

# 借用語と関連性理論

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## Summary

### Loanwords and Relevance Theory

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In this paper, I have argued that Relevance-Theory can provide a good tool for explaining various meaning changes through borrowing; (2) the roles of concept narrowing, concept widening, concept loosening, and concept echoing are used in borrowing as well as in diachronic language change. Cf. Higashimori and Wilson (1996:4) ; (3) concept echoing as a metarepresentational knowledge comes from our cognitive knowledge of resemblance in the framework of RT. Finally, I have shown six residual problems which are related to processing effort, accessibility and visual perception.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

本稿の目的は日本語から英語への借用語および英語から日本語への借用語の意味の変化を共時的データーはもちろん通時的データーに対しても関連性理論から説明可能であることを示すこと；また，Encoded concept から Communicated concept への意味の変化は Ad Hoc Concept Construction のプロセスをへると説明が可能であること；さらに，interpretive resemblance が多くの日本語の広告などにおける英語の借用語に用いられていることを実証することである。

まず共時的なデーターを少しみてみよう。

日本語から英語への借用語の例：

(1) Professor David Bayley, author of the book *Forces of Order*, studied the Japanese koban—or “police box”— from the inside. —*The best of the English Journal Interviews, Japan 2*, p. 20

(2) I hope to translate manga, but as I mentioned earlier, I think the manga that can actually be translated and received well in the West are relatively few in number. —*ibid.*, p. 122

(3) Benihana of Tokyo, 47 W. 56th St. (581-0930)

Clearly the attraction here is the spectacular showmanship of the chefs at the hibachi tables.

<hibachi: a small charcoal grill or stove—Urdang & Abate (1988)>

Fuji, 238 W. 56th St. (245-8594)

Excellent service and authentic shoji-screen decor. All dishes except tempura are fine, some table-cooked,

—*Take a Bite, Entertainment Ideas for the Big Apple (1986 Linguistic Institute of The Linguistic Society of America)* p. 14

<shoji: a light screen or panel made of paper stretched over a frame, used as a room divider in Japanese houses—Urdang & Abate (1988)>

<tempura: seafood of vegetables dipped in batter and deep-fried—Urdang & Abate (1988)>

Cf. Hibachi tables, shoji-screen という説明入りの英語の表現に注意

(4) Karaoke tops list of cultural pasttimes—Mainich Daily News

(Cf. Karaoke という語はフィンランドの小さな町や北欧の SiLja Line の船のなかでも実際に使われていた。)

(5) A Bandai employee displays a Tamagotchi or virtual pet game.—*Mainichi Daily News*,

Dec. 28, 1997

- (6) Soon to say **Sayonara**.—*Sakai City Newsletter* June & July, 1997  
〈sayonara: farewell; goodbye—Urdang & Abate (1988)〉
- (7) A revolution is taking place in homes all across America as millions wake up to **futon** furnishings as the sensible alternative to uncomfortable, old-fashioned convertible sofas.—*Phoenix Living*, Oct. 1995, p. 13
- (8) Most **Satsuma** available at nurseries are selections of the 'Owari', labeled 'Owari' Satsuma.—Richard Ray and Lance Walheim, *Citrus*, 1980, p. 78<sup>2</sup>
- Cf. 筆者が最初に英国で Satsuma という表示をみて日本のみかんがあるので、どのように知識を用いても理解できなかった。すなわち、accessibility の問題で、理解不可能だったのである。
- (9) Taking advantage of the growing popularity of marathons and **ekiden** (long-distance relay road race), more and more firms are forming women's track teams.—*The Nikkei Weekly* (ed.) (1994: 230)
- (10) Their goal was to preserve choice posts for **amakudari** (literally "descent from heaven"), in which retired bureaucrats are often given cushy jobs in industries they formerly regulated.  
—*The Nikkei Weekly* (ed.) (1994: 44)

英語から日本語への借用語の例：

実例を見る前に英語が日本語に入るときの書記法について以下の5通りがあることに注意が必要である。

Patterns for Representing English in Japanese—Loveday (1996:120)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| i) Japanese script only (usually Katakana)                      | バレンタイン生チョコケーキ<br>barentain nama choko keki<br>'Valentine cream choco cake' |
| ii) Morphological script-mixing                                 | スーパー JOCKEY<br>supa + JOCKEY<br>'superjockey'                              |
| iii) Item in roman letters accompanied by katakana version:     | NEW MEDIA ニューメディア  |
| iv) Items in roman letters accompanied by Japanese translation: | off limits 立入禁止  |
| v) Roman only (capitals/lower case)                             | TARZAN EXPRESS   |

また、日本語への外来語の中で英語のしめる割合が一番多くて重要なことが以下の表からわかる。

Loveday (1996: 48)

Proportion of Loans Derived from Contact with European Languages in Modern Japanese

Donor	% total Japanese lexicon
English	7.29
French	0.55
German	0.31
Italian	0.15
Portuguese and Spanish	0.14
Dutch	0.13
Russian	0.08
Other (Latin,Tamil,Polynesian, etc.)	0.52

具体例：

- (11) Purikura, or Print Clubs, are as requisite for Japanese teenagers as loose socks and Tamagotchi. —*Mangajin*, No. 70, 1997, p. 12 〈通常 photo stickers と訳されている〉
- (12) poketto beru (=pocket bell) kashite kure.  
       'beeper'                                    'lend' 'please'  
       "Lend me your beeper."—*Mangajin*, No. 70, 1997, p. 21 〈通常ポケベルとよばれ、pager, beeper と訳される〉
- (13) アバウト (=about) な人 (=a person who has a loose character by nature)
- (14) 理—ズナブル (=reasonable) (ハンバーガーチェーンの99円ハンバーガーのコマーシャル) —『現代用語の基礎知識1998』(自由国民社), p. 1168
- (15) 感ビニエンス (=convenience) (コンビニが便利さ以外に感覚的にさらにビジネスを広げようということば)
- (16) 透けるトン グッズ (skelton goods) (スイスの SWATCH に代表されるいろいろな品物の中身・中の構造が透明ですくてみえる商品で日本語の「透ける」とかけて使われている)
- (17) ノムラー (=Nomurer) の定義：  
       小・中学生の間で人気上昇中の子役スター (=star) 野村佑香のファッションを真似た子供達のこと。  
       「ワンピース (=one piece) は膝上10センチがおしゃれ」「ジーンズの基本はストレートのメンズタイプ (=men's type)」など「アムラー (Amurer)」と違って保守的なファッションが特徴. —*Hiragana Times* 1997 Feb. p. 128  
       Children who dress like Yuka Nomura, who is getting popular as a child actress among elementary and junior high school students. Their fashion style is conserva-

tive and in contrast to “Amurer”: “It’s fashionable to wear a dress of a length which comes to 10cm above the knees.” “Jeans should be basically men’s style, straight jeans.”

