

Multilingualism in the Estonian Translations of Baltic German Literature

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Abstract: The study discusses theoretical approaches to translations of literary multilingualism using examples from Estonian translations of Baltic German literature. The settings described in Baltic German literature are typically situated in the Baltic region, allowing the multilingualism in these texts to be interpreted as a sociolinguistic commentary on the period. The study employs terminology rooted in contact linguistics and sociolinguistics, enriched by concepts from literary and translation studies. The article presents various techniques through which translators address the challenge of conveying potentially colonial aspects of language usage in Baltic German historical fiction to contemporary Estonian readers.

Keywords: multilingualism, translation, Baltic German literature, contact linguistics

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Introduction

Multilingualism has always been part of the repertoire used by authors to shape the world of their literary works. However, literary multilingualism is not only a fictional phenomenon, but can and often also does reflect multilingualism in the social and personal environment of the author. In an increasingly globalising world, literary multilingualism seems to mirror the linguistic variety that many readers encounter in their lives and has therefore sparked scholarly interest. The research in literary multilingualism and its translation also appears to address the desire of the academic community to challenge the national and monolingual paradigm that has been prevalent in literary history. However, the need to refrain from interpreting multilingualism merely as portraying situations of language contacts in real life has been clear since the early phases of scholarly interest towards multilingualism in literature (Grutman 2006). Multilingualism in literature expands and tests borders of one language and uses linguistic encounters as a fictional tool to create additional layers of meaning, whether based on real life or not.

In this contribution we are going to show that the study of literary multilingualism and translation of multilingualism could gain insights from sociolinguistics and contact linguistics for describing the forms and functions of multilingualism. Both have developed meta-language and instruments for description and classification of the effects of multilingualism in a particular social context. This consideration forms the foundation of the present study where the case of translation of Baltic German literature into Estonian will be considered.

As is common in the Baltic region, Estonia has historically been a linguistically diverse area. Since the 13th century the autochthonous population has been ruled by speakers of German, Swedish, and Russian, as well as Polish and Danish in some parts of the country. Among these languages, German as the language of the local landowners played a dominant role until the founding of the Republic of Estonia in 1918. Multilingualism was a central marker of Baltic German identity and has been described as a prerequisite for their position as intermediaries between local peasants who spoke Estonian and colonial powers who spoke Swedish or Russian, depending on the period (Plath 2012, 108). According to Plath, multilingualism was the “backbone” of the social class system in the Baltics (*ibid.*). This makes the German–Estonian language contact the longest in duration and crucial in its ways of shaping the development of the subordinate Estonian language (Hennoste et al. 1999, 2), especially in its written form (Ross 2016), as well as giving the topic high status in the scholarly attention of linguists and sociolinguists (Pajusalu 2000; Verschik 2005; Raag 2008; Ross 2019). The influence of the local multilingual setting on the local German variety has received less spotlight (Bender 2019b).

In literary studies, the lack of multilingualism in Baltic German literature than its existence was noticed initially and interpreted as a colonial trait of Baltic German society, which aimed to avoid influence from the languages and cultures of the lower social classes (Wilpert 2005, 16). Even though Wilpert and later scholars have found examples of multilingualism in Baltic German literature, his generalising statement, that Baltic German literature in general does not portray the richness of languages in its surrounding, holds true, although with some exceptions. Examples of macaronic poetry, which mainly play with German, Russian and Estonian, present cases of literary multilingualism where playing with languages is an end in itself (Kalda 2000; Abrams 2007; Bender 2021). These poems mix languages in a manner that can be seen as a representation of the spoken language used by a lower social stratum (Lehiste 1965). The poems use grotesque form (Abrams 2007, 103) and exaggeration, but it has to be acknowledged that they are based on the languages used in the region, and the comical effect only emerges from the shared knowledge of those languages. Over the last decade, the multilingual aspect of Baltic German literature has been discussed in the context of the hierarchy of literary languages used in the region (Undusk and Lukas 2011). Furthermore, there has been a study of exophonic voices in Baltic German literature (Lukas 2020; Linno and Lukas 2022). Recently published case studies on multilingualism in Baltic German literature offer insights into the scope of languages used in Baltic German texts in different periods, as well as their role in the fictional world of a particular literary text (Jänes et al. 2020) or in ego-documents (Saagpakk and Saar

2021). Finally, Reet Bender has offered the most recent (2021) diachronic view of the development of the Baltic variety of German.

This article focuses on translations of multilingualism in Baltic German literature into Estonian, using examples from different literary texts and their translations. Siegfried von Vegesack's (1888–1974) novel *Der letzte Akt* (*The Last Act* 1957) is a continuation of his most influential novel *Die baltische Tragödie* (*The Baltic Tragedy* 1933–1935) and portrays the last phase of Baltic German presence in the Baltics where impoverished former landlords try to make a living as peasants. Georg Julius von Schultz (1808–1875) was an Estophile and an influential figure among Baltic German intellectuals in the 19th century, his collection of letters *Briefe eines baltischen Idealisten an seine Mutter* (*Letters of a Baltic Idealist to His Mother*) was published 1934 and translated into Estonian in 2004 by Ilmar Vene. Monika Hunnius' *Mein Onkel Hermann* (*My Uncle Hermann* 1921) is a childhood autobiography (1858–1934) that was translated in 2000 by Pille Toompere. Another translation by Toompere in 2001, Else Hueck-Dehio's (1897–1876) *Liebe Renata* (*Dear Renata* 1955) is an adolescence novel taking place in 1905, the year of revolution. The same event is at the centre of Edzard Schaper's (1908–1984) novel *Der Henker* (*The Executioner* 1940), which was translated by Katrin Kaugver in 2009 and is a story of reconciliation between Baltic Germans and Estonians.

Based on these texts, the article focuses on translation of multilingualism in all its different forms. Using the case of Baltic German literature, we will show that translating multilingualism, especially in cases where the target language (TL) is used in the source language (SL), can be interpreted as sociolinguistic commentary on the depicted period, as “a comment about our socio-cultural values and the state of the world we live in” (Delabastita and Grutman 2005, 14). In its interpretation of examples and functions of multilingualism, the study uses a typology of fictional multilingualism and its translations based on terminology from contact linguistics (Myusken 2000; Backus 2015) and enriched by concepts from literary and translation studies (Delabastita 1993; Torop 1995; Grutman 2006; Dembeck 2017). The article presents techniques that translators use to solve the challenge of transmitting potentially colonial aspects of language use in historical fiction to the contemporary Estonian reader.

Multilingualism in fiction

Multilingualism is a term that literary and translation studies share with many other disciplines, such as linguistics, sociology, language teaching and learning. However, multilingualism is par excellence *the* central topic in contact linguistics. Yet, it appears that the disciplines are not concerned with each other and use different metalanguage. In literary studies, Till Dembeck and Rolf Parr (2017, 10) have suggested a classification of literary multilingualism using the terms “manifest” and “latent” mul-

tilingualism in order to distinguish mimetic depictions of multilingualism and metalinguistic information on language use. We will use the term “latent multilingualism” in this article to refer to metalinguistic information on languages in the text. Dembeck’s use of sociolinguistic terms for describing the manifest or mimetic phenomena in literary texts “*Sprachwechsel*” (code-switching) and “*Sprachmischung*” (code-mixing) (2017, 125) will be further brought into the discussion using sociolinguistic terminology.

Recently, some scholars in contact linguistics started addressing multilingualism in writing (Sebba 2012) and in fiction in particular (Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015 and references therein) but without reference to translation studies. To some extent, historical sociolinguistics has also been interested in multilingualism in fiction, especially in first person narratives (Auer et al. 2015, 7). In this connection, it is important that linguistics discusses language contact phenomena not only in oral but also in written texts.

To date, few studies in contact linguistics have addressed the translation of multilingualism in fiction, concentrating especially on code-switching (Ahmed 2018; Harjunpää and Mäkilähde 2015; Jonsson 2010). We believe that in order to talk about how and why multilingualism is translated (or ignored) in fiction, it is necessary to provide an overview of phenomena that occur in multilingual speech and writing. We suggest that contact linguistics, multilingualism research and, partly, sociolinguistics provide the necessary terms, so there is no need to invent new labels for well-known phenomena.

