



Of Shadowcats and Pipeweed: Fantastic Animal and Plant Names in a Cross-linguistic Comparison

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the names of fictitious species of animals and plants and on their position in the creation of fictional worlds. The examined sample of occasionalisms, or nonce words, is drawn from popular and influential writings, which include J. R. R. Tolkien's works, Terry Pratchett's texts, J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, Suzanne Collins's *The Hunger Games* series and George R. R. Martin's *The Song of Ice and Fire* series. The position of the sign in the word-formation system of both the original language of the work and of selected translations is analyzed – mainly English, German, and Czech versions are taken into account. A cross-linguistic comparison leads to the conclusion that the choices made by the writer or the translator in naming fictional species correspond, on the one hand, to the linguistic habits of the language in question, while, on the other hand, providing room for linguistic experimentation and influence from the language of the original text. The paper also shows how the chosen texts, through the usage of fictitious names of species, attempt to meet the readers' expectations for speculative literature. The presence of boundary crossing, hybridization, and linguistic creativity makes foregrounded world-building possible. However, accentuated connections between the words and between the species of the fictional and the actual world also show that an unambiguous, simpler world is presented this way. Word-formation is presented by the study as a way to link the actual world and the simplified speculative world, thus highlighting its importance.

Keywords: fantastic word-formation, fantastic world-building, fictitious species, occasionalisms, speculative literature translation

1. Introduction

Speculative fiction comprises a wide and rich field of texts, with many opportunities to show language creativity. Its writers usually attempt to construct a world that, in some ways, corresponds to the reader's experience, while, in other ways, introduces new, previously unseen elements – in other words, the resulting text is supposed to lie exactly on the border between

the familiar and the unfamiliar. This overlap can occur in most areas, from the language itself and the names of the characters to the names of animals and plants that the characters commonly encounter.

Providing an exact definition of fantastic, or speculative, literature is a long-standing and open-ended problem. One may encounter definitions that are very broad, tending to classify almost any text as fantastic, as well as definitions that are decidedly narrow and based on a single sub-element. Some of the leading scholars in the field, including Brian Attebery, have warned against too rigid attempts at defining genres such as fantasy or sci-fi, seeing it as a fuzzy set, with the prototypical works of fiction lying at the centre, but without one particular defining quality or component (Attebery, 1992: 11–13).

The definitions and the elements seen as the most important ones vary. However, the very presence of fictitious elements in a fictional world is often viewed as one of the constitutive features of speculative literature – the reader expects a “foregrounded world building” (Nuttall, 2018: 10). Part of the reader’s expectation is to come across elements for which there is no term in the language of the narrative and for which it is, therefore, necessary to create a corresponding occasionalism – a nonce word. Even though those words are often dismissed as commonplace or mere products of the writer’s whim, from the standpoint of the genre, they may in fact be more important than they seem.

The following reflections focus on a cross-linguistic comparison of these occasionalisms. Another language offers different possibilities and tools to the word-creators, however, the genre itself can be expected to force them to conform to common practices and ways of writing.

The topic of constructed languages and language construction in fantastic literature is fairly covered, however, language creativity linked to coining nonce words has gotten comparatively less scholarly attention. Existing studies concentrate mostly on the cases in which the enriched vocabulary has a direct bearing on the story, mostly in a dystopian setting – such as “Invented Vocabularies: The Cases of Newspeak and Nadsat” by Howard Jackson (Jackson 2011: 49–74). Other publications, such as *Weird and Wonderful Words*, approach the subject mostly from a practical point of view and serve as a manual for starting writers and logophiles, not for academic purposes (McKean 2002).

The topic also offers a fairly large number of studies that deal with the translation of nonce words or neologisms by one author, usually into one other language. These include “Author’s neologisms in George R. R. Martin’s *A Game of Thrones* and their Polish and Slovene translations” by Katarzyna Bednarska (Bednarska 2015), “Fantastic neologisms in translation: creature names in professional and amateur renderings of Sapkowski’s *Witcher* series into English” by Dorota Gutfeld (Gutfeld 2017), and “A Neologism: Translation and/or Adaptation”, analysing the Harry Potter words, by Tomislav Frleta (Frleta 2019).

