

Riikka Iso-Ahola

Literary Translators as Revitalisers of an Endangered Language

Abstract

Over the course of history, translators have often been motivated by the urge to develop their national language and literature. However, the origin of such a desire may also be personal engagement in supporting an endangered language, increasing its use and participating in its revitalisation. The present article discusses translators who translated fictional literature into the endangered Karelian language between 1980 and 2014, a period that saw the beginnings of a revitalisation of the language. That process included the evolution of the written Karelian language and literature. The background and activities of Karelian translators are explored using various sources such as articles in periodicals as well as interviews. Karelian translators worked under demanding circumstances characterised by a lack of models for language usage and the underdeveloped nature of the language itself. In addition, translating generated negligible financial benefit for the translators. Karelian translators no longer had access to a monolingual community, and this affected translating in various ways. For Karelian translators, translating was an important part of revitalising the language.

1 Introduction

The role of the translator in the development of various areas of society has been highlighted in the sociological study of translation (see e.g. Delisle/Woodsworth 1995; Pym 1998; Paloposki 2007a). Research into the history of translation has revealed that the work of literary translators in particular is guided by functions of translation other than just mediating information between languages and cultures. For instance, literary translators have been emphatically involved in the spreading of cultural values, in the development of national languages, and in the creation of national literature. Less attention has, so far, been paid in Translation Studies (TS) to the fact that translators play a major role in the revitalisation of endangered languages, a process that often involves the development of the language and its literature.

One of the endangered languages to whose revitalisation translators are actively contributing is the Karelian language spoken in north-western Russia and in Finland. This article discusses the role of translators who translated fictional literature into Karelian in Russia (the Soviet Union) and in Finland between 1980 and 2014 and the circumstances,

in which this work was done. New literature in Karelian¹ began to be published in 1980, after a hiatus of decades, and this led to the launching of efforts to revitalise the language on both sides of the border. Literary translators have played a major role both in creating literature in Karelian and in revitalising the language in general. The purpose of the present article is to explore the circumstances in which translators worked at the time, who these Karelian translators were, and what their relationship to the Karelian language was. The article also includes a discussion of the practices involved in translating fiction and of the importance ascribed to translations.²

Several sources were used to explore the backgrounds of the translators and their work. The details on the translators were compiled from works of fictional literature translated into Karelian and published in Russia and Finland between 1980 and 2014. Additional information on the translators was found in press articles and on websites. Six translators were interviewed to gauge their relationship to the Karelian language and their translation work.

One of the goals of the revitalisation of the Karelian language is to develop a formal written language and a body of literature. In this, the situation with Karelian parallels that of the emergence of certain national languages and the work of translators in a situation where a language and its literature are still in a state of flux. The nearest comparison, geographically speaking, to the study of Karelian translators may be found in how a language closely related to it, Finnish, evolved into a national language and how literature in Finnish was born in the 19th century. At the time, Finnish was one among numerous minority languages in the Russian Empire. Outi Paloposki (e.g. 2002, 2007a,b) in particular has studied translations, translators, and the role of translating in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland in that era. In the present article, the aforementioned era in the history of the Finnish language is used as a reference to which the evolution of the Karelian language is compared. It should be noted, however, that the status of Finnish was very different from that of Karelian: Even in the 19th century, there were far more Finnish speakers than there are Karelian speakers today. Moreover, the status of Finnish was reinforced through government actions in the late 19th century, and Finnish eventually became the principal language of the area. Having said that, we can note that a comparison between Finnish and Karelian has the merit of identifying common features in translating in an evolving language situation. The comparison further facilitates identifying features that are peculiar to the endangered status of language and are thus typical when translating into an endangered language. The study on translators of an endangered language also offers a new perspective on the research on translators' agency (see Kinnunen/Koskinen 2010; Koskinen/Kuusi 2017).

¹ Because the term "Karelian literature" refers to the literature published in the Republic of Karelia written in Russian, Finnish, Karelian, or Veps, it is not used here, instead "literature in Karelian" is used to refer to the literature written in or translated into Karelian.

² This article is based on the data of my ongoing PhD study concerning the translation of fictional literature into Karelian in Russia and Finland between 1980 and 2014.

Despite the 200-year gap, there are many similarities to be found in the operating circumstances and translation work of Finnish translators in the 19th century and Karelian translators today. In both cases, translators sought to influence the status of the language they were translating into, and they pursued this goal unselfishly, despite difficult circumstances. Translators came from a variety of backgrounds, and the language they translated into was not necessarily the one in which they had the strongest competence. Because the languages in question had only a short history of literary use, they were undeveloped in certain areas, and there were very few language products available to support translators in their work. In addition, translating brought little financial remuneration to the translators. In the case of Finnish, the language gradually gained strength; but in the case of Karelian today, translators are still continuing their efforts to develop their language and literature.

The present article is structured as follows: Section 2 describes the status of the Karelian language in Russia and Finland and discusses how the fact that the language is endangered affects the circumstances of translation. Section 3 focuses on the literature in and translation into Karelian. Section 4 discusses the special circumstances of the translators working with an evolving written language and its literature. Section 5 presents steps in collecting and analysing the research data. Section 6 shifts the focus to translators who have translated fiction into Karelian. The discussion begins with an overview, followed by a report on the interviews with six translators. Section 7 is a summary with key conclusions.

2 Circumstances of the Karelian Language and Translating

The Karelian language belongs to the Finnic group in the Finno-Ugric language family and is the language most closely related to Finnish. Karelian is an autochthonous minority language in Russia and Finland, meaning that it has been spoken in the region for centuries (Sarhimaa 2010: 1; Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin 2012: 1). In Russia today, Karelian is spoken mainly in the Republic of Karelia and in Tver Oblast (Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin 2012: 1). In Finland, Karelian became a non-regional minority language after the Second World War, as parts of Finnish Karelia were ceded to the Soviet Union, and the inhabitants were evacuated and resettled around Finland (Sarhimaa 2016: 2-3).

