

Makah texts and analysis

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We present four short texts in Makah (*q^wi q^wi diččaq*), 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 *q^wi q^wi diččaq*, 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 (*dīya*), 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 (*diiditidq*, Nitinah), and numerous dialects of Nuu-chah-nulth (*nuučaariūt*, *quuquu?aca*, *iaaiaqsapa*, Nootka), of which the best studied are Tseshaht, Ahousaht, and Kyuquot. For example, Makah is the only Southern Wakashan language to fully retain etymological **q̣* *q̣^w*, 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 **m̄ n̄ l̄ w̄ ȳ*. 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:

section	text	speaker
2	In 1918	Ruth Claplanhoo
3	Indian Shakers	Ruth Claplanhoo
4	The louse	Helma Swan Ward
5	Prayers	Helma Swan Ward

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) *ʔiyaʒaʒs skuʔlaʔeʔis.*
*ʔiyaʒaʒ*¹ = 'aʒ² = s³ *skuʔlaʒ*⁴ = eʔis⁵
 be.at = NOW = INDIC.1SG school-going.to
 'I was going to school there.'
- (2) *wiʔibaqstiʒitdu duʔwiqsuʔbitdis.*
*wiʔibaʒ*⁶ - *aqstiʒ*⁷ = 'it⁸ = duʔ⁹ duʔwiqsu¹⁰ = (b)it¹¹ = dis¹²
 angry -inside.MOM = PINV = 1PL father = PAST = POSS.1PL
 'Our father got angry at us.'
- (3) *ʔuʔduʔaʒitid ʔucaʔyeʔit Tacoma.*
*ʔuʔ*¹³ - *aʒduʒ*¹⁴ = 'aʒ = 'it¹⁴ = id *ʔu* - *caʒ*¹⁵ - *yaʔp*¹⁶ = '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) *ʔiyaʒaʒaʒid ʔuʒc teʔiʔpaʒʒʔaʒ.*
ʔiyaʒa - *ʒ*¹⁷ = 'aʒ = id *ʔuʒc*¹⁸ *teʔiʔ*¹⁹ - *paʒ*²⁰ - *ʒiʒ*²¹ = 'aʒ.
 be.at -while = NOW = INDIC.1PL there sick -time.of-MOM = NOW
 'We were there (when) the time of sickness began.'
- (5) *qaʒkʒaʒʒaʒ ʒaʒadʔaʒ qʒiyuqey hiyuʔaʒ diʒaʒk.*
qaʒ - *kʒaʒ*²² - *ʒiʒ* - [L + S]²³ = 'aʒ *ʒaʒadʔaʒ*²⁴ *qʒiyu*²⁵ = *qeyu*²⁶
 dead-apart-MOM-GRAD = NOW very when = COND.3SG
hiyu = 'aʒ *diʒaʒk*
 finish = NOW fighting
 'Many started dying when they stopped fighting (after the war).'
- (6) *ʔaʒasub ʔusiyuʔaʒʒu yaʒaʒqeyʒ skuʔl.*
*ʔaʒasuba*²⁷ *ʔu* - *siyuʒ*²⁸ = 'aʒ = (b)u²⁹ = 'i
 eight X -die.MOM = NOW = PAST = INDIC.3SG
*yaʒa*³⁰ - *ʒ* = *qey*³¹ = s *skuʔla*
 where-while = COND = 1SG school
 'Eight passed away where I was going to school.'

- (7) ʔuʔsuʔqstʔaʕ duʔwiqsubitdis suk^wiʕeʔisaʕitduʔ waʕsaʔaʕitduʔ
 ʔuʔduʕ ʔuʔsuʔqʕʕ duʔbey.
 ʔuʔʕ -(k)suʔqstiʕ³² = 'aʕ duʔwiqsu = (b)it = dis
 some-in.body.MOM = NOW father = PAST = POSS.1PL
 su -k^wiʕ-ʔeʔis = 'aʕ = 'it = du:
 get-MOM-going.to = NOW = PINV = 1PL
 waʕ -sa:p³³ = 'aʕ = 'it = du:
 go.home-CAUS.MOM = NOW = PINV = 1PL
 ʔuʔ-aʔduʕ ʔuʔʕ -(k)suʔqʕ = ʕ³⁴ duʔbeyu
 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) wikaʕitdiʕ teʔiʕʕiʕ.
 wik³⁵ = 'aʕ = (b)it = diʕ³⁶ teʔiʕ-ʕiʕ³⁷
 not = NOW = PAST = ASSER.1PL sick -MOM
 'But we didn't get sick.'