The following paper focuses on the study of newly formed words that fit into the lexical system of the language of the narrative. The key questions are, firstly, whether there are any significant semantic shifts in translation and, secondly, how significant is the adjustment to, on the one hand, the genre and, on the other hand, to a differently structured lexicon. By exploring these questions, this paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the challenges and potential solutions in literary translation. It can be presumed that a nuanced analysis of semantic shifts alongside genre and lexicon adaptations can provide valuable insights for both scholars and translators.

2. The Source Material

The study material consists of excerpts from five groups of texts – Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* (and other Middle-earth writings), Rowling’s *Harry Potter* books, Pratchett’s *Discworld* novels, Martin’s *A Song of Ice and Fire* series, and Collins’s *The Hunger Games* series. This list has been put together as a list of some of the most popular and influential writings in the field of fantasy literature, as well as the most prototypical works of fantastic fiction for the average reader. In many cases, these books also work as a blueprint, or at least a source of inspiration, for new writers and translators. If there are more translations, the first one was used.

The weakness of this approach lies in the fact that it depends on an arbitrary selection of prototypical texts, and there can never be a clear definition of which texts should be perceived as such – it is a combination of marketability, cultural reach, and genre influence, but it would be easy to make a case for different prototypical texts.

Another significant limitation of the study is that it only provides information on the most typical phenomena. If the amount of examined material had been larger, it would have been possible to also cover phenomena that appear only rarely, but may still influence the reader’s perception of the word formation in speculative literature – especially since similar tendencies (e.g. to use certain semantic areas in compounds, to create words with a certain type of sound or graphic quality, etc.) could certainly be found in large numbers. However, this approach would also require a different, statistical way of research.

Each writer has coined at least five (but usually more) common names for plants and animals, typical for the described secondary world and not existing in the actual world of the reader. Proper names of animals or plants – such as the horse Shadowfax or the dog Fang – were omitted, since these, not being common names, conform to the naming convention derived mostly from the rules of literary onomastics.

The paper also disregards cases where a new element is described but not named. Such a literary technique is not used very often, usually to indicate the mere presence of various creatures and plants. For example, in the novel *The Witch, the Lion, and the Wardrobe*, the narrator states that there were “ogres with monstrous teeth, and wolves, and bull-headed men, spirits of evil trees and poisonous plants” (Lewis, 2003: 138). This very utterance is, however, also followed by a list of named fantastic elements.

3. Methodology

Our main point of interest is the way in which every nonce word interacts with the base language (the language of the narration). The paper explores whether the word in question is simply a variation of a known word from the language of the narration, or if one of the basic word-creation methods (derivation, composition, abbreviation) was used – and whether there are differences between the languages in which the work was published.

The paper mostly uses English, German, and Czech to prove its points, in some cases, French, Polish, or Russian are also taken into account. The specific pages on which the words appear are not cited, as they are usually mentioned repeatedly throughout the writings.

In every case, three basic criteria were analysed – the word formation type used (closed compound, hyphenated compound, hyphenated compound, derivation, other), the accuracy of the translated words in relation to the original term and its semantics, and their relations to other words, both in the fictional world and in the actual world. Table 1 provides an ordered comparison of the analysed words.

Table 1: Analysed occasionalisms in five languages

English	German	Czech	Polish	French
Blast-ended skrewt	Knallrumpfiger Kröter	Traskavý skvorejš	Sklątka tylnowymbuchowa	Scroutt à pétard
Blood-bloom	Blutblüte	Krvokvět	Krwawy kwiat	Sanguinaire
Bowtruckle	Bowtruckle	Kůrolez	Nieśmiałek	Botruc
Counting pine	Zählende Kiefer	Vypočítavá borovice	Licząca sosna	Pin comptable
Devil's Snare	Teufelsschlinge	Ďáblovo osidlo	Diabelskie sidła	Filet du Diable
Drome	Trom	Snovač	Senk	Drome
Evermind	Immertreu	Stálíčka	Niezapominka	Mémoires éternelles
Fireball	Feuerball	Ohniváč	Ogniomiot	Boutefeu
Ghost grass	Geistergras	Duchotráva	Zjawotrawa	Revenante
Gillyweed	Kiemenkraut	Žaberník	Skrzeloziele	Branchiflore
Grinner	Geschöpf	Šklebič	Uśmiechający	Sourieur
Groosling	Grusling	Koroptvice	Grzędownik	Groosling
Jabberjay	Schnattertölpel	Reprozob	Głoskułka	Geai bavard
Jobberknoll	Jobberknoll	Zmíráček	Memortek	Jobarbille
Hermit elephant	Eremitische Elefant	Slon poustevník	Słoń samotnik	Babar l'ermite
Kingsfoil	Königskraut	Kráľův lístek	Królewskie ziele	Feuille des rois
Lizard-lion	Löwenechsen	Ještěrkolev	Jaszczurolew	Lézard-lion
Mockingjay	Spotttölpel	Reprodroz	Kosogłos	Geai moqueur
Nightlock	Nachriegel	Rulík zlomocný	Łykołak	Sureau mortel
Oliphaunt	Olifant	Olifant	Olifant	Oliphant
Pipe-weed	Pfeifenkraut	Dýmkové koření	Fajkowe ziele	Herbe à pipe
Scalbie	Skalbi	Krkavec	Scalbie	Pougneux
Shadowcat	Schattenkatze	Stínokočka	Cieniokot	Lynx-de-fumée
Snowthorn	Schneedorn	Sněžný trn	Śnieżny cierń	Épine-de-neige
Tracker jacker	Jägerwespe	Sršň	Gończa osa	Guêpe tueuse
Vermine	Geziefer	Skvrnostaj	Werminia	Vhermine
Weirwood	Wehrholzbaum	Čarostrom	Czardrzewo	Barral

