

**Andrei Fedorov's Theory of Translation and its Place in the
History of Translation Studies**

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Abstract

Translation theory developed in the Soviet Union in the early and mid-20th century, including the work of Russian translator and scholar Andrei Fedorov (1906-1997), has been understudied in Anglophone literature. Despite the growing academic interest demonstrated in recent works, including Mossop (2019 [2013]), Pym (2016) and Schippel (2017), the scholarship on Fedorov's work remains limited, partly due to the lack of translated primary sources. Only in 2021 was Fedorov's major work on translation theory published in English translation (Baer, 2021b).

This thesis belongs to the fields of translation history and historiography of translation theories/studies and relies on the theoretical framework of descriptive translation studies. It investigates the figure and work of Fedorov and ultimately seeks to reclaim Fedorov's place in the history of the discipline.

The thesis asks what Fedorov's contribution to translation theory was and how far it has remained relevant. Close reading and critical analysis of primary sources and historical secondary sources have been used to study the metalanguage of Fedorov's theory and to identify changes made on the way to its publication, revealing the development of his ideas and interference of external factors. The sources included unpublished manuscripts, stored in the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia, which had not been previously investigated. An original analysis of Fedorov's correspondence was used to answer another research question pertaining to Fedorov's contacts in other countries and demonstrated his links to scholars outside the USSR. A bibliography of Fedorov's publications was compiled to provide the corpus for a scientometric analysis which showed a significant impact of his works. These findings led to the conclusion that Fedorov's ideas remain relevant today, primarily from the historical perspective of his pioneering role in the development of translation studies as a discipline and its conceptual framework.

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Introduction

This thesis originated from my experience of the differences in how scholarship and key authors are identified in modules on translation studies (TS) in Russia and the UK. This personal experience was reinforced by a then recently published discussion by Pym and Ayvazyan (2015) and Tyulenev (2015). The debate created by these authors emphasised the lack of resources in Western European literature, and specifically literature in English, on the developments in TS within other traditions and those in the Soviet Union in particular. The figure of Russian translator and scholar Andrei Fedorov was brought to light, although with limited research data.

The situation has changed notably since then: more research has focused on perspectives in TS other than Western European and Anglophone, and efforts to balance them by looking at other traditions have been made. The major contributions to this knowledge are discussed in the literature review in this chapter. Literature on Russian theories of translation, however, remains limited. They are neglected in many TS textbooks that would cover other major phases of TS development and approaches to translation theory, such as Skopos theory, despite the fact that the latter was preceded by Russian scholars. One of the main limiting factors remains to be the lack of primary sources translated into English. Only in 2021 was Fedorov's major contribution to TS (1953) published in English translation (Baer, 2021b). Before this, only one article by Fedorov had been translated into English. It is particularly surprising in Fedorov's case, because he is known in Russia as one of the founders of Russian TS and, as this thesis will show, his ideas were known in countries of the Eastern Bloc and reached parts of Western Europe.

Despite Fedorov's contribution to TS his work and life as a scholar in TS, linguistics, and literary studies has remained understudied, not only in English but also in Russian speaking countries. His bibliographical and biographical details published in Russian are rare and fragmented, with further information available mainly for researchers in the archives. In Anglo-American publications such details have been even more incomplete, making it difficult to contextualise Fedorov's work and understand his theory of translation and the relevance of his ideas today.

i. The aim and objectives of the research

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the figure and work of Russian scholar Andrei Fedorov and to assess the impact of his translation theory on the development of TS since the middle of the 20th century.

In order to achieve this aim, I identified and accomplished the following objectives: (1) collected data on Fedorov's published works and compiled a bibliography which would be his first complete bibliography in English-language literature (with only a partial bibliography freely available in Russian); (2) conducted an original analysis of his selected publications and unpublished manuscripts; (3) collected data from primary and secondary sources related to Fedorov's biography; (4) identified and analysed Fedorov's correspondence; (5) conducted a scientometric study of Fedorov's oeuvre. These objectives involved mainly original research, while some synthesis of previous studies was conducted to achieve an additional objective of revisiting the historical, social, and political context of Fedorov's work.

ii. The research questions

In line with the aim and objectives of the research, this thesis will address the following research questions:

1. What concepts of translation theory were introduced by Andrei Fedorov in Russophone literature and how do they relate to those suggested by Western scholars?

Fedorov had been publishing his research on theoretical concepts of translation starting from his first article in 1927, including the term *teoriia perevoda* [theory of translation] which he introduced in that article as the name of a special field of knowledge. Fedorov's theoretical views and concepts evolved and culminated in his book *Vvedenie v Teoruu Perevoda [Introduction to Translation Theory]* first published in 1953. For this reason, the book has been chosen for the analysis of the metalanguage of translation in this thesis. This choice is also justified by the fact that it was the first publication of such scale in the 20th century in Russian or in other languages to summarise theoretical developments on translation as an autonomous discipline and to define this discipline. The book had four revised

versions in Russian throughout Fedorov's lifetime with the fifth edition published posthumously in 2002.

2. What was Fedorov's relationship to prominent scholars in other countries?

The analysis of the reviews on Fedorov's book and the correspondence between Fedorov and his colleagues demonstrates his interaction with scholars both in the Soviet Union and in other countries. At the time of the 1953 publication this was mainly in France and Eastern Bloc countries. As the literature review below will show, previous studies have emphasised the ideological divide between Fedorov and Western European scholars, while this thesis will explore another perspective, bringing to light Fedorov's communication with his colleagues, including those from the Western Bloc. This part of research will be based on archival sources, identified in the methodology section below, which have not been previously studied.

3. What was Fedorov's contribution to the development of TS and does his work remain relevant?

Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* demonstrated a new approach to theorising translation at the time by synthesising previous theoretical writing, introducing new concepts, analysing translation problems descriptively rather than prescriptively, defining the autonomous discipline of translation theory, and highlighting the linguistic aspect and interdisciplinary nature of the field of study. In order to understand the development of Fedorov's concepts and views on translation and his place within the discipline, this thesis will trace Fedorov's biography and bibliography, demonstrating his broad expertise in linguistics, stylistics, literary studies, translation, and other related fields. The subsequent use of his original ideas by other scholars will be investigated, and a scientometric analysis will be conducted to assess Fedorov's impact and his legacy not only from a historical point of view but also from the perspective of the current state of TS.

iii. The theoretical framework

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study pertaining to the field of translation history and historiography of TS. It relies on the general theoretical framework of descriptive TS in its pivotal position linking to translation theory (Toury, 2012), in

which all directions of descriptive TS may have a historical perspective and provide for addressing the central questions in historiographical research: who? what? where? with what? why? how? when? (D'hulst, 2010). It also adopts the *histoire croisée* approach to view crossings of Fedorov's ideas to other languages and theories as processes which are of interest on their own, but they also result in further transformations (Werner and Zimmermann, 2006). The *histoire croisée* concept of the intercrossing also allows for interlacing of different perspectives of time, national and linguistic traditions, and social environment to the object of study, thus facilitating historicisation and reflexivity of the research (Wolf, 2016; Wakabayashi, 2018). By revisiting little known parts of Fedorov's work and life with the highlighted role of manuscripts in the process, this study also adopts the microhistorical approach. The approach was developed from studies in history where a story of an individual or a specific event, microhistory, was used to reflect on macrohistory: a larger community, a society, or a historical period (Ginzburg, 1992 [1980]; 1993). The microhistorical approach has since been adopted in translation studies (Adamo, 2006; Batchelor, 2017; Munday, 2014).

iv. Literature review

The theory of translation, developed in the Soviet Union in the early to mid-20th century, including Fedorov's work, has been until recently largely overlooked in Anglophone literature. Only in the last decade have studies in TS addressed how neglected this area remained. Some important works have appeared in English, investigating translation in pre-Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union, illuminating the work of Fedorov, among others. At the forefront of these studies was the article by Mossop (2019 [2013]) 'Andrei Fedorov and the Origins of Linguistic Translation Theory' first made available online in 2013, which brought the theme back to the centre of much academic attention. The literature review in this chapter assesses the scholarship in English to date related to the subject.

Eurocentric and world translation approaches

The recent attention to Fedorov's works can be seen as part of the general trend towards more global TS. There has been a clear interest in translation scholarship from different parts of the world and a rise in the related debates on Eurocentrism, Anglocentrism, and Western hegemony in the discipline.

This interest yielded several significant publications, including a volume edited by Hermans (2006) and a book by Gentzler (2008) who initiated the use of the term Eurocentrism in relation to TS. A special issue of *Translation and Interpreting Studies* followed a conference in Antwerp, where the term was discussed further (Flynn and van Doorslaer, 2011). The investigation has since continued. In the recent volume *A World Atlas of Translation* Gambier and Stecconi (2019) discuss the Eurocentric approach in connection to translation universals, both of which, they argue, are rejected by anti-Eurocentrism scholars. Gambier and Stecconi (2019, p.3) suggest identifying approaches to translation by language families, rather than national or geographic borders, and thus present reports on the notion of translation from twenty-one 'traditions' from contributors in different parts of the world. Their conclusion has established that there is more similarity between the concepts of translation across the world than previously argued in Eurocentric discussions. Conversely, in the volume *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge: Sources, Concepts, Effects*, edited by D'hulst and Gambier, with contributions demonstrating the breadth of the discipline and its history, Tymoczko (2018) suggests that Eurocentric translation concepts and norms are not necessarily characteristic of other traditions.

Eurocentrism has been analysed by TS scholars from different perspectives. Chesterman (2014) argues that the value of any theory, including non-European, is in its applicability to wider knowledge and understanding rather than in its origin. The validity of the discourse formulated as the Eurocentric/Western opposition to the rest of the world has been questioned, and the vagueness of this dichotomy has been highlighted by some scholars, such as Costantino (2015) and Flynn (2011) who have suggested that research in translation should be supplemented with ethnographic studies, placing translation concepts in a specific cultural context. Gambier and van Doorslaer (2009, p.1) propose to study the metalanguage of TS in its diversity to 'challenge the so-called Eurocentric bias.' The ambiguity of the term Eurocentric overall has been highlighted, specifically the problematic division of Europe and the position of Eastern Europe in it (Simon, interviewed by van Doorslaer, 2013). Costantino (2015) correctly points out the limiting area of power within Europe since it is not a monolithic body and argues that historically research from Eastern Europe has been significantly less known and much of Eastern European scholarship

remains unknown in the West. Contrarily, Tymoczko has not excluded Eastern Europe, including Russia (although a larger part of it is in Asia) from the area of 'Eurocentric dominance,' even though she does not speak about it specifically; she has emphasised that 'there is obviously a place for the study of any national tradition of translation or translation theorization' (interviewed in van Doorslaer, 2013, p. 120).

If Russian translation theories are not seen in opposition to Eurocentric works, they can be approached as a national tradition, as one of the less generally known traditions, or a tradition beyond Anglocentrism. Schöffner (2017) identifies two main reasons why theories of translation from Eastern Europe are not widely known in Western Europe: linguistic barriers and the Cold War during the time of rapid development of the discipline. The Cold War limited interaction between scholars and the possibilities for publication exchange between countries of the two different camps. While after the Cold War such limitations were lifted, TS as a discipline, argues Schöffner, was focused on moving on and leaving the past behind, which is why only recently have the earlier works from Eastern European theorists come to light again for their input to TS and history of translation to be re-evaluated.

This focus is seen in volumes recently published in English, looking at the history of translation theory and practice in different Eastern European countries, including Pokorn (2012), Ceccherelli et al. (2015), Schippel and Zwischenberger (2017). While Pokorn (2012) focuses on translations into Slovene, identifying features common for translations from Socialist states in general, the contributors in Ceccherelli et al. (2015) look at different countries, including the former Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, and investigating what is known about theoretical ideas from these countries in Western Europe. A different approach is demonstrated in *Going East: Discovering New and Alternative Traditions in Translation Studies* (Schippel and Zwischenberger, 2017). As the editors point out, the papers in the volume follow different national traditions of TS, often disconnected from other countries. They therefore suggest areas of further investigation to include research into bibliographies of specific scholars and sources used by them to be 'integrated within a European history of science as a further step' (Schippel and Zwischenberger, 2017, p.10). This thesis addresses the identified research need.

Research on translation and its theory in Russia in the early 20th century

Schippel and Zwischenberger (2017) identify another gap in the history of TS, and that is the insufficiency of information available in English on the development of TS in Russia and the work of Andrei Fedorov in particular. Several studies have investigated the historical and political context of literary translation in the former Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s (Bedson and Schulz, 2017) and the factors that conditioned the emergence of theoretical works in Russia in the early 20th century, such as the role of two publishing houses: Academia and Vsemirnaia Literatura (Tyulenev, 2016; Ayvazyan and Pym, 2017; Bedson and Schulz, 2017; Schippel, 2017). The role of other outlets publishing translated literature, including periodicals, has been discussed in some recent studies (Witt, 2016b; Clark, 2018). Other factors that have been identified include the role of translation in society, the consequent need to train translators, the development of translation and literary criticism, and the existence of the environment supporting new research and scholars willing to undertake it (Schippel, 2017; Bedson and Schulz, 2017).

The significance of the materials for translator training commissioned by Vsemirnaia Literatura, published as two booklets (Gumilev and Chukovskii, 1919; Batiushkov et al., 1920), analysed by Schippel and Bedson and Schulz, has been highlighted by several other researchers (Ayvazyan and Pym, 2017; Baer, 2016a; Baer, 2021a). Earlier, Leighton (1991) had claimed that the first booklet was published in 1918, that in the second one published a year later Gumilev's essay was replaced by Batiushkov's, and that the booklet was published under the title *Teoriia i Kritika Perevoda [Theory and Criticism of Translation]*. These statements are incorrect: both booklets were published as *Pprintsipy Khudozhestvennogo Perevoda [Principles of Literary Translation]*, and the only book published under the claimed title was Larin (1962b). Leighton's book, still referred to by researchers, in general demonstrated anecdotal evidence in relation to Russian TS and a questionable selection of sources. Thus, the first chapter 'The Soviet School of Translation' was based largely on publications by Vladimir Rossels whom Leighton named among leading theorists, neglecting many outstanding scholars of the time, while Rossels is known to have been criticised for his biased approach and lack of knowledge on existing theories and literature (Fedorov, 1965). The booklet was briefly mentioned also with incorrect bibliographical

details by Friedberg (1997), who similarly showed a limited and unjustified choice of primary sources. These publications in English showed a need for further research, which has since been undertaken, most notably by Bedson and Schulz (2017); however, none of the studies addressed them from the perspective of the metalanguage of these early theoretical publications.

Another significant factor contributing to the development of the theory of translation in the Soviet Union has been identified as 'the birth of linguistics as a formal and experimental scientific field' (Salmon, 2015, p.33). Salmon discusses the development of translation in the Soviet Union, including machine translation advancements starting in the 1930s, and theories of translation throughout the existence of the Soviet Union. Speaking of linguistic approaches to translation, Salmon (2015, p.53) claims that theorists 'showed a weak knowledge of complex formal linguistics.' Considering the wide scope of Salmon's paper, it is limited in the depth to which it can go on each issue, and it is therefore unclear what her statement is based on; however, my research into Fedorov's work shows his substantial linguistic background and will be demonstrated in this thesis.

Some of these factors that supported the emergence of translation theory in Russia have also been discussed by Ayvazyan and Pym (2017). The first paper dedicated to TS in Russia by these authors created a polemical dialogue with another expert in the field (Pym and Ayvazyan, 2015; Tyulenev, 2015; Pym, 2015). It was one of the first studies in English in the 2000s highlighting Fedorov's work, and the weaknesses pointed out by Tyulenev (2015), most importantly inadequate use of primary sources and factual inaccuracies, were addressed in subsequent publications as Ayvazyan and Pym continued their research. As Pym (2016, p.38) has noted, referring back to the time when he was the editor of Fawcett's book (1997) that had some information on Soviet scholars, 'things Russian were simply too hard in those days, and too difficult to read.' Interestingly, Fawcett (1997) cited Fedorov, but more often to use Fedorov's translation examples than to reflect on his theoretical contributions. Pym's comparison between 'those days' and now suggests that in the current availability of digitised texts and automated translation software, research into Russian theories, as well as other previously understudied traditions, has become more accessible; therefore, the renewed interest in such theories is prompted, besides

the abovementioned reasons, by reduced linguistic barriers and improved access.

Publications focusing on Fedorov's works

Pym's book (2016) that followed created a more comprehensive image of Fedorov in the chapter titled 'A Tradition in Russian and Environs.' It is a complex and interesting study demonstrating several different perspectives. The main focus here is on translation solutions suggested by Fedorov and other Russian scholars, as well as some Ukrainian theorists. Pym (2016) attempts to follow the development of concepts relating to adequacy and equivalence in Russian-language scholarship and to present them as part of the evolution of translation solutions.

One major problem with this chapter is a lack of clarity between categories of translation solutions and other concepts. For example, in the table of solutions (Pym, 2016, p.48) 'adequacy' is listed among solutions although it was suggested by Batiushkov not as a solution, but as a guiding principle, a translation aim. The study includes an overview of the typology of translation solutions presented by Fedorov (1927b) (Pym quotes the English translation of the paper published in 1974); my criticism of this part of the study will be presented in my analysis of Fedorov's paper in Chapter 2. Pym (2016) supplements the study of translation solutions with elements of the academic and political context of Fedorov's work and some biographical information about Fedorov. Very important links between Fedorov, Cary, Vinay and Darbelnet, Kade, and Levý are identified; however, they are followed by debatable conclusions. For instance, Pym (2016, p.63), claims that Fedorov's legacy in Levý's works is reduced to recollections of 'only the "pointless and fruitless" polemics between Fedorov and Chukovskii, between science and literature,' whereas my research shows that there is evidence of Levý studying Fedorov's works on translation, starting from 1927 and even planning to translate his 1953 book into Czech, as well as their correspondence and collaboration. Pym (2016) concludes his chapter claiming that the ideology of Soviet translation theorists and their continued struggle between linguistic and literary approaches prevented Western scholars from seeing the key strengths of their works. Pym's study of Fedorov's work, while providing important pieces of data, suffers again from unwarranted assumptions, such as suggesting that Cary

was picking ‘a petty fight with Fedorov’ (Pym, 2016, p.61) based only on two publications by Cary. It is limited by overgeneralisation and the reliance on a limited number of sources, similarly to Pym’s claim on the overall attitude of Western scholars to Soviet theories, when such significant sources as, for instance, Mounin’s works have been neglected.

One of the first publications in English that place Fedorov in the context of philological and translation research and attempt to examine his background and several of his works comes from Schippel (2017). The discussion of publications is to show the ‘evolution of Fedorov’s translation theory’ (subheading on p.259). It gives some idea of Fedorov’s approaches and concepts, although it does not examine them in detail. The selection of Fedorov’s works in this discussion without an explanation of the rationale fails to show the scope of his work. Considering the title of the paper, ‘Translation as Estrangement: Andrei Fedorov and the Russian Formalists,’ the author overlooks the 1928 article which is the work that shows Fedorov’s connection to Russian Formalism the most.

Speaking of this connection, Schippel (2017, p.248) calls Fedorov a ‘scholar from the Petersburg/Leningrad circle of Formalists’. I argue that it is more correct to describe Fedorov as a student of some Russian formalists who followed their tradition and Russian Formalism as the prevailing research method in philology, particularly during his student years. He was not, however, a member of this group. Russian formalists, a movement in Russian literary studies, was rather strictly associated with members of *OPOIaZ* [Society for the study of poetic language],¹ based in Petrograd (later renamed Leningradⁱ), and the Moscow Linguistic Circle.² *OPOIaZ* officially existed between 1916 and 1923 (officially as an organisation between 1919 and 1922), and the Moscow Linguistic Circle between 1915 and 1924 (Glanc and Pilshchikov, 2017; Glanc, 2015). Fedorov was not a member of either of them, probably because his career developed slightly later than the years when these groups were active.

There has been disagreement in the scholarship on the inclusion of different groups. Some researchers define Russian formalists even more strictly,

ⁱ In 1914 the city known as Petersburg was officially named Petrograd, and in 1924, following the death of Lenin, it was renamed Leningrad; in 1991 the city became Saint Petersburg (Borisenko, D. 2015). In this thesis I use the names of the city used at the time of the events.

limiting them only to the core members of OPOlaZ: Eikhenbaum, Jakobson, Shklovskii, Tynianov, and Tomashevskii (Khitrova, 2019). Jakobson connected OPOlaZ and the Moscow Linguistics Circle as a member of both (Holquist, 2010). This view probably follows Eikhenbaum's approach limiting the group to OPOlaZ theorists expressed in his 1925 essay 'The Theory of the "Formal Method".' In the same essay Eikhenbaum asserted that 'the so-called "formal method" was formed [...] in the process of a struggle for the autonomy and concreteness of literary science' (cited in Renfrew, 2006, p.4). The idea of the autonomy of literature and literary theory as a mission of formalists is supported by Khitrova, who also highlights their interest in the literary text in the process of its development and their opposition to causality in research, which they fought to replace with 'the much more complex "interrelation" of phenomena, both literary and historical' (2019, p.17). Among other central ideas was the concept of evolution, following Saussurean views on synchronic vs. diachronic studies, specificity as an overarching principle to specify, and literariness vs. everyday life (Renfrew, 2006; 2010). Researchers agree that the formalist theory cannot be definitive as the formalists did not formulate it as such, seeing it as a process, consistent with their principles to avoid boundaries. Some of their ideas were indeed reflected in Fedorov's works, particularly in his earlier publications, as I will show in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Finally, in early 2021 a translation of Fedorov's 1953 book into English (translated by Baer and Green) was published with an introduction by Baer. It is truly a milestone in Anglophone scholarship on Russian translation theory, as it is not only the first translation of this book into English, supplemented with the researcher's introduction, it is only the second translation into English of any of Fedorov's works after the translation of his 1927 article (Fedorov, 1974). In his introduction, Baer (2021a) emphasises the role of Fedorov's connection to Russian Formalism as the only translation scholar to maintain that relation, following Hansen-Löve. Among other influences on Fedorov's theoretical writing on translation Baer identifies systems-based models, Marxism-Leninism, and Stalin's involvement in culture. While the systems-based approaches could be grouped together with Formalism, in their identification Baer provides a useful link to Saussurean linguistics. It is noteworthy that Marxism-Leninism and Stalin's intervention (addressed in the next subsection) have been approached

separately, not from the same perspective of perceived ideology. Baer shows Fedorov's sincere interest in works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, as a translator and scholar, while he argues that Fedorov's chapter dedicated to Stalin was motivated by more political reasons. At the same time Baer (2021a, p.xxiv) suggests that 'Fedorov was genuinely elated when in 1950 Stalin definitively refuted the theories of Nikolai Marr.' I do not think this is quite correct, and I will show in Chapter 2 that references to Stalin were not part of Fedorov's manuscripts initially. Analysing these influences, Baer's profound study of the era leading to the 1953 publication reconstructs the context of the appearance of Fedorov's books, notwithstanding little biographical information provided, and prepares the reader for the contents of the book. Overall Baer's research is of great significance to the subject, and the long-awaited translation contributes to gradually increasing Fedorov's visibility and literature on Soviet translation theory in Western European scholarship, which, as Baer claims, have still been absent.

Stalin's linguistic publications and their consequences

Previous studies have identified the need for further research into Fedorov's works to consider the wider context of his academic life, including the social and political conditions in which scholars, writers, and translators worked in the Soviet Union, and particularly the significant role of Joseph Stalin's series of publications on linguistics (Mossop, 2019 [2013]).

In 1950 the Soviet newspaper Pravda published a series of articles authored by Stalin, later published as a booklet *Marksizm i Voprosy lazykoznaniiia* [*Marxism and Issues in Linguistics*]. Dobrenko (2014, p.20) argues that linguistics was not the most significant element of the articles, that the articles were 'a metatext and a striking example of Stalin's theorizing about "Marxism" with examples taken from linguistics.' Yet some researchers emphasise the value of Stalin's articles for linguistics and related disciplines since they allowed a new discourse to begin. Mossop (2019 [2013]) argues that they brought 'Soviet linguistics back into the international mainstream.'

This effect largely consisted in Stalin denouncing Nikolai Marr 's Japhetic theory, which had been the officially accepted linguistic theory before. Marr's teaching claimed that 'all of the languages of the Caucasus, whether or not Indo-European, share traces of a distinct family of languages called "Japhetic"'

(Leezenberg, 2014, p.102). While it is readily dismissed today as non-scientific, Marr's ideas connected to the early nationality policies of the Soviet Union (Leezenberg, 2014). Rayfield (2015, p.48) draws together Marr's authority as follows:

From the 1890s he was lauded to the skies, mostly in Russia and Georgia, for phenomenal work on Caucasian languages, then for his "Japhetic theory," which grew into a 'Marxist' doctrine of language, opposing 'bourgeois' theories with a postulate that language is a class phenomenon, mirroring the progression from tribalism to communism.

Marr had an interesting background and career, including his archaeological and textological expeditions, which resulted in valuable findings; his linguistic efforts proved to be less scientific. Among them were some of his hypotheses, including the common Japhetic roots of Kartvelian and Semitic languages, or Georgian relating to Basque (Rayfield, 2015).

Stalin's articles were printed in Pravda following an article by Georgian scholar Arnold Chikobava, who wrote an anti-Marrist piece, commissioned by Stalin and published in May 1950 (Slezkine, 1996). Stalin's papers then "resolved" the conflict raised by Chikobava. The main breakthrough points of Stalin's papers and their influence on linguistics have been identified by Alpatov (2000b) as follows:

- 1) denouncing the idea that language is a superstructure on the base in the societal economic structure,
- 2) denying the class characteristic of language, comparing it to instruments or production tools,
- 3) reinstating the achievements of the 19th century linguists, and
- 4) pronouncing linguistics to be a progressive science that does not need to be labelled as 'Marxist' or 'bourgeois' depending on the area or approach of study.

The analysis of Stalin's papers on linguistics is closely connected to the problem of censorship in Russia and Soviet Union in the early and mid-20th century and their impact on the development of translation and TS that has been investigated in several studies. Examining the origins of censorship in the USSR, authors agree that censorship had existed in imperial Russia; however, under the Soviet government it rose to another level which could amount to complete

rewriting of literary works (Choldin, 1989). Vladimirov (1989) adds that after Lenin came to power the Bolsheviks saw censorship as the only choice, since in the presence of free media they could not control the criticism of their actions. After that censorship gradually became an integral part of the new regime, getting stricter and more all-encompassing, with a censor working at every publishing house and print shop, controlling all publications. In her in-depth analysis of censorship in the Soviet Union, Sherry (2015) identifies several levels: publishing censorship as the choice of texts conforming to the Soviet ideology to be translated and published, textual censorship affecting the language of the text, political censorship involving taboo topics, and ideological censorship relating to creation and circulation of ideologemes.

The state censorship of translated literature and original works in Russian was regulated differently (Safiullina, 2009). Literary translation could be both a getaway and a burden imposed by the governing bodies. Such outstanding writers and poets as Anna Akhmatova, Boris Pasternak, Osip Mandelstam, and Mikhail Zoshchenko at different times had to use translation as their main source of income and the only way to express their creative talent when their original works would not be published (Friedberg, 1997; Witt, 2011). Quoting Zemskova (2013), Baer (2016b, p.186) calls it an 'escape into translation' when writers who could be translators resorted to this form of writing. Some authors even invented original foreign poets whom they "translated" for their voice to be heard (Tyulenev, 2016). By the 1930s there was an established censorship of translated literature in place as well (Poucke, 2018).

Censorship was among the key factors that determined the cessation of Russian Formalism in Soviet Russia in the late 1920s. Along with other literary movements of the time, it was curtailed (Emerson, 2011). Formalist writing could not adapt to Marxist aesthetics. Besides, more immediate political persecution forced OPOlaZ to stop its activities: Shklovskii escaped Russia in 1922 to avoid arrest as a member of the Social Revolutionary party (Renfrew, 2006). Even though he returned to Russia next year, the fear of persecution remained. After some attempts to resurrect OPOlaZ (with Jakobson having already left for Prague), in 1930 Shklovskii published his essay 'A Monument to a Scholarly Mistake,' which was 'conceived as a strategic retreat,' and 'ultimately became an act of renunciation as well as the end of Formalism' (Khitrova, 2019, p.22).

Besides internal policies, censorship was connected to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Foreign relations, the striving of the Soviet Union for cultural superiority, was linked to the development of Russian literature and national identity, and therefore connected to translation (Clark, 2011a; 2011b; Baer, 2016b). Extensive research in different areas related to cultural policy and translation in Russia and the Soviet Union has been conducted by Witt, investigating socialist realism and translation (Witt, 2016b), ideology and translators' institutions, including the Union of Writers, particularly the role of the 1936 First All-Union Conference of Translators (Witt, 2013), and the agency of Soviet school of translation (Witt, 2016a). The impact of ideology on TS, and specifically that of Stalin's articles (the 'linguistic discussion') forms the central focus of a study by Shakhova (2017).

Paradigm shifts and travelling theories

Shakhova (2017) examines Stalin's articles as the main factor of a paradigm shift in Soviet linguistics, and consequently in TS, from the perspectives of two theoretical frameworks: as an anomaly in the model of scientific revolutions, and as a travelling theory. Based on Kuhn's model of scientific revolutions, Shakhova (2017) argues that Stalin's articles caused a paradigm shift in linguistics and TS, and Stalin's unquestionable authority was a major factor.

As Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2012) was first published in 1962, it coincided with the development of the theory of translation and the beginnings of TS as a discipline in Western European literature. Kuhn's models and concepts have been used as a framework in TS and in related disciplines, for instance, in linguistics (Blackburn, 2007) and semiotics (Pilshchikov and Trunin, 2016). Among TS scholars, Hermans (1999) uses Kuhn's concept of a paradigm and some of the principles of its existence and growth. Similarly, Pym (2016) uses Kuhn's theory in his definition of a paradigm. D'hulst and Gambier (2018, p.2) critically assess the role of Kuhn's theory specifically for the history of translation theory:

... views on past thinking, theories included, are strongly indebted to Thomas Kuhn's distinction between evolutionary models of science, two of which have become topical: the "growth" model (science progresses by accumulation) and the model of "paradigm shifts."

Kuhn's theory has appealed to humanities and social sciences due to the broader concept and definition of science it negotiated and to the role of external factors in such scientific development (Bird, 2018). His call for historiographic perspective has also been useful for many disciplines, including TS.

Drawing on the concept of travelling theories developed in 1983 by Edward Said and adopted by Susam-Saraeva (2006) and Neumann and Nünning (2012), Shakhova (2017, p.112) suggests that Stalin's articles could also be seen as a travelling theory that 'travelled synchronically between academic disciplines and anchored in the discourse of the Soviet translation studies.' Shakhova discusses references to Stalin's articles in Fedorov (1953), as well as their translations and other forms of rewriting published in East Germany in support of this idea. She does not provide an analysis of Stalin's articles or identify any specific concepts in their texts, and therefore there is no strong evidence of the travelling theory demonstrated. In the case of Fedorov's book, Shakhova (2017, p.115) concludes that since in the second and consequent edition all references to Stalin's article had been removed without any effect on the conceptual content, they rather 'served as a discursive marker of ideological loyalty of the author.' I would argue it could speak for censorship in the editing and publishing procedures rather than the loyalty of the author. The application of travelling theories suggested by Shakhova is nevertheless very interesting.

The framework of travelling theories or concepts is useful in research into the history of TS. As Neumann and Nünning (2012, p.7) point out:

Mapping the travels of concepts and examining the specific uses of concepts in diverse disciplinary and national contexts can establish structured relationships between different academic communities and help bridge the obvious gaps between various traditions.

Considering this, concepts identified in Fedorov's works could be studied as travelling concepts in several directions: mapping them to and from his works in interdisciplinary and international trajectories.

This is what Shakhova (2021) indeed attempts in her next paper published in early 2021. Here she approaches Fedorov's work as a travelling theory and analyses it as a "rediscovery" of a missing theory by Western scholars, although she at the same time controversially points out that Fedorov's theory travelled to the Western discourse and therefore was not a missing theory. While she points

out some important concepts of Fedorov's theory, Shakhova (2021, p.177) does not claim their originality and suggests that any similarity in the ideas of Western scholars to Fedorov's were due to their similar goals and 'similar "tools" of investigation,' ignoring the direct links between them. Shakhova focuses on Stalin's 'linguistic discussion' and its influence on Fedorov's theory and examines other ideological content in Fedorov's work and ideological barriers between Soviet and Western TS. She likens the rediscovery of Fedorov to the rediscovery of the Skopos theory in post-Soviet Russia. This is a valuable contribution to our understanding of re-evaluation of TS history.

In summary, the existing literature in English has highlighted the importance of further research into areas of translation that have been understudied on the global scale, including those that originated in Russia. In the growing body of publications related to this subject, which shows an increasing interest in such research, there has not yet been a comprehensive study centred on Fedorov's life and oeuvre. While previous studies have presented some important research, they have also identified several knowledge gaps that need to be addressed, such as Fedorov's biography and bibliography, comprehensive analysis of his concepts and metalanguage, and their relation to global TS, works by other scholars, and history of the discipline.

v. Methodology

This thesis relies on close reading and critical textual analysis of primary sources and historical secondary sources. There are two main groups in each of the bodies of materials: published and unpublished. Published sources consist in Fedorov's publications, including those that have not been previously analysed in Anglophone literature, and publications by other scholars, such as allographic reviews (in Genette's (1997) terms), some of which were usually missed in searches and bibliographies because they were published in specialised journals in national languages of Eastern European countries. I have identified them through close reading of Fedorov's archived materials and then, where their titles or authors' names were mentioned, searching for the publications.

The original findings of this thesis mainly come from the archival work studying unpublished documents. The unpublished documents have included Fedorov's manuscripts and correspondence as well as readers' reports on his

early drafts and pre-prints. These documents have been located in Fedorov's manuscript repository in the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia (TsGALI SPb).³ To my knowledge, they have not been previously investigated in any publication on the subject; none of the previous studies, identified in the literature review, accessed them. An analysis of these manuscripts (including handwritten documents and typescripts, letters, book drafts, and unpublished papers, following the definition and classification of manuscripts by Pearce-Moses (2005)) has allowed me to identify changes made in the process of their preparation for publication, revealing the development of his ideas and interference of external factors. Critical analysis of archival materials is also used to revisit Fedorov's biography and Fedorov's links with scholars both in Russia and in other countries.

The limitations of this study do not allow every letter or manuscript to be analysed, so the sources have been selected based on their representativeness, informativeness, and number (in the case of letters). The selection was made based on the detailed titles of the documents in the catalogues and archival inventories. Readability was another factor because I found not all handwritten materials were legible.

The analysis of the metalanguage conducted as part of this thesis has been based on Fedorov's *Vvedenie v Teoriiu Perevoda [Introduction to Translation Theory]* (1953) and its later editions (1958; 1968b; 1983b). For the purposes of this study, concept analysis is understood as a research method consisting in the description of concepts and exploration of their characteristics and relationships, including the investigation of definitions and equivalents to terms (Nuopponen, 2010). The following understanding of the relevant terms is adopted from terminology science: 'The "meaning" of the term is said to be the concept, [...]. Synonyms are defined as two or more terms from the same language representing the same concept. Equivalents can be defined as two or more terms from different languages representing the same concept' (Rogers, 1997, p.217).

The terms and concepts selected for analysis have been identified as crucial to Fedorov's theory of translation and facilitating the understanding of his contribution to TS. Given the limitations of the thesis it is not possible to analyse

every item of the metalanguage, therefore, the concepts which are seen as representative of theoretical models in Russian at the time have been prioritised with some of them also represented in theories in other languages, allowing comparison and reflection.

Another research method in this thesis providing a new perspective on Fedorov's oeuvre, his relevance and impact has been scientometric analysis. Scientometric methods have been used in TS since the late 1990s, most notably developed by Pöchhacker (1995) and Gile (2001). Scientometric or bibliometric methods include production analysis, network analysis, and citation analysis (van Doorslaer, 2016). The term 'scientometrics' is used in this thesis rather than 'bibliometrics' following Gile (2015, p.243) who distinguishes between 'bibliometric analyses (measuring the production of texts and related parameters, as opposed to the more general concept of scientometrics, which could apply to any measurement of scientific activity).' Scientometrics has provided TS with methodology to conduct quantitative analysis of data on research activities and outputs in the field.

In this thesis I have adopted the micro-level scientometric method proposed by Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008). The method focuses on counting and analysing data on publications by one scholar only (Fedorov in this research), and in this thesis they consist in overall publication analysis and citation analysis. The publication analysis has been based on the corpus of Fedorov's publications which I have compiled as part of this research. The tools from Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008), such as the timeline presentation and document type classifications, have been adjusted and applied to analyse it.

The citation analysis, in the methodology by Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008, p.8), consists in building an 'ego-centred' network where the centre is the publications by one author and citations of this author build a complex of links around this centre; this way it 'illustrates the relationships between this author (ego) and his peers (alters) and can be visualised in network graphs.' To conduct the citation analysis, the Publish or Perish software has been used. Publish or Perish is free software designed for academic researchers which obtains and analyses citations from Google Scholar (and other data sources) and calculates several metrics, including total number of citations, average citations per paper,

and a number of indices, such as Hirsch's h-index (Harzing, 2007). The citation analysis and Publish or Perish specifically allow drawing conclusions on the research impact of a scholar based on the analysis. Besides its suitability and availability, the software has been chosen as it retrieves citations from Google Scholar, 'a free academic web search engine that indexes scholarly literature across a wide array of disciplines, document types and languages,' rather than the previously monopolist Web of Science (Martin-Martin et al., 2017, p.2). Previous studies in TS have shown that the Web of Science is not suitable for research in TS and humanities in general, as it fails to mine citations from any publications other than indexed journals, limits the scope of cited publications by their age, and heavily prioritises publications in English (Franco Aixelá, 2013; Harzing, 2020).

In addition to citation analysis with Publish and Perish I have been performed several manual citation counts to assess citations specifically in TS databases. First, I searched BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation) database (Franco Aixelá, 2001-2020), which performs its own citation mining, and counted citations. Then I conducted a manual counting of the TSB database (*Translation Studies Bibliography*, 2020) and the databases of two journals: *Meta: Translators' Journal* and *Babel* selected as the major journals in TS during the main period under investigation. Then I analysed and visualised the findings.

Researchers caution against using scientometrics unreservedly due to the known limitations and flaws (Grbić and Pöllabauer, 2008; Franco Aixelá and Rovira-Esteva, 2015; Rovira-Esteva et al., 2019), but in combination with other methods it has been shown to provide valuable insights. In this thesis, therefore, the results of the scientometric analysis are presented to support the qualitative analysis and reflections.

vi. The value of the research

Fedorov's translation theory and his theoretical writing on TS in general have been attracting academic attention; however, no systemic study of his work has been presented in English language scholarship. This thesis is the first extensive research into Fedorov's oeuvre and its meaningful impact on TS.

Based on primary sources from Fedorov's manuscript repository in the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia, which

have not been studied before, this thesis provides new perspectives on the previously raised questions of Fedorov's influence and the ideological content of his book. The analysis of his manuscripts has shed new light on the development of his ideas and his communication with other scholars from the Eastern Bloc and some countries of Western Europe, most importantly, France. The research has established facts of Fedorov's biography, significant from the TS history and microhistory points of view, previously distorted or unknown.

The data from the archives, together with a wide range of primary sources published in Russian, have been used to compile Fedorov's complete bibliography. The bibliography has not only shown the broad spectrum of Fedorov's research interests, but it has also been used as a basis for the scientometric study. It is the first scientometric analysis of Fedorov's publications and has provided valuable findings on his production and impact.

This thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of Fedorov's translation theory, its development and metalanguage, and investigates Fedorov's role in the establishment of TS as an autonomous discipline, both in Russia and globally. This research will contribute to the knowledge of TS, its history and present state, and a better understanding of their connections and concepts, which are not limited by geographical and linguistic confines.

vii. The scope and definitions

Since the thesis focuses on Fedorov's work on translation theory, which culminated in his 1953 publication, the focus chronologically falls onto the late 1920s through the 1950s, although the whole period of Fedorov's life is covered. The period under investigation starts from the late 1910s, prior to the years of Fedorov's first works. The starting point has been chosen based on the publication in 1919 of one of the first attempts of theorising translation in Russia (Fedorov, 1983), the booklet *Principles of Literary Translation*, written by Kornei Chukovskii and Nikolai Gumilev, which will be discussed in Chapter 1. The ending point of the period coincides with the end of Fedorov's life in 1997.

This period starts before the Soviet Union was created in 1922; therefore, the adjective 'Russian' is used as an all-encompassing term to denote all Russian-speaking scholars and works in the Russian language. To refer to such publications and authors, as well as contemporary ones, the term 'Russophone'

can also be used following, for example, Byford et al. (2020). The adjective 'Soviet' is used as a gentilic of the Soviet Union, after it was formed, which can refer to people from any republic of the USSR including, but not limited to, the Russian Republic. This thesis, however, is largely limited to Soviet publications in the Russian language due to the inability of the researcher to adequately interpret literature in other national languages of the USSR.

viii. Note on translation

In this thesis all translations from Russian are mine, unless indicated otherwise, and the original text in Russian is given in Appendix B. I have transliterated Russian names and titles of publications following the ALA-LC standards: the romanisation system of the American Library Association (ALA) and the Library of Congress (LC), which is also used by the British Library; I have chosen to use it without diacritics to make it ASCII compatible (Brewer, 2009; Ivanov, 2017). The same system has been used to transliterate names in other Cyrillic alphabets, for example Ukrainian, and Russian terms.

Translations from languages other than English and Russian are produced using machine translation (Google Translate) and, where deemed crucial for understanding, post-edited by my colleagues who are native speakers of the source language. In such cases the editor is indicated in the note in Appendix B where source texts of translated quotations are given.

ix. Thesis structure

The thesis consists of five main chapters, followed by a concluding chapter. The first chapter will provide a historical, social, political, and academic context for Fedorov's works on translation theory. After an overview of the whole period under investigation, it will concentrate on the conditions and developments in literature and translation in Russia in the early 20th century, as well as the theoretical works that paved the way for Fedorov's publications.

The second chapter will be dedicated to Fedorov's life and development of his ideas. Following all stages of his life, it will present Fedorov's biography and the creation of his first works on translation. It will then analyse the drafts of Fedorov's book *Introduction to Translation Theory*, reflecting on the changes made in the process. Other publications showing the scope of Fedorov's

expertise will be briefly analysed in their relation to translation and translation theory.

The third chapter will investigate the metalanguage of the *Introduction to Translation Theory*. It will identify the key concepts in Fedorov's book, analyse them and critically compare them to those introduced by Western European scholars or identify the absence of comparable concepts. In order to avoid ahistorical interpretation, the comparison will include theoretical writings of the same period from the middle to late 20th century.

The fourth chapter will research the circulation of Fedorov's book. It will analyse reviews it received after the publication of the first edition and its reception in and outside the Soviet Union. Through the study of Fedorov's correspondence and other personal papers in the archives, the chapter will establish Fedorov's links in global TS and his communication as a leading translation theorist following the publication of his book.

The fifth chapter will determine Fedorov's importance from the perspective of TS today. It will analyse his contribution to the development of the discipline and assess Fedorov's relevance today by studying references to his works in publications by contemporary Russian scholars and his presence in university programmes. Finally, it will present the findings of the scientometric analysis of Fedorov's oeuvre.

The conclusion of the thesis will summarise the results of the research, revisit the research questions, and reflect on the research findings.

Chapter 1. The origins and context of the development of translation theory in the Soviet Union

Translation theory as a distinct field of knowledge started developing in the Soviet Union in the early 20th century. This chapter will establish the context which surrounded this process and the factors that influenced intellectual work at the time. It starts with a historical overview of the period highlighting the major political and social changes in Russia, from the Russian Empire to the Soviet Union to the Russian Federation. It is followed by an analysis of the conditions in which the first theoretical works appeared, including the cultural environment and the role of literature in it, language policy, the growth of translation, publishing, and ideology. The chapter synthesises a variety of sources, providing an original reflection on them from the perspective of TS, complemented with my own research of primary sources, including early theoretical publications on translation. The analysis of these publications leads to a summary of subsequent developments among which were the first theoretical publications of Andrei Fedorov. Thus, this chapter links the microhistory of Fedorov's work to the macro-context. It contextualises and historicises, following one of the methodological principles of *histoire croisée* (Wakabayashi, 2018), the beginnings of Fedorov's research in translation theory that led to his fundamental book *Introduction to Translation Theory*.

1.1 Historical overview of the period

The very first decade of the defined period, starting from the late 1910s as defined in the Introduction, was already abounding in dramatic changes in the political and social environment in Russia. Following the First World War, the Russian Revolution of 1917 resulted in the fall of the Russian Empire and the abolition of monarchy. Provisional Government, dual power, and takeover by Bolsheviks were some of the political changes that ensued. War communism introduced nationalisation of land and property, and extreme centralisation of power, which led to social unrest and riots. The Russian Civil War that broke out continued through 1922 and brought not only severe direct casualties, but also famine, child homelessness, industrial and agrarian decline, and violence on military, public

and state levels (von Hagen, 2009). The new state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was formed in 1922.

Throughout the history of the Soviet Union the Communist Party played the leading role in the political, social, and economic government of the country, this role was stated in the Constitution in 1936 (Velikanova, 2018). The leader of the party was the de-facto head of the country. See Figure 1-1 for the timeline of Communist party leaders that visualises the succession of leadership in the USSR.

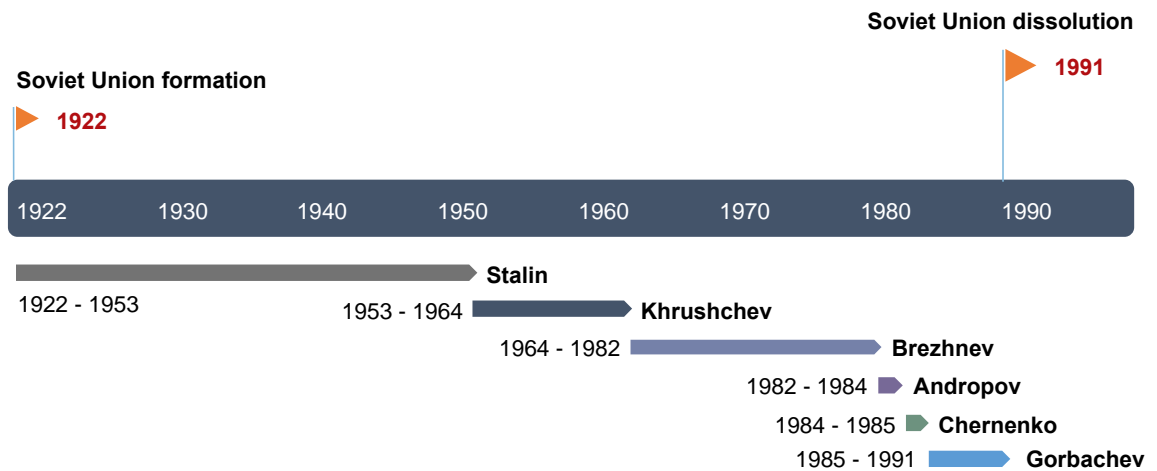


Figure 1-1. Party leaders in the Soviet Unionⁱⁱ

Prior to 1922 the party did not officially (by the Charter) have a leading post; unofficially the leader of the party and of the government was the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Lenin (Panchenko, 2016).

The new Soviet state soon saw the death of Lenin and rise to power of Joseph Stalin. His industrialisation, collectivisation, and grain management policy caused the famine in the early 1930s in the USSR. While several republics, including Kazakhstan and Russia, suffered millions of fatalities, it was Ukraine that was hit hardest. Scholars today estimate that at least six million Ukrainians

ⁱⁱ My timeline, based on the data from Panchenko (2016) and Ponton (1994). I do not differentiate here between the varying titles of the party leaders throughout the history, including the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

perished during the Holodomor; considering its national and class orientation this man-made famine in Ukraine has been defined as Stalin's genocide against Ukrainians and Ukrainian peasantry (Bilinsky, 1999; Ellman, 2007; Serbyn, 2008). There is still a debate on classifying the Holodomor as genocide according to the UN convention, with some scholars arguing against it, such as Shearer (2006).

Stalin's repressions and executions reached their peak during the Great Terror of 1937-38 (Harris, 2016). The Great Terror, the period of purges on a mass scale, aimed at eliminating "anti-Soviet elements," accounted for a million people executed and another three million deaths in labour camps and prisons, with the total death toll of the Stalin period approximating 20 million people (Conquest, 2008). This is one estimate, and it will never be possible to know the exact number of victims of the regime. Stalin's purges targeted universities, among other institutions, and affected the academic communities and their work, as will be shown in this and the following chapter.

The Great Terror was followed by the Second World War which cost the Soviet Union between 1939 and 1945 approximately 27 million lives, according to the official sources (Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 2018), along with incomparable material and economic damage: thousands of cities and settlements were destroyed, and the national wealth reduced by 30 per cent (Telpukhovsky, 1984). The Second World War halted most research and publishing activities in the Soviet Union due to its heavy toll, although during the first war years some important theoretical works still appeared, including Fedorov (1941). Many translators and scholars were mobilised, as will be demonstrated by the example of Fedorov's war experience in the next chapter. Military translator and interpreter training became prioritised in higher education starting from 1940 (Military University of the Ministry of Defence, 2019). Practical and technical manuals were in demand; among them Fedorov's series in practical German-Russian translation (Fedorov, 1932-1936) which was republished between 1937 and 1941. Research and academic activities resumed after the war.

After the death of Stalin in 1953 started the period known as Khrushchev's Thaw, which, as the name of this period signifies, brought a certain alleviation of

the regime under Nikita Khrushchev through the early 1960s. Khrushchev initiated the repudiation of Stalin's cult of personality in his speech in 1956, condemning Stalin personally for the crimes during his rule (Ponton, 1994). Khrushchev still in many ways followed the legacy of Stalinism, including, for instance, the Soviet aggression in Poland and Hungary (Kramer, 1998). However, he started the process of de-Stalinisation and with it began the first phase of the long process of rehabilitation of the victims of Stalin's repressions (McElhanon, 2005). Khrushchev's leadership brought improvements to the welfare of people and some recognition of the value of an individual, after a long period of only communal interests on the agenda (Ponton, 1994). Khrushchev's 1956 speech launched the destruction of the myth of the great erudite scholar Stalin which was welcomed by the progressive academic community and encouraged the emergence of new scholarly, literary, and artistic initiatives and publications. International academic communication became easier and scholars previously unwelcomed by the Soviet state visited the USSR. Among them was Jakobson who had lived in the United States since 1941 and in 1956 was officially invited to come to Moscow for the 4th International Congress of Slavists (Zavacká, 2017). He indeed participated in the congress which took place in 1957 and at which Fedorov also presented, as demonstrated in the congress publications (Vinogradov, 1960).

This time of change and hope was followed by the period of stagnation, as it became known afterwards, under new leadership when Khrushchev was ousted, and Leonid Brezhnev came to power. Stagnation described the period's relative stability but at the same time development of destructive processes. During Brezhnev's rule, Khrushchev's major reforms were undone, corruption flourished, the Soviet Union attempted to suppress protests in Czechoslovakia using military force in 1968, and invaded Afghanistan in 1979 (Hanson, 2006). The change in the discourse was reflected in the language describing the economic system in the country: the Soviet Union was no longer reported to be making progress towards Communism, but instead it was said to have reached 'the stage of "developed socialism" – a formulation that focused attention on the successes of the past rather than the promise of the future' (Hanson, 2006, p.298). Writers and public speakers critical of the regime would again be

prosecuted or exiled; for instance, physicist Andrei Sakharov was sent out of Moscow after his criticism of the invasion of Afghanistan.

When Brezhnev died, after 18 years in office, the post was taken by Mikhail Gorbachev, following a quick change of two other party leaders. Gorbachev initiated radical reforms. During his leadership freedom of speech and movement (including travel abroad) became actual freedoms of Soviet citizens, the rehabilitation of political prisoners was reinvigorated, religion was no longer prosecuted, political pluralism was introduced, and the restoration of private property began. The Chernobyl disaster revealed the flaws that had been inherited from the old system; however, it was reported in the end and the consequences dealt with in a new, open way (Brown, 2006). Gorbachev's terms '*glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring)' were to become strongly associated with his reforms (Daniels, 2009, p.452). Among Gorbachev's major achievements was also a non-violent ending of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States which had begun in the late 1940s and through nearly four decades had incurred burdening political and economic costs to the Soviet Union (Engerman, 2009). The end of the Cold War was marked by the breaching of the Berlin Wall. Gorbachev promoted what he called a new thinking: orientation towards a united world, non-violence, and shared human values (Gorbachev, 2018). He withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1988-1989 and admitted Soviet military crimes that had been committed in Eastern European countries (Brown, 2006). However, perestroika involved significant economic challenges. With privatisation and a decentralised supply chain, economic reforms were needed to manage the drastic shortage of food and failures in production and supply of other products and commodities (Ponton, 1994).

Gorbachev became the last General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1991 the first popular election of the President of the Russian Republic (a republic within the USSR at the time) was held and was won overwhelmingly by Boris Yeltsin who had previously left the Communist party and was no longer associated with it. He had become critical of Gorbachev, and at the prime of his career was a very popular politician (Ponton, 1994). Following an attempted coup of 1991, the August putsch, against which thousands of people in Moscow took to the streets, Gorbachev resigned

from his post. As the coup was organised by Gorbachev's critics from the Communist party to prevent, among other factors, a new agreement between the Union republics, Yeltsin dissolved the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and terminated all its activities in Russia; negotiations on a new agreement between republics started. Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia announced independence. In the same year, the new Commonwealth of Independent States was formed with the rest of the former republics, now independent states (joining at different times), and the Soviet Union was dissolved (Brown, 2006). Yeltsin, as the president of now independent Russia, ratified a new constitution following a referendum and introduced a new government and parliament system in 1993. The new period of history that began for Russia, notwithstanding its problems, involved liberation of academic work and publications from the Communist Party narrative and ideology.

1.2 Literature and translation in Russia at the turn of the 20th century

1.2.1 Foreign literature in the late 19th century

In 19th century Russia, French was the language of the higher society spoken by nobility on a daily basis. Russian literary language and literature underwent significant developments caused by translations from the languages of Western Europe, most influential among them being French and German language and literature (Tikhomirova, 2018). Following the lead of Romantic poet and translator Vasilii Zhukovskii his colleagues and pupils created 'new linguistic and literary models in their attempts to overcome what they perceived to be Russia's cultural belatedness when compared with the Western European literatures of the time' (Tikhomirova, 2018, p.96).

In the late 19th – early 20th century Russian literature was becoming not only a target but also a source literature, especially linked to modernism and symbolism, the so-called Silver Age of Russian literature (Baer and Witt, 2018). This was also argued by Fedorov in an unpublished article: Russian literature was popularised in the West, and it was often the same translators and critics translating and writing about Western literature, who translated and wrote about Russian literature for Western audiences (Fedorov, 1941-1946). Among them

was the symbolist poet Valerii Briusov, whose poems were translated into European languages, while he wrote annual reports on Russian literature in English for *Athenaeum* and in French for *Le Belfroi* and translated both poetry and prose from English, French, and German (Fedorov, 1941-1946, p.9). At the same time, several new periodicals publishing translated prose and poetry appeared in Russia. French poets became widely known in Russia in the 1890-1900s due to their Russian translations and due to popularisation efforts by certain critics, such as Vengerova, and journals, such as *Vestnik Evropy* [Herald of Europe] among others.ⁱⁱⁱ

1.2.2 Cultural revolution

The identified social and political turbulations of early 20th century Russia gave rise to transformations in the cultural life of the country. The 1917 revolution initiated a cultural crisis which was aggravated by the ‘problem of intelligentsia’ when ‘Russia lost almost all of its former cultural elite, some of whom succumbed to hunger or disease in this chaotic time, while some were killed, some emigrated, and others simply fell silent’ (Clark et al., 2007, p.4). Similarly, Tolstaia (1996, p.318) argues that ‘when Lenin had his fill, in about 1922 [...], he sent 400 stubborn, unredeemable professors, philosophers and writers abroad, in order to rid the country of their unhealthy spirit.’

At the same time, scholars have identified a relative freedom in literature and other areas of culture in the years immediately following the revolution. Thus, Golubkov (2008, cited in Azov, 2013, p.17) describes literature and literary criticism of the 1920s as a polyphony, specifying that it was a ‘sustainable system comprising a number of directions, movements, ideological and stylistic trends, which were constantly interacting with each other.’⁴ He opposes this polyphony to the subsequent period of the 1930-1950s when there was ‘only one aesthetic system named socialist realism governing the literary life’⁵ as well as other areas of culture. Petrov and Ryazanova-Clarke (2017, pp.2-3) similarly argue that the first period represented ‘the culture of the polyphonic revolutionary avant-garde, unfinalized, future oriented and open to experimentation,’ while the second one

ⁱⁱⁱ Such as, in the 1880s: *Zagranichnyi Vestnik*, *Biblioteka Inostrannykh Romanov i Povestei*, *Zapadnaia Biblioteka*, *Illiustrirovannye Romany Vsekh Narodov*; in the 1890s: *Vsemirnaia Biblioteka*, *Vestnik Inostrannoi Literatury*, *Novyi Zhurnal Inostrannoi Literatury*, *Iskusstva i Nauki*; in the 1900s: *Vesy* (Fedorov, 1941-1946).

was governed by the spreading Stalinism. Fitzpatrick (1992, p.115) identifies a new understanding of the concept 'Cultural Revolution,' developed in the early 1930s, which was a class war defined as follows:

... a political confrontation of "proletarian" Communists and the "Bourgeois" intelligentsia, in which the Communists sought to overthrow the cultural authorities inherited from the old regime [...] to create a new "proletarian intelligentsia."

Identifying these transformations in the cultural climate in Russia contributes to establishing that the context in which translation and theoretical writing developed was not monolithic: it changed significantly between the late 1910s and the middle of the 20th century.

The cultural revolution included fighting illiteracy among the population at large and promoting 'a common culture for the educated and masses alike, one that went beyond (though it still included) the crude poster or ideological skirt' (Clark, 2011a, p.10). Literature played a significant role in this process: it was asserted by Gorkii (1934a, p.17), whose personal role will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, at the First All-Union Convention of Soviet Writers where he pronounced the need for Soviet literature to be 'the powerful tool of socialist culture.'⁶ This need was also justified by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the 1920-1930s as it was striving for cultural superiority over Western countries (Clark, 2018). Translation was instrumental in the establishment of the country's cultural dominance and ambition.

1.2.3 Language policy

In the new Soviet state, the Russian language was increasingly promoted as the unifying language of the multinational country contributing to the "friendship of peoples." Pavlenko (2006, p.81) identifies 'a dual imperative — nativization and russification' of the language politics with Russian as a lingua franca of the new state:

The goal of language policies advanced post-1917 by Lenin, Stalin, and their followers was korenizatsiia (nativization) and linguistic autonomy, with Russian used as a lingua franca in the central government and in the army. To remake the country into a new image, Bolsheviks needed to convey their ideas promptly to people who spoke more than a hundred different languages and were often illiterate to boot (Smith, 1998). Consequently, the policies advanced in the 1920s aimed to support and develop national and ethnic

languages on the assumption that the new regime will be best understood and accepted by various minority groups if it functions in their own languages.

This argument has been supported by Alpatov (2000a) who asserts that before the 1930s the Soviet government encouraged the development of minority languages: the policy was declared in Decree 2 (On the court of justice of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars).⁷ It was enforced by the People's Commissariat of Nationalities headed by Stalin who back in 1918 wrote:

No compulsory "state" language – neither in judicial proceedings, nor at school! Every region is to choose the language or languages that correspond to the population composition of the region, while ensuring the equality of languages of both minorities and majorities in all social and political establishments⁸ (cited in Alpatov, 2013, p.20).

The efforts included developing a writing system for numerous minority languages that did not have one, and a literary language for those existing mostly as a vernacular; russification was regarded as an undesirable vestige of the tsarist regime. In the late 1930s, however, there was a crucial turn in this policy towards accelerated russification. One of the first signs of it was the 'Ordinance of the Presidium of the Central Electoral Commission of the USSR dated 1 June 1935 on transferring written languages of peoples of the North to the Cyrillic alphabet'⁹ (Alpatov, 2000a, p.85). Teaching in national languages in some schools was discontinued.

By 1941 all republics of the Soviet Union were officially using the Cyrillic script. One of the most significant measures was the implantation of Russian in all linguistic areas. It was manifested by the Ordinance of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks and the Council of People's Commissars dated 13 March 1938 'On compulsory study of the Russian language in schools of national republics and regions'¹⁰ (Alpatov, 2000a, p.92). Similar measures introducing this centralised language policy were rolled out in other areas.

1.2.4 Consequences in translation

Together with the promotion of the Russian language, the idea of learning and translating to and from national languages of the constituent republics was being

popularised alongside translating to and from Western European languages. This was demonstrated in Gorkii's conclusive remarks (Gorkii, 1934b) at the above-mentioned Convention of Soviet Writers.

