Makah texts and analysis

Matthew Davidson and Adam Werle
California State University, Long Beach and the University of Victoria

We present four short texts in Makah (qʷíqʷídiččaq), from two native speakers. The texts include family history, prayers, and a joke, and are presented in Makah with sentence-by-sentence translation into English, and, for one text, full interlinear morphological analysis. These serve also as a vehicle for an overview of the grammar, in the form of comments linked to specific words and constructions. In this respect, we follow the format used by Sapir (1924) and Swadesh and Swadesh (1933) to describe related Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) and Ditidaht (Nitinah), but focus here on topics of interest in Makah. We hope that this addresses the dearth of textual material on Makah, which represents a significant gap in its documentation.

1 Introduction

Makah, or qʷíqʷídiččaq, is the southernmost of the Wakashan languages, and the only one native to what is now the United States. About half of current tribal members reside in and around Neah Bay (diyar), on the northwest Olympic Peninsula of Washington State. Although Makah is no longer spoken natively, there are still six to ten semi-speakers who were raised in the language, more than a hundred with beginning to intermediate language skills, and an active Makah Language Program based at the Makah Cultural and Research Center (Maria Pascua, p.c.).

Makah exhibits several unique properties among the closely related Southern Wakashan languages, which also include Ditidaht (diidiitidq, Nitinaht), and numerous dialects of Nuu-chah-nulth (nuučaan̓utl, quuquuʔaca, ʔaata’aqsapa, Nootka), of which the best studied are Tseshah, Ahousaht, and Kyuquot. For example, Makah is the only Southern Wakashan language to fully retain etymological *q qʷ, and to have fully lost the glottalized

We are very grateful, first, to our consultants Ruth Claplanhoo, Helma Swan Ward, and other Makah Elders, who have shown remarkable patience and dedication in working with us to preserve their language. We would also like to thank the staff and administration of the Makah Cultural and Research Center for their trust and generous assistance, and especially Maria Pascua for helpful comments and direction. Only the authors are responsible for any errors in this work.
resonants *m n ɬ w y*. Further, only Makah has possessive clitics, and may have the richest demonstrative system (see 2.2, comments 12, 18).

Nevertheless, apart from Gill and Renker (1992), there is a lack of published textual work on Makah, despite a tradition of work on its structural properties, especially Jacobsen (1968 et seq.), as well as Gill and Renker (1985), Renker and Gill (1985, 1986), Renker (1987), Davidson (1998, 2002, in progress), and Werle (2002, 2007). This article is an attempt to address this gap in the documentation of the language.

Here, we present and analyze four short texts in Makah, as told by the late Ruth Claplanhoo and Helma Swan Ward, who were the last living native speakers of Makah. Both of these ladies were well respected in their community and elsewhere, and are remembered fondly for their work to preserve their culture and language.

Ruth and Helma were born in 1902 and 1918, respectively, representing two generations that lived during the time when monolingual Makah speakers lived side by side with monolingual English speakers, bilinguals, and semi-speakers. We may get a sense of the Makah of that time from Colson’s observations on the speech community of the 1940s:

> When people in their twenties attempt to speak Makah, they are usually understood only by older members of their own families who are accustomed to their distortion of the language. Although probably all over forty speak a Makah adequate for ordinary conversational purposes, the older people laugh at them for corrupting Makah to bring it closer to English in pronunciation and grammar. But even some of the old people admit that they do not speak Makah correctly. (Colson 1953: 54)

Besides presenting these texts from Ruth and Helma, we take this opportunity to present an introductory overview of the grammar, in the form of grammatical comments indexed to particular morphemes and constructions in the first text. In this respect, we follow Sapir (1924) and Swadesh and Swadesh (1933), who used this format in their presentations of Nuu-chah-nulth and Ditidaht, respectively.

