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6850 HOUSE HEALTH EDUCATION & SOCIAL SERVICES

BILL TEXT Report for S.1595
As reported by Senate committee, November 13, 1991, Senate Report No. 102-213 (Revised printing)

KEY: 〈〈 ... 〉〉 indicates struck-through text in printed version
{{ ... }} indicates bold parenthesis (usually numbered Senate amendments)
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II
*(Star Print)
Calendar No. 319

102d CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 1595
[Report No. 102-213]

To preserve and enhance the ability of Alaska Natives to speak and understand their native languages.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
July 31 (legislative day, July 8), 1991
Mr. Murkowski introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs

November 13, 1991
Reported by Mr. Inouye, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and continue with the text that follows]

A BILL
To preserve and enhance the ability of Alaska Natives to speak and understand their native languages.

==========

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

〈〈SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.〉〉
〈〈This Act may be cited as the "Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991".〉〉

〈〈SEC. 2. GRANT PROGRAM.〉〉
〈〈The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by

Murkowski Legislation

dding after section 803A the following new section:〉〉

〈〈"SEC. 803B. GRANT PROGRAM TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES.〉〉

〈〈"(a)〉〉 In general.--The Secretary shall award grants to any--

〈〈"(1) Alaska Native village;〉〉

〈〈"(2) consortium of Alaska Native villages; or〉〉

〈〈"(3) regional corporation established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.),〉〉

〈〈that is selected pursuant to subsection (c), for the purposes of enhancing, encouraging, preserving, and facilitating the ability of Alaska Natives to speak their native languages, and to preserve and expand knowledge about such languages.〉〉

〈〈"(b)〉〉 In Particular.--The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to--

〈〈"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;〉〉

〈〈"(2) the establishment of community language programs to bring older and younger Alaska Natives together to facilitate the transfer of language skills from one generation to another;〉〉

〈〈"(3) the establishment of training programs to train speakers of Alaska Native languages to teach such languages to others;〉〉

〈〈"(4) the drafting and printing of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;〉〉

〈〈"(5) the establishment or support of training programs to train Alaska Natives to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages; and〉〉

〈〈"(6) the compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Alaska Native languages.〉〉

〈〈"(c)〉〉 Applications.--Grants shall be awarded on the basis of applications that are submitted by any of the entities described in subsection (a) to the Secretary in such form as the Secretary shall prescribe, but the applications shall, at a minimum, include--

〈〈"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought; and〉〉

〈〈"(2) a statement demonstrating that a principal objective of the project is to preserve or enhance the knowledge or use of Alaska Native languages.〉〉

〈〈"(d)〉〉 Amount of Funding.--Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

〈〈"(1) 90〉〉 percent of costs.--The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide funding for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

〈〈"(2)〉〉 Remaining 10 percent of costs.--The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants under this section shall be paid by the grant recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

〈〈"(3)〉〉 Limitation on funds to pay the remaining 10 percent of costs.--The amount referred to in paragraph (2) may originate from any source (including any Federal agency) other than a program, contract, or grant authorized under this Act.

〈〈"(e)〉〉 Administration.--The Secretary shall administer grants under this section through the Administration for Native Americans.".

〈〈SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.〉〉
〈〈Section 816 of the Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2992d) is amended--〉〉
〈〈(1) by striking out "sections 803(d) and 803A" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 803(d), 803A, and 803B"; and〉〉
〈〈(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:〉〉
〈〈"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated $2,500,000 for each of the fiscal years 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 803(B) of this Act.".〉〉

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
This Act may be cited as the "Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991".

SEC. 2. GRANT PROGRAM.
The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by adding after section 803A the following new section:

"SEC. 803B. GRANT PROGRAM TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES.
"(a) In General.--The Secretary shall award grants to any--
"(1) Alaska Native village;
"(2) consortium of Alaska Native villages;
"(3) regional corporation established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.); or
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that is selected pursuant to subsection (c), for the purposes of enhancing, encouraging, preserving, and facilitating the ability of Alaska Natives to speak their native languages, and to preserve and expand knowledge about such languages.
"(b) In Particular.--The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to--
"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;
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"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought;
"(2) a statement demonstrating that a principle objective of the project is to preserve or enhance the knowledge or use of Alaska Native languages; and

"(3) a plan to preserve the results of the project (such as tapes, textbooks, or transcripts) in a central location for the benefit of future generations of Alaska Natives and other interested persons.

"(d) Amount of Funding.--Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

"(1) 90 percent of costs.--The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide funding for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

"(2) Remaining 10 percent of costs.--The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants under this section shall be paid by the grant recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

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"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated $2,500,000 for each of the fiscal years 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, for the purpose of carrying out the provisiors of section 803B of this Act.".

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Mary Van Nimwegen

2/13/92 House Health, Education & Social Services

10/14/92 House Health, Education & Social Services

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER
RESEARCH PAPERS

Number 4

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES:
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

by

Michael E. Krauss

1980

The World's Languages in Crisis

Michael Krauss, University of Alaska Fairbanks
for Symposium: Endangered Languages and their Preservation,
Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago, Jan. 3, 1991

The Eyak language of Alaska now has two aged speakers; Mandan has 6, Osage 5, Abenaki-Penobscot 20, and Iowa has 5 fluent speakers. According to counts in 1977, already 13 years ago, Coeur d'Alene had fewer than 20, Tuscarora fewer than 30, Menomini fewer than 50, Yokuts fewer than 10. On and on this sad litany goes, and by no means only for Native North America. Sirenikski Eskimo has 2 speakers, Ainu is perhaps extinct. Ubykh, the Northwest Caucasian language with the most consonants, 80-some, might be considered extinct with the death of Mr. Tevfik Esenç. Here we might be accused of jumping the gun again, prematurely announcing the extinction of a language, since -- as I heard somewhere -- two or three more speakers of Ubykh had reportedly been found.[1] But what difference does it make in human history that a language became extinct in 1999 instead of 1989? What difference does it make if the youngest speaker is 90 or in fact 9? Only 81 years in the date of the inevitable extinction of the language, a mere moment in human history (though a crucial moment for linguists today -- a subject to which I'll return).

Speaking of language endangerment properly calls for comparison with endangered or threatened species in biology -- to this I shall also return. For language we need our own definition of terms. Languages no longer being learned as a mother-tongue by children are beyond mere endangerment, for, unless the course is somehow dramatically reversed, they are already doomed to extinction; let us say technically to be defined as "moribund." (There is an important difference here from biological extinction, because language is potentially revivable, as shown by the case of Hebrew, under certain conditions, to which we shall return.) Not counting the languages already known to have become extinct -- that is yet another question, which we shall *not* get into -- the question for us here is how many languages still spoken today are no longer being learned by children, are no longer viable, so definable as moribund, thus to become extinct during the century nearly upon us?

[1]Except for the case of Eyak, which I can personally confirm, many of the statistics, large and small, in this presentation are but reports or estimates; I trust it will be obvious that any imprecision in the present figures should in no way detract from the basic point of their shocking significance.

Statistics on language viability are very hard to come by. This is partly because in some parts of the world we hardly know what languages are spoken, let alone how viable each is, and partly because governments generally favor one language over another and have reason not to provide figures for non-favored languages; or, if they do at all, for various reasons they may provide inaccurate or distorted figures. For some viability statistics I shall begin in the areas most familiar to me personally. In Alaska now only 2 of the 20 Native languages -- Central Yupik Eskimo and Siberian Yupik Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island -- are still being learned by children. For the languages of the small Soviet northern minorities it is much the same: only 3 of about 30 are generally being learned by children. Thus in Alaska and the Soviet North together, about 45 of the 50 indigenous languages, 90%, are moribund. For the whole USA and Canada together, a similar count is only a little less alarming: of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children; that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund. These North American numbers are relatively well known to us.[2] The situation in Central and South America, though less well known, is apparently much better. It would seem, so far, that only about 50 of 300 or 17% of Central American indigenous languages (including Mexico) and 110 of 400 or 27% of South American languages are likely to be moribund. So for all the Americas the total is 300 of 900, or one-third.

For the rest of the world, the worst continent by far is Australia, with 90% of 250[3] aboriginal languages still spoken now moribund, most of those *very* near extinction. It would seem that English language dominance in the "English-speaking world" has achieved and continues to achieve the highest documented rate of destruction, approaching now 90%. In comparison, Russian domination has reached 90% only among the small peoples of the North; in the RSFSR, 45 of 65 indigenous languages, or 70%, are moribund, while for the USSR as a whole the total is more like 50%.

For the world as a whole it is, as implied above, much easier to estimate the number of languages still spoken than to estimate the number of those

[2]Note however that 187 languages is only a very small proportion of the world's languages, about 3%. For this and much of the following I am most indebted to Barbara and Joseph Grimes and their *Ethnologue*, SIL, 1988 edition, and some late 1990 updates, personal communication. This work provides by far the most detailed worldwide survey of languages yet available, and is also a project continuously being updated. In keeping with the estimated nature of the statistics, I have generally rounded the Grimeses' figures.

[3]The Grimeses' updated figures now include over 100 more very nearly extinct Australian languages listed in Wurm and Hattori 1981 but not in the 1988 *Ethnologue*.

still spoken by children. Voegelin and Voegelin 1977 were able to list 4,500 languages (living and dead), Ruhlen 1987 estimates 5,000 living languages for the world, while the Grimeses in 1988 list 6,000 and now have 6,500, a difference partly in language-vs.-dialect definition. Most linguists I have consulted who have contemplated this question on a worldwide scale have agreed that 6,000 is not an unreasonable round estimate, and that will do nicely as a base figure for our purposes.

The distribution though is very uneven. All the Americas together have only 900, as noted, or 15%. Europe and the Middle East together have only 275, or 4%. The other 81% of the world's languages are in Africa (1,900) and in Asia and the Pacific (3,000). For some figures from which we may derive some sense of their viability, we are again most indebted to the Grimeses, who provide relevant information largely in terms of Bible translation, already done, ongoing, or stated to be needed, altogether for a total of about 50% of the world's languages, implying for at least most of these sufficient viability to warrant the work. For the rest, the condition of about 40% is inadequately known, and 10% are classed as "nearly extinct" or "highly bilingual," not warranting translation work. Allowing that a good majority of the unknown 40% may still be viable, the Grimeses themselves might agree that as many as 20% of the world's languages are already moribund. However, other linguists with wide experience, such as Steve Wurm in Australia, E.M. Uhlenbeck in Holland, and our LSA President Robert Austerlitz, all independently guessed, along with me, that the total may be more like 50%,[4] or at least that the number of languages which, at the rate things are going, will become extinct during the coming century is 3,000 of 6,000.

For us to guess whether the mortality is already more like 50% or more like 20%, it will help to consider the conditions under which these languages now exist, by country. The nine countries which each have over 200 languages account for 3,500 of the 6,000. The big two are Papua New Guinea with 850 and Indonesia with 670; then Nigeria with 410 and India with 380; then Cameroon 270, Australia 250, Mexico 240, Zaire 210, and Brazil 210. Another 13 countries have 160 to 100 languages each. In roughly descending order they are Philippines, USSR, USA, Malaysia, PRC, Sudan, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Chad, New Hebrides, Central African Republic, Burma, and Nepal. These top 22, including overlap, may account for 5,000 languages. If we consider what has led to the present mortality we know, ranging from outright genocide, social or economic or habitat destruction, displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation or assimilatory education, to electronic media

[4]Our organizer, Ken Hale, guesses more than 50%. Others, such as Joshua Fishman and Joseph Greenberg, also consulted, defer more to the Grimeses.

bombardment, especially television, an incalculably lethal new weapon (which I have called "cultural nerve gas") -- if we consider what has gone on and is now going on in these 22 countries, we can more readily predict how many languages will die during the coming century. We need only to think of present conditions in Indonesia (reportedly genocidal in West Irian, 250 languages), Brazil, Chad, Ethiopia -- to mention only those I've heard a little something about -- to draw some grimly pessimistic conclusions about the number of languages which, if not already so, soon will be no longer learned by children.