(18) 駅サイティング (=exciting)

メディア

ワクワク情報がいっぱい

交通広告

—株式会社ジェイアール西日本コミュニケーション

(19) 婚ピューター (=computer) —結婚情報センター

Cf. computer (calculating machine)

This bald definition means much more now that it did when the word first appeared in the seventeenth century, meaning not only a machine that computed or calculated but a person who did. (As an occupation, a ‘computer’ could have been a person employed to make a calculations in an observatory, for example, or in surveying.) The use of the word in anything like the modern sense arose at the end of the nineteenth century, and an article in the issue of the magazine *Engineering* for 22 January 1897 describes a ‘computer’ that was actually a kind of circular sliderule. The first electronic computer was one developed in the United States for the US Army in the 1940s.—Room (1986:67)

(20) a. エブリボデイ (=everybody) (United Sports Club’s ad)

Cf. 発音で関西人は kii とのぼすので木から紀伊の地名ができたし、島→志摩、沖→隠岐の地名が命名された。

b. 漫画人 mangajin (=magazine) <The title of the Journal>

Cf. Higashimori and Wilson (1996: 116)

Relevance theory provides several means of extending the individual’s conceptual repertoire. The role of concept narrowing, loose use and attributive use in language acquisition and language change was discussed in a draft of *Relevance* (Sperber and Wilson 1983) and developed in more recent work (e.g. Sperber 1996, Sperber & Wilson forthcoming). For example, on hearing a new word like ‘gerbil’ in a situation which makes it clear that a gerbil is a kind of pet, the child might construct an attributive concept, to represent what others are referring to when they use the word, with partial lexical, logical and encyclopaedic entries to be filled out over time. Similar accounts, based on loose use or attributive use, might cover the borrowing of words from other languages, and pragmatically conditioned changes in meaning (e.g. *greve*, from ‘river bank’, a place where strikers used to gather, to mean ‘strike’).

## 2. 借用語と辞書

### 2.1. 英語に借用された日本語と辞書

#### 2.1.1. *Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition) on CD-ROM (1992)*

Etymology search で Japan を入力すると以下の343語がでてくるが、現代日本人が日本語とわからない語などかなりの不純物が含まれているので、日本語がどのようにして英語に入っていたかというプロセスがかなり複雑であることがうかがえる。<sup>3</sup>

- (21) Aduki, aikido, ama, amado, aucuba, awabi, bai-u, banzai, baren, bekko, bonsai, bonze, bunraku, bushido, daimio, dairi, daisho, dan, dashi, dojo, eta, fusuma, futon, gagaku, geisha Genro, geta, ginkgo, go, Goanese, Gobang, habu, habutai, haiku, hakama, hanami, hanashika, haniwa, haori, happi-coat, harai goshi, hara-kiri, hatamoto, hechima, Heian, heimin, hibachi, hinin, hinoki, hiragana, honcho, hoochie, Huk, ikebana, inkyo, intro, iroha, ishikawaite, itai-itai, itzebu, janken, Japan, Japaneseness, Japanesery, Japanesey, jigotai, jinricksha, jito, Jodo, johachidokite, Jomon, joro, Joruru, joruru, judo, ju-jitsu, junshi, Kanane, kabuki, kago, kagura, kakemono, kaki, Kakiemon, kakke, kami, kamikaze, kana, kanji, karate, kata, katakana, katana, katsuo, katsura, katuramono, kaya, Kempeitai, ken, ken, ken, kendo, kesa-gatame, ketchup, keyaki, Kikuchi, kikyō, ki-mon, kimono, kiri, kirin, koan, kobang, kobeite, kogai, koi, koi-cha, koji, kokeshi, koku, kombu, koniak, koro, kotatsu, koto, kudzu, Kuge, kura, Kuroshiwo, kuruma, kuzushi, kyogen, kyu, maiko, makimono, mama-san, manyogana, matsu, matsuri, mebos, Meiji, metake, metasequoia, miai, mikado, mikan, mingei, miso, mitomycin, mitsumata, mochi, mokum, mompei, mon, mondo, moose, mousmee, moxa, muraji, nakodo, Nanga, narikin, Nashiji, netsuke, Nippon, nisei, nogaku, Noh, nori, norimon, noshi, nunchaku, obang, ogi, o-goshi, oiran, ojime, okimono, Okinawan, omi, on, onnagata, onsen, origami, orihon, osaekomi waza, oshibori, O-soto-gari, oyama, pachinko, parameteron, phyto-plum, protoanemonin, raku, ramanas, randori, renga, ri, rikka, rin, Ritsu, Roju, romaji, ronin, Roshi, rotenone, rumaki, ryo, ryokan, sabi, sake, sakura, samisen, samurai, san, sanpaku, sansei, sansanqua, sashimi, satori, sayonara, san, sennin, sensei, sentoku, seppuku, shabu-shabu, shaku, shakudo, shakuhachi, shiatsu, shibui, shibuichi, shiitake, shikimi, shikimic, shime-waza, shimose, Shin, Shingon, Shinshu, Shinto, shishi, sho, sho, shochu, shogi, shogun, shoji, shokku, shosagoto, shoyu, shubunkin, shogo, shunga, sika, skimmia, soba, sodoku, Soka Gakkai, soroban, soshi, soto, soy, sudoite, sugi, suiboku, suiseki, sukiyaki, sumi, sumi-e, sumo, sumotori, sun, surimono, sushi, suzuribako, tabi, tai, tai-otoshi, Takayasu, tamari, tan, tan, tanka, tansu, tatami, temmoku, tempura, Tendai, tenko, teppan-yaki, terakoya, teriyaki, Terra Japanica, to, tofu,

togidashi, tokonoma, tonari gumi, torii, tryptophan, tsuba, tsubo, tsukemono, tsukuri, tsunami, tsutsugamushi, tsutsumu, tycoon, uchiwa, udon, uguisu, uji, ujigami, uke, ukemi, ukiyo-e, urushi, urushiol, uta, wabi, wacadash, waka, wasabi, yakitori, yakuza, Yamato, yashiki, yen, yokozuna, yugen, yukata, yusho, Zabuton, Zaibatsu, Zaikai, zazen, Zen, zendo, Zengakuren, zori,

#### 2.1.2. Evans (1997)

*OED2-CD-ROM* よりはかなり改善されているが、以下にみるように Evans (1997) でも Ijime, Yamashita (vault), keirin, ekiden, Tamagotchi, Pokeberu, Purikura などの語はまだ抜けているように思えます。