Following this introduction, sections 2 through 5 present four short texts, of which the first two are informal family histories, while The louse is a joke, and the last text combines two personal prayers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>section</th>
<th>text</th>
<th>speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>In 1918</td>
<td>Ruth Claplanhoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Indian Shakers</td>
<td>Ruth Claplanhoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The louse</td>
<td>Helma Swan Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Prayers</td>
<td>Helma Swan Ward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first text is given a full interlinear analysis, and provides a context for our overview of grammatical topics. There is no conclusion.

2 In 1918

2.1 Analyzed text

In this first text, Ruth Claplanhoo talks about her memories of the year 1918, when World War I ended, and she first went to boarding school.

(1) ʔiɣaxaʔs skuʔeʔis.
ʔiɣaxa1 = ‘aʔ = s3 skuʔa4-eʔis5
be.ʔat = NOW = INDIC.1SG school-going.to
‘I was going to school there.’

(2) wiʔibaqstíʔitduʔ duʔwíqsuʔitdis.
wiʔibaʔ-aqstíʔ6 = ‘it6 = duʔ5 duʔwíqsuʔ10 = (b)it11 = dis12
angry -inside.MOM = PINV = 1PL father = PAST = POSS.1PL
‘Our father got angry at us.’

(3) ʔu-duʔʔiʔxitíʔit Tacoma.
ʔu13-a-duʔ = ‘aʔ = it14 = id ?u-ca15 -yaʔp16 = ‘it
X -because = NOW = PINV = INDIC.1PL X -go.to-CAUS.MOM = PINV
Tacoma
Tacoma
‘And this is why he sent us to Tacoma (boarding school).’

(4) ʔiɣaxaʔaxʔid ?uʔc teʔiʔpalʔaʔ.
ʔiɣaxa-ʔx17 = ‘aʔ = id ?uʔc18 teʔiʔ19 -pal20 -ʔiʔ21 = ‘aʔ
be.ʔat -while = NOW = INDIC.1PL there sick -time.of-MOM = NOW
‘We were there (when) the time of sickness began.’

(5) qaʔx=aʔ=ʔaxadʔal qʷiuyeq hiyuʔ=ʔaʔ diʔaʔk.
qaʔx -kʷa22 -čiʔ = [L + S]23 = ‘aʔ ʔaxadʔal24 qʷiuyeq25 = qeqyeq26
dead-apart-MOM-GRAD = NOW very when = COND.3SG
hiyuʔ = ‘aʔ diʔaʔk
finish = NOW fighting
‘Many started dying when they stopped fighting (after the war).’

(6) ʔaʔasub ?uʔsiyuʔʔaʔʔu yalaʔxeys skuʔl.
ʔaʔasubaʔ27 ?u-siyuʔx28 = ‘aʔ = (b)u29 = ṭi
eight X -die.MOM = NOW = PAST = INDIC.3SG
yalaʔ30 -ʔx = qeq31 = s skuʔa
where-while = COND = 1SG school
‘Eight passed away where I was going to school.’
(7)    ?uʁśsuʔqstʔa. duʔwiqsubitDIS sukʷʔeʔaʔIsaʔitduʔ wals?qaʔatitduʔ
    ?uʁʔ -k(ʔ)suʔqstʔaʔ32 = 'aʔI. duʔwiqsuʔ = (b)it = dis
some-in.body.MOM = NOW  father = PAST = POSS.1PL
    suʔ -kʷʔeʔaʔI.eʔisi = 'aʔI  = 'it  = du:
get-MOM-going.to = NOW = PINV = 1PL
    walʔ -sap33 = 'aʔI  = 'it  = du:
go.home-CAUS.MOM = NOW = PINV = 1PL
    ?u-aʔduʔa. ?uʁʔ -k(ʔ)suʔqʔaʔI = ù34 duʔbeʔyu
    x  -because some-in.mind = SUBOR  always
'Our father got worried, (so) he came to get us and brought us
    home because he was always worried.'

