

17-19世紀における*Britain, America*を
めぐるエスノニムの変容の考察
—くにのかたちとナショナル・アイデンティティを求めて—

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[Abstract]

0. 序 節

エスノニムに関して、筆者はすでにNZが「近代国家」として民族的、政治的に自立していく過程で現れたさまざまな自称的エスノニム（国家やそこに棲む人々、民族集団）を、歴史の流れに沿って検証するという試みを公にした¹。

そこには国家の姿とエスノニムが相互に密接な係わりをもつ形で歴史が変容する事実を証明した²。

本論考では近現代（18-20世紀）において世界の覇権を争うほど巨大化した近代国家の見本 --- ブリテン島と北アメリカ大陸 --- の二大国家が、誕生し成長

¹ Kuya(2010), Kuya(2011) 参照。

² Ethnonym の OED の定義 'A proper name by which a people or ethnic group is known; spec. one which it calls itself.' にもかかわらず、ここでは、特定の民族や民族性、民族精神、民族文化、民族語、国家体制を直接、間接に表す表現を、固有名に限らず、名詞に限らず、また自称詞、他称詞にとらわれず、幅広く分析対象とする。

していく過程で national identity をどのように構築しようとしたのかを、特定のエスノニムとその出現時期に絞って考察する。どのようなエスノニムが国家自我像の象徴あるいは表象として機能したのか、エスノニムに成長する語の原義や起源を考慮しつつ、姿を現したエスノニムの意味がどのように変容していったのか、その推移を観察しつつ、「国家」と国家的アイデンティティの対応関係をめぐる歴史的考察をすすめていく。

1. エスノニムの誕生と歴史的文脈におけるその変容

エスノニムの変遷を辿るコーパスを主に Murray et al. (eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* [OED] に依拠し、参考として Kay et al. (eds.), *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* Volume 1: Thesaurus; Volume 2: Index. [HTOED1&2] を利用する。HTOED は OED に基づく Old English 時代以降の英語文献に現れた命名に関する最も大部で包括的な意味分類辞書であり、英語語彙に関する歴史的証言者である。HTOED1 (pp.22, 23, 325, 326, 331, 332, 1493, 1497, 1180, 1707) は、英国と米国それぞれの民族呼称（自称他称を含む）およびその関連語を意味分類し、次節から詳細に考察する数多くのバラエティーをもつエスノニム語群のリストを含んでいる。両国それぞれの歴史に寄り添いながら、政治的文脈の中で、両国のエスノニムを含む歴史的ディスコースを辿り、エスノニム誕生の経緯を考察し、エスノニムの特徴を分析する。両者の間にどのような歴史的経緯が共有され、または歴史的類似性、あるいは相違が存在するのかを明らかにしたい。

2. 近代国家の形成とエスノニム: イギリスの場合

ここでは、分析の核となるいくつかの基本的エスノニム (*Britain, British, Britannia, John Bull, United Kingdom, Union Jack, un-British, Anglicize* など) を検討する。

2.1 Britain

この語は英国に関するエスノニムの中で、もっとも古くから知られたものであ

り、引用例も多く、現在の国家成立に到るまでに、紆余曲折を経ているせいで、その指し示す対象も歴史の変遷とともに多様である。以下、粗略ながら記述していく。

Britain は OE 時代よりブリテン島全般の包括的呼称 (1.a.) として単独に用いられると同時に、16 世紀前半から連語的に用いられ、1604 年ごろには England, Scotland, Wales を包括する政治的固有名 Great Britain あるいは Greater Britain として出現するようになる。

Britain, *n.*

[ME. *Bretayne*, *-eyne*, a. OF. *Bretaigne*:—L. *Brittannia* or *Brittānia*, the island of Britain. (Lat. *Britannia* would have given F. *Bri-*, *Breaigne*.) The OE. name was *Breoton*, *Breoten*, *Bryten*, *Breten*, pointing back to a WGer. **Brituna*; also, *Breoton-lond*, *Breten-lond*. OCeltic had apparently no name for the island as distinct from the people. (With 16th c. Sc. *Bertane*, *Bartane*, cf. *Dumbarton*.)]

1. a. The proper name of the whole island containing England, Wales, and Scotland, with their dependencies; more fully called Great Britain; now also used for the British state or empire as a whole.

After the OE. period, *Britain* was used only as a historical term, until about the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, when it came again into practical politics in connexion with the efforts made to unite England and Scotland; in 1604 James I was proclaimed 'King of Great Britain'; and this name was adopted for the United Kingdom, at the Union in 1707. After that event, *South Britain* and *North Britain* are frequent in Acts of Parl. for England and Scotland respectively: the latter is still in occasional (chiefly postal) use. (So *West Britain*, humorously or polemically for 'Ireland'.) *Greater Britain* is a modern rhetorical phrase for 'Great Britain and the colonies', 'the British Empire', brought into vogue in 1868.

a 855 *O.E. Chron.* *Intro.*, Gaius Iulius se Casere ærest Romana Breten-
lond æsohte. **c 890** K. Ælfred *Bæda* i. i, Breoton is ealond.

1297 R. Glouc. 22 And aftur Brut ys owne nome he clepede hit Breteyne.
82 Bretayne. **a 1375** Joseph *Arim.* (Vernon MS.) 232 Þe Auenturus of
Brutayne. **c 1428** *Arthur* 265 Maximian kyng of Bretaingne Conquered al
France and Almayne. **c 1500** *Lyfe Jos. Armathy* (W. de W.) lf. 4 Ioseph of
Aramathia came in to grete Brytayne. **c 1505** Dunbar 'Schir for 3our Grace'
11 Fairest and best In Bartane. **c 1515** *Prophecy of Bertlington*, The French
wife shal beare the Sonne Shal weild al Bretane to the sea. **1542** Hen. VIII
Declar. Scots Bivb, Brutus of whom the realme than callyd Brytayne toke
fyrst that name. **1547** J. Harrison *Exhort. Scottes* Hvj, Ye names of both
subiectes & realmes ceassing, & to be changed into ye name of Britain &
Britons, as it was at first, & yet stil ought to be. **1548** N. Bodrugan *Epitome*
A v b, England the only supreme seat of thempire of greate Briteigne. **1604**
Procl. Jas. I, 24 Oct., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. 1630
Wadsworth *Sp. Pilgr.* vii. 69 His Majesty of great Britaine. **1665** Manley
Grotius' *Low-C. Warrs* 779 King James' obliterating the names of Scots and
English, would have both to be united and grow up into one Kingdome to be
called Britain. **1667** Dryden *Ann. Mirab. Ded.*, To the Metropolis of Great
Britain, the most renowned and late flourishing city of London. **1707** *Act of*
Union xi. § 1 That the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland shall be
united into one Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain. **1710** *Act 9 Anne* vi.
§ 4 To export and transport from Great Britain into Ireland. **1718** *Act 5 Geo.*
I, xi. § 16 The importation of Tar and Pitch from North-Britain into any part
of South-Britain. **1729** *Act 2 Geo.* II, xxxv. § 12 In several Parts of North
Britain commonly called Scotland. *Ibid.* Brought to that part of Great
Britain called England. **1740** Thomson 'Rule Britannia', When Britain first, at
Heaven's command, Arose from out the azure main. **c 1800** Dibdin 'I sailed
from the Downs', So adieu to the white cliffs of Britain. **1832** *Act 2 & 3 Will.*

IV, lxxv. § 1 In that part of the United Kingdom called Great Britain, and that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland. **1868** C. W. Dilke (*title*) reater Britain: Travels 1866–67.

1. b *pl.* with reference to the several dominions and dependencies of Great Britain; cf. Britt. (Omn.) (= of (all) the Britains) in the legend on coins.

1897 Earl of Rosebery in *Daily News* 5 July 4/5 'Regina Britanniarum'—the Queen of the Britains. She is sovereign, not of one or two, but of numberless Britains, all self-supporting. **1901** *Westm. Gaz.* 11 Dec. 2/2 Lord Rosebery has succeeded with his cry of 'All the Britains', as the three letters 'Omn' on the new coins are to testify. Our King henceforth is to be King of All the Britains.

2.2 British

Britain に関連して 16 世紀後半から 18 世紀後半にかけての大英帝国の拡大が言語的に国家観、民族意識の覚醒とつながっていることを、エスノニム British というキーワードの用法の通時的広がりを通じて確認しておきたい³。

British, a. (n.)

OE から存在しており、古英語期には、起源的に古代ブリトン人を指し (**1.a.**)、こ中英語期には古代ブリトン人のケルト系言語を指した (**1.b.**)。

[OE. Brettisc, etc., f. Bret, pl. Brett-as, Bryttas, Brittas, the natives of ancient Britain, the Britons: see brit and -ish. The modern spelling is influenced by Latin.]

1. a Of or pertaining to the ancient Britons. Now chiefly in ethnological and

³ 自民族中心のエスノニムについてより広い概念から論じたものに Kuya (1993: 77ff) がある。

archæological use. 「古代ブリトン人の」

a855 *O.E. Chron.* an. 508 Her Cerdic and Cynric ofsloÆon ænne Brettisc [Laud MS. Bryttiscne] cyning. A 1000 *Ibid.* (Laud) Introd., Her sind on þis iÆlande fif Æþeode · Englisc and Brittisc and Wilsce, and Scyttisc and Pyhtisc and Boc Leden. a1100 *Ibid.* an. 1075 Se ylca Raulf wæs Bryttisc on his moder healfe, and his fæder wæs Englisc. 1605 Shakes. *Lear* iii. iv. 189 Fie, foh, and fumme, I smell the blood of a Brittish man. c 1645 Howell *Lett.* (1650) I. 377 He calls..Helen an English woman; whereas, she was purely British, and that there was no such nation upon earth called English at that time. 1780 Cowper *Boadicea* i, The British warrior queen, Bleeding from the Roman rods. 1870 Knight *Hist. Eng.* i. 3 A road, acknowledged to be British, still crosses Salisbury Plain.

1. b Of or pertaining to the Celtic (Brythonic) language of the ancient Britons; later, = Welsh, occas. Cornish. Also as n.

c 1205 Layaman's *Brut* (1847) (E.E.T.S.) 13393 Nu ic þe wulle teche. Bruttisce spæche. 1387 Trevisa *Higden* (Rolls) II. 79 Þis citee..in Brittische speche heet Caerleon,..and Chestren in Englishe. 1550 W. Salesbury *Brief & Plain Introd. Welsh sig.* A. i, A briefe and a playne introduction, teachyng how to pronounce the letters in the British tong, (now comenly called Walsh). *Ibid. sig.* B. i, In Britishe or Walshe in euery worde hath the true pronunciation of A in latine. 1637 Holland tr. *Camden's Britannia* 472 It coupleth it selfe with the Yare, which the Britans called Guerne..of Aldertrees, no doubt, so termed in British wherewith its overshadowed. 1662 *Act of Uniformity* 13-14 *Chas.* II, iv. § 27 That the Book [of Common Prayer] hereunto annexed be truly and exactly translated into the British or Welsh Tongue. 1712 *Life St. Winefride* 61 Wen in the Old British Tongue signifies *White*. 1838 W. Howitt *Rural Life Eng.* II. xvi. 380 The British tongue here [in Tintagel] lingered till lately. 1962 G. Grigson *Shell Country*

Bk. i. 112 Knowing no British, they would take this word avon for a name. **1972** W. B. Lockwood *Panorama of Indo-European Langs.* vi. 67 It is plain that the Celtic spoken in Britain was a language of the same general type as Gaulish; the two were closely related languages...We may call it British...It is often useful to be able to refer to Gaulish and British together; we may then speak of Gallo-Brittonic.

次に、もとラテン語の言い方を採用した地勢的用法が、16世紀、スコットランドやウエールズを自らの領土的野心の僕にしようと謀り続けたヘンリー8世以降 English と Scotch を含んで使われるようになった (2.a.)。

2. a Of or belonging to Great Britain, or its inhabitants. In the earlier instances only a geographical term adopted from Latin; from the time of Henry VIII frequently used to include English and Scotch; in general use in this sense from the accession of James I, and in 17th c., often opposed to Irish; legally adopted at the Union in 1707. Now chiefly used in political or imperial connexion, as the British army, British colonies, British India, etc., British ambassador, consul, residents, etc.; also in scientific and commercial use, as British plants, British butterflies, British spirits.

1387 Trevisa *Higden* (1865) I. 271 Gallia.is i-closed aboute..wip þe Bruttische ocean in þe west side. **1398** — *Barth. De P.R.* xv. lxvi. (1495) 512 Fraunce..endyth in the north at Brytysshe Ocean. **1570-87** Holinshed *Scot. Chron.* (1806) I. 43 Amongst the Irish Scotchmen..the petition of the British Scots. **1604** J. Dee in *Hearne Coll.* (1885) I. 64 This Britysh Empire. **1643** *Script. Reas. for Defens.* Armes 76 The extirpation of the Brittish Nation, and Protestant Religion in that kingdome [Ireland]. **1699** Garth *Dispens.* i. 7 How have I kept the Brittish Fleet at ease? **1706-7** *Act of Union* 6 Anne xi. §1 art. 8 Without any mixture of British or Irish salt. **1769** Burke *Pres. St. Nat. Wks.* II. 187 Every British merchant in Petersburg.

1841 W. Spalding *Italy & It. Isl.* II. 393 His strange discussions on the British constitution. 1855 Tennyson *Maud* i. xiii. ii, A stony British stare. 1882 *Garden* 18 Feb. 112/1 Our common British Ivy.

大英帝国という概念が登場するのは17世紀初頭である。1604年 *Britysh Empire* が現れて以降、*Brittish Nation* (1643) や *Brittish Fleet* (1699) など、大英帝国の成立に向って、エスノニムネットワークが形成されて行きつつあるようすが見えてくる。*British Empire* なる表現については、次の下位区分によって、より明確に歴史的過程を観察することができる (2.b.)。

2. b British Empire: the empire consisting of Great Britain and the other British possessions, dominions, and dependencies; now replaced by the British Commonwealth (see **commonwealth 4 c**). Cf. **empire n. 5 b**.

1604 J. Dee *Pet. to King*, God..make your Maiestie to be the most blessed and Triumphant Monarch, that euer this *Brytish Empire*, enjoyed. 1768 Goldsmith (*title*) The present state of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa and Asia, containing a concise account of our possessions in every part of the globe, [etc.]. 1813 Hector Campbell (*title*) The Impending Ruin of the British Empire, its Cause and Remedy considered. 1884, etc. [see **commonwealth 4 c**]. 1887 [see **empire n. 5 a**]. 1902 *Encycl. Brit.* XXXIII. 393/1 *The British Empire* League and the Imperial Trade Defence League endeavour to promote inter-Imperial trade.

1600年にEast India Company (東インド会社) を設立するなどアジア植民地化を進める英国が実現をめざす野望の言語的表象がこの 'British Empire' である。

他方、国家的地理的境界を示す成句 (イギリス諸島 *British Isles*) としての用法も獲得する (2.c.)。17世紀初頭 (1621) に初出する。

2. c British Isles: a geographical term for the islands comprising Great Britain and Ireland with all their offshore islands including the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands (see **isle** *n.* 1).

