

**SALISHAN LEXICAL SUFFIXES:
A STUDY IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SPACE**

by

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SALISHAN LEXICAL SUFFIXES: A STUDY IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SPACE

This dissertation addresses the semantics of lexical suffixes in Salish, a family of twenty-three languages indigenous to British Columbia and the northwestern United States. Lexical suffixes denote entities usually referred to by full noun phrases in other languages. There are a hundred or more lexical suffixes denoting basic vocabulary such as body parts (FACE, HAND, BACK), cultural implements (CANOE, HOUSE, CLOTHING), and natural elements (FIRE, GROUND, WATER). Most lexical suffixes are extremely old and can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish. Though they appear in many frozen expressions, lexical suffixes are still actively used today to coin new words. Control of the lexical suffix system is considered a mark of a fluent speaker.

I undertake a study of the cognitive semantics of lexical suffixes based both on secondary source materials and on original field work. My research uncovers semantic relationships that appear unmotivated if viewed within a single language, but which can be seen by the systematic comparative study of all the Salishan languages. I establish that lexical suffixes are polysemous entities, and that metaphorical processes, grounded in culture and cognition, define the conceptual categories of meaning underlying their polysemy. I show how the different meanings and functions of a suffix develop from a central concept by means of principles of semantic extension.

After a general survey of lexical suffixes and their properties, I give a detailed treatment of the meaning extensions of three body part suffixes and two material culture suffixes. These suffixes extend semantically to take on various functions including locational and relational concepts. This study, which gives the first systematic treatment of the semantic properties of lexical suffixes, contributes to Salishan linguistics. It compares the Salishan system to semantic studies of body-part terminology in other languages of the world. The Salish facts provide verification for the mechanisms of semantic extension of body parts into spatial concepts that have been proposed as universals of human language. Thus this study contributes to our understanding of the interface between language and cognition.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1PL	first plural	INTR	intransitive
1SG	first singular	INSTR	instrumental
1SB	first subject	INTRJCR	interjection
SB/OB	first subject/object	LOC	locative
2SG	second singular	MID	middle
2SG SB	second singular subject	NOM	nominative
3SG	third singular	OBJ	object
3SB	third subject	PART	particle
3POSS	third possessive	POS	positional
ABS	absolutive	POSS	possessive
ASP	aspect	PP	preposition
AUT	autonomous	PRGRS	progressive
BNFCT	benefactive	QUOT	quotative
CISLOC	cislocative	RSLT	resultive
COMP	complement	PRFX	prefix
CON	connective	SUB	subject
DEICT	deictic	SUF	suffix
DEM	demonstrative	TR	transitive
DET	determiner	TRNSLOC	translocative
DIR	directional	USIT	usitative
IMPER	imperative	WH	wh-interrogative

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction.

Lexical suffixes are substantival suffixes that have semantic content analogous to free-standing nominals of the same meanings. Salish languages have on the average one hundred or more lexical suffixes denoting basic vocabulary, such as body parts (HAND, FOOT, MOUTH), cultural implements (CANOE, HOUSE, CLOTHING), and natural elements (FIRE, GROUND, WATER) (Kinkade 1996). Some lexical suffixes and corresponding free nouns are given in example (1).

(1) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14)

=cəs	céləx	'hand'
=xən	sǰǰńə	'foot'
=éwtx ^w	léləń	'house'
=əlweʔs	sǰáməí	'paddle'

This dissertation addresses the question of how to account for the range of meanings that obtain for body-part and material-culture lexical suffixes in Salish languages. Three body-part suffixes, ABDOMEN, BACK, and EAR, and two material-culture suffixes, GAME ANIMAL and HIDE, are the focus of this study. I have systematically addressed the semantics of these five suffixes, positing principles that account for their locational, relational, and shape-classificatory meaning extensions. The approach I take is synchronic and comparative—semantic relationships that appear unmotivated within a single language tend to become transparent in a pan-Salish context.

Lexical suffixes extend semantically to cover several domains of human experience. The study of their meanings and word-formation patterns allow us a glimpse into the cognitive and cultural processes that shape their development. This analysis has two axes. One is synchronic, aiming to establish a central meaning for these suffixes through the study of their attested semantic extensions. The other is comparative and diachronic, aiming to reconstruct a proto-form, and to establish a proto-meaning by comparing the extensions of each suffix throughout the family. I argue that all semantic extensions of a suffix derive from a central meaning by means of cognitive or culturally motivated principles of extension, and that these meanings are related to each other through a lexical network anchored in the central meaning.

1.1 Salish languages.

There are twenty-three Salish languages, extending on a north-south axis from British Columbia to Oregon, and on a northwest-southeast axis from the Pacific Ocean to interior British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana. Sixteen of these languages belong in the Northwest Coast culture area; the seven remaining languages belong in the Plateau culture area. Table I shows the Salish languages by family branch. Extinct languages and dialects are marked with an asterisk.

SALISH LANGUAGES			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	DIALECT	CULTURAL AREA
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Talio	NORTHWEST COAST
Tillamook*	Tillamook*		
Central Salish	Comox	Island Comox, Sliammon	
	Pentlach*		
	Sechelt		
	Squamish		
	Halkomelem	Upriver (Chilliwack)	
		Downriver (Musqueam)	
		Island (Cowichan, Nanaimo)	
	Nooksack*		
	Northern Straits	Saanich, Sooke, Songhees	
		Samish, Lummi, Semiahmoo	
	Clallam		
	Lushootseed	Northern Lushootseed	
		Southern Lushootseed	
	Twana*		
Tsamosan	Quinault*		
	Lower Chehalis		
	Upper Chehalis	Satsop, Oakville, Tenino	
	Cowlitz		
Northern Interior	Lillooet	Lower Lillooet (Mount Currie)	PLATEAU
	Thompson		
	Shuswap	Eastern, Western	
Southern Interior	Okanagan	Northern, Southern-Colville	
	Columbian		
	Kalispel	Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead	
	Coeur d'Alene		

TABLE I : SALISH LANGUAGES AND CULTURE AREAS

The phonological and morphological cohesiveness of the Salish family is discussed by Kuipers (1967a), who observes that sound shifts in Salish are relatively minor, and that many grammatical morphemes appear in nearly identical forms over the whole Salish area. The contrast that emerges is one between phonology and morphology on the one hand, and the lexicon on the other. The lexicon of geographically distant Salish languages is as divergent as that of the main subdivisions of Indo-European, while phonologically and grammatically the relationship between languages is as close as that between Germanic and Slavic languages.

One hypothesis concerning the spread of Salish languages is that speakers of Proto-Salish inhabited an area in northwestern Washington and southwestern Canada in prehistoric times. They divided themselves into two groups, coastal and interior, separated by the coastal mountains of the area (Swadesh 1950). Suttles (1987:277) argues that the data used by Swadesh for the subgrouping of the Salish family indicates that the family consists of two language chains, a coastal chain extending north and south and an interior chain running from northwest to southeast; the two chains adjoin in the Fraser drainage. He further states that these facts are consistent with a homeland west of the Cascades, extending from the southern end of Puget Sound northward to the Fraser. This hypothesis proposes that an early offshoot of the language expanded into the interior, and that somewhat later there was an expansion northward and southward along the coast. Suttles points out that Kinkade and Powell (1976) differ in their view of the internal relations between Salish languages, but accept this location as the probable homeland of Salishan. In addition, he suggests that a clear understanding of the genetic relations and the analysis of patterns of diffusion for Salish languages will only come from a growing understanding of how the Native social systems worked (Suttles 1987:280).

The place of Bella Coola is unique among Salish languages in that it is sometimes considered a near-isolate. Kuipers (1998:296-306) discusses "the curious history" of Bella Coola within Salish. He states that Swadesh (1950) was the first to abandon the hypothesis that Bella Coola and Tillamook were members of the Salish family on a level with Interior Salish and Central Salish. Thompson (1973:981) puts forth the view that Bella Coola aligns with the central

languages rather than interior languages. Comparative work done by Nater in the early seventies proves that the number of cognate sets between Bella Coola and Central Salish, and Bella Coola and Interior Salish is roughly the same. The predominant view then becomes that the ancestors of the Bella Coola broke their northern isolation at one point in time and crossed over into the interior plateau.