(8)    wiʔaʔitdiʔš teʔiʔšiʔa.  
    wik35 = 'aʔI  = (b)it = dis36  teʔiʔ-šiʔaʔ37
not = NOW = PAST = ASSER.1PL  sick -MOM
'But we didn’t get sick.'

(9)    waʔšʔaʔaʔI duʔ wikaʔaʔI duʔ huʔiʔy.  
    walʔ -šiʔa = 'aʔI  = du:  wik = 'aʔI  = du:  hu -ʔiʔa
    go.home-MOM = NOW = 1PL  not = NOW = 1PL  again-get.to.be.at
'We went home and never went back.'

2.2 Grammatical commentary

In this section, we offer a number of grammatical comments on the
preceding text, indexed to particular words and morphemes in the manner
of endnotes, following the format established by Sapir (1924) and Swadesh
and Swadesh (1933). We make frequent reference to Jacobsen’s work, and
to Davidson’s (2002) dissertation, abbreviating the latter SSWG. Together,
these comments serve as an introduction to Makah grammar.

1 ʔiyaʔa ‘be at’, a transitive locational verb, here used, rather
    atypically, with no expressed object. For the more typical construction with
    overt object, see sentence (4).

2 = 'aʔI, the so-called “temporal specifier” clitic, usually translated
    (when at all) as ‘now, then, at that time’. Although the exact conditions of
    use of this very common clitic in discourse are as yet unclear (SSWG 306), it
    seems to have to do with a change in situation, such that the clause marked
    with = 'aʔI denotes a different state or event from a previous one, e.g.
    ʔiyaʔaʔaʔI  ‘I was there (and hadn’t been before)’.

    The symbol = ‘ indicates a “hardening” clitic, that is, a clitic that
    glottalizes preceding stop or affricate consonants (Jacobsen 1996, SSWG 78-
    82). Between short vowels, hardening is unrealized, yielding vowel
    coalescence, e.g. underlying /a = 'a/ coalesces to surface long a.'
The forms in the first column are used in intransitive clauses, or with third person singular non-subjects. The other columns show forms for various person-number combinations of subject and non-subject. We say “non-subjects”, rather than “objects”, because Makah marks certain oblique or adjunct participants with these forms as well (SSWG 100-101).

Makah is a predicate-initial language with flexible ordering of following subject and object NPs, if present. The predicate consists of (i) an obligatory predicate head, (ii) clitics coding tense, mood, and pronominal indexes, among other clause-level categories, and (iii) one or two optional predicate modifiers, e.g. particles like yurqʷaˈr ‘also’ and yuryw ‘for a while’. Words of most syntactic categories are able to function as predicate head. In this sentence, the predicate consists of ʔiyaʔa as head with two attached clitics, the temporal specifier =ˈʔa, and the first person singular Indicative mood-pronominal clitic =s. See SSWG (91-159) for a grammatical sketch of Southern Wakashan, with many Makah examples.

4. skurla ‘school’. The non-etymological final vowel prevents violation of a phonotactic restriction against voiceless or glottalized consonants—here, /l/—in underlying syllable codas (Jacobsen 1971). The phonotactic effects of such “glottalic” or “adducted” consonants are pervasive in both Makah and Ditidaht (Swadesh and Swadesh 1933, Jacobsen 1971, Werle 2007).

5. ˈeʔís ‘going to’ ordinarily indicates either purposive motion (‘going in order to’) or future time reference rather than pure motion:
bišišēʔis ‘going to rain’. This reading holds even when the suffix attaches
to a noun: waqitēʔis ‘tadpole, lit. going to be a frog’ (rather than ‘going to a
frog’). Its use here suffixed to a noun in a quasi-motion sense suggests that
sku’laʔeʔis is a calque from English ‘going to school’. See sentence (7) for an
example of -'eʔis in its purposive motion meaning.

