An Ode to Interdisciplinary Research: On the Example of Qualitative Study with Certified Translators

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ABSTRACT

Aim. The aim of this paper is to discuss selected interdisciplinary threads that emerged from a qualitative study with Polish certified translators of English. While the overarching aim of the study was to explore the social space(s) in which certified translators function, the inquiry revealed many other issues reaching beyond the original scope of the study.

Methods. The material for the study was gathered through in-depth interviews with ten certified English translators. The framework for the study was offered by Bourdieusian field theory (Bourdieu, 2001), following the example of the literary field, and the concept of understanding interview (Kaufmann, 2001).

Results. The results are categorised into five perspectives that can be taken in the study. The methodological section tackles the sampling issue and how sample development may be highly informative. The educational section presents translators' reflections and needs related to their education. The linguistic section shows how cognitive linguistics may be used to deepen the interpretation of collected material. The communicative perspective focuses on how interviews allow for an in-depth contextualisation of communication-related difficulties. The sociological perspective discusses the results as interpreted with the field theory.

Conclusions. Interdisciplinarity, though it is sometimes considered an overused concept, may still bring novel perspectives and lead to valuable findings. The discussed study with certified translators shows how respect for other disciplines and changing vantage points may result in surprising discoveries.

Keywords: field theory, in-depth interviews, cognitive linguistics, interdisciplinarity, certified translators

Introduction: An Ode to Interdisciplinary Studies

Interdisciplinarity could probably be claimed as one of the keywords in the academic world of the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. It seems well argued and reasonable: once the tools and ideas contained in one discipline alone cease being sufficient to decipher complex and multifaceted phenomena, scholars turn to other disciplines in search of explanations.

Without interdisciplinarity, translation studies would not exist, as from the very beginning, it is located at the crossroads of literary studies and linguistics. Nevertheless, it has still benefited from the surge towards the inclusion of new tools and perspectives; the cultural turn and the sociological turn, to name a few, have brought practical outcomes, resulting not only in new data and evidence but also real change in the perception of translation and the practice itself. Furthermore, the popularity of interdisciplinary studies has not ended in translation studies reaching out to other disciplines: the interest has often been reciprocal. For instance, Christina Schäffner (2004) analyses the role of translation in the political discourse, especially its influence on political decisions; H. Allison Bender et al. (2010) scrutinise neuropsychological tests and their translation in a comparative perspective in order to explore the application of tests in patients with different sociocultural backgrounds; Iris Klosi et al. (2024) analyse the challenges related to specialised translation that serves crucial purposes – environmental and conservation projects in this case – focusing on both human and AI output, emphasising the need for close cooperation between linguistics and environmental stakeholders. This shift has been named by Siri Nergaard and Stefano Arduini a post-discipline (in opposition to interdiscipline); they note the rise of studies taking an interest in translation and the change of perspective from 'inside-out' (i.e. translation studies drawing from other disciplines) to 'out-inside' (i.e. other disciplines utilising translation studies) (as cited in Gentzler, 2014), which offers new evidence and often challenges the already-existing theories and assumptions concerning translation.

The study discussed in this article has been interdisciplinary from the very beginning. With the aim of uncovering the social spaces in which Polish certified translators of English operate, it was designed using theories and tools from both linguistics and sociology. However, the results seem to be relevant to many other disciplines. This article explores the interdisciplinary threads from the study, displaying the potential of such undertakings and discussing further possibilities.

Theoretical and Methodological Premise of the Study

In order to investigate the social spaces of certified translators, a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews with translators was designed. The field theory by Pierre

Bourdieu constituted the theoretical framework of the study, in particular, the analysis of the literary field presented in one of Bourdieu's key publications, *The Rules of Art. Genesis and Structure of Literary Field* (2001), in which Bourdieu analyses pieces of literature, historical works and events in order to investigate the emergence of the literary field in France and to uncover the underlying rules regulating the field.