Kinkade (1990:202) points out that Bella Coola is assumed to have split off the earliest from the rest of the family. He calls attention to the fact that Bella Coola shares animal and plant names with Interior Salish that are not represented in Central Salish, and concludes that this implies contact. This hypothesis would diminish the number of original cognates between Bella Coola and Interior Salish and favor a Bella Coola–Central Salish relation. Kuipers (1998:296-297) does a comparative study of Salish root cognates. He divides the Salish area into four zones:

NORTH COAST	(Bella Coola + Central Salish (-Twana))
SOUTH COAST	(Twana, Tillamook, and Tsamosan)
NORTH INTERIOR	(Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap)
SOUTH INTERIOR	(Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, Kalispel, and Coeur d’Alene)

Out of a total number of 545 roots the following number of cognates obtained:

NC, SC, NI, SI	= 235
NC and IS	= 113
NC and NI	= 52
NC and SC	= 290
NI and SI	= 390

Bella Coola participates in 183 of 545 etymologies and is the only Coast Salish representative in 29 of these etymologies. Kuipers concludes that grammatical, phonological, and lexical evidence places Bella Coola with Central Salish languages. Lexical evidence suggests that the geographical isolation of Bella Coola is comparatively recent.¹

¹ Coast Salish is the name that use to designate Central Salish languages, not including Bella Coola. It corresponds to the culture area in which Central Salish languages are spoken. Kuipers’ use of the term Coast Salish includes Central Salish and Bella Coola.

Family tree structures result from particular historical situations, and isolates or near-isolates are most common at the edges of spreads (Nichols 1997:371). Bella Coola is now spoken at the periphery of the Salish area and is geographically isolated by mountains and the ocean. All the body-part lexical suffixes considered in this study are attested in Bella Coola; however, the material-culture suffix HIDE occurs in Bella Coola only as a root, and the suffix GAME ANIMAL is not attested.

Cognate retention for Salish lexical suffixes is greater than the retention of cognate sets for other lexical items. Body-part lexical suffixes have cognate sets throughout Salish. Material-culture lexical suffixes are represented in all the languages, but their cognate sets are fewer than the cognate sets for body-part lexical suffixes (Newman 1968:19-20).

Tillamook, now extinct, was also spoken at the periphery of the Salish continuum. The Tillamook forms of the lexical suffixes ABDOMEN, BACK, EAR, GAME ANIMAL, and HIDE are included whenever possible for achieving well-rounded phonological and semantic reconstructions.

Lexical suffixes are an areal feature of Pacific Northwest languages. Salishan, Wakashan, and Chemakuan are neighboring northwestern language families that have lexical suffixes. Geographically, Wakashan and Salishan languages abut on Vancouver Island and the north central coast of British Columbia. Wakashan, Chemakuan, and Salishan languages abut on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington. Lexical suffixes in Wakashan and Chemakuan may have nominal or verbal semantics, whereas Salish lexical suffixes solely have nominal semantics.

1.1.1 Review of the literature.

Lexical suffixes have long been an object of interest in Salish linguistics. Two important cross-Salish surveys on lexical suffixes are Newman's (1968) *Comparative Study of Salish Lexical Suffixes* and Haeberlin's (1974) *Distribution of The Salish Substantival [Lexical] Suffixes*.

Newman examines the cognate relations of lexical suffixes among different branches of the family describing the common features of the system. His criterion for establishing cognates is

that forms and meanings of lexical suffixes should show significant correspondences, or be sufficiently close so as to leave no doubt of cognation (Newman 1968:3).

Haerberlin's compilation of lexical suffixes was carefully edited by M. Terry Thompson and published in 1974. The areal distribution of the suffixes is discussed. Some of the salient points covered are that lexical suffixes are subject to exactly the same sound shifts as are the roots (Haerberlin 1974:228). The article also points out that there is more similarity among the lexical suffixes of Central Salish than among the roots of these languages. However, Interior Salish shows the same degree of similarity across languages for lexical suffixes and roots.

Grammars and dictionaries of Salish languages treat lexical suffixes as a morphological class without much discussion of their semantics. The following is a brief summary of what grammars say about lexical suffixes.

The Bella Coola Language (Nater 1984:74-88). Nater describes lexical suffixes as suffixes that have a "semantically additive", rather than a grammatically modifying, character. The substantival nature of lexical suffixes is affirmed by mentioning that most lexical suffixes in Bella Coola are translated into English by nouns. Lexical suffixes are categorized into quantifier suffixes, occurring after numerals and numeral substitutes, classifier suffixes, and metaphorical suffixes. Metaphorical suffixes generally occur after transitive and intransitive verbs. "Somatic" and "non somatic" lexical suffixes can combine with transitive and intransitive verbs and nouns. Nater's grammar states that lexical suffixes do not alter the morphological status of the base to which they attach, i.e. NOUN + LEXICAL SUFFIX = NOUN, and VERB + LEXICAL SUFFIX = VERB (Nater 1984:74). After this description, the grammar lists the most common somatic and botanical suffixes.

A Grammatical Sketch of Comox (Harris 1963:116-125). This grammar describes lexical suffixes as elements that have referential meaning and are part of the semantic derivation of the stem. Lexical suffixes come before inflectional suffixes on the stem, and the referents of lexical suffixes do not always have the same syntactic relationship to the stem. The grammar then lists the lexical suffixes.

The Squamish Language (Kuipers 1967b:118-135). Kuipers defines lexical suffixes in Squamish saying they refer to parts of the body and are found in nominal as well as verbal complexes. Lexical suffixes are productive in verbal complexes: a combination of VERB + SOMATIC SUFFIX + INTRANSITIVIZER refers to an action performed by the grammatical subject on his own body; while a combination of VERB + SOMATIC SUFFIX + TRANSITIVIZER refers to an action performed by the subject on the body part of another.

The grammar describes another set of suffixes called “non-somatic”, to which no clear meaning can be ascribed. The syntactic difference between “somatic” and “non-somatic” suffixes is that transitive and intransitive constructions do not obtain for “non-somatic” suffixes. The grammar also mentions a third set of lexical suffixes, which are rare and found only in petrified complexes. The status of these elements is doubtful, and no clear meanings can be ascribed to them.

A Grammar of the Cowichan Dialect of Halkomelem Salish (Leslie 1979:68-94). Leslie categorizes lexical suffixes into suffixes that do not take inflection, i.e. “non-inflective lexical suffixes”, and suffixes that take inflection, i.e. “inflective lexical suffixes”. Both types of suffixes may attach to bound or free stems, the former, “non-inflective lexical suffixes”, do not take transitive inflection, while the latter, “inflective lexical suffixes”, can take one or more of the transitive suffixes. Leslie subcategorizes “inflective lexical suffixes” into three categories based on the type of inflection. Category A can only be inflected with the intransitive suffix. Category B can take all three transitive suffixes, and Category C can take both the intransitive and transitive suffixes. This grammar lists lexical suffixes in Cowichan according to their inflectional properties.

A Reference Grammar of the Musqueam Dialect of Halkomelem (Suttles in preparation b). This grammar identifies nearly one hundred and fifty elements that may be lexical suffixes or connectives plus lexical suffixes. Many of these elements are very productive, others are recorded in only one or two words, and some are only petrified relics. Lexical suffixes may have stressed and unstressed variants with vowels of different qualities, and are usually suffixed to

bare or nominalized roots. Instances of lexical suffixes occurring after grammatical suffixes are not unknown, but rare. Instances of a lexical suffix following another lexical suffix are common.

Suffixes that denote body parts are the largest and most complete set, and can also denote non-somatic referents. Suttles sees no basis for setting body-part suffixes apart from material-culture suffixes or for giving them any kind of primacy. Though the somatic meanings of lexical suffixes may be historically and conceptually primary, Suttles considers this a hypothesis that cannot be proven and therefore mere conjecture.

A number of Musqueam lexical suffixes appear with numeral roots as numeral classifiers. These suffixes do not form an exclusive set since most of them also occur with other roots or stems. Suttles states that the subcategorization of lexical suffixes on the basis of grammatical inflection does not seem possible. The fact that some lexical suffixes have not been recorded with transitive or intransitive suffixes is due to the nature of the speech event and not to the grammar of the language.

Roots and lexical suffixes in Musqueam can be combined in different ways to produce words that have different grammatical functions. Complex words can be categorized by the type of root, the grammatical relations between root and suffix, and grammatical function.

