

## TWO OBSOLETE SUFFIXES IN ESKIMO

Osahito Miyaoka

### 1. Introduction

As no one will hesitate to admit, we owe a lot of knowledge and analyses of Eskimo stems to the Scandinavian scholars. In this field as well as in any other of the language, however, there remains much to be done. In my previous article on the metathesis in Eskimo I mentioned a possibility that many of the Eskimo multisyllabic stems which cannot be analyzed on a synchronic level may ultimately turn out to be complexes secondarily derived from shorter and primary stems perhaps consisting of not more than two syllables.<sup>1)</sup> The idea of originally bi- or mono-syllabic stems is indeed not yet matured and is hardly any more than a hypothetical assumption, but the secondary nature itself, which has long been suggested by several students, seems quite apparent in a great number of multisyllabic stems hitherto left unanalyzed in dictionaries and grammatical works of the language. Looking into lexical materials from different Eskimo dialects, we often notice that a considerable number of the stems under a certain content category end in reappearing single sounds or short syllables, though they have not been identified as suffixes. The

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1) "Metathesis in Eskimo", *The Review of Liberal Arts* (JINMON-KENKYU), XXXI (Otaru University of Commerce, 1966), 97-125.

most remarkable of such groups of stems that I have noticed is what may be called anatomical terminology. Among the terms signifying parts of the human or animal body two types of formation in particular are conspicuous: A) terms ending in -quq ~ -ruq, and B) terms ending in -lu. I have approximately thirty terms of the A-type and about a dozen of the B-type collected from various dialects, some occurring widely in every Eskimo dialect and others found only in a dialect.

In the present article I should like merely to present the list of the stems followed by etymological interpretation which I have collected on the Eskimo anatomical terminology with reference to the above mentioned types and to outline some of the problems which the data seem to indicate.

## 2. -quq ~ -ruq

The following list only comprises those anatomical terms of the A-type which have more or less etymological transparency. For some terms the etymology given is firmly established through the efforts of the students of the language, and for others it must be taken as only tentative. Of the two forms -quq is the more archaic, -ruq occurring only in the post-vocalic position of Eastern Eskimo terms. The intervocalic q > r (spirantization) is a common transition which occurred presumably at various stages, traced in morphophonemic alternations of the language: E(Br)<sup>1)</sup> taliqu 'arm' ~ talirum 'of the arm

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1) A detailed dialect name is given for the term the distribution of which is limited to the one dialect, otherwise briefly the name of the dialect group, E or W. The abbreviations used for the dialects and the available source materials for them are same as those indicated in my "Metathesis", \*

(rel.)'

(1) W miɫquq, E mitquq ~ mirquq 'hair on the body, fur'. \*miɫə-quq (?) If the suggested connection with Aleut(E) imli-, (W) ivli- (with denasalization) 'hair of the head' were right, the common Esk-Aleut stem might have been something like \*əmələ-<sup>1)</sup>. We are not fully sure whether this rapprochement hit the mark. For the initial correspondence of Esk. ø / Aleut i seems isolated, while the loss of the second \*ə before a continuant is quite possible with Aleut. The -ɫq- (< \*-ləq-) taken as the older form, rather than -tq- and -rq-, may be justified by the following correspondence: W naɫqig-, E narqig- 'correct, straighten' from nali, nali 'corresponding to something else', -qig- '(have) a good, nice'. We might take these two forms coexistent in E (-tq-, -rq-) to reflect its sub-dialect groups (cf. 2, 4, 7, 8). The -tq- together with some other stop-stop clusters (cf. 11) is a mark of the group of dialects extending from North Alaska to Hudson Bay along the continuous arctic shore intervened only by E(Ig), which makes up the other group together with E(G. L. Bf). In addition the -rq- appears in assimilated -qq- in modern E(G).

