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IRINA SISEYKINA

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When, in September 2020, I started working on my Ph.D. thesis dedicated to Estonian-Russian literary translations, cultural connections between Estonia and Russia were stable and well-established, and all the events that followed seemed unimaginable and unrealistic. The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 marked the end of cultural exchange between Russia and the EU countries and caused an unprecedented political tension globally. Later, as a reaction to the Russian aggression, an attempt to identify the inner causes of Russia's cruel and devastating actions followed, and not only Russia's state policies, but also its entire culture were re-assessed and re-evaluated, which eventually had an enormous impact on the general attitude toward the Russian language and culture.

My heart has always been with my dear Ukrainian friends and with all those who are oppressed, offended, and humiliated. For many reasons, this war is my personal tragedy.

Mercifully, my personal connections with friends and colleagues from all over the world have never ended, and I am grateful for the support from my classmates, lecturers, and supervisors at the University of Tartu. To us, nationality or citizenship has never been an obstacle to intercultural communication, whereas hostile ideologies, values, and actions have. I am convinced that dialogue is the only effective method of such communication, as this research summarizes the hard work of advocates and promoters of Estonian cultural capital among Russian-speaking audiences worldwide, which has been, in many ways, supported and facilitated in Estonia. So little I knew about Estonia, its history, traditions, culture, national traumas, and collective memories when I moved to Tartu from Moscow in 2018, but now, thanks to Estonian-Russian translations, I know, which helps me understand and embrace the new culture. This is how intercultural communication works. I hereby express my endless admiration and gratitude to all the participants in this research, who, despite the unpredictability and cruelty of our time, have been building bridges, not walls.

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INTRODUCTION

This study is two-fold, encompassing sociological and imagological approaches in its investigation of images of Estonia(nness) in Estonian-Russian literary translation flows since 1991. The aim of the thesis is to explore and analyze the nature and composition of the flow and its main driving forces; the most represented genres, authors, publishers, and other actors; and their interrelations, using sociological research methods adopted in translation studies. The imagological research focuses on national complex or simplified images, repeated narratives, and stereotypes transferred within the flow. The study requires collecting and processing data on literary publications for the period 1991–2023, tracing their dynamics, and identifying the main game-changers.

The study includes five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the theoretical frameworks relevant to this research, including the premises of the sociology of translation, i.e., the ideas of Bourdieu, Latour, and Luhmann embedded in translation studies, as well as the basic ideas of translation policy, translation flow, and translation network; imagology embedded in translation studies; a brief outline of Estonian culture, cultural exchange and power relationships with Russia; and the overview of images of Estonia(nness) in Russian literature, as described in previous studies. The research questions of the study are introduced in subchapter 1.5, following the theoretical premises of the research and previous imagological studies.

Chapter 2 encompasses the methodology and the data of the research. The research methodology combines several different approaches. First, corpus analysis is used to process the data presented in the same chapter. Second, quantitative data analysis is used to identify the most significant actors in the translation flow and to select titles for the imagological analysis, drawn from the two corpora. Based on the results, the most active actors to be interviewed are determined. Interviews with the most prominent publishers, authors, and translators of the Estonian-Russian translation flow are conducted in both verbal and written formats and are structured using ethnological and ANT approaches. The primary data for the subsequent analysis are presented in Chapter 2. The secondary corpora for imagological analysis, presented in Chapter 5, are based on the primary corpora from Chapter 2 and comprise imagologically relevant titles selected from the primary corpora of Estonian-Russian translations.

Chapter 3 presents the analysis of the data. Two corpora (Estonian-Russian translations *per se* and Russian-language literature produced in Estonia) are developed using four different databases that encompass the most comprehensive selection of Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023. Based on the retrieved data, detailed differentiation is provided by publisher location, publishing activities, authors, translators, and genres.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of the translation flow, based on interviews with the most active actors in the translation network, as revealed during the data processing, including publishers, authors, and translators. Chapter

4 reveals the scope and nature of Estonian-Russian cultural exchange, the political and social context of this exchange, its primary driving mechanisms, and the interrelationships among the actors in the network. The data obtained during the interviews are interpreted based on the approaches of the sociology of translation, including the identification of the place of the Estonian language in the hierarchical structure of the world's languages, policies adopted at the macro, meso, and micro levels to promote Estonian cultural capital worldwide, the role of individual actors in building the process of cultural exchange; as well as the dynamics of cultural exchange since 1991.

Chapter 5 focuses on the peritexts of imagologically relevant translated and original Russian titles, providing a textual comparison on imagological grounds. Imagologically relevant passages from peritexts are analysed contextually and intertextually in order to identify the most common national stereotypes as auto-images (Self-images) in the Estonian-Russian translation flow; these images are compared with the images in original Estonian peritexts (if available), as well as with images of Estonia and Estonianness as depicted in Russian titles.

In the conclusions, the main characteristics of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023, including the most popular authors, genres, and translators, are provided; the translation flow is analysed as a form of cultural capital exchange, as a functioning network, and as a social system, with specific focus on the intercommunication between its actors. Translation policies adopted at the national level, as well as individual translation policies of publishers and translators, are explored. Suggestions for future research may include studies of the reception of translated goods and further comparative analysis of various translation flows.

The complex and/or simplified images of Estonia(nness), including qualities, characters, reputations, narratives, are described, including the analysis of the contexts and discourses where they emerge and are disseminated, as well as the functions of such images in the translation flow.

The images of Estonianness disseminated through literary translations from 1991 to 2023 are compared with stereotypical images in Russian literature, including works produced in Estonia, thereby revealing their correspondence and/or discrepancies.

Appendices to this monograph, which include corpora with primary and secondary data and bibliographies of participants, constitute an integral part of the study and are available online at: https://hdl.handle.net/10062/122624. For readers' convenience, a name index is available as an appendix. AI technologies were used for some Estonian-English and Russian-English translations in the appendices to Chapter 5.

As the thesis includes quantitative and qualitative analyses as well as fieldwork and interviews with selected publishers, authors, and translators, my positionality should be revealed here. From the perspective of a researcher, I observe the entire process of producing Estonian-Russian translations and Russian literature in Estonia, using frameworks and approaches adopted in translation studies. At the same time, as a Russian-language author and translator, I have many

common interests with the research participants in language, culture, literature, and translation. My background and origins, however, were not linked with Estonia, and I only obtained my basic knowledge of Estonian history and culture in 2010, after which, a more thorough investigation followed in 2018, when I moved to Estonia from Moscow, Russia, which makes me an external observer of events taking place in Estonia rather than a full-fledged participant.

CHAPTER 1. WHERE A SOCIOLOGY OF TRANSLATION MEETS IMAGOLOGY

1.1 Moving towards a sociology of translation

The shifts in approaches to translation over the past few decades have significantly enhanced the field of research. The concept of translation was rethought and redefined by a number of researchers throughout the history of the discipline and eventually "branched out into a heterogeneous interdiscipline" (Chesterman 2019, 9). Constantly expanding, translation studies concentrate on text and discourse, cultural and historical contexts, translator's training and network, translator's role as an intermediate and a creator in the process of intercommunication, social structures that shape the field of translation, principles of interaction within it, and many interdisciplinary aspects. Today, translation is, inter alia, associated with global cultural processes, as it is considered "a factor of exchange between languages, cultures or semiotic domains" (Tyulenev 2013, 160).

Translation as an object of scientific research underwent several shifts in the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century, and the role of social factors affecting translation became increasingly apparent. The discipline received its name – translation studies – as a result of a long discussion that problematized its goals and objects. As Holmes (1972/1988, 70) argued, "the designation 'translation studies' would seem to be the most appropriate of all those available in English". In the modern world, where English is "the only real international publishing language" (van Doorslaer 2020, 145), the term has been used to refer to both translation proper and as an umbrella term encompassing various activities related to text-modifying practices within translation. This "umbrella" encompasses, among others, not only activities such as interpreting, adaptation, and localization, but also the study of the social contexts surrounding these activities. Therefore, social aspects that have played a significant role since the establishment of the discipline of translation studies can, to a certain extent, be best explored through sociologically oriented approaches.

Various aspects of translation as a social activity have been studied by translation studies scholars at all stages of the development and expansion of the discipline and its most essential paradigmatic shifts, or the turns (Snell-Hornby 1990; 2006), as the discipline has been evolving in the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of the 21st century. The concept of the "turn" is understood as a marked "bend in the road" involving a distinct change in direction, that is, "dynamic and can only be assessed as such in retrospect, whereby a change of direction is perceived of the subject concerned" (Snell-Hornby 2010, 366). First, the pragmatic turn in linguistics paved the way for the emergence of a separate discipline of translation studies, as translation had previously been a part of both linguistics and literature. This was, among others, caused by the post-war rapid development of machine translation. At the time, the idea of developing "fully automatic high-quality translation" (FAHQT) (Bar-Hillel 1964, 174)

received wide consideration among scholars; however, Bar-Hillel argued that the model lacked human knowledge (1960, cited in Snell-Hornby 2006, 35), hence translation could not be merely a mechanical activity. In turn, it has initiated a continuing discussion about the applicable language norms, not only in terms of speech and language (as defined by de Saussure), but also in relation to text and discourse, as well as rules and systems, which has led to speculations on the definition of cultural and social norms within translation.

Toury saw translating as *a learned social activity* that must "play a social role, i.e., fulfil a function allotted by a community", defining a norm as observation of what is proper and avoidance of what is improper for a given community (Toury 1995, 54), whereas Snell-Hornby gave her definition to the norm as "the concrete, socially accepted realization of the system: the one is a code, the other is behavior, part of a culture with all its social constraints" (2006, 37).

Holmes, having proposed his classical map of translation studies (1972/1988), divided the field in two main branches: pure and applied translation studies, the latter embracing subdisciplines of translator training, translation aids, translation policy, and translation criticism; at the same time, Holmes mentioned not only the translation process, but also the figure of a translator, which initiated a discussion of influence of an individual translator onto the ultimate result of translation. Thus, the initial steps towards the development of a "translation sociology" were taken: the general trends of the 1970s embraced studies of the functional approach to language with its social and communicative aspects, which set the course of further research in the 1980s and 1990s. Whereas the pragmatic turn of the 1970s led to the establishment of translation studies as a separate discipline (Snell-Hornby 2006, 47), the cultural turn and the respective shift of focus towards the target culture as the entirety of aspects of ideology, norms, sociology, and values in the recipient country marked the discussion within the discipline in the 1980s, when the concept of polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990) was introduced for literature in a society. Vermeer (1983) made a significant contribution to expanding the cultural approach to translation, arguing that language is a part of culture, and, consequently, the translator must be both bilingual and bicultural. The text is not separated from the extra-linguistic situations either, but rather it depends on the reader and their attitude and reception. The idea of skopos (Greek for *purpose*) thus rejects the standard definition of translation as an "equivalent" to a source text, suggesting a focus on the text function and skopos within the target culture. Toury was one of the first scholars to argue that traditional approaches to translation primarily focused on the source text or the source language (Toury 1980). According to one of his hypotheses, "translations are facts of one system only: the target system" (Toury 1985, 19). The function of translation in the target culture became the central focus, paving the way for a new paradigm and shifting the research focus to the target text and culture. Cultural turn became a central concept in the volume "Translation, History and Culture", edited by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990). The phenomenon of intercultural transfer has been studied by Lotman (1990), who developed the concept of the semiosphere, analogous to the biosphere, as a space where

languages exist and function, and where transfer, predominantly cultural, takes place. A more comprehensive concept of translation as a complex process of transfer of meanings between various systems of culture, and as an interaction between an original text, a translator, a reader, and a cultural context, was suggested by Torop (1995).

The expansion of the discipline in the 1990s was characterized by research that focused on practical aspects, combining further theoretical development with multiple case studies. As globalization led to a dramatic growth in information technologies, the scope and methods of communication marked the globalization turn in translation studies (Snell-Hornby 2006, 129). With globalization, the translator network has expanded, and professional communication has significantly intensified. The radical changes of the 1990s also modified the language material. Texts in different languages have become more accessible due to advances in machine translation, increased processing speeds, and improved quality. New text types have become multisemiotic, and today they might resemble synthetic fragments of information, incorporating elements such as photos, links, infographics, and more. The role of a human as an intermediary in cultural communication has become crucial, as well as their responsibility to process and deliver content from a source culture to a target culture.

Since the 1990s, the discipline of translation studies has increasingly employed sociologically inspired approaches. A sociology of translation could "become a new branch of sociology of culture" (Heilbron 1999, 437) within the scope of studies of the cultural world-system. Translation studies, with a focus on sociological aspects, could draw on culture and international exchange, on the one hand, and on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1990), on the other. In turn, polysystem theorists have demonstrated a growing concern with the demands and expectations of the target culture, which has required further and deeper analysis of the international translation system and has boosted the development of new ideas in the sociology of translation.

In 2002, two issues on translation were published by *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, the journal founded by Bourdieu (Heilbron and Sapiro 2002). By 2005, Wolf had already declared the sociological turn in translation studies (2005), and although this declaration did not strictly comply with the definition of a "turn" given by Snell-Hornby (2006) and the announcement of a new turn by Wolf seemed to be very early with the naming, later, from the retrospective point of view, this paradigmatic change could be indeed seen as a turn as it met much stricter criteria. In May 2005, at the University of Graz, Austria, a conference on "Translation and Interpreting as a Social Practice" was organized, which accelerated the development of this approach. In 2007, the volume "*Constructing a Sociology of Translation"* (Wolf and Fukari 2007) was issued. Eventually, in the 21st century, a sociology of translation emerged as a separate branch to theorize and systematize the field of translation, identify its main actors, and outline the nature and scope of communication within it. Since the beginning of the millennium, scholars have studied translation as a social practice. With the emergence of new surveys on translation history, many other social aspects of

translation have become a focus of investigation, i.e., historiography of translation (Pym 1998), bibliography of literary translators (Kaindl, Kolb, and Schlager 2021), aspects of ethics in translation (Koskinen and Pokorn (Eds.) 2020), translation policies and language planning (Johnson and Ricento 2013), and cultural diplomacy (Carbó-Catalan and Roig-Sanz 2022). Sociological perspectives led to the elaboration of new analytical concepts for translation practice and theory, e.g., a sociology of translation focuses on translators' responsibility, translators' status in each society, institutionalization and recognition, and either the role of a "powerless" transcoder or a full-fledged creator and intercultural communicator (Snell-Hornby 2006, 172; Katan 2016). The research in this area includes the function of translation in the global distribution and reception of cultural goods, the influence of market forces on translation practices, the role of translation and interpreting in "articulating socio-political and symbolic claims of the nation state; translation and globalization; translation and activism; and translators' agency" (Inghilleri 2009, 279). The contemporary subfield of *sociology of the translating process* has concentrated on all stages of a translation event, including "translation practices and working procedures, quality control procedures and the revision process, cooperation in team translation, multiple drafting, relations with other agents, including the client, and the like", beholding translation norms as a central concept (Chesterman 2017, 17). In his observations, Tyulenev (2014) argues that the process of translation can be considered from both sociological and psychological perspectives, depending on the aims of the researcher. Thus, today, the activity of translation can be considered and analyzed as a complex, multilevel sociological phenomenon.

The latest trends and ongoing changes in translation studies cannot be registered as turns in the sense of Snell-Hornby, although scholars have already described specific shifts. Having investigated the nuances of translation practice, Katan (2016) has suggested the transcreational turn, considering translation as a form of intercultural mediation where the professional role of translator and/or interpreter is assigned with an attribute of "creator", whose decision and responsibility is to incorporate text into a new context and build the "relationships between texts, contexts and their readers" (ibid., 368). Translators and interpreters are, hence, no longer considered neutral. Among other paradigmatic shifts, the activist turn (Wolf 2012) primarily associated with political factors shaping the translator's habitus and social implications of translation, the performative turn (Wolf 2017) where the translator becomes a co-subject in the translation performance, and the technological turn (Jiménez-Crespo 2021) caused not by the theory but by introduction of new translation practices were declared as well as some other turns (i.e., translator's turn, scientific turn, ideological turn, contextual turn, hermeneutic turn, etc.); however, these changes cannot be appropriately embedded into translation studies as paradigmatic shifts given in the respective historical order. The further expansion of the discipline of translation studies, nonetheless, will likely involve investigating more social aspects.

1.1.1 Theoretical premises for a sociology of translation

Three theories adopted in translation studies are used in the current research: the Bourdieusian theory of action, Latour's Actor-Network Theory, and Luhmann's Social System Theory (see below). The application of these theories separately is associated with certain restrictions: i.e., the Bourdieusian theory was criticized for its rigidity (Kung 2009), the Actor-Network Theory and its idea of human versus non-human agency was later reconsidered (Latour 2014), whereas the Social System Theory was found too abstract and not including individual actors (Boyden 2014; Šubrt 2019). In combination, however, they can constitute a useful tool for obtaining comprehensive information on a translation flow synchronically and diachronically, tracing its dynamics and main game-changers, identifying applied translation policies, the composition of translation networks, the functions of the actors, and grounds for the self-maintenance of the system.

The Bourdieusian theory. In a sociology of translation, the Bourdieusian theory of action can be defined as a theory of translation practice (Gouanvic 2010). This theory, which shapes the relationships between agency and structure, i.e., social laws (Lakomski 1984), has proven useful for understanding the social context of translations and tracing the actions of the agents involved (Awung 2021). Apart from the concepts of agency and structure, Bourdieu's concepts include the concepts of *field, capital, habitus,* and *illusio*, interpreted as follows:

A field is a structured space of social activities where relevant actors struggle to accumulate or exercise their power resources (capitals). Certain kinds of capital or capitals might be organized in a field. Inter alia, Bourdieu designates the literary field as a force-field and a field of struggles between actors aiming to acquire and impose symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1991); this notion is also applicable to the translation field. Hence, fields are the sites where individual and institutional forces produce, distribute, and acquire different forms of capital.

Capital is earned or acquired by individuals and can be subdivided into the following types: economic capital (funds, property, real estate, and other types of material assets); social capital (for example, social connections of an individual); cultural capital (education and skills); and symbolic capital (status, reputation, or extent of influence). Symbolic (literary) goods, whether original or imported, are constantly incorporated into the literary fields of a target culture, thereby creating unique social structures.

Habitus, in Bourdieu's terms (1983), is a disposition caused by influence of family and education, ingrained habits and skills acquired during a life experience, the patterns that people learn of and tend to reproduce throughout a significant period (Inghilleri 2003); hence, for a sociology of translation, "the notion of norms and conformity" might be associated with the idea of habitus as well (Sela-Sheffy 2005, 5).

Illusio could be explained as "the cultural limits of awareness" (Munday 2016, 237), referring to human beliefs and tacit knowledge of what is appropriate in a given situation and what is not.

Overall, the field of power is considered the most dominant pole, comprising other smaller fields, including a subfield of cultural production, which encompasses the literary production field; each of these smaller fields operates according to its own logic and elaborates its own unique strategy. The relation of a particular field to the field of power defines its position on the axis between economic and cultural capitals (Hekkanen 2009). Based on the concepts mentioned above, translation can be considered one of the smaller fields within the field of literary production, with its actors including authors, publishers, editors, translators, reviewers, and readers, and power relationships involving intercommunication among these actors at all levels. Within the field, its specific niches are occupied by literary subfields corresponding to genres, such as realist fiction, poetry, romantic novels, detective fiction, and science fiction, among others. The characteristics of translation involve the actions of all possible actors involved.

Literary works, having landed in a target culture, are refracted (if not distorted), and the phenomenon of refraction "acts as a prism, eliminating any future interpretations of the work according to reflection theories" (Gouanvic 2010, 123). When symbolic goods are translated and imported into a target culture, they are closely associated with the dominance and legitimacy of the source culture, for example, the global dominance of American culture. This implies that not only the artistic properties of symbolic or cultural goods, or the mastery of an author, play a role in successful promotion, but also the power attributable to the entire source culture/language.

The notion of *habitus* can be applied to a translator's style and choices, as they draw on not only their professional experience but also their taste and personal predispositions. Habitus is associated with the acquisition of a method and style that are appropriate for translating a given literary work, as well as with the individual selection of titles to translate and the methods of translation. As actors themselves, translators compete and adapt their actions according to the requirements and expectations of the translation community, publishers, and readers. In his seminal paper, Simeoni distinguishes between two kinds of translators' habitus: social and specialized professional habitus, which are restricted to a specific field (Simeoni 1998, 18–19; Eris 2019). For him, becoming a translator means "refining a social habitus into a special habitus" (ibid., 19). Awung argues that habitus had a significant impact on the positions of the actors in the literary field as well as on their actions (2021). For translation studies, "habitus constitutes a theoretical tool with which to address both the manner in which translators as actors perceive and appropriate reality while interpreting their source texts, and how they generate classifiable practices as they write their target texts in the form of their translation choices" (Giannakopoulou 2014, 168). According to their habitus, translators may attribute different meanings to various phenomena, using language that is not shared by all classes, depending on their social-class identity (Bourdieu 1984). What is also socially conditioned is the taste of a translator, which is attributed to habitus as well. Translator's style, thus, relies upon their aesthetic choice and learned knowledge of what is suitable and appropriate, which, in turn, is motivated by habitus.

For a sociology of translation, the Bourdieusian theory was adopted, among others, by Heilbron (1999), Inghilleri (2005), Pym and Chrupala (2005), Heilbron and Sapiro (2007), Buzelin (2011), Bielsa (2013), Xu and Chu (2015, 2019), Sapiro (2012, 2016), Erguvan (2018), Awung (2021), and Xu and Duan (2024).

The approaches as suggested by Bruno Latour. While Bourdieusian approaches have been criticized for the tendency to reduce the significance of agency of translator (Buzelin 2005) as well as the inability to investigate the complex set of actors in it, using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) was offered to fill that gap in translation studies, especially when it is required to trace functioning of a dynamic network that connects different actors who also may involve new actors into the network that conditions production of an artifact (Latour 1987). The material-semiotic approach, as suggested by Latour, implies that relationships in society are both material and semiotic, referring to the relationship between material objects and ideas. Humans, as well as non-humans (e.g., ideas and objects), participate in the process of creating social situations. In Latour's vision, non-human entities (objects) are actors within ANT, as significant as humans, which explains why ANT is perceived as a material-semiotic approach. In this sense, objects or organisms may be as efficient as humans, and their effects and changes produced can be traced. The effects of the coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 in 2020 might serve as an illustrative example of a non-human causing significant changes at the global level. At the same time, objects also cause effects – for instance, "metrology, subways, telephones" (Latour 2005, 106), to which can be added the Internet, satellites, and technical equipment, especially during moments of sudden malfunction, etc. ANT is not a classic theory either, but rather a set of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities, and methods used for description, not for explanation, because, in Latour's opinion, good description requires no explanation. "There is no in-formation, only trans-formation" (ibid., 149).

The application of ANT relies on the demand for a social theory that provides a method for studying sociological aspects in science and technology. The other two contributors to the development of ANT were Michael Callon and John Law. Law has criticized the approaches adopted by the "sociology of the social" that tend to neglect the material practices that build the social (2009), whereas Latour has suggested a method of "the tracing of associations" (2005, 5) which is not human-centred and could be an umbrella term for a research covering, inter alia, "the really natural and object-centred repertoires" (Callon and Latour 1992, 347). Latour states, however, that ANT does not apply to anything and gives the idea of "about how to study things, or rather how not to study them — rather, how to let the actors have some room to express themselves" (Latour 2005, 142). Providing an example of a conversation between a PhD student and a professor at the London School of Economics, Latour justified the avoidance of attempts to decompose a phenomenon into "neat little pots" but instead suggested observing the phenomenon as a whole and following the links within it, i.e., tracing the associations. ANT offered by Latour aimed at finding and overcoming dualisms in the traditional sociology, i.e., social/natural, subject/object, individual/

group, agency/structure, micro/macro, local/global, and making the social grounds visible via a rather descriptive approach referred to as "tracing of associations" (Latour 2005, 5); Latour argued that tracing as an approach made possible "to find order much better after having let the actors deploy the full range of controversies in which they are immersed" (Latour 2005, 23).

The term ANT itself has become a matter of ongoing discussion, as Callon (1999), Law (2004), and Latour (1999) claim that, despite its name, it is rather a practical approach. Such an approach can be instrumental when the research is conducted in rapidly changing conditions, and, undoubtedly, the field of translation in the 21st century is one such rapidly evolving phenomenon. New topics, emerging and developing disciplines, or transformation processes are areas where ANT can and should be applied. Paying specific attention to the dynamic nature of the research subject, its flexibility, and instability, Latour stipulates that it should be called a "worknet" instead of a "network". "It's the work, and the movement, and the flow, and the changes that should be stressed" (Latour 2005, 143). Whereas both Latour and Bourdieu rely heavily on ethnomethodology, Latour uses it to describe in detail how activities, habits, and procedures sustain themselves, arguing that human and non-human actors in a network communicate with each other and thus create the network. According to Latour, social theory must be able "to recognize the actor-networks and examine the associations being made or extended by actors themselves" (Inghilleri 2009, 280). Therefore, a descriptive approach to research in a fast-changing, dynamic field is beneficial for process-oriented studies in translation, particularly when focusing on the social activities of various actors. It is specifically crucial that, by applying ANT to translation, it is possible to describe and document translation practices and activities via ethnographic research methodology (van Rooyen 2019), suggested by Latour, thus exploring the entire field and tracing its internal regularities and, what's more essential, the effects of changes created by actors. "ANT proponents argue that, when investigating the social, it is no longer viable to exclude *things*" (ibid., 78).

Buzelin paid attention to adopting ANT for the research in translation studies by applying it to literary translation at publishing houses. Whereas translation has been studied "in the making", i.e., was process-oriented, Buzelin argues that ANT is not limited to the descriptions but provides "solid bases for training interpretative hypotheses relating to the nature of the translation process" (Buzelin 2005, 215). Whereas the Bourdieusian model enables the analysis of individual translators' practices through the application of the concept of habitus in translation studies, ANT has recently gained recognition among scholars as an appropriate model for analyzing the structural contexts of translation (Hekkanen 2009); hence, the combination of both approaches provides the most comprehensive results. ANT proved especially useful for tracing the translator-publisher dynamics when investigating the complex structure of communication between the translating actor and other mediators, including hidden actors, offering a more process-oriented approach (Bogic 2010). Non-human actors covered by the ANT framework were investigated by translation studies scholars, which assisted in

the identification of purposes and the specificity of elaborated strategies to the translation of "Monkey", a Chinese classic Xi You Ji, into English, considering the Second World War and the influenza epidemic in the 1940s as full-fledged actors (Luo and Zheng 2017).

Despite its unquestionable usefulness as a method, ANT has been criticized by a number of scholars as one of the most contentious (Law 2007; Mifsud 2014), including the latest critique by Latour who specifically outlined its position far from being equal to the agency-structure and accentuated the complexity and locality of ANT (Latour 1999) with "the enactment of multiple, simultaneous ontologies" (Mifsud 2020, 135).

The ANT approach can be used to establish a framework supplementary to the Bourdieusian approach when research concerns a multilevel structure with many actors of different social power (Kung 2009). Thus, an agency-structure contradiction is not supposed to be overcome but rather traced or bypassed. For a sociology of translation, ANT was partially adopted, among others, by Buzelin (2005), Chesterman (2006, 2013), Kung (2009), Hekkanen (2009), Bogic (2010), Wolf (2007, 2011), Tyulenev (2014), van Rooyen (2018, 2019), Zhang (2019), and Luo (2020).

The Social Systems Theory. Niklas Luhmann (1995) offers a different concept of society, while embracing the ideas of complexity, rapid change, and unstable grounds presented by Latour. According to Luhmann, functional differentiation is the principle that structures society. Multiple functional systems, comparable to Bourdieu's fields (such as art, literature, media, or translation), form the world, whereas the environments inhabited by humans and non-humans surround these systems. A closed social system comprises communication events, whereas human actors are positioned at the intersections of three systems: biological, psychic, and social (Milani 2022). According to the Social Systems Theory (SST), social systems are relatively unaffected by human actors. In Luhmann's theory, human beings are not part of a social system, which separates the researcher from the premises of European anthropocentrism. Functional systems reproduce themselves *autopoietically*, i.e., they are "self-referential and self-organized" (Inghilleri 2009), and the way systems and environments interact (though the systems remain closed and intact) causes perturbations, or irritations, that might change the behavior of a system. Luhmann suggests that the behavior of social systems can be compared to the functioning of the human mind or intentional subjects, in the form of extracting meaningful information from the world. Social systems that autopoietically reproduce themselves consist of communication events. Systems recreate themselves through communication, as the mind reproduces itself through thoughts. At the same time, according to Luhmann, minds and communications are separated (Albert 2016).

Social reproduction here is the reproduction of meanings, not organisms. The meaning here is a horizon of possibilities, and social communication selects one option and rejects the others (Tyulenev 2012, 5). Having taken these premises as a basis of further research, Tyulenev applied the social-systemic approach to the investigation of translational phenomena. Descriptive translation studies began

with the implementation of the idea of a polysystem (Toury 1980; Even-Zohar 1990), and Luhmann's theory enables further and more thorough elaboration of this idea, as it includes the systems theory, theory of social evolution, and theory of social differentiation, with the specific overview of political power and political system as a part of a theory of society. Translation can also be analyzed from a systems perspective to understand its internal organization and the evolution of translation, as suggested by Hermans (1999, 2006). Moreover, Luhmann's social systems theory, as proposed by Tyulenev (2011), can be applied extensively to the study of the social role of translation across various aspects. Having defined translation as "a semiotically broadly conceived text oriented towards another text" (2012, 12), Tyulenev considers it a social system itself. Therefore, the entire human society can be viewed as a communication system comprising many smaller subsystems, such as politics, economics, and media (Milani 2022).

According to Luhmann, humans' role is to observe, and since it is not possible to do so from the outside, as an external observer does not exist, any observation is a representation, one among many. Hence, there cannot be just one representation of society. "Luhmann represents the world as a multitude of equally unequal systems" (Tyulenev 2012, 3); however, the reality is not the object of his criticism, as, in contrast to Bourdieu's position, Luhmann considers his mission as only to observe and describe the reality. Applying Luhmann's theory to translation studies, Tyulenev has focused on several aspects of observation. It is necessary to distinguish between three types of observation:

> "(1) translation observes the difference between the system, for which it translates, and the system's environment;
> (2) translation observes its own operations;
> (3) translation observes its own observations" (Tyulenev 2012, 78).

> Within the attempts to observe the translation, one must:
> "(1) explain its history, evolution, and origin;
> (2) describe its operation (the laws or, one may say, nature of its operation);
> (3) make informed predictions about its likely developments;
> (4) equip its practitioners with a comprehensive view of what they do and provide them with a possibility to adapt to changes in working conditions and requirements" (ibid.).

Introducing some adjustments to the definitions of translation given by Hermans (1997, 1999), Tyulenev positions translation as one of the subsystems on the boundary of the system and considers it a boundary phenomenon that separates and/or connects the system and the environment; the function of this social subsystem is "mediation on the intersystemic level" (2010, 172). Translation participates in the system's communication, and its social roles are defined by the type of conditioning of the communication. For a sociology of translation, the Social System Theory was also partially adopted by Hermans (1997, 1999, 2006, 2007), Tyulenev (2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2024), Ni (2017), Jiao, Chen, and Zhang (2018); Milani (2022), Tyulenev and Luo (2023), and Wang (2024).

Overall, the combination of all the above-mentioned concepts as proposed by Bourdieu, Latour, and Luhmann applies to the research focused on Estonian-Russian translations and will enable dealing with different aspects of such translations, i.e., the Bourdiesian idea of a field is applied to the specific field of translation, with all participating forces struggling for the resources. In the context of the Estonian-Russian translation case studies, such an approach helps determine the roles of individuals possessing agency, the power relationships shaping the distribution of resources and tools for promoting cultural goods of Estonia, and the main mechanisms behind such promotion, as well as the forms of capital to be acquired.

The ANT, proposed by Latour and applied as a research method, can be useful at the micro-level for investigating the communication links between human and non-human actors involved. Within this part of research, the social and political conditions of such translations are analyzed; the results of interviews with publishers, authors, translators, and editors, as well as tracing the processes of transportation and distribution of the cultural goods of Estonia are processed to obtain a comprehensive descriptive picture of the entire phenomenon of the Estonian-Russian translations, its main actors and the nature and dynamics of their interaction, detect the laws and/or regularities within the Estonian-Russian translations and make justified predictions regarding the further development of the translation activities.

Applying Luhmann's theory to translation studies enables tracing the social role of translation in Estonian–Russian communication systems by describing the process of producing the translation product as well as dividing participants by their functions in the systems.

1.1.2 The grounds for developing a subdiscipline of translator studies

The expansion of the field of translation studies led several scholars to shift their attention from translated texts and their functioning in the target culture to the figure of the translator, which has recently gained greater prominence. A new branch or subfield in the discipline, initially introduced by Chesterman (2009), is known as translator studies, the study of the social activities of translators and interpreters. In recent years, the role of translators/interpreters has become a focus of researchers across cognitive science, communication science, psychology, and neuroscience, as well as translation studies, particularly in research on the sociology of translation. In translator studies, people standing behind translations are considered "the primary and explicit focus, the starting point, and the central concept of the research question" (ibid., 14).

Having registered the sociological turn and divided the sociological approaches in three strands: "the sociology of *translations* as products in an international market; the sociology of *translators*; and the sociology of *translating*, i.e. the translating process", Chesterman (2017, 16) argues that the sociology of translators covers a number of issues, including translator's status and visibility

in different cultures, ranking of payment, working conditions, professional requirements and duties, habitus, language and translation policies, and other aspects of their work and conditioning the communication. In his seminal paper (2017), Chesterman also discusses ideologies and cases of activist translations. According to him, the field of translation studies is divided into four branches: textual, cultural, cognitive, and sociological, and the scholar considers the latter three as relevant to *translator* studies.

> "The cultural branch deals with values, ethics, ideologies, traditions, and history, examining the roles and influences of translators and interpreters through history, as agents of cultural evolution. The cognitive branch deals with mental processes, decision-making, the impact of emotions, attitudes to norms, personality, etc. The sociological branch deals with translators'/interpreters' observable behavior as individuals or groups or institutions, their social networks, status and working processes, their relations with other groups and with relevant technology, and so on. All three branches comprise both theoretical and descriptive studies, and also pure and applied studies." (Chesterman 2017, 19).

At the same time, whereas the figure of the translator him/herself becomes a central part of the investigation, translations and translating, as processes or multiple processes, can provide all the necessary information about the translator (Kaindl 2021). The subdiscipline of translator studies covers different ethical issues and norms, including elaboration of various codes of ethics in official and non-official settings, choice of strategies of translation and/or non-translation, and problematizing dilemmas associated with the four generally adopted virtues of translation, i.e., fidelity, loyalty, trustworthiness, and communication in the light of the broadening scope of translator research (Chesterman 2009, 2020). The concept of translator and interpreter's ethics goes far beyond the choice of how to translate and embraces the cases when a translator might decide whether to provide translation services or not to individuals or companies of a particular reputation, as the issues of translation ethics can relate to a vast number of political, social, ideological, cultural, and economic factors. Several researchers have explored these ideas, with a particular focus on literary translators. The outcome of such joint efforts by a group of researchers was the publication of "Literary Translator Studies" (Kaindl, Kolb, and Schlager 2021). After shifting the focus of research, translators, as human beings in all their dimensions, became the objects of further study (ibid). Previously, translation studies as a discipline have been criticized for leaving out the figure of the translator; instead, it has offered theories based on abstract linguistic and communication models. Returning a human factor to research and considering the role of a translator far beyond the functions of a "communicator" or a "code switcher" outlined a framework for further translator studies. Translators are not perceived anymore as "neutral" service providers; they are active decision-makers responsible for "the functional adequacy of the translation" (Kaindl 2021, 6). Humanization of the person of the translator supposes expansion of research methods, i.e., using a variety of sources and including examination of autobiographies, drafts, and letters, archive

research as well as communication with translators, and implies that the figure of the translator becomes visible, unique, acts as agency and can be analyzed subjectively (Eberharter 2021). Consequently, the role and functions of a translator as agency have been broadened as well. Katan (2016) argues that, from merely delivering a source message to the target culture, the translator has been promoted to the position of intercultural mediator. Hence, with the growth of globalization and development of artificial intelligence (AI), everyday translation services, such as facilitation of communication in public institutions, would be undertaken by activists and/or machines, whereas translators will become responsible for intercultural consulting, localization, and *transcreation*, thus assigning to translators the right "to intervene and mediate between contexts to ensure optimum communication" (ibid., 377). All in all, from a researcher's point of view, the figure of the translator can be an object of separate investigation, situated within descriptive translation studies, a sociology of translation, translation policies, translation ethics, translation aids, historiography, and the biography of translators. The sociology of translator studies is particularly essential for my research as it helps to trace the communication patterns specific to Estonian-Russian literary translations and provide a comprehensive description of the social network of Estonian-Russian translators as actors, as well as their habitus, status, working conditions, decision-making process, translation policies, and justified choices on the basis of interviews with such actors.

1.1.3 The concept of a translation policy

The concept of translation policy was initially discussed by Holmes, who outlined it as a variety of aspects of translators' activity, i.e.:

> "the place and role of translators, translating, and translations in society at large: such questions, for instance, as determining what works need to be translated in a given socio-cultural situation, what the social and economic position of the translator is and should be, or [...] what part translating should play in the teaching and learning of foreign languages" (1972/1988, 78).

At the same time, translation policy can serve as an umbrella term for various types of officially adopted and informally, or sometimes unconsciously, applied policies towards translating practices and translators' training. Chesterman (2017) classifies translation policy as a subfield of translator studies, referring to individual policies adopted by translators or incorporated by state or business entities with which these translators collaborate.

From the perspective of political philosophy, law, and economics, three distinct approaches can be applied to the translation policy. The first of these is ecological, meaning that linguistic rights are protected through legislation; the second is constitutive, as language is a primary element in constituting an identity; and the third employs the principle of equal treatment, implying that a state should treat all linguistic groups equally (González Núñez 2016a). The translation policy adopted by a given state, among other things, can serve as a

basis for promoting national cultural capital, facilitating the transfer of cultural goods, or elaborating on the legal procedures required for their distribution. Translation in this context can be considered a tool used by various national cultural policies to transfer cultural goods transnationally, thereby enhancing the overall image of a nation, which is "a form of capital acquisition" (Bielsa 2013). This is where translation studies can focus not only on the processes of text distribution but also on the national and cultural images contained within these texts.

Whereas a language policy, as stipulated by Spolsky (2003), can be analyzed from several viewpoints, i.e., in economic, legal, and political aspects, a translation policy is outlined and determined by the adopted language policy. Three levels of translation policy are based on Spolsky's scheme of language policy (Spolsky 2012, 5): translation management, translation practice (both based on the policy and the local needs), and translation beliefs of a society regarding the value of translation in given conditions. Both language and translation policies are developed and adopted to preserve and promote national identity (González Núñez 2016b). The connection between a language policy and translation policy is evident, though these are far from being the same (Meylaerts 2011). Translation, *per se,* can be used as a tool for implementation of adopted language policy to help (or avoid helping) to connect different ethnic and national groups and "promote (or avoid promoting) certain cultural values of these groups" (Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022, 80). Therefore, the policy of using a language in a multilingual state might be advantageous or disadvantageous for a particular group of nationals, which, in Bourdeusian terms, will lead to equal or unequal distribution of resources, fair or unfair access to them, and restricted or unrestricted communication with state authorities; hence, such policies can be biased. In many cases, translation policies depend on political and economic power relationships, which can be "complex and sometimes paradoxical" (Loogus and van Doorslaer 2021, 4), especially when political and historical contexts are involved.

For developed economies, language and translation policies tend to be designed as tools to ensure equal access to education, healthcare, and administrative resources to all citizens of a state; yet, such practices have not been adopted by all states. At the same time, with the expansion of globalization and the acceleration of migration, the issue of integration is becoming increasingly acute across different economies, as new language policies must be adopted to meet migrants' real needs and facilitate their integration (González Núñez and Meylaerts, 2018).

At the same time, translation policy might be interpreted more broadly, encompassing not only state and official policies but also those adopted by other institutions and agencies, such as the EU, the UN, and medium- and small-scale companies, which implement their own specific rules. As the above shows, the term "translation policy" is both restricted and broad, and it can be applied across many different models (Meylaerts 2011).

Problematizing the exact definition and the primary and secondary functions of translation policy is among the current topics of translation studies; a group of

scholars dedicated a volume to the subject, particularly in a historical perspective (D'hulst, O'Sullivan, and Schreiber 2016). Inter alia, the roles of actors, translation norms and translation strategies or tactics are analyzed in the context of a translation policy, where a term of translation policy approximates to the notion of a translator's style, a norm or framework formed during a special translator's training, or even translator's *habitus* applied when translating the same genre, the same author or book, as it is demonstrated by the example of translations of Hamlet into Greek (Giannakopoulou 2014). Similarly, discussing the definition of the term, Xu and Chu made a significant attempt to conceptualize "the specific habitus of translators, focusing on their social and individual trajectories as a way to understand and interpret the translators' strategies and the translational behavior" (2015, 174); therefore, the translator's social trajectory, as well as their professional background, defines, to a significant extent, the translator's methods and choices. This might lead to the hypothesis that, in some cases, the idea of habitus can be substituted for that of translation policy. There is no clear demarcation line to distinguish them when literary translations are analyzed; however, it might be supposed that a policy is what is applied consciously and on a regular basis, whereas habitus means personal dispositions that might work for a given actor even at the level of unconsciousness.

Both restricted and broad interpretations of translation policy must be considered in the context of Estonian-Russian translations. When the role of different actors is concerned (including publishers, authors, editors, and translators), the translation policy applied to literary texts translated from Estonian into Russian must be considered as well and include the framework of selection of literary titles to be translated, the language and style of a particular translator and their habitus when working with texts (for instance, A. H. Tammsaare, J. Kross, M. Under), as well as the translation policies adopted by a publisher or an editor and policies adopted at the state level in Estonia and Russia. The official policies of censorship adopted in the USSR, along with the hidden resistance approaches and introduction of alternative meanings implemented through translation, which overall evolved into a complex cultural negotiation conditioned by power and translator agency, should also be taken into account when working in the context of Estonian-Russian translations (Monticelli and Lange 2014). This, to a large extent, is interlinked with Torop's concept of "total translation" as a cultural and ideological process (Torop 1995). Such policies, as well as political, cultural, sociological, and economic conditions, may significantly affect the nature and scope of the entire translation flow.

1.1.4 The concept of a translation flow

The sociology of translation, inspired by the ideas of Bourdieu, relies on the theory of symbolic goods, which means that in a given framework, literary titles are considered not just ordinary consumer goods. The specificity of translation is that "the market of symbolic goods is an economy that functions according to its own criteria of valuation" (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007, 94), and its production and

marketability are specific too and function according to a certain logic. Thus, the sociological approach to translation helps to describe the structure of international cultural exchange where translation as an activity can be imagined as a circulation of literature in translation that generates flows; political, economic, sociological and cultural aspects determine the content and scope of this exchange; and the exchange is maintained by intermediaries involved into the process of selection, translation, and introduction of cultural and symbolic goods to a recipient (target audience). Both quantitative and qualitative approaches can be applied to a translation flow to measure the number and scope of translations from one language to another, as well as to determine the most popular authors, genres, or most active publishers; qualitative methods, such as interviews and polls, provide a comprehensive in-depth description of a particular flow.

According to the concept of the international translation system as "a hierarchical structure with central, semi-central and peripheral languages" (Heilbron 1999, 437), the field of cultural international exchange is generally perceived as having a central-peripheral structure. Literary texts less easily cross the boundaries between countries since "these are language-bound" (van Es and Heilbron 2015) and are a form of highly specific cultural goods. Approximately six out of ten books are translated from English into other languages, and there is one hypercentral language since the 1980s – English (Pym 1998). A central position is occupied by German and French, and semi-central positions are taken by Russian, Spanish, Italian, and Swedish. The share of all other languages (including Arabic, Chinese, etc.) is less than 1%, and they are considered peripheral languages (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007, 95). Within this structure, the translation of a literary text from a peripheral language to a hypercentral, central, or semi-central language can be seen as an act of consecration of a literary work "in a highly unequal international field" (Bielsa 2013). Translation from a peripheral language is typically undertaken to raise awareness of this language and its literature, enabling its writers to reach a broader audience. In the global field of translation, this is often achieved through the hypercentral language, namely English (Baker 2014). At the same time, in terms of power relationships, certain regularities define a translation flow: a given title to be translated must receive recognition in the home country (although is not always apply to, for example, censored and prohibited books in totalitarian states); translation from a peripheral language to peripheral and/or semi-central languages might be a process of accumulation of a significant symbolic capital paving the way to the eventual translation into a central or hypercentral language (van Es and Heilbron 2015).

A multi-level approach to translation helps to determine the macro, meso, and micro levels of translation flows. At the macro level, the center–periphery structure of the global translation system and the relationships between selected languages and countries are to be determined. At the meso level, national publishing fields and the strategies adopted by publishers to acquire copyrights for literary works are considered. It is essential to know whether literary writing is attributed to the concept of symbolic or economic capital (Bourdieu 1999, 224), and, consequently, to the small- or large-scale production at the meso level. The

micro level considers the role of actors (publishers, translators, journalists, editors, critics, legislative authorities, non-commercial organizations, special governmental and non-governmental funds) involved in the selection (publishers, editors), translation (translators), and promotion (publishers, literary critics) of books (van Es and Heilbron 2015). Transnational creation, production, and reception outline the entire field of translation flows at the micro level. At the stage of creation, an author collaborates with translators; at the stage of production, copyrights are acquired; and at the stage of reception, the translated book is acknowledged by the target audience (McMartin and Gentile 2020).

In terms of economy, translation is tightly bound and conditioned by globalization, where the translator is agency, whose task is "to bridge the language difference" (Cronin 2010, 134). Three factors are intensifying global translation flows: the information exchange, the rapid development of technologies, especially software, with the consequent need to localize them worldwide, and migration processes (ibid., 136). Agency of translator, therefore, has evolved into many forms, whereas cities, multinational and multilingual states, and border towns become translation zones, "melting pots" with the most significant concentrations of different linguistic communities that manage to preserve their national identity and be in contact with the larger society simultaneously, where linguistic interaction is highly intensive. Such multilingual "clusters" often become centers of dynamic, efficient communication, and contemporary Estonia, with its Russian-speaking minority and border with Russia, can be considered one such zone.

The notion of agent of translation has been thoroughly analyzed by Buzelin (2011). Because an agent is a sociological concept, it might be considered "an entity endowed with agency, which is the ability to exert power in an intentional way" (ibid., 6), i.e., a translation agent is an entity authorized to perform the cultural exchange. The concept of agent is often applied to humans, although there can be (according to the ANT) non-human agents as well, whereas translation is "a human event, both linguistic and social" (Simeoni quoted in Buzelin 2011, 7). Agents (actors) acting at the micro level (see above) are translators/interpreters, editors, and reviewers, but also, they can be politicians, musicians, authors, bloggers, journalists, or any public person willing to promote specific cultural goods by using their symbolic capital and/or a specific status in society. Their active participation in translation processes (including support and promotion of translated texts in the target culture) can stimulate these flows, especially when presenting titles unknown to the target audience.

The view of translation as a social activity taking place only within the social systems is a fruitful approach that helps to trace and explain the nature of international translation flows (Tyulenev 2013). The analysis of differences in the consumption of translation products in societies can utilize the interaction of structure and agency, applying social-systemic theories to form a comprehensive approach to the phenomenon of translation (ibid., 165).

This approach can be successfully applied to the Estonian-Russian translation flows. Hence, at the macro level, the translations of Estonian literature can be classified as translations from a peripheral language. The literary works, being

translated into Russian, a semi-central language, thus accumulate their symbolic capital to achieve international consecration. At the meso level, the strategies publishers employ to buy and sell copyrights to promote Estonian literature are to be considered. At the micro level, the roles of Estonian and Russian publishers, the functions of all the agents involved, and the composition and communication of the translators' network are to be described, based on an analysis of the gathered statistics and interviews with the main agents.

1.1.5 The concept of a translation network

Agents (actors) of translation receive different definitions from different scholars (Buzelin 2005). According to Simeoni (1995), translating agents can be both humans and non-humans (i.e., institutions or agencies) united by their subjectivity and social roles, a view also reflected in the ANT (Latour 2005). From a sociological perspective, agents of translation are cross-cultural mediators, and translation is a collective activity. The idea of a translation network is also tightly associated with translation psychology (Jääskeläinen 2012), which focuses not only on the process of decision-making but also on professionalism and expertise, i.e., obtaining required skills and knowledge as well as earning a professional status to guarantee the quality of the end product, which requires the institutionalization of translation at the national level.

Investigation of translation as a social practice focuses on agents of translation, with specific attention to translators acting both as mediators and as members of a professional group functioning as a complex network whose activities are conditioned by power relationships, ideologies, and contexts (van Doorslaer and McMartin 2022). Translators themselves do have their definite status, both economic and social, and their socialization and identification are established by an institution. Such a network of translators, operating under a single institutional umbrella, may impose a common translation habitus and similar approaches, shaping the results of their work. Whereas different models of translation may coexist (Sela-Sheffy 2005), the norms and habitus tend to be rather universal for a given group. As some case studies illustrate, translation networks are not only complex but also often irregular structures in which participants are tightly yet sporadically interconnected (Risku, Rogl, and Pein-Weber 2016). Hence, a social network of translators cannot be represented as a rigid structure or an enclosed, symmetric constellation; rather, it is an open chain of interwoven human relationships. These networks are polymorphic, where centrality is defined not only by the availability of resources, e.g., in the case of an agency, by the number of clients and/or the scale of a team of freelance or in-house translators, but also by the personal priorities of each participant (ibid.). Therefore, translation networks involve both institutions and agencies; such extensive networks help translators, as a group of interconnected agents, emerge from the initial invisibility, as argued by Venuti (1994). Being part of such a network, an individual translator may earn recognition and status, at least within their professional circle, and, as institutionalized, become a public figure or

influencer. At the same time, the idea of a center-periphery structure for translation networks is preserved when institutional translation (Koskinen 2011) is compared with amateur networks.

In a social context, translation communities have often been described as groups of interconnected human actors who actively interact with each other. However, from a sociological perspective, such communities can be studied as networks, with their processes and communication analyzed from different perspectives (Gambier 2007). When studying such networks, various approaches are not limited only to translation studies methodologies but also involve social and ethnographic research methods and statistical data processing.

Although the focus of research on such networks mainly concerns the professional communities involved in technical translations, recently some researchers expressed their interest in the networks associated with literary and activist translation: for example, Jones (2011) used both process and participant-oriented approaches to investigate poetry translations, including the data received during the interviews and from think-aloud protocols to illustrate the nature and structure of collective translation work as well as motivation and attitudes of every individual translator. Mixed methods, including those applied in historical studies, translation history, and network analysis with digital tools (e.g., Gephi), were employed to collect data on the presence and connections of translators working for selected literary magazines (Ye 2021). Literary translation publishing historiography employed qualitative and quantitative methods, as well as network analysis, to explore the relationships between agents and the general impact of ideological and political shifts on both the quantity and quality of major agents' relations (Ashrafi, Hashemi, and Akbari 2021). A computational analysis of translation history was proposed by Roig-Sanz and Fólica (2021), who introduced the term "Big Translation History" as a conceptual framework and methodology for researchers to apply, focusing on periods of political power and border changes, as well as the translation of diaspora and non-state literatures. BTH is based on large-scale research (geographical and chronological), massive data, including both big and small data, retrieved from various sources, and the use of computational techniques across the research process and knowledge production. Roig-Sanz and Fólica paid specific attention to incompleteness and the unstructured nature of sources, as well as their partial availability, which provides rather indicative than exhaustive results. However, with the application of digital tools, a researcher cannot only visualize a network but also produce new knowledge.

In the case of Estonian-Russian translations, as shown in Chapter 4, the translation network is analyzed, first and foremost, in terms of relationships between agency and structure, with an account of institutionalization of members of such network; being visualized, the network reveals the most adopted patterns of intercommunication of the members of such network and, ultimately, the trajectories of cultural transfer. At the same time, the visualization of such a network helps trace the complex and irregular interconnections among its members, their main functions and/or multifunctionalities, the movement of economic capital

that supports the propagation of translation flows, and the direction of such propagation, whether interstate or cross-boundary.

Within this research, agency, defined as "creation, recreation, and transformation of social structures" (Hays 1994, quoted in Edge 2022), is possessed by acting individuals, i.e., authors, translators, and publishers, and plays the leading role in maintaining the Estonian-Russian translation flow as well as modifying and developing the established social structures. The translation network (Risku, Rogl, and Pein-Weber 2016) is analyzed in terms of its complexity, interconnectivity, and structural polymorphism, and the interdependency of all actors, although differing in function, is examined. At the same time, it is crucial to remember that the personal tastes, choices, and priorities of the actors involved outline the scope and nature of the entire translation flow, i.e., selection of genres and authors, where voluntarism and proactivity are the main drivers, along with the encouraging activities of the Estonian authorities acting as a structure that establishes rules, norms, and laws.

1.2 Imagology in translation studies

The discipline of imagology studies how national and cultural mental images are represented, primarily in literary texts, and tends to be a "rather descriptive than explanatory" discipline (van Doorslaer 2019, 57). National images in the form of "historically influential, deeply ingrained patterns of national and transnational ethnotyping and othering" (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021, 1) are present in both discursive traditions and current affairs, particularly in Europe. Imagology, as an analytical method for examining national stereotypes, investigates the forms of prejudice, myths, and representations to uncover their genesis, working mechanisms, and history of development. With the development of other media, such stereotyped images are also disseminated through films, TV, the internet, political and journalistic discourse, travel guides, museum displays, advertising, reels, etc., suggesting that imagology is expanding its field of application and focusing beyond literary texts.

It is crucial to distinguish between image studies as a theory of cultural and national stereotypes, not national identities, remembering, at the same time, that nations *per se* are seen as "imagined communities" and constructed under the impact of social-material forces (Anderson 1991, 6), albeit historical context and economic factors significantly contributed to the establishment of both nations and nationalism (Hobsbawm 2000). Imagology focuses on textual and intertextual representations, rather than empirical reality (Leerssen 2007), aiming to understand the discourse of representation. It concerns imagined characteristics attributed to a given nation, which must be distinguished from historical facts or verifiable statements. Similarly, the sources for imagological analysis are subjective and can be informed by collective and historical memories (Tamm 2008; Laanes and Meretoja 2021) that might shape the relevant context and discourse; however, for imagology, national images remain intertextual and do not concern

sociological or essentialist matters. Identification and deconstruction of auto- (Self) and hetero-images (images of the Other) requires investigating text, context, and intertext, with close attention to the ethnotypes as "stereotypical attributions of national character" (Leerssen 2016, 13). When focusing on a text or discourse, tracing the dynamics between images that "characterize one's own, domestic identity" (auto- or Self-images) and images of the Other (hetero-images) remains a matter of great importance (Leerssen 2007, 27), as imagology is concerned with cross-national relations rather than a national identity (ibid.).

The imagological method can be considered a "lens" (van Doorslaer 2019) or "a working method" (Leerssen 2016) for detecting, analyzing, and deconstructing ethnotypes by exploring images of the Self and the Other, considering who constructs such images and who looks at them. A national representation is identified as a trope and described as a manifestation of a specific tradition, with particular focus on the historical and political context, the time of the text's creation, and its genre and function. Often, national images can be self-contradictory. The stereotyped national images, which have primarily appeared in literary works, can be very stable, though sometimes dormant, dynamic, or fluid; they do not tend to completely disappear over time. Constants in imagology include oppositions between North and South, juxtaposing hard-working, cold, and reserved Northerners with easy-going and lazy Southerners; Center and Periphery, and East and West, reflecting the legacies of the Cold War (van Doorslaer 2019).

According to Barkhoff and Leerssen (2021), a Self-image tends to accentuate the exceptionality of a nation and neglect the features common to many nations: this pattern is called by Leerssen "the a priori denial of normalcy" (2016, 7). There is a tendency to attribute certain qualities to a whole nation, making it more positive or negative in perception: once a pattern is established, those qualities are automatically transferred to an individual representative of that nation. Often, a national idea, the self-perception of a group of people as a collective entity to oppose itself to the world around, is consolidated when the nation is in the circumstances of a threat imposed by internal or external enemies. At the same time, instability of the political landscape (often accompanied by serious economic issues) is what usually causes a surge of xenophobia and negative national stereotyping of "others". Stereotyping, in its turn, is a method to cognize the world around, as these generalizations help simplify and process the complex and unknown surrounding environment (Berger 2021), whereas imagology focuses on causes and processes of creation and dissemination of national stereotypes of Self and Other being "a method developed out of a desire to overcome the catastrophic legacies of European nationalism and fascism" (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021, 3). According to Leerssen, national characterizations do not correspond to external anthropological realities but to opposed national characterizations built along an axis of Self vs. Other, as socially constructed concepts later termed "auto-image" vs. "hetero-image" (2007). In this study, both the broader terms of Self and Other and the narrower terms of auto- and hetero-images are adopted in imagology.

The viewpoints in imagology are diachronic, allowing for the tracking and registration of images that appear in texts, cinema, and media across a specific historical period. According to Berger, the purveyors of stereotyping are often the historians (Berger 2021, 20), and the development of stereotyped images in historical writings was reflected in literature. Due to the constant repetition of national and cultural stereotypes (van Doorslaer 2019, 60), the media can either reinforce or challenge the images established in literary and historical discourses. Old clichés are not only copied in journalistic narratives but are also widely employed by authors and editors, presumably to meet readers' expectations shaped by culture-bound prejudices (Dimitriu 2012). Imagology in translation studies may also involve the study of images representing a specific geocultural space (GCS), as suggested by Dukić (2022), and the retrieval of its basic characteristics and potential modifications in translation, including transfer or loss of ideological content.

Imagological approaches have proven fruitful for translation studies when it is necessary to focus on the process of image-building, its root causes, functions, and aims, thereby helping establish a conscious and attentive attitude towards national stereotypes repeated, maintained, and transferred within translation flows. Translators, therefore, are not neutral figures but cultural mediators participating in creating, maintaining, or modifying auto-images. To what extent an auto-image, or Self-image, can be filtered through translation and adapted by a target culture, in what ways it is affected by the stereotyping policies of editors and translators, has been a topic of research far beyond the literary field. Images in translation within the literary, historical, journalistic, cinema, and travel guide discourses have been studied by many translation studies scholars, including Dimitriu (2012), Mereu (2016), Boulogne (2016), Enríquez-Aranda and Garcia Luque (2018), Gentile (2020), and Norkus and Ambrulevičiūtė (2021).

Studying images of Estonia and Estonianness represented in the books translated from Estonian into Russian and comparing them to the most disseminated images in Russian literature and original Russian writings created by the contemporary Russian-speaking authors in Estonia outlines the imagological approach that will help to detect the auto- and hetero-images within such translation flows, determine the cultural and historical context, identify fundamental differences between these stereotypes, repeated narratives and tropes, and, using pragmatic and functional approach to such images, analyze their functions in a given context and the target audience they are designed for in the source and target cultures.

1.3 Estonian-Russian cultural space and grounds for cultural exchange

The geographical proximity of the Russian Federation, the long-term, albeit often tense, political relationships between the two states, and the Russian ethnic group residing in Estonia are factors that may be considered stimuli for translation flows from Estonian into Russian. Today, Estonia is one of the European Union's countries with the smallest population, according to the EU Commission's report on Estonia (Eurydice 2019), with 1.32 million inhabitants (as of January 2017); Estonian is the only official national language.

Russian, as the former majority language in the times of Russian Empire and the USSR occupation, has been used by 145,000,000 residents of the Russian Federation and is spoken by 138,000,000 people in Russia and by over 258,000,000 people worldwide, including, but not limited to, Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and other ex-Soviet republics, according to *Ethnology: Languages of the World* (2017).

In the international translation system, with English as a hypercentral (60% of translations from the language) and Russian as a semi-central language (1–3% of translations from the language), languages with a share of less than 1% belong to the periphery (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007; van Es and Heilbron 2015; Heilbron 2020). On the hierarchical map of world translations, therefore, Estonian is among many other languages, including those with large numbers of speakers, e.g., Chinese and Arabic, that occupy a peripheral position. The share of translations from English into Estonian reaches 52.71%, and from Russian, 11.64%, according to data from the Estonian National Library (rara.ee), which confirms the hypercentral position of English and semi-central position of Russian. Hence, translations from Estonian, a peripheral language, into Russian, a semi-central language, would facilitate the promotion of Estonia's cultural capital both internally and externally. Well-established cultural links are a prerequisite for implementing such translations.

The cultural links between nations are usually traced through the existing contacts between individuals, or translations, or the influence of certain texts originating from one culture on the texts that emerged within the other culture as a result of direct or indirect translation (Kisseljova 2018b: 6). The growth of such translations can be conditioned by multiple factors, including political changes and surges of transmigration. Therefore, cultural contacts crucial for the development of Estonian-Russian translations can be traced based on four periods in accordance with the political status of Estonia (Siseykina 2023): from 1710 (1721), after the land of Estonia had been won from the Swedish Empire by the Russian Empire and became a Russian province under German rule, until the October Revolution of 1917; from 1918, when Estonia gained independence, until 1940; from 1940, when Estonia was occupied by Stalin's Soviet Union as a part of a treaty with Hitler, until 1991; and since 1991, when Estonia regained independence. Throughout these periods, Estonia has been the source of interest and inspiration in Russian literature.

In the 18th century, Estonia, then being a Russian province under German rule, became a subject of keen interest to several Russian authors, including Theophan Prokopovich, Gavrila Derzhavin, Denis Fonvizin, and Nikolay Karamzin (Issakov 2001; Smorzhevskikh-Smirnova 2004, Kisseljova 2018a).

Soon after the University of Dorpat was re-established by Alexander I, the Russian emperor, in 1802 and received the legal status of a Russian state university with German as the language of instruction (Dulichenko 1996), the Department of Russian language and literature was established. Professors Grigory Glinka, Andrei Kaisarov, and Alexander Voeykov were among the scholars who worked at the Department. Later, in the 1810–1830s, Tartu (then under the German name Dorpat) evolved into a powerful cultural center associated with the university, which was visited by many Russian authors. Voyeikov's family maintained close relationships with Vasily Zhukovsky, the prominent Russian poet, who lived in Saint Petersburg and often visited Tartu; as a result, he dedicated several poems to Tartu and made numerous notes on the topography and history of the Estonians and Latvians. Using the land route from Saint Petersburg to the West, Peter Vyazemsky, Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, and Konstantin Batyushkov covered Tartu and the university as the points of attraction. The formation of the cultural center paved the way for the establishment of a poetic school of Russian students, which existed for almost 20 years (Issakov 2001, 12). The Tartu literary circle was maintained and organized by Nikolay Yazykov; Vladimir Dal, the future author of the famous Russian thesaurus, was a student at the University of Tartu. Eventually, Tartu was both geographically and culturally connected to Saint Petersburg, the capital of the Russian Empire at the time. Although the German language dominated the area until the late 19th century, the atmosphere among Russian students was characterized by freethinking, tolerance, criticism of the tsar's policies, and sympathy for the Decembrists. Tartu was described by Alexander Pushkin in his poem "To Yazykov" (1824) as a cultural center (Pushkin 1947, 322; Issakov 2001, 218). Another Russian cultural center was in Tallinn (then under the German name Reval) from 1810 through 1840, considered a seaside resort for the Saint Petersburg aristocracy and an inspiration for Russian authors and philosophers (Issakov 2001).

After the Russian Revolution in 1917 and during the years of the first Estonian independence, Russian-speaking poetic circles were functioning in both Tartu and Tallinn and, being the followers of the Acmeism school, or the Guild of Poets: such circles declared themselves as "Yuriev[1] Guild of Poets" (1928–1933) and "Revel Guild of Poets" (1933–1935) (Ponomareva 2015); the members of these circles were Paul Irtel-Brenndorf, Yuri Ivask, Boris Nartsissov, and others. Referring to the vast geography of Russian emigration literary circles, with their main center in Paris, France, Issakov (2002) distinguishes a separate, peripheral

[1] The Yuriev fort is first mentioned in 1030, built by Yaroslav the Wise, according to the Primary Chronicle. From the 13th to the 19th century, the city of Tartu was known as Dorpat, whereas between 1893 and 1919, in Russian, the names of Yuriev and Derpt were used.

literary community in Estonia that was most active in the 1920s and 1930s, with Igor Severyanin among its most prominent authors.

During the Soviet period, Vasily Aksenov (1990, 2009) and Sergei Dovlatov (1981) referred to Estonia in their writings. David Samoilov (1920–1990), a Russian poet and frontline soldier of the Second World War, moved with his family to the city of Pärnu in 1976; a vast number of his poems were dedicated to Estonia, and he was engaged in Estonian-Russian poetic translations (Samoilov 1989, 2000, 2006).

Giving an extended account of the construct of Estonian-Russian cultural space, Kisseljova (2018a) dedicated a study to Estonian-Russian relationships, which covered Estonian history as interpreted in novels by Jaan Kross, a comprehensive analysis of the roots of the national conflict the Estonian national movement in the middle of 19th century, the essays of Russian authors and travelers with a specific overview of the images of Estonia(nness), among others, in travel books and notes, and references to the period of German dominance in Estonia and the contribution of Baltic Germans to the development of Estonian-Russian cultural communication. A separate chapter is dedicated to the academic life and personal path of Yuri Lotman, his work at the University of Tartu, and the development of the concepts of semiotics and the semiosphere (Lotman 1990), which undoubtedly made a significant contribution to Estonian, Russian, and world culture. Hereinafter, my translation (I.S.) of Estonian and Russian excerpts into English is provided.

An imagined Estonian-Russian cultural and semiotic space as a result of communication between many people is created and reproduced in texts; it is "a unique metaphysical phenomenon that exists at the intersection of two cultures" (Kisseljova 2018b, 6) as a mental construct. The studies of Russian and Estonian scholars dedicated to the Estonian-Russian cultural space and exchange of symbolic goods were conducted by Belobrovtseva (2011), Kisseljova (2018a, 2018b), Pild (2007, 2012), Leibov and Lekmanov (2010), Misnikevič (2010), Ponomareva (2015), Salupere (2012, 2013), Stepaniščeva (2008), and Issakov (2001, 2002, 2005, 2008a, 2008b), and their research covers the period of intercultural communication from the 18th to the 21st century.

In the collection of literary fragments "Estonia in literary works of the Russian writers of the 18th–beginning of the 20th centuries" / "Эстония в произведениях русских писателей XVIII – начала XX века," Issakov (2001) compiled an exclusive and comprehensive anthology extremely useful for imagological analysis. The collection comprises poems, letters, and essays, and contains the names of famous poets of the Golden and Silver Age of Russian literature, as well as the names of writers who worked in the times of the USSR, to confirm the fact that the land of Estonia remained a significant source of inspiration for many Russian authors throughout history.

Images of Estonia and Estonianness in these literary pieces are multiplex and versatile. Many of the authors mentioned above (for example, Mikhail Muraviov, Nikolay Karamzin, and others) dedicated their prose and poetry to flamboyant and sophisticated descriptions of Estonia's severe and solemn nature or of the

architecture of Narva (Narva), Fellin (Viljandi), and Revel (Tallinn). There were multiple comprehensive reports on Estonian history and traditions. Russian authors used specific scenery, landscapes, architecture, or images of certain geographical locations to accentuate their ideas or concepts. Certain features of the Tallinn and Tartu loci, as well as their historical images and symbolism, were also reflected in Russian prose and poetry.

1.4 Images of Estonia(nness) as images of the Other in Russian poetry, prose, and travel guides

1.4.1 Estonia in Russian poetry

Estonia was a subject of poetic contemplations for several Russian authors of the 19th and 20th centuries as a foreign land, or a space of the Other. Notably, the images of Estonia inspired a number of authors, including Peter Vyazemsky, Wilhelm Küchelbecker, Afanasy Fet, Pavel Viskovatov, Konstantin Sluchevsky, Apollon Korinfsky, Konstantin Balmont, Innokenty Annensky, Valery Bryusov, Sasha Chorny, Fyodor Sologub, Igor Severyanin, and David Samoilov. Many of them associated their school or student life with certain loci in Estonia.

The poetry by Vyazemsky, Fet, and Balmont primarily focused on Estonian landscapes as natural phenomena, with a specific account of the city and the waterfall of Narva, as well as the struggle between the forces of passion and peacefulness. In his lyrics "To Baron Rozen" (Küchelbecker, quoted in Issakov 2002, 194), Küchelbecker appealed to the Estonian nature, e.g., "the forests full of mighty beauty", "the meadows of Estonia, peaceful and happy" that "will make you forget the mountains and rivers of murky Caucasus". Fet, who spent his early years in Krümmer's boarding school of Võru and later, during the Crimean war, served as a military officer in Paldiski, dedicated his impressionist poetry to Revel[2] and the Baltic sea; in the memoirs, he described the Estonian way of life; however, little was said about Estonians who merely appeared in his writings as background servants. Estonians were depicted as gloomy slaves by Apollon Korinfsky, who dedicated a poetry volume to Estonia after spending his summer vacations in Narva and Gungerburg (Narva-Jõesuu). He saw Russians as occasional aliens on this land, and only the Germans felt free there. After spending the summer of 1903 in Mereküla, Konstantin Balmont created his famous poetic volume "Только любовь" / "Only love". In his poems, the gloomy symbolism of approaching changes lies behind the descriptions of the morose forests and dark sea waves of Mereküla (Balmont, quoted in Issakov 2001, 503).

The images of Estonian nature, i.e., dark autumns, endless marshes, summer afternoons, winter blizzards, and the ice movement in the spring, were reflected in the verses of Konstantin Sluchevsky during his Baltic journey in the collection

[2] Revel is the toponym widely used by Russian-language authors for Tallinn in the 19th century.

“Балтийская сторона”/“The Baltic side”, published in 1888 in Saint-Petersburg. His poetry volume named “Песни из уголка” / “Songs from a remote corner” contained descriptions of picturesque Estonian nature (Sluchevsky, quoted in Issakov 2001, 466). Innokenty Annensky’s poem “Старые эстонки” / “The old Estonian women” recalled a nightmare where the scary peasant women from the Revel district were chasing him as if it were his guilt that their sons had been killed, of which, with a touch of bitterness, he read in the papers (Annensky, quoted in Issakov 2001, 509). Apart from the ethnographic and historical observations, Pavel Viskovatov, a professor of Russian language and literature at Dorpat University, attentively observed the national awakening and the rise of Estonian literature. With due respect to the efforts to strive for people’s freedom, Viskovatov said his last farewell in the poem dedicated to Karl Robert Jakobson, “At Jakobson’s coffin” (Viskovatov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 464).

Igor Severyanin, one of the most famous poets of the Silver Age, made a significant contribution to the translation and promotion of Estonian poetry from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century (Kotjuh 2025). In 1912, during summers in Toila village, Estonia, on the Gulf of Finland, many of his verses were written for the volumes “Victoria Regia” (1915) and “Амфора эстляндская” / “The amphora of Estland” (1916). He moved from Saint Petersburg to Toila in 1918 to begin his so-called Estonian period. In collaboration with the Estonian writers, he worked on Estonian-Russian translations that comprised the first anthology of Estonian poetry, “The poets of Estonia. Hundred-year anthology (1803–1902)” in 1929. Many of his poems contained direct references to Estonian and Baltic toponyms and myths (1995), (e.g., Högland (Suursaar and/or Kõrgesaar in Estonian folk traditions), myths of Koit (the Dawn) and Hämarik (the Dusk) goddesses).

David Samoilov, a poet of the Soviet period, opened the topic of Estonia in his verses after visiting Tallinn in 1964–1965, depicting Estonian loci as sacred and secret runaway destinations, in contrast to the despair and agitation of Moscow. In Samoilov’s poetic space, Estonia becomes an alien place of brief meetings with loved ones, and the temporality of such encounters is accentuated by descriptions of Estonian winters, from joyful Christmas days preceding the long-awaited date to freezing blizzards symbolizing the forthcoming parting. In 1974, Samoilov finally moved from Moscow to Pärnu; his Pärnu period was marked by a keen interest in the topic of Estonian realities and surroundings, with an emphasis on the ever-changing Estonian weather and nature as a reflection of life events (Nemzer 2010).

1.4.2 The locus of Tartu

The locus of Tartu is one of the central images of Estonia(nness) in the Russian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. A separate section of Issakov’s anthology is dedicated to the students at Dorpat University and the local Russian poetry circle. In contrast with the gloomy and harsh landscapes of Estonia, Dorpat was described by many (Yazykov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 213, 217; Pushkin, quoted

in Issakov 2001, 218, 219) as a town of joy, freedom, creativity, cheerfulness, and as a poetic and cultural centre; e.g., Fyodor Glinka provided detailed and comprehensive descriptions of the city of Tartu and its metamorphosis through different eras, finding the town itself very attractive; Yekaterina Avdeyeva, the Russian author and folklorist, paid thorough attention to the traditions, routines, and order of city life in Dorpat. At the time, the population of Tartu was mostly German and Russian; there were only a few Estonians (Avdeyeva, quoted in Issakov 2001, 306), and the Russians in Dorpat were merchants, clerks, and petty bourgeois. Avdeyeva noted differences in lifestyle between Russian cities and Dorpat, emphasizing the locals' modesty while highlighting German precision, a strict daily schedule, and frugality. The social groups of Tartu, i.e., clerks, merchants, and peasants, formed their secluded circles of interest (Commerz-müsse, Bürger-müsse, etc.). Avdeyeva provided a separate account of the Tartu studentship traditions of mutual support and friendship, noting the cultural differences between residents of Dorpat and Tallinn. Overall, the author refers to dispersed settlements, as Estonians tended to live in isolated farmsteads at a distance from each other (ibid., 313).

Similarly, Faddei Bulgarin paid great attention to the comfort, neatness, and hospitality of the town, beautiful gardens, and clean home accommodation at the lowest price; the spirit of the university, a crowd of young students and their professors carrying their books and papers through the morning streets of Tartu: a picture to bring joy and inspiration. The university, according to Bulgarin, was "the most curious subject of Dorpat" (ibid., 237). Karamzin viewed Dorpat (Tartu) as a wonderful and cheerful town, which conforms to the general stereotype of Tartu in Russian literature of the late 19th–early 20th centuries.

Vladimir Sollogub, the Russian writer born in Saint-Petersburg, who graduated from the University of Tartu in 1833 and returned to the city after the 1850s to settle there with his family (Issakov 2001, 318), described his university years and student brotherhood, stereotyping Baltic Germans, based on the example of a German (not Estonian) student in Tartu. Fet, who was closely familiarized with local lifestyle and traditions (ibid., 350), refers to Tartu (Dorpat) in his poem "Сон" / "The Dream" (1856) as the venue, where medieval ghosts emerge in front of the main character, a military officer, thus constructing a romanticism context of a condradiction of hypocricy of secular society and the sincere feelings of his deceased lover; the Dorpat architecture in the poem is described as medieval gothic and explicitly alien to a Russian; with the entire city looking as empty, ominous and mystic (Kovalev 2013).

Some examples of controversial relationships between Russian and German students at Dorpat University are given in the memoirs of Petr Boborykin and Vikenty Veresayev. Piotr Boborykin, the Russian author and journalist, studied at Dorpat University until 1860, after which he lost interest in chemistry and began his literary career. His public activities included cooperation with the Russian corporation "Ruthenia"; later, he organized an unofficial society of Russian students in the university that opposed the conservative group of German students. Boborykin's memoirs, mainly dedicated to his life in Tartu, were published at the

beginning of the 20th century, rich in descriptions of architecture and landscapes as well as the lifestyle of the students, their relationships with professors, mostly the Germans (Boborykin, quoted in Issakov 2001, 381), implying that the studentship in Tartu was primarily associated with heavy drinking and wild entertainment.

Veresayev was enrolled in the medical faculty of the University of Tartu (1888) (Issakov 2001, 537); his memoirs of the students' life were included in "Воспоминания" / "The reminiscences" book, where Dorpat is primarily imagined as a German city, with German names for the streets and the river; the same applies to the student residents as among the seven corporations the author refers to, six were German and one Latvian. Russian students did not belong to any of these corporations and hence were considered "the outsiders"; therefore, the Germans are attributed the negative qualities of the Other, including nationalism, lack of interest in social and political life, hypocrisy, and exaggerated passion for drunken feasts, love affairs, fights, and duels. At the time, there were no Estonians among the students; they were referred to only as the servants and largely ignored. In contrast to the accounts of other authors, Veresayev describes the university atmosphere at the end of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s as dark and hopeless, referring to student suicides, a student community court, and the general negative attitude of German professors toward Russian students. The forced, rapid Russification of the university led to a mass exodus of German professors, whose positions were subsequently assigned to Russian professors.

The locus of Tartu has been a topic of literary research that remains relevant to contemporary Estonian and Russian scholars. Leibov and Lekmanov (2010) studied the myth and mythology of Tartu in modern Russian poetry; it is an unknown poetic space, a typical Baltic town of Soviet times, with a bitnik or hitchhiking motif. All in all, the central feature of Tartu is the university, as reflected in the poems of the 1970s–2010s collected by these scholars (ibid.).

1.4.3 The locus of Narva

The locus of Narva, a historical town mentioned in chronicles since 1240 (Kivimäe 2004) and later severely destroyed in 1944, was a constant inspiration for Severyanin, whose life and poetry were closely intertwined with Estonia: his verse "Нарва" / "Narva" was written in 1918, and in 1927, another verse was dedicated to the city. In summer 1905, Balmont traveled to the Narva seacoast, Sillamäe, where he wrote his poetical children's volume "Фейные сказки" / "The fairy tales," with some general references to the seacoast nature of Estonia. Sasha Chorny, whose fame reached its peak in the 1910s, after having visited Gungergurg, or Northern Riviera (Narva-Jõesuu), wrote his poetical volume "У Балтийского моря" / "At the Baltic sea" and a collection of satirical novellas "Люди летом" / "People in summer"; in his writings, he criticized the Petersburg way of life when compared with the quiet and relaxed atmosphere of Narva beach. With his original humor and detailed vision of tiny moments in life, both in his novels and poetry, Chorny captured the fragments of Estonian life, featuring the sea,

clouds, and summer in the northern land (Chorny, quoted in Issakov 2001, 517). Sologub spent several summers at the coast of Narva, which was then reputed to be a popular resort destination (1909–1915) (Sologub, quoted in Issakov 2001, 521), where his poetic volume "Очарование земли" / "Fascination of the land" was written. In general, Sologub's poetry features gloomy, morose images and a pessimistic mood, in accordance with his recognizable Decadent style; however, the bright and picturesque descriptions of Estonian nature, its tranquility, and the beauty of forest paths and green meadows make his Estonian cycle poetry closer to Impressionism.