Translation into national languages was linked to another phenomenon of the period, indirect translation. Indirect translation is understood here in a broad sense as 'a translation of translation' following Maia et al. (2018, p.78). Specifically researching indirect translation employed in the USSR, Witt (2017) has identified two types: translation from/into national languages of Soviet republics using Russian as an intermediary, and intralingual translation based on interlinears. The latter involved first a creation of a *podstrochnik* [interlinear], a literal translation of a foreign text into Russian, not intended to be a target text on its own, with a subsequent production of a final translation also in Russian. This phenomenon, as Witt (2017) has shown, blurred the frames of the translator profession, the notion of translation as such, and authorship, whilst at the same time creating opportunities for censorship and ideological manipulations. Indirect translations contributed to the canon of Soviet literature created from literatures of Soviet republics and selected pieces of world literature. Zemskova (2018, p.174) argues that translations from the multinational republics of the Soviet Union contributed 'to the ideological unification of the empire.' Soviet literature by the 1930s would be presented as unequalled in the world (Safiullina, 2009). This myth needed to be supported by expanding the "multinational and multilingual" Soviet literature which required translation.

Translation into national languages of the Soviet Union was still urgent in the 1950s. The evidence is found in an article in the specialised journal *Voprosy Jazykoznanija [Issues in Linguistics]* (1954) condemning the poor quality of translations of Marxism and Leninism studies from Russian into languages of other republics.

1.3 The role of publishers

1.3.1 World literature projects

Several scholars, including Azov (2013), Tyulenev (2016), Bedson and Schulz (2017), and Schippel (2017) have linked the beginning of the Soviet period of literary translation to the creation of the publishing house Vsemirnaia Literatura

[World Literature] in 1918 in Petrograd. The publishing house had an ambitious aim to translate and publish selected works of classic foreign literature of the 18-19th centuries and republish selected works by Russian writers from the same period. It involved many talented and prominent figures from the literary and translation field, such as Fedor Batiushkov, Alexander Blok, Kornei Chukovskii, Nikolai Gumilev, Mikhail Lozinskii, Alexandr Smirnov, and others. The publishing house was initiated and managed by the influential writer Maxim Gorkii (Khlebnikov, 1971).

Aleksei Peshkov, known under his pseudonym Maxim Gorkii (1868–1936), was a writer, playwright, literary critic, and promoter of art and literature. In the first decade of the 20th century Gorkii's books were sold in hundreds of thousands of copies, and his plays received standing ovations (Bunin, 2001). Gorkii's position has been convincingly summarised by Clark (1995, p.102):

Gorky himself was initially a vehement public opponent of Bolshevik policies, but after his reconciliation with Lenin in September 1918 he began to play such an extensive role as intelligentsia patron that he could be called with some justification a Soviet Lorenzo the Magnificent. He ran a veritable court from his Petrograd house, a court to which many an intellectual would come as petitioner or protégé, and where the more favoured were housed. In addition, he founded a series of new institutions that enabled Petrograd intellectuals to continue working – and many even literally to survive.

Among such institutions was indeed *Vsemirnaia Literatura* which provided employment to multiple writers and translators.

The publishing house was founded by four co-founders, including Gorkii, with the prospect of receiving funding for it from the Soviet government via the People's Commissariat for Education (Narkompros). The initial negotiations concerning this were conducted between Gorkii and Anatolii Lunacharskii, head of Narkompros at the time. Lenin was well aware of them and welcomed Gorkii's cooperation with the Party and his contribution to Russia's cultural development (Khlebnikov, 1971). However, in 1921 Gorkii left Russia: the official explanation was that he followed Lenin's recommendations to go abroad for treatment (which was partly true as Gorkii suffered from tuberculosis); the other part of the truth was his disagreement with the Bolsheviks' actions, especially those aimed at dissident writers, where the execution of Nikolai Gumilev (an outstanding poet, founder of the Acmeism literary movement, war hero, and a prolific translator)

was the last blow. Gorkii lived in Europe, mainly in Germany and Italy (with a brief visit to the Soviet Union in 1928) until 1933 when he returned to Russia on Stalin's invitation (Basinskii, 2006).

Vsemirnaia Literatura stopped receiving state support the year following Gorkii's emigration, and in 1924 it was shut down (Khlebnikov, 1971). Its mission was partly continued by a new publishing house, Academia, founded in 1922. Gorkii joined the editing team of Academia upon his return to the Soviet Union. In 1929 Academia was moved to Moscow and in 1937 merged with Goslitizdat (acronym for 'State Publishing House of Fiction' in Russian) (Rats, 1980).

The increase in the numbers of published books in translation was directly connected to the new publishing houses. As Alekseev (1931, p.8) stated, the number of published books of translated literature had grown from 134 titles in 1918 to 782 titles in 1927. Based on the evidence he praised Vsemirnaia Literatura for this achievement, as well as for the dramatically improved quality of translations. Another achievement of Vsemirnaia Literatura was that it introduced 'the institution of editor' (Bedson and Schulz, 2017, p.279). For the first time in the history of translation publishing in Russia a publishing house hired a team of professional editors. It also developed a new type of translation publication, where the main text was supplemented with comments and a foreword with background information and literary criticism remarks (Kukushkina, 2014). The publisher was effectively establishing translation standards and publishing norms.

This work of Vsemirnaia Literatura partially intersected with the work of the All-Russian Professional Association of Translators that was established in Petrograd in May 1917 as the first professional body of the kind in Russia, uniting literary, scientific, and technical translators. The association's mission was to increase the quality of translations and to advocate for the interests of translators, contributing to the recognition of the profession (Kukushkina, 2014). The recognition included publishing ethics, condemning the existing common practice when commercial publishing houses reprinted previously translated literary works without naming or paying the translator (Kukushkina, 2014). Though Vsemirnaia Literatura was not a professional association as such, it performed some similar functions.

1.3.2 Translator training

Improving the quality of translations was one of the fundamental principles of Vsemirnaia Literatura, since the publishing house recognised many of the existing translations (when there were any to compare) as not meeting the requirements of the time, but even more importantly they focused on the selection of high-quality works to be translated (Fedorov, 1953, p.84). As Vsemirnaia Literatura was making its first steps to bringing the world of translated literature to the Russian reader, they saw a lack of professional translators required for such a large-scale project. Therefore, a school for translators was organised, aimed at developing translators' skills and training new translators (Chukovskii, 1930). This school for translators, *Studiia perevodchikov* [translators' studio], or Studio for short, was initiated by Gumilev. The Studio was set up in 1919 when Gumilev joined the team of Vsemirnaia Literatura (Frezinskii, 2003).

Gorkii delegated general management of the Studio to Kornei Chukovskii. Chukovskii is well known to many Russian readers as the author of children's stories in verse. However, children's poetry was only one area of his work:

A resourceful literary critic who combined alert monitoring of the current literary scene with pathbreaking studies of nineteenth-century masters, [...] an accomplished practitioner and theoretician of the art of translation, a prolific and perceptive memoirist, Chukovsky was a complete man of letters. [...] It is fair to say that he knew, at times intimately, everyone involved in shaping the course of twentieth-century Russian literature (Erlich, 2005, p.x).

During the first stage of the Studio's work, there were about forty pupils enrolled; later, by the end of 1920, the number of attendants was over 350. Initially, the Studio offered only specialised courses aimed at translators; soon, when the Studio was moved to *Dom iskusstv* [The House of Arts], the programme was significantly widened and the Studio became known as *Literaturnaia studiia* [the Literary Studio], following the interest of the pupils not only in translation but in independent literary work (Frezinskii, 2003, p.9). Some of the experts who gave regular lectures and seminars in the Studio, besides Gumilev and Chukovskii, included: Andrei Belyi, Alexandr Blok, Boris Eikhenbaum, André Levinson, Mikhail Lozinskii, Viktor Shklovskii, Aaron Steinberg, Yuri Tynianov, Yevgenii Zamiatin, and Viktor Zhirmunskii. The Studio became the place where the group

of writers called the Serapion Brothers was created and the rise of many other talented writers was supported.

After the closure of *Vsemirnaia Literatura* in 1924 a new support structure for translators was created: the Translators' Section under the Leningrad branch of the All-Russian Union of Writers.¹¹ The section continued the tradition of the also terminated All-Russian Professional Association of Translators (Kukushkina, 2014). Most of the members of the section used to work in *Vsemirnaia Literatura* and had extensive translation experience. They would meet up monthly to discuss new translations, the work of foreign writers and literary trends. A workshop for translators was also organised. At some of the section meetings, theoretical, as well as practical issues of translation were discussed: in 1925 translator and literary scholar David Vygodskii delivered his report 'On the technique of translation', and in 1929 Fedorov presented his paper 'Techniques and objectives of literary translation' (Kukushkina, 2014). These facts confirm that the need to train translators was recognised and attempts to address this need were made.

1.3.3 The first attempts to theorise translation in the Russian context

To support the translation workshops at the Studio of *Vsemirnaia Literatura*, Gorkii commissioned the booklet *Printsipy Khudozhestvennogo Perevoda [Principles of Literary Translation]*. As stated in the foreword by the publisher, the booklet was created as an instruction manual for translators with the prospect that 'in the near future, by joint efforts, we might be able to set the fundamentals, if not of a science, then at least of a practical guide to one of the most difficult and demanding arts – the art of literary translation'¹² (Gumilev and Chukovskii, 1919, p.6).

The booklet was co-authored by Gumilev and Chukovskii. The two authors each wrote an article for it: Chukovskii wrote about translation of prose and Gumilev about poetry translation (see Figure 1-2 for the front cover of the book). Chukovskii opened his article by emphasising that translation was an art, and a translator was an artist of word, a co-author, and as such was not to translate the writers that had a style and character different to theirs (Chukovskii, 1919). Chukovskii regarded prose translation as not dissimilar to verse translation from

the perspective of all literary texts possessing a certain rhythm. Here Chukovskii introduced such terms as *eidologija* [eidology] and *ritmika* [rhythmicity]. He did not further explore or define them though, but illustrated them with examples from some translations, which in his view demonstrated phonetic harmony that resembled the original. In the same way he discussed such concepts as style, vocabulary, syntax, and *tekstualnaia tochnost* [textual precision]. Chukovskii argued that textual precision consisted simply in correct translation of lexical units and as such did not define the quality of translation since such mistakes could be corrected during the editing process. What he insisted on as the goal for the contemporary translator was 'scientific, objectively assessed precision/accuracy'¹³ (Chukovskii, 1919, p.23). This implied avoiding omissions or additions of information that the original did not contain, maintaining the author's punctuation, and transliterating proper names, excluding russification. At the same time, speaking about syntax, he asserted that the norm was to follow syntactic rules of the target language (in this case the Russian language, since the terms *source* or *target language* were not used here).

Speaking about poetry translation, Gumilev (1919) insisted that the translator first of all had to be a poet. He emphasised the importance of reproducing the imagery and style of a poem and highlighted that the form, the sound representation, was just as important. In regard to the latter Gumilev (1919, p.30) summarised the main requirements for the translator as maintaining the original's '1) number of lines, 2) metre and foot, 3) alternation of rhymes, 4) nature of *enjambment*, 5) nature of rhymes, 6) nature of vocabulary, 7) type of similes, 8) special techniques, 9) changes in tone.'¹⁴ As this quotation shows, Gumilev was rather prescriptive in his article and set out a very specific set of rules for poetry translators; he even compared them to the ten commandments, noting that he suggested only nine. It also shows Gumilev's conviction that the translated poem had to be formally, not only semantically, as close to the source as possible; with this aim of merging the original and the translation he believed that translated poems needed to have only the name of the author, excluding the indication of the translator.

A year later the second edition of the booklet was published with two added articles by literary scholar, historian, and critic Fedor Batiushkov: 'Objectives of literary translation' (Batiushkov, 1920a) and 'Language and style' (Batiushkov,

1920b). The book was published with Batiushkov's articles after his death earlier the same year. Batiushkov (1920a), besides the objectives of literary translation, discussed requirements for it and principles of translation from the perspective of the relationships between the original and the translating language. He claimed that adherence to the norms of either was dictated by the perceived level of development of the literature and culture of their respective peoples. Batiushkov briefly mentioned adequacy of translation (the concept later investigated by Fedorov and analysed here in Chapter 3).

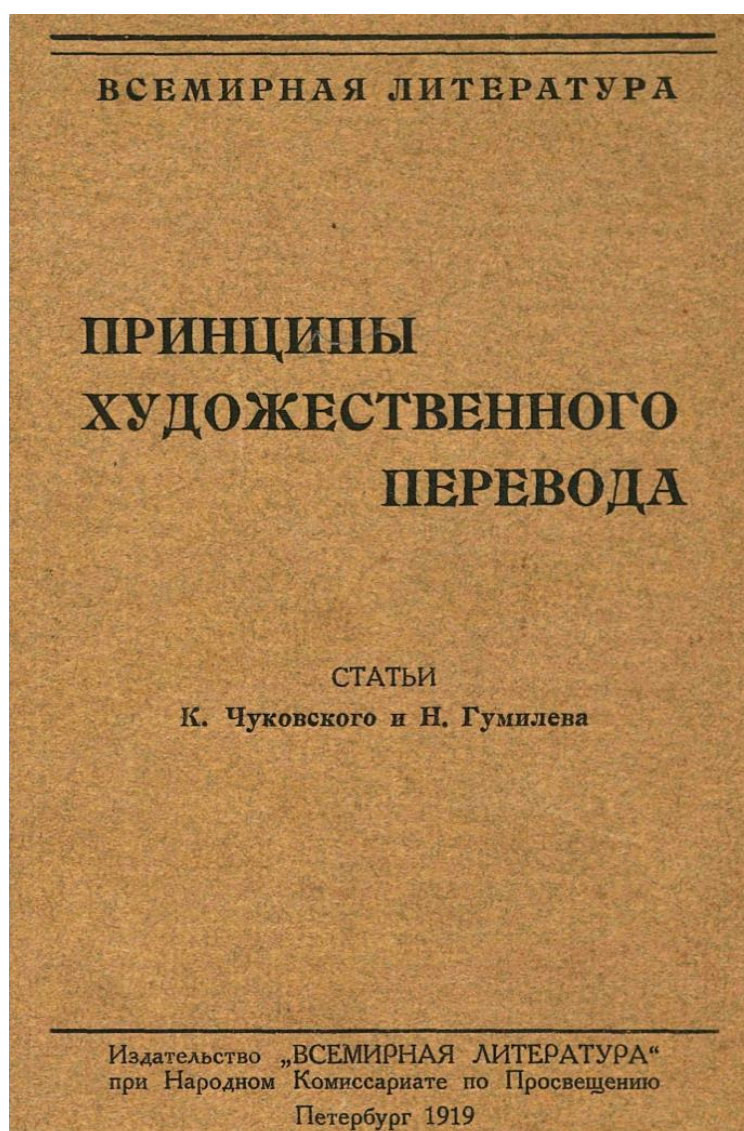


Figure 1-2. Front cover of the book *Principles of Literary Translation*, published in 1919 by Vsemirnaia Literatura

Both booklets were rather practical and prescriptive. Chukovskii's article particularly was more a critical literary study of translation challenges illustrated with witty examples than a theoretical exploration, making it more suitable for a

lay reader promoting the art of translation. This was how Chukovskii (1930, p.5) later described the background and purpose of the booklets:

Initiated by M. Gorkii, the Vsemirnaia Literatura Studio was set up to deliver special lectures on different aspects of the art of translation. I also worked at the Studio: I was in charge of the seminars on literary translation of English prose writers. Since we had no books or manuals dedicated to the practice of literary translation – and still there are not any – I had to draft at least a rough overview, a sort of “ABC book for translators,” which I then used for my work at the Studio. Consequently, this “ABC book” was published (in a very limited number of copies) as a practical guide for the translators who worked at our publishing house.¹⁵

Despite their practical and prescriptive character, the booklets ‘laid the foundations for a theoretical approach to translation’¹⁶ (Fedorov, 1953, p.84). As shown in the literature review, the booklets have remained understudied in the Anglophone scholarship, and they deserve more scholarly attention due to their theoretical value and importance for subsequent writings on translation which are analysed in the next section.

1.4 Translation research in the early to mid-20th century

1.4.1 Significant publications of the late 1920s and the 1930s

Following the progress made by Vsemirnaia Literatura and the 1919-1920 booklets, several important publications appeared which approached theoretical issues in translation in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Among them were the first publications by the early career researcher Andrei Fedorov from 1927-1930 which will be discussed in Chapter 2. There were also several publications attempting a more general summary of the theoretical knowledge of the discipline.

In 1929 the Ukrainian scholar Oleksandr Finkel (2007 [1929]) published a book *Teoriia i Praktika Perekladu*¹⁷ [*Theory and Practice of Translation*] in Ukrainian. Fedorov (1983a) suggested that it was the first book with the title containing ‘theory of translation’ in the Soviet Union and a significant contribution, specifically in relation to the issues of methods and principles of translation. I look in more detail into Finkel’s publications and his communication with Fedorov in Chapter 4.

Finkel's book was not so widely cited as the booklet in Russian *Problema Khudozhestvennogo Perevoda* [*Problem of Literary Translation*] by Mikhail Alekseev. It was based on the lecture he gave in 1927 at the Irkutsk State University and published by the same university in 1931. Some important changes must have been made to the text of the lecture, as the published text includes references to Fedorov (1930) and Chukovskii (1930). Alekseev, a translator from English, German, and French, with his wide range of research interests in linguistics, theory and history of translation, at the time of the publication was the professor and head of the Department of World Literature at Irkutsk University, and soon moved to Leningrad to continue his career at the Leningrad State University where he held the post of professor of the Department of Foreign Literatures for over 30 years; in the 1930s-1940s he was also professor at the Department of World Literature at Herzen State Pedagogical University in Leningrad (Levin, 1972).

The publication raised some issues which are relevant today. For instance, Alekseev (1931, p.4) addressed the question of the audience of translation, arguing that 'the aesthetic value of any translation cannot be discussed without due consideration of the readership at which it is aimed.'¹⁸ He developed this argument further with the support of the definition of translation methods that were aimed at different audiences and the factors that determined the translator's work, citing them from Fedorov (1930). The factors included the source and the target language, the requirements for the translated text at a given time, the objectives, and literary devices used by the translator. Alekseev went further to suggest that assessment of the target audience of translations should consider their readers' social and professional characteristics. Alekseev (1931, p.8) explored the recently revived interest in translation that had led to the creation of a special Commission on the Technology of Literary Translation under the State Academy of Art Sciences to study literary translation from theoretical, historical, and literary perspectives, and linked this interest to new publications on translation, including those by Finkel, Levit, and several works by Fedorov (1927b; 1928; 1929a; 1930).

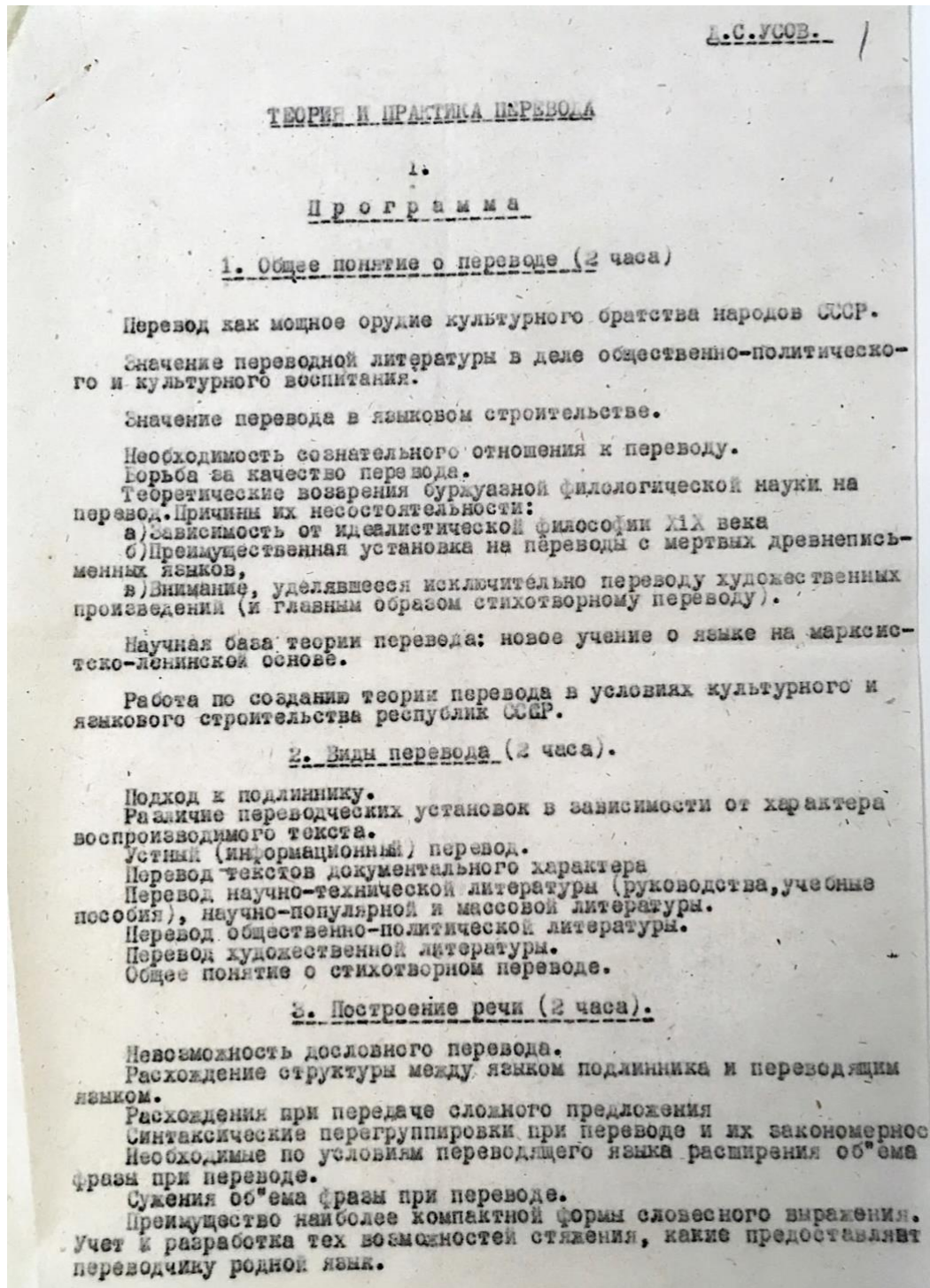


Figure 1-3. Page 1 of Usov's typed manuscript (Usov, 1933)

Discussing translations of Soviet literature in the West, Alekseev mentioned a book by Dmitri Usov, *Modern Russian Literature in Germany*.¹⁹ Usov was a poet, translator, literary scholar, and critic, and a close friend of Fedorov, with whom he shared research interests (Neshumova, 2011a). In as early as 1933 Usov authored the programme on theory and practice of translation (see Figure 1-3) for the First Moscow Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. The

programme comprised sections on the concept of translation, types of translation, composition, choice of words, transfer of expressive means of the original, and translation flaws and ways to avoid them. The manuscript has been stored in Fedorov's archives. While the programme overall looks practice oriented, the first section was aimed at some theoretical concepts. Here one of the topics covered the 'scientific framework for the theory of translation: the new theory of language based on Marxism-Leninism.'²⁰ This was undoubtedly referring to Marr's theory, providing more evidence to the ideologically installed discourse in academia, asserted in section 1.4.4 below.

The list of recommended literature in Usov's programme included the article 'Perevod' [Translation] in the *Literary Encyclopaedia*. The article (Smirnov and Alekseev, 1934) was co-authored by Mikhail Alekseev and Aleksandr Smirnov, a translator, literary historian, and critic, specialising in Celtic philology and Romance studies, lecturer, and later professor at Leningrad University (Kukushkina, 2014).

One of the most important ideas introduced by Smirnov in his part of the article was the notion of *adekvatnyi perevod* [adequate translation] which he defined in opposition to *volnyi perevod* [free translation] as follows:

A translation shall be considered adequate when it conveys all intentions of the author (both deliberate and unconscious) in terms of a specific conceptual, emotional, and artistic impact on the reader, while maintaining wherever possible (by means of exact equivalents [*tochnyi ekvivalent*] or acceptable substitutes [*udovletvoritelnyi substitut*]) all the author's imagery, tone, rhythm, and other resources²¹ (Smirnov and Alekseev, 1934, p.527).

It is important that Smirnov already approached the task of defining an adequate translation and that his definition was based on the original's author's intentions and transfer of the original's content and form to the translation. Smirnov developed the term adequacy introduced by Batiushkov, as shown above, and proposed the term *substitut* [substitute], meaning a replacement of the exact equivalent that performs the same function in the translation as the original in the corresponding context. The bibliography in the article included Fedorov's publications from 1927 and 1930. In his later publications Fedorov (1941; 1953) highlighted the significance of Smirnov's article. Fedorov (1953) drew on Smirnov's definition of *adekvatnyi perevod* [adequate translation] in his concept

of full value translation, as will be shown in Chapter 3. Their communication will be further analysed in Chapter 4.

1.4.2 Professional associations and their importance

In 1934 the Translators' Section in the Union of Soviet Writers was created. I argue, in agreement with Antipina (2005) and Witt (2016b), that its creation showed an increasingly significant role of translation in the Soviet Union, and recognition of the translator profession and of the need for translators' development and support. At the same time, the Union of Soviet Writers on the whole served as 'a carrier of the party and state ideology in the literary circles'²² (Antipina, 2005, p.355); its leaders aimed at ensuring the members followed the government guidelines, but membership was important for writers and translators for their recognition and employment prospects.

Recognition of the translator was not a new achievement of this Section alone. It continued the legacy of its predecessors, starting from the pre-Soviet association discussed in section 1.3 above (All-Russian Professional Association of Translators) which through its journey from 1917 involving a number of restructuring manipulations, purges, centralisation and control measures, appeared in this new form, suitable to the Soviet state, unlike the original association of pre-revolutionary literary intelligentsia (Kukushkina, 2014).

Following the creation of the Translators' Section, the First All-Union Conference of Translators was held in 1936. It was an important event for the following development of views on translation in the Soviet Union. One of the keynotes at the conference was given by literary critic Iogann Altman. Altman claimed that such translation methods as *naturalisticheskii* [naturalist], *formalisticheskii* [formalist], and *impressionisticheskii* [impressionist], were opposed to the only "correct" method of translation. This method Altman identified as *tvorcheskii perevod* [creative translation] and called for applying the principle of Socialist Realism to literary translation. None of the other methods were satisfactory, according to Altman: naturalist translation was too literal, formalist translation gave too much consideration to the characteristics of form rather than content, while impressionist translation was too free (Altman, 1936, cited in Azov, 2013, p.50-51).

In her detailed analysis of the papers presented at the conference Witt (2013, p.161) rightly establishes the event as ‘a key moment in the *ideologization of norms* which came to affect subsequent Soviet translation debate’. After 1936, the term ‘formalism’ basically lost its connection to the Russian Formalism school of the 1920s and was increasingly used to indicate any complexity or deviation from the Socialist Realism norm that required simplicity and overall accessibility for the average Soviet reader who was assumed not to know foreign languages.

The new norm also demanded translation oriented towards the target language and culture that would nowadays be called domesticating. Domesticating translation created the opportunity for censorship of foreign literature. Censorship of translation in these conditions could be seen as extreme domestication of foreign texts, where literary works would be manipulated not only to suit the norms of the target language, but also the target ideology and the established regulations of what subjects could appear in print and with what attitudes they could be discussed. Such domestication was closely connected with the idea of realist translation as will be shown in the next subsection.

1.4.3 Realist translation against formalism

My research has indicated that formalism or literalism in translation became increasingly criticised, prosecuted, and feared in the late 1930s, in agreement with the statement by Bedson and Schulz (2017, p.271): ‘the debate turned into political baiting targeting literal translators.’ Accusations of formalism were often accompanied by accusations of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism was a broad allegation of anti-patriotism or allowing Western culture to influence one’s work, and frequently disguised anti-Semitism (Etkind, 1978). As the persecution of formalism and cosmopolitanism escalated, a new concept named *realisticheskii perevod* [realist translation] as a method based on the principle of Socialist Realism was gaining prominence. The main proponent of realist translation as the principal method of translation and later as the basis for the proposed ‘universal Soviet theory of translation’²³ was Ivan Kashkin (1954b, p.199).

Kashkin was a translator and academic, specialising in English language and literature and in literary translation, heading a number of translation committees and associations. In the 1930s he taught at the Moscow Institute of

New Languages,^{iv} when his pupils started forming what would later become an authoritative circle of translators (Azov, 2013). Friedberg (1997, p.71) recognised him as ‘arguably the most influential Russian translator of the era of Socialist Realism,’ and he appeared so; however, I argue that his theoretical writings should not be overestimated.

Kashkin described realist translation as an opposition to naturalist, formalist, and impressionist translation, borrowing the terms from Altman’s paper discussed above. He claimed that realist translation suggested ‘a ternary faithfulness making a single unity: faithfulness to the original work, faithfulness to reality, and faithfulness to the reader’²⁴ (Kashkin, 1955, p.142). Realist translation implied unquestionable domestication. In order to comply with the socialist realism agenda, domestication needed to be applied not only on the linguistic level, but also, if not more importantly, on the ideological one. While Kashkin never suggested any clear definition of realist translation in his rather vague writing, some researchers have attempted to crystallise his idea:

... the translator had to convey not the text of the original literary work, but the *reality* which, according to Leninist aesthetics, was mirrored in this work – the typical traits of reality as they *should have been seen* by the original author *had he possessed the necessary ideological awareness* and rendered in forms accessible to the Soviet reader (Witt, 2016b, p.56, original emphasis).

Kashkin attacked translators whom he believed guilty of formalism and literalism and of not meeting the requirements of realist translation. His argument against *bukvalizm* [literalism] was against ‘the idea of painstaking attention to the rhetoric and stylistic features of the original’ (Borisenko, A., 2018, p.206). His main victims were the established translators of prose and poetry Evgenii Lann and Georgii Shengeli. Lann was accused of using syntax patterns, unnatural in Russian, as well as unusual use of lexical units and unconventional spelling of foreign names, which showed a foreignisation tendency, while Shengeli, among similar faults, was found guilty of distorting images in a way unsuitable for the Soviet readership (a detailed analysis of Kashkin’s papers against these translators is undertaken by Azov (2013)). In Fedorov’s theory, as it was published in 1953, Kashkin also saw traces of formalism. Fedorov replied to his

^{iv} currently known as The Maurice Thorez Institute of Foreign Languages

accusations in the foreword to the second edition of the book (Fedorov, 1958, p.5), arguing that:

... an interest in the language of a literary work in itself does not equal formalism and literalism, on the contrary, an in-depth linguistic approach to expressive means in two different languages should prevent literary mistakes which can easily occur in practical work if a translator does not have a good command of the theory related to language.²⁵

Kashkin's arguments against Fedorov in terms of his linguistic approach to the theory of translation will be analysed in Chapter 4, focusing on Fedorov's book.

The battles between translation approaches were often used for personal and political confrontation (Khotimsky, 2018). The conflict between Kashkin and literalists continued, most heatedly between the 1930s and 1950s. Kashkin's method of realist translation became well established in the 1950s, after it was announced, as identified by Azov (2013, p.105), at the Second All-Union Conference of Translators in 1951, which was dedicated to Stalin's publications on linguistics, to be discussed in the next subsection.

1.4.4 The effect of Stalin's publications on translation research

Soviet linguistics starting from the 1920s was dominated by Marrism as the Marxist framework accepted by the state. Marr proposed a new science of language; linguistics as existing in the pre-revolutionary Russia was announced to be a 'bourgeois science' (Alpatov, 2011, p.31). Many scholars were impelled to reject the so-called bourgeois scholarship; however, some continued looking for other ideas and eventually prompted the emergence of Stalin's publications on linguistics.

Stalin's articles, later published together as a booklet *Marksizm i Voprosy Iazykoznaniiia [Marxism and Issues in Linguistics]*, started with an article in Pravda in June 1950 with four more papers that followed it, presented as responses to 'a group of comrades representing the youth'²⁶ (Stalin, 2011 [1950], p.224). The main part of it was published in English the same year (Stalin, 1950). Since Stalin's intervention denounced Marr's doctrine and dismissed the need to create a new "Marxist linguistics," it made it possible for linguists to return to scientific scholarship and to pursue research lines that had been effectively closed before (Alpatov, 2002). An overview of Stalin's publications and Marr's

theory of language with relevant scholarship has been provided in the literature review.

Stalin's publications consequently generated a paradigm shift in TS (Shakhova, 2017). The shift encouraged new efforts to be made in theorising translation with newly reopened linguistic perspectives. Thus, in 1951 the Moscow Section of Translators under the Union of Soviet Writers discussed Stalin's works on linguistics and how they related to the tasks of literary translation; later the same year the All-Union Conference of Translators concluded on the poor development of literary translation principles and a lack of translation theory (Azov, 2012). Therefore, the publication of Andrei Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* in 1953 was a logical development. Fedorov in turn initiated a new shift: his 1953 publication established translation theory as an autonomous discipline with its own object of study and subject-matter, objectives, methodology, and history. The novelty of his book also consisted in its descriptiveness and its emphasis on linguistic issues and interdisciplinary links of translation theory. Fedorov's book, however, was not universally accepted in the Soviet Union, despite its overt (although not inherent, as we find out) agreement with Stalin's contribution to linguistics. It created a new debate between supporters of the linguistic approach formulated by Fedorov and proponents of the literary approach advocating for literary studies to form the basis of a theory of translation. This will be demonstrated in Chapter 4 when analysing feedback on Fedorov's 1953 book.

Summary

This chapter has assessed the historical, political, and social environment in which the theory of translation began to emerge in the Soviet Union in the early 20th century and developing in the 1950s. The historical importance of translation in the evolution of Russian literature intensified in the first decades of the new Soviet state. The subsequent efforts of new publishing houses and professional translators' organisations facilitated the advent of translator training and publications which initiated theoretical writing on translation. The chapter has presented an original analysis of the early theoretical publications from 1919 and 1920 which were a significant step in the development of translation theory in Russia and the Soviet Union.

State ideology had a big impact on translation research and publications in the early and mid-20th century in Russia and in the Soviet Union. This chapter has demonstrated that, particularly focusing on discussions during the period which led to Fedorov's first fundamental book on translation theory (1953), to facilitate understanding of its context and historical conditions of its creation. The historical overview has covered the whole period of Fedorov's life to situate the next chapter, which will revisit his biography, investigating the stages of his professional development and following some of his major publications, and trace the evolution of his theory of translation.

Chapter 2. Andrei Fedorov: His biography and development of his translation theory

Andrei Fedorov (1906-1997) lived through several periods of drastic social, political, and cultural changes in Russia which have been explored in Chapter 1. Born in pre-revolution imperial Russia, he survived the First World War and the October Revolution as a child, witnessed the rise of the Soviet State as a student of a unique higher education institution, survived both the Second World War as an active participant and Stalin's rule, continued building his academic life in the aftermath of the war, and lived to see post-Soviet Russia. Such biography inevitably influenced his work as this chapter seeks to demonstrate.

This chapter investigates Fedorov's biography and bibliography to create his microhistory. It seeks to illuminate the parts that relate to his major work in TS, *Introduction to Translation Theory*, first published in 1953. The biography, therefore, focuses on his education and work experience, and the bibliography looks at his works on translation theory and translator training. A section on his work as a translator and his publications on other subjects is included, as these formed an important part of his professional life and were significant in his theoretical thinking related to translation. A complete bibliography of Fedorov's theoretical publications can be found in Appendix A. The objective of this chapter is to investigate some aspects of Fedorov's life and work as a background and context for his theoretical works, for the development of his views and the formation of his theory of translation.

Fedorov's published biographical details are scarce. This thesis presents new original findings from my research of unpublished archival materials from the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia, which had not been previously studied. Most of the data related to Fedorov's life has been collected from his unpublished autobiography (Fedorov, 1954-1972), student records (Fedorov, 1927a), and correspondence (see Figure 2-3 for an example of Fedorov's autobiographical writing). These sources have been supplemented by materials printed in small runs in Russian and containing some biographical data, such as Filippov and Shadrin (2008) and Mokiyeenko et al. (1986).

2.1 Fedorov's education

Andrei Fedorov (full name Andrei Venediktovich Fedorov [Андрей Венидиктович Фёдоров], where Venediktovich is the patronymic) was born on 19 April 1906 in Petersburg, Russia. His father was an accountant who died in 1925, and his mother was a homemaker (Andrei Fedorov had a sister and a grandmother living with them), but she also gave private lessons (Fedorov, 1927a, p.1-2). The subjects of these lessons were not specified in Fedorov's records, but it could have been French because Alekseeva (2018) has noted that Fedorov mainly spoke French, not Russian, at home when he was growing up.

In 1923 Fedorov finished secondary school; it was the 1st and 2nd stage of the Soviet Labour School²⁷ (the school reform of 1918 in Russia introduced a new 'unified labour school' of two stages: 1st stage for children between 8 and 13 years old, and the 2nd stage for ages 13-17 (Vasilev, 2000)). After that Fedorov studied at the Department of Literary Work and Journalism of *Gosudarstvennye kursy tekhniki rechi* [the State Courses for Elocution]²⁸ in Leningrad (Fedorov, 1927a). The university-level 'Courses' (the word was used in Russian at the time to denote a higher education establishment) were functional between 1924 and 1930; the teaching staff of the Department of Literary Work and Journalism included outstanding scholars, such as Tomashevskii who taught poetics, and Tynianov who taught Russian literature (Brandist, 2007). It is interesting to note that, according to Brandist, it was mainly Komsomol members enrolled in the Courses as they were aimed at preparing propaganda spokespersons and the Communist party leaders. Fedorov, however, was not one of them, and in his student application form and questionnaire he stated that he was not a member of any party (Fedorov, 1927a). In 1926 Fedorov transferred to the next stage of his education: the Philological Department of the Higher State Courses of Art Criticism at the Institute of History of Art²⁹ (Fedorov, 1927a).

The Institute, also known as Zubov's Institute after its founder, was a unique establishment in Leningrad. It was one of the centres of intellectual life in the city and an important centre of museology (Ananov, 2014). Count Valentin Zubov initially created and stocked a highly valuable public library with art works, books, and journals on art and art history in 1912. A year later he founded Courses in History of Art based in his own mansion, as was the library, with the

goal of providing supplementary academic support to researchers and practitioners of art. Zubov believed such need had not been met because not all universities had programmes in history and theory of art, most of them did not separate classic archaeology from art history, none of them had specialised courses in Russian art, and no libraries were stocked well enough for such purposes. Another goal of Zubov was to enable international communication connected to art history and the exchange of knowledge on national art between countries. The Courses immediately enrolled 260 people, and by the end of 1915/1916 the number of students reached 331. In 1916 after some restructuring, the organisation was registered as a higher education establishment (the Institute of History of Art) with expanded objectives and curriculum. Until the restructuring all expenses of the courses and library had been completely covered by Zubov, and the work of the newly registered Institute continued to largely depend on his contributions through the end of 1917 (from Zubov's letter to the Minister of Public Education in 1916 (*Материалы о преобразовании...*, 1916)).

In the late 1917, after the Russian revolution, Zubov gave the Institute and all its property, including the mansion, books, and art works, to the new Soviet state (Seregina, 2018). After that, the Institute started receiving government subsidies, and Zubov stayed at the restructured Institute to work as Rector (*Материалы о преобразовании...*, 1918). Despite Zubov's several arrests, the Institute continued to develop as a scientific research institution, probably due to the support from People's Commissar Lunacharskii and Zubov's own talents in management and communication in such extreme circumstances (Seregina, 2018). In the early 1920s the institute attracted some of the brightest scholars, writers, musicians, and artists of the time. It was comprised of four faculties: history of fine arts, history of theatre, history of music, and 'history of philological arts' (*Справки...*, 1921). Along with the growth of research activities, number of taught subjects and enrolled students, the Institute continued pursuing international cooperation objectives, and even developed a project of opening a branch of the Institute in Rome (*Материалы об учреждении...*, 1920). This plan, however, does not seem to have been realised. In 1920, when the Faculty of History of Philological Arts was established, the distinguished linguist Viktor Zhirmunskii was elected its dean. The faculty was comprised of five departments, all focused on aspects of poetry, including modern and ancient poetry and theory

of poetry. By the end of the year the professors and staff included Sergei Bernstein, Boris Eikhenbaum, Nikolai Gumilev, André Levinson, Solomon Lurie, Mikhail Lozinskii, Evgenii Polivanov, Viktor Shklovskii, Yuri Tynianov, and other leading scholars in linguistics, literary criticism and history, poets, writers, and translators (*Материалы об организации...*, 1920).

By the time Fedorov became a student of the faculty in 1924, it had gone through another set of reforms. It was now called *Razriad istorii slovesnykh iskusstv* [Sector for history of philological arts], with Zhirmunskii as its Chair, and was subdivided into the following departments: 1) theory of philological arts (including methodology of literary studies, theoretical poetics, metrics, and theory of drama), 2) theory of literary language (including general linguistics, phonetics of poetry, semantics of literary language, and Russian literary language), 3) historical poetics, and 4) history of Russian philological arts (including studies of both history and contemporary Russian prose and poetry); the academic staff was joined by Viktor Vinogradov and Boris Tomashevskii (*Материалы о деятельности...*, 1924). It was also in 1924 that the Institute acquired the publishing house Academia (*Материалы о передаче...*, 1924). This was the publisher that played a significant role in the development of translation industry and theory (discussed in Chapter 1) and which printed Fedorov's first publications.

In 1925 the art critic, founder and first director of the institute Zubov had to resign and emigrate from Soviet Russia (Anan'ev, 2014). The Institute was still able to conduct independent research and most teaching and research remained uninfluenced by the emerging intellectual restrictions imposed by the state; it was renamed again as the State Institute of History of Art³⁰ (Kupman, 2011). Through 1928 academics were still able to go abroad and cooperate with international colleagues. Formalist methods could still be used and presented in papers of the Philological Department, but it was soon to change. In 1928-1929 a "restructuring" of the Institute involved separation of the publishing house Academia from the Institute, dismissal of many academics seen as formalists, introduction of new, Marxist methods, appointment of new chairs and board members, termination of work which was not compatible with the new direction, and a subsequent purge of staff members who were "hostile" to them. Many of the academics left voluntarily even if they had not been purged. This slow process

of restructuring is now seen as dissolution. In 1930 the Institute terminated all education and research activities, and even though following the official order of its termination in 1931 it was used as a basis for the new State Academy of Art Criticism, the Institute of the History of Art no longer existed (Kupman, 2011).

It was at this outstanding institution before the dissolution that Fedorov studied and from which he graduated in 1929 as a literary scholar and translator (Alekseeva, 2008). During his studies Fedorov published his first two papers (1927b; 1928) which will be discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Fedorov's employment and participation in professional associations

2.2.1 Early career

After his graduation Fedorov stayed at the Institute to work as a researcher of the second category (Anikina et al., 2008). This was an early career researcher position: the classification of academics introduced in the early 1920s by the Central Committee for the Improvement of Living Conditions of Scholars included five categories where the fifth one was the highest, assigned to world renowned scholars (Dolgova, 2018). Fedorov only worked at the institute until 1930 when it was terminated. Then, Fedorov started working as an inhouse technical translator for the state department for aluminium production (Anikina et al., 2008). He probably worked there for a short time only, as other biographical sources do not mention it, and in 1930 he already joined the academic staff of the Leningrad Institute of Communal Construction as a research assistant at the Department of Foreign Languages.

In 1929 Fedorov joined the professional association of translators created in 1924: the Translators' Section under the Leningrad branch of the All-Russian Union of Writers.^v Following the inspection of the Translators' Section and the purge in 1930-1931 the organisation was terminated. After further centralisation of translators' and writers' activities and their unions, a Translators' Section was

^v The date of his becoming a member of the Translators' Section is assumed from the fact that in 1929 he presented his paper 'Techniques and objectives of literary translation' at one of its meetings (Kukushkina, 2014). It is also supported by another source stating that in 1929 Fedorov became a member of the Union of Writers (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

set up under the All-USSR Union of Writers in 1934 (Kukushkina, 2014). Fedorov joined the restructured Union of Writers in 1934; the same year he started leading a seminar on translating German literature at the Leningrad branch of the Union of Writers, where a year later he became a member of the bureau of the literary translation section; in 1936 he participated in the 1st All-Union Congress on Literary Translation (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

2.2.2 Lecturer and researcher in translation

In 1930 Fedorov started teaching at higher education level. The universities where he worked the longest were the First Leningrad Institute of Foreign Languages (between 1938 and 1941 and then between 1946 and 1956) and the Leningrad State University from 1956 until 1985 (Fedorov, 1954-1972; Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

Between 1936-1937 he gave lectures at two higher education institutions in Moscow: on the theory of translation at the Central Courses for translators and editors at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East and on the theory of literary translation at the Maxim Gorkii Literature Institute (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). As shown by the letters from writer, literary critic, translator, and translation theorist Griftsov, Fedorov was specifically invited by both of these institutions to teach translation theory and was asked to specify his conditions and availability to visit Moscow; the letters also make it clear that by this time Fedorov already had the programme prepared for teaching such courses, and demonstrate Fedorov's active involvement in the teaching of both courses, including reading lectures, delivering seminars, and giving exams (Griftsov, 1937-1939). Between 1938 and 1941 Fedorov taught at the Department of German Philology at the First Leningrad Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (Mokiyenko et al., 1986), later incorporated into Leningrad State University (Central State Archives of Saint Petersburg, 2020).

In 1941 Fedorov was awarded a degree of *Kandidat Nauk* [Candidate of Sciences], having defended his dissertation 'Main issues in literary translation' (Mokiyenko et al., 1986, p.8). This doctoral degree, awarded in the Soviet Union and in some post-Soviet countries, including Russia, has been recognised as an equivalent of PhD (Kouptsov, 1997).

2.2.3 War translator experience

When the Soviet Union entered the Second World War, Fedorov was conscripted into the army. He served at the Leningrad Front, the 3rd Baltic Front, and the 2nd Belorussian Front, from 1941 until he was demobilised in October 1945 (Fedorov, 1954-1972). His position was a translator and interpreter for the 7th department of the political administration (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

The so-called 7th department was a code name for the propaganda unit that existed in every army of the Soviet Union; the staff would work with the enemy soldiers and residents of occupied territories to influence them ideologically and force them to surrender; some of the departments had their own publishing facilities and created flyers to distribute among the opposing troops and residents in their language (Moshchanskii, 2010). These were the activities in which Fedorov participated in this department during the war, including the last year (1945) at the Northern Group of Forces in Poland and in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany. Fedorov's students have shared their memories about his recollections of the war experience: collecting evidence from correspondence in German, interrogating captured German soldiers, and distributing propaganda, persuading German soldiers to surrender or defer, driving in a vehicle with a simple public-address system along the front line (Anikina et al., 2008). For his service Fedorov was awarded with a medal 'For the defence of Leningrad,' the Order of the Red Star, and the medal 'For the victory over fascist Germany in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945' (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

Some scholars (Alekseeva, 2008; Anikina et al., 2008) have pointed out that Fedorov's military service played a part in his subsequent academic work, firstly because in the years immediately after the Second World War translation training in Soviet universities was still based on and aimed at preparing translators for war action, and secondly because of the interpreting expertise that Fedorov developed during the war which would, along with his translation expertise, support his theoretical research.

2.2.4 Resumed career as a scholar

After the war between 1945 and 1946, Fedorov briefly worked in Moscow as a vice chief editor for foreign literature at the publishing house Khudozhestvennaia

Literatura and senior lecturer at the Translation Department of the First Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages.^{vi} In 1946 he returned to the First Leningrad Institute of Foreign Languages in Leningrad, first as a senior lecturer, then as the head of the Translation Department (in 1947); in 1948 he received the academic title of associate professor (docent).^{vii} In 1956 Fedorov started working as the head of the Translation Department at the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the Leningrad State University, and in 1958-1960 he was the head of the Department of German Philology at the same faculty (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

On 9 April 1959 Fedorov defended his doctoral thesis for his second doctoral degree (by contribution to the field rather than a traditional study programme). Following this thesis defence, Fedorov was awarded a degree of *Doktor Nauk* [Doctor of Sciences], specifically Doctor of Philological Sciences. This is the highest academic degree in Russia and a potential pathway to full professorship, recognised as the second doctoral degree (Kouptsov, 1997); it is similar to the higher doctorate in the UK and habilitation in Germany, with the significant difference that unlike them *Doktor Nauk* is a separate degree awarded on the basis of the defended thesis (Savina, 2015). Fedorov's thesis defence is indicated in his archives with numerous congratulating telegrams received on the day, such as seen in Aizenshtok (1959) (see Figure 2-1). The telegrams were sent by his friends and colleagues from the fields of TS and linguistics, academics from the Department of German Language and Translation Department of the Leningrad State University, and his students. It was Fedorov's book *Introduction to Translation Theory*, which had already been published and republished by that time, which was the basis of his thesis. As Fedorov's archives show, the process took a long time. In as early as 1952 Fedorov already had a draft of his thesis:

^{vi} The First Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages was later renamed the Maurice Thorez Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages, and today is known as Moscow State Linguistic University (Moscow State Linguistic University, 2020).

^{vii} The academic title of associate professor or *dotsent* [docent] is different from a university rank; the academic titles of associate professor and professor in Russia are awarded for academic achievements. They are given for life, not for the contract at a specific higher education institution, and as such they do not necessarily coincide with the academic/teaching positions at a given university. At the time, in the mid-20th century, the academic titles that could be awarded included, in ascending order, Assistant, Docent, and Professor (Kouptsov, 1997; Napso, 2003).

there are two volumes entitled 'Linguistic foundations of the theory of translation: Doctoral thesis,' preserved in the archives (Fedorov, 1952a).



Figure 2-1. Telegrams with congratulations on the thesis defence (Aizenshtok, 1959)

After this award, in 1960 Fedorov became professor of the Department of General Linguistics at the Philological Faculty of the Leningrad State University, with his rank as professor approved in 1961, and in 1963 he became the head of the Department for German Philology (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). During the years teaching at Leningrad State University Fedorov gave lectures as a visiting scholar at other universities, including in Ukraine, teaching a module on comparative stylistics at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv in 1968 and a course on translation theory and comparative stylistics at the Gorky State University of Kharkiv in 1969 (Mokiyenko et al., 1986).

Starting from the 1960s, more large-scale national and international academic events related to TS were held, and Fedorov actively participated in them. Among them, in 1963 he participated in the 4th FIT Congress held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia (more data on this event is presented in Chapter 4); in 1966 he presented a paper on translatability at the All-Union Symposium *Current Problems of Literary Translation* in Moscow; in 1972 he presented a paper on

research objectives in scientific and technical translation at the 10th Symposium for Scientific and Technical Translators in Moscow; in 1978 he presented a paper 'Teoriia perevoda v sovremennom mire' [Translation theory in today's world] at the International Symposium *Problems of Contemporary Translation Theory* held in Moscow and Yerevan (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). The subjects of Fedorov's papers and symposiums overall demonstrate the change in the discipline's focus: it moved from literary translation, which had been the centre of translation research for decades, to scientific and technical translation, and to the theory of translation finally becoming the central theme on its own.



Figure 2-2. Photograph of Fedorov as an examiner at a thesis defence in 1970
(*Фотопортреты А. В. Федорова...*, 1970-1974, p.1)

Fedorov held the position of the head of the Department for German Philology at the Philological Faculty of the Leningrad State University until 1979 when he became consulting professor^{viii} and performed this role until 1985 (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). Throughout his career in higher education Fedorov supervised at least 36 PhD theses (at least because the data obtained only covers the years up to 1985, although it is most likely to be the final number as Fedorov did not work at the university after that); he also acted as an examiner

^{viii} A position at a university which can be offered to distinguished professors who have reached the age of retirement; it normally does not have compulsory teaching or administrative duties but focuses on consulting the faculty and supervising research (Saint Petersburg State University, 2016).

(see Figure 2-2 for a portrait of Fedorov as an examiner at a thesis defence) for 69 theses for the award of doctoral degrees (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). Thus, he actively participated in the life and development of the research community.

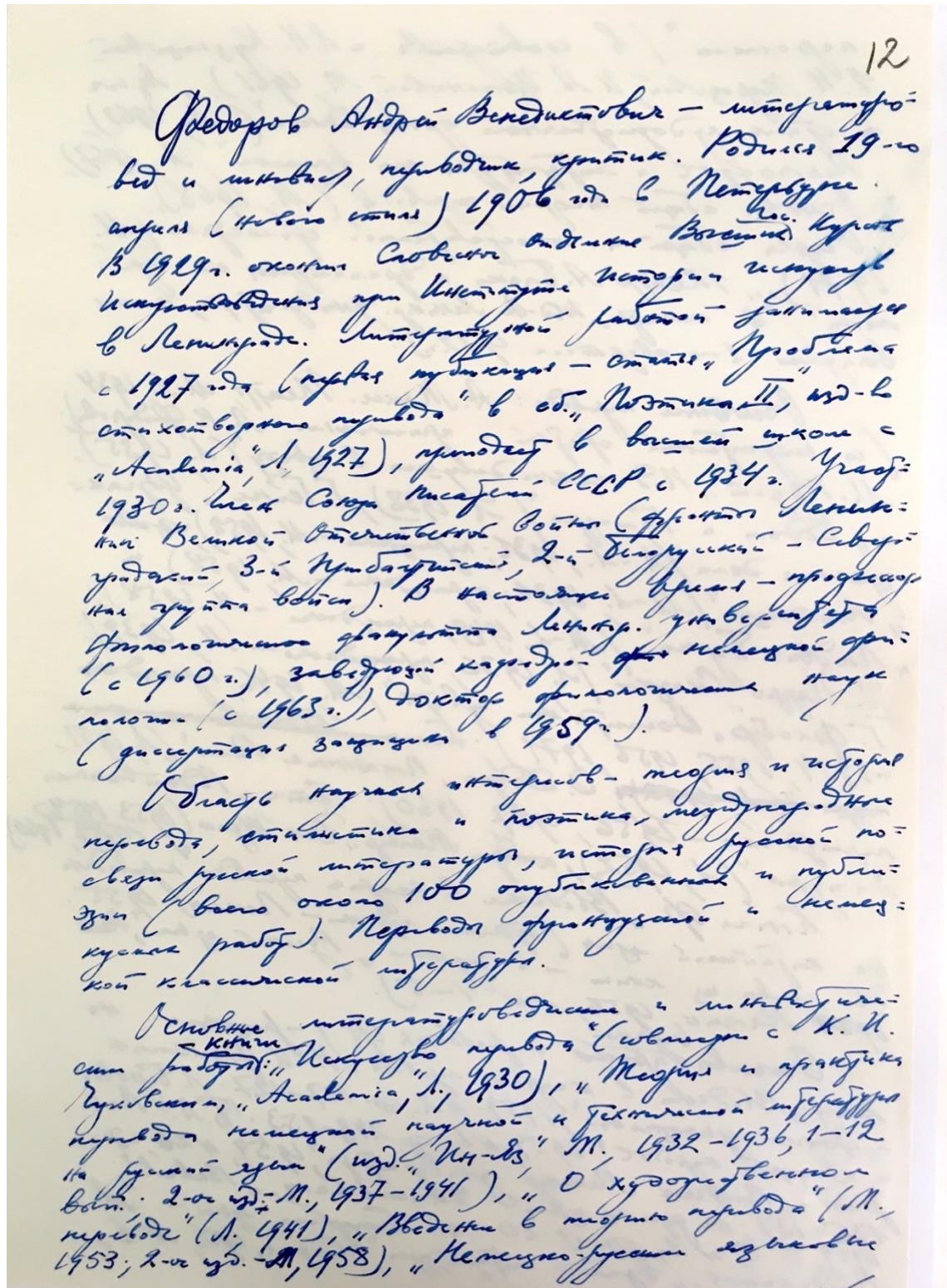


Figure 2-3. First page of Fedorov's autobiography written in c. 1972 (Fedorov, 1954-1972, p.12)

2.3 Fedorov's publications on translation

2.3.1 Early papers

2.3.1.1 'The problem of poetry translation,' 1927

Fedorov's first article was published when he was 21 years old in 1927. The publication 'Problema stikhotvornogo perevoda' [The problem of poetry translation] was based on the paper presented in 1925 at the Institute of History of Art's Section for Literary Language and became one of the articles in the collection *Poetics* from the Department of Philological Arts of the Institute.

Fedorov was still a student at the Institute and in the opening lines he explicitly thanked Tynianov and Bernstein for their guidance and advice (Fedorov, 1927b, p.104). Fedorov also used fragments from Tynianov's translations of Heine as examples to illustrate his points. Five decades later an English translation of the 1927 article was published in *Linguistics* (in 1974) which recognised the importance of the article for the research community. The fact that Fedorov approved of this publication and mentioned it later in one of his books (Fedorov, 1983a) showed that it was important for him as well. Since the most established research method in advanced literary studies and linguistics in Russia in the mid-1920s was the one known as Russian Formalism, Fedorov applied it in his article. It was therefore the first and most comprehensive formalist investigation into the theory of translation, as noted by Fokin (2016) and Hansen-Löve (2001). It was also the first work in Russian scholarship, as Fedorov (1983a) later recollected, that introduced ***teoriia perevoda* [the theory of translation]** as a term denoting a field of study. In this early work Fedorov (1927b, p.118) argued it was one of the objectives of the theory of translation to study the relationship between the original and translation and how this relationship was preconditioned by the correlation of their respective literary systems. The emergence and development of this term as a name of the discipline will be analysed in Chapter 3.

In this article young Fedorov suggested there were two possible methods of research into literary translation. The first one involved a close comparison of the original and the translation and a study of their correspondence; Fedorov described this method as 'comparative and projective,'³¹ also describing it in

French as comparative '*explication du texte*' (Fedorov, 1927b, p.104). The second method was 'comparative and functional or structural',³² aimed at studying the transfer of the original's functions. Fedorov referred to Tynianov's definition of the term *funktsiia* [function] when speaking about the functional system of the original in the process of translation, understanding 'functions of a literary element' as 'correlation with other elements and with the constructive principle of the whole'³³ (Tynianov, 1926, p.9). (Schippel (2017) also links Fedorov's use of the term to other Tynianov's works.) Fedorov pointed out that the functional comparison of translations implied their analysis from the historical perspective.

Tynianov's understanding of a hierarchy of literature in the cultural system informed Fedorov's definition of translation as a way of interaction between literatures of different cultures. Fedorov (1927b, p.117) argued:

Translation is one of the ways for a literature to infiltrate another literature, to influence its works; it is also an indicator of understanding, interpretation of works of a foreign literature, determined among other factors by the development of the national literature.³⁴

Developing Tynianov's ideas Fedorov (1927b, p.118) identified two factors determining translation: '*genesis* (the impact of the original) and *tradition* (the influence of the literary context [...])',³⁵ where tradition meant the influence of the target literature.

In this early study Fedorov already investigated the concept of ***tochnost*** [**accuracy**]. He emphasised that it was essential in the discussion of the possibility of a 'normative approach to translation' (Fedorov, 1927b, p.105). Fedorov referred here to Gumilev's paper 'Poetry translations' Gumilev (1919) in the booklet *Principles of Literary Translation* as a typical example of the normative perspective. Fedorov suggested, based on the existence of two research methods, that this concept was characterised by duality and relativity. He argued that there could not be 'an absolute norm' of equivalents, and it was correlativity rather than equivalence that defined the relationship between the original and translation. Every translation and every element of a translation was then to be seen as ***narushenie*** [**non-compliance or violation**] of the brief since there is always some change in the characteristics, their dominance, and relationships (Fedorov, 1927b, p.105). Fedorov provided a classification of such violations,

limited to semantics, lexis, and syntax due to the length of the article, and argued that they constituted a norm in translation.

This classification has been briefly analysed by Pym (2016) who acknowledges its significance at that early stage of TS. However, Pym's analysis suffers from misinterpretation of two types in this classification which diminishes its value. In the classification Pym has provided short labels for all the types (working from an English translation of Fedorov published in 1974, the translator remaining unknown): omission, addition, substitution, constructive-semantic violation, correspondence, and changes in element order. I would like to clarify here the last two types. The type indicated as 'correspondence' (Pym, 2016, p.39), in Fedorov's text reads as differences between the original and the translation 'in terms of the correlation of their lexical planes'³⁶ (Fedorov, 1927b, p.108). Fedorov clarified that it could involve differences in components of lexical meaning of a word in the source and target language: for example, a loss of the connotational component. It is, therefore, a complex system of relations between components of lexical meaning in comparable words or multi-word lexical units from different languages. The type indicated as 'changes in element order' (Pym, 2016, p.39), in Fedorov's text refers not only to the order of words or fragments of text, as suggested incorrectly in Pym's explanation, but also to other changes to the form, to syntax of the original, which includes the use of syntactic structures or elements different to those in the original. These clarifications are important as they expand the understanding of violations which are ultimately the objective of research in translation, according to Fedorov's article (1927b, p.113). They also informed his discussion of accuracy, which, he concluded, 'as a concept appears impossible, and as a fact – unattainable and excessive'³⁷ (1927b, p.117).

Fedorov concluded his article by establishing the objective of translation theory, which was not the subject of academic discussion either in Russia or in Western Europe at the time and was therefore an important innovation in his work.

2.3.1.2 'Sound in poetry translation,' 1928

Fedorov continued his exploration of poetry translation in an article published a year later. As a student, Fedorov conducted a research project 'Sound in Tyutchev's poetry;' based on the project he wrote his article 'Zvukovaia forma

stikhotvornogo perevoda' [Sound in poetry translation] which, as some researchers have pointed out, demonstrated the influence of Russian Formalism more than any other of his works (Anikina et al., 2008).

