

TRANSLATION OF SLANG IN CROATIAN AND RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF ANTHONY BURGESS' A CLOCKWORK ORANGE

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Abstract

For A Clockwork Orange, Anthony Burgess invented Nadsat, a youth slang based on the Russian language, challenging both his readers and translators. For the readers of the English text, the challenge is to comprehend the invented slang words, in particular if they do not speak Russian. For this, they may rely on the context in which the slang words appear. For the translators, the challenge is to create a suitable equivalent to Nadsat that will function in the target linguistic and cultural environment. Translation into Russian, the language on which Nadsat is based, creates a particularly interesting problem.

The aim of the paper is to test the importance of context and of the target readers' language when it comes to comprehension of the novel's slang in translation. Since Nadsat is based on Russian, comprehension by Russian readers is compared to that of speakers of another Slavic language, Croatian. Two translations of A Clockwork Orange into Russian and one into Croatian are used in the study. In an online survey, Russian and Croatian respondents are asked to identify the meaning of translated Nadsat words, first in isolation and then in context. As expected, comprehension is better in context than in isolation for all three translations, with Croatian respondents in particular showing poor comprehension results in isolation. However, interestingly, there is no statistically significant difference among the Croatian and Russian respondents when it comes to the comprehension of these words in context.

1. Introduction

A Clockwork Orange (1962) is Anthony Burgess' best-known novel, which brought him fame only after the release of Kubrick's film of the same name in 1971. The novel follows the fate of fifteen-year-old Alex, and is concerned with

“the conflict between the individual and the state, the punishment of young criminals, and the possibility or otherwise of redemption” (IABF 2019a). The moral questions that it raises certainly helped in keeping the novel relevant to this day. Nevertheless, the linguistic originality of the book should not be overlooked; on the contrary, it has been one of its most important and impactful aspects. The language of the novel is precisely its most innovative part: for his protagonists (Alex and his group of friends), Burgess invented a special slang called Nadsat. The basis for the slang is the Russian language, which is visible from the slang’s name *Nadsat*, which comes from the Russian suffix *-надцать* equivalent to the English *-teen* used in the formation of numbers. In addition to Russian influence, the slang’s vocabulary consisting of around 400 words is also derived from “Romany; Cockney rhyming slang; the language of the criminal underworld; the English of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans; armed forces slang; and the Malay language” (IABF 2019a). Considering the fact that Nadsat is based on a language unknown to most of the readers, one would not expect studies (e.g. Saragi, Nation and Meister 1978) to show that the slang is highly comprehensible and learnable. The focus of the present research is precisely on the comprehension of the translation of this invented slang by native speakers of two languages – Croatian and Russian. The challenge of preserving the slang is all the more difficult for the translators into Russian, as Nadsat is to a great extent based on that language. At the same time, this also gave them a lot of opportunities to show their creativity. The two translations used for the purposes of this research show two completely different ways of dealing with the invented slang. To simplify a bit, Boshniak transliterates the Russian slang words into the Latin script and sometimes English suffixes are added to Russian words, while Sinel’shchikov creates a whole new slang based on the English language. On the other hand, there is only one translation into Croatian, and the translator did not face the same challenges as the two Russian translators, since he was able to keep Russian as the basis for the invented slang. Considering the different approaches used by the three translators, the aim of this paper is to test and compare the comprehensibility of Nadsat by the native speakers of Croatian and Russian in the translations into their respective languages. First the comprehensibility of Nadsat words in isolation will be tested, and then in context. This will provide an insight into which of the two Russian translations is

clearer to readers, as well as how the comprehensibility of the two Russian translations compares to the Croatian one.

2. Previous research and key concepts

2.1 *Anthony Burgess and A Clockwork Orange*

Anthony Burgess (1917–1993) was an English novelist, poet, playwright, composer, linguist, translator and critic (IABF 2019b). He is best known for his 1962 novel *A Clockwork Orange*, in which he creates a clash of values “between the lawless hero and a society that hopes to control him” (Rabinovitz 1979: 43). Alex, together with his teenage gang, delights in violence; however, he is eventually caught and sentenced to be “cured” through a state-sponsored psychological rehabilitation programme. After his release, he is beaten by police officers and attempts to kill himself. The novel nevertheless ends on an optimistic note with Alex maturing and seeing violence as a part of his adolescence. The American edition of the book had the last chapter omitted, for reasons which Burgess himself explains in an interview (Burgess and Dix 1972: 185): “when they were going to publish it in America, they said ‘we’re tougher over here’ and thought the ending too soft for their readers.” It was on the American version of the book that Stanley Kubrick based his 1971 film of the same title, which brought fame to the novel and the author (IABF 2019a).

2.2 *Nadsat*

Considering that *A Clockwork Orange* is notable for its constructed slang, it has been the subject of a plethora of literary studies, translation studies and even studies of vocabulary acquisition (Vincent and Clarke 2017: 248). However, despite the popularity of both the novel and Nadsat, Vincent and Clark (2017: 248) point out that these analyses often describe the slang without providing its definition and relying on unauthorised Nadsat dictionaries¹, which results in inconsistent and inadequate research. The difficulties in defining Nadsat arise from what Malamatidou (2017: 292) denotes as “peculiar characteristics” – its lexicon is to a large extent a hybrid between natural languages (English and,

¹ Vincent and Clarke (2017: 248) point out that there are at least three different and conflicting dictionaries (all of them are unauthorised) – Biswell, 2012; Hyman, 1963; Rawlinson, 2011.

most notably, Russian) – which positions Nadsat somewhere between constructed and natural languages. Given that there is no agreement on the definition of Nadsat, for the purposes of this paper, Nadsat is considered to be a slang. It is characterised by what Dumas and Lighter (1978: 12) call the most crucial feature of slang – “it is used deliberately, in jest or in earnest, to flout a conventional social or semantic norm”. Naturally, since the two critics deal with natural languages, it should be pointed out Nadsat is considered to be a constructed slang invented by Burgess. As far as the origin of Nadsat is concerned, the slang is “far from being a mere relexification of Russian into English, but it is rather a complex creation which functions to render itself comprehensible via a broad range of linguistic and stylistic strategies” (Vincent and Clarke 2017: 248-249). In the novel (Burgess 2000: 86), Dr Branom, who is trying to cure Alex of enjoying violence, describes it as “[o]dd bits of old rhyming slang, [...] [a] bit of gipsy talk, too. But most of the roots are Slav. Propaganda. Subliminal penetration”. McQueen (2012: 228) expands this explanation by adding that “[m]ost of the words are modified from Russian, although there are numerous German, Latin, Dutch, regional Slavic, Gypsy, French and Arabic word, Cockney rhyming slang and some invented words and expressions”.