1.4.4 The locus of Tallinn

Fet's verse "Ревель" / "Revel" transfers the images of a calm and transparent summer evening after a theater play; Bryusov, in his "Дневник" / "Diary" called Tallinn the northern Napoli, or *eine Walstadt*. The town is characterized as distinctly European, adored by the German population, and self-sufficient, with all the services and goods available to an average citizen, including museums, clubs, and an extensive public library. Bryusov noted the specific agitation of a port city and the beauty of the sea (Bryusov, quoted in Issakov, 499). Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, inter alia, in his letters, described the streets of Revel, the Gothic cathedral and architecture, as well as the traditions and lifestyles of the local population, that is, the Estonians. "I have noticed that their morals have improved, but their domestic life and clothes (different from Finnish) look like those of their primitive society" (Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, quoted in Issakov 2001, 94).

Bryusov, after spending a summer in Tallinn, dedicated several verses to the city, including his poem "Старый викинг" / "The old Viking", the cycle "Балтика" / "Baltica", and the poem "Замкнутые" / "The locked", for which he refers mainly to the nature of Estonia, using images of the stormy sea, the northern seacoast, the imaginary towns, and the motifs of urban isolation and obtaining freedom.

1.4.5 Historical narratives

Most historical periods are reflected in translated Estonian literature, including those of the Livonian Order, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Kingdom of Sweden, the Russian Empire, the Soviet occupation (1940–1991), and two periods of Estonian independence: from 1918 to 1940 and since 1991 (Siseykina 2023). Due to the shared political history of Estonia and Russia, Russian authors paid close attention to Estonia's medieval history and retold its legends. Bestuzhev described the cities of Estonia in the 14th century, including a story of Hugo von Bracht that took place in the medieval Pernov (Pärnu), mentioning the interlunation and endless confrontations between the bishops and the knights of the Livonian Order, as well as the rise of robber gangs (Bestuzhev, quoted in Issakov 2001, 171). Bestuzhev-Marlinsky set forth a thorough history of Revel and the endless battles between the Livonian, Danish,

Swedish, and Russian armies in his letters, where the Estonians were depicted as outrageous warriors dying for their freedom; according to the author, in 1243, 10,000 Estonians fell in battle, holding their swords. "All Livonians and specifically Estonians have been rude and brutal, often courageous and always perfidious. Beast-like in domestic life, incredibly ignorant in military life, they know neither armor nor stone fortification" (Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, quoted in Issakov 2001, 94). Ivan Lazhechnikov, a Russian author, provided a comprehensive historical account of Livonia, highlighting its natural beauty (Lazhechnikov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 266). Küchelbecker paid attention to his reflections of the Estonian nature in his novel "Ado", mentioning "the wild and morose forests, the dark-green pineapples rising to the skies, the ancient caves of Estonia, the tundra and the impassable marches…" (Küchelbecker, quoted in Issakov 2001, 173). Fragments from Russian author and philosopher Alexei Bochkov's travel notes in Estonia provide a descriptive account of Tallinn (formerly Revel), with a particular focus on the monastery of Saint Birgitta, which is associated with the German period of Estonia (Bochkov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 198). The tragic tale of forbidden love and inevitable death preserved the traditional style of German romanticism. Vladimir Titov, a Russian literary theorist, appealed to the story of the Saint Birgitta monastery in Revel, a tale of knightly battles and the monastery's conquest (Titov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 253). Overall, the Livonian period is widely reflected in the writings of Russian authors, with specific motifs of romanticism and mysticism.

Having given the detailed account of the medieval times of Narva, Mamin-Sibiryak retold his dialogues with Saint-Petersburg – Revel train passengers to tell about Wesenberg (Rakvere) that used to be "little Sodom" in the 14th century where local knights from the monastic order, as well as the aristocracy were violent and cruel to the local population at the daytime, spent their nights at the feast, and repent their sins in the morning. The story of two ancient Estonian magicians, the mighty Jumala priests, unfolds against the backdrop of a severe and gloomy wilderness (Mamin-Sibiryak, quoted in Issakov 2001, 481). Later, using those images, Russian-language authors of the Soviet period, e.g., Aksenov (1990, 2009) and Dovlatov (1981), tended to create an image of "Soviet West," while at the same time accentuating the Otherness of Estonians and the hidden skepticism towards Soviet ideologies.

1.4.6 Travel and ethnographical notes

Several accounts on Estonia given by Russian authors can be considered travel notes of the time, including "The Letters of the Russian Traveler" by Russian historian and poet Nikolay Karamzin (Karamzin, quoted in Issakov 2001, 59), notes by Russian writer and literary critic Alexander Milyukov (Milyukov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 331), narratives by Russian author Nikolay Leskov (Leskov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 404), accounts collected by Adveyeva (Avdeyeva, quoted in Issakov 2001, 298), and by Mamin-Sibiryak, a writer (Mamin-Sibiryak, quoted in Issakov 2001, 481). Such letters and notes provide narrations

of immediate contact with the local population. For example, in his letter, Fonvizin briefly described a peasant riot against landowners in Lifland and Estland (Fonvizin, quoted in Issakov 2001, 44). In the letters by Bolotov ("Жизнь и приключения Андрея Болотова, описанные самим им для своих потомков" / "Life and adventures of Andrei Bolotov described by him for his descendants"), he revealed a story of fraud: the main character (Bolotov) lost his horse and bought a new one from an Estonian peasant in a tavern; however, later the Estonian declared that the horse had been stolen and complained to the military general, as a result of which the main character had to ask for the help of his brother-in-law, give back the horse and pay out a hefty fine as compensation. The town of Rågervik (Paldiski), where the main character serves, was a seacoast town with a convict prison and Russian soldiers guarding the state convicts (Bolotov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 47).

One of the most intriguing figures of the 19th century, Faddei Bulgarin (Issakov 2001, 224), originally from Poland, eventually settled in Tartu, in the district of Karlova (Bulgarin 2019). Bulgarin's personality was controversial: he was a commercially successful publisher and editor of the Saint Petersburg periodical "The Northern Bee" (1825–1859), the only private newspaper in Russia authorized to report on political news. Bulgarin worked as an agent of the tsar's secret police and used his reports to eliminate rivals on the journalism scene. Drawing on his own experience living and traveling in Estonia, he provided detailed descriptions of the architecture of both Narva and Dorpat. His account of the Estonians was as follows:

> "Do not think that the Estonians, whose lifestyle is similar to the lifestyle of aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope, are as wild and ignorant as the latter. No! All Estonians can read and write in their mother tongue, are profoundly religious, and are diligent in their faith. They enjoy the church catechisms and thoroughly discuss the subjects, adapting their discussions to the level of their education and concerns, and are diligent in their faith. <…> The affection for ancient habits is a feature of their solid, indomitable, persistent temper. The Estonians have always been known for their courage, and Charles XII believed that his Estonian units were the best in his army. An Estonian is faithful to his kind master and grateful for the good deeds; however, revengeful in case of offense or insult. His roughness, which some of us associate with his wilderness, is a consequence of national pride. An Estonian honors himself above the other tribes and despises the Germans, whom he calls the Saks." (Bulgarin, quoted in Issakov 2001, 231)

Milyukov provided a thorough and picturesque description of his journeys in Estonia and Finland in 1849, including Revel and its surroundings, and gave a very positive report on the beauty of the medieval city, the Saint Brigitta monastery, and the cemeteries (Milyukov, quoted in Issakov 2001, 330). Karamzin's reports (Karamzin, quoted in Issakov 2001, 60) contained a brief description of both Estonians and Livonians, as the author saw no significant difference between them, apart from their language; Karamzin described them as awkward, slow, and silly. The author referred to local masters who claimed that Estonians and

Livonians were too lazy, and that only under hard pressure could they work so hard that the profit brought by an Estonian or Livonian serf would be four times that of a serf in Kazan or Simbirsk.

Fyodor Glinka, the Decembrist author, was impressed by the nature of Lake Peipus and linked the tchuds (Estonians) inhabiting its shores to other tchud peoples from Siberia; in his opinion, they shared a common origin. Describing the Estonian women, Glinka mentioned their laces made of silver coins, a symbol of wealth, as well as the runic ornaments that were rooted in pagan beliefs. Giving the characteristics to the locals (Estonians), i.e., the people inhabiting the territories between the Lake Peipus and the Gulf of Finland, Glinka described them as plain but not rude, very meek unless they got angry. Their home grace was hospitality; they were pietistic in their Lutheran confession; however, before the 12th century, they used to be persistent idolists (Glinka, quoted in Issakov 2001, 65); they preferred living in forests or spacious, distant lands and were engaged in trading timber, honey, wax, and fur.

Avdeyeva described the Russian settlements along the Lake Peipus coast, providing a detailed ethnographic account of the residents' lifestyle and habits (Avdeyeva, quoted in Issakov 2001, 298). Leskov was an expert on the Russian schism, specifically the Old Believers, who traditionally inhabited the Estonian coast of Lake Peipus; his essays criticized the lifestyle of the Baltic Germans, who cruelly treated both Estonians and Russians serving on the Baltic Steamship Line. As a journalist, he gave a detailed account of the Estonian lifestyle, paying much attention to the fact that primary education was available for everyone, and sharply criticized the potential deprivation of basic education for the youth of Ösel (Saaremaa), Dagö (Hiiumaa), and Moon (Muhu) (Leskov, quoted in Issakov, 403). With utter thoroughness, Leskov described the Ösel's health resorts, inhabited by leprosy patients who attempted to use the sea's therapeutic muds as a remedy, and criticized the officials for neglecting the problem, as the patients were not segregated from society and not observed or treated by doctors.

Pavel Viskovatov, a Russian literary critic, wrote a scientific study in Tartu dedicated to the poems of Lermontov. At the same time, Viskovatov paid close attention to the leaders of the Estonian national movement, namely Jakobson, Veske, Kunder, and others, and published several articles in local newspapers (Viskovatov, quoted in Issakov, 463). Mamin-Sibiryak moved to Saint-Petersburg in 1891, where he continued his successful literary career. From Saint Petersburg, he would travel to Estonia and Finland; his essay "Русская заграница" / "The Russian foreign country" (Mamin-Sibiryak, quoted in Issakov, 481) reflected his experiences communicating with passengers on the train to Estonia. The land of Estonia, under the rule of Baltic Germans, was perceived as a foreign region within the Russian Empire, with the primary focus on the image of Baltic Germans, who were depicted as arrogant and impudent, openly expressing their critical attitudes towards Russians and Estonians, mostly peasants. The German barons' households, depicted as neat, well-cared-for, with parks and well-fed livestock, demonstrate the culture of obedience and hard work, in contrast to the abandoned fields, hungry cows, and destroyed mansions of Russia.

1.4.7 Images of Estonian(ness) in travel guides

The analysis of travel books printed for Russian travelers in Estonia has become a separate subfield of literary research in the Slavic departments of the University of Tartu (Issakov 2008b; Kisseljova, Pild, Stepaništševa 2011). Travel guides comprised a separate genre with a canonical type elaborated by Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) in the 19th century (Kisseljova 2008). The earliest accounts of Estonia and Estonians in travel books cover the period from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century (Issakov 2008b), and the books are designed for a Russian traveler interested in using the sea resort facilities and sightseeing. The rise of interest in the Estonian recreational locations during the time of the Russian Empire was caused by the proximity of the Estonian seaside resorts (Tallinn, Pärnu, Saaremaa, and Hiiumaa) to the capital of Russia at the time, Saint-Petersburg; at the same time, the Baltic region was considered a foreign (namely German) land, though very close geographically and affordable. Architectural remnants of the romanticist past and hydrotherapy at the seaside were perceived as the main attractions.

The first travel book was published in 1816 (Issakov 2008b, 44) and was dedicated to Revel as a sea resort, offering recommendations for recreational activities and entertainment. A different account of Revel was provided by Bestuzhev-Marlinsky in 1833, who paid specific attention to the region's history, the habits, and lifestyle of the local population. A reference book by Reutlinger (1839), translated and commented by Rozanov in Saint-Petersburg, contains an introduction by the translator who expressed his admiration for the Baltic lifestyle and high cultural level in the Baltic region, with German accuracy opposed to the "Russian carelessness, laziness, unconcern" (Issakov 2008b, 48). In the travel books dedicated to Saaremaa, Kashin (1858), a doctor from Saint Petersburg, describes the islanders as healthy and beautiful people, incredibly honest and fair, whose language is melodious and whose folk poetry boasts naïve gracefulness. A brief account of the mythology and beliefs of Saaremaa's residents is also provided.

According to the research by Stepaništševa, Karl Baedeker, a publisher, can be considered a founder of the genre of travel books in Europe, and although travel books had been published since the 1820s, the first description of Estonia appeared as a part of a guide dedicated to the Russian Empire's European region (based on analysis of "Russland: Handbuch für Reisende von K. Baedeker" dated 1888 and 1897, respectively) (Stepaništševa 2008). In her opinion, the travel guide was produced by many authors and thus appeared anonymous. However, this might be explained by the genre's specific characteristics. Travel guides typically present a specific image of a country and its people (ibid., 83). To Baedeker, Russia was a relatively remote and exotic destination. The Baltic region received an original assessment due to its special status as the region ruled by Baltic Germans who "maintained the corporative impermeability, were reluctant to introduce new, i.e., Russian names into matriculates and aimed to preserve their privileges" (ibid: 88). The author(s) of the travel guide noted the

noticeable drop in Revel's economic activity due to the disruption of the old links with Sweden and the emergence of a more competitive northern capital, Saint-Petersburg; the history of Estonia and Livonia is narrated as a long struggle between the German Order, Poland, Sweden, and Russia, with the latter considered an aggressor and invader. The chronological order contained references, for example, to "prospering Revel under Denmark ruling joins the Hanseatic League in 1284; flourishing Livonian Order under Wolter von Plettenberg in 1491–1535" (ibid., 89), therefore, the German and Danish ruling was primarily depicted in a positive context of prosperity. Narva is described as an industrial center, home to factories and mills, inhabited mainly by Germans. In contrast, the Russians lived in Ivangorod, the town on the other side of the river. It is implied that the German population stimulated the industrial growth. The travel guide contained only a few facts about the Estonians, e.g., they lived on their land before the arrival of the Germans, and the contemporary inhabitants of the land were described as the least prioritized nation. According to the travel guide, "the Estonians and the Latvians treated each other with true national hatred and never mixed" (Russland 1888, 68 in Stepaništševa 2008). The Estonians received more positive assessments, as their men and women were primarily depicted as attractive, with blond hair and blue eyes; they were engaged in agriculture, hunting, and cow breeding; their houses were built in a random order, not too far from each other, with a church in the distance. The Baedeker guide also described Estonia's incredible landscapes, its pine, fir, and birch groves, and its dark forests. A few local attractions listed by the author(s) were from the German rule period (ibid., 96).

Pild (2008) provides a detailed account of travel books from the later period of Soviet times, spanning the 1940s to the 1970s. Like the travel guides of previous periods, the Baltic region, including Estonia, was still considered "a Russian foreign country" marked by Western culture, the explicit footprint of German presence in previous centuries, and its unique nature. The number of Soviet travel guides significantly grew in the 1960s–1970s, as tourism to Estonia became a mass activity. Several travel guides (Pild 2008, 138) were published only in Russian; more often, there were bilingual (Russian and Estonian) and Estonian versions. The ideological component played a significant role in the content of such guides (Druzhinina 1957); for example, the entire history of Estonia is represented as a sequence of social conflicts, the class struggle, and fierce confrontations with foreign invaders, culminating in the victory of Soviet socialism. Other events that fell out of that ideological framework were not included in the texts. Editors were selective in picking the proper historical facts for the travel guides' content. The Russian Empire was negatively evaluated, whereas the Estonians were depicted as class allies who, alongside the Russians, confronted the tsar's autocracy, "as a more progressive, in Marxist terms, nation" (ibid., 140). At the same time, the traditional Estonian culture was explicitly neglected, with no mention of the Estonian writers, composers, musicians, architects, and artists of the period of national awakening. The guides might

include routes through the battlefields of the Second World War or industrial sites in Kohtla-Järve (established in 1946) and Jõhvi.

The travel guides of the 1960s–1970s specifically refer to the industrial and cultural achievements of Soviet Estonia. "Soviet Estonia" (1967) described Estonia as an integral part of the vast multinational state, highlighting the progress of the Estonians in various spheres, including agriculture, housing, forestry, and industry. Estonian Olympic athletes, writers of the Soviet period (such as Juhan Smuul and Aadu Hint), actors, and artists were included in the list of the most outstanding Estonians. A transition from the image of the pre-revolutionary city of Narva to that of an industrial Soviet center was documented by Nõmm (2025) in travel guides published from 1960 to 1990. On the contrary, in travel guides in Estonian, attention to national history and the period of national awakening is more specific (Pild 2008, 144). For example, in the Tartu University guide "Kas tunned maad? Teatmik Eesti NSV matkajaile ning kodu-uurijaile" / "Do you know the land? The reference for travelers in the Estonian Soviet Social Republic" (1965), the geographical references and descriptions of landscapes are supplemented with historical data of a location and its reflection in the Estonian literature (for instance, Albu Manor, associated with the early years of Anton Hansen Tammsaare, biographies of Estonian authors Ernst Peterson-Särgava and Eduard Vilde) (Pild 2008, 143). Overall, travel guides of Soviet period represented the Estonians as, in accordance with the ideological principles, people who overcame a number of class conflicts and won the struggle for freedom with the support of the Russians, their closest allies since the 13th century, when the two nations together fought against the German crusaders, and whose prosperity, development of culture, art, agriculture and industry was kick-started with the help of the newly-established USSR.

1.4.8 Images of Estonia (nness) in Soviet and post-Soviet literature

Estonia is frequently referenced in the literary works of Soviet and post-Soviet authors, including Yury Tynyanov (1925), Vasily Aksenov (1990, 2009), Vasily Grossman (1960), Yury German (1952, 1961), Sergei Dovlatov (1981), and Olga Pogodina-Kuzmina (2019). Whereas the plot can be set in specific locations in Estonia, such as Tallinn, Narva, or Sillamäe, these authors primarily focus on the Soviet rather than the Estonian context, or juxtapose Western (foreign) Estonia and Soviet Russia, or refer to Baltic resorts and battlefields of the Second World War. At the same time, inter alia, Estonian settings and images of Estonians with their reserved and quiet manners, as depicted by Dovlatov, are used to highlight differences between locals and newcomers, i.e., noisy, impolite Russian characters. Although the action takes place in the Soviet Union, the author's undertone reflects the appropriation of Estonia, as the Baltic atmosphere and cultural differences accentuate Estonia's otherness, as seen by the Russian author. Tallinn appears in two dimensions: as a postcard Western-like city for visiting Soviet

delegations and, simultaneously, as a hidden scene of absurdity, corruption, and propaganda.

Similarly, two dimensions of Estonia are offered by Pogodina-Kuzmina, who, in her novel, depicts Estonia, on the one hand, as an integral part of the Soviet political and industrial mechanism with its secret military productions, secret services, and industrial facilities with limited access; however, the backdrop of the plot is the Baltic nature with its recognized landscapes and atmosphere. Estonians, although not the main characters of the novel, are opposed to the Russians, the occupants, depicted as a community aiming to preserve their culture and autonomy and not associating themselves with the Soviet regime, its traditions, or goals.

Images of Estonia(nness) in the Russian sources reviewed

To conclude the brief imagological review based on the texts by Russian authors and the accounts on Estonia(nness) in the travel guides analyzed by Issakov, Kisseljova, Leibov, Lekmanov, Misnikevič, Pild, and Stepaništševa, I divide these images into four major topics:

1) Nature as a component of the general and most repeated image of Estonia(nness), with recognizable tropes referring to harsh and severe northern landscapes symbolizing the solemn beauty of the land or a tranquil and remote corner to spend a peaceful vacation, especially in summer, as recommended by travel guides and glorified by Russian poets. The land itself, Estland, was considered by most authors of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century as a German territory, with German toponyms in use, whereas travel guides of the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods referred to Estonia as a Western-like seacoast resort destination.
2) References to Estonia as a scene of historical events that took place in the 12th–16th centuries, including the Estonian wars for freedom and legends of romanticism linked to the loci of Revel, Haapsalu, Ösel, etc.
3) Controversial images of the Estonians described as rude and uneducated or, on the contrary, neat, pious, accurate, and hard-working people; in most cases, the Estonians are peasants, servants, and sailors, i.e., representatives of the lower class severely exploited by the German landlords. This image was later successfully reused by Soviet propaganda, which depicted Estonians as proletarian allies in the international struggle against global capitalism.
4) The loci of Revel and Narva in Russian literature mainly revoking their medieval past or the times of vikings, and, specifically, the locus of Tartu as a cheerful university town, the center of freedom, creativity and the international youth; with separate descriptions of studentship, including the accounts on contradictions and national conflicts between Russian and German students as well as between students and professors; notably, the images of the university life of the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century did not include images of Estonians as they were primarily considered servicemen.

In the imagological analysis of Estonian-Russian translation flows since 1991 (Chapter 5), these images are compared with those identified in contemporary Estonian literary titles to identify the basic features of the Estonian Self and the Other, and to trace the dynamics of such images throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.

1.5 Research questions of the study

The premises mentioned above, encompassing the sociology of translation and imagology, as well as the imagological analysis of Russian titles, are the cornerstone of this study. The research within the framework of the monograph "Images of Estonia(nness) in Estonian-Russian literary translation flows since 1991" focuses on sociological and imagological aspects of such flows to address the four main research questions:

1. What are the characteristics (genres, authors, and the place on the hierarchical map of global cultural exchange) of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023?
2. Who are the main actors in translation networks, and how do they interrelate?
3. Which (complex and/or simplified) images of Estonia(nness) (qualities, characters, reputations, narratives) of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 are disseminated through the translated novels and contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy?
4. To what extent do the images of Estonia(nness) distributed through literary translation correspond with the stereotyped images in Russian literature, including literature produced in Estonia?

Chapter 2 presents the research methodology, outlining several approaches for gathering and processing data on Estonian-Russian translation flows, including methods of Bourdieu adopted for translation studies, ANT, SST, and imagological analysis based on critical discourse analysis, and introduces two corpora that provide core information for further research and partially answer RQ #1. Chapter 3 provides an extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the corpora from the sociological perspective, revealing the most active actors in the translation flow, the locations of publications, the most and least productive years within the period of the translation flows, and the dynamics of the flows, which comprises answers to RQs #1 and #2. Chapter 4 presents information gathered during interviews with the most active actors, thus revealing the functioning of the translation network and, to a limited extent, some images within the translation flows, answering RQs #2 and #3. Chapter 5 analyzes imagologically relevant titles based on metatexts and provides answers to RQs #3 and #4.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA PRESENTATION

2.1 Methodology of research

The research is two-fold, encompassing sociological and imagological analysis based on the selected titles of the corpus. For the sociological part of the research, mixed methods of data collection and analysis are involved, as informed by Babbie and Mouton (2014), Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), Kaindl, Kolb, and Schlager (2021), Latour (2005), Saldanha and O'Brien (2013), Hammersley (2015), and others. Along with the quantitative and qualitative methods applied in translation studies, the methods of social research, including those borrowed from ethnographic research, as well as some approaches from ANT, are combined. For the imagological research, methods based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), as outlined by Leerssen (2007, 2016), Barkhoff and Leerssen (2021), Flynn and Gambier (2011), and van Doorslaer (2019), are employed. Whereas CDA examines the relationship between language, power, and society, the DHA is a specific methodology that focuses on the historical context of discourse. In a way, DHA provides a structured framework to analyze how discourse functions within a given historical and social context.

Quantitative methods enable the analysis of large datasets through corpus analysis and the collection of statistical data on translation flows, allowing for the precise identification of Estonian-Russian translations within the global translation landscape and their distinct characteristics. Qualitative methods include interviews, case studies, and critical discourse analysis of titles selected for imagological research. The design of the entire research is iterative, meaning that every subsequent stage is based on the results of the previous stage and can be flexible, depending on the stage and nature of the research. While the primary corpus analysis enables the identification of the contexts and actors involved, as well as the settings of their work, interviews and case studies provide details and unique features of each participant. Upon collecting these data, it is possible to trace and detect patterns and regularities specific to the production and promotion of Estonian-Russian translations and Russian original titles published in Estonia.

2.1.1 Sociological part

To answer research question #1, "What are the characteristics (genres, authors, and the place on the hierarchical map of global cultural exchange) of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023?", quantitative and qualitative corpus analyses are employed; a more detailed explanation regarding the characteristics of the translation flows follows in the interviews. Based on the data provided by available databases, two corpora are composed for further research: corpus #1, "Corpus of Estonian-Russian translations in the period of 1991–2023", and corpus #2, "Russian titles produced in Estonia in 1991–2023". To answer research question #2, "Who are the main actors in translation networks, and how do they interrelate?", a more detailed corpus analysis,

as well as further data collection during the interviews, is required, utilizing the ANT approaches. The research is conducted in two phases.

Phase 1 includes data collection to compose the two corpora as tables, with the specification of the original title, title in translation, author's name, genre, translator's name, publisher's name, location of publication, and year of publication (Appendices 1 and 2), which comprise the primary data. Secondary data are obtained through quantitative analysis of tables, which help identify the most active actors in translation flows and reveal the scale and locations of publishing and information on the most active publishers and translators. Additionally, the country of publication is identified, allowing for the tracking of translations and genres over the years of publication.

Data from **Phase 1** is used to identify specific case studies to be investigated in **Phase 2** within the sociological research, which is process- and participant-oriented. The interrelation of the actors, their missions, goals, translation networks, target audiences, and the availability of financial support from state agencies and NGOs are to be clarified during further qualitative analysis, i.e., interviews with the most active actors.

Phase 1. Corpus analysis

The corpus is built using four databases to enable verification and double-checking of the titles contained: the translation database of the Estonian Literature Center (ELIC) and the Estonian e-bibliography Ester.ee, Index Translationum as a main database of UNESCO, and the database of the National Estonian Library. The primary database to rely upon is the Estonian Literary Center database, which is being periodically updated. The Estonian e-bibliography database, Ester.ee, is primarily used to verify titles selected from the ELIC database and to obtain additional information about them. The databases of Index Translationum and the National Estonian Library allow for searching for additional information and comparing the lists of translation flows for a given period. The lists of selected titles are compiled from data across all these sources. The selection of the titles comprises **Phase 1** of the sociological part of the research, as, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the initial quantitative data can provide a researcher with more precise information on the specific settings or the actors to be interviewed; these data may also be a valuable tool in designing the structure (or opting for a free structure) of interviews.

The selections for the corpora are based on the following criteria:

– text-type-restricted study: only the literary titles must be included in the corpus;
– time-restricted study: only the titles published within the period 1991–2023 should be counted in (including the re-editions and reprints of titles published within the earlier period);
– language-restricted study: only Estonian-Russian translations within a given period are considered;
– original publications in Russian published in Estonia for a given period are included in a separate Russian corpus.

The primary data is processed for the following classification of the selected titles:

– classification by genres, including novels, short stories, essays, poetry, children's literature, travelogues, anthologies, memoirs, and biographies, including publications in Russian literary periodicals, to identify the most popular genres of the translation flow;
– classification by the location of publication: Russia, Estonia, or other countries/ joint ventures;
– classification by the most active publishers;
– classification by the most active translators;
– classification by the most popular authors translated from Estonian into Russian;
– periodization by the most productive periods and tracing the dynamics.

Answers to these questions provide the main characteristics of the Estonian-Russian translation flow, which addresses research question #1. The quantitative (percentage) and qualitative analysis (identification of the most popular/successful actors, locations, and genres based on the percentage ratio) are the basis for a more descriptive study to be conducted in order to reveal the details of such characteristics and a thorough overview of the current situation with Estonian-Russian translations and their place in the hierarchical system of the world translations, their function as a tool to disseminate the national cultural values, their production volumes, their existing and potential markets, as well as the scale and character of activities of the key actors involved.

Phase 2. Sociological research: interviews & case studies

There are several reasons to practice ethnographic approaches for studies of the sociology of translation. As a qualitative research method, it allows for immersion in a specific setting to obtain a contextualized understanding of the behaviors, beliefs, and practices of a given group, which includes observation, participation, and interviews aimed at collecting data; as a result, ethnographic research provides a detailed account of the cultural and social dynamics of the group, focusing on the participants' perspectives. According to Anderson (2009), ethnographic research aims to understand how people behave and what motivates them. Although the Estonian-Russian translation subfield may not be a natural setting for real-time observation, as various actors perform their functions in different locations and at different times, and the entire translation process is lengthy, the study is primarily based on data collection.

The rigid structure of interviews should be avoided to prevent limiting the interviewed actors' ability to express their thoughts, attitudes, or opinions. Participant observation can be effectively incorporated into the interview process (Hammersley 2018). The interviews are planned as semi-structured, with open-ended questions (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013). Covering the research methodologies in translation studies, Flynn and Gambier (2011) mention their basic factors, i.e., discourses, practices, contexts, and actors, and their complex interre-

lations. When working with discourses, the complexities in the histories of translation should be problematized rather than aligned with the theoretical framework (Robinson 2001). Consequently, participants' biographies in the local political, cultural, economic, and social contexts, as well as political or social issues derived from official relationships between Estonia and Russia at the global level, must be considered, including their historical background and the current situation. Discourses are tightly interwoven with real practices (Flynn and Gambier 2011), whereas practices are studied within the context of a specific translator's habitus in their specialization. When dealing with translation practices, the information received from translators, publishers, and authors helps to determine what form of capital is acquired by a translator and publisher in every individual case and generally in the subfield of Estonian-Russian translations, whether it is economic capital, i.e., selling bestsellers, or symbolic capital, i.e., the recognition and prestige, or cultural capital, that is, expertise or knowledge (ibid).

Specific attention is to be paid to the role and agency of translators involved in Estonian-Russian translation flows. According to Kaindl, Kolb, and Schlager (2021), the role of the translator itself was long ignored by translation theory, which initially focused on linguistic models and formal descriptions. The representative of the school of formalists, Yury Tynyanov, who was one of those to question the theory of formalism by introducing a concept of the literary fact that includes not only a context but the dynamics of the environment and "the personality of the creator" (Tynyanov, cited in Kaindl et al 2021, 126). For this research, such an individualistic approach should encompass not only translators but also all actors involved in the translation process. With the focus on translation as a *social activity,* it is crucial to understand how the group of Estonian-Russian translators has been established and developed in Estonia in post-Soviet years and what are the typical characteristics of the participants; it is important to learn about their status in society, the recognition of a translator and generally their "own interests and aspirations, constraints and access to resources" (Sela-Sheffy 2005, 2).

This is where methods of social and ethnological research are partially applied, along with ANT principles, to reconstruct a given translation network and the communication structure of the actors involved, and to clarify the basic function of such translations as "allotted by the community" (Toury 1995, 53). Knowledge and practices are often closely associated with institutionalization: translators' competencies and education, as well as their status in a given society, payment rates, visibility, and the general recognition of their contributions. Whereas translation can be considered an institution itself (Koskinen 2011), as a social activity subject to norms, the notion of the institution of translation may vary across historical periods, political discourses, and cultural spaces. Some specific persons and agencies might articulate what requirements and expectations Estonian-Russian translations must comply with, including, but not limited to, language and translation policies adopted by the state of Estonia, educational institutions where translators acquire their competencies, and the reputation of

such institutions; presence or absence of censorship and/or self-censorship; officially registered entities, i.e., publishers that produce such translations, etc.

Conducting the interviews: process & participant-oriented research
Obtaining secondary data through quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis is crucial for developing questionnaires for interviews with the most active actors in translation, including publishers, editors, translators, and authors. This research design is represented as outlined in Table 1.

Collecting data from the interviews and subsequent data processing provides a comprehensive answer to RQ #2, "Who are the main actors in translation networks, and how do they interrelate?"

Table 1. Preliminary questionnaires for selected actors based on the corpora of Estonian-Russian translations and Russian original titles.

EST-RU translation flows **Preliminary questionnaires**								
T. policy & decision-making	Publishers	Titles	Funding	Target audience	Translators	Mission	Reviews	Institutionali-zation
Refinement and redesign								
T. policy & decision-making	Publishers	Titles	Funding	Target audience	Translators	Mission	Reviews	Additional data: market, demand, attitudes
Russian corpus **Preliminary questionnaires**								
Authors	Titles	Editors	Funding	Target audience	Reviews	Institutionali-zation	Mission	
Refinement and redesign								
Authors	Titles	Editors	Funding	Target audience	Reviews	Additional data: Market, demand, attitudes	Mission	

The preliminary questionnaires have been drawn up to include all possible questions that may arise regarding the scale and nature of translation practices, adopted individual translation policies, as defined by Meylaerts (2011), factors determining decision-making, and details of the literary goods production process, as well as distribution and promotion of such goods. Such questions assist in obtaining the information on:

- how and by whom it is decided what titles to select for translation;
- how and by whom it is decided what editors and translators should be engaged in the translation of given titles;
- how the target culture is outlined, and what the extent of adaptation of given translations to the requirements/expectations of the target culture is;
- how and by whom the target audience and the market are determined;
- whether translating, publishing, and editing are supported with any state or non-governmental funding;
- the pattern of distribution of translated titles and networks involved;
- the place and share of the translated titles in the local and international market;
- the norms, habitus, and standards applied to translation practices;
- marketing and promotion channels used;
- journalistic and literary reviews in terms of location, scale, and general feedback (positive/negative);
- sales outcome (positive/negative), etc.

The list of questions is not limited to the examples given, as participants can raise new details and facts during personal conversations, and new perspectives for questioning may arise. According to the pre-research, the list of questions is designed to be multipurpose and multifunctional. The questions are formulated to obtain as many details as possible, without restricting participants with rigid frameworks, following the best practices of applying ANT methods in translation studies (Hekkanen 2009; Kung 2009; van Rooyen 2019; Kung 2021). Based on the answers, a comprehensive retrospective description of the given translation flow is elaborated, including all key actors and events. The ANT approaches imply that special attention is paid to cases where human and non-human actors influence the course of normal activities (Latour 2005).

The researcher's qualitative approach is designed to be flexible and non-intrusive (Babbie and Mouton 2014). Therefore, the questionnaires are not based on the professional or functional classification of the interviewed participants (i.e., there are no specific sets of questions for translators, editors, or publishers), due to their interconnection and multifunctionality. Therefore, it is highly crucial to consider the situatedness of the process of translation to include "everything and every agent engaged in the period from contact by the commissioner of the translation to receipt of the final translated product by the addressee" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013, 110).

A descriptive (exploratory, explanatory, and evaluative) study based on the interviews with the most active actors of a given field results in tracking a pattern

(or multiple possible patterns) of communication between the actors involved and of the process of production of literary goods, as well as the engines of the market and its stimuli. The descriptive study utilizes empirical data gathered during interviews, which are later analyzed from a sociological perspective. The applied translation policies and strategies are evaluated as either productive or non-productive for generating economic, cultural, or social capital by a given publisher at both the national/international levels.

The questionnaires are tailored for both in-person and online communication, depending on each participant's preferred format, as well as for offline interviews, and are conducted in either Estonian or Russian. For the interviews and/or questionnaires, different types of questions are developed. Partly, these are exploratory questions aimed at gaining more knowledge or clarifying existing understanding of particular events and processes, such as "what", "where", "when", and "how". Exploratory questions are supplemented with descriptive research questions to yield more precise data and details on the translation process and key events. "Why"-question as an explanatory question is asked regarding the nature of the process and organizations of particular translations and the implementation of a particular translation policy by a publisher/translator/editor. The set of evaluative questions helps assess the actions, strategies, and policies implemented.

The set of questions is the same for all participants and is as detailed as possible, allowing adjustment for each participant. The questionnaire encompasses a range of question types, including exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, and evaluative (ibid). The translation flow in question must be identified, described (including its regularities and patterns), and evaluated. To do that, the following questions are addressed to the participants:

Settings and networks:

1. When and where was the publishing house established/your editor/ translator/author career start? What is their/your mission declared (if any)?
2. Who are the key partners of the publishing house? What are the main areas of translation (i.e., poetry, children's literature, novels, etc., or what is the focus of the publisher in terms of earning economic/social/ cultural capital)? Does the publishing house specialize in a particular literary genre/genres?
3. How is the process of translation, editing, and publishing organized? What caused that?
4. What is the required qualification of translators involved? Please describe your/their competencies.
5. What is the required qualification of editors involved? Please describe your/their competencies.

Acquiring cultural, symbolic, or economic capital:

6. What Estonian-Russian translations have been produced/edited/published by you/your publishing house since 1991? Where were these books distributed/sold?
7. What is the share of Estonian-Russian translations of your publisher house among the other activities? Are there translations to other languages you are involved in? What is the share of Estonian-Russian translations among the other translation flows?
8. What are the criteria for selecting titles to be translated? Who makes the decision, and what supports this decision?
9. Who is the target audience of translated titles? Please describe the main qualities.

Recognition and institutionalization

10. What sources of funding support these translations? Are these regular or one-time fundings?
11. Can Estonian-Russian translations be considered institutionalized? Have these translations been awarded state or international prizes? If yes, please describe.
12. What is the result of publications? (Book marketability, journalistic reviews, number or scope of bookshops/libraries/magazines/institutions to receive and sell the translations).
13. What is the process of communication with journalists and/or literary critics? What is the outcome of literary reviews/announcements/ interviews with authors, translators, and publishers?
14. Are there any other promotional events, i.e., presentations, reading clubs, discussions, festivals, etc.? To what extent are these events efficient for the promotion of books?
15. Are there professional organizations (networks) that unite translators, publishers, and writers in Estonia? If so, do these organizations make collective decisions regarding publishing and translation, and how does this affect translation policies and strategies?

The questionnaire can be revised during interviews based on the data obtained. Digital recording is used during interviews to facilitate a more conscious approach and analysis, in comparison with more traditional methods in ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). The data received from the main actors of the Estonian-Russian translation field are stored as digital MS Word files; the obtained information is restructured by its relevance to particular topics, i.e., missions, funding, institutionalization, etc., to both trace regularities and laws/ patterns of the entire translation flow at the meso level and register the slightest nuances and particularities at the micro level.

In the discussion section, the gathered data are examined, with a specific focus on independent facts of the current reality and the subjective opinions of the actors involved. The data are interpreted from the point of view of the global

cultural exchange and promotion of literary goods, which is informed by the ideas of Bourdieu (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007); external situations and their interpretations by the translation actors allow for tracing not only the inherited regularities but the changes in the process of translation caused by people's mindsets, opinions, and dispositions (Latour 2005); the translation network is analyzed as a social system maintained by the communication between actors, whose functionalities are differentiated.

2.1.2 Imagological part

Section 1. Self-image (auto-image)

The imagological research provides answers to the research questions #3 and #4, that are, "Which (complex and/or simplified) images of Estonia(nness) (qualities, characters, reputations, narratives) are disseminated through the translated novels and contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy?", and "To what extent do the images of Estonia(nness) distributed through literary translation correspond with the stereotyped images in Russian literature, including literature produced in Estonia?"

The study is divided into four parts. The first section "Images of Estonia(nness) in Estonian-Russian translations" (see 5.1), describes, classifies and analyzes images as represented in the books written by Estonian authors translated into Russian (Leerssen 2007, 2016); most repreated historical narratives are described in section "Processing national traumas in literature and building new images and identities" (see 5.2); images of Estonia(nness) as represented by the Russian-speaking authors in Estonia are analyzed in the section "Images, tropes, and narratives of Estonia and Estonianness in titles of Russian-speaking authors" (see 5.3); and the linguistic analysis of three titles selected based on their diversity of genres and imagological relevance is provided in the fourth part of the chapter (see 5.4). Therefore, the research under sections 5.1 and 5.2 provides answers to research question #3, whereas the findings under sections 5.3 and 5.4 provide answers to research question #4.

A corpus-based analysis of discourses on Estonia, Estonians, and Estonianness, as represented in the titles comprising the Estonian-Russian literary translation flow since 1991, has been conducted. In addition, recommendations on the selection of titles most relevant to imagological research, received from publishers, translators, editors, and authors during the interviews, have also been considered in the elaboration of the strategy for such analysis.

The primary selection of the relevant titles is based on the following principles:

- Estonian and/or Russian titles (original and/or translated) directly refer to Estonia(nness);
- Mentioning Estonia, Estonian, famous Estonians, Estonian toponyms, and/or Estonian folklore characters in titles is an explicit sign to select a title for the imagological analysis;

– Peritexts, i.e., cover texts, annotations, forewords, introductions, or afterwords, directly refer to the main Estonian characters or Estonia as the main venue;
– Publishers, authors, editors, and translators gave additional recommendations regarding the selection of imagologically relevant titles.

The imagological "lens" (van Doorslaer 2019), which can range from a simple word search to a sophisticated software tool for corpus analysis, is used to detect and register these images as represented in contemporary Estonian literature translated into Russian. Passages on Estonia and Estonianness are structured as a 2-column table that enables a comparison between Estonian and Russian peritexts, with both texts translated into English. The analysis focuses on the most common stereotyped images of Estonians as described in peritexts, listing their basic, recognizable features, and the most frequently repeated narratives associated with certain historical events or periods. For comparison, a separate table of images of Estonia and Estonianness, retrieved from peritexts in the original Russian titles of Estonia, has been compiled.

The analysis of "discourses of national character and patterns of prejudice and stereotyping" (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021, 3) includes the identification of the function of images in the text, the historical and political context of their establishment and development, and the possible cultural or social issues they aim to address, e.g., processing national traumas, consolidating society, or prescribing a specific cultural code of conduct. These images, when translated into Russian, can be exoticized or obtain certain features of otherness, which is also considered in the analysis.

A linguistic analysis of the translation of three selected titles from the imagological corpus aims to identify the translation strategies and policies employed, with a focus on the translation of images and their transformation, as well as the features of otherness that emerge through the translation process. For the purposes of the analysis, some elements of classifications suggested by Barkhudarov (1975) and Delabastita (1993) are used in this subchapter.

2.2 Ethics of research

The data provided by the participants is not anonymized and may contain personal data. Following the best practices of social research and the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Research Integrity approved by the Senate of the University of Tartu on 31 January 2020, an informed recorded verbal or written consent to use the collected data after the end of the study is requested from all participants, depending on the interview format (online or offline), for the purpose of the interview. The data collected during interviews for this research are verified by participants to avoid misunderstandings and incorrect interpretations of the information provided.

2.3 Data presentation

2.3.1 Data presentation based on the corpora of Estonian-Russian translation flows and Russian titles produced in Estonia in 1991–2023

The selection of translated titles in the corpora is limited to the period of Estonian independence since 1991, after the collapse of the USSR. The period mentioned above (1991–2023) has been chosen for the analysis of the main trends and perspectives of the given translation flow, considering both its transcultural and transboundary character. Creation and promotion of Estonian national literature (including some re-editions of recognized authors) for the Russian-speaking audience both inside and outside Estonia clearly illustrates the adopted language and translation policies elaborated by the state and other institutions as conditioned by numerous cultural, social, political, and economic factors outlining the nature and extent of cultural exchange as well as the dynamics of such exchange at the diachronic scale. The collected data on the Estonian-Russian translation flows encompass authors, genres, publishers, translators, and the year of publication; the data not only illustrate the circulation of literary goods in conditions of independence but provide a comprehensive knowledge on the position of Estonian literature in the hierarchical structure of the world translations (macro level), the aims and strategies of the Estonian state agencies engaged in promotion its national cultural capital (meso level), and the main features of a translation network standing behind the production such translation flows (micro level).

To compile the corpus of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991, four databases have been used as mutually complementary sources: ELIC (estlit.ee), the Estonian e-library catalog (ester.ee), the UNESCO database on translations Index Translationum, and the database of the Estonian National Library nlib.ee/rara.ee.

The Estonian Literature Center (ELIC), whose database of translated titles was used as a the main source of information on the Estonian-Russian translations since 1991, was established in 2001 as a non-profit, state-supported institution engaged in the promotion of Estonian literature and Estonian cultural goods worldwide; the center collaborates with various agencies such as libraries, cultural centers, embassies, and universities (Loogus and van Doorslaer 2021). The Traducta program, supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, as mentioned on ELIC's website, is a means to stimulate translations from Estonian into other languages, utilizing a widely used grant system (ibid: 11).

The advanced search feature, which allows for specific language translation and publication period, enabled by the ELIC database, provided 316 entries as translations from Estonian into Russian within the period from 1991 to 2023. An additional search was performed via the Estonian e-library catalog ester. Using the keywords, which are the names of translators entered in Russian, provides 111 more entries. The search via Index Translationum yielded 156 titles for the given period, including textbooks and references, whereas the Estonian National Library provided a list of translations referring to 359 titles published between

1991 and 2023. In total, the corpus contains 426 titles of Estonian-Russian translations (see Appendix 1). The Index Translationum database refers to Estonian-Russian translations prior to 2009 and has presumably not been updated in the last 10 years. Some entries in the literature section refer to English, French, and Estonian textbooks and were therefore ignored, as these language learning materials are not relevant to my research. The most comprehensive list of translations was provided by the Estonian National Library. A comparative data analysis was then conducted to compile data from the four sources and eliminate duplicate entries.

The discrepancies between the databases hindered the search due to the incompleteness and fragmentary nature of the sources. Not all translators were specified in the ELIC entries, especially in cases of re-editions of translations of Estonian classics (e.g., Anton H. Tammsaare) made in the mid-20th century, or when a translation is a collaboration of a group of translators working on an anthology. Notably, there are several cases of self-translation (see entries for Jaan Kaplinski, Kalle Käsper, and others).

Not only printed publications but online resources are included in the research: the ELIC database contains references to the electronic literary journal *Novye Oblaka* (oblaka.ee) established in 2007, where writings by the Russian authors in Estonia and translations of contemporary Estonian writers are published, as well as to the online & offline project *Tuulelohe* (tvz.ee) established in 2003 with a mission to support and develop Russian literature in Estonia. *Novye Oblaka* is an e-periodical, so a printed publication is not a criterion for inclusion in ELIC. The titles published in *Tuulelohe* have been manually searched across the two databases: Ester.ee and Estlit.ee. The websites of *Novye Oblaka* and *Tuulelohe* were also thoroughly investigated, as these contemporary online editions, where authors in Estonia can publish their novels, short stories, and poetry, constitute part of the corpus.

The ELIC database does not contain entries for original Russian titles produced in Estonia, or for titles created by Estonian bilingual or Russian-speaking authors and published in Russia or in other countries. To search for these titles, the ester.ee database and the database of the Estonian National Library were used. The search via the e-bibliography ester.ee by the names of translators, editors, and authors provided 117 titles. These titles were originally written in Russian by Russian-speaking Estonians and constitute a separate corpus (Appendix 2).

To facilitate the search, several literary reviews and articles (Belobrovtseva 2011; Belobrovtseva 2014; Kõvamees 2016; Sakova 2018; Belobrovtseva 2018; Hyde 2021) on Russian-speaking writers in Estonia have been studied. The search and consultations helped to locate the original texts by Svetlan Semenenko, Andrei Ivanov, Igor Kotjuh, Tatiana Sigalova, Jelena Skulskaja, and others, whose names and/or original publications were not specified in the ELIC database. Notably, some of these authors have also been active as publishers, editors, translators, special event organizers, and essayists; they have promoted both originally Russian titles and translations from Estonian by writing introductions, forewords, and reviews (see Chapter 5). The list includes, among others, the

names of Irina Belobrovtseva and Vitali Belobrovtsev, professors at Tallinn University; Igor Kotjuh, an author, poet, publisher, and translator; Jelena Skulskaja, an author and translator; Svetlan Semenenko, a translator and author; P.I. Filimonov, an editor, author, and translator; Boris Tuch, an author, translator, and essayist; and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper, an author and translator. Such results illustrate the multifunctionality of the actors operating in the field of Estonian-Russian literary translations in Estonia.

2.3.2 Data presentation for the imagological analysis of selected titles of the two corpora

The data for the research under Chapter 5 are selected from the two corpora composed under Chapter 3, that are, "Corpus of Estonian-Russian translations for the period of 1991–2023", and "Russian titles produced in Estonia in 1991–2023" (See Appendices 1 and 2 to Chapter 3). The selection, based on the method specified in Section 2.1, resulted in 117 titles comprising the corpus of Estonian-Russian translations (Appendix 1 to Chapter 5) and 20 titles from the original Russian corpus (Appendix 2 to Chapter 5).

A corpus search shows that the novels published since 1991 contain several references to Estonia(nness): i.e., the titles contain Estonian names ("111 sammu Juhan Liiviga" / "111 ступеней с Юханом Лийвом" (111 steps with Juhan Liiv), "Maari suvi" / "Лето Маари" (Maari's summer), "Marie Under. Elu ja luule" / "Марие Ундер: жизнь и поэзия" (Life and poetry of Marie Under), "Toomas Nipernaadi" / "Томас Нипернаади" (Thomas Nipernaadi), "Vana Toomase legend: üks äraütlemata põnew lugu" / "Храбрый Тоомас: легенда старого Таллинна, история о маленьком храбром мальчике, который вырос и стал спасителем города Таллинна во время Ливонской войны" (The legend of Old Thomas"), etc.), Estonian toponyms ("Mäeküla piimamees" / "Молочник из Мяэкюла" (The milkman from Mäeküla), "Märjamaa legend" / "Мярьямааская легенда" (The legend from Märjamaa), "Sillamäe passion" / "Страсти по Силламяэ" (The Sillamäe passion), "Tartu tähestik ehk Tarto maine ja taevane trükis" / "Загадки Тарту" (The Mystery of Tartu), "Ülemiste vanake" / "Старец из озера Юлемисте" (The oldman from Ülemiste), "Printsessi mõrv Koluvere lossis" / "Убийство принцессы в замке Колувере" (The murder of princess in the Koluvere castle), references to Estonian history and culture ("Eesti kirjanduse lugu" / "Очерки по истории эстонской литературы" (History of Estonian literature), "Eesti luule antoloogia" / "Антология эстонской поэзии" (The anthology of Estonian poetry), "Eesti rahva muinasjutte lindudest ja loomadest" / "Эстонские народные сказки о птицах и животных" (Estonian tales about birds and animals), "Eesti uus novell 1990.aasta l"/ "Новая эстонская новелла: 1990-е годы. Библиотека журнала «Таллинн»" (The new Estonian novel. 1990), to Finno-Ugric literature ("Soome-ugri kirjanduste antoloogia, I–II" / "Антология литературы финно-угорских народов" (The Finno-Urgic anthology), and others.

The Russian titles produced in Estonia that refer to Estonianness comprise the second corpus for the magological research; the references to Estonianness are mostly represented in peritexts, whereas the titles generally do not reflect their relevance to imagology, with a few exceptions, such as the poetic collections "Объснение в любви: 150 стихотворений 18 русских поэтов Эстонии" / "Confessions of love: 150 poems by 18 Russian poets in Estonia" (anthology), "Эстонский дизайн: стихи 2009–2013" / "Estonian Design: poetry of 2009–2013" by Igor Kotjuh (poetry), "Белый корабль Ласнамяэ" / "The white ship of Lasnamäe" by Viktoria Ladynskaya (novel), "Эй, Нарва! All together!" / "Hey, Narva! All together!" by Vladimir Cherdakov, and "Kodumaa" by Larissa Joonas (poetry).

CHAPTER 3. DATA ANALYSIS

3.1 Classification of the corpus by genres, geographical locations, publishers, translators, and authors

According to the corpus data, 82% of Estonian-Russian translations are published by Estonian publishers. This implies that the actors to be interviewed are operating in Estonia, which are the most active publishers in the field, including KPD, Aleksandra, Avenarius, Kite, Vene Entsüklopeedia, Bri & Ko, Varrak, Tammerraamat, and K&G, which collectively account for up to 80% of the market. The primary analysis of the Estonian-Russian translation corpus employed quantitative methods and was product-oriented, aiming to classify the selected titles. Based on the extracted primary data, the most popular genres, translators, publishers, and publication locations have been identified. The dynamics of publications were traced across the most and least productive years; the dynamics of changes in preferred genres were also examined.

3.1.1 Genres

The results of classification by genres for the corpus of Estonian-Russian translations are as follows: there are 224 entries for children's literature, 93 entries for novels, 36 entries for poetry, 30 entries for short stories, 15 entries for anthologies (including one entry for an anthology of children's literature), eight entries for memoirs, eight entries for essays, seven entries for travelogues, three for plays, and two for biographies.

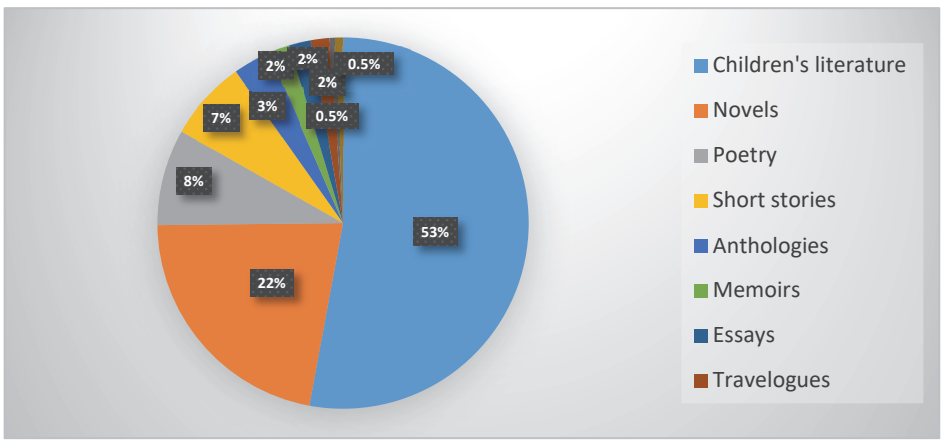

Diagram 1. Genres of Estonian-Russian translation flows from 1991 to 2023.

According to the quantitative analysis of the Estonian-Russian translation flow 1991–2023, an acute drop in book production was specific for post-Soviet years;

the gradual growth of translated books can be observed since 2007, with some fluctuations; since 2009, the production of Estonian-Russian translations varied between 10 and 30 titles per year, with an insignificant drop in 2022 and 2023.

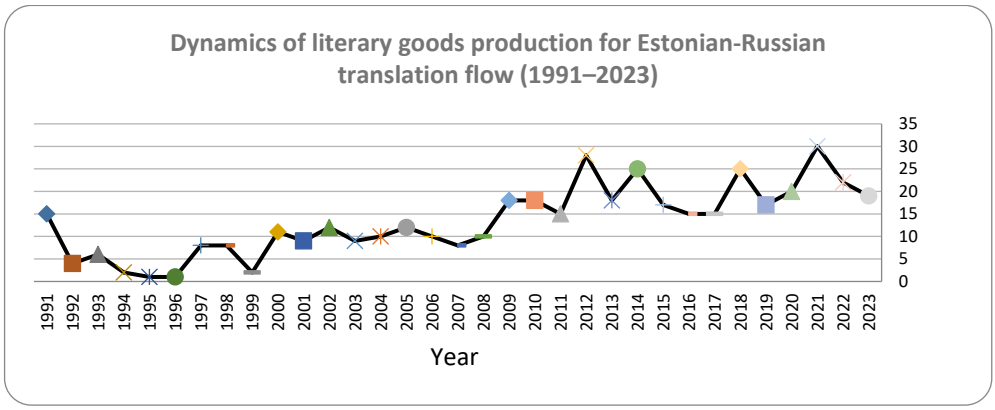

Diagram 2. Dynamics of literary goods production for Estonian-Russian translation flow (1991–2023).

The dynamics of genres within the Estonian-Russian translation flow 1991–2023 as illustrated on the Diagram 3 indicates the peak years of popularity of children's literature within the Estonian-Russian translation flow in 2012 and 2021 reaching 17 and 18 titles per year respectively; the production of novels was more stable, with fluctuations between two and six titles per year; the poetry production numbers varied between two and eight titles per year, with the other genres even less produced.

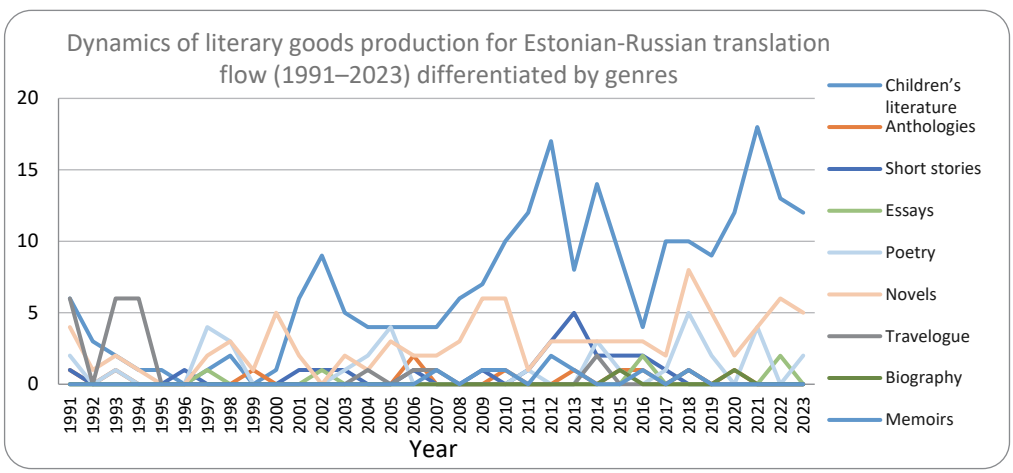

Diagram 3. Dynamics of literary goods production for the Estonian-Russian translation flow (1991–2023), differentiated by genre.

3.1.2 Publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations

A total of 348 titles are published in Estonia, 70 titles in Russia, with five cases classified as joint ventures between Estonian and Russian publishers. Additionally, two titles are published for Ukraine, two for Belarus, one for Moldova, and one is a joint project of Estonian and Lithuanian publishers.

The Russian publishers include the following actors: Sovetski Pisatel, Oktopus, Nigma, Raduga, Super Izdatelstvo, Hroniker, Eksmo, Grif, Astrel/AST, Alpina Publisher, Rosmen, Detskaya literatura, Machaon, Sokrat, Ingermanlandia, Vremya, as well as the literary periodicals *Druzhba narodov*, *Novõi mir*, *Oktyabr*, *Zvezda*.

There are many small- and medium-scale publishers represented in Estonia: Rotulus, Hume, Plug, Tuulelohe, Paar, Bookmill, Originaalne Keskus, Ilo, Taam, KPD, Tänapäev, K&G, Varrak, Adepte, Avita, Tuum, Randvelt Kirjastus, Aleksandra, Vene Entsüklopeedia, Eesti Raamat, L.Kokk, Avenarius, Argo, Bri & Ko, Fabian, Tammerraamat, Eesti Päevaleht, Eesti Joonisfilm, Tähtvere Avatud Naistekeskus, Talmor & Põhi, Vagabund, Kupar, M.Traat, Menu, Harte, Ilmamaa, Grenader, Oblaka, Pegasus, Koolibri, Sulemees, Päike ja Pilv, Tartu linnavalitsus, Haus Galleri, Kite, Vemsa, Eesti keele Sihtasutus, Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Petrone print, Kuldsulg, Ulvi Postkaart. Notably, some titles are published by enterprises that usually are not engaged in publishing activities, namely: Eesti Joonisfilm (The Estonian Cartoons), Eesti Rahva Muuseum (Estonian National Muuseum), Tähtvere Avatud Naistekeskus (Open Women Center in Tähtvere), Tartu linnavalitsus (Tartu City Government), and Maanteamet (The Road Board).

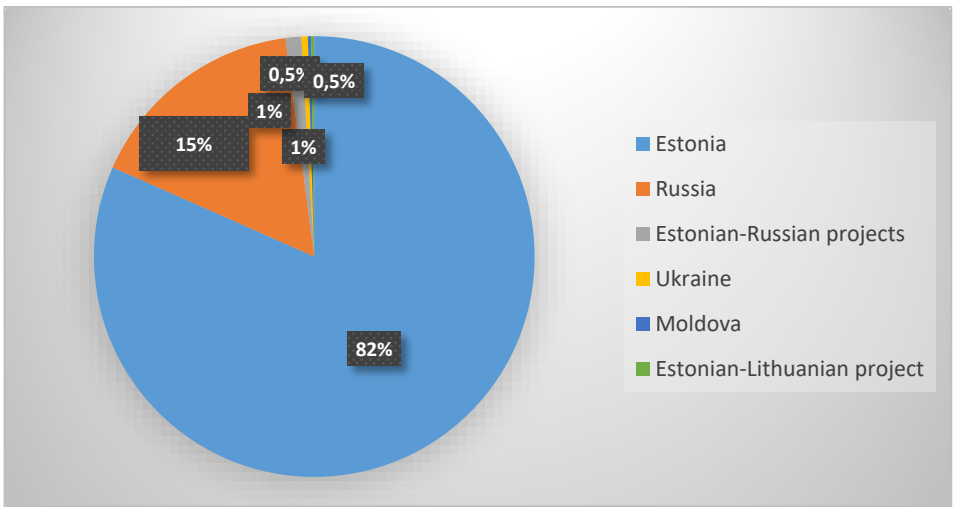

Diagram 4. Distribution of the Estonian-Russian translations by location of publisher.

The fact that a significant part of translated texts (82%, with the 1% share of collective efforts of Estonian and Russian publishers, see below) are published in Estonia, not in Russia, leads to the hypothesis that the target audience is the Russian-speaking minority of Estonia; hence, such translations can be either considered marketable or use other governmental and non-governmental funding. Based on the quantitative data on publications within the period 1991–2023, qualitative characteristics can be given as to the ten most active Estonian publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations, as listed below:

1. *KPD* (Estonia) (100 entries: 57 entries for children's literature, 22 entries for novels, 12 entries for short stories, three entries for poetry, two entries for memoirs, two entries for essays, and one entry for anthologies) was established in 1998 in Tallinn (Estonia) and is engaged in printing Estonian classics translated into Russian as well as the translations of contemporary Estonian literature, including children's literature the information is provided on the website, kpd.ee (see Chapter 4).
2. *Aleksandra* (Estonia) (38 entries: 16 entries for children's literature, 10 entries for novels, four entries for poetry, three entries for short stories, two entries for memoirs, one entry for anthologies, one entry for essays, and one entry for biography; in five cases it was a collaboration with Moscow publishers *Oktopus* and *Kompozitor*) was established in 1990, and published more than 200 books since then, including Russian and Estonian classics, poetry, and memoirs. The Aleksandra publisher is also engaged in the production of the Russian literary magazine *Tallinn* and in editing activities for the Russian version of the children's literary magazine Täheke; this information is available on the website melts.ee (see Chapter 4).
3. *Vene Entsüklopeedia (Eesti Kultuurikeskus Vene Entsüklopeedia)* (Estonia) (20 entries: seven entries for short stories, six entries for children's literature, five entries for novels, one entry for essays, and one entry for poetry) was established in 1998; the company provides no information about its activities, has no official website, and is out of operation as of 2019.
4. *Kite* (14 entries: five entries for children's literature, five entries for poetry, one entry for novels, one entry for anthologies, one entry for memoirs, one entry for short stories) is engaged in printing books in Estonia in Russian, Estonian, and translated into Russian or Estonian, the oblaka.ee website contains information on publications by Kite, Tuulelohe, and *Novye Oblaka* literary periodical (see Chapter 4).
5. *Avita* (11 entries: five entries for children's literature, four entries for novels, and two entries for plays) is an Estonian publisher with offices in Tallinn, Tartu, and Jõhvi, mainly engaged in printing academic books in Russian and Estonian to be used by schoolteachers, according to the information provided on the official website avita.ee.
6. *Bri & Ko* (11 entries: eight entries for children's literature, two entries for anthologies, and one entry for novels). No additional information or official website available.

7. *Varrak* (seven entries: five entries for children's literature, one entry for novels, and one entry for poetry) was founded in 1991 and is one of the largest publishing houses in Estonia, according to the information provided on the official website varrak.ee. The publisher works across different genres, "from history, philosophy, and sociology to literary fiction, science fiction, popular fiction, and children's literature."
8. *Avenarius* (seven entries: five entries for poetry, one entry for novels, and one entry for children's literature), no additional information or official website available.
9. *Tammerraamat* (five entries for children's literature) was established in Tallinn in 2005 and is engaged in publishing books on history, social and political issues, biographies, gift books, health, humor, and children's literature, according to the information provided on the official website tammerraamat.ee.
10. *Eesti Päevaleht* (four entries: two entries for novels, and two entries for children's literature) is a daily newspaper in Estonia with printed and digital versions available.

According to the quantitative analysis, the leaders in the field of Estonian-Russian translations have been the KPD, Aleksandra, Vene Entsüklopeedia, Avita, and Kite publishers, with KPD and Aleksandra holding the largest market share. The participation of other Estonian publishers in the production of Estonian-Russian translations has been limited to fewer than four titles over a given period; therefore, it is sporadic and not considered a significant business activity.

Although children's literature has remained the most popular genre since 1991, corpus analysis suggests that Estonian publishers operating in the field of Estonian-Russian translations do not specialize in any particular genre; instead, they adopt a more general approach, working across various genres.

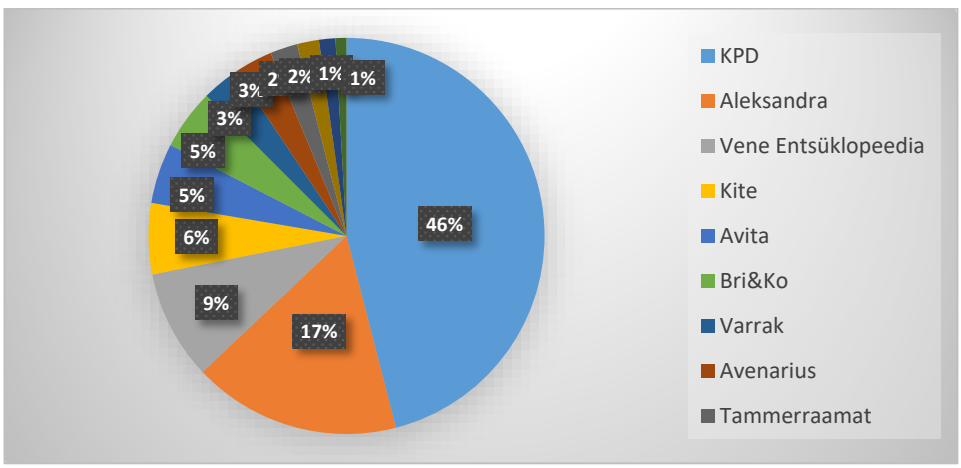

Diagram 5. Estonian publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023.

The most active Russian publishers engaged in the field of Estonian-Russian translations are listed below:

1. *AST/Astrel* (17 entries for the entire tetralogy of "Naksitrallid" by Eno Raud – one of the most popular Estonian children's writers since the times of USSR) is one of the largest publishers established in 1990; the book production is oriented to the general audience and includes all genres, according to references provided by the official publisher's website ast.ru.
2. *Nigma* (six entries for children's literature) is a medium-scale publisher operating since 2010 in Russia and focused on the production of educational and children's literature, according to the information provided on the official publisher's website, nigma.ru
3. *Rosmen* (five entries for children's literature) is a large Russian publisher specialized in children's literature that has been operating in the book market since 1992, according to the references provided by the official publisher's website rosman.ru.
4. *Alpina Publisher* is a medium-scale publisher mainly focused on popular science publishing in Russia; in 2022, Alpina published five titles of the genre of children's literature, according to the references provided by the official publisher's website alpinabook.ru.
5. *Oktopus* is a small-scale Moscow publisher established in 2002, specializing in children's literature and novels, according to the references provided by the official publisher's website, octo.ru. The publisher has been collaborating with the Estonian publisher *Aleksandra* to produce three books: two entries for novels and one entry for short stories.
6. *ESKMO* (one entry for children's literature and one entry anthology) is a large-scale Russian publisher, operating since 2012 as a publisher group in partial collaboration with *AST (Eskmo-AST*), according to the references provided by the official publisher's website, eksmo.ru). The publisher's primary business activities include the production of fiction, nonfiction books, and children's literature.
7. *Ingermanlandia, Hroniker, Grif, Sokrat, Raduga, and Super Izdatelstvo* are small-scale publishers in Russia; each of them accounts for one entry of different genres of Estonian-Russian translations.
8. *Sovetskii Pisatel, Detskaya literatura* are the legacy of the Soviet publishing industry that were still engaged in publishing activities after the collapse of the USSR (two entries for children's literature in 1991 and one entry in 1993 published by *Detskaya Literatura*, one entry for short stories, and two entries for novels in 1991 by *Sovetskii Pisatel*).
9. Literary periodicals *Druzhba narodov* (three entries), *Zvezda* (three entries), *Novyi mir* (one entry), and *Oktyabr* (one entry) have been traditionally engaged in the promotion of new authors for the general audience since the USSR times via publication of collections by national authors in special issues.

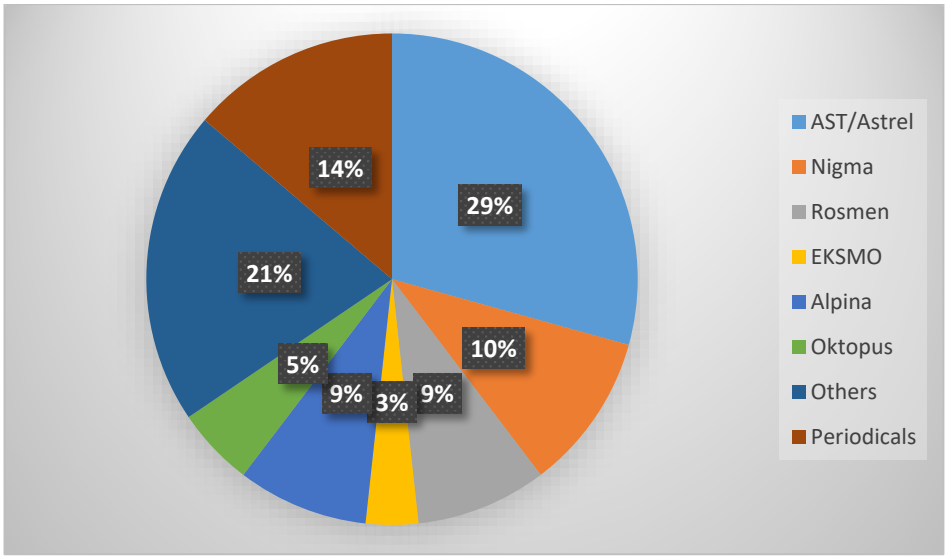

Diagram 6. Russian publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023.

3.1.3 Translators

The ELIC database lists only five names in the category of Estonian-Russian translators when searching for the Russian language under the tag "translators": Nelli Abašina-Melts, Maia Melts, Vera Prohorova, Ljudmila Simagina, and Tatjana Verhoustinskaja. However, it was possible to search for translators' names in the e-bibliography and in the list of translations provided by the Estonian National Library, whereas the data in Index Translationum do not regularly include translators' names. The compiled corpus, based on a manual search of both the ELIC database and the Ester e-library, consists of a list of 76 translators active in the field of Estonian-Russian translation for the period from 1991 to 2023, including re-editions.

Table 1. List of Estonian-Russian translators within the period 1991–2023

1. Abašina-Melts Nelli	31. Kulišova Maria	57. Skulskaja Jelena
2. Aleksandrova Tatjana	32. Looga Vera	58. Teppe Tatjana
3. Anvelt Roosa	33. Maltseva-Zamkovaja Natalja	59. Tervonen Marina
4. Baljasnõi Boriss		60. Tomberg Aleksandr
5. Baljasnaja Jelena,	34. Markosjan-Käsper Gohar	61. Tomm Leon
6. Belobrovtsev Vitali		62. Tomm Liidia
7. Belobrovtseva Irina	35. Matijevskaja Jekaterina	63. Toots Ain
8. Bljum Lena		64. Trass R.
9. Diomidova Galina	36. Meljakova Irina	65. Tugolesova Liidia
10. Einman Maria	37. Melts Maia	66. Tuch Boris
11. Filimonov P.I.	38. Mihhailova Elvira	67. Turovsky Aleksei
12. Grigori Trapido	39. Muravin Gennadi	68. Urbel Tatjana
13. Ilm Albina	40. Nael Olga	69. Vaino Leo
14. Jasnov Mihhail	41. Nalepina Darya	70. Väli Katrin
15. Joonas Larissa	42. Peiker Malle	71. Verhoustinskaja Tatjana
16. Kaalep Ain	43. Petrosjan Sofia,	
17. Kalaus Natalja	44. Pozdnjakova Jelena	72. Vladislav Sumarok
18. Kallas Alla		73. Vlasov L.
19. Kallas Roman	45. Prohorova Vera	74. Yavorskaya Nora
20. Kallonen E.	46. Purin Aleksei	75. Zavjalov Sergei
21. Kaplinski Jaan	47. Rammo V.	76. Zolotyh Irina
22. Karayev Nikolay	48. Rebane Jüri	
23. Karm Svetlana	49. Rozina Jelena	
24. Kesa Aleksander	50. Ruben Veera	
25. Kings Ilona	51. Samma Olga	
26. Koksharova Irina	52. Semenenko Svetlan	
27. Koreiša Igor		
28. Kotjuh Igor	53. Sen-Senko Andrei	
29. Kotova Nelli	54. Šer Leivi	
30. Kramer N.	55. Šutting Martin	
	56. Simagina Ljudmila	

The most active translators are as follows:

1. Vera Prohorova (41 entries: 14 entries for short stories, 14 entries for children's literature, nine for novels, three for essays, and one for memoirs)
2. Marina Tervonen (25 entries: four entries for poetry (including one case of self-translation), eight entries for children's literature, five entries for novels, three entries for short stories, one entry for anthologies, and one entry for biography)
3. Maia Melts (22 entries: 21 entries for children's literature and one entry for short stories)
4. Tatjana Teppe (20 entries: 17 entries for children's literature, one entry for essays, one for memoirs, one entry for short stories, and one for novels)
5. Boris Tuch (20 entries: 10 entries for novels, four entries for children's literature, two for short stories, two for anthologies, one entry for memoirs, and one entry for biography)

6. Jelena Baljasnaja (18 entries: 10 entries for children's literature, seven entries for novels, and one entry for short stories)
7. Tatjana Verhoustinskaja (15 entries: seven entries for children's literature, three entries for short stories, three entries for novels, one for essays, and one for memoirs)
8. Svetlan Semenenko (13 entries: four for short stories, four for children's literature, two entries for anthologies, two entries for poetry (with one case of self-translation), and one entry for novels)
9. Ljudmila Simagina (13 entries: eight entries for novels, three entries for children's literature, and two entries for essays)
10. Igor Kotjuh (12 entries: four entries for anthologies, three entries for children's literature, two entries for poetry, one entry for travelogue, one entry for biography, and one entry for novels)
11. Boriss Baljasnõi (10 entries: four entries for children's literature, two entries for poetry, three entries for novels, and one entry for anthologies)
12. Elvira Mihhailova (eight entries: three entries for novels, two entries for short stories, one entry for an anthology, one entry for memoirs, and one entry for children's literature)
13. Olga Nael (eight entries: five entries for novels, and three entries for children's literature)
14. P.I. Filimonov (eight entries: two entries for short stories, two entries for anthologies, two entries for poetry, one entry for children's literature, and one entry for memoirs)
15. Mihhail Jasnov (seven entries: six entries for children's literature, and one entry for anthologies)
16. Jelena Skulskaja (eight entries: four entries for poetry, two entries for children's literature, one entry for anthologies, and one entry for novels)
17. Jelena Pozdnjakova (seven entries: three entries for children's literature, two entries for novels, one entry for anthologies, and one entry for short stories)
18. Lena Bljum (six entries: five entries for children's literature, and one entry for anthologies)
19. Nelli Abašina-Melts (five entries: three entries for children's literature, one entry for short stories, and one entry for anthologies)
20. Gohar Markosjan-Käsper (four entries: two entries for short stories, and two entries for novels)

The distribution of genres among the translators suggests that the community of Estonian-Russian translators is multifaceted and capable of working across a wide range of genres. No translator specializes in a single genre; however, Mihhail Jasnov, Tatjana Teppe, and Maia Melts are among the translators most engaged in translating children's literature. The anthology genre, which accounts for 3% of the total translation flow, encompasses all genres of Estonian literature in translation.

3.1.4 Most translated Estonian authors

Eno Raud has been the most published author working in the genre of children's literature translated into Russian (37 entries), with the record number of reissues of "Naksitrallid" (26 entries) and "Sipsik" (five entries); he is considered an Estonian classic published in Russian since the 1970s. The leading translated author of the Estonian-Russian corpus is Andrus Kivirähk (27 entries in total), who works across genres, including novels, short stories, and children's literature; his literary pieces have also appeared in anthologies and special issues of literary periodicals. Leelo Tungal's writings include novels, memoirs, publications in anthologies, and children's literature (17 entries in total). The Estonian classic Arvo Valton's short stories and novels were published in both anthologies and separate volumes (14 entries in total). Novels, essays, children's literature, and poetry by Karl Ristikivi account for 15 entries. There are 12 entries in the corpus for Edgar Valter, all for children's literature; 12 entries for Aino Pervik, all for children's literature, and nine entries for Maarja Kangro, including anthologies, children's literature, poetry, and short stories. Eight entries were registered for Oskar Luts, with all of them for children's literature. The Estonian classic Jaan Kross' writings are published as novels (two entries) and short stories (two entries); his literature has been included in anthologies four times (eight entries in total). Eight entries are registered for the poetry of Jaan Kaplinski, including self-translations, six entries for Kristiina Kass, all for children's literature; six entries for Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, all for children's literature; five entries for Marie Under (poetry), five entries for Doris Kareva (poetry, including publications in anthologies); five entries for Piret Raud, all for children's literature; and five entries for Lydia Koidula. Although there are only three entries for Valdur Mikita, his four essays on the peculiarities of Estonia(nness), "Metsik lingvistika", "Lingvistiline mets", "Lindvistika ehk metsa see lingvistika", and "Kukeseene kuulamise kunst" were included in one volume under the Russian title "Парадигма стрегогузки", the other text comprised a travelogue and was published in the literary magazine *Oktyabr*. Three entries are registered for novels by Anton Hansen Tammsaare.

The list of Estonian-Russian translators simultaneously active as Russian authors (including cases of self-translation) includes the names of Svetlan Semenenko, Jaan Kaplinski, Igor Kotjuh, Marina Tervonen, Gohar Markosjan-Käsper, P.I. Filimonov, Larissa Joonas, Boris Tuch, and others; their activities are described below, under the Russian corpus and in Chapter 4.

3.2 The overview of the earliest Estonian-Russian translations and translations in the Soviet period

The ELIC database refers to the first Estonian-Russian translation of the Estonian epos Kalevipoeg, collected and edited by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, published in 1886 through the collaborative efforts of private contributors from Saint

Petersburg and Revel. The first Estonian poetry collection was translated into Russian in 1898 and included in an anthology "Поэты Финляндии и Эстляндии"/"The poets of Finland and Estland" together with Finnish and Swedish poetry; the volume was published by Nikolay Novič (1898), which was a pseudonym of Nikolay Bakhtin, a Russian poet, translator, a literary critic, in Saint-Petersburg and included selected fragments of Kalevipoeg edited by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald and verses by Lydia Koidula, Mihkel Veske, Ado Piirikivi (Adolf Grenzstein), Juhan Kunder, Jakob Tamm, Gustav Luiga, and Kaljula (Johannes Jaks). The first volume of Estonian short stories was published by Gosizdatelstvo in 1927 and included works by Eessaare Aadu, Albert Kivikas, Ain Rannaleet, and Eduard Vilde.

