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Widen the Circle: Translingual Poetics & Children's Poetry in the Work of Yan Satunovsky

Abstract: This paper addresses multi- and translingual aspects of the work of Soviet unofficial poet Yan Satunovsky. It considers biographical, professional, creative and emotional factors contributing to multilingualism in Satunovsky's work, including his childhood in early-Soviet Ukraine, his Jewish identity, his status as an unofficial poet and his work as a translator and author of children's poetry. Examples from children's and adult poems elucidate the different languages Satunovsky worked in and the difference between multilingual and translingual poetics. The article concludes with a reflection on the larger significance of multi- and translingual poetry for Satunovsky and his time.

Keywords: unofficial poetry, multilingualism, translingual poetry, Soviet children's literature, friendship of peoples

Yan Satunovsky was born in 1913 into a Jewish family in Ekaterinoslav (later Soviet Dnepropetrovsk and now the Ukrainian city of Dnipro), in the Russian Empire's Pale of Settlement. He grew up speaking primarily Russian: almost no one in the family spoke Yiddish.[1] While his family likewise did not speak Ukrainian, Satunovsky's youth coincided with the period of Ukrainization and he was familiar with the language and with contemporary literature; he

1 Cf.: "Ours was a Europeanized family of urban assimilated Jews, typical for early twentieth-century Ekaterinoslav. No one spoke Yiddish and certainly not Hebrew. […] our native language was always Russian with an admixture of Ukrainian neologisms" («Это была европеизированная семья городских ассимилированных евреев, типичная для Екатеринослава в начале XX века. Никто не говорил на идише, а тем более, на иврите, [...] родной язык был всегда русский с примесью украинских неологизмов»; Burkov 2012: 1). Burkov quotes Piotr Satunovsky, the poet's brother.

would later translate Ukrainian poems into Russian.[2] Viktor Ivaniv refers to Satunovsky's first-hand familiarity with "the Ukrainian-Polish-Yiddish language environment", asserting that this "mix of idioms, words with ephemeral lifespans, and vernaculars would accompany him for his entire life".[3]

While Satunovsky's diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural heritage impacted his life in various ways, this article specifically identifies Satunovsky as a translingual poet and examines multilingual and translingual aspects of his published work for children and unpublished work for adults. In addition to illuminating the wide-ranging significance of the translingual for Satunovsky's poetics, I also examine the place of multilingualism in 1960s–1970s Soviet children's literature and why this phenomenon matters in the Soviet context.

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First, let me make the case for Satunovsky as a translingual poet. The non-Russian languages of his childhood milieu – Yiddish, Hebrew and especially Ukrainian – appear occasionally in his adult poems; further contact with German, Czech, Polish and possibly French and English occurred during his years of fighting in WWII. Indeed, Ivaniv points to the inherent multilingualism of wartime experience, describing Satunovsky's speaking voice as the "vital and unitary 'I' of a contemplator isolated in his thoughts, whose hearing is crisscrossed by squadrons of prisoners-of-war and the speech of the great migration of peoples".[4] As a freelance writer and translator living outside of Moscow in the post-war years, Satunovsky translated from Ukrainian, Czech, Polish, and other Slavic languages.

All 1300 poems in Satunovsky's collected works have Russian as their "base language". In recent work on translingual poetry, Eugene Ostashevsky suggests that one way to think about the difference between multilingual and translin-

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2 The 2012 volume contains more than twenty references to Ukrainian writers and cultural phenomena. To take one example, the commentary to the short poem "Perevozhu Vingranovskogo…" indicates that Satunovsky worked on multiple translations of the Ukrainian poet's children's poems [688].

3 «[…] украинско-польско-еврейская языковая среда была знакома поэту не понаслышке. Смесь наречий, слов, которые живут веком мотылька, народных говоров будет сопровождать его всю жизнь» (Ivanov 2013: 244). This and subsequent translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. – *A.M.*

4 «[…] живая единица „я" уединенного в своих помыслах созерцателя, сквозь слух которого проходят эшелоны с военнопленными и слышна речь великого переселения народов» (Ivanov 2013: 244).

gual poems is the extent to which the two (or more) languages are interacting with and coloring one another (Ostashevsky 2023: 178–179). For instance, nearly half of Satunovsky's children's books fall into what can be called the "friendship of peoples" genre: these are collections of play and counting rhymes from various Soviet and non-Soviet peoples, which call attention to language and languages while not troubling what Suresh Canagarajah might call the monolingual (Russian) paradigm.[5] Most of these poems are multilingual – they include place and proper names and selected other words in languages other than Russian – but the foreign words are carefully boxed off and kept separate, serving as the linguistic equivalent of "national costumes" but not impacting the (socialist) content or/and the deep structures of language. Even while it privileges linguistic (and cultural) difference, this kind of multilingualism, like monolingualism, implicitly supports translational equivalence and the idea that mostly everything can be easily understood between all people (Yildiz 2012: 2-19). Some of Satunovsky's children's poems, however, inch closer toward the boundary of legibility and comprehensibility – I will return to them shortly.

Satunovsky has some adult poems that are "multilingual" in this easily legible sense, including some early anti-Nazi poems published in the lead-up to and during the Second World War.[6] Actual translingualism is evident in other adult works by Satunovsky in that other languages interpolate Russian-language texts in ways that are semantically significant. The form of these interpolations ranges widely, and the linguistic interpolations are not even necessarily non-Russian. The following example demonstrates the incorporation of dialects, i.e. the acknowledgement of non-"standard Moscow" Russian:

> Город говорунов. Говор на О.
> Горьковский, нижегородский: кОро́ва; твОро́г.

5 Quoted in Ostashevsky 2023: 174.

6 Satunovsky ran the humor page in the Dnepropetrovsk daily *Zvezda* (*Star*) in 1937–38; he continued this work in the frontline paper *Patriot rodiny* (*Patriot of the Motherland*), with poems like this one about Hitler: «Он, собрав своих прохвостов, / Об'яснил им очень просто / Нет капута, есть блиц-криг, — /Айн-цвей-дрей, — победа вмиг!» ("He collected all his scoundrels / Laid out his plan nice and simple: / No kaput now, only blitzkrieg, / Just eins-zwei-drei to victory!"; L. Satunovskii 2009: 4).

Говорят: Ока́; говорят: пОка́.
Ну, а чего посущественней, не говорят пока.

