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Metaphors in Makah Neologisms

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Śrīgurave namāḥ.

O. Murray Emeneau's linguistic work has continually evinced a central concern with semantic questions, including the reflection by language of culture and world view, as represented, for example, by his 1949 presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America, "Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Patterns" (Emeneau 1950). Flying in the face of the Bloomfieldian proscription prevalent in those days, this discussed the assumption that "some forms are ordered in classes or subclasses corresponding to systems or subsystems within the environment," illustrating it with examples from chemical terminology, numerals, kinship systems, and status pronouns, but finding the fit to be generally somewhat imperfect. The present paper, while different in topic and less explicitly structured, is offered in a similar spirit.

1. It presents some observations on the processes by which the Makah language has acquired new words and expressions for newly acquired objects and concepts, focusing primarily on the words for items introduced under the impact of Western culture.

1.1. Makah is spoken in the area around Cape Flattery, at the northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. It is a member of the Wakashan language family, and thus finds its nearest relatives, Nitinat and Nootka, on Vancouver Island, on the opposite side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

1.2. It is commonplace in papers on linguistic acculturation to point out that there are three principal methods by which languages satisfy the need to name new things and concepts: either by borrowing the words from another language (including the possibility of loan-translations), or by shifting the meaning of words already present in the language so that they encompass the new concept, or else by coining new descriptive or metaphorical words or phrases according to patterns of derivation already present in the language. It is a striking fact of the Makah language, and apparently also of other languages of the Northwest Coast area (although relevant reports are rather scanty), that very heavy reliance has been placed on the third approach of coining new words, in preference to the other two.

1.3. The reasons for this are at least partly apparent. Starting in the 18th century, many new artifacts were introduced gradually, as a result of fleeting trading encounters or through the intermediary of other Indian groups, which left the Makah without an authoritative linguistic model to emulate. This situation may be contrasted with, say, that of the languages in the southern two-thirds of California, which are flooded with loanwords from Spanish for acculturational items, or with that of some languages of the
Great Basin, which were swamped by the sudden and continuing impact of English. A language from the coastal California area of the Franciscan missions, such as Salinan, has relied almost exclusively on borrowing from Spanish to label such items. A second primary reason is doubtless to be found in the rich derivational apparatus of the language, which allows flexibility in the manner of forming new words. This capability, which compares very favorably to that encountered in European languages, also leaves relatively free reign for Makah imaginative and conceptual orientations to express themselves by the choice among the varying semantic approaches to neologisms allowed by the language. Many of the patterns seen in neologisms are already present in terms for native flora and fauna or for implements of the well-developed indigenous technologies for woodworking, sea mammal hunting, and other spheres of activity.

2. Certainly other Indian languages have also relied heavily on new coinages as the preferred linguistic solution to these changing cultural conditions. To mention a few specific cases from the far west:

2.1. A similar distribution of strategies is seen in the Karok language of northwestern California, at the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast culture area, as described by William Bright in his article "Linguistic Innovations in Karok" (1952). Here there are a limited number of loanwords from English, mostly for animals and foods, a few native words with newly added semantic usages, and a large number of new formations of varied semantic approaches, using the grammatical processes of derivational suffixation and, especially, compounding.

2.2. The linguistic response of the Kiliwa language of northwestern Mexico to hispanic culture was thoroughly described by Mauricio J. Mixco in his paper at the Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1977). This language, unlike other Yuman languages, has largely resisted taking in loanwords from Spanish, apparently for reasons of cultural hostility, although a few camouflaged loans were discerned, as well as a few loanwords pertaining to gambling. Numerous extensions or shifts of the meaning of native terms are reported, along with a larger number of words formed by derivational processes, especially that of relativization.

2.3. In the Washo language of the western Great Basin there are some twenty loanwords from Spanish, probably acquired via other Indian languages, along with a moderately large number of borrowings from English. Shifts of meaning of some native terms also occur. Many derivational neologisms are also found, especially for tools and implements, but they lack the semantic and morphological variety found in these other languages, being primarily deverbal formations obtained by prefixation, and expressing the function of the artifact.

3. Unlike Kiliwa and certain other languages of the American Southwest, Makah seems to have had no cultural resistance to loanwords, but has kept the number of them moderate. A brief indication may be given of their nature.
3.1. These are most of the older loanwords for introduced items that are from Chinook Jargon or otherwise from French. They apply to large animals: bu·sbu·sa 'cow, bull', kiba·la, kiwa·la 'horse', libi·tu· 'sheep' (Fr. le mouton), k'išu· 'pig' (Fr. cochon), pišpiš· 'cat'; to cloth items: lisa·k 'sack, gunny sack' (Fr. le sac), lisko·la 'shawl' (Fr. le châle), lalu·pa· 'ribbon' (Fr. le ruban); and to various other artifacts or trade items: lapu·ta·ya 'bottle' (Fr. la bouteille), la·ba 'liquor, whiskey' (Eng. rum), ta·la· 'silver, money, coin' (Eng. dollar), či·kści·ka 'horse-drawn wagon, buggy, riding cart', bu·la· 'machine, motor, engine' (Fr. moulin). Sources of these Chinook Jargon words include other Indian languages, as well as French and English. These are not the earliest loanwords in the language, as a number have been observed which come from other nearby Indian languages, primarily Quileute, the southern neighbor of Makah, and the other Nootkan languages, Nitinan and Nootka, but these are left out of consideration here, as presumably not involving such a sudden or drastic cultural reorientation.6

