conducted numerous sociological and anthropological studies, investigating various issues—for instance, the educational system (1970/2006), French culture and the process of development of 'cultural taste' (1979/2005), which was voted in 1998 the most important sociological book of the century by the International Sociological Association, literary field and its emergence (1992/2001), as discussed in detail herein, symbolic violence in the context of masculine domination and as displayed in the language (1998/2004), and many more—and employing numerous methods, both qualitative and quantitative—there are not many works in which Bourdieu dives into the technical peculiarities of his fieldwork and the analysis of empirical material. One of such papers is "Understanding" (1996), where Bourdieu reveals his stance towards interviews in qualitative research and what he considers to be key in conducting and analysing interviews.

Bourdieu himself applied interviews in his research, for instance, in a series of studies on the disadvantaged published in *The Weight of the World. Social Suffering in Contemporary World* (1993/1999). In “Understanding,” he reveals that the situation in which a researcher and their informant find themselves while conversing is one of the fruitful experiences in both theoretical and practical terms. Nonetheless, he comments, “For all that, I do not believe that it is useful to turn to the innumerable so-called ‘methodological’ writings on techniques of inquiry” (1996, p. 17). Reasons for that are plenty, the most important being that, according to Bourdieu, they fail to grasp the subtleties occurring on the side of an informant as well as the qualities displayed by a researcher ensuring successful and fulfilling interaction between them.

Further, many of those works fall into the trap of following the well-respected rules and procedures related to rigour and standardisation which, established for quantitative studies, do not yield fruitful results in such an individualistic and subtle method as interview; quite the opposite (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 17). This, on the other hand, should not be understood as advocacy for a lack of transparency and clarity. A report from research should be written in such a way as to reveal all the assumed goals and applied procedures, as well as the reasoning standing behind them. The overarching aim should be to produce a text that allows a reader to follow the researcher and understand each step of the way and each decision. Further, regardless of the theoretical framework and methods applied, a researcher should be constantly aware of distortions that appear in qualitative research of this kind. These distortions are unavoidable as they are the result of symbolic violence emerging from the inequality of the researcher’s and informant’s positions. The researcher’s task is to reveal these distortions and to keep oneself in check so as not to make (even unintended) use thereof (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 18).

What then does Bourdieu find to be necessary in order to conduct fruitful scientific interviews and do them justice during analysis? Surprisingly, many of his postulates overlap with what is postulated for a good translator to embody.

Firstly, a researcher must understand the unusual situation and interaction that is artificially created by the interview and how it influences the informant. “At the very least this implies understanding what can and cannot be said, the forms of censorship which prevent the voicing of certain things and the promptings which encourage the emphasis of others,” as Bourdieu comments (1996, p. 19). Further, as has already been discussed by Flick (2007/2010) and many others, an interview is a situation in which a significant imbalance of power may occur. After all, it is the researcher who initiates the situation, shapes it and gives it meaning by deciding what will be the aim of the interviews and how the results will be applied. Bourdieu adds that the imbalance may be strengthened should it happen that the researcher and the

informant differ in terms of social position and the capitals they hold; it is quite common that the researcher holds more capital and linguistic capital than the informant (1996, p. 19). Therefore, it is crucial for a researcher to actively counteract any acts of symbolic violence; oversimplistic as it may sound, Bourdieu advises employing “active and methodical listening” (1996, p. 19). Hence, Bourdieu opts for an interview similar in a way to Carl Ransom Rogers’s Person-Centred Approach (PCA) in therapy (2003), using even the same keyword: ‘non-directive’. Similarly to a psychotherapist who allows his or her client to navigate their stories and experiences on their own and to direct the overall process, the researcher should allow the same, giving oneself up to the story told and attempting to enter another person’s shoes as much as possible (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 19)

Bourdieu’s approach displays similarity not only to Rogers’s PCA but also to the situation in which a translator finds oneself when commissioned a translation. While there is usually no direct contact between the translator and the author of a text, as there is between the researcher and his or her informants, the definition of the situation as well the meaning and the purpose of translation are for a translator to decide upon and embody in translation. Therefore, a translator is invested with significant symbolic power over the text, and quite commonly, there is no one to stop a translator should they like to abuse that power. What is suggested for a translator is to constantly control oneself: to verify how much they stray from what the author might have wanted to say and to attempt to put oneself in the author’s position (e.g. Tabakowska, 2009). In other words, what is postulated is an *active and methodical reading* of the source text.

What is more, the imbalance of capitals also occurs in the relationship between the translator and the author. Two patterns can be observed here: it is either the translator who holds more capital and is treated as a trusted professional (for instance, when one is commissioned with a translation of documents necessary to finalise sale or travel abroad) or the author who holds more capital and possesses the ultimate power to offer an interpretation or to undermine translation (for instance, when one is commissioned with the translation of a literary work; it is visible even in the visual design of the cover, on which translator’s name is often nowhere to be found). A striking example, though in a different context and without evoking the concept of capital, is offered by Krzysztof Hejwowski (2004). When discussing a translator’s right or even obligation to correct texts, Hejwowski shares one of his own experiences. When translating an autobiography of Ch. Himes, Hejwowski identified multiple issues with grammar or sentence structure. However, reckoning that an acclaimed author with multiple literary successes should have constructed his text better, Hejwowski decided to purposefully render

those mistakes in his translation: “I considered that a literary man with such a legacy should have known how to write in English; if he lacks this knowledge, then the Polish reader has the right to know” (2004, p. 146, translation mine). Therefore, the translator found himself in a position where his linguistic capital outranked the capital of the acclaimed author; his decision was to expose the shortcomings of the author and reverse the situation, undermining the author’s text.

Secondly, Bourdieu warns against the ‘imposition effect’, a trap that is very easy to fall into. Imposition occurs when a researcher stops paying the postulated “active and methodical listening” to what is being said by the informant; as a result, the researcher may end up asking nonsense questions, extorting answers or imposing own interpretation that is already lurking in their mind (Bourdieu, 1996, pp. 19-20). However, Bourdieu offers a solution to that issue, though it may not always be applicable; he claims that the imposition effect can be significantly reduced if the informants have been previously known to researchers on a personal level. To start with, this ensures that an interview is an interaction that comprises full agreement thereto on both sides, without risking resistance. It also allows remaining on the subjective level without moving too quickly to the objective, which provides a better understanding of the choices made and behaviours displayed (1996, p. 20).

Further, the similarity of positions between the researcher and the informant may be considered a distinct advantage. As Bourdieu asserts:

When a young physicist questions another young physicist (or an actor another actor, an unemployed worker another unemployed worker, etc.) with whom she shares virtually all the characteristics capable of operating as major explanatory factors of her practices and representations, and to whom she is linked by close familiarity, the rationale for the questions is found in her dispositions, which are objectively attuned to that of the respondent herself. Thus even the most brutally objectifying questions will no longer appear threatening or aggressive because her interlocutor knows perfectly that she shares with her what she is inducing the other to divulge and, in the same way, shares the risks that the speaker herself to by speaking about it. (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 21)

Hence, the proximity of social positions may be considered a factor improving the overall quality of an interview in terms of both questions asked—the issues they touch upon—and the authenticity and openness of interaction and elicited responses. However, it affects the researcher on more levels: by observing the informant and analysing their responses, the researcher observes and analyses oneself, in a sense. This may result in a feeling of unease and

discomfort but that, paradoxically, ensures cautiousness and protects against imposition as “by objectifying the respondent, she [the researcher] is also objectifying herself” (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 21).

Thirdly, Bourdieu defines the situation of an interview as an endeavour, the point of which is not to confirm one’s projections but to find oneself in the position of the informant. Therefore, a researcher should strive to understand the social conditions in which their informant functions and which make the informant who he or she is: to uncover the powers and pressures that the informant struggles with; to identify the mechanisms that the informant is knowingly or not a part of; and, finally, to pinpoint their trajectory (movement through the social structures) and features associated therewith (1996, pp. 22-23). Such a profound understanding not only ensures justice to the informant; it is also a key element of the analysis as, for Bourdieu, “understanding and explaining are one” (1996, p. 23). Such an understanding needs to be achieved on several levels: from investigating the subject before the research, and constructing a meaningful interview with the informant, to being open and heedful during the conversation and after it. The latter plays a crucial part; as it has been already indicated, an interview is a highly unusual interaction. Apart from the already mentioned aspect of power imbalance, its peculiarity is also the result of positive interest in the experiences and opinions of the informants that the researcher openly expresses. The empathetic and open approach combined with an authentic interest in the informant—and not in one’s representation thereof—may result in the informant verbalising certain thoughts, especially those relating to difficulties and struggles, that they were aware of before but had not expressed. This is particularly true in the context of the deprived and the unnoticed on a daily basis, but not only; an interview becomes an opportunity for the informants to express the fight and injustice they encounter as well as to fully present their point of view that may often be missing in the mainstream narrative (1996, p. 24). On the other hand, the lack of mentioned qualities on the researcher’s side may result in the self-censorship of the informant or in their engaging in a fictitious narrative they believe the researcher expects to hear (1996, p. 25). Therefore, while forbidden by so many schools and approaches, the commitment on a personal level and the willingness to share the informants’ stories as they truly are, serving their own purpose, might be the crucial element that will bring new information to the light (1996, p. 28).

A link between conducting interviews and performing translation could be drawn here again. In some of the translation approaches, it is postulated to reconstruct the social and cultural circumstances in which the author and his or her text find themselves; it is necessary in order to note the differences between the circumstances in which a given text was constructed

and the circumstances in which its translation is to function (e.g. Tabakowska, 2009). Thus, a translator is required to be empathetic towards the author and attempt to understand the author's position, including the pressures, times, or cultural ties affecting the author. Simultaneously, the translator is required to understand their own position, note differences between these two, and, while navigating between them, translate the text in such a way as to do justice to the author and make the text understandable to the target audience. It is strikingly similar to the task assigned to a researcher who decides to conduct interviews.

Apart from the profound understanding of the interview, the ability to suspend judgement and avoid power struggles, active counteractions against the imposition effect, and attempts at placing oneself in the informant's position with all its implications, Bourdieu also claims that a successful interview study requires a complete rupture with the presuppositions the researcher holds; these are the presuppositions that may have been formulated while exploring the subject as well as those that may have been implanted by the mass media and other transmitters of ideas in society (1996, p. 29). Further, the researcher must be aware of the presuppositions instilled in and held by their informants and needs to be able to recognise them, even if they remain in the informant's unconsciousness.

Finally, Bourdieu notices that the research and the researcher's obligation towards their informants does not end with the interview and analysis yet remains in the process of preparing the report. One of the main issues, which involves two opposing intentions, is how to present transcribed interviews in the report. The first intention of a researcher is to remain faithful to their informant and the interaction they shared; the second intention is to write a report that will be comprehensible to its readers. The second intention does not allow the researcher to include in a report a phonetic transcription of the interview or all the notes made during the interview and during the transcription. Not only all extratextual information is lost in transcription:

to transcribe is necessarily to write, in the sense of rewrite. Like the transition from written to oral that occurs in the theatre, the transition from oral to the written imposes, with the changes in medium, infidelities which are without doubt the condition of a true fidelity.¹⁸ (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 31)

Nevertheless, if a researcher does not want to embarrass their informants, it is necessary to rewrite and interfere with the original spoken text, as many of the characteristics of spoken

¹⁸ Striking similarity to the concept of rewriting as presented by Lefevere and discussed in Chapter 1 should be noted here.

language become a mockery in their written form. Further, it is necessary to provide a structure for the quotes that will allow the audience to read them properly, employing proper interpretation schemes (1996, pp. 32-33).

In sum, what Bourdieu postulates in study and analysis that make use of interviews stands in opposition with what is commonly postulated by the supporters of rigorous research, finding its root in the quantitative approach. Suspension of judgement, empathy, openness, active and methodical listening, and rupture with presuppositions – these are only some of the qualities and actions Bourdieu advocates, many of which are surprisingly reminiscent of what is expected from translators. Moreover, according to Bourdieu, such an approach to interviews results in understanding becoming simultaneously explaining, hence a tool for a researcher to employ in analysis. In the next part, Kaufmann’s understanding (comprehensive) interview is discussed further to explore this methodological approach to interviews and their analysis.

3.3.2 Kaufmann’s Understanding (Comprehensive) Interview

Jean-Claude Kaufmann is one of the pioneer French sociologists. His research focuses mostly on the sociology of everyday life, uncovering the social mechanisms underlying even the simplest actions and decisions that have not been in the sphere of sociology interests as they were deemed unimportant or not interesting. For instance, in *Dirty Linen: Couples and Their Laundry* (1998), he explores what daily rituals related to doing laundry reveal about the marital relationship; in *The Meaning of Cooking* (2010), Kaufmann investigates how social relationships are forged in the process of cooking and consuming meals. For Kaufmann, everyday actions, thoughts and decisions—those that seem so simple and natural that we do not pay attention to them—play the key role. In the course of his research, he developed his own approach to conducting and analysing interviews, which allowed him to find meaning and links to social structures even in those seemingly meaningless acts, such as doing laundry. This approach, drawing from the works and experiences of numerous other sociologists, including Bourdieu, Anselm Strauss, who is one of the fathers of grounded theory, or Clifford Geertz, who represents interpretative anthropology, and named *the understanding interview* (though the term *comprehensive interview* can be also found in English), has been discussed in detail in *The Understanding Interview. Theory and Practice* (1999). Since this approach has been applied in the analysis of the interviews offered herein, some of its main points are discussed below.

Kaufmann himself states that the understanding interview may be a part of various studies and embedded in different theoretical frameworks; however, due to its underlying

assumptions, it is particularly useful in social perspectives that negate the distinction between the objective and the subjective, the society and the individual (2007/2010, p. 91). This is particularly important as Kaufmann assumes that social structures exist within an individual, with all their tensions, diversity, and contradictions. One's identity is built in order to give oneself a sense of meaningful life but also to combine all these elements, including the contradictory ones, in one whole (2007/2010, p. 92). This perspective overlaps with Bourdieu's approach to the dichotomies present in social sciences, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. For Kaufmann, an interview creates specific circumstances in which an informant examines oneself and the processes that occur within themselves (2007/2010, p. 93). If a researcher learns the basic categories operated by the informant and asks relevant questions, the informant will dive deeper and deeper into oneself, ordering the provided information to seem coherent. It usually implies work undertaken by the informant as they are posed with questions and issues and results on the level and with the structures uncommon to daily life. An informant might display two contrasting stances: on the one hand, they may attempt everything in their power to tell a story that is coherent and devoid of any contradictions; if a researcher reveals some, the informant resists the researcher. This stance is rooted in the fact that the informant tells their own story and reveals oneself; any inconsistencies and contradictions imply that they are inconsistent or contradictory, shattering the internal strive for integrity. On the other hand, an informant might make an attempt at autoanalysis and might use the situation of an interview and the assistance of the researcher to investigate the appearing inconsistencies and contradictions; however, there will always be boundaries and an informant will withdraw whenever his or her integrity is threatened (2007/2010, pp. 93-94). However, if properly conducted, an interview allows a researcher to investigate the social world through the linguistic means of an individual.

3.3.2.1 From Bourdieu to Kaufmann: A Comparison

In general, similarly to Bourdieu, Kaufmann advocates an approach that is far from rigorous methods of conducting and analysing interviews. He points to the fact that sociologists and other scholars are preoccupied with developing and using a method that would be strict, repetitive and objective, simultaneously disregarding the very nature of the interview, which is personal and subjective. The key role of interpretation is downplayed and put in the opposition to neutrality and objectivity for the sake of the illusion that interviews can be treated in the same categories as, for instance, qualitative research based on questionnaires (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, pp. 20-21).

As Bourdieu has also noted, interpretation plays a key role on all levels in a study applying interviews: from asking proper questions in response to the respondent's replies to preparing transcription and report offering the analysis and conclusions from the research. A similarity between working with interviews and translation could be drawn again; after all, an act of translation is formulating one's interpretation of a text in a different language (e.g. Hejwowski, 2007). However, TS also seem to fall into the trap, either by pretending that there is *tertium comparationis* independent of our interpretation (e.g. Toury, 1985; as cited in Munday, 2016) or by simply ignoring the process of interpretation. The basis for such an approach to this crucial process may be similar: studies involving translation and studies using interviews are both quite subjective in their nature and involve outcomes that are unique and unrepeatable, discrediting them in the scientific world that puts emphasis on repetitiveness, control, and objectivity.

Further, Kaufmann notices how unique interviews are, claiming that the conduct of interviews should be invariably different, strongly depending on the investigated subject (2007/2010, p. 25). This, however, results in the marginalisation of their role in research: for a long time, interviews performed only explanatory functions (recognising the field before the proper research) or supplementary (aiding quantitative research). Nowadays, research applying interviews is becoming more appreciated as it has been demonstrated more than once that it can uncover valuable information which has not been accessed using other methods.

Another aspect on which both Kaufmann and Bourdieu fully agree is the role of the researcher and their engagement in the interview. Kaufmann notes that while it has been already noticed that fully structured interviews are not particularly effective, the interviewer is still advised on being distant and disengaged so as to avoid their influence on the respondent. However, according to Kaufmann (2007/2010, pp. 28-29), the opposite should be postulated: a researcher who asks disengaged questions may expect disengaged replies. Only active participation in the interview and palpable engagement, which involves the aforementioned interpretation taking place during the interaction so that it can be confronted with the respondent's understanding and either confirmed or rejected, will ensure a successful interview.

Kaufmann's understanding interview does not only provide the methodological framework: it is a complete guide offering support and instructions on every research phase, from planning and conducting interviews to their analysis and preparing a report. His remarks concerning the process of conducting interviews overlap significantly with Bourdieu's recommendations. For instance, Kaufmann also recommends counteracting the hierarchical relationship that is typical for an interview but in a quite specific manner, simultaneously

making use thereof. He advises the researcher to be engaged, enthusiastic, and personal; due to the hierarchical relationship embedded in an interview, the informants will adopt the researcher's style and become engaged and personal themselves. Further, such an approach demonstrated by the researcher makes the informant feel unique and valuable: the researcher asks questions and controls the situation, but they do so because the informant holds exclusive knowledge, making them special. On the other hand, disengaged, distant and cold researcher, whom numerous methodological schools postulate, is not likely to retrieve any in-depth replies and will slide on the surface (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, pp. 73-74).

Further, Kaufmann agrees with Bourdieu that the most valuable information is usually hidden in threads, topics, and experiences that come up in replies of the informants. In this sense, the script with questions is not enough to conduct a successful interview; the researcher must be able to identify these experiences and threads—thus, must be continuously analysing the informant's output—and follow them accordingly, straying away from the script (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, p. 75).

Similarly, both Kaufmann and Bourdieu notice how crucial empathy is in research applying interviews, though Bourdieu does not use the notion of 'empathy' straightforwardly. What Bourdieu phrases as putting oneself in the informant's position or walking in their shoes, Kaufmann places under the umbrella term of empathy (2007/2010, p. 78); however, the main conclusion remains for both the same. The researcher is to suspend judgement and withhold presuppositions. During the interview, the researcher's task is to adopt the categories and the perspective of his or her interlocutor; to enter the world of the informant with empathy and make an attempt at understanding it, even though it might be difficult and might require one to take up a stance they are personally against (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, pp. 79-80). Crucially, it does not mean giving up one's own personality or hiding it from the informant altogether. Kaufmann even encourages interviewers to express their own emotions and opinions while remembering who is the most important person in this interaction. The informants easily read authenticity and its lack is likely to result in the lack of authenticity of the informant's side as well (2007/2010, p. 81).

Finally, Bourdieu and Kaufmann agree that while all these dispositions are necessary to enter the world of the informant, it is not a goal in itself – the goal is to perform conceptual and theoretical work already during the interview. The interview should not only be the tool allowing the researcher to gather the material. Instead, it should already uncover social mechanisms and produce theories and notions. Importantly, this task is not assigned only to the

researcher; theoretical work should be performed by the informants as well, as they investigate their own life during the interview (2007/2010, pp. 83-84).

The aspect in which Kaufmann and Bourdieu do not agree is rapture. While Bourdieu postulates radical rapture, Kaufmann opposes this idea, which assumes that the informants cannot understand their position and experiences and only science is capable thereof (2007/2010, pp. 34-35). On the other hand, he views the lack of rapture in similarly negative terms; for Kaufmann, common knowledge is an immensely valuable source, which will remain unnoticed in the case of both complete rapture and the lack of rapture. Therefore, what Kaufmann views as necessary is gradual rapture, which implies active listening, the distance towards and the critical analysis of the common knowledge (2007/2010, p. 35).

3.3.2.2 Researcher as a Detective

Unlike Bourdieu, Kaufmann offers a set of practical tools to be used in the analysis of the language product of the interview. For Kaufmann, working with interviews is similar to conducting a criminal investigation. A researcher is assigned to collect evidence, search for clues and interpret the whispers, interrupted sentences or silences: the goal is to make the text 'speak' and uncover what hides in the language matter (2007/2010, p. 118). This type of work would be fruitless without any suspects or projected motives; thus, it is necessary to formulate a set of hypotheses before the analysis. The hypotheses guide the researcher so that he or she is not lost in the abundance of the material; they are also the source of theory that is formulated in the process of negotiations between them and the facts, opinions, approaches, etc. uncovered during the interview (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, p. 120).

At the beginning of the analysis, Kaufmann advises being interested in everything that catches one's attention: from intriguing stories to elements reminiscing pre-formulated hypotheses (2007/2010, p. 124); even the smallest details might be of the greatest importance. It is necessary to decode the categories, values, and points of view offered by the respondent; only then can the researcher grasp one's local meaning and system. This constitutes the fundamental dynamic of the analysis, which Kaufmann (2007/2010, p. 131) names using Schwartz's notion of *go-between*, hence the confrontation between the local (informant's inner world) and the global (the social model applied and reflected in the hypotheses). The exchange of information between the local and the global allows the researcher to understand the local and reformulate or elaborate on the global.

There are four crucial elements that play a particular role in conducting the analysis and formulating the theory: negative cases, repeated sentences, contradictions, and repeated contradictions. The term 'negative cases' is used to refer to elements that appear odd, lack logic,

do not seem to fit the model applied or even seem to contradict it (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, p. 137). Even though they might be problematic at the beginning, Kaufmann argues that it is only because a researcher lacks the key to decode their meaning. Once decoded, they might occur to be the exception that proves the rule or might provide the researcher with surprising perspectives and new pieces of theory.

Repeated sentences are distinct and assume a key role in the analysis due to the fact that they reflect the internalised social structures that are often taken as they are, without any deeper transformation (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, p. 149). Thus, they are only superficially individualised or are not individualised at all. They appear to the respondents as the most basic and natural facts of life and are presented as such in the interview. The more widespread and common they are in the interview and among the respondents, the more grounds there are to believe that they reflect most basic social processes and structures (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, pp. 149-150). It might be a bit challenging to notice them at first as they are usually quite banal and simple; however, a careful analysis will reveal that they occur in significant frequency and are usually repeated in the same words. Kaufmann notices that they may appear even in potentially contradicting contexts without the informant acknowledging the lack of logic, confirming how much power they hold and how deeply they are ingrained (2007/2010, p. 150).

Contradictions result from the fact that individuals internalise an infinite number of structures, schemes and processes, among which there will be those that are incoherent or contradictory. Even though all individuals put significant work into building a coherent story and may not be aware of its inconsistencies, the deeply rooted contradictions remain true and they may be uncovered or detected during an interview (Kaufmann, 2007/2010, p. 152).

Kaufmann distinguishes two types of contradictions: related to the theory constructed and related to the story told (2007/2010, p. 153). These two types of contradictions imply different processes and, hence, should be approached in a different manner. The former may imply that the analysed social structure is contradictory in itself. It may happen that the structure comprises two contradicting aspects and, depending on the emphasis placed on one aspect or the other, it will seem illogical. Finally, contradictions on the level of the theoretical model may result from the fact that each individual assumes more than one role in their life and is constantly moving between these roles, while they are not identical and may be in stark contrast to each other (2007/2010, pp. 153-154). The latter is rooted in the informant's life; thus, when analysing contradictions related to the informant's biography, it is crucial to place them in one's biography to provide proper context that may lead to the understanding and uncovering of the social mechanisms. In this case, it needs to be kept in mind that there is no logic or way of

thinking that dominates throughout one's life. Instead, it keeps changing and fluctuating, and the logic that guides the informants in the moment of speaking is not necessarily the same as the logic that guided them in the story from the past that they are referring to during an interview (2007/2010, pp. 155-156).

According to Kaufmann, repeated contradictions are central to the analysis and the theory constructed as they usually reveal the most powerful social processes. They may be restricted to one short sentence – for instance, in Kaufmann's research on the habit of revealing breasts on the beach, it was "Everyone does what they want *but...*". These sentences may display tensions between different levels or elements of the theoretical models: in this particular case, it reveals the tension between the assumption embedded in a democratic society, in which everyone is given freedom, and between the hidden social norms that still guide one's behaviour and draw the lines of freedom. When uncovered, they may rebuild the model or guide the analysis to its conclusions, offering the key to reading various situations and experiences (2007/2010, pp. 156-158).

In the end, it should be emphasised that Kaufmann assigns a special status to interpretation and creativity in the analysis, placing the understanding interview and its analysis within the interpretative paradigm. He notices that they both hold tentative positions in social sciences, yet they are key to building theoretical models; it is not possible to conduct any theoretical work without attempting to interpret the facts a researcher is presented with (2007/2010, pp. 144-145). Therefore, Kaufmann postulates interpretation viewed as a subjective process yet also deeply rooted in the evidence found, arguments made, and hypotheses formulated, which are themselves the product of theoretical work.

3.4 Conclusion

To sum up, interviews can be perceived as solely an instrument for gathering data or as a complete method; for instance, Kaufmann's concept of understanding interview offers a complete guide for a researcher, from the moment of planning research, through conducting interviews and analysing them, to writing a report. It is the second approach that has been adapted in this doctoral thesis and in work with the interviews.

Perhaps the last comment that should be made here is that Bourdieu's and Kaufmann's perspectives on the interviews and the analysis of their matter are not far from some of the perspectives offered by linguistics: cognitive linguistics in particular. From the very beginning, cognitive linguistics aimed at rooting language in a wide, social and cultural, context. Language in cognitive linguistics is often viewed as a tool for producing and transferring information as

well as a structure that contains and orders one's experiences, which is simultaneously shaped by those experiences. Therefore, language is not a set of fixed rules, as it has been previously argued, but rather a testament to one's life. It reflects one's cognitive structures that are shaped by, among other, social structures one functions within (e.g. Geeraerts & Cyckens, 2007). Though neither Bourdieu nor Kaufmann referred to cognitive linguists in any of the analysed works¹⁹, the main idea that the social structures are embedded in a language we use is shared by all of them.

The next chapter presents the complete research project, combining Bourdieu's field theory discussed in the previous chapter and the methodological remarks made here. Dispositions for the interviews with translators and a scenario are offered; the links between the possible questions to be asked and the theoretical model are provided and discussed in-depth.

¹⁹ Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001) referred to the works and ideas of Noam Chomsky, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4: The Outline of a Study of Certified Translators

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents the project of authorial research on the social space of sworn translators. As it has already emerged from the discussed theory and the presented study of the literary field, the study of the field as a whole appears to be an overwhelming undertaking. Not only has it not occurred in the previous Polish studies on translators—as well as in numerous other countries—but also it appears to be too complex and too costly for a doctoral thesis. Furthermore, a study that could potentially allow one to truly claim whether it is possible to discuss the field and what is its structure would take more time than it is given to doctoral students to write their works and would require more skilfulness than a doctoral student might possess at the beginning of their scientific road; not to mention the fact that the project would probably require a team of scholars working on the subject since it would require numerous scholars to conduct the interviews and transcribe them.

However, it does not mean that Bourdieu's theory cannot be put to use to produce potentially new and substantial knowledge on translators. Therefore, I would like to propose a study inspired by Bourdieu's research that, applying his previous findings and concepts, aims at **reconstructing the model of the social space(s) in which the certified translators function**. In the study, I would like to particularly focus on the certified translators of English since they are an established and regulated profession accompanied by the phenomenon of gatekeeping. Certified translators also appear to be particularly close to the field of power. These characteristics hint that the results of the study may provide visible patterns and reach the proper data saturation quicker than in the case of more fuzzy specialisations, such as literary translators. The findings may suggest whether we should expect the existence of the translation field, however, they do not need to. Below, I present the main areas of research that can lead to the reconstruction of the model of their social space.

It should be emphasised again that the research cannot unambiguously claim whether the translation field in Poland does exist or not, yet it applies the methods and concepts propagated by Bourdieu and may provide new information on the structures in which the sworn translators function. The research poses questions concerning sworn translators by looking into such issues as their consecration, education, market and institutional control; the relation between the sworn translators and the other fields, especially the field of power and the economic field; the hierarchy of translation; and the life trajectories of sworn translators,

including their heritage, initial choices and entering the profession, as well as (in some cases) social maturing. In this part, the tools, methods and sampling are also discussed—although the methodological concerns have been explored mostly in Chapter 3—and the significance of the language used by the research participants is indicated.

4.1 Institutionalisation

One of the most significant issues to investigate are the signs of the institutionalisation of the professional space. In short, institutionalisation implies the introduction of established patterns of activities, hence a change from informal means to the ones which are quite regulated and consistent. These patterns, once they become binding by acquiring the character of an institution, serve to retain certain means of acting in time but also to expand them in space (therefore, to make them lasting and widespread). It can already be assumed that the profession of the certified translator is institutionalised; the sole fact that it is treated as a profession and regulated through exams, codes of conduct, ethical commissions, etc. is a sign of its institutionalisation. However, it is worth emphasising that institutionalisation does not need to be related to governmental regulations. For instance, in the case of the literary field, institutionalisation assumed a different shape, namely viewing texts and writing as the work of art and establishing where the authors could go, whom they could support and how they could earn money to be considered worthy. Even though the literary translation is not the subject of this thesis, it should be noted that similar processes can be observed concerning the said translation, especially when it is presented as the artistic task itself with an emphasis on its complexity and nearly impossible nature.

Even though it can be assumed that the certified translators were already subject to institutionalisation, it is still relevant to examine how the related processes took place, how they are currently realised and maintained, as well as by whom. These might be displayed in the specific forms of the consecration of the professionals, in the shape of the market, in the process of education, in the gatekeeping, as well as in the means and ways of exclusion.

4.1.1 Consecration

It seems that in the context of sworn translators, consecration can be understood twofold: firstly, as the moment of anointment by allowing one to perform the professional tasks lawfully, claiming that this person has successfully completed the rite of passage (hence, the exam) and displays the competences necessary to be a translator; secondly, as the moment of elevation in the hierarchy by allotting someone the position of power.

Due to that understanding of consecration, it can be viewed as circumstances that allow the reconstruction of the relation between the translators and the authorities.²⁰ It recognises the structures that mediate the interactions between people and that determine these interactions through dictating their form, shape and shared meanings and representations. Therefore, examining consecration may lead to viewing how these structures function and how they are reproduced by the people involved, hence eventually contributing to revealing the objective structures and the relations between positions. Consecration is also a circumstance that reveals which capital (and which variation of the capital) plays the key role in the investigated part of the social world; what can be the subject of exchange therein (e.g. what can be exchanged for prestige) and what are the ‘exchange rates’; and what constitutes the prize in the social games (the games, or struggles, taking place in the field are discussed at length in Chapter 2).

Regarding the specific forms of consecration, it is advisory first and foremost to establish what are the competencies considered necessary to gain and retain the status of the certified translator. These competencies are not equal to each other, but they constitute a hierarchy, which should also be reconstructed. As it has been already indicated, fitting in with the preferred qualities and competencies (or dispositions) is usually expressed in the form of privileges, financial rewards, prestige or fame, and other forms of appreciation. For Bourdieu, participation in gains was one of the crucial elements of belonging to a given social structure (2001, p. 263). If possible, it should also be established who possesses the specific power of consecration. The desired information may be partially revealed by asking the translators the following questions:

- whether there is a person that the certified translators participating in the study consider to be an authority and that inspires them, which is strictly connected with the appreciation and prestige (the question can be further supplemented with the follow-up question of whether this person is recognised and appreciated by other professionals, if necessary or unclear);
- what it means to be successful and, further, who achieves success in the profession (both questions might reveal which capital plays the key role and which games are worth playing);
- and what they expect from other translators (which regards the necessary qualities to retain the status of a translator; more open question allows potential access to more information; it is possible to later narrow it down to translators of different

²⁰ According to Bourdieu, authorities are still a form of power, only accepted by the subordinates (cf. Wacquant, 2017)

specialisations and co-workers, in case such a turn did not occur itself in the conversation).

