

Upward and Downward Direction Orientation of the Ainu*

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1 The axis for orientation

On what basis the Ainus identified where they were and found their orientation? Such directions as north, south, east and west give us profitable coordinates. Among Ainus rivers were the coordinate axes in the geographical space. River terraces, mountains or hills along a river and a river itself were their living field where they got most of the necessities of life. In this paper I will not describe rivers as suppliers of resources, but will describe that the Ainus' space of life were structured by rivers, namely, rivers not only gave them the basis

⁰The main data of this paper were got from Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI in my field research in Honbetsu 1980 and 1981, and presented to the 83rd General Meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan 1981. Its summary is in *Gengo Kenkyu* 81, 1982, pp.123-126.

The other information came from our ethnological field research supported by Hokkaidō Government (Watanabe et al. 1982-1992). The following is the list of the informants who gave us precious information concerning this study.

Informants:

(Birth place, Name, Year of Birth, Concerned Section of this Paper, Reference)

Abuta, Mrs. Saku HORIZAKI, 1910, 8.3-fig. 14, [17, p.118]

Asahikawa, Mrs. Kura SUNAZAWA, 1897, 7.1, [9], Mr. Chojirō ISHIYAMA, 1902, 8.3-fig. 14, [10, p.85]

Bihoro, Mr. Matakichi KIKUCHI, 1916, 8.3-fig. 14, [14, pp.96-97]

Chitose, Mrs. Nabe SHIRASAWA, 1905, 8.3-fig. 14, [18, pp.71-72]

Higashi Shizunai, Mr. Tatsujirō KUZUNO, 1910, 8.1, 8.3-fig. 14, [13, p.107, pp.111-112]

Honbetsu, Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI, 1909, 2, 4, 5, 6, 6.1, 6.2, 7, 7.1, 8.2, 8.3-fig. 14, The present author's unpublished data.

Mukawa, Mrs. Seino ARAIDA, 1920, 8.3-fig. 14, The present author's unpublished data, [13, p.64]

Nukibetsu, Mrs. Teru NISHIJIMA, 1896, 2, 8.3-fig. 14, [16, p.55]

Obihiro, Mr. Hiroshi YAMAKAWA, 1914, 8.3-fig. 14, [15, pp.58-60] Oshamanbe, Mr. Kikumasa SHIBA, 1923, 8.3-fig. 14, The present author's unpublished data.

Samani, Mrs. Yumi OKAMOTO, 1896, 3, 8.3-fig. 14, [14, pp.141-143]

Shiraoi, Mr. Yōsaku ISHIBE, 1910, 8.3-fig. 14, [11, p.9]

Shizunai, Mrs. Yone AKITA, 1896, 8.3-fig. 14, [12, pp.90-91]; Mrs. Suteno Orita, 1902, 3, 4.1, 8.3-fig. 14, [12, pp.96-97, p.107]

Teshikaga, Mrs. Katsuyo KUDŌ, 1907, 8.3-fig. 14, [14, pp.101-102]

Urakawa, Mrs. Tare URAKAWA, 1897, 8.3-fig. 14, [13, p.131]

of orientation but also established order in the space of living and regulated the way of life in the space.

On the other hand, we will find among Ainus of Pacific coastal areas an idea that the easterly direction is superior to the west. This idea constituted another coordinate axis of orientation and also structurized the space of their life. The main data of this study were got from Mrs. Tomeno SWAI in Honbetsu, a town on the Toshibetsu River in the Tokachi River system, where these two axes were compounded.

Describing these geographical concepts of the Ainu through linguistic analyses we will realize also that the linguistic structure of Ainu itself reflects the structurized space with the coordinate axes of orientation.

In this paper the term “Ainus” refers Ainus who lived in the Ainu society in the first half of the twentieth century. “The Honbetsu dialect” is the language of the above mentioned informant, Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI.

2 Rivers as ways for traveling

For the Ainu rivers (and the seacoast) were indispensable ways for traveling. I have a linguistic proof for that.

I visited with my colleagues an old Ainu lady, Mrs. Teru NISHIJIMA, several times, who lived in Nukibetsu (see fig. 14), a town in a mountain area in the west of Hidaka, and tried to reconstruct an Ainu culture there about 100 years before.

Whenever we left the town after an interview with her, she bade farewell to us and said, [?]*epétčiw sakno*. Because formulaic greeting expressions such as “Good morning.” or “How do you do?” have not developed in Ainu, this curious greeting phrase interested me. I asked her once its meaning. She explained that it meant “Go back home without any accidents!” Although this expression seems to be a conventional set phrase and not capable of being analysed, we can assume that its etymological meaning is ‘without falling headfirst in a river,’ because we recognize such constituents of the expression as these:

[?] <i>e-</i>	somebody’s head	nominal prefix
<i>pet</i>	river	n.
<i>čiw</i>	to stab	v.t.
<i>sakno</i>	without	postposition

So the phrase [?]*epétčiw sakno* can be translated more literally as ‘without stabbing a river with the head.’ This analysis is supported by a parallel expression: [?]*esítčiw* ‘to fall forward on the head’ (Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI) .

- 1) [?]*e-sít-čiw* to fall forward on the head (*sít* ← *sír* ‘earth’)
- 2) [?]*e-pét-čiw* to fall headfirst in a river (*pét* ‘river’)

This farewell expression tells us the importance of rivers as traveling roads.

3 Along a river

In some dialects of Ainu there was not such a simple and abstract expression as ‘(to go) along the river.’ In these dialects they said either 3) or 4).