(2) W iqiɫquq, E iqitquq ~ iqirquq 'little finger'. \*iqi-lə-quq. The original stem iqi is 'corner'. The \*-lə- is possibly identical with the suffix occurring in such derivatives from stems of location as WE

\* pp. 121-125, except for the newly obtained vocabulary of the Unalaqleet dialect, Norton Sound, Alaska, which will be cited as E(U) hereafter. The vocabulary, which comprises some five hundred words, was obtained from an informant who happened to visit Hokkaido, Japan, in February, 1966. The dialect should not be confused with the Unaaliq dialect, W(U), described by Morris Swadesh, which is clearly a Western dialect, though geographically quite near to the former.

1) G. Marsh and M. Swadesh, "Eskimo Aleut Correspondences", *IJAL* XVII (1951), 213.

kiṇuliq 'next, successor' (kiṇu 'hinder part'); W(K) ciuliq, E(G) siyuliq 'predecessor' (ciu, siyu 'forepart'). The same formation, though not in an anatomical term, may be seen in W(K) aciḷquq 'lower part (tree, plant)' from aci 'below, under'.

(3) W(M) mikiḷquq 'little finger'. In the phonetic spelling of Knud Rasmussen who described the W(M) dialect it is given as mikils'q <sup>1)</sup> q. We might well take it phonemically as mikiḷquq, since we find the same author gives the spelling of -ls'- in other words where it can be inferred as -ḷ- on the evidence from other neighbouring dialects. The original form seems to have been \*mikə-lə-quq, the first element being 'small' (W mikuq, E mikivuq 'is small'). No doubt this term is closely related to E(D) maḷiliq (with intervocalic spirantization), other E dialect mikiliraq 'ring finger' and also to W(K) mikiliri:t 'the small or little one (pl.)' (as to -aq, see p. 15). These forms examined, we would be allowed to take the \*-lə- as a kind of participle. I am not fully sure whether this suffix is identical with that of (2). <sup>2)</sup>

(4) W ci:squq ~ sigisquq, E si:tquq ~ si:rquq 'knee'. \*cigiḷə-quq > ci:zquq > ci:squq (in W); > si:ḷquq > si:tquq (in E). The existence of intervocalic -g- (~ -h-) in Asiatic W dialects might show that the long vowel i: is a later development due to the syncopation of the spirant, as is the case with most long vowels and diphthongs in Eskimo (e. g. W taru, E tau 'man' a shamanistic word for some dialects). The \*cigiḷə- might perhaps correspond to Aleut(E) cidgidaq

1) "Alaskan Eskimo Words", RTE III-4 (1941), 32.

2) Cf. K. Bergsland, *A Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo Language of West Greenland* (Oslo, 1955), p. 128.

'knee', which in its turn seems to be a secondary stem, as the -daq, a common suffix but of uncertain meaning, occurs in some Aleut anatomical words (Geoghegan): adgidaq 'knee', maqdaq 'breast, nipple', icadaq 'buttocks', miqudaq 'nostrils'. The -daq as a diminutive ending is rather doubtful at any rate for these anatomical words.<sup>1)</sup> By the way we have E sitquq ~ sirquq 'hind flipper of a seal', which does not seem unrelated to (4). If the foregoing interpretation should be right, it would follow that the short vowel i is secondarily due to contraction. It is quite uncertain whether this was the case, though this inference might perhaps be backed up by the limited distribution of the term (which occurs only in E), as compared with the term for 'knee'.

(5) W nasquq, E niəquq ~ niaquq 'head'. The E word for 'arrowhead' must also be taken into consideration: natquq ~ narquq. By putting these forms together with W nasquq 'head', we could in parallel with (4) set up \*nəδə-quq. Hence W nasquq through \*nəzquq, E natquq through \*nəδquq (with specialization of meaning in E). W(N) nanquq instead of nasquq perhaps by assimilation of nasals. As for E niəquq ~ niaquq we might suggest that it is a doublet derived from the identical source: \*nəδə-quq > \*nəyə-quq > ni-quq. Then a problem involved in it is why niəquq instead of \*niəruq. In other words what condition has kept the intervocalic q from being spirantized as is expected? It may probably have been due to the difference of accent, which itself is responsible for the doublets. In the case of niəquq the stress was probably on the penult of the presumed original form \*nəδə-quq. On the other hand the same

1) Cf. G. Marsh and M. Swadesh, "Eskimo Aleut Correspondences", 213.

original form, with the penult unstressed, perhaps gave rise to natquq ~ nasquq as a result of the loss of the unstressed syllable. The Western reflex of \*nəyə- < \*nəðə- might be seen in W(K) nayaŋa- 'bow, salute'.

