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KARIN SIBUL

The Development of Interpretation in the Context of Estonia's Evolving Statehood

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UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Press

Department of English Studies and the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies, College of Foreign Languages and Cultures, University of Tartu.

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Prof. Dörte Andres, Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz

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INTRODUCTION

The present dissertation explores the evolution of interpreting in the Republic of Estonia. Specifically, in order to study a span of about seventy years, that evolution is examined across two different periods that correspond to the divisions in Estonia's history: the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940), and Soviet Estonia (1944–1991). The author set herself the task of identifying and describing the types of interpreting used in Estonia, the settings in which it occurred and its importance. The underlying reason spurring her to start researching the history of interpreting in Estonia was in fact the opinion prevalent among her younger colleagues that there was no interpretation in Estonia before 2004—that is, before Estonia's accession to the European Union, when Estonian became one of the official EU languages. A few colleagues were willing to admit that there may have been some interpreting before 2004 but said that there definitely was not any before Estonia restored its independence in 1991. As the author has delivered lectures on the history of interpreting and diplomatic interpreting at the University of Tartu and the City University of Tallinn, discussions with master's students who were future interpreters and translators convinced her of the need to undertake her research. As the history of interpreting in Estonia has not really been researched, discussed or written about, obviously, there is little known about it. This made the author's research all the more challenging and fascinating. Discussions with university lecturers in Latvia and Lithuania revealed that the history of interpreting had not been comprehensively studied in those countries either.

According to Julio-César Santoyo, "Almost everybody would agree that one of the most notorious empty spaces in our field is the history of oral translation or interpretation".[1] He regrets that studies are frequently methodologically inconsistent and do not do justice to this ancient profession, and concludes by asking: "How much longer shall we wait for a general history of interpretation, not even of the world, but of a continent or a country?"[2] Anthony Pym ties into this when he singles out two reasons for doing historic research: it should not have been researched before and the researcher must be interested in it.[3]

In recent years interest in the history of interpreting has increased, in order to preserve the memory of oral work done in the past. Several authors have published overviews of the birth of conference interpreting and the introduction of simultaneous interpretation, as well as the use of translation and interpretation for the European Union institutions.[4] Their interest is a tribute to the colleagues

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[1] Julio-César Santoyo, "Blank Spaces in the History of Translation", in *Charting the Future of Translation History*, ed. Georges L. Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006), 13.

[2] Ibid., 15.

[3] Anthony Pym, *Method in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998), 15.

[4] Francesca Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation: The Nuremberg Trial* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998); Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, eds., *New Insights in the History of Interpreting* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016); Kaisa Koskinen, *Translating Institutions: An Ethnographic Study of EU Translation*

who have worked as interpreters over the past century and also represents a legacy for the colleagues who will take over the profession in the future. In Estonia, Interpreting Studies as a field of research is just taking its first steps while the history of that field has not yet been studied. This dissertation is the first to compile a historic narrative of interpreting in Estonia, examining its origin and distinctive features. It discusses how interpreting has evolved to address the needs of different historical contexts in Estonia, and it looks at the issue of how it is essential to differentiate between a "translator" (*tõlkija* in Estonian) and an "interpreter" (*tõlk*); regrettably, the difference is not well rooted in Estonian scholarly literature and journalism.

When researching the evolution of interpretation, it is "an arduous task for the historian to locate references to the topic in chronicles, letters, autobiographies and literary works".[5] With a view to providing an account of how interpreting has evolved in Estonia since the Republic of Estonia first proclaimed its independence in 1918, the author realised that there were very few written sources available to draw upon, as interpreting has been and still is considered quite marginal compared to other professional activities. Other researchers have faced a similar scarcity of sources. As summarised by Franz Pöchhacker, the underlying cause of the problem lies in

> the "evanescence" of the activity, which does not leave any tangible trace, and its often low social esteem. For the most part, interpreting was a "common" activity, in several respects, which did not merit special mention.[6]

In Estonia, this is the first thorough investigation of the evolution of interpretation. The only name usually associated with foreign languages—that is, with interpretation—from the period between the two World Wars is Villem Ernits (1891–1982), known in academic circles for his exceptional knack for languages. The popular opinion of the Soviet years is that interpretation was neither necessary nor provided. The author's curiosity was piqued by this prevailing lack of awareness and she set out to do some detective work to identify as many interpreter forerunners as possible, corroborating her discoveries with archival records, audiovisual evidence and facts. To preserve the fading oral memory of interpreting, the author interviewed interpreters and people who recruited them in Estonia. Her research therefore helps provide a more comprehensive picture of the historical evolution of interpreting in Europe, adding new facets such as the simultaneous interpreting of theatre performances to our historical knowledge.

(Manchester: St. Jerome, 2008); Veerle Duflou, *Be(com)ing a Conference Interpreter: An Ethnography of EU Interpreters as a Professional Community* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016), etc.

[5] Franz Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 159.

[6] Ibid.

As a general topic, "national research and science" (*rahvusteadused* in Estonian) covers research on history, folklore, language, fine arts, literature, theatre and other cultural fields which have had a significant impact on Estonian identity. Specific historical and cultural nuances combined with thorough research are not only important for the people of Estonia but also help create a broader framework that situates Estonia in the international environment. Despite her original intention to write this thesis in Estonian, the author made an informed decision to do so in English in order to increase the visibility of the history of interpreting in Estonia outside the country as well. The focus on Estonia has therefore inevitably shifted slightly due to the need to explain certain processes in greater detail for non-Estonian readers. Finally, it was important to ensure the sustainability and coherence of our intellectual heritage and culture as regards contemporary, dynamic Estonia.

Aims, Focus, and Structure of the Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to provide comprehensive diachronic research on the history of interpretation in Estonia, to map the factual evidence and to find the potentially earliest cases of consecutive and simultaneous interpretation use in the country, as well as to identify interpreters. More generally, the aim is to preserve the oral heritage of interpretation as practiced in Estonia for the future. The resulting research is as comprehensive a picture of the interpretation landscape as possible. The interdisciplinary approach taken examines the evolution of interpreting in Estonia over two contradicting socio-political periods. The author is looking for answers to questions of who interpreted "what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect".[7]

Modern interpreting in Estonia emerged at the same time as the Republic of Estonia. Although interpreting had been employed for centuries, its use became inevitable with the proclamation of the Republic of Estonia in 1918, when Estonian was first introduced as the official language and thereafter as the state language. The author assumes that interpreting was used in Estonia despite the different political orders during the periods from 1918 to 1940 and 1944 to 1991. Indeed, distinct socio-political environments in any given period determine how interpretation is positioned in society as well as the need for interpreting services during that period. The rationale underlying using this approach for this specific research was that the source and target languages and the type of events interpreted differed in each period. The author's point of departure was therefore to research the periods separately and to have a working hypothesis for each of them.

Due to drastically different socio-political conditions in the periods under review, the author starts by analysing potential fields in which interpreting

[7] Pym, *Method in Translation History*, 5. See section 1.1.1. entitled "Interpreting Studies and Interpreting History".

could have been used. According to the author's working hypothesis for 1918 to 1940, interpreting during that period could have been used in foreign relations and diplomacy as well as when foreign guests visited Estonia. From a diachronic point of view, diplomacy and interpreting were inseparable. Indeed, although there were interpreting diplomats, there were no diplomatic interpreters in Estonia during this period. Pierre Bourdieu's universal concept of symbolic capital allowed the author to discover and describe the interpreter's position for the first time in the context of the state's symbolic capital.

When setting out to research the evolution of Estonian interpretation and when considering potential sources, the author started with one of the most significant early diplomatic steps taken by the Republic of Estonia: the Tartu peace negotiations with Soviet Russia. The information she discovered in the minutes of those negotiations encouraged her to continue to research foreign policy and diplomacy during the period, and she thus combed through memoirs and newspapers to figure out when interpretation had been used for the public. Audiovisual sources (photos and film footage) provided little information, primarily because footage was mostly silent or with a voiceover in the years under review.

As diplomatic relations with foreign countries were severed by the Soviets both in 1940 and in 1944, foreign delegations to Estonia were scarce. The author's working hypothesis for the period from 1944 to 1991, therefore, is based on the influx of monolingual Russians; specifically, it is that interpretation was necessary to facilitate communication between two communities: indigenous Estonians and resettled Soviet Russians. The use of Russian was enforced in Estonia as a language of international communication. This hypothesis is then supplemented by another: despite severed international relations, interpretation from and into foreign languages other than Russian was also used. The author interviewed sixty-nine people who were either interpreters themselves or were people who had recruited or used interpreters. Her research focuses on generalisation and does not go into great detail about interpreters' individual experiences, but rather concentrates on events at which interpretation was used and on the reception and attitudes of the audience vis-à-vis interpretation. The interpreters who were active from 1944 to 1991 are now quite old and the author recorded all the interviews to preserve this part of Estonia's history. Despite explicit permission given by the interviewees to do so, the author intentionally avoids identifying them in the dissertation (with a few exceptions, such as three theatre interpreters); this is because her aim is not to label or denounce the interpreters who had worked under a different political order or had not received any interpreter training. The author also used authentic audiovisual material for the first time in Estonia to research interpreting, thus providing rich factual corroboration of the information gathered from the interviews. Memoirs and newspaper articles from this period that mention interpretation are scarce; nevertheless, archival research corroborated the author's assumption that in theatre interpreting, instead of the term "to interpret" (*tõlkima*), "to transmit" (*transleerima*) was used.

The author skipped the World War II years; interpretation in the conflict and war zone and the use of military interpreters when Estonia was occupied by the Soviets and Nazis were outside the general aim of the study.

Each hypothesis is discussed individually in the relevant chapter of this dissertation. In addition to the requirements established by her hypotheses, the author's primary reason for having a large number of sources was to meet the academic demand for relevant and reliable data, which is necessary to draw valid conclusions.

The sources researched for this study comprised textual sources (interviews, books, newspaper articles, verbatim reports of parliamentary sessions, audio recordings) and non-textual artefacts (audiovisual evidence and technological solutions to interpretation). All the material analysed is authentic and was gathered by the author. Although Franz Pöchhacker states that "basic techniques for data collection might be summarised as *watch*, *ask* and *record*", he goes on to underline that research on interpreting also makes use of documentary material, saying that this use "can be viewed as an indirect and unobtrusive observational technique".[8] Written data about the use of interpretation in Estonia is extremely fragmented; thus, written sources were mostly uninformative, occasionally indicating the use of interpretation with a single word. The comprehensive picture of the two periods reviewed was made possible by collating scattered fragments of information. Indeed, written texts can be treated as cultural artefacts.[9] The author deliberately discusses the sources by type, with a view to producing a clearly arranged structure that shows which sources were more informative for which period. This could facilitate the work of future researchers if, for example, they were interested in an in-depth examination of the status of interpreters, ethics, etc. Data to confirm or refute recollections from interviews and memoirs can be searched for in archives. To the author's knowledge, these sources have not previously been examined from the point of view of interpretation use in Estonia.

The dissertation comprises the following parts: an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a summary in Estonian, a list of tables and a bibliography. The main discussion in the thesis is divided into three chapters: one that sets out the conceptual framework and two chapters that are based on different periods in Estonia's socio-political history.

Chapter 1, as an introductory chapter, provides a theoretical and methodological framework to the dissertation by discussing the position of interpreting history in Interpreting Studies and by introducing Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. Having expanded this concept from individuals to states, the significance of interpreting—that is, the use of the state language in international intercourse—becomes evident. Indeed, it could be assumed that it is

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8 Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 64.

9 David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data,* 3rd ed. (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2006), 68.

possible "to reap symbolic benefits" by speaking "with distinction and thereby distinguish[ing oneself] from all those who are less well endowed with linguistic capital".[10] Thus the author lays the groundwork for further discussion of the growth of the Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital via interpreting in diplomatic relations. This represents a new approach in the descriptive history of interpretation in Estonia. One of the conclusions drawn is that diplomatic interpreting has supported the Republic of Estonia's aspirations to be recognised and accepted as an independent state in world politics. Also in Chapter 1, the section on methods and materials supports the overall structure of the research and gives a detailed picture of the textual and non-textual artefacts the author has used. The terminology section analyses the evolution of the term "interpreter" in the Estonian language and looks at various sources. It proceeds to define "conference interpreting" as the type of interpretation practiced in the years under review. As "diplomatic interpreting" is inseparable from the evolution of interpretation in Estonia, the author gives a brief overview of the historic evolution thereof and its contribution to conference interpreting in Europe. "Parliamentary interpreting" is also introduced in its historical context, and an overview is given of its evolution and use in the contemporary world. Finally, "theatre interpreting", a rare type of institutional interpretation, is introduced, drawing parallels and finding common ground with sign language theatre interpreting.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to interpretation in the Republic of Estonia from 1918 to 1940. After introducing the period with a short description of the linguistic environment and the source and target languages used in interpretation, the author proceeds to briefly introduce all the interpreters she has succeeded in identifying. A discussion of performance evaluations and technological innovations throws light on interpreting in Estonia as well as on the technological advances Estonians witnessed abroad at international conferences. Diplomatic interpretation is examined as an example of how the Estonian language was used as a bid for symbolic capital, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. Inconspicuously but persistently, leaders of the country and diplomats in particular, as well as interpreters and interpreting, contributed to the Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital. The chapter concludes with an analysis of references to interpreting in newspapers. Overall, the chapter portrays the evolution of conference interpreting in Estonia from its earliest known use in 1918 to the interpretation of public lectures and other events, and also demonstrates the power of the state language.

Chapter 3 examines interpreting in Estonia after World War II, from 1944 until the restoration of independence in 1991; it develops the argument that

[10] John B. Thompson, editor's introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power*, by Pierre Bourdieu, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity, 1997), 21.

interpretation was also used during the Soviet occupation. Interpreting for the period is examined by looking at two language groups: first, between Estonian and Russian, and second, between Estonian and other foreign languages. An analysis of parliamentary interpreting and the interpreting of theatre performances focuses on two types of interpreting that were rare in the Soviet Union. The simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances has not, however, drawn much attention from researchers or from theatre critics and reviewers, either in Estonia or elsewhere. To the author's knowledge this dissertation is the first in Estonia to discuss this type of institutional interpretation in detail. The section on interpreting from and into foreign languages other than Russian looks at interpreting for diplomatic delegations and other delegations, as well as for tour groups and for scientific and other conferences. This chapter provides the first comprehensive discussion of factual evidence that the author gathered from film footage and photographic images of interpreters at work. Interpretation is treated as a contributing factor in maintaining the use of the Estonian language in an environment in which a foreign language dominated. Interpreting as an activity was inseparable from the efficient functioning of the parliament, helping to invisibly negotiate boundaries for the use of Estonian in public spaces that were also under Soviet control. To paraphrase Bourdieu, the interpreter is an agent who enjoys the privilege of contributing to the field within which he or she functions and is thus associated with the symbolic capital of the state.

The **Conclusion** looks back on the author's research and summarises her contribution to preserving the history of interpreting in Estonia, which had not previously been deemed worthy of in-depth research in Estonia. Interpreting is, however, one facet of the country's intangible heritage. To paraphrase the UNESCO concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage, living heritage is very fragile; this part of Estonia's cultural heritage could therefore disappear unless it is preserved and researched. This dissertation represents a first step in doing just that, giving many hitherto unknown interpreters a voice.

CHAPTER 1.
Theoretical and Methodological Framework

1.1 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this dissertation comprises three components. First, a general review of the advancement of Interpreting Studies from a sub-discipline of Translation Studies to an independent research field is given. Second, the author's main focus is on the history of interpreting; thus, the position thereof in Interpreting Studies is examined. Recently translation scholars' attention has shifted more from the text itself toward translator's and interpreter's agency: this is a sociological shift that considers interpreters as a social group with a status and also looks at power-related issues. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic capital" is introduced. This concept lies at the centre of the author's analysis of the collected factual material about the use of diplomatic interpreting at the birth of the Republic of Estonia, the linguistic situation and the use of parliamentary interpreting in the Soviet era. The author extends the concept of symbolic capital from individuals to states to demonstrate Estonia's bid to gain the state symbolic capital. Finally, the interpreter's *habitus* is discussed: its relationship with social status, identity, indeterminacy and marginality, as well as the permanent struggle for resources in the interpreting field.

1.1.1 Interpreting Studies and Interpreting History

The focus of this dissertation is on the history of interpreting in Estonia. It is therefore relevant to this research and appropriate to discuss the position of the history of interpreting within the field of Interpreting Studies. Scholarly interest in interpreting is associable with the evolution of conference interpreting in the early twentieth century, which has now become "a productive line of investigation",[1] overcoming its previously held "subordinate position in interpreting studies".[2]

Although the academic field of Translation Studies is considered to be a recent field that dates back to the second half of the twentieth century,[3] that of

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[1] Franz Pöchhacker, "Evolution of Interpreting Research", in *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, ed. Holly Mikkelson and Renée Jourdenais (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 72.

[2] Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, introduction to *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*, eds. Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016), viii.

[3] See Jeremy Munday, "Issues in Translation Studies", in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday, rev. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 4; James S. Holmes, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies (1972)", in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Lawrence Venuti, 180–192 (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

Interpreting Studies is still more recent.[4] In 1992, Heidemarie Salvesky[5] and Daniel Gile[6] suggested almost simultaneously that the term "Interpreting Studies" be used.[7] Although Interpreting Studies are occasionally considered a sub-discipline of Translation Studies, Pöchhacker highlights that "interpreting studies is clearly distinguished by its unique object of study, that is 'real-time' human translation in an essentially shared communicative context".[8] Pym finds that "there are certain social reasons for looking at Interpreting Studies as a separate category" and also states that the research communities of the two fields differ.[9] Lawrence Venuti states that in translation research there are certain areas "whose volume and specialization demand separate coverage regardless of their importance to translation" and singles out interpreting as such a field.[10]

Pöchhacker outlines two sources that demonstrate how Interpreting Studies have evolved over the years: practitioners' reflections[11] and psychological interest in simultaneous interpreting.[12] Unlike in Translation Studies, mainstream Interpreting Studies focus more on psychology and linguistics, drawing from sociolinguistics, cross-cultural communication studies and other disciplines.[13] Cross- and interdisciplinary approaches are becoming ever more significant.

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[4] See Franz Pöchhacker, "Issues in Interpreting Studies", in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday, rev. ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 128–140.

[5] Heidemarie Salevsky, "The Distinctive Nature of Interpreting Studies" *Target* 5, no. 2 (1993): 149-167.

[6] Daniel Gile, "Opening Up in Interpretation Studies", in *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline*, ed. Mary Snell-Hornby, Franz Pöchhacker and Klaus Kaindl (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1994), 149–158.

[7] This dissertation covers earlier periods in Estonian history, ending right around when Salvesky and Gile suggested that the term "Interpreting Studies" be used.

[8] Pöchhacker, "Issues in Interpreting Studies", 128.

[9] Anthony Pym, "On the Social and the Cultural in Translation Studies", in *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2006), 19.

[10] Lawrence Venuti, introduction to *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 2–3.

[11] See Jean Herbert, *The Interpreter's Handbook: How to Become a Conference Interpreter* (Geneva: Georg, 1952); Danica Seleskovitch, *Interpreting for International Conferences* (Washington, DC: Pen and Booth, 1978).

[12] David Gerver, "The Effects of Source Language Presentation Rate on the Performance of Simultaneous Conference Interpreters (1969)", in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 52–66; Henri C. Barik, "Simultaneous Interpretation: Qualitative and Linguistic Data (1975)", in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 78–91; see also Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation*.

[13] Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger, introduction to *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–12.

Among the earliest researchers three should be singled out: Otto Kade in the German-speaking world (Leipzig School), Ghelly V. Chernov in the Soviet Union and Danica Seleskovitch in France (Paris School). The first conference dedicated solely to interpreting was in Turku, Finland, in 1994, followed by the Critical Link Conference in Canada in 1995. In addition to dedicated conferences, the publication of academic research also emerged: to name a few, *The Interpreters' Newsletter* was established in Trieste, Italy, in 1988, and Daniel Gile launched the IRTIN bulletin—which has since evolved into the CIRIN[14] Bulletin—in 1991; this was followed by *Interpreting: International Journal on Research and Practice in Interpreting* in 1996. Despite resources such as these, researching the history of interpreting is a complicated task: "Though clearly a millennial practice, the evanescence of the spoken word […] has left historians with little evidence on which to construct a history of interpreting".[15]

Thus, Interpreting Studies have evolved from Translation Studies. James S. Holmes described in his seminal lecture (1972) "a great confusion" around interlingual translation issues, saying that "there is not even like-mindedness about the contours of the field, the problem set [or] the discipline as such" and that "scholars are not so much as agreed on the very name of the new field".[16] Having explained the minute differences between science and studies, he suggested designating "Translation Studies" for this field in his work "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies".[17] Holmes concluded his article by referring to the histories of translation theory, translation description and applied Translation Studies, and also created a sort of map of the subject matter covered by Translation Studies, excluding history as a designated area.[18] His idea then nearly fell into oblivion and, when it surfaced again, was criticised. Gideon Toury presented Holmes's ideas graphically;[19] according to Anthony Pym, Toury suggested it as a kind of "mandatory orientation" for Translation Studies.[20] Pym points out that Holmes's map leaves translation history as well as translators out. He suggests that research should pay more attention to the translators themselves rather than focus only on the text, as had been done previously. Pym himself strives to keep discussions on translation history focused on four principles: "attention to causation, a focus on the human translator, a hypothesis projecting intercultural belonging, and the priority of the present". He concludes that "translation history could be an essential part of intercultural history",[21] and divides it into three areas: archaeology, explanation

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14 CIRIN: Conference Interpreting Research Information Network.

15 Pöchhacker, "Issues in Interpreting Studies", 139.

16 Holmes, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies (1972)", 181.

17 Ibid. 180–192.

18 Ibid., 191.

19 Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies – and Beyond*, rev. ed. (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2012), 4.

20 Pym, *Method in Translation History*, 2.

21 Ibid., xi

and criticism.[22] For Pym, archaeology is a broad concept, involving not only getting answers to the questions of who interpreted "what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect", but also covering aspects such as compiling catalogues and carrying out biographical research on translators (and interpreters): thus, archaeology involves "complex detective work, great self-sacrifice and very real service to other areas of translation history".[23] As for explanation, this deals with causation and relationships. Pym stresses specialisation:

> It is impossible to insist that everyone should have read everything, and mostly unprofitable to ask exacting archaeologists to defend a philosophical position in the history of ideas.[24]

He also believes that "historians should grapple quite directly with the material, getting their hands dirty before elaborating any grand principles concerning the methodology of their task".[25] More empirical and quantitative data could contribute to new large data sets. Carol O'Sullivan suggests the "loan scholar" could give way to "crowdsourcing models" that would allow us to "[identify, build and disseminate] large data sets for the study of translation history".[26]

While the history of translation has a longer tradition as a research field, the history of interpreting has garnered greater attention more recently. Although most research tends to be translator-centred, *Translators through History,* published in 1995, dedicates an entire chapter to interpreters; it is thus one of the first works to do so. [27] Prior to that, one of the first academic texts on the early days of interpreting was written by Alfred Hermann in 1956.[28] A few of the other earliest examples of historical research on interpreting are also noteworthy: "Interpreters and the Making of History" by Margareta Bowen[29] (1995) and *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation: The Nuremberg Trial* by Francesca Gaiba[30] (1998). United Nations interpreter Jesús Baigorri-Jalón has conducted in-depth research into the early days of conference interpreting,[31]

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22 Ibid., 5.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 8.
25 Ibid., viii.
26 Carol O'Sullivan, "Introduction: Rethinking Methods in Translation History", *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2 (2012), 136.
27 Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth, eds., *Translators through History* (Montreal: University of Ottawa, Concordia University, 1995).
28 Alfred Hermann, "Interpreting in Antiquity", in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 15–22.
29 Margareta Bowen, "Interpreters and the Making of History", in *Translators through History*, ed. Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth (Montreal: University of Ottawa, Concordia University, 1995), 245–277.
30 Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation*.
31 See Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, "The History of the Interpreting Profession", in *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting,* ed. Holly Mikkelson and Renée Jourdenais (London and New

while Kayoko Takeda has researched the Tokyo War Crimes Trial.[32] Baigorri-Jalón has also contributed to research on the history of interpreting by authoring a comprehensive book entitled *From Paris to Nuremberg: The Birth of Conference Interpreting* (2014). More recently Takeda and Baigorri-Jalón co-edited a book on the latest research *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*.[33]

The reasons Pym outlines for studying translation history also apply to studying interpreting. In brief, he says that "greater knowledge of the past can give us wider frames for assessing the future".[34] Pym suggests that translation historians might take interest in the translators themselves, although he recognises that they could get bogged down in biographical details. He enlarges upon the "monoprofessionalism" of translators, pointing out that they tend to remain nothing but "lists of names".[35]

In an article published in 2001, Lieven D'hulst focused on substantiating the need for written translation histories[36] but did not even mention interpreting; ten years later, he extended his concept to interpreting as well.[37] He argues that "history does not seem to benefit from theorizing"[38] and lists a number of reasons why Translation Studies have taken an interest in history, stressing, among other things, that "history is a practical eye-opener, [and] insight in history prevents the scholar from blind adherence to one single theory" and "helps to develop a 'culture of translation'".[39] According to D'hulst, the field of

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York: Routledge, 2015), 11–28; Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, *Interpreters at the United Nations: A History* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2004); Jesús Baigorri-Jalón and María Manuela Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting in the Cold War: Preliminary notes", *Forum* 8, no. 2 (2010); Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, "Conference Interpreting in the First International Labour Conference (Washington, D. C., 1919)", *Meta: Translators' Journal* 50, no. 3 (2005): 987–996; Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg: The Birth of Conference Interpreting* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014).

[32] Kayoko Takeda, *Interpreting the Tokyo War Crimes Trial: A Sociopolitical Analysis* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010); see also Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, ed. *New Insights in the History of Interpreting* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016).

[33] Takeda and Baigorri-Jalón, eds., *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*.

[34] Pym, *Method in Translation History,* 16.

[35] Ibid., 162.; When researching interpreters, in the case of Estonia there are not even lists of names to be relied upon. The names for this research were frequently identified as a result of comprehensive detective work in archives and newspapers.

[36] Lieven D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories?", *Crop: Emerging Views in Translation History in Brazil* 6 (2001): 21–32.

[37] Lieven D'hulst, "Translation History", in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), 397–405.

[38] D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories?", 21

[39] Ibid., 22.

Translation Studies has shown little interest in its history.[40] History, historiography and metahistoriography are rarely paired with translation; putting them together, however, can help us understand translation itself as well as how translation can help interpret history.[41] Several authors distinguish between history and historiography: history deals with historical facts while historiography analyses the writing of history.[42] María Manuela Fernández Sánchez singles out modern historians who, instead of reconstructing the past, "make accessible the most likely explanations of past events and human intentions".[43] Historians examine historical material, realising that "historical knowledge consists of traces and remnants".[44] History may overlook people who acted as interpreters.

D'hulst lists several potential questions historical research could start with.[45] These questions—*quis* (who), *ubi* (where), *curs* (why), *quando* (when) and *qui bono* (what is the effect of interpreting in society)—could be asked not only about translation but also about interpreting. Historical research can throw light on interpreters themselves, events at which interpreting was used, the circumstances that necessitated interpreting and the use of interpreting in society. The same questions underlie Pym's concept of translation archaeology. That being said, according to D'hulst "a true archaeology is still missing".[46] The aim should be to establish the "best possible reconstruction of the past",[47] though he warns of the risk of "hind-sight interpretation"[48] (that is, reconstructing history from the viewpoint of contemporary knowledge). Hilary Footitt[49] singles out the gap between translation researchers' interest in war and war historians' lack of interest in linguistic issues. She researches war with a linguistic eye, pointing out that historians seem to see it as "foreign language–free".[50] Footitt finds three approaches helpful in her historical research: "adopting an historical framework; following the 'translation' of languages into

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[40] As regards the history of translation theory, see Kevin Windle and and Anthony Pym, "European Thinking on Secular Translation", in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7–22.

[41] D'hulst, "Translation History", 397–398.

[42] D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories?", 23.

[43] María Manuela Fernández Sánchez, "History and Historiography", in *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli and Brian James Baer (London and New York: Routledge 2016), 100.

[44] Ibid.

[45] D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories?", 24–30; D'hulst, "Translation History", 399–403.

[46] D'hulst, "Translation History", 402.

[47] D'hulst, "Why and How to Write Translation Histories?", 31.

[48] D'hulst, "Translation History", 404.

[49] Hilary Footitt, "Incorporating Languages into Histories of War: A Research Journey", *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 217–231.

[50] Ibid., 218.

war situations; and contextualizing the figure of the interpreter/translator".[51] She does not confine herself to methodological restrictions and applies those relevant to both Translation Studies and history, and also talks about

> being informed about what questions are currently being posed in the general historiography, and of seeking to inform, to contribute to this historiography by moving if necessary beyond the "comfort zone" of one's own initial discipline.[52]

Jesús Baigorri-Jalón is a historian by training and has been an ardent champion of historical research, authoring several books and articles. He outlines a major difficulty in terms of tracing the history of interpreting: that of sources, which are mostly secondary and analysis of which requires "methods and skills of the historian".[53] Documents to be studied are not just written records but also audiovisual material. He suggests seventeen research topics, which include the "history of interpretation in a country or territory".[54] As sources, he recommends archives, interviews with interpreters and users of interpretation. His recommended methods include searching, analytical work and oral history. In addition to legal constraints, fragmented information and access to archives, interpreters and other potential informants are also listed under difficulties.

A few years later Christopher Rundle published his slightly provocative thoughts about the need to shift focus and engage more historians.[55] Rundle asks if "translation historians [should] be reaching out to address scholars outside Translation Studies who share the same historical interest".[56] He justifies his argument by explaining that the deeper translation researchers delve into history, the smaller the common denominator with translation scholars becomes and the larger it becomes with historians. He also warns of "historical meaning" disappearing if different texts from different historical contexts are grouped together to be analysed in the same category.[57] In brief, "a historical approach is one that seeks the specific in any given context".[58] Rundle argues that if interest in history outweighs interest in translation, the researcher will be inclined to relate to historians: that is, what is important is "what has meaning for you and, as a direct consequence, who you are actually addressing when you present your research".[59] Having more specifically researched translation under fascist regimes, Rundle summarises: "[If we] ask not what Italian Fascism tells

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[51] Ibid., 219.
[52] Ibid. 221.
[53] Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, "Perspectives on the History of Interpretation: Research Proposals", in *Charting the Future of Translation History*, ed. Georges L. Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006), 103.
[54] Ibid., 106.
[55] Christopher Rundle, "Translation as an Approach to History", *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2 (2012): 232–240.
[56] Ibid., 232.
[57] Ibid., 234.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., 236.

us about the history of translation but what translation can tell us about the history of fascism, then the situation is very different",[60] and adds that there is a certain "symbolic value that the regime attached to translation as a cultural phenomenon".[61] Stressing the value of interdisciplinary engagement with historical studies for translation historians, Rundle calls it an "enriching experience".[62] Meaningful discussion with a colleague who has experience in the same historical subject is more fruitful; otherwise discussion may remain superficial or shift toward other common ground. Rundle suggests "a more bilateral and flexible understanding of interdisciplinarity in translation history"[63]—that is, to see translation as a historical object and as "an approach to interpreting other historical subjects".[64]

The First International Symposium on the History of Interpreting was held at Rikkyo University in Tokyo in 2014. Among other things, the participants discussed the relevance of interpreting history to interpreters and to interpreting today. The editors of the subsequent symposium collection highlight the need to "situate our professional identities and practices along a continuum with the past". [65] Indeed, throughout history, interlingual communication has required the services of interpreters, and focusing on them allows us to examine "history from a different angle",[66] thus enriching our perspective of important historic events. Anxo Fernández-Ocampo and Michaela Wolf have recently edited a collection of articles about photographs of translators and interpreters, thereby adding a visual aspect to research on the history of interpreting. The collection discusses aspects of social recognition, placing "the interpreter inside a particular cultural and social system".[67]

The sociological turn

Increasing attention on social issues and human agency in the globalising world, in which people move more freely, institutions play a more essential role and linguistic communication poses new challenges, has encouraged inter-disciplinary researchers to look at interpreting and translation from a sociological angle.

A sociological shift in Translation and Interpreting Studies has taken place over recent decades. The community of translation scholars has adopted and

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[60] Ibid., 237.
[61] Ibid., 239.
[62] Christopher Rundle, "Theories and Methodologies of Translation History: The Value of an Interdisciplinary Approach", *The Translator* 20, no.1 (2014): 2.
[63] Ibid., 4.
[64] Ibid., 7.
[65] Takeda and Baigorri-Jalón, eds., introduction to *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*, VII.
[66] Ibid., ix.
[67] Michaela Wolf and Anxo Fernández-Ocampo, "Framing the Interpreter", in *Framing the Interpreter*, ed. Anxo Fernández-Ocampo and Michaela Wolf (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 5.

accepted the term "turn"; as the discipline has evolved, several turns have been detected: there was a pragmatic turn in the 1960s; a cultural turn in the 1980s (which established Translation Studies); ideological, globalisation-based and empirical turns; and the sociological turn, as detected by Michaela Wolf in the 2000s.[68]

When addressing the issue of "going social", Pöchhacker recommended paying attention to mediation, "in particular the identity, role and power of the mediator" in theoretical discussions on interaction and culture.[69] He summarises what he means by "going social" in the context of Interpreting Studies as follows:

> [It] means that we need to demonstrate the social relevance of our field of research, i.e. the relevance of our conceptualizations and findings to problems in society and its institutions, including of course the dimensions of internationalization and globalization.[70]

Erich Prunč recognises Pöchhacker's contribution to the social turn in the Interpreting Studies as "a general broadening of horizons with regards to interpreting settings other than Conference Interpreting, and in particular with regards to Community Interpreting".[71] Indeed, recent decades have seen the emergence of community interpreting,[72] which brings with it ethical values, political beliefs and socio-economic issues.

The sociological turn has been accompanied by an interest in interpreters and translators as a social and professional group and in their status and power, which arise from their experience in the cultures and languages they mediate.[73] Central to the sociology of interpreting are unequal access to resources[74] and

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[68] Mary Snell-Hornby, *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2006), 172.

[69] Franz Pöchhacker, "'Going Social?' On the Pathways and Paradigms in Interpreting Studies", in *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2006), 229.

[70] Ibid., 230.

[71] Erich Prunč, "Rights, Realities and Responsibilities in Community Interpreting", *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 17 (2012), 4.

[72] See more about community interpreting in Cecilia Wadensjö, "Community Interpreting" in *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); Sandra B. Hale, "Community Interpreting", in *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker (London and New York: Routledge, 2015); Marjory A. Bancroft, "Community Interpreting: Profession Rooted in Social Injustice" in *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 217–235.

[73] Claudia V. Angelelli, ed., "Introduction: The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies", in *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2009), 4–5.

[74] See section 3.3.1. entitled "Interpretation at the Soviet-Era Parliament".

whether the voice is heard or not heard if the setting changes.[75] It focuses on translators' and interpreters' agency[76] as well as social factors underlying acts of translation and interpreting. Agency in (translation and) interpreting has been exhibited throughout history, regardless of time and space. Michaela Wolf points out that interpreters have always moved in sociologically charged social environments.[77]

In 2009, Andrew Chesterman outlined four branches of Translation Studies. One, the social branch, encompasses observable behaviour by agents, their status, social networks, working processes, etc.[78] Wolf does not follow the path foreseen by Chesterman to research the involvement of agents in the translation process but rather encourages researchers to deal with political factors and the power underlying translation processes. With her main focus placed on the written word, Wolf reasons that "sociologically-oriented research delivers valuable results in terms of methodology" and allows for a better understanding of the factors underlying "translatorial invisibility".[79]

In Chesterman's article "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies", the author draws readers' attention to an emerging subfield in Translation Studies: that of *translator studies*. Chesterman points out that "work on the history of translators and interpreters" could fit into the Holmes map under time-restricted studies.[80] While Holmes focused on product, process or function under descriptive studies, in translator studies "the translators themselves are primary".[81] Given the sociological turn that has taken place in the field of Translation Studies, Chesterman dwells upon the sociology of translators (status, pay, working conditions, accreditation, networks, public discourse on translation, translators' attitudes, translation ethics, ideologies, etc.). In brief, for Chesterman, *translator studies* can itself be broken down into three branches: cultural, cognitive and sociological.

Outi Paloposki's interests lie in collaboration and translators' agency, as reflected in historical sources.[82] Paloposki, a translation historian from Finland, points out the advantages that a small country with excellent archives has in

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[75] Ian Mason and Wen Ren, "Power in Face-to-Face Interpreting Events", in *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009), 115–131.

[76] Sergey Tyulenev, "Agency and Role", in *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli and Brian James Baer (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

[77] Michaela Wolf, "The Sociology of Translation and its 'Activist Turn'", in *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009), 7–21.

[78] Andrew Chesterman, "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies", *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies* 42 (2009): 19.

[79] Wolf, "The Sociology of Translation and its 'Activist Turn'", 11.

[80] Chesterman, "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies", 15.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Outi Paloposki, "In Search of an Ordinary Translator: Translator Histories, Working Practices and Translator-Publisher Relations in the Light of Archival Documents", *The Translator* 23, no. 1 (2017): 31–48.

terms of generating a comprehensive overview of translation.[83] Jeremy Munday suggests that apart from underused archival and manuscript research more experimental research methods be used, such as keystroke logging and eye-tracking studies. He also stresses the need for microhistory to bring "little-known or forgotten translators" into the limelight and, by contextualising them, "to construct a social and cultural history of translation and translators".[84] According to Munday, archives, manuscripts and other papers from translators are underused in research on Translation Studies. "Everyday experience of individuals"[85] can help to construct a bigger picture of social, political, historical and cultural contexts. A few scholars have advocated for focusing not on translation research but rather on translator research.[86] Peter Burke[87] has pointed out that historians have turned to "new history"; that is, they take greater interest in ordinary people, including in groups that, who for whatever reason are marginalised by society. Translators (and interpreters) represent one such sidelined group.[88] They represent a wealthy source of information in the form of memoirs and interviews, but since these are "post-hoc accounts"[89] they "may or may not be an accurate representation of the actual instance of interpreting".[90] Munday admits that despite such doubts, "interviews can fill gaps until written evidence becomes available".[91] He reaches the conclusion that "the same goes for translation that occurs in those many cultures or contexts in which the spoken word prevails over the written one and where no permanent records are kept".[92]

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[83] The Estonian archives may contain manuscripts and personal papers of outstanding translators, many of whom were well-known authors. There are no known cases of interpreters' documentation (dairies, notes, paper glossaries, etc.) having been handed over to a museum or archive in Estonia, however. The author has kept and continues to keep an interpreting logbook (1977–), which she is going to deposit at the Estonian Literary Museum.

[84] Jeremy Munday, "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory of Translation and Translators: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns", *The Translator* 20, no. 1 (2014): 64.

[85] Ibid., 65.

[86] See Pym, *Method in Translation History*; Chesterman, "The Name and Nature of Translator Studies".

[87] Peter Burke, "Overture: The New History, its Past and its Future", in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 1–24.

[88] Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth, eds., foreword to *Translators through History*, rev. 2nd ed. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2012), xiii–xviii.

[89] Munday, "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory", 68.

[90] Ibid., 69.

[91] Ibid., 70.

[92] Ibid., 77.

1.1.2 Pierre Bourdieu and Symbolic Capital

The application of some of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts in the context of this dissertation allows us to look at interpreting and the evolution of interpreting in Estonia from a new angle, primarily in the context of the country's interrupted independence.

Pierre Bourdieu (1 August 1930–22 January 2002), a French philosopher, sociologist and renowned public intellectual, has published 37 books and a total of four hundred publications.[93] In the field of sociology, he has become one of the most quoted authors of the twentieth century. In his advice in *How to Read Bourdieu*, Loïc J. D. Wacquant argues that Bourdieu conjoins "epistemology, theory, and empirical work" without keeping them separate[94] and highlights Bourdieu's ability "to shuttle constantly between theoretical abstraction and empirical concreteness and to connect phenomenal realms and analytical concerns that apparently have little or nothing in common".[95] In his description of communicative exchange, John B. Thompson refers to Bourdieu's comments on speech-act theorists, who Bourdieu praised "for calling attention to the social conditions of communication".[96] Bourdieu went even further in his own research, however, highlighting "some of the social conditions of language use in the way that is largely absent from the existing literature on the theory of speech acts".[97]

When speaking about his own ideas, Bourdieu said: "In two words […], I would speak of *constructivist structuralism* or of *structuralist constructivism*".[98] Already in his youth he was influenced by the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss. For Bourdieu "structuralism means that there are objective structures, independent of the agents' consciousness and will. Constructivism means that there is a social genesis of a part of perception and the social structures".[99]

According to Wacquant "unlike most scholars of like stature, Pierre Bourdieu conducted much of the primary data collection and analysis for his research himself".[100] He summarised Bourdieu's approach with what he called "methodological polytheism"; that is, using "whatever procedure of observation and verification is best suited to the question at hand and continually confront[ing] the results yielded by different methods".[101] Thus, according to

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[93] Loïc J. D. Wacquant, "Pierre Bourdieu", in *Key Sociological Thinkers*, ed. Rob Stones, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 263.

[94] Loïc J. D. Wacquant, "How to Read Bourdieu", in Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant: *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 261.

[95] Ibid., 263.

[96] Thompson, editor's introduction, 9.

[97] Ibid., 10.

[98] Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power", *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (1989): 14.

[99] Ramón Flecha, Jésus Gómez and Lídia Puigvert, "Chapter 5: Constructivist Structuralism; Habitus", in *Counterpoints*, vol. 250, *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (2001): 36.

[100] Wacquant, "Pierre Bourdieu", 412.

[101] Ibid., 266.

Wacquant, Bourdieu "combines the results gained by tabular and factorial analyses of survey data, archival accounts of historical trends, nosography, discourse and documentary analysis, field interviews, and ethnographic depiction".[102]

Field, agent, habitus and symbolic capital

In the context of this dissertation, "symbolic capital" (with its integral components "field", "agent" and *habitus*) is the concept that underlies the author's research on the evolution of interpreting in Estonia over seventy years, primarily in the independent Republic of Estonia between the two World Wars (1918–1940) and after World War Two in Soviet Estonia, occupied by the Soviet Union (1944–1991). In analysing collected factual material, the author has used Bourdieu's concepts, which in her opinion underline the value of interpretation in the context of historical societal changes.

When structuring and construing social space, Bourdieu introduced concepts such as "a field" (a relatively autonomous structured social space), "a social agent" (defined by his or her relative position in the field), "*habitus*" (how an agent's dispositions influence his or her choices), "a position" (a place the agent can occupy in the field) and "symbolic capital" (something the agent can acquire in the field); these concepts are widely used in different disciplines, not only in the social sciences.[103]

It is almost impossible to describe Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic capital" without also discussing such concepts as "field", "*habitus*" and "agent".

Bourdieu proposed the concept of field (*champ* in French) for the first time in the 1960s. Later he significantly improved on the concept: "a field is an arena of struggle through which agents and institutions seek to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital".[104] In *The Field of Cultural Production*, Bourdieu defines a field as "a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy", [105] while the history of the field comprises "the struggle between the dominant and the aspirants, between those who hold titles […] and their challengers".[106]

For him "a field is a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning and institutions that are specific to it and which define

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[102] Ibid.

[103] See Pierre Bourdieu, "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups", *Theory and Society*, 14, no. 16 (1985): 723–724; Nick Crossley, "Social Class", in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, ed. Michael James Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 87; Karl Maton, "Habitus", in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, ed. Michael James Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 52; Robert Moor, "Capital", in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, ed. Michael James Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 105, 110; Patricia Thomson, "Field", in *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, ed. Michael James Grenfell (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 69, 74.

[104] Wacquant, "Pierre Bourdieu", 268.

[105] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 162.

[106] Ibid., 187.

the relations among the agents".[107] Accordingly, society (or social space) comprises different social fields (e.g., economics, education, politics, culture), with the political field (politics) being dominant. A field "accumulates a particular form of capital", allowing relations of power to be exercised.[108] According to Bourdieu, demographic, economic and political events of the external world are refracted pursuant to the inner logic of the field.[109] Fields are made up of agents as well as institutions that, given existing hierarchical power relations, are competing with each other to redistribute the capital in the field: "the social properties of agents, thus their dispositions, correspond to the social properties of the position they occupy".[110] Each agent needs *habitus* and a structure of resources corresponding to the field (i.e., symbolic capital in the context of this dissertation) to have a right to enter the field. Thus, the field is a system of agents' positions and historically established social fields: a relational network of positions.[111] For Bourdieu history "oscillates between two seemingly incompatible points of view, two apparently irreconcilable perspectives: objectivism and subjectivism";[112] he adds that "the objectivist and the subjectivist stand in a dialectical relationship".[113] The field exists in social space and "the social space is indeed the first and last reality, since it still commands the representations that the social agents can have of it".[114] Global social space is also a field, with agents struggling with each other to defend their position; this is instrumental in maintaining or modifying the structure of the field.[115]

Wacquant, in his analysis of Bourdieu's contribution, expounds on this idea of "field", which is "a structured space of positions",[116] comparable to "historical constellations that arise, grow, change shape, and sometimes wane or perish, over time".[117] The dynamics of the field are "in the action of agents equipped with the *habitus* and symbolic capital acquired in that field".[118]

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[107] Mathieu Hilgers and Eric Mangez, "Introduction to Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields", in *Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields: Concepts and Applications*, ed. Mathieu Hilgers and Eric Mangez (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2014), 5.
[108] Ibid., 164.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.,165.
[111] Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 97.
[112] Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power", 14.
[113] Ibid., 15.
[114] Bourdieu, *Practical Reason*, 13.
[115] Ibid., 32.
[116] Wacquant, "Pierre Bourdieu", 268.
[117] Ibid., 269
[118] Jean-Marc Guanvic, "A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances: Field, '*Habitus*', Capital and '*Illusio*'", in "Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting", ed. Moira Inghilleri, special issue, *The Translator* 11, no. 2 (2005): 164.

Another key concept developed by Bourdieu is that of *habitus*: "The habitus is a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways".[119] *Habitus* also provides individuals "a 'nose' and a 'feeling'" about how to navigate in their daily lives.[120] In a simplified approach, Bourdieu characterises *habitus* as "this kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation".[121] *Habitus* can be perceived in the social space: "Like the positions of which they are the product, habitus are differentiated [but also] differentiating".[122] It is "society written into the body, into the biological individual".[123] These individuals rely on the social field sharing a similar set of *habitus* "to give collective credibility to a work of social construction".[124] The structure of the field is shaped by the tension between positions, as agents in the field perform following field-specific rules, thus establishing a social structure of positions. The border of the field is where the tension between the agents' positions loses its impact. *Habitus* is shaped by the social environment, which also involves the individual's acquired mental structure. Thus, *habitus* reflects objective social structure. *Habitus* may be just a disposition or a system of structured and structuring dispositions or networks.[125] Bourdieu summarises *habitus* as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures".[126] The application of the sociological approach to Translation Studies expanded the use of Bourdieu's concepts of field and *habitus* to translators and interpreters.

Symbolic capital[127]

Bourdieu differentiates between three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social. To this he adds "a fourth species, symbolic capital, [designating] the effects of any form of capital when people do not perceive them as such".[128]

Having first outlined his concept of symbolic capital in the *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Bourdieu develops it further in *The Logic of Practice* (1980, published in French; 1990, published in English), *Distinction* (1979/1984), *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), *Practical Reason* (1994,

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[119] Thompson, editor's introduction, 12.

[120] Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production,* 95.

[121] Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), 25.

[122] Ibid., 8.

[123] Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 63.

[124] Willem Schinkel and Mirko Noordegraaf, "Professionalism as Symbolic Capital: Materials for a Bourdieusian Theory of Professionalism", *Comparative Sociology* 10 (2011): 73.

[125] Henn Käärik, *Klassikaline ja nüüdisaegne sotsioloogiline teooria* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2013), 285.

[126] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), 53.

[127] See also section 2.3. entitled "Diplomatic Interpreting in Estonia: The Early Years and the State's Symbolic Capital".

[128] Wacquant, "Pierre Bourdieu", 268.

published in French; 1998, published in English), *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) and other publications he authored.

He described the concept in several works; however, in his analysis of Bourdieu's academic legacy, Richard Jenkins concludes that "symbolic capital was never clearly defined by Bourdieu, and it may be that he did not achieve a final, definite vision of the concept himself".[129] That being said, although Bourdieu may have used different wording when describing symbolic capital at different times in different contexts, he nevertheless adhered to the original essence of the concept: for Bourdieu, "symbolic capital is the foundation".[130]

In *The Logic of Practice,* he defines symbolic capital as

> denied capital, recognized as legitimate, that is, misrecognized as capital (recognition, acknowledgement, in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits can be one of the foundations of this recognition) which, along with religious capital […], is perhaps the only possible form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognized.[131]

Later, in *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action,* Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as

> any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value.[132]

Later he expands upon the concept of symbolic capital ("a capital of recognition"), describing it as

> an ordinary property (physical strength, wealth, warlike valour, etc.) which, perceived by social agents endowed with the categories of perception and appreciation permitting them to perceive, know and recognise it, becomes symbolically efficient, like a veritable *magical power*: a property which, because it responds to socially constituted "collective expectations" and beliefs, exercises a sort of action from a distance, without physical contact.[133]

According to Bourdieu economic and symbolic capital are closely intertwined with prestige and "networks of affines and relationships", which are likely "to bring in material profits, in a good-faith economy in which good repute constitutes the best, if not the only, economic guarantee".[134] Symbolic capital works also in the market "by virtue of the credit and the capital of trust that stems from

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[129] Richard Jenkins, "The Ways and Means of Power: Efficacy and Resources", in *The SAGE Handbook of Power*, ed. Stewart R. Clegg, and Mark Haugaard (London, Thousand Oak, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 2009), 151.
[130] Bourdieu, *On the State*, 207.
[131] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 118.
[132] Bourdieu, *Practical Reason,* 47.
[133] Ibid., 102.
[134] Bourdieu, The Logic of Practice, 119.

a reputation for honour as well as wealth".[135] Men can "go to market with only their faces, their names and their honour for money",[136] and these qualities can "neither be borrowed nor lent".[137] Symbolic capital is said to be very expensive and "make capital go to capital".[138] Bourdieu draws on a farmer's life to show how symbolic properties can shine light on the "economic rationality of conduct which economism dismisses as absurd".[139] According to Bourdieu, there is no name for what is at stake in the case of honour and "has to be called symbolic".[140] Its defence can even be "ruinous" as it is not easily measurable.[141] Symbolic capital hovers in the background, "accruing from successful use of the other kinds of capital".[142]

In his writings on political authority, Bourdieu reasons that economic capital can be converted into symbolic capital; this "produces relations of dependence that have an economic basis but are disguised under a veil of relations".[143] In the longer run symbolic capital might also lead to economic benefit. Indeed, Bourdieu describes how economic and symbolic capitals merge:

> For those who, like the professionals, live on the sale of cultural services to a clientele, the accumulation of economic capital merges with the accumulation of symbolic capital, that is, with the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability that are easily converted into political positions as a local or national *notable*. It is therefore understandable that they should identify with the established (moral) order to which they make daily contributions.[144]

According to Bourdieu "Symbolic capital would be no more than another way of referring to what Max Weber called charisma".[145] Weber saw "charisma as a particular form of power rather than as a dimension of all power, that is, another name for legitimacy, a product of recognition, misrecognition, the belief 'by virtue of which persons exercising authority are endowed with prestige'".[146] These "dispositions of believers [are] constantly haunted by the fear of slipping […], and inevitably dominated by the transcendent powers to which they surrender by the mere fact of recognizing them".[147]

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135 Ibid.
136 Ibid.; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 185.
137 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 120.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid., 122.
143 Ibid., 123.
144 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 291.
145 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 141.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.

Symbolic capital can generally be seen as capital resulting from assembled investments (of time, effort and money) in activities that do not have a direct impact on the financial performance of an entity.[148] Bourdieu believes the "primary form of accumulation" to take place on the symbolic level.[149] He admits that his work "is intended to produce a materialist theory of the symbolic, which is traditionally opposed to the material". [150]

He defines symbolic capital briefly as accumulated prestige or honour.[151] Indeed, the prestige of the use of a state language (i.e., its symbolic capital) does not lie in specific expressions or terminology but rather in the speaker's personality, which carries the weight and value of that symbolic capital. Even more significantly the prestige thereof becomes explicit in international communication and linguistic exchange. Bourdieu goes on to describe the relationship between linguistic capital and other forms of capital, helping to define the location of an individual within a social space.

In the field of Interpreting Studies, interest in Bourdieu is associated with changed attitudes vis-à-vis interpreting and translation. Interpreting is perceived "as a socially-situated practice"[152] that is inherently linked to power and control and that "engages with questions which are of real importance for the past, present and future of humanity".[153] This is why interpreters' and translators' role as social agents is also studied.[154] Although Bourdieu has arguably not dedicated any articles to translation (and interpreting),[155] he has discussed language and linguistic exchange. He has also drawn attention to the risks associated with changing an oral text into a written one as even mere punctuation "represents a *translation* or even an interpretation".[156] Bourdieu describes language-related linguistic capital as capable of determining the position of the "person who utters it" in society.[157] He also warns of "misunderstandings in

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[148] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital (1986)", in *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Imre Szeman, Timothy Kaposy (Chickester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 83.

[149] Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State. Lectures at the Collège de France*, ed. Patrick Champagne, Rémi Lenoir, Franck Poupeau and Marie-Christine Rivière (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 167.

[150] Ibid., 166.

[151] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity, 1997).

[152] Moira Inghilleri, "The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the 'Object' in Translation and Interpreting Studies", in "Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting", ed. Moira Inghilleri, special issue, *The Translator* 11, no. 2 (2005): 126.

[153] Michael Cronin, *Translation and Globalization* (London-New York: Routledge, 2003), 3.

[154] Inghilleri, "The Sociology of Bourdieu", 126.

[155] Reine Meylaerts, "Sociology and Interculturality", in "Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting", ed. Moira Inghilleri, special issue, *The Translator* 11, no. 2 (2005): 277.

[156] Pierre Bourdieu "Understanding", in *The Weight of the World*, ed. Pierre Bourdieu et al., trans. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson et al. (Oxford: Polity, 1999), 621.

[157] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 70.

international communication" because "texts do not bring their context with them".[158]

In addition to the main types of capital mentioned above, of which symbolic capital applies directly to this dissertation, on occasion Bourdieu also briefly mentions other capitals:

> The following all make an appearance in his work at one point or another: linguistic capital, political capital, judicial capital, educational capital, academic capital, scientific capital, personal capital, and professional capital.[159]

Linguistic exchange

Bourdieu describes the relationship of linguistic capital to the other forms of capital, helping to define the location of an individual within a social space, emphasising that "*linguistic relations are always relations of symbolic power*" (emphasis in the original).[160] Bourdieu treats linguistic exchange as an exchange that creates symbolic profit: utterances are to be "evaluated and appreciated" as well as "believed and obeyed". For him, it is rare "for language to function as a pure instrument of communication".[161] According to Bourdieu symbolic power is invisible. Its roots lie in the mutual conviction that even those who have nothing to gain from the arrangement silently recognise it.[162] Bourdieu stresses two aspects of this invisible power: the right to speak, on the one hand, and the power and authority arising from the communicative situation, on the other hand. However, "the language of authority never governs without the collaboration of those it governs".[163] The relationship involves the mutual understanding that "those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak".[164]

One of the sub-categories of capital, linguistic capital is produced for and through the market;[165] whereas the linguistic market embodies power relations, which determine the allocation of linguistic capital, depending "on the interlocutors' positions in the symbolic power relations".[166] Using Latin as an example, he states that "the future of the language is governed by what happens to the instruments of the reproduction of linguistic capital".[167] Even if linguistically languages are equal, socially they are not and to emerge from the struggle

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[158] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas", in *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*, ed. Richard Shusterman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 221.
[159] Jenkins, "The Ways and Means of Power: Efficacy and Resources", 151.
[160] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 142.
[161] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 67.
[162] Thompson, editor's introduction, 23.
[163] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 113.
[164] Bourdieu, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges", *Social Science Information* 16 (1977): 648.
[165] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 76.
[166] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges", 651.
[167] Ibid., 651–652.

as a legitimate language, the linguistic market has to be unified.[168] For Bourdieu "a linguistic market [is …] a system of relations of force which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and specific censorship, and thereby help fashion linguistic production by determining the 'price' of linguistic products".[169]

As stated in *Interpreters as Diplomats*, "language has always been more than a simple communication tool: it has also been a mark of national prestige, and interpreters have brought this prestige to the international arena".[170] For Bourdieu, language is also an instrument of power.[171] The power relationship between speakers depends on the capital of authority of each of the speakers, while Bourdieu also ties in competence as "the power to impose reception",[172] which "functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market",[173] his conclusion is that "a language is worth what those who speak are worth".[174] In a thematic dialogue with his colleague Wacquant, Bourdieu expands upon linguistic relations, which are always related to symbolic power (and associated with symbolic capital), reflecting forces behind the speakers and the audience. He concludes that the message as such can be understood only if the invisible "structure of power relations" is considered.[175] Bourdieu also describes language-related linguistic capital as a factor determining the agent's position in society.[176]

1.1.3 The Interpreter's *Habitus*

Bourdieu's theoretical insights have inspired contemporary researches to develop his concepts further. In his efforts to construct the professional field of translation, Eric Prunč draws parallels with interpreting:

> As long as *interpreting studies focussed only on the noblest subject*, i.e. simultaneous interpreting in the setting of international conferences, where the interpreter, isolated in a booth, was able to ignore social and moral issues, social and related ethical problems were of no interest to interpreting researchers. (The author's emphasis.)[177]

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[168] Ibid.
[169] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 145.
[170] Jean Delisle, introduction to *Interpreters as Diplomats*, by Ruth A. Roland (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1999), 2.
[171] Bourdieu, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges", 648.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid., 651.
[174] Ibid., 652.
[175] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 142–143.
[176] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 70–71.
[177] Eric Prunč, "Priests, Princes and Pariahs: Constructing the Professional Field of Translation", in *Constructing Sociology of Translation*, ed. Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 2007), 42.

In recent studies *habitus* has gradually acquired greater significance, in particular due to major changes taking place in the world: globalization of the economy, migration, emergence of social media communities (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn), etc.

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Miriam Shlesinger argue that in currently accepted frameworks of studying translation one of the major directions taken is "that of the *habitus* […] for examining the dispositions and value scales of the different groups of translators and interpreters".[178] Translators and interpreters are a good example of a marginalized group[179] (i.e., nobody knows interpreters or their names and it is as if they are non-existent) that can be used to study "how an occupational group deals with its own indeterminacy and marginality".[180] Sela-Sheffy has dedicated several articles to status dynamics in the field of translation,[181] stating that translators and interpreters as a group with "its own interests and aspirations, constraints and access to resources, becomes an important object of study".[182]

Sela-Sheffy comes to the conclusion that "in the sense of shared socially acquired tendencies that constrain translators' action", the study of translators' *habitus* "should concentrate on a particular field of translation" and "should take into account the dynamic distribution of strategies by the actors in this field".[183]

Although this obviously varies from culture to culture, translators occasionally remain a silent, loose group "whose occupation is auxiliary" [184] and whose field boundaries are vague but dynamic, depending, as in any field, on the struggle between agents to improve their stake, or capital. In brief, the *habitus* is "what generates people's inclination for certain prestige-endowing forms of action".[185]

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[178] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Miriam Shlesinger, introduction to "Profession, Identity and Status: Translators and Interpreters as an Occupational Group", ed. Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Miriam Shlesinger, special issue, *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 4, no. 2 (2009), 127; see also Pierre Bourdieu, "The Market of Symbolic Goods", in Pierre Bourdieu *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 112–141; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984, 11th printing in 2002).

[179] See also Prunč, "Rights, Realities and Responsibilities in Community Interpreting".

[180] Sela-Sheffy, "Profession, Identity, and Status", 132.

[181] See for example, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, "The Translators' Personae: Marketing Translatorial Images as Pursuit of Capital", *Meta* 53, no. 3 (2008): 609–622; Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, "'Stars' or 'Professionals': The Imagined Vocation and Exclusive Knowledge of Translators in Israel", in "Applied Sociology in Translation Studies", ed. Esther Monzó and Oscar Días Fouces, special issue, *MonTI* 2 (2010): 131–152.

[182] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, "How to be a (Recognized) Translator", Target 17, no. 1 (2005), 2.

[183] Ibid., 9.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid., 13.

Sela-Sheffy points out that comprehensive research on translators and interpreters as social agents is still missing. "Human agency" in creating and furnishing social space needs to be studied, as there is on the one hand the "potential power of translators and mediators as cultural mediators" and, on the other hand, "their obscure professional status and alleged sense of submissiveness".[186]

To paraphrase Sela-Sheffy, interpreting is a venue of social action. The position of agents in the translation field is related not only to *habitus*, as it is not equally distributed between agents/translators/interpreters: an average is merely a sum of dispositions. Nevertheless, *habitus* plays a significant role. Sela-Sheffy asks essential questions about the profession and status and about "how these individuals position themselves, what kind of capital they pursue, how they struggle to achieve it, and what their cultural resources are".[187] When looking for answers, researchers often get entangled in methodological issues, as such questions are answered using quantitative studies. Relying on Bourdieu's criticism of opinion polls,[188] Sela-Sheffy argues that in the framework of profession and status, qualitative methods should be more widely used instead. "An in-depth look at the practitioners' own viewpoint" [189] allows for a deeper understanding of interpreters' self-perception as a community and of their identity and status. Biographical details, memoirs, texts, photos and interviews can give a more comprehensive picture than mere surveys. An emphasis on nuances (e.g., in interviews) may lead the respondent (i.e., the interpreter) to describe his or her identity and status more authentically in various interpreters' communities.

Sela-Sheffy and Miriam Shlesinger claim that "translators and interpreters are an extreme example of an understudied semi-professional occupation".[190] Identity is not anything permanently ingrained in interpreters'; it is not "a given entity", but rather "a dynamic and multi-layered cultural construct, collectively produced and reproduced through social struggles in transforming cultural settings".[191] Translation, however, leaves room to study the social creativity and cultural resources that endow an occupation with symbolic capital.

Adding a sociological angle and looking at the study of translation (in particular at "the study of norms") [192] as an activity can advance the analysis of the

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[186] Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger, introduction to "Profession, Identity and Status: Translators and Interpreters as an Occupational Group", 124.

[187] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, "Profession, Identity, and Status", in *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli and Brian James Baer (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 133.

[188] See Pierre Bourdieu, "Public Opinion Does Not Exist", in *Communication and Class Struggle*, vol. 1, ed. Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub (New York: International General, 1979): 124–130.

[189] Sela-Sheffy, "Profession, Identity, and Status", 134.

[190] Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger, introduction to "Profession, Identity and Status: Translators and Interpreters as an Occupational Group", 125.

[191] Ibid., 124.

[192] Sela-Sheffy, "How to be a (Recognized) Translator", 19.

concept of "field" and *habitus* in translation research. For a long time, adherence to norms has been canonized. Diversion from norms was usually not encouraged. Sela-Sheffy suggests that instead of using "the tyranny of norms" to study the work of translators, "certain *models*" should be used (emphasis in the original).[193] Translators are believed to have "a perfect command of domestic models in order to be recognized and survive in this trade, and this is a sign of their inferiority and lack of symbolic capital", which is explicitly related to their *habitus*.[194]

In her discussion of the sociology of translation, Wolf admits that the Bourdieusian concept of *habitus* is the most elaborate of his concepts. Here Wolf refers to André Lefevere who, seeing translation as a social practice, treated Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital "as the driving force to distribute translations in a specific culture".[195] As the "field" is a structural system of agents' social positions, the distribution structure of various capitals between fields reflects "the permanent functioning of social reality".[196] Inherently, the concept of *habitus* is central, as agents acquire *habitus* "through experience and socialisation in early life".[197] Research on community interpreting[198] has looked at the interaction between the norms upholding the situation and the conflictual and contradictory *habitus* of the participating agents, which could "change existing social relations and social practices".[199] The dynamics of the translation fields is reflected in the redistribution of the agents' symbolic capital.[200]

Relying on Beate Krais' and Günter Gebauer's approach[201] —that *habitus* is reconstructable through various activities of an individual or a collective—Wolf concludes that there is interaction between text analysis and social analysis. Most of the interpreting activities become history when the act of interpreting is completed. Therefore, most of the evidence vis-à-vis interpreting in the past could be indirect. To paraphrase Wolf's conclusion on translators and to apply it to interpreters, certain interpreting decisions correspond to the interpreter's *habitus* and justify why one or another strategy was used at "a specific historical moment".[202] According to Wolf the interpreter's *habitus* "can also create

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[193] Ibid., 7.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Michaela Wolf, "Sociology of Translation", in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), 338.
[196] Ibid. 339.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Moira Inghilleri, "Habitus, Field, Discourse", *Target* 15, no. 2 (2003): 261–262.
[199] Ibid., 261.
[200] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, "How to be a (Recognized) Translator", Target 17, no. 1 (2005), 10–11.
[201] Beate Krais and Günter Gebauer, *Habitus* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2002); Krais and Gebauer, referred to in Wolf "The Sociology of Translation and its 'Activist Turn'", 13.
[202] Wolf "The Sociology of Translation and its 'Activist Turn'", 13.

values and produce knowledge related to action".[203] Adoption of *habitus* in various interpreting domains may help draw conclusions from interpreting acts.

Moira Inghilleri[204] discusses community interpreters' conflicting *habitus* in relation to passiveness and obedience as outlined by Daniel Simeoni.[205] Referring to Simeoni,[206] Prunč outlines "a wide range of prototypical *habitus*, located on a cline between the *habitus* of the priest and the *habitus* of the self-effacing pariah".[207] The *habitus* of the priest may appear among interpreters of transnational and international organisations (e.g., the UN, the EU, etc.). The *habitus* of the pariah is a self-imposed one and has been passed down through history, feeding into the concept of "the servant and invisible communicator".[208] An example of the latter is community interpreting,[209] which according to Prunč can be described as "a fatal spiral of negative labelling".[210] He substantiates his arguments by pointing out that conference interpreting evolved due to and benefited from globalisation, and states that

> conference interpreters could not only acquire economic capital in the field of interpreting, but also profit from the (social) status of their clients and the high status of their working languages. This in turn considerably increased their symbolic capital.[211]

Prunč describes community interpreting as "a social field in which different social actors battle for their positions within the social system with the capital available to them".[212] Professional development and status of community interpreters can be upgraded in solidarity with conference interpreters improving the translation culture. "Translation culture" is a concept Prunč introduced in 1997[213] to cover mechanisms determining concrete acts of translation:

> Translation culture can be defined as the set of norms, conventions, values and behavioural patterns used by all the partners involved in translation processes in a certain culture.[214]

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[203] Ibid.

[204] Moira Inghilleri, "Habitus, Field, Discourse", 243–268.

[205] Daniel Simeoni, "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus", *Target* 10, no. 1 (1998): 1–39.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Prunč, "Priests, Princes and Pariahs", 48.

[208] Ibid., 51; see also Lawrence Venuti, *Translator's Invisibility*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

As community interpreting was not practiced in Estonia during the two periods under review, this type of interpretation is not discussed in the dissertation.

[210] Erich Prunč, "Rights, Realities and Responsibilities in Community Interpreting", 4.

[211] Ibid., 3.

[212] Ibid., 1–2.

[213] See Erich Prunč, "Translationskultur (Versuch einer konstruktiven Kritik des translatorischen Handelns)", *TextconTexxt* 11, no. 2 (1997): 99–127.

[214] Prunč, "Rights, Realities and Responsibilities in Community Interpreting", 2.

Translation culture should comply with value systems of society and comprise, on the one hand, characteristics and specificities of social fields of translation and, on the other hand, quality standards and conventions in various fields. Community interpreting should have its own qualifications established and recognized, as unlike conference interpreters, community interpreters have to have "the competence to make constant ethical decisions in the continuum between neutrality and advocacy".[215] Pym criticises Prunč's description of translation culture as "a subsystem of a culture", but agrees that internally "it could remain the preserve of only those agents involved in the translation process".[216] Bodil Martinsen and Friedel Dubslaff apply Prunč's model of democratic Western values to a specific case of court interpreting to reflect on norm-conforming behaviour.[217]

To conclude, "through a myriad of mundane processes of training and learning [...] the individual acquires a set of dispositions",[218] that comprise the *habitus*. The interpreter, using his or her knowledge and linguistic capabilities, assumes a responsibility to interpret fairly, thus acquiring a reputation for competence.

Later in this dissertation the author analyses interpreters as agents whose interpreting can, in certain socio-political situations, contribute to the state's symbolic capital. In other words, interpreters operate as agents in the field of interpreting with the *habitus* and symbolic capital acquired in that field. In the context of the diplomatic interpretation examined in this dissertation, the interpreter, when interpreting between Estonian and a foreign language, contributes to Estonia as a state gaining symbolic capital. The author will later demonstrate that though the interpreter's contribution may be invisible and cannot be quantitatively measured, it nevertheless is present whenever the state language (i.e., Estonian) is used and interpreted in a diplomatic setting.

1.2 Methods and Materials

1.2.1 Methods

As a conference interpreter herself, the author is a "practisearcher"[219] who is personally engaged in the field of interpreting, or perhaps rather a "histerpreter":[220] a conference interpreter interested in the history of her profession.

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[215] Ibid., 8.

[216] Pym, "On the Social and the Cultural in Translation Studies", 23.

[217] Bodil Martinsen and Friedel Dubslaff, "The Cooperative Courtroom: A Case Study of Interpreting Gone Wrong", in *Doing Justice to Court Interpreting*, ed. Miriam Shlesinger and Franz Pöchhacker (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), 125–162.

[218] Thompson, editor's introduction, 12.

[219] Gile, "Opening Up in Interpretation Studies", 149–158.

[220] Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, introduction to *New Insights in the History of Interpreting,* ed. Kayoko Takeda, and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016), xi.

In setting out to provide a comprehensive overview of the evolution of interpreting in Estonia starting in 1918, when the Republic of Estonia was proclaimed, the author chose to conduct an interdisciplinary study, carrying out historical research using ethnographic and content analysis methods for the material gathered. In particular, she used the ethnographic method, which lends itself to a range of data-gathering methods both from textual and non-textual sources. This methodological diversity, applicable to historical research, is described in section 1.1.1., entitled "Interpreting Studies and Interpreting History". The ethnographic data-gathering applied to this research has proven to be a reliable, qualitative, social-science approach to Interpreting Studies. In their discussion of research methods in interpreting, Sandra Hale and Jemina Napier consider the ethnographic method "ideal",[221] and Veerle Duflou was among the first to apply this method to conference interpreting.[222] Kaisa Koskinen has also carried out pioneering research on translation in the European Union institutions.[223] When ethnography is used as a methodological framework, it favours open-ended research. Qualitatively, it is inductive and can reveal issues which might not have otherwise occurred to the researcher, thus allowing him or her to move from collecting data to data analysis and then to conclusions. According to Edmund Asare, "ethnographic methods can be used to address virtually any research concerns".[224] When using these methods, researchers are able to look at a broad research question, and they should be non-judgmental and keep an open mind.[225] Hale and Napier list a number of ethnographic methods applicable to conducting research into interpretation, including observation, retrospective interviews, desktop research, and the use of diaries or field notes.[226] Although the observation of human activity in a conventional environment—for example, through participant observation—is considered to be characteristic of the ethnographic method, it is not mandatory. Indeed, according to Sarah J. Tracy, the use of this method is "not necessarily accompanied by immersion in the field or by a holistic cultural analysis".[227] In this dissertation this method was fruitful in terms of collecting and analysing data and also allowed data

[221] Sandra Hale and Jemina Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting: A Practical Resource* (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 85.

[222] Veerle Duflou, *Be(com)ing a Conference Interpreter: An Ethnography of EU Interpreters as a Professional Community* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2016), 22.

[223] Kaisa Koskinen, *Translating Institutions: An Ethnographic Study of EU Translation* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2008).

[224] Edmund Asare, "Ethnography of Communication", in *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli and Brian James Baer (London and New York: Routledge 2016), 214.

[225] David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2010), 23–24.

[226] Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 87–88.

[227] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods,* 35.

containing a maximum of information to be gathered from a range of sources so as to help paint a holistic picture of interpreting in the periods studied.

Throughout the dissertation, the use of the ethnographic method is intertwined with classic content analysis and qualitative content analysis of data. Arguably, classic content analysis as a research method for the social sciences dates back to Max Weber and the early 20th century and is used to count and verify meanings discovered across texts. Traditionally, content analysis is used to analyse written texts; thus, researchers have adopted the method to analyse newspapers and have also extended it to other media. However, its application is not limited to newspaper articles and broadcasts, where researchers have no chance to influence participants, such an analysis is also applicable to interviews and observations. Communication-related artefacts that can be turned into texts (interviews, documents, photos and film footage) can also undergo content analysis. Finally, a quantitative analysis of qualitative data and a qualitative analysis of quantitative data are possible;[228] in both, context and latent content should also be considered.[229]

Sue Wilkinson compares content analysis to ethnographic analysis, arguing that the former provides a more comprehensive and systematic picture of the whole data set.[230] Content analysis should be treated as a method for analysis and not as one for data collection. In this dissertation, the concept of content analysis allows the author to examine textual sources (archival documents, transcripts of semi-structured interviews with interpreters and people who recruited or used interpreters, newspaper articles, verbatim reports, audiovisual media) from the history of interpreting in Estonia. While the ethnographic method was mostly used to gather material for this research, content analysis was used to analyse the material.

Different periods in Estonian history necessitated different methods of data acquisition. For the first period (1918–1940), the author relied primarily on memoirs, archival documents and newspaper articles. For the relatively recent second period (1944–1991), she focused on giving interpreters a voice, as it was possible to interview the interpreters who worked during those years.[231] The inspection of material artefacts such as film footage and photos provided rich factual corroboration of the interpreters' narrative. Other textual sources (memoirs, articles, verbatim reports) for this period were scarce; thus, audio-

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[228] See also Udo Kuckartz, *Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods, Practice and Using Software* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage, 2014), 32; 4.

[229] See also Siegfried Kracauer, "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis", in special issue on International Communications Research, *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (Winter, 1952–1953), 631–642; Philipp Mayring, "Qualitative Content Analysis", *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1, no. 2, Art. 20 (2000).

[230] Sue Wilkinson, "Focus Group Research", in *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, ed. David Silverman, 2nd ed. (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2004), 182.

[231] See section 1.2.2.3 entitled "Interviews".

visual sources were of paramount significance. Interviews and desktop research[232] facilitated the author's aim of studying interpreters and the linguistic environments in which they operated in the Soviet socio-political context. The author examined audiovisual data, the author's interpreting logbook and archival documents to enhance the reliability and credibility of interviews. Here, the author treats her logbook as field notes and uses it to cross-check information elicited from the interviews and audiovisual material.

For this dissertation, the use of multiple data sources therefore helped the author visualise and understand the otherwise invisible research subject, with the objective of gaining knowledge about interpreting, the interpretation community and the dynamics thereof, all of which were then examined from a novel angle. At times, the author prioritised a quantitative study over qualitative analysis; this indicates her pragmatic intent to demonstrate which sources were most informative for each reviewed period.

When conducting an electronic search in the Estonian Newspapers Collection of the Digital Archive of the National Library, the author searched for all variations on the Estonian word for "translator" or "interpreter" as well as "to interpret", "interpretation", "to translate" and "translation" (*tõlk, tõlgi, tõlgid, tõlke, tõlgitakse*).[233] In the Estonian Literary Museum's article database the search focused on topics (external relations, foreign visitors, guest lecturers, etc.).[234] In the Film Archive Online Database a search for the term "synchronised" yielded footage with authentic sound, thus helping to narrow down the search to identify the language used. Apart from those key words, the author also used a large number of other search words (such as Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, anniversary, jubilee, revolution, conference, congress, presidium, etc.).[235]

A manual search in the University of Tartu Museum Photo Collection focused on keywords on index cards (faculty of medicine, faculty of history, teaching aids, University of Tartu 350, etc.).[236] The Literary Museum's systematic catalogue and catalogue of people consist of index cards with a brief summary for each article, allowing the author to search for "peace negotiations", "League of Nations", "trips abroad", etc., as well as for people, using such keywords as "Konstantin Päts", "Johan Laidoner", "Villem Ernits" and others.[237] A manual search in forty-six dictionaries, encyclopaedias and other sources to trace the evolution of the term "interpreter" in Estonian necessitated the use of historic terms that may have been used for "interpreter" (*tulk, keelekoer, keelnik, dragoman*) as search words.

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[232] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods,* 30.

[233] See also section 1.3.1 entitled "The Evolution of the Term 'Interpreter' in the Estonian Language".

[234] See section 1.2.2.2 entitled "Archives, Newspapers and Verbatim Reports".

[235] See section 1.2.3 entitled "Non-textual Sources".

[236] See section 1.2.3.2 entitled "Photo Collections".

[237] See section 1.2.2.2 entitled "Archives, Newspapers and Verbatim Reports".

For this dissertation, the application of standard content analysis to newspaper articles provided the author with a comprehensive overview of the period 1918 to 1940;[238] as David Fetterman puts it, "the frequency (or lack thereof) of a term or topic reflects its relative importance".[239] The corpus of 364 newspaper articles, announcements and advertisements for this period was also analysed by languages used in interpretation.[240] The author also examined the material to establish the evaluation of interpreters' performance. She concluded that the adjective "smooth" and the adverbs "figuratively", "vividly", "smoothly", "fluently" and "skilfully" were used to convey positive impressions while "weak" and "clumsily" indicated a poor performance.[241]

When analysing her media communication data, the author focused on explicit content arising from her data set (audiovisual material).[242] Thus, in her analysis of film footage, the author identified the use of simultaneous interpretation by observing members of the audience wearing headsets and also identified interpreters in Estonia's Soviet-era parliament and at other events (1944–1991).

Methods of data collection and the possible limitations of each type of material are discussed below. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the use of primary ethnographic data in light of the potential subjectivity of memoirs and the need to cross-reference information from interviews and memoirs with visual and audio evidence.

1.2.2 Textual Sources

Textual sources for this dissertation fall into four groups: memoirs and diaries; archives, newspapers and verbatim reports; transcripts of sixty-nine interviews with interpreters, people who recruited interpreters or used the services of interpreters; and the author's logbook of interpreting assignments. Although personal accounts and historical records provide insight into interpreting, they can also jeopardise the subjectivity of research, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, may be difficult to access as not all archival documents are publicly accessible. As regards archival and manuscript research and the use of primary sources in translation research, it has already been highlighted that archives are an invaluable source for researchers.[243] In addition to personal accounts and

[238] See Table 2.5. Newspapers that mention interpreting, by publication run and number of articles.
[239] Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step*, 104.
[240] See Table 2.1. Source languages (as of 21 May 2015) and Table 2.2. Target languages (as of 21 May 2015).
[241] See section 2.4.11 entitled "Evaluation of Interpretation".
[242] See section 3.6 entitled "Audiovisual Evidence".
[243] Jeremy Munday, "The Role of Archival and Manuscript Research in the Investigation of Translator Decision-Making", *Target* 25, no. 1 (2013), 125–139; Munday, "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory of Translation and Translators: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns", 64–80.

historical records, archives were also of particular relevance to this dissertation.[244]

1.2.2.1 Memoirs and Diaries

There are few sources that provide explicit information about interpreters during the periods under review. Data on the years from 1918 to 1940 was compiled mostly from forty-one books of memoirs and diaries of diplomats and officials employed by the Foreign Ministry of Estonia as well as from monographs.[245] In 2010 and 2011 a series of fifty books entitled Estonia's Memory was published, which made available memoirs by outstanding Estonians. The series included a number of books that were valuable to the author's research.[246] Those memoirs were mainly written between the 1930s and 1960s and were first published in Western countries after World War II. In addition, the Estonian monthly journal *Akadeemia* has recently published diaries that provide insight into the diplomatic world in Estonia between the two World Wars.[247]

Within the category of literature that focuses on individual memory, Mart Velsker singles out documentary recollections for use in research, including memoirs, diaries, biographies, autobiographies and recollective essays.[248] Memoirs recall the past "through existing people",[249] expanding our knowledge and awareness of events or situations about which remaining material is scarce, for whatever reason (war, fire, turbulent events, etc.). Although "the role of self tends to seem greater" when "recalling events inevitably from a self-centred point of view",[250] such texts are essential to preserve a nation's memory.[251] For

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[244] Detailed textual analyses of drafts, correspondence and other notes provide information on decision-making processes undertaken by translators. Due to the evanescent nature of interpreting, not all research methodologies applicable to translation could be used.

[245] See for example Eduard Laaman, *Jaan Poska: Eesti riigitegelase elukäik*, 3rd rev. ed. (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts, 1998); Tiina Tamman, *The Last Ambassador*: *August Torma, Soldier, Diplomat, Spy* (Amsterdam-New York, Rodopi, 2011).

[246] Such as Ernst Jaakson, *Eestile* (Tallinn: Eesti Päevaleht. Akadeemia, 2011); Kaarel Robert Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma. Saadiku päevik. Kirjad kinnisest majast* (Tallinn: Eesti Päevaleht. Akadeemia, 2010); William Tomingas, *Mälestused* (Tallinn: Eesti Päevaleht. Aka-deemia, 2010).