The symbol -' indicates a hardening suffix, similar in phonological
effect to a hardening clitic (Jacobsen 1996, SSWG 78-80). The length
symbol /:/ in citation forms indicates a “persistently” long vowel, i.e. a
vowel that does not shorten the third and later syllables of the word, unlike
ordinary vowels, which do shorten in this environment (SSWG 28-32). The
presence of this long vowel results in the hardening sign being realized as a
glottal stop. Compare the vowel coalescence in /ʔiʔaxa = 'aʔ/ ʔiʔaxaʔaʔa.

6 wiʔiba ‘angry’ in unsuffixed form predicates this state of emotion of
females. Addition of the locative suffix ‘inside’ to this root predicates anger
of males, as in this example. Many emotion and cognition roots are
differentiated for gender in this manner, although different formal means
are used with different roots. For example, čawiq- ‘sad, lonely’ takes -'aqƛ.
for males, but -(k)suqƛ ‘in the body’ for a woman: čawiqʔaqƛ ‘sad (said of a
man)’, čawiqsuqƛ ‘sad (said of a woman)’.

7 -aqtʕa, post-vocalic allomorph of the Momentaneous aspect form
of -'aqƛ ‘inside’. Aspect is an important grammatical category in Southern
Wakashan. Quite a bit of work has been done on the subject (see Swadesh
1931, Rose 1981, SSWG, Davidson in progress). Various uncertainties,
however, remain. “Momentaneous” aspect forms have perfective aspectual
value (Rose 1981: 259, SSWG 218-221). Attached to stative bases like
‘angry,’ Momentaneous aspect indicates change of state.

Momentaneous is marked in several ways. The most common is
with a suffix that occurs in a number of allomorphs (SSWG 227, see
comment 21). A few suffixes like -'aqƛ have special Momentaneous forms.
Finally, certain roots and suffixes have inherent Momentaneous value, e.g.
wahak ‘go’, -siyʔa ‘die’ (see comment 28).

8 = 'it, the passive-inverse clitic, is used here because third person
(‘our father’) is acting on first person (‘us’). Pronominal indexing of
participants in Makah respects two hierarchies, a person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3
and a topicality hierarchy more topical > less topical. If the Undergoer
argument outranks the Actor argument on either of these hierarchies, = 'it
must be used (Jacobsen 1973: 2-4, Davidson 1998, SSWG 309-314).

9 = duʔ, first person plural “absolute” clitic. Absolute predicates
take one of the following clitics (Jacobsen 1973, SSWG 256-257):
(11) Absolutive clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Non-subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3SG)</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>= si:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>= du:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3SG)</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>= su:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>= sa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3SG)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>= Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>= 'ał</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absolute, rather than Indicative, is typical of narrative style. In this text, however, Ruth alternates between the more conversational Indicative and the narrative Absolute with no obvious pattern.

10 *durwïqsu* ‘father’. Kinship roots are a special class of ‘composite’ root (SSWG 176-177), i.e. free roots consisting of an initial bound radical element plus a semantically empty formative suffix. The suffix -(ʔ)ïqsu occurs only with kinship roots.

11 = *(b)it*, past tense clitic. Past tense occurs on nouns to indicate ‘former, deceased, late’, so this word translates more fully as ‘our late father’. For more on = *(b)it*, see comment 29.

12 = dis, first person plural possessive clitic. The full paradigm is as follows (Jacobsen 1973: 20-21, SSWG 299-300):

(12) Possessive clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>= sis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>= sic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>= 'u:c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 *ʔut*-, a so-called “empty” root. The analysis of this family-wide root is not settled. One school of thought, represented by Sapir (1924) and Swadesh (1939) for Tseshahit Nuu-chah-nulth, and SSWG for Tseshahit and Makah, sees it as an endophoric (i.e. discourse-internal) indexical pointing either anaphorically or cataphorically to another, specific, element in the discourse. Others, e.g. Wojdak (2005) and Woo (2007), analyzing Ahousaht Nuu-chah-nulth, see it as a dummy morpheme, an expletive employed as morphological filler when no more contentful root is used. We have yet to be persuaded by either view, and leave the matter open.

