

# Vygotsky in English: What still needs to be done

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## **Introduction**

The international interest in the ideas of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) is still growing. The number of publications about this seminal historical figure is growing almost exponentially. English being the modern language of scientific discourse (whether we like it or not), many of the researchers interested in Vygotsky's thinking make use of translations available in English. This makes it especially important that the English translations of Vygotsky's writings are reliable and present an adequate picture of all his ideas. It is only on the basis of an accurate corpus of all of his publications that we can arrive at an adequate assessment and subsequent elaboration or criticism of Vygotsky's work.

In what follows I shall give a brief and incomplete characterization of the currently available translations and indicate several problems that still have to be solved. I shall conclude with a proposal how to solve these problems. But first I shall begin with an overview of what has been translated and what yet remains to be translated into English.

## **What we have**

In my discussion of what is presently available in the English language I will restrict myself to book publications. Different articles and chapters by Vygotsky and his co-workers have been available in English since the 1920s when they were first published but these went virtually unnoticed and Vygotsky came only known to a larger public with the first publication by the MIT Press of *Thought and Language* (Vygotsky, 1962). This book still remains Vygotsky's best known work. The second of Vygotsky's books to see the light in the Anglo-Saxon world was *The Psychology of Art* (Vygotsky, 1971), a book that on the grounds of its topic is far less popular with general psychologists. These early translations were followed by a book that subsequently would become immensely popular, namely *Mind in Society* (Vygotsky, 1978). *Mind in Society* and other books paved the way for the retranslation, after almost 25 years, of *Thought and Language* (Vygotsky, 1986). Yet another translation of *Thought and Language* appeared one year later as the first volume of the Plenum edition of Vygotsky's *Collected Works* (Rieber & Carton, 1987), a translation of 6 volumes that had appeared in the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The next 5 volumes of the Plenum edition appeared with considerable delay in the 1990s (Rieber, 1997; 1998; 1999; Rieber & Carton, 1993; Rieber & Wollock, 1997). In between we saw the appearance of two translations (under different titles) of *Ape, primitive, and child* (Vygotsky, 1992; 1993), a volume of translated articles and chapters (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1994), and *Educational Psychology* (1997).

Together these books present a fairly complete (although not accurate, as we will see) picture of the work of Vygotsky the psychologist but it would be an illusion to think that they are in any way exhaustive. That is, although I think that on the basis of the existing translations in English one can form a reasonable idea of what Vygotsky's main ideas were, there are still large gaps in the translation record. If we were to publish an edition of Vygotsky's *Complete Works* rather than his *Collected Works*, then at least the books mentioned in the next paragraph should be included.

### **What is missing**

In listing what has not yet been translated I will again largely restrict myself to book publications (cf. the bibliographies in Mangott, 1995, and Vygodskaya & Lifanova, 1996). Space would not allow an enumeration of the numerous articles and chapters and a brief discussion of books yet to be translated will make the point clear just as well.

It is important to know that several of Vygotsky's books were meant as textbooks for students' use in higher education. To these books belong the 3 volumes of *Pedology of the Adolescent* published in 1929, 1930, and 1931. Although some chapters of these textbooks have been published in the *Collected Works* their full content and general character remains unknown to the English readership. To give an idea: each chapter was followed by an assignment for the students, e.g. the suggestion to make a summary of the chapter or to read additional literature and so on. In about the same period Vygotsky wrote

*Imagination and Creativity in Childhood* (1930), a book that discusses, among other things, the development of children's drawings. In addition, with Varshava he published a *Psychological Dictionary* (1931), that in the style of Baldwin's and other dictionaries provided a lengthy list of short descriptions of psychological concepts and currents. The consultation of such dictionaries is still interesting because they provide an intimate view of the state of art in psychology in that historical period and thus allow us to better understand its contemporary proponents. Finally, after Vygotsky's death in 1934 and on the basis of shorthand reports 2 more books appeared under his name. These were the volumes *Children's Mental Development in the Process of Instruction* (1935) and *Foundations of Pedology* (1935). Both provide an insight in Vygotsky's ideas as these were developing in the final period of his life when he dealt with such major concepts as the zone of proximal development. Neither of the books have been translated in their entirety. Fragments of several chapters of *Children's Mental Development in the Process of Instruction* found their way into *Mind in Society* (Vygotsky, 1978) and one chapter of *Foundations of Pedology* appeared in the *Vygotsky Reader* (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1994). If we add to this that *The Psychology of Art* (Vygotsky, 1971) does not contain Vygotsky's major study of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (see Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991), then it will become clear that those speakers of the English language who wish to familiarize themselves with Vygotsky's theory on the basis of his own writings are still not in an ideal position.