4. The Familiar Versus the Foreign

When considering the workings of fantastic literature, scholars have often drawn attention to the relationship between elements that are familiar to the reader and elements that are new, strange, mysterious, or fantastic – and it is in contact with familiar elements that these qualities are thrown into sharp relief (Sanders, 1995: 116).

If the text were to lean more heavily towards the side of the familiar, it might be classed as a historiographical text, or at least a realistic, mimetic novel. If, on the other hand, the foreign or strange elements became too dominant, the ability to tell a coherent, comprehensible story would be lost, the text would then cease to be a narrative and become more of an experimental lyric.

The crucial movement on the boundary between the familiar and the foreign, never favouring one or the other excessively, is a characteristic of fantastic literature which can very distinctly be observed in the names of animals and plants.

If the strangeness and exotic character of the animal or plant in question is to be emphasised, the text may use an expression from a fictional language. Of the works examined, this approach is prevalent in writings by Tolkien and his followers. Many of the most prominent fictional plants in the world of Tolkien's Arda are referred to either exclusively by a word from a

fictitious language (*elanor*, *mallorn*), or both variants are used: the foreign name is accompanied by the comprehensible one (*mûmak* and *oliphaunt*, *uilos/simbelmynë* and *evermind*, *athelas* and *kingsfoil*).

A second way of naming a fictional plant or animal is by using the word-formation processes of the language of the narrative. In this case, a stronger emphasis is placed on familiarity and systematicity – the newly formed names more or less resemble the words denoting real animals and plants and are therefore easily identifiable to the reader. Even without giving further clues, it would be apparent to the recipient of the work that, for example, *mockingbird* is a species of bird, while *gillyweed* might be a plant. In addition to clear categorization, there is also the advantage of making the term easier to remember.

While words from fictitious languages are not modified in translation (at most, their spelling is slightly altered), in the case of newly formed words, attempts are naturally made to create a corresponding expression in another language. If a translation is to be of high standard, it should not rely on literal calques but consider the word-formation specifics of the language in question. Three basic ways of creating terms have been noted in the analysed works – spelling variation, derivation, and composition.

5. Spelling Variation

Using spelling variation can be described as creating an occasionalism by varying another word while keeping it recognizable for the reader. The link to the original expression is thus still present and contributes to the reader's impression of the new word. Examples include Tolkien's *oliphaunts* or Pratchett's *dromes*. Thanks to the visual similarity to the original creature, it is possible to easily decipher the words – in the first case the link to “elephants” is obvious, in the second case a connection can easily be made to “drones” and “dreams”.

Spelling variation is indeed highly characteristic of Pratchett's writing, where we can encounter words such as *vermine* – an admitted combination of “vermin” and “ermine” – or *scalbie* – here the reader can do nothing but guess, influenced by the connotations of words such as “shabby”, “scale” or “scalp”.

