

Maori/Pakeha および *Homey/Pommy* をめぐると言説

NZE における負のエスノニム・ネットワーク

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0. はじめに

Kuya (久屋 2010) では、エスノニミック・ディスコースの歴史的考察を通して、ニュージーランド英語（以下 NZE と省略）の成立と民族意識の形成のつながりを分析した。特に多数派の英国系白人の NZ 上陸以来の national identity の確立を、それに関する語彙のネットワークの拡大と変容の中に辿ってきた。それらの語彙のネットワークは、まず自己の国家・社会に関する命名、次に、自己の民族・社会集団についての名称、そして自己の言語・文化・精神に関する命名を含んでいることを分析した。それらの命名は、いずれも自らのアイデンティティが、結果として、主流派、勝者の価値観として定着し、歴史の舞台に残り続けることで脚光を浴びるようになった。

第 1 のグループは New Zealand（および Aotearoa）に収斂されたが、多様な派生変異形を産んだ。第 2 の群は、前者の派生形 New Zealander に加えて、その派生形 Enzed (der、隠喩に由来する（マオリ語由来の）Kiwi という新語を産んだ。第 3 の語群については New Zealand English という長い学術的名称に加えて（の代わりに）New Zealandism, Kiwi (-ism) という語を生んだ。いずれも歴史の表舞台で脚光を浴びる正のエスノニムであると言える。

エスノニムのこのような発達は、現実には単純ではなく、命名者の視点が複雑に関わり、入り込んでくることにより多様性を増すことになる。自称と他称という異なる側からの命名、自称詞と他称詞の違いは、もともとそれぞれ固有のエスノニムに、相反する視点が入り込み、ふたつの相反する価値観を含む用法を生み出す事態を生み出す。そのため、他称詞には無論のこと、自称詞にも蔑視的意味が付加されることが起きる。自称詞も第三者が使う場合に、本来の価値が消失し、しばしば蔑視的含みをもつことがある。なぜなら他者にとっては、自称詞も他称詞であるから。とりわけ、他者が政治経済的な多数派、社会的強者である場合には、容易に負の価値を付与される。しかしその他者が少数派、社会的弱者の場合には、その価値観の逆転は強者の場合ほどには起きない。

Kuya (久屋 1990:405) では、特に負のエスノニムに注目し、生み出されたエスノニムの総体をエスノスピークと概括し、エスノニムが潜在化しはじめて

のち顕在化するまでの歴史的過程に3種の段階を仮定した。その特徴として、第一段階はコンテキスト依存的、第二段階はテキスト依存的、第三段階はコード依存的とした。第一段階は、エスノニムが言語外脈絡により---つまり歴史・社会・文化・場面的に---規定されることで成立する。この段階でエスノニムの差別的含蓄は非明示的である。第二段階は、エスノニムが言語内文脈に規定されて成立する。この段階では、部分的に明示的、部分的に非明示的である。イディオムや複合語などの連語において差別性が明示的になる場合、エスノニムはこの段階に到達していると考えられる。最終段階では、エスノニムは脱文脈化し、語彙化することで、辞書にも derogatory というスタイル・ラベルが付与される段階に達することになる¹。この場合は、エスノニムは排他的に侮蔑的用法しかもたない段階にまで達していると判断される。

本論考では、以上のようなエスノニム成長の理論的枠組みの中で、まず、NZの民族意識の芽生えと成長の過程で定着した上記のいわば正統な自称のエスノニム語彙群と、その対極に位置する、少数派にとって正当であり、かつ、正統な民族呼称でありながら、主流派からは負と見なされる他称のエスノニム、差別的含蓄を有する言説、表現群に着目する。そして、それと相反し、それを抑圧する形でNZを象徴する national identity が形成されていくのとうらはらに、特定の社会集団を排斥したり除外したりする中でどのようなネガティブな言語表現が生まれ消失していったのか、またそれらが総体としてどのようなエスノニム・ネットワークを結んできたのか、どのような心理的社会的政治的要因がそのようなネットワークを手助けしたのかを考察する。

Kay et al (eds.) (2009) の手に成る歴史的意味分類辞書 (*Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* Volume 1: Thesaurus. Oxford University Press [略称 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歴史的証言者である。HTOED (pp.22, 24, 323, 325, 331) には、英国と NZ およびそれぞれの民族呼称 (自称他称を含む) として、以下のようなエスノニム語群が収集されている。

¹ Kuya (1991:522-24) も参照。

01.01.06.01.01 (n.) *British Isles* (p.22)

British Isles 1621; 1792- **01** Britain Breotenrice OE Brytenland OE Albion<albion OE- (*now poet. & Rhetoric*) Britain<Bryten OE Britany 1579-1662 Britannia 1666/7-1864 home 1755- the old country 1782- old home 1886 homeland c1892- Old Dart 1908- (*Austral. & NZcolloq.*) Pommyland 1957- (*colloq.Austral. & NZ*) Pom 1919 (*Austral & NZ colloq.*) Pongo 1942- (*Austral. & NZ. slang*), Pommy Bastard 1951 (*Austral. & NZ colloq.*)

01.01.06.07 (n.) *Australasia* (p.24)

02 *New Zealand* ..Maoriland 1863- the Shakey Isles 1933- (*colloq.*)

02.01 *parts of the Coast* 1908-

01.02.07.08.06.01 (n.) *British nation* (p.325)

01...native/inhabitant of Britain...Pommy/Pommie 1915- (*Austral. & NZ colloq.*)

01.02.07.08.06.01.01 (n.) *English nation* (p.325)

01...Woodbine 1919- (*Austral slang*) Homey/Homie 1927 (*NZ slang*)...

01.02.07.07.46 (n.) *New Zealand/Australian aboriginal* (p.323)

Indian 1769-1830

01.02.07.07.46.01 (n.) *Maori* (p.323)

New Zealander 1773-1864 Maori 1843- Moa-hunter 1870- Hori 1933- (*NZ contemp.*) buck Maori 1941 tarpot 1944 (*NZ derog.*); 1949 (*NZ derog.*) tar-baby 1948- (*derog.*)

01 *quality/culture* Maoridom 1882 Maoritanga 1940- Maoriness 1963-

01.02.07.07.46.01 (adj.) *Maori* (p.323)

Moa-hunting 1872

01.02.07.07.46.02 (n.) *Ancient people of N.Z.* (p.323)

Moriori

01.02.07.08.10.02 (n.) *Native/inhabitant New Zealand* (p.331)

New Zealander 1837- Maorilander 1896; 1915 Kiwi 1918-

01 part of West Coaster 1896- 02 woman wahine 1773- (NZ)

03 original Zealander 1773- pre-Adamite 1930—(NZ)

04 type of pakeha Maori 1838- (NZ, now rare)

01.02.07.08.10.02 (adj.) Native/inhabitant New Zealand (p.331)

pakeha 1882- (NZ)

一瞥することにより、当該エスノム群全体を通時的に俯瞰でき、この両者に多くの名を与えるきっかけとなる個別の歴史の営みがあったことを想起させるだけでなく、それらが、結果的に、後世の歴史解釈の正当性に根拠を与える力になっている側面があること、また命名が個人を超えた政治的行為になっている側面があることをあらためて認識させられる。*HTOED* が映し出す歴史的経過の中に消長する語彙の森を詳しく見ていくうちに、*HTOED* にあって Orsman (1997) *The Dictionary of New Zealand English* [略称 *DNZE*] に触れられていない語² があると同時に、*DNZE* にあって *HTOED* に記載のないものが少なくないことも見えてくる³。シソーラスに通時的な視点を取り込み、これまでにない斬新な意味分類辞典を志した *HTOED* であるが、NZ の歴史の詳細とつなげて語れるほどエスノムのネットワークが完備しているとは言えない。そこに欠けている部分を補いつつ考察を進める。

まず、ここで考察の対象である呼称群の柱となる主要なエスノムは Maori と Pakeha の対語、そして Homey/Pommy という同義表現である。それらを生んだ背景には、歴史の激動の部分を成す人口流入⁴ に伴う「異文化」

² 1 例は **tar-baby**...(b) a derog. term for a Black (U.S.) or a Maori (N.Z.) [OED s.v. **tar**, n. 4]

³ *HTOED* が言語コーパスを依存する OED 本体が NZ 英語の情報を十分に取り入れている可能性はある。

⁴ Smith (2005:77): 'The scales of depopulation and immigration, and child survival, were such that Pakeha outnumbered Maori by 1860. Captain Cook was probably about right with his guess that there were 100,000 Maori people in 1769. By 1858 Maori numbered between 56,000 and 62,000, while Pakeha, at 59,000, were poised to tilt the balance of power. By 1878 Maori were dominated demographically by a ratio of 10 to 1, swamped by two successive immigration waves in the 1860s and 1870s.'

人との遭遇がある⁵。前者の対には、先住民族と英国系移住者の対立が絡んでおり、後者には、英国という同じルーツを共有する初期移住者と新移住者の対立が絡んでいる。一方で、先住民族マオリに対する敵対心、蔑視観が生れ、他方で、英国系白人に対する敵意、蔑視が生じ、さらに、英国系入植者同士の間の差別意識、つまり早期入植者による後期入植者に対する見下しがある。前者は 19 世紀前半 (1840 年)、英国系白人 (パケハ) の政治的軍事的優位を背景に、マオリとパケハの間に結ばれたワイタンギ条約 (The Treaty of Waitangi) 成立以前、あるいは、その頃から後に至って顕在化していくパケハとマオリによる互いに対する根強い蔑視感である。

上述の *HTOED* を念頭におきつつ、NZ 英語語彙に関する一般読者向け辞書 Deverson (2006): *The New Zealand Oxford Paperback Dictionary* (2nd ed.) [NZOPD] に記載された定義や記述を NZ の過去・現在を読み解く出発点とする。民族に関する基本概念としてのエスノム *Maori*, *Pakeha*, *Pakeha Maori*, *Palagi* の用法についてこの辞書の提供する情報を手がかりとして、一般に理解されている NZ のアイデンティティ形成の変容過程を辿ってみたい。

Māori NZ *n.* (*pl.* **Māori**, conservatively or popularly **Māoris**) **1** a member of the indigenous Polynesian people of Aotearoa New Zealand (see also COOK ISLAND MAORI). **2** their language. •*adj.* **1** of or pertaining to the Māori, the Māori language, or Māori culture; *Māori elder*, *Māori land*, *Māori values*. **2** (in names of New Zealand plants and animals) indigenous; *Māori mistletoe*, *Māori rat*. **3** (of introduced plants and animals) undomesti-

⁵ King (2003:169) "The main reason for its spread, of course, was the growth of the settler population and the increase in the proportion of Maori who would have direct contact with Europeans. The number of Pakeha living in New Zealand in 1830 had been just over 300. Most of the settlers had come from Australia, some of them ex-convicts seeking to escape their penal pasts and some traders working for Australian-based timber and flax operations. [...] The total number of Pakeha settlers in 1840 was a little over 2000. By 1858 they would outnumber Maori by approximately 3000: 59,000 to 56,000. And by 1881 there would be around 500,000 of them."

cated, wild; *Māori cabbage*, *Māori dog*. **4** *colloq. offens.* Rough and ready, unsophisticated. **5** *colloq. offens.* used in ironic combinations, reversing or otherwise transforming the following noun, e.g. *Māori PT* (lying down), *Maori sidestep* (head-down charge into an opponent), etc. [...] (¶ *Māori māori* normal, usual, indiginous.)

Pākehā *NZ n.* (pl. **Pākehā**, conservatively or popularly **Pākehās**) (also, esp. formerly, **pākehā**) a light-skinned New Zealander, esp. one of British birth or ancestry. • *adj.* of or relating to Pākehā; non-Māori.

Pākehā Māori *hist.* a Pākehā living among Māori, as a Māori. (¶ **Māori**.)

Palagi *n.* *NZ* a non-Polynesian person. (¶ Samoan equivalent of PĀKEHĀ.)

まずこれらのエスノニムは、マオリ語由来でもともとマオリ世界の思考認識を表現したもので、マオリと他と区別するものではなく、差別的用法をもたなかったことは明らかである。語源的には Maori は「標準的な、ふつうの、土着の」という意味をもつ。しかし Maori 4, 5 の定義解説のように文脈によって徐々に差別的用法が固定化されるように意味が多様化していった。そのエスノニムの意味に関して、他者の（視線の）介入がはじまったからである。その結果 Maori はコンテキスト依存のエスノニムからテキスト依存のエスノニムへと展開していったと判断される。一方 Pakeha の蔑視的用法は指摘されていない。では、それは Maori にだけ見られる特質であろうか。いや、他の資料からは Pakeha についても同様の現象が観察される。ということは、既出のエスノスピークの理論的な枠組みからも、含蓄の意味がいつでも反転しうる普遍的な現象であるというべきであろう⁶。これに関して、それぞれのエスノニム

⁶ Cf. Kuya (久屋 1990:405): 「差別が社会的、心理的、对人的意識に根差すとすれば、それは言語自体よりはコンテキストに根拠を持つことになる。また差異化が言語を言語たらしめるという二十世紀の言語学の基本的知見に従うならば、語彙はすべて差別的用法を潜在的にはらむことになるから、何らかの外的---社会的、文化的、場面的---条件が満たされるならば、いつ差別的用法に転化しても不思議ではない。」

を具体的に検証する中で浮き彫りにしていく。

National identity にかかわる自称詞、他称詞の名称が、このような形で、歴史の表舞台に出現し、少数派をも包み込む総称的名称として歴史の流れの中で、徐々に正統的な座を占めていくのと対照的に、少数派、新参者、非主流的集団に対する蔑視的な用法や呼称が、異文化同士の接触の中で触発され、負の刻印を押され、負の遺産として存続し、少数派の人々の尊厳を傷つけ、辞書に記録されることにもなる歴史の光と影の対比を示したい。

ここでは、論議の核となる Maori, Pakeha 以外に、それとネットワークを形成すると推測されるいくつかの対立項目も考察の対象とする。それらは順に Indian, native とその関連語 (Indian, native, aboriginal, aborigine, など)、black とその関連語、Hori, George とその関連語、Hostile, Rebel とその関連語、Homey/Pommy の対、New/Old Chum とその関連語、最後が Home, Old country とその関連語である。個別の項目に関して以下に詳論する。

1. Maori と Pakeha をめぐって

ワイトンギ条約成立時、あるいは、それ以前の、この対語の成立過程については、歴史学者 King (2003:168-9) の鋭い指摘がある。まず Maori という自称詞の誕生について以下のように述べている。

"While most Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to the native inhabitants of New Zealand as 'New Zealanders', the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi used the expression 'tangata maori' — ordinary people — to denote them. This indicates how Maori were referring to themselves by that time — and, indeed, recorded evidence of that expression goes back as far as 1801, to the journal of the ship *Royal Admiral* in the Firth of Thames. By the 1830s the word Maori on its own was in widespread use among Maori. And by 1860s Renata Tamakihikurangi of Ngati Kahungunu would go so far as to say to the European settlers of Hawke's Bay: 'Just as you are all English...so we

(Natives) are all one: Maori is my name.' In official usage, however, the word 'Native' was employed to describe the cabinet minister and government department responsible for Maori matters, and the Land Court until 1946." (King 2003: 168)

これによると、ワイタング条約（1840 年）のマオリ語版では 彼ら自身を 'tangata maori'（普通の人々）と自称し、そのルーツは 1801 年まで遡る。1830 年代までにはマオリ人の間に広範囲に広まったが、公的な英語名称としては 'native' という語が 1946 年まで用いられ続けた。

他方 Pakeha については、以下のように指摘している。

"The Treaty also employed the term 'pakeha' to refer to Queen Victoria's non-Maori subjects in New Zealand. Use of this word in Maori to denote Europeans was current in the Bay of Islands by at least 1814, when the missionary William Hall reported that he had been referred to at Te Puna pa as a 'rungateeda pakehaa' (rangatira pakeha: a European gentleman). There is no evidence in this or any other instance in early literature that the term was derogatory. It was simply a necessary descriptive word to distinguish European from Maori, and it probably came from the pre-European word pakepakeha, denoting mythical light-skinned beings. It may not have been universally popular in Maori from the beginning of Maori – Pakeha contact – some early references note the term tangata tipua and, in the far south, tangata pora to describe Europeans. But use of the word Pakeha was widespread among Maori by the 1830s." (King 2003: 168-9)

つまり Pakeha は、ワイタング条約の中で、ヴィクトリア女王統治下の英国系人を指す語として用いられている。マオリ語で欧州系人を意味する用法は 1814 年までには the Bay of Islands ですでに使用されていた。その前身は欧

州人が来る前にマオリ語にあった *pakepakeha* という語（形）であったようだ。*Pakeha* が使われ始めた頃、それは中立語であり、蔑視的意味はまだ帯びていなかった。というのも、それは自民族と欧州系人を区別する実用的な対語であったからである。*Pakeha* が 1830 年代には *Maori* と同じように広く流布していたことを明らかにしている。

それゆえ、ここでは King (2003) の分析を踏まえて、*Maori* と *Pakeha* を対語として通時的に観察していく。この対語群はいずれもマオリ語の命名で、本義は、マオリ人から見た自己集団、自称詞としての *Maori* であり、異質集団としての（英国系）白人 *Pakeha*（あるいは non-Maori）である。他方、転義として（英国系）白人（*Pakeha*）から見た異質民族としての *Maori* があり、また自己集団としての *Pakeha* がある、と考えられる。以上の知見の正当性を Orsman : DNZE の記述と照らし合わせ、歴史の実像をみていくことにする。

1.1. Pakeha とその関連語

Orsman:DNZE によると、まず注目すべきは *Maori* に対する蔑視用法と *Pakeha* に対する侮蔑用法が 19 世紀後半（1857）に早くも誕生していることである。*Pakeha* はもともと *Maori* 語の命名を英語に取り入れ、自分たちと（他を）区別する中立語として英語の文献に初登場するのが 1814-1817 年であるが、その半世紀後には、すでに侮蔑的意味を帯びるようになっていることが分かる。

Pakeha A. n. 1. A pale-skinned non-Polynesian immigrant or foreigner as distinct from a Maori; thence, a non-Polynesian New Zealand-born New Zealander esp. if pale-skinned. In *pl.* Europeans as an ethnic category. [...] **A. a.** Illustrations of sense and use. [...]

