## Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan: A case of resistance to language contact

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МИНИСТЕРСТВО НАУКИ И ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ РФ

ИНСТИТУТ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ российской академии наук

1950

#### **Properties of a language**

#### **Classical view**

- Inheritance from the ancestral language
- NB: still found in some special traditions

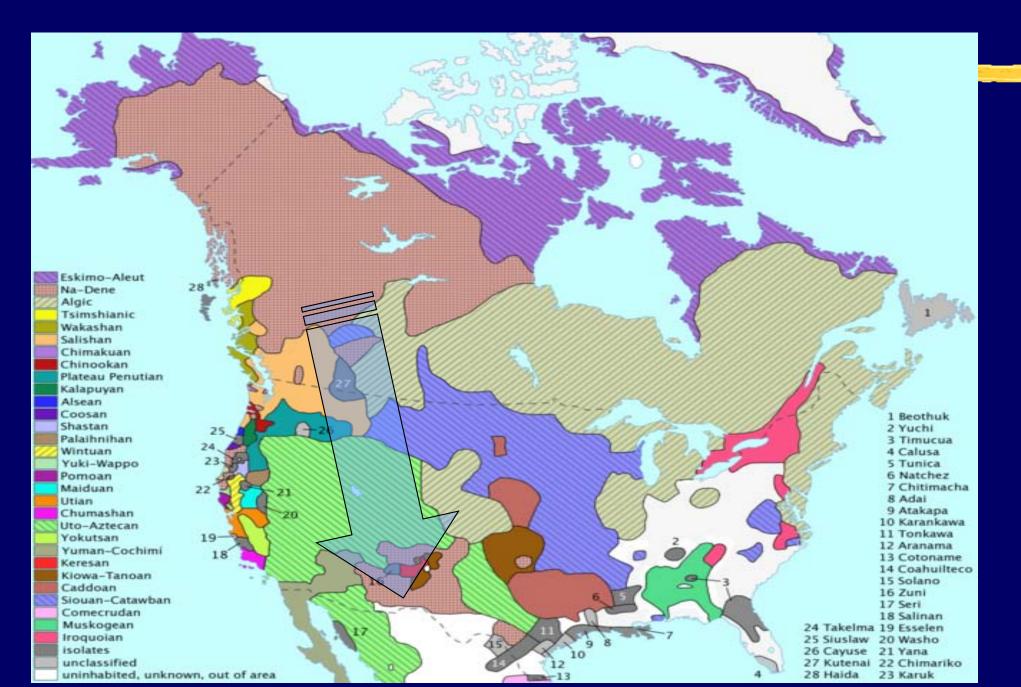
**Realistic view** 

- Inheritance plus
- Interference
  - ranging from convergence phenomena to contact languages

#### However

- Surpisingly, some languages are quite close to the classical model
- Athabaskan languages
- Sapir (1921: 209, 228): "The Athabaskan languages of America are spoken by peoples that have astonishingly varied cultural contacts, yet nowhere do we find that an Athabaskan dialect has borrowed at all freely from a neighboring language. <...> The cultural adaptability of the Athabaskanspeaking peoples is in the strangest contrast to the inaccessibility to foreign influences of the languages themselves."

