Copyright © the author(s)
Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa dan Sastra, **Vol. 11, No. 2, 2025**

Phonology, Morphology, and Sound Symbolism in the First Pokémon Generation

Budi Rahmat Setiawan[1]
Tatang Hariri[2]
[12]Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

[1] budirahmatsetiawan1995@mail.ugm.ac.id
[2] hariri39@ugm.ac.id

Abstract

Linguistics is unconsciously used in naming. Many human creativity in naming were done by applying linguistic theories. The study explores how Pokémon names were created based on linguistic theories. It is because more new names and terminologies have always been created following the development of technology and human civilizations. Literary works are one of human creativity that never ends. As a result, many new words are coined to be distinctive and memorable for the 'market'. For thirty years, Pokémon has always updated their creativity in naming thousands of terminologies and Pokémon species. It makes scholars intrigued in understanding human capability in applying linguistic theories on forming their names. Phonological, graphemical as well as morphological theories were used in forming new Pokémon names. This is a descriptive-qualitative research. Data used were obtained from a webpage named Pokémon database. The data used in this research were limited to the first generation of the Pokémon game names. The research is expected to bring new horizons as the results of how Pokémon names were created. The results show that there are additional ways of naming literary characters phonologically and morphologically. The result shows consonant insertion and vowel deletion in addition to Balteiro's (2013) theory and suffixation in addition to Mattielo's (2013) theory used in forming Pokémon names. There is also certain sound used in order to create an archaic effect such as the ending -th.

Keywords*: Pokemon, Phonology, Morphology, Sound Symbolism, Charactonym*

Introduction

Myriad languages on earth have many names for many things. Animate or inanimate object, feelings, and even situation have their own terminology. Names may be invented or created from some existing words (Coates, 2012). A person may have one proper given name by their parents. Similarly, certain languages may create their own proper names for the latest technology, newly developed engineering, newly discovered flora/ fauna, or even the realization of artists' imagination.

Onomastics is the theory of Proper names. There were many terms related to the theory of Onomastics (Vasilyeva, 2023), for example the infamous Toponymy that analyzes the names of certain places or symbolic landmarks. There is also one subtheory regarding Onomastics that analyzes the naming of characters in literary works, which is called 'Charactonyms' (Balteiro, 2013). This theory emerged following the release of many video games and movies as the result of the development of technology. New stories, movies, or even games need unique and distinctive names to refer to the features or characters included in them.

Research regarding Charactonym were mainly conducted by applying the theories of literature. Some literature sources used were mainly in the form of novels (Mudhiah Umamah, 2024; Zalesova & Bazhenova, 2020). On one hand, many analyses were exploring how the names were created (Farkas, 2023; Valeišaitė, 2022). On the other hand, there are also deep analysis on how gender was pictured (Rostami, 2022) and how names were created intentionally to conceal the truth (Nick, 2022). This current research, however, would like to analyze a literature in the form of a game called Pokémon (Pocket Monsters).

Pokémon is a famous game that has been around since 1995 (*Bulbapedia*, n.d.). There are approximately more than 1000 Pokémon names featured in the whole franchise. There are also abundant terminologies coined by this developer. Many different kinds of games, anime, and manga about Pokémon are enjoyed by many of its fans. It has always been updated until now. More and more players know about Pokémon because it is now available in many kinds of platforms. As a game, Pokémon introduces many terminologies related to the features of the games. One of the features is the Pokémon species. The developer of the game keeps introducing new region along with the new Pokémon inhabiting these regions. This is the reason why there are already so many Pokémon proper names that need to be memorized, as well as their skills and abilities.

Proper names have been interesting topics to analyze in linguistics. This is because there are many reasons why some names were created. Creativity and linguistic knowledge also took part in naming new brands as well as character names in literary works (Balteiro, 2013). Naming can be done by associating it with the color, taste, characteristics and many more (Irianto & Kesuma, 2024). Associating the name with the characteristics of the object/ subject can help one to memorize the names easily. More than one characteristic is usually adjoined into one word in order to give one proper name as many ideas as it can hold.

