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From Desumasu to Buzzwole:

A categorization of Japanese-to-English translation methods
in localized Pokémon names

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Bachelor thesis, Japanese

JAPK11, Spring Term 2018

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Abstract

This study explored the localization of the fictional species names in the Pokémon multimedia franchise. The relations and changes between the semantic units included in 807 Pokémon names were analysed using a framework of existing translational categories of proper names within onomastics (Vermes 2001, Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012), semantic analysis (Nida 1975) and general translation theories (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958). This way, a categorization of methods of translation (localization) was established. Five main categories - borrowing, equivalence, modulation, modification and recreation – were found, as well as a total of 25 sub-categories. While overlap between categories and sub-categories occurred frequently, Modulation was the largest main category with 618 occurrences and Recreation the smallest with 37 occurrences.

Keywords: Japanese, English, translation, localization, video game, Pokémon, onomastics, character naming, literary onomastics

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to extend their gratitude to several people. First, I'd like to thank my teachers Axel Svahn and Shinichiro Ishihara for their advice as well as their inspiring lectures that have further nurtured my interest and love for the Japanese language.

I would also like to thank my classmates Johanna Olsson, Kim Sundner, Helena Uddefors and Lovisa Österman for taking time out of their own busy thesis work to peer review my study during various stages. Last but not least, my gratitude goes to my partner William for sharing his knowledge and honest feedback with me, as well as his invaluable support for me during this semester.

Conventions

This thesis employs the Modified Hepburn system for the romanization of Japanese.

Abbreviations

SL – source language

ST – source text

TL – target language

TT – target text

ELM – evolutionary line modulation

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1. Introduction

This study explores the process and end product of the Japanese-to-English localization of Pokémon names. In this chapter, background information on Pokémon, the subject of the study, will be introduced. Readers familiar with Pokémon may move on to section 2.1., where a structure overview of the rest of the thesis is presented.

1.1. The topic

Pokémon, or *Pocket Monsters*, first appeared on Nintendo's handheld console Game Boy in 1996 in the games *Pokémon Red* and *Pokémon Green*. Following their English language localization and release in North America in 1998, Pokémon's popularity rapidly spread to over 100 countries by the early 00s (Allison 2006:193). Game Freak, the company behind the games, has continued to release new instalments to the so-called main series¹ of Pokémon games to this day, the most recent ones at the time of writing this thesis being *Pokémon Ultra Sun* and *Ultra Moon* (2017) for the Nintendo 3DS console. The Pokémon franchise experienced a surge in global recognition in 2016 when American game developer Niantic together with Nintendo released their augmented reality mobile game *Pokémon Go*, which became a worldwide success².

The eponymic characters, *pocket monsters* (from here on, Pokémon), are sentient creatures that the player can obtain, care for and use in battles against other Pokémon. Pokémon designs are based on various real-life animals, as well as inanimate objects such as weapons, furniture or food. Some also possess humanoid traits. All Pokémon belong to one or two of 18 *types*, which are properties of Pokémon (and their attacks) of mostly elemental nature. A Pokémon's first type is called a *primary type* and the second one *secondary type*. Types range from nature elements (Fire, Grass, Rock, Steel etc.) to attributes (Fighting, Flying etc.) to abstract concepts (Psychic, Dark etc.). Types are relevant later in the study when discussing referent-based naming and localization.

¹ The games can be roughly divided into the main series and spinoffs, the latter being casual games, such as puzzle games and mobile games. The main series acts as the core of the franchise. They are role-playing adventure games to be played on handheld consoles, such as the Game Boy or Nintendo 3DS. The player embarks on an adventure to catch and train Pokémon. Their aim is to defeat strong opponents in Pokémon battles and catch as many Pokémon as possible.

² Guinness World Records. <http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/news/2016/8/pokemon-go-catches-five-world-records-439327> [Accessed 9 May 2018]

Pokémon games can be divided into seven *Generations* according to the Pokémon they include³. Each Generation (referred to as “Generation I” through “Generation VII”) is marked by the introduction of around a hundred new Pokémon⁴ and consists of several new games, released within a window of a few years. Later in this thesis, we will refer to the Generation division⁵ to point out some changes in translation practices over the history of the franchise.

In this text, examples of Pokémon names will be transliterated from Japanese according to their *katakana* spelling, followed by their English name (e.g. *Fushigidane*/Bulbasaur).

1.2. Structure overview

In chapter 2, the background of the study will be presented. This is done through an overview of the central terminology and definitions related to translation, localization (with emphasis on video game translation) and onomastics. Pokémon names are also examined in the context of Japanese nomenclature in general. This chapter is concluded by a summary of previous research. Next, in chapter 3, the research question is presented, which is followed by a more detailed introduction of the corpus and a description of the chosen methodology. In chapter 4, the result of the analysis – the categorization of translation methods – is presented with detailed descriptions of the sub-categories. The thesis is concluded by a summary of the entire study in chapter 5 and concluding remarks regarding the results and possible future applications in chapter 6.

³ Bulbapedia. <https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Generation> [Accessed 9 May 2018]. In this thesis, the spelling seen on Bulbapedia, one of the main data sources, will be used (“Generation I-VII”).

⁴ Generation VI is the smallest with 72 new Pokémon introduced and Generation V the largest, with 156 Pokémon.

⁵ The *Generation* division as a term is, essentially, fan-made. This terminology is, despite its unofficial nature, an intuitive way to refer to and divide such a large corpus, which is why it is seen as appropriate to utilize in this study.

2. Background of the study

In section 2.1., the central terms used in this study, **translation**, **localization** and **game localization**, as well as other relevant terminology and theories, will be defined. Next, in sections 2.2. and 2.3., the terminology of **onomastics** and **literary onomastics** will be examined. This is followed by sections 2.4. and 2.5. which focus on the properties specific to Pokémon names and conventions of name-giving. The chapter ends with an overview of relevant previous research in section 2.6.

In this chapter and onwards, SL will stand for “source language”, TL will stand for “target language”, ST for “source (language) text” and TT for “target (language) text”.

2.1. Translation vs. localization

Translation of text, at its simplest, can be defined as by House (2018:9-10): it is the process of replacing a text in the SL with a corresponding one in another language (the TL). Within this progress, a two-way correspondence between the SL and the TL can be observed. The TT needs to remain equivalent in meaning with its ST counterpart (semantic equivalence); furthermore, the style of the ST needs to be adequately transferred to the TT regarding formality, situation and other practical factors (pragmatic equivalence).

Localization has been defined by Klingberg (1986:15) as *cultural context adaptation*, where the goal is to replace the cultural space of ST with that of the TT. While Klingberg wrote about adapting children’s literature, this solution is relevant to Pokémon names, which contain many cultural references (see section 4.4.1.). Below, several terms adjacent to localization are introduced, as they help further describe the process of Pokémon name localization. The term *localization* will be used hereafter when referring to the process of Pokémon name transference from Japanese to English.

Pseudo-translation, a term coined by Savory (1968, cited in Ingo 1991:55-56), is a term for cases that fall somewhere between a translation and a newly created text. In cases where a text whose SL counterpart acts merely as a starting point, and where very little (if any) of the informational value of the ST is carried on into the TT, “translation” is no longer a valid term by definition. This is often the case with rhymes and wordplay, as their “translation” often means replacing cultural (rather than lexical) components.

The theory of *translational action* (Holz-Mänttari 1984, cited in Vermees 2001:43) approaches translation first and foremost as a social and cultural exchange act with emphasis on the negotiations between translator and client. The ST is not seen as a model to follow, but rather as “source material” for a new creation (much like in pseudo-translation). As such, the goal of translation is to achieve “functionally adequate communication between cultures” (ibid.).

As the corpus of this study originates from video games, it is appropriate to look at localization from this specialized viewpoint. In the context of the rapidly evolving game industry, localization as a term and practice has only recently become more widely recognized (O’Hagan and Mangiron 2013:1-2, 25). The term **game localization** has existed since the 1980s; despite its relative youth, both its definition and usefulness (its function in replacing the term “game translation”) have already been debated (ibid., 26, 34). Over the past 20 years, game translation has developed from “an afterthought” (ibid., 90) into a regulated practice; it has emerged as a “negotiation” between the constraints and freedom of the medium (the software).

An interesting theory in the context of game localization is the *skopos theory* of translation, developed by Reiss and Vermeer (1984, cited in Vermees 2011:42). Cultural aspects are emphasized, much like in the theory of translational action. Skopos theory is primarily concerned with the TL readers’ comprehension and enjoyment of the end product rather than striving to be loyal to the SL text; in other words, functionality in the target situation is valued over equivalence between ST and TT. O’Hagan and Mangiron (2013:150, 200) argue that this is the driving force behind game localization, in particular due to the malleable nature of software: to create an experience accessible from the viewpoint of another language and culture. To describe this, they suggest *transcreation* to be used as a term to replace “translation” or “adaptation” of games. Compared to these terms, transcreation “removes the preconceived authority of the original and allows room for another original to be created” as well as “expresses the concept of translation and yet gives way to the fresh avenue of the creation of a new entity” (ibid., 199). While this definition is meant to cover the transference of all aspects of game software localization – visual, verbal, tactile and so on – it can be argued to be relevant even to Pokémon names. Pokémon as referents define, to a degree, the framework of names available to them (see section 4.3.2. for usage of referent-motivated name components). Likewise, how the player perceives Pokémon is, to a

degree, defined by the names, or more specifically, by the images and associations conjured up by the names (see Maulana and Himmawati 2016).

Finally, Mandiberg (2009) distinguishes between translation and localization in the following way: whereas translation dwells on issues of untranslatability for different audiences, the intent of localization is to produce the “same game” for a different language and a different culture. In other words, by ignoring the factors that make the game experience different for players from different cultures, localization attempts to make it the same for everyone, which usually happens at the cost of the subtlety of certain nuances and experiences. Mandiberg even argues that as far as terminology goes, it is game translation (rather than localization) that would be more potent in bringing forth the distinct features – the “detailed, but non-universal elements” – of the original game.

2.2. Onomastics and proper names

Onomastics is the branch of linguistics that examines proper names. After having emerged in the 19th century as something of a “sub-science” contributing to other fields, it remains an interdisciplinary field of research that is tightly associated with and has a multitude of applications in a variety of subjects, such as archaeology, history, psychology, anthropology and literature, among others (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012:13-17). The most traditional applications of onomastics have been toponyms (place names) and anthroponyms (personal names).

As the corpus is comprised of names, it is of interest to delve into the question of whether Pokémon names are **common nouns** or **proper names**. On one hand, “name” (in the sense of “proper name” and “proper noun”) refers to one identified subject. On the other, “name” can mean a word or a combination of words that refers to something representative of its class, in which case it is called a common noun or an *appellative* (common noun that even functions as a name) (ibid.).

As for the uniqueness of referents, very few Pokémon are completely unique in the sense that no other creature by the same name would exist. In other words, a Pokémon of the same species (for example, *Pikachū*/Pikachu) can be caught by multiple people;

this results in the usage of “a Pikachu” as a common noun, comparable to “a cat”⁶. This behaviour is by no means exceptional in onomastics (ibid., 29); distinguishing names as “grammatically definite expressions” from appellatives is simple in theory, but in practice, context (or lack of) complicates matters considerably.

Bertills (2003:18) points out that two essential criteria for proper names are “*uniqueness*” and that they “function as the *identification marks* of individuals” (italics in original). Whereas the precise border between common and proper nouns has long been a subject of debate, it can be said that proper names “identify individual characters” whereas common nouns “refer to objects [...] or individual representatives thereof” (ibid., 19). Naturally, Pokémon names can be used to refer to individual creatures (such as when commanding one’s own Pokémon in battle, as in “Go, Blaziken!”). Names not only identify, but *personify* referents that may not be human, such as pets, machines or vehicles (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012:20).

Despite the lack of a clear-cut division, the relationship between common nouns and proper names is by no means exclusionary. Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016:20) define *proprial lemma* as a lemma (word) that is “typically used as a name” (for example, the lemma *Mary*) and continue by describing how *proprial lemmas* “always allow common noun uses [...], as in *I was thinking of a different Mary*” (italics in original). Whether Pokémon count as entirely unique referents is, as demonstrated, highly context-dependent; nevertheless, their names can be used both *proprially* (“Pikachu is the winner”) and as common nouns (“that Pikachu looks hungry”).