26 ноября 1966, Дзержинск
[204]

A commune of communicators. The idiom of O.
Gorky-argot, Nizhny-lingo: *kOrOva*; *tvOrOg*. [cow, farmer cheese]
They say: *OkA*; they say: *pOkA*. [the river Oka, bye]
Well, and beyond that, they don't say much so far.

26 November 1966, Dzerzhinsk

Satunovsky also pays attention to speech variations such as stuttering, as in the wartime poem "One said…" ("Odin skazal…", 1940; [12]), which also includes punning – it is highly characteristic that these two speech phenomena would be combined.

Один сказал:
– Не больше и не меньше,
как начался раздел Польши.

Второй
страстно захохотал,
а третий головою помотал.

Четвёртый,
за, за, заикаясь, преподнёс:
– Раздел. Красотку. И в постель унёс.

Так мы учились говорить о смерти.
[12]

One said:
"The long and short of it is,
Poland's getting split."

The second
laughed til he turned red;
the third just shook his head.

The fourth,
stut, stut, stuttering, came out ahead:
"Split. Her pretty legs. And off with her to bed."

And so we learned to speak of death.[7]

The poem highlights the abstraction of language with its pointed pun that juxtaposes the division of Poland ("razdel Pol′shi") with the undressing of the pretty lady ("razdel krasotku"). But it also models the breakdown of language per se through the stuttering fourth speaker, who produces the pun with some difficulty: "The fourth / stut, stut, stuttering […]." The final line "And so we learned to speak of death" moreover introduces the idea that, while all the figures in the poem are evidently competent speakers of Russian, the war is requiring them to learn a different way of speaking – almost a different language that they will all need to master in order to talk about (or avoid talking about) what they are witnessing.

Even without the inclusion of non-Russian words, this heightened attention to the variations within one language serves to break down the illusion of neutral monolingualism. Ostashevsky writes:

> While the choice of language in a monolingual text is usually semantically neutral, the choice of one language in a bilingual text always takes place at the expense of another language […]. Consequently, consideration of what language is used to say what things (and by whom and in what manner) adds extra dimensions to the poem as a semantic construction.
> (Ostashevsky 2023: 178)

He points specifically to punning as the premier device for translingual poetry, understood broadly as poetry that slows down perception and foreground thinking about language alongside whatever other messages it may be keen to

7 Translation by Ainsley Morse and Philip Redko.

convey (Ostashevsky 2025: 168).[8] (Ostashevsky also points out that Formalists like Tynianov and Jakobson thought that this was the primary task of *all* poetry.)

The presence of other languages in a poem – even relatively comprehensible languages – has a defamiliarizing and thus destabilizing effect on the reader. It recalls what Tynianov says about Osip Mandelstam's peculiar ability to make ordinary Russian words sound foreign: "This highly responsive verse culture needs only a small foreign implantation for ordinary Russian words like 'parting,' 'long-tressed' and 'waiting' to become as Latinate as 'vigils,' and for 'sciences' [nauki] and for 'pants' [briuki] to become *chebureki*" (Tynianov 2019: 209). Tynianov describes a process whereby the firm connection between the shape and sound of a word and its meaning becomes looser. While the Futurists invented new words without fixed meanings (*zaum*), Mandelstam slightly destabilizes the meaning of apparently well-known words, bringing about defamiliarization on the level of the individual word rather than phrase or image.

Tynianov thus characterizes Mandelstam's work as "work on the literary language by a near-foreigner" (Ibid.). Many of Satunovsky's poems, although written entirely in Russian, perform a distinctive distancing of the self from "Russianness". Some poems don't beat around the bush, addressing the everyday racism and discrimination toward non-Russian Soviet minorities:

ИХ понятия.
Еврей это оскорбительно.
Поэтому говорят: еврейчик.

Армяшка, хохлушка, чучмек —
дружба народов.

21 октября 1966
[528][9]

THEIR concepts.
Jew [evrei] is insulting.

8 Note that Gerald Janecek dubbed Vsevolod Nekrasov a "poet of paronomasia". Nekrasov has multiple cycles that play with foreign-language insertions and the nearly macaronic collection *Doiche Bukh* (2002).

9 Cf. a 1965 poem about fitting in and not fitting into Ukraine, "Мое – не мое – небо…" [177].

So they say: lil' Jew [evreichik].
Cute lil' Armenian [armiashka], lil' Ukie girl [khokhlushka],
darkie [chuchmek] –
the friendship of peoples.

21 October 1966

The critique can also be more explicitly language-related, as in the following poem that problematizes the "great Russian language" as the medium for Soviet poetry and the Soviet state:

Эта видимость смысла в стихах современных советских поэтов —
свойство синтаксиса,
свойство великого русского языка
управлять государством;
и ты
не валяй дурака,
пока
цел,
помни об этом!

12 июля 1967
[220]

This illusion of meaning in the poems of contemporary Soviet poets –
is a propensity of the syntax,
a propensity of the great Russian language
to run the state;
you too
don't you forget it,
while you're
still intact,
remember that!

12 July 1967[10]

10 Translation by Ainsley Morse and Philip Redko.

Here, the speaker (and his addressee, evidently – himself) are pointedly left outside the bounds of all the entities named: the great Russian language, its syntax and capacity for running the state, and its status as the medium for the apparently meaningful content of contemporary Soviet poetry. Of course, the most obvious instances of translingualism in Satunovsky's work are poems that engage actively with words and phrases from other non-Russian languages. Yet even without including non-Russian words, this poem, like the previous one, exemplifies Sarah Dowling's definition of translingual poetry as "self-consciously situated between languages and <attending> to the complex processes of domination and refusal that can be observed and interpreted from the discursive context of each" (Dowling 2018: 6). While the examples I give here use Russian to spell out Satunovsky's outsider status more and less explicitly, other translingual adult poems allow a few select words or phrases in non-Russian languages to enact that distance more implicitly.