As a plaything, Pokémon might be seen as inappropriate to be talked about in class and seminars. However, there was an abundance of research related to Pokémon. In terms of linguistic theories, Pokémon brings many occurrences that makes researchers intrigued in understanding more about its sound symbolism (Shih et al., 2018a, 2018b, 2019); (Kawahara et al., 2020); (Kawahara & Kumagai, 2021); (Godoy et al., 2020; 2021; Kawahara et al., 2016); as well as how morphological blending were used in naming Pokémon (Setiawan, 2024). Also, many scholars conduct research related to other perspectives related to Pokémon as in how some Pokémon games impact physical (Khamzina et al., 2020) or mental health (Lemmens & Weergang, 2023). There was even translation theory used to analyze Pokémon names (Arvidsson, 2018).

In terms of Literary works, names were created intentionally to be interesting, to have some humor, or to be catchy so they can easily be remembered. Names function to be semantical, sociological, and conative (Gibka, 2019). It means that names have their own use to relate the hearer with the subject. Similar to the name 'Muhammad' used by many parents to name their son in order to relate the son to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him). By naming their sons Muhammad, the parents expect the hearer to associate them to be having the best characteristics of the prophet (Sabir et al., 2014). Similarly, some character names in literary works were also named similarly to existing objects or famous figures to create an effect to the hearer that the character in said literary works are having the similar characteristics with the objects/ famous figure name used.

In this article, the researcher would like to analyze how names found in a literary work in the form of a game called Pokémon were formed by applying linguistic features, especially phonologically/ graphemically and morphologically. In naming characters in literary works, the creators may use repetition, vowel Insertions, and consonant deletions (Balteiro, 2013) as phonological features. In forming new words, Mattiello (2013) suggested some ways such as blendings, clippings, reduplicatives, acronyms, or back formations. Coates (2018) offered how linguistic charactonyms are used in literary works regarding pragmatics. Nevertheless, this article tries to find how phonological, graphemical, or morphological features are used in naming characters.

This research tries to reveal how and what linguistic features are used in forming Pokémon names. This is important to see how human creativity keeps growing. As a *Homo Ludens*, it is always interesting to reveal human capability in playing on words (Huizinga, 1949). More and more ways of linguistic strategies are used in coining new proper names that act as the symbol of new inventions and developments. Hence, the study tries to reveal if there are more findings compared to prior research.

Method

This is descriptive research using the qualitative research method. The data used are Pokémon names found in Pokémondb.net (*Pokémondb*, n.d.). This website is used as the main source for the names' origins. However, there are also other sources that can help in giving better understanding regarding the origin of the names. The data analyzed are the first generation of English versions of Pokémon names (#001 Bulbasaur - #151 Mew).

The data used are only the first generation of Pokémon because it is one of the most iconic Pokémon generations that is still remembered by many older fans. The data were also only limited to one generation because it should be sufficient to be analyzed and can already show decent insight about human creativity in creating names by materializing their imagination.

The analysis was done by firstly collecting the data from the said website. The data were input into Microsoft Excel including the serial numbers, name, and origin of each name. The data were then codified and classified into Phonological or Morphological strategies used in creating the names. Similar research using similar ways of analysis had been done by Irianto and Kesuma (2024) about the use of phonology, morphology, and syntactic theory in naming instant food brands.

Results

Regarding the data of 151 Pokémon names from the first generation, there are some results found of how the names were created linguistically. The results are given phonologically, morphologically and will be added with sound symbolism following the creation of names. Before going to the linguistics strategies. It should have been known that the naming of Pokémon was done as uniquely as possible. Hence, Pokémon names were not created using repetitive similar linguistic strategies because it will make the name 'not unique and too predictable'. Predictability should be avoided in creating character names, for it may undermine the creativity of the Pokémon name creator. Thus, it will be expected to see if there is only very little example of certain naming strategy.

The one uniqueness the name creators try to apply for naming Pokémon is the language origin. It is common to find English Pokémon names made by using different language backgrounds. In this generation, the names were created not only using English, but also Greek, French, Latin, Spanish, and of course Japanese. It is not possible to make a chart out of the kinds of language used in naming the Pokémon because almost all of the 'other' languages used are also mixed with English.

Greek is used in a Blending (#001 Bulbasaur, #002 Ivysaur, and #003 Venusaur). The word *savra* refers to 'lizard'. French was also used to create Pokémon names in (#036 Clefairy and #037 Clefable) the French word used is *clef* meaning 'key'. Latin word is used one in the making of #141 Kabutops. It is the ending *ops* that also means 'head' in English. Spanish numbers used respectively in making the names #144 Articuno, #145 Zapdos, and #146 Moltres. U*no, dos, tres* literally means 'one, two, and three' in English. In addition, Japanese words were also used in creating some English Pokémon names. They can be found in the names Pikachu, Raichu, Zubat, Kabuto, and Kabutops. There are also *Gairaigo* or Japanese loan words (Soelistyowati, 2002) such as Nidoran, Nidorina, Nidorino, Nidoqueen, and Nidoking. That uses the borrowed word *Nidoru* (Needle).