Suttles adds that he has not included the lexical suffixes that appear in personal names. Such names are passed down over many generations, across language boundaries, so that similar names appear throughout the Coast Salish social continuum to which Musqueam and other Halkomelem speakers belong. He suggests that the study of the lexical suffixes that appear in names should be done comparatively and encompass the whole region.

A Grammar of Chilliwack Halkomelem (Galloway 1993:202-232). This grammar states that somatic suffixes are present in many words of the anatomical domain. These suffixes are also productive outside of the anatomical domain, and sometimes have a figurative meaning. Upriver Halkomelem lexical suffixes are usually locative, except in body-part words. This description is followed by a list of lexical suffixes with examples.

Anatomy of Upper Stalo Halkomelem: A morpho-semantic study. (Galloway 1976). This paper presents a thorough inventory of the body-part suffixes found in Upriver Halkomelem. Galloway addresses the meaning of body part suffixes saying that “As morphemes combine in derivation or inflection to form independent words, the shifts and adjustments in meaning and the resultant meanings can be described as morphosememic.” He adds that morphosememic shifts may occur at the word, phrase, sentence, and discourse level.

Section 2 of the article addresses body-part (somatic) lexical suffixes showing that about a third of them have a suppletive relation to independent body-part words. A quarter of all the independent words for body parts have somatic suffix counterparts. These somatic suffixes have locative meanings (on or in the body part), except when used in body-part words. In the latter case, the meaning of the suffixes is partitive (of the body part).

Lexical Suffixes in Saanich: Dialect of Straits Coast Salish (Pidgeon 1970:18-44). This grammatical sketch lists and exemplifies Saanich lexical suffixes. Pidgeon stresses the role of connective elements in Saanich stating that lexical suffixes tend to pattern with particular connectives. However, it is possible for different connectives to appear with the same lexical suffix. These connectives have very abstract meanings, and glosses fail to demonstrate differences in meaning between one or another connective element. In general, connectives particularize the referent of the lexical suffix, or extend its meaning. Connectives and lexical suffixes often fuse, becoming a single element, though historically they are separate entities.

Pidgeon (1970:19) says that lexical suffixes “refer to relatively concrete notions and function syntactically as referents in terms of recipient of actions (i.e. object) or as referent of description”. Body-part lexical suffixes have a wide range of meanings, and some lexical suffixes have a range of meanings that is governed by a shape concept. Pidgeon lists and discussed forty-three different lexical suffixes.

An Outline of the Morphology and Phonology of Saanich, North Straits Salish (Montler 1986: 64-91). Lexical suffixes are derivational morphemes with substantive, root-like meaning. Each lexical suffix seems to have a basic tangible significance that can be extended

metaphorically. Lexical suffixes are best viewed as representing a complex network of associations rather than a concrete or abstract base from which metaphorical extensions are made. Fifty-eight lexical suffixes are exemplified.

The Lillooet Language (van Eijk 1997:74-101). This grammar categorizes lexical suffixes into primary lexical suffixes and residual lexical suffixes. Primary lexical suffixes are subcategorized into verbalizing, nominalizing, and neutral suffixes. There is only one verbalizing suffix. Nominalizing suffixes generally refer to “instrument, implement” or “setting, location”, i.e. the instrument with which, or the location where, the activity referred to by the root is performed. Neutral lexical suffixes refer to an object or concept that is qualified or commented on by the preceding stem (van Eijk 1997:76). Residual lexical suffixes are elements devoid of clear meaning.

The Thompson Language (Thompson & Thompson 1992:112-113). This grammar addresses lexical suffixes in the context of complex forms, stating that lexical suffixes extend roots and intransitive stems. Parallel to constructions involving lexical suffixes, speakers use syntactic constructions that add detail by means of complements and adjuncts. In general, syntactic constructions provide a more specific identification of the entities involved, whereas constructions with lexical suffixes provide a vaguer or more general reference. The tendency to favor constructions with adjuncts and complements over constructions with lexical suffixes reflects the influence of English and a general decline in the exploitation of the rich synthetic resources of the language.

The Shuswap Language (Kuipers 1974:59-72). This grammar categorizes lexical suffixes into somatic suffixes, concrete lexical suffixes, and abstract lexical suffixes, and lists examples of each individual type. Kuipers points out that the combination of VERBAL ROOT + SOMATIC SUFFIX expresses the notion that something happens to one's own body part; while the combination of VERBAL ROOT + SOMATIC SUFFIX + INTRANSITIVIZER expresses the notion that one does something to one's own body part. Concrete lexical suffixes do not combine as freely with transitive and

intransitive suffixes as the somatic suffixes. Abstract lexical suffixes are exemplified but not described, and have no clear synchronic meaning.

Shuswap Grammatical Structure (Gibson 1973:30-31). Gibson states that lexical suffixes describe concepts of design, form, substance, and location. The grammar identifies more than forty different suffixes. The members of the class are not mutually exclusive, and a single stem may have up to three lexical suffixes.

The Kalispel Language (Vogt 1940:51-56). This grammar calls lexical suffixes by the term “field suffixes”. What Vogt calls “lexical suffixes” are grammatical suffixes that modify the verb by changing its syntactic function or by adding iterative, reciprocal, and reflexive notions.

Field suffixes are defined as a vast group of suffixes pointing to the field in which the action takes place—usually body parts and a few objects affected by the verbal actions, or the place where the action develops. Field suffixes correspond to direct objects and prepositional expressions in English.

Coeur d’Alene Grammar (Reichard 1938:608-624). This grammar lists and subcategorizes lexical suffixes according to meaning into nominal and locative suffixes. Nominal suffixes are the elements that include body parts and incorporated nouns. The difference between nominal and locative suffixes is that the latter have a locative meaning rather than nominal meaning. The grammar lists and exemplifies seventy-five nominal suffixes and ten locative suffixes.

The origin, categorial status, and the syntax and semantics of lexical suffixes have been discussed by Carlson (1990), Czaykowski (1982), Czaykowska-Higgins et al. (1996), Egesdal (1981), Gerds and Hinkson (1996), Kinkade (1973, 1996, 1998). These articles, arranged alphabetically by author, are reviewed below.

Compounding and Lexical Affixation in Spokane (Carlson 1990). This article points out that compounding is a productive process in Spokane. Typical compounds are formed by verbal elements acting as right members of compounds and nominal(ized) elements as left members, or by the combination of a modifier as the left member and a nominal as the right member.

Lexical affixes in Spokane are used to form constructs with nominal or locative references. The majority of these elements are suffixes, but there are some prefixes. Lexical suffixes form stems by attaching directly to a root or to a root followed by the INCHOATIVE suffix. Two types of stems involve lexical affixes. Type one parallels [VERB + NOUN] compounding, where the lexical suffixes serve as the direct object or locative argument; type two parallels [MODIFIER + NOUN] compounding. Type one stems take transitive morphology, but type two stems are unpredictable. While [MODIFIER + NOUN] compounds inherit the category features of a noun, [MODIFIER + LEXICAL SUFFIX] forms may or may not. Unlike [MODIFIER + NOUN] compounds, [MODIFIER + LEXICAL SUFFIX] forms often blend their components to create a lexicalized item whose meaning cannot be predicted from the sum of its parts. Carlson claims that lexical affixation is the inevitable end of the compounding process in Spokane. Lexical suffixes developed from right members of compounds, and lexical prefixes from left members.

An Investigation of the Lexical Suffix in Columbian Salish (Czaykowski 1982). This is an interesting article addressing the semantics of lexical suffixes in Moses Columbian. Czaykowski points out that, although they are derivational, lexical suffixes do not affect the syntactic category of the root or stem to which they attach. They function as semantic elements that augment meaning. She further states that the core meaning of lexical suffixes is concrete, and the referents denoted by the suffixes are body parts and concrete objects. Inherent in body-part suffixes are “notions of shape or space (locative notions)”. Finally, she observes that the function of lexical suffixes in Columbian Salish is to define descriptive domains.

Nxa[?]mxciⁿ Lexical Suffixes: A Working Paper (Czaykowska-Higgins et al. 1996). This article presents a series of referentiality tests for Columbian lexical suffixes. The point of these tests is to assert whether or not lexical suffixes incorporate to the verb. Sadock (1986) and Baker (1996) claim that incorporated nouns are referential, drawing evidence for noun incorporation from Mohawk, Southern Tiwa, and Mayali. The results are inconclusive—on the one hand, there is no conclusive evidence that lexical suffixes are referential, on the other, there is no conclusive evidence that they are not referential.

