

# The Native Place Names of Arctic America

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## I. INTRODUCTORY NOTES

### A. *Rationale*

THERE ARE REASONS why at first it may seem unfitting to discuss the place names of arctic America in an issue of *Names* devoted solely to the American Indian. For one thing, arctic place names are preponderantly and typically Eskimo and Aleutian, languages long considered to have an Asiatic rather than an American affinity.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the speakers of these languages are anthropologically different from the American Indian. The Asiatic affinities are not strange, of course, since America is separated from Asia at the nearest point by a strait not more than 56 miles wide. And, for this reason, it is not strange that formerly there were commercial relations between the tribes on the Asiatic side and those in Alaska, and that there still exists a remnant of Eskimo speakers on the coast opposite Alaska across Bering Strait. Neither the traditional geographic division between an Asiatic continent nor, more recently, the political one between the United States and the Soviet Union, along a boundary line in the middle of Bering Sea, has ever marked an ethnological division.

Despite these considerations, and despite the fact that no feeling of consanguinity or congeniality has ever existed between the Eskimos and their Indian neighbors, linguistically both Aleutians and Eskimos may rightfully be ranged among speakers of Amerindian languages,<sup>2</sup> for the American Indians and the Amerindian

<sup>1</sup> Rasmus Rask saw analogies between Greenlandic and Uralian. Father E. Petitot tried to prove the Asiatic origin of Eskimo (*Vocab. français-esquimaux*, *Bibl. de linguistique et d'ethnographie américaine*, III. Paris, 1876, pp. xxiv—xxxv). The matter has also been dealt with by A. Sauvageot (*JSAP*, XVI, Paris, 1924) and W. Thalbitzer. Sapir concludes that both Eskimo and Aleutian are of Asiatic origin, having spread over Alaska and northern Canada in comparatively recent times.

<sup>2</sup> Franz Boas (*Handbook of American Indian Languages*, BAE, Bull. 40, Pts. I and II) includes not only Eskimo among the linguistic families north of Mexico,

languages entered America by way of the Chukchi Peninsula and Alaska, probably in Neolithic times. And though Aleutian and Eskimo – undoubtedly the latest arrivals – differ typologically from the *neighboring* Amerindian languages (Athapascan, Tlingit, Algonquian), yet the Aleutian-Eskimo linguistic type recurs farther south (as near as Kwakiutl and some related languages in British Columbia),<sup>3</sup> and again in Central and South America, in languages spoken along the Pacific Coast as far as southern Chile (Mapuche or Araucanian).<sup>4</sup> Thus the Amerindian area, linguistically speaking, extends from South America into parts of the Asiatic mainland. This paper, of course, will deal only with place names in arctic America, i.e., from Alaska to Labrador and Greenland.

### B. *Groups and Dialects*

As stated above, the preponderant languages in the arctic toponymy are Aleutian and Eskimo. Of the same type, and distantly related to one another, each is divided into two sub-groups: eastern and western Aleutian, and eastern and western Eskimo.<sup>5</sup> Western (or Alaskan) Eskimo has a number of dialects very different from each other. Eastern Eskimo, however, has dialects that amount to several closely related sub-groups, all mutually intelligible. To speak generally, these dialects gradually pass into one another, the difference depending on geographical conditions and on commercial and cultural contacts.

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but also the Asiatic Chukchi, Koryak, and Kamchadal: "... Chukchi proves ... that those features which are most characteristic of many Indian languages are found also on the Asian continent" (I, 82). The present author thinks that the latter three Asiatic languages should be included as being of the same type as the Amerindian languages proper.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Franz Boas, "Kwakiutl Grammar with a Glossary of the Suffixes," *Trans. Am. Philosophical Soc.*, n.s., vol. 37, pt. 3 (Phila., 1947) and *Kwakiutl (Handbook, Pt. I, 423-557)*.

<sup>4</sup> Chukchi, Koryak, and Kamchadal (spoken in n. e. Asia; see note 2), though classified as "Palaeo-Asiatic," fall rather into the same sub-type as most Amerindian languages; i.e., they are more American than are Aleutian (Alaska) or Eskimo in Canada and Greenland).

<sup>5</sup> See Kaj Birket-Smith (in *Five Hundred Eskimo Words*, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, III, No. 3, Copenhagen, 1928, p. 31): "... the dialects spoken in Alaska cannot lay claim to being treated as something apart to the same degree as formerly, although on certain points they still represent the more primitive stage."

### C. Territory of Aleutian and Eskimo

Aleutian is spoken on the Alaskan Peninsula and in the Aleutians from a point west of the Veniamin of Volcano to the island of Attu; the limit between eastern and western Aleutian is at present west of Umnak Island (Fox Islands group). Western (or Alaskan) Eskimo is limited to the coast of southern Alaska, from Norton Sound in the northwest to the Kenai Peninsula in the southeast; and here belongs the dialect of the isolated Chugach Eskimos, in the Chugach Mountains.<sup>6</sup> Western Eskimo is also spoken on Nunivak and St. Lawrence Islands in the Bering Sea (v. note 6). The remaining Eskimo tribes speak different dialects of eastern Eskimo.