In Bourdieu's understanding, a field is a network of relationships connecting various positions in a social space. Due to numerous fields existing simultaneously, with each field performing a different set of functions, creating tensions and enforcing own set of rules, Bourdieu claims that society is heterogeneous, and individuals function in many social spaces at the same time (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Similar to a prism refracting light that goes through it, a field also refracts (distorts) whatever occurs outside thereof and presents that in a way that remains in accordance with its structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). For instance, the fact that various groups interpret the same events differently could be explained by Bourdieu by referring to the assumption that fields vary in their structure, and this variation influences the interpretation of events presented to the participants in the field.

There are several other crucial terms related to the field. *Habitus* refers to the assumption that a field has two forms: an external one, which may be named an objective form of the field, and an internal one, which may be considered subjective (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Bourdieu refers to the latter as habitus. As the term itself is similar to the English word 'habit', it should be emphasised that this connotation is misleading. While habits are often unconscious and automatic, habitus is rather like a guide, suggesting which actions and behaviours are advisable or even desired, which are risky, and which are impossible (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Habitus does create a pattern, primarily when it interacts with the field it was shaped in and shaped for; however, it is changeable and does not determine one's behaviour.

Another key term is *capital*, which may be understood as a form of power one may hold in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Each of the positions is tied to a different form of capital or a combination of capitals, which may be cultural (related to one's knowledge), financial (related to one's economic means), social (related to one's relationships) and symbolic (related to social perception and status) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Capital is necessary to perform any action in the field, be it insignificant or world-changing. The capital possessed, together with habitus, dictates which actions are possible in the field, which are undesired, and which remain out of one's reach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001).

The field, habitus and capital create an unbreakable triad, interacting and determining one another in a dynamic manner. Due to the fact that one may belong to many fields at the same time, one may experience conflicts when the rules and values imposed by different fields do not align or even contradict each other. However, this may occur even within one field, when the rules change drastically and a new *nomos* (i.e., new order) emerges, contradicting the old one, whereas the habitus of some participants does not manage to follow suit.

While this explanation in no way gives justice to the complex theory of Pierre Bourdieu, perhaps it will be enough for the needs of this article, presenting a very general framework that shaped and determined the course of the study involving Polish certified translators of English. The key elements of Bourdieusian theory, i.e. field, capital, habitus, nomos and others (e.g. doxa, illusio), were used to design in-depth interviews with translators to explore their social spaces.

Research Background: Participants, Sample, Protocol

The material for the analysis was gathered through semi-structured in-depth interviews designed to seek crucial elements of the field theory in the respondents' stories. All respondents had to fulfil two criteria: they had to be English translators and registered as certified translators on the list conducted by the Polish Ministry of Justice.

Two methods were used: purposive sampling was combined with the snowball method. The sampling method was shaped by the nature of the study itself. The fact that respondents had to fulfil criteria enforced purposive sampling. The snowball method was developed at the very beginning of the study when it turned out that translators were unwilling to agree to the interview without a recommendation from their colleagues. However, when approached based on the recommendation from their colleagues, they more often decided to participate. It may also be hypothesised that the recommendation allowed for deeper trust and more openness during the interviews.

In total, 10 translators participated in the study. Due to the fact that the interviews were conducted during lockdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, they were all organised online via Teams, Skype or Zoom. In hindsight, the decision to conduct online interviews was beneficial because it allowed me to include translators living all across Poland, which would have been impossible in the case of face-to-face interviews. The interviews were in Polish, which was the native language for all participants, and they usually lasted around 90 to 120 minutes.

The participants did not share any background except for the above-mentioned criteria. Some participants were only beginning to work in the profession, having only 5 years of experience, while others were nearing their retirement and had worked as certified translators for almost 30 years. Some lived in cities, some in towns, some in villages. Most of the respondents conducted their own business activity, including sole proprietorships and translation agencies large enough to employ other translators. For some, working as translators was a part-time job, and their first employment was elsewhere (mostly in education and higher education).

The material gathered was later analysed with the application of Jean-Claude Kaufmann's understanding interview (2010), with Bourdieu's field theory serving as its framework, and with selected tools drawn from cognitive linguistics, i.e. conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, 2007; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). In the next sections of this article,

selected threads from the study are presented with the aim of advocating for interdisciplinary research and indicating its depth, potential and richness.