Considering discursive contexts, the "illusion of meaning" poem furthermore suggests that Satunovsky's translingualism can be connected to his status as an unofficial poet. Mikhail Pavlovets points to a direct connection between Satunovsky's Jewish and Ukrainian identity in the Soviet context and his status as an unofficial writer: "We recall that Satunovsky's complicated ethnic self-identification, as someone born in Ekaterinoslav, included not only Russianness and Jewishness, but also Ukrainianness, and the two latter identities serve as a sort of metaphor for his semi-legal position in Russian literature".[11] While officially-published poets of the late Soviet period were quite explicitly bound to support the Russocentric monolingual paradigm (something reflected quite consistently in Satunovsky's children's books, as we will see), Satunovsky's unpublished status arguably released him from this obligation and encouraged him to experiment with a translingualism that embraces a degree of illegibility, one that points toward the free-standing, idiosyncratic existence of other languages (within and without the poet) while questioning the possibility of translational equivalence.[12] I would go so far as to say that

11 Quote from his article in this volume.

12 Considering translingualism in a North American postcolonial setting, Dowling highlights the critical power of poems which "refuse to presume or to perform translational equivalency; rather, translingual poetics relies upon and produces effects of untranslatability, opacity, and noncomprehension" (Dowling 2018: 6).

Satunovsky's translingualism almost always has a (culturally, politically, or/and literarily) subversive function.

Children's poetry

Like his fellow unofficial Lianozovo poets Igor′ Kholin, Genrikh Sapgir, Vsevolod Nekrasov and Ovsei Driz, Satunovsky made part of his living as a children's writer and translator, as well as a literary critic writing about children's poetry.[13] He published at least fourteen children's books under his name, in addition to numerous publications in anthologies and periodicals. As mentioned, in the late 1930s Satunovsky had written for the Dnepropetrovsk daily *Zvezda* (*Star*) (the "Kidding / Not Kidding" ("V shutku i vser′ez") rubric); these columns and his children's books were the only Soviet publications of poetry he saw during his lifetime, though he tried for decades to get his adult poems into print as well (L. Satunovskii 2009).[14] In addition to the children's poetry, in the 1960s and 1970s Satunovsky published a few essays in professional journals dedicated to children's literature including *Doshkol′noe vospitanie* (*Preschool Education*) and *Detskaia literatura* (*Children's Literature*), which focus on the form and history of children's poetry and its intersections with folklore.[15] Many of Satunovsky's children's books are multilingual (if not translingual).

To hark back to the "THEIR concepts" poem, many of these children's books fall into what could be called the "friendship of peoples" genre. In accordance with Soviet nationalities policy, different nations are identified by a limited selection of specific features. Terry Martin notes that in the mid-1930s there was a significant shift from the metaphor of "socialist brotherhood" to "friendship of nations", which entailed an embrace of kitschy exoticization:

13 See the article by Marat Grinberg in this volume for Satunovsky's writing on Sapgir and Driz.

14 Vsevolod Nekrasov quotes Satunovsky's snarky-editor poems as proof of his ongoing efforts to make it into print. Cf. Nekrasov 1982–1983.

15 See the article by Mikhail Pavlovets in this volume.

> In the brotherhood campaign, the exoticization of national culture – the excessive and uncritical use of the folkloric – was one of the chief sins attributed to both nationalists and especially great-power chauvinists. In the friendship campaign, this concern disappeared entirely and the folkloric and exotic were celebrated uncritically.
> (Martin 2001: 443)

The charming local features should ideally include a national language, although – also by the late 1930s – the subordination of national languages to Russian was also enshrined in the law.

To the extent that Soviet children's literature accurately reflects union-wide cultural norms, the model for "friendship of nations" established under Stalin did not appreciably change over the subsequent decades and even after the dictator's death in 1953. Satunovsky's 1971 *U medvedia vo boru* (*In the Bear's Lair*) offers a neat distillation of this attitude toward nationalities. In it, different peoples of the RSFSR are represented by a short description of a locally popular game (like tag, blindman's bluff, etc.) as well as a brief rhyme. The rhyme meanwhile is not a translation of some kind of children's folk song or play rhyme; instead, it is an original work offering a summary of "what you need to know" about the given culture (as Martin puts it, "a highly clichéd essentializing rhetoric of national character"; ibid.). In a highly typical example, the rhyme for the Bashkir game focuses on the name of an industrial center in the Soviet Bashkir Republic (Ishimbai), its primary export product (petroleum), the name of a major Muslim holiday (Bairam) and an important cultural figure (the bard Buranbai). For good measure, some common proper names in Bashkir (Yamilya, Kamilya, Bibinur, Fazilya) are thrown in.

> Что под нами
> Под ногами
> Под железными столбами?
>
> Это нефть под Ишимбаем,
> Это мы по ней шагаем.
> Ямиля, Камиля, Бибинур и Фазиля,
> И Байран, и Буранбай,

Прилетайте
В Ишимбай!
(Satunovskii 1971: 5)

What's beneath us
'Neath our feet
Underneath these iron struts?

Oil lies under Ishimbai,
Under us as we walk by.
Yamilya, Kamilya, Bibinur and Fazilya,
Bairan and Buranbai,
Come to visit
Ishimbai!

Meanwhile, even this superficial degree of "national specificity" is unusual for the book – in most of the poems, various other peoples are represented, at best, by a reference to a regional capital (of Mordovia, Komi, Kalmykia, Chuvashia) or even just the name of a river, as in the Udmurt rhyme – words you might look up on a map rather than in a dictionary:

Дождик, уходи,
солнышко, води,
чтобы коромысло
над землей повисло:

Одним концом
над рекой Чепцом
[…]
(Satunovskii 1971: 18)

Rain, rain, you're out,
sun, sun, you're it
make it so the big arc
hangs over the earth:

With one end, hurrah
O'er the river Cheptsa
[…]

Other nationalities get no specific features at all. In the rhyme for Chechnya-Ingushetia, in place of national specificity there is some monolingual Russian soundplay: the poem's characters have names that evoke the standard openings for fairy tales, *Zhildabyl* (Onceuponatime) and *Byldazhil* (Uponatimeonce). The repeating *zh* and *y* sounds are perhaps meant to vaguely evoke the sounds of Caucasian languages (or at least the stereotypical Russian perception of them), but the poem fails to engage with any cultural specificity at all:

Жил на свете
Жилдабыл,
С Былдажилом
он дружил.
Жилдабыл
без Былдажила
дня бы, верно
не прожил.
(Satunovskii 1971: 19)

Onceuponatime
once lived
and was friends
with Uponatimeonce.
Without Uponatimeonce
Onceuponatime
couldn't live
a single day.

