



Language and the
Anthropocene



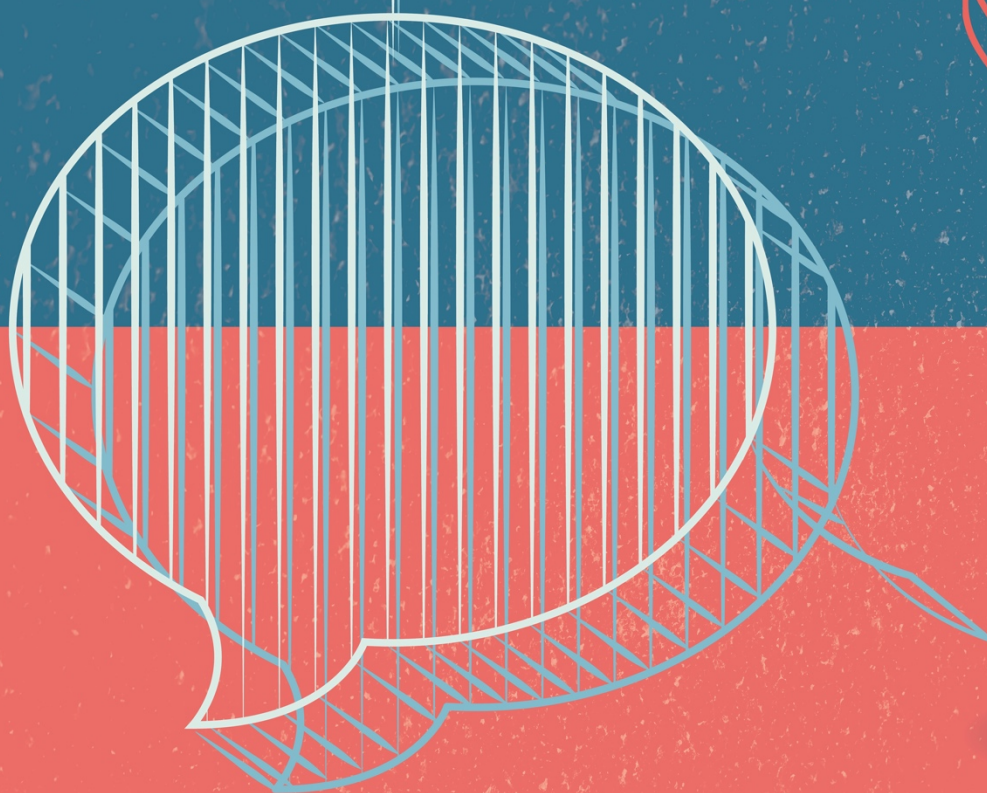
MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE
OF GEOANTHROPOLOGY

Organisers:

Martine Robbeets
& Martijn Knapen

WORKSHOP

LINGUISTIC PREHISTORY AND ECOLOGY IN THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RIM



*Releasing the
ecological
knowledge from
language*

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

28-29 AUGUST 2024

Organisers: Martine Robbeets and Martijn Knapen

Research Group: Language and the Anthropocene, Max Planck Institute of Geoanthropology

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Over the last decades, the impact of human activity on global climatic conditions and the Earth's ecosystems has become increasingly apparent. So much so that the present epoch has been dubbed the "Anthropocene" (Crutzen 2002). The term refers to the period when human activity started to have an irreversible impact on our planet's climate. The onset has been traced back ten thousand years into the past, to the Neolithic, when humanity first started to domesticate plants and animals (Smith and Zeder 2013; Ellis 2018). With a cut-off point of around 10 000 years ago, linguistic reconstruction is set in the Anthropocene (Robbeets and Hudson, *forthc.*).

The emergence of the Anthropocene has confronted all scientific disciplines – from the natural sciences to the humanities – with the challenge how to position themselves in a rapidly-changing world (Renn 2020). This has led to the development of new interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary fields of study such as Geoanthropology and Historical Ecology (Balée 2006), which study the changing relationships between humans and ecosystems.

