

日本の多文化教育における地名学習の受容に関する一考察 — 関東地方のアイヌ語地名を例として

Place-Name Study in Multicultural Education in Japan: Ainu place-names in the Kanto Region

マーハ, ジョン C. MAHER, John C.

● 国際基督教大学
International Christian University

槻舘 尚武 TSUKIDATE, Naotake
瀧下 史 TAKISHITA, Fumi
杉山 陽美 SUGIYAMA, Akimi

● 国際基督教大学大学院教育学研究科
Graduate School of Education International Christian University



アイヌ語, 地名, 関東, 日本の多言語主義, 多文化教育

Ainu, place-names, Kanto, multilingualism in Japan, multicultural education

ABSTRACT

Place-names are a sign of the multilingual history of a particular place. The late-20th century witnessed an important shift from the Meiji-generated propaganda of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity to an increasing awareness of Japan's multilinguality and multiculturalism. The study of place-names is a useful contribution to research on the languages of Japan and multilingualism in Japan. The abundance of Ainu place-names in Hokkaido and Tohoku is well-known. Not so well documented are the Ainu place-names in other parts of Japan. This paper assembles from different sources the most important Ainu place-names in the Kanto region.

私たちの住んでいる土地は、それぞれの時代に生きた様々な民族が、彼らの生活や価値観、時には個人の名前を刻み込んできたパリンプセスト（何度も上書きされた古代の羊皮紙）のようなものである。地名には、過去の、時に古代にまでさかのぼる、考古学とは別の観点からの人間史の重要な痕跡が認められる。この意味において、地名はいわば“言語的DNA”であって、それらは、人間の身体の中のDNAと同様に、人間の膨大な歴史を示している（Sims-Williams, 2006）。地名の多くには、さまざまな言語の署名が認められると

いってよい。日本列島の地名に見られる言語には、日本語、アイヌ語、朝鮮語、琉球語、そして英語があり、これらの5つの言語が素材となって地名を形成している。それだけではなく仏教の影響を受けたパーリ語の地名の例もある。また、ここでは取り上げないが、聾啞者のコミュニティーの中には、手話という伝統的な言語システムを用いて確立されたその土地の呼び名も存在する。異なった言語と言語集団の流入は、言語学者が呼ぶところの“多言語主義”を反映している。しかしながら、下層にある言語部分を明らかにするには、通常、地名の表層を発掘する必要がある。ここでは、北海道や東北ではなく、関東という異例の場所におけるアイヌ語の地名を取り上げる。

1 Introduction

“A name is a very common but not reliable way of fixing identity” (Erving Goffman 1963:77)

“Toponyms are important. They form an integral part of our history and culture...and they are worth studying and preserving” (Australian National Placenames Survey, 2005).

The land is a palimpsest upon which different peoples in different era inscribe their activities, their values and personal names. A place-name contains important non-archaeological evidence of human life in earlier even ancient times. In this sense, place-names are ‘linguistic DNA’. They reveal as much about human history as the DNA contained in the human body (Sims-Williams 2006). The majority of place-names have different linguistic signatures. In the Japanese archipelago, place-name languages are: Japanese, Ainu, Korean, Ryukuan, Japanese Sign and English. These languages provide the raw material for place-name combinations. There are also examples of Buddhist-inspired Pali place-names (Appendix 1).

The passage of different languages and language communities is evidence of what linguists term ‘multilingualism’. However, the surface of place-names normally requires excavation in order to reveal the languages beneath. The Ainu place-names described here are located in an unusual