Soon will be -- this brings us to the subject of those languages which, if present conditions continue, though now still being learned by children, will during the coming century cease to be learned by children. These are the languages that I term merely "endangered." The number of these is even more difficult to calculate, of course; let us instead take the approach of calculating the number of languages that are neither "moribund" nor "endangered" but "safe." For these we may identify two obvious positive factors: official state support and very large numbers of speakers. The first does not account for much, as there are only about 170 sovereign states, and the official language of the majority of these is either English (45 cases), French (30), Spanish or Arabic (20 each) or Portuguese (6), leaving only about 70 others. The total could be raised to something over 100 by including regional official languages of the USSR or India, for example. Considering now sheer numbers of speakers, there are 200 to 250 languages spoken by a million or more, but these of course greatly overlap with those of the official languages category. By including languages with down to half a million we might raise the total by 50, and by going down to 100,000 as a safety-in-numbers limit, we might perhaps double the total to 600 "safe" languages. Remember though the case of Breton, with perhaps a million speakers in living memory, now with very few children speakers, or Navajo with well over 100,000 speakers a generation ago, now also with a very uncertain future. Moreover, the recent decline of both of these has taken place under steady pressure, but not under genocidal or cataclysmic conditions. If this can happen in Europe and North America, then in Indonesia or Brazil or Africa -- with urbanization, deforestation, desertification, and AIDS, to mention only a few newer trends on top of those already mentioned -- will conditions be *better* for minority language survival? Bear in mind moreover that the *median* number of speakers for the languages of the world is nowhere near 100,000, but 5,000 or 6,000. Therefore I consider it a plausible calculation that -- at the rate things are going -- the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages. What are we linguists doing to prepare for this or to prevent this catastrophic destruction of the linguistic world?

Now let us compare the biological world situation. For this we have nicely comparable numbers, also well known.[5] The most endangered category is mammals. Of 4,400 mammal species, 326 are currently on the "endangered" plus "threatened" list, "endangered" being "species that are in imminent danger of extinction" and "threatened" being "species that in the foreseeable future will be in imminent danger of extinction." The next most endangered category and also the next most visible to us is birds, with 231 of 8,600 species endangered or threatened. Thus 7.4% of mammals and 2.7% of birds are endangered or threatened. I should add that in both cases the majority are only "threatened," not "endangered." Interestingly, however, for political and economic reasons it is difficult to get an animal officially listed, and the biologists I've talked to concur that in view of this underlisting, especially for birds, the total of endangered or threatened mammals may be 10%, and birds 5%.

Why is there so much more concern over this relatively mild threat to the world's biological diversity than to the far worse threat to its linguistic diversity, and why are we linguists so much quieter about it than biologists? For the animals we have, at the international level, the UN's International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the private World Wildlife Fund, and about 40 others; nationally, we have federal agencies such as the US Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Parks Service, US Forest Service, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Bureau of Land Management, all of which have responsibilities for the protection of wildlife, and privately we have organizations such as the National Wildlife Fund, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Greenpeace, and at least 300 more, engaged in education, publicity, research, lobbying and monitoring, and in activism for the survival of animal species. What do we have for languages?

Surely, just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and some of the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the panda or California condor, or, for that matter, the demolition of the Parthenon? We could -- and should -- ponder this all night, but let me just cap this philosophical thought with one spiritual question, to those who would argue that mankind is better off with fewer languages: Is the diversification of our languages simply a punishment for

[5]For this information I am especially indebted to David R. Klein of the Biology and Wildlife Department of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Ronald Garrett, Endangered Species Coordinator, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Anchorage.

the presumptuous Tower of Babel, for which penance has now been paid, or is it our Maker's design for how we should live?

I think that at the very least it behooves us as scientists and human beings, seeing the present situation, to work responsibly both for the future of our science and for the future of our languages, not so much for reward according to the fashion of the day, but for the sake of posterity. I think it hardly a feat of foresight, but rather it now stares us in the face, what we need to do. Else we should be cursed by future generations for Neronically fiddling while Rome burned.

We must obtain adequate information on the condition of the languages of the world, better than we have now, and use it to plan priorities for linguistic work in a rational and coordinated way. SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators), which has come closest to doing this, still has insufficient information even for its own purposes in 40% of the languages, as noted.

Obviously for scientific purposes it is most urgent to document languages before they disappear, the closer to extinction the more urgent, and, within that framework, the more isolated genetically or typologically, the more urgent yet. By documentation I mean grammar, lexicon, and corpus of texts, a traditional task well proven in the history of linguistics, to which we can now add documentation on audio- and videotape. There must also be a network of repositories and centers for safeguarding and using this documentation, of which our Alaska Native Language Center is an example.

This work is potentially of equal or even greater importance for social purposes; the documentation is not only valuable for science, but a national treasure for those peoples whose languages are thus preserved. The very existence of a book on a shelf or an archive of manuscripts can be of crucial symbolic value. Moreover, without such documentation the language must irrevocably disappear into oblivion, and very likely so also the national identity in the long run. With such documentation, however, it remains always possible to maintain or establish a limited but crucial role for the language institutionalized within the society, e.g. in schools, or ceremonial life. From that position, even after the last native speaker has died, it is possible -- as shown by the case of Hebrew, and perhaps others, such as Cornish -- for that limited role to expand back to first-language use, where the *will* of the people is strong enough. For this purpose, adequate documentation is most certainly feasible. For Hebrew we had no tapes, no grammar, no dictionary, not even most vowels, but just the consonants of one important text scratched on parchment!

For those languages still being learned by children, those merely "endangered," there is an equal need for us to support and promote their survival. Here, too, similar criteria would apply, the smaller the number,

or especially proportion, of speakers, and/or the more adverse the conditions, the more such involvement is needed. We should not only be documenting these languages, but also working educationally, culturally, and politically to increase their chances of survival, working with members of the communities in educational systems to help produce pedagogical materials, establish literature and language development in the necessary domains, including television, and working with communities, agencies, and, where possible, governments, for supportive language planning. Where necessary, and this may be most often the case, we must learn from biologists and conservationists the techniques of organization, monitoring and lobbying, publicity and activism. This we must do on local, regional, national, and international scales.

We have a number of terms, from language planning, support, and promotion for those merely endangered languages, to "revival" as in the case of Hebrew or Cornish for those extinct. Let this include also terms such as "revitalization" or "restoration," which remain to be defined, for the range of moribund and partly moribund languages in between. Here we should mention more complex cases like Maori and Hawaiian, and the encouraging development of "Language Nests" for these; or the Diwan schools for Breton, or the Irish situation. Assessment of such movements as a potential force in limiting the impending holocaust is an important priority, as well as the urgently needed documentation.

Who is going to do all this work and what is the role of linguistics and the LSA in it? Nowadays SIL is doing more of it than any other group. Their current capacity is 850 languages, cumulatively so far 1,200 -- within their own agenda. Besides SIL we have a few regional centers, such as our Alaskan one, or groups dedicated to specific languages such as Hualapai or Rama; or for Native American languages in educational or scientific roles, such as NALI (Native American Language Institute), or SSILA (Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas), and the plan for centers for speakers of Native American languages, which we are to hear about this evening.[6] Internationally we have the Permanent International Committee of Linguists and UNESCO; significantly, language endangerment has been chosen by that Committee as

[6]Politically we even have the 1990 Federal Native American Languages Act (Public Law 101-477, Oct. 30, 1990), which may help neutralize the U.S. English lobby in this regard, but appropriates no funds (and to which the BIA has responded, in true form, "any legislation of this kind must ensure that the Native American language does not supplant English as the main language. After they receive their education, these Indian students must be able to compete outside the reservation if economic development is to occur in Indian country. This bill should emphasize this priority." Calendar No. 476, 101st Congress, Second Session, U.S. Senate, Report 100-250, letter dated Nov. 8, 1989).

a main theme for the next International Congress, Quebec 1992. So a movement is finally beginning within linguistics itself.

To this forum, I end with the question what will be the role of the LSA? This organization may have more influence on the orientation, training, and priorities for linguistics than any other organization in the world. In American linguistics which languages of the world receive the most attention? Are graduate students encouraged to document moribund or endangered languages for their dissertations? How much encouragement is there to compile a dictionary of one? If these languages are studied at all, is theory used to enhance the quality and quantity of the coverage, or instead are the linguistic data mainly used for the testing and development of theory? How many academic departments encourage applied linguistics in communities for the support of endangered languages? How many departments provide appropriate training for speakers of these languages most ideally suited to do the most needed work? Obviously we must do some serious rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated.

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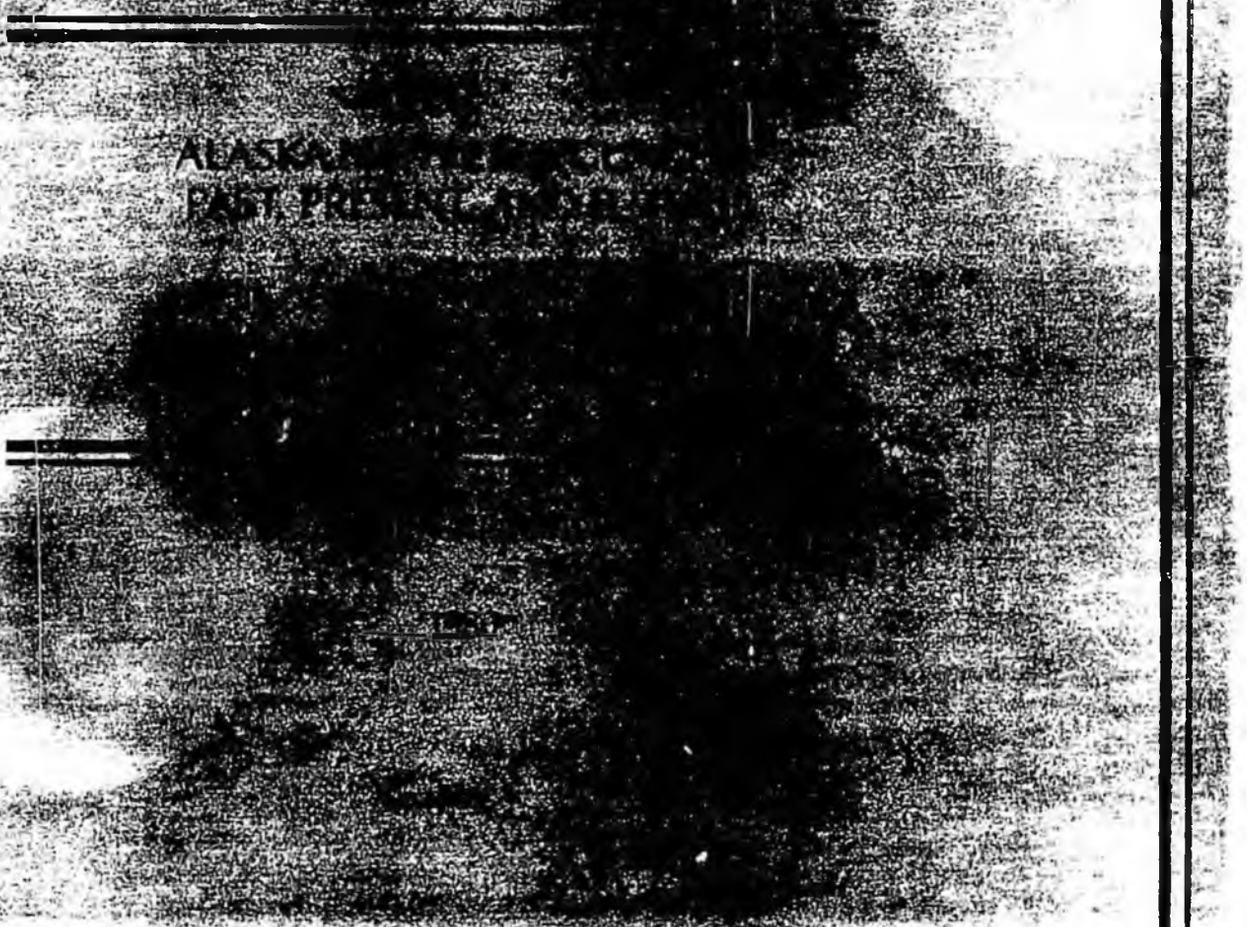
ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER
RESEARCH PAPERS

Number 4



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The Research Papers are issued under the direction of Michael Krauss, head of the ANLC linguistic staff; managing editor is Mary Jane McGary.