Besides references to Tynianov and Bernstein in this article Fedorov drew on Roman Jakobson's *On Czech Verse, Predominantly in Comparison to Russian*³⁸ (in Russian, published in 1923), specifically his concept of 'violence' over language (Fedorov, 1928, p.45). Jakobson (1923) defined violence as an influence of a foreign language both in translation and in the process of development of a language; Fedorov, following him, focused on violence in the process of poetry translation.

Fedorov's article (1928) concentrated on the issues of metrics and phonetics and returned to the concept of **accuracy** in relation to them. In the first part of the article, he analysed translations of poems from German, French, and English into Russian from the perspective of their meter, with translations mostly demonstrating significant differences in the meter used. One of the examples given here was the traditional translation of French alexandrines and octosyllables with Russian two-syllable feet, iambic or trochaic, verses of the same number of syllables as the original. He concluded here that no absolute meter accuracy was possible or indeed needed, even between languages where similar metrics were possible, as it would require not only prosodic precision but functional accuracy as well (Fedorov, 1928, p.50). At the same time, Fedorov pointed out, the translator might pursue a task different from functional correspondence to recreate the foreign sound by employing unusual metres. This was linked to perception of the translation from the perspective of the literature of the original language, as opposed to the target literature which 'assimilates this writing and in which the translated work may not have the same prerequisites as in its native soil' (Fedorov, 1928, p.53); in Venuti's terms today, it could be described as the dichotomy of foreignisation vs. domestication. Another dichotomy in Fedorov's article was the poem's relation to either modern literature or the past history: perceiving the poem from one of these perspectives might also inform the translator, and the translator's choice of both metre and rhyme.

In the second part of the article Fedorov (1928, p.57) focused on the relationship between the original and translation in terms of their euphony, which

here he understood as 'principles of qualitative sound organisation of the poem.'³⁹ Fedorov (1928, p.58-63) identified several cases of **sootvetstvie** [**correspondence**] between the original and translation in relation to euphony:

- 1) when there was a repetition of sounds in the original, in the translation there could be a repetition of the same sounds or different sounds recreating the effect, or a lack of repetition;
- 2) the repetition in the translation was not dictated by the original, however, it could be justified by other reasons; or
- 3) a group of sounds of the original corresponded to a similar group of sounds in the translation.

Fedorov highlighted that sound correspondences did not always involve semantic correspondence.

Fedorov concluded this article claiming *nesoizmerimost* [incommensurability]⁴⁰ of poetic constructions of different languages (1928, p.65). As Fokin (2016) has pointed out, this incommensurability between the original and the translation in Fedorov's statements was reminiscent of Benjamin's views in his essay 'The Task of the Translator.' There was a difference in their discussion of translation as violence. In Benjamin's view it was violence towards the translator's, that is, the target language, and Fedorov spoke about both cases, violence towards the translator's language and towards the language of the original.

In his conclusion Fedorov (1928, p.66) emphasised again the essential role of rhythm in poetry translation, writing that the translation 'one way or the other, whichever correspondence to the sound organisation of the original,'⁴¹ had to convey the sound of the original, including the metre and euphony; this process was accompanied by the 'battle of the elements for their place in the translation'⁴² (this was again a reference to Tynianov's correlation of elements, identified in Fedorov's first article above). In this battle the translator faced the challenge of choosing one of the possibilities and determining their priority, much more so than in prose translation. The sound, as the defining feature, and other elements then co-determined each other's meaning and function.

2.3.1.3 'Techniques and objectives of literary translation,' 1930

Fedorov continued this exploration in his 1930 publication, 'Priemy i zadachi khudozhestvennogo perevoda' [Techniques and objectives of literary translation] which constituted part of the book *Iskusstvo Perevoda [The Art of Translation]* co-authored by Chukovskii and Fedorov. Fedorov developed his idea of the battle of the elements, arguing that 'accuracy in one point means inaccuracy in another'⁴³ (1930, p.91). In this essay, however, poetry was not the only focus, it was one of two subcategories of literary translation.

The essay overall was another step towards the general theory of translation as it laid foundations for several concepts. Fedorov (1930, p.89) opened his article with the discussion of the notion of **accuracy** and stated, as in previous works, that it was an 'extremely conditional and relative notion.'⁴⁴ He applied a metaphor to describe the relationship between the original and translation as follows: 'A translation in relation to the original is a resemblance created from another material'⁴⁵ (1930, p.90). Investigating the battle of the elements further, he pointed out some factors that influenced the translator's approach, including the genre of the work, the style of the author, current requirements for translations, the translator's goals, and literary means they used. In this book Fedorov strictly distinguished **three main translation trends**: gravitating towards the translator's native language, 'foreignness in translation'⁴⁶ (p.118), and 'smoothing out translation'⁴⁷ (translating 'without maintaining national linguistic features or realia-specific features, at the same time without introducing characteristics of the target language')⁴⁸ (p.126). Fedorov argued that the latter method was sometimes unavoidable, but it carried the risk of erasing the original's uniqueness. Significantly, Fedorov did not express his preference for any of the methods, exploring the reasons and benefits of using each of them. He emphasised that exclusive use of any of these methods could be risky and asserted that masterful literary translations showed a balanced use of all three identified methods. This was an important position taken in this book which would not be so straightforward afterwards, as will be discussed in the next sections, analysing his later publications.

Fedorov (1930) analysed translation from the perspectives of lexis (including dialects and wordplay), morphology, syntax, and the relationship between meaning and syntax of the original and translation. He explored

archaisation and modernisation in translation and argued that there was a process of evolution of translations and publications. He also discussed the meaning of translation for the target literature and for the source literature. Thus, he opened the discussion of many issues which would be developed in his 1953 book and some of the key concepts which will be explored in Chapter 3. Schippel (2017) points out the descriptiveness of Fedorov's approach to translation in this discussion as opposed to the general prescriptiveness of literature on translation at the time. This difference is clear even from looking at the two authors' contributions in the 1930 book: Fedorov's scientificity and descriptiveness and Chukovskii's anecdotes and prescriptiveness.

This essay arguably introduced Fedorov to a wider readership and made his name known as a translation scholar. This was partly due to his co-authorship with Chukovskii, a recognised authority in literary studies and translation at the time. Despite his recognition, Chukovskii's works did not reach the level of theorisation required to be considered in the same niche as Fedorov's, and they did not intend to. Chukovskii's article was a continuation of his essays in the *Principles of Literary Translation*, investigated in Chapter 1 (Gumilev and Chukovskii, 1919; Batiushkov et al., 1920). It maintained the style of his earlier articles as a collection of observations on successes and failures of literary translators, accompanied by criticisms and examples, rather than a theoretical work on translation. This has also been noted by Fokin (2016, p.171) who describes Chukovskii and Fedorov's book as a certain compromise, as a forced 'reconciliation between Chukovskii's sharply anti-theoretic attitude and position in translation studies and Fedorov's hyper-theoretic rigorism of early works tracing back to the formalist school.'⁴⁹ This contrast must have drawn some attention (this book appears also more studied today than Fedorov's 1928 article), and Fedorov's essay was blamed for being 'a typical work of a Leningrad formalist'⁵⁰ and Fedorov himself 'a speculative theoretician'⁵¹ (Levit, 1930, cited in Azov (2013, p.23)). Was he actually a "formalist" and a "speculative theoretician"?

Besides his first publications, I do not think that Fedorov directly followed the formalist method in his research. Later Fedorov (1975-1977, p.2) wrote in his unpublished monograph *Semantic Multi-Dimensionality of Literary Style: Problems of Poetics and Stylistics*:

The results of their [formalists'] work had an unquestionable scientific value, and the value was first of all due to their innovation, as in the 19th and even the early 20th century the conventional, so called, academic, history of literature did not deal with such issues, ignoring them, while the truly scientific poetics and stylistics were limited to very few, although, wonderful works (Veselovskii, Potebnia) which stood alone and had not yet made independent disciplines. Notwithstanding the original outputs and the abundance of new material, which had not been researched before, and some links to the literary practice of the period (mostly "leftist" movements), the significance of the "formalist" contribution was limited due to the one-dimensional focus of their studies limited to the plane of expression only (however wide it was understood in some cases), due to their fundamental rejection of studying the message and the social and historical background of literature.⁵²

He concluded that most of the creators and supporters of the formalist method went to look for new ways and directions by the late 1920s as they must have realised its limitations. At the same time, Fedorov did not cut ties with Russian Formalism altogether. He studied and wrote about Tynianov and his work as a scholar and translator throughout his life. He followed up on Tynianov's work in his research on Heine and his translators. He referred to other Russian formalists as well. Thus, he spoke of Tynianov and Eikhenbaum as two of the few literary scholars, along with Bakhtin, who were at the same time brilliant linguists and could approach a literary analysis from a linguistic perspective as well (1975-1977, p.12). The materials in the archives have shown Fedorov's correspondence with Bernstein, Zhirmunskii, and Tynianov.

Safiullina (2009, p.138) believes that Levit's critique of Fedorov's formalism was based on the idea that Fedorov 'regarded various approaches to translation (from the eighteenth-century French to the twentieth-century German) as equal, [...] and that he admitted that multiple good translations of a single work were possible.' Fedorov indeed referred to French and German theorists, including Batteux, Glasenapp, Gottsched, Marmontel, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, analysing the scholarship on different approaches to translation of poetry and prose. However, it was Fedorov's own approach to translation theory that reminded his critics of Russian formalists whose research was guided by the idea of 'the close interaction of linguistic and literary scholarship, and [...] the desire to make the study of literature an exact science' (Glanc, 2015, p.1). Since this was indeed Fedorov's background he continued adopting some of the

principles to develop his theory as a comprehensive scientific study of translation rooted in the scholarship of related disciplines. It was Fedorov's own scientific concepts of literary translation, proclaimed in the article, together with his lack of condemnation of foreignisation and literal translation, which invited such opposition by his critics.



Figure 2-4. Fedorov's portrait (no date) from the cover of the book with his reprinted articles from the 1920s-1940s, published for his 100th anniversary in a print run of 100 copies (Fedorov, 2006)

2.3.1.4 Series of training manuals for scientific and technical translators, 1932-1936

From the early stages of his career Fedorov developed materials for teaching practical and theoretical translation at higher education level. Among the first publications in Russia aimed at summarising the collective translation expertise and teaching practice, as indicated later by Fedorov (1983b), were rather practical books: Retsker's *Methods of Technical Translation*,⁵³ published in 1934, Morozov's series of lectures published as 12 issues in 1932-1938 *Techniques of Translating Scientific and Technical Literature from English into Russian*,⁵⁴ and a similar series for German to Russian translation written by Fedorov (1932-1936), and reprinted in 1937-1941.

This series of twelve books, written by Fedorov, first published between 1932 and 1936, was titled *Teoriia i Praktika Perevoda Nemetskoj Nauchnoi i Tekhnicheskoi Literatury na Russkiiazyk [Theory and Practice of Translating German Scientific and Technical Literature into Russian]*. Judging by the title, they included some theoretical considerations. As I have not been able to access a copy of this series, I rely on reviews and references to it. Borisova (2016) lists this series among the first research investigations into scientific and technical translation. She highlights the depth and complexity of the analysed phenomena, particularly, in relation to word meaning, choice of words, and synonyms in translation, as well as specific use and meaning of words, which could not be defined as terminology, within scientific and technical texts. She points out that Fedorov at the same time emphasised how a text was to be seen not as a sum of elements, but as a complex system. Borisova praises the useful recommendations and advice for the translator and illustrations with translation examples. This is something that is shown in a different light by Alekseeva (2018) who argues that prescriptiveness was a characteristic of this series that distinguished it from other Fedorov's works. She has observed that prescriptiveness was standard for textbooks at that time which is why this publication does not remain so relevant today as Fedorov's theoretical works. As a manual it was meant for training translators in practical translation, with German-Russian translation being specifically urgent during that period in the Soviet Union on the brink of the Second World War. This might explain the reprint of the series in 1937-1941.

2.3.2 On Literary Translation, 1941

Fedorov's next major theoretical work on translation was published in 1941. In this book *O Khudozhestvennom Perevode [On Literary Translation]* the categorical position on some aspects of Fedorov's theoretical views from his earlier works changed. First of all, his view on **translatability** became clearly positive. As Fedorov stated in the introduction to this book, in his earlier publications (from 1927, 1928, and 1930) he over-emphasised the incompatibility of certain formal and semantic elements of the original, which sometimes led to sceptical conclusions on translatability, although he stressed, he had never supported the idea of untranslatability. He linked it to the notion of **accuracy** as he discussed it earlier to clarify his current position. Fedorov emphasised that 'the

relativity of the concept of accuracy'⁵⁵ made it possible to consider translation as a product of 'equal value'⁵⁶ to the original writing and similarly to compare and accept two translations of the same work as equal (Fedorov, 1941, p.6).

In this book Fedorov entitled one of the chapters 'The issue of translatability'⁵⁷ (Fedorov, 1941, p.206). He discussed it mainly by looking at examples from translations in which specific elements performed functions similarly to elements of the original, preserving their meaning and style, but not the form. Fedorov argued here that translatability did not equal and often did not require purely formal accuracy. Fedorov further developed translatability as a concept in his 1953 book which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

This idea of high-quality translation without literal accuracy was related to the **methods of translation**. Fedorov (1941) continued developing them from his 1930 publication where he distinguished between translation oriented towards the language of the original, towards the translator's native language, and 'smoothing out translation.' In the 1941 book Fedorov established that the third method, smoothing out translation, which he also described here as 'correcting'⁵⁸ translation (Fedorov, 1941, p.72), had been often used in Russian and Western European translated literature in the 18-19th centuries, and it was no longer relevant. Fedorov (1941) therefore focused on two other methods, providing a justification and illustrations for each one. Speaking of the method guided by the original, he distinguished between *chuzheiazыchnost* ['foreign-languageness,' as translated by Green in Baer (2021b, p.232)] which referred to, for instance, the use of foreign proper names in their unusual for the translation's readership form, and *chuzhezemnost* [foreignness] which referred to foreign realia. Fedorov clearly advocated for both; the use of the other method, oriented towards the translator's language, consisted mainly in the use of syntax. Some researchers, for instance Fokin (2016), have argued that compared to his previous publications Fedorov (1941) was very vague when speaking about the acceptability of translation oriented towards the language and culture of the original and that this vagueness was due to the rejection of an unequivocal orientation to the foreign text in the predominant discourse within Soviet culture at the time. I disagree with this view; while the discourse had indeed changed, Fedorov continued developing his perspective on two translation methods which he established in 1930. He continued arguing that both methods were useful, particularly if

balanced well by a skilful translator, and supporting the use of ‘foreignness’ and ‘foreign-language-ness’ in some translation contexts. Fedorov emphasised the importance of understanding two translation methods for both practical and theoretical purposes.

Fedorov clearly asserted the theoretical objectives of his 1941 book. He declared that it was not meant to be a textbook or a practical guide, but a theoretical discussion of the main problems of ‘literary translation as a phenomenon of literature and literary language,’⁵⁹ of the general issues related to all genres and languages, based on history and current knowledge on literature and translation theory (1941, p.3). The structure of the book reflected the focus on literary translation, and Fedorov justified it by the co-relationship of different elements of a literary work in translation. Contrasting it to his 1930 work, he chose not to divide the book into chapters related to different linguistic and stylistic subsections, but to use variable relations between literary work of different genres and principles of their translation as a ground for classification. Thus, the book included such chapters as ‘Translation and criticism,’ ‘Types and methods of translation,’ and ‘Translation and literary genres’⁶⁰ (Fedorov, 1941, p.2). However, it still covered many issues related to linguistics and stylistics, for instance, translation of wordplay, archaisms, local dialects, or unique style of the original. Fedorov also maintained some of the discussion of the ‘battle of elements’ in the chapter on poetry translation. Considering such content, I do not agree with the view that this book demonstrated a purely literary approach as opposed to a linguistic approach of Fedorov’s 1953 book, as argued, for instance, by Schippel (2017) or shown as a confrontation of ideas and agendas by Fokin (2016). Fedorov’s 1941 book presented some ideas that were further developed in his later work. It could be seen as an intermediary between his works of the 1920s-1930s, drawing on his formalist heritage, and the 1953 book, developing the full-fledged general theory of translation built on his expertise in linguistics, literary studies, criticism, and history, added to the work that went into the 1941 book and his translation and teaching experience.

It should be noted here that the books and articles discussed in this section do not exhaust the list of Fedorov’s publications on translation. There are many more, as the bibliography in Appendix A demonstrates. The publications discussed in detail in this section have been selected for their focus on theoretical

aspects and, as such, serving as milestones in the development of Fedorov's views leading to the 1953 book.

2.3.3 Unpublished materials

Besides the published books, there are some unpublished materials stored in his archives that allow us to follow the development of Fedorov's theoretical views on translation. One of them is the programme for the proposed course 'Osnovnye voprosy perevoda' [Main issues in translation] (Fedorov, 1937). This document was an overview of the main topics to be covered during the course, broken down into eight sections.

The programme anticipated some parts of Fedorov's 1953 book, such as genres of translated texts and methods of translation; however, it did not speak of translation theory as a discipline. Nevertheless, it asserted the relation of the course to other disciplines, and its specific objectives; it also highlighted the need for a scientific approach to translation and gave an overview of the history of theoretical writing on translation. Fedorov also approached the issues of foreignness in translation, methods of translation, the author's style, and accuracy. Particularly distinguishable here was his differentiation of 'elementary accuracy' and 'literary accuracy'⁶¹ (or artistic) and potential discrepancies between them (Fedorov, 1937, p.1). Since it was only a plan, a programme, it did not provide more details about these concepts, which were not found in other works by Fedorov. Fedorov (1937) introduced some concepts which were later developed in his 1953 book, including lexical variants and related translation issues, such as choice of words, context, social connotations, imagery, translation of tropes, idioms, foreign realia, and terms. He also investigated differences of syntax between languages and possible ways of translating syntactical features of the original. The final lessons in the programme were to discuss the existing literature on translation with the focus on most recent publications. The whole course was designed for 42-44 hours of teaching. Although it had a more practical angle overall and did not emphasise the theoretical aspect, it covered or at least anticipated many of the concepts developed in Fedorov's 1953 book.

There is another manuscript in Fedorov's archives with a programme for a practical course in literary translation. The programme, dated 1938, is stated to

have been co-created with loganson^{ix} and hand-written, most likely not by Fedorov, as far as I can judge. It was aimed at students of the Faculty of German Philology in their fourth year with the teaching objectives as follows:

Using translation for mastering the means of expression of both German and Russian language; more advanced understanding of the correlation between the languages. Developing the ability to perform a fast and conscious systemic analysis as a prerequisite for translation⁶² (Fedorov and loganson, 1938, p.10).

The first topic in the programme assessed requirements for translation:

1) Accuracy (and what is understood by it). 2) Adequacy to the original in relation to the expressive means of the language. 3) Compliance with the norms of the translating language⁶³ (Fedorov and loganson, 1938, p.11).

The subsequent topics explored syntax, word meaning and morphology, and lexis. The concluding classes were to discuss poetry and prose translation. The programme suggested texts to be used to practice translation, among them were publications by Lenin, Stalin, Herzen, Gorkii, Chekhov, and Pushkin for translating into German, and Marx, Engels, Graf, Heine, Goethe, Immermann, and Seghers for translating into Russian. As it is not clear whether Fedorov was teaching literary translation himself at the time, it is possible that he was requested to create the programme for a higher education institution as an already recognised specialist in the field.

During the same period, in the late 1930s, Fedorov worked on a chapter on methods of literary translation for a multi-authored book. While the chapter focused on translation of literary works, as evident from the title, it also commented on technical translation and translation for training purposes. What else distinguished this manuscript was the analysis of correspondence of syntax between the original and the translation. Fedorov (1937-1938, p.46-47) identified four scenarios of such correspondence:

- 1) using similar syntactic structures in the translation,
- 2) using syntactic structures different to those of the original due to the lack of similar means in the target language,

^{ix} This was probably Vilgelm Genrikhovich loganson, author of textbooks on German and German-Russian military translation (The National Library of Russia, 2021).

- 3) the translator violating target syntax norms to match the original syntax,
and
- 4) the translator choosing to change the syntax of the original even though
the translating language does not require it.

In the 1953 book Fedorov mainly developed the second scenario, discussing two predominant cases of grammatical disagreement between the original and the translation: when the target language does not have the same grammatical category as the original, or when the original does not have the same grammatical category as the target text, but the translator can be still justified in using it (followed in Chapter 3). The book for which Fedorov wrote this chapter has never been published, as indicated in the note in the manuscript.

Fedorov explored theoretical issues in connection to methods of teaching translation as demonstrated by another unpublished paper. In the draft of the article entitled 'K metodike prepodavaniia perevoda s russkogo iazyka na nemetskii' [Towards the methods of teaching translation from Russian into German] Fedorov (1947) already spoke of translation theory and suggested that the teaching methods needed to borrow the following principles from it: approaching the original as a coherent semantic whole, aiming at achieving adequacy of the translating language, and transferring the unique stylistic features of the original (Fedorov, 1947, p.16). Fedorov insisted on the need for the teaching to be linked to the practical translation and translation theory.

A year later Fedorov wrote a book proposal to the Leningrad branch of the publishing house Goslitizdat. In his letter, addressed to the chief editor and dated 25 May 1948, Fedorov (1948-1951) proposed revising and republishing his 1941 book *On Literary Translation*. He justified it by the demand since it had become a rare find and also by the need for a revision. The suggested revision would include examples of translations from national languages of Soviet republics, as well as new translations from European languages that had appeared since the book was first published. Fedorov maintained that the theoretical foundations would mainly remain; however, a new chapter would be added exploring the notion of translation adequacy, which was not covered in 1941, and an overview on the development of the Soviet theory of translation. The publication of the

revised book did not get approved, for unexplained reasons, as Fedorov noted in the copy of the letter.

2.3.4 Manuscripts leading to the 1953 book

2.3.4.1 Book proposal

In 1947 Fedorov wrote and, probably, in 1949 edited (judging by the note in the manuscript) his book proposal for *Teoriia i Praktika Perevoda* [*Theory and Practice of Translation*], a textbook for higher education institutions teaching languages. The handwritten note in the manuscript (Fedorov, 1948-1951) states that the book was published with significant changes to the initial project in 1953, i.e., as the first edition of the *Introduction to Translation Theory*.

The proposal described the book as aimed at university students and teachers of foreign languages in secondary and higher education institutions engaged in the main Western-European languages studied at higher education level: English, French, and German. Fedorov stated the goal of the book to be a theoretical summary of practical translation observations and introduction of the main philological issues that formed translation theory. What distinguished this book from the few existing translation manuals, he argued, was ‘the scientific theoretical support for the practical work of the translator, as well as preparation of the teacher of translation as a distinct aspect of foreign language training with its specific methods’⁶⁴ (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.3). He stated that he applied the same theoretical approach as in the book *On Literary Translation* (1941) to translation principles.

The proposed plan of the book included the following six chapters.

1. The introduction presented the notion of translation as a creative activity and as a research subject and literary translation as an art. The description of the introduction demonstrates that at this stage Fedorov’s approach to translation theory was not as comprehensively formulated as it was in his 1953 book; the view of translation as an art was still present here. Nevertheless, he investigated the relationship between translation and other philological disciplines, i.e., recognising it indirectly as one of them, and the place of translation ‘in the system of linguistic education,

its cultural and pedagogical role in higher and secondary education'⁶⁵ (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.3).

The introduction also critically examined the history of translation and theoretical perspectives on translation, the writings by Marx, Engels, and Lenin as related to translation, and the place of translation in Soviet literature and culture along with the problem of translation in Soviet philology, including the question of **translatability**. This concept, that later became central in the 1953 book, was well developed at this stage: translatability as possibility of translating the whole original even if separate elements were impossible to translate exactly, the search for functional correspondences and substitutions. Fedorov established the need for the translator to be familiar with the author's oeuvre and its historical background. It is noteworthy that Fedorov did not limit the discussion to literary translation and attested to the need for the technical and scientific translator to have knowledge of the subject.

2. The second chapter was dedicated to linguistic issues, or in Fedorov's words, 'General objectives of working on the language' (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.4). This chapter appeared similar to the chapter under the same title in the published 1953 book. Fedorov opened it with a discussion of the requirement for high quality language in translation and introduced the term *polnotsennyi iazyk* [high-quality, comprehensive, standard language] which would be the basis for his concept of *polnotsennost* in the 1953 book (a detailed analysis of the concept follows in Chapter 3).

Fedorov highlighted the importance of non-violence towards the translating language, connecting it to **accuracy**, building on the argument from his 1928 article. He emphasised there was only a limited number of cases when a correct translation was also a formally exact or accurate translation and investigated scenarios when it was not possible (in most cases) and required the use of linguistic means that had different forms but similar functions. This chapter also considered the role of context, translation synonyms, and translation of **foreign realia**.

3. The next chapter analysed types of translation and translation objectives in relation to genres. Fedorov (1948-1951) classified translations into the

following **types of translation** based on the source materials: literary translation, translation of social and political works, translation of scientific and technical literature, and translation of official documents.

This classification was rather different from his typology in the 1953 book, discussed in Chapter 3. This could be indicative of further work due to consequent publications on the subject that appeared in 1950 (Sobolev, 1950a; Retsker, 1950). Similarly to his 1953 book, Fedorov investigated different features of different types and their translation techniques.

4. Fedorov dedicated a separate chapter to principles of literary translation. In contrast, literary translation in the 1953 book constituted only one of the sections of the last chapter alongside other types of translation. Here Fedorov (1948-1951, p.5) emphasised the possibility of ‘stylistic compensations (substitutions)’⁶⁶ when formally exact translation of specific elements was not possible and not needed.

A more detailed discussion than in the 1953 book was suggested on several classifications and corresponding requirements for translation. The first of these was the genre of the literary work: poetry, prose, *publitsistika* [social and political journalism], criticism, and drama. Then it was the subject matter: everyday life, history, and others, and the time when the work was produced and when it was set. Finally, Fedorov (1948-1951) identified requirements based on the individual style of the author. These were connected to the use of different language varieties, including vernacular, and translation of dialectisms, vulgarisms, archaisms, jargon, proverbs, etc. Fedorov highlighted the need for a deep stylistic analysis of the literary work as a prerequisite of high-quality translation. This was linked to conveying in translation the **author's vocabulary**, the level of its diversity or uniformity (Fedorov, 1948-1951).

The author's vocabulary was one of Fedorov's research interests. According to Alekseeva (2008), Fedorov initiated a new branch of lexicography: the study of the vocabulary of a writer. As Shestakova (2011) points out, he was instrumental in the emergence of bilingual dictionaries of specific writers' lexis as part of the discipline that later

became known as author lexicography. Fedorov's bibliography also provides evidence to that: starting from the late 1960s Fedorov published works on lexicography and writers' vocabularies specifically (Fedorov, 1966; Fedorov, 1969b; Fedorov and Foniakova, 1975; Fedorov et al., 1975; Fedorov and Trofimkina, 1980; Fedorov, 1981b; Fedorov, 1981a). During the years of his work at the Leningrad University Fedorov continued the development of the Interdepartmental Lexical Library⁶⁷ founded by Boris Larin (1893-1964), Fedorov's teacher and senior colleague, linguist, slavist, and lexicographer (Berezin, 2017).

Along the lexical aspect, Fedorov (1948-1951) examined syntax, its semantic function, its role as a feature of the author's style, and translation of syntactic characteristics. Another aspect of the form of the original that Fedorov explored was acoustic: he established that acoustic features of the original needed to be studied to avoid sound effects in translation that were not meant by the author and to convey the writer's euphony (as identified in his 1928 article). This led to the discussion of poetry translation where such features were of particular importance.

5. The fifth chapter of the proposed book analysed 'the concepts of the theory of translation from the perspectives of general linguistics and general stylistics'⁶⁸ (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.8). Fedorov introduced the concept of ***adekvatnyi perevod*** [**adequate translation**] and discussed the possibility of two or more equally good translations of the same text and the way translations became dated.

In addition to the 'foreignness' and 'foreign-languageness'⁶⁹ in translation Fedorov (1948-1951, p.8) highlighted the influence of literature on the language and the possibility of translating stylistic features typical to specific languages. Finally, he suggested translation observations to be used as a basis (which potentially meant a corpus) for comparative stylistics.

This chapter briefly covered concepts which were explored thoroughly throughout the 1953 book. It also started a discussion of translation theory and its place among other disciplines, but it did not give

it the same autonomous status and the same comprehensive definition as did the 1953 book later.

6. The last chapter of the book was to reflect on Fedorov's experience of teaching translation at higher education level. Fedorov proposed introducing the objectives and principles of teaching translation, as well as specific teaching methods, including stylistic analysis of the source text.

In comparison with the content of the 1953 book, this chapter explored issues which did not appear in the publication. While some aspects of stylistics were covered in the 1953 book, no questions of teaching were investigated in it.

The length of the proposed book was estimated to be 20 printed sheets which was a conventional measure of a prepress format of 60x90 cm, equalling approximately 320 A4 pages (GOST R 7.0.3-2006).^x

This book proposal draft was an important milestone towards Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* published in 1953. It demonstrated the development of his concepts, some of them in their final state, in as early as 1947. At the same time, it showed several significant distinctions. First of all, it was the place of translation theory in the book: despite the proposed title *Theory and Practice of Translation*, the theory of translation was the focus of only the fifth chapter, and it was not approached as an autonomous discipline. Another major difference was the approach to literary translation. It was still presented separately from other types of translation as a highlight of translation activity. A letter from Fedorov to the State Publishing House for Literature in Foreign Languages dated 1951 clarified some other differences.

2.3.4.2 Emergence of references to Stalin in Fedorov's book

In the letter dated 1951 to the editing office of the State Publishing House for Literature in Foreign Language, Fedorov (1948-1951, p.10) commented on the

^x Federal Agency on Technical Regulating and Metrology of the Russian Federation. 2006. *GOST R 7.0.3-2006: System of standards on information, librarianship, and publishing. Publications. Main elements. Terms and definitions*. Moscow: Standartinform.

changes made to the draft of the book. I assume it to be the same book as in the book proposal even though the suggested title now was *Printsipy Perevoda* [*Principles of Translation*] (my assumption is based on the dates and on the fact that these documents are stored in one file in the archives under the same name and continued page numbering). This draft was, therefore, also a draft of the 1953 book *Introduction to Translation Theory*.

Fedorov explained in this letter that the main goal of reworking the draft, submitted initially in March 1950, was to correct all the flaws related to Marr's theory and to use and refer to Stalin's papers on linguistics, which had been published since then. Stalin's papers on linguistics (analysed in Chapter 1) had been his main focus, Fedorov wrote, particularly because most of the readers' reports (such as reports by Smirnov and Sobolev) were written before Stalin's publication and it was only the review by Serdiuchenko that was written after and reflected Stalin's position. This report has not been found in the archives, but Fedorov provided detailed comments on it in his letter. Serdiuchenko's report is of particular interest because of the significant changes that Fedorov made to the draft following his feedback. Fedorov (1948-1951, p.12) agreed with most of Serdiuchenko's suggestions, pointing out that the most valuable comments indicated what parts of the draft needed to be rewritten or adjusted in light of Stalin's publication.

As it becomes clear from Fedorov's letter, his manuscript was submitted to the publisher in March 1950. Smirnov's reader's report (1950) was written in May 1950. Sobolev's reader's report (1950b) was dated 22 June 1950, but Fedorov believed it was in fact written earlier, before Stalin's publications. Stalin's papers on linguistics appeared in Pravda in June-August 1950 and affected all publishing in the field. Serdiuchenko's reader's report was written after it, and therefore indicated the changes that had to follow.

In his letter to the publisher, dated 30 August 1951, Fedorov (1948-1951, p.10) wrote about such changes made to the draft, as he was submitting a revised version. He specified how exactly he responded to Serdiuchenko's feedback. Fedorov rewrote the introduction following Serdiuchenko's report which said that one of the first chapters had to 'present the statements of Stalin's teaching on language which were directly related to translation issues'⁷⁰ (Serdiuchenko,

1950, quoted in Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.12) and added relevant discussions at the beginning of each section of the second part of the draft. Fedorov also reported extending the conclusion of the book to include the consequences of Stalin's writing on 'the distinctive national character of the Russian language'⁷¹ (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.12).

Fedorov left some of other Serdiuchenko's comments for the editor to make a final decision on as he did not feel they needed to be addressed. Among them was the supposed need to include 'translations from Russian to languages of the peoples of the USSR and from those languages to Russian, and from Russian to languages of People's Democracies and back'⁷² (Fedorov, 1948-1951, p.14). Fedorov's response was rather clear: he could not make any claims or use examples based on translations from Russian to languages of which he did not have any knowledge. Fedorov considered the possibility of using interlinear back translations if the editor decided it was strictly necessary, but in his opinion, it was a risk he did not want to take. As the published 1953 book shows, such actions were not taken, and illustrative materials largely remained to be based on the languages on which Fedorov could offer his expert judgment.

It is interesting to note here that professor Georgii Serdiuchenko had been one of the most active supporters of Marr, enthusiastically attacking anti-Marrists right up to the moment of Stalin's publications after which he lost his high post at the Academy of Sciences, but no other prosecutions followed (Alpatov, 1993). Serdiuchenko continued his academic work, although immediately on the other side (denouncing Marr's theory). His reader's report on Fedorov's manuscript must have been submitted within a year of Stalin's publication.

Another reader's report submitted after Stalin's publications was by Bakhareva. Maria Bakhareva (1890-1970) was the head of the Translation Department at the Maurice Thorez Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (Bakhareva, 1953). She was the author of one of the articles in the collection *Issues in Theory and Methodology of Educational Translation* (Garshina and Karpov, 1950): the collection referred to in Fedorov's book, although not Bakhareva's paper which dealt with using translation in secondary schools (Bakhareva, 1950).

Bakhareva's review of Fedorov's book was dated 1951, but probably written before Fedorov's revision following Serdiuchenko's report as she called for similar major amendments. First of all, she pointed out the need to refer to Stalin's papers on linguistics:

The author wrote his book before the outstanding works of creative Marxism – the genius papers on issues in linguistics by comrade Stalin – were published. Therefore, he naturally could not use them in his book. It is exactly why the manuscript needs to undergo some serious revision now and major corrections need to be made⁷³ (Bakhareva, 1951, p.10).

These corrections need to be made, first of all, in the foreword (p. iii and other pages), in the chapter on the history of translation, and in the section about the main provisions of the Soviet theory of translation. One of these chapters should have a section dedicated to the principles of Stalin's teaching on language which are directly related to the issues of translation⁷⁴ (Bakhareva, 1951, p.11).

It is another piece of evidence that the chapter on Stalin's articles, which consequently was incorporated into the first edition of Fedorov's book, was a requirement for the publication and not inherent to his ideas. As Bakhareva specifically highlighted, it was an absolute prerequisite for a book to be published.

2.3.4.3 Other feedback from readers' reports

Fedorov expressed his gratitude to all reviewers stating that he found their reports overall positive and helpful with most comments being specific and beneficial to his work (1948-1951, p.10). One of these reports was provided by Aleksandr Smirnov. Smirnov's reader's report on Fedorov's manuscript was dated 1950, well before Fedorov's book was published in 1953. Smirnov (1950, p.1) reported:

The manuscript is a significant monograph on all the most important issues in the theory and practice of translation, a result of many years of the author's research and creative work in the field of literary translation from foreign languages into Russian.⁷⁵

Smirnov argued that Fedorov's book presented a comprehensive system of concepts where translation was researched thoroughly in all its aspects, with a convincing and exhaustive analysis of specific issues. Smirnov believed it was the first work of the kind, a valuable theoretic and scientific contribution, as well as an interesting book for translators from the perspective of translation practice.

Smirnov agreed with most concepts and principles formulated by Fedorov. There were some minor, according to Smirnov, issues, about which he had some

reservations. One of them was Fedorov's concept of translatability. While Smirnov (1950, p.2) supported the idea, he did not agree with Fedorov's statement that there could be no 'insurmountable difficulties.' He argued that such challenges did occur, particularly when translating between languages of different levels of development and scope, such as, for instance, between Russian, German, or Italian, and languages of Soviet republics. Therefore, Smirnov suggested making the concept of translatability less categorical, recognising that certain losses were unavoidable in some cases. Overall, Smirnov spoke very highly of Fedorov's work, and the similarity of their views was evident from his review. Fedorov stressed that he had completely agreed with and addressed all comments made in Smirnov's reader's report except one that concerned translating repetitions in literary works as Fedorov insisted that they could be kept in translation if they played a stylistic role in the original. (Chapter 4 continues the investigation of Fedorov's and Smirnov's communication.)

The reviewer with whom Fedorov agreed the least was Sobolev. Lev Sobolev was a translator and theorist, and author of materials for training Russian-French translators (Sobolev, 1948-1954). His most cited paper in Russian scholarship was on accuracy in translation (Sobolev, 1950a). Sobolev's input to the development of the Russian metalanguage of translation theory and Fedorov's interaction with it is analysed in Chapter 3. Fedorov frequently referred to Sobolev in his works. Fedorov (1963) included Sobolev's publications (1950a; 1952) in the list of recommended reading (Sobolev's 1952 textbook was reviewed by Fedorov (1950a) prior to publication and criticised for his definition of formalism and references to Marr's theory).

Sobolev created his own programme to teach translation theory at the First Moscow Pedagogical University of Foreign Languages, the synopsis of which, dated 1946, has been kept in Fedorov's archives (Sobolev, 1946). In this 31-page typed document Sobolev covered some history of translation with references to Goethe and Humboldt, practical translation and publishing in the Soviet Union, types of translation, and issues in idiom translation, and some theoretical concepts including adequate translation and translatability with quotations from Fedorov's 1941 book.

In his reader's report, Sobolev (1950b) provided overall positive feedback on Fedorov's book and supported his approach to the theory; however, he criticised some terms and the description of certain translation techniques. Thus, he raised questions about the relevance of the term *adekvatnost* [adequacy] and its relation to the term *tochnost* [accuracy]. He argued that the term 'adequacy' was used by Fedorov to emphasise the distinction between the old and the current concepts of 'accuracy':

Adequacy underlines the major difference between accuracy as it used to be understood and as it is still understood in bourgeois countries, and accuracy as it is understood by the Soviet theory of translation. Why don't we say instead: our understanding of accuracy is fundamentally different⁷⁶ (Sobolev, 1950b, p.14).

Sobolev claimed such differentiation between accuracy and adequacy created confusion and was unnecessary because they referred to the same relationship between the original and the translation.

Fedorov agreed to make the definition less complex stylistically; however, he argued the definition suggested by Sobolev in its place was too primitive and vague to be accepted. It was interesting in terms of the metalanguage to note that at this point Fedorov (1948-1951, p.16) was using the term ***adekvatnost*** [adequacy] to denote the concept which he later referred to as *polnotsennost* [full value] of translation, as will be shown in Chapter 3. Fedorov (1948-1951, p.16) admitted at this stage that he was not quite happy with this Russian term 'adequacy' which 'appeared when there was a trend for everything foreign,' and which was 'bulky, inconvenient to write, and morphologically pretentious';⁷⁷ however, he was unwilling to use the term *tochnost* [accuracy] suggested by Sobolev, as he believed they referred to different concepts. He, therefore, intended to follow the existing tradition, using 'adequacy,' until he could find a more preferable substitution.

This claim related to a more general objection that Sobolev raised. He reproached Fedorov for excessive academicism, including unnecessary use of foreign words:

There is a tradition for an "academic" style of writing for academic programmes. It is not the tradition that the classics of Marxism-Leninism have followed in their works. If A. V. Fedorov wanted to enliven the language of his writing (and I do not say – make it less

serious), his book would benefit from it in terms of becoming easier to read, as well as achieving its goals⁷⁸ (Sobolev, 1950b, p.19).

Sobolev's criticism reflected the originality of Fedorov's book: it was created as a scholarly work, not a manual or leisurely reading for translators, and as such it determined the style of writing. Fedorov's response demonstrated some principled positions which he did not change. Thus, to Sobolev's advice to "enliven" his writing, Fedorov responded that while he considered all stylistic comments made by the reviewers, he did not think it appropriate to change his academic writing style in this book (Fedorov, 1948-1951). Nevertheless, he committed to making the sentence structures less complex and using fewer foreign and borrowed words where possible, and to making further stylistic changes during the work with the editor when finalising the text for publication to make it clearer, more accurate and more comprehensible, but without making his writing style less academic.

Some of the issues Sobolev brought up were even more determined by the time and social environment than the Marxism-Leninism writing style. Sobolev suggested that some specific issues relevant for the current translation context needed to be addressed:

The author in the foreword promises us to review translation theory from the perspective of post-war discussions. However, there are no chapters on formalism and cosmopolitanism in his work, neither does he discuss the question of applying to translation the rule of reflecting the principles of the Communist Party in literature⁷⁹ (Sobolev, 1950b, p.20).

The mentioned post-war discussions referred to the period after the end of the Second World War. Formalism and cosmopolitanism, the acute problems in translation discourse at the time, have been introduced in Chapter 1. Fedorov did mention formal translation (as shown in Chapter 3), but he argued against including more detailed discussions of formalism and cosmopolitanism in his book.

Sobolev concluded that he did not have any fundamental objections to Fedorov's book, despite his suggestion that it was not complete and needed to be edited both in form and content. Sobolev made the case for the book's correct principles of the Soviet theory of translation and the vast resources of translation examples illustrating them. Fedorov (1948-1951, p.14) objected to most of

Sobolev's instructions and suggestions; however, he considered them beneficial to his work as they helped him 'respond to it [the review] polemically, or, rather, anticipate and avert in the text of the book some reproaches and criticisms similar to those expressed by the reviewer.'⁸⁰

Bakhareva in her report also identified a number of terms which she suggested needed clarification. Thus, the definitions of adequacy, *polnotsennyi* translation, and translation as a practice were further developed by Fedorov in the published version of the book following her comments. What could be seen among the most important contributions by Bakhareva was her position on the status of translation theory. She invited the author to answer the question: 'We have been using these definitions [of translation as an art, etc.] for a while now in our literature, can we already regard translation as a scientific discipline? Isn't it time to speak about substituting the art of translation with a science of translation?'⁸¹ (1951, p.12). It could, therefore, be concluded, based on Bakhareva's criticism and Fedorov's published text, that Fedorov made a stronger claim on the status of translation theory, following her feedback, and defined it as an autonomous discipline.

Bakhareva in her report praised Fedorov for summarising a significant volume of literature and supplying it with convincing examples from translated texts. She recommended the book for publication, subject to the corrections. In a letter to Fedorov dated 1953, after the publication of his book, Bakhareva wrote how well Fedorov's book was received by colleagues:

Thank you very much for the book you have sent. I am deeply touched. The book was disseminated very quickly and has been a great success. Both students and the teaching staff find it very helpful, and everyone is speaking well of you⁸² (Bakhareva, 1953, p.2).

The letter suggested Bakhareva was satisfied with the published version of the book and the way her feedback was used.

2.4 Other publications

2.4.1 Research

Fedorov led an active academic life and was a prolific researcher and translator. His works on translation often demonstrated his research into other disciplines and used illustrations from his literary translations. Starting from his first article in

print (Fedorov, 1927b) discussed above, Fedorov continuously researched, wrote, translated, and published, though as shown in the previous section, some of his works remained unpublished. The objective of this section is to summarise Fedorov's research interests which were not directly focused on translation theory, but they were often interlinked.

One of Fedorov's areas of expertise where he published regularly was literary criticism. It was often interconnected with translation criticism, the role of translation in literature, and relationships between national literatures, as Fedorov wrote about Russian translations of German and French writers. Thus, in 1929 his first paper dedicated to Heine (Fedorov, 1929b) was published which was followed by several other studies into Heine's works and their translations into Russian. In 1932 Fedorov's study of Goethe (Fedorov, 1932) was published, which also became the first one in a series of Fedorov's publications about the writer's work and its reception in Russia. In 1934 he wrote the introduction on Musset's drama works and comments to his own translation (Fedorov, 1934); Musset was another writer he would return to again. Fedorov's research interests in Russian literature embraced Blok, Gorkii, Lermontov, Maiakovskii, Pleshcheev, and Sluchevskii. One of the recurring themes in his research was the connection between Russian and Western European literature, for instance, in such works as *Lermontov and Heine* (Fedorov, 1940a) and *Maiakovskii and Literature of the West* (Fedorov, 1940b). Critics particularly highlight Fedorov's contribution as a literary scholar to the rediscovery and recognition of the work of Russian poet and translator Innokentii Annenskii (Alekseeva, 2008). Fedorov explored theories and concepts in literary studies and wrote, for instance, on interactions and mutual enrichment of literatures.

Fedorov was interested in stylistics. He wrote about stylistic concepts, comparative stylistics of German and Russian, stylistics in relation to general linguistics, stylistics and translation, and stylistics and the author's vocabulary. The latter was closely linked to Fedorov's interest in lexicography and his original research in the field as discussed earlier in this chapter. One of Fedorov's most prominent books outside translation theory (recommended to today's students, as shown in Chapter 5) was published in 1971 and titled *Essays on General and Comparative Stylistics* in Russian (Fedorov, 1971). The focus areas of this book

included the study of stylistics in its relation to general linguistics and translation theory, and the comparative research in stylistics.

Another significant book was published in 1983. In *The Art of Translation and Life of Literature: Essays* Fedorov (1983a) in a captivating narration examined the history of literary translation in Russia and the beginnings of its theory, some outstanding examples of poetry translation and their links to world literature, and included elements of memoirs writing about writers, poets, theorists, and translators whose works he knew well and with whom he crossed paths.

The scope of Fedorov's publications was wide. While the limitations of this research do not allow looking into them in more detail, it seems important to have an overview of them to understand Fedorov's expertise and the competence that yielded his theory of translation. Chapter 5 continues the study of Fedorov's publications using a scientometric analysis, and Fedorov's bibliography can be found in Appendix A.

2.4.2 Translations

Literary translation was always a significant part of Fedorov's professional life. In the early 1930s he was becoming known as a talented translator of German and French classics into Russian (Anikina et al., 2008). He translated prose, mainly fiction, by Diderot, Flaubert, France, Goethe, Heine, Hoffmann, Hugo, von Kleist, Mann, Maupassant, Molière, Musset, Perrault, Proust, and Sedaine. He also translated French and German-language prose and letters written by Russian writer Aleksei Tolstoi. Many of Fedorov's translations were reprinted several times during his lifetime, and some of them are still being republished, for instance Flaubert's *L'Éducation Sentimentale* (*Воспитание чувств* in Russian) and Proust's *À L'ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs* (*Под сенью девушек в цвету* in Russian) in Fedorov's translation were published in 2019 and 2018 respectively by Moscow publishing house Veche.

In 1934 his first translations were published: a collection of plays by Alfred de Musset (*La nuit vénitienne, André del Sarto, Les caprices de Marianne, Fantasio, On ne badine pas avec l'amour, Lorenzaccio, Le chandelier, Il ne faut jurer de rien, and On ne saurait penser à tout*) for which Fedorov also wrote the introduction and comments, published by Academia (Fedorov, 1934). Fedorov's

cooperation with Academia continued in 1935, 1936, and 1937, bringing to the readership Kleist's short story *Der Findling* [*The Foundling*] and several volumes by Heine in the 12-volume complete works. Fedorov's second published translation appeared in 1935 and it was Proust's *À L'ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs*. This translation work played a significant role for Fedorov, as will be shown in this section. Between 1935 and 1938 Fedorov had at least two new translated books published a year (five books by four different authors in 1936). After the Second World War his translations were published again starting from 1946. Between 1949 and 1953 at least one new translation was published every year (two in 1953), similarly in 1957-1958, and in 1964.

Between those periods some previous translations were reprinted every year, as they were afterwards: in 1966, 1969, and every year between 1977 and 1984 (Fedorov, 1985). Fedorov's translation of Flaubert's *L'Éducation Sentimentale* [*Sentimental Education*], first published in 1946, was reprinted the following year and eleven times altogether throughout Fedorov's life and has also been reprinted afterwards.

According to Alekseeva (2008), Fedorov's translations reflected his theoretical views, particularly his concept of *polnotsennyi* translation (adequacy), and often demonstrated innovation. Alekseeva has noted how Fedorov was among the first Russian translators in the 20th century to change the way phraseology, puns, and neologisms had been translated. Fedorov's theoretical conclusions on such translation techniques will be analysed in Chapter 3.

2.4.2.1 An example of the translation process

There is not much material in the archives or among the published works to show Fedorov's practices or collaborations as a translator. There is, however, one valuable source shedding some light on them, and that is his private correspondence with Dmitrii Usov. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Fedorov and Usov shared an interest in translation and translation theory. The letters to Fedorov (Usov, 1927-1941) reveal their close friendship. The letters studied in the archives have also been published in Russian in a volume dedicated to the life and poetry of Usov (Neshumova, 2011b). According to Neshumova (2011a), Fedorov remained one of those friends of Usov who did not stop their communication after Usov's arrest, and Fedorov was brave enough to cite the

work by convicted Usov in the second edition of his *Introduction*. The cited work was titled *Main Principles of the Translator's Work* (Usov, 1934). In 1935 Usov was arrested for 'participation in a counter-revolutionary organisation' and sentenced to 5 years in labour camps (Neshumova, 2011a, p.53). After his release in 1940 he went to remote Kirghizia to join his wife in exile. A year later they managed to move to Tashkent (the capital of Uzbekistan) where Usov got a post at the Tashkent State Pedagogical University and could resume his academic work. They dreamt about returning to Moscow, while the Second World War brought many of their friends evacuating to Tashkent, but in 1943 Usov died from a heart condition (Neshumova, 2011a).

In as early as 1927 Usov started teaching literary translation at the Higher Courses of Foreign Languages at the State Library for Foreign Literature: these courses later formed the foundation for the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages (Neshumova, 2011a). Around this time Usov made friends with Fedorov as they met during their academic trips to Leningrad and Moscow, respectively. Usov's writing in his letters to Fedorov was cordial and very personal, and at the same time markedly respectful. Thus, he only addressed Fedorov as 'highly respected' or 'dearest Andrei Venediktovich,' using the affectionate and respectful adjective preceding the first name followed by patronymic (Usov, 1927-1941, p.3; 18).

Usov's letters to Fedorov during this period in the late 1920s-1930s showed not only their interest in translation theory and Usov's translating projects, such as his translations of Heine (Usov, 1927-1941, p.4), but also their joint work on the translation of Flaubert's *L'Éducation Sentimentale*, which was interesting from the point of view of their organisation of work and mutual counselling on specific translation issues. In a letter from 4 August 1934, Usov (1927-1941, p.6) suggested to Fedorov how to divide the source text between them. Initially Fedorov was to translate less than half of the text, but Usov asked him in the letter to translate 50 per cent. Usov's arguments in favour of such distribution were as follows:

- 1) In autumn I will work slower due to various commitments,
- 2) If one of the chapters is divided into halves between us, it will create a rather desirable diffusion of the styles of two translators,
- 3) It will significantly simplify all calculations of fees – they will be split equally, and we will not waste time on complicated (and quite

unproductive!) settlements.
Do you agree?⁸³

Besides these general arrangements Usov suggested talking through more details during a meeting face to face when Fedorov visited Moscow, reading fragments of their translations to each other, and discussing the most difficult things, such as elements of the romantic style in Flaubert's work, quoting Henri de Régnier's reference to Flaubert as '*le romantique désabusé*' [the disillusioned romantic]; he suggested they required the use of substitutes to avoid 'incomprehensible verbalism'⁸⁴ (Usov, 1927-1941, p.5).

In terms of their translation methods, Usov (1927-1941, p.4) concluded that they were very similar and only needed the following reminder to maintain consistency:

I believe our translation techniques are based on absolutely the same approach to the text, and the translation will therefore demonstrate no noticeable inconsistencies. It will be enough if I remember well about the requirement for textual accuracy, and you – about the requirement for "liveliness" [zhivost] of the language. This will be a sufficient adjustment for both you and me.
As for the notorious "liveliness," with some pieces from your previous translations in mind, I'd like to ask you to use regrouping and conversational analogues (in dialogues) more frequently – where necessary, to avoid *perevodismi* [instances of "Translationese"].⁸⁵

This fragment shows that Usov spoke from the position of a more experienced senior colleague, pointing out what Fedorov could learn as a translator, at the same time avoiding patronising or giving direct instructions. Usov provided some examples of his translations to illustrate his points. He concluded his discussion of the translation by providing a list of transliterated proper names and translated toponyms that he suggested agreeing upon (see Figure 2-5). Similar lists appear in a later letter dated 5 October 1934.

The letter provides information about Usov's appreciation of Fedorov's translations, as he praised the fragments he had read, especially Fedorov's successful translations of puns. It also gives some insight into the technological processes of their work. Thus, Usov informed Fedorov that the translation of the novel needed to be rewritten (most likely meaning typed final versions of the translation) in two copies, one of which was to be on double-sided, and the other

on single sided sheets of paper. Usov mentioned that he did not make copies for himself to keep, but they could be made potentially if typed with carbon paper.

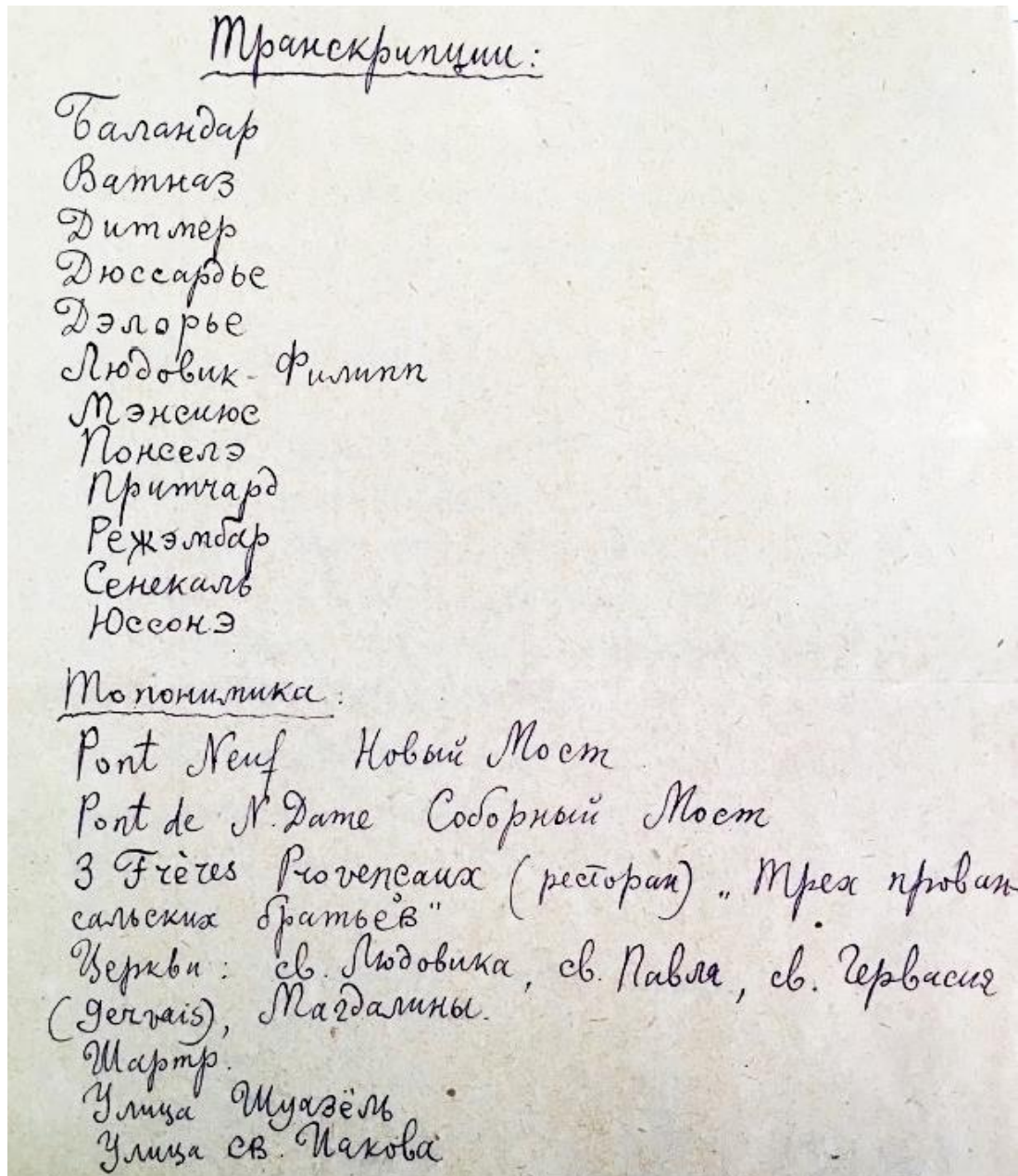


Figure 2-5. Fragment from the letter dd. 04.08.1934 with a list of translated proper names (Usov, 1927-1941, p.7)

There is a poetic piece of evidence demonstrating the high regard Usov had for Fedorov's translation talent and skill, and their friendship dating back to the late 1920s. In 1928 Usov wrote a poem entitled 'Perevodchik' [The translator]. According to Neshumova (2011b, p.581), in 1932 it appeared with a dedication to Fedorov. A translation into English and analysis of this poem has been published recently by Dralyuk (2017).

Fedorov's translations received some sceptical reviews, as did his theory. Thus, Rossels (1955b, p.163) wrote:

... translation is being slowed down not just by the lack or lag of the theory, but by its deviation from the right way, which drags translation practice along with it. [...] This is the role of lingvostylistics for translation according to A. V. Fedorov. It indirectly explains a lot about the stylistic features of his own translations, starting from *Sentimental Education* to Musset's *Lorenzaccio* and Hugo's dramas to Goethe's *Elective Affinities*.⁸⁶

Rossels did not elaborate on what he meant by these stylistic features. It was therefore only indicative of the general assessment of Fedorov's translations agreeing with his theoretical views.

Fedorov himself wrote about his translations reflecting his theoretical principles in an afterword to a translation of Proust. The short article was about translator Adrian Frankovskii whom Fedorov believed to masterfully capture the unique style of the author. Fedorov (1992, p.477) recollected their collaboration on the translation of Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu [In Search of Lost Time]*:

We did not have any disagreements concerning the principles of translation. We both believed it unacceptable to simplify, smooth out, or lighten up Proust's style, making it more "pleasant" than it is; first and foremost, we tried not to break the unity of large and complex parts and sentences, often not typical for French, which are a characteristic feature of the original and reflect the nature of the author's creative thinking: each of them reflects a complex of thoughts, details, images, and a specific situation – a given fragment of reality. And the writer's statements are always clear and logical.⁸⁷

Frankovskii got Fedorov involved in the collaborative translation of seven volumes of Proust's epic novel, which became one of the largest translation projects in the 1930s (Fokin, 2016). Fedorov translated the second volume (*À L'ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs*), 1935, and the fourth one (*Sodome et Gomorrhe*), 1938 (Fedorov, 1992). Fedorov and Frankovskii's translations were later criticised by some scholars for their literalness or foreignisation (Mikhailov, 2012). Fokin (2016) argues that Fedorov's style was influenced by Frankovskii at the time, but later it gradually navigated towards more balance between maintaining the features of the original and adhering to the requirements of the target language.

2.4.2.2 Position on the translator's principles

Another source demonstrating the application of Fedorov's theoretical principles in practical translation is his letters of support for translators Lann and Shengeli. Lann and Shengeli were the best-known representatives of the 'defeated literalists' (from the title of the book by Azov (2013)). They were among those most affected by the supporters of the realist translation approach promoted by Kashkin and the two translators whom he attacked the most in his papers. Kashkin (1954b) claimed that their opposition to realist translation was manifested in their attention to the form of the original and its detail while sacrificing the message of the whole. Lann and Shengeli, both talented poets and translators, working during the same period, had significant differences in their translation work. Lann mostly translated English prose and was best known for translating Dickens together with his wife Aleksandra Krivtsova; whereas Shengeli translated poetry, and among his major works were translations of Byron, including *Don Juan* (Azov, 2013). They were, however, grouped by Kashkin as one hostile camp of literalists. Azov (2013) provides a brilliant account of this opposition, and of the tragic life and prolific work of both translators.

What is interesting for this study is the position of Fedorov in this conflict. His archives show that he did not join Kashkin's polemics but continued to provide constructive criticism and friendly support to both translators. Thus, in his review of Lann and Krivtsova's translation of Dickens's *David Copperfield*, Fedorov (1950b) highlighted the translators' familiarity with the author's oeuvre and their historical knowledge, their knowledge of the source culture and language, and the quality of the target language that did not erase the original's style. Fedorov (1950b, p.2-3) wrote:

The translators have been often accused of formalism, of such aspiration to translate all semantic and stylistic features of the original which would lead to calques of the foreign phrase, contradicting the standard literary, if not grammatical, norms of the Russian realist prose, to overplay certain stylistic devices used by Dickens (such as puns, irregular vernacular of a character, or an unusual image).

We find no flaws of this kind in the new translation of *Copperfield*. It is a significant milestone in the work of two translators. The main feature of their new work is the ease of the Russian language which they successfully use to demonstrate the individual language of the author – of the narrator and his characters.

