A comparison of landscape categorization in Inuit-Yupik and Dene languages in Alaska

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Language in landscape

- "From a geological point of view [landscape] is mere deformation of a continuous surface, so that discrete units and categories must be the construction of the cognizer." (Levinson 2008)

- "Different language groups/cultures have different ways of conceptualizing landscape, as evidenced by different terminology and ways of talking about and naming landscape features." (Mark, Turk & Stea 2007)

- "Landscape features are more likely to be driven by their 'affordances', by what they are good for in human activities and purposes." (Levinson 2008)

- "Landscape terms tend to be organised around an imposed cognitive scheme or template" (Levison & Burenhult 2009)

Not all landforms are created equal

- Landscape terms delineate an ontological system, similar to kinship, flora, fauna, astronomy, etc.

- Yélî Dnye lacks generic term mountain (Levinson 2008)
  - *mbu* denotes 'convex', incl. mountain and anthill
- W Pantar lacks a generic term river (Holton 2011)
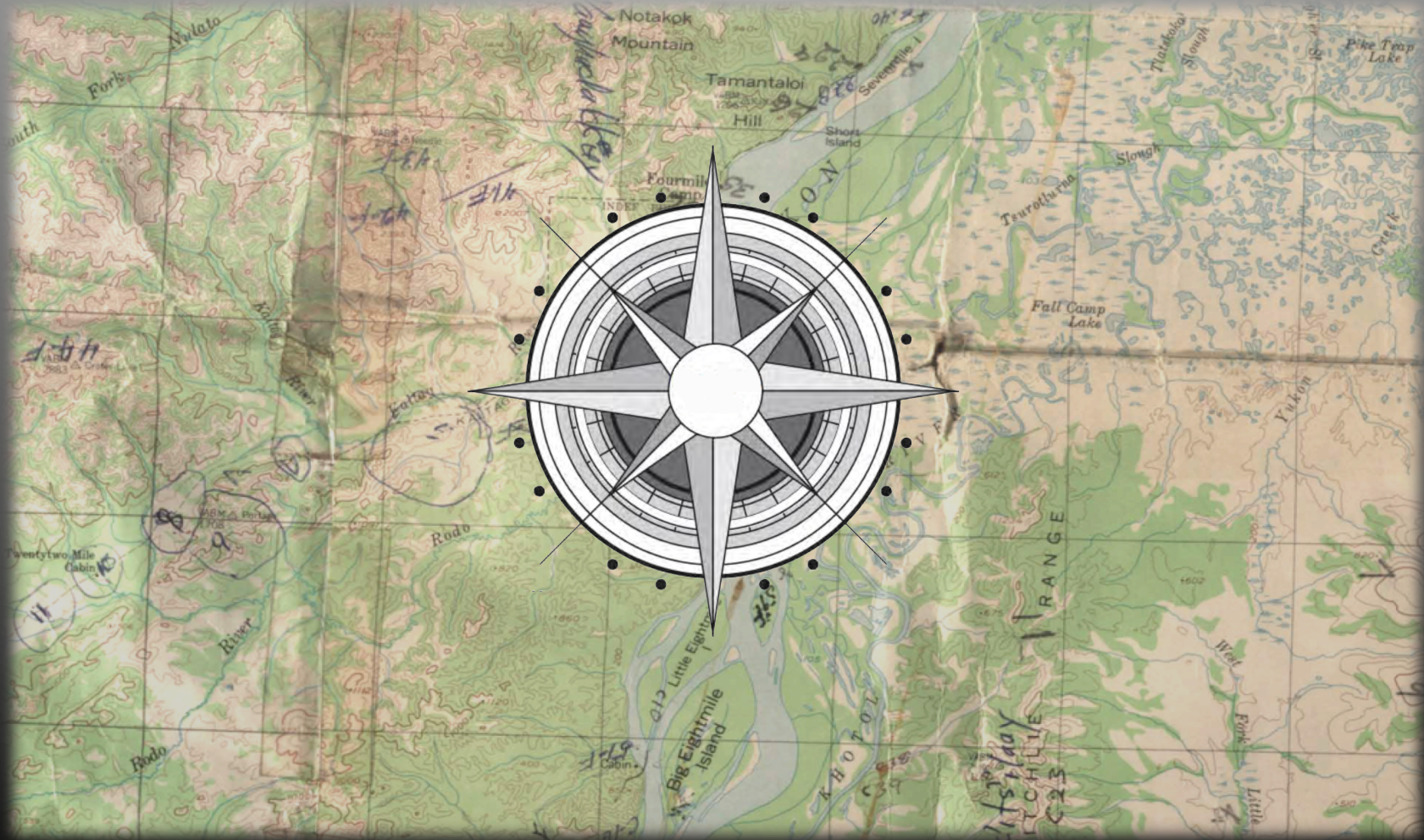 - water features classified as to amount of brine (hali, masi, mata)
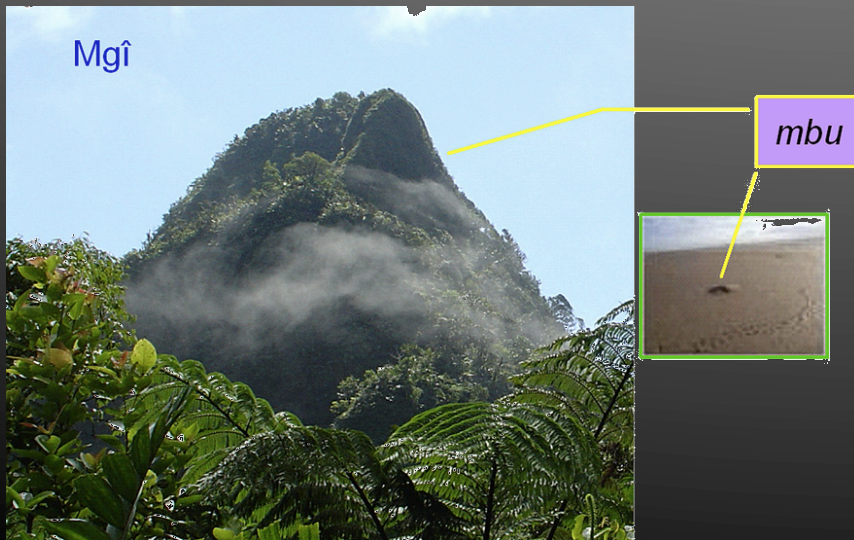
Overview