#### The case of Navajo



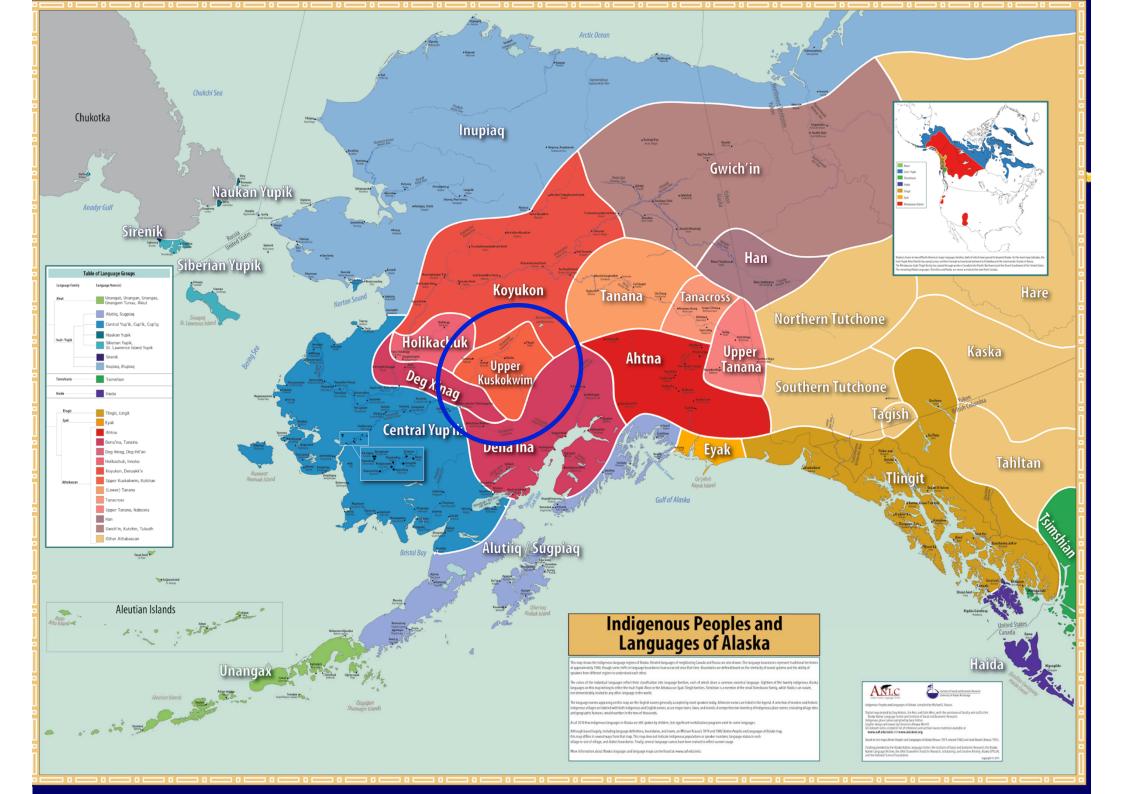
## The case of Hupa

- Spence 2016, "Lexical innovation and variation in Hupa (Athabaskan)"
- Brown's (1999) metrics of "lexical acculturation"
  - percentage of borrowed vocabulary
  - convergence index
    - from -1 (coinages based exclusively on native material)
    - to +1 (exclusive borrowing)
- Hupa
  - **20%**
  - **-0.67**