According to the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* website (UNESCO 2017), Karelian is “definitely endangered”, meaning that children are no longer learning Karelian as their native mother tongue. Since the Second World War, the number of Karelian speakers has been declining rapidly in both Russia and Finland. Estimates vary between sources, but according to the Russian population census of 2010,³ for instance, there were 25,600 Karelian speakers in Russia. No statistics on Karelian speakers have been compiled in Finland, but it has been estimated that there might be between 5,000 and

³ *Vserossijskaja perepis' naselenija 2010* (2013).

11,000 people who speak Karelian fluently or well (Jeskanen 2005: 278; Sarhimaa 2016: 3). Today, Karelian is mainly used only at home, and the majority of Karelian speakers are elderly (Sarhimaa 2010: 7; Karjalainen et al. 2013: 199). Practically all Karelian speakers are bilingual, and most of them master Russian or Finnish better than Karelian (Sarhimaa 2010: 6; Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin 2012: 9).

Karelian has been acknowledged as a minority language in both Russia⁴ and Finland.⁵ However, neither country has enacted legislation to safeguard the language rights of Karelian speakers (Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin 2012: 1; Sarhimaa 2016: 49-50). For instance, Karelian is not used as a language of instruction in any schools, and Karelian speakers are not entitled to government services provided in Karelian.

The literary history of the Karelian language is brief. According to Esa Anttikoski's (1998b) research into the impact of Soviet language policy on the Karelian language, the literature published in Karelian in Russia (the Soviet Union) before the 1930s mainly comprised religious literature. In the 1930s, Karelian was elevated into an official language in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia and in the Tver Oblast, for political reasons. In that era, a total of about 350 titles of Karelian literature were published, most of them translations. However, the population never had the chance to adopt the written language before Karelian was banned in 1940 (for the history of written Karelian in the 1930s, see Austin 1992) and Russian was declared the only official language. This almost completely halted the publishing of literature in Karelian in the Soviet Union for decades (Anttikoski 1998a). Between the 1940s and the 1970s, the only publications we can point to are a handful of books that contain language samples, such as proverbs and folktales, in Karelian, and a couple of dictionaries. After the short period of literary use in the 1930s, Karelian was mainly used as a spoken language in the private sphere, especially in rural areas.

Revitalisation of the Karelian language began with the emergence of perestroika in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, and shortly after, in the early 1990s, it began in Finland, too. The principal effort has been led by associations upholding Karelian culture and language on both sides of the border and by language activists, since neither the Russian nor the Finnish government has provided any significant support for revitalisation. With the advent of the revitalisation of Karelian, the issue of creating a new written language emerged. Speakers of the various varieties of Karelian could not agree on a standard written language, and, hence, separate standards were created for the written forms of these varieties – Olonets Karelian, North Karelian and Tver Karelian (Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin 2012: 9). There are also plans to create a standard for the written form of the South Karelian variety. Nowadays, the most vital of these varieties is Olonets Karelian, and the vast majority of translations into Karelian are published in this variety. However, the lack of a common written language also causes problems because there are only a few people competent in the written variants of the lesser

⁴ *Zakon Respubliki Karelija* (2004).

⁵ *Ulkoasiainministeriön ilmoitus...* (2009).

varieties, which means that the translations that are made into those varieties may not be revised.

As Karjalainen et al. (2013: 40-44) and Klementyev/Kovaleva/Zamyatin (2012: 10) point out, Karelian is not used as a language of instruction in schools in Russia or in Finland, but in the Republic of Karelia in Russia, Karelian is taught as a foreign language in some schools. The number of lessons allocated is not sufficient to ensure learning the language well enough to use it in everyday life, and Karelian lessons are not available in all grades. In Russia, Karelian can be studied at the University of Petrozavodsk. According to the University's current website,⁶ graduates of the Department of Baltic and Finnish Philology in the Faculty of Philology may find work as journalists, translators, linguists and teachers. A philologist's degree programme includes one or two translation courses, but actual translator training is not available. In Finland, Karelian Language and Culture has been available as a secondary subject at the University of Eastern Finland⁷ in Joensuu since 2009. This module does not include translator training. However, the University of Eastern Finland is currently (2015-2018) running a project named *Kiännä*, which includes providing translator training for speakers of Karelian (see Koskinen/Kuusi 2017). Karelian is also taught in various courses organised by adult education bodies and Karelian culture societies in Russia and Finland.

Karjalainen et al. (2013: 91-92) highlight that there is some use of the Karelian language in the media, too. *Periodika*⁸ publishers in Petrozavodsk in Russia publish the weekly newspaper *Oma Mua* and the quarterly children's magazine *Kipinä*. Both publications include items of fiction, both originally written in Karelian and translations. There are some periodicals in Russia and Finland with content partly in Karelian, such as *Karielan Šana* in Tver Oblast in Russia and the member newsletters of some Karelian heritage societies in Finland. There are a few weekly radio broadcasts in Karelian in the Republic of Karelia and a weekly radio news bulletin in Karelian in eastern Finland. Russia broadcasts a weekly TV programme featuring Veps, Finnish, and Karelian culture. However, all the aforementioned broadcasts have very little airtime. According to Moshnikov (2016: 304-305) the Karelian language is used negligibly online, and this use largely relies on efforts by associations, projects, and volunteers. For example, there has been a Wikipedia in Karelian since 2016, but no Karelian version is available of any official government websites.

3 Literature and Translation in Karelian

The poetry collection *Anusrandaine* by Vladimir Brendoyev, published in 1980, was the first literary work to be published in book format in Karelian for 40 years. However, some writers had published their texts in Karelian since the 1970s in Finnish newspapers in

⁶ Petrozavodskij gosudarstvennyj universitet (2017).

⁷ University of Eastern Finland (n.d.).

⁸ Izdatel'stvo Periodika (n.d.).

the Republic of Karelia. *Anusrandaine* contains not only Brendoyev's own poetry but also his translations of poetry. Öispuu (2006: 67) states that the publication of this book launched the genesis of a new body of literature in Karelian.

According to my research, about 350 titles in the Karelian language were published between 1980 and 2014; of these, 98 (about 28 %) were translations. The latter category comprises only fictional literature (65), religious literature (32), and one textbook. In this study, I focus on the largest group of translations published in book form, fictional literature. (The translations published in periodicals are not discussed in this article.) I use "fictional literature" here as a catch-all term with a very broad definition, including novels, poetry, short stories, anthologies, plays, comics, and children's books. We may note from the above that in a period of 35 years, an average of 1-2 books translated into Karelian were published per year.⁹ In almost half of these, however, only part of the content was translated text. The remainder is content originally written in Karelian or content written in some other language. The most typical example of a book containing both original and translated texts in Karelian is a poetry collection containing the poet's original work and poetry translations.