Lastly, one more aspect of Pokémon names as proper names can be considered. “[I]n English, Names can be grammatically differentiated from Common Nouns due to their ability to appear as the identifying element in close appositional patters [...]” (ibid. 2016:21, capitals in original) which means that constructions such as “Maja the cat”, where the name *Maja* identifies a referent in the category *cat*, both lemmas have the same referent. With Pokémon names, this phenomenon cannot be reproduced, as Pokémon names do not differ from their defining categories – this would result in phrases like “Pikachu the Pikachu”⁷. To explain this, Vainisto (2017:17) brings up the

⁶ An interesting borderline case are Pokémon that, according to the storylines of the franchise, are told to be entirely unique entities. One such example is *Aruseusu*/Arceus, said to be the creator and “god” of the Pokémon universe. Nevertheless, in the “real world”, a virtually unlimited number of video game players can own their own specimen, “an Arceus”.

⁷ Naturally, the phrase “Pikachu the Pokémon” is plausible, although when compared to the “Maja the cat” example, it is equivalent to saying “Maja the animal”, which sounds considerably less natural.

nicknaming function of Pokémon. In the games, any Pokémon obtained by the player can be freely nicknamed. Thus, the Pokémon's nickname essentially becomes its true proper name (as opposed to merely being called by its "species name").

2.3. Literary onomastics

By a broad definition, Pokémon could fall into the realm of **literary onomastics** (the study of names in fiction). In reality, the placement of Pokémon names within existing typologies of proper names is not straightforward. Many studies have been conducted in the field of traditional literature, including medieval romances and children's literature (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012:255-256); most of them have been based on human or anthropomorphic characters, whereas non-human, animal-like species like Pokémon have received less attention.

Video games are, compared to traditional literature, a new kind of *transmedia* that is highly malleable and able to be adapted into various other media, such as movies, comics or books (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013:71). Video games are an interactive type of fiction that differs from traditional literature in many fundamental ways, e.g. games commonly rely on visual cues (compared to text-only), as well as utilize the possibilities of non-linear storytelling (Vainisto 2017:6). This allows us to ponder the claim that the names given to video game characters may have quite different functions in literature and video games.

Vainisto argues that the most plausible classification for Pokémon names is *character name* (rather than the broader classification *fictional name*). Character name is "a more complete concept that incorporates the features related to the character" (Pearl 2007:20, in *ibid.*, 6; my translation). This fits in with Pokémon names which, as demonstrated in this thesis, are *semantically transparent names*. This kind of names have "an appellative, visually similar equivalent or *homonym* [...] or **elements included** which can be recognized as words of a language, [which means that they] are lexical-semantically *transparent*" (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012:31. Italics in original, bold added by author).

The subject of character names, or game-related naming in general, is absent from *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (2017). Future research could prove whether new typological classes to suit the needs of a wider range of fiction will emerge. Tentatively, **fictional species name** could be suggested for this specific

purpose. Literary onomastics is still a new field in the sphere of onomastics and “[...] in many cases comprehensive overviews are still awaited” (Falck-Kjällqvist 2016:342).

2.4. Evolving Pokémon and evolving names

Fictional names sometimes limit the growth of their referents when they are “charged” with meaning and information about the name bearer, that is, when they are semantically transparent (Docherty 1983:45, cited in Bertills 2003:53). One of the fundamental properties of Pokémon allows them to overcome this limitation: they *evolve* into new, stronger forms with new names by various methods⁸. A small *Nyabī*/Litten evolves into *Nyahīto*/Torracat, and finally into *Gaogaen*/Incineroar⁹.

Pokémon names are not the first to exhibit this kind of evolutionary dimension in the Japanese language. A famous example is how the fish yellowtail is called by different names during stages of its growth (these fish are called *shusse-uo*, lit. ‘fish that rise through the ranks’¹⁰). A parallel can even be drawn to *genpuku* (lit. ‘putting a crown on the head’), a coming-of-age ceremony dating back to the Heian period (794-1185), where a boy would don new clothes, get his hair done and receive his “true name” as a sign of maturity (Ōbunsha 2000).

Members of an evolutionary chain can be referred to collectively as *evolutionary lines* or *families*¹¹ (in this thesis, *line* will be used due to its commonness in usage). For example, “the Gible line” means Gible/*Fukamaru* and its subsequent evolutions Gabite/*Gabaito* and Garchomp/*Gaburiasu*. The names in an evolutionary line often resemble each other phonetically and play on related semantic meanings. This way, the names cross-reference each other within the context of their lines. Moreover, some Pokémon, despite not belonging to the same line, contain connecting elements and form “sets”, and are thus thematically and semantically (often also phonetically) related. For example, *Zeruneasu*/*Xerneas*, *Iberutaru*/*Yveltal* and *Jigarude*/*Zygarde* form a name trio whose capital letters allude to the coordinate axes X, Y and Z. Another trio, Articuno,

⁸ For example, by gathering enough experience points in battle or by using specific items. There are Pokémon that can evolve once, twice, into different forms depending on the circumstances (such as time of day), as well as Pokémon that do not evolve at all.

⁹ The sound symbolic correlation of certain sounds and evolutionary stage of Pokémon has been proved by Kawahara; see section 2.5. To the best of my knowledge, studies examining correlations between certain semantic units and evolution are yet to be conducted.

¹⁰ NHK World. <https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/food/articles/18.html> [Accessed 10 April 2018]

¹¹ Bulbapedia. https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/List_of_Pok%C3%A9mon_by_evolution_family [Accessed 9 May 2018]

Zapdos and Moltres include the units *uno*, *dos* and *tres* (Spanish, ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’) – however, the original Japanese names (*Furīzā*, *Sandā* and *Faiyā*, respectively) lack these components.

Naming system refers to a system of names where certain structural and functional principles are dominant, and in which all the parts (names) of the totality are in a mutually dependant, continuously changing relationship with one another (Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012:20-21). This is, quite naturally, also true in the case of fictive names: in any established system, deviations appear significant, often even comical (ibid., 260). In an episode of the Pokémon animated series¹² a pair of villains mistake a Pokémon unknown to them for a pre-evolution of Koffing/*Dogāsu*, and as a result dub it *Puchidogāsu*. Despite not being a “real” Pokémon name, it is a perfectly plausible within the naming system for several reasons¹³; in other words, it goes to demonstrate that the naming system is cohesive enough for comprehensible parodies to be born.

We even find the temporal aspect of naming systems at work. Certain names in earlier Generations may sound “out of place” by standards of later Generations. Firstly, gender differences in Pokémon were introduced first in Generation II, which explains the existence of two separate Pokémon by the same name in Generation I:

Nidoran/*Nidoran* (*Nidoran*♂ and *Nidoran*♀). Following Generations include visible gender differences without making such a division. Due to the same mechanic, the localized name of another Generation I Pokémon, *Bariyādo*/Mr. Mime, sounds outdated, as both male and female Mr. Mimes exist¹⁴, which was not known to translators at the time¹⁵. Secondly, the changing common and accepted usage of vocabulary leaves its mark even on Pokémon names. One clear example of this is the pair *Masshibūn*/Buzzwole, which contains the lexeme ‘swole’ (in recent years used as slang for ‘muscular’, whereas it has been used as the past tense of ‘to swell’ for over a hundred years¹⁶).

¹² Bulbapedia. <https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/SM045> [Accessed 11 June 2018]

¹³ Firstly, the name length is within the character limit. The prefix *puchi*- (from French *petit*, ‘small’) is seen in other, genuine Pokémon names; finally, referencing an existing Pokémon name (*Dogasu*) is a procedure seen in many other names.

¹⁴ Later Generations do include gender-exclusive Pokémon such as *Minomadamu*/Wormadam (female only) and *Gāmeiru*/Mothim (male only).

¹⁵ Let’s Play Archive. <https://lparchive.org/Pokemon-Blue/code.html> [Accessed 11 June 2018]

¹⁶ Dictionary.com. <http://www.dictionary.com/e/slang/swole/> [Accessed 14 April 2018]

2.5. Naming conventions

The original idea for Pokémon arose from its original creator Satoshi Tajiri's childhood hobby of collecting bugs and fish in nature¹⁷. In academic contexts, Japanese names of animal species are generally written in katakana¹⁸. All 807 kinds of Pokémon, like real-world animals, can be referred to as "species" which motivates the use of *katakana* in their names.

Mandiberg's study (2009) of the localization of the *Kingdom Hearts* video game series points out how linguistic variety of mixing *hiragana* and *katakana* items is present in the original games. The *katakana*/*hiragana* dichotomy was used to introduce a contrast between so-called foreignness and locality (e.g. through usage of French or English words in *katakana*), a nuance which was rendered invisible upon localization to English. In the case of Pokémon, both the Japanese and English localized names contain a wide variety of vocabulary from other languages (such as French and Hawaiian) and both versions are typographically consistent.

2.6. Previous research

Prior research on Pokémon names, briefly overviewed below, has been conducted within the fields of semantics (Vainisto 2017), morphology (Maulana and Himmawati 2016), name-formation (Shin 2011, 2014) and phonetics and sound symbolism (Kawahara 2017).

Vainisto (2017) explored the lexical meanings and functions of Japanese Pokémon names and presented a semantic categorization of the 802 names then available. The thesis introduced 15 categories based on semantic and functional properties (such as species-related words, onomatopoeia, metaphors, Pokémon related concepts, parts of Pokémon etc.). Vainisto points out that Pokémon are a meaningful subject of research as they fall into the categories "character names" and "made-up names" (2017:2), both of which are still relatively unexplored fields of research within onomastics.

Maulana and Himmawati (2016) wrote about the relationship between the appearance and the English name of various Pokémon. They constitute that Pokémon

¹⁷ Pokedream. <http://pokedream.com/pokemon/infocenter/tajiri.php> [Accessed 14 April 2018]

¹⁸ NHK Bunken. <https://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/summary/kotoba/gimon/003.html> [Accessed 1 May 2018]

names are formed from two or more source words which, directly or indirectly, describe or allude to their referent (2016:46, 51). They argue that analysis and knowledge of the semantic components of Pokémon names can help the player identify various Pokémon and their evolutions.

Shin (2011, 2014) divided Japanese Pokémon names (649 names available at the time) according to their formation process into the following six categories: borrowing, addition, shortening, exchange, complex type and special type (2011:50-51, my translation). All names were first divided into two groups: those consisting of one base word and those which were a combination of two words. Parallels to Japanese commercial naming in general, such as sports teams, products and company names, could be drawn. According to Shin, the strategies applied to creating the fictional names of Pokémon are not unique but are in fact observable in general in Japanese language use (2014:74).

Kawahara's (2017) study on sound symbolism at work in Pokémon names showed how Pokémons' size, weight, evolution level and most strength parameters correlate positively with the number of voiced obstruents in names. Stronger and bigger Pokémon also tend to have more moras¹⁹ in their name.

The following two studies are not based on Pokémon names, but it is worth introducing them here as they are categorizations of proper name translation; as such, they have influenced the outcome of the current study as much as the Pokémon-related studies.

Vermes (2011:112ff) summarized various translation theories and studies and found a total of eight different "operations" for translating proper names:

1. Transference (leaving the name unchanged)
2. Substitution of a conventional TL name (for example geographical names: replacing *Nihon* with *Japan* when translating from Japanese to English)
3. Transliteration or naturalization ("the TL form makes explicit the phonological value of the original expression")
4. Translation ("rendering the meaning of a text into another language in a way that the author intended in the text" [Newmark 1988:5, cited in *ibid.*])

¹⁹ Smallest possible units that make up words; in the case of Japanese, this means single items of the *kana* syllabaries.

5. Modification, or total transformation (“[...]a TL substitute which is logically, or conventionally, unrelated, or only partly related to the original”; Vermes treats the remaining operations as subclasses of this and does not elaborate them.)
6. Omission: leaving out the name or part of it
7. Addition: supplementing the name by an added element
8. Generalising the meaning of the name

Most of the above correspond to parts of the categorization presented in this study (see chapter 4). For example, the function of 3 is the same as category 4.1.2. Adapted spelling (e.g. transliterating the Pokémon name フーパ° [fūpa] to *Hoopa*), and 4 is essentially identical to 4.2.1. Equivalence (e.g. *Yamikarasu* translated as *Murkrow*, where *yami* is ‘darkness, murk’ and *karasu* means ‘crow’).

Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom (2012) present a much more concise listing of four strategies usable in translating literary names:

1. *Loan* or loaning the original foreign language name as it is to the target language
2. *Translation* or translating the original foreign language name into the target language
3. *Adaptation* or phonetically adapting the original foreign language name in the target language
4. *Replacement* or replacing the original foreign language name by some other name or appellative expression

(2012:261)

In this case, all four strategies find their counterparts in the categorization of this study. The large number of subcategories discovered can be said to be essential to present the results in more detail, and as such, this four-category division felt somewhat too narrow to apply directly.