The vocabulary of the translation is nearly impeccable. [...] The only thing that I'd like to draw more significant attention of two translators is some instances of syntactically cumbersome and heavy structures which are only to be found within the first 250 pages [...] and which are signs of "Translationese" [perevodcheskii iazyk], the inertia of which is so strong that it manifests itself occasionally even in the best translations.⁸⁸

Fedorov's review reflected his approach to translation: he praised the translators' mastery of both languages and their knowledge of the subject. The criticism he offered was specific and constructive. He emphasised there were no signs of "formalism" in their work, even though he took care to define formalism in a very specific way oriented towards certain features of the source text, rather than using it as a generalised accusation typical for Kashkin.

Besides such reviews and the number of published and republished translations, Fedorov's status as translator is demonstrated by his correspondence with publishing houses. The archival records inventory (Kreslin, 2009a) shows regular requests from publishers, especially starting from the 1940s, addressed to Fedorov, about publications of his translations, editing translations by other translators, reviewing translations, and participating in compiling or editing dictionaries.

To summarise, there is substantial evidence to the high status of Fedorov as a translator. The little insight into his work routine reveals some stages of his translation process and his willingness to collaborate with other translators and exchange views and knowledge and provide support. Fedorov was actively involved in literary translation throughout his professional life. Translation informed his research and academic writing, and vice versa, his translations reflected his theoretical work.

Summary

This chapter has taken a microhistorical perspective on the life of a translator and translation scholar by investigating Fedorov's background, stages of his life and academic career, and glimpses of his work routine. The focus on his education is justified by the significant role it played in the development of Fedorov's views and research interests. The knowledge gained during his student years shaped his first publications and laid foundations for his further research.

Fedorov's fruitful literary translation work and his experience as a translator and interpreter during the war were another important factor in the development of his theoretical views. Fedorov was never a theorist alienated from translation practice: despite the fact that his major works were not prescriptive, they were informed by his translator's work.

As the development of Fedorov's theory of translation went through several stages: from his early essays to translator training manuals, to the issues in literary translation, which culminated in the *Introduction to Translation Theory*, I argue that his works, both published and unpublished, demonstrate the evolution of his ideas, but not changes in his views to the opposite pole. This argument is supported by my analysis of Fedorov's unpublished manuscripts leading to the publication of his 1953 book. The evolution of his ideas continued in the further revisions of the book (the last one was published during Fedorov's life in 1983) and in publications in adjacent research areas. Besides the identified factors that conditioned his writing and publications, such as his university circle, translator experience, and political circumstances, there was his communication with other scholars that contributed to the development of his ideas. This network of Fedorov's communications will be explored in Chapter 4. The next chapter will analyse the book *Introduction to Translation Theory* in detail, focusing on its metalanguage and drawing parallels between concepts introduced by Fedorov and those used later by Western European scholars.

Chapter 3. The analysis of *Introduction to Translation Theory* and its metalanguage

Chapter 2 has followed the evolution of Fedorov's concepts and his way to the publication of his best-known book on translation, first published in 1953 after his continued work on its drafts and revisions. This chapter will focus on the contents of the book itself and analyse its metalanguage. The analysis will include a comparative perspective to study how Fedorov's metalanguage (and more generally the metalanguage in Russian scholarship on translation) relates to the metalanguage of TS in English and other languages during the same period.

In early 2021 the first translation of the 1953 book to English was published, translated, and edited by Baer (2021b), with the appendix translated by Green. This chapter will refer to this new publication but will mainly rely on my own translations as this will give the reader the chance firstly to see Fedorov's original text which I include in Appendix B for each translated quote, and secondly to have the choice of two English translations. I think this can stimulate further discussion and facilitate understanding of Fedorov's texts. Any cases of crucial differences in the translation of key concepts will be indicated.

3.1 Overview of *Introduction to Translation Theory*

Fedorov's 1953 *Introduction to Translation Theory* was posited by the author as an attempt to summarise the main issues in translation and provide a theoretical basis for the autonomous discipline proposed by Fedorov for the first time as such in Russian scholarship, or indeed elsewhere, as will be argued in Chapter 5. In the introduction the author stated that the need for it had been intensified by the dramatically increased volume of translation activities and translated literature, and, as a result, the importance of translation to be included in the higher education and professional training system. Fedorov (1953) also pointed out that it had become possible to approach translation issues from the linguistic perspective due to the end of the era of Marrism denounced by Stalin's articles on linguistics, discussed in Chapter 1.

The status of the newly established discipline was set out clearly in the first chapter of Fedorov's book entitled 'Translation theory as a scholarly discipline' (title translated by Baer (2021b, p.4)). The chapter opened with a

discussion of the concept of translation. Emphasising the wide scope of the concept, Fedorov determined two provisions that stipulated all aspects of translation:

- 1) The aim of translation is to make the reader (or listener) who does not know the language of the original, as familiar as possible with the given text (or contents of the speech);
- 2) To translate means to express accurately and fully by means of one language what has already been expressed by means of another language as an inseparable unity of content and form⁸⁹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.7).

This brought Fedorov (1953, p.12) to distinguish translation as a creative process and 'translation theory as a specialised academic/scholarly discipline.'⁹⁰ The objective of this discipline was defined as follows:

... to summarise the conclusions from observing specific instances of translation and to serve as a theoretical foundation for translation practice which could be guided by the theory in the search for and selection of required expressive means and could draw from it the grounds and evidence supporting certain solutions of specific questions⁹¹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.12).

Fedorov pointed out that the scientific value of translation theory was determined by the multi-layered interest that was evoked by its object (translation as a creative process, involving a comparative study of two languages). He emphasised that it was through research, observation, and synthesis of findings that translation theory could become 'an objective scholarly discipline' (Fedorov, 1953, p.15). Fedorov argued that depending on the research objective, translation could be viewed through the lens of cultural history, literature, and psychology; however, first of all, it needed to be studied in the linguistic plane. He further developed this idea:

The theory of translation as a dedicated branch of the philological science is first of all a linguistic discipline. Although in some cases it is closely connected to literary studies – history and theory of literature, from which it draws some data and postulates, and to history of those peoples with whose languages it engages⁹² (Fedorov, 1953, p.12).

Fedorov (1953, p.15-16) suggested subdividing this discipline into three main components: 'the history of translation,' a 'general translation theory,' and a 'language-specific translation theory'⁹³ studying two specific languages (this branch is called 'a local theory of translation' in Baer's translation (2021b, p.10)).

In Chapter 5, section 5.1 I analyse how this classification compares to approaches taken by Western European scholars, in particular Holmes.

Following the chapter on translation theory as a discipline, Fedorov explored the history of translation, identifying two main trends: word-for-word translation, the examples of which dated back to Greek and Latin translations of the Bible and translations of Aristotle in the Middle Ages, and translation aimed at conveying the meaning and adhering to the norms of the target language, which started from Cicero. Fedorov discussed how Cicero formulated the objective of such translation in the first century BCE, quoting from the Russian translation of Cicero published in 1901. The same principle, Fedorov argued, was applied in the Greek translation of the Old Testament by Symmachus in the second century CE and later in the Latin translation by Jerome in the fourth century who defined his task as '*non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu,*' referring to Cicero, but in Fedorov's view, simplifying it and omitting the stylistic perspective conveyed by Cicero (Fedorov, 1953, p.20). Fedorov did not identify the third trend, imitation, as suggested by Dryden in the 17th century (Blakesley, 2014). Instead, he separated translation and imitation or adaptation at the very start of his book when defining his concept of translation:

In its fullness and accuracy, translation proper can be distinguished from reworkings, paraphrases, abridged versions, and every form of so-called adaptation⁹⁴ (Fedorov, 1953, translated by Baer, 2021b, p.4).

There remained therefore only two translation paths for Fedorov.

Fedorov continued his analysis through the 19th century, first in Western European and then Russian literature. He framed it around the main trends in translation and the concept of translatability, following them in his in-depth exploration of the literature on translation by Western philosophers and writers, including German romantics and French linguists on the one hand, and on the other hand by Russian thinkers of the 19th and 20th century including romantics, realists, Russian symbolists, literary critics from Russian revolutionary intelligentsia, modernists, and Russian formalists. The study of Russian literature on translation was followed by the analysis of Russian criticism in the 19th century, focusing on the classical works by Vissarion Belinskii, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, and Nikolai Dobroliubov. Fedorov concluded the chapter with a brief analysis of

the quantity and quality of translated literature in Russia on the turn of the 19th century.

Two of the chapters that followed in the 1953 edition of the book were conditioned by the socio-political situation at the time that has been examined in Chapter 1. Thus, Fedorov dedicated a chapter to writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on translation and another one to Stalin's papers on linguistics and their effect on translation theory. This thesis has shown how the chapter on Stalin's publications only appeared in the first edition of the book and only after the revisers' instructions (as identified in Chapter 2). Fedorov's chapter on Marxism-Leninism, on the other hand, remained in all subsequent editions. As Baer (2021a) has convincingly argued, Fedorov was actually interested in their works, particularly from the point of view of language and translation, which was particularly timely since Marx and Engels had been translated to Russian and published in the late 1930s. In his discussion of Marx and Engels' works Fedorov (1953) positively assessed their understanding of language and their own translation practice. He focused on their views on translation from his research of their publications, for instance, Engels' article 'How not to translate Marx' (Fedorov, 1953, p.70), agreeing with their statements on the significance of style in translation and of the translator's deep understanding of both languages and background knowledge related to the source text. In the analysis of Lenin's views on translation Fedorov followed the same approach. The analysis of Lenin's writings related to translation, however, was limited to his criticisms of existing translations and notes on his own translation work. Fedorov pointed out that Lenin's reflections were of scholarly interest and highlighted that Lenin never spoke of untranslatability, thus presenting it in support of the principle of translatability that will be analysed below.

Fedorov (1953) explored other current issues in the practice and theory of translation in the Soviet Union, providing an analysis of their development, the role of Gorkii and *Vsemirnaia Literatura* (discussed in Chapter 1), specific features and principles of literary translation in the Soviet Union. He provided a valuable summary of Russian-language scholarship on the issues in translation, starting from Gumilev and Chukovskii (1919) (analysed in Chapter 1 as the early theoretical works on translation) and including Smirnov (Smirnov and Alekseev,

1934), Chukovskii (1936), and Finkel (2007 [1939]), which will be further discussed in Chapter 4 investigating Fedorov's interactions with other scholars.

The next chapter in Fedorov's book was dedicated to the concept of translatability and adequate translation which were vital for his theory and will be analysed below. The analysis of the metalanguage will also include other terms and concepts examined by Fedorov in the two last chapters of his book dedicated to 'General objectives of working on the language in translation' (Fedorov, 1953, p.117) and 'Types of translation depending on the genre of the original' (Fedorov, 1953, p.196), including lexical correspondence, translation synonyms, realia, phraseological units, grammatical accuracy, grammatical concordance, grammatical variants, genre and characteristics of translations of different genres. Fedorov supplemented the analysis of most of these concepts with an exploration of translation techniques. He provided a detailed study of such techniques demonstrating their use by examples from translations of classical literature. For example, in the section on lexical correspondence Fedorov discussed, among other issues, the ways of translating terminology. The conditions, techniques, and significance of each of the identified ways were explored and illustrated with examples, with special reference made to the translation of proper names.

Fedorov completed his 1953 book with an appendix on translation of poetry. Later editions of the book did not have this appendix. In the foreword to the second edition Fedorov (1958) noted it, justifying the exclusion by the fact that poetry translation as a specific research field required a deeper exploration than the small part of the book that it had been in the first edition. He emphasised that he believed poetry translation, nevertheless, agreed with the principle of translatability.

The analysis of the metalanguage that follows has been built around the concepts, central to Fedorov's *Vvedenie v Teoriiu Perevoda [Introduction to Translation Theory]* (1953) and its later editions (1958; 1968b; 1983b). Where deemed necessary, it explores the evolution of concepts, looking back at Fedorov's earlier works on translation, of which the main ones have been discussed in Chapter 2. The 1953 book has been selected as a basis due to its place in Fedorov's bibliography and its role in the development of translation

theory in Russia. It was Fedorov's second monograph on translation and his first monograph focused on the general theory of translation summarising the theoretical advancements of the time, as well as Fedorov's own research leading to that publication.

Four editions of this book were published during Fedorov's life, and the fifth edition was published in 2002 posthumously. After the first edition of the *Introduction to Translation Theory*, published in 1953, the second one followed five years later in 1958 and the title was supplemented with a subtitle *Lingvisticheskie Problemy [Linguistic Problems]*. Starting from the third edition (Fedorov, 1968b) the book was published under the title *Osnovy Obshchei Teorii Perevoda [Fundamentals of the General Translation Theory]* with a subtitle *Lingvisticheskii Ocherk [Linguistic Study]*, and for the fourth edition again with the subtitle *Linguistic Problems* (Fedorov, 1983b). The fifth edition (Fedorov, 2002) was a reprint of the fourth revision with an added introduction by the editor. The editor Leonid Barkhudarov noted that the fifth edition had been long awaited by the readership.

3.2 Analysis of the metalanguage

3.2.1 General terms

This section identifies the terms and concepts which I have labelled general terms. They describe the discipline itself and those essential items of the metalanguage required to define any consequent and more specific concepts.

3.2.1.1 Theory of translation as a discipline

As stated above, the first chapter in the *Introduction to Translation Theory* was dedicated to the discussion of translation theory as a discipline. Fedorov (1953) placed it among other philological disciplines as a special area of scientific knowledge. In his collection of essays published almost three decades later, Fedorov (1983a) recollected that the term **teoriia perevoda [theory of translation or translation theory]** had been used for the first time in Russian literature in the meaning of a special field of knowledge in his first article (Fedorov, 1927b). At the same time Fedorov (1983a) acknowledged that the foundations for translation theory had been laid earlier, in the booklets *Principles of Literary Translation* (Gumilev and Chukovskii, 1919; Batiushkov et al., 1920) which he

considered as marking the emergence of the Soviet school of literary translation. Fedorov (1983a, p.160) pointed out that the booklets did not use 'translation theory' as a term and did not formulate 'theoretical objectives of scientific study of translation', although they outlined some important issues, classifications, and requirements.

In the same collection of essays Fedorov (1983a) pondered on the essence of translation theory and the development of the term. On the evolution of translation theory, Fedorov (1983a, p.156) wrote:

... translation theory starts, when normative concepts and disputes about how to translate, what is good or bad in translation, accurate or inaccurate, are replaced by serious attempts to analyse objective possibilities of translation – depending on the correlation between languages, cultures, and literatures...⁹⁵

He argued that translation theory in this understanding had become an independent discipline in the 20th century and had had its name formulated, which demonstrated its recognition as such.

Fedorov (1983a, p.157) listed the following terms used in Russian in this meaning: '*teoriia perevoda*' [translation theory] as the main term, and its synonyms: '*nauka o perevode*' [translation science], '*perevodovedenie*' [translation studies], and the borrowed neologism '*traduktologiiia*' [traductology]. He clarified that these synonyms could be used interchangeably. Translation theory and translation studies have been used synonymously in Russian scholarship by contemporary theorists writing in Russian, for instance, by Alekseeva (2004) and Tyulenev (2004). Thus, in Russian the *theory of translation* or *translation theory* as a discipline was used in the same meaning as *translation studies* in English-language sources, and translation theory as a name of a special discipline was first coined in Russian by Fedorov in 1927. In 1953 he defined it as a discipline with its scope and conceptual framework, which significantly later became the focus of scholarly attention in Western European literature.

3.2.1.2 Original and translation

In his *Introduction to Translation Theory* Fedorov (1953) did not use the terms *source* and *target*, as in source text and target text or source language and target language. These terms and their Russian equivalents appeared in the theory of

translation later as the discipline developed. Fedorov used a number of nouns and noun phrases to refer to the source and target text and language. There were a number of variations, and they were not defined as specific terms or concepts. The source text was referred to by Fedorov (1953) as follows:

- *podlinnik* [original] (for instance, pp. 10, 12, 18, 35, 62, 85),
- *original* [original], synonym of *podlinnik* (p. 9, 95),
- *tekst podlinnika* [text of the original] (p. 85),
- *tekst originala* [text of the original] (p. 32),
- *perevodimyi material* [material being translated] (p.7, 98),
- *perevodimyi tekst* [text being translated] (p.33, 99).

The source language was correspondingly referred to as:

- *iazuk podlinnika* [language of the original] (p. 7, 15, 165),
- *iazuk originala* [language of the original] (p. 106).

The target text was mainly called *perevod* [translation] throughout the book. The target language had more variants:

- *iazuk perevoda* [language of the translation] (p. 17, 111, 122, 165),
- *iazuk v perevode* [language in translation] (p. 117, 119),
- *rodnoi iazyk (perevodchika)* [native language (of the translator)] (p. 36, 99),
- *iazuk, na kotoryi delaetsia perevod* [language into which the translation is produced] (p.122, 195),
- *iazuk, na kotoryi podlinnik perevoditsia* [language into which the original is translated] (p. 18).

This shows a lack of defined, translation-specific terminology related to the source and target at this stage in Fedorov's texts. The English terms *source* and *target*, when used in this thesis, are only for clarification and not cited from Fedorov's original works until the fourth edition of his book published in 1983.

In the fourth, and Fedorov's last, revision of the book (1983b) he started using (not exceptionally) Russian equivalents of the source and target language which had become accepted in Russian and in English by then. Fedorov (1983b, p.10) clarified these terms in the fourth edition as follows: *iskhodnyi iazyk* (*исходный язык* in Russian, abbreviated as *ИЯ* for SL) corresponding to the

source language and *perevodiashchii iazyk* (переводящий язык in Russian, abbreviated as ПЯ for TL) corresponding to the target language. Fedorov emphasised the contribution of Barkhudarov's book on this issue. Barkhudarov (1975, p.10) borrowed the English terms 'source language' and 'target language,' while he continued using the previously established terms for the source text (*tekst podlinnika*) and the target text (*tekst perevoda*).

In English-language literature, Nida and Catford were probably the first scholars to define these terms. Nida used the term 'source language' and 'receptor (or target) language' (Nida, 1964, p.9). Catford (1965) defined these phrases as specific terms of translation theory. He introduced the source language and target language, and their abbreviations SL and LT, and used them to identify corresponding texts as 'SL text' and 'TL text' (Catford, 1965, p.21). Both scholars' works were well known in Russia in the mid-1970s when Barkhudarov published his book, citing them. These more economic terms, specific to TS, were then introduced.

3.2.2 Translatability and terms for the ideal translation

3.2.2.1 Development of the translatability principle

In the *Introduction to Translation Theory* Fedorov (1953) established that it was one of the topical tasks of the Soviet theory of translation to specify the principle of ***perevodimost* [translatability]** which he defined as 'the possibility of *polnotsennyi* [full value] translation'⁹⁶ (1953, p.103). He pointed out that translatability did not necessarily mean formal similarity of the original and translation, and translatability of a whole was not a sum of its translated components:

... what may be impossible for a specific element, can be possible for the complex whole – based on the identification and transfer of semantic and stylistic functions of separate units that cannot be reproduced strictly and formally; it is possible however to understand and transfer these functions based on those semantic connections that exist between parts of the system of a whole⁹⁷ (Fedorov, 1953, p.106).

The discussion remains relevant today, as some of the elements of this concept, reflecting the semantic meaning, adequacy, and formal differences, compare well to the modern-day definition of the term in Anglophone TS:

Translatability is a relative notion and has to do with the extent to which, despite obvious differences in linguistic structure (grammar, vocabulary, etc.), meaning can still be adequately expressed across languages (Hatim and Munday, 2019, p.15).

Fedorov argued that translatability was proven by translation practice. He specified certain limitations of translatability which, he emphasised, did not imply untranslatability. Such limitations were mostly connected with cases of local or demographic deviations from the standard language. Fedorov (1953) insisted that even in such cases translation was possible, although limited to some of the original's functions.

Fedorov started analysing the concept of translatability before the 1953 publication. It was defined in his 1941 book with some aspects developed from his earlier works (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.2). In the section devoted to translatability in his 1953 book, Fedorov commented on the evolution of his approach to it. Thus, he pointed out that in his 1941 book the problem of translatability had been simplified and resolved too straightforwardly. He still believed in the foundational principle of the connection between materiality and cognisability of the world (as the cornerstones of dialectical materialism) on the one hand, and translatability, on the other; however, he stated that in his earlier book this connection had not been clarified and could misleadingly be interpreted as complete accuracy and possibility of adequate translation under any circumstances (Fedorov, 1953, p.110). His views, as expressed in 1941, however, were supported by other scholars: for instance, Sobolev (1946) referred to them, positively discussing translatability in his unpublished manuscript.

In the 1950s promoting the idea of translatability agreed with the ideology in the Soviet Union and the outlook on language. Thus, at the second All-Union Convention of Soviet Writers in 1954 it was announced:

We proclaim the possibility of translation, translatability, from any language to any other language. Translatability equals the possibility of communication between peoples. This is the foundation for the whole world culture. It is one of the prerequisites of its development⁹⁸ (Antokolskii et al., 1955, p.11).

It was, however, not only the current political discourse and dialectical materialism that guided Fedorov's study of translatability. He looked into the history of the problem in Western European literature, including representatives

of Romanticism, and Humboldt among them as one of the most unreserved supporters of the idea of untranslatability. Fedorov contrasted his views particularly to those of Schleiermacher and Goethe (referring to the original works) who argued in favour of translatability (Fedorov, 1953, p.26). Fedorov mentioned other studies that looked into the possibility or impossibility of translation later in the 19th century, such as works by Julius Keller, Otto F. Gruppe, and Tycho Mommsen, although he claimed that after Goethe no comprehensive scholarly contribution had been made in Western European literature to the issue of translatability.

As he analysed Russian scholarship on the subject, Fedorov (1953) argued that translatability had mostly become acceptable in the 20th century; however, before that many writers supported it too. Among them were Belinskii, Chernyshevskii, Dobroliubov, Gogol, Mikhailov, Pushkin, Turgenev, and other Russian writers and critics of the 19th century who did not show any support of untranslatability and often spoke about achieving translation objectives positively. Contrary to these views, in the late 19th – early 20th century the psychological school in linguistics and Symbolism in Russian literature reinforced the idea of inferiority of translation compared to the original. It was then, Fedorov argued, despite the latter trend and largely due to Gorkii and *Vsemirnaia Literatura* that the idea of translatability was reinstated, just before the Russian Revolution of 1917 and after it during the first years of the new Soviet state.

In other countries and traditions at the time translatability was not so unanimously accepted. For instance, Fedorov's approach to translatability was criticised by Cary (1957). Cary acknowledged the significance of Fedorov's work and valued it very highly, as will be shown in Chapter 4; however, this was one of the issues they disagreed on. Cary argued that translatability was not to be approached as such a straightforward dilemma, and he was not persuaded by Fedorov's arguments. Discussing the concepts raised by Fedorov, Cary provided his translations in French: *possibilité de la traduction* [translatability], *pleine équivalence* [adequacy], and *exactitude* [accuracy]. In a paper published two years later, well known in TS today, Jakobson famously argued for untranslatability of poetry; Jakobson (1959, p.238) suggested that instead of translation only 'creative transposition' was possible, either between different poetic forms, languages, or sign systems.

Coming from the tradition of systemic functional linguistics, in the following decade Catford (1965, p.93) also held a less certain position than Fedorov:

Indeed, translatability here appears, intuitively, to be a *cline* rather than a clear-cut dichotomy. SL texts and items are *more or less* translatable rather than absolutely *translatable* or *untranslatable*. In total translation, translation equivalence depends on the interchangeability of the SL and TL text in the same situation — ultimately, that is, on relationship of SL and TL texts to (at least some of) the same relevant features of situation-substance.

At the same time this shows that Catford and Fedorov shared the view of translatability being determined by the performance of the target text and its relationship with the source text. As Catford (1965, p.94) further clarified, 'For translation equivalence to occur, then, both SL and TL text must be relatable to the functionally relevant features of the situation.' Depending on such relevant features Catford distinguished linguistic and cultural untranslatability and observed a certain co-occurrence of these types of untranslatability. Fedorov in different terms described a similar phenomenon when speaking about translation of foreign realia, which will be discussed below in this chapter, however, to him it was not a case of untranslatability. Some of the direct responses to Fedorov's view on translatability, presented in reviews of his book, will be analysed in Chapter 4.

3.2.2.2 Accuracy, not formalism

Fedorov emphasised that translatability was the central issue in translation theory. It required some associated concepts to be defined, such as accuracy, adequacy, and formalism in translation (Fedorov, 1953, p.110).

Formalism at the time was often used as an accusation of non-conformance (see Chapter 1). In this connection, Fedorov argued that the meaning of formalism which applied to translation needed to be clarified. Fedorov (1953, p.110) defined **formalism in translation** as 'a concept of separation of form and content.'⁹⁹ Fedorov had already shared this definition of formalism with a smaller audience a year earlier in his paper presented at a meeting in Leningrad in 1952 to discuss the results of the All-Union Conference of Translators held in Moscow in December 1951. The meeting was co-organised by the Translators' section under the Leningrad branch of the All-Union Association of Writers, the Committee on Criticism and Theory of Literature of the Leningrad Union of Soviet

Writers, the Translation Department of the First Leningrad Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (where Fedorov worked at the time and was the chair of the department), and the Translation Department of the Zhdanov Leningrad University.^{xi} The main report on the results of the conference and the concluding remarks after the papers, presented by Fedorov, Smirnov, and others, were given by Ieremiia Aizenshtok.

Aizenshtok was a Ukrainian and Russian literary scholar. After the pogroms in 1933 he fled Ukraine and settled in Leningrad where he worked at the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (the Pushkin House) and then at Leningrad State University (Seliverstova, 2008). Thus, Aizenshtok represented one of the institutions co-organising the meeting (Zhdanov Leningrad University) and Fedorov represented another (the First Leningrad Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages). Fedorov, assistant professor at the Institute at the time, was the chair of the meeting and introduced the report presented by Professor Aizenshtok, a recognised authority at this meeting. In his report Aizenshtok mentioned Fedorov's books among the few existing theoretical works but diminished their value by saying they had become outdated as they reflected some 'bourgeois formalist theories of translation'¹⁰⁰ (Fedorov et al., 1952, p.20). In his paper presented at the meeting Fedorov responded to this criticism:

Formalism in the field of translation is first of all separation of form from the content, transfer of the form on its own regardless of the content it expresses which means the content is distorted. [...] However, when a focus on the form, the linguistic form in particular, is referred to as formalism, I think it is unfair, to say the least¹⁰¹ (Fedorov et al., 1952, p.60).

In his book Fedorov (1953, p.111) continued the same thought, stressing that 'a conscious desire to convey the form as a means to reveal the content, in compliance with the stylistic possibilities of the translating language, is not in the least formalism.'¹⁰² At the same time, Fedorov (1953, p.111) pointed out, 'formal, literal accuracy' did not ensure 'stylistic and semantic faithfulness to the

^{xi} The First Leningrad Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in 1956 became part of the Leningrad State University (also known at the time as Zhdanov Leningrad University) as the Faculty of Foreign Languages; Zhdanov State Leningrad University at present is known as Saint Petersburg State University (Central State Archives of Saint Petersburg, 2020).

original,¹⁰³ and it was often impossible to achieve both as correct translation and formal accuracy were often incompatible.

Fedorov continued to investigate terms related to formalism in translation. He analysed the use of the term ***tochnost* [accuracy or precision]** in Russian literature. He argued that its definitiveness and the whole concept had been questioned in the scholarship on translation. Fedorov (1927a; 1928; 1930) himself emphasised its relativity, as shown in Chapter 2. Therefore, Fedorov (1953) argued, the term ***adekvatnost* [adequacy]** had come into use instead, to substitute the term 'accuracy' with its references to formal similarities above anything else.

3.2.3 Adequacy and *polnotsennost*

Speaking of ***adekvatnost* [adequacy]** as a translation characteristic, Fedorov referred to a definition by Smirnov as the most comprehensive one existing in previous studies. The article on translation by Smirnov and Alekseev published in 1934 was an important work and reference point. It was cited in many works on translation appearing in the 1930s onwards through the 1970s. Fedorov (1953, p.95) referred to it as 'the first work attempting to apply the principles of the Marxist-Leninist methodology to translation'¹⁰⁴ and introducing adequacy as one of the fundamental concepts of translation theory. Translator and critic Etkind (1970, p.28) listed it among the first works of the Soviet school of translation demonstrating the 'aesthetic approach' along with Alekseev (1931) and Fedorov (1941). Cary (1957, p.184) cited Smirnov's article for his definition of the concept of adequacy or '*pleine équivalence*.' Finkel (2007 [1939]) built his argument for translatability based on Smirnov's definition of adequate translation; Finkel argued that accuracy was the opposite of literalness, as accuracy aimed at adequacy.

Smirnov's definition of adequate translation, to which Fedorov referred, has been quoted in section 1.4.1 above. Smirnov further argued that 'maintaining wherever possible [by means of exact equivalents or acceptable substitutes] all the author's imagery, tone, rhythm, and other resources' invariably meant 'sacrificing something'¹⁰⁵ (Smirnov and Alekseev, 1934, p.527). Fedorov believed, however, that Smirnov's definition contained a contradiction concerning translatability. In Fedorov's view, the statement about sacrificing was a presented

as a compromise. Fedorov saw it as claiming a concession or an exception, while in his argument such sacrifices were implied in the principle of adequacy and did not contradict it.

The concept of adequacy was discussed in Soviet scholarship before Smirnov too. Kalnychenko (2015) (and Pym (2016), following him) explored its use in the works by Ukrainian scholar Derzhavin (2015 [1927]) and pointed out that it most probably linked back to Batiushkov (1920a) and other earlier theorists. Batiushkov (1920a, p.12) indeed argued that it was ‘the principle of a true literary translation’ to aim ‘at achieving adequacy.’¹⁰⁶ However, adequacy in Batiushkov’s article was not summarised at the theoretical level as a concept. Azov (2013, p.33) argues that ‘adequate translation’ was used in Russian criticism before Batiushkov, although he agrees that in Soviet Russia Batiushkov was probably the first to address it.

Speaking of adequacy in Fedorov’s 1953 book, Baer (2021c, p.xi) argues that the Russian (and Fedorov’s) term *adekvatnost* [adequacy] is a translators’ false friend based on the differences in meanings of the Russian and English terms; I disagree with this interpretation. Referring to the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language* contemporary to Fedorov’s earlier works, *adekvatnyi* [adequate] was defined ‘from Latin *adaequatus*’ as ‘quite corresponding, equivalent’¹⁰⁷ (Ushakov, 1939, col.17); in a more contemporary dictionary it has maintained a similar definition: ‘quite corresponding, matching’¹⁰⁸ (Evgeneva, 1999, p.25). The first definition of the English adjective ‘adequate’ is very close to Russian definitions: ‘Equal in size or extent; exactly equivalent in form;’ however it has a note ‘Obsolete’ (OED Online, 2021). The second definition reads: ‘Of an idea, concept, etc.: fully and exactly representing its object,’ also proving suitable to translate the Russian term. It is only the third defined meaning of the English adjective that bears a considerable difference: ‘Fully satisfying what is required; quite sufficient, suitable, or acceptable in quality or quantity,’ ‘Satisfactory, but worthy of no stronger praise or recommendation’ (OED Online, 2021). Considering these definitions of the Russian and English adjectives I do not think they should be regarded as false friends and ‘adequate’ and ‘adequacy’ can be used to translate Fedorov’s *adekvatnyi* and *adekvatnost*, while acknowledging that their meanings do not completely overlap.

Continuing his discussion of adequate translations, Fedorov (1953, p.111) suggested a Russian word, *polnotsennost*, that could be used as an alternative to the Latin-derived term *adekvatnost* [adequacy]. The Russian noun *polnotsennost* is derived from the adjective *polnotsennyi* defined in the abovementioned *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language*, published in the 1930s, as follows: 1. maintaining the nominal or normal value (mainly about coins or currencies); 2. worthy, valuable, meeting the highest requirements (Ushakov, 1939, column 530). In a more contemporary dictionary, the second meaning of the adjective reflects the qualities of the object it describes: 'possessing the required characteristics, qualities in full measure'¹⁰⁹ (Evgeneva, 1999, p. 264).

Polnotsennost of translation and *polnotsennyi* translation (as a translation that is defined by the required quality of *polnotsennost*) were among the most central and important concepts in Fedorov's theory. It is unfortunate that translating them into English is not so straightforward as would demonstrate the full scope of their meaning. This difficulty has been also acknowledged by Baer (2021c, p.xxxix) who uses the translation '**full value**,' for both the noun and the adjective, as several scholars have done before too, including Ayvazyan and Pym (2017), Borisova, E.B. et al. (2018), and Shakhova (2021). While this translation seems to me to be problematic since it does not convey the meaning of the definitions quoted above (being valuable, meeting the highest requirements (Ushakov, 1939) and possessing the required qualities in full measure (Evgeneva, 1999)), there is an already established tradition of using it to translate Fedorov's term. I therefore use this translation in my thesis, acknowledging its limitations, along the transliterated Russian term where appropriate.

Fedorov's suggestion to use a Russian origin term could be partly based on the consideration of the inner form of the word (or 'inner speech form' according to Anton Marty (Kuroda, 1972, p.8)). The term *inner form*, introduced by Humboldt as *innere Form der Sprache* [inner form of the language], was brought to Russian linguistics by Potebnia in the late 19th century who started using it in a rather different sense, connecting *vnutrenniaia forma* [inner form] with the etymology and psychological motivations of word meaning (Baranov, 2010). The concept was adopted by Russian formalists in the 1920s who, nevertheless, questioned Potebnia's psychological aspect of it (Pilshchikov, 2014). In the 2000s

an interest in the concept appears to have been revived in Russian linguistics, specifically for the analysis of idioms (Baranov and Dobrovolskii, 2009). My research has considered the possibility of Fedorov taking into account the inner form based on his discussion of the concept in an earlier work, where Fedorov (1930, p.177) defined the inner form as follows:

Inner form is a connection of the word with the initial meaning of its root, the connection which is not normally perceived due to the fact that it has been obscured by the changes that have occurred in the word usage, but which can become noticeable again in a certain context.¹¹⁰

Thus, Fedorov could have considered the inner form of the word *polnotsennost* to make the new term of the new discipline more intuitively understandable to speakers of Russian, as well as to differentiate it from the previous associations of ‘adequacy.’ The word itself was not new. Fedorov used this noun and its cognates in his earlier works, and it can be traced back to other authors using it in relation to translation as well, such as Retsker’s 1934 book *Methods of Technical Translation*, introduced here in Chapter 2. In a later edition of his *Introduction* Fedorov referred to Retsker’s book as one of the first publications on translation issues which were mainly practical and prescriptive. There was, however, some theoretical content; Retsker argued that the suggested translation methods ensured the resulting translation was *polnotsennyi* and prescribed such translation to be ‘accurate, clear, compact and literarily correct’¹¹¹ (Retsker, 1934, cited in Borisova, L., 2016, p.43).

Despite the fact that Fedorov was not the first scholar to start using the word in relation to translation, he is to be credited with introducing ***polnotsennost*** as a translation theory-specific term and defining its meaning and scope of application. Some scholars, including Kalnychenko (2015), similarly suggest that Fedorov russified the existing term ‘adequacy’ and ‘adequate translation’ by introducing it.

Pointing out that Smirnov’s definition of adequacy was still the only related definition existing, Fedorov (1953, p.114) suggested his own:

Polnotsennost of translation means an exhaustive accuracy in the transfer of the semantic content of the original and a complete functional-stylistic correspondence to it.¹¹²

Fedorov (1953, p.111) clarified that *polnotsennost* in relation to translation had two components: full value transfer of the content and ‘full value language and style,’¹¹³ meaning high-quality language and appropriate style of the translation.

As *polnotsennost/adequacy* in Fedorov’s theory implied functional correspondence to the original, it differed from adequacy as understood later by Vermeer in his skopos theory which he formulated in the 1970s and later collaborated on with Reiss. Vermeer (2012 [1989]) argued that adequacy was determined by the target culture; the translation was considered adequate if it fulfilled its purpose (skopos) for the target audience.

At the same time Fedorov’s definition showed conceptual similarity to the definition proposed by Even-Zohar, also in the 1970s, which featured in his polysystem theory: ‘An adequate translation is a translation which realizes in the target language the textual relationships of a source text with no breach of its own [basic] linguistic system’ (Even-Zohar, 1975, cited in Toury, 2012, p.79). This definition focused on the characteristics of translation which were emphasised by Fedorov: the relationship between the source and target text in terms of their content and style together with quality of the target language. Fedorov (1953, p.114) clarified that *polnotsennost/adequacy* meant ‘rendering the relationship between content and form, specific to the original, by reproducing the characteristic features of the form (if the language allowed) or creating functional equivalents to such features.’¹¹⁴ Functional equivalents or correspondences, depending on the translation from Russian into English (Baer (2021b) uses both, although predominantly the latter) are analysed in the next subsection.

3.2.4 Functional equivalents

The concept of *funktsionalnye sootvetstviia* [**functional equivalents/ correspondences**] had a significant place in Fedorov’s theory. Fedorov (1953) defined this concept as such language features that might not formally match the linguistic elements of the original but perform a similar expressive function in the complex, in the phrase or text as a whole. The relationship between a specific element, a part and the whole literary work affected *polnotsennost* of the translation, because it determined the relationship between content and form; full value translation did not necessarily require formally matching translation of every segment. In Fedorov’s early works ‘function’ and related terms referred back to

Tynianov's understanding of function, as shown in Chapter 2. When speaking about the function of a specific element of translation, Fedorov identified its semantic and aesthetic or stylistic function. Function then, in Fedorov's theory, was differentiated from form and could be used more generally in the same meaning as content when differentiated from form.

Fedorov provided this definition of functional equivalents/correspondences as a concept in his 1953 book, but he had used the term in his earlier works. For instance, he mentioned functional correspondences in his second publication (Fedorov, 1928, p.55) and in his monograph (Fedorov, 1941, p.96). The term was later partially used by other Russian authors. Retsker (1950, p.156) in his article 'On regular correspondences in translation into Russian,' quoted by Fedorov (1953) examined '*zakonomernye sootvetstviia*' [regular correspondences] as translation techniques that led to achieving adequacy of translation and subdivided them into translation using '*ekvivalent*' [an equivalent], '*analog*' [an analogue], or '*adekvatnaia zamena*' [an adequate substitution].

The concept of functional correspondences in Fedorov's works could have also been inspired by Bally's functional equivalences, *équivalences fonctionnelles*, as defined in Bally (1944), also known to be used by Vinay and Darbelnet in their taxonomy of translation techniques. It is a logical assumption, based on the evidence which I will present here, and which makes me disagree with the following statement by Ayvazyan and Pym (2017, p.233):

Much as we would like to show someone like Bally influencing the Russians' stylistics of the early twentieth century, we are in no position to make any strong claims in that regard.

There are sources demonstrating that Charles Bally, the Swiss linguist and a pupil of Ferdinand de Saussure, did influence Russian stylistics and linguistics. In as early as the 1920s, the prominent linguist and Fedorov's teacher Viktor Vinogradov was known to be studying the ideas of the Geneva School of Linguistics and Bally in particular. Vinogradov largely drew on Bally when creating his classification of phraseology, and as shown by Alpatov (2005), Bally and probably even Saussure's works were revealed to many Russian audiences through his publications in as early as the 1920s.

Other Russian scholars in the 1920s directly referring to Bally included Fedorov's teacher and senior colleague Larin (1923) in his research on variations

of literary language, Jakobson (1923) in his comparative study of Czech and Russian verse, Zhirmunskii (1937 [1927]) in his overview of literature on stylistics. In more depth, Russian linguist Vinokur in 1929 in the second edition of his book (I have not had access to the first one) discussed the studies of Saussure and Bally, and particularly their views on linguistics as a social science and on stylistics (Luzina, 2017; Vinokur, 1929). Since the first Russian translation of Bally's works appeared much later, in 1955, when his *Linguistique Générale et Linguistique Française* was published in Russian (Bally, 1955), the Russian linguists in the 1920s referred to his original works in French, mainly *Traité de Stylistique Française*, 1909 and *Le Langage et la Vie*, 1913.

While Fedorov did not cite Bally directly in his 1953 book, he used Vinogradov's classification of phraseology, thus, at least indirectly drawing on Bally (I say at least, because it was possible that he chose not to quote Bally because of the official attitude to his school in the early 1950s, as explained below). In the third edition of his book Fedorov (1968b) directly discussed Bally's approach to phraseology. He also cited Bally elsewhere when discussing translation of allegoricality: 'Ch. Bally in his *Traité de Stylistique Française* speaks of "*mentalité européenne*" — a European mentality, shared by many peoples and allowing for an easy comparison between stylistic phenomena in different languages of Western Europe'¹¹⁵ (Fedorov, 1962, p.17). This shows that Bally indeed was well studied and referred to by Russian scholars in their works related to linguistics, stylistics, and translation, starting from at least the 1920s and throughout the 20th century.

Bally's teacher Ferdinand de Saussure was a key figure in the development of linguistics in Russia, too, in the 19-20th centuries, as demonstrated, for instance, by the collection of papers in the reader on linguistics (Zvegintsev, 1956). However, in the early 1950s he became criticised in the Soviet Union as the proponent of a 'bourgeois' theory that was 'diametrically opposed to Stalin's teaching on language which draws on the dialectical materialistic understanding of the social nature of language'¹¹⁶ (*Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 1952, p.10). The same idea was expressed by Vinogradov (1952, p.40) the same year in the next issue of the same journal *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*. The development of the attitude can be followed through the history of the journal which Vinogradov himself edited. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija [Issues in Linguistics]*

was founded in 1950 (with the first issue published in 1952), just days after the publication of Stalin's papers and significantly under their influence, like all other academic efforts in the early 1950s. However, it remained a valuable source of materials on achievements of Soviet linguists, and also provided some information on foreign developments in linguistics which at that time could not be free from ideological bias (Alpatov, 2002). The significance of Saussure's works was reinstated in the 1960s, as demonstrated by Apresyan (1966) who analysed his works and their legacy for linguistics, also examining the links between them and the works by Russian linguist Filipp Fortunatov and Polish-Russian linguist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay.

The role of functional equivalents featured in works of other translation scholars, starting from the 1960s. Fedorov's understanding of full value translation as creation of functional equivalents was not dissimilar to Levý's position in his 1963 book. I rely here on the Russian translation published in 1974, where Levý (1974, p.48) established his view on the aim of translation:

... we shall demand the translation and the original to perform the same function in the system of cultural and historical links of the readers of the original and the translation; we shall be guided by the need for a part to be subject to the whole in accordance with the requirements for the functional similarity.¹¹⁷

Levý knew Fedorov's works well and cited them in his book. Levý and Fedorov, although traditionally viewed as representing different approaches to translation theory, shared some ideas; this also showed in their communication which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Another similar understanding of function was demonstrated (without direct links to Fedorov) by Nida (1964). In Nida's terms, response and efficiency were among the main characteristics and criteria of translation quality. Nida also emphasised the relationship between a part and the whole:

... there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Hence there can be no fully exact translations. The total impact of a translation may be reasonably close to the original, but there can be no identity in detail (Nida, 1964, p.156).

Thus, the impact of the whole, rather than its parts, as in Fedorov, defined translation. I quote here Nida's first major monograph on theoretical issues of translation after a book focused specifically on Bible translation (1961); however,

as he published starting from the 1940s, mainly on linguistics and language teaching, Nida (1950) in one of his earlier works already stated a similar idea, therefore coinciding with Fedorov.

3.2.5 Correspondence and related concepts

3.2.5.1 Equivalence and correspondence

Functional correspondence as a factor of achieving full value translation, in Fedorov's theory, was differentiated from correspondence at the level of vocabulary or syntax. This concept of **sootvetstvie [correspondence]** was very similar to the term *ekvivalentnost* [equivalence] used in later works in Russian and in other languages, including Fedorov's later publications. In the first edition of his *Introduction* Fedorov did not use the term 'equivalence' and only mentioned the term *ekvivalent* [equivalent] when analysing the article by Smirnov discussed above in this chapter. Smirnov (Smirnov and Alekseev, 1934, p.527) spoke of using 'exact equivalents' as a translation technique along the use of 'acceptable substitutes.' Fedorov (1953, p.113) underlined the importance of Smirnov's terms 'equivalent' and 'substitute' for the study of adequacy in translation.

Notwithstanding the lack of a discussion on equivalence, Fedorov suggested an analysis of equivalent relationships between source and target texts, in his terms such relationships of equivalence were called *sootvetstvie* [correspondence]. He identified different levels of correspondence and classified several typical scenarios in each of them. Speaking of correspondence between vocabulary units Fedorov distinguished three types of relationships: 1) no correspondence in the target language altogether or to the specific meaning of the source language word; 2) partial correspondence, when only some meanings of a polysemantic word are covered by the word in the target language; 3) different meanings of a polysemantic word correspond to different words in the target language (1953, p.122). Fedorov emphasised how rarely it occurred that a monosemantic word in the source language would have a monosemantic correspondence. Such correspondence, he clarified, was essentially limited to terminology; similarly rare were the cases when no corresponding word could be found in the target language.

3.2.5.2 Lack of equivalence

Fedorov argued that cases where the translating language did not have a corresponding word for a lexical unit of the original were mostly connected to the translation of **foreign realia**. They denoted 'realia of social and everyday life specific to the particular people and country'¹¹⁸ (Fedorov, 1953, p.136). Fedorov dedicated a separate section to the translation of foreign realia.

In the second edition of his *Introduction* Fedorov introduced the term **bezekvivalentnost [non-equivalence]** to identify this type of lexical correspondence (1958, p.145). The term 'non-equivalent words' had been used earlier by Sobolev (1950a, p.143) who explored such words as part of his discussion on translatability and accuracy in translation and pointed out that measurement of accuracy changed depending on the purpose of translation, character of the text, and target reader. Fedorov developed this concept, provided a theoretical justification for it, and suggested translation techniques to address it. Fedorov's concept of non-equivalent words could be compared to 'lacunae' in Vinay and Darbelnet's terms (1995, p.65). They defined it as gaps in the target language which could be determined by the target culture. Vinay and Darbelnet approached lacunae similarly to Fedorov, proposing translation techniques to fill these gaps.

Fedorov stressed the need for factual knowledge to translate such words. He distinguished three ways to translate words denoting language-specific realia: 1) transliteration, 2) creating a new word or word combination based on existing elements and morphology, and 3) using a word which is close to the original in its function: an approximate translation determined by the context (1953, p.139). Fedorov noted that the choice of the translation technique depended on the stylistic requirements, the need for a specific component of the semantic meaning to be maintained, and on the context, which played an important role in the understanding of the stylistic function of a vocabulary unit. Fedorov (1953, p.123) described 'a lack of correspondence in the stylistic colouring' as 'unsuitability of the corresponding word for a specific case.'¹¹⁹

While Fedorov did not identify context as a concept specific to translation theory, he repeatedly emphasised its importance. Fedorov (1953, p.122) specifically highlighted the value of context in the translation of polysemantic

words. He differentiated between '*boleē uzkiī kontekst*' [a narrower context] and '*boleē shirokii kontekst*' [a broader context]. The narrow context could be a single sentence, while the broader context could be the sentences around the narrower context, a paragraph, or a chapter, and both of them influenced the choice of words that would make a phrase in the target language. Context, in Fedorov's theory, was determined by style and text types, which will be analysed below in this chapter.

3.2.5.3 Correspondence and phraseology

Correspondence for Fedorov was not a permanent category. The levels and limits of correspondence could shift as the language developed and the vocabulary system expanded. The lack of exact or regular lexical correspondence, according to Fedorov (1953, p.125), meant neither its untranslatability in the given context, nor the impossibility of correspondence in the future.

One of the specific lexical categories that Fedorov identified in relation to correspondence and translation techniques was phraseology. Fedorov followed the classification by aforementioned Vinogradov. Vinogradov (1946, cited in Fedorov, 1953, p.148) subdivided *frazelogicheskie edinitsy* [phraseological units] into three types: *frazelogicheskie srashcheniia* [phraseological fusions], *frazelogicheskie edinstva* [phraseological unities], and *frazelogicheskie sochetaniia* [phraseological combinations]. For the purposes of the theory and practice of translation Fedorov suggested distinguishing only two groups: 1) translation of idioms, proverbs, and sayings, and 2) translation of phraseological combinations.

For the first group Fedorov identified three possible translation techniques. The first one was accurate translation which maintained both the phraseological meaning of the unit and the literal meanings of its components. The second technique involved some transformation of the lexical meaning of individual elements to recreate the imagery and phraseological meaning of the unit. The third one consisted in the use of already existing phraseological units of the target language to create the same aphoristic effect as the original. This technique, as Fedorov emphasised, did not necessarily mean domestication (change of the national, local, or historical coloration, in Fedorov's terms (1953, p.151)), as long as it did not refer to any target culture realia that could contradict the original.

Fedorov illustrated these techniques with examples of proverbs in French and German with their Russian translations from literary works. The second group of phraseological units was mainly represented by collocations or word combinations of limited co-occurrence. Here Fedorov stressed that literal translation would often produce unacceptable results, and adequate translation would require replacing one of the words or restructuring the syntax. He argued that detailed analyses of existing translations could build a corpus of acceptable and unacceptable combinations for specific words.

When discussing features of literary translation Fedorov (1953) explored a literary device, wordplay, which I would add to his analysis of lexical correspondence. Fedorov (1953, p.276) identified here cases of '*lozhnaia etimologija*' [false etymology] and "*igra slov*" (*kalambur*)' [wordplay (pun)]. He argued that in Russian translated literature in the 19th century wordplays and false etymologies were most often translated using the lexical meaning of their elements or only one of the meanings of a polysemantic word with sometimes a footnote indicating an 'untranslatable play on words'¹²⁰ (Fedorov, 1953, p.276). As Baer (2021a) pointed out, the same approach was used by Anglo-American translators until recently. Fedorov emphasised that only lately had Soviet translators approached it differently, finding such corresponding homonyms in the target language that would allow translating lexical meaning of the similarly sounding words and their role in the context. He presented examples from translations by Mikhail Lozinskii. Fedorov stressed the unique relationship between the form and content, including the imagery value of wordplays, and the importance of their translation in literary works.

It is interesting to note that House (1973) later outlined four instances of untranslatability, which included translation of puns and wordplays, in opposition to what was done by Fedorov. She suggested that it was one of the cases 'in which language is used differently from its communicative function' and due to the differences between language systems and semantic meanings of their polysemantic words translation was not possible (House, 1973, p.167). Another instance of untranslatability, according to House (1973, p.167) was translation of metalanguage, or 'all cases in which language is not only the medium of communication, but also the object of communication.' Multilingual TS research and publications demonstrate that metalanguage (metalanguage of TS in this

case) can be translated, although it is always a challenge and requires the existence or creation of comparable conceptual maps and terminologies. This thesis is another attempt of translating TS metalanguage.

3.2.5.4 Grammatical correspondence

Correspondence in Fedorov's theory was not limited to the discussion of vocabulary units and was not to be studied in isolation. Fedorov suggested the concepts of *grammaticheskoe sootvetstvie* [grammatical correspondence] and *grammaticheskaja tochnost* [grammatical accuracy]. Grammatical correspondence implied the existence of grammatical categories in the target language similar to those in the source language. Grammatical accuracy was formal, it meant a translation using 'matching word order and grammatical categories'¹²¹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.163). Fedorov emphasised that such grammatical accuracy was non-standard.

Fedorov classified **grammatical disagreement** between the original and translation into two main groups: 1) cases when a grammatical element in the source language does not have a formal grammatical correspondence in the target language, and 2) when a grammatical element used in the translation is specific to the target language and does not have a corresponding element in the source language. He supplemented this analysis with examples for both groups, focusing on some typical cases, based on Russian translations, and demonstrating translation techniques. Thus, the first group was illustrated with examples which involved translating the grammatical category of the article, not existing in Russian, and of generic personal pronouns, not typical for Russian. In the second group he discussed the use of the aspect as a grammatical category specific to Russian, the use of participles which was more frequent and versatile in Russian compared to Romanic and Germanic languages, the use of diminutive and subjective evaluation suffixes, and syntactic choices in Russian due to the inflectional system of the language.

This classification was closely linked to Fedorov's concept of the ***grammaticheskii variant*** [grammatical variant] in translation. Fedorov defined a grammatical variant as one of the possible grammatical forms, synonymous in a given context. The content, form, and context together with the style and text type ('type of the translated material') determined the choice of a grammatical

variant (Fedorov, 1953, p.190). Unlike lexical synonyms, Fedorov stressed, grammatical variants could not be broken down to single words: they shaped relationships between words and word combinations.

This section has identified the broad area of use of the concept of correspondence in Fedorov's translation theory metalanguage, as it embraced lexical and grammatical categories. There was a correlation in some elements of this concept with equivalence in English metalanguage, and lacunae as a lack of equivalence. Besides Fedorov's work there was little research at the time (1940-1950s) in Russian or in other languages into issues related to correspondence, such as translation of phraseology, lacunae, grammatical disagreement, and wordplay, which showed novelty of Fedorov's research for TS worldwide.

3.2.6 Text type and genre

In as early as 1930 Fedorov argued that the translator's work was influenced by a number of factors, such as the genre of the original work, the style of the author, features of the source and target language, requirements for translations specific to the current time period, and the objectives and the means of the translator (Fedorov, 1930, p.91).¹²² All these factors Fedorov considered important for the quality of translation and crucial for the assessment and analysis of translated literature, to which the 1930 book was devoted. Within the genre of literary translation Fedorov distinguished two categories (poetry and prose) and discussed different approaches to translation of poetry and prose quoting French theorists of the 18th century: Batteux, Marmontel, and Delisle, and German Gottsched.

This exploration was significantly expanded in the *Introduction to Translation Theory*. Fedorov (1953, p.196) opened his discussion of '**genre types of translated material**'¹²³ by arguing that every genre determined specific requirements for translation. He summarised existing publications that had addressed the need for the requirements for translation to take into account the character or genre of the text (Sobolev, 1950a; Retsker, 1950; Morozov, 1932-1935; Fedorov, 1932-1936), pointing out that there had been no comprehensive classification based on linguistic and stylistic features.

Fedorov argued that it was a priority for translation theory with regard to the classification of the types of 'material' to determine their unique features in

terms of 'the relationships between elements of the main word-stock with elements of different layers of the vocabulary of the language, and in terms of the selection and use of different means of the grammatical system'¹²⁴ (1953, p.197). Thus, he did not claim authorship of the classification, but provided a thorough analysis from the translation perspective of the linguistic features specific to each genre and translation techniques to address them.

Fedorov (1953, p.198) classified texts into three main groups: '1) newspaper and informational, documentational, and scientific texts, 2) social and political journalism works, and 3) literary works.'¹²⁵ He noted that a similar grouping has been suggested by Sobolev (1950a, p.143) who explored the measure of accuracy in translation depending on the 'character of texts:' business texts, *publitsistika* [social and political journalism], and literary works. Analysing the relationship between grammatical and lexical categories within each genre, Fedorov argued that elements of the main word-stock were present in all of them, creating the background, against which elements of different layers of the vocabulary of the language could be identified. Thus, the first group was characterised by the presence of terms, proper names, and certain phraseological combinations, and by the absence of connotations distinguishing other vocabulary layers. Syntactically it tended to be composed of complex and compound sentences, avoiding any markers of oral speech. The sentence structure depended on a specific subcategory within the group, for instance, dictionary articles and technical specifications, Fedorov pointed out, often featured one-part sentences. As Fedorov (1953) dedicated a separate section to analyse how each text type in his classification affected translation, for the first group he provided examples and examined translation of the identified characteristics of this type. He summarised this analysis by establishing an existing trend in translations of this genre to follow stylistic norms of the target language applied to texts of the same genre. It is important to note that while Fedorov did not discuss a target audience as a specific concept of his theory, he argued that within each genre translations could differ depending on their potential readership; for example, a scientific translation for a general encyclopaedia or a textbook would be distinguished from a scientific translation for a specialised academic journal.

The second group in Fedorov's classification comprised social, political, and philosophical works that had a clear propaganda agenda or were aimed at creating a social impact. This group combined features of scientific and literary works, and as such was characterised by a limited use of tropes and terminology, which approximated to everyday language in its widespread use, and by stylistically marked vocabulary units. It could contain salutations addressing the audience (the reader, listener, or opponent) and emotionally marked constructions: exclamatory, interrogatory, and rhetorical statements. Repetitions and syntactic parallelisms were typical for this group. In his analysis of examples Fedorov suggested that translation of this type of material showed importance of terminology and nomenclature as well as emotional and individual features of the author's language; it allowed a simplified syntax, including breaking long sentences into shorter ones to avoid misunderstanding.

The third group, literary works, was distinguished by a wide variety of lexical elements from different vocabulary layers, including dialect, professional jargon, foreign, and archaic words, as well as tropes and figures of speech. Syntactic structures were similarly versatile; they varied depending on the content, style, country, and time, among other factors, and aimed at creating convincing images and characters. Fedorov pointed out that there was more scholarship on literary translation than on other types. He emphasised his major points on translating texts of this group: the need for a thorough stylistic analysis to understand and to translate the individual character of the original (investigated in section 3.2.8 below), and translatability of the whole even if certain elements underwent transformations to perform the same function.

Fedorov did not use the word 'text' consistently as a term in his typology. He referred to texts mainly as materials, works, and, occasionally, texts. The theory of text or text linguistics as a field of knowledge did not yet exist. However, it was text types that he explored. This was similar to the choice of words by Catford (1962, p.2; 1965, p.20), who defined translation as 'the replacement of textual material in one language (SL), by equivalent textual material in another language (TL).' Fedorov started approaching the subject in his earlier works. In his translator training programme Fedorov (1937, p.2) dedicated a section to translating tropes 'in literature, in political prose, in scientific and educational texts.'

Text types and genres as related to TS remained understudied in Western-European languages until the late 20th century (Trosborg, 1997). Catford, for example, while recognising the need for a classification of translated material, did not explore these categories. He proposed the analysis of ‘varieties’ or ‘sub-languages’ that could be distinguished in a language: ‘idiolects, dialects, registers, styles and modes’ (1965, p.83). However, in the late 1970s there appeared a fundamental classification of text types based on their communicative functions, attributed to the German scholars Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer.

Reiss (1989 [1977]) identified three types of texts based on Karl Bühler’s functions of a linguistic sign: informative, expressive, and operative. One of the scholars she repeatedly referred to in her work was Yuri Lotman and the 1972 German translation of his book *The Structure of the Literary Text* (in Russian, 1971). This was a link back to structuralists and Russian formalists, as Lotman developed their ideas building the Tartu-Moscow Semiotic School. In Lotman’s book, cited by Reiss, references were made to the works by Eikhenbaum, Jakobson, Shklovskii, Tynianov, and Zhirmunskii (Lotman, 1971).

Reiss argued that it was essential for the translator to identify the text type of the original to be able to create a translation that had a similar effect on the reader. It was not the only characteristic of the text that had to be taken into account, following Reiss. Closer to the concept of genre in her terms could be *text variety* (*Textsorte*):

Text varieties have been identified by Christa Gniffke-Hubrig (1972) as “fixed forms of public and private communication”, which develop historically in language communities in response to frequently recurring constellations of linguistic performance (e.g., letter, recipe, sonnet, fairy-tale, etc). Text varieties can also realize different text types; e.g. letter: private letter about a personal matter -> informative type; epistolary novel -> expressive type; begging letter -> operative type (Reiss, 1989 [1977], p.110).

It did not equal genre though, as it was a more specific category. As Reiss (1981, p.126) explained in a later publication, text variety was understood as ‘the classification of a given text according to specifically structured socio-cultural patterns of communication belonging to specific language communities.’ She further defined text varieties as ‘super-individual acts of speech or writing, which are linked to recurrent actions of communications and in which particular patterns of language and structure have developed because of their recurrence in similar

communicative constellations.’ Reiss clarified that text varieties were not language specific.

In her subsequent work we see a further development of the concept. Reiss and Vermeer (2013 [1984], p.156) defined text variety, which was now linked to the German term *Textart*, as ‘semiotic concept employed to distinguish texts produced within different sign systems, e.g. visual vs. verbal, written vs. oral, text in Morse code or musical score.’ They also introduced the term *genre* (*Textgattung*) to identify ‘any category of literary work, such as comedy or science fiction’ (2013 [1984], p.156). In the footnote by the translator, Christiane Nord (on the same page) assessed the change in the terminology:

In English, the term *genre* has of late been extended to non-literary texts (in German: *Textsorte*), replacing the term *text type*, which had been found for this text category before (cf. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1990) *Discourse and the Translator*, London: Longman). We will therefore use *genre* for both literary and non-literary incidences of text classification.

Thus, *genre* was beginning to be used in the meaning similar to Fedorov’s. At the same time, based on the use of the German term *Textsorte* throughout Reiss’s works, it could be supposed that it was what she meant from the start, and that it was the English translations of *Textsorte* as *text variety* and *genre* that created the differences.

Reiss was aware of Fedorov’s work on the classification of genres for purposes of translation theory. Reiss (2000 [1971]) discussed Fedorov’s classification, although she stated that the original Russian publication was not available, so her discussion was based on the review by Brang (1963). Reiss criticised Fedorov’s classification, and particularly his separation of the second group, as she saw the ‘organizational and political texts’ as belonging to either the first or the second group (2000 [1971], p.20). At the same time, she argued against the grouping of all literary works together in the third category since they were too versatile in their characteristics to be treated as one type. Reiss similarly analysed the classifications suggested by Mounin and Kade, finding them also inadequate. She argued that the classification of texts for translation, or identification of text types, would inform the translator to choose a translation method (referring to Schleiermacher (2012 [1813]), as did Fedorov), and that

such classification had to be based on the function that the language of the text performed, and this was where Bühler's functions informed her typology.