Publishing literature in Karelian is not on the agenda of commercial publishers operating in the major languages in either Russia or Finland. Apparently, the target group who read Karelian is too small to make such a venture profitable. Accordingly, separate channels beyond the structures of the majority culture have had to be set up for publishing literature in Karelian. In Russia, literature in Karelian is published by the *Periodika* publishers in Petrozavodsk, funded mainly by the Republic of Karelia. *Periodika* publishes literature, newspapers and magazines in Karelian, Finnish and Veps. In Finland, literature in Karelian is published by societies dedicated to the preservation of Karelian culture and language, such as the *Karelian Language Society*¹⁰ and the *Karelian Cultural Society*.¹¹ These are volunteer organisations for whom publishing books is only one function. The titles to be published are decided by the people in the leadership of these societies at any given time. Self-published titles are also released in both Russia and Finland, their publishers apply for grants from various foundations and businesses for this purpose. Neither *Periodika* nor the aforementioned Finnish societies aim to make a profit; their purpose is to support minority languages. For the translators, the fact that the publishing operations are limited and not for profit means that it is not possible to make a living by translating into Karelian. On the other hand, the small size of the language community may also be an advantage, as many of the speakers already know one another, and it is easy to make contacts.

⁹ By comparison, we may note that according to the Finnish Book Publishers Association 311 titles of new translated fiction were published in Finland in 2014. This does not include comics or children's books (Suomen Kustannusyhdistys ry n.d.).

¹⁰ Karjalan kielen seura (n.d.).

¹¹ Karjalan sivistysseura (n.d.).

4 Translators of Emerging Written Languages and Literatures

It has often been observed in TS that translating has played a major role in the emergence of national literatures (e.g. Even-Zohar 1990: 47; Delisle/Woodsworth 1995: 67-99). As Riikonen (2007: 21) and Paloposki (2007a: 102) point out, this is also true of the emergence of literature in Finnish in the Grand Duchy of Finland in the 19th century. Certain parallels can be found between translation activities connected with the emergence of literature in Finnish and the translating of literature into Karelian at the turn of the 21st century when development of the Karelian language and literature began as part of a revitalisation process. The following is a closer look at the circumstances of translation, at translation activities, and at translators at the time when the Finnish written language and literature in Finnish were evolving.

Finland was captured by Russia from Sweden in the early 19th century and declared an autonomous Grand Duchy. According to Paloposki (2007a: 102-105), this prompted the start of a determined process of developing the Finnish language and literature in Finnish. During the Swedish era, the language of the upper classes and of the administration had been Swedish, and this continued for some time during the Russian era. Meanwhile, the common people had always spoken various dialects of Finnish. Before the Russian conquest, only a couple of hundred books had been published in Finnish, most of which were translations of religious texts. In other words, there were no models available for literature in Finnish, and there were also very few people who were literate in Finnish. The Finnish written language had not yet become consolidated, and various dialect-based variants were used. In selecting a specific form of the language for their translations, translators were obliged to take a position regarding the development of written Finnish. The texts to be translated into Finnish were selected on the basis of having something to contribute to Finland's emerging literature. Paloposki (2007a: 103-105) states that the translations reflected translators' views on how both the language and its literature should be developed. The translators considered written Finnish to be stiff and short on resources, and they attributed this to the limited use of the language. The language was even lacking in words in subject areas where it had not been used. One of the aims of translating was to enrich the language. However, not all translators felt the written language to be unduly stiff; such translators were probably working in a field in which the language already had a rich vocabulary.

Paloposki (2007a: 107-108, 115) further notes that the principal source languages for works translated into Finnish in the early 19th century were the Nordic languages and German. Very little was translated from other languages, and, even then, this was done through an intermediary language. It was not until the late 19th century that the range of source languages expanded, with translations, for instance, from English. The reason for preferring Swedish and German was that Finnish book sellers had good contacts with their colleagues in Sweden and Germany. The translators' language skills were naturally also an important factor. On the other hand, it was also argued that there was no point in translating from Swedish into Finnish, as everyone could read Swedish anyway, and translations were not needed to make these works available to readers. This, of course,

was only true of educated people; the common people did not speak or read Swedish. In fact, one of the principal goals in language development in the early 19th century was to get the upper classes used to the idea of using the Finnish language. There was also a drive towards developing literature in Finnish. Initially, very few translations were published (about a dozen in the entire first half of the century), but the range was broad, the published titles included poetry, drama and prose.

According to Paloposki (2007a: 108-109, 126), in early 19th-century Finland, translating did not even generate an extra income, let alone a livelihood. On the contrary, a self-published translator had to pay to have their translation published. Then again, literary translators did not expect any financial gain from these efforts, as they saw the development of language as their duty. Also, it was not until the late 19th century that a division of occupations, in the sense we understand the word today, emerged. Prior to that, the same people worked in different jobs, whether simultaneously or consecutively, literary translators wrote articles, edited newspapers, conducted research, wrote grammars and dictionaries, and worked in various other jobs, e.g. as priests, physicians, or school teachers. They also translated texts other than fiction. Translators into Finnish collaborated, for instance, through discussions of points of language and spelling. They had little else than their colleagues to rely on, because the dictionaries that were available were outdated, and new words had to be incorporated into a number of subject areas.

Because in the early 19th century only very few translations into Finnish had been published and there were scarcely any models for literature written in Finnish, it was difficult to select a translation strategy, as Paloposki (2007a: 109-110, 113) argues. Each translator had their own native dialect and their own views on how the Finnish language should be developed. They also had to decide how to convey the content of the source text to their target audience. The translators at the time had widely differing views on how to translate. Because one of the principal motives of translating was to improve the target language, the relationship between source text and translation was loose. The source text, particularly folk literature, was sometimes quite freely adapted to suit the expectations of the target audience. The aim was to make the works more accessible, understandable, and acceptable to the readers. The point was, after all, not to introduce readers to foreign cultures but to lay a foundation for literature in Finnish. The target audience was divided, fiction was only read by a small group of upper-class people, while the common people mainly read religious literature.