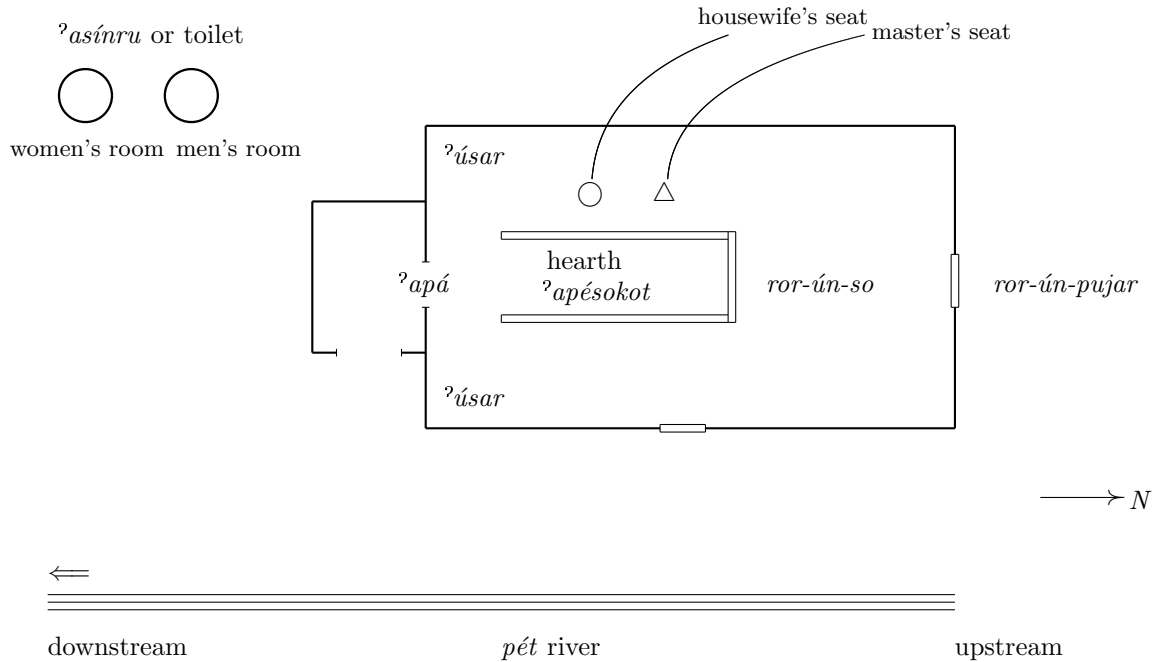


Figure 1: The plan of the Ainu house (in Honbetsu)

- 3) *pet turasi* (to go) along the river upstream
- 4) *pet esoro/pes* (to go) along the river downstream

This fact too suggests the close relationship between the Ainu and rivers, though these concrete expressions are not found in every dialects. In dialects in which these opposite expressions were not found, for example in Mrs. SAWAI's Honbetsu dialect, only the phrase *pet turasi* was used for both directions.

4 The plan of the Ainu house oriented by the river

The Ainu built houses on river terraces. The sacred window, *ror-ún-pujar*,¹ opens to the upper reaches of the river. On the other hand the entrance, *apá*, opens to the lower reaches of the river (fig. 1).

The northern mountains where the river rises were a sanctuary presumably, for Mrs. SAWAI believed that “the north”, she said *kita* in Japanese, is the world where deities live, *kamúj erók kotan*.

Almost all the animals and birds in the mountains were regarded as deities. Hunting was none other than the invitation of the deities to the human world. Ainus hunted animals in order to treat them as sacred guests and entertain them. The sacred window, *ror-ún-pujar*, was the entrance of the deities. The

¹Though the sacred window is general in Hokkaidō, there are dialectal variants as for its name: *rorunpujar* Asahikawa, Honbetsu, Sibunai, Urakawa, Samani, Bihoro, Chitose; *rorunpiraw* Urakawa; *rorunpuraj* Mukawa, Hobetsu, Usu; *kamuj pujar* Kussharo; *poro pujar* Saru; *eronnepujar* Saru; *pujar* Siranuka, Kushiro. All the dialectal forms are reported in our *Urgent Field Research on Ethnography of the Ainu* [10]~ [24]

hunter put the game into the house through this window. On the other hand fish were not deities, so they were put in the house through the normal entrance, 'apá [13, p.18].

Except deer hunting hunting was the labour of men, not of women. Thus only men had the right to talk to the deities. Women could not even treat game in the first process. Men organized the ceremonies of salutation, treatment and send-off. Women were able to attend the ceremonies, but were excluded from the sacred services. Beside this, other than the elderly, women were not allowed into the sacred space, *ror-ún-so*, because the deities sat down, or hunters put the game, in this space. Women had to keep their positions nearer to the entrance. They call the space for women 'úsar. The private seat of the housewife was found at the side of her husband, but farther from the sacred space than his. In general women were kept as far as possible from deities. Even their lavatories were set farther away than men's.

4.1 Setting of a stove

The goddess of fire always sat in the hearth dressed in red [7, pp.139-140].

5)	<i>apehuchi</i>	the grandmother of the fire
	<i>kamui huchi</i>	the old goddess
	<i>hure kosonte</i>	on red dresses
	<i>iwan kosonte</i>	on six dresses
	<i>kokutkor kane,</i>	ties the sash,
	<i>iwan kosonte</i>	bottoms of six dresses untied
	<i>opannere,</i>	she flutters,

She was a messenger, who took men's messages to other deities. Therefore when Ainus said prayers, they opened the sacred window, *ror-ún-pujar*, in order that messages might reach other deities.

We have a report which tells us how embarrassed they were when stoves were introduced into their lives in Shizunai (see fig. 14). The deity of fire should have faced the sacred window. Yet stoves were iron boxes. The Ainus were afraid that she might be shut in the box and could not keep contact with other deities. [10, p.85]

They solved this problem by regarding the vent on front of the stove as the eye of the deity and setting the stove in such a way as the eye could look through the sacred window [12, pp.96-97].

5 Terms of direction

Now we are convinced of the importance of the up-or-down relationship along the river. This natural relationship established order in the lives of the Ainu. It determined not only spacial arrangements of men and deities, but also the plan of the house. It corresponded also to the social standing of men and women. We can regard the near-by river as the axis of the Ainu world.

In order to find direction the Ainu did not rely on a compass. They were neither interested in astronomical directions. Their indifference toward astronomical phenomenon in general is impressive when we learn that they referred

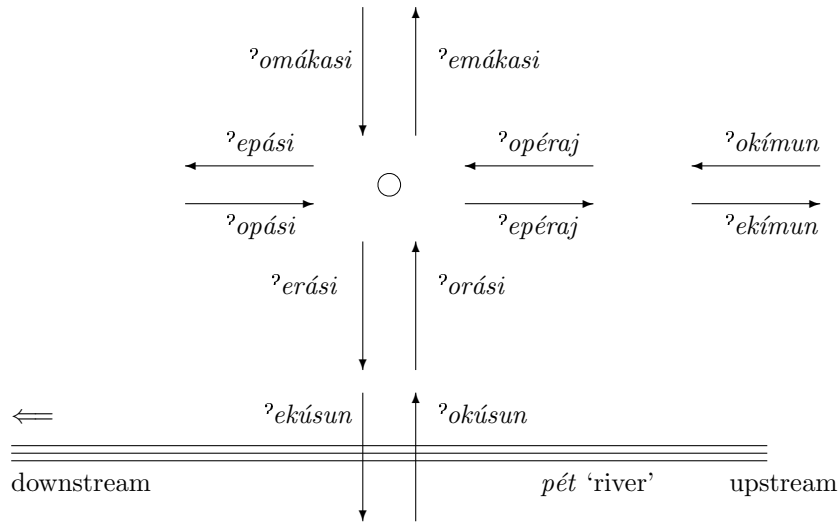


Figure 2: Six pairs of adverbs for orientation

to the sun and the moon by the same word.² For the orientation they lacked the terms of the north and the south. Most of the terms for indicating direction other than demonstratives were geographically relative ones and were related with the river [5, p.238, 239].