3.2. The following are a selection from the loanwords from English, leaning toward the more widely shared and presumably earlier introductions. These apply to plants including: bi·dis 'beans', ha·psa 'hops', ke·bič 'cabbage', de·dups 'turnip, rutabaga', pa·snips 'parsnip', la·yis, lays 'rice', he·pilis, e·pilis 'apple', o·linčas, o·linčis 'orange', pičis 'peach, apricot', kilips, kli·ps 'grapes', li·sidis 'raisins', wa·tabe·leda 'watermelon', pe·pa· 'pepper', si·dis 'seeds'; to food preparations like: pa·yis 'pie', keyk 'cake', ki·čis 'flapjack, pancake, waffle', sa·lapa 'syrup', ke·čap 'ketchup', baš, maš 'mush', la·da 'lard', ayski·m 'ice cream'; to beverages such as: ti· 'tea', ko·pi· 'coffee', bi·ya· 'beer', wa·yda, wa·yina 'wine', pa·p 'soda pop', ku·ku· 'co·coa'; to items of apparel including: ku·ta 'coat, overcoat', če·kit 'lady's blouse' (Eng. jacket), šu·wis 'shoes', bu·c 'boots', lipas 'slippers', te·kidis 'stockings, socks'; to other personal effects like: he·čip, he·čiba 'handkerchief', ta·wila 'towel', wa·ča 'watch, clock'; to metals and coins: ku·la 'gold', ša·ta 'bullet, lead' (Eng. shot), bi·ta 'dime, 10c' (Eng. bit), ka·ta· 'quarter, 25c'; to various other artifacts such as: so·sas 'saucer', buka 'book', ba·blis 'marbles', pakit 'bucket', ko·s 'cross', wa·pa 'dock, wharf', bu·ta 'boat', li·lu·ta 'train, railroad'; to broader concepts: ta·wisida 'thousand', ta·wida 'town'; to place names including: bitu·li 'Victoria', pu·ta·wsida 'Port Townsend'; and to categories of persons: pi·šbe·da 'fisherman' ke·ptida 'captain', bo·sa 'boss', da·kta· 'doctor', bo·stimne·na 'American' (Eng. Boston man), kinčo·ča·atx 'Canadian' (Eng. King George), šu·ča·atx 'soldier', badwa·atx 'sailor' (Eng. man-of-war) (the last three containing the tribal or local group name suffix -atx).

3.3. Recurrent sound substitutions will be observed in these loanwords, such as the use of l for r, of voiced stops b and d for the nasals m and n, and the dropping of initial s before another consonant. The Makah words cited are shown in morphophonemically underlying forms with respect to the ends of the words, but not in
other respects. When pronounced, final short vowels are lost and final long vowels are shortened; thus la'ba 'liquor, whiskey' is pronounced /la'b/, and ta'la 'silver, money, coin' is pronounced /ta'la/. Also, labialization of final dorsals is lost. When following the vowel u, dorsals (that is, k's, q's, and x's) are always labialized, including when word-final; this is, however, not indicated in the orthography used.

It will be seen that many of the borrowed words have had a short final a added; this is partly on phonological grounds, as words never end in voiced or glottalized consonants in their basic forms; correspondingly, except where vowels are secondarily lost, such consonants cannot be the first members of consonant clusters. As mentioned, such vowels are not pronounced word-finally, but only when a suffix follows. On the other hand, the added -a may have morphological status as the marker of the durative aspect; it will be seen to have been added also in some words after voiceless stops and fricatives. The added -a occurs in similar fashion in related Nootka, where it is actually pronounced; e.g. na'ma /na'ma/ 'whiskey'.

4. We may also illustrate a few typical examples of the second way of labeling new items, that of extending the meaning of words already present in the language for things which served the same or a related function. This is an extremely common device, as doubtless in any language, but the meaning shifts are often rather subtle and easily overlooked. The word for 'match', si?i?, si?i?yak", formerly meant 'fire drill', a meaning not mentioned by any of my informants, but attested from related languages, and also indicated by the literal meaning "(for) stirring on the floor" (si-, m. si?i, r. si?i?ya 'to stir, strike a match'). 'Sandpaper', q?i?qi?ba, was formerly 'dried dogfish skin' used in similar fashion (cf. q?i?q-, m. q?i?qši? 'to char canoe-bottom to remove splinters'). The word pi?xi?yak" 'telescope, binoculars', lit. "for looking", and the corresponding verbal expression pi?xi-, d. pi?xa-, r. pi?xi?xa 'to look with a telescope' seems to have been extended from pi?xi-, m. pi?xi?ši? 'to inspect a canoe for straightness'. Unlike what occurred in many Indian languages, the word for 'bow' (bistati?) was not turned to account to mean 'gun', but busq-, m. busqši? 'to have a bow pulled back and ready' came to mean the comparable state 'to have a gun cocked'. The meaning of 'pump' was added to that of xučak" '(hand-held) bailer' (xu-, m. xuči, r. xu'ʌxu'ya 'to bail'). Modern chewing gum' has replaced the earlier substance 'spruce pitch' as the referent of ʌakitbis, lit. 'chewing material' (ʌakit-, r. ʌa'la'kita 'to chew gum'). The meaning 'to unlock' has been added to the others of the stem ʌaq?-, m. ʌaqši? 'to untie, untangle, unwind' with the introduction of locks and keys. The expression for 'to write' is obtained by an extension of the meaning of cat-, m. ʌatši? 'to draw, mark, color'. And, as in so many Indian languages, the word for 'person', ʌicuxadi', has taken on the meaning of 'Indian' in contexts where it is opposed to the word for 'white man'.