In order to find a balance between existing research results and “fitting the facts to suit the theory”, the categorization presented in this study is a hybrid of experimentation with prior categorizations and newly created ones. It is situated somewhere between (and overlapping with) Vainisto and Shin’s studies, as it is a mix of

semantic and word-formation analysis; both the content and the function of various components play an important role. In the vein of Maulana and Himmawati's study, extralinguistic aspects that reveal connections between the referent and its name are also a vital part of this categorization (see chapter 4). As explained above, existing procedures of proper noun translation serve as a starting point but are not applied directly for the result to turn out as data-oriented as possible.

3. Study

This chapter starts by presenting the research question of the thesis. Section 3.2. provides relevant information on the creation of the corpus, which is followed by section 3.3., where the theoretical framework and research solutions are summarized. Finally, section 3.4. explains the methodology of the study with examples of the data analysis setup.

3.1. Research questions

The study aims to answer the following question: **what kind of categories of translation methods can be found in the English localization of Japanese Pokémon names?** As made clear in the previous chapter, the aim is not to create new categories for individual names in one of the languages, as this was already achieved in various ways by Vainisto (2017) and Shin (2011, 2014).

3.2. The corpus

As of April 2018, the number of Pokémon reached 807 with the official revelation of number #807, *Zeraora*/*Zeraora*²⁰. Whereas this thesis does not attempt to trace a detailed history of how the corpus was created, to see our study in context, a brief introduction is in order. After this, we direct our attention to analysing the end result: the Japanese-English name pairs themselves.

The origins of the English names of Pokémon are intricately tied to the localization process employed by Nintendo of North America (NOA) in the late 1990s. To ensure the success of a franchise that was originally not intended for markets outside Japan (Allison 2006:239), NOA wanted to take away the “Japanese markers” of the original so that children would be able to immerse in the world and “buy into the mythology as their own, not as a Japanese one” (ibid., 246). NOA even tried to negotiate changes to the appearance of the characters to make them more appealing to an American audience. The Japanese creators refused, demanding the changes extend only to names (ibid., 240).

²⁰ Pokémon official Twitter (Japan). https://twitter.com/Pokemon_cojp/status/983147486033469440 [Accessed 9 May 2018]

The localization of Pokémon dates to an era known for an “unparalleled quantity of poor translations” (the 1980s and 1990s), most of which can have resulted from both untrained translators as well as lack of organized translation processes; translation was simply “undermined by technical issues” (O’Hagan et. al. 2013:56-57). This is especially true in the case of Japanese games, where text used to be stored as image files. Thus, localization would require re-programming of the games (which were, still, relatively technically simple) to fit in English text.

The character limit of all text, both dialogue and proper names, had an effect on the localization. Earlier Generations of localized Pokémon include names like Feraligatr (potentially ‘Feraligator’) and Victreebel (likely a corruption of ‘Victreebell’) due to the 10-character limit of names. This was upgraded to 12 characters in 2013 (in Japanese, the limit used to be five and was upgraded to six *kana* characters)²¹.

Everything from creating Pokémon to localizing their names has always been a group effort, as designer Ken Sugimori told in an interview²². Whereas designing Pokémon has been teamwork from the very start, in Generation V a team of 17 people contributed to the creation of the most voluminous Generation to date with the introduction of 156 new Pokémon.

The first Pokémon games to be released simultaneously worldwide came out in 2013. Prior to this, localizations outside Japan would come out several months after the initial release, which implies that 2013 onwards, game development and localization of all game text, including character names, must have occurred side by side to make possible a simultaneous global release.

3.3. Framework of the study

The analysis is based on *semantic units*, which here means both individual words (as well as some smaller units, such as prefixes), combinations of words and some phrases. The focus of the analysis was the change in the relationship between units and how much of the SL units were carried over into the localized names.

When analysing the relations between semantic units in the Japanese and the localized names, all name components collected from the databases (see below) are

²¹ Bulbapedia. <https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Nickname> [Accessed 1 May 2018]

²² Nintendo. <https://www.nintendo.co.jp/ds/interview/irbj/vol1/index2.html> [Accessed 1 May 2018]

treated as semantic units (regardless of whether they are single words or any kind of combinations). Idiomatic phrases (phrases whose meaning is not evident from their parts alone: for an example, see *Kamonegi*/Farfetch'd in section 4.4.1. B) are also treated as semantic units (Nida 1975:113). Semantic units make up groups called *semantic domains*. They are “groups of meanings [...] which share certain semantic components” (Nida 1975:174); these groups can consist of basically anything, such as entities, artefacts or events. Belonging to or derivation from semantic domains becomes relevant in the explanation of the analysis.

Data for analysis was extracted from two fan-moderated online databases, Bulbapedia and PokemonWiki. This approach was motivated by several factors, such as lack of official confirmation from the creators or translators²³, ease of accessibility and the large amount of data available. On the other hand, the most obvious risk factor was reliance on unofficial, non-professional sources. It is naturally likely that most authors of these databases are neither translators nor linguists – they might not even be native Japanese or English speakers. Thus, due caution and consideration has been taken when making use of such material. It must be acknowledged here that the author’s judgement played a role in evaluating the value of components; essentially, different approaches that focus on different aspects of the data are plausible.

A purely linguistic connection between semantic units between the Japanese names and the English names is, on certain occasions, impossible to find. In these cases, non-linguistic information on the referents becomes vital. This means relying on the characteristics of the referent (such as appearance or background information, which are readily available on, for example, Bulbapedia) to find motivations for the name components chosen for the localized names. These components will be referred to as *referent-motivated components*. This approach becomes relevant in section 4.3.

Modulation.

Trademarked rōmaji hereon refers to the official, registered *rōmaji* name used “internally by Game Freak and [...] on official merchandise and promotional material.”²⁴

²³ Various anecdotes related to the localization process of Pokémon names from Nintendo employees have sporadically circulated on the internet, but their number is too insignificant to produce usable data.

²⁴ Bulbapedia. https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/List_of_Japanese_Pok%C3%A9mon_names [Accessed 9 May 2018]

3.4. Methodology

The names (katakana, trademark *rōmaji* and English) alongside their building components (according to writers of the databases) in both languages were compiled in a Microsoft Excel table. For the English names, the data was collected from the “Name origin” and “In other languages” subsections of Bulbapedia’s individual character pages for each Pokémon. These pages make up two of the three main sources for Japanese name component data. The other one was PokemonWiki, a Wikipedia-format database operated by Japanese fans. The motivation for having two sources for Japanese names was to ensure the availability of comprehensive enough data: as Bulbapedia is an English-language website, a native Japanese data source for the Japanese names was desirable. Sometimes components extracted from these sources were unclear, vague or lacked sufficient explanation, in which cases tertiary reference sources²⁵ were used to ensure correct understanding of the components. An example of the arrangement of the extracted data is shown below in **Table 1**.

By applying the above framework of semantic analysis and using existing categorizations as a base (see sections 3.3. and 2.5.), the unique properties of the corpus could be established. Changes in amount and properties of semantic content, as well as occurrences of certain word formation strategies (such as addition or omission), were analysed manually.

As stated earlier, applying existing categorizations to the data proved problematic early on. This was because fictional, non-human character names (much less fictional species names) appear to lack a definite placement in semantic typology, which makes applying previous categorizations problematic.

Nevertheless, the final result resembles in many ways prior studies that were used as a starting point, namely, Vinay and Darbelnet’s methods of translation (1995:30ff) as well as the lists by Vermes’ (2001) and Ainiala, Saarelma and Sjöblom (2012) presented in section 2.6. It could be said, indeed, that the result was achieved by using many of the methods presented in this study: borrowing, modifying, re-creating, adding and omitting.

²⁵ Aside from general encyclopaedias, the most used tertiary reference was the *Pokemon-mei no yurai to omowareru mono* [Assumed origins of Pokémon names] subsection on the fan-operated website *Pokepale*. (<http://park3.wakwak.com/~pokepale/zukan/index.html> [Accessed 13 February 2018]).

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| English name | #701 Hawlucha | #523 Zebstrika |
| Katakana | ルチャブル | ゼブライカ |
| Trademark <i>rōmaji</i> | Luchabull | Zebraika |
| Component 1 (Japanese/Bulbapedia) | lucha libre (type of professional wrestling), bull | zebra, 雷火 (<i>raika</i> , 'flash of lightning') |
| Component 2 (Japanese/PokemonWiki) | lucha libre | zebra, 雷火 |
| Component 3 (English/Bulbapedia) | hawk, lucha libre | zebra, strike, <i>eléctrica</i> (Spanish, 'electric') |
| Category 1 | Modulation B1 (bull/hawk) | modulation A2 (<i>raika</i> /strike, <i>eléctrica</i>) |
| Category 2 | Partial lexical borrowing (lucha libre) | partial lexical borrowing (zebra) |
| Category 3 | X | adapted spelling |

Table 1 A modified version of data setup used to analyse the name pairs. The data analysis had different abbreviations for the categories which have been changed here to correspond to the numbering of the final presentation.

4. Results

In this chapter the results of the analysis – the categories of translation - will be presented with detailed explanations, examples and discussion. The **main categories** presented here are *borrowing*, *equivalence*, *modulation*, *modification* and *recreation*. Within them, a total of 25 **sub-categories** can be distinguished.

All name pairs are included in one to four of a total of 25 sub-categories. **Figure 1** shows the relative sizes of the main categories, as well as the relative sizes of sub-categories that are contained within each category. It can be observed that over three fourths of all name pairs are included in the Modulation main category. A detailed breakdown of the categories and the sub-categories is presented after the figure in **Table 2**.

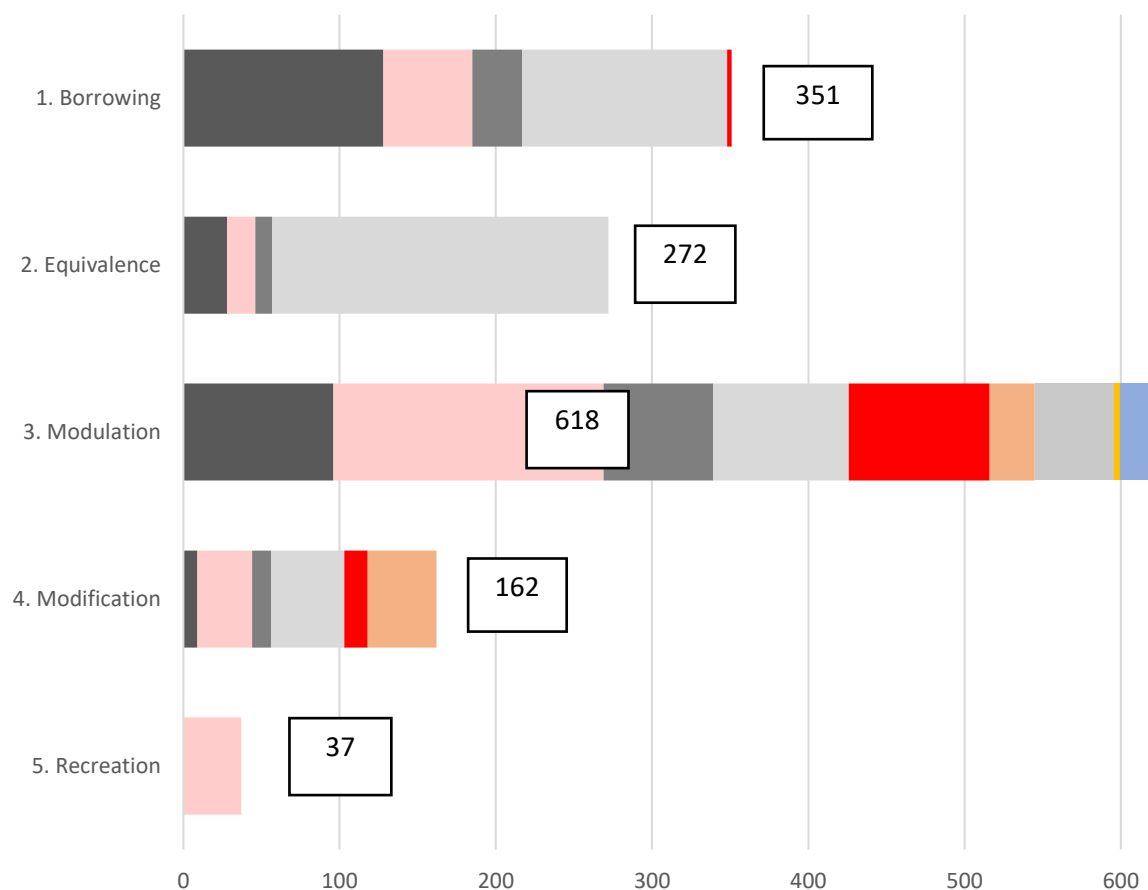


Figure 1 Relative sizes and distribution of occurrences of sub-categories within the five main categories. Numbers indicate the total sum of occurrences within each main category.