It could be expected that the provided answer will reflect the ideology prevailing in the profession, which is in itself a valuable piece of information. As Bourdieu wrote, sincerity is possible only in the case of an absolute agreement between one's position and dispositions (2001, pp. 256-257). While the agreement is common due to the fact that the structures provide the thinking patterns and classification schemas, an absolute agreement not so much.

4.1.2 Education

Education—as it has been demonstrated in the case of the literary field—plays a crucial role in establishing various structures and is part of the process of institutionalisation. Therefore, education in this section is viewed as a process of secondary socialisation.²¹ In the case of translation, the most significant carrier of institution is university; it is there that people are influenced by other professionals and are taught translation practice, thereby acquiring and internalising patterns of behaviour and actions typical of their professional group. Hence, their *habitus* is shaped there, and after that, they reproduce the patterns as well as interpret related events through its prism.

It should be underlined here how significant the process of secondary socialisation is. No one is born a translator but becomes one. Becoming is a process, involving gaining a professional identity, identifying with one's group, and feeling responsible to act in a certain way which is promoted and valued by other professionals. The first step to becoming is learning and recognising. The studies on translation serve not only the improvement of one's language skills but also the introduction of translation adepts to professional practice, in which the structures are embedded. As one's habituation with the procedures and practice grows, so does the identification with the profession and everything that it entails. Studying a subject does not destine a person to later join the profession; however, it is in many cases the first step. If one decides to practise, the secondary socialisation continues, professional identity strengthens, and knowledge expands.

The following questions could be asked regarding the issue:

- What major the respondents have completed; in case the answer was unspecified (e.g. simply “English”), follow-up questions can be asked: whether they had any subjects or

²¹ Primary socialisation takes place at home when children learn basic patterns, behaviours, and values from their closest family, usually parents and siblings. Secondary socialisation appears outside of home when a person (child, or grown-up as well) learns patterns from a smaller group to be a part thereof (Course Hero, n.d.).

classes related to translation; whether they took any additional translation courses or gained any additional related certificates. Based on that, further questions can be posed:

- The respondents who did *not* finish related studies and courses should be asked if they are aware that such specialised studies exist and what is their opinion on them—whether they consider them necessary—and how did they gain the specialised knowledge in such case;
 - The respondents who finished specialised studies can be asked what they feel that the studies have given them, whether they consider such studies necessary to work as a translator and what is their opinion on other translators on the market who did not finish such studies but nevertheless work in the profession.
- Apart from the questions mentioned above, an additional set of questions should be asked to the professors of translation, for instance, how translation courses are designed in their educational facility; how they teach their courses (including whether and how they put their own professional practice to students); what such studies offer students from their perspective.

Summing up, these questions aim at establishing the processes of secondary socialisation. Their main aim is to determine whether the studies are viewed as necessary, whether they prepare for professional work, and if yes, then how they achieve that, and what is the model of work (including work ethics) that they teach. It should be emphasised again that these questions are related to viewing education as institution. Other questions relating to educational paths and choices from the social point of view can be found below.

4.1.3 The Market

Taking into consideration the job market, it should be established which career paths and employment statutes are available to certified translators and which are preferred by them. It is also significant to determine which goods are accessible to sworn translators and which play the key role among them. Economic restrictions are informative as well since the relation with the economical field is of great importance in the capitalist society. The respondents could be asked here the following questions:

- related to one's current status on the job market: where they are currently working (and further inquiries, if necessary: whether they are satisfied with your current work and, if not, whether they would like to work somewhere else). The question reveals the forms of professional work available on the market, the level of respondents' satisfaction and the preferred forms of employment;

- concerning one's previous experiences on the market: whether they have any experiences related to their work that they consider especially valuable; whether they have any particularly positive or negative experiences related to starting their professional activity, with some clients, or with profession and tasks in general? These inquiries potentially lead to the revelation of some learning experiences (e.g. discovering the rules of the game, ordering structures or thinking patterns) as well as some successful or unsuccessful investments and games, or staying in agreement/disagreement with the prevailing structures;
- regarding the optimal working conditions: which conditions—including not only physical but also social, political or economic—they find best for their work; whether there is anything that they would like to change. The question aims at revealing again the relation with the clients and the preferred forms of employment, as well as one's approach to the economic and political fields (more detailed questions on the relations between a translator and other fields can be found below);
- whether the respondents plan any professional changes or developments: whether they expect any changes in their professional life; whether there are any steps that they would like to undertake; or whether they plan any developments (educational, financial, etc.) related to the profession anytime soon. The answers might be related to the issue of education (e.g. the respondents may plan some additional courses to increase their knowledge), yet not only. Potentially, the questions open the path to discussing their plans regarding changing their workplace, starting own business, starting or ending cooperation with some other translators, hiring or firing someone should they have an agency already, etc. The modality of the question allows the discussion on not only what currently is but on what could or even should be. It may provide insight into their relations with other professionals, their expectations towards the market, their experience with obstacles and difficulties that they encounter (and their interpretation thereof), their stance towards both political and economic powers, etc. Therefore, even though the question seems to be rooted in the job market, it leads to many other relevant issues as well, revealing the relations between the translators and other fields, whether they restrict the contact therewith or seek it, their potential gains, and actions and reactions between the translators and the fields they come into contact with. Furthermore, when asking about future developments and goals, it is possible to establish the current, factual situation of translators, which is highly valuable information;

- the choices they have made insofar as well as other professional development that they plan in the future (more questions regarding the market are listed in the part on the relation between the translators and the economic field).

4.1.4 Institutional Control

There are several issues regarding the institutional control of the profession. Firstly, it should be pointed out that it seems that there is only one employer of sworn translators, namely the state. It is reflected in the official records of certified translators kept by the state, their translations that need to be confirmed by a stamp, which can be issued only after submitting a request to the Ministry of Justice, or in the controlled access to the profession in the form of the mandatory national exam.

Another sign of institutionalisation is the introduction of official work ethics and the possibility of punishment (including taking away one's permission to work in the profession) for misconduct. Examination and control both introduce hierarchy into the working environment as well as result in certified translator being a separate, regulated and (self?)governed profession. It also influences the feeling of professional identity, cooperation between translators, and the net of possible positions. The relevant questions to all respondents are:

- which documents regulating their work and presenting their work ethics they find most relevant and which particular regulations are of key importance to them;
- whether they know or have heard about someone punished for professional misconduct and, if yes, whether they could describe what happened.

Finally, it is worth recognising the boundaries of the profession and who is positioned outside of these boundaries. It should be assumed that there might also be people who passed the examination and for some reason are still excluded from the social world (or their presence is limited by others). Hence the question:

- whether there is anyone that they would not like to work with.

4.2 Relations with Other Fields

Even though their participation may remain hidden, translators are a part of numerous fields: the field of cultural production, the literary field, the political field, etc. Establishing the relation between the translators and other fields is crucial for several reasons. Firstly, it may hint at whether it is possible to discuss the existence of the translation field or not necessarily. Secondly, functioning in other fields still constitutes their professional reality and is part of their

everyday experience and practice, remaining relevant to the study of the model of their social space(s). Thirdly, the field of power and the economic field always exert external pressure on both individuals and their positions.

It is certain that all individuals have relations with the field of power and the economic field. Similarly to the discussed case of the literary field, it may be expected that the relation with the field of power will be perceived by the respondents through the dual oppositions: either as a price that they need to unwillingly pay in order to participate in the professional activities or as an opportunity for privileges and other gains. The translators' attitude towards the field of power may be revealed in their view of the profession's ethics (and the related thereto legal regulations of the profession, which might mirror the external pressures from the field of power, for instance, the obligatory examination), interest in the current legal and political affairs, and their previous experience with the court and the force. The information may be retrieved through questions such as:

- which ethical rules they consider the most relevant and the most significant for their professional work; and whether there are any legal regulations or other documents that they especially follow in their professional activities. The question mentions other documents so as not to restrict the answer to the bills published by the government as some of the interviewed translators may belong to the associations of translators and may follow the codes of conduct propagated thereby;
- what experience they have had insofar regarding working for the court or the police. This inquiry also appears to be partially related to the hierarchy of translation, where the court and the police are viewed as a special category of certified translator's clients. Hence, the same question relates to two issues: the relationship between the sworn translators and their clients and the relation between the sworn translators and the field of power. This is due to the fact that both court and the police function as the instruments of the field of power;
- whether they are interested in any political issues that may influence their profession and, if yes, in which issues. The inquiry regarding politics is significant as politicians constitute part of the field of power as well. The translators' stance towards various political issues may reflect their reluctance or even resistance to the field of power or, quite the opposite, interest and involvement therein.

Regarding the relation with the economic field, two elements appear as necessary to investigate. Firstly, it should be established whether the economic field introduces financial inequality among translators and, if yes, then how. Two kinds of inequality may be expected: one

considering the group of certified translators and another comprising all translators, regardless of their specialisation. The information on the issue may be retrieved by asking respondents the following inquiries:

- who achieves financial success in their profession and whether there is such a category of people at all; why the named professionals—should there be any—managed to achieve financial success;
- whether they consider financial success a significant aspect of their work.

While the first question may imply whether there is financial inequality among translators and may reveal how it is structured, the second question serves to indicate how significant the financial capital is for translators. It seems significant to investigate later whether there is some kind of consistency regarding the stance towards the field of power and the economic field as these two are closely related.

Secondly, the relation with the economic field may be reflected in the relationships between the certified translators and their clients. Therefore, it is worth finding out who are their clients as well as how they are perceived by translators.²² The relationship between the certified translators and their clients constitutes part of their social world, but it might reveal more than that: it might display translators' potential dependency and lack of autonomy. It might reveal whether translators view themselves as producers of culture or not; whether they bow to the pressure of the economic market and work mostly for material gains; whether they give in to the pressure of the field of power and pursue a specific path of career; or perhaps whether they resist and strive for independence.

If the case of resistance occurred, it would call for further investigation, the most significant part of which would be the finding of *nomos*, hence the new rules and order promoted. What is more, since Bourdieu claims that each revolution (the act of becoming independent from various pressures) has to be rooted in the favourable, outside conditions that will also allow the rise of supporting mental structures (2001, p. 78), such conditions—a previous change in the social constellation—should be pinpointed. On the other hand, if the resistance occurred, it might happen that revolutionists would not even be asked to participate in the study or they would, but they would not agree to participate.

Finally, it should be established with which other fields translators come in contact; perhaps with the literary field, intellectual field, or the field of the cultural production? In the

²² Same questions relate to the hierarchy of translation and are listed again below. Similarly to the questions related to working with the court and the police, they potentially reveal both the relations between the certified translators and the economic field, as well as the hierarchy of translations.

cases of existing relationships, it should be examined how deeply translators enter other fields: whether it is only a contact they have to make or maybe they already invest in the games there. The relations with other fields may be revealed by asking about other commissions:

- what other commissions they take except for the legal ones and which commissions they consider to be the most important as well as which commissions are the least important.

4.3 Hierarchy of Translation

When investigating the field of literature, Bourdieu argues that the hierarchy of genres constitutes one of its key pillars. The genres differ in several terms; firstly, they differ in terms of the investment that is needed to create a product in the first place and its latter symbolic consumption. For instance, a significant amount of investment is necessary to create a theatre play and, similarly, its symbolic consumption is also an event, whereas the investment and the consumption are relatively low in the case of a book or poetry. Secondly, genres differ regarding the number and the quality of readers. As it was already discussed in this chapter, more consumers imply a lower quality of the readers and may result in low symbolic gains; however, they bring high income. On the other hand, a small number of quality readers does not result in high income, but it might bring symbolic capital. Thirdly, the genres vary in terms of their life cycles, which are closely related to the number and quality of the readers (the issue has also been discussed in detail in Chapter 2). The more autonomous the structure is, the more distinguished the genres are. The genres are closely related to the consecration of the authors; if the quality of the consumers is high, the symbolic gains are high as well and the author is consecrated by proper institutions. Genres providing consecration are also the ones at the top of the hierarchy; nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that the hierarchy is the subject of multiple fights, hence it is dynamic in its nature (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 181-182).

Similarly, it can be expected that the hierarchy of translation genres will be significant to the overall structure and the social world of the respondents. Rephrasing Bourdieu's claims regarding the literary field, it is worth establishing how distinct are the genres in translation and how much attention is paid to that distinction; which translation is the most remunerative and which one is the most prestigious; which type of translation is considered to be the most difficult and requires the most skill, effort or financial input; in which part of the market it is most challenging to find a post/commissions; which type of clients is the most appreciated and which is considered to be the most difficult, as well as which one is the most common. The questions asked to reveal the hierarchy of translations should be as follows:

- with which types of translation they have dealt previously and with which type they work most often. The questions allow determining which uttered statements (e.g. that simultaneous translation is the most difficult, requires the most practice and the most expensive courses) are rooted in one's experience and which are rooted in general knowledge or commonly repeated views;
- whether it happens that they need to turn down translation and, if yes, how often and what kind of translation. The question may potentially reveal which translations are considered not worth their remuneration or the boundary one draws regarding their professional competence;
- additionally, should the two above mentioned questions not provide the answers, the following inquiries can be pursued: which of their previous commissions they consider most difficult and which type of translation they find to be the most demanding in terms of skills, experience and prior preparation;
- which type of translation they find to be the most lucrative and which type of translation is considered to be the most prestigious. These two questions may reveal the connection between various types of translation and their corresponding capitals; however, it should be kept in mind that the hierarchy will be clear only if translators turn out to be quite an independent profession'
- who their clients are and what type of clients they work with most often; what type of clients they consider to be the most difficult to deal with and what type is the easiest one;
- who the recipients of their translations are;
- whether they have ever worked with the police or the court and, if yes, what the experience was like. The last three points here are all connected to the question of the audience as the clients are the purchasers and they are directly tied to the translator and the product, which is created upon their order, while the receivers of the translation may not be clients (usually the order is made for someone else) yet may still have an influence on the translation and its status. The police and the court are mentioned here separately as they comprise an extraordinary type of clients and receivers, belonging to/performing the instrumental functions for the field of power.

In the case of the literary field, there was a quite straightforward relation between prestige and financial gains; however, it does not have to be repeated in the case of translation. The suggested questions may reveal what the hierarchy of translation is, how different translation genres are tied to various capital, and consequently which capital plays a key role in

the world of translation, or even what are the desired dispositions of translators and what dispositions and capitals are required to assume given position. The last point may as well imply what the previous trajectories of professionals are, what were their previous positions and whether there are any perceivable patterns, which could give a picture of the possibilities inscribed in the social sphere(s) that they function in.

4.4 Life Trajectories

Another significant point to investigate is life trajectories with the emphasis on entering the profession (initiation), professional development, and reaching respected and valued positions in the field. The main aim is to reveal the possible life trajectories of the respondents, to establish the indicators of maturity, to find common elements for those that grew old in the profession, and to compare the trajectories of respondents differing in their social age. Perhaps it will be possible to capture *illusio* as well, the shared vision accepted by one upon entering a given social world since it is closely related to initiation (it needs to be accepted in order to fully submerge in the upholding reality and to take things seriously).

4.4.1 Initial Choices and Entering the Profession

The initial choices and experiences are so crucial as for Bourdieu the moment of entering life is key to the acceptance of the social game, its rules, the social order, and it is consequently tied to making one's first investment, both financial and psychological, in the game. Furthermore, the investment reveals the belief in the game and its stakes and *illusio*, hence the shared vision and interpretation of the reality. Since entering one of the social worlds equals sharing the dominating *illusio*, perhaps the determination of the conditions in which one entered the world and the changes that followed may unveil the underlying faith (e.g. in the case of the literary field it is the faith in the God-like or magical powers of the authors) and how the faith is reproduced (again, in the case of the literary faith, reproduction takes place mostly in the educational system, as well as through various mechanisms of author's consecration).

Illusio constructing translators' worldview may be specific and appears to be fascinating due to the translators' position in society. Translators perform tasks which are related to common, mostly unknown or often ignored texts, which remain outside the scope of interest, yet at the same time, they create the basis and context; these documents often regulate the social life, the functioning of actors and institutions, and create the background against which other processes may take place, including for instance the publication of highly appreciated literature. Hence, translators' work does not only provide financial survival to translators, but it remains

key for the society, simultaneously being highly invisible and more than often highly underappreciated. Translators may be even sometimes viewed by other persons functioning in the given field as violators, which is further downplaying their role and status since they are vital to the proper functioning of the capitalistic, multilingual and multicultural society we live in. Due to that vitality, it can be assumed that their work potentially bears significant responsibility. For instance, the translators' work will determine how the police are going to judge upon the suspect; whether an international contract will be proper and binding to international partners and how easily conflicts enlisted in the contract will be resolved; or even whether an academic will stand a chance of receiving the next degree because the proper or improper translation of the summary of professional accomplishment may give an impression of dealing with a competent researcher with great knowledge who deserves an academic promotion, or with an imposter pretending to have performed some studies.

Secondly, all interactions, conflicts, coincidences, etc. serve for Bourdieu as potential situations in which one's *habitus* may be revealed. Undertaken decisions and actions may show a pattern in one's behaviour that would correspond to one's habitus but they may also show dispositions such as determination, enthusiasm, stubbornness, or they may display certain desires (e.g. for power) and emotions. Hence, it seems possible to encode from one's professional trajectory key elements of the field and the social world, such as *illusio*, capital, dispositions and *habitus* in general. This, in turn, may lead to an understanding of behaviours that may initially appear irrational and to drawing potential trajectories for professionals of this kind.

Most of the questions suggested here appeared already in the section on institutionalisation, however, it should be underlined once again how all the discussed processes are intertwined and that answers to the same question may reveal information on more than one aspect. The suggested questions related to *illusio* and entering the investigated social world are:

- how they became a sworn translator; if a respondent commits to answering this question—and it could be expected as respondents, once they agree to participate in the study, feel obliged to engage—no supporting questions will be necessary. However, should their answer be incomplete or too concise, additional information could be retrieved with such supporting inquiries as:
 - which major they finished and whether these were the only studies that they completed;
 - whether they were planning to study their major from the very beginning or whether they had other plans and something changed;

- what profession they intended to practice and whether they have always wanted to work as a translator.
- what their first professional experiences were; the inquiry aims to establish where the young adepts of translation start their practice and what are those first experiences that shape them);
- which professional-wise choices and experiences they consider to be significant.

4.4.2 Social Maturing and Getting Old

Another crucial issue related to professional trajectories is social maturing. For Bourdieu, reaching a mature age in the social terms (which is not necessarily related to the biological age of a person) is reflected in choosing a given field, deciding to play the game, investing in it and treating it seriously. In some cases, it is possible to not only discuss entering the social world, investing and treating the games seriously (hence, reaching maturity therein) but also becoming socially old, which is reflected in the access to the power positions and the possibility to become a game-changer.

The relevant questions here could be:

- which professional-wise choices and experiences they consider to be significant. While it is the same question that served to unravel *illusio*, it can indicate not only the moment of entering the social world but also other turning points in one's professional development, which might reflect advancing in the social age. In case such a comment did not occur in the response to the question, an additional question might be asked to pinpoint the moment when someone started to treat the rules and the game with all seriousness:
 - whether there a moment in their life when they thought: this is what I want to do, I want to be a translator.

Summing up, on the basis of the respondents' answers, it should be possible to reconstruct the social indicators of maturity—which is not necessarily related to the physiological maturity, but rather to being serious about one's tasks—as well as the process and the indicators of becoming old. To some degree, questions concerning the latter are related to the issue of how effective power is awarded and how the consecration works. What is more, possessing such power gives one the ability to establish the rules of the game and the stakes and to determine the shape of this part of social reality.

Finally, social maturity or its lack, as well as the social age, result in different schemas of perception and assessment. Therefore, it is necessary to compare the viewpoints of those who

hold power and those who do not. Bourdieu also argued that different roles and trajectories are offered to men and women (for instance, in the literary field women usually played the role of the mediators between the field of power and the field of literature; between the ruling and the ruled). Even though Bourdieu's study of the literary field comprises different times and a lot has changed since that in terms of gender equality, it is often pointed out that masked inequality still exists. Hence, establishing whether there are significant differences in the social trajectories as well as perception patterns, *habitus* and accessibility to different positions appear relevant.

4.5 Verbalisation and Linguistic Conventions

It should be underlined at this point that not only the content of the interviews is significant for the study but also the manner in which it is expressed. For both Bourdieu and Kaufmann, verbalisation and linguistic conventions have crucial meaning. Firstly, as it was already discussed in Chapter 2, the used terminology is subject to fight. The definitions change depending on who is fighting for power and who is winning, as besides defining, they also serve to include or mostly exclude someone from the fight. Hence, the respondents' understanding of certain keywords they use as well as the manner in which they use them may hint at the underlying struggles. Secondly, used metaphors play a key role as well, as they reveal the understanding of some more complex and abstract processes. Metaphors are also strictly related to the set of connotations that may be triggered by certain concepts and situations. These point further towards the relations between the respondent and other groups, as well their interests and habitual ways of 'thinking about things'. Thirdly, language reveals the divisions and truisms specific to the investigated part of reality. More than often, language reveals subconscious thinking and the feeling of belonging, even if the respondents are not willing to admit it or are not even conscious thereof. Finally, the language that one uses implies their ways of thinking, such as the perception of the world, the underlying divisions, the tensions and internal or external contradictions, and the fact whether one accepts or discredits the binding order. During the conversation, the language might reveal where the respondents place various boundaries (social, theoretical, etc.) themselves, as the crossing of these boundaries will result in their contention and, therefore, the change of the register that they use. The boundaries and order may also hint what are the oppositions that structure the world of the respondents (such as commercial art and art-for-art's sake in the case of the literary field).

4.6 Conclusion

The study of certified translators comprises potentially all those who belong to the profession: professionals who are in the record of Polish sworn translators and have experience working in the profession. The sampling is based on the snowball sampling method since strategic sampling allows the conscious choice of the respondents on the basis of the data available and the utility of the respondents (hence, what criteria they need to fulfil and how much information they can potentially provide). Strategic sampling allows to reach the responders in the area of interest, and it is the first method applied here, whereas snowball sampling makes it possible to further explore a given group on the basis of recommendation; the handpicked participants recommend the researcher further to their colleagues and other professionals. The combination of these two methods is especially crucial in researching potentially closed groups, or persons unwilling to reveal their professional practice to ‘anyone’. Due to the fact snowball sampling is based on the recommendation and enrolment for the study through other participants (hence, respondents in the study encourage other professionals they know to participate in the study and recommend the researcher), it also offers data on the social network of certified translators.

The chosen method is a semi-structured interview. The interviews are conducted in Polish, as this is the native language of all respondents and it allows the most natural responses, revealing the most underlying processes, which could potentially be distorted or hidden in the process of internal translation from Polish to English should the interviews be conducted in English. The scenario of the interview in both Polish and English can be found in Appendix 1.

The gained material is analysed with two techniques: firstly, the ‘understanding interview’ as presented by Jean-Claude Kaufmann, and secondly, with the conceptual metaphor derived from cognitive linguistics. It should be already stressed at this point that cognitive linguistics has been chosen due to the striking similarities between its main assumptions and the main assumptions regarding language made by Bourdieu. Bourdieu himself was inspired by Noam Chomsky, his generative grammar and the concept of deep structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001); while the cognitive linguistics scholars are often not very keen to admit their close relation with Chomsky and his grammar, the ties linking these two approaches are undeniable.

The next chapter presents the results of the study of the social space(s) of certified translators.

Chapter 5: The Secret Life of Certified Translators

5.0 Overview

This empirical part of the thesis focuses on the results of the in-depth interviews conducted with the certified translators of English. Two parts may be distinguished: the first one comprises three sections and may be considered a memoir of sorts from the study, whereas the second one comprises twelve sections and focuses on the themes that emerged from the interviews, relating them to the concepts and categories offered by Bourdieu in the field analysis.

The memoir comprises methodological, technical and personal remarks, including the mistakes made and concerning the overall process. The first section, “Conducting the Interviews”, raises issues such as sampling and approaching the respondents, the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic on the course of the study, the piloting interview, and the information provided before and after the interview. The second section, “Analysing and Translating Interviews,” introduces particular steps undertaken in the process of working with the interviews – from their transcription (which approach to transcription was chosen and what tools were selected to facilitate the process) to their translation for the needs of this analysis. The issues such as the languages used in the study and the bilingual nature of the study are discussed. The difficulties concerning the translation of the chosen excerpts from the interviews are explained, including the interpretation, the intertextuality, and the double translation. The third section, “Respondents of the Study,” presents the profiles of the certified translators who participated in the study. The respondents are given fictional names so as not to reveal their identities. Crucial background information is also provided: the years of experience after being awarded the right to work in the profession, forms of employment and information on other employment beside translation. The development of the snowball is presented in detail. Moreover, since the sampling method failed and the snowball quickly stopped ‘rolling’, the reasons for the failure are examined, and their implications for the study as well as its meaning to this analysis are discussed.

The second part comprises twelve sections, which have been developed on the basis of the discernible patterns emerging from the research. These patterns do not overlap with the categories and concepts offered by Bourdieu (2001), but they are analysed with their application. Thus, the relationship between certified translators and other fields occurs throughout many of the section: e.g. in the section 3.4.5, the connections between the certified translators and the academic field are explored, whereas in the section 3.4.6, the focus is placed

on the relationship with the field of power and the juridical field. If there are similar studies on certified translators applying the field theory, the proper reference is made. However, it should be noted at this point that though some studies are mentioned, their overwhelming share focuses on the literary translators, thus making them non-applicable in the context of this study. Another concern regarding many of the quoted studies is that they assume the existence of the translation field without confirming it empirically first, which may result in the misleading interpretation of certain phenomena. As it will soon transpire from the analysis below, the main conclusion of this study is that perhaps it is not possible to assume the existence of the translation field at all.

5.1 Conducting the Interviews

In this section, the process of conducting the interviews is discussed. The focus is placed on technical issues and the interview settings: thus, how the respondents were approached, how the interviews were conducted, how long was the process, and what kind of information was provided before and after the interview.

While the first interview had been scheduled for March/April 2020, it had to be postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic that broke out and resulted in lockdown, starting from March 12, 2020. The lockdown brought severe restrictions, and although, after several months, it became possible again to meet face to face, many persons still felt scared and uncomfortable in such circumstances. As Moises C. Torrentira (2020) notes, qualitative research and its methodology were more impacted by the restrictions, and greater changes thereto were required: new media for conducting the interviews (mobiles, teleconferencing tools, etc.) had to be chosen, and in some cases, such as direct observation, new methodologies had to be designed. In the case of this study, a decision was made to conduct the interviews online with the use of teleconferencing tools; interviews held via mobile phones were excluded from the very beginning, which occurred to be a sensible choice, as proved later. In the original research project, the elements of direct observation were present as they were considered to be highly informative by Bourdieu himself (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). As these were related to the question of one's social status and desired appearance, it would be challenging to gain this information using other qualitative methods. Therefore, given the pandemic circumstances and time constraints, this part of the study was waived.

The first step after developing the revised instructions for the interviews was the pilot interview. Mohd Aliff Abdul Majid et al. (2017) point out that piloting performs two crucial functions: firstly, it is necessary to determine who can participate in the study (what are the

criteria for participation). Conducting pilot interviews provides the researcher with information on whether it is possible to access such respondents or whether there are some other criteria that should have been taken into account. Secondly, pilot interviews verify the questions asked during the interview and allow the researcher to work on their phrasing or even on modifying the interview structure, if necessary. Yujin Kim (2010) adds that piloting interviews helps the researcher to emerge into his or her own study; to grasp the difficulty of the process that lies, among others, in the necessity to suspend one's judgement and refrain from imposing one's interpretations and perspectives; and to assess the sampling method.

The pilot interview was conducted on May 30, 2020, and it lasted 1 hour and 41 minutes. After the interview, slight changes were made as to how few of the questions were formulated; for instance, explanations or more details were added. However, none of the questions was removed or completely rephrased. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the piloting did not provide information on the difficulties related to recruiting respondents, which is the result of the small-scale piloting. On the other hand, these issues proved to be highly informative themselves and are thus discussed in detail below.

The potential respondents were approached either via e-mail or text message, depending on the contact details that were provided. The message contained my personal information—should any of the potential respondents like to verify—the contact details of a person who recommended them for an interview and background information on the research, including the theory applied, the goal of research and the general scope of questions. Particular questions were not revealed to the respondents before the interview. Further, an estimated time of an interview and the manner of conducting it were also provided as well as information regarding the confidentiality of respondents.

The interviews were conducted from May 30, 2020, to January 9, 2022. All the interviews were conducted online using videoconferencing tools, most commonly Microsoft Teams. One interview was conducted using Zoom and one using Skype, as it was the request of the respondents. All the interviews were recorded; the recordings were used solely for the purpose of preparing transcripts from the interviews, which served as the basis for the analysis. The respondents were informed that they could receive their transcribed interview if they would like to. The shortest interview lasted 1 hour and 8 minutes, whereas the longest was 3 hours and 11 minutes. Not all the respondents were asked the same questions. For instance, there were questions designated for respondents who were not only translators but also taught translation in a higher school or at university. The order of the questions was also sometimes slightly changed to follow the natural flow of the conversation. All respondents were asked additional

questions, depending on the information they provided. The aim of these questions was usually to gather more detail or to develop some of the thoughts that occurred to the respondents and were only briefly mentioned. The interviews were conducted in Polish; even though all respondents were more than qualified to participate in an interview conducted in English, they were also all native speakers of Polish. Using another language, even the one that is so familiar to the respondents, inevitably introduces a different linguistic and cultural environment, influences the interview situation by changing the balance of power, and adds further challenges (e.g. Marschan-Piekkari & Reis, 2004, pp. 240-241); for some, it may also bring an unnecessary element of stress or even make them decide against participation in the interview.

At the end of the interview, the respondents were asked whether they would like to add something. Initially, that was the moment when I turned off the recording and said that if they have any additional questions regarding the study or its initial results, it is possible to discuss them now. However, it happened that the questions posed by the respondents or the discussion that sparked thereafter brought to the light new significant information, which could not be used in the analysis as it was not recorded. Having learnt my lesson, I kept the recording on in the next interviews for as long as the call lasted.

5.2 Analysing and Translating the Interviews

The next step after conducting interviews was transcribing them. The literal transcription has been chosen as the method best fitting for the aims of the analysis. The process was facilitated by applying the function of transcribing sound files available in Office 365 was used. The produced text file was by no means perfect, but it provided the underpinnings for the proper text and quickened this stage of the analysis. As the automatically generated texts were read and corrected, they were also made confidential in the process; any proper names such as the names of universities or courses the study participants attended, names of their co-workers, the cities they lived in as well as any other pieces of information that could potentially lead to revealing their identity were removed and replaced with generic information.

Transcription also constituted the first stage of the analysis, which allowed me to identify the main recurring themes as well as repeating expressions and gain a wider perspective on the retrieved information in general. After all the interviews were transcribed, they were read twice; in total, the text amounting to 19 author's sheets (760,000 characters) was analysed. During the analysis, I attempted to reconstruct their educational and professional biographies, sought stories or sentences that appeared to refer to the categories chosen for the analysis (i.e. *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, etc.), and paid attention to repeated or odd expressions and sentences

or words that appeared to be out of context. Many times, I would go back to the previously analysed text as I would notice details or threads reoccurring in the stories of different respondents, which I had found irrelevant at the beginning and which gained meaning and importance as the analysis proceeded; for instance, the explanation to the ritual of signing and stamping a certified translation and the positive feelings related thereto occurred to me at the very end of the second reading.

The next phase constituted coding: the selected fragments of the interviews were assigned categories that had previously been established as relevant to the research project; some new categories emerged as well as were included in the analysis. After coding, the fragments were analysed in-depth, though a significant part of the material was already analysed in-depth during the stage of reading. These notes served as the basis for preparing this research report.