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER
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Number 4

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES:
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

by

Michael E. Krauss

1980

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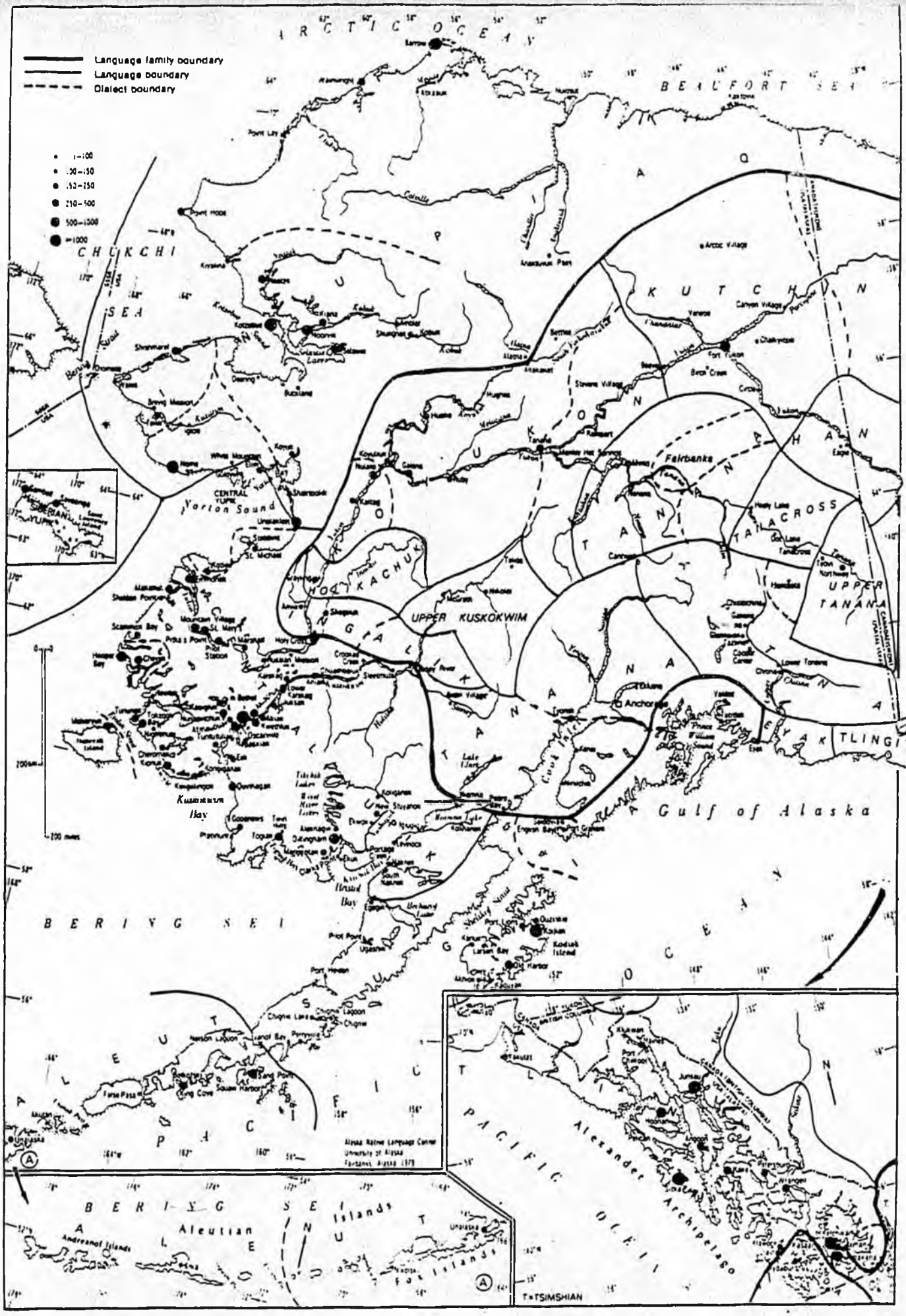
INTRODUCTION

This volume presents together three recent (1978-1980) papers written for the non-linguistic public on Alaska Native languages generally. The first is a major paper which I prepared as a brief introduction to the entire subject, prehistory, history, present status, and future, of all Alaska Native languages. The first of the two shorter papers here presented as appendices to the major paper is an outgrowth of the last part of the major paper, on the future of Alaska Native languages. The second shorter paper deals with the past, present, and future specifically of the Alaskan Eskimo languages.

The major paper, "Alaska Native Languages: Past, present, and future" was first presented in Leningrad, May 29, 1979, at a symposium held jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, to be published in 1980 under the title "Yazyki korennogo naseleniya Alyaski: Proshloe, nastoyashchee i budushchee." A modified version of it was presented at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, October 16, 1979, under the auspices of the Harvey Lectureship. This further revision was written in March 1980 for publication in this series.

Appendix I, "The Future of Alaska Native Languages," was first published in the Tundra Times (Anchorage; vol. 17, nos. 15:1,4, 16:1,4, 17:1,6-7, 18:1,6) April 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1980, and reprinted as a supplement to the newsletter of the Bilingual



Adapted from a version of the map **Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska** *(Alaska Native Language Center, 1974), as published in* Cartactual *No. 78 (1979), No.4, map I.*

CORRECTION

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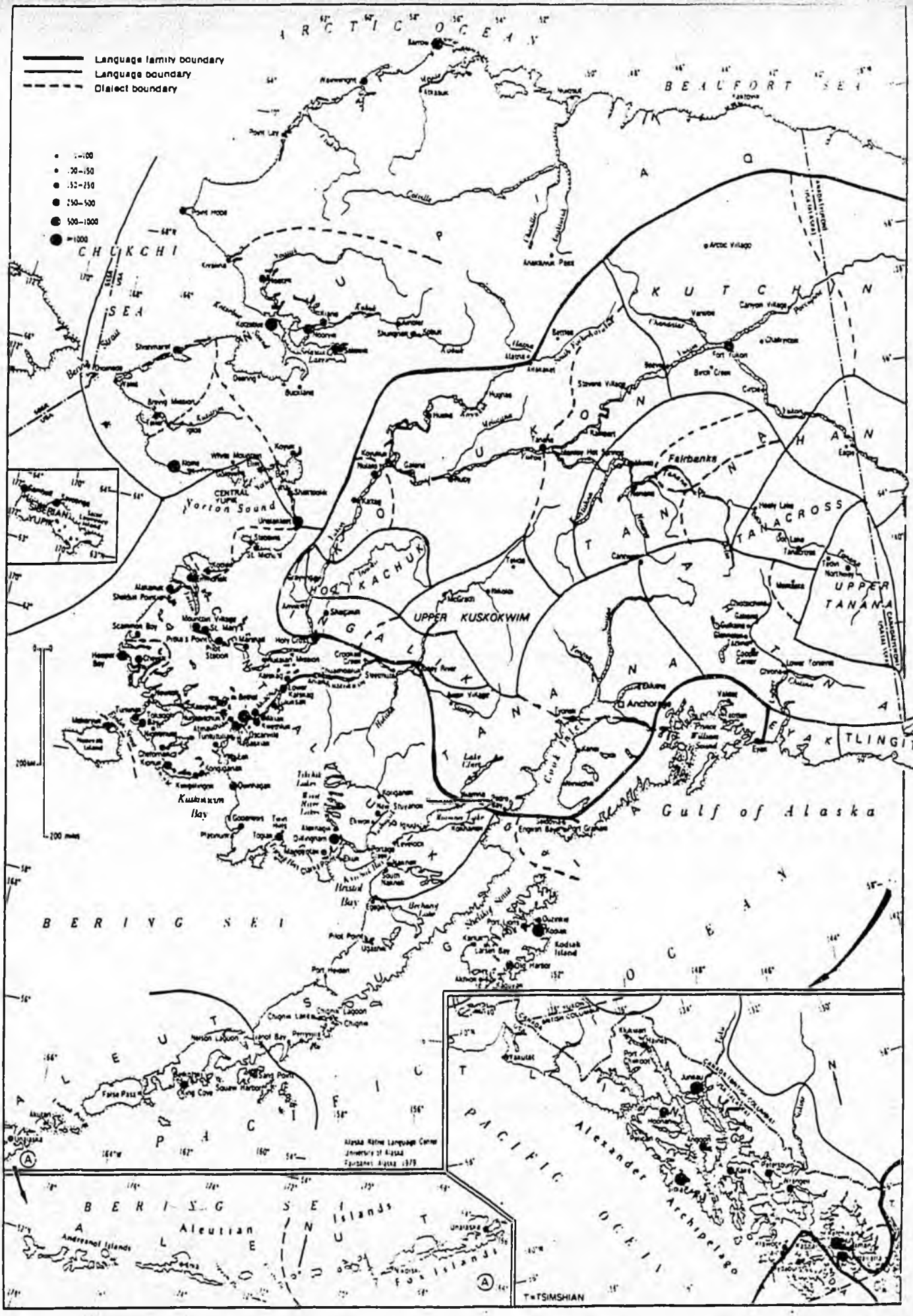
Education Technical Assistance Center, Tacoma Public Schools.

Appendix II, "Eskimo Languages of Alaska, Yesterday and Today," was first presented at Aarhus University, Denmark, in October, 1978, at a symposium on "Majority Language Influence on Eskimo Minority Languages." It was published in both the English and Danish volumes of the proceedings of that conference (Eskimo Languages: Their Present-day Conditions, pp. 37-50, and Eskimosprogenes vilkår i dag, pp. 37-50, ed. by Bjarne Basse and Kirsten Jensen; Aarhus: Arkona, 1979). It is here reprinted with the kind permission of Forlaget Arkona, Aarhus.

I consider it most important that these papers become available to the Alaskan public; I present them here in the hope they may be helpful to those who care about Alaska Native languages, a subject with which I have been concerned for the past twenty years.

For more detailed history, discussion, and full bibliography I refer to earlier reports I have published (Krauss 1973a, 1973b, 1979a, 1979b); to the Bibliography of Educational Publications (McGary 1979), and to the catalogue of the Alaska Native Language Center library (Krauss and McGary 1980), a massive annotated bibliography of the Indian languages. The references given in the major paper include only selected works, especially more recent ones. In these papers I also imply reference to the map Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska (Krauss 1974a), most useful for a graphic visual understanding of much of the discussion. The map and this volume are in an important sense companion pieces.



Adapted from a version of the map
Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska
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No.4, map I.

1. Introduction: Continental Perspective

Alaska is the homeland or birthplace, better perhaps the "cradle of civilization," of two great North American language families: the Eskimo-Aleut and the Na-Dene. Both of these language groups have spread far beyond Alaska, especially the Inupiaq Eskimo to Canada and Greenland, and the Athabaskan Na-Dene to Canada and the southwestern United States. These groups are now flourishing, both with larger populations than ever before in history, and with ever greater numbers of speakers at the extremes, particularly in the form of Greenlandic for Eskimo and Navajo for Athabaskan.

A most salient characteristic of these distributions is that in both these language families by far the greatest diversity (and therefore the greatest historical depth, even if we had no other type of evidence) is to be found in Alaska. In Alaska alone we find both Aleut and Eskimo, and within Eskimo, both Yupik and Inupiaq; and in the case of Na-Dene, we find Tlingit and Eyak and about ten of the thirty Athabaskan languages. However, Alaska, large as it is, constitutes only a small proportion of the territory now occupied by these languages, and an even smaller proportion of their population. The number of Eskimo-Aleut people is now over 100,000, of whom about one-third live in Alaska. The number of Athabaskans is now 200,000, with only about 8,000 in Alaska, 22,000 in Canada, and in the southwestern United States 20,000 Apaches and 150,000 Navajos. This type

of proportion is even more dramatic in the case of number of speakers as opposed to the population, since very many Native Americans now speak only English, having lost their ancestral language. In the case of Inupiaq, the populations are 12,000 for Alaska, perhaps 20,000 for Canada, and 42,000 for Greenland (to which might be added 6,000 in Denmark itself), totaling 80,000. Of these, almost all Greenlanders speak the language; most Canadian Inuit also do; but only 5,000 of the 12,000 Alaskan Inupiat speak it. In the case of Athabaskan, most Apacheans, including Navajos, still speak Athabaskan, as do most Canadian Athabaskans, but in Alaska only 2,500 of 8,000 still speak Athabaskan. At least in the case of Inupiaq Eskimo and Athabaskan, then, both language families successfully competing for survival in the modern world, their fate is far less fortunate in their birthplace than in their "new worlds." Not all Alaskan Native languages are in a state of decline today, however. Their present status merits systematic examination, which I will treat in the second part of this paper after discussing their pre-contact history. In the third part of this paper I shall even endeavor to predict something of their future, and make recommendations to improve it.

2. Haida and Tsimshian

There are two other Native American language families represented in Alaska, but unlike Eskimo-Aleut and Na-Dene

(Athabaskan, Eyak, and Tlingit), they are only marginally part of the Alaskan scene as relatively recent introductions from Canada, and even that only because of the particular shape of the territory now known politically as Alaska. These are Tsimshian and Haida.

Note that I have included Tlingit with Athabaskan-Eyak in the grouping named "Na-Dene" and that I do not include Haida. The omission is certainly intentional. Recent research in Alaska has yielded increasing evidence of a genetic relationship between the lexicon of Tlingit and that of Athabaskan-Eyak, although this relationship remains a very problematic one, with a relatively small number of cognates buried within a large mass of apparently non-cognate lexicon; it is a relationship not at all congruent with the much closer grammatical relationships, probably pointing to some type of hybridization especially in the case of Tlingit. Recent research in Haida, on the other hand, done in Canada by Robert Levine (1977, 1979) and by us in Alaska, most starkly contradicts the claims made by Sapir (1915) and others that Haida is genetically related to Athabaskan-Eyak and Tlingit, which I have here called Na-Dene. I should probably always say simply Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, and abolish the term Na-Dene as a mistake. Haida is certainly not a part of it; as far as we can tell, Haida is therefore a linguistic isolate.

