

THE PATTERN OF MAKAH PRONOUNS

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Introduction. The purpose of this paper is to present basic descriptive information on the system of personal pronouns of Makah.¹ This language, in addition to independent pronouns, has pronominal suffixes that are added to verbs to express combinations of subjects and objects, as well as a series that is added to nouns to express their possessors. These distinguish three persons and two numbers. Unlike Kwakiutl, Makah and other Nootkan languages do not show an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural (with, however, an archaic partial exception in Makah). There is also no distinction of gender, hence no difference between 'he/him', 'she/her', and 'it'. There are several unusual features of the pronouns of Makah and other Nootkan languages.² One is that there are a number of at least partly different series of pronominal suffixes that occur in different modes. For example, the second person singular suffix is -^oic in the indicative, -su in the absolute, and -Qik in the nominal series. Another feature, that has been less fully described heretofore, is that several enclitic elements may follow these pronoun suffixes, such as those expressing the usitative or the responsive categories, and here also some of the suffixes show different, usually longer, shapes. On the other hand, all verbs take the same pronominal endings; there is nothing in the way of different verb conjugations to be distinguished.

I forgo any attempt to give the full information on syntax and semantics of the various modal series that would be required for their effective use, and I also do not describe all the morphophonemic rules that come into play when these suffixes are added to stems. I concentrate my discussion rather on the pattern of the shapes of the suffixes, as compared both within and between the several series. It is hoped that the data made available will be

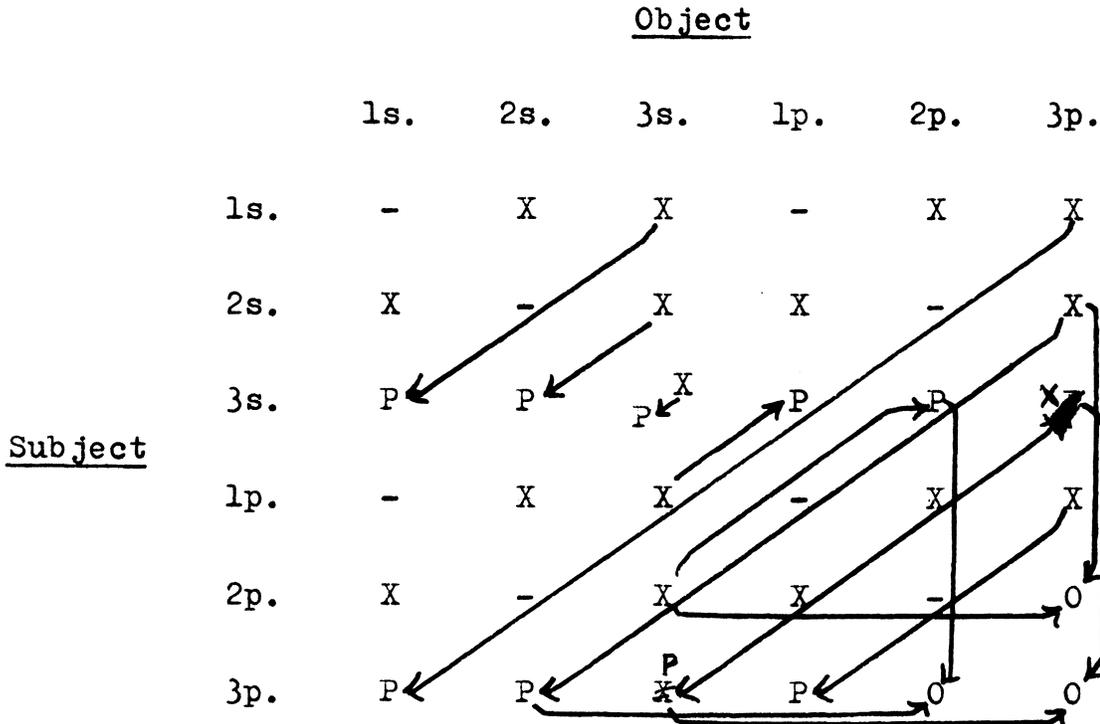
of interest both in the practical study of this language and in its comparison to related languages. I refrain from embarking upon such a comparison herein, limiting myself to a few random comparative comments.

Because of the complexity of the data, a number of typical paradigms are presented in extenso in the later pages. In these each suffix is shown in two forms, one above another. The upper of these is in a phonemic transcription, whereas the lower is more analytical, in a morphophonemic transcription with the successive morphs separated by hyphens. However, special morphophonemic symbols at the beginning of these suffixes are shown on the upper line as well as the lower, as their phonemic representation depends on what the suffix is added to. Where it seems important, citations of upper-line or phonemic forms in the text will be enclosed by // . Thus the upper line is close to the raw data, while the lower line embodies a tentative analysis that is subject to criticism and revision. As will become clear in the course of the discussion, a number of alternative possibilities of analysis present themselves. These concern especially the number and placement of hyphens, the recognition of final short vowels in suffixes, and the recognition of initial vowels in those suffixes that occur after vowels.

Role of the passive. Let us now consider the organization of the person and number categories for subject and object within any one series. Here a number of sub-patterns can be distinguished, which it is profitable to discuss separately. Perhaps the most important point to understand is the way in which the passive suffix interacts with the strictly pronominal elements to express combinations involving a third person subject. The first thing to realize is that there is no morpheme expressing third person object. Intransitive verbs take one of a set of six suffixes that are listed in my paradigms in the column under 3s. But transitive verbs with third person singular objects also take these same suffixes. Thus, to say 'I see him' or 'I see it' one says literally just 'I see' -- there is no overt expression for 'him' or 'it'. There is also no morpheme to express a first or second person object when combined with a third person subject. Instead the corresponding passive form must obligatorily be used. Thus to say 'he sees me' one says

literally 'I am seen'. Since this active has no object ('him'), the passive has no overt expression of the agent: it is literally 'I am seen', not 'I am seen by him'. Only in the case of a combination of third person singular subject and object is there available an optional use of the passive, so that for 'he sees him' one can say literally either 'he sees' or 'he is seen'.³

The following diagram attempts to summarize these relationships, including the effect of the plural suffixes that we have yet to discuss. The six horizontal rows correspond to the six semantic person-number combinations for subjects, and the six columns, to the six possible objects. An X at a given intersection of row and column symbolizes that there is a pronominal suffix available to express that meaning. A - means that such a combination cannot be expressed in terms of these suffixes. There are no pronominal forms expressing combinations of subject and object which are both first person or both second person, even where these might differ in number. There is a stem for reflexive expressions, which, however, are not very frequent in the Makah way of looking at things. A P in the diagram indicates that the meaning in question is expressed by a passive formation. In such a case a diagonal arrow points to this P from the location of the active category on which it is based.



In the paradigms shown later (p. 22 ff.), it has seemed advisable to depart from this semantically based arrangement in favor of one that more clearly brings out the relationships of the actual forms, by placing the corresponding active and passive forms side by side. The passive forms are given in the right-hand columns. The meanings of each are as follows, using 'he' to cover also 'she' and 'it'. Under ps., for passive singular, 'he-me', 'he-you (sg.)', 'he-him', 'he-us', 'he-you (pl.)', and 'he-them'; under pp., for passive plural, 'they-me', 'they-you (sg.)', and 'they-us'. It has seemed worthwhile from a practical point of view to write out all the passive forms, because of the morphophonemic changes that they commonly exhibit, although these are completely regular. The shape of the passive morpheme is -[˙]it. The final t will coalesce with a following o or ʔ to give respectively /d/ or /t̄/. Also, after this consonant, an initial B or Q of a following suffix will be lost. However, any tense or evidential suffixes present will intervene between the passive suffix and the pronominal ending. The vowel of this passive suffix contracts with a preceding a of certain morphemes to give /a·/. In verb phrases containing two or three words, the passive morpheme is obligatorily copied onto each of the words -- such is its importance in keeping references straight: wiki·ʔits ʔu·yuq^wa·t kupe·ʔit 'I'm the one he's not pointing at'. Otherwise the pronominal suffixes normally occur on the first word of such phrases.

Subjective plural. The subjective plural suffix is added to the third person singular suffix to ^{indicate} a third person plural subject. In the corresponding passive form this plurality still applies to the grammatical subject, that is, the subject in a literal translation, which means the object of the freer translations that were given above. Thus, with this suffix, 'they see him', passive, 'he sees them', literally, 'they are seen'.

There are some problems in determining the basic shape of this suffix in certain series, which are tied up with the problem of determining the shape of the third person singular suffix, for this varies from series to series, and final short vowels are lost. In general I have tried to assume, as in the conditional, that the vowel of the singular is the same as the one which is seen before this

plural suffix, but this is not always possible. For most of the series I have assumed that the plural suffix has the shape $-\underline{1}$. There is clear evidence, however, for a shape $-\overset{0}{a}\underline{1}$ in the absolutive and possessive series, and for a shape $-\underline{i}\cdot\underline{1}$ in the informational interrogative. A shape $*-\underline{a}\underline{1}$ would be a possibility in several cases, but there seems never to be unambiguous evidence pointing to it.