[247] See for example Elmar Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi. Päevik 1931–1940, I", *Akadeemia* 9 (2007); Elmar Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi. Päevik 1931–1940, V", *Akadeemia* 1 (2008a); Elmar Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi. Elmar Kirotari päevik 1931–1940, XII: Lisa: Tagasivaatamisi", *Akadeemia*, 8 (2008b); Eduard Laaman, "Meie vastus: Eduard Laamani päevik 1922–1940", *Akadeemia*, 4 (2004).

[248] Mart Velsker, "Uus kirjandus ja uued lugejad. Mõttevahetus: 00-ndad eesti kirjanduses", *Looming* 10 (2009): 1422.

[249] Jan Kaus, "Ilukirjandus ja elukirjandus. Eesti proosast 2008", *Vikerkaar* 6 (2009): 41.

[250] Ivo Juurvee, afterword to *Mälestused*, by William Tomingas (Tallinn: Eesti Päevaleht. Akadeemia 2010), 313.

[251] Ülo Tonts, "Memuaristika", in *Eesti kirjandus paguluses XX sajandil*, ed. Piret Kruuspere, *Collegium litterarum* 9 (Tallinn: Underi ja Tuglase Kirjanduskeskus, 2008).

a historian, however, they may be very difficult to verify.[252] Leena Kurvet-Käosaar and Rutt Hinrikus highlight that "the boundary between autobiography and literature, fact and fiction is more or less undefined",[253] although "fiction can never be excluded from memoirs".[254] Events tend to be recalled from a subjective point of view, as Ivo Juurvee points out in his epilogue to Willem Tomingas's memoirs.[255]

Memoirs written by diplomatic interpreters make for interesting reading but present past experience through a personal lens,[256] although there are a couple of academic texts that give a brief glimpse into diplomatic interpreting in Czechoslovakia[257] and Poland.[258] Jesús Baigorri-Jalón and María Manuela Fernández-Sánchez warn that memoirs should be read "with a certain amount of prudence, given the tendency to self-justification and the tricky nature of memory".[259]

In analysing the forty-one memoirs and diaries used for this research, it is fair to say that some diplomats viewed their deeds and role in a subjectively positive way. The amount of fiction they included varied: while Tomingas is said to have been sloppy (inaccurate) with facts and to have employed creative fantasy,[260] Aleksander Warma was considered objective.[261]

When reading memoirs, the researcher needs to pay close attention to the truthfulness of the events described, using other sources of verification if possible. Diaries and memoirs are not a fully credible source of information, as they tend to be subjective. Jennifer Jensen Wallach argues that despite this fact, they are "valuable historical resources precisely because of their subjectivity,

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[252] Rutt Hinrikus, "Eesti autobiograafilise kirjutuse kujunemisest 18. sajandist Teise maailmasõjani", in "Omaelulookirjutuse erinumber", comp. and ed. Leena Kurvet-Käosaar, special issue, Methis. *Studia Humaniora Estonica* 5/6 (2010). doi. 10.7592/methis.v4i5-6.

[253] Leena Kurvet-Käosaar and Rutt Hinrikus, "Omaelulookirjutus taasiseseisvumisest nullindateni", in "Nullindate erinumber", comp. and ed. Piret Viires and Priit Kruus, special issue, *Methis*. *Studia Humaniora Estonica* 11 (2013): 98. doi: 10.7592/methis.v8i11.

[254] Kaus, "Ilukirjandus ja elukirjandus", 41.

[255] Juurvee, afterword, 311.

[256] Harry Obst, *White House Interpreter: The Art of Interpretation* (Bloomington, Indiana, USA: AuthorHouse, 2010); Igor Korchilov, *Translating History* (New York: Scribner, 1999); Pavel Palazchenko, *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

[257] Hana Kučerova, "Diplomatic Interpreting in Czechoslovakia", in *Interpreting: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, ed. David Bowen and Margareta Bowen (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 1990), 37–39.

[258] David Bowen, Margareta Bowen, and Irena Dobosz, "The Life of a Diplomatic Interpreter: An Interview with Irena Dobosz", in *Interpreting: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, ed. David Bowen and Margareta Bowen (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 1990), 23–33.

[259] Baigorri-Jalón and Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting", 8; see also Kurvet-Käosaar and Hinrikus, "Omaelulookirjutus", 98; Juurvee, afterword, 313; Hinrikus, "Eesti autobiograafilise kirjutuse kujunemisest", 20.

[260] Juurvee, afterword, 313.

[261] Tonts, "Memuaristika", 287.

because they reveal the way individuals perceive and recollect historical moments of their lives".[262] She also states, however, that the underlying political motives of the memoirist should always be considered. Wallach argues that "the subjectivity of historical agents is not something we should try to guard against but something we should embrace as a vehicle for a richer understanding of the past".[263] As for archival records, they are unable to capture the complexity of life, and any conclusion drawn from them may also remain speculative.[264]

Memoirs offer a chance to read a story of events that took place during the lifetime of the memoirist that cannot be recovered after he or she has passed away. Heewon Chang points out that unlike autobiographies, "memoirs tend to focus on fragments of memoirists' lives, not the whole life".[265] Philippe Lejeune discusses diaries as a literary genre and points out that it is one of the few to have "given rise to studies that are both in-depth and hostile, or at least highly ambiguous".[266] He points out that criticism is directed against the value system instead of "imagining what the diary means to the author while he is keeping it".[267] When written, it is not a book; it is not even a text. Rather, it is private writing which only "becomes a text once the author dies" and it is edited and published (and rarely in full).[268] Lejeune stresses that even if the diary may partly be an illusion, it is not fiction: "Unlike the autobiography, the diary does not borrow from the realm of literary imagination".[269] He also makes explicit the freedom diarists have to start and suspend writing and to share, publish or destroy their work.

Seven out of the forty-one books examined for this dissertation provided the author with no useful information, mentioning neither interpretation nor languages. Sixteen books were more informative since they briefly mentioned interpretation: in seven books the author had acted as an interpreter, while a further nine mentioned interpreters or interpreting. Another eighteen touched upon foreign languages or linguistic skills (see table 1.1.).

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[262] Jennifer Jensen Wallach, *Closer to the Truth Than Any Fact: Memoir, Memory, and Jim Crow* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia press, 2008), 34.
[263] Ibid., 15.
[264] Ibid., 25.
[265] Heewon Chang, *Autoethnography as Method* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2008), 36.
[266] Philippe Lejeune, *On Diary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 152.
[267] Ibid., 153.
[268] Ibid., 154.
[269] Jeremy D. Popkin, "Philippe Lejeune, Explorer of the Diary", in *On Diary* by Philippe Lejeune (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 9.

Table 1.1. References to interpretation (1918–1940)

Languages or linguistic skills mentioned	18
Interpretation	16
Interpreters or interpretation mentioned	9
The book's author acted as an interpreter	7
No useful information	7
Total	**41**

For the period 1944 to 1991, thus far the author has discovered two memoirs that briefly mention interpretation, with both authors having worked as interpreters.

1.2.2.2 Archives, Newspapers and Verbatim Reports

Corroborative historic facts and data can be uncovered in archives and museums; these days, the latter have made parts if not all of their collections available electronically. The gathering of data for this study overlapped with the rapid digitisation of archival records in Estonia. Hence, the author conducted her initial research manually, but in the final stage she was also able to carry it out electronically in digitised databases, which are continually being upgraded.
Estonian archives are managed by a central administration, the National Archives of Estonia. The specific units of the National Archives system relevant to this study were the Historical Archives, the State Archives and the Film Archives.

The State Archives of Estonia preserve documents dating back to the proclamation of independence (1918) and continuing to the present. Its collections are gradually being digitised and are available online. Those records are available in the AIS, the database of the National Archives of Estonia and of the Tallinn City Archives; it can be searched for relevant archival records, with the original hard copies available for consultation in the archive's reading room. For this research, the minutes from the Tartu Peace negotiations with Russia in 1919 (held between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia) provided information about one of the most significant early steps taken by the young Republic of Estonia. In the State Archives, the catalogue *The Republic of Estonia 1918–1940 (1944)* and its sub-catalogue *Foreign Relations Documents and Correspondence of the Foreign Ministry* were also a valuable research source.

The Digital Archive of the National Library, DIGAR, collects pre-publication files, web publications and digitised copies of publications. The DIGAR collections contain digital books, newspapers, journals, magazines, maps, sheet music, prints and postcards. The portal was launched in October 2014. Newspapers from 1821 to 1 January 2014 are gradually being digitised and added to the database, while those published since the start of 2014 are all digitised.

As of 26 September 2015, DIGAR's Estonian Newspapers collection contained 106,560 issues comprising 796,608 pages and 4,046,925 articles. Electronic searches can be conducted on 1,252 newspapers, journals and magazines. Newspapers can also be found in the Digital Estonian Newspapers Database (DEA) and in the general DIGAR digital archive; all of their contents will be transferred to DIGAR's Estonian Newspapers portal.

All text is automatically entered into DIGAR using optical character recognition (OCR) software. The text has not been edited, except for the names of authors, article headlines and photo captions. OCR allows full text searches to take place. The user has to keep in mind that the results are never 100% accurate; accuracy depends on many elements: the quality of the printing in the original publication, the quality of the microfilm that was scanned, design elements, the scanner used and the OCR software. Poor results may also be caused by low-quality paper, small print, different fonts, different column layouts, and damaged pages.

As of 29 April 2015, the search word *tõlgitakse* (is/will be interpreted) yielded 1,164 articles covering the years from 1890 to 2015; however, for the above reasons, not all were applicable and some were simply the result of false character recognition. For the years 1918 to 1940, there were 1,013 articles. The search word *tõlgid* (interpreters) yielded 485 articles from 1890 to 2015, of which 191 were from 1918 to 1940.

For the period being studied here—1918 to 1940—only 364 articles from the DIGAR collection were useful for research purposes (as of 21 May 2015): 278 mentioned interpretation in Estonia, 64 covered interpretation at international conventions held all over the world, and 22 discussed the state or official language or linguistic skills. Another four articles published from 1892 to 1916 explicitly referred to the need for interpreters and were of interest as they threw light on the pre-independence era.

Newspapers from 1944 to 1991 are only gradually being digitised; DIGAR was therefore of no use for those years. Searching for the words *tõlgid*, *tõlgitakse*, and *tõlk*, all variations on the Estonian word for "translator" or "interpreter", yielded no information about interpretation in Estonia, although three articles mentioned interpretation at the War Tribunal in Germany. Searching for *tõlke* (the plural partitive case of *tõlk*, "interpreter") led to seven articles, four of which were ads to recruit Estonian, Russian and German translators (presumably because they were published by construction companies, which were busy in the post-war years).

To gain insight into the world of journalism, the author used the Estonian Literary Museum and its digital databases. The Analytical Retrospective Bibliography of Estonian Journalism (1821–1944) yielded several rare pieces of information. For this study, the aim was to look through all newspapers published in Estonia from 1918 to 1940 in order to discover whether interpretation or interpreters were mentioned in articles, as well as to establish and confirm when interpretation was first used in Estonia. The bibliography, compiled in the pre-Internet era, comprises 2.2 million index cards that have been systemati-

cally organised and that have a brief summary of each article. It covers the years from 1821 to 1944. The author also manually searched the sub-catalogues of the Estonian Literary Museum's systematic catalogue. She searched for, among other terms, the following: foreign relations; peace negotiations; League of Nations; diplomatic relations; University of Tartu; foreign delegations; trips abroad; relations with the United Kingdom, the United States, Finland and Latvia, etc. In the museum's catalogue of people, she searched for President of Estonia Konstantin Päts, General Johan Laidoner, Villem Ernits, etc.[270]

The Literary Museum also maintains BIBIS, an article database that includes newspapers from the 1920s and 1930s and articles related to Estonia. Performing an electronic search, however, was not as useful as going through the bibliography file cards. Unfortunately, no archive has a dedicated collection on interpretation. Thus, the electronic search focused on topics such as external relations, foreign relations, the Tartu Peace Conference, foreign visitors, the University of Tartu, conferences, guest lecturers, etc.

The search yielded over four hundred articles of possible research value, which are available in the DEA. Most of the selected articles did not turn out to cover interpretation, however, and forty-eight were filtered out for analysis.

The Bibliography Department of the Archival Library at the Estonian Literary Museum has compiled a database called University of Tartu (this contains data going back to 1940). Each bibliography file card in the database features a brief summary of an article published in Estonian newspapers. Going through these yielded several rare pieces of information, helping to locate two articles from 1961 and 1964. Another fifteen mostly reflected issues related to foreign relations and linguistics, but not to interpretation.

Although older University of Tartu archival records have been transferred to the Historic Archives, the University Archive preserves documents from 1981 onward. Records from the Rector's Office about preparations to mark the university's 350th anniversary (1982) provided insight valuable to this study.

The Historic Archives, previously independent but currently a subunit of the State Archives in the National Archives of Estonia, preserves 1,011 archival records (1944–1980) that were transferred from the University of Tartu Archive on 15 May 2002. The most informative resource in the archive for this study was the *Permanently Preserved Documents, Volume 1: Tartu State University, Office, Rector's Office*, which provided a glimpse of the foreign lecturers and guests who visited the university. Such information is scarce. Files contain correspondence about the organisation of research conferences, congresses and sessions, as well as about plans to invite guest lecturers and plans for future events. Several such plans have a designated column for the number of expected participants from Estonia and other Soviet republics. Very few have a column for participants from capitalist countries.

Comprehensive information about newspaper articles published in Estonia (1944–1991) is available in the bibliographic collection *The Chronicle of*

[270] Search results are discussed in greater detail below.

Articles and Reviews, which lists article titles. Thirty-one articles were thus selected for examination based on their titles. All but three discussed translation and other linguistic issues. None of the remaining three discussed interpretation: two were dedicated to foreign guests and one to simultaneous interpretation technology, and all had to do with the University of Tartu.

Verbatim reports of the Constituent Assembly (23 April 1919–20 December 1920, the first Estonian national representative body), published in 1919 and 1920, were of limited use but confirmed that both German and Estonian and occasionally Russian were used as the Assembly's working languages.

Verbatim reports of Supreme Soviet sessions (1947–1989) were an uninformative source. These verbatim texts were translated and published in Estonian and Russian. The published texts, however, refer neither to the original language of the speaker nor to the use of interpretation, although interviews with a stenographer (who worked from 1949 to 1983) and with a former head of the Documentation Department of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (who worked from 1949 to 1991) did confirm the use of interpretation.

Verbatim reports of forty-seven sessions of the 12th Supreme Council (1990–1991) are accessible online, though few of them contain references to interpretation. They reflect sessions held during the most turbulent times, from changing the name of the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia, to the restoration of independence. As of 8 May 1990, the name of the representative body was the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia. The most important legal act of this Council was the Resolution on Estonia's national independence, adopted on 20 August 1991. The Council functioned as the de facto parliament of the Republic of Estonia until the beginning of the mandate of the 7th *Riigikogu* on 30 September 1992.[271]

1.2.2.3 Interviews

For the period from 1944 to 1991, the author conducted sixty-nine convergent interviews (thirty-nine with interpreters and thirty with people who recruited interpreters or benefited from interpretation). The use of qualitative interviews[272] allowed her to gather in-depth information. According to Sarah J. Tracy, interviews and archival research supplement one another.[273] Interviews play a significant role in examining topics that "cannot be observed or efficiently accessed" or that "may otherwise be hidden or unseen".[274] As explained above, written sources about interpretation are scarce, as it has been considered quite marginal compared to other activities. Hence, "interviews are especially

[271] For the sake of clarity, since the Supreme Soviet was the Soviet equivalent of the parliament, the author frequently refers to it as the "Soviet-era parliament".
[272] Tim Rapley, "Interviews", in *Qualitative Research Practice*, ed. Clive Seale et al. (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage 2007), 15–33.
[273] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 29.
[274] Ibid., 132.

helpful for acquiring information that is left out of formal documents", such as in the case of this study.[275] Interviews in combination with other sources of data and types of data collection (such as archival research and analysis of the author's logbook data) allow triangulation to add validity to conclusions based on the findings.[276] Interviews are also one of the most efficient tools in gathering external data, the goal being "to stimulate your memory, to fill in gaps in information, to gather new information about […] other relevant topics, [and] to validate your personal data". This challenges, supports and confirms internal data without blurring the focus of the research; that is, it helps one to understand oneself in one's given cultural context.[277] According to Kaisa Koskinen interviews "elicit qualitative data".[278]

To refute criticism of the lack of credibility in qualitative research, Bob Dick introduced convergent interviewing, reducing the guiding role of the interviewer.[279] In convergent interviews, the interviewing process is driven by the interviewees and the information they provide. Information processing starts during the interview and allows the interviewer to resort to probing questions to elicit more precise or deeper information if necessary. Interviewees "are given the chance at first to contribute their perceptions unshaped by more detailed questions", without the interviewer's questions or preconceived ideas and goals guiding them.[280] Such an approach was useful in the current study as firstly, interpretation was a topic most of the interviewees had not discussed for decades; secondly, the interviewer did not know whether or to what extent the interviewees would be willing to recall their work, which took place more than a quarter of a century ago under a different socio-political order; thirdly, due to the scarcity of written documents, the interviewer had to rely entirely on the information provided by the interviewees during the first interviews. As the interviewee pool increased, it was then possible to begin searching for corroborating information from other sources. Dick outlines five main steps used in convergent interviewing: establishing a rapport, asking the opening question, keeping the interviewee talking, asking probing questions and summarising results.[281]

The data-driven convergent interviewing,[282] combined with snowball sampling,[283] which is also known as the chaining process or chain referral

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[275] Ibid., 133.

[276] See Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*; Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*.

[277] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 106.

[278] Koskinen, *Translating Institutions*, 42.

[279] *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods,* s.v. "convergent interviewing", 2008, 1:125–127.

[280] Bob Dick, *Convergent interviewing*. Session 8 of Areol—action research and evaluation on line, last modified 2002, http://www.uq.net.au/action_research/areol/areol-session08.html, accessed 25 June 2012.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid.

[283] See Rapley, "Interviews", 17; Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 105; Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 135–136.

sampling, helped the author to identify interpreters who worked during the period under review and thus to increase the target population. Snowballing is applied when the target group members know each other or belong to the same social network, which interpreters obviously do. As the years have passed, however, this particular target group has thinned.

Convergent interviewing lets those being interviewed do the talking. The interviewees were pleased, as an interest was being taken in their recollections; they pointed out that it was in fact the first time anyone had expressed interest in their interpretation experience. All interviews were direct, thus allowing for "personal and face-to-face advantages".[284]

Recruiting: the interpreter pool

The researcher had two goals when recruiting interview participants. First, to identify and interview as many interpreters as possible to gain information about the early years of interpretation use in Estonia, and second, to avoid over-saturation. It was important to act quickly, as those who worked in the post-war period are now reaching a critical age. For example, the interpreters interviewed who had a Russian A or B worked between the late 1940s and the 1980s; thus, two interviewees were over 90 years old. Interpreters active since the 1980s, who mostly have B languages other than Russian, are quite numerous and avoiding oversaturation was a factor to be considered. In answer to the question of how many interviews are enough for this type of research, Tracy quotes Kvale: "[a]s many as necessary to find out what you need to know".[285] Seidman outlines two criteria to determine whether the number of interviewees suffices: sufficiency—"are there sufficient numbers to reflect the range of participants and sites that make up the population", and saturation of information—the point at which no new information is forthcoming.[286] For Hale and Napier this is the point at which one starts to hear the same information over and over again.[287] Tracy[288] describes it by referring to Glaser and Strauss (1967), who say it is when "new pieces [of data] add little, if any, new value", and to Strauss and Corbin (1990), who describe it as the point at which "no new or relevant data seems to emerge".

After the author had conducted sixty-nine open semi-structured interviews (thirty-nine with interpreters and thirty with people who recruited interpreters or occasionally used interpreters from the 1950s to the 1990s), this point seemed to have been reached, as no new relevant data or names of interpreters emerged. The amount of data thus seemed sufficient and the aim of gathering "a range of views" accomplished.[289] In this case, the interviewee pool was comprised of

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[284] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method,* 105.
[285] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 138.
[286] Irving Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), 55.
[287] Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 101.
[288] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 195.
[289] Rapley, "Interviews", 17.

speakers of various foreign languages—English, Finnish, French, German, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish—who were all also fluent in Estonian. The thirty-nine interpreters represent two different target and source language groups: Russian (twenty-four interpreters) and other languages (fifteen). Comments about two interpreters who worked from and into Russian and who passed away several years ago were also considered. The interviewees were all non-professionals,[290] except for two who worked full time at drama theatres interpreting performances from Estonian into Russian and four who were former Intourist guide-interpreters.

Interview formats and strategies

Less structured interviews are more characteristic of ethnographic interviews.[291] Indeed, all the interviews for this research can be defined as semi-structured[292] or unstructured.[293]

Silverman, as adapted from Noaks and Wincup (2004),[294] divides interviews into four types: structured, semi-structured, open-ended and of focus groups.[295] Hale and Napier also rely on Noaks and Wincup.[296] Chang lists a number of interview techniques, such as "individual and group, structured and unstructured, formal and informal, and direct and indirect".[297] Tracy categorises interviews by structure (structured and unstructured) and by type: ethnographic, informant, respondent, narrative (including oral histories, life stories and biographic interviews) and discursive interviews.[298]

Carter McNamara has four types of interviews (informal, conversational interviews; standardised, open-ended interviews; closed, fixed-response interviews; and what he calls general interview guide approach interviews);[299] the general interview guide approach is what Noaks and Wincup, Silverman, and Hale and Napier call semi-structured and what Chang and Tracy call unstructured. The sixty-nine interviews conducted used this concept of general

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[290] For the purposes of this dissertation, the author considered professionals to be those who either had interpreter training or who worked full time as an interpreter (or guide-interpreter)—that is, those who got plenty of practical experience.

[291] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 105.

[292] See Lesley Noaks and Emma. L Wincup, *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Methods. Introducing Qualitative Methods* (London: Sage, 2004); Rapley, "Interviews"; Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*; Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting.*

[293] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*; Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*.

[294] Noaks and Wincup, *Criminological Research*, 80.

[295] Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 110.

[296] Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 98.

[297] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 104.

[298] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 139–140.

[299] Carter McNamara, *General Guidelines for Conducting Interviews*, last modified 2009, http://managementhelp.org/evaluatn/intrview.htm, accessed 18 May 2015.

interview guide approach, collecting "the same general areas of information" from each interviewee while maintaining a certain degree of freedom.[300]

Tracy defines an unstructured interview as an "interview that is flexible and organic in nature and uses questions or topics of dialogue that vary from one participant to the next".[301] Chang is more specific, adding that not only the questions but also the responses are more flexible; in this method, "power is shared between [the interviewer] and the interviewee".[302] Silverman refers to this as semi-structured interviews, listing the required skills: "some probing[,] rapport with the interviewee, understanding the aims of the project".[303]

An unstructured interview is interviewee-oriented, allowing "for the interviewees' complex viewpoints to be heard" and also providing "more complex [data]";[304] hence the researcher can gather in-depth information. The questions follow from what the participant has said: "the purpose of in-depth interviewing" is to take "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience".[305] Attempting to define in-depth interviews, Tim Rapley opts for the term "qualitative interviews", which would "be a useful gloss for the disparate descriptions"; he describes a type of interviewing aimed at producing "thick descriptions", which he defines as "*elaborated* and *detailed* answers" (emphasis in the original).[306] Rapley lists names given to these interviews, such as "active, biographical, collaborative, conversational, in-depth, dialogical, focused, guided, informal, life history, non-directed, open-ended, oral-history, reflexive, [and] semi-structured".[307]

The author decided to follow a semi-structured approach to her interviews as this provides sufficient flexibility for the interviewees to recall and to express thoughts and ideas.[308] To keep the interviews on track and to prevent interviewees from getting sidetracked by vague recollections and lengthy story-telling, the interviewer prepared a questionnaire of ten to fifteen open-ended questions, called an interview guide by Tracy.[309] The interviewer deduced her role to be that of a listener, prompting the interviewees and keeping them on track with occasional open-ended questions.[310] The interview guide included questions about four aspects of the issue at hand: when and under what circumstances the interpreter first started interpreting, whether the interpreter had received any interpreter training, what the working conditions were, and if the interpreter could identify colleagues and events interpreted.

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[300] Ibid.
[301] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 156.
[302] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 105.
[303] Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 110.
[304] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 139.
[305] Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*, 9.
[306] Rapley, "Interviews", 15.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 97.
[309] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 139.
[310] Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research.*

The interviewer, however, remained flexible, not restricting the talk to a "predetermined agenda".[311]

Given that the interviews were designed to "gather factual data",[312] the author occasionally resorted to using the interview guide when preparing for interviews. This was not shown to the respondents but helped her keep the focus of the interview on topic, if necessary. More specific follow-up questions were then asked if anything of interest emerged during the interview. Tracy defines the interview guide as "a list of flexible questions to be asked during the interview, which is meant to stimulate the discussion rather than dictate it".[313] Irving Seidman warns against asking interviewees to rely on their memories;[314] instead, he recommends asking "participants to reconstruct their experience and to explore their meaning".[315] Silverman talks of the need "to examine what people actually do in real life rather than asking them to comment upon it".[316] Seidman also says to "tolerate silence" and advises interviewers to use the interview guide "with caution".[317]

Rapport

Several researchers have stressed the importance of the interviewee-interviewer relationship,[318] as well as that of building rapport.[319] Joseph A. Maxwell elaborates on that relationship which, "once 'achieved', requires no further attention" but rather "requires ongoing negotiation and renegotiation" with those being studied.[320] He also makes a sound recommendation: "Put yourself in [the interviewee's place], and ask how you would feel if someone did to you what you are thinking of doing".[321] The fact that in this case, the interviewer is a conference interpreter herself and a colleague of several of the interviewees (and has, as a matter of fact, worked with most of the interpreters with an English B), established an immediate rapport and a positive atmosphere, allowing her to get "to the core of business quickly and more deeply".[322] All interviewed interpreters were very welcoming, pleased that anybody was interested in their recollections, and wished her success with her research. When asked to recall interpreter-related events, the thirty interviewees who had recruited interpreters or worked with an interpreter mostly expressed mild

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311 Rapley, "Interviews", 18.
312 Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 143.
313 Ibid., 154.
314 Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*, 88.
315 Ibid., 92.
316 Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 113.
317 Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*, 92.
318 Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 96.
319 Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research*; Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 147; Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005).
320 Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design,* 82–83.
321 Ibid., 85.
322 Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 106.

surprise in the interviewer's interest in such an unusual subject as interpretation. It was evident that reminiscences were inspirational and thought-provoking. Reflecting on their past or continuing career was a positive experience for the interpreters, as they all seemed to have enjoyed interpreting. Indeed, all interviewees were, without exception, positive about their experience with interpreters. Qualitatively the interviews were quite different, varying from happy memories to more in-depth reasoning. Rapley summarises rapport-building briefly, saying that "if interviewees feel comfortable, they will find it easy to talk to you".[323]

Duration

As regards the duration of an interview, Hale and Napier stress that it "needs to be as long as it needs to be to construct the story to be told […] of interest to you as the researcher".[324] Based on their own experience, they consider 30 to 45 minutes sufficient, although they admit that "if the interviewee is keen to continue talking, then you may not want to wrap up the interview in order to stick to a timeframe".[325] This thought is closely linked to a comment by Harry Obst, a White House German-language interpreter who has interpreted for seven US presidents: "You will rarely have a boring conversation with an experienced interpreter".[326] Dick recommends keeping the interviewee talking for up to about an hour.[327] Vivid fragments from the past make for fascinating stories. Although there are many stories to be told, setting some sort of a goal for the duration of the interviews was something to consider. According to Tracy,

> each one-hour interview equates to 15 total research hours when you consider the time devoted to planning, scheduling, conducting, organising, transcribing, and analysing. So think long and hard about the number of interviews that are necessary.[328]

The duration of the interviews for this research varied from thirty minutes to three hours.

Information and knowledge

Interviews are a useful tool for research like this. Very few written sources, if any, mention interpretation in Estonia. Even when it is mentioned, it is usually done in just a passing comment that an event was interpreted. Thus, numerous questions arise but are left unanswered. To place interpretation in context, there

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[323] Rapley, "Interviews", 19.
[324] Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting,* 98.
[325] Ibid., 98.
[326] Obst, *White House Interpreter*, 22.
[327] Dick, *Convergent Interviewing*.
[328] Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 138.

is no reason to believe that it has been "sanitised" out of Estonia's history; rather, it has been marginalised.[329]

Interviews provide access to other people's experience via stories told.[330] According to Tracy, it is possible "to ask interviewees to verify, refute, defend, or expand" what they say.[331] When discussing knowledge that can be elicited through interviews, Silverman lists six types of knowledge; of those, facts, behaviour and perceptions and accounts of present/past actions or behaviours are more relevant to the author's research than are the others: beliefs, feelings/motives and conscious reasons.[332]

Recording

All of the interviews were consensually recorded using an Olympus WS-310M Digital Voice Recorder and have been transcribed. Dick leaves recording to the discretion of the interviewer.[333] Under the circumstances, given that the author was gathering information about a relatively unknown activity, recording and transcribing texts allowed her to revisit issues at a later date when additional data had emerged from other interviews. Hence, it was possible to obtain a more comprehensive collage of interpretation during the years under review. Recording the interviews also allowed her to maintain eye contact with the interviewees and to be an active listener, which detailed note-taking could have interfered with.

The sixty-nine interviews the author conducted were qualitative interviews, with few questions asked; rather, the interviewer simply followed up on specific topics and allowed the interviewees "the space to talk at length".[334] Interviews were therefore an efficient tool in "producing knowledge"; however, when analysing the data, context and situatedness also needed to be considered.[335]

1.2.2.4 The Interpreter's Logbook

The author also used her interpreting logbook as empirical material; this covers her thirty-nine years (1977–) as a conference interpreter and contains every interpreting assignment she has ever completed. The 2,537 logbook entries reflect the evolution of interpretation from and into Estonian and English at all types of meetings over that time period. The entries represent 5,177 days interpreted in Estonia and abroad.

The logbook entries are brief: they mention the date, name of the interpreted event (conference, visit, etc.) and the mode of interpretation (consecutive or

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329 Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 159.
330 Hale and Napier, *Research Methods in Interpreting*, 95.
331 Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 133.
332 Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*.
333 Dick, *Convergent Interviewing*.
334 Rapley, "Interviews", 22.
335 Ibid., 27.

simultaneous). Short comments are added only if something exceptional or remarkable took place. The first entry in the logbook is dated 10 August 1977, which is when the author began working as a guide-interpreter in Tallinn, Estonia. There were no computers yet when she started her logbook, and she thus filled two notebooks with entries, through 27 June 1997. When the author completed filling the second notebook she switched to a computer and has kept an electronic logbook since the end of June 1997. The format has remained unchanged, with the same three columns: the date, the event and the mode of interpretation. Since Estonia's accession to the European Union in May 2004, she has kept another logbook for EU events at which she has interpreted: the date, the meeting interpreted and the institution. Four years later she started adding the names of colleagues from the Estonian booth with whom she worked at those interpreted events.

1.2.3 Non-textual Sources

In setting out to objectively verify the use of simultaneous interpretation the author's working hypothesis was that interpreting was indeed used at various events during different periods in Estonia. It was necessary, therefore, to find out what kinds of events were interpreted. Interpretation between Estonian and Russian could theoretically have been used at significant gatherings; obviously, sessions of the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet-era parliament) would fall into that category. The author also aimed to uncover the earliest possible use of simultaneous interpretation. Headsets are a good indication of simultaneous interpretation being used, whereas the use of consecutive could only be proved by examining synchronised newsreels. In interpretation studies the visual "is only just beginning to attract detailed attention",[336] but it offers a lead since factual material about interpretation is scarce.

The author searched the National Archives of Estonia, the Tallinn City Archives Photo Collection, The Estonian Museums Public Portal and the University of Tartu Museum Photo Collection for historic facts and data to confirm or refute recollections that came out of interviews. The aim was to find images depicting either the audience using headphones to confirm the use of simultaneous interpretation or an interpreter providing consecutive interpretation; another objective was to also find potential early events for which simultaneous interpretation was used.

[336] Michaela Wolf and Anxo Fernández-Ocampo, "Framing the Interpreter", in *Framing the Interpreter*, ed. Michaela Wolf and Anxo Fernández-Ocampo (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

1.2.3.1 Film Archive

The National Archives' Film Archive Online Database was searched to find relevant newsreels from its Movie and Sound Collection. Each entry in the database comes with a brief description of the footage, and the author watched all relevant footage for the periods 1918 to 1940 and 1944 to 1991.

The author was unable to uncover any footage portraying interpretation for the period from 1918 to 1940, as newsreels in the earlier years were silent and later used a voiceover. She was, however, able to search for newsreels with synchronised sound from 1931 onwards; this yielded forty-six newsreels, including two relevant to this study from the year 1933.[337]

The years from 1944 to 1991 yielded numerous valuable pieces of data that confirmed the use of interpretation in various institutions. Each entry in the database comes with a description, allowing researchers to carry out an electronic search by using keywords (such as anniversary, jubilee, revolution, conference, congress, etc.). Searching for the term "synchronised" (meaning that the image and sound are synchronised) helped the author find newsreels with authentic sound (651 as of 29 September 2015), which, in addition to footage relevant to this specific research, also included footage of interviews, concerts, etc. Searching for *tõlk* yielded twenty-six results, seven of which portrayed an interpreter. In all, the author analysed 114 clips of footage, finding 87 instances of interpretation from and into Russian and 27 instances of interpretation from and into languages other than Russian.

1.2.3.2 Photo Collections

The Digitised Photo Database was also searched for photos depicting the use of interpretation. Searching for *Eesti NSV Ülemnõukogu* (Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet) yielded 6,160 digitised photos, of which 189 depicted simultaneous interpretation. This turned out to be the most useful word combination to search for, as it yielded not only photographs of parliamentary sessions, but also of various other events the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet (i.e., the Soviet-era president) attended or participated in.

The author also searched the Digitised Photo Database using the search term *tõlk* (interpreter) separately for the two periods; this mostly led to photos of translators (as of 26 September 2015). For the first period (1918–1940) the search yielded thirty-one photos, of which nine depicted interpreters, including six from the War of Independence and one from the Tartu Peace negotiations. For the second period (1944–1991), the search returned 396 photos, 32 of which

[337] RFA.24.42. *Eesti Vabariigi riigivanem Konstantin Päts Läti Vabariigi 15. aastapäeva pidustustel Riias. 18. november 1933.a.* Läti Filmikroonika, 1933–1934; RFA.203.3475. *Film Eesti 10. üldlaulupeost, mis toimus Tallinnas 23.–25.juunil 1933.a.* Fox Film Corporation, 1933.

were of interpreters. Other searches using variations in Estonian on the words for “interpret”, “interpreter” and “interpretation” yielded no results.

Several clips of footage and photos led to inconclusive conclusions, portraying only standing audiences in the midst of applauding or only speakers, or were of poor quality (too dark or slightly blurred).

The Estonian Museums Public Portal yielded six photos: one photo for the period 1918 to 1940 and five for the period 1944 to 1991.

The University of Tartu Museum Photo Collection, which contains a comprehensive collection of negatives (1948–1998) from the university photo laboratory, was also searched for photos depicting the use of interpretation. As an internationally recognised research centre, the university held international conferences during that period. The keywords the author searched for manually on the index cards of hundreds of stamp-sized photos and negatives were “conferences”, “faculty of medicine”, “faculty of history”, “teaching aids”, “Assembly Hall”, “University of Tartu 350”, etc. The aim was to find photos depicting the use of headsets in order to establish and confirm the use of interpretation. The search yielded few photos of interpreting scenes, however, and those it did unearth were mostly of consecutive. Simultaneous interpreters at work were photographed just three times, all in 1978; the photos show two interpreters at work at the same event. This outcome was slightly discouraging as the objective in working through the collection was to uncover early cases of the use of simultaneous interpretation. However, it does confirm the assumption that interpretation was (and often still is) considered a trivial activity and that photos of interpreters were (and are) not taken. Nevertheless, the few photos the author did find marked a breakthrough. The outcome of this research was fascinating: the author discovered what are presumably the only existing images of simultaneous interpreters at work, as well as those of a rare headset, the so-called “soap box”.

1.2.3.3 University of Tartu Museum Scientific Collection

The discovery of the above headset was made in the scientific collection of the University of Tartu Museum. It proved intriguing since hardly any photographic evidence depicting simultaneous interpretation has survived. In the photo of the simultaneous interpreter, we also see the listener’s headset, which interviewees had referred to as a “soap box”. The author was ultimately able to discover images of the headset in use in the two photos taken at the 1978 event mentioned above.

Not a single device was thought to have survived, and the photos uncovered by the author were the only known images of the device. However, the photos then led to the discovery of a damaged soap box in the collection of the University of Tartu Museum, registered as “a wire-tapping device”. It had not been associated with simultaneous interpretation and had not been identified as an early example of a headset. It was a remarkable discovery for the author and for the university’s museum.

Recently the University of Tartu has initiated a project to digitise audio recordings of public events held at the University Assembly Hall. Only just over 120 tapes are currently available digitally, covering the years 1948 to 1980. Upon completion of the project, the recordings will be made publicly available. Regrettably, none of the titles of those recordings allows us to assume that interpretation was used. Only the original, not the interpretation, was recorded.

1.3 Basic Concepts and Terminology

One of the key elements to researching the evolution of interpreting in Estonia is to understand the terminology used. As factual information about the use of interpretation and interpreters is scarce and fragmented, the author could not examine diversified sources without first clarifying that terminology. This chapter outlines terminological challenges any researcher will face: in Estonian, the terms *tõlk* and *tõlkija* ("interpreter" and "translator", respectively) are used inconsistently. Terminological clarity, if possible, must be established through context.

The author argues that the interpreting used during the periods under review was primarily conference interpreting as it is known today (consecutive during the first period and simultaneous during the second); she then proceeds to introduce three relevant concepts for the dissertation—diplomatic interpreting, parliamentary interpreting and theatre interpreting—providing a historical overview and outlining their current status.

1.3.1 The Evolution of the Term "Interpreter" in the Estonian Language

The use of the term "interpreter" (*tõlk*) in Estonian is characterized by the complete lack of a systematic approach. In the Estonian language the terminological difference between *tõlk* (interpreter) and *tõlkija* (translator) is not clearly established. The words *tõlk* and *tõlkija* were used interchangeably both for interpreters and translators until the late 1980s. Recently a clearer distinction has been introduced to the terminology: *tõlk* is becoming the established word for "interpreter" and *tõlkija* that for "translator". That differentiation has not, however, taken root in how the two words are used on a daily basis, in the mass media and in general literature. As both *tõlk* and *tõlkija* have been used interchangeably, it is not possible to distinguish between the two terms when reading memoirs and archival materials without considering the context.

Tulk, keelekoer, keelnik, dragoman

The *Estonian Etymological Dictionary*[338] defines *tõlk* as a person who usually translates speeches orally from one language into another. Etymologically this goes back to the Russian word *tolk* meaning "contents, core, essence", or "use, good"; it also has an archaic meaning: "understanding, grasp, interpretation". In his *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Julius Mägiste has entries for *tulk*, translated into German as *Dolmetscher, Kundschafter, Führer* and *vahetulk* (*Mittelsmann*) and *tulkima* (*dolmetschen, vermitteln*).[339] The entry for *tõlkima* is translated as *übersetzen, dolmetschen*.[340] Thus Mägiste differentiates between *tulkima* and *tõlkima*—that is, between "to interpret" and "to translate". The *Short Etymological Dictionary of the Estonian Language* has an undefined entry for *tõlk*, which also includes its archaic variant *tolk*.[341]

The word *tõlk* (interpreter) was first used as early as 1660 in the *Heinrich Göseken Glossary*: "*Suh on Süddame tulck*" ("The mouth is the interpreter of the heart").[342] In Andrus Saareste's *Thesaurus of the Estonian Language*,[343] the entry for *tõlk* (or in other dialects *tulk*, *tölk* and *tülk*)—which states that when "talking to monolinguals we need an interpreter" (*"Tõlk: umbkeelsetega kõneldes läheb meil tõlki tarvis"*)—provides two textual examples: "*Ja nemmad ei teädnud mitte, et Josep sedda möistis, sest tulk kais nende wahhel*" (1. Mo 42:23, as Genesis 42:23 is called in Estonian: "They knew not that Joseph understood them, for he spoke unto them by an interpreter") and "*Kasvatas endale kolm noort Lapo meest tulguks*" ("He groomed three young Lapp men as interpreters for him"; Schüdlöffel 1844, 22); both of these are uses that date back hundreds of years. The former sentence is from the 1739 translation of Genesis; the latter is from *Toomas Westen, Lapo rahva uso ärataja Norra maal*, a book by Gustav Heinrich Schüdlöffel.[344] Today the Lapp people are more commonly referred to as the Sami. Under Norwegian rule, the clerics preaching to the Lapp people (related to the Finns) were monolingual; the Lapps therefore remained largely indifferent to Christianity. Under Danish rule, however, teachers of Lapp origin were trained. Schüdlöffel describes the procedure of "bringing up" (i.e., teaching and educating) interpreters: each schoolmaster had a right to educate two Lapp boys to become teachers, while one of the teachers

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[338] Iris Metsmägi, Meeli Sedrik, and Sven-Erik Soosaar, *Eesti etümoloogiasõnaraamat* (Tallinn: EKI, 2012), 561.

[339] Julius Mägiste, *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch X*: *taht-tuur*, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Finnisch-Ugrische Gesellschaft, 2000b), 10:3350.

[340] Ibid., 11: 3403.

[341] Alo Raun, *Eesti keele etümoloogiline teatmik*, 2nd ed. (1982; Brampton-Tartu: Maarjamaa, 2000), 186.

[342] Valve-Liivi Kingisepp, Kristel Ress, and Kai Tafenau, *Heinrich Gösekeni grammatika ja sõnastik 350* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli eesti ja üldkeeleteaduse instituut, 2010), 674.

[343] Andrus Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat, I* (Stockholm: Vaba Eesti, 1958), 1:1114.

[344] Gustav Heinrich Schüdlöffel, *Toomas Westen, Lapo rahva uso ärataja Norra maal* (Tartu: H. Laakmann, 1844).

later taught another three to become interpreters.[345] This could be taken as an early description of interpreter training.

Saareste's definition of *tõlk* refers to monolingual people who need an interpreter.[346] In Estonian the term *umbkeelne* (monolingual) has a double meaning, referring to both a person who does not speak the local language and a person who knows only his or her mother tongue.[347] A "monolingual" is defined in the Cambridge Dictionaries Online as someone "speaking or using only one language". This English word, however, lacks the connotations of the Estonian adjective *umbne*: hindering movement, closed, stuffy, lacking air, clogged up; also dull, stupid, musty and stale.[348] The Estonian-English dictionary defines *umbkeelne* as someone who "does not speak the language of the country he is living in (or visiting), who only speaks his mother tongue".[349] As a matter of fact, in the translation of the Bible, the English word "foreigner" has been translated as *umbkeelne*: "If then I do not grasp the meaning of what someone is saying, I am a foreigner to the speaker, and he is a foreigner to me" (1 Cor. 14:11; "*Kui ma ei tea häälikute tähendust, olen ma sellele, kes räägib, umbkeelne, ja kes räägib, see on minule umbkeelne*").[350]

Historical concordance of the translation of the Bible into Estonian, available online, confirms the use of archaic forms of *tõlk* in the 17th century; these reflect other attempts to translate the Bible: *tolck*[351] and *tolk*.[352]

The Estonian word *tulk* ("interpreter") also appears in Estonian runic songs, especially in wedding songs, accompanied by the word *keelekoer* (*keelekoer* = "language" + "dog"), which is used as a synonym for *tulk*: the bridegroom has an interpreter with him when visiting a woman for the purpose of proposing marriage. In such songs, the interpreter-mediator does all the talking instead of the bridegroom.[353] Here, therefore, the interpreter also carries out the role of

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[345] Ibid., 21.

[346] Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat*, 1:1114.

[347] *Eesti kirjakeele seletusõnaraamat*, *VI köide, 3. vihik* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut, 2003), 617.

[348] *Eesti kirjakeele seletusõnaraamat, VI*, 618.

[349] Paul F Saagpakk, *Eesti-inglise sõnaraamat: Estonian-English Dictionary* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 1028.

[350] Suur Piibel (Tartu-Tallinn: kirjastus osaühisus "Loodus", 1938); see also "*Kui minna nühd Hähle Wäkke ei tijä / sis olle minna sel / kä könneleb / Umbkeel: Nink kä könneleb / se om mul Umbkeel*", *Wastne Testament* 1686, 1 Cor. 14:11; "*Kui minna nüüd ei tea heäle wägge, siis ollen ma sellele, kes rägib, umkeel, ja kes rägib, se on mulle umkeleks*", *Piibli Ramat*, 1739, 1 Cor. 14:11.

[351] 1Cor. 14:28 GutsUT; Genesis 42:23 GutsVT, *Historical Concordance of the Translation of the Bible into Estonian*, official website in Estonian, http://www.eki.ee/piibel/index.php?tekst=tekstid, accessed 13 April 2015.

[352] 1Cor. 14:28 Blume 1667; Genesis 42:23 VirgVT, *Historical Concordance*.

[353] See, for example, a song recorded in 1920: EÜS VII 1534 (10); see also H I 4, 777 (3); H I 7, 725 (4).

mediator.[354] A folk song recorded in 1914 refers indirectly to an interpreter in the more modern sense. The song describes a small Estonian town that attracts people from different parts of the world (Estonia, Finland, Germany, Siberia), including an interpreter from a prosperous Estonian municipality who comes to teach others how to farm.[355] The *Dictionary of Poetic Synonyms in Estonian Runic Songs*[356] lists *keelekoer* as the only synonym for "interpreter", whereas the e-dictionary of Estonian Phraseological Expressions[357] defines *keelekoer* as "a village gossiper" without associating it with interpretation or mediation. The use of the word dates back to 1641, when Heinrich Stahl, the founder of the written Estonian language, published his sermons in parallel in German and Estonian and translated the German *Narr* (a jester or a fool), as *keelekoer*.[358] The Database of Estonian Proverbs and Phraseological Expressions contains no reference to *keelekoer*, but *tõlk* is in the database under *küla tõlk* (village interpreter);[359] the entry states that it was first recorded in 1962, and while the literal meaning translates to "a village newspaper", it refers to someone who gossips. Saareste lists both *keelekoer* and *tulk* with only the meaning of "gossiper" under the keyword "slanderer".[360] The *Estonian Dictionary of Dialects* also only recognises *keelekoer* in the sense of "gossiper", while *keelemees* (*keelemees* = "language" + "man") means "interpreter".[361] The dictionary is the only one to suggest *keelemees* (linguist) as an equivalent to *tõlk*. Salomo Heinrich Vestring's manuscript of *Lexicon Estnico Germanicum* from the 1720s or 1730s has an entry for *tulk*, giving the German equivalent as *Dolmetscher*.[362] *Keelekoer* is translated into German as *Ein Verleumbder*.[363]

In 1884 Ado Grenzstein published 1600 new and unknown words in Estonian with German explanations, and defined *tõlkima* as "*verestnischen*, to translate into Estonian".[364] Grenzstein's dictionary contains three new words for "to translate" in Estonian—*eestistama*, *juudistama* and *soomestama*—

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[354] Asta Õim, *Sünonüümisõnastik* (Tallinn: Oma kulu ja kirjadega, 1991); Asta Õim, *Sünonüümisõnastik*, 2nd rev. ed. (Tallinn: A. Õim, 2007).

[355] *Estonian Runic Songs database*, EÜS XI 702/3 (253), accessed 5 March 2015.

[356] Juhan Peegel, *Nimisõna poeetilised sünonüümid eesti regivärssides* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2004), 298.

[357] *Eesti fraseologismide elektrooniline alussõnastik*, http://www.folklore.ee/justkui/sonastik/, accessed 18 February 2015.

[358] Külli Habicht, Pille Penjam, and Külli Prillop, *Heinrich Stahli tekstide sõnastik* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2015), 166.

[359] *Eesti kõnekäändude ja fraseologismide andmebaas* (EKFA) http://www.folklore.ee/justkui/, accessed 17 January 2015.

[360] Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat*, 2:398–399.

[361] *Eesti murrete sõnaraamat II kd. 10. vihik (katt-kesävuma)* [Estonian Dictionary of Dialects] (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2001), 908–909.

[362] Salomo Heinrich Vestring, *Lexicon Estnico Germanicum: Eesti-saksa sõnaraamat* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 1998), 259.

[363] Ibid., 27.

[364] Ado Grenzstein, *Eesti Sõnaraamat: 1600 uut ja wõerast sõna / korjanud ja (Saksa sõna lisandusega) Eesti keeles selgitanud A. Grenzstein* (Tartu: A. Grenzstein, 1884), column 25.

explaining that these mean "to translate into Estonian", "to translate into Yiddish" and "to translate into Finnish", respectively.[365]

In his thesaurus, Saareste suggests a synonym for *tõlk*, *keelnik*, a rare word that is not widely known or used.[366] Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann also gives *Dolmetscher* (an interpreter) as the translation for *keelnik* in his *Estonian-German Dictionary*, which for a long time was the richest linguistic source available.[367] In the index, however, *keelnik* is not listed as one of the five subitems under *Dolmetscher* (interpreter). Despite its rarity, it is derived in accordance with Estonian word-formation rules, composed of the word *keel* (language), plus the suffix *-nik*. This suffix is considered non-productive and has yielded about forty nouns, many of which are considered historicisms. About twenty are in active use today.[368] In his *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Mägiste also has an entry for *keelnik*, with *Dolmetscher* given as its German equivalent.[369] Many names of professions have been formed this way in the past.

Saagpakk suggests *dragoman* as a synonym for *tõlk*,[370] whereas several other dictionaries have *dragoman* as an independent entry without linking it directly to *tõlk*. *The Defining Dictionary of Estonian* defines *dragoman* as "an interpreter (in the Middle East), a guide for foreign guests";[371] various editions of the *Estonian Orthological Dictionary*[372] define it as "a diplomatic interpreter in the Orient".[373] The *Lexicon of Estonian Foreign Words* defines *dragoman* as "the official interpreter in diplomatic representations and consulates in the Orient, while the *Dictionary of Foreign Words* leaves out the "official".[374] The 1937 edition of the *Great Lexicon of Estonian Foreign Words* defines *dragoman* as "the Turkish prince […], interpreter in the Orient", although it is not clear whether this refers to an interpreter or a translator.[375]

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[365] Ibid., columns 25, 46, 138.

[366] Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat*, 1:1114.

[367] Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann, *Ehstnisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (St. Peterburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1869), column 301.

[368] Reet Kasik, *Sõnamoodustus* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2015), 263.

[369] Julius Mägiste, *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch III*: *kamm-kuht,* 2nd ed. (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura Finnisch-Ugrische Gesellschaft, 2000a), 748.

[370] Paul F. Saagpakk, *Sünonüümisõnastik* (Brampton, Canada: Maarjamaa, 1992), 28.

[371] *Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat, I köide A-J, 2. vihik, bakhid-fosfororgaaniline* (Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia, Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut, 1991), 219.

[372] See *Eesti keele sõnaraamat: ÕS 1999,* 2nd rev. ed., comp. Tiina Leemets, Sirje Mäearu, Maire Raadik, and Tiiu Erelt, ed. Tiiu Erelt (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2001*)*; *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat: ÕS 2006*, comp. Tiiu Erelt, Tiina Leemets, Sirje Mäearu, Maire Raadik. Toimetanud Tiiu Erelt. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2006)*; 2013*.

[373] For example, *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat: ÕS 2013,* comp. Tiiu Erelt, Tiina Leemets, Sirje Mäearu, and Maire Raadik, ed. Maire Raadik (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2013), 122.

[374] Ruth Mägi, ed., *Võõrsõnastik* (Tallinn: TEA, 1999), 142.

[375] Herbert Haljaspõld, *Suur võõrsõnade leksikon*, 2nd rev. ed. (Tallinn: Raamat, 1937), column 265.

Dictionaries and encyclopaedias

Published in 1918, the first *Orthological Dictionary of the Estonian Language* has an entry for *tõlk* ("the interpreter") but not for *tõlkija* ("the translator").[376] Various editions of the *Small Orthological Dictionary* list *tõlk* without defining it.[377] The examples of usage and collocations provided do not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to whether this means an interpreter or a translator. The *Estonian Orthological Dictionary* (1937) has a definitionless entry for *tõlkija* but no individual entry for *tõlk*.[378] Rather, *tõlk* is listed under the entry *tõlge* (which could mean both interpretation and translation). The only relevant entry in the *Orthological Dictionary* (1980) is *tõlkekirjandus* (translated literature); the entry lists fifteen collocations including *tõlkija*, probably meaning "translator", as can be inferred from other translation-related examples.[379]

That being said, since 1999 the *Estonian Orthological Dictionaries* (such as ÕS 1999,[380] 2006,[381] 2013[382]) have differentiated between *tõlk* and *tõlkija: tõlk* is defined as "a translator (usually orally)" and *tõlkija* as "someone who translates (usually in written form)".[383] The *Defining Dictionary of Estonian* has also made the distinction since 2003.[384] The *Student's Orthological Dictionary*[385] has entries for both *tõlk* and *tõlkija* but does not give definitions or examples of use.

The *Estonian Orthological Manual and Glossary* (2006)[386] defines both *tõlk* and *tõlkija*. It is the only one of forty-six sources examined for this study to provide several full sentences as examples of use. It is noteworthy that the three examples given are highly relevant to the subject of this study: "Presidents spoke with the help of interpreters"; "the Russian interpreter could not be heard well in the headphones"; "there are few simultaneous interpreters as simultaneous interpreting requires highly professional interpreters".[387] The *Basic*

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[376] *Eesti keele õigekirjutuse-sõnaraamat.* Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi väljaanne (Tallinn: K.-Ü. "Rahvaülikooli" kirjastus, 1918), 128.

[377] Elmar Muuk, comp., *Väike õigekeelsus-sõnaraamat* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi Kirjastus, 1933); Elmar Muuk, comp., *Väike õigekeelsus-sõnaraamat,* 5th rev. ed. (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi Kirjastus, 1936); Elmar Muuk, comp., *Väike õigekeelsus-sõnaraamat* (Tartu: RK "Teaduslik kirjandus", 1946); Elmar Muuk, and Herman Rajamaa, comp., *Väike õigekeelsus-sõnaraamat*, 10th rev. ed. (Stockholm: Rootsi-Eesti õpperamatufond, 1974).

[378] Elmar Muuk, *Eesti õigekeelsuse-sõnaraamat, III, Ripp-Y* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi kirjastus, 1937).

[379] Rein Kull and Erich Raiet, eds, *Õigekeelsussõnaraamat,* comp. Tiiu Erelt, Rein Kull, V. Põlma, Kristjan Torop, 3rd ed. (Tallinn: Valgus, 1980).

[380] *Eesti keele sõnaraamat: ÕS 1999.*

[381] *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat: ÕS 2006.*

[382] *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat: ÕS 2013.*

[383] Ibid., 980.

[384] *Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat: VI köide 3. vihik, tundma-unelus*, 486.

[385] Tiiu Erelt, and Tiina Leemets, *Õpilase ÕS* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2004), 266.

[386] *Õigekeelsuse käsiraamat ja sõnastik,* ed. Ruth Mägi (Tallinn: TEA, 2006).

[387] Ibid., 474.

Estonian Dictionary (2014)[388] also makes the difference between interpreters and translators very clear and supports that distinction with explicit examples. Both dictionaries include a very helpful and clear warning not to mix up the two words: *ÄRA AJA SEGI* (that is, "NOT THE SAME AS"), thus warning of a similar-looking word with a different meaning.[389] The *Public Dictionary of the Estonian Language Including Spelling Guidelines* (2008) has two undefined entries for *tõlge* (translation or interpretation) and *tõlkima* (to translate or to interpret).[390]

All of the Estonian thesauruses have an entry for *tõlk*.[391] Asta Õim lists three synonyms, *tõlkija*, *ümberpanija* and *vahendaja* (translator or mediator), as well as a separate entry for *tõlkija*; this separate entry also makes reference to *tõlk*.[392] Paul F. Saagpakk gives *tõlkija* (translator) and *dragoman* as synonyms for *tõlk*.[393] The dominant keyword in the second revised and updated edition of Õim's dictionary (2007) is *tõlk*, which is explained as *vahelträäkija*. Like in the first edition from 1991, the 2007 edition gives *tõlkija* as a synonym for *tõlk*, along with *ümberpanija* and *vahendaja* (translator or mediator). In addition to *keelnik*, Saareste also gives *ümberpanija* as a synonym.[394]

The entry that uses *vahelträäkija* to explain *tõlk* is descriptive. In his Estonian-English dictionary, Saagpakk defines the verb *vahele rääkima* as "to cut in, to interrupt a person, to interpose, to cut into, to break into a conversation", thus conveying the popular description of an interpreter's activity.[395] Saagpakk suggests "interpreter" as the equivalent of *vahelträäkija*.[396] His equivalents for *vahendaja* are "mediator, intermediary, go-between",[397] all of which bring to mind the translation of the Bible into Estonian and the use of "an interpreter" therein. Indeed, the Book of Genesis acknowledges the need for an interpreter: "they knew not that Joseph understood them, for **he spoke unto them by an interpreter**" (42:23, the author's emphasis); this is translated into Estonian in two different ways. The early translation from 1739 is very conspicuous, "*ja nemmad ei teädnud mitte, et Josep sedda möistis, sest* ***tulk käis nende wahhel***" (1. Mo 42: 23, as Genesis 42:23 is called in Estonian; the author's emphasis) ("They knew not that Joseph understood them, for an interpreter **walked between them**", the author's emphasis) and reminds us of

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[388] Jelena Kallas, Mai Tiits and Maria Tuulik, eds., *Eesti keele põhisõnavara sõnastik*, comp. Madis Jürviste, Kristina Koppel, and Maria Tuulik (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2014).

[389] *Eesti keele põhisõnavara sõnastik*, 12; *Õigekeelsuse käsiraamat ja sõnastik*, 474.

[390] *Eesti keele rahvasõnaraamat koos õigekirjareeglitega*, ed. Ruth Mägi (Tallinn: TEA, 2008), 765–766.

[391] Õim, *Sünonüümisõnastik*; Õim, *Sünonüümisõnastik*, 2nd rev.; Saagpakk, *Sünonüümisõnastik*.

[392] Õim, *Sünonüümisõnastik*, 526.

[393] Saagpakk, *Sünonüümisõnastik*, 307.

[394] Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat*, 1:1114.

[395] Saagpakk, *Eesti-inglise sõnaraamat,* 1046.

[396] Ibid.

[397] Ibid.

the double image of the interpreter depicted on the tomb of General Horemheb (1360 B.C.) in Egypt. The sculptor has carved the interpreter in a way that clearly indicates his role as a mediator. A 1968 translation of the Old Testament, published in 1991, and the most recent updated publication in 2014, both have "*Aga nad ei teadnud, et Joosep seda mõistis, sest ta* ***rääkis nendega tõlgi kaudu***" ("They knew not that Joseph understood them, for he talked to them **by an interpreter**", the author's emphasis).[398]

The *Estonian Encyclopaedia* (1937) defines *tõlk* as a person "who interprets speech or translates documents from a foreign language" and also adds that "courts in particular use the help of interpreters to interview monolingual parties and witnesses".[399] The *ENE* (*Estonian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1976)[400] and the new *Estonian Encyclopaedia,* known as the EE (1996),[401] include neither *tõlk* nor *tõlkija*; their only relevant entries are *tõlkekirjandus*, *tõlkelaen* and *tõlketeooria* (translated literature, loan translations and translation theory).

Online databases

The ESTERM, the multilingual terminology database managed by the Estonian Language Institute, contains an entry for *tõlk*, giving the English equivalents "interpreter or translator (preferred)" and "interpreter-translator (variant)". By default, however, the (translation-based) database recommends taking a critical approach and using additional sources in addition to the ESTERM. It contains no entry for *tõlkija*. The European Union's inter-institutional terminology database IATE (InterActive Terminology for Europe), however, has both *tõlk* and *tõlkija*, translated as "interpreter" and "translator", respectively.[402] The online Estonian Subject Thesaurus EMS, an Estonian universal controlled vocabulary used for indexing and searching various library material, lists both interpreters and translators under the group "Jobs".[403] It also includes both *tõlkimine* (translation and interpretation) and *tõlketeenused* (translation and interpretation services) in the "Linguistics, languages" group.

Estonian Wordnet, a lexical database that is still a work in progress, currently contains about 65,000 concepts (about 100,000 words), with 200,000 links between them. It includes the concept of *tõlk* (interpreter), defining it as "somebody who is a mediator between speakers of different languages".[404] It gives *tõlkija* (translator) as a synonym, and *eestindaja*, *saksandaja*, *soomendaja*, *dragoman* and *vandetõlk* as hyponyms. The first three apply to trans-

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398 *Piibel. Vana ja Uus Testament* (Finland: Finnish Bible Society, 1991); *Piibel* (Tallinn: Eesti Piibliselts, 2014).

399 *Eesti Entsüklopeedia*, 8 (Tartu: Loodus, 1937), 8:437.

400 *ENE. Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopeedia*, 8 (Tallinn: Valgus, 1976).

401 *EE. Eesti Entsüklopeedia, 9* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1996).

402 IATE (InterActive Terminology for Europe), http://iate.europa.eu/SearchByQueryLoad.do?method=load, accessed 17 January 2016.

403 Estonian Subject Thesaurus EMS, https://ems.elnet.ee/, accessed 19 December 2015.

404 Estonian Wordnet, http://www.cl.ut.ee/ressursid/teksaurus/index.php?lang=et, accessed 19 December 2015.

lators who translate from foreign languages into Estonian and from German and Finnish into Estonian, respectively. *Vandetõlk* is a sworn translator. Thus, no difference is made between interpretation and translation.

The inconsistent use of *tõlk* and *tõlkija* is also evident in print, sometimes even within the same article, such as in "An Ideal Interpreter" (1931) by Tristan (a.k.a. Richard Janno), a slightly ironic article inspired by the Estonian Literary Society, listing five criteria that an ideal interpreter or translator should meet.[405] The Society, disappointed in the quality of literature and realising that this was becoming a lost cause, adopted quality requirements for translations. The topic of the article is therefore translation, obviously, and the term "the translator" appears three times in the text, and yet the heading refers to an interpreter. In 1946, the local cultural paper *Sirp ja Vasar* published a longer article on the quality of translation, which is another example of the random use of terminology.[406]

This inconsistent terminological approach continues to date. In 2013, the Sworn Translators Act was adopted, entering into force on 1 January 2014. Article 2(1) of the Act states: "A sworn translator is a person who provides the official translation service of documents as a professional activity and performs other functions related to translation in the cases provided for in the law".[407] For some reason the Estonian term for this profession is *vandetõlk* (literally, "a sworn interpreter"), although all the tasks of the sworn translator as defined in the Act are limited to written translation. The *Dictionary of Estonian Word Families* describes *tõlk* as falling into the word family *tõlkima* (to translate), and defines it as a person who interprets from one language into another.[408] The word for "sworn translator"—*vandetõlk*—is added as an example, thus implying that sworn translators interpret.[409] Historically *vannutatud tõlkija* has been used in Estonian, referring to a translator: for example, in 1918, the daily newspaper *Postimees* published an advertisement for a *vannutatud tõlkija* ("sworn translator"), who was to provide "all kinds of court translations cheaply".[410]

To summarise, the usage and differentiation of tõlk and tõlkija in Estonian remains ambiguous. The Estonian orthological dictionaries have included entries for *tõlk* and *tõlkija* since 1918 and 1999, respectively, but have defined both only since 1999. The *Defining Dictionary* added definitions for them in 2003. *Tõlk* is also defined in the 1937 *Estonian Encyclopaedia*, in Saareste's *Thesaurus of the Estonian Language* (1958), in both editions of Asta Õim's

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405 "Ideaalne tõlk", *Postimees,* 29 April 1931.

406 M. Kindlam, "Heast ja halvast tõlkimisest*", Sirp ja Vasar,* 13 July 1946.

407 Sworn Translators Act, https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/523122015012/consolide, accessed 17 March 2015.

408 Silvi Vare, *Eesti keele sõnapered: tänapäeva eesti keele sõnavara struktuurianalüüs, II N-Ü* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2012), 2:901.

409 See also Uno Schultz, "Meie tõlkide vanaisa", *Sirp*, 11 December 1998.

410 Advertisement "Kõiksuguseid kohtu tõlkimise töid", *Postimees*, 4 July 1918.

thesaurus (1991, 2007) and in the *Dictionary of Etymology* (2012).[411] By far the best explanation of both terms is found in two sources. The first, the *Estonian Orthological Manual and Glossary* (2006), is an easy tool for anyone interested in correct usage and provides several examples of use.[412] The second, the *Estonian Basic Dictionary* (2014),[413] is a dictionary for Estonian language learners containing 5,000 of the most frequently used and essential Estonian words; it targets A2 through B1 language learners, aiming at an elementary and independent use of language (see CEFR[414]). Both sources warn of a possible mixing up of the two terms.

Bilingual dictionaries are not consistent in the terminology they use. The 4th expanded and revised edition of the *English-Estonian Dictionary* by Johannes Silvet (2002) describes "an interpreter" as "*(suuline) tõlkija, […] (elukutseline) tõlk"* (a translator [orally], esp. [professional] interpreter) and "a translator" as "*tõlkija, tõlk*" (interpreter, translator).[415] The *Estonian-English Dictionary* by Saagpakk (1982) offers "interpreter, translator" as English equivalents for *tõlk*, but only "translator" as an equivalent for *tõlkija*. Grenzstein introduces *tõlkima* only as "to translate" (1884). The *German-Estonian Dictionary*[416] translates *Dolmetscher* as "*tõlk (suuliselt); tõlkija*" (interpreter and translator) and *Übersetzer* only as "*tõlkija*" (translator).

Mägiste[417] makes a rare distinction, the only one the author has discovered so far. He differentiates between *tulkima* and *tõlkima*, "to interpret" versus "to translate". The difference appears in the German equivalents of the words. Three sources—Göseken,[418] Vestring,[419] and Mägiste[420]—have an entry for *tulk*, meaning "an interpreter", whereas Saareste[421] has *tulk* in the meaning of "a gossiper". Only three dictionaries—Wiedemann,[422] Mägiste[423] and Saareste[424]—give *keelnik* as a synonym for "interpreter"; this is a rare Estonian word. The *Dictionary of Poetic Synonyms*[425] by Juhan Peegel suggests *keelekoer* as a synonym for "the interpreter", as does the Estonian Runic Song Database.[426] A

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411 Metsmägi, Sedrik, and Soosaar, *Eesti etümoloogiasõnaraamat.*
412 *Õigekeelsuse käsiraamat ja sõnastik*.
413 *Eesti keele põhisõnavara sõnastik*.
414 Common European Framework of Reference for languages.
415 Johannes Silvet, *Inglise-eesti sõnaraamat: English-Estonian Dictionary,* 4th rev. ed. (Tallinn: TEA, 2002), 601; 1245.
416 Elisabeth Kibbermann, Salme Kirotar, and Paula Koppel, *Saksa-eesti sõnaraamat: Deutsch-ehstnisches Wörterbuch*, rev. ed. (Tallinn: Valgus, 2007), 262; 1223.
417 Mägiste, *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 10:3350; 11:3403.
418 Kingissepp, Ress, Tafenau, *Heinrich Gösekeni grammatika*, 674.
419 Vestring, *Lexicon Estnico Germanicum*, 259.
420 Mägiste, *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 10:3350.
421 Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat,* 1:1114.
422 Wiedemann, *Estnisch-deutsches Wörterbuch,* column 301.
423 Mägiste, *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* 3:748.
424 Saareste, *Eesti keele mõisteline sõnaraamat*, 1:1114.
425 Peegel, *Nimisõna poeetilised sünonüümid*, 298.
426 Estonian Runic Song Database, www.folklore.ee, accessed 22 April 2014.

search for the meaning of *keelekoer* came up with results reflecting its multiple meaning: "a jester" just once, "an interpreter" and "a gossiper in the sense of a slanderer" twice, and "a gossiper" in four different sources. Fifteen dictionaries either defined *dragoman* or suggested it as an Estonian synonym for *tõlk*.

In total, drawing from the analysis of entries for *tõlk* and *tõlkija* in forty-six sources (thirty-six Estonian monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, three Estonian encyclopaedias and seven electronic databases), it is evident that the difference between the two terms is not well rooted in Estonian. Out of three editions of encyclopaedias, only the *Estonian Encyclopaedia* (1937) has a relevant entry for *tõlk*, including a definition. No encyclopaedia has an entry for *tõlkija*. Eleven dictionaries published from 1660 to 2014 define "the interpreter", whereas only seven define "the translator"; the first time the latter appears is as late as 1999. Eleven dictionaries have an entry for "the interpreter" but no definition, and another five include "the interpreter" under some other entry, such as *tõlge* or *tõlkima*. In five dictionaries no definition is provided for "the translator"; this is listed under a different entry (e.g., *tõlge*, *tõlkekirjandus* or *tõlkima*) in six dictionaries. IATE is the only electronic database to have independent entries for both *tõlk* and *tõlkija*. On the basis of examples given in dictionaries referring to translation work, translation theory, translation criticism and translation mistakes, a knowledgeable user might be able to infer that *tõlkija* is a translator. This is in line with the anecdotal evidence the author found during her research in various Estonian electronic databases, archives and online sources. Neither term is used systematically. Searching electronic databases for "interpreting", "interpretation", "an interpreter", "translation" and "the translator", as well as various combinations thereof, is not very helpful to researching interpreting in Estonian. In most cases any of these simply uncover results that refer to translation. Memoirs and newspaper articles are more useful because having the context helps, but even then, additional sources are occasionally necessary to establish whether the texts are referring to interpretation or translation. Terminology therefore remains problematic and without a diligent analysis of sources can lead to misleading results.

1.3.2 Conference Interpreting

The evolution of conference interpreting in the 20th century, especially after World War II, has brought interpreting into the limelight as numerous international organisations have been set up that rely on interpreting. Although both consecutive and simultaneous modes are used, conference interpreting and simultaneous interpreting are frequently considered synonymous.[427] According to Pöchhacker, conference interpreting is

[427] See Ebru Diriker, "Conference Interpreting", in *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 78–82.

> generally understood to refer to the most prestigious and highly professionalised form of interpreting (between spoken languages), practiced usually in the simultaneous mode, in international conferences and organizations, such as the institutions of the UN and EU.[428]

The conference settings involve international conferences, multilateral meetings and workshops, as well as parliamentary sessions, news conferences, official dinners and other gatherings such as religious services and international court sessions.[429] As conference interpreting covers both diplomatic interpreting and parliamentary interpreting, the author discusses both in greater detail in the following sections.

According to Robin Setton, conference interpreting today comprises

> two partially overlapping markets: multilingual conferences in international organizations (or private multilingual conventions), and bilingual markets where interpretation is most often offered between a national language and English.[430]

Pöchhacker[431] stresses the need to differentiate between the level of socio-cultural communities and the format of interaction when discussing international (conference) interpreting versus intra-social (community) interpreting. His position is that in the latter, the setting is more face-to-face and based on dialogue. The context is less formal, utterances are shorter and the work is more personal than in the international setting. The recent sociological turn in Interpreting Studies has shifted the focus more to communication and social context.[432]

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[428] Franz Pöchhacker, "Conference Interpreting", in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 308.

[429] Ebru Diriker, "Conference Interpreting", in *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, ed. Holly Mikkelson and Renée Jourdenais (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 171–185.

[430] Robin Setton, "Conference Interpreting", in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 67.

[431] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies,*16.

[432] See Ebru Diriker, *De-/Re-Contextualizing Conference Interpreting: Interpreters in the Ivory Tower*? (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004); Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová, eds., *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting* (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2006).

1.3.3 Diplomatic Interpreting

Although it is widespread, there is not actually any concise definition of diplomatic interpreting. In *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, Franz Pöchhacker explains:

> Where the representatives of different linguistic and cultural communities came together with the aim of establishing and cultivating political relations, they will have relied on mediators practicing what is usually called **diplomatic interpreting**. (Emphasis in the original.)[433]

Christopher Thiéry points out that diplomatic interpreting in the contemporary world

> is often taken to refer to the manner in which language barriers have been overcome in meetings of heads of state and dignitaries over the centuries and up to the present day.[434]

Pöchhacker defines diplomatic interpreting as a specialisation of conference interpreting since "the focus is placed on high levels of professional skills".[435] He cites AIIC's (the International Association of Conference Interpreters) definition from the early 1980s, which describes a conference interpreter as a person

> who by profession acts as a responsible linguistic intermediary [...] in a formal or informal conference or conference-like situation, thanks to his or her ability to provide simultaneous or consecutive oral interpretation of participants' speeches, regardless of their length and complexity.[436]

Diplomatic interpreting, as a special type of conference interpreting used in international intercourse, stresses the ability to interpret extremely complicated speeches. According to Thiéry "modern-day diplomatic interpreting is in fact conference interpreting in a diplomatic setting".[437] In modern interpreting terminology this may also be called political interpreting or interpreting political interviews[438] as well as interpreting in diplomatic settings.[439] Maria

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[433] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies,* 14; See also *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday, rev ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 181–182.

[434] Christopher Thiéry, "Diplomatic Interpreting" in *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 107.

[435] Pöchhacker, "Conference Interpreting", 308.

[436] Ibid.

[437] Thiéry, "Diplomatic Interpreting", 107.

[438] Mona Baker, "Non-Cognitive Constraints and Interpreter Strategies in Political Interviews", in *Translating Sensitive Texts: Linguistic Aspects*, ed. Karl Simms (Amsterdam/ Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1997).

[439] Maria Rosaria Buri, "Interpreting in Diplomatic Settings", *Communicate! The AIIC Webzine* (2015), http://aiic.net/page/7349/interpreting-in-diplomatic-settings/lang/1, accessed 5 December 2015.

Rosaria Buri, an English, Spanish and Italian freelance interpreter, includes the following as diplomatic settings:

> National institutions (Ministries, Presidential Offices, Houses of Parliament), international institutions (the United Nations and its family of agencies, the European Union, WTO, NATO, etc.), and a number of international or inter-regional military organizations.[440]

As significant international events are televised live, interpreters that work in these types of settings may also be referred to as media interpreters,[441] although this is too comprehensive a term for this study, which limits itself to looking at diplomatic interpreting through the lens of its use by heads of state and government. According to Harry Obst, the most difficult type of diplomatic interpreting is "one on one"; that is, "a meeting between two Heads of State, each with an interpreter in tow".[442]

Diplomatic interpreters[443] are also called summit interpreters,[444] especially in the US press.[445] In mass media they are occasionally referred to as president's interpreters[446] and also as VIP interpreters.[447] The diplomatic interpreter's great responsibility is highlighted by a metaphor: "Interpreters are linguistic acrobats constantly walking on a tightrope".[448]

In a press release to accompany *The Whisperers*, a documentary about the interpreters of multilingual Europe, the diplomatic interpreter's profession is said to be one of the most invisible ones:

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[440] Buri, "Interpreting in Diplomatic Settings".

[441] Tony Rosado, "Interpreting a Live Broadcast: The Professional Interpreter", *Bilingual English-Spanish Blog on Issues Important to the Professional Interpreter* (blog), 3 March 2012, https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/2012/03/page/2/, accessed 15 August 2013.

[442] Jessica Cohen, "International Translator's Day Event", *NOTIS News* 17, no. 4 (2004): 3, 8. http://www.notisnet.org/resources/documents/blog-archives/archive_file_42.pdf, accessed 19 May 2014.

[443] Bowen, Margareta, "Interpreters and the Making of History", in *Translators through History*, ed. Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth (Montreal: University of Ottawa, Concordia University, 1995), 245–277. doi: 10.1075/btl.13.12bow.

[444] Korchilov, *Translating History*, 23.

[445] James F. Clarity and Warren Weaver Jr, "Summit Interpreters", *New York Times,* 23 November 1985; Betty Cuniberti, "Summit Interpreters Must Fight Own Battle of Words", *Los Angeles Times*, 12 August 1987, http://articles.latimes.com/print/1987-12-08/news/vw-27621_1_russian-interpreters,
accessed 7 December 2014.

[446] "William Krimer; Presidents' Interpreter", *Los Angeles Times,* 9 February 2001; Lena Smirnova, "Quality Interpreters Becoming Scarce", *The Moscow Times,* 28 September 2012; Silja Lättemäe, "Karin Sibul: Tõlk on kui kohtumiste komakoht – märkamatu, aga asendamatu", *Maaleht*, 23 December 2003.

[447] Inga Raitar, "Karin Sibul: Ma ei tõlgi ainult prominente", *Esmaspäev,* 14 June 1993.

[448] Jean Delisle, introduction to *Interpreters as Diplomats* by Ruth A. Roland (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press 1999), 3.

> They appear in the shadow of the mighty; you can spot them on newsreels because they stand much too close to the VIPs. A word in their ear. The interpreters. They have been around forever or, at least, ever since different languages and cultures have met.[449]

Ruth A. Roland draws attention to a "missing link" in the chronicles of political history.

> Library shelves overflow with accounts of bilateral and multilateral conferences, meetings with heads of state, as well as regular, ongoing political and economic contacts at the international level. Surely, thoughtful readers must often wonder about the practical, functional aspect of intercourse among nations, of which none is more basic than language.[450]

Books and histories about diplomacy rarely mention interpretation but rather overlook linguistic communication.[451] *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*,[452] the sixth and revised edition of Satow's ground-breaking historic book, is an exception in that it dedicates a longer section to languages, "The Languages, Forms and Means of Diplomatic Intercourse". Other books tend to limit themselves to a historic overview of the languages used in diplomatic intercourse[453] or rely on Satow's description of the transformation of English into a diplomatic language.[454]

Occasionally just translation is mentioned in the context of exchanging written documents. A rare comment may refer to a recommendation not to hold negotiations in the mother tongue of one of the parties, as this could place that party in a privileged position.[455] Rather, both parties should speak in their mother tongues so that they are on equal footing and should bring their own

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[449] David Bernet and Christian Beetz (2005), press release for their documentary *The Whisperers,* http://www.gebrueder-beetz.de/en/productions/the-whisperers-2#uebersicht, accessed 13 April 2014.

[450] Ruth A. Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press 1999), 7.

[451] For example, Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010); Geoffrey R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). See also Kalle Ott and Endla Lipre, *Väliskülaliste vastuvõtmisest* (Tallinn, 1991), 16. The only mention of interpreters in the book is in an organiser's memo under "Necessary People": "Master of Ceremony, Assistants, Interpreters, Photographer".

[452] Ivor Roberts, ed., *Satow's Diplomatic Practice,* 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[453] Keith Hamilton and Richard Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

[454] Ernest Satow, "Diplomacy and the Language and Forms of Diplomatic Intercourse", in *Diplomacy*, ed. Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2004), 25–50.

[455] Torsten Örn, *Milleks diplomaatia? Kultuuriajalooline käsitlus*, trans. Eimar Rahumaa (Tallinn: Olion, 2004).

interpreters. Apart from equality, national identity is also significant.[456] Although it is common practice to interpret into one's mother tongue, this does not apply to diplomatic interpreting.[457] As a matter of fact, originally "it was thought preferable for interpreters to work out of their mother tongue, because they would be familiar with every nuance".[458] In diplomacy this practice is maintained.[459] Jessica Cohen recalls Harry Obst's reasoning on why interpreters work into their second language:

> High-quality interpreting depends on the interpreter's thorough and immediate analysis of the source message—less on his or her ability to choose the correct target words. Clearly, such an intuitive and detailed grasp of material is far more attainable in one's native language than in an acquired language.[460]

According to Cohen, both UN and EU officials have acknowledged that this method makes "for better interpreting, but it is too late to make such a drastic policy change within these organizations".[461] The AIIC, UN and EU norm today is to work into one's mother tongue. American diplomat Charles W. Thayer writes in his book of memoirs *Diplomat* how difficult the task of diplomatic interpreting is, even despite fluency in both languages: "a single slight misstep in interpreting will send the negotiators off on opposite tangents, arguing about entirely different points".[462] Georganne Weller, an experienced diplomatic interpreter and trainer of future high-level interpreters, states that the major difficulty facing diplomatic interpreters is the "enormous responsibility and pressure" they are under not to make any mistake that might cause a diplomatic incident, as well as having to deal with the trust and faith vested in them to cope with that responsibility.[463]

Unlike books on diplomacy, books and writing dedicated to the birth and evolution of conference interpreting are more informative, although they do not directly refer to diplomatic interpreting.[464] Interpreting studies researchers such

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[456] Anna Curran, "Translators and Interpreters at the G8", 26 June 2013, http://dculs.dcu.ie/dcu-language-services-news/translators-and-interpreters-at-the-g8/, accessed 8 January 2015.

[457] Örn, *Milleks diplomaatia?*

[458] Dick Fleming, "A Brief History of Conference Interpreter Training (CIT)", (2014), the website of the SCIC, https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/multisite/scicnet/home, accessed 21 April 2014.

[459] Obst, *White House Interpreter* 11.

[460] Cohen, "International Translator's", 3.

[461] Ibid.

[462] Charles W. Thayer, *Diplomat* (London: Michael Joseph, 1960), 108.

[463] Georganne Weller, "An Exercise in the Organization of Interpreting Services at High-Level Diplomatic Conferences", *ATA Chronicle*, Alexandria, Virginia, US, September 2004, 36–39.