- (22) akukumalite, aburachan seed, aburagiri, adsuki (bean), adzuki (bean), ai, aikido aikidoist, aikuchi, Aino, Ainu, akamatsu, akamshi mite, akebi, Akebia, akeki, akeno-beite, Akita, ama, amado, amanori, Amaterasu, Amidism, Amidist, andon, ansu, Aoyama's fluid, aragoto, arakawaite, arigato, Arisaka, Arita, Arita Democrat, Arita Socialism, Atarize, aucuba, awabi, ayu, Azuchi-Momoyama, azuki, baiu, baka, bancha, bandite, banzai, banzai attack, baren, basho, beddo, bekko, bento, Beta, Betamax, biwa, Bizen, black belt, black mist, Bon, bonsai, bonseki, bonze, brown belt, bu, budo, bugaku, bullet train, bunraku, burakumin, bushido, butoh, butsu, butsudhan, byobu, chanoyu, cho, chonin, chorogi, cobang, comfort woman, co-prosperity sphere, daibutsu, daikon, daimiate, daimio, daimyo, Dai Nippon, dairi, daisho, dan, dango, daruma, dashi, do, dohyo, dojo, dojo, dokusan, dotaku, ekiben, emakimono, endaka, engawa, enka, enoki, enokidake, eroduction, eta, Euroyen fuchi, fugi, fugu, fuji, fuji (cherry), Fuji, Fuji silk, fun, functional food, funori, furo, fusuma, futon, gagaku, gaijin, geisha, gengo, genro, Genroku, geta, gi, gie, gingko, ginkgo, glocalization, go, goban, gobo, Godzilla, gomoku, gomoku-zogan, gumi, gurubori, gyoza, habatsu, habu, habutae, habutai, hagi, hai, haikai, haiku, kakama, hanami, hanamichi, hanas-hika, hanga, haniwa, haori, happi, haragei, harai-goshi, hara-kiri, harakiri swap, hashigakari, Hashimoto's disease, hatamoto, hayashi, hechima, Heian, heimin, Heisei, hell camp, hiba, hibachi, hibakusha, Higashiyama, hijiki, hinin, hinoki, Hirado, hiragana, Hizen, hiziki, hokku, honcho, hooch, hoochie, hootch, iaido, ibota, ichibu, ichibu gin, icho, I-go, ikebana, ikunolite, Imari, inkyo, inro, ippon, iroha, Ishihara test, ishikawaite, ishime, Issei, itai-itai disease, itzibu janken, jidaimono, jigotai, jimigaku, jingu, jinja, jinkai senjitsu, jinrikisha, jito, jiujitsu, Jodo, Jodo Shinshu, Jodo-shu, Jomon, joro, joruri, judo, judogi, judoist, judoka, judoman, jujitsian, jujitsu, jujitsu politics, jujitsu, jujutsian, juku, junshi, kabane, kabocha, kabuki, kabuki dance, kabuto gane, kadzura tree, kago, kagura, kaiken, kaizen, kakebuton, kekemono, kaki,



Kakiemon, kakke, Kamakura, Kambara earth, kami, kami, kami-dana, kamikaze,  
 kana, kana-majiri, kanban, kanji, kanten, karaoke, karate, karate-chop, karateka,  
 karate sticks, Karatsu ware, karoshi, kashira, kata,katakana, katana, Katayama,  
 katsu, Katsuo, Katsuobushi, Katsura, katuramono, Kawasaki disease, kaya, Kazoku,  
 Kegon, keiretsu Kempeitai, ken, ken, ken, ken, kenbei, kendo, kendoist, kenjutsu,  
 kesagatame, keyaki, kiaki, Kibei, kiku, Kikuchi lines, kikumon, kikyo, kimon,  
 kimono, kimonoed, kimono sleeve, kin, kinken seiji, kiri, kirigami, kirimon, kirin,  
 koan, koban, koban, kobang, Kobe beef, kobeite, kogai, kogai, ko-gatana, koi, koi-cha,  
 koji, kojic acid, kojiri, ko-katana kokeshi, koku, kombu, konbu, Kondo effect, konjac,  
 konnyaku, Korin, koro, kotatsu, koto, kotoite, koza, kozo, kudzu, Kuge, kumaso,  
 Kumite, Kumon, kura, kurikata, kurogo, kuromaku, kuroshio, Kuroshio Extension,  
 kuruma, Kurume, Kutani, kuzu, kuzushi, Kwaiken, kwazoku, kyogen, kyu, kyudo,  
 linked verse, love hotel, low profile, machi, mai, maiko, makimono, makizushi, mama  
 -san, mamushi, man, manga, martial art, maru, marumi, maruyu, matsu, matsuri,  
 matsutake, mawashi, mebos, mechatronics, medaka, medake, Meiji, menuki, miai,  
 mikado, mikado brown, mikado orange, Mikado pheasant, Mikado Yellow G, mikan,  
 Mikimoto pearl, mingei, mirin, Mishima, miso, Mitsukurina, mitsumata, Miyagawan-  
 ella, mochi, mokko, mokume, momme, Momoyama, mompe, mompei, mon, mondo,  
 moose, mousmee, moxa, moxibustion, mume, mura, muraji, Nabeshima, nagami,  
 nagatelite, nakodo, nanako, nandin, nandina, Nanga, napa, nappa, Nara, narikin,  
 nashi, nashiji, nemawashi, nembutsu, netsuke, Nichiren, nigirizushi, Nihon, Nihonma-  
 chi, Nikkei, Nikkei Dow, Nikkei Index, Nikko fir, nikubori, ningyoite, ninja, ninja  
 squad, ninjitsu, ninjutsu, Nintendo, Nintendo epilepsy, Nintendo generation, Nip,  
 Nippon, Nipponese, Nipponian, Nipponism, Nipponize, Nisei, No, nogaku, Noh, nokyo,  
 nori, norimono, norimon, norito, noshi, notan, nunchaku, Obaku, oban, obang,obento,  
 obi, obon, odori, office lady, ofuro, o-goshi, oiran, ojime, okimono, Okinawan, OK, omi,  
 o-muraji, on, onnagata, onsen, origami, orihon, osaekomi waza, oseibo, oshibori, O-  
 soto-gari, oyama, Oyashio, ozeki, pachinko, Pac-Man, Pac-Man defense, raku, raman-  
 asu, ramen, randori, reiki, renga, ri, rickshaw, rikka, Rinzai, Ritsu, Roju, romaji, ronin,  
 rumaki, ryo, Ryobu, ryokan, RYU, Ryukyu, Ryukyuan, sabi, sai, sakaki, sake, saki,  
 sakura, salariman, salaryman, samisen, samurai, samurai bond, -san, Sanda ware,  
 sanpaku, Sanron, sansei, sarakin, sarariman, sasanqua, sashimi, satori, Satsuma,  
 sawara cypress, sayonara, seibo, sekiwake, sen, Sendai virus, sennin, senryu, sensei,  
 sentoku, seoi nage, seppa, seppa-dai, seppuku, sesshin, Seto, sewamono, shabu-  
 shabu, shaku, shaku, shakudo, shakuhachi, shamisen, shiatsu, shiatzu, Shibayama,  
 shibui, shibuichi, Shiga, shigella, shigellosis, shiitake, Shijo, shikibuton, shikimi,

