Article

Exploring Approaches and Motivations of Plays on Words in Enterprise Names in Yogyakarta

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ABSTRACT

This article was initially triggered by the use of 'plays on words' found in enterprise naming around Yogyakarta. Based on that phenomenon, this article focused on approaches and motivations of enterprises naming using plays on words, influences of foreign languages used as naming models, and their semiotic interpretations. The data were collected were in the forms of enterprise names suspected to have been created as plays on words by observing enterprises' billboards and placards around Yogyakarta. The data were also gained by interviewing several enterprise owners to reveal the motivations underlying the use of plays on words. The collected data were analyzed to unveil the closest pronunciations, meanings, and spelling of the names of enterprises influenced by various context, such as the products yielded, services offered, environments, location of enterprises, etc. This article found that naming practices involve several approaches, i.e., spelling deviations, homo phonic and nearly homo phonic pairing, spelling permutations, contractions, and word-to-word translation. There were at least six foreign languages used as models, namely English, French, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, and Arabic. Two main motivations were identified for these naming practices: to create jokes and to lend beauty. From a semiotic viewpoint, these phenomena constitute struggles of the dominated group, whose language is socially less prestigious, against the dominant group, whose language is considered more prestigious. It implies that using plays on words strategy in naming enterprises can be seen as a branding strategy to generate jokes or fun names and to lend beauty which in the end impact in persuading target market to visit their business enterprises.

I. INTRODUCTION

Crystal (1998, 1) states that nobody, especially those living in the twenty-first century, can avoid language play. All people play with language or respond to language play. However, they do so with different degrees of pleasure. In a broader scope, there are people (punsters, comedians, jokers, etc.) who are totally obsessed with the play of language, and there are people who only take mild pleasure from it. Yogyakarta, where this research was conducted, is inhabited by people with a great obsession for plays on words (Wijana, 2003, 1–2; Wijana, 2009, 146–160). They have a special term for referring to such "puns", i.e. *plesetan*, which literally means "slippery talk". They use these

activities for riddling; making graffiti; decorating T-shirts, truck containers, private vanities; and even, more uniquely, for naming enterprises. The people of Yogyakarta are frequently blessed with punning ability. They can play with language at almost any time and on any occasion to fulfil various communicative purposes. As far as enterprise naming is concerned, several interesting phenomena have attracted my attention: this naming is created through various complicated ways, such as spelling deviations, homo phonic pairing, contractions, and phonological permutations, or a combination of the above; several prestigious foreign languages are used as naming models; and naming is motivated by many kinds of motivations. This phenomenon

can be explained using sociolinguistic and semiotic theory.

Further, regarding the relevant studies that had been conducted previously about plays on words by many scholars—particularly humour textbook writers such as Raskin (1984), Chiaro (1992), and Crystal (1998)—those studies have only focused on various kinds of humorous texts in general. Meanwhile, several studies carried out by Indonesian scholars, including Oemarjati (1978), Soedjatmiko (1989), Wijana (1995), and Surana (2016), have dealt respectively with plays on words exploited in graffiti, American humors, Indonesian cartoons, and Indonesian stickers. None of these studies try to explain or pay specific attention to plays on words exploited by business owners in naming their enterprises. Using very limited data (around 17 plays on words), this phenomenon has already been observed by Wijana (2014, 227), but the four issues above have not yet to receive deep discussions. This paper, with more varied and expansive data (around 56 plays on words in enterprise names found in Yogyakarta) will try to address them.

A comprehensive study about jocular naming practices on enterprises is the study carried out by Toolan (2005) on several linguistic aspects, such as linguistic structures, semantic tendencies, and interpersonal structures of the shop names, which are mostly coin operated washers and dryers (launderettes), cafes, take away food, food shops, pet shops, etc stretch along the contemporary British streets. He found that most of the jokes in shop names (mostly small shops) are created to arise of humor that are far different from conventional big business name creations which are motivated and driven by competitive and globalizing forces. Sokolova's study on naming creations does not concern much about "play on words", but on practices about name making as means of trademarks and individualization by the name creators because the uniqueness giving for the company, product, or service are expected to be able affecting the potential costumers (Sokolova, 2012, 64). The creations are carried out in careful and sophisticated ways by exploiting a lot of knowledge, mainly linguistics (phonology, semantics, and sociolinguistics), and cultural knowledge for the names, as intellectual properties, should enable to show their trademark rights. Although in the past time this kind of naming activity is not known

in Russia for a lot of business enterprises do not have name, in more recent times because of extra linguistic factors, such as political, ideological, as well as economic development, enterprise name and name of products start to play their central part for its nicety, individuality and authenticity.

Various studies revealed that enterprise naming were influenced by social factors, such as religion, gender, race, education, regional, and the like which ultimately aimed to be a marketing strategy in selling varied products and services (Chulakova et al., 2024; du Plessis, 2023; Durant & Davis, 2023; Gábor & Béla, 2024; Gambetti et al., 2024; Kurniawan et al., 2024; Marti-Ochoa et al., 2024; Olwi & Alshammari, 2024; Park et al., 2024; Thneibat & Majali, 2024; Ye et al., 2024) Food products in Malaysia were influenced by Arabic names, Quranic verses, and hadiths as a marketing strategy to persuade public to buy the products (Osman et al., 2024). Enterprise naming as a marketing strategy was also studied by Vardzelashvili and Prokofyeva (2024) that found that duplicate naming (native and foreign) in explicitly nominative and implicitly subjective-pragmatic functioned to lift up the value of the services or products. Further, regarding enterprise naming, there have been previous studies revealing how effective words in forming enterprise brands seen as as a marketing strategy (Aksoy & Tugrul, 2024; Denistia et al., 2024; Do et al., 2024; Hodges et al., 2024; Motoki et al., 2023; ShabbirHusain et al., 2024; Zihagh et al., 2024).