| Category | | Description | |
|---------------------------|--|---|------------|
| 1. Borrowing | | Localized name borrows elements from the Japanese name | 351 |
| Exact borrowing | | No changes to original name | 128 |
| Adapted spelling | | Minor spelling changes | 57 |
| Complete lexeme borrowing | | All lexemes from the original name are borrowed into the localized name | 32 |
| Partial lexical borrowing | | Part of the lexemes in the original name are borrowed into the localized name | 131 |
| Phonetic borrowing | | A phonetic element that lacks semantic meaning is borrowed from the original name | 3 |
| 2. Equivalence | | Components are replaced with translational equivalents | 272 |
| Japanese-English | | Translational equivalence between Japanese and English lexemes | 215 |
| English-English | | Synonymic counterparts within the English language are used | 18 |
| Other combination | | Translational equivalence in a combination of Japanese, English and/or other languages | 28 |
| Pokémon names | | Pokémon names are used as components | 11 |
| 3. Modulation | | Replacing components with means other than translation: figurative connections (A) and extralinguistic information (B) | 618 |
| A | Hyponyms and hyperonyms | Figurative, hierarchical connections within groupings of concepts | 96 |
| | Inclusion and overlapping | Connections between related and overlapping concepts | 173 |
| | Modulation of onomatopoeic expressions | Modulating onomatopoeic expressions and their corresponding phenomena | 70 |
| | Other modulation between word classes | Modulation between nouns, adjectives and verbs | 87 |

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--|------------|
| B | Unchanged word class | Modulation of extralinguistic components within the same word class | 90 |
| | Noun/verb | Modulation of extralinguistic information between nouns and verbs | 29 |
| | Noun/adjective | Modulation of extralinguistic information between nouns and adjectives | 51 |
| | Other | Modulation including extralinguistic components containing elements not included in any of the above sub-categories | 4 |
| C | Evolutionary line modulation | Modulation of evolutionary line -related components, such as name endings | 18 |
| 4. Modification | | Modification between the original and localized names occurs by adapting components as well as adding or omitting content | 162 |
| Adaptation of proper nouns | | Proper nouns are adapted with culturally appropriate equivalents | 9 |
| Descriptive adaptation | | Culturally loaded components are adapted descriptively, removing cultural connotations | 35 |
| Adaptation of phrases and wordplay | | Components containing phrases, puns or other wordplay are adapted as either localized wordplay or descriptively | 12 |
| Addition via Modulation A | | Components not found in the original name are added by method of related meanings of words (Modulation A) | 47 |
| Addition via Modulation B (referent-motivated modulation) | | Components not found in the original name are added based on referent-related information (see Modulation B) | 15 |
| Omission | | Components present in the original name are omitted from the localized one | 44 |
| 5. Recreation | | New localized names are created without using the above methods | 37 |

Table 2 Breakdown of the main and sub-categories.

All procedures occur in two directions: from Japanese names to English names, as well as vice versa. In practice this means that English language components do not always appear first in the localized English names, but can originate from the Japanese names.

Examples of name pairs are formatted as “*katakana spelling*/English spelling”, or alternatively “*katakana spelling*/TRADEMARKED RŌMAJI/English spelling” where examples of all three spellings are deemed important.

4.1. Borrowing

The first main category contains name pairs where one, more than one or all components have been left as they are without change in semantic content. **Figure 2** shows the distribution of sub-categories.

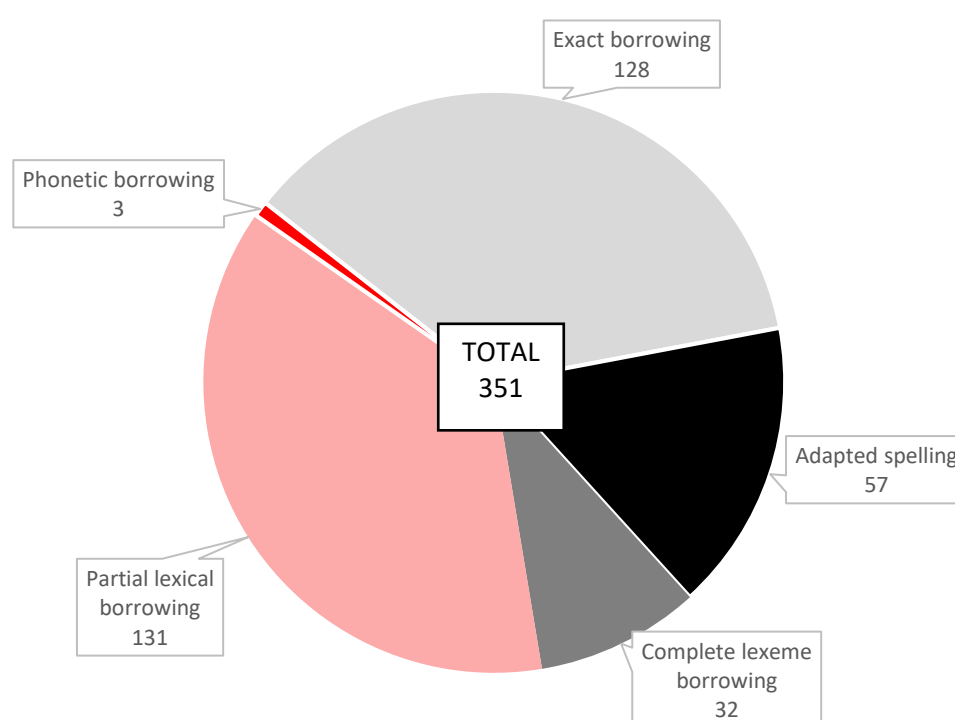


Figure 2 Number of occurrences of sub-categories within the main category Borrowing.

Figure 3 demonstrates the change over time in how common or uncommon each borrowing method is within the total number of Pokémon within each Generation (for example, the sub-category Exact borrowing covers 20% of the total 151 Pokémon of Generation I, and so on). Two things in particular stand out. Firstly, all Borrowing methods show decline (or no change) after Generation VI; secondly, Generations III to V exhibit increased numbers in Partial lexical borrowing with nearly one fourth of all name pairs featuring this method.

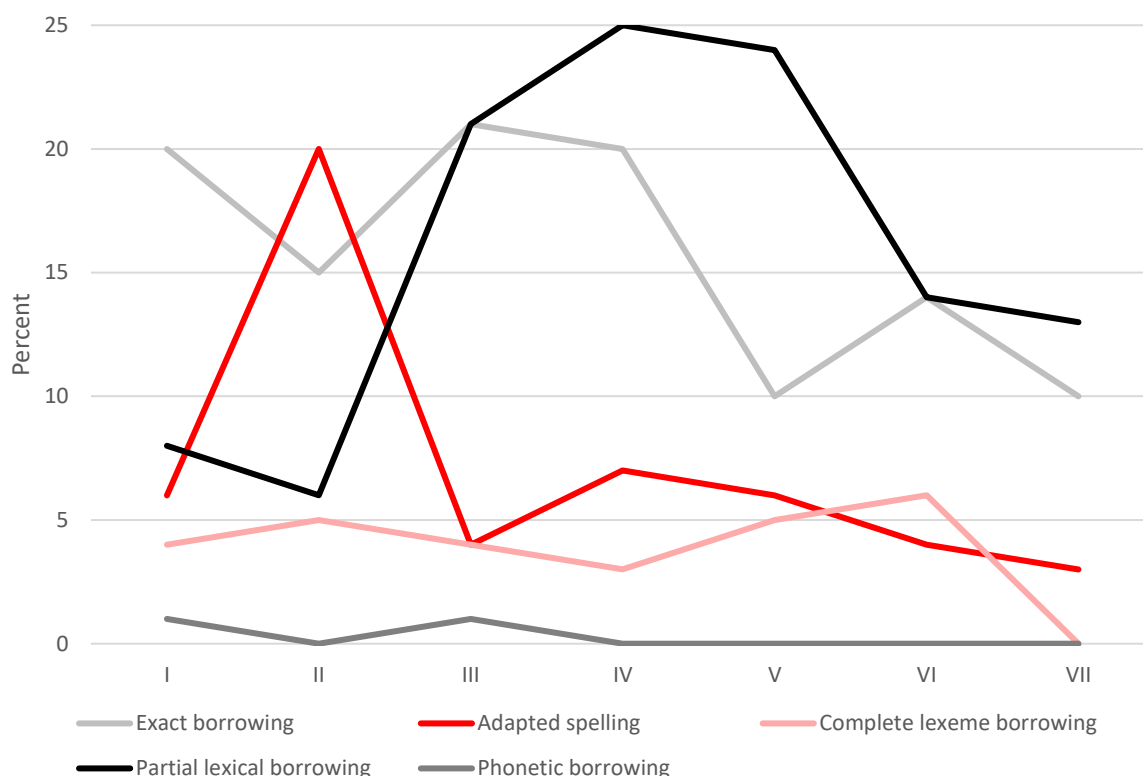


Figure 3 Percentage of occurrences of the Borrowing sub-categories within each Generation.

4.1.1. Exact borrowing

The Japanese name is preserved in English in the exact same form as the trademarked *rōmaji*, which is based on the *katakana* spelling. Examples include *Kyatapī*/CATERPIE/Caterpie and *Borukenion*/VOLCANION/Volcanion. As seen in **Figure 3** above, the percentage this method occupies within different Generations has been declining over the life of the Pokémon franchise. This and the next sub-category give rise to the question of why these names were left untouched. The answer may lie in English loanwords, which make up a clear majority (nearly 90%) of the components in names belonging in this sub-category (such as Miltank/MILTANK/*Mirutanku* [milk, tank,] or Butterfree/BUTTERFREE/*Batafurī* [butterfly, free]).

Another characteristic that makes this sub-category stand out is the amount of so called *Legendary* or *Mythical Pokémon* (Pokémon which are exceptionally strong, rare or otherwise special within the Pokémon universe), such as Mew/MEW/*Myū* (the origin of all Pokémon DNA) or Arceus/ARCEUS/*Aruseusu* (the creator of the Pokémon world and

universe). Depending on the way of counting, there are a total of 67 (or 66)²⁶ Legendary and Mythical Pokémon, 50 (49) of which are included in this sub-category. These special Pokémon usually have important roles as mascots of the games themselves, as well as in the stories of the tie-in movies and other tie-in media. This importance can explain their non-translation and non-adaptation as evidence that their names have been carefully thought out from the start to have appeal across language borders.

4.1.2. Adapted spelling

This type of borrowing is still highly recognizable as close to the original Japanese name. The spelling of the English names is close to the trademarked *rōmaji* of the Japanese, often a mere letter apart. For the sake of clarity, these cases, despite being virtually indistinguishable when pronounced, are counted as adapted instead of Exact borrowing, where the English matches the trademarked *rōmaji* letter for letter.

About one fifth of the names belonging to this category also overlap with other categories. Some examples include *Rantān*/LANTERN/Lanturn, *Annōn*/UNKNOWN/Unown and *Kureseria*/CRECELIA/Cresselia. In these cases, adapted spelling can be seen to come from two motivations: to ease pronunciation and to conserve clarity of meaning in English. Furthermore, the names could have been modified slightly in order to erase the common noun-ness and emphasize the fact that they are names (such as in the example *Rantān*/LANTERN/Lanturn). Overlapping names tend to be phonetically close but may contain different lexical components (thus belonging in other categories), such as in *Yanchamu*/YANCHAM/Pancham (*yancha*, ‘rascal’ is modulated as ‘panda’; see Modulation B3) or *Zeburaika*/ZEBRAIKA/Zebstrika (*raika*, ‘flash of lightning’ and ‘strike’ resemble each other phonetically and even overlap in meaning; see Modulation A2).

Some names in this category have been adapted only in pronunciation and appearance but left to include Japanese vocabulary. This special sub-group within this sub-category is made up of names like *Yanyanma*/YANYANMA/Yanma, *Makunoshita*/MAKUNOSHITA/Makuhita and *Hariteyama*/HARITEYAMA/Hariyama. In all of them, 1-2 moras have been omitted, presumably, to ease pronunciation. The semantic units remain otherwise untouched. In the case of *Hariteyama*/Hariyama, despite the localized

²⁶ Whether Phione/*Fione* is a Mythical Pokémon or not remains unclear even according to official sources. Bulbapedia. [https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Phione_\(Pok%C3%A9mon\)](https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Phione_(Pok%C3%A9mon)) [Accessed 11 June 2018]

name being even the common noun *hariyama* ‘pincushion’, we can argue this omission was made in justification of pronunciation rather than semantic understanding, as neither *hariyama* or *hariteyama*²⁷ make sense to the average non-Japanese player.