Igor Severyanin was involved in translating a 100-year collection of Estonian poetry (1803–1902); the volume was published in Tartu in 1928 by Vadim Bergman. The collection included translations of poetry of Valmar Adams, August Alle, Ernst Enno, Ado Grenzstein, Villem Grünthal-Ridala, Anna Haava, Karl August Hermann, Peeter Jakobson, Lydia Koidula, Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, Juhan Kunder, Jakob Liiv, Juhan Liiv, Martin Lipp, Ado Reinvald, Johannes Semper, Gustav Suits, Karl Eduard Sööt, Friedebert Tuglas, Marie Under, Johannes Vares-Barbarus, Mihkel Veske, and Henrik Visnapuu; a separate poetic collection by Visnapuu was translated by Severyanin and released as two volumes, "Amores" (Moscow, 1922) and "Polevaya fialka" (Narva, 1939). Later, Severyanin translated the poetry of Aleksis Rannit (Alexei Dolgoshev) "V okonnom pereplete", released in Tallinn in 1938, and "Via Dolorosa", released in Stockholm in 1940, as well as a poetic volume of Maria Under "Predtsvetenie" (Tallinn, 1937).

Gustav Suits and Marie Under's poetic volumes were translated by Juri Shumakov and released in 1934 and 1935 by Estonian publishers Noor Eesti and Eesti Akadeemiliste Naiste Ühing. Juhan Liiv's poetry was translated by E. Kansman and published by the Vaba Maa publisher in Estonia in 1933. According to the ELIC database and Index Translationum, the Estonian-Russian translation flow resumed in 1948 under Soviet occupation. The peculiarities of Estonian-Russian translations during the Soviet period, including a comprehensive account of censorship at the time and fragmentary biographies of recognized Estonian authors such as Leelo Tungal, Lennart Meri, and Arvo Valton, are described by Estonian-Russian translator Gennadi Muravin (Muravin 2016). During the Soviet period, specifically from 1940 to 1990, the publishing industry operated in accordance with the principles of the socialist planned economy; all publications, including translations of national literatures, were subsidized by the state. All-Russian and all-Union agencies, including Izvestiya, Sovetskii pisatel, Molodaya gvardiya, Goslitizdat, Khudozhestvennaya literatura, and Detskaya literatura, as well as local publishers in Estonia, such as Eesti raamat, Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, Kupar, and Perioodika, were involved in Estonian-Russian translations. Overall, according to the database of the Estonian Literature Centre[3],

[3] Data as of June 2026.

during the 51 years of Soviet occupation, 17 state publishers released 373 titles; this volume of translation output is comparable to the volume produced during the years of independence since 1991 (426 titles).

The leading genre of the Soviet period, 1940–1990, was novels (40%), followed by short stories (19%), and children's literature (16%); 10% of publications were poetry; 7% for plays; 5% for anthologies, and 3% for travelogues (Siseykina 2023).

3.3 The Russian corpus and its classification by geographical location, genres, publishers, and authors

The Russian corpus comprises original Russian titles written by Russian-speaking Estonians since 1991 and published in Estonia, Russia, or other countries. As mentioned above, some of the most active Estonian-Russian translators are also active as authors, writing in either Estonian or Russian. The corpus was compiled through a manual search of three databases: the National Estonian Library (nlib.ee), the ELIC's database (Estlit.ee), and the e-bibliography (ester.ee), by entering the names of translators and editors retrieved during the search for the Estonian corpus. Some additional names were provided during mini-interviews with Andrei Ivanov and Igor Kotjuh.

As of 2023, the Russian corpus comprises 117 entries, including 91 titles published in Estonia, 23 in Russia, one in Latvia, one in Poland, and one resulting from collaboration between Estonian and Russian actors.

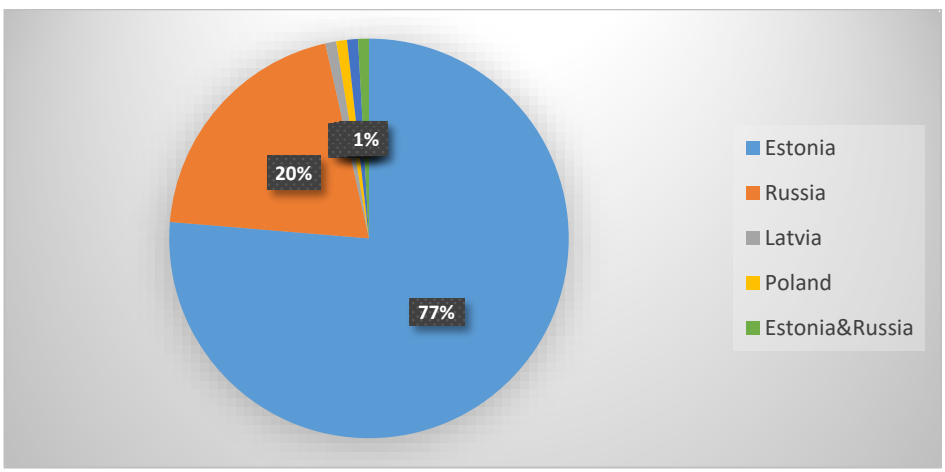

Diagram 7. Distribution of original Russian titles by location of publishers.

45 titles of the Russian corpus are novels, 45 titles are poetry, two titles are combined genres of novels and essays, and poetry and essays, eight titles are essays, eight entries are for short stories, five entries are for anthologies, and three entries are for children's literature.

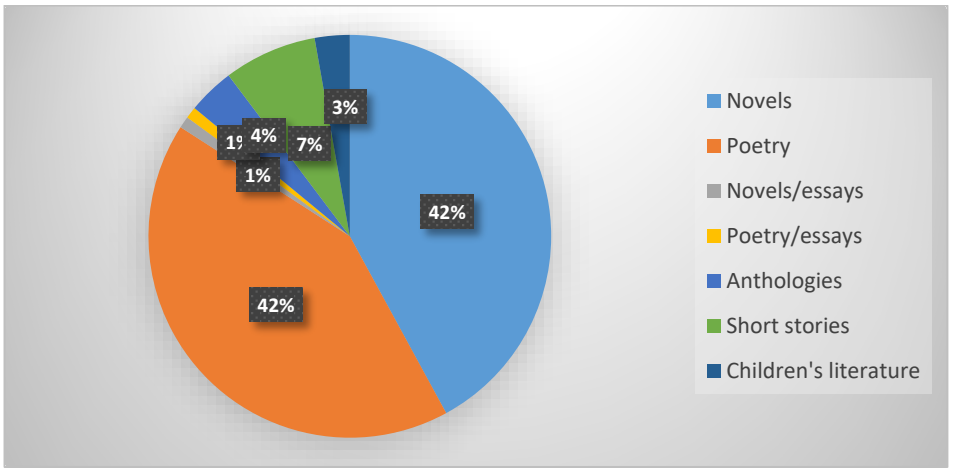

Diagram 8. Genres of Russian titles produced in Estonia since 1991.

3.3.1 Publishers of Russian-language literature in Estonia

The most active publishers engaged in the production of original Russian-language literature in Estonia are Estonian publishers: Avenarius (20 entries), Aleksandra (16 entries), including the collaboration project between Avenarius and Aleksandra, Kite (13 entries), Eesti Kultuurikeskus Vene Entsüklopeedia (8 entries), KPD (8 entries), Tuulelohe (5 entries), Bookmill (4 entries), and K&G (4 entries). The list of Russian publishers (including the cases of Estonian-Russian collaboration) includes the large-scale publishing house AST/Astrel (5 entries), EKSMO (3 entries), the Soviet legacy publisher Detskaya literatura, and small-scale agencies such as Oniks 21 vek, Mobi Dik (in collaboration with Aleksandra), Russky Gulliver, Melik-Pashayev, and others, as well as Russian literary periodicals, e.g., *Chaika*, focused on publications of both translated and Russian-speaking Estonian authors under one cover.

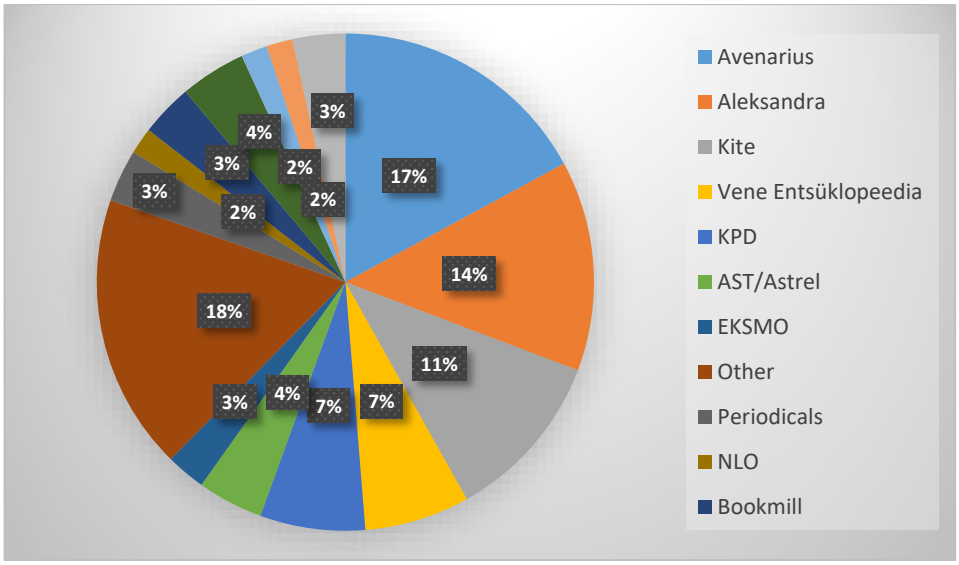

Diagram 9. Publishers of Russian titles written by Estonian authors.

3.3.2 Russian-language authors in Estonia

The most productive Estonian Russian-speaking author is Andrei Ivanov (20 novels), with publications spanning both Estonia and Russia, including large-scale Russian publishers AST/Astrel and EKSMO. The poetry of Nil Nerlin was published by Eesti Kultuurikeskus Vene Entsüklopeedia (2000–2017), Avenarius (1996– 999), and Aleksandra (1994), totaling 13 entries. Nine entries (poetry) in the corpus are by Igor Kotjuh, whose texts are published by Kite. There are nine entries for P.I. Filimonov for poetry, novels, and essay titles, all published in Estonia. Jelena Skulskaja is the author of seven titles, including poetry, novels, short stories, and essays (two of these titles were published in Russia). The Estonian-Russian translator Gohar Markosjan-Käsper is the author of six novels and one volume of short stories, with the "Penelopa" novel, a bestseller later translated into German, French, and Italian, published in Russia by AST/Astrel in 2001; the other books were published in Estonia by K&G, KPD, and Avenarius. The Estonian-Russian translator Boris Tuch is the author of six essay volumes, with one title published in Russia and five in Estonia. Svetlan Semenenko, one of the most recognizable translators of the Soviet and post-Soviet times, is the author of three poetic volumes, all published in Estonia. The original Russian volumes of poetry of Jaan Kaplinski were published in Latvia and Estonia. The Russian corpus also includes poetic volumes by Irina Meljakova, Ljudmila Loginova-Kazarjan, Nikolay Karayev, Denis Kuzmin, Dmitry Krasnov, Lidiya Tenina, Nikita Dubrovin, novels by Mikhail Stalnuhin, Ilya Prozorov, Larissa Joonas, Larissa Vaneyeva, and Boris Kryatchko; the Estonian agencies and the Russian literary magazine *Chaika* published these volumes.

For the Russian corpus, the following Estonian-Russian translators contribute as authors: Igor Kotjuh, Svetlan Semenenko, Jelena Skulskaja, P.I. Filimonov, Boris Tuch, Larissa Joonas, Jaan Kaplinski, Irina Meljakova, Gohar Markosyan-Käsper, and Nikolay Karayev (11 authors).

CHAPTER 4. TRANSLATION FLOW OF THE ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN LITERARY TITLES AND ORIGINAL RUSSIAN TITLES PRODUCED IN ESTONIA SINCE 1991

Tracing and exploring the nature, main features, and regularities of the Estonian-Russian translation flow required interviewing Estonia's most active publishers, editors, authors, and translators engaged in such translations. The selection of publishers, authors, and translators was based on the corpus analysis (see Chapter 3); the extent of activity of a given actor was evaluated based on quantitative analysis, i.e., the number of books written, translated, and published within the specified period (1991–2023); the qualitative analysis, i.e., the recognition and institutionalization of a particular author, publisher, or translator, was an additional factor for making an informed decision on the selection of an actor for interviewing. The analysis of both primary and secondary data (i.e., the quantitative data collected during the analysis of the corpora and the qualitative data collected during the interviews) enabled building a scheme to identify the most significant actors of this complex translation network that can be classified as a combined translator-led and subvention network (Kung 2009). While translators, publishers, and editors remain the primary driving force behind the flow, several state-supported organizations provide financial and promotional support. A group of Russian-speaking actors residing in Estonia has played a leading role in establishing and maintaining the Estonian-Russian translation flow, contributing to both the development of Estonian-Russian translations and the production of Russophone literature in Estonia, which has been institutionalized and considered part of Estonian cultural capital. Estonian researchers have studied texts written by Russian-speaking authors. Russophone authors have been recognized at the state level, subsidized, and awarded; consequently, such actors have been considered a part of the literary scene, with a vast number of literary works published and recognized in Russia. This, to a certain extent, paved the way for the translation of Estonian literature and the promotion of Estonian authors in Russia.

Although the primary data are divided into two corpora based solely on a language (Estonian as a source language translated into Russian or Russian original titles produced in Estonia), the line between Estonian- and Russian-speaking actors of the network is drawn based on a particular function as often these actors combine many functions and use both languages for the literary production being simultaneously active as authors, editors, organizers of special literary events in Estonia, and translators.

Through quantitative analysis of data from the four databases, with a primary focus on the Estonian Literature Centre, the most active publishers, authors, and translators involved in Estonian-Russian literary translation flows and the production of Russian literature in Estonia were identified. Based on this, a list of potential respondents has been compiled for further interviews.

The data collected during interviews with the most prominent actors in the present chapter are divided into subchapters according to the actors' functions. Subchapter 4.1 provides information on the main features of the translation network, i.e., sources of funding, events, and promotion of Estonian literature. Subchapter 4.2 contains information on publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations and the production of original Russian literature in Estonia. The authors contributing to the development of Estonian literary cultural capital, including both Estonian- and Russian-speaking authors as well as bilingual authors from Estonia, are listed in subchapter 4.3. Estonian-Russian translators are described in subchapter 4.4. Subchapter 4.5 is a discussion section that summarizes the interview data and outlines the basic driving forces of Estonian-Russian translation flows.

All interviews have been drawn based on the semi-structured design and contain the following mandatory data:

- biographical data of a respondent significant for the present research, i.e., references to educational background, competencies, working experience, predispositions, and tastes as stipulated in research dedicated to literary translators' bibliographies by Eberharter (2021),
- a declared mission of a given actor, basic factors significant for decision-making, and details of the working process,
- sources of funding and methods of distribution of cultural goods,
- target audience(s), tools of promotion, awards, reviews, and professional organizations.

The Estonian-Russian translation flowcharts 1 and 2 graphically illustrate the relationships between the actors of the network engaged in the Estonian-Russian translation flow and their interconnectedness. The flowcharts are divided into two parts, Estonia and Russia, with a dotted line representing the border between the states; the links show the transfer of economic or cultural capital between actors and cultures, and the overall complex structure of intercommunication between actors in Estonia and abroad.

4.1 Funding, events, and promotion

Financial and organizational support from state and non-governmental agencies has played a crucial role in the production and promotion of Estonian literature in translation. A model of assisted translations has been adopted to facilitate translation flows from Estonian. Two forms of such assistance have been widely used: funding for book production and promotional activities aimed at reaching potential audiences in Estonia and abroad. In several cases, state agencies and NGOs participate in both funding and promotion; however, promotional activities can also be funded by external sources.

The major state agencies and foundations participating in funding Estonian-Russian translations are the Estonian Ministry of Culture, the Estonian Cultural

Endowment Foundation, the Integration Foundation, and the National Foundation of Civil Society. The Estonian Cultural Endowment holds a leading position in supporting the production and promotion of Estonia's literary and cultural capital. The same fund provides organizational support as a parallel activity.

For the promotion of such literature, the following methods are used: cultural exchange with foreign agencies (e.g., collaboration with embassies, libraries, and universities abroad), organizing special events (e.g., literary awards, festivals, seminars, workshops, book fairs, etc.), and publications in periodicals in Estonia and abroad. Therefore, when undertaking a translation assignment, publishers and translators can rely upon one of the funds that covers their financial expenses for both book production and organization of promotional events (presentations, meetings with readers, etc.); in several cases, acting as agency, particular actors undertake the organization of such events, whereas financing may be provided by one of the funds. Remarkably, Estonian city councils are full-fledged participants in such events and may offer both financial and organizational support.

4.1.1 Funding

Estonian Cultural Endowment Foundation

The Estonian Cultural Endowment Foundation has been the primary source of funding for Estonian-Russian translations since 1991. The Estonian Cultural Endowment Foundation was established in 1994, following the re-adoption of the Cultural Endowment Act of Estonia, initially adopted in 1925, during Estonia's first period of independence. The first Act of 1925 was partially restored, and the new law, in many ways based on it, assigned specific long-term funding for cultural goods in Estonia. In addition to the alcohol and tobacco excise duties as a basic source of the budget of the Cultural Endowment, the Estonian parliament proposed to use funding from the national lottery; along with that, the Estonian Cultural Endowment could conduct its independent economic activities, with the ultimate goal to support and develop Estonian culture and sports. Today, as specified on the official website of the institution kulka.ee, the foundation, according to the Act, supports eight specific endowments, including literature, dramatic art, music, audio-visual art, visual and applied arts, folk culture, architecture, physical fitness and sport, as well as interdisciplinary projects.

According to the information provided on the website kulka.ee, the income of the Estonian Cultural Endowment is comprised of:

- "proceeds in the state budget from the excise duty on alcohol and tobacco, 3.5%
- proceeds in the state budget from the gambling tax 46% (whereof 60,6% is allocated to finance cultural buildings which are of national importance and 39,4% is allocated to award grants and support, for administrative expenses and for grants and scholarships)
- property donations and bequests made in favor of the Cultural Endowment
- income received from the investment of the assets of the Cultural Endowment
- income from other economic activities."

A comprehensive structure of funding and supporting literature produced in Estonia, along with the relevant research activities, has been elaborated by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, which includes annual literary awards: Lifetime Achievement Awards, Annual Awards of the Cultural Endowment of Estonia, Annual Awards of the Endowments, and Kultuuripärl (Cultural Pearl) Awards. For those engaged in activities related to literature, the annual award is presented in eight categories: prose, poetry, dramaturgy, dissertation, children's literature, translating Estonian literature, translating literature into Estonian, and a free award[4]. These awards are intended for authors, researchers, and translators. To maintain cultural literary production, the Estonian Cultural Endowment may, after considering a personally submitted application, allocate a certain amount of funding to an author's future literary title; applications are submitted four times a year.

A specially designed grant for the translation of Estonian literature, known as the Traducta Grant, provides funding for translators and foreign publishers involved in translating and publishing Estonian literature outside Estonia. As in many cases, Estonian-Russian translations are conducted in Estonia; this grant cannot be used by the Estonia-based publishers listed in the research.

The Integration Foundation

The Integration Foundation of Estonia is supported by the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia, and primarily aims at the integration of non-Estonians into Estonian society, providing courses in the Estonian language, consultations, and organizing different events facilitating integration.

The Integration Foundation of Estonia can provide grants for the translation and publishing of Estonian literature on an irregular basis.

The National Foundation of Civil Society

The National Foundation for Civil Society (NFCS) is a state-financed civil society fund in Estonia, established to support non-governmental organizations in the country. The Foundation supports a wide range of cultural, scientific, and social activities aligned with Estonia's public interests. The Foundation primarily aims to support research on civil society and mediate international funding programs, as stated on the official website of the foundation (kysk.ee).

The City Council of Tallinn

The City Council of Tallinn provides organizational support and funding for various cultural events held in the city, including festivals (e.g., Head Read) and special literary events such as book fairs, presentations, and meetings with authors held in museums and libraries.

[4] The Estonian cultural Endowment Award for literature in Russian, established in 2001, was reconsidered in 2024 and redesigned for authors in Estonia working in a foreign language.

Special Tallinn City awards are regularly handed out to the most prominent citizens of Tallinn, including authors and publishers.

The City Council of Tartu

The city of Tartu has earned a reputation as Estonia's cultural center and was selected as the European Capital of Culture in 2024, making it a popular venue for cultural events. The City Council of Tartu provides organizational support and funding for several literary festivals, including Prima Vista, the Baltic Ring, the Zhukovsky Festival, and the Landscape Poetry Festival, as well as for publications of Estonian authors translated into Russian and other languages (e.g., the travelogue by Valdur Mikita "Tartu tähestik ehk Tarto maine ja taevane trükis / Загадки Тарту").

4.1.2 Events

Prima Vista

Prima Vista is Estonia's major literary festival, established by the Tartu University Library. The festival is held annually in mid-May. The festival was established in 2004 as a joint venture of literary organizations in Tartu and today is a collaboration of a non-profit association, International Literary Festival Prima Vista (www.kirjandusfestival.tartu.ee), the Estonian Literary Society, the Tartu department of the Estonian Writers' Union, the Tartu Public Library named after Oskar Luts, and the University of Tartu Library that accommodates the festival. Information about the festival, including specific dates and activities, is published on the official website tartu.kirjandus.ee.

As the major international literary and cultural event in Estonia, Prima Vista collaborates with various institutions, organizations, educational and cultural institutions, bookshops, and museums. The festival program features meetings with internationally recognized authors, readings, presentations, lectures, and workshops, alongside concerts, film screenings, excursions, and exhibitions[5].

The festival is supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Estonia, the City Council of Tartu, the Estonian Cultural Endowment, and the Tartu 2024 Foundation.

Head Read

The Head Read Festival was established in 2009 through the mutual efforts of organizers from earlier events, namely The Nordic Poetry Festival and Sotsia. The festival aimed to gather authors from around the world, including both central and peripheral actors. The Head Read Festival is held in various venues throughout Tallinn, including the Tallinn Central Library, St. Nicholas Church,

[5] After the Russian aggression in Ukraine in 2022, the participation of Estonia-based Russian-language actors and representatives of the global Russian-speaking diaspora in the festival has declined.

and cafes and galleries. The festival program includes meetings with authors, discussions, reader clubs, poetic readings, excursions, and more.

The festival is supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Estonian Republic, the City Council of Tallinn, the Estonian Cultural Endowment, the British Council, the Estonian bookstore chains Apollo and Rahva Raamat, the Institute of the Estonian Language, the Estonian Literature Centre, the Estonian Writers' Union, the Estonian Children's Literature Center, as well as different Estonian media and periodicals.

The Baltic Ring Festival

The Baltic Ring Literary Festival, held annually in Tartu by the Tartu Center of Social Capital (Tartu Sotsiaalkapitali Arengukeskus, TSKA), gathers various Russian-speaking authors and poets from the Baltic States, Russia, and other countries. Due to COVID-19 travel restrictions, the festival was held online in 2020, allowing more participants than in previous years. The festival has been supported by the Estonian National Museum, the Estonian Literature Museum, and the City Council of Tartu. The head of TSKA, Viktoria Neboryakina, has been personally involved in the organizational activities of the Baltic Ring and the Landscape poetry festivals (see below) and is responsible for formal procedures. Along with other venues, such as the Tartu Literature House, the Estonian Art Museum, and the Library of the Estonian National Museum, the TSKA premises in Tartu served as the festival's central location.

Recognized Estonia- and Russia-based authors have been regular guests of the festival, e.g., Jaan Kaplinski, Igor Kotjuh, Andrei Ivanov, Larissa Joonas, and others. In recent years, the festival has been held in online and hybrid formats.

The Landscape Poetry Festival

The Landscape Poetry Festival is held annually in August by the Tartu Center of Social Capital (Tartu Sotsiaalkapitali Arengukeskus) in Tartu to gather Russian-speaking authors, poets, and translators from various countries. The festival's objective is to explore the styles and subgenres of poetry and stimulate cultural exchange in Estonia. Literary activities have been combined with excursions around Tartu.

Along with other venues, such as the Estonian National Museum and the Tartu City Museum, the TSKA premises in Tartu served as the festival's central location.

Estonian and Russian authors and translators have been regular guests of the festival, including Larissa Joonas, Jaan Kaplinski, Marina Tervonen, Ilya Prozorov, and Nadezhda Valk. Estonian publishers involved in Estonian-Russian translations have also participated in the festival to present their new books and introduce new authors.

The Zhukovsky Poetry Festival

The Zhukovsky Poetry Festival has been gathering Russian-speaking authors from other cities and countries in Tartu, Estonia. The festival program includes poetic readings by participants, a mandatory lecture on the literary legacy of Vasily Zhukovsky, a discussion on translation topics, and an event focused on Tartu, which may be a guided excursion or an overview tour. Mostly, Estonian-Russian translations are discussed as translators present their works in two languages (preferably).

Ljudmila Kazarjan (see 4.3.9) is one of the Russian-speaking authors in Estonia who is involved in organizing the Zhukovsky Poetry Festival in Tartu, specifically responsible for formal procedures. The Estonian Cultural Endowment, the City Council of Tartu, and the mayor of Tartu personally support the Zhukovsky festival, as well as private sponsors.

The Zhukovsky festival is held in September. Since 2022, the festival's format has been hybrid, allowing it to accommodate participants from various countries, including Ukraine, the USA, Germany, Finland, Israel, and others.

4.1.3 Promotion

Estonian Literature Centre

The Estonian Cultural Endowment has been actively collaborating with the Estonian Literature Centre (ELIC, Eesti Kirjanduse Keskus), whose primary goal is to promote Estonian literature worldwide, which encompasses various types of cooperation with translators, writers, and publishers as well as partnerships with embassies, libraries, universities, and other centers of culture and literature. According to the centre's official website (estlit.ee), the Estonian Literature Centre is an independent, non-profit institution established by the Estonian Writers' Union and the Estonian Publishers' Association in 2001, and supported by the Estonian Ministry of Culture.

The website established by ELIC provides information on Estonian writers and translators of Estonian literature in English; ELIC also maintains a database of translations of Estonian literature into world languages; however, the database is not complete and is constantly under development, with the focus on contemporary writers, whereas translations of the 20th century are added more randomly.

The supporting activities for translators from Estonian to other languages include special seminars; for example, the last international seminar for translators of Estonian literature was held in Käsmu in June 2022 and welcomed 41 translators from all over the world, representing 16 languages. Regular activities of the Estonian Literature Centre include workshops and seminars for translators working with a particular language (e.g., English, Swedish, German, Finnish, Hindi, etc.), presentations of new Estonian titles at international book fairs (e.g., Buenos Aires Book Fair 2022, London Book Fair 2018, Helsinki Book Fair 2011, and Gothenburg Book Fair 2007), and meetings with international publishers.

The ELIC closely collaborates with the Traducta program, which supports and stimulates translations from Estonian into other languages outside Estonia.

Periodicals

Estonia

In Estonia, translated prose and poetry of Estonian authors, as well as original Russian literature of Estonia, are published in the following periodicals:

- *Tallinn* literary almanac, established in 1978, is currently maintained by the Aleksandra publisher (see 42.2),
- *Vyshgorod* literary periodical, established in 1994 and active until 2019, was earlier maintained by the Vene Entsüklopeedia publisher.
- *Vikerkaar* literary periodical, established in 1986 (the Russian version of *Vikerkaar, Raduga*, is now not operating, with the last issue published in 2006);
- *Plug* magazine, established in 2009, was published as a printed periodical until 2020, now available as a digital version (Plug.ee),
- *Novye oblaka* almanac, established in 2007, is maintained by the Kite publisher (see 4.2.5) and available as a digital version (oblaka.ee), with all previous versions of its predecessor periodical *Tuulelohe* (operated in 2003–2006) available at tvz.ee.

Coverage in Estonian media

New releases, special events, interviews with authors and translators, and opinion columns are published in the Estonian media, including daily media *Äripäev*, *Delfi, ERR, Eesti Ekspress*, *Postimees, Tribuna*, *Vestnik Tartu,* as well as electronic newspapers focused on the topics of cultural exchange, including *Looming, Sirp*, and *Värske Rõhk.* Children's literature, both original and translated, is published in the Russian version of the *Täheke* magazine (see 4.2.4).

Simultaneously, both Estonian literature in translation and original Russian literature written in Estonia have become a focus of scientific research; for example, the reviews of Andrei Ivanov's books in the Estonian and Russian press are analyzed in Igor Kotjuh's MA thesis (2020) (see 4.3.3). The authors published by Avenarius (4.2.3), namely Kalle Käsper and Mihkel Ulman, were regularly interviewed by Estonian journalists for *Tribuna.ee*, *Postimees, ERR,* and *Delfi*. *Postimees*, among other Estonian media outlets, is a platform for public discussion and criticism,[6] dedicated to new publications, translations, and literary awards in Estonia.

[6] E.g., in 2021, the Avenarius publisher supported a young author Ilya Prozorov, and printed his first book in Russian, named "Тоска зеленая" ("Drowsy boredom"). The book received an extremely negative review in *Postimees* by Mikhail Trunin (Trunin 2022); later, Trunin openly criticized Belobrovtseva's activities as the chairwoman of the Estonian Literary Award Jury as well (Trunin 2023).

Russia

In Russia, the key drivers of cultural exchange in the field of literature are the recognized literary periodicals that have operated since Soviet times, including *Druzhba narodov*, *Nasha Ulitsa, Novy mir, Oktyabr, Topos, Vestnik Evropy, Vozduh, Znamya,* and *Zvezda*.

- *Druzhba Narodov, a* literary periodical, was established in 1939 in the USSR with the ultimate goal of promoting the national literature of the Soviet Union. Today, it is a privately sponsored publisher.
- *Nasha Ulitsa,* a literary periodical, was established in 1988 in Russia as the first private periodical; no longer exists.
- *Novy Mir* literary periodical was established in 1925 as a monthly literary magazine. Until 1991, it was a periodical issued by the Russian Writers' Union; today it is a private publisher.
- *Oktyabr, a* literary periodical, was established in 1924 as a monthly literary magazine. After 1990, it was an independent publisher. Since 2019, it has not been operating.
- *Topos, a* literary periodical, was established as a journal on literature and philosophy in Moscow, Russia, in 2001.
- *Vestnik Evropy, a* literary periodical, was established in 1802 by Nikolay Karamzin. In the post-Soviet times, it has been supported by the Russia-based Institute of Economic Development named after Yegor Gaidar.
- *Vozduh, a* literary periodical was established in 2005 in Russia as a literary periodical and issued four times a year.
- *Znamya, a* literary periodical, was established in 1931 as a literary unit for the Russian Army and Navy. Today, it is an independent Moscow-based publisher.
- *Zvezda, a* literary periodical, was established in 1927 in Leningrad and today is a monthly literary magazine based in Saint Petersburg.

All these editions are available online; in addition, the online versions of Russian literary magazines are hosted on *Gorky.Media,* for readers' convenience, the publications can be accessed free of charge.

Coverage in Russian media

Until 2022, major Russian news media, including KP, AiF, Literaturnaya Gazeta, Novaya Gazeta, Echo Moskvy, and radio Svoboda, had been covering events related to the Estonian-Russian translation flow on an irregular basis. Among other media, literary reviews have been published in some of the periodicals mentioned above (e.g., *Oktyabr*, *Zvezda*, and *Novy Mir*).

Worldwide

- *Novy Zhurnal* was established in 1942 in New York, USA, as an edition for Russian emigration.
- *Kreschatik* was established in 1998 and is based in Germany.
- *Literaturnaya Armenia* was established in 1959 and is based in Armenia.

4.2 Publishers

General overview of Estonia-based publishers

Estonian publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations and selected for the interviews share a set of common histories, features, and qualities; their missions, goals, and methods are, to a certain extent, similar. According to the classification suggested by van Es and Heilbron (2015), at the micro-level, these actors can be classified as small-scale publishers focused on niche literature and the production of cultural values as the main priority, thus primarily earning their cultural and symbolic capital and, at the same time, enjoying relative freedom when selecting titles for translation and publication and creating their unique network of co-publishers, editors, translators, and authors. These publishing houses are usually established and/or run by one or two individuals and often constitute small-scale family businesses that aim to preserve and disseminate Estonia's cultural literary heritage, including the cultural legacy of Russians in Estonia, within the country and worldwide.

Below, the information obtained during interviews with the seven most active Estonian publishers (4.2.1 KPD, 4.2.2 Aleksandra, 4.2.3 Avenarius, 4.2.4 *Täheke*, 4.2.5 Kite, 4.2.6 K&G and Solo, and 4.2.7 Dialoog) is provided as separate case studies. A special case study of the children's literary magazine *Täheke* (4.2.4) has been included in the research in the section of publishers, as the Russian version of the periodical has been used as a debut and promotional platform for Estonian and Russophone children's authors, including the most recognized authors, and as a powerful tool for distributing the cultural capital of Estonia by and large. Given the leading position of the children's literature genre within the overall translation flow, the periodical is significant to the research presented in Chapter 4.

According to the corpus data in Chapter 3, the leaders of the Estonian-Russian translation market in Estonia are KPD and Aleksandra publishers, which together account for 62% of production. The shares of other Estonia-based players are below 6% (for example, Kite, see 4.2.5)[7]. The overview of publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations and the publication of Russian titles in Estonia is indicative rather than exhaustive, and the qualities and features common to the Estonia-based publishers covered in Chapter 4 are outlined below.

Mission(s)

The common mission of Estonia-based publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations and publication of Russian titles and mainly oriented toward earning symbolic and cultural capital can be articulated as the promotion of Estonian literature translated into Russian as well as cultural goods created by Russophone

[7] The Vene Entsüklopeedia publisher, whose contribution reached 9% (see Chapter 3), has not been operating since 2019; the founder of the publishing house, Ljudmila Glushkovskaya also responsible for the publication of the *Vyshgorod* literary periodical, could not be interviewed due to her severe health condition; she died in 2023 at the age of 87.

actors in Estonia among Russian-speaking audiences in Estonia, Russia, and worldwide, as well as familiarization of the global Russian-speaking audience with Estonian literature (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), including original Russian literature produced in Estonia and considered an integral part of the Estonian cultural capital; the specific goal of continuing traditions and activities of the Russian department of the Eesti Raamat publisher (established in 1940 and operating under the current name since 1964) was set by the Aleksandra and later by the Avenarius publishers (see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3); the representative of the younger generation of publishers, Kite (see 4.2.5), aims at the promotion of not only Estonian-speaking authors but also the Russian-speaking authors in Estonia who have fully integrated into Estonian society, adopted the traditions, approaches, and methods of Estonian literary styles, and transfered them to their Russian poetry and prose.

Premises for Estonian-Russian literary translation flows after 1991

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the establishment of new national states, which independently determined their perspectives on economic and cultural development, including the formulation of new educational and language policies and the termination of the ubiquitous Russification policies adopted in the USSR. The national languages of the former Soviet republics gained official status in the newly established states, including Estonia, whereas Russian shifted to the status of a minority language, which some scholars call a "majoritized minority" due to the overall number of speakers (Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2014). In 1997, after the collapse of the USSR and the subsequent weakening of inter-cultural exchange and communication between the former Soviet republics, no Russian-language printed goods were produced in Estonia or imported to Estonia; however, significant demand for such goods was registered, as, at the time, the Russian-speaking population of Estonia reached 28.2% (European Centre for Minority Issues 1998). The founder of the KPD publishing house, Valentina Kashina (see 4.2.1), described in detail the situation regarding the production of Estonian-Russian translations.

Distribution

Some Estonian titles published during the Soviet period (e.g., "Naksitrallid" and "Sipsik" by Eno Raud, first published in translation in 1976 and 1979, respectively) obtained general recognition by and became a symbolic capital of Estonia already before 1991, which conditioned their further regular re-publications in Russia by large-scale Russia-based publishers (e.g., AST/Astrel) aiming primarily at obtaining economic capital via selling bestsellers.

The primary target audience of the Estonia-based publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations was primarily located in Estonia. Nevertheless, already in the mid-1990s, some Estonian-Russian publishers (see 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3) considered the development of their business activities and expansion beyond the Estonian borders a matter of great importance; although they made multiple attempts to establish business relationships with some Russian distributors, at the

time, it implied certain commercial risks, and, according to the publishers, the experience of collaboration with several counter-agents in Russia proved to be negative. Later, due to the inconvenience and cost inefficiencies of cross-border transportation of printed goods from Estonia to Russia, alternative solutions were found through collaborative projects with small- and medium-scale Russia-based partners (see 4.2.2 for the Aleksandra-Oktopus project).

Today, all publishers (*Täheke* as a children's magazine is an exceptional case distributed according to a different scheme, see 4.2.4) distribute their printed products in Estonia through the major Estonian bookstore chains Apollo and Rahva Raamat; with the main focus on the Russian-speaking readers in Estonia; the official websites of publishers are also used as a marketplace (see kpd.ee, melts.ee, oblaka.ee for 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.5). Books published by Estonian publishers are also available in the main Estonian libraries and in some libraries in Russia (see 4.2.1).

Sales of newly released books at book presentations, book fairs, meetings with authors, lectures, and other special events were adopted as a long-term practice until the implementation of COVID-19 pandemic-related restrictions in 2020; this practice of distributing literary goods during special events was recently resumed in Estonia.

E-books are also available on the website of the Eesti Digiraamatute Keskus (edrk.ee) and on the Russian web-based bookstores litres.ru and labirint.ru. In addition, prior to 2022, KPD and Aleksandra publishers distributed their productions at book fairs in Russia and among the Russian diaspora worldwide, including Eastern Europe, Germany, Mexico, Japan, the US, and the Scandinavian countries. At the same time, players such as Kite (see 4.2.5) and Dialoog (4.2.7) have primarily operated in Estonia and have not established any partnerships with foreign entities.

Target Audience

The segmentation of the target audience for Estonian-Russian translations is conditioned by specific genres, and the promotion of publications, including children's literature, short stories, poetry, novels, and travelogues, involves different marketing strategies. Russian-speaking parents and adult learners of the Estonian language were the core consumers of children's literature in Estonia, whereas this literature later received recognition in Russia and worldwide. The specificity of the format of children's literature implies that only printed copies are placed in the market, whereas electronic versions are not produced. The other genres impose no strict limitations on the format and can be published in both printed and electronic versions. Novels and short stories by Estonian authors (e.g., Mehis Heinsaar, Kalle Käsper, Rein Veidemann) are available in Estonian bookstores, online stores in Estonia and Russia, and/or in literary Russian periodicals available online for a global audience. Estonian contemporary poetry, as a niche genre (e.g., Igor Kotjuh, Juhan Viiding, Doris Kareva, and Juku-Kalle Raid), is published in special volumes/collections for distribution in Estonian libraries, universities, and schools, and is featured in Russian literary periodicals.

Funding

Publishing Estonian books translated into Russian in Estonia was made possible through the mutual efforts of the publishers and subvention from the state and non-governmental agencies. While the publishers undertook the publication and translation, the Estonian authorities provided financial support under Estonia's integration program; several other sources were also utilized. Except for the state-funded *Täheke* children's magazine (see 4.2.4) as a part of Kultuurileht SA, the Estonian publishers participated in the research refer to the Estonian Cultural Endowment (see 4.1.1.) as a major source of funding for Estonian-Russian translations; e.g., every second book of KPD (see 4.2.1.) has been supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment; the amount of funding might comprise 25–75% of the total cost of the production; the publisher, consequently, can reimburse the expenses after the book release and sales.[8] Although there is no systematic approach to grant distribution, translation grants are guaranteed for the production of works by the most recognized Estonian authors, owing to their reputation and institutionalization (see, for example, 4.3.1 for Andrus Kivirähk and 4.3.3 for Andrei Ivanov), thereby saving the publisher's funds.

The Estonian Cultural Endowment offers translation grants and/or reimburses publishers' production costs, including printing and illustrations. These funds used for book production are not included in the final book price, as such investments do not have to be returned; the final book price should cover the editor's compensation and all production expenses. On average, book prices in Estonia have been significantly higher than in Russia; therefore, publishers' pricing policy aims to make books affordable for end users.

Among the other funding sources, the Integration Foundation of Estonia, the National Foundation for Civil Society in Estonia (kysk.ee), the Open Estonia Foundation, and the City Councils of Tallinn, Tartu, and Valga were also mentioned. Earlier, the Estonian Ministry of Culture had also supported the translation of Estonian classic literature into other languages for several years; now the project is closed. As a source of additional funding, publishers concerned have utilized the system of self-funded publications (see 4.2.2, 4.2.3).

The Traducta grants can be used only for translations outside Estonia (for example, see the collaboration project of the Aleksandra-Oktopus publishers and the publication of Aleksandra's prose collection "Эстонская новелла: Казус пристального взгляда" ("The Estonian novel") in 4.2.2). Estonian-Russian translations produced in Estonia are supported by additional external funding sources.

[8] For example, a grant application for funding Oskar Luts' 120-year jubilee re-edition of "Nukitsamees"/"Мальчик с рожками" including the novel and five short stories about peasants, animals, and rural life never published in Russian earlier was submitted for the grant by KPD for three times in a row and eventually rejected.

Professional organizations
None of the Estonian publishers who participated in this research is a member of the Estonian Publishers' Union; however, the Aleksandra publisher (see 4.2.2) had been a member and a co-founder of the Union of Estonian Publishers until the membership fee was increased to become affordable only for large-scale publishers.

4.2.1 KPD

Introductory information
KPD is a leading publisher specializing in Estonian-Russian translations, with a 45% market share of the total volume of Estonian-Russian translation flow for the period 1991–2023. The abbreviation combines both Estonian and Russian words, as the publisher's full name is Kodumaa – Родной Дом, which in Russian means "The homeland". The publisher's name contains both Cyrillic and Latin characters, which may also reflect the publisher's mission to connect two identities.

The KPD publishing house, established in 1998, has been run by Valentina Kashina[9], a former chief of the archives of the KGB and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Estonia. Kashina is the only official representative of KPD; all the other actors involved, i.e., authors, translators, editors, or illustrators, are freelancers working on a part-time basis.

Founder's biography
Valentina Kashina was born in a village in the Voronezh region of the USSR in 1951. Soon she moved to Kaliningrad (formerly Königsberg). In 1969, Kashina enrolled at the Leningrad Institute of Culture, but, for family reasons, she moved to Estonia. As a military officer, Kashina was offered the position of head of the archives and special library at the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1991, following the dissolution of the KGB under a decree from former Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the archives of both the KGB and the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs were merged and made public; Kashina became responsible for maintaining them. Kashina's activities were considered a significant contribution to the implementation of laws on the rehabilitation of victims of repressions, based on the materials from the disclosed archives. Subsequently, Kashina was granted Estonian citizenship for her meritorious services and assistance in restoring the names of individuals who had been oppressed under Soviet rule.

Having retired from her post at the Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Republic of Estonia in 1992, Kashina worked at the MADPR (Международная ассоциация детективного и политического романа/The International Association of Detective and Political Novels) as an executive director, representing the Russia-based newspaper *Совершенно секретно (The Top Secret*) for the following six

[9] The interview was taken in person on June 17, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed semi-structured questionnaire.

years. Under Kashina's management, the North-Western branch distributed a newspaper printed in Saint Petersburg to 46 Russian cities in the North-Western part of Russia and neighboring countries, including Estonia. In 1998, the decision was made to establish a publishing house, KPD, for which experimental printing activities and marketing analyses were conducted.

Process

The KPD publisher was a pioneer in the newly emerging subfield of Estonian-Russian translations. Based on her previous work experience, Kashina gained a basic understanding of the structure, processes, functioning, and dynamics of the book market, as well as expertise in managing cross-border cash flows and customs clearance. For 18 months before launching business activities with KPD, Kashina thoroughly studied the specifics of the Estonian book market, visiting 40 schools in various Estonian regions to compile a register of Estonian-Russian translations available in Estonia, including authors, genres, editions, and the number of copies. According to information from Russian school libraries in Estonia, books by Estonian authors translated into Russian were in high demand among Russian-speaking children, as Estonian literature was mandatory in schools at the time. Two main obstacles to future business were high market prices for such books, which could make them unaffordable for the target audience, and low interest among Russophone parents in Estonian authors. Referring to her experience, Kashina explained, "Libraries in Estonia expressed their keen interest in Russian-language scientific editions and long-term subscriptions. With the implementation of the state integration program adopted by the Estonian government in 2000, the volume of Estonian literature taught in Russian to Russian-speaking schoolchildren was reduced, being replaced by original Estonian texts. Consequently, school libraries could not acquire any new translations from Estonian, while students were limited to using regular textbooks. This posed a problem for both teachers and students who lacked free access to the necessary literary titles. A huge book market segment for students in grades 1–11 remained void. An additional issue was the lack of popularity of the recommended original Estonian literature among the Russian-speaking audience; at the same time, Russian literature teachers showed little interest in integrating Estonian literature into their courses. For all the above-mentioned reasons, Estonian literature, original or translated, was left out of the Russian schools in Estonia, which was one of the reasons the KPD opted to produce translated and bilingual children's literature, initially to be distributed only in the Estonian market. However, later the area of distribution expanded significantly."

KPD began publishing children's books by Estonian authors, translated into Russian, in 2000. As children's book production is expensive, Kashina started with the release of paperback books (the binding, for economic reasons, was dismissed), which were in high demand in the local market and paved the way for the book series "Estonian Authors for Children". At the time, the integration program adopted in Estonia required extensive learning of the Estonian language for Russian-speaking residents. To facilitate learning, the KPD publisher focused on

producing children's books, making them the easiest way to learn the language. As a result, the production of bilingual books in either consecutive or parallel translation was launched, and the decision proved financially successful, as the target audience, including both children and adults, showed increasing interest in these products. Therefore, the driving force behind the development of the Estonian-Russian translation market was primarily the demand for such literature expressed by the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, i.e., the descendants of Russian-speaking migrants who arrived in Estonia after 1940.

With the expansion of the publisher's activities, Russia-based internet bookshops showed their keen interest in Estonian children's literature translations. Regular participation in major book fairs and regional book exhibitions in Russia (Pskov, Voronezh, Nizhny Novgorod, Saratov, Krasnoyarsk, etc.) since 1998 has made KPD visible to industry experts. International book competitions held by the Association of Russian Publishers, the Ministry of the Press and Mass Media, and other recognized publishing agencies awarded KPD books in the nomination "Best book in Russian published by a foreign publisher". The KPD publisher gained a large readership in Russia, especially among Russian parents who placed collective orders for newly released KPD children's books. Apart from the target audiences specified in the introduction part, for 30 years until 2022, all main libraries of Russia, including the Russian State Library in Moscow, the State Historical Public Library in Moscow, the Russian State Library of Arts in Moscow, and the Tretyakov Gallery Library, had been ordering all KPD products.

The production of children's books involves the services of translators who can handle both poetry and prose, as well as editors and proofreaders. It also requires illustration, binding, and the use of high-quality printing materials, all of which incur additional costs. Book pre-production may take 12–14 months, with the book released the following year. Children's literature in the KPD portfolio ensured budgeting; according to sales figures, demand for other genres of Estonian-Russian translations has been lower due to smaller audiences, whereas children's literature has been the fastest-selling genre.

The final choice of image and style for a future book is made by the publisher, who orders services from the other process participants, obtains copyrights and licenses, and signs contracts. Authors, editors, and translators may express their opinions and contribute their creative ideas when working on covers and illustrations for the Russian editions.

Portfolio/Bibliography

In total, KPD has published 163 books (data as of 2023), including 92 literary translations of Estonian authors, registered by the Estonian Literature Centre, and 22 translations registered for the same period by Index Translationum. KPD publishes authors from Estonia, Russia, the USA, Finland, Sweden, and Armenia. According to the publisher's website, www.kpd.ee, 13 book series have been published by KPD, as shown in **Table 3**.

Table 3. Thematic series published by KPD.

N/o	Series title	Translation	Number of editions
1.	В легендах, сказаниях, весёлых заданиях	Legends, tales and funny tasks	2
2.	Внесерийные издания	Non-classified	31
3.	Лауреаты литературных премий Эстонии	Estonian literary awards	13
4.	Eesti kirjanikud lastele. Эстонские писатели детям	Estonian Authors for children	22
5.	Kodumaa-Родной дом	Homeland	19
6.	Minu eestikeeline raamat. Моя эстонская книжка	My Estonian book	47
7.	Компендиум	Russian scientific book in Estonia	2
8.	Мастер	Contemporary literature in translations	2
9.	Романтическая культурология Эстонии	Romantic culturology of Estonia	3
10.	Урок – Õppetund	Lesson	18
11.	Эксклюзив	Exclusive	3
12.	Средневековые истории	Medieval stories	4
13.	Энциклопедии и справочники	Encyclopedias and reference books	2

The leading series are non-classified, “Eesti kirjanikud lastele”/”Эстонские писатели детям” (“Estonian Authors for Children”), “Kodumaa” (“The Homeland”), and “Minu eestikeeline raamat”/”Моя эстонская книжка” (“My Estonian book”). In addition, KPD publishes a series dedicated to popular literature and educational editions, including literary criticism, business books, reference books, and encyclopedias. The series on culture studies, i.e., “Романтическая культурология Эстонии” (“The Romantic Culturology of Estonia”), includes three illustrated books on local history. The publisher’s portfolio also contains non-classified editions, primarily scientific and research works written by experts, supplemented with indices and bibliographies. Estonian-Russian translations account for approximately 75% of KPD’s total production volume.

Out of 13 series of KPD editions, the first and main series, “Kodumaa-Родной дом” (“Homeland”), which is used as the abbreviation for the name of the publisher, comprises the most famous Estonian literary titles, including both Estonian classics and contemporary authors, e.g., Karl Ristikivi, Leelo Tungal, and Oskar Luts. The series “Minu eestikeelne raamat / Моя эстонская книжка” (“My Estonian book”) is the most expensive due to the binding, hardcover, illustrations, and complex production. On the contrary, the production of the series “Estonian Literary Awards” was intentionally made cost-efficient to be affordable for any reader.

Being a small-scale publisher, KPD is capable of producing limited numbers of copies; however, the production costs are comparable with the expenses of larger-scale Moscow-based publishers: i.e., the minimum number of copies for

children's books in Russia is usually 5,000, with 5,000 copies to be printed additionally, whereas KPD can print 1,000 or, at most, 1,500 copies.

For more detailed information, see the bibliography (Appendix 1).

Translation network

The core team accounts for approximately 20 Estonia-based translators, including Nelli Melts, Maia Melts, Tatjana Verhoustinskaja, Tatjana Teppe (1945–2023), Vera Prohorova, Olga Nael (1919–2008), Marina Tervonen, Svetlan Semenenko (1938–2007), and Boris Tuch. These translators have been working with KPD and other publishers (e.g., with Aleksandra (see 4.2.2) and Avenarius (see 4.2.3)) on a freelance basis.

Estonian-Russian translators are proactive; they usually offer the publisher their ready-to-print translations based on a verbal preliminary agreement, following initial informal permission from the author to translate a specific title into Russian. Upon completion of the translation and, in some cases, revision of the translation by the author, which is a common practice in Estonia, a copyright agreement is signed between the author and the publisher. Editors are selected based on their explicit interest and the background relevant to the topic and genre; they evaluate the quality of the translation and can often prefer working with a specific genre(s), i.e., children's literature, popular science, contemporary fiction, etc. After editing and proofreading, the book is ready for production.

The regularities of selecting a title by a translator acting as an agency are not explicit; however, some translators prefer working with a particular genre or a particular author, which ensures the best motivation and productivity. It is also a common practice for a translator to work in creative tandem with a particular author, e.g., Edgar Valter and Tatjana Teppe or Andrus Kivirähk and Tatjana Verhoustinskaja (see 4.2.2).

Promotion

Until the implementation of Covid-2019 restrictions in 2020, KPD had been actively participating in local and international book exhibitions, mainly in Russia, including three major book fairs in Moscow, Non-Fiction, the Spring Book Fair, and the Moscow International Book Fair at the VDNKH, as well as the international book fair in Saint-Petersburg and other literary events in other Russian cities. Estonian books introduced to the Russian market participated in various competitions; the participation of KPD and its partner Aleksandra (see 4.2.2) in these events was supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, which provided significant organizational assistance and partially reimbursed travel expenses, thereby covering publishers' costs for exhibition stands and presentations[10]. Participation in exhibitions and book fairs in Russia was often accompanied by book sales, which ensured steady revenues.

[10] After February 24, 2022, no more support will be provided, and no participation in the book fairs is planned. The promotion strategy of the publisher, hence, is to be revised.

At the same time, KPD participated in the annual Estonian book fairs, held at the National Estonian Library (Tallinn), now under reconstruction, and at "Kultuurikatel"/"Котел культуры" ("The Culture Pot"). Regular local events "Книжные сезоны" ("Book seasons") have been organized in collaboration with the Aleksandra publisher (see 4.2.2) four times a year and included meetings with members of their permanent readers` club; such events are attended by 70–100 visitors familiarized with the product line of the KPD and Aleksandra publishers and the *Tallinn* magazine. Estonian authors, translators, editors, designers, illustrators, and filmmakers are usually invited to these events. Additionally, the Association of National minorities and public schools can be involved as co-participants. Presentations dedicated to children's books have been organized at the Estonian Children's Literature Center in Tallinn.

Awards

Table 4. Awards of the KPD publisher.

2013	The annual Christmas Award	Rõõmukuulutus Foundation (Благовест), Estonia
2014	Awards of the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media (Russia)	The Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media Russia
2015	The shortlist in the category "The best foreign publishers' books" for Морские приключения и заботы корабельного гнома Клабаутермана (Klabautermanni mure/The worries of boat's pigmy, Klabauterman)	The Association of Russian Publishers (ASKI) Russia
2015	Selection of KPD books for the series "Pushkin's Library" for Russian libraries	Open Estonia Foundation of George Soros
2015	Grand-Prix as the Best Children's Book for Markus Saksatamm's children's novel "Lepatriinu ja Pingviin"/"Божья Коровка и Пингвин" (The Ladybug and the Penguin)	Association of the Book Publishers of Russia (ASKI) Russia
2015	The Ivan Fedorov's Prize in Russia for Markus Saksatamm's children's novel "Lepatriinu ja Pingviin"/"Божья Коровка и Пингвин" (The Ladybug and the Penguin)	Ivan Fedorov's Foundation, Russia

4.2.2 Aleksandra

Introductory information

Aleksandra is a Tallinn-based publisher that has been operating in the book market since 1990. Aleksandra's share of the Estonian-Russian translations market is 17%; the publisher has been a long-term business partner of the KPD publisher

(see 4.2.1). Aleksandra is a family business run by Nelli Melts[11], the only representative of the limited liability company (OÜ) with equal shares invested by Nelli and her daughter, Maia Melts, active as a translator; all other actors (i.e., translators, editors, illustrators, etc.) collaborate with the publisher on a freelance basis.

Apart from the books, Nelli Melts is engaged as an editor in publishing activities of the literary magazine *Tallinn,* established in 1978, its irregular almanacs, and the Russian version of *Täheke*, an Estonian magazine for children, including its special issues.

Founder's biography

Nelli Melts was born in Zlatoust, USSR, to an Estonian family that had moved to the Russian Empire in 1858, before the October Revolution, and settled in the Russian province of Bashkiria. After 1917, the family was deprived of its property and moved to Zlatoust.

Having graduated from the pedagogy college in Zlatoust, Melts moved to Kyshtym and, after a year, was admitted to the Chelyabinsk Institute of Pedagogy. After completing the first year of study, she applied to transfer to the Department of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu, with the ultimate goal of returning to Estonia. Since she graduated from UT, Melts has been active as an author, publisher, editor, and translator. Her publishing career started at the Eesti Raamat publishing house, where she worked until the collapse of the USSR, after which the Russian department of the publishing house was dismissed. The Aleksandra publishing house was initially established to proceed with publications in Russian planned by Eesti Raamat.

Process

The concept of the future publishing house was formulated by Melts during her work at Eesti Raamat, specifically for publishing books in Russian. Established in 1990, the Aleksandra publisher is the oldest player in the field of Estonian-Russian translations. Melts explained, "Eesti Raamat, as a state Soviet publisher, following the policy generally adopted by the other USSR republics, had to adapt its activities to the Soviet planned economy, which imposed mandatory annual publications of specific genres and authors, i.e., one recognized national author, two classic books, two translations, and two contemporary poetic volumes, all state-funded. Due to Estonia's relative cultural liberty, however, Eesti Raamat could also publish Soviet dissident authors, such as the first poetic collections of Brodsky and Mandelstam. Eesti Raamat published the first of Yuri Lotman's works on semiotics in cinema[12] in 1973; in 1988–89, his new manuscripts were planned for publication; however, these volumes were released in 1990 by the

[11] The interview was taken in person on June 14, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

[12] Лотман Ю.М. Семиотика кино и проблемы киноэстетики. Таллин: Ээсти Раамат, 1973.

Aleksandra publisher, as at the time, the Russian department of Eesti Raamat had no funding, no premises, and no legal entity. Following the same scheme, a manuscript written by Karl Ristikivi and prepared by Eesti Raamat, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, was eventually released by Aleksandra.

Aleksandra's Moscow-based partner, the Oktopus publisher, was involved in a series of joint editions with a clear distribution of duties: translation, editing, and design were provided in Estonia by Aleksandra, whereas the physical copies were printed by Oktopus in Moscow for further sales in Russia and Estonia. In compliance with the established collaboration scheme, the Oktopus publisher withheld a number of copies for its services.

Melts has been the editor-in-chief of the *Tallinn* magazine, which has published, among other literary texts, Estonian-Russian translations. Additionally, Melts has served as an editor of the Russian version of the *Täheke* monthly magazine for children in Estonia (see 4.2.4), which has also published translations of Estonian children's authors and original Russian texts.

The Aleksandra publisher has had no publishing plan; therefore, the author's intention and the interest of a Russian reader in particular authors and genres are considered key business drivers. Different publishing strategies are applied: e.g., it is a regular practice that the publisher invests its funds into particular editions; at the same time, the publisher's income is ensured by the cooperation with authors on a self-funding basis; such publications are comprised mainly of so-called "family books" designed for a restricted circle of readers, as well as self-sponsored books.[13]

Portfolio/Bibliography

Since 1990, Aleksandra has published 208 books (as of 2023), including poetry, prose, works by Russian and Estonian authors, and works by foreign authors (see Appendix 2). The largest share of Aleksandra's literary titles consists of fiction, including original Russian titles, Estonian-Russian translations, and a small number of books written in Estonian.

For Aleksandra, as a small-scale publisher, the number of printed copies is limited, typically 300–500; however, there may be sporadic additional reprints of children's literature. Since 2019, the publisher has also released e-books simultaneously with paper versions; however, no e-books have been published in the children's literature genre.

[13] The example of such book is "Hõbevalge by Lennart Meri"/"Серебристо-белый путь Леннарта Мери ("The silver-white road of Lennart Meri"), dedicated to Lennart Meri, the first president of Estonian Republic after restoring the independence, which is a collection of Meri's articles, documents, speeches, and photos funded by a Moscow-rooted and Tallinn-based businessman who considered a release a Russian version of the book an important cultural mission; the book was distributed, among others, in all Russian-speaking schools in Estonia that explicitly expressed their interest; another illustrated book dedicated to Estonian singer Georg Ots was funded by a group of enthusiasts based in Saint Petersburg.

Translation network

The stable team of freelance translators shared with the KPD publisher (see 4.2.1) includes Vera Prohorova, Tatjana Verhoustinskaja, Tatjana Teppe, Boris Tuch, Ain Ots, and Maia Melts.

Maia Melts, who works full-time as an IT expert at a German company (see 4.4.3), provides book translation and design on a freelance basis. She also collaborates with other agencies, including *Täheke* (see 4.2.4) and KPD (see 4.2.1), with a primary focus on children's literature. Olga Nael (1919–2008) was a translator of novels by Karl Ristikivi, an Estonian author who migrated to Sweden during the Second World War. Several translation experts tend to specialize in translating a specific genre or author, e.g., Marina Tervonen, who translated Marie Under's poetry, and Svetlan Semenenko (1938–2007), who specialized in Estonian poetry.

Promotion

Since 1995–97 and until 2020, before the implementation of Covid-2019 travel restrictions, the Aleksandra publisher, in partnership with the KPD publisher, attended all major international book fairs in Russia (i.e. Saint-Petersburg Book Salon, Moscow March Book Fair, Non-Fiction, Non-Fiction in the Red Square, and the International Moscow Book Fair) as well as some regional Russian book fairs (e.g., in Krasnoyarsk and Voronezh); the publishers were the only representatives of the book market of the Baltic countries. Before February 24, 2022, the transfer of books to Russia was assisted by the Estonian embassy in Russia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Estonia, under the management of Valentina Kashina, KPD (see 4.2.1), who was responsible for the communication with Russian state officials and agencies and was responsible for the formal workflow, i.e., submission of applications, requests, booking, and letters of gratitude. KPD and Aleksandra did not attend other major international book events, such as the Frankfurt Book Fair, because their formats do not include book sales.

Locally, four times a year, in collaboration with KPD, Aleksandra participated in a series of events named "Книжные сезоны" (Book Seasons) (see 4.2.1) held in Tallinn city galleries, art centers, schools, churches, and in the Estonian Historical Museum.

Melts has been responsible for compiling and submitting Estonian-Russian translations to the Russia-based literary periodical *Druzhba narodov* (see 4.1.3), along with editorials, which have proven useful for the international promotion of Estonian authors.

Awards

Table 5. Awards of the Aleksandra publisher.

5.1.	**Awards of the Aleksandra publisher**	
2016	Best Foreign Publisher for its Russian-language edition, in two volumes, on the Russian cultural and social life in Estonia 1918–1940, edited by Sergei Issakov; its original title is "Хроники русской культурной общественной жизни в Эстонии (1918–1940). Из истории русского зарубежья" (The Chronicles of the Russian cultural social activities in Estonia (1918–1940). The history of the Russian Diaspora).	Best Books Contest (Moscow)
2015 2017	"Kniga-deti" Award for books by Kristiina Kass, Kadri Hindrikus, and Ilmar Tomusk	The Russian national project "Kniga-Deti" (Books and Children) (knigadeti.ru)

5.2.	**Personal awards received by Nelli Melts**	
2019	Life Achievement Award, the personal award for Nelli Melts, for her contribution to the promotion of Estonian cultural capital	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2019	An honored citizen of Tallinn for publishing and translation activities	Tallinn City Council

4.2.3 Avenarius

Introductory information

The publishing house Avenarius is a family business run by Russian philologist Irina Belobrovtseva and media expert Vitali Belobrovtsev since 1994. The publisher's activities primarily focus on publishing Russian, Estonian, and bilingual books. Diverse contemporary fiction, essays, and reference books are included in the publisher's portfolio. In the Estonian-Russian translation market, Avenarius' share is 3%; in the Russian original titles market in Estonia, it is 28%, making the publisher a leader in this field.

Founders' biographies[14]

Irina Belobrovtseva[15] was born in Riga, Latvia, in 1946; she studied Russian philology at the University of Tartu, the Department of Russian Literature, under the supervision of Yury Lotman and Zara Mints. From 1971 to 1975, Belobrovtseva

[14] More detailed information on the Belobrovtsevs' biographies can be found in the recently released documentary Ирина Белобровцева: человек эпохи [Irina Belobrovtseva: the person of the era], Abiprint, 2021.

[15] The interview was taken in person on July 19, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

worked at Tallinn Pedagogical University of Pedagogy. In 1975, she was suspended from teaching for 11 years due to political censorship, i.e., for keeping and distributing illegal literature (namely, the novels by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and translated articles from *Spiegel*). In 1990, Belobrovtseva earned her Doctor's Degree at Moscow Pedagogical State University, defending a thesis dedicated to the artistic challenges of V. Mayakovsky and the LEF group; in 1997, she defended her Ph.D. thesis dedicated to the study of the constructive principles of text organization in Mikhail Bulgakov's novel "The Master and Margarita" at the University of Tartu. She has been a professor of Russian philology at Tallinn University.

Vitali Belobrovtsev, born in 1946, began his career at the Eesti Raamat publishing house prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Vitali Belobrovtsev has a journalistic background; he worked at the Tallinn-based newspaper *Den za Dnem (Day by Day)*, was promoted from journalist to editor-in-chief of the Estonia magazine, and then was assigned as editor-in-chief of the *Bravo* magazine in Estonia, where he worked for several years.

Process

In 1990, following the transition to a market economy, a decision was made to establish a private publishing house; all future stakeholders had a linguistic and literary background and/or experience in journalism. Belobrovtseva reveals, "From 1991 to 1994, the Belobrovtsevs were stakeholders among the six initial founders of the Aleksandra publisher (see 4.2.2). Until 1994, Vitali Belobrovtsev was the CEO of the Aleksandra publishing house, which was primarily engaged in the publication of books on Russian culture." The initial idea to publish the three volumes of Lotman's works was proposed by Vitali Belobrovtsev and approved by Yuri Lotman, whose legacy was already considered symbolic capital in Estonia at the time of *perestroika*. Soon after the release of Lotman's collection, due to Belobrovtseva's close relationships with Anatoly Gladilin, a Soviet and Russian writer, the Aleksandra publisher obtained the copyrights for the publication of his novel "Французская ССР"/"The French SSR".

In 1994, Aleksandra's director position was transferred to Nelli Melts; that same year, the Avenarius publisher was established and began its operations. The publication strategies adopted were diverse and implied various formats of collaboration with authors and other agencies/publishers. During the interview, Belobrovtseva gave some examples of the implementation of such strategies, "At the beginning of business activities, Avenarius released a detective novel by Andrei Shakhov "Таллинские палачи"/ "The Tallinn's Executioners", funded by the author, which was a commercially successful step as the number of copies reached the record of 3000." After that, the publisher had to elaborate on a strategic plan that, in addition to fiction, included translated Estonian titles (both poetry and prose), original Russian titles by Russophone authors in Estonia, and popular science and reference books. Avenarius has been extensively using the grant systems in Estonia and collaborated with authors on a self-funding basis,

e.g., four poetic collections by Nil Nerlin were self-funded and approved for publication due to close personal connections of the publisher with Ljudmila Glushkovskaya, the former editor-in-chief of *Vyshgorod* magazine published by the Vene Entsüklopeedia Center, who recommended Nerlin. Belobrovtseva reveals, "In collaboration with the Latvian Russian Culture Society in Riga, established in 1996 by Yuri Abyzov, Tallinn University and academic publishers in Russia, Avenarius released 13 volumes of essays on the Russian culture in the Baltic States: "Балтийский архив. Русская культура в Прибалтике" ("The Baltic Arhive")[16]. We also released five bilingual volumes of Estonian poetry "Эстонская поэзия для русской школы" ("Estonian poetry for Russian school"[17]), supported by the Open Estonia Foundation of George Soros, with a contribution from a group of freelance translators, including Boriss Baljasnõi, who also translated Karl Ristikivi's poetry in 1998." In the 1990s, Avenarius received a one-time Oxford University Hospitality grant, which was facilitated by the Open Estonia Foundation; Yekaterina Andreyeva, an associate professor of history at Christ Church College, who was the Oxford University curator, established long-term working relationships with the publisher; as a result of this collaboration, her father Nikolay Andreyev's book "То, что вспоминается" ("The things that are remembered"), self-funded by Andreyeva, was published in two volumes by Avenarius in Tallinn in 1996, successfully sold in Estonia and twice reprinted in Saint-Petersburg, Russia.

Apart from scientific literature and self-funded authors, Avenarius completed several commercially successful projects, e.g., the Russian translation of the children's book "Nukkude Teater" / "Камень времени и кукольный театр мастера Мозера" ("The Puppet Theater") by Mihkel Ulman. The book was marketable, supplemented with colorful illustrations by Estonian journalist Andrei Mokiyevsky, and became popular among young readers, despite its limited circulation; later, the novel was adapted into a film.

Along with distribution in Estonian bookstore chains, Avenarius has assisted in transferring literary goods abroad, e.g., to Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, and Russia (before February 24, 2022), and used their connections to distribute the books in foreign bookstores, libraries, and among book traders.

Portfolio/Bibliography

From 1988 to 2023, Avenarius released 59 books. The series included translated and bilingual titles (11), Estonian original titles (4), scientific volumes (8), a special series dedicated to David Samoilov's poetry and biography (8), scientific literature and reference books (5), and fiction (23 titles, one is an original Estonian

[16] Some scientific editions published by Avenarius had to be included in the ETIS classification, with the Russia-based publisher Nauka as the only publisher included in the classification. Therefore, Avenarius had to publish their editions in collaboration with Nauka to be cited in Estonia.

[17] Despite the references to Belobrovtseva as a translator of some of these volumes in the ELIC's database, she claimed that she had no experience in translating poetry, but was only the author of the foreword to the poetic collection of Marie Under and Heiti Talvik.

title). Avenarius has published the majority of Andrei Ivanov's novels and was the first publisher to introduce the author to the Estonian audience in 2009 (for more detailed information, see the bibliography in Appendix 3).

Translation network

The team of translators that collaborated with Avenarius consisted of its founders Irina Belobrovtseva and Vitali Belobrovtsev, as well as Boriss Baljasnõi and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper (see 4.3.6).[18] While publishing, the Belobrovtsevs also provided translation services to other publishers and agencies, using various collaboration models. For example, in 1993, the novel "Toomas Nipernaadi / Тоомас Ниперна ади" by August Gailit was translated by the Belobrovtsevs and published by Aleksandra (see 4.2.2).

Promotion

The publisher participates in regular literary events held in Tallinn, such as "Читательские четверги" ("Readers' Thursdays"), organized by Igor Kotjuh (see 4.2.5, 4.3.5), once a month in the Tallinn City Library, where authors regularly meet with readers to exchange opinions, introduce new arrivals, or discuss literary topics in an interactive format. Presentations of new books take place in different venues: e.g., the Russian translation of Kalle Käsper's epics (see 4.3.6) "Buridanid"/"Буриданы" („The Buridans") was presented in Apollo bookstore Solaris, Tallinn; Tallinn University has accommodated the presentation of the Russian translation of "Memento Mori" written by Gohar Markosjan-Käsper (see 4.3.6) and releases of novels by Andrei Ivanov, as well as regular meetings of the author with readers and Tallinn University students.

Avenarius has no experience in participating in book festivals in Estonia and Russia.

Awards

As a publisher, Avenarius has not been awarded any literary prizes, but the authors published in Avenarius have received several prestigious awards, e.g., Yuri Dolgorukov's Prize, established by the Moscow mayor's office, which was awarded to Andrei Ivanov (see 4.3.3).[19] Irina Belobrovtseva has received several personal awards in both Estonia and Russia.

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[18] For the last years, the Estonian-Russian translation flow dropped in numbers as it has been generally thought that Estonian Russian-speaking residents already can speak and read in Estonian; hence, according to Belobrovtseva, mainly non-fiction has been translated from Estonian into Russian in the recent years.

[19] The prize was based on the regional principle: Caucasus, Asia, and the Baltics. In 2007, Belobrovtseva was the chairwoman of the Jury when Andrei Ivanov submitted his novel "Мой датский дядюшка" ("My Danish Uncle") for participation, which paved the way to his recognition in the literary circles of Estonia and Russia. Later, in 2014, Ivanov was awarded as a Russian author living abroad for his novel "Харбинские мотыльки" ("Harbin moths") (see below).

Table 6. Personal awards of Irina Belobrovtseva.

2007	Award for the best monograph	Tallinn University Estonia
2010	National Research Award	The Estonian Academy of Sciences Estonia
2010	The Medal of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin's House)	Russian Federation Academy of Sciences Russia
2011	The Order of the White Star, IV class	Estonian Republic
2013	The Tallinn University award for the best monograph "An image of enemy: Representation of Estonia in Soviet caricature in 1920–1940" (co-authors David Vseviov and Aleksandr Danilevski)	Tallinn University Estonia
2016	The Sign of Merit	The City Council of Tallinn Estonia

4.2.4 Täheke

Introductory information

Täheke is a children's magazine in Estonia, with a Russian-language version for Russian-speaking residents, and its editor-in-chief is Ilona Martson[20]. The magazine has versions in Estonian dialects (Võro, Mulgi, and Seto) to maintain the connection between children from the Estonian provinces and the central cultural life, as well as a Russian version, edited by Nelli Melts (see 4.2.2). In addition, in 2022, 2023, and 2024, three special Ukrainian versions were released. *Täheke* is an educational and entertaining illustrated edition for Estonian children of preschool and school age (5–10 years) with a focus on literature. The Russian version aims to provide up-to-date content and familiarize Russian-speaking children's audiences with contemporary Estonian authors, thereby filling a cultural void, as Estonian-based contemporary Russian schools often focus on old classics or Soviet-era texts that are not particularly attractive to schoolchildren.

The periodical is run by the state publisher Kultuurileht SA, which is responsible for a number of other cultural media projects, including *Akadeemia*, *Diplomaatia*, *Hea Laps*, *Keel ja Kirjandus*, *Kunst.ee, Looming, Loomingu Raamatukogu, Muusika, Müürileht, Sirp, Täheke, Teater.Muusika.Kino, Tõlkija Hääl, Uma Leht, Vikerkaar-Raduga, Õpetajate Leht* and *Värske Rõhk*.

[20] The interview was taken in person on November 9, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

Editor's biography

Martson was born in 1970 in Tallinn. She graduated from the University of Tartu's Faculty of Journalism in 1993, together with Andrus Kivirähk, an Estonian journalist and author who later became her husband. Martson also earned an MA in Literature Studies from Tallinn University in 2002.

Martson started her career in 1991 in *Päevaleht*, which was later renamed to *Eesti Päevaleht*, and worked there until December 2003. In 2001–2003, Martson was the head of the culture department at *Eesti Päevaleht*, a significant Estonian media project; since 2004, Martson has been the editor-in-chief responsible for all editions of Täheke.

Process

The magazine was established in 1960 in the Estonian Republic of the USSR and gained popularity during Soviet times: the first Estonian-language edition reached 40,000 copies, with a circulation of up to 80,000. After the collapse of the USSR, these numbers dropped drastically. In the 1990s, many children's and teenagers' magazines in Estonia were closed; however, phenomenally, *Täheke* continued its activities.

The first Russian version of the magazine was published in 2005 as the first stage[21]; since 2011, one or two Russian versions of *Täheke* have been released annually (the record four funded Russian versions were released during the special Youth year in Estonia in 2017).

Working on the first Russian version, Martson collaborated with Nelli Melts, the head of the Aleksandra publisher (see 4.2.2). Melts and Martson maintained their business collaboration; through their mutual efforts, the Estonian children's magazine was adapted for the Russian-speaking audience in Estonia. Martson states, "The concept of the Russian version was based on the concept of the Estonian version of *Täheke,* as no other special children's magazine for Russian-speaking children had been published in Estonia; however, the format had to undergo a significant modification. The Russian version is usually a collection of the best and most relevant texts published in all previous Estonian versions of the year and translated into Russian." *Täheke* production is stable and includes special issues; some special projects helped increase subscriptions and circulation, as every child in Estonia entering first grade received the *Täheke* magazine as a gift in 2004 and 2005. Before 2023, the number of Russian copies ranged from 7,000 to 8,000.

The texts to be translated for the Russian version are selected in collaboration with Maia Melts, the translator, who makes decisions on the translatability of a

[21] A bilingual Estonian-Russian version was the first experiment implemented by Martson, who, according to her observations and analysis, found it an unsuccessful project, as the publisher had underestimated the scope of technical and other efforts under the time pressure; the final version had many defects and mistakes. After that, the Russian version was published as a separate issue.

given story in the children's context, i.e., humor is a crucial element and a matter of great importance in children's stories and, hence, cannot be lost in translation.

From the texts of Estonian issues, those to be translated for the Russian version or a special event issue have to be selected in accordance with the main agenda; for example, a special issue can be dedicated to the beginning of the academic year or the jubilee year (60 years of the magazine, for which texts from the jubilee Estonian issue were translated). Martson reveals, "The authors collaborating with *Täheke* are usually requested to provide texts complying with the general topic. Both Estonian- and Russian-speaking authors can contribute and publish their poetry and prose in *Täheke*, with some well-known Russian-speaking authors of Estonia working under a pseudonym."

All Russian versions of *Täheke* contain excerpts from new books translated from Estonian into Russian. Russian-speaking children are encouraged to submit their creative pieces, such as pictures and stories, for selection and publication.

Martson states, "According to the adopted format, the magazine publishes only original content, which has been a regular practice since the times of the USSR; the texts originally published in the magazine can be later reproduced in a separate book, but not vice versa. Excerpts from a book still in progress can be published in *Täheke* as well as completed short stories; the same pattern is applied to poetry, which serves as an efficient tool for the future promotion of a given literary piece and recognition of an author; e.g., some literary pieces first published in *Täheke* later were recognized nationally and now are studied at school as Estonian classics (e.g. "Sipsik" and "Naksitrallid" by Eno Raud, short stories by Aino Pervik and Piret Raud, or selected stories by Andrus Kivirähk ("Karneval ja kartulisalat"/"Карнавал и картофельный салат"; "Tont ja Facebook"/"Глюк и Фейсбук"; "Kaka ja Kevad"/"Весна и какашка))."[22]

Authors, translators, and designers working for *Täheke* are reimbursed with royalties; 50% of the standard royalty amount is paid for participation in special issues. Publishing an illustration or a literary piece requires signing a single-use copyright contract. In such cases, an author can reuse a story in future books; the same principle applies to illustrators, who can use their designs initially developed for the magazine later, e.g., for exhibitions, postcards, posters, etc.

Speculating on the commercial policies of the magazine, Martson continues, "For a state-supported magazine, it is not a regular practice to use advertising as a source of additional revenues. No advertising or commercial department operates for *Täheke*; moreover, advertisers whose products would be considered suitable for a children's magazine saw no prospects for development in Estonia. However, due to collaboration with some companies, irregular advertising campaigns in the form of mutual special projects and barter schemes were implemented, e.g., the first Russian and Estonian issues dedicated to the beginning of the school year, the 1st of September, were distributed in collaboration with Hansapank as a one-time special project, later terminated. The state publisher adopts

[22] According to ELIC's database, today, "Naksitrallid" is the most translated book in Estonia.

no marketing or advertising campaigns, and no funds are allocated for this purpose; however, receiving irregular additional funding for special issues is possible."

The Russian version and special projects have been distributed free of charge. Regular issues of the Estonian version of Täheke are sold in Estonian supermarkets and bookstores, or by subscription. The Russian version was initially distributed among first-grade schoolchildren; kindergartens in Ida-Virumaa expressed keen interest in the edition. During the first stage of production, the magazine was sent to schools; today, Estonian libraries also receive the Russian editions.

Translation network
Maia Melts (see 4.4.3) provides translations for the Russian version of *Täheke*.