Since there is no comprehensive definition of Nadsat, there is no consensus on the number of words it encompasses; according to Vincent and Clarke (2017: 255), it consists of around 400 words, which can be divided into seven categories: core Nadsat words (218 words, e.g. *bolshy*), archaisms (36 words, e.g. *ashake*), babytalk (10 words, e.g. *eggiweg*), rhyming slang (5 words, e.g. *pretty polly*), truncations (21 words, e.g. *hypo*), compound words (46 words, e.g. *afterlunch*) and creative morphology (20 words, e.g. *appetitish*).

2.2.1 The importance of context when translating Nadsat

Although there are numerous Nadsat words in the novel, Burgess claimed that “[i]t will take the reader no more than fifteen pages to master and revel in the expressive language of ‘nadsat’” (Vincent and Clarke 2017: 249). Burgess’ claim was tested in terms of vocabulary acquisition by Saragi, Nation and Meister (1978: 76), and it was found to be substantially sound: the three authors conclude that “a considerable amount of repeated words can be learned

incidentally through extensive reading, by meeting them in context without reference to a dictionary". Other critics, such as Dix (1971), Mikhailovna (2012) and Windle (1995), also stress the importance of context² for the learning of Nadsat. For example, Dix (1971: 14) explains that the slang does not make the novel impossible to read, as it takes "only a few pages before context and meaning make the language perfectly comprehensible." Burgess' motivation for creating such a slang is explained by Mikhailovna (2012: 117), who points out that "Burgess wanted for readers themselves to decipher the meaning of the foreign words from the context," which can be likened to his belief that "once you start writing clearly contained, well-thought-out, periodic sentences, you're not being true to the subject matter. [...] In fiction there should be an element of doubt in the sentence" (Burgess and Dix 1981: 445). Here, it is important to highlight that all of this is symptomatic of why Burgess opposed any type of Nadsat dictionary (Vincent, Clarke 2017: 250).

2.2.2 Challenges in translating Nadsat

Taking into account the aforementioned features of Nadsat, it is not surprising that Clarke (2017: 23) stresses that the slang "poses significant challenges to translators, who are tasked with attempting to recreate, either through close tracking of the original or else via creative invention [...] the connotational impact of Burgess's invented slang". In order to accurately represent the author's intention, the novel's translators are tasked with perhaps "the professional translator's biggest problem" – neologisms, "newly coined lexical units or existing lexical units that acquire a new sense" (Newmark 1988: 140). This task is quite demanding, for it is not only a set of isolated neologisms that should be translated, but it is a slang, which means that the difficulty in translating it "lies not only in linguistic problems, but also in pragmatic and semiotic difficulties, since their presence in the text adds meaning far beyond the linguistic level" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 291). The complex task presented to translators of the novel, therefore is to become "creators of a new linguistic

² For the purposes of this paper, context is defined according to Dash (2008: 22) as "an immediate linguistic environment (rarely detached or isolated) in which a particular word occurs." She also points out that "[s]ince it is not always explicit, it may be hidden within the neighboring members of a word used in a piece of text" and goes on to explain that "[i]f we cannot extract the information relevant to the meaning of a word from its immediate linguistic environment, we need to take into account the topic of discussion as a sphere of necessary information" (Ibid.).

system” – “linguistic innovators” as Burgess himself was when inventing the slang (Malamatidou 2017: 293). It is precisely due to the importance of Nadsat for the novel that translators are confronted with “important questions of principle” – how to translate the slang (Windle 1995: 165). That is, as Ramos Pinto (2009: 296) explains, the translator of the novel is forced “to follow the author’s example and also create a new dialect based on the target language, but full of lexical items or syntactic constructions that will be strange to the target text reader”. Notwithstanding the challenges that the complex language of *A Clockwork Orange* poses to translators, the novel has been translated “more than 50 times into 32 different languages” (Clarke 2017: 23).

2.2.3 Two Russian translations of Nadsat

Although the novel was published in 1962, first Russian translations came into being only 30 years later (Pavlova 2017: 22)³. Pavlova (2017: 22) explains this by pointing out that not only is the novel’s plot scandalous and concerned with an atrocious teenage gang ruling the streets of London, but it is also quite challenging to translate it into the Russian language. The biggest challenge stems precisely from the Russian-based slang’s “translingual elements”, as Pavlova (2017: 23) calls them, which are exotic to most of the English-speaking readers and were chosen in order to create a word play and evoke certain similar-sounding English words. In addition, Clarke (2017: 23) emphasises that Burgess’ “stated aim in building the invented language of Nadsat around a lexis of Anglicised Russian loanwords was to generate, during the Cold War era, ‘a dialect which drew on the two chief political languages of the age.’” Taking this into account, it is clear that Russian is crucial for the novel; hence, when translating it into the Russian language, the language pair shifts from English into Russian to Russian into Russian, which makes it impossible for the cultural and language reality of the original to be reproduced in the translation (Pavlova 2017: 21). Notwithstanding all of these challenges, many Russian translators ventured into translating the novel: Boshniak, Sinel’shchikov, Gazov-Grinzberg, Netesova, Rozenfel’d, Hrenov, etc. (Pavlova 2017: 24). Pavlova (2017: 23)

³ Quotations and paraphrases from all secondary sources in Russian (Pavlova (2017), Kalashnikova (2010), Mikhailovna (2012), Sinel’shchikov (1991)) are translated by the author of this paper.

explains that the translators into Russian choose between three different translation strategies. The first strategy requires the change of places between the source and the target language where English becomes the basis for Nadsat. In the second strategy, Russian is retained as Nadsat's basis, yet the slang is transliterated (that way, the words that are known to the reader are perceived as elements of another language). The basis for Nadsat when employing the third strategy is any language which could be perceived as exotic by the Russian-speaking reader. For Burgess, the choice was simple; he saw no difficulty in translating the novel into Russian – English words should replace his loaned Slavonic ones (Windle 1995: 165).