Notwithstanding various calls to integrate the humanities into Anthropocene research (Pálsson et al. 2013; Ellis et al. 2016), linguistics has been slow to engage with the topic. With the establishment of our research group "Language and the Anthropocene" within the newly founded Max Planck Institute for Geoanthropology, we want to highlight a central role for linguistics within Geoanthropology and contribute to the study of language dynamics in the Anthropocene.

Regarding language as an archive of environmental knowledge, our workshop will provide insights into the past interaction of humans with their local environment in the Northern Pacific Rim. To this end, we invite case studies on the intergenerational and interactional transmission of ecological knowledge in this area that depart from linguistic reconstruction and/or prehistorical contact studies but also engage with interdisciplinary perspectives.

The Northern Pacific Rim encompasses a vast stretch of land along the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean, from California to Alaska in North America and from Japan to Korea to the Chinese coasts of the Bohai sea to the Russian Far East in Asia. It is home to numerous language families and isolates on both sides of

the Pacific, such as Transeurasian, Sino- Tibetan, Ainuic, Amuric, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Eskaleut, Na-Dené-Yeniseian, Tsimshian, Wakashan, and Salishan.

Linguistically, some of these are connected through circum-Pacific typology (Nichols 2005, Fortescue 2013, Bugaeva et al. 2022), various interlocking chains (Krejnovič 1955; Newman 1974; de Reuse 1994; Miyake 1997; Turner and Loewen 1998; Coati 1999; Vovin 1993, 2007, 2015, 2022; Tsumagari 2010; Janhunen 2016; Alonso De La Fuente 2021; Knapen 2021, 2023; Shiraishi & Tangiku 2022; Pevnov 2022; Vajda and Fortescue 2022; Deng 2023) and common traits of the ecological environment preserved in language (e.g., Robbeets et al. 2021; McMillan 1999; Fortescue 2005; Berge 2017).

Themes may include plant use (foraging, agriculture, etc.), animal husbandry or hunting and the exploitation of aquatic resources (sea mammals, fish, molluscs etc.). We welcome interdisciplinary approaches that combine linguistics with insights from other disciplines such as anthropology, archaeobotany, ecology, ethnobiology, etc. This may reveal how cultivated plants or domesticated animals were dispersed (e.g., Robbeets et al. 2021, Spengler et al. 2021; Mir-Makhamad et al. 2022; Dal Martello 2023), how humans affected the distribution of species (e.g., Turner et al. 2021), and the history of the multitude of other ways in which humans interacted with their environment.

Integrating different disciplines, we hope to shed light on how linguistic connections in the Northern Pacific Rim may encode past relationships between humans and their environment. In addition to examining what the linguistic parallels reveal about the history of interaction of a given speech community with its environment, we will also look at its interactions with other communities in relation to the distribution and exploitation of species.

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Wednesday, 28 August 2024

Language, Species, and Culture: Reflections from Historical Ecology

William Balée (Tulane University, New Orleans)

Historical ecology is an evolving research program focused on impacts of human activities within environments known as landscapes. Landscapes are the active center of reciprocal impacts of environmental and societal changes through time, in a more or less dialectical sense. The different kinds of changes of landscapes can be understood through a more specific approach to environmental change than ecological succession, and this approach is called landscape transformation, of which there are four types. In relation to human-impacted landscapes, many natural languages associated with nonindustrial society in high diversity zones have instantiated large vocabularies for living things, classified into four to five ranks. In most tribal zones including the North Pacific Rim, one finds artifacts of Western maritime contact, in language and culture—both material culture and ideational culture. In many cases landscape transformations of dramatic results have impacted local languages, and the examples I will cite here are tropical ones but likely similarities can be found in the North Pacific Rim; marking reversals and the like in language evolution, for example, can show a rough chronology of changes in the landscape itself as well as in the psychological and cultural salience of diverse organisms classified within local traditions of environmental knowledge. In that regard, this paper will explore some of these kinds of linguistic and cultural artifacts within a framework that is appropriate to their explanation, namely, historical ecology.