shikimic acid, shikken, shimada, shime-waza, shimose, shimpa, Shin, shingeki, Shingon, shinkansen, Shinshu, shintai, Shinto, Shintoism, Shintoist, Shintoistic, shippo, shira-kashi, shishi, shitogi tsuba, shizoku, sho sho, shochu, shodan, shogaol, shogi, shogoin, shogoin turnip, shogun, shogunal, shogunate, shoji, shokku, Shorin ryu, shosagoto, shosha, Shotokan, Showa, shoyu, shubunkin, shugo, Shuha, shunga, shunto, shuriken, shuto, sika deer, skibby, skimmia, shkosh, soba, sobaya, sodoku, sogo shosha, Soka gakkai, sokaiya, soroban, sosaku hanga, soshi, Soto, soy, soya, soya bean, soya flour, soya oil, soybean, soybean oil, soy burger, soy flour, soy ink, soy milk, soy oil, soy sauce, stable, sugi, suiboku, suimono, suiseki, sukiyaki, sumi, sumi-e, sumi-gaeshi, sumo, sumodom, sumoist, sumotori, sun, surimi, surimono, sushi, sushi bar, sushiya, sutemi-waza, suzuribako, tabi, tachi, tachiai, Tago-Sato-Kosaka, tai, taiko, tai-otsoshi, Taisho, Taka-diastrase, Takayasu's disease, tamari, tamo, tan, Tanabata, tanka, tansu, tanto, tatami, temmoku, temmoku glaze, tempo, tempura, tempura bar, tempura-ya, Tempyo, Tendai, tenko, tenno, teppanyaki, terakoya, teriyaki, three K's, tobira, todorokite, tofu, Tofutti, togidashi, tokkin, tokonoma, Tokugawa, Tokyoite, tomoe nage, tonarigumi, tonfa, tori, torii, Tosa, toyo, tsuba, tsubo, tsuga, tsugi ashi, Tsukahara, tsukemono, tsukuri, tsunami, tsurikomi-ashi, tsurimoki-goshi, tsurugi, Tsushima Current, tsutsugamushi, tsutsugamushi mite tsutsumu, tycoon, tycoonery, uchimata, uchiwa, ude garami, ude gatame, udo, uton, uguisu, uji, uji fly, ujigami, uke, ukemi, uki-goshi, uki-otoshi, uki-waza, ukiyo-e, ume, ura-nage, urushi, urushiol, urushiye, uta, utchari, wa, wabi, Wagyu, waka, wakame, wakizashi, warabi, waribashi, wasabi, washi, water trade, waza-ari, white belt, Yagi, yakitori, yakuza, Yamaguchi-gumi, yamamai, Yamato, Yamato-damashii, Yamato-e, yashiki, Yayoi, Yeddo crepe, Yeddo hawthorn, Yeddo spruce, yen, Yokohama bean, Yokohama crape, Yokohama fowl, yoko-shiho-gatame, yokozuna, yondan, Yoshino paper, Yoshiwara, yugawaralite, yugen, yukata, Yukawa force, Yukawa meson, Yukawa potential, yusho, yuzen zabuton, zaibatsu, zaikai, zaitech, zazan, Zen, Zen Buddhist, zendo, Zengakuren, Zenic zenist, Zennist, zensho, zogan, zori

#### 2.1.1.3. FUTON 布団・ふとんの英米の辞書の定義のゆれ

以下の最近の英米の辞書には FUTON の定義が mattress, sofa bed, cushion, furniture, sofa, used as seating など日本人が用いているのとかなり異なる使用がされていることがうかがえる。

(23) *CIDE* (1995) : a MATTRESS (=large flat firm bag filled with soft material and used for sleepin on) which is used on the floor or on a wooden frame

*COD9* (1995) : 1. a Japanese quilted mattress rolled out on the floor for use as a bed

2. a type of low wooden sofa bed having such a mattress.

*OALD5* (1995): a Japanese MATTRESS that can be rolled out to make a low bed.

*LDOCE3* (1995): a flat soft CUSHION used for sleeping on, especially in Japan

*COBUILD2* (1995): A futon is a piece of FURNITURE which consists of a thin mattress on a low wooden frame which can be used as a bed or folded up to make a CHAIR

*COLLINS* (1995): A futon is a type of padded quilt which can be laid on the floor as a bed, or folded up and used as a SOFA

*Harrap's* (1995): A futon is a cloth-filled mattress intended to be used on the floor and rolled up when not in use.

*Random House Webster's* (1997): a quiltlike mattress placed on a floor or a frame for sleeping, and folded and stored or used as seating.

*Newbury House* (1996) —no entry word for FUTON

## 2.2. 日本語への英語の借用語と辞書

日英語の意味のずれについて以下の2つはわかりやすく説明している。

(24) English words in Japanese often take on their own meaning, quite distinct from English. Handoru ("handle") is a "steering wheel," kurakushon (from "claxon") the "horn", mashin a "sewing machine," guriin ka ("green car") a first class carriage on a train, naita ("nighter") a night game in baseball, kura ("cooler") an air conditioner, and rinchi ("lynch") almost any act of group violence to a person—a true case of lynching, so far as I know, has never occurred in Japan. —Reischauer (1977: 396)

(25) Many wholesalers and producers have gradually abandoned their traditional antipathy toward price-cutting volume sellers (=discount stores ディスカウントストア) and now treat discounters as valued customers. —*Nikkei Weekly* 1994, p. 144

### 2.2.1. *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1995) p. 758

(26) Japanese False Friends という呼び名で CIDE (1995) はカタカナ語で英語との意味のずれを生じているものを本来の英語で言い換えを示している。ただし、サークルの発音が若者ことばで平板化していたり<sup>4</sup>、クランケ、ヒュッテなど本来ドイツ語起源の語も入っているので、英語の外来語としてはこの表も不純物を含んでいるので問題がある。

カタカナ語	対応する英語
accent n アクセント →	contrasting highlight
animation アニメ	cartoons, cartoon programmes
apart adj アパート	apartment house

at home adj アットホーム	cozy, homely atmosphere
attack n アタック	challenging a difficult goal
axle n アクセル	car accelerator
beer n ビール	larger
bike n バイク	motorbike
bond n ボンド	very strong adhesive
boss n ボス	leader of gang of criminals
bust n バスト	bust measurement
cape n ケープ	plastic rain cape
checkpoint n チェックポイント	something that needs checking
chorus n コーラス	choral singing
cider n サイダー	soda pop/lemonade
circle n サークル	informal interest group among university students
claim n クレーム	complaint
classic n クラシック	western classical music
cock n コック	tap for water or gas; a cook
common sense n コモンセンス	knowledge of and compliance with social rules
compact adj コンパクト	small
companion n コンパニオン	attractive female guide at a larger exhibition
concentric adj コンセント	electric socket
corner n コーナー	section of shop or magazine
country n カントリー	country club; golf club
crank n クランケ	patient
cunning n カンニング	cheating in an exam
deck n デッキ	plimsolls
denomination n デノミ	currency devaluation
depart v デパート	department store
diagram n ダイヤ	railroad timetable
drama n ドラマ	television or radio play
echo n エコー	the acoustics of a space
ego n エゴ	selfishness
enamel n エナメル	patent leather, nail varnish
episode n エピソード	unknown, interesting past event in person's life

以下は対応する表現は省略し、カタカナ語となった英語のみをあげる。

escape, evening, fastener, feminist, float, form, front, fruit punch gang, glamorous, goen, guarantee, gum half, handle, happening, hearing, heart, heartfelt, hip, hire, hot, hustle,

hut, hysteria intelligent, jar, jeans, jumper, just, just lemon squash, lemonade, lip, machine, magic, man to man, mania, mansion, marmot, maroon, mask, master, merit, moody, morning, morning service, mutton naive, note, one-piece, over pan, part, pension, pest, pierce, pill, pincers, pink, pitch, pot, potage, print, pudding, punk, range, reform, report, Roman, running sabotage, sample, sash, scoop, seal, sense, service, sherbet, shirt, short cut, shortcake, sign silver, skin, slip, smart, snack, spats, spout, spur, steam, stock, stove, style, super, talent, text, theme, tobacco. trap, truck, trump, veteran, vinyl waist, wet yell

また The Yomiuri Shimbun 1997によると厚生省はカタカナ言葉を日本語に置き換えようという動きがあり、以下の表が示されているが、ケアプランの言い換えなどにまたカタカナ語のサービスが入っていることから完全に日本語化するのはいかなり無理がある場合もあることがうかがえる。

(27)