Eastern Eskimo (cf. above) is spoken principally in northern Alaska, the Mackenzie River area (the Chiglit), the Coppermine River area, the Chesterfield Inlet (Caribou Eskimos), the Boothia Peninsula (Netsilik Eskimos), the Melville Peninsula (Iglulik Eskimos), the Kazan River basin (Keewatin District), Baffin Island, Labrador, and Greenland. In Greenland, three different main dialects are spoken: that of eastern Greenland, that of western Greenland, and that of Cape York, or the Thule district, in the northwest, the latter the home of the Polar Eskimos.<sup>7</sup>

Although all these tribes generally inhabit the coastal area of the Arctic Ocean, the native toponymy and the archeological remains indicate that some of the islands of the Northwest Territory of Canada have been visited or populated by Eskimo speaking tribes. Examples are Victoria Island, Southampton Island,<sup>8</sup> and Ellesmere Island. Excepting the Kazan River area of the Canadian District of Keewatin (whose native place names point to an Eskimo settlement), the interior of Alaska and Canada has never been Eskimo territory. Instead, it is sparsely inhabited by Indian tribes, chiefly Athapascan (in the west) and Algonquian (in the east). Interior

<sup>6</sup> To western Eskimo also belong the dialects of the Asiatic Eskimo tribes that have re-peopled St. Lawrence Island (Bering Sea); v. L. L. Hammerich, "The Western Eskimo Dialects," *Proc. of the 32nd Congress of Americanists*, Copenhagen, 1955, p. 634.

<sup>7</sup> The Rev. Francis Barnum, S. J., in *Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuït Language*, (Boston and London, 1901) makes this division: (I) Eastern (Greenland and Labrador); (II) Central (the Churchill to the Mackenzie River); (III) Northern (Point Barrow to Norton Bay); and (IV) Western (Norton Bay to Bristol Bay).

<sup>8</sup> Inhabited by the Sadlermiut Eskimos as recently as 1906.

Greenland, as well as some of the other arctic islands, which are partly covered by a permanent icecap, is of course entirely uninhabited.

#### D. *The Term "Arctic America"*

If "Arctic America" meant only those parts of America north of the Arctic Circle, large areas of Greenland, Labrador, Keewatin, and Alaska — where Eskimo and Aleutian place names occur, and which are partly inhabited by Eskimos and Aleutians — would have to be left out of this study. Names of Athapascan and Algonquian origin have generally been left out, since the author has partly dealt with them in a previous study, "The Indian Place Names of North America."<sup>9</sup> The present study, then, is confined to the Eskimo and Aleutian toponymy, a convenient delimitation since this toponymy is in most cases easily recognized and characteristically distinguishable from that of the neighboring Indian tribes.

#### E. *Neighboring Tribes and Languages*

The principal Indian neighbors of the Eskimo are the Athapascans (e.g., Koyukon, Ahtena, Loucheux or Kutchin<sup>10</sup>) and the Algonquians (Cree, Naskapi). They cannot be ignored, since their toponymy and Eskimo toponymy to some extent intermingle. Thus, one encounters in central and southern Alaska such Athapascan place names as Iliamna, Talkeetna ("earth-hole-place"?) and Tanana ("elevation"?), each of which contains the element *-nna* "earth, land." This *-nna*<sup>11</sup> typifies Athapascan place names, as does also the absence of *p*, a sound that is lacking in Athapascan (and also Aleut). Thus, it is almost a truism that Alaskan names with *p* are of Eskimo origin. As for the Algonquians, typically Algonquian

<sup>9</sup> In *Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature*, VII (Upsala, 1948).

<sup>10</sup> *Kutchin* (Father Petitot's spelling) is properly the Loucheux designation of "people" in general, whereas they themselves are known by the native name *dindjé* (Petitot) "men" (v. Em. Fortune Stan Jos. Petitot, *Dictionnaire de la langue deneindjé, dialectes montagnais ou chippiwayan, peux de lievre et loucheux*, Bibl. de linguistique et d'ethnographie américaine, II, Paris, 1876, p. xix).

<sup>11</sup> In Montagnais and Hare, Father Petitot (II) translates this suffixed element by "terre." In Montagnais it is a suffix only. The fact that it serves as a postposition in some pronominal forms indicates that it was originally a locative suffix, perhaps equivalent to Eskimo *-fik* (*-vik*) "place," commonly found in place names.

place names are found in northwestern Canada along with purely Eskimo ones, e.g., Nemiscau Lake, Lake Wapaniskan, and Lake Mistinibi (all in northern Quebec). The Algonquian names are not as clearly recognizable as the Athapaskan, though, to mention a few, it is evident that *Nemiscau* reflects Proto-Algonquian \**namä'sa* "fish," and that *Mistinibi* means "the big water" (just as *Mistassini* means "big rock").