Awards
The magazine was not awarded any specific prize; however, its editor-in-chief received several awards in Estonia.

Table 7. Personal awards of Ilona Martson

2003	Muhvi Award	Estonian Children's Literature Center
2011	Tower of Babel Award for translation of Grigory Oster's "The Horror School" into Estonian	IBBY Estonia
2020	Tallinn University Award for translation of Varlam Shalamov's "The Kolyma stories" into Estonian	Tallinn University
2021	The Order of the White Star, IV class	Estonian Republic
2022	Tower of Babel Picture Book Award for translation of the Ukrainian picture book "The War that Changed Rondo" by Andriy Lesiv and Romana Romanyshyn into Estonian	IBBY Estonia

4.2.5 Kite

Introductory info
Kite is a small-scale Estonian publisher primarily focused on promoting the younger generation of contemporary poets and authors. Kite's share of the Estonian-Russian translation market is 7%. Kite is run solely by Igor Kotjuh[23], a Russian-Estonian publisher, translator, editor, and author (see sections 4.3.5 and 4.4.5). Kotjuh dedicates himself to a series of different cultural and literary projects. He is the only founder and representative of the Kite publishing house.

[23] The interview was taken in person on December 15, 2021, in Tartu, in Russian, via taking notes on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire, and updated on May 7, 2026, in Paide.

Founder's biography

Kotjuh was born in 1978 in Estonia, Võru; in 2000, moved to Tartu. Graduated from Tartu University in 2005, after graduation, he returned to Võru until 2009, then moved to Tallinn, where he lived from 2009 to 2015, after which he moved to Paide. Kotjuh graduated from Tallinn University in 2020; in 2025, Kotjuh defended a PhD thesis, "Igor Severjanin Eesti kirjandusväljal ja Eesti venekeelse kirjanduse identiteedi kujunemine (1918–1941)" [Igor Severyanin Within the Estonian Literary Field and the Formation of Estonian Russian-language Literary Identity (1918–1941)] at the University of Tartu; his research was dedicated to the history and identity of Estonian Russian-language literature.

Apart from his publishing, poetry, and songwriting activities, Kotjuh has been actively involved in events promoting Russian-speaking authors of Estonia. In parallel with his creative activities, Kotjuh has also been teaching Estonian to Ukrainian refugees in his hometown of Paide and online since March 2022. Additionally, he has served as the CEO of the Tuum publishing house since 2018. Kotjuh has been a member of the organizing committee of the International Literary Festival Head Read in Tallinn since 2009, the International Literary Festival "Dovlatov's days in Tallinn" / "Dovlatovi Päevad" since 2012; from 2012 to 2022, he was an organizer, host, and promoter of a cycle of monthly literary events "Readers' Thursdays" held in the Central Library in Tallinn; since 2022, he has been an active volunteer translator and interpreter for Ukrainian refugees in Estonia. In January 2026, having summarized his experience in language teaching and working with war refugees, Kotjuh began his entrepreneurial activities with OÜ Silp, aimed at streamlining and facilitating Estonian language learning and pre-exam orientation.

As a public figure, Kotjuh has published a series of articles in Estonian on identity, integration, culture, education, and international relations (Kotjuh 2026). He has been interviewed by several international media regarding the same matters. As a cultural critic, Kotjuh has been writing about art, music, and literature in Estonian periodicals, newspapers, and online portals. In addition, Kotjuh has been active as an interviewer, focusing on communication with authors, literary scholars, musicians, artists, and figures of cultural significance.

Apart from literature and translations, he has been maintaining three musical projects under his own musical label Black Heart Sound: Dr. Ormusson, Dancing Dragons, and FSK. Using his personal brand, Kotjuh provides various services from his city office in Paide, including language instruction, excursions, music production, communication with state officials and media, consultations on Paide history, etc.

Process

Between 2003 and 2006, the *Tuulelohe – Воздушный змей* (Kite) literary magazine was established as the first Russian literary periodical in Tartu and the first bilingual literary periodical in Estonia. The concept of *Tuulelohe – Воздушный змей* aimed to provide a platform for the younger generation of poets from Estonia, whose poetry was largely ignored or rejected for publication in Russia-based

literary periodicals and Estonian Russian-language magazines, such as *Vyshgorod* and *Tallinn*. The works of these authors were accepted only by *Vikerkaar* (*Raduga*), which stimulated their further creative work. The publisher aims to promote the new generation of Russian-speaking authors in Estonia; facilitate intensive dialogue between local Russian- and Estonian-speaking authors; and build connections with authors from the Baltic region. *Tuulelohe – Воздушный змей* maintains a constantly updated electronic literary magazine (tvz.ee), a printed almanac, and a book series. The informational and publishing portal grew out of the literary community in Tartu.

Kite is a publishing house that inherited *Tuulelohe – Воздушный змей's* initial concept and tradition, as well as its name, which was translated from Estonian. The Kite publisher was established in 2007 and has been mainly focused on young authors.

Apart from poetry and prose published as printed books, the publisher's activities include producing the literary magazine *Novye oblaka* (oblaka.ee). Kotjuh reveals, "Not only Russophone authors of Estonia but authors from the other Baltic States as well as from Saint Petersburg and Kaliningrad were invited to contribute with their poetry and prose; at the same time, translations of the younger generation of Estonian authors (e.g., poets Andra Teede, Kätlin Kaldmaa, and Sveta Grigorjeva and prose authors Mehis Heinsaar, Jürgen Rooste) were included in the publications; the editorial policy also aimed at covering Russian poetry in Estonia, e.g., the Russian cycle of Jaan Kaplinski, and communication with the most prominent actors of the field; the interviews can be dedicated to special events such as a new release." During its operation, the magazine published, among others, interviews with Irina Belobrovtseva from Avenarius (see 4.2.3), Andrei Ivanov (see 4.3.3), as well as Tomas Venclova, Jaan Kaplinski, Sergei Issakov, Jukka Mallinen, Sergei Timofeyev, Sergei Zavjalov, Hamdam Zakirov, P.I. Filimonov (see 3.4.7), Jelena Skulskaja (see 4.3.4), Artur Laast, Larissa Joonas (see 4.3.8), Ljudmila Kazarjan (see 4.3.9), and Dmitry Kuzmin, which were later published as a separate edition[24]. The electronic version of the magazine *Novye oblaka* is published regularly (twice a year); one of its special issues was a collection of anti-war poetry, "Ukraine. Solidarity," created by Russian-speaking authors, released in 2022.

According to the publisher's information on its official website, oblaka.ee, the publisher's prioritized areas include promoting Russian literature from Estonia, Estonian literature translated into Russian, and Estonian poetry, essays, prose, and children's literature. Kite is focused primarily on non-commercial authors and genres and promotes texts that constitute the symbolic and cultural capital of Estonia; the publisher closely watches all literary events and processes in Estonia and assists with the promotion of new authors and titles that are considered by the editorial board of Kite to be promising and valuable in terms of enhancing the

[24] Kotjuh's interviews were published as a separate volume: Igor Kotjuh. Eesti kirjandus – üks rikkus ajab teist taga. Vestlusi kirjanikega aastail 2020-2024. – Tallinn: Kultuurileht, 2024.

visibility of Estonian literature at large. Personal Kotjuh's contribution to enhancing awareness of Russian literature produced in Estonia also included participation, as an editor, in the preparation of a volume dedicated to Estonian Russophone authors active in the field over the last 30 years[25].

Portfolio/Bibliography

There are three series published by Kite: PENi raamatukogu, literary miscellany "Воздушный змей"/"Kite", and the series "Первый полет"/"The first flight". In total, since 2007, Kite has published 36 books in Russian, Estonian, and bilingual editions. Kotjuh has also published his own poetry volumes with Kite, including collections in Estonian and Russian.

As such, literature occupies a narrow niche in Estonia's cultural space, and only a minimal number of printed copies (30–50) are released for distribution in Estonian libraries, schools, and universities.

See Appendix 4.

Translation network

The Kite publisher maintains both Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian translations; the Estonian translators engaged in Russian-Estonian translations are Katrin Väli, Aare Pilv, and others. In Estonian-Russian translations, Igor Kotjuh, P.I. Filimonov, Andrei Sen-Senko, Ljudmila Simagina, Maria Einman, and Jelena Skulskaja are engaged. Remarkably, Kotjuh, P.I. Filimonov, and Skulskaja were primarily recognized as authors.

Promotion

Kotjuh is an Estonian opinion-maker who has successfully built a recognizable personal brand. He actively participates in TV and radio shows in Estonia to discuss the development and recognition of Russian literature in Estonia, as well as its integration into Estonian culture. Kotjuh interviewed various actors who were invited to his monthly events, "Читательские четверги" (The Readers' Thursdays), held at the Tallinn City Library. Due to the extensive intercultural communication before 2022, new issues of Kite and new publications in *Novye oblaka* were covered by Russia-based literary magazines, such as *Novyi mir*, and referred to by the Russian cultural portal Colta.ru.

By 2023, Kite had published four volumes of poetic collections. Additionally, Kite has been supporting young authors, such as P.I. Filimonov (see 4.3.7). Today, Kite publishes translations of Estonian poetry by Jelena Skulskaja (see 4.4.4).

[25] Igor Kotjuh, Aare Pilv, and Piret Viires (Eds.). Isamaa ja emakeele vahel. Etüüde eesti venekeelsest nüüdiskirjandusest. – Tallinn: Nüüdiskultuuri uurimise töörühm, 2022.

Awards
As a publisher, Kite received no awards; however, authors who published with Kite were distinguished by Estonian and Russian authorities. The founder of Kite has received several personal awards (see 4.3.5).

Table 8. Awards received by Kite's authors

2008	P.I. Filimonov "Мантры третьего порядка" ("The third order mantras")	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2009	Nikolay Karayev "Безумное малабарское чаепитие" ("Insane Malabar tea time")	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2012	25 Kaunimat Eesti Raamatut Competition Award (the most beautiful 25 Estonian books) for "Kuis olla julge. Luuletajad luulest. 21 Esseed" Book	Estonian Publishers' Union Estonian National Library Estonian Graphic Design Union
2013	Igor Kotjuh, "Эстонский дизайн", poetry	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2014	Jaan Kaplinski, "Белые бабочки ночи" poetic collection, the Russian Premia, 1st award in "Poetry" category	The Fund of Boris Yeltsin, Russia
2018	Igor Kotjuh. Естественно особенный случай	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2021	Igor Kotjuh. The Isolation Tapes	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2023	Igor Kotjuh. Sireenid ja sähvatused, Bernard Kangro Literary Award	Võru County Government

Professional organizations
Kotjuh has been a member of the Estonian Writers' Union since 2006; a member of the board of the Estonian PEN club since 2010; a member of the Eesti Keele kui Teise Keele Õpetajate Liit/Association of Teachers of Estonian as a Second Language; and a founder and a member of the board of the Jaan Kaplinski Society since 2022.

4.2.6 K&G, Solo

Introductory information
K&G and **Solo** are publishing brands used exclusively by Estonian authors and translators Kalle Käsper[26] (1952) and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper (1949–2015), who, in collaboration, had been running a family publishing small-scale business. Under the K&G and Solo brands, Kalle Käsper and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper have published their novels, essays, and translations since 2004.

[26] The interview was taken in person on October 7, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

Founders' biographies

Kalle Käsper was born in 1952 in Tallinn, Estonia. Graduated from the State University of Tartu (now the University of Tartu) in Russian philology (1977) and later attended the High Courses for Scriptwriters and Film Directors in Moscow. Käsper's mentors at the University of Tartu were Yuri Lotman, Zara Mints, Pavel Reifman, and Valery Bezzubov. Käsper started his career as a theater director and later dedicated himself to literature.

Gohar Markosjan-Käsper was born in 1949 in Yerevan, Armenia; she graduated from the Yerevan Medical Institute and defended her Ph.D. in medical science. Before the collapse of the USSR, Gohar Markosjan-Käsper managed a reflexology department at a clinic in Yerevan; her research papers were published in all-Union medical journals. At the time, Markosjan-Käsper began experimenting with literary genres in Russian, her native language. Due to personal and social reasons, Markosjan-Käsper was unable to pursue her career in medicine after moving to Estonia; therefore, she began a career as an author and translator. Along with other projects, she translated five novels by her husband, Kalle Käsper, from Estonian into Russian.

Process

The publishers relied on a subvention scheme, and the majority of books by Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper, including science-fiction series by Markosjan-Käsper, used funding provided by the Estonian Cultural Endowment and/or combined funding; e.g., the translation of Käsper's novel "Vennad Luiged"/"Братья Луйк" ("The Luik Brothers") was funded by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, whereas the City Council of Tallinn supported publishing through the KPD (see 4.2.1). However, the external funding has never covered 100% of the expenses, and the difference was to be compensated later via sales and distribution among libraries and other organizations. For the K&G and Solo publishers, as a small-scale family business, it was economically substantiated to provide editing and proofreading by using their internal resources and order only design and printing services from external agencies (e.g., Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda), thus using the final amount provided by the Estonian Cultural Endowment that supported their publications; this became a working scheme for their publishing activities. Such a decision was to a large extent conditioned by economic reasons, as self-publishing, even partially funded by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, proved to be more cost-efficient than subcontracting the publication of a particular book to a larger-scale publisher; the latter option inevitably involved expenses for outsourced editing and proofreading, and other additional expenses.

For 25 years, Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper had been working together as literary freelancers in a creative tandem. Apart from writing, translating, and publishing their poetry and prose, they also wrote articles for several magazines and newspapers, as well as reviews for the Estonian media.

As publishers, K&G and Solo did not publish any other authors. However, both Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper collaborated with other Estonian publishers as authors and translators, including KPD, Aleksandra, EKSA, and Avenarius,

and participated in special events organized by these publishers. The scope of literary genres of Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper included novels and historical epics, short stories, literary essays, poetry, detective fiction, and non-fiction editions.

As Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper provided mutual translations of each other's texts, no copyrights were sold or bought for the Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian translations of the two authors. The copyrights to the translation of the books by Markosjan-Käsper to other languages have been managed by the Russian literary agency Synopsys; in 2020, Käsper signed a contract with the Floberium publishing house and literary agency responsible for copyright and translations management, publication of e-books on the Russian literary website Litres (litres.ru), and preparation of the necessary copyright documentation. The number of paper copies and e-books sold defines the income.[27] The Barcelona-based Elcost agency is responsible for the distribution of copyright for the novel "Penelopa" by Markosjan-Käsper; the copyrights were bought by Elcost directly from Käsper and not via the Russian publishers; the texts of Markosjan-Käsper attracted attention from Russian, Armenian, and international publishers and institutions, the turning point was the translation of her novel "Penelopa" from Russian into central European languages, including French, German, Spanish, and Italian, with yet uncompleted English translation supported with the National Endowment for the Arts grant in the US. Hence, the literary goods produced by K&G have been distributed in Estonia (via KPD, Avenarius, and Dialoog networks) and in Russia via distribution networks of Russian publishers AST/Astrel, EKSMO, Floberium, and RuGram; as well as online as e-books via Litres and Labirint shops.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 5.

Promotion
Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper participated in promotional events to support their books, including regular presentations in Estonia, Russia, and Armenia, as well as a number of events organized by the Armenian Museum in Moscow, Russia. In 2013, Gohar Markosjan-Käsper was invited to the reception of the prime minister of Armenia as part of the national cultural program Все едут в Ереван ("All

[27] Via Floberium, 30 books by Käsper and 28 books by Markosjan-Käsper were published on Litres; via Rugram, "Встреча в метро" ("The subway encounter") by Markosjan-Käsper and "Любовь Эрвина Буридана" ("Ervin Buridan's love", compiled of parts of "Buridanid"), "Ослепляющая страсть"/'Filosoofilisi novelle' (translation of the "Phylosophical novels and the novellas "Saksamaa õppetunnid"/"Уроки Германии" ("The lessons of Germany), "Telemacheia"/"Телемахея", "Armeenlannad"/"Мои армянки" ("My Armenian women") and "Annika"/"Анника"), and a collection of essays "Кто бы их заставил замолчать" ("Who'd make them silent?") by Käsper were published in Russia; Floberium also facilitated the publication of the thirt reprint of "Penelopa" by Markosjan-Käsper.

come to Yerevan"). Presentations of new books were covered by the Estonian media, including *ERR*, *ETV+*, *Postimees*, and *Sirp*.

The Professional Union of Estonian Writers provided several scholarships, including funding for Gohar Markosjan-Käsper's trip to Mazzano (Rome), as well as financial assistance for publishing Gohar Markosjan-Käsper's posthumous poetic collection and other books. The international conference dedicated to the memory of Markosjan-Käsper took place in Tallinn in March 2018. According to Käsper's observations, Käsper's books were scarcely reviewed by Russian-speaking critics in Estonia, whereas the number of reviews in Russia was significantly higher, especially in cases of collaborations with a Russian publisher. Such a positive outcome encouraged Käsper to proceed with his other publications in Russia. Positive reviews of other books by Käsper were published in various Russian media outlets, including *Novye Izvestiya* (Anna Berseneva), *Zvezda*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Yulia Skryleva), and *Literaturnaya Rossiya*.

In Estonia, Käsper has been regularly interviewed by the central media, including *Õhtuleht*; he also publishes articles on the most critical social and political topics in *Postimees* and *Sirp*.

The texts analyzed by researchers and literary critics from Estonia, Russia, and Armenia were published in separate volumes of essays by Tallinn University (2018); two articles by Venera Avetisyan, investigating the interference of Russian literature in the novel "Penelopa," were published in 2018 and 2019 in the *Bulletin of Yerevan University*, Armenia.

Awards

The K&G and Solo publishers have not received any awards. As authors, Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper have received several awards in Estonia and Russia (see 4.3.6).

4.2.7 Dialoog

Introductory information

Dialoog is a Tartu-based small-scale publisher established by Nadezhda Valk[28] as a side activity alongside an existing language-learning and translation center. The center was established in 1989 as a scientific and pedagogical cooperative; in 1993, the entity was transformed into the Dialoog Joint-Stock Company and has been operating as a family business since then. The Dialoog Publisher focuses on producing books on the history of art, ethnography, biographies, poetry, prose, and memoirs in Russian and/or bilingual editions.

Founder's biography

Nadezhda Valk was born in 1950 in the village of Prudischi, in the Pechora region; she graduated from the Department of Russian Literature at the University

[28] The interview was taken in person on July 5, 2023, in Tartu, in Russian, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

of Tartu in 1973. For four consecutive years, she worked as a schoolteacher. Meanwhile, Valk graduated from the faculty of psychology magna cum laude and began her doctoral studies in psycholinguistics under the supervision of Peeter Tulviste; her research focused on the cognitive development of a child through dialogue. From 1977 to 1991, Valk worked at the University of Tartu, serving as a librarian for three years, a researcher for five years, and a lecturer for six years. Although Valk published several articles and participated in various scientific events, the PhD was not defended due to personal reasons.

Process

The publishing activities of Dialoog started with the online publication of Valk's memoirs "Там, где я родилась" (Where I was born) under the author's pseudonym Nadezha Katayeva-Valk. Despite the launch of a voluntary crowdfunding campaign in Saint Petersburg, Valk eventually opted for self-funding, using Dialoog's resources. Excerpts of the memoirs were initially published in Tallinn magazine; however, the Aleksandra publisher could not undertake the publication of the entire book for economic reasons; Melts, the head of Aleksandra (see 4.2.2), provided Valk with detailed instructions on the management of the end-to-end publishing process, including the procedures of application for necessary funding. The text was completed in 2013. During the three months following its 2014 release, 500 copies of the book were sold. The book was nominated for the Estonian Cultural Endowment's literary award. The 2014 Estonian Cultural Endowment literary award was shared with Jelena Skulskaja. Later, Valk's memoirs were translated into Estonian by Veronika Einberg, who was distinguished by the Estonian Cultural Endowment for her translation work; the Endowment reimbursed translation and printing expenses.

According to the requirements for the funding procedure established by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, the second Russian edition was funded by Dialoog, which paved the way to other publishing activities that included the publication of a biography of Tartu artist Ivan Sokolov, poetic collections by Ljudmila Kazarjan (see 4.3.9), Yekaterina Velmezova, and Olga Titova, essays on ethnography by Boris Nazarevsky; some of these titles were also funded the Estonian Cultural Endowment.

Publishing is still not the company's primary business; as a publisher, Dialoog typically produces only 4–5 books per year.

Valk reveals, "The application for publication of a book must be submitted by publishers; however, grants are requested for specific authors. The maximum number of copies that can be published in Estonia is 500, whereas the number of art books is even lower, at 200–250. The grant provided by the Estonian Cultural Endowment covers printing expenses but does not cover illustrations, editing, and design; the amount of subsidy may vary from 25% to 75% of the total publishing cost, and usually the shares of expenses are equal: 50% of the investment of the publisher and 50% of the subsidy.

During the last 10 years, the publisher has released 17 books, i.e., 7 poetic volumes and 8 prose books (one title on art history, three memoir books, one

lyrical detective in novellas, two optimistic prose books (short stories), and one ethnographic book), as well as two catalogs of art exhibitions. One book was published in Estonian, 10 books in Russian, and the remaining three books were bilingual (in Russian and Estonian).

The primary mission of Dialoog is the promotion of symbolic capital as a priority, aligned with the objectives formulated by Issakov, who focused on the history of Russian culture in Estonia and considered people of other cultures a matter of great importance, as well as the preservation of their identity and openness to intercultural communication. The mission is building bridges, eliminating the neglect of only one identity, and rehabilitating authors by helping them to be published". As an Estonian-Russian translator, Valk has translated the poetry of Thavet Atlas, Mari Vallisoo, Kalju Konsin, and other Estonian poets, and plans to publish their poetry in Russian in the future.

Portfolio

See Appendix 6.

Promotion

The publisher manages an online bookstore, exlibris.ee, where books published by different actors, including Dialoog, KDP, Alexandra, Hea Tegu, Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Vabamõtleja, Express Publishing, and others, are available. The online bookstore offers a diverse range of books, including children's literature, educational editions, and language-learning textbooks suitable for both children and adults.

The publisher has been participating in all literary festivals in Tartu, including the Landscape Poetry Festival, the Zhukovsky Festival, the Baltic Ring, and Prima Vista. With the support of the Embassy of Estonia in Moscow, Valk visited the House of Russian Emigrants, named after Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in 2019.

The publisher participates voluntarily in various exhibitions.

Awards

Table 8. Awards received by Dialoog's authors

2014	Nadezhda Katayeva-Valk, "Там, где я родилась" (Where I was born)	Estonian Cultural Endowment Estonia
2016	Ljudmila Loginova-Kzaryan – Prize for long-term literary activity and the organization of the Landscape Poetry Festival	Estonian Cultural Endowment Estonia
2022	Olga Titova, Лето балтийской жизни (Summer of Baltic life), poetry	Estonian Cultural Endowment Estonia

Professional organizations

No membership.

4.3 Authors

General overview of Estonian authors

Under subchapter 4.3, information on Estonia-based authors is presented in the format of case studies, based on interviews with 10 respondents. The research is rather indicative than exhaustive, and authors from Estonia, Russia, and with bilingual backgrounds have been selected. Andrus Kivirähk and Valdur Mikita are Estonian-speaking authors, and Kivirähk is among the most translated and recognized contemporary authors of Estonia, whereas Mikita gained popularity primarily among Estonian-language audience; Igor Kotjuh, Kalle Käsper, and P.I. Filimonov act as bilingual authors; and Andrei Ivanov, Jelena Skulskaja, Larissa Joonas, Ljudmila Kazarjan, and Tatjana Sigalova are Russian-speaking authors living and operating in Estonia; at the same time, Igor Kotjuh, P.I. Filimonov, Jelena Skulskaja, Gohar Markosjan-Käsper, Larissa Joonas, Tatjana Sigalova, and Ljudmila Kazarjan have been multifunctional and also active as translators, which is significant for the research under Chapter 4. The interviews were focused on the processes of Estonian-Russian translation and cultural, social, and economic conditions of publishing such translations in Estonia and Russia, as well as the aspects of collaboration with translators and publishers, mechanisms of promotion in Estonia, Russia, and worldwide, and the reception of the titles by the Russophone audience, according to the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

It is important to remember that Estonian-speaking authors do not directly communicate with their Russian-speaking target audiences and rely on publishers, editors, and translators when promoting their literary goods for Russian-speaking audiences both in Estonia and Russia, whereas bilingual and Russian-speaking authors can deliberately opt for a specific target audience either in Estonia or Russia (or in both countries) and be oriented towards specific expectations of the audience. Nonetheless, it is not necessarily the case that a Russian-speaking author aims for promotion and recognition in Russia; for example, P.I. Filimonov (see 4.3.7) and Kotjuh (see 4.2.5) are primarily oriented towards their readership in Estonia, as they are fully integrated into Estonian society. Kivirähk and Mikita published their Russian translations only through Estonia-based publishers, but were also promoted in special "Estonian" issues of Russia-based literary periodicals (e.g., *Novy mir*, *Zvezda*, and *Oktyabr*) alongside their Russian-speaking colleagues.

Professional background and education

Some authors listed under Chapter 4 obtained their education in humanities, particularly in Estonia, at the University of Tartu and Tallinn University (former Tallinn University of Pedagogy), although all authors do not necessarily share such background; i.e., literature became a vocation for Kivirähk, a professional journalist (see 4.3.1); Mikita, a biologist and semiotician (see 4.3.2); Joonas, an expert in information technologies (see 4.3.8).

Funding

In Estonia, the Cultural Endowment supported publications of Russian translations of the books by Kivirähk, Mikita, and Käsper, as well as publication of original Russian titles by Ivanov (except for the novel "Батискаф" ("The Bathyscaph"/"Batüskaaf") released in 2017 by Tänapäev), Skulskaja (the KesKus publisher), Joonas (Avenarius), Kotjuh, Sigalova, and P.I. Filimonov. Additionally, the Tartu City Council endorsed Mikita's travelogue (see 4.3.2).

The collaboration with Russia-based publishers was built on various business schemes, primarily barter arrangements; in most cases, funding was not provided by the Russian counterpart. In addition, some of the authors opted for self-funding (Sigalova) or crowdfunding (Russian publications of Joonas).

Distribution

Apart from Estonian libraries and bookstore chains, such as Apollo and Rahva Raamat, books by Estonian and Russian authors are also available on publishers' websites in Estonia. Not all Estonian authors are promoted in Russia; however, some titles are sold in Russian online bookshops, e.g., Kivirähk's Russian translations are available via the website of Oktopus and the Russian online bookstore Chitai-gorod; books of other authors are distributed via Ozon, Litres, Labirint, and Rugram online bookstores and libraries in Russia.

Professional organizations

Some Estonian authors (Kivirähk, Käsper, Ivanov, Skulskaja) have been members of the Estonian Writers' Union (Eesti Kirjanike Liit), which supports authors and facilitates their promotion, including funding of special events and/or professional trips; whereas some other authors (Mikita, Joonas) deliberately opt for non-membership.

4.3.1 Andrus Kivirähk

Introductory information

Andrus Kivirähk[29] is an Estonian writer, screenwriter, and journalist; he is one of the most prominent Estonian authors whose literature plays a crucial role in investigating images of Estonia(nness). Since 1991, 25 books (as of May 2025) have been translated into Russian, setting a record for Estonian writers in terms of translation output. His texts, apart from Russian, have been translated into 27 world languages; Kivirähk has been one of the most recognized and commercially successful authors in Estonia.

[29] The interview was taken on December 11, 2022, in the form of a written questionnaire online, in Estonian.

Author's biography

Kivirähk was born in 1970; he studied journalism at the University of Tartu and has worked as an editor and columnist for *Eesti Päevaleht*, Estonia's daily newspaper. As an author, Kivirähk has been one of the most productive actors, with 47 books published and 38 plays staged in various Estonian theaters; he is also the author of 12 screenplays. A fiction film based on the "Rehepapp ehk November" novel was made in Estonia by Rainer Sarnet; in the animated film "Kaka ja Kevad" the author was an animated actor.

Kivirähk has worked in several different genres, including satirical essays, children's literature, short stories, plays, and novels. The most popular character in Kivirähk's work is Lotte, a dog who appeared in four fiction films, for which Kivirähk was one of the screenwriters. The character of Ivan Orav, created by the author, also gained popularity in Estonia.

Process

Usually, a translator interested in a particular title, having selected it for translation, proactively looks for a publishing house in their home country. Upon the publisher's approval of the translation, Kivirähk signs the contract. Sometimes, email communication with translators is required to provide explanations or clarifications; the author may assist by offering advice or guidelines. Kivirähk explains, "It is true that many of my books have been translated into Russian, but these books were published by Russian publishers based in Estonia and have never been sold in bookstores in Russia. These translations have only been read by Russian-speaking people living in Estonia. Therefore, in Russia, I am a completely unknown author for the general audience, except for a few Estophiles."

Since the author's books have been published in Russian only, with support from publishing houses in Estonia (as well as through cooperation projects between Aleksandra and the Moscow-based Oktopus), Kivirähk maintains personal connections with Estonia-based publishers. At the same time, the author has been closely collaborating with his translator, Tatjana Verhounstinskaja (see 4.4.2), who, as of 2023, has translated 11 of his Russian-language books. However, he does not participate in choosing a title and does not interfere with the translation process. The author explains, "Usually, a translator, who has found and read my work and wants to translate it, manages to find a publisher in his/her country who is ready to publish such a translation. My role, therefore, is only to sign a contract, and I do not make decisions regarding the design or related matters. When translators need my advice, we exchange emails, and I do my best to help them. However, as my books in Russian are published only in Estonia, it is obvious that I maintain connections with the publishers as well as with my translator Tatjana Verhounstinskaja, who has translated the record number of my books published in Russian." Apart from Verhoustinskaja, Nelli Melts, Boris Tuch, Jelena Baljasnaja, Marina Tervonen, and Vera Prohorova contributed to the Estonian-Russian translations of Kivirähk's literary works.

The author explains that significant modifications through translation are impossible; however, some changes are required due to the differences in grammar

categories. “During translation, no significant adaptations have been made to my books, which would be impermissible and a clear violation of copyright. The only thing that may have changed in the Russian translations is the character’s gender. The characters of my children’s books are often animals or objects that do not have a gender in Estonian. But since every noun in Russian is gender-marked, this imposes a difficulty in translating the text in a way that preserves the source message. For example, in my children’s story “Kaka ja kevad” / “Весна и какашка” (The Poop and the Spring), the boy poop marries the beautiful girl dandelion, but since poop is feminine in Russian and dandelion is masculine, the text was modified in translation. But this is, unfortunately, inevitable.”

Within the creative process, Kivirähk often draws on motifs from Estonian folklore and mythology, as well as well-known topics explored by Estonian classic authors such as Anton Hansen Tammsaare, Oskar Luts, and Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald. Kivirähk’s characters, therefore, are created based on the common national knowledge and are understandable by Estonian readers. In terms of imagology, the absurdity of certain situations and the humor behind them are represented as a positive feature of Kivirähk’s writings. The author explains, “In my opinion, the main characters of all my novels are very positive Estonian characters. Both Sander, the main character of “Rehepapp ehk November” / “Ноябрь, или Гуменщик” (November), and Leemet, the main character of “Ussisõnade”[30] / “Последний, кто знал змеиную молвь” (The Man Who Spoke Snakish), are positive heroes. In the novel “Maailma otsas” / “На краю света. Картинки из жизни хороших людей” (At the Edge of the World), all the characters are very positive, and the subtitle of the novel is “A picture of the life of good people”. None of them are positive in the socialist realist sense, however, they are funny, strange, sometimes unhappy, sometimes happy – stating it briefly, they are ordinary, normal people, and I personally like them very much.”

The author states that he has no intention to comply with the expectations of any particular target audience. “I always write for myself, in order to focus on an idea that comes to mind, to tell a story that excites and troubles me. And then, when the story is finished, I kindly allow anyone who wants to read it, whether they are Estonians or people from elsewhere. Since I often draw on motifs from Estonian history and culture in my work, and the characters frequently originate from Estonian cultural history or mythology, it is certainly much easier for an Estonian reader to understand my work. And since I write in Estonian, nothing is lost when an Estonian reads it, unlike what unfortunately often happens in translation. For example, it is quite challenging to translate humor in a way that preserves its comedic component. So it seems to me that my readers are primarily in Estonia, but I never forbid translators from translating my texts if they wish to do so.”

The author cannot assess or verify the quality of his Russian translations, nor does he track the sales rates of his books abroad. However, Kivirähk encourages and approves all translators’ efforts and contributions, and supports the idea of

[30] “Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu”.

translating his texts worldwide. Upon completion, his stories will be available to audiences in Estonia and worldwide.

Translations of Kivirähk's books into Russian have been supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 7.

Promotion
Although translations of Kivirähk's literary works into Russian account for the record of 23 (for comparison, there are 13 books translated into Latvian, 6 into Finnish, 5 into German, 3 into English, and 7 into French), there are no available data on any sales of his books in Russian bookstores. Being institutionalized in Estonia as a children's author, essayist, and novelist, and maintaining his journalistic activities regularly, Kivirähk can be considered one of the most powerful influencers and opinion-makers in Estonia, recognized by the Estonian public. The author has been a regular guest of the major literary festivals in Estonia, i.e., Prima Vista and Head Read.

Russian literary periodicals published a number of novels by the author: e.g., in *Oktyabr* and *Druzhba narodov* from 2009 to 2015 (namely "Kunstnik Jaagup"/"Художник Яагуп" ("Yagup, the Artist") (*Druzhba narodov* 2009/4); "Rehepapp ehk november"/"Ноябрь, или Гуменщик" ("November") (*Druzhba narodov* 2009/8); "Gulliver"/"Гулливер" (*Oktyabr* 2013/12); "Maailma otsas. Pildikesi heade inimeste elust" / "На краю света: картинки из жизни хороших людей" („On the edge of the world") (*Oktyabr* 2015/9); "Konna musi"/ "Поцелуй лягушку!" („Frog's kiss") (*Druzhba narodov* 2015/11), and "Tark padi"/"Умная подушка" ("A smart pillow") (*Oktyabr* 2015/11)).

Awards

Table 9. Personal awards of Andrus Kivirähk.

1994	Oskar Luts Humor Award	Jõgeva Municipality Cultural Cooperation
1995	Estonian Cultural Endowment's Award for prose ("Minevik kui helesinised mäed. Ivan Orava mälestused")	Estonian Cultural Endowment
1998	Friedebert Tuglas Short Story Award	Estonian Writers' Union and the Under and Tuglas Literature Centre
2000	Estonian Cultural Endowment's Award for "Rehepapp" novel	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2000	Annual Cultural Endowment Literary Award (in collaboration with Heiki Ernits, Janno Põldma, Regina Lukk-Toompere, and Olav Ehala for feature film Lotte)	Estonian Cultural Endowment

2001	Virumaa Literary Award (“Rehepapp”)	Virumaa Foundation Council
2003	Tammsaare Novel Prize (“Rehepapp”)	Literary prize named after A. H. Tammsaare
2004	The Order of the White Star, V class	The Republic of Estonia
2004	Nukits Competition, 2nd place (“Lotte reis lõunamaale”)	Estonian Children’s Literature Center
2004	“Järje Hoidja” Award	Tallinn Central Library
2005	Aasta Rosin Award (“Ruttu tuttu! Eesti isade unejutte” collection)	Estonian children’s literature award
2006	Nukits Competition, 1st place (“Limpa ja mereröövlid”)	Estonian Children’s Literature Center
2007	Estonian Cultural Endowment’s Award for Play “Voldemar”	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2007	Estonian State Cultural Award (“Leiutajateküla Lotte” and the plays “Sürrealistid” ja “Teatriparadiis”)	Republic of Estonia
2007	Virumaa Literary Award (“Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu”)	Virumaa Foundation Council
2008	Estonian Theatre Union Award for Original Dramaturgy	Estonian Theatre Union
2008	Nukits Competition, 1st place (“Leiutajateküla Lotte”)	Estonian Children’s Literature Center
2008	Eduard Vilde Literary Award (“Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu”)	The Estonian Literary Award was established in 1965 by the Vinni County Cultural Endowment
2008	Stalker Award (“Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu”)	Estonian Science Fiction Association
2008	IBBY (The International Board on Books for Young People) Honour List	Non-profit organization founded in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1953, composed of 80 National Sections
2010	Nukits Competition, 1st place (“Kaka ja kevad”)	Estonian Children’s Literature Center
2010	Latvian Children’s and Youth Jury, 2nd place (“Sirli, Siim ja saladused”)	Latvian National Library, Children’s Literature Center
2011	Jānis Baltvilks Prize (Jāņa Baltvilka balva) in Latvia (“Leiutajateküla Lotte”)	The literary prize for children’s books in Latvia was established in 2005
2013	Annual Estonian Cultural Endowment’s Literary Awards for prose “Maailma otsas” and continuing activities in various literary genres, and for the international success of the novel “Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu”	Estonian Cultural Endowment

2013	Jānis Baltvilks Prize in Latvia ("Kaka ja kevad")	The literary prize for children's books in Latvia was established in 2005
2014	Le Grand Prix de l'Imaginaire (France)	French literary award for speculative fiction, established in 1972 by Jean-Pierre Fontana
2015	White Ravens ("Suur Tõll")	International Youth Library in Munich, Germany
2015	Good Children's Book ("Oskar ja asjad")	Estonian Children's Literature Centre
2016	Tartu Prize for Children's Literature	City of Tartu
2016	Eduard Vilde Literary Award	The Estonian Literary Award was established in 1965 by the Vinni County Cultural Endowment
2016	Nukits Competition, 2nd place ("Karneval ja kartulisalat")	Estonian Children's Literature Center
2016	Nominated for The Astrid Lindgren Memorial Award	The Astrid Lindgren Memorial Award established in 2002 by the Swedish government
2018	Estonian Cultural Endowment's Award for Children's Literature ("Tilda ja tolmuingel")	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2018	Good Children's Book ("Tilda ja tolmuingel")	Estonian Children's Literature Centre
2018	"Järje Hoidja" Award	Tallinn Central Library
2019	Estonian Cultural Endowment's Award for Children's Literature	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2020	Nukits Competition, 1st place ("Tont ja Facebook")	Estonian Children's Literature Centre

Professional organizations:
Member of the Estonian Writers' Union since 1996.

Reviews
According to Kivirähk, he can hardly mention any criticism or reviews in Russian, neither in Russia nor in Estonia; however, he has been interviewed by Russian journalists from *Postimees*, *ERR,* and *Delfi*; an interview with Kivirähk was also broadcast by the Russian Prague-based and the US-funded Radio Freedom; a reference to the author is also available on the Russian Children's Literature portal Prodetlit.ru.

4.3.2 Valdur Mikita

Introductory information

Mikita[31] is one of the recognized Estonian contemporary writers who has made a significant contribution to the development of national consciousness and the exploration of the Estonian national character. His essayistic series, dedicated to Estonian culture, mythology, habits, traditions, and lifestyle, has been translated into English, German, Finnish, Hungarian, and Russian.

Author's biography

Mikita was born in 1970 in the village of Suislepa, Viljandi County, Estonia, where he attended the local school. He moved to Tartu to continue his studies; in 1992, he graduated from the University of Tartu's Faculty of Biology and was inspired by the ideas of semiotics. Mikita reveals, "Becoming a biologist was my childhood dream. In high school, I once thought about whether I wanted to study literature or biology. But I chose biology. Then, in my third year, Yuri Lotman's essays were published in Estonian for the first time. And that turned my brain inside out; I wanted to become a semiotician. It happened during the confusing transitional period. I had the opportunity to pursue graduate studies in the humanities after completing my degree in biology. I was enrolled in the master's program in semiotics and later the doctoral program. I earned both degrees from the University of Tartu. But afterward, I haven't worked as either a biologist or a semiotician." In 1994, Mikita defended his MA thesis in semiotics at the University of Tartu; in 2000, he completed his Ph.D. thesis "Kreatiivsuskäsitluste võrdlus semiootikas ja psühholoogias" ("Comparing approaches to creativity in semiotics and psychology"). However, Mikita did not pursue an academic career as a semiotician or biologist; until 2014, he had been working in the pharmaceutical industry, genetics, and biotechnology. Mikita explains, "I had read Lotman's books before. But real semiotics and Lotman's books are two quite different things. I didn't find in the study of semiotics the passion that I felt from reading, and I realized I wasn't suited to being a biologist or a semiotician. I just went to work and spent years in a pharmaceutical company and a biotechnology company. Initially, I sold medicines, and later, thanks to my background in biology, I joined a gene company where we conducted genetic testing. But the dream of becoming a writer was always there. At the same time, I was writing, and in 2013, my book "Lingvistiline mets" ("The Linguistic Forest: The Wagtail Paradigm, Accelerator of Consciousness", 2013) was published and proved popular. Then I fulfilled my life's dream and eventually became a full-time freelancer, not working for anyone. In Estonian, we say "tõmbasin juhtme seinast välja", which means I pulled the plug out of the wall. To this day, I haven't gone back to a regular job. I've managed to survive as a freelancer. In the first few years, the book generated enough revenue that I decided to start publishing my own books. I earn a portion

[31] The interview was taken in person on February 8, 2023, in Tartu, in Estonian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

of my income from my creative work, as well as from giving lectures, seminars, completing small projects, and writing texts for museums, among other activities. I don't run a publishing house; I do it all myself. I created a small imprint. For four or five years, I supported myself through my creative work. Then, during the COVID era, things got tough. I also work on some side projects. I am invited to speak and participate in various projects. I earn partly from my creative work and partly from giving lectures and doing small projects, writing museum texts."

In 2016–17, Mikita was a professor of liberal arts at the University of Tartu, having been invited to the position following the publication of his first book. Since 2017, Mikita has been a freelance author, and his book has been commercially successful among Estonian readers, although his Estonian publications were initially self-funded. Mikita has also participated in small-scale projects, written various articles for the media, and created texts for museums; he has been actively conducting seminars and lecturing to the general public in Estonia.

Process

Mikita aims to enhance global awareness of Estonia and Estonians through books, transferring knowledge about rural Estonia, its history, and the way of life in the periphery that he has been familiar with since the early years. Mikita reveals his mission: "I've wanted to reflect on Estonia and Estonians. My childhood background plays a great role here—I grew up in the countryside. In the complete periphery. Not even in a village, but in a solitary farmhouse. In Southern Estonia, there weren't even proper villages—just small houses between forests and bogs, that's where my childhood passed. When I came to high school in Tartu, Tartu was like a big city to me, like New York. It was a huge cultural shock. All the background I write about is not the childhood of a city-born Estonian, but of someone who comes from the countryside and the forest. My grandmother told stories from a hundred years ago. She believed in forest spirits, and I found that world enchanting. Then, when Estonia became independent, there was a rush to develop the IT sector, digital technologies, startups, and unicorns, which, to me, feels strange, as a part of me is still from the 18th century, and another part is completely modern, progressive startups, a totally new world. It seemed fascinating to bring those two extremes together. What does this do to a person—how do they mentally reconcile it? People are very often in conflict with themselves. All those families that have broken up, kids gone abroad, the grandmother waiting somewhere in the forest... It's so tragic in a way. At the same time, it has been interesting to document and reflect on this massive transformation. I felt like I had grown up in a kind of feudal society. And from that feudal society, we skipped a whole stage and jumped straight into the information society. That might be my mission—to map out that journey."

Mikita's ideas and images, which he aims to explore, proved familiar to certain residents of neighboring countries, including Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia, as they refer to the same geographical area and share similar cultural and social contexts, including audiences who experienced Soviet times.

Mikita's essays collected under the cover of "Metsik lingvistika" / "Дикая лингвистика" (Wild Linguistics) were translated into Russian by Verhoustinskaja, to whom, despite some consultations, he trusted completely and extended her the complete freedom of creativity. "I don't want my text to be precise; I want it to reflect the translator's own vision. It's a kind of collaboration. I know people are different; some don't allow even a single word to be changed. I told Tatjana: If a sentence doesn't work, throw it out and make something up yourself. That was her own interpretation." This pattern is also applied to collaborations with other translators.

The book "Парадигма стрекогузки: природа и мифы" ("The linguistics forest. Wagtail paradigm") had been chosen by the translator herself and approved for publication by the Aleksandra publisher. Apart from Verhoustinskaja, Kotjuh (see 4.2.5) also contributed to translating Mikita's writings into Russian. As of 2025, Mikita's texts have been translated into five languages: Russian, English, German, Finnish, and Hungarian, and have been published in books and periodicals.

Bibliography

See Appendix 8.

Promotion

Mikita has given approximately 200 lectures and seminars in Estonia, participating in various literary readers' clubs; the Estonian Cultural Endowment often supports such events. At the same time, the name of Valdur Mikita is widely known in Estonia due to his irregular publications in the local media, including articles on urgent problems of forest-cutting in Estonia (Mikita 2017), and his recognizable humor used as a tool to describe features of Estonia(nness); e.g., a questionnaire "Eestlase test" ("The Estonian(nness) test") as an addition to his book "Mõtterändur" ("A mind traveler", 2022), not translated into Russian.

Mikita is reluctant to participate in online events; his meetings with reader audiences are mainly held offline. Apart from literary awards and funding provided by the Estonian Cultural Endowment, Mikita's texts were included in textbooks for B2-level learners of Estonian.

Awards

Table 10. Personal awards of Valdur Mikita.

2009	August Gailit Short Story Award for "Jänesekapsa teoreem" (Theorem)	The City Council of Valga & The Central Library of Valga, Estonia
2013	Viru County Literary Award for "Lingvistiline mets: tsibihärblase paradigma. Teadvuse kiirendi"	Viru County, Estonia

2014	The Annual Award of the Estonian Cultural Endowment for "Lingvistiline mets: tsibihärblase paradigma. Teadvuse kiirendi" (The Linguistic Forest. The Wagtail Paradigm. Accelerator of Consciousness)	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2019	The Annual Award of the Estonian Marketing Association (Eesti Turundajate Liit) for creating meanings through words.	Estonian Marketing Association
2025	The Order of the White Star, IV class	The Republic of Estonia

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
Apart from direct communication with his readers via letters, Mikita does not maintain any record of reviews on his books in Russian; however, Mikita's ideas have been disseminated in the Russian media of Estonia; e.g. his neologism "оСОСНАнность" (mindfulness/pinefullness) referring to the concept of mindfulness has been used by journalists for a discussion around the extermination of Estonian forests decorated as "the green agenda" in Gloss.ee. According to Mikita, readers' responses included letters from Estonians with Russian roots. The idea of Estonians as the people of the forest was compared with that of the forest people of Siberia due to similar lifestyles.

In the Estonian media, Mikita's writings and ideas have been widely discussed, notably in ERR, Eesti Ekspress, Looming, Postimees, Sirp, and Õhtuleht, as well as in Russian magazines in Estonia, such as *Tallinn* and *Vyshgorod*.

4.3.3 Andrei Ivanov

Introductory info
Andrei Ivanov[32] is a Russian-speaking writer in Estonia, recognized in Estonia, Russia, and globally. Currently, Ivanov has been one of the most productive Russian-speaking authors in Estonia, exploring, among other subjects, sensitive topics such as lost identities, social marginalization, exile, homelessness, migration, and nationalism.

Author's biography
Ivanov is a descendant of Russian migrants who arrived in Estonia after 1940, during the Soviet occupation period. Ivanov was born in Tallinn, Estonia, in 1971. His mother was a worker, and his father was a police officer. He studied at the faculty of Russian philology at Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (now the University of Tallinn).

[32] The interview was taken in person on November 9, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via taking notes on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

In 1995, he made several attempts to migrate to other European countries; having traveled in Scandinavian countries in 1997, he summarized his experience of living in refugee camps and used it as the basis for his first novel "Путешествие Ханумана на Лолланд"/"Hanuman's travels" where he speculated on the matters of migration, segregation, integration, and homelessness. Before his literary debut, Ivanov taught at school and worked as an unqualified laborer. Ivanov had been stateless since 1991, until he acquired Estonian citizenship in 2018.

Process

According to the pattern of a translation flow of Ivanov's prose as traced by Siseykina and van Doorslaer (2022), apart from the first Ivanov's short novels "Мой датский дядюшка" ("My Danish Uncle") and "Зола" ("The Ashes") that were published by the Russian periodical *Novyi zhurnal* in New York in 2007 and 2008, author's texts were initially published in Estonia by Avenarius, KPD, Varrak, Tuum, Loomingu Raamatukogu, or Tänapäev, after which a given text was published in Russia by AST, NLO, or EKSMO and then translated into Estonian to be published again in Estonia; this paved the way for translations to other foreign languages. The first novel by Ivanov, "Путешествия Ханумана на Лолланд" ("Hanuman's Travels"), is, to date, the most widely recognized prose work in the global literary community, translated into Estonian, German, French, and English. Overall, Ivanov's prose from 2007 to 2022 was translated into Estonian, Macedonian, German, French, Finnish, Latvian, Slovenian, and English.

Investigating the topics of lost identities, Ivanov, however, states that his primary goal in literature is not addressing social issues: "I have no mission, and I don't believe in a mission. I don't look for problems either, as they're lying under my feet; these are garbage, side material. I'm interested in something else. Literature and I – that's what engages me. Literature is a space where you can create your own artistic world. Literature gives you everything – take it, use it, build it. So, I'm building it. I do not communicate with the world, but I communicate with literature – that's what interests me. It's an infinitely complex process. Developing, you think that you've achieved something. Still, you suddenly discover that literature, like Proteus, has also changed, which makes you, who has changed as well, now experience even more complex inconveniences. You start each novel anew, and your previous novels stand at a distance. Still, they don't prove anything to Literature, as it, like a goddess, laughs at you and asks you questions, like the Sphinx. Me and literature – that's what there is, and the world with its problems is a puff and illusions. To me, writing a novel is a journey into the unknown land of literature, where Petronius, Apuleius, Homer, Dante, Cervantes, Swift, Sterne, Dickens, Poe, Celine, Joyce, Gogol, and Nabokov have traveled. I deliberately list the names of those authors I looked for on the map of literature while I was wandering along its edges. A novel is an adventure. If you have read "The Harbin Moths", you understand what an adventure it is: to drop everything, sit down, and write such a novel. It is an adventure."

Ivanov's prose was published in literary periodicals in Estonia (*Vikerkaar*, *Tallinn*, *Vyshgorod*, *Novye Oblaka*), the USA (*Novy Zhurnal*), and Russia (*Zvezda*).

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 9.

Promotion
Ivanov participates in all presentations organized by his Estonian publishers and dedicated to the release of his new novels; he also participates in meetings with students at Tallinn University and the University of Tartu; he has been part of Estonian writer delegations to international book fairs (UK, France). Regularly, in collaboration with Irina Paert, Ivanov maintains master classes on creative writing in Tallinn for Russian-speaking authors.

Ivanov is a regular guest at major literary festivals in Estonia, including Prima Vista, the Baltic Ring, the Zhukovsky Festival, and Head Read. In addition, researchers in the field of literary studies in Estonia, Russia, and France (Belobrovtseva 2014; Kõvamees 2014, 2016; Novozhenina 2019; Jurmaa 2020; Kotjuh 2020; Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022) have contributed to this field.

Awards

Table 11. Personal awards of Andrei Ivanov.

2007 2010	Mark Aldanov's Literary Prize	Novyi Zhurnal (NY, USA)
2009 2010	The Russian Prize (RussPremia.ru)	Boris Yeltsin Presidential Foundation (Yeltsin Center), Russia
2011 2018	The Literature Prize of the Tallinn University	Tallinn University, Estonia
2010, 2013	Shortlist of the Russian Booker Prize	Russian Booker Prize, Russia
2013	"Nos" Literary Prize	Established by Mikhail Prohorov's Foundation, Russia
2015	The Tallinn Order of Merit	The Tallinn City Council, Estonia
2016	The Estonian National Culture Award	The Estonian National Culture Foundation (Sihtasutus Eesti Rahvuskultuuri Fond)
2009 2011 2013 2015 2019 2021 2022	Estonian Cultural Endowment Literary Award (shared with Larissa Joonas (shared with Olga Titova)	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2020	The Order of the White Star, IV Class	The Republic of Estonia

Professional organizations
A member of the Estonian Writers' Union since 2013.

Reviews
In Estonia, Andrei Ivanov has been interviewed by the country's central media outlets, including *ERR, Postimees, Eesti Päevaleht, Sirp, MK-Estonia, Eesti Ekspress*, and *Den za Dnem*, in both Russian and Estonian. The total number of interviews conducted over the ten years (2010–2020) is 16.

Kotjuh's analysis of journalistic reception reveals that Ivanov's novels are perceived differently by Estonian- and Russian-speaking critics in Estonia (2020). Specifically, there have been 84 reviews in Estonian and 9 in Russian, with 7 scientific articles written in both English and Estonian.

4.3.4 Jelena Skulskaja

Introductory information
Skulskaja[33] is an Estonian author, journalist, translator, playwright, and lecturer who has been actively participating in the cultural life of Estonia and Russia.

Author's biography
Skulskaja was born in 1950 in Tallinn, Estonia; she graduated from the University of Tartu in 1972, where she studied linguistics under the supervision of Pavel Sigalov[34].

A few years after she graduated from the University of Tartu, Skulskaja was offered a position of columnist at the Department of Culture of the *Sovetskaya Estonia* newspaper by Henrich Turonok, an editor-in-chief of the time, to be responsible for theater and book reviews where she worked for 20 years; she closely collaborated with Sergei Dovlatov and maintained close relationships with the writer via correspondence for three years after he emigrated to the US; later Skulskaja became responsible for organizing events dedicated to the memory of the author in Tallinn.

Upon the collapse of the USSR, the communist newspapers were either closed or restructured and renamed. In 1991, Skulskaja began teaching literature at newly opened private universities in Estonia, which were inviting new lecturers. During the complex post-Soviet period, Skulskaja also worked on adapting translations of new detective novels brought from abroad, which provided some additional earnings. Finally, in 1996, she was offered a position as a lecturer at the Russian Theater in Tallinn. By that time, she had earned a reputation as a literary and theater critic and was regularly published in local Estonian newspapers. In 2018, she left the theater and established her theater studio, "Poeticheskoye Sodruzhestvo" ("The Poetic Community"), for Russian-speaking teenagers.

[33] The interview was taken in person on November 9, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.
[34] The events of the time are described in her novel "Мраморный лебедь" ("The Marble Swan").

Process

Skulskaja began her literary experiments as a student in the Department of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu's faculty of philology. According to Skulskaja, "her generation had few opportunities to learn Estonian under Soviet power at school and the university." The author reveals, "In Soviet times, publications in Moscow or Leningrad were considered the most prestigious, but the poetry styles adopted in the Tartu literary circles did not comply with the central Soviet literature format, mostly for ideological reasons. At the same time, Estonian prose also influenced my poetry, as at the beginning of her poetic experiments, I had been actively communicating with Estonian authors of the older generation who developed the standards of new Estonian prose; these authors were oriented exclusively to Western literature (see Arvo Valton, Rein Saluri, Teet Kallas, Jaak Jõerüüt, Enn Vetemaa, and Jaan Kross); plus Juhan Viiding, a well-known Estonian poet, was one of my closest friends since our childhood, i.e., since 1962." At the same time, she has considered herself primarily a Russian author, devoted to the Russian language and literature. Close collaboration with Estonian literary circles, to a certain extent, challenged the strict literary norms adopted by Soviet authors, which were considered unavoidable for publication at the time.

Although Skulskaja did not write any anti-Soviet poetry, she considered herself a moderate dissident, like many Tartu authors of the time, due to the relative liberty at the university. Skulskaja explains, "Yuri Lotman had an opportunity to invite many famous dissidents for public lectures, including Josef Brodsky, Lena Schwartz, and Victor Sosnora, and encouraged the students to attend these lectures. At the same time, Lotman welcomed those who were persecuted in the USSR, including children of dissidents or Kyiv Jews who could not be enrolled in the university because of the national quotas. Criticizing Soviet power and reading forbidden literature could not cause any serious consequences in Tartu; overall, the atmosphere was inspiring despite the common knowledge about some university employees who were regularly reporting for the KGB."

Although Skulskaja has been writing poetry since her student years, she was first published only in 1978; her publications in Russia became possible only after the collapse of the USSR. Later, her books were published in Russia or Estonia, depending on the circumstances. Two volumes of essays were translated into Estonian in 2002 and 2006; Skulskaja's novels were released in Estonia in 2015.

In Estonia, the KesKus publisher, established by Skulskaja's close associate Juku-Kalle Raid, has published Skulskaja's books (including those translated into Estonian); in Russia, she was published by the Floberium, Alpina Publisher, Vremya, KoLibri & Azbuka Attikus publishing houses. Skulskaja's books are primarily distributed in libraries, universities, and schools, as well as at presentations, in Estonian shops, and online via the Russian online bookstore Labirint.ru. It is a common practice for Russian publishers to provide no royalties but allocate a certain number of copies for further independent distribution among readers; no percentage of sales is paid for copies distributed in Russia. An applicable business model provides a scheme for purchasing multiple copies at the minimum price

for subsequent sales in Estonia. Estonian publishers, according to Skulskaja's experience, are more transparent and traceable; however, in Estonia, the number of copies may reach only 1000, and all copies are usually sold out. Russian literary magazines *Zvezda*, *Znamya,* and *Druzhba narodov* have served as debut platforms for all her new publications before their official release; this practice of publishing new literary pieces in periodicals is common in both Estonia and Russia.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 10.

Promotion
Skulskaja's media activities made her a recognizable personal brand, facilitating the promotion of both her original novels and translated works. Skulskaja participates in multiple shows on Estonian TV; she works as a radio host at Raadio 4 with her show "Литературный Диксиленд" ("The Literary Dixieland"), dedicated to world literature in collaboration with her students from the theater studio.

Releases of Skulskaja's books, both documentary and literary writings, are always accompanied by presentations; the events have taken place in both Russia and Estonia. Typically, 150–200 readers attended presentations of Russian books by Skulskaja in Moscow or Saint Petersburg, where well-known journalists, authors, or actors were among the attendees.

She participated in Prima Vista and Head Read festivals, where the readers could acquire her books. For 10 years, Skulskaja was a member of the Jury of the international Russian Prize, which dealt exclusively with Russian-speaking authors living outside Russia. Skulskaja has maintained good relationships with key decision-makers in Russia's cultural circles, including her close communication with Nikolay Kryschuk, a Russian belletrist, as well as the editorial staff of *Zvezda*, *Novaya Gazeta*, and Radio Echo Moskvy, where Skulskaja has been a regular guest for the last 20 years. The name of Skulskaja is also widely known by Sergei Dovlatov's readership, as she has been an organizer of the Dovlatov festivals in Tallinn, Estonia.

Skulskaja regularly writes for central Estonian newspapers, and her articles are translated into Estonian.

Awards

Table 12. Personal awards of Jelena Skulskaja.

1999	The Best Journalist of the Year	Estonian prize of the KesKus Monthly Edition
2006	Estonian Writers' Union and Estonian Cultural Endowment Award	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2008	The Russian International Literary Award "The Best Short Prose" for the collection of short stories "Любовь"	The Fund of Boris Yeltsin, Russia

2011	The Order of the White Star, IV class	The Republic of Estonia
2011	The Award “Hea sõna”	Estonian Journalists’ Union, Estonia
2014	Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for the novel “Мраморный лебедь”	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2014	The finalist of the Russian Booker for the novel “Мраморный лебедь”	Russian Booker, Russia
2015	The annual *Zvezda* literary prize “The Best Novel” for “Мраморный лебедь”	*Zvezda* magazine, Russia
2017	Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for the novel “Пограничная любовь”	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2020	Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for the collection of essays and short stories published in *Zvezda* magazine, n. 6, 8, 2020	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2021	Tsarskoselskaya Art Prize	The All-Russia Art Museum named after A.S. Pushkin and a group of individuals, Russia
2022	“Integration Golden Fund” award	Estonian Ministry of Culture and the Integration Foundation, Estonia

Professional organizations

Skulskaja has been a member of the Estonian Writers’ Union since 1978.

She is also a former member of the Journalists’ Union of Estonia.

Reviews

Mostly, Skulskaja’s writings are covered in Russia-based media; e.g., *Novaya Gazeta* regularly publishes reviews of her newly released books, and her writings were also covered and discussed on the formerly Moscow-based Radio Echo Moskvy. *Nezavisimaya gazeta* published a review of her book in the section “Moya Literaturnaya Premiya Po Sredam” (My Literary Award on Wednesdays”) (Anna Berseneva); Russia-based *Znamya* magazine and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published a series of negative reviews on Skulskaja.

4.3.5 Igor Kotjuh

Introductory information

Igor Kotjuh is one of the most recognized contemporary authors in Estonia, working in the genres of poetry and short essays. For the smallest meaningful unit of an essay, he invented a special term, *essema*, which means a text, combined from the ideas of an essay and a poem.

Bio

See 4.2.5

Process

Kotjuh is bilingual; his poetry has been translated into 26 languages, including English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, and Latvian. Translations of Kotjuh's poetry were included in anthologies and published as separate volumes, his texts are translated from both Russian and Estonian. Some of his poetic works were originally written in Ukrainian. He is considered both an Estonian and a Russian author, with works translated into both languages.

Awards

Table 13. Personal awards of Igor Kotjuh.

2004	The best poetry volume	The literary award established by the *Looming* literary magazine for poetry publisher
2007	"Teises keeles" collection	The award named after B. Kangro
2011	Award for a young activist in culture	The award from the former Estonian president, Toomas Hendrik Ilves
2012	The media scholarship for his radio shows dedicated to Estonian literature broadcast on Radio 4 (in collaboration with P.I. Filimonov)	The Estonian Ministry of Culture The Integration Foundation
2014	The Estonian Cultural Endow-ment Award for "Эстонский дизайн" („Estonian design") poetic volume (2013)	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2015	The White Star Order, V class	The Republic of Estonia
2015	Media Award for the Integration activities	The Estonian Ministry of Culture The Integration Foundation
2015	Tallinn City Council Medal for the promotion of Russian literature in Estonia	Tallinn City Council
2016	The Russian Prize (Moscow) for preserving the traditions of Russian culture abroad	Boris Yeltsin Presidential Foundation, Russia
2018	The Estonian Cultural Endo-wment Award for "Естественно особенный случай" („Naturally specific case") poetic volume (2017).	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2021	Petic volume The Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for "The Isolation Tapes" poetic volume (2020)	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2021	Award for Diverse Literary Activities	Estonian Cultural Endowment, Järvamaa County Government
2022	Teacher of the Year 2022 for teaching Ukrainian adults	Järvamaa County Government

2022	Teacher of the Year 2022 for teaching Ukrainian adults	The Republic of Estonia
2023	Ene Mihkelson Cultural Thinker Award	Ene Mihkelson Society Estonian Cultural Endowment of Tartu
2023	"Sireenid ja sähvatused" poetic volume, Bernard Kangro Literary Award	Võru County Government

Bibliography
See Appendix 4, 11.

Promotion
Kotjuh has been active in publishing in both Russian and Estonian media, including all literary magazines in Estonia and international periodicals. The publications in Russian include *Vozduz, Litkarta*, and anthologies. For more information on Kotjuh's promotional activities, including his contribution as an interviewer and editor, see 4.2.5.

Professional organizations
See 4.2.5.

Reviews
The problems of literary bilingualism of Kotjuh were discussed in BA and MA theses by students of the Tallinn University (Belozerova 2017; Yashina 2019) as well as in research publications (Bazileviča and Sakova 2017; Kruus 2018; Belobrovtseva 2018; Sakova 2022); a number of articles covering the phenomenon of bilingual literature of Kotjuh were published in Estonian media, *Sirp*, *Looming*, *Plug*, and *Värske Rõhk*; in Russia-based media, the reviews were published in literary periodicals *Druzhba narodov* and *Znamya*.

4.3.6 Kalle Käsper, Goar Markosjan-Käsper

Introductory information
See 4.2.6.

Authors' biographies
See 4.2.6.

Process
Kalle Käsper
Käsper began his career as a theater director, staging two plays at the Pärnu Theater in the 1980s. Starting his career as an author, Käsper was writing in Estonian, with his literary debut in 1983 with a play written in Estonian, "Doktor Stockmanni variant"/"Вариант доктора Стокманна" ('Dr Stockmann's Version'). At the end of the 1980s, he published his essays and poetry in the Estonian media; his short story collection under the cover "Taani prints Hamlet, nuhk"/"Гамлет,

принц Датский, филер" ('Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, the Spy'), released in 1996, was the first book to be published. The first novel, "Üksindus on hommikuti hell"/ "Жизнь Трдата, или Ода утреннему одиночеству" ('Solitude is Tender in the Mornings') was published in 1997. Two epics dedicated to the events of the 20th century are "Vennad Luiged"/"Братья Луйк" ("The Luik Brothers"), 2002, and eight volumes of "Buridanid"/"Буриданы" ("The Buridans"), 2005–2014. The process of writing the original volumes of "Buridanid" took twelve years. The eight volumes of the family epic cover the entire 20th century; hence, the author had no opportunities for other careers or activities.

Käsper, who began his career as an Estonian author, eventually chose to write some of his literary works in Russian. Albeit "Ime"/"Чудо" was written after the death of Markosjan-Käsper by Käsper in two languages simultaneously, with the first publication in Russian. The other two novels of the trilogy, written by Käsper in Russian, Жизнь после жизни ("Life after life") and Пробуждение ("The Awakening "), continued the story. The novels were released as e-books by the Moscow publisher Floberium for Litres. "Ime"/Чудо was published as a separate edition together with the collection of Käsper's poetry "Orpheuse laule"/"Песни Орфея" ("The songs of Orpheus") translated by Alexei Purin, the editor for the departments of poetry and literary criticism at *Zvezda* literary magazine, Saint-Petersburg. Operating with controversial, provocative, and sensitive topics such as national and gender issues, Käsper opted for the debut publication of "Ime"/ Чудо, dedicated to his late wife Gohar Markosjan-Käsper, in *Zvezda* literary magazine; the novel was awarded the *Zvezda* prize and included in the Booker prize long-list in Russia (2017). The novel "Vennad Luiged"/"Братья Луйк" ("The Luik Brothers") was translated by Leivi Sher and released in 2022 by the KPD publisher.

Poetry and essays by Käsper were published at various times in Russian, Estonian, and Armenian magazines, including *Zvezda*, *Novyi mir*, *Neva, Literaturnaya Armenia, Palimpsest, Traditsiya & Avangard*, *Aurora, Volga, Tallinn, Vikerkaar-Raduga, Vyshgorod,* and *Vostok-Zapad*.

Gohar Markosjan-Käsper

Markosjan-Käsper published her first poetic collection only at the beginning of the 1990s, when self-funded publications became an option. Several poems and novels by Markosjan-Käsper were published in Russian magazines in Estonia, including *Vikerkaar (Raduga)* and *Russky Express*, as well as in the Russian literary magazine *Druzhba narodov*. The first novel, Markosjan-Käsper's "Penelopa", initially rejected by *Druzhba narodov*, was eventually published by *Zvezda* literary magazine in 1998. In 2001, large-scale Russian publisher AST/Astrel, through the Russian literary agency Synopsis, approved the publication of "Penelopa" on the conditions of distribution. Although the Russian original version had not yet been released by AST/Astrel, the copyright for translating the novel had already been sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair to French, German, Spanish, and Dutch publishers (the copyright was purchased for the text published in the lite-

rary magazine). Hence, the novel received a promotion in Russia after its European debut, while the Russian version of "Penelopa" was distributed by AST in all Russian bookstores. The novel was reviewed by very few Russian critics but received more reviews and attention in French, where it sparked greater interest among European readers.

Since 2001, 24 other books by Markosjan-Käsper have been published in Russia by *Zvezda* and *Neva* literary magazines, as well as by both large-scale publishers, such as AST/Astrel („Пенелопа"/"Penelopa"), and medium-scale publishers, including Rugram („Встреча в метро"/"The subway encounter").

Collaboration with Russia-based literary periodicals has been a regular practice for Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper, and their novels have been published in *Zvezda* and *Neva* since 1998 (see Appendix 7).

Bibliography
See 4.2.6

Promotion
See 4.2.6.

Awards

Table 14.1 Personal awards of Kalle Käsper.

1997	The third prize for "Üksindus on hommikuti hell"/ "Жизнь Трдата, или Ода утреннему одиночеству" ('Solitude is Tender in the Mornings')	Novel competition established by the Estonian Novel Fund
2005	*Zvezda* magazine prize for "Уроки Германии" ("The lessons of Germany"), essays	*Zvezda* magazine, Russia
2013	Anton H. Tammsaare's Award for Buridanid"/ "Буриданы" ("The Buridans"), novel	Anton H. Tammsaare's Award is established by the City of Tallinn in co-operation with the Tallinn Literary Centre and the Estonian Writers' Union.
2017	The long list of the Russian Booker Prize for "Ime"/"Чудо", a novel	Russian Booker, Russia
2017	*Zvezda* magazine prize for "Чудо"/"Ime ("The Miracle), novel	*Zvezda* magazine, Russia
2018	The finalist of the Nikolay Gogol Prize for "Ime"/"Чудо" together with "Memento Mori" by Markosjan-Käsper, novels	The Nikolay Gogol Prize was established by the Boris Yeltsin Presidential Center, Russia.
2021	Ivar Ivask Memorial Foundation Scholarship for literary essays	Ivar Ivask Memorial Foundation, The Fund of Estonian National Culture, Estonia

Table 14.2. Personal awards of Gohar Markosjan-Käsper.

2005	Literary Award for “Кариатиды”/”The Caryatides”, novel	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2007	Yury Dolgorukov’s Prize for “Пенелопа пускается в путь”/”Penelopa starts the journey”, novel	The Moscow City Council, the Yury Dolgorukov’s Fund, the Writers’ Union of Russia, and Russia
2012	Literary Award for Memento Mori, a novel	Estonian Cultural Endowment

Professional organizations:
Kalle Käsper has been a member of the Estonian Writers’ Union since 1996.
Gohar Markosjan-Käsper was a member of the Estonian Writers’ Union.

Reviews
See 4.2.6.

4.3.7 P.I. Filimonov (Roman Fokin)

Introductory information
P.I. Filimonov[35] is an Estonian author and translator, representing the younger generation of authors who write in both Estonian and Russian. He works with poetry, short prose, and novels; has written several plays (one of which was performed at an Estonian theater); is a columnist for newspapers; and writes movie reviews for a cultural review project—mostly published in Estonia.

Author’s biography
P.I. Filimonov was born in 1975 in Tallinn. It was his conscious decision to learn Estonian after the collapse of the USSR to facilitate his integration into society. He graduated from Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (today Tallinn University) with a degree in English and German.

P.I. Filimonov is an English philologist and a teacher at the Tallinna Teeninduskool, a professional vocational school for consumer services workers. Earlier, soon after graduating from university, P.I. Filimonov worked at a language school and a travel agency. Teaching at the vocational school ensures that the author has enough free time for his literary exercises, as it is not a time-consuming occupation.

Process
P.I. Filimonov considers himself an Estonian writer who writes in Russian, as he states, “mostly for biological reasons”: Russian has been his native language. P.I. Filimonov was first published in 2007 with both a poetic volume “Мантры третьего порядка”/”The third order mantras” and a novel “Зона неевклидовой

[35] The interview was taken in person on June 16, 2022, in Tallinn, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

геометрии"/"The zone of non-Euclidean Geometry" in Russian with the Kite publisher. His earlier short stories were published on an online portal of modern Russian literature in Estonia (now no longer exists).

With the assistance of Jelena Skulskaja, P.I. Filimonov was introduced to the Russian-speaking audience and published in a Moscow-based magazine, *Nasha ulitsa,* his short stories and a novelette "Выродки"/"The bastards", which turned out to be a negative experience of publication as the text was extensively modified by editors (2003–2004).

After that, Igor Kotjuh involved P.I. Filimonov in the projects of the Kite publishing house. Back then, Kotjuh launched a series of publications featuring Estonian Russian-speaking authors, including P.I. Filimonov's texts. Despite their differing views, Kotjuh actively assisted P.I. Filimonov's promotion in Estonia's literary circles.

After publishing the poetic volume, P.I. Filimonov was offered by the Kite publisher the opportunity to release a novel, originally in Russian, after which Kotjuh engaged a translator to publish its Estonian version. Primarily, P.I. Filimonov writes in Russian; his command of Estonian remains at the level of a non-native speaker. However, he has written two short stories in Estonian (see Appendix 12). The short stories of P.I. Filimonov, written in Russian, were translated into Estonian, Latvian, Finnish, German, and English; the poetry was translated into Latvian, Finnish, Hungarian, Arabic, and Italian.

Portfolio/Bibliography

See Appendix 12.

Promotion

P.I. Filimonov is recognized by the Estonian-speaking community in Estonia and is a public figure. Frequently (at least once a month), he is invited by the Russian TV Channel ETV+ (the state Estonian channel) to be a guest on the morning show Kofe+. Russian newspapers in Estonia, including the Russian-language version of *Postimees*, regularly published P.I. Filimonov's opinion-making articles or columns on various topics. He has been invited to Estonian TV and interviewed for a documentary dedicated to Estonian authors, which was broadcast in both Estonian and Russian.

Earlier, P.I. Filimonov took part in festivals in Russia, mostly for networking, where good connections were established with poets from Russia, Latvia, and Ukraine; he participated in large-scale festivals twice, namely in Kaliningrad in 2007, and in Moscow Poetic Biennale in 2010 by invitation, together with Kotjuh, as the topic of the biennale was "The poetry of ex-Soviet countries". At the same time, P.I. Filimonov participates in local Estonian literary festivals, including Head Read and Prima Vista. Apart from the literary events that brought together Russian-speaking poets, he also participated in literary festivals in Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Awards

Table 15. Personal awards of P.I. Filimonov.

2007	Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for “Мантры третьего порядка” (“The third order mantras”)	Estonian Cultural Endowment Foundation
2020	Friedebert Tuglas short story award for “Момент истины Себастьяна Рюйтеля” / “Sebastian Rüütel’s moment of truth” (“Sebastian Rüütli tõehetk”) (*Vikerkaar*, 2019)	Friedebert Tuglas Short Story Award, Estonia

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews

The novels by P.I. Filimonov published by Kite (“Зона неевклидовой геометрии”/”The zone of non-Euclidean Geometry”) were discussed by Estonian critics and covered by *Delfi*, *ERR, Postimees, Looming*, both in Estonian and Russian. P.I. Filimonov argues that when a book is published in Russian in Estonia, it attracts little attention and receives very few reviews. Two years after its Russian release, P.I. Filimonov’s novel had already been translated into Estonian (2010) and garnered more positive reviews from Estonian critics. Several reviews of P.I. Filimonov’s poetry and prose on Russian online portals emerged due to the author’s personal connections.

4.3.8 Larissa Joonas

Introductory information

Larissa Joonas[36] is an Estonia-based Russian-speaking author and translator, primarily working in the genres of poetry and essays, recognized primarily in Russia and later in Estonia.

Author’s biography

Joonas was born in 1960 in Tatarstan, USSR. Having graduated in 1983 from the Moscow Energy Institute, she was relocated to the Estonian Soviet Republic and began her career at a Research & Development Institute in Kohtla-Järve. Despite her technical education, she began experimenting with writing in translation during her school years, paying close attention to world literature and translations. She stayed in the independent Republic of Estonia after the collapse of the Soviet Union and obtained Estonian citizenship for family reasons, as by 1991, she had been married to an Estonian citizen.

[36] The interview was taken in person on August 1, 2022, in Kohtla-Järve, in Russian, via taking notes, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

Joonas' main occupation is an IT expert. Since the 1990s, she has been active in many different spheres; today, she works as a lecturer of data communication, networks, and Cybersecurity at the Kohtla-Järve branch of Tallinn University of Technology. Although Joonas has been professionally working in the field of technical science (teaching and research), she dedicates herself to poetry and prose, considering it her main vocation. She has been published in both Russia and Estonia and has received institutional recognition and awards in Estonia.

Process

Joonas has been actively publishing her literary writings on the Internet, namely on her blog on livejournal.com, since 2002, which made her famous among the global Russian-speaking audience. She published poetry books and short stories in 2006–2021, with four volumes in Russian and two translated volumes, i.e., a bilingual Russian-Italian release "Un quanto perso in strada" (2019, translated by Paolo Galvani) and an Estonian release "Arütmia või ööbikud" (2020, translated by Aare Pilv). The first poetic volume published in Russia was funded with readers' donations. Joonas states, "My poetry relies upon my idea of the universal goal of humanity. A talented person must develop their gift and return it to society, which is the ultimate goal of creative writers as well. Since we do not possess this gift, we must create it voluntarily. Therefore, selling my books is not a goal, but I am happy that my books can be found in Estonian bookstores. I initially earned my symbolic capital in Russia, and the Russian audience made up the majority of my readers. In Estonia, I became recognized comparatively late, after 2021, thanks to the contribution of Aare Pilv, a translator, who decided to translate Joonas' poetry into Estonian and introduced me to the Estonian public." Nevertheless, Joonas' books have been published at the initiative of publishers who covered all printing and promotional expenses.

Joonas' poetry was published in the Russian and Estonian literary magazines *Volga, Oktyabr, Vozduh, Vikerkaar-Raduga* (Tallinn), and various digital resources, and translated into Estonian, Italian, Polish, English, Lithuanian, and Finnish.

Joonas' original Russian poetry was published by Russia-based medium- and small-scale publishers, Memories (2006), Izdatelskyie reschenia (2017), Russky Gulliver (2017), ARGO-RISK (2016, 2021), and Free Poetry (2020) on the basis of a barter scheme; the author received an agreed number of copies for independent distribution; no royalties were provided under the contract. Estonian translations of Joonas were supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment; the only Estonian edition by Joonas, a collection of short stories written at different times, was published by Avenarius (see 4.2.3) in 2023.

Portfolio/Bibliography

See Appendix 13.

Promotion

Joonas is a regular participant in the Estonian book festivals, including Prima Vista, the Baltic Ring, and the Landscape Poetry Festival in Tartu.

Awards

Table 16. Personal awards of Larissa Joonas.

2021	The Estonian Cultural Endowment Russian language literary award for poetry collection "Пустоши флайтрадара"/"The empty spaces of the Flight Radar"; shared with Andrei Ivanov for "Театр ужасов"/"The Theater of Horror"	Estonian Cultural Endowment

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews

The coverage of literary activities by Joonas includes articles and interviews with the author published in central Estonian media, namely *ERR*, *Postimees*, *Tvz.ee, Delfi*, the literary portal Novye Oblaka (oblaka.ee), and the Russian literary media: *Oktyabr, Vozhuh, Volga, Druzhba narodov,* online portals *Polutona, Formasloff,* and *Litkarta;* the international literary magazine *Kreschatik* (see more in Appendix 13).

4.3.9 Ljudmila Kazarjan (Loginova)

Introductory information

Ljudmila Kazarjan[37] is a Russian-speaking author residing in Estonia and an organizer of literary events that bring together representatives of the Russian-speaking literary community in Estonia and other countries. Since 2010, Kazarjan has dedicated herself to activities that support and promote Russian literature, particularly poetry, in Tartu.