[1814 W.Hall to CMS 15 June in Wilson *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke* (1985) 87 They expressed their joy by saying 'Nuee nuee rangatteeda pakehaa---a very great Gentleman white man.' 1815 KENDALL *New Zealander's First Book ...*] 1817 NICHOLAS NZ I. 181 We could easily

perceive..that the packaha, or white man, was the subject of some extraordinary remarks.

b. Illustrations of conjectural origins.

1817 ..NICHOLAS NZ II.338 Pachaha A white man, (the flea is also called by this name, as they assert it to have been introduced into their country by Europeans--the turnip is likewise called packaha from its whiteness.) [...]

2. In censorious or derogatory uses. **a.** Attributed to (fictional) Maori speakers or interlocutors.

1857 *Lyttelton Times* 8 Aug. 3 Their reply to him was, 'Oh, you are a **pakeha**, you don't know our ideas and customs.' **1938** HYDE *Nor Yrs. Condemn* 148 Plurry **Pakeha**, eh? You, got the skin like the Maori, but you're not tangata Maori. **1944**...[...]

2.b. As perceived by non-Maori, often regarded as derogatory.

[Note] The word Pakeha, unlike *Maori*, is still essentially monocultural in active use being infrequently seriously used (and rarely in spoken English) by non-Maori of themselves. Hence when it is used by Maori people in English contexts it is open to perceptions by connotation but implicitly derogatory.

1946 SARGESON *That Summer* 34 I asked Bill [a Northland barman] if there weren't any pakehas and he said there were a few. I can't describe what they're like, he said, except they wouldn't wake up---It was a good crack, but there's a law against putting such things in print.

ここで特に注目すべき点は、2.a.のように蔑視がコンテキストに依存せず、明示的である場合と、2.b.のように非明示的でコンテキストに依存する場合があるということである。Maori と異なり、Pakeha は英語コンテキストではあまり現れることがなく（まして非マオリ人が自称詞として使うことはまれで）、マオリ人がマオリ語の文脈で使うことがほとんどであり、英語コンテキストに

現れる場合、コンテキスト依存的ではあるが、蔑視的な含みを持つ可能性は大きいと指摘する。Pakeha は微妙な位置にあり、その差別性の存在はコンテキストとテキストの間で揺れ動いていることが読み取れる。

Pakeha Maori A. noun. 1. Hist. A white or European man living as a Maori, at first used as a respectful epithet, and later, esp. by English speakers, taking on a measure of contempt.

1832 WILLIAMS *Early Jrnls.* 16 Dec. (1961) 268 [Warekaua] pleaded hard for Missionaries to live in his neighbourhood, as they would never be *ora* [?'satisfied'] by the Pakeha Maori. [...] **1853** *Austral. & NZ Gaz.* 19 Feb. 174 Since the foundation of the colony the natives have become acquainted with a different class of people, and the Pakeha Maori has gradually sunk in their estimation, and has now not only ceased to be appreciated, but treated with contempt. They are, however, almost extinct---and at the present time [1852] there is not more than one specimen in the whole of the Waikato district. [...] **1959** SINCLAIR *Hist. NZ* 23 Judge F.E.Manning..in his younger days had been a 'Pakeha Maori' (...a white man living with and more or less as the Maoris).

b. As a Comb. And in a weakened sense, a Pakeha, usu. one sympathizing with Maori aspirations.

1887 *Auckland Weekly News* 27 Aug. 30 I is all very well for a few pakeha Maoris to roll round such words as Waipukurau and descant upon the beauty of the Maori lingo.

2. A Europeanized Maori [The consruction follows English grammar with *pakeha* used attributively]

1937 MARSH *Vintage Murder* xxii 241 Really? You mean a real Maori---not a *pakeha*-Maori

このエスノニムは両義的で、Pakeha (1.) と Maori (2.) のどちらも指し

うることに注意する必要がある。本義は Pakeha を指す用法である。「マオリとして生きる白人」の意から、半世紀後には「マオリの伝統文化に共感、尊敬する白人」という広義の意味も獲得した。いずれもパケハに対する敬意を含めた（マオリによる）呼称であったものが、後に英国系白人による侮蔑的意味を帯びる用法に転じたことが注釈により推察される（1853 年の用例下線部参照）。このエスノニムは差別性がコンテクスト依存型からテキスト依存型へ変容した例であろう。転義であるマオリを指す用法は、原義から 1 世紀後に生まれている（1937 年用例参照）。

Palangi Mainly *Auckland*. [...ad. colloquial Samoan *palagi* (from *papalagi*) European.] Also *attrib.* A European.

1964 WENDT in *Listener Short Stories* (1977) 71 The palagi attendant called, 'Do you want to go up?' 'Yes,' the [Samoan] man replied in English.

Palagi は、欧州系白人を意味するのだが、上記二語に比べて、その頻度は低い。1960 年代に主に北島商業都市オークランドで生れているようである。実際にサモア人口がこの商都にある程度集中しているらしいことから、サモア語からの借入用法だと推測される。Pakeha に比べて影は薄い。特に特筆すべき用法はない。

次に挙げる Maorilander は、NZ 生れ白人、マオリ土着人と定義されるが、ラグビーチームの名（複数形）として広まった語でもある。

Maorilander *obs.* [AND 1892: prob. orig. Australian], a New Zealand-born white: a New Zealander; also in *pl.* usu. as **the Maorilanders**, a name for early New Zealand representative rugby union teams.

1893 BRACKEN *Lays and Lyrics* 5 A recent arrival from New Zealand walking along Collins St, Melbourne, a short time since encountered another Maorilander. [...]

1992 *Metro* (Auckland) Jan. 79 The 1884 team and other New Zealand teams

through to the 1930s were invariably described as 'Maorilanders'.

19 世紀末に出現する Maorilander にはオーストラリアの影響がある可能性が示唆されているが、その元となる語幹 Maoriland は名詞として 19 世紀半ば過ぎ（オーストラリアより早く）1857 年のその姿を現す⁷。出現年代からはこのエスノニムがオーストラリア起源であるとは断定できないし、その逆である可能性もある。特筆すべき用法はもたない。

Pakeha-words は、後述する *Maori*-words に比べて同義語、複合語、派生語に拡がりがなく、差別的用法も限られていることが大きな特徴として挙げられる。

⁷ Maoriland の出現については以下の記述を参照のこと：

Maoriland. Also **Maori land.** [...]

1. Usu. as two words, applied concretely to land for which Maori customary or legal title is recognized as valid; land in Maori ownership and control.

1857 *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* 17 June (1960) I. 278 A European squats down on Maori land and the Government grant [s] him a license [*sic*]. The natives object to it and protest against it but in vain. [...]

2.a. In early use occas. as two words, New Zealand as the land of Maori; pre-Pakeha New Zealand.

1863 MANING *Old NZ* i 3 It was..from the deck of a small trading schooner..that I first cast eyes on Maori land. It *was* Maori land then; but, alas! What is it now? [...]

2.b. *Hist.* In the phr. **the heart of Maoriland**, the King Country.

1888 RINGLAND *In Southern Seas* 96 You are away from the beaten track of travel, and far into the heart of Maoriland [*sc.* the King Country].

3. [AND 1859.] a. Orig. or mainly a journalistic name for New Zealand as a whole (esp. freq. after the adoption of the term by the Sydney Bulletin in the 1880s), now infrequently used.

1865 CARTER *Life in NZ* 428 In the first expedition I ever undertook in Maori-land I was accompanied by two gentlemen. [1874 BAINES *Edward Crewe* 286]

1976 WILSON *Pacific Star* 129 When we flew home we sang songs...Our green and brown Maoriland below looked wonderfully bright, as we came in over the coast.

3.b. *attrib.* NEW ZEALAND B2.

1905 *Truth* 12 Aug. Casualness is asserted to be a Maoriland characteristic. [...]

[list of *Pakeha*-words in a derogatory/offensive sense]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

| | | | |
|--------|------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Pakeha | 1814 | 1857 (by Maori) | 1946 (by non-Maori) |
|--------|------|-----------------|---------------------|

| | | | |
|--------------|------|------|--|
| Pakeha Maori | 1832 | 1853 | |
|--------------|------|------|--|

| | | | |
|---------|--|--|------|
| Palangi | | | 1964 |
|---------|--|--|------|

| | | | |
|---------------|--|--------------------------------|--|
| *Maorilanders | | 1893 (in a neutral sense only) | |
|---------------|--|--------------------------------|--|

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

[*1769 Captain Cook's first visit to NZ; 1840 The Treaty of Waitangi;
1900 The turn of the century; 1945 The Dominion of N.Z. becomes NZ;
1975 Waitangi Tribunal.]

1.2. Maori とその関連語

Maori に関しても、中立（非差別）的用法と差別的用法に二分して比較対照を試みる。まず中立的、非差別的用法（Maori 5.a.および 9.参照）はおおよそ 77 例を数える。そのうち 68 は独立見出しである。

初期の用法は、当然のことながら、まずマオリ用法（e.g. *tangata maori*）が自称詞として本来の意味で記録され、その後非マオリ用法の他称詞として広まることになった。前者は 1815 年以降の記録があり、後者はやや遅れて、1834 年以降に登場する。非マオリ用法が侮蔑用法を獲得し、コンテキスト依存型からテキスト依存型へ、テキスト依存型からコード依存型への変容を被ることが予想される。

Maori [...] [Ma./ma:ori/ Williams 179 *Māori*(i) 1.a. Normal, usual, ordinary
2. Native, or belonging to New Zealand, Maori (a comparatively modern use...) 3. n. Person of the native race, New Zealander, Maori.] [...]

[Note] *Origin*. The modern *Māori* noun *Māori* prob. developed (from the adjective) after the arrival of Europeans to fill a need to distinguish the 'usual' or 'ordinary' *tangata māori* from the 'extraordinary' or 'unusual' *tangata mā* (white) *tangata pora* (strange or extraordinary (boat) people),

tangata tupua (foreign or demonic or goblin people), or *Pākehā*. [...]

A. n. I. In early Maori and non-Maori contexts.

1. Usu. as **tangata maori** [...] See TANGATA MAORI for quotes. **1815, 1820, c1826-27, 1834, 1836, 1840, 1843**, etc., and remarks there.

II. In non-Maori contexts.

2.a. (a) A member of the Polynesian race who first peopled New Zealand; a person whose ancestry includes one member of that race. [...]

1834 MARKHAM NZ (1963) 66 The old people believe that the (Atua) God of the Parkiars Strangers is killing or eating the Mouries or Natives.

B. adj. Usu. with init. cap.

1. [A new formation from English usage rather than a continuation of the orig. Maori adjectival use of *māori* 'indigenous', 'native'.]

1.a. Of, characteristic of, or pertaining to, the Maori race, its culture and society. [...]

1834 MARKHAM NZ (1963) 51 One of them read the Translation of Colonel Arthurs letter..in the Mourie language. **1842** *Piraki Log* 1 May (1911) 126 Pinney, cook, signed articles; also William Brown and three Mawrie boys. [...]

1.b. Pertaining to the Maori language, often including Maori society and culture as a subject or field of study. [...]

1851 SHORTLAND *S.Dist.* NZ 305 In the 'Maori' version of the Testament, thus saith the Lord, has been rendered 'e ai ta te Atua'. As the words in 'Maori', however, do not convey the sense..of a command,..we should prefer as a translation [...etc.]--1891

5. In special collocations.

a. In non-derog. applications [...] (p.472ff.)

くり返せば、独立見出しは Maori battalion, Maori chief, Maoriland を始

めとして9項目あり、下位見出し (Maori Affairs, Maori English, Maori welcome など) として68項目を数える。

[list of *Maori* in a neutral sense]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

Maori (*n.*) 1815 (in Maori contexts)

1834 (in non-Maori contexts)

Maori (*adj.*) 1834

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

次に差別的含蓄を孕む用法を形容詞用法を中心として探求する。複合語に至ってはかなり多く、28項目を挙げることができる。

Maori B.adj.2. In mainly 20th century non-Maori *attrib.* use, often with stereotypical, pejorative, derogatory, or offensive reference, applied to anything inferior or 'uncivilized' in construction, appearance or style; or connoting (low) cunning, or other odious comparison (see also 5 b below). Some uses by Maori speakers of English can be ironic or self-deprecating (see quotes. 1946, 1960).

1857 *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* 23 Jun. (1960) I. 279 June and July being mid winter and the road being in its Maori state, we could not depend on getting in to Ahuriri or Auckland on the fixed day. **1857** *Lyttelton Times* 5 Sept. 5 A gaunt shaggy scarecrow of a Maori porker, with legs as long as your arm and a savage snout as long as his legs! **c1875** MEREDITH *Adventuring in Maoriland* (1935) 103 He (Wi) [a blind Maori] told me that..he rode from Mawhia to Gisborne..on a mere Maori bridle track, by himself. **1934** HYDE *Journalese* 125 Maori pigs are the only inhabitants. **1941** BAKER *NZ Slang* 44 *Maori*..[in] its slightly contemptuous adjectival use, as in a Maori dog, a Maori garden, Maori manners. Here the term is

employed to signify something unkempt, rather disordered or wild, something a little 'uncivilized'. **1943** BENNETT *English in NZ in Amer.Speech* XVIII.93 The word Maori itself is occasionally used as a term of contempt---as in 'That's a Maori..' (of a thing). **1946** BEAGLEHOLE *Some Modern Maoris* 295 Again, the word Maori for these [Otaki Maori] people has taken on a secondary meaning when it is used as an adjective referring to any object that is broken, dilapidated, hard to use, or about which people are so casual that it does not function efficiently. Thus a 'Maori' door is one on which the catch is broken or which fits so badly that it blows open in the wind...A 'Maori' gate is always a weird contraption made of bits of wire, string, parts of an old iron bedstead---something so complicated that it defies the ingenuity of the non-expert either to open or close. The owner of the gate jokes about his 'Maori' gate. **1960** HILLARD *Maori Girl* 218 They kidded each other in a way that would have been offensive with *pakehas*. When Shirley put a cigarette-butt down the sink..Netta would say, 'That's a real Maori trick, that one! Real East Coast!' **1963** DUGGAN *Collected Stories* (1981) 200 Maori girls. Maori farms, Maori housing; you'd only to hear my father put tongue to any or all of that to know where he stood, solid for intolerance, mac, but solid. **1970** DAVIN *Not Here Not Now* 194 'What time is Bill [Rangata] coming to pick us up for the dance?' 'About half-past seven, he said. But he's a bit Maori about time.' **1972** *Sunday Times* (Wellington) 24 Sept. 47 It's [sc. a cartoon trip] perpetuating the idea people have of something as being a real Maori trick, or a real Maori way of doing things. It's derogatory.

5b. In dismissive, derogatory, belittling, or offensive applications of *Maori*. (p.475)

これらの語彙には、先住民マオリ人の歴史と文化を低く見る自民族中心的思

考、ユーロセントリズムが深く刻印されている⁸。

Pakeka と Maori を比較すると、前者の表現 (Maori から見た「白人」表現) より、後者の表現 (「白人」から見た Maori 表現) が数において圧倒しているということがあらためて再認識される。その不均衡は、そのまま現実の人口比における多数派、少数派の力の差と連動していることを物語る。

以下に示すのは、侮蔑的なニュアンスを含む *Maori*-をその部分とする複合語のリストである。合計で 28 項目を数える。最も早いもので 1840 年代 (**Maori wife** 1847)、もっとも新しいもので 1990 年代 (**Maori mustang** 1990, **Maori bug**1992) と時間軸に関して幅広い。マオリに対する白人による否定的なイメージが際立つ。1900 年以前が 4 語、1900 年から 1945 年までが 8 語、1945 年以降が 16 語 (うち 1975 年からは 12 語) 分布する。これらはコード依存型エスノニムといえることができる。

最も初期の例 (*Maori wife*, *Maori pot*, *Maori fallow*) と最も最近の例 (*Maori mustang*) を挙げて、その差別性を確認する⁹。

Maori wife. A mistress for bush living, a Maori woman married in traditional Maori fashion to a Pakeha male (see also *Maori wedding* above) ('伝統的マオリ妻'→ブッシュ暮らしに愛人としたマオリ女性、マオリ婚により結婚したマオリ女性)

1847 CHAPMAN *Let. to His Father* 24 Nov. in Miller *Early Victorian NZ* (1958) 24 Unable to bear the solitary life, not a few acquired '**Maori wives**', which was 'the conventional name for a Maori mistress'.

Maori pot HANGI 1 ('マオリ式鍋'→地面に掘った穴を鍋替わりにする料理法)

1853..in Mackenzie *Overland Auckland to Wellington* (1893) 23 Soon the **Maori pot** was steaming... The Maori pot consists of a hole in the ground

⁸ [Deverson et.al. *NZOD* p.683: s.v. **Maori 4** *colloq.offens.* rough and ready, unsophisticated. **5** *colloq.offens.* Used in ironic and now widely condemned combinations, reversing or otherwise transforming the meaning of the following noun, as *Maori PT* (lying down), *Maori sidestep* (a head-down charge into an opponent), etc.]

⁹ 用例のあとの括弧内の訳と語義解説は筆者による。

etc.

Maori fallow, of cultivated land, allowed to revert to its original state of fern, scrub, etc. ('マオリ式休閑地'→自然そのままの状態にしてほっておかれた耕作地)

1887 *Auckland Weekly News* 24 Sept. 20 Some of the enclosures have been allowed to take a Maori fallow---i.e. have gone back to flax bush and milk weed.