Some Ideas on the Origin of Salish Lexical Suffixes (Egesdal 1981). This article claims that noun incorporation or noun-verb compounding is the source of lexical suffixes. Egesdal tests lexical suffix constructions against Mardirussian's (1975) proposed universals for noun incorporation. Mardirussian claims that noun incorporation is a morphological process which does not involve syntactic considerations.

Egesdal cites Reichard's comments comparing the similarity between incorporated nouns and lexical suffixes and the possibility that lexical suffixes may derive from incorporated nouns (Reichard 1959:239). The article suggests that perhaps this process was never completely lost, and that Salish languages keep repeating an old pattern with new material. Egesdal concludes that there is reasonable evidence to consider noun incorporation as the probable source of lexical suffixes.

Salish Lexical Suffixes: A Case of Decategorialization (Gerdtz and Hinkson 1996) This article discusses the grammatical status of lexical suffixes by reviewing the combinatorial properties of the suffixes.

It proposes a the following noun to suffix cline:

free noun > stripped noun > incorporated noun > bound form

The article concludes that lexical suffixes have the status of grammatical elements since they have lost the crucial property of being able to stand as independent words. However, it argues that incorporation and grammaticalization are still possible for lexical suffixes, since as shown in the article, there is nothing "absolute" or "simple" about grammatical elements. The different properties associated with a major category, such as nouns, can exist in varying degrees in the minor categories that arise from them, i.e. lexical suffixes.

A Grammar of Lexical Suffixes in Columbian Salish (Kinkade 1973). This paper addresses stress assignment in ROOT + LEXICAL SUFFIX constructions, and the relative order of lexical suffixes in ROOT + LEXICAL SUFFIX + LEXICAL SUFFIX constructions.

Stress placement in complex words is difficult in most Salish languages. Kinkade categorizes Columbian roots and suffixes into "weak", "strong", and "variable", and offers hierarchies of

stress assignment. In compounds, STRONG ROOTS > unstressed before STRONG SUFFIXES and before two or more lexical suffixes, one of which is variable (or strong). WEAK ROOTS > stressed before one or more weak suffixes, or when final in a word. STRONG ROOTS dominate any weak or variable suffixes, STRONG SUFFIXES dominate any weak or variable roots. VARIABLE ROOTS dominate weak suffixes and VARIABLE SUFFIXES dominate weak roots.

The order in which lexical suffixes occur in a sequence of two or more suffixes is not random. In this respect Kinkade points out that the sequences of two or more suffixes are constructions consisting of CONNECTIVE + LEXICAL SUFFIX. These connective elements are closely fused with the lexical suffixes, and synchronically they must be considered a unit.

Lexical suffixes in personal names are also mentioned in this article. Personal names sometimes occur with two lexical suffixes and provide instances of compounding that have not been found elsewhere.

The Relationship Between Lexical Suffixes and Lexical Compounding in Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1996). Using data from Upper Chehalis, this article reviews the claim that lexical suffixes derive from the second members of compounds.

Kinkade concludes that compounding remains the best explanation for the origin of lexical suffixes. He agrees with Egesdal's suggestion (1981:13) that in compounding Salish languages repeat an old pattern with new material. He posits a cline whereby the second member of the compound becomes incorporated, then loses phonological material and becomes a lexical suffix.

Kinkade insists that a rationale for the lost phonological material must be provided. He suggests that the loss of phonological material, i.e. attrition, occurred gradually, since compounding has gone on throughout the history of Salish. He points out that the oldest compounds show the most attrition, the most recent the least. In addition, the oldest compounds may not show the same processes as newer ones.

Finally, Kinkade points out that lexical suffixes are a rare lexical category in languages, and wonders why Salish languages developed such a category. He suggests that lexical suffixes in Salish might be an instance of areal diffusion in the Pacific Northwest.

Origins of Salishan Lexical Suffixes (Kinkade 1998). This article reviews the genesis of the term “lexical suffix”, defines the term, and comments on uses of lexical suffixes, and how they are ideally suited to word-building. Kinkade stresses that lexical suffixes are “used extensively for acculturation vocabulary and lexical replacement, and for refining reference to parts of the body”.

Addressing the grammar of lexical suffixes, Kinkade says that lexical suffixes are usually equivalent to a lexical argument. He comments on their meanings, saying that lexical suffixes are often “generic rather than specific”. Because the meaning of lexical suffixes is generic, constructions with lexical suffixes can be accompanied by an external lexical argument that is specific. However, the argument rarely has the same meanings as the suffix. He cites Czaykowska-Higgins et al. (1996), saying that lexical suffixes “serve in several grammatical relations and thematic roles within the stem to which they are attached”. The article also mentions the classificatory role of lexical suffixes. Addressing the combinatorial properties of lexical suffixes, Kinkade provides an overview of the different types of possible combinations and refers the reader to Gerdtz and Hinkson (1996).

Next, the article addresses the issue of the structural similarity between lexical suffix constructions and compounds. It mentions that compounding is very free in Interior Salish languages, but that this is not the case in other Salish languages. Finally, it mentions that “languages with free compounding represent the old pattern”, and that the linking morphemes that appear between the members of a compound can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish.

The crux of the article is a systematic review of the CONSONANT + LEXICAL SUFFIX forms where the meaning of the lexical suffix remains the same, but no specific status or meaning can be ascribed to the initial consonant. The problem regarding the CONSONANT + LEXICAL SUFFIX forms is formulated as follows: “Are the lexical suffixes in these cases added to a root (either mono-

consonantal or unrecoverable), or are these the roots from which the lexical suffixes have derived”? Kinkade continues to say that are several theoretical possibilities to account for CONSONANT + LEXICAL SUFFIX forms.

C^1 is formative or prefix

C^1 or C^1V is a root

C^1 is the remnant of a regular CVC(C) root

The suffix is the remnant of a CVC(C) root

He argues for the fourth possibility listed above, and considers the LEXICAL SUFFIX to be what remains of the original root when it combines with another root. The article then lists reconstructed CONSONANT + LEXICAL SUFFIX forms and compares them with Kuipers' (1976) reconstructions of lexical suffixes.

The next topic addressed is that of the expansion suffixes **-al-*, **-ay-*, and **-ul-*. Kinkade suggests that these are possibly reduced ancient lexical suffixes, occurring as the first of two or more lexical suffixes in one word. The article concludes with a discussion about whether lexical suffixes are grammatical elements, or incorporated nominals.

1.1.2 The grammar of lexical suffixes.

The grammars and articles reviewed above agree that compounding is a common process in Salish and that lexical suffixes are productive elements in this process. We will review here several types of constructions involving the suffixation of nominal and verbal stems with lexical suffixes. This topic leads us directly to the question of whether lexical suffixation is a type of noun incorporation.

Mithun (1984, 1986) excludes lexical suffixation from her discussion of noun incorporation on the basis of Hagège's (1977) argument that Comox lexical suffixes are not cases of incorporation because the language has another structure that can more properly be called noun incorporation. Hagège is referring to nominal forms derived with a verb forming prefix (*c-*). Mithun (1986) and Sadock (1986) consider that Greenlandic Eskimo denominal verbs are a type of noun incorporation. Gerdtts (1987) argues that these *c-* derived forms in Comox are denominal

verbs paralleling the construction in Greenlandic Eskimo that Sadock (1986) calls noun incorporation. Gerdts (1987) shows that Greenlandic Eskimo denominal verbs do not function syntactically as incorporated nouns. She argues that the Greenlandic denominal verb constructions are not noun incorporation and neither is the parallel Comox construction.

Gerdts and Hinkson (1996) argue that lexical suffixes are grammatical elements since they have lost the property of standing as independent words. Their claim is that there is nothing simple about grammatical elements since the different properties associated with a major category, i.e. nouns, can exist in different degrees in a minor category that arises from them, i.e. lexical suffixes. They propose that lexical suffixes are the final stage of a process whereby a free noun becomes increasingly fused to an element with which it is compounded until it emerges as a bound form. Other functionally similar processes—noun stripping (Miner 1986) and noun incorporation (Mithun 1984)—can be considered stages in this process:

The combinatorial properties of lexical suffixes (Gerdts and Hinkson 1996), are shown below. Suffixed to nominal stems lexical suffixes function as nominal heads, have nominal semantics, and form right-headed compounds.