locale: Kanto rather than Hokkaido or Tohoku. In the educational systems of some countries, place-names play a useful role in history education. In Scotland, for example, many Scottish place names indicate the action of colonizers, invaders, immigrants, all of them bearing different languages: sometimes Gaelic (e.g. Inver-Inverness), or Pictish (Pit- Pitlochry) or Norse (Vik – Lerwick). Place-name study has recently been incorporated into the ‘National Curriculum Guidelines for the Teaching of History to Children in Scotland’. In Japanese schools, reference is commonly made, though unsystematically, to the information found in place-names. Between 1644-1700, the Matsumae-han submitted a series of maps (*Okuni-ezu*) to the Tokugawa Bakufu. (Appendix 2) These maps contained ‘new names’ in Japanese of places that were currently place-named in Ainu, Uilta and Nivkhi. In 1869, Ezo-chi was re-named (*Ezo-chi Kaisho*). On the formal establishment of the Colonial Mission to Hokkaido by the Japanese government, former Ainu names were changed to Japanese names (such as *Ezo-chi* [Ainu - *Ainu Moshir*] to Hokkaido and *Kita Ezo-chi* [Ainu - *Rebun Moshir*] to Karafuto. Other regulations were instituted to standardise Japanese characters for reading Ainu place names (eg Karafuto place names in Dec. 1873 - *Karafuto Chimei moji Seitei*). The abundance of Ainu place-names in Hokkaido and Tohoku is well-known. Not so well documented, however, are the Ainu place-names in

other parts of Japan (Appendix 3).

This paper assembles from several different sources the most important Ainu place-names in the Kanto region. The British missionary to the Ainu, John Batchelor, was aware that the Ainu populations were originally dispersed further south of Japan than Hokkaido. This being the case, it seemed to him likely also that the Ainu would have had a name for the most visible and largest volcano in the Japanese archipelago. Batchelor stated that name 'Fuji' was from the Ainu word for fire' (*huchi*) of the fire-deity (*huchi kamuy*). This derivation was disputed by the Japanese linguist Kyosuke Kindaichi. Batchelor's thesis is now regarded unfavourably.

Place-names are a sign of the multilingual history of a particular place. The late-20th century witnessed an important shift from the Meiji-generated propaganda of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity to an increasing awareness of Japan's multilinguality and multiculturalism. The study of place-names is a useful contribution to research on the languages of Japan and multilingualism in Japan.

2 Place-Names in School Education: Scotland and Japan

In the educational systems in some countries, the study of place-names is considered an important feature of social history study.

A place-name typically conveys social information such as: topography (hill, river, valley), religious (Gods, saints, theological concepts), famous persons (chiefs, politicians), events (invasions, battles). Places undergo constant renaming. The imposition of new names by dominant groups such as colonial governments or invading settlers is a means of reinforcing the power and authority of a ruling group. This is particularly relevant in Scotland which has undergone

successive waves of occupation and settlement. The only evidence for the Pictish language (the extinct language of the Picts of 5th century Scotland) lies in place-names and personal names. The investigation of place-names, therefore, becomes part of the study of history or ethnography. In schools in Scotland, the study of place-names is considered one feature of social history study. The National Curriculum Guidelines for Schools in Scotland (Ministry of Education, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2006) for children between the ages of 5-14 state "that by the end of the nine years of study from P1 to S2, children should have had experience of studying all five historical eras, The Ancient World (Pre-fifth century AD) being the first. It is also of priority to maintain a focus on the history of Scotland and include at least one topic with a specific Scottish emphasis. By working through the Scots and Picts site, children will have the opportunity to develop an understanding of some elements of their Scottish heritage. The children will be able to learn about a wide variety of aspects related to Ancient Scotland and the lives of its inhabitants. One element in this study is place-names".

In Japanese schools, reference is occasionally made to place-names. In the following example, we peruse the history of townships in western Tokyo. In the Tokyo Metropolitan Primary School Social Studies Research Council's textbook '*Shiseki to Jinbutsu de Tsuzuru Tokyo to no Rekishi*' (1979). In this work it is useful to know, for instance, that Jindaiji, an eminent Buddhist temple has a Korean heritage and in fact, primary school textbooks on social history do tell this tale. Tokyo schoolchildren can read that Korean immigrants founded Jindaiji in the 8th century. The community was heavily populated by immigrants giving their place-names to the surrounding area including. *Komae* is the Korean name of the city itself.

