

English speakers can infer Pokémon types based on sound symbolism

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Abstract

Sound symbolism, systematic associations between sounds and meanings, is receiving increasing attention in linguistics, psychology and related disciplines. One general question that is currently explored in this research is what sorts of semantic properties can be symbolically represented. Against this background, within the general research paradigm which explores the nature of sound symbolism using Pokémon names, several recent studies have shown that Japanese speakers associate certain classes of sounds with notions that are as complex as Pokémon types. Specifically, Japanese speakers associate (1) sibilants with the flying type, (2) voiced obstruents with the dark type, and (3) labial consonants with the fairy type. These sound symbolic effects arguably have their roots in the phonetic properties of the sounds at issue, and hence are not expected to be specific to Japanese. The current study thus addressed the question whether these sound symbolic associations hold with native speakers of English. Two experiments show that these sound symbolic patterns were very robustly observed when the stimuli were presented in pairs; when the stimuli were presented in isolation, the effects were also tangible, although not as robust. We conclude that English speakers can associate certain types of sounds with particular Pokémon types, with an important caveat that we observed a clear task effect. Overall the current results lend some credibility to the hypothesis advanced by Shih et al. (2019) that those attributes that play a role in Pokémons' survival are actively signaled by sound symbolism

Keywords: Sound symbolism, English speakers, Pokémon types, sibilants, voiced obstruents, [p]

1 Introduction

2 1.1 Theoretical background

3 One of the most influential dictums that governed modern linguistic theories in the twentieth cen-
4 tury was the thesis of arbitrariness—the relationships between sounds and meanings are essentially
5 arbitrary (Hockett 1959; Locke 1689; Saussure 1916/1972). An increasing number of studies,
6 however, have shown that there are many cases of systematic relationships between sounds and
7 meanings observed in human languages, and as such the thesis of arbitrariness was too strong.
8 Such sound-meaning associations are now actively studied under the rubric of *sound symbolism*,
9 which is a topic of extensive exploration in linguistics, psychology, cognitive science, and other re-
10 lated disciplines (see Akita 2015; Dingemanse et al. 2015; Imai and Kita 2014; Kawahara 2020b;
11 Lockwood and Dingemanse 2015; Nielsen and Dingemanse 2020; Nuckolls 1999; Perniss et al.
12 2010; Schmidtke et al. 2014; Sidhu and Pexman 2018; Svantesson 2017 for recent reviews).

13 There are various reasons why sound symbolism is now considered to be an important topic
14 of exploration. A growing body of research has shown, for example, that sound symbolism may
15 guide first and second language acquisition to a non-trivial degree (Asano et al. 2015; Imai and
16 Kita 2014; Nielsen and Dingemanse 2020; Nygaard et al. 2009). Some scholars argue that it
17 may have played an essential role in the origin and development of human languages (Cabrera
18 2012; Perlman and Lupyan 2018a; Perniss and Vigiliocco 2014), while others claim that these
19 sound-meaning connections may be a specific instance of more general synesthetic cross-modal
20 perception, in which sensation in one modality can evoke sensation in another modality (Bankieris
21 and Simner 2015; Cuskley and Kirby 2013; Ramachandran and Hubbard 2001; Spence 2011).
22 Sound symbolism did not used to be a major topic of exploration in linguistics; however, for the
23 reasons briefly outlined here, it has started receiving intensive attention in linguistics, psychology
24 and neighboring fields (see Nielsen and Dingemanse 2020 for some quantitative evidence for this
25 research trend).

26 On the one hand, languages are systems which can connect sounds and meanings in an arbitrary
27 fashion; otherwise, we would expect all the languages to use the same/similar words to express the
28 same meanings (Locke 1689; Saussure 1916/1972), and that languages would not have the im-
29 mense expressive powers that they do (Lupyan and Winter 2018). At the same time, however, we
30 are witnessing the accumulating body of evidence suggesting that speakers of various languages
31 can systematically associate certain meanings with certain types of sounds. These studies have es-
32 tablished, in our opinion, that *whether* sound-meaning connections are arbitrary or systematic is no
33 longer the right question to ask—instead, the question that should be addressed is *how* arbitrariness
34 and sound symbolism can coexist in the human language systems (Dingemanse et al. 2015); then
35 an ensuing question is what kinds of semantic properties can be signaled via sound symbolism.

36 Two well-known semantic dimensions that are involved in sound symbolic associations are size
37 and shape, which have been shown to hold across different languages (Bremner et al. 2013; Sidhu
38 and Pexman 2018; Styles and Gawne 2017); for example, [a] is often judged to be larger than [i]
39 (Sapir 1929) by speakers of different languages (Shinohara and Kawahara 2016), and voiceless
40 obstruents tend to be associated with angular shapes, whereas sonorants tend to be associated with
41 round shapes (Köhler 1947; Ramachandran and Hubbard 2001). There are other semantic proper-
42 ties which have been shown to be signaled via sound symbolism, including color, brightness, taste,
43 weight, strength, etc (Jakobson 1978; Kawahara and Kumagai 2021; Lockwood and Dingemans
44 2015; Westbury et al. 2018; Winter et al. 2019, among others), but it remains to be explored pre-
45 cisely what kinds of semantic concepts can be signaled via sound symbolism in natural languages,
46 and relatedly, how complex such concepts can be (Lupyan and Winter 2018; Sidhu and Pexman
47 2019; Westbury et al. 2018).

48 Within this ever-growing body of studies on sound symbolism, one emerging research strategy
49 is to explore the sound symbolic nature of natural languages using Pokémon names (Kawahara
50 et al. 2018), a research paradigm that is now dubbed “Pokémonastics” (Shih et al. 2019). As
51 discussed in detail by Shih et al. (2019), this approach to sound symbolism has several research
52 advantages.¹ First, since there are many Pokémon characters (ca. 900) which all have quantitative
53 attributes such as weight and height, it allows researchers to conduct a quantitative assessment
54 of sound symbolism using real words.² Second, in natural languages, different languages assign
55 names to a different set of real world attributes; for example, Japanese lexically distinguishes rice
56 plant (= *ine*), cooked rice (= *gohan*), and generic rice (= *kome*), a tripartite distinction that is absent
57 in English. Japanese, on the other hand, does not distinguish between, for example, *crying* and
58 *moaning*. This sort of cross-linguistic difference makes it difficult to compare the sound symbolic
59 patterns in existing words in different languages (although it is not impossible: see e.g. Blasi et al.
60 2016, Johansson et al. 2020, Pitcher et al. 2013, Wichmann et al. 2010 for illustrative cases of
61 such studies). On the other hand, in the Pokémon world, the set of denotations is fixed across
62 all languages, thereby making the cross-linguistic comparison easier. The third advantage of the
63 Pokémonastics research is that each Pokémon character has various attributes, such as weight,

¹However, Pokémonastics, which analyzes made-up names of fictional characters, is not meant to replace the studies of sound symbolism using real words; it is instead meant to complement other related studies on sound symbolism. See Kawahara and Breiss (2021) for some extended discussion on this point.

