

## THE ORIGIN OF THE ESKIMO AS TRACED BY THE LANGUAGE.

The object of the former volume was, in connection with an abstract of the Grammar and a comparative vocabulary to elucidate the question of the origin of the Eskimo by some general considerations. The chief result arrived at was a theory, according to which their ancestors originally inhabited a territory situated somewhere in the interior of the North American Continent, whence they emigrated and following the water courses, were led to a littoral of the arctic or subarctic regions, most probably that of Alaska. Settled on the shores of that country they developed their wonderful art of capturing marine animals which culminated in their marvellous capability of facing even the most terrible experiences of the arctic clime. From Alaska they then should have emigrated, spreading gradually to the East and North over the vast regions since tenanted by them. In bringing forward this explanation of how even the most forbidding part of our globe could obtain inhabitants, we have, it is true, omitted mentioning the possibility of the Eskimo having inhabited a more southern littoral, and by simply following the coast line reached the higher latitudes. Such a supposition however will, on closer investigation prove to be more improbable. Migrations of this kind could only have been effected from three different coastal regions, namely those on the Eastern,

or Western side of the American continent, or the Eastern of the Asiatic (Siberia), and we had to suppose that the shores traversed before reaching the arctic frontier had been found to be uninhabited. It must be presumed that the acclimatisation and adaptation of the newcomers to this arctic home extended over centuries before any generally wide spread diffusion could have taken place throughout the arctic regions. During such a period the population must have necessarily multiplied and increased towards the said frontier. An assemblage, or accumulation, of this nature on the sea shore itself barely agrees with their habits of subsistence by fishing and hunting. For like reasons we cannot imagine that, if they had come from the interior they could have wandered across the land, and not followed the river courses. The latter path would lead them naturally to a country bordering the sea and including the estuaries of rivers which, from their abundance of fish, supplied the necessary food for sustaining life during the supposed period of transition.

**THE LANGUAGE OF THE ARCTIC SETTLERS NEEDING THE FORMATION AND ADDITION OF NEW WORDS.** It can hardly be denied that the explanation thus offered is supported by various facts, but on the other hand we have to bear in mind that still we have been confined in the main to bare theory, and the writer has searched diligently for some source of information on which to base more exact conclusions. Such he believes to have found while prosecuting the study of the Eskimo dialects, and thereby adopting a proceeding which will be found quite simple. On first settling by the arctic waters and adopting an altered mode of existence, the newcomers must have been compelled to create a number of new words wherewith to designate or describe the objects of their natural surroundings, especially the animals which they met with here for the first time, and those contrivances and engines which neces-

sity, in their struggle for existence, had compelled them to originate. When compared with the ordinary course of development of the lower races, as shown by the history of culture, such transformation must be regarded as having been of a somewhat sudden character. From having been the natives of sylvan districts, they had to become a people that may be said to shun the forrests, and content themselves with the most barren and ice clad shores in existence. Their only means of sustenance was to be found in the marine animals, the seals and the whales, whose peculiar covering of fat (blubber) while affording them food, could at the same time furnish them with fuel and light, sufficient to the requirements of the severest climate hitherto known. But in respect to the capture of these animals instruments had to be devised which have, from their ingenuity and workmanship, gained the admiration of the civilised world. First they had to exchange the birch-bark canoe, adapted to lakes and rivers, for the kayak fitted to brave the waves of the ocean. Thus there can be but little doubt as to the nature of the objects which gave rise to the formation of new words, or expressions, by people subjected to such an entire change of life as mentioned.

**THE ARCTIC CULTURE HOME.** The vast extent of territory over which the Eskimo race is spread has often been the subject of discussion. It will be sufficient here to repeat that it comprises the littoral and islands of America north of a line extending from East to West and varying from  $56^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$  N. latitude, including Greenland and a portion of the N. E. corner of Siberia. The inhabitants of the opposite ends of this territory, to the E. in Greenland and Labrador, and to the W. in Siberia and Southern Alaska, in order to visit each other would have to travel more than 5000 miles by their ordinary means of conveyance, skinboats and sledges. In order to obtain a comprehensive view of the populations which lie scattered in

small communities over this area, we will divide them into two parts, the Eastern and the Western, separated by Cape Bathurst, at about the central point of the continental coast, between Hudson's Bay and Bering's Strait. The Eastern groups would comprise the Greenlanders, the Labradorians and the Central tribes. The Western would include the Mackenzie River tribes, the Extreme Western or Alaska tribes, and finally the Asiatic Eskimo. The intercourse between these head groups is very slight, being restricted to the immediate neighbours on either side, and then only to certain times of the year. As regards intercourse generally between the tribes or communities of each group, hunting excursions, or migratory expeditions will occasionally lead families or individuals to undertake relatively long voyages, and in this way enable them to acquire a knowledge of other inhabited parts within a distance of two hundred miles or more on either side of their usual winter station. But howsoever migration and removing of their settlements occasionally still may be continued, the Eskimo regions may tolerably well be considered as divided into territories now taken in possession by their different small tribes or communities. Certainly it was an exaggeration when an eminent arctic explorer asserted that the Eskimo of Smith's Sound believed themselves to be the only human beings that existed, but as a rule it may be maintained, that within the borders of a group many of the communities or small tribes know but very little about each other and as good as nothing about people of the next group.