In the examined texts, this practice appeared significantly more often in Czech than in other languages. An interesting case is the term *tracker jackers*, used for the mutated, hallucination-inducing wasps in *The Hunger Games* series. While the English and German translators chose a two-word name, the Czech translator opted for a one-word term – *sršáň*. For the vast majority of Czech readers, this is an identifiable variation on the word “sršeň”, i.e. “hornet”, which is generally considered a more menacing and dangerous creature than a wasp. It is worth noting that the form “sršáň” is considered dialectal and is used in a relatively small area around the city of Opava (Balhar, 2018). It is therefore possible that on first encountering the word, some readers will recall the dialecticism, however, during its subsequent use in the novel, they will gradually come to accept it as a label for an element of the fictional world.

Similar solutions, i.e. the simplification of originally morphemically complicated expressions, can be expected in other Slavic languages, which are often rather reserved about composition. However, in the specific case of *tracker jackers*, the Polish translator chose a two-word solution (*gończe osy*, literally “hunter wasps”) and the Russian translator came up with *осы-убийцы* (*osy-ubijcy*, literally “wasps-killers”).

6. Composition and Derivation

Composition is a typical word-formation process in fantasy literature since it allows the joining of full-meaning morphemes, often from different semantic domains. However, texts in Czech follow this rule only to a certain extent and we find only slightly more compounds in the examined Czech texts than in Czech in general. The reason for this is the fact that long composites are not inherent to the language and are often considered improper and awkward by readers, especially the more educated ones. All Slavic and Romance languages are usually described as “not highly compounding” (Olsen, 2015: 365–366).

Examples of composition include the names of two creatures in George R. R. Martin’s *A Song of Ice and Fire*: the copulative compound *lizard-lion* and the endocentric compound *shadowcat*. The *lizard-lion* is a crocodile-like creature (or perhaps a downright crocodile), the use of an occasionalism will not only distinguish the creature from real-world animals but can also provide some clues about its characteristics – as, apparently, it resembles a lizard in appearance and a lion in its viciousness. Similarly, the *shadowcat* is a creature resembling a cougar (or perhaps a downright striped cougar), and the compound determiner “shadow” apparently refers to the colour of the animal or to its noiseless movement.

The significance of the two parts of the compound for the perception of the latter creature is demonstrated by the fact that not only the German translator (*Schattenkatze*) but also the Czech translator (*stínokočka*) translated it using a calque. In both languages, the word is even longer than in the English original, but while such a complicated compound comes naturally to the German reader due to the structure of the language, Czech texts tend to avoid four- or more-syllable compounds. While some of the compounds in other works are changed into simpler and shorter derivations when translated into Czech, in this case, the translator did not resort to this solution, probably partly under the influence of the original text, partly to preserve as much of the original blend of meanings as possible.

As for derivation, it occurs comparatively less frequently in English texts. One of the few examples in the analysed texts is Pratchett’s *grinner*, which was translated into Czech literally, as *šklebič*, while the German translation omits the name completely, calling the creatures simply “creatures” (“Geschöpfe”).

As we can see, derivation is used more often in Czech translation, probably because it is relatively typical for the Czech language as a whole (Bozděchová 2016: 2875). Quite often, it replaces the original compound – *fireball* and *gillyweed* in Harry Potter books are translated as *ohniváč* and *žaberník*, while the suffixes “-áč” and “-ík” do not provide any significant semantic shift in this case, simply denoting “something related to fire” (*ohniváč*) and “something related to gills” (*žaberník*).

From the analysed words in English texts, 22 were compounds (5 open compounds, 4 hyphenated compounds, 13 closed compounds), 2 derived words, and 3 other cases, mostly spelling variations or simply using existing words. In German translations, there were 21 compounds (2 open compounds, no hyphenated compounds, 19 closed compounds), 1 derived word, and 5 other cases. In Czech translations, 16 compounds were identified (7 open compounds, no hyphenated compounds, 9 closed compounds), 7 derived words, and 4 other cases. In Polish translations, there were 17 compounds (8 open compounds, no hyphenated compounds, 9 closed compounds) 5 derived words, and 5 other cases. In French, 17 compounds were found (11 open compounds, 3 hyphenated compounds, 3 closed compounds), 2 derived words and 8 other cases.

Even though composition dominates in every language, differences caused by the conventions and habits of the languages also play a part, as in Polish, and especially in Czech,

derivation is often utilized. A smaller amount of compounds, especially closed compounds, has been also observed in French. Composition is not, however, replaced by derivation, as is the case in translations into Slavic languages, other methods, such as spelling variation or the use of loanwords, are employed instead.