Government actions strengthened the status of the Finnish language in the latter half of the 19th century, and Finnish was adopted as an official language at university and in local government. This official status led to the rapid proliferation of publishing and an expansion of the reading public (Paloposki 2007a: 114). As noted by Paloposki (2007a: 126) the focus in translating, at this time shifted from the refinement of the Finnish language to the development of literature. Although publishing became more professional and translation work increased, it was still not possible to make a living by translating alone. Translating did now, however, allow translators to earn some extra income. The down-

side of this was that increased activity brought tighter schedules and stress, and, combined with low remuneration, this resulted in translations that were hurriedly and poorly written. Indeed, translations were often heavily criticised in the press (Paloposki 2007a: 115). But translators were also experts in foreign literature, and publishers gratefully took advantage of this expertise. Translators were also in a position to suggest works by their favourite authors for translation and, thus, influenced the selection of works translated into Finnish.

As Mäkinen (2007: 100-101) states, some of the translators translating literature into Finnish in the 19th century were members of the Swedish-speaking upper classes and did not actually have a particularly good command of Finnish. Translators improved their language skills by spending time in the inland Finnish-speaking areas of the Grand Duchy, away from the Swedish-speaking coasts. Among the upper classes, the clergy had the best command of Finnish, and it was from this group that a number of skilled translators into Finnish emerged. In other words, a translator into Finnish would not necessarily have been a native Finnish speaker. But, it must be pointed out that determining a person's mother tongue in a multilingual environment may be difficult (see the introductory article by Kuusi/Kolehmainen/Riionheimo 2017).

5 Method and Data

For this study, a list of persons was compiled who had translated fictional literature into Karelian in Russia and Finland between 1980 and 2014. Because there are no catalogues or registers of Karelian translators in either country, the names of the translators¹² were collected from books translated into Karelian in the period in question. In the case of the seven books that I had no access to, the names of the translators were collected from different sources, such as library databases or publishers' webpages. Once a list of translators had been compiled, background information on them (such as age and educational attainments) was searched for in a variety of sources because I was interested in how they had become translators. Online searches using the translators' names were performed in search engines in both Russian and Finnish. These searches led, for instance, to the website of the electronic library of Karelian authors,¹³ which hosts information on authors in the Republic of Karelia in Russia. The website also has information on some Karelian translators. Karelian-language periodicals such as *Oma Mua* turned out to be a valuable source, as these sometimes published articles on translators. In most cases, however, the articles were not about them as translators but as champions of the Karelian language and culture, whether as an author or a teacher or an active member of Karelian heritage societies. Nevertheless, as a whole, the websites and press articles reviewed provided important insights into the background and activities of translators. In

¹² By convention, in this study, the term "translator" refers to the persons credited as translators in the books reviewed, regardless of how many texts they have actually translated.

¹³ *Elektronnaja biblioteka avtorov Karelii* (2017).

a few cases, additional information on translators was found in the peritexts in translated books.

In addition, six translators were interviewed to gain better insight into the work of these translators and their views on translating. The interviewees were selected so as to represent different age groups and different varieties of the Karelian language, and they were residents of both Finland and Russia. Some were very experienced, while others had little experience in translating fictional literature. All of the interviewees had translated various kinds of texts, but only their translations of fictional literature and religious texts had been published in book form. Four of the interviewees were Russian Karelians, and two were Finnish Karelians. Because the vast majority of translations is made into Olonets Karelian, the majority of the interviewees were Olonets Karelian speakers (4). The other two had translated into South Karelian and Tver Karelian, respectively.¹⁴

The interviews were conducted according to responsible conduct of research.¹⁵ For example, potential interviewees were informed about the research so that they could decide whether to take part in it or not. The informants gave their consent for the use of the interview material in research. For this article, interview material is anonymised so that interviewees cannot be identified. Because the Karelian language community is quite small, it is possible to identify the interviewed translators even by the most basic information, such as the year of birth. Because of this, in this article only a very limited amount of information can be given about the interviewees and they are referred to by pseudonyms. The interviewees are Olga, Matti, Irina, Maria, Sonya and Anna.

Because the interviewees were Karelian speakers who were either Russian or Finnish citizens, some thought had to be given to the language in which the interviews were conducted. I myself do not speak Karelian, but understand it fairly well. When booking the interviews, each interviewee was asked which language, Finnish, Russian, or Karelian, they would prefer to use. With the Finnish Karelians and with two of the Russian Karelians, the interviews took place in Finnish. In the case of two Russian Karelians, the questions were asked in Finnish and the interviewees answered in Karelian.

Five of the translator interviews were conducted face to face. All interviews were audio recorded. One interview was conducted on the phone. I made notes during the phone conversation and typed them out immediately after the phone call ended. In this article, there are no quotations from this interview, but the interviewee's answers are summarised in the text. The interviews were thematic interviews. In other words, I had previously determined the topics I wanted to talk about with the interviewees, although the topics were discussed in any order that felt natural in each interview.

For the purposes of the present study, specific themes in the interview material were selected: the interviewee's relationship to the Karelian language and other language

¹⁴ Unfortunately, the interview that had been agreed with a North Karelian speaker had to be cancelled as the translator fell ill, and North Karelian is, thus, not represented here. Some of the other experienced translators were quite elderly, which limited the number of potential interviewees.

¹⁵ The interviews were conducted according to *the Data Management Guidelines* of the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (n.d.).

skills, translation practices and the importance of translations. Because the analysis of the interview material focused on the content of speech, the transcription was carried out on the basic level.¹⁶ For this reason, hesitation markers or pauses, etc. were not transcribed here. In the following section, I first present the overall group of translators of fictional literature and then focus on the interviewed translators.

6 Translating into an Endangered Language

6.1 Profile of the Translators

As noted above, between the years 1980 and 2014 (a period of 35 years), 65 books were published in Russia and Finland containing fictional literature translated into Karelian. This figure includes not only prose, drama, and poetry, but also comics and children's literature. These books involved a total of 28 translators, of which 22 were Russian Karelians and six were Finnish Karelians. The prevalence of Russian Karelian translators can be explained by the greater vitality of the language community in Russia. Russian Karelian translators also translate for Finnish publishers.