[464] Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*; Baigorri-Jalón and Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting"; Fleming, "A Brief History"; Francesca Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation: The Nuremberg Trial* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998).

as Mona Baker,[465] Franz Pöchhacker,[466] Cecilia Wadensjö[467] and others[468] have examined and analysed different aspects and constraints of high level interpreting. For Baker, political interview "as an interpreting assignment is subject to a fairly distinct set of constraints" and deserves academic study.[469] High-level interpreting comprises of different types of assignments, such as face-to-face meetings, diplomatic negotiations, news conferences and political interviews, as well as public and impromptu speeches by presidents, heads of state or government or other high-level dignitaries. Each and every such assignment requires "full mastery of all the facets of professional conference interpreting".[470]

The issue of what language to use in diplomatic intercourse had become contentious as early as the 18th century,[471] with mainly Latin (both written and spoken)[472] and later French being used.[473] From the 18th century onwards French started to spread throughout Europe. Several international agreements, however, (such as the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 and the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815) included an article that stated that "the use of the French language […] was not to be taken as prejudicing the right of the Contracting Parties to have copies signed in other languages".[474] In the 19th century British diplomats gradually began to introduce English to diplomatic settings.[475] The issue was more or less settled in 1851 when British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston

> instructed the British representative that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, every Government was entitled to use its own language in official communications, on the ground that it is more certain of expressing its meaning in its own language.[476]

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[465] Baker, "Non-Cognitive Constraints".

[466] Franz Pöchhacker, "Interpreters and Ideology: From 'Between' to 'Within'", *Across Languages and Cultures* 7, no. 2 (2006).

[467] Cecilia Wadensjö, "Co-constructing Yeltsin—Explorations of an Interpreter-Mediated Political Interview", in *Intercultural Faultlines. Research Models in Translation Studies I: Textual and Cognitive Aspects*, ed. Maeve Olohan (Manchester, Northampton: St Jerome, 2000), 233–252; Cecilia Wadensjö (2008). "The Shaping of Gorbachev: On Framing in an Interpreter-Mediated Talk-Show Interview", *Text & Talk* 28, no. 1 (2008): 119–146.

[468] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*; Baigorri-Jalón and Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting"; Fleming, "A Brief History"; Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation*.

[469] Baker, "Non-Cognitive Constraints", 124.

[470] Thiéry "Diplomatic Interpreting", 108.

[471] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 55.

[472] Roberts, *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 45.

[473] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 43, 56; Ernest Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (1917, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1:58.

[474] Roberts, *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 46.

[475] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 55–57; Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*; Hamilton and Langhorne, *The Practice of Diplomacy*; Christer Jönsson and Richard Langhorne, eds., *Diplomacy* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2004).

[476] Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice,* 1:67.

Thus, Lord Palmerston "established the principle that has ever since been honoured in the diplomatic world—the right of any government to use its own language in foreign relations".[477] In his pioneering work, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, published in 1917 and continuously revised and reprinted, Ernest Satow justifies this principle, saying:

> It is obvious that while a man speaking or writing in his own language is able to say whatever he wishes [...], when employing a foreign tongue, he can only say what he is enabled to express by the knowledge which he happens to possess of that particular language.[478]

This right is now universally accepted and "there is no universal rule making obligatory the use of one language rather than another".[479]

The right of any government to use its own language in foreign relations is not only practical but stresses the symbolic capital of the state.[480] As stated in *Interpreters as Diplomats*, "language has always been more than a simple communication tool: it has also been a mark of national prestige, and interpreters have brought this prestige to the international arena".[481] This is the context in which in Chapter 2 the author analyses the diplomatic interpreter's invisible contribution to the state's symbolic capital, taking Bourdieu's concept as a starting point.

Modern interpretation—conference interpreting, in particular, as well as its professionalisation and the use of not only French but also English as a language of diplomacy—began at the Paris Peace conference in 1919, since neither the US president Woodrow Wilson nor the British prime minister David Lloyd George spoke French.[482] Until that time, diplomats, who were mostly aristocrats, were fluent in French, which was the language of diplomacy; the French therefore attempted to retain the status quo.[483]

Indeed, up to the beginning of the 20th century French had been the de facto international language of diplomacy. The French language was considered to be "an extremely precise, clear and elegant language, which was appropriate for diplomatic negotiations and documents".[484] Centuries ago, before the Common Era, when Latin was competing for political hegemony over Greek, proponents of Latin claimed "fewer words were required to render a speech from Greek into Latin than vice versa".[485] Roland points out "the same argument has been

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[477] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 56.
[478] Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice,* 1:67.
[479] Roberts, *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 47.
[480] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 50–52.
[481] Delisle, introduction to *Interpreters*, 2.
[482] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 121–122.
[483] Ibid.; Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*, 19–24.
[484] Ibid., 19.
[485] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 18–19.

advanced today in favour of English over French".[486] The Paris Conference therefore introduced a major change not only to the international political arena but also to interpretation. Instead of just diplomats negotiating, heads of state and government convened, turning the conference into something of a summit,[487] giving birth to modern conference interpretation and bringing into the limelight diplomatic interpreting for face-to-face meetings.

Discussions between French Foreign Minister Stéphen-Jean-Marie Pichon, US President Wilson, and British Prime Minister Lloyd George led to the conclusion that "French and English were generally accepted as having parity".[488] First they were adopted as official languages of the Paris Peace Conference, and when the League of Nations was established, for its conventions, as well. At the Paris Peace Conference, there were only twelve consecutive interpreters and at the League of Nations six permanent interpreters over the next quarter of a century.[489]

In her seminal work *Interpreters as Diplomats: A Diplomatic History of the Role of Interpreters in World Politics*[490] political scientist Ruth Roland brings into the limelight "a very special, too often unappreciated, career field".[491] She outlines two reasons why historians have ignored translators and interpreters.

> First, there is often a total lack of historic documentation. People of power and influence in centuries past seldom considered a mere interpreter's name to be worth recording. Second, most historians, confined to "important" events and to the limitations imposed by the desired size of their books, cannot be expected to include every intriguing titbit they may uncover.[492]

Speaking about the outstanding interpreters in the first half of the 20th century, Roland quotes a US Secretary of State as having said of Paul Mantoux, a superb interpreter, that no statement was too dry to make him inattentive or too technical for his vocabulary.[493] Generalising about high-level diplomatic meetings, Obst concludes that

> the success or failure of these private meetings did not just rest on the two principal interlocutors. They rested in large measure on the analytical abilities, intellectual acumen, and communication skills, and emotional stability of the only two people the leaders could fully understand—their professional interpreters.[494]

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[486] Ibid., 38.
[487] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg,* 15.
[488] Roberts, *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 47.
[489] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 121; Fleming, "A Brief History".
[490] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats.*
[491] Ibid., 8.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid., 158.
[494] Obst, *White House Interpreter*, x.

Decades ago an American ambassador is said to have cast doubt upon the use of interpreters in a diplomatic environment since intonation, emphasis and humour could get lost.[495] US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's statement should alleviate any such doubt.

> Interpreters play a vital but overlooked part in diplomacy. The best ones are able to translate not only words but also points of emphasis and tone, and are careful to ensure that idiomatic expressions are not misunderstood.[496]

To cope with high expectations and responsibility diplomatic interpreters have to keep up with ever changing terminology. This must be kept in mind as they cannot consult dictionaries or search the Internet the way their conference interpreter colleagues can.

Today English has overtaken the position once enjoyed by French as the main international and diplomatic language. European diplomatic services "require extensive knowledge of two foreign languages, one invariably English".[497] This is largely believed to be "a result of the United States's predominant position in international communications due to the introduction of the Internet, etc.".[498]

1.3.4 Parliamentary Interpreting

Parliamentary interpreting is a type of interpretation that takes place in an institutional setting, just like medical, legal, and media interpreting.[499] It is characterised by its local aspect, unlike conference interpreting, which is "international".[500] That being said, "conference interpreting" is currently the term used for the interpretation that takes place in parliaments, although according to Pöchhacker, "one could arguably retain the traditional term **parliamentary interpreting** for conference interpreting as practiced in the Belgian, Canadian or European parliaments" (emphasis in the original).[501] Its history reportedly dates back to Belgium in 1936, when simultaneous parliamentary interpretation was first introduced in the national parliament, which

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[495] Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats,* 151.
[496] Madeleine Albright, *Madam Secretary: A Memoir*, with Bill Woodward (London, Basingstoke and Oxford: Pan Books, 2004), 254.
[497] Roberts, *Satow's Diplomatic Practice*, 82.
[498] Ibid., 48.
[499] Franz Pöchhacker, "Critical Linking Up: Kinship and Convergence in Interpreting Studies", in *The Critical Link 4. Professionalisation of Interpreting in the Community. Selected Papers from the 4th International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings, Stockholm, Sweden, 20–23 May 2004*, ed. Cecilia Wadensjö, Birgitta Englund Dimitrova, and Anna-Lena Nilsson (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), 12.
[500] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 16.
[501] Ibid.

used two languages.[502] Simultaneous interpretation in the Belgian parliament is performed in all committee meetings and in plenary sessions to this day. Its working languages are Flemish and French and interpreters are supposed to work in both directions. On the official website of the parliament there is no mention of interpretation, though it is the backbone of parliamentary work in Belgium.[503] Examples from different continents prove that parliamentary interpreting is still in active use in the parliaments of several multi-ethnic states, as well as in the European Parliament.[504]

Switzerland followed the Belgian example in 1946,[505] providing simultaneous interpretation between French, German and Italian.[506] In 2016 it still provided interpretation between the three languages,[507] although a 2003 source claimed, "because of a shortage of money, currently only translations into German and French are available".[508] The Swiss Federal Assembly comprises the 200-member National Council and the 46-member Council of States. Simultaneous interpretation between the three languages is provided in the National Council, whereas in the Council of States, while members can speak in their mother tongue, everybody is expected to understand the three languages.

In Canada, the House of Commons introduced simultaneous interpretation in 1959 and the Senate did so in 1961, as the future Prime Minister John Diefenbaker had made "instantaneous translation" one of his election promises.[509] The aim was to bring two language communities—the French and the English—closer together, hoping that in the future it would no longer be necessary.[510] The practice, however, continues to this day.

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[502] An article entitled "Kahekeeleline Soome eduskund" (*Päewaleht*, 2 September 1933) describes consecutive interpreting in the Finnish parliament, stating that an interpreter was hired to interpret all speeches at the plenary sessions. For committee work additional interpreters were recruited. The article refers to a Finnish paper which had commended the Estonian parliament, saying it allows members to speak in four languages (in addition to Estonian, German, Swedish and Russian could be spoken) but that interpreting is not an issue as the use of any language other than Estonian is rare. See also section 2.4.12 entitled "International Conferences and Interpretation-Related Technical Innovations in Europe" and an article entitled "Olupilte Helsingist", *Uus Eesti,* 19 July 1936.

[503] Lieve Behiels, e-mail message to author, 4 March 2016.

[504] Anna-Riitta Vuorikoski, "A Voice of its Citizens or a Modern Tower of Babel", (PhD dissertation), Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 985, http://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/67348/951-44-5878-8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, accessed 12 June 2011.

[505] Jean Delisle, "Fifty Years of Parliamentary Interpretation", *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 32, no. 2 (2009), 27, http://www.revparl.ca/english/issue.asp?param=193&art=1333, accessed 20 February 2015.

[506] *The Swiss Confederation: A Brief Guide* (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 2008), 3.

[507] *The Swiss Confederation. A Brief Guide* (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 2016), 33.

[508] Urs Geiser, "Bridging the Language Divide", The Swissinfo News Portal, 26 September 2003, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/bridging-the-language-divide/3535100, accessed 17 April 2014.

[509] Delisle, "Fifty Years of Parliamentary Interpretation", 27.

[510] Ibid., 29.

In India simultaneous interpretation into Hindi and English is a constitutional right, and under Article 120 of the Indian Constitution, the business of both Houses of Parliament is interpreted into Hindi and English.[511] In 1964, the Indian parliament's House of the People, Lok Sabha, therefore introduced simultaneous interpretation from Hindi to English and vice versa, and in 1969 it also introduced simultaneous interpretation from fourteen other languages into Hindi and English: Assamese, Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, Manipuri, Maithili, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.[512] A 2012 report describes interpretation in the Upper House of the Indian parliament as follows:

> Simultaneous interpretation of speeches, etc. made in Hindi and English is available throughout the sittings of the House and its Committees. Besides, arrangements, at present exist for simultaneous interpretation in Hindi and English of speeches made in other Indian languages, namely, Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Odia, Tamil and Urdu.[513]

A 2014 handbook lists another fourteen languages in addition to English and Hindi,[514] though they do not overlap with the list from the 2012 report. An online Indian Employment Portal advertised positions for twenty-three new interpreters in the summer of 2015, setting the age limit at twenty-seven.[515]

Parliamentary interpretation is also practiced in Malaysia, which is a multiethnic federation of thirteen states. Three in-house interpreters provide simultaneous interpretation from the official language of Malay into English. Interpretation from English into Malay is provided only if foreign visitors deliver their speeches in English.[516]

The English language home page of the Chinese national legislature, the National People's Congress, provides no information about the language regime

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[511] "Handbook for Members of Lok Sabha", Parliament of India, Lok Sabha, House of the People (2014), 93, http://164.100.47.192/Loksabha/Members/handbook.aspx, accessed 17 April 2014.

[512] "Simultaneous Interpretation in Lok Sabha", Parliament of India, Lok Sabha (2014), http://164.100.47.132/LssNew/abstract/simultaneous_interpretation_in_l.htm, accessed 17 April 2014.

[513] "Administrative Report 2012", Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha, Council of States, 278–280, http://rajyasabha.nic.in/rsnew/annual_report/2012/Interpretation.pdf, accessed 16 April 2014.

[514] "Handbook for Members of Lok Sabha", 97. http://164.100.47.192/Loksabha/writereaddata/membersbook/Chapter2.pdf, accessed 17 April 2014.

[515] "Parliament of India, Lok Sabha Secr. – Recruitment of 23 Interpreter [sic] and Hindi Assistant. Last Dt. 31/08/2015 (07/09/2015)", West Bengal's Leading Employment News Portal, 5 August 2015, http://www.karmasandhan.com/2015/08/lok-sabha-secretariat-recruitment-of-paliamentary-interpreter-and-hindi-assistant.html, accessed 14 April 2016.

[516] Noraini Ibrahim, "Parliamentary Interpreting in Malaysia: A Case Study", *Meta: journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal* 54, no.2 (2009): 357-369.

applicable at the legislature's sessions. Indirect references confirm that simultaneous interpretation is provided into seven minority languages: Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak, Korean, Yi and Zhuang.[517] Photographs of simultaneous interpreters working into minority languages are available from 2013.[518] The website of the 12th National People's Congress of China, convened in March 2016, has photos of nine booths of interpreters of minority languages at work (in beautiful ethnic dress).[519]

The Republic of South Africa has eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. The Language Services Section of the Parliament of South Africa's Interpreting Unit provides simultaneous interpretation for all plenaries of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces (the Upper House) in the above eleven official languages as well as South African Sign Language. All languages are interpreted from the English channel; thus, all booths take relay from English. The South African parliament employs four staff interpreters per language. Interpreters are required to be proficient in their mother tongue and English. Proficiency in other official languages is an advantage. As of 2016, although members are not required to inform the plenary of their language of choice prior to its start, it is common practice.[520] According to the 2004 Guide to Procedure a member may speak in the National Assembly in any of the official languages and all languages are interpreted into English and Afrikaans: "Members wishing to speak in any of the other official languages are requested to alert the Table staff in advance, to ensure that the appropriate interpreting staff are on hand. Interpretation services are not generally available in committees".[521] Freelance interpreters are contracted only when additional capacity is needed. Interpretation in committees is provided for as far as capacity allows but must be requested and covers only those specific languages.

As of 2016, The Hansard[522] still comes out in English; bills are translated into all languages, while questions are translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa at

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[517] Andrew C. Dawrant, e-mail message to author, 9 March 2016; China: Facts and Figures 2007 http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/china/235620.htm, accessed 24 September 2015; China Radio International Website, 24 August 2005, http://english.cri.cn/811/2005/08/24/48@13379.htm, accessed 24 September 2015.

[518] http://pic.people.com.cn/n/2013/0306/c1016-20698250.html Andrew C. Dawrant, e-mail message to author, 9 March 2016.

[519] http://pic.people.com.cn/n1/2016/0314/c1016-28197631.html; Andrew C. Dawrant, e-mail message to author, 17 March 2016.

[520] Leon Gabriel (Division Manager, Knowledge and Information Services, National Assembly of the Republic of South Africa), e-mail message to author, 16 May 2016.

[521] *National Assembly. Guide to Procedure* (Cape Town: Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2004), 56 www.parliament.gov.za/content/GUIDE.pdf, accessed 24 May 2915.

[522] *Hansard* is the traditional name of the transcripts of Parliamentary Debates in Britain and many Commonwealth countries. In South Africa, the *Hansard* is an essentially verbatim report of parliamentary proceedings, with repetitions and redundancies omitted and obvious mistakes corrected. It is named after English printer L. Hansard (1752–1828) and his descendants, who compiled the reports until 1889.

the moment and adverts are translated into the other ten official languages. Members speak in their home languages and then all those speeches get translated into English.[523]

1.3.5 Theatre Interpreting

A special form of interpreting or subtype of institutional interpretation without which an analysis of the interpreting landscape in post-war Estonia would not be complete is the simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances.

Studies in Europe, the United States and Australia have mostly focused on the sign language interpretation of theatre performances for the deaf community.[524] *Theatre translation* as a research topic was introduced by Yvonne Griesel in 2000 and is treated as a type of multidimensional translation.[525] According to Griesel, theatre translation is a form of interlingual transfer, "realized by way of surtitling, simultaneous interpreting, summarizing translation and other modes of translation";[526] her particular focus is on surtitling as a hybrid form of interpretation and translation.[527]

In sign language interpretation, *theatre translation*,[528]—also known as *theatrical interpreting*,[529] *performing arts interpreting*,[530] *artistic inter-*

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[523] Manesi Kekana, e-mail message to author, 18 April 2016.

[524] See, for example, Graham H. Turner and Kyra Pollitt, "Community Interpreting Meets Literary Translation. English-BSL Interpreting in the Theatre", *The Translator* 8, no.1 (2002): 25–48; Jemina Napier, Rachel McKee, and Della Goswell, *Sign Language Interpreting. Theory and Practice in Australia and New Zealand*, 2nd ed. (Sidney: The Federation Press, 2010).

[525] Yvonne Griesel, *Translation im Theater: Die mündliche und schriftliche Übertragung französischsprachiger Inszenierungen ins Deutsche* (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 2000).

[526] Yvonne Griesel, "Surtitles and Translation: Towards an Integrative View of the Theatre Translation", *MuTra 2005 – Challenges of Multidimentional Translation: Conference Proceedings* (2005), http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2005_ Proceedings/ 2005_proceedings.html, accessed 16 April 2016.

[527] Griesel, "Surtitles and Translation"; Yvonne Griesel, "Surtitling: Surtitles an Other [sic] Hybrid on a Hybrid Stage", *TRANS, Revista de Traductología,* 13 (2009).

[528] Griesel, *Translation im Theater*.

[529] Candace Broecker Penn, "The Challenge of Theatrical Interpreting**",** *VIEWS* 15, no. 5 (1998): 12–15, http://rid.org/publications-overview/views/views-archives/, accessed 15 March 2014; Julie Gebron, *Sign the Speech: An Introduction to Theatrical Interpreting* (Hillsboro: Butte, 2000).

[530] James Stangarone and Suzie Kirchner, "Interpreting Settings. Section H: Performing Arts", in Frank Caccamise, Rita D. Devries, Richard Dirst, Joy Heil, Carl J. Kirchner, Suzie Kirchner and James Stangarone, *Introduction to Interpreting: For Interpreters/Transliterators, Hearing Impaired Consumers, Hearing Consumers* (Silver Spring: RID Publ., 1980): 78–82; Kevin Campbell, "Performing Arts Interpreting**",** *VIEWS* 15, no. 5 (1998): 19, http://rid.org/publications-overview/views/views-archives/, accessed 15 March 2014; Rico Peterson, "Performing Arts Interpreting, from Shakespeare to Shamu: Confessions of a Theatrician", *VIEWS* 15, no. 5 (1998): 10–11, http://rid.org/publications-overview/views/ views-archives/, accessed 15 March 2014.

preting,[531] *theatre*[532] and *performance interpreting,*[533]—is defined as "the signed translation of a dramatic text performed in English".[534] This can, however, apply not just to English but to any language. The performance is thus made accessible to the hearing-impaired or deaf audience. Julie Gebron tries to answer the question of what theatrical interpreting is:

> It is a new form of art. It is not merely translating words; it is creating a work of art. It is striving to re-interpret the director's vision and in the process creating a different stage picture of that vision. It is realizing that while there are many ways interpreters relate physically to the stage, they all require acting. It is acting, but it uses a different language and style to communicate the story.[535]

Theatre interpreting requires time to prepare, understand, rehearse and practice; there is also a need for flexibility, creativity, background work and synchronisation.[536] James Stangarone and Suzie Kirchner[537] stress that interpreters have to distinguish between "interpreting, impersonating and acting", outlining different levels of contact: direct, little and rare. Researchers do not agree on whether theatre interpreters should have any acting skills. According to Gebron, they should,[538] while Stangarone and Kirchner argue that knowledge of theatre helps.[539] Holders of the Comprehensive Skills Certificate (CSC)[540] also warn of the "fine line between conveying the information and becoming the show", as it is not the interpreter who tells the story.[541] The actors interpret the play and the interpreters, the production.[542] Unlike sign language interpreters, simultaneous

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[531] Sign on Stage, Illinois, "Doin' A Vanna or One Focus Thrown is Worth a Thousand Signs", *VIEWS* 15, no. 5 (1998): 18. http://rid.org/publications-overview/views/views-archives/, accessed 15 March 2014.

[532] Siobhán Rocks, "Theatre Interpreting" in *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 417–418; Turner and Pollitt, "Community Interpreting Meets Literary Translation".

[533] "RID Standard on Interpreting for the Performing Arts", http://www.terptheatre.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PerformingArts_SPP.pdf?aea333&x69122, accessed 14 October 2015.

[534] *Napier, McKee, and Goswell, Sign language interpreting,* 137.

[535] Gebron, *Sign the Speech*, 5.

[536] Stangarone and Kirchner, "Interpreting settings"; Gebron, *Sign the Speech*; Damon Timm "Performing Arts Interpreting: Qualification, Recognition, and Betterment through Education December 12, 2001", http://asl_interpreting.tripod.com/misc/dt1.htm, accessed 13 October 2016; Napier, McKee, and Goswell, *Sign Language Interpreting,*

[537] Stangarone and Kirchner, "Interpreting Settings", 79.

[538] Gebron, *Sign the Speech*.

[539] Stangarone and Kirchner, "Interpreting Settings".

[540] The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc., United States (RID), plays a leading role in establishing a national standard of quality for interpreters. Holders of the CSC certification are recommended for a broad range of interpreting and transliteration assignments. This credential was offered from 1972 to 1988.

[541] Sign on Stage, Illinois, "Doin' A Vanna", 18.

[542] Peterson, "Performing Arts Interpreting", 10.

interpreters are not on stage. Good theatre interpreting looks effortless but is no easy task to achieve: "A good match between actor, interpreter and material is rare".[543] Jemina Napier, Rachel McKee and Della Goswell draw attention to the interpreter's stamina, saying, "although adrenaline helps, it is physically and mentally demanding work".[544]

In Estonia, the sign language interpretation of performances has been discussed in a master's thesis[545] and two graduation papers.[546] There is also a master's thesis on singable opera translation.[547] To the author's knowledge *teatritõlge* (theatre translation) is treated in Estonia as a subtype of translation.[548]

The author of this research would argue that theatre interpreting is a form of simultaneous interpretation between two languages that makes the performance accessible to those audience members who do not master the original language of the performance. The simultaneous interpreter re-interprets the director's vision to a foreign language audience. In the context of this dissertation, therefore, "theatre interpreter" refers to a simultaneous interpreter who interprets theatre performances.

Little has been written about the simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances, either in Estonia[549] or elsewhere[550]. In Estonian interpreting in the theatre was done by an announcer (*diktor* in Estonian),[551] transmitter (*transleerija*)[552] or announcer-interpreter (*diktor-tõlk*),[553] and the text was transmitted or translated to the audience (*transleeriti* in Estonian),[554] drawing parallels to

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[543] Ibid., 11.

[544] Napier, McKee, and Goswell, *Sign Language Interpreting*, 139.

[545] Liivi Hollman, "Viipekeeletõlk ja rolliootused" (master's thesis, University of Tartu, 2002).

[546] Hele-Riin Karring, "Viipekeele tõlketeenuse regulaarse osutamise võimalikkusest ja vajalikkusest eesti teatrites" (diploma thesis, University of Tartu, 2012); Kati Salo, "Viipekeelse tõlke lähtekohti kultuurivaldkonnas, teatritõlke näitel" (diploma thesis, University of Tartu, 2009).

[547] Tiina Pappel, "Lauldav ooperitõlge Eestis – ajalugu uurimisvõimalused ja tulevik" (master's thesis, Tallinn University, 2015).

[548] Signe Põldsaar, Tõlgete hindamine Eesti Teatri Agentuuri kunstinõukogus 2011–2013 (master's thesis, Tallinn University, 2015); Ene-Reet Soovik, "Tõlkijateest, modernismist ja teatritõlkest. Intervjuu Jaak Rähesooga", in *Tõlkija hääl 3*, comp. Triinu Tamm (Tallinn: SA Kultuurileht, 2015), 64–73.

[549] Karin Sibul, "Teatrietenduste sünkroontõlkest eesti keelest vene keelde aastatel 1944–1991", *Methis: Studia humanora Estonica* 19 (2017): 53–73, https://doi.org/10.7592/methis.v15i19.13436.

[550] See also Irina Bondas, *Theaterdolmetschen – Phänomen, Funktionen, Perspektiven* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013).

[551] ERA.R-2219-1-206, l. 8.

[552] ERA.R-2219-1-4, l. 54.

[553] Tiina Jürimäe, "Kalender", *Edasi*, 24 January 1988.

[554] Performance schedule (Riiklik Vene Draamateater), *Sirp ja Vasar*, 31 January 1958; Ülev Aaloe, "Pärnu teatri suvehooaeg", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 8 July 1988; "XXI '84'", *Nõukogude Õpetaja*, 3 March 1984.

broadcasting. A rare article from 1952 discovered by the author uses the Estonian word for "to interpret"—*tõlkima*—to mark this activity.[555] Theatres' staff lists reveal that a prompter may have been another position a theatre interpreter could have held in the 1960s. Erna Eerme-Korjus (Tallinn Drama Theatre) was listed as a prompter in 1960[556] and as an announcer in 1964.[557]

Working with the written word

In analysing the work sign language interpreters do to prepare a text, experts highlight the equivalence to the theatrical experience.[558] According to Graham H. Turner and Kyra Pollitt,[559] preparing for an assignment requires a combination of interpretation and translation methods. Ganz Horowitz[560] singles out the demanding challenges facing theatre interpreters: the inability to stop rapid speech, the concurrence of visual and auditory information, the interdependence of the spoken word and non-verbal aspects. This is all very similar to simultaneous theatre interpreting and to the challenges to be faced when interpreting a performance into another language. Diligent preparation is mentioned in articles on sign language theatre interpretation. That preparation cannot be limited to the source text, script and translation; the interpreter also has to attend rehearsals and live performances, analyse puns and dialogue and be consistent and focus on content.[561] Working with the text, interpreters "work on the translation of the text and language not as they perceive the meaning to be, but as the actors and the director intend the meaning".[562] Starting from the read-through, difficult, significant or altered parts of the script should be pencilled in.[563] The underlying principle of interpretation is to understand the speaker's meaning.[564] This applies to theatre interpretation, as well.[565] Synchronising the visual narrative and the interpretation is a difficult task, and one that is not exclusive to sign language–interpreted theatre,[566] as is knowing what is relevant

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[555] "TR Draamateatri etendused tõlgitakse vene keelde", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 12 January 1952.

[556] ERA.R.2219.1.170, l.1.

[557] ERA.R.2219.1.252, l.1.

[558] Miriam Ganz Horwitz, "Demands and Strategies of Interpreting a Theatrical Performance into American Sign Language", *Journal of Interpretation* 23, no. 1 (2014), Article 4, 2. http://digitalcommons.unf.edu/joi/vol23/iss1/4/, accessed 17 May 2015.

[559] Turner and Pollitt, "Community Interpreting Meets Literary Translation", 41.

[560] Ganz Horwitz, "Demands and Strategies of Interpreting a Theatrical Performance", 1.

[561] Gebron, *Sign the Speech*.

[562] Ibid., 7.

[563] Ibid., 61, Maia Soorm, interviews with the author, 1 November 2011 and 28 January 2012.

[564] Roderick Jones, *Conference Interpreting Explained* (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 1998), 12.

[565] Gebron, *Sign the Speech*, 63; Maia Soorm, interviews with the author, 1 November 2011 and 28 January 2012.

[566] Siobhán Rocks, "The Theatre Sign Language Interpreter and the Competing Visual Narrative: The Translation and Interpretation of Theatrical Texts into British Sign Language", in *Staging and Performing Translation: Text and Theatre Practice*, ed. Roger Baines, Cristina Marinetti, and Manuela Perteghella (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan 2011), 72–86.

to the plot and to character development.[567] The interpreter has to cope with multiple speakers and rapid switches between them, as well as fast speech.[568] Theatre interpreting, be it signed or simultaneous, has to be concise and clear, to comprehend the content and to avoid a time lag. This is achievable only with thorough preparation and a detailed analysis of the written word and live performance. Visual and auditory narratives have to be simultaneous for the audience using headsets and listening to the interpretation; any time lag will have an adverse impact on the theatrical experience. The interpreter must also be aware of the different length of the source and target languages and find adequate semantic equivalences. In their detailed analysis of the nature of sign language interpreters' preparation for theatre interpreting, Turner and Pollitt stress that "the key in this context is to establish the characters early and maintain them consistently thereafter".[569] Similar to sign language interpreters, theatre interpreters are also on their own, portraying every character in the play: they "will not have the time or inclination to indicate each speaker at the start of their turns at talk, nor to name them, as the script does identify the speaker".[570]

The interpreters start working with the script when the producer starts working on the production. The preparatory work involves the interpreter's presence at rehearsals and involvement in the production process. From the interpreter's point of view the process is divided into three phases. The first phase constitutes homework: either with the already translated script or actually translating the script. The next phase, that of rehearsals, may mean making major changes to the text based on changes the producer and actors have made. There may be actors who change and polish their text many times and continue doing this throughout the performance.

In describing the work of sign language interpreters at the theatre, Jemina Napier argues:

> The final translation, though, is performed live in real time, and thus can be considered an interpretation, as the translator will be influenced by what happens spontaneously (e.g., when actors stumble over their lines).[571]

When discussing translation for dubbing and voiceovers, Barbara Schwarz stresses that "translators must keep in mind that they are producing a spoken text".[572] Under types of revoicing she also lists interpretation as the least

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[567] Ganz Horwitz, "Demands and Strategies of Interpreting a Theatrical Performance", 4.
[568] Ibid., 4; Gebron, *Sign the Speech*.
[569] Turner and Pollitt, "Community Interpreting Meets Literary Translation", 35.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Jemina Napier, "Signed Language Interpreting", in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies,* ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 373.
[572] Barbara Schwarz, "Translation for Dubbing and Voice-Over", in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies,* ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 401.

common method used at international live events and interviews, where "there is no attempt made to hide the fact of translation and there are no issues of synchrony", although "the time lag between the original voice and the translation must be kept to a minimum".[573] For theatre interpreting it is important to overcome linguistic challenges, as the output cannot be too long or too short and may require some padding or ellipses. Compared to surtitling, which may shorten the text to one-third[574] or one-half,[575] theatre interpreters can be more expressive if properly prepared.

The significance of theatre interpreting remains obscure even today, as can be concluded from an article published in the Estonian cultural weekly in 2016.

> When the theatre NO99 performed *GEP* abroad, a simultaneous interpreter was hired, as there were so many words that displaying surtitles on a screen would have been the equivalent of wallpapering the stage with a 600-page book.[576]

This quote leads to a misleading conclusion, treating the interpreter as nothing but a fast speaker.

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[573] Ibid., 402.
[574] Riitta Virkkunen, "The Source Text of Opera Surtitles", *Meta: journal des traducteurs* 49, no. 1 (2004): 95.
[575] Griesel, "Surtitles and Translation", 10.
[576] Eero Epner, "Sõna ja näitleja uuemas teatris", *Sirp,* 18 March 2016.

CHAPTER 2.
Interpreting in Estonia from 1918 to 1940

Chapter 2 provides insight into the early years of interpreting in Estonia, which laid the foundation for the expertise of today's conference interpreters. The starting point for the research on the use of interpreting is the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Estonia on 24 February 1918. This period was studied by analysing forty-one memoirs written by Estonian diplomats, as well as the minutes from the peace negotiations held between Estonia and Russia in 1919. Newspapers published in Estonia from 1918 to 1940 were also examined in order to discover whether interpreting or interpreters were mentioned. Chapter 2 looks at diplomatic interpreting and its relationship with the independent Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital via interpreting in diplomatic encounters. During the period under review diplomatic interpreting supported the Republic of Estonia's aspirations to be recognised and accepted as an independent young state in world politics. In describing this process, the author's point of departure is French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. The case can be made that diplomatic interpreting boosts a state's symbolic capital, as described in this chapter.

Although factual data on both interpretation and diplomatic interpretation is scarce, sources such as memoirs, archive documents and museum findings, speak for themselves: Estonian diplomats and statesmen used the state language in international intercourse if needed in the interwar Republic of Estonia (1918–1940) and a link existed between the use of the Estonian language and the aim of increasing the state's symbolic capital. The 22-year bid of the pre-war Republic of Estonia to use the Estonian language to enhance the prestige of the young country can be recognised in various ways: it evolved from simply being used during the peace negotiations all the way to it being used to deliver the opening speech at an international conference.

2.1 On the Use of Language in Estonia

Until the establishment of the Republic of Estonia in 1918, secondary education was conducted in either German or Russian. The University of Tartu, founded in 1632, provided higher education in German from the time it reopened in 1802 until Russification at the end of the 19th century, when, in 1895, Russian was introduced as the language of instruction. The Temporary Administrative Law on the State Language, adopted in November 1918, made the introduction of Estonian as the official language in all state agencies as soon as possible obligatory.[1] The Estonian Provisional Government decreed on 30 November

[1] "Ajutised administratiivseadused 19 novembril 1918", in *Eesti! Sa seisad lootusrikka tuleviku lävel, kus sa vabalt ja iseseisvalt oma saatust määrata ja juhtida võid. Eesti riikluse alusdokumendid 1917–1920,* comp. Ago Pajur (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2008), 196.

1918 to stop attempts to Russify or Germanify public education.[2] A few days later, on 2 December 1918 it decreed Estonian to be the language of instruction in all schools.[3] A significant change was that secondary education, which previously had taken place only in foreign languages, would now be carried out in Estonian. In June 1919, the Constituent Assembly passed the Procedure for the Temporary Governance of the Republic of Estonia,[4] establishing Estonian as the state language. This principle was incorporated into the first Constitution of the Republic of Estonia in 1920.[5] As for the University of Tartu, it became an Estonian-language university on 1 December 1919. The historical existence of multilingual secondary and tertiary education lead to a situation in which "even ordinary citizens often spoke all three local tongues—German, Russian, and Estonian".[6] According to educationalist professor Viive-Riina Ruus,

> the presence of two foreign cultures and languages encouraged the development of Estonian national identity. One single alien culture could have more easily led to the assimilation of Estonians. The simultaneous presence of two foreign cultures that balanced each other, forced people to make a choice.[7]

The published Minutes of the Constituent Assembly show that German was still used as a working language in the first half of 1920[8], prior to the adoption of the constitution. The minutes record speeches given in German in the German original and those given in Estonian in the Estonian original.[9]

The official language policy in Estonia varied in different periods. The Constitution of 1920 introduced Estonian as the state language and provided for education in it (§12). German, Swedish and Russian minorities, however, were provided with language classes to learn their mother tongues.[10] In 1925 the Law on Minorities' Cultural Autonomy was adopted. During the interwar period in the Republic of Estonia, Estonian became an administrative language at all levels. Immediately after the proclamation of independence, in 1919, foreign languages were introduced as subjects in primary schools: Russian was the first one studied, English or German the second, and German or French the third. In

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2 Lembit Andresen, *Eesti kooli ajalugu* (Tallinn: Avita, 1995), 167.

3 Heino Rannap, *Eesti kooli ja pedagoogika kronoloogia*, 2012, https://www.hm.ee/et/ajalugu/eesti-kooli-ja-pedagoogika-kronoloogia.

4 "Eesti Vabariigi valitsemise ajutine kord. 4. juunil 1919", in *Eesti! Sa seisad lootusrikka tuleviku lävel, kus sa vabalt ja iseseisvalt oma saatust määrata ja juhtida võid: Eesti riikluse alusdokumendid 1917–1920*, comp. Ago Pajur (Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, 2008), 248.

5 *The Constitution of the Estonian Republic*: *Passed by the Constituent Assembly on the 15th of June, 1920* (Tallinn: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühisus, 1924), 3.

6 Viive-Riina Ruus, "Public Education as the Basis of Independent Nationhood" (2002, rev. 2012), in *Estonica, Encyclopaedia about Estonia,* www.estonica.org (accessed 14 May 2014).

7 Ibid.

8 "Asutawa Kogu protokoll nr. 137 (18) (4. juuni 1920)", in *Asutawa Kogu IV istungjärk: protokollid nr. 120 – 154: (13. apr. – 31. dets. 1920. a.)* (Tallinn: Asutav Kogu, 1920).

9 Ibid., 776.

10 *Eesti Wabariigi Põhiseadus. Maaseadus* (Viljandi: Walgus 1921).

upper secondary schools Latin was also introduced as a fourth foreign language.[11]

The school reform of the 1930s, however, removed foreign languages from the primary school curriculum.[12] Soon thereafter German was made the first foreign language in secondary schools, only to be replaced by English in 1936.[13] According to an article published in *Postimees*, an Estonian daily, English had been introduced as the first foreign language in schools as early as 1934 in a municipality bordering Russia, while Russian could be learned as an additional language if desired.[14] In 1936, the Second Intellectual Cooperation Congress of the Baltic States suggested that English and French should become the languages of Baltic communication.[15]

For historical reasons, German was more widely used than English in Estonia, though English gradually started to spread in the 1920s. Thus, Ernst Jaakson, the longest-serving Estonian diplomat (serving for seventy-nine years, sixty-nine of which were spent ensuring the Republic of Estonia's de jure continuity in the United States at the time when Estonia was part of the Soviet Union), wrote in his memoirs of the need to improve his English prior to starting work as a secretary for Estonia's honorary consul in San Francisco, California, in 1929.[16] On 17 August 1926 *Postimees* published an article translated from a German newspaper conveying participants' impressions from the 18th World Temperance Congress and the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries held in Tartu.

> German was the dominating language at the conference. Unfortunately Anglo-Saxons and speakers of Romance languages were underrepresented. Whenever there was a linguistic issue, Estonians came to the rescue. They are real linguistic artists. Nearly all intellectuals speak Estonian, Russian and German. Many also speak English.[17]

An article from 1927 covering the summer school of the Baltic YMCA[18] in Tartu lists the school's five working languages: Estonian, English, Russian, Latvian and German. This would have facilitated listening to as well as learning different languages.[19]

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[11] Martina Põldvere, *Saksa keele õppe eesmärgiseade ja sisu areng Eesti üldhariduskoolides 1919–2002* (Tallinn: Avita, 2003), 28.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Andresen, *Eesti kooli ajalugu,* 187.

[14] "Ringi ümber kodumaa. Räpina koolidesse esimeseks võõrkeeleks inglise keel", *Postimees,* 1 August 1934.

[15] "Balti riikide 2 vaimse koostöö kongres Tartus", *Postimees*, 30 November 1936.

[16] Jaakson, *Eestile*, 26.

[17] "Tartu kongress – päikesepaisteline jõuallikas", *Postimees*, 17 August 1926. Summary of an article by Theo Gläst in the newspaper Neuland, published in Hamburg, on 15 August 1926.

[18] Young Men's Christian Association.

[19] "Balti N. M. K. ühingute suvekool Tartus", *Waba Maa,* 11 June 1927.

Languages used in interpretation

The memoirs and diaries referred to interpretation from and to Estonian, English, French, Latvian and Russian. Archival research in the newspapers of the period allowed getting a more diversified picture, complementing the memoirs and diaries. The author examined 364 relevant articles as of 21 May 2015. The corpus yielded 242 articles that mentioned source languages and 256 that mentioned target languages, providing a glimpse into the share of various languages in the interpretation landscape.

Fifteen total source languages are mentioned in 242 newspaper articles; an additional twenty-eight articles do not state the source language and another three say simply that speeches in foreign languages will be interpreted. A total of 273 articles therefore mention interpretation from foreign languages. English is mentioned most often (61 times), followed by German (41), Estonian (35), Esperanto (24), French (18), Finnish (15), Swedish (13), Polish (9), Hungarian (8), Russian (7), Latvian (5) Lithuanian (3) and finally, Danish, Hebrew and Livonian, which are each mentioned just once (see table 2.1.).

Table 2.1. Source languages (as of 21 May 2015)

Source language	**Number of mentions**
English	61
German	41
Estonian	35
Esperanto	24
French	18
Finnish	15
Swedish	13
Polish	9
Hungarian	8
Russian	7
Latvian	5
Lithuanian	3
Livonian	1
Danish	1
Hebrew	1
Source language not mentioned	28
Speeches in foreign languages	3
TOTAL	**273** – 31 unknown languages = **242**

Ten languages are mentioned as target languages in 256 cases, with Estonian obviously the most frequent target. According to the articles analysed, a foreign language was interpreted into Estonian at 204 events, and interpreting was also provided into Finnish (8), Latvian (8), Hungarian (7), German (7), Swedish (6), Russian and Polish (5 each), Lithuanian and English (3 each). In an additional ten cases the target language was not mentioned, in five interpretation was to be provided if necessary and in one it was to be provided if requested; this brings the total number of mentions up to 272 (see table 2.2.).

Table 2.2. Target languages (as of 21 May 2015)

Target language	**Number of mentions**
Estonian	204
Finnish	8
Latvian	8
Hungarian	7
German	7
Swedish	6
Russian	5
Polish	5
Lithuanian	3
English	3
French	-
Esperanto	-
Livonian	-
Danish	-
Hebrew	-
Target language not mentioned	10
If necessary	5
If requested	1
TOTAL	**272** – 16 instances of uncertain use = **256**

Obviously the above cannot be an exhaustive overview, which would be impossible to provide as the DIGAR database is daily updated; for example, as of 15 March 2017 it contains 163,825 issues containing 4,682, 446 articles. These figures are apt to change as the digitization process continues and OCR software is continuously upgraded.

2.2 Interpreters

With the proclamation of Estonia's independence in 1918 and the launch of independent international relations the need for interpretation must have jumped dramatically. Even if the first generation of diplomats was comprised of people who were linguistically competent in foreign languages, there was likely at least an occasional need for interpreters. Diplomacy was the key to Estonia's international relations in helping it to achieve recognition of its independent statehood and acceptance into the international community. Foreign relations also played a major role during the War of Independence that Estonia fought in the immediate aftermath of the proclamation of independence. The Defence Ministry[20] had "on its payroll relatively well-paid […] interpreters [*tõlki*] for Finnish, Swedish, English and French. German and Russian were still considered as two of the three local languages".[21] For example, either an interpreter or a translator earning 900 marks[22] a month was also employed by the Finance Ministry in the second half of 1919, as can be seen in the draft budget proposed by the government.[23]

The author's hypothesis, therefore, was that interpreters probably were employed in diplomatic relations. Thus, forty-one editions of memoirs and diaries by Estonian diplomats and officials from the Foreign Ministry were studied to find references to the use of interpretation. The studied corpus contains fragmented information on foreign languages used, attitudes toward language proficiency and the use of interpreters, as well as on diplomats' recollections of their own experience as interpreters. The majority of the entries in the diaries were written immediately after the event that was interpreted and give insight into the individual experiences of diplomats. Positive self-evaluation and self-reflection prevail in these fragments.

Diplomats and foreign ministry officials acted as interpreters in the diplomatic environment and other bilinguals were asked to interpret at other events. Judging by the data gathered from memoirs and newspaper articles, the interpreters were all "'chance interpreters' (i.e., more or less bilingual individuals who happened to be on hand)".[24] The first interpreters had no special preparation and worked other jobs, as well.

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[20] Toomas Hiio, "Kaitseministeeriumi ajalugu", the website of the Defence Ministry of Estonia, http://www.kmin.ee/et/ministeerium-kontaktid/kaitseministeeriumi-ajalugu, accessed 15 November 2015.

[21] The Estonian word *tõlk* could mean either an interpreter or a translator. During the period under review the meaning could only be established from the context.

[22] 2.35 GBP (1919).

[23] "Asutawa Kogu protokollide lisad, lisa nr. 57: Rahaministeeriumi eelarwe 1919. a. II poole peale", in *Asutawa Kogu II istungjärk: protokollid nr. 28–97 (17.06.1919–20.12.1919)* (Tallinn: Asutav Kogu, 1920), 174.

[24] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies,* 28.

2.2.1 Foreign Ministry Employees Acting as Interpreters or Translators

The Foreign Ministry was established on 14 November 1918. Of the first three officials, two were interpreters (*tõlgid*): these were Alice Erjapea, an English interpreter, and Helene Müllerstein, an assistant and French interpreter. The third was Secretary General Ferdinand Kull.[25] The other initial foreign ministry employees were a janitor, a cleaning lady and a courier.[26]

The author analysed the list of officials employed by the Foreign Ministry and foreign representations from 1918 to 1940, as published in *The Estonian Foreign Service Biographic Lexicon 1918–1991*.[27] Thirty-four people are on its list of staff members whose job description includes the word *tõlk* (interpreter). Of these, twelve people are listed as *tõlk*, while twenty-two have two-word job descriptions that include *tõlk* as well as other words: "correspondent" (12), "official" (6), "typist" (2), "secretary" (1) and "assistant" (1). For six interpreters, their language is included in the job description: three were English interpreters and two French, and in 1919 one person was employed as an interpreter of two languages—Finnish and Swedish. For the remaining interpreters, their working language could hypothetically be derived from the host country of the representation or embassy they worked for. Not a single job description includes the word *tõlkija* (translator).

Regardless of their job description, it is not possible to definitively establish whether those thirty-four foreign ministry employees worked as interpreters or translators. It can only be presumed that they were translators since memoirs and diaries confirm that just a couple of them occasionally acted as interpreters in addition to their translation job.

2.2.2 Estonian Diplomats Acting as Interpreters

Out of the forty-one analysed memoirs and diaries, eighteen referred to foreign languages in one way or another, sixteen to interpretation (see table 1.1.). There were nine references in the memoirs to acting as an ad hoc interpreter (see table 2.3.). For several diplomats, interpreting was a rare experience.[28] Even an embassy driver had a chance to interpret.[29] Three memoirists—Kirotar, Pusta

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[25] Eero Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus: Välisministeerium ja saatkonnad 1918–1940* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1997), 33.

[26] Triin Mulla et al., eds., *Eesti välisteenistus: bibliograafiline leksikon 1918–1991* (Tallinn: Välisministeerium, 2006), 8.

[27] Ibid., 176–185.

[28] Oskar Mamers, *Kahe sõja vahel* (Kirjastus EMP Stockholm, 1957), 39; Ants Piip, *Tormine aasta: ülevaade Eesti välispoliitika esiajast 1917–1918. aastal dokumentides ja mälestusis* (Stockholm: Kirjastus Vaba Eesti, 1966; first published 1934 by Akadeemiline Kooperatiiv, Tartu), 143.

[29] Lembit Lauri, "*Saatkonna* autojuhi saladus", in *Kirjutamata memuaare* 6 (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1991), 35.

and Tomingas—mention interpreting or acting as an interpreter more frequently, with French, English, Finnish and Estonian as their target languages.[30] References to interpreting are brief and fragmented.

Table 2.3 Estonian diplomats and diplomatic staff acting as interpreters

1. Jaakson, Ernst (1905–1998)
2. Kirotar, Elmar (1899–1985)
3. Malvet, Herman (1912–1993)
4. Markus, Hans Johannes (1884–1969)
5. Öpik, Oskar Eugen (1895–1974)
6. Piip, Ants (1884–1942)
7. Pusta, Kaarel Robert (1883–1964)
8. Tomingas, William (1895–1978)
9. Torma, August (1895–1971)
Embassy staff
10. Kask-Skolimowska, Tamara (embassy staff)
11. Porosaar, Voldemar (embassy driver)
Heads of state
12. Päts, Konstantin (1874–1956)
13. Tõnisson, Jaan (1868–1941?)

According to the memoirs, **William Tomingas** seems to have the most diversified experience as an interpreter. When English naval vessels arrived in Tallinn to support Estonian troops in late 1918, the Estonian government needed an interpreter and only three people were known to be fluent in English, one of them Tomingas.[31] Tomingas, who had helped to organise Estonia's defence forces and later was the secretary of the Tartu Peace delegation, recalls:

> Foreign Minister Strandmann caught up with me and said: "The situation is difficult both at the frontline and at the rear. There is hope that the British navy could come to help us. The government needs an interpreter to meet and greet the navy. I am aware of merely three men who master English—missionary Pöhl,[32] Pitka's son John and you. Be prepared to be on duty at the government office if necessary. It could be in the daytime, it could be at night".[33]

Tomingas admits in his memoirs that he had taken private lessons in English at a school where Russian was the language of instruction and German and French

[30] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi I"; Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi V"; Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII"; Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma*; Tomingas, *Mälestused*.
[31] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 70–71.
[32] Hans Pöhl (1876–1930). See section 2.2.3. entitled "Foreign Language Speakers Acting as Interpreters".
[33] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 70.

were the foreign languages taught in the curriculum.[34] When Foreign Minister Tõnisson hired Tomingas as his private secretary, both oral and written fluency in Russian, German and French were required.[35] English was not even mentioned, although quite soon Tomingas began to interpret the minister's speeches into English.[36] Furthermore, Tõnisson's successor, Jaan Poska, also needed interpretation between English and Estonian.[37]

Elmar Kirotar, who held several leading posts in the Foreign Ministry (inter alia that of the chief of protocol) and diplomatic service and who was appointed the first head of the Office of the President in 1936, also acted as an interpreter for General Laidoner (1884–1953). In 1936 Laidoner represented the president of Estonia at the coronation of King George VI.[38] When talking about Laidoner and interpreting, another diplomat—**Hans Johannes Markus**—should also be mentioned.[39] As for Markus, since he became Laidoner's secretary in the League of Nations' mission to Iraq[40] due to his knowledge of Turkish,[41] he may have also interpreted if necessary. Markus is believed to be the only person in Estonia who spoke Turkish well.[42]

That being said, diplomats did not always enjoy interpreting. In 1930, Foreign Minister Jaan Lattik attended the League of Nations General Assembly in Geneva. Kirotar, fluent in several languages, recalls that Lattik

> did not understand anything because he did not know the language and kept disturbing me in order to follow the work of the committees, victimising the unfortunate secretary who had to help the honourable minister.[43]

Kirotar, Pusta and Tomingas mention interpreting quite frequently but as the above example demonstrates, mostly from a critical viewpoint: inadequate linguistic skills,[44] old-fashioned language[45] and the lack of any knowledge of foreign languages are all criticised,[46] while their own linguistic fluency is

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34 Ibid., 253.
35 Ibid., 114–115.
36 Ibid., 122, 165.
37 Ibid., 129, 143, 155.
38 Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi V", 1:215; Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII" 8:1840–1841.
39 Tanno Tilgar, "J. Laidoneri komisjoni raportite kriitikast ja retseptsioonist seoses kindrali tegevusega Iraagis I", *Tuna* 3 (2011), 59.
40 "Kindral Laidoner teel Mosuli", *Postimees*, 15 October 1925; "Kindral J. Laidoner Tallinnas tagasi", *Postimees*, 23 December 1925.
41 Vahur Made, *Külalisena maailmapoliitikas: Eesti ja Rahvasteliit 1919–1946* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 1999), 234.
42 Martti Turtola, *Kindral Johan Laidoner ja Eesti Vabariigi hukk 1939–1940*, trans. Maimu Berg (Tänapäev, 2008), 81.
43 Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi I", 9:2056.
44 Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 14, 82, 107, 123, 222, 244; Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 207.
45 Kaarel Robert Pusta, *Kontrastide aastasada* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2000), 102.
46 Ibid., 129.

frequently stressed.[47] That being said, while diplomat **Kaarel Robert Pusta** draws attention to Tõnisson's fluency in German,[48] he is slightly critical of his own poor English[49] and early in his career also of his French.[50] He does, however, underline his perfect knowledge of Russian with hints to the language of Lermontov and Pushkin,[51] as well as his reasonably good Polish[52] and his learning to speak Swedish in three months;[53] he also passingly mentions Spanish, which he studies.[54] Tomingas, however, does have something positive to say about others' linguistic fluency, mostly in Russian[55] but also in English[56] and Estonian.[57]

Apart from Kirotar and Tomingas, **Ernst Jaakson**, **Oskar Eugen Öpik** (a.k.a. Oskar Mamers), **Herman Malvet**, **Tamara Kask-Skolimowska**, and **Voldemar Porosaar** also mention acting as an interpreter in their memoirs. Kask-Skolimowska and Porosaar were strictly speaking not diplomats but rather embassy staff. Ernst Jaakson, an Estonian diplomat to the United States for seventy-nine years, started his diplomatic career as early as fourteen due to his knowledge of Latvian, translating and interpreting if necessary at the Estonian embassy in Latvia.[58] Diplomat Oskar Eugen Öpik was asked to interpret between Estonian and French at a senior military officer's meeting at the French Embassy in Germany.[59] Herman Malvet was briefly employed by the Foreign Ministry as the Soviet Union occupied Estonia; being fluent in several languages, he was also employed as an interpreter by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established by the United States, in 1945.[60] Voldemar Porosaar, an embassy driver in Moscow, interpreted in the embassy kitchen for the Russian doctor whose task was to taste food before it was served to the Soviet top officials attending a gala dinner at the Estonian embassy.[61] Tamara Kask-Skolimowska recalls a discussion that occurred while she was imprisoned by the Soviets in 1941. Having answered her fellow prisoner's question about her profession—that of interpreter—the response she got was

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47 Ibid., 71, 114–115, 150, 153.
48 Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma*, 115.
49 Ibid., 140, 393.
50 Ibid., 112.
51 Ibid., 205, 270; Russian poets Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841) and Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837).
52 Ibid., 272.
53 Ibid., 282.
54 Ibid., 247.
55 Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 206, 212, 222.
56 Ibid., 153.
57 Ibid., 133.
58 Jaakson, *Eestile*, 13–16.
59 Mamers, *Kahe sõja vahel*, 39.
60 Herman Malvet, "Lisandusi Eesti diplomaatialukku", *Akadeemia,* 6 (1994): 1151–1162.
61 Lauri, "Saatkonna autojuhi saladus", 35.

pitying: "Don't you have another job? Can you really not do anything else?",[62] thus implying that the profession of interpretation was completely useless in a Siberian labour camp. A more practical profession might have helped them survive under harsh conditions.

There are also indirect references to Estonia's long-term ambassador to the United Kingdom **August Torma**[63] having acted as an interpreter, as well as prime minister and multiple-time foreign minister **Ants Piip**[64] having done so.

Estonian diplomats acting as interpreters are not unique in history. According to Margaret Bowen it is difficult to draw a line between interpreting and diplomacy.[65] Fluency in foreign languages, interpreting and diplomacy are intertwined. Bowen goes on to provide numerous examples of interpreting being "a stepping stone to a diplomatic career" or of high-ranking officials serving as interpreters, occasionally because "this was the only option".[66] Examples of senior officials working as interpreters can be found in Estonian history, as well;[67] even President Päts once did so, as there was no one else to interpret.[68] Linguistic fluency was the primary, if not the only, requirement when applying for a job at the Foreign Ministry, as the memoirs of the first generation of Estonian diplomats reveal. Bowen provides several examples of diplomats continuing their career as interpreters and of interpreters becoming diplomats.[69] Soviet ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations Oleg Troyanovsky also had a background as an interpreter, having interpreted for Soviet leaders Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev.[70]

In Estonia, a general requirement when entering the diplomatic service was fluency in two foreign languages.[71] Russian and German were more widespread; thus, proficiency in Finnish and English was evidently an asset. Estonia's new Foreign Service Act of 1936 provided that employees of the Foreign Service must be "fluent in at least two foreign languages in addition to

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[62] Lembit Lauri, "EV Välisministeeriumi teenistuses", in *Kirjutamata memuaare* 6 (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1991), 171.

[63] Tamman, *The Last Ambassador,* 44.

[64] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 189.

[65] Bowen, "Interpreters and the Making of History", 269.

[66] Ibid., 271

[67] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi I", 9:2056; Mamers, *Kahe sõja vahel,* 39; Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 189.

[68] "Soome president kõikide sõber", *Postimees,* 3 August 1936.

[69] Bowen, "Interpreters and the Making of History".

[70] Ruth A. Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1999), 146; Mara D. Bellaby, "Oleg Troyanovsky, at 84; Esteemed Soviet Ambassador", *Boston Globe*, 23 December 2003. http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2003/12/23/oleg_troyanovsky_at_84_esteemed_soviet_ambassador/, accessed 15 November 2015.

[71] "Esimesi Eesti diplomaate", *Päewaleht*, 14 December 1933; Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 33; Eldor Raidna-Frisch, "Mälestuskilde teenistusest Eesti vabariigi välisministeeriumis", in *Verbum habet sakala*: *Korporatsioon Sakala koguteos* (Toronto: Estoprint, 1989), 248; Turtola, *Kindral Johan Laidoner*, 81.

the state language, one of which is either French or English".[72] Three authors explicitly mention a test they had to take before being hired by the Foreign Ministry: Evald Uustalu,[73] Tamara Kask-Skolimowska[74] and Erik Lipstok.[75] They all belong to the younger generation of the pre-war ministry employees and diplomats and took the test after 1935. Knowledge of foreign languages, however, had always been essential.[76] For example, embassy secretary Kask-Skolimowska was fluent besides Estonian, also in German, Russian, English and studied French.[77]

In addition to the Foreign Ministry, foreign delegations and various state agencies were also in constant need of foreign language speakers.[78] Complaints were made in the late 1920s that the learning of foreign languages was declining.[79] Pusta underlines that when the State Audit Office wanted to employ two officials, none of the fifty university graduate applicants had sufficiently mastered a foreign language for the position.[80]

When working for the Foreign Ministry, in addition to Estonian, Tomingas was fluent in Russian, German and French,[81] while Öpik spoke four languages (Russian, German, French and Danish);[82] Uustalu's unique asset was Finnish,[83] and Raidna-Frisch was fluent in Russian[84] at a time when the younger generation had lost this skill.[85] Among the most linguistically skilled were Rei, Torma and Pusta. Indeed, diplomat August Torma, a long-time ambassador to Great Britain, was an example of excellent linguistic fluency: "in addition to French, Lithuanian and Estonian, he spoke Russian, German, English, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch and Italian",[86] and his French was considered "excellent".[87] Pusta, a representative of the first generation of Estonian diplomats and Estonia's ambassador to France for twelve years, admits reading books in six foreign languages in addition to Estonian: German, Russian,

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72 Mulla et al., *Eesti välisteenistus*, 14.

73 Evald Uustalu, *Tagurpidi sõudes: Mälestusi ajavahemikult 1914–1943* (Stockholm: Teataja, 1982);, 110.

74 Lauri, "EV Välisministeeriumi teenistuses", 146.

75 Lembit Lauri, "Diplomaadi mälestusi", in *Kirjutamata memuaare* 4 (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1990), 57.

76 Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 33, 109; "Esimesi Eesti diplomaate", *Päewaleht*, 14 December 1933; Raidna-Frisch, "Mälestuskilde teenistusest", 248; Turtola, *Kindral Johan Laidoner,* 81.

77 Tamara Kask-Skolimowska, manuscript (1989), Estonian Literary Museum, EKLA, f 342, m 64:210.

78 Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 109.

79 Uustalu, *Tagurpidi sõudes*, 110.

80 Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 252.

81 Tomingas, *Mälestused*.

82 Mamers, *Kahe sõja vahel.*

83 Uustalu, *Tagurpidi sõudes*, 110.

84 Raidna-Frisch, "Mälestuskilde teenistusest", 247.

85 Uustalu, *Tagurpidi sõudes*, 110.

86 Tamman, *The Last Ambassador,* 30.

87 Ibid., 52.

French, Polish, Swedish and English.[88] He was also able to communicate in all of those languages. Pusta's colleague Heinrich Laretei acknowledges Pusta's "outstanding linguistic skills and ability to express himself elegantly both orally and in writing".[89] Rei never actually mentions the exact number of languages he spoke but reportedly mastered twelve and was called "a linguistic genius".[90] An Estonian working in the Financial Section of the League of Nations, Ragnar Nurkse,[91] was proficient in five languages apart from his mother tongue, Estonian: English, French, German, Russian, and Swedish.[92] Johan Leppik, ambassador to Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Italy, Hungary and Austria, was willing to learn a ninth foreign language.[93] Colonel Herbert Grabbi, senior adjutant to President Päts, spoke Russian, German and French.[94]

Diplomats-interpreters in Estonia, just like the other interpreters in the period under review, started interpreting by happenstance. In the history of international diplomacy there are many interpreters who had no special preparation or qualification to be an interpreter but worked as such nevertheless,[95] having "excellent linguistic and cultural training".[96]

2.2.3 Foreign Language Speakers Acting as Interpreters

The author identified thirty-eight non-diplomats who acted as interpreters: twenty-nine names were mentioned in articles and nine in other sources (see table 2.4.).

These interpreters were mostly linguists, authors, university lecturers, and theologians, just five of them women. The author discovered 364 newspaper articles in twelve newspapers mentioning interpreting; only six Estonian newspapers printed the name of the interpreter in their articles: *Postimees* thirty times, *Päewaleht* five and *Sakala* two, as well as *Uus Eesti, Uus Eesti Narva Uuudised* and *Edasi* once each. The names most frequently mentioned in this capacity were university lecturer Villem Ernits, in nine articles, followed by Leeni Ploompuu-Westerinen in six, professor Jaan Bergmann and Kalju Otu in three each and Hilja Armida Kettunen and Eduard Tennmann in two each.

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88 Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 290, 292–293, 358, 371–372, 381.

89 Heinrich Laretei, *Saatuse mängukanniks: Mällu jäänud märkmeid* (Tallinn: A/S "Abe", 1992), 175.

90 Jüri Ant, *August Rei – Eesti riigimees, poliitik, diplomat* (Tartu: Rahvusarhiiv, 2012), 165.

91 Rainer Kattel, Jan A. Kregel, and Erik S. Reinert, "The Life and Work of Ragnar Nurkse", in Ragnar Nurkse, *Trade and Development,* ed. Rainer Kattel, Jan A. Kregel and Erik S. Reinert (London: Anthem, 2009).

92 "Eestlane rahvasteliidu teenistuses", *Järva Teataja,* 7 August 1935.

93 ERA. 957-6-973.l.61.

94 Elmar Tambek, *Tõus ja mõõn, 1: Mälestusi kodumaalt* (Tallinn: Olion, 1992), 140.

95 Bowen, "Interpreters and the Making of History"; Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats*.

96 Baigorri-Jalón and Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting in the Cold War: Preliminary notes", 2.

Table 2.4. Foreign language speakers acting as interpreters (no. 1–29 from newspapers, no. 30–38 from other sources)

1.	Arumaa, Peeter (1900–1982)
2.	Bergmann, Johan(nes) (1864–1951)
3.	Dahl, C. F. (1896–1940)
4.	Ernits, Villem (1891–1982)
5.	Erviö, Helle Kalervo (1906–1951)
6.	Jakó, Geza (1886–1943)
7.	Kaplinski, Jerzy (1901–1943?)
8.	Kettunen, Hilja Armida (1888–1981)
9.	Kleitsman, Maria (1900–1984)
10.	Kõpp, Juhan (1874–1970)
11.	Leepin, August-Eduard (1905–1993)
12.	Lepp, Elmar (1896–1943)
13.	Loorits, Oskar (1900–1961)
14.	Muul, Jüri (1899–1976)
15.	Ollik, Gustav (1869– 1965)
16.	Otu, Kalju (1904–?)
17.	Ploompuu-Westerinen, Leeni (1886–1972)
18.	Pöhl, Hans (1876–1930)
19.	Põld, Harald (1874–1939)
20.	Põld, Helmi Johanna (1882–1969)
21.	Pukits, Mart (1874–1961)
22.	Rätsep, W (Rätsepp, V.) (?–1937)
23.	Ruus, Neeme (1911–1942)
24.	Sink, Peeter–Adolf (1902–1957)
25.	Talvik, Heiti (1904–1947)
26.	Taul, Jaak (1905–2007)
27.	Tennmann, Eduard (1878–1936)
28.	Waher, Willem (1873–1944)
29.	Thörle, J., PhD
30.	Knaps Valdik (1902–1942)
31.	Knaps-Brakman-Kolk, Margarethe (1896–1978)
32.	Laul, Jakob (1899–1942)
33.	Liin, M., Dr
34.	Mänd
35.	Nukka, Amanda Sophie (1904 –2004)
36.	Rannit, Aleksis (1914–1985)
37.	Tuganov, Elbert (1920–2007)
38.	Villmann, Eduard-Richard (1882–1942)

These thirty-eight people who acted as interpreters due to their linguistic skills came from different fields. Most of them are in the history books and are still known today. A few interpreters whose names were mentioned in newspaper articles, for example, Engineer Waher and Latvian student Leepin, were more difficult to identify, were lost for Estonian cultural heritage, therefore they are covered in the dissertation in more biographic detail. Engineer Waher was one of the most diversified personalities among the thirty-eight and successful in a range of very different fields from humanitarian to engineering. Rewording Pym, occasionally people who are already involved in multiple activities get also interested in interpreting [97]. The thirty-eight interpreters can be arbitrarily divided into five categories by profession, with several of them falling into several categories: university staff (7), theologians-clergymen (8), educationalists (5), creative workers (4) and others (14).

The University staff

The category of university staff includes four professors (Arumaa, Bergmann, Jakó, Loorits) and three lecturers (Ernits, Kaplinski, Kettunen). Linguist and professor of Slavonic and Indo-European languages **Peeter Arumaa** (1900–1982) had a deep interest in the Lithuanian language and, with **Villem Ernits** (1891–1982),[98] hosted a delegation of Lithuanian scouts led by Scoutmaster Bulota Juozas.[99] Former professor of history at The University of Tartu **Johan(nes) Bergmann** (1864–1951), from Sweden, attended the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries and interpreted speeches from Estonian into Swedish, the official language of the congress.[100] Bergmann represented the Scandinavian lecturers who were recruited when The University of Tartu began operating in Estonian in 1919. He lectured in German[101] but learned Estonian by taking language courses organised for the foreign university lecturers in 1922.[102] Later the same year he returned to Sweden to resume his seat in the Swedish parliament.[103] Hungarian professor of ceramics **Geza Jakó** (1886–1943) provides another example: having lived in Estonia for several years (1923–1934) and speaking fluent Estonian,[104] he interpreted at a meeting dedicated to the Hungarian National Day.[105] The Municipal Government of Budapest had seconded Jakó to Tallinn[106] to become the first head of

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97 Pym, *Method in Translation History*, 163–164.

98 See section 2.2.4 entitled "Prominent Interpreters".

99 "Leedu skaudijuht oli Tartus", *Postimees,* 2 August 1934.

100 "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus", *Sakala,* 20 July 1926; "Südame keel kõnelemas", *Postimees,* 22 July 1926.

101 "Tartu ülikooli õpejõud [sic]", *Tallinna Teataja,* 20 February 1920.

102 Terje Lõbu, "Eesti ülikooliks võõrkeelte abil", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi* 42 (2014): 52–77.

103 "Tartu teated", *Postimees,* 10 December 1922.

104 "Tasuta nõuanne savitöösturitele", *Postimees,* 29 August 1930.

105 "Ungari-õhtu", *Postimees,* 15 March 1933.

106 "Prof. Geza Jako jääb Eestisse edasi", *Kaja,* 7 August 1925.

the ceramics department at the Tallinn School of Arts and Crafts in 1923;[107] he thus played an important role in establishing the ceramics as a profession in Estonia, and introduced the idea of fired clay.[108] In 1933 he published a manual for students of ceramics.[109] When a high-level Polish delegation, led by two-time prime minister and Sejm Marshal Walery Jan Sławek, visited Tartu in 1934, **Dr Jerzy Kaplinski** (1901–1943?)[110] interpreted Mayor Tõnisson's welcoming address into Polish.[111] In 1933, the Polish government had appointed Kaplinski a lecturer of the Polish language and literature at The University of Tartu;[112] a year later he was able to interpret from Estonian into Polish. Finnish poet **Hilja Armida Kettunen** (1888–1981) was the first lecturer of Finnish at The University of Tartu, working there from 1921 to 1924. She interpreted two popular lectures on "Spitsbergen, the land of coal and icebergs" from Swedish into Estonian.[113] The concert-lectures held at the Vanemuine Theatre were fundraising events to benefit 460 victims of the great fire on the island of Piirissaare, Estonia, on 4 October 1921.[114] Finally, the leading scholar in the field of Livonian and Estonian folk beliefs and mythology and the founder and first director of the Estonian Folklore Archives, Associate Professor **Oskar Loorits** (1900–1961), interpreted a guest speaker, Livonian author Karl Stalte, at an academic meeting dedicated to the Livonians.[115]

Theologians-clergymen

Another eight people who acted as interpreters fell into the category of theologians-clergymen, most of them Lutheran ministers. Professor and doctor of theology **Eduard Tennmann** (1878–1936), the first Estonian professor of comparative study of religions, was fluent in several languages and as a young minister had taught German, English, French, Latin and Estonian in several schools.[116] He also wrote about the role of religion as an organiser of culture. On 1 July 1919, Jaan Tõnisson wrote to his wife that there has been talk about sending a representation to the United States with Tennmann acting as a secretary and interpreter.[117] His fluency in French led him to interpret the

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[107] In 2002, a memorial plaque (created by Mare Mikhof) was hung in his honour in the Estonian Academy of Art.

[108] Kai Vaarandi, "75 Years of Estonian Ceramics and Teaching of Ceramics", *Estonian Art* 1 (1999), http://www.estinst.ee/Ea/1_99/vaarandi.html; "Prof. Geza Jako jääb Eestisse edasi", *Kaja,* 7 August 1925.

[109] Jakó Géza, *Eesti savitöösturite käsiraamat praktikuile, õpilasile ja pottseppadele* (Tallinn: Riigi Kunsttööstuskooli Kirjastus, 1933).

[110] Year of death unconfirmed.

[111] "Tartu Poola ja Eesti lippude ehtes", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934.

[112] "Dr. J. Kaplinski, poolakeele [sic] lektor Tartu ülikoolis", *Päewaleht,* 10 August 1933; "Dr. Kaplinski", *Postimees,* 11 August 1933.

[113] Advertisements, *Postimees,* 17 October 1921; 20 October 1921.

[114] ERA.31-3-10079.

[115] "Liivi õhtu liivikeelse kõnega korp. 'Filiae Patriae's'", *Postimees,* 3 March 1936.

[116] "Prof. Eduard Tennmann", *Postimees,* 20 November 1936.

[117] ERA.1627-1-21.

speech by Secretary General of the International Alliance of League of Nations Unions.[118] At the opening service of the Baltic Regional Conference at the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, Tennmann also interpreted from German into Estonian.[119] As for theologian and historian **Juhan Kõpp** (1874–1970), while studying theology in 1905 he acted as an interpreter for a Finnish professor thanks to his knowledge of Latvian and accompanied the professor to Livonia.[120] He was one of the three interpreters known to travel abroad for an interpretation assignment.[121] Later in his career he was head of The University of Tartu and thereafter Archbishop of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Lutheran ministers **Helle Kalervo Erviö** (1905–1951) and **Harald Põld** (1874–1939) represent a rare case, in that their interpretation work was evaluated. According to an article on the 2nd Estonian-Finnish Lutheran Ministers' Conference, "Ministers Erwio and Põld interpreted skilfully".[122] Erviö was a Finnish pastor of the Finnish congregation in Narva and Ingria and also of Livonian congregations in Latvia, as he was fluent in Livonian.[123] He held his first church service in Livonian in 1931. Põld was the head of the Estonian Missionary Society and the author of several grammar books and was also involved in translating the Bible. **Peeter-Adolf Sink** (1902–1957), an Estonian poet, painter and evangelist, interpreted speeches at a concert/service given by a Finnish singer-evangelist.[124] Lutheran minister **Jaan Taul** (1905–2007) was the first Estonian pastor sent to continue his studies at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom, where he wrote his PhD thesis, defending it in 1935. Taul interpreted the service by the Bishop of Derby (United Kingdom) into Estonian in 1938. A longer article on the visit of representatives of the Anglican Church is accompanied by a photo depicting the Bishop of Derby and his interpreter minister Taul in the pulpit.[125] This is one of the two photos of interpreters at work that the author found in the newspapers of the period under review.[126] Taul is also one of the three non-diplomat interpreters who travelled abroad to work as an interpreter. When the Archbishop of Canterbury invited a representative of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church to visit the Lambeth Palace, Bishop Rahamägi took Taul with him as his interpreter.[127] When the Salvation Army first commenced its work in Estonia in

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[118] "Prof. Ruhssen esineb täna õhtul ülikooli aulas", *Postimees,* 17 May 1923.
[119] "Kirik ja maailmarahu", *Päewaleht,* 4 September 1935.
[120] "Viimast liivlast otsimas", *Postimees*, 19 February 1935.
[121] Juhan Kõpp (1874–1970), Jaan Taul (1905–2007), Aleksis Rannit (1914–1985).
[122] "Usuteadlaste konverentsi lõpp", *Postimees,* 25 July 1935.
[123] Jaak Prozes, "Liivi rahvamaja 70", *Sirp,* 28 August 2009.
[124] "Soome laul Immaanueli palvelas", *Postimees,* 16 January 1932.
[125] "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees,* 27 June 1938.
[126] The other photo: "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.
[127] Priit Rohtmets, "Eesti evangeeliumi luteri kiriku välissuhted aastatel 1919–1940" (master's thesis, University of Tartu, 2006), 67, http://dspace.ut.ee/bitstream/handle/10062/874/rohtmetspriit.pdf, accessed 11 May 2015.

1923, **Caspar Ferdinand Dahl** (1896–1940) interpreted an awakening meeting promoting the Salvation Army in Estonia from Swedish into Estonian.[128] He was one of the organisers of the Estonian Salvation Army, later becoming its leader for the Estonian region. *The War Cry*, the Salvation Army's official newspaper, said in his obituary that he "spoke the Finnish, Swedish, Russian, German and English tongues".[129] Finally, **Amanda Sophie Nukka** (1904–2004), the first Estonian Seventh-Day Adventist missionary to Africa (Sierra Leone),[130] temporarily returned to Estonia and interpreted for an African missionary who visited Tallinn and lectured on African indigenous people in 1936.[131]

Educationalists

Of the five educationalist-interpreters, two practiced also diplomatic interpreting, interpreting either presidents themselves or for the presidents. **Gustav Ollik** (1869– 1965) worked for more than forty years in the field of education, not only as a teacher but also as the head of the National School Board and as a school counsellor;[132] he was also an active member of the Finno-Ugrian Society. The first visit by the President of Finland to Estonia took place in 1925, during which President Lauri Kristian Relander met schoolchildren at the Estonia Theatre. Ollik interpreted the Education Minister's welcoming speech into Finnish. Relander's speech was also interpreted, though the interpreter's name is not mentioned.[133] **Leeni Ploompuu-Westerinen** (also known as Ploompuu, Vesterinen and Westerinen; 1886–1972), of Estonian origin, was active in education, child protection, temperance and the Finno-Ugrian movement. In 1931, she launched an Estonian course on Finnish Radio. She accompanied President Relander of Finland during his train trip to Tartu and interpreted from Finnish into Estonian when the president met with locals at the Voldi station.[134] We can indirectly assume that she also interpreted into Estonian at the meeting with schoolchildren in Tallinn when Ollik interpreted into Finnish.[135] This could be treated as international diplomatic practice, with each party bringing its own interpreter. In 1926, at the opening service of the three international Temperance Congresses in Tartu, Ploompuu-Westerinen

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[128] "Kiriklikud teated", *Päewaleht,* 10 February 1923.

[129] "Estonian Leader Promoted to Glory", *The War Cry*, 19 April 1941, https://ia800306.us.archive.org/7/items/war-cry-1941-Apr-19/1941-Apr-19.pdf, accessed 14 June 2014.

[130] "Eesti adventistide misjonitöö Aafrikas 1930–1940*",* http://adventistidaafrikas.weebly.com/amanda-nukka.html, accessed 14 May 2014.

[131] "Must misjonär Tallinnas", *Uus Eesti,* 8 August 1936; "Must misjonär Tallinnas", *Järva Teataja,* 10 August 1936

[132] "40 aastat rahvahariduse tööd", *Kaja,* 13 June 1926; "Gustav Ollik 60-ne aastane", *Postimees,* 24 December 1929.

[133] "Tallinna koolide pidulik aktus", *Postimees,* 23 May 1925.

[134] "Soome president Tartus", *Päewaleht,* 24 May 1925.

[135] "Tallinna koolide pidulik aktus", *Postimees,* 23 May 1925.

interpreted Member of Parliament Jaan Tõnisson's speech into Swedish. The photo accompanying the article shows Tõnisson and his interpreter, Ploompuu-Westerinen, standing side by side, both holding a sheet of paper in their hand.[136] This is the second of the two photos of interpreters at work that the author found in newspapers for the years under review. At the opening of the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress, Ploompuu-Westerinen interpreted greetings from Swedish into Estonian.[137] As a temperance activist and a member of the organising committee she greeted participants at a festive meeting in three languages: Finnish, Swedish and German.[138] At a gala dinner in honour of participants in the 12th Nordic Temperance Congress and the White Ribbon Congress she interpreted from Finnish into Estonian in a voice "which reached every single member of the audience".[139] The official language of the congress was Swedish but presentations were made also in German. Closing the White Ribbon Congress, the Estonian participants acknowledged Ploompuu-Westerinen as the only Estonian woman present who spoke Swedish.[140] Another interesting titbit in the archive was found among the correspondence of the Foreign Ministry, and is a letter dated 19 June 1929, when Estonia was preparing to receive King Gustav V of Sweden (27–29 June 1929). Leeni Ploompuu-Westerinen, a member of the Association of Finnish Culture and Identity, sent a letter from Helsinki to Estonia's Foreign Ministry ten days before the visit, expressing her interest in how Estonians would host the king. In the letter she asks for passes to public events and suggests: "I might even be useful—I could act as a guide or provide information in Swedish to Swedish journalists accompanying the king".[141] She was given three free passes but no job. Ploompuu-Westerinen remained an active promoter of Estonian-Finnish cultural relations after World War II: twenty-seven years later she returned to Estonia as a member of the first official Finnish delegation.[142]

Helmi Johanna Põld (1882–1969), an educationalist, teacher and participant in the women's and temperance movements, interpreted Mrs Alli Trugg-Helenius-Seppälä into Estonian at the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress. Whether she worked from Swedish or Finnish is impossible to establish: the speaker represented Finland and at another meeting had been interpreted from Swedish.[143] Põld's performance was "smooth and fluent".[144] **Neeme Ruus** (1911–1942) also an educationalist, teacher, trade union activist and politician,

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136 "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.
137 "VII Walgelindi kongress", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.
138 "Põhjamaa rahvaste ühine pere", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.
139 "Südame keel kõnelemas", *Postimees,* 22 July 1926.
140 "Walgelindi kongressi lõpupäev", *Päewaleht,* 23 July 1926.
141 ERA.957-7-129. A letter by Leeni Vesterinen.
142 Kulle Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale. Naapuriksi vapaa Viro* (Tallinn: K&K Kirjastus, 2012), 14; Helena Sepp, "Ülikoolilinn, kus ei tohi ööbida", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi* 30 (1998): 145–153.
143 "VII Walgelindi kongress", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.
144 "Miiting", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.

had spent years teaching Esperanto in Sweden and travelled around Europe thereafter. When the Baltic Sea Institute organised a joint summer seminar for Swedes and Estonians with lectures in both language, Ruus provided interpretation in both directions.[145] He is thought to have spoken eight languages.[146] The fifth and final interpreter to belong to the category of educationalists was not mentioned in any of the newspaper articles analysed by the author but is worth mentioning nonetheless. **Jakob Laul** (1899–1942) was a teacher and school principal in Pidula, on the island of Saaremaa.[147] He started his teaching career at the age of 16, later acquiring a teacher's qualification in 1921. To improve his German, he had attended German language courses in 1918. Laul acted as an interpreter when foreign ships visited the Port of Pidula in Saaremaa, interpreting from and into German, Russian and Estonian.[148]

Creative workers

The group of creative workers includes two poets, an artist and a film director. The film director **Elbert Tuganov** (1920–2007) lived in Germany as a child. Fluent in Estonian, Russian, English and German, at the age of sixteen he worked as a guide and interpreter for foreign sportsmen at the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936.[149] Tuganov went on to direct the first animated Estonian film (1957), leaving a lasting imprint in Estonian film history. **Mart Pukits** (1874–1961), an artist, translator and librarian, translated texts from Latvian and Lithuanian into Estonian. In 1926, a visiting Lithuanian artist and politician introduced Lithuanian art at the Tartu Pallas Art School, delivering speeches in Lithuanian and presentations in Russian. Pukits interpreted him from Lithuanian into Estonian.[150] Poet **Heiti Talvik** (1904–1947) accompanied two Hungarian students as an interpreter-guide to Western Estonia and the Estonian islands; while there, the students made a hundred and twelve drawings of historic farm architecture.[151] **Aleksis Rannit** (1914–1985), an author and art historian, is one of the three interpreters known to have travelled abroad to interpret.[152] Rannit accompanied a famous Estonian poetess, Betty Alver, to Lithuania as her interpreter. He also translated Lithuanian poetry into Estonian.

