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TRANSLATING NEOLOGISMS IN DYSTOPIAN LITERATURE: LEXICAL INNOVATION IN ALDOUS HUXLEY'S BRAVE NEW WORLD AND ITS CROATIAN RENDITION

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Abstract

This study deals with word formation and translation of neologisms in dystopian literature on the example of Aldous Huxley's novel Brave New World and its Croatian translation. Its aim is to provide an insight into lexical innovation in dystopias and their translations by relying on Millward's (2007) theory of dystopian neology. Based on Millward's theoretical model, the study hypothesizes that coinage is the least frequent, and derivation the most frequent word formation process among source text neologisms. The third hypothesis states that literal translation and lexical creation are the most productive translation procedures. The research consists of extracting source text neologisms and their translations and analyzing the employed word formation processes and translation procedures. The findings show that compounding is the most prolific creation process in source text neologisms, while coinage and conversion are not used at all. The extracted neologisms are mostly rendered through literal translation and borrowing.

Keywords: dystopian literature, word formation, neologisms, translation of neologisms, Brave New World

1. Introduction

Ever since its publication in 1932, Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New World* has not lost its relevance. His portrayal of the consumerist World State, a totalitarian regime which relies on scientific discoveries and hedonism for controlling its





citizens without the use of physical force, has a growing significance in the contemporary world. This fictional society entails many novel concepts, including forms of entertainment, sports, and technological advances, that contribute to the building of Huxley's alternative world. In order to name the novel concepts which exist in the depicted reality, the author resorted to the creation of neologisms. These neologisms present a challenge to the translator, who has to employ various strategies and procedures to render them in the target language (TL). The choice of procedures is influenced by many factors – there are no rules which prescribe which procedure is better or which should be used more frequently. This paper deals with the word formation of neologisms in Huxley's novel and their translation into Croatian by the translator Vlada Stojiljković.¹ Its aim is to examine the nature and level of lexical innovation in the source text (ST) and target text (TT), bearing in mind the general characteristics of dystopian literature.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Neologisms

When it comes to defining neologisms, there is no single definition on which scholars agree. However, most existing definitions entail some common elements. Jackson and Amvela (2007: 244) define a neologism as "a new word, which may or may not become an established item of vocabulary". Halliday and Yallop (2007: 107) see it as "a new word, form, construction or sense introduced into discourse and ultimately into the language". Bednarska (2015: 22) distinguishes between semantic and lexical neologisms, where the former result from "the acquisition of a new meaning by an existing word", and the latter are "newly formed words" created through various word formation processes. Stockwell (2014: 119), on the other hand, refers to new lexical forms as neologisms, but uses the term neosemes to denote new meanings attached to old forms. According to the type of formation, Newmark (1988: 141-148) recognizes the following categories of neologisms: old words with new senses,

¹ This paper is a revised version of the author's M.A. thesis written at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb, Croatia.



new coinages, derived words, abbreviations, collocations, eponyms, phrasal words, transferred words, and pseudo-neologisms.²

Neologisms are created in order to denote new items and developments, or to add new layers of meaning when referring to existing entities (Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005: 4). The reasons for lexical innovation can also be political and historical (ibid.). Díaz Hormingo (2012: 108) distinguishes between two types of neologisms based on the purpose of their creation: "lexical units created to designate new concepts, objects or realities – denominative or referential neologisms" and new words "created to introduce subjective nuances or new or original expressive forms in communication – stylistic or expressive neologisms". Muhvić-Dimanovski (2005: 6) also makes a distinction between denominative and stylistic neologisms, noting that the latter usually appear in literary works and rarely become lexicalized in everyday language. This division can, however, be debated in the case of dystopian literature – while the readership may perceive neologisms in dystopian novels as stylistic, they frequently serve a purpose of denominative neologisms within the projected reality of the novel.

If an author uses a neologism in his or her text for the first time, the neologism can be defined as authorial (Bednarska 2015: 22). This analysis will focus on Aldous Huxley's authorial neologisms, adopting a general definition of neologisms as words (or multi-word units) with a novel form, novel meaning, or both novel form and novel meaning.

2.2 Word Formation Processes

As mentioned in the previous section, new words can be created through various word formation processes. Plag (2003: 17) identifies two main processes of morphological word formation in English: derivation and compounding. Derivation entails the processes of affixation (prefixation, suffixation, and infixation) and non-affixation (conversion, truncation or clipping, and blending) (ibid.). The Croatian linguistic tradition usually distinguishes between three main types of word formation: derivation and two types which can be regarded as compounding (Tafra and Košutar 2009: 90). In a similar vein as in the English

² A more detailed classification of neologisms based on the type of formation can be found in Tafra and Košutar (2009: 93).



classification, the main difference lies in the number of bases: new words created from one base are called derivatives, while combining more bases results in compounds (Tafra and Košutar 2009: 101).

Neologisms tend to imitate the existing patterns of word formation which differ across languages (Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005: 97). For example, compounding, a very common word formation process in English, is not as frequent in Croatian (Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005: 97-98). Furthermore, while blending and clipping are both productive word formation models in English, they are less common in Croatian (Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005: 99-102). Muhvić-Dimanovski (2005: 98) puts emphasis on suffixation as a very frequent procedure in Croatian neology. Quite similarly, Yule (2006: 57) lists derivation (referring to affixation only) as "by far the most common word-formation process to be found in the production of new English words".

In both English and Croatian, borrowing and loan translation (calques) should also be mentioned as non-morphological word formation processes. Borrowing, or "the taking over of words from other languages" (Yule 2006: 54), is one of the most frequent ways of adopting new words in English and Croatian (Yule 2006: 54; Muhvić-Dimanovski 2005: 39). Loan translation can be defined as "[a] special type of borrowing" (Yule 2006: 54) which entails "a direct translation of the elements of a word into the borrowing language" (ibid.). Yule (2006: 53) also lists coinage, "the invention of totally new terms", as "one of the least common processes of word formation in English".