Ethnobotany on Sakhalin: 19th Century and present

Hidetoshi Shiraishi (Sapporo Gakuin University), Miki Mizushima (Hokkaido Museum, Sapporo), Itsuji Tangiku (Hokkaido University, Sapporo), Yoshiko Yamada (Muroran Institute of Technology), and Martijn Knapen (MPI-GEA)

Basing on a list of plant names in Nivkh, Uilta and Ainu collected on Sakhalin by F. Schmidt (1832-1908) in the 19th century, five researchers from different disciplines present their own analysis of the list. These include 1) Lexemic structure of plant names and its correlation with cultural significance in the indigenous community, 2) Identification of Latin names in the modern taxonomy, 3) a preliminary overview of Nivkh and Ainu plant names, 4) a preliminary overview of Uilta plant names, and 5) archaeolinguistic reconstruction of knowledge transfer. These analyses have backgrounds in profound fieldwork experience on Sakhalin, which was made possible by long-term collaboration with members of the indigenous community.

Reconstruction of the Ecocultural Living Space by Ainu Communities: The Iwor Regeneration Project as a Case Study

| Hideyuki Ōnishi (*Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts, Kyōtanabe*)

The term "Iwor" in the Ainu language originally denoted concepts such as place, space, and field. In the 1950s, Japanese sociocultural anthropologist Seiichi Izumi, through interviews with Ainu elders, repurposed this term as an academic concept to elucidate the Ainu social structure, particularly in relation to the management of natural resources and territories within local communities. In contemporary contexts, "Iwor" has evolved into a crucial concept for initiatives to revitalise Ainu culture and assert indigenous rights. Consequently, numerous activities and projects under the banner of the Iwor Regeneration Project have emerged across various Ainu communities in Hokkaido, northern Japan. One of the significant components of these projects is to bequeath the Ainu language to the next generation, which is being addressed through multifarious attempts. This presentation will first highlight several activities in the Saru River basin focused on reconstructing traditional Ainu living spaces as part of the Iwor Regeneration Project. Analysing these case studies explores the renaturation of ecocultural environments for practising traditional Ainu activities, such as those within the environment of traditional living spaces, can facilitate cultural revival and contribute to language inheritance. The findings suggest that the reconstruction of ecocultural spaces to support traditional Ainu practices, such as subsistence and rituals, can significantly contribute to language revitalization, both directly and indirectly.

Ethnolinguistic Aspects of Birch Trees: Tungusic and Beyond

| Andreas Hölzl (*University of Potsdam*)

Birch trees and birch bark in particular play an important role in the history of humankind. Neanderthals already produced birch bark tar for use as an adhesive (e.g., Schmidt et al. 2023). Birch bark also has medicinal properties and can function as fuel. Due to being thin, flexible, robust, and water repellent, birch bark also functions as writing material and as raw material for the production of vessels, boxes, or canoes (e.g., Adney & Chapelle 1964, Fletcher et al. 2018, Lewington 2018, Kaderli 2023).

Birch trees (genus *Betula*) are found in large parts of the Northern Hemisphere, including the Northern Pacific Rim where various species such as *Betula pendula* subsp. *mandshurica* can be found (e.g., Ashburner & McAllister 2013: 21–29). But despite their material and cultural importance, there seems to be a lack of ethnological and especially linguistic studies of birch trees. This study aims at filling some of these gaps by focusing on ethnolinguistic aspects of birch trees. The main focus will be the Tungusic languages that exhibit a large and complex vocabulary dedicated to birch trees that reflects their cultural significance (e.g., Manchu *ere-* 'to peel off birch bark', *jeofi* 'a hut with a round birch bark roof', Norman 2013). Several lexical items, such as **talo* 'birch bark' can be reconstructed to Proto-Tungusic (Doerfer & Knüppel 2004: 763). The study will include data from all attested Tungusic languages and will make extensive areal and typological comparisons with other groups along the Northern Pacific Rim, such as the Yukaghir.