#### F. *Object, a Comparative Study*

Because the Eskimos and Aleutians were the last arrivals in America from the Asian continent,<sup>12</sup> the meaning of the native place names of the parts of arctic America inhabited by these tribes is generally quite clear; indeed, to anyone familiar with the Eskimo language, the names are easily translatable appellatives. Contributing to this is the fact that the Eskimo place names, especially in Greenland, have been well preserved in their native form.

However, the Eskimo and Aleutian place names in Canada and Alaska offer problems even to the specialists,<sup>13</sup> since they often appear much more disguised in the official spelling than, for instance, the Greenlandic names. Indeed Aleutian, as well as the Eskimo dialects of southern Alaska, may actually represent earlier immigrations than the present-day eastern Eskimo dialects. The latter, which are far less diversified than Aleutian, appear to have had a recent rapid extension over northern Canada and Greenland. Furthermore, the Alaskan names have been more exposed to corruption, either because they have been in use in their respective areas for a longer time, or because they were less accurately heard and recorded by the white settlers.<sup>14</sup>

Owing to their relative simplicity as plain appellatives, and because specialists have already studied them, the present author

<sup>12</sup> The Eskimos reached America at about the beginning of our Christian era, appearing as far as Greenland at about the time of the arrival of the Norse (who found Greenland uninhabited). See L. L. Hammerich in *Oertijd en nu* (Humanisme en Tallkunde, Groningen, 1952), p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> See K. Bergsland, "Aleut Dialects of Atka and Attu," *Trans. Am. Philological Soc.*, n. s., vol. 49, Pt. 3 (Phila., 1959), pp. 11-13, 17-42. The Rev. R. H. Geoghegan in *The Aleut Language*, ed. F. I. Martin (U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Washington, 1944, p. 87) states that many Aleutian names are the result of misunderstandings by travelers.

<sup>14</sup> See comments on *Nome*, in a later context.

feels that it would be uninteresting and superfluous merely to enumerate and interpret the Eskimo and Aleutian place names.<sup>15</sup> Instead, the present treatise will be a comparative study, intended, at one and the same time, to find typical common features in the arctic toponymy and to reach a general conclusion as to how its linguistic structure compares with that of the Indian place names in North, Central, and South America.

## II. PHONOLOGY

1. The symbol *r*, in Eskimo (and Aleut) phonology denotes a velar (or uvular) sound similar to "Parisian *r*" (cf. Greenlandic *anoraq* "anorak, a hooded leather jacket"). Historically, this sound has nothing whatsoever to do with an *r*-sound. The symbol has been used by French and Danish explorers and linguists<sup>16</sup> in Canada and Greenland, respectively, to denote a sound which resembles *r* in these languages. German and Dutch writers have accepted this notation.<sup>17</sup> The Russians, however, whose *r* is a clearly trilled sound, and whose *g* is occasionally a velar fricative (e.g., *kogda* "when"), never represent the Eskimo or Aleut sound by *r*, although occasionally by *g* or *k* (cf. the place name *Atka* [Bergsland: *atrar*], *Ikiginak Island* [Bergsland: *ikirinar*], *Seguam* [Bergsland: *saruga-*], etc.<sup>18</sup> We shall use the symbol *r* here to transcribe Eskimo and Aleutian words, and the symbol *q* to express the corresponding voiceless sound, whether articulated as a plosive, an affricate, or a fricative.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See especially W. Thalbitzer, *Eskimo Place Names from North Greenland* (in his larger study in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, vol. 31, Copenhagen, 1904) and K. Bergsland (*op. cit.*, note 14) who deals chiefly with local names from the Aleutian islands of Atka and Attu.

<sup>16</sup> Father Petitot writes *ρ*, which he characterizes as "le *R* dur et grasseyant des Arabes" (III, p. xxxix).

<sup>17</sup> In his theory of a primitive relationship between Eskimo and Indo-European, C. C. Uhlenbeck maintained that Greenlandic *r* could occasionally answer to Indo-European *r* (cf. Greenlandic *qôrraq* with Latin *gurgēs*). Thalbitzer (v. *torngaq*, note 64) partly accepts this theory; in *IJAL*, 17, No. 4, pp. 217-23, L. L. Hammerich discusses it.

<sup>18</sup> The Russian *r*-sound is identified with (Alaskan) Eskimo and Aleutian *l* in old loanwords (*tukulaq* "axe" from Russian *topor*, etc.); in later words an Aleut *j*-sound is substituted, as in *katiĵinam tana* "Catherine's Island" (v. Bergsland, p. 26).