- orientation systems
  - historical source
  - [synchronic functionality]
  - variability across languages/dialects
  - [localization]
- place-naming systems
  - streamscapes
  - placename clusters
- elevation terms (briefly)
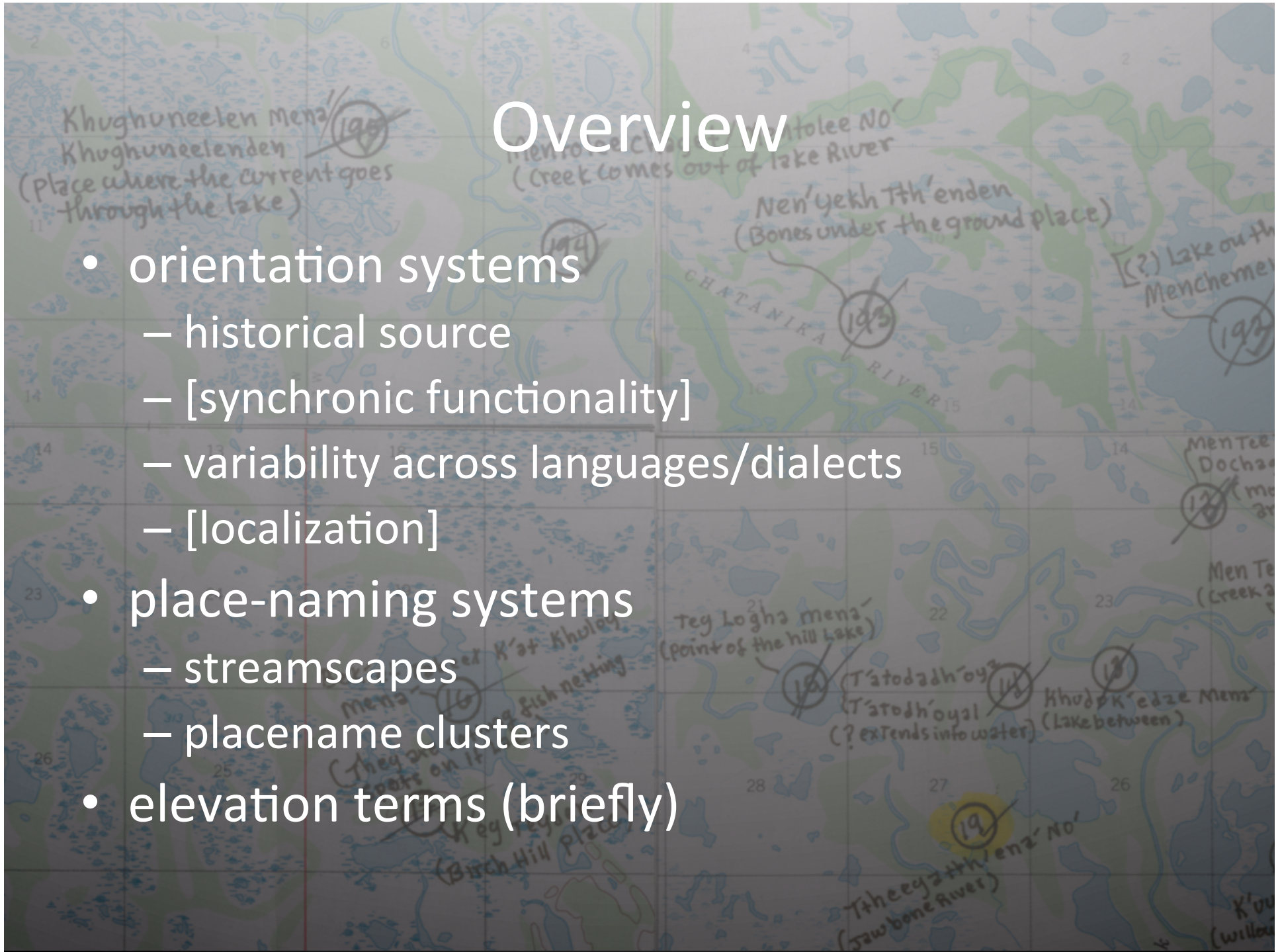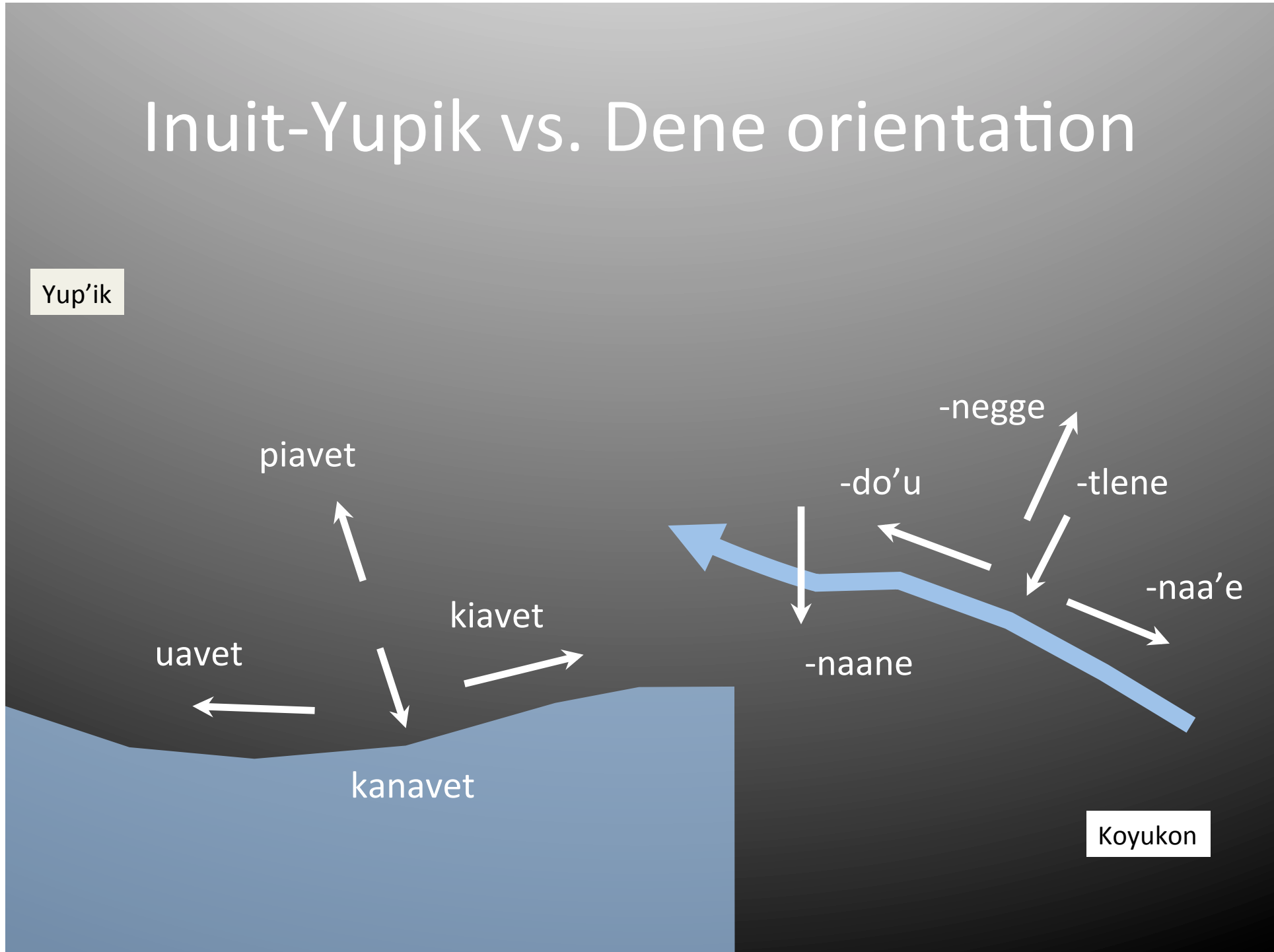
Orientation Systems

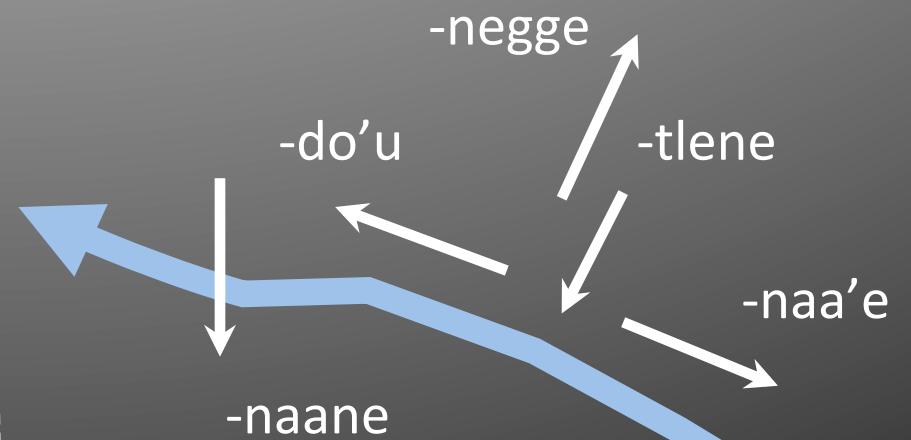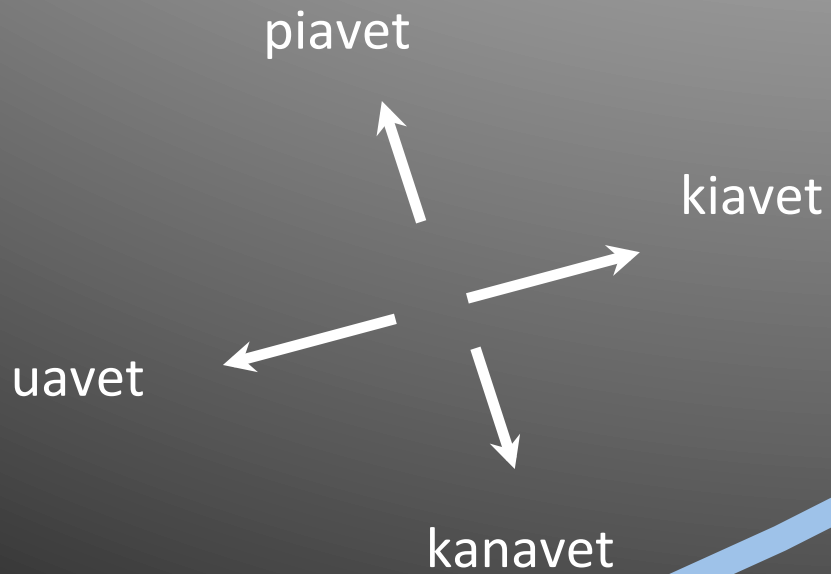# Inuit-Yupik vs. Dene orientation

Yup'ik

piavet

kiavet

uavet

kanavet

-negge

-do'u

-tlene

-naa'e

-naane

Koyukon

Proto-Inuit-Yupik demonstrative roots

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED		OBSCURED	
PROX	*uv-		*mað-		*im-	
	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	*kiv-	*kiɣ-	*qav-	*qaɣ-	*qam-	*qakəm-
LEVEL	*iŋ-	*ik-	*av-	*aɣ-	*am-	*akəm-
DOWN	*kan-/ *kað-	*uɣ-	*un-	*unəɣ-	*cam-	*cakəm-
UP	*piŋ-	*pik-	*pav-	*paɣ-	*pam-	*pakəm-

(Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan 2010)

Elevation-based systems are not uncommon

	VISIBLE		NON-VISIBLE	
	SPEC	NON-SPEC	SPEC	NON-SPEC
PROX	saiga	aiga	sigamme	igamme
DIST	saina	aina	sinamme	inamme
UP	spaugu	paugu	spaume	paume
LEVEL	sraugu	daugu	sraume	daume
DOWN	smaugu	maugu	smaume	maume

(Holton 2007)

Elevation-based systems are not uncommon

Greenlandic demonstrative roots

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED		OBSCURED	
PROX	u-		ma-		(im-)	
	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST		kig-	qav-		qam-	
LEVEL		ik-	av-			
DOWN	kan-				sam-	
UP		pik-	pav-			

Greenlandic demonstrative roots

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED	
PROX	u-		ma-	
	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST		kig-	qav-	
LEVEL		ik-	av-	
DOWN	kan-			
UP		pik-	pav-	

qav-

kan-

pik-

av-
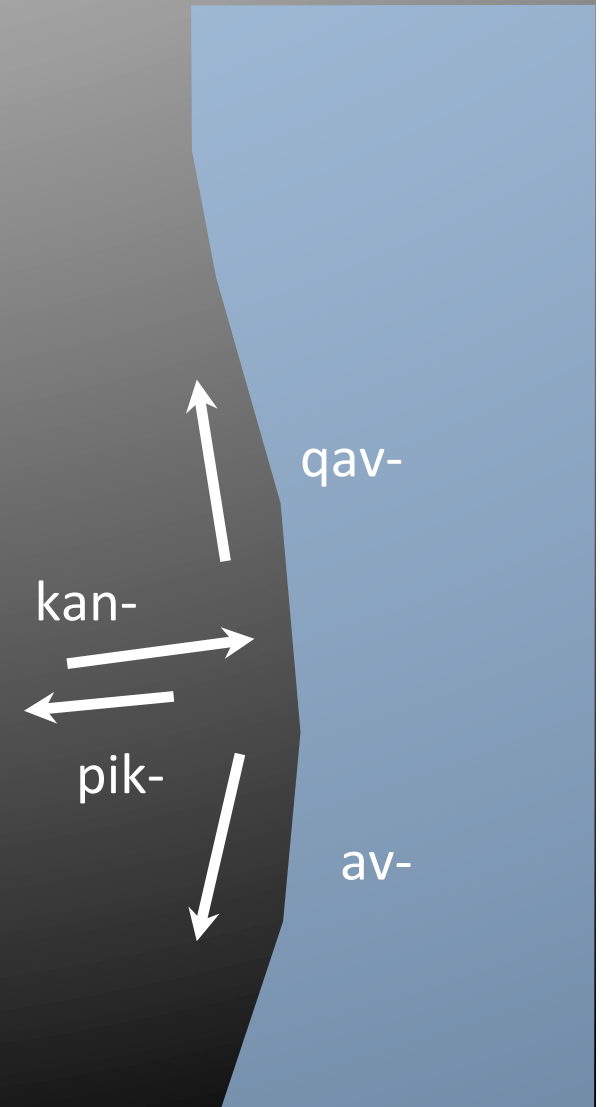
Inupiaq (North Slope) demonstrative roots