The comparatively insignificant differences of language that have been met with among so widely dispersed and isolated tribes have often been mentioned. In order to more exactly ascertain the bounds of this similarity of dialects, the writer has compiled a comparative glossary classifying the words according to the ideas or objects to which they relate. This essay, in a concise form will be given in the present volume. First we will call attention to that part of it which should serve

to guide us in our investigations concerning the obscure history of the nation. It is the above mentioned new words invented during the transition of the Eskimo to their present state as a really arctic people, that first have to be objects of our investigations. While the uniformity of the language in general must be derived from a common source before their migration to the northern shores, the subsequent dispersion might be supposed to have tended to cause greater differences especially in regard to the new designations. But just the contrary proved to be the result from duly examining them. The classes into which the glossary divided the words in general had no reference to those here in question, that had to be picked out and gathered from different classes, as for instance parts of the body, animals, hunting implements etc., and it was striking to observe, that with regard to the most important of them, the dialects exhibited the most complete resemblance or rather identity. Of course various doubts can be raised as to the question about what might be considered as belonging to the new words etc., but even if allowance was given to objections in regard to such, the proofs appeared so evident in favour of certain conclusions relating to the development of the present Eskimo culture, that no doubt could exist about them. They are:

1. That the original Eskimo, if they have issued from the interior continent, have not followed diverging directions, but ARRIVED AT THE SHORES OF THE ARCTIC SEA STILL IN WHAT MAY BE CONSIDERED ONE BODY. The maritime country which here they first occupied, we will call the «Eskimo culture home», to be distinguished from the original cradle of their race. THEY CAN ONLY HAVE HAD ONE SUCH CULTURE HOME, howsoever they gained it, along the seashore or directly from the interior. Certainly there are several reasons for believing, that after the dispersion of the first emigrants issuing from the culture home had commenced, bands from the interior may have joined these pioneers even in places distant from the culture home, but in

doing so they wholly adopted the habits of the latter and became amalgamated with them.

2. The culture home must have been of SMALL EXTENT in comparison with the inhabited tracts of Eskimo countries and their scale of distances in general. In other words its first inhabitants must have been able to maintain A CERTAIN DEGREE OF MUTUAL INTERCOURSE, sufficient to the development of their common inventions, and to the adaptation of their mode of living and of their simple social organisation to their future arctic homes. A natural consequence of this co-operation was the formation of the series of words mentioned above which we might call the «new» or peculiar Eskimo words.

COMPARISON OF THE DIALECTS. In the former volume the author has tried to give a view of the elements, out of which the Eskimo language is constructed, the so called stem-words and affixes in an alphabetic order. In the present part; in some measure, the opposite order is used, showing how the words of the European language are rendered in the Eskimo, distributing them, as above mentioned, according to the ideas or objects to be designated. This arrangement seemed to be conformable to the ethnographic or culture-historical character of the investigations here, and is also, as well known, commonly used by authors on languages spoken by native on the lower stages of culture. It will be seen that in the present case the schedules proposed by Powell in his «Introduction to the study of Indian languages» are followed. However as the Eskimo language in connection with the missionary work in Greenland and Labrador has been thoroughly studied and perfectly described certainly more than most of even the better-known aboriginal American idioms, a supplement as a «General part» will be inserted, serving to fill out what in the first named «Special part» may be wanting, especially in regard to words relating to more abstract ideas.

On proceeding to institute a comparison between the eastern and the western dialects in regard to the designation of certain objects, the first general difficulty might be expected from the relative poorness of the western vocabularies, while for Greenland and Labrador we possess regular dictionaries. But as to the said new words the western vocabularies nevertheless proved to be tolerably well provided. It will be seen that with a few exceptions all the principal objects here in question are represented in them. Another difficulty might seem to arise in trying to discern between what had to be considered new, and what had been known to the natives from their life in an earlier home in more southern regions. Certain well known birds, for instance are very characteristic of the polar sea, but may have been known from far-off lakes too, visited by them at certain seasons, and it is doubtful whether the invention of the Eskimo dog sledge is due to a period after their settling on the northern shores or before. But on the other hand it may be with safety asserted, that the emigrants from the south can not have become acquainted with the walrus and the polar bear before reaching the arctic sea. However in giving a list of such decidedly arctic objects there is no sufficient reason for omitting others of a similar kind, if even some doubt may be raised about their origin. At any rate it must be left to the reader, as to how they finally have to be ranged.

**THE NAMES OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ARCTIC ANIMALS.** After these previous remarks we will turn to the appended vocabulary and select the words in question, arranging them conformably to their importance for our proposed research. The first class of course comprises the arctic mammiferous animals, the seals, whales and the polar bear. The vocabulary shows, that the following animals and objects relating to them have identical names in the east and the west: 1. THE SPOTTED SEAL. — 2. THE FIORD SEAL. — 3. THE BEARDED SEAL. —

4. THE SADDLEBACK SEAL. — 5. THE WALRUS. — 6. THE GREENLAND WHALE. — 7. THE WHITE WHALE. — 8. THE NARWHAL. — 9. THE SWORDFISH. — 10. THE POLAR BEAR. — 11. BLUBBER. — 12. WALRUS- AND NARWHAL-TEETH (IVORY). — 13. WHALEBONE. — 14. MATAK OR EATABLE SKIN OF THE CETACEANS. — 15. THE SEAL'S BREATHING HOLE IN THE ICE. — 16. A SEAL LYING ON THE ICE.

As to details it may be noted, that the saddleback seal has a peculiar name in Greenland, unknown in the other dialects excepting the angakok (magician's) language in Baffin's land. But from Labrador, the extreme southeast, to Point Barrow in the extreme north-west the name of this animal is the same. In the latter locality however the same animal, so common in Greenland, is said to be rather scarce. In a few instances the names of seals in the same vocabulary are exchanged, probably by mistake. Finally our list does not comprise two, or perhaps three seals only mentioned as occurring in Alaska; one of them is called Maklak, but it is doubtful, whether this be the name of a peculiar species or signifies merely a large seal. Furthermore an apparently rare seal called *abba* is omitted, although occurring under this name both east and west of Cape Bathurst; and the well known Hooded seal of southern Greenland is not mentioned in the western vocabularies. The same is the case with several species of whales, well known to the natives of Greenland, though of but little value to them, excepting the finwhale. While in this way we still possess but imperfect knowledge about the occurrence of some species, it is evident on the other hand, that in the first named series of species, known to the tribes of all the chief groups, are comprised all the principal marine animals that have served to support the Eskimo in their struggle for existence during their life in the arctic regions. It will be sufficient here to point out the immense quantities of meat and fat furnished by the Greenland whale, the white whale and narwhal, the more regular and



universal capture of the fiord seal which provides them chiefly with clothing and, so to say, supplies the daily food of the improvident natives of Point Barrow in the extreme West as well as in northern Greenland, and then the largest species, the walrus, the bearded and the saddleback seal, from which, besides quantities of flesh and blubber, they get the highly important skins used in making boats, tents and hunting lines. Finally what kind of animals might be considered more closely attached to the shores and the drifting ice of the arctic sea than the polar bear? Its occurrence in the New World justly may be said to correspond almost exactly with that of the Eskimo. It will be seen that its Eskimo name is everywhere the same, and we may add that it belongs to the radical words of the dictionary.