The last key issue that should be discussed is the translation of the interviews, as the interviews had been conducted in Polish. It has been widely accepted in TS that it is not possible to translate a text without any loss (e.g. Bassnett, 1980/1991, pp. 39-40). Three issues should be emphasised in the context of translating transcriptions of the interviews: interpretation, intertextuality and 'double translation'. Interpretation is particularly related to the hermeneutics and hermeneutic approach to translation, as a result of which translation should always be viewed as an interpretation of the translator (e.g. Manafi Anari & Safdari, 2017). Therefore, translating the interviews inevitably results in imposing one perspective or emphasising one of the interpretations over the others, which is particularly dangerous when translation is performed by the researcher who already has certain preconceptions, hypotheses and assumptions in mind. Intertextuality refers to the idea that every text is embedded in a wide net of intertextual relations (e.g. Venuti, 2009). Translation results in a rupture that is impossible to repair; a translated text is inescapably transferred into foreign grounds and embedded in a different net with different intertextual relations. Since the interviews are supposed to uncover a net of social relations and refer heavily to extratextual social reality, their translation seems to be a doomed undertaking from the very beginning. Though the explanations accompanying quotes perhaps remediate the situation to some degree, it does not seem plausible to offer only translated text in the analysis. Finally, the quotes translated from Polish to English undergo a process of 'double-translation'; the first translation takes place already during the transcription when the speech is translated into a written text and edited for the purposes of the research report (e.g. Bourdieu, 1996; more on this issue in Chapter 3).

On the other hand, one should also give justice to the fact that translation is not only a loss; it is also a gain. The act of translation allows more readers of different languages to access the text and the knowledge presented therein (Nord, 2011, pp. 27-28), which is true not only for literary translation but also the academic one. Therefore, in this research report, all quotes are offered in two languages: Polish, which is the source language, and English, which is the target language, with the recommendation to draw own conclusions on the basis of the Polish text, if possible.

5.3 Respondents in the Study

In total, ten respondents agreed to participate in the study and attended the interview. Even though the interviews were scheduled to take place online, it often proved to be difficult to set up a date when the respondents would be available for an hour or more. The interviews were often cancelled and then rescheduled; in the most extreme case, the respondent was contacted in August 2020 when he agreed to participate in the interview but was not available at the time. The interview was conducted only in September 2021, thus a year and a month later.

Below there is a brief characteristic of each of the respondents, including such pieces of information as the year they were awarded the rights to perform the duties of a certified translator, their form of employment, the number of provided contacts and other relevant background information that is not part of the analysis below but was offered during the interview.

Hanna²³ (F8²⁴) was the first interviewee and participated in the piloting interview. She has been a certified translator since 2014. She is an owner of a huge translation agency that offers translations to and from tens of languages (56 languages at the moment of writing this analysis) and is located in one of the biggest cities in Poland. Being a translator and running a translation agency is her main source of income, though she is also invested in educating young adepts of translation. Interestingly, when asked about contacts with other certified translators of English, she had difficulties recommending anyone; she kept in touch with certified translators of other languages but not English. She eventually recommended two persons, both of whom were certified translators she knew from her academic work – Ewa and Bartosz. While she kept in touch with Bartosz, she had no personal relationship with Ewa at all.

²³ All the respondents' names have been changed.

²⁴ The codes indicate the respondents' sex (F for female and M for male) and the years of practice since being entered on the list of certified translators (which does not necessarily overlap with the years of practice total).

Ewa (F10) was entered on the list of certified translators in 1991. She closed her translation agency some time ago when she was hired at university and had to choose between full-time academic work, including finishing her doctoral thesis and other activities. In her professional life, she worked closely with the court and other law enforcement authorities; their cooperation and style of work turned out to be one of the key reasons why she dissolved her translation agency. Hence, she proved to be a valuable source of information, even though she has not been an active certified translator at the moment of conducting the interview. She does not exclude the possibility of working in the profession again. She provided the contacts to two of her colleagues whom she knew from working for the court. However, none of them replied to the queries concerning the interview.

Bartosz (M8) has been a certified translator since 2014. He owns a small translation agency in one of the biggest cities in Poland, where he works himself. Translation is just an additional source of his income as he is primarily hired at university and pursues an academic career, though closely related to the issue of certified translation. He is also a lecturer at several universities, where he teaches translation. At the end of the interview, he provided contact details to two persons: Izabela, whom he knows from academic work and who agreed to participate in the study, and another certified translator working full-time in her own translation agency who, however, did not reply to any of the two e-mail queries sent.

Izabela (F18) has been working as a certified translator since 2004. She often cooperates with another translation agency owned by her friend, but translation remains only an additional source of income for her; her first place of employment is a university, where she also teaches translation. She was an interviewee with whom the shortest interview was conducted (1 hour and 8 minutes). When asked for the contact details of other certified translators, she referred me back to Bartosz and provided contact to her friend owning the above-mentioned translation agency, who never replied to any of my e-mail queries concerning the interview. Therefore, Izabela was the last person in this line of snowball. Short though it is, it has been the longest string of successful references achieved in the study.

Róża (F28) has been a certified translator since 1994, which makes her a respondent with the longest professional experience. An interview with her was the longest one, lasting 3 hours and 11 minutes. Nevertheless, this interview yielded the least valuable material as she had a tendency to stray away from the topic and avoided answering many of the questions. She owns a translation agency in one of the biggest cities in Poland, where she works alone. Her agency must have been successful as she mentions in the interview that one year, she had so much income she had to register as a VAT taxpayer. Despite having such a well-operating

agency of her own and being on the market for such a long time, she could recommend only one other person for the study, and that was only after being asked several times. However, the interview with the person she recommended never took place; her recommended contact refused to participate in an online interview. Instead, she offered an interview via phone when, as she said, she would be able to do some chores, such as washing the dishes. Since such an interview would be highly unlikely to yield any valuable results—not to mention the fact that the methodology would need to be changed once more and, consequently, would not be consistent—the potential respondent was informed that this is unfortunately impossible. She was asked whether it would be possible to provide any contact details to other certified translators of English she knew, and she promised to give it a thought. However, she never provided any, and she did not reply in any way to any further queries, either via e-mail or text message. Therefore, this line of recommendations was not successful at all.

Radosław (M5) was recommended by another translator who was not a certified translator himself. It was Radosław with whom the interview was postponed several times, and it took over a year to finally schedule a date. He became a certified translator in 2017, making him (and his contact) the interviewee with the shortest professional experience. He owns a small translation agency in one of the biggest cities in Poland, which is his only source of income. He had difficulty recommending anyone for the interview; in the end, he provided contact details to Robert, whom he knows from the state exam.

Robert (M5) has also been a certified translator since 2017; he and Radosław met during the state exam allowing one to obtain a professional licence. He does not have his own translation agency; he is hired full-time in a different workplace that is not related to translation in any aspect. He is currently working as a translator in his free time, yet he intends to make this his full-time occupation in the future. After the interview, he had no one he could recommend, only Radosław; thus, this line of recommendation also ended quickly with just two respondents who could only recommend each other and claimed to have no other contacts.

Natalia (F26) was recommended to me by another academic who knew her personally. She obtained her professional licence in 1996, and she intended to work as a translator full-time yet, due to different circumstances in her life, that never happened, and she worked as an English teacher her whole life. She worked in a translation agency, and she owned her own business for a short period of time. Currently, she restricted her translation work; she occasionally takes commissions from an agency run by her co-worker or translates without taking any fee at all. Her withdrawal from translation appears to be closely related to the

experiences she had as a translator, especially negative experiences with clients. At the end of the interview, she provided contact to Dominika, her co-worker, who owns a translation agency.

Dominika (F25) has been a certified translator since 1997. Translation has always been an additional source of income for her, though she does not exclude doing it full-time in the future as she plans to withdraw more from her current line of work in education. She owns a business, as a part of which she runs a language school and a translation agency, where she hires several people. However, she had no certified translator of English to recommend for an interview; she hired only translators who did not have a professional licence. As she mentioned in the interview, she would certify a translation for them from time to time, but they never attempted to pass the exam for one reason or another, which excluded them from the group of potential interviewees. Therefore, this line of recommendation also ended with just two respondents.

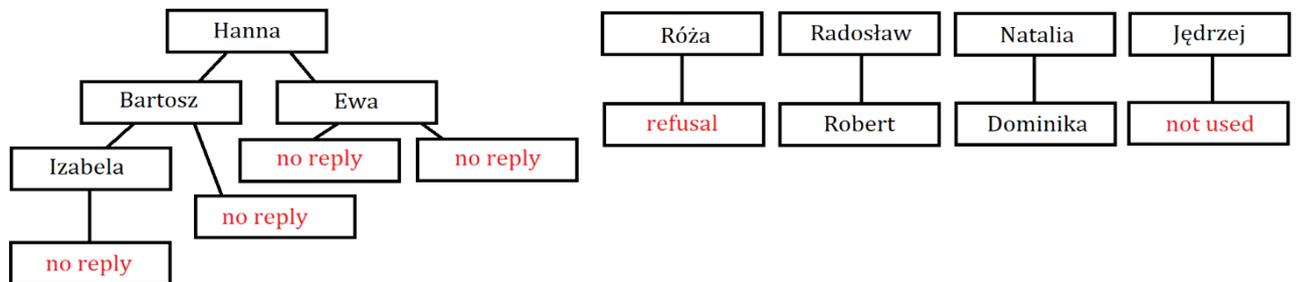
Jędrzej (M18) was recommended as a potential interviewee by another sworn translator who was hesitant to participate in the study himself. He was entered on the list of certified translators in 2004. He owns a translation agency functioning in a small city, yet translation is not his main source of income; primarily, he teaches translation, including certified and oral translation, at one of the Polish universities. He provided one recommendation to a translator who works full-time in the profession; this recommendation was, however, not used as he was the last study participant (the interview was conducted on January 9, 2022), and a decision was made to proceed with the already completed material due to the time constraints.

Apart from the respondents described above, three other certified translators were contacted, all on the basis of recommendations. None of them replied to my phone or e-mail queries concerning the interview.

A snowball sampling tree illustrating the recommendations can be found below; the tree does not include those certified translators who were the first links in the chain of recommendations and did not reply. The translators who did not reply but whose lack of reply resulted in breaking the chain of recommendations are included.

Figure 5.1

Snowball Sampling Tree



Source: own study, PK.

Several conclusions may be drawn from that sampling tree. Firstly, which is perhaps the key issue observed, the failure of the snowball to roll is very telling. While the snowball sampling is initially based on a small group of respondents possessing certain qualities or fulfilling certain criteria, it is supposed to roll, i.e. each of the respondents should be able to provide at least several contacts, making the chain grow in depth and width. Therefore, this sampling method uses the already existing social network to access a given population. The snowball rolls as long as the data is saturated or the desired number of respondents is achieved (Parker et al., 2019). In the case of this study, the snowball sampling failed as even successful certified translators who worked full-time in translation and hired other translators did not maintain contact with other certified translators of English. In most cases, they were able to provide one or two contacts, which caused the snowball to fail in its development in the width spectrum. Sometimes the only contact they could provide was the person that referred me to them in the first place (e.g. Bartosz referred me to Hanna, Izabela referred me to Bartosz, Robert referred me to Radosław). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the social network between certified translators is nearly non-existent or underdeveloped, to say the least. They do not seem to invest in relationships with each other, and they do not have a support network as a result. As a consequence of that, the lines of recommendations might have ended so quickly as the approached translators did not feel obliged to participate in the study or even to reply; they simply ignored the queries, even though they would always include the name and surname of the person who recommended them for the interview.

When the snowball sampling fails, some scholars recommend widening the net instead of deepening it, i.e. looking for more respondents from whom the snowball could start rolling and having more short lines of recommendations than fewer long and well-developed lines (e.g. Geddes et al., 2018). However, this approach failed in the study as well. While many of the certified translators approached on the basis of recommendation refused or did not reply at all, those certified translators who were approached without a personal recommendation did not reply at all.

Secondly, the silence that fell on the translator's side may also be considered informative. Considering the information that emerged during the interview, there are at least three hypotheses as to why they did not even bother to reply. One of the most commonly mentioned issues that were repeated across the interview was the time (or rather its lack) and its (poor) management, which both result from the nature of the translator's work. It is possible that some translators did not reply because they could not find the time to even consider the idea of an interview, not to mention finding space in their daily schedule²⁵. Another hypothetical explanation is related to the fact that certified translators see their profession as the profession of the public trust and view themselves as the servants of the law and the state. Even if one could not say that they were serious about translation, they were always exceptionally serious about their profession and the code of ethics that is linked to it. Therefore, it is quite possible that they were not willing to discuss matters they viewed as sensitive with an outsider. Finally, as Renata Świgońska notices, many of the certified translators who are in the ministerial records do not practice anymore (Świgońska, 2020, 30 June); while they are obliged to report ceasing or suspending their professional activities to the Ministry of Justice, it does not seem to be a common knowledge among translators. It is possible that some of the translators who were asked to participate in the study does not work in the profession anymore. The first two tentative hypotheses are further developed below in the analysis of the interviews.

5.4 The Secret Life of Certified Translators

This part of the analysis has been written on the basis of the qualitative analysis of the interviews conducted with certified translators of English. It has been divided into twelve sections, which represent twelve significant themes reoccurring throughout the interviews. An attempt has been made to interpret each of the themes, applying Bourdieu's field theory and its components. In

²⁵ Perhaps it should be mentioned here that some of the interviews were conducted at very unsocial hours. For instance, the interview with Róża finished at 12.30 AM.

some sections, additional concepts and methods (e.g. conceptual metaphor from cognitive linguistics) are used.

The first three sections are concerned with entering the profession and the investments that appear to be necessary before that. The first section (“The Translation Studies, or Lack Thereof”) focuses on the educational path of the respondents. The experiences of the respondents are presented chronologically, from the respondents who completed their education nearly thirty years ago to the respondents who graduated no later than six years ago. They are divided into the first and second-cycle studies as well as post-graduate studies. This part ends with comments of the certified translators who have become academic lecturers themselves and teach certified translation to others. The second section (“The Irreplaceable Role of the Master-Apprentice Relationship”) presents the translator training, an element that appears to be indispensable for sworn translators as there are certain key elements of knowledge they are required to possess that seem to be passed only through master-apprentice relationship. Finally, the third section (“Two Worlds: Before and After the Exam”) examines how someone could have become a certified translator before the new regulations were introduced in 2005 and how the state exam is experienced by the younger translators who passed it. This section is also an attempt to identify how the exam is perceived by professionals and how it changed the profession.

The next two sections focus on playing the game with all seriousness, as Bourdieu calls it. The section “What Makes Certified Translators Tick” focuses on the motivations that draw translators into this profession and that make them stay in the profession and remain (sometimes deeply) involved. Thus, it attempts to identify the *illusio* and the *habitus* of certified translators. The next section (“Frédéric of the Translation”) places focus on the certified translator who, quite the opposite, have never decided to play the game with all seriousness or withdrew from that game. Some of the obstacles withholding translators from becoming fully engaged are identified.

The two sections that follow focus on the relationship between the certified translators and the two important fields: the field of power and the economic field. The section “All Rise! or a Translator in Court” explores the relationship between a certified translator and a field of power. The mechanisms governing this relationship and the positions that translators are forced to take seem to be the most evident in the case of the juridical field, which could be treated as a special instance of the field of power. Thus, most attention is devoted to the experiences of translators in court. The Bourdieusian concept of symbolic violence is applied here. The section “The Worthless and the Invaluable Translation” focuses on the dual perception of translation,

which is closely related to the relationship between the translators and the economic field. The value of the economic capital is explored, and the main logic seems to be revealed.

The next two sections explore the position of certified translators with an emphasis on prestige, which emerged as one of the key issues mentioned by translators. The section “‘It’s Complicated’ – on the Relationship Between Certified Translators and Their Clients” attempts to identify how these relationships are shaped and what influences them, who enjoys the prestige, and how deeply translators may be affected by negative experiences at work. The section “The Scapegoat and the Real Criminal” seeks to establish whom certified translators exclude from their profession as these are the same persons they blame for their low prestige. Simultaneously, a suggestion is made as to who or rather what is truly responsible for such a state of affairs; a conclusion closely connected to the previous parts of the analysis.

The sections “I Am My Own Rudder, Sailor and Vessel” and “The Mysterious Case of Lost Time” explore the phrases that have repeatedly been appearing throughout the interviews. The phrase “I am my own rudder, sailor and vessel” seems to be connected to the lack of social network between translators (and their low social capital) as well as to the available forms of employment, which may additionally worsen the situation. The time-related phrases are analysed with the use of the concept of conceptual metaphor.

The final section examines the relationship between translators (not only the certified ones) and other fields. Two fields are scrutinised in this section: the literary field and the legal field. The investigation of the relationship between translators and these fields but also between the translators themselves serves as the final argument leading to a conclusion that perhaps it is not possible to discuss the existence of the translation field in Poland.

5.4.1 The Translation Studies, or Lack Thereof

Even though graduating in English is not a requirement for prospective sworn translators, it seems that most of the practising certified translators do graduate in English. In the case of the study participants, there was only one person who did not earn a degree in the first or second-cycle studies in English, namely Robert, who graduated in administration. All other study participants completed both first and second-cycle studies in English or, in the case of the study participants who studied before the changes related to the Bologna Declaration (European Higher Education Area, n.d.), long-cycle studies.

However, none of the respondents offered positive comments on their translator education. While Anthony Pym (2012) discusses the complementary nature of the translator training, which focuses mostly on the technical skills and on gaining first-hand experience, and

translator education, which also pays attention to soft competencies necessary in one's work, it seems that the respondents were provided with neither during their student's life. For instance, when Izabela was a student, the teaching profile was the only option and there was not a single class concerning translation from an either theoretical or practical perspective; it was the same for Róża. Dominika and Natalia do mention having translation classes during their university education, but they were reduced to just one subject that was mostly focused on literary translation.

The subsequent introduction of the translation profile into the English Studies could be perceived as revolutionary given that context, but the image that emerges from the respondents' stories suggests otherwise. Hanna does not recall having numerous or varied translation courses in her academic days; all she remembers is one lecture and one practical class, during which they would translate press articles. The internship available to the young adepts of translation consisted of one week's practice; thus, it was nearly non-existent. She mentions one valuable class during her second-cycle studies:

Wyglądało to tak, że pan po prostu omawiał tłumaczenie dokumentów użytkowych, wyjaśniał wszelkie niuanse, wyjaśniał konwencje jakie są w różnych językach: w języku polskim, w języku angielskim. I generalnie po prostu, że tak powiem, to zajęcia miały wymiar bardzo praktyczny, więc nie jestem pewna, czy mogę powiedzieć, że one w jakikolwiek sposób przygotowywały [do tłumaczenia]. Bo ktoś kto nie ma w ogóle żadnego przygotowania praktycznego i nie ma w ogóle zbyt dużej wiedzy teoretycznej o tłumaczeniach to myślę, że w ograniczonym zakresie skorzysta z takiej praktyki. Ale myślę, że były one naprawdę bardzo fajnym wprowadzeniem. (Hanna, F8)

So he simply discussed the translation of documents, explained all nuances, and explained the convention that are in different languages: in Polish and in English. And in general, I would say these classes were very practical, so I am not sure whether I can say that they prepared me in any way [to translate]. Because when someone does not have any practical training and does not have too much theoretical knowledge on translation at all, then I think that they will make use of such practice only to a limited extent. But I think that they were a really cool introduction.²⁶ (Hanna, F8)

However, as it emerges from the quote, the students—probably herself included, though she avoids using the pronoun 'I' when discussing the lack of knowledge and practice—could not

²⁶ All translations mine.

fully comprehend the content of the class due to the gaps in their both practical and theoretical knowledge.

A similar story is presented by Radosław, who used an interesting expression in this context (in bold):

To były chyba na licencjacie już tam dwie specjalizacje, dwa profile jakby, jakkolwiek to nazwać: tłumaczeniowy i nauczycielski. Tylko ten tłumaczeniowy profil, no to taki trochę był **kikut**. W takim sensie, że no tych zajęć chyba było strasznie mało na specjalizacji. I one też nie były wtedy jakoś szczególnie dobrze prowadzone. (Radosław, M5)

Already on the first-cycle studies, there may have been two specialisations, two profiles of sorts, however, to call them: translation and teaching. Only this translation profile, that was a bit of a **stump**. In a sense, well, the specialised classes may have been very scarce. And they were also not conducted particularly well. (Radosław, M5)

The Polish word *kikut* is used here in a bit unusual manner and draws attention. In general, *kikut* is used to refer to a part of a limb that was amputated or never fully developed. The metaphorical use in the context of translation profile could suggest that, to Radosław's mind, the profile was also not fully developed and not fully functional as well. Such an interpretation seems to be confirmed by his subsequent recollections of classes when he mentions that were only one or two meetings a week and compares to eight to ten profiled classes that were available to the students who chose the teaching profile. Furthermore, he is critical of the translation classes as well, claiming that the texts translated during practical classes were mostly random and chosen by the students themselves, which would suggest a lack of direction and purpose; theoretical classes or lecturers were not included in the programme at all. In comparison to a well-developed programme for teachers that included numerous extra classes and hours of teaching practice, the programme for prospective translators does seem like a stump.

It seems that certified translators, not having been satisfied with their state education, turn to paid postgraduate studies for professionals. Such one-year or two-year postgraduate studies for translators or certified translators were completed by Bartosz, Izabela, Robert and Dominika; Hanna and Radosław finished two postgraduate studies – Hanna chose postgraduate studies in certified translation and in new technologies in translation, whereas Radosław finished two different studies in certified translation. Many of them claimed that these

postgraduate studies were their first actual contact with translation and a necessary introduction to the issues related to the certified translation.

Interestingly, the courses—though not postgraduate studies—for certified translators were available long before the exam was introduced. Dominika, who was entered into the records of the Ministry of Justice in 1997, attended such a course before submitting her papers to the court. This would suggest that the need to provide professional courses for (prospective) sworn translators arose long before the exam was introduced, and there were first attempts to bridge this gap in the educational offer. Whether they were successful in doing so is yet another issue. Dominika recalls that the courses comprised mostly of theory and some bits of practice, as they were demonstrated how to translate legal acts and other similar documents; the course participants were also told how to apply the code of conduct for sworn translators. She does not seem to be particularly content with the course and its organisation; however, this might not be related strictly to the course. She sums this recollection up with the following conclusion: “Natomiast w tych latach, bo ja tłumaczem przysięgłym zostałam w 90 bodajże 7, może trochę później 8 roku. I wtedy, Patrycja, to była **jedna wielka wolna amerykanka**” [“However, in those years, because I became a certified translator in the 90s, maybe it was ’97, or maybe a bit later, ’98. And then, Patrycja, it was **one huge free-for-all**”]. Following Jerzy Bralczyk’s explanation, the expression *wolna amerykanka* may be understood as “conduct disregarding any rules. (...) It is related to condemning the actions it refers to; however, it may be considered that only through naming them, it sanctions them to a certain degree. If we all know the rule of no rules, our chances are equal” (Bralczyk, n.d., translation mine). The phrase used by Dominika does not seem to refer to the course itself she attended but rather the practices in certified translation at the time, suggesting that the rules for performing certified translation were not as clear as they are today or not as executed and key as they are today. It could also imply that there were various practices present and that translators did what they thought to be proper while the central regulation was absent. In such circumstances, when the proper conduct was not indicated and abided by, it must have been difficult to offer a comprehensive course on certified translation.

Different postgraduate studies, and several years later as well, were attended by Bartosz. While the approach appears to have changed and more emphasis was placed on practice in his case, the postgraduate studies he attended cannot still be considered as comprehensive as one could wish for:

Bartosz (M8): Ćwiczyliśmy różnego rodzaju tłumaczenia dokumentów, natomiast jakby było bardzo niewiele informacji takich, z czym to się je, z czym to się wiąże. Czy jakiegokolwiek aspekty etyczne, moralne i tak dalej, i tak dalej. Tego, to w ogóle nie było poruszane.

Patrycja: Czyli była poniekąd taka sama czysta praktyka tłumaczeniowa bez tej...

B: Tak, bez wnikania, czy mamy prawo tłumaczyć, nie wiem, fragmenty, które klient chce, bez wnikania czy... co z tym, kiedy klient przyjdzie do nas ze sfałszowanym dokumentem albo z dokumentem, który my uznajemy za sfałszowany. W ogóle nie było o tym mowy.

P: Ok.

B: Bo zdarzają się takie przypadki.

P: Czyli na takie sytuacje tam to studia raczej nie przygotowywały.

B: Nie, nie, nie.

P: Były to takie raczej studia dające narzędzie do tłumaczenia, tak? Jakież techniki tłumaczeniowe...

B: Tak. Ale myślę, że to wynikało z tego, że profesor [nazwisko], który tego nauczał, on sam nie był przysięgłym i nie jest przysięgłym. On naprawdę świetnie uczy, jakby praktyki tego tłumaczenia, ale no, ponieważ nie ma tego doświadczenia w pracy, w sądzie, jako tłumacz przysięgły, to o wielu rzeczach nie może po prostu powiedzieć.

Bartosz (M8): We were practising translations of various kinds of documents, but there was not much information on what it is related to. Or any ethical, moral aspects, and so on. That, it was not discussed at all.

Patrycja: So there was purely translation practice without this...

B: Yes, without investigating whether we are entitled to translate, I don't know, what our client wants, without investigating whether... what to do when a client comes with a forged document or a document that we consider to be forged. That was not discussed at all.

P: Ok.

B: Because there are such cases.

P: So the studies did not prepare for such situations.

B: No, no, no.

P: These were rather studies that equipped you with tools to translate, yes? Some translation techniques...

B: Yes. But I think that it was resulting from the fact that professor [surname], who taught that, he was not a certified translator, and he still isn't. He truly teaches well this translation practice, but because he does not have this experience from work, from the court, as a certified translator, he simply cannot discuss many of these issues.

What emerges from Bartosz's story is that, even though the programme he completed appears to have been tailored to offer the technical skills necessary to be a translator, certain elements were still missing: translator competence in particular. Any ethical issues, which play a key role in certified translation, were not discussed as part of the classes. Knowing not only how to translate but also what to translate, how far to proceed with interpretation, how to describe various elements in translation, or when to refuse are crucial to the proper practice and have repeatedly been mentioned by the study participants. Thus, the question emerges whether a programme that lacks those elements can still be considered a complete course in certified translation. Another aspect is the fact that certified translation was taught by a professor who did not have first-hand experience of being a certified translator. He did not possess the professional experience that is complementary to the technical skills in translation; as Bartosz notes, he did not raise any of the mentioned issues during the course as, not having the said experience, he could not have predicted such situations influencing translator's practice in real life.

Surprisingly, Bartosz followed the same path, and for some time, he was teaching certified translation without being a certified translator himself. However, this situation turned out to be one of the key motivations why he became a certified translator. In his own words, "I tak mi się wydawało to mało wiarygodne, że uczę studentów czegoś, a sam tak naprawdę nie jestem tłumaczem przysięgłym" ["I thought it to be scarcely credible that I teach something to the students when I am not really a sworn translator"].

Further, it seems that Bartosz analysed what he felt was missing in his own education as a translator and set himself on fixing those mistakes. Radosław, who had classes with Bartosz, recalls them as being particularly informative and valuable. It should be noted here that Hanna, Radosław and Robert, who were the youngest interviewed translators and attended postgraduate studies only a few years ago, were the ones who expressed the highest level of satisfaction in this regard. In particular, Radosław and Robert claim that the postgraduate studies they completed prepared them well for the official state examination, providing them with necessary technical skills as well as key tips regarding passing the exam (for instance, how the points are assigned, what are the mistakes that can be safely made, etc.).

Since Hanna, Radosław and Robert each completed different postgraduate studies, it may be tentatively hypothesised that the quality of those courses is constantly being improved, fulfilling the educational needs of prospective certified translators. The legal changes, such as the Act of 25 November 2004 on the Profession of Sworn Translator along with the exam introduced by that Act, and the professional initiatives, such as the novel Code of Conduct offered by The Polish Society of Sworn and Specialized Translators TEPIS, have likely resulted in the professionalisation of sworn translation in Poland, crystallising the competencies and knowledge that ought to be possessed by certified translators and ending to a certain degree the ‘free-for-all’ kind of practice mentioned by Dominika. Establishing proper ways of acting in the profession must have influenced the educational sector, as the creators of those courses were no longer scrabbling for effective curricula. The fact that the previous generation of certified translators seems to have been disappointed with their education is possibly not without any meaning as well; some of them remained in the educational sector and, acknowledging the gaps in their own education, attempted at changing the system from within, as was the case with Bartosz. Hanna, who also conducts classes in postgraduate studies, made similar claims:

(...) Pracuję na studiach podyplomowych i generalnie staram się zdywersyfikować materiał i pomimo, jakby poza takim wprowadzeniem teoretycznym, to staram się również, omawiać dokumenty, a także opowiadać takie kazusy praktyczne. Mi tego brakowało. (Hanna, F8)

(...) I work on postgraduate studies and, generally, I’m trying to diversify the material and, apart from a kind of theoretical introduction, I also try to discuss the documents but further tell about such practical cases. I missed that. (Hanna, F8)

In summary, what emerges from the stories told by the respondents is that becoming a certified translator requires significant cultural capital (linguistic and translation knowledge and skills). Unfortunately, it is a kind of capital that does not appear to be commonly accessible in the studies of the first and the second cycle that are available for free to Polish residents. The postgraduate courses and studies completed by the respondents were all chargeable, with the fee oscillating between 4,000 zł (for instance, Podyplomowe Studia Przekładu w Instytucie Filologii Angielskiej UW) to 7,000 zł per year (for instance, a course in SWPS University). Therefore, unless they are capable of gaining that knowledge themselves, the prospective certified translators need to invest an economic capital beforehand, without having a guarantee of passing the exam and being granted access to the profession. Economic capital is not the

only thing they need to invest; a significant amount of time is necessary as well. Even assuming that one cycle of postgraduate studies would be sufficient for someone to gain the necessary knowledge and pass the exam, the time spent in the higher education institutions adds up to 7 years. Such resources—both in terms of time and money—are not available to everyone, hence further restricting access to the profession.

5.4.2 The Irreplaceable Role of the Master-Apprentice Relationship

Monique Caminade and Pym open their piece “Translator-training Institutions” with the following words:

Translators and interpreters have long been trained informally, basically through trial-and-error, unstructured apprenticeship arrangements, or any of the various translating activities that accompany the study of a foreign language. Translator-training institutions, however, can be understood as organisational structures designed specifically for this task. (Caminade & Pym, 1998, p. 280).

While it would seem that the courses available to the translators will replace other unofficial ways of learning translation, the image painted by the respondents’ stories indicates a somewhat opposite trend.

One of the questions asked during the interview concerned the necessity of graduating the English studies or completing postgraduate studies for translators. Surprisingly, none of the respondents deemed it necessary; most commonly, they found it to be a valuable addition to their knowledge, yet not irreplaceable. While most of them did not indicate what ways of gaining translation knowledge were the key ones for them, Jędrzej expressed the following opinion on learning translation:

To trzeba jakby poobserwować sobie tego tłumacza, jak on to robi, i potem można skorzystać z różnych takich trików które on wykonuje. Ale to będzie trochę jak obserwacja i relacja mistrz-uczeń, bo to ja sobie tak wyobrażam. Natomiast w gruncie rzeczy ten człowiek musi potem sam pracować i tą swoją samodzielną pracą tłumaczyć. Czyli ja powiem tak, żeby zostać tłumaczem trzeba tłumaczyć, i myśleć o tym i myśleć o tym, co się tłumaczy, czy to jest dobrze co się przetłumaczyło, jakie mogą być konsekwencje przetłumaczenia w taki sposób, jak by się zmieniło znaczenie gdybyśmy inaczej to przetłumaczyli. Czyli tłumaczyć i myśleć na tym, analizować swoje

tłumaczenia. Korzystać z rad innych osób, dać komuś to tłumaczenie, żeby on je ocenił i dostać jakąś informację zwrotną. (Jędrzej, M18)

It is kind of necessary to observe this translator, how he does it [translation], and then it is possible to use various tricks that he performs. But it will be similar to observation and master-apprentice relationship; that's how I imagine it. However, essentially, this person needs to work alone then and use their own work to translate. So I'd say that to be a translator, it is necessary to translate, to think about it and to think about what is translated, whether it is properly translated, what are the consequences of translating it in this manner, how the meaning would change if we translated it differently. So to translate and to think about, to analyse own translations. To use the advice of other people, to give someone translation so that they assess it and give some feedback. (Jędrzej, M18)

Though Jędrzej was the only respondent to express such a stance loudly, it would appear that the rest of the respondents shared it as well. Hanna, Bartosz, Róża, Radosław, Robert and Jędrzej – all went through the process of apprenticeship and found it to be a crucial experience in terms of their preparation for future professional work. For instance, Róża claimed that it was a gradual process for her. She started when she was a student at the university; a friend of a family who was a certified translator needed help with typing his documents. It was in the middle of 1980s and Róża's family was one of few that owned a typewriter. For Róża, it was not a job at first; she had rather viewed it in terms of helping a family friend. However, from the perspective, she stated that working with the certified translations—not even performing them herself but typing the prepared document on a typewriter—allowed her to learn the proper translation but also familiarise with the form of various documents. Later, the friend of her family started sending her clients with simple commissions, which he would certify for her. In describing this experience, Róża was the only one to use the term “terminowanie” [“prenticing”] to describe this practice, which has certain interesting implications. According to the PWN Dictionary of the Polish Language (n.d.), “terminowanie” has got two meanings: gaining experience in a profession or learning a craft from the craftsman. While the first one is quite self-explanatory, the second one draws attention, particularly if we consider the fact that a few of the interviewed certified translators referred to translation in terms of craftsmanship. Such a context could further indicate the key role of apprenticeship: observing another translator at work and learning translation on the basis of the master-apprentice relationship.