Others

Fourteen interpreters are in the "others" group. Dr **Maria Kleitsman** (1900–1984), a socially active doctor and educator and a well-known gynaecologist and paediatrician, interpreted Senator Hubicka's lecture on Polish women's

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145 "Eestlased ja rootslased kõrvuti õppimas", *Uus Eesti Narva uudised,* 28 July 1937.

146 Pekka Erelt, "Neeme Ruus – reetur ja reedetu", *Eesti Ekspress,* 5 February 2002.

147 Tiina Vähi, "Muhu Madli müüdi saamislugu. Pidula koolmeistri Jakob Laulu rahvavalgustuslikust tegevusest", *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 2 (2014): 112–124.

148 Velda Sibul, "Minu elu", family chronicle (unpublished manuscript by his daughter Velda Sibul 1929–2007).

149 "Elbert Tuganov 22.02.1920–22.03.2007", *Sirp,* 30 March 2007.

150 "Pilk Leedu kunstiilma", *Postimees,* 18 November 1926.

151 "Ungarlased tegid 112 joonistust Eestist", *Postimees,* 3 September 1935.

152 Vallo Kepp, "Betti Alveri ja Mart Lepiku laugjad read", *Sirp,* 27 November 2015.

fight for national independence held in the Female Students' Society from French.[153] Lieutenant **Elmar Lepp** (1896–1943) from the Defence League, a skiing enthusiast and promoter of the sport, is in fact considered the father of Estonian skiing. He organised the first Estonian cross-country skiing championship in 1921 and authored two manuals on how to preserve, wax and treat skis with tar[154] and how to make skis.[155] In 1937, he organised a promotional event, interpreting a Finnish skiing instructor's lecture to an audience of two hundred.[156] The university-educated municipal elder for Voka **Kalju Otu** (born 1904, year of death in Siberia unknown) is one of the three non-diplomats mentioned in connection with diplomatic interpreting. Two articles state that he greeted President Sinhufvud of Finland in Estonian and interpreted his own speech into Finnish thereafter; the third article says simply that Otu repeated his speech in Finnish.[157] The reception at the Voka station is also covered in a documentary that, although it does not have a soundtrack, shows a title card reading "People from Voka municipality greeting the president of Finland".[158] Finally, YMCA Secretary General **Jüri Muul** (1899–1976) accompanied the vice president of the Estonian-American Chamber of Commerce and interpreted between English and Estonian.[159] Muul was a YMCA activist who established the first boys' club in Estonia at a YMCA in 1922.[160] He had spent ten years abroad, working in Riga, Latvia and in Geneva, Switzerland.[161] Having completed his studies at the YMCA University in Geneva he returned to Estonia. In addition to being the Secretary General of the YMCA, he was also the head of the Tartu Tourism Office, having worked in the field of tourism promotion abroad.[162] At the YMCA he organised the first study course for would-be guides. The first thirty-five participants had to be fluent in at least one foreign language and pass a test to become guides. Muul also initiated the construction of the first tourist information centre, which was to sell local Estonian handicrafts.[163]

Hans Pöhl (1876–1930) is mentioned as once having interpreted several Scandinavians' speeches into Estonian,[164] and Tomingas singles him out in his

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153 "Tartu teated. Senaator Hubicka ettekanne", *Postimees,* 5 May 1934.

154 Elmar Lepp, *Suuskade korrashoiu, tõrvamise ja määrimise õpetus* (Tallinn: O. Kangro, 1932).

155 Elmar Lepp, *Suuskade valmistamise õpetus* (Tallinn: O. Kangro, 1933).

156 "Ligi 200 kuulajat Soome suusainstruktori loengul", *Postimees,* 1 February 1937.

157 "Südamlikud tervitused Soome presidendile", *Postimees,* 2 August 1936; "Soome president jõudis Orule", *Uus Eesti,* 2 August 1936; "Soome president Eestis", *Sakala,* 3 August 1936.

158 RFA.4.124. *Soome presidendi P. E. Svinhufvudi Eesti-visiit 1.–4. augustil 1936. aastal.* Eesti Kultuurfilm, 1936.

159 "Eesti – Ameerika kaubanduskoja asepres. A. Abrams Tartus", *Postimees,* 30 October 1936

160 *Poisteleht* (November 1932).

161 "NMKÜ-l uus peasekretär", *Postimees,* 7 January 1935.

162 "Tartu – välisturistide linnaks", *Postimees,* 14 June 1935.

163 "Algas turismikioski ehutamine", *Postimees,* 20 November 1935.

164 "Põhjamaade noorsoo koosolekud Tallinnas ja Tartus 15.–17. nov. s. a", *Postimees,* 3 December 1919.

memoirs as fluent in English.[165] Pöhl was a Coastal Swede, representing a Swedish minority who had lived on the north-western coast of Estonia for centuries. He became one of their leaders and great intellectuals, representing their views both in the Constituent Assembly and the *Riigikogu*, and was a minister of Swedish Affairs. As the representative of the Coastal Swedes, he is reported to have always spoken Estonian at Constituent Assembly sessions (e.g., Germans preferred speaking in German).[166] Pöhl is also said to have acted as an interpreter for other ethnic minorities in the *Riigikogu*.[167] He both spoke and wrote fluently in five languages (Swedish, Estonian, German, Russian and English), and had learned English at courses organised by Oxford and Cambridge Universities.[168] In addition to promoting the cause of the Coastal Swedes in Estonia and Sweden, he also acted as a temperance movement leader and minister and missionary in the church. His primary cause and occupation throughout his professional career, however, was teaching and the development of English language curricula. He authored several textbooks and dictionaries.[169] In 2015 the Association of Coastal Swedes in Estonia established a Hans Pöhl Medal to recognise those who work to promote the Coastal Swedes' cultural identity in Estonia. King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden was awarded the medal in 2016.[170]

Engineer **Willem Waher** (1873–1944) is also mentioned just once as an interpreter.[171] Finding any information about him seemed to be a lost cause as the article referred to engineer Waher without mentioning his first name. Meticulous research led to a wide range of articles and other sources about an engineer named Waher who was known as an inventor, teacher, school principal, promoter of Esperanto, electrical engineer, builder, designer of monuments, translator and poet. This led the author to assume that there must have been several engineers named Waher. Two articles dedicated to his 60th and 65th birthdays, however, confirmed that there was in fact only one, who was an

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[165] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 70.

[166] Mart Kuldkepp, "Poliitiline tegevus", in *Hans Pöhl - Estlandssvenskarnas hövding: en biografi över Hans Pöhl (1876–1930), estlandssvenskarnas främste företrädare och ledare = Hans Pöhl – rannarootslaste eestvõitleja: Hans Pöhli (1876–1930), Eesti rootslaste vaimse liidri ja valgustaja elulugu*, ed. Salin Sven (Stockholm: Svenska Odlingens Vänner; Tallinn: Rootsi Vähemusrahvuse Kultuurinõukogu Eestis, 2010), 241.

[167] Sven Salin, "Kokkuvõtteks", in *Hans Pöhl – Estlandssvenskarnas hövding: en biografi över Hans Pöhl (1876–1930), estlandssvenskarnas främste företrädare och ledare = Hans Pöhl – rannarootslaste eestvõitleja: Hans Pöhli (1876–1930), Eesti rootslaste vaimse liidri ja valgustaja elulugu*, ed. Sven Salin (Stockholm: Svenska Odlingens Vänner; Tallinn: Rootsi Vähemusrahvuse Kultuurinõukogu Eestis, 2010), 315.

[168] Margareta Hammerman, "Õpingud Rootsis, Inglismaal ja Peterburis", in *Hans Pöhl – Estlandssvenskarnas hövding: en biografi över Hans Pöhl,* 41–64.

[169] *Inglise keele õpperaamat. Algkursus* (1920); *Inglise-eesti sõnastik: hääldamise juhatusega inglise keele õpperaamatu algkursuse juurde* (1920); *Inglise nooruskirjandus eesti koolidele* I (1921); *Inglise keele õpperaamat II* (1921); *Inglise-eesti sõnaraamat* (1927).

[170] "Eestirootslased andsid Rootsi kuningale aumedali", *Postimees*, 18 January 2017; Sirli Tooming "Ruhnu aukodanik käis kuninga vastuvõtul", *Meie Maa*, 21 January 2017.

[171] "Inglise laevastiku külaskäik Tallinnas", *Postimees,* 19 September 1921.

extremely versatile and multiskilled person.[172] Waher invented a cypher device for the Foreign Ministry to encode messages (1919),[173] spoke as a representative of Estonian vocational education in Helsinki,[174] and came up with a practical solution for stenographers in the first *Riigikogu*;[175] as a chair of the Estonian Esperanto Society he also provided overviews of domestic affairs in Esperanto for Estonian Broadcasting.[176] He completed his electrical engineer education in France and Germany, later working in Germany, Russia and Finland; was a chief technician for the Estonian Post, Telephone and Telegraph Office and also translated books[177] and authored a newspaper article on electricity.[178] In addition he added an Estonian-German-Russian glossary to his translation of a book on electricity[179] and in his early twenties, translated poems from Russian[180] and Esperanto.[181] Aiming to improve the living conditions of teachers, he designed concrete building stones, known as Waher's stones.[182] Engineer Waher's knowledge of engineering was also put to use in the construction of monuments to the War of Independence (Narva-Jõesuu 1926,[183] Viljandi 1926,[184] Valga 1925[185]) and of a monument to Fr. R. Kreutzwald in Võru (1926).[186] In 1921, the year in which he interpreted for British marine officers, he published an English textbook.[187] To top it all off, in 1939 he graduated from

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[172] "Willem Waher 60-aastane", *Postimees,* 21 January 1933; "Willem Waher 65-aastane", *Waba Maa,* 21 January 1938.

[173] Pekka Erelt, "Koodid, šifrid ja raadioluure", *Eesti Ekspress,* 13 February 2014.

[174] "Naaberriigid. Soomemaa", *Postimees,* 18 May 1920.

[175] "Rahvaesinduse kõned must-valgele", *Uus Eesti,* 15 May 1938.

[176] "Tänane radio", *Waba Maa,* 2 May 1928.

[177] *Peergudest elektrini: E. J. Tschishov'i järele Willem Waher* (Tallinn: Mõte, 1910). Translated from Russian; Leo Graetz, *Elekter ja elektri tarwitamine / Dr. L. Graetz; autori lubal eesti keelde toimetanud elektri-insener Willem Waher* (Tallinn: Mõte, 1912). Translated from German; advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 22 March 1913.

[178] Insh. Willem Waher, "Kas elektri-õhujuhid või uulitsa-alused kaablid", *Tallinna Teataja*, 28 October 1913.

[179] Graetz, *Elekter ja elektri tarwitamine;* Vahur Mägi, "Ka töömees vajas avaramat tehnilist silmaringi", *Inseneeria* 2 (2011): 50–51.

[180] Wilhelm Waher, *Udu-laew (Lermontovi tõlke järele)*, *Eesti Postimehe Lisa* 39, 29 September 1895.

[181] *Torm*. Esperanto keelest Wilhelm Waher. *Eesti Postimehe* Lisa 22, 2 June 1895.

[182] RA.916.1.1469. Villem Vaher Tallinnas. Horisontaalsete õhuruumidega betoonseina ehitusviisid ja selle juures tarvitatavad betoonseinad.

[183] http://wikimapia.org/23394498/et/Vabadussõja-mälestussammas, accessed 15 August 2013.

[184] Heiki Raudla, "Kuidas Viljandi oleks peaaegu saanud stalini ausamba", *Sakala,* 21 November 2015.

[185] http://register.muinas.ee/public.php?menuID=monument&action=view&id=27106, accessed 15 August 2013; "Taasiseseisvumispäeva eel avatakse Vabadussõja Valga ausammas", 15 August 2013, http://www.valgalv.ee/et/Uudised&nID=3009, accessed 15 August 2013.

[186] "Dr. Fr. R. Kreutzwaldi mälestussamba nurgakivi panemise talitus", *Päewaleht*, 29 June 1926.

[187] William Waher, *Inglise keele lugemise palad: algaste koolidele ja iseõppimiseks. Kokku korjanud Willem Waher* (Viljandi: J. Nurmberg, 1921).

the Law Faculty of The University of Tartu.[188] Waher was fluent in four foreign languages.[189]

A Communist Party newspaper published in Estonian in St. Petersburg (a.k.a. Petrograd and Leningrad), Russia, ran an article on Estonians living in the Soviet Union. At a meeting of correspondent-workers and correspondent-farmers, a representative of Swedish sailors took the floor. His speech was interpreted into German, and then, according to the article, "comrade W. Rätsep interpret[ed] it into Estonian".[190] This is the only case of consecutive relay interpreting—that is, indirect interpretation into a lesser-used language—that the author found for the years under review. **Walter Rätsepp** (a.k.a. V. Rätsepp or W. Rätsep), who died in 1937, translated fiction from German, Russian and French into Estonian, most of which consisted in plays and Soviet propagandist literature. From 1917 on he lived in the Soviet Union.[191]

A search of the Digitised Photo Database yielded five photos of two interpreters. Captain **Eduard-Richard Villmann** (1882–1942) was an interpreter when British Professor of Journalism Good visited an infantry unit during the War of Independence in May 1919. The rank of captain was equivalent to that of major during the war. The three photos in which he is portrayed[192] all have the caption "interpreter". He interpreted French and English for the General Staff of Estonian Defence Forces from 1919 to 1921. Another photo of Villmann was found on the Estonian Museums Public Portal: a photo from March 1919 bears the caption "Captain Eduard Villmann, adjutant, staff of the Commander-in-chief of the Estonian Defence Force".[193] In 1904, *Postimees* had informed its readers that lieutenant Villmann, serving in Port Arthur, was going to be the paper's military correspondent. Villmann also established a grant for the young people of his home community to encourage them to continue their studies.[194] The other interpreter photographed was named **Mänd**. The photo caption reads "Member of the Soviet Russian delegation at the Tartu peace negotiations, interpreter".[195] The caption allows a conclusion that at the peace negotiations each party had its own interpreter, as is the international diplomatic practice.

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[188] "Õigusteaduskonna lõpetajad", *Postimees*, 9 June 1939; *Album Academicum Universitatis Tartuensis 1918–1944*, 2 (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, Eesti Teadusfond, 1994).

[189] Karin Sibul, "Ajakirjandus suulise tõlke uurimise asendamatu allikana (1918–1940)", in *250 aastat eestikeelset ajakirjandust: Milleks on ajakirjandust vaja* (Põltsamaa, 2016), 26–29.

[190] "Eestlased S. N. W. Liidus", *Edasi*, 5 May 1925.

[191] Anne Tamberg, "Ülevaade hollandikeelse kirjanduse eestindamisest" (master's thesis, Tartu Ülikool, 2009), http://tolkelugu.wikispaces.com/file/view/Hollandikeelse+kirjanduse+eestindamine.pdf, accessed 27 September 2015.

[192] EFA.51.P.A-265.A-265-165 (1 May 1919); EFA.51.P.A-265.A-265-214 (1 May 1919); EFA.114.P.4-527 (1918–1919).

[193] Estonian War Museum. General Laidoner Museum. KLM ET 1424:7 F 1305:7.

[194] "Kohalikud sõnumid", *Postimees,* 5 March 1904.

[195] EFA.123.A-240-186.

In 1929, when the Latvian students' mixed choir, Dziemuwara, gave a concert in Tartu, Leepin, a Latvian student at The University of Tartu, interpreted the welcoming addresses from Estonian into Latvian.[196] **August-Eduard Leepin** (1905–1993) studied law at the university from 1925 to 1933 and belonged to the Latvian Students' Association, which was later renamed Mētraine.[197] He was a graduate of a Latvian school in Valga, a town on the border of Estonia and Latvia. Leepin was the secretary of the Latvian Lutheran congregation in Tallinn and worked from 1951 until his retirement in 1987 as the secretary general of the Consistory of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELK).[198]

On another occasion, the mayor of Tartu greeted a Hungarian delegation attending the Finno-Ugrian conference, while a Dr **J. Thörle** interpreted the mayor's welcoming speech from Estonian into Hungarian.[199] Two articles cover the visit and add that should the Hungarians speak, their speeches would be interpreted into Estonian. *Postimees* is more specific: "Dr Thörle, PhD, will interpret".[200]

Four articles are vaguer about the identity of the interpreters to which they refer. When Latvian scouts visited Tallinn, interpretation from and into Estonian and Latvian was done by an Estonian scout.[201] Three Estonian students studying in Hungarian universities accompanied Hungarian tourists to Tallinn, and while interpreting is not mentioned, the students' fluency in Hungarian could have been useful if any was necessary.[202] Another event involved the Tallinn Mental Hygiene Society, which hosted a public lecture on mental health with a guest speaker. The article that mentions this states that local doctors would interpret answers to questions asked in Estonian into Estonian.[203] A fourth article provided an early example of interpretation used by local government, talking about a township council having to increase the council secretary's salary to cover his interpreting job. The working language in the council, which bordered Russia, was Russian, but there were Estonian members who did not always understand Russian and needed interpretation.[204] This remains the only discovery of its kind.

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196 "Laul süvendab sõprussidemeid", *Postimees*, 6 March 1929.

197 *Album Academicum Universitatis Tartuensis 1918–1944*.

198 Janis Tobreluts, archivist at the Concistory of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, e-mail message to author, 18 January 2017; August-Eduard Leepin, funeral order of service, EELK Consistory, archive.

199 "Ungarlased-ekskursandid saabuvad 25. juunil", *Postimees,* 20 June 1936; "Suurejooneline ungarlaste vastuvõtu kava Tartus", *Päewaleht,* 20 June 1936.

200 "Ungarlased-ekskursandid saabuvad 25. juunil", *Postimees,* 20 June 1936.

201 "Läti skautide vastuvõtmine Tallinnas", *Päewaleht,* 31 December 1925.

202 "Ungarlased Tallinnas külaskäigul", *Kaja,* 15 July 1926.

203 "On su hing haige või terve", *Kaja,* 25 October 1934.

204 "Ringi ümber kodumaa", *Postimees,* 20 April 1934.

Another person who may have acted as an interpreter in Estonia was a Turkish speaker Dr **M. Liin**.[205] He is included in the author's lists of interpreters despite clear factual proof that he acted as such. Neither of the two articles that mention Liin addressing Turkish sportsmen in Turkish, for example, refers to interpretation, though we can assume it took place.[206]

To conclude, a final two names can be added to the list of people who acted as interpreters when needed, although the author was unable to find any articles that specifically mentioned them. **Valdik Knaps** (1902–1942) was an organist and an assistant to the Lutheran pastor as well as the brass band conductor in Kihelkonna on the island of Saaremaa. He studied organ at the Tallinn Conservatoire but due to financial difficulties returned home to help his family. Two photos from his son's family album show him working as an ad hoc interpreter around 1930. He ended up doing this when two American scientists visited the Pilguse quarry to find fossils, called bugs by the locals. The Americans hired locals to work for them in the quarry and Knaps, fluent in English, acted as their interpreter. The locals still remembered Knaps as the Americans' interpreter in the 1970s.[207]

Valdik Knaps' sister, **Margarethe Knaps-Brakman-Kolk** (1896–1978), was also linguistically gifted. When she married, she moved to the island of Ruhnu, Estonia, which traditionally had been the home of Coastal Swedes; there she learned Swedish. When her brother moved to Finland, she picked up Finnish. She spoke Estonian and German at home and had also learned Russian and some English.[208] At the end of World War II she fled to Sweden to escape the Soviets; there, her interpretation skills were in high demand in order to facilitate communication between refugees and Swedish officials. Later she worked for years teaching Russian in Sweden.[209]

2.2.4 Prominent Interpreters

As Estonian newspapers wrote more frequently about two people who are also known to have acted as interpreters, it is worth introducing both of them.[210] Villem Ernits was an Estonian who was fluent in several languages and who is known to have greeted guests in their mother tongue.[211] Gertrude Bell, on the other hand, was a foreigner, and the author succeeded in finding seven articles from the period under review that feature a longer story about her. In addition to

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[205] Tilgar, "J. Laidoneri komisjoni raportite kriitikast", 59.
[206] "Eesti-Türgi", *Waba Maa,* 19 June 1924; "Türgi-Eesti maavõistlus", *Kaj*a, 19 June 1924.
[207] Udo Knaps, Valdik Knaps' son, e-mail message to author, 4 April 2014.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Udo Knaps, *Siin, seal ja Siberis* (Tallinn, U. Knaps, 2015) 7–17.
[210] See also Karin Sibul, "Developmemt of Conference Interpreting in the Baltic States: Estonia's Case Study from 1918 to 1940", *Baltic Journal of Language, Literature and Culture* (University of Latvia, Lativia) 4 (2014), 81–93.
[211] Ott Kurs, "Villem Ernitsa ideaalid", *Vooremaa,* 11 January 2014.

being a linguistic talent, Bell was significant for this dissertation, as she has written about General Laidoner's knowledge of French.

Villem Ernits—the acknowledged natural interpreter

The interpreter most frequently mentioned in the newspapers by name was university lecturer **Villem Ernits** (1891–1982), a well-known linguist during the period under review. He worked as a lecturer of Slavic languages at The University of Tartu and taught Finnish and Estonian at Warsaw University in Poland. As a life-long temperance advocate, he was the head of the Estonian Temperance Society for ten years. He also founded the Academic Orientalism Society and participated in the Finno-Ugrian movement. In 1914, he founded and was the first editor-in-chief of the students' paper *Üliõpilaste Leht*. He was also often employed as an interpreter, and news articles mention him interpreting from and into Polish[212] and Lithuanian.[213]

When discussing language policy trends and the learning of languages, Ernits approved of English as a global language, it being the first foreign language in Estonia, but he also recommended the more widespread learning of Finnish, French, German and Russian and a few people should acquire Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, and languages of the Orient to ensure both internal and external relationships.[214] His own linguistic interests included also Sanskrit. In 1957, to mark the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of Sanskrit having been taught at the university, he published an article encouraging students to learn the language.[215]

Ernits was arguably fluent in about thirty languages (Finnish, Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Greek, Sanskrit, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Hungarian, etc.), though in an interview (1926) he stated that he knew seventeen languages but only spoke six reasonably well.[216] According to Ernits, if two languages are mastered really well, the others will stick more easily.[217] "As a polyglot, he mastered all of the more important languages and most of the Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian languages",[218] and, in addition to teaching Russian and Old Slavonic, also taught Polish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Sanskrit, Esperanto and other languages.[219] The most recent edition of the TEA encyclopaedia states

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[212] "Poola-Eesti akadeemilise ühingu asutamine Tartus", *Päewaleht,* 22 September 1933; "Tartu Poola ja Eesti lippude ehtes", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934; "Poolakas Eesti iseseisvuse ettekuulutajana", *Postimees,* 7 May 1934; "Poola külalised Eesti taludes", *Postimees,* 7 May 1934.

[213] "Tartu teated. Leedu skaudijuht oli Tartus", *Postimees,* 2 August 1934.

[214] "Mil määral õppida võõrkeeli. Ei kõik Eesti rahvas pea oskama inglise keelt", *Postimees,* 22 March 1934.

[215] Ott Kurs, "Villem Ernits 120. Karsket keeletarka meenutades", *Kultuur ja Elu,* no. 3 (2011): 27−30.

[216] "Usutlemiskäik W. Ernits'i juurde", *Postimees*, 18 July 1926.

[217] Jaan Lukas, "Miks ma siis Ernitsat ei tea", *Vooremaa,* 23 July 2011.

[218] *Eesti teaduse biograafiline leksikon, 1* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 2000), 253.

[219] "In memoriam Villem Ernits", *Kodumaa*, 19 May 1982.

only that Ernits was a polyglot.[220] According to Jaan Kross, Ernits was one of the greatest polyglots in Estonia.[221] In 1976, Ernits learned how to say hello in Mongolian and Ancient Greek.[222] When interviewed in 1979 at the age of eighty-eight, he still spoke Estonian, Russian, Polish, German and Hungarian and was a bit less fluent in Swedish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Latin and Greek; he also still had some knowledge of Sanskrit and Esperanto.[223] When asked in 1979 how many languages he spoke, his response was unambiguous: "I cannot even answer the question".[224] He elaborated on this, explaining that there were several levels of fluency and that it depended on the topic. One could prepare for a short presentation and leave an impression of fluency, for example, while one's actual knowledge of that language remained limited; it could also be difficult to talk about issues one did not know much about.[225] In an article dedicated to the one hundredth anniversary of Ernits's birth, historian Rein Helme states that Ernits new how to say hello in a total of forty languages.[226] How many languages he actually spoke remains unclear.

In 1937 Ernits published a lengthy article entitled "A Few Comments on Hosting Foreign Guests".[227] In it he discussed issues related to welcome speeches, language choices and the interpretation of those languages. He focused in particular on receiving guest choirs, dancers, etc., and on acknowledging them onstage after the performance. His position was that

> it is natural for guests to be greeted in the language of the host but it is also natural that the guests may not understand [...]. For such occasions interpretation is available, the best and politest of which is interpretation directly into the guest's mother tongue.[228]

Ernits uses Czech as an example, stating that Czech-speaking Estonians would not refuse to interpret if asked. As for the Japanese, they were greeted in Japanese but regrettably Sanskrit was not used when Estonia hosted ballet dancers from India, although there were speakers and teachers of Sanskrit at the university. Ernits elegantly summarises the issue of the use of the state language and interpretation.

> As a politically and culturally independent state we should not back away from contacts with even the most distant cultures, nations and languages. This would

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220 *TEA Entsüklopeedia*, s.v. "Ernits, Villem" (Tallinn: TEA kirjastus, 2011)
221 Jaan Kross, "Läänemeri, Villem Ernits ja meie", *Looming* 4 (1997), 552.
222 Rein Helme, "Villem Ernits 16. juuli 1891 – 10. mai 1982", *Sirp,* 12 July 1991.
223 Hillar Palamets, "Villem Ernits Tartust, ülikoolist, maailmast ja iseendast: intervjuu 1979", in Villem Ernits, *Noorpõlve ideaalid*, comp. Hando Runnel (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2013), 15.
224 Ibid.
225 Ibid.
226 Helme, "Villem Ernits 16. juuli 1891 – 10. mai 1982".
227 Villem Ernits, "Paar märkust väliskülaliste vastuvõtu kohta", *Postimees*, 27 May 1937.
228 Ibid.

> be a sign that culturally, we have risen to the ranks of world nations that can glimpse the entire world from their own front door.[229]

A major international event held in Estonia during the years under review was the 18th World Temperance Congress in July 1926, accompanied by the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries and the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress. Ernits' linguistic and interpreting skills were in great demand. He greeted participants in the 18th World Temperance Congress from twenty-five countries in ten languages.[230] A photo from the opening of the World Congress dated 22 July 1926 depicts statesman Peeter Põld opening the congress with another man sharing the rostrum with another man, who arguably could be an interpreter, i.e. Ernits.[231] At a joint convention of the members of the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries and the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress he addressed the audience in three languages: Swedish, Finnish and Estonian.[232]

Gertrude Bell, a woman who spoke 40 Arabic dialects

The author found seven articles about **Gertrude Bell** (1868–1926) in Estonian newspapers, even though she was British and did not work with Estonian.[233] In 1932, *Esmaspäev* published an article entitled "Wisdom Rewarded with Gold: The Woman Who Spoke 40 Arabic Dialects". According to the article Ms. Bell was interested in Oriental languages and "was the only woman to speak flawless Arabic".[234] Her linguistic abilities took her to Cairo, Egypt as an interpreter of exotic languages. The article expands upon a story from 1916 about when a British commissioner to Bagdad made a mess of international relations. Among other mishaps, his interpreters also interpreted incorrectly. Eventually the commissioner asked Ms. Bell to help. She spoke to forty Arab dignitary dinner guests, approaching each in his native dialect. For her services to Great Britain she was given the title of Oriental Secretary. The 1938 article "The Fight for Oil"[235] tells its readers how she made Sheik Feisal the King of Iraq and how she helped the British get hold of oilfields. This all happened due to her linguistic charm and fluency. In addition—and more directly related to

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229 Ibid.

230 "60 000 margaline telegram", *Postimees,* 16 August 1926.

231 Peeter Põld 130. https://www.tlu.ee/peeter_pold/peeter_pold_riigitegelane_eng.html, accessed 14 June 2015.

232 "Põhjamaa rahvaste ühine pere", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.

233 "Mesopotaamia kroonimata kuninganna", *Päewaleht,* 30 October 1926; "Araabia kroonimata kuningana miss Bell", *Kaja,* 15 May 1931; "Kullaga tasutud tarkus. Naine, kes kõneles 40 araabia murret", *Esmaspäev,* 12 December 1932; "Kullaga tasutud tarkus. Naine, kes kõneles 40 araabia murret", *Maa Hääl,* 12 December 1932; "Naine, kes aitas kuninga troonile", *Uudisleht,* 12 September 1935; "Ka sääraseid naisi on olemas", *Uudisleht,* 12 September 1937; "Võitlus õli pärast", *Uus Eesti,* 4 September 1938.

234 "Kullaga tasutud tarkus. Naine, kes kõneles 40 araabia murret", *Esmaspäev,* 12 December 1932.

235 "Võitlus õli pärast", *Uus Eesti,* 4 September 1938.

the author's research—Ms. Bell met General Laidoner at the League of Nations' Mosul Committee in 1925 and described his French in her letters to her father.[236]

2.3 Diplomatic Interpreting in Estonia: The Early Years and the State's Symbolic Capital

Diplomatic interpreting in Estonia is an integral part of the appearance of Estonia on the international arena. As stated above, it should be kept in mind that in the early years there were neither diplomatic interpreters nor professional interpreters in Estonia.

The Republic of Estonia was proclaimed on 24 February 1918. Preparations to establish Estonia's diplomatic service started in the second half of 1917, several months prior to the proclamation of independence, to secure the support of European governments for the idea of independence.[237] Indeed, politicians realised how important recognition by European states was.[238] The eight members of the first Estonian foreign delegation were to promote the concept of an independent Estonia in London and Paris as well as in the Scandinavian countries.[239] The text of the memorandum to be presented abroad was compiled in French. Diplomat Kaarel Robert Pusta recalls:

> With the help of dictionaries and a teacher of French we attempted to translate the text into French but the outcome was pretty poor; thus, our first concern in Paris was to have the French language translated into French.[240]

One member of the delegation (Pusta) was not happy with his colleagues' knowledge of English and sent a letter to Tallinn asking it to send someone to London who was more fluent in English, since neither the head of the delegation (Tõnisson) nor his assistants (Eduard Virgo and Ants Piip) were "at home in English".[241] A decision was later taken to send this non-English-speaking official to head the delegation to Scandinavia. The solution in London was to use an interpreter; however, if the interpreter was not considered good enough, he or she was dismissed.

> […] our knowledge of English was not sufficient. […] We had had the memorandum […] translated into an English that was more or less acceptable and gentlemen in the [British] Foreign Office understood French as well. Piip had

[236] See section 2.4.1. entitled "Diplomatic Interpreting as Covered in Newspapers".
[237] Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 30.
[238] Piip, *Tormine aasta,* 131.
[239] Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 42.
[240] Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 112.
[241] Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 109.

> found a Russian Jew to act as our interpreter-secretary but we did not take him with us to see [Prime Minister] Balfour—to the deep sorrow of the young man.[242]

It was not easy for Estonia's first envoys to operate in Western Europe, since they were often considered to be "unknown men from an unknown country".[243] Up to the end of World War I there were states which, because of military censorship, did not want to allow letters and telegrams to be sent in Estonian as it was "an unknown language".[244] Thus, the French postal administration detained a telegram sent to London in Estonian, as it was "neither in French nor in English",[245] and the Estonian foreign minister said to apply for a permission to send telegrams if possible in Estonian.[246] Correspondence in foreign languages also lead to the need for sight translation (sight-to-text), to apply modern interpretation terminology. Meeting minutes from the period frequently stated that a document in a foreign language was read aloud in Estonian.[247] The letter of credence the Finnish ambassador representing Estonia was to present in Japan was also in Estonian and had to be sight translated.[248]

Pusta recalls his visits to the British and French embassies in Stockholm in 1918.

> The performance of Estonia's first envoys and their use of odd, broken English and French could not have impressed the ambassadors of those large countries very much […]. An interpreter […] accompanied us to Balfour's door but we decided to leave him behind […]. We spoke using the same language as in the translation of our memorandum but we had to reinterpret it on the spot to make it more comprehensible to the British and French.[249]

The use of English, in particular, was problematic.

> Linguistic issues were also problematic [in London]: although Virgo and I [Piip] could speak English to some extent, our knowledge of written English was very modest. It was practically impossible to find a good translator to translate our letters from Estonian into English. This is why we had to put up with a Russian-born Greek emigrant as a translator.[250]

The minutes drawn up by Estonian foreign delegations frequently mention that they "[could not] accomplish anything much with the help of interpreters, as

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[242] Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 140.
[243] Heino Arumäe and Tiit Arumäe, comp., *Jaan Tõnisson Eesti välispoliitikas 1917–1920* (Tallinn: Jaan Tõnissoni Instituudi kirjastus, 1993), 43; Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,*142.
[244] Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 17.
[245] ERA.1619-1-3 l. 127.
[246] ERA.1619-1-3 l. 128.
[247] ERA.1619-1-3 l. 120; ERA.1619-1-3 l. 25.
[248] Medijainen, *Saadiku saatus,* 260.
[249] Pusta, *Kontrastide aastasada,* 102.
[250] Piip, *Tormine aasta,* 143.

current experience shows",[251] and that "it [was] quite impossible to explain [their] business with the help of interpreters; no one [had] time for that".[252] Poska grumbles that even questions were asked at meetings in such a way that only short answers could be provided, and that everybody was always in a hurry.[253] When planning for an upcoming meeting with the French ambassador to Russia, Poska offered to present Estonia's position in writing or at least to prepare it and "convey it with the help of the translator".[254] The minutes leave it unclear as to whether the French text was to be read out by the translator or whether it would just help to express the position faster and in a more concise manner in order to save time. The lack of translators and the slow pace of translation were also problematic when drafting press releases. More foreign language speakers were needed to work "as translators to speed up the process".[255] The minutes also discuss payment for translation,[256] and one of the comments stresses that the interpreter was taken along for accuracy.[257] In his diary, Eduard Laaman describes an anecdotal case: when interpreting from Estonian into German and then into English, the contents of the message were intentionally adapted.[258]

The newly formed Estonian diplomatic service, as described above under section 2.2.2. entitled "Estonian Diplomats Acting as Interpreters", met with its first challenge at the Tartu peace negotiations with Soviet Russia. The minutes from the preparations for the Tartu peace negotiations with Russia in September 1919 as well as the negotiations themselves in 1919 and 1920 reveal the significance that the recently proclaimed republic attributed to its state language, Estonian. In June 1919, the Constituent Assembly officially established Estonian as the state language. This principle was incorporated into the first constitution in 1920.

Retrospectively, in today's context, it can be said that the conditions for having a mandatory state language are created in the first years of statehood, as Pierre Bourdieu stressed.[259] The decision taken by Estonia's Foreign Ministry to switch from German to Estonian when corresponding with the local German embassy is mentioned in the memoirs of one of the first female Estonian diplomats, Emilie Simenson, who stated that since German "was not considered a diplomatic language", this seemed justified.[260]

That being said, the minutes from the start of the Tartu peace negotiations also reveal difficulties arising from adhering to the linguistic principle: it was

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251 ERA.1621-1-127 l. 10
252 Ibid.
253 Ibid.
254 ERA.1619-1-3 l. 24
255 ERA.1619-1-3 l. 12
256 ERA.1619-1-3 l. 199
257 Laaman, *Jaan Poska,* 74.
258 Laaman, "Meie vastus: Eduard Laamani päevik", 918.
259 Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 45–46.
260 "Mälestuspilte välisteenistusest", *Meie Post* (Stockholm), 1969, no. 1.

therefore decided not to keep formal minutes at the peace conference that opened in December 1919, since Estonia lacked a competent stenographer fluent in Russian and the delegation did not want to depend on Russia's stenographer[261].

As for the minutes of the meeting held in Pskov (Russia) between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia in September 1919, they state that "the head of the Estonian delegation gave his speech in Estonian and informed the Russian delegation that it would receive the text in Russian",[262] and the head of the Russian delegation, Leonid Krassin, reserved the right to comment upon receipt of the text. Several paragraphs from the minutes verify that interpretation and the power of language had been used since the early days of the republic to empower Estonian independence,[263] as underlined by the following statement made by temporary head of the Estonian delegation Adu Birk at the preparatory meeting to the peace negotiations with Russia: "Firstly, allow me to settle a formality: we suggest that we draw up the minutes in the languages of our states; i.e., the minutes should be drawn up in two languages".[264] Krassin, the head of the Russian delegation, agrees: "Indeed, we cannot be against that. We recognise the equality of all languages; thus, both speeches and minutes can be given and drawn up in both languages".[265] The minutes record Birk as saying to the Russian delegation:

> "It is an honour to present our credentials; however, they are in Estonian with an accompanying text in French. We have no text of our credentials in Russian to give you". [Birk] reads the text of credentials first in Estonian and then in Russian.[266]

The use of the Estonian language at the meeting of the Estonian and Russian delegations in Pskov can and should be associated with symbolic capital as defined by Bourdieu, as it is directly and clearly related to the prestige of the state. An example of the significance of the state's symbolic capital could be brought from an earlier period when Estonia was still in the Tsarist Russia. Russian newspapers perceived the significance of that prestige as early as 1913, describing the problems the Russian governor of Estonia, who did not speak Estonian, had when listening to an Orthodox service in Estonian. The newspaper heading "When Religious Services in Estonian Are a Jibe at State Authority"[267] outlines the significance of the symbolic capital of the state language—and this was when Estonia was still a province of Tsarist Russia. At

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[261] ERA.957-10-30 l. 7; ERA.1624-1-23; Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 182.
[262] ERA.957-10-23 l. 10.
[263] Karin Sibul, "Symbolic Capital and Diplomatic Interpreting in the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940)", *Vetimos studios* (Vilnius University, Lithuania) 7 (2014): 20–30.
[264] ERA.957-10-23 l. 12.
[265] ERA.957-10-23 l. 12.
[266] ERA.957-10-23 l. 11.
[267] "Kui eestikeelne jutlus oli riigivõimu mõnitamine", *Postimees*, 24 February 1937.

the opening of the Theatre Estonia building on 24 August 1913, High Priest Karp Tiisik delivered his sermon in Estonian, although the opening was attended not only by Russians but also by the Russian governor; this caused a lot of trouble for Tiisik. Russian newspapers in Tallinn and St. Petersburg published a number of critical articles about this, saying, for example: "Representatives of state authority should not be present at events that do not use the state language […]. It is inappropriate to represent the state authority and listen to speeches one cannot understand".[268] Even worse, the invitations had been issued in Estonian. The newspaper *Postimees* was sued for publishing articles about the opening and the editor responsible fined, because

> the newspaper had worded it as if the sermon Tiisik delivered in Estonian had made the governor and other Russian officials catch cold. Catching cold[269] was considered incorrect, although experts said that the expression should not be taken word for word. (Emphasis in the original.)[270]

Pusta also mentions the sermon delivered in Estonian.[271]

Another example of the use of the state language (i.e. accumulation of the state's symbolic capital) after Estonia had gained independence is from the opening of the Tartu Peace Conference with Russia on 5 December 1919. Jaan Poska, head of the Estonian delegation, delivered his speech in Estonian.[272] The secretary of the delegation William Tomingas interpreted it into Russian.[273] Poska, however, was in fact fluent in Russian: he and his wife of Swedish descent spoke it at home, as it was the only language they both had in common.[274] Poska thus seems to have made the decision to speak in Estonian, which in the context of this research could be interpreted as reinforcing the state's symbolic capital.[275] The significance of the chosen language of discourse was also singled out in the press release on the Tartu Peace Conference: "Jaan Poska opened the meeting at 10:35, giving his speech in Estonian". A brief overview of the speech ends with the remark: "Leonid Krassin responded in Russian".[276]

At the beginning of the 20th century, educated Estonians were fluent in three "local" languages: Estonian, German and Russian. Earlier university education

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[268] Ibid.
[269] This means "to be troubled by something" (author's comment).
[270] "Kui eestikeelne jutlus oli riigivõimu mõnitamine", *Postimees,* 24 February 1937.
[271] Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,* 82
[272] ERA.957-10-12 l. 1 – Välisministeerium. Tartu rahukonverents. Kirjavahetus, delegaatide nimekirjad ja tunnistused. Tartu rahukonverentsi informatsioonid ajakirjandusele Eesti ja Nõukogude Vene rahusaatkondade koosolekute kohta (05.12.1919–19.01.1920).
[273] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 181.
[274] Laaman, *Jaan Poska,* 184.
[275] Karin Sibul, "Suulisest tõlkest Eesti Vabariigi diplomaatilises suhtluses aastatel 1918–1940", *Methis: Studia humanora Estonica* 15 (2015), 47–63, https://doi.org/10.7592/methis.v12i15.12115.
[276] ERA.957-10-12 l. 1

had been provided in German; from the turn of the century it was provided in Russian, and as of December 1919, it was provided in Estonian. The use of Russian in the above situation might therefore have been taken for granted. The fact that it was not implies that the power of language to enforce independent statehood was therefore understood from the very beginning. The symbolic capital for the newly born Estonia was to be gained piece by piece. The use of Estonian—the state language of the Republic of Estonia—and the use of interpretation from Estonian into Russian was a significant statement and contributed to state symbolic capital in terms of establishing the Estonian-Russian relationship.

In the case of Estonia as a newly independent state, the "right to speak" would in practice mean that an Estonian representative would have the right to use the language of his choice, such as Estonian; if the other party recognised that right, Estonia would gain some state symbolic capital. The intriguing question is whether or not Estonia made a bid for this invisible power. Evidently it did, given the statement quoted earlier that was made by the temporary head of the Estonian delegation, Adu Birk, at the preparatory meeting to the peace negotiations with Russia.[277] Indeed, the use of Estonian from the outset was a clear message aimed at increasing the symbolic capital of the state. Newly-born Estonia's state symbolic capital was hard won and mostly obtained from within an unfriendly environment.

When developing Estonia's diplomatic intercourse, international diplomatic protocol was introduced. In a description of the first official visit of the president abroad (to Finland on 15 May 1922), symbolic capital is singled out: "Both heads of state gave their speeches in their own languages, of course".[278] Symbolic capital can also be perceived as behaviour through an imaginative set of convictions. If a president masters the language of the neighbouring state and uses it to communicate, social agents perceive this as recognition. When President Jānis Čakste of Latvia visited Estonia in 1925, he wished "to say a few words in Estonian to conclude his speech".[279] In a visit to Estonia in 1936, President Pehr Evind Svinhufvud of Finland greeted the guard of honour in Estonian upon his arrival[280] at the port of Tallinn. At a meeting in Kurtna he again expressed his gratitude in Estonian, "saying that he speaks little Estonian but understands everything",[281] and that he also reads Estonian newspapers. Another such example is from an article about the visit of the Estonian parliamentary delegation to Hungary that highlights the impact of greetings made in Hungarian by the delegation.[282]

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[277] See above.
[278] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII", 8:1836.
[279] ERA.957-7-88.
[280] "Soome president saabus", *Postimees,* 1 August 1936.
[281] "Soome president kõikide sõber", *Postimees,* 3 August 1936.
[282] Theodor Tallmeister, "Riigikogu delegatsioon Ungaris. Muljeid ja tähelepanekuid II", *Waba Maa,* 22 June 1928.

The author has also discovered film footage with an authentic soundtrack that confirms the use of the host nation's state language in presidential greetings. President Albert Kviesis of Latvia was a guest of honour at the Tenth Estonian Song Celebration in 1933 and greeted the singers and the audience in Estonian.[283] Later the same year President Konstantin Päts of Estonia attended the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Republic of Latvia and delivered his speech in Latvian.[284]

In his diary, Elmar Kirotar, diplomat and chief of protocol at the Foreign Ministry, states that in 1938 "for the first time in our history [we drafted] a letter of credence [to Rei, the Estonian ambassador to Moscow], as well as a letter of recall […] in Estonian—just like the Sov[iet] letters of credence to us were in Russian".[285] This can also be interpreted as symbolic capital arising from the use of the state language, in this case from a written text. Thus, the use of the state language is clearly related to the prestige of the state.

Four high-ranking officials are more often mentioned as having benefited from interpreting: Jaan Poska,[286] the head of the Estonian delegation to the peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, Konstantin Päts,[287] president of the Republic of Estonia,[288] General Johan Laidoner,[289] commander-in-chief of the defence forces and Jaan Tõnisson,[290] head of the foreign delegation and prime minister. They benefited from interpretation into Russian (Poska), Swedish (Päts), Finnish (Päts) and English (Laidoner, Poska and Tõnisson), even though they may have been fluent in some of these languages. All four officials held very high positions and were held in high esteem by the public. Resorting to the use of interpretation carried a diplomatic message and aimed at increasing

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[283] RFA.203.3475. *Film Eesti 10. üldlaulupeost, mis toimus Tallinnas 23.–25.juunil 1933.a.* Fox Film Corporation, 1933.

[284] RFA.24.42. *Eesti Vabariigi riigivanem Konstantin Päts Läti Vabariigi 15. aastapäeva pidustustel Riias. 18. november 1933. a.* Läti Filmikroonika, 1933–1934.

[285] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi V", 1:226.

[286] Laaman, *Jaan Poska,* 75; Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 129, 143, 154, 181, 189; Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,*180.

[287] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII", 1834, 1836.

[288] For the sake of clarity, the author refers to Konstantin Päts as "president" despite the fact that the head of state of the Republic of Estonia has also been called a "state elder" and "state regent".

"*Riigivanem* (State Elder): The prime minister, who also functioned as head of state under the Constitution of 1920. *Riigihoidja* (Regent): The person who governed the interim between the proclamation of the new Constitution of 1937 and the election of Estonia's first president in 1938" (Toivo Miljan, *Historical Dictionary of Estonia*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 504.)

[289] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi V", 215; Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII", 1840–1841; The interpreter is mentioned in the Estonian translation (Tiina Tamman, *August Torma – sõdur, saadik, salaagent* (Tallinn: Argo, 2011), 152), but not in the original, Tamman, *The Last Ambassador*, 75.

[290] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 122, 165; Erkki Tuomioja, *Jaan Tõnisson ja Eesti iseseisvus*, trans. Kadri Jaanits and Katrin Kurmiste (Tallinn: Varrak, 2010), 157.

Estonia's symbolic capital.[291] They also took part in and chaired historic high-level meetings. In addition, two of them acted as interpreters in a capacity that clearly distinguished them from other diplomats, due to their high-level positions. Konstantin Päts (1874–1956) was considered the most influential politician in Estonia from 1918 to 1940. He was prime minister of the Republic of Estonia multiple times, as well as head of state (president).[292] In 1936 President Pehr Evind Svinhufvud of Finland visited Estonia and the President of the Republic of Estonia personally interpreted his meeting with locals at a village community house.[293] Päts acting as an ad hoc interpreter represents a case where there was simply no other solution available.[294]

Jaan Tõnisson (1868–1941?),[295] an Estonian statesman and politician, twice prime minister and head of state, foreign minister and president of the *Riigikogu*, was also a prominent temperance advocate. He interpreted a speech by a Latvian guest into Estonian at a public meeting during the 18th World Temperance Congress and the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries.[296] The source language for those events is not mentioned. That being said, Tõnisson was fluent in German and his skilful linguistic ability is mentioned in several memoirs;[297] thus, he probably interpreted from German. Although he considered it important to understand the language of one's neighbouring country and had learned Latvian starting in 1899 so that he was able to read and understand it, reportedly he did not speak the language and translated with the help of a dictionary.[298] Erkki Tuomioja argues in his monograph *Jaan Tõnisson ja Eesti iseseisvus* that as an Estonian delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, Tõnisson "needed an interpreter at almost all meetings, as he was unable to speak neither English nor French".[299]

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[291] Sibul, "Suulisest tõlkest Eesti Vabariigi diplomaatilises suhtluses aastatel 1918–1940"; Sibul, "Symbolic Capital and Diplomatic Interpreting in the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940)".

[292] Konstantin Päts was prime minister and minister of the interior from 24 February 1918 to 9 May 1919. He was *Riigivanem* (State Elder) from 25 January to 21 November 1922, from 2 August 1923 to 26 March 1924, from 12 February 1931 to 19 February 1932, from 1 November 1932 to 18 May 1933 and from 21 October 1933 to 3 September 1937. Finally, he was *Riigihoidja* (State Regent) from 3 September 1937 to 24 April 1938 and president from 24 April 1938 to 21 June 1940.

[293] "Soome president kõikide sõber", *Postimees,* 3 August 1936.

[294] See Margareta Bowen, "Interpreters and the Making of History"; see more on President Päts in section 2.4.1. entitled "Diplomatic Interpreting as Covered in Newspapers".

[295] Year of death unconfirmed.

[296] "Miiting", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.

[297] Tomingas, *Mälestused*, 213; Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma,*161.

[298] Krista Aru, e-mail message to author, 18 December 2015.

[299] Tuomioja, *Jaan Tõnisson ja Eesti iseseisvus*, 157.

2.4 Glimpses into Interpretation in Estonian Newspapers

The research in newspapers to find references to interpretation yielded three types of sources—newspaper articles, announcements and advertisements—from twelve newspapers: six dailies, two tabloids, three regional papers and one for farmers. For the sake of clarity, as the author's focus was on interpreting and not on the type of journalistic sources, the author refers to them as articles unless otherwise specified. About half of the 364 articles analysed, which mentioned interpreting, were from the leading daily *Postimees* (171), which is published in Tartu. The remaining five dailies published the following number of related articles: *Päewaleht* 103, *Kaja* 42, *Waba Maa* 13, *Uus Eesti* 9 and *Edasi* 2. The regional papers *Sakala*, *Järva Teataja* and *Uus Eesti Narva Uudised* published seven, five, and two, respectively. The tabloids, *Esmaspäev* and *Uudisleht* published three and five, respectively, and the rural paper *Maa Hääl* two. One must also consider that the newspapers had different runs of publication (see table 2.5.). *Postimees* was published from 1886 to 1944, *Sakala* from 1878 to 1940, *Päewaleht* from 1905 to 1940, and *Waba Maa* from 1918 to 1938. The other papers were published for shorter periods of time: *Kaja* from 1919 to 1935, *Uus Eesti* from 1935 to 1940, *Maa Hääl* from 1932 to 1940, *Järva Teataja* from 1926 to 1944, *Esmaspäev* from 1922 to 1940, *Uudisleht* from 1927 to 1940 and *Uus Eesti Narva Uudised* from 1936 to 1940. Finally, *Edasi* was published in St. Petersburg from 1917 to 1937.[300] The author's research spanned newspapers from 1918 to 1940. The publication run is singled out to stress that seven out of twelve newspapers had a publication run significantly shorter than the period under review, which definitely has also affected the number of articles discovered.

If we look at the number of published items by years, 1926 and 1930 take the lead with 54 and 48 pieces, respectively, followed by 23 items published in 1928. Both 1926 and 1930 were remarkable years. In 1926, Tartu simultaneously hosted a series of international temperance conferences from 18 to 29 July, which was probably one of the major international events to take place in interwar Estonia: the 8th World Temperance Congress, the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries and the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress.[301] The year 1930 stands out due to the large number of advertisements published by Jehovah's Witnesses in a Tallinn daily, informing readers of available interpretation at their events.[302]

[300] *Edasi*: A communist newspaper published in Estonian by the Estonian branch of the Russian Communist (Bolshevist) Party in St. Petersburg, Russia (1917–1937).
[301] See section 2.4.6. entitled "Congresses" and 2.4.11. "Evaluation of Interpretation".
[302] See section 2.4.7. entitled "Christian Events".

Table 2.5. Newspapers that mention interpreting, by publication run and number of articles

Newspaper	Publication run	No. of articles
Postimees	1886–1944	171
Päewaleht	1905–1940	103
Kaja	1919–1935	42
Waba Maa	1918–1938	13
Järva Teataja	1926–1940	5
Sakala	1878–1940	7
Maa Hääl	1932–1940	2
Edasi	1917–1937	2
Uus Eesti	1935–1940	9
Uus Eesti Narva Uudised	1936–1940	2
Esmaspäev	1922–1940	3
Uudisleht	1927–1940	5
Total no. of articles		**364**

Of the 364 newspaper articles, 278 of them referred to interpretation being used in Estonia; the other 86 informed readers about international events and linguistic issues (congresses, conferences, the Olympic games, etc.) that made use of interpretation or were articles that discussed the potential need for interpretation in Estonia. More than half of the articles on international events describe either consecutive interpretation or the modern invention that was simultaneous interpretation (see figure 1).

The two hundred and seventy-eight newspaper items analysed provide us with two more categories to add to the list of those who benefited from interpretation, in addition to that of high-ranking statesmen (derived from the memoirs and diaries): foreign guests and ordinary people who attended public lectures or religious services. The author divided the articles, announcements and advertisements into seven categories: lectures, Christian events, congresses, concerts, delegations, news conferences, and local government. *Lectures*, by far the most numerous category, was then subdivided into two subcategories: public lectures (open to the public, split by topic into eight groups) and private lectures (for specialists or those organised by professional associations). *Christian Events* (which consists mostly of religious services and excludes Christian congresses, which are discussed under *congresses*) is divided into subgroups by denominations: Lutherans, Adventists, Baptists, Methodists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

Congresses (in seven subgroups) focuses on the international conferences held in Estonia, while international conferences abroad are discussed in greater detail in the section 2.4.12. entitled "International Conferences and Technical Innovations in Interpretation in Europe". The *delegations'* category contains two subgroups: diplomatic delegations and articles that were mostly about foreign delegations visiting

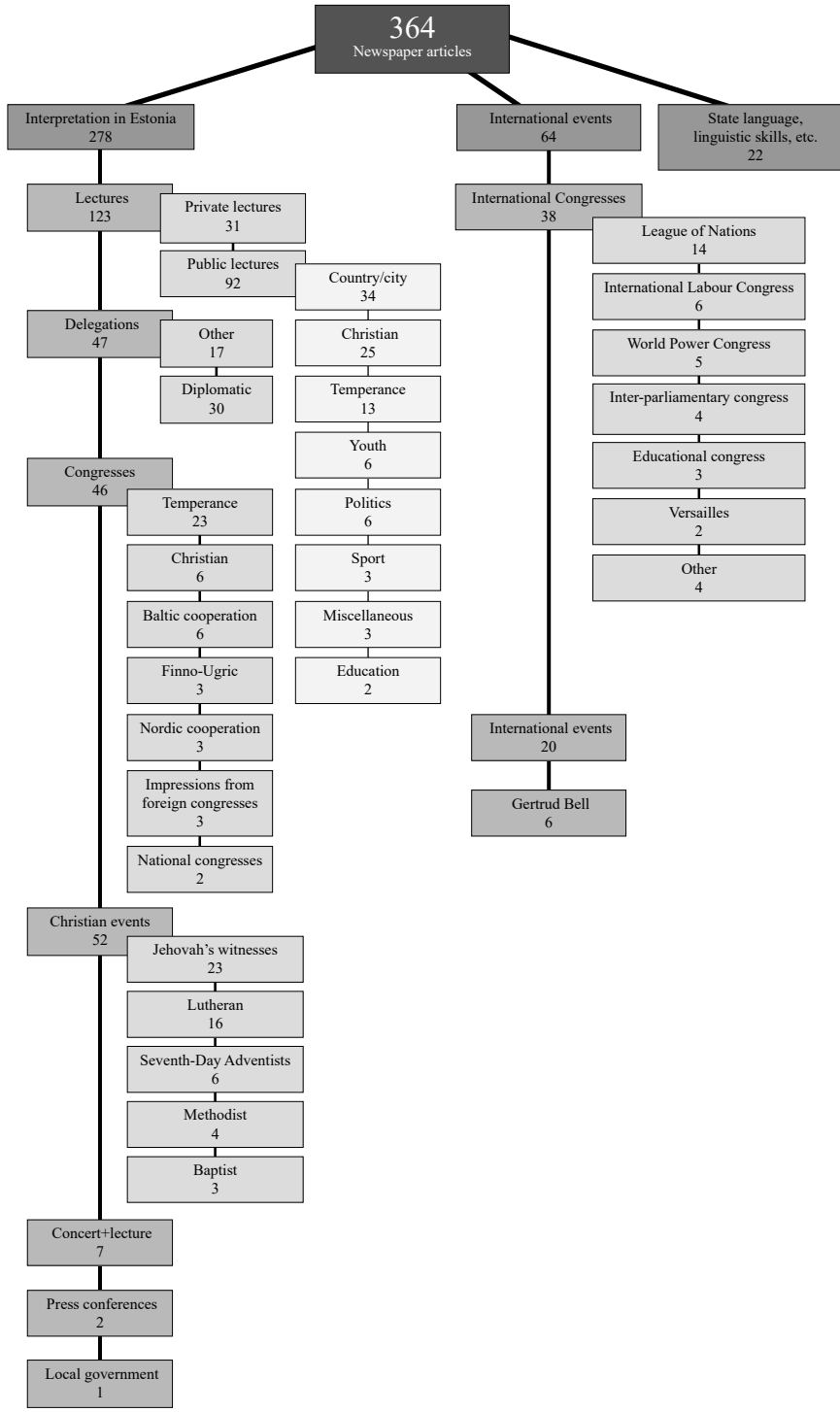

Figure 1. Newspaper articles by categories

Estonia, although three also mentioned interpretation used when Estonian delegations visited foreign countries. *Concerts* combined with a speech or lecture comprise a category of seven items. For *news conferences*, there were just two articles for the period under review. Finally, there was also a single article that discussed *interpretation in local government*; this was a rare piece that revealed the need for interpretation in daily operations.

Newspaper articles, announcements and advertisements provided valuable input to the data on interpreting in Estonia between two World Wars. The following subsections are a detailed overview of the variety of subjects covered at events, which necessitated interpreters and interpretation. The author's focus is on interpreting, although she relies on quantitative figures to corroborate the information discovered. Numbers of articles or types of events interpreted illustrate the share each of them had in the sample the author could collect.

2.4.1 Diplomatic Interpreting as Covered in Newspapers

The following is not an all-inclusive list of high-level visits to and from Estonia but rather merely those that were mentioned either in memoirs, newspapers or archives and that have some association with interpretation. For the benefit of this study diplomatic interpreting is limited to visits by and meetings with heads of state and government and those of chairmen of national parliaments. The number of top delegations visiting Estonia varied from year to year; 1933, for example, seems to have been a low point: "No high-level dignitaries have visited us this summer. […] A kind of a big event was the visit by Lord Baden-Powell, father of the Scout Movement, to Tallinn".[303] This might be the reason why three articles cover his visit (although only one mentions that his speech was interpreted)[304] in *Postimees* on 22 August 1933.[305] The number of "important and influential" high-level dignitaries coming to visit Estonia in 1934, on the other hand, was expected to be unprecedented, making the summer "remarkable".[306]

The author found thirty newspaper articles covering diplomatic interpreting. These fall into two categories: they either mention that interpretation took place (e.g., during the visit of the President of the Polish Senate Colonel W. Slavek[307]) or highlight the language used in speeches. Some state that a guest

[303] "Skautide isa külaskäik", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933.
[304] "Meeleolurikkaid hetki lord Baden-Powelli külaskäigult", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933.
[305] "Skautide isa külaskäik", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933; "Lord Baden-Powell tänab", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933; "Meeleolurikkaid hetki lord Baden-Powelli külaskäigult", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933.
[306] "Rida kõrgeid väliskülalisi Eestisse", *Päewaleht,* 30 May 1934.
[307] "Eesti pühitses Poola rahvuspüha, *Postimees,* 5 May 1934; "Tartu Poola ja Eesti lippude ehtes", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934.

was greeted in his or her mother tongue (e.g., President Jüri Jaakson[308] of Estonia visited Latvia in 1925 and was greeted in Estonian;[309] Mayor Uesson welcomed President Albert Kviesis of Latvia in Latvian when the latter visited Estonia in 1933[310]), while others state that a guest addressed his or her hosts in the host country's state language (e.g., President Jaakson delivered an address in Latvian when he visited Latvia[311]); occasionally an article says that both took place (e.g., President Jaakson's visit to Riga[312]). President Ignacy Mośicki of Poland is said to have been "really pleased" when the Chairman of the Estonian Association of Rural Municipalities delivered his welcoming speech in Polish.[313]

Diplomatic correspondence in preparation of President Čakste of Latvia's visit to Estonia in 1925 also reflects the importance of symbolic capital. Estonia's ambassador to Latvia, Julius Seljamaa, wrote to the Foreign Ministry that "it is recommended that the speech by the President of Estonia be given in Estonian and that the speech by the president of Latvia in Latvian, to be translated into French thereafter".[314] Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, also visited Estonia at the same time. The language arrangements for a public ceremony in the Estonia Theatre were as follows: "President of Latvia (interpreted), […] Sir Eric Dummond's reply (interpreted), speech by Dr Mõttus (in Estonian and Latvian)".[315] Neither the language nor interpretation is mentioned for other speakers. Programmes of the ceremony preserved in the archives are in Estonian, French and English, while the newspaper *Waba Maa* describes the interpretation in detail.[316]

> Estonians spoke Estonian and if necessary speeches were interpreted into Estonian or French; for example, the speech by President Čakste in Latvian was interpreted into Estonian. Sir Eric Drummond delivered his in English. Finnish ambassador Dr R. Holst used Estonian […]. The speakers' list comes to an end with Dr Mõttus, who gave his enthusiastic greetings in Estonian, Latvian and French […].[317]

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[308] Jüri Jaakson (1870–1942) was state elder from 16 December 1924 to 15 December 1925. The prime minister, who also functioned as head of state under the Constitution of 1920 (Miljan 2015, 504).

[309] "Riigivanema külaskäik Lätisse", *Kaja,* 12 May 1925; "Riigivanem Lätimaal", *Waba Maa,* 12 May 1925.

[310] "Läti president Kviesis saabus", *Uudisleht,* 24 June 1933.

[311] "Riigivanem Lätimaal", *Waba Maa,* 12 May 1925.

[312] "Riigivanema vastuvõtmise pidustused Riias", *Päewaleht,* 12 May 1925.

[313] "Poola president külastas Tallinna raekoda", *Päewaleht,* 12 August 1930.

[314] ERA.957-7-88.

[315] Ibid.

[316] "Iseseisvuse aastapäeva pühitsemine. Pidulik kontsert-aktus 'Estonias'", *Waba Maa,* 26 February 1925.

[317] Ibid.

The article also specifies that Dr Mõttus addressed the president of Latvia in Estonian and Latvian and Sir Drummond in Estonian and English. On a visit to the *Riigikogu*, the Estonian parliament, President Čakste addressed the audience in Latvian and was interpreted into French, as was the speech by the chairman of the *Riigikogu*, Jaan Tõnisson.[318] The Latvian president also delivered a speech in Latvian at the grave of the soldiers killed during the War of Independence. The speech was "immediately" interpreted into Estonian.[319] When the president of Estonia then returned the visit to Latvia in May 1925, the *Waba Maa* published front-page articles that mentioned words of welcome having been pronounced in Estonian, and about the President of Estonia giving his own greetings in Latvian.[320] At the festive meeting dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the Republic of Latvia in Riga, the Estonian foreign minister addressed the audience in Estonian and was interpreted into Latvian while the Finnish ambassador read his address in French.[321] The use of Estonian at such an international event can also be interpreted as an example of gaining symbolic capital.

In the guidelines for the concert held in honour of President Lauri Kristian Relander of Finland on 25 May 1925 in Tallinn, a reference is made to the language to be spoken by the chairman of the Counties Association, Finnish.[322] The language of the other speakers is not mentioned. Typewritten copies of speeches by the presidents of Estonia and Finland in the archive are in Estonian, allowing us to draw no conclusions as regards the language in which the speech was actually delivered.

Even newspapers at the time would welcome high-level foreign dignitaries in their own language, as well as take pride in the use of the state language. The *Uudisleht*, for example, published a lengthy front-page article to welcome Ignacy Mośicki, the president of Poland, in both Estonian and Polish, accompanied by pictures of the two presidents.[323] The summary of President Jaakson's welcome in Riga (1925) describes words of welcome in Estonian being hung on buildings and printed in Latvian newspapers.[324]

Three visits by presidents of Finland to Estonia, in 1925 (Relander), 1934 (Svinhufvud) and 1936 (Svinhufvud), are covered in more detail (President Svinhufvud also visited Estonia in 1932, but no language issues are mentioned in the press coverage for that visit). Interpretation during President Relander's 1925 visit is covered in three articles, two of which mention the interpreters by name (Mr Ollik in *Postimees*[325] and Mrs Vesterinen[326] in *Päewaleht*[327]), while

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318 "Eesti parlament tervitab külalisi", *Päewaleht,* 25 February 1925.
319 "Wabariigi seitsmes aastapäev Tallinnas", *Kaja,* 25 February 1925.
320 "Riigivanem Lätimaal", *Waba Maa,* 12 May 1925.
321 "Juubelituledes pidutsev Riia", *Postimees,* 20 November 1928.
322 ERA.957-7-63.
323 "Teretulemast kõrge ja lugupeetud külaline Visla kallastelt", *Uudisleht,* 9 August 1930.
324 "Riigivanema vastuvõtmise pidustused Riias", *Päewaleht,* 12 May 1925.
325 "Tallinna koolide pidulik aktus", *Postimees,* 23 May 1925.
326 Referred to as Mrs Ploompuu-Westerinen elsewhere in this dissertation.
327 "Soome president Tartus", *Päewaleht,* 24 May 1925.

another article states simply that the president's speech in Finnish was interpreted into Estonian.[328] Two articles touch upon the linguistic aspects of President Svinhufvud's visit in 1934. The article from *Postimees* states that the president expressed his thanks in Finnish for a song sung in Finnish and also said a few words in Estonian.[329] The article from *Kaja* describes the president's visit to a shooting range in Tallinn, adding that explanations by the head of the Estonian Sport Shooting Federation (and also, incidentally, the Minister of Transport, Colonel Sternbeck) were in fluent Finnish.[330] Out of five articles about the 1936 visit by President Svinhufvud, four mention interpreters by name. Three of them refer to Kalju Otu, mayor of the Voka rural municipality. The newspaper *Uus Eesti* is most specific, saying that Otu "gave a speech in Estonian and interpreted it into Finnish" and publishing a photo of Otu in uniform.[331] *Postimees* says that Otu "repeated his speech in Finnish"[332] and *Sakala* that "the mayor spoke first in Estonian and thereafter in Finnish".[333] President Päts also acted as an interpreter: during President Svinhufvud's 1936 visit, the President of the Republic of Estonia personally interpreted his meeting with locals at a village community house.[334] Upon arrival in Tallinn Svinhufvud thanked his hosts in Estonian.[335]

In his diary, Kirotar recalls accompanying general Johan Laidoner and acting as an interpreter if necessary.[336] As a graduate of the Vilno and Nikolai Military Academies, Laidoner, an Estonian politician and thrice commander-in-chief of the defence forces, spoke both French and German and was fluent in Russian, in which he spoke to and corresponded with his Polish wife.[337] In fact, his knowledge of English, French, Russian and Polish helped him during his short visit to Palestine in 1925.[338] The fact that Laidoner and his wife both spoke five languages was also helpful to hosting numerous foreign guests.[339]

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[328] "Tallinn pidupäeva õhtul", Postimees, 23 May 1925.
[329] "Soome president saabus Tallinna", *Postimees,* 19 August 1934.
[330] "Soome president Eestis külas", *Kaja,* 20 August 1934.
[331] "Soome president jõudis Orule", *Uus Eesti,* 2 August 1936.
[332] "Südamlikud tervitused Soome presidendile", *Postimees,* 2 August 1936.
[333] "Soome president Eestis", *Sakala,* 3 August 1936.
[334] "Soome president kõikide sõber", *Postimees,* 3 August 1936.
[335] "Soome president saabus*", Postimees,* 1 August 1936.
[336] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII", 8:1840.
[337] Irene Lään and Toomas Hiio, comp., *Ühtekuuluvuse teel: Johan Laidoneri kirjad abikaasale* (Tallinn: Varrak, 2008).
[338] Johan Laidoner, "Kõne Tallinna juutkonnale 29. mail 1926" [Speech to the Jewish Community in Tallinn on 29 May 1926], *Akadeemia* 11 (1993).
[339] Irene Lään. *Kindral Johan Laidoner*, the website of the Estonian War Museum and General Laidoner Museum. http://www.esm.ee/ekspositsioon/kindral-johan-laidoner, accessed 11 February 2013; Küllo Arjakas, "Maria Laidoner ja Pärnu", *Kultuur ja Elu*, no. 4 (2005): 35; Hellar Grabbi, "Ella Grabbi mälestusi", *Tuna,* no. 1 (2008): 85–105.

In 1925 Laidoner met with British Treasury officials to discuss Estonia's war debts, including repayment,[340] as well as with Winston Churchill (Chancellor of Exchequer 1924–1929). Although another Estonian diplomat, August Torma, was critical of Laidoner's English, he admitted that despite it and despite negotiating through an interpreter,[341] Laidoner managed to reduce Estonia's debt.[342] Although Laidoner could communicate in English, he preferred to speak French. During negotiations, however, "he wished to speak Estonian and to be interpreted into English, merely because he wanted to reflect briefly on what to say next".[343] This demonstrates the use of diplomatic interpreting to gain time, since Laidoner could speak English. This principle is also frequently applied in modern diplomacy. Kirotar continues, saying that when they met Churchill, Laidoner "said a few words in Estonian and [Kirotar] interpreted into English. Thereafter both Churchill and Laidoner switched to French".[344]

In 1925, the League of Nations appointed Laidoner to chair a committee on a British–Turkish Mosul frontier dispute. Gertrude Bell,[345] who met General Laidoner at the League of Nations' Mosul Committee in 1925, described his French.

> I like Laidoner. He is a large solid Estonian who speaks no known language but French and that with a total disregard for genders, subjunctives, and all the grosser and finer nuances. This does not discompose him at all. He goes on as calmly as a tank and rolls the French tongue flat.[346]

In her letter to her father, Bell writes:

> Laidoner says that there are no words in any language to express the plight of the refugees who fled from the Turks. I hope he will find some words in which to tell the Council about it and that they will be so impressive that the Council will overlook his talking [sic] *un jeune fille* and *une vieillard*.[347]

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[340] See more on war debts and the reasons thereof in Maie Pihlamägi, "Eesti 1919. aasta sõjavõlg Ameerika Ühendriikidele ja selle kustutamine", Acta Historica Tallinnensia, 20 (2014), 132–156.

[341] The use of the interpreter here is mentioned only in the Estonian translation of the book *August Torma – sõdur, saadik, salaagent* (Tamman, *August Torma – sõdur, saadik, salaagent,* 152). The English original states: "Although his English was not good, he managed to reduce the initial figure [of the debt] considerably" (Tamman, *The Last Ambassador*, 75).

[342] Tamman, *The Last Ambassador*, 75.

[343] Kirotar, "Mis saab edasi XII", 8:1841.

[344] Ibid.

[345] See section 2.2.4. entitled "Prominent Interpreters".

[346] Gertrud Bell to her father, 28 October 1925 in Gertrud Bell Archive (Newcastle University, UK), http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=854, accessed 28 August 2013.

[347] Gertrud Bell to her father, 25 November 1925 in Gertrud Bell Archive (Newcastle University, UK), http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letter_details.php?letter_id=858, accessed 28 August 2013.

Tiina Kirss describes Laidoner himself as

> quite conscious of his limitations in the French language, and the difficulty it poses him to chair sessions of League of Nations subcommittees; to improve his command of French he purchases the *de L'Académie Française* and disciplines himself to read periodicals and *belles lettres*. He misses Maria's [his wife's] linguistic acumen: her spontaneous translations are far more apt than searching through the dictionary.[348]

Although Bell criticised his French, others considered it to be "excellent" and that he spoke it "really well".[349] Bell could have been critical because of her own excellent linguistic skills. Estonian newspapers published seven articles[350] describing in detail her knowledge of Turkish and Arabic, including forty dialects of the latter.[351]

In January 1929 Paul Löbe, the president of the German *Reichstag*, visited Estonia and delivered a public speech to Estonia's *Riigikogu*, which was interpreted into Estonian. This fact was mentioned in three articles.[352] According to one article in *Päewaleht*, he also ended his speech (which was in German) with a phrase in Estonian (*Elagu Eesti!*—Long live Estonia!).[353]

When preparing to host His Majesty King Gustav V of Sweden in 1929, Estonia's ambassador to Stockholm was informed that "as previously verbally expressed, the president expects the king to reply in Swedish" and was asked to forward the text of the president's welcoming speech on to the Swedish authorities.[354] The programme of the visit, in Estonian and French, is preserved in the archives, as is the speech given by the chairman of the *Riigikogu*, which is in French on embossed paper with the comment *Traduction* (translation) stamped on it.[355] It could be assumed that the speech was delivered in Estonian with the translated text distributed to the audience.

The following year (1930) a journalist published an article expressing his displeasure, commenting on the number of foreign heads of state Estonia had

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[348] Tiina Kirss, "Abutting Absences. Love Letters from Two Eras", *Estonian Literary Magazine* 27 (Autumn 2008), http://elm.estinst.ee/issue/27/abutting-absences-love-letters-two-eras/, accessed 17 February 2016.

[349] Turtola, *Kindral Johan Laidoner*, 80, 85.

[350] "Mesopotaamia kroonimata kuninganna", *Päewaleht,* 30 October 1926; "Araabia kroonimata kuningana miss Bell", *Kaja,* 15 May 1931; "Kullaga tasutud tarkus. Naine, kes kõneles 40 araabia murret", *Esmaspäev,* 12 December 1932; "Kullaga tasutud tarkus. Naine, kes kõneles 40 araabia murret", *Maa Hääl,* 12 December 1932; "Naine, kes aitas kuninga troonile", *Uudisleht,* 12 September 1935; "Ka sääraseid naisi on olemas", *Uudisleht,* 12 September 1937; "Võitlus õli pärast", *Uus Eesti,* 4 September 1938.

[351] See section 2.2.4. entitled "Prominent Interpreters".

[352] "Saksa riigipäeva esimees Loebe Riias", *Postimees,* 5 January 1929; "President Löbe viibib Tallinnas kolm päeva", *Postimees,* 6 January 1929; "Löbe saabub esmaspäeval", *Kaja*, 5 January 1929.

[353] "Saksa riigipäeva president riigikogus", *Päewaleht,* 9 January 1929.

[354] ERA.957-7-129. A letter to Estonia's ambassador in Sweden dated 14 June 1929.

[355] ERA.957-7-129. Speech by the chairman of the *Riigikogu*.

hosted recently (which actually exceeded that of neighbouring countries). The journalist is highly critical of the fact that photographers were denied access and that the police cordoned off roads so that people wanting to greet King Gustav V could not get close. His wrath seems to have been incurred in particular by the fact that journalists were not invited to dinners in honour of numerous high-level dignitaries.[356] The article allows us to conclude that diplomatic interaction with Estonia's neighbouring countries had been quite active.

In 1934, Tartu hosted the president of the Polish Senate, Walery Sławek, and the accompanying delegation. An article in *Postimees* dated 6 May 1934 singled out the use of two different interpreters.[357] Dr Jerzy Kaplinski, a University of Tartu lecturer of Polish origin, interpreted the speech by General Tõnisson, the mayor of Tartu, into Polish and another university lecturer and native Estonian, Villem Ernits, interpreted President Sławek's speech into Estonian. As stated above,[358] in diplomatic interpreting it is often the practice that each party uses its own interpreter.[359] The article published in 1934 confirms awareness of this practice as well as that of another well-rooted principle: that it is preferable to interpret into one's mother tongue.[360] In modern diplomatic interpreting, however, interpreting out of one's mother tongue is advocated.[361]

Another example of diplomatic interpreting comes from the opening of the 5th Finno-Ugrian Conference in Tallinn in 1936: President Päts delivered the opening address in Estonian and was interpreted into Finnish and Hungarian.[362]

A meeting of the international border committee (1920) to settle the future of the border town of Valga brought together not only Estonian and Latvian representatives but also the British representative to the Baltic provinces, Colonel Tallents. Articles from *Päewaleht* briefly mention that "a few interpreters" arrived in Valga along with other delegates.[363] The next day *Waba Maa* mentioned interpreters just as briefly.[364]

Newspaper readers were also informed of interpretation used in international negotiations. Indeed, Estonian newspapers ran two articles on the peace negotiations between Finland and Russia in the summer of 1920.[365] Both articles let the reader know that negotiations would be held in the language in which the two delegations found it easier to express their thoughts. Speeches in Russian would be interpreted into German for the benefit of the Finnish

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356 "Pidustuste järel. Tähelepanekuid ja näpunäiteid", *Päewaleht,* 15 August 1930.
357 "Tartu Poola ja Eesti lippude ehtes", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934.
358 See section 1.3.3. entitled "Diplomatic Interpreting".
359 Kučerova, "Diplomatic Interpreting in Czechoslovakia"; Cohen, "International Translator's", 3, 8.
360 "Tartu Poola ja Eesti lippude ehtes", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934.
361 Örn, *Milleks diplomaatia?*; Obst, *White House Interpreter,* 11.
362 "Tallinn hõimulippude all. Kauged vennad tulid kokku", *Maa Hääl,* 26 June 1936.
363 "Walga nõupidamine", *Päewaleht,* 23 March 1920.
364 "Eesti-Läti piiriküsimuse lahendamine", *Waba Maa,* 24 March 1920.
365 "Soome-Vene rahuläbirääkimised", *Postimees,* 14 June 1920; "Soome-Vene rahuläbirääkimised Tartus", *Päewaleht,* 14 June 1920.

delegation and speeches in German into Russian for the Russian delegation. This also serves as an example of diplomatic interpreting between two countries.

2.4.2 Foreign Delegations to Estonia

Out of forty-seven articles about foreign delegations, thirty were relevant to the section that covers visits by heads of state and government.[366] The remaining seventeen are examined below.

One of the first high-level guests to visit Estonia was Professor Dr Th. Russen, the secretary general of the League of Nations Union.[367] He visited Estonia in 1923 and was interpreted from French by Eduard Tennmann. Another visit, which benefited from interpretation was that of a Mr Anderson; he represented the largest English butter and bacon producer and attended the opening of the export slaughterhouse in Tartu in 1927.[368]

On a visit by Latvian scouts to their Estonian counterparts in Tallinn, an Estonian scout interpreted from Latvian into Estonian and from Estonian into Latvian.[369] Three Estonian students who were studying in Hungary accompanied a Hungarian delegation and "smoothly chatt[ed] in Hungarian".[370] Other visits were interpreted, as well: director general Albert Thomas of the International Labour Office,[371] a representative of the International Order of Good Templars,[372] Chief Scout and founder of the Scout Movement Lord Baden-Powell,[373] the director of the Esperanto Museum in Vienna, Austria,[374] the head of the Lithuanian Scouts,[375] Hungarian students,[376] and members of the Polish government and Senate.[377] Guest speakers at the Defence League Day celebrations were also interpreted.[378] As the vice president of the Estonian-American Chamber of Commerce only spoke English, YMCA Secretary Muul, who accompanied him, also acted as an interpreter.[379] However, when Charles

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[366] Thirty articles are discussed in the section 2.4.1. entitled "Diplomatic Interpreting as Covered in Newspapers".
[367] "Prof. Ruhssen esineb täna õhtul ülikooli aulas", *Postimees,* 17 May 1923.
[368] "Üle 200 inimese avamispidustustel", *Kaja,* 13 December 1927.
[369] "Läti skautide vastuvõtmine Tallinnas", *Postimees,* 31 December 1925.
[370] "Ungarlased Tallinnas külaskäigul", *Kaja,* 15 July 1926.
[371] "Albert Thomas Eestis", Päewaleht, 25 August 1927; "Albert Thomas Tallinnas ja Tartus", Päewaleht, 25 August 1927.
[372] "Rahvusvaheline karskustegelane", *Päewaleht,* 29 September 1929.
[373] "Meeleolurikkaid hetki lord Baden-Powelli külaskäigult", *Postimees,* 22 August 1933.
[374] "Külaline Austriast", *Postimees,* 11 February 1932.
[375] "Tartu teated: Leedu skaudijuht oli Tartus", *Postimees,* 2 August 1934.
[376] "Ungarlased tegid 112 joonistust Eestist", *Postimees,* 3 September 1935.
[377] "Tartu teated. Senaator Hubicka ettekanne", *Postimees,* 5 May 1934.
[378] "Kõik isamaa eest … Kaitseliitlaste tõrvikutega rongikäik Tartus", *Kaja,* 21 June 1927.
[379] "Eesti – Ameerika kaubanduskoja asepres. A. Abrams Tartus", *Postimees,* 30 October 1936.