However, this method was rejected outright by Vladimir Boshniak (1991), one of the two translators whose translations are studied in this paper. Boshniak uses Pavlova's second strategy: his method "relies on a combination of modern youth slang and the liberal use of the Latin script for what are, in the main, familiar Russian words: malltshick [...], prestupnik, nozh" (Windle 1995: 165-66). Nevertheless, in an interview (Kalashnikova 2010), Boshniak stresses that he did not aim to transliterate all the words correctly, but rather do completely the opposite: to create "quasi-Russian words written in the Latin script", so he "ironically cyphered" the words, he mixed the roots with the suffixes, and even "provided the readers simple rebuses to solve", in order to make the words sound as if they were pronounced by characters-foreigners, to whom Russian is completely unknown. Even though this strategy is in opposition with Burgess' idea on how the Russian translation of Nadsat should be conceived, Boshniak considers his decision legitimate. He elaborates that, in his view, it is conceptually absurd to translate Nadsat with various anglophone words (such as *шузы* [shuzy] or *герла* [gerla]), for "the Russian slang was used by the author to express the idea that the evil is coming from the East, from the USSR, from Russia, which was considered the empire of evil"; therefore, Boshniak concludes that the usage of anglophone words changes the perspective and the idea of the novel (Kalashnikova 2010). However, critics point to a few problems concerning his choice; on one hand, Mikhailovna (2012: 119) notes that Nadsat words written in the Latin script get lost among other slang words, which leads to Nadsat being a quite easily understandable slang that is merely visually perceived as a new unknown slang. On the other hand, Windle (1995: 181)

points out that “Boshniak's transliterative method certainly obscures his meaning at times,” due to the estrangement⁴ which is achieved by using the Latin script, the practice of truncating words and forming Russian-English compounds. However, he also emphasises that less effort is required of Boshniak's reader to comprehend the slang than of the reader of the source text. Indeed, the reading of Russian in the Latin script became almost ordinary with the advent of new technologies, thus making the comprehension of the slang much easier. This is elaborated by Boshniak himself:

Today it is difficult to imagine, but when I was translating *A Clockwork Orange* (that is, twenty years ago, in the late 1980s), there was no mobile phones, no mass usage of computers, and [...] there was no such thing as writing of Russian words in the Latin script. [...] And now this method looks simple, even trivial [...]. (Kalashnikova 2010)

The other Russian translation studied is Evgenii Sinel'shchikov's (1991), based on the American edition of the novel, which lacks the last chapter. Sinel'shchikov's translation strategy is opposite to Boshniak's: Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat is based on “the extensive use of anglicisms to replace Burgess's Russianisms” (Windle 1995: 166). Sinel'shchikov (1991) explains his decision in the preface to his translation by pointing out that his strategy was determined by the attempt to reproduce Burgess' masterful representation of many processes that became part of contemporary society; hence, he “tried to recreate the ‘Nadsat’ language of Russian teenagers, which is a melange of the teenager slangs of the 60s–80s, in which words of English origin prevail”. However, this certainly does not mean that Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat consists only of previously adopted borrowings. It is also important to note that Sinel'shchikov provides a dictionary of about 140 Nadsat words, however, it “is less than complete[,]” since it omits many words, which occur in the text (Windle 1995: 167). Moreover, besides creating a dictionary, Sinel'shchikov introduces other changes: Mikhailovna (2012: 120) points out that Sinel'shchikov's rendering of the novel is more imaginative than Burgess', for he actively uses profanity (*дурик* [durik], *папик* [papik], *ублюдок* [ublyudok]), which distorts the meaning of the source. Moreover, Windle (1995: 175-176) notes that Sinel'shchikov's

⁴The notion of estrangement was constructed by Viktor Shklovsky, who defined it as “the removal of [the] object from the sphere of automatized perception [...] by a variety of means” (1991: 6).

translation is basically a free translation “notable for substantial additions,” which often invert the meaning of the source and are only at times witty. It should also be highlighted that many critics (Pavlova (2017), Mikhaylova (2012), Windle (1995)) point out that the choice of English as the basis for Nadsat perhaps does not reflect the impact and role of Russian in the source text. However, it is worth remembering that, at the time when Sinel’shchikov was translating the novel, the presence of English in a Russian text was more striking than today, as was the transliteration of the Russian language in Boshniak’s case.

2.2.4 The Croatian translation of Nadsat

There is only one translation of *A Clockwork Orange* into the Croatian language, that by Marko Fančović (1999)⁵. Unlike the translators of the novel into Russian, Fančović can’t have faced such big challenges since he could retain Russian as the basis for the slang. However, in the preface to his translation, he explains the problems he encountered when translating into Croatian the slang based on a mixture of Russian and English:

Unfortunately, in the translation, it was virtually impossible to transfer the brilliantly funny way in which the author used the mechanisms of the creation of the English slang to incorporate Russian words into English pronunciation. The best that could be done [...] was [...] at least to retain the atmosphere of the adolescent affectation to use a foreign language in everyday communication. (Fančović⁶ 1999: 6)

Moreover, although Fančović’s translation of Nadsat is based on the Russian language, which is unknown to the majority of Croatian-speaking readers, he does not provide the reader with a dictionary since he believes that “due to much greater cognateness of Russian and Croatian than that of Russian and English, we concluded that there was no real need for one in our [Croatian] edition” (1999: 6). The cognateness that Fančović is talking about has to do with the fact that both Russian and Croatian are Slavic languages, Russian being an East Slavic language, and Croatian a South Slavic one. Both stem from Proto-

⁵ It should be mentioned that the novel was translated into Serbian by Zoran Živković in 1973. Since Serbia and Croatia were both constituent republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, this translation was also read by Croatian readers.

⁶ Quotations and paraphrases by Fančović (1999) have been translated from Croatian by the author of this paper.

Slavic – the parent language of all present-day Slavic languages, which has resulted in certain similarities between the two languages (Pereltsvaig 2012: 27). It should also be mentioned that there is no critical literature studying Fančović's translation of the novel.