²A reviewer raised an interesting challenge related to this thesis—the set of denotations that needs to be expressed by a language in the real world is much larger than this N , and it would be reasonable to conjecture that the expressive power that is required in such situations may not allow sound symbolism to persist as strongly, at least compared to the Pokémon universe, given that the number of phonemic contrasts is limited (cf. Lupyan and Winter 2018). The general prediction of this conjecture is that the larger the set of denotations that needs to be expressed, the less sound symbolic the words should become. It is beyond the scope of the current paper to address this prediction, but it can be empirically tested by way of artificial language creation experiments, for example. If we ask participants to create names for a set of new objects (cf. Perlman and Lupyan 2018b), the larger the set of new objects that needs to be named, the less sound symbolic the created names are predicted to be.

64 height, evolution levels, strengths and types. This feature allows researchers to explore what sorts
65 of information can be expressed via sound symbolism (Kawahara and Kumagai 2021).

66 Within the framework of Pokémonastics research, this paper focuses on Pokémon types with
67 the hope that it will (albeit modestly) contribute to the general issue addressed in the sound sym-
68 bolism research discussed above. In the Pokémon game series, players collect fictional creatures
69 called Pokémon, train them, and have them fight with other Pokémon characters. Pokémon charac-
70 ters are classified into several types, including, but not limited to, normal, fire, fairy, water, dragon,
71 ghost, ground, grass, etc. Certain types of characters have (dis)advantages over other types during
72 their battles; for example, water-type has advantages over fire-type.

73 Hosokawa et al. (2018) was the first study which examined whether Pokémon types are sym-
74 bolically expressed in the Japanese Pokémon names. They found that labial consonants, such as [p]
75 and [m], are overrepresented in the names of the fairy type Pokémons, whereas voiced obstruents,
76 such as [d] and [z], are overrepresented in the villainous types (see also Uno et al. 2020). Kawahara
77 and Kumagai (2019b) confirmed the productivity of these associations by an experimental study
78 with Japanese speakers using nonce words. Extending on these two studies, Kawahara et al. (2020)
79 further found that Japanese speakers associate the flying type with names containing voiceless sibi-
80 lants, including [s] and [ç] (=voiceless alveo-palatal fricative). As discussed in further detail below,
81 these connections are arguably grounded in the phonetic properties of these sounds, and as such
82 they are not expected to be specific to Japanese. The current experiments therefore aim to test the
83 cross-linguistic robustness of these sound symbolic connections with native speakers of English
84 (see also Godoy et al. 2021 for a similar attempt with native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese).

85 As discussed above, the Pokémonastics research can potentially provide a useful resource for
86 cross-linguistic comparisons of sound symbolism in natural languages. While Japanese is actively
87 studied via experimentation within the Pokémonastics paradigm (e.g. Kawahara 2020c; Kawahara
88 and Kumagai 2019a,b, 2021; Kawahara et al. 2020; Kumagai and Kawahara 2019), we are yet to
89 gather more data from other languages in order to more thoroughly address the cross-linguistic
90 similarities and differences in sound symbolism. A few studies have gathered experimental data
91 from native speakers of English and Brazilian Portuguese regarding sound symbolism signaling a
92 pre- vs. post-evolution distinction, where post-evolution characters are generally larger, heavier and
93 stronger (Kawahara and Breiss 2021; Kawahara and Moore 2021; Godoy et al. 2020). However,
94 other than these, experimental studies on languages other than Japanese are limited. It is thus
95 hoped that the current experiments further contribute to expanding the Pokémonastics database,
96 which should be useful for general sound symbolism research (cf. Shih et al. 2019).

97 **1.2 The three sound symbolic connections tested**

98 The three sound symbolic connections that were tested in this study are: (1) sibilants = flying,
99 (2) voiced obstruents = dark, and (3) [p] (as a representative of labial consonants) = fairy. In this
100 subsection we expand on each of these sound symbolic associations.

101 **1.2.1 Sibilants = flying**

102 The investigation of the first sound symbolic association, sibilants = flying, was inspired by the
103 remarks of two ancient writers. First, Socrates suggested that [s] and [z] are suited for words that
104 represent wind and vibration (in Classical Greek), because the production of these sounds accom-
105 panies strong breath (Cratylus: 427). Second, the Upanishads suggested that sibilants represent air
106 and sky. To reinterpret these remarks from the perspective of modern phonetics, sibilants (includ-
107 ing [s] and [ʃ] in English) involve a large amount of oral airflow during their production (Mielke
108 2011), and this aspect of these sounds may be iconically mapped onto the image of wind, and, by
109 extension, flying (see also Paraise et al. 2014 for the iconic relationship between high frequency
110 sounds—of which sibilants are typical examples—and the notion of elevation).

111 Kawahara et al. (2020) presented Japanese speakers with pairs of nonce words in which one
112 member contained sibilants and the other did not (e.g. [saroççuu] vs. [tarokkuu]), and asked them
113 to judge which member of the pairs was better suited for the flying type Pokémon. Their results
114 suggest that Japanese speakers associate nonce names containing sibilants with the flying type
115 above the chance level. One aim of the current study is to examine whether English speakers make
116 the same sound symbolic association.

117 **1.2.2 Voiced obstruents = dark**

118 The second association was first identified as an existing sound symbolic pattern in the Japanese
119 Pokémon lexicon by Hosokawa et al. (2018). Prior to their studies, it was already known that
120 Japanese monster names and villainous characters' names frequently contain voiced obstruents (=
121 [b], [d], [g] and [z]) (Kawahara 2017; Kawahara and Monou 2017). Building on these observations,
122 Hosokawa et al. (2018) showed that voiced obstruents are overrepresented in villainous Pokémon
123 characters, where they defined “villainous” as consisting of dark, ghost and poison types.

124 In general, voiced obstruents are associated with negative images in Japanese (Hamano 1998;
125 Kawahara 2017; Kubozono 1999; Suzuki 1962), and arguably this sound symbolic connection
126 may have its roots in the articulatory difficulty of producing voiced obstruents (Ohala 1983). In
127 order to maintain vocal fold vibration, the air pressure level has to be lower in the oral cavity
128 than in the subglottal cavity. However, intraoral air pressure is raised when the airflow needed for
129 vocal fold vibration becomes trapped in the oral cavity due to the obstruent closure/constriction.