Haida expanded into Alaska about the same time as or shortly before Europeans began to arrive there. Haida came to Alaska from the northern dialect area of the Queen Charlotte Islands and took over the southern half of Prince of Wales Island, then Tlingit territory, probably in the latter half of the 18th century. The total Haida population, once perhaps 10,000, is now only about 1,700, 70 per cent of it remaining in Canada.

The Tsimshians arrived in Alaska still later, in 1887, under the leadership of the remarkable and autocratic missionary William Duncan. Because of disputes within the Anglican Church, Duncan resettled his Tsimshian followers from their colony of Old Metlakatla in British Columbia to New Metlakatla in Tlingit territory on Annette Island, where they now number about 1,000. Eight thousand Tsimshians remain in Canada. Tsimshian is, of course, not genetically related to any Alaska Native language. Sapir and others have claimed a genetic relationship between Tsimshian and the Penutian language family to the south, but I consider the evidence for this very slim.

We thus have two numerically minor and marginal recent introductions to Alaska of two language families, the Haida and Tsimshian, both of which I consider genetic isolates. The main Alaskan picture and the concentration of this presentation remain on the Eskimo-Aleut and Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit families.

3.1 General Prehistory

From the distribution of the most important language and dialect boundaries within Eskimo-Aleut, the area of oldest Eskimo-Aleut habitation would seem to be Beringia, that is the western parts of Alaska (a point which I believe is corroborated by the archaeological evidence). Although Athabaskan now occupies nearly all the rest of the main part of Alaska, it is probable that it has not been in close contact with Eskimo for very long, because we see no profound influence or diffusion in great quantity between Eskimo and Athabaskan, and practically no trace of any such contacts or influence at the extremes of the expansion. If for instance Proto-Eskimo, perhaps less than 2,000 years old, and Proto-Athabaskan, not much older, had been in close contact, we might expect to find at least some Athabaskan loans in Greenlandic and Eskimo in Navajo.[1] Furthermore, judging from the relationship and location of Eskimo and Aleut on the one hand and those of Tlingit, Eyak, and Athabaskan on the other, it would appear that the latter family originated well to the east of the former. It also follows that there may have been for a long time considerable space in between the proto-languages of these two language families. What languages were spoken in that space we can never know much about. Perhaps they were (now extinct) languages related to

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[1] At the most we have found one of each. We are still gathering evidence that the Alaskan Athabaskan and Labrador Inuit words for 'frog' are related, and also that the Navajo term for 'pot' may be related to a diffused term in Yupik and Aleut.

these two families, and/or (now) extinct branches of them, and/or languages of other families now entirely extinct or represented only elsewhere. We must not forget that all the languages we find today, even moribund relics like Eyak, are themselves the relatively few victors in the constant struggle for linguistic survival, surviving long enough to be at least documented, as compared with the many more languages which have disappeared forever without a recognizable trace. We can only reconstruct fragments of linguistic prehistory, never the whole picture--I daresay the same must be true of other disciplines.

I shall venture here only briefly into speculations on the prehistoric geographical configurations within Eskimo-Aleut and Tlingit-Athabaskan-Eyak before proceeding into the historical period.

3.2 A Note on the Term "Aleut"

There is widespread misunderstanding concerning the term "Aleut" and what people are designated by it. The Russians called "Aleuts" not only the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands they first encountered, but also the Yupik Eskimo-speaking peoples of the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, Kenai Peninsula, and Prince William Sound. However, they recognized the language of the latter as different, and called it "Kadyakski" Aleut. All these peoples, the Aleutian Aleuts, the Pacific Gulf Yupiks, and also some of the Central

Yupiks of the Bristol Bay area, who were all profoundly influenced by the Russians, still retain their Russian Orthodox religion and Russian names, call themselves Aleuts, and are so considered by Alaskans generally and by the census. Thus popularly the term "Aleut" includes speakers of three languages, one of them the Aleut of the Aleutian Islands and Pribilofs, also considered Aleut in linguistics and anthropology, and two Yupik Eskimo languages: some Central Yupik in Bristol Bay, and the Yupik language of the Pacific Gulf. Pacific Gulf Yupik was called "Sugpiaq" on the 1974 map *Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska*, but is perhaps better called "Alutiiq," the version in this language of the term "Aleut."

3.3 Eskimo-Aleut Prehistory

The split between Eskimo and Aleut is linguistically rather profound, the equivalent of at least 4,000 years of ling[illegible] separation. By "equivalent" I mean literally "as if" there were 4,000 years of separation, since probably there has been no separation, and the two language groups are still neighbors.[2] A plausible theory is that there was

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[2]Here and elsewhere by giving approximate dates I am of course indulging in a kind of glottochronology, to which I attach very little objective value. However, I do here imply subjective value to these estimates, based vaguely on linguists' experience with other datable language families, rough relative quantification of vocabulary similarity by lexicostatistical lists, and by some consideration of summaries of archaeological and ethnological research.

at one time along the coast of Western Alaska a continuum of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut dialects, albeit probably as usual an uneven or "lumpy" continuum, and that only Proto-Eskimo and Proto-Aleut and some of their descendants survived. The dialects which developed on the Aleutians expanded toward the mainland and the dialects of Proto-Eskimo nearer Bering Strait expanded north and also south, assimilating or exterminating all dialects intermediate between Eskimo and Aleut, so the two now meet abruptly near Stepovac Bay on the Alaska Peninsula. It remains a remarkable fact that (aside from obvious and fairly superficial diffusions) the language of Greenland is just as close to the language of the Aleutians as the language of Kodiak Island is to the language of the Aleutians, and of course, Kodiak and Greenlandic Eskimo are much closer to each other than either is to Aleut.

The Eskimo language group is in turn rather clearly divided between Yupik and Inupiaq. Greenland and Nome are linguistically closer to each other than either is to any form of Yupik. The Yupik-Inupiaq boundary has shifted southward along the coast of Norton Sound, an area which does not form a geographical boundary, but is simply where Proto-Yupik and Proto-Inupiaq have finally met, having eliminated all intermediate dialects.

Inupiaq has spread dramatically across the Arctic into Canada and Greenland in relatively recent times, not much over 1,000 years. This of course does not imply that no

other forms of Eskimo were ever spoken before in Canada or Greenland, but only that Inupiaq is the latest wave, which has certainly replaced any earlier forms of Eskimo-Aleut in those areas.

Yupik probably spread from southwestern Alaska across the Alaska Peninsula into the Kodiak and Chugach regions in fairly recent times also, since although there would be rather low mutual intelligibility at the Alaskan Yupik extremes of Chugach and Norton Sound, there is a fair amount at the border near Bristol Bay. We have called Alaskan Yupik two languages (Central Yupik and Sugpiaq or Alutiiq), but they are closer together than Alaskan and Siberian Yupik, which are certainly different languages with very little mutual intelligibility. However, I suspect that Central Alaskan and Siberian Yupik were at one time connected by a continuous chain of Yupik dialects along Seward Peninsula and across Bering Strait, thence along the coasts of Chukotka and thence to St. Lawrence Island. In relatively recent times whatever Yupik dialects remained on Seward Peninsula, probably intermediate between Alaskan and Siberian Yupik, were eliminated by Inupiaq expansion, thereby increasing the isolation of Siberian and Alaskan Yupik.[3] On

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[3] Some startling support for this theory of connection via East Cape (Naukanski) between Alaskan and Siberian Yupik came in 1978 when I played to a group of St. Lawrence Islanders and Central Alaskan Yupiks a tape recording of the famous Naukanski Nututein telling a Raven and Wolf story. None of these young Alaskans had of course heard Naukanski

the Siberian side also in recent times, the continuum of Siberian Yupik dialects was interrupted by Chukchi expansion or reclamation of territory, leaving three separated groups of Eskimos speaking three varieties of Yupik. These are East Cape (the Naukanski), Indian Point (the Chaplinski), and Sirenikski, a divergent and extremely important relic of dialects spoken perhaps much farther west along the southern coast of Chukotka.[4] St. Lawrence Island once supported a population of perhaps 2,000, but that was reduced in the famine and plague of 1878-79 to about 300, which wiped out

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3 (cont.)
before. To our surprise the Central Yupiks understood the story as well as or even better than the St. Lawrence Islanders. This does in fact confirm what can already be seen in Menovshchikov's recent grammar (1975) of Naukanski, that Naukanski does indeed have certain traits more similar to Central Yupik than to Chaplinski. One striking example is the first person singular verbal ending, St. Lawrence Island *-ŋga* with the *ng* dropped in both Central Alaskan and Naukanski Yupik, *-a*.

Furthermore, the intervening dialects of Inupiaq, Qawiaraq and especially Wales, show certain phonological innovations (consonant weakenings) which are related to prosodic (accentual) phenomena in Yupik. Though these are clearly Inupiaq dialects, they thus show important influence from Yupik, which according to this hypothesis very probably was a linguistic substrate. However, the prosodic pattern underlying these Inupiaq developments is that of Alaskan Yupik, different in certain points from that of both Naukanski and Chaplinski Siberian Yupik. This indicates that the Yupik on the Seward Peninsula replaced by Inupiaq was an Alaskan rather than a Siberian type.

[4]The Yupik language of Sireniki Collective is now Chaplinski, and Old Sirenikski is nearly extinct, now spoken by only two elderly women. There is a sketchy Soviet description of this language by Menovshchikov (1964).

most of the villages, except for Sivuqaq (Gambell). Undocumented dialects may also have been wiped out. Gambell (i.e., now all St. Lawrence Island, including Savoonga) dialect is nearly identical with Chaplinski, perhaps more so than one might expect with over 40 miles of difficult ocean separating the two points. I do not know if the near identity is partly explainable by resettlement of Gambell by mainlanders since the famine.

3.4 Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit Prehistory

Concerning prehistoric Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit geography, I shall discuss first Athabaskan, then Eyak, then Tlingit. The limits of diversity within Athabaskan indicate that Proto-Athabaskan was probably still some kind of linguistic unity until about 2,000 to 2,500 years ago. The areas of heaviest differentiation are in the interior of what is now Alaska, the Yukon and perhaps northern British Columbia. One can only guess where within this territory the homeland of Proto-Athabaskan was. Since the Eskimo and Athabaskan contact in Alaska does not seem very old or intense, and since both Eyak and Tlingit are in southeastern Alaska, it would seem likely that the location of Proto-Athabaskan was in eastern Alaska, and probably also northwestern Canada, especially in southern Yukon and perhaps also northern British Columbia. From here Athabaskan territory must have expanded farther west into Alaska, and also south and east

into Canada. Pacific Coast Athabaskan, consisting of about five languages in northern California and southern Oregon, all now extinct or nearly so, appears to be an offshoot of western British Columbia Athabaskan, perhaps the Babine area. Pacific Coast Athabaskan may have arrived at its present location more than 1,000 years ago. Apachean, including Navajo, appears to be a separate later offshoot from northern Athabaskan which arrived in its present territory less than 1,000 years ago and from a different area of the north, with closest linguistic affinities toward Sarcee. Eastward expansion in the direction of Chipewyan and Hudson's Bay also appears to be relatively late, considering the decreasing density of language and dialect differentiation toward the east.

Eyak is a mystery. It appears to be the result of a clean split of Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak into Proto-Athabaskan and Eyak. Its earlier distribution was somewhat more southeasterly than it is now, from Yakutat to Controller Bay. Amazingly, Eyak is linguistically no closer to its modern neighbor Ahtna than it is to Navajo. It appears to be separated by an additional 1,000 years from Proto-Athabaskan.[5]

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[5]The lowest scores for percentage of cognates on a 100-word list within Athabaskan are now about 59%, whereas the scores between Eyak and any Athabaskan language range narrowly from 28% to 36%, with Navajo and Ahtna, for example, each at 32.5%. The Tlingit-Athabaskan and Tlingit-Eyak percentages are far lower, strongly incongruent with the relatively close grammatical similarities between Tlingit and Athabaskan-Eyak.

The Eyaks were very probably of interior origin with a land-based economy. They never became sea mammal hunters like the Eskimos or Tlingits. It is very hard to understand where the Eyaks could have been located to remain completely isolated, as they must certainly have been, from Athabaskans for 3,500 years, given the present geography.

Tlingit is a single language with easy mutual intelligibility from one end of its area to the other. It is in fact remarkable that the great geographical distance between Yakutat and Ketchikan should be occupied by a single language, on the rich Northwest Coast otherwise crowded by so many small language areas. Within this Tlingit area the greatest dialectal divergence is clearly at the southern end, implying more recent expansion northward. Indeed, Tlingit expansion into Eyak territory toward Yakutat and beyond was still taking place in historic times. Given these geographical considerations, I am beginning to believe that the homeland of Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, which was perhaps contemporary with the homeland of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut, was at an even greater remove southeast of it, perhaps not even in Alaska at all.