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED		OBSCURED	
PROX	uv-		ma-		sam-	
DIST	kiv-	kig-	qav-	qag-	qam-	qakim-
LEVEL		ik-	av-	ag-	am-	akim-
DOWN	kan-		un-		sam-	sakim-
UP		pik-		pag-	pam-	pakim-

Inupiaq (North Slope) demonstrative roots

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED	
PROX	uv-		ma-	
DIST	kiv-	kig-	qav-	qag-
LEVEL		ik-	av-	ag-
DOWN	kan-		un-	
UP		pik-		pag-

ik-
(*ua-*)

kan-

pik-

kiv-
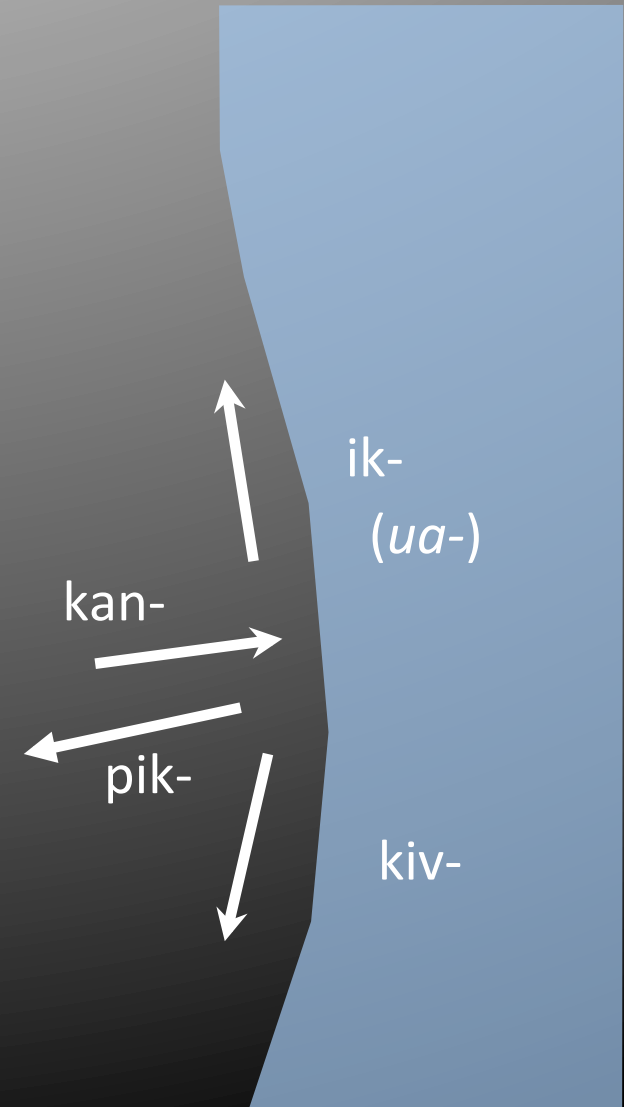
Alaskan Yupʼik demonstrative adverbs

	RESTRICTED		EXTENDED		OBSCURED	
PROX	wavet		maavet			
	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet	qavavet	qagaavet	qamavet	qakmavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet	avavet	agaavet	amavet	akmavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet	unavet	unʼgavet	camavet	cakmavet
UP	piavet	pikavet	pavavet	pagaavet	pamavet	pakmavet

(Jacobson 2012)

Alaskan Yup'ik dem. adverbs in coastal system

	RESTRICTED	
PROX	wavet	
	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet
UP	piavet	pikavet

piavet

kiavet
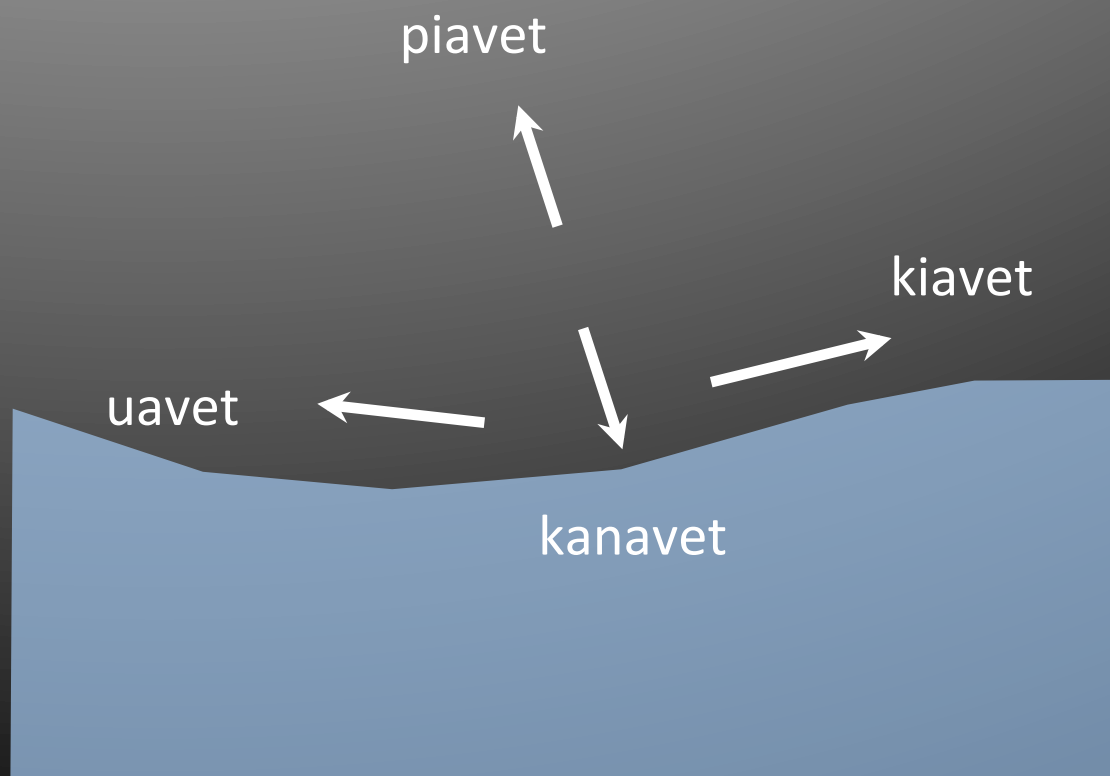
uavet

kanavet

Alaskan Yup'ik dem. adverbs in riverine system

	RESTRICTED	
PROX	wavet	
	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet
UP	piavet	pikavet

piavet

kiavet
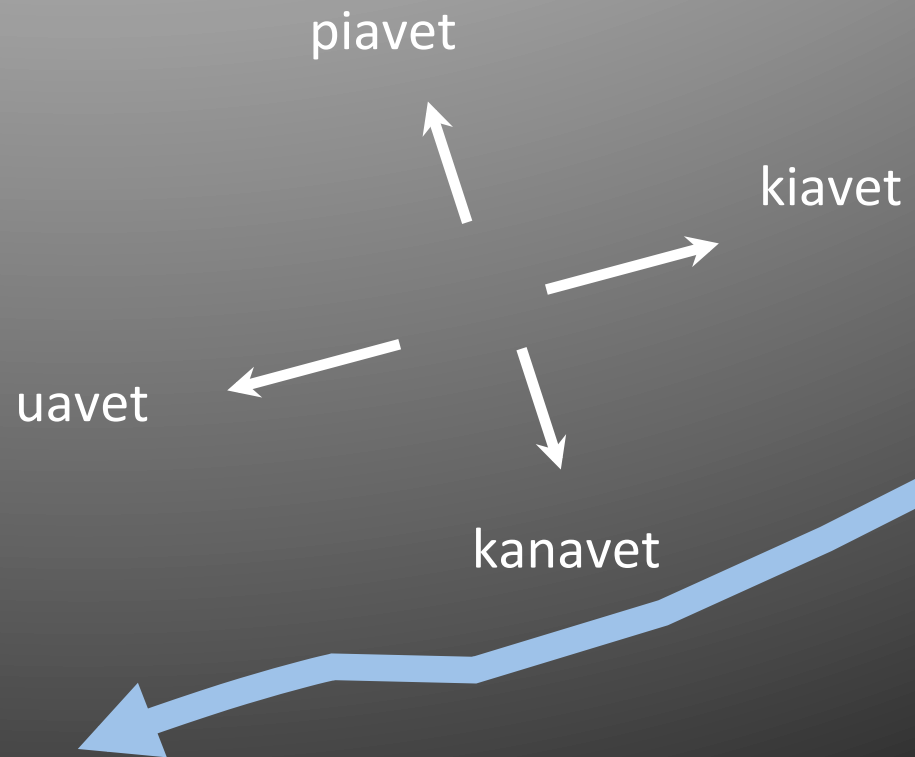
uavet

kanavet

Alaskan Yupʾik dem. adverbs on a slope

	RESTRICTED	
PROX	wavet	
	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet
UP	piavet	pikavet