130 This results in difficulty maintaining vocal fold vibration, and speakers need to resort to various
131 articulatory adjustments to expand their oral cavity (Ohala 1983; Proctor et al. 2010; Westbury
132 and Keating 1986). Because of this articulatory challenge, many languages phonologically avoid
133 voiced obstruents in favor of voiceless obstruents (Hayes 1999; Hayes and Steriade 2004). It
134 would not be too surprising if this articulatory challenge is projected onto general negative images
135 (Kawahara 2017; Uno et al. 2020).

136 In fact, this association between voiced obstruents and negativity manifests itself in English, as
137 well as in Japanese. Shinohara and Kawahara (2009) presented pairs of pictures of the same object,
138 one in its clean state and the other in its dirty soiled state (e.g. a clean sponge vs. a dirty soiled
139 sponge). Along with these pictures, they presented nonce words containing voiced obstruents
140 and those containing voiceless obstruents (e.g. [zabe] vs. [sape]). Their results showed that both
141 Japanese and English speakers tend to associate nonce words containing voiced obstruents with
142 pictures of dirty soiled items. Another relevant observation is the finding that in the set of Disney
143 characters names in English, villains' names are more likely to contain voiced obstruents than
144 non-villains' names (Hosokawa et al. 2018; Uno et al. 2020).

145 Building on these observations, the current study tests whether English speakers associate
146 voiced obstruents with villainous characters in the Pokémon world, taking the dark type as a repre-
147 sentative of villains. We used dark type as the representative, because the dark type literally means
148 the “evil” type (=aku) in the original Pokémon series in Japanese. It is explained as such in the
149 instructions of the experiments reported below.

150 1.2.3 [p] = fairy

151 The third hypothesis, like the second hypothesis, was also first identified by Hosokawa et al. (2018)
152 as one of the statistically reliable tendencies in the Japanese Pokémon names. The general obser-
153 vation that lies behind the hypothesis was that labial consonants—those that are produced by using
154 lips, including [p] and [m]—are generally associated with the image of babies, as evidenced by
155 the fact, for example, that labial consonants are overrepresented in baby diaper names in Japanese,
156 both in the set of existing names and in the new names elicited via experimentation (Kumagai and
157 Kawahara 2020). Labial consonants are also shown to be overrepresented in the names of PreCure
158 girls—a TV series that is popular among young girls in Japan—who are cute fighters (Kawahara
159 2019). Along the same line, Hosokawa et al. (2018) show that bilabial consonants are overrep-
160 resented in the fairy type Pokémon characters, which tend to be, like babies and PreCure girls,
161 cute. This association found by Hosokawa et al. (2018) was shown to be productive by a follow-up
162 nonce-word experiment (Kawahara and Kumagai 2019b): given a pair of non-existing names like
163 [parapiru] and [karakiru], Japanese speakers tend to choose the former for fairy type characters.

164 This sound symbolic association is hypothesized to arise from the observation that labial con-

165 sonants appear frequently in early speech and babbling (e.g. Jakobson 1941; MacNeilage et al.
166 1997; Ota 2015). The current study thus addresses the question whether, like Japanese speakers,
167 English speakers also associate labial consonants with cute, fairy characters.³ The current study
168 used [p] as a representative of labials, because it is the consonant that has been judged to be out-
169 standingly cute (Kumagai 2019). Whether English speakers associate other labial consonants with
170 fairy type characters is yet to be explored in future experimentation. Testing [b] would be partic-
171 ularly interesting, because of its ambivalent nature (Uno et al. 2020): its labiality would be suited
172 for fairy names, whereas its aspect as a voiced obstruent may not be (cf. Kawahara and Kumagai
173 2019b who found that Japanese speakers do judge [b] to be suitable for fairy type Pokémons.)

174 2 Experiment 1

175 To recap, the current experiment tested three sound symbolic associations that have been shown to
176 hold for Japanese speakers: (1) sibilants = flying, (2) voiced obstruents = dark, and (3) [p] = fairy.
177 In addition to testing these patterns, we also examined a task effect by conducting two experiments:
178 in Experiment 1, the stimuli were presented in isolation, whereas in Experiment 2, the stimuli were
179 presented in pairs.

180 Many experiments on sound symbolism present the stimuli in pairs (see Westbury et al. 2018
181 for a very comprehensive overview). For instance, Sapir (1929), one of the classic experimental
182 studies on sound symbolism, presented two nonce words (*mal* vs. *mil*) and asked the participants
183 which one means “a big table” and which one means “a small table.” In establishing the *bouba-kiki*
184 effect, Ramachandran and Hubbard (2001) presented the two stimuli (*bouba* and *kiki*) as a pair, and
185 asked which one corresponds to a round figure and which one corresponds to an angular figure.
186 The same holds for Köhler (1947) who used *takete* vs. *maluma*. The two previous experimental
187 studies on Pokémon types that the current study significantly builds upon (Kawahara and Kumagai
188 2019b; Kawahara et al. 2020) also deploy this format.

189 This format, more generally known as a 2AFC (2 Alternative Forced Choice) task—has been
190 the common practice in sound symbolic research, but this raises the question of how robustly sound
191 symbolic patterns hold when the stimuli are presented in isolation (again, see Westbury et al. 2018).
192 Generally speaking, the task would be easier for the participants if the stimuli are presented in pairs
193 than in isolation.⁴ Since many of the previous studies in Pokémonastics—as well as other studies in
194 sound symbolism—use a 2AFC format, we took advantage of this opportunity to examine whether

³A previous Pokémonastics experiment has shown that given pairs of nonce words containing labial consonants and those containing coronal consonants (e.g. *Meepen* vs. *Neeten*), English speakers tend to choose the former for pre-evolution characters more often than for post-evolution characters (Kawahara and Moore 2021).

⁴In fact, in Signal Detection Theory, a quantitative psychophysical measure of sensitivity (“d-prime”) is adjusted by $\sqrt{2}$ when the stimuli are presented in pairs in a 2AFC format (Macmillan and Creelman 2005).

195 sound symbolic associations under question hold even when the stimuli are presented in isolation.

196 2.1 Methods

197 2.1.1 The stimuli

198 The list of stimuli used in this experiment is shown in Table 1. For all the pairs, the target conso-
199 nants appeared twice within each stimulus. The vowels and other target consonants were controlled
200 between the two conditions.