**WORDS RELATING TO BOATS AND IMPLEMENTS OF CHASE.** We now pass to consider the products of human industry by which the capture of the animals enumerated above is performed, in the first place the means of conveyance and, secondly, the tools and weapons. In proceeding to discuss this class of objects, attention must first be called to the peculiarity in their designation arising from the development they still have been submitted to during the dispersion of the natives to their present homes. The changes caused by this development may appear inconsiderable, but still they are not without some significance for our investigation, especially as they are dependant on the different nature of the territories occupied by the settlers which required an adaptation of the contrivances to the localities. The same development is already mentioned in the former volume, but here it will require to be briefly referred to.

Of the means of conveyance we will, as before said, wholly omit those used on the frozen sea, the dogs and the sledge. Certainly the origin of this invention might be suggestive of

several opinions, especially in connection with some very popular Eskimo traditions speaking of men who trained wild animals to cross the frozen sea with them. But still there seems to be such good reason for granting the possibility of the dog sledge having been invented by the Eskimo before their becoming a maritime arctic people, that we prefer not to complicate our research by argueing concerning this invention. Of the two kinds of Eskimo skinboats, the large and open Umiak («family» or «wives boat»), and the small, and wholly closed Kayak, the latter evidently occupies the first rank in regard to culture history. Although varying somewhat as to its more or less adequate construction, it shows no essential difference except in the mode of propulsion. When coming from the west and south, in Southern Alaska we first meet with the kayak, it is propelled with a onebladed oar or paddle just like that used by the Indians in their canoes. Not before one reaches northern Alaska does the well known double-bladed kayak oar make its appearance, and, not before east of the Mackenzie river is the former wholly abolished and supplanted by it. Our vocabulary shows that the following objects are identically named in the eastern and the western dialects: 1) THE OPEN SKINBOAT, 2) THE ONE-BLADED PADDLE, 3) MAST, 4) SAIL, 5) KAYAK, 6) KAYAK SIDE-LATHS, 7) KAYAK RIBS, 8) KAYAK PROW, 9) KAYAK CROSS-PIECE, 10) THE DOUBLE OAR. Only the objects 6—9 have been omitted in the vocabularies of the Extreme West.

In passing to the weapons and other instruments of chase, we leave out the bow and arrow, the same as they may have used in their original home, and similar to those still used by their Indian neighbours in the chase ashore. As to weapons we therefore only have to consider those for stabbing and for throwing. The simplest of them is that which is wielded with the hand, and remains in the hand after having been applied: viz. the lance or spear for stabbing. The highest development on the other hand is exhibited in the large harpoon with the

bladder and line belonging to the kayak. Between these two extremes the other weapons arrange themselves according to the operations for which they are intended.

**COMPONENT PARTS OF THE CHIEF IMPLEMENTS OF CHASE.** In endeavouring to explain the construction and use of the weapons and tools, we must refer to the immediate objects for which they are intended:

- a) the weapon has to be thrown (a missile);
- b) to be wielded or employed with the hand;
- c) it has to be immediately withdrawn from the wounded animal;
- d) its point has to be furnished with barbs to make it stick in the wound;
- e) the shaft has to be immediately loosened from the head, but remain attached to it by a strap;
- f) the shaft is to be wholly detached from the sticking head, while a long line still remains fastened to the latter,
- g) the other end of the line or thong (f) has to be fastened to an inflated bladder which hinders the animal in trying to escape;
- h) the hunter himself has to hold or secure the other end of the line (g);
- i) a smaller bladder has to be fixed on the shaft of the missile;
- k) the upper or foremost part (foreshaft) of the shaft has to be fitted with a joint so as to bend with the motions of the animal; the length of the whole shaft will thus be shortened so as to free the point (h, g), that is kept tightly pressed over its head by the thong;
- l) the missile to be thrown has to be generally kept resting in an implement, the «throwing stick», that remains in the hand of the hunter;
- m) if the weapon at the same time is intended for the

purpose of cutting holes or notches in the ice, its hind part or lower end has to be fitted as a pick-axe of bone or ivory.

Omitting a fuller description of the arctic hunter's modes of proceeding, which so often has been given in various works, we are now enabled to comprise his equipment in the following list referring to the above statements:

For hunting by kayak and partly from open boats or from the edge of the ice:

1. THE LARGE HARPOON WITH THE HUNTING BLADDER, see: a, d, f, g, k.
2. THE ORDINARY KAYAK-LANCE, see: a, c, k.
3. THE BLADDER ARROW OR JAVELIN, see: a, d, i.
4. OTHER SMALLER HARPOONS of various sizes, used in some localities, see: a, d, e.
5. THE BIRD-ARROW, see: a, d.
6. SMALL HAND SPEARS, AND FOR WHALES LARGE LANCES, see: a, d.
7. THE THROWING STICK, see: l.

For hunting on the ice:

8. HARPOON FOR STABBING, in watching at the breathing holes see: b, d, e or f, m.
9. HARPOON FOR SEALS LYING UPON THE ICE, see: a, d, e or f, m.
10. LARGE LANCES like 6.

As already alluded to, the construction and the use of these implements in connection with the means of conveyance vary somewhat with the different tribes, partly according to their different degree of development, but chiefly from the climate and the geographical features of the regions occupied by them. Exceptionally even, the natives of Smith's-sound, as is well known, have no kayak at all, in other places the umiak is almost, or even wholly, wanting, whereas again in others it is preferred to the kayak, and with these differences the implements must also vary.