ニーズ Needs → 要望, 要請, 国民の求め

コンセプト concept → 概念, 基本的考え方

プロジェクトチーム project team/working group → 委員会, 研究会, 検討会

フォローアップ follow up → 再点検, 再検討

スキーム scheme → 改革, 体制, 仕組み

ビジョン vision → 展望, 構想

フリーアクセス free access → 患者による医療機関の自由選択

メデイカルケア medical check → 医学的検査

ホスピタルフィー hospital fee → 病院に対する報酬

ドナー donor → 臓器提供者

レシオピエント recipient → 移植希望者

ケアプラン care plan → 介護サービス計画

ケアマネジメント care management → 介護支援サービス

ケアマネジャー care manager → 介護支援専門員

### 3. 関連性理論による借用語の説明

#### 3.1. Utterance Interpretation and Relevance Theory

RTでは聞き手の発話理解は人間の頭の中央処理系で行われ、そこでは encoded concepts を聞き手が communication の中で理解するためには、いろいろな知識・記憶などを用いて、自然言語がもつ未決定性 (underdeterminacy)・曖昧さ (ambiguity) を取り除き、よりはっきりした情報として処理し、communicated (or relevant) concepts として、最終的には理解すると説明する。すなわち、すべての発話・概念も RT では多くの解釈の可能性を持つと考え、その揺れを最終的にコントロールして、1つのある発話・概念として理解するには例外なくす

べての場合に認知語用論的原則, すなわち, The Second (or communicative) Principle of Relevance <Every ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. —Sperber and Wilson (1995: 155–63, 260–66)> が適用されると説明する。

### 3.2. Concepts and Relevance Theory

Sperber (1996)

- a) Each culture is characterised by a different system of concepts. (p. 67)
- b) I assume that we have an innate disposition to develop concepts according to certain schemas. We have different schemas for different domains: our concepts of living kinds tend to be taxonomic; our concepts of artefacts tend to be characterized in terms of functions; our concepts of colour tend to be centred on focal hues; and so on. Concepts which conform to these schemas are easily internalized and remembered. Let us call them basic concepts. A large body of basic concepts is found in every language. . . .individual concept formation and therefore cultural variability, are indeed governed by innate schemas and dispositions. (p. 69)
- c) Humans can mentally represent not just environmental and somatic facts, but also some of their own mental states, representations and processes. The human internal representation system— the language of thought, to use Jerry Fodor's expression (Fodor 1975) —can serve as its own metalanguage. This meta-representational ability. . .is essential to human acquisition of knowledge. (p. 71)
- d) meta-representational abilities allow humans to process information which they do not fully understand, information for which they are not able at the time to provide a well-formed representation. (p. 71)

### 3.3. Four types of Ad Hoc Concept Construction

#### 3.3.1. Concept narrowing: 記号化された概念がコミュニケーションの中で狭められる場合

- (i) If an encoded concept X is in a category and has some encyclopedic assumptions, then the communicated concept (or relevant concept) Y is in the category and a subset of the encyclopedic assumptions:
- (ii) X and Y belong to the same category.
- (iii) We cannot say 'X is sort of Y'.

#### 3.3.2. Concept widening: 記号化された概念がコミュニケーションの中で拡大される場合

- (i) If the communicated concept Y is in a category, then the encoded concept X is in the category.
- (ii) X and Y belong to the same category.
- (iii) We cannot say 'X is sort of Y'

3.3.3. Concept loosening: 記号化された概念がコミュニケーションの中でずれて使われる場合

- (i) The denotations of the encoded concept X and the communicated concept Y intersect.
- (ii) X and Y belong to the different categories.
- (iii) We can say 'X is sort of Y'.
- (iv) Y stands in a relation of 'association (accessibility)' with X.

3.3.4. Concept echoing: 記号化された概念がコミュニケーションの中でエコーして使われる場合

- (i) An encoded concept is echoic/attributive/quotational in that it represents what others are referring to (=Y) when they use the word (cf. nickname, naming).
- (ii) An echoic concept is interpretive in that it denotes not a description of a state of affairs in the world, but a representation of another representation/language, i.e. metarepresentational.

3.4. Some basic assumptions of RT (Cf. S & W 1995)

- (a) Human cognition is relevance-oriented. We pay attention to information that seems relevant to us.
- (b) Relevance: defined in terms of contextual effects and processing effort.
- (c) Every utterance and concept has a variety of linguistically possible interpretations.
- (d) All simple monosyllabic concepts are innate. (Cf. Sperber 1996: 67-70)
- (e) The meaning of a word such as 'nose' is an irreducible (i.e. holistic) concept.
- (f) Concepts are psychological entities at a fairly abstract level and conceived of as consisting of a label or address with three entries: logical, encyclopedic and lexical.
- (g) Hearers are equipped with a single, very general criterion for evaluating interpretations.
- (h) First principle of relevance (cognitive principle): Humans automatically pay attention to information that seems relevant to them—and the more relevant, the better.
- (i) Second principle of relevance (communicative principle): Every utterance (or concept) creates an expectation of relevance.
- (j) The Goals of pragmatic theory:
  - i. What did the speaker intend to say?—〈Explicatures〉 Deciding what was said/pragmatic enrichment
  - ii. What did the speaker intend to imply?—〈Implicatures〉
  - iii. What was the speaker's intended attitude to what was said and implied?—〈Irony, humorous effect〉

- (k) Pragmatics: the study of the general cognitive principles and abilities involved in utterance interpretations, and of their cognitive effects.
- (l) "We would not now assume such a sharp distinction between input (specialised) and central (unspecialised) systems (Cf. Jerry Fodor 1983: The modularity of mind). In the last ten years, there has been providing evidence that so-called central systems should be analysed in modular terms.—S&W (1995: 293)
- (m) The meaning of literal, figurative utterances (metonymy, metaphor, irony. . .) is constructed in the same way: by using the indications provided by the utterance as a starting point, following a path of least processing effort in the construction process, and stopping when expected relevance is achieved.

#### 4. 借用語の共時的データの説明

Synchronic data: Meaning change through borrowing

(28) *CIDE*. 'Japanese false friends' p. 758

hot (adj)      ホット      hot coffee

Cf. American    アメリカンといえば 'weak coffee' の意で、メリケンという発音に基づくより古い時代の借用語もある。

Cf. コーヒーはホットにしてください

kohi wa hotto ni shite-kudasai

"I'd like my coffee hot, please." —Miura (1979: 73)

classic (n)      クラシック      western classical music

mansion      マンション      large, luxury block of flats

vinyl      ビニール      polythene bag, plastic sheet

cf. 最近では電気製品が最初に入っている大きな袋にビニール袋でなくプラスチック袋は小さい子供がかぶって遊ぶと危険ですと表示されていることがある。

##### 4.1. Meaning change based on Concept echoing + Concept Narrowing<sup>5</sup>

(29) Japanese kimono (clothes: ki <kiru'to wear'+mono'thing') → Japanese kimono (traditional Japanese (not Western) costume) 1886 OED

(30) English machine → Japanese mishin (a sewing machine)

(31) English plastic → Japanese purasuchikku (molded hard plastic)

Cf. English goal in → Japanese goru-in-suru (the goal of getting married)

English request → Japanese rikuesto (only in asking a band to play a certain song)

English cup → Japanese kappu (a prize won in a contest)

English negative → Japanese nega (photographic processing)—Stanlaw (1992: 187–



8)

English milk → Japanese miruku (condensed milk/milk for coffee)

#### 4.2. Meaning change based on Concept Echoing + Concept Widening

(32) Japanese Honda ('a company name making motorbikes') → English Honda ('a motorbike in general')

(33) Japanese oshibori (o 'honorific' + shibori'squeezing') → Japanese oshibori ('a small, moist, rolled or folded towel served to customers or visitors for cleaning their hands') 1959 OED

Cf. ichibanshibori 一番搾り

#### 4.3. Meaning change based on Concept Echoing + Concept Loosening

(34) 二人のパーソナリティーと若者たちが一緒にマイ・テレビを創り上げるユニークな番組。  
futari no pasonariti to wakamonotachi ga issho ni mai tereba o tsukuri-ageru  
yuniku na bangumi 'Two personalities and youngsters together create my (= individual) unique television programme.'