NOUN + LEXICAL SUFFIX=NOUN compounds for Central and Interior Salish languages.²

- (2) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

?épałs=átp
apple=PLANT FORM
'apple tree'

- (3) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:98)

?ápałs=az̓
apple=PLANT FORM
'apple tree'

- (4) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.)

?apałs=átp
apple=PLANT FORM
'apple tree'

² By convention, Salishanists separate lexical suffixes using an equal sign (=) .

- (5) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:98)
 xníx=áʔ
 gooseberry=PLANT FORM
 'gooseberry bush'
- (6) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ʔqʷám=əʔp
 thimbleberry=PLANT FORM
 'thimbleberry bush'

The lexical suffix for PLANT FORM is the second member of the compounds above and serves as the head of these nominal compounds.

Suffixed to verbal stems, lexical suffixes can also form right-headed nominal compounds.

VERB+ LEXICAL SUFFIX=NOUN compounds for Central and Interior Salish.

- (7) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ʔiwəyəl=éwtxʷ
 to pray=HOUSE
 'church'
- (8) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:86)
 lamxal=áʔtxʷ
 to pray=HOUSE
 'church'
- (9) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 qiǫ́=éwtxʷ
 be bound=HOUSE
 'jail'
- (10) Saanich (Montler 1986:362)
 miłəh=éwʔtxʷ
 to dance=HOUSE
 'dance house'
- (11) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:44)
 čən=éwʔtxʷ
 to dig a hole=HOUSE
 'cave'

- (12) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:86)
 sáýsʔ=áłxʷ
 to play=HOUSE
 'gymnasium'

The lexical suffix for HOUSE is compounded with verbal stems in examples (7) through (12), and the categorial status of these compounds is nominal. Compounds with lexical suffixes and full nouns are structurally similar. Both types of compounds consist of nominal or verbal stems followed by a lexical suffix or by the full noun, which is the second member of the compound. Taking into account this structural similarity, Gerdts and Hinkson (1996) claimed that lexical suffixes developed historically from free-standing nouns, and function as nouns in nominal compounds.

Lexical suffixes also form complex predicates. That is, they can be suffixed to verb stems. The resulting compound functions syntactically as the main predicate of a clause. Lexical suffixes in incorporation-like structures have the semantics and argument structure of nouns (Gerdts and Hinkson 1996).

VERB+ LEXICAL SUFFIX=VERB constructs with body-part and material-culture lexical suffixes are shown below for Central and Interior Salish languages.

- (13) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #70)
 kʷón=əcəs-t
 take=HAND-TR
 'take him by the hand'
- (14) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #72)
 ʔʰxʷ=xén-əm
 wash=FEET-MID
 'wash one's feet'
- (15) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:115)
 nák=al=íčʔ-an
 change=CON=HIDE-TR
 'change someone's shirt'³

³ The meaning CLOTHING for the suffix for HIDE is an expected semantic extension (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.1).

(16) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:180)
 k^wuʔn=íṅak-kan tuʔ k^ws-wátaʔ
 lend=GUN-1SG SUF DET so and so.
 'I lend my gun to so and so.'

(17) Columbia (Kinkade 1998:271)
 n-lək=qin-n
 POS-close=HEAD-1SG
 'I closed the sack. I put twine around the top.'

(18) Columbia (Kinkade 1998:271)
 n-sh=áskiʔt-m kn
 POS-clear=THROAT-MID 1SG
 'I cleared my throat.'

Lexical suffixes form complex predicates in examples (13) through (18), and take both transitive and intransitive morphology. The process directly parallels noun incorporation as found in other languages of the world. Whether it is treated as a syntactic rule of head-movement or as a lexical rule, the result of noun incorporation is that a piece of a complex predicate is in a nominal relationship to the verb stem (Gerds and Hinkson 1996).

A subset of lexical suffixes in Salish languages functions as numeral classifiers. These classifier constructions are used for counting, and the lexical suffixes carry the semantic weight of nouns, but do not behave syntactically like nouns. In the case of numerals, the classifier can be doubled with an external nominal (Gerds and Hinkson 1996).

(19) Island Halkomelem (Gerds and Hinkson 1996)
 líx^w=əqən lisék
 three=HEAD sack
 'three sacks'⁴

(20) Island Halkomelem (Gerds and Hinkson 1996)
 teʔcs=éla k^wθə nə mémənə
 eight=PEOPLE DET 1POS children
 'I have eight children.'

⁴ The meaning CONTAINER for the lexical suffix for BACK in examples (19) and (21) is an expected semantic extension (see Chapter 3, section 3.2).

In some non-counting classificatory uses, lexical suffixes attach to a lexical verb and cross-reference on the predicate the salient shape or main function of the external nominal:

(21) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

íʰs=əl=éʔc-t tə náwəkʷaʔ
 nail=CON=BACK-TR DET coffin
 'nail up the coffin'

(22) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

wə-náy kʷ s-íʰəǰ=w íl-t ct tə lepát ʔi tə láʔθən
 only DET NOM-wash=VESSEL-TR 1PL POSS DET pot and DET dish
 'We only wash pots and plates.'

The type of lexical suffixation shown above does not strictly constitute noun incorporation, since the lexical suffixes are not the grammatical objects of these sentences. Their function is to cross-reference a salient property of the external noun on the verb complex. ⁵

Like all verbs, numerals may take lexical suffixes (Vogt 1940:44). Thus, literal translations of numeral constructions are "be one", "be two", "be three", etc. We see in examples (23) through (25) that "be five" is conveyed by an un glossed root and the lexical suffix *=kst HAND in Tsamosan and Interior Salish.

(23) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:23)

cil=čst=á·l=ičá
 un glossed=HAND=CON=HIDE
 'five blankets'

(24) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)

č-cl=čst=éłceʔ
 DIR-un glossed=HAND=GAME ANIMAL
 'five animals'

(25) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:67)

cl=kst=ekñ-m
 un glossed=HAND=BACK-MID
 'five sacks'

⁵ At some level in their development, these lexical suffixes can be considered incorporated nouns.

I suspect that the Lushootseed form for five, *celác* (Bates et al. 1994:44), is also a compound containing the suffix =ac < =ak HAND.⁶

The grammatical constructions associated with lexical suffixes center around the compounding of lexical suffixes with different categories of stems. Attached to certain types of stems, the range of semantic domains covered by a given lexical suffix expands.

1.2 The semantics of lexical suffixes

Lexical suffixes appear with numerous kinds of predicates. Suffixed to numeral predicates, lexical suffixes act as classifiers. Suffixed to nominals or verbal stems, they form the equivalent of semantic nominal compounds. Suffixed to active or stative predicates they can function as objects or adjuncts. The following examples show the combinatorial possibilities of the lexical suffixes for HEAD.

Numeral and Lexical Suffix:

- (26) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
wətx^{*}=áw=aq^{*}
three=CON=HEAD
'three animals'

Nominal and Lexical Suffix:

- (27) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
ʔəʔ^{*}=áw=aq^{*}
a kind of grass=CON=HEAD
'grass hat'

⁶ (i) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:54)
x^{*}p=ak-m-s-k^{*}-k^{*}u
unhook=HAND-MID-3SG-QUOT-USITATIVE
'Then he would let go.'

Stative Predicate and Lexical Suffix:

- (28) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
ʔəxʷíŋ=áqʷ
little=HEAD
'little head'

Active Predicate and Lexical Suffix:

- (29) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
kʷón=áqʷ-t
grab=HEAD-TR.
'grab someone by the head'

The meaning of the lexical suffix for HEAD refers to the anatomical head in these examples, or forms part of expressions denoting items related to the anatomical head. Examples (30) through (42) show some semantic extensions of the lexical suffix for MOUTH in Central and Interior Salish.