The Methodological Perspective: What Participants Do Not Tell You but the Situation Does

One of the surprising outcomes of the study was how informative the sampling process turned out to be. The purposive sampling, opted for from the beginning of the study, appeared to be insufficient. At the same time, it seemed that some sort of social connection or recommendation facilitated securing an interview, often without any additional questions asked. That was when the decision was made to add the snowball method as an auxiliary sampling method.

Both purposive sampling and the snowball method rely on the respondents. In purposive sampling, respondents are selected for the study due to the fact that they possess certain qualities or unique experiences (Taherdoost, 2016). The snowball method relies on the respondents even more, to the point that it is sometimes called a respondent-driven method (Noy, 2008). In the snowball method, a researcher asks their respondents to offer recommendations for the next study participants and follows them like bread crumbs. The method remains one of the most popular in social sciences due to the fact that it is easy to apply, does not yield additional costs, and often allows the researchers to reach marginalised or closed-off groups (Noy, 2008).

Cham Noy notices that it has even more potential, as the development of the snowball also offers information on the social network of the participants. Noy (2008) discovered the potential of the snowball method when conducting a study involving backpackers. As it quickly occurred, the backpackers participating in the study were not only enthusiastic to talk to Noy about their experiences but also to involve more people in the study. The snowball rolled at an amazing speed, quickly reaching a hundred respondents with an unusually low percentage of refusals. Combining this observation with the material from the interviews, Noy concluded that the network of backpackers relied on either involving others into one's activities or being involved, which emerged from the persuasive language they used or viewing situations in terms of being 'pushed' to do something or 'dragging' others into something; hence, backpackers placed pressure on one another to participate in events. This mechanism of 'pushing' and 'dragging' was most probably also applied to the interviews, resulting in an impressive participation (Noy, 2008).

Now, the question arises as to what the snowball method tells about the certified translators. Firstly, it is assumed that the snowball rolls best when each of the respondents is able to provide at least three contacts (e.g., Parker et al., 2019). Considering that, it may be stated that this snowball rolled poorly or even failed to roll: none of the respondents was able to provide more than two contacts at the end of the inter-

view (which was an exception that happened only three times). In most cases, they were able to offer only one contact, and it occurred more than once that they could only refer me back to the translator who recommended them in the first place, stopping the snowball effectively. Furthermore, while snowball managed to secure some interviews, half of the contacted translators either did not reply to the query or refused to participate, again making the snowball cease to roll.

The development of the snowball, combined with the material acquired from the interviews, allows us to hypothesise that there are three probable explanations. Firstly, the social network between translators appears to be quite poorly developed; they do not maintain many professional relationships with other translators, and they do not feel obliged to one another. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that they often described their work as either allowing for independence or as being lonely. One of the phrases that appeared repeatedly in the interviews was to be "own rudder, sailor and vessel", i.e. a quote from Adam Mickiewicz's "Ode to youth" (in Polish, "sam sobie sterem, żeglarzem, okrętem"). While some used this phrase to describe how independent they feel in their work in positive terms, others talked about struggling, for instance, when they needed to take some time off (e.g., due to an illness, when they were forced to finish pending commissions while sick). Secondly, time turned out to be quite an issue for translators; nearly all of the interviewees claimed that they do not have enough time. Lack of time was offered as an argument in one case of refusal to participate in the study, but based on the conducted interviews, it may be assumed that some did not respond at all as they did not have the time. Thirdly, being a certified translator means having a regulated profession of public trust. The translators who agreed to participate in the study viewed themselves as obliged towards the state and their clients; they often emphasised the code of ethics they followed and were serious about their profession. Taking that into account, it is quite possible that some of them were unwilling to share their experiences with an outsider, viewing that as potentially harmful.

The Educational Perspective: The Necessary Needs

The assessment of the educational process constituted one of the first parts of the interview. The opening question – i.e., how did you become a certified translator? – naturally led to education-related questions, such as the studies and the courses completed, their assessment and the efforts to keep developing one's knowledge.