These elements of apprenticeship, both reflected in Jędrzej's quote, cannot be replaced or mimicked by a postgraduate course.

What is more, even though the length of the apprenticeship varied—for instance, it was 3 months for Robert, 6 months for Hanna, a year for Radosław, 8 years for Róża, or 10 years (sic!) for Bartosz—certain elements were common for each one of them. Firstly, their process of learning was very similar: they were assigned a document for translation and they needed to produce the text in the target language themselves. Then the certified translator would correct the document, provide them with feedback and certify the translation. Secondly, the time of the apprenticeship was not spent learning the craft of translation solely; it was also the time when they learnt how to act as translators, how to interact with clients, how to conduct a translation business (e.g. issue invoices, keep records), or how to organise their work:

Wydaje mi się, że jeśli chodzi jakby o kodeks etyki, którym ja się kieruje, to ja sobie wypracowałam go we własnym zakresie, po przeczytaniu różnych dokumentów, a także, powiedzmy po ukończeniu studiów przez jakiś czas, przez, powiedzmy, pół roku, pracowałam w biurze tłumaczeń i też widziałam, jak wygląda współpraca pomiędzy tłumaczem a biurem tłumaczeń i wiedziałam, jak to wygląda z perspektywy tłumacza i wiedziałam też, jak to wygląda z perspektywy biura tłumaczeń. (Hanna, F8)

I think that when it comes to the code of ethics that I follow, I have developed it myself after reading various documents but also, let's say that after graduating, for some time, let's say, half a year, I worked in a translation agency, and I saw how the cooperation between a translator and a translation agency looks like, and I knew how it is from the perspective of a translator, and I knew how it is from the perspective of a translation agency. (Hanna, F8)

Therefore, contrary to what Pym (2011) claims about the education of the translators, the period of apprenticeship—the unofficial and unstructured learning—is key as it serves to equip the translators with the necessary translator competencies and to introduce them into professional life, including elements such as work ethics, the code of conduct, or the functioning of the market. In short, it would seem that apprenticeship is the time when the translators are taught the rules and the stakes of the game. They do not seem to acquire this knowledge during the period of their institutional education, but they learn it from each other.

It should also be noted that finding a proper apprenticeship appears to be quite challenging unless one has contact with certified translators beforehand. For instance, Róża had

her professional practice in a translation agency conducted by a friend of her parents, Jędrzej and Radosław knew the owners of the respective translation agencies before they began their apprenticeship, and Bartosz was a colleague of the certified translator that oversaw his first steps in sworn translation. On the other hand, Robert recalls how difficult it was for him to find an agency that would hire him as an apprentice. While he explains that to himself using the fact that he was not an English studies alumnus, it might be as well that he did not have relationships that would facilitate this process.

The reluctance of certified translators to hire adepts of translation might be explained by at least two different factors. Firstly, overseeing and correcting someone else's work always requires time, and time is of the essence in a translator's work. As it emerged from the interviews, translators are constantly seeking time, missing time, and sacrificing time that should be spent on other activities (the issue of time appeared so prominent that it has been devoted to a whole section below). Therefore, it might be that they simply do not have any time to spare. Secondly, translators constantly feel the burden of responsibility and taking someone under their wings and certifying their translations as if they were their own adds to that burden; after all, there is a reason why the saying "If you want something done right, do it yourself" is so widespread, even across the languages. Thus, some of them might not be willing to take that risk or to feel that burden for a person they do not know.

To sum up, it seems that certain key elements of the cultural capital that are required for a certified translator to possess are not taught during the postgraduate studies (not to mention the first and second-cycle studies). That capital may be earned by going through apprenticeship, which may require having social capital or parents with that social capital beforehand. Furthermore, apprenticeship also requires economic capital as it is commonly unpaid or paid very little money. Thus, it further restricts access to the profession for young adepts of translation who do not possess such capital.

5.4.3 Two Worlds: Before and After the State Exam

The introduction of the state exam in 2005 (The Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Poland, n.d.) has undoubtedly changed the rules for entering the profession. Before the state exam, it was up to the court to decide on the procedure; as a result, nearly each one of the respondents who were signed on the list of certified translators before the exam had a slightly different experience. Izabela was required to submit a diploma confirming that she graduated in English at a higher education institution and samples of her translations. Natalia recalls that it was necessary for her to submit her diploma from English studies and to document her experience

as a translator by attaching references from her previous employers. There was also an age requirement: a candidate must have been at least 25 years old. Furthermore, she remembers that she was asked to attend an interview in court when the correctness of the information she provided was verified. Ewa was asked to submit only her diploma; there was no need to even attach samples of her translations. Jędrzej submitted his application to the court in 2004, just before the new exam was instated. At the time, he completed only the first-cycle studies in English, whereas the court required a diploma confirming the completion of the second-cycle studies. However, it was possible to offer other documents confirming the proper knowledge of the language displayed by the candidate, which he did: apart from the diploma from the first-cycle studies and the certificate stating that he was the second-cycle student, he presented the opinions of court employees, in which it was explicitly confirmed that he possessed the qualifications. Jędrzej sums up his unusual journey to being a certified translator in the following words: “Ja tak trochę **psim swędem** się tam dostałem” [“I kind of got in by a sheer fluke”]. According to the definition offered in *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* (2013), “psim swędem” means that something has been achieved through luck rather than skills. To understand the oddity of this expression in this context, it should be added that, though he was not an alumnus of English, Jędrzej held at the time a doctor’s degree in another language and had been a practising translator in a translation agency for several years. Such a claim does not reflect his lack of skills or knowledge but rather a low assessment of one’s translator competence, or even self-doubt, that seems to be evaporating from most of the interviews.

Dominika recalls that in her court she was also required to have documented work experience of at least 4 years—however, it is worth noting that it was not necessarily experience in translation, any work was found suitable—and to pass a community interview conducted by a policeman. Further, she remembers that some of the candidates were asked to translate something—a procedure she names “pseudoegzamin” [“pseudoexam”], which is quite indicative of her opinion on the exam—though she was not.

Summing up, apart from the very basic criteria such as the diploma or the age, the registering courts had their own procedures. Some courts required the potential certified translators to fulfil only the said criteria, whereas others added some criteria on their own. Unfortunately, the lack of a unified procedure resulted in the situations where some of the translators would take advantage thereof in order to avoid having their competencies verified:

Na przykład, wiem, że we Wrocławiu, żeby być przysięgłym przy sądzie, to trzeba było zdać egzamin. Ale na przykład w Łomży, bo na podyplomówce ze mną była koleżanka,

która mieszkała w ogóle w Warszawie, przyjeżdżała na podyplomówkę do Wrocławia, ale miała babcię w Łomży i przemeldowała się do Łomży po to, żeby dostać od razu uprawnienia tłumacza przysięgłego. W 2003... 4 roku, bo tam trzeba było spełnić jakieś wymagania, studia, wiek, coś takiego. (Bartosz, M8)

For example, I know that in Wrocław, in order to be a certified translator by the court, it was necessary to pass an exam. But, for example, in Łomża, because I had a colleague on postgraduate studies who lived in Warsaw, would come to Wrocław for the postgraduate studies but had a grandma in Łomża, and she changed her registered address to Łomża so that she could be awarded the qualifications of a certified translator right away. In 2003... 4, because it was necessary there to fulfil some requirements, studies, age, something like that (Bartosz, M8)

Dominika sums up the whole procedure she went through in the following words: “Także wiesz, człowiek kompletnie nieprzygotowany do bycia tłumaczem mógł zostać tłumaczem” [“So, you know, someone completely unprepared to be a translator could have become a translator”]. While she talked about her experience, this statement appears to properly describe the unregulated situation before 2005 – none of the criteria mentioned by the respondents who went through the application procedure before the exam seems to be truly indicative of one’s translator competence, skills and knowledge. Graduating in English does not imply that one is a capable certified translator, and neither does previous work experience. Legal translation is a special kind of translation that requires not only extraordinary translation competence and knowledge of proper methodological paradigms but also interdisciplinary knowledge (e.g. Prieto Ramos, 2014). It would seem that some of the courts acknowledged that before the state exam was introduced:

Ale powiem pani że kiedy były takie pierwsze próby wprowadzania egzaminów, to w tym sądzie w którym ja byłam zarejestrowana jako tłumacz przysięgły, ja byłam odpowiedzialna za sprawdzanie takich egzaminów. To nie była jeszcze taka formuła ogólnopolska, egzaminu dla wszystkich, tylko wyobrażam sobie że poszczególne sądy mogły jakąś weryfikację poprowadzić. Ja dostawałam tłumaczenia dokumentów z angielskiego na polski i z polskiego na angielski do sprawdzenia. Tak było przez jakiś czas zanim ten obecny egzamin wprowadzono, [zanim] został oficjalnie wprowadzony. (Ewa, F10)

But I will tell you that when there were the first attempts to introduce the exams, in the court where I was registered as a certified translator, I was responsible for correcting those exams. It was not a national formula then, an exam for everyone, but I'd imagine that particular courts could have run a kind of verification. I received translations of documents from English to Polish and from Polish to English to correct. That's how it was for some time before the current exam was introduced, [before] it was officially introduced. (Ewa, F10)

It is difficult to offer more comments on these first attempts at conducting exams. While several respondents mention the exam—e.g. Dominika, who even uses the word *pseudoegzamin*, indicating that it was rather a formality, or even a farce, than a tool for verifying the competencies of prospective translators—Ewa was the only respondent who had actually seen such an exam with her own eyes. She recalls it as being much shorter and much simpler than the state exam, but as she was a member of the local exam board, it is difficult to verify how objective that assessment is. None of the study participants did undergo a local exam to indicate the difficulty or the organisation of the whole process.

Finally, it should be underlined here that while the exam certainly resulted in the phenomenon of gatekeeping, which aims to ensure that only persons displaying the required qualities and skills as well as following the rigorous standards are given the right to work in the profession (e.g. Grady & Mr. S, 2009), it also brought a withdrawal of another criterium that was in power:

Wiem, że takie informacje były, że to czy ktoś zostanie ustanowiony, poza tym że ma odpowiednie papiery, wykształcenie, zależy od tego ilu tłumaczy jest w danym rejonie, więc jak nie ma takiej potrzeby to nie będą dawać takiego mianowania. (Izabela, F18)

I know that there was information that whether someone will be appointed [a certified translator], besides having adequate papers, education, depends on how many translators are in the region, so if there is no need, they are not going to give this nomination. (Izabela, F18)

The withdrawal of this criterium is all the more surprising since some of the interviewed certified translators were advocating for its return.

The establishment of the state exam in 2005 has resulted in significant changes regarding how one could become a certified translator. The process no longer takes place on a local level; it has been centralised and unified. Each of the prospective sworn translators is now

obliged to sign for the exam that comprises two parts: written and oral. The written part comprises four texts: two translated from Polish to English and two from English to Polish. The candidates have four hours to complete the test; they are allowed to bring resources such as paper dictionaries with them, but it is forbidden to use any Internet resources during the exam. The members of the exam board assess the translations, taking into consideration the translation competencies of the candidates (i.e. the knowledge of certified translation, the use of proper terminology, the faithfulness of translation) and their language (e.g. punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, grammar). The translators who pass the written part can sign for the oral part, which comprises four texts: two translated a vista from English to Polish, in which case the candidate is given two minutes to become familiar with the text, and two translated consecutively from Polish to English (Regulation of the Minister of Justice of 24 January 2005 concerning the detailed manner of conducting the exam for certified translators, 2005; Regulation of the Minister of Justice of 30 October 2018 amending the regulation concerning the detailed manner of conducting the exam for certified translators, 2018). The oral part of the exam is recorded. The cost of the exam is 800 zł.

The exam is considered to be extremely difficult; various sources claim that its pass rate varies from 20% to 30%. The introduction of the exam as a gatekeeping device in the profession of certified translators has likely resulted in intensive professionalisation. For instance, many of the sworn translators who participated in the study and were not obliged to pass the exam stated that they had not really planned on becoming certified translators; quite commonly, they had been working as translators, and at some point, the companies they worked with suggested to them gaining the qualifications. Therefore, some of them were answering *ad hoc* the needs of the market. On the other hand, the certified translators who were required to pass the exam seem to have carefully planned their career beforehand, deciding to become a sworn translator long before the exam:

(...) Długo zwlekałam z decyzją dotyczącą przystąpienia do egzaminu, dlatego, że słysząc, jakby różne opowieści, czytając różne informacje, doszłam do wniosku, że to jest dosyć trudny egzamin i że powinnam mieć różnorodną wiedzę z wielu dziedzin. Więc jakby przez całe studia już planowałam zostanie tłumaczem, nie chciałam być nauczycielem, i przygotowywałam się pod tym kątem, czyli miałam praktykę w biurze tłumaczeń i później zaczynałam wykonywać tłumaczenia i kiedy już poczułam się gotowa, w sensie, kiedy już czułam, że mam wystarczająco dużo doświadczenia

praktycznego, to postanowiłam się zapisać na ten egzamin i udało mi się go zdać.
(Hanna, F8)

(...) I was postponing the decision to take the exam for a long time because, hearing different stories, and reading different information, I concluded that it is a quite difficult exam and that I should have diverse knowledge in many areas. So throughout my whole studies, I had already planned on becoming a translator, I didn't want to be a teacher, and I had prepared myself for this, so I had an apprenticeship in a translation agency, and later I started doing translations, and when I had felt that I am ready, meaning when I felt that I had enough practical experience, I decided to sign up for this exam, and I managed to pass it. (Hanna, F8)

Therefore, the exam requires one to be serious from the very beginning and to make significant investments when it comes to education or work experience. It is also a significant financial investment as the prospective certified translators not only attend postgraduate studies but also need to submit the fee for the exam (and many of them pay more than once). What emerged from the interviews is that the 'new' generation of translators is often determined to have their own translation agency and work as certified translators; it is not a backup plan for them, and it is not designed to fulfil the market needs. It is rather their conscious choice to pursue this career.

However, even with all that preparation, investments and determination, they consider themselves lucky to pass. The phrasing "udało mi się go zdać" ["I managed to pass it"], which was repeated in nearly the same wording by all the translators who had to go through the exam (i.e. Hanna, Radosław, Robert, Bartosz), might suggest that even though they passed the exam, it was so difficult for them they assign it more to luck than their skills or that they downplay their skills or the role of their skills in passing the exam.

The new professional courses also seem to prepare the candidates quite well for the exam, including the fact that they offer them the possibility of going through mock exams imitating the actual exam as part of the course. Moreover, the interviewed translators who attended these courses admitted that they were taught there an 'inside' knowledge regarding how the exams are corrected and how points are assigned. That gives the candidates the possibility to 'trick' the system and to work on certain strategies that allow them to make mistakes but still score high on the exam:

I pamiętam, że aktywnie starałem się nie patrzeć na innych, bo to, co jakby było dla mnie takie trochę straszne i śmieszne, że ludzie tam poprzyjeżdżali z całymi walizkami słowników. Bardzo profesjonalnie to wyglądało, a ja wziąłem ze sobą dosłownie dwa słowniczki, bo wyszedłem z założenia, że no... i tak nie ma czasu, żeby wertować to, nie? Także to co wiem, to wiem. Co nie, no to albo będę improwizował, bo też tam część tego egzaminu można było, że tak powiem, oszukać. Bo punktacja była ta tak na przykład ułożona, że za błędy merytoryczne się traciło punkty, ale traciło się raz. I na przykład jakbym nie wiedział, jak jest... No nie wiem, zapomniałbym, jak jest „sąd” po angielsku, to mogłem napisać „cow” - to byłby minus 1 pkt, ale jak bym się trzymał tego błędu no to nie stracę więcej, nie? Tylko... także jakieś takie triki właśnie pamiętam, że miałem przygotowane. (Radosław, M5)

And I remember that I was actively trying not to look at others because, what was a bit scary and funny for me, people would come there with the whole suitcases of dictionaries. It looked very professional, whereas I took with me literally two tiny dictionaries because I figured that... there is no time to browse them, right? So what I know, I know. What I don't, I will improvise because there was part of this exam when it was possible to, let's say, cheat. Because the scores were assigned, for instance, in such a manner that for factual errors, you would lose points but only once. So, for example, if I had not known how... I don't know, if I had forgotten how is “court” in English, I could have written “cow” – and that would be minus 1 point, but if I had stuck with that mistake, I would not have lost more, right? Just... so I remember that I prepared that kind of tricks. (Radosław, M5)

However, it is not the written exam that seems to be posing the most difficulty to the candidates for certified translators; the oral part of the exam was unanimously indicated as having been much more difficult. There are several reasons why the oral part proves to be so challenging: to begin with, it requires competencies that are much more difficult to be developed or can even be considered innate. It verifies not only the candidate's linguistic knowledge and skills in interpretation but also other psychological dispositions, such as the ability to perform well under stress. Further, what would emerge from the respondents' stories is that the oral part of the exam seems to be designed in such a way as to raise the candidates' level of stress even more, e.g. by recording the exam. Finally, there are not many possibilities for potential sworn translators to acquire those competencies and verify them in real life before the exam. While it is relatively easy to practice written translation and receive feedback from other professionals,

it is not always possible to repeat the process in the case of interpretation. The interviewed translators also pointed out that there were not enough hours of interpreting classes planned within the programme of the postgraduate studies or that the lecturers did not know how (or did not want) to overcome the barriers their students displayed that impeded their learning of interpretation. Thus, it may be concluded that the real ‘gatekeeper’ in certified translation is the interpreting part of the state exam.

Nevertheless, nearly all of the interviewed translators agreed unanimously that the exam is necessary and that it should be upheld in the future (only Róża stated that to her mind, it made no difference whether there is an exam or not). Among its most considerable assets, the respondents referred to the fact that it verifies the qualifications of candidates and blocks access thereto to the persons that do not display the desired level of knowledge and skills. They emphasised the unusual nature of this line of work and the necessity to screen the candidates in terms of their translator competence. Moreover, Ewa pointed out that the low pass rate of the exam may potentially have a positive influence on the economic situation of the certified translators since, being a profession with restricted access and a limited number of representatives, they might have more influence over their fees or at least restrict the activities that decrease their financial gains. Thus, the state exam is viewed by the interviewed professionals as an attempt at regulating the profession and access thereto but also as acting against even further deprivation of the economic capital.

Most of them, however, postulated certain changes regarding both the written and the oral part. For instance, Jędrzej and Dominika notice that the Internet has become such an indispensable tool in translator’s work that it should be allowed during the state exam; or, as Jędrzej suggests, the texts could be simpler. This suggestion is in line with the recollections of Hanna, who stated that the texts she has encountered in her daily work as a certified translator were much simpler than the texts she had to translate during the state exam. The interviewed certified translators also notice that the oral part of the exam may screen out translators in the excess and not due to the fact that they do not have translator or linguistic competencies. The oral part of the exam has become so infamous among the potential certified translators that in her interview with Marek Kuźniak and Jan Gościński, the members of the exam board, Świgońska refers to it as “the slaughterhouse” (2020, January 14). She also notes that many candidates and translators postulate the separation of the institution of a certified translator and a certified interpreter. Below there is an excerpt from the interview with Bartosz that touches upon those issues:

Tak naprawdę często ten egzamin to odsiewa osoby, które nie mają kompetencji psychologicznych według mnie. Bo po prostu są osoby, które na przykład świetnie znają angielski i świetnie tłumaczą, ale nie są w stanie poradzić sobie ze stresem na egzaminie ustnym. I to mi się wydaje, jakby, kluczowe, dlaczego tak mało osób zdaje ten egzamin. (Bartosz, M8)

Really, I think that this exam often screens out people who do not have psychological competencies. Because there are people who, for instance, have an excellent knowledge of English and are excellent translators, but they are not capable of dealing with the stress during the oral exam. And I think that this is key to why so few people pass this exam. (Bartosz, M8)

This view seems to be shared by others. Jędrzej puts forward an argument that, considering how different qualities and competencies are required in translation and interpretation, it might be a good idea to separate the institutions of a certified translator and a certified interpreter. Consequently, the written part and the oral part of the exam would be separated as well:

Bo są różne predyspozycje, na egzaminie bywa tak, że ktoś 3 razy zdał pisemny i nie zdał ustny. Uważam, że jeżeli ktoś 3 razy zdał pisemny, to się nadaje do tłumaczenia pisemnego i to jest fakt. I to jest absolutnie niedopuszczalne, bo ktoś się świetnie nadaje do tłumaczenia pisemnego, nie można mu zabraniać dostępu zawodowego tylko dlatego, że coś jest nie tak z jego mówieniem. Więc to zdecydowanie należałoby zmienić. (Jędrzej, M18)

There are different predispositions, and it happens on the exam that someone passed the written part three times but failed the oral part. I think that if someone passed the written part three times, then this person is suitable for written translation, and that's a fact. And it's absolutely unacceptable because if someone is a great translator, he cannot be prohibited the professional access just because there is something wrong with his speaking. So that should definitely be changed. (Jędrzej, M18)

5.4.4 What Makes Certified Translators Tick

While completing postgraduate studies, being an apprentice and deciding to submit an application to the court in the case of older translators or signing up for the state exam in the case of younger translators can all be considered the signs of making the first financial (and psychological) investments and being serious about the game, these investments are not enough

to keep one playing. As has been indicated in the methodological discussion concerning the field theory, it is *illusio* that makes one invested in the game; owing to *illusio*, one perceives sense in the game and is driven to act in accordance with the rules. *Illusio* is closely related to *habitus* since *habitus* can be understood as the patterns of thinking and acting that become particularly prominent when they encounter favourable circumstances.

It seems that three quite consistent elements that are potentially related to *illusio* and *habitus* emerged from the interviews. Firstly, it appears that one of the main driving forces that motivate translators to work in the profession is the opportunity to constantly develop their cultural and linguistic capital:

Najważniejsze momenty z zawodzie tłumacza... to zawsze było jakieś takie wyzwanie, nowe rzeczy, to były takie ważne momenty. Można się było zająć jakąś nową dziedziną, dodatkową, przeczytać coś, dowiedzieć się, zapoznać. (Ewa, F10)

The most important moments in translator's profession... that was always a kind of challenge, new things, these were the important moments. When you could deal with a new extra discipline, read something, find out something, learn. (Ewa, F10)

Ewa's attitude is reflected in the stance of many other interviewed translators: Hanna acknowledges that due to the fact that she is constantly required to learn something new and she never knows what text she will need to translate next, her work feels exciting. While she talks about emotions, this might also indicate that she feels invested (also emotionally) in her professional work and that she finds it meaningful. Jędrzej goes as far to say that "oni [klienci] płacą, a ja się uczę" ["they (clients) pay me and I learn"]. Furthermore, Hanna claims that the necessity to continuously develop oneself and acquire more knowledge was one of the main reasons why she wanted to be a translator in the first place. The interviews were not designed to uncover the predispositions of the respondents, and the sample was too small to make any decisive claims; however, it could be possible that traits such as perfectionism and the internal need for constant improvement are some of the predispositions typical of translators. "Rzetelność" ["earnestness" or "rectitude"] appears to be a keyword that has been consistently mentioned by the interviewed translators (among others, Robert, Jędrzej, Dominika, Radosław). While "rzetelność" may be translated into English also as "solidity", "reliability", or "dependability", it seems that "earnestness" and "rectitude" would be the best equivalents. Two equivalents are offered as the keyword was used in two different contexts. Firstly, it has been used to refer to the need to translate the complete text, including the small print; to verify all

the information, even if it seems obvious or has been verified before; to correct the translation before handing it back; to ensure it follows the required standards of certified translation, and to always agree to realistic deadlines with clients and keep those deadlines. In this context, “earnestness” seems to be the best equivalent. However, it has also been used to describe the obligation to always translate the text exactly as it is: not to add anything and not to omit anything. In other words, translators used the keyword “rzetelność” to refer to the attitude they should display and according to which they should follow the letter of the document and the letter of the law, even if it is against the wishes of their clients. In this context, “rectitude” seems to be the best equivalent.

Nevertheless, more studies would need to be conducted in order to confirm that and to determine whether it is that persons with such predispositions choose the profession or whether the profession requires the potential candidates to have such predispositions and the candidates missing them are not allowed to enter the game.

Furthermore, there is the common conception that translation is a boring and tedious task, which is propagated in particular among English language students (Dagilienė, 2012). On the contrary, what emerges from the interviews is an image of translators who perceive their work as being exciting and adventurous. Quite commonly, they are faced with challenges that can objectively be considered unusual and demanding, such as translation during the murder trial (Dominika, F25), participation in the interrogations or in the medical procedures and surgeries (Hanna, F8), work trips to as far as China (Dominika, F25), or rendition of pornographic letters under the commission of the prosecutor’s office (Ewa, F10).

Bardzo przyjemne doświadczenie to, o którym już ci wspomniałam, to tłumaczenie tego seminarium o oświetleniu. To było dla szkoły reżyserskiej. To było tłumaczenie, które ja wzięłam za kogoś. Miałam dwa dni, żeby się do niego przygotować. I gościu po tym tłumaczeniu zapytał mnie, czy jestem fachowcem od oświetlenia. Skąd się tak dobrze znam? Więc to było dla mnie... To było 10 lat temu, ale to dalej pamiętam i wszystkie tłumaczenia, które właśnie... Ja się do tłumaczeń bardzo dokładnie zawsze przygotowuję. [...] To jak ten klient ci potem mówi, czy pani jest specjalistą, czy pan jest inżynierem? To to są te najfajniejsze rzeczy, jeżeli chodzi o tłumaczenia. (Dominika, F25)

A very pleasant experience that I have already mentioned to you was the translation of this seminary on lighting. It was for a directing school. It was a translation that I took to substitute for someone else. I had two days to prepare myself. And one guy, after the

translation, asked me whether I am an expert in lighting. How do I know so much? So it was for me... It was 10 years ago, but I still remember this and all the translations that... I always prepare very meticulously for translations. [...] When this client later tells you, are you a specialist, are you an engineer? These are the coolest things when it comes to translation. (Dominika, F25)

Thus, it would seem that apart from the accumulation of cultural capital, the interviewed translators are also motivated by someone showing appreciation, noticing their skills and the capital they have gathered. This may be related to the fact that they often feel unappreciated (e.g. by the clients) or their competencies are undermined in various situations (e.g. in court).

Secondly, translators appear to be driven by their obligation to the judiciary and the law enforcement authorities. On the one hand, they are lawfully obliged to perform translation, both written and oral, whenever asked to do so by the public administration, the judiciary or the law enforcement authorities. It is not an optional part of their work: technically, they can refuse only in extraordinary circumstances when they can offer a significant reason as to why they cannot perform the translation. On the other hand, many of them mentioned in the interviews that it was more than the statutory obligation and expressed open criticism of other certified translators that would refuse to perform their duties toward the state.

Hanna (F8): Generalnie dla mnie priorytetem są wszelkie zlecenia od sądu albo od organów ścigania, ponieważ po prostu uważam to za swój obowiązek. Że powinnam chodzić i uczestniczyć w... Po prostu powinnam pomagać wymiarowi sprawiedliwości, najlepiej jak potrafię.

Patrycja: Rozumiem. I uważasz, czy to jest obowiązek, który dziś wynika z kodeksów? Czy to jest to taki obowiązek, do którego ty się osobiście poczuwasz, bardziej jako obywatelka?

H: Generalnie jest to obowiązek ustawowy, ale ja odczuwam również taki wewnętrzny obowiązek.

Hanna (F8): Generally speaking, a priority for me is all the commissions from the court or law enforcement authorities because I simply consider them to be my duty. That I should go and participate in... That I should simply help the judiciary the best I can.

Patrycja: I see. Do you think that this is a duty resulting from the code? Or is it a duty that you personally feel, more as a citizen?

H: In general, it is a statutory duty, but I also feel a kind of internal duty.

Finding the cooperation with the judiciary and the law enforcement to be an internal duty was characteristic not only to Hanna. For instance, Róża (F28) states that it is more than an obligation to her; it is a priority. In her own words, „[Zlecenia] te urzędowe, wychodzi, że też je traktuję priorytetowo, bo ktoś tam do mnie zadzwoni i powiem, że dobrze, że przyjdę. No to idę” [“Those state (commissions), it seems that I also treat them as a priority, because when someone calls, I tell them fine, I will come. And so I go”]. For Róża, the obligation to accept commissions from the judiciary and other authorities is so forceful that she admitted to having failed her other duties towards private or commercial clients that she had previously agreed to due to the fact that she took on more than she should.

The question that arises is why the statutory duty becomes an internal duty to many. There are at least two hypotheses: it is quite possible that certain rules of the profession, including the duty to perform whatever translation is necessary for the state, are internalised at some point in the translators’ education or work. After that, though the duty is imposed from the outside, the need to fulfil it comes from the inside. That would explain to some degree why translators feel so obliged, especially toward the court, even though none of the interviewed translators had positive experiences when it comes to completing a commission therefor; quite the opposite, most of them expressed their dissatisfaction related to numerous aspects of the cooperation with the court. Serving the court would be then a part of their *habitus*, even though they would have mixed feelings about it, resulting from their personal experiences. Another hypothesis could be that certified translators feel that they are part of the legal field; after all, they are registered as part of the Ministry of Justice, obliged to cooperate with the judiciary and the law enforcement authorities, or even required to be present at certain legally binding events to legitimise them. That would also emerge from some of the statements made during the interviews. If that was true, the internal obligation could be interpreted as the willingness or even necessity to participate in the legal field in order to mark one’s presence and not to be excluded.

Finally, one of the key aspects of *illusio* is the feeling of providing help to the people in need. There are at least three issues related to that aspect of *illusio*, making it so significant. Firstly, more than half of the interviewed translators emphasised that certified translators belong to the professions of public trust. The professions of public trust are assigned tasks that ought to fulfil certain social needs, but that also give these professionals access to potentially sensitive information (Smarż, 2012). Considering the types of documents that translators often receive, such as divorce papers, wills, medical documentation, court rulings, etc., they are unwilling intruders into someone else’s life, including highly challenging life circumstances. That

combined with their high professional ethics, both included in the definition of the public trust profession and emerging from the interviews, may result in their internal obligation to provide help whenever necessary. Secondly, some of the translators (e.g. Jędrzej) pointed out that it often feels as if the only reason for their work is the administrative requirements regarding the translation of certain documents. Thus, when certified translators receive documents that may actually be of some help to the client or may potentially change or even alleviate their life situation, they may feel needed. Thirdly, helping others allows them to put to productive use their cultural and linguistic capital, which appears particularly relevant if we consider that they do not have many ways of exchanging that capital (more on that key issue below).