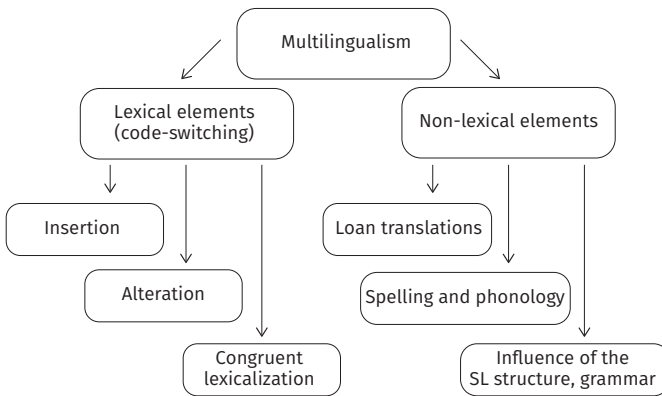


Figure 1. Types of lexical and non-lexical multilingualism in text.

As figure 1 shows, other language elements in a text may appear on a lexical or non-lexical level. The two levels are linked to each other. *Lexical impact* (a word from another language) can give rise to structural consequences such as changes in argument structure, word order, etc. This is explained by Ad Backus (2005) in an article with

a title that neatly summarises the idea: “Codeswitching and Language Change: One Thing Leads to Another?” Code-switching¹ here refers to an overt use of other language items, be it a word or expression, or an entire phrase. According to Myusken (2000), code-switching can appear in three basic types: alternation, insertion, and congruent lexicalisation.

The clearest, although not most common, type is alternation, where longer parts are given in another language, usually restricted by a clause boundary. Commonly used examples of multilingualism in fiction such as the passages in French in Thomas Mann’s *Magic Mountain* and Leo Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* are cases of alternation. An example of alternation from Baltic German literature is a scene in the novel by Siegfried von Vegesack *Der letzte Akt* (*The Last Act* 1957) in which a Latvian maid is asking the German family to dinner:

Die Flügeltür öffnete sich, ein umfangreiches, rotbackiges Mädchen mit weißer Schürze bat auf Lettisch zu Tisch: „Lud spe gald!“ (Vegesack 1957, 65)

The door opened and a round, red-cheeked girl in a white apron spoke in Latvian to invite them to the table: ‘people to the table’.²

Myusken connects the alternation with a bilingual background in a communication act. In the case of fiction, alternation might serve a symbolic purpose (the meaning can be derived from the context, as in the example above, and the fact that a certain language is used is meaningful in itself) or the reader can be expected to understand both languages, as is the case with English in contemporary fiction or French in the works of Thomas Mann.

In the case of an insertion a sentence in one language is interrupted by one or more words in another language. Here the main language of an utterance is clearly identifiable. For instance, Georg Julius von Schultz wrote in his letter to his mother: “so hatten wir recht ein ‘magus jutt’” (Schultz 1934, 145). The author switches from German to Estonian. Estonian ‘magus jutt’ can be translated as ‘sweet talk’, so the text says: ‘so we had a rather [in German] sweet talk [in Estonian]’. The fact of using Estonian in private letters between Germans in the 19th century was not common and is to be interpreted as Schultz showing an interest in the Estonian language.

1 Some authors also use code-mixing as a cover term or distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing; yet others use code-switching as a cover term. This discussion remains outside the scope of this article; on the problems with the terminology of code-switching see Clyne (2003, 70). In the current article the term code-switching is used.

2 The correctly spelled sentence in Latvian would be ‘lūdzu pie galda’. The implicit reader is probably a German with no knowledge of Latvian. More on similar cases and on the function of representations of orality in Baltic German fiction in the following.

Recognising cases of insertion in fiction might prove difficult because of the degree of conventionalisation of a certain lexical item. There is always a first time when a switch appears. It may be a one-time event but if the switched item is useful for communication, it may be repeated by other language users and later become conventionalised and lose its novelty. Switching then becomes established borrowing and may also spread to monolingual usage (Backus 2015). In order to avoid exoticisation, the translator should therefore try to understand what constitutes an established borrowing that lacks ethnic colouring or novelty and was therefore perceived as neutral for contemporary readers.³

The third case mentioned by Myusken is congruent lexicalisation, a dense CS where the base language cannot be determined. Typically, it occurs between closely related varieties (similarity facilitates switching) but may also take place when there is a structural similarity in a clause (for instance, the same word order). Over time, due to contact-induced language change varieties can become closer, and there are more structural similarities than between pre-contact varieties. Multilingual Jewish songs (Yiddish, Ukrainian, Polish) may serve as an example (Verschik 2021, 1706–1707). For instance, in the following example Yiddish and Russian have the same word order and similar morphosyntactic patterns, which enables the speaker to use lexicon from either language (Verschik 2021, 1706), Yiddish is in bold:

*Milenjkaja Roza, začem tebe bojatsja **lajtn**, jesli my na **špacir** pojdem, pojdem **fundervajtn**.*

“Dearest Roza, why should you be afraid of people, if we go for a walk, we will go from afar.”

Congruent lexicalisation can thus appear as dense code-switching, yet, in fiction it seems to pose problems for a potential reader who does not necessarily have the habit of ‘decoding’ dense multilingual speech.

In addition to an explicit lexical effect, a non-lexical effect might be harder to recognise. These are cases in fiction where, without overt usage of other language material, the effect of another language shifts the meaning. This is visible in the depiction of phonology or orthography or appears in structures and grammatical properties (for example choice of case, preposition, word order). In his letters Schultz portrays the way of speaking of an Estonian servant:

„Steif is er so nicht,” sagte Herr Adamson, „Stadtsknechte haben ihm erst heute morgen in alte Pulverkeller kefunden, auf ein Strick aufkehongen; ich werde ihm in obere Saal bringen, da is mehr Wärmde. [. . .]“ (Schultz 1934, 28)

³ Examples will be provided in the following.

“Stiff is he not”, said Mr Adamson. “City servants found him only this morning in the old gun powder cellar, hanging on a rope; I will bring him to the room above, there is more warmth.”

We can recognise (underlined) several grammatical (ihm vs ihn, in vs im), structural (word order) and orthographical (kefunden vs gefunden) incompatibilities with German that are meant to express the poor German of the speaker. In this case the humoristic effect is to diminish the character. The typical challenges for Estonians speaking German portrayed in the example seem plausible. However, one should keep in mind that there used to be a certain established convention of illustrating the way Estonians used to speak German. Some elements were represented while some might have been missed, even though the effect was considered mimetic. In Sternberg’s words (1981, 235), the “realistic force of polylingual representation” can be seen as “relatively independent of the objective (verbal and extraverbal) facts”.

In the same way that code-switches can gradually become conventionalised, so too can loan translations and grammatical effect.⁴ Thus, it is essential to distinguish between the cases where loan translations are conventionalised and where they are manifestations of multilingual speech. In sum, non-lexical effect may be characterised as multilingual speech in monolingual disguise.⁵

In addition to contact phenomena, multilingualism in fiction also needs to be approached from a functional-pragmatic perspective, i.e. what does the play with languages tell us about ideologies, language symbolism and hierarchies, power relations (who speaks to whom in what language), community norms (who is allowed to code-switch to what purpose, is CS unusual or regular), CS functions in a conversation (often humoristic, see for example Auer 1998 and papers therein), speech stereotypes, etc. Both structural (grammatical) and pragmatic angles should be considered. However, the fictional function of the use of multilingualism in literature takes precedence over the pragmatic and structural aspects that might or might not be mimicking linguistic encounters in real life.

In a hermeneutic circle, translation studies and contact linguists can mutually benefit from the research in each field. On one hand, contact linguistics combined with historical sociolinguistics offers valuable insights into dynamics of language behaviour and usage that can be helpful in translating fiction, and for translation studies. On

4 For instance, modern common Estonian has dozens of loan translations from German, such as *käsiraamat* < Handbuch ‘handbook’, *õppejõud* < Lehrkraft ‘instructor’, etc.

5 Contact between closely related varieties, be they ‘separate languages’ or dialects, is a separate case where it is difficult to distinguish between lexical and non-lexical effect. This relates not only to the co-occurrence of two close varieties in the text but also to the blend thereof in the same utterance (Yiddish-German in stories by Sholem Aleichem). Such cases can and do pose a special problem for the translator.

the other hand, fiction can serve as a source of new information on what language was used and how and what it symbolised during a historical period.

