あだ名 ― アイデンティティと社会管理 ―
Nicknames: Identity and Social Management

マーハ，ジョン MAHER, John C.

● 国際基督教大学
International Christian University

ABSTRACT

あだ名とは，個人に属する名前の代わりとして，もしくは，個人の名前に付け加える形で，個人を特定する参照表現である。それは新しい分類化である。名前を作り出す方法が存在する。あだ名は語彙を増やす。あだ名とは，他人の先入観や，性的，人種的ステレオタイプや，集団の規範の強化などを明らかにする。あだ名とは，社会管理の一つの形である。あだ名は，同族意識と集団の連帯感覚，つまり団結心を強めることができる。あだ名はしばしば，社会的，言語的な行動に影響を与える。個人は，あだ名を持つことにより，自分の行動の特徴や，話すアクセントや体型や日常の習慣を変えようとすることがある。同じ集団にいる人々を特定し，明確にすることもできる。あだ名をつけることは，こども時代に，そして学校において，広く普及している。男性は女性より，あだ名をつけられたり使ったりすることが多い。男性のあだ名は，強さや大きいことという意味を含むことが多い。たとえば，野球の松井秀喜選手をゴジラと呼ぶといったものである。女性のあだ名は，軽蔑的あだ名であるよりは，愛情のこもったものであることが多く，身体的・個人的特徴（美しさ，親切）を示す傾向がある。学校の教師にあだ名を付ける慣行は広く普及している。教師は，教員としてのステレオタイプなイメージを自ら投影する。この教室でのペルソナは，子ども達から教師を守り，また教師のプライベートな生活を守る防御手段となる。一般には親しさや，あるいは不満や軽蔑を表明するために使われる名付けの工夫を生徒がこっそりと使うことは，おそらくは，強力な人物の地位を対処できる程度にまで矮小化する方法である。こういう形で，生徒であることからくる無力感が和らげられるのである。ここで使用するデータは，2008年から2010年における東京西部のある中学校の2，3年生のものである。

A nickname is a referential expression that identifies a person instead of, or in addition to, the name

belonging to the individual: a new categorization. There is a system for creating names. Nicknames enrich the lexicon. Nicknames are a tool for revealing the preconceptions of others, racial and sexual stereotype and the enforcement of group norms. Nicknames are a form of social management. Nicknames can enhance a sense of group solidarity, an *esprit de corps*. Nicknames influence social and linguistic behaviour. A person may seek to alter their mannerisms, accent, body shape or daily habits by a nickname. It may disambiguate among persons in a group. Nicknaming is a widespread in childhood and school. Males assign and use more nicknames than females. Male 'Homeric' nicknames connote strength and largeness, e.g. Godzilla for baseball player Matsui Hideki. Female nicknames are more likely to be affectionate than disparaging tending toward physical and personal attributes (beauty, kindness). There is a widespread practice of assigning nicknames to school teachers. Teachers project a stereotyped image of themselves. A classroom persona likely constitutes a protective defence against children and against the invasion of a teacher's private life. Perhaps pupils' use, *sotto voce*, of a naming device, normally used for intimacy or to express disapproval or contempt, is a way of reducing a powerful person's status to manageable proportions. In this way at least, the felt powerlessness of being a pupil is remedied. This paper employs data from reports from pupils at a Tokyo junior high school (years 2-3), 2008-2010.

"かさねとは　八重撫子の　名なるべし"

松尾芭蕉「奥の細道」

Kasaneto wa yaenadeshiko no nanarubeshi
"This child Kasane, if she were a flower, would be a Yae-nadeshiko" Matsuo Basho (*Oku no Hosomichi*)

Naming and Identity

Matsuo Basho, narrates in *Oku no Hosomichi* ('The Narrow Road to the Interior') that one day, riding on horseback in the countryside, he saw a little girl, elegantly named called 'Kasane' (lit. 'multilayered'), running alongside. *Nadeshiko* or 'Fringed Pink' is a flower associated with girls whilst *Kasane* means ''layers'. The poet wordplays by adding the prefix *yae-* or 'eightfold or multilayered' to *nadeshiko* " to produce a poetic nickname.

A nickname is a referential expression that identifies a person instead of or in addition to the name belonging to the individual. It is a new categorization. A nickname re-names a person. The mechanism is elaborate and often subtle. There is a system for creating names.