(6) W aqsaquq, E aqiəruq ~ aqayaruq 'stomach'. Clearly from the term for 'belly, abdomen': W aqsa-, E aqiə- ~ aqaya-. \*aqəðə-(quq) > aqzə-(quq) > aqsa-(quq) (in W); > \*aqəyə-(quq) in E. Further back to \*aqə-(?), cf. W(S) aqi 'belly'.

(7) E irquq ~ (Co) itquq 'posteriors'. From itiq 'anus' < \*ətəq, which corresponds to Aleut(W) iti- 'anus'.

(8) E agfatquq ~ agfarquq 'upperarm, shoulder of animal'. From the term for 'hand, finger': E(G) agfa- < \*ajga- < \*ajəga- < \*aðəga-. Cf. E ayaraq 'cat's cradle'. The etymological status of -tq- is not clear especially because of the lack of the corresponding W form.

(9) E kiŋmigquq 'Achilles' tendon, tibia bone, etc.' From E kimmik ~ kiŋmik (W kitnik ~ kitŋik) 'heel'. This, in turn, is probably akin to Aleut kita- 'foot' as K. Bergsland has suggested.<sup>1)</sup>

(10) E(Ka)<sup>2)</sup> kuyapikquq 'backbone': \*kuya-pik-quq, cf. E(G) kuya- 'loin', kuyapigaq 'vertebra' (\*kuya-pik-aq, -pik- 'right', as to -aq, see p. 15).

(11) E mipquq ~ (G) mivquq 'thigh of a bird'. From \*məmə-quq (E mimiŋ 'hind leg of a land animal') with the syncopation of the second \*ə and the succeeding denasalization as in a great number of

1) "Aleut and Proto-Eskimo", *Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of Americanists 1956*, (Copenhagen 1958), p. 628.

2) The source for (Ka) terms cited in this paper is: N. J. Gubser, *The Nunamiut Eskimos, Hunters of Caribou* (New Haven and London, 1965).

cases in E, cf. (31, 32, 33).

(12) W yaquq, E isaruq 'wing'. An obvious cognate with W yag-, E isag- 'extend, stretch', from \*iyag-, which has been taken as related to Aleut iga- 'start to fly', iga-si- 'wing'<sup>1)</sup>.

(13) W(E) agliquq, E agliruq 'lower jaw, jaw bone'. Seemingly related to WE aglu- 'jaw bone of a whale' (37).

(14) W ki:naquq, E ki:naruq 'mask; black snout and eyes of the saddleback'. From ki:naq 'face'. Only in E(G) the term has an anatomical content.

(15) E papiruq 'tail of fish'. From E papik 'tail of a bird, end of harpoon shaft', which in its turn does not seem unrelated to E pamiuq, W pamiyuq 'tail (on an animal with a round tail)', pamiaq 'terminal peg of harpoon'. Simply a case of assimilation? It would seem to be possible to see in them the stem \*pamə- (as in W pama:ni 'back of something') followed by \*-yuq (perhaps related to \*-suk on p. 12) and -aq (p. 15) respectively.

(16) E taliruq 'fore flipper of a seal'. From E taliqu 'arm', which has been analyzed as 'next to the hand', -liq being identified with that of (2), in comparison with Aleut ca- 'hand'<sup>2)</sup>. The term for 'hind flipper of a seal' also ends in -ruq (4).

(17) W uya:quq 'neck'. From the same stem as in E uyamik 'necklace, pendant, etc.', uyag- 'stretch oneself' to which stem Aleut uyu- 'neck' seems to correspond.

(18) W(K) qamiquq 'head'. From W(K) qamiqu 'hill', which

1) K. Bergsland, "Aleut Demonstratives and the Aleut-Eskimo Relationship", *IJAL*, XVII (1951), 178.