3. Aims and hypotheses

3.1 Aims

The aim of this paper⁷ is to test the comprehensibility of Croatian and Russian translations of the slang invented by Anthony Burgess in his novel *A Clockwork Orange*. More precisely, the aim is to test the native speaker's comprehension of the slang's translations first in isolation, and then by providing the readers with a context (the paragraphs in which the tested words appear). The comprehension of Nadsat in Russian translation is tested on two translations which offer completely different approaches to the translation of Nadsat, hence, another aim is to compare which one of the two is more easily comprehensible to the respondents. Unfortunately, such comparison could not be done with Croatian respondents for there is only one Croatian translation of the novel. However, the Croatian respondents' comprehension of Nadsat in translation into their language will be compared to the Russian respondents' comprehension, both in isolation and in context, to test the impact of the target language.

3.2 Hypotheses

In accordance with the aims of this research, the hypotheses test the comprehension of the invented slang's translations in isolation and in context; compare the comprehension of the slang words in the two conditions; and finally compare the level of comprehension among the various translations (in isolation and in context). To facilitate reading, the hypotheses are grouped by their focus. The first set of hypotheses concentrates on the comparison of the comprehension of Nadsat words in isolation and in context:

⁷ This paper is a revised version of the author's M.A. thesis defended at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, Croatia.

H1: The meaning of Nadsat words is more easily comprehended in context than in isolation.

The following subhypotheses state the more specific expectations regarding each of the translations, based on a pilot test:

H1a: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation and in context combined is significantly higher than the accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine their meaning in the Croatian translation.

H1b: The accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context is significantly higher than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in isolation.

H1c: In Boshniak's translation, there is no statistically significant difference between the accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context and the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in isolation.

H1d: In Sinel'shchikov's translation, the accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context is significantly higher than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in isolation.

H1e: Croatian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation with low accuracy, and in context with high accuracy.

H1f: In Boshniak's translation, Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words both in isolation and in context with high accuracy.

H1g: In Sinel'shchikov's translation, Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat both in isolation and in context with low accuracy.

It is important to note that for the purposes of this paper, the accuracy is considered to be high when it is equal to or over 60%. It is expected that the comprehension of Nadsat in isolation will be low in Fančović's Croatian translation since the pilot test showed comprehension to be quite low, while their comprehension in context was shown to be much higher. However, the pilot did not prove this to be true of Sinel'shchikov's translation; the comprehension was low both in isolation and in context. Boshniak's translation of Nadsat is expected to be readily comprehensible, as most of the slang is only written in the Latin script, with only a few exceptions (still based on Russian but with English suffixes). It is expected that for Fančović's Croatian and Sinel'shchikov's Russian

translation there will be no significant difference between the accuracy with which the word meaning is determined in isolation and in context because the slang is in both cases based on a foreign language (in the Croatian translation, it is based on the Russian language, while in Sinel'shchikov's translation on the English language). On the other hand, for Boshniak's translation no significant difference is expected, as the slang words are Russian words written in the Latin script.

In the second set of hypotheses, the accuracy of comprehension is compared for the three translations, first by comparing the comprehension of the Croatian translation to the two Russian ones, and then by individually comparing the translations:

- H2: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation is significantly higher than the accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine their meaning in the Croatian translation.
- H2a: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation in Boshniak's translation is significantly higher than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in Sinel'shchikov's translation.
- H2b: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation in Boshniak's translation is significantly higher than the accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine their meaning in Croatian translation.
- H2c: There is no significant difference between the accuracy with which Croatian and Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in isolation when comparing Sinel'shchikov's translation and the Croatian one.
- H3: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context is significantly higher than the accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine their meaning in the Croatian translation.
- H3a: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context in Boshniak's translation is significantly higher than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in Sinel'shchikov's translation.
- H3b: The accuracy with which Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context in Boshniak's translation is significantly

higher than the accuracy with which Croatian native speakers can determine their meaning in Croatian translation.

H3c: There is no statistically significant difference between the accuracy with which Croatian and Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context when comparing Sinel'shchikov's translation and the Croatian one.

These hypotheses stem from the suppositions that the comprehension of Fančović's Croatian and Sinel'shchikov's Russian translations of slang will be similar since the two are based on foreign languages, and therefore presumably much more challenging to discern than Boshniak's translation written in the Latin script. It is further expected that when comparing the accuracy of the two Russian translations and the Croatian one, the Russian respondents will be more successful in discerning the meaning of Nadsat words in both cases.

4. Methodology

4.1 Material

Given that the goal of this research was to test and compare Croatian and Russian native speakers' comprehension of the translation of Nadsat, translations of the novel into the two languages had to be selected. There is only one translation of the novel into Croatian, while there are at least seven translations into Russian. The two Russian translations – Boshniak's and Sinel'shchikov's – used for the purposes of this research were chosen for two reasons: Boshniak's and Sinel'shchikov's translations were used in two analyses of the translation of the novel's slang: in Windle's article *Two Russian Translations of "A Clockwork Orange", or the Homecoming of Nadsat* (1995), as well as in Pavlova's *Artistic Bilingualism and the Problem of Untranslatability (By the Example of the Novel 'A Clockwork Orange' by Anthony Burgess)* (2017). Moreover, as it has already been explained, these two translations show two divergent approaches to the translation of the invented slang.

4.2 Procedure

The comprehension of Nadsat was tested via LimeSurvey, using an online questionnaire survey made by the author of this paper. The participants had to

write the meaning of the given words, first in isolation and then in context. They were not allowed to return to the first part of the questionnaire and change their replies related to words in isolation after seeing the words in the context. The number of Nadsat words tested could not be too large because it could affect the respondents' willingness to fill in and/or finish the questionnaires. It was clear that the same words should be tested in both parts of the questionnaire, so as to have a clear picture of the difference in the respondents' comprehension of the words without context and with context.

4.2.1 Choosing Nadsat words

To simulate a real experience of reading *A Clockwork Orange's* translation, it was decided to test the comprehension of Nadsat words by giving the respondents the first few paragraphs from the very beginning of the novel. The length of the paragraphs used for each questionnaire depended on the number of Nadsat words used in it. That is, in order to avoid creating questionnaires that would be too long, the first twenty Nadsat words and the corresponding paragraphs in which they appear were chosen for the three questionnaires.