14 = *'it*, passive-inverse “copied” leftward from *ʔucayeʔit*. Such copying of this clitic from a “downstream” transitive predicate head to a
preceding predicate modifier or coreferential predicate head in the same sentence is common (Jacobsen 1973: 4, SSWG 254, see comment 8).

-\textit{ca-} ‘go to’, verbalizing suffix of motion. Makah, like other Wakashan languages, has several hundred derivational suffixes including verbalizing, nominalizing, and locative suffixes, as well as other types (see comments 7, 20, 32). They are noteworthy not only for their abundance, but also for their rich semantics. Their meanings often approximate the meanings of nouns, verbs, or whole phrases in other languages. Some other verbalizing suffixes are \textit{-t}i\textit{ya} ‘get to be at’ in (9), \textit{-k}\textit{a}t ‘making’, \textit{-dark} ‘having’, \textit{-\textcircled{xwa}t} ‘using’, and \textit{-\textcircled{a}d}i ‘making ... sound’.

Beginning with Rose (1981), some, including SSWG, began referring to these Wakashan suffixes as “lexical suffixes” after similar suffixes in Salish languages. We now feel this to be overreaching. Wakashan suffixes are not in the end actually very similar \textit{grammatically} to Salish lexical suffixes, so using the same term for both is misleading.

-\textit{yap,} Momentaneous Causative suffix. Causative marking has become wrapped up with Momentaneous in Southern Wakashan, such that when the two categories cooccur, they appear as one fused suffix. This is the causative form of the non-causative Momentaneous allomorph \textit{-c\textcircled{\textsl{i}}\textsl{a}.}

-\textit{\textcircled{x} ‘while, all the while’} attaches to predicates to indicate simultaneity with another event. It is particularly common with locational predicates. Rose (1981: 332-334) offers an enlightening discussion of the Kyuquot cognate of this morpheme that appears to apply to Makah as well.

\?\textit{uxc,} shortened form of \textit{\textcircled{u}x\textcircled{c}a?\textcircled{a}}, distal ‘selective’ demonstrative ‘that one (of those)’. Makah demonstratives have locative adverbial as well as pronominal and adnominal uses, so this example translates as ‘that place there’. Compared to the kind of analysis we now know it is possible to wring out of demonstrative systems—see Hanks (1990) for 500-plus pages on deixis in Yucatec Mayan—knowledge of Makah deixis is lamentably shallow, limited to basic glosses augmented by a few suggestive comments on usage offered by native speakers (principally Helma for Davidson).

The Makah demonstrative system is something like this:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{ Demonstratives }
  \begin{itemize}
    \item unmarked \textit{ti} ‘this’ \textit{\textcircled{x}u} ‘that’
    \item emphatic \textit{tida} ‘this!’ \textit{\textcircled{x}uda} ‘that!’
    \item selective \textit{ti\textcircled{c}a?\textcircled{a}} ‘this one’ \textit{\textcircled{u}x\textcircled{c}a?\textcircled{a}} ‘that one’
    \item near \textit{ti\textcircled{\textcircled{a}}\textcircled{a}} ‘this’ —
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

We write “proximal” and “distal” in quotes because it is not clear that distance is the only semantic distinction between these categories. The proximal does seem to basically mean ‘near speaker’, but the distal forms

\textbf{13}
have some further subtle value apart from pure distance, although the referent does have to be at some distance from the speaker.

As for the other deictic distinctions, the “selective” forms are used when the speaker is pointing out one of a group of objects. The near proximal is used when the item is very close to the speaker, almost in hand. This is obviously incompatible with the distal system. The -da in the emphatic forms is almost certainly related to the Nuu-chah-nulth attention-getting interjection ne ‘hey!’, which gives some idea of their meaning. Another means of expressing adnominal deixis in Makah involves “deictic extenders” that can be added to the article clitic (not attested in this text): čítur ‘war club’, čítur = iq ‘the war club’, čítur = iq-ard ‘this war club’.