Non-subjective plural. The non-subjective plural suffix occurs after the first and second person singular and the first person plural suffixes. In the active forms this indicates the presence of a third person plural object. In the passive forms this plurality extends to what become the semantic subject, but is still the opposite participant from the grammatical subject. Thus, with the first person singular suffix, 'I see them', passive 'they see me', literally, 'I am seen (by) them'.

The three active forms in question are placed in the paradigms under the heading 3p., for third person plural (object), and the corresponding passives are beside them under the heading pp., passive plural. The shape of this suffix is clearly $-\underline{a}\cdot\underline{1}$ in the indicative, and I have assumed it has this same basic form throughout. This means allowing for vowel contractions in the non-indicative forms, such as absolutive second person singular $-\underline{su}\cdot-\underline{a}\cdot\underline{1}$ / $-\underline{su}\cdot\underline{1}$ /. In these latter cases the suffix could have been said to have a shape of merely $-\underline{1}$; this would be a possibility also in the usitative indicative. This suffix is in complementary distribution with the subjective plural suffix with respect to the pronominal suffix that precedes, and in view of the similarity of form between them, an interesting case could be made that they are the same one morpheme, the reversal of function from subjective to non-subjective being conditioned by a change from third person to non-third person subject.

Combinations involving second and third persons plural. There is a gap in the system of endings in that there are none for expressing combinations of second and third person subjects and objects where both are plural: 'they-them', 'you (pl.)-them', 'they-you (pl.)'. This fact is symbolized by the 0's in the lower right-hand corner of the above diagram. Unlike the case where the diagram has -'s, these missing forms do not correspond to semantic proscriptions, but rather

can be explained in part by the forms themselves. As we have seen, the subjective and non-subjective plural suffixes cannot both occur in the same ending. In at least the indicative series, were the non-subjective plural suffix -a·ɫ to be added to the second person plural suffix -^oica·, the vowels would coalesce to give a form */-^oica·ɫ/, which is identical to the occurring form based on the second person singular suffix -^oic. On the other hand, in the non-indicative series, one could easily imagine that there might be a second person plural non-subjective plural form in */-sa·ɫ/ beside the occurring singular in /-su·ɫ/.

It seems to be the case that when such a semantic relationship presents itself, one is free to make a choice between two available forms, expressing the plurality of either subject or object according as seems more important. Thus for 'they see them' one can use the active and say literally 'they see' or else the passive to say 'they are seen'. For 'you (pl.) see them', the form must be active, but one can choose between saying 'you (pl.) see' and 'you (sg.) see them'. And for 'they see you (pl.)', the form must be passive, but the choice is between 'they see you (sg.)' and 'you (pl.) are seen'. These relationships are indicated in the above diagram by the two arrows, one horizontal and one vertical, pointing to the location of each of these missing forms, indicating the form that can be used in place of it.

If a sentence contains two verbs, these meanings can be expressed by adding pronominal suffixes to each of them, each suffix expressing a separate category of plurality. One way is for an absolute following the principal verb to show the plural number: wiki·?it?uca·ɫ kupe·?itsa 'they didn't point at you (pl.)', ?ux^wu·b?uca kupa·su·ɫ 'you (pl.) were the ones that were pointing at them'. Alternatively, the verb of a main clause can take a plural object suffix to refer to a plural subject of its complement nominalized clause, the latter then bearing a suffix to show plurality of its object: kabatapsa·ɫ q^wikya·qa·ɫ 'I know what they gave them', kabatapso·wacux^w q^wikya·qiksu·ɫ 'I know what you (pl.) gave them'.

First person subject with second person object. There is a set of four forms expressing the action of a first person subject on a second person object, which form a system among themselves. (This is

the second column of my paradigms.) These forms are the same throughout the various pronominal series, being preceded, except in the indicative and absolute, by their characteristic modal suffixes. They consist apparently of a sequence of three morphemes. First comes -s- or -d-, expressing the first person, singular vs. plural, subject. Then, either -i- or -o.wa-, expressing the number, again singular vs. plural, of the second person object. Finally, a piece -cux^w, common to all these forms, which presumably indicates second person object. In the imperative the forms with -d- show a reversal of the case roles, as they express the action of a second person, singular or plural, subject on a first person plural object. This is comparable to the forms treated in the following section.

Second person subject with first person object. Another set of four forms expresses the action of a second person subject on a first person object. (These are in the first column of my paradigms.) These forms vary somewhat among the pronominal series, and create more problems of analysis than the preceding. If we consider first the non-indicative forms, such as those of the absolute, we seem to see here also a sequence of three morphemes, the first two of them being the same as in the last set. The order of the subject and object is reversed, which is to say that the order of mentioning first and second persons remains the same. The first morpheme is again -s- or -d- to express the first person object, singular vs. plural. This is followed by -i- or -o.wa- to express singular vs. plural number of the second person subject. In the third position occurs one of two forms, redundantly expressing again the number of the subject. For singular this is -s, for plural, -sač. The latter looks like the surface form /-sa/, of the second person plural suffix plus a second person plural element -č, which occurs elsewhere: in the usitative, in the independent pronoun, and in the imperative. This -č should thus perhaps have been separated in the paradigm by a hyphen.

Looking at the indicative series, we see an extra initial element, -^oic-, which is identical to the second person subjective suffix with no object. This occurs in front of the first person plural marker -d-, thus redundantly expressing a second person subject here. But the endings for first person singular object are more problematic,

as the -s- element is missing, and there is no morphophonemic rule changing -cs- to -c-. This means that in the form for second person plural subject, -^oic-o-wa-sač, there is actually no element expressing the first person, unless the -^oic- can be said to take on this meaning here. The form for the singular subject, -^oicis, is yet different, in that the vowel is short. Although the -i- could be taken as an allomorph of -i·-, I have chosen to recognize a different, perhaps more archaic, pattern in this case. This would be a two-part form, -^oic-is, where the first part would express a second person subject, and the second, a first person singular object. This would be a similar arrangement to what we find in the imperative. Haas has made it probable, on the basis of Nootka evidence, that the ending -^oic comes from an older two-part ending *-^oit-s (or *-^oit-s); this is not so apparent within Makah itself.⁴ One notes also the similarity of non-independent -s-o-wa- to the longer forms of the second person plural subject pronoun, -so-wa- in the responsive quotative, and -so-wač- (or -so-wa-č-) in the usitative non-indicative series. Thus it seems that in the non-independent series, of both this and the preceding set, as perhaps also in the possessive series, a piece -s- which was originally second person has been reinterpreted as first person singular by opposing it to -d-.

Sets of pronouns. The pronouns of the various series group fairly naturally, on the basis of their forms, into a few sets. The primary split is probably one between indicative and non-indicative series.⁵ The latter, of which the absolute is typical, are distinguished by final basically long vowels in the first and second persons: first person -si· and -du·, second person -su· and -sa·. The indicative has instead -s and -id; -^oic and -^oic-a·. Within the non-indicative type, the nominal and the two interrogative series form a sub-group. These have a -k- at the end of their modal suffixes and have shorter endings in the singular, although the fuller forms appear when the usitative enclitic follows. The other main non-indicative series are the quotative and the subordinate. A borderline case between the indicative and non-indicative types, leaning more toward the latter, is constituted by the conditional. Other series are based on these with the addition of postclitic elements. The usitative occurs with the above-mentioned series except for the abso-

lutive. The responsive, with the indicative and quotative. An additive postclitic occurs more loosely combined with several series. These postclitics can co-occur rather freely. Other series are formed with elements both preceding and following the pronominal suffix. The contrastive goes with the indicative; the inferential and realizational, with the non-indicative types. Finally, there are the defective series. The imperatives occur only with a second person subject. The possessive and the independent pronouns, as well as the contrastive, do not take objects.

Morphophonemics. Before considering individually the various series of pronouns, a few basic morphophonemic relationships may be briefly pointed out. The morphophonemes B and Q are represented respectively by /b/ and /q/ after vowels, but are lost after consonants. Conversely, Q is represented by /o/ after consonants, but is lost (along with following length) after vowels. X is represented by /x/ before consonants and by /q/ before vowels. The morphophoneme o coalesces with preceding p t x c č k k^w q q^w to give respectively /b d l č č^h w w q q^w/. The morphophoneme ʔ glottalizes these preceding consonants to give respectively /p t x c č k k^w q q^w/. Both are lost with no effect on a preceding fricative and are represented as /ʔ/ after a vowel, although ʔ is sometimes lost to allow contraction of the surrounding vowels. Back consonants such as k q x are labialized after u to /k^w q^w x^w/.⁶ Final short vowels are lost, and final long vowels are shortened, which creates problems of analysis in determining whether underlying forms might end in short vowels, and if so, what the vowel quality is. Short vowels are also lost before /ʔ/ from any source, in which case a following short vowel is retained even if final. But this loss is blocked by a following long vowel.⁷ A sequence ?i will become /ʔu/ after u, even if this is lost. I have also assumed the vowel contractions a + a > a, i + a > i, u + a > u, the resultant vowel being long if either of the contracting vowels is long.