4.1 History: The Russian period

I shall now treat the history of Alaska Native languages during historical times. This history can obviously be divided into the Russian period, 1741-1867, and the American,

1867 to the present. The Russian period, lasting roughly 120 years, can for our purposes be rather meaningfully divided into three forty-year periods: 1745 to 1785, 1785 to 1825, and 1825 to 1865. The first period affected only the Aleuts profoundly; it was essentially the conquest of the Aleutians by Russian fur hunters under very little government control, who came as near as they could to exterminating both the Aleuts and the sea otter. The Aleut population was in fact reduced from about 16,000 to about 1,600.

The second period began with the permanent settlement of the Russian-America Company under Shelikov at Kodiak, and increased government control. During this period, in addition to the Aleuts, the Pacific Gulf Yupik people in particular were profoundly affected; their population too was reduced, though somewhat less severely than that of the Aleuts, from 10,000 to 3,000. During this period the Alutiiqs (and some Tanainas) along with the Aleuts were deployed widely along the whole Pacific Rim from the Kuriles to Ross Colony in California, in the still expanding quest for sea otter skins. The treatment of the people improved from outright atrocity and massacre to mere enslavement and exploitation. To a much lesser extent, this period also affected the Central Yupiks and Tanaina Athabaskans. It also affected the Tlingits, as the Russians expanded their

activity farther southeastward, finally concentrated at Sitka, but the Tlingits were especially resistant to Russian domination.

The last forty years began with the arrival in 1824 of Ioann Veniaminov in the Aleutians. This very capable and humane missionary brought with him a period of enlightenment and benign Russian influence in the colony. I would go so far as to say that the third Russian period in Alaska was not only more beneficial in the history of Alaska Native languages and cultures than the earlier Russian periods, but also more beneficial than any of the following American periods. The Russian Orthodox Church and its educational system brought a type of culture change to the Native peoples whom it most affected which greatly strengthened the status of the Native languages. Veniaminov, working with the Aleut chief Ivan Pan'kov, had by 1826 already adapted the Slavonic alphabet to Aleut and had translated a catechism. Their revised Aleut catechism, published in 1834, was the first book printed in any Alaska Native language. Several more were to follow in Aleut between 1840 and 1903. In 1847, Tyzhnov, Zyrianov, and Uchilishchev published the first catechism in Alutiiq. A primer and the Gospel of Matthew followed in 1848. In the 1840s and 1850s religious works were also translated into Tlingit and Central Yupik; some were published, but not until the 1890s. Veniaminov's

orthography for Aleut and its adaptations to Alutiiq and Central Yupik were quite remarkable for their time.[6] More important even than the publications in Aleut and the two Alaskan Yupik languages were the manuscript traditions and above all the widespread literacy that developed, at first in connection with the Church and church school activity, which in the case of Aleut finally developed into a general tradition of literacy including even considerable secular writing. These traditions were beginning to flourish at the time of the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

As of 1867 a large number of Natives, especially of the groups mentioned, naturally knew Russian, but probably all Alaska Natives still at least spoke their native languages, and some could even write them. Not all language areas were affected, of course. The Russian influence on Native languages may in fact be nicely measured by the number of Russian loan words still in use in them today, most of them nouns for new material culture items. In Aleut there are about 400 Russian loans; in Alutiiq over 350; in Tanaina over 350; in

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[6]Because of the nature of the Tlingit sound system, far more different from European languages than even Eskimo-Aleut, the Tlingit orthography was much less successful. For instance, Veniaminov and Pan'kov recognized and provided nicely for the difference in Aleut between k and q, x and x̣, ɣ and ɣ̣, also valid for Eskimo. However, Tlingit g and G, k and q̣, k' and q', x and x̣, and x' and x̣' must have been overwhelming indeed.

Central Yupik, about 190; in the Athabaskan languages other than Tanaina, far fewer (Koyukon, about 85; Upper Kuskokwim, about 65; Ingalik, Tanana, and Ahtna, about 50); in Eyak there are about 30, mostly through Alutiiq. In Tlingit, however, there are only nine, a linguistic reflection of Tlingit resistance to the Russians, which was matched by their better known military resistance. In Inupiaq there are about 15 Russian loans, but mostly in the Seward Peninsula area, and in Siberian Yupik on St. Lawrence Island there are apparently only three.[7] All known Alaska Native languages thus survived the Russian period, although in the areas of strongest Russian influence their traditional cultures were profoundly affected by trade and especially by the Orthodox religion. In surviving the Russian period, several Alaskan languages were in fact strengthened by the development of literature and literacy.[8]

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[7]In fact, we have the ironic situation that European trade loanwords are generally American in Siberian Yupik, including the USSR (from American traders and whalers), whereas they are Russian in Alaskan Yupik. Thus for example, Alaskan Yupik *maass'laq*, Siberian Yupik *para* 'butter'; Alaskan Yupik *miilaq*, Siberian Yupik *suupa* 'soap'.

[8]The structure or grammar of the languages themselves remained intact and pure, as the influence of the Russian language was limited to the loanwords. It is entirely wrong to speak of Aleut or Alutiiq, for example, as any kind of mixed Native-Russian jargon. The Russian element in even these languages is much smaller than the foreign element in any European language. Even Alutiiq and Aleut are thus far "purer" than European languages, and incomparably more so than English, which has many thousands of loanwords.

4.2 The American period, 1867-1960

During the first twenty years of the American period, 1867-1887, very little occurred to affect the status of Alaska Native languages or even Native cultures. The American administration did little more than begin to explore the vast territory. There were no American schools for Native people or even American churches. A kind of uninvited exception was the case of Fort Yukon in Kutchin Athabaskan territory, founded in 1847 by the Hudson's Bay Company, well beyond the Canadian border. The Anglican Church, which had a missionary policy favoring written translation of religious material into Native languages, began publishing in Kutchin in 1873. This was the work of Archdeacon Robert MacDonald, whose Kutchin publications numbered over thirty printings between 1873 and 1912, including the entire Bible (1898). This established another Native religious literary language in Alaska.

During the first 20 years of American administration, then, there was at least no interference with the maintenance or cultivation of Alaska Native languages, and relatively little disturbance of Native culture. Moreover, literature in Aleut and Alaskan Yupik continued to flourish and develop, especially in manuscript tradition. The Russian Church maintained its influence unchallenged in those areas. For this reason, apparently, it did not feel a strong need to publish any more of the literature.

This initial 20-year quiet period of "neglect" was the least harmful period of American rule for Alaska Native languages, but the situation was to change drastically during the second American period, 1887-1910. During this time there was intense development in the canning and mining industries which suddenly discovered riches in Alaska: salmon and gold. During this time many thousands of adventurers from outside invaded Alaska, bringing with them alcohol and disease along with severe social and economic disruption. The canning industry affected the entire Pacific Coast and Bristol Bay area, and the gold rushes the entire Seward Peninsula and much of the Interior. Furthermore, whaling had started earlier, in the Bering Sea region, but now began to affect the Inupiaq North Coast intensively.

Even more significantly for the languages, however, the American church missions and schools began in Alaska during this period. As under the Russian administration, the only schools at first were church schools. The first Commissioner of Education for Alaska (1885-1908) was the Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson. Jackson, like Veniaminov, was a very capable and energetic man with many interests--it was he, for example, who introduced the reindeer herding industry to Alaska. Unlike Veniaminov, however, Jackson was adamantly opposed to the use of Native languages in education or religion.

It is important at this point to distinguish two missionary groups (in addition to the Anglican and Russian Orthodox) whose language policy was somewhat independent of Jackson's, basically favorable toward Native languages. These are the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Moravian churches, which both arrived in Central Yupik territory in the late 1880s. The Roman Catholics were Jesuit priests who established several missions especially in the Yukon delta area of Central Yupik, and to a lesser extent in the lower Yukon regions of Ingalik and Koyukon, and in parts of the Inupiaq Seward Peninsula. Many of the priests tried to learn the Native language and to use it in the liturgy. Prayer books in Koyukon and Ingalik were printed in 1904, and in Central Yupik in 1899. Some of the priests also did remarkable linguistic work, the most dramatic example being Jules Jetté's massive and priceless manuscript Koyukon dictionary (1915). The Catholics did not establish any strong literacy movement, however. The Moravians established themselves in the Kuskokwim delta area of Central Yupik. Some of them also began to learn the language and write it, and significant literacy did result from their work. Publication began in 1902 and continued to include a complete New Testament (Drebert 1956).[9]

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[9]This movement continued in spite of opposition by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, who carried out throughout Alaska policies of heavy suppression of Native languages from 1910 to 1960. The work of the Moravians was thus quite exceptional during this time, and may be largely responsible for the relatively strong position of the Central Yupik language in this Kuskokwim heartland.

The arrival of the Catholic and Moravian competition in the Central Yupik area undoubtedly played a role in motivating the Russian Orthodox Church to begin publishing. Between 1893 and 1903 the Russian Orthodox Church printed 14 books in three languages; many of the books had existed in manuscript for many years already: two prayer books in Central Yupik, including work written forty years earlier by Veniaminov's Aleut assistant Jakov Netsvetov; three books of the New Testament and collections of prayers and sermons were published in Aleut in San Francisco and New York, along with a Tlingit liturgy, prayer book, and catechism; and the older Aleut materials (Veniaminov's Gospel of Matthew, *Guideroad to the Kingdom of Heaven*, Primer and Catechism) were reprinted in St. Petersburg; only the Kodiak Matthew, Primer, and Catechism were for some reason not reprinted.

Continuing extensive publication by the Anglican Church in Kutchin (MacDonald), 1873-1912, has already been mentioned. The Anglicans also printed considerable material in Haida (Harrison and Keen) and Tsimshian (Ridley) for their Canadian missions. During the same period the Episcopal Church, the American equivalent of the Anglican, extended its efforts in the Athabaskan interior and began to print liturgical materials and hymns in Upper Koyukon (Jules Prevost).

This period 1887-1910 was, however, ultimately a tragic turning point in the history of Alaska Native languages. At the same time that the earlier educational and religious

literature favoring the use of the Native languages continued in most places where it was established, there was an extremely powerful force in the opposite direction launched by Sheldon Jackson and most of the Protestant missionaries under his influence. Sheldon Jackson epitomized the Victorian-era American educational and social philosophy of the "melting pot" wherein all the diverse nationalities in American society were to assimilate to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant American ideal. What applied, for instance, to Italian immigrants, applied even more strongly now to the native races of North America. To complete the "winning of the West" and the white man's "manifest destiny," the American Indian was to be converted to the white man's religion, assimilated to his culture, and forced to abandon his native language. The older educational policy of the Russians, Moravians, and Catholics was during this period to give way to the anti-Native language policy of Jackson and the Protestant sects under his influence: Presbyterians at Sitka, Wrangell, Gambell (St. Lawrence Island), and Barrow; Methodists at Unalaska and Unga; Swedish Evangelical Lutherans in Yakutat and Unalakleet; Congregationalists at Wales; Quakers in the Kobuk area. These were among the earlier mission schools established by Sheldon Jackson in a kind of apportionment of the territory to the different sects.

One of the initiators of this anti-Native language policy, perhaps even before his colleague Sheldon Jackson,

was S. Hall Young. Writing in his autobiography,[10] for about 1880, Young makes the following very clear statement:

> One strong stand, which so far as I know I was the first to take, was the determination to do no translating into the Thlingit language or any other of the native dialects of that region. When I learned the inadequacy of these languages to express Christian thought, and when I realized that the whites were coming; that schools would come; that the task of making an English-speaking race of these natives was much easier than the task of making a civilized and Christian language out of the Thlingit, Hyda and Tsimpshean; I wrote to the mission Board that the duty to which they had assigned me of translating the Bible into Thlingit and of making a dictionary and grammar of that tongue was a useless and even harmful task; that we should let the old tongues with their superstition and sin die--the sooner the better--and replace these languages with that of Christian civilization, and compel the natives in all our schools to talk English and <u>English only</u>. Thus we would soon have an intelligent people who would be qualified to be Christian citizens.
>
> The Board moved, at first slowly and afterwards strongly, in the direction of this recommendation. They relieved me from finishing the task I had begun of translating the Bible. Our ideas were adopted in other missions. When the Sitka Training School, afterwards called the Sheldon Jackson Institute, was built, English was the only language used on the premises, and always at Fort Wrangell from the first we had made and enforced this rule. To our stand in this regard more than to any other one thing is due, I believe, the exceptional progress of the Southeastern Alaska natives in civilization.

Young voices very well here the thinking of these founders of the Alaskan educational system concerning a Native language policy for the Territory. He also reveals, incidentally, that the Presbyterian Church policy itself was originally pro-Native language, like that of the Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Moravians, and Anglicans-Episcopalians.