Nicknames enrich the lexicon. Nicknames play, in sophisticated fashion, with the phonological and semantic structure of a language. Nicknames are a dynamic component of language, and a useful tool for revealing the preconceptions of others, current racial and sexual stereotype and the enforcement of group norms.

Nicknames are a form of social management. They form part of a person's autonomous social world (Pulgram 1954). There is evidence that having a favourable nickname can enhance social and personal esteem whereas a disparaging nickname can lead to unhappiness and violence. Nicknames can enhance kinship and a sense of group solidarity, an *esprit de corps*. Nicknames often influence social and linguistic behaviour. A person may seek to alter their mannerisms, accent, body shape or daily habits as a result of a nickname. It may disambiguate among persons in a group or community with similar names (Dorian 1970).

Males assign and use more nicknames than females (Phillips 2004). Male nicknames carry connotations of strength and largeness. Some nicknames describe the person in dramatic terms as an actor in a dramatic story, e.g. Godzilla for

baseball player Matsui Hideki. This is sometimes referred to as the Homeric nickname (Kennedy and Zamuna 2006) from the use of epithets for characters in Homer's Iliad. Female nicknames are more likely to be affectionate than disparaging tending toward physical and personal attributes (beauty, kindness). As well as a form of address or informal reference the vivid imagery and wordplay in nicknames can be regarded as a kind of literary device.

Nicknaming is a widespread and important linguistic practice in childhood and school. There is a widespread practice of assigning nicknames to school teachers. Teachers project a stereotyped image of themselves. The classroom persona or stereotypical role that teachers force themselves into likely constitutes a protective defence against children and against the invasion of a teacher's private life. This, however, invites nicknaming: Abe Keichiro: Kei-chan, Kondo Takashi: Chibi-kon. As Morgan et al (1979) have noted: "Perhaps the use, *sotto voce*, of a naming device normally used for intimacy or to express disapproval or contempt is a way of reducing a powerful person's status to manageable proportions. In this way at least, the felt powerlessness of being a pupil is remedied (p.143).

The Structure of Nicknames

Nicknames in Japanese typically employ truncation + suffixation (Masumi: Ma-chan) or repetition (Tabata: Tan-tan), double consonants (Yuko: Yukko), sound changes (Mika: Min) and a large variety of suffixes: san, kun, chan, yan, pon, pi, chin, hime, suke, etc. Nicknames may be triggered by a person's physical appearance or manner. *buchan, buko, dango, mumin* or *kumasan, longu* and *shota* as well as Rika-chan (doll) style hair, maru-chan: like Chibi Maruko manga figure *monchan*: round face like the Monchichi doll or *doraemon*: large and round head like robot-doll manga character. Other nicknames mimic personal

habits or mannerisms or recall biographical events in a person's life: *kyandi*; person who likes sweets and *robochan*: a person with robot-like movements. A nickname may influence a person's social or linguistic behaviour. 'Tochigi-kun' – a reference to a person's Tochigi prefecture dialect can cause the person to quickly modify speech to the local norm. Names assist group identity among schoolchildren. There are personal and academic tensions in a school classroom. However, nicknames promote solidarity among classmates. Everyone has a nickname, an alias.

There is a system for creating names. Consider this list of nicknames from a Grade 1 and 2 classroom in a Junior High School in west Tokyo (2008-2010). Names have been shuffled and re-combined for privacy.

SOUND CHANGES

a. Abbreviation by deletion　削除による省略

There is abbreviation with a suffix after abbreviation
真澄ちゃん　　　　　まーちゃん
あるいは、単純な音節省略
津村（つむら）　　　つむ
Masumi-chan　　　*Ma-chan*
or a simple truncation:
Tsumura　　　　　*Tsumu*

b. Abbreviation and sound change　省略と音の変化

Abbreviation is accompanied by accent changes as in
明美（あけみ）　　　あけちゃん
天野（あまの）　　　あまちゃん
Akemi　　　　　　*Ake-chan*
Amano　　　　　　*Ama-chan*

c. Repetition　反復

There is repetition of part of the original names many ending with 'n'
元来の名前の一部を反復する形，「ん」で終ることが多い。