1621 Heylin *Microcosmus* 243 (page-heading) The British Isles. **1792** A. Young *Trav. France* ii. 343 A territory, naturally so inconsiderable as the British isles, on comparison with France. **1888** A. J. Jukes-Browne *Building of Brit. Isles* 1 There have been many different arrangements of land and sea over the area where the British Isles now stand. **1916** G. B. Shaw *Androcles & Lion Pref.* p. li, Practically all the white inhabitants of the British Isles and the North American continent. **1960** C. Day Lewis *Buried Day* ii. 32 He was for ever buying, selling or exchanging books, many of them worthless, with correspondents all over the British Isles.

19 世紀後半に成句 (British English イギリス英語) としての用法が生まれる (2.d.)。

2. d British English: the English language as spoken or written in the British Isles; esp. the forms of English usual in Great Britain, as contrasted with those characteristic of the U.S.A. or other English-speaking countries.

この語が「アメリカ英語」の意を有する American Language (1643/1689 初出), American tongue (1789 初出), American (1802 初出), American English (1806 初出) という表現に先立たれるという事実は興味深い。他者の存在確認によって、初めて自己の存在の特異性に気付かされるという歴史の皮肉を感じることができる。以下の用例は、「アメリカ英語」の命名の際に際立つ愛国的政治的発言ではなく、すべて言語学者たちの学問的立場からの言説であることが特徴的である。

[1869 Ellis *E.E. Pronunc.* I. 20 Practically the speech of the American

English is archaic with respect to that of the British English.] 1892 H. Sweet *New Eng. Gram.* i. 224 The influence of the vulgar London or 'Cockney' dialect is stronger in Australasian than in British English. 1926 H. W. Fowler *Mod. Eng. Usage* 52/2 These words do not mean in American..use what they mean in British English. 1932 R. W. Chapman '*Oxford*' *English* 540 This expression may be current in America, but it is not British English. 1967 'J. Cross' *To Hell for Half-a-crown* x. 130 The English that Neumann was babbling was not British English but American.

国民ないし兵士を指す用法は17世紀中葉(1641)に出現する(4.)。

4. *ellipt.* as *n. pl.* British people, soldiers, etc.

1641 in *Miss Hickson Irel.* 17th C. (1884) II. App. U. 363 [In county Monaghan] there being a little plantation of British, the rebels plundered the town. 1652 *Ibid.* (1884) I. xxxix. 245 As the Irish rebels marched through the said parish they murdered all the British they could lay their hands on. 1708 *Lond. Gaz.* No. 4459/3 The British had not a Man kill'd or wounded. 1844 H. H. Wilson *Brit. India* ii. vii. II. 269 Appearances began to assume an aspect most unfavourable to the British.

Hence **British-hood, Britishness.**

1883 A. Forbes in *Ninet. Cent.* Oct. 722 Their British-hood manifests itself in things big and in things little. 1872 S. Mostyn *Perplexity* III. iii. 46 His thorough Britishness.

English

Britishに意味論的に同等同類のエスノニムはEnglishである。どちらも古くから存在する。名詞用法のうち言語名としてのEnglishはすでにOE時代から存在する(4.a.)。16世紀からは連語(Old, Middle, Oldを前置する)としても

現れる (4.b.)。

English, A.4.a. As the designation of a language (see **B. 1**). Hence of words, idioms, grammar, etc.: Belonging to the English language. Of literary compositions, speeches, etc.: Written or spoken in the English language.

c1000 *Ælfric Hom.* (Thorpe) II. 358 (Bosw.) Ic [Ælfric Abbod] Æsette hæbbe wel feowerti^æ larspella on Engliscum Æereorde. **c1000** — in Sweet *Ags. Reader* 57 Ðu bæde me for oft Engliscra Æewrita. **c1230** *Hali Meid.* 5 And seið syon ase muchel on englische leodene ase heh sihðe. **a1240** *Ureisun* in *Cott. Hom.* 199 Ich habbe i-sungen þe ðesne englissce lai. **c1250** *Gen. & Ex.* 14 Ut of latin ðis song is draʒen On Engleis speche. **a1300** *Cursor M.* 24 (Cott.) Sanges·Inglis, frankys, and latine. *Ibid.* 233 (Gött.) Þis ilke boke es translate vnto engliss tung to rede. **c1440** *Promp. Parv.* 140 Englysshe speche, Anglicum. **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 1 b, It was put into my mynde to drawe it in the englysshe tonge. **1580** *Bullokar Orthogr.*, There be eight vowels of differing sounds in English speech. **1611** *Bible Dedic.*, There should be one more exact translation of the Holy Scripture into the English Tongue. **1840** *Macaulay Ranke* (1854) II. 541/2 We now see this book take its place among the English Classics. **1847** *Emerson Repr. Men, Shaks. Wks.* (Bohn) I. 357 Our English Bible is a wonderful specimen of the strength and music of the English language.

4. b. with limiting words as in **B. 1 b**.

1579 *Fulke Refut. Rastel* 763 Prayers remaine still in the Saxon or old English tongue. **a1891** *Mod.* An Old-English grammar. Middle-English literature. It is not a modern English word.

言語を表す名詞は自称的を出発点としているので、初期の頃は他の言語との

差別化を特に意図するものではない。on/in English の最も古い用法は、in language に等しく、「ことばによって」を意味するに過ぎない (B. 1.a.)。また時代区分に拠る母語の下位区分にも現れる (1.b.) が他言語との差別化が行なわれていないことは同様である。

English, B. n. 1. a. The English language. First in the adverbial phrase, † *on* (now *in*) *English*. Also in phrase *the King's English, the Queen's English*, app. suggested by phrases like 'to deface the king's coin'. Also attrib. as *English scholar*.

In 9th c., and prob. much earlier, *Englisc* was the name applied to all the Angle and Saxon dialects spoken in Britain. The name *English* for the language is thus older than the name *England* for the country. In its most comprehensive use, it includes all the dialects descended from the language of the early Teutonic conquerors of Britain; but it is sometimes popularly restricted to the language since the close of the 'Anglo-Saxon' or fully inflected stage; sometimes to the language and dialects of England proper, as distinguished from those of Scotland, Ireland, U.S., etc.; and sometimes to the literary or standard form of the language as distinct from illiterate or ungrammatical speech, etc.

[The use as n. seems to have originated, not in the ellipsis of any particular word (e.g. *æreord*) meaning 'language', but in a vague absol. use of the neuter adj. A similar use is found in the other Teut. langs. and in Romanic; cf. Ger. *auf deutsch*, Fr. *en français*, Sp. *en castellano*.]

c 890 K. *Ælfred Bæda* iii. xix, On sumre ceastre þe is nemned on Englisc Cneoferisburh. **c 1000** *Ags. Gosp.* Matt. xxvii. 46 Heli, Heli, lema zabdani? þæt ys on Englisc, Min God, min God, to hwi forlete þu me? **c 1175** *Lamb. Hom.* 103 On [sin] is icweden, Gula, þæt is 3ifer nesse on englisc. **c 1205** *Lay.* 6317 Wrat þa la3en on Englis. **a 1300** *Cursor M.* p. 988 *Resurrection* 240 (Cott.) Raboni (þæt is on englis maister). **c 1340** *Ibid.* 26545 (Fairf.) Pat now in

Ingelis [v.r. Cott. englis] wil I rede. **c 1380** Wyclif *Wks.* (1880) 429 Þe same sentence in engli3sch. **1447** O. Bokenham *Seyntys* Introd. 4 Wych I purpose now to declare On ynglysh. **1526** *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 1 b, The mater is spirytuall, and requyreth moche declaracion in englysshe. **c 1530** Ld. Berners (*title*) The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe. **1598** Shakes. *Merry W.* i. iv. 6 Abusing of Gods patience, and the Kings English. **1704** *Lond. Gaz.* No. 4046/4 Maurice Roberts·a Shropshire Man, speaking very bad English. **1782** Wesley *Wks.* (1830) IV. 267 Why has he then bad English on every page? **1836** E. Howard *R. Reefer* xxxv, They·put the king's English to death so charmingly. **1869** Alford (*title*), Plea for the Queen's English.

1. b. The 'English' of a special period or district, or that which appears in the writings of an individual author. Old English: in popular use applied vaguely to all obsolete forms of the language. According to the nomenclature now generally adopted in this country, the Old English period ends about 1100–1150, the Middle English period about 1500, when the period of Modern English begins. The name Early English is often used vaguely for Early Middle English, or for Middle and Early Modern English.

a 1225 *St. Marher* 23, I þe moneþ þat on ure ledene is old englich efterlið inempnet, iulius o latin. **1303** R. Brunne *Handl. Synne* 7672 Yn a prouerbe of olde englys. **1340** *Ayenb.*, Engliss of Kent. **1691** Wood *Ath. Oxon.* I. 257 To these books of Euphues, tis said, that our Nation is indebted for a new English in them. [**1822** J. Grimm *Deutsche Grammatik* I. i. 506 Mittel ~ englische buchstaben.] **1836** M. de Larenaudière tr. T. Wright's *Lit. Anglo-saxonne en Angleterre* 38 Que l'on peut appeler l'anglais intermédiaire (middle english). **1839** T. Wright *Lit. & Learning under Anglo-Saxons* 107 The form of our language during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century

is generally termed *Semi-Saxon*; from that period to the time of the Reformation it has received from modern philologists the name of Middle-English. 1871 H. Sweet *Alfred's transl. Gregory's Pastoral Care* pref. p. v, I use 'Old English' throughout this work to denote the unmixed, inflectional stage of the English language, commonly known by the barbarous and unmeaning title of 'Anglo-Saxon'. 1879 — in *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1878 377 It is a relief to turn to Germany, where Old and Middle English are not regarded as 'fringes'. 1887 Ruskin *Præterita* II. x, Hooker's English was the perfectest existing model. 1927 *Englische Studien* Nov. 75 This tendency grows stronger in later Middle English. 1933 Bloomfield *Lang.* i. 17 By comparing our records of Old English (say, in the writings of King Alfred) with modern English, we can see how English has changed in the last thousand years.

連語としての English English (I.c.) は先行する English 単独用法、および British English と競合関係にあり、他方で American English などと意味論的対立関係を成す対となる⁴。

⁴ [OED: Draft partial entry December 2006]によると世界の地域英語のひとつのタイプとして20世紀から用いられるようになった。そのため複数形にすることもできる。
“► As a count noun: a variety of English used in a particular context or (now esp.) a certain region of the world; (in pl.) regional varieties of English considered together, often in contradistinction to the concept of English as a language with a single standard or correct form.

1910 H. L. Mencken in *Baltimore Evening Sun* 15 Sept. (title) The two Englishes. 1941 W. Barkley (title) Two Englishes; being some account of the differences between the spoken and the written English languages. 1964 *Eng. Stud.* 45 21 Many people side-step the recognition of a plurality of Englishes by such judgments as: 'Oh, that's not English, that's American.' 1978 J. Pride *Communicative Needs in Learning & Use of Eng.* 1 The role of literature in non-native Englishes may be focal. 1984 *Eng. World-wide* 5 248 An overview of some aspects of various Englishes suggesting areas of possible research. 2000 *Independent (Nexis)* 28 June 11 It was one of the first places to be settled in the Plantations; there's an English spoken there that's unique.”

1. c. English English, English as spoken in England as differentiated from that spoken, e.g., in the United States of America.

1804 M. Wilmot *Let.* 30 May in Londonderry & Hyde Russ. Jrnls. (1934) i. 102 If the other side is not English English, it is just the sort of language that might make one blush for what it is. 1943 *Spectator* 5 Feb. 120/1 Of the two hundred million people speaking English nearly seven-tenths live in the United States, and another tenth in the British Dominions are as much influenced by American as by English English. 1958 *Listener* 18 Dec. 1050/1 To get round the difficulty of putting Lorca across full-bloodedly, producers have had recourse to Irish, Cockney, and West Country speech.· Lorca's plays suffer in English English because we do not like to grasp his nettles. 1961 H. R. F. Keating *Rush on Ultimate* i. 13 'I never know what's Austalian and what's English.· Can you call it the gen over here?'· 'From what I gather from the boys it's a bit dated now, but it's English English all right.' 1966 S. Harvester *Treacherous Road* i. 9 Most educated Egyptians spoke English English.

2.3 Britannia

次に、Britannia について論じる。今日では大きめの7角形でおなじみの50ペンス硬貨に刻まれている女神 Britannia がコインの絵柄として初めて刻印されるのが1672年である⁵。英国が擬人化されたアイコンとしての女神を頂くよ

⁵ この先駆と言えるものは The Virgin Queen, Good Queen Bess あるいは Gloriana と称されることもあった Elizabeth I であろうか。(cf. Crofton 2006: 143; URL (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_I_of_England) その理由は Edmond Spencer の作品 *The Faerie Queen* (1590, 1596) の主人公 Gloriana が明らかに当時の統治者を想定し賛美して書かれていたからである。彼女のイメージは、数多くの映像的アイコンと並んで言語的に補強され、神格化されて政治的に利用されることとなった。(URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Faerie_QUEENE) ただしそれが国家のアイコンとして利用されることはなく、そのような変容については次の世紀を待たなければならなかった。

うになるのには、その当時の政治的状況に係る。farthing 硬貨のその絵柄の反対には Charles II が描かれている。これが王の肖像が硬貨に刻まれる始まりであった⁶。彼の父は Charles I で息子がフランスに亡命していた間に清教徒革命で命を落とした。王政復古により王座についた Charles II の治世下 (1660-85) の半ばに、この貨幣が鑄造されたことがわかる。1688 年に弟 James II まで続くこの体制は名誉革命で終止符を打つ。この革命で英国は議会とプロテスタントイイズムを維持することになる。国内的にはピューリタンとカトリック、後に Whig と Tory となる議会勢力、対外的には反フランス派と反オランダ派、などのさまざまな対立の構図があり、内憂外患、舵取りが困難な激動の時代であった。この時期に Charles II は Britannia の女人像に国家統一の想いを託したとしても不思議でない。

その図像の登場とともに言語表現としての Britannia が明確な姿を現すことになる。OED によれば、起源的にはラテン名、つまりローマによる占領時代の英国の古名であり、古英語に現れていた Britannia は中英語期には途絶え、17世紀に至って再出現したときには、擬人化された女性の姿となり、詩的な表現と見なされるようになったことが分かる。1586年の Camden のラテン語歴史書の扉絵に描かれた図像 (中央最上部楕円の中心に描かれた女人) は 1637年に英訳され出版されたことで知られるようになった⁷。

⁶ 'In 1672 the first base metal coins were issued in England, before this the official mint had only issued coins in precious metal, gold or silver. There were halfpennies and farthings issued in 1672 made of copper. This helped to relieve a severe shortage of small change, which had previously been supplied by privately issued coins or tokens. This was also the first time Britannia appeared on British coins.'

(URL <http://www.coinoftheyear.com/1672.php>)

⁷ 図像については以下のサイトを参照されたい。

URL <http://old.rcplondon.ac.uk/heritage/BookOfTheMonth/pic1.htm>

["Frontispiece from Camden's Britannia, 1600 edition, featuring Stonehenge in the centre at the base of the page"] URL <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/centenary/look/cabinet/> ["A striking, hand-coloured, engraved title page adorns the 1610 first edition in English of William Camden's 'Britannia', a landmark of historical scholarship. The names of the ancient British tribes can be seen on the map of Britain and there are miniature views of Stonehenge and Bath at the foot of the page."]