5. A more restricted potential additional process would be the
making up of onomatopoetic words for new sounds made by objects not previously present. It is often difficult to ascertain whether such words are completely new formations or extensions of words for sounds already available in the environment. The stem ca·sk-, m. ca·skšǐl, r. ca·skčaa·skca 'bell to ring' may be a new formation, but pu·tq-, m. pu·tqšǐl, r. pu·tqpu·tqa '(horn, whistle) to blow, (siren) to sound' seems to be an extension of meaning; cf. Nootka pu·tq-, d. pu·tq·a 'to blow a horn, to breathe upon (in doctoring)'. And hu·x-, m. hu·xšǐl, r. hu·xu·xa '(people) to whistle, give a high-pitched yell "hu"', (train or boat whistle) to sound may be an extension of meaning from a sound emitted by humans to keep track of each other when berry-picking, later as a warning to other traffic when riding on a hay-wagon, and then to the sound of a train or boat whistle; cf. Nootka huŋ-, d. huŋa- '(steamer, train, etc.) to howl, whistle'.

6. We come now to the new coinages from native materials on which I wish primarily to focus. For some items a coinage exists side by side with a loanword, as with the following pairs of words: 'squash' q̣aq·abdaq̣a, lit. 'yellow inside' (a·baq̣-, q̣abq̣ak 'yellow, green'), ḳa·s; 'watermelon' ča·q̣a, lit. 'water inside' (ča-, čaʔak 'water'), wa·ṭabe·leda; 'molasses' ča·bassit, lit. 'sweet liquid' (čabas 'sweet, sugar, candy'), bule·s; 'shovel' čusu·yaḳ, lit. 'for digging' (čus-, čusši 'to dig a hole'), še·bila; similar alternative expressions are also presented elsewhere in this paper for 'grapes', 'pepper', 'pie', and 'cross'. Alternative coinages embodying different descriptions or comparisons are also attested, as for 'nickel, 5¢', which is either ?aʔata, lit. 'thick ones' (?ata 'thick') or titiđičkuk, lit. 'looks like a rock' (tiđičuk 'rock, stone'). Alternative morphological formations expressing approximately the same meaning also occur.

7. The other papers on the general topic of neologisms and linguistic acculturation that I have examined have all organized their materials primarily in one of two ways: either according to the general cultural sphere involved in the terms or according to the grammatical formations present. In the present paper, however, I am experimenting with organizing the derivational neologisms on a semantic basis, according to whether the term involves a straightforward description or a metaphorical comparison, and further according to the various points of departure for description or metaphor. Such a categorization will inevitably be more subjective than the other two types, and will also tend to coincide in places with one or the other of them, but it seemed to be suggested by the richly varied patterns encountered in this language. The examples presented are selective, rather than exhaustive, which runs the danger of distorting the patterns present, but in any case this approach may help to reaffirm my long-standing adherence to the "old curiosity shop" school of linguistics.

8. A wide range of aspects of these acculturational items are used as a descriptive basis for new words.

8.1. Quite common is a description of the function of an item.
This manner of labeling is applied to artifacts of various sorts. The following are a selection from the numerous examples obtained. Many belong to the sphere of tools and utensils: ḡa‘a‘ ḡakatayakw 'iron', lit. "for ironing" (ḡaškat-, ḡakatuk 'stiff', r. ḡa‘a‘ ḡakat 'to iron'), ḡaqqa‘ ḡayakw 'key', lit. "for unlocking" (ḡaq-, m. ḡaqšiš 'to unlock, untie, untangle, unwind'), ḡıkayaxbašayakw 'frying pan', lit. "for frying moving about on up" (ğıyax-, m. ḡıkayaxšiš, r. ḡičišiya 'to fry'), da‘ča‘wiliyakw 'mirror, looking-glass', lit. "for looking at one's face" (dač-, m. dačšiš 'to look at'), qu‘q skidukštaqsuba 'toothpick', lit. "poking around between" (qu‘-s-, r. qu‘squ'sa 'to poke with a long object'), čata‘yakw 'pencil, pen, writing instrument', lit. "for writing" (čat-, m. čatšiš 'to write'), ba‘qčqi‘ba 'umbrella', lit. "shelter overhead" (ba‘q- 'shelter'). Other examples belong to the sphere of wearing apparel: Ai‘iščiqayakw 'trousers, pants, panties', lit. "for the legs" (Ai‘iščišda 'foot, leg'), ḡupsaqstäba 'underwear, undershirt', ḡupsaqšiyakw 'men's underwear', lit. "(for) keeping warm under one's clothing" (ąb- 'warm, hot'), we‘iščiqišda 'nightgown, pajamas', lit. "sleeping garment" (we‘išči 'to sleep'), ta·ta‘dakčuba 'overshoes, rubbers', lit. "adding on at feet" (ta·da- 'to add on, pile on, stack up'). Other items exhibit more passive functions in various semantic domains: yacačis 'stirrup', lit. "stepping surface" (yac- 'to step'), čatačis 'desk', lit. "writing surface", baq‘qsuba 'bridge', lit. "tying in the mouth" (baq‘ 'to tie'), čušşaq 'wash tub', lit. "washing vessel" (ču-, m. čuššiš 'to wash'), ḡačqayakw 'revolver, pistol', lit. "for one hand", we‘išqayakw 'mattress', lit. "for sleeping", ḡaqqa‘ ḡayakw 'jam, jelly', lit. "for spreading on" (ḣaqq-, m. ḡaqšiš 'to plop down, spread'), či‘išqayakw 'perfume', lit. "for pouring on" (či- 'to pour'), išišuβa, išišiyakw 'rug', lit. "(for) fabric covering floor" (išiš 'fabric spread'), ḡupa‘śiyakw 'pot, kettle', lit. "for round object to be up on" (hapus- 'round object').