Lindbergh, the first person to complete a solo non-stop flight across the ocean (from the United States to Paris in 1927), visited Estonia, welcoming addresses were only pronounced in English and no mention of interpretation was made.[380] The articles also mention a visit by a Finnish professor to Livonia thirty years earlier in 1905, for which he needed a Latvian interpreter.[381]

2.4.3 Estonian Delegations to Foreign Countries

Articles that discussed Estonian delegations travelling abroad, which by inference would indicate the use of interpretation, were scarce and the author managed to discover just three. Two longer articles were on a parliamentary delegation's visit to Hungary in June 1928, written by Theodor Tallmeister, a Lutheran minister and member of the *Riigikogu*.[382] So far these are the only articles the author has discovered that stress the symbolic capital of the state language, albeit indirectly. Tallmeister writes:

> Most of the talking and speeches were in German; o n e ' s o w n state language [either Estonian or Hungarian] was used just a few times and was followed by interpretation into the o t h e r state language. (Emphasis in the original.)[383]

The subtle stress on the words "o n e ' s o w n" and "o t h e r" is emphasised by spaces being placed between each of the letters in the words. In describing an unexpected service organised during a church visit, Tallmeister makes another reference to the symbolic capital of the state language:

> We introduced ourselves and the minister immediately organised a short service. He preached in Hungarian, a Finnish minister did so in Finnish and I did so in Estonian. Participants assured us that such a display of national-religious sentiment and the mutual blessing of three brother nations was very touching.[384]

There was also a reference to Foreign Minister Hans Rebane of Estonia delivering a speech in Estonian at the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Republic of Latvia in Riga.[385] The articles are discussed in greater detail in the section on discussing diplomatic interpreting. Another three articles referred to Estonian interpreters accompanying a delegation or person abroad to interpret.[386]

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380 "Ookeanilendur Charles Lindbergh Tallinnas", *Postimees,* 1 October 1933.
381 "Viimast liivlast otsimas", *Postimees*, 19 February 1935.
382 Theodor Tallmeister, "Riigikogu delegatsioon Ungaris. Muljeid ja tähelepanekuid I", *Waba Maa* (Tallinn), 21 June 1928; Tallmeister, "Riigikogu delegatsioon Ungaris, II".
383 Tallmeister, "Riigikogu delegatsioon Ungaris, I".
384 Tallmeister, "Riigikogu delegatsioon Ungaris, II".
385 "Juubelituledes pidutsev Riia", *Postimees,* 20 November 1928.
386 See section 2.2.3. entitled "Foreign Language Speakers Acting as Interpreters": Jaak Taul, Juhan Kõpp, Aleksis Rannit.

2.4.4 Public Lectures

One hundred and twenty-three articles, advertisements and announcements invited people to attend lectures for which interpretation was provided: ninety-two mentioned public lectures, including a speech on Austria in Esperanto which aired over the public broadcasting system,[387] and thirty-one mentioned private lectures for members of an association or institute. The topics of the public lectures and speeches that were interpreted fall into eight categories: countries, Christian, temperance, politics, youth, sport, education, and miscellaneous.

Lectures about a country or city are mentioned most often: thirty-four times, about eight different countries, two cities, the Orient and the Faroe Islands. India was by far the best covered with ten cases, followed by Austria, China, Sweden and Turkey (three cases each), and Bulgaria, Hungary and the United States (two each). There were also lectures on two cities: Prague thrice and Paris once. The Faroe Islands and the Orient are each covered just once, and the lecture on the Orient included Turkey, Egypt and Palestine. Six source languages were mentioned as follows: Esperanto (15 times), German (6), English (2), French (1), Swedish (1), and Hungarian (1); in this last case, the interpreter's name was also mentioned. In eight cases the source language was not unambiguously expressed.

The next largest category of interpreted lectures dealt with various **Christian topics**: twenty-five of them were promoted in twenty-two advertisements and three announcements. The topics varied from religion in Soviet Russia[388] to theosophy,[389] including sixteen on Jehovah's Witnesses[390] and one that was organised by the Seventh-Day Adventist congregation.[391] Lectures were interpreted into Estonian from Danish, English, Esperanto, Finnish and Russian; two were interpreted into Russian. Three public lectures promoted the cause of Salvation Army. Two "awakening" lectures introduced the cause as early as 1923[392] but the actual founding date of the Estonian Salvation Army Corps was only 31 December 1927,[393] as advertised in the announcement.[394] All lectures were interpreted from Swedish. The interpreter's name (Captain C. F. Dahl) is mentioned in the announcement dated 10 February 1923.[395]

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[387] "Korporatiivse korra ülistamine radios" [Eulogy to corporate order in public broadcasting], *Postimees,* 14 August 1934.
[388] Advertisement, *Postimees,* 20 October 1929.
[389] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 31 October 1926.
[390] For example, advertisements, *Postimees,* 21 August 1928*; Päewaleht,* 15 June 1930; 20 June 1930.
[391] Advertisement*, Postimees,* 17 August 1930.
[392] "Kiriklikud teated", *Päewaleht,* 10 February 1923; "Päästearmee", *Postimees,* 23 February 1923.
[393] Kärt Jänes-Kapp, "Soup, soap, salvation – supp, seep, sõna", *Horisont,* 8 December 1998.
[394] Announcement "Päästearmee asub Tallinna", *Päewaleht,* 28 December 1927.
[395] "Kiriklikud teated", *Päewaleht,* 10 February 1923.

Temperance issues were addressed in thirteen lectures that were covered by five articles, five advertisements and three announcements. There was interpretation from German four times;[396] in the other cases the source language was not mentioned[397] or was merely generalised as "foreign languages".[398] Six public lectures had to do with the International Temperance Congresses held in Tartu in 1926,[399] and for one of those, two interpreters were named (Helmi Põld and Jaan Tõnisson).[400] Three advertisements were for lectures[401] by Dr R. Hercod, Director of the International Bureau against Alcohol, who also met with the members of the *Riigikogu* and government.[402]

Six items (four articles, an advertisement and an announcement) focus on lectures on various **political** topics. An advertisement published in *Postimees* informs readers of a number of meetings that Mr Frank Ritchie from the YMCA was going to hold over a five-day period on nation building and community work.[403] The announcement invites the public to attend an event to mark the birthday of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a former president of Czechoslovakia.[404]

An article describing the visit of a British representative of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation invites readers to seven lectures, all to be held either in German or English and interpreted into Estonian.[405] A French senator held a public lecture on France and the League of Nations,[406] and the private secretary to Polish statesman Józef Klemens Piłsudski delivered a keynote speech to pay tribute to Piłsudski's memory.[407] An article on the upcoming opening of a monument to King Carl XII of Sweden pointed out that the speech by Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden would be interpreted into Estonian.[408]

Six pieces cover lectures on **youth**-related issues. Four items are about lectures by "the best specialist in the world on working with boys", Mr A.

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[396] For example, advertisements, *Postimees,* 30 November 1924; 2 December 1924.

[397] For example, "Kõnekoosolek", *Kaja,* 15 July 1926; announcement *Päewaleht,* 18 July 1926.

[398] "Noorsugu ülemaailmliste kongresside ajal. Kavatsetakse luua ülemaailmlist noorsookarskusliitu", *Päewaleht,* 17 July 1926.

[399] For example, ibid.; "Noored üleilmlisel karskuskongressil", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926; Announcement "Suur rahvakoosolek", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.

[400] "Miiting", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.

[401] Advertisements, *Postimees,* 3 April 1922; 30 November 1924; 2 December 1924.

[402] "Dr. Hercodi kõned Tallinnas", *Kaja,* 29 November 1924.

[403] Advertisement, *Postimees,* 11 September 1921.

[404] Announcement, "Aktus T. G. Masaryki sünnipäeva puhul", *Postimees*, 6 March 1936.

[405] "Rahvusvahelise lepitusliidu esitaja mr Wilford Bonsen Eestis", *Päewaleht,* 27 April 1926.

[406] "Prantsuse senaator hr. Rehnald jõuab Tartu 4. apr. õhtul", *Päewaleht,* 3 April 1926.

[407] "Isiklikke mälestusi Pilsutskist. Marssali erasekretäri K. Illakowiezowna kõne", *Postimees*, 1 February 1937.

[408] "1000 kutsutud külalist Karl XII mälestussamba avamisele", *Uus Eesti Narva Uudised*, 3 October 1936.

Chesley from the United States,[409] and two advertise lectures by guests from Bern[410] and Geneva,[411] Switzerland. The three public lectures on **sport** advocate gymnastics,[412] physical education,[413] and skiing.[414] The source language for these was English, except for the lecture on skiing, which was given in Finnish. The item on skiing also gave the name of the interpreter. **Education** was the topic of two lectures: one about anthroposophy,[415] the source language for which is not mentioned, and one on Danish folk universities, given in German;[416] both were interpreted into Estonian.

The **Miscellaneous** category comprises three items: two lectures that were interpreted from German and one from French. One, a lecture on social policy, was promoted as being of interest not only to scientists but also to workers.[417] The second was a lecture about the human trafficking of girls and their protection and was accompanied by lantern slides.[418] The third was a series of two lectures given by a professor from Vienna on the importance of handicraft in daily life, for specialists and for the general public.[419]

2.4.5 Private Lectures

Thirty-one relevant lectures were private and were organised by or for members of an association or institute (such as the Tartu French Scientific Institute, the Association of Female Students and the Tartu Academic Esperanto Association). On 10 May 1933, *Postimees* ran a lengthy article on a lecture on the Orient by Dr A. Noël from France[420]; this attracted potential attendees with a reference to previously well-received lectures that had been interpreted.[421] Several lecturers targeted women, addressing important issues concerning fundraising,[422] Polish women fighting for Poland's independence (interpreted from French by Dr Maria Kleitsman)[423] and good manners,[424] the latter being

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[409] "Neile, kes huvitatud noorte tööst", *Postimees,* 1 October 1926; advertisement, *Postimees,* 26 September 1926; announcement, *Kaja,* 28 November 1926; advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 28 November 1926.
[410] Advertisement, *Postimees,* 22 March 1926.
[411] Advertisement, *Päewaleht*, 4 November 1927.
[412] "Kõne spordist", *Postimees,* 12 July 1920.
[413] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 16 January 1926.
[414] Announcement, *Postimees,* 1 February 1937.
[415] "Antroposoofiline loeng", *Postimees,* 14 August 1924.
[416] "Daani õpetlase ettekanne", *Postimees,* 7 October 1930.
[417] "Moodsa sotsiaalpoliitika probleemid", *Päewaleht,* 26 August 1928.
[418] "Tütarlastega kauplemine ja nende kaitse", *Postimees,* 6 April 1930.
[419] "Käsitöö kultuuriline tähtsus igapäevases elus", *Postimees,* 16 November 1935.
[420] "Mme Dr A. Noël külastab uuesti Tartut", *Postimees,* 10 May 1933.
[421] See section 2.4.11. entitled "Evaluation of Interpretation".
[422] "Ameerika naistegelane Tartus", *Postimees,* 4 March 1930
[423] "Tartu teated. Senaator Hubicka ettekanne", *Postimees,* 5 May 1934.
[424] "Tähelepanelikkus ja õrnatundelisus väikestes asjades", *Päewaleht,* 19 May 1928.

exclusively for women. Two lectures were on the automotive industry and road construction in the United States.[425] Foreign policy and international relations were covered in lectures about the League of Nations, interpreted from French by Eduard Tennmann,[426] and about Poland, interpreted from Polish by Villem Ernits.[427] Two articles discussed Professor Robert Redslob's visit to The University of Tartu. Redslob delivered two lectures in French (on France and the League of Nations and on international security issues) at which "summarising interpretation into Estonian was provided".[428]

Lectures were also delivered on Chinese literature, culture and history;[429] literature in Esperanto;[430] Livonian author Karl Stalte (interpreted from Livonian by Dr Oskar Loorits);[431] Lithuanian art (interpreted from Lithuanian by Mart Pukits);[432] Danish agriculture and folk schools;[433] physical education in the United States;[434] the Swedish temperance movement;[435] Sweden;[436] Norway;[437] teaching Esperanto to the blind[438] and handicraft.[439] Five advertisements were about the US Church of Christian Science.[440] British composer, lecturer, conductor and editor William Leonard Reed (1910–2002) delivered a lecture on contemporary British music in Tallinn in 1936.[441] The Royal College of Music's travelling scholarship allowed him to travel, lecturing for the British Council in Scandinavia[442] as well as in Estonia.

Not all examined articles, advertisements or announcements explicitly mentioned source languages. Eight lectures each were interpreted from French and German into Estonian; four were interpreted from Esperanto, three from English and one each from Lithuanian, Polish and Livonian.

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[425] Advertisements, *Päewaleht,* 24 March 1923; *Postimees,* 25 March 1931.
[426] Advertisement *Postimees,* 17 May 1923.
[427] "Poola-Eesti akadeemilise ühingu asutamine Tartus", *Päewaleht*, 22 September 1933.
[428] "Tartu teated", *Postimees,* 7 March 1935; "Prantsusmaa ja Rahvasteliit", *Postimees,* 8 March 1935.
[429] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 15 October 1923.
[430] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 4 October 1936.
[431] "Liivi õhtu liivikeelse kõnega korp. 'Filiae Patriae's'", *Postimees,* 3 March 1936.
[432] "Pilk Leedu kunstiilma", *Postimees*, 18 November 1926.
[433] "Kuidas Daani põllumajandus korraldatud", *Postimees,* 14 September 1926; "Kõne Daani põllumajandusest", *Postimees,* 15 September 1926.
[434] "Ameerika kasvatusteadlased Tartus", *Postimees,* 13 August 1925.
[435] Announcement, *Postimees,* 24 April 1932.
[436] Advertisement, *Postimees,* 15 February 1933.
[437] Announcement, *Uus Eesti,* 14 February 1936.
[438] "Pimedad õpivad esperantot", *Postimees,* 6 May 1934.
[439] "Käsitöö kultuuriline tähtsus igapäevases elus", *Postimees,* 16 November 1935.
[440] Advertisements, *Uus Eesti,* 5 November 1937; 6 November 1937; 8 November 1937; *Päewaleht,* 22 October 1938; 25 October 1938.
[441] Announcement, *Päewaleht,* 19 December 1936.
[442] "Editors of National Anthems of the World", http://www.national-anthems.org/editors.htm, accessed 15 February 2012.

2.4.6 Congresses

Various international congresses were held and written about in Estonia from 1918 to 1940, the exact number thereof is impossible to establish. However, the author has been able to discover only forty-six articles, which mentioned interpretation. By far the most important were the 18th World Temperance Congress, the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries and 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress held in Tartu, which brought together delegates from twenty-five countries (1926).[443] Twenty-three items were dedicated to the temperance congresses, including a drawing depicting the interpreter standing next to Professor Hugo Bernhard Rahamägi (1886–1941) in the pulpit and interpreting into Swedish.[444] The interpreter's name was not mentioned but it could be Leeni Ploompuu-Westerinen as she interpreted speeches from Estonian into Swedish on several occasions during the temperance congress. This is one of the three visual images of interpreters at work that the author discovered for the period under review; the other two also mentioned the interpreters' names.[445]

The next largest group is that of Christian congresses, comprised of six events. At an international Baptist Conference a speech was interpreted from Estonian into English, German and Latvian,[446] while a Methodist conference had a Finnish guest speaker who was interpreted into Estonian.[447] Minister A. Rintala from Finland and V. Reed, secretary of the North European Division, spoke at the Seventh-Day Adventists' 12th annual general conference.[448] At the 1919 Evangelical Lutheran Congress, greetings on behalf of US congregations were delivered in German and then interpreted.[449] Finally, two articles make specific comments about interpretation. As Russian emigrants were allowed to participate in the congress of the Estonian Orthodox Church (1924), all speeches were interpreted from Estonian into Russian, leading to the comment that "interpreting takes, of course, a lot of time".[450] The 2nd Finnish-Estonian Lutheran Ministers Conference thanked Ministers Erwio and Põld, who played a major role in the conference, skilfully interpreting the presentations.[451]

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[443] For example, "60 000 margaline telegramm", *Postimees*, 16 August 1926; "Tartu kongress – päikesepaisteline jõuallikas", *Postimees*, 17 August 1926.

[444] "Karskuskongressid panevad inimesi järelemõtlema", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.

[445] "Karskuskongressid panevad inimesi järelemõtlema", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926 (drawing); "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus. Pidulik avamisjumalateenistus ja kõned", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926 (photo of interpreter L. Ploompuu-Westerinen); "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees,* 27 June 1938 (photo of interpreter J. Taul).

[446] "Baptisti rajariikide konverents Tallinnas", *Waba Maa*, 30 August 1930.

[447] "Ringi ümber kodumaa", *Postimees*, 25 June 1935.

[448] "Vaimulikud kõned", *Postimees,* 17 August 1930.

[449] "Üleüldine Evangeeliumi-Lutheruse usu kiriku kongress", *Päewaleht,* 11 September 1919.

[450] "Apostliku kiriku kongress", *Kaja,* 11 September 1924.

[451] "Usuteadlaste konverentsi lõpp", *Postimees,* 25 July 1935.

Baltic cooperation is reflected in six articles that mention interpretation at four congresses. At the Baltic Teachers' Congress in 1928 the opening speech was interpreted from Estonian into Latvian and Lithuanian, though the working languages were German and Russian.[452] The official language of the Baltic Agronomists' Congress (1929) was German but one presentation was interpreted from French into German.[453] At the Baltic Baptist Conference a speech was interpreted from Estonian into English and Latvian.[454] The Baltic Regional Conference of World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches held its opening service in Estonian and German. Professor Eduard Tennmann interpreted guest ministers into Estonian.[455] An extended Baltic congress that also included Finns was organised by students; its working languages were German and Russian with all speeches in Russian interpreted into German.[456]

Three articles were about Finno-Ugrian cultural conferences. In 1928, summarised interpretation was provided from Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, German, French and English into Estonian, Hungarian and Finnish.[457] "Summarised interpretation" was not new to conference interpretation, as during the preparations for the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, it was agreed that

> the French and English languages shall be the official languages of the conference. Speeches in French shall be summarized in English and vice versa by an interpreter belonging to the secretariat of the conference.[458]

In 1936, the director of the organising committee and the President of Estonia took the floor in Estonian and were interpreted into Finnish and Hungarian.[459] An article describing the arrival of Hungarian guests at the Tartu railway station mentions Dr J. Thörle, PhD, who interpreted words of welcome from and into Estonian and Hungarian.[460]

Three items reveal that cooperation between Nordic countries and Estonia was most active in the field of education during this period. In 1929 Estonians attended a Nordic congress on education where speeches in Estonian and Finnish were interpreted into Swedish, Danish or Norwegian, while those made

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[452] "Balti riikide õpetajate kongress", *Päewaleht,* 27 June 1928; "Balti õpetajate kongressilt. 102 naaberriikide õpetajat Tallinnas", *Postimees,* 29 June 1928.

[453] "Agronoomide suurpäevad. Homme avatakse Balti riikide agronoomide kongress", *Postimees,* 13 July 1929.

[454] "150 baptisti külaskäik Tallinna", *Postimees*, 30 August 1930.

[455] "Kirik ja maailmarahu", *Päewaleht,* 4 September 1935.

[456] "Soome, Eesti, Läti ja Leedu üliõpilaskondade-vaheline konverents", *Postimees,* 11 April 1923.

[457] "Hõimutöö suurpäevade ootel", *Postimees,* 30 February 1928.

[458] Baigorri-Jalón, "Conference Interpreting in the First International Labour Conference", 988.

[459] "Tallinn hõimulippude all. Kauged vennad tulid kokku", *Maa Hääl,* 26 June 1936.

[460] "Ungarlased-ekskursandid saabuvad 25. juunil", *Postimees,* 20 June 1936.

in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian were not interpreted.[461] Interpretation from and into Swedish and Estonian was provided at various meetings in Tartu in 1938.[462]

Two articles are on national congresses. At the Estonian Education Research Week,[463] which focused on the overhaul of the education system, a guest speaker from London introduced the Dalton plan, which had grown out of the spread of the progressive American approach to education in the 1920s and 1930s.[464] The promotion of closer ties between Finno-Ugrian peoples also reached its peak in the 1920s and 1930s and triggered widespread language learning. An article dedicated to the National Teachers' Congress draws attention to the fact that the Congress passed a unanimous resolution: teachers in Estonia and Finland should start learning each other's state language and speeches at joint conferences would not be interpreted in the future;[465] by inference interpretation had, in fact, been used in the past.

Three items have to do with lectures by foreign guests returning home from international congresses in Helsinki via Estonia. One article entitled "An Important Frenchman Is Coming to Estonia" is about a lecture on contemporary social issues interpreted from French into Estonian.[466] Two articles share the headline "A Black Missionary in Tallinn" and refer to a lecture by an African missionary who spoke about the difficult life of African women and about Christianity in Africa.

The articles give a detailed description of the service that he officiated en route home from an international congress in Helsinki. He spoke in English but ended his speech with "a prayer in the Negro language".[467] The articles do not

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[461] "Põhjamaa rahvaste ühistöö vabahariduse alal", *Postimees,* 6 January 1929.

[462] "Eesti õhtule Wahil oodatakse külalisi", *Postimees*, 20 July 1938; "Haridusnädalal tutvuneti Eesti taludega ja eluga", *Postimees,* 21 July 1938.

[463] "Kasvatustöö paraad Tallinnas", *Päewaleht,* 7 August 1930.

[464] The Dalton Plan: secondary-education technique based on individual learning. Developed by Helen Pakhurst in 1919, it was at first introduced at a school for the handicapped and then in 1920 in the high school in Dalton, Mass. The plan had grown out of the reaction of some progressive educators to the inadequacies inherent in the conventional grading system, which ignored individual variables in learning speed. The Dalton Plan divided each subject in the school's curriculum into monthly assignments. Although pupils were free to plan their own work schedules, they were responsible for finishing one assignment before starting another. Pupils were encouraged to work in groups. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

Helen Pakhurst's objectives: to tailor each student's program to his or her needs, interests, and abilities; to promote both independence and dependability; and to enhance the student's social skills and sense of responsibility toward others. http://www.dalton.org/philosophy/dalton_plan

[465] "Õpetajad asuvad soome keelt õppima", *Postimees,* 21 October 1935.

[466] "Tähtis prantslane tuleb Eestisse", *Kaja,* 26 August 1928.

[467] "Must misjonär Tallinnas", *Uus Eesti,* 8 August 1936; "Must misjonär Tallinnas", *Järva Teataja,* 10 August 1936.

mention the interpreter's name but another source does: Amanda Sophie Nukka (1904–2004).[468]

The list of source languages at international conventions either in Estonia or abroad is quite diverse; in addition to German, English, Russian and French, it also includes the Scandinavian languages (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian) and the Finno-Ugrian ones (Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian). Rare interpretation combinations included from Russian into German, which took place at the Baltic-Finnish students' conference,[469] and from French into German at the Baltic Agronomists' Congress; the working language at the latter was German but a presentation was allowed in French.[470]

2.4.7 Christian Events

Fifty-two articles, announcements and advertisements had to do with Christianity in some way, excluding international congresses. Various denominations—the Lutherans, Adventists, Baptists, Methodists and Jehovah's Witnesses—used interpretation, with the Jehovah's Witnesses the most frequent users. Indeed, they published twenty advertisements in the Tallinn daily *Päewaleht* and three, including a broadcasting schedule, in the leading daily *Postimees*, published in Tartu. By year, 1930 was most active for this type of activity, with twenty advertisements published; this was followed by 1928 with two and 1932 with one. The Jehovah's Witnesses (originally the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society) started in Estonia in 1926. In 1930, Scotsman Wallace Baxter was appointed as the coordinator for Estonia (until 1940), which is why that year marked the height of interpretation usage.[471] Three advertisements announce Baxter as a speaker.[472] Between 1929 and 1934 the Watch Tower had its independent broadcasting station in Estonia, and in addition to broadcasting in Estonian, programmes were also aired in English, Finnish, German, Russian and Swedish.[473] Sixteen advertisements promoted interpreted broadcasts. As for missionary work, it was carried out in Estonian, Russian and German. The advertisements announced three source languages, which were then interpreted: Finnish (three cases: one in 1928, two in 1930),[474] Esperanto (one case in 1928),[475] and Danish (one case in 1930).[476] In addition to Estonian, target

[468] "Eesti adventistide misjonitöö Aafrikas 1930–1940".

[469] "Soome, Eesti, Läti ja Leedu üliõpilaskondade-vaheline konverents", *Postimees,* 11 April 1923.

[470] "Agronoomide suurpäevad", *Postimees,* 13 July 1929.

[471] Ringo Ringvee, "Jehoova tunnistajad Eestis", *Mäetagused* 52 (2012): 164, doi:10.7592/MT2012.52.ringvee.

[472] Advertisements: "Ülemaailmline rahu: millal", *Postimees*, 17 August 1930; "Ülemaailmlik rahu: millal", *Päewaleht*, 17 August 1930; "Eluleib", *Postimees*, 7 November 1930.

[473] Ringvee, "Jehoova tunnistajad Eestis".

[474] Advertisements, *Päewaleht,* 21 August 1928; 14 September 1930; 9 November 1930.

[475] Advertisement, *Postimees,* 21 August 1928.

[476] Advertisement, *Päewaleht*, 15 June 1930.

languages were German (once from Finnish in 1928)[477] and Russian (twice from English in 1930).[478]

The prevailing denomination in Estonia—Lutheran—is mentioned in sixteen cases: seven announcements, six articles (one with a photo[479]), two advertisements and a drawing. Eleven interpreted events were church services, including nine led by guest ministers from Denmark,[480] the United States,[481] Finland,[482] Germany,[483] Norway,[484] and England.[485] All but two took place in Tartu. The other two took place in Tallinn; the first consisted in a service in Finnish that was interpreted into Swedish when one hundred Finnish theology professors and students were in the city,[486] and the second was the opening service at a Baltic Regional conference, at which guest ministers were interpreted into Estonian by Professor Tennmann.[487] Three other services were specifically temperance services.[488] There were also three public lectures by Professor V. C. Marzinowski,[489] formerly of the University of Samara in Russia.[490] An announcement from 1922 does not mention languages but does state that a speech will be interpreted. Those that were published in 1929 say that the lectures would be in Russian and interpreted if necessary. The three visual images of interpreters at work are all from *Postimees*:[491] two, a drawing[492] and a

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[477] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 21 August 1928

[478] Advertisements, *Postimees*, 17 August 1930; *Päewaleht,* 17 August 1930.

[479] "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees,* 27 June 1938 (photo of interpreter J. Taul).

[480] Announcement, "Kiriklikud teated. Maarja kirik", *Postimees,* 19 June 1924.

[481] "Ameerika karskustegelase kõne Pauluse kirikus", *Postimees,* 25 July 1925; "Karskusliidu tegelane W. J. Johnson Tartus", *Postimees,* 29 July 1925.

[482] "100 Soome usuteadlast Tallinna. 10 professorit ja 90 üliõpilast tulevad esmaspäeval aurik 'Suomil'", *Päewaleht,* 19 October 1929.

[483] Announcement, *Postimees,* 19 November 1932.

[484] Announcement, *Postimees,* 24 September 1937.

[485] "Läti ja Inglise kirikutegelased täna Tartus", *Postimees,* 25 June 1938; "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees,* 27 June 1938; Announcement "Kiriklikke teateid", *Postimees,* 18 July 1939.

[486] "100 Soome usuteadlast Tallinna. 10 professorit ja 90 üliõpilast tulevad esmaspäeval aurik "Suomil", *Päewaleht,* 19 October 1929.

[487] "Kirik ja maailmarahu", *Päewaleht,* 4 September 1935.

[488] "Ameerika karskustegelase kõne Pauluse kirikus", *Postimees,* 25 July 1925; "Karskusliidu tegelane W. J. Johnson Tartus", *Postimees,* 29 July 1925; "Karskuskongressid panevad inimesi järelemõtlema", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.

[489] Announcement, *Postimees,* 22 March 1922.

[490] Advertisements, *Postimees,* 20 October 1929; 24 October 1929.

[491] "Karskuskongressid panevad inimesi järelemõtlema", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926 (drawing); "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus. Pidulik avamisjumalateenistus ja kõned", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926 (photo of interpreter L. Ploompuu-Westerinen); "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees,* 27 June 1938 (photo of interpreter J. Taul).

[492] "Karskuskongressid panevad inimesi järelemõtlema", *Postimees*, 20 July 1926.

photo,[493] portray the interpreter standing next to the minister at the pulpit; the photo also names the interpreter as Minister Jaak Taul.

The source languages for these Lutheran events, when mentioned, were Estonian, English, German, and Russian; the target languages were Estonian, Latvian, and Swedish.

The Seventh-Day Adventist Church is mentioned six times (four advertisements and two announcements). D. N. Wall from New York gave a lecture and is mentioned in three advertisements.[494] Public lectures were also given by other foreign guests: T. T. Babienco, for example, the chair of the Baltic Union (who was interpreted from Russian into Estonian),[495] and H. L. Rudy, the chair of the Baltic Union Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (who was interpreted from German into Estonian).[496]

The Methodist church is mentioned four times in conjunction with interpretation. The Methodist Conference, for example, had a Finnish guest speaker who was interpreted into Estonian, as described in a brief article.[497] Three other announcements inform readers of guest speakers from Germany (once)[498] and Switzerland (twice).[499]

The Baptists are mentioned in association with three events. At the Baptist Conference the opening speech was interpreted from Estonian into English and Latvian,[500] while a Finnish evangelist-singer gave a concert combined with a service.[501] The interpreter for the latter was author-evangelist Peeter-Adolf Sink (1902–1957). Finally, a speech on religious life in Russia was given in German and interpreted into Estonian.[502]

2.4.8 Concerts Combined with a Speech or Lecture

Seven items paint a diversified picture of this category: four advertisements, an announcement and three articles. Two advertisements invite people to three charitable lectures at the Vanemuine Theatre, to be illustrated with lantern slides and accompanied by a concert (violin, cello, piano and a singer). These lectures followed a fire that broke out on the Estonian island of Piirissaare (Lake Peipus) on 4 October 1921 at 9 p.m. The fire, caused by a faulty chimney, spread across the entire island, blown by strong winds, and burned

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493 "Inglise piiskop jutlustas Peetri kirikus", *Postimees*, 27 June 1938.
494 Advertisements, *Postimees,* 4 November 1925; 11 November 1925; 18 November 1925.
495 Announcement, *Postimees,* 9 August 1931.
496 Announcement, *Postimees,* 14 October 1933.
497 "Ringi ümber kodumaa", *Postimees*, 25 June 1935.
498 Announcement, *Postimees,* 20 November 1931.
499 Two anouncements in *Postimees,* 21 May 1932.
500 "150 baptisti külaskäik Tallinna", *Postimees,* 30 August 1930.
501 "Soome laul Immaanueli palvelas", *Postimees,* 16 January 1932.
502 Announcement, *Postimees,* 8 May 1932.

down 89 farms (buildings and cattle), leaving 460 people homeless.[503] Just forty-six houses were left untouched by the fire. The money from the three charitable lectures was therefore to be used to rebuild the homes of Piirissaare Island. They were given by Erik Lundström, the gardener at the University of Tartu Botanical Gardens on "Spitsbergen, the land of coal and icebergs: its history, climate, nature, fauna and flora and river traffic".[504] Hilja Kettunen, the first Finnish-language lecturer at The University of Tartu, interpreted these lectures from Swedish into Estonian.

Another event, the concert given by the Latvian students' mixed choir, *Dziemuwara*, was mentioned in *Postimees* on 6 March 1929.[505] A Latvian student named Leepin, who was attending The University of Tartu, interpreted the speech given by a representative of the choir from Latvian into Estonian.[506] Another event held in the Tallinn Conservatoire targeted a more specific audience but nevertheless was interpreted. At this event, a musicologist of Estonian origin, A. Truslit, introduced his research under the title "*Gestaltung und Bewegung in der Musik*" ("Movement as an original element in a musical performance").[507] The remaining three interpreted events in this category were a lecture on "The Young People of the World" by A. Chesley from the United States, who was interpreted from English,[508] a memorial event to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of educationalist Janis Cimze (1814–1881),[509] with interpretation from and into Latvian and Estonian, and a speech on Austria by Hugo Steiner (1878–1969), an advisor to the Austrian government.[510] The speech was interpreted into Estonian, although the source language was not mentioned. We can suppose, however, that it was Esperanto, as Steiner, an active advocate of the language, founded the Esperanto Museum in Vienna in 1927, which is still open today. The first of these last three lectures was accompanied by lantern slides, singing, a violin solo and a movie; the second by a concert; and the third by slides.

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[503] "Piirissaare tulekahju", *Tallinna Teataja*, 10 October 1921; ERA.31.3.10079.l.2;l.4. *Vabariigi Valitsuse otsused Piirissaare tuleõnnetuses kannatada saanute abistamise kohta.* 26.10.1921-10.12.1921.

[504] Advertisements, *Postimees,* 17 October 1921; 20 October 1921.

[505] The name of the choir means "song power". A famous Latvian song (and a poem by Auseklis "*Beverinas dziedonis*"—the singer or bard of Beverina) that contains this word is actually partly about fighting Estonians, who have surrounded the castle. Then the singer starts singing, the Estonians drop their clubs and the war is over.

[506] "Laul süvendab sõprussidemeid", *Postimees,* 6 March 1929.

[507] "Liikumine muusikalise ettekande ürgelemendina", *Päewaleht,* 20 September 1934.

[508] "Ameerika külaline Noortemeeste kr. ühingus", announcement, *Päewaleht,* 28 November 1926.

[509] "Simse mälestuspäeva tulekul", *Postimees,* 23 July 1931.

[510] Advertisement, *Päewaleht,* 9 February 1932.

2.4.9 News Conferences

Two articles from the period under review refer to news conferences in Tallinn, Estonia, and in Shanghai, China. An article describing the news conference given by Albert Thomas in Tallinn (1927) states that "as not everybody knows French, comments are interpreted into Estonian".[511] The other article, dated 19 February 1938, describes senior Japanese officers as giving explanations with the help of interpreters, even if they were actually fluent in English.[512] Whenever something was said that the diplomats did not like, they blamed the interpreters, who, patiently smiling, accepted the blame.[513]

2.4.10 Interpretation in Local Government

An early example of interpretation in local government is an article about a township council having to increase the council secretary's salary to cover his interpreting job. The working language in the council, which bordered Russia, was Russian, but there were Estonian members who did not always understand Russian and who needed interpretation.[514] This remains the only discovery of its kind.

2.4.11 Evaluation of Interpretation

The list of languages that were used in Estonia indicates that the country had quite active international relationships and relied upon the assistance of interpreters. Such active social interaction was possible due to the availability of language-fluent people to facilitate communication with the public on various topics. Apart from merely establishing that interpretation took place, the author examined the corpus of articles to learn about what the audience thought of interpretation and if there were any evaluations of the interpreters' performance. This analysis yielded a few references, mostly indirect, to the quality of the interpretation. That which Estonian delegates experienced abroad at various international conferences is discussed in the subsection 2.4.12. entitled "International Conferences and Interpretation-Related Technological Innovations in Europe". As for interpretation that took place in Estonia, the author's search yielded twelve articles (out of the corpus of 364 mentioning interpretation): nine were favourable to and three critical of the performance of the interpreters. In some articles there was just a single word that allowed the author to judge what the sentiment was as regards an interpreter's work; even so, this allowed

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511 "Albert Thomas Eestis", *Päewaleht,* 25 August 1927.

512 "Jaapanlaste ja hiinlaste sõjapropaganda", *Päewaleht,* 19 February 1938.

513 See section 2.4.12. entitled "International Conferences and Interpretation-Related Technological Innovations in Europe" for more details on the Shanghai conference.

514 "Ringi ümber kodumaa. Mustvee alevivalitsuse kõrged palgad", *Postimees,* 20 April 1934.

her to draw some conclusions. Attempts to structure evaluation in such categories as good, bad, quality and others are destined to fail, as interpreting at international conferences was new. It is a long process to get used to listening to interpretation from and into foreign languages (the stress of using headsets, etc.), which is not the subject of this dissertation. The author has included these articles to illustrate response to interpreting even if it is scarce for conclusive evidence.

Interpretation plays a more significant role at international events, which brings together representatives of different nations. Probably the largest international event held in Estonia between the two World Wars was the Temperance Congress. To be more precise, several congresses were actually held at the same time, running from 18 to 29 July 1926: the 18th World Temperance Congress, the 12th Temperance Congress of the Nordic Countries, the 7th Nordic White Ribbon Congress of Women of the Nordic Countries and the 3rd World Students' Christian Temperance Congress. Participants represented twenty-five countries: 273 from Estonia and 254 from abroad. The Temperance Congresses and associated events thereof (public meetings, gala dinners, religious services) were by far the most covered interpreted event in Estonia's newspapers as can be concluded from the corpus examined. In addition, one of the two photos displaying interpreters at work was from the congress.[515] Out of thirty-six articles, announcements and advertisements covering the temperance congresses in three newspapers (*Postimees, Päewaleht,* and *Sakala*), nine passed judgement on the interpretation, six of which were positive and three negative (thus, out of twelve articles evaluating interpretation, nine covered the temperance congresses). Even if Professor Peeter Põld stated at the opening of the Nordic conference that he regretted that, after Estonia and Latvia joined the Nordic family, "there [was] no common language between us anymore",[516] another article in the same issue of the paper admitted that "as speeches are interpreted, everybody can listen to them".[517] At a public meeting, a Finnish representative "figuratively and vividly" described, "with the help of an interpreter", how to remain young if one lived without alcohol.[518] At another gathering Mrs Helmi Põld interpreted from Finnish into Estonian "smoothly and fluently".[519]

At a gala dinner bringing together delegates to the Nordic Temperance and White Ribbon Congresses Mrs Ploompuu-Westerinen's interpretation "reached every single member of the audience", and it was reported that she spoke in a loud and clear voice.[520] In closing the White Ribbon Congress, the chair, Mrs Põld, thanked participants for the work accomplished, "even if it might have

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[515] "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus. Pidulik avamisjumalateenistus ja kõned", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.
[516] "Põhjamaade 12. karskuskongressi avamine", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.
[517] "Esimene töökoosolek täna", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.
[518] "Suur karskusmiiting", *Postimees,* 20 July 1926.
[519] "Miiting", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.
[520] "Südame keel kõnelemas", *Postimees,* 22 July 1926.

been difficult due to not understanding other languages".[521] A Norwegian delegate responded: "Coming to the congress, I was afraid I would not be able to participate in the work because I don't know the language".[522] Alli Trygg-Helenius from Finland expressed her satisfaction, saying "I am not afraid for Estonia any more, the way I was scared of the Babel of languages before the congress".[523] This could be interpreted as the linguistic problem having been successfully solved, partly due to interpretation. "The only woman among the Estonians who [was] fluent in Swedish", Mrs Vesterinen,[524] was asked to pass on thanks to the participants.[525] At the final session of the Congress the interpreters were also thanked.[526]

Another three articles reflect how interpretation was received at other events. On 10 May 1933, *Postimees* ran a longer article about a free lecture on the Orient by a French doctor, attracting potential attendees with a promise that

> as on previous occasions, this presentation will also be interpreted into Estonian. [...] As we recall, lectures by Dr A. Noël on beauty treatments received an extraordinarily lively reception.[527]

It is rare for an article to refer to how an interpreted event is received by the audience, and this could be interpreted as an indirect reference to the quality of the interpretation. Dr A. Noël had previously given three different lectures on aesthetic surgery, all interpreted from French.[528] As for Lutheran ministers Erwio and Põld, they "interpreted very skilfully" at the 2nd Estonian-Finnish Theologians' Conference (1935).[529] Another article does not mention interpretation but talks instead about Estonian students studying at Hungarian universities who accompanied Hungarians who have come to visit Tallinn. The students "smoothly converse in Hungarian",[530] which might have been useful if any interpretation was necessary when the delegation met with the President of Estonia or with journalists.

All three of the negative comments were about the Temperance Congresses. In describing the opening service at the University of Tartu church, one writer is displeased with the way in which the Swedish opening remarks were interpreted: "As far as it was possible to understand through the weak interpreter, Pastor Östlund was pleased to see so many people gathered at the visionary

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521 "Valgelindi kongressi lõpupäev", *Päewaleht,* 23 July 1926.
522 Ibid.
523 Ibid.
524 Referred to elsewhere as Ploompuu-Westerinen.
525 "Valgelindi kongressi lõpupäev", *Päewaleht,* 23 July 1926.
526 "VII Walgelindi kongressi lõpuistung", *Postimees,* 22 July 1926.
527 "Mme Dr A. Noël külastab uuesti Tartut" (Mme Dr A. Noël visits Tartu again), *Postimees*, 10 May 1933.
528 Advertisements, *Postimees,* 12 November 1931, *Päewaleht*, 2 June 1931; announcement *Päewaleht*, 15 November 1931.
529 "Usuteadlaste konverentsi lõpp", *Postimees,* 2 July 1935.
530 "Ungarlased Tallinnas külaskäigul", *Kaja,* 15 July 1926.

service".[531] Other than this comment, the article has an overall favourable attitude and is unhappy with just one interpreter; it was also accompanied by a photo of the interpreter Mrs Ploompuu-Westerinen standing next to Mr Jaan Tõnisson, both holding a sheet of paper in their hands. Presumably she then read the previously translated speech. Two other articles are clearly judgmental and the authors are unhappy with the overall organisation of the congresses in Tartu. Describing the first day of the Nordic Temperance Congress from the journalists' point of view, one reads:

> For Estonian journalists who do not master Swedish there was nothing much to do at the congress yesterday—all speeches were in Swedish and were not interpreted. The delegates who do not know Swedish also attended the congress to no purpose.[532]

The other, published in *Sakala*, contained the impressions of a participant:

> Nothing but speeches, speeches and speeches at the congresses. Various languages—Swedish, German and Estonian—can be heard. A few speeches are interpreted but I doubt whether all the interpreters, recruited just for this, interpret anything much. It is hard to believe that a Swedish or Norwegian speaker whose words flow as smoothly and energetically as water, full of pathos and inspiration, spoke as clumsily as what was delivered by the interpreter. Nothing doing. The best among the Tartu philologists—linguist W. Ernits, who presumably speaks 17 languages—does not have much time to interpret.[533]

References to performance and quality do not abound in the articles examined. The few there are convey a generally positive evaluation of how the interpreters performed. In analysing interpretation at one of the very first multinational and multilingual conferences, the International Labour Conference in Washington in 1919, Jesús Baigorri-Jalón argues: "The fact that the proceedings were conducted in a 'smooth' manner proves that the interpreters' performance reached the expected quality standards".[534] "Smooth" is also the adjective used to describe Helmi Põld's performance.[535] The interpretation at the League of Nations was also considered "smooth".[536] Adverbs, which imply satisfaction with the interpretation quality based on the articles available include "figura-

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[531] "Karskuskongresside avamispidustused Tartus. Pidulik avamisjumalateenistus ja kõned", *Postimees,* 19 July 1926.

[532] "Põhjamaade karskuskongressi avamiskoosolek. Esimene tööpäev", *Postimees*, 20 July 1926.

[533] "Suured karskuskongressid Tartus. Kongressist osavõtja üldmuljed", *Sakala,* 24 July 1926.

[534] Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, "Conference Interpreting in the First International Labour Conference", 995.

[535] "Miiting", *Postimees,* 26 July 1926.

[536] "Tüli keelte pärast rahvasteliidus. Saksalsed oma suurust näitamas", *Postimees,* 10 June 1925; "Tõlkekunst rahvasteliidus. Haruldase mäluga inimesed", *Kaja*, 25 March 1927.

tively", "vividly", "smoothly", "fluently", and "skilfully". Dissatisfaction with the quality is related to the audiovisual comparison of the speaker and the interpreter. The criticizing journalist also picked up on doubt whether interpretation was complete.[537] The fragmented references to interpretation may be associated with expectations of different user groups, which go back to Ingrid Kurz' pioneering research in 1993 (e.g., completeness of interpretation, fluency of delivery).[538] There is not enough information to reach a conclusive result on the quality of interpretation in Estonia during the years under review. One of the key components in Interpreting Studies today is interpreting quality. Researchers apply criteria,[539] which in the author's opinion are inapplicable to the period when interpretation was not as widely practiced as today. That being said, listening to interpreters is a skill to be mastered. Indeed, Baigorri-Jalón highlights that a long-term result of the first multilingual conferences was that "people became accustomed to the procedure of listening to the interpretation in order to follow the debates".[540] The disappointment the *Sakala*[541] voiced after the 1926 Temperance Congress may well have something to do with the journalist's rare exposure (if any) to listening to interpretation. Neither the audience nor the chance interpreters had any profound experience in interpreting during the years under review.

2.4.12 International Conferences and Interpretation-Related Technical Innovations in Europe

While researching interpretation, articles on multilateral and multilingual international events caught the author's eye. These articles allowed her to catch a glimpse of to what extent Estonian readers were informed of international conferences taking place and whether readers were told about technological innovations in interpretation.

The search through newspaper articles yielded fifty-eight articles related to interpretation at international congresses (38) and at other international events (20). The author only analysed the articles that touched upon the linguistic regime applicable at such events or the use of interpretation.

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[537] "Suured karskuskongressid Tartus. Kongressist osavõtja üldmuljed", *Sakala,* 24 July 1926.

[538] Ingrid Kurz, "Conference Interpretation: Expectations of Different User Groups", *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 5 (1993), 13–21.

[539] Ángela Collados Aís and Olalla García Becerra, "Quality", in *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, ed. Holly Mikkelson and Renée Jourdenais (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 368–383; Nadja Grbić, "Quality", in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*, ed. Franz Pöchhacker (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 333–336.

[540] Baigorri-Jalón, "Conference Interpreting in the First International Labour Conference", 995.

[541] "Suured karskuskongressid Tartus. Kongressist osavõtja üldmuljed", *Sakala,* 24 July 1926.

The League of Nations

Fourteen articles on the **League of Nations**, the international organisation set up in 1920 as the result of the Paris Peace Conference, throw light on different aspects of interpretation. Estonia joined the League of Nations in 1921. Early the following year, the *Kaja* published an article, "The League of Nations and Esperanto", in which Professor Gilbert Murry's speech at London's University College is quoted. In it, the professor spoke of the linguistic difficulties, which persistently appear at the League of Nation's conferences.

> If French is spoken at the conference, it will in any case be interpreted into English; if English is spoken, it will be interpreted into French. The delegate who speaks neither of the languages is definitely in a pitiful situation.[542]

According to Murray the most natural solution would be to introduce the international languages Esperanto and Ido, with the former easier for non-Europeans to learn and the latter easier for Europeans. Several articles describe in more detail the working arrangements at the conferences. As everything, including the chairman's orders and announcements, are immediately interpreted from English into French or vice versa, "each meeting is actually held in two languages which is of no benefit to labour productivity and is really boring".[543] There is no common language for the fifty-two nations represented, although all of the delegates knew one of the two languages. The author of the article dedicates a longer paragraph to interpreters.

> Probably the best interpreters from the educated strata of society are brought together. The interpreter takes shorthand notes of the speaker's train of thoughts and delivers it immediately and smoothly in another language, stressing the same aspects as the speaker. It happens sometimes that the interpreter's speech is more energetic as well as more impressive than the words of a weak orator. One interpreter was far more awe-inspiring than any of the others. She took no notes but just took the floor and delivered the hour-long speech in the other language from memory without any difficulty. However, she could only display her skill at committee meetings, as at the plenary sessions no delegate speaks from memory; they present a preprepared speech.[544]

The same interpreter seems to have left a deep impression on an Estonian diplomat who had also seen how interpreters representing the newly developed profession of conference interpretation worked for the League of Nations.

> I most admired [the League of Nations] interpreters. There was a middle-aged lady who sat without taking any notes as if dozing throughout the two-hour

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[542] "Väljamaalt. Rahwasteliit ja Esperanto", *Kaja,* 14 January 1922.

[543] "Mõned jooned rahvasteliidu konverentsilt. Töökorraldus konverentsil", *Kaja,* 8 October 1923.

[544] Ibid.

> improvised speech by Briand, then stood up and spoke for two hours in detail about what Briand had said in French.[545]

The linguistic confusion at the League of Nations also reached the Estonian press. In 1925, *Postimees* published an article under the title "Languages Clash in the League of Nations. Germans Demonstrate their Might".[546]The article admits that interpretation at the League of Nations sessions already complicates meetings as it is, and states that if Germany were to accede and demand German as an official language along with English and French, the situation might get even worse. Parallels are drawn with the Labour Conference in Geneva: as soon as a German representative had delivered a speech in German, delegates from Spanish-speaking countries expressed their wish to speak Spanish, unless the Germans were to adhere to the existing linguistic regime. To solve the situation, the chair allowed each country to speak its own language on condition that the country took care of immediate interpretation needs. The article ends on a negative note.

> If the Germans do not waver in their plan to speak their own language at the League of Nations, it could happen that the right to use Spanish, Italian, Japanese and other languages will be tabled next. As a consequence, the League of Nations' meetings would last for months and instead of the Palace of the League of Nations under construction, a Tower of Babel will have to be built.[547]

In 1927, an entire article, "The Art of Interpreting at the League of Nations: People with Rare Memory", was dedicated to interpretation.[548] The article admits that an international speech can be properly influential only if everybody can understand it. Regrettably not all delegates were fluent in the official diplomatic languages, English and French, especially following turbulent historic changes that brought forward a number of "common bourgeois" statesmen and diplomats. According to the article, "precise and smooth interpretation requires great skill and good education from the interpreter[s]",[549] who had no special preparation for the job and had become interpreters by chance. It also admires a female interpreter "whose memory is so good that she can listen for an hour and interpret thereafter quite precisely".[550] The article also underlines a specific feature of interpretation: the requirement to use the first person singular when interpreting. For example, another interpreter who also had a good memory, a young professor of history, once interpreted an African from a lesser-known European language into French. When the speaker said, "Gentlemen, I am a coloured man myself", instead of the white interpreter saying that

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545 Mamers, *Kahe sõja vahel,* 107.
546 "Tüli keelte pärast rahvasteliidus. Saksalsed oma suurust näitamas", *Postimees,* 10 June 1925.
547 Ibid.
548 "Tõlkekunst rahvasteliidus. Haruldase mäluga inimesed", *Kaja,* 25 March 1927.
549 Ibid.
550 Ibid.

he was a coloured man to the anxiously awaiting audience, he said instead: "The distinguished delegate said that he was a coloured man". The article ends with a comment: "everybody applauded the interpreter".[551]

Another journalist attending the plenary session describes in detail the "surprisingly modest" interior of the *Salle de la Réformation*, including the interpreters' workstation: a simple grandstand with the chairman, the secretary general and the chief interpreter on the upper platform and the speaker and interpreters on the lower platform. The journalist continues:

> Interpreter [Gustave Henri] Camerlinck,[552] sitting to the right of the chairman, echoes him in English. Due to his profession Camerlinck probably knows better than anybody else the intricate chess moves of the European states. [...] The chair pronounces French as if it were Spanish and he is often difficult to understand. Mr Camerlinck saves the situation, interpreting with incredible proficiency.[553]

Yet another journalist adds that the time spent on interpreting "makes the meeting longer than it otherwise would be"[554] and "is a waste of time".[555] If the speaker uses a third language, he has to bring his own interpreter to interpret the speech into one of the official languages, either into English or French, and thereafter it is interpreted into the other official language.[556] The article stresses that most of the speakers read out their speeches while outstanding politicians speak from memory, as did, for example, German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann who, incidentally, brought his own interpreter so that he could speak German. It is actually still international practice that if necessary the speaker provides his or her own interpreter.[557] At the United Nations, for instance,

> statements made in any of the six official languages will be interpreted into the other official languages. Any representative may, in accordance with rule 47 of the provisional Rules of Procedure, make a statement in a language other than an official language of the Summit. In such cases, the delegation should provide

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[551] Ibid.

[552] Gustave Henri Camerlynck (1870–1929), see "Camerlynck. Obituary", *Time*, 25 February 1929: "The Greatest Interpreter of Modern Times, and Perhaps of Any Age, was Gustave Henri Camerlynck"; see also Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*.

[553] "Muljeid Genfist", *Päewaleht,* 12 October 1923.

[554] "Genfi taeva all kaob pessimism", *Postimees,* 9 September 1927.

[555] "Kuidas töötatakse Rahwaste liidu täiskogus", *Postimees,* 22 September 1929.

[556] Ibid.

[557] The author accompanied President Arnold Rüütel of Estonia to the UN General Assembly's 58th session as his personal interpreter and interpreted the president's speech simultaneously from Estonian into English on 24 September 2003.

> either an interpreter from the non-official language into an official language or a written text of the statement in one of the official languages.[558]

Despite all the praise that was generally heaped upon to the interpreters, a German journalist recalls the pedantic prime minister of Britain Neville Chamberlain correcting his interpreter's French especially when Chamberlain's wife was present.[559]

Another article is critical of the speeches, which time and again repeated the same thing with little variation and were so boring that most of the delegates would leave the hall, leaving only the interpreters and timekeepers.[560]

In contrast to five articles that complained about interpretation being a waste of time, four articles discussed technological innovations—that is, simultaneous interpretation. In 1927, the IBM Hushaphone Filene-Finlay simultaneous translation system, patented in 1926, was tested and used for the first time at the League of Nations meeting in 1928.[561] Three articles are all from that year. On 3 May 1928 *Kaja* published an article under the title "The Tower of Babel in Geneva. Everyone Understands Foreign Languages at the League of Nations. Englishmen's Innovation in Use".[562] The article describes how thus far interpretation at large international events took both time and effort, but as of that point of time, an invention was to be used that would allow the French and Germans to understand a speech in English and vice versa—that is, when listening to a speech in a foreign language, it would now become possible to do so simultaneously in one's mother tongue. The article describes how this is done.

> Highly experienced interpreters next to the speaker whisper each word instantly in the other language into [...] microphones in front of them. Wires lead to the chairs of the listeners. Anyone wishing to listen to the interpretation takes a device similar to a radio headset [...] and hears only the interpreter's words. The impression is that the words come not from the interpreter but from the speaker.[563]

There would already be a total of five hundred headsets and a choice of interpretation into English, French or German at the next plenary session. The article also describes how another innovation was going to make timekeepers and stenographers redundant: the speeches would be recorded on a record such as could be played on a gramophone, which could be listened to long after the

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[558] Information for participants. World Summit on the Information Society. First Phase, Geneva, 10–12 December 2003. The author's personal archive. See also http://www.itu.int/net/wsis/docs/geneva/adm/information_participants.html#d, accessed 7 May 2014.

[559] "Euroopa poliitikasepad rahvusvahelistel konverentsidel", *Kaja,* 3 June 1930.

[560] "Täiskogu kõneles", *Uus Eesti,* 8 July 1936.

[561] Gaiba, *The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation*.

[562] "Paabeli torn Genfis. Rahvasteliidus saab igaüks kõnest aru. Inglaste leidus kasutamisel", *Kaja,* 3 May 1928.

[563] Ibid.

speaker was dead. Another article, "The Tower of Babel in Geneva: The Speaker and the Interpreter Will Speak at the Same Time. The Fruit of an American Philanthropist's Donation", informed readers that the money American philanthropist Edward A. Filene donated to the League of Nations would be used to install a recent technological innovation, which allowed listeners to listen to speeches either in the original or as interpreted into English, French or German.[564] Specially trained interpreters would repeat the speech in another language in a low voice into microphones. In the article's words, "the delegates will get light but absolutely hermetic headsets to get the interpretation in the language suitable for them".[565] This equipment was "discovered"—that is, invented[566]—by British engineer Findlay [sic].[567] He also invented another device that would "capture the speeches in a microphone" and transfer them to another room where typists working with a dictation device could adjust the pace to suit their working speed.[568]

Despite the overall paucity of information on interpreting, the newspaper database did reveal that Estonians learned about the technological innovation that made simultaneous interpreting possible very early on. In August 1928, the Estonian daily *Postimees* published an article describing in great detail the modern invention to its readers under the headline "A favourable innovation at the League of Nation sessions. It is possible to interpret speeches into several languages at the same time".[569] Describing how time-consuming interpreting at large international conventions was, the article reads:

> American industrialist Edward A. Filence [sic][570] has discovered a solution. He has put together an apparatus, which enables a speech to be interpreted automatically into several languages at the same time. Along with Scottish professor Gordon Finlay, Finlence [sic] has worked at building the apparatus for several years. [...] They are also training interpreters who could interpret using this apparatus. The new mode of interpretation is very simple and not very costly. The interpreters stand in a semicircle around the speaker's rostrum, each of them interpreting into a different language. Each has a small microphone insulated against noise coming from the audience. There is just a small opening left for the interpreter's mouth. The interpreter speaks in a low voice, as the microphone has an amplifier similar to a radio. Wires from the apparatus lead to

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564 "Paabeli torn Genfis. Kõneleja ja tõlkija kõnelevad ühel ja samal ajal. Ameerika filantroobi annetuste vili", *Waba Maa,* 4 May 1928.

565 Ibid.

566 Dione Venables, Gordon Finlay's daughter, e-mail message to author, 24 November 2016.

567 "Paabeli torn Genfis", *Waba Maa,* 4 May 1928; the article refers to Alan Gordon Finlay as Findlay.

568 Ibid.

569 "Soodus uuendus rahvasteliidu istungeil. Võimalik kõnede tõlkimine ühel ajal mitmesse keelde", *Postimees,* 18 August 1928.

570 American industrialist Edward A. Filene's name is spelt in two different ways in the article: Filence and Finlence.

> the listeners. Each seat has a small device, which allows the listeners to use the desired language. Most important is the interpreter's fluency. The interpreter can never lag behind the speaker for more than a sentence. This kind of work was thought to be strenuous for the interpreter but experience has proven that with some proficiency, it goes superbly. The major benefit of the apparatus lies in the fact that all errors and delays that occur when interpreting from memory and ex post can be avoided. This method enhances the impact of the speech, the interpretation is livelier and the listener does not have to strain as hard as in the case of quickly rattled off interpretation. Also the work of the listener is very easy. He just has to raise the earpiece to his ear and connect and regulate the volume of the interpreter's voice.[571]

Ten years later *Sakala* ran an article entitled "An Interesting Lecture on the League of Nations" describing the lecturer's personal impressions of the work of the forum.[572] The 1,700-seat hall had a podium for the chairman and secretariat. Slightly lower than the podium was a place for the interpreters and lower still seats for stenographers and other interpreters. The League of Nations had two official languages: thus, a speech in English was immediately interpreted into French or vice versa. Standing in front of the podium, "interpreters from different countries [would] interpret the speeches into their mother tongues with the help of a special apparatus that [made] the voice inaudible".[573] The delegates had telephone-like devices on the desks in front of them to listen to the interpretation in their desired language. The lecturer describes different modes of interpretation, such as that used for the chair's speech:

> [It] is interpreted sentence by sentence, whereas in the afternoon the speeches were interpreted at the end of the speech. Now the interpreters can demonstrate their phenomenal skills, as occasionally they deliver impromptu speeches better and clearer [than the original].[574]

This description leads by inference to the conclusion that "simultaneous consecutive" was the mode of interpretation applied. Unlike simultaneous interpretation as it is known today (that is, simultaneously with the presentation of the source language text), simultaneous consecutive means "the simultaneous transmission of two or more consecutive renditions in different output languages".[575]

World Power Conferences

Five articles cover interpretation at the **World Power Conferences** held in 1926 in Basel and in 1930 in Berlin. In Basel simultaneous interpretation was

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571 "Soodus uuendus rahvasteliidu istungeil. Võimalik kõnede tõlkimine ühel ajal mitmesse keelde", *Postimees,* 18 August 1928.

572 "Huvitav loeng rahvasteliidust*", Sakala,* 19 October 1938.

573 Ibid.

574 Ibid.

575 Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 18.

not yet used. It was possible to participate in discussions in three official languages—English, French and German—with immediate interpretation provided "either by speakers themselves or by special shorthand specialists".[576] The article praises highly the extremely smoothly organised world conference, which brought together about one thousand representatives from thirty-five countries to listen to eighty presentations. Four articles[577] focus on the 2nd World Power Conference in Berlin: four thousand delegates from fifty countries gathered to listen to four hundred presentations, divided into thirty-four sections. The conference surprised the participants with its "technical sensations":

> For the first time a special device was used at the plenary session, which allowed participants to listen to the speeches s i m u l t a n e o u s l y in three languages: German, English and French. The speeches are interpreted immediately during the presentation and transferred via microphones and headphones to the listeners who can re-switch to the language most convenient to him.[578]

For the first time four continents were brought together to listen to the opening addresses. The *Waba Maa* published a drawing to illustrate the first use of "a multilingual apparatus" that allowed the delegates to listen to interpretation in three languages, while two more could be added.[579] The speaker, three interpreters and the audience with headphones are all clearly shown in the drawing. The next day, the headline in *Kaja* was "A Radio Device Interprets Speeches".[580] A drawing depicts the layout of the interpreting setup quite well and is accompanied by an explanation.

> There are as many interpreters in front of the speaker's rostrum as there are languages they interpret into. [...] The interpreters interpret straight into the microphones. The microphones are covered with voice-muffling nets and thus neither the conference nor the delegates are disturbed.[581]

Postimees also published two photos of the "new invention": one of three interpreters sitting side by side and talking into the microphones and one of three members of the audience listening to the interpretation.[582]

The same year (1930), *Postimees* informed its readers of the upcoming **industrial vocational education congress** in Liège, Belgium, under the

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576 "Üleilmne jõukonverents Baaselis 31. aug. kuni 8. sept.", *Päewaleht,* 19 September 1926.

577 One of which is actually a drawing accompanied by a long caption: *Waba Maa*, 9 May 1930; "Uus leiutis tarvitusel", *Postimees,* 23 June 1930; "Raadiomasin tõlgib kõnesid", *Kaja,* 10 May 1930; "Maailma jõumajanduse hiiglakonverents", *Päewaleht,* 15 June 1930.

578 "Maailma jõumajanduse hiiglakonverents", *Päewaleht,* 15 June 1930.

579 A drawing, *Waba Maa*, 9 May 1930.

580 "Raadiomasin tõlgib kõnesid", *Kaja,* 10 May 1930.

581 Ibid.

582 "Uus leiutis tarvitusel", *Postimees,* 23 June 1930.

headline "Presentations Simultaneously in Three Languages: Technological Achievement at the International Vocational Education Conference".[583] This promised an "interesting method" for giving presentations.

> The conference will use three official languages: German, English and French. All the presentations will be available in each of these languages. [...] Each sentence will be immediately interpreted into these languages.[584]

The article then provides a description of the procedure.

International Labour Conferences

Several other articles that mention interpretation have to do with two more types of international conferences. Six articles are about the **International Labour Conferences** in Geneva, Switzerland (1928,[585] 1929,[586] 1937[587] and 1938[588]). Four articles discuss interpretation at Inter-Parliamentary Conferences in Vienna, Austria (1922),[589] Paris, France (1927)[590] and London, United Kingdom (1930).[591] Simultaneous interpretation was not yet used at the 11th International Labour Conference in 1928: "although interpretation phones are already attached to the delegates' desks[,] [...] as the apparatus did not yet function, all the speeches were to be listened to in two languages",[592] since English and French were the official languages of the conference.

> The only solution seems to be to use a telephone to enable participants to listen to the speech interpreted into the relevant language. The telephone, however, is not yet operational. Thus, in some working groups the linguistic chaos is even greater; for example, speeches by workers' delegates were interpreted even from Oriental languages into French.[593]

Representatives of the French and Belgian workers proposed to adopt German as the third official language. The article ends on a positive note: "It has to be said that the interpreters are very quick".[594] On 7 June 1928 *Postimees*

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583 "Ettekanne kolmes keeles korraga. Tehnika saavutus rahvusvahelisel tööstusliku kutsehariduse kongressil", *Postimees,* 19 July 1930.
584 Ibid.
585 "Rahvusvaheliselt töökonverentsilt", *Postimees*, 5 June 1928; "Kõnerikas töö-konverents", *Postimees*, 7 June 1928.
586 "Tööparlament astus Genfis kokku", *Postimees*, 1 June 1929.
587 "40-tunnise töönädala poole", *Waba Maa*, 19 June 1937.
588 "Rahvaste tööparlamendist", *Päewaleht*, 9 June 1938.
589 "Parlamentide vaheline konverents Viinis", *Kaja*, 4 September 1922.
590 "24. parlamentidevaheline konverents Pariisis", *Kaja*, 1 September 1927; "24. parlamentidevaheline konverents Pariisis", *Järva Teataja*, 2 September 1927.
591 "Euroopa ühendamine ja parlamentidevaheline congress", *Postimees*, 24 July 1930.
592 "Rahvusvaheliselt töökonverentsilt", *Postimees,* 5 June 1928.
593 Ibid.
594 Ibid.

dedicated a longer paragraph to linguistic debates at the conference.[595] When German was proposed as the third official language, Spanish and Japanese delegates wondered why their languages were overlooked. The article admits that in actual fact German was already used as a source language with interpretation into the two official languages and that verbatim reports were available not only in German but also in Spanish.

A year later at the 12th International Labour Conference (1929), the atmosphere had changed: "Debates are interpreted into six languages at the same time, making it possible for each delegate to follow the debate in his own language".[596] Nine years later at another International Labour Conference (1937) the simultaneous interpretation was functioning well: "Languages in the linguistic Babel do not interfere with each other as interpretation is whispered into the microphones and each delegate and journalist can listen using headsets".[597] The journalist, *Waba Maa*'s correspondent in Geneva, is impressed.

> As regards the technical side of the conference, the excellent interpreters are awe-inspiring. They interpret fast and right after the speaker into German, Italian, Spanish and even Swedish. [...] Occasionally they are even better than the original.[598]

The special correspondent for *Päewaleht* informed readers "several countries have considered the conference so important that the delegates are accompanied by advisors, secretaries, technical assistants and interpreters".[599] The correspondent for *Postimees* is more specific.

> This year the conference has a total of 409 participants, excluding secretaries, interpreters, etc. The official languages are French and English and interpretation is provided into German and Spanish.[600]

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Thus, ten years later (1938) German had evolved from a source language into a target language of interpretation at the labour congress.

Inter-Parliamentary Congresses

Describing his impressions of the 20th **Inter-Parliamentary Congress** in Vienna (1922), the journalist for *Kaja* gives an example of a speech in French being interpreted into English and German. He concludes that interpretation seemed to interest few people as the audience started to chatter loudly. He was disappointed in the delegates sitting closest to the Estonians, who spoke languages "not interpreted at the conference" and who were "actually not interested in the speeches at all but rather [spoke] loudly to each other".[601]

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595 "Kõnerikas töökonverents", *Postimees,* 7 June 1928.
596 "Tööparlament astus Genfis kokku", *Postimees,* 1 June 1929.
597 "40-tunnise töönädala poole", *Waba Maa,* 19 June 1937.
598 Ibid.
599 "Rahvaste tööparlamendist", *Päewaleht,* 9 June 1938.
600 "Rahvusvaheliselt töökonverentsilt", *Postimees,* 12 June 1938.
601 "Parlamentidevaheline konverents Viinis", *Kaja,* 4 September 1922.

In 1927, two newspapers published the same article: at the 24th Inter-Parliamentary Conference "speeches [were] interpreted twice, which [was] very time-consuming. All the work [was] done in three languages: French, English and German".[602] The correspondent to the 26th Inter-Parliamentary Conference in London wrote about the Italians' growing nationalism: an Italian speaker surprised the audience with a speech in Italian. According to the article, "it had not occurred to anyone that the Italians would use the right to speak their own language; thus, there was no interpreter available".[603] Although there were three official languages, German was spoken only by Germans. English and French were dominant, and interpretation was provided between the two.

The Paris Peace Conference

The author's search of the DIGAR database also yielded articles that mentioned interpretation at several other international events. The most important ones were to mark the end of World War I. The Estonian public was informed of English's new status as the second official conference language alongside French. On 23 May 1919 an Estonian daily, *Päewaleht*, published an article entitled "A Historic Meeting in Versailles on 7 May 1919: Conditions for Peace Delivered to German Envoys at the Hotel Trianon". The interpreters' names are mentioned in connection with the meeting at the **Paris Peace Conference** when the Allied powers presented Germany with the draft of the Treaty of Versailles. The German delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Ulrich Graf von Brockdorff-Rantzau, brought its own interpreters: Schauer for French and Dr Georg Michaelis for English. When Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France took the floor the "interpreters repeat[ed] his words in English and German".[604] Baigorri-Jalón gives a fair account of the interpretation of this meeting in his book on the birth of conference interpreting.[605]

Other events

Whether any interpretation was organised for the **Brussels Financial Conference** in 1920 remains unclear, based off of the Estonian delegate's impression that English dominated the conference.[606] King George V opened the first **London Naval Conference** in 1930, with his speech interpreted into French. An article in *Päewaleht* comments that the Italian foreign minister spoke excellent English and that "the participants did not like that the head of the Japanese delegation spoke in his mother tongue".[607]

In October 1926, representatives of thirteen countries met in Berlin to discuss a direct **Europe–Asia railway connection**, which could cut the 45-day

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[602] "24. parlamentidevaheline konverents Pariisis", *Kaja,* 1 September 1927; *Järva Teataja,* 2 September 1927.

[603] "Euroopa ühendamine ja parlamentidevaheline kongress", *Postimees,* 24 July 1930.

[604] "Ajalooline koosolek Versailles'is 7. mail 1919. a.", *Päewaleht,* 23 May 1919; "Ajalooline koosolek Versailles'is 7. mail 1919. a.", *Sakala,* 26 May 1919.

[605] Baigorri-Jalón, *From Paris to Nuremberg*, 29, 38–39.

[606] "Muljeid Brüsseli konverentsilt", *Waba Maa,* 25 October 1920.

[607] "Kilde Londoni merekonverentsi avamiselt", *Päewaleht,* 25 January 1930.

voyage to a ten-day railway journey. The official conference languages were Russian, German, French and English. All speeches were interpreted into these languages. The conference lasted two weeks.[608]

Several other articles just briefly mention interpreters. One says that the League of Nations seconded its interpreters to the **London Economic Conference** in 1933, the official languages of which were English and French.[609] Another mentions that in preparation for the **Berlin Olympic Games**, thousands of interpreters were ready to work and monolingual foreigners had no reason to worry.[610] A third article that talks about an upcoming promotional **small passenger aircraft flight around Europe** in 1929 stated that among other preparations for the twelve stopovers, interpreters would also be made available.[611]

Estonian newspapers gave examples of interpretation from near and far, stating, for example, that all of the speeches in the **Finnish parliament** were interpreted consecutively from Finnish into Swedish and from Swedish into Finnish[612] and that in **Japan senior military officers** are excellent English speakers but always relied on interpreters when talking to foreign journalists.[613] One journalist acknowledged the benefit of using interpreters: "As soon as officers said anything diplomats were not happy with, the Japanese would blame the interpreters […], who smiled patiently and accepted the blame".[614]

Two articles talk about **interpretation in the Soviet Union**. The Estonian-language communist paper in St. Petersburg published an article about "Our Communist Universities" that describes the teaching in a communist university open to eastern nations.[615] Since it was impossible to find lecturers in all the necessary languages, a lecture would frequently be interpreted twice as otherwise the audience might not understand. The author of the article regrets the significant content loss but admits that the communist university's aim was not to have students learn from lectures but rather from discussions. The other article, published immediately after Estonia's occupation by the Soviets, promotes the ingenuity of Soviet engineers. It states that they had invented an apparatus that enabled the transmission of a speech simultaneously in sixteen languages. Up until that point such transmission was only available for up to eight languages. The new invention allowed not only simultaneous interpretation but also shorthand typing, as well as conference calls between up to one hundred subscribers.[616]

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608 "Euroopa-Aasia raudtee otseühendus", *Päewaleht*, 30 October 1926.

609 "Homme avatakse maailma majanduskonverents. Suurim konverents, mida üldse nähtud maailmas", *Päewaleht,* 11 June 1933.

610 "Saksa raadio olümpiamängude teenistuses", *Postimees,* 16 October 1935.

611 "Rahvusvaheline lend ümber Euroopa", *Postimees,* 23 July 1929.

612 "Olupilte Helsingist", *Uus Eesti,* 19 July 1936; "Kahekeeleline Soome eduskund", *Päewaleht*, 2 September 1933.

613 "Jaapanlaste ja hiinlaste sõjapropaganda", *Päewaleht,* 19 February 1938.

614 Ibid.

615 "Meie kommunistlikud ülikoolid", *Edasi,* 16 January 1923.

616 "Nõukogude Palee. Aparaate kõnede tõlkimiseks", *Päewaleht,* 12 July 1940.

Between the two world wars, "as a result of rising nationalism, most countries including the Soviet Union demanded that all conversations, treaties and agreements be in their own language as well as in that of the other party of the agreement".[617] A newspaper article from 1939 states that the hegemony of two languages—French and English—did not last long in diplomacy, since diplomats preferred to speak in their mother tongue and to use interpreters: "The Babel confusion of languages has entered the secluded life of diplomats".[618] International relations evolved into one-on-one relations between leaders of different countries. Paul-Otto Schmidt, Hitler's interpreter, represented "highly personalised diplomatic interpreting, where the leader's trust in his interpreter was vital".[619] Relying on Schmidt's memoirs, Pöchhacker refers to Schmidt as having had no "counterpart on the British side" when **British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain met with Hitler** in 1938: "Schmidt was apparently fully trusted and held in high esteem by either party to the talks".[620] An article in *Sakala*, however, mentions the names of the interpreters (Dr Schmidt and Patrick) for the meeting between Chamberlain and Hitler in 1938.[621] In the post–World War II environment President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger are known to have frequently relied on Soviet or Chinese interpreters when meeting those countries' political elite, without bringing their own.[622]

To conclude, the fifty-eight newspaper articles discovered on international events held outside Estonia gave a relatively comprehensive picture of the evolution of conference interpreting in Europe. While consecutive interpretation was used in Estonia, large multilingual events in Europe necessitated the use of technology to cut time spent on interpretation. The Estonian readers were introduced to state-of-art technological solutions in great detail[623], whereas in several cases also a drawing or a photo was attached to visualise the description. It is safe to conclude that the readers were quite well informed of the use and developments in Europe in the field of interpretation.

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617 Thayer, *Diplomat,* 107.

618 "Diplomaat enne ja nüüd", *Uudisleht*, 24 October 1939.

619 Jesús Baigorri-Jalón, "Two Centuries of Diplomatic Interpreting", *UN Chronicle* 51, no. 3 (2014b), http://unchronicle.un.org/article/two-centuries-diplomatic-interpreting, accessed 26 January 2015.

620 Pöchhacker, "Interpreters and Ideology", 194.

621 "Chamberlain ja Hitler Godesbergis", *Sakala,* 23 September 1938.

622 Baigorri-Jalón and Fernández-Sánchez, "Understanding High-Level Interpreting", 6.

623 "Soodus uuendus rahvasteliidu istungeil. Võimalik kõnede tõlkimine ühel ajal mitmesse keelde", *Postimees,* 18 August 1928.

2.5 Some Final Remarks

The period under review in Chapter 2 covers the years from the proclamation of the Republic of Estonia in 1918 to the loss of independence to the Soviet Union in 1940. To summarise key findings, interpreting during that period contributed to the integrity of international and socio-political life in independent Estonia.

Apart from the forty-one memoirs, diaries and archives that she studied, the author relied on newspaper articles as the most informative source for her research, albeit one that usually comprised of single-word mentions of interpretation. Her search for such articles had yielded 364 results (announcements, advertisements) as of 21 May 2015. Two hundred and seventy-eight of them referred to interpretation being used in Estonia and eighty-six informed readers about interpretation at international events and about related linguistic issues. The articles analysed were published in twelve Estonian-language newspapers. The author divided the 278 articles into seven categories: lectures, Christian events, congresses, concerts, delegations, news conferences and local government. The list displays a comprehensive range of topics from various spheres of life, indicating that interpretation facilitated international communication: Estonian readers were thus informed of developments and trends in the world. Interpretation was used not only at multilingual international events but also at public events, and the author found that fifteen source languages[624] and ten target[625] languages had been used.

Included in the 364 articles analysed were those having to do with international events, in order to recognise the work done by the newspapers' correspondents attending such events. When reporting news from all over the world, interpretation and technological innovations related to it were also brought home to domestic readers, thus adding to their general knowledge of world affairs. The articles on international multilingual events informed Estonian readers about cutting edge technology introduced in the European conference landscape as tentative steps to introduce simultaneous interpretation were taken. A rare piece of information is an article from 1928, which provides a detailed description of an innovation "to interpret speeches into several languages at the same time".[626] In Estonia, however, consecutive interpretation was used throughout the period.

The professionalisation of interpreting during this period, although taking its first steps elsewhere in Europe, had not yet reached Estonia.[627] Interpreters were either diplomats or foreign language speakers who acted as interpreters if necessary. As a result of her research, the author has been able to identify

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[624] Danish, English, Esperanto, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Livonian, Polish, Russian and Swedish.

[625] English, Estonian, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Swedish.

[626] "Soodus uuendus rahvasteliidu istungeil. Võimalik kõnede tõlkimine ühel ajal mitmesse keelde", *Postimees,* 18 August 1928.

[627] The first steps toward professionalisation were taken as late as in 1992.

another thirty-eight interpreters in addition to such diplomats. Twenty-nine of the thirty-eight names appeared in newspaper articles, proving how important journalistic sources were for this research. And as stressed by Pym, biographic research is an important component of translation archaeology.[628] The systematic cross-examination of various authentic sources (memoirs, biographies, newspaper articles, monographs, archival records, etc.) allowed the author to discover authentic facts for each of the names and to corroborate the fact that that person had indeed interpreted by establishing a short biographic overview. This collage yielded a more holistic view of the interpreting landscape: who interpreted what kind of topics and under which socio-political conditions. These interpreters were university staff members, theologians-clergymen, educationalists, creative workers, doctors, engineers, students, local government officials and others. In the period under review, interpreters were known to work other jobs. Unfortunately, based on the sources currently available it is impossible to say whether they treated interpreting "as a source of extra income"[629] or volunteered to interpret without pay.

The material the author has examined for the period 1918 to 1940 confirms the use of conference interpreting in the consecutive mode. The author has found neither factual evidence nor implicit references to the simultaneous mode being used in Estonia, except for a case of *chuchotage*.[630] As references to interpreting are brief, as a rule, none of the Estonian sources clearly describe whether long (traditional) or short consecutive, occasionally also referred to in academic literature as sentence-by-sentence consecutive, was used.[631] Among these articles, however, the author made a rare discovery: three articles showed the position of the interpreter while working (two photos and a drawing).[632]

Although it is difficult to evaluate interpreters' performance on the basis of a few allusions and sporadic comments in the newspapers, it is nevertheless worth a try. The few relevant articles reflect the journalists' impressions, which are subject to the general organisation of the event. That being said, the articles examined led the author to infer that the journalists were generally satisfied and their fears that the use of multiple languages might be a barrier to communication were swept away.

The author has discussed the newspaper articles in great detail since without this material it would have been impossible to put together a comprehensive picture of the use of interpretation in Estonia: interpretation facilitated communication at a wide range of events on many topics and in many languages.

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[628] Pym, *Methods in Translation History*, 5.

[629] Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting 1848–1918*, 223.

[630] Pusta, *Kehra metsast maailma*, 188.

[631] Helle V. Dam, "Consecutive Interpreting", in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 75.

[632] A drawing and a photo from 1926 and a photo from 1938.

Although the author's focus was on identifying cases of interpretation, the data gathered also provided significant information and insights into the history of Estonia's international relationships: diplomatic relations, international events organised, topics of international conventions held in Estonia, countries of origin of foreign delegations, etc., which brought new knowledge to the people (for instance, the Dalton plan and anthroposophy). Archival research and memoirs covering the early years of the Republic of Estonia provided the author with historical context for her research. To paraphrase Christopher Rundle,[633] it could be asked what interpreting could tell us about the history of diplomacy in interwar Estonia that was new. For the author the specific historical context from the point of view of interpreting was the use of the Estonian language, which was not inevitable as people who played a fundamental role in the birth of the Republic of Estonia were fluent in Russian (because secondary and higher education in the preceding decades had been provided in Russian). In the 1980s Roland drew attention to the fact that interpreters are missing from the history of diplomacy;[634] a couple of decades later Footitt took up the topic of integrating languages into the theatre of war.[635] In this context, the facts the author discovered about the use of Estonian at the meeting on the battlefield in Pskov, Russia, are essential fragments to add.

In her dissertation, the author discusses the significance of the use of the state language in international intercourse in the context of Estonia. The three key principles here were Estonian as the only state language in Estonia, Estonian as the bearer of Estonian ethnic identity and Estonian as a shaper of a stable linguistic environment in Estonia.[636] The author has discovered factual evidence to prove that common diplomatic practice was introduced in the young Republic of Estonia, as well: for example, each party had its own interpreter at the Tartu peace negotiations and an interpreter was used by language-fluent diplomats to gain time for thinking. The author also looks at diplomatic interpreting from a new angle, examining its association with symbolic capital. She extends this concept of symbolic capital as defined by Pierre Bourdieu from individuals to states. According to Bourdieu, symbolic capital is invisible. The representative of the state exercises the right to use the state language with the help of interpreters, thus making a bid for the state's symbolic capital. When interpreting, the interpreter therefore contributes (invisibly) to the symbolic capital of the state, producing "expressions [that] are highly valued on the markets concerned"[637] and satisfying the receiver's "expectations without appearing to know what they are".[638] To increase that symbolic capital, the interpreter's knowledge and indeed the very act of interpreting must be seen as

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633 Rundle, "Translation as an Approach to History", 239
634 Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats*, 7.
635 Footitt, "Incorporating Languages into Histories of War: A Research Journey", 217–231.
636 These also remain the key principles of Estonia's language strategy.
637 Thompson, editor's introduction, 18.
638 Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 112.

credible, thus implying a certain "complicity"[639] on the part of the receiver. In the sense used by Bourdieu, the interpreter is an agent who has the privilege of contributing to the field in which he or she operates, and is thus associated with the creation of symbolic capital.[640] In diplomatic interpreting, if the interpreting act took place at a historic moment for the state, the interpretation may be subject to the interpreter's *habitus* and may help explain why the interpreter interpreted the way he or she did.