<sup>19</sup> Father Petitot (III) represents this latter sound by *kq*, *ϕk*, or *ϕkq*; *kr* or *rk* is sometimes found in the official spelling of Canadian place names.

2. In Greenlandic the symbols for corresponding voiced sounds are geminated to indicate intervocalic voiceless fricatives: *rr* (uvular), *gg* (palatal). For intervocalic (bilabial) *f*, *vf* and *gf* are used. The sound written *g* is generally fricative; dialectally it may have a nasal quality (= *ng* in English "sing"). In Eskimo nasal and non-nasal plosives interchange (*-p* ~ *-m*, *-k* ~ *-ng*, *-q* [occasionally] ~ *-rng*). Place names ending in one of these nasals are common in parts of Canada where central Eskimo dialects are spoken – but the variations are internal or individual rather than dialectal.

3. In many Eskimo dialects, the sounds of English *tz* (as in "Ritz") and *ch*,<sup>20</sup> and English *s* and *sh* are not differentiated – although in Greenlandic *sh* is represented by *-ss-* (e.g., *-ssuaq*, the augmentative suffix). In Greenlandic names, *j* represents the sound of English consonantal *y*; but in reality it varies between this sound and *j* (or else [ʒ], as in "pleasure"). In certain central Eskimo dialects, original *s* and *sh* sounds appear as *h* (e.g., Greenlandic *siko* "ice" becomes Eskimo *hiko*).

4. In Eskimo and Aleutian, owing to the historical evolution of the languages, both consonants and vowels alternate in related words. Thus *r* ~ *q* (v. 1, above), *g* ~ *k*, *p* ~ *v*, *k* ~ *q*, (or *g* ~ *r*), *q* ~ *rr* (cf. Greenlandic *qagqaq*, Eskimo *karra* "mountain peak"), *s* ~ *j* (*-juaq* occurs in some dialects for Greenlandic augmentative *-ssuaq*). In most Eskimo dialects (except those of Alaska) there are no initial consonant groups (nor are there *r-*, *l-*, *j-*, *v-* [*w-*]).

5. In western Eskimo the components of original medial consonant clusters of continuants and plosives occur in free sequence. In Greenlandic and other eastern dialects, however, they occur in a fixed sequence that requires the plosive element always to precede. Thus, whereas in English and Spanish, original *-dl-* is apt to become *-ld-* (e.g., English "mo(u)ld," Sp. *molde*, fr. L. *modulus*), original Eskimo *-lt-* (*-ld-*) becomes *-dl-* (*-tdl-*) in Greenlandic and the central Eskimo dialects. And in Greenlandic and central Eskimo, original *-llk-* (*-lg-*), *-lp-* (*-lv-*), *-s(h)k* (*-zhg-*), and *-nr-* become, respectively, *-gl-* (*-gdl-*), *-bl-* (*-vdl-*), *-gss-*, and *-rn-* (*-rng-*). Hence Alaskan *kazhge* (*quashige*), "meeting house," appears in Greenlandic as *qagsse*. And hence the plural of Greenlandic *imeq*, "water," is not the expected \**imrit*, but the metathesized *ermit*. Though their exact borders are

<sup>20</sup> Father Petitot (III) represents this sound by *tç*.

hard to draw, these metatheses are all clearly reflected in the toponymy. They are least evolved in the western parts. A Greenlandic word such as *agdlag*, "black bear," (cf. the Canadian place names *Aklavik*, *Adlavik*) may be identified with an Aleutian word *algaq*, "any wild beast."

6. Alaskan Eskimo has four original vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*, and *ə*<sup>21</sup>) and Greenlandic and eastern Eskimo have three (*a*, *i*, *u*).<sup>22</sup> The four-vowel system is evidently the primitive one, the eastern dialects, and probably Aleut, having changed *ə* into *i*. After any *i*, a *t* often becomes *s*, *ts*; thus central Eskimo *itigaq*, "foot," becomes Greenlandic *isigaq*, and Alaskan *stamen*, "four," becomes Greenlandic *sisamat*.

7. Throughout the area, long and short vowels and long (geminated) and short consonants are differentiated. Greenlandic denotes these differences by accent marks (', ^, ~), e.g., *tikipoq* (= *tikiippoq*), "comes," *nák* (long vowel), "headland," *ūmat* (= *ūmat*, i.e., long vowel + long consonant), "heart." Generally, in the Greenlandic place names of the present study these diacritics will not be used.

### III. THE PLACE NAMES OF ARCTIC AMERICA

Most Eskimo place names are from common descriptive nouns. Hence, all over the coasts of the Arctic Ocean, one finds (in slightly divergent forms according to the dialects) geographical names of which the meaning is simply "the river," "the island," "the lake," etc. Examples are *Kuk* (Alaska), *Kuuk* (Victoria Island), "the river," to which may be added many names meaning "the big river" (cf. below); *Kekertuk* (Baffin Island), *Queqertaq* (several in W. Greenland, of which one is Danish *skal Ø*), "the island," along with others meaning "the big or little island" (v. below); and *Tohak Lake* (District of Keewatin), *Taser Lake* (Baffin Island), which correspond to Greenlandic *taseq*, "freshwater lake."