Moreover, Fife's study (1950, 274-279) is focused on word plays of cafe names, drive inn, motels, and other highway side establishments found elsewhere in America. He found that the word plays are created through many types of alliteration of various combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables, such as *Busy Bee, Chew and Chat, Camp Comport Cabins, Chin Chin Chinchila Farm, Ten Treees Tourists, ect.;* puns, such as combination of *Inn* and preposition *in* in *Drive in* and *Drop in* and Dew *Drop Inn* and *Dodge Inn, Chik* in *Chik Inn* can be interpreted both as chiken or proper name name; and coinage of words via agglutination, such as *Urada Motel* in which stands for *Utah-Arizona- and Nevada*, *Motel* stands for 'motor plus hotel', *El Playtel* 'play hotel', Tourotel 'tour hotel'; and naive conundrums such as *Aut -O-Tel,* Bar-B-Q, *KT's Coffee Shoppe* (*Catty's*) , *To-Rest –Inn, Tou –Rest- Inn, To Rest Inn*, etc. Finally,

Paviour-Smith's study on hair salon's names finds that due to social condition, the linguistic elements of the salon's names which are drawn from different linguistic systems (French, German, Italian, and Romansh, etc) are combined , blended, or juxtaposed for humorous and surprise effects by using three major strategies, i.e near homophones, near homograph, and respelling foreign material as if were local. The salon names themselves denote to at least 9 referents, i.e personal name, building and place, geographic location, names of another part of the world, euphemistic name, cute names, costumer type, mimicry of corporate business, spelling innovations.

In his book chapter, Christian Thompson (2009) proposes how nomenclature and classification becomes the principles in creating names to distinguish from one entity to others. From the understanding, the authors elaborated that names can be possibly classified into several types, namely personal names for naming human beings, trademarks for merchandise, and road, village, building names for such entities, to avoiding confusing them with others. Names attached to certain entities have different linguistic characteristics from the ones used as generic or common words. For more simple and practical reasons, words used for naming entities are commonly called "proper names". Unlike common words, proper names are generally difficult or impossible to translate into other languages (Allan, 1986, 70–72). More importantly, name labeling was once conducted in a serious manner. Even long before naming is done, people may work tirelessly to find good or proper names for the entities they wish to name. Any proper name will thus convey putative expectations, historical events, etc. that are closely related to and inseparable from the entities that own the names. Generally, it is rare to find naming practices conducted in a non-serious manner. However, one thing that we cannot deny is that human beings are "homo ludens" (Huizinga, 1949; Cook, 2000). By this call, they are fond of playing. Playing constitutes an inseparable part of children's personality. Through playing, their creativity is evoked and stimulated. Finally, through playing, human beings are prepared to be community members (Daeng, 1982). To realize these matters, human beings play with everything existing surround them. Meanwhile, language according to Hockett (1959) is the most precious thing which human beings have, and they are inseparable from the language they use to communicate. These facts indicate that human beings as homo ludens will not miss the chances to play exploiting every aspect of their verbal means of communication. In human life, humor, including puns, serves various communicative functions. Consequently, various genres of humorous text exist within any speech community. Regarding play on words, according to "anti-language theory" proposed by Hallyday (1978) and "weapon of the weak theory" by Scott (1985), the existence of puns for naming enterprises is essentially a reflection of struggle done by dominated language speakers against the more dominant ones.

For those matters, the practice of naming various public enterprises in Yogyakarta through punning seem an interesting phenomenon to study, particularly in relation with crating approaches, languages used as the models, the extra-linguistic motivations possibly underlying it, as well as its semiotic clarification because only certain languages are used as models for such punning activities. Hence, in accordance with, this research drew two objectives, 1) investigating how plays on words approaches and motivations of business owners are conveyed in naming their enterprises and 2) investigating languages influences and semiotic explanation of plays on words in enterprises naming.

II. METHODS

This research began with the collection of data, i.e. enterprise names that are still found or were once found in Yogyakarta which are suspected to be created using plays on words. As a person who has lived in Yogyakarta for more than 40 years, the authors have a genuine experience in observing the enterprise names. However, some of them were found to be disappeared for being bankrupt or the like. Hence, some of them could no longer be found physically. Careful observations are carried out regarding the spelling, possible pronunciations, and meanings of all enterprises together with their various context, such as the products yielded or services offered, environments, location of enterprises, etc. Through knowledge about several characteristics of Indonesian, Javanese, English, Intalian, Chinese, French, and Arabic, all data were further classified according to the ways the names were created and the languages

used as models in the naming practice. Finally, by conforming the interview results with the owners of some businesses to the socio linguistic theory used, the authors identified and interpreted various motivations underlying such naming. Anti-language semiotic theory proposed by Scott (1985) and Halliday (1978) was used to comprehend the essence of plays on words in the enterprise naming practices found in Yogyakarta.