As diplomacy and politics are interlinked, it is safe to conclude that the redistribution of power in these two fields expresses itself in the redistribution of resources. Such dynamics are associated with agents' *habitus*. Indeed, interpreters practicing diplomatic interpreting participate in the redistribution of resources in their field, as well. To understand the logic of *habitus*, it is necessary to comprehend the social conditions that provide its structure.[641] Starting from Bourdieu's approach, the author concludes that differences in interpreting practices are structured by differences in the interpreter's *habitus*, which itself is structured by cultural resources. Finally, Bourdieu also describes language-related linguistic capital as capable of determining the position in society of the "person who utters it".[642]

Although factual data on both diplomatic interpretation and interpretation in general is scarce, sources such as memoirs, archive documents and newspaper articles allow us to confirm that Estonian diplomats and statesmen took for granted the principle of using the state language if needed in the interwar Republic of Estonia (1918–1940). An excellent example of the young Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital is the speech delivered in Estonian by Jaan Poska at the opening of the peace negotiations with Soviet Russia in 1919.

From 1918 to 1940 there were interpreting diplomats but no diplomatic interpreters in Estonia. Bourdieu's universal concept of symbolic capital allows us to discover and describe new links between interpreting and the fortification of the newly independent Republic of Estonia's statehood. Inconspicuously but persistently, leaders of the country and diplomats, in particular, as well as interpreters and interpreting, contributed to the Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital. From a diachronic point of view, diplomacy and interpreting were inseparable.

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[639] Thompson, editor's introduction, 14.

[640] Karin Sibul, "Interpreting and Symbolic Capital Used to Negotiate Borders in Estonia 1944–1991", in "Borders under Negotiation", *VAKKI Publications* 4 (2015): 260–269.

[641] Gitte Sommer Harrits, "Political Power as Symbolic Capital and Symbolic Violence", *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 2 (2011), 239.

[642] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 70.

CHAPTER 3.
Interpreting in Estonia from 1944 to 1991

In 1920, the first constitution of the Republic of Estonia established Estonian as the state language.[1] The Constitution of Soviet Estonia (1944–1991), on the other hand, included no reference to the concept of state language.[2] Rather, it merely stipulated the possibility of using the mother tongue.

In terms of setting, interpretation in Estonia after World War II existed in both inter-social and intra-social settings. The resettlement of monolingual Russians to Estonia necessitated mediated contact between two distinct communities, though this did not bring with it community interpreting, also known as cultural interpreting (Canada), public service interpreting (UK) and liaison or dialogue interpreting. Rather, the focus of interactions was more on multilateral conferences, not face-to-face dialogue, which facilitated conference interpretation between Estonian and Russian, mainly in simultaneous mode. Parliamentary interpreting was also introduced. Bilateral interpretation between Estonian and a foreign language other than Russian in the consecutive mode was practiced with foreign guests from outside the Soviet Union. Estonian as an international conference language came into use in the second half of the 1980s when the political environment started to change.

The author began her research by interviewing interpreters and people who recruited interpreters during the years analysed. Scarce textual artefacts were supplemented by audiovisual material, the author's logbook and her personal archive, which provide a visual depiction of the socio-political reality of interpretation from 1944 to 1991. These types of visual and more concrete sources led the author to figure out "where written texts reach their limits".[3] Newsreels and photographs also portray the precise environment in which interpreters operated during the years under review, showing the interpreter's location during assignments, the tools available (type of microphone, headsets, notebook, text of the speech) and the dress code, which is not discussed in this dissertation. The text and captions accompanying the few existing photos and clips of footage were also informative: they rarely mention the interpreter shown, and when they do, they most often omit the interpreter's name and sometimes give a wrong name.

The bibliographic research, however, did not cover any sources on interpretation. The author's research turned up a thesis from 1961 by a student completing a five-year academic study in the department of library science: *A*

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1 *The Constitution of the Estonian Republic: Passed by the Constituent Assembly on the 15th of June, 1920* (Tallinn: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühisus, 1924).

2 *Eesti Nõukogude Sotsialistliku Vabariigi konstitutsioon* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1972).

3 Wolf and Fernández-Ocampo, "Framing the Interpreter", 1.

Bibliography of Translation Issues for the Years 1954 to 1959, which was not useful for the purposes of this dissertation.[4]

In analysing diplomatic interpreting in the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940), the author defined diplomatic interpreters' contribution to state's symbolic capital as an activity associated with a diplomatic act.[5] After World War II Estonia was no longer independent. However, it was one of the three Soviet republics that employed parliamentary interpreting, allowing speakers to use their mother tongue. The interpreters, by ensuring the official use of Estonian in the Soviet-era parliament, could rather unintentionally be associated with the so-called resistance to the total domination of Russian. In a parliamentary setting the native speaker speaking his or her own language delegates the contents of his or her discourse to the interpreter, thus accumulating symbolic capital for the Estonian language. Interpreters use their linguistic capabilities, thesaurus and professionalism, assuming responsibility to interpret unambiguously. Applying Bourdieu's approach, interpreters are agents who enjoy the privilege of contributing within the field in which they perform.[6]

This is a first attempt to comprehensively analyse the interpreting landscape in Soviet Estonia. For linguistic reasons, the author discusses interpretation in two language-based subgroups: Russian and foreign languages other than Russian as source languages, and target languages of interpretation. The basis for the author's approach was that given the influx of monolingual Russians to Estonia, interpretation between Russian and Estonian was needed to facilitate communication under unexpectedly changed socio-political circumstances; this meant interpretation was used at various national events, in the parliament and at the theatre.

3.1 On the Use of Language in Estonia

After World War II, not only the political order but also the linguistic environment changed in Estonia, and Russian was introduced as a language of international communication.[7] The share of Estonian speakers in the country

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[4] Ida Suits, "Tõlkeküsimuste bibliograafia aastail 1954–1959" (diploma thesis, Tartu State University, 1961).

[5] Sibul, "Suulisest tõlkest Eesti Vabariigi diplomaatilises suhtluses aastatel 1918–1940".

[6] Ibid.

[7] Mikko Lagerspetz, *Constructing Post-Communism: A Study in the Estonian Social Problems Discourse* (Turku: Turku University, 1996); Marju Lauristin, Peeter Vihalemm, Karl Erik Rosengren, and Lennart Weibull (eds), *Return to the Western World: Cultural and Political Perspectives on the Estonian Post-Communist Transition* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997); Andres Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010); Richard C. M. Mole, *The Baltic States from the Soviet Union to the European Union. Identity, Discourse and Power in the Post-Communist Transition of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (London, New York: Routledge, 2012).

dropped from 94% in 1945 to 76% in 1950.[8] According to the first census carried out in 1922, the population of 1.1 million people was comprised of Estonians (87.6%), Russians (8.2%), Germans (1.7%), Swedes (0.7%) and Jews (0.4%).[9] Between the two World Wars Estonia was considered the most homogeneous of the three Baltic countries,[10] with Estonians making up about 90% of the country's population in the 1930s;[11] this shrank to 61.5% by 1989.[12] The conservative estimate of population loss from 1940 to 1945 is a minimum of 200,000 people.[13] The influx of Russian speakers (about 180,000 from 1945 to 1953) meant that about every fifth person in Estonia was an immigrant.[14] According to Rein Taagepera, the total loss of population while Estonia was a Soviet republic was the largest the country had experienced since the Great Northern War in the early 18th century.[15] Unlike central European countries (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary), Estonia lost its mono-ethnicity since industrialisation was carried out by importing a Russian-speaking working class and collectivisation was preceded by mass deportation of Estonians.[16] The share of Russians in Estonia leaped from 8.2% in 1934 to 20% by 1959 according to that year's census, and to 30.3% by the time of the 1989 census.[17]

There were two distinct communities in Estonia at the time: people communicating in Estonian and people communicating in Russian. Apart from these two monolingual communities there were also both Estonian and Russian speakers who understood and spoke the other language. This included the indigenous Russian population who had lived in Estonia for centuries and was fluent in Estonian and returning Estonian deportees who had acquired knowledge of Russian in Siberia.

These different communities led the author to ask whether there were cases where interpretation was used to facilitate communication between them and whether the accompanying controversies in the linguistic environment paved

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8 Toivo U. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1991), 182.

9 J. G. Granö, "Orienteeruv ülevaade", in *Eesti. Maa. Rahvas. Kultuur*, ed. Hans Kruus (Tartu: Haridusministeeriumi kirjastus, 1926), 4.

10 Seppo Zetterberg, *Eesti ajalugu* (Tallinn: Tänapäev, 2011), 400.

11 Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 130.

12 Silvi Vare, "Eesti hariduse keelepoliitika", in *Eesti rahvaste raamat,* ed. Jüri Viikberg (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1999), 72–89.

13 Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 181.

14 Ibid., 182.

15 Rein Taagepera, "Eesti Moskva ikke all (1940–1986)", in *Eesti Vabariik 90. Pärnu 27.–28. august 2008. Konverentsi kogumik*, comp. Mare Oja (Tartu: Haridus- ja Teadusministeerium, 2008), 80.

16 Aili Aarelaid, "Vaimuelust Eesti NSV-s", in *Eesti Vabariik 90. Pärnu 27.–28. august 2008. Konverentsi kogumik,* comp. Mare Oja (Tartu: Haridus- ja Teadusministeerium, 2008), 73.

17 Vare, "Eesti hariduse keelepoliitika", 72–89.

the way for the use of interpretation under changed political circumstances from 1944 to 1991.

The Constitution that the Soviets enforced in Estonia in 1940 dropped the state language, stating only that legislation would be published in Estonian and Russian (Article 25).[18] However, it stipulated that judicial proceedings would be held in Estonian and it allowed for the use of an interpreter if necessary, as well as the right to speak "the mother tongue" (i.e., Russian and, grudgingly, Estonian; see Article 83) and to be educated in the mother tongue (Article 93). The 1944 Constitution followed the course set out in 1940 as regards courts (Article 83) and education (Article 93).[19] The 1978 Constitution stipulated the existence of equality and the possibility of using the mother tongue and the languages of other Soviet nations (Article 34), as well as of studying in the mother tongue (Article 43). It also stated that legislation would be published in Estonian and Russian (Article 103) while judicial proceedings would be held in Estonian or in the language of the majority of the region, and it allowed for the use of an interpreter and the right to speak the mother tongue (Article 158).[20]

When Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union, Russian began to spread throughout the entire country. Guidelines for organising religious life were issued by the Soviet Religious Affairs Council and the Russian Orthodox Church in Russian, and when local party officials introduced them to the local Estonian clergy the guidelines in Russian were sight-translated into Estonian without providing the audience with a written text. A reference to sight translation—that is, reading a written text and interpreting it out loud—dates back to 1961.[21]

As mandatory classes of Russian were introduced not only in primary schools but also at The University of Tartu, newspaper articles criticised university results, which could be interpreted as proof of students' unwillingness to learn the language. Although the attendance of all lectures in the university was compulsory, student participation in Russian classes was relatively low (just 70% in 1946/47). Within a year, however, it leaped to 86% as emphasis was placed on disciplining students who violated the policy. Poorly heated and inadequately equipped auditoriums had been allocated for teaching Russian, which certainly did not facilitate learning it.[22]

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[18] *Eesti Nõukogude Sotsialistliku Vabariigi konstitutsioon (põhiseadus)* (Tallinn: Riiklik Poliitilise Kirjanduse Kirjastus, 1940).

[19] "Eesti NSV konstitutsioon (põhiseadus)", in J. Stalin *NSV Liidu konstitutsiooni projektist. NSVL konstitutsioon (põhiseadus). Eesti NSV konstitutsioon (põhiseadus)* (Tallinn: RK "Poliitiline kirjandus", 1944), 97–125.

[20] *Eesti Nõukogude Sotsialistliku Vabariigi konstitutsioon (põhiseadus)* (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1978).

[21] Riho Altnurme, "Eesti luteri kiriku reaktsioonid usuvastasele kampaaniale ja maailmapildi ning väärtuste muutumisele aastail 1958–1964", *Acta Historica Tallinnensa*, 19 (2003): 94, doi: 10.3176/hist.2013.1.04.

[22] Johannes Feldbach, "Vene keele õpetamise ja õppimise taset tuleb tõsta", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool*, 22 November 1948.

Immigrants to Estonia had no reason to learn the local language, as Russian was used as an ideological tool to enhance the socio-political cohesion of Soviet society. Regardless of their mother tongue, immigrant children usually attended schools in which Russian was the language of instruction. The 1989 census revealed that 78% of Jews, 63% of Poles and 56% of Germans living in Estonia considered Russian their mother tongue.[23] After the exodus of Baltic Germans to Germany during the *Umsiedlung* in 1939 and the aftermath of World War II, and given those who fled to the West prior to the arrival of the Soviets, most of the German-speaking population had left Estonia by 1945, with just 300 or so remaining; they were soon deported to the Perm region of Russia.[24] The post-war German community in Estonia comprised of Germans from Russia, the so-called Volga Germans who attempted to use Estonia as a stopover in their efforts to resettle to West Germany in the 1960s. A mere 36% of them had German as their mother tongue and 7.2%, Estonian.[25]

Political history is often the history of invasion, with changes "imposed on a speech community by the occupying power in order to secure the position of the new regime by inflicting a new (loyal) way of thinking on the oppressed population".[26] Language can be used both to persuade and manipulate. A newspaper article from the time period, for example, condemns the popular Estonian attitude of considering Russian a foreign language: "Russian is closer to us than any foreign language. We cannot consider Russian a foreign language, as this is a language of communication between all nations in the Soviet Union; it is the language of the world's first socialist state. […] Estonians have to know it as well as their mother tongue".[27] Despite the Soviet steps taken to introduce bilingualism—i.e., to enforce the learning of Russian in preparation for a total switchover to Russian—in the 1960s "the Estonian intelligentsia began to reassert itself" and a kind of "renaissance [took] place in cultural life".[28] Although the party governance style was foreign to them, locals learned to live with Soviet peculiarities.[29] Culture, however, remained a field in which Russian dominance had difficulty asserting itself.[30]

In the Estonian Communist Party—the Communist Party being, of course, the only party that existed in the Soviet Union—many of the top positions were

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[23] Silvi Vare, "Eesti hariduse keelepoliitika", 77.

[24] Ea Jansen, "Baltisakslased", in *Eesti rahvaste raamat*, ed. Jüri Viikberg (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1999), 57.

[25] Viktor Sieben, "Sakslased", in *Eesti rahvaste raamat*, ed Jüri Viikberg (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 1999), 431.

[26] Virve Raag, "The Sovietisation and De-Sovietisation of Estonian", in *Inheriting the 1990s: The Baltic Countries*, ed. Baiba Metuzāle-Kangere (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2010), 106.

[27] Feldbach, "Vene keele õpetamise ja õppimise taset tuleb tõsta".

[28] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 189.

[29] Aarelaid, "Vaimuelust Eesti NSV-s", 74.

[30] Rein Taagepera, *Estonia: Return to Independence* (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1993), 85.

reserved for monolingual Russians, who obviously could not participate in events held in Estonian without interpretation: "[…] the native First Secretaries were now assigned Russian second secretaries to act as Moscow's watch-dogs".[31] A former party official recalls that interpretation was provided for Moscow emissaries at the sessions of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and that frequently most of the talking was done in Russian even if participants mastered Estonian.[32]

Personnel reports of the Communist Party's Central Committee did not differentiate between local Estonians, Russians of Estonian origin who now returned from the Soviet Union, Russians who had lived in Estonia for a long time, and Russians who had recently migrated there:[33] for example, 376 "leading cadres" were brought to Estonia as early as 1945.[34] The prevailing majority of them spoke no Estonian or only did so poorly. The most dogmatic, however, refused to speak Estonian even if they knew how.[35] The author of one newspaper article regretted that "the Estonian language does not have such rich vocabulary as the great Russian language",[36] though other articles stressed that the Estonian language was rich enough "to express the finest emotional nuances".[37] Articles drew attention to the fact that when translating from Russian into Estonian, the reader should not forget that "the two languages differ in their inner structure so much that translating mechanically and maintaining the same word order one could be stuck in a deadlock".[38]

A series of five articles entitled "On the language of newspapers published in Tallinn"[39] criticises the language used, stressing that "it is not Estonian, it is Russian expressed in the words of the Estonian language" (emphasis in the original).[40] The series, however, ends with a positive comment: recent training courses for interpreters (*tõlkidele*) (pro: translators)[41] "have been positively fruitful".[42] In addition to addressing issues of translation in Estonian journalism, the quality of translation and the translator's responsibility for quality is also raised in translations of fiction and poetry[43] and in subtitled

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[31] Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1990* (London: Hurst, 1993), 77.

[32] Leo Laks, *Mälestusi Johannes Käbinist* (Tallinn: Hea Lugu, 2015), 24–25.

[33] Olev Liivik, *Eestimaa Kommunistliku Partei Keskkomitee aparaat 1945–1953* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2006).

[34] Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1990*, 83.

[35] Aare Laanemäe, *Ussipesa Tõnismäel ja teisi meenutusi* (Tallinn: Argo, 2015), 52.

[36] A. Simberg. "Ühe korraliku tõlke puudujääkidest", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 9 September 1950.

[37] Juhan Peegel, "Tõlgete keele ahendamise vastu*", Sirp ja Vasar,* 17 October 1952.

[38] Kindlam, "Heast ja halvast tõlkimisest".

[39] Ernst Nurm, "Tallinnas ilmuvate ajalehtede keelest*", Sirp ja Vasar*, 22 June 1946; 29 June 1946; 6 July 1946; 13 July 1946; 3 August 1946.

[40] Nurm, "Tallinnas ilmuvate ajalehtede keelest*", Sirp ja Vasar,* 3 August 1946.

[41] See section 1.3.1. entitled "The Evolution of the Term "Interpreter" in the Estonian Language".

[42] Nurm, "Tallinnas ilmuvate ajalehtede keelest*", Sirp ja Vasar,* 3 August 1946.

[43] K. Saarpu, "Kes vastutab tõlke eest?", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 9 September 1950.

works.[44] While A. Simberg's narrow focus is on translations of Marxist-Leninist literature,[45] a separate editorial called for better overall quality of translations and listed translation-related shortcomings.[46] Indeed, at times the quality of translations was so low that one translated book had to be recalled from bookstores.[47] Jaan Rummo published two page-long articles saturated with political quotes as typical of the era just to stress the need to improve quality and encouraged translators to put some heart into their work.[48] He was also amazed that "the translator's seems to be a most beloved job", as can be concluded by the number of translators applying to work at publishing houses, despite severe criticism of their performance.[49] Although all of the above examples refer only to translation, they allow us to draw a conclusion about the problematic nature of the suddenly changed linguistic environment. The author has been unable to discover any articles referring to issues related to interpretation. Interpreters, who probably had even less experience than translators, must have by inference faced similar concerns as well. The series of articles by Ernst Nurm in 1946 explicitly portrays the need to maintain not only the Estonian language but in particular the correct language in the mass media.

Apart from attempts to stress the significance of learning Russian, several articles also stress the need to improve knowledge of foreign languages other than Russian.[50] Decree no. 468 of 27 May 1961 by the USSR Council of Ministers outlined new requirements for teaching foreign languages.[51] According to Kallista Kann (1895–1983), a renowned assistant professor of French at The University of Tartu, a passive knowledge of foreign languages is not sufficient; familiarity with living languages is essential. In an article she wrote for the Tartu State University newspaper, Kann is critical of the conversational skills of language graduates and calls for improvements in the teaching of languages in secondary schools (1962). The pronunciation and conversational skills of school leavers are inadequate, she says, as are their skills in reading and translation. [52] She also stresses the importance of a recently introduced short phonetics course, which was later developed into a two-year course by university Assistant Professor Nora Toots (b. 1930). Toots was fortunate

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[44] K. Kukk, "Elavalt sõitsid sõiduautodel, aga selle tuleb veoautodel rappuda", *Edasi,* 13 February 1951.

[45] Simberg, "Ühe korraliku tõlke puudujääkidest*"*.

[46] Editorial, "Kõrgemale tõlketöö tase", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 9 September 1950.

[47] Friedrich Kõlli, "Tõlketeoste kvaliteedi tõstmisest", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 9 September 1950.

[48] Jaan Rummo, "Tõlkeprobleemidest ja adekvaatsest tõlkimisest", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 9 September 1950; September 23, 1950.

[49] Rummo, "Tõlkeprobleemidest ja adekvaatsest tõlkimisest", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 23 September 1950.

[50] For example, Kallista Kann, "Tartu Riikliku Ülikoolis toimus lääne filoloogide kokkutulek", *Nõukogude Õpetaja*, 28 July 1956; Kallista Kann, "Võõrkeeled ülikoolis", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool,* 5 January 1962.

[51] *Eesti Nõukogude Sotsialistliku Vabariigi Ministrite Nõukogu määruste ja korralduste kogu*, no.33, 14 September 1961, 892–896.

[52] Kann, "Võõrkeeled ülikoolis".

enough to attend an English course in Edinburgh, UK (1968), thus introducing new trends to The University of Tartu.[53] Assistant Professor Kann, having studied in Paris before World War II, stresses in her article the significance of experience in a foreign language environment, which cannot be limited to a lecture hall. Well aware of the Soviet reality of closed borders and of restricted foreign relations, in addition to Tartu being a closed city because of a Soviet military airport nearby, she suggests using every possible opportunity to practice conversation, speaking in foreign languages to one's professors and fellow students. The article ends with a plea for others to understand the importance of mastering foreign languages. In the same issue of the university newspaper, a first-year student published a veiled complaint about the biased university curriculum, saying it placed too much stress on medical courses and theoretical knowledge.[54] This emphasis meant that students had no time to read anything other than the twenty pages of mandatory reading in a foreign language outside of class; given that, the author of the article wondered what students would have to talk about in any event, even if they did practice their languages with one another, as their teachers encouraged them to do.

Even if interpretation was not taught to foreign language students, there was a longer article in the university paper dedicated to the technical side of language teaching, describing phonetics and simultaneous interpretation classrooms in Moscow universities and comparing the technical level at The University of Tartu to others.[55]

Language has always been more than a simple tool for communication: it has also been a mark of national prestige.[56] To curb this prestige, the USSR Council of Ministers passed a secret decree in 1978 on the learning and teaching of Russian in the Soviet republics, the primary aim of which was to limit the use of local languages such as Estonian in public settings and to ensure the penetration of Russian.[57] The title of the decree, "Measures to Further Improve Teaching and Learning Russian in the Soviet Republics", refers to the problematic situation of Russian in the Soviet Union: in many republics the indigenous population had not switched to Russian and did not communicate amongst themselves in Russian. The intention was to start teaching Russian in nursery schools and kindergartens, to reduce foreign language lessons in schools and to stop learning one's mother tongue in primary school; doctoral theses were also to be written in Russian, etc. Arguably a mere 29% of Estonians, 36% of Lithuanians and 45% of Latvians were fluent in Russian,

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[53] Nora Toots, interview with the author, 2 August 2011.

[54] Olev Luhaveer, "Tulevased pedagoogid arvavad", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool,* 5 January 1962.

[55] Olev Haas and Evald Toom, "Tehnikast, keeleõpetusest ja ülikoolidest Moskvas ja mujal", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool,* 12 October 1962.

[56] Delisle, Introduction to *Interpreters as Diplomats*, 2.

[57] ERAF.1.4.5353.l. 1–3, 40–44, NSV Liidu Ministrite Nõukogu salajane määrus liiduvabariikidele 13. oktoobrist 1978, nr 835 „Abinõude kohta vene keele õppimise ja õpetamise edasiseks täiendamiseks liiduvabariikides", 13.11.1978.

according to the 1970 census.[58] On 22 December 1978 the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party passed a relevant resolution including a detailed long-term action plan for the implementation of the 1978 decree.[59] Both documents were classified as confidential.

The 1982 Education Act of Estonia stipulated in §24 that the Soviet people had *voluntarily* accepted Russian as the language of international communication.[60] The Estonian language survived, however, as did Estonian culture.[61]

In December 1988, the Supreme Soviet restored Estonian as the state language in order "to reverse the declining role of the Estonian language in public life", and in January 1989,

> it passed a language law that, to guarantee the status of Estonian, required all officials and others whose work entailed direct contact with the population to achieve proficiency in the language within one to four years.[62]

The republic of Estonia regained independence on 20 August 1991. Article 6 of the Constitution (1992) stipulates Estonian as the state language.

3.2 Interpreters

The early post-war years also marked a period of isolation for Estonia from the rest of Europe and from the world. Russian thus emerged as the prevailing source and target language of interpretation in Estonia. The interpreters the author spoke to and the interviews she carried out are therefore dealt with in two language groups: interpreting from and into Russian and interpreting from and into foreign languages other than Russian.

The interviewees' comments in the dissertation are all anonymous, although the names of the three theatre interpreters are provided. As each theatre had its own interpreter, making them anonymous did not seem reasonable to the author. Apart from the interviewees a few other names of interpreters also appeared in the literature. The analysis is based on sixty-nine interviews, including thirty with people who recruited interpreters or used interpreting services.

The following data is drawn from the interviews the author conducted. Twenty-four out of thirty-nine interpreters interviewed for the research had Estonian and Russian as their A-B language pair (see table 3.1.).

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58 Aare Laanemäe, *Kümme aastat valges majas* (Tallinn: Argo, 2013), 201.

59 Maarja Lõhmus, *Toimetamine: kas looming või tsensuur* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 1999), 142–146.

60 *Eesti Nõukogude Sotsialistliku Vabariigi haridusseadus: ametlik tekst seisuga 1. veebruar 1982* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1982).

61 Taagepera, "Eesti Moskva ikke all (1940–1986)".

62 Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 237.

Table 3.1. Interpreters working between Estonian and Russian (24)

	Nationality	Education
Q1	Russian	Russian philology
Q2	Russian	Russian philology
Q3	Estonian	Russian philology
Q4	Estonian	History
Q5	Estonian	Physics
Q6	Estonian	History
Q7	Polish	English philology
Q8	Russian	History
Q9	Russian	Russian philology
Q10	Russian	Russian philology
Q11	Estonian	Russian philology
Q12	Estonian	Russian philology
Q13	Estonian	Russian philology
Q14	Russian	Russian philology
Q15	Estonian	Russian philology
Q16	Estonian	English philology
Qt17	Russian	-
Qt18	Estonian	Russian philology
Qt19	Estonian	Russian philology
Qt20	Russian	Performing arts
Qt21	Russian	-
Q22	Russian	-
Q23	Estonian	History
Q24	Estonian	-

Note: Q – interviewee; t – theatre interpreter

The remaining fifteen interviewees had English, Finnish, French, German, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Czech as their B language (see table 3.2.).

All of the interpreters had a university degree,[63] except for four Russian–Estonian interpreters who had only received secondary education. The interpreters who worked from and into foreign languages included twelve who had studied other languages (English, German, Swedish), two who had studied history and one had a degree in mathematics. Another twelve had degrees in Russian, four in history, two in English, one in physics and one in performing arts; they all had Russian as their A or B language. Twenty-seven out of thirty-nine had Estonian as their mother tongue, ten had Russian and two had Polish.

[63] During the period under review a university degree meant the completion of a five-year curriculum.

Table 3.2. Interpreters working between Estonian and/or Russian and foreign languages other than Russian (15)

	Languages	Education
Q25	ET, EN, RU	English philology
Q26	ET, EN, RU	English philology
Q27	ET, EN	English philology
Q28	ET, EN, ES	English philology
Q29	PL, RU, EN, ET	English philology
Q30	RU, EN, FR, ES, ET	English philology
Q31	ET, SV, EN	Swedish philology
Q32	ET, DE	German philology
Q33	ET, DE, SV	German philology
Q34	ET, DE, RU	German philology
Q35	ET, DE, RU	German philology
Q36	ET, FI	Estonian philology
Q37	ET, CZ, RU	Mathematics
Q38	ET, EN	English philology
Q39	ET, SV	History

Note: Q – interviewee; CZ – Czech; DE – German; ET – Estonian; EN – English; ES – Spanish; FI – Finnish; FR – French; PL – Polish; RU – Russian; SV – Swedish.

The interviews conducted also led to the rediscovery of the names of sixteen other interpreters who had interpreted between Estonian and Russian, but who could not be interviewed, as they were either ill or deceased.

The author was able to identify eight interpreters who interpreted at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet-era parliament,[64] in addition to carrying out other interpretation assignments. They were interviewed for this study and were part of the twenty-four total interpreters interviewed with Estonian and Russian as their A-B language pair. Of those eight parliament interpreters, four had a degree in Russian and two in history while two had only a secondary education.

In the interviews the author carried out with Estonian and Russian A-B interpreters, it emerged that there was an active team of six to seven interpreters in the 1970s and 1980s who worked together and encouraged each other, competing with one another in a friendly manner and occasionally even giving awards to the best interpreter of the team. Indeed, colleagues' praise was highly valued. The attitudes toward interpretation that were described in the interviews arbitrarily divided interpreters into two groups: interpreter-philosophers and

[64] Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, hereinafter referred to as the Soviet-era parliament or parliament.

interpreter-officials, as several interviewees referred to their frame of mind. The philosophers were willing to spend hours discussing minute details of terminology in search of the best possible option; they would have made excellent translators. While interpreting they lagged far behind the speaker. Those who used interpreters often preferred interpreter-officials, who were able to keep up with the speakers even if they sometimes had to cut corners. They never stumbled and successfully jumped hurdles. In analysing what was said during the interviews, the author divided up the types of interpreters in another way, as well: those who aimed at a maximum of preciseness, interpreting word for word and providing translation into Russian at breakneck speed, and those who focused on the quality of performance and kept a regular pace. Inexperienced interpreters unable to keep up in simultaneous mode and who attempted to switch to consecutive interpretation while on microphone were deemed to fail, as the trailing echo of their interpretation after the speaker had finished was easily heard in the audience.[65]

The interpreters interviewed had very little formal training in interpretation. One Russian–Estonian–Russian interpreter who had a degree in history and who also learned Arabic and Turkish at Moscow University (but never interpreted from or into either) had received some training, but primarily in consecutive interpretation. Just six out of thirty-nine of the interviewed interpreters had had some slight contact with simultaneous interpretation before they began working as interpreters, but no training. The other interviewees had never received any training or even seen simultaneous interpretation being used or performed prior to starting to work as interpreters themselves. These facts demonstrate that interpreters in Estonia during the years under review had more practical experience than training.

Three interviewees with German and English Bs who occasionally interpreted in the 1960s and 1970s mentioned that their continuing education in language training took them to Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg) or Moscow University, as well as to the Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow. There they saw for the first time how simultaneous interpreters were trained. (The leading professor of interpretation studies at the Institute was Ghelly Chernov.) Two interpreters with Russian as their A and B languages, respectively, had been to the Institute in the late 1970s. This was a one-off experience, however, that did not lead to any training in simultaneous interpretation. Three university lecturers later started teaching the basics of simultaneous interpretation at The University of Tartu. Two of them were interpreters with Russian as their working language while the third briefly taught Russian at Finnish universities[66] and gave simultaneous interpretation classes to her

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[65] See also Karin Sibul, "Interpretive Communities", in "Languages and People: Space, Time, Identity", special issue, *Taikomoji kalbotyra (Applied linguistics)* (Vinius University, Lithuania) 4 (2014).

[66] Helena Sepp, "Ülikoolilinn, kus ei tohi ööbida", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*, XXX (1998): 149–150.

Finnish students.[67] Between 1978 and 1981, they published several academic texts together on how teaching simultaneous interpretation helped Estonian students learn conversational Russian.[68] In light of the 1978 decree on the mandatory learning of Russian,[69] they also introduced specialised Russian classes in a secondary school in Tartu and taught interpretation to secondary school students. The third lecturer with English as her working language dedicated the later part of her lecturer's career to teaching simultaneous interpretation at the university in the 1990s. Contacts the university lecturers acquired during continuing training at the universities outside Estonia brought in later years invitations to interpret at international conferences in Russia between Russian and other foreign languages.

One of the questions asked of the interviewees was why they had started interpreting in the first place. A typical answer was that Estonian students majoring in Russian were simply asked to come and "help out" with their knowledge of Russian. This was also the case of students learning Finnish[70] and other languages. Upon graduation there was no such profession as interpreter that students studying languages could go into. Almost everybody became a teacher. Until the early 1990s, interpretation was a side job or a hobby, usually for university lecturers or teachers. This has been like this for hundreds of years in other countries as well.[71]

Interpreters at the time were clearly lay or natural interpreters; that is, "bilinguals […] without special training for it".[72] The Intourist guide-interpreters were an exception. Being a guide-interpreter involved leading sight-seeing tours in Tallinn and Estonia for foreign tour groups and delegations as well as interpreting during field trips and visits (to collective and state farms,[73] factories, kindergartens, schools, Pioneer Palaces, etc.). Guide-interpreters also

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[67] Antidea Metsa, interview with the author, 2 April 2012.

[68] The list of publications received on 7 March 2012 and available in the author's private archive.

[69] See section 3.1. entitled "On the Use of Language in Estonia".

[70] Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale,* 18.

[71] See for historical comparisons Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting 1848–1918*, trans. Kate Sturge (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015), 218–229. In her study of translators in the Habsburg monarchy (1848–1918), Michaela Wolf has pointed out that translating was not their primary activity and refers to the translators' "migratory" character (ibid., 223). While some were involved in literary fields (as writers and editors), others were engaged in activities that were seemingly less related to interpretation (engineers, physicians, etc.). Similar to translators examined by Wolf, also the interviewed interpreters treated interpreting as an additional income.

[72] Brian Harris and Bianca Sherwood, "Translating as an Innate Skill", in *Language Interpretation and Communication*, ed. David Gerver and H. Wallace Sinaiko (New York: Plenum, 1978), 155; Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 22.

[73] The author's personal archive. Interpreter Karin Sibul. UN representatives from the developing countries visit the Kirov Collective fishery in Haabneeme, Estonia. 22 September 1978. A photo.

interpreted sightseeing tours for Estonian tourist groups abroad. Their diverse work experience, combined with exposure to actually listening and speaking to native-speaking foreigners, gradually made them good specialists. Indeed, they were regarded as such, thus validating Pöchhacker's observation that "historically, it is of course difficult to clearly separate professional interpreting from what we might call lay interpreting or natural interpreting".[74] An analysis of the author's interviews reveals that the interpreters operating in the years reviewed occasionally fell short of the requirements set for interpreters as defined today in codes of ethics. They were all interpreters by chance: most worked other jobs, as well, and considered interpreting a welcome source of extra income. Interpreting was not their primary activity.

3.3 Interpreting between Estonian and Russian

The interviews the author conducted for the research provided information on events, which provided interpretation to facilitate communication between two language communities, which was especially significant in the early years of the Soviet rule in Estonia when the knowledge of Russian was poor. Over the years the knowledge improved as more and more stress was laid on teaching Russian. Hints from the interviews led to research in the film and photo archives and encouraged to examine footage of various conventions looking for the audience using headsets. Valuable pieces of information on parliamentary interpreting as used today were collected through personal correspondence with interpreter colleagues abroad. Verbatim reports from the years prior to the restoration of independence helped to examine the use of interpretation in the turbulent years. The newspaper articles and memoirs were scarce but invaluable when gathering factual evidence about the use of interpretation, especially in 1940 upon Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union. Theatre announcements served as the primary written evidence of the use of theatre interpretation. For political reasons the share of diplomatic interpreting in the period under review was limited.

3.3.1 Interpretation at the Soviet-Era Parliament

The Soviet-era parliament, the legislative body in Estonia at the time, formally had two names, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (1944–1990) and the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia (1990–1991). For the sake of clarity, the author refers to both as the Soviet-era parliament, even if, given the socio-political circumstances, it did not meet the prerequisites of a freely elected democratic parliament.

[74] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 22.

In post–World War II Estonia, the Supreme Soviet convened twice a year and acted as a "rubber stamp",[75] approving decisions taken under the party leadership in Moscow, although theoretically it was the highest state body in Soviet Estonia.[76] During this period Estonia was no longer independent. It was, however, one of three Soviet republics out of a total of fifteen to employ parliamentary interpreting, allowing speakers to use their mother tongue as the working language at the plenary sessions of the ESSR Supreme Soviet. In the Supreme Soviet, "in 1955 approximately 80 per cent of the delegates were Estonians, a share that rose to over 85 per cent by the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s. In the 1970s a gradual decline began, but in 1980 Estonians still constituted 73 per cent of the membership".[77] The number of the delegates elected to eleven Soviet-era parliaments varied from 100 to 285. Out of the 285 members of the 11th (and last) Supreme Soviet, 154 were members of the Communist Party and 36 of the Young Communist League; the remaining did not belong to either of them. One hundred and seven were monolingual Russians.[78] The composition of the Soviet-era parliament was strictly provided for by Moscow, which dictated the share of parliament, which would consist in representatives of the top leadership, party members, workers, employees, intelligentsia and Estonians and non-Estonians, as well as the ratio of men and women.[79] Nothing was left to chance.

According to those interviewed, the Estonian parliament used simultaneous interpretation throughout its existence, although no interpreter could say anything more specific about when it was first used. Nor did archival research into the minutes and verbatim reports of parliamentary sessions yield any factual confirmation of when parliamentary interpreting was introduced in Estonia. For visual confirmation of its use, the author turned to the National Archives of Estonia, and searched for photos depicting the use of parliamentary interpreting in the Digitised Photos Database and the Film Archive Online Database to find relevant newsreels from its Movie and Sound Collection. Each entry in the database comes with a brief description of the footage, and the author watched all relevant footage (154 clips depicting parliamentary proceedings), covering 1944 to 1991. The research carried out in the photo collection yielded merely one photograph of a parliament interpreter from 1990, depicting the interpreter not interpreting but rather airing a radio broadcast as a reporter, with a misleading caption providing the profession of the person photographed. Interpreting was the reporter's side job.[80] This outcome was

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[75] Mole, *The Baltic States from the Soviet Union to the European Union*, 65.

[76] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians,* 190–195.

[77] Ibid., 194.

[78] Jaan Toomla, comp., *Valitud ja valitsenud. Eesti parlamentaarsete ja muude esinduskogude ning valitsuste isikkoosseis aastail 1917–1999* (Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 1999).

[79] Tiit Made, *Ükskord niikuinii* (Tallinn: Argo, 2006), 283.

[80] EFA.204.P.0-254370. Eesti NSV Ülemnõukogu XI koosseisu XV istungjärk, tõlk L. Šer. (03.1990).

slightly discouraging since the objective behind working through the collection was to find potential early events for which simultaneous interpretation was used.

As regards preparations for interpreting assignments, several interviewees stressed that there was never any new terminology, since overused fixed epithets were intrinsic to the Soviet newspeak found in ideological texts. The use of clichés was deeply rooted in the Soviet officialise. They created safety for the speaker, reducing the possibility of committing a verbal faux pas.[81] There were certain myths that functioned as approved templates—work associated with heroic deeds, Soviet citizens as heroes, unbreakable friendships, etc. The use of oxymoron, such as "a battle for peace" or "a burning desire", to name just a few, was common. The parliamentary sessions brought together the working class, intellectuals and military elite to listen to speeches dedicated to heroes who had fought on the battlefields and now struggled on the frontlines of labour.[82] The formalised, set position prescribed by the need to stick to officialise and dictated by party instructions was quite inappropriate for oral presentation. Presentation of positions in written form was common. Several of those interviewed stressed that when preparing for an interpreting assignment, reading previous speeches sufficed to refresh their memory of the vocabulary. According to one experienced interpreter, there was never any new terminology: fixed adjectives simply went with certain nouns. In an analysis of print journalism, the Soviet ideology-laden language is described as a synthesis of a colloquial language and a pathetic cult language.[83] Ideological texts were clumsy and full of poignant ideological expressions and were frequently approved and signed off by senior officials. All of the texts to be published were revised by the censor.[84]

Several interpreters with Russian As or Bs spoke of cases where a speaker read a prepared text word for word, including comments not intended to be read aloud (e.g., "Comrade Aus gets the floor"). These speakers also stumbled at hyphenated words at the end of the line or page (*meid rõõ-mustab* ["makes us happy"] interpreted into Russian as *nas ra* and *dujet* ["make" and "sus happy"]) or repeatedly split compound nouns spelt as one word in Estonian into two nouns in the wrong place, giving the word a different meaning (e.g., *lae-kaunistus* ["ceiling decoration"] into *laeka unistus* ["a dream about a casket"]). The speakers' mistakes were intentionally included in the subsequent interpretation. Considering "what could have been understood to have been meant by what was said",[85] however, these examples indicate not only an unprofessional approach to interpreting but rather a subtle political intent to reveal

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[81] Raag, "The Sovietisation and De-Sovietisation of Estonian", 106–130.

[82] Lõhmus, *Toimetamine: kas looming või tsensuur*.

[83] Ibid., 60.

[84] Ibid., 73.

[85] Stanley Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 161.

the speaker's unpreparedness to take the floor. In his eleven golden rules for simultaneous interpreting, Roderick Jones highlights the need to "not be distracted by focusing attention on individual problematic words" as well as the need to be able to split one's attention.[86] In the above examples the speakers stumbled at hyphenated words and the interpreters intentionally did the same. The interpreter behaviour here is thus clearly calculated. Other interpreter behaviour included a certain automatism while interpreting, concurrent activities such as knitting and playing chess, and intentionally emphasising text-reading errors made by the speakers. Indeed, the interpreters even seemed to take pride in the latter. No interpreters with other B languages mentioned any such attitudes. The interviewees also said that although written texts were frequently delivered at breakneck speed, speakers never added or deleted material or switched the order of paragraphs around.

The interpreters interviewed frequently mentioned that no one listened to the interpretation anyway, meaning, on the one hand, that interpreting from Russian into Estonian was often not necessary as people more or less understood the language, and on the other hand, that the audience could guess what was coming. An interpreter recalled that during the delegates' four-year term in parliament, interpreters could guess by the speaker's name what he or she would speak about. For example, if a milkmaid was given the floor when the national budget discharge was debated, she would say how many litres of milk she had produced the previous year and how many she was going to produce this year, and that there were still some things wanting in her life, such as a lack of gauze to filter the milk, and that she was in favour of the discharge of the national budget. Two interpreters recalled a colleague who told a joke into the microphone at an economic-political seminar; the Russian audience burst into laughter, though none of them betrayed what the interpreter had done.

Despite the fact that speakers did not deviate from their written texts, interpreting on autopilot could be dangerous. Indeed, the interpreters could not become too automatic or careless in their guesswork, as their output was monitored. A former head of the Documentation Department of the Parliament Presidium from 1949 to 1991 mentioned in her interview that occasionally she was asked to listen to the interpretation to check its quality. Another way to check the quality of the interpretation in later years was to compare the text transcribed from tape recordings of the sessions to the original recording. The verbatim texts were translated and published in Estonian and Russian. Random sampling of the translated verbatim text by the author yielded no information about simultaneous interpretation. According to one interviewee, if a delegate complained that he had not used a specific word, he or she was shown the

[86] Jones, *Conference Interpreting Explained*, 78.

verbatim text.[87] This demonstrates how speakers sometimes used the interpreters as scapegoats.[88]

Apart from simultaneous interpretation, the interviewees also mentioned *consecutive* and *whispered interpretation* as well as *interpretation from a text*. If done in the booth, the latter is called *simultaneous interpreting with text*.[89] The attitude of the interviewees vis-à-vis this mode fluctuated between two extremes. Judging by their experience, it seems understandable that one interpreter who frequently interpreted party officials enjoyed having the text to work from, since he said that ambitious party and young communist league Russian-speaking officials spoke too fast, "like artillery fire". Thirty-two years of experience working for the Central Committees of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and Parliament led another interpreter to also consider working in simultaneous with the text the best method, as ambitious Russian-speaking officials frequently delivered written texts at breakneck speed. This interpreter took pride in being so precise in his work that the transcription of his interpretation could be printed verbatim, needing very few corrections, if any. He was also proud of frequently getting ahead of the speaker and thus finishing before him or her. This may have been possible because the speakers would read their written speech word for word without so much as glancing up once, as confirmed by scores of newsreels the author watched for her research.[90] The written text therefore helped the interpreters, although it was rarely provided.

At the other end of the spectrum, two interpreters stressed that the texts were useful to look through before interpreting and could be used to help with figures, but were otherwise just disturbing. The only interpreter who had had some interpreter training during his language studies in Moscow said unambiguously that he discarded written texts as one could not fulfil a triple function (listening, reading and interpreting) simultaneously.

Just four interviewees vaguely mentioned *consecutive interpreting*, which mostly took place at the parliamentary committee meetings; this was confirmed by a 1991 verbatim report. "All the work, even in the committees, is done with the help of translators and interpreters".[91] The rare comments about consecutive interpretation had to do with heightened responsibility and insecurity arising from the high visibility of the interpreter as well as embarrassment caused by sensitive topics (such as sexual health and behaviour). Only one person interviewed was able to recall a specific case of consecutive from Estonian into

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[87] Lia Bergelt, interview with the author, 21 June 2012. Bergelt worked as a stenographer from 1949 to 1983.

[88] Obst, *White House Interpreter*, 168.

[89] Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 19.

[90] RFA.203.1239. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 6,* 1960; RFA.203.688. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 29,* 1950; RFA.203.2610. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18,* 1985; RFA.4.422. *Rahva tahe*, documentary, directed by Vassili Beljajev, Eesti Kultuurfilm and Leningradi Kinokroonika Stuudio, 1940.

[91] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991* (Tallinn: Riigikogu Kantselei dokumendi- ja asjaajamisosakond, 2011), 2: 219.

Russian. This interpreter, who interpreted from 1960 to 1992, unambiguously stated that he always avoided consecutive, as his colleague (deceased, and therefore not interviewed) was always willing to be the centre of attention when necessary, as it flattered his vanity. Five out of eight parliament interpreters mentioned *chuchotage* (*whispered interpretation*), mostly provided for a single monolingual Russian, usually a party official or occasionally a guest from elsewhere in the Soviet Union. A monolingual Russian from the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party always attended the sessions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium (the Board of the Soviet-era parliament). When interviewed, an interpreter who started in the mid-1950s as a translator at the Presidium recalled sitting next to the party functionary and providing whispered interpretation without any preparation for the job. According to the interpreter, at one point it was decided that it was not good to have her sitting in the conference room (or maybe they just wanted to get rid of her), and thus simultaneous interpretation was introduced. She mostly interpreted alone and had a colleague only if it was known in advance that the session was going to be long and difficult. The interpreter(s) worked in a separate room without any view of what was going on. Whispered interpretation was also resorted to when the simultaneous interpretation equipment broke down but it was important to continue with the work of the parliament session, as confirmed in the verbatim text from September 1991.[92]

Half of the interviewed interpreters who worked for the parliament had been deported to Siberia as children by Soviets, had to attend Russian schools, and, once they returned, studied Russian as a subject at university. They had not received any formal interpreter training and can be considered natural interpreters, applying a concept coined by Brian Harris in the 1970s.[93] When they interpreted from Russian into Estonian, the interpreters represented the dominant language, and when they interpreted from Estonian into Russian, the dominated language,[94] in the same linguistic field. It should be born in mind that of the fifteen Soviet republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were the only ones to continue to use their own languages, including in high-level political decision-making bodies. Most of the communist party rhetoric comprised canonised phrases, easily memorised and interpreted (as repeatedly confirmed by the interviewees; for example, interpreters were able to play chess while interpreting). Bourdieu acknowledges that linguistic crisis comes via political crisis,[95] whereas "language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power".[96] The linguistic and political power of Russian (i.e. interpreting from Russian into Estonian) was exposed, in

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[92] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 8: 375.

[93] Harris and Sherwood, "Translating as an Innate Skill"; Pöchhacker, *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, 22.

[94] Pierre Bourdieu, "The economics of linguistic exchanges", *Social Science Information* 16 (1977): 647, doi: 10.1177/053901847701600601.

[95] Ibid., 652.

[96] Ibid., 648.

particular, "in the monopoly of the means".[97] The linguistic and political power of Estonian (i.e., interpreting from Estonian into Russian) appeared, first and foremost, in the right to speak Estonian, as "those who speak must ensure that they are entitled to speak in the circumstances, and those who listen must reckon that those who speak are worthy of attention".[98] With certain caveats, it may be argued that interpreting from Estonian into Russian in the parliament slowed the process of Russification in Estonia.[99]

3.3.2 Interpreting as Represented by Verbatim Reports

The author analysed all the verbatim texts of the 1990–1991 Soviet-era parliament, available online, at which point the ESSR had been renamed the Republic of Estonia and the Supreme Soviet the Supreme Council; these records offered insight into a politically tense atmosphere.[100] This period covers the 12th parliament, elected in 1990 and comprising 105 delegates, 78 of whom were proponents of Estonia's independence and 27 of whom were strongly pro-imperialists, including four delegates elected in closed Soviet military electoral districts.[101]

At that time members of parliament in the Republic of Estonia addressed each other as "Mr" or "Mrs" instead of "comrade",[102] which upset several Russian delegates who preferred the latter.[103] Examining the verbatim texts revealed that most of the language-related references in them were to translation and irrelevant to the present study. The 12th parliament held fifty-one sessions from 1990 to the restoration of independence in 1991. Of seventy-five references to interpretation, thirty-four are from 1990 and forty-one from 1991, the latter including thirteen from the period between the restoration of independence on 20 August and the recognition of Estonia's independence by the United States and the Soviet Union in September 1991. These two years were socially and politically turbulent for the parliament: Estonian laws were declared to supersede Soviet ones, the language act was adopted, land and property reform was debated and undertaken and the Rules of Procedure of the parliament were tabled, to name just a few changes; these led to resistance from the monolingual Russian delegates representing the Soviet military industry and the army. The

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[97] Ibid., 652

[98] Thompson, editor's introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power*, 8.

[99] Karin Sibul, "Interpreting and Symbolic Capital Used to Negotiate Borders in Estonia 1944–1991", *Borders under Negotiation*, *VAKKI Publications* 4 (Vaasa, 2015), 260–269.

[100] The earlier period is not available online. See section 1.2.2.2. entitled "Archives, Newspapers and Verbatim Reports".

[101] Toomla, comp., *Valitud ja valitsenud*, 130; Made, *Ükskord niikuinii*, 290.

[102] In 1940, Soviets introduced the term "comrade" in Estonia as an egalitarian replacement for Mister, Miss, etc.

[103] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990* (Tallinn: Riigikogu Kantselei dokumendi- ja asjaajamisosakond, 2010), 2: 172; 9: 49; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2: 8.

ideological debates were emotional and the Russian delegates frequently veiled their thoughts with references to potentially flawed interpretation, using this excuse a total of eighteen times.[104] The concept of the Republic of Estonia not being the legal successor of the ESSR was difficult to grasp for several members of the parliament, even with interpretation.[105] The verbatim texts from the fifty-one sessions available translate into 7,188 pages, with a reference to interpretation every 96 pages. Vague references to potentially misunderstood interpretation are made once every 399 pages. This leads to the assumption that the interpreters' performance must have been excellent even at such turbulent and ideologically contentious times. It is worthwhile to stress that the interpreters were all experienced practitioners who had neither prior training nor theoretical knowledge of interpreting. As can be concluded from the verbatim texts of these fifty-one sessions, the interpreters made a potential mistake every third session. Estonian poet Ave Alavainu made a very rare written comment on the significant role of interpreters in the then parliament.[106]

> The prevalent assumption has been that all the relevant people promoting Estonia's ideals were lawyers and people fluent in Russian. […] In reality our excellent interpreters and translators delivered independence. I can well imagine how fast and precisely agreements had to be formulated and drawn up for the opposing parties to "swallow" them; what a tremendous 24/7 workload it must have been. And simultaneous interpreters! A minute slip in interpreting and—it could have all failed or been ambiguous.[107]

Toward the end of the Soviet period, from 1988 onward the political environment started to change and the issues under discussion became more substantial. The attitude of the Russian delegates now changed as well: they clung to the interpreters and depended on them in their communication, as can be generalised on the basis of the interviews. All of a sudden, every word the interpreter uttered was important for the audience.[108] The interviews reflect a change in the interpreter narrative, as well: interpreters had an attentive audience, the message they transmitted had meaning, job satisfaction increased, etc. The online verbatim reports also reveal increased attention paid to interpretation in the form of requests to speakers to speak or read slowly for the benefit of the interpreters[109] and in the form of the chair or Estonian delegates volunteering to

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[104] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 8: 165, 167; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 1: 443.

[105] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 7: 229.

[106] Ave Alavainu, e-mail message to author, 29 February 2016.

[107] Ave Alavainu. *Looming*, no. 3 (2008): 164; "Minu vabariigi tulemised", 21 February 2008 http://www.delfi.ee/news/paevauudised/arvamus/ave-alavainu-minu-vabariigi-tulemised?id=18243793, accessed 14 July 2015.

[108] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 1: 108, 111; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2: 88.

[109] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid*, 2: 74; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2:90; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 6:119.

read out certain amendments in Russian that had not yet been translated in order to facilitate the interpreters' work.[110]

The seventy-five references to interpretation in the verbatim texts include sixteen cases of simultaneous equipment failure. It is impossible to retrospectively determine whether there was a real failure or whether the Russian delegates feigned the failure to gain time or hinder smooth work, as the session was always suspended whenever the interpretation into Russian did not function.[111]

As concluded from the verbatim texts, the chair of the session referred most frequently to interpretation—forty-two times—which can be explained by the Rules of Procedure: the chair's responsibility was to ensure a good working environment and the smooth functioning of the simultaneous interpretation equipment. Thus, the chair refers to malfunctioning equipment thirteen times.[112] The chair is always supportive of the interpreters, calling upon the delegates to read slowly to allow the interpreters to interpret,[113] reading slowly himself[114] and stating that the interpreters did not translate the written document and therefore are not to be blamed for mistakes in the text.[115] He commends the interpreters' performance,[116] stresses how difficult their job is[117] and at times reads amendments in both languages—Estonian and Russian—to facilitate the interpreters' work.[118] Among the delegates there were two, Aleksei Zõbin and Vladimir Lebedev, who raised the issue of interpretation, three and two times, respectively. Both were staunch anti-independence activists, representing the communist party and Soviet heavy industry.[119]

Two comments in the verbatim record reflect political tensions caused by anti-independence sentiment in the parliament: these were sardonic questions about whether Estonian delegates were not allowed to speak Russian[120] and about who issued the order to have a TV camera in the meeting hall.[121] Tough anti-independence leaders raised both issues. The question about filming is very informative for this research, because the chair's answer throws light on the interpreters' working conditions in the parliament.[122] The interviews with eight

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[110] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 3: 20, 135, 216; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 8: 96.
[111] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 1:112.
[112] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 1:391, 406; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 3: 69.
[113] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 7:293.
[114] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 6:119.
[115] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 10:412.
[116] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 6:95.
[117] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 7:382.
[118] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 4:318.
[119] A. Zõbin (3 times); V. Lebedev (2). Toomla, "*Valitud ja valitsenud*": see Lebedev, 295; Zõbin, 410.
[120] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 9:161.
[121] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2:218–219.
[122] Ibid., 219.

interpreters gave a general picture of the conditions: two small rooms each with a tiny window, providing very poor visibility of the hall, and a small rest area. No interpreter mentioned the use of the camera to improve visibility. The verbatim text from February 1991 is explicit, however: "The camera is necessary for the interpreters. They have a TV set [i.e., a monitor] in their room".[123] In October 1990 the chair describes the upgraded simultaneous interpretation system: "A small technical innovation. When you come to the rostrum to take the floor, you will see a light which will start blinking if there is no interpretation or you speak too fast".[124]

Heated debates were also held in the Soviet-elect parliament about the revision of the Rules of Procedure. One important comment is from March 1991 when the parliament debated abolishing interpretation into Russian at the meetings of the Presidium of the Supreme Council (previously the Supreme Soviet), or what would now be the Board. "I know that in the past there has always been interpretation", states a delegate.[125] This was an otherwise rare endorsement of interpretation not only in the Soviet-era parliament but also in the 1950s Presidium, as mentioned in interviews.

3.3.3 Interpretation at Other Events

Interpretation between Estonian and Russian took place at a remarkable range of other events, as corroborated by footage in the Film Archive (106 clips of which 41 covered parliamentary sessions). Apart from communist party[126] and young communist league[127] congresses and plenary sessions (eight each) there are other events to examine independently, although many were also related to the party in some way. Eight events took place in the field of agriculture, such as the 2nd farmers' congress (1947),[128] meetings of the chairmen of collective farms and directors of state farms (1952, 1959)[129] and meetings of rural youth (1957)[130] and front-rank (i.e., the best) agricultural workers (1954, 1956, 1961).[131] Simultaneous interpretation can be seen in five film clips covering four ESSR anniversary celebrations: the 16th (1956),[132] the 20th

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[123] Ibid.
[124] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 8:339.
[125] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 3:157.
[126] RFA.203.597. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 36*, 1948; RFA.203.1316. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 31*, 1961; RFA.203.1565. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 6*, 1966.
[127] RFA.203.502. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 10*, 1946; RFA.203.1276. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 43*, 1960; RFA.203.1329. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 4*, 1962.
[128] RFA.203.527. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 9*, 1947.
[129] RFA.203.766. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 7*, 1952; RFA.203.1207. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 26*, 1959;
[130] RFA.203.985. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 5*, 1957.
[131] RFA.203.877. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 33*, 1954; RFA.203.950. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 14*, 1956; RFA.203.1296. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11*, 1961.
[132] RFA.203.963. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 29*, 1956.

(1960),[133] the 25th (1965)[134] and the 30th (1970).[135] A few headphones can also be seen among the audience at various culture-related conventions, confirming the Soviet practice of inviting monolingual Russian party officials or guests from other Soviet republics: at the 3rd Cultural Workers' Meeting (1954),[136] at the Composers' 6th Congress (1959),[137] at the Teachers' 1st Congress (1960),[138] at the 1st Congress of the Theatre Union (1962),[139] at the opening of the Week of Moldavian Art (1963),[140] at the 25th anniversary of Estonian Cinematography (1965),[141] at the 5th Congress of the Writers' Union (1966),[142] at the 40th anniversary of the Writers' Union (1983),[143] at the 1st National Conference of Rural Doctors with guest speakers from Leningrad (1951)[144] and at the 1st Conference of the Estonian National Firefighters Union (1957)[145]. In addition to the anniversary of Soviet Estonia, the range of various anniversaries also includes the 4th anniversary of the liberation of Tallinn from the Nazis (1948),[146] the 100th anniversary of Russian academic J. Pavlov's birth (1949),[147] the 28th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's death (1952)[148] and the 100th of his birth (1970),[149] the 100th anniversary of Russian writer N. Gogol's death (1952),[150] the 150th anniversary of the birth of F. R. Kreutzwald—one of the greatest poets and people's educators of the Estonian national awakening who transformed the folk legends into the poetic form of the Estonian national epic, Kalevipoeg[151]—(1954),[152] the 38th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution (1955),[153] the anniversary of the 1905–1907 Russian revolution (1955),[154] the 40th anniversary of the Commune of the Working People of

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[133] RFA.203.1263. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 30*, 1960; RFA.203.1433. *Laulud nüüd lähevad*, documentary, directed by Veljo Käsper, Kunstiliste ja Kroonikafimide Tallinna Kinostuudio, 1960.
[134] RFA.203.1521. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 23/24*, 1965.
[135] RFA.203.1702. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 14*, 1970.
[136] RFA.203.848. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 4*, 1954.
[137] RFA.203.1201. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20*, 1959.
[138] RFA.203.1273. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 40*, 1960.
[139] RFA.203.1124. *Eesti NSV Teatriühingu I kongress 24.–25.04.1962*, newsreel, 1962.
[140] RFA.203.1382. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 17/18*, 1963.
[141] RFA.203.1527. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 30*, 1965.
[142] RFA.203.1565. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 6*, 1966.
[143] RFA.203.2496. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 21*, 1983.
[144] RFA.203.724. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11,* 1951.
[145] RFA.203.1002. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 22*, 1957.
[146] RFA.203.588. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 27*, 1948.
[147] RFA.203.634. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 28*, 1949.
[148] RFA.203.762. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 3*, 1952.
[149] RFA.203.1697. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 8/9*, 1970.
[150] RFA.203.766. *Nõukogude Eesti no.* 7. 1952
[151] Marin Laak, foreword to *Kalevipoeg, by* Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (Tartu-Tallinn: Estonian Literary Museum, 2011), 9–13.
[152] RFA.203. 845. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 1*, 1954.
[153] RFA.203. 917. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 31*, 1955.
[154] RFA.203. 922. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 36*, 1955.

Estonia (1958),[155] the 20th anniversary of the Estonian Young Communist League joining the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (1960),[156] and the 70th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party (1973).[157] Lenin's centenary celebration is also well covered by photographs in which headsets are seen.[158] In the footage of the Council of Ministers session that approved the Statutes and the structure of the ESSR Academy of Sciences in 1946, headsets can also be seen in use by members of the audience.[159] As for the All-Union Folklore Conference (1976–1978), there should have been interpretation from Estonian into Russian, since the opening was in Estonian, although the audience is not depicted in the documentary.[160] Three newsreels cover working class–related events: the Stakhanovites'[161] all-Estonian convention (1952),[162] a reunion of front-rank workers that was dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Stakhanovism (1985)[163] and the 5th meeting of innovators (1962).[164] Two interpreted events focused on peace: the plenary session of the ESSR Peace Defence Committee (1955)[165] and the peace conference of 1962.[166] For the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty, the audio track of the recording confirms that the Chairman of the Supreme Council spoke in Estonian but it is not possible to establish whether interpretation was into Russian and/or into English.[167]

The author's search in the Digitised Photo Database provided additional information about simultaneous interpretation having been used between Estonian and Russian during the period under review. One hundred and ninety-one photos depict headsets in use at various congresses either by the members of the presidium or by the audience and can be broken down into four groups by the organisers (see table 3.3.). Indeed, the photographic evidence proves that in addition to use at party and young communist league congresses, interpretation was used at congresses organised by creative associations, trade unions and specific professions (teachers, inventors, lifeguards, etc.). All creative associations are represented: writers, artists, composers, architects, journalists and filmmakers; so, too, are the choral and performing arts associations. In the

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155 RFA.203.1103. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 49*, 1958.
156 RFA.203.1276. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 43*, 1960.
157 RFA.203.1971. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 15*, 1973.
158 EFA.335.P.0-191052; EFA.335.P.0-191054; EFA.335.P.0-191055.
159 RFA.203. 500. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 8,* 1946.
160 RFA.336.2054. *Tuhandeaastane muusika,* documentary, directed by Mark Soosaar, Eesti Telefilm, 1976–1978.
161 Stakhanovite – a worker in the former Soviet Union who was exceptionally hardworking and productive, from the name of Aleksei Grigorevich Stakhanov (1906–1977), Russian coal miner.
162 RFA.203.770. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11,* 1952.
163 RFA.203.2610. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18,* 1985.
164 RFA.203.1345. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20,* 1962.
165 RFA.203.896. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 10,* 1955.
166 RFA.203.1340. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 15,* 1962.
167 RFA.461.20030. *Eestimaa,* newsreel, Eesti Video, 1990.

changing political circumstances of the late 1980s, parties other than the communist one were established: the Popular Front (five photos from 1988),[168] the Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party (two, 1990)[169] and the Estonian Liberal Democratic Party (one, 1990).[170] Forty-nine photos were taken at eight communist party congresses out of a total of twenty congresses,[171] and thirty photos were taken of eleven out of twenty-one Estonian Young Communist League (EYCL) congresses.[172] The breakdown for the eight creative unions is as follows: the Writers' Union, thirty photos of six congresses;[173] the Composers' Union, ten photos of four congresses;[174] the Filmmakers' Union, six photos of three congresses;[175] the Journalists' Union, six photos of four congresses;[176] the Artists' Union, five photos of two congresses;[177] the Architects' Union, two photos of two congresses;[178] the Performing Arts Association, two photos of two congresses;[179] and the Choral Association, one photo.[180] Twenty-three photos depict simultaneous interpretation at five trade union congresses. Eight are from three different women's congresses,[181] and the rest (eleven) are from those of specific professions: teachers (four),[182] lecturers (four),[183] inventors (two)[184] and lifeguards (one).[185]

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168 ERAF.9599.1.11.47.
169 EFA.204.P.0-254859.
170 EFA.204.P.0-254173.
171 EFA.204.P.0-26357; EFA.204.P.0-125194.
172 EFA.204.P.0-5843; EFA.250.P.0-25282; EFA.204.P.0-4969.
173 EFA.204.P.0-125102; EFA.332.P.0-80720; EFA.274.P.0-89175.
174 EFA.335.P.0-190737; EFA.335.P.0-190738; EFA.335.P.0-191494.
175 EFA.252.P.0-74032; EFA.274.P.0-92220.
176 EFA.204.P.0-107893; EFA.335.P.0-191630; EFA.349.P.0-151491.
177 EFA.204.P.0-155832; EFA.274.P.0-85960; EFA.204.P.0-94420.
178 EFA.498.P.0-156750; EFA.252.P.0-36397.
179 EFA.204.P.0-96196.
180 EFA.204.P.0-145818.
181 EFA.311.P.d-100; EFA.311.P.d-101.
182 EFA.250.P.0-59123; EFA.204.P.1- 5125.
183 ERAF.2.2.98.3; ERAF .2.2.98.4.
184 ERAF.2.2.416.9.
185 EFA.311.P.0-83441.

Table 3.3. Photos depicting headsets in use at congresses, by category

Congresses	Congresses photographed	Photos
Party congresses (87 photos)	Estonian Communist Party	49
	EYCL	30
	Popular Front	5
	Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party	2
	Liberal Democratic Party	1
Creative association congresses (62 photos)	Writers' Union	30
	Composers' Union	10
	Film Makers' Union	6
	Journalists' Union	6
	Artists' Union	5
	Architects' Union	2
	Performing Arts Association	2
	Choir Association	1
Trade Union congresses (23 photos)		
Other congresses (19 photos)	Women's Congress	8
	Lecturers' Association "Teadus"	4
	Teachers	4
	Inventors	2
	Lifeguards	1
TOTAL		**191**

At the 1961 celebrations of the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of *Kalevipoeg*, the Estonian folk epic by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, simultaneous interpretation was available both at the Academy of Sciences[186] and in the Estonia Concert Hall.[187] It was also provided for the participants of a conference on ideology held in 1964[188] and at a reception held for the best secondary school leavers in 1981.[189]

[186] DrKM F 179:25; DrKM F 179:26.
[187] DrKM F 180:1/n; DrKM F 180:2.
[188] EFA.357.P.0- 90857.
[189] EFA.204.P.0- 125409.

3.3.4 Theatre Interpreting in Estonia

Simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances took place in seven theatres, as is evidenced by interviews, archival documents, newspaper articles and performance schedules published in newspapers. Performances were interpreted from Estonian into Russian at

- the Tallinn State Academic Drama Theatre, named after Viktor Kingissepp (renamed the Estonian Drama Theatre in 1989),
- the Vanemuine State Academic Theatre in Tartu (renamed the Vanemuine Theatre in 1989), and
- the Pärnu Drama Theatre, named after Lydia Koidula (renamed the Endla Theatre in 1988).

A few select performances were also interpreted at

- the ESSR State Youth Theatre (renamed the Tallinn City Theatre in 1994),
- the Viljandi Ugala Drama Theatre (since renamed Ugala Theatre), and
- the State Academic Estonia Opera and Ballet Theatre (renamed the National Opera Estonia in 1998).

At the State Russian Drama Theatre (known simply as the Russian Theatre since 2005), a few performances were interpreted from Russian into Estonian.
During the years under review theatre interpretation was regularly provided in three theatres in Estonia. Interpretation took place at the Estonian Drama Theatre in Tallinn for sixty years, longer than anywhere else. In fact, Maia Soorm, the staff interpreter of thirty-seven years left the theatre in 2012 and the tradition was discontinued at that time. On 12 January 1952, the cultural weekly *Sirp ja Vasar* published an article accompanied with a photo depicting the announcer and sound technician at work, marking, thus, the start of theatre interpretation at the theatre. The article "Performances at the Tallinn State Drama Theatre will be interpreted into Russian" runs

> By end-1951 the Tallinn State Drama Theatre was provided with radio transmission and sound system. Now members of the audience who do not master Estonian can fully follow the performance. The performance is interpreted into Russian in the sound technician's room and the interpretation is transmitted into headsets.[190]

The name of the interpreter, i.e. the announcer—Helene Malin—is also mentioned. She had graduated the Estonian State Theatre Institute as an actress in 1951.[191] In the 1960s Armilda Berezina (b. 1932) was employed as an

[190] "TR Draamateatri etendused tõlgitakse vene keelde", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 12 January 1952.
[191] "Eesti Riikliku Teatriinstituudi lõpetajad", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 7 July 1951.

announcer or an announcer-prompter[192] who after getting married moved to Finland.[193] Her outstanding work was well appreciated:

> The cast's main assistant at all guest performances in Moscow and always when performing to a foreign language audience, was the interpreter-announcer. The timely and precise delivery of the text to the audience depended on the quality of her work. At that time the theatre had an announcer Armilda Berezina who had clear diction and good response skills.[194]

Before the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991 all performances were interpreted into Russian, while for the last twenty-five years, a few select performances each week or month were.

The Vanemuine Theatre in Tartu, which put on drama, ballet and opera productions, provided simultaneous interpretation of plays into Russian for about forty-two years, until 1995. Valeria Barsova, the interpreter interviewed, recalled that when she started in 1952 she was soon temporarily tasked with also interpreting operas. This was because the monolingual Russian theatre director dispatched to the theatre from Moscow wanted the Russian-speaking audience to understand the operas as well (even if the synopsis was available in the programme). This tradition was immediately discontinued when the Russian theatre director returned to Russia.

The circumstances necessitating simultaneous interpretation into Russian in Pärnu were slightly different. Pärnu was a well-known summer resort town, famous for its numerous full-board health resorts and holiday homes, as well as for its lush greenery and quiet atmosphere, which attracted people from all over the Soviet Union, including many Russian and Jewish intellectuals. The new drama theatre building was completed in 1967; it came with improved working conditions and led to the introduction of the so-called summer season for holidaymakers. Its managing director was interviewed for the local paper in 1969 and justified this innovation as a way of exchanging ideas and discussing performances with authors, actors or critics from other parts of the Soviet Union.[195] The newspaper article he is cited in does not mention interpretation, leaving it unclear as to how guests from outside Estonia would have understood the performances in Estonian. That being said, during one month of the summer season all of the performances were simultaneously interpreted into Russian.[196] The long-term managing director of the Pärnu theatre (1981–1995) Olav Esna (b. 1934) was interviewed for this research and recalled that apart from the main auditorium, simultaneous interpretation was also possible in the smaller hall, now known as "the black box". Outside the summer season interpretation was provided only upon prior special request. The author has discovered seven

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192 ERA.R.2219.1.205 (Töötajate nimekirjad 1962).
193 Ain Jürisson, *Draamateatri raamat* (Tallinn: Eesti Draamateater, 2010), 503.
194 Ibid., 370.
195 Helle Tamm, "Meeldiva avaakordiga hooaeg", *Pärnu Kommunist*, 30 July 1969.
196 Leida Talts, *Pärnu teatrilugu 1875–1991* (Tallinn: Scriptum, 2000).

articles, which specifically discuss the summer season. In the summer of 1980 altogether 34 performances were performed during a month, "all interpreted into Russian".[197] Madis-Ilmar Salum concludes in 1985

> The summer seasons in our theatre, with performances interpreted into Russian, are among the most unique in the Soviet Union. About twelve years ago or so they were the only summer season performances in the main theatre hall, whereas by today this example has 'infected' several others as well.[198]

According to Ülev Aaloe, sometimes more than half of the audience listened to the interpretation.[199]

Eight weekly performance schedules from 1958 to 1963 prove that performances were interpreted from Russian into Estonian also in the Russian Drama Theatre in Tallinn.[200] It remains unconfirmed whether interpretation was dropped at all or merely not mentioned in the schedules, as was the case with theatres giving performances in Estonian. The performance schedules of the latter rarely mentioned interpretation. On 26 June 1972 Mitch Leigh's operetta[201] "Man of La Mancha" was interpreted into Russian. The leading role was sung by Georg Ots, the Peoples' Artist of the USSR. This is the only discovered record of interpretation taking place in the Opera and Ballet Theatre Estonia.[202] Two references of theatre interpreting apply to the theatre Ugala[203] and one to Vanemuine.[204]

Apart from theatre interpreting between Estonian and Russian, also guest performances were interpreted into Estonian and occasionally into Russian. Fifteen articles and advertisements from 1959 to1985 prove interpretation from Latvian and Lithuanian (two cases each), Moldovan and Russian (one case each), and Finnish (three as regards performances by the State Karelian Drama Theatre from the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and five by theatres from Finland). Performances by the Moldavian Theatre of Music and Drama were interpreted from Moldavian[205] and by the Karelian theatre from

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[197] Laos, "Suvehooaeg Pärnus".

[198] Madis-Ilmar Salum, "Legendist ja tegelikkusest. Elamisväärne elu", *Sirp ja* Vasar, 11 October 1985.

[199] Aaloe, "Pärnu teatri suvehooaeg".

[200] See performance schedules in *Sirp ja Vasar*, 31 January 1958, 16 January 1959, etc.

[201] "Operetta" was the term used during the period under review. "Musical" as a term came into use later.

[202] Performance schedule (RAT Estonia), *Sirp ja Vasar*, 23 June 1972.

[203] "XXI '84", *Nõukogude Õpetaja*, 3 March 1984; performance schedule, *Sirp ja Vasar*, 18 April 1986.

[204] "Teatrikuu '79: kroonikat", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 30 March 1979.

[205] Advertisement, *Sirp ja Vasar*, 24 May 1963; The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic existed from 1940 to 1941 and from 1944 to 1991. Moldovans and Romanians speak the same language, although some minor historical differences exist. The name of the language was changed to Moldavian under Soviet rule and later known as Moldovan. Since 2013 it

Finnish[206] both into Estonian and Russian in 1963 and 1964, respectively. Two articles mentioned the Estonian Youth Theatre's guest performances abroad, which were interpreted into Finnish[207] and into Swedish, whereas the name of the interpreter—Ülev Aaloe (1944–2017)—is also mentioned.[208]

To research the history of interpretation in Estonia, the author interviewed altogether thirty-nine interpreters, including five theatre interpreters. Three are discussed in greater detail: Valeria Barsova (1928–2013),[209] Maia Soorm[210] and Malle Shalda.[211] Another two theatre interpreters (an actress and a theatre support staff member who had studied at the theatre studio and at times was a supporting actress) interpreted occasionally if necessary in the 1970s and 1980s and have interpreted performances more frequently since 1991. Yet another six interviewees interpreted performances just once or twice. The discussion below is based on a pool of eleven interviews. The author also consulted sign language interpreters. Barsova, Soorm and Shalda were competent in their field and all had interpreted performances for years. While none received any interpreter training, they all had decades of practice. Two of them were employed as full-time interpreters by the theatres in Tallinn and Tartu and interpreted several nights a week and frequently as many as six or seven. The third interpreter, who worked in Pärnu, was working as a Russian teacher when she was first invited to interpret, and she continues both to teach and interpret to this day. The interpreters in Tallinn and Pärnu had Russian as their B language and the interpreter in Tartu had Russian as her A language. The interpreters with Russian Bs had both graduated from The University of Tartu with degrees in Russian philology. The interpreter with Russian A had secondary education. Another two interpreters who were theatre staff members enjoyed the advantage of having very intimate knowledge of acting and of theatre life. Judging based on their interviews they did not comprehend the essence of theatre interpretation. The actress interpreted simultaneously without a prepared text and the supporting actress read the text. Both admitted that if they lost track of the text, they just skipped portions of it and continued from where they could pick up again.

An interviewee recalled the early fifties when his friend's father used to work as an interpreter at the Drama Theatre and would take them along with him. Although the reference was vague, as was the name, the author has been able to establish the name of this interpreter. The National Archives preserve a list of nominees to be acknowledged as participants in the 1956 Estonian Arts and Literature Festival in Moscow. Aleksandr Aisenstadt, an announcer-

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has been called Romanian. See "Moldovan Court Rules Official Language is 'Romanian,' Replacing Soviet-Flavored 'Moldovan'", *Associated Press*, 5 December 2013.

[206] Advertisements, *Sirp ja Vasar*, 10 July 1964; *Sirp ja Vasar*, 17 July 1964.

[207] "Külalisetendustelt tagasi", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 8 April 1983.

[208] Maris Balbat, "Noorsooteatri välissidemed", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 1 December 1989.

[209] Valeria Barsova, interview with the author, 12 June 2013.

[210] Maia Soorm, interview with the author, 1 November 2011 and 28 January 2012.

[211] Malle Shalda, interview with the author, 26 May 2015.

transmitter, from the Tallinn Drama Theatre is one of the nominees. He worked as a supplier in the radio factory "Punane Ret".[212] For the guest performances in Moscow two years later, Aisenstadt's name is pencilled in to the printed list as support actor.[213] This fact displays how diversified could have been the professional background of the theatre interpreters or the position in the staff list.

According to this interviewee interpretation from Russian into Estonian of a few select performances at the Russian Drama Theatre commenced about twenty years later, in the 1970s. However, an advertisement in the local cultural weekly *Sirp ja Vasar* evidences that the practice dates back to at least the late 1950s: Grigori Skulski's drama "By the Sea" was interpreted from Russian into Estonian on 5 February 1958.[214] The interviewee admitted that his experience interpreting for the theatre opened his eyes to what was done with classical plays and to how they were adapted, distorted and updated, making it impossible to use the original translation of the play. A former interpreter who spent most of his working life interpreting for the Central Committees of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League and who had interpreted just two performances in the 1980s summarised the experience as trivial and easy. Having the translated script in front of him, he had but to read it, taking care not to make any mistakes in his delivery. Another interpreter recalled timing—that is, reading the correct sentence at the right time—as the biggest problem, as the actors did not stick to the original script. An interviewee who had never interpreted at the theatre was convinced that theatre interpreting could not be linguistically difficult if one was used to interpreting fast speakers.

The comments of the six chance interpreters left the author with the impression that they equated theatre interpreting to simply reading a prepared text aloud. For them it was just another assignment and the only interpretation issue seemed to be how to synchronise their reading speed with the actors' speaking speed. To the author's surprise they did not seem to comprehend the nature of their task when interpreting at the theatre. Such an attitude dovetails well with the sign language researcher's observation that there is "the misplaced assumption that BSL-interpreted[215] theatre is simply a matter of interpreting a prepared text from the side of the stage, not dissimilar to the conference interpreting setting".[216] The author has personally experienced the lack of understanding surrounding an interpreter-mediated performance: she was once asked to simultaneously interpret a guest performance of a theatre troupe from abroad with three hours' notice. She had not seen the performance, nor was there a script available. Her refusal was taken rather badly, with the client commenting that the job was just like interpreting at any other conference.

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[212] ERA.R.2219.1.4, l. 54.
[213] Ibid., 49.
[214] Performance schedule, *Sirp ja Vasar*, 31 January 1958.
[215] British Sign Language.
[216] Rocks, "The Theatre Sign Language Interpreter", 84.

The experiences of the three long-term theatre interpreters yielded a more comprehensive picture of the nature of the job. For this research they are also of greater significance since those interpreters developed long-term relationships with their theatres, each of them interpreting for over forty years, two of them continuing to this day.

Valeria Barsova, the interpreter at the Vanemuine theatre in Tartu, interpreted performances for forty-two years, from 1952 to 1995.[217] In 2000 she retired at the age of seventy-two, having performed less challenging jobs in the final years of her career. She got the interpreter's job by chance. A monolingual Russian theatre director[218] sent to Vanemuine from Moscow liked her voice, and employed her on the spot to start interpreting performances at the theatre, thus introducing simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances to the Soviet Union.[219] Indeed, Barsova was arguably the first theatre interpreter in the entire Union,[220] as she started as a freelancer in 1952.[221] An article from 1952 confirms that interpretation at the Tallinn Drama Theatre was introduced that year as well. Barsova was tested as an interpreter and thereafter was asked to interpret the men's roles in the performance. Another woman was employed to interpret the women's roles. This is the only known case in Estonian theatre of having two interpreters. For the sign language interpretation of performances, on the other hand, the use of several interpreters is quite common.[222]

Soon Barsova was temporarily tasked with interpreting operas, as well (*La Traviata*, *Faust*, *Queen of Spades*, etc.); this lasted for about three years. Once she also interpreted a ballet at an open-air performance, reading out the synopsis. The ballet must have been "Shurale" by Farid Jarullin, staged in open air in 1955.[223] According to Jaak Viller, Vanemuine has had only two open-air ballet performances throughout its history.[224] The other was "Tiina" by Lydia Auster in 1960.[225] Barsova recalled that the translations she had to read into the microphone were frequently of poor quality and did not consider the specificity of the spoken word; she would therefore adapt and adjust them for her audience. As a beginner, it was difficult to convey humour so she would just read out the

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[217] Character reference by Maimu Krinal, an opera singer, 1985; Character reference by Kaarel Ird, Olga Bunder and Ao Peep, 1985, Barsova's personal file.

[218] Andrei Poljakov was the artistic director from 1950 to 1953.

[219] Valeria Barsova, interview with the author, 12 June 2013.

[220] Jürimäe, "Kalender".

[221] Valeria Barsova. Personal file (started on 27 April 1954). By that date Barsova had worked about 3 years at the theatre. She started as a freelancer and was employed full-time as of 1 January 1953.

[222] Stangarone and Kirchner, "Interpreting Settings"; Chloe Hansen, "Theatrical Interpreting: An Explanation of the Process" (Honors Senior Thesis, Western Oregon University, 2014), http://digitalcommons.wou.edu/honors_theses/15/, accessed 17 May 2016; Napier, McKee, and Goswell, *Sign Language Interpreting.*

[223] Kadri Rantanen, "Eesti suveteater aastatel 1995–2005" (master's thesis, University of Tartu, 2010), 13.