Despite the book's apparent commitment to multiculturalism, most of the rhymes, like this one, implicitly support the monolingual (Russian) paradigm, with its Romantic nationalist "ideal of linguistic purity – of speaking a language free of the interference of the lexicon and syntax of other languages" (Ostashevsky 2023: 174). It is also worth noting that while all the children in

the illustrations are wearing pointedly non-modern national costumes, less effort has been made to depict ethnicity: thus the page devoted to Yakutia prominently features a white-blond little girl, suggesting either sloppiness on the editors' part, the triumph of Soviet Russian colonialism, or both (Satunovskii 1971: 21). That these books are written in Russian, in the Cyrillic alphabet, is unacknowledged; instead, "Russian" as a culture is always allotted its own spot, usually first.

This book must have gone over well because the following year Satunovsky published *From Niko to Suliko* (*Ot Niko do Suliko*. Moskva: Detskaia literatura, 1973). This book features children from Soviet republics and autonomous regions (the Ishimbai rhyme is reproduced), other socialist countries (Romania, Hungary), as well as the capitalist countries Finland and France. Two years later the same publishing house Fizkul′tura i sport (Athletics and Sports) put out yet another one, *Shire krug* (*Widen the Circle*), this time featuring peoples of the USSR.

In *Widen the Circle*, the references are again superficial and essentially monolingual: the Estonian rhyme features only the vaguely Germanic name "Marta", the Turkmen – "Fatimushka", and the Kazakh – "Chingiz-traktorist" ("Genghis the tractor-driver"). The Armenian rhyme refers to the republic's capital city of Yerevan, lake Sevan and the river Razdan (evidently because they all rhyme). Interestingly, the Russian rhyme does not come first, as is typical, but in the middle; meanwhile, only in the illustration to the Russian rhyme do you see some kids wearing "ordinary", non-ethnic or folkloric clothing (one kid dressed in a Red Army hat, another wearing modern-day worker clothes). All the other kids are scrupulously attired in national costume and are given "appropriate" ethnic features.

Also in 1974, Satunovsky worked with another Moscow publishing house, Malysh (Little One), to put out the collection *Khorovod* (*Circle Dance*), also featuring a selection of peoples of the USSR. While the emphasis here is the same as in the other books (in fact, the "Russian" and Uzbek poems are both just duplicated from *In the Bear's Lair*), the Latvian poem diverges from the others with some actual literary code-switching:

У дороги —
Даргс, даргс!
Сторож строгий —

Саргс, саргс!
Запер он ворота — варти.
Как попасть нам
К тете Марте?
(Satunovskii 1974: 8)

By the road –
Dargs, *dargs*!
A stern guard –
Sargs, sargs!
He has locked the gate – *varti*.
How can we reach
Auntie Marti?

The poem includes the Latvian words for "road", "guard" and "gate", placing them in rhyming position and without translation; perhaps Satunovsky, or his editors, thought that their morphological and phonological similarity to the Russian words justified the absence of a gloss. Yet similar exercises are not done in poems engaging with languages like Ukrainian or Polish that are morphologically closer to Russian, and the word "Latvian" does not even appear anywhere on the page. The poem thus "counts" as translingual: monolingual Russian-language readers do not have access to all codes, opening up a range of possible misunderstandings. This can be contrasted to the more explanatory Tajik poem in the same volume, which opens with a straightforward gloss:

Поглядите, что за диво прилетело в наш кишлак?
По-таджикски это диво называется лякляк.
Это аист,
Белый аист!
(Satunovskii 1974: 15)

Hey look, what's this wonder that's flown into our *kishlak*?
In the Tajik tongue this wonder can be called a *liakliak*.
It's a stork,
A white stork!

The 1967 counting-rhyme book *Raz dva tri* (*One Two Three*) is, like the Latvian poem, bolder in its free incorporation of foreign words into the poems, although each poem is carefully entitled "in French", "in Turkish", etc. All told the book offers counting rhymes in 15 world languages, ranging from Bengali to Swedish. It helps that the non-Russian words are all numbers; meanwhile, Satunovsky only uses the numbers that help him put together a rhyming poem, so while the Vietnamese poem gives you the full range from 1–10 ("Mot / khai / Ba, bon, nam / Polivaite chaiu nam! [Pour us some tea!] // Vot / Stakan, / A vot – drugoi. [Here's / A cup / And here's—another.] / Sau, bai, / Tam, khin, muoi"), in Polish you don't get past six ("[…] P′ench, sheshch, / Tra-ta-tai, / Ty, teteria, / Vyletai! [Fly away!]"). Although Russian remains the neutral base language, in some of the poems a *zaum*-like effect is achieved, with unfamiliar abstract sounds overshadowing the usually banal situation of the poem (drinking tea, going hunting, playing). Many of the foreign number words constitute units of meaning or partial meaning in Russian, as in the first stanza of the Korean number poem:

> Иль, и, сам,
> Иль, и, сам,
> На лужайке
> Шум и гам.
> (Satunovskii 1967: 17)

> *Il*, *i*, *sam*,
> *Il*, *i*, *sam*,
> In the fields
> Noisy bedlam.

A curious translingual *zaum* effect is attained here, where the repeating first line seems almost meaningful (*il′, i, sam* in Russian sounds something like "shall I do it myself or not?"), even as the title explains that these sounds mean "one, two, three" in Korean.[16]

16 See the subsequent discussion of the Polish phrase 'ile lat' in the poem "Kak russkii…" The poem was written in 1966, around the same time as *Raz, dva, tri*.

Satunovsky's engagement with counting rhymes and rather prolific work with them has a complex pedigree. On the one hand, several of the other Lianozovo poets played around with counting rhymes in a parodic vein, connected to their often reluctant work in children's literature.[17] But Satunovsky devoted several critical articles to counting rhymes, which he found fascinating both in and of themselves (as "children's folklore"), for their connection to actual folklore, and for the free creative potential of their soundplay.[18] In the Soviet children's literature tradition, folkloric connections were prized for their authenticity, proximity to "the people" and distance from undesirable children's production of a religious-proselytizing or bourgeois-imperialist nature. Kornei Chukovsky famously exhorted children's writers to "learn from children, learn from the people" in his programmatic guide *Ot dvukh do piati* (*From Two to Five*).[19] Satunovsky writes admiringly about Chukovsky's folkloric verse forms, and is clearly intrigued by the latter's controversial assertion that children "liberate their song from the unnecessary weight of sense" (Chukovskii 1928: 107).[20]

Books like Satunovsky's *Raz dva tri* are emblematic of the confused late-Soviet politics around nationalism and internationalism. Satunovsky offers counting rhymes with foreign content that could ostensibly broaden

17 Cf. Genrikh Sapgir's *Schitalki* (Moskva: Malysh, 1965), one of many collections about letters, words and numbers; Vsevolod Nekrasov's 1961 poem "Schitalochka" ("Zima – leto / Zima – leto") is dedicated to Sapgir.