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[10] Young (1927) p.259-260. I am indebted to Michael Waggoner, University of Alaska, for calling my attention to this passage. For another clear statement on language policy see Appendix II, page 95.

The United States Bureau of Education, which by the end of this period administered most schools for Alaska Natives, continued a language policy which was predictably the same as that set by Jackson. From about 1910, the American schools and probably by then also most of the mission schools completely forbade the use of Native languages. Children were physically punished for speaking their own language at school. Great efforts were made to discourage the children from speaking the language under any circumstances. Parents were also urged to speak only English to their children insofar as they were able. In the already literate Aleut area, the last of the native Aleut religious schools, which taught both written Aleut and Russian, was forcibly closed in 1912.

From about 1910 to about 1960 a deathly silence descends over the Alaska Native language scene. This third period, half a century long, of complete suppression, was to prove fatal for many of the Native languages. During this time the school system was transferred from the U.S. Bureau of Education to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which together with most of the mission schools continued the active anti-Native language policy. Even some of the churches that had earlier used the Native languages in their services were now increasingly using only English.

4.3 History of linguistic research, 1805-1960

At this point it may be useful to summarize the earlier history of linguistics in Alaska. The Russians had done some admirable linguistic work in Alaska, e.g. Rezanov's six extensive vocabularies (1805), Veniaminov's sketches of Aleut (1846), Tlingit, and Pacific Gulf Yupik (1846), Netsvetov's Atkan dictionary (ca. 1860). In the American period Boas and Swanton worked extensively on Haida and Tlingit in the 1886-1910 period (Boas 1917; Swanton 1905, 1908, 1909), Jetté on Koyukon (1915), the Jesuit Barnum (1901) and the Moravian Hinz (1944) on Central Yupik, and Chapman (1914) on Ingalik. Particularly significant also was the Russo-American linguistic work of Bogoraz (1913) on Siberian Yupik (on the Jesup Expedition, 1901) and of Jochelson (1925) on Aleut (on the Ryabushinski Expedition, 1909-10). Between 1910 and about 1950, however, linguistic work on Alaska Native languages also declined. Some was carried on entirely outside Alaska by Edward Sapir (Kutchin and Ingalik, 1923), by Boas (Tlingit, 1917), and by Velten (Tlingit, 1939-1944). De Laguna rediscovered Eyak on a 1933 archaeological expedition and provided enough linguistic material (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938) to demonstrate the importance of the newly rediscovered language, already approaching extinction. Jay Ellis Ransom, a schoolteacher at Nikolski, did some work with Aleut (Ransom 1945). John P. Harrington

of the Smithsonian studied Aleut, Tlingit, and some Eyak, 1940-1942. In 1948-52 Gordon Marsh made some significant contributions to Aleut linguistics. In 1950 Knut Bergsland of the University of Oslo began his long and valuable commitment to Aleut, and published an important volume of texts in Western Aleut (1959). L. L. Hammerich of the University of Copenhagen also helped to define Alaskan Yupik dialects during the 1950s and documented that of Nunivak. An especially important event was the development of an Inupiaq orthography by Roy Ahmaogak, working with the linguist Eugene Nida in Oklahoma in 1946. This achievement will be mentioned again later because of its importance for modern Inupiaq literacy.

4.4 Recent History, 1960-1980

1960-1970 was a new transitional period of rebirth of interest in Alaska Native languages and a shift of developments in their favor. This is perhaps best understood in the larger context of American social philosophy. After World War II and with the decline of colonialism, particularly in Africa, the right to self-determination of smaller and especially of non-white peoples became better recognized in the United States. An important point in the development of human rights in the U.S. was the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of 1954. This began the civil rights movement which intensified dramatically during the 1960s. The rise of the

Black minority extended to other racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. These developments were felt in Alaska as well.

I arrived in Alaska in 1960 as a young man with an interest in Alaska Native languages both from a linguistic and a social point of view. I began at the University of Alaska the first academic courses in the Alaska Native languages, in early 1961, using the classroom setting to do fieldwork in Central Yupik with a view toward developing a practical writing system for it and writing a grammar of it. At the same time, I was successful in obtaining government support for research in the Alaska Native languages, particularly Athabaskan and Eyak, as it was urgent to document these languages before they disappeared forever. I spent a large part of my research effort those first years on surveying the Athabaskan languages to define them as they appear on the 1974 map, and from 1963 to 1969 worked with the last speakers of Eyak to document that as thoroughly as possible before its extinction. I found it much easier to get support to teach the languages in a University setting and to do scientific fieldwork than to gain any support for their use in the schools, however--to get the schools to relent in their pressure to complete the Anglicization of the Native children. Our work in preparation for the re-establishment of bilingual education in Alaska, therefore, had to stay basically behind the scenes during the 1960s.

Another important development during this decade was the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics or Wycliffe Bible Translators. This organization, whose purpose it is to translate the Bible into many of the world's languages, began operation in Alaska in 1959 and worked along with us at the University during the 1960s in the development of modern practical writing systems and basic literature in Tlingit (Constance Naish and Gillian Story), Siberian Yupik (David Shinen), North Slope Inupiaq (Donald Webster and Roy Ahmaogak), Kobuk Inupiaq (the late Wilfried Zibell), and four Athabaskan languages considered still viable: Kutchin (Richard Mueller), Koyukon (David Henry), Upper Kuskokwim (Raymond Collins), and Upper Tanana (Paul Milanowski).

In 1967 a Federal Bilingual Education Act was passed, permitting for the first time instruction in languages other than English to children in public-supported American schools. It must be noted, however, that this law only <u>permitted</u> but did not <u>require</u> that children whose primary language was other than English be provided with bilingual education. In 1968 my colleagues and I at the University submitted to the State Commissioner of Education a proposal to begin the use of Native languages in certain Alaskan schools where the children spoke Central Yupik. The Commissioner rejected the proposal on the grounds that this would, among other things, "undermine the authority of the teachers in the classroom." He was of course correct in a sense, since the teachers in those

classrooms at that time could not speak Yupik and were extremely unlikely to learn to do so. Having a teacher who could teach in Yupik would, without being a racial requirement, practically guarantee Yupik control of the classroom. By that time, however, social unrest was rapidly intensifying and the rise of ethnic minorities was gaining articulate support. In 1970 the Bureau of Indian Affairs, together with the State-Operated School System, was persuaded to experiment with bilingual education in four Central Yupik schools. A unified Central Yupik writing system had just been developed in our work at the University in the 1960s. For the first time in about sixty years, Alaskan Native children were to be taught in school in their native language, and would learn how to read first through it.

In December 1971 the self-assertion of Alaska Natives culminated in the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act. Six months later, encouraged by the dramatic success of the bilingual education effort in the Central Yupik area, the Alaska State Legislature enacted, on June 9, 1972, a pair of bills on behalf of Alaska Native languages. The first bill made Alaska one of the first states to require that children be introduced to education in their native language. It stipulated that every school with 15 or more students[11] whose dominant language was other than English

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[11]Subsequently amended to 8 or more, the minimum number of students required for a school.

must have a teacher who is fluent in that language, a program and written materials in that language. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in Alaska are not subject to Alaska State laws. Yet the majority of children who speak an Alaska Native language are in BIA schools, and are thus not legally protected by this law. BIA compliance is basically voluntary. Moreover, there are two opposing views of the purpose of bilingual education programs, "transitional" and "maintenance" programs. The "transitional" views bilingualism as temporary: as soon as the children know enough English, the Native language need no longer be used in the school and is abandoned; the "maintenance" view is that even as the children learn English, they should continue to cultivate their native language in school, to maintain rather than abandon it. Almost all of the bilingual programs for Native-speaking Alaskan children are unfortunately of the "transitional" type in principle and in practice, and have no positive interest in the survival of the Native language. Very few schools have any Native language curriculum beyond the third grade.

At the same time as the state legislature passed the Alaska Bilingual Education bill, it also established the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. The Center is responsible for scientific study of all the languages native to Alaska, for developing writing systems and literature for bilingual programs, and for

training writers and teachers in these languages. Limitations on budget and staff make it impossible for the Center alone to train all the teachers and produce all the schoolbooks; it has trained the "first generation" of teachers and writers of most of the languages, and produced the first books. Since then other educational agencies have undertaken the responsibility for the further development and maintenance of the Native language programs in the schools. For instance, very many of the school texts since 1976 have been published under the direction of Tupou Pulu by the National Bilingual Materials Development Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, which has responsibility under ESEA Title VII to produce written materials for bilingual programs throughout Alaska. An excellent example of a local agency producing materials in one language is the Inupiat Materials Development Center at Barrow, which since 1975 has printed many Inupiaq texts, among them some of the best of Alaska school texts.

The staff of the Alaska Native Language Center now consists of eleven full-time linguists, some of them Alaskan Natives working on their own languages, and about as many Native language specialists who work with linguists on a part-time basis. Many of us travel frequently to Alaskan villages and towns, holding literacy workshops, working with school curricula, training teachers, and assisting Native writers. Another activity of the Center is the maintenance of an archival library whose holdings include almost every

printed document, and much of the unpublished material, that has been written in or on any Alaska Native language. This collection, now amounting to over 4,000 items, is both a record and a resource for language work in the state. The collection is currently being catalogued; the catalogue will constitute a comprehensive annotated bibliography of all Alaskan Native languages. In compiling the indexes for the bibliography of names of writers, informants, and linguists, even we were amazed to find that the known individuals who have contributed to the documentation of Alaska Native languages over the past 200 years number by now over 3,000.

All Center staff are active in basic research on Alaskan languages. Part of the research support comes from the state of Alaska, and part from federal sources; for instance, a major responsibility of ANLC for 1979-1982 has been the Alaska Native Language Dictionary Project, supported by the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. We are in the process of compiling more or less definitive dictionaries of ten languages (Alutiiq, Central Yupik, North Slope Inupiaq, Siberian Yupik, Alaskan Haida, Tlingit, Eyak, Ahtna, Tanaina, and Koyukon), further mentioned in the sections on the specific languages below. Because of the concentration of expertise in several languages of both major families, we are able to pursue this work in the context of close coordination and of considerable advances in the general and comparative study of both these language

groups, in which, I feel certain, the Alaska Native Language Center provides important scientific leadership.

5. Present Status of Alaska Native Languages

I shall now proceed with a description and assessment of the status of each of the Native languages in Alaska individually, its location, population, number and age of speakers, degree of viability of the language, together with some information about its use in education, literature in it, and linguistic work on it.

In the case of Tsimshian, at most 200 of the 1,000 Tsimshians at Metlakatla speak the language, almost all of these over 40 years of age, including certainly no children. Since about 1970 there have been occasional beginnings of language study in the school. The first new linguistic work on Coast Tsimshian in over 60 years (since Boas's extensive research) was that of John Dunn, who wrote a dissertation on the phonology (1970), a school dictionary (1978), and a grammar (1979) of the language. Since around 1977 a standard practical orthography has been adopted by the Metlakatlans and Canadian Coast Tsimshians, but thus far almost no new literature has been published in the language.

Of the 500 Alaskan Haidas, most of whom live at Hydaburg and Ketchikan, at most 100 speak Haida, the youngest of these in their forties. The first extensive research on northern Haida in the seventy years since Swanton's was

begun in 1972 with the development of a modern writing system, this first new literature and school programs and the formation of the Society for the Preservation of Haida Language and Literature being largely the work of Erma Lawrence. Lawrence and Jeff Leer published an important preliminary dictionary (1976), including a good grammatical sketch by Leer. Leer is now compiling a comprehensive Alaskan Haida dictionary.

The general Tlingit population is about 10,000 living throughout southeastern Alaska, with about 500 in Canada, where Tlingit territory expanded in the 19th century. Nowhere do children speak the language; the youngest speakers are in Angoon, where Tlingit was taught to children into the 1950s. The number of Tlingit speakers is now at most 2,000, the youngest in their thirties. In 1959 Constance Naish and Gillian Story of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began their work in Tlingit, which during the 1960s produced a practical writing system and the beginnings of a new literature. Some traditional texts have been edited and published by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer, who also wrote a useful learner's introduction to Tlingit (1976). A verb dictionary (1973) and revised noun dictionary (1976) by Naish and Story are available. Leer is now compiling a definitive dictionary of Tlingit. In the 1970s Leer also documented a relic Tlingit dialect at the southernmost end of Tlingit territory; the dialect, Tongass, was by then spoken only by Emma Williams

and the late Frank Williams. This important dialect has an archaic system of vowel modification which has partly merged into a simpler tone system in the rest of Tlingit. Leer reports on this dialect in his recent and important *Tongass Texts* (Williams, Williams and Leer 1978).