Maori mustang [f. Mustang a trade-name for a high-powered car], the Mark II Ford Zephyr. ('マオリムスタング'→マオリにとってムスタングに価するほどの車 [ムスタングほど高級ではない車?])

1990 *Listener* 13 Aug. 14 The Mk 1 Zephyr [corrected later to Mk 2] (once commonly referred to as the **Maori Mustang**) has a special place in local mythology. *Ibid.* 9 Sept. 115 The 'Maori Mustang' was the Mark II Zephyr .. not the Mk I as stated in the text [of Kiwiana article 13 Aug.].

上記の例はそれぞれの文脈において程度の差はあれユーロセントリズムに起因する蔑視的意味を感じとることができる。以下に同類の例をアルファベット順に挙げる。

Maori bed, MAORI BUNK. ('マオリ寝台'→ハイカー用テント内寝棚)

1969 HENDERSON *Open Country Calling* 224 The rest of the hut was taken up by a platform, known as a '**Maori bed**', to hold four men.

Cf. **Maori bunk**. *Tramping*. [Alluding to the Maori custom of sleeping communally on the floor of a *wharepuni*] A communal sleeping place in a tramping hut, or tent; a large bunk sleeping several people at once. **1938** *Tararua Tramper* May 4 Home is where the body is, and the Maori bunk is comfortable.

Maori boy, an adult male Maori. ('マオリ少年'→マオリ成人男子)

Maori cannon, a blunder at billiards. ('マオリ大砲'→ビリヤードのへま)

Maori car, an old decrepit vehicle. ('マオリ車'→ぼんこつ車)

Maori chrome, see quot. 1983 p.c. Herb Wilford. Hastings. **Maori chrome** a second-hand car dealer's term for spotting chrome work with silver or other paint. ('マオリクローム'→錆び止めの銀メッキ)

Maori day off, absenteeism from the workplace. ('マオリ式休暇'→職場欠勤、怠業)

Maori ear, an ear infection (usu. 'glue ear') reputedly prevalent among Maori children. ('マオリ風耳炎'→マオリの子どもに多い中耳炎)

Maori half-crown, *obs.*, a penny piece. ('マオリ銀貨' [旧 2 シリング 6 ペンス]→一ペニー銅貨)

Maori holiday, see quotes. 1980 LELAND *Kiwi-Yankee Dict.* 62 **Maori holiday**: Like other socioeconomically disadvantaged groups, the Maori is the butt of a number of jokes... A Maori holiday is the day after payday. ('マオリ式休日'→給料日の翌日 [飲み過ぎで欠勤する日?])

Maori huntaway, a stone rolled down hill to move sheep (see also HUNTAWAY 3, Nelson huntaway (NELSON 2)) ('マオリ牧羊犬'→羊追いに使われる坂ころがし石)

Maori itch, formerly applied to irritations or itchy eruptions of the skin blamed on louse-infestations or kinds of scabies commonly thought to be prevalent among Maori people (HAKIHAKI). ('マオリかゆかゆ'→マオリに多いとされる疥癬、皮膚炎)

Maori marriage, a marriage according to Maori custom, regarded as a common-law marriage by Pakeha (see also *Maori wedding* below). ('マオリ風婚姻'→[制定法に基づかない] 慣習法による婚姻)

Maori oats, *obs.*, see quot.→1908 *Truth* 1 Feb. 2 The term, '**Maori Oats**', has long since lost its significance; its present meaning is no more or less than a small country meeting registered under the governing rules of racing. ('マオリ燕麦'→競馬規約に基づき登録された田舎の競馬大会 [馬が食べる餌]に由来する換喩的命名?)

Maori overdrive, see quot.→1981 *Avondale College Slang Words in Use* (Auckland) (Goldie Brown Collection) Feb. **Maori overdrive**: neutral 1988 MCGILL *Dict. Kiwi Slang* 72 Maori overdrive sliding your car in neutral downhill; *offensive*. ('マオリ式増速駆動法'→ギアを中立にしての下り坂運転)
Maori porridge, boiling mud (a Maori joke on gullible tourists). ('マオリ粥'→熱泥)

Maori pox, see *Maori itch* above. HAKIHAKI.

Maori roast, fish and chips (occas. other takeaway foods) as a main meal. ('マオリ焼き肉'→主食としてのフィッシュ & チップス)

Maori season, a notional open season for Maori trout poachers. ('マオリの季節'→マオリ密漁者にとって非現実的な [意味のない?] 解禁期)

Maori sidestep, see quot. →1979 ZAVOS *After the Final Whistle* 193 A '**Maori sidestep**' is [a] term frequently used by rugby men..to describe the tactic of putting the shoulder down and charging through and over an opponent rather than actually side-stepping him. ('マオリ式サイドステップ [側歩]'→肩を下げ、敵を空かすように側面ないし上側から攻撃する戦術)

Maori tackle, see quot.→1986.. TV1 interview with George Nepia referring to Welsh game of 30 Aug. 1924. I'd have to do a Maori tackle --eh -I'd bang on to two or three of them without the ball. ('マオリ式タックル [組み付き]'→ボールを持たず複数の敵に [同時に] ぶつかること)

Maori wedding, see quot.→1986 OWEN & PERKINS *Speaking for Ourselves* 109 In those days [c1890s] they had what was known as the '**Maori wedding**', which was not legal to the Pakeha, but was a binding things among the Maori people themselves. A young couple would decide that they wanted to become man and wife, and they would have to tell their parents they wanted this. Well, at nighttime everyone would congregate in the meetinghouse [the matter would be discussed, the boy and girl would be asked whether they wanted to marry, and they would take each other in front of all the people.] ('マオリ式婚姻'→[英国系白人には非合法だが] マオ

リ人には二人の結びつきに必要な慣習を踏んだ伝統的婚姻)

Maori weed, a BRUMBY q.v. esp. one from the central North Island. ('マオリ駄馬'→荒馬) 1904 *NZ Observer* 6 Feb. 7 They say... That a lot of 'Maori weeds' and other horseflesh are wide-eyed with surprise at the extra feeds they are getting. Japan wants remounts. [...]

これらの複合的エスノニムはいずれも明示的にコード依存的で、命名の初めから蔑視的意味が顕著であるグループであると言える。

なお、Orsman:DNZE が、あえて独立見出し語として分別しているものを次に掲げる。上記諸例と同様に、命名の蔑視性がいずれも顕著である。それは Maori-bug と Maori PT の 2 項目である。前者はメタファーによる命名であり、人間を動物に見立てる点に蔑視が生まれている。また Maori PT はアイロニー的命名である。それは PT (鍛錬法) とは似て非なるものであり、差別的用法の典型と言える (e.g. Dutch treat, French leave を参照)。

Maori-bug [a. *black beetle*: 1873- ...]

b. *fig.* An offensive name for a Maori

1992 *Evening Post* (Wellington) 7 Mar. 6 I am a New Zealander, Maori and female, and I object to being called a 'Maori bug, tarpot, nigger, and black bastard'. ('マオリ(ナンキン)虫'→黒ゴキブリ)

Maori PT orig. WW2. *derog.* Also occas. **white man's PT**. [f. *Maori* (as stereotypically 'lazy') + *PT* physical training.] Resting, loafing. (Also elsewhere known as Egyptian P.T.) ('マオリ式鍛錬法'→休息、ぶらつき)

1939-45 *Expressions & Sayings 2NZEF (TS N.A. WAIIDA420/1)* Maori PT---Lying on bed (or anywhere) dozing.

以下は Maori の侮蔑的意味用法の出現を示すリストである。

[list of *Maori*-words in a derogatory/offensive sense]

| 1769..... | 1840..... | 1900..... | 1945..... | 1975..... | 2000 |
|------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------|
| Maori | 1857(?) | | | | |
| Maori bed | | | | 1969 | |
| Maori boy | | | 1944 | | |
| *Maori-bug | | | | | 1992 |
| Maori cannon | | | 1948 | | |
| Maori car | | | | | 1983 |
| Maori chrome | | | | | 1983 |
| Maori day off | | | | | 1983 |
| Maori ear | | | | 1965 | |
| Maori fallow | 1887 | | | | |
| Maori half-crown | | 1899 | | | |
| Maori holiday | | | | | 1980 |
| Maori huntaway | | | | | 1978 |
| Maori itch | | | 1920 | | |
| Maori marriage | | | 1939 | | |
| Maori mustang | | | | | 1990 |
| Maori oats | | 1908 (<i>obs.</i>) | | | |
| Maori overdrive | | | | | 1981 |
| Maori porridge | | 1908 | | | |
| Maori pot | 1853 | | | | |
| Maori pox | | | 1913 | | |
| *Maori PT | | | 1939 | | |
| Maori roast | | | | | 1984 |
| Maori season | | | | 1964 | |
| Maori sidestep | | | | | 1979 |
| Maori tackle | | | | | 1986 |
| Maori wedding | | | | | 1986 |

| | |
|---|------|
| Maori weed | 1904 |
| Maori wife | 1847 |
| 1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000 | |

(*は独立見出し項目)

時代区分的に、1975 年以前に比べて、1975 年以降に差別的な意味用法が増加している背景を考えると、その当時社会を二分しかねない大きな亀裂が生じていたことに思い当たる。というのも 1975 年に The Treaty of Waitangi Act¹⁰ が成立し、条約を一方的に破ったとして 1840 年の条約締結時に遡って、マオリ人を不利な状況に追いやった条約違反に関する勧告を行なう Waitangi Tribunal が始められた¹¹。この時期、政治的に相反する二つの潮流が激突し緊迫する状況 (e.g. Bastion Point Protest [1977-78], protest against Springbok tour of N.Z. [1981]) が続き¹²、結果として、少数派人権擁護運動の世界的潮流とともに、マオリの権利が公的に回復されはじめることになっていくが、他

¹⁰ ワイトンギ条約前文については次を参照。Orsman:DNZE s.v.Treaty 1.a.: '1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act (preamble) An Act to provide for the observance, and confirmation, of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by establishing a Tribunal to make recommendations on claims relating to the practical application of the Treaty and to determine whether certain matters are inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty.'

¹¹ ワイトンギ法廷については次のふたつの記述を参照。King (2003:487): 'Perhaps the single measure with the most pervasive influence...was the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal by the Rowling Labour Government in 1975. This was set up to deliberate and rule on alleged breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi that occurred from that date. Little notice was taken of its operation until 1985, when its powers were made retrospective to 1840. From this time, it became the focus of Maori resource claims against the Crown and the source of major settlements that would reinvigorate tribal activity over large parts of the country. It was one of a series of measures which so changed the face of New Zealand life in the 1980s and 1190s that their cumulative effect could legitimately be called a revolution.' [下線筆者] // Jackson & McRobie (1996:247): 'In 1985 the tribunal's jurisdiction was extended back o 1840. The Tribunal consists of the Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court and 16 members appointed by the Governor-General, four of whom must be Maori. The Tribunal is an advisory body only, but it enjoys considerable prestige and influence.'

¹² 社会の亀裂については次の記述を参照。Smith (2005:229, 230-31): 'More than the land

方で、マオリへの土地返還や多文化社会 (二言語) 政策に対する反感が、マオリに対するバッシング、蔑視的用法の増加となって現れたと推測される。

1.3 Indian, native とその関連語

ここでは、最も初期の頃、Maori が定着する以前に遡り、Aboriginal と Indian と Native のグループを比較考察する。現在では、いずれも廃語ないし歴史的名称とみなしてよいものである。本格的に、また日常的にマオリ人を知る前、接触する前に、英国人が描いたイメージを端的に表現したものだと思えることができる。

1.3.1. Indian

aboriginal より古く、後述する native とともに 18 世紀後半 (クックの航海日誌) からの用例を確認できる。アメリカ先住民からの類推が、この語を拡張的に用いさせた要因と推察される。しかし、もともと非科学的なこの呼称の使用期間は短く、文献によればおよそ二十年である。これは他の名称 (aboriginal, Maori など) にとって代わられる。

Indian, *n.* and *a.* *Obs.* [Prob. an application of the name *Indian* American Indian: Cook and his company also applied the name to Tierra del Fuegians and Australian Aborigines.] A. *n.* An early European term for a Maori. [...]

1769 (*n.*) COOK *Journals* 9 Oct. (1955) I.168 Seeing some of the natives on the other side of the river..I order'd the yaul in... In the mean time the Indians made off. [...] - **1791** (*obs.*)

1769 (*adj.*) COOK *Journals* 19 Oct. (1955) I.181 At 7 AM brought too

march..the Bastion Point protest in Auckland in 1977-78 aroused public consciousness through the medium of television...The tour [i.e. The Springbok tour of 1981] both damaged the interests of rugby and unleashed protest tantamount to civil war, on a sustained scale unparalleled since the 1860s... The tour ...revealed deep rifts in New Zealand society, shattering its image as a peaceful, homogeneous nation with harmonious race relations.' (Springbok は南アフリカ共和国の白人だけのラグビーチーム。NZ への遠征についての抗議行動は、当時のアパルトヘイト体制を非難するものでもあった。国際的非難を浴びていたこの人種隔離政策は 1947 年国民党権成立とともに制度化され、1991 年により廃止された。---筆者補注)

under Cape Table and set away the Indian Canoe. [...] -1836 (obs.)

1.3.2. native

Indian と等しく、18 世紀後半からの用例を見ることができる。同じくクックの航海日誌の中に、この名称が共起するのを確認できる。Indian と異なるのは、これが非科学的な名称でなく、包括的、総称的であるがゆえに、その寿命は長い。

native **A.** *n.1.* *Obs.* [...]

[Note] *Native n.* preceded *Maori* in common use, replacing earlier *New Zealander* and the quasi-official *aborigine* (...). In official use (e.g. in statues and other documents, *NZ Parliamentary Debates* or 'Hansard'), *Native* (with init. cap.) was the main spelling of both the noun and adjective until replaced by *Maori*.

1769 (*n.*) COOK *Journals* 9 Oct. (1955) I.168 Seeing some of the natives on the other side of the river..I order'd the yaul in... In the mean time the Indians made off. [...]---1975 (obs.)

2. *Obs.* The Maori language ...

1842 (*n.* Maori lang.) in Wily & Maunsell *Robert Maunsell* (1938) 76 He has rapidly advanced in native, and can preach with some fluency. [...] -1849 (obs.)

B. *adj. 1.* *Obs.* a. Occas. also native Maori ...as distinct from 'European' or 'Pakeha'.

1814 KENDALL 6 Sept. in Elder *Marsden's Lieutenants* (1934) 59 We were presently surrounded by many native men, women, and children. [...]---1984 (obs.)

2. Applied to plants and animals and their products...in the sense 'indigenous to New Zealand'...

1870 *TrNZI* II. 49 If ..it should be deemed impossible to avert the impending fate which threatens the existence of many species of our **native birds**, we must endeavour to find some compensation for so great a

misfortune, in...the introduction of foreign birds.

1.3.3. aboriginal, aborigine

先住民マオリを表す 1845 年からはじまる用例があるが、Indian, native に比べてかなり歴史が浅く、かつ短命であることに注目しておきたい。

aboriginal, *a.* and *n.* *Hist.*

A. *adj.* Also occas. init. cap.

1. MAORI B 1 a.

1845 May in Rutherford *Sel. Documents* (1949) 12 Our system..was..to encourage the settlement of European colonists, and to turn to account the peculiar facilities which the aboriginal race of New Zealand seem to possess for intermixture and amalgamation with the European population. -1851 (*hist.*)

B. *n.* MAORI A 2a (a)

1844 MONRO *Notes of Journey* in Hocken *Contributions* (1898) Our aboriginals at length consented to proceed with us on being paid for the work they had already done, and we set off. ---1913 (*hist.*)

aboriginal native *Esp.* in the official use, a Maori

1840 (*adj.2.*) 1840 *Charter for Erecting the Colony of NZ* 16 Nov in Rutherford *Sel. Documents* (1949) 8 Provided always, that nothing in these our letters patent contained shall affect..the rights of any aboriginal natives of the said colony of New Zealand to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons..of any lands..now actually occupied or enjoyed by such natives. ---1863 (*hist.*)

aborigine *Hist.* Also init.cap. *Usu. pl.*

1834 MCDONNEL *Extracts Jrnl.* (1979) 14 The aborigines are rapidly emerging from their pristine barbarism. ---1881 (*hist.*)

以上をまとめると、Indian, native がもっとも古く、aboriginal が遅れて登場するが、Indian は最も短命で、aboriginal, native の順に使われなくなるとともに、前者は歴史的名称に変容し、後者は廃用となっていく。New Zealander¹³ と準公式的に用いられた aborigine を受け継ぐようになる Native は、Maori に取って代わられるまで、その地位を保った（上記 [Note] 参照）。一方で Maori が 1815 年以降、英語の文献に現れはじめ、その後最も頻繁に使われる背景を考慮すれば、これらエスノニムは比較的に流動的であり、その消長は短期間に揺れ動いたことが分かる。

[list of *Indian/native/aboriginal/aborigines*]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

Indian 1769 (*n.*) - 1791 (*obs.*)

1769 (*adj.*) - 1836 (*obs.*)

Native 1769 (*n.*) --- ---1975 (*obs.*)

1842 (*n.* Maori lang.) - 1849 (*obs.*)

1814 (*adj.1.*) --- ---1984 (*obs.*)

1870 (*adj.2.* plants, animals)

aboriginal 1845 (*adj.1.*) - 1851 (*hist.*)

1844 (*n.*) ---1913 (*hist.*)

aboriginal native 1840 (*adj.2.*) ---1863 (*hist.*)

aborigines 1834 (*n.pl.*) ---1881 (*hist.*)

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

1.4. black とその関連語

人間の内面を概念化した Maori/Pakeha を軸とする違いの認識に対して、

¹³ New Zealander の二つの意味のうち 'Maori' の意では 1769 年の、また 'Pakeha' の意では 1848 年の初出例がある。Cf. Kuya (久屋 2010:257) 年表参照。

皮膚の色や人種的な概念に関する語彙の蔑視性も看過できない。その群は black, nigger, darkie, brownie, tarpot, dago である。これらについてそれぞれ考察する。

まず black を核とする語群がある。Black は名詞として、はじめからマオリを指したのではなく、1827 年に、まず豪州先住民アボリジニーへの蔑視語として始まり、その後、蔑視の含蓄が残ったまま、マオリないしポリネシア系民族へと拡大使用されていったことが分かる。19 世紀後半には、このエスノニムは、ときに一連の直喩用法の中の形容詞として使われ、多様な蔑視的慣用句さえ生んだ (*black as Maoris*, etc.)。このエスノニムのグループの用法の多くはコード依存型で、顕著な差別性は否定しようがない。

Black A. n. 1.a. derog. An Australian Aborigine.