Indicative. The paradigm for the indicative endings is given on p. 22. The indicative series is used in making declarative statements. As is true of the other series, if no tense or evidential suffix precedes, forms with these endings imply present tense.

Note the two shapes of the first person plural suffix within

this paradigm, as elsewhere: -id if nothing follows, but -d if a vowel follows. Due to the regular morphophonemic rules, the third person singular ending -^oi will manifest itself in a variety of shapes. If a consonant or long vowel precedes the ending, and nothing follows it, the vowel will be lost. The morphophoneme ^o is represented by /ʔ/ after a vowel. This affects certain preceding consonants as shown above, but leaves no trace when a fricative precedes. A preceding short vowel will be lost (unless a long vowel follows, as in the usitative), in which case the vowel of this ending will be retained, giving /ʔi/. If this preceding vowel is u, the ending comes out as /ʔu/. I have assumed that the second person plural ending is derived from the second person singular one, but I have refrained from assuming that the latter is derived from the third person singular.

An archaic, apparently indicative, first person plural formation with inclusive force, for speaking to a group of persons, has also been observed. This ends in -du·č, which is apparently formed from first person plural -du· (as in the non-indicative series) plus a second person pluralizing suffix -č: huʔadaksʔa du·č ʔuse·ʔi 'we got Ozette back' (as if announcing this to the tribe).

Indicative past. The paradigm for the indicative past is shown on p. 23. The formation is tactically regular, with the past tense suffix preceding the indicative endings. But this tense morpheme irregularly has two allomorphs here: the generally found shape -Bit when followed by the first person suffixes, singular -s or plural -id/-d, but the shape -Bu when followed by the second or third person suffixes. The latter begin with -^oi-, and the above-mentioned morphophonemic rules apply, giving surface forms beginning with /-bʔu/ or /ʔu/ for these persons. The vowel of -Bu is seen in the usitative, where a following long vowel blocks its loss. Note that the passive ending -²it precedes the tense suffix, so that the following -B- is not in evidence in the passive forms.

Relative. The relative is a series that takes these same indicative endings, but the complete paradigm is shown on p. 24 because of potential confusion with the subordinate series. This is marked by an element -x- preceding the endings. This precedes the passive and also any tense suffix that is present. Relative forms give an explicit identification of the subject of a contiguous clause:

qidi-x ha?uk^w 'it's a dog that's eating it', xad?aks kupa 'I'm the woman that's pointing', babuyaw hi·da·čisx 'the one who is on the beach is pointing'.

There seem to be relative formations applying to other modes than the indicative also. The -x- is probably identical with that of the pronominal verbal stem ?ux^w- 'to be .., be the one who ..'.

This formation is not comparable to what has been called the relative in Nootka. I am inclined to compare the Nootka incremental suffix -(q)h- 'meanwhile'.

Conditional. The conditional paradigm is given on p. 25. This is used in if-clauses and other hypothetical statements. A modal suffix -qey occurs throughout the paradigm. The paradigm is primarily of the non-indicative type, as shown by the second person endings with final long vowel, singular -su· and plural -sa·, but this vowel is lacking in the first person endings, singular -s and plural -d; the latter lacks the fuller form -id of the indicative. Although both second person endings show an -s-, I have not assumed that this is a shared morpheme here (although I think that historically this is true, as shown by the paradigms where the plural ending is longer than the singular). The third person singular ending is assumed to be -u rather than zero on the basis of the third person plural ending -uɫ; unfortunately the usitative of this particular form, which would give evidence as to vowel quality, is not attested. In this and following paradigms the subjective plural suffix might well be taken as basically -ɫ, rather than -a·ɫ.

Conditional past. The conditional past is formed with past tense -Bit preceding -qey. Thus second person singular -Bit-qey-su· /-Bitqeysu/, passive -³it-Bit-qey-su· /-³ititqeysu/. This is used in counterfactual hypothetical statements about the past.

Counterfactual. A counterfactual formation, implying a wish that things were not as they are, has been noted in which the conditional modal ending is followed by -ča·, with personal endings apparently like those of the absolute. This is attested in the past tense and with the usitative postclitic: dudu·k^witqeyča·du·k^w 'I wish we had sung', 'icux^wadi·qeyča·si·k 'I wish I were an Indian'.

Absolute. The absolute endings do not allow any preceding tense or evidential suffixes to occur, nor is this attested with the

usitative postclitic. This shows the non-indicative shapes of first and second person endings with final long vowels. The third person plural ending has been assumed to be basically $-\emptyset-\overset{\circ}{a}\underline{\underline{1}}$, but a good case could be made for its being $-\overset{\circ}{a}-\underline{\underline{1}}$ instead, as this shape is recognized elsewhere (in the quotative). See the paradigm on p. 26.

Quotative. The quotative paradigm is given on p. 27. This is formed by a modal suffix $-\underline{\underline{wa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{t}}$ preceding endings of the non-indicative type. It indicates that the evidence for the statement made is hearsay, rather than being based on personal experience or observation. The basic ending $-\overset{\circ}{a}$ of the third person singular is implied by the third person plural $-\overset{\circ}{a}\underline{\underline{1}}$, as well as by responsive forms where this vowel is pronounced; but the usitative ending $\overset{\circ}{i}\cdot\underline{\underline{k}}$, on the other hand, points to an ending $-\overset{\circ}{i}$.

Other suffixes with evidential meanings do not take this pronominal series, but the indicative series instead. Such include $-\underline{\underline{pi}}\cdot\underline{\underline{t}}$, implying inference of an event from its observed result, or $-\underline{\underline{qadi}}$, implying evidence only from hearing the sound of an event, as well as inference of a state or condition from concurrent visual evidence.

Quotative past. The past of the quotative is formed by the past tense allomorph $-\underline{\underline{Bit}}$ preceding $-\underline{\underline{wa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{t}}$. Thus second person singular $-\underline{\underline{Bit}}-\underline{\underline{wa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{t}}-\underline{\underline{su}}\cdot$ / $-\underline{\underline{Bitwa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{tsu}}$ /, passive $-\overset{\circ}{i}\underline{\underline{t}}-\underline{\underline{Bit}}-\underline{\underline{wa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{t}}-\underline{\underline{su}}\cdot$ / $-\overset{\circ}{i}\underline{\underline{titwa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{tsu}}$ /. The time reference is, of course, to that of the event being described, not to the time of the speech event being quoted.

Subordinate. The paradigm for the subordinate endings is given on p. 28. This occurs in subordinate clauses expressing, like the indicative, a factual occurrence: $\underline{\underline{da}}\cdot\underline{\underline{sas}} \underline{\underline{kupa}}\cdot\underline{\underline{qa}}$ 'I see him pointing', $\underline{\underline{ya}}\cdot\underline{\underline{?aka}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{ups}} \underline{\underline{wiki}}\cdot\underline{\underline{bit}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{du}} \underline{\underline{dudu}}\cdot\underline{\underline{k}}^{\underline{\underline{w}}}$ 'I'm sorry we didn't sing', $\underline{\underline{hiyo}}\cdot\underline{\underline{?a}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{ga}} \underline{\underline{ha}}\underline{\underline{?uk}}^{\underline{\underline{w}}} \underline{\underline{hidi}}\cdot\underline{\underline{?a}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{si}}$ 'after he finished eating, I gave it to him'. The subordinate forms are also often followed by a postclitic $-\underline{\underline{?uy}}$ to indicate an action simultaneous with that expressed by a following clause: $\underline{\underline{qi}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{ci}}\cdot\underline{\underline{da}}\cdot\underline{\underline{k}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{si}}\cdot\underline{\underline{?uy}} \underline{\underline{wika}}\underline{\underline{x}}\underline{\underline{its}} \underline{\underline{?u}}\cdot\underline{\underline{š}}\underline{\underline{su}}\cdot\underline{\underline{q}}^{\underline{\underline{w}}}\underline{\underline{x}}$ 'when I had a dog I didn't worry'.

The tentatively introduced morphophoneme $\underline{\underline{X}}$ is represented by / $\underline{\underline{x}}$ / when a consonant follows and by / $\underline{\underline{q}}$ / when a vowel follows. However, perhaps this element should instead be equated with the $-\underline{\underline{x}}$ - of the relative, or even the $-\underline{\underline{Q}}$ - of the interrogative and nominal

series. Unlike that representing Q, however, this /q/ is retained when a consonant precedes. The endings expressing first person subject plus second person object (second column of the paradigm) are superficially identical to those of the relative; however, these will differ if a tense morpheme is present, as the -x- of the relative will precede this, whereas the -X- of the subordinate will follow it. Thus, for 'I-you', in the past, subordinate -Bit-X-s-i·-cux /-Bitxsi·cux^W/, relative -x-Bit-s-i·-cux /-xitsi·cux^W/. A similar difference can be seen by comparing the corresponding passive forms.

Subordinate past. The allomorph of the past tense morpheme preceding all subordinate endings is -Bit. Thus second person singular -Bit-X-su· /-Bitxsu/, passive -³it-Bit-X-su· /-³ititxsu/.

Quotative subordinate. An apparent quotative subordinate ending in -X-ča· before the personal endings has been noted. The personal endings are like those of the absolutive, with zero in the third person.