**SOME ELEMENTARY WORDS FOR DESIGNATING THE IMPLEMENTS OF CHASE.** For the reasons here stated we might expect that a similar difference as that just mentioned would prevail among the names of these objects in the different dialects, especially between those of the extreme east and west. But a careful compilation and comparison of all the words that are found in the vocabularies relating to the peculiar maritime chase nevertheless has revealed a certain simplicity in designating the contrivances that in each case are meant. It requires no thorough knowledge of the language to discover, in running over such a compilation, a limited number of radicals or stem-words which make the chief constituent parts of it, the diversity in the orthography of the European writers of course apart. It may be concluded from this similarity, that in the earliest time of the culture here such elementary words have been invented or adopted for designating the notions to which the new ways of supplying the first necessities of life gave rise, and that this material has been maintained and made use of for new inventions or modifications during the subsequent development and dispersion of the inhabitants. In examining the following list of the said elements some words certainly also here will be found, that likely may have existed during an earlier stage of culture, but as a tolerable completeness was required in the series of words to be found in the vocabularies relating to the whole mode of proceeding in the operations here in question, they could for the sake of plainness not well be omitted.

LIST OF ESKIMO WORDS RELATING TO SEAL- AND WHALE-HUNTING: (Explanation: THE EASTERN DIALECTS: **G.** = Greenland, **L.** = Labrador, **C.** = Central. — THE WESTERN DIALECTS: **M.** = Mackenzie River, **W.** = Extreme American West, **A.** = Asiatic.)

1. **G.** *unâq* the shaft of the large harpoon, also a smaller harpoon used on the ice; *unârsivoq* he lifts the (whole) harpoon

in order to throw. — **C.** *oonar*, *unaq* harpoon, shaft of the harpoon.

**W.** *oonak* «harpoon as thrown»; *inû* harpoon for stabbing; *ûnakpûk* harpoon for walrus (-*pûk* large).

**2.** **G.** *nauligpoq* he throws and hits (the animal); *nauligaq* a small harpoon for boys. — **L.** *naullak* harpoon; *naulerpa* throws and hits it. — **C.** *naulang* harpoon point (for hunting on the ice).

**M.** *nauliktork* throws the harpoon; *naulirark* harpoon. — **W.** *nauligû* «retrieving harpoon» (uncertain whether anciently used); *naulû* loose point of the same.

**3.** **G.** *igimaq* the flexible foreshaft of the large harpoon. — **C.** *igimang* «walrus-harpoon».

**W.** *igimu* loose shaft, *ugimak*.

**4.** **G.** *qâteq* a cover of bone on the *unâq*, with a notch into which the foreshaft is pressed when secured in its straight position.

**W.** *katu* foreshaft, *katersak*.

**5.** **G.** *tûkaq* harpoon in general, or the loose point, in the same way kept pressed upon the head of the *igimaq*. — **L.** *tûkak*, *tókkak* «harpoon».

**W.** *tûkû*, *toukak*.

**6.** **G.** *tikâgut* a small peg inserted in the harpoon shaft. — **C.** *tikâgung*.

**W.** *tika*.

**7.** **G.** *avataq* the loose hunting-bladder.

**W.** *awertak*; **A.** *avuétkak*.

**8.** **G.** *aleq* the long hunting line; **L.** *allek*.

**M.** *allerk*. — **W.** *allek*.

**9.** **G.** *îperaq* a shorter hunting line used on the ice. — **L.** *îpperak*. — **C.** *îperrang*.

**W.** *sâbromia* (?)

**10.** **G.** *nôrssaq* throwing stick. — **L.** *noksak*.

**M.** *notsark*. — **W.** *norsak*, *norak*.

11. **G.** *agdligaq* bladder arrow. — **L.** *akligak*.  
**W.** *akligak* «seal harpoon»; *akligakrak* bladder intended for sacrifice to the rulers of the sea.
12. **G.** *nueq, nugfit* bird-arrow. — **L.** *nuek, nugit*. — **C.** *nuirn*.  
**W.** *nuek, nijapeit*.
13. **G.** *angwigaq* kayak-lance (the ordinary) to be thrown. — **L.** *angwigak*.  
**M.** *kâpotchin* «javeline». — **W.** —?
14. **G.** *kapût* hand spear. — **L.** *kapput*. — **C.** *kappun*.  
**M.** *kâpona* lance. — **W.** *kapun, kaputit* (lance?).
15. **G.** *qalugiaq* whale spear. — **L.** *kallugiak*. — **C.** *kalugiaq*.  
**W.** *kalugusit, kalogiak*.
16. **G.** *pana* a large double edged knife (obsolete word). — **C.** *pana*.  
**W.** *pana* spear. — **A.** *pannia* lance.
17. **G.** *savigtorpoq* he fastens the harpoon point upon the end of the foreshaft (*savik* knife, iron). — **L.** *savikpok*.  
**W.** *saväk* harpoon; *saväkpak* walrus-harpoon.
18. **G.** *tôq* ice pick or chisel (crow bar). — **C.** *tounga* the same on the lower end of the harpoon.  
**W.** *took, tîn*.

In this list the names of the chief parts belonging to the equipments of a sealhunter in Greenland will be found almost completely represented also in the statements from the extreme west. Only the names for 9 and 13 could not be found. It will be observed, that some uncertainty prevails in applying the word «harpoon» in the translation. We have distinct names for the single parts of the large harpoon in Greenland, but on the other hand we see one of them alone, that for the point, in the dictionary also as the «harpoon». Probably a separate word in this case is but scarcely needed, as either special parts are spoken of, or an action is mentioned for which separate words exist, such as for putting the point on, for raising,

and finally throwing and hitting the object with the harpoon, which itself is implied by each of them.