Place-names typically involve blends of Japanese, Ainu, Korean, Ryukuan and occasionally European

languages. Place-names are a useful starting point to examine multilingualism in Japan since *chimei* (place-names) demonstrate Japan's demographic and cultural contacts throughout the archipelago and Asia.

The following twenty-one place-names are a sample of Ainu derivations suggested in place-name research. Multiple origins are the norm. The Ainu derivation is underlined.

3 Place named with Ainu Language in Kanto region (21)

Tokyo 東京

Asakusa 浅草 (浅 shallow, 草 grass)

[Taito-ku 台東区]

1. Named such because species of tall grass could not grow on the sandy soil on the banks of the River *Sumida* (隅田川).
2. Much hemp was grown in the area (hemp = *asa* 麻 in Japanese).
3. Deriving from the Ainu word, *asakusa* meaning 'to go over the sea'.
4. Possibly from a Tibetan word *aasha kuusha* meaning 'sacred place'.

Fussa 福生 (福 fortune, 生 arise)

1. From *fusa*, meaning hemp, or hemp-producing land.
2. *Fu* (阜) meaning a hill + *sa* (沙) meaning sandy soil.
3. From *fucchi*, "the lakeside" in Ainu.

Musashino 武蔵野

(武 strong, masculine, 蔵 warehouse, 野 field)

[Musashino-shi 武蔵野市] There are five possible derivations.

1. *Musakuni* (牟佐国) was divided into two parts, *Musaue* (牟佐上) and *Musashita* (牟佐下), which then became Sagami (相模) and Musashino (武蔵野) respectively.

2. From *masashi* 馬城 because of the existence of many stock farms.

3. There was an open field where sharp thorns harassed travelers and thus named *musakuroshi* or *muzamuzashi*.

4. From *musashi*, a Korean word meaning 'seeds of Chinese silk plants'.

5. From *musashi*, an Ainu word meaning 'grass', and "*chashi*" meaning 'tomb'.

6. From *Sashikoku* (佐斯国) an area in ancient times.

7. From Old Korean, *musashi* meant *karamuku* (からむく), a kind of tree.

**mun*: (1) grass; weeds. (2) garbage.

**casi*: (1) a fence. (2) a house. (3) a fort.

Kanagawa 神奈川

Atsugi 厚木 (厚 thick, 木 tree)

Literally 'gathering trees'. In English, it indicates 'thick forest' but the character 厚 does not signify the original. Other interpretations hold that *atsu* describes a landscape with many cliffs with the place-suffix *ki*. It might also derive from *atuigen* ('village of ferry boats' in Ainu), which then became *atsuike* and finally *atsugi*. Other derivations are *yaorokeshi* in Ainu, meaning 'the place where driftwoods gather' because of the confluence of rivers.

Kamoi 鴨居 (鴨 duck, 居 sit, stay)

[Yokosuka-shi 横須賀市] Indicates a hamlet with wild ducks. The name may also derive from '*kamui*' ('gods' in Ainu). Located on a hill from where the gods can observe the ocean.

**kamuy*: god/gods

Hodogaya 保土ヶ谷 (保 hold, 土 soil, ヶ (ga) conjunction, 谷 valley)

[Yokohama-shi 横浜市] This place-name has several possible origins. Likely indicates a low marshy place. Also plausibly argued that the

original Ainu (or the district called *hata-no-ya* in Nara era) underwent phonological change. The dominant interpretation is that Hodogaya indicates a valley shaped like female genitals

Manatsuru 真鶴 (真 applausive prefix, 鶴 crane)

1. Topographic shape seen from a distance looks like a crane.
2. From Ainu *matsutsuiru* “sea coast with a cliff or a path likely to crumble.”