In his analysis of neologisms in science fiction, Stockwell (2014: 120) lists six available word formation processes: creation, borrowing, derivation, compounding, shortening, and inflectional extensions. He also lists nine subtypes of neosemy: broadening, narrowing, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole, litotes, quality shift, and recontextualization (ibid.).

2.3 Procedures for Translating Neologisms

Translating neologisms is a demanding task, especially if they appear in literary texts. The meaning of a neologism can sometimes be easy to comprehend based on the constituent root(s) and morphemes, but it can also be completely opaque (Frleta and Frleta 2019: 43), which makes translation even more challenging.



Newmark (1988: 149) notes that, "in a literary text", the translator has a "duty to re-create any neologism he meets on the basis of the SL neologism", whereas in non-literary texts the translator should generally refrain from creating new words. Even though Newmark's approach is prescriptive (and this study aims to be descriptive), he provides a useful frame of reference for the translation of neologisms. Newmark suggests the following procedures for translating neologisms (1988: 150): 1) transference, 2) TL neologism, 3) TL derived word, 4) naturalization, 5) recognized TL translation, 6) functional term, 7) descriptive term, 8) literal translation, 9) translation procedure combinations, 10) through-translation, and 11) internationalism. These procedures are among the general translation procedures "for sentences and the smaller units of language" proposed by Newmark (1988: 81).

However, others have suggested somewhat different classifications of the procedures for translating neologisms. In her analysis of the translation of neologisms in fantasy novels, Bednarska (2015: 23) distinguishes between the following: 1) borrowing, 2) equivalence, and 3) creation of a new neologism. Borrowing refers to "applying an original neologism to the target language without changes or with small phonetic changes" (Bednarska 2015: 23). Bednarska (ibid.) states that this procedure, frequently employed in the translation of novel proper names, may be regarded as the "easiest" choice, but it contributes to the exotic effect of the text. Equivalence consists of "finding an existing term in the vocabulary of the target language" (Bednarska 2015: 24). However, it is not widely employed because corresponding terms rarely exist in TLs. The creation of a new neologism is, according to Bednarska (ibid.), the most relevant procedure from a linguistic perspective.

Another possible approach to translating neologisms is the one proposed by Klitgård (2018: 57) on the basis of Delabastita's (1996: 134) methodology of translating puns: 1) neologism \rightarrow neologism, 2) neologism \rightarrow non-neologism, 3) neologism \rightarrow related rhetorical device, 4) neologism \rightarrow zero, 5) neologism ST = neologism \top T, 6) non-neologism \rightarrow neologism, 7) zero \rightarrow neologism, and 8) editorial techniques.



2.4 Defining Dystopia

In his analysis of the origins of dystopian literature, Claeys (2010: 107) poses the questions: "Where did it all go wrong? When did the vision of heaven on earth become an anticipation of hell?" The inversion of utopia at which Claeys hints lies at the very root of the term dystopia, coined by combining the prefix "dys-" (meaning "bad") with the word "utopia" (Lexico). Dystopia refers to "a fictional portrayal of a society in which evil, or negative social and political developments, have the upper hand" or "a satire of utopian aspirations which attempts to show up their fallacies" (Claeys 2010: 107). Sargent (1994: 9) defines utopia as "a non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space" and distinguishes between positive utopias or eutopias, which portray societies "that the author intended a contemporaneous reader to view as considerably better than the society in which that reader lived", and negative utopias or dystopias, which depict societies perceived as worse than the society of the contemporary readership. Although the inversion of utopian (eutopian) thought has earlier origins, dystopia became "the predominant expression of the utopian ideal" in the 20th century (Claeys 2010: 108-109). Dystopian fiction typically portrays anti-individualistic, totalitarian states which require utmost obedience from their citizens, ensuring it by means of technology and science (Claeys 2010: 109).

The line between eutopian and dystopian literature is, however, not always clear-cut: as Claeys (2010: 108) puts it, "whether a given text can be described as a dystopia or utopia will depend on one's perspective of the narrative outcome". Furthermore, the relation between the genres of utopia (both positive and negative) and science fiction has also been debated (Fitting 2010: 135). Suvin (1979: 61) maintains that "utopia is not a genre but *the sociopolitical subgenre of science fiction* [emphasis in the original]". Fitting, on the other hand, believes that Suvin's definition "complicates our understanding of the relationship between the two genres" (2010: 136) and that "there is not a necessary connection between utopia and science fiction" (2010: 149). The main difference, according to Fitting, lies in the relation of these genres to the societies in which they are created:



Utopia by definition opposes the dominant culture [...]. But if the utopia presents an alternative to the present, science fiction is a neutral form, able to express positions in opposition to or in defence of the status quo; and with its widespread success the imagined futures of contemporary science fiction rarely imply or assert a critique of the present. (Fitting 2010: 150)

The "critique of the present" mentioned by Fitting is certainly an important element of dystopian literature. Millward (2007: 34) argues that dystopia is "an exceptionally didactic genre" which contains "cautions against rash and reckless continuance of present trends in numerous areas". The goal of dystopian novels is "to prevent their envisioned future from becoming a reality" (Millward 2007: 35). The same idea is expressed by Sisk (1997: 168), who claims that "[o]n the generic level, all dystopias are optimistic in that the act of writing a dystopia presupposes a conviction that the intended audience can still be warned against disturbing trends".