#### VARIOUS WORDS RELATING TO ARCTIC NATURE.

The seabirds, as already mentioned, although contributing largely to animate certain parts of the arctic regions during the summer, can not with safety be counted with the objects for which the arctic settlers had to form new names. Certainly however some of them may have got their names in this way. In the appended tables no selection of this kind has been tried; they contain: the species usually grouped under the common term of geese and ducks, and a series of others from the genera *Colymbus*, *Larus*, *Pelecanus*, *Procellaria*, *Uria*, comprising all those that have value in the domestic economy of the Greenlanders and showing a striking resemblance of names between Greenland and the extreme west. The names of fish are but few in the western vocabularies and therefore also but poorly represented in our tables, while at the same time we here observe a somewhat greater difference too. Of course in the present investigation there is only talk of saltwater fish, and these appear to be of much less importance to the Western Eskimo than to the Labradorians and Greenlanders; on the other hand salmon constitute one of the staple articles of food of the inhabitants of Alaska. However one well known name of a saltwater fish useful to the northern Greenlanders, the *eqaluwaq*, according to Jacobsen is met with here in the Extreme West, where its take has been rich enough to give the month July its name, and on the Asiatic side of Bering-Strait we find named the *úvaq* which on account of its widely spread occurrence in the course of ages has saved many natives of Greenland from starvation.

As for the rest, in referring to our said tables, we will only call attention to some names in the domain of physical geography, as relating to the ocean, saltwater, and the tides, all of which are identical in the east and the west. One word,



in relation to these, the reader perhaps will find undeservedly neglected, as it reminds us of apparently the most marvellous products of arctic nature, the floating icebergs. They are only named in the Greenlandic, Labradorian and Central dialects, it is questionable whether they have an adequate name in the Mackenzie, and in the extreme western vocabularies none at all was met with. The cause must simply be, that the occurrence of icebergs is limited to Davis Strait, Baffin's Bay and a part of the northern Atlantic, stragglers occasionally slipping into the sounds of the Central Regions. If really the original Eskimo have immigrated from the west to the east, parting in the Central Regions for Greenland and Labrador, they could not have become acquainted with the icebergs before they separated. The word for bergs is also quite different in Greenland and Labrador, but of course this fact is too isolated and uncertain for serving to support any such conclusion.

#### SAFE CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE FACTS HERE STATED.

If now we retrospectively examine what here has been stated, at first it is possible, that more complete vocabularies from the western dialects would have added considerably to the number of words contained in our list, especially as this material originally has been collected by explorers without any idea of what could have been most desirable for our research. If this be taken into consideration, our number of identical names within the sphere of ideas we have proposed to investigate, must be found to be somewhat considerable. A comparison of the said names as we have given, with the appended and more complete tables, will show, that certainly difference is found respecting some objects still belonging to those which were new to the original Eskimo settlers, but they will prove to be of less importance. It also happens in several such cases, that the true Greenlandic word has been discovered as being used contemporaneously with the differing counterpart

of it, apparently in the same tribal district. The very exact and careful investigations recently made of the dialect spoken in East Greenland have revealed a custom held in high consideration and having a remarkable influence on the familiar language of the natives there. It is the custom of not mentioning the names of persons recently deceased. If such names have been taken from current words of the language, the latter have to be altered. This custom, as we know, has been met with among many nations, but the consistency with which it is maintained in East Greenland is surprising. If the dialects of the extreme west had been submitted to a similar influence, the glossaries collected by the foreign travellers there, would have been of by far less value than they are now. But it seems not unlikely that nevertheless the same custom may have contributed to the said duplicity of designations.

Judging the weight of all the facts we here have stated concerning the probable creation of a certain class of words during a stay in the supposed culture home, we finally still have to take into consideration not only, as already mentioned, the question whether the objects thus designated have been really new to the settlers on the arctic seaboard, but also whether the words that have been adopted for this purpose are formed out of new invented radical words, or, in the usual way, by means of the existing stem words and affixes. As regards this question, our tables in connection with the Greenland dictionary have to be more closely consulted. But one conclusion may with safety be drawn from what we have already asserted; and this is, that the above series of words can not have been originated in two or more different places by Eskimo tribes, without there was sufficient intercourse. Consequently only one culture home can have existed and, within its frontiers, an intercourse must have been maintained sufficient for cooperation in developing the new inventions and customs, as well as adapting and completing the language for this change

in the stage of culture. Certainly, as already mentioned, new emigrants from the interior may then afterwards have joined these pioneers even in places distant from the culture home, but the new comers in doing so have wholly adopted the habits of the latter and amalgamated with them.

**THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESENTLY ARRIVING AT FURTHER CONCLUSIONS.** Having considered the conclusions which we believe may confidently be drawn concerning the first settling down of Eskimo inhabitants in the arctic regions, our next task will be to try what furthermore may be asserted concerning the same question on probability. We have already expressed our doubt concerning the opinion, that the immigrants should have reached the arctic or subarctic regions from the south along the borders of the sea: We preferred to assume that they have come from the interior of the continent following the courses of rivers discharging into the arctic sea or at least under high northern latitudes. This being granted, the culture home would have been situated at the mouth of a river, or of several rivers, and the nearest coast so as to enable it to receive, during the course of time, settlers from the interior, while, on the other hand, emigrants successively spread from this home over the arctic regions. The culture home in this way would comprise, besides the coastline, the banks of rivers in the vicinity of their outlets. The change of culture to which the inhabitants were submitted certainly from a historical point of view must be called abrupt, but nevertheless have taken centuries. The population during this period must have accumulated, and a rich fishery in the rivers seems to afford the only means of explanation as to how these people can have gained their sustenance during such a period of transition.

In the former volume an attempt has been made to show how the dispersion of the first settlers seems to be indicated by traces still to be observed in the state of the present inhabitants,

continued in a direction from west to east, and pointing to Alaska as the supposed culture home. The facts alleged in favour of this hypothesis were: 1) the successive completion of the most valuable invention, the kayak, with its implements and the art of using the latter, especially the double-bladed paddle, the great harpoon with the hunting bladder, the kayak-clothes and the hunters capacity of rising to the surface again, in the event of being overturned. 2) the gradual change of several customs, namely the use of lip ornaments ceasing at the Mackenzie river, the use of masks at festivals continuing unto Baffin's land, and the women's head gear, gradually altered between Point Barrow and Baffin's bay, 3) the construction of buildings and, at the same time, in some degree, the social organisation and religious customs. The gradual, but, of course, still only slight change in all these features of the state of culture, seems to go side by side with the increasing natural difficulties and the effect of isolation in removing from the original home. At the same time, the original stock of settlers in spreading towards the east, may have been augmented by those other tribes of Eskimo race above alluded to who, perhaps yielding to the pressure from hostile Indians, and retiring to the north by way of the Mackenzie, the Coppermine, and the Great Fish-rivers, may have met and associated with these immigrants of their own nation who already had reached the Central Regions beyond Cape Bathurst. This suggestion may explain several diversities between the east and the west, as well as the relatively large number of immigrants to Greenland.