- (9) waʕʔaʕduʔ wikaʕduʔ huʔiy.
 waʕ -ʕiʕ = 'aʕ = du: wik = 'aʕ = du: hu -ʔiya
 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 ʔiyaʕa '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 = 'aʕ, 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 = 'aʕ denotes a different state or event from a previous one, e.g. ʔiyaʕaʕs '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.

³ =s, first person singular Indicative mood clitic. Predicates in Makah are either mood-marked or “absolute”, i.e. unmarked for mood, depending on the syntactic construction (see SSWG 99-104 for details of Makah mood-pronominal marking). Indicative is the default mood for main predicates in conversational discourse. Indicative mood consists of a distinctive set of pronominal markers. Other moods consist of a mood clitic followed by pronominal clitic (see comment 26). The full paradigm of Indicative clitics is as follows (Jacobsen 1973, SSWG 260):

(10) Indicative clitics

	Subjects	Non-subjects			
		(3SG)	3PL	2SG	2PL
1SG	=s	=sa:l̥	=si:cuḥ	=so:wacuḥ	
1PL	=(i)d	=da:l̥	=di:cuḥ	=do:wacuḥ	
		(3SG)	3PL	1SG	1PL
2SG	=°ic	=°ica:l̥	=°icis(a:)	=°icdi:s(a:)	
2PL	=°ica:	—	=°ico:wasač	=°icdo:wasač	
		(3SG)			
3SG	=°i				
3PL	=°i:l̥				

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 *yurqʷa* ‘also’ and *yuryu* ‘for a while’. Words of most syntactic categories are able to function as predicate head. In this sentence, the predicate consists of *?iyaḥa* as head with two attached clitics, the temporal specifier =ʷa:l̥, 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 *skurʷla* ‘school’. The non-etymological final vowel prevents violation of a phonotactic restriction against voiced 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 -ʷe:ʔis ‘going to’ ordinarily indicates either purposive motion (‘going in order to’) or future time reference rather than pure motion:

biʕ.silʕeʔis ‘going to rain’. This reading holds even when the suffix attaches to a noun: *warqiteʔis* ‘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 *skuʕlaʔeʔis* is a calque from English ‘going to school’. See sentence (7) for an example of *-eʔis* in its purposive motion meaning.

The symbol *-ʔ* 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 */ʔiyaʕa = ʕaʕ/ ʔiyaʕaʕ*.

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 *-ʕaqʕ* for males, but *-(k)suʕqʕ* ‘in the body’ for a woman: *čawiqʕaqʕ* ‘sad (said of a man)’, *čawiqsuʕqʕ* ‘sad (said of a woman)’.

⁷ *-aqstʕ*, post-vocalic allomorph of the Momentaneous aspect form of *-ʕaqʕ* ‘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 *-ʕaqʕ* have special Momentaneous forms. Finally, certain roots and suffixes have inherent Momentaneous value, e.g. *wahak* ‘go’, *-siyuʕ* ‘die’ (see comment 28).

⁸ = *ʔit*, 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, = *ʔit* must be used (Jacobsen 1973: 2-4, Davidson 1998, SSWG 309-314).

⁹ = *du*, first person plural “absolutive” clitic. Absolute predicates take one of the following clitics (Jacobsen 1973, SSWG 256-257):

(11) Absolutive clitics

Subjects	Non-subjects			
	(3SG)	3PL	2SG	2PL
1SG	= si:	= si:ʃ	= si:cuḥ	= so:wacuḥ
1PL	= du:	= du:ʃ	= di:cuḥ	= do:wacuḥ
	(3SG)	3PL	1SG	1PL
2SG	= su:	= su:ʃ	= si:s	= di:s
2PL	= sa:	—	= so:wasač	= do:wasač
	(3SG)			
3SG	= ∅			
3PL	= °aʃ			

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 *durwiqsu* ‘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 *-(?)iqsu* 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

	SG	PL
1	= sis	= dis
2	= sic	= saqsa ~ = sica:
3	= 'u:c	= 'u:čaʃ

¹³ *ʔu-*, 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 Tseshaht Nu-chah-nulth, and SSWG for Tseshaht 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 Nu-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 *ʔucaye'it*. 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).