Table 1: The list of stimuli used in Experiment 1.

(a) Names with sibilants	(b) Control
Silshin	Tiltin
Salshim	Taltim
Sulshur	Tulkur
Shieshen	Kieten
Shilsun	Kiltun
Shalshick	Kaltick
Shelshim	Kelkim
(c) Names with voiced obstruents	(d) Control
Bringlin	Prinklin
Branzlam	Pranslam
Drinzlin	Trinslin
Dramblum	Tramplum
Grimblin	Krimplin
Grenzlin	Krenslin
Zegdum	Sektum
Zungul	Sumkul
(e) Names with [p]	(f) Control
Peepol	Teetol
Polpen	Tolken
Pafpil	Tastil
Pimpock	Tintock
Paapair	Kaakair
Pupmir	Kukmir
Pepmil	Kekmil

201 For the sibilant condition, the target words contained two sibilants. There were three items
202 that started with [s] and four items that started with [ʃ] (“sh”), but most of them had [ʃ] internally,
203 because word-internal orthographic ‘s’ in English can often be pronounced as [z]. We focused on
204 voiceless sibilants in this study because voiced sibilants can be produced as approximants, as the

205 intraoral air pressure cannot be raised too much to maintain vocal fold vibration (Ohala 1983). The
206 control condition had three items that started with [t] and four items that started with [k]. While
207 the stimulus items were not directly paired in Experiment 1, [s] was matched with [t] and [ʃ] was
208 matched with [k], because articulatorily speaking, [t] and [s] are front consonants, whereas [ʃ] and
209 [k] are back consonants (Mann and Repp 1981).

210 For the voiced obstruent condition, the target items began with either [b], [d], [g] or [z] (two
211 items each), and contained one or more word-internal voiced obstruents. The control condition
212 consisted of words that contained corresponding voiceless obstruents with the same manner and
213 place of articulation. For the last condition, the target words started with [p] and contained an
214 additional word-internal [p]. The control consisted of words that contain either [t] or [k].⁵

215 Since Pokémon names are often communicated in written form, and since the previous
216 Pokémonastics experiments used orthographic stimuli, the current experiment followed that
217 methodology (Kawahara and Kumagai 2019a; Kawahara and Moore 2021). Yet, an experiment
218 with auditory stimuli may be warranted in future studies given the possible influences of orthog-
219 raphy on sound symbolism (Cuskley et al. 2017). We note, however, Sidhu et al. (2016) have
220 demonstrated that sound symbolism holds beyond the influences of orthography. With this caveat
221 in mind, the participants were nevertheless asked to read each name silently in their head before
222 making their decision.

223 2.1.2 Procedure

224 The experiment was administered online using SurveyMonkey. The first page of the experiment
225 was a consent form, which was approved by the first author’s institute. The second page presented
226 our qualification questions, and only those who fulfilled all four of the following conditions were
227 allowed to proceed: (1) they are a native speaker of English, (2) they are familiar with Pokémon,
228 (3) they are not already familiar with sound symbolism, (4) and they have not participated in a
229 Pokémonastics experiment before.

230 The entire experiment was blocked into three sections, each of which tested one sound symbolic
231 effect on type, in the order of flying type, dark type, and fairy type. The first page within each
232 section introduced a difference between one type of Pokémon, which was contrasted with a normal
233 type of Pokémon, using a pair of pictures shown in Figure 1. The participants were asked to answer
234 whether they understood the difference between the two types. The flying type was defined as those
235 that fly in the sky. The dark type was defined as those that are villainous and evil. The fairy type
236 was those that were cute.

⁵The fact that the first and third hypotheses had 7×2 items whereas the second hypothesis had 8×2 items is due to the fact that SurveyMonkey maximally allows 50 questions in order for us to use the buy response function (see §2.1.3 below). It was necessary to include the consent form, the qualification questions, and illustrations of each type, which made it impossible to have 8×2 items for all three hypotheses.



normal Pokémon



flying Pokémon



normal Pokémon



dark Pokémon



normal Pokémon



fairy Pokémon

Figure 1: Pictures used to illustrate each of the three types of Pokémon in the current experiment. These are non-existing Pokémon characters originally drawn by a digital artist *toto-mame* (<https://t0t0mo.jimdofree.com>). They are used in the experiment with permission from the artist.

237 Each name was presented in isolation, and the participants were asked to choose which type
238 each name fits better. They were also told that there are no “right” or “wrong” answers, and were
239 asked to provide their answer using their intuitive feelings. The order of the stimuli within each
240 block was randomized per participant.

241 After the main trials, the participants were asked to report how familiar they are with Pokémon
242 using a 7 point scale, where 1 is labeled “Never touched it”, 4 is labelled “so so,” and 7 is labelled
243 “Pokémon is my life.”

244 2.1.3 The participants

245 The responses were collected using the buy response function of SurveyMonkey. A total of 159
246 English speakers participated in the experiment. Eleven of them were excluded based on the ex-
247 clusion criteria listed in §2.1.2. Thirteen participants were excluded because they responded that
248 one or more differences in type was not clear. The data from the remaining 135 participants were
249 analyzed. Among them, 56 of them were male, with one not reporting their gender.

250 2.1.4 Analysis

251 To statistically analyze the data, we fit a Bayesian mixed effects logistic regression model. There
252 are various advantages of using Bayesian analyses instead of a more traditional frequentist ap-
253 proach; for accessible introduction to Bayesian analyses in psychology and linguistic research,
254 see e.g. Franke and Roettger (2019), Kruschke and Liddell (2018) and Nicemboim and Vasishth
255 (2016); Kruschke (2014) is a thorough and accessible introductory book on this general statistical
256 approach. A slightly more technical illustration as well as application of Bayesian analyses in lin-
257 guistic/phonetic studies using the `brms` package (Bürkner 2017), also used in the current study,
258 can be found in Vasishth et al. (2018).

259 Bayesian analyses take into account both prior knowledge (if any) and the data at hand to
260 yield a range of posterior estimates for parameter values that are of interest. In logistic regression
261 analyses, we are primarily interested in the estimate of the slope coefficient (β_1) of a particular
262 effect; i.e. for the case at hand, the slope coefficient of the sound symbolic effect.

263 One particular advantage of Bayesian analyses is that we can interpret the posterior distribu-
264 tions of β -coefficients as directly reflecting the degrees of our belief—or (un-)certainty—about the
265 estimates of the parameter that we are interested in. One common heuristic to interpret these pos-
266 terior distributions, which is roughly analogous to significance testing in a frequentist approach, is
267 to examine its 95% Credible Intervals (CIs) of the distributions, which can be obtained by discard-
268 ing the extreme 2.5% of the posterior samples at the upper and lower ends. If 95% CI does not
269 include 0, we can be reasonably confident that the effect meaningfully impacts the responses, or
270 put differently, β_1 at issue is not equivalent to 0.