Names for edifices typically express their function: we‘išču‘ was 'hotel', lit. "sleeping building", ha‘wa‘u was 'restaurant', lit. "eating building", baq‘q was 'store', lit. "buying building" (baq‘-, m. baqšiš 'to buy'), baq‘q was 'jail', lit. "tying-up building" (baq‘-, baqšiš 'to tie'), ču‘u‘ was 'laundry', lit. "washing building"; and similarly names for rooms in buildings: we‘iščuwiš 'bedroom', lit. "sleeping room", ha‘wa‘uwiš 'dining room', lit. "eating room" (ha‘u‘k, ha‘wa- 'to eat').


8.2. These derivational formations are continuations of patterns already extant in the language as applied to native artifacts, and sometimes old and new formations from the same stem exist side by side, as may be illustrated by this sampling of formations on the stem ti- 'to wipe'. These run from indigenous artifacts: tičakw 'small bundle of sticks used for rubbing during a bath', lit. "wiping
instrument", ti'kciba 'fine cedar sticks used as toilet paper', lit. "for wiping at the crotch", through words that may be older neologisms: tibeyi'lyak' 'mop', lit. "for wiping around on the floor", ti'tiqsuyak' 'dish towel', lit. "for wiping vessels", tiq'uba 'face towel', lit. "for wiping the face", ti'aksuba 'napkin', lit. "for wiping the mouth", to a presumably relatively recent formation: tiktup 'kleenex', lit. 'wiping thing'.

8.3. Many aspects of the physical makeup of articles are found to have been used as points of departure for descriptions. A number of items are described by their shape, as may be illustrated here for plants: wacitqapi'x 'almond', lit. "thin fruit" (wa'chida 'thin'), yuyućski'pili 'pear', lit. "small at the end" (yu'c-, yu'cak 'narrow'), yuyućwadi 'peanut; ant', lit. "narrow waisted", didišsabuwa's 'grapes', lit. "hanging in a cluster" (di'x-, di'xapil 'tangled in a bunch'), ci'cici'taba 'plum', lit. "cut on the side" (ci'-, m. ci'cili 'to cut').

8.4. This approach as applied to artifacts may also be illustrated: li'qapil 'whiskey flask', lit. "convex around" (li'q-, m. li'qisił 'convex/concave vertical or inverted; to tip, spill, capsize') kukuccswiq 'macaroni', lit. "holes through" (ku'x-, ku'xak 'hole'), ?a'ata 'nickel, 5c', lit. "thick ones", caxtqi 'steamboat, large boat, ship', lit. "round on the bottom" (ca'x-, ca'xapil 'round', ca'xuk 'to roll, rotate'), paq'ak 'cross (in Shaker church)', lit. "crossed". The expressions for a certain number of dollars are formed by the respective numbers with the classifier suffix for round objects, such as čakwa'qapil 'one dollar', bu'qapil 'two dollars', there being no independent word for 'dollar'. A shape as resulting more explicitly from an operation is exhibited by these terms: kuku'kiduk 'chain', lit. "hooking together" (ku'-, m. kučil 'to hook'), ba'akapil 'barrel', lit. "tied around (referring to the hoops)" (ba'ak-, m. ba'asili 'to tie'), siq'wadi 'dress', lit. "pleated at the waist" (siq'-, r. siq'qi'qa 'to make pleats'), ci'sapi 'telegraph or telephone wire; telegram, telephone', lit. "strung up in the air" (ci'- 'strung out'), ka'axapqa'qali 'pie', lit. 'plopped in', qa'ka'pix 'blue trade bead', lit. "cut" (qa'k-, m. qa'ksił 'to cut with sideways motion, whittle'). And more metaphorically: kaño'wa'at '50c piece', lit. "broken in half" (kaño-, kaño'sili 'to break up').