2.5 The Use of Language in Dystopian Literature

In her analysis of the use of language in dystopian literature, Millward (2007: 39) distinguishes between two types of language: speculative language and reflective language. Speculative language, or "the language of dystopian futures" (ibid.), refers to "persistently recurring linguistic phenomena which animate and inscribe the envisioned dystopian future" (ibid.). Reflective language, on the other hand, encompasses "the language of the dystopian past" (ibid.), i.e. "antecedent and archaic language" (ibid.) which is compared to or contrasted with speculative language to emphasize the differences. Beauchamp (1974: 463) claims that dystopian novels, with their "projection of a fictive but prophetic future", often fail to create a future language "that embodies the sweeping changes in human experience posited by their fantasies". Millward (2007: 44) disagrees with Beauchamp's claim, stating that "dystopia, as a genre, is remarkably successful in its attempts to create elements of a 'future language'" which portrays the realities of the imagined worlds. In order to support her argument, Millward (2007: 45) elaborates that "dystopia is an accelerated microcosmic representation of the process of language change, presenting new language for novel concepts where these concepts differ from those which are known to exist". Accordingly, the genre of dystopia – just as the genre of science



fiction – is often characterized by the frequent use of neologisms which denote these novelties (Millward 2007: 35). However, while science fiction relies on a high level of elaborate innovation in its neology, dystopias are "less flamboyantly neologistic" because of their stronger inclination towards realism, i.e. their need to retain the plausibility of the imagined world (Millward 2007: 111). Therefore, in Millward's words (2007: 112), "dystopian neologism more closely mirrors the word-formation processes which occur in natural language, while science fiction neologism is more spontaneously imaginative". When it comes to natural, nonfictional language, Hudson (2000: 241) claims that word formation is guided by the *principle of limited novelty*, which can be summarized in the following way: "[n]ew meanings are preferred in old forms, and new forms are preferred in old meanings". According to Hudson (ibid.), "rarely are new morphemes entirely new", which results in "partial familiarity of most new words, being familiar in either form or meaning". Muhvić-Dimanovski (2005: 4) also claims that neologisms in natural languages tend to be created from existing lexical elements, except for the ones created by borrowing. Thus, dystopian neology tends to either attach new meanings to old forms or vice versa, whereas the creation of entirely new coinages for new concepts occurs less frequently. This helps maintain a certain degree of familiarity and plausibility while emphasizing otherness (Millward 2007: 112), which contributes to the didactic goals of dystopian literature.

2.6 The Use of Language in Brave New World

In order to exemplify his assertion about the failure of many dystopian authors to use a convincing future language, Beauchamp uses the novel *Brave New World*:

Huxley's society is placed about six hundred years into the future [...] Yet for all this society's divergence from our own, its creatures speak like the properest twentieth century Englishmen. The massive social and technological changes projected by Huxley seem to have had no effect on their language. We know, of course, that such innovation constantly modifies our language, and with ever-increasing rapidity. Yet there is no attempt to imitate such linguistic changes—or, to be more precise, to create a convincing illusion of such changes—in this brave new world. (Beauchamp 1974: 463-464)



However, many features of Huxley's speculative language successfully reflect the depicted future. Firstly, Huxley uses a plethora of authorial neologisms to portray new technological and scientific inventions, new institutions, new means of entertainment, and the new quasi-religious system. Another important element of Huxley's speculative language is the frequent use of sleep-taught rhymes ("A gramme is better than a damn" (Huxley 1932: 125); "Ending is better than mending" (Huxley 1932: 51), etc.) which encapsulate the ideology of the World State and function as a mind-controlling device. Furthermore, while the higher castes use a more sophisticated language due to their educational background and intellectual superiority, the lower castes use a simplified language: for instance, The Delta Mirror, a newspaper for the Delta caste, offers texts "in words exclusively of one syllable" (Huxley 1932: 67), while an Epsilon liftman communicates solely by repeating a single one-syllable word ("Roof!", (Huxley 1932: 60)). The impression that most characters "speak like the properest twentieth century Englishmen" may arise from the fact that the main characters belong to the highest castes, which is reflected in their speech. Also, Huxley mentions that many existing languages have died out, which makes the reader assume that English is the only remaining language (or one of the few remaining languages) spoken across the world. Finally, autocratic systems such as the World State tend to exert rigid control over all aspects of society, language included. Linguistic prescriptivism imposed by the state could account for the lack of divergence of Huxley's fictitious language from the 20th century English.

It is also important to note that Huxley uses reflective language by citing Shakespeare's works. As citizens of the World State cannot comprehend the plays cited by John the Savage, Shakespeare's literature puts emphasis on the insurmountable differences between the past and the future, and on the linguistic change which illustrates them. Millward (2007: 50-51) herself makes note of another instance of reflective language in *Brave New World*, namely the use of words associated with the concept of family (*mother*, *father*, *parents*, etc.) which carry new connotations and cause great discomfort among the speakers. This linguistic change reflects how the concept of parenthood has become obsolete and replaced by scientific developments.



3. Previous Research into Neologism Formation and Translation

While the preceding section presents some of the main elements of the existing theory on neologisms, translation procedures, and dystopian literature, this section will outline the findings of several case studies relevant for our research. Firstly, it is important to mention previous research into the word formation of neologisms in Huxley's works. James (2015) investigated neologisms in Huxley's early fiction, finding that Huxley imitates speech disorders and the scientific and taxonomic jargon in the creation of new words. López-Rúa (2019) conducted an analysis of morphological word formation processes in four dystopian novels, one of them being *Brave New World*. Her study found that the morphological word formation processes of derivation, compounding, and shortening are used to create neologisms in dystopian literature, including Huxley's novel; these neologisms are created for pragmatic reasons (naming new entities) and manipulative reasons (exerting control over citizens).