18 In his article on the relationship between Mayakovsky's poems and the folkloric counting-rhyme genre, Satunovsky refers to the "beyonsensification" (*ozaumlenie*) of Latin roots in some counting rhymes.

19 First published in 1928 as *Malen'kie deti* (*Little Children*), Chukovsky's popular guide to children's language and instructions for children's poets was republished (and rewritten) many times over the subsequent decades. «Учиться у народа – учиться у детей!» is the first in his list of "Commandments for Children's Writers" ("Zapovedi dlia detskikh pisatelei"). See Chukovskii 2012: 334.

20 Chukovsky writes this in *Little Children*. In several subsequent editions of the book he repudiated this position, asserting that "further observations convinced me that children never intentionally aim for meaninglessness <bessmyslitsa>. As we have seen, children on the contrary strive mightily to give meaning to every word they hear […] In the original case, what the child liberated his song from was not meaning at all, but difficult sounds" («[…] позднейшие наблюдения убедили меня, что у детей никогда не бывает нарочитого стремления к бессмыслице. Как мы уже видели, дети, напротив, стремятся во что бы то ни стало осмыслить каждое услышанное слово […]. В данном случае ребенок освободил свою песню совсем не от смысла, а от затруднительных звуков»; Chukovskii 2012: 283).

Soviet children's linguistic and cultural horizons – an internationalist value – while the literature on counting rhymes emphasizes their connection to Russian or Slavic folklore. In a diary entry on counting rhymes Satunovsky writes: «Я когда-то подумал — но ведь мы вспоминаем стихи — без слов — один ритм: „м м м-м м м" и т. д. Нет, мы вспоминаем ритм-интонацию известного нам (но с забытыми словами) стиха» [618].[21] Seen in this light, the foreign words Satunovsky inserts into the various "ethnic" or foreign poems would seem to be properly read as almost entirely *zaum*, gobbledygook.[22] On the other hand, as Satunovsky writes in a 1966 letter to Vsevolod Nekrasov (in which he asks Nekrasov to bring him counting rhymes from Czechoslovakia): "I am quite sure that contemporary poetry arises to a very great degree out of counting rhymes. Like you, for instance".[23]

Child / Adult

The "friendship of peoples" books clearly adhere to the typical quota-driven production of Soviet children's literature. Meanwhile, the proportion they make up in Satunovsky's children's oeuvre (nearly half) seems worthy of notice. For the most part, in the children's poems Satunovsky sticks with a superficial employment of foreign words and phrases that corresponds to correct (superficial) manifestations of national identity in the Soviet context.

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21 "I had this thought – after all, we remember poems – without words – only the rhythm: 'm mm-m mm' and so on. That is, we remember the rhythm and intonation of a poem we've heard (but have forgotten the words to)".

22 In his 1914 article on the early Futurists in the journal *Shipovnik*, Chukovsky compares Khlebnikov's *zaum* in "Bobeobi" to the Kalevala and Longfellow's "Hiawatha", written in the same meter: "After all, in both places we have this gourmand's enjoyment of exotic, foreign-sounding words. For the Russian ear bobeobi are just as 'zaum-like' as the Chocktaws and Shoshones, as 'gzi-gzi gzei' <from "Bobeobi", *A.M.*>. And when Pushkin wrote 'From Rushchuk to old Smyrna, / From Trebizond to Tulcea', isn't he enjoying a similarly enchanting range of zaum-sounding words?" [«Ведь и там, и здесь гурманское смакование экзотических, чуждо звучащих слов. Для русского уха бобэоби так же „заумны" как и чоктосы-шошоны, как и „гзи-гзи-гзеи". И когда Пушкин писал: „От Рущука до старой Смирны, / От Трапезунда до Тульчи", разве он не услаждается той же чарующей инструментовкой заумно-звучащих слов?»; quoted (approvingly) in Shklovski 1919: 25).

23 «Я уверен, что современная поэзия в очень большой степени растет из считалок. Например, ты» (Penskaia/Zykova 2016).

He has adult poems that incorporate foreign words in a similar way, like the following poem that I think of as "late Soviet consumerist internationalism":

Ел филе.
Пил «біле».
И болел за Пеле.

2 февраля 1973
[341]

Ate *file*.
Drank „*bilé*".
And cheered on Pelé.

2 February 1973

In its laconic adult way, this too is a "friendship of peoples" poem; meanwhile, like the Latvian poem, it does not gloss its references, leaving readers to either know about the French origin of the common word "fillet" (филе) or guess about the meaning of the punctuating rhyming words (if you can drink *bile* – Ukrainian for white (wine) – it might be *beloe* (Russian: white), and the date probably helps as far as legendary soccer star Pelé is concerned).

Similarly, albeit in a different emotional vein, this bitterly ironic poem uses German words and phrases (e.g. Fräulein, "auf Wiedersehen") that would be familiar to most monolingual Russian readers in the post-war period and not require glossing:

[…]
Все дороги ведут в Москву.
Все народы по ним пойдут.
Изнасилованные фрейлен Ильзе,
ауфвидерзэен в социализме.
[60]

[…]
All roads lead to Moscow.
All the peoples walk them.
O violated fräulein Ilses,
aufwiedersehen in socialism.

As is usually but not always the case for Satunovsky, in these examples (as always in the children's poems) all foreign words are transliterated and given in Cyrillic. The multilingual but not translingual nature of this last poem is furthermore clear in the requirement that readers understand the ironic reference made in the last line: "see you in socialism", with socialism framed as an ideal location toward which "all peoples" are striving. The poem also acts out the fact that when "all the peoples" and "all the roads" lead to Moscow, it also means switching to Russian. This poem thus functions further as a wry affirmation of being stuck in the monolingual paradigm, even if the experience of the poem's "victims" is very far from that of the poem's author.

Like many of his Lianozovo comrades, Satunovsky makes use of formal features of children's poetry in poems which are obviously written for adults in terms of theme. The following short poem from 1972 might at first glance resemble a children's poem, with its repetitive address to a cute animal. It does not, however, use end rhyme, as would be expected in a children's poem, and its exhortations are ruefully adult:

Улитка, улитка,
ховай[24] свою душу,
не высовывай рожки,
держи язык за зубами.