In the area of the Toshibetsu River basin Ainus indicated directions with six pairs of adverbs in their riverside lives (fig. 2).

First, they distinguished between upward and downward directions (fig. 3). This distinction not only depends on the stream of the river, but also corresponds to the altitudinal differences among the river, the river terraces and the hills along the river.

Second, they distinguished between parallel and right-angled directions to the river (fig. 3).

Third, they distinguished between directions of a goal and a starting point (fig. 4).

The system of directions consists of these three relationships. In the case of “over the river” (*?ekúsun/?okúsun*), the up-or-down relationship and the parallel-or-right-angled relationship were not concerned as a matter of course. And in the case of “to or from the mountains” (*?ekímun/?okímun*), the mountains from which the river runs were the reference point.

We find similar systems of direction in other dialects. Fig. 5 is based on our field research in Samani in the east of Hidaka. About some of the directions we are not certain of the initial *h-*, because the report of a informant, Mrs. Yumi OKAMOTO, was uncertain in this point.

²čup One can choose *sírpeker čúp kamuj* ‘čup of day’ (the sun) or *sírkunne čup kamuj* ‘čup of night’ (the moon) in case of necessity.

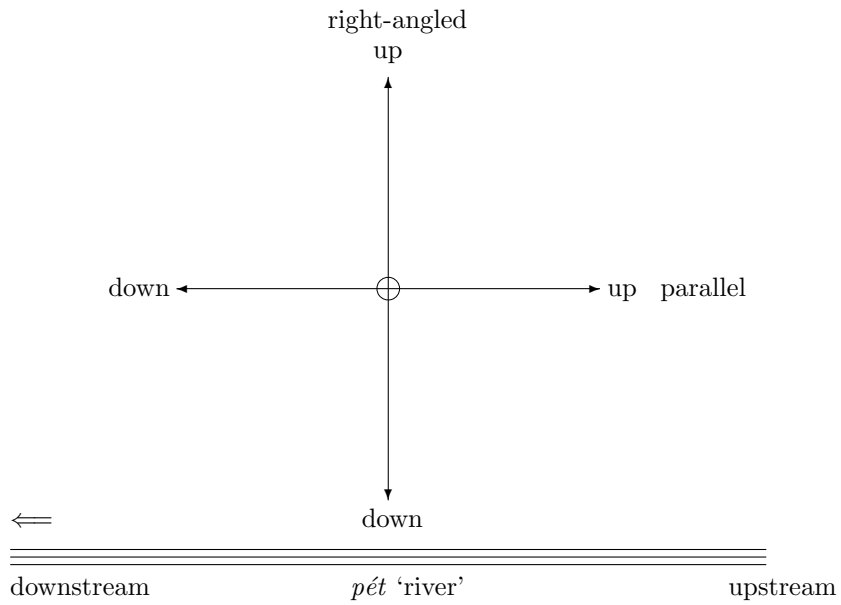


Figure 3: Up or down relation and parallel and right-angled relation



Figure 4: Starting point and goal

In Samani there exists directions adjusted to the coastal life, for example, *episun* ‘to the sea side’, *opisun* ‘from the sea side.’

We find also the terms for the east, *ekojskaun*, and for the west, *ekojspokun*. We are still uncertain whether these directions are really magnetically or astronomically determined.

6 System of four verbs of movement

In Ainu there are four verbs of movement, which frame a system in the space along a river. In his dictionary Batchelor translated these verbs as follows (singular/plural) [1]:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---|
| 6) | <i>oman/paye</i> | to go, to advance, to proceed |
| | <i>ek/arki</i> ³ | to come |
| | <i>san/sap</i> | to descend, to flow along as a river |
| | <i>ran/rap</i> | to descend, to come down as rain, to alight |

In so far as this research on Mrs. SAWAI’s Honbetsu dialect is concerned, these translations are not precise. In this dialect the usages of the four verbs of movement were more limited.

Fig. 6 is the abstraction from the following phrases, which Mrs SAWAI said without stopping, as if she told a story, after a long discussion with me on the theme of this paper.

- 7) ***ʔErási rán wa rá ʔun ʔékasi turá wa ʔék!***
Go to the riverside and take the old man who lives there!
- 8) ***ʔOrási ʔék kor ʔan.***
He is coming.
- 9) ***ʔEpéraj ʔomán wa húci turá wa sán!***
Go upstream and take the old woman!
- 10) *Péna ta ʔán húci ʔopéraj sán kor ʔan.*
The old woman who lives in the upper reaches of the river is coming.
- 11) ***ʔEmákasi ʔomán wa mák un sapo ták wa rán!***
Go behind our house and invite the woman who lives there, and come back!
- 12) *Mák un sapo ʔomákasi rán kor ʔan.*
The woman who lives behind our house is coming.
- 13) ***ʔEpási sán wa júpo turá wa ʔék!***
Go downstream and take the man!
- 14) *Pána ʔun júpo ʔopási ʔék kor ʔan.*
The man who lives in the lower reaches is coming.

³Batchelor’s plural form is *ariki*.