Several facts speak in favour of presuming that Alaska was populated by Eskimo in very remote ages. Narrowly accumulated ruins, almost like remains of a whole Eskimo town are said to stretch along the river Yukon somewhat inside of its mouth. Lieut. Ray in his Report on the Point Barrow Expedition says: "that the ancestors of those people (present Eskimo) made it their home for ages is conclusively shown by

the ruins of villages and winter huts along the sea shore and in the interior. On the point where the station was established were mounds, marking the site of three huts dating back to the time when «men talked like dogs» (as their tradition says) . . . . The fact of our finding a pair of wooden goggles twenty six feet below the surface of the earth in the shaft sunk for earth temperatures, points conclusively to the great lapse of time since these shores were first peopled by the race of man.

Even the present distribution of the races constituting the population of Alaska still exhibits a striking likeness to the probable state of the same during the supposed existence of the culture home. It has been a well known fact that in this country Eskimo were found also in the interior, independent of the sea as regards their mode of subsistence, but not before now have their numbers and distribution been more distinctly given through a regular census (1884). According to this the population of Alaska is composed as follows: Arctic division, 3094 Eskimo, of whom 800 live in the interior; the Yukon territory, 4276 Eskimo, of whom 1343 live along the river unto its delta, besides of 2557 Indians, and 500 Eskimo on the island of St. Lorenz; the Kuskokwim division, 8036 Eskimo, mostly in the interior, and 500 Indians; the Aleut division, 1890 Aleuts, 479 Creoles; Kadjak division, 2211 Eskimo, 1190 Indians, 917 Creoles; southeastern division, 230 Creoles, 7225 Indians. These numbers corroborate the interesting intelligence given already by the Russians (1839: Wasiljef and Glasunow) concerning a population of several thousands of such inland Eskimo inhabiting the south eastern part of Alaska traversed by the Kuskokwim river and its tributaries. Not less striking are the discoveries made in northern Alaska by Capt. Healy and Lieut. Cantwell in 1884. Their report has at once thrown light upon the nature of this north western corner of America, its inhabitation and the remarkable trading intercourse between the Eskimo of the western and the northern shores by the inland Eskimo as

mediators. The way which is used for this intercourse, already mentioned by Simpson, is formed by the Nunatak, Kuwak and Selavik rivers to the west, and the Colville river to the north, in connection with lakes. The Kuwak especially was investigated into the interior, Eskimo dwellings being met with the whole way. On the banks of a tributary river from the south, the Umakuluk, inhabitants of the same race were found who never had seen white men before. Relatively to the high northern latitude, the vegetation here shows an extraordinary luxuriance, trees being found measuring two feet in diameter. These natives had birch-bark canoes. Along the banks of the said three rivers together, they numbered somewhat more than 800 souls.

If these facts relating to the distribution of the present population of Alaska and its remnants from an earlier period are taken into account, it might with some reason be said to have still maintained the appearance of a country peopled by Eskimo in the interior, as well as on its sea shore, in continual intercourse with each other, like that of the supposed culture home, with the only difference, that the conflux to the latter from a still farther off interior, and, at the same time the spreading of emigrants from it over the arctic regions has ceased. To the said remnants, properly speaking, ought to be added the well known immense refuse heaps on the Aleutian islands explored by Dall. Certainly nothing can be ascertained concerning the nationality of the ancient settlers to whom the remnants are due, but still the latter, at any rate, indicate that a tendency to directing their migrations towards the north western sea shores has prevailed among a certain part of the aboriginal tribes of North America. However, we still must bear in mind that, notwithstanding what we have asserted in favour of Alaska as the culture home, this as yet remains a hypothesis. The origin of the Eskimo from Asia is still not sufficiently disproved, and this holds good of the surmise too

that the culture home may have been situated in the east. We dare only maintain that, as not more than one such home can have existed, in the former case the emigrants from Asia must have crossed Bering's strait as perfectly developed Seaboard-Eskimo, and in the latter, that the further gradual modification of their habits and customs has been opposite to that above suggested.

THE APPENDED SYNOPTIC VOCABULARY OF THE ESKIMO DIALECTS comprises a General and a Special Part, the latter composed conformedly to the schedules given by Powell in his Introduction to the study of Indian languages, only with some modifications. The said schedules are intended for serving as a guide also to explorers whose chief object had no reference to language, and, in a similar way, they have to be applicable to the vast number of aboriginal idioms existing in America. If this is taken into consideration, the themes proposed by the schedules could hardly have been better selected and arranged than they are. But, if they have to be applied to such a special group of the said languages as the Eskimo dialects, of which two are as well known as those of Greenland and Labrador, some further information may be expected than what the rules contained in the schedules are intended for. In the first place we may recall the often mentioned affixes or imperfect words to be connected with the radical words and to express in this way a large number of ideas, that in other languages require the application of separate words. Secondly we have to call to mind, that the Eskimo language consists almost exclusively of verbs and nouns, and that pronouns and prepositions generally are rendered by flexion. If these peculiarities have to be duly considered, the words of our European languages in many cases can not be directly translated into Eskimo, for a dictionary, save by adding some explanation, for which the ordinary synoptical arrangement of the

tables is less convenient. It will be seen that for this reason the arrangement of the words is somewhat modified, and that the author moreover has found it necessary to add the said «General part» in order to complete the tables. The «Special part», as we will call the tables, according to the plan of the schedules is limited to certain classes of concrete ideas, and therefore compared with that of a dictionary it must be deficient even in several principal points. It is also for the translation of words expressing more abstract ideas that the affixes and the flexional endings chiefly are required. How this is effected will also briefly be shown in the general part, but at the same time the writer still must refer to the linguistic sections of the first volume, viz Grammar, affixes and stemwords.