pikavet

piavet
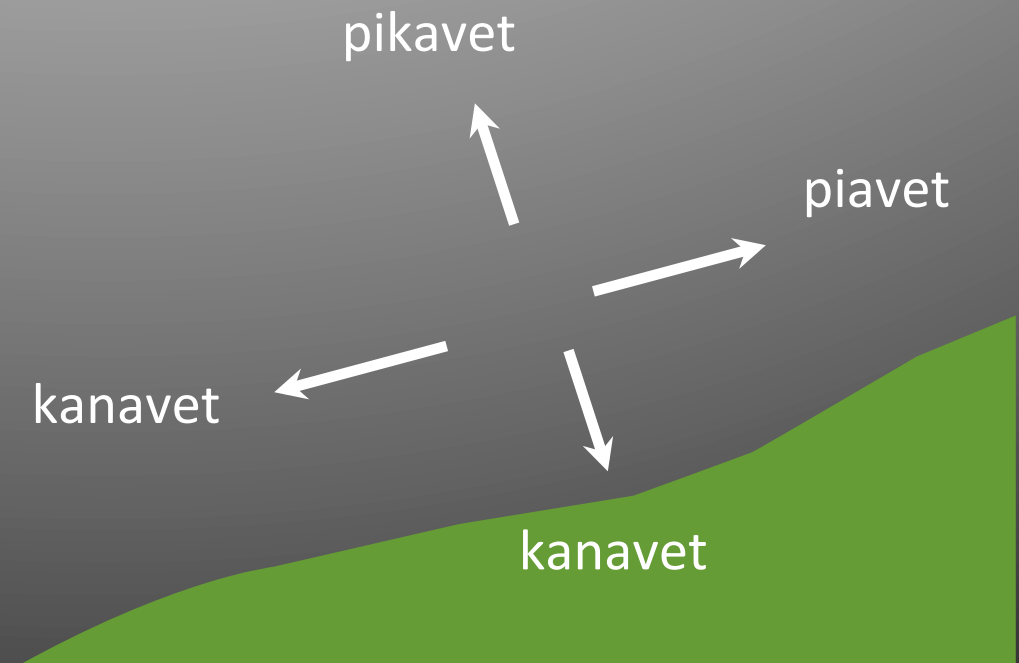
kanavet

kanavet

Alaskan Yupʾik dem. adverbs in a house

	RESTRICTED	
PROX	wavet	
	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet
UP	piavet	pikavet

keggavet

kiavet

kanavet

Alaskan Yupʾik dem. adverbs across a barrier

	RESTRICTED	
PROX	wavet	
	ACC	NON-ACC
DIST	kiavet	keggavet
LEVEL	yaavet	ikavet
DOWN	kanavet	uavet
UP	piavet	pikavet

ikavet

yaavet
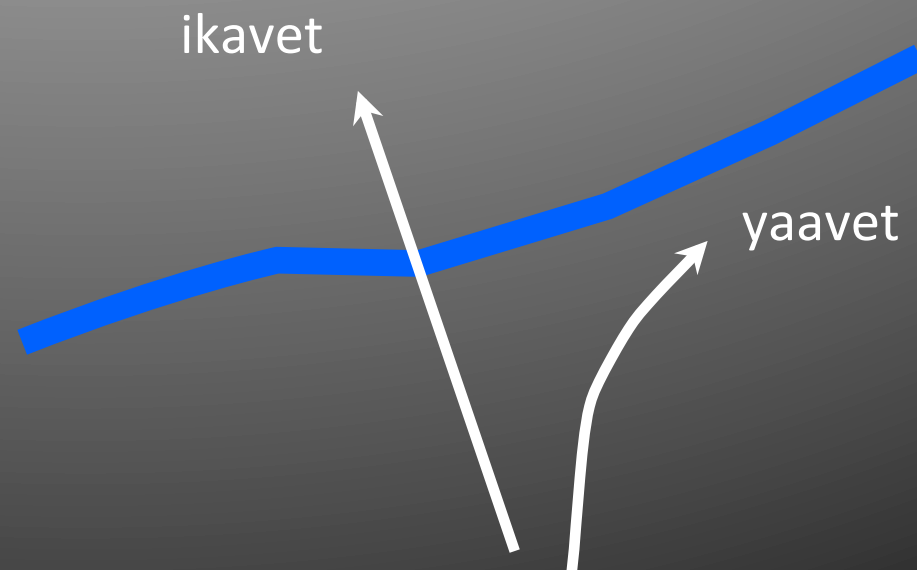
Extensions from local to global

- combine wind terms with demonstratives (Fortescue 1988, 2011)

negeq

kan-

ua-   kiug-

ungalaq   nigiq-
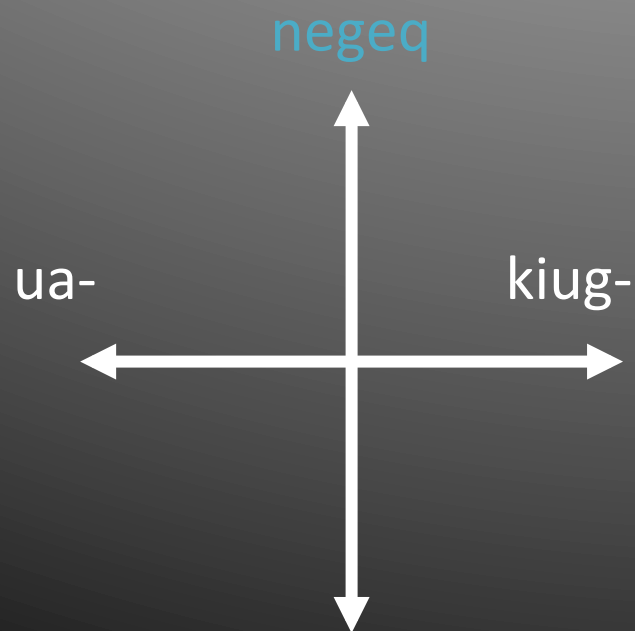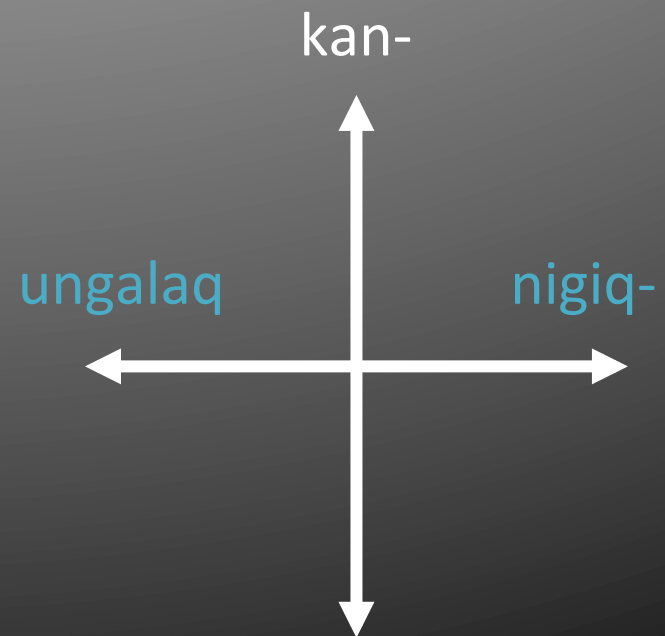
Yup'ik   ungalaq   Iñupiaq   pik-

Proto-Dene directional stems

	ALLATIVE	PUNCTUAL
UPSTREAM	*niʔ	*niʼ-d
DOWNSTREAM	*daʔ	*daʼ-d
INLAND	*nəɢ-ə	*nəχ
WATERWARD	*tsənʔ	*tsi̜ʼ-d
AHEAD	*nəs-ə	*nəs
ACROSS	*ɲa·nʔ	*ɲą̜ʼ·-d
AWAY	*ʔɑnʔ	*ʔą̜ʼ·-d
ABOVE	*-ə	*-d
BELOW	*dəɢ-ə	*deχ

(Leer 1989)

Koyukon directional stems

	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE	PUNCTUAL	AREAL
UPSTREAM	-ndéʔe	-ndî·dz	-ndé·	-ndí·g
DOWNSTREAM	-ndá·ʔa	-ndâ·dz	-nda·	
INLAND	-ndeg	-ndêdz	-ndég	-ndóg
WATERWARD	-tθέnʔ		-tθí·	-tθúg
AHEAD	-nɛð			-noð
ACROSS	-ná·nʔ	-ndáz	-ná·n	-ndás
AWAY	-ʔέnʔ	-ʔáz		-ʔóg
ABOVE	-deg	-dêdz	-dé·	
BELOW	-ʒégʔ	-ʒêz	-ʒé·	-ʒóg

(Jones and Jetté 2000)

Tanacross directional stems

PROX	da-
DIST₁	na-
DIST₂	ya-
DIST₃	yaʔa-
NEUT	a-

	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE	PUNCTUAL	AREAL
UPSTREAM	-ndéʔe	-ndî·dz	-ndé·	-ndí·g
DOWNSTREAM	-ndá·ʔa	-ndâ·dz	-nda·	
INLAND	-ndeg	-ndêdz	-ndég	-ndóg
WATERWARD	-tθέnʔ		-tθí·	-tθúg
AHEAD	-nɛð			-noð
ACROSS	-ná·nʔ	-ndáz	-ná·n	-ndás
AWAY	-ʔέnʔ	-ʔáz		-ʔóg
ABOVE	-deg	-dêdz	-dé·	
BELOW	-ʒégʔ	-ʒêz	-ʒé·	-ʒóg

(Holton 2000)

Tanacross directionals stems, allative

-náːnʔ

-neð

-tθɛ́nʔ
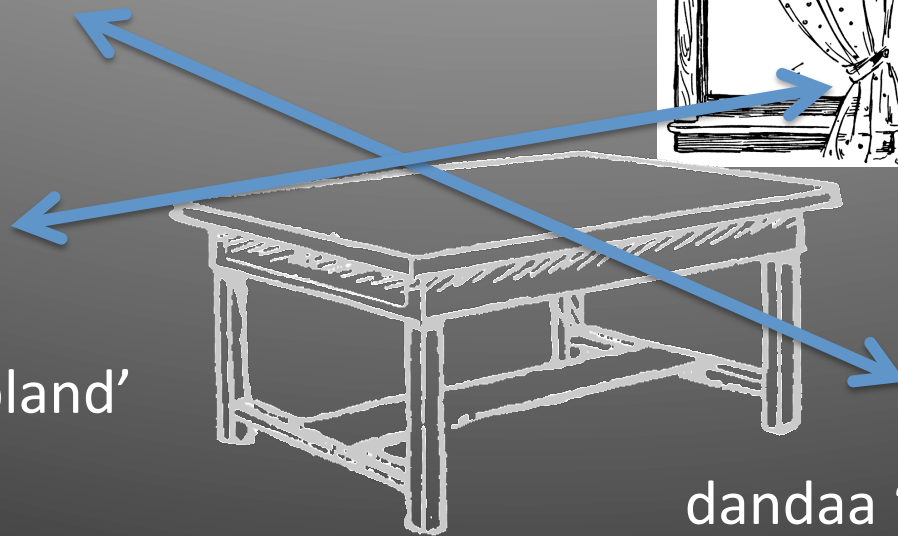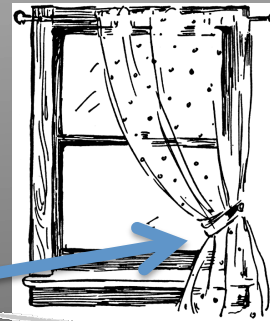
rivermouth