Saitama 埼玉

Chiaraijima 血洗島 (血 blood, 洗 wash, 島 island)

1. *Hachiman Taro Yoshiie* (八幡太郎義家) severed his arm with a sword in the war of *Tonegawa* (利根川の戦い), and washed away the blood in this place.
2. *Keshi* means ‘edge’ in Ainu. 血洗 is the phonetic equivalent of *Keshi*. The name refers to the edge of the farming land surrounding the *Tone River* (利根川).

**kes*: (1) the lower edge, side of...; the western side; the end. (2) to run after, chase...

Chichibu 秩父 (秩 rank order, 父 father)

Chichibu is in the west of *Saitama* Prefecture.

1. In a local stalactite cave, the stalactite looks like a breast. The breasts were called *chichi-no-ki* (乳の木).
2. *Chichibu* is a variety of *ginkgo* of which there were many in the vicinity.
3. *Chichibu* is a kind of maple tree.
4. *Chichibu* is 乳生 (breast-milk) and is related to *Mibu-shi* (壬生氏). *Mibu* was a wet-nurse – an occupation related to nursing babies born to the imperial family.
5. In Ainu, it indicates the entrance to the cave of a bear.
6. *Chichibu* is a textile (千々布)
7. *Chichibu* can be separated into *chitsu* (脊 back) and *bu* (峯 range). This indicates a jagged

range.

**chichip*: shooting pains or aches in the limbs resulting from exposure to cold water.

Oshi 忍 (忍 to hide, clandestineness)

1. There were a lot of *oshidori* (鴛鴦 mandarin duck) in this place where was a beautiful riverside district.
2. From the Ainu word *ushi*, an inlet or a bay.
3. From the Manyoshu “*Suruga no oshie* (海磯辺) *ni ohuru*”. *Oshie* means rocky shore.
4. From *ushi* or *oshi* means stone bank in dialect.

**Ushi*: a bay.

Satte 幸手 (幸 happy, 手 hand)

Satte lies in the eastern part of *Saitama* Prefecture.

1. In Ainu, ‘a dried up place’. Once *Furutonegawa* (古戸根川) overflowed and *satte* was made after the area was dry up.
2. *Satte* is *sashite* (指手) which means to point to one way, so the place was named as the starting point.

**satte*: to dry. to air.

Chiba 千葉

Chiba 千葉 (千 thousand, 葉 leaf)

1. *Chiba* derived from the area in which *kuzu* is abundant. The word “*Chiba no kuzuno* (千葉の葛野)” found in *Ouzinki* (『応神記』) means that kudzu is abundant.
2. The word “*Chiba*” is derived from Ainu. The word “*chipu-a*” means ship or “*chipu-pa*” indicates many ships in Ainu. The word *chipu-a* or *chipu-pa* allegedly changed to the pronunciation “*chiba*”.

**chip*: a boat. a ship.

Kisarazu 木更津 (木 tree, 更 additionally, 津 harbor)

1. Princess *Oto-tachibana-hime* (弟橘姫) threw herself into sea as human sacrifice in order to survive the storm. Her husband *Yamato-takeru-*

no-mikoto (日本武尊) felt sad about leaving and said “*Kimi sara zu* (You are still here)”. “*Kimi sara zu*” changed “*Kisarazu*”.

2. “*Kisarazu*” is divided into three words based on its mean (*kisa-ra-tsu*). “*kisa*” means “*kusa*” (grass). “*ra*” means broad plain. “*Tsu*” means door or gate.
3. The ward “*kisarapu*” designates ‘earlobe’ in Ainu. The coast of “*Kisarazu*” allegedly looked like an earlobe. “*Kisarapu*” changed “*kisaratsu*” at present day. Alternatively, it is said that the word *Kisarazu* was derived from the Ainu word *ki-sara-tu* (reedy fleet).