Britannia (brɪ'tænɪə)

[L. Britannia, anciently *Britannia*, *Brittānia* (which was Bæda's spelling), corresp. to Gr. Βρεττανία (Diod. Sic.), f. *Brittanni* or *Brittāni* = Gr. Βρεττανοί: see **Britain a.**]

1. The Latin name of Britain; a poetic name for Britain personified as a female; the female figure on coins, etc., emblematic of Britain.

c893 K. Ælfred *Oros.* i. i. §11 Þæt lond þe mon bryttania [later MS. bryttannia] hætt. *Ibid.* 28 Brittannia þæt iæland. On brettannia. [**1586** Camden (*title*) Britannia, seu florentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ. descriptio. **1637** — Britannia, transl. newly into English by P. Holland.] **1666-7** Pepys *Diary* 25 Feb., The King's new medall, where, in little, there is Mrs. Stewart's face and a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by. **1716** *Lond. Gaz.* No. 5404/3 The Figure of a Woman, commonly called Brittannia. **1740** Thomson *Song*, 'Rule Britannia'. **1762-9** Falconer *Shipw.* i. 3 Of famed Britannia were the gallant crew. **1798** Nelson in Duncan *Life (1806)* 101 Britannia still rules the waves. **1818** Byron *Juan* i. iv, Nelson was once Britannia's god of war. **1864** *N. & Q.* Ser. iii. V. 37/1 The earliest coin with the figure of Britannia is a copper half penny of 1672.

Hence **Bri'tannian a.** = British.

1589 *Gold. Mirr.* (1851) 14 Wicked weesels, fled from Britannian grounds. **1613** *Purchas Pilgr.* viii. v. 760 Our Britannian hopes, Prince Henrie and Duke Charles. **a1840** E. Elliott *Withered W. Flowers I.* Our Britannian shore.

Rule, Britannia⁸

19世紀初頭に現れるのは、軍隊で用いられ、国家に準ずる歌, Rule, Britannia

⁸ これは “Rule, Britannia!” と読み替えるべき表現である。

である。コインと並ぶ表象とし 1740 年 (OED 引用例参照) には “Rule, Britannia” と題した歌⁹ が James Thompson によって作詞されている (5.b.)。

rule, *v.* **5. absol.** To exercise sovereignty, to govern; to hold supreme command or sway.

(*b*) **Rule, Britannia**: the usual name for a patriotic song sometimes sung on public occasions in Britain. Also as *attrib. phr.* Hence **Rule-Bri'tanniaism** chauvinism (*nonce-wd.*).

[1740 Thomson & Mallett *Alfred* ii. v. 42 *Ode*.. Rule, Britannia, rule the waves; Britons never will be slaves.] **1806** [see **buff** *n.2* 6]¹⁰. **a 1888** *N.E.D.* *s.v.* *Briton*, The ‘Rule Britannia’ period. 1898 *Academy* 8 Oct. 25/1 A preference for accuracy above Rule-Britanniaism. **1899** Kipling *Absent-Minded Beggar* 1 When you've shouted ‘Rule Britannia’, When you've sung ‘God save the Queen’. **1918** *Daily Mirror* 12 Nov. 2/1 When the strains of ‘Rule, Britannia!’ rang out his Majesty raised his naval cap. **1936** G. B. Shaw *Simpleton* i. 24 Let the whole earth be England; and let Englishmen rule it. (Singing) Rule Britannia: Britannia rules the wa— He blows his brains out. **1941** ‘G. Orwell’ *Lion & Unicorn* 19 In England all the boasting and flag-wagging, the ‘Rule Britannia’ stuff, is done by small minorities. **1968** *Listener* 18 July 86/2 Judges are good at making grand Rule Britannia statements,

⁹ この歌は第二の「国歌」として、特に、その歌詞内容から、英国海軍に好まれ、God Save the King と並んで演奏された。

When Britain first, at Heaven's command

Arose from out the azure main;

This was the charter of the land,

And guardian angels sang this strain:

"Rule, Britannia! rule the waves:

"Britons never will be slaves."

[URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rule,_Britannia!]

¹⁰ *OED s.v.* **Buff** *n.2* 6. **1806** *Times* 10 Jan. The band of Old Buffs playing Rule, Britannia, drums muffled,

like Judge Salmon's in 1958. 'Everyone is entitled to walk the streets in peace, and free from fear.'

以上の文脈から、一旦は廃用に帰した語が政治的な思惑から再利用されるようになったことが見えてくる。図像としての Britannia は John Bull とともに特に近代英国の表象として利用されてきたことが知られている (飯田:2005)。古くはローマ帝国の命名になる英国のラテン名が、この時期に、新たに英国のアイデンティティの新しい表象として登場してきたこと、それが政治的文脈においてなされたことが判明する。図像と国家的エスノニムが同時に並行して出現した意味を政治的文脈で捉えることが必要である。

God Save the King

OED は God Save the King/Queen に国歌としての見出しも定義も与えていない。国歌の意味で取り上げられている見出し語は king であり queen である。しかしその用法は queen が 1898 年、king が 1932 年である。

king, 11. The King *ellipt.* c. the British national anthem 'God Save the King'.
1932 *Week-end Rev.* 30 Apr. 554/2 Programme to-night as follows: --British Movietone News. Sunshine Susie. Mickey Mouse. The King. **1959** I. Jefferies *Thirteen Days* vii.95 The band played the King and we all stood up. **1967** R. Harris *All my Enemies* iii.34 We applauded, stood for 'the King'.

queen, 2.e. *ellipt.* as **the Queen**: national anthem 'God Save the Queen'.

1898 J. D. Brayshaw *Slum Silhouettes* 37 The curtain fell at last, and the band struck up the 'Queen'. **1916** M. Diver *Desmond's Daughter* iv. iv. 341 They're playing 'The Queen'. I must be on the spot to say good-bye to people. **1965** 'W. Haggard' *Powder Barrel* ix. 86 The police band crashed into The Queen in time in a formal way. **1970** *Daily Tel.* 18 Aug. 13/7 Wherever the Prince was present at a function organised by the association three anthems

were played—the Queen, ‘Land of My Fathers’ and ‘God Bless the Prince of Wales’.

他方 *save* という動詞見出しの中には *God save the king!* が慶賀、歓迎の言辭として説明され、13世紀末からの例が用いられている。[OED *save v.3.b.*] (HTOED vt. 02.01.17.04.02.05|10) しかしここには「国歌」に当る定義は与えられない。

save 3. Used in certain formulas of benediction, greeting, etc.; [...]

3.b. esp. in **God save the king!** and the like.

c 1290 *Beket* 755 in *S. Eng. Leg.* I. 128 Sire king, he seide, god þe loke, and saui þi dignite! **1340-70** *Alex. & Dind.* 811 Pus dindimus þe dere king enditeþ his sonde, & god bysecheþ to saue þe soueraine prinse. **1350-70** in *Eulogium Hist.* (Rolls) III. 87 *Regem [Henricum II] Theutonica lingua sic affatur. Godde saue the kyng.* [In Giraldu (Rolls) VIII. 180 God houlde dhe, cuning.] **1535** Coverdale *2 Sam.* xvi. 16 He sayde vnto Absalom: God saue the kyng. **1540** *Palsgr. Acolastus* ii. iii. Mjb, *Aue rex*, or god saue your royall maiestie. **1558** *Procl.* in *Strype Ann. Ref.* (1709) I. ii. App. i. 389 God save the queene. **a 1627** Sir J. Beaumont *Bosw.-field* (1629) 9 Some with loud shouting, make the valleyes ring, But most with murmur sigh: God saue the King.

1558年の引用例には *God Save the Queen* という定型が出現しているのは確かめられる。これは Elizabeth I を指しているのであろうと思われる。

そこで他の複数の文献で共有されている記述をここに補うことにしたい。

God Save the Queen, also called (during a kingship) *God Save the King*, British royal and national anthem. The origin of both the words and the music is obscure. The many candidates for authorship include John Bull (c. 1562–1628), Thomas Ravenscroft (c. 1583–c. 1633), Henry Purcell (c. 1639–95), and Henry Carey (c. 1687–1743). The earliest copy of the words appeared in

Gentleman's Magazine in 1745; the tune appeared about the same time in an anthology, *Thesaurus Musicus*—in both instances without attribution. In the same year, “God Save the King” was performed in two London theatres, one the Drury Lane; and in the following year George Frideric Handel used it in his Occasional Oratorio, which dealt with the tribulations of the Jacobite Rebellion of '45. Thereafter, the tune was used frequently by composers making British references, notably by Ludwig van Beethoven, who used it in seven variations.

From Great Britain the melody passed to continental Europe, becoming especially popular in Germany and Scandinavia, with a variety of different lyrics. Later, in the United States, Samuel F. Smith (1808–95) wrote “My Country 'Tis of Thee” (1832), to be sung to the British tune; it became a semiofficial anthem for the nation, second in popularity only to “The Star-Spangled Banner.” [Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/236663/God-Save-the-Queen>>]

その出自は明確ではないが、1745年には *Gentleman's Magazine* 誌に歌詞が姿を現したことだけははっきりしていると述べている。国歌も国旗のように nationalism 高揚の有用な媒介となることに、先人たちは十分気付いていたことが裏付けられる。

2.4 United Kingdom

この表現の登場は 18 世紀前半 (1737) である。それはスコットランドと連合した 1707 年から 30 年経過した時点であった。Elizabeth I の死後、スコットランド王 James VI がイングランド王 James I として王位に着き、このふたつの国は「別々の議会をもちながらも同じ国王によって統治される「同君連合」となる」(川北 1998:179)。およそ 1 世紀後のアイルランド合同後にも、正式名称として、時に of-phrase (of Great Britain and [Northern] Ireland) を付け足しながらも、同名称はそのまま用いられた (4.b.)。

United Kingdom (OED s.v. *u'nited*, *ppl. a. 4.b.*)

4.b. United Kingdom, the kingdom of Great Britain, (after the union with Ireland in 1801) of Great Britain and Ireland, or *esp.* (after the formation of the Irish Free State in 1921) of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Abbrev. *U.K.*

1737 *Gentl. Mag.* VII. 609/1, I have more Reason to oppose it, than any Man in this House, nay perhaps than any Man in the United Kingdom. **1800** *Act 39 & 40 Geo. III*, c. 67. 359 The said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall be united into one Kingdom, by the name of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. **1832** *Act 2 & 3 Will. IV*, c. 75 § 1 That part of the United Kingdom called Great Britain, and that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

2.5 John Bull, British Lion

ここでは動物のイメージを共有するふたつの表現にふれておくべきであろう。まず John Bull の雛形はすでに 18 世紀はじめ (1712) に表れており、その世紀の後半にはポピュラーになるが、当初はイギリス統合の表象ではなかった。その当時の欧州内での覇権争いが描かれるアーバスノット作『ジョン・ブル物語』には擬人化されたイングランド人という役柄を与えられていたが、決してイングランドの利益を代表するような人物としては描かれず、むしろ「ときに身勝手に、思慮に欠ける人物として描かれ」(飯田 2005:111) ていた。「やがて 1760 年代から 1820 年代の風刺画において、特にフランスに対抗するイングランドを代表する人物として視覚化される」(飯田 2005:113) ことになった。Britannia に遅れること二世紀、しかも異質なイメージのメタファーによる語形成であると言える。

John Bull [Name of a character representing the English nation in Arbuthnot's satire (see quot. 1712).] ¹¹

1. A personification of the English nation; Englishmen collectively, or the

typical Englishman.

[1712 Arbuthnot (*title*) Law is a Bottomless Pit. Exemplified in the Case of the Lord Strutt, John Bull, Nicholas Frog and Lewis Baboon: who spent all they had in a Law-suit. 1714 Pope *Key to Lock* (sub init.), If an honest believing nation is to be made a Jest of, we have a story of John Bull and his wife.] 1778 J. Adams in *Fam. Lett.* (1876) 350 France assisted the American cause, for which John Bull abused and fought her. But John will come off wretchedly. 1788 W. Skerrett in *15th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. x. 99 The French treat their slaves much better than we do. John Bull does not endeavour to conciliate their affections. a 1805 A. Carlyle *Autobiog.* ix. 374 A horse-race we met with near Chester-le-Street. This we could not resist, as some of us had never seen John Bull at his favourite amusement. 1822 Byron *Vis. Judgm.* lix, Here crash'd a sturdy oath of stout John Bull. 1899 Clifford in *Daily News* 3 Jan. 8/5 John Bull was now an Imperialist, and dwelt very much abroad.

attrib. 1824 Byron *Juan* xv. lxxi, Roast beef in our rough John Bull way.

¹¹ Britannica Online の以下の記述も OED の記述に合致する。

'John Bull, World War I recruiting poster featuring John Bull, c. 1915. in literature and political caricature, a conventional personification of England or of English character. Bull was invented by the Scottish mathematician and physician John Arbuthnot as a character in an extended allegory that appeared in a series of five pamphlets in 1712 and later in the same year published collectively as *The History of John Bull*; he appeared as an honest clothier, bringing action with his linen-draper friend Nicholas Frog (Holland) against Lewis Baboon (Louis XIV) for interfering with trade. The wide circulation of the satire fixed Bull as a popular personification in 18th-century political writings.' [下線は筆者] (John Bull. (2011). *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

URL <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/304946/John-Bull>
 また以下も参照 : (Green 1998, s.v. John/Johnny Bull [p.671])

1. b (with *a* and *pl.*) An individual Englishman who exemplifies the national character; a typical Englishman.

1772 F. Burney *Early Diary* (1889) I. 148 Both, like true John Bulls, fought with better will than justice for Old England. **1785** Boswell *Tour to Hebrides* 11 He [Johnson] was at bottom much of a John Bull; much of a blunt true-born Englishman. **1815** Croker in *C. Papers* (1884) I. iii. 71 The Prince of Bavaria is, it seems, a great John Bull, and is highly flattered at being told that he speaks English like an Englishman. **1840** Dickens *Barn. Rudge* xlvii, By some he was called 'a thorough-bred Englishman', by some 'a genuine John Bull'.

John Bull のこのような用法の拡大に伴って、John Bull の派生語がいくつか誕生することになる。John-Bullish (1802), John-Bullishness (1895), John Bullism (1796), John-Bullist(1851) などが記録されている。

Hence **John-'Bullish** *a.*, typically English; hence **John-'Bullishness**; **John-'Bullism**, the typical English character; a typically English act, utterance, or characteristic; **John-'Bullist**, one who favours the English.

John-Bullish の例:

1802 Southey *Lett.* (1856) I. 207-8 My taste has always been right English, and I grow more *John-Bullish every time I look into a newspaper. **1842** *Blackw. Mag.* LI. 188 This John Bullish stolidity is very high, and mighty. **1854** Hawthorne *Eng. Note-bks.* (1883) I. 480 His face was intelligent, dark, pleasing, and not at all John-Bullish.

John Bullishness の例:

1895 *Nation* (N.Y.) 14 Nov. 345/3 The stolid *John Bullishness with which England refuses arbitration of the whole question.

John Bullism の例:

1796 F. Burney *Camilla* vii. xi, This true *John Bullism Lynmere had

neither sense to despise, nor humour to laugh at. 1847 B. Barton *Select.*, etc. (1849) 32 A finer sample of John Bullism you would rarely see.