-ndéʔe

-ndáʔa

-ndeg

-ʔɛ́nʔ
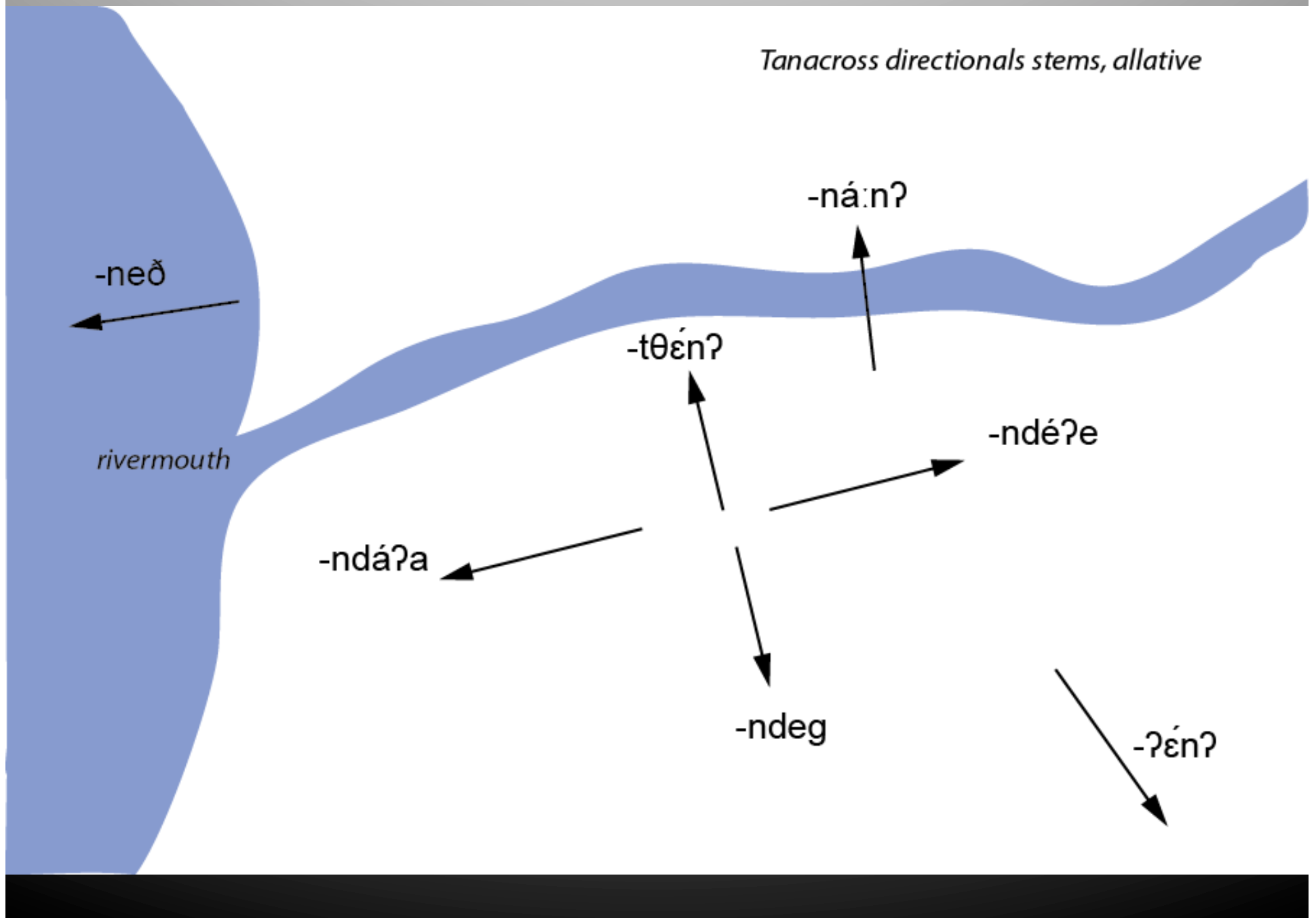
Tanacross directionals inside a house

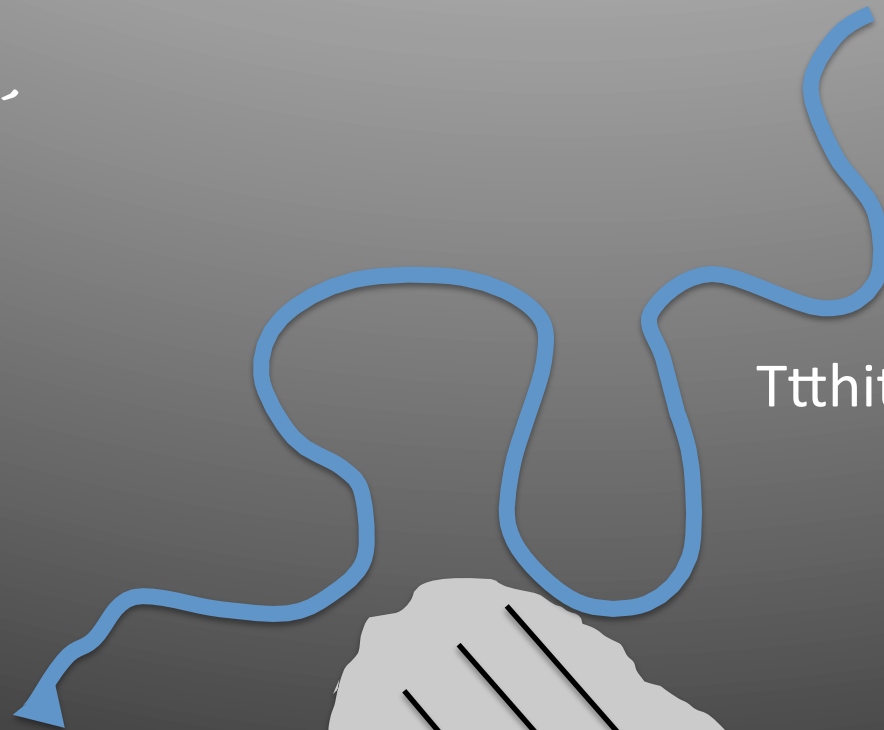dandee 'upstream'

daanaan 'across'

dandeg 'upland'

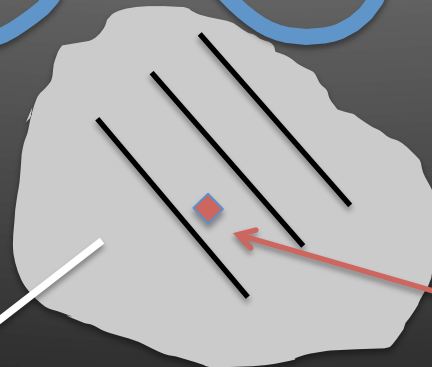dandaa 'downstream'

Tanacross village

'downstream'

Ttthitú' 'Tanana River'

'across'

house

Summary of Orientation Systems

- Inuit-Yupik
  - modern orientation systems derive from an elevation-based system, with addition of wind terms
  - individual languages draw from different parts of the original system

- Dene
  - modern orientation systems derive from original riverine system
  - individual languages preserve riverine orientation, differing only in the extent to which they elaborate on the original system by adding additional dimensions (suffixes indicating motion, prefixes indicating distance)
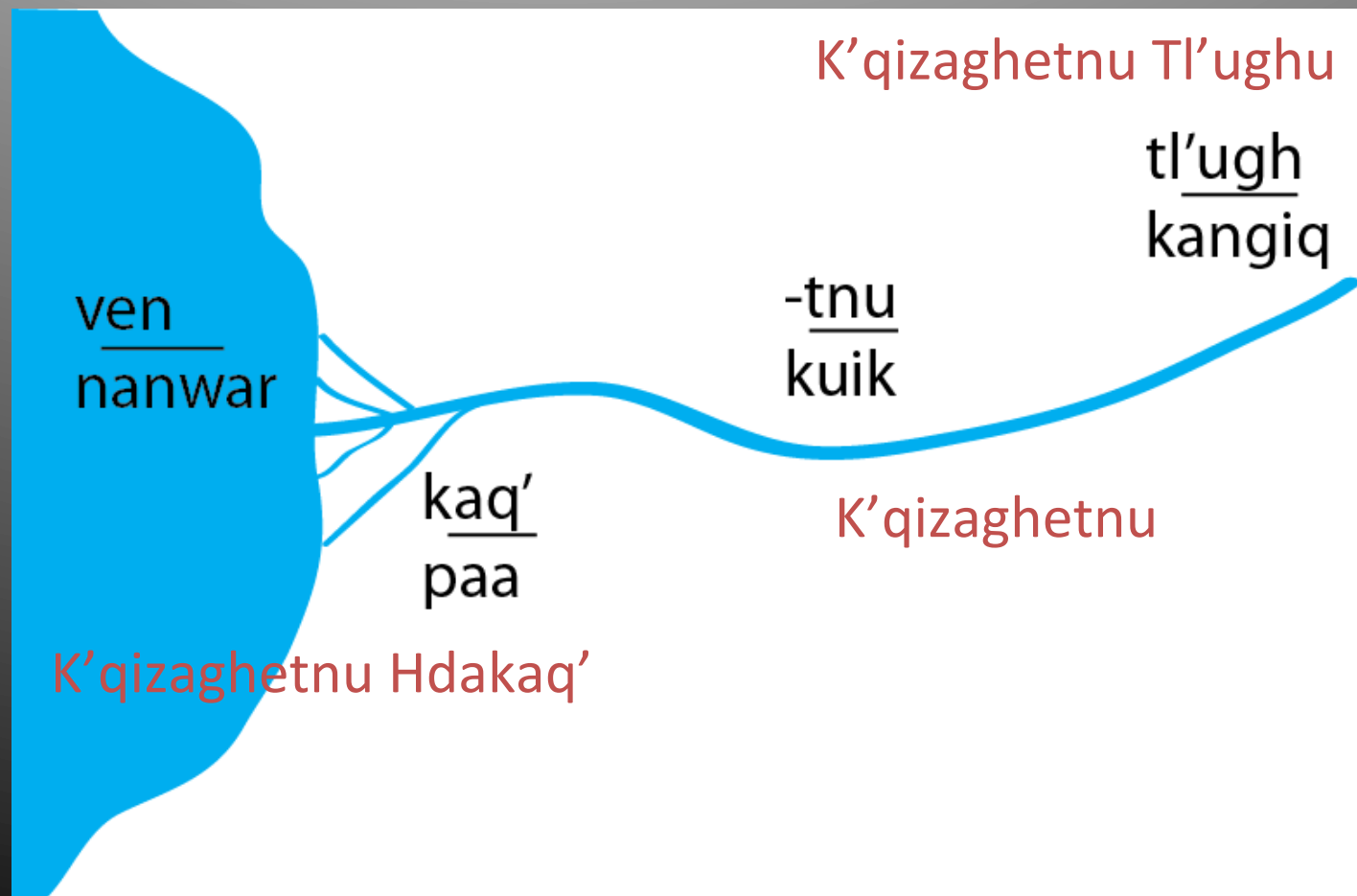
Place-naming strategies