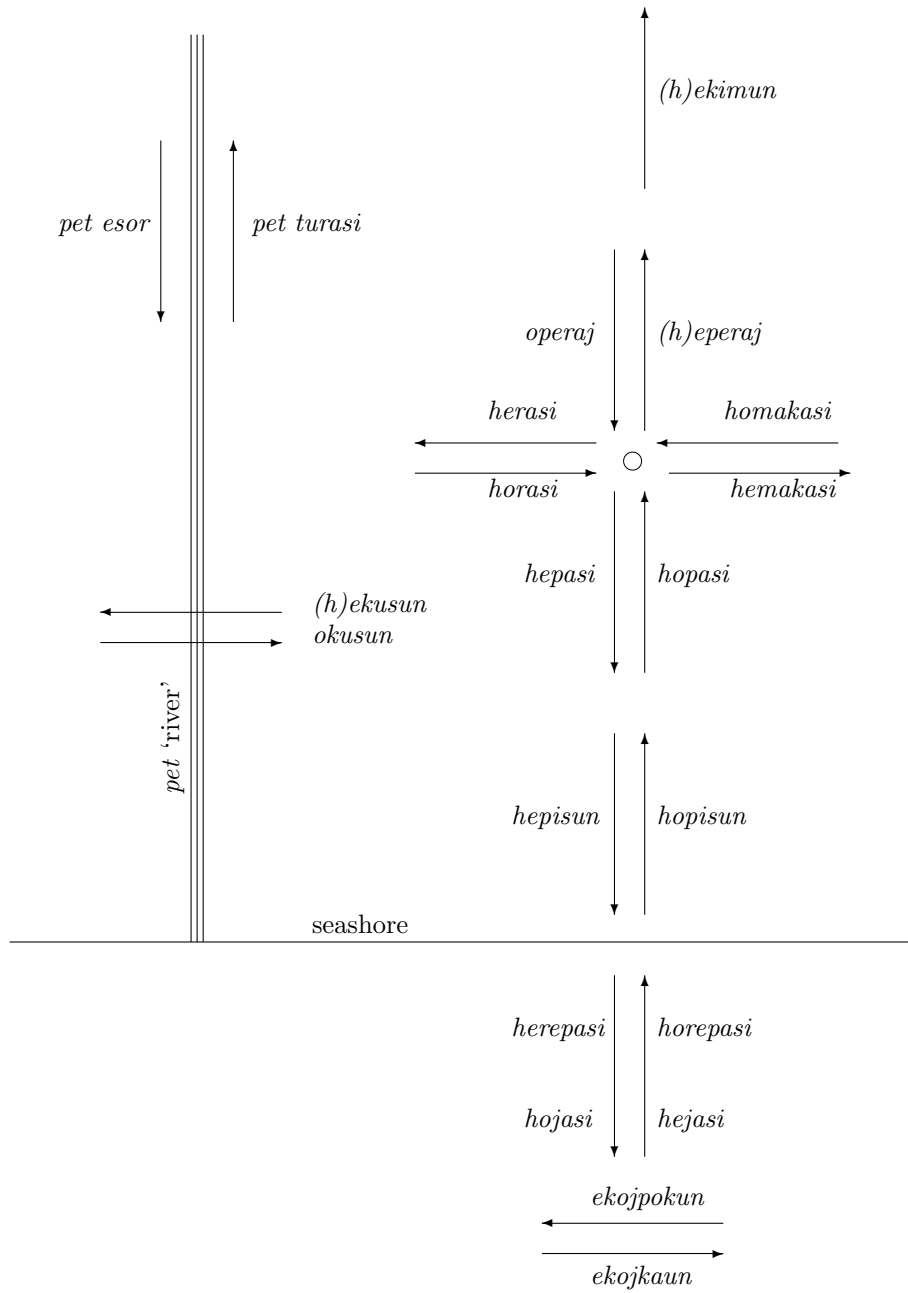


Figure 5: Adverbs of directions (Samani)

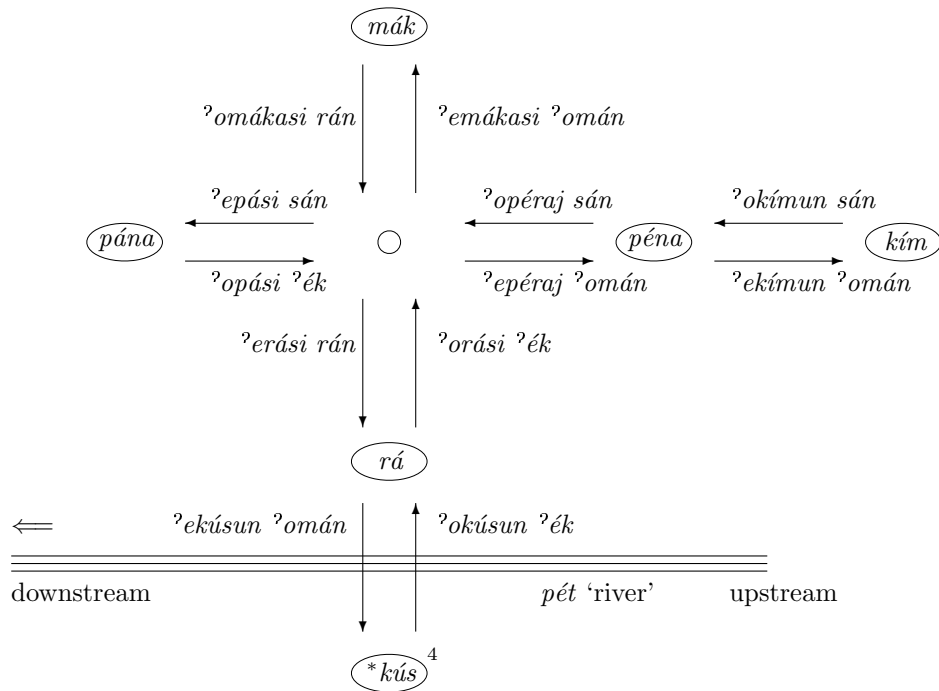


Figure 6: System of four verbs of movement

Glosses: *án* to be. *ʔékasi* an old man. *húci* an old woman. *kor* ʔan [progressive]. *mák* the hill behind one's house. *pána* the lower reaches of a river. *péna* the upper reaches of a river. *rá* a riverside. *ta* in. *sápo* a woman elder than the speaker. *ták* to invite. *turá* to accompany. *ʔún* to live in. *wa* and. *júpo* a man elder than the speaker.

6.1 Cases where geographical up-or-down relationship is irrelevant

They said *ʔomán/pajé* or *ʔék/ʔárki* for the movements over the river (fig. 7). In this case the up-or-down and parallel-or-right-angled relationships are irrelevant. Only the goal and the starting point are concerned with such cases as this.

- 15) *Pét ʔoske peka ʔekúsun pajéʔ án.*
We ford the river.
- 16) *ʔOkúsun ʔárkiʔán.*
We come from the other side of the river.

⁴Because I could not get the word for 'the other side of a river' in Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI's Honbetsu dialect, I cite this form *kús* instead from the collocation *pét kus ta* 'at the other side of a river' of Mrs. Kura SUNAZAWA's Asahikawa dialect.

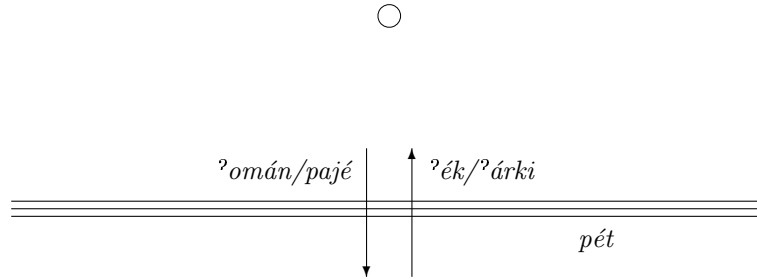


Figure 7: Movements over the river

The term “to go” for *ʔomán/pajé* and “to come” for *ʔék/ʔárki* in the semantic descriptions by Batchelor are proper only in this type of movement. Generally they said *ʔomán/pajé* and *ʔék/ʔárki* when they were not conscious of geographical up-or-down relationships.