Unexpectedly, the reconstructed life trajectories of study participants often overlapped when it came to education. According to the current regulations on the profession, one of the requirements that needs to be fulfilled before taking the state exam for certified translators is having finished a higher education cycle (Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, 2018). However, the cycle, the field of study, or the major is not specified. Yet, even though being an alumnus of philological studies is not a requirement, there was only

one respondent who did not graduate from English Studies. Older translators usually finished teaching specialisation, allowing them to work in schools, which some of them did, while younger translators usually completed translation courses.

What characterised many of the study participants was their lack of satisfaction with the studies, though to a different degree, and their constant hunger for more knowledge. This was visible in two ways. Firstly, some openly discussed issues such as insufficient number of subjects or hours in translation courses, the apparent randomness of the subjects offered (for instance, having only practical classes with little to no theoretical background) or the lack of proper experience on the part of the lecturers. However, it should be underlined that younger study participants seemed to be more satisfied with the education received. This may be a sign of change in the educational field, which is further supported by other interviews with more experienced translators who also worked as lecturers, either part-time or full-time. These translators discussed the issues with the education they had received and, drawing from what they felt had been lacking in their studies, they attempted to remedy the content of the courses for prospective translators.

Secondly, half of the study participants did not finish their education on second-cycle studies but rather continued moving on to postgraduate courses or courses for translators offered by other professionals, e.g. TEPIs (Polskie Towarzystwo Tłumaczy Przysięgłych i Specjalistycznych). They often discussed the need to keep developing one's knowledge, mentioned new courses they would like to complete or professional books they would like to read, referred to translations they constantly refined, and talked about sources for information they felt they needed to keep tabs on.

The convergence of translators' experiences and actions makes it possible to state that, in order to become a certified translator, one has to hold significant cultural capital. In fact, it seems that amassing cultural capital is one of the main goals or even driving forces (*illusio*, as Bourdieu would have called it) in the profession. In order to do that, translators also need economic capital, considering that studies and courses are often expensive and participating in them means that one cannot work at that time.

Finally, formal education turned out to be only one of the advocated forms of education. Half of the respondents participated in internships or, rather, apprenticeships (the term some of them used), preparing them to work in the profession. For some, it was a period of only three months, and for others, it was years (ten years being the longest mentioned period of apprenticeship). Except for one study participant, who was a translation intern for three months, most claimed that it was the time of valuable studies, when they accessed knowledge they could not have gathered elsewhere. It was usually highly practical knowledge related to translation, but not only: many recalled learning how to negotiate a task with a client, how to run their own business activity, including issuing invoices and conducting a repository required by the Ministry of Justice, as well as developing social networks that proved useful in the future.

Such results, including translators' assessment of the courses and self-assessment of their competencies, may potentially lead to refining the offer for both prospective translators and professionals seeking formal support. The role of non-formal education cannot be understated: internships are often considered by students to be a necessary evil, whereas the results of the study point to their crucial role in the development of necessary skills. Further studies could be conducted in order to change the model of internship in a way that would allow the willing students to learn the most from it.

The Linguistic Perspective: What Language Tells You but Participants Do Not

Kaufmann claims that one of the most telling elements in the interviews is expressions that are repeated often and without much consideration. One of such expressions was the above-mentioned "own rudder, sailor and vessel". Another was not a phrase *per se,* but rather a set of phrases that could be categorised as a conceptual metaphor.

Conceptual metaphors are a key theory within cognitive linguistics, which itself seems fitting for the analysis of interviews. Shortly, some of the basic assumptions underlying cognitive linguistics state that language serves humans not only to transfer information but also to arrange past experiences and understand new ones. Cognitive linguists claim that language is rooted in experience, which may be both physical (expressed by the idea of embodiment) and socio-cultural. Furthermore, what one says and how one says it, including grammar (e.g. the choice of person and number) or vocabulary (e.g. saying "pork" or "pig's meat"), is determined by one's motivations (Langacker, 2008). These assumptions make the tools offered by cognitive linguistics suitable for applying them in the analysis of in-depth interviews.