When it comes to the existing studies on literary translation of neologisms into Croatian, it is important to include Čačija and Marković (2018), who analyzed the translation of neologisms and proper nouns in fantasy fiction on the example of the trilogy His Dark Materials. Čačija and Marković's analysis of the procedures for translating neologisms is based on their adaptation of Newmark's (1988) and Bednarska's (2015) model: the authors used the categories of borrowing, equivalence, literal translation, and creation of TL neologism. Their study found that none of the procedures is used significantly more frequently than the others – borrowing accounts for 20%, equivalence for 24.61%, literal translation for 33.85%, and creation of TL neologism for 21.45% of translated neologisms (Čačija and Marković 2018: 206). The authors concluded that the somewhat higher frequency of literal translation could arise from the fact that it was used mainly for translating collocations and compounds, as this procedure is regarded as the easiest choice in such cases (Čačija and Marković 2018: 207). Čačija and Marković (2018: 206-207) claim that the relatively high frequencies of equivalence and creation of TL neologism are surprising, given that the former is not considered to be that common, and the latter is seen as the most demanding procedure for the translator. Although the authors describe



borrowing as the least demanding procedure for neologism translation, it has the fewest number of occurrences (Čačija and Marković 2018: 206).

Frleta and Frleta (2019) conducted a study of the translation of English neologisms into French and Croatian based on the example of the *Harry Potter* series. Their study distinguishes between two main translation strategies: retaining the original form of the neologism and adapting the neologism to the TL (Frleta and Frleta 2019: 43). Frleta and Frleta's analysis is based on several representative examples of neologisms whose creation processes are analyzed in depth in all three languages. They found that the main difference between Croatian and French translations lies in newly coined proper names: whereas in Croatian they are usually transferred, the French translator often chose to change their form to make them sound less foreign.

4. Research Aims and Hypotheses

The specific aim of this study is to analyze the processes of creating neologisms that appear in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and the procedures for translating these neologisms into Croatian. In more general terms, we hope to shed light on lexical innovation in dystopias by testing Millward's (2007) claims about word formation in dystopian neologisms; we also hope to see how this relates to the choice of translation procedures. Finally, the study aims to contribute to the general field of research into neologisms and their translations.

Taking into consideration Millward's (2007) assumption that the processes of creating neologisms in dystopian fiction resemble those that occur in natural language so as to maintain a level of verisimilitude, we can hypothesize that coinage (the creation of an entirely new lexical item which is not based on the existing elements of a language) is the least used word formation process among ST neologisms (H1). Along the same lines, we can expect that derivation is the most frequent word formation process among ST neologisms (H2) given that Yule (2006) describes it as the most common way of creating new words in English. In testing these hypotheses, we rely on Yule's (2006) definitions of coinage and derivation, according to which coinage refers to the creation of an entirely new word, and derivation is restricted to the processes of affixation.



Moreover, we could try to expand Millward's (2007) claims about dystopian word formation to translated neologisms and presume that they should also resemble naturally occurring words in the TL. However, this raises several complex questions, such as the following: Does it imply that dystopian translations should be target-oriented? What if the translator does not make conscious efforts to replicate such elements of speculative language? What if the translator receives different instructions from the publisher or reviewer? Can we compare word formation processes in neologisms whose creation is differently motivated? On the other hand, if we conclude that Millward's assertion should be restricted solely to source language neologisms, does that imply that dystopian literature does not have to contain plausible speculative language in its translated versions? These questions exceed the scope of our research. Nevertheless, let us hypothesize that the Croatian translator uses the procedures of literal translation and lexical creation most frequently (H3). Borrowing, on the one hand, could render neologisms too opaque, and other procedures would not produce the desired effect of (partial) estrangement. Our definitions of these procedures will be further elaborated in the section on methodology.

5. Methodology

We tested the formulated hypotheses by gathering and analyzing data, i.e. neologisms, from the ST – Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), and the TT – Vlada Stojiljković's translation called *Divni novi svijet*³ (1985). After reading both novels, we extracted the ST neologisms and their translations. We included all relevant examples of neologisms that fit the definition formulated in the theoretical framework but did not include all instances of similarly formed neologisms which are translated by using the same procedure. For example, all caste names can be defined as neologisms: *Alpha, Alpha Double Plus, Alpha-Plus, Alpha-Plus, Beta-Plus, Beta-Plus, Beta-Minus; Gamma, Gamma-Plus, Gamma-*

³ We have used the edition of *Divni novi svijet* from 1985, although the earliest edition of Stojiljković's translation that we found dates to 1980. The original idea of this study was to compare the two existing Croatian translations: the one rendered by Stojiljković, and the newer one rendered by Stanislav Vidmar, first published in 1998 under the title *Vrli novi svijet*. However, after reading and comparing the translations, we found that there is a high level of similarity between them, which reduces the relevance of such a comparison. Vidmar's sentences are strikingly similar to those of Stojiljković, with minor changes in lexical choices.



Minus; Delta, Delta-Plus⁴, Delta-Minus; Epsilon, Epsilon-Plus, Epsilon-Minus. However, we included only Alpha, Alpha Double Plus, Alpha-Plus, and Alpha-Minus in our list of neologisms, because these examples can be taken as representative of all other caste names. Moreover, if a neologism was translated in more than one way, we listed all translations, but, if these translations are variations of the same procedure, we counted it as one occurrence of that procedure. For example, the neologism Community Singery is translated as pojalište and pojaonica, both of which are literal translations of the word Singery (poja(ti) + lište, poja(ti) + onica). Accordingly, we listed them as one instance of the procedure of literal translation. In other cases where a single neologism was translated in different ways by using different procedures, each new procedure was listed separately.

The next step consisted of the analysis of word formation processes in source language neologisms. We based our analysis on Plag's (2003), Yule's (2006), and Stockwell's (2014) models, using the following categories: coinage (including Yule's category of coinage and Stockwell's category of creation), compounding, derivation (referring to affixation only), blending, conversion, clipping, shortening (encompassing abbreviations, acronyms, and backformation), inflection (when it is used in the creation of new lexemes), and neosemy. Subsequently, we used the same categories to analyze TL neologisms. In the analysis of TL word formation, borrowing and loan translation were also included as word formation categories.