Because, as research shows (e.g. Sarhimaa 2010: 7; Karjalainen et al. 2013: 199), the most fluent speakers of Karelian may be found among elderly people, I explored whether this was reflected in the age distribution of the translators identified. Paloposki (2007a,b) does not examine the age distribution of translators in her research into early translations into Finnish, and, in fact, this is not a relevant consideration in the case of many languages. However, in this particular case the endangered status of the Karelian language and the age structure of the language community make age a relevant issue.

The table below divides the translators into four age groups as of the end of 2014. At least three of the translators active in the 35-year period studied are now dead. There are two translators whose ages are not known.

age group	20-39	40-59	60-79	80-99	age not known/deceased
translators	5	3	11	4	5

Table 1: Age distribution of translators as of the end of 2014.

As the table shows, at the end of the period under review (2014), 15 of the translators were over the age of 60, and eight were under the age of 60. In this manner, the ageing of the population of Karelian speakers is reflected in the age distribution of translators.

According to Paloposki (2007a: 108, 115), translators into Finnish in the 19th century could not make a living by translating alone; they also worked in various other jobs in the

¹⁶ For the levels of transcription see Finnish Social Science Data Archive (2016).

course of their lives. They edited newspapers, conducted research, wrote grammars or dictionaries, or worked as teachers. Translators into Karelian are in much a similar situation, they must have a day job to make a living, and, in addition to translating, they are involved in many other activities to promote the status of the Karelian language. Although no actual translator training has been available to Karelian translators, many of them are quite highly educated, and some are language professionals. The largest occupational groups among them are teachers (9), linguists (5) and journalists (4). The group of translators also includes individual representatives of a wide variety of occupations, from musicians to ship's captains and engineers. The teachers in this group work at various levels from primary school to university; many of them are language teachers. According to Mäkinen (2007: 101), many of the translators into Finnish in the 19th century were primary school teachers. The Karelian translators employed as linguists or journalists were all Russian Karelians. Journalists at Karelian-language periodicals were the only professionals who translated fictional literature as part of their daily job. Their translations are published in Karelian-language periodicals. However, journalists also translate books in their free time.

The group of translators in the present study includes ten authors who have published original works of literature. Indeed, the first translators to publish literary translations were author-translators which was also the case in the 19th-century Finland. The best-known author-translators into Karelian are Vladimir Brendojev (1931-1990), Zinaida Dubinina (b. 1934), P'otr Sem'onov (b. 1934), and Aleksandr Volkov (b. 1928), all of them are members of the authors' union of the Republic of Karelia. Authors in Karelian, like translators into Karelian, cannot make a living just by publishing their writings; they need to have a day job, too.

Because only a few titles translated into Karelian are published each year, translation work is only sporadically available. More than half of the 28 translators listed (15) have only translated one book or part of one book. Paloposki (2016: 20-21) also mentions that in many cases, 19th-century translators into Finnish each only published one translation. The largest number of books translated into Karelian by a single translator is seven. However, comparing the number of titles published is misleading not only because the titles include novels and collections of short stories but also children's books containing very little text and anthologies where only some of the texts are translations. To summarise, the majority of the translators who translated fictional literature into Karelian have very little experience of translating.

6.2 Translators' Views on Being a Translator

In this section, I will discuss the relationship of the six interviewed translators to the Karelian language, their translation practices, and motives for translating.

6.2.1 Relationship to the Karelian Language and Other Language Skills

The traditional view in TS is that a translator should only translate into his/her mother tongue, because this is assumed to be the translator's strongest language (e.g. Newmark

1981: 180). Although this view has been questioned (e.g. Pokorn 2005), it still seems to hold at least as far as translating into major world languages is concerned. However, in the case of endangered languages, even determining a person's mother tongue may be difficult (see the introductory article by Kuusi/Kolehmainen/Riionheimo 2017). The situation was very likely the same for the people translating into Finnish in the 19th century who were Swedish speakers who learned Finnish later in life. In order to establish the relationship of my interviewees to the language into which they translated, Karelian, I asked them when and how they had learned the Karelian language. The responses divided the translators into three groups (see table below).

Karelian language learned	Translators
In childhood, from parents	3
In childhood, from grandparents	2
In adult age, on Karelian language courses	1

Table 2: When and how the interviewees learned the Karelian language.

The three oldest of the interviewees – Olga, Matti and Irina – had learned Karelian at home: It was their principal home language in childhood. In fact, people in their parents' generation did not necessarily even speak any other language than Karelian. Karelian was spoken commonly in rural villages at the time. Outside the home, however, at school and later at work, people spoke the dominant language, Russian or Finnish. Irina reported that she had not spoken Karelian much as a young adult but that she had developed a new interest in the language when the revitalisation began. Olga's use of Karelian also increased with the revitalisation. Matti, by contrast, reported that he had made a conscious decision as a young man to uphold his Karelian language skills. Although all three older translators had spoken the official language of the country they lived in for most of their lives, they identified Karelian as their mother tongue.

Two of the interviewees – Maria and Sonya – reported that they had learned the Karelian language from their grandparents in childhood. They had learned it either at home where a Karelian-speaking grandparent was also living or while staying with grandparents in the countryside during school holidays. Their families spoke both Russian and Karelian at home. With their grandparents, they spoke only Karelian. Maria and Sonya, thus, grew up bilingual, even though at the time, it was no longer usual for children to learn Karelian. In the following quote,¹⁷ Maria describes a situation where Karelian children do not even recognise the Karelian language:

¹⁷ The quotes in this article are given in their original language in Karelian (1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11) or Finnish (2, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14) with a translation into English.

- (1) Minä mustan konzu minä školos opastuin... Meile... Minun kel yhtes opastui... minä luvin kaheksa hengie, ket olidih karjalazet. Minä olin ainavo lapsi ken maltoi karjalakse. I konzu erähän kerran buabo tuli minuu ottamah, ku minul tavallizen školan jälles oli vie muuzikkuškola, minuu pidi sinne suattoa, i häi rubei minun ker pagizemah karjalakse. Lapset tuldih rinnal, sanottih: "Onko sinun buabo nemsu?" Minä sanoin: "Mindäi?" "Ei häi ven'akse pagize."