[224] Jaak Viller, interview with the author, 28 March 2017.

[225] Rantanen, "Eesti suveteater", 13.

text, unable to make the audience respond to jokes. In both her interview with the author as well as in an interview with a journalist upon her 70th birthday, she stated, "it was most difficult to read texts translated by amateur translators".[226] Her favourite genres to interpret were operettas and classical pieces. Barsova concluded that her job had really been quite difficult. In Estonia, it was taken for granted that she was simply part of a larger team, although when touring outside Estonia elsewhere in the Soviet Union she was the centre of attention and was praised for her clear diction, for which she was also commended in a review in a Moscow paper.[227] The article with a heading "A voice in the headset" in the renowned Russian cultural weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Moscow) analyses three guest performances given in Moscow in 1976. The article outlines the specificity of an interpreted performance as

> an announcer becomes a mediator between the cast and the audience, reading out the text. The success or failure of the performance depends largely on the voice in the headset.[228]

As a matter a fact, for a short time in the 1970s and 1980s, Vanemuine used to have the name of the theatre interpreter mentioned in the booklet of the production or programme.[229] The booklet was both in Estonian and Russian, whereas the Russian text informed of the transmission into Russian. Thus, the author discovered a name of another interpreter—Viktor Samoilov—who helped out if Barsova was indisposed or otherwise unavailable.[230]

Tiina Jürimäe writes to mark the fiftieth birthday of the only announcer the Vanemuine has had since 1953:

> An announcer-interpreter is a rare profession in Soviet theatres. […] Among non-Russian theatres the Vanemuine was the first to start interpreting its performances into Russian, remaining the only one for years. […] Barsova has excellent prerequisites for the job: immaculate fluency of Estonian and Russian, clear diction, expressive pleasant chest voice […]. Barsova has become one of the best announcers-interpreters in the Soviet Union.[231]

Barsova grew up bilingual and had no university degree. She writes in her biography dated 26 April 1954:

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[226] Kaseoja, "Vanemuise truu tõlkiv teener"; Valeria Barsova, interview with the author, 12 June 2013.
[227] M. Razorenova, "Golos v naushnikah", *Literaturnaja Gazeta*, 21 January 1976.
[228] Ibid.
[229] The Theatre Vanemuine, a production booklet of "Kremli kellad" by Nikolai Pogodin, 1977.
[230] The Theatre Vanemuine, a production booklet of "Macbeth" by Willam Shakespeare, 1987: "Announcer: Valeria Barsova or Viktor Samoilov".
[231] Jürimäe, "Kalender".

> In 1936, I started studying at the Estonian primary school. Having finished Grade 4, I continued at the Russian primary school. In 1941, I finished the primary school, my father died and my mother was ill and on disability pension. My sister studied in Pechory (Petseri) Secondary School and I wanted to continue there as well. Due to our family's financial difficulties I had to continue my studies at another school, which made it easier for our mother to provide for us. I entered Pechory (Petseri) Estonian Agricultural School and finished it in 1944. The same year I could continue my studies at Pechory (Petseri) 10-year Secondary School, where I studied until 1946. Having finished Grade 9 I got married and moved to Valga. I did not work until 1950. In 1950, I started as a veterinary assistant at my husband's. He was a veterinarian. In 1952, we moved to Tartu and I started as a technical secretary at the Tartu Town Executive Committee, thereafter as a secretary in Tartu Oblast Fire Inspectorate, working at the same time as a non-staff announcer at the State Theatre Vanemuine. On 25 June 1953, the oblast inspectorate was liquidated and since I have worked as a non-staff announcer at ST Vanemuine on contractual basis.[232]

Barsova was on the theatre's payroll as an announcer; unfortunately, it was impossible to discuss her work in greater detail as she was quite advanced in years, eighty-five years old, when interviewed, her health failing. She had stopped interpreting eighteen years before the interview and did not elaborate on her work with the written word. Her output was, however, highly recognised and acknowledged at the theatre even twenty years later. At the end of the telephone interview it was agreed that they would have a follow-up interview, but unfortunately Barsova passed away five months later.

Maia Soorm, who worked as a staff interpreter at the Estonian Drama Theatre in Tallinn for thirty-seven years, continues to work as a freelance theatre interpreter both at her former home theatre and elsewhere upon request. Her seminal work at the theatre was recognised in 2010: the Estonian Theatre Union awarded Maia Soorm the Aleksander Kurtna Prize for her long-term dedication to theatre interpreting. The explanation of the award reads:

> Maia Soorm: The translator and interpreter at the Estonian Drama Theatre who has translated numerous plays by Estonian authors into Russian for three decades; her main job has been to interpret performances simultaneously into Russian every night in an artistically enjoyable manner, maintaining the pace and register dictated not only by the written text but also by the nature of the performance and by the actors. [233]

Maia Soorm recalled that when she received the job of interpreter only a couple of hours before the start of the performance, Voldemar Panso (1920–1977), a renowned Estonian director and actor, gave her two sound pieces of advice: firstly, to come to the theatre about an hour before the start of the performance,

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[232] Valeria Barsova's Personal File (started 27 April 1954), Theatre Vanemuine, Archive.

[233] "Teatriauhinnad", http://www.teatriliit.ee/teatriauhinnad/laureaadid-aastate-kaupa/laureaadid-2010, accessed 23 July 2014.

go into the makeup room, see what condition or mood the cast members were in and, if possible, exchange a few words with them; secondly, that it was an easy job: the actor or actress would speak Estonian on the stage and the interpreter would say the same thing in Russian as best she could, at the same time as the actor or actress. "You speak when he or she speaks; if he or she has nothing to say, you keep quiet as well": thus, Soorm summarised Panso's advice. Maia Soorm with a university degree in Russian has had no formal interpreter education and has learned all the skills herself. As a child, she spoke Estonian at home, German with her grandmother and playing with other children picked up Latvian and Russian.[234]

Maia Soorm realised that that actors expect the entire audience, whether listening to the original or to the interpretation, to respond simultaneously. The interpreter therefore helps adequately transfer the verbal text from the stage to the non-native audience. As a staff interpreter, Soorm used to watch all performances,[235] including the ones performed without simultaneous interpretation, so that she would not be caught unawares if she were asked to interpret unexpectedly. Soorm also mentioned how the actors tested and teased her: improvising on the stage; adding, for example, a list of names of fish, trees and herbs to see how she would cope. Such jokes made her prepare long lists of fish, tree, herb and plant names as well as other difficult issues in Estonian and Russian—glossaries—so that she was prepared for future surprises. According to Soorm no two performances are alike and it is up to the interpreter to notice, respond and interpret each and every nuance of the text. This final phase is a never-ending one. This is why Soorm does not attempt to learn scripts by heart, although she has nevertheless ended up doing so, since a few plays have been in the drama theatre's repertoire for more than ten years, such as *The Estonian Funeral* (2002)[236] and *Cash on Delivery* (2002).[237].

Ain Jürisson (1931–2017) discusses in his history of the Tallinn Drama Theatre in detail not only actors and actresses but also the support staff. Jürisson writes

> A rare profession in contemporary theatre is that of the announcer-interpreter, who transmits the interpretation into the ears of the Russian-language audience. MAIA SOORM (b. 02/09/1950) has done this at the theatre for years. […] Maia Soorm is highly conscientious and her contribution has been and still is priceless to numerous guest tours to the cities of the former Soviet Union and to present-day Russia and other Russian-speaking countries where the audience understands Russian; how the audience receives the performance depends essentially on her. Other Estonian theatres also use Maia's rare skills when going on tour.[238]

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[234] Ksenja Repson, "Maia Soorm: he takie uzh mõ raznõje", *Postimees in Russian*, 23 February 2010.
[235] Ain Jürisson (1931–2017), interview with the author, 17 January 2017.
[236] Andrus Kivirähk, *Eesti matus*.
[237] Michael Cooney, *Rahauputus.*
[238] Jürisson, *Draamateatri raamat*, 503.

Similar to her colleagues in Tartu and Tallinn, the interpreter who worked at the Pärnu theatre also got the job by chance. While working as a Russian teacher, **Malle Shalda** was asked to interpret a theatre performance at a teachers' summer course she attended in 1975. The artistic director who listened to her interpretation offered her a job right away, and she has been freelancing at the theatre ever since. Shalda worked out her own method of preparation: she worked with the script, attended rehearsals, listened to the actors and always practiced reading the text out loud to understand whether it made sense when spoken aloud. Just like her colleagues she enjoyed artistic support both from the actors and from the administration. She felt respected and her opinion was frequently asked for. The actors were well aware that for their Russian audience, the success of their performance depended completely on the interpreter and her professionalism.

Theatre interpreting is a largely unrecognised but highly specialised area of interpretation and the three interpreters discussed above had no guidance as to what might be required of them when entering the world of theatre interpreting.[239]

Over the years Soorm understood the reason behind the so-called golden rule of popping into the dressing room prior to the performance: brief contact with the actors indicated their mood, condition, state of health, etc. They had a tendency to improvise, paraphrase or cut their lines, and Soorm learned that the unhappier or more ailing the actor was backstage, the more accurate he or she was with the text onstage. Her Aleksander Kurtna Prize recognised Soorm's specific skill: "if we want to have a good and satisfactory translation text for synchronized versions we have to get it done by gifted artists-translators not just by competent translation experts".[240]

The translation of drama is considered "fundamentally different in nature" from the translation of other types of text.[241] Soorm recalled a historic incident from the mid-1980s when she was on tour with another theatre (Old Town Studio) in St. Petersburg, which was then Leningrad. The artistic director of the theatre, Eino Baskin (1929–2015), a famous producer, actor and comedian, decided to interpret the last guest performance of *Who Is to Blame?* himself, mainly because the author of the play, Mikhail Zhvanetski, was a renowned Russian satirist and playwright and Baskin mastered his humour quite well. When the performance commenced, Baskin appeared onstage, took a bow and seated himself in the limelight behind a fancy desk in front of the first row instead of in the traditional interpretation booth. Because Baskin had directed the play, he knew it very well. As an interpreter, he therefore got carried away

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[239] Rocks, "The Theatre Sign Language Interpreter", 85.

[240] Fodor István, *Film Dubbing: Phonetic, Semiotic, Esthetic and Psychological Aspects* (Hamburg: Buske, 1976); Fodor, quoted in Schwarz, "Translation for Dubbing and Voice-Over", 405.

[241] Kevin Windle, "The Translation of Drama", in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 153.

and started to improvise and act; he got up, acted and was applauded, which practically suspended acting on the stage. Finally, his son, an actor in the play, stepped over to him and asked him to tell them when he would be finished acting, so that they could continue on the stage. The next morning a local paper ran a review on "a performance within a performance",[242] commending the brilliant playwright and even more brilliant interpreter.[243]

In conclusion, it can be said that in Estonia the simultaneous interpretation of performances from Estonian into Russian has a long tradition dating back more than half a century; it has not, however, drawn the attention of researchers and theatre critics and reviewers. There are certain similarities between the preparatory work of simultaneous and sign language theatre interpreters (and, for that matter, with that of audio describers): they work with the written text and the spoken word as well as on their comprehension and awareness of stage improvisation by the actors, combining both preparation and spontaneity. The three long-term theatre interpreters in Estonia, all of whom are highly competent in their field, mastered not only fluency in the source and target languages but also the metamorphosis from a dramatic text into a stage interpretation.[244] A major contributing factor to this was their long-term relationship with the theatre they worked at and the opportunity they had to participate in the production process. All three of the theatre interpreters interviewed described in great detail how although they either had a script they had translated themselves or a previously translated text, they adjusted it to the stage production, working with the producer and actors so as to convey the subtlest of nuances on the stage.[245] Theatre interpreting is a hybrid form[246] in which both interpretation and translation must be considered. Griesel recommends treating translators and interpreters as partners and language experts for the stage.[247]

The use of surtitles is a way to solve linguistic issues at drama festivals, in particular. Static surtitles, however, do not take into account improvisation or contribute to the real-life theatre experience. Indeed, a good theatre interpreter may make the audience forget their headsets and the linguistic barrier.

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[242] Maia Soorm, interview with the author, 1 November 2011 and 28 January 2012.

[243] See also N. Ivanova, "Oruzhiem smeha*", Vetscherni Leningrad*, 8 December 1984; Evg Ab, "Studija iz Starogo Tallina", *Leningradskaja Pravda*, 9 December 1984; Hannes Alt, "'Vanalinna Stuudio' Leningradis", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 21 December 1984.

[244] Virkkunen, "The Source Text of Opera Surtitles", 89–97.

[245] Copies of scipts Barsova used are preserved in the Vanemuine Archives in Tartu (e.g., Enn Vaigur and Veljo Tormis, "Külavahelaulud", 1972; August Jakobson "Elu tsitadellis", 1976;). Soorm preserves them in her personal archive. The scripts demonstrate the adaptation of the texts to become not only performable but also interpretable.

[246] Turner and Pollitt, "Community Interpreting Meets Literary Translation", 41.

[247] Griesel, "Surtitling: Surtitles", 125–126.

3.4 Interpreting from and into Other Foreign Languages

During the period under review, visits by foreign guests were rare, the links to the free world having been severed. Sporadic references interviewees made to working with foreign guests and delegations were corroborated with findings in archival research, newspaper articles, memoirs, and research conference materials. The parliament's verbatim reports added a few additional facts, too. The author's research in the Film Archives yielded thirty-nine newsreels depicting interpretation between Estonian or Russian and a foreign language other than Russian. Eight of these were of simultaneous interpretation, from 1955,[248] 1957 (two),[249] 1958,[250] 1961,[251] 1979,[252] 1982[253] and 1986.[254] The largest number of clips found from any one year was from 1956, in which five events that made use of consecutive interpretation were portrayed. The years 1964 and 1983 followed, with three cases of consecutive interpretation each. Seven years were represented with two cases of interpretation each and twelve years with one case each (see table 3.4.).

Table 3.4. Film clips of interpreting from and into languages other than Russian, by year

Year	Film clips
1954	1
1955	1
1956	5
1957	2
1958	1
1961	2
1964	3
1965	1
1966	2
1967	1
1972	2
1974	1
1975	1
1976	1

[248] RFA.203.920. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 34*, 1955.
[249] RFA.203.995. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 15*, 1957; RFA.203.1021. Nõukogude Eesti *no. 41*, 1957.
[250] RFA.203.1080. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 26*, 1958.
[251] RFA.203.1436. *Kalevi-Liiva süüdistab,* documentary, directed by Vladimir Parvel and Ülo Tambek, Kunstiliste ja Kroonikafilmide Tallinna Kinostuudio, 1961.
[252] RFA.203.2225. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20*, 1979.
[253] RFA.203.2418. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18*, 1982.
[254] RFA.203.2743. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 21*, 1986.

Year	Film clips
1979	1
1980	2
1982	1
1983	3
1986	1
1989	2
1990	1
1991	2
Total	**39**

Thirty-nine clips of footage can be broken down into eight groups by topic: politics (seven), sport (seven), foreign relations (seven), culture (six), friendship (five), trade unions (two), conferences (four) and church (one) (see table 3.5.).

Table 3.5. Film clips of interpreting from and into languages other than Russian, by topic

Topics	Film clips
Foreign relations	7
Politics	7
Sport	7
Culture	6
Friendship	5
Conference	4
Trade Unions	2
Church	1
TOTAL	**39**

By language, English is represented in eight clips; German in seven; Finnish in six; Swedish in four; Hungarian in three and Czech,[255] Chinese,[256] French,[257] Japanese,[258] Korean,[259] Portuguese[260] and Spanish[261] in one each. In four cases it was either a multi-language conference or it was not possible to determine the

[255] RFA.203.1436. *Kalevi-Liiva süüdistab*, documentary, 1961.
[256] RFA.203.977. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 45*, 1956.
[257] RFA.203. 4333. *Eesti Kroonika no. 12*, 1991.
[258] RFA. 203. 972. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 40*, 1956.
[259] RFA. 203. 855. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11*, 1954.
[260] RFA. 203. 1080. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 26*, 1958.
[261] RFA. 203. 2031. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 16*, 1975.

language. Nine languages (English, German, Finnish, Swedish, Hungarian, French, Czech, Japanese and Spanish) were covered both in film clips and photos (see table 3.6.).

Table 3.6. Interpreting from and into languages other than Russian, by language

Languages	Film clips	Languages	Photos
English	8	English	13
German	7	German	13
Finnish	6	Finnish	11
Swedish	4	Swedish	5
Hungarian	3	Hungarian	4
French	1	French	2
Czech	1	Czech	1
Japanese	1	Japanese	1
Spanish	1	Spanish	1
Korean	1	Korean	-
Portuguese	1	Portuguese	-
Chinese	1	Chinese	-
Italian	-	Italian	1
Slovak	-	Slovak	1
Arabic	-	Arabic	2
Language unknown	4	Language unknown	11
Total	**39**	**Total**	**66**

There are seven references to interpreting from and into foreign languages in the verbatim records. Two are related to a treaty in German, which was to be sight-translated into Estonian.[262] Four are related to Swedish: two to the visits of high-level Swedish guests to parliament[263] and two to the names of interpreters who interpreted between Swedish and Estonian during visits to Sweden.[264]One reference is to interpreters who would be provided by the Foreign Ministry to accompany observers from other national parliaments that were coming over to visit.[265]

[262] *Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 7:241–242.
[263] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 1:3, 213;
[264] *Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1990*, 4:88; *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2: 228–230.
[265] *EV Ülemnõukogu XII kooseisu stenogrammid 1991*, 2: 296–297.

3.4.1 Diplomatic Delegations

Of the western delegations to visit Estonia from 1944 to 1991, three were of the highest diplomatic rank: by president Urho Kaleva Kekkonen (1964), Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1972), and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1980).

Urho Kaleva Kekkonen (1900–1986), president of Finland, visited Estonia from 11 to 14 March 1964. It was the first visit by a Western head of state to a Baltic country after World War II.[266] In 1964, for various political reasons imposed by the Soviet Union, President Kekkonen could only pay an unofficial visit to Estonia. (He had previously visited Estonia under a different political order in 1938.) Kekkonen decided to deliver all prepared speeches, including that which he gave upon his arrival at the Tallinn airport, in Estonian. All other spontaneous speeches were to be interpreted. Interpreters were recruited from Estonia and both the president and his wife had an individual interpreter. Ultimately there were four interpreters,[267] plus the Finnish consul Kustaa Loikanen who interpreted between Russian and Finnish during an industrial visit.[268] Upon President Kekkonen's arrival, both he and Aleksei Müürisepp, Chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, gave speeches in Estonian. Upon the president's departure, Müürisepp spoke in Estonian and Kekkonen in Finnish. Kekkonen had a female interpreter, who can be seen in the documentary *Sõprusvisiit* about the visit.[269] Pekka Lilja and Kulle Raig describe the historic visit in great detail in their book *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti*.[270] Kekkonen spoke Estonian whenever he met with Estonians, even if interpreters were present. At official meetings he spoke Finnish and his interpreter interpreted.[271] The documentary footage of Kekkonen's visit to The University of Tartu shows Rector Fjodor Klement, the host, greeting his guest in fluent Estonian.[272] Klement (1903–1973), a Russian researcher and physicist, was appointed as rector in 1951. In point of fact, the author's mother Velda Sibul (1929–2007) studied at The University of Tartu from 1951 to 1956. Sibul recalls that in his opening address to first-year students, Klement promised that in five years when they graduated he would deliver his speech in Estonian. He kept his promise.[273] The footage proves it as well: he has not a trace of accent. In

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[266] Misiunas and Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1990,* 181.

[267] Pekka Lilja and Kulle Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti*, trans. Ene Kaaber (Tallinn: K&K Kirjastus, 2007), 110; 163.

[268] Ibid., 110.

[269] RFA.203.1543. *Sõprusvisiit*, documentary, directed by Vladimir Parvel, Tallinnfilm, 1964.

[270] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti.*

[271] Ibid., 131

[272] RFA.203.1543. *Sõprusvisiit*, documentary, directed by Vladimir Parvel, Tallinnfilm, 1964; RFA.203.939. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 3* "Saage tuttavaks", Kunstiliste ja Kroonikafilmide Tallinna Kinostuudio, 1956.

[273] Velda Sibul, "Naisena ülikoolis" (unpublished manuscript, 2005), Estonian National Museum.

addition to a thirty-minute private meeting, Kekkonen and Klement[274] also had discussions over lunch in Estonian, which meant ad hoc changes to the seating arrangements at the table to facilitate interpretation from Estonian into Russian: "people of relatively high position ended up as interpreters".[275] When he met with the university students and professorial staff, Kekkonen addressed the audience in Estonian and was simultaneously interpreted into Russian.[276] According to Raig, "the national-romantic speech the president gave at the Assembly Hall of The University of Tartu has become legend".[277] In 2012, the ailing Estonian–Russian simultaneous interpreter who interpreted that address, interviewed by phone for this research, reiterated that this assignment was the highlight of her career as an interpreter. President Lennart Meri of Estonia has said that the speech in Estonian "was a source of happiness for Estonians but a nightmare for Russians".[278] Twenty-six years later President Meri analysed the context of the visit and the address in Estonian, quoting Kekkonen: "If we would like to secure good future prospects for the Estonian way of thinking, there is no other option but to maintain contact with Estonians in Estonia".[279] During his visit President Kekkonen was interviewed in Finnish for Estonian television. His interpreter was Lauri Posti (1908–1988), professor of Balto-Finnic languages at the University of Helsinki, Finland. Two slightly different translations of the interview, by Lauri Posti and Hillar Laane, exist.[280]

The names of two interpreters are mentioned in connection with this visit. The lead interpreter was Hillar Laane (1933–1982);[281] Ellen Noot (1933–2003) is mentioned as an interpreter at the farewell dinner, sitting between Müürisepp and Sylvi Kekkonen, the president's wife.[282] Noot was later the first lecturer of Estonian who was actually from Estonia to work at a Finnish university.[283] According to Lilja and Raig she was one of the rare Estonians to speak "near perfect Finnish".[284] Noot can be seen in a photo from 22 May 1967 interpreting for Foreign Minister Arnold Green of the Estonian SSR as he gives President

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[274] TÜM Photo Collection (Ed. Sakk) 481: 010.

[275] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti,* 139.

[276] TÜM Photo Collection (Ed. Sakk) 481: 006. Photo caption "U. K. Kekkonen, University of Tartu Assembly Hall, 12 March 1964".

[277] Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 20.

[278] Lennart Meri, "President Kekkonen ja Eesti" (President's paper presented at UKK Perinneyhdistys meeting, Helsinki, Finland, 10 October 2000. Speeches of the President of the Republic 1992–2001, Vabariigi Presidendi Kantselei. http://vp1992-2001.president.ee/est/k6ned/K6ne.asp?ID=3618, accessed 27 July 2012.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti,* 171.

[281] Piret Saluri, e-mail message to author, 27 January 2012; Hillar Laane (1933–1982) – journalist, editor, interpreter and translator (Finnish, Swedish); TÜM Photo Collection MF (Ed. Sakk) 481–10.

[282] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti.*

[283] Tarmo Tuule, "Eesti keele õppejõud Soome ülikoolides 1967–1999" (bachelor's thesis, Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool, 1999).

[284] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti,* 175.

Kekkonen a gift.[285] She also interpreted at other events during the Estonian Days of Culture in Finland in 1967.[286]

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (1919–1980), the last shah of Iran, visited Tallinn from 13 to 15 October 1972. The interpreters for his visit came from Moscow; there were no interpreters who spoke Persian in Estonia. Footage from 1972 covering the arrival of Shah Pahlavi shows an interpreter at work during the shah's discussion with his hosts in Tallinn.[287] Another clip of amateur footage covering the shah's visit to the Estonian Institute of Agriculture and Land Amelioration led the author to an unexpected discovery: an interpreter stands next to the speaker and gives an overview of the institute.[288] The interpreter, Ferdinand Kala (1920–1997), a well-known multilingual who held various jobs in post–World War II Estonia, was arguably fluent in eight languages[289] and was asked to interpret at various events. In the autobiography he wrote in 1948, Kala wrote that at the age of 28, he already spoke Spanish, French, English, German, Russian and Estonian.[290] In the 1970s and 1980s he frequently interpreted movies at the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute's Film Club[291] and was known to be highly emotional when doing so, as if he were an actor himself.[292] Indeed, he actually did act in two Estonian films in 1981 and 1997.[293] To come back to Shah Pahlavi's visit to the Institute, Kala worked there as an assistant adviser[294] for years and was responsible for translation and interpretation assignments. It is surprising to see him interpreting in the footage, however, as there is no record of him having spoken any Persian. The host must have spoken Estonian while he interpreted into French; the shah and his delegation obviously spoke French. If the host had spoken Russian, the logical solution would have been for the accompanying Russian–Persian interpreter to interpret instead of Kala. That being said, the author has been able to corroborate the target language of interpretation (French) as well as Kala acting as the interpreter.[295]

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[285] EFA.338.0-80524.

[286] Lilja and Raig, *Urho Kekkonen ja Eesti,* 209.

[287] RFA. 203.1942. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20*, 1972.

[288] RFA.549.3695. *The Estonian Institute of Agriculture and Land Amelioration*, amateur film.

[289] Mati Jakson, "Mees, kes valdab kaheksat keelt, sooviks end ise aidata", *Eesti Päevaleht*, 14 December 1995.

[290] ERAF.247.5a.49.

[291] According to an interviewee, Lennart Meri (1929–2006), author, film director and future president of Estonia, has at least twice simultaneously interpreted films from English into Estonian at the Film Club in the 1980s.

[292] Tiit Merisalu, interview with the author, 14 March 2016.

[293] *Teaduse ohver*, directed by Valentin Kuik, Tallinnfilm, 1981; *Minu Leninid*, directed by Hardi Volmer, Faama Film, Lenfilm, 1997; EFA.566, 0-185123, photo *Minu Leninid*.

[294] Kunstikroonika, *Sirp ja Vasar*, 5 May 1973.

[295] Andreas Johandi, "Kui šahh Eestis õunu sõi ja kuldmünte jagas", *Horisont* 5 (2016): 32–38.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) of India visited Tallinn from 23 to 24 September 1982. An Indian source described the visit as follows, also explaining why Tallinn was chosen for the visit:

> The visit to Tallinn, capital of Estonia, must also have been of symbolic importance to the Soviets who love symbols. Standing on the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland, almost opposite Helsinki, Tallinn is noted for good service and shopping advantages not to be found in many other Soviet cities. Symbolically, Tallinn invokes the Helsinki spirit—or detente—which Mrs. Gandhi and Brezhnev jointly vowed to defend.[296]

A guide-interpreter from the Tallinn branch of Intourist who was interviewed for this study was recruited to interpret for Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister's son. She recalls acting as a guide while sightseeing in the Old Town and at Pirita Convent. She mostly interpreted from Estonian into English and a few times also did so from Russian into English. Interpretation from English into Estonian was rare as Rajiv Gandhi did not deliver any speeches but rather listened and made comments. Prime Minister Gandhi's interpreter from Moscow was the first the interviewee had seen take notes when interpreting. The interviewee admits having been slightly surprised as the text was neither difficult nor long for the interpreter to remember and reproduce. She concluded, however, that Estonian interpreters had no experience with diplomatic interpretation and that note-taking might in fact have been common practice. Film footage from Gandhi's visit also depicts a Russian–English interpreter at work at the reception by the Council of Ministers of the ESSR, with the interpreter standing behind the speaker and taking notes.[297] In another clip, the local hostess guides Gandhi in English during her visit to the Tallinn Town Hall.[298]

3.4.2 Other Foreign Delegations

After Stalin's death in 1953 and the denunciation of his policy in 1956, his strict isolationism was rejected during the so-called Khrushchev thaw. Changes to people's everyday lives were also accompanied by "a fundamental shift in Soviet attitudes", which led to initial contacts with foreigners.[299]

According to Kulle Raig, one of the very first Finnish delegations to Estonia during the period under review may have been a group from the Finnish town of Kotka who attended the Song Celebration in 1955.[300] The town twinning

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[296] Bhabani Sen Gupta "To Russia with Love", India Today Online Edition 15 October 1982, http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/india-seems-pleased-with-results-of-pm-indira-gandhis-visit-to-ussr/1/392196.html, accessed 14 May 2014.
[297] RFA.203.2418. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18*, 1982.
[298] Film "USSR-India, a Powerful Tree of Friendship", CSDF, 1982. http://www.net-film.ru/en/film-8693/, accessed 21 November 2015.
[299] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 189.
[300] Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 17.

movement facilitated further contacts: Kotka became a twin city of Tallinn in 1955 and Vaasa, also from Finland, of Pärnu in 1956.[301] The first representative delegation from Finland visited Tallinn and Tartu in 1956, re-establishing personal contacts in the fields of culture and research.[302] The Baltic Review, published in New York by the Committees for a Free Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in corporation with the National Committee for a Free Europe, summarised the situation as follows:

> The Baltic States are still a restricted area. During the past year, however, the situation has changed slightly, for several foreigners have finally been permitted to visit these countries. The Soviet authorities have also allowed some artists, athletes and other similar personalities to go abroad, and lately tourist excursions from the Baltic countries have been permitted to visit some free European countries. It is now easier to obtain newspapers and magazines from behind the Iron Curtain.[303]

The number of foreign delegations and tourists grew, albeit slowly, as Indrek Jürjo demonstrates based on his examination of documents in Estonia's archives:

> Twelve foreign delegations (73 people) visited Estonia in 1956, twenty-two delegations (298 people) did so in 1957 and as many as fifty-three delegations, including twenty-five from socialist countries (175 people) and twenty-eight from capitalist countries (215 people), did so in 1958.[304]

A significant breakthrough came in 1965 when, after a gap of twenty-six years, the ship line between Tallinn and Helsinki was reopened, causing the number of visitors from Finland, the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries[305] to "skyrocket"; that is to grow ten times in twelve years.[306] Familiarity with the Finnish language among Estonians flourished: language courses and Finnish television broadcasts played a significant role in language learning. In characterising the 1960s and 1970s, Toivo U. Raun notes "contacts with Western culture also mushroomed through a growing influx of tourists and the availability of Finnish television in the northern third of Estonia".[307]

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[301] http://www.kulleraig.com/noppeid_uhisest_ajaloost.html, accessed 28 November 2012.

[302] Sepp, "Ülikoolilinn", 146; Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 13. The 1956 delegation included also Leeni Vesterinen. See section 2.2.3. entitled "Foreign Language Speakers Acting as Interpreters".

[303] Johannes Klesment, "The Forms of Baltic Resistance to the Communists", *The Baltic Review*, no.8 (1956): 25.

[304] Indrek Jürjo, *Pagulus ja Nõukogude Eesti: vaated KGB, EKP JA VEKSA arhiividokumentide põhjal* (Tallinn: UMARA, 1996), 192.

[305] Enno Tammer, comp., *Nõukogude piir ja lukus elu. Meie mälestused* (Tallinn: Tammerraamat, 2008).

[306] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 189.

[307] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 219.

Although visits from diplomatic delegations to Estonia were rare, there were visits by many other delegations, including journalists, musicians, researchers, trade union or party members, etc. The earliest visual confirmation the author has managed to find of consecutive interpretation between Estonian and a foreign language other than Russian is from a 1966 newsreel. The newsreel covers the GDR Days of Culture, held in Estonia, and is a rare example of an authentic soundtrack. In it, Arnold Green, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Soviet Estonia, opens the event in Estonian. The GDR minister of culture speaks in German. A female interpreter stands next to the speakers on the rostrum and interprets consecutively from and into German and Estonian.[308]

The decision to hold the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow and the Olympic Yachting Regatta in Tallinn brought many foreign guests to Estonia. Before and after the event representatives from various international sports associations visited the Olympic venue in Tallinn. There is visual evidence of interpreters at work, mostly from two visits. Berthold Beitz, a member of the International Olympic Committee from Germany, paid Tallinn a four-day visit (21–24 June 1974). His interpreter was Priit Relve, whose name is not mentioned in photo captions.[309] Relve was the chief guide-interpreter for German and Swedish from the Tallinn branch of Intourist. Film clips of the visit from the *Eesti Reklaamfilm* film studio depict Relve interpreting during visits to various sites.[310]

A number of photos in the archive are of Bepe Groce's visit to Tallinn.[311] Groce was the president of the International Yacht Racing Union (IYRU), the parent body of international yachting, and laid the cornerstone of the Tallinn Olympic Yachting Centre on 6 May 1976. The photos' caption includes the word *interpreter* without the interpreter's name. The author recognised that interpreter as Maila Saar, the chief guide-interpreter with English at the Tallinn branch of Intourist. One of the photos shows her standing next to Groce at the ceremony.[312] She can also be seen interpreting in a 1976 newsreel[313] standing next to Foreign Minister Arnold Green, the Chair of the Organising Committee of the Tallinn Olympic Regatta.

One of the best clips of footage of an interpreter at work is from a 1983 video covering the 25th anniversary of the Estonian Friendship Society.[314] Two clips show Iira Lapko from the Tallinn branch of Intourist interpreting, first in consecutive from English into Estonian at a conference at the House of Trade Unions, and then at a meeting of the Friendship Society. The guest speaker is co-founder and Senior Vice President Frank K. Kelly from the Nuclear Age

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[308] RFA. 203.1590. *Nõukogude Eesti 33*, 1966.
[309] TLA. 1465.6793; 1465.6789; 1465.6791; 1465.6796.
[310] RFA. 353.2801, *Rahvusvahelise Olümpiakomitee liikme B. Beitzi külaskäik Piritale, Eesti Reklaamfilm*, 1974.
[311] TLA.1465.6808; 1465.6811.
[312] TLA.1465.6809.
[313] RFA.203.2080. *Nõukogude Eesti 10*, 1976.
[314] RFA.203.2498. *Nõukogude Eesti 24*. 1983.

Peace Foundation (United States). The audiovisual footage confirms what the author was told in interviews with Lapko and other interpreters: Lapko did not take any notes and interpreted either sentence by sentence or by short passages, instead relying on her memory. At the conference she stood next to the speaker; at the meeting they were quite far from each other as the participants were seated around a U-shaped table. Interpreters at work can also be seen in a documentary covering President Kekkonen's visit to Estonia in 1964.[315]

The interpreters who worked between German and Estonian had more interpreting practice than interpreters with English since the GDR was a socialist country and tourists as well as delegations travelled more frequently between the two countries. A university lecturer who was interviewed recalled that her very first interpreting assignment with German was to interpret a Norwegian student with strong leftist views who visited the university in 1965. Her next assignment took her to a collective farm. Her first simultaneous interpreting job was at a regional history conference held at the university in 1969.[316] Another interpreter with German as her B language recalled an interpreting assignment in 1978 in which she interpreted for a GDR farmer's delegation that visited an Estonian state farm. During the assignment, she paused a bit too long to decide whether 'in granules' was '*in Granula*' or '*in Granuli*' in German, leading the Estonian head of the state farm to say, "Why have you come here to interpret if you do not know how to do it?" The interpreter drew but one conclusion: although she had compiled a detailed glossary of agricultural terminology prior to the visit, she had still not prepared enough.

The so-called friendship trains between Tallinn and its twinned city, Schwerin, GDR, frequently brought with it native German speakers to act as German–Russian interpreters for the tour groups' tour of the Soviet Union in towns where there were no local German-speaking guides or interpreters. An interviewee recalled a case where a top Estonian communist party official, the ideology secretary, known for his abrupt manners but not fluent in German, all of a sudden shouted in the middle of a meeting that the interpreter had not used the correct word; the native German interpreter intervened, saying that the other interpreter's choice of words was fine. This party official was actually mentioned several times during interviews, with interviewees commenting on his discourteous and offensive manners and lack of finesse. Another recurrent comment from the interpreters was that trade union officials never adhered to working time and expected the interpreter to work through all coffee and lunch breaks, even if in words they protected workers' rights.

Guide-interpreters from the Tallinn branch of the all-Union travel agency Intourist were also recruited externally outside of their Intourist job, since their interpreting experience and linguistic fluency were considered far better than that of other language practitioners; so, too, were their social skills like small

[315] RFA.203.1543. *Sõprusvisiit*, documentary, directed by Vladimir Parvel, Tallinnfilm, 1964.

[316] See section 3.4.3. entitled "Research Conferences".

talk and their broader general knowledge, arising from guiding foreign tourists. In the late seventies and eighties high-level party officials, mostly from Schwerin, GDR, were frequent visitors to Estonia; they also came for longer holidays. Four Intourist interpreters (two men and two women) who at different times used to work with these delegations were also briefed in diplomatic protocol. One of the interpreters said during his interview that on rare occasions he was also given a translated text that he had to read out in simultaneous mode while the speaker gave the speech in the original.

As most of the foreign delegations and individual tourists travelled via the travel agency Intourist, the topic of foreign delegations is intertwined with that of tourism.[317]

3.4.3 Research Conferences

When studying research conferences held in Estonia during the period under review, it is necessary to differentiate between *all-Union scientific conferences* and *international scientific conferences*. The all-Union scientific conferences brought together representatives from any number of the fifteen Soviet republics, while international scientific conferences were also attended by participants from countries outside the Soviet Union.

To better understand the context, it should be noted that "following the Soviet model, a new Estonian Academy of Sciences was established as the major centre for research in the E[stonian] SSR" in 1946, lessening the role of The University of Tartu.[318] Now there were two research centres or communities in Estonia: The University of Tartu and research institutes of the Academy of Sciences in Tallinn. The University of Tartu, founded in 1632, remained the only university in Estonia until the restoration of independence, when a number of private universities were established; they have now mostly closed or merged. In 2005, the *Riigikogu*—the Estonian Parliament—decreed the establishment of Tallinn University through the merger of the Teachers' Training Institute and several research institutes and private universities. For the period under review, therefore, the term "university" applies exclusively to The University of Tartu.

In 1956, the first post-war research contacts were established and selected Estonian researchers could visit their colleagues abroad. The Academy of Sciences introduced a requirement that all researchers should be able to deliver a scientific presentation in at least one foreign language.[319] There were researchers who, apart from speaking English as the scientific lingua franca, were fluent in other foreign languages such as French and who could communicate

[317] See section 3.4.4. entitled "Tourism".
[318] Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 185.
[319] Ken Kalling and Erki Tammiksaar, *Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia ajalugu. Arenguid ja järeldusi* (Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akademia, 2008), 142.

with French guest researchers as well as teach in France,[320] and there were also some who spoke Swedish (e.g., Professor Emeritus Helmut Piirimäe) and Finnish (e.g., Assistant Professor Antidea Metsa).[321]

The learning of foreign languages and the use of English were encouraged in the research community. A former director of the Institute of Cybernetics interviewed for this study confirmed that it was not unusual to hold cybernetics conferences in English. An interpreter was usually recruited to conduct a city sightseeing tour for the foreign guests and acted more like a guide.

Since the 1970s, at least in Estonia researchers have learned English as a research language.[322] Raul-Roman Tavast recalls the role the Academic English Club had at the Academy of Sciences from the mid-1960s and for more than thirty years, making research literature and international conferences more accessible, and thus paving the way for Estonia to host international congresses such as the 1990 XI IFAC Congress on Automatic Control at the Service of Mankind. Tavast continues, saying, "The trump card Estonians had was their knowledge of English, which was much better than the average in Russia and in its research community".[323] Indeed, English was the working language at all international conventions in the field of computer engineering and information technology.[324]

The author was interested in establishing whether any interpretation was used at scientific conferences during the period under review in Estonia. Finding information on the use of interpretation at research conferences was not an easy task. International conferences were rarely held in Estonia and interpreters were from Moscow or Leningrad. When there was interpretation, the language combination was usually Russian and English or German. According to Mall Tamm, Estonian as a conference language only came into use in the late 1980s.[325]

The earliest visual evidence the author has discovered of interpretation at research conferences is a photograph in the Party Archive branch of the National Archives. It confirms that a scientific conference dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Estonian Communist Party in 1970 also benefited from simultaneous interpretation.[326]

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[320] Rein Veskimäe, "Et klaas ei puruneks", in *Teadusmõte küberneetika instituudis*, comp. Mati Kutser (Tallinn: Tallinna Tehnikaülikool, 2010), 98.

[321] Helmut Piirimäe (1930–2017), phone interview with the author, 9 January 2014; Antidea Metsa, interview with the author, 2 April 2012.

[322] Academician Ülo Jaaksoo, interview with the author, 21 November 2011.

[323] Raul-Roman Tavast, "Protsessijuhtimissüsteemid ja Küberneetika Instituut algusaastatel", in *Küberneetika instituut muutuvas ajas*, ed. Mati Kutser (Tallinn: Tallinna Tehnikaülikool, 2000), 25.

[324] Academician Ülo Jaaksoo, interview with the author, 21 November 2011.

[325] Mall Tamm, "History of Teaching Conference Interpretation at the Tartu University" (unpublished master's project, Tartu University, 2001).

[326] ERAF.2.2.4312.1.

Conferences on the humanities

When discussing post-war research contacts in the field of history at The University of Tartu, Professor Emeritus Sulev Vahtre noted that although for several years joint conferences were held with historians from Greifswald and Rostock Universities (GDR), "the main gateway to the West was the Centre for Baltic Studies at the University of Stockholm".[327]

According to two interviewees, both former lecturers at The University of Tartu, German and Russian were the languages used at what was arguably the earliest history conferences organised by the university; these were regional history conferences held in 1969,[328] 1972,[329] 1975[330] and 1978.[331] Visiting participants were from the German Democratic Republic and republics of the Soviet Union. German was thus the obvious language choice for the conference, since the only foreign guests the university was permitted to invite were from the GDR, an eastern-bloc country. The university's Historical Archive still has an application to the ESSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Vocational Education for permission to invite five GDR and three Polish university professors to the regional inter-republic history conference, "Feudalism and Capitalism: Development Issues in the Baltic Republics", to be held in Tartu on 15–18 March 1972.[332] The application justifies inviting them by saying: "They are distinguished Marxist-Leninist historians who have repeatedly visited the Soviet Union".[333] A report from the following year confirms the participation of one hundred and forty participants, including ten foreign guests.[334] It remains unclear from the wording whether the eight guests were invited in the end and whether they attended. When interviewed, Professor Emeritus Helmut Piirimäe, who is fluent in Swedish, recalled frequent contacts with Swedish scholars and confirmed having interpreted at events, which brought Swedish and Estonian scholar-historians together both in Estonia and in Sweden.[335]

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[327] Sulev Vahtre, "Teadustööst Tartu ülikooli ajaloo osakonnas 1973–1988", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*, XXX (1998): 19.

[328] *Entwicklungsprobleme des Feudalismus im Ostseegebiet: Vorträge der Gemeinsamen Historikerkonferenz der Tartuer Staatsuniversität, der Greifswalder Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität und der Rostocker Universität: (vom 18.–19. November 1969)* (Tartu: Staatsuniversität Tartu, 1969).

[329] *Entwicklungsprobleme des Feudalismus und Kapitalismus im Ostseegebiet (vom 14.–17. Märtz 1972)* (Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 1972).

[330] *Entwicklungsprobleme des Feudalismus und Kapitalismus im Ostseegebiet (vom 25.–27. November 1975)* (Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 1975).

[331] *Problemõ razvitija sotsialno-ekonomitscheskih formatsii v stranax Baltii*, Проблемы развития социально-экономических формаций в странах Балтики = Entwinklungs-probleme der sozialökonomischen Formationen im Ostseegebiet: доклады исторической конференции 28–30 ноября 1978 года / Тартуский государственный университет, Академии наук Эстонской ССР, Институт истории. Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 1978.

[332] EAA.5311.1.889.l.159.

[333] Ibid.

[334] EAA.5311.1.936.l.25.

[335] Helmut Piirimäe, phone interview with the author, 9 January 2014.

The International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies (CIFU) is the largest convention in the world for scholars specialising in Finno-Ugric languages and cultures and convenes every five years. CIFU III was held in Tallinn in 1970: 435 delegates from sixteen countries worked in fourteen sections over a seven-day period.[336] In footage from 1970, a voice-over states that three hundred presentations would be delivered "at the largest post-war international event in Tallinn".[337] According to documentation about the conference, it had four official languages: German, Russian, English and French. Presentations were also allowed in the Finno-Ugric languages: Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian.[338] The various sections could flexibly work in different languages. In the Balto-Finnic languages section, fifty presentations were made: seventeen in Estonian and ten in Finnish, with the language of the remainder not mentioned.[339] In the section on Ugric languages many presentations were delivered in Hungarian.[340] At the plenary sessions simultaneous interpretation was provided into two languages, though which two is not mentioned.[341] Paul Ariste opened the CIFU III in Estonian, as can be heard on the audio track of a documentary made by Eesti Telefilm.[342] Plenary session presentations were in Russian and German,[343] and one was also in English.[344] The last plenary presentation by Hungarian György Lakó was given "in excellent Estonian".[345] Judging by such brief comments, simultaneous interpretation may have been between Russian and German, which leaves the presentations in English and Estonian unaccounted for. Although most of the Finno-Ugric scholars present may have understood Estonian, most of the probably monolingual Russian-speaking scholars from the Soviet research institutes would not have understood it. Photographic evidence confirms the use of simultaneous interpretation.[346]

In 1972 and 1973 a conference for coaches of decathlon and pentathlon athletes and of Olympic gold medallists was held in Estonia. This brought together top coaches from all over the Soviet Union as well as a few Swiss and German visitors. Athletics coach Fred Kudu played a major role in hosting the conferences as well as in successfully bringing an international decathlon and

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[336] Der Dritte Internationaler Finnougristenkongress. Третьий межд. Конгресс финно-угроведов. // Congressus Tertius Internationaler Fenno-Ugristarum Tallinae Habitus 17.–23. august 1970. I. Acta linguistica. Tallinn, 1975.

[337] RFA. 203.1704. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 16,* 1970.

[338] Henn Saari et al., "Congressus tertius internationalis fennougristarum habitus est", *Keel ja Kirjandus*, no. 10 (1970): 615.

[339] Ibid., 620.

[340] E. Niit et al., "Congressus tertius internationalis fennougristarum habitus est", *Keel ja Kirjandus*, no. 11 (1970): 673.

[341] Der Dritte Internationaler Finnougristenkongress, XXXII.

[342] RFA. 336.1869, *Kolmas rahvusvaheline fennougristide kongress Tallinnas FU-70.* Eesti Telefilm, 1970.

[343] Der Dritte Internationaler Finnougristenkongress, XXXI.

[344] Veikko Ruoppila, *Kolmas fennougristien kongressi* (Helsinki, 1970).

[345] Ibid.; H. Saari et al. 1970: 616.

[346] EFA.204.0-81869

pentathlon competition to Estonia in 1974 in which West Germany, the United States and the Soviet Union participated. Apart from Estonian, Kudu was fluent in English, German, French and Russian and was a good communicator with excellent social skills, which facilitated his international professional relations.[347] Two University of Tartu lecturers interpreted at the conference between Russian and German, as well as from and into Estonian during breaks. As one of the interpreters was not quite as fluent in Russian, she interpreted from Russian into German, while her colleague took care of interpretation from German into Russian.

At research conferences organised by the University of Tartu Library (e.g., 1977, 1982), presentations in Estonian were translated into Russian and the translated texts were then read out.[348] Conference abstracts were published in two languages, Estonian and Russian.[349]

Conferences on Finno-Ugric ethnomusicology started in 1976 and were held every three to four years, bringing together not only scholars but also folk groups from Finno-Ugric areas in the Soviet Union. Folk musicians and dancers usually had an accompanying scholar with them who interpreted—or rather, commented on—their performance.[350] A documentary about Finno-Ugric folk music and ethnomusicology confirms this practice but also shows Jaan Rääts, chairman of the Estonian Composers' Union, opening the All-Union Folklore Conference in Estonian.[351] The speech was probably consecutively interpreted into Russian for the guests from other parts of the Soviet Union, as the interviewees confirmed unanimously that simultaneous interpretation was never used at these conferences.[352] Foreign scholars were allowed to attend for the first time in 1989.[353]

In 1979, the Olympic Yachting Centre hosted the 63rd session of the International Radio and Television Organisation (OIRT). The brand-new interpretation booths in the Press Centre were thus tested in multilingual conference mode prior to the upcoming 1980 Olympic Regatta.[354]

The 16th General Assembly of the International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts (CIOFF) brought together representatives of thirty countries from 3 to 9 July 1985. It was held in the recently restored

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[347] Alfred Pisuke, "Fred Kudu teoreetilisest ja treeneritöö pärandist", in *Treeninguõpetuse Instituudi teadus- ja õppemetoodiliste tööde kogumik* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 1994), 2: 63.

[348] Elsa Loorits, interview with the author, 16 November 2013.

[349] See *TRÜ Teadusliku Raamatukogu 7. teaduskonverents. 8.–10.VI 1977: ettekannete teesid* (Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool, 1977).

[350] Mare Kõiva, interview with the author, 23 November 2011.

[351] RFA.336.2054, *Tuhandeaastane muusika*, Eesti Telefilm, 1976–1978.

[352] Mare Kõiva, Ingrid Rüütel.

[353] Ingrid Rüütel, "Soome-ugri rahvamuusikaalastest kontaktidest Eestis aastatel 1976–1996", in *Hõimusidemed. Fenno-Ugria 70. aastapäeva album* (Tallinn: Fenno-Ugria, 1997), http://www.suri.ee/hs/index.html, accessed 24 November 2011.

[354] RFA.203.2225. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20*, 1979.

medieval Hikers' House on the Town Hall Square in Tallinn. According to the interviewed technician who was responsible for the simultaneous interpretation equipment, three pairs of interpreters provided interpretation between four languages.[355] The interpreters were on the balcony of the conference hall. A newsreel covering the event shows the participants listening to the interpretation. The audio track of the newsreel reflects the chaos of different languages, which could confirm the technician's statement that the interpreters had no soundproof booths.[356]

In 1986, Tallinn hosted its first international film festivals: the 48th International Non-Commercial Film Festival, and in parallel, the 45th UNICA (*Union Internationale du Cinéma*) Congress.[357] The Estonian Broadcasting Archives contain a number of photos showing participants with headsets listening to simultaneous interpretation. An interviewee who was a university lecturer recalled interpreting films simultaneously from German into Estonian as well as interpreting round tables and discussions and announcements at concerts. The UNICA congress had five working languages (German, Russian, English, Spanish and French), and many simultaneous interpreters were recruited from outside Estonia. After the festival, an Estonian filmmaker mentioned in an interview that the interpretation had been impeccable except from German into Russian.[358]

Traditional Folk Belief Today, a conference dedicated to the 90th anniversary of Oskar Loorits in 1990, was the first conference held in Eastern Europe on folk beliefs and attracted seventy-eight scholars from several countries.[359] The working language was English. Guests coming from far away (e.g., Abkhazians, Nenets) could speak in their own languages and therefore brought along texts in Russian, which were sight translated into English.[360] At conferences in Finland, Estonian scholars were surprised to experience Estonian–Finnish consecutive interpretation by the brilliant Johanna Laakso.[361] At the Estonian Literary Museum so-called "peer interpretation" (*kolleegitõlge, kõrvaltõlge*) was used: if a colleague was present at meetings with foreign colleagues and did not master the foreign language, a colleague fluent in that language simply sat next to him or her and provided "whispered interpretation".[362]

In his article "Fifty Years of Conferences of Baltic Science Historians", Erki Tammiksaar notes that before the 1990s presentations were given in Russian;

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[355] Rein Jõesaar, interview with the author, 20 November 2011.
[356] RFA.203.2607. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 14*, 1985.
[357] RFA.203.2743. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 21*, 1986; RFA.671.7466, *UNICA 1986*, Filmiamatööride Liit.
[358] Trivimi Velliste, "UNICA '86 järelmõtteid", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 10 October 1986.
[359] Mall Hiiemäe and Mare Kõiva, eds., *Rahvausund tänapäeval* (Tartu: Eesti TA Eesti Keele Instituut, 1995), 488.
[360] Mare Kõiva, interview with the author, 23 November 2011.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.

later, the role of Russian gradually started to shrink and was then replaced by English.[363] Jaak Aaviksoo, the former rector of The University of Tartu and the current rector of the Tallinn University of Technology, summarises the role of Russian in Estonia's scholarly community for the years under review by referring to his first academic article, which was written in Russian.

> It is only fair to argue that for practical grounds written professional correspondence was prevailingly in Russian (later also partially in English) […]. Retrospectively there is not much difference in the role of English in today's Department of Physics and the role of Russian in the department back then.[364]

Retrospectively, a chronicle piece on the 25th conference of Baltic Science Historians held in Vilnius, Lithuania (2012) compares conferences past and present states that "the official working language of the conference was English and most of the presentations were, in fact, given in this language (in the past Russian or the local language such as Latvian, Lithuanian or Estonian has also been used)".[365]

Conferences on science and technology

One of the earliest large international conferences held in Tallinn was the UN Symposium on the Development and Use of Oil Shale Resources from 28 August to 5 September 1968. Participants from twenty-nine countries attended. The number of participants was actually lower than expected as a week before the official opening of the symposium Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia (20–21 August 1968). The official British delegation as well as several other officials cancelled their participation in response.

The vice chair of the organising committee Endel Uus[366]—the dean of the faculty of chemistry at the time, who was interviewed for this study—considers the symposium the first large international event to have been held in post-war Estonia; arguably, it was also the first to provide simultaneous interpretation between four languages (English, Russian, French and Spanish). The host organisation was the Tallinn Polytechnic Institute (TPI), which today bears the name it was originally given when established in 1936: the Tallinn University of Technology. The interviewee explained the main reason why the honour of organising the symposium was bestowed upon Tallinn. The former TPI researcher and fuel chemist Georgi Ozerov (1921–1991) worked as a senior technical advisor on oil shale at the UN from 1964 to 1968 and helped to steer the symposium to Estonia. In addition to its general knowledge base the TPI

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[363] Erki Tammiksaar, "50 aastat Baltimaade teadusloolaste konverentse", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi,* XXXVII (2009): 191.

[364] Jaak Aaviksoo, "Füüsika Tartu Riiklikus Ülikoolis 1972–1988. Üldist ja isiklikku", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi*, XXX (1998): 54.

[365] "Kroonika. Balti teadusloolaste XXV kokkusaamine Vilniuses", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi,* XXXX (2012): 264.

[366] Endel Uus, interview with the author, 5 March 2014.

also had the appropriate facilities. The new TPI four hundred–seat conference hall was completed a day before the opening of the symposium. The conference hall boasted four stationary interpretation booths with a view of the room and each of the four hundred seats had four sockets for earphones. Scenes from the conference hall, including the audience using headphones, can be seen in the documentary *When We Run Out of Oil*.[367] To get an idea of how grand the event really was, it should be underlined that three organising committees were put together for this rare UN-sponsored event in the Soviet Union. There were three levels of committees: first, in the line ministry (the USSR Ministry for Oil Shale Industry) in Moscow, responsible for distributing UN funds; second, the Estonian National Organising Committee in Tallinn, headed by the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, Johannes Käbin (1905–1999); and third, a committee at the TPI to take care of the actual organising. The head of the TPI committee was the university's rector, Agu Aarna (1915–1989), and there were two vice chairs: Vice Rector for Research Heino Lepikson (1914–2002) and Dean of Faculty of Chemistry Endel Uus.

The UN was responsible for recruiting the interpreters for the symposium. These were graduates of the Moris Torres Foreign Language Institute (Moscow), which prepared interpreters for the UN. The Institute was the best higher education establishment at which to learn foreign languages, according to Igor Korchilov, the former interpreter for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and it also organised UN-sponsored interpreter courses.[368] The symposium presentations were delivered mostly in Russian or English with a few in French and Spanish; they were interpreted simultaneously. According to Uus, there was a lead interpreter interpreting from and into Russian and English, which leads to the unconfirmed conclusion that Russian may have been used as a pivot language and that other booths took relay from the Russian booth. It is impossible to establish retrospectively how the booths distributed their work; neither is it known how many interpreters were involved. The lead interpreter had worked for years in the UN Russian booth, as had the other interpreters. According to the vice chair interviewed, the team of interpreters was very large, and all the interpretation was done via the lead interpreter. This may simply mean that it was the routine responsibility of the lead interpreter to keep interpretation functioning. Simultaneous interpretation was provided in two halls. In the assembly hall—used for the plenary sessions—and the chemistry section next door each chair had four sockets to choose between with each representing a different channel. Both the system and the equipment were developed by local TPI engineers. The mining industry section convened in another hall and used another system, radiotelephones; this also offered a choice

[367] *Kui lõpeb nafta*, documentary, directed by Tõnis Kask and Ants Kivirähk, Eesti Telefilm, 1968.

[368] Korchilov, *Translating History*, 25; See also Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats*; Palazchenko, *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze*.

of four interpretation channels, as well as the possibility of listening in on the interpretation in the main hall.

Although the symposium information was printed in four languages, presentations were only printed in two: Russian and English. In his interview the vice chair of the organising committee highlighted two novel aspects of the symposium: a ladies' programme for spouses and special conference Dictaphones (recording devices to record speeches for transcription at a later time). The organisers would have liked to keep at least one of the devices but were not allowed to. About twenty to thirty translator-typists from Moscow typed up the verbatim record. The symposium participants were conditionally divided into two categories: those from foreign countries and those from the Soviet Union. There were also two categories of foreign guests: paying participants from the United States, West Germany, etc. ("the rich") and participants paid for by the UN ("the poor"). Meals and hotels were provided according to category. The paying participants stayed at the Hotel Tallinn, Tallinn's first international hotel, which opened in 1963, while the guests paid for by the UN stayed at the Hotel Palace. The paying guests were also taken to dinner outside Tallinn at the Kirov Collective Fishery, which was a prosperous business where only Estonian was spoken. No interpreter from Moscow was taken along to dinner. The only exception was a Russian interpreter who was the personal interpreter for the chair of the organising committee from Moscow and who provided whispered interpretation from English into Russian. Instead of the interpreters from Moscow, lecturers and professors from the TPI's Department of Foreign Languages interpreted speeches consecutively from Estonian into English and from English into Estonian. These local interpreters were used not only at the fishery but also at other similar events or discussion groups when possible.

In addition to the role played by Mr Ozerov and the new conference facilities, one other thing of note was important in bringing the UN symposium to Tallinn: in August 1959, the Soviet authorities opened Tallinn to foreign visitors. In her book *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin*, Anne E. Gorsuch describes Estonia as

> a combination of historic Western European architecture and contemporary "European" style that was most often marketed for tourists at home and abroad as a form of local difference now acceptable by virtue of Soviet political control.[369]

Estonia was often referred to as "Soviet abroad".[370] As a destination, Tallinn had become more accessible since 1965 when the Tallinn–Helsinki–Tallinn ship service was reopened.

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[369] Anne E. Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 50.

[370] Gorsuch, *All This is Your World*, 49; Tõnu Viik, comp., *Tartu observatoorium Tõraveres* (Tallinn: Aasta Raamat, 2014), 123.

The Institute of Astrophysics and Atmospheric Physics of the ESSR Academy of Sciences was a renowned institution not only in the Soviet Union but also abroad, which made it possible to hold several international events in Tõravere and Tallinn, Estonia. Former director of the Institute Tõnu Viik recalls that researchers from Moscow were eager to organise conferences, both all-Union and international (to use the terminology of the time), in Estonia: "in a foreign country inside the Sovietland".[371] Large conferences could only be held in Tallinn, however, as foreigners were not allowed to stay overnight in Tartu because of the adjacent military airport.[372] Until the late 1960s westerners were permitted to stay at the hotel in Tartu but thereafter the official excuse was the lack of decent hotels, which had an adverse impact on holding international conferences and inviting guest lecturers.[373] In 1964, the Tõravere Observatory, the predecessor of the Institute, was opened, with three guests attending from Armenia, Russia and the German Democratic Republic. The German was fluent in Russian; thus, no interpreter was needed.

One of the very first international events the observatory organised took place in 1966: the International Symposium on the Study of Noctilucent Clouds as Indicators of Processes in the Upper Atmosphere. It is impossible to retrospectively establish the working languages and whether interpretation was provided. The conference programme is in two languages, English and Russian.[374] It was held in the Academy of Sciences building. The conference registration desk for guests from Canada, the United States, Ethiopia, France, the GDR, Israel, Poland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, West Germany, the USSR and other countries was at the only international hotel in the city, the Hotel Tallinn. The conference programme says that "about 100 scientists from 12 countries took part in the symposium, 35 of whom were delegates", without any reference to interpretation or the linguistic mode of the conference, although the names of presentations in the conference booklets are in English and Russian.[375]

In 1977 participants from nineteen countries attended an International Astronomical Union (IAU) Conference on the Large-Scale Structure of the Universe, the groundbreaking role of which was recalled in the 2014 letter of intent convening a conference in Tallinn ("The Zeldovich Universe: Genesis and Growth of the Cosmic Web").

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[371] Viik, *Tartu observatoorium Tõraveres*, 123.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Sepp, "Ülikoolilinn", 148.
[374] International Symposium on the Study of Noctilucent Clouds as Indicators of Processes in the Upper Atmosphere, 15–18 March 1966: programme (Tallinn: Teaduste Akadeemia, 1966).
[375] I. A. Khvostikov and G. Witt, eds., *Noctilucent Clouds: International Symposium (Tallinn, 1966) Convened by the Special Committee for the International Quiet Sun Year* (Moscow: VINITI, 1967).

> We wish to organize the symposium in Tallinn, in 1977 the site of the first large and defining international IAU conference on the large-scale structure of the Universe. While the 1977 conference opened the subject by bringing together cosmologists from the Soviet Union and the Eastbloc with those from the West, we find it to be a fitting testimony to the tremendous advances of the subject to organize it in the same city.[376]

For the 1977 conference the simultaneous interpretation team was recruited from Moscow to interpret from and into Russian and English.[377]

In 1978, the Soviet-French InterCosmos meeting was held in Tallinn, although officially it was documented as having been held in Moscow because France did not diplomatically recognise Estonia's occupation by the Soviet Union and the official delegation could not formally visit Tallinn. The conference debates were tough and heated: the Soviets had launchers to actually get technology off the ground whereas the French had the equipment and technology to launch but no platform from which to do so. Thus, it was not a research-oriented conference but rather a technical meeting to settle reciprocal payments. The Estonian team had an excellent local French–Russian interpreter Larissa Rahula "who returned to the hotel totally beat".[378]

The 1981 conference on the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence (SETI) brought together researchers from the United States and the Soviet Union. Due to the poor knowledge or lack of English among Russian researchers two simultaneous interpreters were hired from Moscow. They were excellent.[379] According to the Soviet astrophysicist who had recruited the interpreters, Jossif Schklovski, three types of simultaneous interpreters exist: those who indifferently interpret the speaker's words, those who interpret in such a way that the audience understands what the speaker is talking about and those who actually make sense of the speaker's talk.[380]

One interviewee who was a former staff translator of the Institute recalled that at the final banquet she was unexpectedly asked to interpret a speech by a leading Estonian academic, Gustav Naan, well known for his philosophical discussions. He was to speak in Russian for the benefit of the Russians and was to be interpreted into English for the foreign guests. The translator declined the request and managed to talk one of the simultaneous interpreters into helping her out. For the benefit of this research the interviewee summarised her experience in four points, justifying her refusal.

> 1) Neither English nor Russian was my mother tongue; 2) the speaker intertwined philosophy with astronomy and saturated the combination with his

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[376] "IAU Symposia", http://www.iau.org/science/events/1092/, accessed 10 January 2014.
[377] Tõnu Viik, interview with the author, 17 January 2015.
[378] Viik, comp., *Tartu observatoorium Tõraveres*, 125.
[379] The Institute of Astrophysics and Atmospheric Physics, webpage, http://www.aai.ee/~viik/SETI_1981.pdf, accessed 10 January 2014.
[380] Ibid.

> signature humour; 3) as a recent university graduate in English philology, I was at home neither in philosophy nor in astronomy, let alone Russian humour, and could not have expressed either adequately in English; 4) it was all very unexpected (with only five minute's notice).[381]

This experience is characteristic of the attitude toward those who have studied a foreign language, as if simple knowledge of that language is enough to make them an interpreter.

Since 1977, The University of Tartu has hosted the Tartu Conference on Multivariate Statistics every four years. The conferences in 1977, 1981 and 1985 were all-Union and the working language was Russian, as researchers from Western countries could not be invited. The situation changed in 1989 when for the first time a few foreign guests could attend. Since 1994 the working language has been English.[382]

In 1978, the XX Congress AMPÈRE (on radio-frequency spectroscopy), which was the first meeting of the Groupement AMPÈRE in the Soviet Union, was held in Tallinn. According to the report on the event,

> attendance was high, about 800, rather more than half coming from the USSR, many Soviet radiospectroscopists taking the first opportunity to participate in an Ampère meeting. The rest of Europe, North America, and other parts of the world were represented, though their numbers decreased as their distance from Tallinn increased.[383]

The report goes on to commend the organisers, Professor Endel Lippmaa (1930–2015) and his colleagues, for the excellent arrangements. It also highlights that "unusually for a conference in the Soviet Union, all papers were delivered in English".[384]

The author's interpreting logbook contains supplementary data about research conferences organised during the period under review. Apart from the conference programme itself, each such event also included a cultural supplement with sightseeing tours, site visits, concerts or a day trip to Tartu. The logbook contains fourteen entries of instances in which the author acted as a guide-interpreter for participants of eight international conferences from 1977 to 1990. In addition to the AMPÈRE (1978), IFAC (1980) and SETI (1981) conferences described above, the International Federation for Information Processing (IFIP) held a TC5.2 working group meeting in 1979, the Institute of Cybernetics a symposium in 1982, the Academy of Sciences Institute of Economy a symposium on USSR-US regional issues in 1986 and the Institute of Chemistry a symposium on Synthesis and Research of Prostaglandins, also in

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[381] Tiia Haud, e-mail message to author, 5 January 2014.
[382] Professor emertus Ene-Margit Tiit, e-mail message to author, 28 April 2016.
[383] International Society of Magnetic Resonance, webpage, http://www.ismar.org/files/bulletin/BMR_01_061_1979.pdf, accessed 10 January 2014.
[384] Ibid.

1986. The International Symposium on Forest Drainage was held in Tallinn in 1983 by Commission III of the International Peat Society. This event also involved a field trip to a peat bog, to a peat fertiliser plant and to the opening of a new Hunters' Centre, the venue of the farewell dinner. The guide-interpreter interpreted meetings and discussions between Estonian and English. Two English–Russian interpreters from Moscow whispered from English into Russian for the benefit of Russians who had no knowledge of English. Retrospectively it may be assumed that at the symposium Russian–English and English–Russian simultaneous interpretation was used.

University of Tartu: the 350th anniversary

The Historical Archive (1944–1980) and the University of Tartu archive (since 1980) preserve documents from the office of the university rector. Information about foreign guests and lecturers visiting the university is scarce. In 1952, when the university celebrated the 150th anniversary of its reopening (1802), no foreign guests were invited. Invitations were sent to thirty-eight universities in the Soviet Union.[385] The archives also contain files of correspondence about the organisation of research conferences, congresses and sessions as well as plans for inviting guest lecturers and for future events. Several plans have a designated column for the number of expected participants from Estonia and other Soviet republics. Very few have a column for participants from capitalist countries. The file on 1964 contains a list of foreign guest lecturers invited to the university, with ten names from four countries: the United Kingdom (one), the United States (one), Sweden (one) and the GDR (six);[386] this seems to have been an exceptional year. From 1971 to 1975 no guest lecturers were listed.[387] In 1971 the rector of the university applied to the ministry to allow a GDR lecturer to visit the university just for a day.[388]

One of the major international events at The University of Tartu was the university's 350th anniversary celebration in 1982, with a number of guests invited from abroad. Rector Arnold Koop estimated the number of expected guests at five hundred, including twenty-one from abroad, two hundred from other Soviet republics and about two hundred and seventy from Estonia.[389] The festivities included a research conference, an honorary doctorate awards ceremony and a festive gathering at the concert hall. Four foreign researchers were awarded an honorary doctorate. The description of the ceremony includes a comment that the master of ceremonies would read out the text of the honorary doctorates in Latin and Estonian and that all four awardees would

[385] EAA.5311.1.109.l.33.
[386] EAA.5311.1.576.l.75.76.
[387] EAA.5311.1.897.
[388] EAA.5311.1.897.l.11.
[389] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. "Information about the preparations for the 350th anniversary of the Tartu State University" of 16 December 1981, no. 1162, file 1–31a.

thereafter take the floor. The language is not mentioned.[390] Another document lists people accompanying the guests and delegations from outside Estonia and indicates the language, including Lithuanian, Czech, Hungarian, Finnish, Swedish and French.[391] The documents from the conference on "Higher School Development Issues", which took place as part of the celebrations, make no reference to the language. Indirectly it can be concluded that the conference was held in Russian, as the speakers' list includes no guests from outside the Soviet Union.

The highlight of the celebration was the festive gathering at the Vanemuine Concert Hall. The audience was comprised of representatives from fifty-three universities from around the USSR as well as from socialist countries, Finland and Sweden. The archive contains a detailed list of the eighty-member presidium.[392] Film footage[393] and photos from the university's photo collection[394] confirm the use of interpretation, as several members of the presidium have a headset. The eighty high-level guests include ten rectors from foreign universities. The only comment on interpreters discovered in the archive was in the housekeeping notes, which talk about "the preparedness check for persons involved" an hour prior to the start of the meeting: "gathering and instruction of invitation checkers, ushers, honour guards, sound technicians, flower girls, technicians, and interpreters".[395] The photos confirm that at least one speech in the concert hall was interpreted consecutively from English but whether it was into Estonian or Russian is questionable.[396] It has not been possible to confirm which languages were simultaneously interpreted. The script of the meeting in the file has all the announcements by the master of ceremonies in two languages, Estonian and Russian.[397] Professor Eduard Vääri (1926–2005) recalled that by 1982 "ideological oppression and Russification had reached its height […]. The festive gathering [...] was held in Russian and only Rector A. Koop was allowed to speak Estonian, to open the meeting".[398]

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[390] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. No.1175. Files 1–38. *Tartu State University 350: scenarios*.

[391] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. No.1178.

[392] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. No.1175: 41–44, *Tartu State University 350: scenarios*.

[393] RFA. 360.5786, *TRÜ 350*, newsreel; RFA. 203.2418. *Nõukogude Eesti no.18,* 1982.

[394] TÜM Photo Collection (A. Tenno) 1367-20; 1367-024. Tartu State University 350. 16 September 1982.

[395] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. No. 1175: 112, *Tartu State University 350: scenarios*.

[396] TÜM Photo Collection (A. Tenno) 1367-019. Interpreter Herbert Ligi (Hungarian), as established by the author.

[397] The University of Tartu Archive. The Rector's Office. No.1175: 110, *Tartu State University 350: scenarios*.

[398] Eduard Vääri, "Filoloogiaosakond 1970–1990. (Poliitilist tõmbetuult ja rahulikku hingetõmbust)", *Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo küsimusi,* XXX (1998): 27.

3.4.4 Tourism

When the Soviets took over Estonia after World War II, international relations became restricted. Vouchers to travel abroad were distributed and sold by trade unions and were mostly difficult to get. Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, was only opened to foreign tourists in August 1959.[399]

Statistics on incoming and outgoing tourism in the Soviet Union were presented in two categories: socialist countries (i.e., the Eastern Bloc countries) and capitalist countries (i.e., Western countries), the latter being more important as they helped to increase the Soviet hard currency reserves.[400] In Estonia the number of incoming tourists from capitalist countries leaped from 9,400 in 1965 to 94,100 in 1977.[401] In the Soviet foreign tourism statistics, Tallinn ranked third after Moscow and Leningrad by the number of visiting tourists from capitalist countries. When tourists from socialist countries were also taken into account, Estonia dropped to fourth place after Kiev, Ukraine.[402]

The switchover from a seasonal ship route between Tallinn and Helsinki that only operated twice a week to an operation that ran year-round took place in 1968. In 1980, the ship line achieved a new level of quality when M/S Georg Ots was launched. The number of incoming tourists continued to increase, gradually reaching its "Soviet-era apogee in the early 1980s. […] Ninety-nine thousand tourists from capitalist countries, including 81,043 from Finland, visited Estonia in 1983".[403]

From the late 1960s onward foreigners were allowed to take organised coach tours of other Estonian towns apart from Tallinn—Tartu, Pärnu and Viljandi. The Leningrad–Tallinn highway was opened to foreign tourists in 1970, facilitating travel to Tallinn by tourist coaches. Cruise ships from Finland and the so-called friendship trains with tourists from socialist countries (Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic) also started to call at Tallinn during this period.

Until the disintegration of the Soviet Union there were three large travel agencies responsible for incoming and outgoing foreign tourism in the Soviet Union. Sputnik, established by the All-Union Young Communist League and with a branch in Tallinn, specialised in youth tourism.[404] Intourbureau handled trade union exchange programmes. The main organisation catering for foreign

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399 Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World,* 49.

400 Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World, 76*; Oliver Pagel, "Tulus äri Moskvale: valuuta teenimine Soome välisturismilt Eesti NSV-s aastatel 1965–1980", *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 1/2 (2015): 159—187 (Lucrative business for Moscow: foreign currency revenues from Finnish tourism in the Estonian SSR 1965–1980).

401 Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 189; Gustav Naan, ed., *Nõukogude Eesti. Entsüklopeediline teatmeteos*, 2nd rev.ed. (Tallinn: Valgus, 1978), 165.

402 ERA.R-2288.2.35. l.39: Ülevaade välisturistide külastatavusest liiduvabariikide ja linnade kaupa 1972 aasta esimesl poolaastal, 7.09.1972; ERA.R-2288.2.68. l. 4: ENSV välisturismi valitsus ENSV KK-le, 28.01.1980.

403 Jürjo, *Pagulus ja Nõukogude Eesti*, 195.

404 Tiit Pruuli, "Reisimine nõuka ajal", *GO Reisiajakiri* 4, 2013.

tourists in the Soviet Union was Intourist, the official state travel agency. Its Tallinn office was established in 1959, the same year that Soviet authorities opened Tallinn to visiting foreigners.[405] Students and graduates of foreign language studies (German, English, Finnish) were immediately asked to help out and act as interpreters; as several interviewees have said, they were quite unprepared. Intourist received about 80% of the foreign tourists who visited Estonia.[406] The guides who worked with Finnish tourists (who began to arrive in 1965 when the ship line was reopened) were mostly from The University of Tartu.[407] In her analysis of the cultural exchange that took place and of the relationship between Estonians and Finns, Kulle Raig recalls how she was first able to practice Finnish with Finnish student athletes in Tartu in 1962; she then went on to interpret at numerous important meetings and for high-level public officials.[408] Raig describes an incident that summarises the sink-or-swim baptism of interpreters in an era in which they had no interpreter preparation: "Texts were very complicated and related to a field with which I had little experience. I interpreted with Jüri Oll. There was also supposed to be a third interpreter, but when trying the headset on, she broke into hysterical tears and ran off".[409]

After World War II when Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union, interpreters from Moscow or Leningrad accompanied the majority of foreign delegations visiting Estonia. Quite often the host institution or company in Estonia would also recruit a local interpreter to interpret from or into Estonian as a source or target language (instead of Russian as the accompanying interpreters would have used). Most of the delegations or distinguished individual guests travelled via Intourist.[410]

These local interpreters were mostly also from Intourist**,** the leading travel agency in the Soviet Union; according to the then deputy foreign minister Karl Türk, they were known to be the best.[411] He added that interpreters for high-level trade union guests and delegations were also mostly recruited from Intourist, although the trade union travel agency employed a few of its own. In his interview Türk stressed that although delegations had a Russian interpreter accompanying them, they often preferred to get a local Estonian interpreter to interpret from and into Estonian. Intourist guide-interpreters had plenty of interpreting experience, though they had no formal interpreter training.

The Tallinn branch of Intourist had about fifty guide-interpreters on its payroll and also employed about one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty freelance guide-interpreters, a figure confirmed by former Intourist employees in interviews. Of the fifty on payroll, about twenty-five spoke Finnish, about ten

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405 Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World*, 49.
406 Naan, *Nõukogude Eesti,* 165.
407 Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 24.
408 Ibid., 18; 27; 31; 35; 40; 47; 63; 75; 96.
409 Ibid., 63.
410 Interview with Karl Türk, interview with the author, 17 August 2011.
411 Ibid.

spoke English and another ten spoke German. There were also one or two who spoke French, Norwegian, Polish and Swedish. Acting as a guide for foreigners was attractive to foreign language students, providing them with a rare opportunity to meet foreigners and practice the language they were learning.[412] According to the interviewees, local interpreters mostly interpreted during sight visits with foreign tourists.

As a foreign language student herself, the author's first job was working as a guide-interpreter. Not much attention was paid to the meaning or content of the second part of that description, however, though when asked what her profession was, she always said guide-interpreter, never just guide. Guide-interpreters may have subconsciously considered the former more prestigious. People who led tour groups for Sputnik[413] and Intourbureau were just called *guides*.

Having received no interpreter training whatsoever, since there was none available in Estonia, the guide-interpreters gradually evolved into interpreters. That is, in addition to acquiring practical interpreting skills, several also began to perceive of themselves as interpreters. The number of interpreting assignments in their work started gradually to increase from the mid-1980s. After the restoration of independence in 1991, most of the author's former colleagues from Intourist with English, German, Swedish, Polish as their B languages continued as freelance interpreters whereas merely three Finnish-speaking guide-interpreters did it. When interviewed for this research, an interpreter with German and Swedish as his B languages underlined an advantage interpreters had at that time: the audience was always very grateful for having the benefits of an interpreter, especially in case of Swedish, which was not widely spoken. As a matter of fact, the interviewed guide-interpreters reassured that the overall attitude toward guide-interpreters had been favourable. Two interviewees stressed how helpful hosts were during industrial or farm visits: they understood at half a sentence and frequently suggested terminology when they noticed interpreter's difficulty when interpreting into Estonian. Several interviewees stressed the diversified work experience Intourist provided. Two or three guide-interpreters (English, German, Finnish as their B languages) were present in the office every day, waiting for requests to interpret and accompany foreign delegations. Such assignments, often at short notice, took the guide-interpreters to interpret repairwork on Japanese sewing machines, gather mushrooms with researchers or describe fish processing. Occasionally guide-interpreters accompanied foreign tour groups also to other regions of the Soviet Union, which involved interpreting between Russian and their B language if necessary. Interpreters with English and German did some ad hoc interpreting at the doctor's or hotels, as usually there were English and German speaking guide-interpreters available at local Intourist offices to interpret scheduled company visits. Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian speakers were rare and the guide-

[412] Kristi Tarand, *Südamelt ära* (Tallinn: K. Tarand, 2013), 381; Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 18, 24.
[413] Pruuli, "Reisimine nõuka ajal".

interpreters from Estonia accompanying the tour groups interpreted all sight-seeing tours and designated visits. A guide-interpreter with German B recalled a colleague who made a point of interpreting standing if the speaker stood. She had also insisted other colleagues to follow this example. She justified it with better audiovisual quality both for the audience and the interpreter as well as with respect vis-à-vis the speaker.

Throughout her career the author has kept a logbook of her interpreting assignments. The diachronic entries in the logbook provide a rare insight into the working life of an interpreter. As a database, the logbook reflects the evolution of interpreting from and into Estonian and English. For the first four to five years after university, the author mostly acted as a guide. The number of days she interpreted during a year leaped to 124 for the first time in 1982, exceeding the previous year by 40 days, and has remained between 100 and 270 ever since. This shift in the 1980s reflects a change in the balance between guiding and interpreting as well as the increased need for interpretation services. Working as a guide-interpreter, the author learned to interpret during visits to various sites such as kindergartens, farms, enterprises and factories. The author and her colleagues prepared thoroughly for these visits, doing some additional reading and drawing up word lists, which later evolved into glossaries. When acting as a guide, however, they could rely only on previously mastered vocabulary and had to skilfully avoid tricky or unknown terminology. Their very first interpretation jobs opened their eyes to the need to be prepared for the unknown: they had to cope with terminology, which was out of their control. The interviewed Intourist guide-interpreters summarised their preparations for interpreting assignments as guesswork. The first visit to a site not visited before was most difficult. After a few visits it was easier to prepare terminology, which had caused difficulty. An interpreter with English as her B language recalled that visits to ministries, the Friendship Society and the Peace Committee were the easiest, as discussions remained quite general. Two interviewees with German B and English B generalised on the so-called *familiar topics*. It happened that when asked to specify the topic or provide preparatory material, hosts frequently said that it would be easy, no unfamiliar words or concepts. Based on the author's personal experience, prior to her first visit to one of the Europe's largest textile manufacturers, she was told there would be all familiar words for her.[414] The interpreters interviewed concluded that what was familiar for a dedicated specialist of thirty years of work experience might not be that familiar to an unprepared interpreter.

In the late 1980s changing political circumstances led to the encouragement of cultural exchanges with Western countries. The Estonian Boys' Choir, for example, thus went on concert tours to the United States (1988) and to Canada

[414] An entry dated 9-13 May 1988, Days of Gent (Belgium) in Tallinn. The author's logbook. The author's personal archive.

and the United States (1989); the author acted as the interpreter and Master of Ceremonies at concerts in New York, Washington, D.C., and other towns.[415]

On rare occasions Intourist guide-interpreters from the Tallinn branch accompanied tour groups abroad, mostly to India and Egypt but also on cruises to the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Soviet tour groups to capitalist countries had a reliable group leader, usually a party member who, as a rule, did not speak any foreign language. The Intourist guide-interpreter acted both as a representative of the travel agency, helping with customs and border crossing formalities and taking care of travel arrangements, and as an interpreter, interpreting sightseeing tours. As Soviet tourists going abroad were allowed to exchange only a fixed amount of Soviet roubles (thirty) into other currencies, the Intourist guide-interpreter received either a foreign bank check from Moscow or the equivalent amount in US dollars for the entire tour group, carried it abroad, exchanged it into the local currency and distributed the cash equally among the tour group members. It was a great responsibility to walk around carrying thousands of dollars in cash.