In looking over the vocabularies, above all it must be remembered that of the difference which instantly is observed between the dialects the far predominating majority is due to the heterogenous orthography and the imperfections of apprehending and rendering what originally was heard from the natives. In the first Volume are mentioned the letters that have been applied, and the confusion arising from the want of rules and consistency in regard to them (p. 40—45). Secondly attention has been called to the influence of the peculiar construction of words and sentences, totally unknown to the foreign inquirers. To these inconveniences must be added the occasional faults in their questions, especially as the language by signs usually was resorted to. The foreign investigator, in pointing first at his own, then at his companions body, has asked about «beard» and «head», but as answers received the words for respectively «thy mouth» and «my hair»; mistakes of this kind are frequently recognised in the vocabularies. If this be the case in regard to visible objects, the lack of tolerably sufficient information of course is still more felt in trying to compile groups of the most necessary designations of more abstract or spiritual ideas.

It follows of itself that in the present considerations we



are to abide by the original state of the natives, before their contact with the Europeans. The difficulties in following this rule are especially perceivable in the sections for Sociology and Religion. The translation of the words from civilised languages belonging to these domains can hardly be given without adding explanation. Habits and customs that to the natives have the same importance as laws, nevertheless, if classified as such may be misunderstood. A still greater confusion has prevailed in the designation of ideas relating to religion. For the name of: «God», in Greenland and Labrador the word simply was taken from the Danish language. In the Extreme West we meet with several apparently Eskimo words as translation of «God» the origin of which however seems very problematic. In the Mackenzie vocabulary a word is formed signifying something like «the land its worker». For spirits or the ghostly world in Greenland and Labrador words have been applied, connected with the idea of breathing, which evidently is Europeanism. In the Mackenzie we find «Dieu des Esquimaux» translated as «Great breathing» and «Saint Esprit» as «High (*takiyork*-long?) breath or breathing». A similar abnormality has prevailed in the words referring to moral and physical evil. Some original Eskimo designations however have been maintained in the Christian instruction. This chapter on the whole also may be of some more general interest to the history of culture, by tending to show the origin and the earliest development or differentiation of certain important ideas.

The vocabulary offered by the present book of course can not be compared with dictionaries, it is but a selection taken from a very large store of words. First a suitable series of Greenland words had to be set up; then the other dialects had to be examined in order to pick out what was really deviating from this standard list, and finally a number of words was added chiefly as examples, representing diversities either of minor importance, or merely originated by the often mentioned

different modes of spelling. This however especially refers to the General Part, whereas the Special Part is intended for more completely rendering the same service as the schedules in their ordinary tabular form. As the Labradorian and the Central dialects deviate very little from the Greenlandic tongue, only a small selection has been taken out of the L. dictionary. Of the Mackenzie much is omitted as dubious. A similar doubt in regard to correctness as real Eskimo certainly also prevailed in regard to many words of the lists from the Extreme West, but on account of the scarcity of these sources they have been so much more exhausted. Between North and South Alaska a peculiar difference seems to prevail, perhaps owing to the contact with Aleutians and Indians.

In the subdivisions of the General Part a peculiar place has been assigned to Stemwords and Affixes. This of course only refers to those, whose signification, apart from their extended application in other sections, is peculiarly related to what is indicated by the heading of the subdivision.

#### VARIOUS NOTES.

(1) DANGERS OF THE ARCTIC CHASE. The extraordinary dexterity which is required in the critical moment, when the kayacker has struck the seal and then with one hand has to perform the necessary operations in killing and securing his prize, while the other has to wield the paddle, has frequently been spoken of. Attention has especially been called to the importance of first getting rid of the hunting bladder. In catching seals from the ice the hunter may be obliged to let his own body perform the service of the bladder in keeping hold of the animal. Richardson describes this sport as follows: "The seal being a very wary animal, with acute sight, smell and hearing, is no match however for the Eskimo hunter who sheltered from the keen blast by a semicircular wall of snow will sit motionless

for hours, watching the bubble of air that warns him of the seal coming to breathe. And scarcely has the animal raised its nostrils to the surface before the hunter's harpoon is deeply buried in its body. This sport is not without danger that adds to the excitement of the success. The line attached to the point of the harpoon is passed in a loop around the hunter's loins, and, should the animal he has struck be a large seal or walrus, woe betide him if he does not instantly plant his feet in the notch cut for this purpose in the ice, and throw himself into such a position that the strain of the line is as nearly as possible brought into direction of the length of the spine of his back and the axis of his lower limbs. A transverse pull of the powerful beast would double him up across the air hole and perhaps break his back, or if the opening be large, as it often is when spring is advanced, he would be dragged under water and drowned.

(2) THE SEALS OF ALASKA. Jacobsen has informed me, that «Maklak» does not appear to be the name of a certain species of seals but rather to signify the skin of larger seals in general, that are prepared for covers of umiaks and kayaks, for soles of boots etc. The hooded seal of Greenland, he adds, does not occur in north western America where the Fur-seal occupies its place.

(3) HARPOONS AND OTHER IMPLEMENTS. Petersen relates that in Smith's-Sound the lance without barbs, called «*angepuja*» is the only weapon employed in bear hunting (with dogs). The walrus is attacked, when sleeping on the ice, or from the edge of the ice, when it emerges from the water, first with a harpoon to which is fixed a hunting line, afterwards killing it with the *angepuja*.

Dr. Boas gives a very plain description of hunting on the ice in Baffin's land. A light harpoon is used, called *unang*. Before getting iron rods it consisted of a shaft having at one end an ivory point firmly attached by thongs and rivets, the point

tapering toward the end; the point was slanting on one side so as to form almost an oblique cone, thus it facilitated the separation of the harpoon head from the *unang*. On the opposite end of the shaft another piece of ivory was attached, generally forming a knob. In Alaska he says, a similar harpoon is in use. The head belonging to the *unang* is called *naulang*. To this the harpoon line, *iperang* is fastened. As soon as a strain is put on the *naulang* it parts with the line from the shaft. The point of the kayak harpoon, *tokang*, is larger and stouter than the *naulang*.