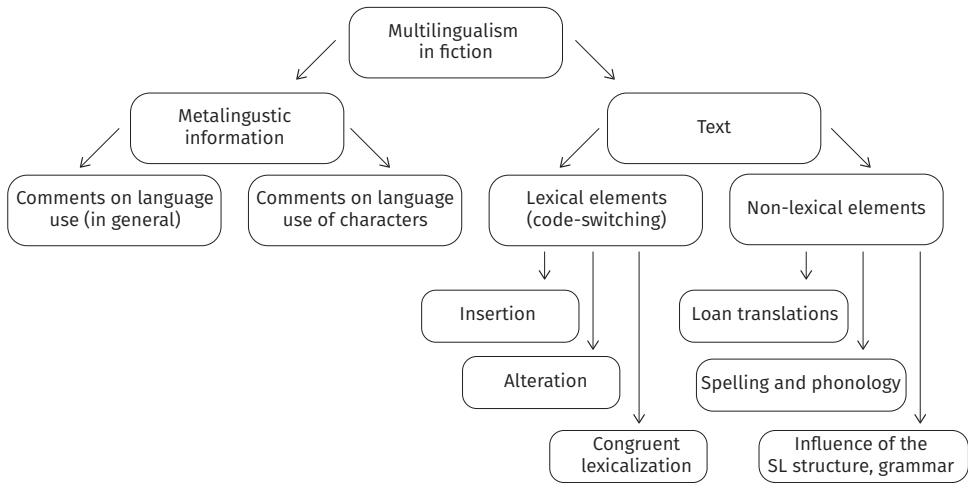


Figure 2. Multilingualism in fiction. Levels of lexical and non-lexical elements as well as metalinguistic information.

Figure 2 summarises the information on multilingualism in a fictional text, adding the level of metalinguistic information or “latent language use” (Dembeck and Barr 2017, 10) to the lexical and non-lexical elements discussed above.

On the latent or metalinguistic level, fictional texts can offer valuable insights into habitual CS, language ideologies and symbolism, as in the case of Edzard Schaper’s *Der Henker* (*The Executioner* 1940):

“Ich werde schreiben, daß der... der Junge kommt!” fügte er in seinem mühsamen Estnisch hinzu, ohne auch nur im mindesten zu zögern, ohne daß sein Stolz sich dawider empörte. (Schaper 1941, 749)

“I will write that the... the boy comes!” he adds in his hard Estonian, without a slightest hesitation and his pride did not prevent him [from doing that].

Estonian is not used mimetically but explicitly mentioned in the text. The scene depicts a situation where the main character, a German manor owner Ovelacker, finally admits the injustice done to one of his peasants Koiri whose son was arrested and sent to a labour camp to Siberia. Code-switching that appears on a metalinguistic level is crucial for the moment of reconciliation between the manor owner and his peasant adversary and underlines the effect of two opponents finally “speaking the same language”.

Explicit metalinguistic information can be provided by fictional characters or by the narrator and offers valuable contextual information for literary scholars, historical sociolinguists and historians. A recent example in the context of Baltic German variety is Reet Bender's *Baltisaksa keelest ja kolmest kohalikust keelest (On Baltic German and the Three Local Languages, 2021)*, where she uses several fictional texts to illustrate situations of language contact in the region.

In addition to the types of language contact phenomenon that are made visible in the text, we must also pay attention to cases where information about a language contact that can be assumed to exist is absent and a real life multilingualism "turns out to be toned down or suppressed in its fictional representation" (Delabastita and Grutman 2005, 14). The homogenisation (i.e., turning multilingualism into monolingualism) can be influenced by various factors. Poetic considerations such as the reluctance to add too much contextual information or just to interrupt the sound of language may play a role. Individual language skills or preferences are also important, as well as market or target-group based calculations by the author or the publisher, such as the languages spoken by the anticipated readers and their level of tolerance for mixing languages. For instance, a reduced depiction of the commonalities of an everyday life, of talking to servants or peasants that can be found in Baltic German literature can be seen as a result of many of the listed restricting considerations (not important in the story, the common German reader in Germany does not speak the languages, the writer's personal language skills in the local languages do not go beyond everyday communication). Coming back to Wilpert 2005, we have to stress that downplaying Estonian or Latvian elements in Baltic German literature may not be worth mentioning in the context of one single text, but in the context of a larger body of texts a colonial attitude of overlooking the other cannot be neglected. When Georg Julius von Schultz describes a mentally disabled Estonian girl playing with and talking to her cat (1934, 180) without mentioning the language, as readers we assume that it had to be Estonian and that information about the language could be perceived as redundant. However, in many other cases the homogenisation can be interpreted as silencing. As can be observed in the example by Monika Hunnius, the service provided by Estonian peasants is just there without any need for linguistic interaction.

"Hier am Rande des Moores ist ein Bauernhaus," sagt Georg, "da gibt es Milch und Brot. Wir müssen doch etwas essen!" [. . .] Da liegt auch schon das Bauernhäuschen, klein, schief, mit einem Strohdach, aber der Garten ist voll blühendem Mohn und goldgelben Ringelblumen. Die Bäuerin bringt Schwarzbrot, Milch und frische Butter. Wir legen uns ins Gras, das Brot und die Milch stellen wir auf die Erde zwischen uns. "Wie das schmeckt!" (Hunnus 1921, 46–47)

“Here, on the edge of the moor is a farmhouse”, says Georg, “there is milk and bread. We must eat something! [. . .] And there is the farmhouse, small, crooked, with a thatched roof, but the garden is full of blooming poppies and golden marigolds. The farmer’s wife brings bread, milk and fresh butter. We lie down on the grass, we put the bread and milk on the ground between us. How that tastes!”

In Hunnius’s text, milk and bread is described as just being there, without the need to ask for it. And indeed, once the young couple arrives at the house, the food appears magically with no need to speak to the farmer’s wife.

We must add that in fictional texts from earlier periods homogenisation often occurs because the anticipated reader does not need to know which language was used to speak or write. However, this information might not be self-evident for the same language community in a later period let alone for foreign readers.

Approaches to the translation of multilingualism

The approaches to translation of multilingualism can be roughly subdivided into more form oriented (Sternberg 1981) and culture-oriented (Delabastita 1993; Delabastita and Grutman 2005; Grutman 2006; Meylaerts 2011; Dembeck and Parr 2017).

The form oriented treatment by Meir Sternberg (1981) remains one of the most systematic approaches to the translation of multilingualism. Chan (2002) extensively refers to Sternberg’s model and provides several cases to illustrate it. However, we believe that the problem with Sternberg’s (1981) model is its difficult and unclear terminology.

First of all, Sternberg refers to the multilingualism of a literary work as “heterolingualism” (1981, 222) in order to establish borders between linguistics and literary studies. We find this unnecessary partly because more terms are being coined to cover the same phenomena, which obscures the matter, and partly because the metalanguage of contact linguistics may prove useful and more transparent. We believe that the term ‘multilingualism’ can be used regarding fictional work, because the context of fiction eliminates the danger of being understood purely as mimetic rather than constructed and illusionistic (symbolic). Sternberg uses “vehicular matching” for code-switching, “selective reproduction” (Sternberg 1981, 225) to describe cases of insertion, especially in their *pars pro toto* function, as well as elements of non-lexical effect. “Verbal transposition” (Sternberg 1981, 227) then refers to other elements of non-lexical effect such as word order or accents that mimic phenomena of bi- or multilingual interference.

Rosenwald (2008) applies but at the same time criticises Sternberg’s model, especially Sternberg’s view on code-switching. According to Sternberg code-switching in its “extremity” is disqualified for a usage as an artistic medium in literature, which is “normally unilingual” (Rosenwald 2008, 4). Rosenwald in his work *Multilingual America*

sets out to prove this, claiming that “vehicular matching is a more useful artistic strategy than we often presume it to be” and calls for a rethinking of “our standards of critical judgement” (5). While Sternberg (1981) is a seminal paper that draws scholarly attention to a whole new topic of multilingualism in translation, we find the terminology difficult to use because the main stress is on manipulations of linguistic structures and items per se, and in Sternberg’s argumentation it is not always clear whether the terms refer to fiction in general or translations in particular.