Phonological

Moving on to the linguistic results phonologically, they can be seen from the table below:

Phonological Strategies	Total	Pokémon Names
Repetition	1	Koffing
Vowel Insertion	11	Bulbasaur, Caterpie, Kakuna, Poliwag, Poliwhirl, Poliwrath, Starmie, Krabby, Chansey, Electabuzz, Eevee
Vowel Deletion	1	Staryu
Consonant Insertion	6	Pidgey, Pidgeotto, Pidgeot, Meowth, Magmar
Consonant Deletion	6	Rattata, Wigglytuff, Muk, Gastly, Koffing, Weezing,
Substitution	9	Wartortle, Rhyhorn, Rhydon, Jynx, Onyx, Pinsir, Tauros, Porygon, Dratini

The table shows that there is significant use of Vowel Insertion in order to create the Pokémon character names. Balteiro (2013) found that there were Vowel Insertion, Consonant Deletion, and Repetition in coining new names. However, the data used in this research shows many more ways of creating Pokémon names. The names were also coined by doing Vowel Deletion Consonant Insertion, as well as Phonological/ Graphemic Substitution. Phonological Repetition and Vowel Deletion are used once in making Pokémon names in this generation.

Repetition is found in the name #109 Koffing, which originates from the English word 'coughing'. The repetition is found in the gemination of the phoneme /f/. **Vowel Deletion** is found in data #120 Staryu, which originates from a Blending of the splinters 'Star + You'. The Vowel Deletion can be found in the deletion of vowel grapheme < o > from the splinter 'you'. **Vowel Insertion** is the most significant phonological strategy used to create Pokémon Names in the first generation. There are vowel insertions as the results of morphological strategy 'blending', clipping, and vowel insertion of an original word. In terms of Blending, some vowels were inserted in between the merging of the

splinters. It can be seen in the Pokémon names #001 Bulbasaur, #60 - #62 Poliwag, Poliwhirl, Poliwrath, and #125 Electabuzz. Bulbasaur is inserted with the phoneme / ʌ / between the English word 'bulb' and Greek word 'sauros'. Poliwag, Poliwhirl, and Poliwrath have the inserted phoneme /i:/ after the English splinter 'tadpole'. Electabuzz is added with a vowel / ʌ / after the splinter of 'electric' and before the splinter 'buzz'. Starmie is also a blend with a vowel insertion. However, the insertion is in the second splinter and in the form of a grapheme < i > instead of a phoneme.

In addition to Vowel Insertion to blends, there are also some that happen to clipped words such as #10 Caterpie. It is a clipping of the English word 'caterpillar' with grapheme vowel insertion < e > in the end of the second syllable. Some original English words are also inserted with vowels in order to create new Pokémon names that can be seen in #014 Kakuna, #98 Krabby, and #113 Chansey. Kakuna gets a grapheme insertion < a >, Krabby is inserted with < y >, and Chansey is inserted with phoneme /i:/ from the original English word 'chance'/ tʃɑːns /. In addition, #133 Eevee is an acronym 'EV' that stands for 'evolution' which gets grapheme insertion < e >.

In Addition, **Consonant Insertion** can be found in the Pokémon names number #16-#18 Pidgey, Pidgeotto, and Pidgeot which originates from the English word 'pigeon /'pɪdʒ.ən/'. The Consonant insertion is found in the phoneme /d/ as the coda of the first syllable followed by the phoneme / dʒ / as the onset of the second syllable which changes the transcription into / 'pɪd.dʒɪ / and not /'pɪdʒ.ɪ/.The other consonant insertion can be found in the Pokémon names #52 Meowth with additional / θ / phoneme and #126 with the additional /r/ both as the coda of the syllable. Similarly, **Consonant Deletion** can also be found in the making of Pokémon names. They can be found in the names #019 Rattata < Rat-a-ta~~t-tat~~ >, #040 Wigglytuff < wiggly to~~ug~~h >, #089 Muk < mu~~c~~k >, #092 Gastly < g~~h~~astly >, #109 Koffing < co~~ug~~hing >, and #110 Weezing < w~~h~~eezing >. The deleted consonants can be seen in the consonants with strikethrough. Some deletion makes the Pokémon names simpler than the origin words. The pronunciations are still the same with before the deletion.