The suffix denotes the body part "mouth":

- (30) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:161)
ka h=č-ám
pry apart=MOUTH-MID
'open one's mouth'
- (31) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:135)
ləlíʔ=**ucid**
different=MOUTH
'foreign language'
- (32) Musqueam (Suttles in prep. a)
qʷəlqʷəl=á·y=θən
speak (redup.)=CON=MOUTH
'blabbermouth'
- (33) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:7)
íəqʷ=**cin**
holler=MOUTH
'call out'

The suffix denotes a “door”:

- (34) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:150)
n- lɪʷ=č-aŋ
LOC-tear apart=MOUTH-TR
'open a door'
- (35) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:227)
t(ə)q=úcid
close=MOUTH
'Shut the door.'

The suffix denotes an “edge”:

- (36) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
s-nəʔ=áθəŋ
NOM-be there=MOUTH
'far side (of stream)'
- (37) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:12)
dxʷ-ʔəʃ=úcid
PRFX-come=MOUTH
'to this side of the river'
- (38) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:165)
n- kəŋ=č
LOC-area=MOUTH
'edge of a body of water'
- (39) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:308)
yaʃ=cin
shore=MOUTH
'edge of the water'
- (40) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:7)
c-n-paʔq=cin
ASP-LOC-white=MOUTH
'The first light of day comes on.'

The meaning EDGE is one of the expected semantic extensions of the suffix for MOUTH. In example (40), the lexical suffix denotes an edge. This meaning for the suffix is a shape

abstraction, since the edge referred to by the suffix is the “edge of the day”, i.e. a line on the horizon glimmering with the light that announces sunrise.

The suffix denotes the “opening of a container”:

(41) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

íkʷ=a·y=θa(n)-t

cork=CON=MOUTH-TR

‘cork it (as a bottle)’

(42) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:177)

q̣p̣=úcid

alight, cover=MOUTH

‘cover a pot or basket’

Examples (30) through (42) show that an active metaphorization process is underway. However, the concept MOUTH is not superimposed indiscriminately onto other entities. Rather, salient aspects of the concept MOUTH are metaphorically extended to new referents.

Characteristic shapes are often abstracted from body-part lexical suffixes. The lexical suffix for NOSE is a case in point, since it denotes both the anatomical nose and a sharp point. The meaning “point” for the lexical suffix NOSE is considered to be a shape-based extension.

The suffix denotes the body part “nose”:

(43) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:20)

cáqʷ=q̣s

paint=NOSE

‘paint one’s nose’

The suffix denotes a “point of land”:

(44) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:65)

s-láw=q̣s

NOM-unglossed=NOSE

‘point of land’

The semantic shifts of the lexical suffixes for MOUTH and NOSE show that these suffixes are polysemous. The different meanings that obtain for each suffix grow from a common central meaning. Truth condition semantic analyses regard meaning as an exclusive relation between a

morpheme and the world, i.e. *A* entails *B* if and only if *B* is true in every situation in which *A* is true (Lakoff 1987:168). Morphemes of identical shape but divergent meanings are considered cases of homonymy. Under such an analysis, each instantiation of the lexical suffixes for MOUTH and NOSE would be considered a separate lexical entry. Thus the relationship between the different senses of a single lexical suffix is not captured by a traditional analysis.

1.2.1 Body-part lexical suffixes and locational extensions.

Locational uses of body-part lexical suffixes abstract the relation a particular body part has to the body as a whole and extend it to the world at large. Locational construals of body-part lexical suffixes depend on the lexical semantics of the predicates to which the suffixes attach, on the canonical orientation of the body part, and on the context of the speech event. The examples below contrast body-part and locational meanings of several body-part lexical suffixes. The Central and Interior Salish examples below show the suffix =*qín* denoting the physical head and the locational space TOP. This is a regular semantic extension of the suffix for BACK (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.4) and examples (46) and (48) below.

- (45) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #79)
 ʔi ʔáq = q í n - ə m
 scratch (redup.)=HEAD-MID
 'be scratching one's head'
- (46) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #80)
 k'íʔ = q ə n
 climb=HEAD
 'climb a mountain, go uphill'
- (47) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:73)
 ʔus = q n - m e
 smash bone= HEAD-MID
 'smash skull and remove brain'⁷

⁷ The brains of deer were removed and used in tanning skins.

- (48) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:381)
 ʔəs- wux *t=qín
 ASP-snowed=HEAD
 ‘snow on top of the mountain’

The central concept behind the lexical suffix =qín is the anatomical head. Derived meanings of the suffix are metaphorically linked to the central meaning HEAD. In examples (43) and (45), the top of a mountain is perceived as having a relative location parallel to the location the human head has in the body.

Upper body extremities are perceived as outward radiations from the trunk or torso. The arms are projection of the body into adjacent space. Examples (49) and (50) show the contrast between anatomical and locative meanings of the lexical suffix for UPPER ARM. SIDE is an expected semantic extension of the suffix for UPPER ARM that reflects the lateral axis of the body (see Chapter 4, sections 4.5 and 4.5.1).

- (49) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:252)
 pìʔ=aǰan-in̓
 grab, seize=UPPER ARM-TR
 ‘grab someone’s arm’

- (50) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:123)
 ǰ-čit=aǰan
 PREF-be near=UPPER ARM
 ‘the near side’

The face contains the sense organs that mediate the external world. Thus it is a likely candidate for denoting the visual space contiguous to the front of the body. Examples (51) and (52) show the anatomical and locational meanings of the lexical suffix for FACE.

- (51) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:29)
 ptíǰ*=us-ən
 spit=FACE-TR
 ‘to spit in someone’s face’

- (52) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:157)
 n-kəl=us
 LOC-area, spot=FACE
 'front, area in front of something'

The meaning shift from body part to location is not a language-specific phenomenon. It is universal in the sense that locational extensions are grounded in mammalian anatomy. The perception and conceptualization of the body parts that extend to denote locational concepts are language-specific and will differ from language to language. Some languages may refer to apparently disparate spatial concepts with the same body part, while other languages denote seemingly identical spatial concepts with different body parts.

The idea conveyed by the preposition "on" is respectively denoted by the suffix for BACK in example (53) and by the suffix for EAR in example (54).

- (53) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)
 ʔu-dʔáq=ál=ič
 ASP-falls=CON=BACK
 'tree falls on someone'

- (54) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:290)
 zəʔáq=ánaʔ
 topple=EAR
 'rocks, wood fall on top of someone'

The relational extensions of of body part lexical suffixes are an expected semantic development. The extension ON for the suffix for BACK is addressed in section 3.2.4.1. The extension UPON for the suffix for EAR is address in section 4.6.2.

We cannot predict which lexical suffix will denote a given location in a specific language because the answer lies in the cultural conceptualization of the specific body parts used. First, we need to understand the conceptual system whereby the organization of locational space is tied to

body parts.⁸ Table II shows locational extensions in Yucatec originating in body-part terms (Goldap 1992).

BODY PART TERM	BASIC MEANING	LOCATIVE MEANING
táan	“forehead”	“front”
pàach	“back”	“back, behind”
ich	“eye”	“interior”
fiit	“buttocks”	“bottom” “underground”
nak’	“belly”	“side”
ts’u’	“marrow”	“interior”

TABLE II: LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS OF BODY PARTS IN YUCATEC

Locational concepts are derived from body-part lexical material in many languages of the world. The locational meanings derived from body parts may differ from language to language.

1.2.2 Seat of emotion metaphorical extensions.

Emotions are abstract concepts which are nevertheless viscerally felt, e.g. “She broke his heart”. In many cultures, the heart is considered to be the seat and source of emotion and thought. The region of the chest or upper torso contains the heart. In the Lushootseed examples (55) through (56), the lexical suffix =*idg*as* denotes the thoracic cavity which contains the “heart” and also denotes the seat of emotion.

(55) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)

s-ʔil=*idg*as*

NOM-lean against=CHEST

‘chest’

(56) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)

híg*=al=*idg*as*

big, large=CON=CHEST

‘brave’

⁸ Lakoff (1987:314) mentions that speakers of Mixtec have a different conceptual organization of spatial location from the one speakers of Indo-European languages have.

(57) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)

qəlqəl=áí=idgʷas

bad=CON=CHEST

'coward'

The body part that contains the heart, the chest or thoracic cavity, is denoted by the suffix =idgʷas in examples (55) through (57); this suffix metaphorically extends to denote the seat of emotion. Other lexical suffixes that denote the seat of emotion are discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

1.3 Theory of the semantics of lexical suffixes.

We will view the semantics of lexical suffixes within a theory of polysemy. Polysemy, the many-to-one mapping of meaning to form, is understood here as a special case of prototype categorization⁹ where the different senses of a word become members in a radial category of meaning (Lakoff 1987:378). Radial analyses represent something alive in the mind of speakers and assume that meaning is mediated by cognitive structures, that our perception of the world is rooted on these structures and influenced by culture and experience.¹⁰ When a category extends, there is a cognitive base for the extension. Semantic extensions derive from the core concept of a category, and aspects of this concept determine possible extensions.