In terms of languages used, when Estonian tour groups were comprised of Estonians, sightseeing tours were interpreted into Estonian.[416] If one or two tourists were monolingual Russians, however, or in principle claimed not to understand Estonian, the interpreter worked into Russian.[417] As regards preparation, the author conducted five interviews with former guide-interpreters who described how they prepared for a tour abroad. As travelling abroad was rare for Soviet people, most of the tourists prepared well, reading a lot about the destination. Local guides in India, Turkey or Egypt were frequently quite bad, having next to no knowledge about the sites visited. Thus, the guide-interpreters prepared for weeks or even months, gathering interesting material about the culture, religion, economy and everyday life of the destination. Based on her personal experience, the author knows only too well what tremendous work it was to acquire the material not only in English and Estonian but also in Russian in case interpretation into Russian was necessary. Decades later, the author still has dozens of notebooks filled with interesting facts about many cultures, countries and nations. Three of the interviewees as well as the author herself occasionally met with members of the tour group after the evening's tour to answer questions or repeat some facts for the benefit of those who wanted to take notes.[418] This was an interesting voluntary aspect of the guide-interpreter's work and was quite rewarding, as the tourists were really pleased. It represented an objective compassion from the interpreter's point of view; a kind of un-

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[415] The author's personal archive. Photos: concert tours to Canada and United States, 1988, 1989.

[416] The author's personal archive. 1984 Mediterranean cruise (Malta, Turkey). Interpreter Karin Sibul.

[417] Jüri Toomel, "Kuidas nõukogude ajal turistina välismaale sõideti" (unpublished manuscript, 2008), Estonian National Museum.

[418] The author's personal archive. The Mediterranean cruise 1987. Interpreter Karin Sibul. A photo.

defined wish to help tourists get the most knowledge possible out of a rare visit to a capitalist country. Interpreting sightseeing tours was also easier if guide-interpreter's preparation had been thorough, as local guides' English was often limited or strongly accented. Such exposure to different varieties of English (or German or French, etc.) indirectly helped the guide-interpreters to prepare for other types of interpreting later in their career. Several of them became full-time interpreters in the late 1980s and several (including the author) also took the accreditation test of the Joint Interpreting and Conference Service of the European Commission (SCIC); a test to allow Estonian interpreters to work as freelance interpreters for the European institutions was held for the first time in 1996. To the author's knowledge at least two former Intourist interpreters also started as staff translators at the European Union institutions.

3.4.5 Estonian Interpreters Working outside Estonia

Four interviewees recalled that interpreters from Estonia who were native speakers were also invited to interpret at a few international events in Moscow and Leningrad. According to the interviewees their "lack of a heavy accent" and fluency in German or English outweighed their accent in Russian. Thus, one interpreter with Russian and German as working languages recalled working at the 8th International Conference on Extraction of Natural Resources (1968, Moscow) and at the 4th ICOM General Conference (1977, Leningrad). Invitations to work as interpreters came through contacts established during post-graduate studies at Leningrad University. Another interviewee, also a university lecturer, remembered interpreting between English and Russian at the ICOMOS General Assembly in Leningrad in 1977. Yet another interviewee who was an English teacher and a former student at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (i.e., the Teachers' Training College) and who continued her studies at Leningrad University also remembered her brief exposure to simultaneous interpretation during her studies in the 1960s.[419]

An assistant professor emeritus at The University of Tartu recalled that as a student at the two-year English language refresher course (1962–1964) at Moris Torres Foreign Language Institute in Moscow, she had been asked to interpret (for a fee) at the Moscow International Film Festival in 1963.[420] The main reason for choosing her was that professors at the Institute considered her English pronunciation perfect compared to the way the Russians pronounced English. According to the interviewee she interpreted meetings and discussions with film directors. She had neither preparatory material nor any special vocabulary: it was a case of sink or swim. She recalls the audience's favourable response and was told "*no i shto, ponjali, vsjo horosho*" ["Well done, everything was understood."]. During her studies in Moscow she had earned pocket

[419] Tarand, *Südamelt ära*, 273, 389.
[420] Nora Toots, interview with the author, 2 August 2011.

money on an hourly basis twice a week doing sight translation of scientific texts from English into Russian for students at the Moscow Institute of Fisheries to help them in their studies. The students took notes from her sight translation. In 1968, a former fellow student at the Institute helped her to get on a two-month English course at Edinburgh University in Scotland to polish her English, which laid the foundation of her career as assistant professor of phonetics at The University of Tartu.

3.5 Glimpses into Interpretation in Estonian Media and Memoirs

Between Estonian and Russian

Thus far the author has found few memoirs that mention interpretation between Estonian and Russian. In one of those that she did find, a budding actor was asked to interpret between a Russian film director and Estonian actors at the filming of the first Estonian feature film in 1955.[421] In another, an Estonian conscript to the Soviet army was sent to serve on an Estonian island to facilitate communication between locals and the Russian border guards. The conscript was thought to be fluent in Russian, as he had been deported to Siberia as a child.[422] Three other books of memoirs discuss work in Soviet and party institutions and mention the use of languages and interpretation in passing.[423]

Four articles published between 5 and 7 August 1940 cover the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union;[424] two even mention the name of interpreters who interpreted at the official ceremony at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.[425] These articles were a significant breakthrough in the author's research, establishing the fact that the representatives of Estonia spoke Estonian, the state language at the time, at the plenary session in Moscow and that interpretation was used. Two weeks later the new Soviet constitution enforced in Soviet Estonia abolished the concept of the state language. Another two articles describe meetings organised to mark the event in Estonia: represen-

[421] Enno Tammer, *Elu jõud* (Tallinn: Tänapäev, 2004), 33.

[422] Leho Männiksoo, "Suslaga Saaremaale soldatiks", *Kultuur ja Elu* 4, 2013, 35–39.

[423] Aare Laanemäe, *Kümme aastat valges majas* (Tallinn: Argo, 2013); Aare Laanemäe, *Ussipesa Tõnismäel ja teisi meenutusi* (Tallinn: Argo, 2015); Leo Laks *Mälestusi Johannes Käbinist* (Tallinn: Hea Lugu, 2015).

[424] Estonia became the sixteenth republic of the Soviet Union at the plenary session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Moscow on 6 August 1940.

[425] "Eesti NS Vabariik võeti vastu NSV Liidu liikmeks" (interpreter Nigol Andresen), *Postimees*, 7 August 1940; "Eesti NSV uue õilsama elu koidikul" (interpreter N. Tihhanova), *Postimees*, 8 August 1940; "Eesti võeti vastu NSV Liitu", *Sakala*, 7 August 1940; "Eesti võeti vastu Nõukogude Liitu. Ülemnõukogu tegi otsuse ühel häälel", *Maa Hääl*, 7 August 1940.

tatives of the Soviet Red Army spoke in Russian and were interpreted into Estonian (here, an article mentions two interpreters by name).[426]

Four articles use the verb "to transmit" (*transleerima*) instead of "to interpret". At a series of refresher courses for teachers, presentations were "transmitted" into Russian,[427] as was a lecture to music lovers that was part of a series on Russian and Soviet music.[428]

A rare newspaper article to mention interpretation from Estonian into Russian recounts a Russian journalist's visit to an Estonian island to interview World War II veterans in 1976. The editor-in-chief of the island's local daily asked a journalist to interpret the interviewed veterans' recollections into Russian.[429] In 2015, when discussing ownership of films during times of political turbulence, the Estonian film historian Jaan Ruus argued that there must have been interpreters present to transmit film directors' instructions to Estonian actors. Most of the production team of the first Soviet feature film shot in Estonia after World War II (1947), for example, was Russian. The assistant to the Vienna-born German-speaking director who had immigrated to the Soviet Union was an Estonian who spoke German but who probably also remembered Russian from his childhood, when Estonia was a province of Tsarist Russia.[430] Ruus raises the question of their common language, as German was the language of the enemy. The assistant could have facilitated communication between the director and the Estonian actors.

The author uncovered twenty-four articles in the Estonian press and three in the Russian press that refer to the simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances. During the period under review (1944–1991), the performance schedules published in Estonian newspapers occasionally make reference to transmission into Russian (or Estonian, or, in the case of guest performances, into both Estonian and Russian[431]). Newspaper articles seldom mention theatre interpreting; when they do, they do so with a single-word reference, [432] with a few rare exceptions.[433] An interview with Valeria Barsova in the local section of

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[426] "Töötava rahva suurpäev Viljandis", Postimees, 5 August 1940; "Rakvere tähistas õnneliku elu algust", Virumaa Teataja, 9 August 1940.

[427] Viktor Ordlik, "Kolmandad vabariiklikud pedagoogilised lugemised", *Nõukogude Õpetaja*, 16 March 1957; "Värskas algab vilgas tegevus", *Nõukogude Õpetaja*, 30 May 1964.

[428] "Avati muusikalektoorium", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 12 November 1949.

[429] Aare Laine, "Vene ajakirjanik: meid keelitatakse Eestisse mitte sõitma", *Saarte Hääl*, 24 October 2012.

[430] Jaan Ruus, "Kellele kuuluvad filmid?", *Sirp,* 18 December 2015.

[431] Performance schedule (Karjala ANSV Riiklik Soome Draamateater), *Sirp ja Vasar*, 10 July 1964.

[432] Ilmar Tammur "Moskvast tagasi (Vestlus teatri peanäitejuhi I. Tammuriga)", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 30 may 1958; Kaarel Toom, "V. Kingissepa nim. TRA Draamateatri külalisetendused. Teatrikiri Moskvas". *Õhtuleht*, 23 May 1958; Urve Laos, "Suvehooaeg Pärnu teatris", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 15 July 1977; Salum, "Legendist ja tegelikkusest. Elamisväärne elu".

[433] Reet Neimar, "'Vanemuine' Moskvas (tagasivaade ja kommentaar)", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 14 November 1975.

a national daily newspaper from 1998 has a symbolic heading: "The Silent Loyal Servant of the Vanemuine".[434]

Between Estonian and other foreign languages

Ten authors dedicate just a few words in their memoirs to interpreting from or into foreign languages.[435] One of the sources the author used to uncover newspaper articles that mention the use of interpreting was the Bibliography Department of the Archival Library of the Estonian Literary Museum, which has compiled a database, *University of Tartu (since 1940)*. Going through bibliography file cards yielded rare articles from 1961 and 1964. That being said, newspaper coverage mentioning the names of interpreters working for foreign delegations is rare. The ten articles the author has found are far from exhaustive. They position the interpreter inside the relevant cultural system as facilitating international relations and cultural exchange. The scarce documentation gives the reader a real-life picture of the interpreter's significance.

The earliest newspaper article mentioning an interpreter by name that the author managed to discover was dated 17 February 1961 and talked about a GDR basketball team that visited Tartu. The article is an interview with the team's Estonian–German interpreter, a fifth-year student studying German philology and it does not discuss interpretation specifically but rather other issues.[436]

Three articles explicitly stress the positive associations related to interpretation. In recalling his visit to Finland, composer Boris Kõrver says he was grateful for the services of Ants Lang, the Estonian news agency's correspondent "who interpreted [his] lecture into Finnish".[437] The Youth Theatre put on successful guest performances in Sweden as the theatre had taken along its own simultaneous interpretation equipment and Ülev Aaloe interpreted the performances into Swedish.[438] Another article talks about Estonian teachers of children with special needs who attended a seminar in Finland. In it, it states that interpreter Linnu Mae "interpreted well, as she usually does".[439] A further three articles draw attention to the difficulties faced by interpreters. An article from 1964 describes a confused young Finnish–Estonian interpreter unable to promptly come up with equivalents in the target language.[440] Another article on the 8th Moscow International Film Festival describes difficulties an experienced interpreter had in interpreting very fast dialogue,[441] while an article

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[434] Marika Kaseoja, "Vanemuise truu tõlkiv teener", *Tartu Postimees*, 21 January 1998.

[435] Such as Agu Sisask, *Kummalised seosed* (Tallinn: Tänapäev, 2009); Peeter Vares "An Ex-Interpreter Recalls", *Baltic Horizons*, no. 6 (December 2006): 176–190.

[436] "Sakslannadest, korvpallist ja muust", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool*, 17 February 1961.

[437] Boris Kõrver, "Muusikaelust Soome lahe põhjakaldal", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 21 December 1962.

[438] Balbat, "Noorsooteatri välissidemed".

[439] Vello Saliste, "Võõrsil on hea, aga kodus …", *Õpetajate leht,* 29 March 1991.

[440] Eduard Vajakas, "Foorumidelgaadid Tartus", *Postimees*, 29 September 1964.

[441] Tatjana Elmanovitch, "Filmifestivali märkmikust", *Sirp ja Vasar,* 27 July 1973.

from 1986 complains about the poor quality of the German into Russian interpretation at the UNICA film festival[442].

Another article mentions Aleksander Kurtna working as an Italian–Estonian interpreter fifty years after he did so. On one occasion, he was interpreting for an Italian composer; the Moscow officials accompanying them "did not interfere and wandered off to enjoy Tallinn on their own".[443] This confirms the argument put forth by the interpreters interviewed that instead of relying on Russian interpreters who accompanied the delegation from outside Estonia, local Estonian interpreters were used.

Two recent articles mention in passing that the interviewees are also qualified interpreters: in one case, in addition to a diploma from the Faculty of Law (1976), the person in question had a diploma in English–Russian interpreting from Moscow University[444]; in the other case, the interviewee became a qualified German–Russian military interpreter while serving as a conscript in the Soviet army.[445] That being said, neither interviewee has actually practiced interpreting.

In 1958, Estonian architect Mart Port informed readers of the interpretation used at an architects' congress in Moscow: "The congress had five working languages. Interpretation was transmitted using small, portable radio sets made in Leningrad and weighing 200 grams, which each participant had hanging around his or her neck."[446]

As the digitisation of newspapers from this period has started only recently, future research could uncover more fascinating facts about interpretation.

3.6 Audiovisual Evidence

The examination of visual media throws light on interpretation in areas where texts have failed. The added value of visual information is that it draws our attention to trivialities, which may have seemed irrelevant at the time they were photographed or filmed but that catch the eye of the researcher decades later. Within the framework of this research, the main goal in collecting visual information has been to gather sufficient proof of interpretation services having been available and used throughout the two periods of Estonian history studied. It has also spurred the author's interest in examining the visual aspect in greater detail in future research. The interpreter's physical visibility, even if it is expressed in the image of headsets, allows us to analyse the socio-political context of post-war Estonia.

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[442] Velliste, "UNICA '86 järelmõtteid".

[443] Immo Mihkelson, "Arvo Pärdi igiliikur 50 a hiljem", *Postimees,* 14 December 2013.

[444] Kadri Eisenschmidt, "Professor Rein Müllerson: eestlasest maailmakodanik", *Tallinna Ülikooli ajakiri* no.4, autumn 2013, 25–28.

[445] Rainer Kerge, "Linnar Priimägi: 'Küllalt lühike vale ajab asja paremini ära kui liiga pikk tõde,'" *Õhtuleht,* 12 April 2014.

[446] Mart Port, "Erinevad keeled, erinevad tõekspidamised, ühised eesmärgid", *Sirp ja Vasar*, 8 August 1958.

Archival work was corroborated by cross-referencing information from newspaper articles and interviews and vice versa. The only prior interview with an interpreter the author uncovered is from 1961,[447] although it does not discuss interpretation specifically but rather a GDR basketball team that visited Tartu.[448] A newsreel from 1961 provides a visual corroboration of the event described in the article: a basketball match between Chemie Halle, the GDR team, and the University of Tartu women's team.[449] Another case is that of an interviewee who recalled having interpreted between Russian and Estonian at a war tribunal in Tartu in the early 1960s. She was recruited as a third interpreter to ease the workload of the two court interpreters at the emotionally tense hearings. A documentary includes footage of the audience wearing headphones. In it, one of the surviving witnesses speaks Czech; thus, interpretation from and into Czech clearly must also have been provided.[450]

In the collections of the National Archives the author discovered 103 clips of footage from 1944 to 1991 that depict simultaneous interpretation from and into Estonian and Russian. An additional three clips are from the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions in Moscow but are inconclusive, as the language of interpretation cannot be firmly established (see table 3.7.).

Table 3.7. Film footage by subject from 1944 to 1991 (Russian–Estonian)

Subject	Number of clips
ESSR Supreme Soviet (Soviet-era parliament)	41
Anniversaries/celebrations	19
Estonian Communist Party (ECP)	9
Estonian Young Communist League (EYCL)	8
Agriculture	8
War/peace	7
Culture	7
Labour movement	3
Research	1
USSR Supreme Soviet (Moscow)	3
Total	**106**

Specifically, these 106 clips came from thirty-eight of those forty-seven Soviet years. The five years with the most clips were 1955 (six), 1956 (five), 1957 (five) 1959 (five) and 1960 (nine). Looking at this by decade, the 1950s lead

447 "Sakslannadest, korvpallist ja muust", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool*, 17 February 1961.
448 See section 3.5. entitled "Glimpses into Interpretation in Estonian Media and Memoirs".
449 RFA.203.1291. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 6*, 1961.
450 RFA.203.1436. *Kalevi-Liiva süüdistab*, documentary, 1961.

with forty-four clips covering a diverse range of interpreted events. For the seven Soviet years in the 1940s (1944-1950), fourteen such instances were found, and twenty-four were found for the 1960s. The 1970s and 1980s were more monotonous, with eleven and ten cases respectively; those clips portrayed interpretation either at parliamentary sessions or party congresses. Only one interpreted event was shown in the 1990s, with the Republic of Estonia having regained its independence in 1991.

The 1950s witnessed a change in the linguistic-demographic situation in Estonia.[451] As the years from 1951 to 1960 are those with the most depictions of interpretation in newsreel clips, the need for simultaneous interpretation between Estonian and Russian during those years was examined (see table 3.8.). The forty-four clips from the 1950s show events organised by the parliament (eighteen), the communist party (thirteen), creative associations (five), the young communist league (four) and others (four). A breakdown by subject matter comprises six categories: parliamentary sessions (sixteen), the communist party (ten), agriculture (seven), jubilees (four), specific professions (four) and peace and friendship (three).

Table 3.8. Breakdown of film footage (Russian–Estonian) for the 1950s

By organisers	**Number of clips**	**(44)**
Parliament	18	
ECP	13	
Creative/professional associations	5	
EYCL	4	
Other	4	
By subject	**Number of clips**	**(44)**
Parliament	16	
ECP	10	
Agriculture	7	
Jubilee	4	
Creative/professional associations	4	
Peace/friendship	3	
By type of convention	**Number of clips**	**(44)**
Parliamentary sessions	16	
Conference/meeting	15	
Jubilee/ceremony	10	
Congress	3	

[451] Karin Sibul, "Interpreting in Estonia in a Geopolitically Changed Europe (1944–1991)", in "Interpreting and Interpreters Throughout History", ed. Caterina Falbo and Alessandra Riccardi, special issue, *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 21 (2017): 17–31.

By type of convention, there are four groups: parliamentary sessions (sixteen), conferences/meetings (fifteen), anniversaries/jubilees/ceremonies (ten) and congresses (three). The conventions were aimed at diverse target groups, such as rural doctors, teachers, firemen, composers, women, rural youth and chairmen of collective farms.

The 106 clips of footage allow us to conclude that the majority of events (eighty-seven) were conferences, congresses and meetings, primarily organised either by the parliament or the communist party. Addressed to a wider public, they usually involved both Estonian- and Russian-speaking audiences with interpretation provided into the respective languages. Nineteen clips covered events targeting a more specific, mostly Estonian audience (teachers, doctors, composers, writers); as a rule, the guest speakers at these events were from elsewhere in the Soviet Union or were monolingual Russian-speaking high-level party officials whose speeches were interpreted into Estonian and for whom speeches in Estonian were interpreted into Russian.

An analysis of the footage reveals the direct impact of the 1978 decree to limit the use of Estonian under the guise of mandatory bilingualism, which sought to enforce the use of Russian in all domains. That being said, overall knowledge of Russian had increased as well, which could also explain the decreased use of interpretation and reflect the consequences of the 1978 decree. For the period from 1979 to 1988, clips from only four years (1980, 1983, 1986 and 1988) were found in which headphones were shown; two years fall into the period during which the Soviet Union began to loosen its grip as *perestroika* and *glasnost* (openness), associated with Mikhail Gorbachev, gained a foothold. All in all, the author has not discovered footage confirming the use of interpretation from and into Estonian and Russian from the following nine years: 1968, 1969, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, and 1987; photos, however, do confirm that interpretation was used at events held during those years.

The author was able to draw up a list of a large variety of interpreted events based on interviews with twenty-four interpreters who worked from Estonian into Russian and from Russian into Estonian. These events can be grouped as follows: events organised by parliament, government and the party; events organised by youth organisations; and events organised by creative associations (of composers, writers, etc.). Looking at this breakdown by topic reveals anniversaries and celebrations; other topics included agriculture, peace and culture.

Two interviewees mentioned that Russian–Estonian interpreting was sometimes used at party congresses, Supreme Soviet sessions and collective farmers' conventions in Moscow. A delegate to all such conventions in Moscow who was interviewed could not recall whether or not interpretation had been provided.[452] There was, however, translation of official documents: two of the interviewees mentioned job offers to move to Moscow to work as translators at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[452] Leida Peips, phone interview with the author, 29 November 2012.

The only conclusive archival evidence the author was able to discover were two clips from 1944 and a clip from 1946: newsreels from USSR Supreme Soviet sessions display Estonian delegates speaking and members of the audience using headphones. A 1944 film clip[453] from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow shows the delegations from the Kirghiz and Ukrainian SSRs, as well as other delegates, using headphones to listen to the speakers. Johannes Vares, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR, can be heard speaking Russian while many members of the audience listen to interpretation. The newsreels from the sessions from 1944[454] and 1946[455] depict Estonian delegates speaking and members of the audience using headphones. This evidence, however, is inconclusive, as regards the languages spoken, as the footage has no sound, although it does confirm the use of simultaneous interpretation in Moscow. The author has not been able to find reliable archival sources to confirm or disprove the use of simultaneous interpretation from Estonian into Russian or vice versa in the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow (except for an indirectly confirmed case upon Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940).

Footage from 1945 was the earliest found confirming the use of parliamentary interpretation at the Supreme Soviet session in Estonia.[456] Although original footage from 1940 covering Estonia's accession to the Soviet Union in Moscow featured in a 1972 newsreel dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, it is inconclusive as regards interpretation from or into Estonian. The viewer can see Johannes Lauristin speaking and numerous headphones in the audience but there is no sound track.[457] As confirmed to the author by Lauristin's daughter, he did not speak Russian.[458] Thus, it can be indirectly confirmed that Lauristin delivered his speech in Estonian and was interpreted into Russian. (Direct confirmation thereof arises from three newspaper articles from 1940.[459])

Forty-one video clips and 157 photos from 74 sessions (out of 103) held by twelve sitting parliaments (1944–1991) include shots of headphones, confirming that simultaneous interpretation was extensively used—specifically, in a total of 71.8% of sessions. Not all of the sessions were covered in the newsreels. Several clips yielded inconclusive outcomes, only portraying standing audiences applauding or only speakers, or are of poor quality (too dark or slightly blurred). In several audio clips the speaker can be heard speaking Estonian and a few delegates seen using headphones.

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[453] RFA.203.468. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 2*, 1944.
[454] RFA.203.471. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 5/6*, 1944.
[455] RFA.203.499. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 7,* 1946.
[456] RFA.203.489. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 15*, 1945.
[457] RFA.203.1946. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 24*, 1972.
[458] Marju Lauristin, interview with the author, 13 September 2016.
[459] "Eesti NS Vabariik võeti vastu NSV Liidu liikmeks", *Postimees*, 7 August 1940; "Eesti võeti vastu NSV Liitu", *Sakala*, 7 August 1940; "Eesti võeti vastu Nõukogude Liitu. Ülemnõukogu tegi otsuse ühel häälel", *Maa Hääl*, 7 August 1940.

The electronic search word *ülemnõukogu* ("Supreme Soviet" or "Council") resulted in 1200 digitised photos; however, a mere 134 show headphones in use at 61 sessions and 20 at other parliament-related events, such as at a yearly cycle of significant dates (the anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin's birthday, May Day, etc.). Of the total of 103 parliamentary sessions, forty-one film clips depict headphones in use across 39 sessions (37%), while there are photographs from 61 sessions that show headphones (59%). Twenty-one sessions—that is, 20%—are shown in both film and photos, while 59 sessions out of 103 (57%) show simultaneous interpretation in use either in photos or film.

The electronic search word *kongress* ("congress") yielded 4, 374 digitised photos, of which 191 confirmed the use of simultaneous interpretation by depicting headphones (see table 3.9.).

Table 3.9. Photos taken at congresses, 1944–1991 (Russian–Estonian)

Congresses	**Number of photos**	**No. of congresses the photos are from**
ECP	49	8
EYCL	30	11
Writers' Union	30	6
Trade union congress	23	5
Composers' Union	10	4
Women's congress	8	3
Filmmakers' Union	6	3
Journalists' Union	6	4
Artists' Union	5	4
Popular Front	5	1
Teachers' congress	4	2
Lecturers' Association "Teadus"	4	1
Performing Arts Association	2	2
Architects' Union	2	2
Inventors' congress	2	1
Estonian Social Democratic Independence Party	2	1
Choir Association	1	1
Lifeguards' congress	1	1
Liberal Democratic Party	1	1
Total	**191**	

Without the photos and film clips featuring interpreters in domestic and international scenes, historic traces of the profession would have been difficult to find.

3.6.1 Simultaneous Interpretation Equipment: "Soap Box"

In the course of intensive archival work at the University of Tartu collection of photos and negatives in order to establish the earliest known event that made use of simultaneous interpretation, the author discovered three photos of interpreters from 1978. These remain the earliest images of their kind. This outcome was slightly discouraging as the objective behind working through the collection was to find potential early events for which simultaneous interpretation was used. However, it also led to the discovery of a piece of equipment of which no known prototype had survived.

The photos in question depict two events at the university's third party conference in 1978 in which simultaneous interpretation from and into Estonian and Russian was used. This was actually a series of five: three photographs of two interpreters and another two of the audience. It was a brilliant discovery for our understanding of the history of interpretation. One of the interpreters is photographed twice in what would appear to be mid-interpretation, as can be concluded from her tense posture and look of concentration.[460] The other interpreter is posing for the photographer.[461] There is no caption accompanying the photographs apart from the name of the photographer (J. Laan) and the date (1 November 1978) and name of the event (the 3rd conference of the branch of the Estonian Communist Party at Tartu State University). The author showed the photos to an interviewee, who recognised one of the interpreters, and also interviewed one of the colleagues shown over the phone. The two photos of the audience show two people using headphones to listen to the interpretation.[462]

The simultaneous interpretation equipment shown in the photos was an example of the university engineers' craftsmanship: it had been designed and made in the University of Tartu workshop. Several interviewees referred to the listener's device as a *soap box*. This functioned as a radio receiver. The radio receiver was installed in the soap box because the commercially available soap box was of the appropriate size, was made of light plastic, comprised of two parts (a box and a lid) and could be tightly closed. It was also easy to drill small holes in it for wires and to enhance its acoustic properties. The photos, dated 1978, marked a breakthrough, for they show the listener's soap box.[463] Not a single device was thought to have survived. With the help of the photos it was possible to prove that a damaged soap box in the collection at the University of Tartu History Museum mislabelled as a wire-tapping device, was actually a listener's device.[464] The photographs of the interpreters also served to reveal details of the working conditions outsiders are not aware of. The environment is informative: the interpreter works alone sitting behind a desk and facing the

[460] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 909-009, k 909-010.
[461] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 909-015.
[462] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 909-029, k 909-026, k 909-015.
[463] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 909-009, k 909-010.
[464] TÜM, University of Tartu Museum, ÜAM_973:10 Aj.

wall. The room seems to be a kind of storage space for teaching aids. The soap box headset is also visible on the desk.[465]

On 21 December 1965, a fire badly damaged the main building of the university and destroyed the Assembly Hall. When the restoration work began, Voldemar Kiis (1918–1990), the head of the University Technical Department, suggested that the previous wire-transmission–based interpretation system should be upgraded and replaced by a more modern one based on radio communication. A loop-shaped sender antenna was installed under the floor around the Assembly Hall. Engineer Kiis invented a tiny receiver consisting of just five components, which he installed, in the soap box, doing away with the need for wires. The new system made interpretation receivable not only inside but also outside the Assembly Hall. Unfortunately, interpretation could be received elsewhere in the building and even in the street, as well; therefore, during meetings held behind closed doors (e.g., communist party meetings), the old wire transmission system was used, as it could not be intercepted. Sixty original receiver boxes for the system were tailor-made of hot-pressed, greenish vinyplast.[466] Over time the small, pretty boxes started to disappear. People may simply have forgotten about them in their pockets and walked off with them after conferences; in any event, there were always two to three missing after they had been used. When this happened, regular soap boxes were bought and readjusted as receivers, and later it was decided to switch back to traditional headsets.[467]

Kiis and his team have become legendary at the university. They built four audio studios during the fifteen years Kiis was responsible for technical issues at the university, from 1963 to 1978. In 1971, the university paper *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool* published an article describing Kiis and his many skills. The article also sheds light on the engineer's future plans.

> In the future interpretation in the Assembly Hall will be possible into three languages: when the new equipment is operational a place will be found to install it. The sixty self-made little boxes allow interpretation into just one language: you press the soap-size gadget against your ear (regrettably, the author of the article does not know anything about diodes, triodes, transistors, etc.) and listen the same way you would listen to a small radio. No need to connect any wires.[468]

Through the end of the 1980s the simultaneous interpretation equipment used at events held at The University of Tartu was made in the university workshop by staff engineers and technicians.

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[465] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 909-015.

[466] Vinyplast (polyvinyl chloride) is a polymeric product obtained from polyvinyl chloride (PVC) and post-chlorinated polyvinyl chloride, with added modifiers and fillers. This material is used in the manufacture of pipes, window and door profiles, revetment elements, chemical equipment, protective enclosures, containers and other products.

[467] TÜM, Olav Kiis (1992), 71.

[468] Urmas Arras, "Hakkaja mees ees, hakkajad teised tagant järele", *Tartu Riiklik Ülikool,* 17 December 1971.

3.6.2 Interpreting Locales

After World War Two domestic mobility within the Soviet Union was just starting to encourage cultural internationalism. Visits to the "inner abroad"—that is, to Estonia—brought a diversified set of Soviets to various events. One of the most informative and surprising discoveries was footage of guests arriving at celebrations for the 150th anniversary of F. R. Kreutzwald's birth in 1954.[469] A short clip of 3'15" comprehensively covers not only the arrival of guests at the airport and various events related to the jubilee but also a conference that was held as part of the celebrations, with a close-up of headsets confirming the use of simultaneous interpretation. The guests had left home "for someplace different"[470] and their dress can be compared to that of the locals. According to Anne E. Gorsuch, "for the rest of the Soviet Union, Estonia was now newly imagined as a source of information about "Western" ways of being".[471] In the 1950s many Estonian women still wore ladies' hats, a heritage from the pre-Soviet era, which contrasted distinctly with the shawls of Soviet guests. Regional cultural differences might have made an impression on the guests. As the regime controlled information about foreign countries,[472] visual glimpses provide the viewer with insight into post-war mobility in an ideologically rigid era: the events organised, the choice of invited guests, the countries represented at the events, etc.

The 524 uncovered photos[473] and 145 film clips[474] are informative not only in establishing the earliest use of interpretation but also in giving an idea about the evolution of interpretation equipment. Rare footage provides us with visual information about venues where large international or all-Union conventions were held, such as the House of Political Education (Old Sakala),[475] the House of Soviet Naval Officers,[476] the House of Estonian Trade Unions,[477] the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party,[478] the New Building for the House

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[469] RFA.203.845. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 1,* 1954.
[470] Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World,* 55.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Ibid., 49–78.
[473] This comprises 461 photos of the audience using headphones and sixty-three photos of interpreters.
[474] One hundred and six film clips show interpretation between Estonian and Russian, while thirty-nine clips show interpretation between Estonian or Russian and a foreign language other than Russian.
[475] RFA.203.1704. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 16,* 1970; RFA.336.1869. *Kootud kolme lõngaga,* documentary, directed by Tõnis Kask, Eesti Telefilm, 1970.
[476] EFA.204.P.1-2251; RFA.203.1316. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 31,* 1961; RFA.203.1239. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 6,* 1960; RFA.203.724. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11,* 1951; RFA.203.688. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 1,* 1951.
[477] RFA.203.2610. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18,* 1985; RFA.203.2743. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 21,* 1986.
[478] EFA.204.0-87581.

of Political Education (New Sakala),[479] the Palace of Culture and Sports named after V. I. Lenin (City Hall),[480] the Estonian parliament,[481] the Academic Library of Tartu State University[482] and the Olympic Press Centre.[483] All these venues had some kind of stationary interpreter booths. The Tallinn Drama Theatre,[484] the Vanemuine Concert Hall,[485] the Estonia Concert Hall[486] and the Estonia Opera and Ballet Theatre[487] also hosted numerous events, although they had no booths and the interpreters used makeshift facilities instead.

The collected footage also shows changes in interpretation techniques. The interpreters interviewed for this study unanimously denied taking notes during consecutive interpretation, although the author's private collection has a photo dated 1978 depicting the author taking notes.[488] Newsreels also confirm that note-taking was practiced by interpreters who came from outside Estonia. The interpreters working with a Japanese delegation (1956)[489] and for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India (1982),[490] for example, are both seen taking notes. The only case of an Estonian interpreter with a notebook other than that mentioned above is from 1991, though the interpreter does not actually take notes but rather just holds the notebook and interprets consecutively in short paragraphs.[491] In the footage, the viewer sees the interpreter standing next to the speaker at the rostrum and sharing the microphone (1966,[492] 1967,[493] 1983[494]) to interpret English consecutively into Estonian (1983).[495] A 1956 clip covers the arrival of the Shanghai Beijing Musical Theatre at the Tallinn railway station and depicts the interpreter working from Chinese into Russian, performing a kind of sight translation while trying to peep at the speaker's text and sharing a

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[479] RFA.203.2743. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 21,* 1986; EFA.343.P.0-169584; RFA.203.4348. *Eesti Kroonika no. 9,* 1990.

[480] EFA.335.P.0-70455; RFA.203.2476. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 1,* 1983*;* RFA.203.3030. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 23/24,* 1988.

[481] RFA.203.679. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 19,* 1950; RFA.203.688. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 29,* 1950.

[482] TÜM Photo Collection (A. Joala) 1697: 008.

[483] RFA.203.2225. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 20,* 1979.

[484] RFA.203.502. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 10,* 1946.

[485] EFA.360.0-112115; TÜM Photo collection. (A. Tenno) 1609: 045, 1367: 020, 1367: 24.

[486] RFA.203.1285. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 52,* 1960; RFA.203.527. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 9,* 1947.

[487] RFA.203.523. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 5,* 1947; RFA.203.922. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 36,* 1955; RFA.203.963. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 29,* 1956.

[488] The author's personal archive. *UN Representatives from Developing Countries.* Interpreter Karin Sibul interprets Mr Laur, chairman of the construction department, at the Kirov Model Collective Fishery. 22 September 1978.

[489] RFA.203.972. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 40,* 1956.

[490] RFA.203.2418. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18*, 1982.

[491] RFA.203.4333. *Eesti Kroonika no. 12*,1991.

[492] RFA.203.1590. *Nõukogude Eesti 33*, 1966.

[493] RFA.203.1613. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 16, ENSV kultuuripäevad Soomes*, 1967.

[494] RFA.203.2476. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 1*, 1983.

[495] RFA.203.2498. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 24, Eesti Sõprusühing 25*, 1983.

stationary microphone with the speaker.[496] Indira Gandhi's interpreter is shown with his own stationary microphone,[497] as is the interpreter working for the Swedish consul to Estonia in 1990.[498] Such footage is a visual document that increases the interpreter's visibility during historic visits. A local Estonian interpreter can be seen at the laying of the cornerstone of the Olympic village in Tallinn in 1976[499] and at the 14th Dalai Lama's public speech in Town Hall Square in 1991.[500] An amateur film shoot during Shah Pahlavi of Iran's visit to a research institute is the only known clip of footage of an Estonian interpreter interpreting a royal dignitary during the period under review.[501]

3.6.3 Interpreters at Work

The author discovered sixty-six photos in the course of her research, which allowed her to identify interpreters working with foreign delegations. An electronic search for *interpreter/translator* yielded 409 photos, 39 of which showed interpreters working consecutively with foreign languages other than Russian (32 from Digital Photo Database and 7 from the Tallinn City Archives). Another twenty-seven were from the University of Tartu Photo Collection, for a total of sixty-six pictures of interpreters. Judging by the photos, a total of twelve foreign languages were interpreted in some combination. In eleven cases the name of the interpreter was not mentioned. Estonian interpreters worked from Arabic, English, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian and Swedish. Interpreters from Russia worked from Czech, Japanese, Slovak and Spanish. In the vast majority of cases local Estonian interpreters were used: in a mere thirteen cases out of sixty-six the interpreter was from outside Estonia (Russia, Finland, France). In five cases the profession of the person acting as an interpreter was mentioned in the caption: a guide-interpreter,[502] a teacher,[503] an assistant school principal,[504] a student,[505] and a university lecturer.[506]

If we look at the source and target languages the picture is more diverse. Analysing thirty-nine[507] video clips the author uncovered twenty-six that show interpreters, adding another three languages to the list (Chinese, Korean and Portuguese). Out of a total of fifteen languages, English and German lead with

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496 RFA.203.977. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 45,* 1956.
497 RFA.203.2418. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 18*, 1982.
498 RFA.203.4354. *Eesti Kroonika no. 16*, 1990.
499 RFA.203.2080. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 10*, 1976; RFA.203.4678. *Purjeregatt: Olümpia 80,* documentary, directed by Toivo Kuzmin, Tallinfilm, 1980.
500 RFA.203.4338. *Eesti Kroonika no. 17*, 1991.
501 RFA.549.3695. *The Estonian Institute of Agriculture and Land Amelioration*, amateur film.
502 EFA.774.P.0-411265. Interpreter Riina Reinholm, guide-interpreter.
503 EFA.423.P.0-120639. Interpreter Karin Lapp, teacher.
504 EFA.470.P.0-147245. Interpreter Imbi Kaasik, assistant school principal.
505 EFA.263.P.0-83701. Interpreter Eleonora Nagy, student, Tartu State University.
506 EFA.423.P.0-120488. Interpreter Peep Veski, lecturer, Tartu State University.
507 See Table 3.6. Interpreting from and into languages other than Russian, by language.

thirteen cases each, followed by Finnish (eleven), Swedish (five), Hungarian (four) and Arabic and French (two each), and Chinese, Czech, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Slovak and Spanish (one each). In two cases the language was not mentioned. The newsreels and photos both portray interpretation of twelve languages, nine of which overlap; this therefore leaves a total of fifteen languages that were used. As for Estonian, it was used when interpreting from and into eight languages (Arabic, English, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian and Swedish). The Arabic on the list comes from photos in the University of Tartu collection, which yielded another twenty-seven photos of foreign delegations visiting the university accompanied by interpreters, all of whom were Estonian and either students or faculty at the university.

The Estonian dignitary most frequently depicted with an interpreter was Arnold Green (1920–2011). He was a long-term deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers (a post comparable to deputy prime minister), deputy minister and minister of foreign affairs as well as the chairman of the Organising Committee of the Tallinn Olympic Regatta. Later he became president of the Estonian Olympic Committee. Despite being fluent in English and Russian, he made a point of speaking Estonian and using interpretation. The earliest known example of this corroborated by a newsreel is from 1966.[508] The author's interpreting logbook includes the following entry from 6 July 1984: "Foreign Minister Green receives 15 foreign journalists accredited to Moscow". The delegation also included a number of Soviet officials from Moscow but Minister Green delivered his welcoming speech in Estonian and later spoke freely in English with the guests.

In addition to these sixty-six photographs she found, the author also relied on the thirty-nine film clips discussed above, which show twenty-six interpreters;[509] together, these provide a glimpse into foreign language interpretation in post–World War II Estonia and show interpreters as supplemental figures who were simply unavoidable when the scene was shot[510] or photographed.[511] Photo and film captions do not always include the interpreter's names. Surprisingly, however, in the case of interpreters from outside Estonia, they were named in the photo captions,[512] while none of the twenty-seven photos from the university collection did this. Out of thirty-nine photos fourteen depicted unnamed interpreters, while eleven were of three interpreters who were well-known during the years under review, including two chief guide-interpreters with English and German from the Tallinn branch of Intourist. The two renowned interpreters remained unnamed in five cases each. It is

[508] RFA.203.1590. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 33*, 1966.
[509] See section 3.4. entitled "Interpreting from and into Other Foreign Languages".
[510] RFA.203.855. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 11*, 1954; RFA.203.972. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 40*, 1956; RFA.203.1588. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 31*, 1966.
[511] EFA.204.P.0-69983; EFA.204.P.0-75404; EFA.263.P.0-83701; TLA.1465.1.6796; TLA.1465.1.6809.
[512] For example, EFA.204.0-65877: Tosijuki Inagaki 12.1964; EFA.344.0-95031: Ljubov Poljakova, 06.1975; EFA.204.0-99017: Jelena Mšir, 11.1978.

impossible to establish why they remained anonymous; it may be that they were simply too well-known and were overlooked whereas if another interpreter who was not as well-known accompanied the delegation, the name was taken down. Nor are either of them named in the descriptions accompanying clips in the Film Archives, although the events described were of the utmost importance: laying the cornerstone of the Olympic Village,[513] a visit by an IOC member to the future Olympic site[514] and the 60th anniversary of the USSR.[515] In one case the interpreter's name was given with a question mark attached. The name, however, was incorrect.[516] As a rule, the interpreters' names are not mentioned in printed literature, either.[517] Every rule, however, has an exception; Kulle Raig, for instance, provides interpreters' names in the photo captions of her book, maybe because she herself has worked as a guide-interpreter.[518] Interpreters were intentionally chosen as photo subjects (as opposed to mere bystanders) in just two photos from 1978, which show two interpreters working between Russian and Estonian. [519]

According to the archival photographic evidence, simultaneous interpretation of foreign languages (other than Russian) was used when delegations met at the 3rd Meeting of Representatives of Soviet and Finnish Cities (1974)[520] and at the meeting of the Nordic Council and Council of Baltic States (1990).[521] It is impossible to retrospectively establish the language regime used during a Soviet-Hungarian friendship celebration depicted in a 1963 photo.[522] The people listening to the simultaneous interpretation are high-level Hungarian diplomats from Moscow who obviously should have been fluent in Russian. Whether the interpretation was between Russian and Hungarian or Estonian and Russian remains unknown. Photographs also depict various events with the interpreter and speaker sitting (1966[523]) or standing (1957,[524] 1976,[525] 1982[526]) at the table,

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[513] RFA.203.2080. *Nõukogude Eesti no. 10*, 1976.

[514] RFA.203.4678. *Purjeregatt: Olümpia 80,* documentary, directed by Toivo Kuzmin, Tallinfilm, 1980.

[515] RFA.203.2476. *Nõukogude Eesti no.1*, 1983.

[516] RFA.203.2801. *Rahvusvahelise Olümpiakomitee liikme B. Beitzi külaskäik Piritale*, (võttematerjal) Eesti Reklaamfilm, 1974.

[517] For example, *Tartu Ülikooli Kliinikum 200: Tartu University Hospital 200* (Tartu, 2004), 355 (Ene Härmatis, Intourist Finnish language guide-interpreter, 1982); Enno Tammer, comp., *Nõukogude piir ja lukus elu*, 339 (Hertta Kaponen, Intourist Finnish language guide-interpreter, 1983). Names confirmed by the author.

[518] Raig, *Pikk teekond lähedale*, 40; 123.

[519] See section 3.6.1. entitled "Simultaneous Interpretation Equipment: 'Soap Box'".

[520] EFA.204.0-99283

[521] EFA.343.0-143563; EFA.343.0-143562.

[522] EFA.250.P.0- 49604

[523] TÜM Photo Collection (Ed. Sakk) k 772-007. *Interpreter Virve Liiv (German),* 18 October 1966, as established by the author. (None of the University of Tartu Museum photos include the name of the interpreter in the caption. The author has been able to confirm a few names.)

[524] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Mikk) kk 63-027. Interpreter unidentified. 13 September 1957.

[525] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) k 723-005. Interpreter unidentified. June 1976.

[526] The author's personal archive. Interpreter Karin Sibul (English). 23 September 1982.

standing side by side at the rostrum (1982,[527] 1989[528]), or on-stage sharing a stationary microphone (1975,[529] 1989[530]); one photo also shows the interpreter standing alone at the rostrum (1988[531]). There are also images of consecutive interpretation performed without microphones with the interpreter standing to the right of the speaker (1978,[532] 1982[533]) or behind the speaker (1989[534]), as well as sitting at the table opposite the guest; this is seen in a photo of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council receiving a delegation of Italian musicians in his office (1989[535]). There are photographs of interpreters working at on-site visits (1980[536]) and welcoming delegations at the railway station (1982,[537] 1988[538]) and at official receptions (1989[539]). In one picture, an interpreter who was working following a concert in New York had a stationary microphone of her own while the speaker stood at the rostrum.[540]

In conclusion, the author's research yielded few images of interpretation of foreign languages: just thirty-nine clips of footage and sixty-six photos. Those discovered were mostly of consecutive interpretation. In addition to Estonian and Russian another fifteen languages were used as source and target languages.

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[527] TÜM Photo Collection (A. Tenno) 1367-019. Interpreter Herbert Ligi (Hungarian), 16 September 1982, as established by the author.

[528] TÜM Photo Collection (Ed. Sakk) 1609-045. Interpreter Mall Laar (English), 1 December 1989, as established by the author.

[529] TÜM Photo Collection (J. Laan) 223-006b. Interpreter Andres Aarma (Arabic), 17 May 1975, as established by the author.

[530] The author's personal archive. *The Estonian Boys' Choir in Toronto.* Interpreter Karin Sibul interprets the Mayor of Toronto. 1 December 1989.

[531] The author's personal archive. *The Estonian Boys' Choir in Appleton, USA.* Interpreter Karin Sibul interprets Arvi Karotam's (manager of the travel agency Hermann Reisid) and local American host Fred Pahl. 10 June 1988.

[532] The author's personal archive. *UN Representatives from Developing Countries.* Interpreter Karin Sibul interprets Mr Laur, chairman of the construction department, at the Kirov Model Collective Fishery. 22 September 1978.

[533] TÜM Photo Collection (Ed. Sakk) k 1367-003, k 1367-024. Interpreter Ilmar Mullamaa (Swedish). August 1982, as established by the author.

[534] The author's personal archive. *The Estonian Boys' Choir in Toronto*. Interpreter Karin Sibul interprets Arvi Karotam's (manager of the travel agency Hermann Reisid) greetings to the Mayor of Toronto. 1 December 1989.

[535] EFA.311.P.d-1959.

[536] The author's personal archive. *A Scottish trade union delegation at a vocational school in Tallinn*. 1980. Interpreter Karin Sibul.

[537] The author's personal archive. *A British printers' delegation in Tallinn*. 1982. Interpreter Karin Sibul.

[538] The author's personal archive. *A Chinese agricultural delegation (incl. one of the 24 Chinese deputy ministers of agriculture) in Tallinn*. 1988. Interpreter Karin Sibul.

[539] The author's personal archive. *The Estonian Boys' Choir in Calgary, Canada received by the Mayor*. 12 December 1989. Interpreter Karin Sibul.

[540] The author's personal archive. *The Estonian Boys' Choir in New York*. 13 June 1988. Interpreter Karin Sibul.

3.7 Some Final Remarks

After World War II not only the political order but also the linguistic environment changed in Estonia and Russian was introduced as a language of international communication. With an influx of monolingual Russian speakers there was obviously the need to ensure communication between the two population groups, for the two communities lived in the same country and shared no common language. The interviews the author conducted as well as the scarce archival material on interpretation confirm that simultaneous interpretation was used between Estonian and Russian. Evidence-based facts confirm the use of interpretation at conferences, congresses, public lectures and meetings, but provide no evidence of community interpreting. In post-war Estonia the use of interpreting became highly contextualised: the dominant Soviet ideology aimed at expanding the use of Russian, while interpreting into Russian allowed Estonian to be used in the conference room, as well.

The early post-war years also marked a period of isolation from the rest of the world. Russian thus emerged as the prevailing source and target language of interpreting in Estonia. The question addressed was to what extent interpreting was used. The author conducted sixty-nine interviews with interpreters and with people who recruited interpreters or benefited from interpretation. These interviews have brought to light a number of significant facts not widely known in Estonia and have provided information about various events at which simultaneous interpretation between Estonian and Russian was used, from government meetings and party congresses to anniversaries and culture-related events. Although direct diplomatic relations were severed with foreign countries, various delegations did visit Estonia. The travel agency Intourist employed guide-interpreters who, in addition to acting as tour guides, were also asked to interpret for foreign delegations, as they were considered the best due to extensive conversational practice. The author also identified clear changes in the use of conference languages: the German-Russian combination followed by English-Russian was replaced by English-Estonian in the late 1980s.

Audiovisual sources (film footage and photos) turned out to be most informative for the Soviet period. Research in the archives led to several extraordinary discoveries: newspaper articles confirming the use of simultaneous interpretation from Estonian into Russian in 1940 in Moscow, film footage confirming the use of parliamentary interpretation as early as in 1945, and photos from 1978 of the only known images of simultaneous interpreters at work and of the listener's unique headset. The simultaneous interpretation devices shown in those photos were an example of the craftsmanship of The University of Tartu engineers. The photos also helped the author locate a damaged headset (known as a soap box) at the university museum. The item had been mislabelled as a wire-tapping device.

In the period under review parliamentary interpreting had a broader meaning than merely facilitating communication. Indeed, an interpreter working from and into Estonian contributed to the Estonians' right to use their own language

in the parliament, one of the highest bodies to implement and execute Russification. The use of simultaneous interpreting from Estonian into Russian allowed Estonian to be used at public events at a time when Russian was enforced as the language of international communication. The author treats interpretation as a contributing factor in maintaining the use of the Estonian language in an environment in which a foreign language dominated. In the sense meant by Bourdieu, interpretation helped to prevent the furthering of an environment in which the dominated would have legitimised their condition by taking it for granted[541] that "authority comes to the language from outside".[542] Retrospectively, the use of interpretation between Estonian and Russian could be interpreted as the authority of the Estonian language in postwar Estonia arising from the very fact that it had been the state language in the interwar period in the Republic of Estonia.

With the Soviet occupation came an inevitable influx of monolingual migrants from other Soviet republics and continual efforts to replace the Estonian language with Russian and to reduce the use of Estonian in order to Russify public spaces in Estonia. An example of resistance to political and cultural hegemony was parliamentary interpreting. The author established that Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian simultaneous interpretation was common practice at the sessions of the Soviet-era Estonian parliament, even in the stronghold of occupation. This corroborates Rundle's discovery that a "closed totalitarian system" [543] could behave rather unexpectedly; he gives the example of Mussolini's Italy, which had more texts translated than any other state in the world in the 1930s and mostly from the language of Italy's enemy, English. In the case of Estonia, parliamentary interpreting was a rare exception in the fifteen Soviet republics.

The status of interpreters working between Russian and Estonian was mostly low even in the interpreters' own eyes, as emerged from the interviews. The interviewees marginalised their job and occasionally referred to it merely as an additional source of income.[544] The Soviet newspeak was ideologically poignant but contentless and predictable. Interpreting did not in any way endanger Soviet power, as texts for speeches were usually censored to suppress unacceptable parts; speakers, too, practiced self-censorship. The interpreter was reduced to a kind of tool used to disseminate social determinism. Interpreters' self-perception finally started to change in the late 1980s. Soviet censorship was falling away, the content of the message gained importance and the intellectual level of interpretable speeches improved. All of a sudden, every word acquired significance. In addition to in interviews, a stress on the content of and on attentive listening to the message also surfaced in verbatim reports. On the one

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[541] Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 168.
[542] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 109.
[543] Rundle, "Translation as an Approach to History", 237.
[544] See also Prunč, "Priests, Princes and Pariahs", and Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul*.

hand, the interpreters' prestige and recognition in society grew; on the other hand, so did requirements as regards the quality of interpretation and the idea of the interpreter as a thesaurus. Interpreters during the period under review had received no interpreter training, and all interviewees admitted to having started interpreting by chance. This period nevertheless laid the foundation for the interpreter community, although professionalisation of the sector started only in the 1990s.[545]

A rarely practiced type of institutional interpreting is the simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances. Two Estonian theatres employed interpreters as early as 1952. Archival documents and interviews helped the author to identify seven theatre interpreters who interpreted from the 1950s to the 1990s. Arguably the first theatre interpreter in the Soviet Union worked at the Vanemuine theatre. To the author's knowledge, this is the first research on simultaneous theatre interpreting in Estonia. Until now, scholars have focused on the sign language interpretation of performances.

To summarise, from the point of view of the history of interpreting in Estonia, the use of simultaneous interpretation between Estonian and Russian at various events, the invitation of Estonian interpreters to interpret at international conferences outside Estonia, the introduction of regular simultaneous interpretation of theatre performances and the use thereof throughout the period, and the opening of the 1980 Olympic Regatta in Estonian (followed by interpretation into other languages) may all be singled out as highlights of the interpreting landscape in Estonia from 1944 to 1991.

[545] The Estonian Association of Interpreters and Translators was established on 1 June 1992. In 2006, the Estonian Association of Masters in Conference Interpreting and Translation was set up as a professional association that brings together professionals in the field, increases awareness and provides training.

CONCLUSION

This doctoral dissertation is the first to examine the evolution of interpretation in its entirety since the Republic of Estonia was proclaimed in 1918. The aim of the interdisciplinary historical research herein is to provide a diachronic overview of the history of interpretation in Estonia, to map the factual evidence and to uncover the potentially earliest cases of consecutive and simultaneous interpretation in use, as well as to identify interpreters. External aggressive interruptions to the history of Estonia meant that the author had to handle the research in two stages: the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940) and Soviet Estonia (1944–1991), which together provide a comprehensive picture of interpretation over the course of seven decades.

This is a puzzle composed of little pieces, fragments of an activity that has often been overlooked by historians. When designing her research, the author's hypothesis was that interpreting had been used in Estonia since the first proclamation of the Republic of Estonia, despite the different political orders that followed from 1918 to 1940 and from 1944 to 1991. Various periods of history in Estonia determined different needs for interpreting services due to distinctly different socio-political environments. The author has used a large number of sources to collect authentic, relevant and reliable data to be able to draw valid conclusions.

The informed decision taken to present the authentic research material by categories determined the structure of the dedicated chapters. In the author's view, this was a justified decision. Leaving aside interviews, which can only be conducted with those still alive and were therefore restricted exclusively to the Soviet period, textual sources exist that apply to both periods. Memoirs, diaries and in particular newspaper articles were the prevailing reliable source of information for the years from 1918 to 1940, whereas they were of little use as regards interpreting from 1944 to 1991. The first year under Soviet rule, 1940, was an exceptional year, because the interpretation of speeches in Moscow upon Estonia's incorporation into the Soviet Union was explicitly mentioned in the newspapers. For the post-World War II period, audiovisual material was most important. Images of headsets in film footage were the only convincing evidence of the use of simultaneous interpretation the author found.

Chapter 1. Theoretical and Methodological Framework. Chapter 1 starts with an overview of the progression of Interpreting Studies into an independent research field and the position and role of the history of interpreting in Interpreting Studies.

In analysing Pierre Bourdieu's concepts, such as "field", "agent", "*habitus*" and "symbolic capital", the author suggests the use of a new term, "state's symbolic capital", to place value on interpretation in the context of societal and political changes in Estonia. In the following two chapters she proceeds to examine the different socio-political periods in Estonia's history, discussing the

significance of interpretation both as regards the Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital and under circumstances in which Estonian was dominated by another language. Expanding upon the concept of conference interpreting, the author concludes that this is what has been prevalent throughout Estonia's history, while community interpreting only appeared after the restoration of Estonia's independent statehood in 1991. More specifically, community interpreting has been practiced in Estonia over the last decade; this, however, is not within the realm of this dissertation.

The sub-section on the methodological framework examines the starting points of the author's historical research, the use of the ethnographic method to gather material and that of content analysis to analyse it. Textual and non-textual sources are also analysed in greater detail.

The author then proceeds to clarify terminological challenges inevitably facing a researcher who delves into the history of interpreting in Estonia. The analysis of entries for *tõlk* (interpreter) and *tõlkija* (translator) in forty-six dictionaries and other relevant sources provides sufficient evidence to conclude that the distinction between interpreters and translators was not made historically and is still not well rooted in the Estonian language. As both *tõlk* and *tõlkija* have been used interchangeably, it is not possible to distinguish between the terms when reading memoirs and archival materials without a diligent analysis of the context. Cross-checking the data gathered, the author was able to disambiguate the meaning of *tõlk* and draw conclusions about interpreters and interpreting in Estonia. The first known use of the word *tõlk* goes back to 1660. An early description of interpreter training published in Estonian comes from Gustav Heinrich Schüdlöffel's 1844 description of teaching and educating interpreters in order to more efficiently revive religion among the Lapp (Sami) people.

Chapter 1 then provides an overview of the evolution of the three types of interpretation necessary for this research to provide a comprehensive picture of the period: diplomatic, parliamentary and theatre interpreting. The author also outlines similarities between simultaneous theatre interpreting and sign language theatre interpreting: this involves preparatory work with the script and detailed knowledge of the live performance.

Chapter 2. Interpreting in Estonia, 1918–1940. Since diplomacy is the key to international relations, the author's working hypothesis for this period was that interpreters were probably employed to facilitate international relations. The use of interpreters in diplomatic settings seemed to be most likely. This hypothesis proved correct: diplomatic interpreting in Estonia emerged alongside the Republic of Estonia in 1918. Drawing upon authentic sources, it was possible to identify events at which interpretation was used, as well as source and target languages and interpreters; it was also possible to track the evolution of interpretation through 1940. Two of the first three officials at the Foreign Ministry, established in November 1918, were interpreters (*tõlk*). The list of ministry officials (1918–1940) comprises thirty-four staff members whose job

description includes the word *tõlk* (interpreter). Not a single job description mentions the word *tõlkija* (translator). That being said, the author argues that they in fact probably also translated, when necessary.

Other material analysed by the author led her to identify not just thirteen diplomats and other members of the diplomatic corps who acted as interpreters, but also thirty-eight non-diplomats who did so. These were field specialists who interpreted events in their field of interest or activity.

Another important aspect of this research was to examine how actively interpretation was used in Estonia. Drawing from the authentic documentary evidence collected by the author, this could be ascertained: interpretation was actively used in diplomatic intercourse and at public and private meetings. The author discovered 278 newspaper articles in twelve newspapers that provided factual evidence of interpretation having been used from fifteen source languages into ten target languages at a wide range of events, including everything from international congresses to fund-raising lectures combined with concerts. This indicates active social interaction as well as an availability of language-fluent people to facilitate communication with the public on various topics. The author found three articles that provide images of interpreters at work[1] and thirty-eight newspaper articles that provide lengthy detailed accounts of technological innovations introduced at international conferences in Europe. The analysed corpus comprised a total of 364 articles.

This research has helped to establish the fact that interpreting was used as early as 1918, the year in which the British naval fleet arrived to provide coastal defence and an independent Estonia was born. The author's research in the archives led to some extraordinary discoveries from this period: a newspaper article describing the first simultaneous interpreting equipment in the world as early as 1928 and several images of interpreters at work using the equipment in Europe. Newspaper articles proved to be the most fruitful source of information on interpretation being provided during this period, although most mentions of it comprised merely a word.

This dissertation is, to the author's knowledge, the first to associate interpreting in Estonia with the creation of symbolic capital for the state. "Symbolic capital" is one of the key concepts Bourdieu introduced. The author started her research with the proclamation of the Republic of Estonia and the use of the state language as a bid for the state's symbolic capital via interpreting. The use of Estonian—the state language of the Republic of Estonia—and the use of interpreting from Estonian into Russian represented a significant statement and contributed to symbolic capital in terms of establishing the Estonian-Russian relationship in the early days of Estonia's independent statehood at negotiations with Russia in September 1919. This was directly and clearly related to the prestige of the state. It also presupposed the use of interpreters throughout the period under review. An excellent example of the young Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital is the speech delivered by Jaan Poska in Estonian at the

[1] Photos from 1926 and 1938; a drawing from 1926.

opening of the peace negotiations with Soviet Russia that led to the conclusion of the Tartu Peace Treaty.

Applying Bourdieu's concept to research on diplomatic interpreting in Estonia allowed the author to focus on a new aspect of what we know about the value of interpreters. Considering interpreting a contributing factor to gaining symbolic capital for the state is a new approach to Interpreting Studies. Interpreters and interpreting have been an integral part of Estonia's diplomacy. Interpreters as agents in the field were privileged to contribute to the state's symbolic capital while remaining invisible. In the inter-war period neither the ministerial officials nor diplomats had any formal interpreter training. If necessary, diplomats (Kirotar, Tomingas and occasionally Pusta) acted as interpreters. A diplomatic interpreter is at the centre of historic events not as a passive mediator but as an active agent with a responsibility to unambiguously communicate legitimate views and actions. In the sense meant by Bourdieu, interpreters enjoyed a privilege since their acts contributed to symbolic capital and since they associated with those who laid the foundation for the Republic of Estonia's symbolic capital. From 1918 to 1940 interpreters who interpreted diplomatic assignments were involved in building an independent state, and interpretation contributed to the accumulation of the state's symbolic capital. Examining the fundamental decision to use interpreting and the Estonian language in diplomatic settings,[2] the author concluded that the history of Estonia's diplomacy can be described through the lens of the state's symbolic capital. Biographical data portrays several interpreters as multitalented and commendable in various fields. Interpreters' names are often mentioned in textual sources, which could be interpreted as an indirect reference to respect and prestige.

Chapter 3. Interpreting in Estonia, 1944–1991. In searching for factual documentary evidence to prove the use of interpretation from 1944 to 1991, the author worked with Estonian archival film and photo collections in order to establish an interpreting narrative in post–World War II Estonia; this was a time when Europe had undergone geopolitical changes and a new political order was enforced in what had been the independent Republic of Estonia before the war. As a starting point, the author's hypothesis was that when Russian was introduced as a language of international communication in Estonia in 1944, followed by an influx of Russian-speaking Soviet party and government officials, interpretation was introduced to facilitate communication between Russian and Estonian-speaking communities. Although foreign delegations were rare, there was still a need for interpretation, which led the author to examine the interpretation landscape through language-based subgroups. Interpretation from and into Estonian during this time period falls into two groups of target and source languages: Russian and other foreign languages.

[2] For example, at the opening of the Tartu peace negotiations with Soviet Russia in 1919 and when hosting heads of state and presidents.

Although Russian is a foreign language like any other to Estonians, it is expedient to discuss the two groups separately since Russian was enforced in Estonia with the covert aim of imposing bilingualism (as per the 1978 decree) and achieving a gradual switch to Russian monolingualism.

The author's research has helped make the fragmented narrative of interpretation in Estonia more complete. In all, she conducted sixty-nine interviews (thirty-nine with interpreters and thirty with people who recruited interpreters or used interpreting services). The author established that the interpreting community, too, comprised of two groups: interpreters interpreting from and into Russian and those working from and into other languages. She interviewed twenty-four interpreters who worked with Russian and fifteen who worked with other languages. Another thirty interviews with people who recruited interpreters corroborated the data gained. This represents quite a sizable community, thus demonstrating the need for interpretation during the Soviet years.

One hundred and six clips of film footage shot at various public events, including forty-one of Soviet-era parliament sessions, confirm the active use of simultaneous interpretation between Estonian and Russian from 1944 to 1991 (i.e., they show members of the audience with headsets). The use of interpretation is also confirmed by 191 photos that depict the use of headsets by the audience. The visual proof collected, in contrast to the extremely scarce written evidence, allowed the author to confirm her hypothesis that interpretation was used.

Drawing from documentary and audiovisual evidence in the archives and interview data from interpreters active during the period under review, the author gathered factual data to confirm that parliamentary interpreting was extensively and regularly used in Soviet Estonia. The earliest audiovisual evidence to that effect dates from 1945. In addition to newsreel footage, photos and online verbatim reports demonstrate and confirm the use of interpreting throughout the period, throwing light on an otherwise invisible activity: interpreting. The scarcity of available images of interpreters confirms the view that interpreting was considered a trivial activity and not worth recording. The use of simultaneous interpreting from Estonian into Russian allowed Estonian to be used at public events at a time when Russian was enforced as the language of international communication. Interpretation is treated as a contributing factor in maintaining the use of the Estonian language in an environment in which a foreign language dominated. Interpreting as an activity was inseparable from the functioning of the parliament, helping to invisibly negotiate boundaries for the use of Estonian in public spaces that were also under Soviet control. When they interpreted from Russian into Estonian, the interpreters represented the dominant language, and when they interpreted from Estonian into Russian, the dominated language. The interviews carried out by the author revealed that during the Soviet years the social prestige of Russian-language interpreters (unlike that of interpreters of other languages) was low; the severely censored and ideologically sterile message was frequently delivered indifferently, void of any emotion. The interviewees were explicit in stating that the list of usable

stereotypical phrases was quite short, boring, nondescript and did not need much, if any, preparation.

A major breakthrough in the author's research into the period was evidence proving the use of simultaneous interpretation between Estonian and Russian at the Supreme Soviet's session in Moscow in 1940 when Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Another key find was the only known image of simultaneous interpreters at work, in the form of photos the author discovered from 1978. A search of the University of Tartu photo collection marked another breakthrough, for a couple of photos from 1978 show a listener's headset. This simultaneous interpreting equipment was an example of university engineers' craftsmanship: it had been designed and made at the University of Tartu workshop. Several interviewees had referred to the listener's device as a "soap box". It functioned as a radio receiver: components of the receiver were fixed to the commercially available soap box; hence the name. Not a single device was thought to have survived. The collection at the University of Tartu Museum, however, contained a damaged soap box, registered as a "wiretapping device". Prior to this discovery, it had not been associated with simultaneous interpreting and had not been identified as an early example of a headset.

Theatre interpreting was another type of institutional interpretation analysed by the author. The simultaneous interpreting of theatre performances is a field that so far has been underexplored. In Estonia, the simultaneous interpretation of performances from Estonian into Russian has a long tradition dating back more than half a century; it has not, however, drawn the attention of researchers or theatre critics and reviewers. Three theatres regularly provided interpretation of performances (the Vanemuine, the Tallinn Drama Theatre and Pärnu Theatre). Factual evidence confirms that the simultaneous interpretation of performances started in Tartu and Tallinn in 1952, while the tradition of theatre interpreting in the Soviet Union was arguably launched at the Vanemuine Theatre. In addition to drama performances, operas, operettas and once even a ballet have been interpreted. Interviews with three long-term theatre interpreters helped to establish hitherto unknown facts about this type of interpretation in Estonia. Through archival research the author identified another four names of theatre interpreters. Long-term professional contact with the theatre is an advantage and a privilege for this type of interpretation, allowing the theatre interpreter to participate in the production. This possibility is not available for a conference interpreter who may occasionally take theatre assignments, regardless of how good the interpreter may be. The use of surtitles as practiced in opera houses is now finding its way to drama theatres, too. This may be a solution to overcome language barriers at drama festivals. Surtitles, however, are no good in the event of on-stage improvisation. Good simultaneous interpretation of performances may make the audience forget that interpretation is taking place. No two performances are alike. The final phase of a theatre interpreter's work is a never-ending one: to synchronise the interpretation with the nuances of the performance.

During the second period under review, Estonia's visibility as an international research conference venue slowly increased. In the 1960s and 1970s the main conference language was German and simultaneous interpretation was mostly provided between that and Russian. Estonian as a conference language was introduced in the late 1980s; ever since then, English and Estonian have been the principal conference languages.

Interpretation between Estonian and other foreign languages was more sporadic from 1944 to 1991. Although links with the western world had been severed, thirty-nine film clips depict interpretation between Estonian or Russian and a foreign language other than Russian (eight simultaneous and thirty-one consecutive cases, of which twenty-six show the interpreters). Sixty-six other photos allowed the author to identify interpreters working for foreign delegations in the consecutive mode. Local Estonian interpreters worked from and into Arabic, English, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian and Swedish. Interpreters from Russia worked from Chinese, Czech, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Slovak and Spanish. In thirteen cases the interpreter was from outside Estonia. The captions of five photos mentioned the main job of the person acting as the interpreter (a guide-interpreter, a teacher, an assistant school principal, a student and a university lecturer). The guide-interpreters from the Intourist Tallinn branch did most of the work with foreign delegations and they were considered to be the best in the field: although they had no interpreter training, they had extensive daily practice. Visual evidence confirmed that simultaneous interpretation was used in thirteen locations (theatres, public buildings, concert halls, etc.).

To summarise, interpreters' responses to the changing political environment over the decades are fuzzy, but in the case of Estonia it is safe to argue that interpreters active from 1918 to 1940 were then replaced with another community of interpreters active from 1944 to 1991, as the socio-political environments differed drastically. Notwithstanding the inevitable uncertainties in the data for these two periods, taking the figures as a whole, it seems plausible to conclude that interpretation has its place in the history of Estonia: during the first period under review it contributed to gaining symbolic capital for the state and in the second period, to maintaining the use of the Estonian language under enforced Russification. Interpreters in both periods also worked other jobs.

As regards the state's symbolic capital, it could be claimed that the contribution made by Estonia's diplomacy was nothing short of remarkable. Indeed, this angle offers a new approach to history: when researching the diachronic evolution of interpreting in Estonia, the author discovered interpreters who had been invisible in the historical context. As she took an interdisciplinary research, the author applied Rundle's suggestion[3] to the findings of her research into two different historic Estonian socio-political systems. Thus, not only has

[3] Rundle, "Translation as an Approach to History", 239.

history taught us something about interpreting but interpreting has also shed some light on history (e.g., interpreters contributing to the state's symbolic capital, diplomatic interpreting used to strengthen Estonia's status as a newly independent country, parliamentary interpreting used to counterbalance the hegemony of the Russian language, etc.).

Interpretation between Estonian and foreign languages other than Russian at private and public events (examined in Chapters 2 and 3) provided access to the outside world, while interpretation between Estonian and Russian (examined in Chapter 3) facilitated communication between two communities at a time when Russian—that is, the language of international communication, to use the Soviet terminology—was enforced as the only lingua franca in Estonia, with the intent to replace Estonian entirely.

The author has succeeded in gathering a representative factual database of authentic textual and non-textual artefacts on interpreting in Estonia (audio-visual material, memoirs, diaries, archival documents, verbatim reports, interview transcripts) spanning seventy years, which allows other researchers to build on and continue with detailed studies of specific topics on this history. This dissertation is the first to use audiovisual sources (film footage and photos) and newspaper articles to argue the case for interpretation in Estonia. Such interdisciplinary historical research was possible because of historical records and documents preserved in Estonian archives and museums, facilitating the continuity of cultural memory.

The objective of the author's study, in addition to mapping the evolution of interpretation in Estonia, was also to help preserve the fast-disappearing oral heritage of interpretation, a socially situated practice. Living heritage is very fragile. This part of Estonia's intangible cultural history could disappear unless preserved and researched. The use of Estonian is directly linked to the prestige of the state language and to a message explicitly contributing to the growth of the state's symbolic capital. Today, Estonian is one of the official European Union languages and is interpreted alongside the twenty-three other official EU languages at historic meetings that shape the future. With the author's research into seventy years of interpretation use in Estonia, the voice of Estonian interpreters has finally emerged from across the decades.

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LIST OF TABLES

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Suulise tõlke areng Eesti riikluse kujunemisel

Dissertatsioon on esimene terviklik uurimus suulise tõlke arengu ajaloost Eestis, hõlmates kahte perioodi Eesti ajaloos: iseseisvat Eesti Vabariiki (1918–1940), ja Nõukogude Eestit (1944–1991). Autori kogutud autentne faktiline materjal tõestab, et tõlkimist on kasutatud riigi toimimise esimestest päevadest alates, hoolimata murrangulistest poliitilistest, majanduslikest ja ühiskondlikest sündmustest.

Dissertatsiooni eesmärk on anda põhjalik diakrooniline ülevaade tõlke erisustest eri perioodidel, leida varaseid fakte järel- ja sünkroontõlke kohta ning välja selgitada varaseim dateeritud tõlgi kasutamine Eesti Vabariigis. Suulise tõlke uurimist raskendab aga terminoloogiline segadus: nii akadeemilistes tekstides kui ka ajakirjanduses ei tehta alati vahet mõistetel *suuline* ja *kirjalik tõlge*, samuti *tõlk* ja *tõlkija*.

Audiovisuaalsed ja dokumentaalsed allikad, filmi- ja fotokogud, mälestused, arhiividokumendid, ajalehed ja ülemnõukogu istungite stenogrammid võimaldasid koguda usaldusväärse andmestiku. Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi arhiivraamatukogu bibliograafiaosakonnas koostatud Eesti ajakirjanduse analüütilise bibliograafia ja Eesti artiklite digitaalarhiivi DIGAR abil leidis autor tõlkimise kohta sõjaeelsest perioodist 364 artiklit (kuulutust ja teadaannet): 278 artiklis oli mainitud tõlkimist Eestis ja 86 artiklis välismaal (seisuga 21. mai 2015). Aastate 1944–1991 kohta kogus autor 145 filmikroonikalõiku ja 524 fotot, mis tõendasid suulist tõlkimist nõukogude perioodil.

Suuline tõlge Eestis aastatel 1918–1940. Alustades suulise tõlke arengu uurimist ja otsides võimalikke allikaid, otsustas autor alustada äsja väljakuulutatud Eesti Vabariigi ühest kõige olulisemast diplomaatilisest sammust: Tartu rahu sõlmimiseks 1919. aastal Venemaaga peetud läbirääkimiste protokollidest. Saadud teave julgustas jätkama otsingutega välispoliitika ja diplomaatia vallas. Diplomaatide mälestuste juurest viis tee ajalehtedeni, et selgitada välja suulise tõlke kasutamine avalikel üritustel.

Euroopas oli tõlgi elukutse toona kujunemisjärgus, kuid mitte Eestis. Vajaduse korral kasutati siin tõlkimisel diplomaatide ja teiste keeleoskajate abi. Diplomaatidele lisaks õnnestus autoril välja selgitada 38 tõlki, neist 29 oli ajaleheartiklites mainitud nimepidi. Seega olid ajalehed asendamatuks uurimisallikaks. Tõlkidena tegutsesid ülikooli õppejõud, kirikuõpetajad, haridustegelased, loovtöötajad ja teiste elukutsete esindajad.

Kahe maailmasõja vahelisel ajal tegid diplomaatilist tõlget vaid tõlkivad diplomaadid. Juba riikluse kujunemise algul, 1919. aasta septembris Venemaaga peetud läbirääkimistel kasutati eesti keelt, s.t Eesti Vabariigi riigikeelt koos tõlkega vene keelde. Laiendades Pierre Bourdieu sümboolse kapitali mõistet üksikisikult riigile, võib öelda, et riigil on võimalik „lõigata sümboolset kasu [---], eristades ennast nendest, keda on vähem õnnistatud selle lingvistilise

kapitaliga".[1] Eesti keele kasutamine oli otseselt seotud riigi prestiižiga ning osutas riigi sümboolse kapitali kasvule. Eesti keele kasutamine diplomaatias tekitas vajaduse tõlkide järele kogu uuritava perioodi vältel.

Dissertatsioonis seostatakse eesti diplomaatilist tõlget riigi sümboolse kapitali loomisega. *Sümboolne kapital* on Bourdieu üks kandvaid mõisteid ning selle kasutamine eesti diplomaatilise tõlke uurimisel võimaldab tõlkide tegevust mitmel moel väärtustada. Diplomaatiline tõlk pole ajalooliste sündmuste keskmes mitte passiivne kommunikatsiooni vahendaja, vaid võtab vastutuse teha ühemõtteliselt arusaadavaks esitatavaid legitimeeritud seisukohti ja tegevusi. Tõlk ja tõlkimine on olnud Eesti diplomaatia lahutamatuks osaks. Diplomaatilistel tõlkidel oli Bourdieu mõistes privileeg panustada sotsiaalsete agentidena oma teoga riigi sümboolsesse kapitali, jäädes ise sealjuures nähtamatuks.

Suuline tõlge Eestis aastatel 1944–1991. Peale teist maailmasõda muutus Eestis mitte ainult riigikord, vaid ka keelekeskkond. Rahvusvahelise suhtluse keelena hakati kasutama vene keelt. Üha suureneva venekeelse elanikkonna saabumisel riiki tekkis vajadus tagada suhtlus kahe kogukonna vahel. Muutused ühiskonnas avaldasid mõju ka suulisele tõlkele: domineeriv nõukogude ideoloogia oli suunatud vene keele kasutusala laiendamisele, kusjuures suuline tõlge eesti keelest vene keelde võimaldas jätkata eesti keele kasutamist ka avalikel ametlikel üritustel.

Varased sõjajärgsed aastad tähendasid Eesti välispoliitilist eraldatust muust maailmast. Vene keelest kujunes suulise tõlke peamine siht- ja lähtekeel Eestis. Huvitudes suulise tõlke kasutamise ulatusest, intervjueeris autor 69 tõlki ja tõlke värvanud ning tõlget kasutanud inimest. Lisaks koostas autor loetelu erinevatest üritustest, kus kasutati sünkroontõlget (valitsuse istungitest ja parteikongressidest aastapäevaaktuste ja loomeliitude koosolekuteni). Kõik intervjueeritavad möönsid, et sattusid tõlkima juhuslikult. Autor üldistab ega detailiseeri tõlkide individuaalseid kogemusi.

Otsingud arhiivimaterjalides tõid kaasa mitu erakordset avastust: ajaleheartiklid, mis kinnitasid sünkroontõlget eesti keelest vene keelde 1940. aastal Moskvas NSVLi ülemnõukogu istungil, kui Eesti võeti Nõukogude Liitu; 1945. aastast pärit filmilõigud, mis kinnitasid sünkroontõlke varast kasutamist Eesti NSV ülemnõukogus (nn nõukogudeaegses parlamendis); ainsad teadaolevad fotod sünkroontõlkidest töökeskkonnas ja haruldastest tõlkeseadmetest 1978. aastast. Fotodel olevad kõrvaklapid, nn seebikarbid, olid valmistanud Tartu Ülikooli insenerid ülikooli töökojas.

Eesti keelest vene keelde tehtav sünkroontõlge võimaldas kasutada eesti keelt avalikel üritustel ajal, mil vene keelt suruti peale rahvastevahelise suhtluse keelena. Autor käsitleb suulist tõlget kui eesti keele kasutamisele kaasa aitavat tegurit oludes, kus domineeris võõrkeel. Suuline tõlge kuulus ülemnõukogu

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[1] John B. Thompson, editor's introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power*, by Pierre Bourdieu ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity, 1997), 21.

tegevuse juurde, aidates nähtamatult laiendada piire eesti keele kasutamiseks nõukogude võimu kontrolli all olevas avalikus ruumis. Vene keelest eesti keelde tõlkides esindasid tõlgid valitsevat keelt, seevastu eesti keelest vene keelde tõlkides allutatud keelt.

Käsitledes suulist tõlget Nõukogude Eestis, toob autor välja veel ühe institutsionaalse tõlke vähe tuntud liigi: teatrietenduste sünkroontõlke, mida viljeldi Eestis rohkem kui pool sajandit. Kuna teatrietenduste sünkroontõlge pole uurijates suuremat huvi äratanud mitte ainult Eestis, vaid ka mujal maailmas, ootab see alles põhjalikumat käsitlust. Autori andmetel on etendusi enam-vähem regulaarselt tõlgitud kolmes Eesti teatris. Faktid kinnitavad suulise teatritõlke kasutuselevõttu nii Tartus kui ka Tallinnas 1952. aastal. Peale draamaetenduste tõlgiti algul ka oopereid ja operette ning üks kord isegi balletti. Intervjuud kolme pikaajalise teatritõlgiga võimaldasid süveneda selle tõlkeliigi olemusse.

Autor nendib, et teatritõlge ei ole valmis teksti ette- ega pealelugemine, vaid lõplik tõlge sünnib reaalajas, etenduse jooksul, teatritõlk paneb kuulaja unustama kõrvaklapid ja keelebarjääri.

Autorile teadaolevalt siiani diplomaatilist tõlget riigi sümboolse kapitaliga seostatud ei ole. Dissertatsioonis käsitletakse diplomaatilist tõlget ja tõlkimist kui mõjufaktoreid riigi sümboolse kapitali akumuleerimisel. Tõlgi põhjalik ettevalmistustöö oskussõnavara kogumisel ja sõnastike koostamisel teevad tõlgi hääle kuuldavaks, kuid tõlk ise jääb nähtamatuks.

Eestis tehtava suulise tõlke arengu uurimise kõrval on autori üks eesmärke jäädvustada kirjalikult kiirelt kaduv suulise tõlke pärand.

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Selected publication

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1992–1999	Eesti Vabariigi Peaministri Kantselei, peaministri tõlk
1992–1995	VII Riigikogu esimehe tõlk
1991–2007	Estonian Holidays, konverentsitõlk
1991–2004	IMF, Maailmapank, Eesti Pank, tõlk, tõlkija
1990–1992	Eesti Vabariigi Ülemnõukogu juhataja tõlk
1977–1991	Intourist, giid-tõlk

Valik publikatsioone:

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