Conceptual metaphors, the application of which is presented below, were first coined by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in the 1980s. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), cognitive metaphors are one of the cognitive tools that humans apply in order to understand the world; cognitive metaphors are specifically related to mapping the conceptual domains, in which simple ideas and processes are used to break down the complex ones. Lakoff claims that conceptual metaphors go far beyond the language used, as they may shape perception and affect the way the world is experienced (Lakoff, 2007).

Some of the most prominent metaphors discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 16) are related to time. They distinguish three main ways in which time is conceptualised: TIME Is MONEY (e.g. I spent so much time on this task); TIME Is A VALUABLE COMMODITY (e.g. It is not worth your time); and TIME Is A LIMITED RESOURCE (e.g. We are running out of time).

Time-related conceptual metaphors kept reoccurring throughout the interviews: translators discussed wasting time (usually due to irresponsible clients), needing time

for themselves or for work, lacking time, etc. Interestingly, the metaphors sometimes occurred in contradictory contexts. For instance, some stated that they were satisfied because working in translations allowed them to "find time for themselves and their family", whereas others claimed bluntly that they "have no time to live". The stark difference between the respondents may come from the fact that some of them worked as translators part-time, either due to family or professional arrangements, and for some, translation was their only source of income. Furthermore, while translators commonly stated that they usually work only enough to have a decent living, this thread was overlooked during the interviews, and no follow-up questions were asked, such as what a decent living implies and what level of income is necessary to maintain that. This is quite important as, in hindsight, it is possible that for some it is a level of 5000 zł per month, and for others, it might be 10000 zł.

It might be a bold claim in the case of only ten interviews, yet it seems that the more someone was involved in translation professionally, the more important time became for them. This is illustrated by yet another story, though it was not part of the interviews. A few months ago, I contacted a colleague of mine, a certified translator, asking whether she would be open to reviewing a book. She refused, stating that: "You are asking me for my time, and that is the most precious thing of all that we have."

Conceptual metaphors are only one of the tools that could be applied in the analysis of interviews. Conceptual metonymy, cognitive grammar, and construal – they all could prove useful in order to offer a new, widened perspective on the gathered material. Their usefulness in the Polish context was well demonstrated by Elżbieta Tabakowska (2015), who conducted many comparative studies on English-Polish translations with the application of cognitive tools.

The Communicative Perspective: A Different View on the Issues Encountered in Translation

In translation studies, translation is often viewed as a process of communication. However, when such understanding is explored, it quickly becomes visible that translation studies focuses mostly on the text and tends to overlook the context. For instance, Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber state that the process of translation consists of several stages: (a) analysing the source text, (b) transferring the source text into the target language that happens through the translator's mind, and (c) restructuring the target text (1982). Nida and Taber view translation as a way of communicating the contents of text a in language A through text b in language B, and they even acknowledge that it occurs through the translator's mental work. However, they do not explore that further. Other theorists, such as Justa Holz-Mänttäri (1984; as cited in Munday, 2016), Hans Vermeer (2000), and Julianne House (2015), arrive at the conclusion that a translator is an expert in communication whose aim is to allow for the transfer of information across languages and cultures.

Nevertheless, when including context, many translation theorists often focus on the text, intertext and context of the message without considering the context of a translator.

The interviews shed a different light on the process of communication, especially in the context of interpretation (oral translation), which emerged during the discussion of professional difficulties they encountered. One of the translators recalled a situation in the courtroom when a judge kept interrupting her interpretation and correcting her. In her own words: "Yes, his English was good, but he kept bickering about some details, such as 'stab' not meaning to stab with a tool, only with a knife." Few others happened to be corrected by lawyers or advocates participating in the proceedings. Difficult situations were not contained solely to the courtroom: one of the interviewees remembered how she was shaken after she was asked to interpret for a professional community, which ended in an argument with an unsatisfied client.

These situations impacted many of the interviewed translators. Some were confident enough in their competencies that such occurrences made them irritated rather than anything else; however, some of them expressed negative feelings related thereto, up to the point of resigning from interpreting altogether. Some had never experienced these difficulties, but the stories themselves that they heard from colleagues were enough to deter them from interpretation.