A changeable shape is: qi'kwiaj 'pocket knife', lit. "comes out". Some items are also described as functioning to cause a change of shape in another entity: yuçu'wadiyak' 'girdle', lit. "for a narrow waist", puxsi'qi 'baking powder', lit. "makes it puff up" (pux-, puxak, puxapil 'expanded, puffed up'), āacsi'qi 'butter', lit. "makes you fat, fattening" (āac-, āacasi 'fat (person)')

8.5. Color is also described, especially in the case of some plants: qa'qa'baqa'qal 'squash', lit. "yellow inside", ti'xiiša'dii 'carrots', lit. "red leg" (ti'x-, ti'xuk 'red'). Visible marks are in question in: čata'i 'letter', lit. "writing on fabric-like surface". Light itself is described in laka'ca'x 'lamp (kerosene or electric)', lit. "light inside" (lakč-, lakčuk 'light'). A different kind of brief display of color or light is found with bučisak 'gunpowder', lit. "flashing" (bu-, bu'ak 'to burn').
8.6. Senses other than sight are also appealed to, such as hearing. The production of sound is a primary function of items such as: ca'ska'yaq' 'bell', lit. "for ringing", du'ku'cu' 'radio, phonograph', lit. "singing in a container" (du-, dudu:k 'to sing'), du'kaqal 'phonograph, music box', lit. "singing inside", ukyaçcu 'phonograph', lit. "news in a container" (u'kya-, ukyaxbис 'news'). For other items, the sound seems to us more of a side effect. An egg, duçak', is literally a "singing device", referring to the cackling of the hen who has laid one. Other cases are: pu'yaq' 'gun', lit. "for going 'poo' (that is, 'bang')", akubuqaqidi 'boat with a motor, engine' (-qadi 'to sound like', cf. akubu:q=, r. ak'bu:qxa 'to hit sticks together, pound to keep time'), khabayak' 'slingshot', lit. "for snapping" (khabax-, m. khabaxsil 'to snap, click (as a trigger, trap)').

8.7. Taste is described in the labeling of various foodstuffs: ca'basit 'molasses', lit. "sweet liquid", caçaba'yaqal 'cake, candy, sweet roll', lit. "sweet inside", qa'îqa'yuqal, qa'îqa'yuqal 'pepper', lit. "burns in the mouth".

8.8. Smell is described in the case of çubap 'blue denim; denim overalls', lit. "smelly material" (çu-, çupaç 'smelly, stinking').

8.9. The material involved is the basis for the labeling of several objects, often combined with an indication of shape: hibiksa'diî 'candle', lit. "wax leg" (hibiks 'marrow, tallow, wax'), pu'qaqal 'feather mattress, feather bed', lit. "feathers inside" (pu' 'feathers, down'), libî'tuqal 'quilt', lit. "sheep [wool] inside" (libî:tu 'sheep'), ìkatapî 'gum hat, sou'wester', lit. 'gum around' (ìkitbis 'pitch, gum'). 'China ware', especially a 'dish' or 'bowl', as well as the material 'glass', is kii'u:k, lit. 'breakable' (kiâ-, m. kîlê 'to break, crack, shatter'). Based on this material, a 'glass eye' is kikiukuaqasíï, lit. 'glass in the eye'. Metals are referred to in: qabaçapî 'pan, dishpan', lit. 'tin around' (qabaç 'tin'), çau'sapî 'brass kettle', lit. 'brass around' (çausë 'raw; brass'), çacu'uswadi 'musket', lit. 'brass around the middle'.

8.10. Conversely, certain materials are named from the characteristic artifacts made from them: catica'yaqbab 'galvanized metal', lit. 'spoon material' (catica'yaq 'spoon'), te'kidisap 'yarn', lit. 'stockings material'. Indigenous examples of this pattern would be: wiisacab 'clay', lit. 'pipe material' (wiisac 'pipe'), salaxaçabap 'cattail (plant)', lit. 'cattail-mat plant' (salaxaç 'cattail mat').

8.11. A material is alternatively named from its source in the case of libî'tuqal 'wool', lit. 'sheep fabric'.

8.12. Some introduced animals were named by describing a distinctive body part. Thus ?i'-i?i-wabi 'donkey' is literally "big ears" (a label which seems ubiquitous among Indian tribes). A nonce-word for 'goat', made up in a church meeting, was hapa'aksii, lit. 'bearded'. This pattern of naming animals by describing a body part is well attested also for indigenous animals, e.g., ?a'ak'aql 'swallow', lit. 'two tails', kwak'aqlî 'porpoise', lit. 'broken tail', cícwaxsil 'wolf', lit. 'stinking mouth'.
9. In contrast to the preceding rather straightforward approaches to labeling new items are many metaphorical comparisons to previously familiar things. These comparisons are greatly encouraged by the existence of the handy suffix -kuk (plus initial CV-re-duplication) meaning 'looking like' or 'resembling'. The items seized on for comparison are varied.