1827 WILLIAMS *Early Jrnl.* 5 May (1961) 54 The [New Zealand] natives have had much conversation, relative to the projected settlement in New Holland...They wish to be distinct from the whites or blacks, to retain their own teachers. [...]

1.b. Offensive. Also occas. **Blacky** 'a Maori or Pacific Islander'

1843 NZ *Jrnl.* IV.34 The way in which the Maoris make the responses is singular. I must say the Blackies are very civil. [...]

1.c. A Melanesian. ([侮蔑的意味なしに] メラネシア人)

1855 PATTESON in Yonge *Life John Coleridge Patteson* (1874) I.234 [Picton tanga whenua to Rev.J.C.Patteson] 'We want you!..we can understand you!' 'No, I am going to the islands [*sc.* to Melanesia as Missionary] to the blacks there.' (N.B. The Maoris speak of the *Blacks* with a little touch of contempt.) 'You are wanted here! Never mind the blacks.'

B. adj. 1. Offensive. black introducing an intense or *derog.* comparison referring to a dark complexion or skin colour. **black as Maoris, black as the ace of spades, black as B-flat.**

1864 NICHOL *Journal* 27 Apr. (ATLMS) 200 By the time we got back

we were as **black as Maoris** from the dust. **1915** *Great Adventure* (1988) 48 Just then he came out and to my astonishment he was an Indian, as **black as the ace of spades**. **1973** WALLACE *Generation Gap* 215 After this fire they arrived back tired, hungry, black as the ace-of-spades, eyebrows singed. **1964** MORRIESEN *Came a Hot Friday* (1981) 84 Two-ton Tilly, **black as B flat**...I wouldn't have widdled on a bag like that if she'd been on fire.

2. In various special collocations of offensive reference to dark-skinned people usu. Maori or Polynesian. **black man** *obs.*, a Maori; **black velvet**, [...] a Maori female as a sexual object. (black man: 黒い肌の人 [マオリ、ポリネシア人]; black velvet: 性的対象としての女)

1815-KENDALL *New Zealanders' First Book* 22 [Sentences] Na! Iesu Christ ta Atua Nue, ta Atua Pi, ta wanhounga Nue, ta wanhounga Pi, ke ta notungata na, Pakkahah, ke tan a tangata maoude, ke ta tungata katoa katoa. Ibid.23 [translation] Behold! Jesus Christ is the great and good Atua, the great good friend to white and **black men**; to all men.

1948 BALLANTYNE *Cunninghams* (1976) 214 'I'd like a nice piece of **black velvet**,' Clive said. 'One of those quarter-castes, boy.' **1964** FRANCES *Jonny Rapana* 121 All they want is to get you in the dark and then go off and boast they've had a bit of black velvet. That's what they call us [Maori girls], Johnny. Black velvet!

blackfellow *Obs. Offensive*. [AND 1798] BLACK n 1 b.

1859 THOMSON *Story NZ* II. 49 The Anglo-Saxon feeling, that one Englishman was a match for several 'black fellows,' the term frequently applied to the natives, was now universal. **1868** TAYLOR *Past and Present of NZ* 111 The Maori constantly being called a nigger and a black fellow to his face, and viewed as an inferior being.

Sinclair にはオーストラリアの "Black fellow" に関する記述¹⁴に関連して、NZ への移民の Maori 観について触れている箇所（下線部参照）がある。ここではオーストラリアほど先住民に対するあからさまな（人間扱いしない）人種差別観が NZ では存在しないという説明を加えている。これは、NZ には差別があまり存在しなかったことを説明しているのではなく、タスマン海の向こうの国での差別があまりに激しかったことに言及しているに過ぎない。なぜなら、この節で扱うグループ以外にも多様な蔑視語の体系が NZ においてもコード依存型として存在してきたからである。

"Sinclair (1986:109): Travellers did of course notice differences [i.e. between Australia & NZ 筆者補足] --- especially in the race relations. C. W. Dilke wrote that 'nothing would persuade the rougher class of Queensland settlers that the "black fellow" and his "jin" were human.' By contrast, in New Zealand the settlers never 'affect to think [the Maoris] less than human'." [下線部筆者]

皮膚の色に着目した black の系列は、さらに tar-pot, nigger, brownie, darkie, dago などを容赦なく拡大生産していくことになる。中でも tar-pot は Ramson: AND に言及がなく、NZ に独自の語である。

tar-pot 2.*Offensive*. A Maori. Also in the phr. **to hit the tarpot**, to be courting a Maori woman.

1949 SARGESON *I Saw in My Dream* (1974) 112 Wally said that if he was Mr.Anderson he'd never let the tarpots inside the [shearing] shed with their lousy sheep. *Ibid.* 203 Jerry? He said, answering Mrs Brennan. Jerry's a local tarpot. Oh, a maori! Anna said. I love maoris.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Nat. Aust. Dict.* s.v. **black** B. *adj.* and *attrib.* 5. Used pejoratively in collocations, as **black animal, bastard, brother, crow, cur, game, savage sister**. 1833-

¹⁵ OED (s.v. **tar**, n.4.c.) にはこの用例とともに negro を指す以下の用例がある：1944

Cf. **tar-baby** (*a*) the doll smeared with tar, set to catch Brer Rabbit (see quot.1881); hence transf., *spec.* an object of censure; a sticky problem, or one which is only aggravated by attempts to solve it (*colloq.*); (*b*) a derog. term for a Black (*U.S.*) or a Maori (*N.Z.*)

1881..J.C.HARRIS *Uncle Remus* ii.20 Brer Fox..got 'im some tar, en mix it wid some turkentime, en fix up a contrapshun what he call a Tar-Baby. [...] 1959 M.SHADBOLT *New Zealanders* 140 'What a hide, though---' 'Those tar-babies and that fellow in the sweater.' [...]

この項は Orsman:DNZE に珍しく記載がなく、OED (s.v.tar, n.4.c.) の以下の記述に頼っている。1959 年の用例以外はすべてアメリカの例が挙げられている。Ramson:AND にも類例はない。

nigger *Offensive*. [AND (Aborigine) 1845] Occas. **negro** (see quot 1862). An abusive and contemptuous term for a Maori, esp. freq. at the time of the New Zealand wars of the 1860s (possibly reinforced by the usage of troops with Indian service). Also attrib., and in compositional forms such as **antiniggerism**. [...]

1858 *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* (1960) I.175 [A.S.Atkinson] We heard that Bishop Selwyn..thinks there is a fair chance of collision with the 'niggers'. [...] 1911 *Truth* 7 Jan. 1 Heavens above, we filch the niggers' land and then we make an alien of him. Why the day will come when the Dago won't be at home here. [...]

浅黒い肌色を連想させる brownie はマオリ人に対する庇護的愛称的用法であることから差別的含蓄へ移行することは必然であった。

H.L.MMENCKEN in *Amer. Speech* XIX.174 Pickaninny was..used..affectionately. So..was tar-pot..signifying a Negro child.

brownie. Also **brownny**. [spec. or transf. uses of *brownie* something of brown colour.]

1. *Obs.* A (hypocoristic or patronizing term for a) Maori.

1850 LUSH *Auckland Journals* 1 Nov. (1971) 34 Charlie and the 3 girls played with Hakopa's little daughter. This is the first day we have managed to get the little brownny in the slightest degree sociable.

darkie はアメリカ語法ニグロの転用で、ポリネシア人を広く指している。これも差別的ニュアンスを無視することはできない。

darkie. Also **darky**, occas. **dark skin** (see quot. 1866) An offensive (see quot. 1991) transf. use of *darkie* a (North America) negro (recorded in NZ from 1872 for a black sea-cook) for a Polynesian, occas. as a term of address, or as a nickname. Compare NIGGER.

1863 MOSER *Mahoe Leaves* 31 'Halloa', cried Harry, as we pulled up our horses about a mile from the pah, 'there go a string of darkies a-head.' 1866 HUNT *Chatham Is.* 11 This concluded my first commercial transaction with a dark skin, and each party was well satisfied. [...] 1991 DUFF *One Night Out Stealing* 129 The black arseholes did it to him, and Sonny..if you could call his a beating..they let him off cos he was a darkie like they were.

Dago はスペイン系人名の起源を持つ語であり、マオリ人を指す浅黒い肌の色の連想をもつ俗語として人口に膾炙し、20 世紀前半に主に蔑視的文脈に使用されたが、のちに廃用となった。

dago. *Obs. Offensive*. [Spec. use of *dago* a dark-skinned person, esp. one of Mediterranean origin.]

1.a. A Maori.

1905 *Truth* 24 June 3 At a recent Otaki meeting an intoxicated Dago

assured me that..he was the 'pest plurry chockey in New Zealand.' **1911** [See NIGGER]. [...] **1951** PARK *Witch's Thorn* 83 So, you're mucking round with dagoes now. Mum's going to be interested.

1.5. Hori, George とその関連語

次のグループは Hori を核とする語群である。ここには Hori, George, Henare, Jack が含まれる。いずれも人名に由来するものである。Hori はマオリ人の英語名として一般的に使用されたために、原音をとどめないまでに変容した、当時の英国王名 George のマオリ化した形である (cf. Henare<Henry)。非マオリ用法としては蔑視的用法が明示的で、コード依存型のエスノニムと判断してよい。

Hori [...] *Offensive in non-Maori use*. Also **horri, horry**; *pl.* often *hories, horries*. [f. Ma. *Hori*.., an alteration of George; AND a nickname for a Maori, 1922] See also GEORGE. Cf. HENARE, JACK *n.*

1. Without an article. **a.** Apparently favoured as a name for Maori names from the early 19th century (prob. from the 'royal' Georges on coins and in freq. official reference), developing in the 20th century in non-Maori use as a collective name for non-individualized Maori people.

1921 *Quick March* 11 July 26 In the matter of deep water diving Hori has little in common with his relations in the South Sea Islands. [...]

b. *In non-Maori use*, a general term of address or reference to a Maori not known to the speaker.

1933 BAUME *half-caste* 26 The driver of the mail car felt a warmth towards mankind. 'Hori,' he said to Paul (as a negro is 'Sambo', a Maori is 'Hori' to the poor white). 'You like a drink, eh?' [...]

2.a. Often *pl.* as **the horis**, also with init. cap. (A) stereotypical Maori.

1938 FINLAYSON *Brown Man's Burden* (1973) 24 The overheard remark still rankled: 'The horis, they can live on pipis.'

19 世紀初頭から 20 世紀中葉にかけてマオリ人男性名として流行した。その理由は当時の硬貨の表の肖像にある英国国王名が音声学的にマオリ化され、転用されたという歴史の偶然のようである。そこで George についても触れておく必要があるだろう。第二次世界大戦時にエジプトに駐屯した NZ 兵士たちがマオリ人を指して侮蔑的に使用したという解説がある。コンテキスト依存型のエスノニムの成長に言及している点で興味深い。

George. [f. a transf. use of the British royal name, esp. familiar in the early 19th, and early-mid 20th centuries, from the names and images on the heads of coins.] The name *George* was apparently once popular as an adopted English name for Maori males (cf. also HORI). It was also commonly used by New Zealand soldiers in Egypt during WW2 (probably as a part of wider military usage) as a dismissive or derogatory name, or mode of address, for an Egyptian.

[**1823** CRUISE *Journal* 9 Apr. (1957) 77 He was accompanied by a person to whom the whalers had given the name of King George [Te Uru-ti or Kingi Hori]...As he and the celebrated George of Wangarooma will be frequently mentioned.., [one] may caution the reader not to mistake the one for the other.] **1941** NZEF *Times* 18 Aug. 4 Talking about George (and one does a lot of it out here), it would be interesting to know why every New Zealander, irrespective of the wishes of his godfathers..should be honoured by his sovereign's patronymic. The NZEF, not to be out-done, describes every Abdul and Amid as 'George'. **1943** JACKSON *Passage to Tobruk* 95 George, the driver (all natives being christened George), pulled on the reins.

ちなみに同様の英語人名からの転用として知られるのは Henry が音声学的にマオリ化された Henare である。すでに廃用となった。蔑視的用法は見当たらない。

Cf. **Henare**. *Obs.* [f. Ma. Henare /henare/, a common Maori name of the early 20th c., an adaptation of *Henry*: AND 1921] A Maori; poss. in quot. *spec.*, a member of the Maori Pioneer Battalion. [...]

1918 *Chron. NZEF* 16 Aug. 32 As for Henare generally, his pride in Digger is unbound...Henares all seek to outdo all other battalions engaged in the same duties as themselves. *Ibid* 25 Oct. 151 One evening found all Henares wending their way to the local Y.M.Marquee.

Jack または Jack Maori は「君」と同義の呼び掛け語法のイギリス英語と並行する用法であるとの記述がある。転用を起源とするのかもしれない。戦場における敵兵に相対峙する兵士たちからの俗語的呼称であるためにいくばくかの蔑視的含蓄が潜在しているとしても不思議ではない。

Jack. *n. Hist.* Also **Jack Maori**. [See OED *jack n.* 1.d. a form of address to an unknown person, 1889] Formerly applied familiarly to Maori opponents in the New Zealand Wars.

1864 ASHWELL *Lett. & Jrnls.* (ATLTS) IV.487 The Soldiers said well Jack Maori how do you do. **1922** COWAN NZ Wars (1955) I. 209 A good-natured soldier..hearing him moaning something which sounded like 'wai' (water), was trying to make him drink..saying, 'Here, Jack, here's *wai* for you.' The soldiers always addressed the Maoris as 'Jack', and the Maoris the soldiers as 'Tiaki' also.

以上のエスノニムのうち Hori は明示的でコード依存型で、その他はコンテキスト依存型であると見なすことができる。

1.6. Hostile, Rebel とその関連語

このグループは、Hostile, Rebel, Friendly, Kupapa, Kingite, Queenite, を含む。この群はいずれも、歴史的な民族対立に起因する呼称である。19 世

紀における先住マオリ民族と英国系移民との対立に起因する「敵意」や蔑視から生まれていることを単純明快に命名に利用したところに特徴がある。Hostile は、英語「敵意を抱く者」で、英国王室に敵対するマオリ人（部族）を指す。derog.というラベルは付けられていないが、'hapless hostiles' という表現から推察するに、テキスト依存的なエスノニムである。

Hostile, *a.* and *n. Hist.* [Spec. use of *hostile* unfriendly.]

A. adj. 1. Hist. Of Maori, or tribes, hostile to the Crown during the New Zealand Wars.

1842 Dawson to Colonial Secretary 11 Jan. in GBPP 1842 (No.569) 194 [E. J. Wakefield] who has lately resided..amongst the Taupos and other hostile tribes, informed me..that it was his intention to proceed to Auckland.

B. n. Hist. a hostile Maori. See also *Jack Maori* (JACK *n.*), KINGITE, REBEL.

1921 TRNZI LIII.24 Young McKillop..mounted a gun on the long-boat of the 'Tyne'..and strolled up and down the harbour bombarding hapless hostiles.

Hostile と同様に Rebel も名指しされた当事者にとって決して「価値中立的」な名称ではない。derog.というラベルは付けられていないが、insignificant との連続性、rebellion との共起関係（1846 年の用例）から推察されるように、テキスト依存的エスノニムであることが察せられる。19 世紀半ばの民族対立の時代に英国と敵対し闘ったマオリ人にとってみれば、遅れて流入してきた英国系白人に一方的に謀反者（Rebel）呼ばわりされるいわれはない。

Rebel, *n.* and *a. Hist.* [Spec. use of *rebel* one who resists, or rises in arms against, the established governing power.] A European-oriented term for a Maori who fought (or defended principles and land) against the Crown, esp.

during the New Zealand Wars. Cf. HOSTILE *a.* and *n.*, KINGITE.

1846 in Deans *Pioneers of Canterbury* (1937) 108 The number of these rebels [in the Hutt] is quite insignificant, from all accounts not exceeding 300 or 400... The natives chiefly engaged in rebellion are of the tribe Ngatitoo. [...] **1987** *NZJH* XXI. No.1 17 I used to hear how [Te Kooti] was a rebel and all that, and I didn't think I was connected with him.

ここで hostile の反意語的命名である *Friendly* とマオリ語の同義語 *Kupapa* を見ておく。まず Friendly が形容詞として前置された Friendly Maori (native, party) という連語がコード依存的な表現として記録されるほどに、厳然たる歴史の事実の一部であるということは特筆すべきである。それは Hostile Maori と対比されてより深く記憶に留められている。

Cf. **Friendly**, *a.* and *n.* *Hist.*

A. adj. a Applied to a Maori friendly to early European immigrants.

1816 HALL in Elder *Marsden's Lieutenants* (1934) 124 After Captain Graham returned to his vessel, my friendly natives being up the country in search of potatoes, a strange party came over from the other side of the Bay and got upon the sawyer's house-top. [...]

b. Applied to a Maori (or tribe) loyal to the Crown during the New Zealand Wars of the 19th century, often in the collocations **friendly Maori (native, party)**.

1854 *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* (1960) I.151 The friendly party of natives (so it is stated) are sowing wheat and planting potatoes on the Waiwakaiho Block...It is feared by them that Henry Epuni would crop the land if the friendly natives did not.