Author's biography

Kazarjan was born in 1961 in Ussuriysk, the Primorsky region, USSR. She arrived in Estonia in 1973, at the age of 12, with her parents, who had been relocated there for work under the prevailing practices of the time. She graduated from the University of Tartu, the Department of Russian Literature, where she studied Russian literature under the supervision of Zara Mints. After graduation, Kazarjan worked at the school and in the city newspaper. However, due to the collapse of the USSR and family matters, she had to quit.

Kazarjan resumed her literary activities and dedicated herself to organizing literary events in Tartu. Since 2010, Kazarjan has returned to literature and published her poetic volume in Estonia, where her poetry from 2011 to 2020 is gathered.

[37] The interview was taken in person on August 9, 2022, in Tartu, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

Process
Kazarjan's poetry was published in Estonian media, including *TGU, Tartusky Kurier, Nasha zhizn,* the literary Estonian periodicals *Vyshgorod* and *Tallinn*, Russia-based *Topos*, as well as *Futurum Art*, *Veschestvo*, and the international literary magazine *Okno* (which ceased publication in 2015).

At the same time, Kazarjan has been earning her symbolic capital acting as a scientific journalist and a popularizer of science, having published articles on the literary Russian-speaking society in Estonia residing since the beginning of the 20th century and its cultural legacy in *Tallinn*, *Novy Tallinn, Vestnik Tartu, Delfi,* the Belgium-based Russian literary *Emigrantskaya lira* covering Russian emigration literature, the *Kreschatik* international literary magazine, and the Russia-based scientific edition dedicated to the Russian language and literature, *Novoye Literaturnoye obozrenie*. In her articles, Kazarjan aims to provide readers with a comprehensive picture of the literary landscape in Estonia, rediscovering the names of Russian authors who lived in Estonia across various eras, including Vera Schmidt, Valmar Adams, Jelena Skulskaja, and Andrei Ivanov. Participates as an author in the "Articulation" project, Tartu slam, R.O.A.R. (Resistance and Opposition Arts Review), and is one of the editors of *Metajournal*.

Bibliography
See Appendix 14.

Promotion
The name of Kazarjan (Loginova) and her personal brand became known in the literary circles of Estonia, Russia and worldwide due to her active participation in literary festivals, her scientific and science-popularizing publications, reviews on Russian poetry and prose in Russia-based literary magazine *Znamya* as well as her contribution to the development of literary activities in Tartu and organization of the Zhukovsky Poetic Festival and the Landscape Poetic Festival; she has actively participated in poetic festivals in Russia (Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Saratov, Kazan), Finland (Helsinki); has been a member of a poetic project "Polyot razborov" (Moscow, Russia).

Awards

Table 16. Personal awards of Ljudmila Kazarjan.

2016	Estonian Cultural Endowment Russian-language author's literary award for long-term work in the field of literature, including the organization of the Landscape poetry festival	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2020	Nominated for the Estonian Cultural Endowment Literary Award for her poetic collection "Дневник 2011–2020" ("The Diaries 2011–2020").	Estonian Cultural Endowment

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
The author was interviewed by Igor Kotjuh for his online edition *Novye oblaka* after the publication of her second poetic volume in Estonia.

In Russia, Olga Balla, an editor of *Znamya* literary magazine, and Andrei Permyakov, critic and poet, published their positive reviews of Kazarjan's poetry on the literary almanac portal *Articulation Project*. Positive reviews were also published in the Russia-based *Vozduh* literary magazine.

4.3.10 Tatjana Sigalova

Introductory information
Tatjana Sigalova[38] (Doxie as a poetic pseudonym, Manya Nork as a prose pseudonym) is a Tartu-based Russian-speaking author and translator.

Author's biography
Sigalova was born in Tartu in 1969; her father, Pavel Sigalov, a Russian linguist, taught at the University of Tartu during the Soviet era and collaborated with Boris Gasparov and Sergei Issakov. Both Sigalova's parents maintained personal connections with recognized translators of Estonian prose and poetry, namely Tatjana Teppe, Tatjana Verhoustinskaja, Elvira Mihhailova, and Svetlan Semenenko (the latter was her mother's classmate at the University of Tartu). Sigalov migrated to the US in 1982.

Tatjana Sigalova graduated from the University of Tartu at the end of the Soviet period; she is a resident of Tartu. Her research at the University of Tartu focused on folklore (MA); based on her personal interest, she has dedicated herself to the study of the Silver Age. Sigalova worked at the Scientific Library of the UT (now Tartu University Library); later, she became an individual entrepreneur engaged in private English and Russian teaching.

Sigalova recently obtained Estonian citizenship through naturalization.

Process
In 2010, Sigalova started writing prose; at the end of 2011, her first prose, "Анамор: два очень маленьких романа"/"Anamor: two short novels" was published by Aleksandra; in 2022, the same publisher released a self-funded novel "Пьеро Одинаковые" ("The same Pieros"); the same novel was published in 2023 in Russia by Russky Gulliver publisher. Sigalova's prose and poetry were published in the following literary magazines: *Vikerkaar (Raduga), Tallinn; Tuulelohe* (Estonia), including its almanacs; *Kastopravda; Zhurnal POetov, Parovoz,* and *Topos* (Russia). Sigalova's poetry was included in the collection of Estonian poetry "Объяснение в любви. 150 стихотворений 18 русских поэтов Эстонии" / "Confessions of love: 150 poems by 18 Russian poets in Estonia" and the

[38] The interview was taken in person on December 9, 2022, in Tartu, in Russian, via using a portable recorder, on the basis of the preliminarily composed questionnaire.

recent issue of the *Baltic Ring* almanac. In 2017, Sigalova's translations were published by *Kastopravda*.

Bibliography
See Appendix 15.

Promotion
Sigalova regularly participated in the Prima Vista literary festival in Tartu. Between 2014 and 2018, she also participated in the Zhukovsky Poetic Festival and the Landscape Poetry Festival, both held in Tartu. Apart from Prima Vista, Sigalova had previously participated in mutual presentations with Larisa Joonas; in the 2000s, she regularly attended Tuulelohe society events in Tallinn and Narva, was a member of the community from 2003 to 2005, and participated in the group's events in Tartu, Tallinn, and Narva.

Awards
Sigalova was nominated for the Estonian Cultural Endowment award four times with her poetic collections and prose; however, she was not awarded.

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
Sigalova's poetry was positively assessed by Svetlan Semenenko, Boris Tuch, and P.I. Filimonov as early as 2006 in *Molodezh Estonii*.

"Anamor" was reviewed by Boris Tuch in a review written for *Den Za Dnem* (Estonia) and by Dmitry Bavilsky, a Russian author and critic, a member of the Russian Writers' Union and the Literature Foundation of Russia, and the editor of online magazines *Vzgliad* and *Chastny Korrespondent,* for *Chastny Korrespondent* (Russia) in 2012. As an author, Sigalova was referred to by Elena Gergievskaya, a Russian literary critic, and Roman Voitekhovich, an Estonian researcher and expert in Russian literature at the UT Slavic department.

In 2022, Kalle Käsper highly appreciated her newly published novel "Пьеро одинаковые" ("The same Pieros"); later, his review of Russian literature in Estonia was published in the *Sirp* magazine. A positive review was written by Tuch in the Estonian online magazine *Stolitsa.ee*; the novel was positively reviewed in *Postimees* by Denis Polyakov, a journalist and manager of special events in the Russian Gallery in Tallinn (the premises combine the functions of an antique bookstore and an art gallery, where the presentation of the novel was organized), and Leonid Georgiyevsky for *Articulation*.

4.4 Translators

Introduction

General overview of Estonian-Russian translators

The translators participating in the research under Chapter 4 were selected based on their productivity and recognition in both Estonia and Russia; their parallel activities as authors and publishers were also taken into account. It is essential to consider that all Estonian-Russian translators are multifunctional and, apart from translation, have been successful in other fields, treating translation as part-time employment and/or dedicating themselves to translation after retirement.

Mission

The translators operating in Estonia consider Estonian-Russian translations a cultural mission, aiming to preserve and promote Estonia's cultural legacy and literary goods among the global audience of Russian-speaking readers, with a focus on Russian residents of Estonia. In particular, translating popular Estonian authors into Russian facilitates the better integration of Russian residents in Estonia into their environment, especially among children. One of the translators' objectives is to promote new texts and popular characters among the Russian children's audience and to achieve a positive reception of Estonian books.

Funding

The Estonian Cultural Endowment is the primary source of funding for Estonian-Russian translated titles; according to the adopted scheme (see 4.2.1, 4.2.2, and 4.2.3), translators act as full-fledged stakeholders of the production of cultural goods and can independently select a title for translation on a volunteer basis; upon completing all the necessary formal procedures with authors and publishers, translators can determine their working rates to be compensated by the fund.

Awards and institutionalization

The Cultural Endowment established a special translation award; to participate in this literary competition, translators must submit their applications directly to the Estonian Cultural Endowment, rather than through a publisher. Thus, Elvira Mihhailova (1943–2018) received the Estonian Cultural Endowment Award for her translation work in 2002, Svetlan Semenenko (1938–2007) was twice awarded by the Estonian Cultural Endowment for his translations in 1999 and 2005; Tatjana Verhoustinskaja and Vera Prohorova were on the Cultural Endowment short-list (see 4.4.1, 4.4.2, and kulka.ee).

Professional organizations

Estonian-Russian translators interviewed for the research under Chapter 4 are not members of any professional translators' organization in Estonia; however, some are members of other organizations and function simultaneously as authors and/or journalists.

4.4.1 Vera Prohorova

Introductory information

Prohorova has been actively collaborating with Estonian publishers KPD, Aleksandra, Vene Entsüklopeedia, and has provided translations to be published in literary magazines of Estonia (*Vikerkaar (Raduga)*, *Tallinn,* and *Vyshgorod*) and Russia (*Oktyabr*); she is one of the most productive Estonian-Russian translators with a record of more than 50 translated books.

Biography

Vera Prohorova[39] was born in 1948 in Tallinn, Estonia. She graduated from the historical and philological faculty of the State University of Tartu (now the University of Tartu), where she studied literature. She started working at the position of a proofreader, made a career in journalism and eventually was promoted to the position of editor-in-chief of a weekly financial media: since 1971, she worked as a journalist for *Molodezh Estonii* newspaper; an editor of *Vikerkaar (Raduga)* magazine, a deputy editor-in-chief of daily newspaper *Den za dnem*, and an editor-in-chief for *Russky Express*; until 2010, before retirement, she was a deputy and then an editor-in-chief for *Delovye Vedomosti*; since 2010, she has been working as a freelance literary translator.

Prohorova began translating Estonian prose during her tenure at *Vikerkaar* literary periodical; after her retirement, she devoted herself entirely to literary translations. Apart from translations, she provides editing services for translations done by her colleagues, although this is not a regular practice.

Process

Speculating on the most essential translator's skills, Prohorova states, "an Estonian-Russian translator must primarily be an expert in Russian, which implies not only linguistic literacy in the target language but the ability to operate freely with all the linguistic tools available, including different styles and vocabularies, proverbs, phraseological units, etc. At the same time, a good command of Estonian is required. However, what is more essential, a translator's ability to hear and feel the text in Estonian, is the ultimate condition of the cultural transfer. In contrast, rich vocabulary is not of great importance, as rapidly emerging neologisms can be specified through online professional dictionaries. Additionally, the translator's ability to understand Estonian realities and adapt them for a Russian-speaking audience is a significant factor. It is crucial to distinguish texts requiring precise translation due to their specific and unique stylistics from the texts to be retold and rewritten; preserving pace, harmony, and spirit is a mandatory basis in order to avoid the effect of word-for-word translation."

Vera Prohorova is an example of a productive and proactive translator who can be considered a game-changer for a given translation flow. Prohorova usually

[39] The interview was taken on January 18, 2023, via email correspondence, in the form of a written questionnaire, in Russian.

offers translation services on her own initiative, selecting books that sparked her interest, and transfers this inspiration to her readers through her translations. The KPD publisher that Prohorova cooperates with approves almost all potential translations suggested by Prohorova; this approach has paved the way for many new literary names from Estonia to the Russian audience. Vice versa, in several cases, the publisher can offer a text to Prohorova, and she can be engaged in translation if she considers it interesting. For instance, Prokhorova restored the forgotten name of Arvo Valton, with 26 volumes of his literary works still marketable, and rediscovered him for the Russian audience. With the assistance of Alexei Turovsky, a native Estonian speaker, Arvo Valton's "Ülemiste vanake"/ "Старец из Юлемисте" ("An old man from Ülemiste") was translated and later edited by Prohorova.

According to the adopted practices, after selecting a title for translation, Prohorova proactively contacts the author and offers a Russian translation. It is Prohorova's symbolic capital, i.e., her expertise and reputation, that ensures a positive outcome: for 15 years of her freelance work in Estonian-Russian translations, 100% of translation offers were approved by Estonian authors. The information on the author's consent is therefore communicated to the publisher. Within the translation process, whenever clarifications or consultations regarding the source text are required, Prohorova can contact the author. Estonian authors generally appreciate such collaboration and assist with translation or approve modifications when necessary. Prohorova, in her turn, is highly attentive to editors' comments or suggestions, as the mutual goal of all actors involved is to produce a high-quality text.

During the selection process, Prohorova pays attention to recognized authors who have received literary prizes in Estonia and have not previously been translated into or published in Russian, thereby remaining unknown to Russian readers. The marketability of a selected product is usually discussed by the translator and the publisher. Prohorova is highly appreciated by the Estonian publishers KPD and Aleksandra as a reliable translator. She is primarily engaged in translating short prose and children's literature (see below) because of her skill in using or creating unique language and specific phrases to make the main characters recognizable. Prohorova prefers translating short prose, which requires a highly attentive attitude to wording and accuracy to avoid distorting the structure of a story or novel. At the same time, Prohorova has been successful in translating big prose, e.g., the novel by Vahur Afanasjev "Serafima ja Bogdan" ("Серафима и Богдан") is one of the most appropriate examples of creative retelling. Prohorova states that she also enjoys working with children's literature, where spoken language and the stylistics or slang of a given age are crucial factors in translation.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 16.

Promotion

Vera Prohorova had been a regular participant in the event series named "The book seasons" organized by the KPD and Aleksandra publishers on a long-term basis; today, she cannot participate due to her state of health. She also actively participated in presentations organized by the Vene Entsüklopeedia publisher (now defunct), with which Prohorova had previously collaborated closely. In addition, Prohorova published short Estonian prose translations in almost every issue of *Vyshgorod*, with support from the Ministry of Culture of Estonia and the Estonian Cultural Endowment, until 2019, as interest in such prose remained strong outside Estonia.

According to Prohorova, the Russian-speaking audience responded positively to Estonian prose. In addition, as part of cultural transfer, Estonian prose translated by Prohorova was published in the Voronezh literary almanac *Yamskaya sloboda* (Russia), the international magazine *Kreschatik*, and the all-Russian literary magazine *Oktyabr*. In 2020, the online magazine Formasloff (formasloff.ru) published novels by Kai Kask-Arrak, translated by Prohorova.

Awards

Table 17. Personal awards of Vera Prohorova.

2017	Winner of the Integration Foundation award for establishing the integration-supporting settings via media projects and initiatives by the public opinion-makers for Estonian-Russian translations	Integration Foundation, supported by the Ministry of Culture of Estonia
2019, 2020	Short-list for Translation Annual Award of the Estonian Cultural Endowment	Estonian Cultural Endowment

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews

Several publications in the Estonian press where Prohorova has been interviewed or referred to include *ERR* (2019), *Plug* (2017), and others. At the same time, according to Prohorova, the figure of the translator remains invisible and is commonly considered "service personnel". It is very rare for the translator's name to be mentioned in Russian media when discussing a new Russian translation of an Estonian author, even though the book receives positive feedback. Conversely, the Estonian press rarely covers translations of Estonian authors into Russian. As a literary critic, Prohorova herself wrote a comprehensive review of Mehis Heinsaar's "Ülikond"/"Костюм", with the primary purpose of introducing the new Estonian author to the general Russian-speaking audience.

The local literary critics have positively evaluated Prohorova's contribution; however, literary criticism in Estonia is becoming a less popular genre overall. At the same time, translations done by Prohorova received no negative reviews.

4.4.2 Tatjana Verhoustinskaja

Introductory information

Tatjana Verhoustinskaja[40] has collaborated with the largest Estonian publishers involved in Estonian-Russian translations, including KPD, Aleksandra, Varrak, and Tammerraamat. She has published her translations in literary periodicals in Estonia and Russia, including *Tallinn, Vyshgorod* (Estonia), and *Oktyabr, Druzhba narodov* (Russia). Her contributions include 17 books; she has translated works by Andrus Kivirähk and collaborated with the author on a long-term basis.

Biography

Verhoustinskaja was born in Pärnu, Estonia, in 1942. She graduated from the University of Tartu in 1965, where she studied Russian language and literature and specialized in translation; her thesis comprised a translation of A.H. Tammsaare's play "Kuningal on külm"/"Королю холодно" (The King is cold), 1936. For ten years, she worked as an editor at Eesti Raamat (Estonia), after which she worked for the next ten years at *Tallinn* magazine as an editor of Estonian prose; then, for 17 years, she worked in the Office of the Estonian parliament.

Process

Verhoustinskaja had a good command of Estonian and was interested in further practice in the field of translation during her studies at the University of Tartu; she attended the seminars on translation theory and practice held by Valery Bezzubov, a lecturer at the UT, where she obtained her competencies and skills and made early contacts with the other actors of Estonian-Russian translation flow, e. g., Tatjana Teppe. However, for a long time, literary translation remained a secondary activity for Verhoustinskaja; she began by translating short stories by Arvo Valton in collaboration with other Estonian-Russian translators, including Gennadi Muravin, Romuald Minna, and Nina Yavorskaya, which were published by Sovetsky Pisatel in Moscow in 1970. Since then, Verhoustinskaja, among other activities associated with her full-time jobs, translated several documentaries, textbooks, a travelogue, and texts for an encyclopedia. Her translations of Jaan Kross' novels were published in the *Druzhba Narodov* literary magazine in 1999 and later in Estonia by the Vene Entsüklopeedia publisher in 2006.

Her proactive steps resulted in the publication of a translation of Andrus Kivirähk's novel "Ноябрь, или Гуменщик" / "Rehepapp ehk November" ("November") by the Aleksandra publisher, supported by the Estonian Cultural Endowment. This scheme of independently translating selected titles and subsequently submitting a funding application to the Estonian Cultural Endowment evolved into a regular practice of collaboration. Verhoustinskaja attended a readers' event held by Kivirähk to meet the author in person; since 2009, Verhoustinskaja has translated 13 titles by Kivirähk, with six reprints of her translation of a

[40] The interview was taken on January 25, 2023, in the form of a written questionnaire online, in Russian.

children's book "Весна и какашка" / "Kaka ja Kevad" ("The Poop and the Spring") by the Varrak publisher.

"An Estonian-Russian translator must freely speak both languages, Estonian and Russian", states Verhoustinskaja. "I have no specialization in translation genres and translate what publishers offer or what I choose myself. If I like a particular book, I contact the author, translate it, and offer the translation to the publisher. When necessary, I can ask the author a few questions for clarification." When working on translations, Verhoustinskaja is oriented to the Russian-speaking residents of Estonia, aiming to "translate a popular author so that Russian readers could have an idea of the 'milieu'."

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 17.

Promotion
When possible, Tatjana Verhoustinskaja participates in various events to promote the translated books, including presentations, readers' clubs, discussions, festivals, and other events organized by publishers.

Awards

Table 18. Personal awards of Tatjana Verhoustinskaja.

2009	Short-list of the Estonian Cultural Endowment Annual Award for translation with "Rehepapp"/ Ноябрь, или Гуменщик by Andrus Kivirähk	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2014	Short-list of the Estonian Cultural Endowment Annual Award for translation with "Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu"/ Последний, кто знал змеиную молвь by Andrus Kivirähk	Estonian Cultural Endowment

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
It is not a regular practice of the media to interview translators, and, according to Verhoustinskaja, there is no communication between her and journalists or literary critics. At the same time, the books translated by Verhoustinskaja received positive reviews both in Estonia and abroad.

4.4.3 Maia Melts

Introductory information

Maia Melts[41] is an Estonian-Russian and German-Russian translator, specializing in children's literature and collaborating with major Estonian publishers and business entities focused on Estonian-Russian translations.

Biography

Maia Melts was born in Tallinn, Estonia, in 1976. She graduated from the Tallinn Pedagogical College with a degree in German philology and from the Estonian School of Diplomacy with a specialization in international relations. She has been an active translator of children's books, with a total record of 19 books, and has worked as a translator for the Russian-language edition of the Estonian children's magazine *Täheke* since 2013.

Despite her higher education in pedagogy, Maia Melts works full-time in a German company as a software tester, while literary translations are provided on a freelance basis.

Process

The first book, "Petra lood"/Истории про Петру ("The Stories about Petra") by Kristiina Kass, was translated by Melts at the request of the KPD publisher in 2011; the translation was funded by the Estonian Cultural Endowment; this was followed by the translation of "Kaspar ja viis tarka kassi" / "Каспар и пять умных кошек" ("Kaspar and five smart cats") by the same author. As an editor, Maia Melts worked on the series of stories "Paula elu" / "Паула" ("Paula") by Aino Pervik, which was a one-time experiment.

Melts explains, "I started translating based on my own interest; my children were young, and I wanted to read absolutely new books to them. I consider the command of the mother tongue the most important. The skill of adapting to Estonian realities was not often utilized, as children's books are often magical stories, or, if it is a novel, then there are universal realities such as family, home, school, and friends. The absence of geographic designations and product, car, clothing, and phone brand names makes a text readable in any language. I had to adapt the ideas that have evolved over time, i.e., convert crones into euros, or a tram ticket into a green bus card with a certain amount prepaid. Overall, I specialize in Estonian children's literature; however, I have also translated a teenage novel, "Auerhaus" by Bov Bjerg, from German.

I make a decision on the translation of a particular book based on the results of two literary competitions: namely, Nukitsamees and Kultuurkapitali lastekirjanduse preemia (The Cultural Endowment Award for Children's Literature), according to the information provided on the official website of the competition https://elk.ee/lastekirjandus/auhinnad-voistlused/. After that, an application is

[41] The interview was taken on June 30, 2023, in the form of a written questionnaire online, in Russian.

submitted to the Estonian Cultural Endowment, and the translation process begins upon approval of the application. Overall, the process of harmonizing formalities is easy to follow, as only two stakeholders are involved with the Aleksandra publisher. Upon translation, a book is edited, designed, and proofread twice."

According to Melts' explanations, Estonian publishers recognize translator status, and translation rates are determined by translators themselves and included in the budget. If the Estonian Cultural Endowment approves an application for publication, the translator is paid the requested compensation; therefore, translators can decide on the remuneration amount independently.

"As to the reader audience," states Melts, "I focus on the Russian-speaking residents of Estonia and Russian speakers regardless of their residence. Earlier, when trips to Moscow were still possible, some readers visited our exhibition stand to say that they loved my translations".

Maia Melts is also responsible for design at the Aleksandra publisher.

Bibliography: see Appendix 18.

Awards: no.

Promotion
Positive feedback on Melts' translations was received from readers at Moscow book fairs prior to 2022; however, no record of this feedback is maintained. Maia Melts does not communicate with literary critics or journalists and does not write reviews herself. At the same time, Melts participates in promotional events, such as presentations and readers' clubs, on an irregular basis.

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
Apart from annotations placed on the website of bookstore chains Apollo and Rahva Raamat, as well as on the Aleksandra publisher's official website, the books translated by Maia Melts were reviewed in Russia by a Moscow-based literary critic, Maria Poryadina, a senior research fellow at the Russian Book Chamber.

4.4.4 Jelena Skulskaja

Introductory information
See 4.3.4.

Bio
See 4.3.4.

Process
Skulskaja's project to translate Estonian poetry into Russian was based on her personal connections and preferences and has since developed into a multi-stage

project with the Kite publishing house. Skulskaja's translation experiments began with a voluntary project in collaboration with her close associate, the Estonian poet Juhan Viiding, who suggested experimenting with mutual translations. After Viiding's death, Skulskaja returned to his texts; she had been working on translations for almost 30 years and, in total, had translated about 50 verses by Viiding. The poetic collection by Juhan Viiding and Jüri Üdi "Ночная песня для мужского голоса" / "Öölaul meeshäälele" ("The night song for a male voice") was published with the support of the Estonian Cultural Endowment by the Varrak publisher in 2011; numerous recommendations from the members of the Estonian Writers' Union were obtained for the publication.

Skulskaja continued her translation experiment with other Estonian contemporary authors; as a result, 30 verses by Juku-Kalle Raid, 30 by Jaan Kaus, and 30 by Maarja Kangro comprised the first collection of the future anthology of Estonian poetry. By the initiative of Igor Kotjuh (the Kite publisher, see 4.2.5) and with his assistance, the funding application was submitted to the Estonian Cultural Endowment and approved based on the preliminary verification of 70 translated verses ready for publication (out of the required 90 verses); the collection under the title "Я – твоё стихотворение. Эстонские поэты в переводах Елены Скульской" / Ma olen su luuletus" ("I am your verse, Estonian poets translated by Jelena Skulskaja") was released in 2020. Upon the release, Kotjuh suggested that they proceed with the second, third, and fourth volumes; the second volume was comprised of verses by Karl Martin Sinijärv, Triin Soomets, and Veronika Kivisilla, and received the title "Вешалка вечности. Том 2" / "Igaviku riidepuu. Eesti luulet" ("The Hanger of Eternity") and was released in 2021; the third volume "Волк на паперти" / "Luulekogu" ("The Wolf on the parvis") by Toomas Liiv, Kalev Kesküla, and Aleksander Suuman was dedicated to the generation of deceased Estonian authors and released in 2022. The fourth volume, "Jõe matmine" / "Похороны реки ("The funeral of the river"), included poetry of Triin Paja, Kristjan Haljak, and Andrus Kasemaa, the young poets of Estonia and potential members of the Writers' Union selected by Kotjuh, and was published in 2023.

Skulskaja states, "Vers libre, or free verse, is widely used in Estonian poetry. However, in the opinion of Russian scholars (e.g. Alexander Kushner), such format, when used in Russian, did not comply with the standards of the classic Russian verse as it had no rhyme, rhythm, and structure; free Estonian verse by its structure can be somewhat compared to the verse in prose or a lyric essay in Russian literature or translations of European poetry (for instance, Paul Éluard). Estonian poetry is based on assonances not specific to any other language except Finnish; such assonances must combine a short vowel, a medium, a long, and an overlong vowel, and these combinations of different lengths of vowels in the same word, phrase, or line create a musical structure that cannot be translated into Russian adequately or equivalently due to different phonetics systems; hence, a word-for-word translation would destroy the musical structure. For translation of Estonian poetry, either rhyming is required, or the internal rhythm of the original verse should be preserved. Russian free verse features a hidden audial rhythm

that is untraceable in the graphics and cannot be as free as prose; i.e., audial poetic representation must reveal the inner structure and rhyme. In Estonian poetry, a specific audio structure, or sound, is created so that listeners perceive the lines as poetry; hence, a translator's task is to create the text to be perceived as poetry in Russian.

A set of poetic tools allows substituting the assonances with alliteration and using consonants instead of vowels, so that the verse must not sound natural in ordinary conversations."

Skulskaja translates the works of Estonian poets whose command of Russian is good, so that the authors can authorize their translations; the tradition of verifying a poetic translation by the author is well established. In Estonia, authors regularly review translations and provide their comments and suggestions for improvement, including recommendations on rhythm and stylometry.

Portfolio
See Appendix 10.

Promotion
The release of all collections was announced by the Estonian media, including *ERR, Delfi, Postimees, Plug, Vestnik Tartu,* and *Tribuna,* and supported with presentations, in collaboration with Igor Kotjuh as a publisher. The website oblaka.ee published the interview with Skulskaja, who thoroughly explained the specificity and uniqueness of Estonian poetry and the nuances of its translation into Russian. Selected translations of poetry by Viiding were published earlier in the literary magazine *Oktyabr* in 2015 (N9).

Awards

Table 19. Personal translator's awards for Jelena Skulskaja.

2020	Nominated for the Translator's Literary Award by the Estonian Cultural Endowment	Estonian Cultural Endowment
2021	Nominated for the "Poetry" Literary Prize for poetic translations of Maarja Kangro	Established by the Society for the Encouragement of Russian poetry, funded by RAO UES, Russia

Professional organizations:
See 4.3.4.

Reviews
The reviews of Skulskaja's poetic translations were published in Estonian media, including *Plug* with a reference to the online presentation available on the official YouTube channel of the Tallinn Central Library, and the literary online magazine *Novye oblaka*.

4.4.5 Igor Kotjuh

Introductory information
See 4.2.5.

Bio
See 4.2.5

Process
Along with his literary activities, Igor Kotjuh has been involved in numerous translation projects across various genres, including poetry, children's literature, travelogues, biographies, and short stories. Kotjuh is bilingual and provides both Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian translations; since 2006, he has translated 14 titles. His translations were published in Estonia and the Russia-based literary magazines *Oktyabr* and *Druzhba narodov* as well as in the Estonian literary portal Novye Oblaka (oblaka.ee).

Kotjuh declares, "We are primarily focused on the poetry of authors of the younger generation in Estonia; e.g., fs, Andra Teede, Maarja Kangro, Jamar Ala, Sveta Grigorieva." Estonian poetry was the source of inspiration for Kotjuh, who distinguishes its melancholy, specific pace, and free verse as the main features and has chosen this specific Estonian form as suitable for his poetry in Russian; the literary experiments and close personal connections with the poets of the younger generation, mainly from Tartu, resulted in a series of such poetic translations into Russian. Since 2020, in close collaboration with Skulskaja, Kotjuh has served as editor for the Kite publisher's series of Estonian poetic collections translated into Russian.

Awards
See 4.2.5.

Bibliography
See Appendix 4, 11.

Promotion
As a literary critic, Kotjuh has published a series of articles dedicated to the problematics of lost or multiple identities, approaches to the definition and scope of Estonian and/or Russian literature, and its mutual influence, as well as its ethnocultural contexts, both in Estonian and Russian media. Kotjuh's essays and articles have been published in *Oktyabr*, *Kreschatik*, *Vestnik Evropy*, *Deti Ra*, and Estonia-based magazines *Plug, Sirp,* and *Looming*. To promote Estonian-Russian translations, Kotjuh widely leverages his personal social capital as an opinion leader in Estonia.

See also 4.2.5.

Professional organizations
See 4.3.5

Reviews
See 4.2.5, 4.3.5.

4.4.6 Kalle Käsper, Gohar Markosjan-Käsper

Introductory information
See 4.2.6

Translators' biographies
See 4.2.6 and 4.3.6.

Process
Both Kalle Käsper and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper contributed to enhancing the Estonian-Russian translation flow after 1991; whereas Markosjan-Käsper undertook translations of Käsper's works into Russian, Käsper translated her texts into Estonian. As a family unit, the authors maintained uninterrupted communication throughout their translation activities. Markosjan-Käsper's translations were verified and edited by Käsper, who could provide her with a word-for-word translation to work with and detailed explanations of Estonian history, realities, and contexts necessary for a Russian translation of his novels and the epic, which mainly take place in Estonia. Whereas Käsper himself translated novels by Markosjan-Käsper "Елена / "Elena", "Memento Mori", and "В Микенах, златом обильных"/ "Kullarohkes Mükeenes" ("Mycenae, Rich in Gold") into Estonian, Markosjan-Käsper translated the most well-known of Käsper's novels, including "Üksindus on hommikuti hell. Trdat See-ja-See-jani elu"/„Ода утреннему одиночеству, или Жизнь Трдата" (published by K&G), and the family saga in eight volumes "Buridanid" / "Буриданы" ("The Buridans") into Russian. The latter was edited by Irina Belobrovtseva and published by Avenarius.

Awards
See 4.2.6.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 5.

Promotion
See 4.2.6.

Professional organizations: see 4.2.6.

Reviews: see 4.2.6

4.4.7 P.I. Filimonov (Roman Fokin)

Introductory information
See 4.3.7.

Translator's biography
See 4.3.7

Process
The translation activities of P.I. Filimonov were initiated by Kotjuh when the latter proposed translating some poetry for Tuulelohe, the predecessor of Novye Oblaka (oblaka.ee), and subsequently suggested other translations to work on. When the name of P.I. Filimonov became known and recognized in local literary circles, he began accepting other requests for Estonian-Russian translations; according to him, these translations were never his initiative.

Notably, the poetic volume "Целлюлоза"/"Tselluloos" was a bilingual mutual Russian-Estonian translation project initiated by P.I. Filimonov and Katrin Väli, an Estonian poet and translator from Russian and Ukrainian. P.I. Filimonov's poetic translations, along with his original poetry, were published in *Oktyabr* magazine in Russia, together with the other authors of the Baltic countries, in the special edition N9.

There is no particular genre that is specific to P.I. Filimonov as a translator; he works with a variety of texts, including poetry, prose, essays, and more. Mostly, he has been selecting short prose forms for his translations, such as articles, essays, and plays. He translated only one title from a long genre, namely a novel originally written in Estonian by Andrei Hvostov, "Страсти по Силламяэ" / "Sillamäe Passioon" ("Sillamäe Passion"). Being an English philologist, P.I. Filimonov, however, does not translate from English.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 12.

Promotion
See 4.3.7.

Awards
See 4.3.7.

Professional organizations: no membership.

Reviews
The translator's symbolic capital in Estonia, earned through other literary activities, facilitates the promotion of his translations (see 4.3.7).

4.4.8 Larissa Joonas

Introductory information
See 4.3.8.

Translator's biography
See 4.3.8.

Process
Joonas deliberately chose verse libre, or free verse, adopted mainly by European and American authors, for her own poetry, unlike the regular, rhymed classic verse generally adopted by Russian-speaking poets worldwide. At the same time, Joonas has been proactively experimenting with translations from various languages (German, Spanish, and English) into Russian, including the translation of the poetry of the Nobel Prize winner Louise Glück. These volunteer translations helped develop Joonas' literary style. Using free verse as a basic style facilitates the translation of poetic structures in Estonian into Russian and paves the way for poetic Estonian-Russian translations.

Within the Estonian-Russian translation flow, Joonas voluntarily translated the poetry of Estonian author Doris Kareva into Russian in 1997; these translations were published in the Russia-based *Druzhba Narodov* literary magazine in 2009 and in the *Oktyabr* literary magazine in 2015, in a special volume dedicated to Baltic Literature; translations of Doris Kareva by Joonas were also published in the Kite almanac N3, 2007.

Portfolio/Bibliography
See Appendix 13.

Professional organizations: no membership.

Promotion
See 4.3.8.

Awards
See 4.3.8.

Reviews
See 4.3.8.

4.5 Outlining the basic driving forces of Estonian-Russian translation flows

The political and historical context and the origins of the Estonian-Russian translation flow

The emergence and development of the Estonian-Russian translation flow, its scope and features, can be explained as a social and cultural phenomenon directly associated with the Soviet legacy in Estonia and the consequences of the Soviet policy of forced migration after 1940, causing the significant inflow of Russian-speaking inhabitants into Estonia (Taagepera 1993; Kasekamp 2010; Lukas, Tannberg, Laur, Mäesalu, and Pajur 2004; Smith 2013). After 1991, the vast majority of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, which comprised 30.3% of the total population at the time (Census 1989), had to adapt to the new political reality and align their activities with the policies of the restored Estonian state. Notably, the non-Estonian population has not only been multi-ethnic but also "highly diverse in terms of its cultural outlook and political attitudes" (Smith 1998, 5), and no uniform Russian-speaking community in terms of identity was registered (Ehala and Zabrodskaya 2014). The independent republic of Estonia had to implement an integration policy for the residents relocated during the Soviet times whose command of the Estonian language, in general, was poor and who were not closely familiarized with Estonian culture and traditions; however, they expressed a desire to stay in Estonia, and this conditioned the facilitation of learning Estonian and the adoption of new strategies for the promotion of the Estonian cultural capital among the Russian-speaking residents, which, in turn, required significant investments from the Estonian state, including both funding and development of the full-fledged integration system (Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022). The situation in Estonia after the collapse of the USSR and the restoration of the republic resulted in the emergence of a specific niche in the Estonian book market for translations of Estonian authors and/or parallel texts and stimulated the publication of translated or bilingual texts as well as the production of children's literature for the descendants of Russian-speaking migrants who opted for settling in Estonia. The niche, therefore, was proactively occupied by the two major actors (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), the KPD and Aleksandra publishers, whose efforts aimed at disseminating Estonia's cultural capital primarily among Russian-speaking residents and later among a broader Russian-speaking audience worldwide, and were supported by the Estonian authorities. Between 1991 and 2022, the Estonian-Russian translation flow remained the largest among all other flows (Loogus and van Doorslaer 2021). This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the Russian-speaking population has represented the most significant national and linguistic minority of Estonia, by the geographical proximity of the two nations, the long-term political conditions that shaped and partially stimulated the intercultural transfer, the hierarchical and power relationships between the two languages, i.e., semi-central Russian and peripheral Estonian, the intention of Estonia to gain symbolic and cultural capital through translating its literature

to a more central language, and the availability of experts capable of providing such translations in Estonia due to the profound educational support at universities.

The Estonian-Russian translation flow has been largely dependent on the political context. The dynamics of the translation production, illustrated in Chapter 3, clearly correlate with political changes: the accession of Estonia to the EU in 2004, which stimulated the integration process and boosted the cultural exchange, escalations of Russian aggression in Ukraine in 2014, which led to a delayed drop in 2015, and Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, which led to the gradual decline in the use of the Russian language in public spheres in Estonia. Until the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, Estonia had been using a reasonable approach towards the language and translation policy, and despite the lack of official status, Russian was "still widely used in the fields of trade and services, advertising, media, and education" (van Doorslaer and Loogus 2020, 73). Such policies adopted by state institutions and private companies took into account real-life needs, as Russian was widely used in Estonia's public sector (Berezkina 2015) and served as a lingua franca in many contexts (Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022). In 2022, cooperation in the cultural spheres between Estonia and Russia was terminated, and a trend toward reducing support for Russian-language publications was observed. In 2024, the transition to Estonian-language education was implemented, affecting the production of Estonian-Russian translations.

The Estonian-Russian translation flow and the forms of capital exchanged

According to the data analysis, the majority of Estonian-Russian translations comprise internal and non-cross-boundary translation flows (Chapter 3); the share of cross-boundary translation flows is 15%. The largest share of the Estonian-Russian translation market (61% in total) is split between the two key players mentioned above, KPD (44%) and Aleksandra (17%), who often work in partnership. The other players, including Tuum, Kite, K&G, Varrak, Avita, and Tänapäev publishers, collectively share the remaining 24%. Avenarius operates in another cultural niche and has been the leading publisher of original Russian literature in Estonia (28%), having published, among others, the novels by the Estonian Russian-speaking Ivanov (see 4.3.3), recognized in Estonia and worldwide, since 2011. The most active publishers engaged in this translation flow have been promoting Estonian cultural capital among Russian-speaking target audiences, both in Estonia and abroad.

The Russian publishers involved can be divided into two different groups, whose functions and goals depend on their scale and niche, as suggested by van Es and Heilbron (2015); the large-scale Russian publishers are aiming at earning the economic capital, whereas medium- and small-scale publishers tend to promote symbolic and cultural capital and enjoy more creative freedom. The large-scale publishers in Russia, such as AST/Astrel, Rosman, and Eksmo, mainly were focused on gaining economic capital via selling Estonian bestsellers, namely "Naksitrallid" and "Sipsik" by Eno Raud that earned its recognition on the territory of ex-USSR already in the Soviet times, as well as "Мальчик с рожками" / "Nukitsamees" by Oskar Luts and "Pokud" by Edgar Valter (the latter gained his

symbolic capital primarily as an illustrator of books by other Estonian authors, e.g., Eno Raud, Aino Pervik, and Oskar Luts). "Naksitrallid" by Eno Raud was reissued 11 times by different publishers in Russia and remained a national best-seller until 2022. Small-scale Russian publishers operating in Russia include the Moscow-based Nigma, which is exclusively focused on children's literature; the Saint Petersburg-based Grif publisher; and the Oktopus publisher, which primarily focuses on children's literature (see 4.2.2). Overall, based on the qualitative data, some partnerships with Russian publishers resulted in negative experiences for KPD, Aleksandra, and Avenarius due to the unreliability of actors and the generally unstable business climate in Russia at the time.

Small-scale publishers operating in Estonia, that is, the majority of publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations as well as publications of Russian literature, use different forms of external funding, including funds provided by Estonian state authorities, NGOs, and self-funded publications, which allows them to maintain their translation flows; at the same time, the revenues from children's book sales both in Estonia and Russia facilitated further development. In addition, Estonia- and Russia-based small-scale publishers such as Aleksandra and Oktopus used to work as international partnerships. Such a solution was primarily based on economic considerations and illustrates the tendency toward collaboration among publishers occupying similar positions; i.e., small-scale publishers' translation policies primarily aim to earn cultural and symbolic capital. Most of Estonia-based publishers have not been specialized in one particular genre or one particular language; according to their choice, tastes, adopted translation policies and cultural background, they opt for publishing Estonian-Russian translations and Russian original literature as well as original Estonian titles and Russian-Estonian translations of different genres; thus, the scope of operation of KPD, Aleksandra, Avenarius, Kite, K&G, Tuum, and Solo encompasses all literary genres as well as reference books, popular science editions, textbooks and dictionaries. Estonian literature translated into Russian has been primarily published in Estonia and distributed there, as well as in the other Baltic countries, Russia (until February 24, 2022), Germany, the USA, Canada, and Australia, predominantly among representatives of the Russian diaspora.

The Translation Network

Within this research, individuals, i.e., authors, translators, and publishers who play the leading role in establishing and maintaining the Estonian-Russian translation flow as well as modifying and developing the established social structure, represent agency defined as "creation, recreation, and transformation of social structures" (Hays 1994, 62 in Edge 2022). The translation network of Estonia, which has initiated and maintained the Estonian-Russian translation flow, is highly complex, interconnected, and structurally polymorphic, as all actors, although they differ in function, are interdependent. At the same time, personal tastes, free choices, and priorities of the actors involved outline the scope and nature of the entire translation flow, i.e., the selection of genres and authors, with voluntarism

and proactivity as the main drivers, whereas the encouraging activities and support of the Estonian authorities is a structure that establishes rules, norms, and laws.

The translation network explored during interviews with the main actors combines the features of two types of such networks, as classified by Kung (2009), namely translator-led and subvention networks. The actors primarily aiming at the promotion of Estonian cultural capital independently choose titles to translate and publish in accordance with their individual tastes and predispositions, and they often opt for a proactive approach; at the same time, the type of a subvention network implies that a specific organization provides financial and promotional support; hence, a translator, having selected a title for translation, in many cases can rely on funding and promotion ensured by one or several subvention actors, i.e., the Estonian Cultural Endowment, the Tallinn and Tartu City Councils, the Integration Foundation, and National Foundation of Civil Society, as well as a number of smaller or private sponsors. Such a subvention network was considered particularly efficient in promoting peripheral literatures and can be compared with other successful cases in which state authorities and non-governmental institutions support the translation of such literatures (Kung 2009; van Es and Heilbron 2015; McMartin 2019). At the same time, however, the network does not feature Estonian cultural ambassadors who are ingrained in the target culture and can promote the cultural capital of the source culture and introduce it to the potential target audience. All actors involved in Estonian-Russian translations, including translators, have been based in Estonia, with only two exceptions: Mikhail Jasnov and Alexei Purin, who were based in Russia and engaged in limited translation activities (see below). Therefore, from the perspective of global cultural exchange, the niche of Estonian-Russian translations in the market of translated cultural goods is extensive in Estonia, but has a relatively small share in Russia's book market compared to other translation flows.

The adopted translation policies of Estonian authorities and particularly of the Estonian Cultural Endowment, as the major provider of funding, ensure translation to central, semi-central and peripheral languages (Loogus and van Doorslaer 2021) and use a range of different tools to maintain the cultural transfer, including allocation of grants, annual literary awards, workshops, lectures, and special events as well as collaboration with external institutions abroad.

The complexity of the translation flow is conditioned by the fact that frequently the key Estonian actors of the translation flow combine several different functions, e.g., the multifunctional actors such as Belobrovtseva, Kotjuh, Käsper, Markosjan-Käsper, N. Melts, undertake functions of authors, translators, editors, and publishers; Joonas, P.I. Filimonov, and Skulskaja have been acting as both authors and translators; the number of monofunctional actors is relatively low: these are Kashina, the publisher, Verhoustinskaja, Prohorova, and M. Melts, acting as translators, and Kivirähk, Mikita, and Ivanov, acting solely as authors. Within the translation flow, all these actors are interconnected and interdependent, involved in collective events and publications; there are certain long-term connections between specific publishers and foundations, authors and publishers, translators and publishers, and authors and translators who have established

a stable working tandem (e.g., Kivirähk and Verhoustinskaja, Käsper and Markosjan-Käsper). In many cases, multifunctional actors achieve more effective outcomes in cultural transfer. Using the social capital they have earned in various cultural fields, such as status, reputation, institutionalization, and recognition, actors gain greater visibility and power to promote a given cultural capital in translation. Examples of institutionalization of an actor include recognized skills and expertise, state awards, membership in professional organizations, visibility in Estonian media, and feedback from readers or literary critics.

There are several trends for enhancing Estonian-Russian cultural transfer, including promoting it among Russian-speaking residents of Estonia, the Russian-speaking audience in Russia, and worldwide. In Estonia, apart from the most active publishers in the field, KPD and Aleksandra, the role of Estonian cultural advocates is played by other multifunctional actors institutionalized in Estonia, e.g., Kotjuh, P.I. Filimonov, N. Melts, and Valk; whereas those who gained recognition in both countries and/or maintain their personal connections with Russia-based actors of the field proved to be more prominent advocates of Estonian culture for the target audience in Russia, e.g., Belobrovtseva, Skulskaja, Käsper, Ivanov, and Joonas. The access to the global Russian-speaking audience, including Russian diasporas worldwide, is conditioned by both the possibility of distribution of translated books, which is one of the areas of business development for KPD and Aleksandra, and publications in literary periodicals, as today, due to globalization and digitalization, texts published in such journals are available online for the global readers' audience.

Although successful at promoting translated Estonian literature in Estonia, the Estonian-Russian translation network lacked advocates in Russia who were situated within the target culture and operated within it. Only two Russia-based translators, Jasnov and Purin, could use their social and symbolic capital and facilitate Estonian cultural transfer in situ; e.g., Jasnov, a recognized children's author, poet, and translator in Russia, being a close associate of Leelo Tungal, contributed to the production and promotion of her books both in Estonia, supported by KPD, and in Russia by Detskaya literatura, and he also translated children's poetry by Eno Raud. Purin, the editor of the *Zvezda* magazine, collaborated with Käsper, translating and facilitating the publication of three poetic volumes by Käsper, supported by the *Zvezda* publishing house. The other advocates of Estonian culture, e.g., Ivanov, Joonas, Käsper, and Skulskaja, are Estonia-based; they, however, have maintained strong cultural and personal connections with Russia-based actors, i.e., publishers and periodicals.

The Russian tradition of publications in literary journals has been long-term and stable; the recognized literary periodicals became the platforms for promotion of Estonian cultural capital and, since 1991, published both Estonian-Russian translations and original texts of Russian residents of Estonia created by a vast number of actors comprising the Estonian translation flow; thus, the translations of Andrus Kivirähk, Valdur Mikita, Mehis Heinsaar, Andrei Hvostov, Jaan Kaplinski, Maarja Kangro, Jan Kaus, Arvo Valton, Armin Kõomägi, Jürgen Rooste, Juhan Viiding (as well as under the pseudonym of Jüri Üdi), Berk Vaher, Kätlin

Kaldmaa, Sveta Grigorjeva, Urmas Vadi, Andra Teede, Kirke Kangro, Janar Ala, Olesja Rotar, were published in a special issue dedicated to the Baltic literature *Oktyabr* (N 9, 2009); Maimu Berg, Doris Kareva, Jan Kaus, Andrus Kivirähk, Sven Kivisildnik, Jaan Kross, Arvo Valton, Jaak Jõerüüt, Jürgen Rooste, Hando Runnel, Jaan Undusk, Emil Tode, Rein Veidemann, Andra Teede were published in the special issue of *Druzhba narodov* (N 4, 2009); the same publisher released a separate edition of "Императорский безумец" / "Keisri hull" ("The Tsar's Madman") by Jaan Kross (1991); translations of Estonian authors and original Russian texts were also published in *Zvezda, Novy Zhurnal*, *Vestnik Evropy, Kreschatik, Novy Mir, Topos, Oktyabr, Vozduh,* and *Znamya*. Maintaining cultural exchange with the literary circles in Russia and worldwide remains crucial for the actors of both older and younger generations.

Along with other activities, publications in the Russian and Estonian periodicals proved to be a powerful tool to promote Estonian cultural capital among the Russian-speaking readers globally, as the dynamics and institutionalization, to a large extent, facilitate the circulation of texts and thus assist in creating a more extensive transnational network (Roig-Sanz, Fólica, and Ikoff 2021). In Estonia, the leading periodicals for publishing translations and reviews of translations have been *Tallinn, Vikerkaar, Vyshgorod*, the children's magazine *Täheke*, and the online magazines *Plug* and *Novye oblaka* (oblaka.ee). In addition, the Zhukovsky, Baltic Ring, and Tartu Landscape Poetry festivals (see 4.1.2) not only accelerated the promotion of Estonian literature and Russian-speaking authors in Estonia but also resulted in collective publications by participants, released in Russia (before 2022), Latvia, and online.

The entire translation network, therefore, will resemble an irregular constellation, in which publishers, authors, editors, translators, and supporting organizations are mutually supportive and form a specific, stable social structure. For example, Kotjuh acts as an author, simultaneously providing self-translation, functioning as a publisher and editor, and using his symbolic capital for the promotion of such activities by participating in various literary events in Estonia; this contributes to the promotion of Estonian poetry translated by Skulskaja and published by the Kite publisher run by Kotjuh, and the recognized name of Skulskaja in Russian and Estonian literary and theatrical circles, as well as her active presence in the media provide a symbolic support and recognition of both the translated poetry and other releases by Kite, which facilitates the further funding from the Estonian Cultural Endowment. Similarly, the Aleksandra publisher facilitated the promotion of Estonian authors by organizing publications in Russian and Estonian periodicals (*Oktyabr, Tallinn, Täheke*, etc.), which sparked interest among the target audience and paved the way for further funding, publication, and recognition of Estonian authors, both interculturally and internationally. Overall, the network aims to share and distribute Estonian cultural goods among Russian-speaking communities in Estonia and worldwide, primarily focusing on Estonia's cultural and symbolic capital, while economic capital is not prioritized. Due to the financial support and organizational activities of state agencies and NGOs in Estonia, such attempts are facilitated and encouraged.

The figure and role of the Estonian-Russian translator

The majority of Estonian-Russian translators maintaining the translation flow are residing in Estonia. Except for Jasnov and Purin (see above), who had operated in Russia, the major part of the actors, including translators, publishers, and authors involved in the translation flow, obtained their translation skills, expertise, and competencies during their studies at the Department of Russian Literature at the State University of Tartu (now the University of Tartu) in the Soviet times. Other contributors to Estonian-Russian translations obtained their expertise at universities in Estonia, such as the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (now Tallinn University). Many of the actors were students of such scholars as Yuri Lotman, Zara Mints, and Valery Bezzubov, and have maintained close collaboration and communication since then, which illustrates the formation of the Estonian-Russian translation flow under Soviet occupation and the Soviet cultural policy implemented in Estonia before 1991. Not only an excellent command of Russian, an understanding of the principles of literary translation, and mastery of literary writing, but also a profound understanding of Estonian culture, traditions, narratives, and realities ensured the demand for Estonian-Russian translations.

The alumni of the University of Tartu who established publishing houses in Estonia or contributed as publishers, authors, translators, and editors, for example, Belobrovtseva (Avenarius), N. Melts (Aleksandra), Kotjuh (Kite), Kivirähk, Käsper (K & G, Solo), Martson, Mikita, Prohorova, Tuch, Semenenko, Skulskaja, Valk, and Verhoustinskaja. The translators of the older generation, including N. Melts, Prohorova, Skulskaja, Tuch, and Verhoustinskaja, have formed a stable team and collaborated on a freelance basis with the most active Estonian publishers, including KPD, Aleksandra, Avenarius, and Kite; their efforts resulted in Russian publications of well-known Estonian authors such as Eno Raud, Anton H. Tammsaare, Jaan Kross, and other classics; among the contemporary authors translated into Russian, Kangro, Kivirähk, Valton, and Veidemann must be mentioned.

The younger generation of translators partially grew from a poetic society, *Tuulelohe,* established by Igor Kotjuh; these actors are mostly multifunctional as they operate as translators, authors, editors, or publishers, e.g., Kotjuh, Sen-Senkov, and P.I. Filimonov. M. Melts is an exceptional example of a representative of the younger generation of translators who collaborates with KPD, Aleksandra, Tiritamm, Petrone Print, and the *Täheke* magazine and does not belong to the Tartu poetic circle organized by Kotjuh. According to the information retrieved during the interviews, the younger generation of actors is well integrated into Estonian society and does not tend to explore only one national identity in the Estonian landscape; they prefer to work with double or multiple identities and/or lost or hidden identities. Integration and institutionalization for the younger generation of actors in Estonian-Russian translation flows in Estonia are of great importance, as is the promotion of Estonian and Russian literature in Estonia within European literary circles, whereas promotion and recognition in Russia are not among their priorities.

Despite the contribution of translators, who enhanced the recognition of Estonian literature among Russian readers through their proactive approach, translation is generally perceived as a by-product of authors, publishers, and journalists. Mostly, translation is provided on a freelance basis, not prioritized, combined with other, more visible activities, and the figure of the translator remains, to a certain extent, invisible in the entire translation flow. According to the data, translators are less institutionalized and have a lower status than authors or publishers, who have more opportunities to establish their personal brand. Major literary awards are established for authors, whereas translators and their activities are not prioritized. Translators are less often invited as literary experts to share their opinions in the media, and literary critics mostly focus on authors and texts, whether original or translated, and pay little attention to translators' art. At the same time, Estonian-Russian translations are not the focus of scientific research, with few Estonian scholars mentioning such translation flow (Issakov 2008a).

The above-mentioned translators' contributions, however, have made Estonian-Russian literary translation the largest among translation flows since 1991 (Siseykina 2023), thereby making Russian the major language through which Estonian literary capital has been promoted locally and globally.

Transboundary cultural transfer

Overall, Russian-speaking actors in Estonia, including bilingual actors such as Käsper, have had access to the Russian publishing field, whereas Estonian-speaking authors can access it only with the assistance of their Russian-speaking publishers and translators. Apart from the apparent interest of Russian large-scale publishers in recognized bestsellers (i.e., "Naksitrallid" and "Sipsik" by Eno Raud), no promotion or assistance in publishing Estonian authors has been offered by Russia-based publishers, foundations, NGOs, or other actors, which, to a certain extent, conditioned and stimulated the proactive approach of the Estonia-based actors.

Publications in periodicals paved the way to the recognition of Estonian authors by the Russian readership. Publication of Estonian-Russian translations in Russia-based and international Russian periodicals was made possible due to the cumulative and mutual efforts of their Russian-speaking associates in Estonia. Russian periodicals have remained one of the main channels of cultural transfer in the context of Estonian-Russian translations, thanks to the possibility of publishing many authors in a single volume, where the texts of more recognized authors foster the target audience's interest in Estonian literature as a whole.

At the same time, Russian-speaking authors of Estonia who are published in Russian periodicals on a regular basis, e.g., Käsper, Ivanov, Joonas, and Skulskaja, thus have contributed to a broader recognition of Estonian literature by the Russian audience in Russia and worldwide, as in their texts they refer to the Estonian context, specifics, and realities, which assists in general understanding and perception. Often, within the Estonian-Russian translation flow, Russian-speaking or bilingual authors serve as cultural ambassadors.

Interconnectivity of Estonian-Russian translation flow actors (Flowcharts 1, 2)

The **Flowchart 1 "Estonian-Russian translation flows 1991–2023"** illustrates the Estonian-Russian translation flow, demonstrating the directions of transfer of symbolic/cultural and economic capital and dividing actors by their functions:

– funding;
– publishers;
– translators;
– authors;
– target audiences;
– periodicals;
– events and promotion (including festivals, book fairs, workshops, meetings with readers, presentations, etc.);
– literary awards.

The white arrows symbolize the transfer of symbolic/cultural capital, and the black arrows symbolize the transfer and/or exchange of economic capital.

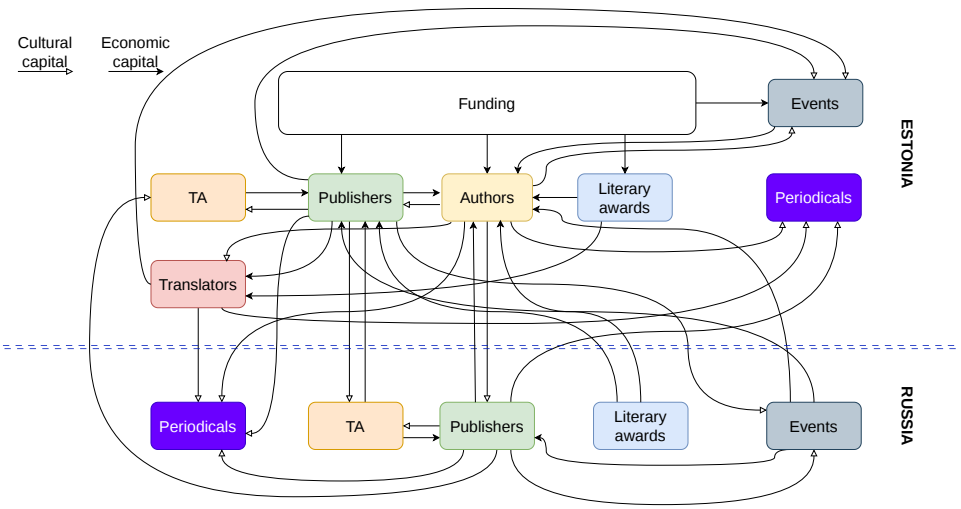
The actors are color-marked to be distinguished by their functions:

– Funding is marked in white;
– Publishers are marked in green;
– Authors are marked in yellow;
– Translators are marked in red;
– The target audience is marked in orange;
– Periodicals are marked in purple;
– Literary awards are marked in blue;
– Events are marked in gray.
– The dotted line symbolizes the border between Estonia and Russia; when crossed by arrows, it symbolizes the cross-boundary symbolic/cultural exchange and/or economic transfer.

For example, in Estonia, "Funding" as indicated in Flowchart 1 is provided to publishers, authors, and literary awards, whereas translators can access "Funding" only through publishers. "Authors" receive economic capital from three sources: "Funding", "Literary awards", and "Publishers". At the same time, only Estonian authors and publishers can directly access the Russian book market, whereas translators can only transfer their cultural goods to "Periodicals" in both countries. Translators receive cultural capital from authors and publishers, and publishers pay the remuneration, i.e., economic capital, for their services. Therefore, authors enjoy the freedom of contacting any actor directly, whereas translators' contacts are limited in the flow. As described in 4.2.2, the transfer of economic capital from Russian to Estonian publishers is associated with certain obstacles, including organizational and legal issues, unreliable counteragents, and the cost of delivering cultural goods, which has led to collaborations between publishers on a barter basis, with no economic capital transfer involved. Some authors or their heirs, however, can still receive royalties, that is, the economic capital, directly

from large-scale publishers in Russia. In addition, Estonian publishers could earn economic capital through direct sales at special events, such as book fairs and exhibitions in Russia, before 2022.

Flowchart 1. Estonian-Russian translation flows 1991-2023.



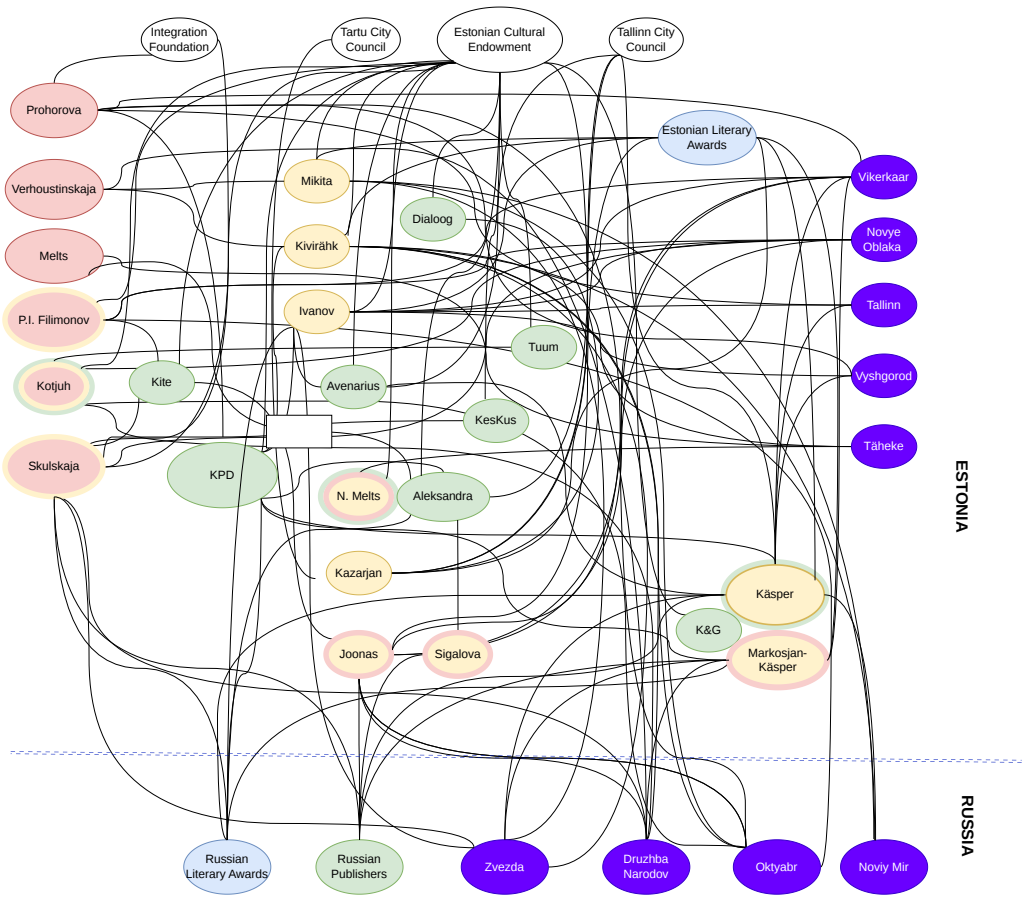
The **Flowchart 2**, "Translation network", illustrates the interconnections between individual actors in the Estonian-Russian translation flow and serves as a visualization of the entire translation network. The actors are color-marked to be distinguished by their functions:

– Funding is marked with white;
– Publishers are marked with green;
– Translators are marked with red;
– Authors are marked with yellow;
– Literary awards are marked in blue;
– Periodicals are marked in purple;
– Some actors have double and triple color-markings to symbolize their primary, secondary, and tertiary functions, when applicable.

The flowchart illustrates the complex and irregular connections between the actors, the most active actors of the flow, depending on the number of connected lines. The flowchart is not exhaustive but rather illustrative, showing the dynamics and connectivity among various actors in Estonia and their access to funding sources and publications. Via the visualization, it can be estimated that for the Estonian-Russian translation flow, the initial location of cultural exchange is Estonia, whereas in Russia, the main channel of promotion of Estonian literary goods is periodicals that, due to the specific format and special "Estonian literature" issues, can be a platform for many Estonian authors at once. The complexity

of connections implies that, due to their multifunctionality, actors often collaborate and participate in mutual projects and events under different roles; for example, as an author, Skulskaja is published by the KesKus publisher in Estonia and by the *Zvezda* magazine in Russia; however, as a translator, she works with the Kite publisher with the support of the Estonian Cultural Endowment. The flowchart also demonstrates the cross-boundary connections that help to trace what actors have access to the Russian market and have been recognized and/or awarded in Russia.

Flowchart 2. Translation network



CHAPTER 5. IMAGES OF ESTONIA(NNESS) AND TRANSFERRED NARRATIVES IN THE ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN TRANSLATION FLOW SINCE 1991

This chapter aims to reveal and systematize discursive images and associated qualities as attributed to Estonia and the Estonians in the Estonian-Russian literary translation flow since 1991. The results of the study in Chapter 4 outline the set of the most copied images and narratives that are transferred through such literary translations. The study is two-fold, including the analysis of images detected in Estonian-Russian translation flows and original Russian titles produced in Estonia from 1991 to 2023.

An "image" is a representation of a nation, culture, or group, a mental construct often encompassing the most repeated stereotypes and textual tropes and implying common qualities attributed to representatives of a nation, which, in turn, can be used, consciously or unconsciously, by various actors operating in politics, media, and history, for various reasons, for example, to contribute to building a national identity or aggravate national conflicts and widen the abyss between different ethnic groups. As this Chapter is dedicated to literary translations, the search for such images is intertextual. It is also essential that an image of Self in translation may be modified, e.g., foreignized and exoticized, which adds complexity to the search by attributing otherness to it, as seen by the target audience.

Although publications were released within a specific historical period, images from different periods, often contradictory and inconsistent, may be found in a given translation flow, requiring contextual analysis. At the same time, it is often the case that the Self-image is depicted as a set of positive and attractive qualities and opposed to images of the Other that embrace fewer of such qualities, which is especially crucial during periods of crises (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021); therefore, political and historical context, especially periods of transition, which in the case of this study, is the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of new independent republics, when new national policies identities emerge and new narratives have to be formulated, must be considered.

The images covered in Chapter 5 include stereotyped references and attitudes to characters' nationality, specific loci of Estonia mentioned in the texts, descriptions of urban and rural lifestyles of Estonia in different historical periods, and repeated narratives of characters regarding politics, foreign and internal affairs topics, local traditions and habits, as well as descriptions of cultural and social life in Estonia. Identifying not only the images *per se* but also the relevant historical and cultural narratives, as well as the loci of Estonia depicted in the texts, attributes certain national significance, and overall, eventually contributes to the national identity building based on both historical facts and mnemohistory and determined by the cultural memory frameworks (Tamm 2008; Laanes 2020). Whereas images of Estonians include descriptions of a specific national character

only, Estonianness is a much more extensive concept that encompasses the dynamics of the search for identities through certain repeated narratives, stereotyped heroization or victimization of the entire nation, and even features of Estonian poetry due to the use of sounds specific to the Estonian language. Similarly, although the traditional imagological analysis does not involve any memory or identity studies, some titles of the translated Estonian literature published after 1991 inevitably refer to certain historical events and offer various images of Self and the Other depending on identities of narrators and the collective memory (Pavlova and Paert 2025); such collective memories captured in literature as repeated narratives serve as a fruitful material for the imagological analysis as well, especially in terms of functioning of such images in a given historical and political reality. The fact of repetition of a certain narrative in a number of titles will, therefore, raise a question regarding the principles of the selection of such titles for translation by publishers and/or translators and the function of such narratives in translation. Similarly, covering images produced in Russian literature in Estonia will not only help trace the basic differences from images offered by Estonian authors but also reconcile historical narratives in Estonia's multi-ethnic society.

The imagological analysis is based on studying metatexts (peritexts and epitexts) and the intertextual and interdiscursive links between them, with specific attention to the interpretation of historical chronologies of the Estonian territories, national "heroes", and basic national values, virtues, and attitudes. The main attention is paid to images that characterize a domestic, own identity of Estonia(nness), as well as the dynamics of such images in literature and the pattern of their repetitions, as "national self-images have a specifically diachronic dimension" (Leerssen 2007), using an "imagological lens" (van Doorslaer 2019), i.e., identifying intertextually recreated depictions and tropes referring to a "national character". The research also considers the political and cultural context in which these images were created, as well as the function of such images within that context. Considering that the images are detected in translations, it can be assumed that, being modified by the interlingual transfer, such images can be analyzed as images of the Other, whereas Self-images (auto-images) are those contained in the original Estonian texts.

The analysis of metatexts, primarily peritexts, has revealed several crucial aspects. Primarily, these translations have been produced in Estonia by actors closely familiar with Estonian culture, traditions, and history, primarily for the Russian-speaking readership in Estonia (see Chapter 3). There is an explicit tendency to provide titles with extensive commentaries and comprehensive information on authors, their biographies, political conditions, chronologies, and narratives to supplement texts and ensure better understanding by the target audience; in multiple cases, both texts and peritexts are more comprehensive and explanatory than Estonian original versions, aiming not only at the promotion of Estonian literature and cultural capital at large but also at the familiarization of the end reader with basic values, opinions, and conventions adopted in Estonia. For numerous titles (Table 1: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54, 59, 63, 64, 67, 68,

70, 74, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102, 107) peritexts in the original version are missing; six of such titles (Table 1: 32, 37, 39, 72,78, 94) are anthologies composed for the Russian edition and consisting of texts selected by editors, therefore there are no original editions available; four of the titles (Table 1: 62, 68, 69, 114) are bilingual editions, with one poetic collection (61) "111 sammu Juhan Liiviga" / "111 ступеней с Юханом Лийвом" (111 steps with Juhan Liiv) translated by Vladislav Sumarok and containing both Estonian and Russian prefaces that partially comply with each other. Original peritexts are also not available in some cases when texts (novels, essays, or poetry) of a particular author were selected specifically for the Russian edition (for example, see Table 1: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 21, 49, 67, 79, 82, 99). In 15 cases, peritexts are not provided for both editions (Table 1: 11, 13, 17, 25, 28, 30, 46, 54, 64, 68, 78, 85, 86, 88, 89); peritexts are similar or identical for both Estonian and Russian versions in 29 books (Table 1: 1, 4, 16, 31, 34, 38, 43, 44, 47, 50, 55, 56, 57, 61, 66, 71, 73, 76, 77, 80, 83, 87, 91, 98, 102, 104, 105, 108, 113). Translator or editor's forewords explicitly written for the target audiences of the translation are included in 16 editions (Table 1: 6, 7, 32, 37, 39, 41, 48, 49, 65, 72, 87, 94, 100, 101, 103, 107); author's forewords or afterwords are included in six translated books (Table 1: 8, 31, 45, 53, 97, 101, 104); literary criticism and reviews supplement 20 texts (Table 1: 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 40, 43, 44, 47, 62, 63, 67, 82, 87, 96, 99, 104). In the event of unavailability of any peritexts, I searched for information in the epitexts of the books published on Estonian websites of the bookstore chains Rahva Raamat and Apollo. Some "to-be" peritexts of the books, such as the translator or publisher's forewords, are virtually parts of the literary texts (Table 1: 1, 24, 71).

In the first part of the chapter, according to the information provided in the peritexts, the following basic images of Estonia and Estonians were identified within the translation flow: a son (daughter) of an Estonian peasant coming from an Estonian village; a mystical and integral connection of Estonians with Estonian nature acting as a source of inspiration and support during the times of deprivation, wars, or famine; images of specific Estonian loci (Tartu, Tallinn, Narva, Koluvere) represented through poetry and history as GCS (Dukić 2022). The second part of the study reflects the trend in the ongoing search for self-identification through the opposition of the image of Self to the image of the Other (including the attempts to process two national traumas, i.e., the German ruling and the Russian occupation), and a more extensive existential quest in order to identify the place and role of Estonians at the global level. Therefore, peritexts studied through "an imagological lens" (van Doorslaer 2019, 58) contain mental constructs that refer to attributes of nationality and to specific national qualities, informed by general national image-building. In the third part of the chapter, the detected images of Estonians and Estonia(nness) are compared with those transferred through the texts of Russian-speaking authors in Estonia; the fourth part provides a linguistic analysis of the Estonian-Russian translations of three selected texts of the corpus: "Meelis" by Enn Kippel (Table 1: 28), "Vabadus ja armastus" by Reet Kudu (Table 1: 40), and "Meie Eesti" by Epp

Petrone (Table 1: 84), with a purpose to identify individual and/or generalized translation approaches, strategies, habitus, and policies when working with the transfer of national images and the extent of their adaptation for the target readership. Specific attention was paid to the issues of political and ideological sensitivity and suitability of the texts, the extent of modification in accordance with the readership's expectations, editorial decisions, and individual creative approaches of the translators. The three titles were selected for their diversity in genres, authors, and translation periods to provide a comprehensive overview of Estonian-Russian translations from a linguistic and imagological perspective. Therefore, a historical novel covering the events of the 12th century, first translated in the USSR, a contemporary children's educational and entertaining book with interactive tasks, and a women's novel reflecting the political events of the 1990s have been chosen for analysis. Imagological saturation and relevance served as the basis for selecting these titles, and the presence of images of Estonia and Estonians in the texts was the most important criterion.

For the imagological analysis of the selected titles, it is essential to understand that although peritexts provide detailed explanations concerning the texts, plots, relevant political situations, and authors' biographies at large, some republications of classic authors first published in Soviet times contain ideologically informed peritexts within the outdated Soviet discourse (Table 1: 9, 10, 16, 87, 114). In some cases (Table 1: 62), bilingual peritexts partially overlap and/or comprise texts written by different critics, experts, or reviewers.

It is also crucial to recognize that the target culture's readership is not homogeneous, and the translations are produced for a vast global audience, including readers based in Estonia and Russia, as well as the Russian-speaking diaspora worldwide. Therefore, peritexts do not primarily target informed audiences, i.e., those already established in Estonia and integrated into Estonian culture, but aim to reach a broader readership.

The most stereotyped images of Estonians are classified according to the time and political context of text production, e.g., classic and contemporary characters based on the qualities and features attributed to Estonianness. The images of Estonian nature encompass repeated descriptions of Baltic forests, lakes, islands, and seas, as well as references to seasonal changes and the corresponding moods reflected in prose and poetry, with a specific focus on the relationships between humans and nature. Historical narratives represent subjective restatements of the events considered most significant in shaping the political development of the Estonian state and in drastically changing people's lives. Poetic images include interpretations of Estonia as a fatherland or as a specific locus important to authors' self-identification; at the same time, poetry can also be presented as original Estonian due to its unique language and style. The search for self-identification and the relevant qualities and virtues, as represented in the titles, is grounded in the specific rhetoric and references that interpret certain events through an imagological prism, as traced and identified in the texts. Not only images of Estonia(nness) but also repeated tropes and narratives, often ideologically charged, contribute to the image-building in both translations from

Estonian and original Russian titles produced in Estonia. Specific attention is paid to certain geographical value-charged images and spaces (Dukić 2022) in Estonia and the rhetoric maintained by several authors simultaneously, which may include narratives about the search for and loss of identity, conditioned by politics and history, as well as the repeated sensations inspired by Estonia(nness), and the juxtaposition of specific national features attributed to images of the Self (auto-images) and the Other.

Both original Estonian and Russian peritexts, with English translation below, selected for imagological analysis, are provided in Appendix 1 to Chapter 5, whereas my (I.S.) translations of these texts are used in the Chapter.

5.1 Images of Estonians in Estonian-Russian translations

For the imagological analysis of selected Estonian-Russian translations, it is crucial to realize that attributed qualities of a national character tend to be depicted as unique, outstanding, and original, to distinguish them from other national characters and represent a community as a common national culture (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021; Leerssen 2016; Wodak 2021). These images can be stabilized by constant reproduction in literature, media, and films. Therefore, the initial search for the attributes of "true-to-type" Estonia(nness) is based on literary texts by recognized Estonian classic authors active at the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century, such as Eduard Bornhöhe (1862–1923), August Gailit (1891–1960), August Jakobson (1904–1963), Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882), Juhan Liiv (1864–1913); Anton Hansen Tammsaare (1878–1940), Oskar Luts (1887–1953), Enn Kippel (1901–1942), and Eduard Vilde (1865–1933) (Table 1: 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 15, 44, 70, 114), the "founding fathers" of Estonian literature. In these texts, they formulated the basic distinctive features, virtues, and flaws of the common stereotyped images as follows: an Estonian peasant (mainly a young man, often a shepherd, a peasant, a servant, or a musician) is the leading actor, and an Estonian village is the main venue. These imagological settings can be detected in the earliest published folk tales collected and edited by Kreutzwald and Jakobson (Table 1: 11, 70, 87, 114) and later implemented in prose by Bornhöhe, Gailit, Kippel, Liiv, Luts, Tammsaare, and Vilde (Table 1: 3, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 25, 28). Contemporary authors, namely Vahur Afanasjev (1979–2021), Maimu Berg (1945), Mehis Heinsaar (1973), Maarja Kangro (1973), Andrus Kivirähk (1970), Jaan Kross (1920–2007), Reet Kudu (1949), Kalle Käsper (1952), Valdur Mikita (1970), Harry Raudvere (1958); Karl Ristikivi (1912–1977); Leelo Tungal (1947), Arvo Valton (1935–2024), and Rein Veidemann (1946) (Table 1: 1, 12, 18, 32, 33, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 59, 64, 67, 72, 74, 79, 81, 83, 89, 91, 97, 98, 99, 104, 105, 108, 111, 115) often build a plot referring to such images of a village and villagers and/or using a postmodernist approach by representing them as a grotesque, an ironic reference, or a situational re-interpretation. Notably, in a vast number of contemporary texts, the venue remains the same as an Estonian village becomes the central place or a

starting point of action (Table 1: 3, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 37, 39, 44, 48, 52, 59, 63, 64, 67, 70, 72, 79, 81, 83, 91, 98, 104, 115).

5.1.1 The image of a peasant as a core image of the classic Estonian literature

A son of a peasant as a core image of Estonian literature at the end of the 19th – the first half of the 20th centuries is directly linked to real actors: in the prefaces and/or afterwords of the corpus of Estonian-Russian translations since 1991, biographies of Friedrich Kreutzwald, Juhan Liiv, Oskar Luts, Karl Ristikivi, Anton H. Tammsaare, and Henrik Visnapuu, explicitly indicate the authors' origins, i.e., a poor Estonian family of peasants. The publication of Tammsaare's selected works (Table 1: 9, 10) was dedicated to the 120th anniversary of the author (1878–1940), and, according to the annotation, the two-volume collection included texts "recommended for the curriculum of the 'Estonian Literature' course in Russian schools" (Table 1: 9). The collection was compiled after the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of the Independent Republic of Estonia, where such schools were still operating. In the preface to the 1st volume of selected works of Tammsaare published in 1998 (Table 1: 9), namely to the texts of "Vargamäe", the first book of the "Tõde ja Õigus" family saga, Jaan Kross outlines this imagological concept as follows:

> "An Estonian, whether a collective farmer, a worker, or a professor, is a peasant in one or two previous generations. In one way or another, Andres is a father, grandfather, or great-grandfather of all of us".

This reveals the archaicism and universality of the image concerning Estonians and Estonianness. This preface, however, is a reprint of Kross' article, written 20 years earlier for the 100th anniversary of A.H. Tammsaare, which means that the article was ideologically informed during Soviet times, specifically in 1978, and is therefore not entirely relevant at the time of the re-established Republic. At the same time, encompassing the biographies of real persons, i.e., Tammsaare and his family, Kross mentions poor peasants in general, both in the contexts of hard-working and intellectual development at the surge of national awakening; the idea of labor as the highest life value, therefore, is rooted not only in the childhood experience of Tammsaare and his provenance but also in the collective values. In a detailed afterword to Kreutzwald's fairy tales (Table 1: 87), such qualities are listed in terms of moral and educational purposes:

> "The reader finds many wise thoughts and ethical evaluations of various aspects of life presented through engaging fairy-tale images and stories. Positive human qualities—diligence, persistence, decisiveness, resourcefulness, bravery, honesty, generosity, love of freedom, and the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom—are highly valued.