田端（たばた）	たんたん
典子（のりこ）	のんのん
京子（きょうこ）	きょんきょん
Tabata	*Tan-tan*
Noriko	*Non-non*
Kyoko	*Kyon-kyon*

d. Double consonant (gemination) nicknames　二重子音（子音重複）のあだ名

There are double consonant (*sokuon*) nicknames.
促音を二重にするあだ名

晶子（あきこ）	あっこ，あっちゃん，あっくん
川口（かわぐち）	ぐっち
小松（こまつ）	こまっちゃん
祐子（ゆうこ）	ゆっこ
律子（りつこ）	りっちゃん

閉鎖子音と母音から成る音節の後に，別の音節がつづくとき，母音間の子音は削除される。

加来子（かくこ）	かっこ
由紀子（ゆきこ）	ゆっこ

また，名前のあとに「ちゃん」がつくときには，「ちゃん」の前の母音は脱落する。

石本（いしもと）	いしもっちゃん
松下（まつした）	まつしっちゃん
Akiko	*Akko/Atchan/Akkun*
Kawaguchi	*Gucchi*
Komatsu	*Komacchan*
Yuko	*Yukko*
Ritsuko	*Ricchan*

When a syllable consists of a stop consonant and vowel followed by a syllable, the intervocalic is

deleted as in:

加来子（かくこ）	かっこ
由紀子（ゆきこ）	ゆっこ

また，名前のあとに「ちゃん」がつくときには，「ちゃん」の前の母音は脱落する。

石本（いしもと）	いしもっちゃん
松下（まつした）	まつしっちゃん
Kakuko	*Kakko*
Yukiko	*Yukko*

Also, when a name is followed by –chan the vowel before –chan is dropped:

Ishimoto	*Ishimot-chan*
Matsushita	*Matsushit-chan*

e. Modification of sound　音の改変

There are several types of sound modification such as:

Yuka	*Iga*

Here the sound change is /yu/ to /i/, /k/ to /g/. Other examples are:
ここでは，「ゆ」が「い」に，「k」が「d」に音がかわっている。ほかの例は以下の通り。

法子（のりこ）	のんこ
久美（くみ）	くんちゃん
美佳（みか）	みん
石本（いしもと）	もとちゃん，もんちゃん
Noriko	*Nonko*
Kumi-chan	*Kun-chan*
Mika	*Min*
Ishimoto	*Moto-chan　Mon-chan*

Lengthening of the sound occurs in:

Kayoko	*Ka:ko*
Sumiko	*Su:chan*
Nagao	*Na:chan*
Miyazaki	*Mya:ta*
Takushi	*Ta:bo:*

f. Suffixes　接尾辞

A variety of suffixes can accompany names:
さん：たかさん，くみさん
くん：あっくん，ともくん
ちゃん：ひろちゃん，まいちゃん
やん：ひぐやん，かまやん
ろん：みころん
りお：みおりお
た：ゆきた
りん：かりん，まりりん
ぽん：うめぽん，ゆかぽん
こ：りこ，なこ
ちん：とよちん
ち：もりっち，せっち
ぺ：のりっぺ，まゆっぺ
べ：やすべ，ともべ
すけ：ともすけ，はたすけ
ぶー：かとぶー，とよぶー
ぴー：のりぴー，はたぴー
ひめ：たかこひめ

SAN: *takasan, kumisan*　　KUN: *akkun, tomokun*
CHAN: *hirochan, maichan*
YAN: *higuyan, kamayan*　　RON: *mikaron*
RIO: *miorio*　　　　　　　TA: *yukita*
RIN: *karin, maririn*　　　　PON: *umepon, yukapon*
KO: *riko, nako*　　　　　　CHIN: *toyochin*
TCHI: *moritchi, setchi*　　　PE: *norippe, mayuppe*
BE: *yasube, tomobe*
SUKE: *tomosuke, hatasuke*
BU: *katobu, toyobu*　　　　PI: n*oripi, hatapi*
HIME: *takakohime*

The Origin of Nicknaming

The causes of nicknames are complex.

a. Appearance　外見

Nicknames may be triggered by a person's physical appearance or manner.

Nickname suffixes vary in desirability from the cute like –PI to the less flattering –BU or –PON.