4.1.3. Complete lexeme borrowing

In this subcategory, semantic units utilized in the Japanese name are borrowed and “re-used” in the localized name. How this differs from 4.1.1. Exact borrowing is that the components are either rearranged, added upon or modified in other ways.

First, names that do not overlap with other categories contain mostly names with two English lexemes. In localized names these are rearranged: components ‘emperor’ and ‘Napoleon Bonaparte’ make up *Emperuto*/Empoleon, and ‘cactus’ and ‘nocturnal’ are utilized in *Nokutasu*/Cacturne. Apart from a few outliers, the majority of components analysed in this category are English vocabulary, which can explain their non-translation.

In this subcategory, overlap with other categories occurs mostly with categories 4.4.2. Addition and 4.1.2. Adapted spelling. In case of the former, the Japanese name usually consists of a single English lexeme which is added upon to result in a longer name. For example, *Kureffi*/Clefki contains the sole component of the SL name, *clef* (French, ‘key’) and adds, or repeats, ‘key’. In *Sando*/Sandshrew, ‘shrew’ has been added. On the other hand, *Gochiruzeru*/Gothitelle borrows two units (‘goth’ and ‘mademoiselle’) and only *stelle* (Italian, ‘stars’) is added. As for the latter, we have *Torunerosu*/Tornadus in which the first borrowed lexeme is ‘tornado’. We encounter an interesting variation in conventional spelling of a proper name in Japanese and English, namely in the second component *Aelous*, “the keeper of winds” in Greek mythology. The Japanese common spelling of *Aeolus* is *Aeorosu*, a transliteration from the Greek *Aiolos*. This difference accounts for the vowel variation at the latter part of the name. Another example of this overlap is found in *Makunoshita*/Makuhita, as explained in the previous section.

Overlapping can only occur in case of complete borrowing of all components present in the Japanese name: if only a part of its components is borrowed, the pair has been categorized in 4.1.4. Partial lexical borrowing.

²⁷ *Harite* is a term in *sumō* wrestling and means slapping the opponent with an open hand, whereas *-yama* is a *sumō* wrestler ring name ending.

4.1.4. Partial lexical borrowing

One component, or in rare cases, several components are preserved from the Japanese name. This category heavily overlaps with other categories. To provide some examples, *Baibanira*/Vanilluxe retains ‘vanilla’ from the Japanese to the English and modulates the remaining *bai* (‘double’) into ‘deluxe’ (see Modulation A4). *Nukenin*/Shedinja share the lexeme ‘ninja’; ‘shed’ undergoes two procedures, namely Modulation A4 (*nuke*[*gara*], ‘husk’) and Equivalence (*nukekawaru*, ‘to shed’). *Dekagūzu*/Gumshoos share ‘mongoose’ (the spelling ‘-goos’ is a phonetic wordplay in ‘mongoose’ and *deka* is a Japanese equivalent for the slang term for a detective, ‘gumshoe’). *Sazandora*/Hydreigon is a somewhat exceptional pair as three components are borrowed (‘dragon’, ‘hydra’ and *drei* (German, ‘three’); all three are referent-motivated components that can, as loanword adaptations, phonetically make up *-dora*).

4.1.5. Phonetic borrowing

Reminiscent of the above method, both the Japanese and English names in this small category contain an identical component. The components included in this sub-category differ from the above by their lack of clear semantic meaning. *Betobetā*/BETOBETER/Grimer shares ‘-er’, as is obvious from its trademark *rōmaji* form. Other examples are *Sabonea*/Cacnea which share ‘-nea’ and *Nyāsu*/NYARTH/Meowth which share ‘-th’.

4.2. Equivalence

In this study, *equivalence* refers to “a word or an expression in the target language that has been used in a certain text, or that could be used [...] as an equivalent for a word or an expression in the source language” (Ingo 1991:82, own translation). In this category, components are translated using their TL equivalences or replaced by synonymic expressions within the same language. Four subgroups can be distinguished, and their distribution is shown below in **Figure 4**.

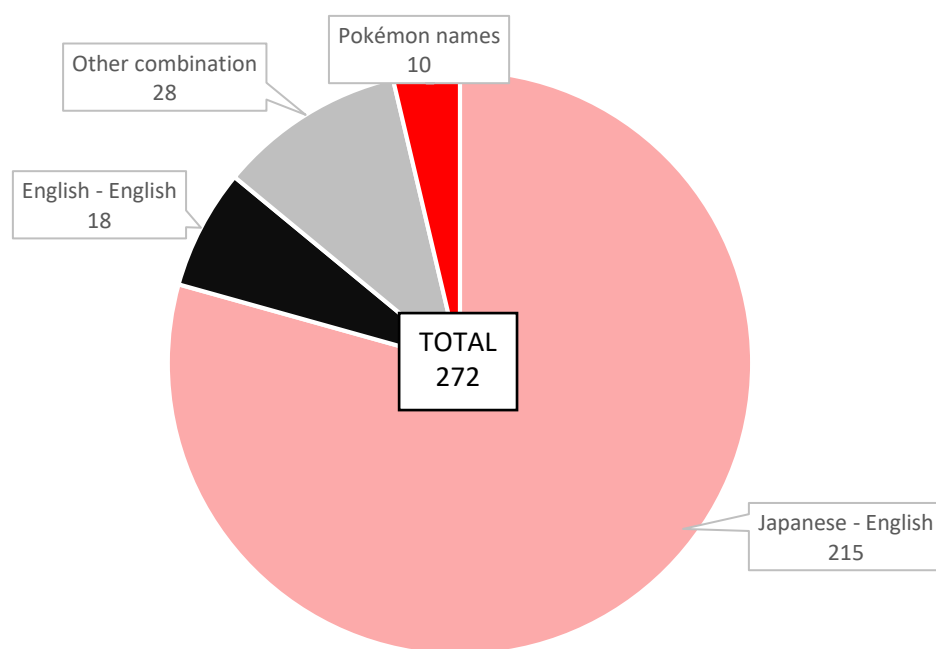


Figure 4 Number of occurrences of sub-categories within the main category Equivalence.

As seen above, Japanese-English translational equivalences take up over three fourths of all components. This becomes interesting when looking at **Figure 5** (below) which shows the change over time in how common various methods are. In Generation VII, the amount of both Japanese-English and other combinations of translation pairs surge. As explained in section 3.2., the (near-)simultaneous release of new games worldwide could explain this high number of names utilizing translation. However, Generation VI was also released simultaneously in Japanese and English markets, yet the number of components that feature translational equivalence is lower, as seen in the chart. One possible factor in this can be the language options available in the games themselves. Prior to Generation VI, different language versions of the same game (such as English, Korean or French) were only playable on their own, separate game cartridges. From Generation VI onwards, the player can choose freely which language to play in²⁸. Generation VI had seven languages and Generation VII had nine, which are all available on all game cartridges. How much this change and the localization process affected each

²⁸ Translation Excellence. <http://translationexcellence.com/pokemon-now-available-in-9-languages/> [Accessed 11 June 2018]

other is impossible to state for certain for the time being and within the scope of this thesis.

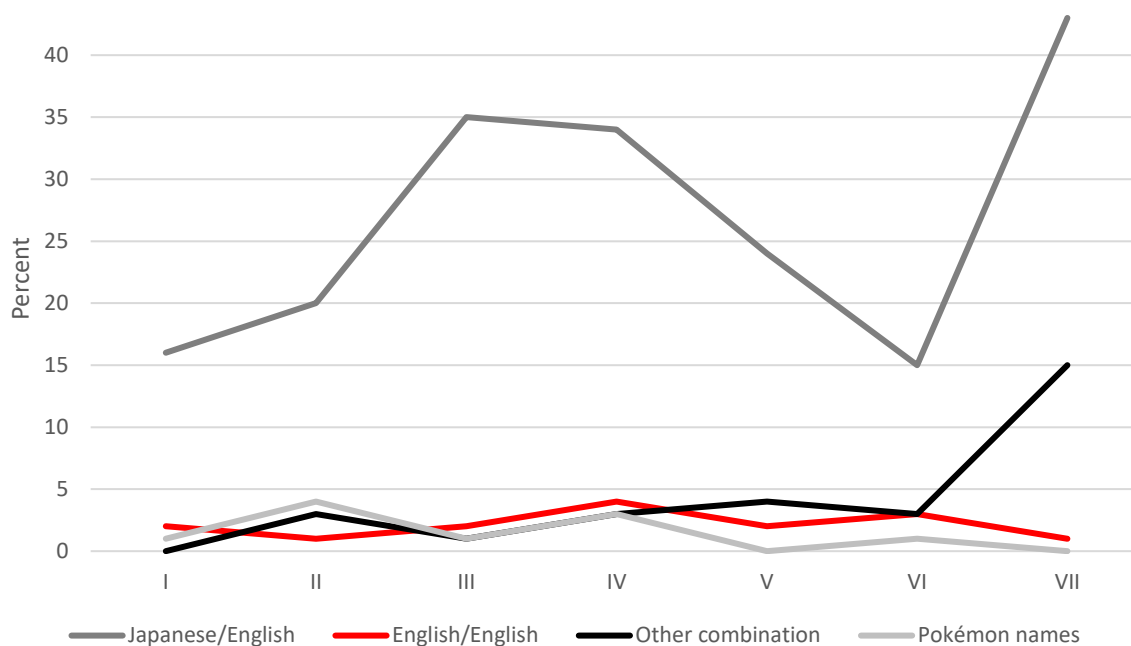


Figure 5 Percentage of occurrences of the Equivalence sub-categories within each Generation.

4.2.1. Japanese-English

This sub-category is the largest one by far, and includes common nouns (*nendo*, ‘clay’ in *Nendōru*/Claydol), names of various species (*mukudori*, ‘gray starling’ in *Mukubādo*/Staravia) as well as many phrases and, to a degree, onomatopoeic expressions (the sound an owl makes in *Hōhō*/Hoothoot).

4.2.2. English-English

Equivalences occur even between words of the same language. In this study, synonyms are counted as equivalence (eg. ‘pixie’ and ‘fairy’ in Pippi/Clefairy).

4.2.3. Other combination

Some names contain translation equivalences between other combinations of languages than between Japanese and English (such as *kirei*, ‘beautiful’ and French *belle*, ‘beautiful’ in *Kireihana*/Bellossom, or *kami*, ‘paper’ equivalent with Latin *charta*, ‘paper’ in

Kamitsurugi/Kartana). *Āgoyon*/Naganadel contains an equivalence between Italian (*ago*, ‘needle’) and German (*Nadel*, ‘needle’).

4.2.4. Pokémon names

A small sub-category is formed by names using equivalent pairs of existing Pokémon names. These names include the Japanese and the English localized version of a name as components in respective languages. For example, *Būbān*/Magmortar and *Bubi*/Magby both include the name of the third (middle) member of their line, *Būbā*/Magmar, in both languages²⁹. Another example is *Yadoran*/Slowking, which overlaps with category 4.5. Recreation, but also contains a reference to its pre-evolution *Yadon*/Slowpoke in both languages.

4.3. Modulation

Modulation, a category title borrowed from Vinay and Darbelnet (1995:36), is a “change in the point of view” of the message in the SL – in this case, the semantic content of a name component. In this study, modulation³⁰ is a tool to draw connections between different but related meanings of terms (Nida, 1975:15), the need of which became evident in the corpus where over ¾ of all name pairs include this kind of procedure. Three subgroups of modulated expressions can be observed in the corpus, with two of them divided into further subcategories.

The division of data in the first sub-category, Modulation A, is based on the types of relations between meanings introduced by Nida (1975:15ff): inclusion, overlapping, complementation and contiguity. In addition, this group includes modulation between onomatopoetic expressions and related terms (such as names of animals and their sounds).

In contrast, Modulation B deals with changes in perspective that are harder to distinguish linguistically, and which instead require extralinguistic knowledge of the referents themselves (e.g. modulation between the adjectives ‘pink’ and ‘tiny’ only

²⁹ Magmar is the middle evolution; Magby is a first stage ‘baby Pokémon’ and Magmortar the final evolution. This order is explained by the fact that Magmar was introduced in Generation I, Magby in Generation II and Magmortar later in Generation IV. Another evolutionary line, the *Kokodora*/Aron line, exhibits the same feature of using the middle evolution’s name as a component in the first and the final one, the difference being that this line was introduced in its entirety in Generation III.

³⁰ See also *Oxford Dictionaries*’ definition: “[t]he process of changing from one form or condition into another” (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/modulation> [Accessed 1 May 2018]).

makes sense in the context of its referent Happiny/*Pinpuku*, which is a relatively small, pink-coloured Pokémon).

The third subgroup, *evolutionary line modulation*, includes consistent, repeated naming patterns not belonging to the semantic or the extralinguistic realms of the previous subgroups. **Figure 6** shows the distribution of all sub-categories and sub-groups.