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The Vocabulary of Reindeer Herding in Dolgan within the Context of Dolgan-Evenki Contact

Uluhan Özalan (Abant İzzet Baysal University, Bolu) and Peter Jordan (Lund University)

Dolgans, who speak an endangered Turkic language, predominantly live in Northern Siberia, Taymir Peninsula. Despite the various claims concerning their origin, it is generally accepted that the community comprising the core of Dolgans was an Evenki clan who adopted the Yakut language. Although some scholars have regarded their language as a dialect of Yakut until recently, Dolgan has some idiosyncrasies that differentiate it from Yakut. Apart from the differences in their languages, Yakut and Dolgans also have distinct lifestyles and economic activities to sustain their livelihoods. In this connection, although reindeer herding has not been common among Yakuts, it constitutes the primary economic activity for Dolgans. As a result of this phenomenon, Dolgan has many words related to reindeer herding, most of which are of Evenki origin. *abılakān* “two-year-old male reindeer”, *amarkana* “five-year-old male reindeer”, *dulaŋı* “infertile female reindeer”, *cukāndı* “reindeer saddle”, *haçarı* “two-year-old female reindeer”, *iktānā* “three-year-old male reindeer”, *koŋnomo* “dark reindeer”, *küräy* “a pole used to lead reindeer”, *muoyka* “one-year-old reindeer calf”, *niŋçan* “hornless reindeer”, *orötı* “reindeer calf with horns” are some examples of the reindeer herding vocabulary in Dolgan borrowed from Evenki. However, reindeer terminology developed in Dolgan not only through borrowing, but also by reusing original Turkic words with some semantic changes; *atır* “reindeer stallion”, *tıhı* “female reindeer”, *ahılık* “food for reindeer”, *taba* “reindeer”. Among these words, *taba* (< *teve* Old Turkic) originally means camel in the Turkic. This research will investigate, among other things, the potential motivations behind these semantic changes. Many studies on the linguistic features of Dolgan have appeared recently; however, new research focusing on specific semantic cultural fields would provide insights into the stages of

development which have shaped Dolgan way of life. Within the scope of the present study, the lexical sources of the Dolgan language, especially those published by Marek Stachowski, will be scrutinized for reindeer herding vocabulary. Then, these will be compared with their original form in the donor language. Finally, the data will be analyzed within the context of Dolgan-Evenki language contacts with references to both Tungusic and Turkic historical linguistics.

The Use of Historical Material for the Safeguarding of Endangered Languages

Tjeerd de Graaf (Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, Leeuwarden)

For the study of severely endangered and extinct languages it is important to have access to data which have been recorded in the past. We discuss several projects about the reconstruction of these data, which can be used for the safeguarding of endangered languages and cultures.

During a stay in Siberia, local linguists told us about the history of the Yakut language. They mentioned the fact that the first written information on this language could be found in the book *North and East Tartary*, published in 1692 by the Dutch author Nicolaas Witsen. In 2010, a Russian translation of this book appeared, whereas in 2018, a team of scholars completed a separate volume devoted to the study of all 26 language samples in Witsen's book, entitled *The Fascination with Inner-Eurasian Languages in the 17th Century*. The volume contains articles on these languages, such as Yakut, Nenets, Evenki, Selkup and Yukaghir.

In later times expeditions were sent to Eastern territories, where not only written reports, but also sound recordings were collected. Since 1995 many of these recordings form the basic collections in our collaboration projects with colleagues in Saint-Petersburg. In the programme *Voices of Tundra and Taiga* we combined the data from old sound recordings with the results of modern fieldwork, in order to describe the languages and cultures of ethnic groups in Russia. This information can be used for the preparation of text books on certain languages, collections of folklore, data on ethnomusicology and for the study of language contact, language change and migration movements.

The Foundation for Siberian Cultures has as one of its objectives the preservation of the indigenous languages of the Russian Federation and the ecological knowledge expressed in them. Scholars have travelled to Russia's Far East since the 18th century. Their descriptions republished in a digital library are still considered among the most important ethnographic documentations of the local indigenous peoples. These publications respond to the pressing need of local communities to sustain their cultural heritage. They provide useful materials for anthropological and linguistic research.