271 However, one important advantage of Bayesian analyses is that we can move beyond the “sig-
272 nificant vs. non-significant” dichotomy that is usually embraced in a frequentist analysis (see
273 e.g. Franke and Roettger 2019; Kruschke 2014; Nicemboim and Vasishth 2016; Vasishth et al.
274 2018). Instead, we can, for example, calculate the proportion of posterior values that are larger
275 than a particular value. To be more specific, in order to examine whether a particular sound in-
276 creases certain responses, we can analyze the whole posterior distribution of its β_1 -coefficient, and
277 calculate the proportion of posterior values that are above 0. A more conservative approach is to
278 examine the ROPE (Region Of Practical Equivalence) of a point hypothesis that $\beta_1 = 0$ (Kruschke

279 2014; Kruschke and Liddell 2018). To do so, we take the effect size of 0.1 (Cohen 1988) of a
280 standardized parameter value to define the range of ROPE. In a logistic regression model, the stan-
281 dardized parameter value can be approximated as $\frac{\pi}{\sqrt{3}}$ ($= 1.8$) (Makowski et al. 2019); thus, we
282 calculated the proportions of posterior samples that are more extreme than 0.18.

283 In short, we calculated the 95% CI of β_1 as well as $p(\beta_1 > 0)$ and $p(\beta_1 > 0.18)$. All the
284 posterior samples are available in the supplementary file, and interested readers are welcome to
285 examine them in other ways—another virtue of a Bayesian approach.

286 The details of the actual implementation are as follows. Analyses were implemented using the
287 `brms` package (Bürkner 2017) and R (R Development Core Team 1993–). The dependent variable
288 was whether or not the response was the target type. The predictor contained a fixed effect of a
289 sound type, a random intercept of items, and a random slope and intercept of participants. The
290 weakly informative priors (the default setting for `brms`) were used. Four chains were run. The
291 \hat{R} -values were all 1.00, suggesting that the chains mixed successfully. We first ran 2,000 iterations
292 with 1,000 warmups. When the ESS values were too large, more iterations (e.g. 4,000) were run,
293 and the last 1,000 iterations were interpreted. See the accompanying R markdown file provided as
294 the supplementary file for complete details.

295 2.2 Results

296 Figure 2 shows violin plots which represent the normalized probability distributions of by-
297 participant “flying response” ratios for those names with sibilants (right) and those names without
298 (left). Transparent triangles represent data from each participant. The black circles within each
299 violin plot represent the grand averages. On average, the names with sibilants were more likely to
300 be judged to be the names of the flying type than the were control names (54.3% vs. 39.4%).

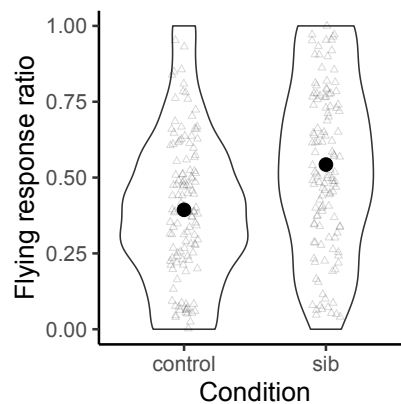


Figure 2: The normalized probability distribution of “flying response” ratios. The black circles represent the grand means. The transparent triangles represent each individual point (jittered).

301 The mean of the slope coefficient (β_1) for the difference between the control condition and the
302 sibilant condition was positive (0.77). The 95% CI of β_1 was [0.21, 1.35]. Since this interval does
303 not include zero, we can be reasonably confident that names with sibilants meaningfully increase
304 “the flying response” with respect to the control names. Examination of all the posterior samples
305 shows that 99.6% of the posterior estimates of this slope coefficient were positive, and 98.2% of
306 them were above 0.18. We can thus be at least 98% confident that names with sibilants increase
307 the flying responses with respect to the control names.

308 Figure 3 shows the violin plots of the normalized probability distribution of the by-participant
309 “dark response” ratios for those names with voiced obstruents (left) and those names with voiceless
310 obstruents (right). Overall, names with voiced obstruents were more likely to be associated with the
311 dark type Pokémon characters than the control names with voiceless obstruents (58.8% vs. 46.8%).
312 Since the “voiced (vcd)” condition was the baseline and the coefficient tells how the “voiceless
313 (vls)” condition lowered “dark” responses, the mean value of the β_1 coefficient was negative (-
314 0.55), with its 95% CI being [-1.38, 0.26]. Since we are interested in how the voiceless condition
315 lowers dark responses, we calculated the proportions of posterior estimates that are negative and
316 those that are lower than -0.18. The results suggest $p(\beta_1 < 0) = 91.3\%$ and $p(\beta_1 < -0.18) =$
317 82.3%.

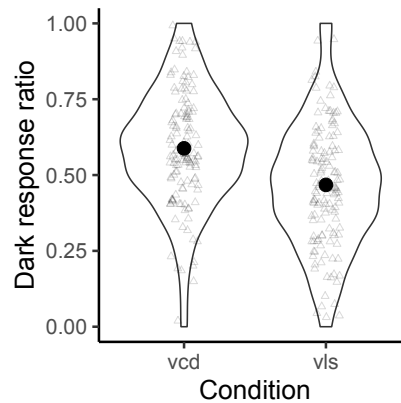


Figure 3: The normalized probability distributions of the “dark response” ratios.

318 Figure 4 shows the results for the fairy condition. The names with [p] were more likely to
319 be associated with the fairy type than the control names (55.1% vs. 46.3%). The mean of the
320 β_1 coefficient is 0.42, with its 95% CI being [-0.24, 1.08]. The examination of all the posterior
321 samples of the β_1 coefficient shows that 90.1% of them were positive, and 77.0% of them were
322 above 0.18.

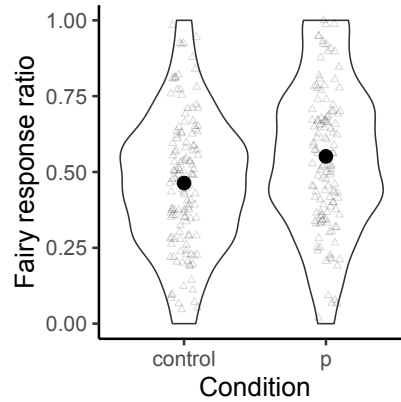


Figure 4: The normalized probability distributions of the “fairy response” ratios.