⁹ Rosch (1973, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1981) established the existence of prototype concepts, demonstrating that people categorize objects in the world by means of their resemblance to an object perceived as the prototypical representative of a category. Rosch argues for degrees of prototypicality. Degrees of prototypicality are established by determining how many and which traits an entity shares with the "best example" of the category. She demonstrates that subjects agreed in their judgments of the typicality of a sample in relationship to a category, and that the more an item is judged to be prototypical of a category, the more features it has in common with other members of the category and the fewer features in common with members of contrasting categories.

¹⁰ Labov (1973) observes that semantic categories frequently have vague boundaries and allow degrees of membership. Thus, the applicability of a lexical item to a given concept is a matter of "more or less", rather than a matter of "yes or no". He argues that there is no single "Gesamtbedeutung" for the word cup: a container of concave shape is less likely to be called cup beyond a certain relative depth or width, but this effect is counteracted by the presence of other cup-like features, such as a handle.

Linguistically, core concepts are codified as lexemes. These lexemes have much in common with “basic vocabulary”, and like “basic vocabulary” are less subject to replacement. Core concepts include culture-independent words, such as body-part terms, natural phenomena, posture verbs, and dynamic verbs, which tend to be conceived of similarly across linguistic and ethnic boundaries (Heine et al. 1991:33).

Ultimately, the polysemy of lexical suffixes is a diachronic phenomenon, since the same meaning extensions occur in language after language throughout the family. Diachronic change is essential to our understanding of the current semantics of lexical suffixes; first, because the morphological system from which the suffixes arise goes back to Proto-Salish; second, because individual Salish languages have developed novel uses for lexical suffixes that are not necessarily pan-Salish. However, given the shallow time-depth of written records for Salish languages, polysemy, in the context of lexical suffixes, must be approached synchronically, with an awareness of the linguistic, cultural, and cognitive processes that trigger semantic change.¹¹

1.3.1 The proto-meaning of the suffixes.

The phonological reconstruction of the suffixes ABDOMEN, BACK, EAR involves their synchronic phonological relatedness, i.e. the forms of these suffixes in different Salish languages, viewed within a theory of possible sound change. A proto-form by definition entails a proto-language, and a proto-language has meaning.

“What is a protolanguage? The answer, quite simply, is that any language is an actual or potential protolanguage... Every protolanguage was in the same way a real language, whether or not we are fortunate enough to have written records of it.” (Haas 1967:230-231).

Within the scope of the above definition, I consider reconstructed lexical suffixes to be lexical units comprising both form and meaning. Proto-meanings can be arrived at through an analysis

¹¹ Written records for Salish languages are approximately 100 years old and consistently show that speakers find it possible to use lexical suffixes in novel ways that exploit aspects of shape, function, and culture encompassed by the suffixes.

of synchronic meanings viewed in the light of cultural and social changes, and cognitive processes.

Proto-meanings for the body-part lexical suffixes **ABDOMEN**, **BACK**, and **EAR** are based on a tabulation of their most frequent synchronic meanings and on the concept of core vocabulary. Body-part terms are considered core vocabulary, since they constitute a basic part of the lexicon and are less likely to derive semantically or morphologically from other lexical items. Thus, if the most frequent meaning of a lexical suffix denotes a body part, I consider this meaning to be the proto-meaning.

The semantic variation exhibited by the suffixes **HIDE** and **GAME ANIMAL** correlates with specific culture areas. These lexical suffixes occur more frequently and have a greater number of semantic extensions in Interior Salish than in Central Salish, just as the lexical suffix for **CANOE** occurs more frequently and has more attested semantic extensions in Central Salish than in Interior Salish.¹² Traditionally, Interior people have depended on hunting and on horses for food and transportation, while Coast people depend on canoes for fishing and transportation. These facts argue for a correlation between the meaning extensions of material-culture lexical suffixes and culture areas.

1.3.2 The central meaning of the suffixes.

Polysemy, as viewed here, is a special case of prototype-based categorization where the different senses of a word are members of a category (Lakoff 1987:378). Lexical suffixes have multiple meanings that are related to one another. These meanings can be seen as forming a radial category around a core, or central meaning.

Figure 1 shows the typical structure of a radial category of meaning for a polysemous lexical suffix.

¹² The lexical suffix for **CANOE** is not a part of this study.

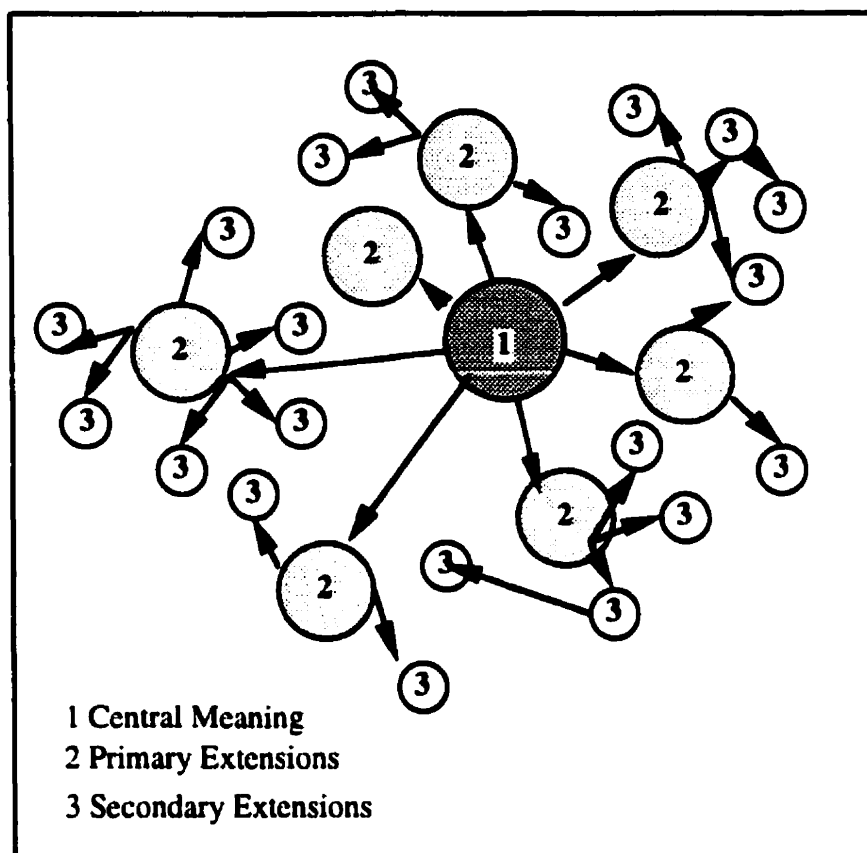


Figure 1: Radial Category Schema

The posited central meanings for the suffixes considered here account for all derived extensions of the suffixes. I have approached the data synchronically, because Salish languages lack written records to support the diachronic semantic relatedness of the different senses of a lexical suffix. The central meaning of a lexical suffix constitutes the core of the category and motivates semantic extensions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 290).

Why is polysemy explanatory in relation to lexical suffixes? Polysemy, the many-to-one mapping of meaning to form, is a conceptually-driven theory that structures into a cohesive whole the different cognitive, experiential, and cultural domains denoted by a word. It has explanatory power in relation to lexical suffixes because their meanings reflect human experience against a vast cultural background (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:57-59).

What are possible alternative analyses? Abstraction offers an alternative explanation for the many-to-one mapping of meaning to form exemplified by lexical suffixes. An abstract analysis would account for the multiple senses of a given lexical suffix by positing an abstract

meaning broad enough to encompass different surface realizations the suffix. However, such analysis would miss the grounding in culture, cognition, and experience that connects the different senses of a lexical suffix into a semantic whole (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:107-110).