5 мая 1972, Евпатория

[336]

Little snail, little snail,
tuck away your soul,

24 Italics are mine. – A. M.

don't stick out your tentacles [little horns],
hold your tongue.

5 May 1972, Yevpatoria

The poem engages implicitly with the grown-up problem of linguistic politics. The verb *khovat'* (translated here as "tuck away") does appear in Russian dictionaries, but as a dialecticism; here, it is patently an assertion of the Ukrainian verb *khovaty*, to hide. (The location of the poem is furthermore given as Yevpatoria, a city in Western Crimea.) The grammatical and sound repetition of *khovai/vysovyvai* further emphasizes the political nature of the sentiments expressed, by pairing the common phrase "ne vysovyvat'sia" (don't stick your neck out; stay inconspicuous) with the non-standard *khovaty*, it draws a parallel between the need to stay under the radar and the use of non-standard, i.e. non-Russian or dialectal, language. The poem's final line drives the point home with its reference to language (tongue), combined moreover into the standard expression for holding one's tongue (keeping mum), which in Russian is "hold your tongue behind your teeth" – this last is especially conspicuous since snails don't have tongues, or teeth.

This poem is legible to monolingual Russian readers (particularly of Satunovsky's underground milieu, considering its themes of hiding and self-censorship), but its translingual gesture adds an additional layer of meaning for readers with access to multiple languages/dialects. To further complicate things, the use of Ukrainian does not indicate pro-Ukrainian sentiment, especially since the "snail"/"soul"/"hiding" collocation appears in another poem in an explicitly Jewish context: "[…] took off for a hiding place / the sniffling little snail / Jewish soul" ("v ukrytie ushla / soplivaia ulitka / evreiskaia dusha"; [237]).

In a somewhat earlier poem (from 1965), the first of two stanzas is entirely in Ukrainian; the language difference is visually underscored by words including the letter 'i', whereby Ukrainian is instantly distinguishable from Russian (in the snail phrase, the word "khovai" is written the same way in Russian and Ukrainian). In this poem, the theme is pointedly memorial, and the language politics are again underscored:

А кому — на, на,
а кому — ні, ні,
а Миколу Хвильового
розстріляли, чи ні?

А кому та́торы,
а кому ляторы,
а Бориса Пильняка
к ёхсиной матери?..

2 июля 1965
[180]

To some it's – here, here
to some it's – *ni, ni* [no, no]
and Mykola Khvylevoi
was shot dead, *chi ni* [wasn't he]?

To some *tatory*,
to some *liatory*,
and Boris Pilnyak
dammit it all to hell?..

2 July 1965

The first two lines contrast those to whom things are given (*na, na* – here you go, take this) and those who are refused (the Ukrainian *ni, ni* – no, no). This is followed by a reference to the early twentieth-century poet and political figure Mykola Khvylevoi. Khvylevoi was in fact not shot but driven to suicide, an early victim of the terror campaign against Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1930s (which would come to be called the Executed Renaissance). After the first, Ukrainian-language, stanza, the second shifts its attention to more famous Russian executions, focusing on the prominent early-Soviet prose writer Boris Pilnyak (who was indeed killed by firing squad in Moscow in 1938); this resembles other memorial poems by Satunovsky which refer to

figures like Osip Mandelstam, Isaac Babel, Daniil Kharms and other writers killed under Stalin.

What is going on in this poem, which switches languages halfway through and makes linguistic jokes while keeping the focus on brutal state repression? Much of the poem's Russian is non-standard. The lines involving *tatory* and *liatory* comes from a joke about a semi-literate guy misreading a car-parts sign, which serves as the epigraph to Pilnyak's 1924 *Naked Year* (*Golyi god*).[25] Without knowing the meaning of the (actually nonsensical) words "tatory" and "liatory", the misreader concludes that some kind of unjust, unequal distribution is being perpetrated – a sentiment borne out in Pilnyak's chapter. At the linguistic level, these lines further underscore the language ambiguity since they replicate the "a komu" (to whom?) phrase of the first stanza: this phrase is the same in Russian and Ukrainian. Satunovsky throws a different kind of language variation in the last line, the mild oath "k iokhsinoi materi" – attentive readers of his poetry might remember this phrase from a 1946 poem in which it is attributed to Vania Batishchev, "младший сержант / родом из глухомани сибирской / павший в бою / за свободу Чехословакии" ("a junior sergeant / born in a distant Siberian province / fallen in battle / for the liberation of Czechoslovakia"; [105]). By including this quotation, Satunovsky makes another linguistically destabilizing gesture, in effect inserting his old Siberian army buddy into an argument about the indiscriminate slaughter of the Stalinist period. The overall effect is a wry reflection on the inequalities of language politics crossed with a rather more equal distribution of political repression.

Satunovsky's interpolation of Ukrainian is one of the more significant instances of translingualism in his poetry, since it reflects both a dimension of the poet's linguistic reality and of Soviet linguistic politics. The relationship between Ukrainian and Russian is fundamentally different than that between Russian and, say, Bengali or English. "Language choice is always itself an argument", writes Ostashevsky: "Language choices lie at the intersection of the

25 «В Москве на Мясницкой стоит человек и читает вывеску магазина: „Коммутаторы, аккумуляторы". / – Ком-му… таторы, а… кко-му… ляторы… – и говорит: – Вишь, и тут омманывают простой народ!"» ("On Miasnitskaya Street in Moscow a man stands reading a shop sign: 'Igniters, batteries [Ru: Kommutatory, akkumuliatory]. Some… gets… iters [tatory], and some… gets… ries [liatory]…' and says: 'Man, even here they're a-cheatin the common folk!'") (Pil'niak 1924: 125),

personal and the social in that they emphasize power asymmetries among communities of speakers and foreground historical, cultural, and economic change" (Ostashevsky 2025: 170). Satunovsky's pithy, hard-to-translate multilingual designation for Ukrainian – "dvoiurodnaia *mova* iazyka rodnogo" ("the cousin/once-removed *language* of my native tongue"; [424], italics are mine. – A. M.) – sounds almost like a gnomic distillation of Soviet nationalities policy into one phrase.

This phrase constitutes the last line in a late (1980) poem that opens with the title of a classic late-nineteenth-century Ukrainian novel, *Khiba revut' voly, iak iasla povni?* (*Do Oxen Low When Their Mangers Are Full?*) by Panas Myrny (Rudchenko) and his brother Ivan Bilyk. In the English, the words translated from Ukrainian are given in italics.