9.1. One predominant type involves body parts or products: hahapswi?i; 'brush', lit. "hair-teeth" (hap-, hapsa:yup 'hair'), la:k's'aba 'cap', lit. "tongue at the forehead" (lak'- 'to lick', laka:ya:k 'tongue', lit. 'licker'), la:caqsiš 'pitcher', lit. 'sharp lips', xaa:xak 'hard tack, pilot bread, crackers', lit. "looks like bones" (xaš-, xaa:bi's 'bone'), cičiyupkuk 'spaghetti, macaroni', lit. "looks like intestines" (ciqtyup 'intestines'), dudu:xak 'light bulb', lit. "looks like an egg" (dućak 'egg'). The comparison to the body part is obvious in the case of artificial replacements: la:la:sakswi?i', la:la:sakswi?i-yak 'false teeth' (la:sa:, la:s'ak 'stranger, visitor, temporary, false'), la:la:sakswi?iš 'glass eye', lit. "false in the eye", la:la:saksta 'wooden leg', lit. "false leg", la:saqapl 'wag, toupee', lit. "false on the head". Closely related are comparisons to actions of body parts, as with baćak 'clothespin; pliers', lit. "for biting" (ba-... m. baćiš 'to bite'). Although not a matter of metaphor, it might be mentioned here that 'to row', dići-, r. dići:di'-la, is literally "to lean back repeatedly" (cf. di:lap 'to lean backwards', dići:li 'to lie on one's back'), thus describing the rower's bodily attitude rather than the function of propelling the boat; from this is derived dići:yak 'oar', lit. "for rowing". Metaphorical comparisons to body parts and actions are of course common everywhere, and are encountered also in the labeling of items of indigenous Makah culture. Thus, lak'īltaba 'point on the prow of canoe' is literally "tongue at the nose", and kada:dis 'projecting ornament on the prow of canoe' is also the word for 'uvula'. A 'willow species', qiiči:lap, is literally 'dog plant', presumably involving a comparison to tails (qiič-, qidi:la 'dog') (cf. Eng. pussy willow).

9.2. Other bases for comparison are indigenous fauna and flora. Examples of the former are found in: hahatq:kuk 'domesticated goose', lit. "looks like a [wild] goose" (ha:diq 'goose'), babacaskuk 'wheat, grain', lit. "looks like fleas" (bačasi:da 'flea'). Apparent comparisons to the manner of locomotion of certain creatures are seen in: xii:bi:is 'streetcar, car', lit. "crawling about on the ground" (xi-, xi:uk 'to crawl'), laa:pxuk 'la:pxuwiq 'airplane', lit. "flying" (la:x-, la:pxuk, m. laapšiš 'to fly'). Several apparently indigenous comparisons of one animal to another are also attested: qiiči:čuk 'coyote', lit. "looks like a dog", cičiči:biq:tq:kuk 'muskrat', lit. "looks like a mouse" (ciči:bi 'mouse, rat'), dadaxtač'kuk 'teal duck', lit. "looks like a mallard duck" (daxa:tač 'mallard duck'), qiiči:čuk 'tick', lit. "looks like a louse" (qič-, qiiči:da 'louse').

9.3. Comparisons to indigenous flora include: hiihisi:atq:kuk 'current', lit. "looks like a red huckleberry" (hisi: 'a:da 'red
huckleberry'), qaqa‘waşkuk 'raspberry', lit. "looks like a salmonberry" (qawaš, qakwey 'salmonberry'), lu’luxaci’yuba 'wattles of a rooster', lit. "thimbleberries at the throat" (lu’luxac 'thimbleberry').

9.4. Comparisons to native artifacts or structures are also found. A 'thimble' (also 'mushroom'), ciciyapuxuskuk, is literally said to "look like a hat" (cikya’puxs ‘hat’). A 'captain's hat with a shiny brim', či’yaks’a, is literally "knife at the forehead" (čiyak ‘knife’ [but not the usual term], lit. "for cutting" [či-, m. čičil ‘to cut with lengthwise motion’; cf. či’ksa’a ‘bangs’, lit. "cut at the forehead’], probably involving a comparison to the indigenous crescent-shaped knife type, called kucitida, kwicitida. And babaldi 'white man' is literally "house moving about on the water' (ba- ‘to dwell’, ba’as ‘house’), thus involving a comparison of the white men's ships to the Makahs' houses. Among agricultural implements, a comparison of the act of 'raking' to that of 'combing' is implied in kipsi’bi’isya’k ‘rake, hay rake, harrow’, lit. "for combing about on the ground" (kIp-, m. kipsiš ‘to comb’, kipsi’yak ‘comb’), and, more trivially, a comparison of 'hoeing' to 'chopping' is seen in hisi’bi’isya’k, hihišibi’isya’k ‘hoe, mattock’, lit. "for chopping about on the ground" (his-, m. hihišiš, r. hi’si’sa ‘to chop, whip’, hisi’yak ‘axe’, histu’p ‘whip’).

9.5. A rather different sort of metaphor to cooking processes is found in the fact that the metals 'brass' and 'copper' are called respectively by the words for 'raw' and 'cooked', ca’uš and siqi- (siq- ‘to cook’). This is just the opposite approach to that which we, who are familiar with metals, use when we say that someone is "bronzed" by the sun.