In more general terms, and probably most widely adopted, is Lawrence Venuti’s suggestion (1991; 1995; 1998) to differentiate between two strategies, domestication and foreignisation. According to Venuti (1991, 127), Anglo-American translation practices aim at domestication, making the translation transparent but raising concerns about translation ethics (see also Paloposki 2011, 41). Domestication would mean deleting the multilingualism of the original text. The proposed notions are, however, too broad (see references to criticism in Paloposki 2011, 41) because there may be other strategies of marking the heterogeneity of the original (translating everything into TL but using different script, like italics for elements in other SLs) or interpreting the relationship between languages in the original as different styles. For instance, in Yiddish fiction some (but not all) elements of Hebrew can signal high style, so a translator would make an equation: the relationship between Hebrew and Yiddish is like high style vs neutral style and in Russian translation use Old Slavonic for Hebrew. In this spirit, Sholem-Aleichem’s *Der farkišefter šnajder* (*The Bewitched Tailor*) presents the story as if it were an entry in a community memory book (*pinkas*), which is supposed to be in Hebrew and then translated into Yiddish for the simple folk, thus representing the diglossic situation in traditional Jewish communities. Chapters start with a couple of sentences in Hebrew and then the Yiddish translation is provided, and the story goes on in Yiddish. The main protagonist wants to be seen as a learned person and uses quotations and pseudo quotations from Hebrew. In the Russian translation, Hebrew is rendered as Russian coloured by Old Slavonic because Old Slavonic elements are perceived as archaic high style by contemporary Russian readers.

Instead, we refer to a more universal model proposed by Dirk Delabastita (1993) that can be employed for the analysis of translation of multilingualism. Delabastita proposes a two-dimensional model: he distinguishes between three levels of code (linguistic, cultural and text) as well as transformation categories.

The codes make it clear that translation is not a merely linguistic event, i.e. substitution of words and phrases with its TL equivalents; nor is it just about isolated sentences. A piece of fiction or poetry is a symbiosis of a large variety of poetic elements in which language use plays a role such as the plot itself, symbolic and stylistic dimensions, rhythm, etc. The same holds true of translation as well. As Delabastita (1993, 22)

has it, the difference between the linguistic and the cultural is comparable to the difference between a dictionary and an encyclopaedia.

The five transformation categories suggested by Delabastita are: substitution, repetition, deletion, addition and permutation (Delabastita 1993, 33–34). Delabastita provides a table in which the three levels of code and the five transformation categories are juxtaposed (39). For instance, substitution on the linguistic level means a “higher or lower degree of (approximate) linguistic equivalence”; for the cultural code it yields “naturalization, modernization, topicalization, nationalization”; at the text level it produces a “systemic, acceptable text (potentially conservative); adaptation”.

Code Operation	S linguistic code > T linguistic code	S cultural code > T cultural code	S text code > T text code
Substitution	higher or lower degree of (approximate) linguistic equivalence	naturalisation modernisation topicalisation nationalisation	systemic, acceptable text, (potentially) conservative adaptation
Repetition	total: non-translation, copy partial: calque, word-for-word translation, literal translation	exoticisation historisation (through the mere intervention of time-place distance)	non-systematic, non-acceptable text (potentially innovative)
Deletion	reductive translation abridged version undertranslation expressive reduction	universalisation dehistoricisation (through the removal of foreign cultural signs)	T text is a less typical specimen of a (target) text type neutralisation of stylistic and generic peculiarities
Addition	paraphrastic translation more explicit text overtranslation expressive amplification	exoticisation historisation (through the positive addition of foreign cultural signs)	T text is a more typical specimen of a (target) text type introduction of stylistic or generic markers
Permutation	(metatextual) compensation	(metatextual) compensation	(metatextual) compensation

Table 1. Translation model (modified from Delabastita 1993, 33–39, presented and commented on in Torop 1995, 71).

S = source, T = target

Substitution means decoding in the strict sense, when elements of SLs (there might be many) are substituted with the elements of the target language, based on equivalence. In the case of multilingualism, substitution of elements of the source language in their different modes of appearance could result in deletion (see below).

In repetition, items of SL are retained in the TL text (most commonly realia, cultural artefacts, etc.). For translation of multilingualism, it would roughly mean the following:

SL1 (the main language) > TL, SL2 remains untranslated.⁶ Since the translation acquires additional connotations and a direct reference to German culture, the retention of German is possible to interpret in this instance as addition (see below).

Deletion means that a particular element is omitted. Delabastita (1993, 35) notes that deletion blurs the distinction between translation and adaptation. The multilingualism of the original is averaged out and there are no hints in the translation that the source text contains elements in different languages or varieties of the source language.

Addition, in contrast, implies that a prototype in the TL is lacking. Addition may be a compensating strategy (paired with some necessary deletions, Delabastita 1993, 37). A translator might believe that additions are necessary for a better comprehension or for aesthetic reasons, often exoticising the text. In translation of multilingualism it could involve cases in which there is no multilingualism in the original but the translator (sometimes erroneously) attributes a conventional element of the SL to another SL (thus, imagining SL1 and SL2 where, in fact, there is only one SL).

Finally, permutation may refer to a different positioning of SL elements in TL text: some of the information (linguistic, cultural, etc.) is provided in metatexts that can be subdivided into presuppositional (necessary for understanding the concept of the original, the cultural background, historical setting, etc.) and interpretative (comments, footnotes, etc.) metatexts (Torop 1995, 80). In translations of multilingualism permutation may be a strategy that accompanies repetition: SL1 > TL and SL2 is retained (repetition), but translated in a footnote or in brackets. Another possibility is to provide in other translation metatexts (prefaces, afterwords, etc.) the essential information on the language situation, stylistic nuances and cultural context of the original (presuppositional metatexts, according to Torop 1995, 80). This can also be a matter of translation culture; for example, metatexts such as footnotes, prefaces, translator's remarks, etc., are common in translations into Estonian, although less so in Anglo-American translations.

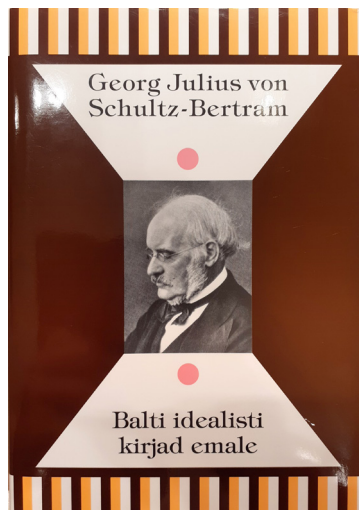
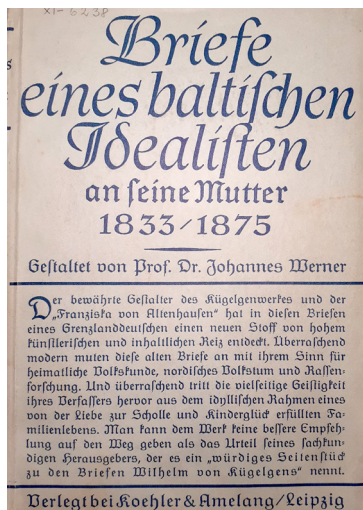
It has to be noted, though, that a translation usually contains several transformation categories, some of which are closely connected, as discussed below (repetition + permutation, deletion + addition). Thus, the analyst should establish what transformation categories are most used and whether it is possible to discuss a systematic strategy or not.

6 A striking example of this technique is the deliberate retention of the expression (*ein*) *Meister aus Deutschland* '(a) master from Germany' and the last three lines in German by John Felstiner in his English translation of Paul Celan's *Todesfuge*. While the original is not multilingual, the translation capitalises on language symbolism (Germany bringing death to Jews in the Holocaust). The authors thank Laroslava Strikha for providing this example.