2) K. Bergsland, "Aleut and Proto-Eskimo", p. 628.

probably corresponds to E qimiq 'hillock, mound of earth or snow', cf. Aleut(E) qimadgu- 'round, spherical'.

(19) W(M) aṇannquq 'great toe'. Probably from aṛi- 'big' < \*aṇə-, perhaps followed by a participle-like -lə- as in mikirquq 'little finger' (3), with the assimilation of l to n.

(20) W il(ə)quq 'brain'. Probably from the same stem as in E ilit-, W(K) lit- 'learn', E(Br) ilitqusiḳ 'soul'.

(21) W(S) kətəṚ 'heel'. W(S) has this form besides kitnəṚ 'heel' directly corresponding to other W dialects kitnik cited in (9). It is clearly seen that the same stem (\*kitə-) could take two different suffixes (\*-quq / \*-nik), bringing forth synonyms. In the W(S) -qəṚ is the regular reflex of \*-quq as seen in məḷqəṚ (1), yaqəṚ (12).

(22) W(N) qaquṚ 'middle finger'. From E qa: ~ qak 'top, outer side', as the tip of the middle finger protrudes beyond the other fingers. The final spirant is characteristic of some W dialects, viz. W(N.S), cf. (21).

(23) W(Un) alarquq 'middle finger'. Probably from the same stem as in W(K) alaṇirūq 'appeared', W(S) aləṇuqa- 'be distinguished', in view of the protrusion of the finger as in (22).

(24) E(Ka) sa:quq 'front part of the body'. From E sa:q ~ sak 'front'. N. J. Gubser, from whose book the term was taken, uses sh for a number of words, which is identified with s in comparison with other sources of the dialect and indirectly with the corresponding forms of the closely related dialects.

There remain some anatomical terms showing the same formation by the suffixation of -quq ~ -ruq which are not etymologically evident: (25) E natarquq 'cartilage'; (26) E iqsarūq ~ irsarūq, W



iqsaquq 'lung, heart'; (27) W(E) anṇanquq 'ankle'; (28) W(E) arniquq 'gland', (29) W(N) aklani:quq 'upperarm'; (30) E(Co) kapilruq 'thorax'.

### 3. -lu

(31) W tamlu, E tavlu 'chin'. From proto-Eskimo \*tamlu (with denasalization in E, as in 11, 32, 33) which closely corresponds to Aleut(E) camlu, (W) cuvlu-kag 'chin' (as to the initial Esk. t / Aleut c, see 16). As I once mentioned, this correspondence is quite noteworthy in that the same line of innovation, viz. denasalization, is seen to have occurred in some area of each language.<sup>1)</sup> Moreover it has another significance for the problem of our present concern. If we are allowed to take the term as a derivative from a primary stem (probably \*tamə-) with -lu suffixed, it will follow that the term and its formation dates back to the proto-Esk-Aleut period. What of the possibility of borrowing, say, from Eskimo to Aleut? If that had been the case the term must necessarily have been borrowed at some period earlier than the denasalization took place in Aleut(W). It will, however, be safer to question the possibility, since there is substantial evidence that -lu was productive in Aleut as well as in Eskimo. As to the stem we do not know for certain what content it originally had, though it might perhaps have some connection with Esk. tamua- ~ tamuq- 'chew'.

(32) W qamlu ~ qavlu, E qavlu 'eyebrow'. From \*qamə-lu, the stem of which is also seen in the Aleut term for 'eyebrow': (W) qami-, (E) qamti-. The form without denasalization is attested by

1) "Metathesis", 119.

W(N) and Cook's record from the Norton Sound.<sup>1)</sup>

(33) W kumlu, E kuvlu 'thumb'. The formal resemblance between this and the foregoing terms (31, 32) might possibly lead to setting up \*kumə-lu, but any other obvious reflex of the supposed stem has been discovered either in Eskimo or in Aleut.

(34) W tiḡlu 'fist'. From \*tiḡə-lu, perhaps related to Aleut(E) tuḡa- 'solid, hard, strong'. Only a few Southwest Alaskan dialects retain the term, which in some E dialects is reserved in a verb form derived from it: tigluk- 'strike with a fist' (with denasalization of ḡ).