Neither in Eskimo nor in Aleut are words formed (and therefore place names) by compounding concrete nouns, in the manner of

<sup>21</sup> *ə* is often suppressed altogether. The Rev. John Hinz (*Gr. and Vocab. of the Eskimo Lang.*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1944) sometimes represents this sound by *i* (e.g., *tikitoq*, "comes"). Cf. Barnum's *thetok*, in a dialect different from Hinz's.

<sup>22</sup> *e* and *o* occur, but have a secondary origin.



English "waterway," "landslide," "hilltop," "coldstream."<sup>23</sup> Nor do we as a rule find in arctic toponymy qualified appellatives such as "the Rocky Mountains," "the Red River," "Little Rock." Therefore, although "great" or "big" is Chiglit *angiyog* (Greenlandic *angisôq*), and "little" or "small" is *mikiyog* (Greenlandic *mikissoq*), yet "big house" is not normally \**angiyog iglu* (*angisôq igdlo*), or "little land" \**nuna mikiyog* (*nuna mikissoq*). Instead of such constructions one finds qualifying suffixes: Chiglit *iglorpôq* (Greenlandic *igdlorssuaq*) "big house"; Chiglit *nunariaq* (Greenlandic *nunânguaq*) "little land." This is probably related to the fact that the adjectives in question rather mean "is great, little," and that their use with a noun might suggest something like "the house or land is big or small." The above qualifying suffixes are not independent elements, but occur only as terminations of nouns.<sup>24</sup> In arctic place names this is practically the only way of expression, and although the majority of these suffixed elements are augmentative or diminutive (analogous to "-kin" or "-let" in English "mannikin," and "piglet"), yet the Eskimo dialects use a still greater number of such suffixes, which may express divers other qualities as well.

Adjectival qualifiers are not so frequent and varied in the American Indian toponymy as they are in that of the Old World,<sup>25</sup> and most of such qualifiers are rather equivalent to English "great," "big," "little," etc. However, names of this kind in arctic America are very numerous. The Aleutian Tanaga Island means "the great land" (or "island"; cf. Bergsland, p. 39) and Tanadak Island is "the little (is)land" (cf. Bergsland, p. 20). Nunivak Island (Alaska;

<sup>23</sup> Father Petitot (III) does give examples of such words (apparently of his own coining), e.g., *nunatchénéya* ("land-maker"), which renders the French "créateur." Similarly, for Aleutian, Geoghegan (*op. cit.*, p. 120) writes *tanamagugu* (as if "landlord") to express "emperor, tsar," which in reality represents two words (*tanam*, "of the land" and *agugu*, "its lord").

<sup>24</sup> Father Petitot gives these suffixes as independent words, *pak*, *pok*, *soak* (with no hyphen) to render French "grand," and *âluk*, *aqk* for "petit." The augmentative suffix *-pak* of the central Eskimo dialects recurs in *-pag-* or *-pa-* in Labrador and Greenland; cf. Cape Kiglapait (Labrador) "many holes" (Greenlandic *kigdlaq* "hole").

<sup>25</sup> See the present author's "The Indian Place Names in Mexico and Central America" in *Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature*, vol. XVI (Upsala, 1964), pp. 24-25.

if = *nunavák*, "big land")<sup>26</sup> and Nunachuak (on the Nushagak River, Alaska) both mean "the big land." Kukpuk (w. Alaska),<sup>27</sup> Kwiguk (Yukon delta),<sup>28</sup> Koksoak (n. Quebec), Koukdjuak River (Baffin Island) all mean "the big river," whereas Kogaluk River (n. Quebec) and Kwethluk (on the Kuskokwim River, Alaska) would mean "the little or bad river." Teshekpuk Lake (n. Alaska; cf. Alaskan *tashuk*, "lagoon") and Tasserssuaq (W. Greenland) mean "the big lake," while Tassialuk Lake (n. Quebec) means "the (poor) little lake." Among the islands there are Kikkertoksoak (n. Quebec) and Kikkertavak (Labrador), "the big island," with which may be compared Kikkertuluk River (n. Quebec), "the little island" (referring no doubt to a river island in that river). Nunarssuit (W. Greenland) means "the big or many lands,"<sup>29</sup> and Iglorssuit (also W. Greenland), "the big or many houses or igloos" (cf. note 30); in Alaska there is a Kashegelok, meaning "the little meeting house" (there is an Aleutian island named *Ulak* "the house.")<sup>30</sup> Amadjuk Lake (the second largest in Baffin Island) evidently has the augmentative suffix (-*djuak*), but whether the preceding element means "flint" (Chigliit *anmark*, Greenlandic *angmaq*) or "root" (Chigliit *amark*, Greenlandic *amâq*), or is still another word, we must leave unsettled.