B. n. [Ellipt. For *friendly Maori*.] *Usu. pl.*, often with init. cap. A Maori, or in *pl.*, a tribe, loyal to the Crown during the New Zealand Wars. Compare KUPAPA 1, QUEENITE.

1861 *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* (1960) I.707 No natives about except the 'friendlies' at Poutoko and Hauranga.

次の Kupapa はマオリ語で「(争いにおいて) 中立の」という原義を有するが、英語相当句である上記 friendly Maori と同義に使われていた。時に 'Uncle Tom' 「白人 (王室派) に卑屈なマオリ人」の意となる場合があるというのは、反「王室派」のマオリ人が自らの意味解釈、意味付与を行なったためである。マオリ活動家によって裏切り者、白人の手先として蔑視的に使われている (1988 年用例参照)。

Cf. **Kupapa** [Ma. /ku:papa/ Williams 157 *Kupapa*...5.Be neutral in a quarrel.]

1. The Maori force supporting the Crown in the New Zealand Wars, or any of its members.

1866 SMITH *Taranaki Jrnl.* 21 Oct. in Cowan *NZ Wars* (1955) II. 532 Ten kupapas, or allies, arrived in camp today from Wanganui. **1882** POTTS ...

2. In modern applications, a Maori supporting Pakeha or Crown initiatives; occas. an 'Uncle Tom'. [下線筆者] **1928** NGATA *Let.* 9 Feb. in *Na To Hoa Aroha* (1986) I. 70 The Kingite part of the Maniapoto are all right and so are those we may call the 'Kupapa'

1988 *Dominion Sunday Times* (Wellington) 1 May 10 A class of people was created---we [Maori activists] call them kupapa---from the first time the Pakeha arrived. These are collaborators or 'crouchers' who serve white needs and white interests and prop up the colonial system.

次に上記と同一の 19 世紀の歴史的事件に関わる別称の対 Kingite と Queenite を比較する。まず *Kingite* は Maori King Movement¹⁶ を支持する

¹⁶ Maori King Movement の構想とその評価については以下のものを参照。Deverson

マオリ人を指し、*Queenite* は女王派、当時のヴィクトリア女王支持派のマオリ人を指す歴史的呼称である。前者の King は British Empire ではなく、マオリ人自身の北島 King Country における実現されなかった統一王制国家 (Kingitanga) の王を意味する。この対には、明示的な侮蔑用法は示されず、その解釈はコンテキスト依存的である。立場の違いが用法を規定することになる。

Kingite. *Hist.* [f. KING *n.* + *-ite*.] **a.** A supporter of the Maori King and kingitanga. Cf. QUEENITE.]

1857 ASHWELL *Lett. & Jrnl.* (ATLTS) II. 290 The other party, the Kingites, anxious for the entire independence of their country. [...]

Queenite. *Hist.* [QUEEN + *-ite* on the pattern of KINGITE q.v.] A North Island loyal to the English Queen (Victoria) as distinct from a Kingite, a follower of the Maori king. See also FRIENDLY B, KUPAPA 1

1861 *Otago Witness* (Dunedin) 6 Apr. 6 Karapama Te Kapukai (kingite) stood up and upbraided the kingites for turning away from them...Napai Tarratoa (queenite) stood up and said, 'I have nothing to ask you; you have been questioned but will not answer. You have chosen a king, I have chosen a church, a queen, and a governor. You have chosen one; I have three.'

[list of *black*, *George*, *hostile* & related words]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

black (y) 1843 (*n.*)

black as Maori 1864

NZOPC (2006:508 s.v.**Maori King Movement**): 'a grouping of North Island iwi originally associated in the 19th c. in opposition to the continuing alienation of Maori land to Pakeha settlers; in 1858 leadership of the movement was assumed by the Waikato chief TE WHEROWHERO, who was proclaimed Maori King (Potatau I)...' // Sinclair (1986:14): 'The Maori King movement of the mid-nineteenth century has been interpreted as an attempt to rise above tribalism to Maori nationalism, but it did not succeed in uniting most of the tribes.'

black fellow 1859-1868 (*obs.*)* [*AND1798] *

black man 1815--- (*obs.*)

black velvet 1948

brownie/brownny 1850

darkie 1863

dark skin 1866

nigger 1858

tarpot 1949

dago 1905 -----1951 (*obs.*)

George 1823

***Henare** 1918 (in a neutral sense) (*obs.*)

hori 1921

***Jack** 1864 (in a neutral sense)

hostile 1842 (*adj.*) (*hist.*) 1921 (*n.*) (*hist.*)

rebel 1821 (*hist.*)

cf. **friendly** (Maori) 1854 (*adj.*) >1861 (*n.*) (*hist.*)

cf. **kupapa** 1866 1928 (modern app.)

kingite 1857 (*hist.*)

queenite 1861 (*hist.*)

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

多くの蔑視的呼称が歴史的に出現したが、まず肌の色を意味する色彩由来語としてのコード依存的なエスノニムとしての蔑称の成立が NZ においても他の大陸の場合と同様に指摘される。一方、NZ に特殊なのが、人名の普通名詞化であり、19 世紀 NZ 抗争時代のマオリ民族内部の路線の相違、対立を如実に物語る歴史的呼称であろう。その多くは淘汰され、消滅し、歴史的連想をもつ死語となっていった。その中でもいくつかの呼称はコード依存的 (e.g. black,

brownie, darkie, nigger, tarpot, Indian, Hori) で、いくつかのものはテキスト依存的 (e.g. hostile, rebel, Jack) であり、その他のものはコンテキスト依存的 (e.g. kingite, queenite) である。対となる語群は互いに緊張関係をもちながら維持されることでエスノニムネットワークを形成していると思料される。

2. Homey/Pommy をめぐって

次に、Homey/Pommy の対を検証する。こちらは、歴史的にも概念的にも対立する要素ではなく、ルーツの異なる同義語であり、両者が並行ないし代替関係にあったと言うべきであろう。前者が初めに出現して、後者と並行しながら存在し、のちに後者にとって代わられるという歴史的経過を経ている。Pommy は今日まだ時に聞かれるが、Homey は歴史的呼称として以外には、すでに廃語ともいうべき存在になっている。

2.1. Homey

homey の語幹となる home について Turner (1966: 169) が以下のように興味ある記述をしている。

"The double flicker of the word *home* is an example of this semantic process. It is still sometimes used for England by people who have never seen the place. It is deplored; yet when told that a friend going on sabbatical leave intended to 'fly home', I found myself interpreting the information as 'fly to Europe' when in fact the return trip was to be by air. The Icelandic use of 'out' for a voyage to Iceland and *utan* ('from out', 'back', *ie* almost 'home') for a voyage away from Iceland is a comparable colonial usage. Shipping companies, which must have standard point of view for naming outward and homeward voyages, use the names appropriate to their English head offices, helping to perpetuate the use of *home* to mean the direction from south to north."

南半球の NZ やオーストラリアにおいて季節名 (*summer, winter*)、暦 (*June, March*)、方位 (*'The warm south', a bleak southerly wind*¹⁷)、風景 (*meadow, brook*) などの有する連想が北半球の英国とは異なること、南半球で生れ、英国生れでない人々によって英国が home と感じられ、呼ばれるという奇妙な習慣的思考様式が存在していること、植民地的感覚が残っているゆえに、英国を指す home が continent や abroad や overseas という語と同様に、欧州、英国を否応なく連想させると、NZ 出身の Turner 自身が述べている。今からおよそ 45 年ばかり前のことである。

Home が連想させる、上記の政治的、地理的、心理的な相違がもたらす含蓄が、次の homey という特殊な派生語の呼称を生んだように推測される。Orsman: *DNZE* (1997) は homey の 1926 年以降の用例を呈示しながら、以下のように記述している。

Homey *Obs.* A native-born Briton, esp. as an immigrant to New Zealand. Often *attrib.* [Note] Homey was the predominant colloquial use up to WW2, after which Pom (my) gained ground.

1926 FAIRBURN *Letters* (1981) 15 He is a 'homey', who came out to Australia, buggered up a grocer's shop, and came on to Norfolk. **1937** LEE *Diaries* 10 Dec. (1981) 50 10 December I have been referring to a Homie attitude. Is New Zealand to stand on his own feet, or become a dependency of Britain? **1938** HYDE *Nor Yrs Condemn* 165 Don't mind if you're called a Homie. After all, what does it mean? Somebody from Home? A bit sissy, but it could be worse. **1948** BALLANTYNE *Cunninghams* (1976) 21 But this homey Simmons was a loudmouth with a big opinion of himself. **1950** [see PONGO A b] **1953** *Truth* 8 Apr. 9 I have never felt any hostility towards any 'homie' or 'pommie' until recently. **1960** MUIR *Word for Word* 181 He

¹⁷ Cf. Leland Jr. (1980:154, s.v.**southerly**): 'A wind from the south. Sound nice? This is a COLD WIND straight from the Antarctic wastes into your lap. In the southern hemisphere it is the word north that has echoes of sunshine, and summer, while the word south connotes cold, snow, and winter.'

knew the men still regarded him as a Homey, though it was well over thirty years since he'd left the Old Country. **1986** OWEN & PERKINS *Speaking for Ourselves* 78 [The immigrants] were 'Homies' --- the word 'Pommy' wasn't in use then [in the early 1930s depression], and we called them 'Homeys', and this was used in a derogatory manner..as if it was something contemptible. **1993** SINCLAIR *Halfway Round the Harbour* 101 'Homies', as my parents called 'Poms', were extremely unpopular at No.33.

homey は元英国生れで、後に移民として NZ に渡ってきた人々を指し示して、第一次世界大戦後に使われはじめた口語的な響きを持つ語である。いくつかの用例（1937, 1938 の *sissy*, 1948 の *loudmouth*）はテキスト依存的にその共起関係を解釈することで蔑視的含蓄を帯びることが明示される。

homie は、WW2 以降から 20 世紀後半においてオーストラリアの影響下で pommie にとって代わられたことが上記用例（1953, 1986 の用例参照）から推察される。なお Pommy については、次節であらためて論ずることにする。

OED によると、homey, homie の用例は Orsman:DNZE より 1 年おそく、1927 年より始まっている。（以下の用例を参照のこと）

homey, homie *N.Z. slang.* ('həʊmi) [**home** n.1 6.]

An Englishman; a British immigrant, esp. one newly arrived.

1927 J. Devanny *Old Savage* 170 The crowd at the house were mostly 'homies'. **1939** A. E. Brown *Farmer's Wife* iii. v. 161 My fishman has a pleasant slow drawl that betrays the 'Homie'. **1939** J. Mulgan *Man Alone* 28 That Saturday night I met you and our homey here. **1953** M. Scott *Breakfast at Six* viii. 67 These Homies with money, they stick together. **1970** D. M. Davin *Not Here, Not Now* iv. i. 217 An English accent. How hard it was to remember that it was as natural to a homey as your own accent was to you.

Sinclair (1986:104) では Homies（故郷者、英国者）に対する反感や憤懣、敵意が芽生えるのが、1920 年代、30 年代に英国からの移民が増加したためであることが触れている。すでに長く NZ に住み仕事をしている古参者や元戦争従軍者たちが仕事口を新参者に取りられたり、同じ能力がありながら NZ 生れではなく英国出身者を取ろうとする人事採用のやり方に対して非難が集まったりした結果、その語が一般化するようになったと推察される。

"During the 1920s large numbers of British immigrants, averaging from 8000 to 15 000 a year, came to New Zealand under an Empire Settlement Act or on their own initiative. [...] Many of the immigrants spoke in northern English dialects very different from local speech. There was, during the 1920s and 1930s, a good deal of resentment expressed towards the immigrants, who were generally known as 'Homies', that is, as having come from 'Home'." (Sinclair1986:104)

また Sinclair (1986:105) は 'Homies' を揶揄する歌（同名タイトル）をその当時の雑誌 'N.Z.' から引用している。この歌の冒頭では Homies を持ち上げながら、最後には、仕事を奪う者としてのイメージで終わっている。

"In the journal 'N.Z.' some verses entitled 'The Homie' conceded that 'Homies' had been the pioneers, but concluded.

Yet you can hear it far and near

Asked, over foaming pots of beer;

Whythehelldoesshecomeoutthere, (原文ママ)

The Homie?

This was followed up a month later:

THE HOMIE (another version)

Who is it comes from overseas,

In numbers growing by degrees

And with a too apparent ease?

The Homie" (Sinclair 1986:105)

Sinclair によれば、英国における colonial (「植民地住民・出身者」) を凌駕するほどではないが差別的ニュアンスが Homie という語の響きにはある。これはまさにオーストラリアの pom に相当する句である。

"The word 'Homie' was the New Zealand equivalent of the Australian name 'Pom' or 'Pommy'. It was pejorative, but not more so than the word 'colonial' in England." (Sinclair 1986:106f.)

2.2. Pommy

Deverson & Kennedy: *NZOD* は pommy という語の由来を以下のように説明する。

Pommy (also **Pommy**, **pommie**) *NZ & Aust.colloq.*

n. (*pl.* -ies) a British (*esp.* English) person, *esp.* a recent immigrant to New Zealand or Australia.

adj. of or pertaining to a pommy; British; English.

dry as a pommy's towel **1** extremely dry. **2** extremely thirsty.

Pommy-bashing verbal attacks on Britons or Britain.

Pommy bastard a term of (sometimes affectionate) abuse.

[ORIGIN: probably an abbreviation of **POMEGRANATE** *rhyming sl.* for immigrant; while it is often suggested that *pom* is the original form, and that it is an acronym of *Prisoner Of Mother England*, evidence for this is lacking.]

Orsman:DNZE によれば、pom を語幹とする多様な複合語や連語を含む、以下のようなエスノニムが NZ 英語の一部として 20 世紀に出現していること

が明らかになってくる。オーストラリア英語の同類エスノニムと比較すると、NZ のそれは多くの場合オーストラリアにややおくれて出現していることも判明する。例外は homey と pongo-系列語 (pongo, pongolia, pongolian) である。Turner (1972:109) の観察 ("Like Australians, New Zealanders call the English *pommies*, but also have a variant *pongo* which seems rather less tolerant in its tone.") によれば、pommy 以外の表現として、オーストラリア英語より差別的含蓄の強い pongo という俗語表現が用いられる点に NZ 英語の特徴があるという。上述したエスノニムネットワークを中心に異同を探っていくと、NZ 人のナショナリズムはオーストラリア人のそれと軌を一にしているように見えるが、どうであろうか。

以下に、Orsman: *DNZE* の定義と初出例を中心とした記述を辿り、検証する。

pomegranate *Obs.* [The use, not directly recorded in writing from within NZ, is a wordplay associating *pomegranate*...with the rhyming series JIMMYGRANT (*immigrant*), *Pommy Grant*...or *pummy grant* (the last two recorded in Australia but not in NZ); thence to *ellipt.* Or familiar forms POM, POMMIE: AND 1912]

A (British) immigrant to New Zealand.

1916 [see POMMIE A a]. 1950 *Evening Post* (Wellington) 13 Nov. 8 There is no obscurity about the origin of 'Pommy'. The origin is the obvious one---'Emigrant'. The emigrants themselves corrupted this to 'Pomegranate'. From 1914 to 1925 I frequently heard and used 'pomegranate' to describe a new arrival. Over recent years this has become abbreviated to 'Pommy'.

Pomgolia. [A word-play on POM + Mon]*golia.*] Britain. Cf. PONGOLIA

1976 GIFFORD *Loosehead Len's Bumper Thump Book* 14 Now it was true that the spudbashers [sc. the Irish rugby union team] had about as

successful a season in Pomngolia as a bomb disposal man with hay fever.

もともと NZ では Briton を指す homie, homey という（表面的に）価値中立的な呼称が存在したが、第二次世界大戦後に 明らかに価値中立的でない Pommie がオーストラリア語法として NZ にもたらされることによって、その含蓄が一気に塗り替えられ、負の方向に偏っていったと推察される。この変容に注目する必要がある。

Pommie, *n.* and *a.* Also **Pommy**. [f. *pome* (granate (see POMEGRANATE) an immigrant from Britain + -IE; AND 1912: erron. Derivations include: Prisoners of Mother England; Permit of Migration Ireland or England; Pommes potatoes, eaten by British troops in WW1; Pompey, naval slang for Portsmouth.) Usu. init. cap.

[Note] Homie, homey, most often a non-derogatory use, was the common New Zealand colloquial term for 'Briton' up to WW2. Pommie, often derogatory, was orig. an Australianism, and so regarded until it came into more frequent use in New Zealand during and after WW2. [下線部筆者]

A. n. a. A British (esp. English) immigrant; thence, a resident of Britain. See also HOMEY, POMEGRANATE, PONGO A b.

1916 ASH in *Anzac Book* (1916) 31 'Never met him, matey, but he is all right, you bet.' A Pommy can't go wrong out there if he isn't too lazy to work.' .. 'Oh, well, yer see, mate, we don't call the like of 'im "Pommies" because we dislike 'em, but just as a matter of description.' [1916 Note] Pommy – short for pomegranate, and used as nickname for immigrants. **c1926** THE MIXER *Transport Workers' Song Book* 69 He'll corner a bloke, often that's 'shickered', Who looks like a 'pommie' or a 'yob'. **1929** DEVANNEY *Riven* 158 Why don't you dump Janet and Laura, and get a couple of 'Pommies' They'll do it [sc. housework] for much less money and work longer hours. **1938** SCANLAN *Guest of Life* 141 '[New Zealanders] like

the English, provided they are the right type; the educated young man gets on well. They don't like the "Pommie" as they call him. God knows why, and no one can tell you where the name came from, but it's more common in Australia than in New Zealand'. 'What is a Pommie?' 'Blest if know; it's hard to define, but usually the short, shrunken industrial worker, the man with the broad accent, from Yorkshire or Lancashire.' **1945** HENDERSON *Gunner Inglorious* 143 And even the poor old Pommies will find things tough in bashed-about over-crowded England. **1950** *Here and Now* Nov. 8 The average 'Pommie' can be forgiven if he is apt to harp on those things he has left 12,000 miles behind him. **1950** [see POMEGRANATE, PONGO] **1959** DAVIN *No Remittance* 104 Being a pommy or a homey as they called it I was just as much a freak for the rest as I was for the Irish. **1965** MALLABY in Sinclair *Nash* (1976) 318 New Zealanders .. never quite knew where they had Mr.Nash. Was he one of them or was he still, if you scratched below the surface, just another Pommy? Certainly he never exchanged his Worcester-shire accent for the very individual New Zealand version of our language. **1986** OWEN & PERKINS *Speaking for Ourselves* 78 [The immigrants] were 'Homies' --- the word 'Pommy' wasn't in use then [in the early 1930s depression], and we called them 'Homeys' [sv.Pommy に同じ用例が現れる]

b. Special Comb. **pommie-bashing** *vbl. n.*, subjecting Britons to harsh, often unfair, criticism.