This was followed by the extraction of the first twenty Nadsat words from each translation and their organisation in tables. The paragraphs in which they appear were also transcribed with the words to be used emphasised in bold and underlined. It should be mentioned that some words that do belong to Nadsat were left out from the questionnaires because they were already explained in the translation, in parenthesis. Moreover, in Fančović's and Sinel'shchikov's translations, a paragraph was left out from the questionnaires: in Fančović's translation Nadsat words in a whole paragraph are glossed in parenthesis or separated by commas; likewise, in Sinel'shchikov's translation, a paragraph where no Nadsat words appear. However, the decision to leave out these paragraphs did not influence the respondents' ability to comprehend the meaning of the tested Nadsat words.

4.2.2 Semantic analysis of Nadsat words

Since this paper is in English, the semantic analyses of Nadsat words were done in the English language. They consisted of retracing possible origins of Nadsat's

translations, followed by discerning the meaning from the context and checking relevant dictionaries. The analysis of Sinel'shchikov's slang was conducted for the words that were not included in the dictionary, while the explanations of the included words were translated into the English language. For the analyses to be clearer, a table was created for each translation and represented in the corresponding section. Each table has three columns: the first column for the twenty slang words, the second one for the semantic analysis of the word (or the existing explanation in Sinel'shchikov's translation) – (possible) origin of the word discerned with the help of the dictionary (accompanied by all relevant forms that might have influenced the creation of the word), and the third column containing the English meaning of the Nadsat word and a short explanation on how the word came to be.

4.2.2.1. Semantic analysis of Fančović's Nadsat

The semantic analysis of Fančović's Nadsat was conducted by analysing the context in which the slang words appear and using Russian dictionaries to discern the meaning of Nadsat words.

Table 1 – Semantic analysis of Fančović's Nadsat⁸

	Fančović' Nadsat	Origin [transcription]	English
1	druzja	Russ. друг (sg.) друзья (pl.) [drug, druz'ia]	friend (from plural form of the Russian word meaning 'friend')
2	lupati razudoke	Cro. lupati + Russ. рассудок [rassudok]	to think (from the Croatian verb 'to hit'; slang meaning 'to talk nonsense' + Russian word meaning 'reason', 'rationality')
3	mjasto	Russ. место [mesto]	place (from the Russian word meaning 'place')
4	skorajšo	Russ. скоро (adj.), скорейший (sup. adj.) [skoro, skoreishii]	fast (from the superlative of the Russian adjective meaning 'fast')
5	veščica	Russ. вещьца [veshchitsa]	thing (diminutive) (from the Russian diminutive of the word meaning 'thing')
6	moloko	Russ. молоко [moloko]	milk (from the Russian word meaning 'milk')
7	pjati	Russ. пить [pit']	to drink (from the Russian verb meaning 'to drink')
8	vešča	Russ. вещь [veshch']	thing (from the Russian word meaning 'thing')
9	horroršo	Russ. хоррор + хорошо [horror, horosho] + Eng. show	horror + good (from the English word 'horror', rarely used in Russian, + Russian word meaning 'good') + Eng 'show'
10	Gospodjin	Russ. Господин [gospodin]	God (from the Russian word meaning 'Lord')
11	mjazg	Russ. мозг [mozg]	brain (from the Russian word meaning 'brain')

⁸ Russ. – Russian; Cro. – Croatian; Eng. – English; sg. – singular; pl. – plural; n. – noun; v. – verb; adj. – adjective; sup. adj. – superlative adjective

12	đengi	Russ. деньги [den'gi]	money (from the Russian word meaning 'money')
13	krastanje	Russ. красть [krast']	stealing (noun derived from the Russian verb meaning 'to steal')
14	tolčokirati	Russ. толкнуть (v.), толчок (n.) [tolknut', tochok]	to hit (verb derived from the Russian verb meaning 'to hit' and the noun 'strike')
15	vjek	Russ. человек [chelovek]	man (contracted from the Russian word meaning 'man')
16	vidjati	Russ. видеть [videt']	to see (from the Russian word meaning 'to see')
17	starejši	Russ. старый (adj.), старейший (sup. adj.) [staryi, stareishii]	old (from the superlative of the Russian adjective meaning 'old')
18	djevočka	Russ. девочка [devochka]	girl (from the Russian word meaning 'girl')
19	maljčik	Russ. мальчик [mal'chik]	boy (from the Russian word meaning 'boy')
20	golova	Russ. голова [golova]	head (from the Russian word meaning 'head')

4.2.2.2. Semantic analysis of Boshniak's Nadsat

The semantic analysis of Boshniak's invented slang consisted of the analysis of the context and the search for the Russian words which served as the basis for Nadsat.

Table 2 – Semantic analysis of Boshniak's Nadsat

	Boshniak's Nadsat	Origin [transcription]	English
1	drug	Russ. друг [drug]	friend (from the Russian word meaning 'friend')
2	glupyi	Russ. глупый [glupyi]	stupid (from the Russian word meaning 'stupid')
3	korova	Russ. корова [korova]	cow (from the Russian word meaning 'cow')
4	mozg	Russ. мозг [mozg]	brain (from the Russian word meaning 'brain')
5	zavedenije	Russ. заведение [zavedenie]	institution, establishment, place (from the Russian word meaning 'institution')
6	plevatt	Russ. плевать [plevat']	to not care about (from the Russian verb meaning 'to not care about'; secondary meaning; primary meaning: 'to spit')
7	shtutshka	Russ. штука, штучка [shtuka, shtuchka]	thing (diminutive) (from the Russian diminutive of the word meaning 'thing'; informal, spoken language)
8	pitt	Russ. пить [pit']	to drink (from the Russian word meaning 'to drink')
9	baldiozh	Russ. балдеть [balDET']	enjoyment (noun derived from the Russian slang word meaning 'to enjoy')
10	tortsh	Russ. торч [torch]	enjoyment, euphoria (from the Russian slang word meaning 'euphoria', 'enjoyment')
11	dratsing	Russ. драться [drat'sia] + Eng. -ing	fight (noun derived from the Russian verb meaning 'to fight' + English suffix -ing)
12	gasitt	Russ. гасить [gasit']	to hit (from the Russian slang word meaning 'to hit')
13	kodla	Russ. кодла [kodla]	gang (from the Russian slang word meaning 'gang')