In the final step, we described each translation as belonging to one of the translation procedures proposed by Newmark (1988), Bednarska (2015), and Klitgård (2018). Within the framework of these models, we decided to base our analysis on the following procedures: borrowing (including both transference and naturalization), literal translation (including through-translation), lexical creation (explained in the following paragraph), equivalence (including Newmark's functional terms), description, modulation, omission, compensation (including the sixth and seventh procedure of Klitgård's model), and combined procedures.

⁴ The only caste which is not explicitly mentioned in the novel, but we can presume that this neologism exists in the fictional reality.



However, when it comes to the analysis of translation procedures, we encountered several issues. Firstly, in light of the presented theoretical framework on word formation, the category of creating new TL neologisms (including Bednarska's model and Newmark's procedures of TL neologism and TL derived word) – as opposed to borrowing and literal translation – is problematic. Borrowing and loan translation are both considered to be parts of neology in linguistics; thus, theoretically speaking, borrowings and calques are also TL neologisms. Therefore, we decided to avoid the term "(new) TL neologism" when referring to new TL words created from lexical elements that differ from the elements of the SL word. Instead, we chose the term lexical creation used by Pavlović (2015: 83-85, following Ivir 1987: 43-44) in describing the procedures of translating elements of culture in fantasy to refer to such items. We can distinguish between the three mentioned procedures in the following way: if the words or bases have the same or slightly adapted form, the procedure can be described as borrowing (e.g. $taxicopter \rightarrow taksikopter$). If a neologism is translated base-for-base or word-for-word, the employed procedure is called literal translation (e.g. victim-friend \rightarrow žrtvoprijatelj). Lexical creation, as we have mentioned, refers to words created from lexical elements which do not appear in the SL neologism (e.g. Escalator-Squash-Racket \rightarrow elektrobadminton).

Another problem that arises in the analysis of procedures is the difficulty of distinguishing between them in certain translations. This ambiguity is not specific to *Brave New World* – we would argue that it can arise in any translation. It is particularly difficult to distinguish between borrowing and literal translation (which is not surprising, given that Yule lists loan translation as a subtype of borrowing) and between literal translation and lexical creation. The difference between equivalence and description can also be debated in certain examples. In such cases, we classified a translation based on the procedure whose features we considered to be more prominent. Overall, the classification and interpretation of translation procedures depends on the position of the researcher, which is why our third hypothesis is relevant insofar as the reader finds our choice and interpretation of the procedures relevant.



6. Results

6.1 Source Text Neologisms

In total, we identified 93 neologisms and 108 instances of their translation (see Appendix). These neologisms can be divided into 10 semantic categories, listed according to the frequency of appearance: entertainment (23.66%), science and technology (21.5%), religious system (12.9%), institutions and ideology (10.75%), sports and games (10.75%), wellness and beauty (6.45%), food and drink (4.3%), other (4.3%), drugs (3.23%), and materials (2.15%). The semantic categories of neologisms reflect the nature of the hedonistic society portrayed by Huxley: in a world where obedience is ensured by means of consumerism and cheap entertainment, most newly formed words denote various elements of entertainment (examples include feeling picture, hyperviolin, and Super-Wurlitzer). They are followed by neologisms which refer to science and technology (e.g. bokanovskification, Neo-Pavlovian Conditioning, V.P.S.), which is a prominent feature of dystopian literature. Neologisms from Brave New World can be divided into the following word classes: nouns, adjectives, and verbs. We also included abbreviations and exclamations as separate word categories. The results have shown that nouns are by far the most frequent among Huxley's neologisms, accounting for 80.65% of all new words.

6.2 Word Formation of Source Text Neologisms

The analysis of word formation processes in ST neologisms has shown that compounding is the most prolific process of creating neologisms in the novel (48.39%). It is followed by derivation, which is used in 26.88% of cases. All employed methods and their frequencies can be found in Table 1.

The processes of coinage and conversion do not appear at all; therefore, we can say that the first hypothesis (H1) has been partially confirmed. Coinage is not *the least used* word formation process – it has not been employed at all, together with one more available process. The second hypothesis (H2), claiming that derivation is the most frequent word formation process in SL neologisms, has not been confirmed.



Table 1 The frequencies of word formation processes in source text neologisms

Word formation process		Frequency	
Compounding		45 (48.39%)	
Derivation		25 (26.88%)	
Procedure combinations		9 (9.68%)	
	Compounding + derivation	4 (4.3%)	
	Compounding + inflection	3 (3.23%)	
	Clipping + derivation	1 (1.1%)	
	Derivation + clipping + compounding + inflection	1 (1.1%)	
Blending		4 (4.3%)	
Shortening		4 (4.3%)	
Neosemy		4 (4.3%)	
Clipping		1 (1.1%)	
Inflection		1 (1.1%)	
Coinage		0 (0%)	
Conversion		0 (0%)	
Total		93 (100%)	

Compounds account for almost half of all neologisms used in the novel. They are created mostly by combining existing English words into new multi-word units (e.g. anthrax bomb, electrolytic shave, feeling picture). This type of formation contributes to the semantic transparency of newly coined lexemes: the reader can understand all constituents of the compound, and yet the word is new, denoting concepts which do not exist in the reader's reality. All created compounds are nouns, except for Ford-speed and zipper-hunting – the former was classified as an exclamation (by analogy to the exclamation Godspeed (Lexico) whose creation it imitates), and the latter is an adjective. Compounds are present in all semantic categories of neologisms: examples include forms of entertainment such as ether-music, medical procedures such as Bokanovsky's Process and Pregnancy Substitute, elements of the quasi-religious system such as Solidarity Service, and games such as Electromagnetic Golf and Musical *Bridge*. Compounding is especially prominent in the creation of words which denote artificial food and materials, one of the components being -surrogate, e.g. beef-surrogate, champagne-surrogate, Carrara-surrogate, moroccosurrogate. There are also artificial instruments such as oboe-surrogate.