- 17) *ʔEnón ʔeʔóman ru he?*
Where are you going?
- 18) *ʔOnón ʔék ru tap an a?*
From where on earth (he) came?
- 19) *Teʔen ʔek!*
Come here!

6.2 Cases where geographical up-or-down relationship is relevant

When they were conscious of the river, that is, when they were interested in geographical up-or-down relationships they said *ʔomán/pajé* and *ʔék/ʔárki* only for upward movements (fig. 8).

For downward movements, they distinguished between the parallel and the right-angled directions to the river, but did not make another distinction concerning the goal and the starting point (fig. 9).

These verbs for movements not always occur with the adverbs for direction:

- 20) *ʔÁsnap ari pajéʔʔan ʔeʔájkap. Sápan hi ta ʔanak ʔásnap ne jakkaj pírká.*

We can not go upstream with a paddle. When we go downstream, we can do well even with a paddle. (They used a pole when they went upstream.)

- 21) *ʔAsór kotan ʔor en kuʔóman tek ʔárukuran kuné tek kusán nankor kus pírkano sirúye yan ani!*

I will go to the village *Asor* and will stay one night and will come back. So stay at home and look after the house well. (*Asor* is a town which is located upstream.)

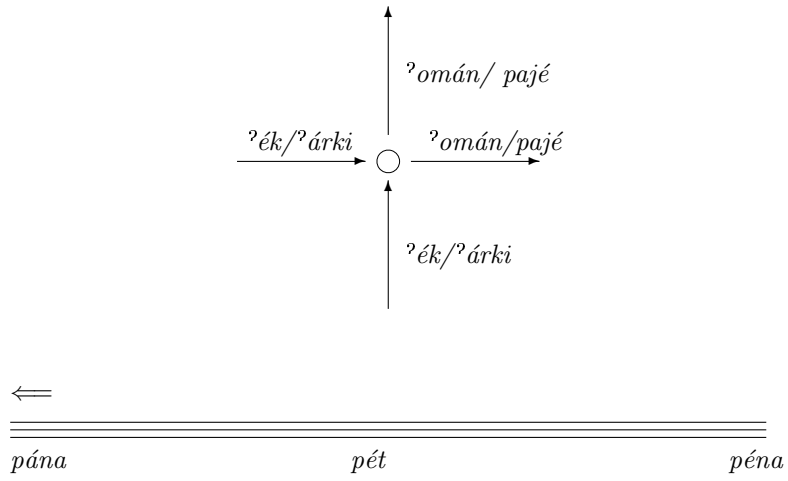


Figure 8: The upward movements

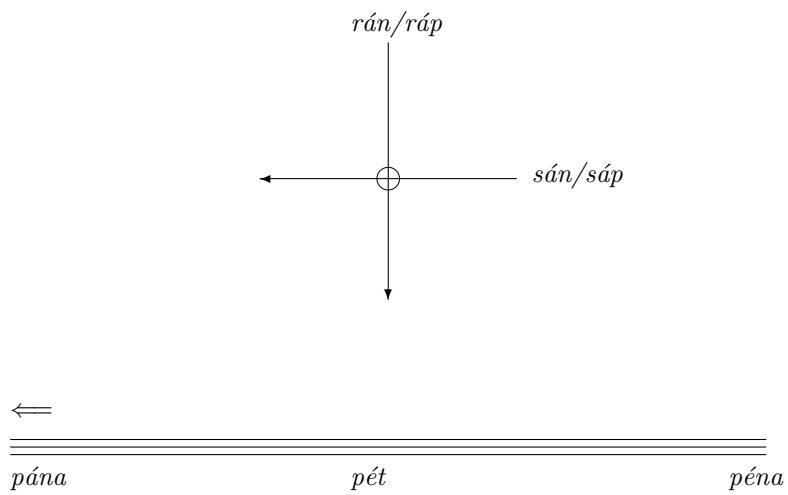


Figure 9: The downward movements.

Movements to the mountains from which the river runs are typical cases of the up-or-down movement along the river.

22) *Ku'íramante kus 'ekímun ku'óman tek 'okímun kusán ru 'estap an ne.*

In order to do hunting I went to the mountains and came back from the mountains.

6.3 New interpretation of *urekrek*, riddles

Our more precise grasp of the meaning of the verbs of movement makes possible new interpretation of well-known Ainu riddles or *urekrek*s as follow. I will present them at first with Mashiho Chiri's interpretation.

23) *Oman aine shituri-p nep ta an?* — *Tar.*

What thing gets long at last? — A Rope. They carry on the foreheads and the backs firewood and so on bundled with a rope. [2, p.387, 389]

24) *Oman aine e-ni-tom-oshma-p nep ta an?* — *Mukar.*

What thing is whose head bumbs into a tree? — An ox. [2, p.387, 398]

Chiri translated *oman aine* “at last”. However that is rather the meaning of *aine*. *aine* as a conjunction links two events which come one after another and means that the first event takes time.

Another interpretation different from Chiri's is based on our new grasp of the meaning of *'omán* ‘to go upstream.’ The riddles read, “What thing goes to the mountains and at last gets long?” and “What things goes to the mountains and at last its head bumbs into a tree?”

7 The upward and downward movements inside the house

Ainus partly brought the geographical ideas even into the movements inside the house (fig. 10). In parallel to the outdoor movements they said *'e-rór-un 'omán* ‘to go to the sacred space’ or *'o-'úsar-un 'ék* ‘to come from the space of women’ for upward movements, and *'e-úsar-un san* ‘to go to the space of women’ or *'o-rór-un sán* ‘to come from the sacred space’ for downward movements.

In the house there was another choice of orientation. When they drew near to the fireplace, they said *sán/sáp*. This usage of the verb has already been pointed out by Suzuko TAMURA in *Dictionary of Ainu Dialects* [5, p.241].

In an epic by the Iburi dialect we find also such lines as these:

25) <i>Inkar-kusu</i>	Hey,
<i>apo-tonoke</i>	my child!
<i>eeshipopkep</i>	Your dress
<i>mi wa</i>	put on and
<i>abe-sam ta san!</i>	come to the fireside!