At this point, I would like to give voice to the translators who participated in the research:

(...) Ja się bardzo szybko gdzieś tam związuje z tymi klientami emocjonalnie. I ten wątek też jest dla mnie ważny, jak widzę, że ktoś nie ma pieniędzy, to potrafię tam też się jakoś dogadać. I tak to są dla mnie priorytety. (Dominika, F25)

(...) I am very quickly becoming emotionally attached to those clients. And it is also important to me, if I see that someone does not have money, I can come to an understanding somehow. And these are priorities for me. (Dominika, F25)

Zdarza się, że właśnie te zlecenia na policji są takie szczególnie pozytywne, bo jest okazja oprócz tam poznania jakichś tam takich niesamowitych historii życiowych, to jest szansa realnie pomóc ludziom. (Radosław, M5)

It happens that these commissions for the police are particularly positive because it is an occasion to learn not only some incredible life stories but also a chance to really help people. (Radosław, M5)

To nie są tylko pieniądze, to czasami trzeba.... trzeba coś zrobić za darmo, bo to jest ważniejsze. To jest to, ja nie traktuję pracy tłumacza jako pracy takiej zarobkowej naprawdę, dlatego pracuję w szkole. Nie traktuje tej pracy jako pracy zarobkowej. Po prostu wydaje mi się, że bardzo często są sytuacje, kiedy ludzie niezmiernie potrzebują przetłumaczenia jakiegoś dokumentu i bardzo często ich na to nie stać. I trzeba też widzieć to w tym człowieku, że tego człowieka po prostu nie stać i trzeba to umieć zauważyć, że tego człowieka nie stać na to tłumaczenie. (Natalia, F26)

It is not only money; sometimes it is necessary to... to do something for free because it is more important. This is it; I do not see the translator's work as paid work, really, which is why I work in school. I do not treat this work as paid work. I just think that frequently, there are situations when people immensely need a translation of some document and, frequently, they cannot afford it. And it is also necessary to see in this person that this person cannot simply afford, and it is necessary to be able to notice that this person cannot afford this translation. (Natalia, F26)

(...) Z jednej strony jest tutaj ta motywacja ekonomiczna i tego minimalizowania wysiłku i maksymalizacja zysku, ale z drugiej strony jest taka zupełnie niemerkantylna... To mi się często zdarza, że jak widzę, że ktoś no jest taki, na przykład, tłumaczę mu dochody i wyjdzie ile ma renty, to już maksymalnie obniżam moją stawkę, bo myślę jak pan zarabia 1300 na rękę, a mnie ma zapłacić 150, to niech zapłaci 50, żeby było, że coś zapłacił. (Jędrzej, M18)

On the one hand, there is economic motivation and motivation to minimise efforts and maximise gains, but on the other hand, there is this completely non-mercantile... It happens quite often to me that if I see that someone is, for example, I translate his income and it comes out how much pension he has, then I maximally lower my fee, because when I think that he earns 1300 zł clear and he is supposed to pay me 150 zł, then I'd rather have him pay me 50 zł so that he would pay anything. (Jędrzej, M18)

It would seem that helping others is related to more than *illusio*; difficult life situations and the possibility to help others seem to trigger the *habitus* of translators. When someone finds themselves in a challenging position and requires the help of a certified translator, they are ready to offer it, even if they need to bear the costs, be it economic or time costs. Consequently, their approach to the financial gains also suggests how minor is the role of economic capital for translators; they are ready to give it up to a certain degree, if necessary. They also seem to be invested in the relationships with their clients, as is displayed by the excerpt from the interview with Dominika. However, it should be emphasised that, while these interactions seem to be pleasant, they are not capable of building social capital this way. They might still bring the translators personal satisfaction from their work—as Natalia says, “Mam radość w tym, że ja jej to pomogłam zrobić” [“I find joy in the fact that I could help her do this”]—which is an integral element of developing commitment to one's profession (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005).

To sum this part up, it would be worth noting that there have been studies aiming to uncover the *illusio* of translators; nevertheless, they focused almost exclusively on literary translators. Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2005) investigated the translator's *habitus* and *illusio* from the historical perspective, placing focus on the American-French literary translations from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Gisella M. Vorderobermeier (2014) focused on the methodological issues concerning *habitus* and its reconstruction on the basis of the survey conducted among literary translators of German. Recently, Anu Heino (2020) conducted a study involving a survey among literary translators in Finland.

While these studies are undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the development of the sociology of translation, they are not particularly useful to this analysis for several reasons. To begin with, none of these studies was conducted in Poland and, as has been indicated in Chapter 2, Bourdieu himself warned that fields have geographical, social and cultural boundaries. Thus, while certain conclusions might be applicable globally—after all, we live in a “global village”—it is dangerous to assume their sameness or even similarity across different societies and cultures. For instance, Heino resolves that translators “find the work a rewarding activity in itself, a passion, a vocation, and a way of life” (2020, p. 153) or that they “have a strong sense of commitment to their work and they enjoy the intellectual challenge and fulfilment that comes with translating good quality literature” (2020, p. 154), which in turn explains why they decide to work as literary translators even though the financial gains are low. When rephrased—for instance, “translating good quality literature” could be replaced with “helping people in challenging life situations”—these conclusions and the conclusions presented here seem to be surprisingly similar. However, Heino also claims that literary translators are capable of gathering social capital – and that is a conclusion that would not be applicable to this study on certified translators as they seem to completely misplace their social investments, investing in places and people that do not reciprocate. Secondly, all the quoted studies were interested in the situation of literary translators and claimed to discuss the field of literary translation. Therefore, even if we assumed that there was a translation field, the field of literary translation and the field of certified translation would be its different instances. Thirdly, all these studies assume the existence of the said field because some structures and patterns were identified. However, as Bourdieu noticed, not all structures imply the existence of the field. Furthermore, the main (tentative) conclusion that seems to arise from this research is that there is no field of translation in Poland and that translators seem to function in the fields adjacent to their specialisation (hence, sworn translators in the legal field, literary translators in the literary field, etc.). Further evidence supporting this claim is offered below.

3.4.5 *Frédéric's of the Translation*

In Flaubert's *Sentimental Education*, one of the key personae is Frédéric, who cannot decide which life path he should follow, and he falters, constantly switching between his options. In Bourdieu's terms, Frédéric cannot decide where to invest himself and which field he should choose; thus, he is incapable of playing any of the games in all their seriousness, which is required to be successful.

Among the interviewed translators, only three of them were full-time translators; for the rest, translation was a source of additional income while they primarily worked somewhere else, mostly in education or higher education (only Robert was hired in a company that was not connected to either translation or education). It might be worth noting that all of the translators who refused to participate in the study or simply did not reply to the e-mail inquiry were full-time translators.

The lack of seriousness in playing the game was displayed in two different ways. Based on the conducted interviews, it would seem that the translators who did not invest so much in translation were more likely to withdraw from the obligatory duties towards the state, such as translation for the court; on the other hand, they often had to refuse as the court proceedings would take place during their work time in their primary place of employment. Moreover, due to time and financial constraints, they were reaching a point when they were incapable of developing their translator competencies (and cultural capital) further:

W pewnym momencie ja stanęłam przed takim wyborem, czy iść dalej w tym kierunku i na przykład zostać tłumaczem technicznym, bo ja siedziałam w technicznych tłumaczeniach dużo. Czy robić studia dodatkowe? Czy jednak zostanę nauczycielem, a tłumaczenia będą moją dodatkową pracą. I tak zostało. (Dominika, F25)

At a certain moment, I had to choose whether I would go further in this direction and, for example, become a technical translator because I was doing a lot of technical translations. Whether to complete additional studies? Or whether I would remain a teacher, and translations would be my side job. And that's how it remained. (Dominika, F25)

It should be noted at this point that from the interviews emerged that the continuous accumulation of the cultural and linguistic capital that seems to be the part of translators' *illusio* is not the result of the sole internal motivation of the translators but, perhaps first and foremost, of the market needs. These needs may be reflected in the translations that are currently

necessary as well as in other skills that need to be acquired in order to be an effective translator. For instance, these other skills may be related to technological advancements, such as the introduction of CAT tools. This is visible in another quote taken from the interview with Dominika: “Także w którymś momencie stwierdziłam, że jestem za stara, żeby się uczyć tych wszystkich Tradosów i tak dalej” [“So, at some point, I figured I am too old to learn all those Tradoses and so on”].

Dominika found herself in a spot where her translation business developed so much that she had to choose whether she wanted to play seriously or remain somehow on the outskirts of the profession. She chose the latter because, as she claims, she did not have enough energy to invest in translation anymore – especially in new technologies. Perhaps acquiring this skill, which is immensely helpful to the commercial translators nowadays, was an overwhelming investment, not only in terms of energy but time and money as well. CAT programmes and tools are immensely expensive and require a significant amount of time to learn how to use them properly; some translators (e.g. Hanna) chose to complete additional courses in translation technology to be able to use them efficiently.

However, it should be noted that the motivations for remaining on the outskirts of certified translation and not investing fully were different and varied. For instance, Natalia wanted to work as a certified translator from the very beginning, and it was a career of her choice. However, she had to find work at the time, and she could not work as a certified translator yet, since she did not fulfil the age criterion. She did not have the resources that would allow her to wait any longer, and thus, she started working as an English teacher in high school. Eventually, that decision steered her career in a completely different direction, and while she started to work as a certified translator as soon as it was possible, she was not able to make it her full-time employment. Izabela, on the other hand, never tried to make translation her main source of income. She claims that she treats translation as her hobby but also admits that working as a translator is necessary for her academic work.

Therefore, for various reasons and in various ways, some translators decide that translation will be just their additional activity and stop investing at a certain point. They just function on the level of the knowledge and skill they have: they do not complete additional courses, gain new competencies, invest financially in new programmes, etc.

Certified translators who made translation their primary or even only source of income seem to be more likely to invest in the profession, which is understandable as they need to fulfil the needs of the market to have commissions and to be competitive. Some of the interviewed translators mentioned participating in training activities offered by TEPIS (e.g. Hanna; these

activities were also mentioned by Izabela and Jędrzej, but Izabela excluded her participation as she was not able to find enough time whereas Jędrzej was not fully satisfied with their offer and found it inconvenient that they were organised in Warsaw), some considered graduating from (another) postgraduate studies in specialised translation (e.g. Radosław), and some chose to complete academic degrees as a way of developing their cultural capital (e.g. Hanna but also Bartosz, for whom academic career was primary but at a certain point, he started to successfully combine academic and translation activities).

(...) myślę, że ważną decyzją dla mnie było rozpoczęcie studiów doktoranckich, właśnie z możliwością napisania doktoratu o tłumaczeniach ustnych [poświadczonych]. Chociaż z powodu tego, że pracuję w takim wymiarze i że mam małe dziecko, jest mi trudno ten doktorat ukończyć, to jednak jest to dla mnie bardzo ważne, ponieważ dzięki temu myślę, że jestem lepszym tłumaczem, ponieważ mam możliwość, jakby przeanalizować te wszystkie, jakby, kwestie teoretyczne związane z tym rodzajem przekładu. I myślę właśnie, że dzięki temu może, nie jestem tylko takim zwykłym tłumaczem, który tylko wykonuje tłumaczenia i nie zastanawia się nad tymi mechanizmami, które się za tym kryją. (Hanna, F8)

(...) I think that an important decision for me was to begin doctoral studies, with the possibility to write the doctoral thesis on [certified] interpretation. Though, due to the fact that I have so much work and I have a toddler, it is difficult for me to finish the thesis, it is still very important to me because I think that owing to this, I am a better translator as I have the possibility to analyse all those, kind of, theoretical issues related to this type of translation. And I think that thanks to this, perhaps, I am not only an ordinary translator who only makes translations and does not consider those mechanisms that are hidden there. (Hanna, F8)

Using Bourdieu's category, it is possible to say that Hanna entered the academic field with the view of further developing her translation competencies. The academic field allows her to continue building cultural capital, but it also allows her to turn that into institutionalised cultural capital (such as the academic titles), which is visible and readable to the social world outside the academic field and may potentially raise her attractiveness on the market. Simultaneously, Hanna remains on the outskirts of the academic field; she conducts several academic classes in translation, which she also finds valuable as she treats them as a confirmation of her high skills

and cultural capital, and attempts to complete her doctoral thesis, but she does not engage in other activities occurring in the field.

Therefore, close ties between certified translators and the academic field can be observed. While some translators, like Hanna, use the academic field to further raise their cultural capital in ways that would be out of their reach otherwise and to validate their translator competencies and the capital accumulated insofar, others, like Jędrzej or Bartosz, are deeply involved with the academic field, which may be considered one of the primary fields they function in, and use there the cultural capital gained through their translation work. It is also possible that they transform some of that capital into social capital, which is one of the main capitals in the academic field (Angervall et al., 2018) but seems to be inaccessible to certified translators elsewhere.

On the other side of the barricade, standing opposite the *Frédéric*s, thus persons sitting on the fence and not devoting themselves fully to translation, there would be persons who could be considered role models in certified translation, being potentially close to the positions of power and able to shape the rules of the game. When asked about who they admire in certified translation, the respondents usually named two translators who could be assigned to either of the two categories: related to politics or related to education. Thus, regarding the first category, the respondents mentioned translators who were working in high political structures in Brussels or were given the position of the presidential translator, whereas, in the second category, they offered the names of the authors of publications on certified translations or the members of the state exam board.

The role models mentioned by the respondents seem to have three elements in common. Firstly, they all seem to be close to the position of power; claiming at this point that they are in the positions of power would be a possible exaggeration. Nonetheless, translators working in the EU structures or aiding the presidents and prime ministers undoubtedly have a certain influence over the shaping of political, economic or legal matters. This issue has been investigated by, for instance, Karen McAuliffe (2016), who focused on the translators working to aid the Court of Justice of the European Union and advocated paying more attention to the translators and their translations, putting forward an argument that the invisibility of translators—a concept introduced by Venuti (1995)—acts in such a way as to award the translators with more power. Secondly, they are characterised by extremely high cultural capital (nearly all of the respondents were in awe of the knowledge these translators possessed) and significant social capital, which appears to usually be out-of-reach for common translators. Interestingly, it does not seem to influence the translator's perception of their own social status.

The social status of translators has been discussed by Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen (2012), who conducted a survey study among the EU professionals and Danish-based translators and, perhaps surprisingly, did not find significant differences between these two groups. Thirdly, all of the named translators were personally known to the respondents; frequently, they were either their lecturers at some point, which would support the previously made claim regarding the close ties between the translators and the academic field. The third aspect seems to be explained by an excerpt from an interview with Radosław:

Bo też nie jestem osobą, która jakoś tam aktywnie udziela się, nie wiem, na tych forach [dla tłumaczy], które wspominałem, czy nie jestem członkiem TEPISu, także nie, nie znam środowiska. I przez to, że nie znam środowiska, no to muszę się opierać na tych ludziach, których znam. (Radosław, M5)

Further, I am not a person that is active on, I don't know, on those forums [for translators], which I mentioned, I am not a member of TEPIS, so I do not, not know the community. And because I do not know the community, I have to rely on the people I know. (Radosław, M5)

While Radosław was the only one who issued such a statement, it might be applicable to most of the interviewed translators. They did not keep in touch with each other, did not share their work, did not offer support to each other, or were not (or were only shortly) members of TEPIS. Some of them (e.g. Jędrzej or Robert) could not name any translators that would be role models for them. The fact that translators could name only role models from their immediate surroundings or could not name them at all testifies to the probability of having a poorly developed social network. This claim has already been made in the context of the failed snowball, yet surprisingly, the question regarding the role models that was designed to uncover the positions of power and the hierarchy of capitals yielded responses that further substantiate this hypothesis.

5.4.6 All Rise! or a Translator in Court

Certified translators who participated in the interviews indicated three categories of clients that they work with: commercial clients (e.g. big companies), private clients (i.e. private persons who need documents for non-commercial use), and the judiciary and law enforcement authorities. The relationships they build with commercial and private clients are discussed in

the next section; this one is devoted solely to the cooperation between the certified translators, the judiciary and law enforcement.

When certified translators receive a commission from the judiciary or law enforcement authorities, they are technically obliged to accept the commission and complete it. Technically, since nearly all of the respondents who had experience in cooperating with the law enforcement indicate that there has been a change in the attitude of law enforcement authorities towards the translators, and that they do not assign commissions without asking anymore: they call first to ask whether someone is available and willing to complete it for them. The memories of cooperating with law enforcement they shared during the interviews were also exclusively neutral or even positive; Radosław compared it to participating in a live show of *Trudne sprawy*, a mockumentary TV show with the positive note of not being only a passive observer but rather an active helper. The only complaints they had considered poor time management, especially at the police stations—each visit there would take them a half or even the whole working day—and lack of proper information provided beforehand. Hanna recalls that she was once asked to interpret during interrogation when she learnt that the foreigner she translated attempted to murder his co-habitants; the situation caused her to feel scared or even deceived, and she indicated that had she possessed that information before coming down to the station, she would not have accepted the commission.

Regarding the judiciary commissions, nearly all recalled stories and memories indicated negative emotions and difficulties. Most of them are listed in this longer excerpt from an interview with Hanna:

Tak, do tego mogłabym dodać to, że w sądzie często się zdarza, że tłumacz tłumaczy przez długie godziny. Oczywiście na jakiegokolwiek, na jakąkolwiek prośbę, czy wniosek tłumacza sędzia zasądza przerwę, ale jakby, jest to przerwa powiedzmy trwająca 10 minut, a powiedzmy całe postępowanie, cała rozprawa w ramach postępowania trwa, nie wiem, 5 czy 6 godzin. Jest to bardzo wyczerpujące dla jednej osoby. W innych systemach odbywa się to inaczej, w sensie za granicą, że powiedzmy jest tych tłumaczy może więcej w sądzie, którzy się zmieniają, więc to jest jakby jedna rzecz. A kolejną rzeczą, która jest dla mnie dosyć trudna i problematyczna jest to, że jakby w sądzie jest bardzo ograniczone zrozumienie roli tłumacza i to po prostu to utrudnia tłumaczowi pracę. Mam tutaj na myśli takie rzeczy, już bardzo takie praktyczne, w sensie, na przykład, że sędzia nie zwraca się bezpośrednio do świadka, którego wypowiedzi tłumacz tłumaczy tylko do tłumacza i mówi, „proszę panu przetłumaczyć, że”,

wprowadzając tym samym tutaj trzecią osobę. I to jest to jest trudne, bo ja przynajmniej to tak widzę, że ja bym chciała oczywiście asystować przy tej komunikacji, ale nie chciałabym, by moja obecność była akcentowana jako obecność dodatkowej osoby. Więc to jest jakby moja taka nieustanna bolączka. Kolejną rzeczą jest to, że adwokaci, często się zdarza, że kwestionują tłumaczenie tłumacza, każą protokołować jego dokładne sformułowania. A bardzo często jest tak, że tłumacz nie ma wglądu do akt sprawy, jest jedyną osobą, która nie wie, o czym jest sprawa. Niestety u nas w sądach jest tak, że czasem tłumacze są jakby powoływani w taki sposób, że różne rozprawy w ramach tego samego postępowania, jakby do takich różnych rozpraw powoływani są różni tłumacze, a więc tłumacz nie zna sprawy. Adwokaci mają całą dokumentację, którą przeczytali, sporządzili, więc oni tą sprawę znają na wylot. A tłumacz, po prostu, który tłumaczy w sądzie, przychodzi prawie, że z biegu, nawet jeśli zapozna się z tymi aktami sprawy, to i tak to jest uważam niewystarczające przygotowanie, i po prostu potem tłumacz tłumaczy. Jego wypowiedzi są przerywane przez adwokatów z prośbą o to, żeby zaprotokołować jakieś konkretne wyrażenie tłumacza. (Hanna, F8)

Yes, and I could add that it often happens in court that the interpreter interprets for long hours. Of course, the court adjudges a break for any, for any request or motion of the interpreter but it is a break that, let's say, lasts 10 minutes, whereas the whole legal action, the whole proceedings being the part of the legal action last for, I don't know, 5 or 6 hours. It is extremely exhausting for one person. It is different in other systems, I mean abroad, because there may be more interpreters in the court who exchange, so that's one thing. Another thing, which is for me quite difficult and problematic, is that there is a limited understanding of the role of an interpreter in the court, and that complicates the interpreter's work. I mean here such things, which are already very practical, meaning, for example, when the judge does not speak directly to the witness whose statement is translated by the interpreter but speaks to the interpreter and says, "Please translate for him that," thus introducing the third person here. And it is so difficult because, at least I see it this way, I would like to assist this communication, but I do not want my presence to be accentuated as the presence of an extra person. So this is kind of my continuous malady. Another thing is that attorneys, it happens frequently, question the interpreter's translation; they order to minute the interpreter's particular phrasing. Whereas it is very common that an interpreter does not have access to the case files and is the only person who does not know what the case is about. Unfortunately, it

happens in our courts that interpreters are conscripted in such a way so that different proceedings that are a part of the same legal actions, so to those different proceedings, different interpreters are conscripted and, therefore, the interpreter does not know the case. Attorneys have the whole documentation that they read, and drafted, so they know this case inside out. And the interpreter, simply, who translates in court, comes nearly from the street, even if he manages to become familiar with the case files, which I think is not enough to be prepared, and then an interpreter simply interprets. The interpreter's utterances are interrupted by the attorneys asking to minute some particular expression of the interpreter. (Hanna, F8)

This statement issued by Hanna touches upon at least several key issues that may have a significant influence on making work for court such a difficult or even challenging experience. Firstly, there seems to be a lack of understanding regarding the difficulty of translation, not to mention interpretation. The lack of understanding is reflected in the long hours that interpreters are commissioned to work without taking breaks; the professional standards advocate that in the case of simultaneous translation, an interpreter working alone should not work for longer than 30 minutes without taking a break, and in the case of consecutive translation, the working time of an interpreter translating solo should not exceed 2 hours. Anything longer than that requires a pair of translators switching every 30 minutes (e.g. International Association of Conference Interpreters, n.d.). Further, it is visible when the interpreters are being directly addressed during the proceedings: while it might be a sign of them being noticed by the judge, it requires them to mentally 'edit' the speech before interpreting it, hence introducing an extra step into an already challenging and complicated process. It should be added at this point that even though translators may be introduced as a third person into the court proceedings, they remain powerless and are not really a person on their own when translating; they cannot really say anything other than what they are supposed to interpret. In another part of the interview, Hanna describes how she attempts to physically display her lack of involvement in the proceedings by always standing a step behind the person from whom she interprets.

The situation becomes particularly complex and may add a layer of frustration to the emotions of certified translators who interpret on the stand when the power struggles are considered. The issue of power struggles in court and the unclear position of sworn translators, as well as the difficulties they encounter in their professional work, have been analysed in detail by Ian Mason and Wen Ren (2014), who also conclude that there is a significant gap between the theory taught to the prospective court interpreters and the practice, making that all the more

challenging for the translators. It is reflected in the fact that interpreters seem to be commonly interrupted by others when translating. It also happens that their translation is challenged by the attorneys participating in the proceedings: for instance, Dominika recalls that one time an attorney challenged her translation, claiming that “stab” is an improper verb to be used in the context of a knife attack. It seems that the interpreter’s competence is being constantly verified in court by others, such as attorneys, who in utmost probability are not competent enough to conduct such a verification. Even if they possessed linguistic competence, they lacked other competencies that would allow them to understand the process of translation and truly assess the interpreter’s skills. Such a behaviour of attorneys is so common that Róża (F28) does not refer to a single instance but makes a generalisation, stating that “każdy adwokat wie lepiej co ja powinnam była powiedzieć” [“every attorney knows better what I should have said”]. The interrupting and the undermining of one’s interpretation seem to occur so frequently that, according to Radosław, translators warn each other against that on Internet forums for professionals. Other interviewed translators added here issues such as the judge speaking for a long time without taking any breaks for the interpreter, which is also very challenging for them to render afterwards.

Secondly, the role of the interpreter in court also appears to be commonly misunderstood by both the judges and the attorneys. The interpreters often come unprepared, which is not due to the fact that they did not consider the preparations necessary but due to the fact that the role of the interpreter and the process of translation is not fully understood and they have not been granted the permission to access the case file; this might seem shocking, especially when we take into consideration that translators who wish to prepare thoroughly to the proceedings do it in their own time and are not awarded any financial remuneration for that. Yet, a translator seems to be treated as an outsider who is refused access to the inner world: even though that access is necessary for him or her to do their job properly. When it comes to the attorneys, they often treat interpreters as a party to the court proceedings; Hanna describes a situation when the attorney tried to void her interpretation in court on the basis of the fact that she was hired by the opposite party. In other words, it may be concluded that attorneys attempt to undermine the ethics code of sworn translators and underpin them with unethical behaviours if it is to their advantage.

Furthermore, the attorneys from the respondents’ stories did not bother to learn the rights given to interpreters. For instance, following the code of conduct, each interpreter is given the right to speak to the person they are supposed to translate before the proceedings, hearing, or any other legal event; the aim thereof is to ensure that the interpreter and the person in question

understand each other and are able to communicate with each other. However, Hanna recalls another situation in which an attorney accused her of taking liberties with her client when she exercised her right to a conversation before the interpreting event.

The difficulties encountered by certified translators in court may also be viewed in a different light. It may be concluded that translators feel discouraged to sensify anyone in the court regarding the specificity of the interpreting process or even their own rights assigned to them by the state regulations, even if that would have made their work easier. The reason for that may lay in the fact that they do not feel fully in place when they translate in court; they are treated as (sometimes even unwanted) guests, and they perhaps feel that themselves too. They are in the field where someone else is the main player, and knowing that, they try to play by the rules binding there. Helen Colley and Frédérique Guéry (2015), who investigated the public service interpreters (PSI) in Britain and the power relations in their workplaces, make a bold claim, stating that: “these professions enjoy dominant positions vis-à-vis PSIs, since interpreters have to work on those others’ terrain, are paid by their services, and are freelancers dependent on them for future work” (2015, p. 127). It should be mentioned that such a state of affairs is not without any influence on the emotional stance of the certified translators who add that they feel reluctant to go to the court, stressed or even scared. These feelings accompanying the sworn interpreters in Poland were also confirmed by the study on the psycho-affective factors conducted by Marcin Walczyński (2019).

The final issue that should be mentioned in the context of working for the court is the financial gain, or rather its lack. The state fees for translation are extremely low: currently, they amount to 34.5 zł per page of certified translation and 34.5 zł + 30% for an hour of interpretation (Decree of the Minister of Justice of 1 February 2021 concerning the announcement of the consolidated text of the regulation of the Minister of Justice concerning the remuneration for the activities of a certified translator, 2021). On the commercial market, translators may expect fees several times higher, especially for interpretation. However, not only are the fees low but also the courts are not quick to pay. Most of the interviewed translators who worked for the court and performed either translation or interpretation complained that they were forced for a long time to receive the payment. Some of the provided examples of the court’s tardiness may be considered shocking:

Ja miałam takie doświadczenie, że otrzymywałam co dwa tygodnie, albo nawet częściej, w skrzynce mojej pocztowej znajdowałam koperty po kilkadziesiąt stron do tłumaczenia. Wiedziałam, że moi koledzy, moje koleżanki nie dostają niczego, ja

natomiast dostawałam tych tłumaczeń tony. Więc zwyczajnie pracując i pisząc doktorat wtedy, ja nie byłam w stanie już takiej masy przerobić. Sąd mówił, że jak gdyby współpracując z nim, ja mam obowiązek wykonać te wszystkie tłumaczenia. Może mi najwyżej udzielić jakiejś zgody na przesunięcie w czasie, to wszystko na co sąd się godził. Z sądem była jeszcze inna sytuacja na początku, otóż sąd kazał sobie wystawiać rachunki, a nie płacił. Nie płacił przez dwa lata za wykonanie zleceń, które ciągle, co tydzień nowe, zjawiały się w skrzynce, ale trzeba było płacić podatek od wykonanych zleceń. Więc ja płaciłam nie otrzymując wynagrodzenia i kiedy postawiłam się zapytać, czy zwrócić z jakąś interwencją, to sąd mi odpowiedział, że mogę się zwrócić do sądu ze skargą. (Ewa, F10)

My experience was that I received every two weeks, or even more frequently, in my mail I found envelopes with several dozens of pages to translate. I knew that my colleagues were not receiving anything, whereas I got tonnes of these translations. So working and writing my doctoral thesis then, I was not able to do so much. The court claimed that by cooperating with it, I am obliged to do all these translations. They may only allow me to postpone it in time; that's all that the court agreed to. There was also a different situation with the court at the beginning because the court told me to issue invoices but wasn't paying. They didn't pay for two years for completing commissions which constantly, each week new, appeared in my mailbox, but it was necessary to pay the tax on the completed commissions. So I was paying without receiving my payment, and when I decided to ask whether I can intervene somewhere, the court told me that I could issue a complaint to the court. (Ewa, F10)

The unethical practices of the court were, in the end, one of the main reasons why Ewa decided to suspend her translation agency. However, it should be again pointed out that she was not the only translator to complain about such practices; Robert mentioned that he was also wondering at one point whether it is possible to sue the court for not paying on time. When discussing completing commissions for the court (and other law enforcement authorities), Róża stated that she goes as far as not to issue any invoices at all; in her own words, “parę razy dla sportu tak zrobiłam” [“I've done that few times for the kicks”]. Her conduct might be understood twofold: first, that it is so difficult to receive a timely payment from the court and law enforcement authorities that it is easier to assume the commission to be complete free-of-charge. Secondly, that the remuneration is so low that it is not worth the effort. However, in general, holding the payment for such a long time puts small translation agencies in a difficult financial situation,

especially when they perform a significant amount of their commissions for the court. Such practices could be even viewed in terms of symbolic and economic violence exerted by both the court and the state; what is discouraging is that translators who find themselves in such situations are not given many options regarding their counteractions as some of that violence appears to be exerted within the boundaries of the law. It has been what, to a significant degree, made Ewa give up her translation practice and what makes other translators (e.g. Dominika) refuse to cooperate with the court and the law enforcement, though it is technically against their code of conduct.

Summing up, the practices of the courts and the attorneys could suggest that certified translators are assigned the dominated and peripheral positions in the legal field: they are not given access to any kind of power therein, and their cultural capital—which is extremely high, as it has been indicated above—is devaluated. Further, the manner in which they are treated and the fact that they are trapped in this situation, also with the legal regulations that bind them, suggest that they are deliberately devoid of any power to change anything. All that remains for them is to passively resist, for example, by avoiding accepting commissions from the court. While the symbolic and economic violence displayed by the court does not hurt translators physically, it does lead some of them to burnout and makes them leave the profession. Some of them have difficulties with retaining accounting liquidity and decide to close their business; some work days and nights to have enough to pay their bills; some choose to work in another profession apart from translation, a profession that is more stable and offers them sure pay.

5.4.7 The Worthless and the Invaluable Translation

The stories told by the respondents suggest a twofold nature of translation: it is simultaneously worthless and invaluable. The ‘worthlessness’ of translation seems to be connected to three different phenomena: ‘dumping’ (unethical pricing policy), the regulation of the fees by the state, and the number of freelance translators for whom it is not a primary source of income.

According to Christian A. Conrad, “Dumping is generally understood as the sale of goods on a foreign market at a price lower than the domestic price or below the production costs” (2002, p. 563). However, dumping does not need to refer solely to the products; in 1990, in the United States, there was a widespread debate on the dumping of financial services. While it has been acknowledged that the dumping of the services is much more challenging to prove than the dumping of products, it exists beyond doubt (Sullivan, 1992). Colloquially, dumping is understood not only in the context of imported or exported goods or foreign services but in

general as an unethical pricing policy. Below is an excerpt from the interview with Robert who discusses the issue of dumping in translation:

(...) Mam wrażenie, że to [Internet] też wpływa na to, że jest dumping, o, powiem wprost. Więc też staram się trzymać taki trochę poziom i w momencie, kiedy został... Ostatnio nawet odmówiłem wynagrodzenia, znaczy, odmówiłem zlecenia, bo po prostu nie uważałem, uważałem, że moja praca nad tym dokumentem jest więcej warta. Pamiętam jeszcze właśnie z czasów, jak jeszcze.... jak zrobiłem te studia, a jeszcze przed egzaminem, próbowałem rozsyłać to CV, znalazłem gdzieś jakieś ogłoszenie na OLX-ie, gdzie ktoś po prostu się ogłosił, tłumaczę z angielskiego na polski, z polskiego na angielski, i było 4 zł za stronę. No może nie wszyscy się ogłaszają za takie stawki, ale no to po prostu źle robi, źle robi na rynek. (Robert, M5)

(...) I have an impression that it [the Internet] influences also the existence of dumping, I will say this outright. So I am trying to maintain a certain standard and the moment it was... Lately, I even refused remuneration, I mean, I refused a commission because I simply did not think, I thought my work over this document was worth more. I remember from the times when... When I graduated from these studies and was before the exam, I was trying to send my CV round. I found somewhere some ad on OLX, where someone was advertising himself, I translate from English to Polish, from Polish to English, and it was 4 zł per page. Maybe not everyone advertises themselves for such fees but it is just bad, bad for the market. (Robert, M5)

Robert himself, in another part of the interview, declared that his fees begin from 25 zł per page, which is already a fee that is even below the state fee and may be considered outrageous by other professionals. Therefore, his claim that he refused to translate because he considered the remuneration to be too low is perhaps stronger than it might seem at the beginning. The fee as low as 4 zł per page seems to be cut so drastically that it is almost unbelievable. The costs of living but also having one's own business (paying social insurance, taxes, etc.) would exceed the amount of money earned when paid in accordance with such fees. Considering the fact that full social insurance in Poland amounts in 2022 to 1211.28 zł and the cost of health insurance, which starts at 270.90 zł (ZUS, 2022), a translator selling their services at such a fee would need to translate around 370 pages to pay the cost of social insurance alone. It is possible that translators offering their service at such a low cost are amateurs; students seeking to learn how to translate and earn some money; persons not having their own business and working in the

grey area; or translators using Google Translate and other machine translators in their work. Whoever that is, such practice seems unethical and is probably rooted in the lack of knowledge about translation practice and work ethics or in the lack of consideration therefor. Thus, it may be claimed that non-professionals—because it is highly doubtful that any professional would do such a thing—create a mess on the market and act to the detriment of the relationship between professional translators and the economic field.