¹⁵ *-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 *-ʔiya* ‘get to be at’ in (9), *-(kʷ)it* ‘making’, *-dak* ‘having’, *-xwaʔ* ‘using’, and *-ʔadi* ‘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 *grammatically* to Salish lexical suffixes, so using the same term for both is misleading.

¹⁶ *-ya:p*, 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 *-čʷl*.

¹⁷ *-x̣* ‘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.

¹⁸ *ʔux̣c*, shortened form of *ʔux̣caʔa*, 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:

(13) Demonstratives

	“Proximal”		“Distal”	
unmarked	ti·	‘this’	ʃu·	‘that’
emphatic	tida·	‘this!’	ʃuda·	‘that!’
selective	ti·caʔa·	‘this one’	ʔux̣caʔa·	‘that one’
near	ti·kaʔa·	‘this’	—	

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

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): *č̣ịtụt* ‘war club’, *č̣ịtụt=iq* ‘the war club’, *č̣ịtụt=iq-a-d* ‘this war club’.

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

²⁰ *-pał* ‘time, season of’, a nominalizing suffix. Some other nominalizing suffixes are *-ačis* ‘surface for’ (*tịq^w-ačis* ‘chair,’ lit. ‘sitting surface’), *-(k)sac* ‘container for’ (*č̣a-ksac* ‘water container’), and *-(k)siʔịr* ‘medicine for’ (*wasaq-siʔịr* ‘cough medicine’).

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

²² *-k^wa-* restrictive suffix that literally means ‘apart’, ‘dispersed’, or ‘in pieces’—e.g. *kac-k^wa-yap* ‘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 Gradulative aspect. Gradulative is applied to Momentaneous bases to indicate secondary imperfectivization, e.g. Momentaneous *qač̣-k^wa-č̣ịł* ‘die off’ (perfective), Gradulative *qač̣-k^wa-č̣ịł* ‘dying off’ (imperfective) (SSWG 230-231).

²⁴ *č̣ač̣adʔał*, 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 *q^wịyu* ‘when’, a root forming temporal relative clauses, probably consisting etymologically of the relative root *q^wị-* 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	<i>yaq^w</i>	‘he who, that which’
Nominal	<i>q^wị</i>	‘who, whatever’
Verbal	<i>q^wịs</i>	‘do as’

Temporal	<i>q^wiyu</i>	‘when’
“Adjectival”	<i>q^wa, q^wa^r</i>	‘such as, thus’
Locational	<i>yał(a)</i>	‘where’
Quantity	<i>?ada, ?adi, ?adu</i>	‘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, *qidił* = *qey* ‘a dog’.

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

²⁸ *-siyuł* ‘die’, Momentaneous verbalizing suffix. Another, similar suffix was recorded from Helma as *-siwi:* ‘die’, causative *-siwiyaḡ* ‘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 *yał(a)*, locational relative root (see comment 25). The morphological status of the final /a/ is uncertain. Most forms lack final /a/, e.g. *yał-ca-čıl* ‘where one is going’, *yał-sa?ati?i* ‘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 *?ušsuqıl*, 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, *-šıl*.

³⁴ = *š*, apparently the third person singular Subordinate mood clitic, although this is an anomalous form. The Subordinate ordinarily consists of the Subordinate mood clitic = *š* followed by an “absolutive” pronominal clitic (see comment 9) for first and second persons, but fused = *qa:* for third person singular. Subordinate mood is expected here because complements of *?uđuł* ‘because of’ take Subordinate mood: *q^wisi?bits ?uđuł wi?ibašxi:* ‘I did it because I was angry’ (SSWG 153). The expected form in the present sentence would be *?uđuł ?ušsuqılqa:* ‘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, *teʔiʃšil*) 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

	SG	PL
1	= <i>siš</i>	= <i>diš</i>
2	= <i>ʔiciš</i>	?
3	= <i>iš</i>	?

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 *teʔiʃšil*, the root *teʔit* plus Momentaneous *-šil*. This form provides good evidence that *teʔit* 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 *tapil* (e.g. Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 182, line 29). The suffix *-pil* is the suppletive Momentaneous form of locative *-it* 'in the house,' suggesting that bound root and suffix are still analyzable. The corresponding Makah form, were *teʔit* 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.