In about 1890, when canneries were first built in the Cordova and Copper River Delta area, there were still about 250 Eyaks. Fifteen years later there were hardly more than fifty. The Eyak language is an important heritage and also a tragic lesson for all Alaskans, for Eyak is now nearly extinct, with but three fluent speakers remaining. When I began my intensive research in this language there were four, Anna Nelson Harry, Sophie Borodkin, Marie Jones, and the late Lena Nacktan. (The late George Johnson and Mike Sewock also remembered some of it.) During the 1960s I spent a great deal of my time documenting all I could of the language from these people, whose cooperation and complementary abilities made it possible to piece together a rather comprehensive record of the language. I finished a preliminary edition of the *Eyak Texts* (Krauss 1970a), a reasonably extensive corpus including some remarkably fine texts especially by Anna Nelson Harry, supplemented somewhat during the 1970s; I also published a preliminary dictionary (1970b,with concordance of the entire corpus), about 4,000 pages, of which I am now editing a condensed version for wider publication.

Ahtna Athabaskan is a well defined language, not readily intelligible to any other Athabaskan; its closest relative is Tanaina. Of a total population of 500 in 11 villages in the Copper River region, there are no more than 200 speakers, the youngest in their twenties. The Mentasta dialect is somewhat divergent, showing influences from the Tanana River languages. The first extensive linguistic work on Ahtna was begun in 1973 by James Kari. In 1974 a practical alphabet was designed. Some school material has now been published in the language, especially under the direction of Mildred Buck, and also an extensive noun dictionary by Buck and Kari (1976). A comprehensive dictionary of Ahtna is now being compiled by Kari. Note also a bilingual volume of texts by John and Molly Billum and Mildred Buck (1979).

The Tanaina language, like Ahtna well defined and not intelligible to any other, but closest to Ahtna, is spoken in two major dialect groups around Cook Inlet. Note the distribution into Upper and Lower Inlet dialects, rather than eastern and western. The Kenai Peninsula dialect is nearly extinct with two speakers remaining. One of these, Peter Kalifornsky, has become a creative writer of his language, and recently published a sizeable anthology of his works (1977). The Upper Inlet dialect at Eklutna and Tyonek is also moribund, with perhaps 30 speakers. Most Tanaina speakers live at Nondalton and its far inland extension at Lime Village. There are no speakers under 30 even at Nondalton,

but at remote Lime Village (total population about 40) there are perhaps four or five young children who speak Tanaina. Of the total Tanaina population of about 900, at most 250 speak the language. A modern writing system for the language was established in 1972. There are occasional language classes at Nondalton and Tyonek, and about 30 booklets have been printed in Tanaina. In 1973-75 Joan Tenenbaum did fieldwork on Tanaina at Nondalton and published a series of texts (1976) and a grammar of the verb (1977). James Kari has done extensive fieldwork on the language since 1972; he has published several important texts by Peter Kalifornsky, Shem Pete, and others, a major noun dictionary (Kari 1977), and is now compiling a comprehensive dictionary. Kari and Albert Wassillie of Nondalton, author of many of the school-books, also published a school dictionary (1979).

The name Ingalik is now reserved for the well defined language spoken at Anvik and Shageluk, by the Indian people at Holy Cross, and on the middle Kuskokwim. On the Kuskokwim it is nearly extinct, replaced by Yupik and English. There are no children speaking the language anywhere, the youngest speakers being people in their twenties at Shageluk. Of a total population of 300, at most 100 speak Ingalik. The Holikachuk language has only recently been defined; it is that of the Innoko River at the village of Holikachuk, moved during the 1960s to Grayling on the Yukon. This language is intermediate between Ingalik and Koyukon, partly intelligible

to both, a bit closer to Koyukon linguistically but closer to Ingalik socially. The total Holikachuk population is 160, but there are at most 25 speakers of the langugae, all over 40 years of age. Jeff Leer and I designed writing systems for Ingalik and Holikachuk in 1974. James Kari began extensive linguistic research on these languages in 1976 and has published a preliminary noun dictionary for each (Kari 1978a, 1978b). No sustained school programs or written literatures have yet developed for them.

Koyukon occupies the largest Athabaskan territory in Alaska and has the largest population, about 2,200, of whom, however, only about 700 can speak Koyukon, none of them children. The youngest speakers, probably at Allakaket, are in their twenties. The language is distributed in three dialects in a dozen villages along the Yukon and Koyukuk rivers. A modern orthography and literature were begun in the 1960s by David Henry of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Considerable documentation, writing, and transcription of traditional texts have been done, with over forty booklets published. Eliza Jones of ANLC, a native speaker of the language, has transcribed much as yet unpublished text material, has published a school dictionary (1979) and an important book of texts from Chief Henry of Huslia (1979). She is now compiling a comprehensive dictionary of Koyukon, incorporating also the remarkable work of Jules Jetté, already mentioned. Chad Thompson, also of ANLC, has

written a useful study of the Koyukon verb (1977).

The Upper Kuskokwim area was erroneously included by Osgood (1936) with Ingalik. The language is in fact sharply distinct from Ingalik and from any other of its immediate neighbors. However, it has so many similarities to Tanana that Upper Kuskokwim and Tanana might have been considered two rather different dialects of the same language, were it not for the 19th century intrusion of Upper Koyukon into the Minchumina area, now separating Upper Kuskokwim from Tanana. Though the intrusive group is itself now extinct, the social connections between Upper Kuskokwim and Tanana have been weakened for more than a century. Upper Kuskokwim is spoken at Nikolai, population 95, and at tiny Telida, population 15, and by some of the Athabaskan population at McGrath. Of a total population of 150, perhaps 140 still speak the language, including the children at Nikolai and Telida. Even there, however, the younger children are becoming increasingly dominant in English, so this language too will soon begin to die. Raymond Collins of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began work at Nikolai in 1964. He established a practical orthography and together with Betty Petruska has by now produced over 30 booklets in the language, especially for the school program there. This has been bilingual since 1972, but probably too late to halt the decline of the language. Collins and Petruska recently published a school dictionary of the language (1979).

The Tanana language is now defined as that formerly spoken along the Tanana from Minto to the Goodpaster River. Of a total population of about 350, there are at most 100 speakers. The Goodpaster dialect has one speaker, the Salcha dialect two; the Chena dialect at Fairbanks has been extinct since 1976. Most of the remaining speakers, all over 40, speak the Minto-Nenana dialect. I did the first major linguistic fieldwork on this language in 1961-62, including an unpublished collection of texts and a preliminary noun dictionary (Krauss 1974). There is a practical orthography but no language program in the schools. The first text in this language was published in 1979 (Titus and Titus 1979).

The Tanacross language is partly intelligible with both Tanana (especially the Salcha-Goodpaster dialects) and with Upper Tanana, but cannot reasonably be called the same language as either. I had formerly included it as a "transitional" dialect of Tanana, but there are as many important ways in which it differs from Tanana as ways in which it differs from Upper Tanana. Of a population of about 160 at Healy Lake, Dot Lake, and especially Tanacross, about 100 speak the language, including to some degree the older (but not the younger) children at Tanacross. A practical alphabet for this language was established in 1973 and about ten school booklets have been published in it, and most recently a book of traditional texts (Paul 1980).

The Upper Tanana language is spoken at Tetlin and Northway with a total population of about 300, of whom perhaps 250 still speak the language. Many of the children, especially the older ones, speak the language to some extent; however, it is doubtful, as in the case of Tanacross and Upper Kuskokwim, that the decline in use of the Native language can be halted. Upper Tanana is distinct from all its neighbors but closest to Tanacross. During the 1960s Paul Milanowski of the Summer Institute of Linguistics established a writing system; since then he and especially Alfred John have produced about 25 booklets in the language for the school programs, and most recently a school dictionary (Milanowski and John 1979).

Han is spoken in Alaska only at Eagle near the Alaska-Canada border. It is sharply distinct from all its neighbors, although it resembles Kutchin much more closely than any other. In Canada, where it had the burden of hosting the Klondike Gold Rush, Han is nearly extinct. In Eagle, native population about 50, there may be 20 speakers, some perhaps still in their twenties. A writing system has recently been established, and one of the younger speakers, Ruth Ridley, is now writing the first Han text transcriptions. A preliminary noun dictionary is being compiled by John Ritter.

The total population for Kutchin in Alaska and Canada is about 2,400, with 1,200 on each side of the border. There are about 500 speakers in Canada and 700 in Alaska,

more in Alaska because in the Canadian villages none of the children speak the language, whereas in a few of the Alaskan villages, particularly Venetie and Arctic Village, the children generally do speak Kutchin. Venetie and Arctic Village are in fact the only Athabaskan villages left in Alaska where the children still speak predominantly Athabaskan and where there is any strong chance that Athabaskan may survive indefinitely as a spoken language in Alaska. As already mentioned, Kutchin was the first Athabaskan language in Alaska to develop an extensive written literature, now over 100 years old, in the form of the religious works of MacDonald (1873-1912). This foundation of literacy may be responsible for some of the relative strength of the language. A modern writing system was designed in the 1960s by Richard Mueller of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and in this orthography nearly 90 booklets for the schools have been produced by Katherine Peter and others. There is also a large corpus of unpublished material, some transcribed in 1923 by Edward Sapir, and more recently a very large amount especially by Katherine Peter at ANLC. A school dictionary was recently published (Peter 1979). There is considerable current activity in Kutchin linguistics.

We now turn to the present situation of the other major language family of Alaska, the Eskimo-Aleut languages.

Aleut is a single language, with two distinct but

mutually intelligible dialects, Eastern and Western, the dividing line falling east of Atka Island. Of a total population of 2,000, about 700 speak the language. The youngest speakers of Eastern Aleut are people in their teens, at Nikolski; Western Aleut is now spoken only on Atka Island, since the few Attuans who survived World War II never returned to Attu, and the Attuan subdialect of Western Aleut is now practically extinct. The entire Aleut population was displaced during World War II and severely affected. Atkan Aleut is, however, still a viable language, with all the children in the village of Atka speaking it. Knut Bergsland of the University of Oslo, who has done outstanding linguistic work on Western Aleut since 1950, as mentioned above, designed a modern Roman writing system for the language, based on the Slavonic, and working especially with Moses Dirks of Atka assisted in the development of a bilingual curriculum which began in the school in 1972. More than 40 booklets have been produced for this program. Aleut is also taught as a second language at Unalaska in the Eastern dialect area, and about twenty books have been published for this program, mostly by Olga Mensoff. School dictionaries for both dialects were recently published (Bergsland and Dirks 1978, Bergsland et al. 1978), a dictionary of Atkan by Bergsland is forthcoming, and Bergsland continues to work on a comprehensive Aleut dictionary and grammar.

Alutiiq (Pacific Gulf Yupik, also known variously as

Suk, Sugpiaq, and Sugcestun) is closely related to Central Alaskan Yupik. Alutiiq is divided into two dialect groups, the Chugach dialects of English Bay and Port Graham on the Kenai Peninsula, and what is left of the Prince William Sound Chugach at Tatitlek, Valdez, and Cordova; and the Koniag dialects, spoken on Kodiak Island and most of the Alaska Peninsula. Of 3,000 Alutiiqs, about 1,000 still speak the language. The youngest speakers of the Koniag dialects are in their twenties, but the Chugach dialect is spoken by some children in English Bay (population 60) and to a lesser extent Port Graham. The youngest children of even these communities, however, are becoming dominant in English, so it is doubtful that the language will survive indefinitely. The first extensive modern linguistic work on the language was done by Irene Reed in the early 1960s, after nearly a century of linguistic neglect since the Russian period. In 1973 Jeff Leer began work on the language, solved certain intricate phonological problems and developed a practical orthography, recently published brief dictionaries for both dialects (Leer 1978a, 1978b), and continues at present compiling a comprehensive dictionary of it. More than 30 booklets for the schools, especially those of Port Graham and English Bay, have been published under Leer's editorship, working with Derenty Tabios and others. A second-language program is beginning to take shape on the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak and a few booklets have recently been published in the Koniag dialect.