III. RESULT

Approaches and motivations of business owners in naming their enterprises

Spelling Deviation

Javanese or Indonesian words and phrases are found to often be uncommonly spelled by business owners to achieve certain communicative purposes in labeling their enterprises. By doing so, they get names that, immediately, look similar to more prestigious foreign names, as shown by examples (1) to (4) below:

(1) Baqull HP

(2) Lezzato

(3) J'neus

(4) (Rumah Makan) Terrazzi

Example (1) is a name of a cellular shop, *Baqull HP*, in which *HP* stands for 'hand phone' (cellular phone). The name is created from the Javanese word *bakul*, which means 'small trader'. *Lezatto* in (2), which at a glance looks like an Italian word, is actually a spelling manipulation of an Indonesian word that was borrowed from Arabic, *lezat,* which means 'very delicious'. *J'neus* in (3), although spelled similarly to a French word, is actually from the English loan word *genius* 'very clever'. Finally, *Terrazi* is a spelling deviation of the Indonesian word *terasi*, which means 'shrimp paste'. As such, the complete phrase *(Rumah Makan) Terazzi* actually means 'shrimp paste (restaurant)'. Certainly, this name is intended to inform consumers that the restaurant's menu is full of shrimp paste flavors.

Spelling deviation can also involve the combination of Indonesian and Javanese words, as shown in the following (5):

(5) (Klinik) Andamari

Example (5) is the name of a health clinic. It consists of the Indonesian word *Anda* 'you' and Javanese word *mari* 'recover'. The blending clause is generally written as *Anda Mari* 'You have recovered'. This word is accidentally with an Old Javanese word *andamari* 'to give light' from < {a (N)}- + damar 'lamp' + -i).

To keep the name secret, spelling deviation might also involve manipulating a new Indonesian spelling into an old one. For instance, *oe* is the old spelling for *u* and *dj* for *j.* As such, the café, art, and antique house *Semoet* (6) and *Ladjoe* (7) are intended to conceal the words *semut* 'ant' and *laju* 'fast, quick'.

(6) Semoet

(7) Ladjoe

Homo-phonic or near homo-phonic Pairing

In this matter, homo-phonic or near homo-phonic pairing involves the creation, through various manipulations of Indonesian or regional word vocabularies, to have the same or similar form as a foreign language word, as shown by (8) to (11) below:

(8) (Bakso) Josh Bush

(9) Kentucku Fried Chicken

(10) Karaoke Karoaku

(11) Milky Wae

In (8), the first name of former United States President George (Bush) is modified into *Josh*, echoing the informal Javanese adjective *jos*, which means 'very good, excellent'. This creation is intended to create sensation and attract consumers' attention, implying that the *bakso* 'noodle and meatball' being sold is as prestigious as the former American president's name being attached. Because of the influence of American fried chicken businesses, many fried chicken restaurants in Yogyakarta have become Americanised. A few of them, such as *Olive Chicken, Rocket Chicken, Yogya Chicken*, *Choco Chi ken, Super Chicken, Pro-Chicken, Chicken Crush,* etc. have found success, but most remain small (street vendor) enterprises. Accordingly, it is not surprising that one street vendor has slightly changed the name of the famous American fried chicken chain *Kentucky Fried Chicken* (better known as KFC) into (9) *Kentucku Fried Chicken*. *Kentucku*, here, is really a polite Javanese phrase *ken tuku*, which means 'to be asked to buy'.

Karaoke is a Japanese word that refers to 'a kind of entertainment where people sing popular songs accompanied by a prior recorded music'.

Many restaurants and hotels in big cities offer such facilities to attract visitors. A small restaurant in Yogyakarta named its business (10) *Karaoke Karoaku*. *Karo aku*, which is nearly homo phonic to *karaoke*, is a Javanese phrase that means 'with me'. As such, the restaurant name could be understood as 'to do *karaoke* with me'. The other example is *Takashimura* 'Japanese name'. This restaurant name is accidentally homophonous with Javanese clause *Tak kasih murah* that means 'I'll give [something to] you cheap' (supplement 48).

Milky Wae in (11) is the name of small milk shop. This phrase is a slight phonemic modification of *milky way,* an English phrase that refers to 'the system of stars that contains our sun and planets, seen as a bright band in the night sky' (Hornby, 2010, 614). This phrase is similar to a Javanese clause *Meleki Wae*! that means 'just give somebody milk'. The words being clashed are not always Indonesian/local languages and foreign languages; sometimes, Indonesian and local languages are clashed, as shown by (12) below:

(12) Padang Jinglang

Example (12) is the name of a Javanese Padang restaurant. Authentic Padang restaurants commonly serve various specific and delicious ethnic cuisines and are run by people from the city of Padang, West Sumatra. However, in Java these restaurants are being imitated by the Javanese, and sometimes the names are wittily manipulated. *Padang Jinglang* in (12) is a Javanese compound that means 'very bright'. The Javanese word *padhang* means 'bright' and *jinglang* is a unique constituent that can only occur or exist along with *padhang* for expressing intensity. Therefore, it will be truly misleading to interpret *Padang* as the name of a region in West Sumatra. The difference between the two words is limited to the aspirated [dh] and the non-aspirated [d].

Unlike (12), the restaurant name (13) below was created by confronting two Javanese phrases.