Nominal. The nominal paradigm is given on p. 29. This is used on kinds of nominalized predications which refer to the object of the full underlying clause, the whole being used as the object of another verb: kabataps q^Wikya·q 'I know what he gave', kabatab yaqti·piks kupa 'he knows who I'm pointing at'.

The pattern of endings is comparable to that of the two interrogative series: a -k- occurs throughout at the end of the modal suffix, except in the third person singular. There is no additional ending for the second person singular. The first person singular has the short, indicative-type ending -s. The first and second persons plural, on the other hand, have the usual non-indicative endings -du· and sa·. The fuller forms that appear for the first and second person singular in the usitative make these series seem more like the other non-indicative ones.

In the nominal the modal sign is basically -Qik. The morphophoneme Q is represented by /q/ when a vowel precedes and by zero when a consonant precedes. This means that there is no overt trace of it in the passive forms. In the third person singular, a final -i rather than zero is implied by the general pattern of these paradigms (cf. especially the confirmational interrogative -Qa·), as well as by the corresponding usitative ending, -Qi·k. This is not

compatible with the third person plural ending -Qa·ɿ, which has presumably been taken over from the confirmational interrogative, and hence is analyzed as is appropriate for that series, -Qa·-ɿ.

This series is apparently comparable to what has been called the indefinite relative in Nootka, and the definite in Nitinat, although the latter seems to incorporate also a form like the Makah article.

Nominal past. The past tense morpheme has the shape -Bit throughout the nominal. Thus second person singular is -Bit-Qi-k, /-Bitik/, passive -³it-Bit-Qi-k /-³ititik/ or /-³ittik/.

Indefinite nominal. The nominal modal ending may be preceded by a suffix -O·wis to indicate uncertainty or lack of knowledge about the exact referent of the nominalized form. The morphophoneme O is represented by /o/ after a consonant, but is lost (along with the following length) after a vowel. Examples: wibataps wa·wisik 'I don't know what you said', ?a?a·ta·tits q^wa·?aλo·wisik 'he asked me how you are', wibataps q^wikya·wis 'I don't know what he gave'.

A few forms seem to show this suffix indicating indefiniteness occurring also with other pronominal series.

This series seems to be comparable to what has been called the relative dubitative in Nootka.

Informational interrogative. Makah, like English, makes a clear distinction between the two kinds of questions that are usually called "yes-or-no questions" and "Wh-questions" (or "question-word questions").⁸ Since the forms yes, no, and wh- are not Makah, in searching for generalized labels I have called these series respectively the confirmational interrogative and the informational interrogative. The latter Makah series is used on interrogative stems such as baqi- 'what?', in questions requesting the supplying of specified kinds of information.

The paradigm for the informational interrogative is given on p. 30. Most of the forms are the same as those of the nominal. There are, however, completely different endings in the third person singular and plural. The singular ending, -Qa·ɿ, looks like the corresponding plural of both the nominal and the confirmational interrogative. The plural is formed by adding to this an otherwise unattested shape -i·ɿ. The other point of difference from the nominal is the long vowel -i·- in the first and second person singular forms that

lack an object. To recognize this variation of length I have tentatively set up a kind of variable length morphophoneme, symbolized *, which will be represented as length /·/ when no vowel follows in the same word, but as zero when another vowel follows, i.e., when it is not in the last syllable of the word.

Some forms ending in an apparent postclitic -a·š giving second person singular -Qiksu·š and third person singular -Qi·š have been noted; the semantic distinction is not known.

Quotative informational interrogative. An informational interrogative ending in the second person singular in -ča· instead of -k is used in asking about hearsay or inferential information.

Confirmational interrogative. The paradigm for the confirmational interrogative is given on p. 31. This is used on verbs in general to ask questions calling for assent or denial. The forms differ from those of the informational interrogative and nominal in showing -a·- where these have -i- or -i*·-. This -a· is found even in the third person singular, and the plural is formed regularly with -ł. Note the differences of vowel length among the modal suffixes of these three similarly-formed series: the vowel is long in the confirmational interrogative, short in the nominal, and variable in the informational interrogative.

Interrogative past. Both the interrogative paradigms (but not the nominal) show an identical irregularity in their past tense formations. In the forms for first and third person subjects, the past tense suffix has its predominant form -Bit. Thus first person singular, informational -Bit-Qi*·k-s /-Biti·ks/, passive -³it-Bit-Qi*·k-s /-³ititi·ks/ or /-³itti·ks/; confirmational -Bit-Qa··k-s /-Bita·ks/, passive -³it-Bit-Qa··k-s /-³itita·ks/ or /-³itta·ks/. But all the forms for second person subjects, singular or plural, which are identical as between the two interrogative series, contain an initial syllable -³u·k^w (always with long vowel). This is perhaps to be analyzed as an allomorph -³u of the past tense suffix (which recurs in the inferential and realizational series) plus forms such as -a·k (i.e., lacking Q) of the modal suffixes. In view of the constantly long vowel, it seems likely that these forms are based on -a·k rather than on an -i*·k of the informational interrogative. Thus second person singular -³u-a··k /-³u·k^w/, passive -³it-³u-a··k /-³itū·k^w/.

Usitative indicative. The usitative postclitic occurs with the above-mentioned primary series other than the absolutive. Its meaning is that of a customary or habitual action. The paradigm of the usitative indicative is shown on p. 32. All forms end in -a·k, -i·k, or -u·k^w (or -i·łk, -u·łk in the plural). It would be possible to say that the usitative ending has the shape -k and that all the pronominal suffixes have allomorphs ending in long vowels. However I have chosen to set this up as basically -a·k, primarily because this is the form seen after the endings of the second column, (first person acting on second), which elsewhere never show a final vowel. This means of course that vowel contraction takes place, and the -a·- takes on the quality of a preceding i or u. I have assumed that the final i's and u's of the first and second persons singular and first person plural suffixes are short, but this is rather arbitrary, except that the first person singular form is attested in the responsive indicative. The second person plural forms in the usitative indicative show final -o·wič- (or -o·wa-ič-), and in the non-indicative final -o·wač (or -o·wa-č-), where elsewhere they have -a·. In the forms with the subjective or non-subjective plural suffixes the two consonants pile up together, -łk. This might be taken as evidence that the usitative suffix is really just -k, but still there is vowel lengthening in the third person plural. That the usitative suffix might be added before the non-subjective plural suffix is suggested by the fact that the pronominal suffixes show here also the allomorphs that elsewhere occur when contiguous to the usitative suffix. The metathesis of consonants that would then occur has its parallel when the usitative is combined with the responsive.

Usitative conditional. The usitative conditional paradigm is not fully attested. the first person singular ends in -qey-si-a·k /-qeysi·k/.

Usitative subordinate. The paradigm for the intransitive endings of the usitative subordinate is shown on p. 33. This is typical of the non-indicative set. Except in the second person plural, the pronominal suffixes have the same basic forms as in the plain subordinate.

Usitative quotative. The usitative quotative is formed in parallel fashion to the usitative subordinate. The third person

singular ends in $-\overset{\circ}{i}\text{-a}\cdot\text{k}$ / $-\overset{\circ}{i}\cdot\text{k}$ /, third person plural in $-\overset{\circ}{i}\text{-}\underline{\text{l}}\text{-a}\cdot\text{k}$ / $-\overset{\circ}{i}\cdot\underline{\text{l}}\text{k}$ /, thus showing a divergence in the direction of the indicative from the $-\overset{\circ}{a}$ of the plain quotative.

Usitative nominal. The intransitive part of the paradigm for the usitative nominal is shown on p. 33. Note that in contrast to the plain nominal, the first and second persons singular have the full non-indicative-type endings.

Usitative informational interrogative. The usitative informational interrogative is formed in parallel fashion to the usitative nominal. The variable-length vowel is short before the fuller endings of the first and second persons singular: the latter is $-\underline{\text{Q}}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}\text{-su}\cdot\text{a}\cdot\text{k}$ / $-\text{Q}\text{i}\text{ksu}\cdot\text{k}^{\text{w}}$ /. The third person singular, though, shows an unexpected long vowel and retention of the $-\underline{\text{k}}$: / $-\text{Q}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}$ /, perhaps $-\underline{\text{Q}}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}\text{-i}\text{-a}\cdot\text{k}$. The plural is also unexpected, / $-\text{Q}\text{i}\cdot\underline{\text{l}}\text{k}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}$ /, where one would have looked for the $-\underline{\text{l}}$ before the second $-\underline{\text{k}}$ instead.

Usitative confirmational interrogative. The paradigm of the usitative confirmational interrogative is also similar. An $-\text{a}\cdot\text{k}$ runs throughout, so that the third person singular is $-\underline{\text{Q}}\text{a}\cdot\text{k}\text{-i}\text{-a}\cdot\text{k}$ / $-\text{Q}\text{a}\cdot\text{k}\text{i}\cdot\text{k}$ /, third person plural / $-\text{Q}\text{a}\cdot\text{k}\text{i}\cdot\underline{\text{l}}\text{k}$ /.