323 2.3 Discussion

324 All three conditions showed responses in the expected direction. None of the effects are deter-
 325 ministic; i.e. names with particular phonological categories are not categorically associated with a
 326 certain Pokémon type, although we can identify individual responses in the violin plots that were
 327 categorical. Such a stochastic nature of sound symbolism, however, is the norm rather than the
 328 exception (Dingemanse 2018; Kawahara et al. 2019).

329 One question that arises from the current results is to what extent the sound symbolic ef-
 330 fects observed in the experiments are affected by familiarity with Pokémon, albeit most previous
 331 Pokémon studies did not find substantial effects of familiarity on their results (e.g. Kawahara
 332 and Kumagai 2019b; Kawahara and Moore 2021). To address this question, we calculated an effect
 333 size for each participant by subtracting the target type response ratio given the control stimuli from
 334 the target type response ratio given the target stimuli. Since the scale of familiarity obtained in the
 335 post-experimental questionnaire was non-continuous, a non-parametric Spearman correlation was
 336 calculated between effect sizes and familiarity ratings for each of the three sound symbolic effects.
 337 The results show that no significant correlations hold between these two measures (flying: $\rho =$
 338 0.00; dark: $\rho = -0.08$; fairy: $\rho = 0.07$). The sound symbolic effects observed in the experiments,
 339 therefore, seem to hold independently of how familiar the participants were with Pokémon.

340 In the current experiment, how confident we can be about the sound symbolic effects differed
 341 among the three conditions; i.e. the probability β_1 being larger/smaller than the ROPE threshold
 342 was 98.2% for the flying condition, 82.3% for the dark condition, 77.0% for the fairy condition; and
 343 the probability of β_1 being in the expected direction was 99.6%, 91.3%, and 90.1%, respectively.
 344 We took the advantage of the Bayesian approach and offered several numerical indices of how
 345 confident we can be about these sound symbolic effects, rather than making a dichotomous “yes

346 significant” vs. “not significant” decision often deployed in a frequentist approach. Heuristically,
347 it seems safe to conclude that the sibilant=flying connection seems to be a very robust sound
348 symbolic connection. On the other hand, the [p]=fairy connection may not be too reliable, although
349 the result still seems encouraging. The connection between dark type and voiced obstruents lies
350 somewhere in-between.

351 There are two possible interpretations regarding why we did not identify a robust effect of,
352 say, the [p]=fairy connection in the current experiment. One interpretation is to posit that English
353 speakers do not make this sound symbolic association at all.⁶ We hesitate to accept this interpre-
354 tation because many of the posterior samples of β_1 were in the expected direction, and even if we
355 take the most conservative approach, more than 75% of the posterior samples were above 0.18.

356 An alternative possibility that we would like to explore next is that there is indeed a sound
357 symbolic effect between [p] and the fairy type, but this effect was not very clearly observed in this
358 experimental format. First, as stated at the beginning of this section, it is more challenging for
359 the participants to make a judgment when stimuli are presented in isolation than in pairs—this is
360 one crucial difference between the current experiment and Kawahara and Kumagai (2019b), who
361 found a robust effect of labiality with Japanese speakers.⁷

362 Second, it is possible that since the stimuli are presented in isolation, the participants’ responses
363 were influenced by other segments that are contained in the stimuli. For example, *Polpen* was
364 judged more likely to be the normal type than the fairy type, despite the fact that it contains two
365 [p]s. This may be because the initial vowel [o] is the “large” vowel in English (Newman 1933), and
366 hence may have been judged to be inappropriate for the fairy type. Likewise, *Tintok* was judged
367 to be the fairy type almost as frequently as the normal type, which may be because of its initial
368 [i], which is the “small” vowel in English (Newman 1933).⁸ In order to further explore the sound
369 symbolic effects under question, the next experiment presented the stimuli in pairs.

⁶The Bayesian approach we took suggests that this is at best too strong a conclusion. In order for us to accept $\beta_1=0$, the 95% CI of β_1 should be contained in the ROPE of that point estimate, which is [-0.18, 0.18] (Kruschke 2014; Kruschke and Liddell 2018; Makowski et al. 2019).

⁷Another potential factor which may have contributed to the difference between English and Japanese can be that the concept of “fairy”—and also that of “cuteness”—may differ between English speakers and Japanese speakers. As Donna Erickson pointed out (p.c.), “sprite” may have been a better term than “a fairy,” because (English) fairies usually have wings. It might thus be interesting to run a similar follow-up experiment using the word “sprite” to describe that type of Pokémon.

⁸This is truly a post-hoc speculation, but this name may have sounded too much like *Tinker Bell* or *Tink*. Since this is a post-hoc hypothesis, we will not re-run the statistics excluding this item to avoid p-hacking (Simmons et al. 2011).

370 **3 Experiment 2**

371 **3.1 Methods**

372 The methods for Experiment 2 were almost identical to those for Experiment 1, unless otherwise
373 noted. Table 2 lists the stimulus pairs used in Experiment 2. Most of the stimuli were the same as
374 those used in Experiment 1, except that the first and the third conditions contained one additional
375 test pair. In this experiment, all the conditions had 8 pairs.

376 As in Experiment 1, the responses were collected using the buy response function in Survey-
377 Monkey. A total of 157 native speakers of English participated in the experiment. Thirteen of them
378 were excluded because they did not fulfill all the participation requirements (see §2.1.2). One par-
379 ticipant did not finish the experiment. Eight were not sure about at least one of the three type dif-
380 ferences. The data from the remaining 135 participants entered into the following analysis. Among
381 them 66 were male. One of the exclusion criteria (“have not participated in a Pokémonastics ex-
382 periment before”) ensured no overlap between the participants for Experiment 1 and those for
383 Experiment 2.

384 The procedure for the experiment was identical to that of Experiment 1, except that the stimuli
385 were presented in pairs. As in Experiment 1, the participants were asked to read the stimuli and
386 use their auditory impression to make their responses.

387 To fit a mixed effects model using the results obtained in a 2AFC format, we followed the
388 methodology proposed by Daland et al. (2011), which has advantages over other possible alterna-
389 tives (see their footnote 5)—this is also the methodology often used in other Pokémonastics ex-
390 periments when analyzing data obtained using a 2AFC format (Kawahara and Kumagai 2019a,b;
391 Kawahara et al. 2020). Specifically, one trial was split into two observations, each corresponding
392 to one member of a stimulus pair. The other details are almost identical to those of Experiment 1,
393 except the models did not include an item-specific random intercept, because each item contributes
394 to both an expected response and an unexpected response. The fixed effect (“expectedness”) was
395 coded as -0.5 vs. 0.5. See the accompanying markdown file for complete details.