Sleep-teaching or *hypnopaedia* is an interesting neologism for several reasons. Firstly, it deserves special attention due to its neoclassical formation: it



comprises Greek lexemes *hypno* and *paideia*, which carry the respective meanings of "sleep" and "education" (López-Rúa 2019: 127). Although we classified its formation as compounding, it could also be interpreted as derivation, because *hypno* and *paedia* are not lexical elements which can stand alone – therefore, it is possible to conclude that they are affixes. However, they are not affixes in the narrow sense of the term, because a combination of two affixes without a base could not produce a word. *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines *hypn-/hypno*- as a combining form, and Tafra and Košutar (2009: 99-100) define such elements as affixoids. We decided to analyze *hypno* and *paedia* as pseudo-bases, which is why we defined their combination as compounding. Secondly, *hypnopaedia* is an interesting neologism because it appears as an entry in contemporary dictionaries (*Lexico* and *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, although the online *Cambridge Dictionary* does not contain it). Therefore, we can describe it as a stylistic neologism which became lexicalized and gained a denominative function outside the novel.

Furthermore, many neologisms in Brave New World are created through the process of derivation, by using prefixes such as super- and hyper- (e.g. superdove, hyper-violin), and suffixes such as -ship, -ness, and -ify (e.g. fordship, fordliness, bokanovskify). We also identified several instances of blending. For instance, sexophonist is a blend of the words "sex" and "saxophonist", sporticopter combines the words "sport" and "helicopter", and zippyjamas joins the items "zippy" (derived from the lexeme "zip") and "pyjamas". All four examples of shortening are abbreviations: A.F. ("after Ford"), V.P.S. ("Violent Passion Surrogate"), Y.W.F.A. ("Young Women's Fordian Association"), and D.H.C. ("Director of Hatcheries and Conditioning"). This analysis also includes existing word forms which acquired new meanings (neosemy), an example of which is soma, a narcotic drug with no immediate side-effects which is used by the state to neutralize every feeling of anger, sadness, or discontent. The lexeme soma is used in Hinduism to denote "an intoxicating drink prepared from a plant and used in Vedic ritual, believed to be the drink of the gods" (Lexico) and "a plant used to make soma" (ibid.). There is a link between the existing meanings and the one rendered by Huxley, but the concept denoted by the word soma in the novel is non-existent in the reader's reality.



Huxley imitates the patterns of word formation present in existing English words to name concepts which bear resemblance to the referents of these words. For example, a group of neologisms which encompasses the words feeling picture (n.), feely (n.), and the feelies (n.) corresponds to the family of the following English words: moving picture (n.), movie (n.), and the movies (n.). Just as the noun moving picture underwent the process of clipping and derivation in the creation of the noun *movie*, the neologism *feeling picture* underwent the same process which resulted in the word *feely*. The linguistic analogy points to a similarity in meaning: while a movie is a picture that moves (it can be seen and, later in history, heard), a feely is a picture that can be felt. Similarly, the following family of words and expressions bears resemblance to the formation and usage of various English words which refer to God, Lord, and Christ: Ford (n.), Our Ford (phrase), fordliness (n.), fordship (n.), Ford-speed (exclamation), unfordly (adj.), A.F. ("after Ford", abbreviation), Ford's Day (n.), thank Ford (phrase), Fordian (adj.), Ford forbid (phrase), and more. The analogy is clear: in the World State, all past religions have been abolished and replaced by the worship of Henry Ford.

6.3 Translation Procedures

When it comes to the procedures of translating neologisms, the analysis has shown that literal translation and borrowing are employed most frequently. Omission is the least used translation procedure in the novel. The frequencies of all translation procedures can be seen in Table 2.

The results, therefore, partially confirm the third hypothesis, which claims that literal translation and lexical creation are the most frequent translation procedures (H3) because literal translation is one of the two most frequent procedures. Lexical creation, however, accounts for only 12% of all employed procedures.

Literal translation, the most prevalent procedure, was mostly employed in the translation of compounds when both constituents of the newly formed compound were words that already exist in Croatian. Examples include the following: blood-surrogate \rightarrow surogat krvi, $Electromagnetic Golf <math>\rightarrow$ elektromagnetski golf, Ford's $Day \rightarrow Fordovdan$, $scent meter \rightarrow mirisometar$,



caffeine-solution \rightarrow otopina kofeina. Literal translation was also used to translate derivatives (all-howling \rightarrow sveurlajući) and blends (zippyjamas \rightarrow patent-pidžama). The meaning of neologisms in these examples is conveyed with precision, which is certainly an advantage of this procedure. Also, translated neologisms sound like plausible words in the Croatian language because they entail common elements of the Croatian lexicon.