Streamscape terms

Dena'ina
___
Yup'ik

K'qizaghetnu Tl'ughu

tl'ugh
___
kangiq

-tnu
___
kuik

ven
___
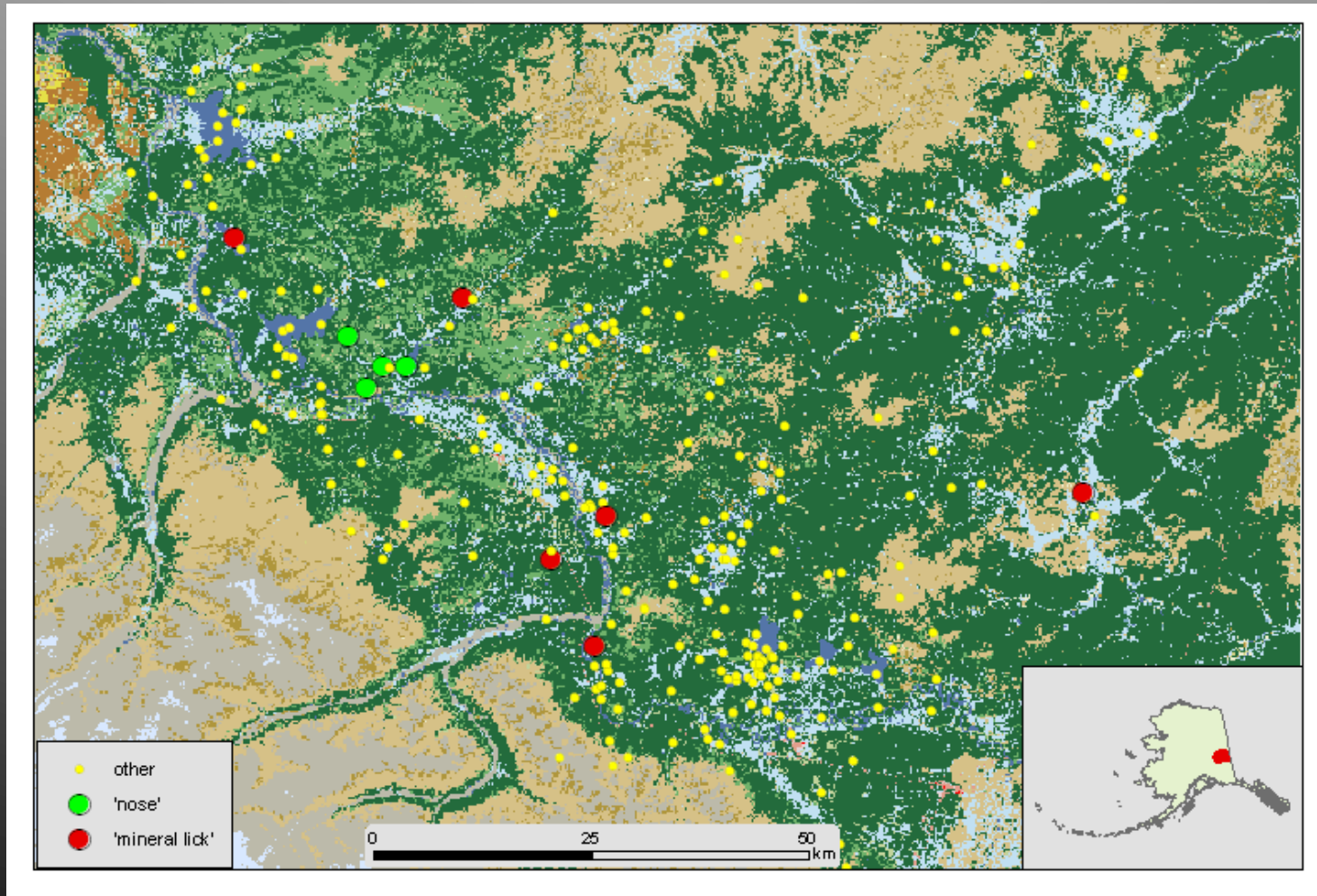nanwar

K'qizaghetnu
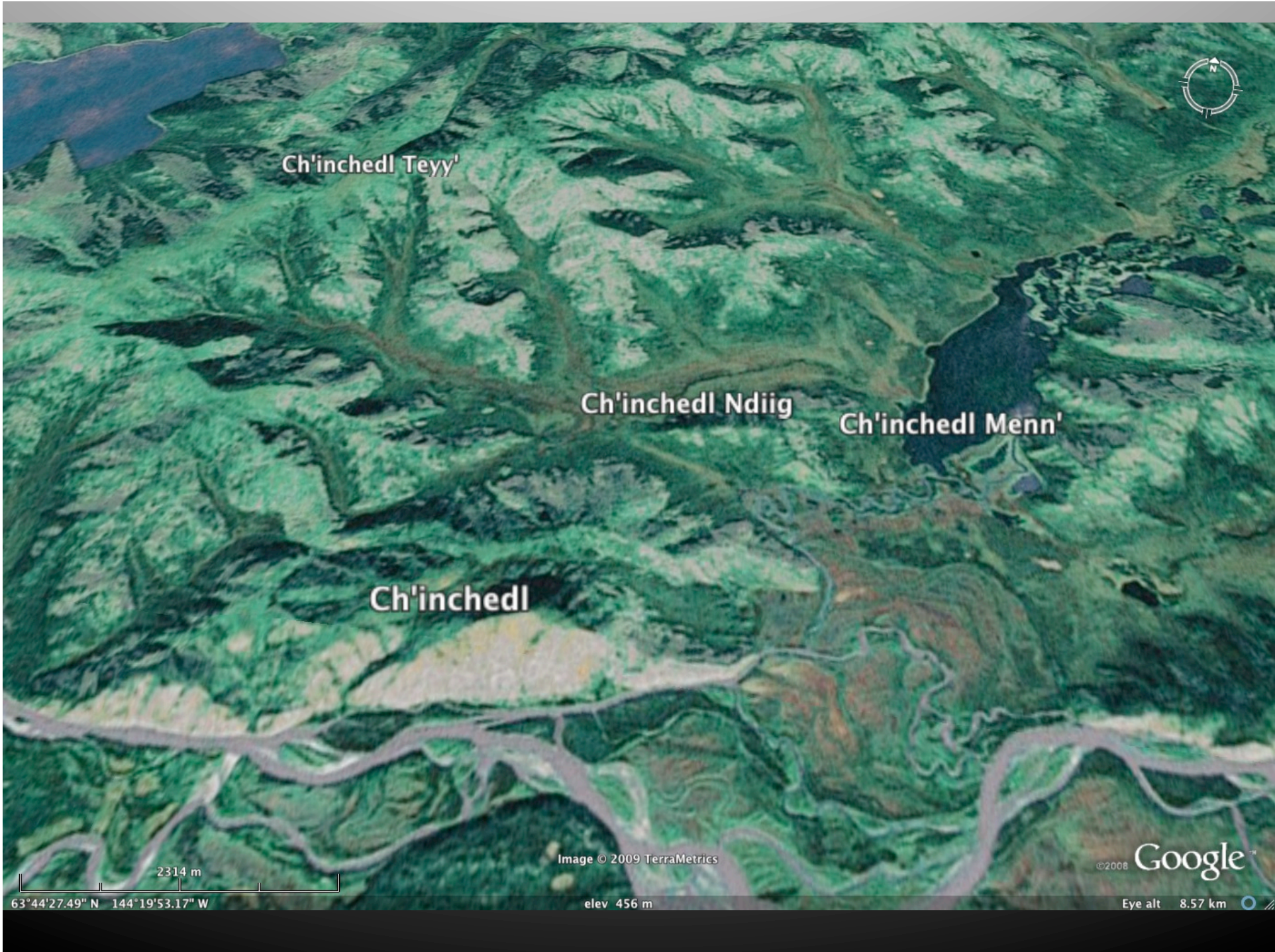
kaq'
paa

K'qizaghetnu Hdakaq'

Dene streamscape terms regularly generate toponym clusters

- rigid toponymic structure
    - nominalized geomorphological verb
    - specific + generic (binomial)
- "generative", in the sense that for any given specific, all generics can occur (Kari 2010, Levinson 2003)

Dene place name clusters

Legend:
- other (yellow)
- 'nose' (green)
- 'mineral lick' (red)

Scale: 0 — 25 — 50 km

Tanacross (Holton et al. 2012)

Inuit-Yupik directionals as a source for toponyms

- local demonstrative system plays minimal role in place naming
  - Kivalliñaq 'Kivalina'
- global system based on winds may provide source of names
  - Negeqliq 'St. Mary's'
- majority of names do NOT use (local or global) directionals

Place names based on 'mouth'