—Loveday (1996: 134)

English my → Japanese mai 'the notion of giving priority to one's family and to one's private realm'

(Cf. Stanlaw 1987: 99)

English my car → Japanese mai-kaa zoku ('those of us who drive our own cars')

English my pace → Japanese mai-peesu ('my pace')

English my home → Japanese mai-hoomu ('my home')

English my product → Japanese mai-seihin ('my product')

Cf. English madam → Japanese madamu (proprietress of a bar)

English morning service → Japanese moningu (a restaurant's breakfast special)

English hire → Japanese haiyaa (a chauffeur-driven car)

English all right → Japanese orai (shouted when helping a vehicle back up)

English base up?? → Japanese besu-appu (an increase in the standard of living)

English room cooler?? → Japanese rumu-kura (air conditioner)

Cf. Stanlaw (1992: 188)

(35) Japanese Satsuma (the former name of Kagoshima Prefecture) → (British) English Satsuma (satsuma mandarin) 1872 OED

(36) Japanese tofu (To'bean' + fu'decay': a bean curd) 1771 WCD → English tofutti (a frozen dessert whose main ingredient is curdled soy milk) 1981 OEDS

(37) Japanese futon (a set of bedding consisting of a pliable mattress with turfs and a quilt used on a tatami floor) → English futon (a piece of furniture which consists

of a thin mattress on a low wooden frame which can be used as a bed or folded up to make a chair.—*COBUILD* (1995)

Cf.1876 OED

- (38) Japanese **karaoke** (kara'empty'+oke'orchestra') → English **karaoke** 'a device that plays musical accompaniments for someone to sing along' → the form of entertainment that uses this device'1979 OED (22) Engl
- (39) English vinyl → Japanese biniru 'soft plastic'
- (40) English mansion → Japanese manshion ('condominium, apartment complex')

#### 4.4. Meaning change based on Concept Echoing (echoic use) + Concept Echoing

- (41) Japanese Kutani ('a village in Ishikawa Prefecture') → Japanese Kutani (ware) ('a richly decorated porcelain produced in Ishikawa Prefecture') 1880 OED
- (42) Japanese Tamagotch (tamago'egg'+tch'watch') → English Tamagotch ('an electronic plastic egg')

Cf. Londongotch : ロンドンでたまごっちを売り出したときの新聞の見出し

## 5. Diachronic data の説明

### 5.1. Concept narrowing

- (43) a. OE **deor** ('animals of all kinds') → Mod E **deer**
- b. OE **mete** ('food of any kind') → Mod E **meat**
- c. OE **steorfan** ('to die') → Mod E **starve** ('to die of hunger')

Cf. 花 (→桜) 見

### 5.2. Concept widening

- (44) a. OE **pinn** ('the quill used for writing') → Mod E **pen** ('any of various instruments used for writing')
- b. OE **bryd** ('young bird') → Mod E **bird** ('any bird')
- c. OE **car (r) ien** ('carry by the wagon') → Mod E **carry** ('carry')
- d. くるま座, 荷車 ('wheels') → くるま ('car')

### 5.3. Concept loosening

- (45) a. **bitter** ('biting') → ('biting to the taste or tongue') = 苦い
- b. **very** ('true') → ('extremely')
- c. いろいろな ('colorful') → ('various')
- d. ありがたい ('存在しがたい') → ('感謝する')

### 5.4. Concept echoing

#### 5.4.1. Concept echoing → concept narrowing

- (46) a. French **boeuf** ('ox;cattle;beef') → Mod E **beef** <CONCEPT NARROWING>

Cf. OE oxa → Mod E ox

5.4.2. Concept echoing → concept widening

(46) b. Old Icelandic sky ('cloud') → Mod E sky <CONCEPT WIDENING>

Cf. OE heofon → Mod E heaven

5.4.3. Concept echoing → concept loosening

(46) c. Old Icelandic skyrta ('shirt') → Mod E skirt <CONCEPT LOOSENING>

Cf. OE scyrte → Mod E shirt

## 6. Interpretive resemblance and loanwords

Resemblance (類似性) に基づく interpretive use (解釈的用法) が発話理解の出発点であり、言語外のもをありのままに表す descriptive use (記述的用法) は類似性100%の特殊例にすぎない。

Loose use is the norm of utterance:

The proposition expressed by an utterance resembles a thought of the speaker's as long as the two have implications in common—and the more implications they have in common, the greater the resemblance will be. Identity (i.e. literal meaning) is a special case of resemblance. According to RT, the norm is loose talk, since the loose interpretation is easier to recover than the literal one.

Resemblance と一般的認知現象：

A uniformed doll can be used to represent a soldier, an arrangement of cutlery and glasses can be used to represent a road accident, a set of vertical lines to represent the heights of students in a class. Such representations are used in communication for two main purposes: to inform an audience about the properties of an original, and for the expression of attitude. —W&S (1992: 64)

Resemblance の定義：

two propositions resemble each other in a given context to the extent that they share logical and contextual implications in that context:

Interpretive Resemblance の定義：

Resemblance in general involves a sharing of properties: the more shared properties, the greater the resemblance. Interpretive resemblance, or resemblance in propositional content... is best analysed as a sharing of logical and contextual implications: the more shared implications, the greater the interpretive resemblance. —W&S (1992: 65) Cf. S&W (1985/1986: 158)

Resemblance に関わるものとして RT で分析可能な言語現象：

onomatopoeia, verbal mimicry, direct quotation, parody, translation, paraphrase, summa-

ry, irony, joke, echoic use, loose use, metaphor, metalinguistic use, discourse particles such as in other words, and that is.