(35) W tur̥lu, E tuqlu ~ turlu 'throat'. \*tuqlu (< \*tuqə-lu), perhaps related to Aleut(E. W) cuqa- 'throat' (with the initial correspondence t/c as in 16, 31).

(36) W qarlu, E qaqlu ~ qarlu '(upper) lip'. \*qaqlu, from the same stem as in (22)?

(37) WE aglu- 'jaw, jaw bone of a whale'. \*agə-lu, perhaps related to Aleut agi- 'open'.<sup>2)</sup>

(38) W qilu, E iqlu ~ irlu 'rectum, guts' (?) Is it a far-fetched rapprochement to connect these forms of the two dialect groups and to see in them the same stem as in E(G) iqivuuq 'shrinks', W(K) qi:vuuq 'shivers, trembles', instead of it̥iq 'anus' as suggested in the Greenlandic dictionary.

(39) E qimiru 'vertebra, spine of fish'. probably from E qimiq 'hillock, mound of earth or snow', cf. (18).

1) J. C. Adelung, *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkund* III-3 (1816), 461.

2) As to the agi- 'open', I venture to suggest that it might perhaps have been related to \*anə- as in Esk. W anlu, E aglu 'breathing hole of a seal') in a most ancient stratum preceeding the split of Eskimo and Aleut, as it reminds of the Uralic gradation \*g ~ \*ḡ.

(40) W naflu ~ yaflər, E navlu 'ham, join'. Probably from E(G) navig- 'break'. As to n/y, which probably goes back to a kind of palatalized nasal, we can give: E(W) nugu, E(K) yugu 'scale of a fish'; E nukik ~ nugik, E(K) yugik 'sinew, strength'; E inuk, W yuk 'man'.

#### 4. Implications

So far I have presented Eskimo anatomical terms ending in -quq ~ -ruq and in -lu, and have tried to give some etymological interpretation to each by comparing them either to other Eskimo stems or to probable cognates in Aleut. Naturally we must guard against that sort of arbitrariness which can creep into interpretations when we deal with a language which has no historical data to speak of and has not been adequately described even in its latest stage, much more with such a language as Eskimo whose phonemic system is not so complex and whose semasiological habits are often too peculiar to understand. In addition to these factors some possible errors are due to my present insufficient understanding of both the languages. As might have been noticed some of the interpretations given above are merely of a tentative nature and may naturally be subject to further modification or revision. And yet it might reasonably be admitted that the terms treated above are secondarily, or tertially at least in part, derived from shorter primary stems through the suffixation of -quq or -lu. Of course it does not mean that only these two suffixes have been employed to originate anatomical terms in Eskimo, and that all anatomical terms are derivative. On the contrary there are a number of terms which are presumably primary stems (for instance,

uni- 'armpit', tuyi- ~ tui 'shoulder', iji ~ ifi ~ ii 'eye'), and a great number of terms which end in clearly deducible suffixes other than these two. One such suffix is -suk as seen in the following terms: WE tunusuk 'nape' (*lit.* something like a tunu 'back', related to Aleut(E. C) cunu-kag 'nape', with -kag as in Aleut(W) cuvlu-kag (31) 'chin'); E(W) puvsuk 'the part between neck and shoulders' (probably from \*puvə-suk, E puvak 'lung', in view of the resemblance in ramification of the parts concerned); WE nakasuk 'urinary bladder'; cf. non-anatomical terms in the same suffix as in E inuksuk 'scarecrow, cairn' (inuk 'man'); E(Br) naniqsuk 'a make-shift lamp' (naniq 'lamp'). The suffix may be a cognate with Aleut -su- as in kanu:rsur 'resembling a heart', alurasur 'resembling a side', both occurring in (C) as place names. Even from the short list of the terms given above the original meaning of -suk could be rather safely inferred as "something which resembles a ..." or "a substitutive ...". Likewise if we are justified in deducing -quq and -lu as obsolete suffixes from the terms treated above, the nature of the suffixes will be a problem not to be left untouched, though it does not seem so easy to unravel as is in the case of -suk.