(13) Kebelet Pepes

To understand what is combined in restaurant name (13), one must know colloquial Javanese expressions such as *kebelet pipis* 'have an urgent need to urinate', *kebelet ngising* 'have an urgent need to defecate', etc. *Pepes*, which is phonetically similar to *pipis*, is a Javanese word referring to 'roasted fish or meat wrapped in a banana leaf'. This name is probably created to imply the delicious

menu that makes consumers unable to delay their desire to taste the food. From example (13) we can see that jocular activities often neglect politeness aspects of language use. Quite a lot of indecent and swear expressions use to name enterprise even though Yogyakarta is widely known as "Kota Pelajar" (student city) and the centre of Javanese culture. See suplements *Bladocks* 'greedy' (9), *Dasmu* 'your head', and *Starfucks* (49).

Contraction

All ways of creating new, shorter, linguistic units from longer ones will be simply called contraction. Enterprise names such as *(Mr.) Teto* (14) and *(Laundry) Q-loan* (15) are created through the contraction process. *(Mr) Teto* is an acronym that stands for *sate* 'meat skewer' and *soto* 'chicken soup', the two foods served by the restaurant. Meanwhile, *Q-loan* is a shorter way of writing the Javanese word *kiloan*, which means 'per kilogram', to inform consumers how the laundry business charges for the services it provides. Another is *salon* (16) 'saloon', which is intended to mean *sate lontong* 'meat skewer and steamed rice wrapped in banana leaf'. In this matter, syllabic contraction is more common than writing or orthographic contraction, as the latter requires prerequisite knowledge of English spelling and pronunciation.

(14) (Mr.) Teto
(15) Q-loan
(16) Salon

Phonological Permutation

Words in Indonesian and local Indonesian languages have relatively similar spellings and pronunciations. In other words, there is no great difference between how these words are pronounced and how they are spelled. In addition, the spelling system of these languages mostly consists of single characters that generally have a one-to-one correspondence with the sound they represent. Accordingly, phonological permutations are often found, particularly for creating slangy expressions in intimate speech among speakers that have close personal relationships (Wijana, 2010, 36; Wijana, 2014, 116). For example, the slangy expressions *elub-elub, hacep tengab, oges, ogeb*, etc. are respectively reverse creation of *bule-bule* 'albino people', *pecah banget* 'severely broken', meaning 'unbearable', *sego* 'rice', *bego* 'very stupid', etc. These kinds of phenomena are difficult to find in languages whose phoneme sounds differ greatly

from their graphemes. Malang, a region in East Java, is very famous of using this kind of language style, which the local people call "Basa Walikan" (reversed language). They use this language for many kinds of communicative purposes in informal occasions, both when speaking Indonesian and when speaking the East Javanese dialect. For example, *soak ngalam, tahes*, *kera ngalam, ongis nade*, respectively meaning *kaos Malang* 'Malang T-Shirt', *seha*t 'healthy', *arek Malang* 'Malang people', *singo edan* 'crazy lion' (i.e. the call for Malang's soccer team). Although Yogyakarta people use this reverse style less extensively, one datum was created through this permutation technique, shown in (17) below:

(17) Lecep Elel

Example (17) is a name of small restaurant that serves the very popular food *pecel lele* 'blanched vegetable and catfish'. *Lecep* is a phonological reversal of *pecel* 'blanched vegetable', while *elel* is a phonological reversal of *lele* 'cat fish'.

Word-to-Word Translation

In the data collected, only one example showed the exploitation of word-to-word translation in enterprise naming, i.e. *Yellow River*, which constitutes a translation of *Kali Kuning* 'name of river'; this business is located on the east side of that river.

(18) Yellow River

All commercial activities have one main goal: profit. As such, business owners have to persuade potential customers to buy their products or use their services. To pursuit this purpose, businesses use various approaches. They may maintain and increase the quality of products or services, create persuasive advertisements involving popular film stars and other famous people, or create attractive jingles and catchy phrases. Creating unique and sensational enterprise names using various punning techniques, in my opinion, is one of many ways businesses attract costumer attention. For example, an air conditioning service enterprise in Indonesian capital city of Jakarta is named *AC Milan*, after the famous Italian football team. In this case, the business owner has trickily exploited the homograph AC, which in Italian and English means very different thing; in the former language, it refers to a football association, while in the latter language it refers to air conditioning.

Obviously, numerous motivations underlie the naming practices of business owners in general, including those in Yogyakarta. These include conveying or implying the kind of business being run and its means of operation, as in *Bakso Josh Bush* (8), *Kentucku Fried Chicken* (9), and *Karaoke Karoaku* (10); persuading customers to use the service or buy the products being offered, as in *(Klinik) Andamari* (5), *Ben Kwat* (35), and *Milky Wae* (11); expressing putative expectations, as in La *Rizo* (26), *J'neus* (3), and *Ben Wazis* (34); advising customers, as in *Kenstity* (18); and making promises to customers, as in *Takashimura* (32); etc. Certainly, it is difficult to clearly separate one function from another, because—in most cases—a business name is intended to perform more than just one communicative function. For instance, *Karaoke Karoaku* in (10) may be used by the business' owners not only to convey the kind of business they operate, but also to persuade and invite customers. The names *J'Neus* (3) and *Ben Wazis* (34) do not only imply stationary shops, but also persuade and promise consumers that they may become geniuses in the future.

Motivation of enterprises naming in Yogyakarta

Regarding the motivations under enterprises naming in Yogyakarta, it is interesting to note that interviews carried out to discover those various motives faced several problems. First, nearly half of the enterprises discussed here are no longer extant. Second, many of enterprises that are still operational are staffed by people who do not dare give information, citing their lack of authority to do so, even though some know the reason for the naming. Third, in line with anti-language theory, many owners want to keep their business names secret, and the reasons regarding their enterprises' unique naming are thus very difficult to learn. Some owners who gave information identified various reasons, which can be divided into two key categories: for creating humour and for lending beauty.