The core image of the Estonian peasant constructed by Tammsaare, however, combines both positive and negative qualities. Whereas such characteristics as hardworking, diligence, religiousness, stubbornness, grassroots wisdom, spirituality, puritanism, rich language, and craving for education (Table 1: 9) are applied to the figure of Andres, "the Faust of stony fields behind the bog", heavy drinking, deception, betrayal, and devilry are ascribed to Pearu, which reveals the qualities of the antagonist.

Remembering that national images are mental constructs, it is nonetheless essential to realize that the Estonian state was established only in 1918. Until 1816, serfdom was ubiquitous for Estonian peasants under German rule. Therefore, until 1918, Estonian society was predominantly peasant. It is also essential to remember that the period of collection of folk tales by Kreutzwald and Jakobson coincided with the national awakening surge as a "sharp crisis in the feudal-serfdom system and the emergence of capitalism in Estonia. Although serfdom was formally abolished in Estonia in 1816 and in Livonia in 1819, many remnants of serfdom persisted for another half-century. A fierce class struggle was underway, expressed in peasant "unrest and uprisings" (Table 1: 87), which resulted in a well-formulated self-identification and the formation of a basic imagological opposition between the Self (Estonians) and the Other (German landlords and Russian tsarist authorities). Out of the four actantial figures of Hero, Villain, Victim, and Friend, the Villain (Leerssen 2016, 19) is chosen as the Other (hetero-image) and the Victim as Self (auto-image). The image of the Other is mostly negative and refers to greedy German priests, cruel landlords, and biased judges, whereas Self-images are relatively positive, evoking sympathy and a feeling of solidarity, i.e., poor village orphans, farmhands, and overexploited serfs; poverty, lawlessness, suffering, and hard work are the main attributes of the Estonian peasantry of the 19th century. The texts collected by Kreutzwald and Jakobson, represented as a strictly national confrontation between Estonians and Germans, were perceived as a class struggle between oppressors and the oppressed, entirely in line with the Soviet ideological framework. Therefore, in translations for the target audience, the cumulative image of Estonians is the image of a Friend or a Hero, an ally in the fight for freedom.

A feudal Estonian village as a central venue is portrayed in the "Old Estonian Folk Tales" by Kreutzwald (Table 1: 87) primarily in the context of class and national struggle against the German landlords, whose ideology represented Estonian peasants as defective and incapable of establishing their national culture, claimed as "inherently 'inferior' due to their supposed 'racial limitations'." Such statements are based not only on historical facts but also on the biography of Kreutzwald, who "himself came from the background of an Estonian peasant, harshly exploited by landlords, politically disenfranchised, and living in poverty and ignorance." Born in the Jõepere manor in a family of a poor shoemaker serf, as stated in the preface, Kreutzwald was interested in folk tales representing not only the national wisdom and featuring rich and metaphorical folk language but also the collective aspirations and hopes of Estonians of the time who are depicted as the most deprived and oppressed strata of society. Therefore, images of

Villains represented as witches or devils are clear allusions to Baltic landowners; some of the borrowed European motifs are nevertheless adapted to Estonian realities, and their ideological content aligns with the folk spirit (ibid.). Jakobson (Table 1: 70) reproduces similar images of peasants and restores their habits, beliefs, and traditions through allegorical relationships with animal characters, also highlighting the wisdom of people in dealing with unequal and adverse forces. In the four books by classic authors (Table 1: 11, 25, 87, 114), the details of social life in an Estonian village of the time include realistic everyday scenes and episodes, focusing on Estonians' role as mediators of national wisdom and as entitled narrators. The village of Paunvere is the main venue of Luts' novels (Table 1: 16), with the plot based on the author's personal experiences and biographical facts, particularly his studies in the village of Palamuse. Luts (Table 1: 16) argued that a writer must stay and create in the environment he/she knows; the author therefore focused on the details of domestic life, conditions, and the aspirations of Estonian peasant children of the time. Notably, in Kreutzwald's folk tales, the village itself and its surroundings, i.e., fields and forests, despite the descriptions of poverty and hard work, are a place of inspiration and excitement, encounters with magical forces, miracles of nature, spirituality, and the highest justice executed by such afterworld forces; with mystic helpers secretly providing support to those deprived and humiliated. The narrative of specific relationships between Estonians and nature is analyzed in subchapter 5.1.2 (see below).

A specific narrative focusing on social inequalities of the late 19th century features the biography of Luts, representing the latter as a suffering villager when compared with German students in Palamuse and Tartu:

> "In the city, class differences were more pronounced than in the village, and Luts soon painfully felt what it meant to be a shoemaker's son and belong to the 'lower social class" (Table 1: 16).

The modesty of a peasant is one of the key virtues of an Estonian in the literature of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century; with critics deliberately mentioning modesty of both authors and literary characters: Ristikivi, "the master of the Estonian novel, held a modest position as an insurance clerk" (Table 1: 5); Luts, "the short gray-eyed boy, reserved and modest yet smart and quick-witted, entered Palamuse Parish School in 1895" (Table 1: 16); "one of his favorite characters, treated with the greatest warmth, is the honest, hardworking, slightly melancholic young man who dreams of a better, brighter life but struggles to find happiness in a world ruled by lies, hypocrisy, greed, and deceit" (ibid.); "the harsh realities of bourgeois society crush the hopes of young workers for education and a better future. Only through extraordinary resilience and strength of character do Luts' protagonists manage to avoid being trampled and carve out a modest place in life" (ibid.).

Another intrinsic characteristic of the Estonians in these books is poverty; the heroes of Luts, Vilde, and Tammsaare are all poor, none belonging to the bourgeoisie. In the preface to the novella "Spring" (Estonian and Russian versions are identical), Luts (Table 1: 16) wrote:

> "Only children from relatively wealthy families attended it, and the children of the poor peasants and laborers had only the rural school. The tuition fee was not so high, it seems, about six rubles a year, but who would be watching over the poor kids' cattle? In the fall, when classes began at the parish school, the children of the poor still had to work as shepherds, and in the spring, the school was still open, but the little shepherds already had to show up for work. If occasionally a poor kid made it to the parish school, he was most often from a family of artisans."

The same idea is developed in the afterword to the novella "Summer" (Table 1: 16) by Heldur Niit:

> "Poor urban outskirts, with their sorrows, vices, and poverty, all kinds of 'backyards' and 'quiet corners' filled with a colorful gallery of characters—apprentices, minor clerks, drunken craftsmen, and others—became the beloved subjects of Luts' works."

In peritexts, Estonian authors of the early period are also represented as poor sufferers and depicted as initially integral elements of the establishing society (Table 1: 86):

> "F. R. Kreutzwald was born on December 26, 1803, in Virumaa, on the Jõepere Manor, into the family of a serf cobbler. The family was poor, and young Kreutzwald had no opportunity for systematic schooling."

The preface revealing the biographic details of Juhan Liiv begins with the passage (Table 1: 61):

> "In 1902, by Lake Peipus, at the Oja farmstead, Dr. J. Luiga encountered a strange, long-bearded man, poorly dressed and wearing tattered boots. In his work-worn hands, he held a hand-rolled cigarette. Despite his appearance, the man carried himself with a lack of humility and even a hint of defiance. Thus, the doctor met the Estonian poet and writer, Juhan Liiv, who suffered from mental illness..." <…> Juhan Liiv (April 18 (30), 1864, Alatskivi Parish – November 18 (December 1), 1913, Kavastu Parish) was the seventh child of a landless peasant from a large (15 souls) and very poor family."

"Poor peasants," "poor but pure-hearted," "poor tenants' huts and village taverns," and "poor folks" are tropes used to describe Estonians in novels and fairy tales (Table 1: 16, 33, 87). At the same time, peasants possess pride and dignity; they are determined and hardworking, considering diligence and discipline the only way to a better life. "Hardworking" is a stable attribute of Estonianness that has

survived from the classics to contemporary authors, including Aru, Raudvere, and Valton (Table 1: 9, 16, 18, 63, 83, 87, 97, 108). In the peritext to Tammsaare's selected works (Table 1: 9, 10), his father is represented as "a stern and incredibly hardworking man". Social life, recognizable characters, and landscapes of his home village are reflected in Tammsaare's novels.

An Estonian peasant's Self-image and an image of an Estonian village as a starting point contribute to the construction of national identity in general, as "national past, culture, language, body, and self-representation – the discursive construction of national identities is always concomitant with the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness" (Wodak 2021, 100). At the same time, these images are constructive and constantly produced, reproduced, or revised, as there cannot be a stable, complete identity.

In the context of the formation of the Estonian national conscience, such a "pursuit of knowledge and wisdom" is intrinsically associated with the importance of education and enlightenment, and the need for the rapid cultural development of the nation at large is highlighted in the biographies of Visnapuu, Tammsaare, and Luts, who also share the peasant origins (Table 1: 6, 9, 16). According to the peritexts, Kreutzwald (Table 1: 87) was one of the few Estonians who managed to obtain higher education and contributed to building the Estonian national language and literature; the importance of education for an Estonian is noted explicitly in the peritexts dedicated to writings by Ristikivi, Visnapuu, Tammsaare, Luts, and Berg (Table 1: 9, 10, 16, 18, 48).

Remarkably, Kivirähk questioned the image of an Estonian village and villagers in some of his novels, employing a postmodernist approach to classic texts (Table 1: 33, 52, 64, 98). One of the eminent experts in Estonian-Russian translations is Boris Tuch, who, according to Melts (Table 1: 39), has been tracking, translating, and studying Estonian literature, which "makes his essays grasping—he examines all their works against the backdrop of the world literary space, which is attractive mainly to readers, but also to the writers themselves." In the translator's preface to his other novel, "Rehepapp / Ноябрь, или Гуменщик" (published in Estonian in 2000, translated into Russian in 2008, and filmed in 2017) (Table 1: 33), Tuch elucidates the approaches by Kivirähk and his ironic literary stylization when working with national stereotypes laid as cornerstones of Estonian literature by Kreutzwald and Tammsaare. Tuch states (Table 1: 33):

> „Kivirähk builds his "Rehepapp" at the intersection of two traditions: the fairy-tale, folklore tradition based on F. R. Kreutzwald and his stackyard watchmen, house spirits, Old Devil, and other undead, and the tradition of the so-called rural realism, a mandatory component of which was the opposition of the manor and the farm, cruel German landlords oppressing Estonian peasantry (down to corporal punishments), and the beaten but hardworking peasants".

Therefore, the stable imagological opposition between "good Estonian peasants" and "greedy Germans" is turned upside down, thus destroying the popular national myth about honest, modest, diligent, and hardworking villagers. The

translator, however, notes that the tendency to attribute qualities of "good guys" to the peasantry was ubiquitous, as folklore was specific to the peasants' environment, whereas the characteristics of "bad guys" were ascribed to the Other, regardless of nationality. In Kivirähk's novel, an unnamed medieval Estonian village in the times of plague and crusaders refers to ancient and long-forgotten traditions and lifestyles of pagans, people of forests and bogs; this village is a place where contact with afterworld creatures is regular, communication with spirits of evil is an ordinary activity, and Estonian peasants are represented, unlike their German landlord, as heavy-drinking and lazy characters.

> "The myth of Estonians' industriousness becomes a heavy burden, a weight that the nation carries on its shoulders without realizing that it is crippling its spine" (ibid.).

Deliberately elaborating on images to explicitly overthrow the ideas of Kreutzwald, Jakobson, and Luts, Kivirähk uses stereotyping as a working method, creating phantasmagoric imaginary spaces with still recognizable but vastly distorted images of Estonia(nness) for which some critics coined the term "white absurd" opposed to the widely known "red absurd", i.e., the absurdism of Soviet prose. Naming the author's approach "ideological postmodernism," Tuch concludes (ibid.):

> "Now Estonian society has accepted the fact that Kivirähk mocks national sentiments and every sacred idea. And granted him a license to hunt sacred animals. By killing sacred cows of national (neo) mythology, Kivirähk tries, like the most famous Shakespearean character, to turn the people's eyes into the soul of the nation."

Another reference to an Estonian village as a place of elusive ancient pagan culture and forest as a home environment for Estonians can be detected in the novel by the same author, "Mees, kes teadis ussisõnu" / "Последний, кто знаю змеиную молвь" (The Man Who Spoke Snakish) (Table 1: 64), which, together with the texts mentioned above, opens the discussion about the image of Estonians as people closely connected to nature.

5.1.2 "People of the forest" and "sacred connection" with Estonian nature

The nature of Estonia is an integral element of Estonia(nness) in prose and poetry. From the external point of view (see Chapter 1), especially for Russian authors of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, Estonian nature is an object of contemplation and admiration, observing its harsh and solemn northern beauty. By Estonian authors, however, nature is represented as a character, a partner, a helper, and an asylum, embodied not only in multiple spirits but also in the harmonic and close communications between a human being and the living world. Such well-balanced communication leads to the development of qualities such as pragmatism and

rationalism of the peasant characters in Kreutzwald and Jakobson's fairy tales (Table 1: 11, 25, 70, 88, 114), and the ability to live in harmony with nature can be considered the primary and significant markers of Estonianness. The concept "Back to the roots" was developed and discussed by many Estonian authors, who supported the deeply ingrained tradition of communication with nature and feared further civilization and industrialization. These contradicting tendencies to preserve cultural, often ancient pagan beliefs and, at the same time, to position Estonia as a full-fledged European nation are reflected in prose and poetry by Maimu Berg, August Gailit, Mehis Heinsaar, August Jakobson, Maarja Kangro, Jaan Kaplinski, Andrus Kivirähk, Lydia Koidula, Friedrich R. Kreutzwald, Oskar Luts, Lennart Meri, Valdur Mikita, Anton H. Tammsaare, Emil Tode, Marie Under, Arvo Valton, Rein Veidemann, Juhan Viiding, Eduard Vilde, and Henrik Visnapuu (Table 1: 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 20, 25, 33, 49, 58, 64, 70, 83, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 107, 114). Impersonified nature acts as a separate character in the texts by Kreutzwald, Jakobson, and Valton (Table 1: 11, 25, 67, 72, 81, 83, 87, 114). In her preface to the poetic collection by Visnapuu, Belobrovtseva noticed that the author "continued to intensively contemplate various relationships with nature. The preference for the natural became noticeable, expressed in the introduction of motifs related to land, soil, and a rejection of the city, sometimes even hostile attitudes towards large cities. Socially, he hoped for the development of Estonia but also feared for its future." (Table 1: 7); in the preface to the first volume of selected works by Tammsaare, Kross (Table 1: 9) states that the pursuit of cultivating the land on a marsh by the author's father eventually turned into "a protracted conflict on his marshy island, both with nature and with neighbors," where nature is perceived as one of the antagonists. As noted by Tuch in the foreword, folkloric characters of Kivirähk's novel "Rehepapp ehk November" / "Ноябрь, или Гуменщик" (November, or the Barn Keeper) (Table 1: 33) "exist in a state of equilibrium with nature," which again illustrates the widely adopted Estonian belief representing nature as a mystic helper and associate. Faithfulness to nature is one of the basic motifs in the children's book by Rannap, "Maari suvi" / "Лето Маари" (Maari's Summer) (Table 1: 20): in the afterword text in the Estonian version, the heroine's connectedness with the living world is explained as follows:

> "She danced the bees' dance, named the ants, and learned to read a stone compass. To this day, she remains faithful to nature. Now, as a Doctor of Biology."

Nature is the main character in the stories of Heinsaar (Table 1: 58), introduced as "one of Estonia's most enigmatic writers," revealing "the magical and formidable world of Estonian nature, where nothing is as it seems and owls are not what they appear to be." The loss of connectedness with nature embodies the collapse of the future of the main character of Ristikivi's novel "Tuli ja Raud" / "Огонь и железо" (Fire and Iron) Jüri Säävel who, "as a metalworker, lives among fire and iron, which eventually burns away his closeness to nature and his dreams connected to land and children" (Table 1: 43). The idea of Estonians as

ancient forest people has been developed by Mikita in his essays, translated and published as a special collection "Metsik lingvistika. Lingvistiline mets. Lindvistika ehk metsa see lingvistika. Kukeseene kuulamise kunst" / "Парадигма стрекогузки" (Wagtail Paradigm) (Table 1: 99). In the preface, Kivirähk draws parallels between Mikita's essays and "Hõbevalge" / "Серебристо-белый путь Леннарта Мери" (Table 1: 94) that "appeared during a stagnant time when walls were covered with official slogans and portraits of Brezhnev, and people in gray coats stood in line for sausage. Suddenly, people were told that their unremarkable patch of land was not just the Estonian SSR but the mystical Ultima Thule, the edge of the world". In Mikita's essays where he explores the traditions and habits of Estonians, "not only is the land magical and mysterious but so are its inhabitants" and sacred places are not the unknown mysterious groves but cult locations are also "a rural yard and the familiar forest, where people go every year for blueberries and mushrooms" (ibid.). To Mikita, every Estonian remains a medium of ancient natural spirits and a communicator with divine forces, "living on the edge of the field and forest, on the border of two worlds" and being "full of extraordinary sensations and abilities" (ibid.) This, in turn, contributes to Estonians' self-identification as a nation with unique skills for communicating with the living world, which are often lost in civilized, digitalized, and developed nations. The imagined history of Estonia, as stated in these documents, dates back thousands of years, to the earliest primitive communities, which passed on their knowledge and extrasensory skills to all future generations. Estonia is often portrayed as the last outpost of Europe, still intact, and as a symbol of the connection between humans and the Earth.[42]

5.1.3 Nature as a poetic focus and the homeland: the markers of Estonia(nness) in Estonian poetry

The early traditions of Estonian poetry were established in the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries by Lydia Koidula (1843–1886), Henrik Visnapuu (1890–1951), Marie Under (1883– 1980), and Juhan Liiv (1864–1913), whose verses were republished in Russian translation after 1991 (Table 1: 2, 4, 6, 7, 62). Estonian poetry is considered not only a means of emotional expression but also a driving force of national awakening, an appeal to the motherland, and a contemplation of its bitter destiny (Table 1: 6, 7). Visnapuu (Table 1: 6), as can be traced in the poetry within his creative period of 1925–1932, saw the "spiritual strength of the people and the development of national culture, finding solace in nature, which played an increasingly significant role in his poetry. Visnapuu attributed a

[42] This idea was later developed by Mikita, who argues that the notion of *metsarahvas* is based on the premises formulated by Oskar Loorits and Edgar Kant; an idea of *kodumets* – a home forest – is basic for the identity of South Estonia (Mikita 2015). However, continuing the discussion initiated by Tammsaare, Mikita warns about the rates and scales of today's logging in Estonia and states that Estonian old farms located deep in forests are of extreme cultural importance and should be preserved (Mikita 2017).

mythical or idyllic sanctity to nature", according to the preface by Belobrovtseva, the editor of the collection.

The poets of the younger generation translated due to the mutual efforts of Skulskaja (1950), the translator, and Kotjuh (1978), the editor and publisher (see 4.4.4 and 4.2.5), continued this tradition of poetical descriptions of nature, making a parallel with the author's feelings and moods as well as with the general aspirations of Estonian society. The poetic collection of Viiding "Öölaul meeshäälele" / "Ночная песня для мужского голоса" (A night song for a male voice) (Table 1: 49), published as a separate volume of his poetry, was the first experiment to introduce contemporary Estonian poetry to the Russian reader. This was followed by the publication of a series of poetry collections: "Ma olen su luuletus. Eesti luulet Jelena Skulskaja tõlkes" / "Я – твоё стихотворение. Эстонские поэты в переводах Елены Скульской" (Estonian poetry in Jelena Skulskaja's translations) in 2020 by Maarja Kangro, Jan Kaus, and Juku-Kalle Raid (Table 1: 94); "Luulekogu / Вешалка вечности" (The Hanger of Eternity) (Table 1: 103) in 2021 by Triin Soomets, Karl Martin Sinijärv, Veronika Kivisilla; "Luulekogu / Волк на паперти: стихи" (A Wolf on the Parvis) in 2022 by Toomas Liiv, Kalev Kesküla, and Aleksander Suuman (Table 1: 107); and a collection by Triin Paja, Kristjan Haljak, and Andrus Kasemaa "Luuletused" / "Похороны реки" (Funerals of the River) in 2023.

In the preface to Volume I (Table 1: 94), Skulskaja introduces Estonian authors as well as their approaches to creating poetry, their specific language, and the content, inevitably returning to images of Estonian nature; for example, by quoting Kangro's poem "Wind":

> "Wind, filling the sail, wind of change, wind knocking down a traveler, wind raising a sandstorm, wind waving a banner, wind to which the poet exposes her face."

Selected by Skulskaja, these poems often focus on tiny moments of life and strange encounters with nature, such as contemplating a random tree (Table 1: 94), sympathy and attention to every living creature, such as talking "about a badger that each of them encountered in the forest, maybe it was the same badger, maybe it's not even about the badger, but about some indissoluble similarity in their perception of life" or sitting "beside a dying mouse so that the last minutes of this tiny creature are not spent alone" (Table 1: 103). Introducing Toomas Liiv's poetry, Skulskaja focuses on his attempts to represent the collapsing world through images of dying nature: "The world is on the brink of catastrophe: birches are burning, bridges are collapsing, a swallow takes flight only to be killed, the heavy silence of bumblebees hangs in the air" (Table 1: 107); discussing images specific to each poet, Skulskaja draws reader's attention to the imaginary system of Triin Paja: "fragile, translucent wings of butterflies hold a central place. There are numerous flowers, grasses, rain, and snow, yet the wings of butterflies most often crumble into dust" (Table 1: 116).

A separate release of the poetic collection “Must tomat” / “Черный помидор” (The Black Tomato) in 2014 by Maarja Kangro (Table 1: 65) is supplemented with a foreword by Kotjuh, the translator, who reveals the poets’ techniques and the choice of the image for the title:

> “First picture: unripe green tomatoes are ripening on the windowsill. Second picture: one of the tomatoes has darkened. Third picture: the dark tomato has turned red. The author captures all these changes in a poem and, as usual, looks for something special in this.”

Translations of poetry by Jaan Kaplinski were published in several poetic collections together with the other Estonian authors in Russian and Estonian periodicals and released as a separate volume “Tule tagasi, helmemänd / Вернись, янтарная сосна” (Come back, the amber pine!), first published in Estonian in 1984 and translated into Russian in 2021. According to the author’s notes (Table 1: 101), the image of the amber pine was not random but overlaps with the idea of ancient life, lost and found again:

> “Metasequoia (*Metasequoia glyptostroboides*) is a coniferous tree that, like its closest relatives—the sequoias, redwoods, bald cypresses, and many others—grew in our lands during the Tertiary period, several tens of millions of years ago. During the Ice Ages, this magnificent vegetation perished, with only isolated remnants surviving in areas with more favorable climates. Many plants from that time have become extinct, and the metasequoia, known from fossils, was also considered extinct until it was discovered growing in the mountains of central China in 1944.”

According to Velmezova’s (2021) literary criticism of Kaplinski’s poetry, the ideas of light, hope, and celebration of life become the most fundamental; the recognizable Estonian landscape, with images of lakes and forests, is filled with the magic of life and the expectation of a miracle to come.

5.2 Processing national traumas in literature and building new images and identities

Assuming that self-identification and the determination of one’s identity, including national identity, are achieved by comparing one’s Self-image (auto-image) with the image of the Other and using the Other as a negative pattern, an imagological analysis of the binary oppositions has been conducted.

Two major national traumas are explored and discussed in several titles selected for imagological analysis, both associated with historical periods of unfreedom: the Teutonic Order invasion and the German rule from the 13th century until the end of the 19th century, and the Soviet occupation (1940–1991). These historical events are reflected in multiple novels, memoirs, essays, and children’s books.

5.2.1 German dominance, Swedish and Russian Empires

The medieval times (13th-15th centuries) in the translated novels are marked by the spirit of resistance of free indigenous inhabitants, Estonians, to foreign invaders, primarily the German knights proceeding under the Livonian Order and aiming simultaneously at baptizing "Europe's last pagans" (Kasekamp 2010, 1) and acquiring new territories and a new human workforce. The earliest battles of Estonians against arriving German Crusaders are depicted in novels by authors active at the end of the 19th century – first half of the 20th century, namely Eduard Bornhöhe (1863–1923), Enn Kippel (1901–1942), and Mait Metsanurk (1879–1957) (Table 1: 17, 27, 28). The novel by Kippel (Table 1: 28) "Meelis: ajalooline jutustus /Мээлис: историческая повесть" ("Meelis") was first published in Estonian in 1941 and first translated into Russian in 1964; the novel by Metsanurk (Table 1: 17) "Ümera jõel" / "На реке Юмере" (On the Ümera River) was first published in 1934 and translated in Russian in 1964; and the novel by Bornhöhe (Table 1: 29) "Tasuja: jutustus Eesti vanast ajast" / "Мститель: историческая повесть из далекого прошлого эстонского народа" (The Avenger, a historical novel about the past times) first published in 1880 and translated into Russian in 1952, since then republished five times (1969, 1984, 1989, 1994, and 2005). All three texts are based on historical events.

All these authors were recognized in Soviet times, and the novels' heroic narratives aligned with Soviet discourse, implying the imperative for enslaved nations to resist invaders. The novels are perceived as uplifting and fortifying national pride, depicting Estonian defenders of their homeland as brave, devoted, and invincible. Bornhöhe, for the first time in Estonian literature, described a national uprising against oppressors (Table 1: 29) and their struggle with the Livonian Order in 1343. Two other novels are dedicated to the events of 1210 (Table 1: 17) and the siege of Tartu by the united army of Germans and the baptized Livonians and Latgallians in 1223–1224 (Table 1: 28). Bornhöhe, Kippel, and Metsanurk reproduced a core and stereotypical image of an Estonian peasant (see 5.2.1) losing the attributes of a Victim and obtaining new qualities of a Hero, a brave warrior fighting for freedom, eager to protect his land and his people. According to the preface (Table 1: 27), an Estonian defender must embody "the best qualities of a national leader, such as courage, love for the suffering Motherland, wisdom, nobility, and dedication. He overcomes both external obstacles and heavy internal contradictions, subordinating his personal feelings to the interests of the nationwide struggle." Three novels comprise a small corpus of heroic literature, consecrated as Estonia's cultural capital in the Soviet Union, presumably because of its ideologically relevant content. It can be assumed that such national Estonian images and narratives complied with the general ideological discourse of Soviet literature aiming at depicting the people of the republics of the USSR as allies, proletarians, and peasants struggling against enslavement, serfdom, and enforced Christianization as an artificial religion, which is also illustrated by the similar images of Estonians detected in the Soviet travel guides of 1940–1970s (Pild 2008).

The process of self-identification among Estonians is primarily based on binary oppositions with other nationalities, particularly Germans, who are often portrayed as an adverse, ruthless occupying force under the auspices of Christianity and Christianization. At the same time, Germans are depicted as an aristocracy, a noble stratum of society, and enlighteners in contrast to Estonians, who are portrayed as poorly educated and disenfranchised by birth. The opposition between Estonians as protagonists and Germans as antagonists can be traced in many historical novels (Table 1: 1, 13, 15, 18, 42, 48, 56, 61, 67, 81, 83, 93, 115), revealing the contradictions in the relationships between the two nations. At the same time, the search for unique national features has been conducted via comparisons with some other nations (Danes, Swedes, and Russians) by processing historical memories of encounters with such nations, i.e., the historical battle of 1219 in Reval with the Danes led by Valdemar II, the King of Denmark (Table 1: 30), the Livonian War (Table 1: 55, 56), and the Great Northern War (Table 1: 48, 115).

The explicit heroic narrative is specific to children's books and refers to the events mentioned above (Table 1: 30, 55, 56), whereas the other novels aim to process the past, often victimizing Estonian characters again. In the preface to the Estonian version (Table 1: 48), Berg compares her books with appeals to Estonians:

> "There, in the heart of Maarjamaa, I should have cried, "Estonians! Hear me out before you shake your heads in distrust and move on! Stop beside me, look around you—this is our land; our language and kin must reign here. So why do you keep silent, maarahvas? Stand tall, speak, shout, demand!"

In the same text, Berg sadly reveals her inability to use words and to be heard through her novels as a means of processing the past, being "focused on marginal people forced by circumstances to straddle the boundaries of two nations and ways of thought" (ibid.). However, the Russian version includes only one novel, "Kirjutajad" / "Рукопись, найденная в Веймаре" (The Manuscript found in Weimar). In the preface, the translator shifts the focus to the issue of the loss of identity under German influence and draws a parallel with the current issue of rejection of other cultures in contemporary Estonia:

> "Is there a connection between the manuscript's supposed author, an Estonian man who, with the help of a German priest, acquired some education and held an in-between status—left behind by his own and not accepted by the upper classes—and the author's 'self,' torn between two worlds? The novel was written in the mid-1980s. Yet, when you read the dialogue between the manuscript's author and Father Matthias, who believes the local population's language, maarahvas (the ethnonym "Estonians" did not yet exist), is not a language at all, just like the lowing of cows or chirping of birds, you start reflecting on the arrogance of some modern maarahvas descendants who, to preserve their language, are ready to push out another language—failing to realize that by doing so, they deprive their own small country of a third of its intellectual potential."

Valton, "an exceptionally prolific Estonian author," according to the foreword to Veidemann's Russian collection of short stories (Table 1: 67), explores human existence more deeply than other contemporary Estonian prose writers, being comparatively objective and detached from the subjects. In the historical novels by Valton (Table 1: 81, 83, 115), Estonians are juxtaposed with Germans, Swedes, and Russians. The cover text (Table 1: 81) familiarizes the readership with the legend of the Old Man from the Ülemiste Lake:

> "Though a fairy tale, this novel richly recreates the medieval atmosphere of Tallinn: the customs of the townspeople, the ceremonies of Toompea castle knights, the magistrate's court over a "witch," and the cruelty of the "dog-headed men." The author's unbridled and generous imagination also enchants with the wonders of the underwater world."

The character of Ivo Schenkenberg, a historical person mentioned in Russow's Chronicles, emerged again in the novel by Valton "Üks päev Ivo Schenkenbergi elust / Ливонский Ганнибал, или день жизни Иво Шенкенберга" (The Livonian Hannibal) first published in Estonian in 2018 and translated into Russian in 2020 (Table 1: 93). Ivo is depicted as a ruthless leader of local robber gangs formed of Estonians and attacking peaceful Estonian villages; Ivo is represented as a somewhat positive character, an adventurer and a brave soldier feared by the Russians against whom he fought in the Livonian war.

Using the explicit and detailed commentaries in the book, a reader effortlessly understands the references to Germans, specifically the nobility, "Toompea castle knights and the magistrate court," and the cruel Russians, "the dog-headed men," as well as the *oprichniks* of Ivan the Terrible. The cover text of the novel "Märjamaa legend / Мярьямааская легенда" (The Märjamaa Legend) (Table 1: 83), first published in Estonian in 2017 and translated into Russian in 2018, indicates that it is a sad story of Märjamaa, struggling and suffering as much as the rest of Estonia. With a direct reference to Estonian characters Leemet and Priidu as "remarkable individuals" and German invaders forcefully baptizing Estonians, who at the time remained pagans:

> "In a time when European Christians were suffering defeats in the Middle East, their attention turned to weaker adversaries. Military campaigns against the Estonians were declared a crusade, and the lands conquered by knights were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This was proclaimed by Bishop Albert in 1201 to lend the appearance of a holy war to the forthcoming conquests by German adventurers and the forced baptisms of the local people. From that time, Estonia began to be called Märjamaa – the Land of the Virgin Mary."

A historical reference to the Great Northern War by Valton (Table 1: 115) was not translated for the Russian version, serving as a conclusion to the main text. Speculating on the topic of the ultimate threat to the very existence of Estonians at the time, Valton attributes the qualities of a Villain to Russians and the qualities of a Friend to Swedes:

> "By the end of the Great Northern War, or one might say even by the middle of it, by 1710, when the whole of Estonia had been conquered by the Russians, less than one-third of the Estonian population remained. This was due to years of famine, plague, other diseases, and participation in the war. However, the most brutal aspect of the destruction of the people was the killing of individuals without even a reason, through the so-called scorched earth tactics employed by the Russians. This devastation nearly culminated in the deportation of all Estonians and Latvians to Russia, and had that happened, not even a third of the population would have remained in Estonia. Fortunately, the expanding Russian Empire encountered numerous other problems, including resistance from subjugated peoples, revolts by their own tortured peasants, and threats from foreign enemies."

Therefore, Peter the Great, the Russian tsar, is represented as a "destroyer of Russia's own traditional uniqueness. However, in the minds of Estonians, this man deserves "the darkest memory," whereas his associates, primarily Boris Sheremetev, are represented as executioners whose actions could have brought particular nations to the brink of extinction, including Estonians. However, according to Valton, it is also historically wrong to depict Charles XII, the Swedish king, "as a great friend of the Estonian people. <…> The fact that he attended an Estonian wedding while wintering in Laiuse Castle and allowed his officers to become godfathers to Estonian newborns was, of course, nice, but it did not truly mean that Estonian peasants were considered equal to Swedish nobles." Abolishing serfdom in Estonia did not improve the living conditions of Estonian peasants, who then could be drafted into the Swedish army:

> "Estonian soldiers stood almost on equal footing with Germans and Swedes in the face of the enemy's sword, for death makes all men equal. <…> Estonian units were commanded by Swedish or local German officers, who had often had these same peasants whipped at the manor stables before conscription."

The author argues, nonetheless, that in many cases, for example, during the Battle of Tartu, nearly unarmed Estonian peasants were the bravest fighters; they were courageous in keeping Russian marauders at bay. The author provides names of the leaders of Estonian defense groups, thus accentuating their peasant roots (for example, Tohver in Kanepi, Päll in Põltsamaa, Ronga Tehvan in Lüganuse, farmhand Suur Juhan in Simuna, Paadi Andrus in Räpina, Mihku in Mõniste, and Karula Naan in Viljandi). Valton nonetheless suggests that "those who stayed away from senseless bloodshed and worked the land" might have done much more for the survival and progress of the Estonian nation, returning to the core image of peaceful, decent Estonian peasants who stayed on their land. Later, Estonians had to survive between two political powers, the Baltic German nobility and the Russian Empire, and thus were forced to adopt "a significant portion of the Baltic barons' culture," thereby saving themselves from brutal Russification and the adoption of the Orthodox faith. This example reveals, in Halbwachs's terms, how collective memory selectively recalls past events while constructing a national identity (Halbwachs 1992), and it partially explains the

non-translation of the preface, since it cannot be part of the collective memory of the Russian reader.

Overall, the authors mentioned above collectively build an image of Estonians as people possessing virtues opposite to the attributes of aristocracy, nobility, power, force, warship, and invasion, thus creating peaceful, simple, ordinary, unambitious, silent, kind, and shy characters by comparing them with the characters of Germans, Swedes, and Russians. The general concept of a helpless Estonian, a sufferer, a victim of the established social order unable to change his/her status or prevent tragedies, remains a motif for the titles as mentioned earlier; the concept of the victim who cannot be a creator of his/her own life raises the issue of choosing appropriate or inappropriate methods of survival and adaptation, developed later by contemporary authors.

5.2.2 Soviet occupation and Stalinism

The years of the Second World War coincided with the Soviet occupation and Stalin's terror. The narratives associated with the early Soviet years can be traced in the literary titles of a significant number of Estonian authors, including Kai Aareleid (1972), Arnold Aru (1907–1996), Vahur Afanasjev (1979–2021), Maimu Berg (1947), Ene Hion (1931–2021), Ilmar Jask (1923–2019), Tõnu Kallas (1944), Ülle Kauksi (1962), Kalle Käsper (1952), Mart Kivastik (1963), Andrus Kivirähk (see above), Jaan Kross (see above), Viivi Luik (1946), Maie Ojamaa (1957), Imbi Paju (1959), Harry Raudvere (1958), Mats Traat (1936–2022), Leelo Tungal (1947), and Rein Veidemann (1946) (Table 1: 12, 14, 21, 29, 32, 36, 37, 39, 41, 46, 47,54, 59,63, 72, 73, 79, 80, 85, 89, 90, 91, 97, 100, 108).

The collective memories of the events associated with the national trauma of World War II and the following Soviet occupation have been represented in the following novels: "Valge paat" / "Белая лодка" (The White Boat) by Tõnu Kallas, published in Estonian in 2004 and translated into Russian in 2009 (Table 1: 41), "Valged varesed / Белые вороны" (The White Crows) by Ene Hion published in Estonian in 2014 and translated into Russian in 2021 (Table 1: 100), "Paigallend" / "Полет на месте: роман Улло Паэранда" (Trading Air) by Jaan Kross published in 1998 and translated into Russian in 2000 (Table 1: 14), Vahur Afanasjev's "Serafima ja Bordan" / "Серафима и Богдан" (Serafima and Bogdan) first published in Estonian in 2017 and translated into Russian in 2019 (Table 1: 91), the trilogy "Seltsimees laps" ("Seltsimees laps ja suured inimesed" (2008), "Samet ja saepuru ehk Seltsimees laps ja kirjatähed" (2009) ja "Naisekäe puudutus ehk Seltsimees laps ja isa" (2018) / "Товарищ ребенок и взрослые люди. Ещё одна повесть о счастливом детстве," "Товарищ ребенок. Бархат и опилки», «Товарища ребенок и папа" (The Comrade Child) by Leelo Tungal published in Russian in 2010, 2012, and 2019 respectively (Table 1: 46, 54, 89), collection of stories under an umbrella name "Kodumaa muld" / "Земля отечества" (The soil of Fatherland) by Ilmar Jaks translated into Russian in 2003 (Table 1: 21), the short story by Ülle Kauksi "Pulmasäng / Свадебное ложе"

(The Bridal Bed) included in the volume "Kuuekümnendate aastate eesti kirjanik" / "Эстонский писатель-шестидесятник, II" published in 2009 (Table 1: 32), and plays of the collection "Näidendid" / "Костер Савонаролы и еще семь новейших эстонских пьес" (Savonarola Fire and Seven Newest Estonian Plays) translated into Russian in 2006 (Table 1: 29).

These titles contain plots where the main characters are people who became victims of the Soviet occupation, Stalin's repressions, deportations, and atrocities committed by the Soviet army in Estonia. Simultaneously, the Estonian emigration literature included in the corpus provides a comprehensive historical account from those who managed to flee Estonia during the Soviet occupation, which became a personal tragedy for many.

Hion's novel "Valged varesed / Белые вороны" (The white crows) is based on real events discovered during her journalist's investigation of deportations of children from Estonia during the Second World War (Table 1: 100). The author's preface remained the same for both editions, where Hion described her investigations as an encounter with a devastating human tragedy as follows:

> "I could not ignore the horrific experiment conducted on these human children. <…> It was difficult to understand—were these children being saved or repressed? Educated or brainwashed? Enticed or forced?"

The Russian version is supplemented by the translator's foreword, where Leivi Sher, sharing the author's thoughts, confesses:

> "I was shocked when I opened this book. Shocked, primarily by what befell those children—my almost contemporaries—although my own childhood during and after the war was far from perfect. <…> I honestly admit that I, a person not prone to sentimentality, could hardly hold back tears while translating some pages."

However, the author states that the story is "sorrowful yet optimistic". The translator assumes that the novel translated into Russian may be a revelation even for Russian readers familiar with Estonian history, which is a matter of great importance to the translator.

Similar destinies are thoroughly studied in the memoirs "Tõrjutud mälestused / Отвергнутые воспоминания" (Memories Denied) by Paju (Table 1: 47), who, based on documents and photos, reconstructed the stories of the Estonians and Jews who were deported, imprisoned, and executed. The preface of the former Estonian president, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, is included in both versions. However, the excerpts from Estonian, Finnish, and Swedish journalist reviews are used only as peritexts in the Estonian version. Ilves argues that the complex image created by Paju reflects "what happens to a person under conditions of the terrorist rule, what evil he can commit when the dark side of his personality prevails, when the political atmosphere favors violence, and when the dictatorial regime manipulates memory to hide its crimes." Ilves expects that the book will awaken many,

"especially those who justify such crimes by servility, no matter where it comes from – from the West or the East" (ibid.). Bruno Groppo, a history professor at Sorbonne University in Paris, is quoted in the foreword as follows, thus again accentuating the traumatic events of the past that can affect the present drastically:

> "Many countries face a traumatic past, especially those who have experienced dictatorships. Dictatorships come in various forms: fascist, communist, military. But all of them are, to a greater or lesser extent, bloody, violent towards part of the population, and violate citizens' rights and freedoms.
>
> Groups considered enemies by the regime are primarily victims of violence, so the regime uses repression against them. However, violence affects the entire society. Violence and terror break societal bonds, force people to withdraw into themselves, and cause fear and distrust. Therefore, dictatorship always leaves some mark on society."

Complex, tragic trajectories of people's fates during the war and Stalinism are depicted in the novel "Valge paat" / "Белая лодка" (The White Boat) (Table 1: 41) by Kallas, which portrays a group of Estonians who managed to flee in 1944 to Sweden, but three years later they return on a boat in order to find and rescue their relatives. Forest becomes an asylum for the illegal returnees, functioning in the text as "the true home" for the Estonians fleeing from the inhumane and illogical Soviet regime. The Estonian version features only a short poem as a cover text to convey the overall mood of the title, whereas the Russian version is supplemented with a foreword by Boris Tuch, the translator, along with a detailed explanatory note on the text. Tuch argues that family values were more significant for the book's actors than any ideological premises, which is illustrated by their political indifference and detachment from struggling powers and presumably represented as a positive quality of the characters:

> "None of the characters was actively collaborating with the Nazis. None served in the Waffen-SS. Like most refugees, they were people drawn into the gears of History. They were ordinary people who left their homeland by chance. They fled out of fear that with the arrival of the Red Army, they would face a repetition of the Stalinist repressions of 1941. Their own families and the reliable protection of their loved ones were more important to them than any ideological postulates. <…> …the characters in the novel do not harbor strong negative feelings towards the Soviet authorities or Russians. Like any normal citizen, they do not love authority. In their specific case, people from a healthy and conservative peasant worldview hate excessive idealization, complete discrepancy between words and deeds, and hypocrisy. They look at life soberly and critically, and for the communist authorities, this is a sin."

Tuch states that the period of early Soviet years before the collectivization and March deportations of 1949 remains unknown to both Estonian and Russian readership and stresses the importance of familiarization with the specific atmosphere of anticipation of ominous changes to come at the time of "unstable equilibrium"

between the three forces: the old bourgeois, the peasants, and "the intrusive Soviet ideology" (ibid.). The fates of Estonian emigrants forcibly split from their families, and the memories of the motherland became an inspiration for several contemporary authors; therefore, the narrative of the in-betweenness and indeterminacy of Estonia and Estonians is developed in literary titles associated with the historical period before, during, and after World War II.

In other texts depicting this period, specific attention is paid to the fates of Estonians who were forcibly relocated to or remained in the East. Aru (Table 1: 63) dedicated his play "Ingeri kuningas" / "Король Ингерманландии" (The King of Ingria) to Leander Reio (1904–1931), a historical figure, a young peasant from the village of Kulla, who established a national society and the Finnish newspaper *Sanaseppä*. However, his fellow countrymen stayed "on the other side of the border, where collectivization, repressions, and exile to Siberia of the most successful peasants who believed in the slogans of the NEP and who suddenly became kulaks took place." The hero is obsessed with the idea of liberating his fellows from the totalitarian regime at all costs, naively believing that the Ingrian rebels can be rescued with the help of Estonia, Finland, and the West. The play was published in 1932 in Estonian and in 1934 in Finnish. This desire to evacuate or free one's compatriots outside the borders of the enemy state is tightly interwoven with the motif of escaping the threat and the associated guilt, which ultimately even deepens the contradictions between the narratives of those who left and those who stayed.

The possibility of remaining neutral, detached from both global powers of the time, is discussed as the primary problem of Kross' novel "Paigallend" / "Полет на месте: роман Улло Паэранда" (Trading Air) (Table 1: 14) in the foreword by Lev Annensky to the Russian version. The critic analyses the plot dedicated to a character who is equally distanced from the cruel commanders of the Red Army and arrogant German generals, naming it "the story of Ullo Paerand, an Estonian who somehow stays in a neutral field" or "a loyal, neutral, normal Estonian." The idea of remaining in the neutral field is not a new concept in Estonian literature, which often depicts Estonians as non-participants in global events of the 20th century, choosing not to be involved in someone else's war. Nevertheless, this is what Anennsky considers the third possibility, equating neutrality with somewhat heroism, as remaining normal turns out to be an almost impossible mission for someone associated with the ephemeral, invisible, and fading Estonian state, symbolized by the slipping glass falling from one's hands. Kross, therefore, precisely depicts gloomy and semi-real existence with all the attributes of the time, i.e., "the relentless "desire to return to Europe," the "indefinite state of anonymity and facelessness for everyone else in the world," and "the desperate attempts to "make oneself known" along with the imagined "ideal features" of a hypothetical Estonian" (ibid.), which explicitly overlaps with the motif of the ongoing search for national self-identification trapped in the state of the "in-betweenness."

Unlike the character Jaak in the novel "Kodumaa muld" / "Земля отечества" (The Soil of Fatherland) by Jaks (Table 1: 21), first published in Estonian in 1977

in Sweden, who had managed to flee to Sweden in 1945 and brought a small bag with Estonian soil made a business via selling and reselling it to his compatriots, Ullo Paerand (Table 1: 14) refuses to leave even when is provided with such a possibility, which, according to Annensky, is interpreted as madness: "to stay in tiny, doomed Estonia on the eve of the world war that will roll over people as a bloody press." However, being a normal, neutral person, at the same time sympathizing with Estonian national activists, who will be inevitably crushed by the empire "like a steamroller" (ibid.), is the third possibility, i.e., a possibility not to become a victim of the regime and not to become a refugee equal to a traitor.

When analyzing Russian translations of titles covering the early Soviet years in Estonia, it is essential to distinguish between historical narratives and the collective memories of Estonians and Russians. Some contemporary scholars focused on the problem of othering in today's Estonia (Pavlova and Vilson, 2023). The official historiography of Russia represents the events of the time, avoiding references to World War II, as in Russian discourse, it is referred to as the Great Patriotic War, a conflict waged on Soviet territory from 1941 to 1945, culminating in the ultimate defeat of the German army. In Estonian history, the war began in 1939 and did not end in 1945, as the nation, established in 1918, lost its independence in 1940 and remained under occupation until 1991. The vision of the Second World War as "not our war" articulated by the Estonians, whose territory was turned into a battlefield between the global forces of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, led to the development of the concept of the different historical times of the Second World War (Table 1: 32). In the foreword, Traat states that the Soviet occupation had an enormous adverse effect on the development of Estonian culture:

> "Estonian literature suffered significant losses during the Second World War. As the Red Army approached in the autumn of 1944, many prominent writers (such as Gustav Suits, Marie Under, Henrik Visnapuu, August Gailit, Karl Ristikivi, Karl Rumor, August Mälk, Bernhard Kangro, Pedro Krusten, Helmi Mäelo, and others), fearing the impending Soviet terror, left their homeland. Abroad, they continued their literary work, but in their homeland, the Bolsheviks doomed them to oblivion. Their books were removed from libraries and destroyed; they couldn't be publicly quoted or even mentioned without risking attracting the attention of the NKVD. The young generation that returned from the war or Soviet evacuation could not fill the void. There were both personal and ideological reasons for this. Therefore, in the 1940s, there was a vacuum in Estonian literature."

In the same text, Traat, introducing new authors in Estonia in the 1960s, refers to the political and ideological context of the time, outlining the period of conditional "thaw" and the creative work of that generation.

> "During that decade, about twenty active young writers entered literature, as well as a whole constellation of translators who were the first in the Soviet Union to publish contemporary Western authors such as Camus, Sartre, Kafka, and others

> in the library of the magazine Looming. This completely changed the literary situation and expanded, enriched, and diversified the spiritual world of Estonian society. In a sense, it was an "awakening from an enchanted dream" to borrow the title of a famous painting by Johann Köler, an Estonian artist of the 19th century. It was a liberation from ideological pressure, which weakened, albeit briefly. After the suppression of the "Prague Spring" in the 1970s, it intensified and continued until the hated empire of evil collapsed, and in Estonia, finally, the Second World War was over, ending the statehood and Soviet annexation" (ibid.).

Therefore, the early Soviet period is compared with conditions of imposed martial law, during which the ideology of the suppressor could not be publicly criticized, but at the same time, it could not be entirely accepted or fostered. Estonians did not share the Soviet heroic discourse and did not support the narrative of the Soviets as the victors in war; the Soviet patriotic discourse and the further large-scale inspiring propaganda left no room for the discussion about the victims of Stalinism and, consequently, mainly remained as supporting images of a Hero but not a Victim. Estonians, on the contrary, were trapped in a situation of loss of independence, uncertainty, and oppression, which incited a discussion of disregard and betrayal by greater Western powers. Estonian characters have mostly attributed the qualities of a Victim of the ruthless flywheel of world history, being in between the battle of the global powers. Nonetheless, self-identification is primarily associated with the core image of the Estonian peasant and the relevant mentality. It is not built on a comparison of national qualities, but rather a comparison of sets of values between powerful global actors and powerless, deprived, and humiliated actants. Naturally, the powerful global forces are represented by German and Russian characters; however, there is no direct correlation between the function of a Villain and nationality. Therefore, the core image of Estonian, as traced in the literature covering the early Soviet period, remains the image of a villager (Table 1: 12, 41, 54, 59, 63, 79, 89, 91, 100, 104) or a poor city dweller (Table 1: 14, 21, 32, 37), both are helpless, desperate, disappointed, and confused characters.

The perception of Estonia's national trauma was rethought by Afanasjev (Table 1: 91) in the novel "Serafima ja Bogdan" / "Серафима и Богдан," published in Estonian in 2017 and translated into Russian in 2019. The plot "narrates the life of the Prichudye region from the end of World War II to the collapse of the Soviet Union. <…> The central theme of the novel is taking responsibility for one's own destiny. The Old Believers of Prichudye, who had lived for centuries in fear, love, and devotion to God, lost their moral ground with the advent of Soviet power. However, in this novel, the role of a Victim is transferred to Russian actors residing in Estonia. Exploring the motives for fleeing the motherland, Jaks criticizes the concept of Estonian patriotism during the period of Soviet occupation (Table 1: 21).

Images of women are rare in the literature dedicated to the early Soviet period. However, the children's vision of the war atrocities and family tragedies contains no criticism or any negative attitude toward the Soviets or the figure of Stalin;

their attitudes had been presumably formed by the Soviet propaganda as narrated by Hion (Table 1: 100); the method of narrating the ominous events through a children's voice was also used by Tungal's character (Table 1: 46, 54, 89).

Remarkably, all novels dedicated to the events of the Second World War and Stalinism were published and translated into Russian after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which explicitly indicates the starting point of processing and understanding the collective national traumas. This coincides with the start of publications on the same topic by Russian authors (e.g., "Kolyma Tales" by Varlam Shalamov, first allowed for publication in 1989, and "The Gulag Archipelago" by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, first allowed for publication in the USSR in 1989).

5.2.3 Late Soviet period

The late Soviet period in translated Estonian literature has not been marked with the horrors of Stalinism; the plots are focused on lifestyles, domestic details, and specific rules of conduct adopted in the Soviet Republic of Estonia; therefore, the role of a Victim of the main Estonian characters is gradually transformed into a Friend actant. Among the authors representing the new generation of Estonian literature since the 1970s, are Arvo Valton (see above), Maimu Berg (1947), Andrei Hvostov (1963), Mart Kivastik (1960), Kalle Käsper (see above), Viivi Luik (1946), Mihkel Mutt (1953), Eeva Park (1950), Harry Raudvere (1958), Mats Traat (see above), Peeter Sauter (1962), Emil Tode (real name Tõnu Õnnepalu, 1962), Rein Veidemann (1946), and Enn Vetemaa (1936–2017).

According to Kajar Pruul (Table 1: 12), the literary approaches and methods of that period in Estonian literature were more diverse, becoming more experimental and liberal. At the same time, modernism and post-modernism were still used as a creative way to circumvent multiple ideological limitations or use literature as a macro lens focusing on particular details or situations that earlier would have been considered insignificant or inappropriate:

> "From the second half of the 1970s to the first half of the 1980s, Estonian prose was represented mostly by novels. The previous period of the modernist boom was bright but short-lived; many authors and readers turned to the adopted traditional forms. The historical novel and the so-called domestic prose, non-realist or moderately modernist novels with a psychological touch, came to the forefront. A significant emphasis was made on the public and national context, predominantly presented in allegorical form in historical prose and as references and allusions to specific realities in the conditions of constant struggle with censorship in prose dedicated to everyday life."

Among the characteristics of the new Estonian prose that emerged at the end of the Soviet period, Pruul mentioned "existentialism," "modernism," and "subconsciousness", therefore, literary criticism had to use alternative approaches to work conditional representational style," "alienation," or "models" (Table 1: 12). At the same time, a number of novels depicting the late Soviet period were published already after the restoration of the Estonian Republic hence, censorship was

lifted, and the main goals of these authors were to reconstruct the Soviet realities objectively rather than investigate and process the national trauma of the occupation.

It is specific to the literature referring to the given period that authors draw the ideological and cultural line between Estonians and Russians, although having accepted the fact of the influx of the Russians and the influence and dominance of Russian culture; thus, the invisible line dividing Self from Other complies with the binary opposition adopted earlier as "We are not like…", thus marking the search for self-identification.

Two novels by Berg thoroughly explore the Soviet realities "Ma armastasin venelast" / "Я любила русского" (I Loved a Russian Man) published in Estonian in 1994 and translated into Russian in 2009 and "Moemaja / Дом моды" (The Fashion House) published in Estonian in 2012 and translated into Russian in 2018, (Table 1: 36, 48) cover the Soviet times, with specific focus on Soviet realities and the relationships between Estonians and Russians at the time, which can be the grounds for the analysis of the ongoing process of national self-identification through comparison of the Self with the Other. The character's social status and role in the plot become more defined by their nationality[43]. Berg's focus on otherness is emphasized explicitly in peritexts (Table 1: 12, 36, 48):

> "Maimu Berg's prose is characterized by a refined, almost mysteriously mystical, confessional atmosphere. An intangible, seemingly conditional, yet undeniably influential essence permeates the sophisticated style of her writing. The theme of love–sensual love–sensual or sublime, real or imagined, passionate or forbidden – arises against the backdrop of memories and expectations, past and present. In romantically tragic situations, the author as demiurge–with a touch of irony and even sarcasm–maintains personal involvement and compassion towards her characters, empathizing with their "other," often unfulfilled life" (Table 1: 36).

In the preface to Berg's novels discussed earlier, Tuch, as a translator and critic, gives an account of Berg's prose, stating that the author combines a unique ability to analyze social processes and "maintain the highest standards of literary aesthetics" (Table 1: 48). Berg, however, uses multiple different approaches to investigating the national identity of an Estonian as "not German" (Table 1: 48), "not Russian" (Table 1: 36); and "not Soviet" but locked behind the "iron curtain", or more Western / Westernized than Soviet (Table 1: 85).

Novels by Veidemann "Tund enne igavikku" / "Вечный университет: роман в трех действиях" (The Eternal University) published in Estonian in 2012 and translated into Russian in 2015 and "Piimaring" / "Молочный круг" (The Milk

[43] Berg, when choosing a title to her novel, was obviously inspired by Tammsaare's novel "Ma armastasin sakslast" ("I loved a German") (1935) that depicted the events of 1920s and a specific attitude to the Germans as former landlords and rulers of Estonia; depicting the Soviet times, Berg provocatively used the same approach when telling about a love affair between a Russian doctor and an Estonian teenager girl with the background of the general negative attitude to Russians in Estonia.

Ring) published in Estonian in 2018 and translated into Russian in 2021 (Table 1: 73, 104), are partially based on the author's autobiographic experience and refer to specific years and loci in Estonia, i.e., the University of Tartu in the 1970s–1990s and the city of Pärnu during the Soviet period. The author reconstructs the specific atmosphere of the university at the time and the landscape around Pärnu, evoking memories of "old good Estonia," closely associated with the core positive image of a hardworking Estonian peasant, a farmer, and a master, not destroyed by the arrival of Soviet rule. Providing precise details of the dairy production process in Estonia, Veidemann simultaneously explores the social life of the time:

> „Milk platforms became a kind of cultural hub, where, while waiting for the milk truck, one could learn and discuss all the local and global news. In some places, the platform also served as a bus stop, a stop for a mobile store, or a bulletin board. <...> Landscapes with milk platforms were a "counterpoint" to collective farms, like the landscapes that existed in forest clearings, on the edges of roads—anywhere that large socialist machinery could not reach.
>
> These were landscapes of hand-held scythes, where hay was harvested among stones and stumps in the meadows founded by grandfathers. Landscapes associated with horse-drawn rakes attached to a "Zaporozhets" car. Landscapes of a horse-drawn mower, where the horse was usually led by a Seto man, and in the saddle, with a blistered bottom, sat the ten-year-old son of the owner. These were landscapes where hay was pitched onto the attic after work on the collective farm with a pitchfork. Landscapes that allowed the farmer, swinging a scythe through dew-soaked grass, to express the feelings inherent to a farmer. Landscapes where the farmer's wife could watch her cow chewing her grass. Landscapes that secretly preserved the "old good Estonia." Landscapes that were cherished" (Table 1: 104).

Harry Raudvere's novels "Hüüdnimi Eestlane" / "По прозвищу Эстонец" (Nickname Estonian), published as parts I and II in Estonian in 2017 and 2019 and translated into Russian in 2020 and 2022, respectively (Table 1: 97, 108), and Andrei Hvostov's novels "Sillamäe passion" / "Страсти по Силламяэ" (Sillamäe's Passion) published in Estonian in 2011 and translated into Russian in 2013 (Table 1: 60), both analyze the atmosphere and domestic life of the late Soviet years.

Raudvere, introduced in the cover text as an economist, entrepreneur, and Estonian patriot, provides an account of the Soviet lifestyles (Table 1: 97):

> "I saw a country devouring its own tail," <…> "The Soviet state had everything: injustice that reached the heavens and destructive absurdities. There was sorrow and grief, but also love. <…> People lived through daily hardships and still held onto faith—faith in a bright future and a hatred of war. But one thing is clear: those who valued hard work had their heads on straight and knew how to use their hands to live well by the standards of that time, especially if they didn't cross the fine red line, beyond which they could draw the discontent of the state."

The editor's foreword for the original version of the 1st volume is more detailed than that in the Russian translation; the editor stresses the author's meticulous and non-criticizing approach and his attention to "situational documentation, biography, and emotions" of an Estonian who witnessed the late years of the Soviet Union when working in Russian regions (Table 1: 97). The book is based on real events and focuses on the differences of Estonian and Soviet attitudes rather than Estonian and Russian national divides.

In Hvostov's novel (Table 1: 60), the locus of Ida-Virumaa and specifically the closed Soviet city of Sillamäe gains visibility in Estonian literature. The novel contributes to the ongoing discussion regarding the "Russian issue" in Estonia, thus continuing the search for distinctive features in images of Russians and Estonians. According to the cover texts, the novel provides a comprehensive account of Soviet realities in Estonia:

> "Honest and somewhat provocative book about his Soviet childhood spent in the closed city of Sillamäe, which was as difficult for Estonian residents to access as it was to live behind the "Iron Curtain." This book provides insights into what it was like for an Estonian to live in Sillamäe during that time, what it meant then—and still means—to be Russian for "real Estonians" (Table 1: 60).

Therefore, the titles listed above, grouped under the umbrella topic of the late Soviet era, refer to several stereotypes and narratives associated with binary oppositions of Estonianness and *Sovietness*. In the titles, the core positive image of an Estonian peasant, modest and hardworking, can still be traced, albeit reframed. The distinctive qualities and attributes of Estonianness are more often identified through comparisons with Russians; German characters are less represented than in literature covering the period of German dominance and the first half of the 20th century, which is outlined by the changing power relationships.

Whereas the novel is the leading genre for titles associated with Soviet-period literature, the Estonian novella is marked as a distinct subgenre, specific to a new generation of authors who rely not on Estonian or Russian classics but on a more diverse contemporary European literature. In Estonian novels and novellas, a more impressionist and modernist approach is characteristic, with close attention to details, descriptions, and local situations as one of the authors' methods for remaining politically neutral and unbiased in literature.

The stereotypical narratives regarding the events in Estonia in the 20th century have been creatively reframed by Kivirähk, who focused on the idealization of the first Estonian Republic and the victimization of Estonians after 1940. Kivirähk creates a grotesque narrative in his essays "Ivan Orava mälestused, ehk, Minevik kui helesinised mäed" / "Мемуары Ивана Орава. Былое как Голубые горы" (Memoirs of Ivan Orav or the Past as Azure Mountains) (Table 1: 52), published in Estonian in 1995 and translated into Russian in 2012, where the most disseminated stereotypes are used to build a fantasmagorical plot and to look at the copied narratives as situational absurdism. The character of Ivan Orav, whose name presumably refers to the character of Pushkin's Ivan Belkin, as Orav and

Belkin both mean a "squirrel", emerged in Kivirähk's columns published in *Eesti Päevaleht* newspaper, whereas the Russian translation included more texts than the Estonian versions released in 1995, 2001, and 2008. According to the text on the cover, Orav was born on September 1, 1908, and his first words were "Estonian Lipablic"; he is an Estonian nationalist and courageously and mindlessly fights against "tiblas"[44], a derogatory name for Russian soldiers based on wordplay. His ultimate hero is Konstantin Päts, the historical figure and the president during the first independence period of the Estonian Republic (1918–1940), and "the true Estonian". According to the chronography on the book cover, in 2001, having spotted Putin on TV, Orav, already a very old man, was brought back to life, ready to use his old machine gun; he eventually died in 2009.

Although Orav is an imaginary figure, his popularity in Estonia reached the level of a national hero, comparable to heroes of the "memoirs" of real personalities and politicians of different eras and nations (Repson 2012; Siseykina 2025). Therefore, by employing his absurdist and grotesque humor, Kivirähk attempts to alleviate tension in Estonian society, generally aiming to process the painful collective memories of the occupation and the Soviet period and to reframe and redesign Estonians' self-perception as victims.

The stereotyped image of "good old times" and "good old Estonia" of the first independence period, as narrated in novels dedicated to the Soviet period, was also questioned by Kivirähk. The comedy play "Eesti matus" / "Похороны по-эстонски" (Estonian funerals) included in the collection of Estonian plays "Näidendid" / "Костер Савонаролы и еще семь новейших эстонских пьес", was published in Estonian in 2002 and translated into Russian in 2006 for the above-mentioned collection of plays (Table 1: 12). In the play "Eesti matus" that received wide recognition in Estonia and was staged in the Russian theater in Tallinn in 2019 (Karayev 2019), Kivirähk again deconstructs the myth of a hard-working Estonian peasant tightly linked to his home farm; he retells the general narrative of Estonian people as sufferers in the times of deportations, occupation, and the horrors of Stalinism in a grotesque and comic form in his play "Helesinine vagun" / "Голубой вагон" (The Blue Wagon) published in Estonian in 2003 and translated for the same volume.

In the translator's preface (Table 1: 12), Tuch quotes the author as follows:

> "The novel was inspired by the atmosphere of national awakening that prevailed in the early 1990s. To me, much of it seemed forced, even comical. I tried to create a character who was both sincerely swept up in the tides of history and yet unwittingly conveyed the absurd and ridiculous aspects that inevitably accompany great historical upheavals."

[44] "Tibla" supposedly refers to a Russian derogatory phrase "ty bliad" ("you bitch"), censored by the Soviets. According to another theory, "tibla" is derived from "sibul", which means "onion" in Estonian, which allegedly refers to Russian-speaking inhabitants of the Peipsi Lake coast, who traditionally grew onions in their farms.

In the same preview, Tuch refers to a critic who remarked, "Kivirähk introduced a completely new type of humor into Estonian literature. While humor used to be social, his humor is absurdist. Kivirähk mocks Estonian national sentiment and everything sacred" (Table 1: 12). Therefore, pinpointing the stereotyped narratives and using them to build a plot, Kivirähk explores and processes collective memories of Estonians. The objects of the author's humor in the two plays are nostalgia for the distant, glorious past, "Estonian diligence (inspired by Tammsaare) and the tragic path of the Estonian people, focusing primarily on deportations." However, in "The Blue Wagon," the Estonian SSR itself, "typically condemned", becomes an object of nostalgia, reflecting "a longing for a life that provided social security, equality, affordable entertainment, and accessible education," presuming that all this is missing in the newly established republic. The translator appreciates the author's unique ability to penetrate the "collective Estonian subconsciousness" as Kivirähk reveals the most illogical, contradictory, and conflicting discourses of contemporary Estonian society.

5.2.4 Diversity as a marker of a new era of development and ongoing search for self-identification

The Estonian-Russian translations after 1991 included new genres that were not specific to the early and Soviet periods, i.e., the genres of picaresque, detective, or criminal novels as well as adventure novels (Table 1: 22, 38, 40, 43, 57, 69, 95, 102, 113). The growth of commercial activities in the republic and emerging business opportunities were explored in Estonian literature by Andres Anvelt, Armin Kõomägi, and Tiit Veeber (Table 1: 43, 57, 69, 95). In the cover text for the novel "Direktor: ühe turu erastamise lugu" / "Директор: история приватизации одного рынка" (The director: A story of market privatization), published in Estonian in 2010 and translated into Russian in 2013, a brief introduction of Andres Anvelt, "the former director of the Central Criminal Police and head of the Police College, now a member of the Estonian Parliament" (Table 1: 57), as well as the annotation refer to the unstable and chaotic atmosphere of the 1990s in Estonia, with characters from "business, politics, and organized crime <…> so similar to the point of being interchangeable" (ibid.). In a detailed foreword by Olev Remsu, the author and the main character of the autobiographical book "Tulest tulnud" / "Пройдя сквозь огонь" (Having passed through the fire) (Table 1: 43) is represented as a brave reformer and a dedicated citizen of Tartu who contributed to the development and the well-being of the city. According to Remsu, Veeber "is a voice of the grassroots, opposing bureaucrats and bosses." The scene of post-Soviet Tartu, therefore, turns into a criminal battlefield where Veeber is the hero protecting his compatriots from the corruption and bias of people in power:

> "This happened not in the powerless Soviet times, but, on the contrary, in free and democratic Estonia. With the help of cunning tricks, competitors managed

> to keep Tiit Veeber in prison for 13 days. The author's account of his impressions of prison, the trial process, and his release are the most vivid pages of the book. Tiit Veeber was acquitted only by the European Court, as Estonian judges were of the same ilk as the "fathers of the city" of Tartu" (ibid.).

Business and criminal activities are often depicted as equal fields in the literature dedicated to the unsteady period of the 1990s; Estonia as a criminal scene is represented in the picaresque novel "Iseseisvuspäev / День независимости: когда Эстония еще не была пограничным государством" (The Independence day) by Kaur Kender published in Estonian in 1998 and translated into Russian in 2003 (Table 1: 22); according to the cover text, "the action of "Independence Day" takes place on the eve and immediately after the collapse of the USSR. It was a time when fortunes were made out of thin air, beautiful girls went to the panel houses, gangsters thrived, and the majority of the population was in confusion" (ibid). The main characters of the novel,

> "…charming scoundrels Karl and Mark – try by all means to make big money. These guys are made of the same stuff from which time molds millionaires and murderers. The difference, in general, is trivial."

The same pattern is traced in the novel "Punane elavhõbe / Красная ртуть" (Red mercury) by Anvelt, published in Estonian in 2007 and translated into Russian in 2009. According to the cover text, the plot is built around the gold fever of the 1990s and the search for new opportunities in the space where the old order has collapsed, and the new order has not yet been established (Table 1: 38): "In independent Estonia, chaos reigns, and the laws of the Wild West prevail in society. Everyone is seeking their own: some seek justice, some seek truth, some seek money, and some seek authority." Criminals are the main characters of the novel "Mina olin siin / Я был здесь. №1: первый арест" ("I was here. The first arrest") by Sass Henno, published in Estonian in 2005 and translated into Russian in 2022 (Table 1: 113), covering the events on the criminal scene of Estonia in the 2000s. Therefore, since 1991, marginalized elements have been introduced in Estonian literature, specifically in detective and picaresque novels. Traveling, exploring the world, and adventures of Estonian characters were the central motifs for a number of titles covering the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods (Table 1: 22, 34, 35, 36, 40, 45, 51, 74, 75, 76, 79, 97, 102, 108).

The genres and characters associated with the restored Estonian independence are most diverse and heterogeneous in the translation flow after 1991. A record number of authors, including Estonian journalists, businesspeople, and politicians, contributed to the development of contemporary Estonian literature. This means that images in such literary titles tend to be more diverse and less stereotyped, as well as the narratives. At the same time, it is crucial to classify titles by topic to track the issues and ongoing debates specific to contemporary Estonian society.

One of the widest discussions has been dedicated to the further development of Estonia and its integration with Europe, as reflected in the books written by those whose expertise is not necessarily associated with literature, for example, businessmen and politicians, and reflecting the current agenda, including such authors as Emil Tode (1962), Jaak Jõerüüt (1947), Henn Leetna (1948), Lennart Meri (1929–2006), Mihkel Mutt (1953), Katri Raik (1967), and Tiit Veeber (1948– 2012) (Table 1: 8, 12, 31, 43, 53, 66, 71, 96). The feminist discourse is outlined by contemporary Estonian women writers Maimu Berg (1945), Reet Kudu (1949), Maarja Kangro (1973), Mari Saat (1947), and Kerttu Rakke (1970), who focus on the issues of the place, role, and mission of a woman in Estonian society of the 20th and the 21st centuries (Table 1: 34, 36, 40, 45, 51). Estonia is represented as a criminal scene and/or a location of adventures or Estonians obtain the role of global adventurers in detective, phantasmagoric, and picaresque novels by Andres Anvelt (1969), Sass Henno (1982), Kaur Kender (1971), Armin Kõomägi (1969), and Atlas Thavet (1963) (Table 1: 22, 38, 57, 76, 95, 102, 113). Contemporary Estonian children's authors focus on the central values and most widespread narratives as shown in the educational books by Tiia Toomet (1947) and Epp Petrone (1974) (Table 1: 12, 19, 77, 84).

Several titles were dedicated to Estonia's new perspectives on the global political scene, and its relationships with its closest neighbor, Russia, and its internal policy concerning the Russian-speaking community in Estonia emerged as direct consequences of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The time of transition to independence is seen as a critical political and cultural stage that became a focus for Jõerüüt, a former Estonian ambassador to the United Nations (2004), Italy and Malta (1998–2002), Cyprus (1999–2004), Finland (1993–1997), and Latvia (2006–2010), in his collection of memoirs "Diplomaat ja mälu / Дипломат и память" published in Estonian in 2004 and in translated into Russian in 2007, Jõerüüt marked the general vectors of the development of Estonia as primarily oriented to the Scandinavian countries; specifically stressing the vector of Estonian development and its consistent actions to become a part of Europe and the global community, i.e., "The periods described here can be characterized politically by a short, simple phrase: Estonian diplomacy worked towards Estonia's membership in the European Union and NATO", Russian and Estonian versions of the preface are similar (Table 1: 31).

A collection of articles, essays, and speeches by the first president of the restored Estonian Republic Lennart Meri "Hõbevalge / Серебристо-белый путь Леннарта Мери" (The Silver-white path of Lennart Meri) published in Estonian in 1976 and in Russian translation in 2020 reveals the personal experience of the ex-president in his ethnographic expeditions and cinematography (Table 1: 96); the Russian version is supplemented with a preface by Mart Meri as of 2019 and a chronology of Lennart Meri's career, whereas in the Estonian version peritexts are missing. Meri, being the president of the re-established Republic of Estonia from 1992 to 2001, was a key player in the process of intensified integration of Estonia in the global society; "he devoted all his efforts to ensuring that, after decades of non-existence, the Estonian state once again made its presence known

on the world stage" (ibid.). Along with the complex restructuring of the Soviet legacy, he contributed to the development of future Estonian-Russian relations, viewing them as positive, fruitful, and good-neighborly, with a focus on the interests of both countries and nations. Meri reformulated the goals and expectations of Estonia, now being an independent state, stressing that:

> „The democratic world was not a marketplace where each state had its price determined by its weight, <...> he viewed small states as an integral part of the world political structure, which should also have a say in global politics. The inevitable security deficit for small states could only be compensated for by agreements on collective defense."

According to the preface, the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia did not mean the idealization and "the nostalgically copying Estonia before World War II, but rather envisioning its transformation into a modern state based on common European values," which, again, illustrates the ultimate desire of the Estonian nation to abandon the Soviet legacy and shift towards Europe as a full-fledged member-state. In her essays "Minu Narva: kahe maailma vahel" / "Моя Нарва: между двух миров" (My Narva, between the two worlds), published in Estonian in 2013 and translated into Russian in 2014, Katri Raik, the mayor of the north-eastern Estonian city of Narva, supports Meri's vision by stipulating her expectations regarding the development of the city, while ultimately seeing Estonia as an integral part of Europe (Table 1: 66):

> „There are people here who believe that Narva has a future and do everything possible to make it bright. In my dreams, Narva is not a disadvantaged periphery of Europe but its outpost: a city of proud beauty where people speak different languages but share common opinions."

For Mihkel Mutt, the drastic changes of the 1990s inspired the books dedicated to the period of Lennart Meri's presidency (Table 1: 53). Whereas the Estonian version contains no preface, the Russian translation is supplemented with a detailed explanation regarding the political nuances and actors of this particular historical moment, i.e., at the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union, in 1990–1991, describing the complex and contradictory political scene of Estonia of the time, main trends of the development, and the perspectives through stories and relationships established between the characters from the "Chancellery #4" that refers to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs (ibid.).

> "In March 1990, the first relatively free elections to the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR took place, resulting in an absolute majority for a diverse and quite fragmented group of people, consisting mainly of progressive intelligentsia demanding the restoration of Estonia's independence. <…> However, the atmosphere did not change significantly. We still belonged to the decaying USSR, increasingly unable to suppress Estonia's aspirations for independence. Paradoxically, we had spiritually won our freedom but were still physically in chains.

> <…> But thanks to the free spirit, communication with the outside world became possible, constantly expanding and multiplying, allowing Estonian emigrants to discover their homeland and domestic Estonians to get a taste of the free world through them. Thus, in late March 1991, the "mission" became possible."

At the same time, according to the preface by Nutt, "no one in the world saw Estonia as an independent state" and "the government of the Republic of Estonia was treated like any other Soviet republic's government". Therefore, the question "What is Estonia and where does it move to?" was raised again by Mutt, who reconstructs the atmosphere of the time with intrinsic irony. A larger historical period is analyzed in the stories about Estonians of the period between the 1960s and the 2010s in his comic novel "Kooparahvas läheb ajalukku" / "Народ пещеры уходит в историю" (The cavemen chronicle) (Table 1: 71), published in Estonian in 2012 and in Russian translation in 2015; the narrator's preface belongs to the text and is the same in both versions; the Russian cover text includes a brief bio of the author. Mutt's reference to Estonians as "cavemen" continues the discussion about the schism in the perception of Estonians as either the last pagans or Europeans or true Europeans; speculating about the outcomes, "the author seeks to answer the question of why things turned out the way they did, why the Estonian Republic became what it is", ironically analyzing the historical and social metamorphoses of a given period and thus continuing the discussion about the historical path of Estonia and its role in a global society. Remarkably, discussions regarding the political and cultural development of Estonia and the Estonians are often limited to the choice between Europe and the civilized world, and the individual path of the Estonians as a unique nation. In these discussions, Estonia has never been theoretically considered part of the Eastern world or Russia.

5.2.5 The Russian issue in Estonia reflected in literature

The so-called "Russian issue in Estonia" associated with the status of Russian-speaking residents of the re-established state (Taagepera 1993; Smith 1998; Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022) became a widely discussed topic in the literature of the latest period by many Estonian authors, including Kai Aareleid, Maimu Berg, Andrei Hvostov, Reet Kudu, Katri Raik, and Mari Saat (Table 1: 36, 40, 45, 60, 66, 80), where the relationships between Estonian and Russian communities in Estonia become the focus of literary research, e.g., "Lasnamäe lunastaja" / "Ласнамяэский мессия" (The Lasnamäe Messiah) (Table 1: 45) by Saat was published in Estonian in 2008 and translated into Russian in 2010, and the plot, according to her afterword, "is set during the economic crisis that hit Estonia back in 1997, when the protagonist Natalia loses her job" (ibid.), the setting of the plot is Lasnamäe, a Tallinn's suburban district known as resided by Russians. In the preface to the Russian translation of Kudu's "Vabadus ja armastus" / "Свобода и любовь: эстонские вариации" (Love and Freedom) published in Estonian in 1994 and translated into Russian in 2009 (Table 1: 40), Zvonareva provides an account of the author's assessment of the status of Russians in Estonia as follows:

> "Courageous Reet Kudu openly declares in an era of complex Russian-Estonian political relations that "the novel 'Freedom and Love' was written to remain true to my friends and Russian culture."

Quoting the author's passages, Zvonareva reveals Kudu's vision of the situation after 1991, who refers to Estonians as a small nation and Russians as a large nation:

> "…the small nation has become accustomed to the cruelties of the large nation and is not afraid to be cruel. Now it is the big brothers' turn—let them suffer, let them endure, let them choose. The air is filled with schadenfreude."

Summarizing her impressions of Narva, populated mainly by Russian-speaking residents, Raik offers her vision of Narva as a unique and separated space in Estonia, which is stipulated in the cover text in both versions of her memoirs "Minu Narva" / "Моя Нарва" (My Narva):

> "Narva is not a city but a country, inhabited by the Narva people who speak the Narva language. The Estonian authorities look at Narva with caution. When a high-ranking state official visits Narva, it feels as if they bring Estonian statehood with them and take it away when they leave. Here, there are long queues at the border, and smuggling cheap vodka and cigarettes is an important source of income. The breadwinner, Kreenholm, is closed, and this place has the highest unemployment rate and the lowest standard of living" (Table 1: 66).

Hvostov explores the specifics of the relationships between Estonians and Russians by narrating his autobiographical experiences of living in Sillamäe, explaining "what it meant then—and still means—to be Russian for "real Estonians" (Table 1: 60); the otherness of Russians became the main theme for Berg in her novel "Ma armastasin venelast" / (I loved a Russian man) (Table 1: 36).

In an attempt to summarize the narratives referring to the current situation with the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia, I can mark the following trends: according to the peritexts, the above-mentioned authors demonstrate their deep understanding of the complex challenges that Russians in Estonia have faced after 1991; the image of Russians in Estonia as the "Other" is built on cultural and social differences and oppositions between small and big nations, cultural specifics, and different historical paths; Saat and Kudu express their unrevealed sympathy to Russians in Estonia seeing them not as friends or allies but rather as "sufferers," not relating the Russian population of Estonia with the atrocities of Stalinism or Soviet occupation.