John Bullist の例 :

1851 J. H. Newman *Cath. in Eng.* 25 Anglo-maniacs or *John Bullists, as they are popularly termed.

次に British Lion は 1687 年に初めて国家の象徴として出現し、Scottish Lion などと対比されながら、それ以降くりかえし表れ、近代国家を支える象徴となる。OE 時代にすでに知られる lion は、Richard I Lionheart (在位 1189-1199) など国王のニックネームに用いられ、またメタファーとしてさまざまな含蓄を取り入れながら、特に紋章 heraldry などに利用されてきた経緯がある。百獣の王、獅子の単純で分かりやすいイメージを借りながら国家戦略的に利用したのがこの時期に誕生する Blue Lion であった。

British Lion [OED s.v. lion 5.c.]

5.c. **British Lion**, the lion as the national emblem of Great Britain; hence often used fig. for the British nation. Similarly **Scottish lion**.

1687 Dryden *Hind & P.* 1. 289 Such mercy from the British Lyon flows.
1796 Burke *Regic. Peace* iii. Wks. VIII. 293 He would no longer amuse the British Lion in the chace of mice and rats. 1806 *Naval Chron.* XV. 52 Each [of the seamen] appeared a true-bred cub of the British Lion. 1849 W. E. Aytoun *Lays Sc. Caval., Heart Bruce* xxv, We'll let the Scottish lion loose Within the fields of Spain! 1853 Lytton *My Novel* xii. xxv. IV. 174 The British Lion is aroused! 1859 Thackeray *Virgin*. lxiv, The British Lion, or any other lion, cannot always have a worthy enemy to combat, or a battle royal to deliver.

2.6 Union Jack

米国における Stars and Stripes, Star-spangled banner と同様、イギリスとい

う国家を支える重要な表象である。「船首旗」に由来するが、その本来の機能を jack という部分に残して Union Jack となった。17世紀後半(1674年)からの用例がある(10a.)。飯田(2005:165)によれば「1800年のグレート・ブリテンとアイルランドの「連合法」の成立を受けて、翌年、それまでの連合旗に白地に赤の斜め十次のアイルランドの聖パトリック旗が組み合わされ、現在まで続くユニオン・フラッグが成立」した。OEDの引用例(1801年)はその辺りのことを例証している。

Union Jack [f. **union** *n.*-1 + **jack** *n.*-3]

Originally and properly, a small British union flag flown as the jack of a ship; in later and more general use extended to any size or adaptation of the union flag (even when not used as a jack), and regarded as the national ensign. See **Union flag** a and **union** *n.*-1 **10. a.** Written either with capitals or small initials.

1674 *Lond. Gaz.* No. 924/1 To Charge·His Subjects·, That from henceforth they do not presume to wear His Majesties Jack (commonly called, The Union Jack) in any of their Ships or Vessels, without particular Warrant. **1694, 1702** [see jack n.3]. **1801** *Union Magazine* Jan. 52 The Royal Union standard was hoisted on the Tower;·the Union Jack on the Parade. **1822** *Admiralty Order* in *Lond. Gaz.* No. 17871. 1893/1 We·authorize all His Majesty's subjects to hoist the Union Jack at the top-mast-head·, or at the fore-top-mast-head·, as a signal for a pilot. **1883** I. L. Bishop *Golden Chersonese* 222 Everything was 'ship-shape';·a union jack over the desk, from which the liturgy was read, and a tiger-skin [etc.].

b. A figure or representation of this. Also *attrib.*

1848 Albert Smith *Chr. Tadpole* xxiv. 220 Quite unexpectedly they all produced union-jack pocket-handkerchiefs, at the same moment. **1856** C. M. Yonge *Daisy Chain* i. xix, Harry used to write his name all over his—see—

and draw union-jacks on it. **1886** *Pall Mall G.* 3 July 4/1 In Sunderland the Liberals have all taken to wear Union Jacks in their buttonholes.

Hence (with reference to the use of the union jack as a national flag) **Union 'Jackery, Union 'Jackist, 'Jackite.** nonce-wds.

1886 *Pall Mall G.* 3 July 4/1 At Nottingham, the Tory party is locally known as the Union Jackists. **1896** *Spectator* 7 March 342 The national outbursts of 'Union-Jackery' in the courts and music-halls. **1901** *Daily Chron.* 2 Dec. 10/2 Men who no doubt call themselves patriotic Union-Jackites and Big Englanders.

Union flag (初出 1634) は Union Jack より 40 年ほど遡ることができ、前者と共存して現在に至っている。すでに述べたように jack がその旗本来の意味である「船首旗」を保持しており、ここではすべて舟と共に起する文脈に現れている。

Union flag [**union** *n.*-1 **4 b, 7 c.**]

a. The national flag or ensign, formerly of Great Britain, in later use (from 1801) of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, formed by combining the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, retaining the blue ground of the banner of St. Andrew. See **Union Jack**, and **union** *n.*-1 **10 a.**

This flag was introduced to symbolize the union of the crowns of England and Scotland and was formed by surmounting the cross saltire* of St. Andrew by the cross of St. George; the cross saltire of St. Patrick was added on the union of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, when the whole flag was blazoned by Royal Proclamation (*Lond. Gaz.* 1 Jan. 1801), as follows: Azure, the Crosses saltires of St. Andrew and St. Patrick Quarterly per

Saltire, counterchanged Argent and Gules; the latter fimbriated of the Second, surmounted by the Cross of St. George of the Third, fimbriated as the Saltire. [*saltire= 斜め十字]

1634 in *Rymer Fœdera* (1732) XIX. 549/1 None shall from henceforth presume to carry the Union Flag in the main Top or other part of their Ships, that is Saint George his Cross and Saint Andrews Cross joined together, but that the same Union Flag be still reserved as an Ornament proper for our own Ships, and Ships in our immediate Service and Pay, and none other. **1681** in *English Hist. Rev.* Jan. (1911) 50 [An article forbidding] privateers to wear our Union flagg[sic.] and jack. **1696** *Lond. Gaz.* No. 3190/3 Leaving the Command of the Fleet with my Lord Berkeley, who has put up the Union Flag on Board the Britannia. **1724** C. Johnson *Hist. Pirates* 153 One of them struck the Union Flag on the Top of the Castle. **1769** [see **union 1 10 a**]. **1829** Marryat *F. Mildmay* viii, A union flag is displayed at the mizen peak. **1844** *Regul. & Ord. Army* 48 The Union Flag or Jack being the distinctive flag or mark of an Admiral of the Fleet, when displayed at the main-top-gallant-mast-head. **1865** *N. & Q.* 11 March 208/2 The incorporation of the red saltier of St. Patrick into the Union Flag.

アメリカ独立宣言の年に書かれた新聞記事では Union Flag がアメリカのそれを指していると理解される。

b. The flag of the federated colonies or provinces of the American Union.

1776 *Pennsylv. Even. Post* 28 May 266/2 The Union Flag of the American States waved upon the Capitol.

2.7 un-British

‘British’ という概念を表象するもうひとつの語に注目してみたい。それは British の反意語としての形容詞 ‘un-British’ である。18世紀の半ば頃初めて記

録されることになる 'un-British' が物語るのは、national identity の核となる 'British-ness' の輪郭を、その外側にある概念と対抗させる形で明示し、言語的に刻印する役割を果たしているということであろう。支配する側にとって国内外の異論をいわば異端として抑圧し排除するのに便利な道具である¹²。国家の威信や国家的アイデンティティとつながる自己意識が、地球的規模に膨張していく領土的野心をその中に包み込んで、さらに膨張していく一連の動きがその頃から加速しはじめていることをこの語の誕生が示しているように思われる。

un-'British, a. (un-1 7.)

1746 Young *Thoughts on Late Reb.* 191 By thoughts inglorious, and un-British deeds, Their cancell'd will is impiously profaned. 1754 H. Walpole *Mem. Geo. II* (1822) I. 328 As un-British an age as ever was. 1755 Young *Centaur* vi, May they cease from this hour to sing or dance·our British, unbritish youth, manhood, and age, out of their senses! 1894 *Daily News* 12 Nov. 6/4 This extraordinary and most un-British freedom from prejudice.

連語的観点から、この語に後置される被修飾名詞 (deeds (1746), age (1754), youth (1755), manhood (1755), age (1755), freedom (from prejudice) (1894)) に注目し、分析してみれば、人間以外と共起する抽象名詞が多いことに気付く。このうち特に興味深いのは、議会制度下の事実上の初代英国首相 (1676-1745 「首相」在位 1721-42) と見なされる Robert Walpole が引退後の回想録に出てくる 1754 年の例である。その同一人物が別の箇所でも un-English (次節参照) という語を用いているということもあって、英国という国家についての彼流の考え方が具現されていると推察される。

Un-English

1633 年に初めて現れるこの表現は unmanly, degenerous ('degenerate' と同

¹² *Un-British* に先立つ語 *Un-English* (初出例 1633) については Kuya 1993: 83f. も参照。

義の古語) などの否定的評価語と共起し、それらと共振して最初から否定的な価値を帯びた語であったことがわかる。1世紀以上経った18世紀半ば、上述の政治指導者 Walpole の発言として現れた時、un-heroic という語と共起しているゆえに、政治的立場からのあからさまに非難的な含蓄を帯びている。以後も類似の文脈に現れることになるのだが、nationalism にかかわる否定的評価語と化した un-British が反意語である British の輪郭を明確にすることになり、その及ぼす影響は小さくないと言えよう。

un-English, a. [un-1 7.]

1. Not English in character; lacking the qualities regarded as typically English.

1633 Prynne *Histrio-m.* 546 So unmanly, degenerous and un-English (if I may so speake) in their whole conversation. 1745 H. Walpole *Let. to H. S. Conway* 27 May, This is so un-English, or so un-heroic, that I despair of you! 1763 *Ann. Reg., Chron.* 89/2 One of the members called the attack 'a horrid un-English act'. 1803 Mackintosh *Def. Peltier* Wks. 1846 III. 286 Though deserted by the un-English Government of England, they asserted their own ancient character. 1848 in *Life A. Fonblanque* (1874) 225 The un-English practice of secret voting will be resorted to. 1872 Yeats *Growth Comm.* 308 A false patriotism that thought it un-English to wear foreign fabrics.

2. Not English by occupation or possession.

1738 *Gentl. Mag.* 427/1 Such beauties are, save at Finedon, hardly found On English or un-English ground. 1902 *Daily Chron.* 18 July 5/4 With Delagoa Bay the only harbour still un-English passes into England's power.

Hence **un-Englishness** *n.*

1947 V. Sackville-West *Let.* in V. Glendinning *Vita* (1983) xxxi. 349 Dear Jim, I grew so fond of you. You must forgive the un-Englishness of my

saying this. 1960 C. Watson *Bump in Night* xii. 123 High explosive is the very apotheosis of un-Englishness. 1986 E. Longford *Pebbled Shore* v. 77 An un-Englishness which she emphasized by never appearing in anything but silk dresses.

unenglish(v.)

18世紀半ばの例は初代の首相と見なされる Walpole からである。すでに上述したように、彼は形容詞 un-British, un-English を用いるのと同じ政治的文脈で発せられたエスノニミック・ディスコースと考えられる。

un'english, v. (un-2 6 a.)

1745 H. Walpole *Lett.* (1846) II. 55, I would not for the world be so unenglished as to do otherwise. 1786 *Microcosm* (1787) 23 Having thus unenglished himself, let him get his advertisement drawn up.

2.8 Anglicize

OED の定義 (to english) にもかかわらず、この語は狭義の England を超えて広義の Britain に言及していると推察される。18世紀の初め (1710) より用いられはじめる。

Anglicize, v. [f. L. *Anglic-us* English + *-ize*.]

1. To make English in form or character; to english.

1710 Sewall *Letter-book* (1886) I. 401 The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicize them. 1748 T. Edwards *Can. Crit.* 275 (T.) In all Greek words anglicised as *system*, *hypocrite*. 1795 Coleridge *Plot Disc.* 47 Let me be pardoned, if the actions are too much anglicized. 1831 Scott *Cast. Dang.* iv, William Longlegs, having refused, on any terms, to become Anglocised. 1837 Hallam *Hist. Lit.* I. 275 The glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words.

1882年の用例は、EnglandがAmericaと対比されると並行的に動詞(AngliciseとAmericanise)が使用されている点に興味深い。

2. *intr. (refl. pron. omitted) rare.*

1857 Gen. P. Thompson *Audi Alt. Part. I. ix. 30* Are they allowed to Anglicise if they like, as the Scottish Highlanders were? 1882 Howells in *Longm. Mag. I. 60* England Americanises in some respects, in some respects America Anglicises.

Anglicism

これは「英国語法」で、形式上は動詞からの派生名詞であるが、出現年代は定義1については動詞よりも半世紀以上早い(1642年)。定義2「英国人気質」については1世紀半遅れて1781年 Samuel Johnson『詩人伝』からの用例がある。定義3はさらにそれから1世紀後(1873)の首相 Gladstoneからの引用で、「English流の、英国的な政治統治体制」を指し示している。

Anglicism (ˈæŋɡlɪsɪz(ə)m) [f. **Anglicize**: see *-ism*.]

1. Anglicized language, such as the introduction of English idiom into a sentence in another language; hence, a peculiarity of the English language, an idiom specially English.

1642 Howell *For. Trav. (Arb.) 65* An odde kind of Anglicisme as to say Your Boores of Holland, Sir; Your Iesuites of Spaine, Sir. 1679 Dryden *Tr. & Cr. Ep. Ded. Wks. 1725 V. 11* False Grammar, and Nonsense couch'd beneath that specious Name of Anglicisme. 1699 Bentley *Phal. § xi. 318* Dr. B. has abundance of pure Anglicisms in his Latin. 1755 T. H. Croker *Ariosto's Orl. Fur. Pref. 8* Low familiar anglicism, quite inconsistent with the dignity of the divine original. 1839 Hallam *Hist. Lit. IV. iv. vii. § 37. 319* The anglicism of terminating the sentence with a preposition.

2. An English characteristic or fashion; English character, the quality of being English; also, imitation of or support for what is English.

1781 Johnson *Lives Eng. Poets II.* 86 If his language had been less idiomatical, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. 1787 Beckford *Italy II.* 90 The short jacket of the postilion and other anglicisms of the equipage. 1810 Jefferson Writ. XII. 373 The Anglicism of 1808·is a longing for a King, and an English King rather than any other. 1818 M. Boucher *Let.* 1 Oct. in Lady Morgan Memoirs (1862) 146 Frenchmen·have adopted the opposite mania of Anglicism, down to the most trifling fashions. 1827 Lamb in Hone *Table Bk.* I. 302/1 Christianity; and true hearty Anglicism of feelings, shaping that Christianity; shine throughout his beautiful writings. 1831 *Blackw. Mag.* XXIX. 519 Among other allegorical emblems of nations, as the representative and express image of Anglicism, he drew a naked man. 1871 Lowell *Study Windows* iii. 62 She [sc. England] has a conviction that whatever good there is in us is wholly English, when the truth is that we are worth nothing except so far as we have disinfected ourselves of Anglicism. 1876 *Dublin Rev.* July 103 Mr. Carlyle, whom nobody will suspect either of narrow Anglicism or of unreasoning antipathy to other nations.