Creating Humour

Joking plays a very central role in human life, both because it can relieve various kinds of tension and, more importantly, because it can criticise social conditions to achieve intended improvements. However, most plays on words found in business names are intended to ensure readers feel amused or entertained after they realise the real meaning of the business owners' wordplay. As mentioned

above, plays on words in enterprise naming is but one of many ways to attract consumers' attention and persuade them to buy the product being offered.

Theoretically, at least two scripts are opposed by joke creators. One script is considered extraordinary or elegant, while the other is viewed as trivial (Raskin, 1984). For example, notice (36) and (37) below:

(36) Yellow River

(37) Tickle Hotel

At a glance, *Yellow River* is the name of a river located somewhere in an English-speaking place. However, after investigating the business carefully, particularly the location where it is operated, it can be understood that *Yellow River* is simply a direct translation of *Kali Kuning*, the name of a small river that runs in the eastern part of Yogyakarta. As with any other name, the name of this river cannot or is not allowed to be translated into another language unless another communicative function is intended. Proper name translation is a very common phenomenon in joking activities. This can also be seen in (37). *Tickle* looks like an English word that means 'to move one's fingers on a sensitive body part in order to make someone laugh' or 'to please or amuse somebody'. However, this name may also be interpreted as a spelling deviation of the Javanese word *tikel*, which means 'multiple', as in 'multiple profits will be gained by the hotelier'. Similarly, no one will guess initially that *Benafix* 'to be good' in (19) above is a Javanese phrase that comprises *ben* 'in order to be' and *apik* 'good'. Only after investigating the name more carefully can the intended meaning finally be revealed.

Lending Beauty

Besides for amusing readers who are expected to become customers, most plays on words in business naming in Yogyakarta seem to be intended to lend beauty. Nearly all of these business names are created to resemble foreign-language words that are considered more prestigious than their Indonesian and Javanese counterparts, such as those exemplified above. For more examples, see (38) to (40) below:

(38) Cullinan

(39) Shukaku

(40) Q-tha Jilbab

Examples (38), (39), and (40) are respectively the names of a jewellery shop, a small restaurant, and a Muslim attire shop. Spelling deviation leads to the Javanese word *kulinan* or *kulino* 'already familiar' becoming Cullinan/Kullino, thus resembling an English word; *sukaku* 'my favorite' is transformed into *Shukaku*, thus resembling a Japanese word; and *kita* 'we' becomes *Q-tha*, exposing the foreign language (Arabic) used as the model. All these undeniably constitute efforts to borrow from the prestige of a foreign language. At the same time, these efforts are used to hide or cover the low prestige of the Indonesian and Javanese words.

Language Influences and Semiotic Explanations of Plays on Words in Enterprise Naming

Language Influences on Plays on Words in Enterprise Naming

English, as one of biggest international languages, is undeniably the most influential, lending many borrowings to other languages, especially in the fields of science and technology. Consequently, English loan words are found extensively in all languages, and often regarded as more prestigious linguistic elements than native or local lexical items. Therefore, it is not surprising that business owners in Yogyakarta often play on Indonesian or Javanese words as if they were English words (as shown in more than 19 data out of 56); several of them can be seen in (19), (20), (21), (22), (23) and (24) below:

(19) Kenstity < ken 'asked to be' + setiti 'economical' > 'asked to be economical' (jean repair)

(20) Benafix < ben 'in order to be' + apik 'good' > 'be good' (jean repair)

(21) Ayam Gemez < ayam 'Chicken' + gemes 'could eat up' > "Could eat up the chicken' (fried chicken restaurant)

(22) Qualy < Kuali 'cooking pot' (restaurant name with menus prepared in traditional cooking pot to achieve a special taste)

(23) Sambal Pedazz < sambal 'chili sauce' + pedas 'hot' > 'hot chili sauce' (restaurant name)

(24) Soocha > soca 'jewel' (furniture shop)

All six examples above are Javanese phrases or words whose spellings have been adapted to English in various ways. In example (19), Javanese, which does not have the cluster [*st*], is forced to have one by omitting [∂], and changing the final sound spelling i into y, which does not exist in Javanese orthography but is very common in English. In (20), the prepositional phrase *benafix* is a Javanese phrase consisting of two words, namely *ben* 'to be'

and *apik* 'good'. The final letter *k* is changed into *x* to resemble English spelling, with *x* representing [ks]. In (21), the final letter *s* is changed into *z*; this is used to represent the voiced palatal fricative [z], which does not exist in Javanese. In (22), *Qualy* is resulted from spelling deviation of two letters, i.e. k into q and i into y. Q is not known in the Javanese spelling system, and y is used only to represent the semivowel [y] in initial and middle position. Spelling deviation in (23) is similar to spelling deviation in (21), but the letter used to substitute s is doubled (forming zz) for emotional emphasis. Finally, in (24), the use of a double o (i.e. oo) and ch, which are very common in English orthography to represent [u:] and the voiceless palatal affricate [č] substitutes o and c, even though there are no long vowels or fricative consonants in Javanese phonology.