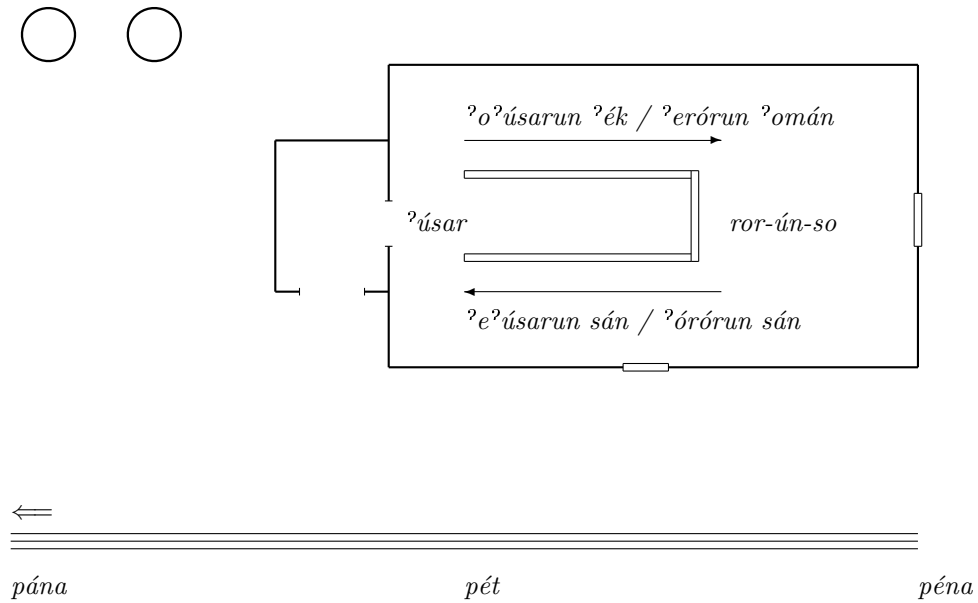


Figure 10: Movement in the house

The Honbetsu dialect of Mrs. SAWAI supplies an example of this usage of *sán/sáp*.

26) *Ná sá ta sán wa ?apékur!*

Come nearer to the fireside and worm yourself at the fire!

When they stand downstream and call somebody who is upstream, they say:

27) *Ná sá ta sán!*

Come down more downstream!

The phrase uttered outdoors could be used also in the house.

In Ainu epics the fireplace covered by ashes is regarded as the sea in metaphorical expressions.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 28) | <i>rep-o-usat</i> | Live charcoal lying offshore |
| | <i>ya-o-raye</i> | he moved to the seashore. |
| | <i>ya-o-usat</i> | Live charcoal lying at the seashore |
| | <i>rep-o-raye</i> | He moved offshore. |
| | <i>tu utursama</i> | Between the offing and the seashore |
| | <i>re utursama</i> | many times |
| | <i>otke kane</i> | he stabbed (the ashes), |
| | <i>naipa kane</i> | he drew lines (on the ashes). |

These lines presents a scene of a man who is lost in deep thought playing with fire [6, p.40].

This metaphor is the background of the orientation in the house.

The same metaphor is found when they took off the heat a pan, *sú*, hunged over the fire.

29) *Sú ján-ke!*

Take the pan off the heat! (From Mrs. Tomeno SAWAI)

ján-ke is a transitive derivative whose intransitive root *ján* means ‘to land.’

7.1 *pét* and *náj*, the terms of ‘river’

There are two words in Ainu which mean ‘a river.’ They are *pét* and *náj*. While it is the flows of water that is referred to as *pét*, *náj* refers to a gutter along which the water runs. The autobiography of Mrs. Kura SUNAZAWA [9] gives us some clear examples about the distinction of these two word.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|
| 30) | <i>naj ot ta ri ja</i> | to spend the winter in the <i>náj</i> |
| | <i>naj ot ta kuča kar</i> | to build a hut for hunting in the <i>náj</i> |
| | <i>ku are naj</i> | the <i>náj</i> where someone set traps |
| | <i>Naj asam ta yačipoči an.</i> | The bottom of the <i>náj</i> is muddy. |
| | <i>naj kotor koapkas</i> | to walk on the surface of the <i>náj</i> |

As for *pét*, the following two examples give proofs that the *pét* means the flow of water.

- 31) *Pét poró.* The *pét* grows big, viz. The *pét* overflows.
pét sam ta at the side of the *pét*

In order to express downward movements along a valley they said *náj turasi rán* ‘to go/come down along the valley,’ which were contrastive to the phrase *pét turasi sán*, while neither the expression **náj turasi sán* nor **pét turasi rán* were acceptable to Mrs. SAWAI.

- 32) *náj turasi rán* **náj turasi sán*
**pét turasi rán* *pét turasi sán*

Mrs. SAWAI once spoke of two streams which runs near her house and flows into the river *Tús-pet*. One of the streams called *Sokón[?]us-naj* runs close to her house, and near the house it runs almost parallel with *Tús-pet*. The other stream, *Húrat-naj*, runs farther from the house, about 1.5km away, and as a whole flows at right-angles to the river.

- 33) *Né[?]an pón jámwakka [?]etúk hi wa pónno pónno [?]u[?]ékarpa [?]ahinne pón pet né wa to[?]ónen sán ahinne poró pet [?]or pak sán.*

Springs are gashing there (on the hills behind her house). The brooks from them joins one another one by one and becomes the stream (*Sokón[?]us-naj*), and it flows there (downstream), and flows as far as the big river (*Tús-pet*) at last.

- 34) *Húrat-naj turasi rápán ahinne Tús-pet [?]ari ré[?]an poró pet [?]or ta rápán.*

If you go down along *Húra-at-naj*, you will arrive at a big river called *Tús-pet* at last.

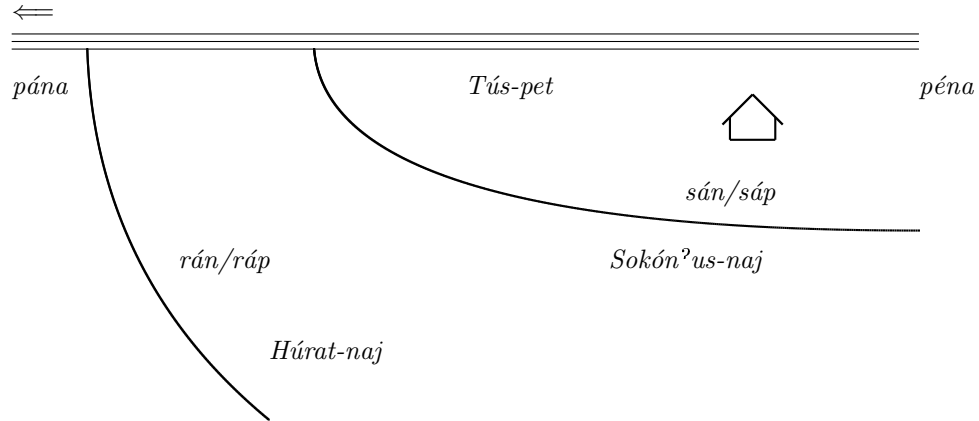


Figure 11: Two brooks

8 The upward and downward direction on the sea

It is highly probable that the Ainu who lived along the coast of the Pacific found again the up-or-down relationship with the sea.