3. English political principles or methods of administration.

1873 Gladstone in *Daily News* 20 Aug. 2/2 The most unfortunate policy which sent Englishmen into the country for every purpose of civil as well as of religious life·to propagate what I may call Anglicism in the teeth of the feelings of the country. 1878 *N. Amer. Rev.* CXXVII. 185 Those elements of political Anglicism.

2.9 まとめ

英国における、国家をめぐる、既述のエスノニミック・ディスコースの出現

年代をエスノニムのタイプ別に年表化しておく。この表を一瞥することによって、次のことを確認しておこう。

- 1) ローマ帝国のラテン呼称に由来する *Britain, British* は古くから記録されており、その意味の変遷が大きい。現在の意味に定着するのは17世紀初頭である。
- 2) *Britain* と同一の表象として、擬人化により女神的な存在としての *Britannia* (1666)、男性の姿の *John Bull* (1772, 1778) が形成された。
- 3) 国内的な政治支配体制の変容とともに新たな自己名称 (*United Kingdom*) が発明された。スコットランドの支配 (1707) と、さらに1世紀後のアイルランドとの合同 (1800) を想起させる国家呼称の創造である。
- 4) *British* に対する *un-British* (1746) は、*English* に対する *un-English* (1633) という語形成を踏まえた派生である。*British* の反意語としての *un-British* は *British* と緊張関係を成すことにより *British* の意味論的輪郭を二項対立的に浮き立たせ、その価値を相補的に規定する。それは権力にとって好ましがらざる異分子の排除を意味する極めて政治的な文脈で用いられてきた。
- 5) 国家を意味する他の表象として国歌がある。*God Save the King/Queen* が生まれたのは1745年頃と推定される。*Rule, Britannia* (1804) は英国海軍の歌として始まったが、第二の国歌的な扱いを受けてきた。
- 6) さらにもう一つの表象として *Union flag, Union Jack, John Bull, British Lion* が生まれた。それらが同時期に出現したのは偶然ではない。
- 7) *John Bull* は当初スコットランドに対するイングランドの優越性と自意識の象徴であったものが、広義に使われるようになり、イギリス帝国主義を意識させる力となった。*Bull* に対して動物のメタファーとして用いられた *British Lion* は17世紀後半 (1687年) に登場しており、*John Bull* の先駆者と言えよう。
- 8) エスノニム・ネットワークを成すこれらの語の誕生日は、およそ2世紀の間に集中している。*British* を除き、*British Empire* (1604) から *John*

Bull (1778) までの間にその多数が創造されている。

9) さらに見ていくと、1630年代から1770年代の140年の間にこれらの語彙の多くが集中する。自国の安定やその存在そのものを脅かす国内外の対立、紛争が続いていたことが社会背景にあると推察される。

10) Elizabeth I 治下の英国は、1587年 Spanish Armada で勝利し、欧州の覇権争いに加わる力をようやく持つようになったが、その政治体制は内外の諸勢力の拮抗の狭間にあり、17世紀から18世紀の二世紀間においても揺れ動き続ける。17世紀はまさに「革命の世紀」で、国内では「ピューリタン革命」後、議会派と王党派の対立が武力衝突へと激化し、さらに「王政復古」「名誉革命」「権利章典」の制定と続く。その間に国外では三次にわたるオランダとの戦争があった。18世紀はスペイン王位継承戦争で始まり、半ば近くのオーストリア継承戦争、インドでの対フランス戦争、最後の四半世紀に対北米植民地戦争を経験した。国内では18世紀のはじめにスコットランドと連合するイングランドは19世紀初めにはアイルランドをも呑み込むようになる。「理性の時代」の下、科学の進展が「産業・商業革命」に結びつき、それが大英帝国の野心と欲望を膨らませる。この時期に、このように多くのエスノニムおよびその関連語が出現したことは自己の再発見、再評価、再定位を迫る外圧が大きな働きをしていることを以下のエスノニム出現年表は実証していると言えよう。

[* リスト中の数字は OED の初出例を意味用法に応じて分類した年代を示す]

-----	1600-----	1700-----	1800-----	1900-----	-----
2.1 Britain	OE-				
Great Britain	1604-				
2.2 British	1387				
British Empire	1604-				
British Isles	1621-				
British English			[1869]	1892-	
Britishness			1872-		
Britishhood			1883-		
Britishism			1894-		
Britishly			1892-		
English	OE-				
English English		'in contrast to Amer.E.'	1804-		
English			[count noun] a variety'	1910-	
2.3 Britannia	1666/7-			(-1864)	
Britannian	1589-				
Rule Britannia			1806-	'song'	
God Save the King	1350/70	'greeting'			
			1745-	'national anthem'	
The Queen	'God save the Queen'			1898-	
The King	'God save the King'			1932-	
2.4 United Kingdom			1737-		
2.5 John Bull			1778-	'nation'	
			1772-	'person'	
John Bullism			1796-		
John Bullish			1802-		
British Lion	1687-				
2.6 Union Jack	1674-				
Union flag	1634-				
2.7 un-British			1746-		
un-English	1633-	'character'			
			1738-	'occupation'	
unenglish(v.)			1745-		
2.8 Anglicize (v.)			1710-		
Anglicism	1642-	'language'			
			1781-	'character'	
-----	1600-----	1700-----	1800-----	1900-----	-----

3. 近代国家の形成とエスノニム: アメリカの場合

ここではいくつかの基本呼称 (America, American, Yankee, Uncle Sam, United States, Stars and Stripes など) の検討を試みる。これらの語についての意味的、連語的特徴とその変容を見ていくことが、アメリカ国家と関わる national identity の解明に光を当てることになる。

3.1 America

固有名としての America は 1620 年 Mayflower により Plymouth に上陸し定住する Pilgrims--Daniel Webster によれば Pilgrim 'Fathers'--の「北米」大陸到着後 10 年を経て記録されることになる語である。OED によれば詩人 John Donne と Shirley によって所有格を伴う呼び掛け語 ('my America') として 1631 年に、同格語として 'my new-found world' と並び、出現する。それ以降の用例においては同様の文脈を連想させる所有格形 (our, thy, his) を伴うものが多く、それらは前者のエコーであろうと推察される。

America, n. literary and poet.

[<America, the name of a land mass of the Western hemisphere, consisting of the two continents of North and South America, joined by the Isthmus of Panama; frequently used also as the name of the United States of America; apparently first used in M. Waldseemüller *Cosmographiae Introductio* (1507) <Americus, Latinized form of the name of Amerigo Vespucci (1451–1512), Italian explorer who navigated the coast of South America in 1501.]

A place which one longs to reach; an ultimate or idealized destination or aim; an (esp. newly identified) object of personal ambition or desire. Usu. with preceding possessive pronoun.

In later use, prob. in allusion to Donne or Shirley (see quotes. a 1631, 1631).

a 1631 J. Donne *Elegies* xix, in *Poems* (1669) 98 Licence my roaving hands, and let them go, Before, behind, between, above, below, O my America! my new-found-land, My Kingdom's safest when with one man man'd. **1631** J.

Shirley *Schoole of Complement* ii. i. 19 O my bird, my Chicke, my Doue, My America, my new-found world, I shall shortly Run backe into one and twenty againe. 1659 J. Shirley *Honoria & Mammon* ii. 23 Is't not so, My America? 1901 'L. Malet' *Hist. R. Calmady* ii. i. 90 That America of his childish dreams. · the Long Gallery. 1922 J. Joyce *Ulysses* ii. 402 Thou sawest thy America, thy lifetask, and didst charge to cover like the transpontine bison. 1944M. Rukeyser *Ninth Elegy in Coll. Poems* (1978) 259 We want to find and will spend our lives in finding: The landfall of our broken voyages Is still our America of contradictions. 1983 J. Jones *Dostoevsky* vii. 279 Whether the suicide who teases the murderer about his ability to do something is himself achieving anything deedy by going to his America—that question Crime and Punishment never voices.

3.2 American

次に American の用法、意味変容を追跡する。

形容詞 American の最初の登場は固有名の America より早く、すでに 16 世紀末 (1598) であり、地理的風土的言及がされている。その後、意味は変容し、20 世紀に入ってからの Hemingway の引用例は Dream と共起する例 (1937 年 'The American Dream') は、その後の用例にエコーが感じられる (1960 年 *Observer*)。American dream は 3a. で別に独立項目として取り上げられているが、J. T. Adams の例 (1931) がオリジナルである。

American, *a.* and *n.*

A. *adj.*

1.a Belonging to the continent of America. Also, of or pertaining to its inhabitants.

1598 Sylvester *Du Bartas* i. iii. (1641) 25/1 Under the Empire of the Ocean, Atlantike, Indian, and American. 1633 Herbert *Temple, Ch. Mil.* 235 Religion stands on tip~toe in our land, Readie to pass to the American

strand. **1773** Barrington in *Phil. Trans.* LXIII. 285, I have happened..to hear the American mocking-bird. **1885** *Century Mag.* Apr. 953/2 To use an expression made popular, we believe, by General Hawley some years ago.., dynamiting is 'not the American way!' **1937** Hemingway *To Have & Have Not* iii. xvi. 232 The Colt or Smith and Wesson..so well designed to end the American dream when it becomes a nightmare. **1960** *Observer* 17 Jan. 20/6 The spread of personal prosperity in America has led away from, rather than towards, the American Dream. *Ibid.* 20/7 The American Dream, the reasonable expectations of Americans, are by tradition that all men shall be equal. **1961** M. McCarthy *On the Contrary* (1962) i. 40 Apologists for the American Way of Life find themselves condoning injustices.

「アメリカ語」という概念化は、自己認識としての概念か、他者認識としてのそれか、いずれであろうか。初出例（1643）は明らかに先住民民族に対して他者としての視線が注がれた結果の認識であり、1789年の例はイギリスからの移住に伴う英語民族としての自己認識、自己意識の形成にかかわる。初期（17世紀の二例 1643, 1689）にはアメリカが「異文化」の風土として「異民族」の言語として距離をもって意識されていたものが、いつしか自文化の風土として馴れ親しみ、受け入れるというように変容していく、その分岐点が18世紀の後半、しかも世紀末に近い時期であることに注目したい。1789年という時期に 'the American Language' をネイティブアメリカンではなく、自分たち英国系アメリカンの言語として捉えなおし定義したのは、「愛国主義者」として一般に知られる教育学者、辞書編集者の Noah Webster であった。その時期はアメリカが英国に対して独立宣言をした1776年から13年後である。1800年の引用では、Britishでもなく Englishでもなく、この国の natives が編纂する 'American Language' の編纂の必要性を自著の中で解いている。

1. b *American language* (usu. with the), (i) a language of American Indians; (ii) American English (see sense 3). Also *American tongue*.

1643 J. Langley in *R. Williams' Key into Lang. of Amer.* 200, I have read over these thirty Chapters of the American Language, to me wholly unknowne. 1689 I. Mather *Brief Relation of State of New Engl.* 16 In an Indian Town..was an Englishman, who being skilful in the American Language, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue. 1789 Webster *Dissertations Eng. Lang.* i. 22 Numerous local causes..will introduce new words into the American tongue. 1800 in Mencken *Amer. Lang.* (1936) i. i. 11 (*title*) On the Scheme of an American Language. *Ibid.* , Grammars and dictionaries should be compiled by natives of the country, not of the British or English, but of the American tongue. 1839 *Penny Cycl.* XIII. 320 The singular congruity in structure between all the American languages, from the northern to the southern extremity of the continent. 1936 Mencken *Amer. Lang.* (ed. 4) i. iii. 23 This occasional tolerance for things American was never extended to the American language.

2. a Belonging to the British colonies in North America (*obs.*).

以下の例は Creed, Congress, Minister という政治信条、政治体制にかかわる語を修飾する American である。最初の二例 (1647, 1775) は政治的にはいまだ独立を遂げていない段階での植民地アメリカであるが、精神的社会的にはすでに英国とは異なる成長を遂げたアメリカである。他方、最後の例 (1883) は政治的に独立した国家としてのアメリカを指している。

2. b Belonging to the United States.

1647 Ward *Simple Cob.* 24 Divers make it an Article of our American Creed. 1775 Johnson (*title*) Taxation no Tyranny, an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress. 1883 *Daily News* 14 May 5/8 The plain evening dress which bespeaks the American Minister everywhere.

連語として特に注目に値するのは American dream と American English である。

3.a Special Combs. **American dream**, the ideal of a democratic and prosperous society which is the traditional aim of the American people; a catch-phrase used to symbolize American social or material values in general; **American English**, the form of English used by the inhabitants of the U.S.

American dream の例：

アメリカという国家を理解する基本概念としてよく知られた「アメリカの夢」は 20 世紀の所産である。J.T.Adams による命名 (1931) は今日に至るもこの巨大国家を貫くいわば「建国神話」の核心として支持されている。

1931 J. T. Adams *Epic of Amer.* 410 If the *American dream is to come true and to abide with us, it will, at bottom, depend on the people themselves.
¹³ 1937, etc. [see sense 1 above]. 1977 *Rolling Stone* 13 Jan. 45/2 When they die-cast the fins on the 1959 Cadillac, part of the American Dream blossomed. 1986 *Guardian* 18 Jan. 19/8 The American dream seems as far from reality as my Communist dream. Your faith is money and mine is politics, so we both have our burden.

American English の例：

次に「アメリカ英語」の概念化は 18 世紀末に遡る。すでに見たように 'the American tongue'(1789), 'the American Language'(1800), 'American'(1802) が存

¹³In the definition of the American Dream by James Truslow Adams in 1931, "life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement" regardless of social class or circumstances of birth. [Library of Congress. American Memory. "What is the American Dream?" (URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Dream)

在しており、‘American-English’はリスト中では最も新しい表現である。後者について、初出例（1806）が Noah Webster の発言であることが関心を惹く。どちらも英国からの独立後まもない政治状況で、英国への追従への嫌悪、ないし愛国心に刺激されて生まれた表現であると推察できる。

1806 Webster *Pref.*, In fifty years from this time, the *American-English will be spoken by more people, than all the other dialects of the language. 1906 *Westm. Gaz.* 24 Dec. 16/3 It is..distinctly American-English in its tendency towards phonetic spelling. 1942 Bloch & Trager *Outl. Linguistic Anal.* 52 The accentual features of the sentence in American English are as yet practically unknown.

B n.

American は初期には非白人の先住民を指していた。民族構成の変容は言語の意味の変容と並行する。同様に ‘the American Language’ の意味の変容、つまり先住民の言語から英国系白人の言語への意味の移行、が起きている。

1. An American Indian.

1578 G. Best *Frobisher's Voy.* (1867) 284 The Americans which dwell under the equinoctial line. 1632 Massinger *City Madam* iii. iii, Worse Than ignorant Americans. 1711 Addison *Spect.* No. 56 ¶1 The Americans believe that all creatures have souls. 1777 Robertson *Amer.* II. 417 Amazing accounts are given of the persevering speed of the Americans.

次に、独立前夜とでも呼ぶべき 18 世紀後半（1765）にアメリカ生れの「ヨーロッパ系移民の子孫」を指す用法が確立する。その後、ヨーロッパ系などという制限は消失し、意味が拡張されて用いられるようになった。

2. A native of America of European descent; esp. a citizen of the United

States. Now simply, a native or inhabitant of North or South America (often with qualifying word, as Latin American, North American); a citizen of the United States.