5.2.6 Estonia(nness) in children's literature

Several titles exploring the most significant aspects of Estonian culture, history, geography, and national traditions were dedicated to both children and adult readers and translated mainly for the Russian-speaking community in Estonia—these translations aimed to foster better mutual understanding between the two cultures and ensure future coexistence. Contemporary children's literature and, in particular, adventure children's books (Table 1: 20, 23, 26, 30, 50, 55, 56, 109, 110, 112, 106, 117) may focus on the lives of Estonian children and/or directly refer to particular loci in Estonia that are historically and culturally meaningful, such as Tallinn or recognizable Estonian fisher villages. While the main plot may vary from retold ancient legends and fairy tales to short stories and full-fledged detective stories, texts still contain important information on Estonian traditions, narratives, historical events, and memorials. The children's detective series "Detectives of Old Tallinn" (Table 1: 109, 110, 112, 117) contains references to significant historical loci of Tallinn, such as the Niguliste (Saint Nicholas) Church, the headquarters of the Blackheads, and the Maiden Tower, where the action takes place.

Entertaining and educational illustrated books include "Kaltsutitt ja puuhobune" / "Тряпичная кукла и деревянная лошадка" (A rag doll and a wooden horse) by Tiia Toomet published in 1996 and translated into Russian in 2002 (Table 1: 19) and "Minu kodu on Eestimaa / Эстония – мой дом" (My homeland is Estonia) published in Estonian in 2014 and translated into Russian in 2016 (Table 1: 77), as well as "Meie Eesti" / "Наша Эстония" (Our Estonia) by Epp Petrone published in Estonian in 2018 and translated into Russian in 2018 (Table 1: 84). Toomet is a recognized children's author who is able to process academic knowledge and make it accessible and comprehensible for the young readers; the cover text of the Russian translation refers to the content of the book as to "An Entertaining Ethnography". According to the cover text (Table 1: 19), the history of Estonian folk culture and toys is presented in an entertaining and engaging manner. A broader discussion on Estonia(nness) became the topic of another book by Toomet (Table 1:77), where the author aims to tell the young readers, according to the cover text, "more about Estonia's history, its government system, nature, picturesque places, customs, and much, much more" to "discover and understand what a beautiful and interesting country Estonia is" (ibid.). The singing festival in Estonia as one of the most important national events becomes the setting for the story by Tungal (Table 1: 50); the adventures of Une-Mati, a little magician, and his little friend Mati take place in real locations such as Tallinn with its recognizable historical background and the fishing village of Käsmu, "one of the most beautiful places in Estonia" (Table 1: 26).

With Estonia in the background, children's adventure books tend to focus on universal problems such as friendship and conflicts, relationships with siblings and parents, and communication with animals and nature, which is relevant for children's books by Kivirähk and Rannap (Table 1: 20, 106); in the latest translated book, Kivirähk keeps his characters recognizably weird (Siseykina 2025).

5.2.7 The loci of Estonia in Estonian-Russian translation flows

The locus of Tallinn is referred to mainly in literary translations dedicated to different historical periods beginning with medieval times (Table 1: 42, 55, 56, 81, 93); in this context, Tallinn is a part of the titles of seven translations (Table 1: 23, 30, 56, 109, 110, 112,117), including children's books. The locus of Tallinn possesses important attributes of a transformation place, as stipulated in peritexts covering the biographies and writings of Visnapuu, Tode, and Ristikivi (Table 1: 5, 6, 8, 16, 18, 44). Tallinn is a significant location of the plot for several contemporary novels and children's books (Table 1: 30, 45, 48, 52, 79, 84) as well; notably, in historical novels, Tallinn is described as a city of the German nobility (Table 1: 9, 18, 42, 55, 56) whereas in literary works covering the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods, Tallinn is represented as a city with Estonian and Russian dwellers (Table 1: 12, 14, 22, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 45, 52, 53, 59, 79, 85, 96).

Specific attention is paid to Tallinn as a geocultural space in the context of Ristikivi's "Tallinn trilogy" where the imaginary transformation of the city from a place for the German nobility to the Estonian capital is traced (Table 1: 18, 44); for Ristikivi, Tallinn becomes a point of attraction for "rural settlers" driven by the desire to build a better future for themselves and their descendants; therefore, in these novels Tallinn is simultaneously represented as a locus of new opportunities and failed expectations for Estonians at the beginning of the 20th century; Tallinn as a capital of the Soviet Republic of Estonia and of the Estonian Republic since 1991 has not received any imagologically relevant attributes in the translated literary flow as reflected in peritexts.

The locus of Tartu has been referred to since the earliest historical periods till the contemporary times (Table 1: 5, 6, 9, 10, 16, 18, 19, 29, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 59, 63, 65, 66, 71, 73, 82, 86, 87, 92, 94, 96, 99, 101, 104, 105, 115). The events described in the books with references to Tartu include the earliest periods of the 13th century when the city had become one of the battlefields for Estonians (Table 1: 115) and is mainly associated with the University of Tartu, the most significant distinguishing locus and the point of attraction of the city; the university is mentioned in biographies of the most famous Estonian authors, including Kreutzwald, Luts, Ristikivi, Tammsaare, and Visnapuu (Table 1: 5, 6, 9, 10, 16, 18, 87), is the *alma mater* for many contemporary writers such as Anvelt, Afanasjev, Berg, Kallas, Kangro, Kivirähk, Mikita, Õnnepalu, Saat, Sööt-Hainsalu, Veeber, Veidemann, politicians such as Raik, Meri, Mutt, and others (Table 1: 29, 33, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 59, 66, 82, 96) and a main venue in some novels of both Estonian and Russian authors, e.g., Skulskaja (Table 1: 73; Table 2: 13). The name of Tartu is represented in Berg's essay in "Kirjutajad" / "Тартуский дух" (The Tartu Spirit) (Table 1: 48), Mikita's travelogue "Tartu tähestik ehk Tarto maine ja taevane trükis" / "Загадки Тарту" (The Mystery of Tartu) (Table 1: 99), and Afanasjev's travelogue "Kuidas taluda Tartut" / "Как вынести Тарту" (How to withstand Tartu) (Table 1: 105). In peritexts, Tartu is explicitly described as a city of literature and culture (Table 1: 105).

At the same time, Tartu as a geocultural space is not necessarily depicted as an Estonian city. In the biography of Kreutzwald, Tartu is not linked with Estonia or Estonianness, as "the University of Tartu was one of the centers of science and higher education in Russia at that time. Despite the efforts of landlords and clericals to turn the university into a stronghold of reaction, progressive scientific and social thought continued to develop there" (Table 1: 87); neither it is represented as Estonian in early novels by Estonian classics such as Luts or Tammsaare: in the Estonian peritexts to Luts' "Kevade" and "Suvi" (Table 1: 16), Tartu is "somewhat dull" where "the Estonian language is only tolerated as a necessary evil"; for Tammsaare, "Hugo Treffner Gymnasium in Tartu (Yuriev) was unique of its kind, not only in Estonia but in the entire Russian Empire." In historical references to Sööt-Hainsalu's poetry, Tartu is also mentioned as Yuriev, a city of the Russian Empire:

> "Hugo Hermann Treffner (1845–1912) – Estonian educator, publicist, editor, and founder, and long-time director of a gymnasium in Yuriev (now Tartu), the only major secondary school in the 19th century within the present territory of Estonia."

In literary titles dedicated to the late Soviet period and the period of the restored independence in Estonia, Tartu is mainly referred to as the university city (Table 1: 48, 71, 73, 104; Table 2: 13); e.g., in the Estonian version of the foreword to Kudu's novel (Table 1: 40), the author expresses her "hopeless love for Tartu University." For Veeber (Tartu 1: 43), Tartu is his home city associated with precious memories of "the joy-filled childhood spent in the Tartu suburb, in the area of urban poverty – in Supilinn." The University of Tartu remains the most recognizable locus and venue in the translation flows.

The locus of Narva is referred to in the biographies of Luts, Visnapuu, and Liiv (Table 1: 6, 16, 63); in the preface to the play by Aru, Narva is depicted as both a city of medieval sieges and battles of the Second World War at the time of Soviet occupation. The image is transformed from a medieval city of merchants, closely associated with Estonia and Estonian history prior to the 20th century, into a post-Soviet GCS in Estonia. For example, Kreutzwald's fairy tales included a story about a daughter of a Narva merchant (Table 1: 63, 84, 87). The contemporary locus of Narva is primarily associated with the Russian-speaking population that arrived after 1940, as noted by Raik (Table 1: 66) and Cherdakov, a Russian-speaking author, in his original Russian essays, "Эй, Нарва! / Hey Narva!" (Table 2: 12).

5.3 Images, tropes, and narratives of Estonia and Estonianness in titles of Russian-speaking authors

A separate study has been conducted to identify images of Estonia and Estonianness as transferred in the original Russian titles written in Estonia by Russian-speaking residents, including Andrei Ivanov (1971), Igor Kotjuh (1978), Jaan Kaplinski (1941–2021), Ilya Prozorov, Victoria Ladynskaya (1981), Nadezhda Katayeva-Valk (1950), Gohar Markosjan-Käsper (1949–2015), Jelena Skulskaja (1950), P. I. Filimonov (1975), and Larissa Joonas (1960), and identify the basic differences between such images in Estonian and Russian titles. According to the prefaces, cover texts, and forewords, most of the Russophone authors of Estonia attempt to explore their double identity and consider both cultures, i.e., Estonian and Russian, home cultures to which they belong (Table 2: 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19). Therefore, the development of a complex heterogeneous identity among residents of borderlands, the points of cultural crossing, is a distinguishable feature for Russian authors in Estonia, which is stipulated by Kotjuh, Vaher, Mallinen, Zavyalov, and Skulskaja in the respective peritexts (Table 2: 2, 3, 8, 17). At the same time, it is not possible to outline universal tendencies specific to Russophone authors in Estonia, as each individual literary work exploring national identities constitutes an original set of cultural features, habits, and traditions.

> "The unique feature of any borderland is that it stimulates the exchange of ideas and the search for ethnocultural identities. These issues are particularly relevant to non-native residents who migrated within one country from other former Soviet republics to the "Baltic States" – that is, to migrants and their descendants. These people need to establish relationships with local traditions and languages while preserving the values they absorbed from their own upbringing" (Table 2: 2).

The issue of finding a correct definition of the phenomenon of Russian literature in Estonia has become a focus of several literary critics, including Vaher, Mallinen, Kotjuh, and Zavyalov, who attempted to deconstruct such identities by distinguishing specifically Russian and specifically Estonian elements, thus defining influence of languages, literatures, and cultural environments when discussing the migrant literature.

> "Estonian-Russian writers are like kites in the wind—not just those who have grouped themselves under the name "The Kite." What treasure do they guard? The Russian language and literature? The Estonian language and literature? Or perhaps only their freedom—the freedom to choose their language and identity? This might be something they have as a conscious or unconscious necessity, more so than their peers who were born and raised entirely within the Estonian linguistic environment" (Table 2: 3).

In many cases, Estonia remains a homeland and motherland, whereas the choice of the primary cultural background is not always conditioned by the place of birth, cultural environment, or native language; for example, as stated by Skulskaja, it is the connection and the cross-cultural interaction that is the central pillar of Russian culture in Estonia:

> "I always say that my homeland is the Russian language and Russian literature, but I was born and have lived all my life in Estonia; this is my home. Of course, I was influenced not only by Russian poetry but also by Estonian poetry, and my inner freedom was shaped through interactions with colleagues and friends writing in both languages. It is endlessly important to me that Russian and Estonian cultures maintain a mutual interest in each other" (Table 2: 17).

Estonian poetic styles receive separate consideration, as they mark Estonia(nness) when borrowed and applied to poetry written in Russian. Not only cultural but also structural differences, topics, and subjects, including the freedom from rhymed syllabic and tonic verses specific to Russian poetry, contemplativeness, and impressionism, can be detected when analyzing poetry writing in Estonia and the Baltic countries as a whole.

> "It is well known that cultural innovations emerge in the borderlands between civilizations. When cultures collide, they react to the new stimulus, creating novel combinations. In Russian poetry, it is often the diaspora that takes on the cultural challenges of the external world and offers new, unexpected perspectives and expressions, crafting responses that are invisible from the metropolis. New phenomena emerge at the intersection of different cultures in marginal regions, such as Russian-language poetry in Estonia, the Riga-based text group "Orbita," Baku native Nijat Mamedov, and the Fergana School" (Table 2: 8).

As it has already been formulated by Skulskaja in the prefaces to her Estonian-Russian translations (Table 1: 49, 72, 94, 103, 107), Estonian poetic style, i.e., *vers libre* that uses a certain rhythm set by a combination of long and overlong vowels as well as alliterations, features Estonia(nness) as it is when implemented in contemporary Russian literature. Such poetic experiments in Russian have been carried out by Kaplinski, Kotjuh, Joonas, and other Russophone authors whose poetry was included in poetic collections (Table 2: 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 14, 15). A more subtle definition of complex Estonian-Russian identity is proposed in poetic exercises by Joonas (Table 2: 14), who has chosen the above-mentioned *verse libre* and, in addition, used specific borrowings from Estonian vocabulary, for example, by naming one of her poetic collections "Kodumaa" / "The Homeland". At the same time, as illustrated by the example of Joonas' writings, Russian-speaking authors of Estonia do not bluntly separate their physical homeland, Estonia, from their cultural homeland, Russia, but rather sophisticatedly merge the cultural approaches of both, as:

> "Nature and homeland (*kodumaa* in Estonian) take a central place in the author's lyricism. Even though "Tundma oma kodumaad" ("To Know One's Homeland" in Estonian) is the only direct reference to the Estonian language in the collection, Estonia is present throughout, either consciously or unconsciously" (Table 2: 14).

The poetic volume by Kotjuh, "Эстонский дизайн: стихи 2009–2013 / Estonian Design: the poetry of 2009–2013," continues the search for identity specific to a Russophone author in Estonia. In the preface to the volume, Jukka Mallinen, a literary critic (Table 2: 9), develops the idea of cross-cultural communication and refers not to the two cultures but to the multiple national identities traceable in Kotjuh's statements as well as the ongoing search for identities:

> "Kotjuh says he reads Estonian literature because its mentality is close to him, and Russian literature develops his language. The Estonian Nordic mentality has overtaken the roots of a hot-blooded Ukrainian guy, which are still visible in his rejection of Finno-Ugric gloominess, severity, and grimness. "Who am I?" Kotjuh asks, and in answering, he shatters the narrow confines of "ethnocultural identity," cultivating nuanced personal experience from its remnants."

Therefore, Kotjuh, in line with Skulskaja, tends not to distinguish but rather to combine cultural elements in an attempt to create a unique identity at the point of crossing cultural borders. Exploring Estonia(nness) as a specific poetic style of Kaplinski, in the preface, Zavyalov initiates a discussion (Table 2: 11) by setting the central question as the title of the preface, "Russian Poetry by Jaan Kaplinski: Is It Possible?" Providing no answer, however, Mallinen elucidates the differences in Russian and Estonian poetry styles, thus deeper exploring the intrinsic features of Estonian poetic methods and questioning their readability and relevance when written in Russian (ibid.):

> "Poetry has become more contemporary, more cosmopolitan, more open, and lively, but working with the "great tradition," whether as an object of worship or as a point of departure (which, in our case, is essentially the same), is far from complete. And suddenly—this book, is written as if neither the "great tradition" nor the struggle to overcome it exists. There is only a mortal man in a mortal world. <…> Russian poetry is not used to such language. It sorely lacks a world-renowned poet who refuses to play the role of the "important figure," the "darling of the muses," the "national genius," the "intellectual Olympian." It desperately needs a patriarch in front of whom it would be foolish to clown around, awkward to preach, absurd to settle old scores, and shameful to bare one's soul. Having stopped quoting "national classics" seriously as an oath of allegiance to the "high" and then ironically in a supposed deconstruction of that "high," poetry has finally begun to deal with the living person and their problems. <…> In fact, the question posed in the title remains unanswered: "How is this possible?" (I meant in Russian). That is: is Russian poetry today robust enough to bear this book?"

Explicit refusal to choose between two cultures has been expressed in the prefaces by Ladynskaya and Katayeva-Valk, illustrating a tendency to appreciate multiculturalism, multilingualism, and internationalism applicable to Estonian-Russian realities (Table 2: 10, 15):

> "When I am once again asked the favorite question of the Estonian press: 'If you suddenly had to choose, Estonia or Russia, which side would you take?"—my heart curls up like a prickly hedgehog. How can one choose between the photograph of my great-grandfather on the white obelisk in Anapa, a city on the Black Sea coast, and the startled fish in the "hugging" Lasnamäe river, "Pereta," as my younger brother called it? This dilemma is as mind-wrenching as asking a child: "Who do you love more, mom or dad?" You see, sometimes a person can have two native lands: the ancestral homeland and the country of their conscious life—"mu isamaa" (my fatherland)." (Table 2: 10).

Having embraced the two cultures, Russophone authors in Estonia use their unique background as a cultural asset. The deliberate refusal to choose either identity can also be traced in the autobiographical novel by Nadezhda Katayeva-Valk "Там, где я родилась / Where I was born" (2015), dedicated to the years of the author's childhood in the 1960s in the Pechory region, the Prudischi farm, and the overall relationships between Russian and Seto villagers during the Soviet period (Table 2: 15):

> "With your memories, you have erected a monument to ordinary people. And that's how it was. In our Pechora region, there were Estonians, half-believers, Latvians, Russians, locals, Soviets, Reds, Whites, Kaitseliit members, and Forest Brothers. Still, there was no writer who would honestly write about this time and our region."

At the same time, in the analysis of the peritexts to Russian editions, an explicit tendency to reject any identities and remain unidentified in terms of cultural, linguistic, or national background is traceable. The feel of "*in-betweenness*", the loss of identity, and the ongoing and resultless search for home are the motifs for a number of novels, including the most famous novel by Andrei Ivanov "Путешествие Ханумана на Лолланд" / "Hanuman's travels" (2009) and his recent novels "Театр ужасов / "The horror theater" (2021) and "Меланхолия сумерек" / "The twilight melancholy" (2022) as well as the novels by Manya Nork and Ilya Prozorov (Table 2: 6, 7, 8, 19, 20), where a Russian-speaking character from Estonia is marginalized and anonymized, according to peritexts:

> "How can one survive in Europe as an illegal immigrant and not lose their mind? The Indian Hanuman goes to extraordinary lengths to reach Lolland Island – the Danish Ibiza, where "half-naked girls twist like seals in pools, ecstasy falls into your mouth, and the music and wild parties never stop!" He sells dumpster-dived groceries at a steep markup, hacks phone codes, and even pretends to be a Russian mobster… so convincingly that the crafty and thieving refugees in the illegal camp watch in awe!

> But while skillfully deceiving others, he and his friend, Euge, a Russian Estonian, find themselves caught in their own traps. Their journey to Lolland will never end" (Table 2: 6).

This motif of lost identities and *in-betweenness* is also central in Ivanov's short novel "Унтерменш: моя разорванная часть" / "Untermensch: the part of me that is torn to pieces" (Table 2: 7) that addresses the issue of the Russian minority in Estonia. According to Tamm (2022), whose MA thesis is dedicated to the changing identities of the Estonian Russophone minority, based on an analysis of literary works by Russian-speaking Estonian authors, the concepts of Baltic post-colonial identities and hybridity are applied, as illustrated by Ivanov's novels. Tamm explicitly outlines the main problem elaborated on by Russophone authors in Estonia as "despite the rich cultural and historical inheritance of the Russian minority in Estonia, there is an ongoing struggle to find its own identity that could fit into the current life in Estonia" (ibid: 15). Therefore, the repeated narrative of lost identities and/or search for identities in the Estonian cultural space is a clear marker of Estonia(nness) in the literary texts of the authors representing the Russian minority of Estonia. This encompasses three main aspects: building a new identity based on double or multiple cultural backgrounds, Estonia as a homeland, and the influence of recognizable literary methods widely adopted in and specific to Estonian literature on the literary writings of Estonian Russophones.

It is a matter of great importance that, overall, Russophone authors consider Estonia a land to which they belong, in contrast to new-type migrants as defined by Gonzalez Núñez (2013). The concept of Estonia as a homeland is adopted by both Estonian and Russophone authors, who discuss cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, as well as various influences that result in literary products differing in many aspects from both "classic" Russian and well-established Western literatures.

5.4 Textual comparative analysis of selected translations of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991

Three titles have been selected for textual analysis of translations based on their relevance to the research topic and saturation with Estonian national images and narratives. These titles are "Meie Eesti / Наша Эстония" by Epp Petrone (children's literature), "Meelis / Мээлис" by Enn Kippel, and "Vabadus ja armastus" by Reet Kudu.

Apart from the presence of various images of Estonia and Estonianness, the titles were selected based on the criteria of maximum diversity in genres and topics; therefore, the analysis included one popular children's book containing detailed explanations on Estonian history, traditions, and beliefs, and designed for contemporary children, one heroic epic novel dedicated to the resistance of Estonians led by their elder, Lembitu, and their struggle with crusaders in the 13th

century, and a woman's novel dedicated to the events of the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and during the transition to democracy. The textual analysis compares the source and target texts to identify the linguistic tools used by the translator, the translation strategies applied, potential modifications in the target text, and their relevance within the given context. Hereinafter, my translation (I.S.) of Estonian and Russian excerpts into English is provided.

5.4.1. "Meie Eesti / Наша Эстония" (Our Estonia) by Epp Petrone is a children's educational and activity book that was considered one of the most popular children's books in 2018, published in the year of the 100th anniversary of the Estonian Republic. According to the Estonian public broadcasting agency Eesti Rahvusringhääling (ERR 2019), the number of copies of the Estonian version sold reached 24,541 in 2018, which made it the most popular book of the year, in accordance with the estimations of the Estonian Publishers' Union; sales of the Russian version reached 10,000 copies, which illustrates the high demand from readers. The target audience is children living in Estonia, specifically those who speak Estonian and Russian (Maia Melts (see 4.4.3) provided the Russian translation). The book answers the most frequent questions about the Republic of Estonia, including its history, traditions, narratives, and cultural codes, outlined as a comprehensive and entertaining dialogue between a mother and a daughter, supplemented with multiple interactive tasks, e.g., pictures to draw, questionnaires to fill out, labyrinths, and crosswords to solve. The story contains all significant marks associated with Estonia(nness) and its features, beginning with a short overview of the geography and national epic of Estonia, the first findings of life (mammoths), the signs of human presence on the land 10,000 years ago, and the national Estonian epic "Kalevipoeg".

According to the cover text (Table 1: 84), there are minor differences between the Estonian and Russian versions. The book that was inspired by the Maxima retail chain as a gift for Estonian children provides answers to the following questions: "Who was the first president of Estonia? How old is Estonia? What is kama made of? Why did Estonia's currency become play money? Can the flag be raised outside at night? Why are the stripes on the Muhu skirt yellow?" The main character of the book is mentioned only on the cover of the Russian version: "Героиня этой книги – любознательная девочка по имени Аня." ("The heroine of this book is a curious girl named Anya"). In the original version, the name of the main character is Anna, a schoolgirl, which is translated into Russian in a diminutive form specific to children's names, i.e., Аня, Анечка (Anya, Anechka), which implies that the character is a Russian schoolgirl; this also marks the age of the character for the Russian readership. Remarkably, the historical and political narratives conveyed in the stories are relevant to the Estonian family (Pavlova and Vilson 2023). For example, section 2, which is equal in the two versions, namely "Eesti lipp ja laste lipp" / "Эстонский флаг и детский флаг" (Estonian flag and children's flag), is dedicated to the history of the Estonian flag, referring to an unspecified war, during which one could be murdered for keeping the Estonian flag at home, presumably to the Second World

War and Stalinism after the Soviet occupation in 1940. Thus, risking one's life for keeping a national flag at home is a narrative specific to an Estonian family, which is the family of the main character Anna in the Estonian version; the use of Anechka in translation refers to a Russian family and Russian context; however, in a given period, the political situation for Estonians and Russians was different, which creates a contradictory context in translation.

> „Mhm, aga äkki ikkagi oli salajane koosolek?... Annale meeldivad igasugused salajased asjad. Ja talle meeldib see lugu, et ükskord oli sõda ja oli selline aeg, kui Eesti riigi lippu tuli hoida salaja peidus. "Sa võisid isegi surma saada, kui su kodu peidukohast Eesti lipp leiti," räägib emme. " Näiteks minu vanaisal oli lipp peidetud salakohta korstna sisse telliste vahele."
>
> „Kui sõda uuesti algaks," plaanib Anna, "siis mina peidaksin lipu meie köögis prügikasti taha, seal on üks lahtine laud. Sealt ei leiaks seda keegi üles!"
>
> «Хм-м-м. А вдруг всё-таки тайное собрание было..." Анечка любит всё загадочное. Ей нравится история про то, как однажды началась война и эстонский флаг пришлось прятать в тайном месте.
>
> – Могли даже убить, если бы в твоём доме нашли спрятанный эстонский флаг, – объясняет мама. – Например, мой дедушка запрятал флаг в трубе среди кирпичной кладки.
>
> «Если снова начнётся война, – планирует Аня, – я спрячу флаг у нас в кухне, за мусоркой, где одна дощечка отходит. Там его никто никогда не найдёт!»
>
> ("Hmmm. What if they had a secret meeting? Anna (Anechka) likes everything mysterious. She likes the story about the war that started when the Estonian flag had to be hidden in a secret place.
>
> "They even could kill you had they found a hidden Estonian flag in your house", explains Mom. "For example, my granddad hid the flag in the chimney between the bricks."
>
> "Should the war begin again," Anna (Anya) plans, – I'll hide the flag in our kitchen, behind the garbage bin, where a small board is loose. No one will find it there!").

The translated version of the dialogues is a precise translation of the source text, including the transfer of the Estonian political narrative regarding the situation. However, it does not explicitly specify that the main characters of the story are Estonians, as the book refers only to the location, Estonia, which suggests that a naturalization approach, as outlined by Delabastita (1993), is used here. On the contrary, in the section "Vanasti ja ennevanasti" / "В старину" (In ancient times and before ancient times / In ancient times), despite the mother's references to her childhood experience of constant working in the field, i.e.:

> „Vanasti tegid inimesed rohkem tööd kui tänapäeval," jutustab emme. " Kui mina laps olin, siis mina tegin väga palju tööd. Ma olin sinuvanune, kui kõplasin suviti pikad päevad peedipõllul!" / «В прежние времени люди работали больше, чем сейчас, – рассказывает мама. – Когда я была маленькая, то я

делала много всякой работы. Когда мне было столько же лет, сколько тебе, я летом целыми днями мотыжила на поле свеклу».

(In ancient times, people used to work more than now, says Mom. – When I was a child, I used to do a lot of various jobs. I was your age when I spent long days hoeing in the beet field in the summer!")

This aligns with the general image of an Estonian peasant as described in the imagological analysis in subchapter 5.1. At the same time, the domestication approach is used in translation to make this image more recognizable and attributable to the Russophone reader, as the name "Anechka" can be associated only with the Russian context; therefore, according to the translated text, Anechka is of Russian origins and belongs to a Russian-speaking family, which conforms to the target culture and language norms (Venuti 1995) and suggests that a domestication approach (Delabastita 1993) was used. Below, in the same section, it is stated explicitly that Anna / Anechka's predecessors spoke the same language that she uses now, without specification of the language:

„Ja mis su vanavanavanaema nimi oli?"

„Oi, Anna, ma ei mäleta. Õigemini ma ei teagi. Aga ma tean, et ta rääkis sama keelt nagu sina ja mina. Ta oli ikka üsna nagu mina ja sina".

«- А как звали твою прапрапрабабушку?

- Да не помню я, Анечка! Вернее, не знаю. Знаю только, что говорила она на том же языке, что и мы с тобой. Она была такая же, как ты и я.»

(And what was the name of your great-great-grandmother?" "Oh, Anna / Anechka, I don't remember! Or rather, I don't know. But I know that she spoke the same language as you and me. She was just like you and me.)

This implies that for the Estonian version, Anna's great-great-grandmother spoke Estonian, whereas for the Russian version, it is allegedly Russian; however, the differences in historical and cultural contexts have not been considered in the translation. The same national and cultural nuances have not been taken into account in the section on the history of the Estonian flag, which, overall, creates a contradictory context.

A significant part of the book is the discussion of what to consider featuring Estonia(nness); thus, the question of what belongs to Estonia and/or can be considered originally Estonian refers not only to the flag and state holidays but also other subjects and/or phenomena such as the Estonian flower, horse, dog, cat, tree, and bird. Estonian symbols and the "fifth season" in the Estonian area of Soome are described in both versions in the respective sections. The section "Mida meie usume?" / "Во что мы верим?" (What do we believe in?) reveals the Estonian ancient paganism and beliefs in the god Taara, juxtaposing it with Christianity, with the text modified and supplemented in Russian translation:

„Taara oli kõigepealt eesti inimeste Jumal, aga siis tuIid Jeesus Kristuse uskujad ja tõid siia maale oma lood... Ja need Jeesuse uskujad ja Taara uskujad vahel võtlesid ka, isegi tapsid üksteist. Aga mina näiteks usun mõlemat" jutustab emme. " On inimesi, kes usuvad ainult Jeesust või ainult Taarat." (Taara was first the God of the Estonian people, but then the believers in Jesus Christ came and brought their stories to this land... And those believers in Jesus and the believers in Taara fought, even killed each other. But I, for example, believe in both," says Mom. "There are people who believe only in Jesus or only in Taara.).

«Во-первых, Таара – это бог эстонцев. Потом у нас появились люди, верующие в Иисуса Христа. У них были свои истории. Те, кто верил в Иисуса Христа, воевали с теми, у кого был любимый бог Таара. Они даже убивали друг друга. Но вот я, например, верю в обоих, – рассказывает мама. – Есть люди, которые верят только в Иисуса Христа, а у других есть свой бог – Таара».

(First, Taara is the god of Estonians. Then people who believed in Jesus Christ came here. They had their stories. Those who believed in Jesus Christ fought those who had their beloved god, Taara. They even killed each other. But I, for example, believe in both, tells Mom. – Some people believe only in Jesus Christ, and others have their own god, Taara.)

The comparative analysis of both excerpts reveals that the Russian version emphasizes the significance of Taara, "the beloved god," in Estonian culture; this characteristic is absent from the original text, which employs the approaches of foreignization and exotization (Delabastita 1993). The fight between these believers is specifically described as a fight between Christians and pagans, a distinction not emphasized in the original text. Taara is depicted as a deity of particular significance to the Estonian people, thereby juxtaposing believers in Taara with Christianity, which supports the narrated images of Estonians as true pagans in other titles, as analyzed in 5.1.

Separate pages are dedicated to other important dates and events such as, for example, the Estonian public holidays under the title "Lipupäevad" / "Закон о флаге" (Days of the Flag / The Flag Act), referring to the laws of Estonia requiring the raising of the national flag on specific days[45], as well as to the Estonian government under the title "Kes otsustab asju? / Кто все решает?" ("Who decides everything?") describing the basic structure of the political elections in Estonia, etc. Special attention is paid to Estonia's independence and democratic regime, as well as to free elections in both versions. The limited power of the Estonian president is outlined (and, in the Russian translation, between Anechka and her mother respectively):

„Kui ma suureks saan, siis hakkan presidendiks", räägib Anna emmele ka oma plaanist. "Siis saan kõiki asju otsustada". –„Aga Anna, ega president ei otsustagi Eestis eriti palju asju. President on lihtsalt kena, et esindab Eestit."

[45] According to the Estonian Flag Act (Eesti lipu seadus), adopted on March 23, 2005.

«– Когда я вырасту, я стану президентом, – делится она своими планами с мамой. – И тогда всё буду решать сама.

– Анечка, но ведь президент Эстонии не так уж много и решает. Президент просто приятный человек и представляет Эстонию.»

("When I grow up, I will become a president," shares Anna her plans with her mom. "So I will decide everything by myself". "But Anna, the president of Estonia does not decide that much. He is just a nice person who represents Estonia.")

Estonia is represented as an average European country in both the Estonian and Russian versions, compared with its neighboring states, in terms of area. One of the key sections, "Meie Eesti" / "Наша Эстония" (Our Estonia), describes Estonia's borders and the countries surrounding it; however, the comparisons of the areas of other countries with Estonia provided in the children's book do not align with official geographical and territorial data[46]. The dialogue reveals the following:

„Kas Läti on väiksem kui Eesti?"

„Sama suur", ütleb emme. "Eestist väiksem on näiteks Island. See on üks pisike saar seal kaugel põhja pool".

„Aga Soome? Kas see on sama suur kui Eesti?"

„Soome on natuke suurem. Ja Rootsi ka".

„Aga Venemaa?"

„Venemaa on palju suurem! Väga paljud maailma maad on Eestist palju suuremad".

„Eesti on nagu mina, mõtleb Anna. Mina olen ka keskmine. Ja väga paljud inimesed on minust suuremad! Aga mõni on natuke pisem ka."

«– Латвия меньше Эстонии?

– Такая же, – отвечает мама. – Меньше Эстонии, например, Исландия. Это такой крохотный островок на севере.

– А Финляндия? Она такая же, как Эстония?

– Финляндия немного больше Эстонии. И Швеция тоже.

– А Россия?

– Россия намного больше! Многие страны на земле больше Эстонии!

«Эстония – она как я, – думает Анечка. – Я средняя. И очень много людей, кто больше меня! А есть кто поменьше».

("Is Latvia smaller than Estonia?" "The same size," says Mom. "Iceland, for example, is smaller than Estonia. It's a tiny island far to the north." "What about Finland? Is it the same size as Estonia?" Finland is a little bigger. And Sweden." "What about Russia?" "Russia is much bigger! Many countries in the world are much bigger than Estonia." Estonia is like me, Anna thinks. I'm also average. And many people are bigger than me! But some are a little smaller too.")

[46] The area of Estonia is 45,335 km²; the area of Latvia is 64,589 km²; the area of Island is 103,125 km²; the area of Finland is 337,000 km²; the area of Sweden is 449,964 km².

This excerpt from the Estonian and Russian versions demonstrates that the translation is literal, faithful to the source text that has not been modified, although the provided information is incorrect; the ethical issue associated with the possibility of modifying incorrect or inappropriate information in order to meet the expectations of the target culture remains a topic of scholarly discussion (Chesterman 2009; Chesterman 2020).

The comparative analysis of the two versions has shown that some sections of the original version are missing in the target version, namely "Paraadil" (At the parade), "Eestlase iseloom" (Estonian character), "Eestlase nägu" (Estonian face), "Meie Anna ja vana Anna" (Our Anna and old Anna), and "Sipelgad ja Siber" (Ants and Siberia) (Table 3). For example, the untranslated section "Paraadil" (At the parade) describes the celebrations of Estonian Independence Day, accompanied by photos from the military parade held at Vabaduse Square in Tallinn. The entire discussion regarding the military forces, the war, and the potential need for tanks to counter enemies allegedly from neighboring states has been omitted from the Russian translation.

> „Algul oli ainult Eestimaa, aga siis sündis Eesti riik. Ja kui Eesti riik sündis, oli sõda ka. Anna teab. lssi rääkis. „Aga miks seda sõda vaja oli?" päris Anna. „Sest vaenlane ei tahtnud, et Eestil oleks oma riik." Nii ütles issi tookord. Aga mis vaenlane? Anna uuris edasi. „Noh, naabrid, Eestil olid natuke kurjad naabrid", vastas issi. Miks need naabrid siis nii kurjad olid? Anna peab seda veel edasi uurima. Võibolla oli neil paha tuju, paha elu?
>
> Aga oli mis oli, täna on Eestil sünnipäev. Ja täna on paraad. Anna kõnnib koos issiga ja vaatab paraadi. Paraad tähendab seda, et püssidega mehed marsivad ja suured tankid sõidavad. Tankid on nagu autod, aga neil pole aknaid ja neil on ees suur toru. Sellest torust saab inimese pihta lasta. Anna teab seda, aga ta ei usu seda. Ja Anna teab, et tanke on vaja. Issi ütles nii, aga aru Anna sellest tegelikult ei saa. „Kas see on ikka hea mõte, et meil tankid on?" arutab ta.
>
> „No mõtle ise. Kui vaenlane tuleb, siis saab tankiga vaenlase pihta lasta." Nii ütleb Marta. Tema on juba kaks aastat koolis käinud. Tema teab igasuguseid asju. Aga võibolla ei tea Marta ka kõike. Anna katsub ikka ise mõelda. „lssi, aga äkki tuleb vaenlane just sellepärast, et ta saab vihaseks, et meil tankid on ja et me nendega uhkustame?"
>
> „Ära muretse" ütleb issi. „Ära üldse muretse!"
>
> Aga Anna ei oska ilma. Ta vaatab issi kukilt tanke ja muretseb. Äkki Eesti uhkustab liiga palju? Lasteaias küll ütleb kasvataja, et oma asjadega ei tohi uhkustada. Kas seda paraadi ikka on vaja? Äkki tulebki vaenlane, kui me niimoodi uhkustame? Siis saab paraad aga läbi ja nad kõnnivad läbi lume kodu poole. Seal ootab kook. Eesti sünnipäevakook."

("At the beginning, there was only Estonia, but then the Estonian state was born. And when the Estonian state was established, a war also broke out. Anna knows. Daddy told her.

"But why was this war necessary?" Anna asked. "Because the enemy didn't want Estonia to have its own state." That's what Dad said at the time. But what enemy? Anna asked further.

"Well, neighbors, Estonia had some bad neighbors," answered Dad. Why were the neighbors so bad then? Anna needs to investigate this further. Perhaps they were in a bad mood or had a difficult life? Whatever, today is Estonia's birthday. And today is the parade. Anna walks with her Dad and watches the parade. The parade means that the men are marching and big tanks are driving. Tanks are like cars, but they don't have windows, and they have a big pipe in front. This pipe can be used to shoot people. Anna knows this, but she doesn't believe it. And Anna knows that tanks are necessary. Dad says so, but Anna doesn't really understand it.

"Is that really a good idea that we have tanks?" she argues. "Well, think for yourself. If the enemy comes, we can shoot the tank at the enemy." So says Marta. She's been at school for two years already. She knows all sorts of things. But maybe Marta doesn't know everything either. Anna still tries to think for herself.

"Daddy, but maybe the enemy will come precisely because he gets angry that we have tanks and that we show off?"

"Don't worry," says Dad. "Don't worry at all!"

But Anna can't help it. She is sitting on her father's shoulders, worrying. Maybe Estonia is boasting too much? In kindergarten, the teacher says that you shouldn't boast about your things. Is this parade really necessary? Will the enemy come if we boast like this?

Then the parade is over, and they walk home through the snow. There's a cake waiting. An Estonian birthday cake.")

The other untranslated sections contain politically and culturally sensitive information allegedly not suitable for the Russophone children's audience of Estonia. The reprinted Russian version of the same book did not include the untranslated sections; however, both reprinted versions have been supplemented with new sections that are partially translated for the Russian version. These sections are marked in Table 3 with an asterisk (*).

Table 1. "Meie Eesti" / "Наша Эстония" sections in Estonian and Russian.

Estonian / English translation	Russian / English translation	Comments
Kes oli enne? / Who was before?	Что раньше… / What before…	In translation, the question has been rendered as a declarative sentence, with "who" replaced by "what"; the section is dedicated to the history of the land and the emergence of Estonia.
Paraadil /At the Parade		This section is dedicated to celebrating the Estonian military parade; it was not included in the Russian version.

Estonian / English translation	Russian / English translation	Comments
Eesti lipp ja laste lipp / Estonian flag and children's flag	Эстонский флаг и детский флаг / Estonian flag and children's flag	The direct translation of the section title does not reveal what a children's flag is, which is evident to Estonians but not to a Russian reader.
Lipupäevad / The days of the flag	Закон о флаге / The flag Act	The translation is oriented to the target culture, as the days when the flag is raised are public holidays, as stipulated in the Flag Act.
Kes otsustab asju? / Who makes decisions about things?	Кто все решает? / Who decides everything?	The section is dedicated to the Estonian political system.
Raha / Money	Деньги / Money	Attention is paid to the devalued money used in Estonia in the past, specifically Soviet rubles, and the transition from the krona to the euro.
Lydia Koidula raha / Money of Lydia Koidula	Деньги Лидии Койдулы / Money of Lydia Koidula	The section is dedicated to the memory of Lydia Koidula, whose portrait was on the old Estonian krona, the currency used before Estonia joined the Eurozone.
Aga Eesti puu? / and the Estonian tree?	А эстонское дерево? / And the Estonian tree?	The section discusses the search for Estonian national features and symbols.
Eesti kass / Estonian cat	Эстонская кошка / Estonian cat	The section discusses the search for Estonian national features and symbols.
Jaanipäev /	Иванов день. Яанипяев / Ivan's Day. Jaanipäev	Whereas it is the same day, in the Russian tradition, less attention and importance are paid and attributed to the celebration of it than in Estonian tradition; Jaanipäev, therefore, is one of the main pagan summer celebrations in Estonia, whereas Ivan's day in Russia is an outdated ancient rural tradition.
Eesti märk / an Estonian symbol	Символ Эстонии / Symbols of Estonia	The section describes Estonia's officially adopted symbols.

Estonian / English translation	Russian / English translation	Comments
Aga mammutid? /	А мамонты? / And mammoths?	The section is dedicated to prehistoric times and the disappearance of mammoths, which are believed to have inhabited the territory of Estonia.
Kuidas rahvad rändasid * / Wanderings of nations	Странствия народов * / Wanderings of nations	The section is dedicated to discussing past migration processes.
Vanad mustrid / Ancient patterns	Старинные узоры / Ancient patterns	The section reveals the symbolism and significance of Estonian patterns knitted in mittens.
Viies aastaaeg * / The fifth season	Пятое время года */ The fifth season	The section describes the spring flooding specific to the latitude.
Mida meie usume? / What do we believe in?	Во что мы верим? / What do we believe in?	The section is dedicated to people's beliefs in natural spirits, such as Taara, the god, and Christianity, as well as to their combination.
Eestlase iseloom / Estonian character		This section is dedicated to a discussion of an Estonian character, with references to popular narratives about the ancient and strong nation of singers; it was not included in the Russian version.
Eestlase nägu / Estonian face		This section speculates on what an Estonian should look like and what language they should speak; it was not included in the Russian version.
Õige eesti toit / True Estonian food	Настоящая эстонская еда / True Estonian food	This section is dedicated to the definition of the original Estonian food, which led to a discussion on original (kama) and borrowed recipes and products.
Vanasti / In ancient times	В прежние времена / In earlier times	The section refers to the conditions of rural life in the USSR, when children were required to work on collective farms.

Estonian / English translation	Russian / English translation	Comments
Vanasti ja ennevanasti / In ancient times and earlier	В старину / In ancient times	The section is dedicated to the lifestyle of ancient times, when people had to work much harder.
Sauna! / To the sauna! *	В баню! / To the sauna! *	The section explores the tradition of saunas in Estonia and the true essence of Estonian culture.
Meie Anna ja vana Anna / Our Anna and old Anna		This section tells the story of ancient Anna, the main character's great-great-great-grandmother, who was buried in the cemetery and lived in Estonia, which was part of the Russian Empire at the time; this information was not included in the Russian version.
Sipelgad ja Siber / Ants and Siberia		This section tells the story of Anna's ancestors, who had to hide in the forest and eat ants to avoid being sent to Siberia; this was not included in the Russian version.
Väga tähtis vanalinn / Very significant old town	Очень важный старый город / Very important old town	This section is dedicated to the most significant locations in Tallinn's Old Town, namely the Tall Hermann Tower, the Fat Margaret Tower, and the Old Toomas figure.
Laulame ja tantsime / We sing and dance	Поем и танцуем / We sing and dance	The section is dedicated to the tradition of signing festivals in Estonia.
Kui Eesti polnud vaba / When Estonia was not free		This section is dedicated to visiting Saaremaa and discussing the times when Estonia was not free, and Estonians could flee the country through Saaremaa; it was not included in the Russian version.

Estonian / English translation	Russian / English translation	Comments
Taasiseseisumispäev / The Day of the restoration of independence		This section is dedicated to the times of the USSR, when Estonians were refugees in their own country, and the restoration of the independent republic; it was not included in the Russian version.
Teletornis / In the TV tower		This section is dedicated to visiting Tallinn's TV tower and explaining how Finnish TV programs from the free world could be watched in the Soviet times in Estonia; it was not included in the Russian version.
Lähme metsa / Let's go to the forest *	На прогулке в лесу *	The section covers the tradition of picking berries in the forest.
Öösel metsas / In the forest at night *	Ночью в лесу / In the forest at night *	The section discusses the main hazards of the forest at night.
Maa all / Underground	Под землей / Underground	The section is dedicated to underground shale production and the excursion to the mine.
Meie Eesti / Our Estonia	Наша Эстония / Our Estonia	The section is dedicated to a comparison with neighboring countries, including Finland, Russia, Sweden, and Latvia.
Poed enne ja nüüd / Shops before and now	Как люди в старину ходили в магазин / How people went shopping in ancient times	In this section, shopping in Soviet times and shopping in contemporary supermarkets are juxtaposed, with brief information about the Maxima supermarket chain in Estonia.
This section was not included in the Estonian version	Поздравляем! / Congratulations!	Congratulations on completing all the assignments in the book.

The above-mentioned discrepancies between the original and Russian versions clearly indicate that extensive adaptation methods, including both foreignization and domestication approaches, as well as omissions of entire sections, were used for the target audience. It can be assumed that certain sections were not translated into Russian at the publisher's or the client's (Maxima store chain) decision, as such omissions required the use of the book's compositional layout and illustrations, which could not be done solely by the translator. At the same time, based on the analysis of both the Estonian and Russian versions, a certain inconsistency in the translation approach can be traced. Despite extensive modifications to the content, the translated book preserves the Estonian context, cultural codes, and attitudes, clearly conveying Estonian identity and the core images of Estonia(n-ness), including narratives of peasants, pagan beliefs, and Soviet occupation that is still described as one of the most traumatic experiences in Estonian history. Some information, including geographical data, was not properly verified in both versions.

The book is primarily intended for Russian-speaking children residing in Estonia who are already familiar with the Estonian context, traditions, realities, laws, and rules of conduct. The translation, despite some creative deviations offered by the translator, tends to rely mainly on the source text and transfer duplicate content; it contains the same information, illustrations, quizzes, and interactive tasks designed for a children's audience. The approach to domestication in translation is partial, as the name of the main character is changed to a Russian diminutive, but not the entire national and cultural context of the plot.

It can be assumed that the Russian version cannot be offered to any other representatives of the Russian-speaking diaspora worldwide, as a person not closely familiar with Estonian cultural features, history, and narratives cannot be considered a target reader of the book. Thus, the target culture of the translation is limited to the culture of Russophone residents of Estonia, as evidenced by the book's title, "Our Estonia."

5.4.2 "Meelis: ajalooline jutustus" / "Мээлис" by Enn Kippel is a novel for children and youth that has been republished in Estonian since 1941 and in Russian since 1964. Two visually identical Estonian and Russian versions, published by Ilo Kirjastus in 2005 and 2006, respectively, have been chosen for analysis. A. Tulik translated the text for Estgosizdat (the Estonian State Publisher of the USSR). The book comprehensively covers the historical events of the early 12th century, when the lands of Estonia were occupied by numerous enemies, including German knights, Danes, and Swedes. The novel gained recognition in the years following World War II, as the plot highlights the close cooperation and mutual support between the Estonians and Russians, who struggled together against the common enemy, the Germans. The book was first published in Estonian in 1941 by the Pedagogical Literature Publisher and is an adventure story, suitable for a general reader audience, as it can be concluded based on the syntax and vocabulary of the novel that features relatively short chapters and sentences and a logical narrative dedicated to the early years of the main character Meelis,

the son of Lembitu, the Estonian elder of the time. Whereas Lembitu was a real historical person, a respected elder of the land of Sakala who managed to unite Estonian settlements and perished in 1217, as mentioned, among other sources, in Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae, the character of Meelis was invented by the author. The plot's conflict tends to be a class confrontation rather than a national one, where positively depicted locals (Estonians) have to withstand the invasion of the Crusaders (Germans), making the entire story comprehensive, integral, and universal for any readership globally and, inter alia, complying with the Soviet ideology of a class struggle. The Russian version features some changes in the register to make the text more exoticized and foreignized, which is implemented by various methods, including using more sophisticated vocabulary, a higher style, and obsolete Slavonic words, idioms, historicisms, and archaisms, such as, for example, "милость" (mercy), "чуять" (to sense), "мудрствовать лукаво" (to use canning words), "роптать" (to repine), "булава" (mace), "городище" (settlement), etc.

The original Estonian version included some historicisms, e.g., *foogt*, *kivikook*, *leisikas*, *siil*, and *tuur*, which were accompanied by an explanatory note on the last page of the book, whereas the Russian translation lacks this vocabulary. The translated version, however, is supplemented with explanatory footnotes regarding some Estonian realities and toponyms of the time, e.g., *kihelkond*, Reval, and Tarbatu. The text of the Russian version, first published in 1964 for the USSR's general audience and republished in 2006 in Estonia, has not undergone any further stylistic adaptation.

Despite having used several creative solutions in translation in order to reflect the historical context, the translator precisely preserved the structure of the text, its tense of verbs, its tone of a heroic narrative, elevated style, choice of formal and respectful stylistics of speeches of Estonian characters and their allies, and purposefully negative stylistic marking of speeches of the invaders. The creative approaches to modifying the source text are represented in lexical, semantic, and syntactic transformations. For example, Meelis, having asked old Ivo about the German knights, notices:

> „Ise tulevad kurjusega kallale ja paluvad oma jumalalt halastust! <…> Kas nad sedasi teda ära ei vihasta?" (They themselves come to attack with evil and ask their god for mercy! <…> Don't they anger him in this way?)
>
> «Сами злые, нападают на других, а просят у своего Бога милости! Ведь они могут его прогневать!» (They are evil themselves, but they attack the others – and then they ask their god for mercy! Thus they can make him angry!)

The translation is marked with a syntax and grammar transformation: "tulevad kurjusega kallale" (they attack with evil) is translated as "сами злые, нападают на других" (they are evil themselves, but they attack the others), and the question mark is substituted with an exclamation to emphasize the resentment of the attacked.

Changes in vocabulary with a tendency to use archaisms in the Russian version are made to avoid word-for-word translation and to preserve the stylistics of the narrative:

> „Meie ei lahku siit paigast enne, kui te oma linnuseväravad meie ees avate!" <…> "Kui aga sina, Lembitu, lased seda alandliku südamega teha, siis kingime teile kõigile ja ka sinule elu, kui aga julged vastu panna, siis meie ei halasta…!" (We will not leave this place until you open your fortress gates to us!" <…> "But if you, Lembitu, allow this to be done with a humble heart, then we will grant you all your life, including yours, but if you dare to resist, then we will show no mercy…!)
>
> «Мы не уйдем отсюда, пока вы не откроете нам ворота своей крепости! И если ты, Лембиту, покоришься и по доброй воле впустишь нас, то мы даруем жизнь всем вам и тебе самому. Но если осмелишься сопротивляться – пощады не жди!» (We won't leave until you open the gates of your fortress! If you, Lembitu, surrender and let us in with your heart open, you and your people will stay alive! But if you resist, expect no mercy!)

In the translation, the sentence is divided into shorter fragments to convey the dialogue's screaming nature. "Kingime" is translated as "даруем," an archaic form that accentuates the archaic roots of the confrontation in the plot. Syntax transformations are widely used in direct speech, which, despite the use of archaisms, creates the context of live communication between the characters:

> „Lembitu, sa saadad meie poja meeletult hukka!" halab nüüd ema all linnuseõuel. „Naine, nüüd, kus rahvas on ümberringi otsa saamas, ära kurda üksnes oma poja pärast, vaid nuta siis juba nende kõikide eest!" lausub Lembitu järsult ning ruttab kantsi teisele servale. ("Lembitu, you are sending our son to his death!" the mother now wails in the castle courtyard. "Woman/wife, now that the people are running out all around, don't just complain about your son, but cry for all of them!" Lembitu says abruptly and rushes to the other edge of the citadel.)
>
> – Лембиту, ты обрекаешь на гибель нашего сына! – причитает мать внизу, во дворе.
> – Сейчас, когда столько народа гибнет вокруг, не следует тебе, жена, печалиться только об одном своем сыне. Коли оплакивать, так уж всех! – резко бросает Лембиту и спешит к другому краю укреплений.
>
> ("Lembitu, you are condemning our son to perdition!" the mother moans below, in the courtyard. "Now, when so many people are perishing around, you should not, wife, grieve only for your son. If we are going to cry, then cry for all of them!" Lembitu snaps and hurries to the other side of the fortifications.)

Similar examples of syntax transformations, especially in direct speech, can be detected throughout the text, i.e., the phrase by old man Ivo "Poiss, mis sa tahad teha?" is creatively translated as "Ты что это, парень, задумал?" ("Boy, what do you want to do?" Versus "What's on your mind, lad?").

In the above-mentioned excerpts, notably, archaic renditions are offered for "saadad <…> hukka" as "обрекаешь на гибель", where "гибель" (perdition) is an archaism compared to "смерть" (death), although neither of these words is used in Estonian; "meeletult" (insanely) is omitted for the Russian version. Among other archaisms, there are "обрекаешь", "печалиться", and "коли". This illustrates the general translating strategy chosen for the entire text.

Appeals to Germans are marked with derogation; for example, the German priest is addressed as "Laula, laula papp!", which is creatively translated as "Пой, длиннополый!" (Sing, you long coat!), where the idiomatic adjective "длиннополый" (the long coat) refers to the German priest's clothes and contains an element of disregard. However, for an Estonian reader, the quotation from the Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae is recognizable and expresses skepticism towards institutionalized Christianity, whereas for a Russian reader, such a connotation may not be as obvious. As an opposition to the enemies, a true Estonian character resisting the Christian knights, Meelis, is depicted as straightforward, brave, and courageous; in the Russian translation, these qualities are highlighted, i.e., "ta oli uhke ning paindumatu" is translated as "он был смелым и непреклонным" (brave and relentless).

Having explicitly referred to Estonia as land, in some cases, the translator deliberately simplifies and generalizes toponyms, following the approach of domestication and naturalization: the phrase "venelased ja tarbatlased" is translated as "русские и эстонцы" (here: "Russians and Tartu citizens" Versus "Russians and Estonians"), presumably for better adaptation for the Russian-speaking audience.

The original text contains 15 direct references to Estonia, Estonians, and the Estonian language; whereas the Russian version contains 25 such references to simplify the reading; for instance "emakeel", by default interpreted as the Estonian language in the original text, is referred to as "родная эстонская речь" (Estonian mother tongue) in the Russian translation; the people of Saaremaa are referred to as "островитяне" (the islanders). The text, however, is rich with references to other Estonian toponyms, e.g., Läänemaa, Harjumaa, thus naming the citizens of these "maakonds" as "сааремасцы, харьюмасцы, ляэнемасцы" (citizens of Saaremaa, Läänemaa, Harjumaa).

By the textual analysis, it can be concluded that, despite having all the necessary adaptations and moodificaitons, such as both foreignization and domestication, as well as permutaitons in the form of extensive footnote explanations for a Russian reader not closely familiar with the realities and events taking place in Estonia in the 12th-13th centuries as well as with the Estonian toponyms and names, the translation preserves and emphasizes the original national images of Estonia and Estonians, marking the distinguishable attributed qualities, e.g., the unity of people resisting the foreign invasion, the explicit confrontation between positive (local peasants) and negative (invaders) characters, as well as the relentless struggle of Estonians for preserving their own identities, traditions, beliefs, language (including the emphasis on the use of Estonian names as the Christianized Estonians were renamed). Adding to the Estonian recognizable features, the book contains descriptions of northern nature, especially harsh winters, snowy

forests, and scenes of bear hunting. In a number of cases, the Russian translation places a sharper emphasis on such national images, including the national trauma of the eventual enslavement of Estonians by the Germans.

5.4.3 "Vabadus ja armastus" / "Свобода и любовь: эстонские вариации" by Reet Kudu is a novel revealing events, relationships, and tendencies in Estonia in the early post-Soviet years. Kudu is one of the first women's voices in Estonian literature of the period of independence; the original title was published in 1994 in Estonia by Faatum and translated into Russian in 2009 by Boris Tuch to be published by the Estonian publisher Absurdum Art; the Russian text was earlier published as a journal version in *Kontinent* literary magazine (#112, 2002).

Kudu focuses on three main issues of contemporary independent Estonia: the locality and nationalism of a small nation, the determination of one's identity through these national principles and globally shared values, and the status of women in the new Estonian realities. The title of the book has been modified in translation as the initial title "Vabadus ja armastus" (Freedom and love) received an additional explanatory annex / "Свобода и любовь: эстонские вариации (Estonian variations), thus specifically referring to the Estonian realities.

Preserving the original present tense of the text, the translator, nevertheless, implements modifications in vocabulary and syntax in the text by making additions and omissions to the text:

> „Põgenemise saatjaks rongirataste mürin, kolksumine, piin. Kümme aastat on kuhugi kadunud. Ma olen oma endises paigas, koolilaua taga, ja pilk aknas. Keegi ei keela mind enam joonistamast." (The escape is accompanied by the roar of train wheels, the clatter, and the agony. Ten years have disappeared somewhere. I am in my old place, behind my school desk, and looking out the window. No one forbids me from drawing anymore.)
>
> «Мое бегство сопровождали стук вагонных колес, судороги, муки. Да, десяти лет словно и не бывало. Я снова дома, за своим школьным столом. И я не способна ни на что. Только глядеть в окно и рисовать». (My fleeing was accompanied by the clatter of train wheels, seizures, and torment. Yes, it was as if ten years had never happened. I was back home, at my school desk. And I was incapable of anything. Only looking out the window and drawing.)

According to the comparative analysis of the two fragments, it can be detected that the translator has modified the message semantically, i.e., here, "drawing" is the desired activity in the source text and the only available activity in the target text; the accompanying feel of despair is attributable only to the target text.

The conflict between the heroine and her mother in the original text is depicted with less emotional vocabulary and fewer exclamations; the target text, by contrast, features omissions and semantic modifications. Creative translational findings and multiple semantic modifications include "reibas nääklus" (a vivacious quarrel) as "бодрая склока", whereas the adjective "бодрый" in Russian is mostly applied to live creatures, meaning somebody lively and full of physical

energy. The repeated “ema, ema, ema, ema…” (mother, mother, mother, mother) at the end of the sentence, which creates a sense of deeper despair about the situation, is omitted in the target text. “Kohmab” (mumbles) is translated as “вздыхает” (sighs), whereas “nördinult” (indignantly) is translated as “в изумлении” (being amazed).

> Aga ma juba tunnen, et see lause on liiga masinlik ja ei anna mingit võimalust reipaks nääkluseks. Me mõlemad ütleme oma repliike hilinenult nagu kaks näitlejat, kes on oma vana rolliteksti ammu unustanud ega suudaks ka etteütleja kaasabil midagi usutavat korda saata. <…>
>
> „Neid pilte on müügiks igal juhul liiga vähe,” püüan ma äsja leitut meeleheitlikult endale säilitada.
>
> „Sada üheksakümmend üheksa ...” kohmab ema.
>
> „Mis?!” karjatan ma nördinult. Kuidas ma võisin ometi nii arvukalt joonistusi vorpida ja ise seda üldse mitte märgata. „Kus nad on? Ma tahan neid näha! Kohe! Ma pean neid nägema! Ema, sa pead neid mulle näitama. Ema, ema, ema, ema...”
>
> (But I already feel that this sentence is somewhat mechanical and does not allow a lively argument. We both say our lines late, as if we were two actresses who have long forgotten their old lines and could not play anything convincing even with the help of a prompter. <…>
>
> “There are very few of these pictures for sale anyway,” I say, desperately trying to keep what I have just found to myself.
>
> “One hundred and ninety-nine ...” my mother mumbles.
>
> “What?!” I shout indignantly. How could I have drawn so many drawings and not even noticed it myself? “Where are they? I want to see them! Now! I have to see them! Mom, you have to show them to me. Mother, mother, mother, mother…”)

> Я понимаю, что фраза эта не дает повода для бодрой склоки. Мы обе произносим положенные реплики с опозданием, как две актрисы, уже не способные сыграть нечто убедительное.
>
> — Хотя их все равно слишком мало, этих картин… — пытаюсь я как-то приглушить только что родившуюся во мне надежду.
>
> — Сто девяносто девять, — вздыхает мать.
>
> — Что?! — вскрикиваю я в изумлении. — Где они? Я хочу их видеть! Немедленно! Я должна их увидеть! Мама, ты должна показать мне их!
>
> (I understand that this phrase does not give rise to a lively squabble. We both say our lines belatedly, like two actresses who are no longer capable of playing anything convincing. “Although there are still too few of these pictures...” I try to somehow dampen the hope that has just been born in me. “One hundred and ninety-nine,” my mother sighs. “What?!” I scream in amazement. – Where are they? I want to see them! Immediately! I must see them! Mom, you must show them to me!)

The excessive use of exclamations not present in the source text features the entire target text, which, overall, creates an image of an overly emotional and unrestrained personality. The examples below demonstrate syntactic modifications as well as omissions; therefore, a calmer narrative tone of the source text is replaced

with a more outrageous tone in the target text, which, in translation, emphasizes the challenges faced by an average Estonian family during that time.

> Ainult sõge uhkus võis hetkeks panna unustama meie pere rahapuudust. Isa oli hankinud neljatoalise korteri just veidi enne seda, kui korteriüürid plahvatuslikult tõusid. Lisaks maksid nad kangelaslikult minu pealinna-korterit. Need mõlemad korterid olid olnud unelm. Isa rõõmustas alati, et tema polnud piisavalt kokkuhoidlik hoiuraamatule raha kogumaks.
>
> Only insane pride could make us forget for a moment about the lack of money in our family. Dad had bought a four-room apartment just before the rents soared. In addition, they heroically paid for my apartment in the capital. Both of those apartments had been a dream. Dad was always glad that he wasn't thrifty enough to save money in a savings account.
>
> Ведь нам постоянно не хватает денег! Отец сумел выбить четырехкомнатную квартиру как раз перед тем, как цены за жилье и коммунальные услуги взлетели до небес. К тому же все эти годы родители героически оплачивали и мою квартиру в Таллинне. Обе квартиры всегда были предметом их гордости, но на них уходит уйма денег! (Though we have always lacked money! Dad had managed to get the four-bedroom apartment right before the real estate and communal prices soared. In addition, my parents have heroically paid for my apartment in the capital for all these years. They have been always proud of both apartments but they have spent a fortune on them!)

The heroine's reflections regarding the role of Estonians are specifically valuable for the research as they reveal the feelings and attitudes of a typical representative, at the same time discovering the inner national conflict between publicly adopted and traditional behavior, expectations of conservative locals, and individual strive for self-fulfillment and the stigma of Otherness among one's compatriots, the feeling of being *in-betweenness* or Otherness comparable with runaway and search for identity motifs specific to many Russophone authors of Estonia (Table 2: 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18, 19, 20). Kudu's argument is that the survival of a small nation is possible through qualities such as submission, humility, and conservatism, which contradict those typically adopted in traditional national heroic narratives, including courage, dedication, and cooperation. Kudu's character is critical to both big and small nations, thereby revealing a tendency to think of oneself as part of the global community, not limited by nationally or locally adopted values.

> Suurrahvas alistab väikerahvaid sama loomusunniselt, nagu väikerahvas neid suurelisi põlgab. Neil hulgustel ei saanud olla õiget kodutunnet, sest nende kodumaa on liiga suur. Ei saanud olla õiget austust oma emakeele vastu, sest seda rääkisid liiga palju.
>
> Selleks, et üldse olla, tuli väikerahval olla alalhoidlik, püsiv, paikne. <…> Kodus vaadati sisse pikksilma suurendavast klaasist, mujal kaugusi vähendavast. Muidu oleks sünnimaa tundunud talumatult väike, hirmuäratavalt pisike. <…>

Sest suurim kultuur paigalpüsijate meelest oli – jumaldada ja kiita oma sünnimaad ja sünnikeelt, kõhklusteta! <…>

Ma olin tunnistatud sisserännanuks, ehkki mu arvel polnud veel ühtegi rännakut. Missugune väikerahva alalhoidlik ettenägelikkus! Nad tajusid vaistlikult heidutavat ja hädaohtlikku, sest eks vaenulik oli kõik, mis igipüsivaga ei sarnanenud.

Mina ei sarnanenud ja olin seepärast väga õnnetu. Olin nii õnnetu, et väsisin õnnetu olemast ja muutusin täiesti tundetuks, nüriks, ilmetuks.

A great nation subjugates small nations as naturally as a small nation despises the greater one. These vagabonds cannot have a true sense of home because their homeland is too big. They could not truly respect their native language because it is spoken everywhere.

To exist at all, the small nation had to be conservative, permanent, and stationary. <…> At home, people looked in through a magnifying glass, in other places, through a minifying glass. Otherwise, the motherland would have seemed unbearably small, terrifyingly tiny. <…> The greatest culture, in the opinion of these homebodies, was to adore and praise their native land and native language, without hesitation! <…>

I was considered an immigrant, although I had not yet traveled a single day. What conservative foresight of the small nation! They instinctively perceived this as discouraging and dangerous because everything that did not resemble the eternal order was hostile.

I didn't look like that and was therefore very unhappy. I was so unhappy that I got tired of being unhappy and became completely insensitive, dull, and expressionless.)

Великий народ завоевывает малые народы с такой же естественностью, с какой малый народ боится многочисленности народа великого. У таких гигантских масс не может быть настоящего чувства родного дома: их родина чересчур велика. Не может быть истинного уважения к родному языку, так как на нем говорят слишком многие.

Чтобы выжить, малому народу приходится быть сдержанным, стойким, оседлым. <…> Дома на мир смотрели в увеличительное стекло подзорной трубы, за пределами дома — в уменьшающее. Иначе родина показалась бы устрашающе малой, невыносимо крошечной. <…> Ибо для эстонских домоседов величайшая культура состояла в том, чтобы всегда хвалить свою родину и родной язык — без колебаний! <…>

Меня считали приблудной, хотя пока что я ни разу не странствовала. Какая проницательность кроется в малом народе! Они нутром чуяли во мне что-то непривычное и опасное, ибо все выбивающееся из навсегда заведенного порядка — враждебно.

Я была непохожей — и оттого очень несчастной. Настолько несчастной, что устала от этого своего несчастья и стала совершенно бесчувственной, угрюмой, безликой. (A great nation conquers small nations as naturally as a small nation fears the great nation's numbers. Such gigantic masses cannot have a true sense of home: their homeland is too big. There can be no true respect for one's native language since too many people speak it.

To survive, a small nation must be reserved, steadfast, and stable. <…> At home, the world was viewed through the magnifying glass of a telescope, outside the home, through a minifying glass. Otherwise, the homeland would seem terrifyingly small, unbearably tiny. <…> For the Estonian homebodies, the greatest culture is to always praise their homeland and native language, without hesitation! <…>

I was considered a stray, although I had never wandered before. What insight is hidden in a small nation? They sensed something unusual and dangerous in me because everything that stood out from the established order was hostile. I was different – and therefore very unhappy. So unhappy that I got tired of this misfortune and became completely insensitive, sullen, and faceless.)

In the search for identity, Kudu adopts the features of her Estonia(nness) only through comparison with other ex-Soviet nationalities in Moscow. A more emotional tone, due to using semantic and syntactic modifications, additions, and added exclamations, is introduced in the target text. Among other examples of translation of idioms and wordplays, "pugeja" (toady) is translated as "проныра" (wriggler, suck up), "võõrkeelne" (someone speaking a foreign language, a foreigner) is translated using an archaic and derogatory equivalent "инородец" (nonnative, outsider); the last sentence is supplemented with "в конце концов" to mark a more indignant tone.

Eestimaa väikelinnas tundus kõik selge olevat: eestikeelseid nimetati eestlasteks, venekeelseid okupantideks. Ei mingit arutamise, heietamise, õigustamise ja päritolu otsimise vaeva. Esimesest kuuldavale toodud sõnast alates oli minu emale kõik selge: puhta eesti keelega on oma, aktsendiga eesti keel annab märku pugejast, venekeelne on ülbe ja viisakusetu ja kuritegelik ja niisuguselt võivat kõike oodata. Mida just, seda ema ei teadnud, sest tema ei jäänud küll kunagi mõne võõrkeelsega ülearu pikalt heietama. Eneseväärikust peab ikka omal maal olema! (In a small town in Estonia, everything seemed clear: Estonian speakers were called Estonians, Russian speakers were called occupants. No discussion, criticism, justification, or searching for causes. From the first word uttered, everything was clear to my mother: pure Estonian is one's own, accented Estonian signals a creep, Russian speakers are arrogant and impolite and criminal, and these people are capable of anything. What exactly, my mother didn't know, because she never wasted her time communicating with a foreigner. One must have self-respect in one's own country!)

В маленьком эстонском городке все казалось таким ясным: эстоноязычные назывались эстонцами, русскоязычные — оккупантами. Никаких попыток вдуматься, поговорить по душам, оправдать, узнать происхождение. Моей матери все становилось ясно с первых услышанных слов: кто говорит на чистом эстонском языке — тот свой; эстонский с акцентом выдает проныру; говорящий по-русски заносчив, бесцеремонен и даже преступен — от такого всего можно ожидать. Чего именно, мать не знала и знать не хотела — не хватало еще точить лясы с инородцем! На своей земле мы, в конце концов, имеем право на чувство собственного достоинства!

(In a small Estonian town, everything seemed so clear: Estonian speakers were called Estonians, Russian speakers were called occupants. No attempts to think about it, have a heart-to-heart talk, justify it, or find out the causes. Everything became clear to my mother from the first words she heard: whoever speaks pure Estonian is one of our people; Estonian with an accent is a sneak; a Russian speaker is arrogant, unceremonious, and even criminal – anything can be expected from such people. What exactly, my mother did not know and did not want to know: the last thing she needed was to chat with a foreigner! In our own land, we, after all, have the right to a sense of self-respect!)

Embracing Otherness on a larger scale and accepting diversity as a norm helps the main character recognize the distinguishing features of the Estonian nation and its culture that have conditioned national survival. At the same time, the author elevates Estonia(nness) to a higher level, considering herself no longer an alien in Estonia or in post-Soviet countries but an integral part of European and global society, where being Other is a right rather than a disadvantage.

For the imagological analysis, one of the most important paragraphs of the book was translated with modifications of a rather explanatory nature, thereby extending the paragraph. A given unattractive quality transformed into larger unattractiveness, that in the Estonian version is expressed via the syntactic structure "from (noun) – to" (vaoshoitus kuni ilmetuseni, suhtlemisvaegus kuni tuimuseni, eneseväärikus kuni nõmeduseni, eneseuhkus kuni upsakuseni), in the Russian version is described literally as a quality that can be easily turned into something else, emphasized with new adjectives (осторожность в общении до полной нелюдимости).

Ja alles Moskva õpin ma tõeliselt hindama oma väikese rahva ainulaadset visadust esivanemate haruldase kultuuri säilitajana. Meid on aga paraku päästnud just need omadused, mis inimest eriti kütkestavaks ei tee – vaoshoitus kuni ilmetuseni, suhtlemisvaegus kuni tuimuseni, eneseväärikus kuni nõmeduseni, eneseuhkus kuni upsakuseni. (And only in Moscow, I truly learn to appreciate the noble perseverance of my small people as preservers of the rare culture of their ancestors. Unfortunately, we have been saved by the very qualities that do not make a person particularly attractive: restraint to the point of facelessness, to a lack of communication that leads to indifference, self-esteem that borders on ignorance, and self-pride that devolves into arrogance.)

Только в Москве я по-настоящему начинаю ценить единственное в своем роде упорство моего маленького народа в сохранении удивительной культуры предков. Но, к сожалению, эстонцев спасают именно те качества, которые не слишком красят человека, — сдержанность до полной безликости, осторожность в общении до полной нелюдимости, чувство собственного достоинства, переходящее в чванство, гордость, которая легко становится гордыней.

(Only in Moscow do I truly begin to appreciate the unique tenacity of my small nation in preserving the fantastic culture of its ancestors. But unfortunately, Es-

> tonians are saved by precisely those qualities that do not make a person specifically attractive – restraint to the point of complete facelessness, caution in communication to the point of complete unsociability, a sense of self-worth that turns into self-assumption, and pride that easily becomes arrogance.)

The transformation of the heroine's vision of the world and Estonia's place in it reveals the idea of seeing the entire world as a homeland, based on rejecting the preservation of particular qualities considered distinctly national and opting for greater flexibility in communicating with other cultures. Therefore, the concept of "home" is no longer associated with a particular geographical location in Estonia. This refers to the author's vision of "vabadus" (freedom) in various aspects, including freedom of choice and movement; the freedom of an Estonian woman to choose partners without being constrained by traditions and local conservatism; and the freedom of art and self-fulfillment.

> Ma sõidan kodust koju. Lendan, ei saa lendamata. Ja sarnaselt rändlinnuga ei suuda oma kodutunde ümber ehitada kindlaid tarasid, müüre, okastraate, tähtedeni kõrguvaid piiripunkte.
>
> (I travel from home to home. I fly, I can't stop flying. And like a migratory bird, I can't build solid fences, walls, barbed wire, border posts that reach up to the stars around my sense of home.)
> Я еду из дому домой. Лечу. Я не могу не летать. И, подобно перелетной птице, я не могу перестроить свое ощущение дома в стены, крепости, колючую проволоку, высящиеся до небес пограничные заставы.
>
> (I am going home from home. I am flying. I cannot help but fly. And, like a migratory bird, I cannot rebuild my sense of home into walls, fortresses, barbed wire, border outposts towering to the sky.)

The translation of Kudu's novel features multiple syntactic, semantic, structural, and vocabulary modifications and various approaches to translating idioms and connotations, as well as sporadic omissions and additions that, in a number of cases, assist in transferring the author's message but, in other cases, deviate from the concepts as stipulated in the source language. The target text can be considered more expressive, emotional, and illogical compared to the source text, which emphasizes the impulsivity of the heroine and, at the same time, blurs the main logic of the discussion dedicated to such matters as the search for self-identity, place, and role of Estonians on a global scale, and the voice of women in Estonian literature. To what extent such modifications were implemented based on a sole decision of the translator and to what extent they reflect the generally adopted practices of translation into Russian can be a topic of further investigation.

Core images of Estonia(nness) identified in the Estonian-Russian translation flow

Overall, the images of Estonianness in the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 are unevenly and sporadically distributed in the texts, depending on the genre and historical period covered. The basic image of Estonian is a root image of a peasant (a son of a peasant, more rarely a daughter) copied throughout Estonian literature, from the fairytales of early Estonian classics of the 19th century such as Jakobson, Kreutzwald, and Vilde, to classic novels by Gailit, Liiv, Luts, Kross, Ristikivi, Tammsaare, and rethought in contemporary prose by Afanasjev, Käsper, Kivirähk, Valton, and Veidemann (Table 1: 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 28, 33, 42, 44, 48, 64, 67, 74, 81, 83, 87, 91, 104, 114). This is the core image in both classic and contemporary literature, as well as the core concept of biographies of Estonian authors (Liiv, Luts, Käsper, Ristikivi, Tammsaare, Valton, Veidemann, and others). In most cases, this image is positive, reflecting qualities such as hard work, modesty, and rationality. Rationality can be traced as one of the fundamental virtues in Estonian narratives, encompassing accuracy, punctuality, and fairness in communication with others, nature, and the creatures of the afterworld.

Estonia is considered a homeland by both Estonian and Russian-speaking authors; however, whereas for Russophones Estonian nature is a source of inspiration and contemplation, which is revealed in detailed descriptions of the change of seasons, warm summers and harsh winters, scents of flowers and pines, lakes and rivers, as well as morose solemnity of the stone coast of the Baltic sea (Table 2:), for Estonians, nature is the integral part of their existence, which reveals ancient paganism and intrinsic interconnections of rural Estonia with all-mighty natural forces (Table 1: 2, 4, 6, 7, 16, 58, 64, 65, 77, 81, 83, 94, 99, 104, 107, 115, 116). relationships. Non-utilitarian and spiritual relationships shape an Estonian's view of nature; therefore, nature is not solely a resource for survival. To an Estonian, nature is a healer, an asylum, and a secret, magical helper that ensures the survival of both the individual and the nation when threatened by external enemies, in both ancient times and now, with the Estonian forest serving as the primary refuge.

Two national traumas have been processed in the translated Estonian literature, referring to German dominance until the end of the 19th century and the period of Soviet occupation. The national resistance to the German invasion in the 12–13th centuries is overall described in heroic narratives (Table 1: 17, 27, 28, 30, 55, 56, 93); however, the narratives related to the events after the eventual defeat of Estonians, their enslavement, and forced Christianization maintain the image of Estonians as victims; the same victimization pattern can be traced in the titles dedicated to the events of the Soviet occupation (Table 1: 13, 15, 46, 48, 54, 63, 79, 81, 83, 89, 90), although some classic and contemporary authors, e.g. Afanasjev, Kivirähk, and Kross, explicitly questioned the image of an Estonian as a victim (Table 1: 14, 33, 52, 91). Notably, neither period is covered in the Russophone literature of Estonia.

The individualities of Estonian literary characters and elaboration of less generalized images are specific to late Soviet literature and titles published after the restoration of Estonian independence, which paved the way to a deeper discussion regarding the place and role of Estonia, its political development, its attributes of Europeanness, and its belonging to the global community (Table 1: 31, 53, 71, 71, 96). The specific "Russian issue" in Estonia is a shared topic widely discussed by Estonian and Russian authors (Table 1: 12, 14, 24, 29, 32, 36, 37, 40, 45, 59, 66, 90, 97, 108); in Russian titles, however, the explicit motif of marginalization and loss of identity or an attempt to combine and embrace double identities can be traced (Table 2: 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). The images of Estonians of the period of restored independence since 1991 are most diverse and contradictory, which is presumably caused by the acute rise of literary production and translation and the lifting of censorship: open discussion of politics and politicians, women's voices speaking about relationships and sexuality, marginalized elements, criminals, travelers, and philosophers.

Whereas the early poetry of Estonia (Table 1: 2, 4, 6, 7, 62, 68) obtained political and ideological functions, contemporary Estonian and Russophone poetry share European poetic styles and stylistics: in both cases, these are mostly free-verse impressionism (Table 1: 49, 78, 92, 101, 116; Table 2: 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 14, 15).

Children's literature primarily serves both educational and entertaining purposes, familiarizing the Russophone children's audience in Estonia with local traditions, to a certain extent, history, and culture; otherwise, children's literature may not contain any national images or references to Estonia(nness), relying instead on imaginary creatures.