9.6. More abundant are comparisons to inanimate objects encountered in Makah territory. Examples noted include names for foods, plants, and a certain coin: čičisaq’uk ‘sugar’, lit. "looks like sand" (čisas’ac ‘sand’), hihišc’iq’uk ‘soda crackers’, lit. "looks like chips from chopping" (hišc’wi ‘chips from chopping’), kIsickuk ‘Indian bread, buckskin bread, fried bread, biscuits; flour’, lit. "looks like white dirt" (kIc’bi ‘white dirt’), pa’pa’ag’k’uk ‘yeast bread’, lit. "looks like a honeycomb (referring to the texture of the bread rather than to the shape of the whole loaf)" (pa’ag’c ‘nest, beehive’), tišišč’ik k’ičel, 5č’, lit. "looks like a rock" (tiši’č’uk ‘rock, stone’), titiščaq’q ‘cherry, also 'red berry sp.', lit. "stones inside", ca’ca’q’l ‘watermelon’, lit. "water inside" (ca-, ca’ak ‘water’).

10. Particularly striking are a number of metaphorical comparisons suggesting the maritime orientation of the culture. The extreme dependence of the Makahs and other Wakashan-speaking peoples on the sea for a food supply and as an avenue of transportation is obvious to a casual observer. Murray Emeneau's teacher Edward Sapir has remarked on the elaboration of vocabulary for naming creatures of the sea in these languages (1912:228; SWES 91) and on the deeply engrained grammatical fact of the occurrence in these languages of suffixes locating action as taking place on the beach, rocks, or sea
(1912:238; SWES 99) as clear linguistic evidence for a seashore environment and cultural interest therein among these Indians. So too in the metaphorical labels for certain introduced plants, foods, and artifacts do we find comparisons to creatures of the sea and to artifacts relating to navigation and fishing, most of which, I am sure, would never occur to one of us. The following are some such items, which of course overlap with preceding categories as being comparisons to animals, including their body parts and products, and to artifacts: ?a?ačpaba·dił 'corn', lit. "salmon eggs on a long object" (?a?čpa·ba 'salmon eggs; kidney'), ?a?ačpabakuk 'cheese', lit. "looks like salmon eggs", tet?etqkuk 'cucumber', lit. "looks like a sea cucumber" (te?idiw 'sea cucumber'), čača·pačaqli 'peas', lit. "canoes at the rear" (kapac 'canoe') su·yaqapi 'bottle' enclosed in wickerwork, demijohn', lit. "fish-net around" (su·yaq 'fish-net; spider-web'), haḥačukitkuk 'cannon', lit. "looks like the large end of a whale's intestines" (hačukit 'large end of a whale's intestines'). In this connection one might adduce also the previously presented metaphorical comparisons to sand and rocks (sec. 9.6). Metaphors of this type are also not limited to acculturational items. Some presumably indigenous examples are: sasad?aškuk 'angleworm', lit. "loqks like fishline" (sasad?aš 'fishline made of kelp'), xixicbuqkuk 'goat's-beard (plant)', lit. "looks like herring eggs" (xi·cu·bu·'u 'herring eggs') či·čihuqsta, či·čibuqspuí 'bow-legged', lit. "halibut-hook legs" (čibu·da 'halibut hook').

In connection with these examples, the following quotation from Sapir's paper "Language and Environment" seems particularly relevant:

"There is an obvious difference between words that are merely words, incapable of further analysis, and such words as are so evidently secondary in formation as to yield analysis to even superficial reflection. A lion is merely a lion, but a mountain-lion suggests something more than the animal referred to. Where a transparent descriptive term is in use for a simple concept, it seems fair in most cases to conclude that the knowledge of the environmental element referred to is comparatively recent, or at any rate that the present naming has taken place at a comparatively recent time. The destructive agencies of phonetic change would in the long run wear down originally descriptive terms to mere labels or unanalyzable words pure and simple. ... the transparent or untransparent character of a vocabulary may lead us to infer, if somewhat vaguely, the length of time that a group of people has been familiar with a particular concept. People who speak of lions have evidently been familiar with that animal for many generations. Those who speak of mountain lions would seem to date their knowledge of these from yesterday" (1912:230-231; SWES 92-93). In similar fashion, one would safely infer, for instance, that the Makah have been familiar with sea cucumbers for many generations, but have become acquainted with cucumbers only yesterday, while quite the reverse is true of the white man.

11. Attention may be called to a chronological ordering that can be observed in the terms for items of acculturation. It is of
course to be expected that various straightforward derivatives would be formed by the addition of suffixes to the various types of expressions for new items.

11.1. The following are a few examples involving the addition of suffixes to loanwords in the language. From ta'la 'money, coin, silver' are formed: ta'la'ksac 'purse, pocketbook, billfold, wallet', lit. "money vessel", ta'la'te'ilič 'play-money, counterfeit money', ta'la'w̃as 'bank', lit. "money building", ta'la'w̃as o'łuk 'banker', ta'la'xtida 'to be made of silver'. From la'ba 'liquor, whiskey' come: la'baqapuł 'heavy drinker, alcoholic', lit. "dreaming of liquor", la'ba'w̃as 'bar, saloon, tavern, liquor store', lit. "liquor building", la'ba'wałuk, la'ba'w̃as o'łuk 'bartender'. From ku'la 'gold' we have: ku'ku'lałsw̃i 'gold tooth', ku'lałxtida 'to be made of gold'. From e'pilis 'apple': e'pilis bap 'apple tree'; from ti 'tea': ti'ksac 'teapot'; and from kibta'la 'horse': kibta'labap 'horse turnip', lit. "horse plant" (perhaps a loan-translation). Other derivatives are of the productive type wherein the stem is the object of a verbal suffix: la'b̃iks 'to drink liquor, whiskey', wa'yd̃iks 'to drink wine', la'bi'duł 'to look for liquor, whiskey', bi'diśčak 'to cook beans', ku'takičila 'to put one's coat on', ta'la'xtidak'i: 'to make something of silver'. From which further derivatives may be made: pa'isičakyak 'pie pan', lit. "for cooking pies", ti'cakyak 'tea pot', lit. "for cooking tea".