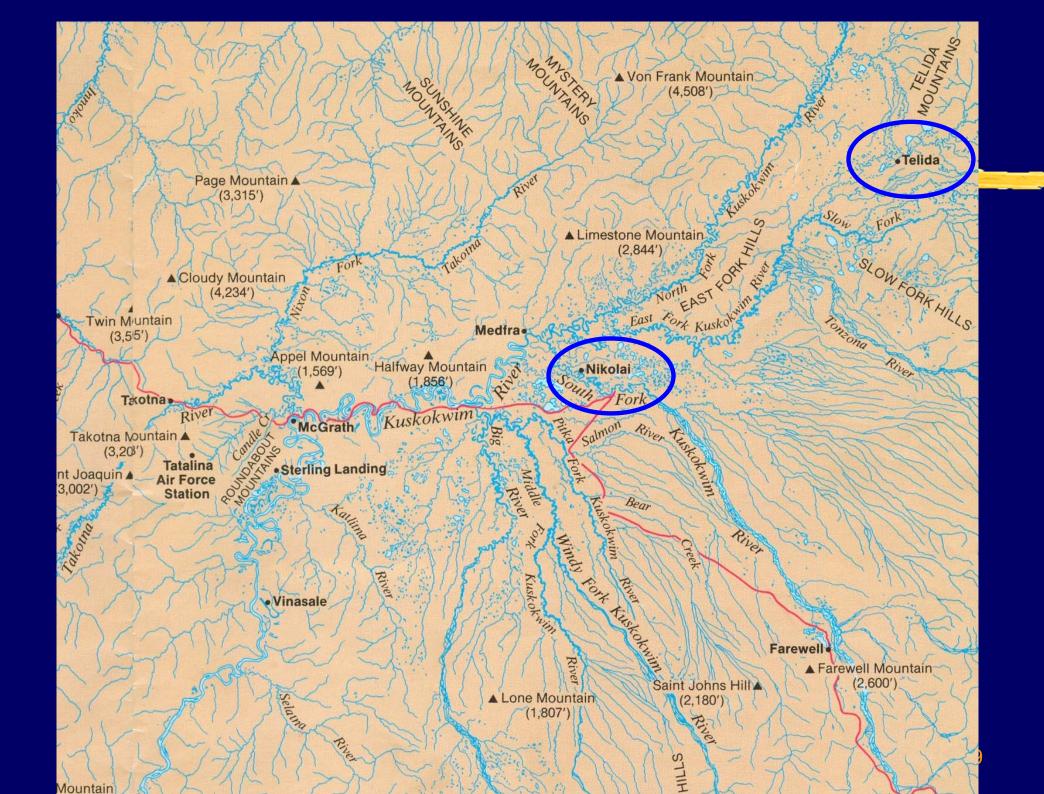
#### In this talk

A review of borrowed phenomena in Upper Kuskokwim, interior Alaska
Main point: very little external influence
Attempt for an explanation



### **Upper Kuskokwim people**

- Among the 11 (or 12) Athabaskan tribes in Alaska
- The UK tribe/language was identified as distinct by Hosley, Krauss, and Collins in early 1960s
- Most of the UK people reside in the village of Nikolai
- Religion: Russian Orthodoxy (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century)
- Traditionally, a few hundred people occupied a territory of the size of the Netherlands
- Semi-nomadic seasonal life style



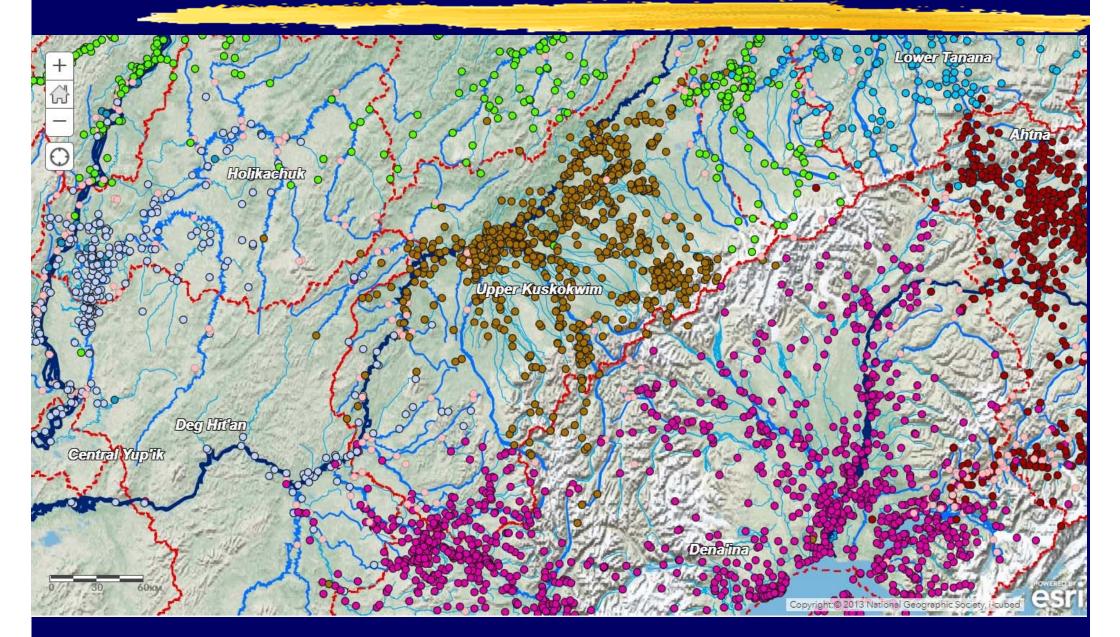
#### **Upper Kuskokwim language**

- Moribund: 10~40 speakers left out of the population of about 450
- Teaching UK at school since 1973, no result
- Prior work Collins and Petruska 1979
- Our team eight field trips between 1997 and 2019