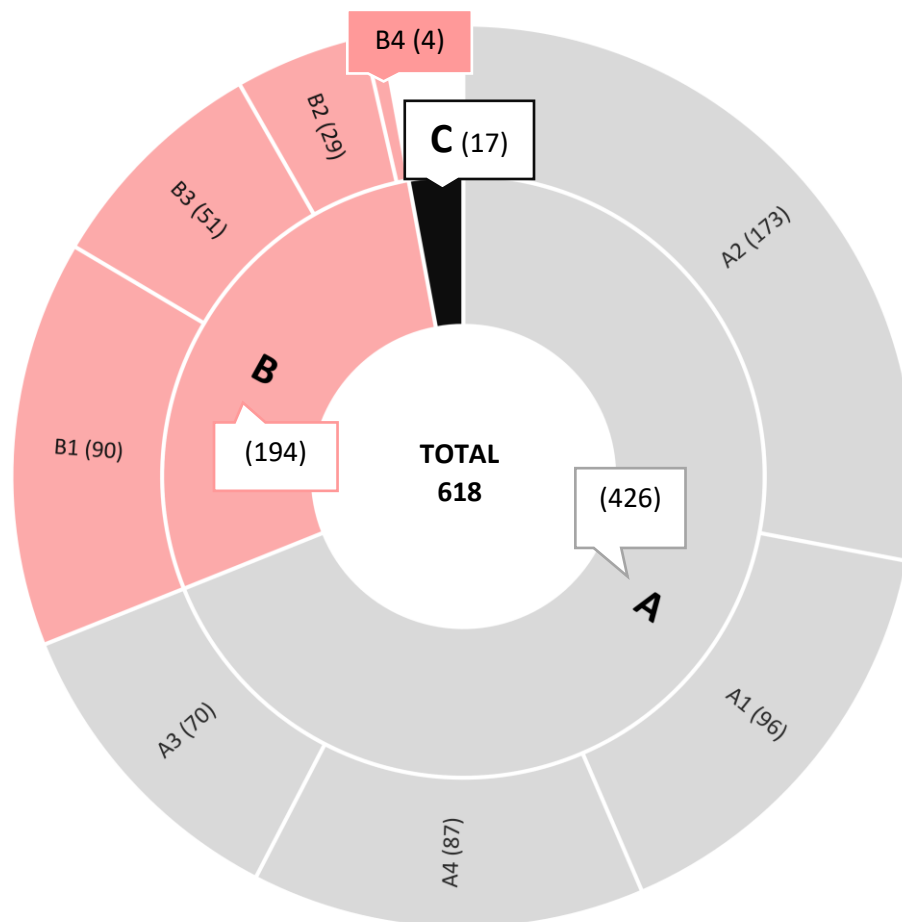


Figure 6 Distribution of sub-categories within the main category Modulation according to number of occurrences.

4.3.1. Modulation A

Semantic units can be replaced by various other means than relying on translational equivalence. Several variations can be observed within this subcategory. Connections can be found within the same semantic domain in the form of hyponyms, hyperonyms, overlapping and inclusion. Modulation is also possible by employing a so-called *figurative extension* (Nida 1975:126), where words from different semantic domains have a figurative connection; in other words, the connection between units is more metaphorical and based less on semantic analysis and more on what they symbolize in the real world. Four sub-categories can be found within this group.

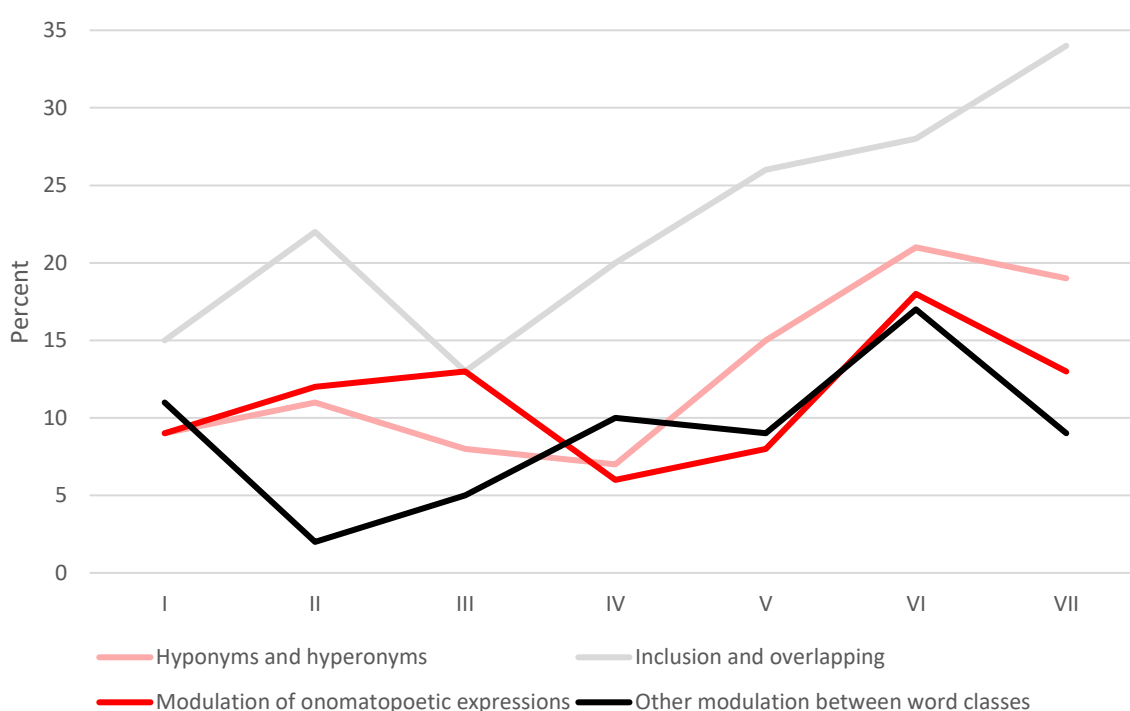


Figure 7 Percentage of occurrences the Modulation A sub-groups within each Generation.

Figure 7 shows how common each sub-category of Modulation A has been over time in each Generation. The most notable feature of this chart is the continuous rise of the sub-category Inclusion and overlapping since Generation III. As other sub-categories follow suit for the most part, it can be guessed that this has to do with the steadily stabilizing status of Pokémon games as an international franchise; it is possible that the strategies for creating localized names began stabilizing after the international success of Generations II and III. Instead of relying on translational equivalences, the translators

might have started taking more liberties with choosing name components, which can have led to more research time dedicated to the real-life inspirations (such as the taxonomy of flora and fauna) behind Pokémon. This hypothesis is supported by **Figure 5**, where the amount of Japanese-English translational equivalences decreases starting with Generation III.

A1. Hyponyms and hyperonyms

Name components are replaced using either hyperonyms (larger concept; superordinate term) or hyponyms (specific instance; subordinate term) of each other. For example, the Japanese name of *Supiā*/Beedrill contains ‘Apis’, which is a genus of honeybees, thus a hyponym to ‘bee’ (it is transliterated as *apisu*, which, inversed, becomes *supiā*). ‘Drill’ is modulated from ‘spear’, which *supiā* is the loanword adapted spelling of. *Komatana*/Pawniard includes the lexemes *koma*, ‘game piece’ and ‘pawn’, the latter being a hyponym of the former.

A2. Inclusion and overlapping

The fundamental property of this category is that these components do not correspond in equivalence. Instead, they are either adjacent to or overlap with each other in various ways; in other words, they share semantic room. A somewhat modified version of Nida’s (1975:15ff) definitions of related meanings is employed here. Firstly, synonymy is not a strict requirement as the reach of modulations extends outside semantic domains. Secondly, this categorization takes the liberty of counting entities and their parts as being “included” concepts (e.g. animals or plants and their parts, which are used aplenty in Pokémon nomenclature, as seen in Vainisto 2017).

In *Komatana*/Pawniard, *kogatana* ‘a small knife/sword’ and *poignard* (French, ‘poniard’, a small dagger) are both relatively small blades used as weapons, but both have their specific characteristics, and thus are not equivalent but overlapping. *Warubiaru*/Krookodile feature the lexemes ‘gavial’ and ‘crocodile’. While they are both crocodilians, they belong to different taxonomic families. Thus, they are not equivalent, but instead included within the same, larger group.

A3. Modulation of onomatopoetic expressions

Onomatopoetic expressions are reproduced as other word classes, most often nouns and verbs connected to the referent. One such referential connection can be seen in *Kenhorou*/Unfezant, where ‘pheasant’ is derived from *kenmohororo*, an onomatopoetic expression for a pheasant’s cry. In *Fuwante*/Drifloon, *fuwafuwa*, the onomatopoeia for something light, soft and unsteady, is expressed with both the verb ‘to drift’ and as a property of a ‘balloon’, which the Pokémon resembles by appearance.

A4. Modulation between word classes

This category consists of name pairs where components exhibit changes between the word classes noun, adjective and verb: in other words, any cases that do not fall into any of the above subgroups. Examples include *Nyūra*/Sneasel, where *sennyū*, ‘infiltration’ is modulated into the adjective ‘sneaky’. In *Kusaihana*/Gloom, *hana*, ‘flower’ is modulated into the verb ‘bloom’.

4.3.2. Modulation B

Here, lexical components are replaced based on extralinguistic factors, in other words ones that are motivated by properties of the referent itself (such as appearance or behaviour). **Figure 8**, below, shows the change over time in frequency of the following sub-categories. The information obtainable from this figure is scattered, which correlates with the hypothesis and discussion at the start of section 4.3.1. Where reliance of translational equivalence decreased and frequency of components based on related meanings increased, usage of extralinguistic information shows no similar trends, and appears more or less random throughout the seven Generations.

That said, the spikes at Generation II must be addressed; the increase in Evolutionary line modulation (referred to as ELM from here on) and decrease of other sub-categories seems at first glance telling of a dramatic switch between Generations. Nevertheless, upon inspecting the corpus, this appears coincidental. Generation II features two three-member evolutionary lines that utilize ELM (the *Hanekko*/Hoppip line and the *Yōgirasu*/Larvitar line), without which the number of name pairs utilizing ELM would not differ from the remaining Generations.

Four sub-categories can be observed within this group.

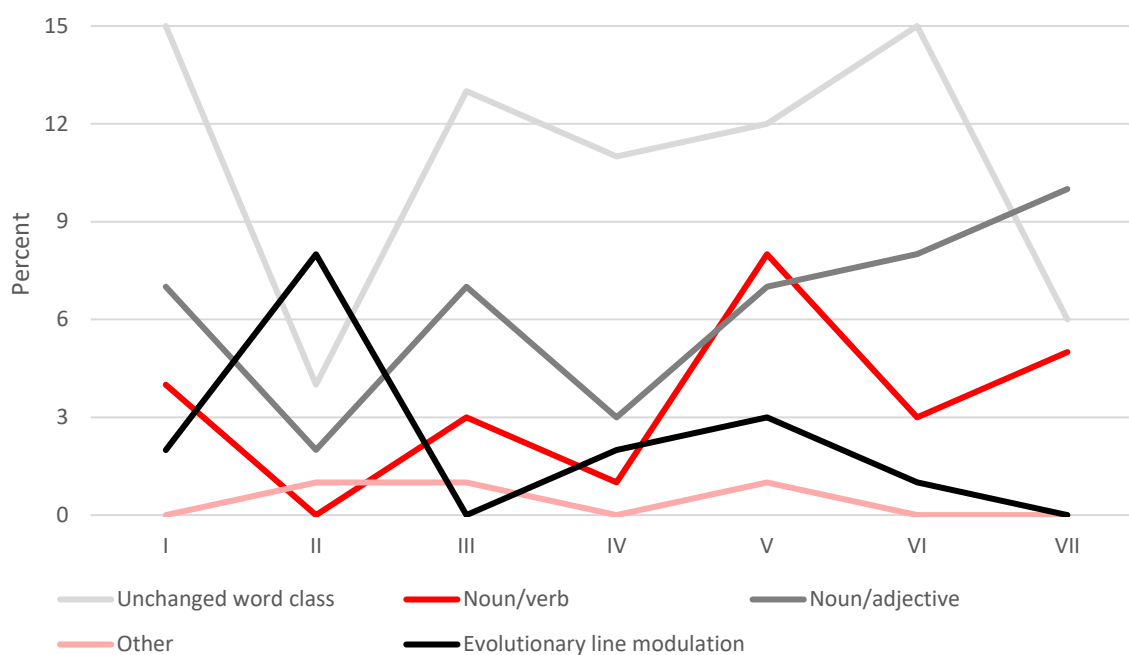


Figure 8 Percentage of occurrences the Modulation B sub-groups within each Generation.