Table 2: The list of stimuli used in Experiment 2.

(a) Sibilants = flying
Silshin vs. Tiltin
Salshim vs. Taltim
Sulshur vs. Tulkur
Surshum vs. Turkum
Shieshen vs. Kieten
Shilsun vs. Kiltun
Shalshick vs. Kaltick
Shelshim vs. Kelkim
(b) Voiced obstruents = dark
Bringlin vs. Prinklin
Branzlam vs. Pranslam
Drinzlin vs. Trinslin
Dramblum vs. Tramplum
Grimblin vs. Krimplin
Grenzlin vs. Krenslin
Zegdum vs. Sektum
Zungul vs. Sumkul
(c) [p] = fairy
Peepol vs. Teetol
Polpen vs. Tolken
Pafpil vs. Tastil
Pimpock vs. Tintock
Paapair vs. Kaakair
Pupmir vs. Kukmir
Pepmil vs. Kekmil
Parpil vs. Karkil

396 3.2 Results

397 Figure 5 shows the normalized probability distribution of the by-participant expected response
398 ratios for each condition, where “expected” indicates (1) sibilants = flying, (2) voiced obstruents
399 = dark, (3) [p] = fairy. The grand averages are all above the chance level (flying: 0.57; dark 0.70;
400 fairy: 0.69), although we observe that some speakers showed responses that were below chance.

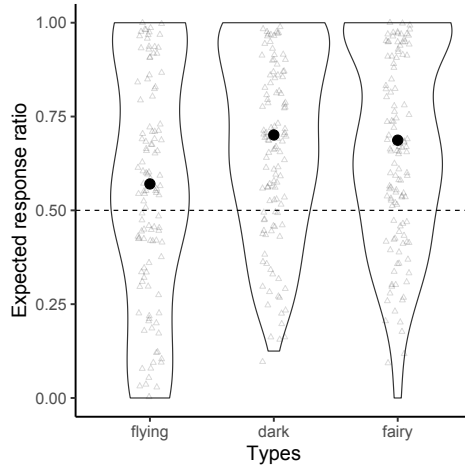


Figure 5: The probability distribution of “expected response” ratios for each condition.

401 The means of the β_1 coefficients were all positive (flying = 0.57, dark = 1.71, fairy = 1.58),
 402 and none of their Bayesian 95% CIs included zero (flying [0.40, 0.74]; dark [1.53, 1.89]; fairy
 403 [1.39, 1.76]), and in fact, none of the posterior samples of the β_1 coefficients were lower than 0.18.
 404 For this format of the experiment, we can be 100% confident that each sound symbolic principle
 405 meaningfully affected the participants’ responses.

406 3.3 Discussion

407 Experiment 2 has confirmed the productivity of all the three sound symbolic connections that were
 408 of interest. Taken together with the results of Experiment 1, we conclude that English speakers
 409 make sound symbolic connections between certain classes of sounds and particular types of char-
 410 acters in Pokémon games, just as Japanese speakers do, with an important caveat that we observed
 411 a clear task effect—the sound symbolic effects were more robustly observed in an experiment in
 412 which the stimuli were presented in pairs, i.e. in a 2AFC format.

413 Recall however that the previous experiments conducted with Japanese speakers deployed a
 414 2AFC format (Kawahara and Kumagai 2019b; Kawahara et al. 2020), just like our Experiment 2.
 415 The current results were thus no less reliable than the previous Pokémon studies. With this
 416 said, how sensitive Japanese speakers are to these sound symbolic associations needs to be studied
 417 using an experimental format like Experiment 1 in future work. In fact, echoing Westbury et al.
 418 (2018), more generally speaking, this future task applies to many sound symbolic patterns that
 419 have been studied using a 2AFC format.

420 At this point we would like to address one potential general concern about the 2AFC format
 421 that was raised by Westbury et al. (2018) in the context of the current experiment. In the 2AFC

422 format that is deployed in Experiment 2, it might be that the control names had some sound sym-
 423 bolic associations with the images of the normal Pokémons, which could explain the skews in
 424 the responses observed in Experiment 2. We doubt this possibility, because the normal type of
 425 Pokémon was not associated with any particular feature, at least in this experiment. Neither do
 426 we have reasons to believe that sounds used in control names in our comparisons have particular
 427 sound symbolic values, which would be associated with the normal type.

428 Finally, as with Experiment 1, we examined whether the results of Experiment 2 were affected
 429 by the participants’ familiarity with Pokémon, by calculating the correlation between the expected
 430 response ratio from each participant and the reported familiarity with Pokémon. The results were
 431 that no substantial correlation was found (flying: $\rho = 0.06$; dark: $\rho = -0.09$; fairy: $\rho = 0.07$). As was
 432 the case with Experiment 1, the sound symbolic patterns seem to hold regardless of how familiar
 433 the participants are with Pokémon.

434 **4 Inference from the existing patterns?**

435 One question that arises from the current experimental results is whether these sound symbolic
 436 patterns hold in the existing set of English Pokémon names, or whether English speakers could
 437 infer Pokémon types based on their tacit knowledge about sound symbolism in the experiments.
 438 To address this question, we examined the dataset created by Shih et al. (2019), which includes all
 439 the data for English Pokémon names up to the 7th generation (total $N = 802$).⁹

440 Table 3 shows the distribution of names containing sibilants in the flying type and normal type;
 441 contrary to our experimental results, names containing sibilants were more common for the normal
 442 type than for the flying type, although this difference was not significant ($\chi^2(1) = 1.22, n.s.$).

Table 3: The distributions of names containing voiceless sibilants in the flying type and normal type in the existing English Pokémon names.

	Flying type	Normal type
contain sibilants	19 (19%)	29 (26.4%)
contain no sibilants	81	81
total	100	110

443 Table 4 shows the distribution of names containing voiced obstruents in the dark Pokémons
 444 and normal Pokémons. It shows that voiced obstruents are slightly more overrepresented in the

⁹We are grateful to Stephanie Shih and her colleagues for letting us use the database. Due to the data sharing agreement, this dataset cannot be publicly made available.

445 dark Pokémon, but this difference was not significant ($\chi^2(1) = 1.29, n.s.$).

Table 4: The distributions of names containing voiced obstruents in the dark type and normal type.