## **Old prehistory**

- The UK area is close to (or is included in) the original Athabaskan homeland (Krauss 1980; Kari 2010; Hargus 2016)
- The area was occupied by Athabaskans for thousands of years
  - According to different opinions, about 3.5 K years (Krauss 1980) or from 6 K years up to 12 K years (Kari 2010)
- Apparently ancestors of all of the native Americans once travelled through or near this area, but no one settled there apart from proto-Athabaskans
- Athabaskan languages are characterized by "geolinguistic conservatism" (Kari 2010; also cf. Sapir 1921; Fortescue 1998; Campbell and Poser 2008)

# Kari and Smith's toponymic map



#### **Place names**

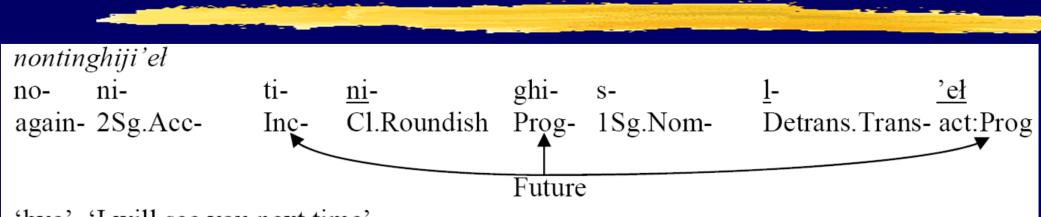
- James Kari and associates have collected over 900 UK place names (streams, lakes, mountains, landscape forms, etc.)
- All of them (with very few exceptions) are native Athabaskan descriptive terms, such as:
  - *diniltseje no<sup>2</sup>* 'red paint creek'
  - tohwnaghe<sup>?</sup>o di`where a hill comes into water'
  - *Pizdlaghe zighash no<sup>2</sup> tl'ogh Piz<sup>2</sup>one* sheefish harvest river headwaters standing
     'Mount Hesperus', lit. 'the one at headwaters of sheefish are harvested stream'
- There are no signs of borrowing place names from any substrate language

#### **Geographic isolation**

#### Remote area

- separated from the South by the Alaska range
- far from the coast
- connected to the coast by the Kuskokwim river, far smaller than the Yukon
- difficult swampy terrain, hard to cross in summer
- As a result, it was accessed the least of all by Russian and American travelers
- Even though a very small language, it was preserved somewhat longer than other Alaskan Athabaskan languages