- Inuit-Yup'ik *may* employ *paðə 'mouth' in place names
  - Dena'ina *K'qizaghetnu Hda**kaq'***
  - Yup'ik   *Teggalqum Kuigan **Pai**nga*
- Dene *kæq' 'mouth' *obligatory* when it applies
  - Deg Xinag Jonetno' Xidochagg Deloy Chux
         'big mountain at base of Jonetno''
 - Yup'ik *Kiturciigalnguq*   'place one cannot pass'
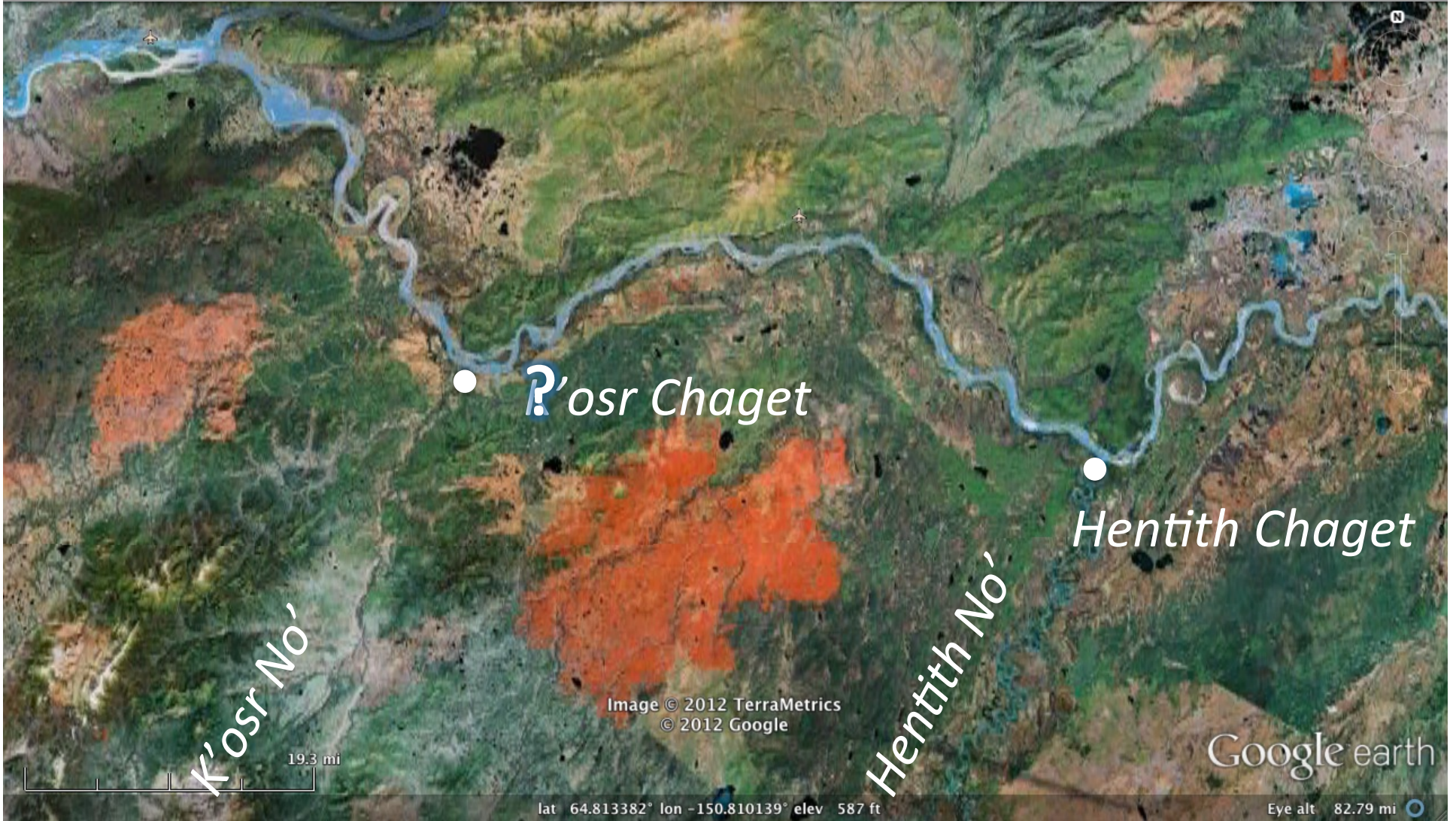
*-kæq' in Alaskan Dene names

Tleneł Chaget	Rampart
Soł Chaget	Salcha
K'osr Chaget	Crossjacket
Ch'edzaya' Chaget	Bearpaw
Ch'eno' Khwdochaget	Chena
Mendees Cheeg	Healy Lake
Saages Cheeg	Ketchumstuck
Holjichak'	Holikachuk
Gitr'ingith Chagg	Anvik
K'qizaghetnu Hdakaq'	Stony River
Tsiis Tl'edze' Caegge	Chistochina
Tl'aticae'e	Copper Center
Aalaa Kkaakk'et	Allakaket
Hut'odlee Kkaakk'et	Hughes
Tochak'	McGrath

Differing semantic range

- Inuit-Yupik *paðə 'opening, entrance' has broad semantics
  - Yup'ik *pai/paa* 'mouth of river; outlet; opening of den, bottle, etc., cockpit of kayak'
- Dene *kæq' 'mouth' restricted to landscape
  - distinguished from roots such as *du* 'orifice' and *zaq'* 'mouth (anat.)'
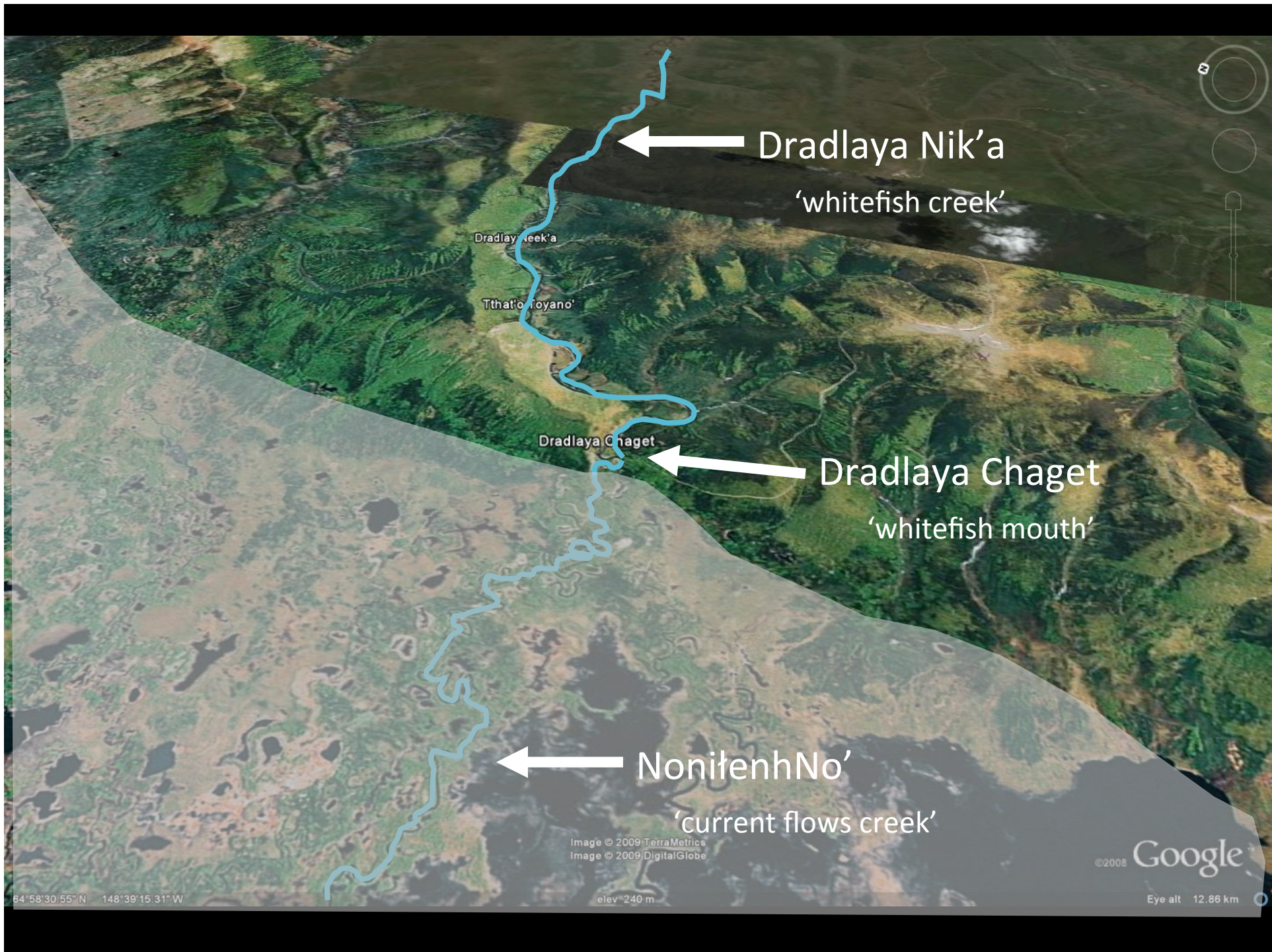
Dradlaya Chaget
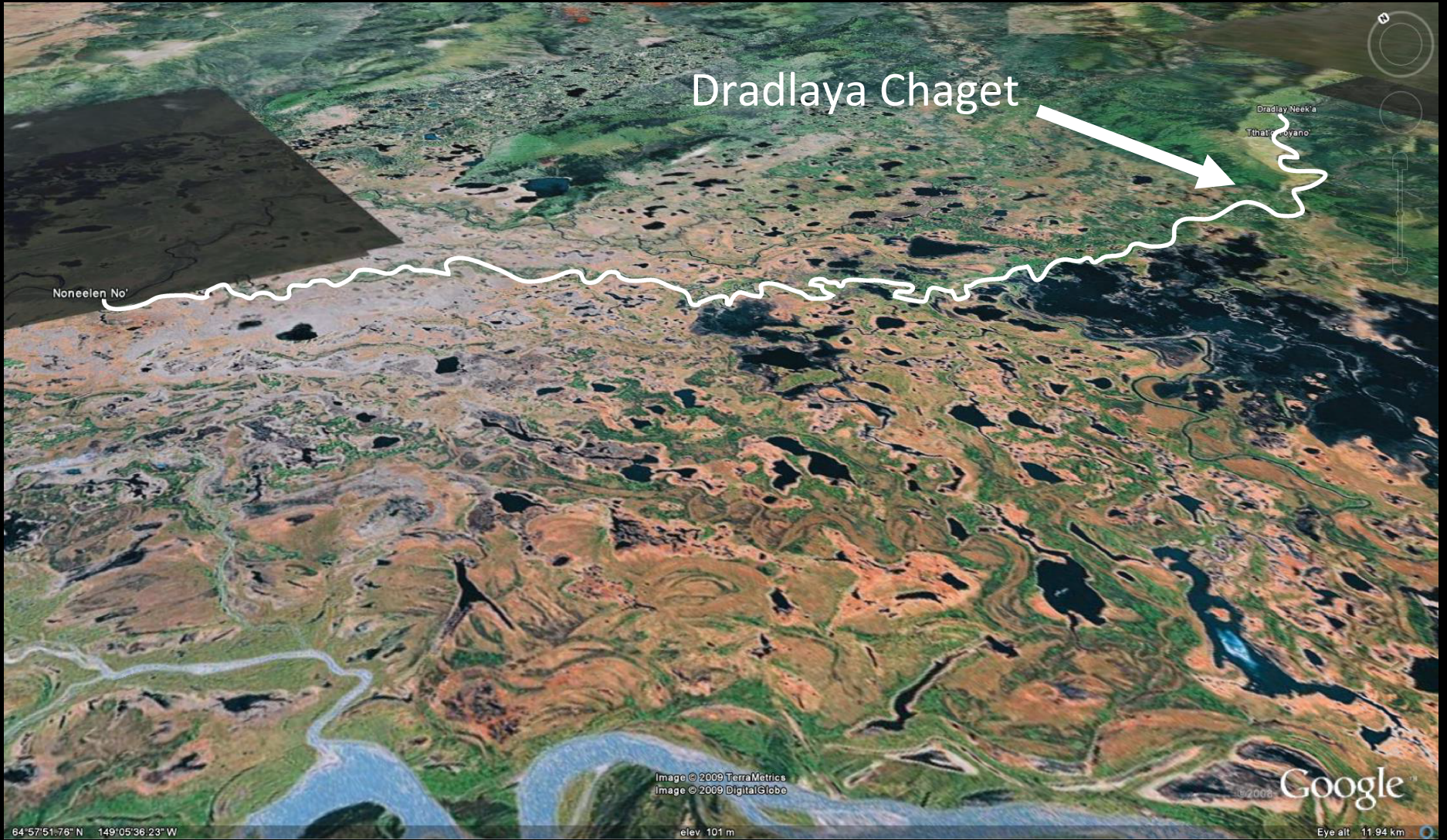
Dene streamscape