In a piece of oral tradition recorded in Horobetsu (see fig. 14) we find the words *shi-atui-pa* ‘the east of the sea’ and *shi-atui-kesh* ‘the west of the sea.’ The glosses here came from an original Japanese version, which was written by an Ainu-Japanese bilingual⁵ [3, pp.88-89] [4, pp.110-111] [7, p.115].

- 35) *shi-atui-pa wa* To the east,
shi-atui-kesh wa to the west
humpe utar whales
shinot shir konna were playing
chopopatki ko, with splashes,

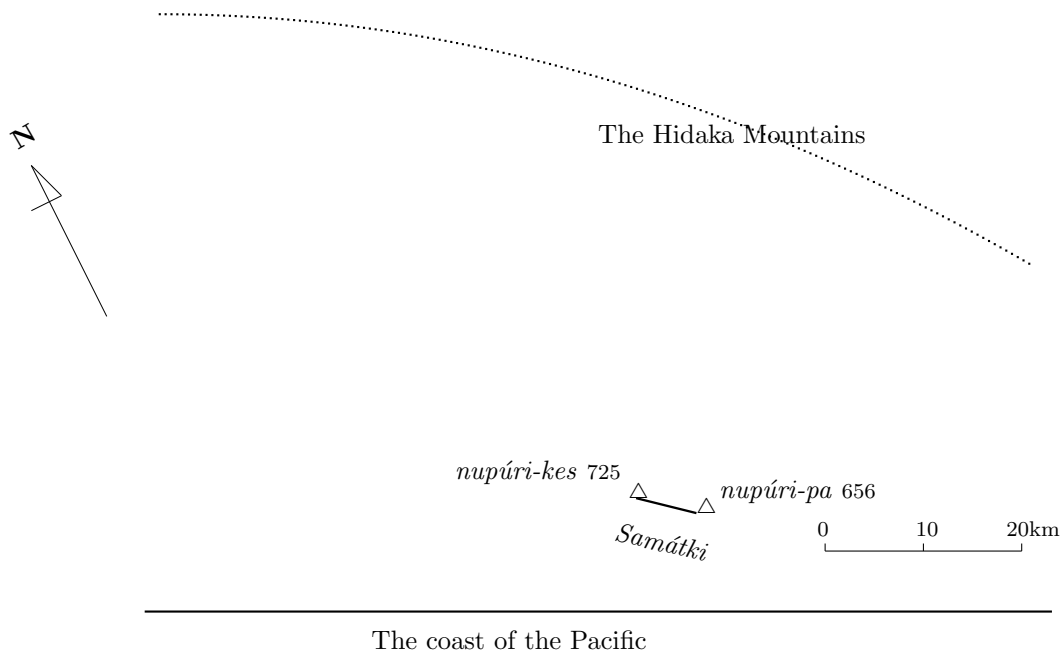
Literally we can interpret them as follows:

- 36) *shi-atui-pa* *shi-atui-kesh*
true | sea | upper part true | sea | lower part
the due east part of the sea the due west part of the sea

We learn from these lines that in Horobetsu the east was regarded to be upper and the west was regarded to be lower.

In the same piece of oral tradition we meet the following lines [3, pp.88-89] [4, pp.112-113] [7, p.116, 178].

⁵Yukiye Chiri 1903-1922.

Figure 12: The up-or-down relation in the mountain range *Samátki*

37)	<i>atui noski ta</i>	In the midst of the sea
	<i>shinokorhumpe</i>	a great whale
	<i>upokor humpe</i>	a whale with children
	<i>heperai</i>	up
	<i>hepashi</i>	and down
	<i>shinot shir</i>	played
	<i>chopopatki</i>	with splashes.

heperai and *hepashi* correspond with '*epéraj*' 'upstream' and '*epási*' 'downstream' of Mrs. SAWAI's Honbetsu dialect. We can interpret these lines that a whale went to the east and went back to the west.

8.1 The head and the end of a mountain range

In Higashi Shizunai (see fig.14) there is a short range of low mountains (3km long). Ainus who lived there called it *Samatki*, whose original meaning is 'one who is lying.' This range of mountains runs from east to west as a whole and is found between the seacoast and the Hidaka Mountains, biggest mountain range in Hokkaidō (fig.12). Ainus in Higash Shizunai called the eastern-most peak (656m) of the range *nupuri-pa* 'the upper part of mountains' and the western-most peak (725m) *nupuri-kes* 'the lower part of mountains' [12, p.111].

8.2 Movements along the coast of the Pacific

Mrs. SAWAI considered not only the north but also the east as the world of deities, *kamúj* *ʔerók kotan*. On the other hand in the west of the house there was a fence of sacred staffs with shavings called *ʔekási nusa*, where they worshiped their ancestors. We guess from that that the west was concerned with the world of the dead. Mrs. SAWAI's Honbets dialect reflects the idea that the east was sacred and superior to the west.

When Ainus in Honbetsu went to Atsunai or Kushiro, They went down along the river *Tús-pet*, a branch of the Tokachi River, and then went down along the main stream of the Tokachi River. When they arrived at the seacoast, they went east along the coast. They said *ʔomán/pajé* for this movement. For the reverse movement, from Kushiro and so on to Honbetsu, they said *sán/sáp* (fig. 13).

On the other hand, when they went to Hiroo and returned, they said *sán/sáp* for the way there, and when they came back they said *ʔék/ʔárki* (fig. 13).

38) *Kusúr ʔor pak kuʔóman tek kusán nankon na.*
I wil go to Kushiro and come back.

39) *Kusúr ʔor wa sáp ʔutar ʔanakne ʔokánpap kor wa ʔárki.*
The people who came from Kushiro brought troubles.