## Verb morphology

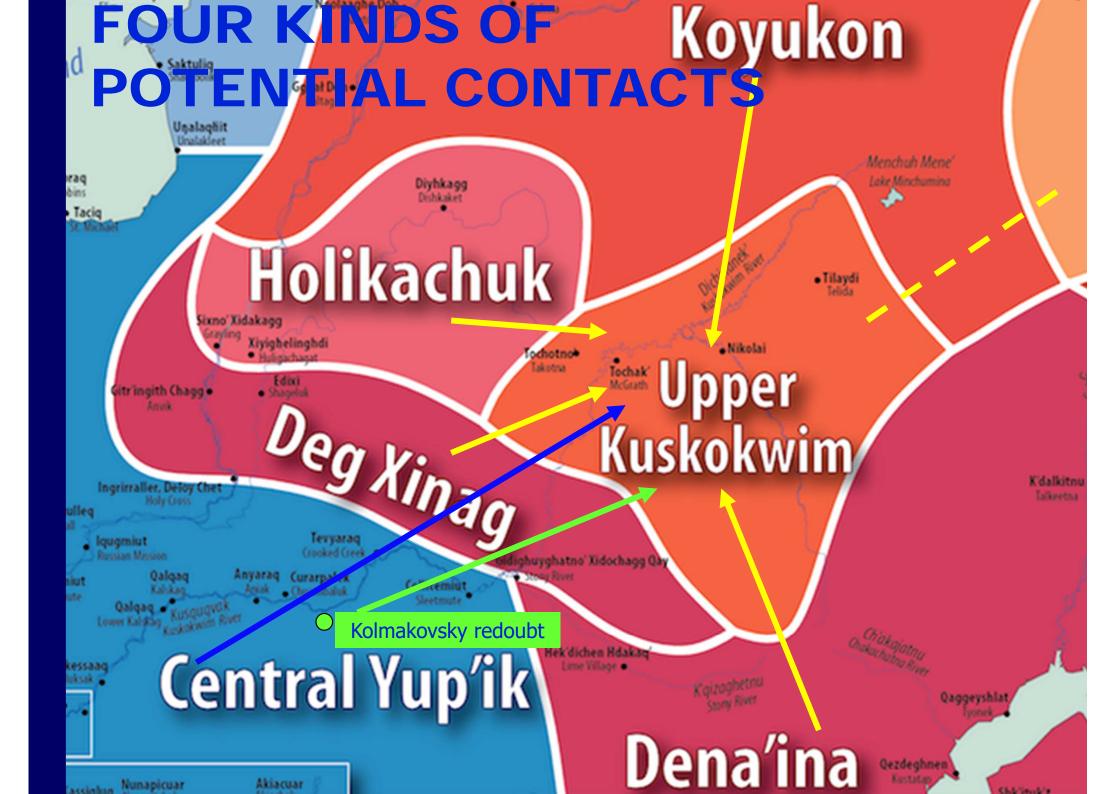


'bye', 'I will see you next time'

Long words

- Many morphological positions in the verb (polysynthesis)
- Root –CV(C) at the end (unusual)
- Almost exclusive prefixation (unusual)
- Complex verb lexeme derivation (unusual)
- Derivation and inflection are intermingled (unusual)
- Order of inflectional morphemes is not canonical (unusual)
- One grammeme is conveyed by several devices (multiple exponence) (unusual)
- Complex morphophonemics: s+l > j (unusual)

Borrowing verbs is nearly impossible



# 1. Contact with other Athabaskan

- Interior Athabaskan languages constituted a dialect chain/network
  - At least this concerns Lower Tanana Koyukon Holikachuk – UK
  - Some important UK individuals arrived from Yukon
    - including chief Nikolai, born in the 1850s
  - from Holikachuk
  - and from Lower Tanana

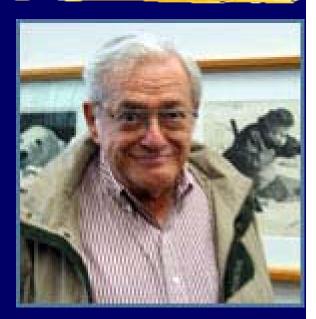
UK was not a well-defined language itself: profound dialectal differences between older speakers (born in early 20<sup>th</sup> century)

# Consolidation of the UK tribe/language

- The non-discrete situation lasted till early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when UK villages were established
- and when the Russian Orthodox religion became firmly established as a cultural distinction
- Borrowings from other Athabaskan languages are difficult/impossible to trace because of ethnic comparative-linguistic knowledge

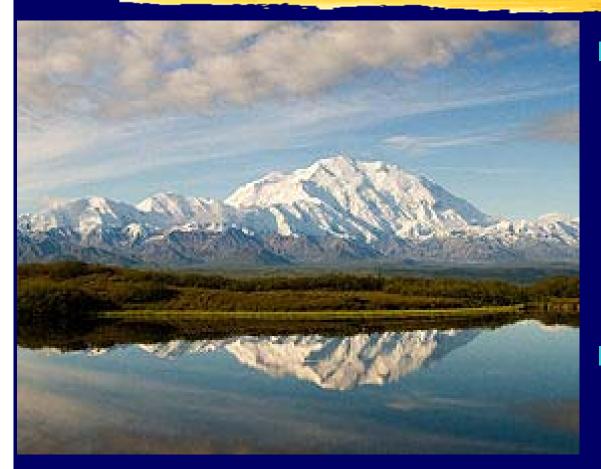
#### Michael Krauss (1981) : "Native comparative Athabaskan linguistics"

