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Phonological characteristics of Japanese-derived borrowings in the Trukese of Micronesia

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language contact, loanword, sound substitution, Trukese

Abstract

This report focuses on the Trukese as it is used on the lagoon islands of Truk in the Federated States of Micronesia, giving a list of the Japanese borrowings with their phonological characteristics, analyzing the sound substitutions which occurred as the Japanese borrowings passed through the Trukese phonological filter.

1. Introduction

For the past several years, we have been involved in language surveys of the lagoon islands of Truk in the Federated States of Micronesia.¹

The Japanese colonial rule of these islands lasted from 1914 to 1945. During that time, the language contact situation of the islands was conducive to the incorporation of borrowings into the native language from Japanese. Among the Japanese-derived borrowings in use today, there still survive many words which have disappeared, at least from common use, in the language of Japan (Sanada 1996).

2. Borrowings from Japanese

We constructed a list of Japanese-derived loanwords from the dictionary of Ward H. Goodenough and Hiroshi Sugita (1980). Some of the entries in this dictionary have their origins clearly labelled. For example, we can see that baseball terms were borrowed from Japanese words which had been in turn borrowed from English. We have listed a total of 283 words which, although not marked as to their origin, are clearly words of Japanese origin.

In Trukese, nouns can be made into (transitive) verbs by adding the suffix -ni or -i. Below are some examples of nouns borrowed from Japanese which can be made

into verbs through this process.

- [tajiku] 〈carpenter〉 + [ni] ⇒ [tajikurni] 〈do carpentry on〉
- [teŋki] 〈electric light〉 + [ni] ⇒ [teŋki:ni] 〈give light to〉
- [tʃɔ:sa] 〈investigation〉 + [ni] ⇒ [tʃɔ:sa:ni] 〈investigate〉
- [sasiŋ] 〈picture〉 + [i] ⇒ [sasiŋi:] 〈take a picture of〉
- [unten] 〈driving〉 + [i] ⇒ [unteni:] 〈drive(an automobile)〉

There are 29 verbs of this type included in the dictionary. If we do not consider them as primary borrowings, we are left with 254 words.

We took these lexical items and presented them to our informant, asking him to choose the words which were still in use. We also recorded (in August 1995) the informant's pronounciations of the words in Trukese. Lexical items are given in the appendix at the end of this paper.

3. Informant

Our informant was Mr. Joshua Suka, born August 26th, 1927 on the island of Udot, one of the Truk Island chain. On the island he received 5 years of elementary school education under Japanese teachers. Until the Japanese surrender to the United States in 1945, he worked at a name stamp shop run by Japanese people on the island of Dublon. Following the war, he learned English on his own, and taught drafting at high school. At the time of the survey, he was retired and living on the island of Dublon.

Mr. Suka is one of the rare examples of people of his age on the islands who can read and write English and Japanese.

4. Analysis of sound substitution

In the language contact situation between Japanese and Trukese, Japanese is the source language and Trukese the recipient language. In the transfer process from the source language into the recipient language, there is always interference from the latter. Below, I will analyze examples of sound substitution which resulted when Japanese words were borrowed through a Trukese phonetic filter (Sugita 1989).

4.1. Vowel length

Word-final vowel length is unstable. When a word adds a suffix, the final vowel lengthens, as seen in the examples below.

[inaka] → [inakar] ⟨rural place⟩

[sense:] → [sense] ⟨teacher⟩
[sense:ni] ⟨be a teacher of (a class)⟩

[kadʒi] → [kasi] ⟨steering wheel⟩
[kasi:ni] ⟨steer (a boat)⟩

[renʃu:] → [rensū] ⟨practice⟩
[rensū:ni] ⟨help someone to practice⟩

4.2. The h-reduction

The /h/ of Japanese words disappears in borrowings due to Trukese phonological rules.

[haŋkatʃi] → [aŋkatʃi] ⟨handkerchief⟩
[happjo:] → [appijo] ⟨announcement⟩
[hatake] → [atake] ⟨plantation⟩
[ho:muraN] → [o:mraŋ] ⟨home run (in baseball)⟩
[ho:tai] → [o:taji] ⟨bandage⟩

4.3. Devoicing of voiced consonants

The [b,d,dz,g] of Japanese are devoiced to become [p,t,tʃ,k] in Trukese. This lack of a voiced/voiceless distinction, from the standpoint of the source language under differentiation, is also due to restrictions imposed by the phonological structure of Trukese.