Multilingualism in Estonian translations of Baltic German literature

The relationship between Estonian literature and Baltic German literature in its historical Baltic context until the resettlement of Baltic Germans in 1939 (Pistohlkors 1994, 541) begins in an extremely imbalanced fashion. Throughout the 19th century, German language and literature served as the main source of translations into Estonian, being undoubtedly more prestigious and stronger. This serves as a classical case according to Even-Zohar's model of literary polysystems, in which a smaller literature relies in its development on a more dominant literature (1990, 55). In the middle of the 19th century, Estonian literature can even be described as a system almost exclusively dependent on German input, with Baltic Germans as translators, publishers and critics of texts in Estonian (Lukas 2012, 227). During the second half of the 19th century Russian literature gained more prominence in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire (Hasselblatt 2016, 263) and translations from other languages such as French and English became more frequent. German as a source language maintained its strong position (Lukas 2012, 227), but Estonians achieved a stronger presence in the field of literature. By the end of the 19th century, Estonian literature was still a 'young' literature, but translation work was mainly done by native Estonians and the variety of source languages was increasing.

The novels used as sources in this article are documents of German dominance over Estonian culture. Even in the period of the independent Republic of Estonia 1918–1940, the Baltic German minority as a former ruling class identified themselves as culturally superior. This feeling of superiority in Baltic German literature functions as a cultural lens through which the world is described, and can be observed in the choice of topics as well as in the indifference towards other (local) cultures and languages.



Posthumously published *Briefe eines baltischen Idealisten an seine Mutter* (1934) by Georg Julius von Schultz and the translation into Estonian by Ilmar Vene (2004).

Some decades after the resettlement of the Baltic Germans this minority practically ceased to exist due to the loss of its historic habitat in the Baltics. For Baltic Germans living in exile, with no options to reconnect to areas occupied by the Soviet Union, the imaginary community became an important identity marker. For the Baltic German community widespread in Germany and in other countries, literature became a central place where cultural identity and memory could be celebrated.

On the Estonian side, the struggle to be free from German dominance is engraved in Estonian collective memory as the “The Great Battle for Freedom”, remembered as lasting over 700 years (Tamm 2008, 506). This trope is used in popular culture and taught at schools to a certain extent, but has lost a great deal of its historical sensitivity. Baltic German literature is a historical phenomenon with no present actors, whereas Estonian literature exists and is evolving. The next major difference between the ‘lived world’ of Estonians now and the past presented in the historical novels by Baltic Germans is the linguistic shift. One hundred years ago, educated Estonians spoke German and Russian (Hennoste 1997, 57–60; Bender 2021, 59) and could therefore have access to German literature without translation. In Estonia of the 21st century, German is still a language that is taught and learnt, but only a small minority of readers would be able (or willing) to turn to Baltic German original texts.

With this sociohistorical and linguistic background in mind we will now turn to the discussion of examples of multilingualism in the translations of the texts listed in the introduction.

Substitution

A case of substitution that can be observed in many translations of Baltic German literature is the translation of the names of towns and manor houses. Werner Bergengruen’s famous collection of short stories *Der Tod von Reval* (*The Death of Reval* 1939) turns into *Surm Tallinnas* (*Death in Tallinn*, 1966) representing the old and the current name of the city.⁷ Every town and all old villages in Estonia have names in German that were used until 1918; Baltic German literature uses only these German names. If a translation uses Estonian names for the same places, the historical dimension of the name is lost for the reader. Substitution of a place name comes at the cost of losing the connotations the name was provoking in the readers of the protoculture. Naming the places in Estonian was part of the decolonisation process and therefore significant for Estonians. The Baltic German community used old place names partly habitually but partly as a political statement. Substitution of the place names neutralises this statement. Especially in cases when a Baltic German text was published

7 The name of the city in Estonian, Tallinn, has been used since the 1918 declaration of Estonian independence.

after 1918 and the time of the narrative is the 1920s, using German names can be interpreted as a statement, as a nostalgic reference to the past. A Baltic German person would have used German place names in their Estonian as well. However, since the names in Estonian represent the process of emancipation, and the German names are generally forgotten, using Estonian place names contributes to readability and might be good for marketing.

Repetition

The repetition, i.e. reproduction, of multilingualism applies in cases where the source text displays languages other than the SL. The translation copies the original and leaves the foreign elements of the SL untranslated.

In the translation of Baltic German literature cases of repetition can be divided into different subtypes. The use of French, Latin and occasionally some Italian and English was rather common in Baltic German literature (Jänes and Saagpakk 2021; Saagpakk and Saar 2021; Linno and Lukas 2022, 792) and these languages were familiar to the readers of these texts in other areas of the German literary market. Where the original presents these languages in the form of alternation, the translations usually display these language elements according to the original.

[er] flüsterte der Baronin ins Ohr: “Ce n’est rien pour les jeune filles...” (Hueck-Dehio 1955, 377)

[ta] sosistas parunessile kõrva “*Ce n’est rien pour les jeune filles...*” (Hueck-Dehio 2001, 295)

[he] whispered into the ear of the Baroness “*Ce n’est rien pour les jeune filles*”.

The repetition provides an example of Baltic German linguistic habitus but is combined with permutation. The Estonian translation adds italics to mark the sentence as a foreign element and a footnote with the translation since the knowledge of French is not very common in Estonia.

However, using repetition might sometimes foreignise or exoticise words that were presumably not intended or perceived as foreign in the original. When Georg Julius von Schultz’s neutral “Palazzo” (Schultz 1934, 75) is displayed in italics and turned into “*palazzo*” (Schultz 2004, 79) in the Estonian translation, this word in Italian receives a classification as foreign in places where it was at least doubtful in the playful and rich 19th century German of the original. In the given translation, similar realia⁸ such as “Coupé” (Schultz 1934, 89) “Morgennégligé” (101), “Carrière” (113), “Soirée” (149) are translated using Estonian loanwords “kupee” (Schultz 2004, 95), “negližee” (107), “kar-

8 We understand ‘realia’ according to Florin as “words [...] denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development” (1993, 123).

jäär" (123), "suaree" (167). Due to poetic or other considerations, the same translator also uses deletion in the case of realia, as in "Douaniers" (Schultz 1934, 75) vs "tollia-metnikel" (customs officers) (Schultz 2004, 78) or "Rapporteurs" (Schultz 1934, 101) vs. "teadetetoojailt" (messenger) (Schultz 2004, 107). As the case proves, the foreignness of the realia might have been perceived by the translator as having different degrees.

In the same text there is an interesting case of multilingualism where a case of lexical borrowing is complemented by mimicking the German accent in English.

Ich [. . .] sagte: "Plihs, gud mäd of Pörs, uär ise uä vor Dschohns Tschörtsch?" Dies liest sich zwar gräßlich, ist aber gutes Englisch. (Schultz 1934, 161)

I said: "Plihs, gud mäd of Pörs, uär ise uä vor Dschohns Tschörtsch?" This reads horribly but it is good English.

[. . .] ütlesin: „Plihs, gud mäd of Pörs, uär ise uä vor Dschohns Tschörtsch?“ Seda lugedes on ju kole, kuid arusaadavuse seisukohalt on see – suuline kõne saksapärase ülestähenduses – hea inglise keel. (Schultz 2004, 181)

[I] said: "Plihs, gud mäd of Pörs, uär ise uä vor Dschohns Tschörtsch?" It reads horribly, but as for comprehension it is – oral speech in German transcription – good English.

Since the standard transcription of English or even the way a non-linguist Estonian would transcribe this sentence would require different choices (for example 'pliis' vs 'plihs'), the translator decides to use the original and add an explanation as a metatext.

Deletion

From the point of view of sociolinguistic information about oral language use in the Baltics in previous centuries, the traces of Baltic German variety and the use of Estonian (and Latvian) are especially valuable for Estonian readers because they reveal information on language usage in everyday life, a field where our knowledge is decidedly incomplete. However, the nature of these representations of language contact makes them difficult to preserve in the translation and they may end up being deleted.

The first example comes from a Baltic German variety that is no longer spoken in the region and has very few speakers among the oldest generation of Baltic Germans, who were forced to leave the Baltics. In Monika Hunnius' autobiographical story *Mein Onkel Hermann* the children shout:

"Wir wollen Goggelmoggel" (Geklopftes Ei mit Zucker.)" (Hunnius 1921, 65)

We want Goggelmoggel (Whipped egg with sugar)

“Me tahame kogelmogelit!” [. . .] (Hunnius 2000, 67)

We want kogelmogel.