"With speaker's awareness of phonological correspondences potentially affecting the form of diffusions, it can become unknowable whether a form which appears to be descended from the proto-language by regular phonological development is in fact so descended by always having been in the "language", or was at one time not in the language, but borrowed into it from a related language or dialect, with correct phonological adjustment, thus no longer detectable as a loan or dialect borrowing" (p. 7).



1934 - 2019

### Mount McKinley / Denali



#### `the tall one'

- KY: *Deenaalee*
- UK: Denaze
- LT: *Dinadhi*
- DH, HO: Denadh

'big mountain'

- DN: Dghelay Ka'a
- AT: Dghelaay Ce'e

# Partial exception: Toponyms in the UK periphery



Yentna river

- DN <u>yentnu</u> 'backbone river'
  - yen-`backbone'
  - -tnu 'river'
- UK yanatno<sup>?</sup>
  - root not understood
  - vowels changed randomly
  - cf. yin-`backbone'
  - -no<sup>2</sup> 'river, stream'

## 2. Contact with Yup'ik Eskimo

- Very few Yup'ik loanwords
  - duyuk`salt' < taryuq`salt, brine, ocean'</p>
    - DH dighiyuq (K)
    - HO daghiyuq
    - KY degheyukk
  - *dwhjak* `pipe' < Ing. *tuxgaq* < CY *tugkar* `tusk'
  - yolwhk'a `window' from Alutiiq yaaləq (CED: 108)
    - probably via Dena'ina: yuleq `window, windowpane'; yulq'a `window opening'
    - or via DH yolq'a `window, smoke hole'
    - -k'a `cavity, opening'
  - Iondik 'thimble'
    - probably from Yup'ik (CY *tekeq* 'index finger, thimble')
    - via Dena'ina: *lukdeq* OR *lukdeq*
    - *lo-* 'hand'
  - *ghwlwk* (endearing particle) < CY *ruluq* 'poor, nice'
    - *tsuyda ghwlwk* 'the poor grandma'
    - the only identified borrowing directly from Yup'ik

### **UK and Yup'ik**

- Avoidance of contact with Yup'ik till the beginning of the Russian period
- In the case of rare contacts Athabaskans usually develop a limited knowledge of other languages
- Other people rarely learn Athabaskan as a L2
- From late 19<sup>th</sup> century Eskimos were gradually becoming cultural intermediaries between Russians and UK
  - priests visiting
- Eskimos gradually expanded upriver
  - Alec Alexia (b. 1884) who married into the UK community
  - Apparently became a fluent speaker
  - His son Miska Alexia (b. 1915-1917) was partly bilingual
  - But his daughter Agnes Nikolai has zero knowledge of Yup'ik
  - Alec hardly contributed to the UK language

# UK as a typical Athabaskan language with respect to language contact

- Very few lexical borrowings from Yup'ik
- No known grammatical borrowing
- Verb structure prevents borrowing in principle
- Athabaskans developed a highly complex and impenetrable system and were content with it for an unlimited period
- Not a hint of participation in a linguistic area, God forbid Sprachbund

### 3. Contact with Russian

- Started in 1844 (Lavrenty Zagoskin's expedition) or a few years earlier
- Lasted well beyond the official end of Russian America (1867)
- No evidence that UK people ever learned to *speak* in Russian (unlike coastal native peoples in Alaska)
- But they learned OCS prayers and chants by heart, without understanding lexical and grammatical content



#### **Russian borrowings**

- Athabaskan languages open up somewhat for borrowing only under culture shock:
  - Alaska from Russian
  - Canada from French and English
  - Pacific from English
  - Navajo from Spanish
- About 80 nouns of Russian origin
  - European artefacts (tools, food)
  - cultural (mostly religious) concepts
- Borrowed phonemes: *boze* 'God', *anhere* 'archpriest'