The fact that the fees of certified translators are regulated by the state is also not without any meaning. The state, being the biggest client of certified translators, ascertains the lowest fees possible for itself. While the certified translators may demand any fee on the free market, the prices for their services are in utmost possibility anchored by the state-regulated fees. If they value their services too high, they will not have any clients. Thus, in order to be competitive—especially considering the fact that they compete with non-professionals offering fees as low as 4 zł per page—they need to cite their remuneration within a certain price range. The relatively low remuneration they receive for their work is even noticed by some of the clients:

Tłumaczyłam kiedyś olbrzymią transakcję. Na Śląsku jest takie duże centrum handlowe [nazwa] i tłumaczyłam, jak sprzedawano grunty pod te tereny. I kwoty tam były po prostu, wiesz, tam było 9-12 zer, w ogóle nie umiałam ogarnąć tego. Ja tłumaczyłam u notariusza podpisanie umowy i gościu, który kupował te grunty stanął ze mną potem, tak przy tym notariuszu, i wiesz oni tam, no nie wiem. Notariusz dostał 60 000 [zł], ktoś tam dostał ileś, a ja dostałam 2,5 tysiąca [zł], bo tyle mniej więcej ta umowa tyle tych znaków tam było. I on tak na mnie spojrzął i mówi: „No tak, my tu handlujemy milionami, a ty dostajesz tą taką resztówkę”. A on jeszcze mówi: „A bez ciebie by się ta umowa nie mogła podpisać”. Ja mówię, taka rola po prostu. (Dominika, F25)

I translated once a huge transaction. In the Silesia region, there is a huge shopping centre [name of the centre], and I translated when they were selling land for these areas. And the sums there were just, you know, there were 9-12 zeros; I couldn't comprehend that at all. I translated the signing of the agreement at the notary, and the guy who bought this land stood later with me, next to the notary, and you know, they, I don't know. The notary got 60,000 [zł], someone got something, and I got 2,500 [zł] because that was how many characters there were in agreement. And he looked at me, and he says, “Right, we deal here in millions and you get some scraps.” And he then says: “And this agreement couldn't have been signed without you.” I say that's the role. (Dominika, F25)

Finally, it may be hypothesised that the fact that there are so many part-time certified translators in the profession may also influence the remuneration of the translators negatively. Having a secure source of income elsewhere, they may be more willing to offer lower fees and treat translation as a hobby. On the other hand, it is also possible that a secure financial situation may release them of the pressure to have numerous clients and a constant flow of commissions, as a result of which they may advocate for higher fees and for having their work properly paid for.

Opposite the concept of ‘worthless’ translation, a product of low quality that is not considered worth a considerable remuneration, there is the ‘invaluable’ translation. Surprisingly, the concept of translation as a product that cannot be given a price because its value lies elsewhere emerged repeatedly as an answer to the question of what it means to be successful or what is success in a translator’s life; a question that posed serious difficulties to nearly all respondents and who all claimed that they have not thought about this before. Here is an excerpt from the interview with Bartosz:

No to powiem ci jest ciekawe pytanie [o sukces], bo nigdy się nad nim zastanawiałem, ale... z doświadczenia też wiem, że tłumacze przysięgli są osobami, z tymi, te osoby, z którymi ja mam kontakt... to są to osoby takie skromne, pokorne, i mimo że mają te uprawnienia do tłumaczenia przysięgłego, czy poświadczonego, to dobrze wiedzą, że tak naprawdę wiedzą niewiele w tym całym oceanie wiedzy i te osoby też nie mówią o sukcesie. Przypuszczam, że dla wielu sukcesem byłoby... po prostu pieniądze. I mam takiego kolegę, który nie jest tłumaczem przysięgłym, natomiast się przygotowuje do tego, i dla niego, jakby, sukcesem jest posiadanie dużej ilości pieniędzy zarobionej na tłumaczeniu. Ale on zarabia na tłumaczeniu w ten sposób, że potrafi na przykład 40 stron przemielić w ciągu jednej doby. (...) Ale robi to za pomocą tłumaczenia maszynowego. Więc on powiedział, że dla niego, ze względu na to, że ma jakby takie, może niewysokie stawki, to robi tłumaczenie maszynowe, ewentualnie coś tam poprawi. Ale dzięki temu on ma 18-20 tysięcy miesięcznie. Więc ja stwierdziłem, wow!, no, to są po prostu potężne pieniądze. Ale mimo wszystko, nie chciałbym, żeby ktokolwiek potem mówił, że lecę na kasę, a nie dbam o jakość. (Bartosz, M8)

Well, let me tell you that this is an interesting question [about success] because I have never thought about this... but from my experience, I also know that certified translations are persons, those, these people that I have contact with... These are persons who are modest, humble, and though they have the qualifications for the certified or sworn translation, they know well that they really don’t know much in this ocean of

knowledge, and these people also do not talk about success. I suspect that for many a success would be... just money. I have a colleague who is not a certified translator, but he prepares to be, and for him, success is kind of having a lot of money earned on translation. And he earns on translation in such a way that he can, for example, grind through 40 pages of translation in one day. (...) But he does it using machine translation. So he said that he, due to the fact that he has kind of, maybe low fees, so he does machine translation, alternatively, he corrects something. But thanks to this, he has 18-20 thousand per month. So I thought, wow! this is just huge money. Nevertheless, I wouldn't want anyone to say that I'm in it for the money and I don't care about the quality. (Bartosz, M8)

What emerges from this quote is that translators are not supposed to think about success; it does not seem to be in their *habitus*, which would be in line with their image of professionals whose aim is to assist persons in difficult life situations and who do not draw financial gains from it. Further, the fact that they seem so humble and modest might result from the pressures of the fields they come into contact with, such as the field of power represented by the state or the juridical field represented by the court, but also from the fact that they have extremely developed cultural capital, as a result of which they realise not just how much they know but also how much they do not know. Bartosz's colleague is provided here as an anti-example to illustrate how not to act. The phrasing "leczę na kasę" ["I'm in it for the money"] indicates that one cannot simply treat translation as a means of earning money. However, it is not clear from this excerpt what are the reasons for such a state of affairs. It may be hypothesised that due to the state-regulated financial gains and the 'dumping' practices, it is not possible to earn that much money without unethical practices such as the employment of machine translation, which inevitably results in poor-quality translation and enforces the discourse of 'worthless' translation. Another hypothesis is that translation is the subject of reversed economic logic, similarly to art; the economic capital is devaluated in favour of the cultural capital and assigning economic capital to translation makes it lose its intangible, 'invaluable' quality. The contrast between the 'worthless' and the 'invaluable' translation appears also in the words uttered by Róża (F28): „To [tłumaczenie] jest niematerialna wartość. I teraz zobaczmy jak funkcjonują kancelarie prawne. To jest ta sama rzecz. Sprzedaje się dobro niematerialne. I za to się nie płaci albo się płaci bardzo dużo” [“This (translation) is an intangible asset. Now, let's see how law firms function. It is the same thing. Non-material goods are sold; and for that, you either don't pay or you pay a lot”].

The following quote from an interview with Bartosz, who was quite open about the financial matters, unlike many others, may not provide grounds to decide which hypothesis bears the grain of truth but sheds a bit more light on the issue:

Bartosz: (...) Bo ja nie wiem czemu, ale mam jakby takie jakieś poczucie, że ktoś może sobie pomyśleć, że ja za dużo chcę pieniędzy za tłumaczenia. Wiem, że to jest bardzo złe poczucie, ale mimo wszystko, nie chciałbym być oskarżony, że ja zdieram z klientów, bo nigdy mi się to nie zdarzyło. Wręcz mam wrażenie, że mam ceny, które mogłoby oburzać innych tłumaczy. Ale nie mam znowu też bardzo niskich.

Patrycja: Czyli tutaj masz takie poczucie, że finanse są trochę kwestią drażliwą z klientami na dobrą sprawę?

Bartosz: Tak, tak, ale to wiesz co, chyba to bardziej z jakby, z mojej perspektywy, bo... No bo nie zdarzyło mi się też nigdy, że klient powiedział, o!, że za drogo, nie? Nigdy mi się nie zdarzyło. Ale ja mam jakby takie dziwne poczucie. Nie wiem skąd ona wynika. (Bartosz, M8)

Bartosz: (...) Because I don't know why but I kind of have this feeling that someone might think that I want too much money for translation. I know that this feeling is very wrong but nevertheless, I wouldn't want to be accused of ripping off a client, because I never did. I even have a feeling that my fees could outrage other translators. But they are not so low anyway.

Patrycja: So you have a feeling that the financial matters are a bit of a sensitive issue with clients?

Bartosz: Yes, yes, but you know what, it might be more, kind of, from my perspective because.... Because it never happened to me that a client said, wow! That's too expensive, right? That never happened to me. But I have this kind of a weird feeling. I don't know where it is coming from. (Bartosz, M8)

To provide more context, Bartosz was asked how high his fees are; after all, statements such as low or high are quite subjective and relative. His fees range between 40-45 zł per page. Considering how much time it is often necessary to spend translating one page and how high the cost of self-employment is, the fact that Bartosz stated that he still feels he takes too much money and he fears he could be accused of translating only for money and ripping off clients seems more than shocking. This feeling might be evoked by being forced into submission by the already mentioned field of power and other fields translators work in, as this submission

seems to include, first and foremost, the refusal to award the certified translators with economic capital. However, what appears to emerge from the stories told by the respondents is that not only economic capital is devaluated; it also seems that there are no exchange rates that could be applied and that would allow the translation of other capitals they possess--cultural capital in particular--into the economic capital. It might even be interpreted that the certified translators are denied the right to translate their cultural capital into economic capital: a rule they internalise and rationalise, claiming that their motivation is the accumulation of the cultural capital without considering the financial gains. This claim could be supported by the fact that if there is no exchange rate, one does not know how to behave because there are no patterns set. Further, the translator's *habitus* appears to be designed in such a way as to make them help people for nothing or nearly nothing and consider their gratitude and own reputation to be the highest prize. As Natalia said:

Naprawdę szczerze jestem zadowolona, nigdy nie... nie chciałabym zrobić naprawdę na tym [tłumaczeniu] biznesu. Po prostu cieszę się wszystkim tym, co zrobiłam dla ludzi. Robiłam bardzo, bardzo dużo rzeczy za darmo i bardzo się z tego cieszę, bardzo, że to zrobiłam, bo po prostu wykorzystałam swoją wiedzę, a ktoś był szczęśliwy. (Natalia, F26)

I am honestly very content; I never... I wouldn't want to turn it [translation] into a business. I am just happy with all that I have done for people. I did a lot, a lot of things for free, and I am really happy I did that because I just used my knowledge and someone was happy. (Natalia, F26)

This quote illustrates yet another coping mechanism that would support the claim that the translators are denied the right to exchange their capital: if we act on the assumption that we do something for free on default, it is not necessary to think about the exchange rates. It is possible then to simply enjoy the fact that another person received the help they needed without feeling guilty about taking something else in exchange. This is particularly true when a price tag is attached to acts and values that are commonly claimed to be invaluable and could be devalued by financial gains: acts such as providing help to others in need or difficult life situations.

To conclude, it seems that there are two contrary values assigned to translation. On the outside of the profession, translation may often be viewed as worthless. This could be related to the fact that translators are denied economic capital on many different levels and in many different fields, including the field of power, and in a capitalist society, value often equals

money. There are other issues, such as the low prestige of certified translators or the difficulties with delivering high-quality translations, which commonly result from the rules translators are obliged to follow. Inside the profession, translation is considered to be something 'invaluable'. The reasons for such a state of affairs might be plenty as well, including the lack of exchange rates or the associations between the certified translation and activities that are thought to be 'invaluable' or 'priceless', such as helping others. However, both of these contrary logics have the same result: translators are denied powerful positions in the economic field (or even forced into submission); the economic capital seems to be placed low in their hierarchy of capitals, and it is even quite possible that the reversed hierarchy of capitals occurs. The cultural (and linguistic) capital assumes the top position in the hierarchy, whereas the economic capital assumes the bottom position. While translators voice the need to change that arrangement of capitals, they are in a pat situation as there are no exchange rates that would allow them to exchange cultural capital for the economic one without devaluating the first one.

5.4.8 "It's Complicated" – on the Relationship Between Certified Translators and Their Clients

While the state and its representatives, such as the court, law enforcement authorities or administration, might be the biggest clients of the certified translator, they are not, in all the likelihood, the clients that allow them to earn the most significant financial gains. The financial situation of certified translators might have been dire if it were not for the commercial and private clients and the commissions they receive on the free market. The translators might depend on those clients when it comes to their livelihood, yet the relationship they have with each other is by no means simple; quite the opposite, it is often resulting in the tensions and, in some cases (e.g. Natalia and Dominika), the commercial clients caused the interviewed sworn translators to withdraw from certain professional activities.

Two maladies concerning clients were voiced by nearly all the interviewed certified translators: their lack of appreciation for the translator's work and their lack of consideration for their time, both of which could be perhaps attributed to the lack of imagination regarding the nature of the translation and the competencies necessary to perform it.

When asked who a difficult client is, the interviewed translators mostly referred to the clients who refused to pay the proposed remuneration or to the clients who were pressuring them to translate a document in a certain way. The first instance indicates how low is the value of the economic capital assigned to the certified translation: it is not only an internal rule as it seems to be effective on the outside as well. However, even though these situations were quite

common, the interviewed translators did not bow to the pressure to lower their already low fees; if the clients did not accept their offer, the translators did not accept the commission. There were cases when the translators implied they had to wait for their remuneration for several months, but the payment nearly always did arrive. There was only one situation mentioned by Izabela when a private client did not pay; however, she claims that the client was quite sick and probably in a desperate situation. Bartosz recalled having several unpleasant situations with his clients when they would argue about the final payment for the translation; now, he claims to send a formulary to each of his clients before accepting the commission, in which he explains how the final cost is calculated, what constitutes a page in certified translation, etc.

The second instance indicates that clients attempt to sway the certified translators if the translation serves them some purpose. The examples provided by the translators include changing the numbers—e.g. the price or the mileage of the car—which happened to Dominika or changing the name of the profession, which happened to Jędrzej. However, Jędrzej declared that sometimes, if there is a space for that, he is open to negotiating with his clients when it comes to the final form of his translation, as long as whatever the form is, it still claims the same as the original. Izabela stated that she was offered once continuous cooperation with a car dealer, which was supposed to be based on her delivering empty pages with her stamp and signature, a practice she did not agree to. These examples may testify to the perception of sworn translators as professionals without a strict ethics code, who may be convinced by their clients to do as much as even commit a forgery. Though it may also be that the certified translation is so misunderstood that some of the clients do not even perceive that in terms of a forgery because they do not perceive the translation as a lawful and effective document. Finally, many of the interviewed translators (e.g. Jędrzej, Bartosz, Dominika) claimed that they have heard on multiple occasions their clients stating, “I would have translated it myself, but I need the stamp!”; a phrase that seems to act like a cloth on a bull, which is not surprising considering that such a statement undermines the translator’s cultural and linguistic capital and devaluates their work even further, not only in economic terms.

(...) Była taka tendencja i takie przekonanie, że tłumacze przysięgli to nie są dobrzy tłumacze. Czyli o wiele lepiej było być, na przykład, tłumaczem jakimś specjalistycznym, który posiadał uprawnienia innych organizacji. Niekoniecznie tłumaczem przysięgłym. I rzeczywiście, jak zdarzało mi się oglądać tłumaczenia poświadczane wykonywane przez różnych tłumaczy i po prostu patrzeć na jakby poziom tego tłumaczenia, to wstydziłam się po prostu za swoich kolegów po fachu.

Tylko też musimy pamiętać, bo to było przedmiotem wielu różnych debat i słyszałam różne argumenty przemawiające za tym, że po prostu tłumacze przysięgli odwalają, odwalają chałturę, ale musimy pamiętać, i tutaj mówię to na obronę nas wszystkich, że są klienci, którzy potrzebują mieć coś na już. Czasami jest tak, że tłumacz jest po prostu zavalony robotą i nawet nie od klientów indywidualnych. Sądy potrafią przysyłać po prostu grube teczki akt z jakimiś szalonymi terminami. I tłumacz, oczywiście może, nie wiem, czy świadomie, czy nieświadomie, przyjmuje to wszystko, a potem się po prostu bardzo spieszy i może nie do końca, jakby, sprawdza, po prostu, potem te wyniki swojej pracy. Więc bardzo często, mogę powiedzieć na obronę tłumaczy, że tłumacz po prostu pracuje pod presją takiego krótkiego terminu, sapiących klientów. (Hanna, F8)

(...) There was this tendency and this conviction that certified translators are not good translators. So it was much better to be, for example, a specialised translator with the qualifications from other organisations. Not necessarily a certified translator. And indeed, when I happened to see certified translations done by various translators and just looked at kind of the level of this translation, I was simply ashamed of my fellow professionals. However, we also need to remember, because it was a subject of many different debates, and I've heard many arguments claiming that certified translators just botch, botch translations, but we need to remember, and I say this to defend us all, that there are clients who need something right away. It sometimes happens that a translator is just snowed under work and not from the individual clients. Courts can send just thick folders with the case files and some crazy deadlines. And a translator, may, of course, I don't know whether consciously or unconsciously, takes it all and then he is just in a lot of hurry and cannot really, kind of, check later the results of his work. So very often, I can say to defend the translators, a translator simply works under the pressure of short deadlines, puffing clients. (Hanna, F8)

This excerpt from the interview with Hanna suggests several things that may also explain the behaviour of the clients, the key element being the low prestige of certified translators. The low prestige could explain both clients who refuse to pay the proposed remuneration or the clients who expect unethical behaviours on the translator's part. Furthermore, what Hanna says implies that there may be some grounds for the low prestige of certified translators, which could be related to the low quality of translations. However, as Hanna notices, the low quality may quite commonly be the result of short deadlines and the abundance of work, both of which may not necessarily be in the translator's power to control and to change, especially when it is the

commission from the court. What is more, it may simply happen that a translator did not cut the coat to its cloth (e.g. Radosław recalled a commission that he thought would take him half a day but took three days, tampering with his schedule) or felt obliged to help. Some of the translators may even accept more than they can handle and sacrifice the translation quality in order to be able to survive financially. Those actions may be viewed as causing a vicious circle. Finally, it is worth noting that the translator's work is characterised by a high level of unexpectedness; a translator may never know when a client calls or the court sends a package with documents. Simultaneously, everyone would like to receive their translation right away.

No teraz ja stwierdziłam, że ja nie będę się naginać, niech klient się dostosowuje, bo jak się idzie do lekarza czy do adwokata, notariusza, to nikt tam nie będzie umawiał terminów na wczoraj. Trzeba czekać na swoją kolejkę i tyle. Także tutaj też tak powinno być, bo my jesteśmy pod jakąś presją, żeby to wykonywać w trybie ekspresowym, a to klient też się powinien trochę dostosować do sytuacji i jakby planować te tłumaczenia, a nie wymagać na już. (Izabela, F18)

So now I decided that I won't bend, let the client fall into line because when someone goes to the doctor or the attorney, the notary, no one will schedule the appointments for yesterday. You need to wait for your turn, and that's it. It should be like that here because we are under some pressure to do this as a matter of urgency, but it is also the client who should conform to the situation and kind of plan these translations and not require them asap. (Izabela, F18)

Izabela was the only one among the interviewed translators who spoke so explicitly against the pressure of the clients. She rightly points out that when clients visit other highly specialised professionals—and while it seems that certified translators may not be perceived as such, their unusually high cultural and linguistic capital that they continue to gather throughout their professional life indicates otherwise—they do not expect the professionals to shift their schedule and offer their services so urgently.

Time plays a key role in a translator's life; it appears to be so important that below there is a section devoted solely to time. The hectic schedule, unsocial working hours, and impossible deadlines are all rooted in the expectations of the clients, be it state, commercial or private. Most of the translators complained about one or all of these aspects, yet Izabela was the only one who voiced such a strong opinion. There may be at least two reasons for that. In several parts of the interview, she indicated how important to her is her family and finding time for

them. It may be that when work stopped being her priority, she managed to notice certain patterns that remain hidden to the persons putting work first. Furthermore, she indicated at one point that translation is almost a ‘hobby’ to her as her primary source of employment is in higher education. Hence, she is not dependent on the clients in the same way and to the same degree as other translators for whom translation is a significant addition to their income or even the sole source of their income.

Another explanation as to why the translator’s work might also be provided by Erving Goffman (1959/2000), who focuses on the social roles of individuals and the performance they give to others. According to Goffman (1959/2000, pp. 60), a social actor who performs certain activities, including professional work, actively attempts to highlight its particular elements, especially those that could remain hidden otherwise. There is only a very limited time—sometimes even seconds—when the competencies can be displayed and proved to others. Goffman names this strategy ‘a dramaturgy of action’. Such a demonstration is relatively easy in the case of professions such as doctors, musicians and sportsmen, giving these professions tools to govern the collective imagination of society and be visible, also in terms of fame and recognition.

However, there are also professions in which dramaturgy is highly challenging to be achieved. Goffman provides the example of nurses: many families and patients complain about the nurses’ work, claiming that they do not do much. What they do not understand is that some of the activities performed by the nurses—for instance, checking the vitals and ordering medications—is visible, whereas others—observation, assessment of one’s medical state—remain hidden (Goffman, 1959/2000, p. 61). Thus, when the activities are not dramatical or dramatically performed, it is difficult to notice them and, simultaneously, easy to assume that the other person simply does nothing. It might be similar in the case of certified translators; firstly, it is quite unusual to observe a translator at work, unless he or she has been hired to perform interpretation. Secondly, even if it were possible to observe them at work, the translators do not have many possibilities to add some dramaturgy to their performance, if any. After all, how could one add dramaturgy to the complex mental processes occurring in translation or interpretation (Hurtado Albir & Alves, 2009), especially considering that they are so deeply consuming that one lacks even the mental space to think about this?

However, it should be noted that the relationship with clients does not consist of solely negative elements and tensions. Quite the opposite, there is a significant feeling of satisfaction, which is closely related to the translators’ *illusio* but not only:

Dla mnie już teraz taką satysfakcją jest to, że na przykład daję komuś taki, przykładowo, akt urodzenia, czy tam akt małżeństwa, i wiem, że z moją pieczęcią to jest ważne, że on z tym może gdzieś pójść. I na przykład, coś zarejestruje albo gdzieś się zamelduje, albo coś takiego. Że wytwarzam dokument, który autentycznie ma jakąś wartość i nawet nie chodzi mi o taką prawną, tylko taką, że no to jest jakiś taki produkt, który faktycznie coś tam może zdziałać. (...) Taką sprawczą, że to co robisz, no widzisz, że ma jakiś sens i to na przykład gdzieś zostaje, że ktoś z tym idzie notariusza albo jakiegoś tam urzędu i, na przykład, to tłumaczenie, czy tam ksero tego tłumaczenia tam zostaje, no bo to jest ważne tylko, jeśli ja przybiję na tym pieczęć, więc to jest na przykład takie fajne uczucie. (Robert, M5)

For me, it is already satisfying that, for example, I give some this, for instance, birth certificate or this marriage certificate, and I know that it is valid with my stamp, that he may go somewhere with this. And for example, he can register something or his residence, or something like that. That I produce a document that authentically possesses some worth, and I don't mean only legal value but this kind that it is some product that can indeed do something. (...) This agential power, that what you do, well, you see that is has some sense and, for example, it stays somewhere, that someone takes it to the notary or some office and, for example, this translator or a copy of this translation stays there because it is valid only when I stamp it, so this is, for example, a cool feeling. (Robert, M5)

Several translators talked about the pleasure they derive from signing and stamping the documents after finishing translation; they claimed it to be a ritual that gives them satisfaction. However, more light on the ritual and the satisfaction that comes with it is shed by the quote above. What emerged from the interviews is the feeling of being powerless; it is particularly visible in the context of translators completing commissions for the court. This particular ritual of stamping and signing the translation appears to be so significant as it is one of few moments when translators actually feel empowered and possess “agential power”, in Robert's words.

I would like to devote the final comment in this section to another issue that may not fall exactly in line with Bourdieu's field research, but that appears to be too important to be left out. Clients and their behaviour towards interpreters seem to constitute a separate issue. In the section “All Rise!, or a Translator in Court”, I have attempted to present difficulties encountered by certified translators in their work for the court. When mentioning these difficulties, the translators commonly referred to attorneys that would interrupt their interpretations or even

argue therewith. However, it seems that such obstructive behaviour is not limited to the court; Dominika and Natalia, who worked as interpreters also outside the court, mention the cases of identical conduct in other places as well. After a consecutive interpretation that was constantly interrupted and undermined by her client, Dominika lost confidence in her own skills for several years and refused to make any interpretation at that time.

The situation of conflict with a client in which Natalia found herself resulted not only in her resigning from interpretation but withdrawing almost completely from translation. As she recalls, she was asked to interpret at a meeting between the employees of a factory and their new international owners. As she was translating the meeting, she learned that she was about to participate in the mass dismissals of hundreds of factory employees. She was so shocked that she stopped interpreting, which resulted in one of the owners of the company abusing her verbally. She remembers this particular moment as the moment when she decided to cease her professional activity. First, she ceased to interpret and then she terminated her cooperation with a translation agency she worked for at the time. Currently, she does translate from time to time for Dominika's translation agency, or she even offers her services to her friends and neighbours for free, but that is all. It may be hypothesised that the situation she found herself in during that interpretation in the factory was so deeply against her *habitus*—as it has already been discussed, the certified translators seem to be set on providing help to those in need, even at the cost of their own financial gains—and perhaps her identity that she ceased to see the purpose of her work at that point and decided to withdraw from the profession.

5.4.9 The Scapegoat and the Real Criminal

The conducted interviews suggest that certified translators struggle with numerous issues in their professional life, starting from the financial difficulties, including low remuneration and heavy workload, and ending with a tarnished image, including low prestige and devaluation of their cultural and linguistic capital. Whenever a group faces so many obstacles, there must be someone guilty of such a situation; it is no different in the context of certified translators. Interestingly, in their case, the persons considered to be guilty overlap with those whom certified translators would like to exclude, yet they do not have the power to do so. Exclusion is a particularly relevant issue as, according to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001, p. 21), it implies where the participants of the game draw the boundaries and who does not fit the logic they follow.

Hanna (F8): I tak jak powiedziałam, sędzę, że właśnie fakt tego, że po prostu tłumacze praktykujący przed wejściem w życie ustawy i wprowadzeniem egzaminu, po prostu zostali zaprzysiężeni, to przyczynił się może do takiego rozprzestrzenienia takiego wizerunku, że tłumacz przysięgły, pomimo aspiracji, że jest to tłumacz specjalistyczny, to tak naprawdę bardzo często brakuje mu gdzieś tam tej specjalistycznej wiedzy. Z moich badań prowadzonych w sądzie wynikało na przykład to, że tłumacz, który był zaprzysiężony bez egzaminu, to miał, tak jak ci powiedziałam, gorsze jakby umiejętności tłumaczeniowe... gdzieś tam niby to słownictwo specjalistyczne znał, ale po prostu brakowało mu tej techniki. Więc jakby według mojej skali, plasował się najniżej ze wszystkich tłumaczy. Nawet tych, którzy powiedzmy, może troszkę gorzej znali nomenklaturę specjalistyczną, ale nadrabiali językowo i warsztatowo. Więc myślę, że egzamin niewątpliwie przyczynił się do podniesienia jakości. Natomiast to podniesienie jakości przekładu wykonywanego przez tłumaczy przysięgłych przełoży się nam oczywiście na podwyższenie statusu tłumaczy. Ale musi minąć trochę czasu, bo tłumaczy muszą ponownie udowodnić, że jakby jakość tych tłumaczeń jest po prostu na wysokim poziomie.

Patrycja: Czyli dla ciebie ten taki dosyć niski w pewnym momencie status tłumacza przysięgłego, jest to powiązane z tym, że w profesji znalazły się też osoby, które niekoniecznie były całkowicie kompetentne do wykonywania tego typu tłumaczeń i poniekąd zrobiły tłumaczom złą renome, tak?

Hanna: Tak, tak, myślę, że tak jest i były to też osoby, które może były tak skupione na tłumaczeniach tylko... no, może to troszkę źle zabrzmiało, ale po prostu traktowały to tylko jako sposób na zarabianie pieniędzy, a nie starały się dociec, co tak naprawdę kryje się za sztuką przekładu.

Hanna (F8): And as I have said, I think that due to the fact the translators practising before the bill came into force and the exam was introduced were just sworn, it contributed to maybe this propagation of this image that a certified translator, despite the aspirations, that he is a specialised translator but that he is really frequently missing some expertise. From my research conducted in court, it emerged that, for example, a translator who had been sworn without the exam had, as I told you, kind of worse translation skills... he kind of knew specialist terminology but was just lacking this technique. So on my scale, he was placed the lowest of all the translators. Even those who, let's say, did not know the specialist nomenclature so well but made up for that

with the language and skills. So I think that the exams undoubtedly contributed to increasing the quality, whereas the increased quality of translation performed by certified translators will clearly translate into a higher status of translators. But some time needs to pass because translators have to prove again that the quality of these translations is just on a high level.

Patrycja: So for you the low status of a certified translator for that time is connected with persons who are in the professions but aren't necessarily completely competent to perform this type of translation and, in a way, they have tarnished the translator's reputation, yes?

Hanna: Yes, yes, I think it is like that, and these were also persons who were maybe focused on translation but... well, it might sound a bit wrong, but they just treated it only as a way of making money, and they did not try to discover what is really hidden in the art of translation.

Thus, to Hanna's mind (and not only), the translators sworn before the exam are responsible for the low quality of translation. Similar statements were also issued by Bartosz. The certified translators who were sworn before the exam are claimed to lack knowledge and certain competencies necessary to be a good translator. However, two comments should be made here. Firstly, in another moment of the interview, Hanna admitted that certified translators—all of them—may contribute to the perception of them as non-professionals due to the fact that they happen to accept too many commissions simultaneously or are suddenly sent documents by the state client, which they are obliged to accept. Both of these circumstances (sometimes even both at the same time) lead to the necessity to work under pressure and often without enough time margin to properly correct the produced text, hence a translation of lower or even low quality. Secondly, it should be noted that the translators with greater seniority attended university classes long before translation was considered to be an academic subject and translation profiles were established. Most of the skills they possess are self-taught. Bartosz added that older translators happen to have difficulties with using electronic tools, such as Microsoft Word. The older translators who participated in this study openly admitted that they do not invest in the newest technologies--e.g. Trados or MemoQ--because these are already far too advanced for them to learn without significant effort (investment), which they are not willing or even capable to make. However, such statements would be probably applicable in many different professions when senior professionals are not capable of following all the dynamic changes taking place.

The pressure to exclude translators sworn before the exam is so high that there are even defamatory stories circulating between the professionals:

No też jakieś takie historie się słyszy, że ci tłumacze przysięgli starszej daty byli mianowani w dość wątpliwych okolicznościach. W takim sensie, że no okej, ktoś tam jest magistrem jednego, drugiego języka i podobno w jakiś tam latach osiemdziesiątych, dziewięćdziesiątych, sąd gdzieś tam czasem po znajomości, po prostu, bo to sądy zdaje się, to tak słyszałem – ja nigdy tego nie weryfikowałem, na dobrą sprawę – przyznawał uprawnienia. (Radosław, M5)

And you also hear such stories that these senior translators were nominated in some dubious circumstances. In a sense that, alright, someone holds a Master's in one, two languages and supposedly, in the 80s, 90s, a court would somewhere, sometimes, pulling some strings, just, because it was the court, I suppose, that's what I heard—I've never verified that to be sure—authorised translators. (Radosław, M5)

While everyone interviewed was in support of the exam, it seems that translators who entered the profession before the exam are discredited by younger translators (by Radosław in harshest words but also by Hanna or Bartosz to some degree), who were obliged to pass the exam. In this short quote taken from the interview with Radosław, there are pejorative phrases used to describe the senior certified translators and the way they gained their professional qualifications. What is surprising, the procedure described by Radosław is not far from the truth; however, there was nothing dubious about it. The previous procedure was that simple and required so little from the prospective certified translators. However, the harsh words used to describe it and the implications that the translators and the courts did not necessarily follow the letter of the law regarding the translator's nomination might be an attempt to deny the senior translators access to the profession. The emphasis is placed on the speculation they are not lawfully entitled to perform the profession of public trust as their competencies were not properly verified, or they even used some personal connections to be nominated a sworn translator (which seems highly unlikely, considering their lack of social capital).