As can be seen, the original novel, which targeted the common literature market for readers of texts in German, gives an explanation for the Baltic word ‘Goggelmoggel’. Readers of the text in Estonian have a slightly undertranslated version of the scene because they are not informed that the word ‘kogelmogel’ is from the local variety of German and perceive the word as Estonian, referring to a dish that used to be a common dessert for children until quite recently.

A similar case can be found in the novel by Else Hueck-Dehio. The father of the protagonist tells his family about a student meeting.

Professor von Hoerner [. . .] erzählte von der „Szhodka“, [. . .] (Fußnote: Szhodka – Studentenversammlung, etwa dasselbe wie meeting)” (Hueck-Dehio 1955, 150)

Professor von Hoerner [. . .] told about the “Szhodka” (Footnote: Szhodka – gathering of students, roughly the same as meeting”

Professor von Hoerner [. . .] jutustas eelmise päeva koosolekust, [. . .] (Hueck-Dehio 2001, 118)

Professor von Hoerner [. . .] spoke about the meeting on the previous day.

Again, we can see that the German reader is not expected to know the inserted word stemming from Russian that was used in student jargon. Unlike the case of Goggelmoggel the word ‘Szhodka’ is not used in Estonian and the translator decides to dehistoricise the scene by deleting the information that the original used a balticism.

Some sentences present a mix of different displays of multilingualism.

“Ich nicht kann geben die Uhr”, sagte er ruhig in gebrochenem Russisch und zeigte die Hände hin, “donnez vous la peine, monsieur, de la prendre vous-même!” (Schultz 1934, 39)

“I not can give the watch”, he said calmly in broken Russian and showed his hands: “donnez vous la peine, monsieur, de la prendre vous-même!”

The gentleman being threatened by a robber answers calmly in Russian and adds a sentence in French which is incomprehensible for his attacker thus stressing his moral superiority, notwithstanding the situation. The mistakes in Russian, in a language too insignificant to be worth learning properly by this German nobleman, hint at the hierarchy between the languages in the scene. In the original, the aspect of flawed Russian is presented on the non-lexical level through a non-standard word order in a German sentence and complemented by a comment. Russian is not used.

„Ma ei saa kella anda“, ütles ta rahulikult oma vigases vene keeles ja näitas käed ette. „Donnez vous la peine, monsieur, de la prendre vous-même!“ (Schultz 2004, 38)

“I cannot give the watch”, he said calmly in his broken Russian and showed his hands: “donnez vous la peine, monsieur, de la prendre vous-même!”

In the Estonian translation, two multilingual elements (code-switching in French, metalinguistic commentary) are preserved. Syntactic change that appears in mimicking the transfer effect of German onto Russian is deleted since the same information is already given through the comment (“broken Russian”).

The strategy of mixing deletion and addition can also be observed in our corpus. In *Dear Renata* a Lutheran pastor uses a Russian expression during the Easter celebration.

[. . .] er schlug das Kreuz über uns und der sich biegender Tafel und sagte: “Nado rasgawljatsja.”⁹ (Man muß sich entfasten!)” (Hueck-Dehio 1955, 192)

he made a cross towards the table and us and said “Lent is over!”

Ta tegi meie ja lookas laua poole ristimärgi ja lausus vene keeles “Paastuaeg on möödas!” (Hueck-Dehio 2001, 150)

he made a cross towards us and the crammed table and said in Russian “Lent is over!”

The translator decided to skip the switch to Russian and use an addition instead. The information that gets lost, is that the Russian language in the original text bears markers of orality and is given in transliterated form.

Deletion is difficult to avoid in cases where “otherness” is “sameness” (Grutman 2006, 22). However, in the case of Baltic German literature in Estonian translation it is the information about the use of Estonian language and representation of Estonian in its different variations that is especially valuable for Estonian readers. As we stated earlier, there are not many examples to be found, firstly because describing the relations to Estonians is not a common topic and secondly because the readers of German outside of Estonia could not be expected to understand Estonian. This means that the existing cases of Estonian lexical items in Baltic German literature should be handled with special care.

It is questionable whether the classification of deletion can apply if only one element of displaying language contact in the source text has been deleted. We claim that deletion has happened when the translator corrects the mistakes when repeating the Estonian of the source text. By doing so the translator deletes one layer of meaning in

9 In Russian: *надо разговляться*.

the original (i.e., the fact that the original exhibits contact phenomena, for instance, if a protagonist's speech contains code-switching, morphosyntax of another language, accent, etc.). The translator feels a need to correct the mistakes, which are difficult to preserve, especially when appearing in realia or given in the narrator's text and not in a character speech.

An example can be cited from *Dear Renata* where a community sings a song together written by Johann Voldemar Jannsen, an important figure in the 19th century rise of Estonian national aspirations. In order to calm a dangerously charged crowd, the local pastor Johannes proposes to sing:

[. . .] wollen wir zusammen singen "Mu samaa, mu öen, mu römsu" (Fußnote: Estnisches Volkslied: „Mein Heimatland, mein Glück, meine Freude...") (Hueck-Dehio 1955, 380)

Should we sing together "Mu samaa, mu öen, mu römsu" (Footnote: Estonian folk song: "My fatherland, my happiness, my joy".

[. . .] laulame koos „Mu isamaa, mu õnn, mu rõõm..." (Hueck-Dehio 2001, 293–294)

[we] sing together "Mu isamaa, mu õnn, mu rõõm..."

The orthography of Estonian in the German sentence is not correct. Apart from the missing letter 'i' in 'samaa', which is the compound noun 'isa-maa' ('father land'), the words 'öen' and 'römsu' should be 'õnn' and 'rõõm'. These flawed representations of Estonian could be seen as simple mistakes. It is possible that the author actually wanted to write correctly but did not realise she was making a mistake; it is further possible that the mistake was made at the printing house, etc. However, the fact that the song title, which is of central importance for Estonian culture, appears in the wrong orthography may also be interpreted as a marker of Else Hueck-Dehio and the author's superior feelings toward Estonian. Another aspect to consider here is that of orality. If the intention of the author is to present Estonian in a non-standard way, in a mimetic relationship to the way Estonian spoken by Germans sounded, this would be the way to write it. Since the Germans in Estonia were often capable of communicating orally in Estonian, but had no need to learn the language in its written form, mimicking orality is an important aspect of Baltic German language behaviour. In the novel, where the protagonist is a speaker of Estonian and emotionally invested in a peaceful future of coexistence between Estonians and Germans in the country, the element of misspelling reduces the credibility of the character within the fictional storyworld in German. The translation eliminates that effect.

A further example from the same text shows that errors in Estonian orthography are not a one-time occurrence. The sentence below is connected to a description of

the Estonian St Martin's day custom of going to the neighbours and wishing them a good harvest and happiness for their house. The Estonians are singing:

„Laske sisse, laske sisse Märtisantid! Märti olet kaugelt tulnud-, Märtisantid!“ (Hueck-Dehio 1955, 153)

„Laske sisse, laske sisse mardisandid, Mart on tulnud kaugelt maalta – mardisandid...“ (Hueck-Dehio 2001, 120)

“Let [us come] inside, let inside the St Martin's bettlers! Mart(in) had a long way – St Martin's bettlers.”

The Estonian in the German text could be a variation of the song, which might explain 'Märti' rather than 'Mart', although the auxiliary verb 'oled' ('have') could not end with a 't' by the time of publication in 1955.¹⁰

When the translator Pille Toompere was interviewed for the sake of the current study in spring 2023, she could not recall any pressure from the publisher to correct the Estonian used in the novel, but could not remember if her decision was based on the wish to achieve better comprehension, or if the choice was made for aesthetic reasons. However, it is important to mention that the same translator has recently (2022) published another translation of Baltic German literature, Georg Julius Schultz's *Balti visandid* (*Baltische Skizzen*, 1857) in which the multilingualism is handled with great care and presented as a dominant feature of the text.