Thursday, 29 August 2024

Northern Pacific Rim Substratum Interference in Japonic, Koreanic and Tungusic

| *Martine Robbeets (MPI-GEA)*

Even if the common origin of the Transeurasian— i.e., Japonic, Koreanic, Tungusic, Mongolic, and Turkic — languages remains a controversial issue (Vovin 2021, Tian et al. 2021, Janhunen 2023), there is considerable evidence that these languages constitute not only a structurally homogeneous but also a genealogically related unity (Starostin et al. 2003, Robbeets 2005, 2015, Blažek 2019, Robbeets et al. 2022). This linguistic heritage is mirrored by a common cultural package related to the spread of millet agriculture as well as by a shared genetic component of so-called Amur ancestry (Robbeets et al. 2021).

Ainu and Nivkh, two languages of the Northern Pacific Rim, have been regarded as marginal pockets of earlier structural types whose lineages became isolated by the large-scale language spreads in Eurasia (Bickel et al. 2016). Before the arrival of Transeurasian farmers in the Southern Primorye and on the Koreanic peninsula, the region was inhabited by hunter-gatherer-fishers of Amur ancestry, some of them probably speaking Amuric, the language ancestral to Nivkh. Similarly, before the arrival of Proto-Japonic on the Japanese Archipelago, the local inhabitants were of Jomon genetic ancestry and engaged in hunting, gathering, fishing and some small-scale cultivation. Some of them may have been speakers of Ainuic, the language ancestral to Ainu.

It is against this background that the research question takes shape: Is there evidence for language shift, whereby some of the ancestral speakers of Ainu and Nivkh abandoned their native language in favor of a Transeurasian target language such as proto-Tungusic, proto-Koreanic and/or proto-Japonic? In other words, is it possible to establish substratum interference in these languages under influence of the ancestral states of Ainu and Nivkh?

In order to address this question, I will compare structural features of the languages concerned in addition to identifying potential prehistorical loanwords for marine and agricultural subsistence. Moreover, I will consider some archaeological and genetic signals of admixture, which may increase the credibility and validity of the linguistic evidence for Northern Pacific Rim substratum interference in the Transeurasian languages.

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Prehistoric lexical borrowings on the southern edge of the North Pacific Rim ecological zone

| *Bingcong Deng (MPI-GEA)*

This presentation aims to investigate the ecological lexical exchanges on the southern edge of the North Pacific Rim in prehistory, with a focus on the domains of plant use, animal husbandry, and riverine/maritime vocabularies. The contemporaneous language families resided on the Northern included Sinitic (Sino-Tibetan), Japonic, Koreanic, and Tungusic (Transeurasian). The early language contact among speech communities was explored in a number of literature, including Kamei (1954), Coati (1992), Miyake (1997), Oh (2005), Beckwith (2010), Eom (2015), and Shimunek (2017). These publications rarely discuss the lexical exchange and its relation to the ecological environment that was important to the populations. Therefore, this research aims at answering the following research questions.

- (1) What were the ecological lexical items that were borrowed between Sinitic and its Transeurasian neighbours?
- (2) What can we infer from the borrowings about the nature of relationship among the speakers?
- (3) To what extent does ecology affect the lexical exchange among the speech communities living on the south of the North Pacific Rim?

In order to answer these questions, a lexical borrowing database is collected on the basis of the literature mentioned above, emphasizing on the loans related to the ecological zone in question. Three semantic domains were differentiated: botany (5 items), animal husbandry (1 item), and riverine/maritime (6 items). The borrowing candidates are evaluated according to four criteria: phonetic match, semantic match, cultural context, and clusterability. The loans which received a "passing grade" will be accepted as a highly-likely borrowing.

The preliminary results show that the domain with the largest number of accepted loans is riverine/maritime, and the languages that were in more contact suggested by the number of accepted loans were Sinitic and Japonic. As Sinitic and Japonic speakers were most likely to have different ecological environments around them (inland versus coastal), these findings suggest that ecology played an essential role in affecting the quantity of lexical exchange as well as the category of lexical items being exchanged. This research provides a linguistic perspective of the cultural interaction among different speech communities, as well as the early interaction of these populations with their ecological environment.