Responsive indicative. A responsive postclitic having the basic form $-\underline{\text{š}}\text{i}$ occurs with the indicative and quotative series. This indicates that what is being said is in response to an utterance of the hearer. This might have been a question which is being answered, or it might have been a statement which is being agreed or disagreed with or expatiated upon. These forms call for a distinctive intonation pattern, which falls low and then rises on the last syllable. The paradigm for the responsive indicative is given on p. 34. The first person singular suffix has the form $-\underline{\text{s}}\text{i}$ here, that it was also assumed to have in the usitative. The second person plural has the longer form $-\overset{\circ}{\text{i}}\text{co}\cdot\text{wa}$ here (cf. the $-\overset{\circ}{\text{i}}\text{co}\cdot\text{wa}\check{\text{c}}$ of the usitative). All the forms in the first column (second person acting on first) unexpectedly turn up with a long $-\underline{\text{a}}\text{-}$ before this enclitic. The third person singular ending normally shows a loss of the $-\underline{\text{i}}$ under the same conditions as in word-final position.

Responsive quotative. In the responsive quotative the pronominal suffixes that end in basic long vowels show their length before the postclitic, thus second person singular $-\underline{\text{wa}}\cdot\text{t}\text{-su}\cdot\text{-}\underline{\text{š}}\text{i}$ / $-\underline{\text{wa}}\cdot\text{tsu}\cdot\text{š}\text{i}$ /. This paradigm shows the same occurrence of $-\underline{\text{a}}\text{-}$

in the second-person-to-first forms, and the second person plural shows the longer form -so·wa- here, hence /-wa·tso·waši/. Forms are attested wherein the final -^oa of the third person singular is retained before the postclitic.

Responsive usitative indicative and quotative. The responsive and the usitative postclitics can co-occur with the indicative and quotative series. The -š- of the responsive is intercalated before the -k- of the usitative. Thus, second person singular of the indicative -^oicu-a·k-ši· /-^oicu·ški/. The second person plural shows the long form characteristic of the usitative: -^oic-o·wič-a·k-ši· /-^oico·wiča·ški/. The third person plural shows a piling up of three consonants: -^oi-ł-a·k-ši· /-^oi·łški/.

Additive. An "additive" postposition with the shape /-λ^o/ occurs after several series, at least the indicative, quotative, subordinate, and informational interrogative in -a·š. This has the meaning 'to do in addition'. The form is derived by regular vowel loss and assimilation, apparently, from the stem λa^ou- 'other, more, again'.⁹ Before this postclitic the pronominal endings with final basic long vowels retain their length, but other endings act as in final position, including showing the loss of final short vowels under the usual conditions.

Compare the Nootka incremental suffix -λa· 'again'.

Additive with usitative and responsive. The additive postclitic can co-occur with either or both the usitative and the responsive postclitics. The following indicative form shows all three present: kupa·si·ški·λ^o '(in response) I always point in addition'.

Contrastive. The contrastive is a series based on a stem ?atu-, which takes the indicative series of endings, which must be followed in turn by a postclitic having the shapes -iš after consonants and -š after vowels. Only an intransitive series of endings has been obtained. The meaning expressed is the beginning of a contradiction of what would be expected from the immediately preceding clause. Thus the second person singular is ?atu-^oic-iš /?at^ouciš/ 'but you...'. The second person plural shows the same longer form as in the responsive: ?atu-^oic-o·wa-š /?at^ouco·waš/.

Contrastive past. The contrastive past shows the same irregularities that were described for the indicative past (p. 10). Thus,

first person singular ?atu-Bit-s-iš /?atubitsiš/ 'but I (past) ..', contrasted with second person singular ?atu-Bu-⁰ic-iš /?atub?uciš/ 'but you (past) ..'.

Inferential. The inferential indicates that a certain situation is probably the case. The pronominal endings are preceded by -x-⁰a-, where the -x- is thought to be the same as in the relative, and followed by -š. The endings are those of the non-indicative type, with a zero for third person. The second person plural and the forms for second person singular acting on first person show the same longer alternants as in the responsive quotative, but the forms for second person plural acting on first person end in -so·waš, no -s being apparent, although perhaps morphophonemically present. Thus second person singular -x-⁰a--su--š /-x̄a·su·š/, passive -³it-x-⁰a--su--š /-³itx̄a·su·š/; third person plural -x-⁰a--∅-l-iš /-x̄a·l̄iš/. These endings may be preceded by past tense -Bit.

Inferential past. A past inferential is formed with these same pronominal endings preceded by -x-³u-ča-⁰a- and again followed by -š. The past marker is -³u-, as in the interrogative second persons and the realizational. Thus second person plural -x-³u-ča-⁰a--so·waš /-xuč̄a³a·so·waš/.

Realizational. Endings indicating that the speaker has only belatedly perceived, learned, or realized a fact are formed with the same pronominal series as in the inferential preceded by -⁰a- and followed by -š-kub. Thus second person singular -⁰a--su--š-kub /-⁰a·su·škub/. A relative form with preceding -x- also occurs.

Realizational past. The realization of a past event or circumstance is signalled by a past element -³u- preceding the complete realizational endings. Thus second person singular -³u-⁰a--su--š-kub /-³u³a·su·škub/.

Imperative. The singular imperative is formed with a suffix -³i. This behaves morphophonemically similarly to the third person indicative suffix -⁰i; thus after a consonant the vowel will be lost, and the only trace of this suffix will be the glottalization of a stop or affricate. After vowels there are certain additional morphophonemic complexities.

The form for plural subject adds a -č: -³i-č /-³ič/. The

imperative morph seems to be reduced to $-\overset{3}{i}$ before the non-subjective plural suffix, which indicates a third person plural object: $-\overset{3}{a}\cdot\overset{3}{i}$ / $-\overset{3}{a}\cdot\overset{3}{i}$ /. As is true of other paradigms, these indications of plural subject and plural object cannot co-occur.

For first person singular object the endings are singular $-\overset{3}{i}\text{-s}$ / $-\overset{3}{i}\text{s}$ /, plural $-\overset{3}{i}\text{-sa-}\overset{3}{c}$ / $-\overset{3}{i}\text{sa}\overset{3}{c}$ /. For first person plural object the imperative suffix is followed by the endings that we have met elsewhere (pp. 6-7) as indicating first person plural acting on second: singular $-\overset{3}{i}\text{-}\overset{3}{d}\text{-}\overset{3}{i}\text{-}\overset{3}{cux}$ / $-\overset{3}{i}\text{di}\cdot\overset{3}{cux}^W$ /, plural $-\overset{3}{i}\text{-}\overset{3}{d}\text{-}\overset{3}{o}\text{-}\overset{3}{wa}\text{-}\overset{3}{cux}$ / $-\overset{3}{i}\text{do}\cdot\overset{3}{wacux}^W$ /. Here the pieces $-\overset{3}{i}\text{-}$ and $-\overset{3}{o}\text{-}\overset{3}{wa}\text{-}$ indicate the number of the second person subject, rather than object. However, these endings for first person plural occur most commonly with a preceding causative element to give exhortative expressions, meaning 'let's (do something)!'. In these the singular ending is used when the group in question includes just the speaker and the hearer, while the plural is used for larger groups. Thus, because of the speaker being included in the group, this indirectly gives a categorization of dual vs. plural: $\text{dudu}\cdot\overset{3}{k}^W\overset{3}{a}\overset{3}{u}\text{di}\cdot\overset{3}{cux}^W$ 'let's (du.) start singing!', $\text{wals}\overset{3}{a}\cdot\overset{3}{i}\text{do}\cdot\overset{3}{wacux}^W$ 'let's (pl.) go home!'.

Thither imperative. An imperative that tells someone to go elsewhere and do something is formed by means of a suffix $-\overset{3}{c}\text{i}$ preceding the above imperative endings. The same categories of objects and plurality are present. By regular morphophonemic rule, the $-\overset{3}{i}$ of this suffix is lost except before the long vowel of the non-subjective plural: thus singular $-\overset{3}{c}\text{i}\text{-}\overset{3}{i}$ / $-\overset{3}{c}^?i$ /, plural object $-\overset{3}{c}\text{i}\text{-}\overset{3}{a}\cdot\overset{3}{i}$ / $-\overset{3}{c}\text{i}^?a\cdot\overset{3}{i}$ />.

Gnomic imperative. An imperative used for giving a generally valid instruction or advice, as of parents to children, is formed with a postclitic $-\text{ke}$ following the imperative ending: $\text{wa}\cdot\text{biti}\cdot\text{ksa}\overset{3}{i}\overset{3}{c}\text{ke}$ 'take home what's left over (pl.)!', $\overset{3}{c}\overset{3}{u}\cdot\overset{3}{\text{šuk}}^W\text{ke}$ 'be careful (sg.)!', $\text{wiki}\overset{3}{c}\text{ke ku}\cdot\text{wi}\overset{3}{i}$ 'don't steal (pl.)!'.

This formation is probably cognate with the Nootka "hither" or "come" imperative.