At the end of the first excerpt, Hanna's words also reveal that there might be an exclusion of translators who work in the profession for the money, which is revealed by the criticism of persons focused on the financial aspect and not on "sztuka tłumaczenia" ["the art of translation"]. The phrasing "art of translation" stands out, suggesting that the rules applying to sworn translators may recall the rules that occur in the literary field. However, it might be a

misleading similarity; nearly all of the interviewed translators perceived themselves in terms of being craftsmen and translation in terms of craft and made a clear distinction between themselves and translators of literature, stating that they possess a different set of skills that is not applicable to literary translation and that they avoid accepting literary commissions. Nevertheless, certified translators seem to follow the rules in accordance to which their ultimate goal is to acquire more knowledge (more cultural capital) and to help their clients, be it private or state clients, without asking for (proper) remuneration, if necessary. Thus, while the reversed economy constituted one of the basic rules governing the newly emerged literary field in France and was the sign of opposition against the order imposed by the bourgeoisie, it does not have to be a sign of *nomos* (new order) in the case of certified translators. Conversely, it may be a sign of being the marginalised/dominated group among the dominating class, to which they could be assigned on the basis of their unusually developed cultural capital, failing to participate in the power struggles, and being kept in check by the field of power. Finally, it might also be that the well-educated translators who put a lot of effort into their education are against the translators who did not spend as many years educating themselves because they see them as not professional enough: they translate and they may have practical knowledge or skills but they lack theoretical background. This last hypothesis is, however, quite tentative as nearly all translators claimed that theoretical studies are not necessary to be a skilled translator and that it is possible to be a self-taught translator. On the other hand, contradictions may appear and may reveal internal or external tensions. However, the sample was too small to decide on this matter.

All in all, it seems that sworn translators see the exam as an opportunity to raise their status and the status of certified translation in general. Some of the interviewed certified translators indicated that the blame for the current situation is to be assigned to translators of other specialisations who do not uphold the professional standards; Dominika calls them “ *tłumacze-patałachy*” [“translators-bumblers”]. Dominika voiced the opinion that there are too many translators in general and, to make matters worse, most of them lack proper skills. Based on her experience as an entrepreneur hiring other translators, she claims that there are numerous translators on the market who know the language, but they lack key soft competencies, such as proper time management and promptness, ability to work in a team, the already mentioned rectitude and earnestness, responsibility. It seems that it is these competencies—not the knowledge of the language—that make such persons unprofessional when missing. Dominika goes as far as to offer the idea of an exam that would need to be passed not only by sworn translators but by all translators – that would ensure, to her mind, that the profession is closed and unprofessional translators do not ruin the reputation of others.

Troszeczkę myślę, że powinno się nam podnieść prestiż, powinno nas być mniej, ale trochę po prostu zawęzić to grono, no bo pewnie sama wiesz, że tłumaczą ludzie, którzy tak naprawdę nie powinni tego robić, gdzieś tam się zdarzają. Którzy robią tłumaczenia, takie szczególnie nieprzysięgłe oczywiście, no bo mówią dobrze po angielsku. To tyle. (Dominika, F25)

I partially think that it should raise our prestige, there should be fewer of us, but partially to just narrow down this group, because you probably know it yourself that translations are performed by people who really shouldn't do it; they do happen somewhere. People who perform translations, especially non-certified, because they speak English well. And that's it. (Dominika, F25)

Summing up, it seems that translators look for someone who is guilty of their situation: some point their finger in the direction of senior translators who might have some missing pieces of translation knowledge and who did not have their competencies verified through the state exam, whereas others blame the translators of other specialities who do not need to undergo through any procedure at all, pointing that they lack certain key soft competencies.

There is a common tendency to look for the guilty of their low status and difficult position among other translators. However, perhaps translators should look outside of their profession to find the real 'criminals'. If the hypotheses offered earlier are even partially true, it is in the best interest of the field of power to sustain the current situation: to retain the low status of translators and to encourage them to pursue the logic of the reversed economy. Unless it would be the initiative of translators and it would be controlled solely by translators, introducing further obstacles and controlling measures, such as more restrictive exams that would be applicable to all the translators, could bring a result opposite to what the translators are hoping for. It would give one more tool to the field of power to control them and to keep their position weak.

5.4.10 "I Am My Own Rudder, Sailor and Vessel"

One of the elements considered by Kaufmann as key to the analysis of the in-depth interviews is the repeating expressions or sentences. Several translators participating in this study repeated a famous saying coming from Adam Mickiewicz's "Ode to Youth" – "sam sobie sterem, żeglarzem, okrętem" ["(my) own rudder, sailor and vessel"²⁷]. Though the Polish to English

²⁷ Translation by Jarek Zawadzki.

dictionaries suggest the functional translation “paddle my own canoe,” the equivalent offered by the Polish translator of Mickiewicz appears to be more adequate as this phrase has been used by the sworn translators in a twofold context (by some with a slightly negative note). Firstly, it was used to refer to the lonely or, depending on the interpretation, the independent nature of the translator’s work and, secondly, it was used to refer to their main form of employment, i.e. self-employment.

Widzi pani, ja nie współpracuje z innymi. Ja jestem sam sobie sterem, żeglarzem, okrętem. Ja sobie robię, mogę komuś coś dać. Generalnie ani nie sprawdzam ich tłumaczeń ani nie daję im moich tłumaczeń, mogę im tylko przekazać klienta. I koniec. (Jędrzej, M18)

You see, I don’t work with others. I am my own rudder, sailor and vessel. I do my thing, and I can give something to someone. In general, I do not correct their translations, and I do not give them my own translations; I can only refer a client to them. That’s it. (Jędrzej, M18)

It seems that translators do not invest in creating social networks: a claim that is supported by the content of the interviews but also by the very looks of the snowball and the fact that it failed to roll. None of the interviewed certified translators was capable of providing more than two references (whereas three contacts are thought to be a number allowing a sustainable snowball); most of them provided only one and could not provide any except for the person that referred me to them in the first place. Furthermore, as it has already emerged from the discussion on the hierarchy of capitals, certified translators value the cultural capital the highest, and they invest the most of their resources to accumulate its substantial amount. The economic capital and the social capital are somewhere at the bottom of their hierarchy; while there is some evidence indicating that translators value economic capital and would like to raise its value in their professional life but lack the power and the tools to do so, their social capital seems to be nearly non-existent but also out of their scope of interest. Several translators mentioned investing in relationships with their clients—for instance, by resigning from their own private activities or by giving up their financial gains to help someone—yet, in most cases, it seems to be an investment that is bound not to pay back. Sometimes it may happen that their client will refer some other clients to them or will come back with more translations.

There seems to be no logical explanation as to why certified translators do not invest in building a solid social network with other professionals. Some of them stated in the interviews

that it is a lonely profession and that it can be an obstacle as they do not receive any help whenever support is needed (e.g. when they are sick and have pending commissions they are incapable of completing). When confronted with this fact, Bartosz explained that he does not invest in building a network of social relationships with other translators because he does not treat translation in all its seriousness; it was only additional employment and source of income for him. Thus, it was enough for him to invest in his primary employment. In this particular case, it might have been true as Bartosz is employed at university and holds academic titles; as it has already been indicated, academics are capable of gathering significant social capital—they do know people, they have well-developed networks, and they are often considered to hold prestigious positions and be high-end professionals—thus, it is quite possible that Bartosz is able to use the social capital gathered in his primary field. However, it seems that professional translators who perceive and treat translation as their primary employment do not have such a network as well. A very tentative claim could be offered that the certified translators related to teaching or academia often had more contacts to recommend; these usually were their colleagues from their primary employment who also happened to be certified translators. The only branch of the snowball that started to develop comprised mostly academics who knew one another from the university or higher school where they worked; the snowball failed when they recommended me to their colleagues working full-time in translation.

The second common context in which the phrasing “sam sobie sterem, żeglarzem i okrętem” occurred was self-employment. While the interviewed certified translators did not seem to be bothered by the lack of network between themselves, they offered numerous complaints about the only form of employment available to them.

Pamiętam, że te rozliczenia takie z urzędem skarbowym, prowadzenie samej tej działalności było bardzo skomplikowane, było jakimś dodatkowym elementem, którym nie chciałam, albo nie miałam siły się zajmować. Dobrze byłoby, żeby te procedury były bardzo uproszczone, myślę, że można to zrobić, że to jest możliwe. Natomiast, tych wszystkich takich, każdy przedsiębiorca myślę zgodzi się ze mną, tych wszystkich formalności, tych papierów, biurokracji, jest teraz tak dużo (...), że to mocno zniechęca do jakiejś dodatkowej pracy. Czyli te dodatkowe niby obowiązki pochłaniają tyle czasu i tyle energii, że na właściwe rzeczy już tego czasu nie zostaje. (Ewa, F10)

I remember that settling the accounts with the revenue and conducting the enterprise alone was very complicated; it was yet another element that I didn't want or didn't have the energy to deal with. It would be good if these procedures were significantly

simplified; I think that it can be done; it is possible. However, all these, I think each entrepreneur will agree with me, all these formalities, these papers, bureaucracy, there is so much of it now (...) that it really discourages any additional work. So these additional duties consume so much time and so much energy that there is not enough time left for the proper things. (Ewa, F10)

Even though Ewa resigned from running her own translation agency nearly twenty years ago, it does not seem that much has changed since then. Many of the interviewed translators brought up the difficulties connected to being a sole proprietorship. It is quite common for them to hire an accountant because conducting one's own business activities, even in the case of a sole proprietorship, is so complicated that they do not have the time or the resources to learn that, not to mention to follow the constantly changing regulations. The costs of having own enterprise are also high. Bartosz mentioned that he needs to be reasonable with his earnings and that there are months when he is satisfied with his financial gains and there are months when he needs to use some of his academic salaries to pay the taxes and other costs imposed on his business, such as the social security. Natalia, who was employed in someone else's translation agency for most of her professional life, stated that there was a short time when she had her own enterprise but she was forced to close it as she was not earning any money; quite the opposite, she needed to invest more money to keep the enterprise afloat.

Natalia was one of the few lucky translators who worked with a translation agency that treated her fairly; she even recalls having a very friendly relationship with the owner of that agency and being taught a lot about conducting her own business. It seems that having an intermediary was a perfect solution in her case: it allowed her to work as a certified translator and receive some financial remuneration for that, simultaneously relieving her of the necessity to convert her help into 'numbers'. Yet most of the other interviewed translators who worked with intermediary translation agencies have mostly had negative experiences. Bartosz stated that they always require the highest standards, impose impossible deadlines, and in the end, pay little. For him, conducting his own business—even though there were months when he was dissipative—was a better solution than cooperating with intermediaries.

Finally, the interviewed translators for whom translation was the primary or the only source of income named one more danger related thereto:

No i gdzieś tam z tyłu głowy cały czas mam to, że jednak samozatrudnienie to nie jest jakaś taka, szczególnie stabilna i fajna ścieżka kariery, nie? (Radosław, M5)

And I constantly have this thought in the back of my head that self-employment is not some kind of a particularly stable and cool career path, right? (Radosław, M5)

This statement issued by Radosław also reveals the reason why so few translators decide to make translation their primary source of livelihood. Having one's own translation agency is quite risky: the costs are high and there is no assurance that there will be enough clients for them to make a living. For instance, Izabela stated that when she had to make the choice between her academic work and translations, she chose the academic work: it was a stable job, a steady source of income that she did not want to give up. Translation, on the other hand, involved many risks with no guarantee that it would ever pay off.

The interviewed translators signalled the necessity to simplify the procedures and the need to reduce the risks related to being a self-employed certified translator. Natalia offers an idea to treat certified translators as court employees and to create a division where certified translators could register, report their remuneration and settle any required taxes and other costs. She perceives it as an ideal situation that would take away from her the responsibility to deal with these financial matters herself or by involving one of her friends who conduct their own business: “takie coś byłoby dla mnie rozwiązaniem moralnych jakiś... moralnych obaw” [“for me, it would be a solution to some moral... moral concerns”].

To conclude, there are not many forms of employment available to certified translators, and those that are available are abundant in formal and institutional obstacles, resulting in the situation when only the determined ones proceed. Furthermore, significant investments are necessary from the very beginning and they remain obligatory, even if one's business does not generate much revenue. Thus, it is necessary to be serious about translation and to play the game seriously from the beginning, though its result is highly unsure, and the investment might be a (costly) failure.

5.4.11 The Mysterious Case of Lost Time

The phrase “I am my own rudder, sailor and vessel” has not been the only repeating expression; there were also numerous phrases related to the time that have repeatedly been appearing throughout many of the interviews. Below is an excerpt from an interview with Izabela, in which the time-related phrases appear in a context that suggests how to interpret them properly:

Patrycja: A to teraz w takim razie jakbym mogła zapytać, co oznacza odnieść sukces w profesji tłumacza?

Izabela (F18): (...) Dla kogoś kto się utrzymuje z tłumaczenia tylko i nie ma innej pracy zarobkowej, no to na pewno osiągnięcie takiego poziomu dochodów, który pozwoli na zapewnienie sobie, czy opłacenie wszystkich potrzeb. Myślę, że dla niektórych to może być to, plus, **znalezienie w tym wszystkim czasu** dla siebie, dla rodziny, także to zależy od każdego inaczej. No dla mnie, no na pewno jakaś tak odpowiednia liczba tłumaczeń, nie za duża, nie za mała, tak żebym mogła pogodzić to z życiem rodzinnym. (...)

P: A kto osiąga sukces w środowisku tłumaczeniowym? Czy są takie osoby?

I: Na pewno tłumacze ustni, tak. Jeśli dużo tłumaczą, to myślę, że osiągają ten sukces finansowy. Ja tak sobie zawsze myślę, że jest jakby pewna poprzeczka, albo pewien limit, bo jest pewna określona liczba stron, którą tłumacz jest w stanie przetłumaczyć, za pomocą CATów czy samodzielnie, na dany dzień, i tego limitu już się nie da w pewnym momencie przeskoczyć, trzeba by pracować 24 h na dobę, a to też nie o to chodzi, tak? To chyba nie jest żaden sukces jak ktoś jest zapracowany i **nie ma czasu** dla siebie i dla rodziny. Być może osiągają sukces dyrektorzy, czy właściciele agencji tłumaczeniowych, czy biur tłumaczeniowych, kiedy oni już sami nie muszą pracować, tylko po prostu tę pracę zlecają i zarządzają nią.

P: A czy dla pani ten element finansowy, sukces finansowy jest ważny w pracy tłumaczeniowej?

I: Jest ważny, natomiast no nie najważniejszy, nie jest to moje jakby główne źródło utrzymania. To nie jest dla mnie problem w tym momencie, jeśli nie osiągam jakiegoś pułapu dochodów z tłumaczenia. Natomiast ważne też jest, żeby ta stawka był jakaś satysfakcjonująca, bo jednak dobre wykonanie tłumaczenia **wymaga czasu**.

Patrycja: And if I could ask now, what does it mean to achieve success in the profession?

Izabela (F18): (...) For someone who lives only off translation and does not have other paid employment, then surely having such a level of earnings that allows them to ensure, or to pay for all the needs. I think that for some it might be this plus **finding there the time** for themselves, for family, so it is different for everyone. For me, it surely is a certain number of translations, not too many, not too few, so that I could reconcile this with family life. (...)

P: And who achieves success in translation? Is there anyone?

I: Definitely interpreters. If they interpret a lot, then I think that they achieve this financial success. I always think that there is some bar or some limit because there is a

certain number of pages that a translator is able to translate, using CATs or on their own, in a day, and this limit cannot be exceeded at a certain point, it would be necessary to work 24h a day, and that's not the point, yes? It is perhaps no success when someone is **time-poor and has no time for** themselves and their family. Perhaps the success is achieved by directors or owners of translation agencies or translation offices; when they do not have work themselves anymore, they just assign work and manage it.

P: And is this financial element, financial success important to you in translation?

I: It is important, however, it is not the most important because it is not a sort of my main source of income. It is not a problem for me right now if I do not achieve a certain level of income from translation. However, it is also important that this fee is kind of satisfactory because performing translation well **requires time**.

Further interesting time-related expressions that occurred in other interviews include: “Nie, nie interesuję się niczym, bo **nie mam czasu żyć**” [“No, I’m not interested in anything because **I have no time to live**” by Radosław, M5], when asked whether he has any concerns regarding his profession or whether there are any current issues that raise his interest, or “Zawsze był **problem ze straconym czasem**” [“There was always **a problem with the wasted time**” by Dominika, F25], when asked about working for the court. There is also another statement issued by Jędrzej (M18), which does not refer directly to time but seems to be closely related to the issues raised by Izabela: “Nie nadaje się na takiego tłumacza, który miałby z tego żyć, bo ja za wolno tłumaczę” [“I’m not cut out to be such a translator, who would be supposed to live off it, because I translate too slowly”].

Perhaps these expressions would be understood best when treated as conceptual metaphors²⁸. In short, the idea of conceptual metaphors was introduced by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their famous work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980/2003), in which they argued that metaphors play a key role in our understanding of the world as they are not the linguistic tools but rather cognitive ones. To distinguish these metaphors structuring our understanding of the world from the common understanding of metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson named them conceptual metaphors.

²⁸ The conceptual metaphors seem fitting for two separate reasons. Firstly, as has already been indicated, the assumptions of cognitive linguistics, the part of which are conceptual metaphors, share a number of assumptions with the theory and methodology offered by Kaufmann (2010). Secondly, Bourdieu (1998/2004) himself employed the analysis of conceptual metaphors to uncover the underlying social mechanisms in his analysis of gender inequality. Among others, he analysed how various mechanisms enforcing male order and perception are inscribed in the language used on an everyday basis, making the order seem natural.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), conceptual metaphors are related to the process of mapping the conceptual domains; thus, the occurring cognitive processes can be perceived as metaphorical on the assumption that certain complex processes and ideas are understood through the prism of other simpler ones. This semantic structure is so deeply rooted in our minds that it may influence not only the perception but also the experience of certain phenomena (Lakoff, 2007, pp. 267-268); however, it should be noted that these metaphors always remain in agreement with the actual experience (Lakoff, 2007, p. 306). Commonly, they are not bounded to one language, which may be partially proven by the translation above. There have been no difficulties in finding similar expressions related to time in both Polish and English. One of the hypotheses claims that the similarities between the languages may be explained by the neural connections that are established in the brain when two conceptual domains are activated simultaneously (e.g. Grady, 2007, p. 194).

Lakoff and Johnson claim that TIME is conceptualised in our culture in three different ways: TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (2003, p. 16). Such conceptualisation of time is quite consistent in many societies as they are organised in a similar manner: time has become a unit for which we are paid (e.g. at work) or for which we pay (e.g. booking a stay in a hotel, paying a telephone bill, going to a therapist). What is more, people are punished by having their time taken away; children are assigned extra after school hours for bad behaviours, whereas adults may be given hours of community service for a misdemeanour up to years for crimes. According to Lakoff and Johnson, “corresponding to the fact that we *act* as if time is a valuable commodity—a limited resource, even money—we *conceive of* time that way. Thus we understand and experience time as the kind of thing that can be spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved or squandered” (1980/2003, p. 16, italics by authors).

The metaphors used by the interviewed translators indicate that they do not have enough time due to their professional activities (they need to “find the time for themselves, for family”) or they may even find themselves in a situation in which they are “time-poor and have no time”. Radosław seems to be in this situation, which is reflected by another time metaphor he uses, “I have no time to live”. While it was a reply to a question concerning his interest in professional matters, the metaphor does reflect more than that; in another part of the interview, Radosław complains that the heavy workload that he has been experiencing for the last several months led to a situation in which he neglects his health and his personal life.

Izabela makes a crucial remark connecting time with the fees; while it is pretty straightforward in the case of interpreters who are paid per hour of interpretation, it is not so

much in the case of written translation. However, it is true that there is only a certain number of pages that one is capable of translating in a working day and that this number drops as the difficulty of a translated text increases. Thus, it seems crucial for translators not to settle for low fees as fees per page translate directly into the hours of their life. Translation, especially high-quality translation, requires time, as Izabela noted. Since translation fees are so low, translators need to be quick to earn enough to make a decent living (as Jędrzej notes, “I’m not cut out to be such a translator, who would be supposed to live off it, because I translate too slowly”), or they need to sacrifice their time that should have been devoted to something else, such as hobbies or even private life.

To sum up, certified translators exchange their time for another currency but, once again, it is revealed that the exchange rates they apply do not seem to be particularly high. Some attempt to save some of their time so that they could spend it with their families but that comes at the cost of their professional life and results in the fact that they do not play the game in all its seriousness. This seems to apply to the interviewed translators who can afford it because they have other sources of income as well and restricting the amount of time they spend on translation does not threaten their financial stability. Those who cannot afford to ration out the time spent on translation—mostly translators for whom their translation agency is their primary employment—seem to take the loss in other spheres of their life and work in extremely unhealthy conditions.

5.4.12 Translators and the Boundaries of Other Fields

This final part of the analysis is also the most tentative one: it is to a significant degree based on claims of certified translators, whereas it concerns translators of other specialisations, who were not interviewed. However, certain speculative hypotheses could be offered as they seem to be in line with other results of this study.

Bourdieu indicated that the relationship with other fields is crucial to the analysis of any field. He placed emphasis on the relationship between the investigated field, the field of power and the economic field, both of which have been presented above. However, the conducted interviews suggest that these are not the only fields that translators come into meaningful contact with: below, I would like to offer a comment on their relationship with the literary field and the legal field.

All of the interviewed translators claimed that they do not feel as if they were translators of literature; while many of them were appreciative of literature and for some literature had a significant impact on their decision to become translators, they stated unanimously that they

translated neither literature nor poetry and that such a task is beyond their competence as they specialise in a different kind of translation. Jędrzej voiced the opinion that the qualifications of certified translators could be useful to any translator except for the literary one, drawing a line between literary translators and translators of other specialisations. However, literary translators seem to be more 'visible' than translators of other specialisations, and they were frequently mentioned in the interviews, unlike others:

Bartosz (M8): Wydaje mi się też, że i innym jakby takim, coś co tłumacze chwala, to jest tłumaczenie literatury, ale nie literatury jakiejś takiej beznadziejnej, jakichś harlekinów, tylko poważnej literatury. Na przykład, tłumaczenie książek Normana Daviesa. To wydaje mi się, że pani profesor Tabakowska i Piotr Pieńkowski uzyskali ogromny szacunek wśród tłumaczy. Magda Heydel też, nie wiem czy znasz, z Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, która tłumaczyła chyba Virginię Woolf.

Patrycja: Tak, tak.

B: No to są osoby, które rzeczywiście mają ogromny szacunek, bo tłumaczą takie rzeczy, których nie tłumaczy się często.

P: Czyli ten prestiż tutaj jest związane poniekąd też z poziomem wyzwania.

B: O tak, zdecydowanie. I z jakością chyba dzieła, które się tłumaczy, nie? Bo niekoniecznie z finansami.

Bartosz (M8): I also think that another thing that translators appreciate is translating literature but not some abysmal literature, some harlequins, but serious literature. For example, translating the books of Norman Davies. And I think that professor Tabakowska and Piotr Pieńkowski gained huge respect among translators. Magda Heydel as well, I don't know if you know her, from the Jagiellonian University, she might have translated Virginia Woolf.

Patrycja: Yes, yes.

B: So these are the people who really enjoy huge respect because they translate things that are not often translated.

P: So the prestige is related somewhat to the level of challenge.

B: Oh yes, definitely. And with the quality of the work they translate, no? Because not necessarily with the finances.

This short excerpt from the interview with Bartosz offers a significant amount of information, the gist of which would be that literary translators seem to follow the logic of the literary field

(Bourdieu, 1992/2001; in Poland, Pałęcka, 2015) and do not play by the same rules as certified translators. The translators whose work is appreciated are the translators of ‘high’ literature or the literature of long-cycle, to use Bourdieu’s term. The more difficult and rarer the translation is, the more respect they gain for performing it. However, the appreciation and respect for their work do not translate into financial gains. On the other hand, Bartosz mentions that he knows few literary translators who are awarded significant income for their work: these are the translators of ‘harlequins’, as he pejoratively calls them, who can translate a book quickly, even within a few weeks, and earn a significant amount of money for that. Thus, the translators who translate the works of the short cycle may enjoy financial success, yet they do not enjoy the respect of others.

The overall mechanism is strikingly similar to the mechanisms discussed by Bourdieu (2001) in regard to the French literature and by Alicja Pałęcka (2015) in regard to the Polish modern literary production. The works of the short cycle are published with the view to quick financial gains; they appear, quickly rise into fame and quickly fall after performing their main goal, i.e. earning money for the publisher and the author. The analysed excerpt from the interview with Bartosz would indicate that translators of such literature are included in the financial gains, yet that the quality does not play a significant role; after all, quality translation requires time, and the short cycle works do not have that time as they age quickly. The works of the long cycle are published with the aim of building and accumulating cultural capital, earning respect and establishing one’s position in the field. Their translation requires a significant amount of time—often years—to be done properly, and the financial gains are insignificant considering the amount of work necessary to complete them. Such arrangements suggest that literary translators also follow the logic of the reversed economy.

It should be noted at this point that all the translators named by Bartosz, i.e. Elżbieta Tabakowska, Piotr Pieńkowski and Magdalena Heydel, are not only literary translators but also well-known academic figures. Elżbieta Tabakowska may be considered one of the most prominent figures in Polish modern translation studies (e.g. *Tłumacząc się z tłumaczenia* from 2009, in which she delivers a concise lecture on the main issues in modern translation studies, drawing from her own experience of translation of Norman Davies’s books) but also a propagator of cognitive linguistics (e.g. *Językoznawstwo kognitywne a poetyka przekładu* published in 2004, in which she presents how cognitive linguistics may be applied for the benefit of translation studies). Piotr Pieńkowski is a publishing academic who has been awarded numerous prestigious scholarships and has had a significant influence on the shaping of new programmes in applied linguistics. Magdalena Heydel is a co-author of one of the key

publications in Polish translation studies (*Współczesne teorie przekładu. Antologia* published in 2009), an active academic researcher, and currently an editor of *Przekładaniec*, one of the very few Polish journals devoted to translation. Thus, a tentative claim could be made that the translators of the long-cycle literature need to have high cultural capital, and a mutual connection between the field of intellectual production and the literary field is established. Academics with high cultural capital are employed to perform such translations, which has a legitimising effect on the long-cycle works and, in turn, allows these academics to strengthen their position in the field of intellectual production and the academic field.

Na przykład, wydaje mi się, że jeśli chodzi o tłumaczy literatury, no to na pewno jest sukcesem jeśli jakaś książka wychodzi i wiadomo, że ten przekład... tego przekładu dokonała ta osoba. Aczkolwiek z tego, co zdążyłem się zorientować, to kwestia przekładu w momencie, jak wychodzi jakaś książka, to jest taka bardzo marginalizowana. Zazwyczaj po prostu wychodzi głośna książka. Wiadomo, kto jest autorem i jest tylko na tam wewnętrznej stronie napisane przełożył ktoś tam. Ale no, myślę, że dla tłumacza to i tak jest ogromna satysfakcja. (Robert, M5)

For example, I think that when it comes to the translators of literature, then it surely is a success when a book is published, and it is known that this translation... this translation has been done by this person. However, from what I see, the issue of translation at the moment of publishing a book is very marginalised. Usually, just some famous book is published. It is known who the author is, and only on the inside page it is written that it has been translated by someone. But I think that for a translator, it is still a great satisfaction. (Robert, M5)

Robert, however, seems to be only partially correct. While the role of a translator seems to be significantly marginalised in the case of the short-cycle works, it is not that common in the case of the long-cycle works. One of the latest examples might be the new translation of *Anne of Green Gables* by Anna Bańkowska. The translation and the author of the new translation have received a significant media coverage; the texts on the new edition and the interviews with the translator were published by *Wysokie Obcasy* (2022), *Onet* (2022), *Dzień Dobry TVN* (2022), *Gazeta.pl* (2022), and many more. It should also be noted that the translation raised so much interest, if not commotion, as it offers a new quality and seems to be revolutionary in comparison to the previous one, which is again reminiscent of the literary field and its rules. Furthermore, it may seem that the literary translators who enjoy the highest respect are the ones

who also publish themselves (for instance, one of the most famous Polish translators, Stanisław Barańczak) or are involved somehow in a literary field.

The claim that literary translators belong, in fact, to the literary field may be substantiated by the other studies on literary translators. The findings of the already quoted study by Heino (2020) suggest that the certified translators who participated in this study and the literary translators who participated in that study do not follow the same rules. The geographical and the social context has to be taken into consideration, and it might be the explaining factor; however, the findings of Heino suggest that the literary translators do not necessarily function in the field of (literary) translation but in the literary field itself. Among others, Heino reports on the importance of having an established relationship with the publishers and on the social capital occupying a high place in the hierarchy of capitals; these findings stand in opposition to the findings from this study and again indicate that translators of literature may follow the rules binding the literary field.

What is more, many of the statements issued by the interviewed certified translators indicate that the translators see themselves as belonging to the legal field:

Ja nie działam w niczyim interesie, ja nie działam ani w interesie tego kto mnie wynajął, co z tego, że on mnie wynajął, ale ja tłumaczę co jest, a nie dlatego, że mnie ktoś wynajął. Jestem wynajęty do tłumaczenia aktu notarialnego, to ja nie będę tłumaczył tego aktu, żeby to było na korzyść tego wynajmującego. Tylko ja tłumaczę co jest w akcie notarialnym, ja nie jestem jego sługą. Jeżeli on powie: „Ja rezygnuję z pana usług”, no to dobra, to rezygnuje z moich usług, jeżeli się nie podoba to co ja tłumaczę. Ale tutaj postrzegam najważniejsze, na tym w ogóle polega sens funkcjonowania tłumacza przysięgłego, to jestem obiektywny. I po to jest ten tłumacz przysięgły, żeby nie było żadnych macherek. (Jędrzej, M18)

I don't act in anyone's interest, I do not act in the interest of the person who hires me, so what that he hired me, I translate what is there and not because I was hired by someone. I am hired to translate a notarial deed, and then I won't translate this deed so that it would be to the benefit of the person who hired me. Only, I translate what is in the notarial deed, I am not his servant. If he says: "I resign from your service", then fine, he resigns from my service if he does not like what I translate. But what I perceive to be key here, that is, in general, the point of the certified translator's functioning is that I'm objective. And that's why there is a certified translator so that there are no cons. (Jędrzej, M18)

Therefore, it seems that certified translators see themselves as part of the legal field and view their profession as controlling or even upholding the law. Jędrzej was not the only person who maintained such a view. When discussing the issues with the prestige of certified translator, Bartosz stated: “Wiesz co, właśnie mi się wydaje, że to wynika z tego, że ten zawód tłumacza nie jest jeszcze wciąż, przysięgłego, nie jest wciąż traktowany tak bardzo poważnie jak inne zawody prawnicze” [“You know, actually I think that this results from the fact that this profession of a translator is still not, a certified translator, is still not treated as seriously as other legal professions”]. A similar remark was uttered by Robert or Hanna, who also claimed that a certified translator is still often not appreciated enough by other legal professions. Róża recalls how distinguished she felt when she had been sworn by the President of the Court and how it felt right to be a part of the independent, judiciary branch. The strong connection they see between themselves and the legal field reveals itself in numerous other contexts: for instance, even when Natalia offers the idea of allowing certified translators to conduct their business as part of the court.

Therefore, a very tentative claim could be made that translators, rather than functioning within one field of translation, operate within the fields they specialise in: certified translators in the legal field, literary translators in the literary field, etc. A similar claim has been made by Minhui Xu and Chi Yu Chu (2015), who observed a convergence of the *habitus* between the professionals working in one field and the translators specialising therein.