B1. Unchanged word class: noun/noun and adjective/adjective

Modulation in this sub-category makes a reference to, for example, the physical qualities, body parts, skills or type of the referent without change in word class. In *Onidoriru*/Fearow, *oni* ‘demon’ is replaced by ‘fear’ (due to the Pokémon’s nature of being a skilled hunter and its tendency to attack suddenly from the sky). In *Pinpuku*/Happiny, ‘pink’ is modulated as ‘tiny’: both are qualities of the referent.

B2. Noun/verb

A quality of the referent (noun component in the Japanese name) is modulated as a verb that describes something the referent (or what the referent is based on design-wise, such as an animal) characteristically does. Both versions of *Agehanto*/Beautifly refer to a butterfly (from *agehachō* ‘swallowtail butterfly’). However, the verb ‘hunt’ (a reference to the Pokémon’s aggressive nature) is replaced as ‘beauty’ (referring, most likely, to its colourful, patterned wings) in the English name. *Maggyo*/Stunfisk’s names exhibit a good example of type-related modulation. ‘Mud’ (from the loanword adapted spelling *maddo*) is a reference to its Ground type. This is modulated as the verb ‘stun’ as a reference to its secondary type, Electric.

B3. Noun/adjective

Like in the above group, a referent-motivated noun is replaced with a relevant adjective describing the referent in some way. For example, in the names *Erureido*/Gallade, ‘elbow’ (body part that the Pokémon uses as a weapon) is modulated as ‘gallant’, referring to its knight-like, heroic character. In *Desukān*/Cofagrigus. *Desu*, a loanword adaptation of ‘death’ is replaced by ‘egregious’ (owing to the referent’s merciless nature and habit of entrapping the lost and helpless).

B4. Other

This small sub-category contains components not applicable to the above definitions. These are various name endings modulated as nouns, or in the case of *Mebukijika*/Sawsbuck (a Pokémon whose appearance changes by the season), the modulation of *mebuki* ‘bud’ as an English acronym of the four seasons, S.A.W.S.

4.3.3. Modulation C (evolutionary line modulation)

Names in this category contain name-formation components that bind together groups of Pokémon. This means that phonetic or name-formation patterns (such as suffixes) are observable in all names belonging to a certain evolutionary line or family.

One typical example is the *Ībui*/Eevee family. In English, all eight of Eevee’s possible evolutions end in ‘-eon’ (such as Leafeon, Flareon or Glaceon). The Japanese names are not quite as consistent. Several endings can be found, such as plural marker ‘-s’ (*Sandāsu*/THUNDERS/Jolteon), ‘-ia’ (*Rīfia*/LEAFIA/Leafeon) and ‘-y’ (*Burakkī*/BLACKY/Umbreon). In the *Hanekko*/Hoppip family, all the Japanese names end in ‘-kko’ (*Hanekko*/Hoppip, *Popokko*/Skiploom, *Watakko*/Jumpluff) which, potentially, could come from *nekko*, ‘root’ but will be treated here as the name forming suffix attached to names of something small and adorable³¹. As such, ‘-kko’ is modulated as ‘hop’, ‘skip’ and ‘jump’, referring to the idiom meaning a short distance: “a hop, skip and a jump away”.

Many pairs that are not included in this category exhibit similar repetitive patterns. For example, the evolutionary line *Fushigidane*/Bulbasaur, *Fushigisō*/Ivysaur and *Fushigibana*/Venusaur exhibits a pattern, that is, the use of *fushigi*, ‘strange’ and the

³¹ Goo Jisho. <https://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/jn/71117/meaning/m0u/> [Accessed 9 May 2018]

common dinosaur name ending ‘-saur’ consistently. However, they are omitted from this category as these components can be transferred by means of other procedures (various sub-groups of 4.3. Modulation).

4.4. Modification

In this category, various word-formation processes are more significant than transfer of linguistic information. **Figure 9** shows the distribution of sub-categories. Notably, Descriptive adaptation is one of the three largest sub-categories; alongside Addition via Modulation A, this method offers much freedom for the localizer, which may explain their commonness. In **Figure 10**, these two sub-categories display varying frequency over different Generations, which in a way supports this hypothesis; their essential usefulness does not change over time, but they can be employed whenever needed. Omission, the last one of the three largest sub-categories, follows the same pattern.

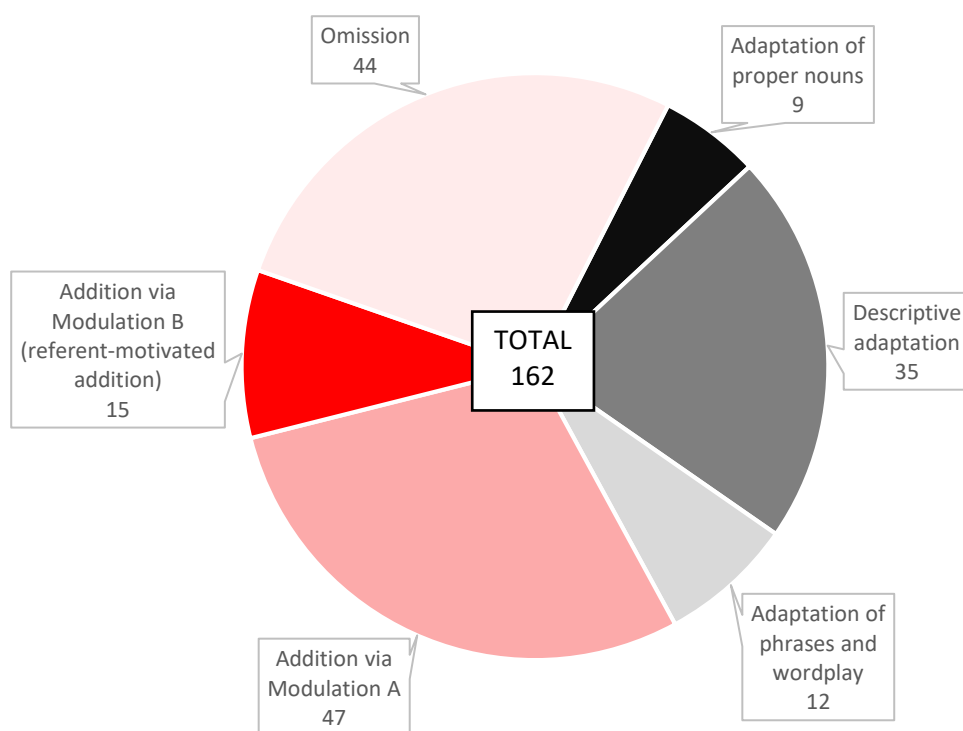


Figure 9 Distribution of sub-categories within the main category Modification.

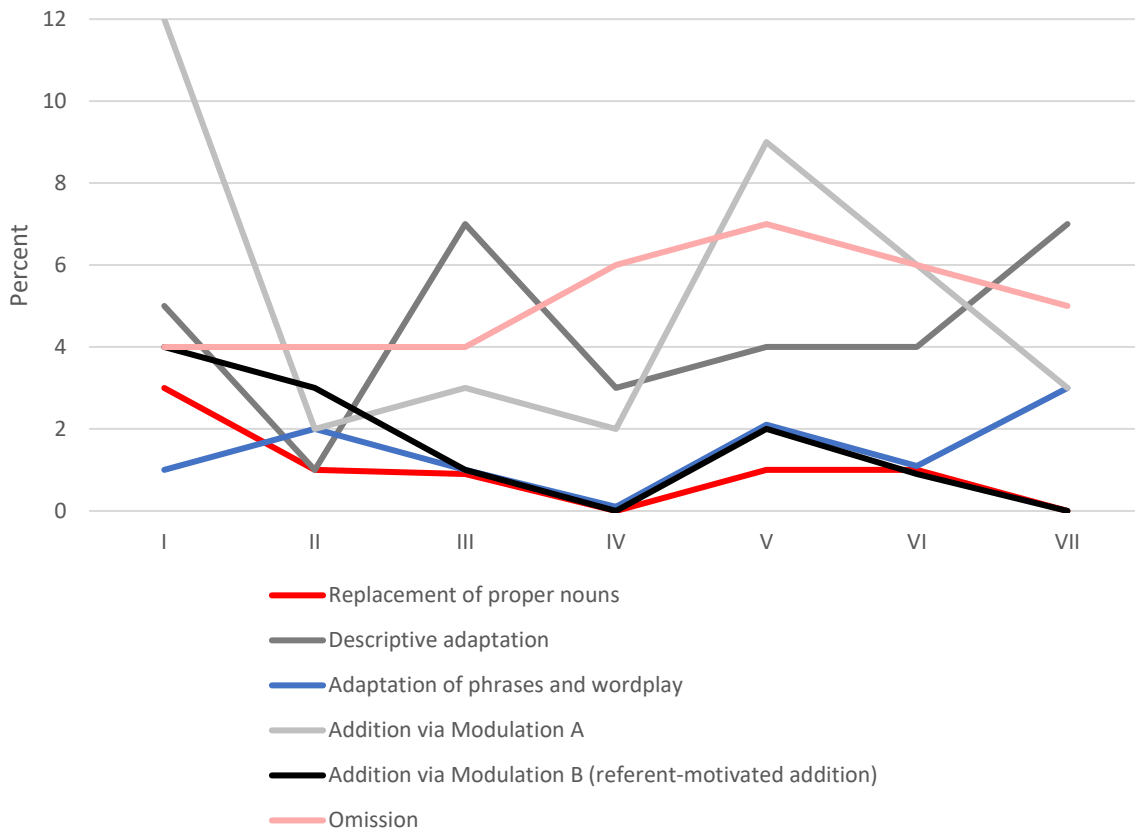


Figure 10 Percentage of occurrences in the Modification sub-categories within each Generation.

4.4.1. Adaptation

What distinguishes the semantic units in this category is that they are proper names or phrases, which are oftentimes cultural elements (e.g. names of traditional handcraft products) or in other ways lack a straightforward translational equivalence in the TL. Three further sub-categories in this category can be found.

A. Adaptation of proper nouns

Relevant here means two things: culturally relevant (such as names of famous persons within a certain field) or type-relevant (see 1.1. Introduction). As for the former the name pairs *Sawamurā*/Hitmonlee (reference to kickboxer Tadashi Sawamura is adapted as martial artist Bruce Lee) and *Ebiwarā*/Hitmonchan (boxer Hiroyuki Ebihara is replaced by martial artist Jackie Chan) can be presented. In the *Kēshī*/Abra line, the Japanese names are based on famous magicians and mystics (such as Edgar Cayce). This is an example of type-relevant (and as such, referent-motivated) replacement: the

localized names of this *Psychic-type* Pokémon are based on the magic rhyme *abra, cadabra, alakazam*.

B. Descriptive adaptation

Proper noun components of the ST (usually literary or mythological creatures etc.) are replaced with common nouns and adjectives. This essentially erases the properness of the ST component, resulting in a descriptive, explanatory solution. For example, in the pair *Tekkaguya*/Celesteela, the reference to Kaguya-hime, a princess from the Japanese folktale *Taketori Monogatari* (The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter), is adapted as ‘celestial’ combined with a feminine name ending ‘-a’ to retain the reference to the princess’ heavenly origin³². The Japanese name of the duck-like Pokémon *Kamonegi*/Farfetch’d comes from the proverb *kamo ga negi o shotte kuru*, roughly translated as “the duck arrives carrying the leek”³³ (meaning a duck brings you the leek needed for cooking a duck pot). This is a metaphor for good occurrences following each other - something highly unlikely, or as it is adapted, a “far-fetched” scenario.

The cultural references in this subgroup are not limited to Japanese literature and mythology. *Chirutto*/Swablu and *Chirutarisu*/Altaria allegedly reference *Tyltyl* (transliterated as *Chiruchiru* in Japanese), a character in the play *L’oiseau Bleu* (The Blue Bird) by Maeterlinck (1908). The connection to these Pokémon is visible from their bird-like appearance and blue colour.

Moreover, the process isn’t limited to originating from the ST either: the Japanese name of *Yukinoō*/Abomasnow, is simply a noun phrase (*yuki no ō*, “king of snow”) whereas the localized counterpart references the Yeti (or the Abominable Snowman³⁴), a mythical snow creature.