From the data, there are 9 **Substitutions** strategies found. Substitutions refer to the changing of the near phonemes or graphemes in order to create a slightly different name. There is a grapheme substitution from < u > into < o > in the data #008 Wartortle and #128 Tauros. This cannot be considered changes in phonemes because turtle and taurus have different < u > pronunciations. Next, there is also graphemic substitutions found in the data #111 Rhyhorn, #112 Rhydon, and #124 Jynx in the grapheme < i > into < y >. It is because Rhydon and Rhyhorn are blends originates from the word 'Rhinoceros' which then splintered into 'Rhy-' and the name Jynx taken from the English word 'jinx'.

Other than that, there are also phonemic substitutions happening in the name #127 Pinsir, #137 Porygon, and #147 Dratini. Pinsir and Dratini underwent substitutions in terms of their vowels. Pinsir ('pɪn.si:r) the vowel / i: / changed from / ə /, and Dratini ('dræ.ti:.ni) which vowel changed to /i:/ from the splinter 'tiny' / aɪ /.

Morphological

Moving on to the next strategy used in creating Pokémon names. Morphologically, the results are shown in the table below:

Morphological Strategies	Total	Percentage
Blending	74	51%
Clipping	11	7.3%
Reduplication	-	0%
Acronym/ Initialism	1	0.6%
Minor Change	22	14.5%
No Change/ Compound	31	20.5%
Suffixation	9	6%

Looking at the results. It is visible that Blending is mostly used in creating Pokémon names in the first generation of its franchise. It is important because names used by blending can have more than one origin word. As a result, they can give more meaning to the subject/ object given the name. Clippings were used only 11 times from all the names in generation 1. Suffixations were done 9 times in naming Pokémon. However, Reduplication has not been used in naming Pokémon in this generation. Surprisingly, there are quite many names that use real existing words that only underwent very slight changes or even no change at all. Even Acronym is used once

Blending is known to be quite common in naming Pokémon (Setiawan, 2024) or other movie characters (Arifah & Moehkardi, 2021; Moehkardi, 2019; Rini & Moehkardi, 2016). Morphotactical, Morphonological, and Morphosemantical blends can be seen from the data. Morphotactically, total blends are found in #3 Venusaur, #4 Charmander, #5 Charmeleon, #6 Charizard, and many others because they consist of two words that were totally splintered. On the other hand, partial blends can be found in #1 Bulbasaur, #2 Ivysaur, #7 Squirtle, #9 Blastoise, and many others because one of the splinters is not totally shortened. Morphonologically, there are overlapping blends as in #21 Spearow and #22 Fearow which splinters are both overlapping in the phoneme /r/ of the splinters 'spear + arrow' and 'fear + arrow'; and non-overlapping blends as in #11 Metapod (metamorphosis + pod) and #54 Psyduck (psychic + duck). Morphosemantically, all blendings are attributive, while #78 Rapidash is the only coordinate blend. Apparently, there has never been found a blend that is not coordinative nor attributive. It indicates that currently, all non-coordinate blends are attributive.

Clippings are also known as word shortening. Some words are shortened in order to give some diminutive effects such as to reduce formality, to be more concise, to give affectionate vibes, and many more. Fore-clipping can be found in the name #94 Gengar (~~Doppel~~ganger). Hind-clipping is quite commonly used. Pokémon names number #016 - #019 Pidgey (Pig~~eon~~), Pidgeotto (Pig~~eon~~), Pidgeot (Pig~~eon~~), and Rattata (rat-a-ta~~t-tat~~) are some of the examples. Mid-clippings are visible in the names #083 Farfetch'd (farfetch<u>e</u>d) and #089 Muk (Mu<u>c</u>k). Similar to Clipping, an **Acronym** is also used in naming Pokémon #136 Eevee, which is an acronym of evolution, signifying its ability to have more than one mode of evolution.

Suffixation is usually done in order to create a new word class (derivation) or to change the form (inflection) (Bauer, 2003). However, there are suffixations done in creating Pokémon names. They are found in the names #050 Diglett (-lett); #78 Graveler

#93 Haunter (-er); #134 - #136 Vaporeon, Jolteon, Flareon (-eon). The Pokémon database website explains the reason for the use of those suffixations. The suffix -lett is analogous with the English words owlet, eaglet or piglet, which means the offspring or the younger creatures. The suffix -er is analogous with the words swimmer, teacher, hiker, etc., implying the doer or the subject that is an expert in doing that certain activity. In addition, there is the suffixation -eon, which can be inferred to mean that they have undergone an evolution after spending eons (millions of years) (*Pokémondb*, n.d.).