Addition

Several examples provided in the sections about repetition and deletion are combined with additions. Apart from the cases above where additions serve the purpose of compensation or clarification, the Estonian translations of Baltic German literature provide another type of addition, specifically the case of multiscript. Since knowledge of Russian is common in both the historical Baltics, where the Baltic Germans used to live, as well the contemporary Baltics, the Estonian reader can be expected to read Russian in Cyrillic letters. In fact, the transliteration of Russian words would often be more difficult to understand, since the transliteration in the original follows German convention, which differs from Estonian transliteration of Russian. The anticipated reader of Baltic German literature, a German reader in Germany or other German speaking country, is usually not a speaker of Russian and needs transliteration. In the Estonian translation, repetition of Russian lexical items is combined with the element of multiscript, and a footnote is used to convey the meaning of the word in Estonian, as the original does in German.

¹⁰ There were more irregularities in Estonian orthography in the 19th century.

“aber die 3000 Spizkis [Streichhölzer]” (Schultz 1934, 112)

“aga 3000 спички (allmärkus: tikud vene k.)” (Schultz 2004, 112)

“but 3,000 matches (in both cases followed by a translation)”

The choices of the translator reveal sociolinguistic awareness. From the perspective of representing multilingualism however, it can be said that the translation accentuates the word in Russian more than the original, where it could also be seen as an element of the local Baltic variety of German.

An interesting case of highlighting the use of a dialect word is found in the following case. The text describes a manor house and comments on the building where the carriage was kept.

Der Planwagen stand indessen in der Wagenremise, ‘Stadoll’ genannt [. . .]. (Hunnius 1921, 13)

Plaanvanker oli sel ajal ehitises, mida nimetati vankrikuuriks. (Hunnius 2000, 15)

The carriage was at the time in the building that was called the carriage shed.

In the source text, ‘Wagenremise’ is the word in German and ‘Stadoll’ the word in the Baltic variety of German. In the translation ‘the building that was called the carriage shed’ does not tell us what the word was in the variety, although the reader understands that locals used a different word for the building.

Sometimes additions result from the choice of a register that differ from the source text. The example that we used above, where a frozen corpse is taken to a doctor’s lab in the text by Schulz, serves in the translation as an example of turning erroneous language into a regional variety. This happens in the cases where the German language spoken by Estonian characters has orthographic irregularities marking the accent or mistakes in grammar. However, there is no reason why an Estonian who makes mistakes in German should make mistakes or turn to dialect in his or her native language.

“Steif is er so nicht,” sagte Herr Adamson, “Stadtsknechte haben ihm erst heute morgen in alte Pulverkeller kefundten, auf ein Strick aufkehongen; ich werde ihm in obere Saal bringen, da is mehr Wärmde. [. . .].” (Schulz 1934, 28)

““Peris jäik ta põle,” ütles härra Adamson, “linnasulased alles täna hommikul leidsid ta püssirohukeldrist silmuse otsast; viin ta ülemisse saali, sääl on sooja rohkem.”” (Schulz 2004, 25)

“He is not quite stiff”, said Mr. Adamson. “City servants found him only this morning hanging on a rope in the gun powder cellar; I will bring him to the room above, there is more warmth.”

The Estonian translation uses words in regional variety such as ‘peris’ vs ‘päris’, ‘põle’ vs ‘pole’ and ‘sääl’ vs ‘seal’. The decision is comprehensible and adds an element

of foreignness between the two speakers in the scene, one a German and one an Estonian. But the result is the German speaking standard Estonian and the Estonian speaking street language or a regional variety (the markers are not clear). The information that is lost for the reader is that Mr Adamson was able to speak German.

Permutation

The readers of Estonian translations of Baltic German literature tend to receive a significant amount of contextual support by translators in the form of metatext that does not belong to the source text. A study of translations of Baltic German literature in Estonian from 1991 until 2009 revealed that 2/3 of the translations had prefaces or epilogues written by translators (Saagpakk 2019, 225; Bender 2019a, 265–302). Translators of Baltic German literature are often driven by historical motivation themselves (ibid.) and probably rightly assume their readers to have the same motivation. Metatexts support the understanding of Baltic German culture and the relations between Baltic Germans and Estonians in the past and help create a receptive attitude to Baltic German literature, which shares its territorial space with Estonians but remains in a different sphere mentally. As historian Toomas Hiio puts it, “these are pictures of another world within Estonia, which did not include Estonians until the very end – if only as peasants, servants, coachmen, nannies” (Hiio 2000, 79).

Metatextual commentary is complemented by explanations of linguistic and cultural elements of protoculture that are unknown to the contemporary Estonian reader. Such instances, as described above, are usually followed by a footnote providing a translation, and in some cases also an explanation. Since footnotes are an accepted technique in Estonian translation, the reader can be assumed to tolerate foreign elements if they are explained in the footnotes.

Conclusion

Multilingualism in literature functions like a sociolinguistic commentary on the linguistic situations designed in the literary world, offering insights into ways of thinking and acting in and about languages, be it in the framework of the narrative or in the real world. This article contributes to the debate on terminology in the research into literary multilingualism. We suggest using established terms from contact linguistics in order to describe multilingualism in literary texts. Additional terminology is needed only to describe phenomena relating to translations and not written language in general. This approach provides a foundation for a closer interdisciplinary understanding and cooperation between scholars of multilingualism from different disciplines.

As this study has shown, encounters with languages in fiction can serve and be interpreted as a source of information on language hierarchies, language symbolism,

and in some cases language use. It can be assumed that “lived multilingualism” extended the amount of multilingual elements pictured in the texts (Wilpert 2005, 16), making the written representations of multilingualism even more valuable. In the current study, most of the representations of Baltic multilingualism had the purpose of adding an element of the local context that would accentuate the exotic context of a fictional text. As far as language contact phenomena are concerned, there is a clear preference for the lexical (i.e., code-switching and established borrowing) and, to some extent, the phonological effect of other languages (accents). Words and expressions or accents offer a quick way of marking the ‘other’, whether the reader understands the content or not. Congruent lexicalisation was rare in the given sample. This reflects a tradition of Baltic German mistrust towards the language contact phenomena present in the speech of the lower middle class, which was seen as a sign of decay (Plath 2012, 113). Morphosyntactic convergence was seen as a display of shifting boundaries between social strata in real life and perceived as threatening for the dominant position of Germans, whereas lexical borrowing (with an exoticising or historicising effect) was more accepted. Cases of the morphosyntactic impact of other languages also presuppose the understanding of structural differences between languages, which the readers of Baltic German literature on the common German literary market did not possess. These aspects of political, social and ideological determination make the cases of multilingualism as well as the distinction between different forms of displaying them in Baltic German literature valuable and worthy of attention for the community of literary translation scholars as well as historians and sociolinguists.

Coming to translations, the decisions made by Estonian translators translating Baltic German literature in the 2000s mirrors the state of historical revision of our multilingual past seen through the lenses of contemporary Estonians. The occasions when Latin or French, languages which were a part of educated Baltic Germans repertoire, are present in the original, tend to be solved using repetition in the target language (i.e. code-switching is reproduced in the translation as code-switching). The translation of the most relevant elements of the local linguistic culture, so-called balticisms (conventionalised borrowings from other languages (Estonian and Russian) into Baltic German) appear to be far more challenging. As demonstrated in this study, different techniques are used to preserve the models of multilingual communication in translation, such as repetition of code-switching, but also addition, deletion and various methods of metatextual commentary. There appears to be a tendency of stronger awareness towards multilingualism as an element of the Baltic past in recent translations. This hypothesis should be investigated in future research. Further diachronic studies are also necessary in order to investigate the approach to multilin-

gualism in earlier translations into Estonian, at the time when German, Russian and Estonian used to be the dominant local languages.

Baltic German texts belong to the protoculture of a former colonial power that has very strongly influenced Estonian culture, language, and literature. Reading Baltic German literature helps us understand the mindset and habitus of people who belonged to this minority in Estonia (which no longer exists). Multilingualism in Baltic German texts, especially in cases where Estonian lexical items are used, is therefore of great importance as it offers fictional representations of Estonia's multilingual and multicultural past and should be handled with care both by translators as well as by researchers. We conclude with the following idea, expressed by Delabastita and Grutman (2005, 14): "fictional representations of multilingualism on the one hand, and of translation on the other, ultimately lead us back to a common reality, that is, if we understand 'translation' not just as an abstract or 'technical' operation between words and sentences, but as cultural events occurring, or significantly not occurring, between people and societies in the real world".