7. Systematization

The reader's knowledge of real natural environment is tapped into by incorporating newly formed words into existing biological systems. For example, the aforementioned *gillyweed* is related to "gillyflower" through the first part of the compound, and to words such as "pigweed", "ragweed", "starweed" and "whiteweed" through the second part of the compound. The term "weed" refers to plants that grow in places where their presence is influenced by human activity but are not planted by humans themselves (Zimdahl 2007: 18–19). This exact concept does not appear in other languages and therefore cannot be fully preserved in translation.

A similar approach can also be observed with the term *nightlock*. This word refers to an extremely poisonous plant that plays an important role in *The Hunger Games* trilogy. The term itself is a combination of two names for existing poisonous plants that have gained considerable notoriety, at least in Western culture – the first part comes from the word "nightshade", often associated with witchcraft in popular consciousness (Bever, 2008: 130), while the second part originated from the word "hemlock", the corresponding plant being infamous as the source of the poison that killed Socrates (Wilson 2007: 9).

Sometimes a system, more often lexical than scientific, provides the basis for a relationship between fictional animals or plants within the fictional world. The similarity in one part of the compound may be accidental, but in some cases, it also suggests a closer relationship. This can be illustrated by the terms *jabberjay* and *mockingjay* occurring in *The Hunger Games* series, *mockingjay* being a both an evolutionary and word-formational combination of *jabberjay* and "mockingbird". It is natural that in this case, the translator's creativity is limited since a similar link must be implied in other languages.

In German, an almost identical operation took place. *Schnattertölpel* (*jabberjay*) is a combination a word denoting a sound ("schnattern") and a bird species ("Tölpel" can mean both a sulid – a booby or a gannet – and a fool). *Spotttölpel* combines the word "Spott" (mockery, though here without the connection to a bird like "mockingjay") and the other part of the original bird name (which, in both English and German, also functions as an animal name in its own right).

The Czech translator found himself in a tighter spot, as Czech words such as "vysmívat se" or "napodobovat" (which would correspond to the meaning of "to mock") are quite long and would not form usable compounds in combination with bird names – while "mockingbird" itself translates as "drozdec", meaning literally "little thrush".

The Czech translator has therefore opted for hybrid composition, using the Latin root "repro-" as the first part of both compounds – the names of the creatures are *reprozob* and *reprodrozd*, respectively. The first name is entirely fictitious, with the morpheme "zob", referring to "pecking" or "beak", providing the connection to birds. The second name incorporates the word "drozd" ("thrush"), which comes from the word "drozdec" ("mockingbird"), admittedly adding some confusion, as "thrush" and "mockingbird" are decidedly different birds.

This solution, however, reveals much about the common view translators and readers take of the biological systematics of the fictional world. While the links between the various creatures in the fictional world are seen as binding and must not change even in translation, the

links to the real world are rather loose and can be varied as needed, on the condition that at least some links remain.

8. Humour

The fictitious names of animals and plants can also relate to the real system of flora and fauna in a humorous way, and the translator usually aims to preserve this sentiment. This is very apparent in Terry Pratchett's writings, where the author came up with unexpected linguistic hybridisations and combinations of creatures. The creative puns become the basis for subsequent descriptions and speculation about what a particular creature might look like. Examples include the aforementioned *vermine* ("vermin" and "hermine") or *hermit elephant*, which combines a hermit crab with an elephant.

The highly praised Czech translation uses the compound *skvrnostaj*, which corresponds to the original combination (the first member is "skvrna", i.e. "stain", the second member is "hranostaj", i.e. "ermine").

Although German is even more suited for a similar solution, the translator decided to take an unexpected approach and shortened the word "Ungeziefer" ("vermin") by deprefixing it to *Geziefer*, thus completely omitting the link to the hermine, which the animal is supposed to resemble.

Similarly, *hermit elephant* – in Czech *slon poustevník*, which echoes the animal's name "krab poustevník" ("hermit crab") – was translated into German literally, as *der eremitische Elefant*, even though the respective crab species is "der Einsiedlerkrebs" in German.

A humorous link to a familiar reality serves as a very effective way to quickly characterize a given element of the fictional world and make it more memorable for the reader. In some translations, consequently, a similar type of humour also appears in situations where it was absent or subtler in the original.