CONCLUSION. THE ROLE AND PLACE OF THE ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN TRANSLATION FLOW AND PERSPECTIVES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

This study aimed to obtain comprehensive answers to four research questions listed in Chapter 1 (see 1.5), which are:

1. **What are the characteristics (genres, authors, and the place on the hierarchical map of global cultural exchange) of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023?**
2. **Who are the main actors in the translation networks, and how do they interrelate?**
3. **Which (complex and/or simplified) images of Estonia(nness) (qualities, characters, reputations, narratives) of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 are disseminated through the translated novels and contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy?**
4. **To what extent do the images of Estonia(nness) distributed through literary translation correspond with the stereotyped images in Russian literature, including literature produced in Estonia?**

The research encompassed sociological and imagological data collection and provided exploratory and descriptive, rather than explanatory, information on Estonian-Russian translation flows, thereby answering the RQs. The first phase of sociological research focused on gathering primary data on titles, authors, genres, translators, publishers, locations, and years of publication to compile two corpora for further research: the corpus of Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023 and the corpus of original Russian literary titles published in Estonia from 1991 to 2023. In the second phase, the collected data were processed to determine the most active actors in the flow, using both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Following this, some of the most active actors, including publishers, authors, and translators, were interviewed. Through the interviews, detailed information was revealed on the translation policies adopted by the actors, the structure of the translation network, approaches to translation, translators' statuses, and the overall dynamics of the flow.

The imagological analysis of the flow included the selection of imagologically relevant titles referring to Estonia and/or Estonianness, as well as the imagological analysis of metatexts, primarily peritexts, such as forewords, afterwords, footnotes, commentaries, and covers. The findings were compared with images of Estonia(nness) as retrieved from Russian literature in Russia and Estonia, as well as Russian travel guides (see 1.4).

The answers to the research questions reveal multifaceted sociological and imagological features of the Estonian-Russian translation flow as follows:

1. **What are the characteristics (genres, authors, and the place on the hierarchical map of global cultural exchange) of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023?**

The research under Chapters 3 and 4 aimed at exploring and tracing the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 and combined mixed approaches, including the Bourdieusian theory of cultural capital exchange applied to the field of translation, the Actor-Network Theory suggested by Latour (2005) that proved to be useful for several investigations in translation studies in order to register the dynamics and identify the most significant actors of the flow, and the Social Systems Theory elaborated by Luhmann (2022) that facilitated observation of translation and differentiation of the functions and functionalities of the actors involved as suggested by Hermans (1997, 1999) and Tyulenev (2010; 2012; 2014). Therefore, the results of this research, based on the processed quantitative and qualitative data, explore the form of capital exchange and the scope of such exchange, whether intranational or international; the main actors involved and the role of translation agency; the nature and structure of intercommunication of the actors and the principles of network building; and the basic functions attributed to the actors of the translation flow.

In the hierarchical map of international cultural exchange, at the macro level (van Es and Heilbron, 2015), the Estonian-Russian translation flow from 1991 to 2023 remained the leading translation flow from Estonian and the main tool for promoting Estonian literary capital (Siseykina 2023), with the primary goal to distribute the cultural capital of Estonia among Russian readers in Estonia, Russia, and worldwide. On a global scale, Estonian literature may be considered peripheral, with overall book production fluctuating between 15 and 30 books per year since 2007, within its largest translation flow into Russian, as shown in Diagrams 2 and 3 in Chapter 3. For comparison, the Russian-Estonian translation flow for approximately the same period comprised 649 titles from 1991 to 2021 (Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022), and, according to Index Translationum, the Russian-English literary translation flow for the period from 1991 to 2023 reached 1223 titles. Translations from Estonian, as a peripheral language, into central and semi-central languages, such as Russian, are crucial for cultural transfer and for gaining better visibility among other cultures, which has been important for Estonian society and the Estonian state.

The generation and formation of the subfield of the Estonian-Russian translations has been conditioned by historical, political, and demographic changes of the 20th century, specifically by the significant influx of Russian-speaking residents after the 1940s and further on during the years of Soviet occupation, and the necessity to integrate such residents after Estonian restoration of independence in 1991, when the number of such residents had reached a third of the total population of Estonia (Siseykina and van Doorslaer 2022).

The dynamics of Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023 partially align with the development dynamics of a former Soviet Union republic transitioning to independence. As shown in diagrams 2–3 (Chapter 3), the drop in translated book production is registered in 1992, soon after the collapse of the USSR,

after which a gradual growth trend can be traced since 2007–2009, after Estonia joined the EU. The evolution of the translation flow has shown a dynamic that can best be traced through the elements of the ANT approach using the following examples: the re-establishment of the Estonian Republic was the main driver, as it provided a new niche for book production; joining the EU provided economic stability, that paved the way to the growth across all industries, including book production; and these are examples of the impact of non-human actors on the development of the translation flow. The abrupt drop in offline sales in physical book shops and the rapid growth of the level of online sales in 2020 was caused by COVID-2019 pandemics due to the spread of a virus, which is a non-human actor; cross-boundary transportation of printed books and the associated obstacles can be considered a non-human actor that affected the entire flow functioning, resulting in long-term Estonian-Russian cooperation between Aleksandra (Estonia) and Oktopus (Russia), thus demonstrating the flexibility and adaptability of publishers responding to external events. After the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, when cultural connections between the two states were terminated, making further collaboration with Russia-based counterparts impossible, the publishers reoriented to a different target audience: Russian-speaking diasporas worldwide. At the same time, the stability of the production of Estonian cultural goods and the multiple adopted patterns indicate a well-established, reproducible social system, driven by communication between, first and foremost, authors and readers, with publishers, editors, and translators involved as cultural mediators. Along with the political system, the structure of the literary field and publishing industry in Estonia has undergone drastic changes with the abandonment of the Soviet planned economy and the transition to the free market. Newly established local publishing houses aimed to earn both cultural and economic capital and meet the expectations of potential readers. When the translation flow had reached a relatively stable level, literary production expanded to new markets, including bookstores in Russia and worldwide, where Russian-speaking readers could access translated Estonian literature.

Out of the four main aspects (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007) conditioning the Estonian-Russian translation flow, which are political, economic, sociological, and cultural, the primary aspect has been political. Sociological and cultural aspects are also crucial, as they shape the selection and adaptation of titles for translation in accordance with the expectations of the target audience; at the same time, the translation flow mostly consists of texts that convey Estonian values, beliefs, and narratives. Due to the extensive system of subsidies, the economic capital-earning aspect is less important, and actors are mainly focused on cultural transfer. At the micro and meso levels, due to actors' multifunctionality and the importance of gaining symbolic capital, many of them, including Kotjuh, Melts, Skulskaja, and Valk, use their influence and recognizability in both source and target cultures to promote Estonian literature in translation and facilitate translations.

Subsidized translations, according to McMartin (2019), exemplified by the dissemination of Flemish literature with state support, are necessary to facilitate

the promotion of small literatures, a point relevant to the Estonian-Russian translation flow, which is subsidized by various state organizations. Such strategies adopted for the dissemination of Estonian cultural goods include not only financial support but also organizational activities, such as educational seminars, translator meetings, lectures, and festivals, and have proved successful, serving as a useful tool for both promoting Estonian cultural capital and involving new actors in translation. However, because translational activities mostly occur in Estonia, few Estonian-Russian translations were supported by the Traducta grant, which is primarily distributed among translators outside Estonia.

Overall, the pattern of the selection of literary works to be translated and published complies with the pattern of fiction in translation from the periphery outlined by van Es and Heilbron (2015), implying that literary works translated into a more central language (de Swaan 2001; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007), in this specific case, the Dutch literary works, have first enjoyed national success. Similarly, a significant portion of the translation flow comprises literary works by nationally recognized Estonian classic and contemporary authors (see above).

The dissemination strategies, however, can encounter legal and economic obstacles (Sapiro 2016), which is partially the case of the Estonian-Russian translation flows, as the physical cross-boundary movement of literary goods was often complicated due to legal and economic issues and, after 2022, became impossible for political, cultural, and ideological reasons.

The corpus data obtained from four databases is still indicative rather than exhaustive due to the incomplete and unstructured nature of the sources, a common issue when working with both big and small data focused on periods of political change and border shifts, as argued earlier by Roig-Sanz and Fólica (2021). The initial corpus analysis has revealed the main characteristics of the translation flow from 1991 to 2023: Estonian-Russian translations have been predominantly produced and published in Estonia (82% of all translations), largely due to the joint efforts of Estonia-based publishers and translators, and involved mainly small-scale publishers. At the meso level, Estonian publishers, although initially oriented toward the local Russian-speaking community, invested significant effort in establishing and maintaining business relationships with Russian publishers and periodicals, thereby building cultural connections and facilitating the further promotion of Estonian cultural capital. At the micro level, the Estonian-Russian translation network is an irregular, dynamically evolving, and open system established after the collapse of the USSR, based on the Soviet legacy of book translation and production, on the one side, and on the translation habitus adopted among the alums of the department of Russian Literature at the State University of Tartu in the USSR (now the University of Tartu). It is a system built on ongoing, interwoven human relationships, in which actors are tightly yet sporadically interconnected (Risku, Rogl, and Pein-Weber 2016).

According to the corpus analysis in Chapter 3, the leading genre of the translation flow is children's literature (53% of all translations), novels take the second place in the flow (22%), poetry takes the third place (8%), and short stories take the fourth place (7%); the shares of other genres, including memoirs, essays,

autobiographies, travelogues, plays, and anthologies, does not exceed 3% per each.

Table 1. Genres of the Estonian-Russian translation flow

Genres	Share in the translation flow
Children's literature	53%
Novels	22%
Poetry	8%
Short stories	7%
Other	10%

Whereas in the Soviet period, the leading genre of Estonian-Russian translation flow was novels (Siseykina 2023), the predominance of the genre of children's literature after 1991 is a result of the drastic changes in the political situation, restoration of Estonian independence, adoption of the Language Act and the citizenship Act, and, consequently, the growing demand for Estonian literature in Russian or bilingual editions from Russian-speaking residents of Estonia planning to integrate into the newly established Estonian society. Actors such as KPD, Aleksandra, and Avenarius publishers, among others, recognized the trend and elaborated new translation policies, making reasonable efforts to meet the expectations of Russian-speaking residents. Children's literature has proven to be the most suitable genre for language learners, particularly at the beginner level, and can be beneficial for both children and adults seeking to enhance their linguistic skills and become familiar with a new culture. At the same time, the production of original Estonian contemporary children's literature is a well-developed business, and many Estonian authors, including professional dynasties (e.g., Eno Raud, Aino Pervik, and Piret Raud; Leelo Tungal and Maarja Kangro), dedicated themselves to this genre. In addition, since the period of Soviet occupation, the genre of children's literature has remained one of the most sophisticated tools to discuss complex matters using a simple language, i.e., allusions, wordplay, and creating a recognizable context in children's books, which helped to address and process specific social and political issues and partially relieve tension in society.

At the level of the national literary field (van Es and Heilbron 2015, 299), most translated authors of children's literature are primarily those who already earned their symbolic capital at the national level in different time periods: before 1918, during the Soviet era, and the most recognized contemporary authors. Eno Raud (1928–1996) has been the leading author of children's bestsellers translated into Russian and other languages, including English, Latvian, Lithuanian, Komi, Mari, Portuguese, Udmurt, and Ukrainian, such as "Naksitrallid" and "Sipsik", was first published in the 1970s in the USSR; since then, the Russian translations of these books have been reprinted 30 and 5 times, respectively. All translations into Russian were completed before 1991 and have been reprinted since then. In recent years, "Sipsik" and "Naksitrallid" were recognized as two of the most successful Estonian books in Russia, published by the large-scale Russian publisher

AST/Astrel and distributed in Russia. As large-scale publishers, however, mainly focus on earning economic capital through the sale of bestsellers (van Es and Heilbron 2015), the same pattern can be traced in the Estonian-Russian literary translation flows since 1991. Collaborations between small-scale Estonian and Russian publishers primarily maintain the exchange of cultural capital, which indicates the specifics of this translation flow, conditioned by the accessibility of translations to target readers in Estonia and Russia. Authors' names have been recognized mainly by Estonia-based Russian-speaking readers but introduced to a limited number of readers residing in Russia and worldwide due to the limited number of printed copies and insufficient promotional leverage in the target culture.

Other authors who have enjoyed national success and consecration have proven popular primarily among readers in Estonia and have not achieved national success in Russia, in contrast to Raud. Andrus Kivirähk (1970) is one of the most productive and recognized contemporary Estonian authors, with 27 books translated into Russian; the leading genre in Kivirähk's translations is children's literature (13 entries). Other modern authors working in the same genre are Leelo Tungal (1947), Aino Pervik (1932–2025), Edgar Valter (1929–2006), and Kristiina Kass (1970). The classic Estonian authors of children's literature are Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882) and Oskar Luts (1887–1953). These authors were translated into Russian after 1991 and initially offered to the Estonia-based readership; however, some publications were made accessible to Russia-based readers.

The second most popular genre is novels written by both classic and contemporary Estonian authors. The production of novels demonstrates recurrent fluctuations, ranging from one to eight books per year, while the production of poetry varies from one to five books per year, reaching its peak in 2018. This segment of the translation flow includes Karl Ristikivi (1912–1977), Andrus Kivirähk (see above), Anton Hansen Tammsaare (1878–1940), Leelo Tungal (see above), and Jaan Kross (1920–2007). Among translated authors are Estonian classics such as Eduard Bornhöhe (1862–1923), August Gailit (1891–1960), Enn Kippel (1901–1941), and contemporary writers such as Maimu Berg (1945), Viivi Luik (1946), Kalle Käsper (1952), Andrus Anvelt (1969), Mari Saat (1975), Enn Vetemaa (1936–2017), Mihkel Mutt (1953), Rein Raud (1961), and others.

Notably, the genre of novel in the Estonian-Russian translation flow encompasses several subgenres, i.e., heroic or epic novels, specific to classic authors such as Bornhöhe and Kippel; family sagas specific to both classic and contemporary authors such as Tammsaare, Ristikivi, and Käsper; discussions on modern business and politics initiated, among others, by Mutt and Anvelt; prose addressing matters of human existence by Vetemaa and Raud, and contemporary women's prose by Berg, Kudu, Luik, and Saat. The genre of Estonian novel also includes picaresque novels and criminal prose by both Estonian classics, such as Gailit (see above), and some contemporary authors, such as Anvelt (see above).

The third most popular genre in this translation flow is poetry, with the most published authors being Jaan Kaplinski (1941–2021), Marie Under (1883–1980),

Lydia Koidula (1843–1886), and Doris Kareva (1958). Some poetic publications were included in anthologies. Both classic and contemporary authors working in the genre of poetry were translated into Russian, e.g., Henrik Visnapuu (1890–1951), Juhan Liiv (1861–1913), Heiti Talvik (1904–1947), Kalju Lepik (1920–1999), Mats Traat (1936–2022), Lehte Hainsalu (1938), Juhan Viiding (1948–1995), Maarja Kangro (1973), Svetlan Semenenko (1938–2007), Jüri Talvet (1945), Kalle Käsper (1952), and others. The genre of poetry holds cultural significance in Estonia, as it represents a well-established literary tradition that dates back to the end of the 19th century, when poetry was the primary genre translated into Russian (Siseykina 2023). A specific translation project initiated by Jelena Skulskaja was dedicated exclusively to Estonian poetry and encompassed writings created by contemporary and Soviet-era authors. Alongside the Estonian poetic tradition dating back to the beginning of the 20th century, the style specific to contemporary Estonian authors, which includes non-rhyming verses, the alternation of language-specific long vowels, and impressionist themes, has been an intrinsic element of Estonianness, promoted through translation.

The short story genre, which accounts for 7% of the translation flow, encompasses children's stories, essays, and short novellas; many of these have been included in separate anthologies. The shares of other genres, such as plays, memoirs, travelogues, and essays, range from 1% to 3%. These genres exhibit dynamics with one to two books per year. Many contemporary authors have been working simultaneously in different genres; for example, apart from children's literature, Kivirähk has been writing plays, memoirs, and essays; Tungal has been published with novels and memoirs; Kangro with poetry and short stories; while Käsper has been working in the genres of novels, essays, and poetry. All these genres were included in various anthologies, suggesting the significance of anthologies to Estonian literature in translation.

The anthology genre, which comprises 2% of the translation flow, has been serving as a valuable tool of promotion, allowing for the introduction of various Estonian authors and genres, including classic and contemporary literature, as well as both the most recognized and new authors, to the Russian-speaking audience under a single cover; for example, this is how many Estonian authors of the 1960–2000s, e.g. Andrei Hvostov, Jan Kaus, Ülle Kauksi, Armin Kõomägi, Paul-Eerik Rummo, Peeter Sauter, and Arvi Siig, were introduced to the Russian readership. Some anthologies were published as special issues of Russia-based periodicals (e.g., *Oktyabr* and *Druzhba Narodov*), whereas others were compiled as separate thematic volumes, aiming to provide readers with a comprehensive and full-fledged overview of different genres of Estonian literature.

2. Who are the main actors in the translation networks, and how do they interrelate?

The Estonian-Russian translation network features polymorphism, tight interconnectivity, and interdependence of actors. The most essential actors in the translation network can be primarily divided by function: authors, translators, publishers, editors, as well as various state-supported funding institutions and

periodicals that promote cultural capital. The core translation network, which emerged around small-scale publishers in Estonia, has evolved into a stable yet open system of interconnected institutions and agencies, in which the functions of different actors are interchangeable, and new participants can join the flow at any time. Multifunctionality among authors, translators, publishers, and editors is common. Depending on the situation, publishers can function as editors, translators, or authors and therefore use their symbolic capital to further promote such translations. These premises condition the evolution of a translator-led network (Kung 2009) based on functional differentiation, in which translators are proactive and can independently select titles for translation, while authors and publishers facilitate the introduction of translated titles to the target audience. At the same time, a translation can be initiated by a publisher or externally ordered by a state, commercial, or non-governmental institution (see 4.1), and may receive financial or organizational support from a state or a private institution, thus demonstrating the elements of a subvention network. Periodicals provide additional and significant support for disseminating translated texts to a wide range of readers, as many texts are now accessible online worldwide.

Estonian literature translated into Russian did not have to comply with Soviet narratives and frameworks; at the same time, many Estonian classics were republished after 1991. Since 1991, actors such as publishers, authors, and translators have focused on promoting Estonian cultural capital containing indigenous cultural values, national beliefs, and narratives that primarily complied with the adopted narratives of Estonian society, intending to offer a Russian reader a chance to look at specific historical events from a different perspective and to explore totally new literature in the post-Soviet literary field.

The main actors initially involved in the production of translations, such as Kashina, Melts, and the Belobrovtsevs, had previous experience in the publishing industry and/or were professional Russian linguists with a strong command of Estonian and a comprehensive understanding of Estonian culture, traditions, and realities. The primary driving force behind the translation was the intention to provide cultural education for Russian speakers in Estonia, to continue the traditions of Estonian-Russian translations established by the Eesti Raamat publisher, which was active during the Soviet period, and to facilitate the integration of Russian residents in Estonia after the nation regained its independence. The publishers (for example, Kotjuh, Melts, and the Belobrovtsevs) often simultaneously functioned as translators and editors; at the same time, they involved other linguists, primarily alums of the Department of Russian Literature at the State University of Tartu in the 1970s and former students of Yuri Lotman and Zara Mints, in the process of Estonian-Russian translations. The translators have been closely interacting with authors, publishers, and editors, with the translation network core concentrated around the KPD, Aleksandra, Avenarius, Dialoog, and Varrak publishers.

Possessing agency, these actors independently select books for translation based on their taste, evaluation of relevance, marketability, and suitability/adaptability for the Russian audience. The publishing strategies aimed to promote the cultural

capital of Estonia among Russian speakers in Estonia, Russia, and worldwide, as translation and publishing activities are particularly supported by state institutions and NGOs in Estonia, namely the Estonian Cultural Endowment, the Integration Foundation, and city councils. Approximately 50% of the books published received funding from these institutions, which covered expenses ranging from 25% to 75% of the publishing costs; however, funding is distributed randomly and is not guaranteed. This scheme was tailored specifically for small-sized Estonian publishers with a single founder and a team of freelancers. Such publishers tended to collaborate with similar-sized counteragents in Russian (for example, see 4.2.2, Aleksandra-Oktopus joint projects). On the contrary, large-scale Russian publishers such as AST/Astrel, EKSMO, and Alpina Publisher did not collaborate with any Estonian counterparts and, in the absence of external funding, primarily aimed to earn economic capital by selling famous Estonian bestsellers, such as recurrent reprints of "Sipsik" and "Naksitrallid" by Eno Raud (see above).

Other important actors are Estonia- and Russia-based periodicals that allow collective publications, paving the way for cross-boundary translation flows. Publications in literary magazines such as *Druzhba narodov, Novy mir, Oktyabr*, or *Zvezda* have been the most straightforward and shortest way for multiple authors to reach a broad Russian-speaking audience in Russia and, with the development of their electronic versions, worldwide, as well as international (*Kreschatik, Novy zhurnal*) periodicals, whereas Estonian literary magazines (*Raduga*/*Vikerkaar, Tallinn*) have served as a tool of promotion in Estonian literary circles. The Russian version of the children's magazine *Täheke* was an Estonian periodical of particular importance for the Estonian-Russian translation flow, providing many Estonian authors with access to the Russian-speaking children's readership for many years. In some instances, the publication of Russian-language works by Estonian authors (for example, Andrei Ivanov, Larissa Joonas, Kalle-Käsper, and Gohar Markosjan-Käsper) in Russian literary magazines sparked further interest in Estonian literature as a distinct cultural phenomenon.

Among others, important actors in the translation network included public figures such as authors, poets, and journalists (for example, Belobrovtseva, Kotjuh, Melts, and Skulskaja), who considered translation a secondary activity and utilized their primary symbolic capital to promote such translations. Translation as a single activity is not specific to the Estonian-Russian translation flow and is a side activity among many publishers and both Estonian and Russian authors (Joonas, Kotjuh, Melts, P.I. Filimonov, Sigalova, Tuch, and others). It is a common situation that Estonian-Russian translation serves as an addition to the primary profession or an activity pursued after retirement (Maia Melts, Prohorova, Verhoustinskaja).

Some translators tend to work with a particular genre (e.g., Maia Melts and Verhoustinskaja for children's literature, Tuch for novels, Prohorova for short stories, and Tervonen for poetry) or with particular authors (e.g., Verhoustinskaja as a translator of Kivirähk). Still, no specific pattern or adopted translation policy by publishers or translators was identified during the research. The choice of texts

is random and, in some cases, conditioned not only by the popularity of a particular book or author but also by publishers' or translators' personal preferences. At the same time, however, there is a trend toward choosing Estonian bestselling authors first, for example, Kivirähk, Raud, and Pervik.

Whereas all publishers, authors, editors, and funding institutions have maintained the interconnection, functionally translators have remained more isolated from the publication processes, as they have had no direct access to funding, periodicals, or publishing markets; therefore, their possibilities are limited by the communication with publishers, authors, and editors.

Except for Russia-based actors Alexei Purin and Mikhail Jasnov, specified as translators of Käsper's poetry and Tungal's children's books, respectively, all other translators have been residing and operating in Estonia. Therefore, the general scheme of the Estonian-Russian translation network can be described as follows: authors make the initial contribution by creating texts, the translation process is then initiated by translators and/or publishers, and is supported by funding institutions; participation in various professional events in Estonia and Russia, such as book fairs, festivals, and presentations, is necessary in order to familiarize the general public with Estonian literature and boost sales; all translations are/were done in Estonia before or after 1991. The premises of the translation network as a social system were established during the Soviet period by Estonia-based educational institutions and publishers; the system is stable and open, capable of involving new participants, while aiming to produce and distribute Estonian cultural capital. The ultimate goal of Estonian-Russian translations is to promote Estonian literary goods among Russian-speaking readers in Estonia and worldwide.

3. Which (complex and/or simplified) images of Estonia(nness) (qualities, characters, reputations, narratives) of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 are disseminated through the translated novels and contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy?

Images of Estonia(nness) are disseminated through translated novels of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991. Contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy adopted by the actors in the translation flow involved the selection and translation of imagologically rich titles and the transfer of both complex and simplified tropes pertaining to the qualities and characteristics of a national character. These images were retrieved from both classic and contemporary texts by Afanasjev, Gailit, Jakobson, Kivirähk, Kreutzwald, Kross, Käsper, Liiv, Luts, Ristikivi, Tammsaare, Valton, Veidemann, and Vilde, and contain tropes culturally and historically associated with a core image of a peasant and/or peasantry, and the respective attributes and surroundings.

Since the 19th century, the Estonian peasant has been the main character in literature and, simultaneously, the main narrator, as the only point of view offered to the reader is that of the peasant. According to the historical context, the image tends to be relatively positive and genuine, often attributed a role as a Victim and, more rarely, as a Hero suffering from or opposing invaders of Estonian land, both

physically and spiritually, and refusing to be baptized. The image of the Estonian peasant, as a Self or auto-image, is often attributed with qualities such as open-heartedness, modesty, kindness, hard work, as well as rationalism, ambition, patriotism, and a desire for education and growth, which is underlined explicitly in children's books by Kreutzwald, Jakobson, and Luts. The specificity of the genre of children's literature, from the perspective of the transfer of national images and narratives, implies that young readers are provided with the earliest images of the world and the tools to understand it (O'Sullivan 2011).

Simplicity, often bordering on humility and poverty, has been considered a positive quality of the Estonian character that is also attributed to a set of similar qualities: "diligence, persistence, decisiveness, resourcefulness, bravery, honesty, generosity, love of freedom, and a pursuit of knowledge and wisdom" (see 5.1.1), with a tendency to fluctuate between actantial figures of a Friend and a Victim (Leerssen 2016, 9). Such positivity is constructed as an opposition to the negativity of Otherness, whereas the Other (hetero-image) can be both spiritual or natural forces and/or invaders, primarily Baltic Germans, including German landlords, judges and priests, i.e., the figures specific to the realities of the beginning and middle 19th century or earlier, and Russian tsarist authorities later on at the end of the 19th century, who were attributed with greed, cruelty, power, despotism, wealth, injustice, violence, and hypocrisy. Notably, the portrayals of Germans vary according to the time setting and the date of publication: these are predominantly negative in texts published and translated before and during the Soviet period, and shift towards neutrality or positivity after the Soviet period, being substituted by negative images of Soviet Russians in the texts published and translated after 1991, when, in conditions of independent republic, national literature started processing the trauma of the Soviet occupation. Overall, these two images of the Other, distributed across different timeframes, belong to the set of images of powerful nations attributed with ruthlessness, cruelty, and efficiency (Leerssen 2000), as juxtaposed with the positive image of the oppressed small Estonian nation, which provokes sympathy and solidarity.

In some cases, this opposition is represented as a class struggle comprehensible to a Russian reader of the Soviet period, aligned with the general Soviet discourse grounded in Marxist concepts. Being a Victim oppressed by Germans or tsarists, the spiritless and capitalist West, and/or a bourgeois society, the Estonian character acquires features familiar to the Russian reader, i.e., those of a fair worker and a sufferer, thus evoking a sense of solidarity and sympathy. At the same time, this crude juxtaposition of a positive Self and a negative Other is, in many cases, strictly nationalistic. Such simplistic national stereotyping was investigated by Afanasjev and Kivirähk in the texts of the 21st century (see Chapter 5), including Kivirähk's children's stories.

This core image of Estonian peasant, initial formation of which compiled with the period of national awakening in Estonia in the 19th century, has gradually undergone constant modification, if traced diachronically, from a simple image of a peasant male or, less often, a female from fairy tales by Kreutzwald and Jakobson to a more complex image of an Estonian character (Self, or auto-image)

with peasant roots. Along with the changing historical context, the image has been evolving and becoming more complex, obtaining individualistic features in the novels of Estonian classics active at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, namely by Luts, Ristikivi, and Tammsaare, who, registering the period of transition of Estonia from the German autonomy within the Russian Empire to the independent state, thus revealed the transition of their characters from simplistic and even trivial "good Estonian guys" to unique fictitious personalities juxtaposed not based on nationality but as carriers of sets of personal qualities, opinions, and attitudes and operating in a single national context; for example, Andres and Pearu in Tammsaare's "Tõde ja õigus", or Tali, Toots and Kiir in Luts' "Kevade", whose peasant origins, nevertheless, remain important for the authors revealing historical and political contexts. The same historical context is specific to the evolution of complex female characters in the novels of the same authors.

The literature of the Soviet and post-Soviet period defines the evolution and transformation of Estonian characters in the novels of Aru, Afanasjev, Berg, Käsper, Kivirähk, Kross, Luik, Traat, Tode, Tungal, Valton, and Veidemann; the complexity of plots is comparable with the complexity of characters, with the primary function to register historical events of the 20th century and individual trajectories of fictitious participants of those events. Overall, the Estonian characters of the Stalinist era fulfill the same function as those under German dominance and, by virtue of that function, tend to be Victims, with narratives of victimization in accordance with the historical context. On the contrary, in the late Soviet and post-Soviet contexts, characters in European literature have gradually become more independent, diverse, and universal, no longer defined solely by assigned national qualities. This sparks a new literary discussion about Estonians' self-identification and their potential self-classification as full-fledged Europeans or as a distinct people, rooted in their connection to Mother Nature, which defines their national character and draws on pre-Christian and pagan beliefs and lifestyles.

The narrative of the unique relationships between Estonians and their nature, including natural spirits and other magical helpers, is a distinct feature of all genres in the Estonian-Russian translation flow and encompasses all historical contexts, from Kreutzwald to Mikita and Kivirähk, and from Visnapuu to Ehin. This narrative is charged with a specific value and extremely positive characteristics. In Estonian literature, nature is not merely an object but a subject and a full-fledged actor in the plot; a lake or forest functions as an asylum from harsh contemporary realities, as seen in the novels by Kallas and Valton and in essays by Mikita. Due to this unique spiritual connection, Estonians are attributed with qualities of carriers of sacred knowledge in the material Western world. At the same time, inevitable fluctuations between Ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism are registered, as an opposing trend to depict Estonia as a progressive, Western, rapidly developing, and truly European country, a full-fledged member of the EU and NATO, can be observed in the novels by former contemporary politicians, such as Meri, Mutt, and Raik.

In the majority of cases, the Estonian village or farm as a specifically value-charged space serves as the initial point of departure for the narrative. It can be a venue in stories by Kreutzwald, Jakobson, or Gailit, or a starting point for an ambitious hero in novels by Luts, Ristikivi, Tammsaare, Vilde, and later Afanasjev, Berg, Raudvere, Kivirähk, Käsper, Veidemann, and others, that includes both historical and contemporary narratives and reflects the general trope of migration inspired by ambitions of a character or the need to flee, which is conditioned by the historical timeframes. In the novels covering the events of the 19th century, the trope of migration is associated with career ambitions of the main character and their desire to move to a city in search of better opportunities, whereas in the post-Soviet Estonian literature, the Second World War and the Soviet occupation condition the trend of Estonian emigration and the simultaneous influx of Russians depicted as the invasion of the Other. Consequently, in children's books that combine entertaining and educational functions, a focus is made on explaining and promoting national consciousness, specifically paying attention to both cultural features and officially adopted national historical narratives, as well as the national trauma of Soviet occupation (see 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4), and the unity of Estonians based on both the nationality and language as well as shared national values, such as culture, traditions, holidays, foods, and the national flag, is what juxtaposed to the unnamed and ominous neighboring Other. Overall, however, Estonian children's literature contains universal images of children and addresses universal problems, such as friendship, family, and animals, as noted in the interview with M. Melts (see 4.4.3).

As a GCS, Estonia is nevertheless not depicted as a single/or unified land. Particular spaces, charged with historical or political significance, are not directly associated with Estonians as a people or with Estonian culture, but rather serve as landmarks of past events. Tallinn, depending on the historical context, exhibits a mix of characteristics as a city built by the Danes, a symbol of medieval times, the center of the German bourgeoisie, and the capital of the Soviet republic. Tartu, with its contradictory character as both a cheerful and a morose student town, is an island of freedom in the tsarist, Stalinist, and late Soviet periods, primarily associated with the university, while Narva is the eastern outpost of Europe.

The entire Estonian-Russian translation flow has become more complex and imagologically richer after 1991, compared to the Soviet and pre-Soviet periods of literature production and translation. Overall, the most diverse set of topics, characters, narratives, and discussions within genres and subgenres is associated with the modern historical context, which can be an indicator of a well-developed, productive, and mature literary field at the national level.

4. **To what extent do the images of Estonia(nness) distributed through literary translation correspond with the stereotyped images in Russian literature, including literature produced in Estonia?**

The core national image of the Estonian peasant has been, to a certain extent, reflected in the Russian literature of the 19th-20th centuries and in Russian travel

guides. A set of conflicting qualities is attributed to the image of Estonian peasants, servants, and sailors, who are described as rude and uneducated aborigines, or, conversely, as neat, pious, accurate, diligent, religious, and hardworking people. In several 19th-century literary texts, Estonians are depicted as positive characters, juxtaposed with the cruel and ruthless German landlords who ruled the land at the time. The heroic image of Estonian villagers fighting for their land against German invaders was successfully appropriated by Soviet propaganda, which depicted Estonians as proletarian allies in the Marxist class struggle against forced Christianity and later the bourgeoisie, both of which were personified by the Germans. This can be partially explained by the historical context of the time, including the establishment of the Estonian state in 1918, after centuries of serfdom under German autonomy of the Russian Empire, and the defeat of the Germans in World War II, which significantly affected the national image of Germans as adopted in Russian literature. Naturally, in the Soviet discourse after 1945, the Germans were depicted as invaders, enemies, and fascists, whereas the nationalities of the Soviet Republics, in accordance with the official narrative of international friendship, were required to be portrayed positively, which aligns with the roles of Victims and Friends attributed to Estonian characters.

Synchronically, the image of Estonians as depicted in Russian literature of the late 19th and early 20th centuries remains primarily represented by that of Estonian villagers, peasants, and servants, who are secondary characters in plots. This image does not undergo further diachronic development in Soviet and post-Soviet Russian literature and obtains no complex features; there are few mentions of Estonians in the contemporary historical context, and they remain secondary characters in the literary texts by Dovlatov, Skulskaja, and Pogodina-Kuzmina. Whereas the image of Estonians in the historical contexts of the 12th and the 19th centuries as Friends and Victims under the German dominance can provoke the reader's sympathy, understanding, and condescension, the role of Victim is not attributed to the Estonians in the historical context of Stalinism, and the national trauma of Soviet occupation is not addressed by Russian literature. Although contemporary Russian literature has addressed the trauma of repressions and Stalinism, the narrative of the Soviet occupation remains specific to Estonian literature and is not widely adopted by both Russia- and Estonia-based Russian-speaking authors, indicating the radical differences between Estonia's and Russia's historical contexts and narratives.

Notably, no specific narrative of the sacred relationships between Estonians and nature, including secret forest spirits and magic helpers, perception of a forest as a church or an asylum, has been traced in Russian literature, in contrast to the widely adopted belief of the connection of Estonians and the wildlife in Estonian-Russian transitions; similarly, the perception of Estonians as the last pagans has not been largely supported by Russian-speaking authors; however, some Russian authors of the 19th and 20th centuries reported on pagan beliefs among Estonians. At the same time, multiple Russian prose and poetry authors, including Russian classics such as Annensky, Balmont, Fet, Korinfsky, Severyanin, Sluchevsky, and Viazemsky, dedicated their writings to the picturesque Estonian nature, its

dark forests, the solemn and ominous northern sea, omitting, at the same time, features of Estonia(nness) and the presence of Estonians and referring to Estonia as a northern Russian province or a western, often German, land. Diachronically, the attributed national dominance over the land has shifted from Germans to Russians over the 20th century and later.

Subsequently, Estonia, as a GCS, receives more attention and recognition in Russian literature and travel guides. As early as the late 19th century, Estonia was depicted as a foreign land, although it was appropriated and accessible due to its proximity to the former Russian capital, Saint Petersburg. Similar to the other Baltic republics, Estonia was perceived as a space not entirely under Soviet influence. The dissident ideas and rejection of Soviet ideology are specific to both the late Soviet literature produced in the USSR and in Russia, as well as to Estonian literature of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods; therefore, Estonia acquires attributes of a west-oriented, free, and more technologically developed space within the Soviet territory.

GCSs, such as Tartu, Tallinn, and Narva, are viewed differently by Russian speakers based in Russia and Estonia; none of these cities has been classified as an Estonian city. Tallinn, as a complex historical locus, has at different times been described as a Danish and Swedish city, a center of German trade and bourgeoisie, and the capital of an ex-Soviet republic, whereas in Estonian-Russian translations, its image is more diverse and contradictory, from a venue of medieval events to the technologically advanced and rapidly developing city of the independent state and the destination of labor migration, that provides newcomers with a wide range of career opportunities.

According to Russian authors of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries, including Avdeyeva, Bulgarin, Viskovatov, and Skulskaja, the brightest point of attraction has been the University of Tartu; however, it was depicted as a center of German science and later the center of Russian literature and culture, a symbol of the dissident movement in the late Soviet, or Yuri Lotman's period, and a locus of joyful free spirit, and a tourist destination. As a battlefield, Tartu is present only in Estonian literature.

Narva is a multifaceted locus in Russian literature, depicted as both a natural resort and a source of inspiration for Russian Impressionist poetry because of its dark, ominous beauty. The contemporary view of the city, however, portrays it as a post-Soviet and post-industrial, predominantly Russian-speaking area that is currently underdeveloped and in decline. The accounts of Narva by Estonian authors depict Narva as a site of medieval battles, and the events of World War II are not specific to Russian literature.

The specificity of Russian-speaking authors' perception of Estonia and Estonianness lies in their primary focus on determining their own role and identity, thus considering Estonia their homeland, the physical space to which they belong, and Russia as associated with their cultural and linguistic background. This leads to the multiple attempts to combine Estonian and Russian features in prose and poetry, namely by borrowing the specific phonetically-based approaches to the creation of vers libres, adopted, for example, by Joonas, Kotjuh, and Skulskaja,

working with motifs of lost identities within the geocultural space of Estonia, and creating imaginary spaces, as shown in the example of Põrgumaa, a mystic Estonian location developed by Ivanov in his novel "Театр ужасов" (The Horror Theater). The repeated tropes of in-betweenness, of being lost between two or more cultures as a consequence of forced migration, and of the elaboration of new literary styles based on the combination of Estonian, European, and Russian literary traditions are what mark the specificity of Russian literature in Estonia. Russian literature in Estonia adopted some aspects of Estonian culture, including the concepts of the sacrality of nature and impressionist styles in both prose and poetry.

Estonian poetry, including classic collections by Koidula, Liiv, Under, and Visnapuu, as well as contemporary poetry featuring non-rhyming, free-style verses that utilize alternations of long and overlong vowels, as borrowed from the Estonian language, has received no specific recognition outside Estonia.

Only specific children's books designed for Estonia-based Russian-speaking children feature imagologically relevant narratives and tropes; otherwise, in most cases, Estonian children's literature remains imagologically neutral and does not operate with national images and/or stereotypes, opting instead to create above-national imaginary characters and creatures, such as Sipsik and Naksitrallid. Some children's books by Kivirähk, however, address national stereotyping, as the author has used similar approaches to study images of Estonia(nness) across various genres, including his novels and short stories.

Despite some correspondence between images of Estonia(nness) contained in the Estonian-Russian translations from 1991 to 2023 and images of Estonia(n-ness) in Russian literature, certain discrepancies and contradictions exist. Apart from different historical contexts and narratives, these discrepancies can be explained by restricted cultural communication between Russia and Estonia due to the insufficiency of economic resources and promotional leverage that could support the dissemination of Estonian cultural capital among Russian audiences; the situation was even more aggravated after February 24, 2022, when the cultural collaboration between Estonia and Russia was terminated due to the Russian Federation's military aggression in Ukraine. At the same time, the low interest in literary goods from peripheral cultures, including the former Soviet republics, among the Russian audience, the absence of cultural ambassadors operating in Russia, and the inability to familiarize the Russian-speaking audience with fundamental Estonian cultural values and beliefs contribute to the deepening cultural divide, mutual misunderstanding, and disruption of cultural transfer.

Future studies based on information on Estonian-Russian translation may involve a comparative analysis of various translation flows from Estonian and their dynamics, mainly conditioned by political changes, as the trend of translations into Russian may gradually decline, whereas translations to other languages may grow significantly soon. In particular, it may be useful to examine the number of publications, authors, and genres within translations from Estonian into the hypercentral language, English, and the central languages, German and French,

to identify fundamental differences in the flows, including imagological and ideological content.

It is also important to draw on existing data using digital tools and to apply the comparative analysis methods of BTH, as suggested by Roig-Sanz and Fólica (2021); this may help better understand how Estonian cultural capital has been disseminated and ingrained in other cultures across different historical periods.

Using the collected primary and secondary data, research can be conducted from different perspectives to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and characteristics of translation flows, i.e., approaches such as cultural translation and polysystemic analysis of translations (Torop 1995), while considering the impact of ideologies and discourses. The results of empirical research can also be used for cultural, memory, and identity studies in Estonia.

Ongoing research on the perception of Estonian-translated literature by the target audience can be intensified; dividing by authors and genres can help better trace mechanisms of promotion and dissemination. In addition to overviews of readers' responses to some well-recognized books by Kivirähk and Mikita (Siseykina 2025), based on journalistic reviews, a more thorough investigation of the perception of Estonian translated literature in Estonia and worldwide, and recognition of Estonian authors among Russian-speaking readers, may help reveal attitudes and expectations of the target culture and elaborate new paths to promote Estonian cultural goods among the global readerships.

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SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

The Ph.D. thesis "Images of Estonian(nness) in Estonian-Russian literary translation flows since 1991" is dedicated to Estonian-Russian translations during this period, with the focus on sociological and imagological aspects of the flow, namely the role of Estonian-Russian translations and their place on the global map of translations, the form of capital transferred through translations, the translation policies applied, the structure and nature of translation network, its main actors and the basic principles of their communication, and the core images of Estonia(nness) transferred in the literary translation flows. The thesis answers four research questions, which are:

1. What are the characteristics (genres, authors, and the place on the hierarchical map of global cultural exchange) of the literary translation flows from Estonian into Russian in the period 1991–2023?
2. Who are the main actors in translation networks, and how do they interrelate?
3. Which (complex and/or simplified) images of Estonia(nness) (qualities, characters, reputations, narratives) of the Estonian-Russian translation flow since 1991 are disseminated through the translated novels and contemporary Estonian-Russian literary translation policy?
4. To what extent do the images of Estonianness distributed through literary translation correspond with the stereotyped images in Russian literature, including literature produced in Estonia?

Literature review encompasses approaches adopted in the sociology of translation, including the ideas of Bourdieu, Latour, and Luhmann adopted in translation studies, as well as the ideas of translation policy, translation flow, and translation network, embedding imagology in translation studies, and a brief overview of Estonian-Russian cultural exchange, which is crucial for the research. Titles by Russian authors containing images of Estonians in Russian literature across various eras are included in the literature review as imagologically relevant for comparison with core images of Estonia(nness) in translated Estonian literature.

For Estonian, as a peripheral language on the global map of translations, promoting its cultural capital worldwide, especially through translations into more central languages such as English, French, Spanish, German, and Russian, is a matter of great importance. Taking into account the history of Estonian-Russian translations, which dates back to the late 19th century, and given the geographical proximity and long-term social, political, and cultural relationships between the two nations, the Estonian-Russian literary translation flow has been the largest during the period from 1991 to 2023. The application of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in translation studies allows tracing the process in its dynamics, conditioned by market fluctuations and the rapidly changing global political and economic situation, and identifying the key actors that introduce changes into the flow. The social system Theory (SST) helps to observe and differentiate the functions of actors of the system.

The sociological research is based on two corpora that provided primary data on Estonian-Russian translations. The corpus data were collected using four databases: the databases of the Estonian Literature Center of translations (ELIC) from Estonian to other languages (estlit.ee) and the Estonian National Library (rara.ee, earlier nlib.ee), the UNESCO translation database Index Translationum, and the Estonian e-library catalog (ester.ee). According to the corpus data, 426 Estonian-Russian translations and 117 Russian titles by Estonia-based authors were published between 1991 and 2023. This list, however, is not exhaustive but rather indicative, as the databases used for the research remain inconsistent and incomplete, with some of them, e.g., ELIC, gradually being updated.

The leading genre of the translation flow is children's literature, which comprises 53%, the second most popular genre is novels (22%), and the third is poetry (8%), whereas other genres, i.e., anthologies, short stories, memoirs, essays, plays, and biographies, vary between 0.5% and 7%. The leading genres of the Russian corpus are novels and poetry, each at 42%, with short stories at 7%, and the other genres, such as essays, children's literature, and anthologies, varying between 1% and 3%.

The majority of the Estonian-Russian translations have been published in Estonia by Estonia-based actors (82%); the share of Russia-based publishers is 15%. Some titles were also published in Ukraine, Moldova, and Lithuania as a joint project; their share ranges from 0.5% to 1%. The leading publishers in Estonian engaged in Estonian-Russian translations are KPD, whose market share is 46%, Aleksandra (17%), Vene Entsüklopeedia (Eesti Kultuurikeskus Vene Entsüklopeedia) (9%), Kite (6%), Avita (5%), and Bri & Ko (5%). Among Russian publishers engaged in Estonian-Russian translations, the leading actors are AST/Astrel (29%), Alpina Publisher (21%), Nigma (10%), Rosmen (9%), Oktopus (5%), and EKSMO (3%). Notably, a significant share of actors promoting both Estonian-Russian translations and Estonia-based Russian-speaking authors are Russia-based periodicals, namely *Druzhba narodov*, *Zvezda*, *Novyi mir*, *Oktyabr*, and others, which together account for 14%. Estonia-based publishers are also involved in the production of original Russian titles, with Avenarius as a leading publisher (17% of the market share), Aleksandra (14%), Kite (11%), and KPD (7%), whereas Russia-based publishers AST/Astrel's contribution is 7%, EKSMO 3%, and literary periodicals 3%. Other non-regular participants, including individual publishers, comprise the rest 18%.

The most productive authors are Eno Raud, who gained his symbolic capital during the times of the USSR, and whose children's books "Naksitrallid and "Sipsik" have been reprinted by Russia-based publishers, Andrus Kivirähk, Leelo Tungal, Arvo Valton, Edgar Valter, and others. The most active translators are Vera Prohorova, Marina Tervonen, Maia Melts, and others.

Translation production is primarily in Estonia, and the majority of Estonian-Russian translators have been operating there and cooperating with Estonia-based publishers. Multifunctionality is common among the actors, and often, one individual may combine functions of an author and publisher (Kalle Käsper, Nelli Melts, Nadezhda Valk), author, publisher, and translator (Igor Kotjuh), or author

and translator (Jelena Skulskaja, P.I. Filimonov, Larissa Joonas). Translation remains a side activity for many of these actors, and translators are the most invisible and least recognized participants in the flow. The adopted translation policies may vary from actor to actor; however, as small-scale publishers, Estonian publishers are primarily focused on distributing cultural capital, using financial and organizational support from governmental agencies and NGOs, with the largest contribution from the Estonian Cultural Endowment. Another powerful tool of promotion has been periodicals in Estonia and Russia (e.g., Estonia-based *Tallinn* and *Vyshgorod* literary magazines, Russia-based *Druzhba narodov*, *Novy mir*, *Zvezda*, and *Oktyabr* literary magazines), where Estonian literature in translation has been published due to the mutual efforts of translators and Russian-speaking authors in Estonia, who provided the necessary organizational and promotional support. Whereas the choice of genres and authors remains at the discretion of a particular publisher, some publishers opt for already recognized literary titles awarded by the Estonian Cultural Endowment (e.g., KPD), whereas others (e.g., Kite) participate in special translation projects, such as a series of translations of Estonian poetry by Jelena Skulskaja.

A new social system was established after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, when new, marketability-based approaches to literature publishing and translation were required, and the necessity for the Russian-speaking population of Estonia to learn Estonian and familiarize themselves with Estonian culture initially became the main driver of the flow. Possessing agency, many actors initiated these translations in accordance with their personal literary tastes and choices, first providing local Russian-speaking readers with Estonian-Russian translations and later, as the translations gained popularity, promoting and distributing them worldwide, mainly in Russia. The translation flow has been dynamically changing depending on the global and local economic and political situations: the sales in Russia were reformatted for online stores in 2020 due to Covid-2019 restrictions and terminated after the full-scale invasion of Russia in Ukraine, which caused the re-orientation of Estonian publishers to the Russian-speaking target audience outside Russia, i.e., diasporas worldwide.

The Estonian-Russian translation network is an irregular, open structure where actors are interwoven and communicate. The professional linguistic and translation skills of most actors in the flow were acquired during their studies at the Department of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu, starting in the 1970s, and mainly these actors have been based in Estonia. Two generations of Estonian-Russian translators, i.e., former students of Yuri Lotman and Zara Mints at the Department of Russian Literature of the University of Tartu (Belobrovtseva, Melts, Skulskaja, and others), and those who became active in literature and publishing in the 2000s (Kotjuh, P.I. Filimonov, M. Melts, and others), comprise the translation network.

Out of the two corpora, 117 titles from the list of Estonian-Russian translations and 20 original Russian titles were selected for further imagological research on images of Estonia(nness). Imagologically relevant texts in the corpora were identified based on direct references to Estonia and Estonians in titles and in metatexts

(forewords, afterwords, footnotes, introductions, and cover texts); three translations were selected for textual and linguistic analysis: “Meelis”/”Меэлис” by Enn Kippel, “Meie Eesti”/”Наша Эстония” by Epp Petrone, and “Vabadus ja armastus”/”Свобода и любовь” by Reet Kudu. The choice was made based on the diversity of genres, authors, and publication periods, and the textual analysis revealed significant modifications, including extensive omissions, for “Meie Eesti”/”Наша Эстония” by Epp Petrone, as well as translators’ creativity and stylistic modifications for “Vabadus ja armastus”/”Свобода и любовь” by Reet Kudu and “Meelis”/”Меэлис” by Enn Kippel.

The imagological analysis revealed certain repeated images and narratives in the translation flow. The core image and the main narrator is an Estonian peasant, in most cases a positive character, male or female, who is attributed basic virtues such as diligence, modesty, shyness, rationality, and a respectful attitude toward nature. In many cases, it is an image of a sufferer, a Victim and a Friend, unable to withstand external powers, such as the German crusade or the Soviet occupation. The image of a Hero and heroic narratives are not common in the literary translation flow and are more specific to novels written at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, i.e., before and at the time of Estonia’s independence from 1918 to 1940. A distinguishing feature of Estonia(nness) in the translation flow is the sacred and spiritual connection between Estonians and Estonian nature, where the latter, embodied as an Estonian forest, is a sanctuary, a church, and a magical helper, an asylum in times of oppression and humiliation. Two intertextual narratives that define Estonia(nness) are associated with two national traumas: the German invasion of the 12th century and the Soviet occupation of 1940. The consequence of the Soviet occupation is the “Russian issue” in Estonia, i.e., the Russian-speaking residents whose ancestors arrived after 1940 and whose status has been discussed by several contemporary authors. Estonian-Russian translations also feature two recurring narratives: the ongoing discussion of Estonia’s place and role in global processes, and national self-identification as a unique and ancient culture or as a full-fledged European country.

The image of Estonians in Russian literature of the late 19th and early 20th centuries corresponds to the image conveyed in the translation flow: an Estonian villager, a peasant, or a servant; notably, Estonians are always secondary characters. Estonians as Victims are not represented in the Russian titles in the historical context of Stalinism; however, the heroic image of Estonians struggling against German invaders in the 12th century was used by Soviet propaganda to depict them as proletarian allies. At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, Estonia was mostly described as a westward-oriented, free, and more technologically advanced area. The loci of Tartu, Tallinn, and Narva are viewed by Russian authors as foreign, but not Estonian, cities; e.g., Tallinn as a Danish, Swedish, and German city; Tartu as a center of German scholars, and later Russian philologists, where the university plays the crucial role, and the Narva region as a northern resort.

In Russian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, numerous authors glorified Estonian nature, its forests, lakes, and the seaside; however, the geocultural space of Estonia was alienated from Estonians and referred to as a Russian province, Soviet Republic, or German territory. No account of the sacred connections between Estonians and Estonian nature is given in Russian literature.

Russian-speaking authors in Estonia mainly focus on defining their own role and identity, seeing Estonia as their homeland and Russia as their cultural and linguistic background, which resulted in the combination of Estonian and Russian prose and poetry writing styles, widely using motifs of lost identities and double identities, repeated tropes of in-betweenness, and creating or exploring mysticism associated with Estonian locations.

Overall, this reveals discrepancies between the Self-image and the image of the Other in the source and target texts and indicates a deeper issue of the lack of information on Estonia and Estonians among Russian readers due to the insufficiency of channels and tools to promote Estonian cultural capital, the absence of cultural ambassadors, and the long-term political tension due to power relationships.

The results of the study include comprehensive data on translated authors, genres, publishers, and translators involved in the Estonian-Russian literary translation flows from 1991 to 2023, their locations, the structure and nature of their intercommunication, and the methods and tools to promote Estonian cultural capital among the Russian-speaking audience, with the identified basic images of Estonia(nness) transferred within the translations. As these translation flows remain the most extensive channel for translations from Estonian, these data can be relied upon to promote Estonian cultural capital worldwide through other languages.

SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Eesti ja eestluse kuvandid ilukirjanduse eesti-vene tõlkevoos alates 1991. aastast

Doktoritöö "**Eesti ja eestluse kuvandid ilukirjanduse eesti-vene tõlkevoos alates 1991. aastast** " keskendub kuni 2023. a ilmunud ilukirjanduse eesti-vene tõlgetele, pöörates erilist tähelepanu tõlkevoo sotsioloogilistele ja imagoloogilistele aspektidele. Täpsemalt uuritakse eesti-vene tõlgete rolli ja kohta globaalsel tõlkekaardil, tõlgete kaudu ülekantava kapitali vorme, rakendatavat tõlkepoliitikat, tõlkevõrgustiku struktuuri ja iseloomu, selle peamisi osalejaid ja nende omavahelise suhtluse põhimõtteid ning Eesti ja eestluse (Estonia(nness)) põhikuvandeid, mis ilukirjanduse tõlkevoos ilmnevad. Väitekiri otsib vastust neljale uurimisküsimusele:

1. Millised on eesti-vene ilukirjanduse tõlkevoo tunnused (žanrid, autorid ja koht globaalse kultuurivahetuse hierarhilisel kaardil) perioodil 1991–2023?
2. Kes on tõlkevõrgustiku peamised osalejad ja kuidas nad omavahel suhestuvad?
3. Milliseid Eesti ja eestluse kuvandeid (tunnuseid, omadusi, tegelasi, narratiive) levitatakse alates 1991. a vene keelde tõlgitud eestikeelsete teoste ja kaasaegse tõlkepoliitika kaudu?
4. Millisel määral kattuvad eesti-vene ilukirjandustõlgetesilmnevad eestlaste ja eestluse kuvandid stereotüüpsete ettekujutustega, mis esinevad vene kirjanduses, sealhulgas Eestis loodud venekeelses kirjanduses?

Doktoritöö teoreetilisteks lähtekohtadeks on tõlkesotsioloogias omaks võetud lähenemisviisid, sealhulgas Bourdieu', Latouri ja Luhmanni ideed, mida on kohandatud tõlketeaduse tarbeks. Samuti käsitletakse tõlkepoliitika, tõlkevoo ja tõlkevõrgustiku kontseptsiooni, imagoloogia kaasamist tõlketeadusesse ning antakse lühiülevaade eesti-vene kultuurivahetusest, mis on uurimistöö seisukohalt ülioluline. Teaduskirjanduse ülevaates käsitletakse ka vene autorite teoseid, kus on analüüsitud eestlaste ja eestluse kuvandeid eri ajastute vene kirjanduses, need teosedon olulised, kuna pakuvad imagoloogiliselt asjakohast materjali edasiseks võrdlemiseks vene keelde tõlgitud eesti kirjanduses esinevate eestluse kuvanditega.

Eesti keele kui globaalsel tõlkekaardil perifeerse keele jaoks on oma kultuurikapitali ülemaailmne edendamine – eriti tõlgete kaudu kesksematesse keeltesse nagu inglise, prantsuse, hispaania, saksa ja vene keel – ülimalt oluline. Tulenevalt eesti-vene tõlgete ajaloost, mis ulatub tagasi 19. sajandi lõppu, ning kahe rahva geograafilist lähedusest ja pikaajalistest sotsiaalsetest, poliitilistest ning kultuurilistest suhetest, on ilukirjanduse eesti-vene tõlkevoog olnud perioodil 1991–2023 kõige suurem. Toimijavõrgustiku teooria (Actor-Network Theory, ANT) rakendamine tõlketeaduses võimaldab jälgida selle protsessi dünaamikat, mida mõjutavad turukõikumised ning kiiresti muutuv globaalne poliitiline ja majanduslik

olukord, ning tuvastada peamised toimijad, kes voogu muudavad. Sotsiaalsete süsteemide teooria (Social System Theory, SST) aitab vaadelda ja eristada süsteemi toimijate funktsioone.

Sotsioloogiline uurimus põhineb kahel korpusel: vaadeldaval perioodil ilmunud eesti-vene ilukirjandustõlked ja samal ajajärgul Eestis avaldatud venekeelsed originaalteosed. Korpuste andmed koguti neljast andmebaasist: Eesti Kirjanduse Teabekeskuse (ELIC) eesti keelest teistesse keeltesse tehtud tõlgete andmebaas (estlit.ee), Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu andmebaas (rara.ee, varem nlib.ee), UNESCO tõlkeandmebaas Index Translationum ja Eesti raamatukogude e-kataloog ESTER (ester.ee). Korpuste andmetel ilmus aastatel 1991–2023 kokku 426 eesti-vene tõlget ja 117 Eestis elavate autorite venekeelset teost. See loetelu ei ole ammendav, vaid pigem näitlik, kuna uurimistöös kasutatud andmebaasid on endiselt teatud määral lünklikud, ning neid täiendatakse pidevalt.

Eesti-vene tõlkevoo juhtiv žanr on lastekirjandus, mis moodustab 53% kõikidest teostest, populaarsuselt teine žanr on romaanid (22%) ja kolmas luule (8%), ülejäänud žanrid (antoloogiad, lühijutud, memuaarid, esseed, näidendid ja elulood) jäävad vahemikku 0,5% kuni 7%. Venekeelse korpuse juhtivad žanrid on romaanid ja luule, kumbki 42%, lühijutud moodustavad 7% ning muud žanrid, nagu esseed, lastekirjandus ja antoloogiad, varieeruvad 1% ja 3% vahel.

Suurema osaeesti-vene tõlkeid (82%) on avaldanud siinsed kirjastajad Eestis; Venemaal tegutsevate kirjastuste osa on 15%. Mõned teosed on avaldatud ühisprojektidena ka Ukrainas, Moldovas ja Leedus; nende osakaal jääb vahemikku 0,5%–1%. Eesti-vene tõlgetega tegelevad juhtivad kirjastused Eestis on KPD, kelle turuosa on 46%, Aleksandra (17%), Vene Entsüklopeedia (Eesti Kultuurikeskus Vene Entsüklopeedia) (9%), Kite (6%), Avita (5%) ja Bri & Ko (5%). Venemaal tegutsevad kirjastused, kes tegelevad eesti-vene tõlgetega, on AST/Astrel (29%), Alpina Publisher (21%), Nigma (10%), Rosmen (9%), Oktopus (5%) ja EKSMO (3%). Märkimisväärne on see, et nii eesti-vene tõlkeid kui Eestis elavaid venekeelseid autoreid avaldavad Venemaa kirjandusajakirjad, täpsemalt "Družba narodov", "Zvezda", "Novõi mir", "Oktjabr" ja teised, mis moodustavad kokku 14%. Ka Eestis asuvad kirjastused on seotud algupäraste venekeelsete teoste väljaandmisega, kusjuures juhtiv kirjastus on Avenarius (17% turuosast), järgnevad Aleksandra (14%), Kite (11%) ja KPD (7%), samas kui Venemaa kirjastuse AST/Astrel panus on 7%, EKSMO-l 3% ja kirjandusajakirjadel 3%. Muud ebaregulaarsed osalejad, sealhulgas üksikkirjastajad, moodustavad ülejäänud 18%.

Kõige viljakamad tõlgitud autorid on Eno Raud, kes kogus oma sümboolse kapitali juba Nõukogude Liidu ajal ning kelle lasteraamatud "Naksitrallid" ja "Sipsik" on Venemaal tegutsevates kirjastustes korduvalt uuesti välja antud, samuti Andrus Kivirähk, Leelo Tungal, Arvo Valton, Edgar Valter ja teised. Kõige aktiivsemad eesti-vene tõlkijad on Vera Prohorova, Marina Tervonen, Maia Melts ja teised.

Tõlgete loomine ja avaldamine toimub peamiselt Eestis ja enamik eesti-vene tõlkijaid tegutseb siin ning teeb koostööd Eestis asuvate kirjastustega. Valdkonnas tegevate isikute seas on levinud multifunktsionaalsus: näiteks võib sama

isik olla nii autor kui kirjastaja (Kalle Käsper, Nelli Melts, Nadežda Valk), autor, kirjastaja ja tõlkija (Igor Kotjuh) või autor ja tõlkija (Jelena Skulskaja, P. I. Filimonov, Larissa Joonas). Paljude jaoks on tõlkimine kõrvaltegevus, kusjuures tõlkijad on tõlkevoos kõige nähtamatumad ja vähem tunnustatud osalejad. Rakendatav tõlkepoliitika võib toimijate lõikes erineda. Eesti väikekirjastused keskenduvad riigiasutuste ja vabaühenduste finants- ja organisatsioonilise toetuse abil peamiselt kultuurikapitali levitamisele, kusjuures suurima panuse annab Eesti Kultuurkapital. Teiseks võimsaks edendamisvahendiks on olnud Eesti ja Venemaa perioodilised väljaanded (nt Eestis ilmuvad kirjandusajakirjad "Tallinn" ja "Võšgorod", Venemaal ilmuvad "Družba narodov", "Novõi mir", "Zvezda" ja "Oktjabr"), kus eesti kirjanduse tõlkeid on avaldatud tänu tõlkijate ja Eestis elavate venekeelsete autorite ühistele jõupingutustele, kes on pakkunud vajalikku organisatsioonilist ja reklaamituge. Kuigi žanrite ja autorite valik jääb konkreetse kirjastaja otsustada, eelistavad osad kirjastajad (nt KPD) juba tunnustatud, Eesti Kultuurkapitali auhinnaga pärjatud kirjandusteoseid, samas kui teised (nt Kite) osalevad spetsiaalsetes tõlkeprojektides, näiteks Jelena Skulskaja tõlgitud eesti luule sarjas.

Pärast Nõukogude Liidu lagunemist 1991. aastal loodi uus sotsiaalne süsteem, kus teoste kirjastamisel ja tõlkimisel tekkis vajadus uute, turustatavusest lähtuvate lähenemisviiside järele. Tõlkevoo peamiseks käivitajaks sai esialgu Eesti venekeelse elanikkonna vajadus õppida eesti keelt ja tutvuda eesti kultuuriga. Olles ise toimijad (agency), algatasid paljud tegijad neid tõlkeid oma isiklikust kirjanduslikust maitsest tulenevalt, pakkudes eesti-vene tõlkeid esmalt kohalikele venekeelsetele lugejatele. Hiljem, kui tõlked kogusid populaarsust, hakati neid propageerima ja levitama ülemaailmselt, peamiselt Venemaal. Tõlkevoog on dünaamiliselt muutunud sõltuvalt globaalsest ja kohalikust majanduslikust ning poliitilisest olukorrast: raamatute müük Venemaal viidi 2020. aastal Covid-19 piirangute tõttu üle veebipoodidesse ning tõlgete turustamine Venemaale lõpetati üldse pärast Venemaa täiemahulist sõjalist sissetungi Ukrainasse. See tõi kaasa Eesti kirjastuste ümberorienteerumise väljaspool Venemaad asuvale venekeelsele sihtrühmale (st ülemaailmsetele diasporaadele).

Eesti-vene tõlkevõrgustik on ebaregulaarne avatud struktuur, kus toimijad on omavahel läbi põimunud ja suhtlevad vastastikku aktiivselt. Enamiku tõlkevoos osalevate toimijate professionaalsed keele- ja tõlkeoskused on omandatud alates 1970. aastatest Tartu Ülikooli vene kirjanduse õppetoolis õppides ning valdavalt on need toimijad tegutsenud Eestis. Tõlkevõrgustiku moodustavad kaks eesti-vene tõlkijate põlvkonda: Juri Lotmani ja Zara Mintsi endised üliõpilased Tartu Ülikooli vene kirjanduse õppetoolist (Belobrovtseva, Melts, Skulskaja jt) ning need, kes muutusid kirjanduses ja kirjastamises aktiivseks 2000. aastatel (Kotjuh, P. I. Filimonov, M. Melts jt).

Eesti ja eestluse kuvandite imagoloogiliseks uurimiseks valiti kahest mainitud korpusest 117 eesti-vene tõlget ja 20 algupärast venekeelset teost. Imagoloogiliselt asjakohased tekstid tuvastati korpustes otseste viidete põhjal Eestile ja eestlastele pealkirjades ja metatekstides (ees- ja järelsõnad, joonealused märkused, sissejuhatused ning kaanetekstid). Teksti- ja keeleanalüüsiks valiti kolm

tõlget: Enn Kippeli “Meelis” / “Меэлис”, Epp Petrone “Meie Eesti” / “Наша Эстония” ja Reet Kudu “Vabadus ja armastus” / “Свобода и любовь“. Valik tehti žanrite, autorite ja ilmumisperioodide mitmekesisuse põhjal. Kõrvutav tekstianalüüs tuvastas Epp Petrone teose “Meie Eesti” venekeelses tõlkes märkimisväärseid muudatusi, sealhulgas ulatuslikke väljajätte, Reet Kudu “Vabaduse ja armastuse” ning Enn Kippeli “Meelise” puhul on ilmnesid tõlkijate loovus ja stilistilised kohandused.

Imagoloogiline analüüs tõi tõlkevoos esile teatud korduvad kuvandid ja narratiivid. Põhikuvandiks ja peamiseks tegelaseks on eesti talupoeg, enamasti positiivne isik (mees või naine), kellele omistatakse selliseid voorusi nagu töökus, tagasihoidlikkus, häbelikkus, ratsionaalsus ja austav suhtumine loodusesse. Paljudel juhtudel on tegemist kannataja, Ohvri ja Sõbra kuvandiga, kes pole suuteline vastu seisma välistele jõududele, nagu sakslaste ristiretk või Nõukogude okupatsioon. Kangelase kuvand ja kangelaslikud narratiivid ei ole ilukirjanduse eesti-vene tõlkevoos levinud ning on pigem iseloomulikud romaanidele, mis on kirjutatud 19. sajandi lõpus ja 20. sajandi alguses, s.t enne Eesti iseseisvumist ja iseseisvusajal aastatel 1918–1940. Eestluse eristavaks jooneks tõlkevoos on püha ja hingeline side eestlaste ning looduse vahel, kus viimane, näiteks Eesti metsana, on pühapaik, religioosne objekt ja maagiline abiline, varjupaik rõhumise ja alandamise aegadel. Kaks eestlust määratlevat intertekstuaalset narratiivi on seotud kahe rahvusliku traumaga: 12. sajandi sakslaste sissetungi ja 1940. aasta Nõukogude okupatsiooniga. Nõukogude okupatsiooni tagajärjeks on “Vene küsimus” Eestis – s.t venekeelsed elanikud, kelle esivanemad saabusid pärast 1940. aastat ja kelle staatust on käsitlenud mitmed kaasaegsed autorid. Eesti-vene tõlgetes on esindatud ka kaks korduvat narratiivi: käimasolev arutelu Eesti koha ja rolli üle globaalsetes protsessides ning rahvuslik enesemääratlus unikaalse ja iidse kultuurina või täieõigusliku Euroopa riigina.

Eestlaste kuvand 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguse vene kirjanduses vastab tõlkevoos esinevatele kuvanditele: eesti külaelanik, talupoeg või teenija; tähelepanuväärne on see, et eestlased on alati kõrvaltegelased. Eestlasi ei käsitleta ajaloolises kontekstis ohvritena stalinismiaja venekeelsetes teostes, vastupidi – Nõukogude propaganda näitas 12. sajandil Saksa sissetungijate vastu võitlevate eestlasi kangelastena, et kujutada neid proletaarsete liitlastena. 20. sajandi lõpus ja 21. sajandi alguses kirjeldati Eestit enamasti Läände suunatud, vaba ja tehnoloogiliselt arenenuma piirkonnana. Vene autorid näevad Tartut, Tallinnat ja Narvat võõraste, mitte eesti linnadena: nt Tallinn kui taani, rootsi ja saksa linn; Tartu kui saksa õpetlaste ja hiljem vene filoloogide keskus, kus ülikool mängib otsustavat rolli; ning Narva kui põhjamaine kuurort.

19. ja 20. sajandi vene kirjanduses ülistasid paljud autorid Eesti loodust, selle metsi, järvi ja mererannikut. Samas oli Eesti geokultuuriline ruum eestlastest võõrandatud ning sellele viidati kui Venemaa provintsile, Nõukogude vabariigile või Saksa territooriumile. Vene kirjanduses ei leidu andmeid eestlaste ja Eesti looduse vahelise püha sideme kohta.

Eestis tegutsevad venekeelsed autorid keskenduvad peamiselt omaenda rolli ja identiteedi määratlemisele, pidades Eestit oma kodumaaks ning Venemaad

oma kultuuriliseks ja keeleliseks taustaks. Selle tulemuseks on eesti ja vene proosa- ja luulestiilide põimumine, kasutatakse laialdaselt kaotatud ja topelt-identiteedi motiive, korduvaid vahepealsuse (in-betweenness) troope ning luuakse või uuritakse Eesti paikadega seotud müstikat.

Üldiselt toob see esile lahknevused Mina-pildi ja Teise-kuvandi vahel lähtetekstides ja sihttekstides ning viitab sügavamale probleemile – teabe puudumisele Eesti ja eestlaste kohta Vene lugejate seas. Selle põhjuseks on Eesti kultuurikapitali edendamiseks mõeldud kanalite ja vahendite ebapiisavus, kultuurisaadikute puudumine ning pikaajaline poliitiline pinge võimusuhete tõttu.

Uuringu tulemused sisaldavad põhjalikke andmeid eesti-vene ilukirjanduse tõlkevoos (1991–2023) esindatud autorite, žanrite, kirjastajate ja tõlkijate kohta, samuti nende asukoha, omavahelise suhtluse struktuuri ja olemuse, ning Eesti kultuurikapitali venekeelsele publikule tutvustamise meetodite ja vahendite kohta, tuues välja tõlgete kaudu edastatud Eesti ja eestluse põhikuvandid. Kuna eesti-vene tõlkevoog on jätkuvalt kõige laiemaks kanaliks eesti keelest tõlkimisel, saab väitekirjas esitatud andmetele toetuda Eesti kultuurikapitali ülemaailmsel edendamisel ka teiste keelte kaudu.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Irina Siseykina
Date of birth: August 13, 1975
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Education:

2020–present	University of Tartu, Institute of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Department of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literatures (Translation Studies), Doctoral Studies
2018–2020	University of Tartu, College of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Department of Russian and Slavic literatures and languages MA, *Magna Cum Laude*
2000–2006	Moscow State University, The faculty of Philology, Department of Russian Language and Literature MA, *Magna Cum Laude*
1990–1993	Moscow College of Publishing and Printing, Proofreading department

Employment history. Translation and interpreting:

2025–present	Propio Language Services, interpreter (OPI/VI)
2022–2025	Provided conference, consecutive, and written translation at various events in Estonia and the EU
2018–2025	Provided written translations for Avatar Translation Bureau, International House
2011–2022	Provided conference translation at various events, including seminars at L'Oréal Plant in Vorsino, the International Conference "*Galen*: History and Research Studies", National History and Cultural Studies at I.M. Sechenov First State Medical University, HBS workshops, Erich Krause seminars, and others.
2011–2022	Provided consecutive translation at various events, including the "Access to Information and Safety" Forum at Sakharov's Center, WimmBillDann/Pepsico Deep Dive, and Enjoy Movies Cinema lectures.
2008–2020	Accent Studio, Cirillica Studio Provided translation and adaptation of English and Spanish documentaries and feature films

Employment history. Translations, Journalism, and Creative Writing:

2019–2020	Alpina Non-Fiction Edited '*Einstein's Monsters: The Life and Times of Black Holes*' by Chris Impey, translated into Russian, '*Shkatulka chimicheskyh istoryi'* by Michael Levitsky, '*Uiti nelzya ostat'sa*' by Y.Lukshina, D.Dzirayeva, T.Salakhiyeva-Talal
2020	Published short stories in 'Rukopozhatiye Kirpicha I drugiye svidetelstva devyanostyh' Literary Volume: Simposium, Saint-Petersburg
2019	Gorodetz Publisher Published short stories in '*Kovcheg'* Literary Volume

2005–2018	Promo Interactive (Ogilvy Group), copywriter and screenwriter
2014–2016	DDB Advertising Agency, copywriter, editor, and proofreader
2013	Alpina Non-Fiction Published translation of *'Sperm Wars'* by Robin Baker (International Bestseller)
2012	Published '*Mama Anarchy'* Novel: ШISS, Saint-Petersburg
2010–2013	FMG, *Hello!, Medved, Interior&Design* magazines, copywriter
2008–2021	*Ogoniok* weekly magazine, *Medved* weekly magazine, journalist
2005–2007	AST/Astrel Publishing house Published translations of *'White Trash', 'Headhunters', 'England Away', 'The Prison House'* by John King, *'The Magic Christian', 'Flash and Filigree'* by Terry Southern, '*Kids' Stuff*' by Henry Sutton
2003–2010	Radio *Freedom*, 87,7 FM, New York, USA, reporter

Employment history. Teaching

2022–2023	University of Tartu, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Junior Research Fellow
2007–2015	Vita Nova Language School, Moscow State University, Continuing Education Dept., teacher of English

Research:

Scientific interests: translation studies, Russian and English linguistics, semiotics of translation, sociology of translation, imagology, translation and migration, cross-boundary translation in media and literature, translation in journalism, translation policies, translation networks, translation flows

Publications:

Siseykina, Irina. 2025. "Who Is Afraid of Ivan Orav? Humor Transfer and Cultural Misunderstandings in Estonian–Russian Literary Translations." In *Between Words and Sounds: Cultural Misunderstanding in Literary and Song Translation*, edited by Meghann Cassidy and Stephanie Schwerter, 259–80. Hannover: Ibidem.

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Izvestiya vysshikh uchebnykh zavedenii. Povolzhskii region. Gumanitarnye nauki, no. 1 (37).

Professional training:

2011 Multilinguist Language School, Moscow, Russia, Conference and consecutive translation training

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Hariduskäik:

2020–tänaseni	Tartu Ülikool, Maailma keelte ja kultuuride instituut, germaani ja romaani filoloogia osakond (tõlkeõpetus), doktoriõpe
2018–2020	Tartu Ülikool, maailma keelte ja kultuuride kolledž, vene ja slaavi filoloogia, MA, *Magna Cum Laude*
2000–2006	Moskva Riiklik Ülikool, filoloogiateaduskond, vene keele ja kirjanduse, MA, *Magna Cum Laude*
1990–1993	Moskva Kirjastus- ja Trükinduskolledž, raamatute ja ajakirjade korrektuur

Töökogemus. Tõlkimine

2025–tänaseni	Propio Language Services, tõlk (OPI/VI)
2022–2025	Konverentsitõlge, järeltõlge ja kirjalik tõlge erinevatel üritustel Eestis ja EL-is
2018–2025	Kirjalikud tõlked büroodele Avatar Tõlkebüroo ja International House
2011–2022	Konverentsitõlge erinevatel üritustel, sealhulgas L'Oréali tehase seminaridel Vorsinos, rahvusvahelisel konverentsil "Galen: History and Research Studies", I. M. Setšenovi nimelise Esimese Moskva Riikliku Meditsiiniülikooli ajaloo ja kultuuriuuringute üritustel, HBS-i töötubades, Erich Krause seminaridel jm.
2011–2022	Järeltõlge erinevatel üritustel, sealhulgas foorumil "Access to Information and Safety" Sahharovi keskuses, üritusel WimmBillDann/Pepsico Deep Dive ning Enjoy Movies kinoloengutel.
2008–2020	Accent Studio, Cirillica Studio Inglise- ja hispaaniakeelsete dokumentaal- ja mängufilmide tõlge ning adaptsioon

Töökogemus. Kirjalik tõlge, ajakirjandus ja loovkirjutamine:

2017–2020	Alpina Non-Fiction Toimetanud venekeelseid tõlkeid: Chris Impey "Einstein's Monsters: The Life and Times of Black Holes", M. Levitski "Škatulka himitšeskih istorii", J. Lukšina, D. Dzirajeva, T. Salahhijeva-Talal "Uiti nelzja ostatjsja".
2020	Kirjastus Simposium, Peterburi Avaldanud lühijutte kirjanduskogumikus "Rukopožatije Kirpitša i drugije svidetelstva devjanostõh"
2019	Kirjastus Gorodets Avaldanud lühijutte kirjanduskogumikus "Kovtšeg"
2005–2018	Promo Interactive (Ogilvy Group), copywriter ja stsenarist
2014–2016	Reklaamiagentuur DDB, copywriter, toimetaja ja korrektor
2013	Alpina Non-Fiction Avaldanud Robin Bakeri rahvusvahelise menuki "Sperm Wars" tõlke

2012	Kirjastus ШSS, Peterburi Avaldanud romaani “Mama Anarhiia”
2010–2013	Ajakirjad *FMG, Hello!, Medved, Interior&Design*, copywriter
2008–2021	Ajakirjad *Ogoniok*, *Medved*, ajakirjanik
2005–2007	Kirjastus AST/Astrel Avaldanud John Kingi teoste “White Trash”, “Headhunters”, “England Away”, “The Prison House”, Terry Southerni teoste “The Magic Christian”, “Flash and Filigree” ning Henry Suttoni teose “Kids’ Stuff” tõlked
2003–2010	Raadio Vabadus (Radio Freedom), 87,7 FM, New York, USA, reporter

Töökogemus. Õpetamine

2022–2023	Tartu Ülikool, noorteteadur
2007–2015	Keeltekool Vita Nova; Moskva Riikliku Ülikooli täiendõppekeskus, inglise keele õpetaja

Teadustöö:

Teadushuvid: tõlkeõpetus, vene ja inglise keeleteadus, tõlkesemiootika, tõlkesotsioloogia, imagoloogia, tõlkimine ja ränne, piiriülene tõlge meedias ja kirjanduses, ajakirjandustõlge, tõlkepoliitika, tõlkevõrgustikud, tõlkevood.

Publikatsioonid

Siseykina, Irina. 2025. “Who Is Afraid of Ivan Orav? Humor Transfer and Cultural Misunderstandings in Estonian–Russian Literary Translations.” Kogumikus “Between Words and Sounds: Cultural Misunderstanding in Literary and Song Translation”, toimetanud Meghann Cassidy ja Stephanie Schwerter, 259–80. Hannover: Ibidem.

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Erialane täiendõpe

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