Different as Reiss's typology appears to Fedorov's classification of genres, her justification of it reveals certain similarities. Thus, to introduce the categories, Reiss (2000 [1971], p.25) initially stated that texts could be traditionally divided into 'pragmatic (emphasizing content) and literary (emphasizing form).' In addition to these, she suggested that a third type needed to be added: texts which emphasised appeal. These texts then corresponded to informative, expressive, and operative types and represented respectively the depictive, expressive, and persuasive functions. If we ignore the titles and look at the focus of these text types, and the examples given, there is a strong resemblance to Fedorov's three groups. Reiss's content-focused or informative text type corresponded to Fedorov's newspaper and informational, documentational, and scientific texts; Reiss's form-focused or expressive texts could be compared to Fedorov's category of literary works, and her appeal-focused or operative type was similar to Fedorov's *publitsisticheskie* works [social and political journalism].

Also similarly to Fedorov, Reiss (2000 [1971], p.27) proceeded to investigate characteristics of each type in terms of translation, clarifying firstly the difference between 'type' and 'kind':

While the type of a text concerns essentially the translation method and the relative priorities of what is to be preserved in the target language, the kind of text concerns the linguistic elements to be considered when translating.

Reiss's discussion of the kinds of texts in each text type supported the argument on the resemblance to Fedorov's classification. Thus, her content-focused type included such kinds of text as 'press-releases and comments, news reports, commercial correspondence, inventories of merchandise, operating instructions, directions for use, patent specifications,' and other technical and scientific texts (2000 [1971], p.27).

Reiss's study of the kinds of text in the form-focused type provided even stronger evidence to the argument as it included 'literary prose (essays, biographies, belles-lettres), imaginative prose (anecdotes, short stories, novellas, romances), and poetry in all its forms (2000 [1971], p.35). This appeared to be almost exactly the same as Fedorov's genre type of literary works which Reiss

criticised in the same book for combining all kinds of prose and poetry texts, although she proposed the same combination. Therefore, despite Reiss's denunciation of Fedorov's classification based on Brang's review, her typology of texts demonstrated a high degree of similarity to the classification of genre types for translation proposed by Fedorov.

The analysis of Fedorov's justification for classifying and studying features of different text types reveals more similarities. Fedorov (1953, p.198) argued the rationale for such a study could be based on 'the notion of their purposefulness, their functions, and on the basis of comparison with the target language.'¹²⁶ It was also significant that Fedorov (1953) highlighted that *zadacha* [purpose, goal] of translation of texts of different genres could be different. In the second edition of the book, he made this point even more specific, highlighting the goal of each genre; for instance, when translating an informational text, the main goal would be 'to convey to the reader the content in the clearest way and standard form'¹²⁷ (Fedorov, 1958, p.243). In comparison to this genre, the goal of translation of social and political journalism texts included 'maintaining the expressive features of the original and its general tone'¹²⁸ (Fedorov, 1958, p.275). Fedorov's classification and reflection on genre types anticipated the text theory and text typologies, preparing the ground for advancements in these areas made by Russian speaking scholars, and theorists writing in other languages such as Reiss.

3.2.7 Translation techniques and methods

3.2.7.1 Techniques or procedures

This section investigates less abstract concepts: translation procedures or techniques, and the way they were defined and described. In his earlier works, Fedorov started exploring techniques used by translators to address specific challenges. In one of his early theoretical publications Fedorov (1930) defined it as *priemy perevoda* [translation devices], the term potentially drawn from Russian formalists, as pointed out by Schippel (2017) and Tyulenev (2019). In an even earlier article, in his first publication, Fedorov (1927b, p.106) provided a classification of 'violations' in translation from the perspective of the original text which in effect constituted translation techniques (established in Chapter 2).

In the 1953 book Fedorov (1953, p.139) defined them as '*sposoby perevoda*' what could be translated into English as *ways of translation, translation techniques* or *translation procedures*. The techniques of translating realia and phraseological units have been discussed in this chapter above. General translation techniques were not presented as systematically in Fedorov's 1953 book, but rather dispersed throughout it and provided as a supplement in different chapters dedicated to different theoretical concepts or categories. In this section translation techniques will be summarised and compared to those by scholars, contemporary to Fedorov, writing in other languages.

The concept and terminology of translation techniques is universally rather problematic, similarly to text types, discussed above. One of the most widely accepted accounts of translation methodology was presented by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958). In their terminology it was '*les procédés techniques de la traduction*' (1958, p.46), which in the English translation of the book were termed 'methods of translation' or 'procedures' (1995, p.30). The first procedure identified by Vinay and Darbelnet was borrowing, defining cases when a foreign word was introduced into the target language to fill a lacuna. The procedure matched nearly exactly the first technique identified by Fedorov to translate words denoting culture-specific realia: transliteration, one of the types of borrowing along with transcription. Fedorov (1953, p.140) emphasised that transliteration needed to be justified by the importance of maintaining the form and the nature of the word, specific to the source culture. He suggested that when a transliterated word was used infrequently or for the first time, it could be supplemented with an explanatory note or a comment.

The second translation procedure defined by Vinay and Darbelnet was calque: 'a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements' (1995, p.32). In Fedorov's classification of translation techniques for foreign realia the second technique appeared very similar, except the name of the procedure. Fedorov did not provide a term for it, rather a description of the technique which consisted in creating a new word, compound word, or word combination based on the elements and morphological relationships that already existed in the target language. He illustrated it with the etymological example of translating the English

word 'skyscraper' into Russian by creating a compound from the Russian noun denoting 'sky' and the inflected noun based on the verb 'to scrape' using an appropriate morphological interface (1953, p.143).

The procedure that Vinay and Darbelnet (1995, p.38) named *équivalence* ('the method which produces equivalent texts') could be seen as combining two techniques identified by Fedorov. The first one was the technique of translating foreign realia: an approximate translation when there was no existing lexical unit in the target language, using a word that performs a similar function to that of the original. The second technique was used to translate phraseological units. It similarly employed equivalents, already available in the target language, to create a similar phraseological effect. In the same vein, Vinay and Darbelnet highlighted the use of *équivalence* to translate phraseology.

Some similarities could be found between the approach to translation techniques of Fedorov and Levý. Pym (2016) provides an analysis of Levý's translation solutions and notes the points similar to Fedorov and to Vinay and Darbelnet. Pym does not make conclusions on influences between them, suggesting that Levý could draw on Catford whom he also cited. However, the references to Catford (1965) must have been added in subsequent editions of Levý's book, because Levý's original book was published in Czech in 1963, prior to Catford's. If these similarities were present in Levý's first edition of *Umění Překlada*, published in 1963, then it would show that Levý either drew on Fedorov, or Vinay and Darbelnet, or presented his own similar but independent ideas. To make a definitive conclusion on this would require a close textual analysis of the first edition of Levý's book in Czech.

Catford did not summarise translation techniques as such. His concept of translation shifts, however, stood very close. Catford's definition of shifts as 'departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL' (Catford, 1965, p.73) showed some relation of his concept to Vinay and Darbelnet's procedures and Fedorov's methods. They were even closer to Fedorov's earlier concept of violations (1927, discussed in Chapter 2).

3.2.7.2 Translation method

Closely connected to translation techniques is the concept of the method of translation. Most of the theorists during the period in question, regardless of their

language and country, referred to German romantics, and specifically Schleiermacher, as the fundamental point of reference. Therefore, there were many predicted similarities and shared ideas in their works.

Fedorov (1953, p.26) discussed Schleiermacher's study of translation methods when he explored the history of the concept of translatability. He quoted Schleiermacher's statement on the possibility of a translation to convey 'not only the spirit of the language but also the author's characteristic spirit' (Schleiermacher, 2012 [1813], p.54-55). Fedorov agreed with this approach and linked "the author's characteristic spirit" to the then contemporary concept of style; however, he pointed out the abstract and non-specific character of Schleiermacher's essay. Fedorov's citations were his translations from Schleiermacher's text in German published in 1838. He did the same to quote Goethe on two principles of translation: adapting the language of the foreign author to make it sound familiar to the reader or bringing the reader to experience the foreign language and environment (Fedorov, 1953, p.26). Fedorov noted that unlike Humboldt, Goethe did not see these two ways as risks or dangers, but as two trends which could be combined in any translation.

This position was close to Fedorov's views on the methods of translation, first explored in his 1930 book. Here Fedorov discussed *ustanovki* [directions or approaches] to translation rather than methods and identified three main approaches. However, unlike Humboldt (and Venuti with his domestication and foreignisation), Fedorov (1930, p.126) identified the third method as neutralising, 'smoothing out translation' (the publication is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). This approach was then developed by Smirnov (Smirnov and Alekseev, 1934, p.515) who suggested *smoothing translation* was one of three types of inaccurate translation, alongside *explaining* or *simplifying* translation and *adorning* or *improving* translation. In his book *On Literary Translation* Fedorov (1941) discussed these methods, focusing on the first two methods, as my analysis in Chapter 2 shows.

Similar methods were explored by Levý, investigating how different levels of *překládovost* [translativity] were achieved (Jettmarová, 2011). Levý spoke about 'exoticizing or creolizing' translation on the one end of the spectrum, and 'naturalizing' translation on the other (Jettmarová, 2017, p.109). These methods

and the concept of 'translativity' were used in relation to translating national and individual characteristics or specificity of the original (Levý, 2011). Jettmarová points out that the English term 'translativity' was suggested by Popovič (1976) as there was no equivalent concept in English until Levý's work (Levý, 2011, Editor's note on p.70). The idea of translativity was related to maintaining the distinctness of the original in Fedorov's terms.

3.2.8 Distinctness of the original

Fedorov identified a number of translation problems which were specific to literary translation. He pointed out that they were important to be aware of when translating texts of other genres as well, but it was in literary works that they presented most challenges as they were a vital part of the imagery created. Among them was the '**national distinctness of the original**' or '**national colouring**'¹²⁹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.291). The question here, according to Fedorov, was whether it was possible to translate national distinctness to the level determined by the original language.

Drawing on the 19th century Russian literary critic Belinskii, Fedorov argued that the complexity of the question was two-fold: the national distinctness of the imagery in a literary work was determined by its content, portraying the reality specific to a nation or a community, and by the linguistic categories used to convey it. Fedorov suggested that national identity of a text was not limited to a single specific feature of the form, but involved a whole system of characteristics; therefore, in terms of translation, no single technique could be prescribed to address it. He demonstrated it with an example of what he considered a successful translation of Romain Rolland's *Colas Breugnon* by Lozinskii. He observed such techniques in Lozinskii's method of translation as exact equivalents of the original's references to France and descriptions of French realia, maintaining the national character in the description of the protagonist's personality, the use of a wide range of linguistic devices in Russian, including idiomacy and phraseology, without leaning towards russification, and infrequent use of borrowings.

The concept was later explored by other Soviet scholars. In the collection of articles *Masterstvo Perevoda [The Mastery of Translation]* it was addressed by Topor (1959) and Etkind (1959). Their views on the 'national character' and

'national colour' of the language were reviewed by Cary (1960, p.20). Although, according to Cary, the contributors to the collection opposed Fedorov by regarding translation primarily as an art, they developed this concept in a similar plane.

This concept was related to what Vinay and Darbelnet coined a few years later as '*le génie de la langue*' (1958, p.258). They described it as a certain metalinguistic relationship, the 'culture-specific nature of a language' (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995, p.278). It had some similar defining characteristics to the concept of national distinctness, for example, 'relationships which link social, cultural and psychological facts to linguistic structures' (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995, p.278). However, these concepts did not completely overlap. *Le génie de la langue* was drawn on the idea proposed by Humboldt and developed by Whorf (1956), associated with the worldview, *Weltanschauung*, different perception and segmentation of reality by different languages. This concept was also explored in Russian theoretical works. The abovementioned Etkind (1970) explored Humboldt's ideas and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, focusing on the concept of *Weltbild*, translated into Russian as *kartina mira*. A similar term, '*visions du monde*,' was suggested by Mounin (1963b, p.191) discussing the ideas of Whorf, among others. Referencing Vinay and Darbelnet, Mounin did not borrow their *le génie de la langue*, and instead contrasted the differences in worldviews to language universals following Buht and Aginsky (1948). In the same book Mounin traced a distinct similarity between the views of Fedorov and Vinay and Darbelnet, as discussed in Chapter 4.

National distinctness of translated literature was also explored by Levý (2011). He pointed out that readership was an important factor when the decision to the level of national identity in translation was made:

Translators are in a position to preserve national characteristics in a work in total or in part, according to the knowledge of the foreign culture that can be expected of readers. At the same time, however, they have the opportunity to educate the readers and enhance their apprehension of foreign literature (Levý, 2011, p.70).

Levý shared Fedorov's interest in the value of these attributes. Besides national colouring, it was also individual characteristics of the author's writing, as well as temporal and spatial distance between the original and translation that influenced translativity, according to Levý.

Along the national distinctness of the original, Fedorov established, it was its **historic specificity** that created challenges in translation. They arose when the original work was created during a different period in history; therefore, the language of the time when it had been created and when it was being translated were distanced from each other. According to Fedorov, the challenge could be easily solved if the main aim of the translation were to reach the contemporary reader. It implied the use of modern language, while preserving certain lexical and syntactical elements to allow creating the required historical perspective (1953, p.299). Even more important in creating it, Fedorov argued, could be ensuring no neologisms and words which clearly belonged to the contemporary language were used.

Finally, Fedorov (1953, p.309) identified '*individualnoe svoeobrazie*' [**individual distinctness**] of the original, of the author's writing as another category among the characteristics of the original work that created challenges in translation, especially in literary translation. Fedorov (1953, p.310) argued that the individual distinctness of an author's work 'manifests itself in the system of linguistic categories; their relationships integrate with the content and carry the national and historical specificity.'¹³⁰ He believed that the individual distinctness of an author's literary work, expressed via linguistic means, was connected to their worldview and aesthetics, as well as the aesthetics of their literary school and the historic period.

Fedorov emphasised it was one of the most difficult issues in translation, as it was a complex system of different linguistic, stylistic, and cultural elements that entwined both form and content of a literary work. Summarising his research findings, he identified four trends (specifying that there could be numerous variations) in translating the individual specificity of the original:

- 1) Smoothing, neutralising in favour of misinterpreted requirements of the literary norm of the target language and tastes of a certain literary trend;
- 2) Attempting to reproduce certain elements of the original with a formal accuracy against the requirements of the target language (a phenomenon that results in the violence over this language and stylistic inadequacy);
- 3) Distorting the individual distinctness of the original work as a result of the random choice of linguistic means and random substitution of some features with others;
- 4) Conveying the individual distinctness of the original adequately,

taking into consideration all its significant features and requirements of the target language¹³¹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.310-311).

Fedorov criticised the first three trends as not only distorting the individual features of the original but negatively effecting its other characteristics.

While Fedorov defined these trends specifically to describe the individual distinctness of the original in translation, they could apply to translation more generally. The focus on the norms of either the source or the target language, especially in the first two trends quoted, compares well to what Toury (2012) did for Descriptive Translation Studies later. Toury sought to establish norms in translation activities, observing trends similar to Fedorov. The initial norm in Toury's theory determined either adequacy or acceptability of translation which, in short, defined adherence to either the source or the target language and culture respectively (following Even-Zohar's definition of adequacy discussed in section 3.2.3).

The concepts of national, historical, and individual distinctness of the source text in relation to its translation were important to the Soviet school of translation, and developed, for instance, by Kashkin (1954a), who, however, managed to almost reverse it from Fedorov's orientation and direct it towards the domesticating realist method of translation (discussed in Chapter 1). In Western European literature these concepts were not defined as specific goals or issues in translation, but rather characteristics of the source text. Thus, Catford discusses 'idiolectal' features of 'the individual "style" of a particular author' and the need to find equivalent features in the target language in case of a literary translation (1965, p.86). Similar issues were approached later from the point of view of their relation to register (Halliday, 1978; developed in Hatim and Mason, 1996) and style (Nida and Taber, 1969).

Summary

Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* in 1953 was the first comprehensive work in Russian to define translation theory as an autonomous discipline with its own metalanguage and to summarise theoretical thought on translation, accumulated by the time. As this chapter has shown, Fedorov created a conceptual framework for the new discipline of translation theory. The main concepts were developed from Fedorov's earlier works and publications by other

scholars, synthesised, and systemised with a focus on the linguistic features and relationships between the function and the form, highlighting the importance of style. Paramount to Fedorov's translation theory was his concept of *polnotsennost* (full value of translation) based on his interpretation of adequacy and the principle of translatability, which have remained among the most debatable in TS. Fedorov's conceptual framework included other concepts, such as correspondence, non-equivalence, and text types, and translation techniques for phraseology, which had not been systematically investigated before his pioneering work. I have argued in this chapter that some of these concepts, including Fedorov's typology of genre types, influenced subsequent theoretical ideas in TS.

Fedorov's non-prescriptive theoretical writing, descriptive and not built around an analysis of translators' mistakes, was a distinctive feature of his book compared to previous publications in Russian. The foundation for such approach was supported by Fedorov's competence in general linguistics, stylistics, lexicography, and literary studies, besides translation. The inevitable interaction with Stalin's papers on linguistics, which was added to the book during manuscript editing in response to the readers' reports, analysed in the previous chapter, did not overshadow the conceptual value of the book, and seamlessly disappeared from subsequent editions. Despite Fedorov's argumentation using Marxist ideas, his conceptualisation was informed by French linguists of the 19-20th century and German romantics, thus sharing common ground with European theorists. At the same time, it was rooted in the Russian literary and linguistic tradition from the 19-20th century, and Fedorov's philological background and innovative theoretical approaches. The links to German romantics and French linguists help to understand the similarity between some of Fedorov's concepts and those developed later by Western European scholars, including adequacy, correspondence and equivalence, text type and genre, translation technique and method.

Chapter 4. Fedorov's network and the reception of his book

When Fedorov's first edition of his comprehensive book on translation theory was published in 1953, his readership was limited to Russian speaking audiences, due to the language of the publication, and by the geopolitical constraints to the countries ideologically friendly to the Soviet Union. The complications of scholarly research circulation during the years of the Cold War have been discussed in relation to TS, for instance, by Pym (2016) and Schäffner (2017). I argue in this chapter that while the communication between TS scholars in the Eastern and Western Bloc was limited, it still existed, as demonstrated by Fedorov's correspondence found in his archives, reviews of his work published in some Western European outlets, and references to it. In this analysis of their communication, I highlight the process of the intercrossing of ideas as well as agents, in this case translation scholars, in a specific historical setting and in different physical and linguistic spaces.

As stated in the methodology section in the Introduction, two main groups of reviews of Fedorov's book are analysed in this chapter: published and unpublished. The unpublished reports on his book drafts have been located in Fedorov's archives. These are mostly the reviews by Russian scholars, such as Smirnov and Sobolev, and they have not been previously studied. As for the published reviews, they have included reviews in Russian, mentioned by Fedorov in the second edition of his book (1958), and therefore, known to researchers although not closely analysed, such as Feldman's review, and reviews in journals of Eastern European countries which have not been investigated in studies on Fedorov before; these include reviews by Ljudskanov and Švagrovský. Another group of published reviews has included reviews in Western European publications, including some better-known papers such as those by Cary and Brang and those discussed in literature for the first time now, such as a review by Čyževskýj.

An analysis of these reviews complements the investigation of Fedorov's network of connections with scholars within and outside the Soviet Union, including correspondence, meetings, and other communication between Fedorov and some key figures in TS at the time. This part of the analysis is also based on

sources of several types. They are published works, including Fedorov's publications and those by or about his correspondents, but predominantly they are unpublished documents, including letters and manuscripts of unpublished papers, accessed from Fedorov's archives, and presenting original findings. Fedorov's communication with Mounin in particular provides new insights into cooperation and exchange of ideas between Russian and French scholars, as well as into Fedorov's network.

The chapter is subdivided into three main sections: communication with scholars in the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc, and the Western Bloc, each of them investigating book reviews and personal communication, with a summary concluding on the reception of Fedorov's book and his links to scholars in different countries.

4.1 Communication with scholars in the Soviet Union

4.1.1 Feedback from a key Russian scholar

The analysis of the book drafts and readers' reports in Chapter 2 has demonstrated the long process of preparing Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* for publication in 1953. Some of them showed recognition of Fedorov's work by experts in the field. Among them was Smirnov's report, investigated in Chapter 2. Aleksandr Smirnov (1883-1962) was a translator, translation scholar, and literary critic, specialising in Celtic and Romance philology and Western European literature, teaching at different universities and professor at the Leningrad University until 1958 (Kukushkina, 2014). He was a senior colleague of Fedorov, and the years they taught at the same Leningrad University coincided but only by two years: Fedorov joined it in 1956, after teaching in other higher education institutions since 1930.

Smirnov and Fedorov met long before that. Smirnov was among the first members of the Translators' Section under the Leningrad branch of the All-Russian Union of Writers; while it is unclear when exactly Fedorov joined the organisation, in 1929 he presented his paper at one of its meetings where they must have met if they had not before (the work of the section has been explored in Chapter 1). Smirnov was also one of the initiators of the appeal submitted in response to Fedorov's expulsion from the section following the purge of 1930-

1931. There is no sufficient evidence as to whether Fedorov was reinstated in the section as a result of this support. There are indications of Smirnov and Fedorov meeting in person later; for example, a letter to Fedorov (Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Writers' Union, 1947, p.1) has shown that they were both invited speakers at the meeting celebrating '30 years of Soviet translation' of the Translators' Section Bureau on 21 April 1947. At the meeting Smirnov presented a paper entitled 'Literary translations from western European languages,' and Fedorov presented 'Theory of translation in the Soviet literary studies.'

Smirnov was one of the first recognised Soviet scholars writing about translation: his paper (part of the jointly published article in Smirnov and Alekseev (1934)) was widely quoted, including by Fedorov in his 1953 book (as indicated in Chapter 3). Smirnov (1935) then developed his ideas in his paper 'Objectives and means of literary translation' prepared for the All-Union Conference of Translators, held a year later, where he was one of the keynote speakers. Fedorov (1958) mentioned Smirnov as one of the central figures in the translation project of the publishing house Vsemirnaia Literatura (see Chapter 1).

Considering the recognised position of Smirnov as a translation scholar, his participation in Fedorov's career and his reader's report (analysed in Chapter 2) in particular was most likely to be highly appreciated by Fedorov. Notwithstanding the lack of Fedorov's letters to Smirnov, kept in the archives, Fedorov's agreement with Smirnov's views, his references, and comments provide evidence of it. Smirnov's letters to Fedorov also demonstrate their mutual regard. In a letter dated the year he retired from the university, Smirnov (1958, p.2) thanked Fedorov for sending him his book on translation (presumably, based on the date, the second edition of Fedorov's *Introduction*) and for remembering about the "hermit" as he referred to himself, and expressed his hopes for a meeting and his feelings of friendship.

4.1.2 Published critical reviews

In 1954, the year after the launch of Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory*, two reviews were published with detailed comments on pros and cons of the book, but mainly focusing on the novelty of Fedorov's focus on the linguistic aspect of translation. The article 'Poetika perevoda' [The poetics of translation] by Lev Borovoi, published in the literary journal *Druzhba Narodov* was one of

them. *Druzhba Narodov* [literally ‘friendship of peoples’ in Russian] was initiated by Gorkii as an almanac aimed at popularising literature from different ethnicities of the Soviet Union translated into Russian; it included articles in related fields, such as literary criticism and translation. Borovoi (1954, p.249) opened his article in this important periodical by expressing his support of Fedorov’s work and its originality and contrasting it to the existing scholarly tradition:

In the works by literary scholars and literary translation critics the same thing happens nearly every time. The researcher would start with a general overview of the writer’s world view which defines all his poetics. But when it is time to examine the form which is used to express this world view, the research would seldom be able to reveal the unity of form and content, the features, and the background of the form. As a result, the primary element of literary work which is the language of the writer (in the original and in translation) is overlooked).¹³²

Therefore, he argued, it was timely and important to examine translation as, quoting Fedorov, ‘a form of creative work in the field of the language’¹³³ (Borovoi, 1954, p.250). Borovoi suggested it was particularly necessary due to the fact that recent translations had seen many violations of the original language and meaning justified by the goal of making them more accessible or less literal.

Acknowledging the need for a linguistic study of translation phenomena, Borovoi, nevertheless, criticised Fedorov for insufficient attention to literary translation and insisted on its special place:

Andrei Fedorov’s book is dedicated not to the theory of literary translation, but theory of translation in general. However, literary translation, as the most difficult kind of translation, requiring the highest “degree of accuracy” (the term which we shall discuss later here), should occupy the most prominent place. It is certainly in literary translation that “the main challenges of translation” are being solved¹³⁴ (Borovoi, 1954, p.250).

The idea of supremacy of literary translation was predominant at the time, as seen in the earlier theoretical publications, discussed in Chapter 1, including Fedorov’s earlier works, discussed in Chapter 2. This was a distinguishing feature of Fedorov’s *Introduction to Translation Theory*: building the theoretical framework for the discipline overall, with a place for genre classification within it; without isolating literary translation or focusing on it exclusively.

Discussing the concept of varying degrees or 'measures of accuracy' applied to translation of different text types, Borovoi (1954, p.251) disagreed with Fedorov, arguing that the translator should always aim at complete accuracy, and again insisted that literary translation had to be approached differently from other types. He claimed that specific features of translation suggested by Fedorov, such as grammatical and lexical synonyms and national distinctness of the original, were closely related to the issue of accuracy of literary translation and poetics and remained understudied in the book.

On a larger scale, Borovoi criticised Fedorov's statement that translation theory was connected, among other disciplines, most closely to stylistics. Borovoi's argument relied on the assumption that stylistics as a branch of linguistics had not yet been developed, and it was not reasonable to build translation theory on a discipline whose subject was not shaped yet. Quoting Reformatskii (his article was published in 1952), Borovoi (1954, p.252-253) concluded on the inadequacy of the linguistic framework of translation theory:

"Translation can and should be included into the linguistic terms of reference, and linguistics is the only science without which issues of any kind of translation cannot be solved; it does not mean, however, that a theory of translation can be created relying on linguistics only." I believe this is irrefutable, and A. Fedorov's book in fact proves this concussion by A. Reformatskii.

It is appropriate to note here that literary studies is also a science, and poetics, which for so long has been a captive of formalists, can and should finally become a science. [...]

It is true that linguistics alone cannot be the foundation for studying the theory of translation. We hope the new edition of the book will see linguistics enter into appropriate relations with the science of poetics and the science of literary studies. Then many regrettable gaps of Fedorov's interesting book will be filled.¹³⁵

Borovoi's review was cited by the proponents of the literary approach to translation, for instance, by Kashkin (1955).

This linguistic focus in Fedorov's book, overstated by the critics, was the most criticised aspect, as Fedorov noted in the foreword to the second edition:

The main objections by our [Soviet] critics focused on pointing out that in the first edition of the book I extended unduly the competence of linguistics in the issues of translation, especially literary translation, and that literary translation was not covered sufficiently and discussed too narrowly and rigidly. These objections are expressed in Feldman's review as well, although it was written from the linguistic perspective,

too. It seems evident that such criticism is based on the excessively strong statements of the first edition as related to the importance of the linguistic approach to the problem. These categorical statements, apparently, overshadowed everything that was said in the first edition about translation requiring a multifaceted study and about different possible approaches to translation research which are not mutually exclusive. [...] Acknowledging the importance and value of studying literary translation from the perspectives of literary studies and even more so with the objectives of history and literary studies in mind, in this book I investigate the linguistic aspect of the subject which has not yet been thoroughly researched or adequately systematised; its development is a crucial phase in the construction of translation theory as a complex general philological discipline¹³⁶ (Fedorov, 1958, p.3-4).

Fedorov did not agree, however, that his work could be summed up as a linguistic study or that translation theory could exclude linguistic explorations.

The article by Natalia Feldman, mentioned by Fedorov, was another important review, as it was published in the influential journal *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* and could be seen as voicing the established discourse. Feldman indeed supported the linguistic approach to the general theory of translation. Being a linguist and translator herself, Feldman (1954) argued that the book had a high scientific value and demonstrated the development of Fedorov's views on translation through the period of over twenty years. She discussed in detail some of Fedorov's concepts and parts of the book, making rather strong claims about them being correct or incorrect. Her argument against the linguistic approach concerned only literary translation which she believed was not to be discussed as part of the general theory of translation, but to be distinguished as a branch to form a specific theory of translation. Then the specific theory of translation would be characterised by its own objectives and methodology. Since literature is an art, she claimed, the theory of literary translation should aim first of all at exploring the ways of translating specific expressive means of literature as an art by means of another language, and here the literary studies perspective would play a dominant role over the linguistic one. It is noteworthy that at the same time Feldman (1954) recognised the need for translators, including translators of literary works, to develop certain technical skills which had to be based on the knowledge of linguistics. Thus, her main criticism of the linguistic approach was in fact not against the linguistic approach to translation altogether, but against including the issues of literary translation in the general theory of translation. She

agreed with Fedorov's claim that translation theory was first of all a linguistic discipline, as long as it did not include literary translation.

From such a predominantly linguistic perspective Feldman discussed specific aspects in translation theory suggested by Fedorov. She pointed out that some important questions were ignored in the book. Among them were some translation techniques, such as *doslovnnyi perevod* [literal translation] as an auxiliary technique and *podstrochnyi perevod* [interlinear translation]. The latter, she clarified, pertained to the theory of literary translation. A more serious flaw of Fedorov's theory, according to Feldman, was his misuse of the term 'synonym;' she argued that Fedorov understood the term as it had been defined by Tomashevskii which divested it of any linguistic meaning (Feldman, 1954, p.118). Fedorov indeed suggested applying the term 'synonym' to translation theory in a broader and redefined meaning to denote such words of the target language, which became synonymous in a certain context, and could be used interchangeably to translate a certain word of the source text. He specified that the concept of lexical synonyms was limited to the same grammatical category and syntactic function of the word (Fedorov, 1953, p.135). Fedorov evidently responded to this constructive criticism by Feldman when in the second edition of the book he replaced 'synonym' with a new term: *leksicheskiĭ variant* [lexical variant]. He clarified: '... in cases when words, the meanings of which do not relate, become parallel in the specific context, it is more correct to describe them as lexical variants rather than synonyms'¹³⁷, since they were not synonyms in the exact linguistic sense of the term (Fedorov, 1958, p.153). The rest of the section devoted to this concept remained absolutely the same as in the first edition, showing that Fedorov did not abandon the idea, but chose a more precise term to define it within translation theory in response to the criticism.

Feldman's review provided a valuable assessment of Fedorov's book. Feldman observed that translation had been taught at higher education level in the Soviet Union for over ten years, but translation theory had not yet been developed, arguing that Fedorov's book could be contributing to such 'science of translation, the general theory of translation' (1954, p.117). She highlighted some of the theoretical conclusions that were vital for such theory and mentioned that the book had been accepted by the Ministry of Culture as the textbook for institutes of foreign languages. However, the review failed to acknowledge the

significance of the translation theory concepts introduced by Fedorov and the synthesis and summarisation of previous theoretical efforts in the field of translation. Nevertheless, Feldman did not attempt to denounce his work or join the witch-hunt against the opponents of the literary approach to TS, and agreed with many of Fedorov's arguments, providing mostly constructive criticism.

4.1.3 Opponents of the linguistic approach

Feldman's constructive criticism played a positive role for further work and consequent editions of the book, according to Fedorov. Some criticism, however, was not considered by him to be so helpful, including the pressure from some critics to disregard the linguistic aspects in literary translation. Thus, Fedorov (1958, p.4) wrote:

The opponents of the linguistic approach to the problem use such arguments as the lack of permanent unambiguous correspondences between two languages (especially in literary translation) or the need to limit each observation to a pair of specific languages.¹³⁸

In this paragraph Fedorov referred to the article by Kashkin (1954a). Kashkin's article was not a review of Fedorov's book, he only briefly mentioned it to support his point that literary translation could not be governed by principles of linguistic analysis, proposed, as he claimed, by Fedorov. He characterised Fedorov's book as 'eclectic in spirit and linguistically stylistic in method' and reproached him for downplaying the literary features in favour of linguistics (1954a, p.150). In opposition to Fedorov's approach, Kashkin (1954a, p.151) presented claims of what 'the best Soviet translators'¹³⁹ believed. Their beliefs, according to Kashkin, included:

... the leading method for us today is Soviet realist translation. It is just important in every case to identify and accept the most fundamental and important thing that is the style and method of translation and that is defined by the time, place, and social conditions. This most fundamental and important thing for us today is the theory and practice of the art of Socialist realism¹⁴⁰ (Kashkin, 1954a, p.153).

The article was not unanimously accepted. Difficult as it was to argue with Kashkin's politically charged rhetoric, some scholars openly opposed it. Thus, Retsker (1953-1975, p.34) showed his support in a letter to Fedorov the same year: 'I was appalled to read the almost hooligan attack on your book in the article

by the respected Ivan Kashkin. Only a mentally unstable person can go as low as disguising silly anecdotes as a serious critique.’¹⁴¹

The idea that literary translation should be separated from other genres and types of translation was common at the time. Feldman and Kashkin, representing perhaps two poles of the anti-linguistic spectrum, were among many who argued for literary translation to be the highest art and requiring an approach distinguishing it from translation of non-literary texts. Among other publications supporting this view was a collection of articles edited by Rossels (1955a), one of which was a paper presented at the Second All-Union Convention of Soviet Writers in 1954, and the others were collected articles on different issues in literary translation, most of them united by their opposition to Fedorov. Literary critic and poet Pavel Antokolskii, who presented at the Convention the paper ‘Literary Translation of Literature by Peoples of the USSR’ co-written with Auezov and Rylsky, claimed that Fedorov’s book, although important, represented an approach to translation theory that leaned towards linguistics. Fedorov’s analysis of texts of different genres translated from different languages but without due consideration to literary translation, and especially poetry translation, according to Antokolskii et al. (1955, p.9), led to a serious gap in his work, which could be filled with ‘another approach – to focus on the empty space of the aesthetics and to discuss translation as a verbal art, that is, not linguistically, but literarily.’¹⁴²

Similarly, in the same volume, literary critic Aleksandr Leytes (1955, p.103) criticised Fedorov in the same plane of literary vs. non-literary translation:

In this book, translation, including literary translation, is characterised as “a form of creative work in the field of the language.” Correspondingly, the theory of literary translation is examined as a special branch of linguistics, and the concept of literary translation is effectively excluded from the scope of literary concepts and categories. A. V. Fedorov’s book never mentions that literary translation is a form of creative work in the field of literature.¹⁴³

These authors overlooked the broad meaning in which the language was used, where literature could not be opposed to it, because they were closely related. They also failed to acknowledge the value assigned to literature and literary studies by Fedorov. He did not reject them; he called for a comprehensive view that encompassed different perspectives. Most importantly, in their efforts to contradict Fedorov, they ignored his argument where he had already established

the creative significance of literary translation, which they sought to reassert. In Fedorov's argument there was no conflict between such creative value and the linguistic aspect:

... translation work implies constant searching for the linguistic means that would express the unity of form and content of the original and choosing between several possible ways of transferring it. This search and choice are always a creative effort. While translation of literature as well as socio-political and scientific works featuring the use of expressive language is an art and requires literary talent¹⁴⁴ (Fedorov, 1953, p.12, emphasis in original).

Therefore, Fedorov did not reject the artistic nature of literary translation and its relation to literary studies, as his opponents argued; he recognised it as an art, perhaps more so than theorists today would be willing to do. At the same time, his research into translation, focused on the linguistic issues, did not exclude literary translation; he justified his inclusion of translation of all genres based on the similarity of their processes and products.

Kashkin in his paper in the volume again charged Fedorov with defining literary translation solely from the perspectives of linguistics and stylistics. Kashkin did not deny the importance of linguistics altogether, but he maintained that the theory of literary translation 'must not be absorbed by linguistics and must not become a purely linguistic discipline which Fedorov appeals for'¹⁴⁵ (1955, p.152). While it was clear from Fedorov's texts that this was not what he appealed for, Kashkin did not support his claims by any evidence or critical analysis. What did he strive for with his emotional and provocative writing? One of the paragraphs in his paper might clarify his agenda:

I think all the knowledge, experience, and effort, wasted on this manufactured theorising, could be put to better use. Because all of us together still need to develop a generally accepted theory or poetics of literary translation that will be based on the achievements of soviet linguistics and just as closely linked to our Soviet literary studies; the theory that will study specific methods of selecting specific means of expression in the given historic environment; the theory that will help the translator set high ideological and literary goals and achieve them in their practical work¹⁴⁶ (1955, p.163-164).

Kashkin did not have many objective criticisms that went beyond the fact that it was Fedorov's theory, while he himself might have had his plans for leadership in this direction. He effectively brushed Fedorov's book aside in this paragraph as not a developed theory, but useless theorising, while the true theory was still

to be developed, by some scholars, including him, “together.” My understanding of Kashkin’s conflicting attempts is shared by Azov (2013, p.97) who argues that Kashkin envisaged himself to be the author of the ‘unified Soviet theory of translation’ based on his method of realist translation which is discussed here in Chapter 1. With such a clearly different agenda to that of Fedorov, Kashkin (1955) accused Fedorov of hindering the development of Soviet translation; he insisted on the term ‘Soviet school of translation’ and promoted its use as a synonym to his method of realist translation. Kashkin’s ideas were continuously repeated and rephrased by his followers as the discussed volume shows.

Reading literature on the development of two main approaches to translation theory at the time (literary and linguistic), it is easy to start seeing it as an on-going battle, as an opposition between scholars promoting either side. It might have been; however, the study of their interpersonal communication reveals that it was not limited to that. Thus, while Kashkin’s attacks in print on Fedorov’s works became one of the most exemplary confrontations, the unpublished archival materials have shown an unknown side of Kashkin and Fedorov’s relationship, which was more balanced and showed at least reciprocal respect and often understanding of their similar goals.

In his letters to Fedorov, Kashkin was invariably respectful and often demonstrated if not support then at least willingness to cooperate. For instance, in a letter dated 1953, Kashkin (1953-1960, p.1) thanked Fedorov for a book sent to him which showed a certain professional relationship that encouraged Fedorov to send the book to his colleague and Kashkin to acknowledge it. Kashkin also apologised to Fedorov, as a precautionary measure, ‘in case he had said something wrong about [Fedorov’s] old review.’¹⁴⁷ This could though be an indication of Kashkin’s realisation of his previous attack hindering the potential cooperation that he needed and trying to improve the situation. Their cooperation is evidenced in Kashkin’s letter from 1960 (1953-1960, p.3):

Dearest Andrei Venediktovich,
I am very sorry neither you, nor Rozhdestvenskii or Morozov attended the meeting of the Union of Writers on literary translation, where so many Leningrad translators, including Azarov, were present. Although you were invisibly present (as you must have seen in the newspaper reports) by means of frequent quotations from your latest book on writers’ sayings on translation. [...]
You are doing an important job, at least by knocking some sense into

modern writers' heads with their esteemed predecessors' thoughts on translation. It is already a step towards the history of translation. Wishing you success in this endeavour as well.¹⁴⁸

This might not read as a letter of a friend; however, it demonstrates Kashkin's interest in Fedorov's work, and the crossed paths in their activities. They were both expected to attend certain meetings related to theoretical and practical translation, and sometimes acting as representatives of two different schools: Fedorov of Leningrad translators, and Kashkin of the Moscow circle.

Sobolev, whose reader's report was discussed in Chapter 2, could be considered part of the Moscow circle. He was also one of the contributors in the edited volume of Kashkin's supporters (Rossels, 1955a), published as a counterargument to Fedorov. Against them Sobolev's article seemed less critical: his main criticism of Fedorov (1952b) was summarised as follows:

We must not claim that the theory of translation is a "linguistic issue." It is an issue of both linguistics (translation of a specific phrase) and literary studies (the inseparability of the narrow and broad context which involves the translator in the whole complex of questions of literary studies)¹⁴⁹ (Sobolev, 1955, p.263).

Thus, despite contributing to this volume, Sobolev appeared to be more neutral to both sides.

In their private correspondence Sobolev also sounded this way. In a letter dated 1948, Sobolev (1948-1954, p.2) wrote to Fedorov to agree on a date of Fedorov's paper to be presented in Moscow and to ask for more details about it, along with sending him greetings from Kashkin who had approved any suggested presentation dates in advance (as the head of the Translators' Section at the Union of Writers at the time). In a letter from 1949 Sobolev invited Fedorov to participate in the discussion of a new translation of a collection of Maupassant's works published by *Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoi literatury* [State publishing house of literary fiction] and to present his review of some of the translations. Sobolev (1948-1954, p.4) on behalf of the Translators' Section urged Fedorov:

It is very important for us to provide an objective assessment of the publication [...] Your opinion would be particularly valuable to us as you are the person most competent in this issue both as a translation theorist and as the editor of one of the volumes of the collection, and

finally as a specialist from Leningrad, not affiliated with the Moscow group and with the publisher.¹⁵⁰

Recognising their different affiliation and approaches, the scholars found ways to collaborate and work towards the goal many of them shared: developing the theoretical knowledge on translation and improving the quality of translations. My research agrees with Azov (2013) who has found that the dispute over linguistics vs. literary studies as the basis for translation theory was gradually resolved by the mid-1960s. In the early 1960s, Boris Larin (1962a) argued that this dispute demonstrated how immature the theory had been and it was time to leave it behind and continue theoretic efforts based on the framework of both disciplines.

4.1.4 Fedorov and realist translation in Georgia

Fedorov's connections extended beyond Russia to many Soviet republics, specifically those with university cities and translation centres. In Georgia translation theory at the time was developing mostly following the literary and realist approach promoted by Kashkin.

With a more comprehensive and scholarly take on it, the approach was developed by Givi Gachechiladze, an English-Georgian translator and translation theorist, professor and chair of the Department of English Philology at the University in Tbilisi who defended his doctoral thesis on the theory of realist translation in 1959 (Gachechiladze, 1965-1970). The same year he published a book in Georgian entitled *Issues in the Theory of Literary Translation*, and later its Russian version was published (Gachechiladze, 1964); his second major book *Introduction to Literary Translation Theory* appeared in Georgian in 1966, and in Russian in 1970 (Topev, 1980). He went beyond Kashkin in building a comprehensive theory where realist translation was a term comparable to adequate or full value translation, describing the Soviet method of translation, with a significant change from Kashkin. This change was convincingly analysed by Azov (2012): it was the change in how they approached what *reality* was for realist translation. For Kashkin the reality was the perceived thoughts and feelings of the author, reflected by the translator through the lens of the current time and ideology, while for Gachechiladze the reality was represented by the original literary text.

Despite the seemingly opposite theoretical views, Fedorov and Gachechiladze maintained a close professional relationship and friendship. They criticised each other's approaches in their publications in a justified academic manner (for instance, in Fedorov (1968b) and Gachechiladze (1980)), while their personal correspondence demonstrated their mutual understanding and respect of the other's work. Thus, in a letter dated 1965, Gachechiladze (1965-1970, p.1) wrote to Fedorov:

Dearest Andrei Venediktovich,
 I had been anxious to receive your review and was so pleased to see how well and correctly you understood me. It would be an honour to me if we could make it public, but I don't know what you will think about it. The idea has been brought to me by the editors of the journal *Literary Georgia* and they are ready to publish any of your papers. The journal aims to cover all possible aspects of translation theory wider. In the fourth issue the journal is publishing Edmond Cary's article from *Babel* (issue X-1, 1964) about me. By the way, in *Babel* X-3 my article 'Literary Translation in Georgia' was published in English which I am sending you now.
 I hope you will be able to visit us. We'll all be very happy to have you.¹⁵¹

In a letter from 1969, Gachechiladze (1965-1970, p.7) spoke about the differences in their approaches:

Having looked through your book, I have once again been reassured that reasonable people who pursue the common goal above all, cannot have insurmountable disagreements. [...]
 You were one of the first people to understand me correctly, but perhaps I should have been more vocal in stating that the literary approach even in the "purest" literary studies must include the organic stylistic (or linguo-stylistic) analysis that has been so naturally (although only in the comparative perspective) included in translation theory. I think the lack of it (which is very conventional too!) is a significant flaw of our literary studies. Language and literature do not contradict each other, more than that: they cannot exist without each other...¹⁵²

This letter supports the argument that the two scholars representing the opposing approaches to translation theory shared the same objective: developing a theory of translation, theorising translation issues, summarising the existing thought on the subject, rather than defending their own positions. Even though the studied archives only contain the letters from Gachechiladze to Fedorov, and no letters in the other direction, their bilateral communication becomes clear from Gachechiladze's responses. Fedorov's pupil Alekseeva (2018) has supported the

statement that their communication extended to friendship between their whole families and close professional ties.

4.1.5 The role of Ukrainian theoretical works

Fedorov maintained ties with translation theorists in Ukraine, specifically with the professor at the Kharkiv University Oleksandr Finkel (1899-1968). Finkel and Fedorov had similar views on translation theory. Kalnychenko and Kamovnikova (2019) attributed the first book on translation theory in the then Soviet Union to Finkel. I agree with them, as much as my research scope allows; while Finkel's book did not approach translation theory as a discipline, it had a highly theoretical content.

The book (Finkel, 2007 [1929]) was first published in as early as 1929 in Ukrainian. However, it did not receive wide recognition among non-Ukrainian speaking scholars at the time, unlike Finkel's article published ten years later in Russian (Finkel, 2007 [1939]) which was cited by many scholars including Fedorov as discussed in Chapter 3. Finkel was also one of the first theorists to explore the phenomenon of self-translation, which he first wrote about again in Ukrainian in 1929 (published in Russian much later (Finkel, 1962)), thus, anticipating Western European writers, as explored by Popovič (Kalnychenko and Kamovnikova, 2019).

Fedorov's and Finkel's approaches both demonstrated their belief in the need for translation theory to be based on linguistics. Their shared views are traceable not only in the content of their publications, but also in their mutual references to each other's works. They appeared almost like a dialogue between consequent papers of the scholars. Thus, in his 1929 book Finkel cited Fedorov's 1927 article, then in his paper from 1939 Finkel referred to Fedorov's article from 1930. In his book from 1941 Fedorov quoted Finkel from 1939, also stating that Finkel's wording was preferable for the specific principle they discussed (Fedorov, 1941, p.248).

Their academic connection was supported by their private correspondence found in the archives. Finkel's letters (Finkel, 1953-1967) often expressed his gratitude for the books sent to him by Fedorov (in 1953, 1960, 1961, and 1962) and also showed that Finkel in his turn sent Fedorov some of his works. Among them was an article on translation in schools written in

Ukrainian and Finkel's translations of Shakespeare, both in 1953. Finkel's letters showed his support of Fedorov against Kashkin's criticism; thus, in November 1954 Finkel (1953-1967, p.4) wrote:

You have, of course, read Kashkin's article in *Znamia* with absolutely unjustified attacks on linguo-stylistics, on your works, and on strict requirements for translations. There was a negative review of the article at our department.¹⁵³

In another letter Finkel (1953-1967, p.8) informed Fedorov that the book to which they had both contributed, *Theory and Criticism of Translation* (Larin, 1962b), had been published in 4000 copies, and in Finkel's opinion they were going to be in high demand. This further demonstrates their continued cooperation and correspondence which continued nearly till the end of Finkel's life.

4.2 Correspondence and feedback from other countries of the Eastern Bloc

Published reviews and unpublished correspondence in Fedorov's archives demonstrate that his works managed to cross borders to become known in some countries outside the Soviet Union, predominantly in the mid-1950s and later. This and the following section will discuss some of these reviews and communication with scholars from the Eastern and Western Bloc respectively, to analyse how these works were receiving coverage in foreign publications, how contacts were established and how Fedorov's contributions influenced the national traditions in other countries.

4.2.1 Ljudskanov and translation theory in Bulgaria

One of the published reviews of Fedorov's book that did not receive attention either in Russian-language publications at the time or in recent scholarship in English was a review by Ljudskanov published in the Bulgarian journal *Ezik i Literatura* [*Language and Literature*]. Alexander Ljudskanov (1926-1976) was a Bulgarian translator (translating from Russian), a translation theory scholar, 'the pioneer of machine translation in Bulgaria and author of a comprehensive semiotic theory in translation studies' (Laskova and Slavkova, 2015, p.171). His 1968 monograph on machine translation *Prevezhdat Chovekt i Mashinata* [*Man and Machine Translate*], based on his PhD thesis, which brought him the award of the degree of Doctor of Sciences from the University of Leipzig, was self-

translated into French and published in 1969, and later translated into German and Polish (Laskova and Slavkova, 2015).

Ljudskanov (1958a) acknowledged Fedorov's contribution to the development of translation theory as an independent discipline and his role in the increased scholarly interest to it in Bulgaria. However, Ljudskanov argued that there were some limitations and unclear concepts that prevented it (speaking already of the second edition of the book) from becoming a fundamental study on linguistic issues in translation theory. Among his main criticisms was the linguistic vs. literary approach, although Ljudskanov argued it was not their opposition that lay at the centre of the dispute, but Fedorov's misinterpretation of them and his supposed focus and title of the book. Ljudskanov believed translation theory needed to be comprehensive, including both perspectives of linguistics and literary studies, and the title of Fedorov's book, *Introduction to Translation Theory*, did not exempt him from studying all aspects of it, despite the subtitle (*Linguistic Issues*) in its second edition.

Besides this presumed discrepancy, Ljudskanov argued that Fedorov, even if focusing only on linguistic issues, failed to fully capture them. Some of the problems that he argued Fedorov had overlooked included: the relations between the medium of the original and the translation; the lack of definitions for wide and local context, form and content, and linguistic and literary image; the lack of established principles for translation analysis; the examination of the relationship between the source and target text and the reality, and some specific translation challenges. Therefore, Ljudskanov maintained that only basic linguistic problems were covered in the book, while many issues remained excluded, along with the problems of literary translation, poetry, and machine translation. Concerning the latter, as Fedorov (2002) himself noted, similar reproaches were made by Revzin and Rozentsveig (1964), the authors of *Osnovy Obshchego i Mashinnogo Perevoda [Fundamentals of General and Machine Translation]*, of which Fedorov spoke highly; this point was addressed in consequent editions of his book, where Fedorov discussed the advancements of machine translation. Revzin and Rozentsveig (1964), similarly to Ljudskanov, criticised Fedorov's investigation as insufficiently linguistic; paradoxically, if both major criticisms were considered: too linguistic/not linguistic enough. Ljudskanov concluded his argument, defending the literary approach supporters, by saying they did not deny the significance of

linguistic aspects, but emphasised the importance of non-linguistic principles and factors. My counterargument is that Fedorov recognised their importance too and clearly spoke about it. For instance, Fedorov (1958, p.17) argued that some of the translator's decisions could be dictated by their interpretation of the source text or 'by the ideology and aesthetics of the translator or of the literary movement, i.e. by the factors not related to linguistics.'¹⁵⁴ In later editions of the book (starting from the third one in 1968) Fedorov specified non-linguistic factors, following up on the criticism and new publications, such as Mounin (1963) and Revzin and Rozentsveig (1964), and later Shveitser (1973), Barkhudarov (1975), and Kade (1979).

Another principal disagreement between Fedorov and Ljudskanov concerned the objectives of translation theory. Ljudskanov (1958a, p.454) disagreed with Fedorov's statements that translation theory was not to provide normative rules and guidelines:

It is natural that translation theory cannot provide specific recipes, but it must, and normatively, establish those general laws, on the basis of which specific translation theory will establish the principles and rules for the transmission of particular categories of linguistic means in connection with specific genres and languages.¹⁵⁵

The non-prescriptive approach was fundamental to Fedorov. Even though Ljudskanov suggested the norms and rules would not need to be absolute and would stipulate deviations, this was an important difference in their views.

Ljudskanov essentially agreed with Fedorov's definition of translation, whilst also finding it incomplete; he emphasised that language was a means of communication, and, therefore, translation had primarily a communicative purpose. Moreover, Ljudskanov repeatedly underlined his disagreement with Fedorov's idea that translation could have different purposes, as he believed it only had one purpose and that was 'to allow language communication in the context of two languages. The purposes of the originals are different – document, scientific text, story – and the translation must preserve their purpose'¹⁵⁶ (1958a, p. 458). This highlighted Fedorov's progressive view on what would later become known as *skopos*, the notion of the translation agenda and different purposes a translation might have, besides fulfilling the same purpose as the original. The view was not widely accepted during their time, as Ljudskanov's paper demonstrated.

Ljudskanov provided an analysis of Fedorov's study into lexical issues in translation. Thus, he discussed his concept of lexical variant, translation of realia, proper names, and phraseology. Notwithstanding some objections and suggestions, he mainly evaluated them as 'correct.' The most valuable contribution in Fedorov's book, though, according to Ljudskanov, was the study of grammatical issues in translation. And here he only had one criticism:

Why, for grammatical issues, unlike lexical ones, Fedorov establishes only cases of disagreement, and does not generally establish cases of correlation? Both, cases of non-concordance and cases of concordance, are equally important for the theory and practice of translation¹⁵⁷ (Ljudskanov, 1958a, p.462).

With this suggestion, Ljudskanov expressed a wish that Fedorov revise the lexical issues to match the level of depth and value of the grammatical issues for his next edition of the book. He also suggested that Fedorov bring his discussion to a more generalised level to investigate further the concept of functional equivalents rather than a lexical or grammatical variant which limited the possibilities of a comprehensive analysis to either of two categories.

Functional equivalents or functional correspondences (depending on translation, as established in Chapter 3) was indeed one of the concepts used by Fedorov. Ljudskanov put more emphasis on this concept. He introduced it as one of the central notions in translation theory that he proposed, referring to his article 'Printsipt na funktsionalnite ekvivalenti — osnova na prevodacheskoto izkustvo' [The principle of functional equivalents is the basis of the art of translation]. Thus, Ljudskanov (1958a, p.456) suggested his own definition:

Functional equivalents are such constructive units of translation, linguistic means, which perform in the context system the same functions as the means of the original, and in their totality as a whole give the translation the same semantic, ideological, aesthetic, and emotional functionality as the original.¹⁵⁸

His definition was very similar to that of Fedorov (1953), quoted above in Chapter 3. It is true that Fedorov did not highlight it as the central concept, unlike Ljudskanov (1958a, p.456) who wrote: 'Since the use of functional equivalents is the only possible way to produce a full value translation, it becomes a basic principle of translation, and the concept of functional equivalent is the core concept of translation theory.'¹⁵⁹ Ljudskanov, therefore, did not contradict

Fedorov, but rather developed his idea, insisting on the broader and more focused use of the term.

Ljudskanov concluded his review with an acknowledgement of the value of Fedorov's book. He noted that his criticisms and suggestions were not to diminish its scientific significance and the contribution to the creation of translation theory. It is likely that Ljudskanov and Fedorov met later at the 5th International Congress of Slavists in Sofia, Bulgaria. Ljudskanov presented two papers on machine translation at the Congress (Paskaleva, 2000). Fedorov's participation is demonstrated by two sources. Firstly, it is a record in his bibliography (Fedorov, 1985) of his responses submitted to the questionnaire for Congress and published as part of the Congress proceedings and materials in 1963 (full bibliographic details are presented in Appendix A). Secondly, it is a letter from Antokolskii dated 1963 enquiring about Fedorov's trip to Sofia the same year (Antokolskii, 1963-1971, p.2). Among participants in the American delegation was Jakobson who presented a paper at the Congress (Lunt, 1964). This was at least a second conference where Jakobson and Fedorov could meet, after the 4th International Congress of Slavists in Moscow, as established in Chapter 1. Fedorov could also meet Czech and Slovak colleagues at the Congress.

4.2.2 Levý and other Czech and Slovak scholars

Some links between Russian and Eastern European scholars could be expected due to the geographical and linguistic proximity between some of the countries and their position as part of the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War, facilitating easier communication. This applies to the Czech Republic and Slovakia similarly, for example, to the cases of communication with Ukrainian and Bulgarian scholars.

There has been some disagreement between scholars regarding the background of the main schools developed in the early 20th century. Thus, Gentzler (2001) argues that Russian formalists had a direct influence on Czech and Slovak theorists; this view is opposed by Jettmarová (2017, p.104) who believes that 'Czech functional structuralism developed from its own roots and absorbed a whole number of influences during its "classic period" of the 1920s-1940s.' Jettmarová specifically suggests that Jakobson, who is often seen as the

link between Russian Formalism and Czech and Slovak Structuralism, left Prague too early (1939) to be a direct influence. While links between these schools undoubtedly existed, and, consequently, the links between the corresponding TS schools, not necessarily by the evolution of one from the other but as intercrossings of ideas, within the scope of this thesis I will not explore them but focus on specific evidence of communication that existed between Fedorov and Czech and Slovak scholars.

Fedorov corresponded with several scholars from the former Czechoslovakia, as demonstrated by archival materials, including Jiří Levý, Ulicna Olga, and Aleksandr Isačenko, and received reviews on his book from several others as will be shown here. Particularly, Levý and Fedorov provided reviews of each other's books and exchanged letters.

The file of manuscripts related to Levý in Fedorov's archives contains a note, indicating that Levý (1926-1967) was an Anglicist, translation theorist, assistant professor at a university in Brno (Levý, 1959-1963, p.1). The university was in fact the Masaryk University, one of the largest universities in the Czech Republic. The university today recognises Levý's key role in the development of TS, which was demonstrated by the translation conference of 2017 being dedicated to him (Masaryk University, 2017). There is no evidence of earlier correspondence, but in 1959 Levý (1959-1963, p.2) wrote to Fedorov (in English, see Figure 4-1):

Professor A. V. Isačenko informed me that you very kindly offered to make arrangements for a review of my book *České Theorie Překladu* in one of the Soviet periodicals. I thank you very much for your kindness and I take the liberty to forward a copy of the book to your address. Dr Raab from Greifswald wrote me that you and Dr Levin were preparing a similar volume on the Russian theories of translation. I am sure it will be an important contribution to the research in the Theory of Translation, of fundamental importance for Czech translators as well – just as your older books on this theme. It is a pity that the idea of undertaking an international discussion of problems of translation in Negyvilag has been evidently abandoned; Dr Dobossy, who asked me to contribute in 1956, wrote me at that time, that you, too, promised a contribution. I beg you once more to accept my sincerest thanks for your interest in my book. I will be very glad indeed if you can have it reviewed in one of your periodicals.

Brno, 20th Jan. 1959. 2

Dear Professor Fedorov,

Professor A.V. Isačenko informed me that you very kindly offered to make arrangements for a review of my book "České theorie překladau", in one of the Soviet periodicals. I thank you very much for your kindness and I take the liberty to forward a copy of the book to your address. Dr. Raab from Greifswald wrote me that you and Dr Levin were preparing a similar volume on the Russian theories of translation. I am sure it will be an important contribution to the research in the Theory of Translation, of fundamental importance for Czech translators as well - just as your older books on this theme. It is a pity that the idea of undertaking an international discussion of problems of translation in Nagyvilág has been evidently abandoned; Dr. Dobossy, who asked me to contribute in 1956, wrote me at that time, that you, too, promised a contribution.

I beg you once more to accept my sincerest thanks for your interest in my book; I will be very glad indeed if you can have it reviewed in one of your periodicals.

Yours respectfully
J. Levý
 Dr Jiří Levý,
 Stojanova 3,
 B R N O , Č S R .

Figure 4-1. Levý's letter dd. 20 January 1959 (1959-1963, p.2)

Fedorov indeed co-authored a very positive review of Levý's *České Theorie Překladau* [Czech Translation Theories]: Fedorov and Trofimkina (1963) argued that Levý's book, published in Prague in 1957, had made him known as an outstanding expert and researcher of translation history and theory. They praised Levý's investigation into Czech translation history, and his linguistic and stylistic analysis of translation examples. Fedorov and Trofimkina (1963) provided a detailed overview of the book and highlighted the importance of the bibliography in it as a significant contribution to the general bibliography of the theory and history of translation. They concluded on the high value of Levý's book recommending it to Soviet scholars and literary translation critics. Levý

responded to the publication with a postcard sent in 1963 (see Figure 4-2), this time handwritten in Russian, which said:

Thank you very much for the book you have sent and for the very favourable review! Your commending view of my work will be very valuable and encouraging for me. Last week I sent you my new book *The Art of Translation* which I hope you may find interesting¹⁶⁰ (Levý, 1959-1963, p.7).