発話の中にはいろいろなレベルで類似性が用いられている：

Utterances, like other objects, enter into a variety of resemblance relations. . . Onomatopoeia is based on resemblances in sound, verbal mimicry on resemblances in phonetic and phonological form, direct quotation and parody on resemblances in syntactic and lexical form, translation on resemblances in propositional content. —W&S (1992: 65)

#### 6.1. Resemblance in linguistic sound

日本語でよく使う擬態語・擬声語を英語らしくまねたものがこの場合の特徴である。

Use of Japanese words for creating foreign sounding names

(47) poki —→Pocky (ポッキー)

“sound made when cracking knuckles, snapping a twig” “pseudo-English”

—Wilkerson (1977)

Cf. pittari + tore (ru) —→PITTORE (ピットーレ)

“just right” “fit” “can take” “can remove” pseudo-Italian

#### 6.2. Resemblance in phonetic/phonological form

日本語への古い時代の英語の借用語などは元の英語の音声をできるだけまねた形式になるのが特徴である。

“The Kaiseishoo, the Institute for Translation and Foreign Studies, took up English as an official language in 1856, with the first English–Japanese dictionary being published by them in 1862.” —Stanlaw (1987: 94)

(48) English	Atkinson (1874)	Standard Japanese
good day	Ohio	o-hayoo
cold	Sammy	samui
you	oh, my	omae

(49)

The fact that contact with English occurred through the aural as well as the written medium is reflected in the phonetic shape of certain Meiji loans such as *purin* ‘pudding’, *meriken* ‘American’, *hankachi* ‘hankierchief’, *burashi* ‘brush’, and *wanashi* ‘varnish’. —Loveday (1996: 69)

(14) 理—ズナブル (=reasonable) (ハンバーガーチェーンの99円ハンバーガーのコマーシャル) —『現代用語の基礎知識1998』(自由国民社), p. 1168

- (15) 感ビニエンス (=convenience) (コンビニが便利さ以外に感覚的にさらにビジネスを広げようということば)
- (16) 透けるトン グッズ (skelton goods) (スイスの SWATCH に代表されるいろいろな品物の中身・中の構造が透明ですけてみえる商品で日本語の「透ける」とかけて使われている)
- (20) a. エブリボデイ (=everybody) (United Sports Club's ad)  
Cf. 発音で関西人は kii と長母音化するので木から紀伊の地名ができたし、島→志摩、沖→隠岐の地名が命名された。
- b. 漫画人 mangajin (=magazine) <The title of the Journal>
- (50) いらししゃいましーん (=Machine) (プロミスという名前の金融会社)
- (18) 駅サイテイング (=exciting)  
メディア  
ワクワク情報がいっぱい  
交通広告  
—株式会社ジェイアール西日本コミュニケーション

- (19) 婚ピューター (=computer) — 結婚情報センター

Cf. computer (calculating machine)

This bald definition means much more now that it did when the word first appeared in the seventeenth century, meaning not only a machine that computed or calculated but a person who did. (As an occupation, a 'computer' could have been a person employed to make a calculations in an observatory, for example, or in surveying.) The use of the word in anything like the modern sense arose at the end of the nineteenth century, and an article in the issue of the magazine Engineering for 22 January 1897 describes a 'computer' that was actually a kind of circular sliderule. The first electronic computer was one developed in the United States for the US Army in the 1940s.—Room (1986: 67)

以下は Wilkerson (1997) の分類:

Replacement of a Japanese syllable with an English letter

- (51) a. oi-C (おい C) for oishii ("delicious")  
b. E-daroo (E- だろう) for iidaroo ("good, isn't it")  
Cf. E-money は英語の electronic money の頭文字をとったもの  
c. Umebo-C (うめぼ C) for umeboshi ("pickled plums")

Replacement of a part of an English loan with a Japanese word <上例(14)(15)(16)(18)(19)はここに入る>

- (52) a. sumairingu (住まいリング) → sumai + ringu

- “smiling” “residence”
- b. ekisupaato (駅すぱーと) → eki + supaarto  
 “expert” “station”
- c. Nyuuyooku Taimuzu (入浴タイムズ) → Nyuuyooku Taimuzu  
 “New York Times” “Bathing” “Times”
- d. koodoresu (コード留守) → Koodo + rusu  
 “codeless” “cord” “not home”
- e. bejitaaberu kurakkaa (ベジ食べるクラッカー) → Bejitaaberu kurakkaa  
 “vegetable crackers” “veg” + “eat” “crackers”  
 (“Eat your Veggie Crackers”)

Replacement of part of a Japanese word with an English loan <上例 (50) はここに入る>

- (53) a. saisentan (最先ターン) → saisen + taan  
 “ultramodern” “turn”
- b. watashitachi shoochin (ワタシタッチ商品) → watashi + tacchi + shoochin  
 “our” “products” “my” “touch” “product” (“a product with our (special) touch”)
- c. shaberu (シャベル) → sha + beru  
 “talk” “bell”
- d. mamotteru (マモッテル) → mamot + Tel  
 “protecting/guarding” “telephone”
- e. keshimasu (消しマウス) → keshi + Mouse  
 “erase” “eraser” “Mouse”

Combination of a Japanese word and an English loan (日英語の blending)

- (54) a. yutori + torippu (湯トリップ) → Yutorippu  
 “leeway” “trip”
- b. netsusamashi + shiito (熱冷まシート) → Netsusamashiito  
 “antipyretic” “sheets”
- c. poketto + tobi (ポケットビ) → Pockttobi  
 “pocket” “jump/fly” “a pocket-sized mobile phone”
- d. awa + wash (泡ッシュ) → awash  
 “bubble” “wash”
- (55) a. yu + rirakkusu (湯ラックス) → yurakkusu  
 “hot water” “relax”
- b. tabi + sokkusu (足袋ックス) → tabikkusu  
 “traditional” “socks”  
 Japanese

foot covering”

c. shigeki + kikkusu → shigekikkusu (刺激ックス)

“stimulus” “kick” + “s”

d. otaku + fakkusu → otakkusu (お宅ックス)

“(your) house” “fax”

e. retaa + fakkusu → retakkusu (レタックス)

“letter” “fax”

Personal names for product names

(56) a. Choko + Minto → Chokominto (ちょこミント) ← Chiyoko + Minto

“chocolate” “mint” “mint chocolate” “Chiyoko” “Minto”

b. niku + manju → nikuman → Niku + an (肉アン) Nick Ann

“meat” “steamed bun”

c. an + manju → anman (あんまん)

“sweetened bean paste” “steamed bun”

Hoffer (1980) は英語の単語同士の blending による日本語への借用語の例をあげている：

(57) a. E “fam (ily) + com (puter)” → J/fami koN/ ファミコン

b. E “min (iature) + com (puter)” → J/mini koN/ ミニコン

c. E “hu (man) + tech (nology)” → J/hyu tekku/ ヒュテック

また以下のように漢字の発音と英語の発音の類似性を利用したものもある：

(58) 友 + 愛

you + I

the Chinese character for E “friend” is pronounced J/yuu/ and is homophonous with E “You.” The second Chinese character, E “like, love” is pronounced J/ai/ and is homophonous with E “I.” The meaning of the whole is a combination which is mutually reinforcing: You and I, friends who like each other.

(59) This 伊豆 Map

E “This” + J/izu/ + E “map.”

J/i-zu/ (two Chinese characters) is homophonous with the Japanese pronunciation of E “is” and the whole phrase is to mean “This is a map of Izu.”

### 6.3. Resemblance in syntactic/word form

日本語の文字通りの 1 語 1 語の英語への翻訳がこの場合の特徴である。

loan translation—def.an expression adopted by one language from another in a more or less literally translated form

(10) Their goal was to preserve choice posts for amakudari (literally “descent from

heaven”), in which retired bureaucrats are often given cushy jobs in industries they formerly regulated.

—The Nikkei Weekly (ed.) (1994: 44)

#### 6.4. Resemblance in propositional content

日本語の内容を or を用いて言い換えたり、() を用いて言い換えたりするのがこの場合の特徴である。

(1) Professor David Bayley, author of the book *Forces of Order*, studied the Japanese *koban*—or “police box” — from the inside.—*The best of the English Journal Interviews, Japan 2*, p.