The Eskimo languages are often described as "polysynthetic," a term that should be used to designate the linguistic type wherein a concrete direct object (or possibly certain adverbials) may be incorporated into a verbal form (as happens in Athapascan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, and some other American languages). It is

<sup>26</sup> The native form of the name is, however, *nunivak* (in which the *-i-* would make difficulties for the proposed interpretation).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Kuqvik* ("the big or perhaps real river"), the native name of the Mackenzie River. In Alaskan Eskimo the Yukon is called *kwigpak* (or *kwigpik*), "the real river" (Barnum, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 63, 349).

<sup>28</sup> Barnum (p. 349) quotes the word *kweguk*, "larger river," and Hinz (*op. cit.*), *kuiguak*, "a slough."

<sup>29</sup> The plural forms of *-ssuaq*, "big" and *-nquaq*, "small," respectively *-ssuit* and *-nguit*, may often signify "many" and "few."

<sup>30</sup> Augmentative and diminutive suffixes are often appreciative and depreciative, respectively, and hence express "great" or "fine" and "poor (little)" rather than "big" and "small." Cf. the author's "Indian Place Names in North America" in *Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature*, vol. VII (Upsala, 1948), p. 18, with note 2.

referred to by Boas as "incorporation."<sup>31</sup> This is not the case in either Eskimo or Aleutian; the translations given by Father Petitot (v. note 23) must be interpreted as constructions of two words ("the earth, he creates it" and not the incorporated "he earth-creates," etc.). Although Eskimo words may often become extremely long through the embodying of a great number of significant syllables, yet these latter are not concrete elements but mere suffixes of the same type as we find in the Ural-Altai languages (which are traditionally classified as "agglutinative") or, as a matter of fact, in Indo-European (e.g., Latin *puellula*, *auriculari(u)s*, *dicitate*). The process of "agglutination" may quite naturally be more or less evolved in different languages, and in the Eskimo languages it has been carried to an extreme. However, it is immaterial whether a word in Eskimo can express a whole sentence or not; the English monosyllables "yes" and "no" also often express sentences in their own way.

The following names illustrate the agglutinative nature of the Eskimo languages. Nunaksaluk Island (Labrador) expresses "little country for habitation,"<sup>32</sup> Igaliko (W. Greenland), "old or deserted cooking place" (*igaleq*; cf. note 32), Arfersiorfik (W. Greenland), "whale-hunting place," Nugatsiaq (W. Greenland), "longish point" and Kangatsiaq (W. Greenland), "longish promontory," Sermiligarssuk (W. Greenland), "a rather notable glacier" (cf. *Sermilik* "the glacier," E. Greenland), Kangerdlugssuatsiaq (E. Greenland), "the rather big fiord" (cf. *Kangerdlugssuaq* "the big fiord," E. Greenland), etc. In Aleutian names the suffix *-gamag(i)* indicates "the very": thus, to set it apart from other islands, Seguam Island is *sarugamag* "Seguam proper," there being other places of the same name, which Bergsland (pp. 19, 20, 29) interprets as "bird colony"; and similarly Tanaga Island is alternatively *Tanagagimag*, "the great (is)land proper." The native name of the Alaska Peninsula is *Tanagamag*, "the land proper" (i.e., "the mainland"; Bergsland,

<sup>31</sup> See Boas on "polysynthetic" and "incorporating" languages in the Introduction to his *Handbook* (Part I, pp. 74-75).

<sup>32</sup> In reality a future form of \**Nunaluk*, "little land," just as *igdluko* ("what was a house," "ruins") is a preterit form. Cf. Alaskan Eskimo *puyok* "smoke," *puyuthluk*, "what was smoke" (preterit), and *puyokak* "what will be smoke" (i.e., "gunpowder"; future). See Barnum, p. 19. Such tense forms of nouns are typical of American Indian languages.

p. 11). This Aleutian suffix, in the special sense of "real," equals the Eskimo *-fik* (*-vik*, *-pik*); see note 27.

Even though qualifiers of other types than mere suffixes are not normal in the native arctic toponymy, yet it happens that adjectival words are sometimes used as the name of a particular place. Examples are *Augpilagtoq* (W. Greenland), "the red one," referring to the color of an edible seaweed; *Iviglut* (W. Greenland), "(the plains) rich in grass"; *Aqugdliit*, "the middle ones"; *Napassoq*, "the standing one"; and *Anoritoq* (E. Greenland), "the windy one."<sup>33</sup> Utukok River (w. Alaska) seems to mean "the old one," but whether Noatak River means "the new one" is more doubtful (cf. Nutak, on Okak Islands, Labrador, and Greenlandic *nutâq*, "new"). The natives call Unimak Island *Unimga*, "the big one of them" (v. Bergsland, p. 11). Of the same type are also a number of names expressing direction, cardinal points, or other analogous local situations. More examples will be given farther ahead.