Though the Aleut language is also abundant in anatomical terms which are evidently derivative as well (cf. the terms ending in -daq, in (4) on p. 5), I have not yet found any evident cognate to Esk. -quq. The etymological status of the seemingly comparable -ru- as in Aleut(W) kimaru- 'coccyx'; (E. W) sanru- 'bladder, stomach'; (E) atru- 'finger' is not altogether clear. Turning our eyes back to the Eskimo, we find a limited number of stems ending in -quq ~ -ruq apart from anatomical ones. W. Thalbitzer once gave a dozen of

words ending in -ruq especially from E(G) irrespectively of their content categories, which he regarded as an obsolete participle-like suffix, saying that it has lost its grammatical function.<sup>1)</sup> It seems most conspicuous that a greater part of those non-anatomical stems in -quq ~ -ruq have something to do with a part (of something) or some topographical feature: E(G) avalirquq 'projecting part of something (branch, etc.)' (from avaliq 'that which lies outside', avat 'outer side', as to -liq see (2) on p. 3); E(G) tikirquq 'corner' (from tikiq 'fore-finger'); E(G) asirquq 'crack, chink' (from asi 'distance'); E(G. Ca) akirquq 'knot, joint, branch' (aki 'that which is on the other side'); E(G) urquq 'lee side' (perhaps related to uqur- 'warm'); E(G. Ig. N. Ca) ku:ruq 'valley, furrow' (ku:k 'river'); E(Ca) kiqaruq 'hill' (kiqaq 'mountain'). A few designations of living things also end in the suffix: E amaruq 'arctic wolf' (cf. W(Un) ama 'wolf'); E(G) ivisa:ruq 'trout with a red belly' (ivisa:q 'brownish red earth or animal'); E(G) quluruq 'wealking, sickly person or animal'; E(Ca) qumarquq 'a kind of louse' (qumaq 'louse'). Now we are again in a position to look into the anatomical terms in -quq ~ -ruq discussed in Sec. 2. From their phonemic shapes, etymological transparency and geographical distribution it would be inferred that the terms date back to different stages of the development of the language: some terms seem to be of relatively ancient origin (1, 2, 4, 5), others rather recent (9, 10, 12, etc.). The suffix -quq itself undoubtedly dates back to the proto-Eskimo period; it remains uncertain, however, whether it goes further back, say, to the proto-Esk-Aleut, as its probable reflex

1) "The Eskimo Numerals", *Journal de la société finno-ougrienne* XXV (1908), 20.

has not been evidenced in Aleut. In trying to unravel the nature or primordial function of the obsolete suffix, it would be a safer way to take into account as much as possible only the terms which are etymologically evident, though it is quite possible that at some ancient period the same suffix may have had a somewhat different function, which lies hidden in some terms whose primary stems cannot be identified any longer. On the other hand, among the non-anatomical terms given above, the words referring to a part or a locality would seem relevant to the problem, and it is reasonable that they should be taken into consideration. Thus from the anatomical terms and some of the non-anatomical ones, preferably those which are etymologically evident, we might at first draw this inference: the -quq is not originally a participle-like suffix so much as a noun-elaborating suffix ('NN' in the traditional Greenlandic grammars). The nominal character of stems to which the suffix is attached seems certain, the (12) being apparently an exception. The way of elaborating the nominal content of stems does not seem to be uniform. A greater part of the anatomical terms are derived with slight modification of content from the stems which are themselves anatomical (6, 7, 8, 11, 15, etc.) Among the rest some terms are probably derived from location stems (2 [?], 22, 24), others perhaps from nominal participles (3, 19). Likewise the non-anatomical terms referring to a part or a locality on p. 13 are mostly derived from primary stems of location. All this would seem to indicate that the suffix did not have a clearly definable meaning such as in -suk above. It rather reminds us of another suffix deeply rooted in the language: -aq. This has been characterized as "it gives the base word a peculiar (generally a