Italy is a country famous for many things, i.e. fashion, ceramics, sports, and cuisine. With regards to the latter, several foods, including pizza, spaghetti, and macaroni, are notably from this country (Jones, 2008). For this reason, several Indonesian words are manipulated to resemble Italian words, as shown by (2) and (4) above, and in (25) below:

> (25) Rambozeni < ra 'not' + mbosen 'to get bored' + -i > ra mboseni 'to make someone never get bored'

Rambozeni is a Javanese phrase created through spelling deviation. By substituting s with z, and by exploiting the open syllabic pattern of three last syllables [bo. ze.ni], the phrase looks like an Italian word.

French is also often used as the model for name creation. The articles *La* and *De*, together with the contraction *D'*, are found in great number of cases, as seen in examples (26) through (28) below:

> (26) La Rizo < laris(o) 'hopefully have good sales' (bakery)

> (27) La Kusuma (Hotel) < kusuma 'flower' (hotel)

> (28) D'Teko < teko 'tea pot' (restaurant)

Aside from manipulation of initial Javanese syllable *la* into the French feminine article *La,* there is also the substitution of s with z. Meanwhile, {-a} is a Javanese suffix pronounced [ɔ] in this language. In (3), the initial syllable *Je* is contracted to *J'*, imitating how the French contract their words. *J'neus* is the name of a stationary shop, which suggests what the consumers expect for the future. Words ending in *-que* are so common in French

that the business owner has used it as a model, as seen in the following beauty salon name (29):

> (29) (Serba) Cantique < (Serba) Cantik 'everything beautiful'

Japanese has long had influenced Indonesian and Malay. The use of Japanese loan words could be found in Malay when the Malay-Arabic script (*Jawi*) was used widely throughout this region. In Indonesia, Japanese loan words became increasingly common during the occupation (1942–1945). At this time, most Japanese borrowings were related to military technical terms, newspaper names, and commercial companies (Jones, 2008, xxxi). Many are no longer in common use. Nowadays, Japan is famous for its advanced automotive technology. Many brands of vehicle, such as *Suzuki, Toyota, Honda, Yamaha*, etc., are widely used in Indonesian. In addition, Japanese people greatly appreciate their traditional customs, including body care, medicine, cuisine, etc. Recently, many Japanese foods and traditional healing practices have entered Indonesia's major cities, and Yogyakarta is no exception. As a consequence, many Indonesian words or phrases are modified in certain ways to resemble Japanese ones, as shown by (30) to (32) below:

> (30) Isakuiki < isaku 'what I can do' + iki 'this' > 'I can only do this' (restaurant name)

> (31) Ka ki ku < kaki 'foot' + -ku 'my' > *kakiku* 'my feet' (reflexology)

> (32) Takashimura > tak kasih 'I will give' + murah 'cheap' > 'I will give [you] a cheap price' (restaurant name)

Example (30) *Isakuiki* is the name of a restaurant that operated in Yogyakarta several years ago. This word is created by omitting the space from a two-part Javanese phrase, namely *isaku* 'what I can do' and *iki* 'this'. As such, it seems to be a single word, and the open syllabic patterning resembles a Japanese word. Conversely, the massage parlour name *Ka ki ku* in (31) is created from the Indonesian phrase *kakiku* 'my foot' to refer to the body part that is most frequently treated.

Takashimura in (32) is actually an informal Indonesian phrase constructed with the immediate constituents *tak kasih* 'I will give you' and *murah* 'cheap', to indicate that 'I will give you a cheap price' for all foods served at the restaurant. The omission of *h* is intended to create open syllables, because Javanese is a vocalic language.

Occasionally, one part of a name is a foreign

borrowing and the other is a Javanese word, as shown by (33), which combines the English loan word *oke* 'okay' with the Javanese *iki* 'this':

(33) Okeiki < oke 'okay' + iki 'this' > this is okay (restaurant name)

Examples (30), (32), and (33) apply the space omission technique, while in (31) spaces are applied to every syllable.

For most Indonesians, Arabic is a prestigious language because of its use in writing the Holy Qur'an. Indonesian Muslims frequently study this language to deepen their understanding of the Islamic teachings contained in the holy book. Accordingly, many Arabic words are borrowed to enrich Indonesian vocabularies and to realise various communicative purposes. The use of a glottal stop (represented by *q*) in the middle position, and the use *ul*, which is similar to the Arabic morph *–ul(l)* (an allomorph of {-al} for expressing the genitive, such as in (1) *Baqull HP* above. The voiced fricative [z] substituting the voiceless fricative [s] in (34) below is certainly influenced by Arabic.

(34) Ben Wazis < ben 'in order to be' + wasis 'clever' (book shop)

Ben Wazis is a slight modification of Javanese *Ben Wasis* 'to be clever' and is used as the name of a small bookshop. It is a kind of putative expectation offered to persuade customers.

Finally, Mandarin is the language of the world's most populous country which is common in many aspects of life, such as food and cuisine, martial arts, philosophy, way of life, and traditional medicine. Indeed, many Indonesians regard traditional medicine to effectively heal various kinds of serious illness, such as hypertension, hepatitis, diabetes, cancer, etc. Therefore, it is not surprising that many Indonesian people, especially those living in Java, prefer Chinese medicine over modern medicine. Many Chinese drug stores are found in Yogyakarta, such as *Sehat Jaya, Malaya, Jamu Iboe, Thai An Tjan, Mbah* and *Gembok, Raya*. Only one small Chinese medicine shop in Yogyakarta is named using a play on words: *Ben Kuat* 'hopefully strong', which offers a fake Chinese name (35) without altering the meaning. *Ben Kuat* consists of two elements, namely *ben* 'in order (to be)' and *kuat* 'strong'. Here, the disyllabic word *kuat* is spelled *Kwat*, making it monosyllabic to emulate the Chinese phonological system.