Table 2 Translation procedures and their frequencies of use

Translation procedure		Frequency
Literal translation		31 (28.7%)
Borrowing		23 (21.3%)
Procedure combinations		22 (20.37%)
	Literal translation + description	5 (4.63%)
	Equivalence + borrowing	4 (3.7%)
	Literal translation + lexical creation	3 (2.78%)
	Equivalence + modulation	2 (1.85%)
	Literal translation + modulation	2 (1.85%)
	Lexical creation + description	1 (0.93%)
	Lexical creation + equivalence	1 (0.93%)
	Literal translation + borrowing	1 (0.93%)
	Literal translation + equivalence	1 (0.93%)
	Modulation + borrowing	1 (0.93%)
	Modulation + lexical creation + equivalence	1 (0.93%)
Lexical creation		13 (12%)
Equivalence		4 (3.7%)
Description		4 (3.7%)
Modulation		4 (3.7%)
Compensation		4 (3.7%)
Omission		3 (2.78%)
Total		108 (100%)

Borrowing was also used quite frequently, in 21.3% of cases. Borrowing mostly encompasses examples of neologisms with Greek or Latin roots, or other roots whose meaning can be understood (at least by part of the readership) in the TL. For example, the neologisms *ovarin* and *placentin*, which were created by adding suffixes to words borrowed from Latin (ova + -rin, placent(a) + -rin, "ova" referring to female egg cells and "placenta" referring to a female organ which nourishes the fetus) were directly transferred into the TT (ovarin,



placentin). Some neologisms were phonologically and morphologically adapted to the TL, such as the following: $hypnopaedia \rightarrow hipnopedija$, $taxicopter \rightarrow taksikopter$, $Epsilonhood \rightarrow Epsilonstvo$. Due to the above, we can conclude that borrowed neologisms do not sound particularly exotic in the TL.

Many translations were described as combinations of two or more procedures (20.37%) – most of these examples include neologisms whose constituent elements were translated in different ways. For instance, *Escalator Fives* was translated as *eskalatorski rukomet*, and *Escalator-Squash* as *eskalatorski badminton*. The first element of these compounds was borrowed and adapted to the Croatian morphology (*Escalator* \rightarrow *eskalatorski*), and the second element of each compound was replaced by an equivalent sport (*Fives* \rightarrow *rukomet*, *Squash* \rightarrow *badminton*). A combination of modulation and other procedures was also used quite frequently. For example, the verb *counter-intrigue* was translated as *baviti se kontrasplektarenjem*, which has been defined as a combination of modulation (change of perspective from a verb into a noun preceded by the verb "to do") and literal translation (*counter-intrigue* \rightarrow *kontraspletkarenje*).

Lexical creation is not particularly prominent in the analyzed translation. The TT does not offer many examples of the translator's creativity: even when linguistic elements of the translated neologism differ from those in the original one, the resulting word does not demonstrate a high level of innovation. Examples include *fordohulan* (by analogy to the existing word *bogohulan*) as a translation of *unfordly*, *materničar* (based on the existing word *maternica* whose form is similar to that of the ST neologism) as a translation of *Matriculator*, and *taktilograf* (by analogy to the existing word *kinematograf*) as a translation of *feely-palace*.

Special attention should be given to the procedures of translating neologisms related to the aforementioned concept of *feelies*. While most other neologisms were translated in a single way, neologisms such as *feely* and *the feelies* were translated in numerous different ways. *Feely*, for example, has six different translations created through five different procedures (*taktil*, *taktilni film*, *taktiloskop*, *taktilni* (*efekti*), *kinotaktiloskopi*, *taktilna kinematografija*). The *feelies* were translated in four different ways with the use of four different procedures (*taktiloskop*, *taktil*, *predstava*, *taktiloskopska predstava*). The



translator often resorted to modulation when referring to this group of neologisms: the feelies (the place where people go to see a feely) were frequently translated in the same way as a feely (a movie which can be felt) and vice versa. The translator imitated the structure of existing Croatian terms which refer to cinematography to create words related to the feelies: bioskop \rightarrow taktiloskop, kinematograf \rightarrow taktilograf. He also combined words related to the concept of feelies with the existing words that refer to cinema: taktilan + filmski \rightarrow taktilofilmski, kino + taktiloskop \rightarrow kinotaktiloskop. Some of the word formation processes present in ST neologisms were imitated as well: moving picture \rightarrow feeling picture \rightarrow taktilni film, movie \rightarrow feely \rightarrow taktil. Generally, this group of neologisms demonstrates the translator's ability not only to successfully translate newly coined words, but also to do it in a variety of ways.

6.4 Word Formation of Target Text Neologisms

Lastly, we analyzed the word formation of 90 translated neologisms. As can be expected according to the employed translation procedures, loan translation is the most frequent word formation process among TL neologisms (41.11%). It is followed by borrowing, which appears in 26.27% of neologisms. Other identified word formation processes are compounding, derivation, shortening, neosemy, and procedure combinations. Table 3 presents the frequencies of all word formation processes employed to create TL neologisms.

Table 3 The frequencies of word formation processes in target language neologisms

Word formation process		Frequency
Loan translation		37 (41.11%)
Borrowing		24 (26.27%)
Combined procedures		10 (11.11%)
	Compounding + derivation	5 (5.56%)
	Borrowing + compounding	2 (2.22%)
	Borrowing + loan translation	1 (1.11%)
	Clipping + compounding	1 (1.11%)
	Compounding + derivation +	1 (1.11%)
	inflection	
Compounding		8 (8.89%)
Derivation		7 (7.78%)
Shortening		3 (3.33%)
Neosemy		1 (1.11%)
Total		90 (100%)



7. Discussion

The results have shown the predominance of compounds among SL neologisms and the predominance of literal translation and borrowing among the translation procedures. Loan translation and borrowing are, accordingly, the most frequent word formation processes employed in the creation of TL neologisms.

Coinage does not appear at all: Huxley's neologisms rely on existing lexical elements, and their meaning is quite transparent. Most created words sound like plausible words of the English language, not particularly exotic or strange – what makes them novel is the concept they denote. This suggests that Huxley's neologisms do not serve a sole purpose of lexical creativity – they have a denominative function within the portrayed world, and their lexical familiarity bridges the gap between the society of the novel and the reader's society. Huxley's imitation of existing English word formation in the cases of *feeling picture* and the World State's quasi-religion is another argument which supports this claim. Neology is just one of the ways in which Huxley draws connections to his contemporary society – he also uses a lot of references to existing people, places, religions, etc. For example, the fact that coinage was not found even among proper names, where it commonly occurs, is due to Huxley's use of the names of existing historical figures (Lenin, Marx, Mussolini, Hoover, Malthus, etc.).