1765 Gale in *Phil. Trans.* LV. 198 Paying quit-rents to monopolizers of large tracts of land, is not well relished by Americans. **1775** Johnson *Tax. no Tyr.* 13 That the Americans are able to bear taxation is indubitable. **1809** Kendall *Trav.* II. lviii. 286 The Americans, that is the subjects of the United States. **1882** Howells in *Cent. Mag.* Nov. 26 We Americans are terribly in earnest about making ourselves.

American English はすでに記述した2つのタイプ、the American language/tongue および American-English を補う変異形と考えることができる。1802年からの記録があり、時代的にもほとんど同時期に出現していることがわかる。American と短縮されたのは、おそらく American と English 本来の意味が想起され対立する概念として意味的衝突を起こすのを避けるためであり、また冗長すぎるゆえに短縮されたためでもあろうと推察される。‘American’ という表現が生まれた時期に注目したい。1802年という年は独立戦争に勝利してすでに四半世紀ほど過ぎており、政治的自立を言語文化的に象徴するものとして今後重要性を帯びていくことになることを予感させる。

5. American English; the form of English spoken in the United States.

[**1782** Chastellux *Voyages dans l'Amérique* (1786) II. 202 Vous parlez bien américain.] **1802** *Port Folio* 28 Aug. 266/2 [A Latin verse] which my schoolmaster has translated into American. **1803** J. Davis *Trav. U.S.* 139 What do you think of the style of Johnson, the Reviewer? It is not English that he writes, Sir; it is American. **1869** Gillmore *Accessible Field Sports* 19 But it was evident I was not boss. [Note] American for ‘master’. **1889** Kipling *From Sea to Sea* (1899) xvii. 368 The American I have heard up to the present, is a tongue as distinct from English as Patagonian. **1908** *Daily*

Chron. 10 June 6/7 English spoken; American understood. 1919 *Mencken Amer. Lang.* 26 American thus shows its character in a constant experimentation, a steady reaching out for new and vivid forms. 1966 *Listener* 2 June 810/3 We have tried to translate from French into American and vice versa.

この後、American を語幹とする派生語が誕生するのは自然な成り行きであった。この中でユニークなのは Americanitis (アメリカ病) である。19世紀末(1891)にアメリカ的偏向とでも呼ぶべき現象に着目して生まれた他称的命名である。

Hence (in sense A. 2 or B. 2) [...] **Americanese** (-i:z) = American B. 5 (see above); [...] **Americanitis** (-'artis) [see *-itis*], some characteristically American penchant (esp. *fig.* , over-weening or blatant national conceit in American achievements, etc.) or (loosely) related in some way to what is American (e.g. morbid fear of American competition or rivalry); **A'mericantly adv.**, in an American manner; **A'mericanness**, the quality of being American, of having or revealing American characteristics.

Americanese の例:

アメリカ語法と名付けられる用法も 19世紀末(1882)に出現している。

1882 *Sala Amer. Revis.* II. xii. 160 A 'bull-fiddle'.. Americanese for a violoncello. 1927 *Observer* 10 July 18/7 At Speech Day at Uppingham School. [the] Bishop of Peterborough, said..They needed to retain their English tongue and preserve it from the pollution caused by Americanese and journalese.

Americanitis の例:

1891 A. P. Call *Power through Repose* ii. 13 Extreme nervous tension seems to be so peculiarly American, that a German physician coming to this

country to practise became puzzled by the variety of nervous disorders he was called upon to help, and finally announced his discovery of a new disease which he chose to call 'Americanitis'. 1901 *Daily Chron.* 18 Oct. 4/6 We are not among those who are attacked by the disease of Americanitis in its extreme form. 1904 G. S. Hall *Adolescence II*. 411 Less perfervid Americanitis at games and in celebrating victories.

Americanly の例 :

1832 F. A. Butler *Jrnl.* II. 64 Miss —..pronounces Italian very Americanly. 1866 Howells in *Harper's Mag.* Jan. 325/1 For our novelists to try to write Americanly, from any motive, would be a dismal error. 1892 *Illustr. London News* Summer No. 3 Horribly, incredibly, Americanly rich. 1906 *Daily Chron.* 13 Apr. 4/7 Rather than 'expect' in this sense, let us Americanly 'calculate', or even 'guess'.

Americanness の例 :

1885 *Sat. Rev.* 17 Oct. 517/2 In none of Mr. Howells' books is his Americanness more conspicuous than in his latest *The Rise of Silas Lapham*. 1959 *Listener* 30 July 177/2 The true masters of American literature, those in whose work the notion of Americanness is meaningful and definable, are not paltry imitators of European naturalism.

3.3 Yankee, Yank

ここでは Yankee およびその縮約形 Yank を扱う。Yankee は 18 世紀後半 (1765) に登場するが、米国を指す用法は 1780 年代に確立する。縮約形 Yank は 19 世紀に入って出現する (1813)。

Yankee, *n.* and *a.* Also 8-9 **Yankey**, **Yanky**, *pl.* **Yankies**.

[Source unascertained.]

The two earliest statements as to its origin were published in 1789: Thomas Anburey, a British officer who served under Burgoyne in the War of Independence, in his *Travels* II. 50 derives *Yankee* from Cherokee *eankke* [*sic.*] slave, coward, which he says was applied to the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians for not assisting[*sic.* perhaps *err. assisting?*] them in a war with the Cherokees; William Gordon in *Hist. Amer. War* states that it was a favourite word with farmer Jonathan Hastings of Cambridge, Mass., c 1713, who used it in the sense of 'excellent'. Appearing next in order of date (1822) is the statement which has been most widely accepted, viz. that the word has been evolved from North American Indian corruptions of the word *English* through *Yengees* to *Yankees* (Heckewelder, *Indian Nations* iii. ed. 1876, p. 77); cf. **Yengees**.

Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that it comes from Du. *Janke*, dim. of *Jan* John, applied as a derisive nickname by either Dutch or English in the New England states (J. N. A. Thierry, 1838, in *Life of Ticknor*, 1876, II. vii. 124). The existence of *Yank(e)y*, *Yankee*, as a surname or nickname (often with Dutch associations) is vouched for by the following references:

1683 *Cal. St. Papers, Colon. Ser.* (1898) 457 They [*sc.* pirates] sailed from Bonaco·; chief commanders, Vanhorn, Laurens, and Yankey Duch. **1684** *Ibid.* 733 A sloop·unlawfully seized by Captain Yankey. **1687** *Ibid.* (1899) 456 Captains John Williams (Yankey) and Jacob Everson (Jacob). **1687-8** *MSS. Earl of Dartmouth in 11th Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. v. 136 The pirates Yanky and Jacobs. **1697** *Dampier Voy.* I. iii. 38. **1725** *Inventory of W. Marr of Carolina in N. & Q.* 5th Ser. X. 467 Item one negroe man named Yankee to be sold.

Cf. also 'Dutch yanky' *s.v.* **yanky.**]

いくつかの説を解説した後、OEDはオランダ語人名 *Janke* (Jan [英語名 'John']の指小辞)を起源とする説を有力視している。17世紀後半の言語資料が実際に

人名としてこの語形が残っていることを証明しているから。

英語における最初の意味は New England の先住民および後に移住してきた住民、次に、New England を含む北部諸州のそれを指し、さらに 1860-61 年の連邦離脱戦争の際（南部 11 州の側から）連邦軍の兵士を指したりもした。Mencken (1945:192-97) には語源に関して 15 の説が紹介されたあとに、Yankee と連語関係になるたくさんの表現のリストが DAE 経由で記載されている。また同じく Mencken (1949, Fourth Ed.: 110-11) には OED の上述の部分と重なる記述 (Yankee オランダ説) があることがわかる。

Yankee, A. n.

1.a *U.S.* A nickname for a native or inhabitant of New England, or, more widely, of the northern States generally; during the War of Secession applied by the Confederates to the soldiers of the Federal army.

1765 *Oppression, a Poem by an American* (with notes by a North Briton) 17 From meanness first this Portsmouth Yankey rose. *Note*, 'Portsmouth Yankey', It seems, our hero being a New-Englander by birth, has a right to the epithet of Yankey; a name of derision, I have been informed, given by the Southern people on the Continent, to those of New-England: what meaning there is in the word, I never could learn. **1775** J. Trumbull *McFingal* i. 1 When Yankies, skill'd in martial rule, First put the British troops to school. Editor's note, Yankies—a term formerly of derision, but now merely of distinction, given to the people of the four eastern States. **1775** *Penna Gazette* 10 May in *N. & Q.* 1st Ser. VI. 57/1 They [sc. the British troops] were roughly handled by the Yankees, a term of reproach for the New Englanders, when applied by the regulars. **1778** *Muse's Mirrour* I. 220 O My Yankee, my Yankee, And O my Yankee, my sweet-ee, And was its nurse North asham'd Because such a bantling hath beat-ee? **1817** M. Birkbeck *Notes Journ. Amer.* (1818) 19 The enterprising people [at Richmond, Virginia] are mostly strangers; Scotch, Irish, and especially New England men, or

Yankees, as they are called. 1825 J. Neal *Bro. Jonathan* i. I. 13 He was a Yankee, the very character of whom is, that he can 'turn his hand', as he says, 'to any thing'. 1891 Duncan *Amer. Girl in London* 23 The Yankees are the New Englanders, the name would once have been taken as an insult by a Southerner.

Yankee の意味はさらに拡大して、広義のアメリカ人を指すようになる最初の例が 1784 年ごろに出現する (1.b.)。これは独立革命のわずかのちのことである。

1. b. By English writers and speakers commonly applied to a native or inhabitant of the United States generally; an American. Applied occas. to a ship (cf. *Frenchman*, etc.).

c 1784 Nelson *Let. to Locker* in A. Duncan *Life* (1806) 321, I am determined not to suffer the Yankies to come where the ship is. 1796 T. Twining *Trav. Amer.* (1894) 68 Their wit was particularly directed against a 'Yankee' who was one of the company. We apply this designation as a term of ridicule or reproach to the inhabitants of all parts of the United States indiscriminately; but the Americans confine its application to their countrymen of the Northern or New England States. 1798 C. Smith *Yng. Philos.* III. 11 If thou marriedst the heiress, thou must give up thy little American, thy fascinating yankey. 1836 Haliburton *Clockm.* Ser. i. ix, I'll be d—d, said he, if ever I saw a Yankee that didn't bolt his food whole like a Boa Constrictor. 1851 *Blackw. Mag.* LXIX. 409/2 When we next saw the Yankee [sc. a frigate], there we were coming right down upon him over the breast of the sea. 1887 'Edna Lyall' *Knight-Errant* xvii, I really am Italian, though Signor Sardoni will call me a little Yankee.

Yankee は形容詞用法から独立名詞用法を獲得し、はじめはニューイングラン

ド英語を、次に米語一般を指示するという発達を遂げる (2.)。

2. [ellipt. use of the adj.] The Yankee language, the dialect of New England; loosely, American English generally.

1824 J. Gilchrist *Etymol. Interpr.* 8 The naked savages of Indiana already speak a corrupt English (or Yankee). 1836 Haliburton *Clockm.* Ser. i. i, You did not come from Halifax, I presume, sir, did you? in a dialect too rich to be mistaken as genuine Yankee. 1840 *Letter Bag* iii. 34 Coarse jokes in English, German, French, and Yankee.

形容詞用法「ヤンキー気質の」は名詞用法から派生して誕生する。Yankee の特徴としては「(ずる)賢い、計算高い」を示唆する。また漠然とアメリカ気質を指すようになる (B. *adj.* a.)。

Yankee, B. *adj.*

a. That is a Yankee; pertaining to or characteristic of Yankees (often with the connotation of cleverness, cunning, or cold calculation); loosely, belonging to the United States, American.

1781 A. Bell in *Southey Life* (1844) I. 37 The whole coast infested with Yanky privateers. 1784 A. Adams *Lett.* (1848) 161 We have curtains, it is true, and we only in part undress, about as much as the Yankee bundlers. 1822 Cobbett *Weekly Reg.* 9 Mar. 633, I was on board a little Yankee sloop in the Bay of Funday. 1828 (*title*) The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette. 1829 Marryat *Frank Mildmay* xx, I will show you a Yankee trick. 1886 Froude *Oceana* 357 California with its gold and its cornfields, its 'heathen Chinese' and its Yankee millionaires, was a land of romance.

米語について用いられるようになるのは19世紀半ば(1854)である。

b. Used of or in reference to the language or dialect: cf. **A. 2.**

a 1854 Whittier *Charms & Fairy Faith Pr. Wks.* 1880 II. 239 A sort of Yankee-Irish dialect. **1866** Lowell *Biglow P.* Introd., Wks. 1890 II. 170 Of Yankee preterites I find risse and rize for rose in Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton and Dryden.

C. Comb., etc.

a. *gen.*, as **Yankee-like**, **Yankee-looking** *adjs.*

1799 *Aurora* (Phila.) 30 Sept. (Thornton *Amer. Gloss.*) Faith, 'twill be Yankee like, and plagued funny. **1836** Haliburton *Clockm.* Ser. i. xvii, I heard him ax the groom who that are Yankee lookin feller was.

b. Special combinations and collocations. ...**Yankee-land**, the land of Yankees, New England; loosely, the United States; ...**Yankee State**, a nickname for Ohio.

1803 in *Spirit Publ. Jrnls.* VI. 350 More wit from *Yankee-land. **1837** Hawthorne *Amer. Note-bks.* 13 July (1883) 57 It sounds strangely to hear children bargaining in French on the borders of Yankee-land.

1884 *Harper's Mag.* June 125/1 Ohio was called 'the *Yankee State'.

派生語は American のそれに比して多い。語形態論的に Yankee は派生形を生成しやすい語幹であることも影響していると推測される。

Hence '**Yankee** *v.* (rare—1), *trans.* to deal cunningly with like a Yankee, to cheat; '**Yankeedom**, the realm or country of Yankees, the United States of America; Yankees as a body...'**Yankeefied** (-faid) *ppl. a.*, made or become like

a Yankee; characteristic of a Yankee; '**Yankeeish** *a.*, resembling a Yankee (whence '**Yankeeishly** *adv.*, like a Yankee); '**Yankeeism**, Yankee character or style; a Yankee characteristic or idiom; '**Yankeeize** *v., trans.* to make Yankeeish, give a Yankee character to; '**Yankeeness**, Yankee character.

Yankeering の例 :

1837 *Fraser's Mag.* XVI. 683 [They] are considered capable of '*Yankeering' the more simple-minded Canadians.

Yankeedom の例 :

1851 *Blackw. Mag.* Apr. 417/1 He ought to take steamer direct for '*Yankeedom·they'd make him President at once! 1890 R. Broughton *Alas!* i. viii, Yankeedom and Cockneydom, rushing hand in hand through all earth's sacredness.

Yankeefied の例 :

1846 Jas. Taylor *Upper Canada* 47 Some of the Canadians indulge in the '*Yankeefied habit of bolting down their victuals. 1897 *Voice* (N.Y.) 14 Jan. 8 Japan is getting Yankeefied in more ways than one.

Yankeeish の例 :

1818 H. C. Robinson *Diary* 30 Apr. (1967) 58 Allston has a mild manner, a soft voice, and a sentimental air with him, not at all '*Yankyish. 1830 *Collegian* (Cambridge, Mass.) Apr. 117 Comparisons are generally 'odorous', particularly Yankeeish, and decidedly condemned by Captain Basil Hall.