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The Anthropocene Engine at Sea: Histories of Marine Food Exploitation in Japan and Iberia

| *Mark Hudson (MPI-GEA) and Irene M. Muñoz Fernández (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)*

What role did fishing and other marine resource use by humans play in the 'Anthropocene engine', the historical processes leading to the emergence and expansion of the Anthropocene? Many archaeologists and ecologists have proposed that agriculture was a key driver of land-use transformations since the Neolithic, although research has also looked at urbanisation, trade and colonialism (Boivin et al. 2016; Ellis et al. 2021; Aram and Yun-Casalilla 2014). Although human use of marine resources has a deep antiquity, it underwent significant transformations over time. In the Neolithic, many societies saw an apparent decline in fishing with the onset of farming. From the Bronze Age, trade in preserved fish was associated with urbanisation (Hudson and Muñoz Fernández 2023) and this trend continued in the growth of Atlantic fisheries in the early modern period. The period since around 1900 has seen a further remarkable transformation in commercial fishing. In Europe, seafood consumption tripled in the twentieth century (Holm et al. 2024). The latter trend might be seen as a result of industrialisation, for example with respect to technology (motorised vessels, refrigeration etc), urbanisation and changing dietary customs, but further research on long-term histories of marine resource use is needed.

In this talk we will discuss histories of fishing and their socio-economic drivers, taking Japan and Iberia as case studies. The talk will consider a number of topics relevant to the workshop, including (1) continuity

and change in structures of marine resource exploitation with respect to socio-economic factors such as population growth and urbanisation; (2) relationships with climate change and resource over-exploitation; (3) ecological globalisation and changing patterns of commodity 'branding' (cf. Wengrow 2008), as seen for instance in the limited targeting of particular species; and (4) the relationship between fishing and agricultural sustainability, especially with respect to common arguments in the Japanese literature that seafood consumption reduced the negative environmental impacts associated with livestock raising in many Eurasian societies.

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Ecology and the Yukaghir-Uralic Relationship

Peter Piispanen (Stockholm University) and Václav Blažek (Masaryk University, Brno)

In our monograph *Yukaghir and Uralic* (Gorgias Press 2024) we try to demonstrate the genealogical relationship between two language families, Yukaghir and Uralic, on the basis of a corpus consisting of 360 lexical comparisons between Yukaghir and at least two Uralic subbranches. Concerning the grammatical comparison, we plan to devote to it a special study. In the book we also discuss the question of hypothetical interference between Yukaghir and the Uralic languages located in Siberia, namely Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric. We judge that such contacts could really have taken place and we ourselves find some new comparisons supporting their existence. But it would be impossible to explain the entirety of the comparative material in this way. Accepting both scenarios, the distant genealogical relationship between both the families later contacts between some of their parts, we think that the time is right to apply the standard method of linguistic palaeontology to the hypothetical common Yukaghir-Uralic protolanguage, although now we do no longer try to reconstruct it. This approach has usually been based on an analysis of the ecological lexicon, especially the zoological and botanical terminology. Confronting these results with palaeozoological and palaeobotanical distributions of studied species, we are able to determine the probable territory of the protolanguage. We have collected 33 terms belonging to the category 'Zoological terminology' and 26 terms from the category 'Botanical terminology'.