14	babki	Russ. бабки [babki]	money (from the Russian slang word meaning 'money')
15	toltsbok	Russ. толчок [tolchok]	strike (from the Russian word meaning 'strike')
16	hanyga	Russ. ханыга [hanyga]	drunk (from the Russian slang word meaning 'drunk', 'alcoholic'; 'beggar')
17	obtriasti	Russ. обтрясти [obtriasti]	to rob (from the Russian slang word meaning 'to rob')
18	krasting	Russ. красть [krast'] + Eng. - <i>ing</i>	stealing (noun derived from the Russian verb meaning 'to steal' + English suffix <i>-ing</i>)
19	ptitsa	Russ. птица [ptica]	woman (from the Russian slang word meaning 'woman'; from context; primary meaning: 'bird')
20	rvatt kogti	Russ. рвать когти [rvat' kogti]	run for it; run for one's life (from the Russian slang phrase meaning 'run for it'; 'run for one's life')

4.2.2.3. Semantic analysis of Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat

The analysis of Sinel'shchikov's slang consisted of first checking his Nadsat dictionary, followed by the search for the English word used to make up the word. However, since Nadsat words *мани* [mani] and *фэшн* [feshn] are not glossed, their meanings were discerned from the context and by using English dictionaries.

Table 3 – Semantic analysis of Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat

	Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat [transcription]	Nadsat dictionary definition [transcription] (additional explanation)	Origin – English
1	френд [frend]	друг [drug]	friend
2	дринкинг [drinking]	призв. от «пить» [pit'] (Eng. from "to drink")	to drink
3	токинг [toking]	призв. от «болтать» [boltat'] (Eng. from "to converse", "to babble")	to talk, to converse
4	тин-кинг [tin-king]	призв. от «думать» [dumat'] (Eng. from "to think") (spelled without hyphen in the dictionary)	to think
5	плейс [pleis]	место [mesto]	place
6	серв [serv]	подавать (на стол) [podavat' (na stol)]	to serve (food, drink)
7	поршн [porshn]	порция [porciia] (*the word <i>поршн</i> is explained as a part of the phrase: "фор поршнз – четыре порции" [for porshnz – chetyre porcii])	portion
8	покет [poket]	карман [karman]	pocket
9	мани [mani]	/	money (from the English word "money")
10	эмьермент [em'iuzment]	развлечение [razvlechenie]	amusement
11	хэд [hed]	голова [golova]	head
12	уотч [uotch]	наблюдать [nabliudat']	to watch (from the English verb "to watch")

13	свимать [svimat']	произв. от «плавать» [plavat'] (Eng. from "to swim")	to swim
14	блад [blad]	кровь [krov'] (the word "кровь" is under the same entry as the derived adjective: "блад, блади — кровь, кровавый" [blad, bladi – krov', krovavyi])	blood
15	юрин [iurin]	моча [mocha]	urine
16	пей визит [pei vizit]	навестить [navestit']	pay visit
17	дресст [dresst]	одежда, одеваться [odezhda, odevat'sia]	to dress, dressed (одежда is a noun meaning 'clothes', одеваться is a verb meaning 'to dress')
18	фэшн [feshn]	/	fashion (from the English noun "fashion")
19	багги-уош [baggi-uosh]	брюки из мешковины [brjuki iz meškoviny]	trousers made of sackcloth (noun made from two English adjectives often used to describe trousers - "baggy" + "(light) wash")
20	сливз [slivz]	рукава [rukava]	sleeves

4.2.3 Questionnaires

Since three translations are studied for the purposes of this research (one into Croatian, two into Russian), there were three questionnaires – one for each translation. For reasons of practicality the survey was conducted online. Each questionnaire was in the mother tongue of the respondents; nevertheless, their form was the same: the first and second part were related to the comprehension of the translation of slang, whereas the third part of the research encompassed questions which are linked to potential interfering variables, as explained below.

In the first part of the questionnaire, which tested comprehension of the translation of the invented slang, the respondents were given a list of twenty Nadsat words in the order in which they appear in the novel with the instruction to write their meaning. They were asked to fill in as many words as they possibly could; however, they had the option to write "0" in the blank if they had no idea what the word meant. After they had finished the first part of the questionnaire, the respondents moved on to its second part, without being allowed to return to the first part and change the answers.

In the second part, the respondents were given the same instructions and the same list of twenty Nadsat words in the same order in which they appear in

the novel, but they were also provided with the short paragraphs in which those words appear (Nadsat words were emphasised in bold and underlined).

Having completed the two parts of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked questions concerning the possible interfering variables. These were the questions relating to the age of the respondents, their studies at the university (whether they (had) studied languages or linguistics), as well as those relating to whether they had read the novel or watched Stanley Kubrick's film (1971). The question which varied in the questionnaires was related to the respondents' knowledge of the language used in translating the invented slang: Croatian respondents were asked whether they had learned Russian and for how long, while the respondents of Sinel'shchikov's translation were asked about their knowledge of English.

The time allowed to fill in the questionnaire was unlimited; however, the pilot test showed that the time necessary to complete the questionnaire was around ten minutes.

4.3 Respondents

"Ideal" respondents for this study would be Croatians and Russians who have not studied languages or linguistics (if they had, it could potentially facilitate the comprehension of Nadsat words). Moreover, they would belong to the age group categorised in psychology (Levinson 1986: 7) as young adults, that is, they are between 18 and 35 (maximally 40) years old. This age group encompasses potential respondents who were born in the period when the communist regime in the U.S.S.R. started to weaken, which led to their being more exposed to the English language (important factor in the comprehension of Sinel'shchikov's translation)⁹. The target number of respondents for each questionnaire was set at twenty. The questionnaires were distributed via social networks, especially Facebook.

⁹ These periods of Russian history are called *perestroika* (Russ. "restructuring") and *glasnost* (Russ. "openness"). For more information, see (Britannica).

4.4 Data analysis

After the respondents had filled in the questionnaires, the results were exported into Excel tables. Next, quantitative and qualitative analyses of the respondents' answers were conducted to check whether the hypotheses were confirmed. First, a semantic analysis for each of the three questionnaires was conducted. Each slang word was analysed separately – the compliance of the respondents' answers was compared to the meaning of Nadsat words discerned in the semantic analysis. Each answer of each respondent was evaluated as correct (+), partially correct (+/-) or incorrect (-), and when there was no answer, a "0" was attributed to the response. After each word had been analysed in this manner, it was counted how many correct, partially correct and incorrect answers there were and how many words remained unanswered both in isolation and in context. This served as a preparation for the quantitative analysis. Whether there is a statistically significant difference was determined by an open-source statistics programme called JASP, while the threshold value for p was 5%.