(35) Ben Kwat < ben 'in order to be' + kuat 'strong' > 'hopefully strong' (drug store).

Semiotic Explanations of Plays on Words in Enterprise Naming

Leaving behind the language influences, this section serves the semiotic explanations. Theoretically, every language is as good as another, and internally none is more difficult than another. However, this does not mean that all languages have the same socio-political status. The language used does not merely imply linguistic factors, but also extra-linguistic ones. For instance, the social status of a language is strongly determined, to some extent, by the social status of its speakers, either economically or politically. Accordingly, the languages of speakers of higher social, economic, and political status tend to dominate the languages of persons with lower status. Any time such language dominance exists, there will always be resistance, a symbol of the dominated group's struggle against the dominating one. One expert who has investigated the resistance of dominated languages against the more dominant is James Scott (1985), who observes how the peasants of Sedarka, a disguised village name in Malay, struggle against their masters. In this research, Scott finds two kinds of behaviors shown by the farmers, i.e. "on stage" behaviour and "off stage" behaviour. The first refers to the farmers' behaviour when interacting with their master's and the local elites, while the second refers to when they interact with other farmers without any local elites nearby. They usually use two different linguistic expressions to perform each behaviour, referring to the same personal referent. In front of the master, a farmer uses *Haji Kadir* or *Haji Pak* to refer to his master to show his deference, because the master has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. However, when the farmer is speaking to other farmers, he calls his master *Kadir Ceti* or *Haji Broom*. *Ceti* literally means 'pimp', while *broom* an English word that is equivalent to the local expression *sapu*. These calls are insinuations against the master's behaviour as a high-interest moneylender, a profession that strongly contradicts Islamic teaching and often "cleans out" the poor. Scott calls this phenomenon the "weapon of the weak"

In other words, reflecting the argument by Scott (1985), punning in the naming of public enterprises is a weapon used by the weak against the strong. It is not different from the use of slang

and other non-formal linguistic forms to compete with the standard language used by the higher class on formal occasions (Oemarjati, 1978, 7–8). Halliday (1978, 165–181) uses the term "anti-language" to refer to specific language used by dominated groups in society (see also Mesthrie et al. 2009, 328–329). This anti-language is created by anti-society as a conscious alternative to the language and society that dominate it. As such, at all times a society and its language exists together with an anti-society and its anti-language. Relying on research conducted by Harman, Mallik, and Podgorecky, Halliday explains the cases of anti-language found in three different places.

In Elizabethan England, the counterculture of homeless people—mostly criminals—was realized using a special tongue known as "pelting speech" for fighting against established society. Immediately, the lexical expressions are the professional jargon of criminal counterculture. For example, "pelting speech" has many linguistic expressions referring to the vagabonds' jobs, such as *prigger of prancers* 'horse thief', *doxy* 'prostitute'; terms for referring to immoral activities and strategies used for executing them, such as *lifting laws* 'stealing packages', which includes a *lift,* a *marker*, and a *santer* for respectively referring 'the one who steals, the one to whom it is handed, and the one who carries it off'; tools used to carry out the activities, e.g. *wrester* 'tool for picking locks', *snapping* and *garbage* 'tool for spoiling locks'; various penalty terms, i.e. *clying the jerk* 'being whipped', *trining on the chats* 'getting hanged' (Halliday, 1978, 65).

As quoted by Halliday (1978, 172), Mallik, who conducted his research in modern Calcutta, found that this underworld language is a full and complete language based on Bengali, albeit artificial and mixed with Hindi to some extent. This language has its own phonological and morphological system, and is used by criminals, near-criminals, and students. There are significant differences among users in matters of content and expressions. The criminals' speech is marked by a peculiar intonation, while the students and other cultured people speak normally. This reflects the continuity between language and anti-language, as continuity between society and anti-society. Despite functioning to create humour, anti-language is also used for insults and secrecy. Mallik does not only find various lexical variations for expressing something, e.g. 21 words for 'bomb',

41 for 'police'; he also discovers many expressions resulting from phonological and grammatical processes. For example, *kodan* from *dokan* 'shop', *khum* from *mukh* 'mouth', and *kona* from *sona* 'gold' respectively constitute phonological processes of metathesis, back formation, and consonantal substitution. Meanwhile, *kotni* from *cotton* 'cotton bag', *bilakhana* 'brothel', from *bila* 'derogatory term' and *kana* 'opium, place for', are formed through the morphological processes of suffixing and compounding.

Furthermore, the slang used by the subculture of Polish recidivists and inmates is called "grypserka". It is an anti-language used by anti-society, which is called "the second life". Anti-language use is prominently intended for strengthening the position of the inmates in the social hierarchy by not breaking the rules of verbal contest and not telling secrets to the police. As such, grypserka not only serves to give recidivists a second life with attractive verbal forms, but also serves to maintain the existence of the second life.