Working in such a stressful environment may be enough for translators to make errors they would not normally make. Interruptions make interpretation significantly more difficult, as they change the course of the translator's thoughts and switch their focus from the contents of the speech to be interpreted to the issue at hand. However, there were more obstacles that translators mentioned in the interviews, related to court interpretation in particular. For instance, some pointed out that the length of interpretation often surpasses any professional guidelines, with court proceedings lasting even 5-6 hours without breaks. Some noticed that court representatives do not know how to work with a translator: they do not make proper pauses for a translator to interpret, or they address the translator directly, saying, "Please translate that for him [the witness]". A translator is not a party in this process of communication but rather a conduit allowing for communication to happen. Involving a translator may disrupt the process and make it more difficult for a translator who has to not only translate the message but also paraphrase it first so that he or she addresses the witness. Furthermore, it may influence the perception of a translator as an uninvolved and objective figure in the courtroom.

The interviews allowed the translators to give their own account of difficult situations. The issues discussed above focus on interpretation, yet some of them also recalled difficulties and errors in written translations. The retrospectivity offered by the interviews is valuable as it offers more insight and context to discuss the translations and the obstacles encountered in the communication process. The text of translation or interpretation can be supplemented by their perception of the situation as well as subjective evaluation of translation and reflection on the errors, if such

were made. Giving translators a voice to recount the communication process and difficulties in their own words may be empowering to translators, counteracting the doubts and uncertainty experienced. It may also offer valuable insight into the process itself, potentially resulting in improved recommendations for the future or even reformulation of a translation as a communicative process, placing more emphasis on the translator's mental processes.

The Sociological Perspective: Main Findings in Bourdieu's Perspective

This section of the article focuses on presenting the main (though not all) findings as interpreted within the framework of field theory: capitals, habitus, other fields, and *illusio* in particular.

Starting with the capitals, it appears that the capital least valued by certified translators is social capital. This claim is supported by the already-discussed development of the snowball method, which quickly failed as the respondents were unwilling to talk and were incapable of providing more than one (two at most) contact.

The most valued capital seems to be the cultural capital. Firstly, the profession is regulated by a state exam of high difficulty and low passing rate. In the interviews, translators discussed how difficult the exam is due to the fact that one may use only printed dictionaries and glossaries during the written part, and that the oral part constitutes several texts to be interpreted a vista and consecutively without prior preparation. It implies that one needs to amass a significant amount of cultural capital even before becoming a certified translator. Secondly, gathering cultural capital appears to be in the translator's *illusio* (i.e. the drive, the main goal of the game): throughout many of the interviews, translators stated that what draws them to the profession is the fact that there are numerous challenges and they need to constantly work on their skills in order to be good translators. This was viewed as an exciting opportunity rather than a tiresome requirement. Simultaneously, it should be noted that cultural capital was also the subject of games in other fields; for instance, when interacting with the power field (e.g. the court), translators sometimes felt that their knowledge was devalued, which affected them negatively.

Economic capital turns out to be most interesting as it displays internal tensions. On the one hand, it is quite low in the hierarchy of the capitals, which is evidenced by translators recalling stories when they worked for free and were proud they could help someone in need, discussing their fees and emphasising that they do not "rip off of their clients" or stating that they work to have enough for a decent living. On the other hand, some expressed their dissatisfaction with the current rates that are regulated by the state and are often two or three times lower (now, perhaps, even more when considering inflation) than the free market fees. The regulation of fees by the state may be considered a practice devaluing economic capital. While this practice comes from the outside of the profession,

translators also described many other internal practices, such as dumping. An example may be offering translation at a rate of 10 zł per page, with regular fees oscillating around 50 zł up to even 80 zł or more per page in case of professional human translation.

The economic situation may be interpreted as follows: (a) Usually, a field allows its agents to exchange one form of capital for another. What emerges from the interviews is that translators are denied the ability to monetise on the cultural capital they possess, which means that they lack in sanctioned ways of acquiring economic capital; (b) When describing literary field, Bourdieu (2001) identified a reversed logic attached to the economic capital, i.e. when an author could make financial gains on their work, it was simultaneously devaluated in artistic terms and degraded that author in artistic hierarchy. A similar process may be taking place in the context of translators, which could be supported by the fact that some were proud to complete tasks with nearly no financial reward.