1987 National Bus. Rev. 10 July 49 Apart from pommie-bashing, the commentators in the world cup matches spent an extraordinary amount of time telling viewers what they could easily see.

B. adj.1. Usu. *derog.*, British, esp. English; occas. as a soubriquet (see quot. 1968)

1933 PRUDENCE CADEY *Broken Pattern* 130 'You should have heard the English accent.' Pommy gab, eh?' commented his mate. **1944**

FULLARTON Troop Target 18 A Pommie ambulance. **1949** SARGESON *I Saw in My Dream* (1974) 110 Look at Wally's ma--She got over her Pommy ways. **1968** *Dominion* (Wellington) 8 May 4 They met a boy they knew. Ricky Hatch, who was joined by another boy, 'Pommie' Paul. **1972** SARGESON *Man of England Now* 26 well, Pommy pay in the army was just a joke to a New Zealander. **1975** DAVIN *Breathing Spaces* 124 We never really talked the same language anyhow. 'I don't know,' He said and his accent seemed to haven gone a bit pommier than usual, or what he thought was pommy, only that was another thing that meeting a lot of pommies had made some of us wise to. **1987** GEE *Prowlers* 124 He made some comment about the trees---how ours were better than the pommie ones.

複合語ないし連語、派生語としての pommy の明示的蔑視用法は以下の通りである。pommy は accent、bastard、land などと結びつくことによって固定的な負のエスノニムを形成している。

2. In special collocations:

pommy accent The speech of British people, esp. those from the Midlands, or those with a pronounced Southern British educated accent.

1952 *Landfall* 23 213 Think of the uncalled-for occasions on which a fictional 'Oxford accent' is introduced to be made fun of, or cowboy-film American, or phoney Lancashire which makes do for the 'pommie accent'.

pommy bastard a term of (occas. friendly) abuse.

1940 in Taylor *NZ People at War* (1986) I.233 [Aitken, a railway ganger says] I hope the Pommy ---* get beaten'. [* i.e. (pommy) bastard 筆者補注]
pommie-land Britain.

1963 CASEY *As Short a Spring* 22 A fellow that's come all the way from Pommieland to have a quick look at Kiwi-Country..at least ought to have an overcoat to put on himself.

Pommyism .. The assumption of an air of superiority in respect of British customs, etc. compared with those of New Zealand. Also **anti-Pommyism**.

1920 *Quick March* 11 Oct.13 Has anybody heard of 'Pommy-ism' and, if so, what is it. 1925 AIREY *NZ a Nation?* 2 Nationality..does not lie in 'anti-pommyism' prejudice against British immigrants, because they say 'choom' when they mean cobber.

Pongo-系の語は2つあげることができる。Pongo と Pongolia である。後者は Pomgolia (1976 年初出) の変異形と言える。

Pongo, *n.* and *a.* *Derog.* [Transf. use of Brit. Nautical slang *pongo* a soldier or marine; see OED 2a; AND 1944]

A. n. a. *WW2* (North Africa). A British soldier. *Occas. derog.* for a 'base-wallah', any soldier not usually in the fringe line (see quot. 1944).

1939--45 *Expressions & Sayings* 2NZEF (TS N.A.WAII DA 420/1) *pongo*-English soldier. **1942** *NZEF Times* 7 Sept. 5 A Big bronzed Pongo came in. [...]

b. Post WW2. A Britisher. POMMIE A

1949 *Here and Now* Oct. 11 He long ago began featuring himself as 'New Zealander born and bred', a sop to the vague..feeling against Pommies, Pongoes, Homies. [...]

Pongolia. *Joc.* [f. PONG (O + Mong) *olia*.] Britain. Cf. POMGOLIA

1985 *Contact* (Wellington) 7 June 5 During his month-long mission to Pongolia, Trev made a bird of talking to shopkeepers on their experience of the British version of GST.

Hence **Pongolian** *n.*, a person born or resident in Britain. As an adjective, British.

1967 *Comment* 32 Sept. 12 And indeed even the barbarian Pongolians to

whom he normally sells the bulk of his produce have said that they will soon wish to buy their foodstuffs elsewhere.

以上を年表にしたものを以下に示す。このエスノニム語群は本来的にオーストラリア語法なので、その影響関係を示すために、各項目の下段にオーストラリア英語における初出年（細字体）を示しておく。その影響関係は一目瞭然である。

[list of *homey-* & *pommie*-words]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

Homey 1926-----obs.?

Pommie 1916 [OED 1915]

pommy [Aus.1912 *n.*]

[Aus. 1915 *adj.*]

pommy jackeroo [Aus. 1915 'inexperienced person']

pommified [Aus. 1936 *vb.*]

pom [Aus. 1912]

whingeing pom (my) [Aus.1962]

pommy bastard 1940

[Aus. 1954][*1951 Wilkes]

pommy accent 1952

[Aus. 1916]

pommie-bashing 1987

pommie-land 1963

[Aus. 1916][*1957 Wilkes]

Pommyism 1920

pomegranate 1916 1950 (*obs.*)

[Aus. 1912]

Pongo 1939/49

1933 (*adj.*)

Pongolian 1967

Pongolia 1985

pomgolia 1976

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

以下補足的に、pommy に関するいくつかの著作からの引用を吟味しておく。Allen (1983) は英語が表現しうる限りの差別的エスノニムを収集し、国籍や民族ごとに分類し、考察した。それによると、オーストラリア人とニュージーランド人に関するネガティブな同義語、差別的呼称は、以下の通りである。この中でいくつかのめばしい表現を見ることができるが、pome は特に刮目すべき語である。

AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS: **aussie**, **-ey** [or *ossie*, *ozzie*. Popular since WWI. Variantly, *arsie*, *-ey*, whose pejoration or jocularity is possibly reinforced by sound similarity to *arse*. All are short for *Australian*]; **cornstalk** [Partridge says from tall, slim physical appearance]; **currency-lad** [late 19th century. Perhaps, I speculate, a version of "remittance man," a soft, middle-class and unsuccessful Englishman in Australia who is dependent on "remittances" or on money from home]; **digger** [WWI. From an old Australianism and the popular name for Australian and New Zealander soldiers]; **kiwi**; **orsetralian** [a mimicking of an Australian pronunciation of *Australian*. Also '*strine*']; **pome** [origin uncertain. Legendarily, an acronym for Prisoner of Mother England. A less fanciful possible origin is from *pomegranate*, as an allusion to sunburned skin of fair immigrants. Cf. *redneck* for Southerners. Apparently, a transference of *pommy*, a term for Englishmen in Australia. See Partridge (1970); sooner [probably from a slang term for a sponger or one who will do

anything "sooner" than work for a living]. (Allen 1983: 51-2)

以上から察するに、オーストラリア英語がニュージーランド英語に及ぼした言語的影響のもっとも顕著な例が Pommy であり、これは英国（生まれの移民）に対するオーストラリア（人）の優越意識、独立国としての自信またはナショナリズムの表れと見なすことができる。20 世紀の始まりは、まさにナショナリズムの高揚期で、1901 年に The Commonwealth of Australia が誕生するという時期にあり、それから 10 年ほどして pommy が使われ始めるというのは決して偶然ではない。Ransom: *Australian National Dictionary* (AND) によると 20 世紀のはじめ（1912）に生まれた pommy は、名詞としてだけでなく、同時期に、形容詞、動詞としても、また複合語（pommy jackaroo）としても出現し、その後急速に広がっていくのが、その用例から推察できる¹⁸。1918 年の用例は、呼称の由来を示唆していて興味深い。

1918 *Ibid.* [*Truth* (Sydney)] 29 Dec. 7/5 The mention of 'Pommy' renders it timely to describe the *origin of the term*. It is generally assumed that the term is a contraction of 'pomegranate' to denote the red cheeks of the new arrival, really a term flattering to those to whom it is applied. The term was originated in 'Truth' some years back when immigration was in full swing. There was an outcry that the new arrivals had been selected by certain sectarian cliques, and that intending Irish emigrants were discriminated against. A clamor arose locally, and some of the would-be wits wrote letters to the papers ridiculing the claims of the 'Murphies'. A 'Truth' writer banteringly derided the writers of the letters, and suggested that the daily papers editors should substitute a more euphonious term than 'Murphies' and instanced 'Pommes-de-terre' as apt to fit the bill. The term caught on at the time, but was soon *shortened to 'Pommy'*.

¹⁸ AND の記述は巻末の Appendix 1 に記載している。

(Ransom, AND: s.v.pommy)

「ざくろ」の色が、新参者のほほの赤みがかったようすを特徴的に表すとの説を却下し、アイルランドからの移民に対する俗語呼称 Murphy ('ジャガイモ' の意) の婉曲的名称 'pomme de terre' (フランス語同義語) の約まったものというのが、Truth 紙の解釈である。差別性には変わりはないものの、これは他の辞書には記載されておらず、異論があるかもしれない。

Leland Jr. (1980/90:126) は Pom(mie を以下のように記述している。彼はアメリカ人で、ニュージーランド英語についての知見を自らの直感と経験に基づいて指摘している。

'**Pom --- Pommie**: A ruddy (BLOODY? op.cit.) ENGLISHMAN. Many of the Kiwis you will meet are really Pommies in disguise. Since my ear isn't fine-tuned enough to distinguish the accents, I must discriminate on the volume of beer they drink (less than the native born). Another distinctive trait is calling England 'home' whether they have been in New Zealand 20 minutes or 20 years. They can't understand why Kiwis don't do the same, and Kiwis can't understand why they should. Note, however, that the ambition of almost every young Kiwi (see: *Kiwi*) is to visit England. There are several suggested origins for the word Pom. Most likely it is an acronym for Prisoner On Migration which was stamped on the papers of the involuntary immigrants who were sent from England to Botany Bay in Australia. The term has since crossed the Tasman sea to New Zealand. (see: *pongo, bloody, whinge, Tasman*)'

さらに Cryer (2002: 172 s.v. **Pommy, Pom**) は次のように記述している。語源的に、俗語押韻句としての Jimmy Grants に言及している (vs. British immigrants)。そこから、さらに pomegranates, pommy, pom への形態上の変容にも触れていて興味深い。

'Once a very common informal term meaning a person born or raised in the British Isles, its origin has been allocated to various sources. The word has been described as an acronym of either 'prisoners of Mother England' or 'permit migration Ireland or England'. Other versions have it related to *Pompey* (naval slang for *Portsmouth*) or a version of *pommes* (potatoes, eaten by British troops) or a diminutive of *pomegranates*, a fruit that supposedly shares the rosiness of its cheeks with those of Britishers.

Lexicographer Harry Orsman put paid to all the above theories in his scholarly 1997 examination of the term, in which he derives it as the result of a kind of antipodean rhyming slang. British immigrants became referred to as *Jimmy Grants*, which in time was replaced by *pomegranates*, then shortened to *pommy* and, eventually, *pom*!

In the second half of the 20th century, a certain distaste for British ways caused 'pommy' to be frequently associated with the word *whingeing* (complaining) and/or *bastard*.

Pom and *pommy* have become somewhat imaginatively extended over the years, so now you sometimes hear *Pomland*, *Pomgolia* and sometimes *Pongolia*---all slang terms for England.'

Eric Partridge (1937/1984 s.v. **Pommie, -y; p-**)¹⁹ は次のように解説する。この語にはほとんどの場合蔑視の意味がつきまとうという記述に注目しよう。複合語 (*pommy bastard*, *whinging pommy* etc.) ではその侮蔑の意味が明

¹⁹ E. Partridge abridged by Jacqueline Simpson: *A Dictionary of Historical Slang*. 1972 (Penguin Books)
[6th edition of E. Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*.]
では語形の変化が簡潔に図式化されている。

"**pommy, Pommy**. A newcomer from Britain, esp. from England: Australian: C.20. The O.E.D. Sup. Records it at 1916, but it was current before the Great War. Origin obscure; possibly a corruption of TOMMY imported by Australian soldiers returning from the Boer War (1899-1902). Or perhaps ex *Pomeranian*, a very 'superior' sort of dog. It may also have developed from JIMMY GRANT thus: *Jimmy Grant* > *jimmy-granate* > *pomegranate* > *pommy*."

瞭に可視化され、コード依存的エスノニムになっている。

'An English immigrant; an English national; Aus.: app. since late C.19, orig. among dock-workers; by early C.20, gen. Aus., and almost always derogatory. See esp. Wilkes, who quotes, among many other relevant items, this from H.J.Rumsey, *The Pommies, or New Chums in Australia*, 1920, 'colonial boys and girls, ready to find a nickname, were fond of rhyming "immigrant", "jimmygrant", "Pommegrant" and called it after the new chum children. The name stuck and became abbreviated to "pommy" later on'. Often in combination, as *Pommy bastard*, *bloody poms*, *pommyland* = England, *whinging pommy*. See **Jimmy Grant**. - [...].

Jimmy Grant. An emigrant or immigrant: rhyming s., orig. NZ (E.J. Wakefield. *Adventure*, 1845), soon also Aus., and shortened to *Jimmy* (see **Jimmy**, 2); ob. by early 1920s. Wilkes quotes Xavier Herbert, *Disturbing Element*, 1963: 'When we kids saw people on the street dressed like that we would yell at them: "Jimmygrants, Pommygranates, Pommies!"' See *Pommie*, 1.'

2.3. New/Old Chum とその関連語

新参者と古参者という対立は、もともとオーストラリアの服役囚について使われたことに端を発し、仕事に不慣れな初心者、見習いという比喻用法を獲得したものである。新参者という概念が先（1853年初出）に言語化され、それと対比する形で、ややおくれて古参者が誕生する（1863年初出）という経過を辿る。Old chum の出現以前には old hand（1845年初出）が使われていた。

new chum A.n.1. [AND orig. (1812) a newly-arrived convict, thence an immigrant, 1828.] A newly arrived convict, thence an immigrant; occas. a new arrival in a district, town, etc.

1853 ADAMS *Canterbury Settlement* (Griffiths Collect.) 18 [New

arrivals] were..encountered by some..who take delight in..frightening 'new chums', as they term them, with all kinds of dieheartening accounts of the colony. [1862...] 1982 LYNN *Lynnwood Tree* 125 The boss usually kept one up his sleeve to try out a new chum.

2. A novice; a person inexperienced at a job.

1870 *TrNZI* II.43 The reckless gunner.., the self-complacent 'new chum', with the inevitable firearms..will sometimes destroy..both old and young [birds]. [1906..]

1977 FISHER *Angels wear Black* 38 They..[sc.kelpfish] have been known to be mistaken by new chums for the Spotted Black Groper.

new chum について Sinclair (1986) は興味深い指摘をしている。それは意味が矛盾する 'good-natured contempt' という連句であるが、古参者が新参者に対して、いわば庇護的な含みを帯びた穏やかな「蔑視」的用法として使われていると理解される。世紀が代わったのちに homie と名付けられる人々を表す先駆けであると考えらるべきであろう。

'In the late nineteenth century the 'new chum' was regarded with good-natured contempt by the old settler or colonial. He was criticized for having too much 'side'.' (Sinclair 1986: 103f.)

old chum [A reflex of NEW CHUM; AND 1832] OLD HAND 2

1863 BUTLER *First Year* iv 55 I was anxious to become an old chum, as colonial dialect calls a settler---thereby by proving my new chumship most satisfactorily. [1868..] 1968 *NZ Contemp. Dict. Suppl.* (Collins) 14 old chum *n.* used in 1870s for a person who had been in N.Z. for some time.

old hand は歴史的呼称になったが、その本義は「筋金入りの服役囚」あるいは「元服役囚」を意味するオーストラリア語法の影響があり、後に広く「古

参・古株」を指すようになる。この語が生まれてほどなく new chum が、そして old chum も出現し、意味が競合する old hand と old chum は並行して存在するようになる。old hand が本来有していた侮蔑的含蓄は弱められ、old hand はコンテキストないしテキストに依存するエスノニム関連語となった。

old hand 1. *Hist.* [AND an experienced convict, 1826; later, an ex-convict.] An Australian former convict, an 'old lag'

1845 MARTIN *NZ in 1842* 104 The 'old hands' (a name which emancipated convicts take to themselves). [1858..] 1967 MAY *West Coast Gold Rushes* 527 'Old Hands': ex-convicts who had been transported to Australia and eventually found their way to the West Coast goldfields.

2. [AND 1839] A person of (colonial) experience as distinct from a NEW CHUM [...]

1842 BEST *Journal* 16 Oct. (1966) 377 New arrivals working and contented Older hands in better spirits. [...] 1941: BAKER *NZ Slang* 44 *Old hand*, in the first place used for an ex-convict, but later for any man who had had his *colonial experience*, was more often used than *old chum*.