1855 De Quincey in 'H. A. Page' *Life* (1877) II. xviii. 112 Waal, now, to speak '*yankeeishly, I calculate your dander is rising.

Yankee-ism の例：

1820 *Eclectic Rev.* Apr. 359 The term unwell, when first brought up, was ridiculed as a *Yankee-ism. 1836 *Fraser's Mag.* XIII. 653 Guilty of all those Yankeeisms which distinguish the lout from the gentleman. 1865 Visct. Milton & W. B. Cheadle *N.-W. Pass. by Land* ii. (1867) 18 Irish or German Yankees; ·out-Heroding Herod in Yankeeism.

Yankeeised, -ing の例：

1864 *Guardian* 20 Apr. 386 We begin to fear that England is becoming *Yankeeised. 1877 Sir F. Elliot in Dowden *Corr. Sir H. Taylor* 377 The most certain of political tendencies in England is what ·I will call the Yankeeising tendency. 1882 H. E. Scudder *Noah Webster* viii. 289 Hawthorne, Yankeeizing the Greek myths, and finding all Rome but the background for his Puritan maiden, was asserting that new discovery of Europe by America.

Yankeeeness の例：

1909 'O. Henry' *Roads of Destiny* xxi. 352 Any *Yankeeeness I may have is geographical.

Yankee Doodle

1768年という独立宣言以前にある軍医の作曲した曲の中に歌詞として現れたのが初めである。

Yankee Doodle

[Origin uncertain. The tune is said to have been composed in 1755 by Dr. Shuckburgh, a surgeon in Lord Amherst's army, in derision of the provincial troops (Hist. & Misc. Coll. New Hampsh. 1824, III. 217-18).]

ヤンキー精神を意味する用例は1768年に始まる (1.)。1787年には人につい

て使うようになった (2.)。

1. The title of a popular air of the United States of America, considered to be characteristically national.

1768 *Jrnl. of the Times* (Boston) 29 Sept. in *Lossing Pict. Field-Bk. Revol.* (1851) I. 480 Those passing in boats observed great rejoicings, and that the Yankee Doodle Song was the capital piece in the band of music. 1775 *Pennsylvania Even. Post* 22 July 317/2 General Gage's troops are much dispirited; and disposed to leave off dancing any more to the tune of Yankey Doodle. c1775 T. L. *Yankee Doodle; or the Negroe's farewell to America* (song) in *N. & Q.* 1st Ser. V. 87 Yankee doodle, yankee doodle dandy, I vow, Yankee doodle, yankee doodle, bow wow wow. 1836 Haliburton *Clockm.* Ser. i. xvii, He walked off, a whislin Yankee Doodle to himself.

2. A Yankee. Also *attrib.*

1787 J. F. Bryant *Verses* 15 And we'll give the Yankee~doodles a dowse in the jaws. a1807 J. Skinner *Amusem. Leis. Hours* (1809) 78 Syne after him cam Yankie Doodle, Frae hyne ayont the muckle water. 1814 Moore *Parody of Letter* 48, I might have withheld these political noodles From knocking their heads against hot Yankee Doodles. 1825 J. Neal *Bro. Jonathan* xxiii. II. 319 One of your yankee doodle invitations, that,—happy to see you another time. 1830 Scott *Jrnl.* 5 Sept. (1890) II. 351 We have had Yankees male and female, and a Yankee-Doodle-Dandy into the bargain, a smart young Virginia man.

同時にこれを語幹とする派生語が数多く誕生した。

Hence Yankeedoodle'dodom *nonce-wd.* = Yankeedom; yankee'doodledom,

Yankee'doodleism, = Yankeedom, Yankeeism (above).

Yankeedoodle'dodom の例 :

1843 T. Carlyle *Let.* 3 July in *Lett. Charles Dickens* (1974) III. 542/1 The last *Chuzzlewit* on *Yankeedoodledodom is capital. We read it with loud assent.

Yankee'doodledom の例 :

1845 P. Hone *Diary* 20 May (1889) II. 248 The ladies of this family (natives though they be of *Yankee-doodle-dom) seem to possess, in a high degree, the power of capturing the aristocracy of England. 1861 *Death of Lincoln Despotism* (Bartlett), And hold them Abe Lincoln, and all his Northern scum, Shall own our independence of Yankee Doodledom.

Yankee'doodleism の例 :

1836 *Fraser's Mag.* XIII. 468 The man's whole life was a long series of Frenchified *Yankeedoodleisms.

Yank

Yankee (1765) が生まれてほどなく Yank はその短縮形として出現する (1778)。短縮形の常として、口語、俗語として人口に膾炙することになる (1.)。今日ではしばしば揶揄的ニュアンスが生じるものとして derogatory のラベルを記載することが多い。また Yankland は国家名のニックネームとして 19 世紀前半に臨時用法として記録されている (3.)。

Yank, *n.*-2 (a.)

1. *Colloq.* abbreviation of Yankee.

1778 *Conquerors* 14 Give me five hundred brave and chosen men, I'll drive the Yanks from north to south again. 1834 R. H. Froude in *Newman's Lett.* (1891) II. 77 The Yank edition of the 'Christian Year'. 1872 Schele de Vere *Amer.* 23 During the war the Yanks became the universal designation of

Federal soldiers in the Confederacy, even as they were called Rebs—not Rebels—by Northern men. **1886** *All Year Round* 14 Aug. 35 As clever at a trick as a Yank.

3. Comb. 'Yankland *nonce-wd.*, the land of the Yankees, America.

1834 R. H. Froude in *Newman's Lett.* (1891) II. 37 When I shall go to Yankland I do not know.

3.4 United States

この連語が初めて現れた時それはオランダの政治体制を指していた。それがアメリカを指すようになるのは独立宣言の年 (1776) からである (1.b.)。

United States

1. b. The Republic of North America. Abbrev. *U.S.* or *U.S.A.* (Cf. **state n.** **31 c, d**, and United Colonies **united ppl. a. 4 a.**)

1776 *Jrnls. Continental Congress* (1906) VI. 865 Resolved, that the inhabitants of Canada, captivated by the United States·be released and sent home. **1781** J. Adams *Fam. Lett.* (1876) 403 You will never have peace while the Britons have a company of soldiers at liberty within the United States. **1781-8** in Bryce *Amer. Commw.* (1888) I. 569 The style of this Confederacy shall be, 'The United States of America'. **1812** Earl of Liverpool in *Examiner* 11 May 292/2 The United States had assumed a very warlike attitude. **a 1817** T. Dwight *Trav. New Eng.*, etc. (1821) I. 18 The United States have been regarded by this class of men as fair game. **1888** *Encycl. Brit.* XXIII. 759/1 The United States·was anxious to establish what Great Britain was not disposed to grant.

attrib. **1819** G. Flagg *Let.* 12 June in *Trans. Illinois State Hist. Soc.* 1910 (1912) XV. 165 They settle on united States land. **1840** (*title*), United States Digest. **1843** *Penny Cycl.* XXVI. 13/2 The officers of the United States navy.

1875 Jevons *Money* xix. 246 The United States government.

国家名としての United States が国家語名に変容するのは 19 世紀の終わりである。言語名としては競合するライバルが既に出現していた (Americanism 1781; American tongue 1789; American language 1800; Yankee 1824) 中でのことである。いくつかの変異形の中では使われる頻度の最も少ないものであったが、動詞 talk, speak と共起する形での慣用句 (talk/speak United States) として残ったことわかる (2.)。

2. The form of English spoken in the United States of North America or regarded as distinctly American. to talk United States, to use strong language, to express oneself forcibly.

1891 E. Roper *Track & Trail* ix. 134 Most of the ladies spoke decided 'United States'; one was 'Dutch', and one had a decided British accent. 1898 Hamblen *Gen. Manager's Story* x. 134 If he made any disparaging comments I vowed to myself that I'd talk United States to him if I lost my job by it.

Hence **United-Statesian** *a.*, of or belonging to the United States of America; *n.*, an inhabitant or citizen of the United States. Also **United Statesman** (1850), and, in recent use, **United Stateser**.

1892 *N. & Q.* 8th Ser. II. 146/2 To an outsider, say a Frenchman or a United-Statesian. 1897 *Westm. Gaz.* 26 Aug. 3/3 The secret of the American or rather United-Statesian race.

3.5 Uncle Sam

英国の John Bull に相当する擬人化用法である Uncle Sam は 19 世紀の初め (1813) に出現する。2 つの擬人化に由来する命名は国際的覇権争い、対外戦争という社会背景を共有している。第二次「アメリカ独立戦争」ともいうべき

1812年の戦い¹⁴が引き金となって、John Bull (1770年代に出現)におくればせながら生まれた連語であることが推察される。この連句の誕生の歴史的背景はGove (1976)の記述が詳しい。他方、米語について大部な著作のあるMencken (1919,1945,1948)にはなぜかUncle Samについて触れるところがない。

[uncle sam ...[fr. U.S., abbr. of *United States*; prob. fr. an originally jocular interpretation of the letters U.S. stamped on casks of meat supplied to the U.S. Army during the War of 1812¹⁵ as standing for *Uncle Sam*, nickname of Samuel Wilson † 1854 Am. meat packer] 1: the U.S. government personified <doesn't like people who work for Uncle Sam --Merle Miller> 2: the American nation or people <a distorted picture of *Uncle Sam*> (Gove 1976 s.v. **uncle sam**)¹⁶

OEDには対英戦争の翌年(1813)から始まる引用例が挙げられている(2.c.)。OED 2.c **Uncle Sam**, the government (or people) of the United States of America.

The history of the expression has been traced by A. Matthews in *Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* XIX. 21-65; see also R. H. Thornton *Amer. Glossary* 916. The suggestion that it arose as a facetious interpretation of the letters U.S. is as old as the first recorded instances, and later statements connecting it with

^{14,15} The War of 1812 was a military conflict fought between the forces of the United States of America and those of the British Empire, including those of present-day Canada. The Americans declared war in 1812 for a number of reasons, including a desire for expansion into the Northwest Territory, trade restrictions because of Britain's ongoing war with France, impressment of American merchant sailors into the Royal Navy, British support of American Indian tribes against American expansion, and the humiliation of American honour.

(URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_of_1812)

¹⁶ 以下も参照: Green (1998: s.v. **Uncle Sam** [p.1244])

different government officials of the name of Samuel appear to be unfounded.¹⁷

1813 *Troy Post* 7 Sept. (Matthews), Loss upon loss, and no ill luck stir[r]ing but what lights upon Uncle Sam's shoulders. 1839 N. Hawthorne in Longfellow *Life* (1891) I. 334 Uncle Sam is rather despotic as to the disposal of my time. 1850 N. Hawthorne *Scarlet L.* Introd. (1852) 3 The thirteen stripes turned vertically, thus indicating that a civil post of Uncle Sam's government is here established. 1884 *Harper's Mag.* June 48/1 To cheat Uncle Sam in revenue matters is regarded as a venial sin.

3.6 Stars and Stripes; Star-spangled Banner; Bird of Freedom

英国における Union Jack, Union flag と同様、アメリカという国家を理念的に支える重要な表象である。Stars and Stripes が先行し (1782)、Star-spangled Banner が 30 年ほど遅れて出現する (1814)。OED によると、1777 年に議会で採用された時には建国当初の 13 州を意味する 13 の stars and stripes が、その後の合併により、その数が増えていくのは周知の通りである。

[OED s.v. **star**, *n.* 1 **6.b**]

stars and stripes; the popular name for the United States flag. **stars and bars**, the flag of the Confederate States.

The American flag, when first adopted by Congress (14th June 1777), contained 13 stripes and 13 stars, representing the 13 States of the Union. It now contains 13 stripes and 50 stars.

1782 E. Watson *Men & Times Revol.* (1861) 203 He attached to the ship the stars and stripes. 1830 *Debates in Congress* 24 Feb. 193 This alone can account for the exhortation against enlistments, against joining the stars and

¹⁷'Uncle Sam is a common national personification of the American government originally used during the War of 1812.' (URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uncle_Sam)

stripes of their country. **1840** R. H. Dana *Bef. Mast* xiv. 32 We·ran the stars and stripes up to the peak. **1859** Thackeray *Virgin*. lxix. II. 171 All accents are pretty from pretty lips, and who shall set the standard up? Shall it be a rose, or a thistle, or a shamrock, or a star and stripe? **1863** Whittier *Barbara Frietchie* 13 Forty flags with their silver stars, Forty flags with their crimson bars.

[OED *s.v.* **star-spangled**, *ppl. a.*]

2. star-spangled banner.

Stars and Stripes の同義語として 30 年後に合流する表現である (2.a)。同時に大文字で表記され、国歌としての用法も確立している (2.b)。後者については作詞者 F.S.Key による歌のタイトルが引用されている¹⁸。

2.a The national flag of the United States of America. Also *fig.* Cf. **stars and stripes** *s.v.* **star** *n.*¹ **6 b.**

1814 F. S. Key in *Baltimore Patriot* 20 Sept. 2/1 The star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave. **1843** Dickens *Mart. Chuz.* (1844) xxi. 261, I thank you, sir, in the name of the star-spangled banner of the Great United States. **1869** 'Mark Twain' *Innoc. Abr.* xlix. 515 A robe·that was a very star-spangled banner of curved and sinuous bars of black and white. **1887** *Let.* 18 Dec. (1917) II. 480 It had bought them of the star spangled banner Masterthief. **1949** *Chicago Daily News* 15 Dec. 3 Was the Star-Spangled Banner made in a brewery?

¹⁸"The Star-Spangled Banner" is the national anthem of the United States of America. The lyrics come from "Defence of Fort McHenry", a poem written in 1814 by the 35-year-old lawyer and amateur poet, Francis Scott Key, after witnessing the bombardment of Fort McHenry by the British Royal Navy ships in Chesapeake Bay during the Battle of Fort McHenry in the War of 1812. (URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Star_Spangled_Banner)

2. b With capital initials: the name of the U.S. national anthem.

1814 [see sense 1].¹⁹ 1843 Quincy (Illinois) *Herald* 3 Mar. 1/1 It is a most beautiful history of that national ballad, 'The Star Spangled Banner'. 1899 Kipling *From Sea to Sea* ii. xxv. 15 When we had chanted 'The Star-Spangled Banner' not more than eight times, we adjourned. 1936 *Nation* 10 Oct. 419/2 As the band played the Star Spangled Banner at the end, the President stood erect. 1977 G. Markstein *Chance Awakening* xliii. 128 He was on his feet with 17,000 other people in the stadium as the Star Spangled Banner thundered out of the loudspeakers.

Bird of Freedom

19世紀半ばに登場する「自由の鳥」は eagle を指すアメリカの隠喩である。他の非言語的アイコンと並んで、national identity を補強する役割を担う。

[OED s.v. **bird**, n. 7.]

bird 7. With some defining word connected by of, as **Bird of Freedom** *U.S.*, the emblematic bird of the U.S. (see **eagle** n. 1.)

1848 Lowell *Biglow P.* Ser. I.ii.28 Youn, Birdofredom Sawin. 1854 B.F.Taylor *Jan. & June* 120 The Bird of Freedom inclined his body forward. 1906 *Harper's Mag.* Mar.638 The short story is peculiarly an American institution, and we are as proud of it as we are of the 'Bird of Freedom'.