«Хіба ревуть воли,
як ясла повні?»
Но мы и не «ревли»,
а молча мёрли, —

напомнила мне снова
двоюродная мова языка родного.

19 февраля 1980
[424]

"*Do oxen low*
when their mangers are full?"
But we didn't "*low*",
we died off in silence, –

so I was reminded again
by the once-removed *language* of my native tongue.

19 February 1980

I made a reference earlier to the connection between Satunovsky's Jewish and Ukrainian identity vis-à-vis the "great Russian" literary and social context he

ended up in (spending his post-war decades on the outskirts of Moscow). This poem, meanwhile, asks which of the possible "we" might Satunovsky have in mind. Myrny's novel is famous for its assertion of Ukrainian independence against Russian colonial/imperial power, but it also depicts the tragic decline of its characters in the face of that power, and their venal and occasionally antisemitic behavior. The final line of Satunovsky's poem, which explicitly discusses Ukrainian in relation to Russian, could suggest a reading sympathetic to Ukrainian as a repressed language. Meanwhile, in light of the little snail poem (and many others that directly address Jewish experience), Satunovsky's "we" might make more sense to read as Jewish (Jews in Myrny's novel, as in Satunovsky's twentieth century, are the victims of cruel violence). The Ukrainian evoked in the final line could then be read as bringing up traumatic associations. Is it possible that both (ostensibly mutually exclusive) readings are permissible? Satunovsky himself remarked, "I suppose writing poems in a slightly Rozanov style (roughly speaking, both 'for' and 'against' – that is, one little poem 'for' and another 'against') is typical for me. But I'm not to blame – it just worked out like that, practically without my even wanting it".[26]

In addition to Ukrainian, Satunovsky brings other languages into his poems as well, particularly ones that he translated from and from places where his army service took him during the war.[27] The 1959 poem "Ne umeiu po-tarabarski…" ("I don't know how to speak mumbo-jumbo…") refers affectionately to "my fine little dictionaries" – Polish, Czech, Serbo-Croatian:

Не умею по-тарабарски
тары-бары растабарывать.
Чешский, польский, сербохорватский
словари мои, словарики,
вы стоите кладкой тесной,
с вами мне легко и родственно.

26 «Кажется, писание стишков слегка по Розановски (грубо говоря и „за" и „против" — т. е. один стишок „за", другой „против") — мое характерное свойство. Но я в нем не виноват — так получалось почти без моего желания» [621].

27 The children's book *Chto za koni!* (*What Horses Are These!*) (Moskva: Malysh, 1972) is a collection of counting-rhymes "po motivam raznykh narodov" ("inspired by various peoples"), but unlike the other ones examined here, this book features only places Satunovsky fought his way through in WWII: Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, German.

А что «пасека»
по-чешски «просека» —
это даже интересно.

4 января 1959
[98]

I don't know how to speak blah-blah
to blather my blah-blah judiciously.
Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croatian
my dictions, my fine little dictionaries,

like a tight clutch of eggs on the shelf,
with you I feel at ease, like myself.

And the fact that an apiary – 'paseka'
is 'proseka' – cross-cut – in Czech –
is really quite interesting.

4 January 1959

The speaker uses the word *rodstvenno* – like family – to describe the sense of ease generated by the proximity of these "little books". Satunovsky could just be referring to the "familial" connections between Slavic languages; he might also be ruefully acknowledging social awkwardness and a preference for the company of books (in response to the first lines' references to "blah-blah"). There is also a way to read the poem that suggests Satunovsky might feel particularly at ease in the space translation creates in between languages, the mysterious and evocative difference between *paseka* and *proseka* heralded in the final stanza.

Other "translation" poems are patently translingual in that they use other languages to think about the base language. The following poem from 1945 refers more to Satunovsky's recently completed army tour than to his work as a middle-aged translator:

По-чешски «жизнь» — жажда.
Жажда быть
так же естественна,
как, скажем, «пить».
Пей, только без дешёвых афоризмов;
ведь, если на то пошло,
так даже «спать» —
это тоже жажда — жажда вспять,
в смерть;
а ты говорил — поговорим о жизни.

Надо исходить из жизни.
Взять пример: жил и умер; чехи говорят «земжéл».
Взял, допустим, и земжел;
и фиг с ним.
[37][28]

In Czech *žízeň* means thirst.
The thirst to be
is just as natural
as, say, *to drink*.
Drink, but skip the cheap aphorisms;
after all, if we're going there,
then even *to sleep* –
is a kind of thirst – thirst in reverse,
toward death;
and you said we should talk about life.

One must draw on life to write.
Like, for example: he lived and died; the Czechs say *zemřel*.
Like, say, he up and zemřel;
and who cares.

Like the children's poems, the first line glosses its foreign word, but this is not meant to answer a question as much as to pose one. Interpreting the Czech

28 The poem is undated but sandwiched between other poems from 1945.

word *žízeň* (thirst) through its Russian homophone *zhizn'* (life), Satunovsky plays around with the idea of an innate logic in language and across languages, which takes him in a wide circle through other phenomena understood as "natural" like sleep and death. Acknowledging that this circle has led to a kind of armchair (or really, barstool) philosophizing, the speaker concludes the first long stanza with the "life" (actually, thirst) of the first line. In the short final stanza, the tone shifts, with the "life" theme appearing in the sententious "Nado iskhodit′ iz zhizni" – which sounds like a commonplace of socialist realist aesthetics.[29] The formality is quickly dispelled with the no-nonsense and irreverent line "for example, he lived and died", which brings Czech back in: the past tense of 'to die.' Yet another irreverent register lower, we get the translingual phrase "up and died" ("vzial i zemřel") – and finally the dismissive conclusion in Russian, rhyming with the "life" ("iz zhizni") of the stanza's first line: "who cares" ("fig s nim").

This highly translingual poem signals its interest in translation directly, but also models thinking about and between languages: we see this in intralingual punning, when "sleep" (*spat′*) is equated with "going backward" (*vspiat′*), as well as in the simultaneous connections and non-equivalence of "false friends", like *žízeň* and *zhizn′*. This kind of literary code-switching points to the limits of a single, sole language. Satunovsky's poem about translating thereby resists and problematizes translation, even denying its possibility (as my translation shows).

In another poem from the mid-1960s, Satunovsky defines and identifies the foreign (Polish) phrase *ile lat* (in an authorial footnote), but leaves the significance of the phrase obscure:

Как русский, любящий
«зачем», «куда» и «вот»,
порой я сплю и слышу:
и́ля лят!*
Пан, и́ля лят!