However, our hypothesis about derivation being the most prolific word formation process has not been confirmed – Huxley puts a lot of emphasis on compounding, using it in almost 50% of all neologisms. One of the possible reasons for that is the fact that the ruling group of World Controllers from the Alpha caste controls every aspect of the depicted society (including new forms of entertainment, scientific inventions, etc.), which suggests that they are also in control of language. Considering that compounds are common among institutional terms, and the fact that compounding appears in the discourses of totalitarian regimes that existed at the time this novel was created, it is possible that compounding was used to represent a language created by the powerful state. Even though our hypothesis was different, this explanation would still imply that *Brave New World* is a good example of dystopian neology which



imitates the word formation of non-fictional language, as proposed by Millward (2007).

Our third hypothesis about literal translation and lexical creation being the most frequently used procedures has shown to be only partially correct. The choice of translation procedures is not surprising if we take into consideration the features of ST neologisms. As we have mentioned, the meaning of Huxley's neologisms is intended to be transparent, which is why many of them occur without any additional explanation. For example, Obstacle Golf, hunt-the-zipper, and *electrolytic shave* are not accompanied by definitions of these concepts. The reader can grasp their meaning on the basis of familiar lexical elements – every other detail is left to the reader's imagination. If the translator decided not to transfer the familiar elements directly, the reader might not be able to comprehend the intended meaning of the new concept. Furthermore, the translator has not received more information than the reader, which means that the safest way to render many neologisms was through literal translation and borrowing. A relatively low level of translator's lexical creativity can also be said to arise from the ST: extravagant and imaginative TL neologisms would not be in line with the style and features of SL neologisms.

The great difference in word formation processes in ST and TT neologisms goes to show that it is methodologically difficult to compare the "plausibility" of formation models in the original and translated neologisms. It is difficult to conclude to what extent the formation of TL neologisms imitates the word formation of natural Croatian language because the translator is necessarily motivated by the form, meaning, and purpose of original neologisms.

Nevertheless, we can generally say that Stojiljković's neologisms sound like possible words of the Croatian language, which is supported by the fact that some of them directly follow existing Croatian word formation patterns. It is also worth noticing that the formation process of coinage does not appear in the Croatian translation.

8. Conclusion

The presented research analyzed the creation and translation of neologisms in dystopian literature, based on the example of Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New*



World and its Croatian translation. The findings have shown that compounding is the most frequent word formation model, and coinage and conversion are the least frequent processes (not being used at all). This partially confirms the first hypothesis about coinage being the least used process and does not confirm the second hypothesis about derivation being the most employed process. However, we can conclude that Huxley's neology heavily relies on existing elements of the English language and that the frequent use of compounds can still be said to imitate non-fictional word formation. The most productive translation procedure used by the translator Vlada Stojiljković is literal translation, closely followed by borrowing. The third hypothesis, which states that literal translation and lexical creation are the most frequent procedures, is thus partially confirmed. The reasons for that can be found in the formation and style of source language neologisms, which are comprised of existing lexical elements that enable the reader to grasp the meaning of a new word. When it comes to the word formation of TL neologisms, loan translation is the most frequent process, and borrowing is the second most frequent one - this results from the aforementioned choice of translation procedures.

The findings suggest that Huxley's neologisms are a good example of dystopian neology as defined by Millward (2007). However, in order to provide a more general insight into dystopian word formation, this study should be expanded to include and compare neologisms from other dystopian works. Also, to draw broader conclusions about the procedures of translating such neologisms, we would have to analyze Croatian translations of more dystopian novels. This study could also be expanded to include the translations of various dystopian novels into more languages, which would help provide a deeper insight into the word formation of translated dystopias. Finally, in order to expand Millward's assertion to translations of dystopian literature, more elements than word formation would have to be taken into account. Future research could look at the translator's views on dystopian neology and the broader social context of translating dystopias.



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PREVOĐENJE NEOLOGIZAMA U DISTOPIJSKOJ KNJIŽEVNOSTI: LEKSIČKE INOVACIJE U ROMANU *BRAVE NEW WORLD A*LDOUSA HUXLEYJA I NJEGOVOM HRVATSKOM PRIJEVODU

Sažetak

Tema je ovog istraživanja tvorba riječi i prijevodne strategije u distopijskoj književnosti na primjeru romana Brave New World Aldousa Huxleyja i njegovog hrvatskog prijevoda. Cilj je istraživanja pružiti uvid u leksičke inovacije u distopijama i njihovim prijevodima oslanjajući se na teoriju o neologiji u distopijama koju iznosi Millward (2007). Na temelju spomenutog teorijskog modela u istraživanju se pretpostavlja da je stvaranje potpuno novih kovanica najmanje zastupljen, a izvođenje najzastupljeniji način tvorbe neologizama u izvornom tekstu. Treća hipoteza pretpostavlja da su doslovan prijevod i leksička kreacija najproduktivniji prijevodni postupci. Istraživanje se sastoji od izdvajanja izvornih neologizama i njihovih prijevoda te analize upotrijebljenih procesa tvorbe riječi i prijevodnih postupaka. Rezultati pokazuju da je slaganje



najučestaliji način tvorbe izvornih neologizama, dok stvaranje potpuno novih kovanica i konverzija uopće nisu upotrebljavani. Izdvojeni neologizmi većinom su prevođeni putem doslovnog prijevoda i posuđivanja.

Ključne riječi: distopijska književnost, tvorba riječi, neologizmi, prevođenje neologizama, Divni novi svijet