But the situation is actually worse. Above I restricted myself to books and to publications that focused on psychology or related disciplines. However, it is well known that Vygotsky began his intellectual career in the 1910s and early 1920s in the domain of the fine arts writing countless reviews of theater performances, novels, and so on. So far more than 90 of these reviews have been identified but to my knowledge few have been translated. It would of course be highly relevant for our assessment of Vygotsky the non-psychologist to have these articles gathered, translated, and annotated.

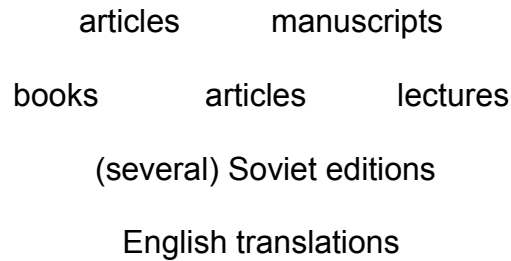
Finally, the hypothetical *Complete Works* mentioned above would also include, apart from the numerous articles, encyclopedia papers, chapters, etc., Vygotsky's correspondence, private notes, and poems.

In sum, it is my estimation that one might easily add 6 more volumes to the existing translations in English. These volumes would partially confirm what we already know about Vygotsky, but would also partially complete and possibly redress our picture of his scientific creativity. That brings me to the quality of that which is available in translation.

### **Sources of error**

It is important to realize that in translating a historical author there are multiple sources of error and that in the case of Vygotsky the situation was aggravated for ideological or political reasons. Existing translations are sometimes based on Soviet editions that were unreliable and added their own mistakes. Let me illustrate the potential sources of error or distortion with a figure (see figure 1)

Figure 1. Sources of error in Vygotsky's work



As one can see in Figure 1 there are multiple sources of error. First, a book publication may be based on a manuscript or published articles or a mixture of both. Second, this book may be republished one or more times. Third, the book is translated into English. All these transitions from one form to another are potential sources of error. In case something goes wrong in the transition from manuscript to book we are mostly helpless, because manuscripts may no longer exist or are not accessible. Also, it will be difficult to assess whether changes in the text were part of the normal editorial process or introduced without consent of the author. However, when books are based on earlier publications we have in principle a possibility of judging the reliability of the book's text. That is, although the transition from published article to a book volume forms a potential source of error, it at the same time gives us a means to check the reliability of the final product.

### The case of 'Myshlenie i rech'

The case of Vygotsky's *Myshlenie i rech* (1934) illustrates this state of affairs rather well (see Table 1).

Table 1. The composition of Vygotsky's *Myshlenie i rech*

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chapter	pp	date of writing	source
Preface	1-3	Spring 1934	
Chapter 1	4-15	Spring 1934	
Chapter 2	16-66	before 1932	Vygotsky (1932)
Chapter 3	67-75	before 1929	Vygotsky (1929a)
Chapter 4	76-102	before 1929	Vygotsky (1929b)
Chapter 5	103-162	before 1931	Vygotsky (1931)
Chapter 6	163-176	February 1934	Shif (1935)
	177-255	Spring 1934	
	256-259	February 1934	Shif (1935)
Chapter 7	260-end	Spring 1934	

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First, as we can see this book was partially based on articles that Vygotsky published earlier. Using these original articles from the 1920s and the early 1930s several changes ('errors') have been detected in the 1934 edition.

Second, *Myshlenie i rech* was republished in Russian in 1956 and 1982. As Mecacci has documented in his comments in Vygotsky (1990), there are numerous differences between the 3 Russian editions of Vygotsky's book. A full list of the literally hundreds of sometimes incomprehensible differences between the editions of 1934, 1956, and 1982 has not yet been published, but it would clearly and redundantly show that the later versions are corrupted and unfit to serve as the source for translation into English. Yet this is precisely what happened with the American translation for the Plenum edition (Rieber & Carton, 1987). As a result, this translation not only contains gross mistakes introduced by the translator but also the numerous changes introduced in the series of Soviet editions. The net result is a useless text. The proper thing to do would have been, of course, to take the 1934 edition as the basis of translation and to note any discrepancies with the earlier articles that partially formed its basis.