(9) Taking advantage of the growing popularity of marathons and *ekiden* (long-distance relay road race), more and more firms are forming women's track teams.—*The Nikkei Weekly* (ed) (1994: 230)

Cf. *hibachi*: a small charcoal grill or stove—Urdang & Abate (1988)

### 7. Conclusion

以上の考察をまとめると

1つの結論は借用語の意味変化には共時的・通時的ともに同じ Ad Hoc Concept Construction が関わっていること:

(i) Concept echoing → concept narrowing の場合:

(ii) Concept echoing → concept widening の場合:

(iii) Concept echoing → concept loosening の場合:

(iv) Concept echoing → concept echoing の場合。

残された問題として Processing effort との関係で、

問題 (I) (i) narrowing の方が (ii) widening より、少ない処理努力で計算できるので、用例が多いことがある。Honda のような例がとても少ないことに気づいたが、今後より多くのデーターを検討することで実証していきたい

問題 (II) KARAOKE が日本語から英語には入り、さらにフィンランドで使われる場合は (iv) の具体例と考えているが、日本語で〈から (empty) + okesutora〉→karaoke となるときにカタカナ語のオーケストラと日本語の blending がすでにおこなわれているので、実際は個々の用例の説明が、さらに複雑化するのである。

問題 (III) 英語本来語から空を表す heaven があるにもかかわらず、古代アイスランド語から sky を英語に借用しているが、もともと雲 (cloud) からそら (sky) の意味に広がったとき単に (ii) の widening と考えるのか、それとも (iii) の loosening に変化したと見るかは、現代人と古代人の空についてなにが全体かという考え方の違いも関係するので、難しい問題である。



もう一つの結論は interpretive resemblance の様々な関係を借用語は用いていることである。

- (A) Resemblance in sound:
- (B) Resemblance in phonetic or phonological form
- (C) Resemblance in syntactic or lexical form
- (D) Resemblance in propositional content

残された問題は

問題 (IV) (B) の用例がとて多いのであるが、THIS 伊豆 MAP の例のように、漢字の視覚的情報と英語の is との音声的類似の両方が必要で、単に音声的類似 (phonetic resemblance) とするのが問題である。エブリボディの広告も everybody の単語の一部をスペリングからその視覚的な情報から文字通りボディとして分析し直したものだし、漫画人も音声的には magazine と類似しているが、漢字による視覚的なおもしろさもねらった雑誌のタイトルである。

問題 (V) 英語の American の例のように音声的類似で日本語に入ってきてても古い時代の借用語ではメリケン (粉・波止場) のメリケンであるが、現代日本語ではアメリカンといっって 'weak coffee' を表すので、このような 2 つ以上の形に借用語が形成される場合の違いの説明が必要である。

Cf. ink インキ・インク, paint ペンキ・ペイント

問題 (VI) (A) の例として POCKY を英語らしい、何かものがおれる音を表しているというが、元になる形式が存在しないのに、その架空の元になる形式を考えるにはどのような metarepresentation の能力が働くか問題である。

問題 (VII) FUTON の英英辞典の定義のずれからわかるように命題内容を (D) の形式で膨らまして説明的に書く場合のゆれがあるわけで、それぞれ類似性はあるわけですが、こんなにゆれていて、ほんとうに日本語が英語の借用語となったときに、英米人にはどのようにとどいているか不安に思えます。

問題 (VIII) 婚ピューターの例の場合にまず英語の computer は古くは天文台で計算する人間を指していて、そこから、計算尺のような計算する道具をあらわし、さらには現代のコンピューターを指すように変化している。英語から日本語への concept echoing でまず、カタカナ語のコンピューターが入る。そのコンピューターという語と音声的に類似して一部に結婚の婚という漢字を置き換え、Interpretive resemblance で気持ちのうえでは少し、面白味をかもし出している。このような感情的側面と解釈的類似性の研究をもっと進める必要がある。

問題 (IX) 最後にコンピューターという借用語とともに日本語では電子計算機あるいは電算機という訳語もともに使われているという現状をどのように説明するのかという問題が残る場合がある<sup>6</sup>。カタカナ語と和語・漢語との共存について Loveday (1996:81) が次のように表にまとめている。(英語にフランス語の beef が入ったときに英語にも牛を表す ox がすでに存在していた)

Original Japanese word	Western-style, English-based loan
to/shoji (=sliding door)	doa ('door')
futon (=quilted bedding)	beddo ('bed')
tatami (=matting)	kapetto ('carpet')
zabuton (=thin cushion)	kusshon ('cushion')
kinoko (=mushrooms)	masshurumu ('champignons')

ここでおもしろいことは日本語ではベッドとふとんが違った物を指して使われ、英語圏では逆に bed だけあれば生活できそうなのに FUTON が入っていき、様々な意味を付加しつつあることは興味深いことで、日本食・日本ブームで今後どのような日本語が世界を駆けめぐるかおもしろいことである。

本稿は借用語の意味変化<sup>7,8</sup>を関連性理論で説明する枠組み・出発点・土台を提案し、今後の多くの経験的言語事実の分析によりこの研究がさらに進むことを期待して稿を閉じることにする。

## NOTES

- 1 本稿は1997.11.15に阪大英文学会第30回大会で口頭発表したものに加筆修正を加えたものである。
- 2 Konishiki は Nishiki (カリフォルニア米) の小さな袋で筆者はロンドン滞在中にはこのお米をよく食べました。通常の日本人は相撲取りの小錦を思い浮かべ、大きなものを連想するが、5キロくらいの小さな米袋でした。
- 3 Kimura (1996:106) は不純データとして、以下のものを排除している：
  - (i) 日本で発見された科学物質の名前や日本に生息する植物の名前で、語源はラテン語や他の言語である語 (e. g. *metasequoia*)
  - (ii) 'Japan' やその派生語 (e. g. *Japanese*, *Japaneseness*)
  - (iii) 他国語からの借用語で、日本に関する言及が語源欄にあったために検索された語 (e. g. *Goanese*)
  - (iv) 日本語からの借用翻訳 (e. g. *plum rain* ← 梅雨)
- 4 書き言葉と話し言葉により借用語が異なるという説明が Loveday (1996:69) によりされている：Nevertheless, the majority of items were acquired from written sources, since their Japanese representations is based on English orthography and not pronunciation: *airon*'*iron*', *konpani* 'company', *gurobu*'*glove*'.
- 5 概念の狭くなることを Loveday (1996:196) は次のように述べている：transferred items from English underdo various kinds of morphological and/or semantic change: Restriction: *pepa* ( <paper, 'forged money')
- 6 Miura (1979:87-88) はコンピューターと電算機の違いについて次のように説明している：The non-loan equivalent of *konpyuta* is *denshi-keisanki*, or *densanki* for short. *Konpyuta* is probably gaining more and more ground because, being a word borrowed from English, it has a more modern connotation than *denshikeisanki*.
- 7 Miura (1979:49) はさらに細かくエキサイトという借用語が英語の *exciting*, *excited* に対応す

- ることを指摘している。*Eksaito* comes from *excite*, and it means both “exciting” and “excited”.
- 8 借用語の意味変化として本稿では扱えなかったが、メタファーへの移行も見られる：  
Loveday (1996: 196)  
Metaphoric transfer: anaunsa (<announcer, ‘informer’) あいつはアナウンサーだ  
(i) If the ceremony raises its prices, it will be committing economic *hara-kiri* (=destroying, itself). –CIDE

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