Minor Changes can be found in some Pokémon names. The researcher refers to them having minor changes, for their origin words that only undergoes very little change. Most minor changes occur randomly by deleting or inserting some phoenemes/ graphemes. All the morphologically unidentified changes are included in this category. However, there are some interesting data found in the first generation of Pokémon name. They can be seen in the data number #024 Ekans and #025 Arbok. These names were created by rearranging the graphemes which can be called 'anagram' (Mayzner & Tresselt, 1958). <e-k-a-n-s> is actually <s-n-a-k-e> if read from back to front. Similarly, the name <a-r-b-o-k> read from the back to front will also results in <k-o-b-r-a>. The existence of Pokémon name made using anagram is interesting because anagram itself can even help in learning vocabulary (Rosadi, 2017).

Surprisingly, there are quite many Pokémon names in the first generation that consist of a word that already exists by leaving the word as is, or only by conjoining two existing words. Thus, the researchers agree that this category will be called **No Change (Compounding)**. Some examples are #025 Pikachu and #026 Raichu. The name Pikachu is a compound of the existing Japanese word *pika* which means shiny. Raichu is similar to the Japanese *rai* means thunder. *Chuu* itself is a Japanese word that means kiss. Other examples can be seen in #027 Sandshrew, #028 Sandslash, #038 Ninetales, #039 Jigglypuff, #041 Zubat, #044 Gloom, #045 Vileplume, #053 Persian, #057 Primeape, etc.

Sound Symbolism

The changes, whether they are minor or major were intentionally made. There are some clear significations that can be seen why some names were made in certain ways. It is because some sounds could give certain effects (Internal Iconism) and some effects in real life can be made into words (External Iconisms) (Anderson, 1998). To analyze the Pokémon names, the researcher focuses on Internal Iconisms given to Pokémon names in order to give certain effects.

Sound Symbolism in Pokémon names can be identified if they have analogous occurrence with existing words. It can be seen from the data #010 Caterpie, #016 Pidgey, #098 Krabby and #113 Chansey. These Pokémon names were created using vowel insertion /i:/ at the end of the word. It is similar to English names like Katie, Bobby, Teddy, etc. It indicates that the vowel insertion /i:/ was used in order to give diminutive effects (smaller, weaker, cuter) that can be referred to the Pokémon having names which are all in their pre-evolution/ no evolution form.

In addition, one example can be seen in the naming of Pokémon #052 Meowth with consonant insertion ending / θ /, which is similar to the literary words 'spoketh, hath, doth'. The success of preserving Old English can make the word felt more archaic (Baugh, 1957). The Pokémon itself was depicted to be owned by many wealthy families in the anime. One special Meowth had even succeded to learn to read and speak like a human which supports the name with how the people in Old English had higher social status by understanding literature. Moreover, other examples of sound symbolism can

be seen in the ending of the Pokémon names #030 Nidorina, #033 Nidorino #144 Articuno. These names are analogous with the genitive markers showing the gender or genitive symbolisms similar to feminine or masculine words in Romance languages.

Conclusion

As seen from the results and discussion, it can be concluded that most Pokémon names created in its first generation were formed by applying linguistic features. It can be seen from the changes done phonologically and morphologically. However, there were also some names coined by directly taking existing words without changing the phonemes/ graphemes nor the morphemes. These names can be explored further by analyzing them using interdisciplinary theories. From the table, it is visible that 120 names were created with phonological/ graphemical and morphological changes, while 31 names underwent no phonological/ graphemical nor morphological features.

From the results and discussion, it can be inferred that there are more ways to create Pokémon names in addition to prior research by Mattiello (2013) and Balteiro (2013). It is visible in not only consonant deletion and vowel insertion, but also in consonant insertion as well as vowel deletion which were done phonologically. Morphological features involving suffixation can also be found in addition to Mattiello's extra-grammatical theory.

Moreover, many names were created as unique as possible with little similar naming strategies. Even so, there are also similar names that end in –er that can signify the uniformed strategies used, especially in the first generation. Hence, the creator of the Pokémon names in its first generation succeeded in creating distinctive and memorable names, which may have become one of its boosters in the success of the release of the generations that came after.