Old-系列の語のうち、最後に NZ に特異なエスノニム関連語として old identity を取り挙げておく。NZ 南島オタゴ地域のローカルな用法として、古くからオタゴに住む「地元民」と彼らが住む地元の両方を意味するようになった。一方で、オタゴを離れて他の地域も意味する用法もほとんど同時期に始まっている。オタゴ地方では特にダニーディン (Dunedin 1848 年に建設開始) を中核都市としてスコットランドからの移民が盛んで、スコットランド長老派の初期移民者が力もち、その土地に根付くことに誇りを感じるような背景があった。Dunedin が Edinburgh を語源的にも連想させるように、old identity は home であるスコットランドとのつながりを想起させられ、次節 (2.4.) で迎えるイングランド人にとっての home, old country の軌跡と重なるものがある。

old identity. 1. *Otago Hist.* [...] a.(a) As a collective sing., usu. as **the Old**

Identity, or *ellipt.* the Identity, the mainly Scottish Presbyterian and reputedly strait-laced original settler community of Otago.

1862 THATCHER *Dunedin Songster* 1 18 [Title] *The Old Identity*. Mr Cargill in the Council made such a funny speech; He got up and he stated that it developed on each Of all the early dwellers to preserve safe as could be Amid the Victorian influx, The Old Identity.

2. In general or non-Otago use, occas. with some development of meaning or application, often with a descriptive term...infix or prefixed: a person long identified with a place, position, institution, etc.; a long-time resident, incumbent, practitioner, etc. **a.** As **old identity**.

1864 THATCHER *Songs of War* 15 This Auckland's getting civilized,--- Victorians come this way, And show these Old Identities The proper time o'day.

b. As **identity**.

1905 *Truth* 23 Sept. 5 [Caption] Three Auckland Identities. 1926 BLACKWELL Lost Tribute [Dustcover blurb] Another well-known Taranaki identity is introduced.

2.4. Home, Old country とその関連語

2.1.で homie を扱った関係で、そのルーツとなる home をエスノニム関連語として見ておくことにする。移民たちはその出自となる England ないし Britain を home, mother country, Old Country あるいはまれに Old Dart と呼んでなつかしんだり、想いを馳せたりした。Home はすでに述べた homie と密接なつながりがある。他方で、懐かしがる人々、故郷への未練断ち切り難い人々を指して揶揄的に homie と呼ぶ人々もいる。Old country (1960 年) の用例はその辺りを彷彿とさせる。これらの語の用いられ方には、英国との心理的絆を維持しようともがく人々に対する、NZ こそ自らの home とみなす立場からの、ある種の憐憫、揶揄、蔑視を感じとることができる。

home, *n'*. *Hist.* [Used elsewhere by Britons abroad for 'England', or for the 'British Isles'.] **1.** Often with init. cap a. [AND 1808] Usu. and mainly England, later the British Isles. See also *Old Country*, *Old Dart*...

1815 KENDALL 19 Oct. in Elder *Marsden's Lieutenants* (1934) 112 I have in my last letter..written Home for assistance.

2. In quasi-adverbial use in the phr. **to go home**. to visit or return to, Britain; also *transf.* of clothes, to wear out.

1857 LUSH *Auckland Jrnl.* 12 June (1971) 188 Mr. Abraham said: 'I suppose you know we are going almost immediately to England?' ... He told me his journey via Suez would cost him 400 pounds..So 'going home' is rather expensive.

mother country [...] [AND 1832-1986.] England, later Britain, in its early relationship with New Zealand. [...]

1820..McCRAE JOURNAL (1982) 10 Inducements to a Great Nation..to establish a Colony..more likely to repay the fostering care of the Mother Country. [1834 ...] **1919** WAITE New Zealanders at Gallipoli 1 The pioneer settlers of New Zealand left the Mother Country for many reasons, but primarily because they wished for a freer existence...A few weeks after the dreadful tragedy of Serajevo..New Zealand placed all her resources at the disposal of the Mother Land.

(the) **Old country** *obs.* (s.v. **old**, **1**. In various collocations, referring to the country which has been left on emigration to New Zealand, usu. the British Isles. **a.** Usu. as)

1840 POLACK *Manners & Customs* II.216 If [the emigrant] expects to become emancipated from the thralldom of the aristocracy, he is soon relieved from his mistake by discovering that the invidious order is usurped by a clique, formerly, in the 'old country', (as it is feelingly termed) on a par

with himself. [...] **1960** MUIR *Word for Word* 181 He knew the men still regarded him as a Homey, though it was well over thirty years since he'd left the Old Country.

b. As (the) **Old Dart** *obs.* [AND (1892) derives from a dial. pronunciation of *dirt*].

1905 *Truth* 18 Nov. 4 Haughty squire of a shire in the Old Dart. [**1916..**]

1964..DAVIS *Watersiders* 42 Stewth ducks, gerrourof the way or you'll never reach the Old Dart without a harp and wings.

以上を図式化したものを下に示す。4つの語群は19世紀の半ばに相前後して出現する。Old hand, new chum, old chum はオーストラリアの影響を無視できない。他方で Old Identity だけは NZ 独自の展開をしている。地域的にも南島の都市から広がったもので、使われ方もローカルで特殊であったが、後にオタゴを超えて広く適用されるようになった。

19 世紀前半に現れるもののうち Home がもっとも古く、次に mother country と Old country が登場し、最後に 20 世紀初めに Old Dart が出現する。その多くがオーストラリアの影響下に借入されたものであると推察される。例外は mother country で、コーパス上ではわずかではあるが AND より出現するのが早いように見える。エスノニムの差別性は弱く、しかもコンテキスト依存的と言えるだろう。

[list of *chum*-words]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

old hand (2) 1842 (1) 1845

[Aus. 1826 ['ex-convict']/1839 ['immigrant']]

new chum 1853

[Aus. 1812 'prisoner'/1828 'immigrant'/1851 'novice']

[**new chumship** 1843/**new chumism** 1850]

old chum 1863

[Aus. 1812?/1832?] 見出し語 new chum と old (chum) で記述が異なる

Old Identity 1862

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

[list of *home*-words]

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

home 1815

[Aus. 1808]

mother country 1820

[Aus1832]

Old country 1840 1960 (*obs.*)

[Aus. 1834]

Old Dart 1905

[Aus. 1892]

[**Old Land** Aus. 1891]*

1769.....1840.....1900.....1945.....1975.....2000

3. おわりに

過去 2 世紀に渉る歴史が対立するふたつの集団の和解の物語として収斂されようとするのを象徴しているのはアオテアロア・ニュージーランド (Aotearoa New Zealand)²⁰ という複合的名称であろう。20 世紀に入り多文化社会としてさらなる成長をめざすこの国のかたちに至るまでの道程にはけわしいものがあった。

13 世紀中葉²¹ から長い時間を経て NZ に定着していった先住民マオリと、18

²⁰ この語の出現時期については Kuya (久屋 2010:224) 作成の年表を参照。

²¹ マオリの NZ 到達については歴史学者の推定はほぼ一致している。Dench (2005:9): '1250: New Zealand founding population, including at least 70 women, has arrived from east Polynesia. They have come in outrigger canoes with sails, using deliberate navigation. Within 250 years some descendants will move on to the Chatham Islands.' Smith (2005:256): '1250-1300: evidence of first Polynesian settlement.'

世紀後半(1769年)クックによる探検を通して西欧がその良好な自然環境に着目して以降、19世紀、20世紀を通じて短期間に、先住民数に勝って大規模に流入してきた主に英国系移民たちとの接触がより濃密になっていく過程で生じた文化的政治的摩擦の結果、相互の認識に大きな隔たりが生じていく。

Maori, Pakeha の葛藤相克の歴史は、語彙の歴史の総体から、互いに与え合う正と負の価値対立の語彙ネットワーク、エスノニック・ディスコースの体系として取り出すことができる。それらは、エスノニムの起源、タイプによっていくつかの群に分けることができた。注目すべきことは、NZで独自に形成されたエスノニム以外に、オーストラリアの影響が及んだものと推察されるものがいくつかある。その代表は Pommy とそれに関するエスノニムの語群であろう。他方で Pommy と異なり、Homey は NZ に特有の発達を遂げたもののひとつである。ただしオーストラリア語法の影響により Homey は比較的短命で Pommy にとって代わられることになった。

相互の認識の隔たりを明確に証言するのが、正と負の方向に相反する価値観を映すエスノニムネットワークである。ふたつの対立する利害と価値観の相違は、新たな知見と相互理解をもたらすと同時に、不幸なことに、さまざまな非科学的な偏見をも産みだした。かくして、独自の歴史形成に伴って、相互の認識に関する NY 独自のエスノニムの体系が形成されていった。それはコードに依存する明示的なエスノニムから、テキストに依存する半明示的なもの、あるいはコンテキストに依存する潜在的なエスノニムまで、さまざまなエスノニムの意味的変容を通して、エスノスピーク・ネットワークへと収斂されていった。

マオリ民族が多数派から少数派へと立場が変化する中で、白人を指す呼称 Pakeha は、先住民族の命名になる呼称として限定的ながら英語に取り入れられた。それはマオリの文化的伝統、誇り、マオリ人らしさ ('Maoritanga') に由来する最小限の正当な主張、パケハへの異議申し立てに対するパケハによる消極的同意と見なすことができよう。

19世紀に入って本格的に全面的にマオリと新参入植者英国系白人が対立と摩擦によって産み出したものは合わせ鏡のように互いを照らす。多数派パケハ

の価値観が NZ 英語に深く浸透する中で、マオリ語が表す少数派マオリの価値観も包摂しながら、NZ 英語は新たな identity を模索し、多面的な価値を含みこんで進展していきそうな兆しもある。

たとえばこの論考に数多くの言語資料を提供した Orsman:DNZE の辞書には先住マオリ文化受容の精神が顕著に見られる。NZ 以外で編まれた辞書と異なるひとつの大きな特徴は DNZE の主要見出語 6,000 のうち 700 ほど (12% 弱) がマオリ語由来であること²²、アメリカ英語やオーストラリア英語における先住民族起源の語彙の比率に比べて、その数をはるかに多いということである。その包含するところは多文化社会における異文化に対する寛容的精神であろう。少数派の価値観に対する積極的賛同、あるいは過去の歴史についての和解のかたちはまだ定かには見えないが、あらゆる価値に対して開かれた姿勢こそが NZ における先住民族の価値観を包み込む多文化共生社会というあらたな社会の展望をもたらすことになることはまちがいない。生物的多様性の尊厳は社会的文化的言語的多様性への尊重でもあるはずである。拮抗する力の対立の時間軸に沿って展開する変容の歴史は、本論考でエスノニック・ディスコースに現れた語彙の分析によって、その関連性が浮き彫りにされた。今後、過去の相克を乗り越え、名実ともに二文化社会、新しい国のかたちを模索する中、分析したエスノニムの蔑視的用法は不幸な民族対立の歴史的遺物として辞書の中にのみ残ることだろう。

²² Orsman: *DNZE* (1997: p.viii, right column) 'The *DNZE* now comprises (approximately) 6,000 main headword entries (700-odd from Maori, and, including sub-entries, some 370 from British dialect use including 60 from Scottish, and some 700 shared with Australian English), with 9,300 separate sub-entries for different senses and uses. [...] In addition there are over 1,900 entries for cross-references and spelling variants, making a grand total of nearly 8,000 headword entries of all kinds. Deverson et al. *NZOD* (2005: p.VII, left column)によると、上記の記述に関連して、Orsman の辞書の *OED* への貢献が顕著であると述べる: 'The enhanced New Zealand content in the second and third editions of the *OED* indeed owes much to Orman's life-long lexicographical research. The *DNZE* incorporates about 9,300 words, idioms, and meanings that make up the New Zealand contribution (in some cases a joint New Zealand and Australian contribution) to the English language.'

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[Appendix 1: Australian use of *pommy* in *Australian National Dictionary*]

オーストラリア生れの *pommy* については Ransom: AND によって蔑視的用法の発達詳細 (1912 年に初出) を確認できる。名詞用法に加えて、連語的に用いられる形容的用法 (*pommy bastard* など) や派生動詞 (*pommified*) などとも記録されている。

pommy, *n.* and *attrib.* Also **pommie**. [f. Pom-(*egranate* + -Y.)

A. n. An equivocal term for an immigrant from the British Isles; applied also, more recently, to an inhabitant of the British Isles (esp. of England). Also *transf.* (see *quots.* 1922 and 1953). See also **Pom**, **Whingeing Pom**.

1912 *Bulletin* (Sydney) 14 Nov. 16/4 The other day a Pummy Grant (assisted immigrant) was handed a bridle and told to catch a horse. ... Pummy sneaked up behind the quadruped. **1913** *Truth* (Sydney) 8 June 1/8 The plaint of the 'Pommie' 'Orrible country, there isn't no doubt of it,

Nothing but sunshine and flowers and sport, Tell me, oh tell me a way to get out of it, Back to old Lambeth, for 'ere yer gits nought. *Ibid.* 29 June 1/7 Britishers get a cheap trip to Australia by shipping as 'pommies'. **1913** *Sun* (Sydney) 17 Aug. 22/2 The term 'new chum' invariably conjures up visions of a fresh arrival, ignorant of the customs and ways of the country of his adoption, who is consequently made the butt—good humouredly of course—of sundry thoughtless Australians. ... The old phrase 'new chum' is, however fast giving way to the newer and clipper appellation of 'pommy', but he is still the same good-hearted, mirth-provoking individual. **1913** *Theatre Mag.* Oct. 14 For this firm he is writing—and producing—what will be known as the 'Pommy' series. ... The first of the series is already being screened under the title 'Pommy Arrives in Sydney'. **1914** *Truth* (Sydney) 22 Mar. 3/5 A man ... asked for work. The boss, a 'pommy', told him there was nothing doing. Later the same day a 'jimmygrant' comes along ... and is put on just because he is a 'pommy' and nothing else. **1916** 'Men of Anzac' *Anzac Bk.* 31 We don't call the like of 'im 'Pommies' because we dislike 'em, but as a matter of description. Of course, sometimes one of 'em gets 'is back up and calls us sons of convicts for chuckin' off at 'im and then he's told lots of things—sometimes true and very often untrue; but Australia's all right mate. You need not be ashamed to be called a 'Pommy' out there. *Ibid.*, Pommy, short for pomegranate, and used as a nickname for immigrants. **1916** *Truth* (Sydney) 10 Sept. 5/5 Australians have nothing to learn from Pommies unless it is how to crawl, and until the Creator endows them with a pliable backbone they will ever remain duff-heads in the only art of which the Pommy is a past master. **1918** *Ibid.* 10 Mar. 6/8 No matter how Australia favors the pommy, he always remains at heart ... a barracker for the cold country and a 'Wales, Scotia, or Cockney for ever bester.' *Ibid.* 9 June 11/7 The Pommy who is anxious and willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Australian worker—and I keep meeting him

everywhere—is my cobber. *Ibid.* 29 Dec. 7/5 The mention of 'Pommy' renders it timely to describe the *origin of the term*. It is generally assumed that the term is a contraction of 'pomegranate' to denote the red cheeks of the new arrival, really a term flattering to those to whom it is applied. The term was originated in 'Truth' some years back when immigration was in full swing. There was an outcry that the new arrivals had been selected by certain sectarian cliques, and that intending Irish emigrants were discriminated against. A clamor arose locally, and some of the would-be wits wrote letters to the papers ridiculing the claims of the 'Murphies'. A 'Truth' writer banteringly derided the writers of the letters, and suggested that the daily papers editors should substitute a more euphonious term than 'Murphies' and instanced 'Pommes-de-terre' as apt to fit the bill. The term caught on at the time, but was soon *shortened to* 'Pommy'. **1920** H.J. Rumsey *Pommies* (Introd.), The title that I have selected for the book: 'The Pommies' is now a common name for recent arrivals from Britain. During the last few weeks, I have scores of times heard the Prince of Wales affectionately described as a 'dear little pommy'. **1922** *Bulletin* 23 Feb. 20/2 One pommy who is rapidly becoming a good Aussie is that wonderful songster, the blackbird. **1923** D.H. Lawrence *Kangaroo* 142 Pommy, is supposed to be short for pomegranate. Pomegranate, pronounced invariably pommygranate, is a near enough rhyme to immigrant, in a naturally rhyming country. Furthermore, immigrants are known in the first months, before their blood 'thins down', by their round and ruddy cheeks. So we are told. Hence again, pomegranate, and hence Pommy. Let etymologists be appeased: it is the authorised derivation. **1925** S. Hicks *Hullo Australs*. 190 Pommie is a term of contempt, sir. The Australian calls British immigrants Pommies who have received Government assistance to come out. They ain't by any means popular neither, sir. **1927** J. Pollard *Rose of Bushlands* 81 Nestor ... does not like newcomers more especially when

they're Englishmen—pommies. Your uncle isn't an Englishman, I know—he's Irish; but he's a pommy, all the same. **1929** D.J. Hopkins *Hop of 'Bulletin'* 104 Thinking people find it difficult to persuade the Briton that the form 'pommy' as applied to the immigrant, is not unkind and provocative. **1932** J. Truran *Green Mallee* 121 He found himself face to face with a weedy youth who might have been taken as a model by any artist wishing to make a drawing of a 'pommy' according to the accepted style. **1937** J.M. Harcourt *It never Fails* 70 Being a pommy doesn't matter. ... A shell-opener needs to be honest. It doesn't matter if he isn't very bright. **1944** J. Hetherington *Austral. Soldier* 32 Their discussion drifted round to the British units who were fighting with the Australians in the desert. 'You know, Bill,' said Australian Number One, 'these 'Pommies' a man meets here are good blokes.' 'My oath!' said Australian Number Two. 'As a matter of fact, Bill, after what I've seen of 'Pommies' out here, I'm never going to sling off at a 'Pommy' again.' 'No, Harry, neither will I.' 'In fact, Bill,' said Australian Number One, warming to his subject, 'I'll go so far as to say this. They're as good as us.' 'Cripes, Harry,' said Australian Number Two, 'you can't say that. But they're bloody wonderful fellers just the same.' **1946** *Coast to Coast* 1945 63 He was an Englishman, not a 'pommy', mind you. It seemed he hadn't even reached to that dignity. **1953** D. Stivens *Gambling Ghost* 28 You and I are Australians but the rabbits ain't—they're pommies. **1959** *Bulletin* (Sydney) 11 Nov. 16/2 Mention of 'Pommy' ... brings to mind that my grandfather, of Breton origin, born Braidwood, N.S.W., 1850, died 1913, used the term during the whole of his life when referring to a particularly tough citizen. *Pommé*, he said, pronounced 'pommy', as distinct from *pomme*, pronounced 'pom' (apple), was current in France for centuries when referring to hard traders, and was applied to the English in particular. Napoleon, in one of his speeches classed the British as '*Boutiquiers pommes*' (hard-headed shopkeepers). **1960** D. McLean *Roaring*

Days 127 That pommy turned out to be one of the best Australians I ever met. He became a rich station-owner and married a squatter's daughter. **1967** R. Donaldson et al. *Cane!* 12 Four years ago last month he had stepped off a boat from England and become a Pommy. **1975** X. Herbert *Poor Fellow my Country* 119 They had baited her for a Pommy, a term she'd later learnt was applied only to English of lower class. **1977** F.B. Vickers *Stranger no Longer* 177 'It's not much of a place,' he answered. 'There's a few Abos there, a few dogs and a few Pommies like yourself, but not many white men.' **1984** B. Dixon *Searching for Aboriginal Lang.* 53 The weatherbeaten, red faces of the cattlemen sitting on stools around the bar all slowly swivelled and surveyed me. 'Pommy!' ejaculated one of them. I was made to feel that no one had ever asked for a gin and tonic in that pub before.