Cranz (1770) says about the Labradorians that besides the five spears used in Greenland they have an «*unjak*» with three points for birds. Their kajaks are more clumsy than those in Greenland, and they are less expert in handling them.

(4) LONG VOYAGES OF THE ESKIMO. I know, says Rae («Nature» 1872), the American Eskimo go several hundred miles in one season either north or south, if the game moves away, and the trespassers are only stopped by some of their own countrymen who have had previous occupation. In Repulse Bay 1853 we found no natives where a large number had wintered in 1846—47. In spring 1854 we found that none had wintered within 200 miles from our winter quarters.

(5) CAPE BATHURST. When for the purpose of obtaining a proper view of the Eskimo tribes we have divided them into the Eastern and Western, determining Cape Bathurst as the boundary line, it was not intended thereby to demonstrate any difference between the nearest tribes on both sides of the same particularly greater than that existing between several other neighbouring tribes of the nation. The change on the whole, traceable in going from the Extreme West to the Extreme East, as we have tried to show, has the appearance of being quite gradual. But as regards the present intercourse, certainly a more than usually sudden interruption can be said to exist between the inhabitants on both sides of the said limit.

(6) THE NATIVES OF KING WILLIAM'S LAND, according to Schwatka (Science 1884), are divided into 5 tribes. Although wandering and changing their dwelling places the families or individuals belonging to each of them maintain their union. One of them, the Kiddelik (Copper-Eskimo nearest to Cape Bathurst), live in open hostility to all the others, who on the other hand are on more or less friendly terms with each other.

(7) THE NAME FOR WHITE MEN. In the Journal of the Anthropological Institute 1885 I have said: "It is curious that the natives of Greenland, Labrador and the Mackenzie river have agreed in adopting (the name) *qavdlunâq* for white men". As to this question Simpson states, that he never could find any one among the people of Point Barrow who remembered having seen Europeans before 1837, but that they had heard of them as Kablunan from their eastern friends; more recently they heard a good deal of them from the inland tribes as Tanin or Tangin. Simpson mentions at the same time the intertribal trade and explains how commodities exchanged in this way will take almost 5 years to wander from Bering's strait to Hudson's bay or the opposite way. If this be taken duly into consideration it does not seem improbable, that the report on the arrival of the first whalers in Davis strait can during the lapse of years have found its way to Mackenzie river. It needs hardly to be added, that the invention of "new words" by the first Eskimo settlers on the arctic shores has no analogy whatever to the fact here mentioned.

(8) THE ICE-PERIOD. The origin of the Eskimo has, as well known, even been traced back to an earlier geological age and placed in relation with the glacial period. It has been suggested, that formerly they lived nearer to the north-pole and that they retired to the south as the climate became colder. Others have conjectured that once they lived as far to the south as the New England coast and gradually made their way toward the north with the walrus, the great auk and the polar

bear, following the retreat of the ice. It may suffice here to remark that even in discussing the probability of the suggestions the question about explaining the similarity or identity of what we have called the «new words» in the different dialects offers the same indispensable condition to be complied with as in weighing the grounds of the other theories.

(9) STEMWORDS. In the above quoted article of the Anthropological Institute's Journal 1885 an approximate calculation of the so called stemwords or radical words is tried. The same has now been repeated, although the result must still remain but imperfect on account of the defectiveness of our sources. It gave: stemwords hitherto discovered, in Labrador 1153, Central regions 578, Mackenzie river 833, Extreme Western and Asiatic 796. Of these supposed stemwords there are in Labrador 998 common with those of Greenland, 107 differing, and 48 uncertain, making relatively 87, 9 and 4 pr. Ct.; in the other dialects comparatively to this: C. r. 524, 38, 16, making 90, 7 and 3 pr. Ct.; M. r. 716, 60, 57, making 86, 7 and 7 pr. Ct.; E. W. & A.: 494, 137, 165, making 62, 17 and 21 pr. Ct. For Greenland itself is still computed 1371, although some might have been added as concerning East Greenland, while on the other hand perhaps some might have been rejected. As to the other dialects many of those which, in the former statement, were counted as uncertain have now been left out as too dubious, or at least not representing other radical words than those already counted. This especially refers to the Mackenzie vocabulary, which may be said, without failing to appreciate the worth which its richness in words has to us in other respects.

(10) POLYSYNTHETISM. In the «Compte rendu» of the «Congrès des Americanists» in Copenhagen 1883, the well known French linguist Lucien Adam communicates a lecture delivered by him on the Eskimo language compared with the other North American and with the Uralo-Altai languages. He arrives at the conclusion that the Eskimo can not be classed

with either of these groups, but constitutes a peculiar kind. His chief objection to its American character is his maintaining, that the Eskimo, contrary to the latter, is not at all polysynthetic. He asserts that polysynthetism requires that words can be formed by juxtaposition of other words or independent stems, and that this is a predominating rule in all the other North American tongues, whereas in the Uralo-altaic languages the same composition is executed by adding dependent stems or imperfect words to one principal word. Besides this he states about 4 grammatical properties, by which the Eskimo differs partly from the Uralo-altaic and partly from the North American languages. As I am no linguist I am not able fully to judge these assertions. But I have always entertained the opinion, that polysynthetism refers simply to the multitude of ideas that can be comprised in one word, and I can also hardly believe that the contrast alleged by L. A. is so complete as he describes. As to the former criterion I believe that still the majority of linguists never can hesitate in granting the Eskimo in connection with the other North American languages the most decided superiority to those of the old world. As to the latter I especially consider the supposed absence or scarcity of true affixes in Indian languages more than doubtful. I could adduce many examples occasionally met with, of similarities in the construction of words of the Eskimo with the American, and on the other hand I know quite well the striking similarity with the Siberian languages as to the mode of appending the affixes and the dual and plural forms. But fragmentary remarks made on such questions in favour of some theory can hardly be of any use. A proper solution of these problems can only be expected from thorough-going systematical investigation such as that now instituted in the United States by eminent linguists and comprising the immense material collected from the numerous aboriginal idioms of North America.

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