### **Types of error**

I will now give a number of examples of errors in the English translations of Vygotsky's texts to illustrate what was said above. These errors were detected over the years by a number of researchers using the means I indicated above, that is, comparing publications with the original articles, manuscripts, or books wherever that proved possible. These authors include Brushlinsky (1996), Etkind (1993), Tkachenko (1983), Tulviste (1987), Van der Veer (1987; 1998), and Van



der Veer and Valsiner (1991). Many of the inadequacies of the English translations go back to inadequacies of the Soviet editions but translators inevitably added their own share. For clarity's sake I have divided these errors into a number of subcategories.

### *Inaccuracies*

Under the heading of 'inaccuracies' I wish to include all those changes of the original texts that were unintended or intended with the idea of "clarifying" Vygotsky's ideas or making him more palatable to the present taste. As such they differ from deliberate attempts to falsify the texts as discussed below, although the difference is sometimes small (e.g., the case of Kolbanovsky). As examples of inaccurate efforts to present Vygotsky's texts I would first like to mention the abridged versions of *Myshlenie i rech* (Vygotsky, 1962; 1986) and the compilation of texts in Vygotsky (1978).

That Vygotsky (1962) is unacceptable as a translation has been observed by many and hardly needs arguing. Suffice it to say that the whole book contains a meager 168 pages as compared to the 324 pages of the original. However, as I have argued before (Van der Veer, 1987), also Vygotsky (1986) is unacceptable. As a whole the 1986 translation of *Myshlenie i rech* is incomparably better and much more complete, yet the translator has 'departed from Vygotsky's text when it repeats itself' and retained large parts of the 1962 translation. The result is that the book still contains many errors and that different phrases and passages have not been translated. Vygotsky's quote on the final page of his book from *The*

*German Ideology*, for example, has been left unidentified and is rendered very incomplete (cf. Van der Veer, 1987). Thus, I would argue that both translations (Vygotsky, 1962; 1986) are abridged and as such unfit for genuine scientific study.

I know of only one Vygotsky edition that qualifies as a compilation and that is *Mind in Society* (Vygotsky, 1978). This book has enjoyed immense popularity among psychologists interested in cultural-historical theory and it served a very positive role in introducing American readers to Vygotsky's thinking. However, from a historical point of view it is a very unsatisfactory book. As the editors explain in their preface, they have 'summarized' major theoretical points, and they have 'inserted material from additional sources' (including texts by Vygotsky's students or collaborators). However, on the basis of the editors' explanation I was unable to identify the historical texts that lie at the basis of the resulting text. In sum, the editors merged in unknown ways several texts by Vygotsky and his collaborators into a coherent and easy to grasp whole. To consider the resulting text as Vygotsky's text would be incorrect. *Mind in Society* thus violates the principle that says that texts of historical authors should be translated in their entirety or, if only excerpts are published, that clearly should be indicated which parts are left out, where the author's text ends and the text of others begins, and so on.

Under the heading of inaccuracies I would further like to discuss the need for accurate annotations of the translated texts. Here there is no shortage of examples. With the exception of volume 3 (where I myself at least made an effort

to provide adequate notes), the Plenum edition is very poorly annotated. Authors are left unidentified, citations are not traced to the original source, scientific terms that have gone out of fashion have not been explained, etcetera. It is my conviction that authoritative translations of historical texts become much more useful if they are properly annotated. That the writing of such notes requires a considerable amount of work and historical knowledge should not prevent us from trying to reach the level of work reached in, say, the standard edition of Freud's writings.

Finally, added to abridged versions, compilations, and inadequate annotations we have simple translation errors of words, passages, and names. Here again it is impossible to be exhaustive and one can only give some examples. My favorite example of a bad translation is in volume 1 of the Plenum edition (Rieber & Carton, p. 284). There Vygotsky quoted the words by the famous Russian poet Gumilyov from his poem *The Word*: "And like bees in a deserted hive badly smell dead words". However, the translator rendered them as "And as the bees which have sunk into their silent Yule season so do dead words sink". This translation is not even remotely similar to the original, of course. Any many more of such gross errors can be found in the Plenum edition (e.g., see the still far from complete list of errata in volume 5 which was provided by myself).