19 teʔil ‘sick’, etymologically an idiomatic collocation of the root ta- ‘drift’ plus locative suffix -il ‘in the house,’ but now apparently felt to be an unanalyzable root (see comment 37).

20 -pal ‘time, season of’, a nominalizing suffix. Some other nominalizing suffixes are -acis ‘surface for’ (tiqʷ-acis ‘chair,’ lit. ‘sitting surface’), -(k)sac ‘container for’ (ča-kṣac ‘water container’), and -(k)sil ‘medicine for’ (wasaq-sil ‘cough medicine’).

21 -sīl, the most common allomorph of the Momentaneous aspect suffix. Addition of Momentaneous aspect to a nominal or nominalized base like teʔilpal ‘time of sickness’ results in inchoative or change-of-state meaning: it began to be the time of sickness’.

22 -kʷa- restrictive suffix that literally means ‘apart’, ‘dispersed’, or ‘in pieces’—e.g. kac-kʷa-yaʔ ‘pull, tear sth apart with the fingers’—but is often used, as here, in an extended sense as ‘used up, spent, destroyed’.

23 The notation [L+S] indicates lengthening of the first base vowel and shortening of the second, if not already short, to mark Gradative aspect. Gradative is applied to Momentaneous bases to indicate secondary imperfectivization, e.g. Momentaneous qaʔ-kʷa-čīl ‘die off’ (perfective), Gradative qaʔ-kʷa-čīl ‘dying off’ (imperfective) (SSWG 230-231).

24 ħaʔadʔal, predicate intensifier ‘very much, a lot, do in a big way’. A more literal translation of this sentence would be ‘they really started dying off in a big way when’. This word is probably a predicate modifier, as described in SSWG 106-109.

25 qʷiyu ‘when’, a root forming temporal relative clauses, probably consisting etymologically of the relative root qʷi- plus the restrictive temporal suffix -yu ‘at the time of’. Relative roots must be accompanied by either Relative mood or Conditional mood (see comment 26). These roots include (cf. Swadesh 1939: 98 for Tseshaht Nuu-chah-nulth):

| (14) Relative roots | Nominal | qʷi | ‘who, whatever’ |
| Nominal | yaqʷ | ‘he who, that which’ |
| Verbal | qʷis | ‘do as’ |
Temporal | q"iyu | ‘when’
“Adjectival” | q"a, q"a | ‘such as, thus’
Locational | yal(a) | ‘where’
Quantity | ?ada, ?adi, ?adu | ‘as much, as many as’

26 = qeyu, third person singular Conditional mood clitic. Conditional mood consists of = qey followed by a set of pronominal indexes almost identical to the “absolutive” pronominals shown in comment 9 (Jacobsen 1973: 25, SSWG 262), except third person singular, which consists of this fused form. The Conditional is often used with relative clauses. The specific force is not clear, but seems to function like the indefinite article in English, in keeping with its occasional use with nouns, qidiƛ = qey ‘a dog’.

27 ?aƛasuba ‘two’ is ?aƛa ‘two’ plus the verbalizing suffix -suba ‘needing, lacking’. Thus, ‘eight’ is literally ‘needing two (to make ten)’.

28 -siyƛ, ‘die’, Momentaneous verbalizing suffix. Another, similar suffix was recorded from Helma as -siw: ‘die’, causative -siwiyap ‘kill’.

29 = (b)u, an allomorph of past tense = (b)it that precedes second and third person singular pronominal clitics. Note that although the story narrates past events, there is only one other clause marked past. Past narration in Makah, as across Southern Wakashan, generally proceeds with little or no past tense marking. The parentheses indicate an initial consonant that deletes following consonants (SSWG 69-70). See sentence (8) for an example of the = (b)it allomorph with the initial deleted.