Plain overweight may invoke *buchan, buko, dango* whilst plump and nice may become *mumin* or *kumasan*. A tall person may be *longu* and a short person *shota*. *Dekopatchi* describes a person with a prominent forehead. A clever person may be *hakase* or *shisho*. *Saru* refers to one who looks like a monkey. There are culinary allusions such as: *yakisoba*: wavy hair *hakusai, retasu*: curly hair. *Daimajin* is a person with frightening appearance and *karo* is a person with the image of 'light' and 'fluffy'.

b. Media and Consumer Culture　メディアと消費文化

Some aspects of physical appearance are culture specific deriving from the media (TV, manga) or consumer life:
rikachan: Rika-chan (doll) style hair
pekochan: like Peko-doll
maru-chan: like Chibi Maruko manga figure
monchan: round face like the Monchichi doll
doraemon: large and round head like robot-doll manga character
kyupisan: flat nose

c. Personal Behaviour　個人的行動

Some nicknames mimic personal habits or mannerisms
papi: person with puppy-like movements
robochan: person with robot-like movements
kyandi; person who likes sweets
kyappu: club captain

d. Biographical Events　人生上のできごと

Nicknames might re-create or recall biographical events in a person's life:
nemurichan, nemurihime: person who was caught

napping in class
kobura: person who bit someone in a fight
kaeruchan: person who is good at imitating a frog's croak
howai: person who often asks the question naze (why
mizumushi kozo: person who had athlete's foot

Conclusion

Nicknames are normally studied for their cultural, sociological and linguistic properties. For instance, a nickname can have an impact on a person's social or linguistic behaviour. *Retasu* - a mocking reference to a person's wavy hair – may cause a girl to have her hair straightened. *Tochi-kun* – a reference to a person's Tochigi (prefecture) dialect caused someone to quickly modify their speech to the local norm.

Names assist group identity among schoolchildren. Within the personal and academic tensions in a school classroom nicknames promote solidarity among classmates. Everyone has a nickname, an alias. In some cases a "derogatory" name is perceived as better than none at all (Morgan et al. 1979). A nickname, which re-names a person, is a form of recognition. It is a new categorization, a linguistic way of structuring our experience.

APPENDIX: LIST OF NAMES AND NICKNAMES (1-2 year, Co-educational Junior High School, Tokyo)

Name	Nickname
村田 夏美	なっつん・むらー
阿部 美穂	あべちん・みみ
明石 綾香	明石さん・プーさん・(あやか)
Wilson Naomi	なお・うぃちゃん
鈴木 真緒	まおてん・きんちゃん
中田 茜	なかさん・あっかー
坂本 蘭子	さか新海魚・らんこ
浅野 奈絵	あさ・エロさん・なえ
山口 和美	ヤマ・かずかず
竹内 ゆい	ゆいちん
Ikeda Aoife	いっけー・ふぁふぁ
笹岡 さちこ	さーちゃん
池田 水樹	みむ・(マタイヤ様)
丸山 るみこ	丸ちゃん
篠原 弓子	しの・しのなお
田中 恵梨	えりっこ・えり
浜崎 明子	あゆ・はまちゃん
明石 蘭子	明石さん・あか新海魚・らんこ
浅川 唯	あさ
我妻 幸恵	さっちー・(あずまっくす)
今村 亜美	いまさん・あみ
Lee Mi-na	りりん・みなみな
大蔵 玲子	レイ・れいこ
大高 菜枝	たかたか・大高さん
金沢 祥子	ざわざわ・かぁーちゃん
関口 千春	ちーちゃん・せっきー
小島 雅俊	こじティー・こじこじ
Wang Jie	じーじー・うーさん
永瀬 笑	わらちゃん
西原 優子	ゆぅこりん
島 のぶゆき	のぶのぶ
加藤 佐季	ささきんちょ
西山 加奈子	かな・にっしー
久保田 りん	ヘリウム
竹沢 雅子	まーくん
飯塚 まり	マリリンモンロー
Tanaka Julie	たなさん・じゅりん
松本 結衣	ゆいちん・ゆいちゃん
仲間 直美	なかまん・みー
菅野 りみ	すがみ
田並 真理子	まりまり
佐々木 麗夏	ささ・つーちゃん

Japanese Translations by Izumi Nishizono and John C. Maher

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