# Mediated Russian borrowings

- Most of them are really not directly from Russian, but via the mediation of another Athabaskan language and/or Yup'ik
- When borrowed via another Athabaskan language, usual phonological recalculation occurs, e.g.
  - denje `money' < Den. dingi < Rus. den'gi</p>
  - Cf. UK jija 'berry' Den. gega

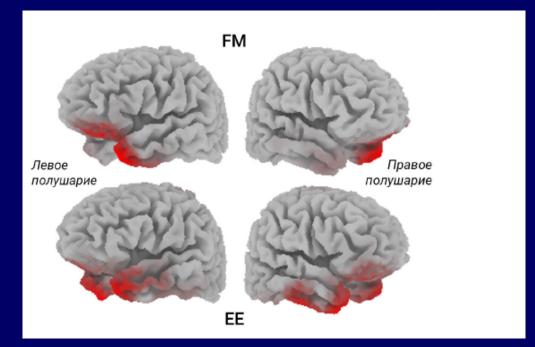
### **Direct Russian borrowings**

- suhale 'crackers' < suxari</p>
- mesruk `sack' < mešok</p>
- Normal assumption in language contact literature: borrowing occurs via bilingualism
- However, in this case bilingualism is unlikely
- Hypothesis: not via entrenched bilingualism but rather via ostensive presentation
- Cf. direct encoding in neurolinguistics
- Shtyrov et al. 2022
- It is a glorp
- vs. Implicit encoding, or fast mapping learning in context

# Explicit encoding and fast mapping (Shtyrov et al. 2022)



Рисунок 1. Примеры изображений предметов, предъявлявшихся в парах со знакомыми (слева) и новыми (посередине) словоформами, а также бессмысленных изображений-филлеров (справа)



- No statistically
  significant differences
  between two
  strategies of learning
- Both strategies lead to rapid learning
- Though neuronal patterns are different
  - Earlier activation in FM
  - Bilateral activation in EE

## 4. Contact with English

- Began in early 1900s
  - Several early borrowings, e.g. *fala<sup>2</sup>ena* 'guys'
- Very limited bilingualism before WWII (only "gatekeepers")
  - But Anglo people penetrate the area (see Raskladkina 2019)
- Contact became massive in 1948 (missionary school)
- Bilingualism spread during the following decades
- Balanced bilinguals: those born in 1940s
- This generation also leveled out the dialectal differences
- Language shift in 1960-70s
- Complexity of Athabaskan helped to preserve these languages intact but now it speeds up their decline

## **Borrowing from English**

- Lexical very few, e.g. sbel < spear</p>
- Massive code mixing, including inside words, e.g. himch'iFAMILY 'their family'
- Grammatical only one instance
  - <sup>?</sup>istrih `I cry'
  - *zistrigh ts'e*? 'I don't cry'
  - *no <sup>?</sup>istrih* 'I don't cry'
- Semantic many, e.g. traditional geomorphic directional terms reinterpreted as magnetic directions

## **Unusual purity of UK**

#### Very few loanwords

- Partial exception: some Russian nouns
- Borrowing rate of 27% (Brown's 1994 methodology)
  - 21 concepts out of 77, 19 of them (ultimately) from Russian
- Almost no identifiable external grammatical influence
- UK largely conserves the original Athabaskan type

# **Conclusions: Causes of UK's purity**

- Geographic isolation
- Long residence in the area, without any unrelated languages in the vicinity
- General disinclination of the Athabaskan languages to borrowing and "geolinguistic conservatism" (Sapir 1921, Brown 1999, Kari 2010)
- Native comparative knowledge of Alaskan Athabaskans
- Scarcity of contact with Yup'ik and of bilingualism in Yup'ik
- Lack of bilingualism in Russian
- Brief period of partial bilingualism in English
- Special morphology, almost excluding borrowing of verb roots or affixes



#### Thanks

for

your

attention