3.7 un-American

un-American は19世紀最初の四半世紀(1818)に生まれた。アメリカが独立を遂げて国家体制を整え、強化していく中で「アメリカ的価値観にそぐわな

¹⁹1814 F. S. Key (*title of a song*) The Star-spangled Banner. (OED); also Gove (1976: s.v. **star-spangled**, adj. 2.)

い、国益に反する」という意味合いを帯びて使われていく。20世紀半ばに冷戦構造の中、偏った政治的意図をもって使用されたこの語の生まれた背景を考察することは欠かせない²⁰。明示的に負の評価を表すこの語は、1950年代の狂乱の「赤狩り」糾弾に公的に関与した国家組織 HUAC (<House Un-American Activities Committee) のアクロニミックな名称の一部にもなって、人口に膾炙した。それから半世紀後 2001年 9/11 の同時多発テロに際して起きた「仮想敵」への過剰反応や報復を大義とする米国の対外戦争に明確に反対する平和を願う人々の運動に対して投げつけられた非難の文言の一つとして再登場した²¹。

un-A'merican, a. [un⁻¹ 7.]

Not in consonance with American characteristics; contrary to the ideals and interests of the United States of America.

Hence **un-Americanism**.

1818 M. Birkbeck *Notes Amer.* 28 Ninety marble capitals have been imported at vast cost from Italy..and shew how un-American is the whole plan. 1893 H. B. Fuller *Cliff-Dwellers* xviii. 242 Does it seem unreasonable that the State [sc. Illinois]·which has done most·to check alien excesses and un-American ideas, should also be the State to give the country the final

²⁰ cf. Kuya 1993:89

²¹ un-American は 9/11 テロの犠牲者の遺族 --- 犠牲者を大義名分、口実にして対外報復戦争に関与するべきではないと異議を唱えて活動する少数派 Peaceful Tomorrows--- への強い非難のことばでもあった。その後しばしば正反対(「不公平な、不正な」)の意味でも使われるようになっている。次の例を参照されたい。

Rep. Jim Moran (D-VA) has strong words for the Republicans opposing Attorney General Eric Holder's plan to bring five 9/11 suspects to New York City to face trial. "They see this as an opportunity to demagogue," he said. "They will seize on any opportunity to do that, and that means they'll even take a stand that's *un-American*." "It's *un-American* to hold anyone indefinitely without trial," Moran added. "It's against our principles as a nation." (URL <http://tpmdc.talkingpointsmemo.com/2009/11/dem-congressman-its-unamerican-to-oppose-us-terror-trials.php>)

歴史の教訓に学ぶことのない、このような野蛮のくり返しに憤りを禁じ得ない

blend of the American character and its ultimate metropolis? **1894** *Daily News* 30 Apr. 5/3 However it came about, it is un-American and should be repudiated by the people. **1902** E. Banks *Newspaper Girl* 55 She refused on the ground that it was both unbecoming and un-American. **1917** T. Roosevelt *Let.* 10 Jan. in *Proc. Congr. Constructive Patriotism* 172 Everything is un-American that tends either to government by a plutocracy or government by a mob. **1921** *N.E.D.*, Un-Americanism, un-American-looking. **1936** F. R. Marvin (*title*) *Fools gold: an exposé of un-American activities and political action in the United States*. **1938** *N.Y. Times* 27 May 2/2 The House today passed a resolution providing for the appointment of a seven-man committee to investigate un-American propaganda in the United States. **1955** C. L. Sewrey in *Comprehensive Dissert. Index* (1973) XXVIII. 116/3 The alleged 'un-Americanism' of the Church. **1958** E. H. Clements *Uncommon Cold* iii. 97 Visas aren't handed out by Americans to anyone. They are averse to Communists, criminals, all un-American activities. **1960** *Guardian* 26 Aug. 5/1 To question either now seems tantamount to un-Americanism. **1978** *Amer. Speech* 1975 L. 315 The sin is neither as recent a matter of concern nor as diagnostic of un-Americanism as Dwight Bolinger implies. **1980** in S. Terkel *Amer. Dreams* 363 The Red scare was on, the witch hunt. The House Un-American Activities Committee came to town.

non-American

この語は20世紀初頭に現れる。Un-American と異なり、明示的な評価を含まない。

non-American, a. (n.) [non- 3.]

Not American. Occas. as *n.*, one who is not an American.

1904 G. Saintsbury *Hist. Criticism* III. 640 The poet who seems to some possibly rash non-American persons to divide with Poe the prize due to the

worthiest in American poetry, was also a critic—less of the professional kind, much more borné, but more concentrated. 1924 S. P. Sherman *Genius of America* 213 He laughed at all the non-American world. 1936 *Mind* XLV. 15 Insufficiently known and appreciated, not only among non-American philosophers, but even among his own colleagues in the United States. 1962 H. A. Gleason in Householder & Saporta *Problems in Lexicography* 88 Dictionaries with good citations have been mostly produced by people outside the fraternity—non-American linguists, or people laying no claim at all to the title of linguist. 1965 J. Potter in Glass & Eversley *Population in Hist.* xxvii. 631 For non-Americans, it can have an important bearing on their own attempts to interpret the European data.

3.8 まとめ

米国の国家をめぐる以上のエスノニミック・ディスコースの出現年代をエスノニムのタイプ別に年表化しておく。この表を一瞥することによって、次のことを確認することができる。

- 1) はじめに America(初出 1631) が出現し、それは American を生んだ。まず名詞用法 (1578 ネイティヴ・アメリカ人; 1765 アメリカ人の総称) と形容詞用法(1775)が誕生し、基本的な自己認識形成をするに大きな役割を担うことになる。のちに動詞 (Americanize 1797) や副詞 (Americanly 1832, Americanness 1885) などさまざまな派生形が生み出されるきっかけとなる。
- 2) 名詞用法 American と並んで名詞 Yankee が意味論的、語形式的に類似の用法を獲得するようになる。基本形「名詞 = 形容詞」から動詞派生 (Yankeefied)、形容詞派生 (Yankeeish) が誕生する。Yankee も 1824 年には American と等しく言語としての用法を発達させた。
- 3) American は他の語と共起し、国家語 (American tongue 1789, American language 1800, Americanism 1781) や国家の基本的エトスとも言える

American dream (1931) の役割を担うようになる。

- 4) 1776年の独立宣言は新たな国家名称 (United States) の誕生を祝うきっかけとなる。それが今日の正式呼称 USA の起源となる。
- 5) American は同類の派生語と同一グループを成すだけでなく、Uncle Sam (1813), Yankee (1765) という擬人的呼称とともに、アメリカの表象となる。
- 6) American が表象する概念は、隣接する記号である国歌や国鳥 (Stars and Stripes 1782, Star-spangled banner 1814, Bird of Freedom 1848) に対する新たな命名とも連動し、国家像を側面から支え、創造する役割を果たす。
- 7) American の反意語 un-American は American と緊張関係を成すことにより、American の意味論的輪郭を二項対立的に浮き立たせ、その価値を相補的に規定する。それは権力にとって好ましからざる異分子の排除を意味する極めて政治的な文脈で用いられてきた。
- 8) これらのエスノニム群はアメリカの独立宣言の頃からおよそ半世紀の間に集中的に分布している。America (1631) を除けば American (1775) の出現から un-American (1818) の出現までの間にその多くが生まれている。
- 9) この時期 1764年英国による北米 13州への課税強化策として押しつけられた砂糖法や翌年の印紙法に対して植民地の権利擁護を主張し、英国製品ボイコットを行なうなど政治的緊張が強まるなか、1773年のボストン茶会事件が発端となって、1775年に戦いが始まり、1776年には植民地側から一方的に独立宣言が出され、その後7年経って 1783年にパリ条約に調印する形で、ようやく英国はアメリカ植民地の独立を承認した。長期にわたる外交上の摩擦が植民地にいた人々の結束や愛国心を高めたことは間違いない。このように、国家のかたちを明確にしていこうとするいろいろな力が、英国に比べて短期間にエスノニムが出現するという事態を招いていることが推測される。言語外の政治的諸条件、すなわち緊張する国際関係と独立革命や愛国心の高まりが、自己認識にかかわる多様な命名呼称を生み出したと言える。

[* リスト中の数字は OED の初出例を意味用法に応じて分類した年代を示す]

	-----1600-----	-----1700-----	-----1800-----	-----1900-----
3. 1 America	1631-			
3. 2 American(adj)			1775-	
Americanism			1781-	
American tongue			1789-	
American language	1648-		'native American'	
			1800-	'gen. American'
American dream				1931-
American (n.)	1578-		'native American'	
			1765-	'gen. American'
			1802-	'language'
Americanese				1882- 'language'
Americanize(v.)			1797-(v.t)	1854-(v.i)
Americanly(adv.)			1832-	
Americanness(n.)				1885-
3. 3 Yankee (n.)			1765-	'N.Englander'
			c1784-	'American'
			1824-	'language'
Yankee (adj.)			1781-	
				1854- 'dialect'
Yankeeish			1818-	
Yankeeism			1820-	
Yankeeing			1837-	
Yankeefied			1846-	
Yankeedom			1851-	
Yankee Doodle			1768-	'song, spirit'
			1787-	'a Yankee'
Yankeedoodleism			1836-	
Yank			1778-	
Yankland				1834-
3. 4 United States			1776-	
3. 5 Uncle Sam			1813-	
				'language' 1891-1898
3. 6 Stars and Stripes			1782-	'national flag'
Star-spangled banner			1814-	'national flag & anthem'
Bird of Freedom			1848-	
3. 7 un-American			1818-	
un-Americanism				1921-
non-American				1904-

4. 終 節

17世紀から19世紀の歴史の転換期に出現する、英国と米国の民族性、民族気質、国民性を表象するエスノニムおよびその関連語を巡る言説から、この二か国が得た国家観、民族的アイデンティティの再構築に関する共通の要素を認識することができる。

明白なことは、国家が国家として成立するために必要な条件は、国家、国民の…いまだ実現に至らない理想の…表象としてふるまう、国家の自称語と、その周辺の言語ネットワークを構成する成員となるエスノニム表現の束である。この両国とも互いを敵とする国際紛争に巻き込まれ、あるいは巻き込み、国家体制と国家観の軌道修正を迫られてきた。結果として、一方は植民地支配の桎梏から自らを解放し、他方は宗主国の既得権益を損ねられ、その支配を放棄させられるという歴史、一方にとっては苦々しい、他方にとっては輝かしい軌跡を振り返ることになる。まことに、言語や表象の歴史的検証は人間の営みの意味を巨視的な観点から総括する重要な仕事であることを再認識させられる。

さてそのような文脈の中での論者の今後の課題は、変容を単なる自然発生的な歴史の流れとしてではなく、歴史を動かす無数の人々の営みの結果であるという事実に立脚して、どのような人間的営為がこのような民族の歴史の変容、民族性、民族精神の確立に具体的に貢献したのかということを引き彫りにすることである。特に18世紀と19世紀に英国と米国に生きた二人の人物に焦点を当てて、nationalism と national identity および彼らがめざした national language の姿の探求姿勢を具体的に分析していきたい。その二人とは Samuel Johnson と Noah Webster である。その共通点は、近代国家建設の過渡期に、一人は主に文学者として、一人は主に教育者として、互いの主義主張や哲学は相反するよう見えながら、それぞれ独力で辞書を編纂したことである。辞書の編集が18世紀半ばから19世紀の前半までになされた事実が、二か国における近代国家の建設という新たな潮流に密接に関連していたと考えている。一国家を取り巻く大きな歴史が個人に与える影響と、逆に、個人が国家に及ぼす影響との相互作用の過程としてこのことを考えてみたいと思う。

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[Abstract]

Analysing the concepts: British/American in the 17-19th century ethnonymic discourse: The shape of modern states and their national identity explored in Britain and America

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This paper aims to explore an incessant interaction between linguistic elements and non-linguistic factors like socio-political conditions by analyzing the use of ethnonymic concepts, such as *British*, *American*, and varieties of ethnonyms related to these in the historical contexts of ethnonymic discourse chiefly in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries.

Despite the definition of “*ethnonym*” in *the Oxford English Dictionary*: “A proper name by which a people or ethnic group is known; spec. one which it calls itself”, let us take ethnonyms in the broadest sense to refer to not only those in the limited meaning, but also ethnonym-related words and expressions such as language names, names of icons like flags and songs that represent national identity.

The expressions, such as, *Britain*, *British* and its related and derived words and collocations, are densely distributed during the period between 1630s and 1770 in Britain, while *America* and *American* and their related or derived words and phrases are densely distributed during the period between 1770s and 1830s in the US.

To name but a few, the phrases to be traced include: *Britain*, *Great Britain*, *British Empire*, *United Kingdom*, *Britannia*, *John Bull*, *Union Jack*, *British* and *un-British* on one side of the Atlantic; *America*, *United States*, *Yankee*, *Uncle Sam*, *Stars and Stripes*, *American* and *un-American* on the other side of the Atlantic.

During that time called ‘the Age of Reason’ or ‘the Age of Industrial and Commercial Revolution’, British Empire grew mature and cherished its expanding territorial ambitions all over the world from America to Asia (esp. India). Britain witnessed both domestic and international conflicts during this period within Europe and outside. It had fought many wars against neighbouring powers in Europe such as Netherlands in the third quarter of the 17th century and France in the 18th century, and finally won most of the battles, though it was to be defeated in the American Colonial War across the Atlantic and was forced to sign on the Treaty of Paris seven years later in 1783 approving the Independence of America. With these political affairs in the background, Britain needed new icons and coins to represent their unified national character.

American Revolution, or the War of American Independence, had a tremendous influence on the formation of its national character in the US and spurred demand for new nationalistic concepts, ethnonym-related expressions and idioms during the turbulent age. Some of the reasons why ethnonyms referring to their national identity mushroomed within a relatively short period of time may be the growth of their

patriotic pride and confidence in the new state, as well as the waxing of antipathy and hostility against the British that had established a long-standing dominance over America and hampered self-determination of America. It took Americans a considerable time to gain political independence. An opposition against the Stamp Act of 1765 led to the American boycott of British Tea, followed by Boston Tea Party in 1773. The Declaration of Independence in 1776 was not immediately approved by the British government. It took seven more years to witness the formal cease-fire with Britain and signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

Interestingly enough, the both states have several linguistic devices in common to represent their own national psyche or ethos. They share the demand of personified images of a nation, such as *Britannia, John Bull*, vs. *Yankee, Uncle Sam*. They need icons in the form of emblems, flags and songs to reinforce their national identity, such as *Union Jack* vs. *Stars and Stripes; God Save the King* vs. *Star-spangled Banner*. They develop an adjectival pair of semantic opposites: *British* and its negative counterpart *un-British*, following the previous couple *English* vs. *un-English*; and *American* vs. *un-American*. The negative equivalents also help contribute to the making of national identities.

All these devices which produce an overall network of ethnonyms and their related icons and phrases are of a great help to fortify nationalism and enhance the sense of national ethos or psyche. Also they develop and strengthen the images of national identity. As a nation takes shape, its linguistic self-references in the ethnonymic discourse get prosperous. Nationalistic feelings begin to grow and take its clearer shape in the form of language and its related things like non-verbal icons. These phenomena may hold true in the case of the both states in the making.

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