subordinate or derivative) meaning" (Schultz-Lorentzen)<sup>1)</sup> or as "it modifies meaning of stem in some undetermined way" (D. Jenness)<sup>2)</sup>. The examples follow: E(G) sina:q 'edge of something, particularly of the ice' (sini 'edge'); E(G) si:rquaq 'knee cap' (si:rquq 'knee' 4); E(G) qila:q 'palate, ceiling' (qilak 'heaven'); E unnuaq '(last) night' (unnuk 'night, (G) evening'); E agluaq 'fishing hole in ice made by man' (aglu 'breathing hole for a seal', cf. p. 10, n. 2). Moreover there are a great number of words (including anatomical ones) that seem to have been originally composed of -aq, though their derivational relations have become unrecognizable. The -quq, I assume, was in all likelihood a suffix of almost the same line whose function it was to modify slightly, though not necessarily to specialize, the content of the stems to which it was suffixed. The way of modification is, however, too varied and vague to define any more than -aq. This kind of suffixes might have once been very productive, enriching the vocabulary of the language. They might be regarded as Eskimo-like suffixes, bearing the scent of the remote past when abstract relational concepts were somewhat unfamiliar to the people. The only difference is that -aq was probably used far more extensively than -quq, bringing forth derivatives of various content categories, while -quq was employed almost exclusively to make anatomical terms and a limited number of location words. It will be interesting to add that non-anatomical terms ending in -quq are far less numerous in the Western dialects than in the Eastern. We do

1) "A Grammar of the West Greenland Language", *MoG*, CXXIX (1945), 276.

2) "Grammatical Notes on Some Western Eskimo Dialects", *RCAE* XV-B (1944), 20.

not know fully what this fact of one-sided distribution implies. A possible, not necessarily improbable interpretation is that the application of -quq was extended to bring forth some non-anatomical terms in E where its productivity was kept long after. In this connection we are reminded of the fact pointed out by Kaj Birket-Smith that the Alaskan dialects have accepted many loan words, whereas the Central Eskimo and the Greenlanders [both belonging to our E] have preferred to coin their own designations for new ideas.<sup>1)</sup> In any case we could perhaps infer that Eskimo anatomical parts as expressed by the terms ending in -quq ~ -ruq were not named with respect to their functions; instead they were viewed as parts which are metaphorically comparable or related to other anatomical parts and some kinds of locality.

Compared with -quq, -lu is supposed to be a suffix of more ancient origin as I suggested in the case of (31). This supposition is correlated with the very fact that the etymological status of most terms ending in -lu is not wholly clear any longer. Hence the original nature of -lu is far more difficult to unravel than that of -quq. As a matter of course all this does not affect the validity of setting up -lu as an obsolete suffix. Actually it has been already recognized as such by K. Bergsland, who sees this suffix in W iglu-, E iglu- 'one of the two, half, etc.'; E(G) niulu 'foot of a chair, root of a plant, etc.'; W qamlu, E qavlu 'eyebrow', and some other words.<sup>2)</sup> While -quq is largely oriented to anatomical terms, -lu is a suffix of more general

1) "The Significance of Eskimology" *Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of Americanists, 1956* (Copenhagen 1958), p. 48.

2) "The Uralic 'Half Eye' in the Light of Eskimo-Aleut", *Ural-Altaischen Jahrbuch* (1956), p. 172.