	Dark type	Normal type
contain voiced obstruents	28 (59.6%)	53 (48.2%)
contain no voiced obstruents	19	57
total	47	110

446 Finally, Table 5 shows the distribution of names containing [p] in the fairy type and normal
447 type, which shows that [p] is, contrary to the experimental results, more common in the normal
448 type. This difference is not statistically significant, however ($\chi^2(1) = 0.62, n.s.$).

Table 5: The distributions of names containing [p] in the fairy type and normal type.

	Fairy type	Normal type
contain [p]	9 (19.1%)	26 (23.6%)
contain no [p]	38	84
total	47	110

449 Overall, none of the sound symbolic effects are visible in the existing English Pokémon names.
450 This result reveals an interesting difference between English and Japanese, as recall that Hosokawa
451 et al. (2018) showed that two of the three sound symbolic patterns under question hold in the ex-
452 isting Pokémon names in Japanese. (The connection between sibilants and the flying type is not
453 observed in the existing Japanese names: Kawahara et al. 2020.) The reason why the existing En-
454 glish names do not exhibit these sound symbolic connections may be because Pokémon characters
455 were created and named in Japan first, and they were translated into English sometimes by using
456 real words to describe those characters; for instance, *hitokage*, a small lizard-like character which
457 blows fire, is named *Charmander*, based on *charcoal* and *salamander*. After all, for many words,
458 sound-meaning associations are arbitrary (Hockett 1959; Saussure 1916/1972); therefore, together
459 with the semantic restrictions imposed during the translation process, the English names may have
460 ended up not being very sound symbolic¹⁰ (although see Shih et al. 2019 who show that some
461 sound symbolic effects are observable in the existing English Pokémon names as well).

¹⁰A reviewer suggested an interesting alternative explanation regarding how this difference between Japanese and English may have arisen: suppose that English speakers have an impression that a particular set of sounds are associated with “Japanese-sounding” names, then such associations could have masked the sound symbolic patterns in the existing Pokémon names, assuming that English Pokémon names were created to sound like Japanese names. This

462 Nevertheless we find it interesting that when English speakers are given nonce words with
463 appropriate phonological properties, they are able to, albeit probabilistically, make the same sound-
464 symbolic associations that Japanese speakers do. The overall results therefore support the thesis
465 that arbitrariness and sound symbolic connections can co-reside within a single linguistic system,
466 or put differently, just because existing words are arbitrary, it does not mean that speakers do not
467 have intuitions about possible sound-symbolic connections.

468 5 Conclusion

469 We started with a general question regarding sound symbolic effects in natural languages: what
470 kinds of semantic properties can be signaled via sound symbolism, and how complex can these
471 properties be? The current experiments have shown that notions as complex as Pokémon types can
472 be symbolically represented. We find this result to be intriguing as they show that sound symbolism
473 is not limited to simple semantic notions such as size and shape.

474 We also find it encouraging that those sound symbolic associations that are tested in the exper-
475 iments have plausible bases in the phonetic and/or phonological properties of the sounds at issue.
476 To recap, sibilants involve large amounts of oral airflow during their production which is required
477 to cause frication (Mielke 2011), and this phonetic property may be iconically mapped onto the
478 notion of wind, and by extension, flying. Voiced obstruents may be associated with general nega-
479 tive images, because of their articulatory challenge (Ohala 1983). Labial consonants, particularly
480 [p], may be associated with the image of cuteness, because those are the typical sounds that are
481 produced by babies (Jakobson 1941). It would not be surprising if such sound symbolic patterns,
482 which are grounded in their phonetic and phonological properties, are shared across different lan-
483 guages. We do not intend to pretend that testing these effects in just two languages—Japanese and
484 English—suffices to establish the universality of sound symbolism, yet the current finding offers a
485 good start for future cross-linguistic investigations (though see also Godoy et al. 2021).

486 Having established that English speakers too can infer Pokémon types from sound symbolism,
487 we would like to end this paper by briefly discussing what Shih et al. (2019) conclude based on
488 an extensive cross-linguistic comparison of Pokémon names. In the real world, we observe var-
489 ious types of sound symbolic effects to signal gender differences (Sidhu and Pexman 2019); for
490 instance, male names are more likely to contain obstruents than female names (e.g. *Eric* vs. *Erin*:
491 Cassidy et al. 1999; Sidhu and Pexman 2019). On the other hand, we do not observe robust sound
492 symbolic effects to signal gender differences in the Pokémon world. This difference between the
493 real world and the Pokémon world arises maybe because finding a mate is important for reproduc-

hypothesis is plausible given the previous psycholinguistic finding that English speakers can detect “foreignness” in some sounds (e.g. [ʒ] is associated with “French-ness”: Gelbart 2005). This hypothesis can be more explicitly tested by exploring specifically which sounds English speakers associate with “Japanese-ness.”

494 tion, i.e. survival, in the real world, but not so much in the Pokémon world. This hypothesis is
495 further supported by the fact that Pokémon strength status is sound symbolically signaled across
496 languages, together with the fact that Pokémon characters fight with each other; i.e., Pokémon
497 strength is important for their survival.

498 Thus, sound symbolism may be actively deployed to signal those attributes that are important
499 for their survival in that world (Uno et al. 2020). Types play a non-trivial role in Pokémon battles
500 (e.g. fairy type has advantages over dark type), and therefore, it is predicted that types constitute
501 an attribute that should be signaled by sound symbolism. While the current study lends further
502 support to this idea, it also raises a few new questions. One is whether types other than flying,
503 dark, and fairy can be symbolically represented. Another is whether the sound symbolic patterns
504 tested in the current study also hold for speakers of languages other than English and Japanese (see
505 Godoy et al. 2021). More generally, can we observe sound symbolic effects for any properties that
506 are relevant for survival and reproduction in the real world? These questions can and should be
507 tested via future experimentation.

508 All in all, the current experiments have shown that English speakers can associate certain types
509 of sounds with certain Pokémon types, as do also Japanese speakers. This parallel may not come as
510 too much of a surprise, to the extent that the sound-meaning associations are grounded in the pho-
511 netic and phonological properties of the sounds at issue. Finally, the fact that the sound symbolic
512 associations are not observed in the existing English Pokémon names but yet can be identified by
513 English participants with nonce words shows that arbitrariness and sound symbolism can co-exist
514 within a single linguistic system.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

Author Contributions

All authors contributed to the design and execution of the experiment as well as the discussion of the results. SK analyzed the results and wrote the initial version of the paper. MG and GK revised the paper.

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Supplemental Data

N/A. See below.

Data Availability Statement

All of the data and the code, as well as the posterior samples, are available in the osf repository: <https://osf.io/2m34s/>.

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