5. Findings

5.1 Sample

In total, there were 35 respondents for the Croatian questionnaire, 37 for Boshniak's Russian one and 22 for Sinel'shchikov's. However, to have a homogenous group encompassing the age group between 19 and 38 years, only the results of the respondents of that age were analysed: 34 Croatian respondents, 22 respondents for Boshniak's translation, and 21 respondents for Sinel'shchikov's translation.

It should be noted that in the questionnaire testing the comprehension of Boshniak's Russian translation, due to an error, the word *dratsing* did not appear in the first question (comprehension in isolation), thus, this word had to be left out from further analysis, which resulted in 19 rather than 20 Nadsat words studied. In the other two questionnaires, all 20 words were successfully tested both in isolation and in context.

5.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis of the results consisted in a semantic analysis, that is, of assessing whether the respondents' answers were correct, partially correct or incorrect. Such an analysis was conducted for each of the 20 Nadsat words (19 in Boshniak's case).

5.2.1 Semantic analysis of the respondents' answers – Fančović's Nadsat

There were 34 Croatian native speakers who filled in the questionnaire; none of them defined all the words correctly both in isolation and in context. More precisely, none of them defined all Nadsat words correctly in isolation, while one respondent successfully discerned the meaning of all the words in context.

There were five Nadsat words which none of the respondents could decipher in isolation: *skorajšo*, *veščica*, *veščča* and *vjek*, and the phrase *lupati razudoke*. The reasons for the incorrect definitions of these words could lie in the interference of Croatian. For example, *skorajšo* (Nadsat for 'fast') sounds similar to Croatian adverb *skoro* or *uskoro* which means 'soon', which resulted in the respondents' incorrect answers such as 'soon' (Cro. *skoro*, *uskoro*) and 'about to happen' (Cro. *skorašnje*, *ono što će se dogoditi u skoro vrijeme, koji će se dogoditi uskoro*).

On the other end of the spectrum, there were words that almost all of the respondents defined correctly in isolation and in context. The sole word that was successfully defined by all the respondents both in isolation and in context was *djevočka*, meaning 'a girl', while Nadsat words meaning 'old' (*starejši*), 'God' (*Gospodjin*), and 'place' (*mjasto*), were successfully defined in context by all respondents.

Moreover, there were five words that were difficult for the respondents to define in isolation, but in context more than 30 of them managed to provide the correct definition – *vidjati* ('to watch'), *golova* ('a head'), *đengi* ('money'), *druzja* ('a friend'), *pjati* ('to drink'). The respondents were also fairly successful in discerning the meaning of the slang words *moloko* and *maljčik* in context, with over 25 respondents defining them correctly.

The two words with the fewest correct responses were *krastanje* ('stealing') – two in isolation and 17 in context, and *tolčokirati* ('to hit') – one in isolation and four in context. *Horroršo*, which is a combination of *horror* and *show*, while sounding similar to the Russian word *хорошо* [horosho] (Eng. good), resulted in unusual results; that is, more people defined it correctly in isolation than in context because of the vague context which left a lot of possibilities for interpretation.

5.2.2 Semantic analysis of the respondents' answers – Boshniak's Nadsat

There were 22 respondents for the questionnaire concerning Boshniak's translation. None of them successfully discerned the meaning of all Nadsat words in both isolation and context; however, six respondents defined all words correctly in context.

Two Nadsat words were correctly defined by all of the respondents both in context and in isolation; these were *zavedenije* ('institution', 'bar') and *babki* ('money'). Moreover, five words were correctly defined by all respondents in context *drug* ('a friend'), *korova* ('a cow'), *plevatt* ('to not care about'), *pitt* ('to drink') and *baldiozh* ('enjoyment').

Furthermore, two Nadsat words – *glupiy* ('stupid') and *shtutshka* ('thing', 'drug') – were correctly defined in context by 21 respondents and one respondent managed to provide a partially correct definition. Two words were successfully discerned by 20 respondents in context and 17 in isolation; these were *mozg* ('brain') and *rvatt kogti* ('to run for it', 'to flee'). *Obtriasi* ('to rob') and *gasitt* ('to hit', 'to beat up') were also quite successfully discerned in context; both were correctly defined by 19 respondents. More than 15 respondents correctly defined in context *tortsh* ('enjoyment', 'euphoria') and *toltsbok* ('a strike').

Kodla ('a gang'), *hanyga* ('a drunk', 'a beggar') and *krasting* ('stealing') were correctly defined by less than a half of the respondents in isolation; however, in context they were successfully defined by more than a half of them. The respondents' definitions of *krasting* as *кастинг* [kasting] show the interference of the English word "casting".

The Nadsat word for 'a woman' (*ptitsa*) is the only word which was not correctly defined in isolation by any of the respondents, which does not come as a surprise considering that the first meaning of the Russian word *птица* [ptica], used as the basis for this word, is 'a bird'. Moreover, in context, *ptitsa* was correctly defined by ten respondents, which marks the greatest difference when comparing the number of correctly defined words in isolation and context in Boshniak's translation.

5.2.3 Semantic analysis of the respondents' answers – Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat

There were 21 Russian native speakers who filled in the questionnaire on the comprehension of Sinel'shchikov's Nadsat. Of the 20 words tested, all respondents successfully defined three words both in isolation and in context; *френд* [frend] ('friend'), *мани* [mani] ('money') and *фэшн* [feshn] ('fashion'). Interestingly, only one respondent correctly defined all Nadsat words both in isolation and in context.