application, though the latter also seems to be closely connected with a place or a part of something. Therefore it will not do to confine our attention to a limited number of anatomical terms in -lu. The following non-anatomical terms in -lu, though not wholly clear in etymological status, might be suggestive: E(G) kavlu 'bone mounting on the end of a paddle' (kau- 'hollow'<sup>1)</sup>); E(G) nuvirlu- 'outstanding part' (nuvi- 'appear'); E(G. Ga) kiglu 'fire place', (iki- 'ignite'. W ki-niq 'fire'); E(Ka) uqu:lu- 'sheltered place' (uquq- 'warm'); W anlu, E aglu 'breathing hole for a seal' (probably from \*anə-lu) cf. p. 10, n. 2; E(Co) naglu 'crossing place for caribou'; W cuplu-, E suvlu- 'tube-shaped cavity, pipe' (cupi- ~ supi- 'blow, draught'). These terms seem to be mainly derived from stems of verbal content, cf. (31, 34, 40), but this does not always apply: E(G) niulu (above, niu 'leg'); E(G) uḡalu- 'fence, hedge' (uḡat 'side wall'); E(L) piḡalu 'round outgrowth on a tree' (piḡu 'hill'?), and (39). Besides these there are non-anatomical terms in -lu with locative significance, too numerous to be regarded merely as accidental coincidences. In Aleut, on the other hand, there is a formally identical suffix which has also locative content: (E) qalu- 'table' (qa- 'eat'); akalu- 'path' (aka- 'walk, travel'); unalu- 'kitchen' (una- 'cook'); uḡucilu- 'seat' (uḡuci- 'be seated'). In addition to the camlu- 'chin' cited above, Aleut has some anatomical terms ending in this suffix: (W) tunuglu- 'windpipe' (tunu- 'speak, speech'); (E. C) kagalu- 'heel'; (E. C. W) agalu- 'tooth'. These terms may be not only an eloquent proof that

1) This rapprochement was first made by W. Thalbitzer in "Uhlenbeck's Eskimo-Indoeuropean Hypothesis", *TCLC* 1 (1944), 75. Another possible explanation would be to connect it to Aleut kamgi- ~ kavi- 'head'.

the -lu in Aleut is of identical origin with that of Eskimo but also may suggest its productivity in both the languages. Thus we may be justified in inferring that the suffix dates back to proto-Esk-Aleut. To be sure these terms, both Eskimo and Aleut, hitherto presented are not necessarily sufficient to grasp the primordial function of the suffix, but especially on the evidence of Aleut which seems to retain more etymological transparency as to -lu it might be characterized in broad outline as "it was a participle-like suffix indicating a place or part (whether anatomical or non-anatomical) where something is done or, at least in part, which is like ...."

In the foregoing I have tried to identify as obsolete suffixes the -quq and -lu reappearing especially in anatomical terms in Eskimo and to make clear the primordial function of these suffixes. The anatomical terms analyzed above have at least turned out to be of the secondary nature, in other words, they are by no means unanalyzable primary stems but derivatives through suffixation. Among the other anatomical terms out of the present consideration there are not a few terms which appear to be secondary as well. Strange as it may seem, Eskimo has actually only a few, perhaps less than twenty, anatomical terms that may prove to be independent primary stems, all the more strange because the Eskimo, as a time-honoured hunting people whose living necessities exclusively come from hunted animals marine or terrestrial, have had extensive anatomical knowledge. The fact that a greater part of anatomical terms are secondary is of course directly bound up with a peculiarity in the Eskimo vocabulary that independent primary stems in themselves

are relatively limited in number.<sup>1)</sup> In addition to the scarcity of primary source the custom of word taboo is known to have been operative at one time in many parts of the Eskimo area, to the greatest extent in East Greenland. It was surely a factor that caused active alternation and new creation of words. Consequently the people must have made the best possible use of the available lexical material, coining new derivatives to meet many varying needs. It is not surprising that this was also the case with fundamental anatomical terms as well as with terms of other content categories; even lower numerals have been shown to be secondary.<sup>2)</sup> All this may lead to a doubt as to the validity of such a concept as "basic vocabulary" which is supposed to be common to every language and on which glottochronological calculation is based. Even apart from the glottochronological concept and treatment of lexical aspect of the language, we shall have to be very careful in comparing Eskimo with any other language with a view to establishing a genealogical relation. Mere comparison of word for word, or stem for stem, based on superficial likeness of meaning will be not only of no avail but also detrimental. Genealogical elucidation concerning Eskimo will therefore presuppose thorough analyses morphological and semantic of stems and suffixes of the language and deeper understanding of their peculiarities.

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1) The number of primary stems has been estimated for E(G) at about 1,100 by W. Thalbitzer ("Is Eskimo a Primitive Language?", *Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> congrès international de linguistes* 1936, p. 256).

2) W. Thalbitzer, "The Eskimo Numerals".