30 yal(a), locational relative root (see comment 25). The morphological status of the final /a/ is uncertain. Most forms lack final /a/, e.g. yal-ca-čiƛ ‘where one is going’, yal-saʔatiʔi ‘where one sits by the door’.

31 = qey, Conditional mood clitic. As mentioned in comments 3 and 26, most moods consist of a mood clitic followed by a pronominal clitic. Here we see the transparent breakdown of = qey plus pronominal = s.

32 ?uršurqƛ, literally ‘having something in mind’, but used idiomatically to mean ‘worried’. As mentioned in comment 6, many emotion and cognition expressions are differentiated for gender. This one is not.

33 -sap, the Momentaneous Causative form of the most common non-causative Momentaneous allomorph, -šiƛ.

34 = ƛ, apparently the third person singular Subordinate mood clitic, although this is an anomalous form. The Subordinate ordinarily consists of the Subordinate mood clitic = ƛ followed by an “absolutive” pronominal clitic (see comment 9) for first and second persons, but fused = qə: for third person singular. Subordinate mood is expected here because complements of ?urduƛ ‘because of’ take Subordinate mood: q"isibits ?urduƛ wiʔibaʔsi ‘I did it because I was angry’ (SSWG 153). The expected form in the present sentence would be ?urduƛ ?uršurqləqə ‘because he was worried’.

35 wik-, cross-classified negative marker, functioning here as a complement-taking predicate in the normal negative construction. The
complement (here, te?ilšiš) takes the form of a bare absolute complement, i.e. an absolute with no pronominal marking (SSWG 155-156).

36 = diš, first person plural Assertive mood clitic. The partially attested paradigm for intransitives (or with third person non-subjects) is:

(15) Assertive mood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*iciš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*iš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is unknown how the Assertive is formed with non-third-person non-subjects. This mood carries a strongly non-neutral pragmatic force (SSWG 290-291). It is likely used here in assertive contrast to the previous sentence: their father was always worrying, but they didn’t in fact get sick.

37 te?ilšiš, the root te?il plus Momentaneous -šiš. This form provides good evidence that te?il is now felt to be an unanalyzed whole, rather than an idiomatic combination of bound root plus suffix (see comments 19, 21). By contrast, in related Ditidaht and Nuu-chah-nulth we find Momentaneous tapiš (e.g. Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 182, line 29). The suffix -piš is the suppletive Momentaneous form of locative -šiš ‘in the house,’ suggesting that bound root and suffix are still analyzable. The corresponding Makah form, were te?il still analyzable, would be *tapaš.

3 Indian Shakers

In this text, Ruth Claplanhoo tells how she and her family became Shakers, and how this was related to her mother’s healing.

te?il?u ?abe·?iqsubitdis. qi·?aša. te?il
yubul ha?uk, ?aššiša.

?ušu·?aša. uu kuk·?i·qsubitdis
a?aw·?iya·?its Gallic.
—?usubə·dic hita·a·čiłatšiq—
wax·aššiši·.

?ušu·?išš?ašši·its ?ušc kabatsa·?ašsi·
yaqyeys. hiyo·?aša. ši·kas. ha?ukš?aša.

Our mother was sick. She was sick for a long time, unable to eat, turning up.

It was our youngest sister who went and told our uncle. Gallic approached me.

‘The Lord needs you,’ he told me.

And from then on I began to know where I was. And I quit shaking. And our mother started eating again, and didn’t throw up (again).