Halliday states that "anti-language" is a metaphor (another way of saying the same thing) for daily language use, which can be divided into several categories, i.e. phonological metaphor, semantic metaphor, and grammatical metaphor. In the enterprise-naming practices found in Yogyakarta, only two kinds of metaphors were involved, i.e. orthographic metaphors and phonological metaphors. The first is carried out by spelling Indonesian and Javanese expressions in such ways that they resembled foreign expressions, even when such expressions do not exist in the target language, such as in *Kenstity* (19), *Isakuiki* (30), *J'neus* (3), etc. The naming may also invoke homonymic pairing, such as *tickle* (43), or be gained through collocation, such as *Josh Bush* (8), *Padang Jinglang* (12), Kebelet Pepes (13), etc. The second involves various phonological processes, such as sound substitution (starfucks (49), *Kentucku Fried Chiken* (9), *Karaoke Karoaku* (10)), sound addition (Hayam Wuruk (41)), back formation (Lecep Elel (17)), and vowel lengthening (Yaa, Yuuuk (42)), etc.

(41) Hayam Wuruk

(42) Yaa, Yuuuk

Example (41) is the name of a fried chicken restaurant, in which *ayam* 'chicken' is spelled *Hayam*, referring to a famous Majapahit king. In the

Javanese nicknaming tradition, the personal name *Rahayu* is informally shortened to *Yayuk*; as such, the business owner creatively named the business *Yaa, Yuuk* (42), which is homonymous with an Indonesian inviting expression that means 'ok, come on'. No semantic or grammatical metaphors were found in the data collected, because the disguised Indonesian and Javanese names are not something to be hidden from security authorities, nor do they relate to criminal acts or invoke insults. However, these matters still need further investigation.

IV. DISCUSSION

The deployment of 'plays on words' was interpreted as the branding strategy from the owners of the enterprises around Yogyakarta. The enterprise names suspected as being named through plays on words shows that business owners exploit various ways to name their enterprises in a manner that suggests they are foreign names, rather than Indonesian or Javanese. These approaches, from the most to the least common, are spelling deviation, homo-phonic and near homo-phonic pairing, acronym, and word to word translation. In short, the play on words strategies aimed at persuading target consumers were by making fun names as jokes and beautiful names to figuratively represent the enterprises.

Close examination of the data collected, particularly the spelling deviations, clearly shows that naming creations are influenced strongly through intensive linguistic contact with several foreign languages, i.e. English, Italian, French, Javanese, Arabic, and Mandarin. these foreign languages have higher prestige and status than Indonesian or Javanese. From the spelling and phonological structure of the enterprise names, it can be guessed that business owners exploit these five foreign languages as models for their plays on words in creating names. This is in line with Foley's argument (2001, 383) that, in any social contact, the cultural elements (including languages) of more socially and economically powerful communities will likely to be viewed positively by less powerful communities. Accordingly, linguistic elements of these six foreign languages are easily found in Indonesian, but not vice versa.

Based on this theory, it can be stated that the plays on words created by business owners by 'substituting' less powerful signs with more powerful ones in naming public enterprises in Yogyakarta are essentially a reflection of less powerful groups' struggle against more powerful ones. In this case, this struggle is between local language (Javanese)/national language (Indonesian) speakers and foreign language (i.e. English, French, Italian, Japanese, Arabic, and Mandarin) speakers, even though expressions within the same language may be used, such as in *Starbucks* and *Starfucks* (cafe, supplement 49).

Further, compared with previous studies, this research tends to strengthen the findings that enterprises naming needs a strategy to persuade target customers. In other words, this research is in line with previous studies in emphasizing that naming businesses or enterprises can bee seen as the branding strategy to make public interested and willing to buy the products or services. The implication of the findings was that plays on words become a branding strategy to persuade target customers for each enterprise. The matters whether the plays on words deployment effectively affected to the increase of customers for the respective enterprise or not remains to be the limitation of this research and hance, advanced research is encouraged to investigate the effectiveness of plays on words in increasing the customers' enterprises.

V. CONCLUSION

Human beings play with their language to create many kinds of discourses, such as poems, crossword puzzles, advertisements, jocular texts, etc. Even more strikingly, they are do so to name their enterprises. Because naming activities are usually carried out in a serious manner, this behaviour should be motivated by other factors. This research found that, despite its primary reasons, i.e. to create humour and to lend beauty, the practice of enterprise naming is also exploited to attract consumers to buy or use the products or services being offered. This constitutes a business endeavour conducted to increase the number of customers. Previously, this matter has not been clearly explained by experts focusing on plays on words with sociolinguistics and pragmatic approaches. From a semiotic viewpoint, this play is essentially a reflection of the "power of the weak" or "anti-language" created by a dominated group to resist against a stronger group. Anti-language, in this case, is essentially daily metaphors that can be classified further into orthographical metaphors and phonological metaphors. There are still many

kinds of plays on word in texts that can be studied using the pragmatic and semiotic approaches in Yogyakarta, such as in food and industrial product names, personal names, places names, etc. All these certainly have different linguistic characteristics and are created based on different social motivations. In the future, to gain more information on everything about the naming and extra linguistic motivations underlying them, more strategic interviewing processes should be carried out.

ETHICS STATEMENT

The authors confirm to have read and followed the ethical requirements for publication in **Jurnal Arbitrer** and that the current work does not involve human subjects, animal experiments, or any data collected from social media platforms.

CREDIT AUTHOR STATEMENT

I Dewa Putu Wijana: initially drafting, introduction, theoretical framework, method, data collection and analysis, discussion, and conclusion. **Adwidya Yoga** : title, abstract, discussion, conclusion, corresponding, and revising article as reviewers' notes

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors herewith declare that this article is totally free from any conflict of interest regarding the data collection, analysis, editorial process, and publication process of this article in this journal. The author was never involved in editors' decision making at all costs.

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