Possessive. There is a set of six pronominal suffixes that are added to nouns to express the possessor. Their surface forms are: $-\text{sis}$ 'my', $-\text{sic}$ 'your (sg.)', $-\overset{3}{u}\cdot\text{c}$ 'his, her, its', $-\text{dis}$ 'our', $-\text{sagsa}$ 'your (pl.)', $-\overset{3}{u}\cdot\text{ca}\overset{3}{i}$ 'their'. The last is clearly derived

from the third person singular by a suffix that has the same shape, -^oaɬ, as the subjective plural suffix in the absolutive series, hence -³uɬc-^oaɬ. Beyond this it is hard to analyze. -sic 'your (sg.)' could be -s-^oic. It is difficult to know which s in -sis 'my' signals first person singular. A comparison with -dis 'our' suggests the first, but a comparison with -sic 'your (sg.)' suggests the last. The last syllable of -saqsɑ 'your (pl.)' is the same as the second person plural suffix of the non-indicative series, basic -sa[.]. The preceding piece, -aq- is reminiscent of the -qa- of the Nootka possessive paradigm, thus suggesting an etymological analysis -s-aq-sa[.]. Three of these forms suggest a possessive formative -s-.

Possessive past. The possessive suffixes may be preceded by the past tense morpheme in the shape -Bit to indicate previous possession that is no longer the case: qidi·ʔitdis 'our former dog', ta·la·bitsis 'my former money'.

Article. In a way part of the possessive series, because mutually exclusive with it, is the article -^oiq, which indicates a certain definiteness of reference: qidi·liq 'the dog', ta·le·^oiq 'the money'. This is perhaps to be regarded as a nominalization of the third person singular indicative suffix, hence -^oi-q. This may be followed in turn by demonstrative elements: čapačiqɑ·k 'this canoe', baʔasiqɑ·c 'that house'. In contradistinction to what is described for Nitinat, this article does not enter into the nominal paradigm, being added only to nouns, not to nominalized verbs.

Article past. The article may be preceded by the past tense suffix in the shape -Bu, to indicate something no longer extant: baʔasʔuq^w 'the former house', ʔu·k^wšu·dabʔuq^w 'Raven that used to be'.

Independent pronouns. The independent pronouns, occurring in the first two persons, are listed at the bottom of p. 33. The first person plural has redundantly taken on the suffix of the non-independent series. The second person plural is derived by the suffix -č from the corresponding singular. All of these show a final piece -a[.], and due to the resemblance of the first parts to corresponding suffixes, these stems are at least historically further segmentable. The vowels of the first syllable are unexpectedly short, failing to show the compensatory lengthening that would be implied by the presence in the Nootka cognates of the glottalized resonants -ỵ- and -ẉ-.

Indicative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-si·cux ^W -s-i·-cux	-s -s	- ³ its - ³ it-s
2s.	- ⁰ icis - ⁰ ic-is		- ⁰ ic - ⁰ ic	- ³ idic - ³ it- ⁰ ic
3s.			- ⁰ (i) - ⁰ i	- ³ id - ³ it- ⁰ i
1p.		-di·cux ^W -d-i·-cux	-id -id	- ³ itid - ³ it-id
2p.	- ⁰ ico·wasač - ⁰ ic-o·wa-sač		- ⁰ ica - ⁰ ic-a·	- ³ idica - ³ it- ⁰ ic-a·
3p.			- ⁰ ił - ⁰ i-ł	- ³ idil - ³ it- ⁰ i-ł
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-so·wacux ^W -s-o·wa-cux	-sa·ł -s-a·ł	- ³ itsa·ł - ³ it-s-a·ł
2s.	- ⁰ icdi·s - ⁰ ic-d-i·-s		- ⁰ ica·ł - ⁰ ic-a·ł	- ³ idica·ł - ³ it- ⁰ ic-a·ł
1p.		-do·wacux ^W -d-o·wa-cux	-da·ł -d-a·ł	- ³ itda·ł - ³ it-d-a·ł
2p.	- ⁰ icdo·wasač - ⁰ ic-d-o·wa-sač			

Indicative Past

	1s.	2s.	3s.	pl. ps.
1s.		-Bitsi·cux ^W -Bit-s-i·-cux	-Bits -Bit-s	- ³ itits - ³ it-Bit-s
2s.	-B [?] ucis -Bu- ⁰ ic-is		-B [?] uc -Bu- ⁰ ic	- ³ it [?] uc - ³ it-Bu- ⁰ ic
3s.			-B [?] u -Bu- ⁰ i	- ³ it [?] u - ³ it-Bu- ⁰ i
1p.		-Bitdi·cux ^W -Bit-d-i·-cux	-Bitid -Bit-id	- ³ ititid - ³ it-Bit-id
2p.	-B [?] uco·wasač -Bu- ⁰ ic-o·wa-sač		-B [?] uca -Bu- ⁰ ic-a·	- ³ it [?] uca - ³ it-Bu- ⁰ ic-a·
3p.			-B [?] u ₁ -Bu- ⁰ i- ₁	- ³ it [?] u ₁ - ³ it-Bu- ⁰ i- ₁
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-Bitso·wacux ^W -Bit-s-o·wa-cux	-Bitsa· ₁ -Bit-s-a· ₁	- ³ ititsa· ₁ - ³ it-Bit-s-a· ₁
2s.	-B [?] ucdi·s -Bu- ⁰ ic-d-i·-s		-B [?] uca· ₁ -Bu- ⁰ ic-a· ₁	- ³ it [?] uca· ₁ - ³ it-Bu- ⁰ ic-a· ₁
1p.		-Bitdo·wacux ^W -Bit-d-o·wa-cux	-Bitda· ₁ -Bit-d-a· ₁	- ³ ititda· ₁ - ³ it-Bit-d-a· ₁
2p.	-B [?] ucdo·wasač -Bu- ⁰ ic-d-o·wa-sač			

Relative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-x̣si·cux̣ ^W -x̣-s-i·-cux̣	-x̣s -x̣-s	-x̣its -x̣- ^ʹ it-s
2s.	-x̣icis -x̣- ⁰ ic-is		-x̣ic -x̣- ⁰ ic	-x̣idic -x̣- ^ʹ it- ⁰ ic
3s.			-x̣ -x̣- ⁰ i	-x̣id -x̣- ^ʹ it- ⁰ i
1p.		-x̣di·cux̣ ^W -x̣-d-i·-cux̣	-x̣id -x̣-id	-x̣itid -x̣- ^ʹ it-id
2p.	-x̣ico·wasač -x̣- ⁰ ic-o·wa-sač		-x̣ica -x̣- ⁰ ic-a·	-x̣idica -x̣- ^ʹ it- ⁰ ic-a·
3p.			-x̣ił -x̣- ⁰ i-ł	-x̣idił -x̣- ^ʹ it- ⁰ i-ł
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-x̣so·wacux̣ ^W -x̣-s-o·wa-cux̣	-x̣sa·ł -x̣-s-a·ł	-x̣itsa·ł -x̣- ^ʹ it-s-a·ł
2s.	-x̣icdi·s -x̣- ⁰ ic-d-i·-s		-x̣ica·ł -x̣- ⁰ ic-a·ł	-x̣idica·ł -x̣- ^ʹ it- ⁰ ic-a·ł
1p.		-x̣do·wacux̣ ^W -x̣-d-o·wa-cux̣	-x̣da·ł -x̣-d-a·ł	-x̣itda·ł -x̣- ^ʹ it-d-a·ł
2p.	-x̣icdo·wasač -x̣- ⁰ ic-d-o·wa-sač			

Conditional

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-qeysi·cux ^W -qey-s-i·-cux	-qeys -qey-s	- ³ itqeys - ³ it-qey-s
2s.	-qeysi·s -qey-s-i·-s		-qeysu -qey-su·	- ³ itqeysu - ³ it-qey-su·
3s.			-qey -qey-u	- ³ itqey - ³ it-qey-u
1p.		-qeydi·cux ^W -qey-d-i·-cux	-qeyd -qey-d	- ³ itqeyd - ³ it-qey-d
2p.	-qeyso·wasač -qey-s-o·wa-sač		-qeysa -qey-sa·	- ³ itqeysa - ³ it-qey-sa·
3p.			-qeyu↓ -qey-u-↓	- ³ itqeyu↓ - ³ it-qey-u-↓
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-qeyso·wacux ^W -qey-s-o·wa-cux	-qeysi·↓ -qey-si·-a·↓	- ³ itqeysi·↓ - ³ it-qey-si·-a·↓
2s.	-qeydi·s -qey-d-i·-s		-qeysu·↓ -qey-su·-a·↓	- ³ itqeysu·↓ - ³ it-qey-su·-a·↓
1p.		-qeydo·wacux ^W -qey-d-o·wa-cux	-qeydu·↓ -qey-du·-a·↓	- ³ itqeydu·↓ - ³ it-qey-du·-a·↓
2p.	-qeydo·wasač -qey-d-o·wa-sač			