B.attrib. or as *adj.*

1. Of or pertaining to a 'pommy'; British, English. Esp. (often as a term of affectionate abuse) as **pommy bastard**.

1915 *Bulletin* (Sydney) 18 Mar. 14/4 The river was 'a swim', and the pommy rouseabout who had been cut off couldn't cross. **1916** *Truth* (Sydney) 10 Sept. 10/1 Two young women possessed of strong 'pommy' accents. **1917** R. W. Jones *With 'Roos* 27 But some are good at chucking dirt, And there are fellers who assert That Pommy tarts are prettier. **1918** *Truth* (Sydney) 24 Mar. 9/3 Native-born Australian leaders are good enough for us in this State, and we will make a present of all Pommies to the Pommy State (Western Australia). *Ibid.* 24 Mar. 9/4 Cut out the blasted pommy. This is a democratic country, this is. Sure, cut out all pommy literature, Dickens, Burns, Shakespeare—the whole damn family of 'em were born in pommy land. Any true Australian that isn't satisfied with Nat Gould deserves to be turned into a Scotch cuss of a lecturer. **1922** *Bulletin* (Sydney) 9 Mar. 20/2 And help with sunwarmed Pommie blood to keep

Australia white. **1927** T.S. Groser *Lure of Golden West* 122 No wish to be caught napping again in the dark by 'Pommy' fences (those of immigrants, or new settlers). **1936** J. Hamilton *Sailortown Shanties*, With a Pommy bride, a crook inside, an' a Service Home as a gift. **1951** D.Stevens *Jimmy Brockett* 80 The brawis we used to have with the pommy kids in our street, and how they reckoned a colonial would never do anything right. **1954** T. Ronan *Vision Splendid* 89 He would refer to him to his face as the 'Pommy', once going so far as to call him a 'Pommy bastard'. **1957** R. Ollis *101 Nights* 154 When I call you a Pommy bastard, sir, that's meant to be friendly. But a Pommy bloody officer is different. **1958** J.R. Spicer *Cry of Storm-Bird* 8 Why Rob Saunders, you old pommy bastard. Jeez, it's good to see you, mate! **1958** G. Cotterell *Tea at Shadow Creek* 5 1 'What's your first name, dearie?' she asked me. 'Charles.' 'That's a real pommy name, too.' **1959** E. Webb *Mark of Sun* 10 You stubborn pommy bastard ... take your bloody blackgin and get out of it! **1967** R. Donaldson et al. *Cane* 113 You're a jumped-up Pommy bastard, a stupid sod, a flamin' dingo, a dirty arse-licker and you oughta piss off back where yuh came from. **1968** K. Denton *Walk around my Cluttered Mind* 30 Typical bloody silly Pommy bastard stunt. **1969** A. Garve *Boomerang* 143 You know, Birdie, for a Pommie bastard you're quite a bright cove. **1972** *Bulletin* (Sydney) 5 Feb. 31/3 The English actress playing Bazza's first Pommy sheila is muttering darkly about ringing her agent. **1973** *Ibid.* 6 Jan. 24/2 Our next Pommie migrant will be Robert Morley who opens here in How the Other Half Loves also on January 16. **1977** R. Beilby *Gunner* 12 I'd know the sound of those big Pommy feet anywhere. **1977** F.B. Vickers *Stranger no Longer* 100 He shouted after me: 'Stupid Pommie bastard!' **1980** G. Dutton *Wedge-Tailed Eagle* 23 'I was at school in England, my father took me over there with him.' 'At least you haven't got a Pommie accent.' **1981** A.B. Facey *Fortunate Life* 245 He then told me ... to get the hell out of there before he threw me

in the guardhouse. ... I replied, 'All right, you just do that. I'm not scared of you pommy upstarts.'

2.Special Comb. pommy jackeroo, an English jackeroo (see Jackeroo n. 2); *transf.* an inept or inexperienced person; **land**, the British Isles; England.

1915 B. Gammage *Broken Yrs.* (1974) 240 They're only a b-- lot of Pommie Jackeroos and just as hope-less. **1964** J.S. Manifold *Who wrote Ballads?* 86 The jackaroos ... were usually educated young men studying the art and mystery of station management; sometimes they included a 'colonial-experiencer' or 'pommy jackaroo'. **1916** *Truth* (Sydney) 1 Oct. 12/1 It amuses me to hear the way the Pommies run the Australian girls down. They are forgetting that they come out here For their bread and butter, and also good money in hand, more than they got in Pommyland. **1917** R. W. Jones *With 'Roos* 26 And I, fer one, can't understand How quick the tarts in Pommy land In Cupid's chains can bind 'em. **1918** *Truth* (Sydney) 24 Mar. 9/3 The average Briton has a tender place in his heart for the land that gave him birth ... it does not matter whether he was born in Pommy Land or any other place. **1950** J. McLaren *New Love for Old* 73 Aw, shut up, you blasted Pommie. If you're so proud of it why don t you go back to your Pommie-land? **1967** F. Hardy *Billy Borker yarns Again* 61 Some kind of wharfie over in Pommy Land. **1979** B. Humphries *Bazza comes into his Own*, When they crawl back to Pommyland and see what a shithouse it is, they come back for another cheap trip! **1984** *Weekend Austral.* Mag. (Sydney) 21 Apr. 20/3 PommieLand has just been hit by a new magazine called the *Royal Magazine* which informs a breathlessly waiting public that 'Princess Anne's favorite ploy at parties is to dress up as a charlady and go around dusting chairs and tables'.

Hence **pommified** a., affecting an English manner; influenced by an English model.

1936 *Publicist* (Sydney) iv. 10/1 The West is not yet yankified and pommified to the same extent as is Sydney. 1978 J. Anderson *Tirra Lirra* 84 If you stay more than five years you become a pommified Aussie, than which there is no more pitiful creature on God's earth.

[Appendix 2: *Pommy* in *Oxford English Dictionary*]

この語の成長の過程を、AND に倣って論じている OED の記述は以下の通りである。AND の定義（特に B）や用例が一部重複している点（1923、1946、1967 年の用例）に AND の影響が表れている。なお初出例は 1915 年、最新例は 1979 年である。

Pommy, *n.* (a.) *Austral.* and *N.Z. colloq.* ('pɒmɪ)

Also **Pommie** and with lower-case initial. [Origin obscure.]

A *n.* A derogatory term for an immigrant from the United Kingdom; an Englishman or Englishwoman, a Briton.

B *attrib.* or as *adj.* Of or pertaining to a Pommy; British, English, spec. (often as a term of affectionate abuse) in **Pommy bastard**. Cf. Pom2.

The most widely held derivation of this term, for which, however, there is no firm evidence, is that which connects it with **pomegranate** (see *quots.* 1923, 1963). A discussion of this and of other theories may be found in W. S. Ramson *Australian English* (1966) 63.

1915 in B. Gammage *Broken Years* (1974) 86 We call the Regulars—Indians and Australians—'British'—but Pommies are nondescript. 1916 in *Ibid.* 240 They're only a b— lot of Pommie Jackeroos and just as hopeless. 1916 *Anzac Bk.* 31 A Pommy can't go wrong out there if he isn't too lazy to work. 1920 D. O'Reilly in *Murdoch & Drake-Brockman Austral. Short Stories* (1951) 144 The 'Pommy' parson made good, as a good man always will. 1923 D. H. Lawrence *Kangaroo* vii. 162 Pommy is supposed to be short for pomegranate. Pomegranate, pronounced invariably

pommygranate, is a near enough rhyme to immigrant, in a naturally rhyming country. Furthermore, immigrants are known in their first months, before their blood 'thins down', by their round and ruddy cheeks. So we are told. *Ibid.* 164 In this way Mr Somers had to take himself to task, for his Pommy stupidity. 1926 Galsworthy *Silver Spoon* ii. iv. 137 They call us Pommies and treat us as if we'd took a liberty in coming to their blooming country. 1933 'P. Cadey' *Broken Pattern* xii. 130 'You should have heard the English accent!' 'Pommy gab, eh?' commented his mate. 1938 N. Marsh *Artists in Crime* ix. 128 She was always shooting off her mouth about the way the Aussies don't know a good thing when they see it. These pommies! She gave me the jitters. 1946 B. James in *Coast to Coast 1945* 63 He was an Englishman, not a 'pommy', mind you. It seemed he hadn't even reached to that dignity. 1947 B. Mason in *D. M. Davin N.Z. Short Stories (1953)* 333 What time we had left was spent on fruitless errands for the Pommy matelots. 1949 F. Sargeson *I saw in my Dream* ii. xiii. 118 Look at Wally's ma—she got over her Pommy ways. 1951 D. Stivens *Jimmy Brockett* 214 Like most of these pommy bastards, he had funny ways but he wasn't a bad old bloke at heart. 1957 *New Scientist* 23 May 13/3 There is··an elusive background of strangeness, imbued with an element of timelessness, which comes home to the sensitive 'new chum', or 'pommy', only after he has lived for a while in this new-old southern continent. 1962 J. Frame *Edge of Alphabet* vii. 47 Look at the foreigners flooding the country on every immigrant ship, la-di-da Pommies and all. 1963 X. Herbert *Disturbing Element* vi. 91 He still wore the heavy clumsy British type of clothing of the day [before 1914]. When we kids saw people on the street dressed like that we would yell at them: 'Jimmygrants, Pommygranates, Pommies!' 1966 R. D. Eagleson in *Southerly* XXVI. 200 Lest British readers should be misled, pommy is frequently pejorative. 1974 P. McCutchan *Call for Simon Shard* iv. 36 I'm Australian born and

bred, not a pommie immigrant. . . Now, grand-dad, 'e was a pommie bastard! **1975** *Times* 27 Aug 10/8 Colin Shaw . . has just sent Ernest Whitehouse an explanation of how God came to be described in the television programme Beneath the News as a 'Pommy bastard'. . . Shaw adds that 'Pommy bastard' is an 'affectionate colloquialism' in Australia. **1979** *Guardian* 31 Oct. 3/2 British Leyland reacted angrily . . to antipodean 'pommy-bashing' about the quality of buses. Hence '**Pommyland**, Britain, England.

1957 R. Stow *Bystander* 21 I'm a Pommy. And going back to Pommyland, after twenty-four years. **1967** F. Hardy *Billy Borker yarns Again* 61 Sir Robert himself wanted to be a whiskey-taster at the Melbourne show, but ended up as some kind of wharfie over in Pommy Land. **1973** *Times* 12 Oct. 15/7 An adaptation of Barry Humphries's cult strip cartoon about the life of darkest Pommie-land seen through the eyes of an antipodean innocent. **1979** M. Kaufman *Container* iii. 31, I suppose you'll head off back to Pommyland now?

[Abstract]

Analyzing Ethnonymic Discourse on *Maori/Pakeha & Homey/Pommy*:
Network of ethnonyms in a pejorative sense in New Zealand English
Takao KUYA

Based on *the Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Historical Thesaurus of OED* (2009) have shown us a clear diachronic bird's-eye view of the network of ethnonyms that have developed in British and New Zealand contexts with special reference to ethnonymic discourse. But an exhaustive list is yet to be completed in the case of NZE. There are some significant names missing in there, such as *black*, *nigger*, *brownie*, *darkie*, *dago*, *Hori* (corrupted form of *George*) to refer to Maori, and *Pakeha Maori* to mean people of British origin. It might be no easy task for any dictionary to draw an entire and elaborate picture of derogatory epithets that momentarily come and go, emerge and disappear in the long history of English. By ethnonym is meant a name related to nationality and ethnicity, such as the names of states/countries, local places and communities, names of races, inhabitants and groups of personalities specified in various ways. Ethnonymic discourse is one that includes ethnonyms mentioned above. Some ethnonyms are semantically non-racist/neutral while some are implicatively or overtly racist/deprecatative.

My concern in this paper is, therefore, to trace and analyse ethnonyms mainly with more or less discriminatory/racist implications by surveying varieties of ethnonyms in question, depending on Harry Orsman's *Dictionary of New Zealand English* (1997). The present research into this aspect of ethnonyms is a successor to Kuya (2010), which has investigated the development of ethnonyms with neutral or 'positive' image that have survived the long-standing conflicts, bloodsheds, ethnic wars as well as

cultural wars during the last two centuries. Most of the above-mentioned ethnonyms are the symbols and icons that mark victories won by British-born Pakeha majority, their culture and values.

When do ethnonyms come to be considered derogatory? It is sometimes very tough to judge whether an ethnonym is employed as a racist expression or discriminatory phrase by the speaker. Kuya (1990) distinguished three stages in which ethnonyms evolves: i) Stage One: ethnonyms are context-bound, ii) Stage Two: ethnonyms are text-bound, and iii) Stage Three: ethnonyms are code-bound. Let me illustrate the three stages above with some deprecativ *Maori* examples that follow: i) *June and July being mid winter and the road being in its Maori state* [context-bound]; ii) *That's a Maori* (of a thing) [text-bound]; iii) *Maori pot, Maori PT* [code-bound]. Derogatory ethnonyms, therefore, are discussed under two sections depending upon who is hostile to whom under what conditions.

The first section deals with the conflict between races, between people of different ethnic origin, i.e. 'indigenous' Maori people, who began to arrive in the 13th century in small numbers, on one hand, and British-born 'immigrants', who first reached the coast of NZ in 19th century on a massive scale, on the other. It treats contrastive pairs of words such as *Maori/Pakeha*. Instances abound with *Maori*, but not with *Pakeha*. The list of *Maori*-words include colour-related words such as *black, darkie, brownie, nigger, dago* and *tarpot*. They are often explicitly derogatory because they established themselves as code-bound words and phrases during the Land Wars in the mid 19th century. It is not surprising that *Pakeh*-words should be outnumbered by *Maori*-words and that the disproportion in frequency of words with an offensive connotation between *Maori* and *Pakeha* reflects the accurate overwhelming difference in political influence between the two groups due to an upsurge in the number of *pakehas*.

The second section deals with the conflict or friction between Caucasians of British origin, between new settlers or newcomers (*new chums*) and earlier settlers or old-timers (*old chums*). One finds a strange but very important coinage *homey*, an ethnonym that mirrors the mentality of NZ-born white Kiwis who despise Britain-born people indulging in nostalgic memories of Britain despite having lived in NZ for three decades. It seemed to Kiwis that *homeys* still fluctuated between Britain and NZ, between homesickness for old home and hope in the new atmosphere. *Pommy* is an overtly derogatory ethnonym that originates in Australia, being imported in NZ a little later than *homey* was born there in 1926. It had competed with its NZ counterpart for a while and finally survived *Homey*. *Pommy* (*pommie, pome*) was influential enough to generate varieties of new contemptuous forms and idioms, such as *pongolia*, its shortened *pongo* (strongly pejorative), compounds like *dry as a pommy's towel, pommy-bashing, pommy bastard* and *whinging pommy*. It is especially noteworthy that 1910s in Australia and a decade or a score of years later in NZ witnessed the increase in the variety of these pejorative epithets. It can readily be imagined that a move towards political autonomy and participation in WWI might have given rise to patriotism and the spirit of independence and enhanced national feeling for their own identity among Australians and Kiwis, who must have been confident by that time that they entered into rivalry with the former suzerain state that dominated the 'Antipodes'.

To conclude, the birth, death and survival of varieties of ethnic names and words related to race and ethnicity in the last two centuries in NZ have proved that the final conquest of Maori-dominated NZ by Pakehas resulted in long-standing social upheaval, and radical change in social hierarchy, disseminating new concepts in racist contexts in favour of Pakeha majority. Surprisingly enough, however, Orsman's *DNZE* includes 700

independent headwords originated in Maori language, which amount to a little more than one-tenth of the whole vocabulary, while no other dictionary of American English (or Australian English) does carry as many words originated in Native American language (or Aboriginal languages) as the *DNZE* does. Deverson and Kennedy's *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* (2005), successor to *DNZE*, even mentions the continuing influence of 'te reo Maori' [the Maori language]. This proves they are moving toward a bicultural society in which different values are impartially respected. NZ seems to have succeeded in reconciliation between the two warring groups to a certain degree in terms of culture and language but have yet to promote further reconciliation and amity between them. Chances are that in no distant future racist discourse will disappear that has unfortunately been inherited from their older generations for the last two centuries.