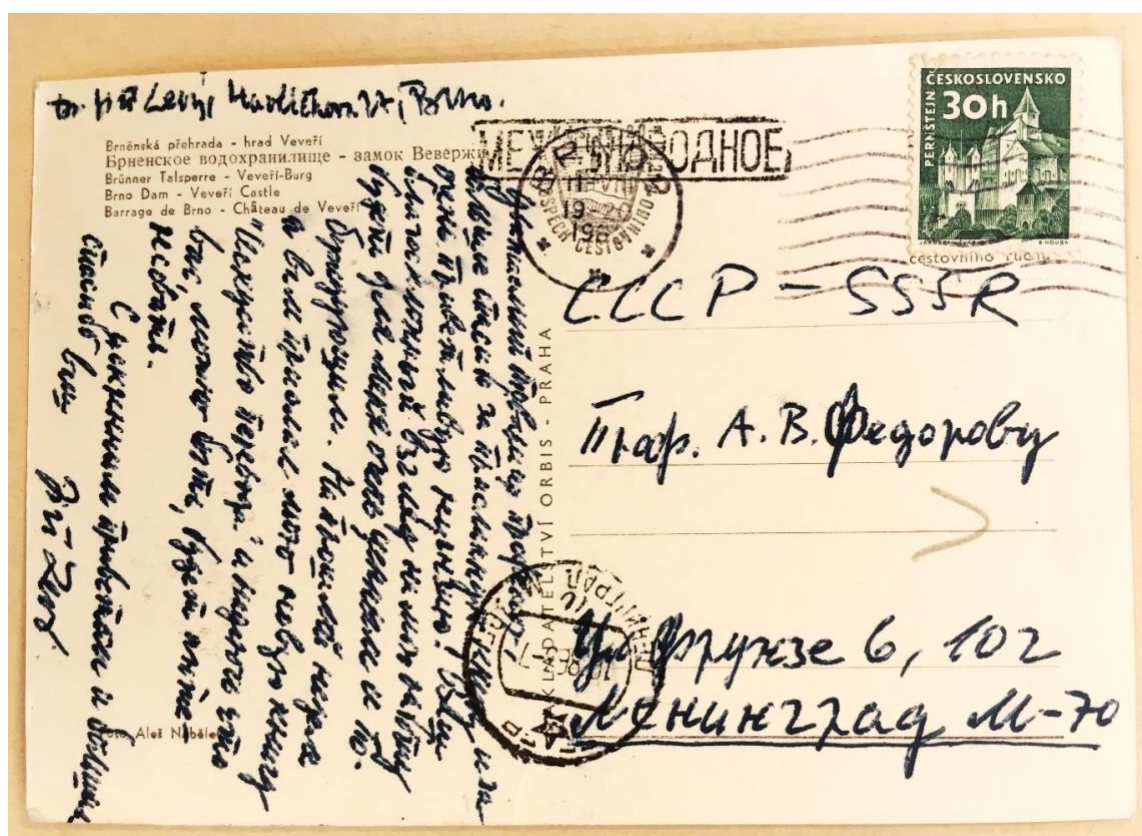


Figure 4-2. Levý's postcard addressed to Professor Fedorov in 1963 (1959-1963, p.7)

This new book was Levý's fundamental work *Umění Překladu* [*The Art of Translation*] first published in Czech in 1963. In 1968 two chapters from the original were printed in Russian, and in 1969 a German translation of the book was published; in 1974 a complete Russian translation of the revised edition appeared (Levý, 1974), after Levý's death. In 2011 the book was published in English (Levý, 2011).

Fedorov provided a reader's report on the manuscript of the complete Russian version (before publication) translated by Rossels. In his report Fedorov (1969a) emphasised the important contribution of the book. He commented on the similarity of their background, stating that Levý considered himself to be a follower of Prague structuralism: the movement of structuralism that was 'the

most fruitful' and had been 'the most explored one in Russian philosophy with which it also turned out to be the most harmonious, compared to Danish or American structuralism'¹⁶¹ (Fedorov, 1969a, p.4). He commended Levý's comprehensive approach, his extensive linguistic knowledge, and his focus on linguistic issues in translation, despite the fact that Levý 'considered his work and his method to be drawing on literary studies'¹⁶² (Fedorov, 1969a, p.3). At the same time Fedorov (1969a, p.6) pointed out the prescriptive character of Levý's work:

Notwithstanding the theoretical essence of the book, as it raises some general or specific questions [...], responds to them, and depending on them provides translation quality assessments which therefore become more objective, it still appears normative, since the author formulates it as advice, recommendations, and instructions, using such phrases as "it is required," "it should," "it is desirable," and so on. In most cases such normativity is nominal, providing a definition of certain patterns in the relationship between known characteristics of the original and different possibilities of their translation with specific linguistic, historical, and literary data considered. In some other cases the author gives recommendations to the translator explicitly (although always considering specific conditions), drawing mainly on the Czech national translation tradition which is unavoidably and naturally limited.¹⁶³

Fedorov's report also included a list of suggestions for the Russian translator. Fedorov (1969a, p.16) indicated the translator's misprints and mistakes, or 'pedantries' as he self-deprecatingly referred to his comments on the translation.

Levý in his turn did not review Fedorov's book, but he wrote about his overall understanding of its value in a personal letter to Fedorov in 1962 (see the letter in full in Figure 4-3):

You may be interested to know, that your 'Vvedenije' is used as a reference book in this country, and that there was a plan, some 8 years ago, that I should translate and adapt it for a Czech edition; but nothing came of it (Levý, 1959-1963, p.5).

'Vvedenije' here referred to Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* (from the Russian word *введение* [introduction]). Levý's letter clearly expressed his high opinion of the book and demonstrates the importance it had in Czechoslovakia at the time.

DOC. Dr. JIŘÍ LEVÝ
Havlíčkova 27, Brno (tel. 387 85)

Brno, 16th April 1962.

Dear Professor Fedorov,

Will you excuse my writing to you in English? It is much easier for me, especially the typewriting.

Thank you very much for your kindness in sending to me the book you and your collaborators have just published; it will be valuable for me both for its contents and as a remembrance of your friendly feelings. My colleague doc. Roman Mrázek promised to contribute a review on it to one of our periodicals. I will send it to you when it is published.

I was very much pleased to hear that a review on my "České teorie překladu" is going to appear in the USSR. I need not say that I am grateful to you for your interest in my work and that I am looking forward to reading the review.

I wonder whether you are continuing your research work in the theory of translation? You may be interested to know, that your "Vvedenijs" is used as a reference book in this country, and that there was a plan, some 8 years ago, that I should translate and adapt it for a Czech edition; but nothing came of it. I was asked lately by our publishing house "Čs. spisovatel" to collect and complete my essays on this subject into a book, which ought to be published at the beginning of 1963. This volume should contain an analysis of the problems of translation from the literary /not linguistic/ point of view. My chief branch of interest, at present, is comparative versification. I was much impressed by your early essay on the translating of verse in *Poetika II*. I hope to have offprints of some of my essays on this subject within the next few months and I shall take the liberty to send them to you.

Thanking you once more for your friendly gift, I remain
Yours respectfully,

jiří levý!

Figure 4-3. Levý's letter dd. 16 April 1962 (1959-1963, p.5)

Some of Fedorov's works were published in Czechoslovakia, including his article 'On semantic multidimensionality of the word as an issue in literary translation' (1962) which was translated and published in *Překlad Literárního Díla: Sborník Současných Zahraničních Studií* [Translation of Literary Works: Collection of Contemporary Foreign Studies] in 1970. The article was reviewed earlier by Bohuslav Ileš in 1964, as was the book *Russian Writers about*

Translation coedited by Fedorov and Levin (1961): a review by Ilek appeared in *Československa Rusistika* in 1962. (I have read about them in the bibliography that Fedorov compiled himself (Fedorov, 1975), but, unfortunately, I have not been able to locate these papers; Švagrovský (1971), in the article discussed below, also mentioned Ilek's reviews of Fedorov's 1953 book and its second edition in *Československa Rusistika*).

Finally, in 1971 a review of the third edition (Fedorov, 1968b) of Fedorov's 1953 book (the third edition was entitled *Osnovy Obshchei Teorii Perevoda (Lingvisticheskii Oчерk) [Fundamentals of the General Translation Theory (Linguistic Essay)]*) was published in Czech in *Československa Rusistika*. In his review, Slovak scholar of Russian studies Štefan Švagrovský acknowledged Fedorov as a prominent translator, academic, and researcher in translation, stylistics, and literary studies. Švagrovský (1971, p.94) noted that the third edition of Fedorov's book 'which is published after ten years with a modified title, shows that the approach to solving questions of translation theory chosen by the author in the first edition is still up to date.'¹⁶⁴ He clarified what approach it was and what role Fedorov played in it: 'Fedorov was the first researcher to approach translation as a linguistic phenomenon'¹⁶⁵ (1971, p.95). This was written, of course, much later than the first publication of Fedorov's book; therefore, Švagrovský could now claim with certainty that disputes around the linguistic and literary approaches had been settled, and the role of both in the theory of translation was recognised. Švagrovský (1971, p.95) argued that Fedorov's book was criticised back in the 1950s mainly by supporters of the literary approach for his linguistic focus. Some linguists, however, also criticised Fedorov, but on different grounds, which, according to Švagrovský, did not fall within general linguistics of translation theory, but belonged to machine translation and structural linguistics. He named among them Revzin and Rozentsveig, whose views were shared by Ljudskanov, as discussed above in this chapter. Švagrovský responded to their claims by stating that Fedorov's theory was not meant to be applied to machine translation since machine translation as an automated process went beyond the traditional limits of translation as a linguistic problem.

Švagrovský (1971, p.95) concluded that Fedorov's book was still 'the only systematic guide on linguistic problems of translation.' This was written 18 years after the publication of the first edition of the book, with many other attempts of

systemising translation theory published during this period, including in Czechoslovakia. Among them was the book mentioned by Švagrovský as applying a methodology similar to Fedorov's: Karel Horálek's *Příspěvky k Teorii Překladu [Contributions to Translation Theory]* published in 1966 (this was a revised edition of Horálek's series of articles initially published in 1957).

There is also a connection between Fedorov and a prominent Slovak translation scholar Anton Popovič. Although without evidence of direct correspondence, Popovič referred to Fedorov's works: the references are found in his articles starting from the late 1960s, including several publications in English in *Babel*. Popovič (1968) was critical of Fedorov's work, arguing that some of Fedorov's views had since been disproved. It showed, however, that Popovič knew Fedorov's work well to criticise it. At the same time Popovič cooperated with Holmes: the same year in 1968 the International Conference on Translation as an Art was held in Bratislava organised by FIT and the Slovak Writers Union; the proceedings were published as *The Nature of Translation: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Literary Translation* edited by Holmes with Popovič as an associate editor along de Haan (Holmes et al., 1970). This link supplements the discussion on parallels between Fedorov and Holmes that follows in Chapter 5.

4.2.3 Reception in Poland

There is limited evidence to Fedorov's communication with Polish scholars, with the exception of correspondence with Polish translator and scholar in translation and Slavonic studies Zygmunt Grosbart at the University of Lodz that continued during a later period, between 1976 and 1984. Further evidence of communication with Polish colleagues stored in the archives was a manuscript of Tadeusz Robak's review on Fedorov's book (Robak, 1957b). There is little information to be found about Robak; he was mentioned by Zhivov (1963, p.417) as 'a young Polish literary critic' and author of studies on Polish translations of Russian literature.

Robak's rather critical review was published in the Polish journal *Slavia Orientalis* in 1957. Robak (1957a) set out to address the question: could Fedorov's 1953 book be considered a comprehensive general theory of translation? Robak appeared to be familiar with Fedorov's previous works from

1927, 1941, and 1952, and recognised him as an important contributor to the theoretical thought on translation, and therefore looking into the new book as a continuation of his work.

Robak agreed with the ideas proposed by Fedorov in the first chapter which defined translation theory and placed it among other disciplines. He shared Fedorov's views on the ideology of translation, noting that the choice of literary works to be translated might be determined by ideological factors, and the place of a translated work in the receiving culture might have an ideological value. There was more disagreement on the following chapters. Thus, Robak disputed Fedorov's chapter on the history of translation as too detailed for a general translation theory, while the content of the next two chapters, dedicated to the writings by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, in Robak's view could only be justified by 'the cult of quotation'¹⁶⁶ (1957a, p.319). He did not develop this into an extensive debate: the political factors occupied an insignificant place in this paper, and he proceeded to discuss the main contributions made by Fedorov.

Robak (1957a) believed that translatability was one of the fundamental concepts in Fedorov's work. He was not convinced, however, that this notion had to take such a place in the theory, and he was not persuaded by Fedorov's argumentation in support of translatability, which, he claimed, could easily be proven referring to Croce's aesthetics. He acknowledged, though, that translation practice could serve as evidence of translatability, and that Fedorov provided plenty of examples. Adopting a similar position on the idea of translatability overall, Robak developed Fedorov's statement further to claim that translatability implied conveying the most important elements (the content and ideology of the source) while the formal features could be replaced to achieve this goal. He supported this claim referring to Fedorov's statements on the importance of function, and its predominant value over form in the selection of equivalents. Robak's discussion of translatability took another turn when he looked at Fedorov's concept of the individual language and style of an author only to make an unexpected conclusion that such features could be deemed untranslatable.

Fedorov's classification of texts was not reflected in Robak's review as a contribution of its own. Robak briefly presented it only to discuss specific features of some of the genres. He was particularly interested in the typical challenges in

the translation of fiction suggested by Fedorov, such as the national character, features related to the time of the original creation, translation of idioms, dialectisms, and archaisms. Providing some more examples of his own from Polish translations to support some of Fedorov's statements here, Robak reported his approach to the translation of archaisms as extreme.

Robak concluded his review returning to his initial question, whether Fedorov's book was a systematic and consistent general theory of translation. His conclusion stated that it was not. He believed his analysis supported this claim, recognising, nevertheless, that it focused only on selected, problematic issues. Robak (1957a, p.324) commented: 'This seemingly negative statement is not really a negative assessment of the book. It just shows that research in this field is not yet sufficiently advanced for a complete translation theory to be developed.'¹⁶⁷ He argued that Fedorov effectively contributed to preparing the ground for such theory to be developed in the future and opened a discussion of some of the concepts he formulated.

4.2.4 Fedorov's position in East Germany

In East Germany in the mid-20th century Fedorov was a well-known translation theorist. Shakhova (2021, p.165) argues that his position in GDR was very similar to his position in the Soviet Union:

Fedorov's theory was neither missing nor consequently rediscovered there. However, it should be mentioned that this image has always been a very positive one. For example, East German scholars, such as Otto Kade and other representatives of the so-called Leipzig School, often used quotations from Fedorov's book to justify their own statements. His theses were summarized and repeatedly referred to in their scientific writing, especially when some ideological issues were concerned. Nevertheless, Fedorov's work was not translated into German by East German translation scholars due to the fact that most of them could read in Russian and perceived Fedorov's ideas in the original.

Otto Kade, teacher of Czech and Russian and interpreter, in the late 1950s became a translation scholar at the University of Leipzig (Pöchhacker, 2016). Schäffner (2017) and Pym (2016) emphasise the special connections between the Soviet and Leipzig schools of translation, and the evidence to it in Kade's works, specifically the references to Fedorov in his *Zufall und Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Übersetzung [Coincidence and Regularity in Translation]¹⁶⁸*. There is no

published review of Fedorov's book by Kade that I have been able to establish, however, the numerous references to Fedorov in Kade's works make it unquestionable that he was very familiar with it. Kade wrote his thesis *Zufall und Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Übersetzung* in 1965 which was published in 1968 and was a major contribution to TS in GDR (Schäffner, 2003). Kade's focus on linguistic aspects of translation and direct references to Fedorov show Fedorov's influence on the development of the discipline in East Germany.

No correspondence between Kade and Fedorov has been stored in the archives; there are, however, some letters from other scholars from Leipzig. Thus, in his letter to Fedorov, Josef Mattausch, a Germanist and lexicographer, thanked Fedorov for the book he had sent. The book was said to be on translation theory, and based on the year, it could be the *Fundamentals of Translation Theory* (Fedorov, 1968b). Mattausch (1969) argued that there was nothing yet published in German that could compare to Fedorov's work in the comprehensiveness and depth of study. He also recollected the time of his stay in Leningrad, Russia, the year earlier and, presumably, their meeting at the Leningrad University. A similar letter was sent to Fedorov by Gerlind König, a slavist from the Rostock University in East Germany. König (1970) also wrote about his visit to the Leningrad University: she came to Leningrad for a doctoral internship under Professor Zhirmunskii at the Department for German Philology which was chaired by Fedorov between 1963 and 1979. These materials demonstrate not only personal links between Fedorov and the German scholars, but also the cooperation between Russian (or at least Leningrad) and East German universities extending to international internships and research trips.

Besides these scholars, Fedorov's correspondence with scholars from East Germany, based on the archival records, also included letters from Wolfgang Fleischer (germanist, professor at Leipzig University (Fleischer, 1967-1969)), and single letters from several other linguists and literary scholars from GDR (Kreslin, 2009b). Among them was Wolfgang Gladrow, linguist, researcher in Russian linguistics and comparative studies of German and Russian, professor at Humboldt University of Berlin, who during his postgraduate studies spent 5 months in 1965 in Leningrad supervised by Fedorov (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2020), and Nyota Thun, professor at Humboldt University of Berlin,

scholar, and author of publications on Russian literature, including Tynianov (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2021).

4.2.5 Outside Europe: Reception in China

It is known that the first edition of Fedorov's 1953 book was translated into Chinese in 1955: this has been indicated by researchers and was stated by Fedorov himself in his bibliographical records (Fedorov, 1985). It was the first book by a Soviet or Western European translation theorist to be translated into Chinese (Chan, 2004).

The book was cited in Loh Dian-yang's *Translation: Its Principles and Techniques*, 1958, which drew on Fedorov (Zhang and Pan, 2009; Pym, 2014; Munday, 2016). For example, Zhang and Pan (2009, p.356) point out that Loh used Fedorov's term 'adequate translation' to define 'a translation that is "both faithful and smooth".' Indeed, in the first part of his book Loh Dian-yang (1958a, p.16) referred to Fedorov as an author of 'a sound system of theory on translation,' which has provided the 'guidance' for Chinese scholars to now 'set up new principles of our own for translation to meet the urgent demand in our colleges and universities' (I quote from the publication dated 1959, while the other scholars date it 1958, so it could have been a subsequent reprint). Loh included Fedorov's book (the name spelled as 'A. B. Feedorov') in his list of reference books (p. 356). Loh then returned to Fedorov and the concept of adequacy in the second volume of the book, to remind the reader about it in a chapter dedicated to it and introduced 'the truth of the principle of Translatability [...] suggested by Feedorov' (Loh Dian-yang, 1958b, p.78). Loh's book was written as a textbook for university students, mainly as a practical manual on translation between English and Chinese. His theoretical observations also had a rather practical orientation, linking to specific translation techniques, examples, and exercises.

Besides these artefacts demonstrating Fedorov's influence on the development of translation theory in China, there is an unpublished source that provides additional evidence of Fedorov's book circulation in China. In a letter from the translation bureau at the People's University of China, typewritten in Russian, the authors, who were translators at the bureau, thanked Fedorov for sending his latest book, which must have been the second edition of the

Introduction. They also commented on how useful the first edition had been for their work and their attitude to the theory:

Thank you very much for your precious book that has evoked a huge interest among us. We remember how about three years ago we studied your book with great interest. We were so eager to study it that we had to stop our work for weeks. Your theoretical statements in your book and your valued opinions that you gave us in response to our letter have helped us very much in solving the practical challenges in our work. Since then, we have paid special attention to translation theory, trying to apply it in our practical work, to achieve the 'polnotsennyi translation' in practice. It has led to an increased quality of our translations. We believe your new book will benefit our work even more, and we hope you will continue responding to our letters concerning translation theory¹⁶⁹ (People's University of China, 1958, p.2).

It is an additional piece of evidence of Fedorov's theory becoming known in China and of his communication with Chinese translators who followed his publications.

4.3 Communication with scholars from the Western Bloc

Fedorov's communication with scholars from the Western Bloc was more limited than with those from the Eastern Bloc, as demonstrated by the number of letters which have been preserved in the archives. Out of the total number of 32 foreign correspondents (from outside the former Soviet Union) writing to Fedorov, 11 were from the Western Bloc countries. At the same time these numbers provide evidence that direct communication by means of correspondence still existed between them. Besides the direct exchange of letters, their communication took the form of reviews. This section will investigate both and analyse important links between Fedorov and some scholars from the Western Bloc.

4.3.1 Reviews in West Germany

The foreword to the second edition of Fedorov's *Introduction* gives a summary of the criticism of the first edition. Besides Russian reviews, Fedorov acknowledged reviews published in other languages, including papers published in German in West Germany. One of them was the summary and review by Brang (1955) in *Sprachforum* and the other one an article by Čyževskýj (1956) in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*.

The review in *Sprachforum* was one of the earliest publications by the late Peter Brang (1924-2019), a scholar in Slavonic studies, linguistics, and Russian

literature, and professor emeritus of Slavic Philology at the University of Zurich (The University of Zurich, 2018). He later edited it and published as a book chapter 'Das Problem der Übersetzung in sowjetischer Sicht' [The problem of translation from the Soviet perspective] in the edited volume *Das Problem des Übersetzens [The Problem of Translation]*. The chapter did not differ much from the initial article with the exception of this important opening note added by Brang (1963, p.410):

The following essay 'The problem of translation from the Soviet perspective' has been published in the journal *Sprachforum*, Vol.1, Issue 21, 1955, pp. 124-134. The originally planned inclusion of a chapter from the book of Fedorov, which is referenced here, had to be abandoned. Although it was possible to procure the Russian edition, it turned out that the valuable practical part of the book consists of Russian translation examples, which mean little to the German reader and, moreover, are untranslatable; Fedorov's theoretical explanations, on the other hand, are mainly based on Stalin's essays on linguistics, and are unlikely to have any significance even in the Soviet Union.¹⁷⁰

This paragraph summarised well what Brang thought of the theoretical value of Fedorov's work. He limited the book's value to translation examples and denied its theoretical significance due to ideological references. At the same time, despite this diminishing introduction, Brang provided a detailed overview of Fedorov's book and significant information about his arguments and concepts, which were used and carefully studied by Reiss, as analysed in Chapter 3.

Brang's review has been examined by Shakhova (2021), following Pym and Ayvazyan (2015). Shakhova argues that Brang emphasised the ideological ideas in the book, and therefore, the ideological opposition between the Soviet Union and West Germany. At the same time, as Shakhova (2021, p.174) argues,

Brang indeed pointed out that Fedorov's book paved the way to the development of TS as an academic discipline with its own specific object of studies [...], and explained Fedorov's theses concerning translatability, functional correspondence in the source and target languages, text typology, and the practical tasks of translators.

Shakhova's study suggests that despite these strengths, identified by Brang in Fedorov's book, the ideological incompatibility between Fedorov's text and Brang's views prevented Brang from accepting Fedorov's book as an influential work and prompted his reporting of it from the perspective of an adversary. Pym (2016) suggests such perception of Fedorov could be one of the reasons why his

work did not get more prominence in the West. Despite the opposition and Brang's lack of belief in the vitality of Fedorov's contribution, Brang's report played an important role in distributing Fedorov's ideas in Germany, as Reiss' publication showed.

The other review published in West Germany was the article in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* by Čyževskýj. Dmitrii or Dmytro Čyževskýj (1894-1977) was a Ukrainian-Russian-German scholar, slavist, specialist in Russian and Ukrainian literature, who had worked in Kiev, Prague, and several German universities, mainly in Heidelberg where he moved in 1956, having spent some time in the USA after fleeing Nazi Germany (Polonskii, 2008). Researchers have indicated links and shared ideas between Čyževskýj and Jakobson (studied, for instance, by Blashkiv and Mnich (2016)).

Čyževskýj's article was published in 1956; however, there is a manuscript in Fedorov's archives dated a year earlier (Čyževskýj, 1955), suggesting that Fedorov and Čyževskýj were in contact. Čyževskýj (1955), as evident from the article, was well acquainted with previous works by Fedorov, as well as other Russian scholars in TS, linguistics, and literary studies, and rather critical of Fedorov's book. He questioned Fedorov's writing related to the history of translation, specifically pointing out the insufficiency of information about Russian symbolists and romantics, the brevity of references to translations of ancient texts and the Bible, and, on the other hand, the abundance of references to Marx, Engels, and Lenin. He challenged Fedorov's belief in fundamental translatability, specifically the limitations of Fedorov's study of examples only from a few European languages (mostly German, French, and English), while Čyževskýj claimed that the discussion of translatability could not be sustained without including translations between Russian and non-Indo-European languages.

One of the observations made by Čyževskýj concerned the relationship between the translation and the audience's response, which was a novel and important idea introduced by Fedorov. Čyževskýj (1955, p.429) noted: 'It seems to me impossible to want to measure the quality of translations according to their success with the readers.'¹⁷¹ This statement referred to Fedorov (1953, p.115) asserting that 'viability of a translation' was one of the derivative signs of its quality, of the 'full value of a translation.' Fedorov clarified that viability was the

value of a translation maintained through years and the readership's appreciation. Another issue that Čyževskýj (1955, p.429) raised was the 'the balance between the reproduction of content and the imitation of form.'¹⁷² He claimed that Fedorov did not explore it enough due to Fedorov's lack of interest in the formal aspect. This, alongside Fedorov's ignoring the problem of interpretation was the main drawback of the book, according to Čyževskýj, which he, nevertheless, recognised as a valuable and useful publication. Fedorov indeed did not specify that his book (in its first editions) was restricted to written translation, and he did not investigate interpreting. In the fourth edition of his book Fedorov (1983b) included it in general statements, for instance, when defining the overall principles of translation and interpreting; however, he clarified that interpreting was beyond the scope of his book and by the time some publications had appeared dedicated to it.

4.3.2 French theorists and FIT

4.3.2.1 Cary and FIT

The collection of papers edited by Rossels (1955), discussed in section 4.1 above, was followed with great interest by Edmond Cary and reported in *Babel*. *Babel* at the time was an influential journal published by the newly established International Federation of Translators (FIT, *Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs*) with the support from UNESCO, and Cary was Secretary General of FIT (Cary, 1956). His paper 'Théories Soviétiques de la traduction' [Soviet theories of translation] opened the fourth issue of *Babel* in 1957 and consisted of a detailed review of Fedorov's book and some of his critics' publications. Pym (2016) provides a note on Cary's biography and his Russian roots, as well as an overview of his disagreement with Fedorov on the linguistic vs. literary foundations of translation theory.

When reading Cary's 1957 article, it is clear that he had a thorough knowledge of translation work in pre-Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union, and even admiration towards the efforts of Russian literary translators and theorists. Cary (1957) argued that one could now distinguish a Soviet school of translation which was becoming known by significant achievements both in the theory and practice of translation, with Fedorov's book being the first attempt of an academic summary of the discipline of translation. It was 'undoubtedly a major contribution

to the theoretical thought on translation,¹⁷³ wrote Cary (1957, p.185). Cary admitted that the collection of papers criticising Fedorov (Rossels, 1955a), even though he supported the literary approach, failed to present strong arguments or theorising statements that could be compared to Fedorov's. Overall, Cary's response to Fedorov's work did not boil down to opposing Fedorov's approach.

Two years later Cary (1959) published an article which was a more detailed review of Fedorov's book, following the publication of the second edition, 'Andréi Fedorov: Introduction à la Théorie de la Traduction' [Andrei Fedorov: *Introduction to Translation Theory*]. Cary (1959) welcomed the changes made in the newly published book, compared to the first edition, noting that it had become more realistic since it recognised that philology provided only one of the perspectives to explore translation. The linguistic discussion seemed to Cary to be more nuanced and more complex. He also commended the edited section on the history of translation thought as it now included Western European works up to the present and mentioned the role of *Babel*. The second edition indeed showed Fedorov's awareness of achievements in translation theory and practice outside the Soviet Union. Following a discussion of the contents of the book, Cary concluded that it was a fundamental work for both fields (translation theory and practice) due to the careful analysis of translations Fedorov provided to illustrate his theoretical statements.

Cary's high esteem of Fedorov is evident in their correspondence. In 1959 Cary sent a copy of his article in *Babel* with a personal letter to Fedorov, praising his book which he called 'remarkable' (Cary, 1959-1963, p.2). It was probably the first letter exchanged between them and it appeared rather formal and less personal than the consequent ones. Cary invited Fedorov to contribute to the discussion in *Babel* and mentioned a formal invitation to the FIT Congress sent to the Union of Writers of the USSR; however, it was Fedorov specifically whom he wanted to see at the Congress, and at the literary translation panel in particular, as well as at informal meetings and discussions with delegates. Fedorov replied with a similarly respectful and cordial letter (see Figure 4-4 for the letter in Russian). He responded that he was pleased with Cary's review, and expressed his regrets about not being able to participate in the Congress (Fedorov, 1959-1963, p.1):

Dear Mr Cary,

I am very grateful for your invitation to the Congress and for sending me the journal and the materials about the Congress. I was very much interested and pleased to read your review on my book.

It is with my deepest regret that I have to say I will not be able to accept your kind invitation due to the extended course of medical treatment that I am going to undertake this summer which cannot be postponed or interrupted.

I sincerely hope the Congress is a success and I am truly sorry I will not be able to participate in it. I hope to read about it in your journal.

I am sending you my kind regards and best wishes.

Yours respectfully,

A.V. Fedorov.

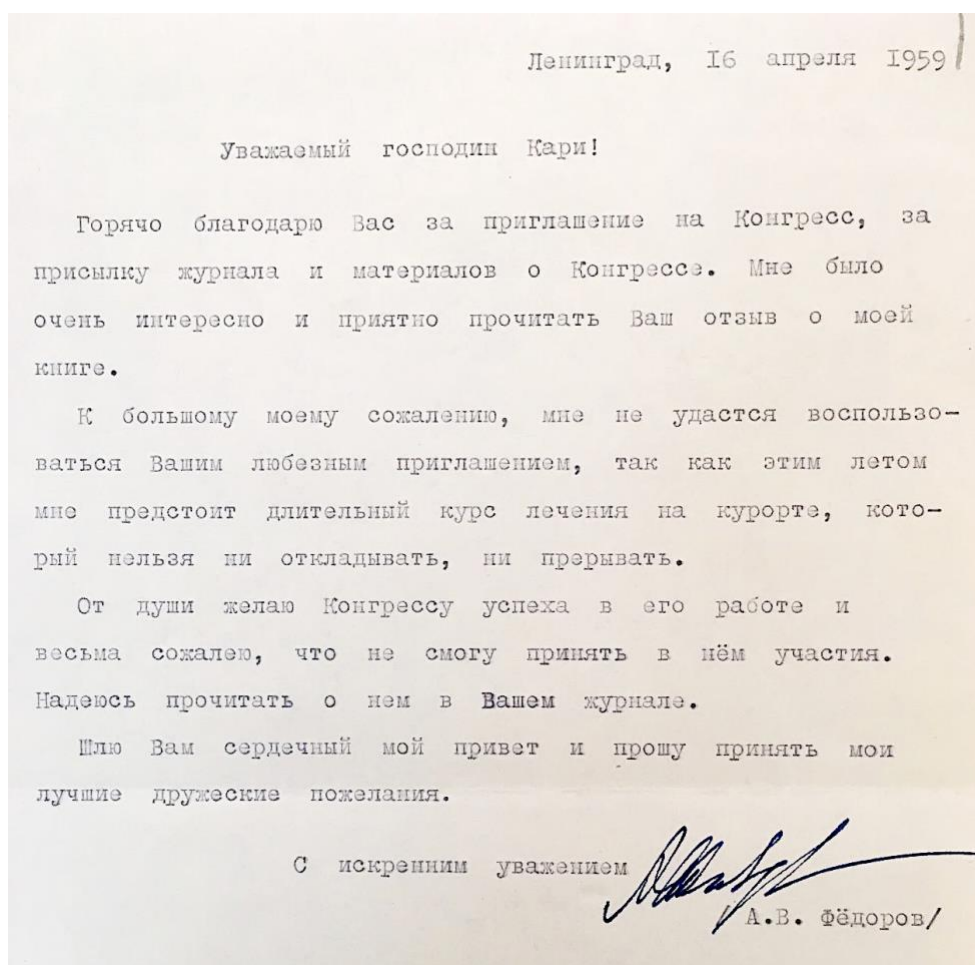


Figure 4-4. Fedorov's letter to Cary dd. 16 April 1959 (Fedorov, 1959-1963, p.1)

It is unclear why Fedorov's letter was dated earlier than Cary's, there could be a mistake in one of their letters. Besides, this letter was reported to someone called Boris Nikolaevich (see Figure 4-5), representing some controlling body, to be approved before being sent to Cary:

I am sending you a copy (in French) of the letter that I received via the Foreign Committee of the Union of Writers from the Secretary General

of the International Federation of Translators (under UNESCO), a translation of this letter, and a draft of my reply to it. All the texts are attached in two copies.

If you do not have any objections to the format of the draft of my letter, could you please instruct the Foreign Committee to send it to France to the following address: Monsieur Edmond Cary, 21 rue Georges Vogt, Bellevue (S et O), France (Fedorov, 1959-1963, p.2).

2

Глубокоуважаемый Борис Николаевич!

Послав Вам копию /французский текст / письма, полученного мною - через Иностранную Комиссию СП - от генерального секретаря международной Федерации Переводчиков / *при* ЮНЕСКО/, перевод этого письма и проект моего ответа на него. Все *эти* тексты - в двух экземплярах каждый.

В случае, если проект моего ответа по своей форме не вызывает у Вас ~~никаких~~ возражений, очень прошу Вас дать указание по линии Иностранной Комиссии об отсылке его во Францию / по адресу: Франция, Бельвю, улица Жоржа Фогма, 21, г-ну Э.Кари - *Monsieur Edmond Cary, 21 rue Georges Vogt, Bellevue (S et O), France*

Искренне уважающий Вас

/А.В. Фёдоров /

Figure 4-5. Fedorov's letter to Boris Nikolaevich from 1959 (Fedorov, 1959-1963, p.2)

This required approval sheds a different light on Fedorov's letter to Cary and might suggest that his decision not to join the FIT Congress the coming summer was based on other circumstances rather than his health concerns. I do not, however, have any evidence showing either that Fedorov did indeed take a long course of treatment that year or that he did not. The fact is that Fedorov did not join the FIT Congress in 1959 and based on the list of participants in the proceedings (Cary and Jumpelt, 1963) neither did any representative of the Soviet Union of Writers or any Soviet scholar altogether. The participants of the Congress in Bad Godesberg, however, discussed Fedorov's work: Cary (1963) in his paper talked about Fedorov's 1953 book and the debate it caused between linguistic and literary approach proponents, whereas Mounin (1963a) expressed his support of Fedorov's approach by extending the scope of linguistics (his argument was based on the analysis of Fedorov's work in Cary's earlier articles).

Cary's letter that followed (see Figure 4-6) was highly complementary of Fedorov's book. He suggested, while admitting the differences of their approaches to translation theory, that their disagreements were rather superficial (Cary, 1959-1963, p.3).

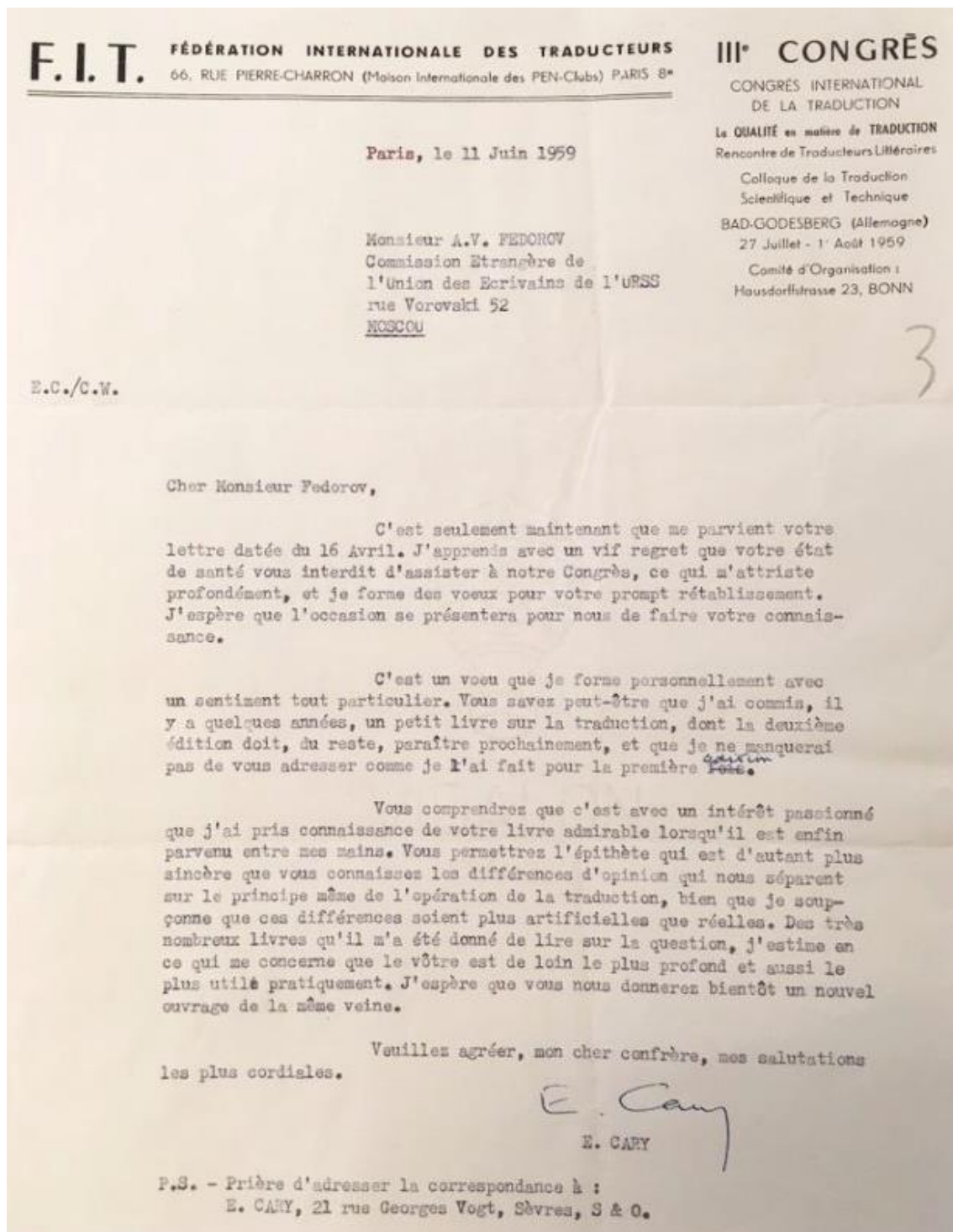


Figure 4-6. Cary's letter to Fedorov dd. 11 June 1959 (Cary, 1959-1963, p.3)

Cary continued his attempts to involve Fedorov in FIT activities. In 1963 Cary invited him to the next FIT Congress in Dubrovnik and suggested

participating in another FIT meeting that was to be held for literary translators as a less official occasion to discuss more specific questions (Cary, 1959-1963, p.5). It was in this letter (see Figure 4-7) that Cary mentioned his friend Mounin among other experts he thought Fedorov would be interested in meeting.

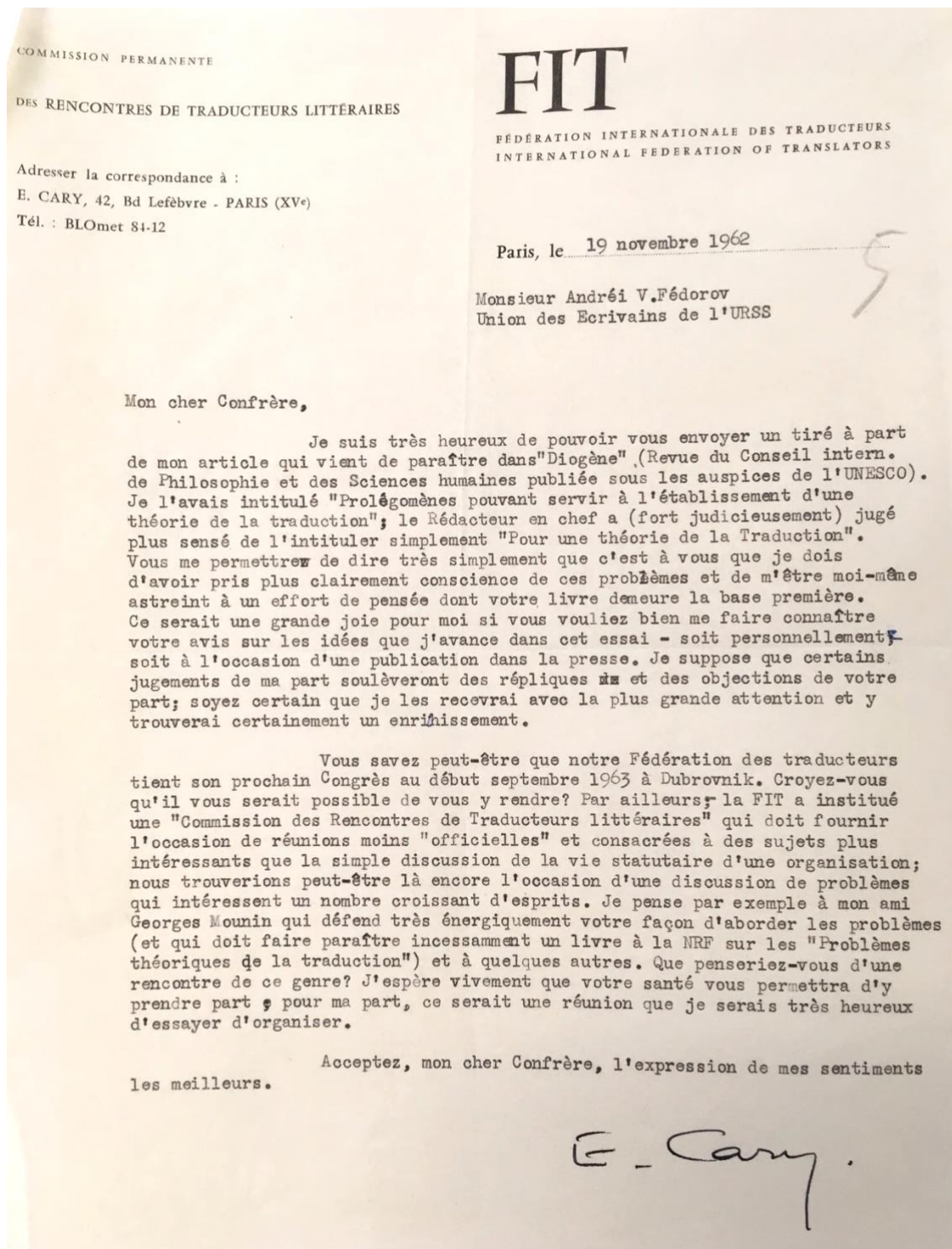


Figure 4-7. Cary's letter to Fedorov dd. 19 November 1962 (Cary, 1959-1963, p.5)

The correspondence between Fedorov and Cary continued nearly until Cary's death in 1966 (the letters in the archives date from 1959 through 1963) and discussed consequent publications.

Fedorov did attend the 4th FIT World Congress, held on 31 August – 7 September 1963 in Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia at the time). The list of participants of the FIT Congress did not include his name, for some reason; the delegation from the Soviet Union listed Antokolskii, Gachechiladze, Gatov, Kalashnikova, and Kundzich (Citroen, 1967, p.392). Among the participants from other countries at the Congress were Levý and Ilek from Czechoslovakia, Meynieux from France. In a report on the Congress, published next year, Etkind (1964), who also evidently attended without his name being in the list, stated that a group of Soviet writers and translators were present at the Congress as observers during their tourist visit to Yugoslavia. Despite some political intrigues, Fedorov must have met his international colleagues. Several sources confirm his participation. These include the photos in Fedorov's archives documenting his attendance. One of them is presented in Figure 4-8.



Figure 4-8. Photograph from the Congress in Dubrovnik in September 1963
(*Фотографию А.В. Федорова...*, 1963, p.1)

The inscription at the back of the photo states that it was taken in Dubrovnik in 1963. The person standing is Fedorov. From a more detailed inscription on another photo, it is clear that two people sitting on the right are Givi Gachechiladze and his wife I. Gachechiladze, and that the photo was taken at the Congress.

Another piece of evidence was a card from Meynieux recollecting the meeting in Dubrovnik in 1963, sent in December the same year (in Russian):

To dearest B. A. Larin and A.V. Fedorov with best memories of the meetings in Dubrovnik, André Meynieux is sending his *Meilleurs vœux* for the year of 1964 and apologies for the long involuntary silence. I don't know whether I will be able to review your 'Theory and criticism of translation' and your other articles in *Babel*. I haven't heard from this journal and don't even know whether I am still a member of the editing committee! Strange manners!
With greatest and sincere respect,
A. Meynieux.¹⁷⁴

The letter was not only evidence to their meeting at the Congress; it also showed Fedorov's direct contact with André Meynieux, a translator of Russian literature, scholar, and lecturer at the University of Poitiers at the time (Meynieux, 1962). He was regularly published in *Babel* and was also one of the journal's editors (Meynieux, 1963). Meynieux knew Fedorov's work before their meeting in person. One of his articles in *Babel* (Meynieux, 1961) was dedicated to the book *Russian Writers About Translation, 18-20th Centuries* co-edited by Fedorov and specifically to Fedorov's introductory chapter (Fedorov, 1960).

4.3.2.2 Fedorov and Mounin

As Cary (1959-1963, p.5) mentioned in his letter to Fedorov, his friend Georges Mounin defended 'very strongly your [Fedorov's] approach to the problems.' Mounin, a French linguist and translation theorist, indeed strongly supported Fedorov's position. First, based on Cary's review and citing Cary (1957), Mounin (1959) emphasised that Fedorov's 1953 *Introduction* was one of two works in the 1950s to claim translation theory to be a field of knowledge and academic research in its own right, followed by Vinay and Darbelnet's *Comparative Stylistics* in 1958. Mounin (1959, p.84) pointed out that Cary took the position among those scholars and translators 'who will probably not want to give up defining translation as an art; and translators, often the same ones, who will

dispute that the translation must be considered as a strictly linguistic operation.’ He argued, however, that Cary did not contradict but in fact complemented Fedorov by claiming that ‘translation is neither an entirely scientific nor a fully linguistic operation. It is, says Cary, a “sui generis operation”¹⁷⁵ (Mounin, 1959, p.84). As such it could not be narrowed down to linguistics, or literature, and was to be studied from different perspectives. Mounin emphasised that supporters of the linguistic approach recognised the need to study the extra-linguistic factors as well.

In his monograph on translation, published a few years later, Mounin (1963b) referred to Fedorov’s second edition of the book (1958), as well as citing Cary (1957). Fedorov (1958) was listed in the bibliography of theoretical works on translation in Mounin (1963b, p.285). Mounin’s main argument in favour of the linguistic approach was Fedorov’s presentation of the linguistic issues as a shared factor for all types of translation, something that literary studies supporters could not argue. As Mounin’s book *Les Problèmes Théoriques de la Traduction* [*Theoretical Problems of Translation*] was a key text in the development of translation theory, it is further discussed in relation to Fedorov’s influence on modern TS in Chapter 5.

Mounin and Fedorov failed to meet at the Congress in Dubrovnik, despite Cary’s anticipations. It remains unclear whether Fedorov ever met Mounin, one of his closest French speaking allies, in person. In as late as 1978 they still discussed an opportunity for such a meeting in their personal letters, when Fedorov (1978b, p.3) wrote^{xii}:

You must have already received a letter from the Council for literary translation of the Union of Writers of the USSR – inviting you to participate in the international symposium on translation theory which it is organising.

For my part, I would like to express my ardent desire to see you among the symposium participants and to hear your paper which will be received with a great interest by your Soviet colleagues working on the problem of translation. The symposium as it seems to me promises to be interesting.

I very much hope this will be an opportunity for me to meet you in person. I highly value your books, especially *Les Problèmes*

^{xii} The letter translated from Russian (see Figure 4-9). The archives file also contains Fedorov’s self-translation into French. The Russian original is quoted in the endnote.

Théorique de la Traduction which I repeatedly cite in my work. I also treasure this book as it is a gift from you.¹⁷⁶

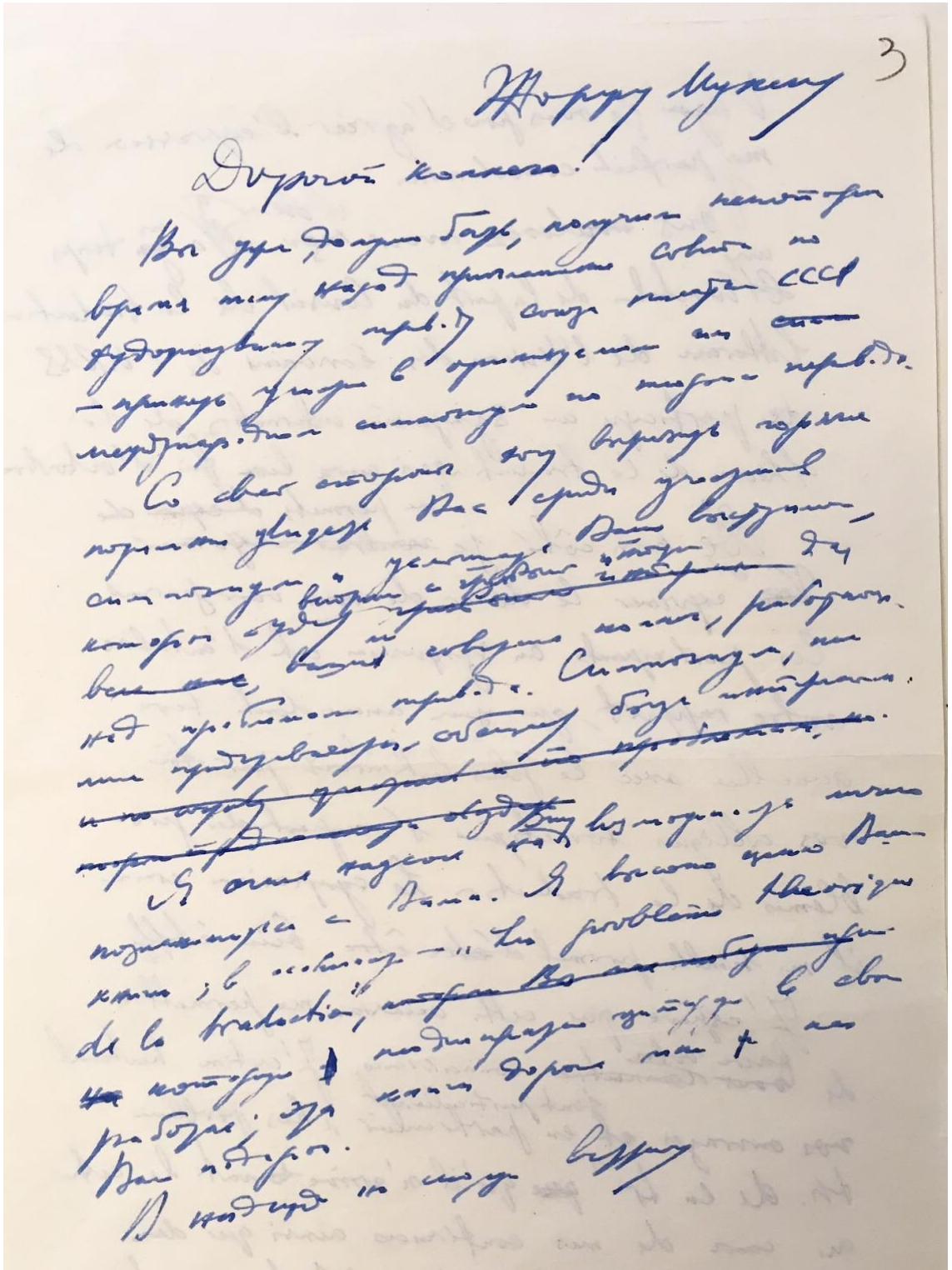


Figure 4-9. Fedorov's draft letter to Mounin from September 1978 (Fedorov, 1978b, p.3)

It is clear from Fedorov's words that they had not yet met in the flesh, and he was still hoping to meet Mounin. Yet this time they did not meet either, as can be seen from Mounin's response.

Mounin (1978) expressed his regret that he would not be able to attend the symposium, due to previously made commitments, and his hope that they would have another chance to meet. This letter (see Figure 4-10) revealed more as Mounin (1978, p.2) wrote:

You remain for us the main reference in this matter. (Did you know that your work has been translated in French – mimeographed, non-commercialised – by the Brussels Translation Institute?)¹⁷⁷

Georges MOUNIN
LE CLOTET
33 Traverse Barret
13100 AIX-en-PROVENCE
Tél. 21-07-35

Aix le 19 sept. 1978¹

Cher Monsieur Fedorov,

Nulla lettre ne pouvait me faire plus de plaisir que la vôtre.

Malheureusement, je ne pourrai pas venir au Symposium, et je t'en ai écrit au Président du Conseil de la traduction littéraire, il y a environ trois semaines. En effet, aux dates prévues, j'aurais déjà des obligations académiques (soutenances de thèses) dont les dates ne pouvaient pas être déplacées.

J'ajoutais d'ailleurs dans ma lettre que l'un de mes plus vifs regrets était justement de manquer une rencontre avec des chercheurs tels que vous. J'aurais aimé aussi essayer d'en profiter pour faire le point sur les recherches actuelles en URSS en matière de théorie de la traduction.

Bonne nuit aussi pour vous la référence de base en cette matière. (Savez-vous que votre ouvrage a été traduit en français - mimeographié, non commercialisé - par l'Institut de traduction de Bruxelles?)

J. espère que nous aurons une autre occasion de nous rencontrer.

En tout cas, n. hésitez jamais à m'écrire pour tout ce qui peut concerner vos travaux en matière de traduction.

Croyez, cher monsieur Fedorov, à l'expression de mes sentiments cordialement confraternelles.

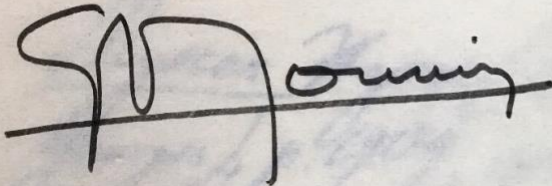


Figure 4-10. Mounin's letter to Fedorov dd. 19 September 1978 (Mounin, 1978, p.1-2)

The matter discussed here was the theory of translation, and the translation of Fedorov's work into French has not been widely known, due to the type of publication noted by Mounin. It has not been analysed in Anglophone literature in detail; however, Mossop (2019 [2013]) mentioned it in a footnote supporting his point that there had not been a published translation of Fedorov's book into a major European language. Mossop clarified that it was a translation of the second edition (Fedorov, 1958) into French produced by research students R. Deresteau and S. Sergeant at Ecole Supérieure de Traducteurs et d'Interprètes in Brussels.

This French translation (*Introduction à la Théorie de la Traduction*, 1968) has also been referred to in more recent publications mainly in French or in Francophone research, for instance, in Gyasi (2006) and Andújar Moreno (2013). Some sources referred to it at the time it was produced, too. Thus, in Brussels-based Francophone journal *Équivalences*, newly founded in 1970, two articles appeared not long after, mentioning the translation: Debraekeleer (1970) and Goffin (1973) with the former providing a summary and review of the book. Therefore, the French translation of Fedorov's book found at least some of its target audience.

4.3.3 Links to Anglo-American scholars

The earliest publication in English to speak about Fedorov was the collection of works edited by Brower (1959) and published as part of the Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature series. It was an important publication, since it was one of the first attempts to approach translation problems in essays by both scholars and translators, as stated in the introduction by the editor. Among the contributors to the volume were Jakobson, Nabokov, Nida, and Quine. Fedorov's books were included in the bibliography of works on translation published up to 1958. The bibliography (Morgan, 1959) listed three publications by Fedorov: the 1937-1941 reprint of Fedorov (1932-1936), and two Fedorov's monographs (1941; 1953). It provided very brief summarising comments, for instance, about the 1941 book it read: 'Tr. of belles-lettres, discussed by the chief Russian specialist in tr. techniques' (Morgan, 1959, p.285). This book could have provided an initial introduction to Fedorov to some Anglo-American scholars, as it was well cited, including by Nida (1964).

While there is no evidence of Fedorov's direct communication with American or British scholars, there are sources that suggest some contacts. Fedorov's archives contain a file with a copy of a typed manuscript authored by J. C. Catford. The paper is entitled 'Towards a theory of translation' (see Figure 4-11 for the title page of the manuscript). The table of contents is similar to that of Catford's published book *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics* (1965), with the exception of the first chapter 'General Linguistic Theory' which is added in the published book. In the manuscript, instead, Catford (1962, p.2) explained the title he chose:

This paper is an attempt to analyse the translation process and to establish some general categories which can be applied in the description or discussion of particular aspects of translation. It is not sufficiently developed to be called a 'theory,' but is, rather a preliminary reconnaissance towards the development of a theory of translation: hence the title.

The manuscript was dated 1962 which was three years before the book was published. The copy was labelled as 'Working paper: for limited circulation' and signed by the author with the following inscription: 'For Professor Maslov with best wishes. J. C. Catford' (Catford, 1962, p.1). The recipient of the inscription, Yuri Maslov, was a linguist, Germanist, specialist in Bulgarian linguistics, and the

head of the Department of General Linguistics at the Leningrad State University at the time (Berezin, 2017). The department was part of the same Philological Faculty where Fedorov worked, so it was not only their academic interests that connected them, but their affiliation and location as well; therefore, if the paper had been presented to Maslov by Catford, Maslov could have considered it interesting for Fedorov and given it to his colleague to study.

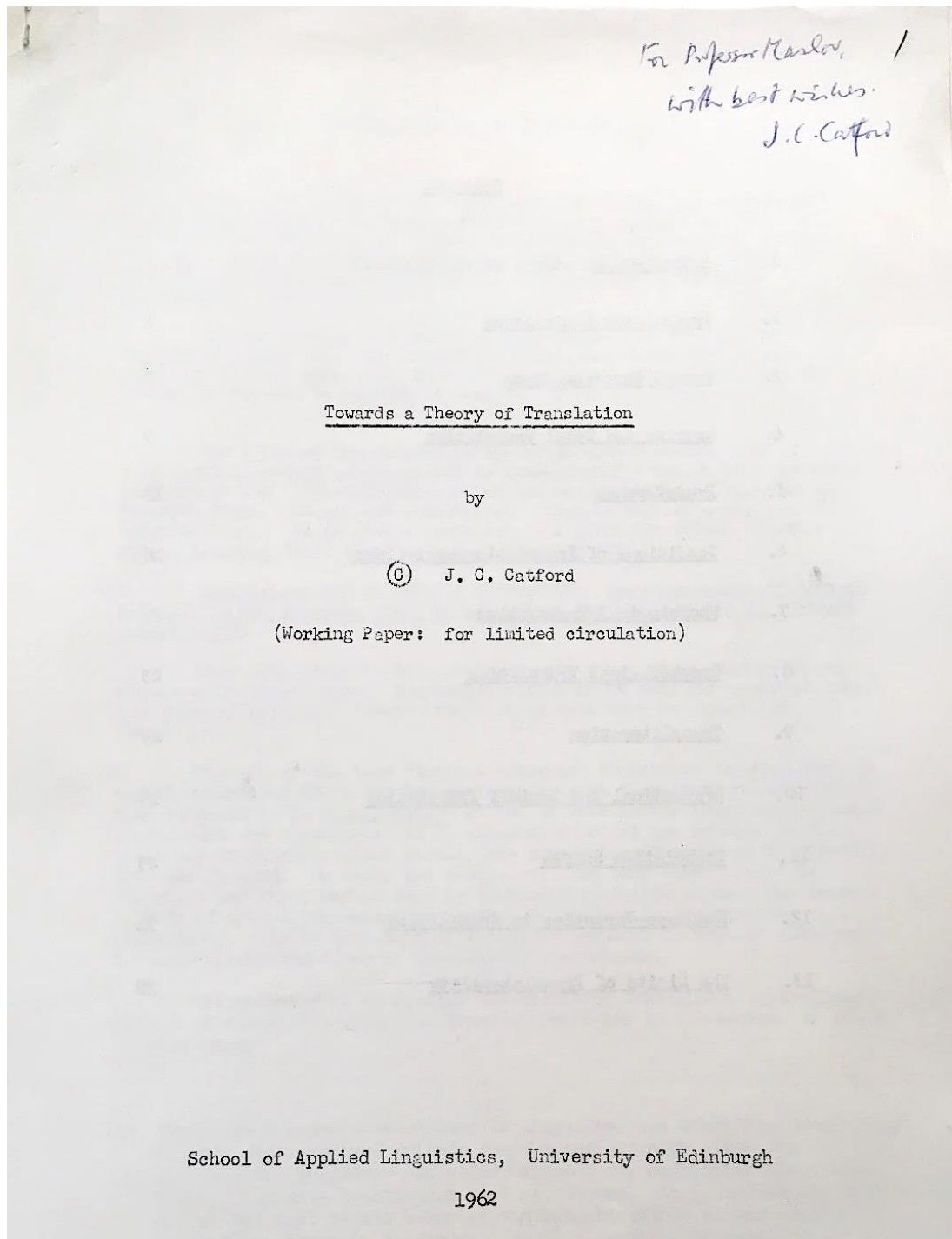


Figure 4-11. The title page of the document (Catford, 1962, p.1)

Catford could have read or met Maslov, considering their research interests. A known polyglot, Catford studied several Caucasian languages and completed a course in French Phonetics at University College in London. In 1938 he attended the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences where the speakers included Jakobson, Trubetskoi, and Hjelmslev, and in the late 1940s he started studying Russian and Slavonic Linguistics (Catford, 1999). Catford reported Jakobson's influence on his perspective of the meaning of verbs after listening to Jakobson's lecture on the Russian verb in 1950. Catford had not visited the Soviet Union until 1970 when he went on a research trip to continue his exploration of Caucasian languages; seven years later he went on his second trip (Catford, 1999). Even before these trips Catford developed a deep knowledge of Soviet developments in linguistics: in one of his recorded lectures Catford (1985) told how he had become interested in the linguistics of Soviet Union, and particularly in Marr's doctrine that had a prolonged effect on all linguistic developments in the 1930s-1940s, and Stalin's articles that denounced it.