*teʔiʃʔu ʔabeʔiqsubitdis. qiʔaš teʔiʃ
yubuʔ haʔuk, ʔaššil.*

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

*ʔuʃuʔašʔu yuk^{wi}iqsubitdis
hašiʔaʔaš. hadeʔiqsubitdis.
šawʔiyaʔšits Gallic.*

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

*—ʔusubaʔdic hitaʔaʔiʃatʃiq—
waʔaššitsi.*

'The Lord needs you,' he told me.

*ʔuyuciʔsʔašits ʔuʃc kabatsaʔašsiʔ
yaʔaʔeys. hiyoʔaš šiʔkas. haʔukšʔaš
ʔabeʔiqsubitsis, wikaš. ʔaššil.*

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

After the service, my mother ate,

kept it down.

wikiʔ ši·kasiq ʔuʔuk^wax čičuk.
ʔuxuʔit hitaʔa·čičatxiq hita·qata·k
čičukbisiq.

qi·ʔaλ.ʔu huʔeyʔoy ši·kas. wikaλitdiš.
wikaλ.ʔuš ʔakyi·q. ʔidi·qičičʔu.

wikaλits kabaʔap q^wiq^widʔaʔqays
ʔusub da·ʔuk^wa·čičitqays
hitaʔa·čičatxiq. ʔuceyaktaλits teʔiḥšiλ
ʔabeʔiqsubitdis.

kabatsaʔaλsi· q^wiq^widʔaʔqey dašuk
hitaʔa·čičatxiq. ʔuyʔoλ.ʔu du·baλitid
ši·kasčičiλ.

daʔu·k^wašʔaλ du·wiqsubitdis.
hacseʔiya·λ.ʔu waʔaλitsi—hišʔu,
ši·kasčʔalica· wi·kaλičke bu·sce
bubu·sxaʔa·p q^wa·ʔuš.
daʔu·k^waʔeyikid—waʔaλits
du·wiqsubitdis.

4 The louse

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

ʔaʔa·ta·λitwa·d ti·kaʔaʔ ʔu·šxu·š
ciqšiče·ʔisqey.

—ʔu·šxu·šaλičke· ciqšičiλ!—waʔaλ.
wikaλit ciqšičiλ, wikaλit.

—ciqšičiči!—waʔaλwa·d.
daʔaʔaλwa·d *huip*.

—ciqšičiλ!—λaʔuʔaλwa·d *huip*.

—ciqšičiλ ʔaya·qa·tuk!—
waʔaλitwa·d. *huip*.

wikaλit λaʔu· wi·ki·sa·λ λaʔu·
dača·qata·λwa·d. yaci·ʔi·tʔaλ,
yaci·ʔi·tʔaλ.

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.

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 down. He stepped
on it, stepped on it.

ha', ya'f?aλwa'd ti'ka?a'. dačš?aλ.
wi'ki'tsakuk. ya'fabitwa'd ti'ka?a'.
suk^w?aλ.

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

—?o', q^wa'bit ti'ka?a'. wiki'tuk ti'ka?a'
čikyup—wa'zaλ.

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

šur.

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

The morning prayer

?ušu'yakš?alic λa?u'su' hidi'sis łaḥ
?uk^wiy čustkuu, yaqa'qeys hu?aḥ
tiči'ze'is ti'ka?a' łaḥ ?uk^wiy.

Thank you for giving me again a
new day, that I might continue to
live today.

?ušu'yakš?alicis q^wa' ti'ka?a'.

Thank you for being this way for
me.

?ušu'yakš?alic ?ušu'yakš?alic.

Thank you, thank you.

The evening prayer

The evening prayer

?ušu'yakš?alic hidi'sis łaḥ ?uk^wiy,
yaqa'bitik λuḥu'apsu' du'bey,
q^wa'qeys ?iyaḥ ti'ka?a', hu?aḥ λi'zak
?iyaḥ k^wiči'ye'iqa'd.

Thank you for giving me this day,
for the way you always make it
good, for the way I'm here, still
walking on this land.

?ušu'yakš?alic ?ušu'yakš?alic.

Thank you, thank you.

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