An incomplete list of inadequately transliterated names one finds in Table 2 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Examples of inaccurate names in the Plenum edition

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given	correct
Fasler	Vossler
Faininger	Vaihinger
Shvabskii	Von Schwaben
Kompeire	Compayré
Charceau	Charcot
Zelts	Seltz
Gettser	Hetzer
Ronget	Ronjat
Zigvart	Sigwart

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These inaccurate names are explainable on the basis of the fact that Russian uses a phonetic system for writing foreign names. However, even a minimal consultation of historical psychology books, encyclopedias, and so on, would have prevented these ludicrous mistakes.

The abridged versions, compilations, and inaccurate translations mentioned above were made with the best of intentions. However, many of the existing English translations are based on Soviet editions of Vygotsky's works that are unreliable for very different reasons.

### *Suppression of terms or passages*

The problem is that all of Vygotsky's works were published in the Soviet Union were books were subjected to a system of censorship. The early and later editors of Vygotsky's books were all acutely aware of this system and in their efforts to get Vygotsky's books published they often adjusted his texts.

In this respect, the first editor of *Myshlenie i rech* (1934), Kolbanovsky, probably formed no exception. Elsewhere (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991, pp. 256-258) I have argued that Kolbanovsky may have erased all references to the discipline of pedology which by that time had come under attack. Thus Kolbanovsky persuaded Vygotsky to give his book the subtitle *Psychological Investigations* and probably replaced the terms 'school pedology' and 'pedological' by, respectively, 'child psychology' and 'psychological' in chapter 6. In later Soviet editions the subtitle was lost.

In the 1956 and 1982 Soviet editions of *Myshlenie i rech* we can also witness the suppression of unwelcome passages. Thus, in chapter 1 a lengthy reference to and a (not fully exact) quote from Sapir's *Language* (1934, p. 12) has been omitted:

In the plane of instinctive consciousness, where perception and affect reign, only contamination is possible, but not understanding and not communication in the proper sense of this word. E. Sapir beautifully explained this in his works on the psychology of speech. "Elementary

language, he says, must be connected with a whole group, with a specific class of our experience. The world of experience must be extremely simplified and generalized in order to be symbolized. Only in this way communication becomes possible for singular experience lives in a singular consciousness and cannot strictly speaking be communicated. In order to become communicable it must be put in a certain class which by tacit consensus is considered as a unit by the society". That is why Sapir considers word meaning not as a symbol of singular perception but as a symbol of a concept (to be inserted on p. 49 of volume 1 of the Plenum edition after "in a generalized way").

We can only speculate why this passage was removed, possible to make Vygotsky seem more original in the field of linguistics or because Sapir was a 'bourgeois' researcher.

In chapter 2, on the very first page of Vygotsky's discussion of Piaget's theory, a quite substantial passage containing a citation from Piaget has been removed. The quote from Piaget is as follows:

We thus believe that the day will come when the thinking of the child with respect to the adult, normal and civilized thinking, will be placed at the same level as the 'primitive mentality' defined by Lévy-Bruhl, as the autistic and symbolic thinking described by Freud and his followers, and as the 'morbid consciousness' assuming that this concept that we owe to

Blondel will not one day merge with the preceding one (my own rough translation from the 1924 French edition of Piaget's *Judgement and Reasoning in the Child*, RV).

Vygotsky then continues in a passage approximately twice as long as the quote from Piaget by saying that the significance of Piaget's books is indeed of the same order as those of Blondel, Lévy-Bruhl, and Freud, and that these authors are by their philosophical nature intimately connected (the whole passage including the quote from Piaget should be inserted on p. 53 of volume 1 of the Plenum edition after "this old problem").

Finally, in chapter 5 of *Myshlenie i rech*, a passage has been removed that runs as follows:

and the daily change in different forms of behavior, as has been beautifully pointed out by P.P. Blonsky, essentially repeats the millennia old history of the development of behavior (to be inserted in paragraph 18, p. 160 of volume 1 of the Plenum edition, after "the most ancient").

This passage was most probably removed because it suggested that Vygotsky agreed with some version of the recapitulation thesis, a thesis that had become unacceptable in the Soviet Union by then.

This is by no means a complete list of passages that were removed in later Soviet editions but it suffices to make the point that translations based upon them, such as Carton & Rieber (1987), are highly unreliable.