This research is limited to generation one Pokémon. The research could be better and comprehensible if more data are used. Next researcher can use data of more Pokémon names to find better results. The differences among generations can even be compared to each other to see how Pokémon names were developed through generations.

Acknowledgment

In this occasion, the first writer would like to thank Drs. Tatang Hariri, M.A., Ph.D. as the second writer as well as the supervisor of this article. Much input and encouragement were given for the success of this research. My gratitude for Universitas Gadjah Mada as well for the great experience of study with experienced professors and lecturers. My sincere gratitude to LPDP that provides scholarship and ensures the education of many students including the first writer.

I also thank two lecturers who were delighted to see my article about Pokemon; Mr. Tofan Dwi Hardjanto and Prof. I Dewa Putu Wijana who showed great interest in the article related to Pokemon. The researcher never thought that Pokemon, which is only a childish game, can be favored by great lecturers as research object. Hence, this article is expected to become part of the first writer's Thesis. The researcher hopes that it will go well and benefit future researchers in analyzing human creativity.

References

Anderson, E. R. (1998). *A Grammar of Iconism*. Associated University Press.

Arifah, A. A. N., & Moehkardi, R. R. D. (2021). "Octonauts": Blending in the Names of BBC UK Children's Programs. *Lexicon*, *7*(2), 182. https://doi.org/10.22146/lexicon.v7i2.66567

Arvidsson, D. (2018). *From Desumasu to Buzzwole: A categorization of Japanese-to-English translation methods in localized Pokémon names*. Lund University.

Balteiro, I. (2013). Blending in English Charactoons. *English Studies*, *94*(8), 883–907. https://doi.org/10.1080/0013838X.2013.839139

Bauer, L. (2003). *Introducing Linguistic Morphology* (Second Edition). Edinburgh University Press.

Baugh, A. C. (1957). *A History of the English Language*. Appleton Century Crofts, Inc.

Bulbapedia. (n.d.). Retrieved October 4, 2023, from https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/History_of_Pok%C3%A9mon

Coates, R. (2012). Onomastics. In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0885

Coates, R. (2018). Linguistic aspects of literary name origination. *Onoma*, *53*, 11–31. https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.53/2018/2

Farkas, T. (2023). Translation and Mistranslation of Proper Names: The Challenge of Proper Names and Common Words in the Translation Process. In *Onomastics in Interaction With Other Branches of Science. Volume 3. Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences General and Applied Onomastics. Literary Onomastics. Chrematonomastics. Reports.* Jagiellonian University Press. https://doi.org/10.4467/K7478.47/22.23.17727

Gibka, M. (2019). Permanent Functions of Characters' Proper Names in Harry Potter. In *Journal of Literary Onomastics* (Vol. 7, Issue 1).

Godoy, M. C., de Souza Filho, N. S., de Souza, J. G. M., França, H. A. N., & Kawahara, S. (2020). Gotta Name'em All: an Experimental Study on the Sound Symbolism of Pokémon Names in Brazilian Portuguese. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, *49*(5), 717–740. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10936-019-09679-2

Godoy, M. C., Gomes, A. L., Kumagai, G., & Kawahara, S. (2021). Sound symbolism in Brazilian Portuguese Pokémon names: Evidence for cross-linguistic similarities and differences. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, *20*(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.5334/jpl.257

Huizinga, J. (1949). *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Irianto, D. N., & Kesuma, T. M. J. (2024). Nama-Nama Produk Makanan Instan di Indonesia: Kajian Onomastika. *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *10*(4).

Kawahara, S., Godoy, M. C., & Kumagai, G. (2020). Do Sibilants Fly? Evidence from a Sound Symbolic Pattern in Pokémon Names. *Open Linguistics*, *6*(1), 386–400. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2020-0027

Kawahara, S., & Kumagai, G. (2021). What voiced obstruents symbolically represent in Japanese: evidence from the Pokémon universe. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics*, *37*(1), 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1515/jjl-2021-2031

Kawahara, S., Noto, A., & Kumagai, G. (2016). *Sound (symbolic) patterns in Pokémon names: Focusing ´on voiced obstruents and mora counts*.

