To appear in Proceedings of the Canadian Linguistics Association, 2000 meeting, UofTWPL

Kwakiutl, languages for which (10)b is the only possible structure. These two languages, whose paradigms are reproduced in (11) and (12), are notable in that they appear to manifest number distinctions in 1st person only. In addition, both languages have a 1st person singular pronoun as well as a 1st person inclusive plural pronoun and a 1st person exclusive one. The crucial property that distinguishes these languages is the lack of an Individuation node.

(11)	Maxakalí (Absolutive):		(12)	Kwakiutl (Nominative)		
	<u>-</u>	singular plural		<u>-</u>	singular	plural
	1st excl	'ũg/ 'ũk yũmũg		1st excl	-En	-Enuè _x u
	1st incl	'ũmũg		1st incl		-Ents
	2nd	nd 'ã		2nd	-Es	
	3rd	'ã		3rd	-	-
	Popovich (1986: 352)			Boas (1911)		

Exploiting the fact that 1st person plurals do not refer to a group of speakers, but rather to one speaker and one or more others, Ritter and Harley (1998) claimed that pronouns in these languages contrast only in person. Support for this approach comes from the observation that these languages normally make no morphological number or gender distinctions on nouns or verbs. Ritter and Harley developed an analysis for these languages that uses the four different [Participant] subgeometries available in the system, as shown in (13).

(13)	1st sg	2nd	1st excl pl	1st incl	
Part		Part	Part	Part	
		Addr	Spkr	Spkr Addr	
Maxakal	<u>i</u> 'ũg/ 'ũk	'ã	yũmũg	'ũmũg	
<u>Kwakiut</u>	<u>1</u> -En	-Es	- $Enu\grave{e}_Xu$	-Ents	

If number features are not present in the feature inventories of Maxakali and Kwakiutl, the only way to capture the contrasts among the four distinct 1st and 2nd person pronouns is by means of person features. Thus, in order to distinguish it