Absolutive

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-si·cux ^W -s-i·-cux	-si -si·	- ³ itsi - ³ it-si·
2s.	-si·s -s-i·-s		-su -su·	- ³ itsu - ³ it-su·
3s.			-∅ -∅	- ³ it - ³ it -∅
1p.		-di·cux ^W -d-i·-cux	-du -du·	- ³ itdu - ³ it-du·
2p.	-so·wasač -s-o·wa-sač		-sa -sa·	- ³ itsa - ³ it-sa·
3p.			- ⁰ ał -∅- ⁰ ał	- ³ idal - ³ it-∅- ⁰ ał
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-so·wacux ^W -s-o·wa-cux	-si·ł -si·-a·ł	- ³ itsi·ł - ³ it-si·-a·ł
2s.	-di·s -d-i·-s		-su·ł -su·-a·ł	- ³ itsu·ł - ³ it-su·-a·ł
1p.		-do·wacux ^W -d-o·wa-cux	-du·ł -du·-a·ł	- ³ itdu·ł - ³ it-du·-a·ł
2p.	-do·wasač -d-o·wa-sač			

Quotative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-wa·tsi·cux ^W -wa·t-s-i·-cux	-wa·tsi -wat-si·	- ³ itwa·tsi - ³ it-wa·t-si·
2s.	-wa·tsi·s -wa·t-s-i·-s		-wa·tsu -wa·t-su·	- ³ itwa·tsu - ³ it-wa·t-su·
3s.			-wa·d -wa·t- ⁰ a	- ³ itwa·d - ³ it-wa·t- ⁰ a
1p.		-wa·tdi·cux ^W -wa·t-d-i·-cux	-wa·tdu -wa·t-du·	- ³ itwa·tdu - ³ it-wa·t-du·
2p.	-wa·tso·wasač -wa·t-s-o·wa-sač		-wa·tsa -wa·t-sa·	- ³ itwa·tsa - ³ it-wa·t-sa·
3p.			-wa·da ₁ -wa·t- ⁰ a- ₁	- ³ itwa·da ₁ - ³ it-wa·t- ⁰ a- ₁
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-wa·tso·wacux ^W -wa·t-s-o·wa-cux	-wa·tsi· ₁ -wa·t-si·-a· ₁	- ³ itwa·tsi· ₁ - ³ it-wa·t-si·-a· ₁
2s.	-wa·tdi·s -wa·t-d-i·-s		-wa·tsu· ₁ -wa·t-su·-a· ₁	- ³ itwa·tsu· ₁ - ³ it-wa·t-su·-a· ₁
1p.		-wa·tdo·wacux ^W -wa·t-d-o·wa-cux	-wa·tdu· ₁ -wa·t-du·-a· ₁	- ³ itwa·tdu· ₁ - ³ it-wa·t-du·-a· ₁
2p.	-wa·tdo·wasač -wa·t-d-o·wa-sač			

Subordinate

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-x̣si·cuḡ ^W -X̣-s-i·cuḡ	-x̣si -X̣-si·	- ³ itx̣si - ³ it-X̣-si·
2s.	-x̣si·s -X̣-s-i·-s		-x̣su -X̣-su·	- ³ itx̣su - ³ it-X̣-su·
3s.			-qa -X̣-a·	- ³ itqa - ³ it-X̣-a·
1p.		-x̣di·cuḡ ^W -X̣-d-i·-cuḡ	-x̣du -X̣-du·	- ³ itx̣du - ³ it-X̣-du·
2p.	-x̣so·wasač -X̣-s-o·wa-sač		-x̣sa -X̣-sa·	- ³ itx̣sa - ³ it-X̣-sa·
3p.			-qa·ᄀ -X̣-a·-ᄀ	- ³ itqa·ᄀ - ³ it-X̣-a·-ᄀ
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-x̣so·wacuḡ ^W -X̣-s-o·wa-cuḡ	-x̣si·ᄀ -X̣-si·-a·ᄀ	- ³ itx̣si·ᄀ - ³ it-X̣-si·-a·ᄀ
2s.	-x̣di·s -X̣-d-i·-s		-x̣su·ᄀ -X̣-su·-a·ᄀ	- ³ itx̣su·ᄀ - ³ it-X̣-su·-a·ᄀ
1p.		-x̣do·wacuḡ ^W -X̣-d-o·wa-cuḡ	-x̣du·ᄀ -X̣-du·-a·ᄀ	- ³ itx̣du·ᄀ - ³ it-X̣-du·-a·ᄀ
2p.	-x̣do·wasač -X̣-d-o·wa-sač			

Nominal

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-Qiksi·cux ^W -Qi-k-s-i·-cux	-Qiks -Qi-k-s	- ² itiks - ² it-Qi-k-s
2s.	-Qiksi·s -Qi-k-s-i·-s		-Qik -Qi-k	- ² itik - ² it-Qi-k
3s.			-Q -Qi	- ² it - ² it-Qi
lp.		-Qikdi·cux ^W -Qi-k-d-i·-cux	-Qikdu -Qi-k-du·	- ² itikdu - ² it-Qi-k-du·
2p.	-Qikso·wasač -Qi-k-s-o·wa-sač		-Qiksa -Qi-k-sa·	- ² itiksa - ² it-Qi-k-sa·
3p.			-Qa·ǀ -Qa·-ǀ	- ² ita·ǀ - ² it-Qa·-ǀ
	lp.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-Qikso·wacux ^W -Qi-k-s-o·wa-cux	-Qiksi·ǀ -Qi-k-si·-a·ǀ	- ² itiksi·ǀ - ² it-Qi-k-si·-a·ǀ
2s.	-Qikdi·s -Qi-k-d-i·-s		-Qiksu·ǀ -Qi-k-su·-a·ǀ	- ² itiksu·ǀ - ² it-Qi-k-su·-a·ǀ
lp.		-Qikdo·wacux ^W -Qi-k-d-o·wa-cux	-Qikdu·ǀ -Qi-k-du·-a·ǀ	- ² itikdu·ǀ - ² it-Qi-k-du·-a·ǀ
2p.	-Qikdo·wasač -Qi-k-d-o·wa-sač			

Informational Interrogative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-Qiksi·cux ^W -Qi*-k-s-i·-cux	-Qi·ks -Qi*-k-s	- ³ iti·ks - ³ it-Qi*-k-s
2s.	-Qiksi·s -Qi*-k-s-i·-s		-Qi·k -Qi*-k	- ³ iti·k - ³ it-Qi*-k
3s.			-Qa·l -Qa·l	- ³ ita·l - ³ it-Qa·l
1p.		-Qikdi·cux ^W -Qi*-k-d-i·-cux	-Qikdu -Qi*-k-du·	- ³ itikdu - ³ it-Qi*-k-du·
2p.	-Qikso·wasač -Qi*-k-s-o·wa-sač		-Qiksa -Qi*-k-sa·	- ³ itiksa - ³ it-Qi*-k-sa·
3p.			-Qa·li·l -Qa·l-i·l	- ³ ita·li·l - ³ it-Qa·l-i·l
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-Qikso·wacux ^W -Qi*-k-s-o·wa-cux	-Qiksi·l -Qi*-k-si·-a·l	- ³ itiksi·l - ³ it-Qi*-k-si·-a·l
2s.	-Qikdi·s -Qi*-k-d-i·-s		-Qiksu·l -Qi*-k-su·-a·l	- ³ itiksu·l - ³ it-Qi*-k-su·-a·l
1p.		-Qikdo·wacux ^W -Qi*-k-d-o·wa-cux	-Qikdu·l -Qi*-k-du·-a·l	- ³ itikdu·l - ³ it-Qi*-k-du·-a·l
2p.	-Qikdo·wasač -Qi*-k-d-o·wa-sač			

Confirmational Interrogative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-Qa·ksi·cux ^W -Qa·-k-s-i·-cux	-Qa·ks -Qa·-k-s	- ³ ita·ks - ³ it-Qa·-k-s
2s.	-Qa·ksi·s -Qa·-k-s-i·-s		-Qa·k -Qa·-k	- ³ ita·k - ³ it-Qa·-k
3s.			-Qa -Qa·	- ³ ita - ³ it-Qa·
1p.		-Qa·kdi·cux ^W -Qa·-k-d-i·-cux	-Qa·kdu -Qa·-k-du·	- ³ ita·kdu - ³ it-Qa·-k-du·
2p.	-Qa·kso·wasač -Qa·-k-s-o·wa-sač		-Qa·ksa -Qa·-k-sa·	- ³ ita·ksa - ³ it-Qa·-k-sa·
3p.			-Qa·ǀ -Qa·-ǀ	- ³ ita·ǀ - ³ it-Qa·-ǀ
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-Qa·kso·wacux ^W -Qa·-k-s-o·wa-cux	-Qa·ksi·ǀ -Qa·-k-si·-a·ǀ	- ³ ita·ksi·ǀ - ³ it-Qa·-k-si·-a·ǀ
2s.	-Qa·kdi·s -Qa·-k-d-i·-s		-Qa·ksu·ǀ -Qa·-k-su·-a·ǀ	- ³ ita·ksu·ǀ - ³ it-Qa·-k-su·-a·ǀ
1p.		-Qa·kdo·wacux ^W -Qa·-k-d-o·wa-cux	-Qa·kdu·ǀ -Qa·-k-du·-a·ǀ	- ³ ita·kdu·ǀ - ³ it-Qa·-k-du·-a·ǀ
2p.	-Qa·kdo·wasač -Qa·-k-d-o·wa-sač			