I remember when I was at school... We... Studying with me... I counted at least eight who were Karelians. But I was the only child who spoke Karelian. One time when Grandma came to pick me up when I had music school after school and I had to be taken there, she began to talk to me in Karelian. The other children came to me and asked: "Is your grandmother German?" I said: "What do you mean?" "That's not Russian that she's speaking."

Both Maria and Sonya later studied Karelian at university level and now speak Karelian along with Russian with their families.

Anna reported that she began studying the Karelian language on civic college courses as a young adult and had afterwards continued her studies independently. She had begun translating while studying independently:

- (2) Se oli sitten ehkä sitä kautta, että tuntu, että halusi kokeilla, millä tavalla se kielitaito siihen riittää. Sitten sitä otti tosiaan jotain pieniä lastenkirjatekstejä ja muita, että kun ne on semmoisia kevyitä kieleltään ja semmoisia lyhyitä tekstejä. Sitä kautta lähdin sitten kokeilemaan, että tavallaan sitä omaa kielitaitoa kehittääkseni, sitä kääntämistä.

Maybe it was about trying out my language skills, how good they were. So, I took some children's books and other little texts, they're light in language and short. I tried it out to improve my language skills, translating, that is.

Anna is thus a new speaker of Karelian and a language activist (see the introductory article by Kuusi/Kolehmainen/Riionheimo 2017). She has Karelian roots, but no one in her family has spoken Karelian in her lifetime. Anna decided to use Karelian whenever possible, and she also speaks Karelian to her children.

As we can see, the relationship of translators to the Karelian language varies according to when and how they acquired their language competence and how much they have used it at various stages in their lives. Considering the different ways of defining a mother tongue¹⁸ proposed by Skutnabb-Kangas (2012: 106, see also Kuusi/Kolehmainen/Riionheimo 2017), it would seem that the mother tongue of some of the interviewees has changed over time. They might be considered to have two mother tongues. They themselves, however, identify firmly with the Karelian language and consider it their most important language. On this basis, it may be argued that Karelian is indeed their mother tongue, even if it is not the language they know best, use most, or learned first.

In addition to Karelian, the translators' language skills were mostly in Finnish and Russian. The Russian Karelians spoke Russian and Finnish; the Finnish Karelians spoke

¹⁸ Skutnabb-Kangas (2012: 106) proposes four possibly conflicting criteria for defining mother tongue: origin (the language one learned first), identification (the language one identifies with or is identified with by others), competence (the language one knows best) and function (the language one uses most).

Finnish. Some also said that they spoke a little English or German. However, all of their published translations were from Russian or Finnish, i.e. from languages that most other Karelian speakers also know. Some texts were translated from other languages such as Swedish via Russian or Finnish.

6.2.2 Translation Publishing Practices

The interviewees reported that the initiative for translating a particular text may come from the translator himself/herself, the original author, or the publisher. In most cases, it was the translator who suggested a particular book to a publisher. According to Paloposki (2007a: 126), the 19th-century translators into Finnish also had influence over what was translated. The publishing business in Finland was in its infancy, and because translators were experts in various areas of literature, their suggestions were taken seriously. The translators selected texts on the basis that they had something to contribute to Finland's emerging literature. In the case of Karelian translations, because the translators only worked from Russian and Finnish, the publishers were, for the most part, in a position to read the original works. The interviewees reported that they mainly suggested texts to translate that they themselves were fond of. They did not claim to have selected them with the idea of developing the Karelian language or the domain of Karelian literature, beyond increasing the number of titles available. As an exception, Anna mentioned translating texts with the purpose of filling specific gaps in the domain of literature in Karelian.

In the 19th century, translators had influence but their remuneration was negligible or, in the case of self-publishing, non-existent. The Karelian translators interviewed had, by contrast, always received at least a small fee for their work. However, in some cases, they could not accurately recall translation projects from years earlier. Maria reported that she was paid a lump sum for her translation irrespective of sales. She was satisfied with her fee.

- (3) Kačo, minä olen hătken aigua ruadanuh karjalan kielen alal, i äijän ruaduo minä, minä dai toizet, ruatah ihan ilmai, sendäh ku myö ruammo sidä karjalan kielen hyväkse. Konzu minä suostuin kiändämäh [...], minä en duumainnuh, ku minul maksettas. Se on minul hyvä yllätys, ku minul vie maksetah, tämä on maksolline ruado, minä en ilmai sidä rua.

Look, I've been working for the Karelian language for a long time, I've done a lot of work, myself and others, we've worked for nothing, because we're doing it for the good of the language. When I agreed to translate [...], I never thought I'd be paid for it. It was a nice surprise to hear that I'd be paid, that it was paid employment, that I wasn't working for nothing.

Some other translators also reported being surprised that they were paid anything for their translations. Like Maria, they had become accustomed to volunteer work to promote the Karelian language, and they viewed translating as part of this effort. In other words, they – like the translators into Finnish in the early 19th century – would have done the translations even if they had not been paid. When asked about payment, Anna responded thus:

- (4) Täytyy sanoa, että nyt en muista kyllä sitäkään, että tuliko sellanen. Että täytyy sanoa, että se oli itelle semmonen, että mää vaan aattelin, että jos siitä on jollekin iloa ja hyötyä ja muuta.

I must say that I can't really remember whether I was ever paid anything. I must say it was just something for myself that I thought that it was something that might be of use for and enjoyment to other people, and so on.

But there were opposite views. Matti reported that he would no longer undertake a major translation project without the promise of a fee.

6.2.3 Translation Practices

All the interviewees mentioned dictionaries as translation tools. They had to have several dictionaries available when working, including online dictionaries. However, there were differences in how they used dictionaries. Younger translators used dictionaries to find Karelian equivalents, but Olga reported that she only used a dictionary when she had to make sure that her readers were familiar with a particular word. If the word she had chosen was in the dictionary, she could be confident that her readers would know it. In 19th-century Finland, translators had no dictionaries to turn to; the only resource available to them in case of problems in translation was other translators. Karelian translators still work in the same way, asking not only their colleagues but also their friends and their parents for help. Maria and Sonya, members of a younger generation, reported that they often phone their mothers when they run up against a problem in translation. They feel that among Russian Karelians, the generation of their parents speaks Karelian far better than they themselves do. When Maria was uncertain about whether her first translation was successful, she asked her mother for advice:

- (5) Sendäh vie gu se oli enzimäine, ni minä kogonah konzu sen kiännin, minä kogonah sen luvn omal muamal. I minä duumaičen, ku häi on ellendännyh, sit ellendetäh kai.