However, the problem of suppressed terms of passages is not restricted to *Myshlenie i rech*, nor to the Plenum edition. Thus, in volume 3 of the Plenum edition, on the penultimate page of *The Historical Meaning of the Crisis in Psychology: A Methodological Investigation* (p. 342), it is said that “The new society will create the new man”. This seems a rather plausible sentence, but Tkachenko (1983) has claimed that the original manuscript of *The Crisis* contained the phrase “The new society will create a superman”. The term ‘superman’ has, of course, acquired a rather negative connotation after the Nazi period, which may have been the reason why Soviet editors replaced this term (but see below).

Volume 2 of the Plenum edition (Rieber & Carton, 1993) is not free from problems either. It has been shown, using the original chapter from 1928, that the chapter “The dynamics of child character” originally contained two positive pages and three positive passages concerning Alfred Adler that have been removed in subsequent Soviet editions of his work (Brushlinsky, 1996). The passages were as follows:

Adler’s theory is often connected - especially in cercles of German and Austrian social-democrats - with Marx’s theory (to be inserted on p. 162 of volume 2 of the Plenum edition)



A. Adler's theory, in particular his theory about character is "a truly revolutionary characterological current", as A. Zalkind rightly points out" (to be inserted in paragraph 2 of the same chapter)

None of the contemporary psychological ideas has such enormous significance for pedagogues, for the theory and practice of education, as this idea of Adler" (to be inserted in paragraph 5 of the same chapter).

These passages show Vygotsky referring positively to Adler's ideas, which was to be expected in that period of his career. Elsewhere (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991) I have shown that Vygotsky went through a period with deep enthusiasm for Adlerian theory. Again, we can only guess why these passages were removed. The fact that Adler was a 'bourgeois', the fact that he was a former psychoanalytic theorist, the fact that 'social-democrats' linked his work to Marx, the fact that Vygotsky called his theory 'revolutionary' (whereas only Russian Marxist ideas could be truly revolutionary), and an attempt to make Vygotsky seem more original may all have played a role (cf. Van der Veer, 2000).

Vygotsky's *Educational Psychology* (1997) is likewise marred by suppressed passages. Elsewhere (Van der Veer, 1998), I have shown that, among other things, 3 lines of a Blonsky quote on p. 4, 23 lines of a Sherrington quote on p. 35, and 60 lines on p. 335 were omitted in the English translation.

This list of suppressed terms and passages is far from exhaustive but I assume the point has been made. English translations of Soviet re-editions of Vygotsky's work are liable to suppressions of substantial passages of text.

### *Suppression of names*

It will come as no surprise that author names as well have disappeared in Soviet republications of Vygotsky's work and its translations into English. Kolbanovsky may have been the first to use this method: In chapter 5 of the 1934 edition of *Myshlenie i rech* the German psychologist Felix Krueger (cf. Valsiner & Van der Veer, 2000) has become "one of the contemporary authors". But there are many more examples. In the above-mentioned chapter "The dynamics of child character", Adler's name was deleted various times, as were the names of Lévy-Bruhl, Blondel, and Freud in the second chapter of later editions of *Myshlenie i rech*. In volume 3 of the Plenum edition chapter 3 ends with a footnote in which Vygotsky claims that Watson and Lashley had arrived at similar conclusions as he did. This footnote was missing in previous Soviet editions and was reintroduced by the translator. Finally, a most interesting suppression of a name occurs in that same volume 3. On p. 120 Vygotsky mentions "several of Freud's critics who are inclined to etc.". However, it has been discovered that the original text from 1930 ran "several of Freud's critics (such as Volosinov) who are inclined to etc.". This omission is theoretically most interesting because Volosinov belonged to the circle of Bakhtin and theorists have debated the issue as to whether Vygotsky and Bakhtin knew of each other's work.

### *Unidentified or suppressed citations*

Above we already mentioned a lengthy passage from Sapir's *Language* that was deleted from Vygotsky's *Myshlenie i rech*. This was a clear case of a citation that has been removed. It has been claimed that Vygotsky's *The Psychology of Art* contained several citations from Trotsky that have been removed as well. Other citations in other books have been made difficult to identify by removing the quotation marks. I already pointed out the quote from *The German Ideology* on the final page of *Myshlenie i rech*. Etkind (1993) has pointed out that Vygotsky ended his *Educational Psychology* with a long citation from Trotsky. In effect, this means that the entire last page and part of the previous page of Vygotsky (1997), that is, pp. 350 and 351 from "Alongside technology", are Trotsky's words. Likewise, the final page of "*The Crisis*" seems to contain a quote from Trotsky. That would mean that the last 4 lines on p. 342 of volume 3 of the Plenum edition are Trotsky's and that the aforementioned reference to a 'superman' was actually Trotsky's (cf. Rieber & Wollock, 1997).