There is no indication of other contacts between Catford and Maslov. And there is no evidence to communication between Catford and Fedorov. The fact, however, of Catford sharing his manuscript with his Russian colleagues before its publication speaks of some links existing between them. Catford's knowledge of Russian, his expertise in Russian linguistics, and interest in linguistic and translation developments in the Soviet Union make them still more plausible.

The communication with American scholars seems to have been even scarcer. There is no correspondence in Fedorov's archives with any scholars from the United States. This does not mean, however, that they remained unaware of the work of their colleagues in the other country. Of specific interest for this study is Nida's awareness of Fedorov's work, and such awareness can be indicated by indirect referencing: the bibliography in Nida's main work on translation theory (1964) includes Brang (1955) and Cary (1957; 1959). This is overwhelming evidence of Nida's indirect familiarity with Fedorov (1953), since Brang (1955) and Cary (1957) provided detailed reviews and summaries of the first edition of Fedorov's *Introduction*, and Cary (1959) gave a complex account of the second one (Fedorov, 1958). These were publications dedicated specifically to Fedorov, and Nida evidently studied them prior to the publication of his own book on translation theory.

Nida visited Russia later. Unfortunately, the time of his visits is unclear. In his autobiographical book Nida (2003) spoke about his travels to Russia, firstly to look into the Bible texts used by Russian Christians. The overall narration in the book was rather vague; it completely eschewed any names or dates. Nida (2003, p.58) mentioned, besides his visits to church authorities, meeting in Moscow ‘some of the leading linguists in the country’ informally, who were familiar with his work much to his surprise, and travelling to Saint Petersburg as well. During his second visit he spent a month giving lectures at the Maurice Thorez University in Moscow. The publisher’s peritext states Nida travelled around the world under the auspices of the American Bible Society between 1943 and 1981 (Nida, 2003). Vlasenko (2015) mentions a lecture given by Nida at the Moscow State Linguistic University^{xiii} in 1989, which could be during the second trip described by Nida.

Nida communicated with the Soviet academic circle via publications as well; however, such communication started considerably later than Fedorov’s books from the 1950s. The earliest translation of Nida’s works into Russian was the article published in the authoritative journal *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* in 1970. The paper (Nida, 1970) was translated to Russian by Makovskii, and it did not provide any details of the source text. It contained references to Nida’s earlier works, including Nida (1964), and in the section about the linguistic approach in Western Europe and America, it stated that ‘this article does not explore the numerous and very valuable works on the theory and practice of translation created by scholars in the Eastern Europe’¹⁷⁸ (Nida, 1970, p.4). The paper was later referred to in *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* (Alpatov, 2002) as part of the discussion on linguistic issues in translation along with papers by Etkind (1970), Shveitser (1970), and Fedorov (1970).

Summary

The investigation into Fedorov’s communication with scholars in Russia and in other countries and the analysis of the reception of his main book on translation theory, first published in 1953, has demonstrated Fedorov’s active involvement

^{xiii} Moscow State Linguistic University was previously at different times known as the Maurice Thorez Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages, the First Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, and the Moscow Institute for Modern Languages (Moscow State Linguistic University, 2020).

in a wider network and collaboration with his colleagues. This chapter has analysed reviews and criticism of Fedorov's book following its publication from Russian scholars, and communication with scholars from other countries of the former Soviet Union, particularly Finkel from Ukraine and Gachechiladze from Georgia. It was fruitful to follow Fedorov's communication with such prominent scholars, however, their links served as an example of Fedorov's connections which extended to many other theorists and countries. The chapter has also investigated some of Fedorov's contacts outside the Soviet Union, in the Eastern and Western Bloc. Fedorov's contacts outside of Russia are presented schematically in Figure 4-12 below, including scholars who provided reviews or corresponded with Fedorov, or drew on his theory directly, as investigated in this chapter.

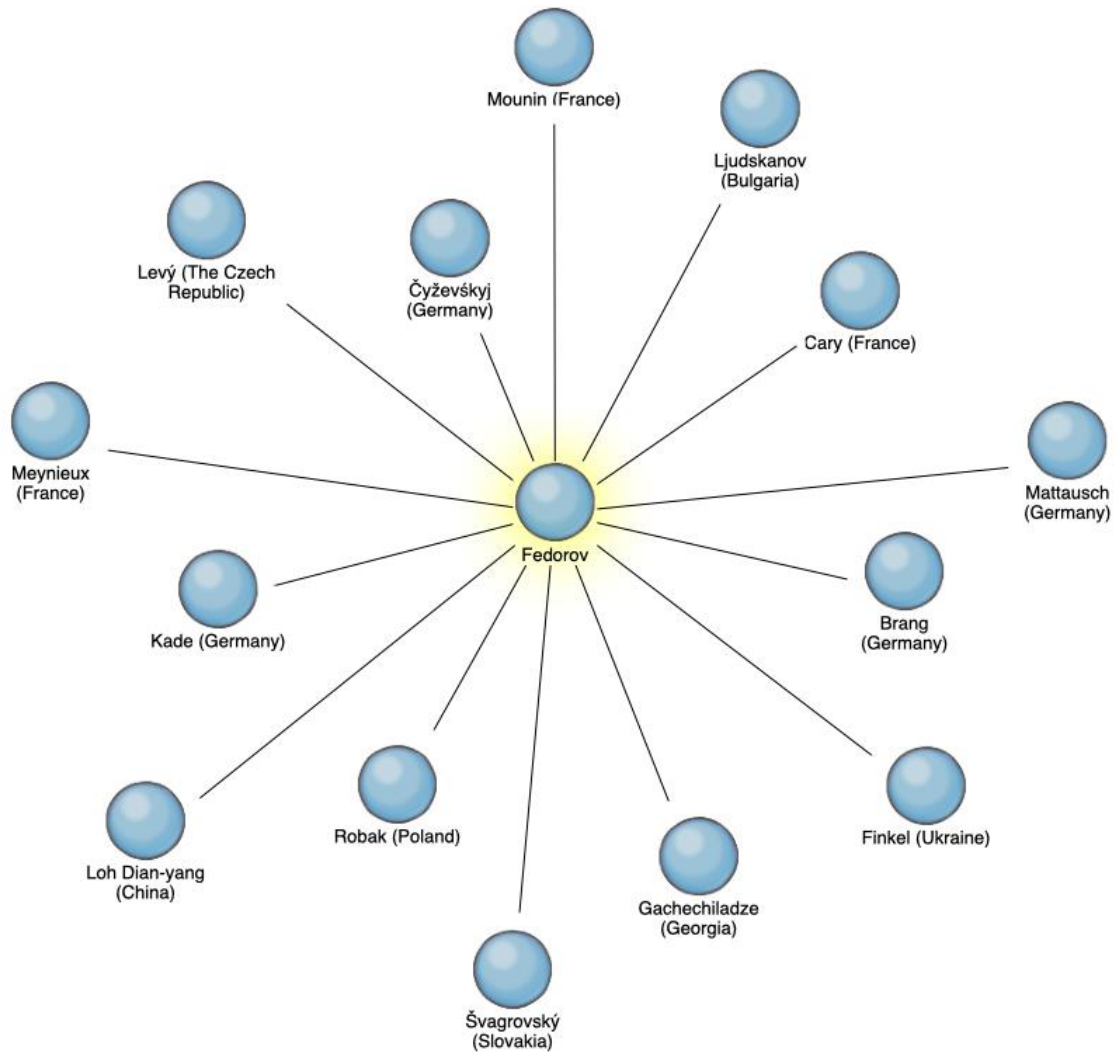


Figure 4-12. Fedorov's contacts and reviewers outside Russia, investigated in this chapter

The reviews of Fedorov's book showed two main trends of criticism. The first one was criticising Fedorov's focus on linguistic aspects of translation and insufficient attention to literary translation. This area of criticism was mainly represented by Russian scholars, the proponents of the literary approach and realist translation. This criticism, addressed by Fedorov in the second edition of his book, reflected debate at the time which soon settled down. The second criticism, mainly represented by critics from West Germany, was aimed at the ideological component of Fedorov's book, especially in relation to the first edition with its references to Stalin, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, were added following the reader's reports as a requirement for publication. More specific and methodological criticisms reflected the lack of previously summarised theoretical concepts of translation and developed terminology at the time. Regardless of the political or personal views of the reviewers, most of them recognised the significant contribution of the book to the developing discipline of TS.

In Western Europe, FIT and publications in *Babel*, many of which were written by Cary, contributed to the promotion of Fedorov's name and ideas. Fedorov's personal correspondence with translation scholars from the Western Bloc (mainly France) and Eastern Bloc facilitated his position in a network of scholars in TS. While this communication, especially with colleagues from the Western Bloc, was limited and complicated, Fedorov maintained links with prominent scholars, which made it possible to exchange ideas and knowledge. Fedorov's influence on this network will be analysed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5. Fedorov's influence in contemporary translation studies

Chapter 4 has investigated specific instances of Fedorov's network and some of the important contacts he maintained in his academic life, specifically focusing on his interaction with scholars related to his translation theory and feedback on his first monograph on the subject. This chapter will examine his work from a contemporary perspective. It will identify Fedorov's contribution to the evolution of TS, starting with the name and definition of the discipline. It will reflect on the relevance of Fedorov's theory in contemporary TS by analysing references to Fedorov in today's TS scholarship and representation of Fedorov's oeuvre in Russian university programmes. The chapter will also provide a scientometric analysis of Fedorov's publications and discuss its findings.

5.1 The definition of the discipline

With his 1953 publication *Introduction to Translation Theory* Fedorov, for the first time in Russian scholarship, introduced an academic book exclusively dedicated to translation theory, defining it as an autonomous 'specialised scholarly discipline' (Fedorov, 1953, p.12). In his definition and exploration of this specific field of knowledge, discussed in Chapter 3 in section 3.1, Fedorov (1953) preceded theorising efforts by other scholars writing in other languages as well as Russian. In Anglophone literature a similar achievement of defining the discipline (although as a wider umbrella term, compared to Fedorov's, as the analysis below will demonstrate) has been credited to Holmes who published his paper 'The name and nature of translation studies' nearly 20 years later (Holmes, 2000 [1972]).

In the beginning of his article Holmes (2000 [1972], p.173) reflected on the state of 'confusion' among translation scholars as to the scope of their field, its name, methodologies, and other characteristics due to its status of an emerging discipline. While theoretical discussions undoubtedly continued at the time of Holmes' publication in the 1970s, in Russian TS such confusion was avoided, as Fedorov and other translation scholars had been systemically writing on the subject for nearly two decades and some significant theoretical contributions had been made prior to that. The name of the discipline evolved with time, and the

autonomy of TS increased, but both the discipline and its name were established in the 1950-1960s with the publication of Fedorov's 1953 book as a turning point. As I have shown in Chapter 3 in section 3.2.1.1, Fedorov introduced the concept ***teoriia perevoda*** [translation theory] in his first article (Fedorov, 1927b) and later in his 1953 book defined it as an autonomous discipline, as shown in section 3.1. Fedorov believed that the term 'translation theory' in Russian had been used in the same meaning as TS in English. This is evident from his discussion of the name of the discipline and synonymous terms, such as *nauka o perevode* [translation science], *traduktologiia* [traductology], and *perevodovedenie* [translation studies] in his later book (Fedorov, 1983a, p.157), analysed in section 3.2.1.1.

Holmes (2000 [1972]) also provided alternative names of the discipline, both used historically and currently at the time of his writing in 1972. Among previously used terms in English, referring to the emerging discipline, Holmes discussed such names as Nida's 'science of translating' (Nida, 1964); however, Holmes (2000 [1972], p.175) argued that 'Nida did not intend the phrase as a name for the entire field of study, but only for one aspect of the *process* of translating as such.' Holmes contrasted this meaning to the one assigned to 'science of translation' by Bausch et al. (1972) and disagreed with the suitability of classifying it as a science. In Bausch et al. (1972), published in Tübingen, representing West Germany, science of translation (*Übersetzungswissenschaft*) embraced the whole field of knowledge. The term *Übersetzungswissenschaft* had been already used in East Germany in 1963 by Kade (Dizdar, 2012). The publications by Kade, among his peers from the Leipzig school, showed a clear influence of Fedorov's works (Shakhova, 2021). Their understanding of the science of translation as a discipline could, therefore, have drawn on Fedorov's theory.

Discussing other synonymous terms, such as the English term 'translatology' and French *traductologie*, Holmes drew on Goffin's publication in *Meta*. Goffin (1971, p.59) discussed the French, German, and Dutch terms and positively assessed Fedorov's approach to '*la théorie de la traduction*' [translation theory]. In his study on the status, scope, and name of the discipline Goffin (1971, p.58, 59) directly quoted Fedorov's statements about the need for a scientific framework in translation and translation theory as a predominantly linguistic

discipline (Goffin used the 1968 French translation of Fedorov's book by Deresteanu and Sergeant, introduced in Chapter 4). Besides direct citations from Fedorov, Goffin referred to Kade's thesis published in 1968 which used the term *Übersetzungswissenschaft* and cited Fedorov. Holmes did not explicitly use this part of Goffin's paper. He failed to acknowledge any advancements made by Russian theorists in the field. It shows inconsistency since he attempted to analyse approaches to naming the discipline in different languages. The inconsistency is reinforced by the fact that he referred to the collective volume edited by Brower (1959) (if only to make a reference to Jakobson's paper). The volume comprised an annotated bibliography which featured three of Fedorov's works published by 1958 (identified in Chapter 4), as it attempted to provide an overview of major publications in the field. Holmes' approach was more restricted in this regard.

Despite this lack of recognition, Fedorov and Holmes demonstrated similarities in their definitions of the discipline and identification of its branches or subdivisions. For better visualisation, the branches of the discipline by both authors are presented schematically in Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2. The map of Holmes' TS was famously laid out by Toury in his 1995 book, here used from the revised edition (Toury, 2012). Fedorov did not have a map in his book, and I drew it here based on the first chapter 'Translation theory as a scholarly discipline'¹⁷⁹ in the first edition of his book (Fedorov, 1953). For future work I will develop a visual representation of Fedorov's translation theory that is relevant for the 21st century.

Fedorov's and Holmes' maps of the discipline help to see several similar subdivisions. 'Area-restricted theories' in Holmes' terminology (2000 [1972], p.179) matched Fedorov's language-specific theory of translation as a study of the relationship between two specific languages and translation issues determined by it. General translation theory in Holmes's classification correlated to one of the subsections of the general translation theory in Fedorov's terms. This subsection studied the 'general objectives and conditions of working on the language of translation in relation to the requirements for translation created by the language [...] and by its nationwide norm'¹⁸⁰ (Fedorov, 1953, p.17). The other subsection that Fedorov (1953, p.17) identified in the general translation theory was the genre-specific research: 'the study of objectives and conditions of

translation' determined by the genre of translated material. This subsection correlated to Holmes' text type restricted theory as one of 'partial translation theories' (2000 [1972], p.178).

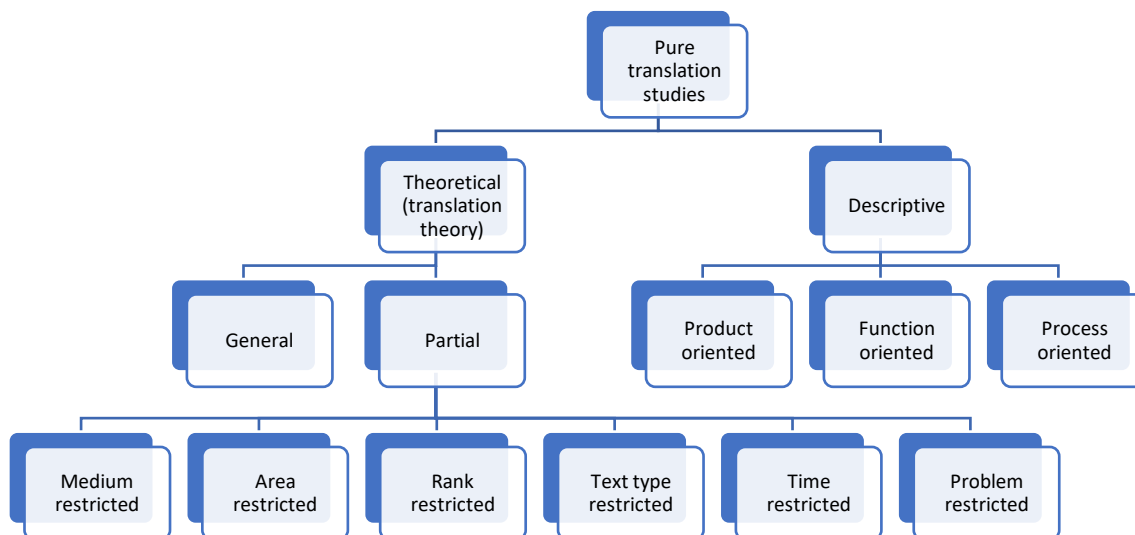


Figure 5-1. Branches of 'pure' TS by Holmes (2000 [1972]), the map adapted from Toury (2012, p.4)

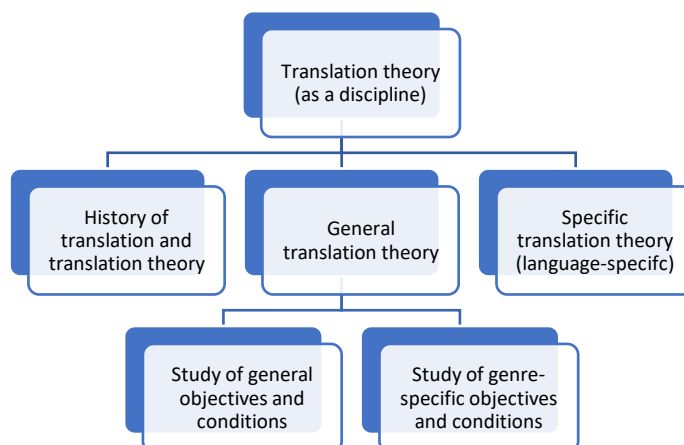


Figure 5-2. Branches of translation theory by Fedorov (1953) in my schematic representation

Along with similarities these maps show some clear differences. For example, none of the branches of Fedorov's translation theory reflected the medium of translation as 'medium-restricted translation theories' did in Holmes (2000 [1972], p.178).

Fedorov's understanding of translation theory as a discipline was wider than Holmes's translation theory as a branch of 'pure' TS. Some of Fedorov's sections of the theory span across Holmes's descriptive TS. Thus, Fedorov argued that translation theory started with the history of translation and translation

thought which made the first section of the discipline. Holmes suggested that history could be included in the product-oriented branch of descriptive TS: ‘one of the eventual goals of product-oriented DTS might possibly be a general history of translation’ (2000 [1972], p.177). The broader scope of Fedorov’s theory of translation is also clear from the comparison of the objectives formulated by Fedorov and Holmes for their disciplines:

As a field of pure research [...] translation studies thus has two main objectives: (1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted (Holmes, 2000 [1972], p.176).

The objective of it [translation theory as a specialised scholarly discipline] is to summarise conclusions from observations of separate instances of translation and to serve as a theoretical foundation for translation practice which could be guided by it in the search and selection of required expressive means and could draw from it the grounds and evidence to support a specific solution for a particular problem¹⁸¹ (Fedorov, 1953, p.12).

Holmes’s objectives of ‘pure’ TS are so similar to Fedorov’s objectives of translation theory that they appear to be summarising the same discipline. They did not completely coincide: Fedorov’s translation theory went beyond Holmes’s theoretical TS and overlapped several branches of the latter’s ‘pure’ TS.

The overlapping branches in Fedorov’s and Holmes’ disciplines and the comparable objectives demonstrate significant similarities between their definitions and Fedorov’s broad understanding of translation theory. Whether Holmes drew on Fedorov’s work only indirectly, or he was familiar with it, as the analysed references suggest, their contributions of defining the discipline were comparable, but not simultaneous and not mutually recognised. Fedorov’s use of translation theory as the name of a specialised discipline and his definition of its scope, objectives, branches, and other properties as a field of knowledge, preceded and informed similar contributions in Western European literature, including the recognised milestone in Anglophone TS published by Holmes.

5.2 The role in the evolution of translation studies

Before Holmes, but almost ten years after the first publication of Fedorov’s book, Cary (1962) opened his article with the question on the possibility of translation

theory. Its status was still debatable. When Fedorov published his book in 1953, besides the status of the discipline and its name that had not yet been established either in Eastern or in Western European literature, the terminology and more generally the metalanguage of TS had not been defined either.

Fedorov was addressing these issues ahead of his Western colleagues, as shown in Chapter 3. Baer (2016a, p.4) pointed out that Fedorov's work 'was so influential in the evolution of translation studies not only in the Soviet Union but also in Eastern Europe, as well as China.' My research has shown that this influence was not limited to the Eastern Bloc: it reached Western Bloc countries, most notably France and West Germany, and consequently, other territories indirectly. I, therefore, suggest speaking of Fedorov's influence on the evolution of TS overall from today's global perspective, not only on TS traditions of specific countries. The limitations of this perspective must be acknowledged as it is still a predominantly European view: although there is evidence of Fedorov's influence in China, as shown in Chapter 4, I do not have any data from a large part of the world, for example, from the Arabic tradition.

Chapters 3 and 4 have demonstrated the academic interaction and communication that developed between Fedorov and French scholars (most importantly Cary and Mounin) between the late 1950s and the 1960s, as well as Fedorov's cooperation with *Babel* and FIT. The ideas that were exchanged between them found their ways not only in reviews and analyses of the Soviet approaches, such as in Cary (1957; 1959), but also in such fundamental work as Mounin's *Les Problèmes Théoriques de la Traduction [Theoretical Problems of Translation]* (1963b).

Fedorov's work was instrumental in the development of Mounin's linguistic approach to translation and his view of translatability, as Mounin's numerous references to Fedorov and quotations indicate. Among them was Mounin's highlighting Fedorov's position of translation theory as a scientific field of study and its compulsory relation to linguistics, referring to Fedorov's monograph on translation theory and likening his views to Vinay and Darbelnet's (Mounin, 1963b, p.13). Mounin (1963b, p.11) referred to Fedorov's entry on translation in the Soviet Encyclopaedia (Fedorov, 1955) as an example of the advancements of TS in the Soviet Union arguing that no similar articles existed in general

encyclopaedias in other European languages at the time. Citing Fedorov's second edition of the book (1958), Mounin (1963b, p.14) challenged Fedorov's critics, strongly agreeing with him on the importance of linguistic knowledge in the theoretical foundation of translation, at the same time showing that Fedorov had not called for a purely linguistic approach, but for one which existed in relation to other disciplines and extralinguistic factors. Mounin (1963b, p.17) concluded his chapter on linguistics and translation with a definitive statement with a credit to Fedorov and Vinay that theoretical issues of translation could not be discussed outside of the linguistic framework.

In a later publication Mounin (1976), in a review of Maillot's *La Traduction Scientifique et Technique* (1969), criticised the author for failing to cite the major sources, including Fedorov and Vinay and Darbelnet. As shown in Chapter 4, Fedorov and Mounin exchanged correspondence that also demonstrated their shared views. Their cooperation is also confirmed by Fedorov's review of Mounin's 1963 book, highlighting its strengths (Fedorov, 1968a). Mounin's book in the course of only eight years after its publication was translated into Italian, German, and Spanish (Whitfield, 2019). It was an important work on translation theory and cited by scholars writing in different languages. Fedorov's work was, in this indirect way, shared with a larger readership after influencing one of the major theoretical works on translation in the mid 20th century.

Another prominent TS scholar of the 20th century, who drew on Fedorov's works was the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar. This link has been identified by Baer (2021a, p.x) who has argued that Fedorov was 'the most represented author in the bibliography of Even-Zohar's doctoral dissertation, *An Introduction to a Theory of Literary Translation* (1971).' As I have only had access to the English summary and bibliography of Even-Zohar's thesis (the complete thesis was in Hebrew), it is not possible to add to the argument on specificity of Even-Zohar's interaction with Fedorov's works. This discussion will need to wait for a future article. The bibliography (Even-Zohar, 1971) indeed included eight of Fedorov's publications (Fedorov, 1927b; 1928; 1941; 1952b; 1953; 1962; 1967; 1968b). It is a very important connection which potentially expands Fedorov's influence even further.

In this respect there is an interesting statement assessing the contribution of scholars worldwide to the development of translation theory and TS. Newmark (1991, p.38) wrote that ‘translation theory, a subject and a discipline’ was ‘initiated in the middle 1960s by Nida, Fedorov, Catford, Mounin, Jumpelt, Neubert and Kade in attempts to apply linguistics to translation in a methodical and sensitive manner.’ It is encouraging to see Fedorov’s name in this list, but I would like to change it slightly to say that in establishing translation theory and TS as a discipline Fedorov in the 1950s preceded Nida, Catford, Mounin, Jumpelt, Neubert, and Kade who followed starting from the 1960s. It is convincing how all these scholars were connected to Fedorov. Mounin was citing Fedorov directly. Neubert and Kade as representatives of the Leipzig school were familiar with Fedorov’s work as discussed earlier. Jumpelt as FIT vice-president and chairman of the committee on bibliography (Jumpelt, 1967) was at least aware of Fedorov’s work which has been included in *Babel’s* bibliographies, for instance, in Volume 2(2) and Volume 7(4) (International bibliography on translation, 1956; Bibliographie Internationale de la Traduction, 1961); there is also an invitation from FIT signed by Jumpelt in Fedorov’s archives (Jumpelt, 1959). Nida (1964) referred to Brang (1955) and Cary (1957) who analysed Fedorov’s book in detail, as investigated in Chapter 4. With the exception of Catford, whose connection to Fedorov remains unclear (also in Chapter 4) all these scholars, working on the foundations of TS in different countries (speaking European languages), built on or at least took into consideration what had been done by Fedorov.

5.3 Fedorov’s followers today

5.3.1 Fedorov’s successor

One of Fedorov’s few immediate followers who are actively working in TS today is Irina Alekseeva. She was a pupil of Fedorov’s and wrote her dissertation and PhD thesis, which she defended in 1982, under his supervision at Leningrad State University. Later she took on Fedorov’s teaching of translation modules (Alekseeva, 2018). Today Alekseeva is the professor at the Translation Department of the Herzen State Pedagogical University in Saint Petersburg, Russia, and director of the Higher School of Conference Interpreting and Translation at Herzen University. She has published books on translation theory and practice and dedicated and inscribed each of them to her teacher

Andrei Fedorov (Alekseeva, 2018). And looking at one of her major publications I indeed see the inscription before her foreword.

Alekseeva's own book *Vvedenie v Perevodovedenie [Introduction to Translation Studies]* has undergone several editions with the latest one published in 2012. Her dedication to her teacher may even be seen in its title since it appears as a modernised version of the title of Fedorov's 1953 book. Alekseeva's book (2004) discusses contemporary issues in TS and the main concepts proposed by scholars from different countries, also offering a historical overview of the development of the discipline.

In the historical overview Alekseeva (2004), as well as other contemporary authors, draws on Fedorov. As Fedorov (1983b, p.25) wrote in the introduction to his historical chapter, contemplating that the 'world history of translation'¹⁸² had not yet been written, the existing literature related to such history showed many research gaps. His diachronic study of the history of translation and theoretical writing in Europe and in Russia was an important contribution to TS that translation scholars have been referring to ever since, both Russian scholars and also non-Russian scholars, when writing about the history of translation in Russia.

Following the historical overview, Alekseeva (2004) analyses different theories and approaches and suggests her conclusions on their relevance to today's world and applicability to translation practice. While she neither appears biased towards Fedorov's theory nor suggests it to be fully acceptable today as the theoretical framework for general TS, she often refers to Fedorov (1983b), which demonstrates that his book remains relevant. In her analysis of historical theories of equivalence, including, for example, Nida's dynamic equivalence, Alekseeva assesses the conceptual framework of *polnotsennost* formulated by Fedorov. She points out its weaknesses, such as vagueness of the terms *soderzhanie* [content] and *funktsiia* [function], the lack of consideration of the conflict of form and content and the possibility that it may mislead to the conclusion that all elements of the content can be translated by functional equivalents. At the same time, she asserts its relevance, provided certain updates are made:

However, if the concept of full value translation is supplemented with the concept of ranking of content elements, it will be fruitful for literary

translation. Contemporary practice of translating literary texts is indeed guided overall by this conceptual framework, while the inclusion of content element ranking provides objective grounds for required modifications¹⁸³ (Alekseeva, 2004, p.144).

Therefore, Fedorov's conceptual framework is still applicable today, although its relevance could be limited to literary translation. Alekseeva (1999) also argues that it can be applied usefully in translation training and translation criticism, for both literary and non-literary texts.

The ranking of content elements which she suggests as an important upgrade was proposed by Latyshev (1981) and included invariable elements, invariable variables, variable elements, and blank elements, ranking from the highest to lowest significance of their content and, therefore, the degree of acceptable changes. Alekseeva (2004) emphasises the importance of the ranking of content elements as it may determine the translator's choices of prioritising some elements over others. Latyshev (1981) was drawing not only on Fedorov (he quotes from the third edition of 1968), but also on other prominent scholars, as he followed a decade of productive theoretical developments in TS, including Retsker (1974), Shveitser (1973), Barkhudarov (1975), Miniar-Beloruhev (1980), and Komissarov (1973).

5.3.2 Antagonistic pupils

Vilen Komissarov (1924-2005) was a Russian translation scholar based in Moscow whose first work on translation theory was published in 1973. Komissarov graduated and first taught at the Military Institute of Foreign Languages of the Red Army,^{xiv} the school that during World War 2 trained around 4,500 translators and interpreters (Military University of the Ministry of Defence, 2019). He worked there and later at the Maurice Thorez Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages along established and future prominent Russian translation scholars, such as mentioned above Latyshev, Retsker, Shveitser, Barkhudarov, and Miniar-Beloruhev.

The autonomy of the Saint Peterburg and Moscow schools of translation could have contributed to this, but Komissarov seemed to be dismissive of

^{xiv} at present the Military University of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation

Fedorov's significance in the development of translation theory. He claimed: 'We all started from Retsker,'¹⁸⁴ speaking of his generation of theorists (Komissarov, 2004, quoted in Ermolovich, 2011, p.7). Retsker himself, based on his unpublished letters to Fedorov, did not claim such leadership and recognised Fedorov's authority and pioneering position. In one of his letters in 1969 Retsker (1953-1975, p.83) wrote to Fedorov: 'Last year it had been 30 years since I started teaching translation based on the theory that you developed.'¹⁸⁵ The significant role of Retsker is undeniable, Fedorov directly stated it himself and referred to Retsker's works (demonstrated in Chapter 3), however, the theoretical approach that Retsker and Fedorov both supported was formulated by Fedorov.

The fact that Komissarov failed to mention Fedorov in his overview of TS and history of translation in Russia for the *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (Komissarov, 2009), first published in 1998, supports the perception of Komissarov's unwillingness to acknowledge Fedorov. Despite having a section dedicated to translation theory, Komissarov did not refer to Fedorov's work at all, throughout fourteen columns of the entry, other than including him in the list for further reading, along with three books of his own. However, none of the other theorists are mentioned in the section either, therefore, there could be other reasons for such choices, possibly his attempt of a more general overview or the publisher's brief.

Komissarov developed his own conceptual framework, focusing on translation theory starting from the 1970s. His approach became known as the theory of five levels of equivalence: equivalence on the level of linguistic signs, on the level of utterance, on the level of message, on the level of situation description, and on the level of the goal of communication, analysing translation as a special kind of linguistic communication (Komissarov, 1973). Komissarov still referred to Fedorov, specifically, pointing out that Fedorov's works laid the foundations for further discoveries and future research, as despite their different approaches this could not be denied. A close reading of Komissarov shows that he draws on Fedorov's work, and even builds some arguments of his theory as antitheses to Fedorov, for instance, arguing against examining the concept of translation as a process or the product of such process (Komissarov, 1973, p.22). In later publications Komissarov (2001, p.10) referred to his own approach as 'linguistic translation studies.'¹⁸⁶ This is another important borderline in their

theories and metalanguage, as Fedorov did not propose the fledging discipline to become “linguistic” TS. While Fedorov emphasised the value of the linguistic perspective in the theory of translation or TS, Komissarov developed this into the linguistic TS proper. Alekseeva (2018) believes it is because of Komissarov that Russian TS are seen in other countries as linguistic theories, arguing that his approach unjustifiably overemphasised the linguistic aspect of translation, whereas Fedorov insisted on a balanced theory that drew on all philological disciplines. I agree that although Fedorov stated that he prioritised the linguistic perspective in his book, his view of linguistics was broad, and he specified, for example, that it included stylistics (1958, p.16).

Komissarov’s books continue to be studied in university education, along with other Russian scholars of the late 20th century, including Komissarov’s colleagues at the university, and scholars active today, such as Alekseeva. All of them, although to different degrees, refer to Fedorov.

5.3.3 Fedorov in current university programmes in Russia

The presence of Fedorov’s works in current reading lists for university degrees in translation in Russia is another indicator of his relevance today. This is demonstrated by the example from Saint Petersburg State University. The Philological Faculty of the university offered several Bachelor and Master programmes on TS in the academic year 2020/2021 (Philological Faculty of Saint Petersburg State University, 2020). Such programmes as the BA in Cross-Linguistic Communication and Translation (English, French, or German), MA in Translation Theory and Cross-Linguistic Communication, and MA in Literary Translation have modules for which the reading lists include Fedorov’s works. The data analysed below is based on the reading lists from the 2019/2020 academic year, which were available online among other programme documents (*University programme materials*, 2020).

Fifteen modules taught in these programmes include at least one of Fedorov’s books in their reading lists. Out of fifteen, eight modules include one of Fedorov’s books (Fedorov, 1971; 1983a; 1983b; 2002) in their lists for compulsory reading, and one module General TS includes two (Fedorov, 1983a; 2002). Eight of the modules include one of Fedorov’s books in their lists for additional reading, and General TS again lists two of Fedorov’s books as

suggested additional reading. The books for additional reading across these modules include four of Fedorov's books (1971; 1983a; 2002; 2006) or list a choice of any edition of Fedorov's *Fundamentals of the General Theory of Translation* (1968b; 1983b; 2002). In total fifteen modules in Bachelor and Master programmes in TS (Consecutive Interpreting, Contrastive Linguistics, Fundamentals of Interpreting, General TS, Introduction to Translation Profession, Introduction to TS, Translation, Translation Practice, Literary Translation, Literary Translation Theory, History of Literary Translation in Russia, Russian Literature in Translation, Aktuelle Probleme der Theorie der Translatologie, Übersetzungspraktikum, Theorie des Dolmetschens) list one or more Fedorov's books (six different publications in total) in their reading lists.

The situation may be different in other Russian universities; however, considering the number of reading lists above which include Fedorov, it is to be expected that some of his works would be recommended by other institutions. It is significant that all the lists, which have Fedorov's main theoretical work on translation, guide the reader to one of the latest editions entitled *Fundamentals of the General Translation Theory* (Fedorov, 1968b; 1983b; or 2002). Such choice is justifiable as these editions not only bear less imprint of the political environment of the publication of the first revision (Fedorov, 1953), but also reflect subsequent developments of TS and publications by other authors that appeared between those editions.

It should be noted that despite the fact that works by Russian scholars comprise the majority of recommended literature in the analysed reading lists, there are publications by theorists from other countries. These are mainly in English, German, and French (which are the languages of the faculty specialisations) or in Russian translation, both historical and contemporary works, for example, by Bell, Boase-Beier, Catford, Cronin, Halverson, Höning, Koller, Levý, Munday, Newmark, Nida, Nord, Olohan, Pöchhacker, Prunč, Pym, Reiss, Ricoeur, Schneider, Shuttleworth, Snell-Hornby, Stecconi, Stolze, Taylor-Bouladon, Tymoczko, Venuti, Vermeer, and Vinay and Darbelnet. Some of the recommended books by Russian writers provide overviews of theoretical literature from other countries, such as Garbovskiy (2007), Kazakova (2006), and Komissarov (1999). It is, therefore, not for the lack of access to other sources or lack of information about other sources, that Russian scholars, and Fedorov in

particular have such a presence in the recommended literature today. Fedorov's works are recommended as compulsory or additional reading in TS for their value and current relevance.

One of the recommended books by Russian scholars provides more evidence to this point. The relatively new glossary *The Main Concepts in Translation Studies (Russian Tradition)* [in Russian] edited by Rarenko et al. (2010) includes 84 references to Fedorov's oeuvre in the main text of the entries on TS concepts. The editors emphasise that the aim of the book is to reflect the status of contemporary TS, to systematise the actually used terminology. This shows the important role Fedorov played in the development of concepts of TS in the Russian context and their continued relevance. The same team (Rarenko et al., 2011) also published a similar volume on concepts in Anglophone literature on TS.

The findings in this section suggest that Fedorov's works, especially the later editions of his 1953 book (Fedorov, 1968b; 1983b; 2002), as well as his publications related to stylistics, history of translation, literary translation, and criticism, remain valid for TS in Russia today. The reason they are not widely circulated in Western European countries is the lack of their published translations to Western European languages. Such relevance and the need for their translation has been recognised by the European Society for Translation Studies which in 2014 awarded its annual Translation Prize to Brian James Baer to help with the translation of Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* (1953). The project was selected, among other criteria, on the grounds of 'its potential impact on international Translation Studies' (European Society for Translation Studies, 2014). The translation was published in early 2021 and I have reflected it in my analysis in Chapter 3.

5.4 Fedorov's impact: Scientometrics

In this analysis I have adopted the micro-level scientometric method proposed by Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008), as described in the methodology section, to conduct quantitative analysis of data on Fedorov's research activities and outputs in TS to supplement qualitative methods. In this study it consists in overall publication analysis and citation analysis.

5.4.1 Publication analysis

I have built the corpus of Fedorov's publications mainly based on the materials from Fedorov's manuscript repository in the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia: bibliographies written by Fedorov himself (1975; 1985) and a bibliographical reference booklet published for Fedorov's 80th anniversary (Mokiyenko et al., 1986). Since these resources do not cover the last ten years of Fedorov's life (1987-1997), I checked the bibliography against other resources, including the portal of the Federal State Information System 'National Electronic Library' (rusneb.ru) and the Electronic Catalogue of the Russian State Library (rsl.ru). Several publications were also found during the previous stages of my research and in the process of citation analysis via Google Scholar. However, there is still a possibility of undercounting publications during those last ten years, due to the lack of a record in the archives and the possibility that the libraries do not list some of publications. Another factor, specifically applying to the publications on which Fedorov worked as a translator, is the lack information in electronic catalogues about the translator in some records of reprinted translated literary works.

In the compiled corpus I have identified two main groups of publications first: theoretical works and translated literature. Among theoretical works the corpus shows 18 books and 149 articles and papers (including reviews) published during Fedorov's life. Out of Fedorov's 18 books 2 were co-authored monographs. Among 16 books written by Fedorov without co-authors 2 publications were series of textbooks. 12 books out of 18 were in the field of TS, including four editions of the 1953 book and one translation of it into Chinese (translated by Li, L. et al. and published in Beijing in 1955 by Zhonghua Book Company, according to Tan (2019)). The first and the second edition of the book were entitled *Vvedenie v Teoriiu Perevoda [Introduction to Translation Theory]*; the third and subsequent editions had the title *Osnovy Obshchei Teorii Perevoda [Fundamentals of the General Translation Theory]* and all of them had different subtitles except the first one. Two more books were included in the corpus which were published posthumously: the fifth edition of the 1953 book (Fedorov, 2002) and a collection of Fedorov's articles and essays (Fedorov, 2006). Out of Fedorov's 149 papers at least 64 were directly dedicated to translation, however, the borders between different subjects were not always clear-cut. Some of the

other articles, not focused on translation, were dedicated to subjects related to translation, such as studies of foreign literature translated into Russian, comparative literature, comparative stylistics, etc. The corpus also includes 25 academic volumes which Fedorov edited or co-edited.

In the translated literature group, I have counted 71 publications of literary works translated by Fedorov from German and French into Russian, printed during his lifetime, including reprints, and 27 books the translations of which were edited by Fedorov (three of them co-edited). The timeline in Figure 5-3 shows Fedorov's publications from the year when his first paper was published (1927) to the last found publication during his lifetime (1990).

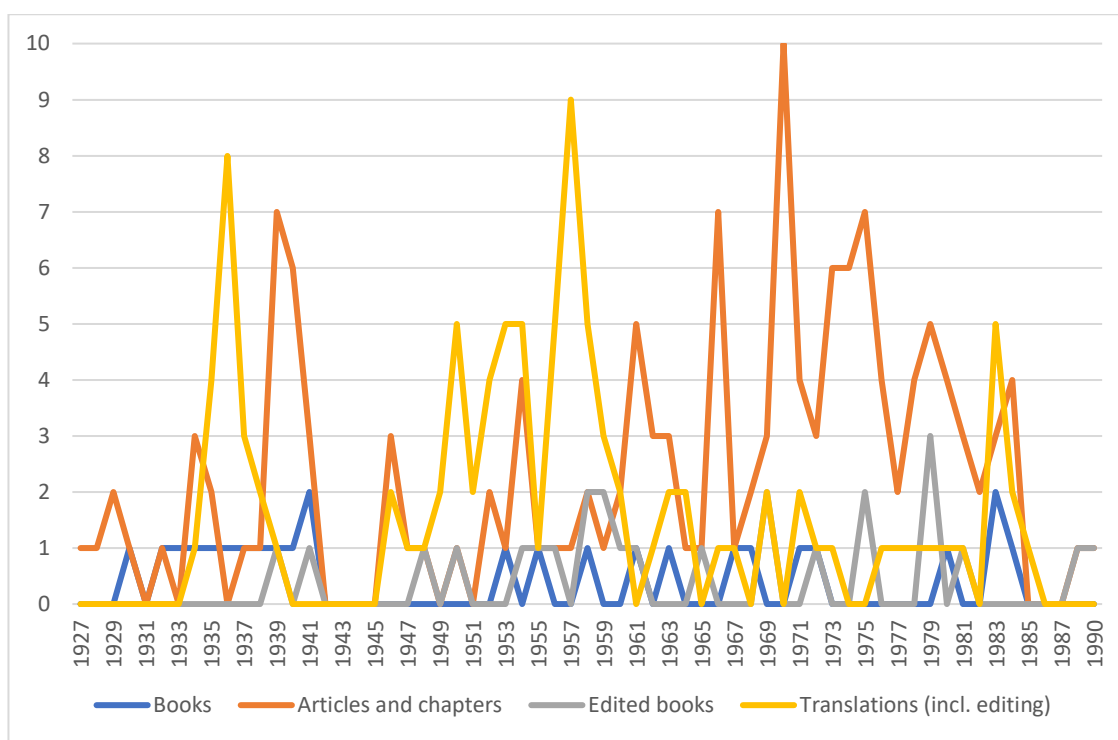


Figure 5-3. Publication timeline during Fedorov's life

Besides the overall production, the timeline provides more insights into Fedorov's published works. It shows that after a period of active translation work between 1935 and 1938 he wrote significantly more papers than before, which could show that his research was linked to and based on his translation practice; however, more research into these publications would be required to support this hypothesis. A similar pattern can be seen after the peaks of published translations between 1956 and 1958. The timeline also visualises the period of publishing 'silence' during World War 2: while several of his articles and one of

his most important books (Fedorov, 1941) were still published in 1941, there were no publications between 1942 and 1945, owing to the war.

There are several document types identified in the corpus. Table 5-1 presents the types of publications in Fedorov's oeuvre and their quantitative distribution. The publications of literary works to which Fedorov contributed as a translator or translation editor are not included here to show a clearer picture of his theoretical writing.

Document type	Number	%
Monographs	16	8.2
Co-authored monographs	2	1.0
Posthumously reprinted monographs	2	1.0
Book chapters	81	41.8
Articles in journals	36	18.6
Reviews	29	14.9
Edited volumes	25	12.9
Newspaper articles	2	1.0
Other	1	0.5
Total	194	100.0

Table 5-1. Types of published documents, excluding translations

As the table shows, the highest percentage of works were published as book chapters. The smaller number of papers published in journals compared to books, reflects the situation in the specialised publishing market at the beginning of Fedorov's career. Most of Fedorov's articles, besides books and book chapters, until the middle 1950s were published in literary journals. Among them was *Zvezda* and the journals with names that showed their focus: *Literaturnoe Obozrenie* [*Literary Review*], *Literaturnaia Gazeta* [*Literary Gazette*], *Voprosy Literaturny* [*Issues of Literature*], *Literaturnyi Kritik* [*Literary Critic*], and *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo* [*Literary Heritage*]. In 1952 the first issue of *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* [*Issues in Linguistics*] was published, indicating the turn towards linguistics in Soviet philology and a new publication outlet for translation scholars,

as argued in Chapter 3. Fedorov published in *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* starting from the first issue, with a total of 9 articles.

As Fedorov himself observed, in the 1980s there was still a lack of periodical publications, journals dedicated specifically to translation issues (Fedorov, 1983a). Fedorov praised the appearance of *Masterstvo Perevoda* (in Russian ‘the mastery of translation’) in 1959 as evidence of existing translation criticism, however, it was a series of books with contributions from translators, translation theorists, literary scholars, and critics, rather than a periodical. Fedorov contributed four papers to it between 1963 and 1970. In 1963 another collection of articles was launched: *Tetradj Perevodchika* (‘the translator’s notes’), first published annually, then with varying frequencies. Fedorov (1983a) believed their scope was limited and only had one article published in this collection in 1977.

The majority of Fedorov’s works were published in Russian. Exceptions include the translation of Fedorov’s 1953 book into Chinese, published in 1955, as indicated above. There was also a translation of the second edition of that book (Fedorov, 1958) into French, however, it was not included in the counting here as it was not a commercial publication (see more about the translation by Deresteau and Sergeant in Chapter 4). Fedorov had three articles published in German (two translations from Russian into German and one written in German), all in East Germany in the 1960-1980s. The journals were *Kunst und Literatur* [*Art and Literature*], *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* [*German as a Foreign Language*], and *Sowjetliteratur* [*Soviet Literature*]. In West Germany, Fedorov’s first two articles from 1927 and 1928 were published in Russian as part of the 1970 facsimile reprint by Wilhelm Fink Verlag of *Poetica*, the volume which was initially published in Leningrad in the 1920s by Academia. Several papers were published in other languages: one article translated and published in Slovak, one in Armenian, Czech (translated by Božena Johnová), English, Karelian, and Ukrainian. The Czech translator is the only translator whose name I have found. While Fedorov could translate his articles to German himself (although there is no data confirming that he did), the publications in other languages must have involved work of other translators. The translation of Fedorov’s first article (1927b) published nearly 50 years later in *Linguistics* (Fedorov, 1974) until 2021

translation of his 1953 book (Baer, 2021b) remained Fedorov's only work translated into English.

Despite the small number of works published in Ukrainian and Armenian and no records of publications in other languages of the Soviet Union, it is not an indication of Fedorov's works not being distributed to the republics of the USSR. They were distributed in the original (Russian) language. This has been additionally indicated by the data on publishers from different countries, as presented in Figure 5-4. Unexpectedly, Fedorov's article in *Babel* (1978a) was also published in Russian.

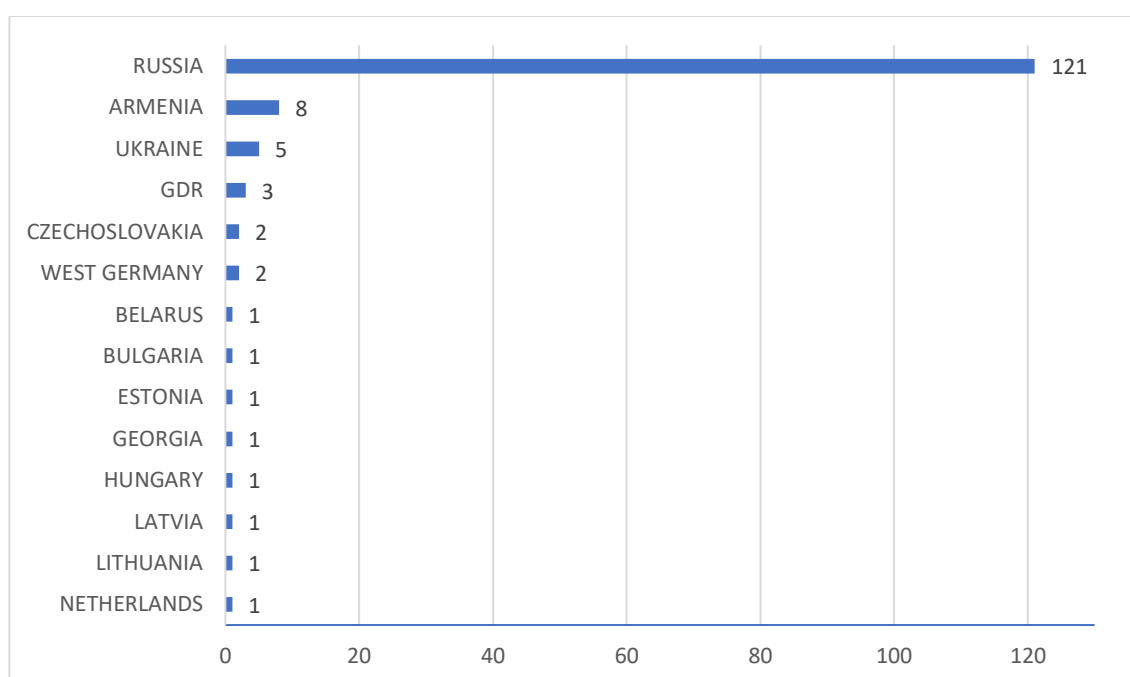


Figure 5-4. Distribution of articles by publishers in different countries

Location of publishers	Number	%
Russia	121	81.2
Other countries	28	18.8
TOTAL	149	100

Table 5-2. Summary of the quantitative distribution of articles by publishers

Figure 5-4 shows the distribution of papers (including articles in journals, book chapters, and reviews) by countries where the publishing houses that printed the respective collections were located. While only 8 out of 149 articles were printed in a non-Russian language, the data demonstrates that 28 articles

were published outside the Russian Republic, which makes a significant 18.8 percent, as shown in Table 5-2. This is significant from two perspectives. First, it demonstrates the wide reach of Fedorov's works, covering 12 countries besides Russia where they were published. Secondly, it reflects the language policy in the USSR and the dominant role of the Russian language (discussed in Chapter 1) and, consequently, publishing in Russian not being a barrier to distribution in the Eastern Bloc. The divide between the blocs must not be approached very strictly: for instance, Fedorov's paper in *Babel* was technically printed in the Eastern Bloc since *Babel's* publisher at the time was in Hungary, however, its target audience embraced both sides. At the same time, the only paper in the corpus, published in English, was published in the Western Bloc (in the Netherlands).

5.4.2 Citation analysis

Citation analysis is used in scientometrics to measure the impact of a publication or an author. The method, adopted from Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008) of building a network of citations, focused on one author, Fedorov, counts all citations of his publications by other writers found using Publish or Perish software, which feeds from Google Scholar database.

To count the citations, I first used Fedorov's name in the search field 'author name' spelled in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabet with initials. The search results are limited by Google Scholar to 1,000 most cited publications. I limited the range to publications between 1927 and 2006 (the year of the last reprinted collection of Fedorov's papers^{xv}). Due to the fact that this is a very common Russian last name, the search results included an extensive number of entries referring to other authors bearing the same name. I manually selected only the entries referring to the required author which left 102 entries. There were also multiple entries of the same publications due to several types of faults:

^{xv} The data collection and analysis were conducted before the publication of the English translation of Fedorov's 1953 book by Baer (2021). I have not conducted another analysis since then to include the latest publication since it is not likely to change the number of citations significantly due to the little time passed (several months); however, it is to be expected that the number of citations will increase with the availability of the English text in the future.

- a) mistakes in the citations: incorrect titles and incorrect use or omission of subtitles, including punctuation, or incorrect year;
- b) inclusion of incorrect data in the title field by the software or search engine, such as the author's name or the publisher;
- c) different variants of transliteration and translation of the titles.

When merged, the entries showed 49 publications. The total number of citations was 6,005. For comparison, a search for publications by prominent linguist and TS scholar Jean-Paul Vinay, living and working during the same period (mostly publishing in French) returned 6,019 citations, which was nearly the same as Fedorov's 6,005, whereas J. C. Catford's (mostly publishing in English) had 14,277 citations. The results of this comparison of the total number of citations with the scholar published in English were to be expected: previous studies had shown the effect of the language on citing patterns, showing that publications in English attracted more citations (Franco Aixelá and Rovira-Esteva, 2015). It is important to acknowledge that citations can differ in their importance and value, but as an additional analytic tool citation count provides valuable data.

The top ten of Fedorov's most cited publications were his monographs. Among them, the fourth edition of Fedorov's book on translation theory (Fedorov, 1983b) ranked the highest with 2,511 citations. The high number of citations of Fedorov's monographs as compared to other types of publications is indicative of the value of his books, but it also correlates to the global trend in TS: monographs and book chapters gain more citations than journal articles (Rovira-Esteva et al., 2019).

Publish and Perish search results also included the calculation of several scientometric indices of the impact of Fedorov's publications, including h-index of 19 and g-index of 49. The h-index, proposed by Hirsch (2005, p.1) as 'the number of papers with citation number higher or equal to h, as a useful index to characterize the scientific output of a researcher' has been argued to be a more advisable parameter than the total number of citations as it corrects some of the limitations of the latter (Harzing, 2013). The g-index is a variation of the h-index which better accounts for highly cited papers (Harzing, 2013). These metrics are not discussed here in more detail as they require a comparative assessment to

add to the value of the data. Nevertheless, the citation count of Fedorov's publications demonstrates a considerable impact of his research outputs.

5.4.3 Representation in TS databases

With the overall count over six thousand citations, Fedorov remains underrepresented in Western European scholarship. This has been demonstrated by the search for mentions and citations in specialised databases for TS, conducted to supplement the citation count.

First, the search has been performed in the BITRA database. BITRA (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation), as 'the most comprehensive international database with bibliographic data for scholarly TS publications' (Rovira-Esteve et al., 2019), at the time of the research contained over 81,000 entries of publications in at least 14 languages, although English accounted for more than 51% of them (Franco Aixelá, 2001-2020). The search of the database for the author 'Fedorov,' 'Feodorov,' 'Fyodorov,' 'Fjodorov,' or 'Федоров' returned 8 Fedorov's publications with a total of 41 citations. The search for Fedorov's name in the text of abstracts showed 8 more publications, not included in the 41 count, which cited Fedorov's texts. Thus, the total number of sources citing Fedorov's works found in BITRA was 49. Franco Aixelá (2013) has pointed out BITRA's bias towards Western European publications. Besides this bias, there may be several factors and limitations determining such results, including the popularity of certain subjects. However, the language of publications remains the major one: previous studies on BITRA scientometrics have shown that publications in English receive the highest dissemination and visibility (Franco Aixelá and Rovira-Esteve, 2019). Fedorov's publications were predominantly in Russian, and therefore, were limited in such visibility.

BITRA does not cover all citations: it is acknowledged by the creators that the citation data is only 'indicative' but not exhaustive (Franco Aixelá, 2001-2020). Furthermore, there is a limitation in the scope of BITRA as to where citations are mined: since it was created as a database for translation and interpreting studies exclusively, it has focused on specialised journals in the field with some journals which do not strictly focus on translation being left out. For instance, such papers citing Fedorov as Baer (2016) published in *Slavic and East European Journal* or Witt (2016) published in *Baltic Worlds* did not appear in the search, probably due

to the fact that these journals were not yet included in the list of journals systematically mined by BITRA.

Another TS database used was Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB). At the time TSB contained over 30,000 records; while it was not specified from what years the database covered the publications currently, it stated that it aimed at working backwards from the last decade (*Translation Studies Bibliography*, 2020). TSB does not provide information about citations, unlike BITRA, neither does it allow searching lists of references. Therefore, the query here consisted in searching for Fedorov (with all spelling variants) in 'All Fields' and returned 5 hits, including three of Fedorov's publications of which two were duplicates, thus leaving two books by Fedorov (2002; 2006). The only two publications that were found referring to Fedorov's works were the book chapter by Schippel (2017) and the article in *Translation Studies* by Pym and Ayvazyan (2015), since they had Fedorov's name either in the title or in the abstract.

TSB mines articles in specialised TS journals. However, since it does not go back to the years of Fedorov's major publications, I searched separately the databases of the main journals existing at the time: *Meta: Translators' Journal* and *Babel*. Both journals now have their archives available online; however, while *Meta* has the searchable database and full articles online, *Babel* has more limited information published online which often consists only of the bibliographic details. The search for keywords 'Fedorov,' 'Fyodorov,' 'Fédorov,' and 'Feodorov' in the online archive of journal *Meta*, published since 1966 (Consortium Érudit, 2020b), and *Meta's* predecessor *Journal des traducteurs / Translators' Journal*, published between 1955 and 1965 (Consortium Érudit, 2020a), returned 26 articles. The keywords were found in the main texts and references. The earliest result was the article by Smeaton (1963) which included English translations of two quotations from Fedorov (1958).

The same search in all issues of *Babel* was performed through the e-content platform of John Benjamins Publishing Company, then the returned hits were verified in physical copies of the journal. 34 papers with citations were found, including indices and bibliographies, but mainly articles (28 papers), published in English, French, and Italian. Only two articles found in *Babel* duplicated the results already found in BITRA. Thus, 32 new citations were added

to the count. The earliest one dated 1956 and the latest one 2011. Starting from the earliest source, there was one or several citations every year (except 1958 and 1966) until 1969 after which citations occurred less frequently, however, they were still regular and in 1979 there were four papers citing Fedorov. After 1979 there were no citations until the 2000s, for more than 20 years, when citations resumed, starting with Lilova (2001). However, since the results from *Meta* show a different trend (the majority of papers (15) were published in the 1980-1990s) this cannot be indicative of the fluctuating interest in Fedorov's work; it rather demonstrates other factors, such as the journals' change in the focus (this could be linked to the change in management following the death of FIT founder and president and *Babel* director Pierre-Francois Caillé in 1979 (Lilova, 1979)).

It is noteworthy that the only article published in *Babel* which was written by Fedorov (1978a) does not appear in any of the searches. It is also absent in the table of contents of the issue of *Babel* on its e-content platform of John Benjamins Publishing Company. Nevertheless, it does exist in the hard copy of the journal: I have found the article after seeing it listed in Fedorov's own bibliography (1985). The article was published in Russian, in the section 'Translation theory and history.' In total, as can be seen in the graphic in Figure 5-5, the citations found in databases BITRA and TSB, and references from *Meta* and *Babel*, make a network of 92 original publications in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, and Russian (only one in Russian). The 92 publications were contributed by 65 different authors and author groups.

It is important to note that five of these publications (Baker, 1998; Hurtado Albir, 2001; Mounin, 1963b; Newmark, 1981; Wilss, 1977) have been listed among the 50 most cited publications of BITRA, according to a study on the impact factor in TS in 2000-2009 (Franco Aixelá, 2013). While the specific data might have changed since, this ranking highlights the importance of some citations as they expand the coverage of the cited work when included in the highly visible publications.