Because it was the first one, when I'd translated it all, I read it all out to my own mother. And I thought that if she could understand it, then everyone could.

The older translators, roughly of the same age as Maria's and Sonya's parents, seemed to have more confidence in their language skills than their junior colleagues. Olga described translating a work of poetry thus:

- (6) [...] oli helppo kääntää siksi, kun siellä on kuitenkin... suomen kieli on läheinen kieli karjalan kielelle. Mutta venäjän kielestä on vähän vaikeampi kääntää. No, minä jo sanoin, että erikoisia vaikeuksia, sellaisia siinä ei ole.

[...] it was easy to translate because after all... Finnish is close to the Karelian language. But Russian is a bit more difficult to translate from. Well like I said, no particular difficulties, nothing like that.

Olga did not report asking for advice from others with translations. On the other hand, she did report that she had once abandoned a translation project already agreed upon because she could not manage to translate it. Matti reported that there was little point in asking for help, because nobody else spoke Karelian any better than him.

In addition to dictionaries and peer support, the interviewees reported using parallel texts as a translation tool. Anna reported that she read what had been written about the subject in other books. Irina drew on writings in Karelian published online. She also reported that she participated in discussions in social media concerning introducing new words into the Karelian language.

Translators into Finnish in the early 19th century had no Finnish literary models available, so it was difficult to select a translation strategy. The translators had to decide in which direction they wanted to develop the Finnish language and how they wanted to convey the source text to their readers. Current Karelian translators are in a somewhat similar situation in that there are very few models available for literature in Karelian. The development of the Karelian language has been partly outlined with separate written standards established for the varieties of the language. However, debate about the evolution of each of the written standards continues. Of the problems in translation reported by the interviewees, the most prominent was the lack of modern vocabulary, a problem that was shared by Finnish translators in the 19th century. The lack of modern vocabulary in Karelian is due to the fact that the language had not been upheld for decades prior to the revitalisation effort. Irina describes the situation thus:

- (7) Ei riitä sanoja joskus, uusia sanoja. Joskus haluaisin sanoa jotain, mutta en osaa vapaasti, vapaasti heti sanoa, pitää miettiä, miten minä voisin.

Sometimes there aren't enough words, new words. Sometimes I want to say something, but I can't say it freely, immediately, I have to think about how to say it.

The lack of words to describe modern life also means that a translator must be able to invent new words on the fly if required. Sonya describes the situation thus:

- (8) Sanoja yksikäi pidäy ainos kaččuo sanakniigas, uuzii sanoi. Ku ei ole sanoi, ga sit pidäy ičel luadie sana.

You always have to look up words in the dictionary, new words. But if there are no words, then you have to make one up.

Sonya notes that it is easiest to borrow words from Russian or Finnish, but it would be better to create new words according to the rules of Karelian.

According to Paloposki (2007a: 109-110), 19th-century translators had a much looser relationship to their source texts than would be the case today. They customised their translations for their target audience; for instance, folk literature was adapted for the common people. The Karelian translators seem to be more faithful to the source text than the 19th-century Finnish translators, which is nowadays also a general tendency in translation practices. The interviewees reported that their translation strategy involves faithfulness to the source text and producing a grammatically correct target text in Karelian. Maria describes her translating thus:

- (9) Ei ole minul nimittustu opastustu, kui pidäy kiändiä, minä kiännän muga kui minä maltan. Kui minul ozutaheh se on oigei, i minun mieles, tiettävine, se piäsiändö tai piätarkoitus on luadie karjalakse semmoine tekstu, ku se ei olis pahembi migu se alguperäine.

I've had no teaching about how to translate, so I just translate the way I can. The way that looks right to me, and I think, of course, the main rule or main purpose is to write a text in Karelian that is no worse than the original.

What kind of translation would Maria consider worse than the original? We can gain some insight into this from her appraisal of a series of books translated into Russian:

- (10) Minä tiijän ku minuu ei miellytännyh juuri se ven'akse kiännetty [...], sendäh ku minun mieles net ei olla ylen hyvät. Ei ole moizet oigiet. Erähät kohtat on jätetty... on jätetty kiändämättäh, on moizii äijäs kniigas, erähät on kiännetty viäräh.

I know I didn't like [...] in the Russian translation, because I didn't think they were very good. They weren't done right. Some parts were left... left untranslated, that occurred in many books, and some things were translated wrong.

If we reverse-engineer Maria's description of a poor translation, we can deduce that she thinks a good translation is one that follows the source text closely; deletions are not appropriate.

6.2.4 Importance of Translations

In the early 19th century, translating was seen as a tool for enhancing the Finnish language. Later, as the number of titles available in Finnish began to increase, the focus turned to developing literature in Finnish. The Karelian translators interviewed are largely of the same opinion. Sonya describes the importance of translations thus:

- (11) No, konzu myö kiännämmö toizen muan literatuurua myö tuttavummo sih. Myö kiännämmö omal kielel sidä, myö sit tuttavummo sen kieleh... muah, vai kuiibo sidä sanuo? I samal aigua myö, tiettävine, kehitämmö karjalan kiieldy. Karjalan kieli suau uven kehityksen sendäh gu ennepäihäi oli vähä kiännösty karjalakse. Tämän vuoh kehitämmö karjalan kiieldy i rodieu enämbi lugiettavua karjalan kielel sežo.

Well, when we translate literature from another country, we acquaint ourselves with it. We translate it into our own language, we learn about that language's... country, or how should I put it? And at the same time, we develop the Karelian language, of course. The Karelian language is evolving, because there did not used to be many translations into Karelian. This is why we are developing the Karelian language, and there are more and more things to read in Karelian.