11.2. Completely parallel are derivatives from descriptive expressions, the underlying forms for which are analyzed in other sections, as indicated: la'laškat'yačis 'ironing board', lit. "surface for iron" (8.1), qa'iqa'yuqapćuyak 'pepper shaker', lit. "for pepper being in a container" (8.7), qaqašułkašxuš 'having a raspberry birthmark on one's chest' (9.3), ba'ba'ba'ίqa 'to talk English' (babača 'white man') (9.4), ba'ba'ba'ίqašsi 'white man's eyes' (9.4), lišułkašxuyak 'bread box', lit. "for bread in" (9.6), ta'talqasubçačuyak 'glasses case', lit. "for glasses being in a container" (11.3).

11.3. But many of the metaphorical comparisons, also, are made to other items which were themselves introduced, presumably thus indicating that the items to which comparison is made either came in earlier or were more commonly encountered. Several examples of this type involve edible plants: ke'kebičkuk 'lettuce', lit. "looks like cabbage" (ke'bič 'cabbage'), o'čičiščakuk 'lemon', lit. "looks like an orange" ('o'čičas 'orange'). A comparison to an introduced animal is found in pi'piščiškuk 'bobcat; small fur seal sp.', lit. "looks like a cat" (pi'piščiš 'cat'). A comparison to an introduced plaything is seen in ba'ba'bliskuk 'radish', lit. "looks like marbles" (ba'blis 'marbles'). The other examples noted involve metals or money: ku'ku'lakuk 'penny', lit. "looks like gold" (ku'la 'gold'), čaćuščuk 'bronze', lit. "looks like brass" (čaćuš 'raw; brass'), ta'talqasuba 'glasses', lit. "money in the eyes" (ta'la 'money, coin, silver'). Thus this phenomenon gives indirect evidence for a prolonged period of time during which these neologisms were gradually created.
12. The time span in question doubtless correlates with the diffusion of some of these metaphors over a larger area. Thus the expression for 'white man' is shared by other Wakashan languages, including Kwakiutl. The general approach to neologisms, along with various cognate expressions, is shared by related Nootkan languages. But just as there is variability within Makah, so much the more so in the specific metaphors of related languages. Thus in closely related Nitinat, 'carrots', ḥailiationkʷ, literally "look like wild clover roots" (λič 'wild clover roots'), rather than having "red legs" (sec. 8.5). "Macaroni', ku'kú'kakk', literally "looks like worms" (ku'k 'worm, hooked stick'), rather than resembling "intestines" (sec. 9.1). A cognate form, babaśakkʷ, means 'rice' rather than 'wheat', which is said to "look like maggots" (bačsi'd 'maggots'), rather than "fleas" (sec. 9.2). Conversely, the metaphor may be shared even when the stem form is not cognate. Thus in Nitinat susúčakkʷ 'sugar' still "looks like sand" (su匹c 'sand'), although the word is different (sec. 9.6).¹⁷

This kind of variability reminds us of the accidental or arbitrary nature of some metaphors. But these isolated examples again demonstrate the truism that each language and each culture is a separate prism through which to view the world.

NOTES

¹A preliminary report on some of this material was offered in Jacobsen 1967. My field work on Makah has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the Desert Research Institute of the University of Nevada, and the Research Advisory Board of the University of Nevada, Reno.
²Cf. Bright 1973:716-721 for a survey of the possibilities, with numerous references. An informative survey of the approaches taken by nine Indian groups is found in Voegelin and Hymes 1953.
⁴My field work on Salinan was supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.
⁵My work on Washo has been supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, and by the Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada.
⁶A preliminary report on these loanwords was given in Jacobsen 1976.
⁷Nootka forms cited are from Sapir and Swadesh 1939.
⁸Abbreviations for aspecual formations: m., momentaneous; r., repetitive; d., durative.
⁹Cf. Bright 1973:719-720 for the major recent references.
¹¹Cf. Bright 1960:220, sec. 5.3 and 6.2 for some Californian examples.
¹²Cf. Boas 1931:165 for some descriptive terms for animals in Kwakiutl.
Cf. Waterman 1920:16, items 5 and 4a; the canoe-part meaning for the latter word is taken from this source.

Cf. Gunther 1945:27.

Gunther 1945:39 shows this term as applied to an indigenous plant of the pea family, the giant vetch.

Identification from Gunther 1945:33.

These Nitinat examples are taken from Klokeid 1968.

REFERENCES