Place names do not typically occur in the nominative or accusative case. The typical and most common construction is adverbial, as in "(going) *to*," "(staying) *in* or *at*," "(coming) *from*" — relationships which, in the older Indo-European languages, were expressed by special case forms (cf. (*ire*) *Romam* "go to Rome," *Romae* "at Rome," *Corinthi* "at Corinth"). Such locative forms (adverbial constructions) often became a standard, extending to all cases in which the name of the place might be used. In English, "at" (Anglo-Saxon *æt*) was so often used with the name of a place that in some cases it became part of the standard name form (as in *Tanburne*, from "(at) Enborne").<sup>34</sup> In the same way the French place name Aix represents the Latin ablative plural form *aquis* (used in the locative sense) "at the waters" (cf. Aix-les-Bains; both are thermal stations). In the Amerindian toponymy such *locative* forms are extremely common; they account for the form of all Mexican names that end in *-tlan* (*-lan*, *-la*), *-pan* (*-pa*), *-co* (*-go*, *-c*), etc., such as Tlascala, Jalapa, Mexico, Tehuantepec.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For these names see W. Thalbitzer (pp. 327–406).

<sup>34</sup> See Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1936), p. xvi.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the present author's *The Indian Place Names in Mexico and Central America* (v. note 25), pp. 14 seqq.

Among the Eskimos, however, place name forms corresponding to the above have assumed a character of their own. There are no direct traces in Eskimo or Aleut of the most common Amerindian locative suffix, an original form in *\*-k* (or *\*-ki*, *\*-ko*, etc.; cf. above). In the Eskimo language the locative suffix is *-mi*.<sup>36</sup> But this suffix is not as a rule found in the toponymy, except in constructions which would warrant the locative case form (e.g., Greenlandic *Núngme*, "at Godthaab," from the appellative *núk*, "point, headland," also the name (*Núk*) of the place). Instead, a great many names of places from Alaska to Greenland end in the suffix *-fik* (*-vik*, *-wik*, *-ving*, *-pik*, *-ping*, etc.), which generally signifies "(the) place (of)." The use of this suffix is illustrated by Anvik (Alaska; probably "the place of going out"), Aklavik (Mackenzie District, near the mouth) and Adlavik Islands (Labrador; "the place of black bears"),<sup>37</sup> Kovik River (and Bay, n. Quebec; probably "the place of the river"),<sup>38</sup> Padloping Island (Baffin Island; seemingly "place of worship" — cf. Greenlandic *patdlorpoq* "falls down, worships"), Aulitiving Island (Baffin Island; "fishing place"), and Upernavik or Upernivik (several in W. Greenland; "spring or summer place").

Although the foregoing suffix in all its variants (*-fik*, *-vik*, *-pik*, etc.)<sup>39</sup> represents the nominative (or stem) form of a nominal derivative denoting, among other things, the "place" of something (whether a concrete noun or a verbal action),<sup>40</sup> yet originally the final *-k* may have been nothing but the common Amerindian loca-

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the ethnic names in *-miut* (to be dealt with below), which often occur as place names. Aleut has no particular locative case form, but uses postpositions, which are generally construed with the "relative" form of the noun (e.g., *tanam kugan* "on the land." Cf. Bergsland, p. 87).

<sup>37</sup> Great Bear Lake is about 400 miles southeast of Old and New Aklavik.

<sup>38</sup> This name may be compared with *Kupvik* the native name of the Mackenzie River (see notes 27 and 39).

<sup>39</sup> The identity of some of these names is contestable. Barnum (pp. 39, 61) differentiates between *-vik* (*-fik*) "place," and *-pik* "real" or "true." In Greenlandic these two suffixes are often homophonous. Notice further the common Eskimo alternation of medial consonants, which accounts for the existence of double forms (*-ssuaq* and *-juag*, etc.) of the augmentative suffix.

<sup>40</sup> Greenlandic *-fik* (*-vik*), in either sense, as well as the Alaskan suffix *-pik* (cf. note 39) lacks the *-k* in inflected forms; e.g., Greenlandic *-fia*, *-via* "his place (of)," Alaskan *imaqvim tqamun* "to the bottom of the sea" (Greenlandic *imaviup erqanut*). Cf. Barnum, p. 369. In the analogous suffix *-lik* ("having"), on the other hand, the *-k* (*-g*) remains through inflections.