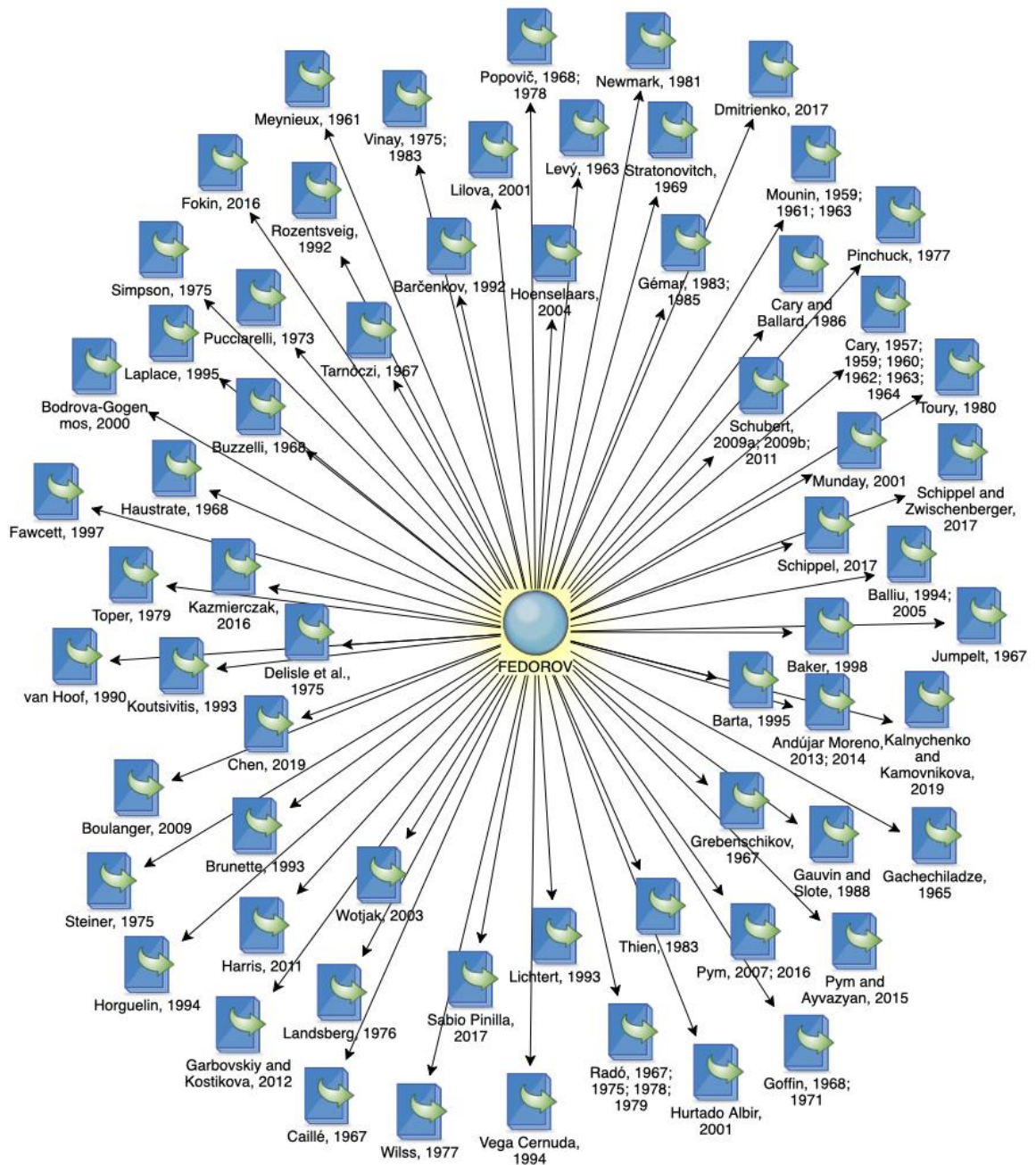


Figure 5-5. Fedorov's network of citations from BITRA, TSB, *Meta*, and *Babel*

The analysis of citations in BITRA, TSB, *Meta*, and *Babel* has shown 92 publications citing at least one of Fedorov's works on translation. While this number is small compared to 6,005 citations retrieved by Google Scholar, these were verified publications strictly associated with the field of TS. They were predominantly published in Western European languages, and many of them were in turn highly cited, representing some of the most cited literature in the field, thus increasing the impact of Fedorov's publications. The chronological distribution of publications citing Fedorov shows that in every decade since the 1950s there have been some references to Fedorov in print. Since these papers

were published predominantly in English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian, it is incorrect to claim that Fedorov's work was completely unknown or absent from Western European scholarship until recently. This analysis suggests that Fedorov's works have contributed to its development as they have been engaged with, although not sufficiently to be more widely recognised and to promote more translations of the original publications from Russian to English and other languages.

Summary

Fedorov's role in the history of TS can be assessed from several perspectives. He coined the concept of translation theory as a field of knowledge, defined it as a discipline and identified its scope, objectives, branches, and principles, preceding the similar contribution by Holmes. Holmes did not recognise Fedorov's input, despite references in Goffin (1971) and Brower (1959), but some other scholars did. Among them were Cary, Mounin, and Even-Zohar who drew on Fedorov's works. Fedorov was therefore among the most prominent theorists at the start of TS as a discipline. His role in the Russian tradition of TS is even more prominent, as shown by the analysis of works by Russian scholars of the late 20th – early 21st century and contemporary Russian scholars, such as Alekseeva, who continue referring to Fedorov. Fedorov's relevance today, demonstrated by the latter, is also shown by my analysis of reading lists in current translation modules at a Russian university. This relevance has been recognised on a larger scale when the European Society for Translation Studies awarded its 2014 Translation Prize to Baer to address the need for translations of Fedorov's works which resulted in the 2021 publication. My scientometric analysis has shown the scope and characteristics of Fedorov's rich oeuvre. The citation analysis has demonstrated a significant impact of Fedorov's publications which support my investigation of Fedorov's network and his influence on other scholars' work. The analysis of references in TS databases also attests to it, although it shows underrepresentation of Russian publications.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the figure and work of Andrei Fedorov and to assess the impact of his theory of translation on the development of TS since the middle of the 20th century. To achieve this aim, it was essential to first collect data on Fedorov's publications and compile his bibliography previously missing in the literature. The compiled bibliography served as a corpus for scientometric analysis of Fedorov's oeuvre, specifically for an overall scientific production analysis. A critical analysis of Fedorov's selected publications and a complex investigation of unpublished manuscripts and correspondence stored in Fedorov's repository in the Central State Archives of Literature and Art in Saint Petersburg, Russia, were conducted to answer research questions.

6.1 Revisiting the research questions

This thesis sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What concepts of translation theory were introduced by Andrei Fedorov in Russophone literature and how do they relate to those suggested by Western scholars?
2. What was Fedorov's relationship to prominent scholars in other countries?
3. What was Fedorov's contribution to the development of TS and does his work remain relevant?

In answer to the first question, a close textual analysis of Fedorov's theoretical works on translation was conducted, starting from his first publications (1927b; 1928) and focusing on his fundamental book on translation theory, first published in 1953. It demonstrated that Fedorov introduced several concepts of translation theory. First, he was the first scholar in Russian scholarship to use *teoriia perevoda* [theory of translation] to refer to a specialised field of study (Fedorov, 1927b, p.118); later in his 1953 book he coined it as an autonomous discipline and defined its research object, branches, and other characteristics. This made him not only the first scholar to do so in Russian, but also meant that he was nearly 20 years ahead of Holmes who defined it in English. As I argued in Chapter 5, Fedorov also indirectly informed Holmes' research via Goffin (1971)

who had studied and quoted Fedorov's advancements on translation theory as a discipline.

One of the concepts central to Fedorov's theory was *polnotsennost* (full value) which he introduced as a discipline-specific term synonymous to adequacy. *Polnotsennost* as a noun was a derivative of the adjective *polnotsennyi* used in the phrase *polnotsennyi perevod* to denote full value translation, maintaining the original's content and the author's style, and presented in high-quality language. The possibility of such translation supported the concept of translatability which was paramount to Fedorov's theory. While he did not introduce the concept of translatability, he provided a scholarly background for it and synthesised previous studies.

Fedorov established several categories of lexical and grammatical correspondence between source and target texts and introduced a classification of translation techniques for them. Among such categories, for which Fedorov proposed a typology of translation techniques, were phraseological units and wordplays. This was ground-breaking at the time as idioms and puns had not generally been translated the way they are today: they used to be translated literally with an optional note by the translator indicating a pun. Such practice was standard not only for Russian translated literature: Baer (2021a) noted the same had been characteristic of Anglophone tradition. Therefore, Fedorov was at the forefront globally in suggesting an alternative solution.

Another classification that Fedorov proposed, based on the synthesis of previous studies and adapted for the needs of translation theory, was text types and genres, which consequently informed, though unacknowledged, Reiss' classification in the late 1970s. As I have argued in Chapter 3, Reiss (2000 [1971]) drew on Fedorov's typology of genres via the detailed review by Brang (1963), and her resulting classification of text types bore distinct similarities to Fedorov's.

Some of the concepts investigated by Fedorov, including adequacy, correspondence, and translation method, demonstrated similarities to the concepts later researched in Western European literature not necessarily due to intercrossings of ideas, but rather due to their shared background. Thus, the theoretical background for concepts such as translatability was drawn by Fedorov

not only on Russian linguists and literary critics of the 19th century, but also on French linguists of the 19-20th century and German romantics that provided the basis for consequent Western European theories as well. Another part of the shared basis was Fedorov's background as a pupil of several Russian formalists, including Eikhenbaum and Tynianov, who had an influence on Western European TS, recognised, for instance, by Even-Zohar and Toury.

To answer the second question, a close reading of Fedorov's correspondence, stored in his archives in Saint Petersburg and not previously investigated, was conducted, along with some published sources, including memoirs by both Fedorov and other scholars. The analysis showed direct lines of communication between Fedorov and many scholars outside Russia and outside the Soviet Union. Among them there were some one-time only exchanges, while some written communication was more regular or more frequent. I focused on the latter in this analysis. Particularly insightful among such communication was Fedorov's correspondence with Cary, Mounin, and Levý, demonstrating their discussions of ideas, exchanges of reviews and publication details, and arranging meetings.

Indirect evidence of communication with some other scholars has been collected, such as the scholars' manuscripts in Fedorov's archives preceding their publication, for instance, manuscripts by Catford and Čyževskýj. This analysis did not only answer the research question but demonstrated specific instances of relationships in a wider network of Fedorov's influence. It also showed that national borders and ideologies were not impassable barriers for academic communication.

In answer to the third question, I studied later publications in TS both in Russian and Western European literature for references to Fedorov, investigated reading lists of translation modules at a Russian university, and conducted a scientometric analysis of Fedorov's publications. The results showed definitively that Fedorov made a significant contribution to the development of translation theory as an autonomous discipline, including its status, definition, history, formulation of its object, objectives, and branches, and to the broader TS worldwide. Fedorov's views on the priority of linguistic aspects in translation theory and at the same time its relation to other disciplines informed his novel

approach to developing translation theory, which constituted another important part of his contribution. Besides this, his 1953 book was innovative on the global scale because it was the first comprehensive work of such scope and extensiveness to be dedicated to translation issues, approaching them descriptively and attempting to cover all types of translation. In Russian literature this contribution also extended to the conceptual framework that continues to be used by contemporary scholars. Specific conceptual innovations, such as the typology of translation texts, informed further research in other countries as well, for instance, by Reiss as indicated above, while more research is required to understand Fedorov's influence on other theorists, for example, Even-Zohar, as stated in Chapter 5. The scientometric study which included a citation analysis has shown Fedorov's considerable impact based on quantitative data from citations of his publications.

6.2 Limitations of the thesis

The constraints of time and space have limited this thesis in several aspects. The time span covered by my research included the period from the early theoretical works on translation published in Russia in the late 1910s and throughout Fedorov's life. It was predominantly narrowed down to the years leading to the publication of Fedorov's first monograph on translation theory, its reception, and the following editions, which reflected some of the feedback received and changes in the socio-political environment. In the future it will be fruitful to investigate in more detail Fedorov's later works, such as publications from the 1980s, and analyse how Fedorov considered the advancements of TS made by other scholars.

Fedorov had broad research interests and wrote about stylistics and comparative linguistics, amongst other subjects. I concentrated on publications specifically on translation theory, due to the scope of this thesis, while his other works remain an interesting object of potential research.

Conducting this research, I mainly studied scholarship in English and in Russian, although some sources were used from other languages, such as French and Ukrainian. This was largely dictated by linguistic reasons, but also by the materials used in this research, since the main sources for this research were located in Fedorov's archives in Saint Petersburg, Russia and in UK libraries.

Future studies could encompass archival materials in other languages. Those in German for example, could provide more data on German scholars' interaction with Fedorov's works.

6.3 Contributions of this research and recommendations

This thesis is the first attempt of a comprehensive study of Fedorov's work focusing on his contribution to TS. With this focus, the thesis has looked at Fedorov's life and oeuvre through the interdisciplinary lens of TS, historiography of TS, *histoire croisée*, and microhistory to bring to light not only the advancements to the knowledge that Fedorov brought, but also the unknown details about his life and work and the processes of crossings between Fedorov and other scholars, as well as between their ideas.

The original contribution of this thesis, firstly, is in the comprehensive analysis of Fedorov's translation theory. Previous studies have focused on several aspects of it, for example, translation solutions (Pym, 2016), ideological aspects (Shakhova, 2021), or a brief introduction of several publications (Schippel, 2017), limited to single articles or book chapters, while no extensive systematic research has yet been conducted. In this thesis I have investigated Fedorov's translation theory starting from its precursors and Fedorov's background, moving to his first published works, to the first edition of his major publication *Introduction to Translation Theory*, to its metalanguage, to its interactions, and finally to Fedorov's influence on TS. The analysis of Fedorov's works on translation theory was not approached in isolation, but inextricably linked to his other work, including his practice as a literary translator and his publications on other subjects, as well as the historical, social, and political environment and Fedorov's biography. In regard to the environment, the thesis synthesised existing literature to provide a historical overview of the period, including the political changes, cultural and linguistic policies. The analysis of the role of publishing houses that was conducted in this thesis added the following to the literature: it established the historical events in the publishers' existence, it evaluated their importance from the perspective of representing translators' interests and provided a novel detailed analysis of the booklets for translators commissioned by Vsemirnaia Literatura. The latter was missing in the previous

studies despite the significant role the booklets played in subsequent theoretical advancements.

The thesis provided an original analysis of Fedorov's pioneering role in the history of TS. Specifically, it showed Fedorov's contribution coining the name of translation theory as an autonomous discipline and defining its scope and other characteristics. In Anglophone TS, this advancement has been credited to Holmes (2000 [1972]). As I argued in Chapter 5, Fedorov not only preceded Holmes, but indirectly informed Holmes' research. This argument was supported by Holmes' citations and bibliography, including Goffin (1971), who quoted Fedorov's conclusions on the theoretic foundations of translation theory as a discipline. The analysis of the content of Fedorov's book on translation theory and its metalanguage conducted in this thesis has demonstrated, for the first time, the broad scope of Fedorov's innovation in TS. One of the major difficulties here was the translation of TS terminology. It was additionally complicated since the English translation of Fedorov's 1953 book was published only in 2021 and called for my reevaluation of the previously completed analysis.

The thesis questioned the previously held view on the ideological content in Fedorov's works and its meaning: I challenged the previous studies (Baer, 2021a; Pym, 2016) in their view of Fedorov's references in his 1953 book to Stalin's articles published in 1950 as a sign of his loyalty or genuine agreement with Stalin's agenda. I agreed that it was important how these references disappeared in subsequent editions of Fedorov's book, which had been pointed out by Baer and Pym, as well as Shakhova (2017); however, as I argued in Chapter 2, it was even more important how these references initially appeared in the first edition. My research on Fedorov's drafts and readers' reports showed that Stalin's articles had not been mentioned until specifically indicated as compulsory by two reviewers. Adding a chapter dedicated to Stalin's articles, Fedorov therefore acted on the requirements of the publisher. Since all later editions of the book (Fedorov, 1958; 1968b; 1983b; 2002) were free from any references to Stalin, the choice of the first edition out of five, to be translated into English by Baer and published by Routledge in 2021 was not justified and misleads the reader. I question the ethics of publishing works with such abundant and praising references to Stalin today without their reassessment, if it could be avoided without affecting the value of the content, such as would be the case of

choosing another edition. While it was important chronologically that the first edition appeared in as early as 1953, the translation of the second 1958 edition would have been more helpful to the reader. In the future, it would be interesting to see Fedorov's earlier works translated as they were enthusiastic and innovative papers and the least marked by the Soviet discourse, as I showed in Chapter 2, while only one of them (1927) has been translated into English.

Despite the ideologically marked content of the first edition of the monograph (1953), Fedorov's ideas crossed geographic and linguistic borders. This thesis has presented a novel perspective and original findings related to these crossings: Fedorov's correspondence that I analysed in Chapter 4 revealed direct communication between Fedorov on the one side and Eastern and Western European scholars on the other. Despite state interference restricting it, I argued that such communication still existed and enabled the scholars to exchange knowledge, mutually benefit from it, and use it to further the development of TS. The letters exchanged between Fedorov and Cary, for instance, were illuminating as they showed direct communication between the scholars which had not been identified before, their high regard of each other's work, and their attempts to arrange to meet face-to-face and for Fedorov to participate in the FIT congress which in the 1950s were complicated by the Soviet regime.

This thesis has used a scientometric analysis to support these findings with quantitative data on citations of Fedorov's works. The citation analysis showed a significant impact of Fedorov's publications and a consistent, although small, presence in specialised TS journals, predominantly published in Western European languages, starting from the late 1950s to the present day. I argued, therefore, that Fedorov's work was never completely absent from Western European scholarship but contributed to its development and maturation of TS as an autonomous discipline.

The complete bibliography of Fedorov's works, compiled from different sources, mainly the archival materials in Russian, was not only instrumental in conducting the scientometric analysis, but showed the scope of Fedorov's oeuvre. This analysis responded to the research need identified by Schippel and Zwischenberger (2017) as a step to building an integrated history of European

TS. The corpus can be used in the future to further the analysis with other scientometric instruments, for example, key-word analysis, co-citation analysis, and a detailed examination of the citation indices. A comparison of such metrics between Fedorov and his contemporary scholars from different traditions could provide interesting insights into their impact and potentially the influence of factors besides the quality of their works, including the language and the place of publication.

My analysis of reviews of Fedorov's books has also added to the existing literature. Many of them had not been studied before, as indicated, for example, by Pym (2016) about the review in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*: the review was identified because Fedorov (1958) had mentioned it, but not found by Pym. This review as I found was by Čyževskýj (1956), published in West Germany, and I analysed it in Chapter 4. The main contribution of my analysis of the reviews was in providing new evidence of the transmission of Fedorov's works and the awareness of scholars from other countries of them. Fedorov's work, I argued, was mainly received positively, as an advancement in scholarship on translation.

The analysis of the reviews and Fedorov's correspondence supported the argument made in previous studies that the reception of Fedorov's translation theory in Western Bloc countries was mediated mainly via reviews and citations. They were no longer the only channel in the late 1960s: as this thesis highlighted, a French translation of Fedorov's *Introduction* in its second edition (1958) appeared in 1968 (*Introduction à la Théorie de la Traduction*). This was important, as several scholars referring to the translation demonstrated, despite the non-commercial publication particularly due to the role of the Francophone TS at the time and FIT efforts in particular.

Fedorov's links to Anglo-American scholars, shown in this research, were intriguing; however, they remained limited by the lack of further evidence found within the scope of this project. This could lead to future research on intercrossings between Fedorov or other Soviet scholars and Nida or Catford. The evidence provided in Chapter 4 demonstrated clearly that links between them existed. Further research, such as archival work in Moscow could discover more data on Nida's visits to Moscow universities and his communications.

Catford's work archives and correspondence, stored in the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan, could be another potential line of research.

The thesis has presented the most complete biography of Fedorov in Anglophone literature. This investigation established some important facts of Fedorov's professional life, provided valuable findings, corrected the omissions and mistakes related to Fedorov's background made in previous studies, and introduced facts relevant to his academic career, such as a detailed account of his education and professional development. This revisiting of the personal history of the theorist, of the person as the object of study, alongside his theory, brings to light another underrepresented individual in the history of TS: the translation scholar. Further studies could usefully interrogate his history as a university lecturer and supervisor, since Fedorov supervised 36 PhD theses and therefore participated in the establishment of many scholars in the field, as a literary translator, and as a researcher in other areas, including stylistics and comparative literature. Such research would advance the understanding of the full scope of Fedorov's scientific contribution.

This thesis has extended our knowledge of Fedorov's significant impact on the development of TS. It is anticipated that the findings of this research will contribute to reclaiming Fedorov's place in the history of the discipline and demonstrating his continuing relevance in TS today. Together with the newly published Baer's English translation of Fedorov's book this thesis will make Fedorov and his work better known in Anglophone and worldwide TS, making them accessible to a broader readership and open to further research. The next step in the research would be to interrogate more links between Fedorov's conceptual framework and other translation theories of the 20th and even 21st centuries. It is only through future dedicated and persistent work of this type that Fedorov's rightful place as an unsung hero of TS will be established.

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Appendix B. Source texts of the translated quotations used in the thesis

¹ Общество изучения поэтического языка, ОПОЯЗ

² Московский лингвистический кружок (МЛК)

³ ЦГАЛИ СПб

⁴ 'Литература как саморазвивающаяся система представляла собой целый комплекс течений, направлений, идейно-стилевых тенденций, находящихся в постоянном взаимодействии.'

⁵ 'на поверхности литературной жизни восторжествует единственная эстетическая система, получившая название социалистического реализма...'

⁶ 'мощное орудие социалистической культуры'

⁷ Декрет № 2 ВЦИК и СНК о суде

⁸ 'Никакого обязательного «государственного» языка — ни в судопроизводстве, ни в школе! Каждая область выбирает тот язык или те языки, которые соответствуют составу населения данной области, причем соблюдается полное равноправие языков как меньшинств, так и большинств во всех общественных и политических установлениях'

⁹ 'постановление Президиума ЦИК СССР от 1 июня 1935г. о переводе на кириллицу письменностей для языков народов Севера'

¹⁰ 'постановление ЦК ВКП(б) и Совета Народных комиссаров от 13 марта 1938г. «Об обязательном изучении русского языка в школах национальных республик и областей»'

¹¹ Секция переводчиков при Ленинградском отделении Всероссийского союза писателей (ЛО ВСП)

¹² '... в близком будущем общими усилиями удастся, быть может, заложить принципиальные основы, если не науки, то хотя бы практического руководства к одному из самых трудных и требовательных искусств — искусству художественного перевода.'

¹³ 'научная, объективно определяемая точность'

¹⁴ '1) число строк, 2) метр и размер, 3) чередование рифм, 4) характер enjambement, 5) характер рифм, б) характер словаря, 7) тип сравнений, 8) особые приемы, 9) переходы тона.'

¹⁵ 'По инициативе М. Горького была основана Студия «Всемирной Литературы», где читались специальные лекции о разных отраслях переводимого искусства. В Студии работал и я: мне было поручено вести семинарий по художественному переводу английских прозаиков. Так как никаких учебников или пособий, посвященных технике художественного перевода, у нас не было — да и сейчас еще нет, — мне пришлось набросать, хотя бы вкратце, нечто вроде «азбуки для переводчиков», которой я и пользовался в студийной работе. Впоследствии эта «азбука»

была напечатана (в очень ограниченном числе экземпляров) в качестве практического руководства для тех переводчиков, которые работали в нашем издательстве.'

¹⁶ '... именно в этом издательстве были заложены основы теоретического подхода к переводу (выпущена брошюра «Принципы художественного перевода»...).'

¹⁷ 'Теория и практика перевода'

¹⁸ 'Об эстетической ценности любого перевода очевидно нельзя говорить, не учитывая круга читателей, для которых он предназначен.'

¹⁹ 'Русская новейшая литература в Германии'

²⁰ 'Научная база теории перевода: новое учение о языке на марксистско-ленинской основе'

²¹ 'Адекватным мы должны признать такой П[еревод], в котором переданы все намерения автора (как продуманные им, так и бессознательные) в смысле определенного идейно-эмоционального художественного воздействия на читателя, с соблюдением по мере возможности [путем точных эквивалентов или удовлетворительных субститутов (подстановок)] всех применяемых автором ресурсов образности, колорита, ритма и т. п.'

²² 'СПП, безусловно, был проводником партийно-государственной идеологии в литературной среде.'

²³ 'единая советская теория перевода'

²⁴ 'Реалистический перевод предполагает тройкую, но единую по существу верность: верность подлиннику, верность действительности и верность читателю.'

²⁵ '... интерес к языковой форме литературного произведения сам по себе не равнозначен формализму и буквализму, а углубленный лингвистический подход к средствам выражения в двух разных языках как раз и должен гарантировать от буквалистических ошибок, легко возможных на практике при недостаточной теоретической искушенности в области языка.'

²⁶ 'группа товарищей из молодёжи'

²⁷ Советская трудовая школа первой и второй ступени

²⁸ Отделение литературного творчества и журналистики Государственных курсов техники речи

²⁹ Высшие государственные курсы искусствоведения при Институте истории искусств

³⁰ Государственный Институт Истории Искусств (ГИИИ)

³¹ 'сравнительно-проекционный, (сравнительная explication du texte)'

³² 'сравнительно-функциональный или структурный'

³³ '... функции каждого литературного элемента есть его соотносительность с другими и с конструктивным принципом целого'

³⁴ 'Перевод есть один из путей, которым осуществляется проникновение одной литературы в другую, влияние ее образцов, и показатель понимания, осмысления произведений чужой литературы, обусловленного и характером развития данной национальной литературы.'

³⁵ '... является результатом действия двух факторов — непосредственного генезиса (действие оригинала) и традиции (влияние литературного окружения, условий родной литературы)'

³⁶ 'Различие между рядом оригинала и рядом перевода может лежать по линии соотношения лексических планов в этих двух рядах'

³⁷ 'Точность в переводе, как понятие, оказывается невозможной, как факт — недостижимой, да и излишней'

³⁸ 'О чешском стихе, преимущественно в сопоставлении с русским'

³⁹ 'понимая по «эвфонией» не благозвучие, а принципы качественно-звуковой организации стиха'

⁴⁰ 'несоизмеримость'

⁴¹ 'Перевод так или иначе, в том или ином соответствии с реальным строем оригинала, должен передать звуковую сторону — метрический и эвфонический ряд, связанный и с прочими элементами конструкции.'

⁴² 'значительная борьба элементов за место в переводе'

⁴³ 'точность в одном пункте равнозначна неточности в другом'

⁴⁴ 'точность перевода — понятие крайне условное и относительное'

⁴⁵ 'Перевод по отношению к подлиннику есть подобие, созданное из другого материала.'

⁴⁶ 'чужезычность в переводе'

⁴⁷ 'сглаживающий перевод'

⁴⁸ 'перевод без сохранения национально-языковых и предметных особенностей подлинника, но также без ввода специфических черт того языка, на которых переводится произведение'

⁴⁹ 'соавторство Федорова с Чуковским было, по всей видимости, тоже своеобразным компромиссом, поскольку свидетельствовало о несколько искусственном примирении резко антитеоретического настроения и переводоведческой позиции Чуковского и восходящего к формальной школе гипертееоретического ригоризма ранних работ Федорова'

⁵⁰ 'типичная работа ленинградского формалиста'

⁵¹ 'отвлеченный теоретик'

⁵² 'Результаты эти представляли несомненную научную ценность и интерес новизны прежде всего потому, что и в XIX, и в начале XX века традиционная, так называемая академическая история литературы подобными вопросами не занималась, пренебрегала ими, а подлинно научная поэтика и стилистика были представлены хотя и замечательными, но немногочисленными и стоявшими особняком трудами (А. Н. Веселовский, А. А. Потебня) и не складывались еще в самостоятельные дисциплины.'

Несмотря на новизну результатов, на обилие свежего, впервые вовлеченного в область исследования материала и на некоторую связь с литературной практикой эпохи (преимущественно «левых» течений), значение сделанного «формалистами» чрезвычайно сужалось из-за односторонней направленности их исканий, их ограниченности сферой одного только плана выражения (хотя бы и понимаемого широко в ряде случаев), из-за принципиального отказа от изучения идейного содержания и социально-исторической обусловленности литературы.'

⁵³ 'Методика технического перевода'

⁵⁴ 'Техника перевода научной и технической литературы с английского языка на русский'

⁵⁵ 'относительность понятия точности'

⁵⁶ 'равноценности'

⁵⁷ 'Вопрос о переводимости'

⁵⁸ 'исправительный'

⁵⁹ 'основные вопросы художественного перевода как явления литературы и литературного языка'

⁶⁰ 'Перевод и критика,' 'Типы и методы перевода,' 'Перевод и литературные жанры.'

⁶¹ 'точность элементарная и точность художественная'

⁶² 'Использование перевода для углубленного владения средствами выразительности, как немецкого, так и русского языка; более совершенное понимание соотношения между обоими языками. Умение быстрого и сознательного систематического анализа как предпосылки для перевода.'

⁶³ '1) Точность (что под этим понимать). 2) Адекватность подлиннику в отношении средств выразительности языка. 3) Соответствие нормам языка, на который делается перевод.'

⁶⁴ 'В отличие от немногочисленных существующих руководств по переводу предлагаемая работа имеет в виду не только научно-теоретическую помощь переводчику-практику, но и подготовку преподавателя в области перевода, как особого, требующего своей методики, аспекта иностранного языка.'

⁶⁵ 'Место перевода, как особого аспекта изучаемого языка, в системе лингвистического образования, его общекультурная и педагогическая роль в высшей и средней школе'

⁶⁶ 'возможность стилистических компенсаций (замен) при невозможности и ненужности формально точной передачи отдельных особенностей'

⁶⁷ Межкафедральный словарный кабинет

⁶⁸ 'Понятия перевода с точки зрения общего языкознания и общей стилистики'

⁶⁹ 'чужеземность' and 'чужезычие'

⁷⁰ 'должно быть уделено специальное место изложению положений сталинского учения о языке, имеющих непосредственное отношение к вопросам перевода.'

⁷¹ '... о национальной самобытности русского языка'

⁷² 'материал переводов с русского на языки народов СССР и с языков народов СССР на русский, с русского языка на языки стран народной демократии и обратно.'

⁷³ 'Свою книгу автор писал до опубликования в печати выдающихся произведений творческого марксизма — гениальных трудов товарища Сталина по вопросам языкознания. Естественно, что он и не мог их использовать в своей работе. Именно прежде всего поэтому рукопись требует сейчас серьезного пересмотра и ряда существенных правок.'

⁷⁴ 'Эти исправления должны быть сделаны, прежде всего, в предисловии (стр. III и др.), в главе об истории перевода и в разделе об основных положениях советской теории перевода. В одной из этих глав должно быть уделено специальное место изложению положений сталинского учения о языке, имеющих непосредственное отношение к вопросам перевода.'

⁷⁵ 'Рукопись представляет собой капитальную монографию по всем важнейшим вопросам теории и практики перевода, являющуюся плодом многолетней исследовательской и творческой работы автора в области переводов художественной литературы с иностранных языков на русский.'

⁷⁶ 'Адекватность подчеркивает принципиальную разницу между точностью как ее понимали прежде и как ее понимают в буржуазных странах сейчас, и точностью как ее понимает советская теория перевода. А почему не сказать просто: наше понимание точности принципиально иное.'

⁷⁷ '... недовольства термином «адекватность», возникшим в пору увлечения всякого рода иностранщиной, громоздким, неудобным по написанию, претенциозным по своему морфологическому облику.'

⁷⁸ 'Существует традиция «академического» стиля изложения академических курсов. Это не та традиция, которой следовали классики марксизма-ленинизма в своих научных трудах. Если бы А. В. Федоров захотел оживить (я не говорю: снизить серьезность изложения) язык своего пособия, оно бы много выиграло не только в отношении легкости чтения, но и в смысле достижения поставленных целей.'

⁷⁹ 'Автор обещает нам в предисловии пересмотр теории перевода с точки зрения послевоенных дискуссий. Однако главы о формализме и космополитизме отсутствуют в пособии, равно как и рассмотрение вопроса о применении к переводу принципа партийности литературы.'

⁸⁰ 'Меньше всего я согласен с замечаниями и советами рецензии Л. Н. Соболева, которую я тем самым меньше всего использовал в смысле прямого осуществления ее указаний, но которая тем не менее много дала мне, заставив полемически откликнуться на нее, вернее — предупредить или отвести в самом тексте работы упреки и соображения, подобные тем, какие высказал рецензент.'

⁸¹ 'Эти определения используются уже давно в нашей литературе, но можно ли сейчас рассматривать перевод у нас как научную дисциплину? Не можем ли мы уже говорить о замене искусства перевода наукой о переводе?'

⁸² 'Большое Вам спасибо за присланную Вами книгу. Очень тронута Вашим вниманием. Книга быстро разошлась у нас и пользуется большим успехом. Она значительно помогает и студентам, и преподавателям в их работе и Вас все вспоминают добрым словом.'

⁸³ '... я прошу Вас начать перевод не с V главы второй части, а несколько раньше — с середины IV-й главы, со слов: «La Maréchale décrocha de la patère sa capote. Frédéric se précipita sur la sonnette en criant de loin an garçon : — "Une voiture !"» За это говорит следующее: 1) Я осенью буду работать медленнее из-за разнообразия дел, 2) Если одна из глав будет переведена пополам, произойдет весьма желательная диффузия стиля двух переводчиков, 3) Этим крайне упрощаются все гонорарные расчеты — все будет делиться ровно пополам, и мы не будем терять времени на сложные (и довольно непроизводительные!) выкладки. Вы согласны?'

⁸⁴ 'Здесь необходимо широко применять субституты во избежание совершенно невнятного вербализма.'

⁸⁵ 'Я полагаю, что наши приемы перевода исходят из совершенно одинакового отношения к тексту и поэтому в переводе не может быть осязаемого разнобоя. Достаточно, если я буду больше помнить о требовании текстуальной точности, а Вы — о требовании «живости» языка. Это и будет необходимой поправкой ко мне и к Вам. Что касается пресловутой «живости», то, помня отдельные места из Ваших предыдущих переводов, мне просто хотелось бы просить Вас прибегать чаще к перегруппировкам и к разговорным аналогам (в диалоге) — где это надо, во избежание «переводизмов».'

⁸⁶ '... тормозит дело перевода не просто отсутствие или отставание теории, но и уклонение ее от верного пути, с которого она уводит за собой и практику. [...] Такова роль лингвостилистики для переводов А. В. Федорова. Отраженным светом она многое объясняет в стилистических особенностях его переводов, начиная от «Воспитания чувств», через «Лорензаччо» Мюссе и драмы Гюго к «Родственным натурам» Гёте.'

⁸⁷ 'Насчет принципов перевода расхождений у нас не было. Мы считали невозможным упрощать, сглаживать, облегчать стиль Пруста, делать его более «приятным», чем он есть, и, прежде всего, старались нигде не нарушать единство больших по объему и сложных по сочетанию частей, предложений, часто — необычных для французского языка, но составляющих неотъемлемую черту оригинала и отражающих характер творческого мышления: каждое из них соответствует целостному комплексу мыслей, деталей, образов, конкретной ситуации — определенному отрезку действительности. А суждения писателя всегда отчетливы и логичны.'

⁸⁸ 'Этих переводчиков нередко упрекали в формализме, в таком стремлении передать все смысловые и стилистические оттенки подлинника, которое приводило к кальке с иностранной фразы и противоречию если не с грамматическими, то с литературными нормами

русской реалистической прозы, к чрезмерному обыгрыванию того или иного стилистического приема Диккенса (напр., каламбуры или неправильности речи персонажа или необычного образа).

Ничего похожего на эти недостатки мы не находим в новом переводе «Копперфильд». Это — значительный шаг вперед в творческом мастерстве двух переводчиков. Основное качество стиля новой их работы — простота и свобода русской речи, на фоне которой им удается показать своеобразие речи автора — повествователя и его персонажей.

Словарь перевода — почти безукоризнен, и здесь почти все в меру. [...] Единственное, на что я хотел бы обратить более серьезное внимание двух переводчиков, это случаи некоторой синтаксической громоздкости и тяжеловесности, которые попадаются примерно лишь в пределах первых 250 страниц [...] которые являются проявлениями «переводческого языка», инерция которого так сильна, что он дает о себе знать иногда и в самых удачных переводах.'

⁸⁹ '1) цель перевода — как можно ближе познакомить читателя (или слушателя), не знающего языка подлинника, с данным текстом (или содержанием устной речи);

2) перевести — это значит выразить точно и полно средствами одного языка то, что уже выражено средствами другого языка в неразрывном единстве содержания и формы.'

⁹⁰ 'теорию перевода, как специальную научную дисциплину'

⁹¹ 'Задача ее [теории перевода] — обобщать выводы из наблюдений над отдельными частными случаями перевода и служить теоретической основой для переводческой практики, которая могла бы руководствоваться ею в поисках нужных средств выражения и выбора их и могла бы черпать в ней доводы и доказательства в пользу определенного решения конкретных вопросов.'

⁹² 'Теория перевода, как специальная отрасль филологической науки, является дисциплиной лингвистической прежде всего. Правда, в ряде случаев она весьма близко соприкасается с литературоведением — историей и теорией литературы, откуда черпает ряд данных и положений, и с историей тех народов, языки которых она затрагивает.'

⁹³ 'история вопроса [перевода],' 'общая теория перевода,' and 'частная теория перевода'

⁹⁴ 'В полноте и точности передачи — отличие собственно перевода от переделки, от пересказа или сокращенного изложения, от всякого рода так называемых «адаптаций»' (Fedorov, 1953, p.7).

⁹⁵ 'Думается, что теория перевода начинается тогда, когда на смену нормативным концепциям и спорам о том, как следует переводить, что в переводе хорошо или плохо, точно или неточно, приходят серьезные попытки разобраться в том, какие существуют объективно возможности для перевода — в зависимости от соотношения языков, культур, литератур...'

⁹⁶ 'Уточнение принципа переводимости (т. е. возможности полноценного перевода)'

⁹⁷ '... то, что невозможно в отношении отдельного элемента, возможно в отношении сложного целого — на основе выявления и передачи

смысловых и художественных функций отдельных единиц, не поддающихся узко формальному воспроизведению; уловить же и передать эти функции возможно на основе тех смысловых связей, какие существуют между отдельными элементами в системе целого.'

⁹⁸ 'Мы утверждаем возможность перевести, *переводимость* с любого языка на любой другой. Переводимость адекватна возможности общения народов между собой. На этом держится вся мировая культура. Это одна из предпосылок ее развития.'

⁹⁹ 'понятие отрыва формы от содержания'

¹⁰⁰ 'Они носят на себе в ряде случаев печать отражения буржуазно-формалистических теорий перевода.'

¹⁰¹ 'Формализм в области перевода – это прежде всего отрыв формы от содержания, передача формы, как таковой, вне зависимости от выражаемого ею содержания, значит — искажение содержания. [...] Но называть формализмом внимание к форме, в частности, к языковой форме, я думаю, будет по меньшей мере несправедливо.'

¹⁰² '... формализмом ни в какой мере не является сознательная забота о передаче формы, как средства раскрытия содержания, в соответствии со стилистическими возможностями языка перевода.'

¹⁰³ 'Стилистическая и смысловая верность оригиналу достигается, как правило, не путем формально-дословной точности...'

¹⁰⁴ 'Первой работой, представляющей попытку применения принципов марксистско-ленинской методологии к переводу, является статья А. А. Смирнова «Перевод» в «Литературной Энциклопедии» (1934).'

¹⁰⁵ '... с соблюдением по мере возможности [путем точных эквивалентов или удовлетворительных субститутов (подстановок)] всех применяемых автором ресурсов образности, колорита, ритма и т. п.; последние должны рассматриваться однако не как самоцель, а только как средство для достижения общего эффекта. Несомненно, что при этом приходится кое-чем жертвовать, выбирая менее существенные элементы текста'

¹⁰⁶ '... принцип настоящего художественного перевода — один: стремление к адекватности.'

¹⁰⁷ 'Вполне соответствующий, тождественный'

¹⁰⁸ 'Вполне соответствующий, совпадающий'

¹⁰⁹ 'Обладающий в полной мере необходимыми признаками, качествами'

¹¹⁰ 'Внутренняя форма — это связь слова с первоначальным значением его корня, которая обычно не ощущается, благодаря тому, что она затемнена изменениями, происшедшими в употреблении слова, но которая в соответствующем контексте снова может стать заметной.'

¹¹¹ 'Полноценный перевод должен быть точным, ясным, сжатым и литературно грамотным.'

¹¹² 'Полноценность перевода означает исчерпывающую точность в передаче смыслового содержания подлинника и полноценное функционально-стилистическое соответствие ему.'

¹¹³ 'в применении к переводу [полноценность] ясно означает: 1) соответствие подлиннику по функции (полноценность передачи) и 2) полноценность выбора средств переводчиком (полноценность языка и стиля).'

¹¹⁴ 'Полноценность перевода состоит в передаче специфического для подлинника соотношения содержания и формы путем воспроизведения особенностей последней (если это возможно по языковым условиям) или создания функциональных соответствий эти особенностям.'

¹¹⁵ 'Балли говорит в своем «*Traité de stylistique française*» о «*mentalité européenne*» — «европейском психическом складе», общем для многих народов и позволяющем легко сравнивать стилистические явления разных языков Западной Европы.'

¹¹⁶ 'Основные теоретические положения этой «социологической» школы и ее буржуазных ответвлений диаметрально противоположны сталинскому учению о языке, которое исходит из диалектико-материалистического понимания общественной сущности языка.'

¹¹⁷ '... мы не будем настаивать на идентичности того, что получает читатель перевода, с тем, что получает читатель оригинала, а потребуем, чтобы перевод и подлинник выполняли одну и ту же функцию в системе культурно-исторических связей читателей подлинника и перевода; мы будем исходить из необходимости подчинять частности целому в соответствии с требованиями функционального подобия.'

¹¹⁸ 'обозначения реалий общественной жизни и материального быта, специфичных для данного народа и данной страны'

¹¹⁹ 'Здесь речь идет, собственно, даже не об отсутствии смыслового соответствия, а о несоответствии в стилистической окраске, о непригодности существующего слова для данного случая.'

¹²⁰ 'непереводимая игра слов'

¹²¹ 'совпадение порядка слов и грамматических категорий в двух языках'

¹²² 'Работа переводчика принимает в каждом отдельном случае различное направление — в зависимости от целого ряда обстоятельств: от жанра переводимого произведения, от характера языка, на котором оно написано, от стиля, свойственного его автору, от характера языка, на который делается перевод, от тех требований, которые предъявляются к переводу в данную эпоху, от тех задач, которые ставит себе переводчик, и от тех художественных средств, которыми он располагает.'

¹²³ 'Разновидности перевода в зависимости от жанрового типа переводимого материала'

¹²⁴ 'Первоочередной задачей теории перевода в вопросе о типах материала должно явиться определение своеобразия каждого из них по признаку соотношения в них элементов основного словарного фонда с

элементами различных пластов словарного состава языка и с точки зрения отбора и использования различных возможностей грамматического строя.’

¹²⁵ ‘1) тексты газетно-информационные, документальные и специальные научные, 2) произведения публицистические, 3) произведения художественной литературы.’

¹²⁶ ‘Попытка же охарактеризовать в интересах истории перевода общие для разных языков специфические особенности отдельных речевых стилей может быть сделана, исходя из понятия о их целенаправленности, о их функциях и на основе сравнения с тем языком, на который делается перевод и по отношению к которому должны быть выявлены как черты сходства, так и черты различия.’

¹²⁷ ‘Основной задачей при переводе информационного текста является — донести до читателя его содержание в самой ясной, четкой, привычной форме.’

¹²⁸ ‘сохранение экспрессивных черт подлинника и общего его тона’

¹²⁹ ‘национальное своеобразие оригинала’, ‘национальная окраска’

¹³⁰ ‘... индивидуальное своеобразие творчества находит свое языковое выражение в системе использования языковых категорий, образующих в своей взаимосвязи единое целое с содержанием и являющихся носителями национального своеобразия и исторической окраски.’

¹³¹ ‘1) сглаживание, обезличивание в угоду неверно понятым требованиям литературной нормы языка перевода и вкусам определенного литературного направления;

2) попытки формалистически точного воспроизведения отдельных элементов подлинника вопреки требованиям языка, на который делается перевод — явление, имеющее конечным результатом насилие над этим языком, стилистическую неполноценность;

3) искажение индивидуального своеобразия подлинника в результате произвольного выбора языковых средств, произвольной замены одних особенностей другими;

4) полноценная передача индивидуального своеобразия подлинника с полным учетом всех его существенных особенностей и требований языка перевода.’

¹³² ‘В работах литературоведов и критиков по вопросам художественного перевода почти всегда происходит одно и то же. Исследователь начинает с общей характеристики мировоззрения писателя, которое и определяет всю его поэтику. Но когда надо уже рассмотреть те формы, в которых выразилось мировоззрение писателя, исследователь весьма редко умел раскрыть единство формы и содержания, особенности самой формы и историю формы. И в результате «выпал» из поля зрения исследователя первоэлемент литературного творчества — язык писателя (в оригинале и в переводе).’

¹³³ ‘творческой деятельности в области языка’

¹³⁴ ‘Книга Андрея Федорова посвящена теории не художественного перевода, а перевода вообще. Все же перевод художественный, как самый

сложный, требующей высшей «меры точности» (о самом этом термине мы еще скажем ниже), должен занимать в ней и самое большое место. «Главные проблемы перевода» решаются, конечно, в переводе художественном.'

¹³⁵ «Перевод может и должен быть включен в лингвистическую проблематику, а лингвистика — единственная наука, без которой решать вопросы любого перевода нельзя, но это отнюдь не означает, что силами одной лингвистики можно ограничиться при создании теории перевода». Это, мне кажется, совершенно непреложным, и книга А. Федорова только подтверждает этот вывод А. Реформатского.

Уместно напомнить в этой связи, что литературоведение — тоже наука, а поэтика, которая так долго оставалась в плену у формалистов, уже может и должна наконец стать наукой. [...]

Да, силами одной лингвистики нельзя ограничиться при изучении теории перевода. В новом издании этой книги, будем надеяться, наука языкознания вступит в должные отношения с наукой поэтики и наукой литературоведения. И тогда сами собой восполнятся многие досадные пробелы интересной книги А. Федорова.'

¹³⁶ «Самые основные возражения, сделанные мне в нашей критике, сводились к указанию на то, что в первом издании книги неправомерно расширена компетенция лингвистики в вопросах перевода, в особенности перевода художественного, что о последнем вообще сказано мало и что вопрос о нем поставлен слишком узко, обеднен. Эти возражения содержатся и в рецензии Н. И. Фельдман, написанной в лингвистическом же плане. Очевидно, что для подобного упрека дали основание чрезмерно решительные формулировки первого издания, касающиеся важности языковедческого подхода к проблеме. Категоричность этих формулировок, видимо, заслонила все, говорившееся и в первом издании о многосторонности изучения, которого требует перевод, и о возможности разных путей его изучения, отнюдь не исключая друг друга. [...] отдавая должное важности и интересу литературоведческих и прежде всего историко-литературных задач в изучении художественного перевода, я в этой своей книге занимаюсь именно лингвистической стороной вопроса, которая еще и недостаточно исследована и недостаточно систематизирована; разработка же ее представляет необходимый этап в построении теории перевода, как комплексной общефилологической дисциплины.'

¹³⁷ «... в тех случаях, когда параллельными по условиям контекста являются слова, не связанные сами по себе общностью значения, правильнее говорить о лексических вариантах, а не синонимах.'

¹³⁸ «Противники лингвистического подхода к проблеме пользуются такими доводами, как отсутствие твердых, постоянных, прямолинейных соответствий между двумя языками (особенно при передаче произведений художественной литературы) или как необходимость ограничивать круг наблюдений каждый раз только парой определенных языков.'

¹³⁹ «лучшие советские переводчики убеждены...»

¹⁴⁰ «... ведущим для нас является сегодня советский реалистический перевод. Важно лишь в каждом случае выделить и уяснить то основное и

главное, что представляет собою стиль и метод перевода и что, в свою очередь, определяется временем, местом и социальными условиями. А это общее и главное воплощено для нас сегодня в теории и практике искусства социалистического реализма.'

¹⁴¹ 'С глубоким возмущением прочитал почти хулиганский наскок на Вашу книгу в статье уважаемого Ивана Александровича Кашкина. Только психически неуравновешенный человек может опуститься до пересказывая глупых анекдотов, подменяя ими серьезную критику.'

¹⁴² 'другая возможность — обратить преимущественное внимание на белое пятно эстетики, рассматривать перевод как вид искусства слова, то есть не лингвистически, а литературоведчески.'

¹⁴³ 'В этой книге перевод, в том числе и художественный, характеризуется как «форма творческой деятельности в области языка». Соответственно этому теория художественного перевода рассматривается как особый раздел лингвистики, а понятие художественного перевода как бы исключается из сферы литературоведческих понятий и категорий. Ни разу в книге А. В. Федорова не упоминается о том, что художественный перевод — это форма творческой деятельности в области литературы.'

¹⁴⁴ 'Из всего сказанного явствует, насколько сложна переводческая работа, состоящая в постоянных поисках языковых средств для выражения того единства содержания и формы, какое представляет подлинник, и в выборе между несколькими возможностями передачи. Эти поиски и этот выбор имеют в любом случае творческий характер. Перевод же художественной литературы и литературы общественно-политической, а также научных произведений, отличающихся выразительностью языка, является искусством и требует литературного дарования.'

¹⁴⁵ 'теория художественного перевода не должна быть поглощена лингвистикой, не должна стать дисциплиной чисто лингвистической, к чему призывает А. В. Федоров'

¹⁴⁶ 'Мне кажется, что большие знания, опыт и силы, потраченные на это надуманное теоретизирование, могли бы найти лучшее применение. Ведь нам всем сообща еще надо разработать общеприемлемую теорию или поэтику художественного перевода, опирающуюся на достижения советского языкознания и не менее тесно связанную с нашим советским литературоведением; теорию, конкретно изучающую способы отбора в определенных исторических условиях определенных средств выражения; теорию, помогающую переводчику ставить перед собой высокие идейно-художественные цели и достигать их в своей практической работе.'

¹⁴⁷ 'Не посетуйте, если я в своей заметке [...] как-нибудь не так сослался на ваш давний отзыв.'

¹⁴⁸ 'Многоуважаемый Андрей Венедиктович!

Очень жаль, что на Секретариате Союза Писателей по художественному переводу, на котором присутствовало столько ленинградских переводчиков вплоть до Азарова, не было ни Рождественского, ни Морозова, ни Вас. Хотя Вы-то незримо присутствовали /как Вы должно быть заметили по газетным отчетам/ в виде частых цитат из Вашей последней книги высказываний писателей о переводе. [...]

А Вы делаете хорошее дело, хотя бы тем, что вправляете мозги нынешним писателям мыслями о переводе их достойных предшественников. Это уже подступ к истории перевода. Желаю Вам успеха и в этом деле.'

¹⁴⁹ 'Никак нельзя утверждать, что теория перевода является «языковедческой проблемой». Она — проблема одновременно и языковедческая (перевода данной фразы), и литературоведческая (неотделимость узкого контекста от широкого, что включает переводчика во весь комплекс литературоведческих вопросов).'

¹⁵⁰ 'Нам очень важно дать объективную оценку издания [...] Ваше мнение и как человека, особенно компетентного в этом вопросе, и как теоретика перевода, как редактора одного из томов «собрания», и наконец как ленинградца, а не москвича-гослитовца, было бы особенно нам ценно.'

¹⁵¹ 'Глубокоуважаемый Андрей Венедиктович!

Я с волнением ждал Вашего отзыва и чрезвычайно рад, что Вы меня так хорошо и правильно поняли. Для меня было бы очень лестно, если бы об этом могла узнать наша общественность, но я не знаю как Вы на это посмотрите. На эту мысль меня подтолкнула редакция журнала «Литературная Грузия», которая готова опубликовать любое Ваше выступление. Журнал стремится пошире осветить всевозможные аспекты теории перевода. В 4-ом номере журнал публикует статью Эдмона Кари в «Вавилоне» /№X-I, 1964/ — обо мне. Кстати в № X-3 «Вавилон» опубликовал мою статью «Художественный перевод в Грузии» /на английском языке/, которую и высылаю Вам.

Я надеюсь, что сумеете приехать к нам в гости. Все были бы очень рады этому у нас.'

¹⁵² 'Перелистав Вашу книгу, я еще раз убедился, что у разумных людей, которые выше всего ставят общее дело, не может быть непреодолимых разногласий. [...]

Вы одним из первых поняли правильно меня, но может быть мне следовало бы где-то громче сказать о том, что литературоведческий подход в самом «чистом» литературоведении должен включать и тот органический стилистический (или лингво-стилистический) анализ, который так естественно, — но только в сопоставительном плане, — включился в теорию перевода. Я думаю, что отсутствие (причем, традиционное у нас!) этого и есть весьма существенный недостаток нашего литературоведения. (7) Язык и литература не только не противоречат друг другу, но просто не могут существовать без друг друга...'

¹⁵³ 'Вы читали, конечно, в «Знамени» статью Кашкина с совершенно неосновательными выпадами против лингво-стилистики, против Ваших работ, против требовательности к переводам. Об этой статье у нас на кафедре был отрицательный отзыв.'

¹⁵⁴ 'Подобные случаи обусловлены идеологией и эстетикой переводчика или целого литературного направления, т.е. факторами, не имеющими отношения к лингвистике.'

¹⁵⁵ 'Естественно е, че теорията на превода не може да дава конкретни рецепти, обаче тя трябва, и то нормативно, да установи онези общи

закономерности, въз основа на които частната теория на превода ще установи принципите и правилата на предаването на отделните категории езикови средства във връзка със спецификата на отделните жанрове и на конкретните езици.'

¹⁵⁶ 'Преводът не може да има различни цели. Той има винаги една цел — да позволи осъществяването на езикова комуникация в разреза на два езика. Различни са целите на оригиналите — документ, научен текст, повест — и преводът трябва да запази техните цели.'

¹⁵⁷ 'Защо при граматическите въпроси за разлика от логическите Федоров установява, само случаите на несъответствие, а не установява по принцип случаите на съотношение? За теорията и практиката на превода са еднакво важни както случаите на несъответствие, така и случаите на съответствие.'

¹⁵⁸ 'Функционалните еквиваленти са такива конструктивни единици на превода, езикови средства, които изпълняват в системата на контекста същите функции, както даденото или дадените средства на оригинала в системата на цялото и в своята съвкупност дават на превода същата веществено-смислова, идейна, естетическа и емоционална функционалност, каквато има оригиналът.'

¹⁵⁹ 'Понеже използването на функционални еквиваленти е единствено възможният начин за осъществяване на пълноценен превод, то се превръща в основен принцип на превода, а понятието функционален еквивалент — в основно понятие на теорията на превода.'

¹⁶⁰ 'Большое спасибо за присланную книгу и за очень приветливую рецензию! Ваш благосклонный взгляд на мою работу будет для меня очень ценным и побуждающим. На прошлой неделе я вам прислал мою новую книгу «Искусство перевода» и надеюсь, что вас, может быть, будет интересовать.'

¹⁶¹ 'наиболее плодотворное и наиболее перспективное и к тому же наиболее освоенное в нашей философии, которой оно – по сравнению со структурализмом датским и американским — оказалось и наиболее созвучным.'

¹⁶² 'Считая своей труд и свой метод литературоведческим, И. Левый к анализу материала переводов подходит как к задаче комплексной, общепилологической, т.е. равное внимание уделяя и языковой и литературной специфике встающих трудных вопросов и проявляя при этом блестящую лингвистическую эрудицию.'

¹⁶³ 'Хотя книга по всему своему существу имеет теоретический характер, т.е. ставит те или иные общие или частные вопросы [...] и решает их, а также, в зависимости от них, дает оценки переводческих результатов, тем самым выигрывающие в объективности, все же формулируется автором внешне нормативно, т.е. в виде советов, рекомендаций, указаний — с помощью таких слов, как «необходимо», «следует», «желательно» и т.п. В большом числе случаев эта нормативность имеет условный характер, являясь определением тех или иных закономерностей в соотношении между известными чертами оригинала и разными возможностями их передачи при конкретных языковых и историко-литературных данных. В других случаях автор и прямо дает рекомендации переводчику (правда,

всегда с учетом определенных условий), исходя преимущественно из чешской национальной традиции перевода, по неизбежности, разумеется, ограниченной.’

¹⁶⁴ ‘Tretie vydanie jeho knihy Základu všeobecnej teórie prekladu, ktoré vychádza po desiatich rokoch s pozmeneným názvom, svedčí o tom, že prístup k riešeniu otázok prekladateľskej teórie, ktorý zvolil autor už v prvom vydaní, je aj dnes aktuálny.’

¹⁶⁵ ‘Fjodorov bol prvým bádateľom, ktorý pristupoval k prekladu ako k javu lingvistickému u zdôrazňoval’

¹⁶⁶ ‘kultem cytatu’

¹⁶⁷ ‘To pozornie ujemne stwierdzenie w rzeczywistości nie jest ujemną oceną książki. Po prostu badania w tej dziedzinie są jeszcze zbyt słabo zaawansowane na to, by mogła powstać pełna teoria przekładu.’

¹⁶⁸ Title translated by Schäffner (2003).

¹⁶⁹ ‘Большое спасибо за Вашу драгоценную книгу, которая вызвала большой интерес среди нас. Помним, около три года тому назад, мы с большим интересом изучали Вашу книгу. К ней мы были так жадно прикованы, что пришлось прекратить всю свою работу на неделю для ее изучения. Изложенные в Вашей работе теоретические положения и Ваши ценные мнения, данные Вами в качестве ответа на наше письмо, оказали нам большую помощь в решении практических проблем в переводе. С тех пор, мы всегда уделяли и уделяем большое внимание на теорию перевода, стараясь принимать ее в практике, чтобы достичь «полноценного перевода» в своей практической работе. Это привело к значительному повышению качества нашего перевода. Мы твердо верим, что изучение вашей новой работы принесет нам еще больше пользы в нашей работе, и думаем, что Вы в дальнейшем будете отвечать на наши письма, содержащие вопросы по теории перевода.’

¹⁷⁰ ‘Der folgende Aufsatz „Das Problem der Übersetzung in sowjetischer Sicht“ ist erschienen in der Zeitschrift Sprachforum, 1. Jahrg., Heft 2/1955, S. 124-134. Die ursprünglich geplante Aufnahme eines Kapitels aus dem Buche von Fedorow, über welches hier referiert wird, mußte aufgegeben werden. Zwar gelang es, die russische Ausgabe zu beschaffen, doch stellte sich heraus, daß der wertvolle praktische Teil des Buches aus russischen Übersetzungsbeispielen besteht, die dem deutschen Leser wenig sagen und überdies unübersetzbar sind; die theoretischen Ausführungen Fedorows hingegen gründen sich hauptsächlich auf Stalins Aufsätze zur Sprachwissenschaft und dürften selbst in der Sowjetunion kaum noch Bedeutung haben.’ [Translation to English post-edited by Daniela Moratscheck.]

¹⁷¹ ‘Unmöglich scheint mir, die Qualität der Übersetzungen nach ihrem Erfolg bei den Lesern messen zu wollen.’ [Translation to English post-edited by Daniela Moratscheck.]

¹⁷² ‘das des Gleichgewichts zwischen der Wiedergabe des Inhalts und der Nachahmung der Form.’ [Translation to English post-edited by Daniela Moratscheck.]

¹⁷³ ‘*L’Introduction à une théorie de la traduction* (1953) représente incontestablement une contribution de premier ordre à la pensée théorique en matière de traduction.’

¹⁷⁴ ‘Глубокоуважаемым Б. А. Ларину и А. В. Федорову на добрую память о встречах в Дубровнике, André Meunieux просит принять свои *Meilleurs vœux* на 1964 год и извинения за долгое, произвольное молчание. Еще не знаю, смогу ли я рецензировать «Теорию и критику перевода» и другие ваши статьи в «Бабеле». Об этом журнале никакого известия не имею, и даже член ли я еще или нет редакционного комитета! Странные нравы!

С большим и искренним почтением,

A. Meunieux.’

¹⁷⁵ ‘...la traduction n’est une opération ni totalement scientifique, ni totalement linguistique. Elle est, dit CARY, « une opération sui generis ».’

¹⁷⁶ ‘Вы уже, должно быть, получили некоторое время тому назад приглашение совета по художественному переводу союза писателей СССР — принять участие в организуемом им международной симпозиуме по теории перевода.

Со своей стороны хочу выразить горячее желание увидеть вас среди участников симпозиума и услышать ваше выступление, которое будет встречено с огромным интересом ваших советских коллег, работающих над проблемой перевода. Симпозиум, как мне представляется, обещает быть интересным.

Я очень надеюсь на эту возможность лично познакомиться с вами. Я высоко ценю ваши книги, в особенности «Les problèmes théorique de la traduction», которую я неоднократно цитирую в своей работе. Эта книга дорога мне как ваш подарок.’

¹⁷⁷ ‘Vous restez pour nous la référence de base en cette matière. (Saviez-vous que votre ouvrage a été traduit en français – ronéographié, non commercialisé – par l’Institut de traduction de Bruxelles ?)’ [Translated to English by Diane Otsaka.]

¹⁷⁸ ‘В настоящей статье мы не разбираем многочисленных и весьма ценных работ по теории и практике перевода, выполненных учеными в Восточной Европе.’

¹⁷⁹ ‘Теория перевода как научная дисциплина’

¹⁸⁰ ‘изучение общих задач и условий работы над языком перевода в связи с требованиями, которые к переводу ставит язык, как средство общения, обмена мыслями, и его общепрофессиональная норма’

¹⁸¹ ‘От перевода, как творческого процесса, как искусства, следует отличать теорию перевода, как специальную научную дисциплину. Задача ее — обобщать выводы из наблюдений над отдельными частными случаями перевода и служить теоретической основой для переводческой практики, которая могла бы руководствоваться ею в поисках нужных средств выражения и выбора их и могла бы черпать в ней доводы и доказательства в пользу определенного решения конкретных вопросов.’

¹⁸² ‘«всеобщая история» перевода’

¹⁸³ 'Однако, если дополнить концепцию полноценного перевода положением о ранговой иерархии компонентов содержания, она окажется плодотворной для перевода художественных текстов. Современная практика перевода художественных текстов в целом ориентируется именно на эту концепцию, а учет ранговой иерархии компонентов содержания позволяет подвести объективную базу под необходимые изменения.'

¹⁸⁴ 'Все мы вышли из Рецкера.'

¹⁸⁵ 'В прошлом году исполнилось 30 лет, как я учу переводу на основе разработанной Вами теории.'

¹⁸⁶ 'лингвистическое переводоведение'