Central Yupik is numerically the most prominent of Alaska's Native languages both in terms of the size of its population and the number of its speakers. The Central Yupik population now numbers more than 17,000, of whom most, perhaps 14,000, speak the language. It is a single language with three general dialect areas, Bristol Bay, the Kuskokwim, and the Yukon. There are two especially divergent local dialects, Nunivak Island and Hooper Bay-Chevak, showing certain affinities with Alutiiq. The language is strongest in the Kuskokwim region, where it is the first language of entire communities. In many communities of the Bristol Bay and Yukon areas, Yupik is no longer spoken as a first language by some or any children. There seems to be no doubt, however, that at least in the Kuskokwim heartland, Central Yupik will continue to grow and flourish. Its future is further brightened by the widespread and successful bilingual education programs of the region. As mentioned above, it was here that modern bilingual education began in Alaska in 1970. Since then more than 200 schoolbooks have been developed in the practical orthography, covering entire areas of the primary curriculum, under the capable leadership of Irene Reed, who established the Eskimo Language Workshop at the University of Alaska, and since 1974 the Yupik Language Workshop at Kuskokwim Community College in Bethel. Reed, Osahito Miyaoka of Otaru University on Hokkaido, Steven Jacobson, Paschal Afcan, and I developed during the period

1967 through 1976 a teaching grammar of Central Yupik (Reed et al. 1977), the first such work published for an Alaska Native language. Jacobson's comprehensive dictionary of the language will be published in 1980. Courses in Central Yupik have been offered at the University of Alaska since 1961, first by Reed, later by Miyaoka, and since 1974 by Jacobson. More than 200 speakers of Central Yupik have had training there or at Kuskokwim Community College in Bethel, allowing them to teach as bilingual instructors from primary grades through college in classrooms in their region. In addition to materials for the schools, government informational publications of many kinds are now translated into Yupik for distribution throughout the area, where not only schoolchildren but also adults are increasingly literate in the modern writing system.

Siberian Yupik is spoken by the entire population of St. Lawrence Island in Alaska, in the two villages of Gambell and Savoonga. This includes all the children, making Siberian Yupik the Native language in Alaska which has increased most dramatically in its numerical strength. Severely reduced by famine and plague a century ago to fewer than 300 survivors of a population at least five times that, the St. Lawrence Island population has made a remarkable recovery, and is now approaching 1,000. This includes significant immigration from the Chaplinski dialect area of Chukotka as late as the 1920s. The dialect of St. Lawrence Island is still nearly

identical with the Chaplinski dialect of the U.S.S.R. No doubt because of their well defined and separate island world, of which they are still basically the masters, St. Lawrence Islanders have maintained the full vigor of their culture and language along with the modern material advances from which they also benefit. St. Lawrence Island is certainly a major exception to the usual recent language history pattern in Alaska. Except for one missionary booklet in 1910, nothing was printed in the language for St. Lawrence Island until the 1960s, when David Shinen of the Summer Institute of Linguistics devised a modern orthography and printed three booklets in it. In 1971 at the University of Alaska we revised the orthography and began the modern written literature for St. Lawrence Island. Bilingual education programs began in its schools in 1972, and by now over 100 booklets in the language have been produced for the schools, written especially by Vera Oovi Kaneshiro, Grace Slwooko, and Raymond Oozevaseuk. Steven Jacobson has written a preliminary grammatical sketch of the language (1977) and is presently working on the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary for it.

The main dialect of Siberian Yupik spoken in the U.S.S.R. is Chaplinski, identical with that of St. Lawrence Island, as mentioned above. The Chaplinski population in the U.S.S.R. is about 800, now concentrated in two locations, (New) Ungaziq and Sireniki. East Cape (Naukanski) is the other

main dialect group, population about 350, forcibly evacuated and dispersed from the ancient East Cape village of Nevuqaq in 1958, at the height of the Cold War. After the consolidation of Soviet power in the area in the 1920s and the expulsion of American traders, the Soviets began seriously and idealistically to implement their policy of bilingual education to include even this small group of Eskimos, according to their principle that every Soviet nation, no matter how small, has a basic right to the cultivation of its own language and an introductory educational system in it. In 1932 the first Soviet Siberian Yupik schoolbook was printed, to be followed by about 50 more between 1935 and 1959, an admirable effort, all in the Chaplinski dialect, the official standard. However, during the Cold War and the 1960s this output ceased, the communities were relocated, and instead of bilingual education the children were put in Russian-speaking day-care centers and boarding schools, under an assimilationist policy that in some ways resembled the American. Now there are probably no children speaking the Naukanski dialect, and probably also none or very few speaking even Chaplinski, in spite of continuing Soviet propaganda claiming that the system has supported the cultural life and morale of these people, and in spite of printing new schoolbooks in the language in 1974. Ironically, in spite of professed national policies, the Siberian Yupik language is flourishing in the United States and dying in the U.S.S.R.

If the St. Lawrence Islanders do not very soon regain the permission they enjoyed until 1947 to visit their kin in Siberia, they will find they have a common language only with the oldest generation there. The area remains completely closed to Westerners at this time. The Bering Strait Wall has been a tragedy for the Siberian Yupik people.

Inupiaq in Alaska is at the western end of a vast Inuit dialect continuum which now spans the entire American Arctic from Bering Strait across Canada to Greenland. Within Alaska there are four markedly different but still mutually intelligible dialect types, in two main groups: Northern (North Slope and Malimiut) and Seward Peninsula (Qawiaraq and Wales). The total population in Alaska is about 12,000, of whom now only about 5,000 are speakers of Inupiaq, including only a small proportion of children. The Qawiaraq dialect (originally of the Nome area, but expanded during the past century to Shaktoolik and Unalakleet) has no speakers under 20 years of age, having been most severely affected by the Nome Gold Rush and subsequent developments. The Wales dialect has probably no speakers under 10 years of age, although some teenagers on Diomede and amongst the King Islanders (all moved to Nome) can speak it still. In the Malimiut dialect area of Kotzebue Sound, the Noatak and Kobuk rivers, and its early historical southward extension to Shaktoolik and Unalakleet, the only villages where many children still speak the language are on the Upper Kobuk at

Ambler, Shungnak, and Kobuk. On the North Slope, Wainwright is the only place where most of the children now speak Inupiaq, though many do at least to some extent at Anaktuvuk Pass, Nuiqsut, and to a lesser degree at Barrow. Inupiaq had very little contact with the Russians, so there was no major effort to establish a written literature in it in Alaska at all until very late, two centuries behind Greenlandic and one century behind Canadian Inuit. The work of Roy Ahmaogak and Eugene Nida in 1946 achieved a scientifically excellent orthography (though a slightly impractical one, using some special phonetic symbols), but this came at a highly unfavorable time in terms of school policy, so for a generation the writing system was used only in the churches. Ahmaogak and Donald Webster of the Summer Institute of Linguistics published a complete New Testament (1966) and during the 1960s the late Wilfried Zibell also began printing materials in the Malimiut dialect. In 1971 we began to teach Inupiaq at the University of Alaska and in the next year the first Alaskan educational programs in it began in Barrow. These have spread rapidly throughout most of the area. There is certainly significant literacy, and no fewer than 350 booklets of considerable variety have been printed by various agencies for the schools in all dialects, especially of course the North Slope and Malimiut. The Inupiat Materials Development Center at Barrow has printed a large number of particularly fine school texts. A preliminary dictionary

for these two dialects was published in 1970 (Webster and Zibell 1970), and now in press is a much better school dictionary, prepared under the editorship of Edna Ahgeak MacLean, president of the North Slope Borough Language Commission, which supports much of the language work in the area. MacLean, a native speaker from Barrow, is currently editing a definitive dictionary for the North Slope and finishing a full pedagogical grammar of the language from materials she has developed at ANLC for the teaching program at the University, for which she is also responsible. Larry Kaplan, also of ANLC, has written on the phonology of Alaskan Inupiaq dialects (1979) and is engaged in continuing fieldwork.

By now, however, the future of Inupiaq as a spoken language in Alaska is gravely threatened. The Qawiaraq dialect may well be extinct in forty years and the Wales dialect in seventy. By the end of this century there may be no children at all learning the language even in the North Slope and Malimiut dialects, especially if past trends continue. A renewed cultural perspective is the only strong hope for the future of this language in Alaska. This great hope is a renewed sense of the international Inuit world not only in Alaska but also in Canada and Greenland, by overcoming the artificial, effectually colonial barriers externally imposed by the separate American, Canadian, and Danish administrations. This can now under modern conditions easily be achieved through improved cultural exchange,

transportation, communication, and education. Without this, I believe that the Inupiaq language in Alaska will not survive the next century.

6. The future for Alaska Native languages

I am at a point now to consider the future of Alaska Native languages in general. We can no longer avoid facing the tragic consequences of the American suppression of this century, as the next century, nearly upon us, will as an inevitable result become the age of extinction of most Alaska Native languages. The first half of the coming century will probably see the death of the very last speakers of fifteen of the twenty languages. In the case of the moribund languages, those no longer spoken by any children, it is an unfortunately simple matter to estimate a probable date of extinction, by adding to 1980 the remaining life expectancy of the youngest speakers, which we shall base on a generous total life expectancy of 75 years. Thus, not allowing for miracles, Eyak will probably not survive this century; Alaskan Tsimshian, Alaskan Haida, Holikachuk, and Tanana will probably be extinct by 2015; and Tlingit, Ahtna, Ingalik, Koyukon, and Han will probably be extinct by 2030. Furthermore, Alutiiq, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Tanaina, and Upper Kuskokwim have an extremely doubtful future, with a few small children able to speak the languages, but those children already English-dominant; again, not

allowing for miracles or radical changes, they will probably be extinct within a lifetime, by about 2055. By that year, then, probably only five of the twenty Alaskan languages will still be spoken. Of these, Western Aleut at Atka and Kutchin Athabaskan at Venetie and Arctic Village might conceivably survive indefinitely under ideal conditions, which might have to include continued isolation, hardly likely. Inupiaq might survive also, but only if great strengthening of international awareness and communication comes in time. Central Alaskan Yupik and Siberian Yupik have by far the best chance of survival, because of the still large concentration of speakers of all generations in the Kuskokwim region and a few other parts of the Central Yupik area, and Siberian Yupik because of its isolation and great vitality on St. Lawrence Island. Both languages now also have excellent beginnings of educational programs and written literatures.

It is of course important to emphasize that these predictions are based on our experience and knowledge of the way things are presently going, and do not take into account on the one hand miracles or radical social changes favorable to their survival. The tragic end result of the way things are going does indeed point out the importance of considering measures for adequately favorable change, if such is possible. On the other hand, we must face an at least equal likelihood that things may take a turn for yet worse, that social,

demographic, and technological developments (such as the spread of television) will bring still more unfavorable pressure against the survival of these languages, that they will be obliterated by English at an ever accelerating rate.

I view the obliteration of Alaskan Native languages by English as an unnecessary final tragic chapter in the continuing conflict in American history, the "winning of the West." The physical genocides of the nineteenth century were replaced in the twentieth by cultural genocide in the classroom: "cowboys and Indians" moved into the schools, and extermination and removal were replaced by assimilation. With bilingual education and the development of the printed word in Native languages, Native languages have at least begun to fight back in the battle of the classroom, but the battle is far from won, and in the case of many Alaskan languages it is already far too late.

It is clear that educators and linguists must continue to cooperate and serve community needs in the development and improvement of education and literature in those languages which the schoolchildren still speak. We must also consider, however, what are the goals of bilingual education in the case of those languages which are already moribund. For one thing, it is the task of linguistics to document or preserve as complete as possible a record and description of all these languages for posterity, regardless of their likely fate as spoken languages. This much is clear: that it is

reasonably well within our capabilities and also our intentions now to produce detailed descriptions of their grammars, comprehensive dictionaries of their lexical inventories, and extensive records of them in text, especially narrative, including at least a large sample of traditional oral literature. This work will be of lasting great value to the people themselves and also to the world at large, and on this we at the Alaska Native Language Center place high priority. In the educational systems for those areas where the languages are moribund, again, we cannot realistically expect true revival of the spoken languages, but we can develop appropriate and effective programs of teaching them as second languages to the children, so that coming generations learn at least a sample of their ancestral language, enough for them to maintain respect for it and their heritage and to continue some ceremonial and artistic use of it. Extensive knowledge of the languages and the tradition of teaching them in the schools would have to be maintained by small, specialized groups within the cultures who would also have the good linguistic work mentioned above to rely on. In that way these languages too can continue to play an important role in the future of the people.

In those areas where the schoolchildren still speak an Alaskan language, increased efforts must be made to improve and extend the use of the language in the schools. Educational, social, organizational, and political work must be done to

bring this about, and eternal vigilance kept to maintain it. In such areas there still may sometimes be found, in this day and age, educators of the old assimilationist school, who are either hostile or indifferent to the survival of Native languages. Agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs do not change attitudes quickly, nor do many of the experienced educators of this type often hired by local school systems. In most elementary schools where there are children still able to speak an Alaskan language, there is still practically no Native language curriculum beyond the third grade, and in very many cases little or none even in the lower grades. If used at all, Native languages are merely tolerated in a policy still aimed at transition to English. The tragic consequences of this have already been clearly demonstrated.

As threatening as the school situation still is, a graver threat to the survival of Alaska Native languages is now upon us. This is the inevitable and rapid spread of radio and especially television to every village and home. The cultural and linguistic battleground is now shifting from the classroom to the living room. Within a few short years, practically every Native-speaking home will have a color television set receiving several channels of the usual commercial and educational programming in English to flood the home for several hours a day. The battle of the living room will be fought with what I call "cultural nerve gas"--