Capitals are to some extent related to illusio. According to Bourdieu, illusio draws individuals to a certain field; it makes them follow the rules and believe in the game taking place in the field. The interviews revealed three potential elements of illusio. The first one has already been discussed in this section: the possibility of amassing cultural capital is considered by translators as a reward in itself. Constant development of their knowledge and skills becomes a praised habit, and many look forward to new challenges, new translations requiring them to learn. The second element has been mentioned, yet not discussed in detail, i.e. the ability to help others. The interviews revealed that helping clients in difficult situations often gave translators a feeling of satisfaction and reward; this may also indicate that assisting people in need was a specific situation in which their habitus corresponded best with the social structures. Finally, even though some translators discussed the difficult relationship they had with the judiciary and some law enforcement authorities, many also expressed that they feel an obligation towards their duties as certified translators in supporting the state and its representatives. It may be even hypothesised that some of them felt pride in the fact that they may assist the state.

When it comes to the field, or rather fields, translators participating in the study were often involved in the academic field (or educational field) and the power field (or legal field). Some of the interviewees worked full-time as certified translators and were involved part-time at universities and higher schools, e.g. having classes with students, conducting research. It could be interpreted as them using the academic field to gather even more cultural capital in an organised and validated manner; however, another possible explanation is that they used the academic field as a "currency exchange" for their capital. The academic field allowed them to exchange some of their cultural capital for the economic one. It also allowed translators to confirm and validate their competencies in an institutionalised manner, such as holding academic titles. It may also be a way to acquire symbolic capital, often assigned to higher education representatives, which some translators were or felt they were deprived of. For some, the situation appeared to be exactly reversed: they worked as full-time lecturers or teachers and part-time translators, using the cultural capital gathered through their translational work in another field.

When it comes to the power field, usually represented by courts, translators' access thereto was secured by their exceptionally high cultural capital, confirmed by the state exam. However, judging from the manner in which translators were often treated in this field, it may be assumed that they had access to solely peripheral positions in the field that were not connected to any sort of power. Apart from the communication difficulties described in the previous section, some of the interviewed translators also mentioned how they struggled to be paid on time (some waited many months to have their invoices paid) or how their role was oftentimes misunderstood by other participants (e.g. when they were considered to be a party to proceedings). Some of these occurrences could be interpreted as signs of symbolic violence. While some translators reacted to those instances with passive resistance, i.e. they simply avoided contact with the power field, others claimed that they felt as if they were part of the legal profession and felt as if they had been denied such status by other legal representatives.

Conclusion

The main aim of this article was to present how fruitful an interdisciplinary study may be. The presented study, built on linguistic and sociological theories and tools, has also shown other interdisciplinary threads, including education, that could be further explored within their own disciplines.

Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised that the results of the study should be considered as tentative. The number of participants, i.e. ten certified translators of English, has been enough for many themes to recur, for expressions to reappear throughout interviews, and for certain patterns to emerge. However, the study has been one of the first involving the field theory in the context of Polish certified translators, hence it has been conducted to some degree in the dark, as there was not much referential information to design the study; simultaneously, it may be considered a lighthouse, indicating further areas to be studied in the future. For instance, the results from this qualitative study could be used to design a quantitative study, such as a questionnaire, in order to investigate how many translators share the difficulties, opinions and perceptions discussed by the interviewees. Another possibility is to repeat the qualitative study with certified translators of other languages or with translators of other specialisations, such as literary or medical translators, in order to collect material for comparative analysis between different groups of respondents.

Finally, the study unexpectedly reflected on various historical and social changes; for instance, respondents with longer professional experience could identify that in the 1990s, there was an exceptional number of documents related to unpaid child support, whereas entering the European Union brought a wave of documents related to the import and export of used cars. It may not be that important from the perspective of translation studies, yet other social sciences could perhaps gain valuable data from such studies as well.

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