tive suffix *\*-k* (v. above). And if we understand the Eskimo suffix to be essentially the same in, for instance, the name of the Kovik River, or else the above-mentioned native name (Kuṛvik) of the Mackenzie (cf. note 28), the latter can be compared with such names in Mexico as Jalapa (in Aztecan *Xallapan* "at the place of the sandy water," i.e., "at the sandy water," or simply "the sandy water").<sup>41</sup> They would hence be ranged with that type of name earlier described (v. above) as *locative*. In that case the element *-fi-* (*-vi-*, *-pi-*, etc.), of which the last (*-pi-*) would seem to be the most primitive form, representing an original Amerindian suffix (*\*-pi*)<sup>42</sup>, would answer to the Mexican *-tla-* or *-pa*, expressing locality, and the final *-k* would answer to the Mexican locative suffix *-n*, with the entire form (originally *\*-pik*) thereby meaning the same as the Mexican *-tlan* or *-pan* (cf. above).<sup>43</sup>

One may ask whether there are no locative names proper (i.e., names with a current locative case suffix) in the arctic area of America. If there are any such names at all, they are certainly very few. The National Geographic Society's map of *Canada, Alaska and Greenland* (Washington, 1958) marks a place Nunatami on the south coast of Washington Land in northwest Greenland. If this form is correct, it might possibly represent such a name, being the locative form of the Greenlandic word *nunataq*, "a mountain top rising above the permanent icecap, a nunatak." It would mean "at the nunatak"; and not far to the north of this place is found another one, *Nunataksuak*, "the big nunatak." Father Petitot (III, p. X) says of the *Nunatagmeut* (a native tribe) that they live at *Nunatagmun*, which is itself a case form meaning "to (the place called) Nunatak" (incidentally, in this instance, with a quite different meaning from the above Greenlandic *nunataq*).

Of a different type is the suffix *-lik* (*-ling*) in the Eskimo toponymy, also occurring from Alaska to Greenland. Usually it renders

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the present author's work (p. 15) referred to in note 25.

<sup>42</sup> It could even be a locative suffix, closely corresponding to the Quechua *-pi* (as in *huasipi* "in the house"). Compound locative suffixes are common in American Indian languages (cf. Quechua *-pac*, Nahuatl *-cpac*, etc.).

<sup>43</sup> Locative suffixes (of which many end in *-k*) are found abundantly in the native place names all over the American continent. Cf. the present author's *The Indian Place Names in North America* (referred to in note 30), p. 24; *The Indian Place Names in Mexico and Central America* (see note 25), p. 14; and "Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles II" (in *Names*, 8 (1960), 217 seqq.

the English "having" or "provided with," "owner of," etc., a meaning which is quite evident in many place names; cf. the Greenland name *Ukalilik* "(place) having hares," etc.<sup>44</sup> In practice, this suffix has a function similar to that of the suffix *-fik (-vik)*, with, however, a collective connotation. The suffix occurs, to give examples, in the following: *Kiwalik* (Kotzebue Sound, Alaska; cf. *Kiwalina*, w. Alaska, possibly from *kivagtok*, "rough," of the sea); *Iglolik* (Melville Peninsula), "having igloos or houses"; *Netsilik* (Boothia Peninsula Eskimos) and *Nettiling Lake and Fiord* (both in Baffin Island, the former the name of its largest lake), "having seals." Cf. Greenlandic *natseq* "fiord or ringed seal."<sup>45</sup> Further examples are *Ogualik* (also called Cod Island, evidently from a word meaning "cod," in Greenlandic *úvaq* or *úgaq*), *Sermilik* (various occurrences in Greenland); "having glaciers," *Narssalik* (W. Greenland; "having plains," *narssaq*), and *Angmassalik* (E. Greenland, for which see farther on).

There exists a variant of this suffix, in *-leq (-tdleq, -gdleq)*, which in Greenlandic as well as in Alaskan expresses the superlative degree (as in *sujuleq*, "foremost"). This suffix also occurs in the Eskimo toponymy: *Akugdleq* or (plural) *Akugdliit*, of which there are several in Greenland, "the middle one(s)." Of the same kind is probably the Alaskan name *Unalakteet* (Seward Peninsula), "the southernmost ones"; cf. L. L. Hammerich, "The Western Eskimo Dialects," in *Proceedings of the 32d Congress of Americanists*, Copenhagen, 1956, p. 632.

(End of Part I; to be continued)

<sup>44</sup> Cf. W. Thalbitzer, pp. 327–406. This suffix is not, to the present author's knowledge, found in Aleutian place names, but occurs as a grammatical element (e.g., *sulik*, "having taken"). Aleutian names in *-lga, -ska* (the former a derivation from *-lik*?) might, however, be compared with Eskimo names in *-lik*. A name such as *Kawalga* (in the w. Aleutians) might then mean "(its) having sea lions" (Aleut *gawaq*), as has already been suggested, although Bergsland (p. 40) prefers to render its native form by "the east one."

<sup>45</sup> In names of this type one may always suspect ancient totemic relations between the place, its fauna (or flora), and the tribe belonging to it. Cf. the present author's work referred to in note 25 (pp. 27 seqq., with corresponding notes).