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Mitmekeelsusest baltisaksa kirjanduse eestikeelsetes tõlgetes

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Võtmesõnad: mitmekeelsus, tõlkimine, baltisaksa kirjandus, kontaktlingvistika

Artiklis on vaatluse all mitmekeelsuse tõlkimise viisid baltisaksa kirjanduse eestikeelsetes tõlgetes. Mitmekeelsus kui kirjanduslik võte laiendab ühe keele seotud piire ja kasutab keelekontaktidest tulevaid nähtusi (koodivahetus, koodivaheldus, tõlkelaenuid jms) täiendavate tähenduskihtide loomiseks, olles seega enamat kui vaid reaalsete keelekontaktide peegeldus kirjanduses (Grutman 2006). Siiski ei seisa kirjanduslik mitmekeelsus lahus autori ühiskondlikust ja isiklikust taustast, mis pakub vajalikke ressursse mitmekeelsuse kujutamiseks, alustades autori keel(t)eoskusest ja lõpetades autori aegruumis valitsenud keelehierarhiatega. Mitmekeelsust sisaldava kirjandusteose tõlkimisel on seega oluline leida viisid, et kirjandusliku mitmekeelsuse kaudu edasi antud vihjed ja suhted tõlketeksti lugejale edasi anda.

Artiklis vaatluse alla võetud baltisaksa kirjanduse puhul on oluline märkida, et tegelik ajalooline mitmekeelsus Balti regioonis, mida on nimetatud ka Balti ühiskonna „selgrooks“ (Plath 2012, 108), ei leidnud balti autorite poolt eriti sageli kajastamist (Wilpert 2005, 16). Autorite soov olla mõistetav saksakeelse kirjandusturu lugejate jaoks ja nende teatav kalduvus purismile tingisid Baltikumi rikka mitmekeelse keskkonna vaid summutatud kajastuse kirjanduses. Ent tänapäeval on eesti keelde tõlgitud baltisaksa kirjanduse lugeja eriti huvitatud just kultuuri- ja keelekontaktidest Baltimaades elanud eri rahvusest inimeste vahel ning olmelise maailma toimimise viisidest. Seepärast omandab kirjanduslik mitmekeelsus tänapäeva tõlkija ja lugeja jaoks erilise tähenduse. Baltisaksa kirjanduse mitmekeelsuse uurimisel on seni erilist tähelepanu pälvinud makarooniline luule (Kalda 2000; Abrams 2007; Bender 2021), kus saksa, vene ja eesti keelega mängides luuakse liialdusi kasutades koomiline efekt. Viimase kümnendi jooksul on baltisaksa kirjanduse mitmekeelsust tõlgendatud valitsenud keelehierarhiate taustal (Undusk ja Lukas 2011) ja näidatud baltisaksa kirjanduse mitmekeelsuse eri tasandeid (Lukas 2020; Linno ja Lukas 2022). Lisaks on ilmunud ka käsitlusi, mis keskenduvad mitmekeelsuse funktsioonile ühes kirjandustekstis (Jänes jt 2020) või mälestustekstis (Saagpakk ja Saar 2021). Reet Benderilt (2021) pärineb värskem diakrooniline vaade kohalikule baltisaksa keelele.

Kasutatud terminoloogia vaatenurgast seab käesolev artikkel eesmärgiks luua ülevaate kirjandusliku mitmekeelsuse kirjeldamisel kasutatavatest terminitest (Delabastita 1993; Torop 1995; Grutman 2006; Dembeck 2017) ning rikastada valdkonda sotsiolingvistikas ja kontaktlingvistikas kasutatavate terminitega (Myusken 2000; Backus 2015). Kuigi kirjandusteos ei ole reaalse keelekasutuse täielik reproduktsioon, rajaneb kirjandusteose mitmekeelsus sellegipoolest realselt esineval mitmekeelsusel. Seega ei ole autorite arvates õigustatud eraldi terminoloogia loomine, vaid pigem vastupidi: tuleb toetuda sotsio- ja kontaktlingvistikas väljatöötatud terminoloogiale, et seostada kirjanduslik mitmekeelsus tegeliku mitmekeelsusega. Artikkel süstematiseerib eri tekstidest ja nende tõlgetest toodud näited Delabastita (1993) pakutud ja Toropi (1995) lahtiseletatud tüpologia alusel, näidates nende avaldumisvormi baltisaksa kirjanduse tõlgetes. Mainitud tüpologia annab ülevaate võtetest (nt lisamine, kustutamine, säilitamine vms) ning seletab, kuidas tõlge toimib teksti, teose ja kultuuri tasandil.

Artiklis tuakse tõlkenäiteid neljast baltisaksa teosest, kõigi puhul ületab avaldamise ja tõlkimise vaheline aeg poolt sajandit, mis tähendab, et tõlkijad elavad hoopis teistsuguses Balti aegruumis kui tõlgitavad autorid. Estofiili Georg Julius von Schultzi (1808–1875) postuumselt avaldatud „Baltisaksa idealisti kirjad emale“ („Briefe eines baltischen Idealisten an seine Mutter“, 1934) ilmus 2004 eesti keeles Ilmar Vene tõlkes. Teiseks tekstiks on Monika Hunniuse (1858–1934) lapsepõlvemälestuste raamat „Mein Onkel Hermann“ (1921), mis ilmus eesti keeles 2000. aastal Pille Toompere tõlkes. Toomperelt pärineb ka järgmine artiklis kasutatud tekst, 2001 ilmunud „Kallis Renata“, Else Hueck-Dehio (1897–1876) sõjajärgsel Saksamaal väga suure menu saavutanud „Liebe Renata“ (1955) tõlge. Viimaseks kasutatud teoseks oli Edzard Schaperi (1908–1984) 1905. aasta sündmustele keskenduv romaan „Der Henker“ (1940), mille eestikeelse tõlke „Timukas“ (1940) autoriks on Katrin Kaugver.

Valitud tekstide alusel näitame, et mitmekeelsuse tõlkimist, eriti juhtudel, kui tõlgitav tekst kasutab sihtkeelt, võib lugeda kui sotsiolingvistilist kommentaari vastavale perioodile (Delabastita ja Grutman 2005, 14). Toetudes Delabastita ja Toropi pakutud tüpoloogiale, analüüsib artikkel viise, kuidas tõlkijad lahendavad (koloniaal)ajaloolisi küsimusi eri keelte staatusest Baltikumis, mis on baltisaksa kirjanduses esineva mitmekeelsuse üks kandev aspekt. Artikkel näitab, et keelekontaktide kajatamine kirjanduses annab teavet keelehierarhiatest, keele sümboolsest väärtusest ning ka keelekasutusest. Analüüsitud tekstides esineva mitmekeelsuse eesmärgiks on enamasti teatav eksotiseeriv efekt, mille loomiseks kasutati saksakeelse kirjandusruumi lugejate jaoks võõrast Baltikumi eesti-saksa-vene mitmekeelsust. Keelekontaktidest torkavad enim silma leksikaalsed laenud ja koodivahetus, ent esineb ka fonoloogilise keelekontakti markeerimist (aktsent). Üksikud sõnad ja standardist hälbiva häälduse esitamine võimaldavad efektiivselt näidata teisesust, ilma et lugeja peaks täielikult keelekonteksti tundma. Eesti tõlgete lugejale on aga väga oluline, et keelekontaktide esitamise viisid kaduma ei läheks, seega on näiteks ka baltitsismide edastamine ning vigaselt esitatud eesti keel lugejale väärtuslik info. Tõlkijate jaoks on seega lihtsamad need juhtumid, kus mitmekeelsus puudutab surnud keeli, nagu ladina keel, või mõnd kolmandat keelt, millel ei ole praegu märkimisväärtset aktiivset kõnelejaskonda Eestis, nagu itaalia või prantsuse keel. Neil puhkudel on võimalik tekstides esinev mitmekeelsus tõlkesse üle kanda. Eesti ja vene keele ilmingute tõlkimine on aga märksa keerulisem ülesanne. Artiklis näidatakse, missuguseid võtteid tõlkijad selleks kasutavad, alates koodivahetusest, tekstisisestest kommentaaridest kuni tõlkija metatekstiliste märkusteni.

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