The translation of Tolkien's *pipe-weed* is worth noting as an example. The Czech translation *dýmkové koření* (literally "pipe seasoning") may have very well been motivated by the similarity of the Czech words "koření" ("seasoning") and "kouření" ("smoking"). This choice also tallies with other translation decisions, such as translating *hobbit-lore* as *hobitosloví*, which seems rather archaic and pompous in Czech. These slight shifts are not arbitrary, as they are consistent with the overall lighter tone of the whole hobbit culture and their naming, especially with regard to proper names – onyms like "Baggins", "Brandybuck" or "Frogmorton" refer to proper English countryside, cozy in a slightly ridiculous way.

A similarity between the translation of proper names, and plant and animal names, is easily spotted in the analysed writings. Proper names in most translations attempt to conjure up a similar impression as they do in the original – in the Czech translation with the names "Pytlík", "Brandorád" and "Žabovřesky", in the German translation with the words "Beutlin", "Brandybock", "Froschmoorstetten", in the French translation with "Sacquet" or "Bessac", "Brandebouc", "La Grenouillère", etc.

If the language allows it and the translator can think of a similar solution for animal or plant names, it seems a logical step to take. The German translator of the term *hobbit-lore* has chosen the compound *Hobbitkunde* (and not *Hobbitwissenschaft*), which corresponds to words such as *Naturkunde*. In Germany, these compounds have a strong connection to the end of the 19th century and denote a scholarly approach that explores the subjects from a practical, rather than a purely theoretical point of view (Nyhart, 2009: 253–256). Talking about the hobbit culture thus becomes one of the many 19th-century "Kunde projects".

Applying this observation to the *pipe-weed* case, it is also worth noting that the German translation uses the morpheme “kraut” (“herb”) for two fictitious plants created by J. R. R. Tolkien: *pipe-weed* (*Pfeifenkraut*) and *kingsfoil* (*Königskraut*). Although the humorous potential is somewhat weakened by this choice, it is balanced out by strengthening the systematic links between the two plants, and, in this way, using the concept of familiarity.

9. Conclusion

Two somewhat contradictory tendencies have been observed in the examined works. One of them is linked to the concept of the foreign, which is evoked through references to unknown creatures and plants and through linguistic creativity. The second tendency is, on the other hand, connected to the concept of familiarity. Newly formed words are embedded in systems (namely the linguistic system and the biological system) of which the readers have an existing understanding – arguably because readers tend to automatically assume that the fictional world contains very similar or identical plants to the world they know, and this system is merely supplemented by a few new entities.

These tendencies then manifest themselves in the word-formation of individual words in particular languages. In translation, there is usually an inclination to deviate as little as possible from the information provided in the original language, and when such deviations do occur, they tend to be motivated by the desire to make the expressions sound natural in the target language.

The shifts in meaning usually stem from the intention to make the expression shorter and more concise or make use of a morpheme with better-suited connotations, as shown by the example of the word *pipeweed*. In the Czech translation, “weed” is replaced by “koření” (“seasoning”, “spice”) to strengthen the term’s ability to build one of the aspects of the fictional world – in this case, the humorous and homely mood of the depicted society.

Naturally, these tendencies and practices exist in the translations of other names of fictitious animals and plants as well, but they are often complemented by the additional tendency to relate the newly formed names to an existing system. This effort can be demonstrated by the translation of the English *gillyweed* into Czech *žaberník*, using the common suffix “-ík” and replacing a compound with a derived word, or by the translation of the English *jabberjay* and *mockingjay* into German *Schnattertölpel* and *Spotttölpel*, replacing the bird species of mockingjay with a sulid to retain the original connotations.

The familiarity is based not only on the biological systems of the known world but often purely on lexical similarities and connections, as has been shown by the words *nightlock*, *kingsfoil*, *gończe osy*, *ještěrkolev*, *Schattenkatze* and *Königskraut* – in all cases, the used method of word-formation implies a connection between plants and animals, both between those in the same fictional world and between the fictitious ones and the real ones.

The fictional worlds therefore deviate from the relatively complex and intricate biological systems of the actual world and offer an unambiguous, relatively simple environment, in which the lexical reality matches the natural order of things.

The research presented here could be further built upon by examining additional works, while results similar in many respects might be expected, it would be intriguing to observe whether less commercially successful works respect the conventions of the language in question or, alternatively, conform to the conventions of the genre. The inclusion of other languages, and comparisons with non-European languages in particular, might reveal the potential of other methods of evoking the desired impression.

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