Khamzina, M., Parab, K. V., An, R., Bullard, T., & Grigsby-Toussaint, D. S. (2020). Impact of Pokémon Go on Physical Activity: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. In

American Journal of Preventive Medicine (Vol. 58, Issue 2, pp. 270–282). Elsevier Inc. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2019.09.005

Lemmens, J. S., & Weergang, I. A. M. (2023). Caught them all: Gaming disorder, motivations for playing and spending among core Pokémon Go players. *Entertainment Computing*, *45*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.entcom.2023.100548

Mattiello, Elisa. (2013). *Extra-grammatical Morphology in English : Abbreviations, Blends, Reduplicatives, and Related Phenomena.* De Gruyter.

Mayzner, M. S., & Tresselt, M. E. (1958). Anagram solution times: A function of letter order and word frequency. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, *56*(4), 376–379. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0041542

Moehkardi, R. R. D. (2019). English Blends in Indonesian Context: Their Formation Processes and Meanings. *Jurnal Humaniora*, *31*(1), 21. https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.40374

Nick, I. M. (2022). Nazis, Lies, and Lullabies: A Case Study of Charactonyms in the National Socialist Children's Book Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid. *Names*, *70*(4), 43–57. https://doi.org/10.5195/names.2022.2474

Pokémondb. (n.d.). Retrieved October 4, 2023, from https://Pokémondb.net/

Rini, R., & Moehkardi, D. (2016). Patterns and Meanings of English Words through Word Formation Processes of Acronyms, Clipping, Compound and Blending Found in Internet-Based Media. *Jurnal Humaniora*, *Vol. 28*, 324–338. http://grammar.about.com/od/rs/g/splinterterm.

Rosadi, A. (2017). The Effectiveness of Anagram Technique in Teaching Vocabulary. *VELES Voices of English Language Education Society*, *1*(1). https://doi.org/10.29408/veles.v1i1.392

Rostami, A. (2022). Gender-Specific Charactonyms in Persian Translation of John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress, Part 2. *Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Translation Studies*, *7*(3).

Sabir, R. I., Nawaz, F., Zakir, U., Naeem, M., & Anjum, T. (2014). Names and Behavior: Case of the Name "Muhammad." *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology (IJPT)*, *2*(4). https://doi.org/10.15640/ijpt.v2n4a7

Setiawan, B. R. (2024). *"Gotta Blend 'Em All" Morphological Blending in Pokémon Names.*

Shih, S. S., Ackerman, J., Hermalin, N., Inkelas, N., Inkelas, S., Jang, H., Johnson, J., Kavitskaya, D., Kawahara, S., Oh, M., Starr, R. L., & Yu, A. (2019). *Cross-linguistic and language-specific sound symbolism: Pokémonastics*. University of Southern California, University of California, Merced, University of California, Berkeley, Keio University, national University of Singapore and University of Chicago.

Shih, S. S., Ackerman, J., Hermalin, N., Inkelas, S., & Kavitskaya, D. (2018a). Pokémonikers: A study of sound symbolism and Pokémon names. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, *3*(1), 42. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v3i1.4335

Shih, S. S., Ackerman, J., Hermalin, N., Inkelas, S., & Kavitskaya, D. (2018b). Pokémonikers: A study of sound symbolism and Pokémon names. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, *3*(1), 42. https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v3i1.4335

Umamah, Mudhiah. (2024). Charactonym Analysis on First Name Characters in Rowling's Harry Potter and The Philosopher's Stone Novel. *Journal of Electrical Systems*, *20*(4s), 1602–1615. https://doi.org/10.52783/jes.2222

Valeišaitė, I. (2022). Peculiarities of Rendering Charactonyms of The Lord of the Rings by J. R. R. Tolkien into Lithuanian. *International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*, *6*.

Vasilyeva, N. (2023). New Onomastic Terms: Textual Criterion of Necessity. In *Onomastics in Interaction With Other Branches of Science. Volume 3. Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences General and Applied Onomastics. Literary Onomastics. Chrematonomastics. Reports.* Jagiellonian University Press. https://doi.org/10.4467/K7478.47/22.23.17731

Zalesova, N. M., & Bazhenova, E. Yu. (2020). Современные Тенденции Перевода “Говорящих” Имён Собственных С Русского Языка На Английский (На Примере Перевода Произведения Д. Емеца «Таня Гроттер И Магический Контрабас») Current Trends In Russianenglish Charactonym Translation (Based On The Translation Of The Novel «Tanya Grotter And The Magic Double BASS» BY D. EMETS). *Теоретическая и Прикладная Лингвистика*, *6*(3).