- generative pattern consistent across languages
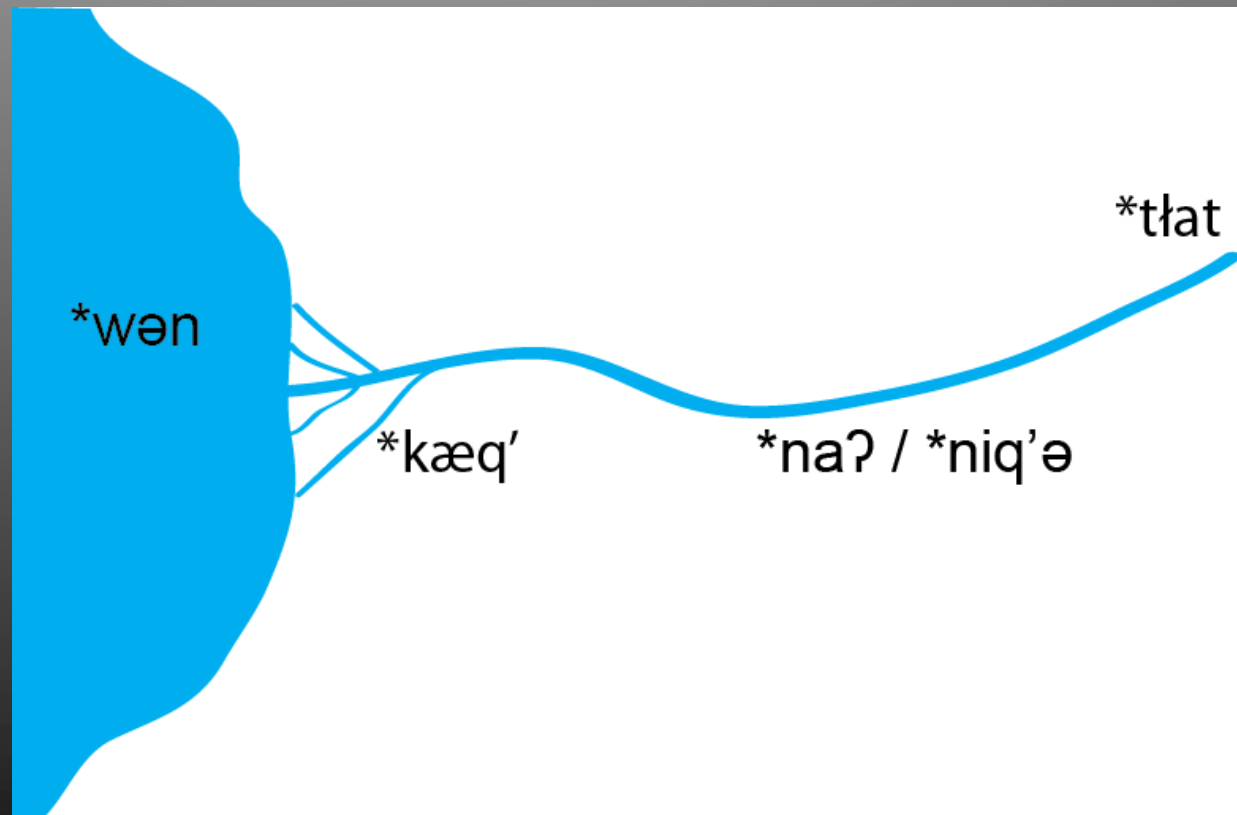
Place-naming summary

- Inuit-Yupik
  - orientation system plays minimal role
  - streamscape terms used in place-names but only in an ad-hoc manner
- Dene
  - orientation system plays prominent role
  - the entire place-naming system is built around the streamscape system in a generative fashion
    - single specific "generates" numerous names within a region by combining with different generics
  - streamscape terms have very narrow semantics restricted to the landscape domain

Elevation

Yup'ik derived elevation terms

akulneq	'valley, dale'	*akulə 'midsection' + *nəʀ 'result'
allngignaq	'small hill'	*ałniɣ 'patch on sole' + *naʀ 'resemble'
kuignayuk	'valley'	*kuðəɣ 'river' + ?
cirmik	'snow-capped mountain'	cf. cirmuite- 'be iced in'
sayangaq	'front of hill'	cf. *tʃaðə- 'front'
talliqutaq	'spur'	*tałiʀ 'arm' + kutaq 'device'
kaimaq	'bluff, scree slope'	cf. kaime- 'make or drop crumbs'
englulluk	'mound'	*eŋłu 'house' + *łuɣ 'bad'
nunapik	'tundra, flat mound on tundra'	*nuna + *piɣ

Yup'ik basic elevation terms

ingriq	'mountain'	< *iŋʀiʀ
qemiq	'ridge of hills', 'floatline'	< *qəmiʀ
penguq	'hill, mound'	< *peŋuʀ
ekvɪk	'cliff, bluff, riverbank'	< *əkviɣ
penaq	'cliff, bluff'	< *əpnaʀ
qiuq	'scree'	< *qiɣɣu

(Jacobson 2012)

qemiq 'ridge'?

- more properly denotes a ridge or a broad hill which is part of a ridge of hills
- often inflected for number: qemiq, qemik, qemit
- used (metaphorically) to denote objects which resemble series of hills, as on a ridge, rather than single hills
  - qemiq 'lead line or float line of a fishing net'
  - qemir- 'to string floats or leads on a fishnet'
  - qemirrluk 'backbone, spine'
- Fortescue et al. (2010) list *qəmiʀ 'ridge' and *qəmiʀ 'net line' as homonyms but acknowledge that they may be the same form

penguq

pengurpall'er	'great big hill'
pengurpak	'big hill'
penguq	'hill'
pengucuar	'small hill'
pengurraq	'little hill'
penguyaaq	'tiny hill'
penguruaq	'imitation hill'
penguguayaaq	'baby hill'
penguquiner	'little bit of a hill'

larger

smaller
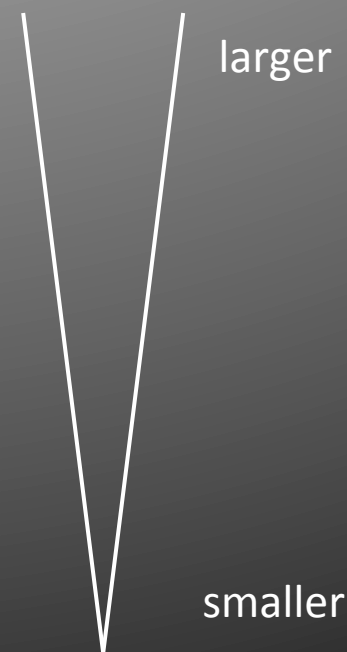
scale-independent

Ingriq

Ingri'urluq

only clear scale-dependent term

Dena'ina basic elevation terms

dghili	'mountain'	Dghilishla 'little mountain'
tex	'hill'	Ch'atexni'u 'hill extends out'
ses	'ridge'	Ses Ka'a 'big ridge'
ves	'bank, bluff'	
qenen	'hillside'	
ken	'flat, meadow, low ridge'	
-duq'	'ledge'	
qin	'high elevated ridge'	

(Kari 2007)

Elevation summary

- ## Inuit-Yupik
  - one scale-dependent elevation term
    - Yup'ik *ingriq*

- ## Dene
  - three scale-dependent elevation terms
    - Dena'ina *dghili, tex, ses*

Landscape in language

Landscape in language

- Inuit-Yupik emphasizes shape over elevation
  - shape matters more than elevation
  - directional system built ad-hoc based demonstratives
  - no over-arching place naming strategy
- Dene emphasizes the linear valley
  - elevation is prominent
  - directional system based on valleys
  - rigid and well-defined place naming strategy
  - coherence across languages

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