40) *Ačúnaj pakno kisá ʔari pajéʔán tek or wa kisá ʔor wa rápán čikanakne ʔatúj sam peka ʔotópo ʔosíppaʔán pokon ʔatúj sam peka sápán. Konpukarusi ʔor en sínéupaʔas kus sápán.*

We go to Atsunai by train. Then, after we alight from the train, we go along the coast, as if we came back along the coast. We go to Konbukarusi in order to visit (someone).

41) *Piróʔo ʔari ʔen kusán. ʔAtúj sam ʔen kusán tek Piróʔo kotan ʔor en kusán wa kuʔék.*

I go to (the place called) with (the name of) Piroo. I go to the coast, and go to the village Hiroo and come back.

These usages of verbs of movement teach us that for the Ainus in Honbetsu the east is the upward direction and the west is the downward direction.

8.3 Alignment of the sacred window

Although we have seen the plan of the Ainu house whose sacred window opened upstream in section 4, this type of alignment was not universal. In fig. 14 the arrows indicate the facing of the sacred window.⁶

In the western districts along the coast of the Pacific the window opened to the east. The distribution of this type limited to the west of the Saru River.

Based on his study of ancestral crest and traditions in Chitose, Takemitsu NATORI clarified that the ancestors of the Chitose Ainu came from Nukibetsu and its neighborhood and Mukawa [8]. In this inland district houses stood along

⁶Oshamanbe [22, p.84], Abuta [17, p.118], Shiraoi [11, p.9], Mukawa [18, p.64,69], Chitose [19, p.71], Shinhiraga [21, p.21], Nukibetsu [16, p.55], Shizunai [12, pp.90-92], Higashishizunai [20, p.67], Urakawa [13, p.126,130], Samani [13, p.133], Obihiro [15, p.58], Teshikaga [14, pp.101-103], Nijibetsu [23, p.62], Bihoro [14, p.96], Asahikawa [10, p.85]

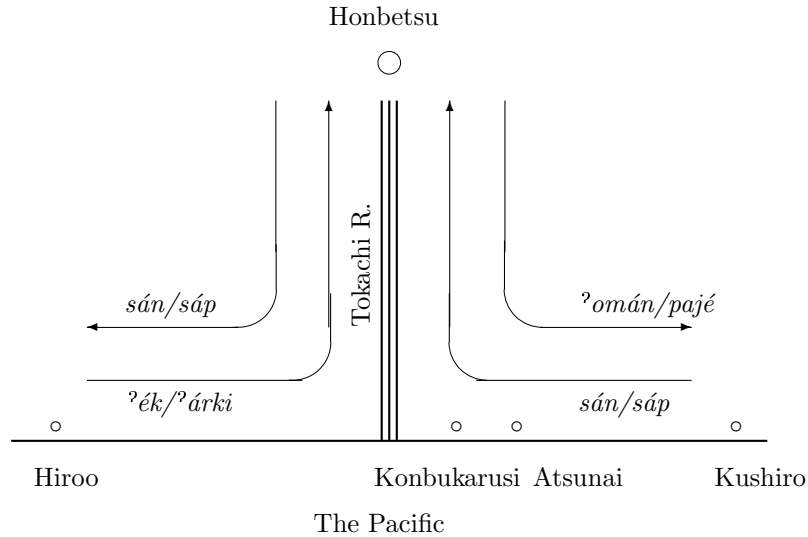


Figure 13: The movements between the coastal areas and Honbetsu

the Chitose River, and the windows opened to the east as in the home lands. In consequence they faced downstream.

In Honbetsu we found the idea that the east was the upward direction, but the facing of the sacred window was determined by the up-or-down relation along the river.

The alignment of the house in Higashi Shizunai is exceptional, because Higashi Shizunai is covered in the area where the sacred window opened upstream. I do not know the reason of this unnatural distribution.

There was no informant in Horobetsu, but we can access the dialect there through Yukiye CHIRI’s book of Ainu folktales. CHIRI translated *rorunpurai*⁷ “the superior window” [3, p.9], [4, p.17], [7, p.47] or “the window of the east.” [3, p.11,95], [4, p.19,119], [7, p.49,121]

8.4 Terms of the east and the west

The late Hidezō Yamada, the foremost student of Ainu toponymy, noticed that toponyms which contained *koj-ka* ‘east’ or *koj-pok* ‘west’ as the constituent were maldistributed and they clustered only in the coastal area of the Pacific (cf. fig. 5). Based on the literal meanings of these terms of direction, *koj-ka* ‘wave-up’ and *koj-pok* ‘wave-under’, he connected their origins with the Chishima Current, which runs from the northeast to the southwest along the Kurile Islands and the south coast of Hokkaidō. [25, pp.305-309]

⁷The form of the Horobetsu dialect corresponding to *rorunpurai* of the Honbetsu dialect and others. See footnote 1.

9 Conclusion

The following are the conclusions arrived at through the present study.

The interpretation herein of a farewell expression tells us that for the Ainu rivers were indispensable ways for traveling.

In some dialects of Ainu they said either *pet turasi* ‘along the river upstream’ or *pet esoro/pes* ‘along the river downstream’ and did not say such an abstract phrase as “along the river.” This fact also suggests the close relationship between the Ainu and rivers.

The river determined not only spacial arrangements of men and deities, but also the plan of the house. It corresponded also to the social standing of men and women. We can regard the river as the axis of the Ainu world.

The stove, which was introduced lately in the Ainu, was incompatible with their spacial concept.

Terms of directions were not astronomical, but geographical, and the river was the axis for the orientation.

The river determined the usages of the four verbs of movements *ʔomán/pajé*, *ʔék/ʔárki*, *sán/sáp*, *rán/ráp*, which have been translated respectively with terms like ‘to go’, ‘to come’, ‘to descend (as a river)’ and ‘to descend (as rain)’. They said only *sán/sáp* for the downward movement parallel to the river and only *rán/ráp* for the downward movement right-angled to it. The verbs *ʔomán/pajé* and *ʔék/ʔárki* was used only for upward movements.

Our more precise grasp of the meaning of the verbs of movement makes possible new interpretations of some Ainu riddles, where *ʔomán* should be interpreted as ‘to go to the mountains’ not as just ‘to go’.

They brought the expressions of the upward or downward movement parallel to the river even into the house.

The downward movement along *náj* was expressed with the verb *rán/ráp*. However, they could say *sán/sáp* for downward movement along a stream which runs through a valley and flows across alluvial plains, if it flows on the plains parallel to the river.

Terms of direction on the sea, names of peaks of a mountain range which runs from east to west near the coast, verbs of movement along the coast, and alignment of houses in some districts can be regarded as the evidences that Ainu who lived in the coastal areas of the Pacific found again the up-or-down relationship with the sea which was presumably determined by the Chishima Current.

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