

MAKAH VOCATIVE VOCALISM

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Vocative forms in Makah are formed either by a change of vowel within a word, by which a vowel of quality a or i is replaced by e·, and one of quality u is replaced by o·, or by suffixing -e(·) to the word.¹ In the case of vowel change in the first syllable, the word may be clipped to the first one or two syllables. Most of the words for which such forms have been obtained are kinship terms, but they also occur in words for inanimate objects, and even in verb forms, especially in certain fixed expressions.

The forms are used in directly addressing or calling to a person or entity, as in

čo·k^wap šu?uk 'grandson, come here!'

I list the forms that have come to my attention, grouped according to the position of the changed vowel in the word and the amount of shortening that has taken place.²

Several words for close relatives show a change of the vowel in the first syllable, together with a shortening to monosyllable. I give the full (unanalyzed) word, its meaning, and the vocative form. The following show the a > e· change:

?abe·?iqsu (?abe·qsu)	'mother'	?e·b
hade·?iqsu (hade·qsu)	'uncle, aunt'	he·d

ba·bi·qsu	'older sibling, cousin'	be·b
dade·ʔiqsu (dade·qsu)	'grandparent, sibling of grandparent'	de·d
yaq ^w i·duq ^w ik	'partner, mate'	ye·q̣ ^w .

The form ye·q̣^w is used only between men.

The i > e change occurs in:

ʔiki·	'son'	ʔe·k.
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A disyllabic variant is given below.

The u > o change occurs in:

du·wi·qsu	'father'	do·w.
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The full words are given in underlying form as far as final vowels are concerned. By regular rule, final short vowels are lost and final long vowels are shortened.³ The -u of the kinship term absolute suffix -i·qsu is lost in additional environments also. Whether the vocative forms have underlying final short vowels is an academic question, since these are never followed by a suffix that would allow them to appear. But otherwise words ending in voiced or glottalized consonants are found to have underlying short final vowels. And there is evidence that the underlying stems have final short or long vowels, e.g., du·wi- 'father' and ʔaba:- 'mother'.

The clipping of vocative forms takes place mechanically, without regard to morpheme boundaries, and they preserve the meanings of the full forms regardless of where these are localized in them. In ye·q̣^w we have the remains just of the relative stem yaq^w-.

The following two words for close relatives show these vowel changes in the first syllable, but the shortening is to a two-syllable word. The i > e change is seen in:

hitaxwi·luba	'daughter'	he·tax.
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And the u > o change, along with a shortening of the second vowel, occurs in:

čuk^wa·piqsu 'grandson' čo·k^wap.

The retention of a longer form of these words is doubtless due to the need to avoid any possible ambiguity. The word for 'daughter' is made up of the "empty stem" hita- plus the suffix -xwi·łuba, which also occurs in ?a·sicxwi·łuba 'niece' (cf. ?a·si·qsu 'nephew') and čuk^wicxwi·łuba 'granddaughter'. Thus in vocative he·tax we have the stem plus just the first consonant of the suffix. 'Grandson' čuk^wa·piqsu is opposed to 'granddaughter' čuk^wicxwi·łuba, with respective stem shapes čuk^wa·p- and čuk^wic-; patently the second syllable is required to discriminate between these forms.

Some other words also show these vowel changes in the first syllable, but without any shortening. Those noted are all words for siblings and cousins, as differentiated by sex of relative and of ego. These show a > e change:

xačupsi·qsu	'brother, male cousin of female'	xe·čupsi·qs
ba?axsi·qsu	'sister, female cousin of female'	be·?axsi·qs.

The i > e change is seen in:

hitaččida (hitačč?ida)	'brother, male cousin of male'	he·taččid.
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And the u > o change occurs in:

łučaqsuba	'sister, female cousin of male'	ło·čaqsub.
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The variant vocative form ło·šxčaksub occurs in a myth in the speech style of Raven (regularly marked by -šx-).

Some other words, mostly for inanimate objects, embody these

The last word is said to be the Clallam word for 'whale'.

The change to e· also occurs with vowels that are final in a word. We see a· > e· in a name:

ḡaxax̣ta· name of a whaler ḡaxax̣te·.

A variant to a monosyllabic form given above also shows the change i· > e· of a final vowel:

?iki· 'son' ?ike·.

This shades into a final type, wherein -e· is suffixed to a word. My recordings inconsistently show both long and short vowels: the latter would be due to the regular process of word-final shortening, the former imply that these vocative forms may override this rule:

?u·šax̣u·da	'child'	?u·šax̣u·de
yuk ^w i·qsu	'younger sibling, cousin'	yuk ^w i?e·
ča·baṭa	'rich person, upper class person, chief'	ča·baṭe
?i·?i·x̣ ^w a	'big, large'	?i·?i·x̣ ^w e

The last forms occur in two similar expressions. After sneezing one said 'Heavenly Father, take care of me!':

?uča·?akiske	Take care of me
ča·baṭe	Lord
?i·?i·x̣ ^w e	great
hita·?a·čičatx̣.	living in Heaven!

If it tickled on the right side after sneezing, one might say:

čačabax̣e·?iske	Help me to be right at all times,
ča·baṭe.	Lord!

Some other words containing e·, although not paired off with plain forms, clearly convey this force of calling to someone. These include, e.g., ḡe·ko·w, expression of thanks for receiving a gift at

a party, and we·d (pl. we·dač), a call to ascertain whether anybody is present.

Note that the qualitative change u > o· is attested only in the first syllable. It seems clear that the forms with change of the first vowel, especially with clipping, are more standardized in the lexicon, hence available for use in a wider variety of contexts, while those with non-initial change to, or suffixation of, -e· are more limited to particular contexts, whether textual or pragmatic.

NOTES

¹Cf. Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh, *Nootka Texts, Tales and Ethnological Narratives, with Grammatical Notes and Lexical Materials*, Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, p. 210, fn. 4: "... Among the Tsishaath it is customary to make calling-out forms by changing an a or a· of the stem to e·, while further up the coast -e· or -a· is added. ..."

²These forms were obtained from Mrs. Nora Barker, Mrs. Viola Johnson, Mr. Ralph LaChester, and Mrs. Mabel Robertson. All cited conventional texts are from Mrs. Barker. My field work on Makah has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the Desert Research Institute, University of Nevada, and the Research Advisory Board, University of Nevada, Reno.

³Cf. 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.