[b] → [p]
[bariki] → [pariki] ⟨horsepower⟩
[nabe] → [nape] ⟨cooking pan⟩
[obi] → [opi] ⟨sash worn around the waist⟩
[umeboʃi] → [umeponi] ⟨pickled plum⟩
[abura] → [apura] ⟨grease⟩

[d] → [t]
[daŋŋo] → [taŋŋo] ⟨dumplings cooked in hot sugared water⟩

[dentʃi] → [tentʃi] 〈battery (as in a flashlight)〉
[ido] → [ito] 〈well〉

[dz] [dʒ] → [tʃ]
[dzampaN] → [tʃampaŋ] 〈garbage〉
[ga:dze] → [ka:tse] 〈gauze〉
[dzo:ri] → [tʃo:ri] 〈zori type of footwear〉
[dzurui] → [tʃuri:] 〈cheat〉
[dʒaŋkeN] → [tʃaŋke] 〈game of scissors-stone-cloth〉
[dʒido:sə] → [tʃito:sa] 〈automobile〉
[dʒorɔ:riku] → [tʃorɔ:riku] 〈landing in force〉
[kikandʒu:] → [kikantʃu] 〈machine gun〉

[g] → [k]
[gasoriN] → [kasoriŋ] 〈gasoline〉
[geŋkaN] → [keŋkaŋ] 〈room at the main entrance to a house〉
[gittʃo] → [kittʃo] 〈left-handed person〉
[goro] → [koro] 〈grounder (in baseball)〉
[guro:bu] → [kuro:pu] 〈baseball glove〉

The word-medial velar nasal [ŋ] in Japanese, however, is not devoiced, remaining [ŋ] in Trukese borrowings.

[meŋjane] → [meŋjane] 〈spectacles,glasses〉
[maŋŋa] → [maŋŋa] 〈farce,comedy〉

4.4. Depalatalization

The pronunciation of Japanese palatalized consonants changes. For example, the palatals of [ʃa], [ʃi], [ʃo], and [ʃu] become alveo-dentals producing [sa], [si], [so], and [su]. With the palatalized [kjo] [rjo], vowels are inserted before the palatal to form [ki:o] and [ri:o] .

[ʃa] → [sa]
[ʃako] → [sako] 〈garage〉
[ʃi] → [si]
[ʃiba] → [sipa] 〈green turf〉

[ʃo] → [so]
 [ʃo:to] → [so:to] 〈shortstop(in baseball)〉
 [ʃu] → [su]
 [senʃu] → [sensu] 〈athletic team〉
 [kjo] → [kijo]
 [bo:χeŋkjo:] → [poχkijo] 〈telescope〉
 [kju] → [ku] [kiju]
 [kjuxri] → [ku:ri] 〈cucumber〉
 [haikju:] → [ajikiju] 〈ration (of food)〉
 [rjo] → [rijo]
 [Φurjo:] → [furijo] 〈bad person〉
 [rju] → [riju]
 [dʒo:rju:] → [tʃo:riju] 〈do distilling〉

However, the affricate [ts] becomes palatalized, resulting in the pronunciation [tʃ].

[naŋagutsu] → [naŋakutʃu] 〈boot〉
 [pantsu] → [pantsu:] 〈panties,briefs〉
 [sotsunjo:] → [sotʃunjijo] 〈graduation (from school)〉

4.5. The reduction of pitch accent patterns

With all words over 2 syllables, the accent is placed on the second syllable from the end.

Ó○ ○Ó○ ○○Ó○ ○○○Ó○ Ó○

Appendix : A List of Trukese Borrowings from Japanese

The list below is limited to lexical items which the informant reported that he still used. The words are written in a simplified phonetic alphabet script. The abbreviations "n." (noun), "vi." (intransitive verb), "vo." (transitive verb), "e." (exclamation), and "J." (Japanese) are used.