It is most probable that many more of these hidden citations will be identified in the future. Again, in many cases one can only guess as to the reasons for removing the quotation marks or the citations as a whole. The case of Trotsky is simple, political reasons prohibited mentioning his name or quoting his writings, but other cases are less obvious. One wonders whether editors simply removed quotation marks because they were unable to identify the citations. That would be one way to 'solve' a time-consuming historical problem.

### *Insertions*

That Soviet or English editors would cut in a historic text is deplorable but to some degree to be expected. That they would go as far as to introduce text fragments ('foreign bodies') into Vygotsky's text seems unlikely. Yet this is precisely what happened on several occasions.

Relatively inoffensive minor insertions one can see in Vygotsky (1997). The editors or translator have changed, for example, "Lange" into "the Danish psychologist Lange" and "Blonskii" into "Pavel Petrovich Blonskii, the Soviet psychologist and educational reformer". Such insertions are deplorable, not only because they introduce an additional source of error (e.g., Lange was a physiologist and not a psychologist) and confusion (Vygotsky would never have mentioned his colleague Blonsky in such a way) but also because it becomes impossible to discern where Vygotsky ends and the editor or translator begins. As I have argued elsewhere (Van der Veer, 1997), in the restoration of old paintings it has become a matter of principle to take care that any changes are recognizable as such and are reversible. In dealing with historical texts we should follow that principle as well.

Simply outrageous insertions have been documented for the above-mentioned chapter "The dynamics of child character". This chapter, which was originally published in a 1928 book, not only suffers from numerous suppressions but contains insertions as well. In particular, one has inserted two text fragments

from the same 1928 book and authored by Zalkind into Vygotsky's text. In the Plenum edition these passages run as follows:

Kretschmer's scheme does not work for the division of characterological traits by age. None of this, however, prohibits us from attempting to elucidate the prevailing predominant specific content of each stage in development. This specific content, not now taken into consideration by any of the existing characterological systems, undergoes extraordinary changes under environmental influences. This is why it is dangerous to attach rigid 'labels' to any systems *in the given state of science* (to be removed from p. 154 of volume 2 of the Plenum edition).

Adler's basic philosophical positions are distorted by metaphysical elements. The characterological interest is limited to Adler's practice (to be removed from p. 156 of volume 2 of the Plenum edition).

These insertions hardly need comment. Apparently, anonymous editors found it necessary to 'clarify' the right position as to Adler's work. That one had to 'enrich' Vygotsky's text to achieve that goal and thus was effectively rewriting history mattered little. The whole process of deleting and inserting passages in psychological texts reminds me of the well known Soviet practice of removing *persona non grata* (e.g Trotsky) from repeatedly published photographs and of the glorious military past that was invented for several of its rulers.

## **Conclusions and recommendations**

The examples given above make for a sad picture: Existing English translations based on Soviet re-editions of Vygotsky's work repeat the multiple errors, distortions, falsifications, omissions, etcetera these re-editions contained and have introduced errors of their own making.

In my view there is only one remedy and that is to go back to the original sources and to re-translate them. That is, we must gather all the original papers, books, chapters, and manuscripts and publish authoritative translations disregarding the existing Soviet and English translations. However, that is a huge project that commercial publishers would hesitate to undertake. It would involve gathering all of Vygotsky's original publications and manuscripts that are now scattered over different family archives, public libraries, and so on.

My proposal would be to make the public accessibility of Vygotsky's original writings the first step. That is, we should create a material or virtual documentation center where all of his writings are available for those who wish a copy. Vygotsky's writings belong to the scientific community. The second step would be to undertake (collective) translations in several languages which can then be scrutinized by the scientific community and improved if necessary. Such translations would have to include elaborate annotations and glossaries.

Ironically, it is not the English reading psychologists that are likely to profit most from remarks such as I have made in this article. After all, which English language publisher will undertake the task of translating Vygotsky given the

existence of the Plenum edition? But psychologists in larger countries where English is not the dominant language should be able to benefit from the sad history sketched above. It is my hope that the few and incomplete remarks that I have made in this article will contribute to that goal.

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