After the service, my mother ate, and
kept it down.

wikiʔ ʃiʔkasiqʔ uʔukʷaʔ ciʕuk, uʔuʔit hitaʔaˌciʔlatʃiq hitaʔqataʔa̱ki ciʕukbišiq. qʔaʔluʔu huʔeʔoy ʃiʔkas. wikaʔitdiš. wikaʔuʔušʔ aykiʔ.ʔidiʔqišʔu.

wikaʔits kabatap qʷiʔidʔałqeys uʔusub daʔuʔukʷaʔciʔitqeys hitaʔaˌciʔlatʃiq. ṭuqeyakaʔits teʔiʔiśʔa, aʔbeʔiʔiqsubidis.

kabatsaʔaʔlaši: qʷiʔidʔałqe dašuk hitaʔaˌciʔlatʃiq. ṭuʔoʔaʔlu duʔbaʔlidiš ʃiʔkašči.

daʔuʔukʷaλšʔaλ duʔwiqsubidis. hačseʔiʔaʔluʔu waʔaʔlaši:—hišu', ʃiʔkasčalica'. wʔaʔkalčičke bu'ʃce' bubuščaʔaʔp qʷaʔuʔəx. daʔuʔukʷaλeʔyikid—waʔaʔlašits duʔwiqsubidis.

and kept it down. It's not the shake the makes us tremble. It's the Lord who comes down and gives us the tremors.

There have been Shakers for a long time. We weren't (Shakers at first). There weren't many. There were just a few.

I didn't know how much I needed to be helped by the Lord. It was from that that our mother got sick.

Then I found out how strong God is. That's when we all became Shakers.

Our father followed us. He came and told me, 'Now you folks are Shakers. Don't you do bad things like that someday. We'll follow,' our father told me.

4 The louse

Here, Helma Swan Ward tells a joke about a man and a louse.

ʔaʔaʔaʔlałitwaʔd tiʔkaʔaʔ uʔuʔşxuʔx ciqšíičeʔisqey.

—ʔuʔuʔşxuʔxalčičke ciqšič!—waʔaλ. wikaʔit ciqšič, wikaʔit.

—ciqšičič!—waʔaλawaʔd. daʔaʔaʔaλawaʔd hup.

—ciqšič!—laʔuʔaλawaʔd hup.

—ciqšaλ ʃayaʔqatuk!—waʔaλitwaʔd. hup.

wikaʔit laʔuʔ, wiʔkiʔsaʔaλ laʔuʔ. dačaʔqataʔaλawaʔd. yaciʔiʔtʔaλ, yaciʔiʔtʔaλ.

This guy asked if any would speak.

‘Somebody speak!’ he said. No one spoke, no one.

‘Speak!’ he said. He heard huup (a high-pitched squeak).

‘Speak!’ Again, huup.

‘Speak louder!’ he said. Huup.

Again no one spoke to him, no one at all. He looked on it, stepped on it.
wì’ki’tsìíkuk. ya’labitwa’d ti’ka?a’.
suk’a?λ.

—ʔo’, q”a’bit ti’ka?a’. wì’kì’tuk ti’ka?a’
čìkyúp—wa’?aλ.
šu’.

There was this thing. He looked at it. It didn’t look like much. There this thing was. He picked it up.

‘Oh, that’s how it was. He didn’t have any guts,’ he said.

The end.

5 Prayers

In this, our last text, Helma Swan Ward recounts the prayers that she habitually recited in the morning and evening of every day.

The morning prayer

?ušu’yakš?alic ƛaʔu’suʔ hidi’sis łåx
?uk”iy ćustom, yaqa’qéys hùʔaƛ
tičʔiʔeʔis ti’kaʔa’ łåx ?uk”iy.

?ušu’yakš?alicis q”aʔ ti’kaʔa’.

Thank you for being this way for me.


Thank you, thank you.

The evening prayer

?ušu’yakš?alic hídi’sis łåx ?uk”iy,
yqa’bítik ƛuʔuʔapsuʔ dì’bey,
q”a’qéys ʔiyaƛ ti’kaʔa’,
huʔaƛ ƛiʔak
ʔiyaƛ k”ičʔiʔeʔiq’ad.


Thank you, thank you.

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Matthew Davidson
13.matt@gmail.com

Adam Werle
werle@uvic.ca