C. Adaptation of phrases and wordplay

Several name pairs include complete and partial phrases; this entails conjugated verb forms as well as some adverbs and particles in conjunction with other words (see Vainisto 2017:61). Various kinds of wordplay, such as palindromes (*Kirinriki*/Girafarig)

³² Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Tale_of_the_Bamboo_Cutter [Accessed 11 May 2018]

³³ *Koji kotowaza jiten*. <http://kotowaza-allguide.com/ka/kamoganegisyotte.html> [Accessed 1 May 2018]

³⁴ Dictionary.com. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/abominable-snowman> [Accessed 1 May 2018]

or phonetic likeness (*Tabunne*/Audino³⁵), are also included. Wordplay can be defined as “[t]he witty exploitation of the meanings and ambiguities of words, especially in puns”³⁶. Mandiberg (2009) pinpoints the fundamental problem in translating jokes (which wordplays essentially are): the joke, which exists in one language, must be either translated in equivalence (which is likely to result in an unfunny rephrasing) or in sense (by replacing the joke with a contextually funny one in the TL). As seen in the examples in this subcategory, a translation loyal to the semantic content of the Japanese name is barely ever an option.

In addition to the two pairs mentioned above, the pair *Sōnano*/Wynaut can be treated as an adaptation of the phrase *sō na no*, “is that so” into a phonetic likeness of “why not?” A decent resemblance in semantic content is seen in *Kuitaran*/Heatmor (from *kuitaran*, ‘hasn’t eaten enough’ to a phonetic wordplay on ‘eat more’). The localization of the name pair *Kiteruguma*/Bewear is based on the phrases *kiteru guma*, ‘a bear wearing [clothes etc.]’ and the homonymic pronunciation of ‘wear’ and ‘beware’. According to Shin (2014:70), “sentence-type” expressions like this are relatively common in Japanese vocabulary and naming in general.

4.4.2. Addition

In this category, two distinctions can be observed based on the semantic relation between the added lexeme and the other components.

A. Addition via Modulation A

In this sub-category, the localized names contain added lexical units not found in the Japanese names. For example, *Tsubotsubo*/Shuckle already uses Modulation A1 (‘barnacle’ in Shuckle is a hyperonym to *fujitsubo*, ‘acorn barnacle’ in the former), leaving ‘shuck’ (husk, shell) as an added component³⁷. Another example is *Chirīn*/Chimecho, which utilizes onomatopoeia modulation to express *chirin chirin*, (chime of a bell) as ‘chime’, leaving ‘echo’ (a by-product of a bell’s chime) as a modulated added component.

³⁵ *Tabun ne* means approximately ‘maybe, I guess’; Audino is a phonetic wordplay on the informal phrase “I dunno”.

³⁶ *Oxford Dictionaries*. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wordplay> [Accessed 9 May 2018]

³⁷ Additionally, since barnacles have shells, ‘shuck’ is even an overlapping modulated expression from ‘barnacle’ (Modulation A2).

B. Addition via Modulation B (referent-motivated addition)

This kind of addition introduces a new referent-motivated lexeme into the English name, that is, additions are not modulated from existing lexemes.

For example, in *Pippi/Clefairy*, ‘pixie’ and ‘fairy’ already have synonymic equivalence, which leaves us with the “independent” addition of ‘clef’ (French, ‘key; musical key’). This is a reference to the Pokémon’s habit to sing, but it is not derivable from ‘pixie’ or ‘fairy’. Likewise, in *Rarantesu/Lurantis*, after the partial lexical borrowing of ‘mantis’ and modulation (A1) of *ran*, ‘orchid’ and *fleur* (French, ‘flower’), it becomes evident that ‘lure’ was added to the English name as a nod to the Pokémon’s hunting strategy of disguising itself as a flower to lure in prey.

4.4.3. Omission

Lexical units are removed from the Japanese name to modify it for the TL. This can happen in two ways: by making the name shorter or by removing semantic components without shortening the name.

Two examples of the former are *Kentauros/Tauros* and *Yanyanma/Yanma*. In both cases parts of the SL name are omitted without significant loss or change in referent-motivated information. *Tauros* is still understandable as a bull; *yanma* is Japanese for ‘dragonfly’.

As for the latter case, other components of the name undergo procedures described in categories above, and one or more components are omitted. For example, in *Todogurā/Sealeo*, ‘juggler’ (in the loanword adaptation form *jagurā*) is removed, leaving only the equivalent lexemes *todo* and ‘sea lion’. In the case of *Dageki/Sawk* and *Nageki/Throh*, the equivalent meanings of ‘to sock’ and ‘to throw’, respectively, are carried over, whereas the component *ki*, found in both names, is not (*ki* is the *on-yomi*³⁸ of *oni*, ‘demon’).

Similarly, in the pair *Enbuō/Emboar* whereas other components such as *en* ‘flame’, ‘ember’, ‘boar’, *ō* ‘king’ (modulated as ‘emperor’) are all transferred into the English name by various methods, *bu* ‘warrior’ (reference to the Pokémon’s Fighting type) is absent.

³⁸ The ‘phonetic reading’ of *kanji*, as opposed to *kun-yomi*, which is ‘explanatory reading’ (*New Japanese-English Character Dictionary* 1998:53a).

4.5. Recreation

An entirely new name is created for the TL without utilizing the methods above (for exceptions, see below). The referent's function in name creation becomes highly important, as the TL name must remain as relevant, recognizable and belonging to the same character as the Japanese name. Thus, types (see section 1.1.) and various characteristics of the referent affect choice of name components. An example of this is the Fairy/Grass-type Pokémon *Erufūn*/Whimsicott. This playful species that resembles a ball of cotton flies around riding on gusts of wind³⁹; the name *Erufūn* is a composite of 'elf', *fū*, 'wind' and 'typhoon', whereas Whimsicott is allegedly made up of 'whimsical' or 'whimsy' and 'cotton'. This method is sometimes utilized when the Japanese name is based on a unique or non-translatable item. For example, *Kabigon* is said to have been the nickname of Game Freak employee Kōji Nishino⁴⁰. The name was recreated as Snorlax, assumedly based on the Pokémon's lazy nature and habit of being perpetually asleep.

Figure 11 below shows the change in frequency of the Recreation main category over time. Immediately noticeable is how Generation VII reaches an all-time low of 0%. As for the rest of the main categories, the usage of Equivalence increased the most between Generations VI and VII; it is highly likely that changes in localization staff or protocols affected these factors, but as stated multiple times, it is impossible to know for certain.

As something of an exception, several names pairs do overlap with other categories. This includes adaptations of phrases and fictional names (sections 4.4.1. B and C), Pokémon name equivalence (section 4.2.4) and evolutionary line modulation (4.3. C). *Bosugodora*/Aggron is a recreated name that even references its pre-evolution *Kodora*/Lairon. Likewise, *Morobareru*/Aamonguss is a recreation as well as an adaptation of the phrase *moro ni bareru*, 'completely exposed'. Reading it together with its pre-evolution *Tamagetake*/Foongus, the adapted phrase becomes a phonetic wordplay on 'fungus among us'.

³⁹ It is relevant to note that Whimsicott was not Fairy-type when it was introduced in Generation V; Fairy-type was first added one Generation later. Bulbapedia. [https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Whimsicott_\(Pok%C3%A9mon\)](https://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net/wiki/Whimsicott_(Pok%C3%A9mon)) [Accessed 9 May 2018]

⁴⁰ PokemonWiki. <http://wiki.ポケモン.com/wiki/カビゴン> [Accessed 9 May 2018]

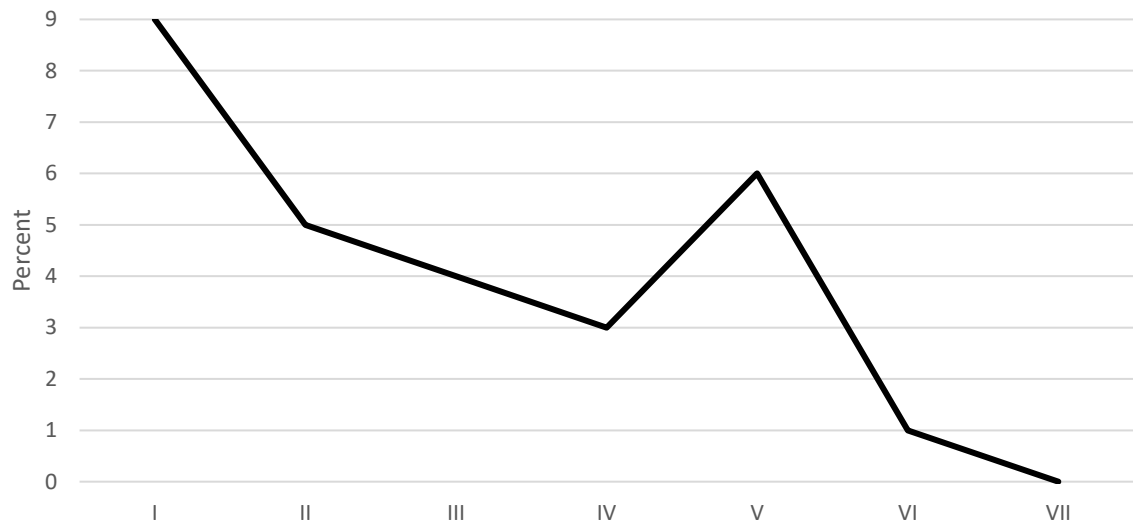


Figure 11 Percentage of occurrences of Recreation within each Generation.

5. Summary

The goal of this study was to find out which Japanese-to-English translational categories the currently available 807 Pokémon names can be divided into.

First, the context of the study was established by exploring the terms translation and localization as well as their relation to video games as a new media. Furthermore, after taking into consideration the properties of onomastics and literary onomastics, it became evident that both localization and literary onomastics as fields have room for growth to fully incorporate the properties of the rapidly evolving industry of video games.

The research took advantage of existing categorizations of translation methods both within and outside the context of semantics (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, Vermes 2001, Aniala, Saarelma and Sjöblom 2012) as well as results from previous research conducted on Pokémon names (Shin 2011/2014, Vainisto 2017 etc.) to create a framework for a semantic analysis. Nida's (1975) analysis of semantic components was used as further help.

After an analysis based on semantic units included in names in the two languages, five main categories (borrowing, equivalence, modulation, modification and recreation) alongside a total of 25 sub-categories could be established. The categories in general exhibit heavy overlapping with each other, with the largest one covering over 600 entries of the corpus and smallest ones consisting of only a handful of name pairs.

6. Conclusion

As Kawahara (2017:5) points out, Pokémon are not only a popular and approachable subject but also, from a research viewpoint, a large and data-rich corpus. Initially, the interest for choosing Pokémon as the subject of this study arose from a strong personal interest, yet, the results should be interesting even with future research in mind. Other multimedia franchises featuring fictional species, such as *Digimon* or *Monster Hunter*, would also provide large corpuses of fictional non-human characters for analysis.

As demonstrated, most Pokémon names undergo significant change in the localization process (even to the point of complete recreation) without ever removing their connection to the original referent. Below is an attempt to briefly list some general characteristics regarding what makes localized Pokémon names “Pokémon-like”.

1. Semantic content and sound symbolic connotations must be appropriate (and comprehensible to various age groups of players)
2. Must be appropriately descriptive of the referent’s background, type and appearance (dragon-like, cute, Fire-type, Legendary, etc.)
3. Must not be inappropriate, rude or controversial (such as political, derogatory, or containing cultural elements that would hinder the understanding of the name)

This list is not intended as conclusive; regardless, it is a result of careful inspection of the corpus and the found categories. In particular, the Borrowing main category speaks for number 1, and 2 is backed up by all categories that deal with both linguistic and extralinguistic information. Regarding exceptions to number 3, it is intriguing how in certain name pairs (such as *Yanyanma*/*Yanma* or *Makunoshita*/*Makuhita*) Japanese lexical units and cultural references are retained, as explained above.

The fact that localized names introduce components not found in the original names supports the idea that Pokémon name localization is far from being simply language-to-language information transfer; rather, it is *re-naming* of the referents, since extralinguistic data (such as the external appearance of the characters) has been such a strong influence on the localization. This concept is close to the term transcreation (see section 2.1.).

The categorization, while producing numbers and information, also revealed more questions and possible paths for future research. An entire study could be conducted to

find out which qualities define in the nearly 200 names that remained either completely unchanged or were only slightly adapted for the English-speaking audience. Essentially, any (sub-)category would be a fruitful subject of more detailed study. The fact that the categories discovered here bear resemblance to existing translational categories comes as no surprise, as countless studies have been conducted on the universals of translation. A more comprehensive study across franchises or languages would be necessary in order to draw conclusions as to how common or unique the methods of localization found here are in, for example, Pokémon names localized to other languages – or elsewhere within the context of fictional character naming.

Considering the scope and aims of this thesis, the results provided a large amount of interesting data to examine. With the next generation of Pokémon games already confirmed to come out in 2019⁴¹, even future Pokémon-related linguistic research will hardly suffer from a lack of material to explore.

⁴¹ Serebii.net. <https://www.serebii.net/news/2018/06-June-2018.shtml> [Accessed June 11 2018]

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