Three more words *дринкинг* [drinking] ('to drink'), *токинг* [toking] ('to talk') and *плейс* [pleis] ('place'), were successfully defined by all respondents in context. Only two respondents incorrectly defined *плейс* [pleis] ('place') in isolation as *пожалуйста* ('please'), probably due to the similarity of the Nadsat word to the English word *please*. *Поршн* [porshn] ('a portion', 'a glass') and *дресст* [dresst] ('to dress', 'dressed') were both correctly discerned in context by 20 respondents. Nadsat words *блад* [blad] ('blood') and *покет* [poket] ('pocket') were correctly defined in context by 19 respondents. Interestingly, in isolation, *блад* [blad] was incorrectly defined by one respondent as *лист* [list] ('leaf', 'sheet'), probably due to the interference of the German word *Blatt* or Swedish *blad*, meaning 'leaf'. The Nadsat word correctly defined by the same number of respondents, 18 of them, in both isolation and context, was the word *хэд* [hed], meaning 'a head'.

A bit more challenging to define were *эмьюзмент* [em'iuzment] ('amusement'), *тин-кинг* [tin-king] ('to think'), *уотч* [uotch] ('to watch'), *свимать* [svimat'] ('to swim') and *сливз* [slivz] ('sleeves'), which were correctly defined in context by 14 respondents. Just over half the respondents, 12 of them, correctly defined *юрин* [urin] ('urine') and *пей визит* [pei vizit] ('to pay a

visit'), whereas in isolation both words were successfully defined by only six respondents.

Серв [serv] ('to serve') was correctly defined in isolation by only four respondents; yet, in context, only four respondents gave incorrect answers. The Nadsat word which was defined by the fewest respondents in both isolation and context was *багги-уош* [baggi-uosh] ('the trousers made of sackcloth').

5.3 Quantitative analysis

The statistical analysis gave a more detailed insight into the level of comprehension of the three translations tested, and also enabled the verification of the hypotheses. The analysis showed the accuracy of the comprehension of the three translations both in context and in isolation (Table 4): Russian respondents defined Nadsat words in both Boshniak's and Sinel'shchikov's translation with high accuracy – over 60% – in isolation and in context (H1f proved, H1g disproved), while Croatian respondents solved the questionnaire with a low accuracy in isolation and high in context (H1e proved).

Table 4 – The average number of correctly defined words in all three translations in isolation and in context

	IN ISOLATION			IN CONTEXT		
	Boshniak	Fančović	Sinel'shchikov	Boshniak	Fančović	Sinel'shchikov
Mean	68.66	35.51	60.71	87.44	73.82	81.55

The analysis also showed that the words were more successfully defined in context than in isolation in all three translations and showed a statistically significant difference in the comprehension of all the words in both Croatian and Russian translations, confirming H1. Further analysis showed that the accuracy with which native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context is significantly higher ($p < .001$) than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in isolation in each translation, thereby proving H1b and H1d, but disproving H1c. Moreover, there is a statistically significant difference in the comprehension of the Croatian and the two Russian translations when it comes to the successfulness of comprehension in isolation and in context, which proves H1a (Table 5). There is also a statistically significant difference ($p = 0.002$) in the comprehension of Croatian and Russian translations

in isolation; however, there is no statistically significant difference ($p = 0.071$) in the comprehension of Croatian and Russian translations in context, (H2 proved, H3 disproved).

Table 5 – Comparison of the level of comprehension of Croatian and the two Russian translations

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
LANGUAGE	10400	1	10400	8.536	0.005

The comparisons of the individual translations provide more detailed information on the respondents' accuracy in discerning the meaning of Nadsat words. The analysis showed no statistically significant difference between the two Russian translations when comparing the accuracy in both isolation and context combined (Table 6), only in isolation ($p = 0.383$) and only in context ($p = 0.285$), disproving hypotheses H2a and H3a.

Table 6 – Comparison of Boshniak's and Sinel'shchikov's translations when comparing the accuracy in both isolation and context

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
TRANSLATION	933.0	1	933.0	0.980	0.329

When comparing Fančović's and Boshniak's translations, the analyses show a statistically significant difference between the two translations when looking at both conditions (Table 7). Nevertheless, there is a statistically significant difference between the two translations when comparing the respondents' success in isolation ($p = 0.004$), but not in context ($p = 0.065$), thereby proving H2b, but disproving H3b.

Table 7 – Comparison of Fančović's and Boshniak's translations when comparing the accuracy in both isolation and context

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
LANGUAGE	10653	1	10653	8.019	0.007

The analysis showed no statistically significant difference between the accuracy with which Croatian and Russian native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in both conditions combined when comparing Sinel'shchikov's translation and Fančović's Croatian one (Table 8). However,

there is a statistically significant difference between the two translations when comparing the respondents' results in isolation ($p = 0.025$), but not in context (0.297), thereby proving H2c and disproving H3c.

Table 8 – Comparison of Fančović's and Sinel'shchikov's translations when comparing the accuracy in both isolation and context

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
LANGUAGE	5420	1	5420	3.912	0.055

6. Conclusions

Nadsat, the mostly Russian-based slang invented by Anthony Burgess for *A Clockwork Orange*, was translated using completely different strategies in Boshniak's and Sinel'shchikov's Russian translations and in the sole Croatian translation by Fančović. The comprehension of these translations by native speakers of the two languages was tested and compared in isolation and in context. Qualitative analysis showed that the comprehension of Nadsat words was better in context than in isolation, where it was influenced by the interference of similar sounding words and phrases from the native language of the respondents, similar sounding words in general, or by other meanings of the polysemic words. The quantitative analysis showed that in all three translations, the comprehension of Nadsat words was better in context than in isolation (H1 proved), as well as that the accuracy with which native speakers can determine the meaning of Nadsat words in context is significantly higher than the accuracy with which they can determine their meaning in isolation in each translation (H1b and H1d proved, H2c disproved). When comparing Fančović's and the two Russian translations, it was noted that the comprehension of the Croatian translation was significantly lower in isolation (H2 proved). In context, however, there was no significant difference in the comprehension (H3 disproved). Individual comparisons of the three translations showed that, when analysing the accuracy of comprehension in isolation, there is a statistically significant difference between Fančović's and each of the two Russian translations (H2b proved, H2c disproved), but there is no statistically significant difference between the two Russian translations (H2a proved). Interestingly, when comparing the accuracy of the comprehension between the three translations in

context, there is no statistically significant difference between any of the translations (H3a, H3b, H3c disproved).

These results provide a lot of material for further research. A larger scale study which would encompass respondents of different ages could be done, as well as a study which would test different parts of the three translations. It would also be interesting to test the comprehension of the source by English native speakers. Furthermore, this research could be expanded by testing translations into other languages.

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