Usitative Indicative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-si·cux ^W a·k -s-i·-cux-a·k	-si·k -si-a·k	- ^ʔ itsi·k - ^ʔ it-si-a·k
2s.	- ⁰ icisa·k - ⁰ ic-is-a·k		- ⁰ icu·k ^W - ⁰ icu-a·k	- ^ʔ idicu·k ^W - ^ʔ it- ⁰ icu-a·k
3s.			- ⁰ i·k - ⁰ i-a·k	- ^ʔ idi·k - ^ʔ it- ⁰ i-a·k
1p.		-di·cux ^W a·k -d-i·-cux-a·k	-du·k ^W -du-a·k	- ^ʔ itdu·k ^W - ^ʔ it-du-a·k
2p.	- ⁰ ico·wasača·k - ⁰ ic-o·wa-sač-a·k		- ⁰ ico·wiča·k - ⁰ ic-o·wič-a·k	- ^ʔ idico·wiča·k - ^ʔ it- ⁰ ic-o·wič-a·k
3p.			- ⁰ i·łk - ⁰ i-ł-a·k	- ^ʔ idi·łk - ^ʔ it- ⁰ i-ł-a·k
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-so·wacux ^W a·k -s-o·wa-cux-a·k	-si·łk -si-a·ł-a·k	- ^ʔ itsi·łk - ^ʔ it-si-a·ł-a·k
2s.	- ⁰ icdi·sa·k - ⁰ ic-d-i·-s-a·k		- ⁰ icu·łk - ⁰ icu-a·ł-a·k	- ^ʔ idicu·łk - ^ʔ it- ⁰ icu-a·ł-a·k
1p.		-do·wacux ^W a·k -d-o·wa-cux-a·k	-du·łk -du-a·ł-a·k	- ^ʔ itdu·łk - ^ʔ it-du-a·ł-a·k
2p.	- ⁰ icdo·wasača·k - ⁰ ic-d-o·wa-sač-a·k			

Usitative Subordinate

Usitative Nominal

3s.

3s.

1s. -x̣si·k
-x̣-si·-a·k

-Qiksi·k
-Qi-k-si·-a·k

2s. -x̣su·k^w
-x̣-su·-a·k

-Qiksu·k^w
-Qi-k-su·-a·k

3s. -qa·k
-x̣-a·-a·k

-Qi·k
-Qi-a·k

1p. -x̣du·k^w
-x̣-du·-a·k

-Qikdu·k^w
-Qi-k-du·-a·k

2p. -x̣so·wača·k
-x̣-so·wač-a·k

-Qikso·wača·k
-Qi-k-so·wač-a·k

3p. -qa·ɫk
-x̣-a·-ɫ-a·k

-Qi·ɫk
-Qi-ɫ-a·k

Independent

1s. siya
siya·

2s. suwa
suwa·

1p. duwa·du
duwa·-du·

2p. suwa·č
suwa·-č

Responsive Indicative

	1s.	2s.	3s.	ps.
1s.		-si·cux ^w ši -s-i·-cux-ši·	-siši -si-ši·	- ³ itsiši - ³ it-si-ši·
2s.	- ⁰ icisa·ši - ⁰ ic-isa·-ši·		- ⁰ icši - ⁰ ic-ši·	- ³ idicši - ³ it- ⁰ ic-ši·
3s.			- ⁰ (i)ši - ⁰ i-ši·	- ³ idši - ³ it- ⁰ i-ši·
1p.		-di·cux ^w ši -d-i·-cux-ši·	-idši -id-ši·	- ³ itidši - ³ it-id-ši·
2p.	- ⁰ ico·wasača·ši - ⁰ ic-o·wa-sača·-ši·		- ⁰ ico·waši - ⁰ ic-o·wa-ši·	- ³ idico·waši - ³ it- ⁰ ic-o·wa-ši·
3p.			- ⁰ iłši - ⁰ i-ł-ši·	- ³ idilši - ³ it- ⁰ i-ł-ši·
	1p.	2p.	3p.	pp.
1s.		-so·wacux ^w ši -s-o·wa-cux-ši·	-sa·łši -s-a·ł-ši·	- ³ itsa·łši - ³ it-s-a·ł-ši·
2s.	- ⁰ icdi·sa·ši - ⁰ ic-d-i·-sa·-ši·		- ⁰ ica·łši - ⁰ ic-a·ł-ši·	- ³ idica·łši - ³ it- ⁰ ic-a·ł-ši·
1p.		-do·wacux ^w ši -d-o·wa-cux-ši·	-da·łši -d-a·ł-ši·	- ³ itda·łši - ³ it-d-a·ł-ši·
2p.	- ⁰ icdo·wasača·ši - ⁰ ic-d-o·wa-sača·-ši·			

NOTES

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²Makah is a language in the Nootkan branch of the Wakashan family, originally spoken in the vicinity of Cape Flattery, Washington. For an analysis and comparison of the subjective pronouns in the other two Nootkan languages, Nootka and Nitinat, see Mary R. Haas, Internal Reconstruction of the Nootka-Nitinat Pronominal Suffixes, IJAL 35.108-124 (1969), especially pp. 108-115, secs. 1-5.2. Morris Swadesh, A Structural Trend in Nootka, Word 4.106-119 (1948), compares analyzed Nootka and Nitinat pronouns and modal suffixes to Kwakiutl and Quileute. The following are the main published sources of descriptive information on the pronouns of these languages. For Nootka: Edward Sapir, The Rival Whalers, A Nitinat Story (Nootka Text with Translation and Grammatical Analysis), IJAL 3.76-102 (1924); Morris Swadesh, Nootka Internal Syntax, IJAL 9.77-102 (1939), especially pp. 82-84; and Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh, Nootka Texts, Tales and Ethnological Narratives, with Grammatical Notes and Lexical

Materials, Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1939, especially pp. 241-243. For Nitinat: Mary Haas Swadesh and Morris Swadesh, A Visit to the Other World, A Nitinat Text, IJAL 7.195-208 (1933). The following is a useful source on the syntax of pronouns and demonstratives in Kwakiutl, which belongs to the other branch of Wakashan: A. H. Timberlake, Kwakiutl Pronominals, 42 pp. dittoed, 1969, in Papers from the Seminar in American Indian Linguistics, Vol. 3, Harvard University, Department of Linguistics, 1970.

³This relationship of obligatory passivization was pointed out for Nootkan by Terry J. Klokeid in his paper for the Fourth International Conference on Salish Languages, Notes on the Comparison of Wakashan and Salish, Working Papers in Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Issue No. 7, August 1969, p. 11, sec. 3b, rules i-iii. Looking elsewhere in Wakashan and Salish, Klokeid found that Kwakiutl lacks these rules, but Squamish seems to show them, except that third person acting on first may sometimes be active, though commonly passive. Another language that shows traces of such a state of affairs is Proto-Algonkian, as pointed out by Bruce L. Pearson in his paper Internal Reconstruction of Proto-Algonkian Syntax, presented to the 69th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Diego, on November 21, 1970. It has of course been suggested that Algonkian might be related to Mosan or Wakashan, but I find such a typological similarity in itself a very weak kind of evidence for relationship. This general pattern occurs, of course, elsewhere, as in Yana (cf. Sapir, IJAL 1.83-84 [1917]).

⁴Haas, Internal Reconstruction of the Nootka-Nitinat Pronominal Suffixes, p. 109, sec. 2.2, rule (3), and p. 110, sec. 3. As Haas makes clear, a change $ts > c$ is not synchronically valid in Nootkan. Cf. Makah contrasts such as /kupe·?ic/ 'you (sg.) are pointing' : /kupe·?its/ 'he is pointing at me'.

⁵This corresponds fairly well to the distinction between two main sets of suffixes made by Haas, op. cit., pp. 110-113, secs. 3 and 4.2. The quotative in Nootka lines up with the indicative set. Corresponding to the borderline status of the Makah conditional, the cognate mode is placed with the non-indicative set in Nootka, but with the indicative set in Nitinat.

⁶The ramifications of this rule was discussed in my paper Labialization in Nootkan, presented to the Fourth International Conference on Salish Languages, August, 1969.

⁷For more details on vowel loss, shortening, and assimilation, see my paper Makah Vowel Insertion and Loss, presented to the Sixth International Conference on Salish Languages, August, 1971, especially pp. 13 ff., sec. 9 ff. This paper used the symbol $\underset{\circ}{-}$ for the morphophoneme that the present paper symbolizes by $_$.

⁸This distinction appears to be present in Nitinat also. Mary Haas Swadesh and Morris Swadesh, *A Visit to the Other World*, p. 205, after analyzing an example that constitutes a yes-or-no question and giving the corresponding pronominal paradigm, state, "This paradigm also occurs with the vowel i instead of a. Just when the i forms occur is not known as yet."

⁹Cf. Jacobsen, *Makah Vowel Insertion and Loss*, p. 21, sec. 18.