A

- ami n. <wire screening against insects> J. ami
ampaija n. <umpire (in baseball)> J. ampaija
aŋkatsi n. <handkerchief> J. haŋkatsi
apatopi n. <running long jump> J. habatobi
apura n. <grease> J. abura
apuraxni vo. <grease>
appijo n. <announcement> J. happjo:
atake n. <plantation> J. hatake
atsi n. <bee> J. hatſi
ajikiju n. <ration (of food)> vi. <distribute> J. haikju:
ajinoko n. <half caste> J. ainoko

F

- fasto n. <first base (in baseball)> J. Ŋa:suto
firosikiji n. <cloth wrapper> J. Ŋuroſiki
funtosi n. <string-fastened loincloth (of Japanese type)> J. Ŋundosi
furaji n. <fly ball(in baseball)> J. Ŋurai
furaji:ni vo. <hit(a fly ball in baseball)>
furajipa:ŋ. <frying pan> J. Ŋuraipan
furijo n. <bad person> J. Ŋuryo:
futoŋ n. <mattress> J. Ŋuton
fu:to n. <envelope (for mailing)> J. Ŋu:to:

I

- inaka: n. <rural place> J. inaka
impaj n. <rubber stamp> J. imban
isonaſi: vi. <be busy> J. isonaſi:
ito n. <well> J. ido
ijakiju n. <baseball game> vi. <play baseball> J. jakju:
ijasaji n. <vegetables> J. jasai

K

- kafije n. <teahouse> J. kafe:
- k'ama n. <iron cooking pot> J. kama
- k'amar:ni vo. <prepare food in a kkama>
- kaŋŋof n. <nurse> J. kaŋŋoɸu
- kaŋko:taj n. <tour group> vi. <do sight-seeing in a group> J. kaŋko:dan
- kansoku n. <radar station> J. kansoku
- kantoku n. <boss> J. kantoku
- kantsi n. <executive officer> J. kandzi
- kapu n. <stock company> vi. <form a pool (as with money)> J. kabu
- kappa n. <raincoat> J. kappa
- kasso:ro n. <airport> J. kasso:ro
- kasi n. <steering wheel> vi. <steer> J. kadzi
- kasi:ni vo. <steer(a boat)>
- kasoriŋ n. <gasoline> J. gasorin
- ka:to n. <medical chart> J. ka:do
- katoriseŋko n. <mosquito coil (a repellent)> J. katoriseŋko:
- ka:tse n. <gauze> J. ga:dze
- katſito n. <cinema> J. katsudo:
- kajaku n. <gunpowder> J. kajaku
- k'ajigun n. <navy> J. kaijuN
- kajiru n. <frog> J. kaeru
- kajitſo n. <cancellation of warning> J. kaidzo
- keŋkan n. <room at the main entrance to a house> J. geŋkan
- kikantsu n. <machine gun> J. kikandžu:
- kimpa vi. <have a gold crown (of a tooth)> J. kimba
- kinsipakutaŋ n. <atomic-bomb> J. gensibakudaN
- kittſo n. <left-handed person> J. gittſo
- kijattſa n. <catcher (in baseball)> vi. <be catcher> J. kjattſa:
- ko:reŋ n. <park> J. ko:eN
- ko:kaj n. <switchboard> J. ko:kan
- kona n. <powder> J. kona
- koŋkuri n. <concrete> J. koŋkuri
- ko:ri: n. <ice> J. ko:ri
- koro n. <grounder(in baseball)> J. gorō
- kosimaki n. <woman's wrap-around undergarment> J. kosimaki

ko:skake n. <chair> J. kofikake

kojası n. <fertilizer> J. kojaşı

kumi n. <an administrative district> J. kumi

k'umi n. <team (athletic)> J. kumi

ku:ri n. <cucumber> J. kju:ri

kuro:pu n. <baseball glove> J. guro:bu

M

maku: n. <curtain> J. maku

makuwauri n. <Cucumis melon> J. makuwauri

mame n. <bean> J. mame

manajita n. <chopping board> J. manaita

maŋŋa n. <farce,comedy> vi. <play a farce> J. maŋŋa

manneŋ n. <fountain pen> J. mannençitsu

mantſu: n. <soft sweet stuff> J. mandžu:

masi:ŋ n. <machine oil> J. maſiN

ma:sku n. <catcher's mask (in baseball)> J. masuku

ma:sto n. <mast> J. masuto

meŋane n. <spectacles,glasses> J. meŋane

meroŋ n. <melon> J. meron

mitto n. <catcher's mitt (in baseball)> J. mitto

miso n. <bean paste> J. miso

mitso n. <ditch> J. midzo

mitsuapura n. <hair oil> J. midzuabura

N

naŋakutſu n. <boot> J. naŋagutsu

namajiki n. <impudence> vi. <be impudent> J. namaiki

naŋkiju n. <liner (in baseball)> J. naŋkju:

nape n. <cooking pan> J. nabe

nappua n. <green vegetables> J. nappa

nasu n. <eggplant> J. nasu

neŋi n. <Welsh onion> J. neŋi

netſimawasi n. <screwdriver> J. nedʒimawasi

netſimawasi:ni vo. <screw (something) with a screwdriver>

nomi n. <chisel> J. nomi

nomir:ni vo. <apply a chisel to>

O

o:mraŋ n. 〈home run (in baseball)〉 J. ho:muraN
opi n. 〈sash worn around the waist〉 J. obi
osiroji n. 〈baby powder〉 J. o:siroi
osiroji:ni vo. 〈apply baby powder to〉
osiruko n. 〈a soup-like drink with dumplings in hot water〉 J. osiruko
o:taji n. 〈bandage〉 J. ho:tai
o:taji:ni vo. 〈bandage〉
otopaji n. 〈motorcycle〉 J. o:tobai
P
pakajaro e. 〈(in cursing) God damn you!〉 J. bakajaro:
pake n. 〈feather fish lure〉 J. bake
pakutajŋ n. 〈dynamite,bomb〉 vi. 〈use dynamite〉 J. bakudaN
pakutajŋ: vo. 〈dynamite or bomb (something)〉
panso:ko n. 〈adhesive tape〉 J. banso:ko:
panso:ko:ni vo. 〈apply adhesive tape to〉
pantsu: n. 〈panties,briefs〉 J. pantsu
pakkiŋ n. 〈fine,penalty〉 J. bakkiN
patta n. 〈bat(baseball)〉 J. batto
pariki n. 〈horsepower〉 J. bariki
patſiŋko n. 〈slingshot〉 J. patſiŋko
patſiŋko:ni vo. 〈use a slingshot against (someone)〉
pajikin n. 〈germ,bacterium〉 J. baikin
pajijorŋ n. 〈violin〉 J. baiorin
perikanŋ n. 〈hair clipper〉 J. barikan
perikanŋ: vo. 〈clip with a hair clipper〉
pimpon n. 〈pingpong ball〉 J. pimpon
pintſo n. 〈feces〉 vi. 〈defecate〉 J. bendʒo
pintſuri n. 〈a game〉 J. bintsuri
pi:ttſa n. 〈pitcher (in baseball)〉 J. pittſa:
pisto:r n. 〈pistol〉 J. pisutoru
pijojin n. 〈hospital〉 J. bjɔ:in
poŋkijo n. 〈telescope〉 J. bo:enjkjɔ:
posto n. 〈post office〉 J. posuto
po:r n. 〈ball(in baseball)〉 J. bo:ru
po:takatopi vi. 〈do the pole vault〉 J. bo:takatobi
po:tſu n. 〈closely clipped hair〉 vi. 〈have clipped hair〉 J. bo:dzu

R

raito n. <right field (in baseball)> J. raito
ra:men n. <Chinese-style noodles with soup> J. ramen
ramune n. <marbles> J. ramune
ranniŋyu n. <sleeveless undershirt> J. ranniŋyu
rapupa n. <bugle> vi. <blow a bugle> J. rappa
rapupa:ni vo. <drink (something) directly from the bottle>
ratsiwo n. <radio> J. radio
refuto n. <left field (in baseball)> J. leftfield
reko:to n. <record,disc> J. record
remontsuri n. <an obstacle race> J. obstaclecourse
rensu n. <practice> J. practice
rensu:ni vo. <help someone to practice>
re:tso:ko n. <refrigerator> J. refrigerator
rikuŋun n. <soldier (army)> J. soldier
rija:ka n. <pullcart> J. handcart

S

sako n. <garage> J. garage
samumotsi n. <large wooden spoon> J. largewoodenspoon
santaŋ n. <hop,step,and jump> vi. <do the hop,step,and jump> J. hopstepandjump
saru n. <monkey> J. monkey
sarumata n. <undershorts> J. undershorts
sasimi n. <sliced raw fish> J. sashimi
sasimi:ni vo. <make sashimi of>
sasiŋ n. <picture> vi. <take a picture> J. photograph
sasiŋi: vo. <take a picture of>
sa:to n. <third base (in baseball)> J. thirdbase
satsumajimo n. <Japanese sweet potato> J. satsumaimo
sekanto n. <second base (in baseball)> J. secondbase
sekiita n. <sluice board> J. sluiceboard
sseŋ n. <one hundredth of a yen ⇒ cent> J. sen
sense n. <teacher> J. teacher
sense:ni vo. <be a teacher of (a class)>
sensu n. <athletic team> J. athleticteam
seri n. <water cress> J. watercress
simpuŋ n. <newspaper> J. newspaper