5.5 Conclusion

To conclude, the profession of a certified translator in Poland appears to have extremely high requirements for potential candidates. The educational paths of the interviewed respondents suggest that they are expected to accumulate significant cultural capital long before they can even attempt to pass the state exam. Though there are signs of changes regarding translator education in Poland, it still seems that major investments (financial and time-related) must be made without any guarantee of becoming a sworn translator in the end. Furthermore, it could be hypothesised that certain key knowledge and competencies may be gathered only through translator training: via a master-apprentice relationship. Participation in an apprenticeship restricts access to the profession even further: it requires more time and often more economic capital spent, as it pays poorly. Therefore, only those who have such a currency at their disposal can risk and continue following this complex educational path. The culmination point may be represented by the state exam: an extremely difficult exam performing a gate-keeping function in the profession. As could have been expected, the introduction of the exam has led to

professionalisation and other dynamic changes. However, there seems to be high support for the exam, and even though there are translators voicing the need to change the form or certain aspects of the exam, it is viewed as bringing mostly positive consequences. It is all the more surprising as the exam (and consequently, gate-keeping) appears to be controlled by the state, not by the certified translators themselves.

Three elements of *illusio* have been identified on the basis of the conducted interviews: the accumulation of cultural capital, the obligation to assist the state and its representatives, and the possibility to offer real help to individuals in dire life circumstances. The emphasis on the cultural capital appears to be so considerable that other capitals are neglected. While the interviewed translators indicated that they are interested in gathering more economic capital, the social capital has rarely been mentioned throughout the interviews. The low value of the social capital permeates from some of the statements issued during the interview but it becomes nearly palpable considering the snowball and how it failed to roll both vertically and horizontally, resulting in the fact that only 10 translators participated in the study. The motivations and the *habitus* of the interviewed sworn translators indicate that they may follow the logic of reversed economic capital, similar to that prevailing in the literary field. The reversed economy may also be related to the premises indicating that translators take weak, or dominated, positions in their respective professional fields. It seems that the extremely high cultural capital, while exploited by the field of power, is devaluated, and the translators are denied the possibility of translating their cultural capital into the economic one. The restrictions in this matter go as far as to assume the institutional form of the ordinance on the translator fees. Some translators choose to professionally work in other fields instead—for instance, the academic field—where they are allowed to capitalise on their cultural capital.

Finally, certified translators struggle with a dual perception of translation. Outside of the profession, certified translations are often considered to be necessary, yet not particularly valuable or requiring particular skills, not to say ‘worthless’. Inside the profession, the prevailing view seems to be connected to the idea of ‘invaluable’ or ‘priceless’ translation, which may be the result of the lack of exchange rates between the cultural capital and other capitals, as well as the links made between the certified translation and motives that are generally considered in the society as invaluable. The dual perception of certified translation results in the deprivation of economic capital to the translators. Furthermore, the former view of translation reflects on the translators themselves and affects their prestige. While the interviewed translators offer many rationalisations concerning their low prestige (e.g. the lack of the exam in past, unskilled and unethical translators in the profession), none of them

considers the hypothesis that it might be in the best interest of the state and the field of power to keep their prestige low and to force them into submissive positions, making them vulnerable and easy to exploit.

When the literary field started to emerge, the authors followed the reversed economy to express their refusal to follow the same aesthetics and rules as those propagated by the dominating social class. In this case, the reverse economy could be interpreted differently. Due to the fact that certified translators accumulate in their life extreme amounts of cultural capital, they are considered to belong to the field of power. Simultaneously, they are incapable of assuming any positions of power therein: it is in the best interest of the field of power to keep them in low, powerless positions and to dominate them. They are instilled impractical illusion that makes them stay in the field of power but discourages them from engaging in any fights that could empower them; they remain submissive and participate in the game by accepting the rules and the stakes.

Below there is a table summarising the findings from this qualitative study and linking them to the concepts offered by Bourdieu in the analysis of a field.

Table 5.1

Main Findings of the Study

| Bourdieu's Concepts | Study Findings |
|---------------------|---|
| Social Capital | It appears to be placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of the capitals, which may be evidenced by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the snowball that failed to roll; – an underdeveloped social network between certified translators; – lack of support network; – lack of role models or role models from one's immediate environment. |
| Cultural Capital | It possibly constitutes the top of the hierarchy of capitals, which may be supported by the claim that gathering cultural capital appears to be inscribed in the translator's illusion; Its significant amount is required to enter the profession, which is verified by the state exam; While a financial investment may be necessary to gather enough cultural capital to enter the profession and the game, it |

| | |
|--|---|
| | <p>does not seem to be possible to easily convert cultural capital back into economic capital;</p> <p>Cultural capital of translators seems to be the subject of other games: it is often devaluated when it serves a purpose in another game, which may contribute to their feeling of uncertainty and self-doubt.</p> |
| <p>Economic Capital and the Economic Field</p> | <p>Economic capital may represent certain internal tensions as it appears to be placed low in the hierarchy of capitals, yet many translators voiced the need to change such arrangement of capitals;</p> <p>Its significant investment is often necessary even before entering the profession (e.g. to finance the post-graduate studies or the state exam);</p> <p>Numerous practices described by translators suggest its external (e.g. regulation of the fees by the state) and internal (e.g. dumping practices, deeply rooted protest against viewing translation as a means of earning financial gains) devaluation, which may be further interpreted as the peripheral position of certified translators in the economic field;</p> <p>Translators potentially lack exchange rates that would allow them to convert other capitals they have accumulated into economic capital;</p> <p>Possible reverse economy logic may occur, similar to the literary field (i.e. economic capital is devaluated in favour of cultural capital and assigning financial value to translation might make it lose its value in general).</p> |
| <p><i>Illusio</i></p> | <p>It seems to comprise three main elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – viewing translation and the possibility to accumulate more cultural capital as a reward itself; – feeling obliged to fulfil one’s duties towards the state represented mostly by the judiciary and the law enforcement authorities; – being able to provide help to the people in need, which seems to make the translators feel needed and in place, indicating that the internal (<i>habitus</i>) and external social structures correspond to each other. |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Academic Field | <p>It is one of the fields translators seem to come into contact with most frequently; two main tendencies occur:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – some translators use the academic field to raise their cultural capital further and to validate their competencies by acquiring institutionalised cultural capital (e.g. academic titles, publications); – some translators work primarily in the academic field and they use there the cultural capital they gathered through their work as certified translators. |
| Field of Power/Legal Field | <p>Access thereto is secured by the high cultural capital; Translators seem to be assigned peripheral positions in the field, in which they are denied any power; nevertheless, the certified translators appear to view themselves as belonging to the legal field; Symbolic violence is possibly exerted in the field against translators; There are signs indicating passive resistance of translators (e.g. avoiding state commissions).</p> |
| Exclusion from the Profession | <p>Exclusion occurs on two levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – accusations towards translators who did not pass the state exam, claiming that they have lower competencies in terms of translation techniques and technology and they are to be blamed for the low prestige and poor image of certified translators; defamatory rumours circulating; – accusations towards translators of other specialisations and non-specialised translators, claiming that they not uphold the professional standards. |
| Gatekeeping | <p>It is most palpable in the form of the state exam that must be passed in order to be given the rights to perform certified translation; It occurs on a centralised state level; It appears to be positively viewed by translators, restricting access to the profession to persons without proper skills;</p> |

Some voiced the opinion that changes should be introduced, such as the separation of the written and the oral part of the exam.

Seriousness in Playing the Game

Not many translators are completely serious about the profession, which is reflected in:

- refusing to complete certain commissions (state commissions in particular) due to their other work obligations;
- being incapable or unwilling to further develop cultural capital or translator competencies.

Lack of seriousness may be related to the only available form of employment, i.e. self-employment, which is risky and costly, and requires significant financial investment without any guarantee that it will ever pay back.

Source: own study, PK.

All these findings suggest that perhaps instead of searching for evidence supporting the existence (or rather emergence, as has been expected) of the translation field, the optics should be turned to the functioning of translators in their respective adjacent fields. This claim is further supported by the fact that many of the interviewed certified translators saw themselves as belonging to the legal field and being the representatives of a legal profession.

As a final comment, I would like to emphasise again that all these claims and hypotheses are tentative in their nature. The sample was not perhaps insignificant and allowed us to uncover certain mechanisms and deepen the understanding of certain processes. Nevertheless, it is not enough to state anything with certainty, and more research, preferably both qualitative and quantitative, would be required. These results could serve as the basis for designing a questionnaire as they suggest some optics: the next step could be to verify how widespread these perceptions are. The interviews could also be repeated, after slight alternations, with the translators representing other specialisations in order to compare the initial results and confirm whether the assumed differences in the logic they follow do occur.

Conclusion

To sum up, the sociological undertones had been present in translation studies long before the sociological turn was announced. The careful examination of the theories discussed in the first chapter—“System Theories and Sociological Undertones in Translation Studies”—indicates a growing inclination towards the social aspects of translation as well as towards sociology in general. What is more, the system theories in translation studies and the field theory offered by Pierre Bourdieu appear to share certain common roots and characteristics, which might explain why this sociological theory, out of thousands of others, has become immensely widespread in the sociology of translation. The key difference lies in the fact that, while translational system theories were commonly disassociated from practice and failed to include the human agent in the system, resulting in models where things would just ‘happen’, Bourdieu advocated constant confrontation of the theory and practice in order to establish strong links between these two, which would be rooted in the verified facts.

The elements shared by the translational system theories and the field theory are not the only argument supporting the transfer of the field theory onto the grounds of translation studies. Bourdieu’s investigation concerning the field of literature in France (1992/2001) indicates numerous parallels between the translators and the writers. What is more, Bourdieu himself argued that the field theory is universal and may serve to investigate many aspects of social reality. Not only did he perform various field studies in which he investigated the social class, the academic field, or education and its role in the reproduction of social structures, but also his studies have successfully been replicated throughout the world (in Poland, e.g. Pałęcka, 2015). Finally, the field theory places emphasis on the social agents, how they shape social structures and how they are shaped by the social structures. Thus, the application of the field theory may allow shedding more light on the figure of a translator that has been not given sufficient attention and credit for many years.

Simultaneously, it should be noted that the field theory is not the only sociological theory that could benefit translation studies. In this thesis, the concept of Kaufmann’s understanding (comprehensive) interview as well as Goffman’s theory on social roles are also applied to support the analysis of the empirical material.

While the study proposed herein was originally designed with the goal of investigating the existence of the translation field in Poland, due to time and resource constraints, it had to be reduced to the examination of the social space(s) in which certified translators function. The

study was based on the empirical material gathered through semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with certified translators of the English language.

The study involved only 10 certified translators of the English language, thus it should be kept in mind that all conclusions presented below are tentative. Simultaneously, certain reoccurring themes, patterns and expressions allow for suspecting that the material reached a satisfying saturation level.

The very number of the study participants and the fact that the snowball failed to roll are indicative of the social capital and its place in the hierarchy of capitals. It may be hypothesised that the social capital is not assigned high value among certified translators as it was rarely mentioned by them and the development of snowball sampling indicated that the social network between certified translators is underdeveloped. On the other hand, there is evidence that the cultural capital is valued the highest out of all the capitals available to certified translators. The need to constantly gather more cultural capital even seems to constitute translator's *illusio*, thus the shared belief that the “game” they play is meaningful and worth making investments. A significant amount of the cultural capital appears to be a requirement that a potential candidate for a certified translator has to fulfil in order to be assigned the rights to lawfully perform the duties; it is verified during the state exam. As a result of such an arrangement, many candidates for certified translators make financial investments to gather enough cultural capital, e.g. they attend fee-based post-graduate studies offering specialisation in certified translation. Simultaneously, it does not seem that entering the profession grants them the possibility of converting that cultural capital back into economic capital. Finally, the economic capital may be considered to display certain internal tensions accompanying translators and may be subject to power struggles. While certified translators seem to follow the reversed logic similar to the one described by Bourdieu as characterising the literary field—i.e. they follow the unwritten rule stating that high economic capital devaluates the cultural capital—careful examination indicates that translators are dissatisfied with the current arrangements and would like to change it, yet they lack in resources and power to do so. Furthermore, the interviewed translators described both internal and external practices, such as the regulation of the fees by the state and retaining their low values or the dumping of the prices by other translators, which further devalue the economic capital but also suggest that certified translators occupy peripheral positions in the economic field.

The restricted access to the profession is embodied in the form of the centralised state exam. While some of the interviewed translators expressed the opinion that certain elements of the exam should be changed—for instance, the oral and the written part of the exam should be

separated—the exam has unanimously been viewed as a positive change that restricts access to the persons who do not possess proper qualifications and that may potentially improve the status and the working conditions of the certified translators.

The *illusio* of certified translators appears to encompass three elements: firstly, translators view translation as an opportunity to gather more cultural capital and a reward itself. Secondly, they feel obliged to offer their services to the representatives of the state administration, in particular to the judiciary and the law enforcement authorities. While the obligation is inscribed in the duties of certified translators, it should be emphasised that the interviewed translators indicated that they feel a need that comes from within them and indicated that they often complete commercial commissions in order to support themselves financially and complete low-paid commissions for the state representatives. Thirdly, the translators feel the need to provide help to other individuals who find themselves in difficult life situations. They are often ready to give up their financial gains to support strangers. The last element of *illusio* seems to be an example of a situation, in which the correspondence between the *habitus* (internalised social structures) and the external social structures is particularly visible.

Owing to the fact that certified translators struggle to gather economic capital or to translate the cultural capital into the economic one, they seem to frequently come into contact with the academic field. Two main patterns may be identified: on the one hand, some translators enter the academic field in order to raise even more cultural capital as well as to coin what they have already gathered into institutionalised cultural capital, which is readable to everyone outside their profession (e.g. by pursuing an academic career to gain academic titles). On the other hand, some translators seem to use the profession to gather cultural capital, whereas they primarily invest it in the academic field.

It seems that not many translators play the “game of translation” with all seriousness and they tend to treat the profession of a certified translator as auxiliary to their primary profession. This lack of seriousness may be related to the fact that translators are not presented with many forms of employment; it occurs that self-employment is the only plausible option. However, self-employment implies further financial investments that may never profit and incurs numerous risks. Therefore, certified translators frequently work in other, usually related, professions as well. This may result in them being incapable of further developing their translator competencies or refusing to accept certain commissions (mostly state commissions).

Struggling with all these difficulties, certified translators openly indicate whom they view as guilty of their situation and whom they would like to exclude from the profession.

Firstly, they accuse translators who had been sworn before the state exam was introduced, claiming that these translators display lower competencies and are partially to be blamed for the poor image and low status of the certified translators. These accusations sometimes assume the form of defamatory rumours. Secondly, certified translators accuse translators of other specialisations and non-specialised translators who did not have to pass the exam, stating that they often act in an unprofessional manner.

All these findings suggest that the translation field in Poland may not exist or that the certified translators are not part thereof; this argument is supported by the fact that the certified translators view themselves as the representatives of a legal profession and as belonging to the legal field. Simultaneously, it should be emphasised that they seem to be given access only to peripheral positions in the field and to be denied any power. All the more surprising, some of the events described by the certified translators in the interviews could be interpreted in terms of symbolic violence exerted against them.

It should be underlined one more time that all these findings are tentative and should be treated in terms of rules or absolute truths uncovered by the study. This small-scale study may not have provided ‘hard’ evidence for or against the existence of the translational field in Poland, yet it may serve as the basis for designing further research in future. Two potential directions could be explored in research. Firstly, this qualitative study could serve to design a questionnaire for certified translators. The in-depth study presented here indicates what are the stances of certified translators or the maladies they experience. Quantitative research designed on such a basis could verify how widespread these points of view and issues are among translators; perhaps translators would be more willing to share their experiences through a survey study. Secondly, the qualitative study in the form of individual in-depth interviews could be repeated with translators of other specialisations, for instance, the medical translators, the literary translators, the interpreters, etc. That could potentially provide the grounds for the comparison between the translators of different specialisations and could lead to either supporting or falsifying the hypothesis offered in this thesis: that translators possibly function in the fields pertinent to their specialisation and assume peripheral positions therein rather than constitute a wider field of translation.

Finally, I would like to indicate that the interdisciplinary cooperation between translation studies and sociology might prove beneficial not only to translation studies but to sociology as well. Some of the study participants mentioned during the interviews that various types of documents often come in ‘waves’, which reflect certain changes in society, for instance, a significant number of documents regarding unpaid child support in the 1990s or an

abundance of vehicle documents when the EU regulations regarding the car import changed. What is more, these observations were supplemented with stories on certain practices that supplemented these ‘waves’ of documents; not all of them being completely legal. Therefore, not only sociology might offer a new perspective in translation studies but also translation studies might offer a new perspective on social events and trends.

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Appendix: Interview dispositions (in Polish)

I. Jak to się stało, że została pan/i tłumaczem (przysięgłym)?

I a. Jakie studia pan/i ukończył/a? Czy miały one coś wspólnego z tłumaczeniami, z takim sprofilowaniem? A może jakieś zawodowe certyfikaty? Czy od początku planował(a) pan/i pójść na takie studia, czy może w trakcie studiów zmienił(a) pan/i decyzję? Jeśli tak, jak to się stało? Jaki zawód chciał(a) pan/i wykonywać?

I b. Czy i jak studia przygotowały pana/panią do zawodu?

II 1 [for the respondents who did not graduate specialised studies]

II 1a Czy wie pan/i, że teraz są takie sprofilowane studia? Co pan/i o nich sądzi? Jak przyuczył(a) się pan/i do zawodu?

II 2 [for the respondents who graduated specialised studies]

II 2a Czy i jak uczący na uczelniach przygotowali pana/panią do zawodu?

II 2b. Jakie zasady (etyczne) uprawiania zawodu zostały pani/u przekazane?

II 2c. Co dały pani/u sprofilowane studia? Czy były one konieczne?

II 3 [for the respondents who passed the state exam]

II 3a. Co dał pani/u egzamin na tłumacza przysięgłego?

II 3b. Co myśli pan/i o takich osobach, które świadczą na rynku usługi tłumaczeniowe, a nie ukończyli wyspecjalizowanych/sprofilowanych studiów? Nie zdali egzaminu zawodowego?

II 4 [for the respondents teaching translation]

II 4a. Co sprofilowane studia dają studentom?

II 4b. Jak wygląda takie sprofilowane kształcenie?

II 4c. Czy czerpie pan/pani ze swojego doświadczenia zawodowego w procesie kształcenia innych?

II 4d. W jaki sposób transferuje pan/pani swoje doświadczenie w obszar kształcenia?

II 4e. Czego konkretnie dotyczą przekazywane studentom doświadczenia?

III a. Czy wszyscy tłumacze powinni kończyć wyspecjalizowane studia?

III b. Czy powinno się mimo ukończenia takich studiów zdawać egzaminy zawodowe?

III c Z kim pan/pani, by nie współpracował/a? Czego pan/i oczekuje od tłumacza/współpracownika?

IV Jakimi rodzajami tłumaczeń zajmował i zajmuje się pan/pani w swojej pracy tłumacza?

IV a. Jakie inne zlecenia, poza tłumaczeniami poświadczonymi, przyjmuje pan/i?

IV b. Jaki rodzaj tłumaczeń uważa pan/i za najtrudniejszy? Jakie było pana/i najtrudniejsze zlecenie? Jaki rodzaj tłumaczenia uważa pan/i za najbardziej wymagający w kwestii umiejętności, doświadczenia i wcześniejszego przygotowania?

IV c. Które zlecenia uważa pan/i za najważniejsze?

IV d. Który typ zleceń odpowiada panu/i najmniej? Czy zdarza się panu/i odmówić przyjęcia zlecenia?

V Jacy klienci przychodzą do pana/i najczęściej?

V a. Jakich klientów uznaje pan/i za najtrudniejszych? Jakich za najłatwiejszych?

V b. Jakie wyniosła pan/i doświadczenia z dotychczasowej współpracy z sądami i policją?

VI Co oznacza „odnieść” sukces w pana/i profesji? Kto go odnosi?

VI a. Jaki rodzaj tłumaczeń jest najbardziej prestiżowy w środowisku?

VI b. Kto osiąga sukces finansowy w pana/i profesji? Czy uważa pan/i sukces finansowy za ważny element swojej pracy/pracy tłumaczy?

VI c. Jaki rodzaj tłumaczeń jest najbardziej lukratywny (opłacalny, zyskowny, korzystny ekonomicznie, przynoszący wysoki dochód)?

VI d. Czy jest jakaś część rynku, gdzie jest bardzo trudno znaleźć zlecenie lub pracę, a która jest opłacalna/oblegana?

VII Proszę opowiedzieć o swoich pierwszych doświadczeniach związanych z zawodem oraz o obecnej praktyce/pracy. Jak wygląda dzień codzienny w pana/i pracy?

VII a. Jakie są pana/i najlepsze doświadczenia związane z wykonywaniem pracy tłumacza (z rozpoczęciem pracy w zawodzie, zatrudnieniem/zatrudnianiem się, zatrudnianiem kogoś/współpracą, zdobywaniem klientów)?

VII b. Jakie są pana/i najgorsze doświadczenia związane z wykonywaniem pracy tłumacza (z rozpoczęciem pracy w zawodzie, zatrudnieniem/zatrudnianiem się, zatrudnianiem kogoś/współpracą, zdobywaniem klientów)?

VIII Jakie wybory zawodowe i doświadczenia uważa pan/i za najważniejsze/istotne [ważne/istotne momenty w zawodzie]?

IX Kogo pan/i podziwia? Czy ktoś jest dla pana/i autorytetem zawodowym?

X Czy ma pan/i jakieś plany dotyczące własnego rozwoju zawodowego? Czego one dotyczą i na czym polegają?

XI Kiedy, według pani/a, dobrze uprawiałaaby się ten zawód/pracowałoby się? Kiedy/w jakich warunkach najlepiej panu/i najlepiej pracowało/pracuje się?

XI a. Czy wzbudzają pana/i zainteresowanie rozstrzygnięcia o charakterze politycznym, które mogą mieć wpływ na praktykę zawodową tłumaczy?

XI b. Które dokumenty [regulacje prawne] są dla pana/pani najważniejsze [w pracy zawodowej]?

XII Jakie zasady [etyczne] uważa pan/i za najważniejsze w swojej pracy zawodowej?

XII a. Czy słyszał(a) pan/i o kimś, kto zostałby ukarany przez środowisko za nieprofesjonalne zachowanie?

Summary in English

This doctoral thesis titled *The Construction of the Translational Field in Poland* falls into the category of translation studies and explores the paradigm of the sociology of translation, focusing on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and the new perspective on translators and translations that the said theory offers. A qualitative study based on the interviews with certified translators of the English language has been conducted, in which a hypothesis commonly repeated in the sociology of translation—that the translation field exists—serves as a starting point. The study aims to capture the fundamental elements of the field indicated by Bourdieu (*habitus*, *illusio*, capital, *nomos*, etc.) through the exploration of social space(s) in which the certified translators function.

The chapter comprises an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, references and an appendix. The first chapter is devoted to the system and socio-cultural theories in translation. The common roots and similarities between the discussed translation theories and Bourdieu's field theory are indicated, following the growing interest of translation studies in sociology and social aspects in translation. The explored concepts encompass the polysystem theory by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990a, 1990b, 1990c), refraction (or rewriting) theory (1982/2012) and the cultural capital in translation (1998) by André Lefevre, or norms in translation as presented by Gideon Toury (1995), Theo Hermans (1995, 1997/2009), and Andrew Chesterman (1993/2017a, 2006/2017b). This chapter is supplemented with a historical perspective on translation studies (Bassnett, 1991; Gentzler, 2014).

The second chapter presents Pierre Bourdieu's field theory with the focus placed on the literary field. The chapter begins by introducing key assumptions applied by Bourdieu in his research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001), followed by the discussion concerning the basic concepts used by Bourdieu, such as the field, *habitus*, *nomos*, *doxa*, *illusio* or capital. Further sections of this chapter introduce the field theory. The discussion is based on the study concerning the literary field (Bourdieu, 1992/2001). The elements that Bourdieu considered to be key in the field studies are indicated as well as potential traps awaiting a researcher. The attempt is made to relate Bourdieu's methodological comments with studies on translation.

The third chapter is methodological and focuses on an interview playing a double role of both the tool and the method. The chapter introduces the methods in social research, sampling methods, types of interviews, and approaches to the analysis of the material gathered through the application of individual in-depth interview. The solutions applied in this study are indicated

and justified. Particular attention is devoted to the approach to the in-depth interviews and their analysis offered by Pierre Bourdieu (1996) and Jean-Claude Kaufmann (2007/2010).

The fourth chapter comprises an original research project applying individual in-depth interviews with certified translators. The emphasis is placed on the elements derived from Bourdieu's field theory, which were sought in the interviews conducted with the certified translators of the English language. These elements are reformulated in such a way as to offer questions that may potentially be asked to the respondents during an interview. The interview dispositions constitute Appendix 1 herein.

The fifth chapter offers an analysis of the empirical material obtained from the interviews conducted with the certified translators of the English language. In the analysis, the notions of capital, *illusio* or *habitus* are applied, and the attempt is made to understand and deepen the knowledge of the social space(s) in which certified translators function as well as to offer a preliminary answer to the question as to whether the field of translation exists. The chapter opens with a researcher's 'methodological diary', in which particular stages of the study are discussed along with the encountered issues and the applied solutions. The second part of the chapter comprises the analysis of empirical material, which is ordered in accordance with the main themes reoccurring during the interviews. The raised issues encompass the education of certified translators; the state exam for certified translators, as well as the experiences related thereto and its perception; *illusio* and *habitus* of the certified translators; relations between the translators and the field of power; the perceived value of certified translations and the work of certified translators as well as related thereto status of the certified translators; the phenomenon of exclusion from the profession; the hierarchy of capitals and the possible exchange rates; or the relations with the economic field. The chapter also presents the analysis of expressions that have been repeated by the respondents throughout the conducted interviews.

The thesis ends with a conclusion formulated on the basis of the analysis of the individual in-depth interviews with certified translators. While the conducted study did not comprise a number of participants that would allow for making generalisations, the obtained results do suggest that in the case of the certified translators, the translation field in Poland does not exist; these translators rather belong to the fields in which they function due to their specialisation. The conclusion also offers ideas concerning further studies on the translational field and translators in Poland, including a survey study and in-depth interviews with translators of other specialisations.

Summary in Polish

Rozprawa doktorska zatytułowana „Konstrukcja pola tłumaczeniowego w Polsce” jest pracą z zakresu przekładoznawstwa, która eksploruje paradygmat socjologii tłumaczenia. Jej autorka skupia się przede wszystkim na teorii pola Pierre’a Bourdieu oraz nowej perspektywie ujmowania tłumaczy i tłumaczenia, jakie ta teoria oferuje. Wychodząc od powszechnie powtarzanej w socjologii tłumaczenia hipotezie, że pole tłumaczeniowe istnieje, zaproponowano badanie jakościowe, oparte na wywiadach z tłumaczami przysięgłymi języka angielskiego. Celem badania jest uchwycenie podstawowych elementów pola wskazanych przez Bourdieu (takich, jak *habitus*, *illusio*, kapitał, *nomos*, itd.) poprzez eksplorację przestrzeni społecznych, w których zawodowo funkcjonują tłumacze przysięgli.

Rozprawa składa się ze wstępu, pięciu rozdziałów, wniosków, bibliografii oraz aneksu. Pierwszy rozdział został poświęcony teoriom systemowym oraz społeczno-kulturowym w przekładzie. Zostały wskazane wspólne korzenie oraz podobieństwa między teoriami przekładoznawczymi a teorią pola Bourdieu. Prześladowano także rosnące zainteresowanie socjologią oraz aspektami społecznymi w tłumaczeniu. Omówione zagadnienia obejmują teorię polisystemów Itamara Even-Zohara (1990a, 1990b, 1990c), refrakcję (1982/2012) oraz kapitał kulturowy w przekładzie (1998) André Lefevere’a, normy w przekładzie Gideona Toury’ego (1995), Theo Hermansa (1995, 1997/2009) czy Andrew Chestermana (1993/2017a, 2006/2017b). Rozdział został uzupełniony historycznym ujęciem przekładoznawstwa (Bassnett, 1980/1991; Gentzler, 2014).

Drugi rozdział przedstawia teorię pola Pierre’a Bourdieu, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem pola literackiego. Rozdział rozpoczyna się przedstawieniem kluczowych założeń, na których Bourdieu opierał się w swojej pracy badawczej (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992/2001). Następnie zostają omówione podstawowe pojęcia, którymi Bourdieu posługiwał się w swojej pracy: pole, *habitus*, *nomos*, *doxa*, *illusio* czy kapitał. W kolejnych częściach rozdziału zostaje zaprezentowana teoria pola. Jej omówienie jest oparte na badaniach dotyczących pola literackiego (Bourdieu, 1992/2001). Zostają wskazane elementy, które Bourdieu uważał za kluczowe w badaniach pola oraz potencjalne pułapki czyhające na badacza. Dokonano także próby przeniesienia wskazówek metodologicznych Bourdieu na grunt przekładoznawstwa.

Trzeci rozdział ma charakter metodologiczny i skupia się na wywiadzie w podwójnej roli: narzędzi i metody. Zostały w nim przedstawione metody w badaniach społecznych,

metody doboru próby, typy wywiadów oraz sposoby analizy materiału pozyskanego z wykorzystaniem indywidualnego wywiadu pogłębionego. Wskazano także rozwiązania zastosowane w badaniu zaprezentowanym w rozdziale piątym wraz z ich uzasadnieniem. Szczególna uwaga została poświęcona interpretacji i rozumieniu wywiadów pogłębionych w ujęcie Pierre'a Bourdieu (1996) oraz Jean-Claude'a Kaufmanna (2007/2010).

Czwarty rozdział prezentuje autorski projekt badania empirycznego z wykorzystaniem wywiadu pogłębionego. Wskazano w nim elementy wyprowadzone z teorii pola Bourdieu, których poszukiwano podczas wywiadów przeprowadzonych z tłumaczami przysięgłymi języka angielskiego. Elementy te zostały skonceptualizowane, a następnie zoperacjonalizowane w postaci potencjalnych pytań, które można było zadać respondentom podczas wywiadu. Dyspozycje do wywiadu stanowią Załącznik 1 do rozprawy.

Ostatni rozdział przedstawia analizę materiału empirycznego pozyskanego przy pomocy wywiadów przeprowadzonych z tłumaczami przysięgłymi języka angielskiego. Podczas analizy autorka dysertacji posługuje się takimi pojęciami, jak kapitał, *illusio*, *habitus*, podejmując próbę zrozumienia i pogłębienia wiedzy o przestrzeniach społecznych, w których poruszają się tłumacze przysięgli, oraz udzielenia wstępnej odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy istnieje pole tłumaczeniowe. Rozdział otwiera swego rodzaju „pamiętnik metodologiczny” badacza, w którym przedstawione zostają poszczególne etapy badania wraz z napotkanymi problemami i podjętymi rozwiązaniami. Drugą część rozdziału stanowi analiza materiału empirycznego uporządkowana według wątków pojawiających się najczęściej w przeprowadzonych wywiadach. Odnoszą się one do edukacji tłumaczy przysięgłych, egzaminu państwowego na tłumacza przysięgłego, doświadczeń z nim związanych oraz jego postrzegania, *illusio* tłumaczy przysięgłych oraz ich *habitusów*, relacji pomiędzy tłumaczami a polem władzy, postrzegania wartości tłumaczenia oraz pracy tłumacza, a także do związanego z tym statusu tłumacza przysięgłego, zjawiska wykluczenia z zawodu, hierarchii kapitałów i możliwych stawek oraz wymiany kapitałów czy relacji z polem ekonomicznym. Rozdział został uzupełniony o analizę językoznawczą wyrażen powtarzających się w przeprowadzonych wywiadach.

Pracę zamykają wnioski sformułowane na podstawie analizy wywiadów pogłębionych z tłumaczami przysięgłymi. Badaniem objęło zbyt małą liczbę respondentów, by można sformułować generalizacje o charakterze empirycznym. Jednak jego rezultaty sugerują, iż pole tłumaczeniowe – jeśli idzie o tłumaczy przysięgłych w Polsce – nie istnieje, a tłumacze ci przynależą raczej do pól, w których funkcjonują z racji swojej specjalizacji. Przedstawiono również możliwe kierunki dalszych badań nad polem tłumaczeniowym oraz tłumaczami w Polsce, w tym badanie sondażowe oraz wywiady pogłębione z tłumaczami innych specjalizacji.