Translation is seen as a vehicle for introducing readers to the literature and culture of other countries. It also improves the Karelian language and creates more titles to read in Karelian. Anna considers that translated literature complements literature originally written in Karelian:

- (12) Jos on ainoastaan sitä itse tuotettua tekstiä, niin sitten se saattaa olla, että kun on pieni, pieni se kirjoittajajoukko, niin sitten se voi olla helposti sitä tietyn tyyppistä, mitä he tuottavat noin niin kuin sitä omaa tekstiä. Mutta sitten taas ehkä sen kääntämisen kautta saadaan sitä monenlaista muuta sitten. Että saadaan vähän laajennettua sitä skaalaa.

If there's only original writing, then because the group of authors is so small, they may end up producing the same sort of texts all the time. But maybe through translation we can gain lots of different things. Broaden the scale a bit.

Irina considers it important to translate classics:

- (13) Silloin kun käännetään joku klassikko toiselle kielelle, niin se merkitsee, että tälle kielelle on klassikon korkealaatuisia runoja käännetty. Minusta tämä on hyvä asia karjalan kielelle. Karjalan kieli on joukossa, kaikkien kielten joukossa. Ei ole niin kuin alistettu.

When you translate a classic into another language, you make high-quality classic poetry available in that language. I think this is a good thing for the Karelian language. Karelian is one language among others. It isn't subordinate.

Irina said that translations of classics demonstrate that the target language is suitable even for translating high-profile texts. In other words, translations of classics can raise the status of the target language, showing doubters that Karelian is quite as good as any other language. Translation of classics has been important also for the development of other minority language literatures, such as literature in Basque.¹⁹ Matti, on the other hand, sees translations as having a preservative function, when texts are published in Karelian, the language is preserved for posterity even if native speakers die out.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the status of the Finnish language improved due to government action. The publishing business became more professional, and the number of titles published mushroomed. Translators saw how their work had had an impact on the evolution of language and literature. In Karelian, by contrast, no great changes are to be expected. Translators cannot expect publishing volumes to increase or that they will get more work in the future; if anything, the opposite is true. Olga, who has seen Karelian descend from a living language in daily use in villages to an endangered language, answered the question about future plans thus:

- (14) Minä kääntäisin ja kirjoittaisin, mutta kenelle minä kirjoitan? [...] Lukijoita muutama henki.

I would like to translate and write, but who would I be writing for? [...] A handful of readers.

7 Conclusions

When a written language and literature are being developed for a language that previously only existed in spoken form, translators play an important role regardless of the era in history in which this development takes place. The developments in the Finnish and

¹⁹ See the collection *Literatura unibertsala* for classics in Basque (Association of Translators, Correctors and Interpreters of Basque Language n.d.). I thank the anonymous reviewer of this article for introducing this webpage to me.

Karelian language communities described above are separated by about 200 years in time, but there are numerous parallels in the work and circumstances of translators in both cases. The goals of the translators involved in both cases went beyond being mediators between languages and cultures. They actively aimed to influence the status of their target language and the development of its literature, and they employed other means than translation to this end. As active cultural agents in their community, the translators felt it was their duty to contribute to the development of language and literature and were prepared to work without compensation.

Because both discussed languages, Finnish and Karelian, were underdeveloped in certain subject areas in the eras examined, translators had to address the issue of language development by creating new vocabulary and new ways of using the language. Translators had very few parallel texts and other tools available, and, for this reason, support from colleagues was important. There was no translator training, so people came to translating via various routes such as teacher training. It was not possible to make a living by translating, so translators only worked sporadically, alongside their day jobs. However, translators were in a position to influence what was translated, by virtue of their literary taste and their language skills. Translating was seen as an important way of developing literature. For example, translations complement the variety of texts and increase the number of titles to read in a developing language. The Finnish and Karelian translators discussed were also similar in that some of them were translating into a language that was not their strongest one. They also translated via intermediate languages.

Naturally, there are also considerable differences between the Finnish and Karelian translators. The Finnish translators were motivated by the idea of making Finnish a national language and of creating a body of national literature in Finnish. The Karelian translators, by contrast, seek to revitalise and preserve the Karelian language, which is in danger of extinction. Finnish has always had a larger number of speakers than Karelian, and there has never been a danger of Finnish translators or Finnish speakers becoming extinct. By contrast, the number of native speakers of Karelian has dwindled over the years, and the population has aged. This is reflected in the age distribution of the translators and will, consequently, affect the number of translators in the future. Because the group of Karelian translators is small, the impact of an individual translator's language skills and personal literary taste on the development of the Karelian language and literature in Karelian can be considerable.

Age is a relevant factor in discussing Karelian translators because it correlates with the linguistic environment into which they were born, in the childhood of the oldest translators, Karelian was a community language, while the youngest consciously had to seek out opportunities for speaking Karelian. Finnish translators in the 19th century were able to go to Finnish-speaking areas to improve their language skills; Karelian translators cannot do the same, because there are no purely Karelian-speaking areas any more. Age also seems to correlate with the translator's assessment of his/her Karelian language

skills, young translators consider their language skills much weaker than old translators. This is apparent in that some young translators principally turn to a parent for help.

The status of Finnish was reinforced gradually through government action, and the language was eventually adopted in all walks of life. The Karelian language, by contrast, has received very little government support to date, and it has been tough work trying to expand the usages of Karelian. No significant changes have occurred in the working circumstances of translators of Karelian. They continue to translate in order to save the Karelian language, and they remain concerned about its future.

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Leona Van Vaerenbergh
University of Antwerp
Arts and Philosophy
Applied Linguistics / Translation and Interpreting
S. D. 225, Prinsstraat 13
B-2000 Antwerpen
Belgien
Leona.VanVaerenbergh@uantwerpen.be

Klaus Schubert
Universität Hildesheim
Institut für Übersetzungswissenschaft
und Fachkommunikation
Universitätsplatz 1
D-31141 Hildesheim
Deutschland
klaus.schubert@uni-hildesheim.de

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Author

Riikka Iso-Ahola is a PhD student in Russian language and translation at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu. She is currently preparing her doctoral thesis that examines literary translation into the Karelian language in Russia and Finland 1980-2014.
E-Mail: isoahola@student.uef.fi

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