Prehistoric Language Connections around the Northern Pacific Rim

| *Michael Fortescue (University of Copenhagen)*

TBA

Chukotko-Kamchatkan in Contact: The View from the Linguistic Evidence

| *Jessica Kantarovich (The Ohio State University)*

Northeastern Siberia has long been a perplexing region for those looking to reconstruct historical and sociolinguistic relationships among its diverse languages and peoples. The genetic and areal status of the Paleosiberian languages, a geographic group that includes Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Yeniseian, Nivkh, and Yukaghir, has been particularly challenging in light of seemingly contradictory archaeological, genetic (Pugach et al. 2016), and linguistic evidence. This paper considers the available linguistic evidence about the position of Chukotko-Kamchatkan in the region, focusing on the implications of linguistic resemblances between the Chukotkan languages and their neighbors, and the conclusions we can draw within theories of language contact about the ultimate source of these similarities (genetic relatedness, contact-induced change, or typologically-predictable parallel developments). In particular, I examine purported morphosyntactic areal features such as polysynthesis, ergativity, and noun incorporation and show that, despite what we might expect from the reconstructed population movements and known intermixing between different ethnic groups, the linguistic influence of contact within Chukotkan and from Chukotkan on its neighbors is relatively superficial, especially compared with confirmed linguistic areas or Sprachbünde. Although there have been several proposals linking Chukotko-Kamchatkan to neighboring families at great time depths, most notably with Yukaghir and Inuit-Yupik (Fortescue 1998; Fortescue & Vajda 2022) and Nivkh (Fortescue 2011), the nature of the resemblant linguistic features is much more in line with recent borrowing or independent parallel developments than long-standing, intensive language contact (Kantarovich 2019; Kantarovich 2024). While the linguistic facts are perplexing given what is known about the Chukchi language's role as a lingua franca and the Chukchi people's tendency to absorb other ethnic groups, they may provide information about the historical nature of language use and interaction in northeastern Siberia.

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Paleoecology, Biogeographic Adaption, and the Development of Early Aleut During the Neoglacial

Anna Berge (University of Alaska Fairbanks), Ben Potter (University of Alaska Fairbanks) and Matthew Wooler (University of Alaska Fairbanks)

The period from about 4800-3600 BP is crucial in understanding the genesis and development of Unangam Tunuu (UT). Linguistic evidence for a sharp split in the very early part of this period comes from a comparison of UT and Yupik/Inuit terms for flora, fauna, and terms for fishing technology, among others. The overwhelming majority of these terms are non-cognate between UT and Yupik/Inuit, even when the referents are common to all areas; at the same time there is also evidence of early borrowings from Dene into Aleut (prehistoric UT) of land-based fauna and flora. This correlates well with the timing of the shift from a terrestrially oriented subsistence lifestyle of the Asian Belkachi hunter-gatherers to one focused on coastal sealing, and with the timing of their arrival and very rapid dispersal throughout coastal Alaska. These major lifeways shifts and migrations of early Eskaleut populations correspond to changing climate conditions in the Bering Straits terrestrial and marine ecosystems associated with the Neoglacial. Numerous paleoecological records from both the marine and terrestrial realms point to notable changes in precipitation, temperature, volcanic activity and sea-ice during the mid-Holocene. The migration of peoples to the Bering Sea coasts and early divergence into Proto-Inupiaq-Yupik and Proto-Aleut can be understood as biogeographic adaptations.

New Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of the Southern Athabaskan Languages

Willem de Reuse (The Language Conservancy, Bloomington, Indiana, USA)

External evidence that the Southern Athabaskan (Southern Dene, or Apachean) languages came from the North is easy to come by, since the wide variety of Athabaskan/Dene languages still located in central Alaska and northern Canada is powerful evidence, even without corroboration from genetics or archeology.

In a seminal paper, Edward Sapir (1936) suggests that there is also internal linguistic evidence for the northern origin of the Navajo language, the best documented Apachean language. Although this evidence is widely quoted (Seymour 2012, Rice 2012, Gordon 2012, Shaul 2014), it is not unproblematic. For example, the Navajo word for 'corn/maize' naadáą́ was hypothesized by Sapir as a compound of naa- 'enemy' and -dáą́ 'food' thus: 'enemy food', referring to a time when the Navajos were unfamiliar with corn/maize. However, comparison with Apache cognates does not support the hypothesis that the naa-

element actually means 'enemy'.

In this presentation, I will provide additional evidence for the northern origins of Apachean languages. The focus will not be on negative evidence, i.e. the fact that Apachean languages all have lost Proto-Athabaskan etyma for northern items such as 'canoe' and 'snowshoe', or northern animals such as 'caribou' or 'moose' (Leer 2011), but rather on ancient borrowings which can be demonstrated to originate in two Puebloan language families with a long presence in the Southwest, Kiowa-Tanoan, which provided the word for 'deer' to Apachean, and Keresan, which provided two southern plant names to Apachean, 'beeweed' (*Cleome serrulata*), and 'banana yucca' (*Yucca baccata*).