**kisan-rap*(-u): earlobe

Ibaraki 茨城

Tsukuba 筑波 (筑 chordophone, 波 wave, or Tsukushi (筑紫) in Kyushu area)

1. According to *Hitachi-no-kuni Fudoki* (『常陸国風土記』), at the time of *Sushin* emperor, it was named after *Tsukuba-no-mikoto* (筑波命), who was the feudal lord of this area and said “Name this county’s name from my name and let it be known for many generations.”
2. The shape of the mountain looked like that of a rice ball, and it was called “*nigirimeshi* (握り飯 rice ball) *tsukuba* (筑波 stick)” for grains stick when they eat rice balls, and became the place’s name.
3. From *tuk-pa*, which means “head shape” in Ainu.
4. From the Ainu word *tuk-ba* (独 坡), which means a mountain standing alone in a plain.
5. From *tukupu*, which means “notch” in Ainu.

**tukkap*: protuberance, breast

**tukupu*: to tower, to rise high.

Souma 相馬 (相 mutually, 馬 horse)

1. From *sawa* (沢 stream) + *ma* (間 between)
2. *Sohma* means a fall or gully in Ainu
3. From *saniwa* (狭場 narrow space)
4. From *sa* (狭 narrow) + *numa* (沼 pond)

Tone 利根 (利 profit, 根 root)

1. Originally written as 鋭峰 meaning sharp peak.
2. From *sone*, which means the rocky wilderness.
3. From *tanne* “a long river” in Ainu.

**tanne*: to be long.

Gunma 群馬

Ueguri 植栗 (植 to plant, 栗 chestnut)

- (1) Here lived an important person whose last name was *Ueguri*.
- (2) Derives from “*uekuri*” which means ‘shade’ in Ainu.

**kuri*: a shadow. shade. form. image. cloud.

Shittaka 尻高 (尻 rump, 高高)

- (1) From a topographical feature. The shape of a mountain was like a horse whose rump (尻) was high (高).
- (2) From the Ainu: a compound of “*shiri*” meaning mountain, and “*taka*” which means ‘round mountain’.

**sir*: the land; the mountains; an island; a state, appearance; an observable state.

**tak*: a lump; a mass.

Tochigi 栃木

Aso 安蘇 (安 ease, 蘇 revitalization)

1. ‘Igneous rock’ in Ainu
2. Asao (麻 生), meaning the place where *asa* (hemp) is produced, changed the sound.

**aso*: a seat. floor. stool. chair. crater, volcano.

cf. iso: large bare rocks.

Kanuma 鹿沼 (鹿 deer, 沼 pond)

1. Changed from old names *Kayanonuma* (萱野沼) and *Kenonuma* (毛野沼), named after the landscape of reedy marsh.
2. From the Ainu words *kainu* (蝦夷野) and *kinuma* (蝦夷沼). 蝦夷 means “the place where Ainu lived”.

Mashiko 益子 (益 profit, 子 child)

1. From *masoko* (麻処), a place producing hemp.
2. From Ainu word *mashike* (崖) "a cliff".
3. From a desire to possess more lands, people called the place *mashiko* (益処).

REFERENCE

- Akagi, S. (n.d.) *Ainugo-shu*. Sanon-bungakukai.
Batchelor, J. 1938/1995. *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary*. Fourth edition. Iwanami-syoten.
Chiri, M. (1954). *Bunrui Ainugo Jiten* Volume 3 Ningen-hen. Oka shoin.
Chiri, M. (1975). *Chiri Mashiho Chosaku-shu*. Supplementary volume 2. Heibonsha.
Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma*. London: Penguin. Pp.77
Ikeda, S, and Niwa, M (Editors). (1992). *Rekishi to bunka wo saguru Nihon Chimei rutsu Jiten*. Sotakusha.
Sims-Williams, P. (2006). *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Tamura, S. (1996). *The Ainu-Japanese Dictionary SARU DIALECT*. English by McDonnell, Ian R.L. Sofukan.

Appendix 1: Sources for Ainu place-names

Sources for Ainu place-names can be found in the following:

1. *Shin Nihon chimei sakuin* (新日本地名索引, 1993 New Index Gazetteer of Japan) Abokkusha.
2. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten* (角川日本地名大辞典. Kadokawa Shoten.
3. *Konpakutoban Nihon chimei hyakka jiten* (コンパクト版日本地名百科事典, Compact Land Japonica). Shogakkan.