sipa n. <green turf> J. siba
sipirigyu n. <T-shirt> J. supuriygū
sipugen n. <spoon> J. supugen
siraik n. <strike (in baseball)> J. sutoraiku
sirippa n. <slippers> J. surippa
skijaki n. <sukiyaki> J. sukiyaki
soiju n. <soy sauce> J. soju
so:ko n. <warehouse> J. so:ko
so:to n. <shortstop (in baseball)> J. so:to
sotsunijo n. <graduation (from school)> J. sotsunjo:
su: n. <vinegar> J. su
suka:to n. <skirt> J. suka:to
sumi n. <charcoal> J. sumi
T
tako n. <kite> J. tako
takuwan n. <pickled raddish> J. takuan
tama n. <electric light bulb> J. tama
tamanini n. <onion> J. tamanegi
tamatsuki n. <game of marbles> vi. <play tamachuki> J. tamatsuki
tanjo n. <dumplings cooked in hot sugared water> J. danjo
tapi n. <tabi> J. tabi
taraji n. <washtub> J. tarai
tawasi n. <scrubbing brush with a handle> J. tawaſi
tawasi:ni vo. <scrub (something) with a tawasi>
tajiku n. <carpenter> J. daiku
tajiku:ni vo. <do carpentry on>
taija n. <tire> J. taija
taijia:ni vo. <put a tire on (something)>
taijo: n. <cannon> J. taiho:
tenugi: n. <a towel(of Japanese style)> J. tenugui
tempo: n. <telegram> J. dempo:
tempura n. <doughnut> J. tempura
teŋki n. <electric light> J. deŋki
teŋki:ni vo. <give light to>
tentfi n. <battery (as in a flashlight)> J. dentfi
te:preko:to n. <tape recorder> J. te:pureko:do

tepukuro n. <glove (other than in baseball)> J. tebukuro
teppaŋ n. <large sheet of iron > J. teppan
tessiri n. <bench attached to the outer wall of a house> J. tesuri
tiroŋkaj n. <drum (container)> J. doramukan
topiŋ n. <teapot,kettle> J. dobiN
torakku n. <truck> J. torakku
torikko n. <a kind of tamachuki game> vi. <play torikko> J. torikko
T S

tſaŋke n. <game of scissors-stone-cloth> vi. <play chanke> J. dʒankeN
tſampaŋ n. <garbage> J. dzampaN
tſawaj n. <rice-bowl> J. tſawan
tſikuŋki n. <record player> J. tſikuŋki
tſintori n. <a children's game> J. dʒintori
tſippu n. <foul tip (in baseball)> J. tſippu
tſito:sa n. <automobile> J. dʒido:sa
tſo:ri n. <zori type of footwear> J. dzo:ri
tſo:riku n. <landing in force> vi. <make a landing in force> J. dʒo:riku
tſo:riku:ni vo. <make a landing in force on>
tſo:riju vi. <do distilling> J. dʒo:riju:
tſo:riju:ni vo. <distill (something, as to make alcohol)>
tſo:sa n. <investigation> vi. <conduct an investigation> J. tſo:sa
tſo:sar:ni vo. <investigate>
tſukanta e. <caught!> J. tsukanda
tſu:mon n. <purchase order> vi. <make a purchase order> J. tſu:moN
tſu:monj: vo. <make a purchase order for>
tſuri: vi. <cheat> J. dzurui
tſurikkoto n. <cheater> J. dzuruikoto
U

umeposi n. <pickled plum> J. umeboſi
unteŋ n. <driving> vi. <drive> J. unten
unteŋj: vo. <drive (an automobile)>
unto:kai n. <athletic meeting> J. undo:kai
usajı n. <rabbit> J. usajı
utoŋ n. <noodles cooked in water or coconut milk> J. udon

NOTE

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ミクロネシアのチュウック語における 日本語からの伝播語の音的特徴

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キーワード

言語接触, 伝播語, 音の代用, チュウック語

概 要

日本による、いわゆる南洋群島の植民地統治は1914年から1945年までの30年間にわたった。その間の日本語と現地語との接触は、必然的に現地語への日本語の借用を招くことになった。そしてその中には日本すでに使われなくなった（一般的でなくなった）ことばも多く生きている。本調査報告では、現ミクロネシア連邦のチュウック（かつてのトラック）諸島で話されているチュウック語に焦点を当てて、日本からの伝播語のリストを掲げ、その音的特徴、すなわち日本語の音がチュウック語のフィルターによって置き換えられる音の代用について分析した。