И я смеюсь,
смеюсь вовсю,

29 Ivan Akhmet′ev refers to it as "not a commonplace [*shtamp*], but the shadow of a commonplace [*ten′ ot shtampa*]". Private correspondence, 17 March 2025.

как той весной,
когда мне в первый раз
приснился
этот сон.

_____
* Сколько лет (польск.)

24 ноября 1966
[204]

As a Russian who loves
'why,' 'where to' and 'look here,'
sometimes I hear in my sleep:
*ílya lat!**
Pan, ílya lat!

And I laugh,
laugh out loud,
like that spring,
when for the first time
I dreamed
that dream.

_____
* How many years (Polish)

24 November 1966

On the one hand, this poem sees the speaker – unusually – identifying as "a Russian" (in contrast to the speaker's position in poems discussed earlier – this poem is dated only a month later than the one about "THEIR concepts"). Russianness here is associated with the speaker's fondness for three common words (two questions and one emphatic particle). Many of Satunovsky's poems are indeed made using mundane bits of language, but here they are given in direct contrast to a foreign phrase that, meanwhile, signifies little on its own ("how many years" or "how long"). All we can know about the phrase's significance is the speaker's wildly joyful reaction to it. Here, Polish clearly functions

as a trigger for a specific memory (evidently, of a time in Poland – incidentally, the identification as "Russian" may have to do with being identified as one of a group of Soviet soldiers, "Russians"). This is moreover a memory perhaps buried deep enough that it only surfaces in sleep. Sleep carefully brackets the memory, but the close relationship between memory and dreams points to a euphemistic interpretation to the lines "I dreamed / that dream". The memory-triggering function of the Polish phrase in this poem furthermore suggests that the foreign words in other poems, such as "in Czech *žízeň* means thirst", might add a similarly significant layer on top of the more intellectual considerations discussed. Just as the seemingly random words *zachem / kuda / vot* create a kind of skeletal plot in combination with *ile lat*, the words *thirst* and *died* in Czech might call up specific past (romantic) associations that reach far beyond the dictionary meaning of the words.[30] This is another, more personal kind of subversive function performed by non-Russian language in the poems.

Conclusion

Satunovsky's work as a translator from Polish, Czech and other languages makes another appearance in a poem from 1967 (as we have seen, for him the late 1960s were a time of significant engagement with both children's literature and translation). Many of the charming "Ilyusha" poems, dedicated to Satunovsky's first grandson, beg to be examined through a translingual lens – with a view to the different languages of children and adults and their many points of mutual incomprehension. This poem addresses that problem alongside problems of translation and translational equivalence:

> Внук — он и по-польски «внук»,
> и по-чешски «внук», и по-словенски, и по-болгарски.
>
> А, например, дисциплина —
> по-чешски — казэнь!
> по-польски — карность!

30 Other poems approximately dated to the same time as "In Czech…" and "Kak russkii…" refer more directly to amorous exploits.

Внук, это тебе понятно?
Да? Понятно?

Тогда, пожалуйста,
выплюнь пуговицу изо рта!

25 июня 1967
[535]

Vnuk [grandson] – is *wnuk* in Polish too,
and *vnuk* in Czech, and in Slovenian, and in Bulgarian.

But discipline, for example –
in Czech is *kázeň*!
in Polish is *karność*!

Grandson, *vnuk,* do you get that?
Yeah? You get it?

In that case, please
spit out the button!

25 June 1967[31]

This poem begins by modeling a kind of "friendship of (Slavic) nations" evocative of Satunovsky's children's books: imagine, the same word for grandson in all these languages! Again as in the children's books, all the foreign words are glossed, with no demand that readers know any of the Slavic languages mentioned (Czech, Polish, Slovenian, Bulgarian). The poem then contrasts the harmlessly Latinate Russian word *distsiplina* (discipline) to the ominous-sounding Czech *kázeň* and Polish *karność* – which evoke, respectively, the death penalty (*kazn'*) and divine punishment (*kara*, or just the punitive

31 Translation by Ainsley Morse and Philip Redko.

karatel'nyi) to the Russian ear.[32] In this sense, the foreign words in the poem are only important insofar as they are misheard as words in Russian; they also serve to dissolve the fantasy of East European unity suggested by the word *vnuk*. But the significance and potential threat of these insights are immediately dispelled by the humor of the situation: the infant addressee of the poem obviously does not share in the sense of alarm, and the grandfather's efforts to discipline him are hardly effective. The child's preverbal state is further emphasized by the fact that he has a button in his mouth and cannot participate in these linguistic games. Even the request for the grandson to literally "spit it out" sounds a bit like ironic commentary on the linguistic ruminations of the preceding stanzas. Despite the overall silliness of the situation and the phonetic and semantic play that drives the poem, an undercurrent of trauma remains. The linguistic and life experience of the doting and doltish grandfather, totally inaccessible to his infant audience, nevertheless peeks through the gaps and non-equivalences among the multiple languages.

Despite the mostly monolingual Russian environment of his later years, Satunovsky was until his dying day a multilingual person. As a poet, he spent his life paying attention to language (as he writes in his short autobiographical note: "Stikhi – moia zhizn'" ("poems are my life") [4]. It stands to reason that some of his poems would be translingual: drawing attention to and inspiration from the peculiar clashes and harmonies of different languages, including the Ukrainian- and Yiddish-inflected Russian of his family, the Yiddish of Ovsei Driz, or the non-standard Russian of people from Siberian villages, like Vanya Batishchev, or with no formal education, like Igor' Kholin. As can be seen in his children's poems, Satunovsky's relationship to the multilingual Soviet project was ambivalent. His interpolations of non-Russian languages are often in a subversive and critical key: a witness to the varied forms of state violence, Satunovsky was clear-eyed about the limits of Soviet "friendship" vis-à-vis minorities like himself and so many of his compatriots. Of no lesser importance are the meanings and destabilizing effect created by the very inclusion or incursion of different languages in a poem: translingualism is a key formal, even formative, element of Satunovsky's poetics.

32 Ivan Akhmet'ev's note reads: «Карточка с правкой. Сначала соответствующие слова были написаны латиницей: wnuk, vnuk, kázeň, karność» ("The card has been corrected. At first the corresponding words were written in Latin script: wnuk, vnuk, kázeň, karność") [707].

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