In Japan, important historical works on the derivation of place-names include, for example

3. *the Kodai chimei daijiten* (古代地名大辞典)

- Kadokawa Shoten. This work describes place names in periods range from the Asuka Period (飛鳥時代, *Asuka-jidai*, 538-710), Nara Period, (奈良時代, *Nara-jidai*, 710-794), and Heian Period (平安時代, *Heian-jidai*, 710-1185) drawing upon the place names in the Manyoshu (万葉集) poetry anthology and Fudoki (風土記) chronicles. Likewise, the
4. *Nihon chimei gogen jiten* (日本地名語源事典) Shinjinbutsu oraisha bases its finding on the study of geography and toponymy.

Appendix 2

Place-names laws in Colonial Hokkaido

Japanese immigration to the Northern island of Hokkaido began during the 13th century and with increasing immigration came the Ainu revolt led by the chieftain Koshamain in 1457. The rebellion was suppressed and there was land separation accompanied by linguistic separation also. The Ainu were allowed to manage their own affairs and discouraged from learning Japanese although there was apparently considerable bilingual competence among the Ainu as reported by Jesuit missionaries and others. The non-assimilationist policy remained in force until the early 19th century when Russian imperialism raised the possibility of an expansionist threat in the northern islands. The need to ensure loyalty and obedience or to bring the Ainu under the sway of the Wajin prompted the mainland Edo government to encourage, instead, an assimilationist policy to encourage the Ainu to learn Japanese and adopt Japanese customs. The *Ainu Shuzoku Kinshirei* (Ainu Custom Prohibition Law) established in 1871 prohibited the Ainu from carrying out their traditional customs and festivals. This law was followed by the enforcement of the family register system (*koseki*) which, besides showing ethnic backgrounds contained compulsory adoption of Japanese names. A language policy

was pursued whereby Ainu children were taught Japanese writing and corporal punishment for the use of Ainu.

The 'frontier' settlers of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) invented place-names in Hokkaido which reflected their previous lives in the mainland (e.g. *Shin-Okayama*, *Shin-Hiroshima*) or donated personal names of settlers themselves: for example *Numata-cho* from 'Numata Kisaburo' and (less clearly) *Tsukigata-cho* from 'Tsukigata Kiyoshi'. A large number of (Japanese) place-names directly replaced Ainu names either by converting the Ainu sound to Japanese (e.g. Sapporo – "dry river bed in Ainu) or Wakkanai (Wakka-Ainu for water)

Appendix 3

1869 Renaming of Ezo-chi (*Ezo-chi Kaisho*). On the formal establishment of the Colonial Mission to Hokkaido by the Japanese government, former Japanese names of *Ezo-chi* (Ainu - *Ainu Moshir*) to Hokkaido and *Kita Ezo-chi* (Ainu - *Rebun Moshir*) to Karafuto. Other regulations standardise Japanese characters for reading Ainu place names (eg Karafuto place names in Dec. 1873 - *Karafuto Chimei moji Seitei*) (There seem to be no official names for these laws in the early *Kaitakushi* (pioneer) years; they are instead in the nature of proclamations)

1872 Land Regulation Ordinance (1872) *Jisho Kisoku*. Article 7 takes all land formerly used by Ainu i.e. Ainu land use not recognised as ownership - *terra nullius*. Not directly concerned with language issues but in Ainu history a watershed in that the link between a culture and a territory in which it may thrive is finally severed.

1901 The first Statute on Former Aborigine Children's Education. (*Kyudojin Jido Kyoiku Kitei*) Ainu and Japanese children to be educated separately. Ainu education is inferior, much time spent on Japanese language learning. The Ainu education policy has a large impact on Ainu language, by 1920s only very elderly Ainu can not speak Japanese. First Regulations abolished 1908.