Weak homonymy can also account for lexical suffixes, for it allows that different concepts expressed by a single word can be related by similarity. This analysis does not allow general metaphorical structuring, i.e. the understanding of one thing in terms of another, and is not concerned with how our conceptual system is grounded in culture and experience, and how understanding emerges from such grounding. Culture-specific extensions of lexical suffixes would not be accounted for by this approach (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:111-113).

What generalization is captured by the polysemy analysis? The semantic analysis attempted in this study seeks to understand why lexical suffixes have so many meanings and how these meanings relate to human experience and to Salish cultures. The meanings of lexical suffixes obtain from cognitive processes that tap into the experiential reality of unique cultural settings. A polysemy analysis captures the essence of lexical suffixes by relating their different meanings to culture, cognition, and experience. The connections among these meanings would otherwise be lost or not explained at all. In addition, the viewing of the different senses of lexical suffixes as members of conceptual categories of meaning imparts regularity to the lexicon.

Are the meaning extensions of lexical suffixes part of universal semantics? The answer to this question is yes and no. Yes, because there are parallel extensions in genetically unrelated languages, which would seem to indicate that the polysemy of body-part lexical suffixes springs from cognitive mechanisms in all likelihood universal. No, because some semantic extensions are definitely culturally motivated. A case in point is the Tarascan body-part suffix *para* BACK, which generally yields the same type of semantic extensions as the Salishan **ikin/n* BACK, except for extensions referring to agriculture. Tarascan society practices agriculture, and subsistence depends on it; the Salishan people did not practice large-scale agriculture. This explains why the Tarascan *para* BACK refers to the developmental stages of corn, and why no such meaning occurs for **ikin/n* BACK in Salish.

1.4 Methodology

This study differs from other cross-Salish studies in that it focuses on five lexical suffixes, considering only their semantics. It considers the three body-part suffixes, ABDOMEN, BACK, and EAR, and two material-culture suffixes, GAME ANIMAL and HIDE. Approximately 350 to 550 examples of each suffix were collected. Entries per language for each suffix vary between one and one hundred.

The choice of body-part lexical suffixes was influenced by cross-linguistic evidence pointing to certain body parts as defining the “front/back” and “lateral” axes of the body (Friedrich 1969, 1970, 1972, Brugman 1983, Brugman and Macaulay 1986, MacLaury 1989, Svorou 1988, Heine et al. 1991, Bowden 1992, Goldap 1992, Veerman-Leichsenring 1992, Brown and Levinson 1992, Levy 1992, and Haviland 1992). The material-culture suffixes were chosen following the suggestion that the suffixes for GAME ANIMAL and HIDE convey the concepts “inside” and “outside” (Kinkade 1973). In addition to the locational meanings, these lexical suffixes have a number of other meanings, which are addressed in this study.

The abbreviations used for Salish languages throughout this study appear in Table III .

SALISH LANGUAGES			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE		ABBREVIATIONS
Bella Coola	Bella Coola		Be
Central Salish	Comox	Island Comox, Sliamon	Cx, Sl
	Pentlatch*		Pt
	Sechelt		Se
	Squamish		Sq
	Halkomelem		Hl
		Upriver (Chilliwak)	Ck
		Downriver (Musqueam)	Ms
		Island (Cowichan, Nanaimo)	Cw, Na
		Nooksack*	Nk
		Straits	St
		Saanich, Sooke, Songish	Sa, So, Sg
		Clallam	Cl
		Lushootseed	NLd
		Northern Lushootseed	NLd
		Southern Lushootseed	SLd
		Skagit	Sk
	Snohomish, Nisqually	Sno, Nis	
	Twana*	Tw.	
	Tillamook*	Ti	
Tsamosan	Quinault*		Qn
	Lower Chehalis		Lo
	Upper Chehalis		Ch
		Satsop, Oakville, Tenino	Ss, TCh, TCh
		Cowlitz	
Northern Interior	Lillooet		Li
		Lower Lillooet (Mount Currie)	Mlc
		Upper Lillooet (Fountain)	Ftn
	Thompson		Th
	Shuswap	Eastern, Western	Sh, ESh, WSh
Southern Interior	Okanagan	Colville	Ok, Cv
	Columbian		Cm
	Kalispel	Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead	Ka, Sp, Fl
	Coeur d'Alene		Cr

TABLE III: LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

The synchronic meanings of each lexical suffix were tabulated across Salish, and a core meaning was posited for each suffix. The core meaning represents the concept from which all attested semantic extensions of a suffix can derive. The intuitions gained from this process were checked with native speakers of Central and Interior Salish. Subsequently, principles of semantic extensions were posited and tested against the data.

Lexical suffixes were reconstructed to their proto-forms to establish the morphological identity of a given suffix throughout the family. Proto-meanings are based on the most frequent and salient meaning of each suffix. In most cases, the posited proto-meanings coincide with the central or core meanings.

The data collected is uneven, in the sense that some languages are better documented than others. This made it possible to collect a larger number of tokens of each suffix in some languages, which translates into more meaning extensions. For this reason, the lack of a given extension in a particular language does not mean that the extension is absent from that language.

1.4.1 The data.

The study is based on secondary source material and original research. Most of the examples in this study come from published and unpublished sources; the translations which appear in quotation marks are taken directly from these sources. Some examples come from my own field notes. The name of the person providing the example appears after these entries. The interlinear gloss below each entry contains the meaning of the predicate and glosses the function of the grammatical affixes. These were obtained from the corresponding Salish dictionaries and grammars, and verified with the linguists providing the examples if the data is not published. A lexical suffix is labeled with a capitalized MEGAGLOSS that corresponds to its most frequent meaning, which in some cases is also its central meaning.¹³ These megaglosses are my responsibility.

The data used here was collected at different times and different orthographies were in use. These orthographies are regularized as follows:¹⁴

¹³ A MEGAGLOSS encompasses the phonological variations of a lexical suffix. For example, Suttles cites the various forms =aʔθ, =áʔθ, =á·y=θən, =áyəθín, =θ, =áθən with meanings such as “mouth”, “edge”, “border”, “lip”, and “margin” (Suttles in prep. b, § 25, 26). I treat this as a single suffix and assign it the MEGAGLOSS MOUTH, which is the source of all the above meanings.

¹⁴ The orthography was not regularized for Kalispel data collected by Giorda.

Kalispel	ç	ć
	č	č̣
	’	’
Coeur d' Alene	E	ə
	ä	e
	ʔs	ć
	ts	c
	c	š
	tc	č̣
Halkomelem (Musqueam)	ž	č̣ ^θ
All languages	χ	č̣

Salish languages are polysynthetic, characterized by a robust use of morphology in word building. The term predicate, as used here, refers to morphemes that syntactically or semantically describe the behavior or properties of an object. The term root, as used here, refers to the core element of a word. A root carries the heaviest semantic load and places restrictions on the kinds of morphemes, if any, that may be affixed to it.

The analysis of the data involved the following stages:

- Tabulating the synchronic senses of each lexical suffix in all the languages considered.
- Sorting the extensions of each suffix into groups arranged by semantic domain.
- Reconstructing the semantics of each suffix and positing a central meaning that would bind its synchronic senses into a semantically connected whole.
- Verifying the semantic extensions of body-part suffixes against body-part semantic extensions in non-related languages.
- Reconstructing the suffixes and establishing their proto-forms.
- Testing the proposed mechanisms of extension.

1.4.2 The chapters.

I argue that the polysemy exhibited by the lexical suffixes ABDOMEN, BACK, EAR, GAME ANIMAL, and HIDE is based on cognitive structures and cultural practices. The diachrony of the suffixes reflects the cultural influences that effect semantic change. Synchronic extensions provide a glimpse into the cognitive processes that triggered these semantic changes. The following is an overview of the four chapters.

Chapter 2 addresses the semantic extensions of the suffix **ań/nak* ABDOMEN. This suffix denotes the abdomen and splits into two prototypical subcategories, one denoting the external abdomen, i.e. the belly, the other denoting the internal abdomen, i.e. the gut. The anatomical extensions of the suffix are motivated by physical contiguity. They are “belly”, “gut”, “hip”, “anus”, “rump”, and “tail”.

Shape extensions of the suffix **ań/nak* are motivated by the shape of the external belly. They are “hillside”, “dome”, “wall”, and “ceiling”. The last two extensions presuppose the extension “dome”. Locational extensions derive from the anatomical referents denoted by the suffix **ań/nak*, and reflect the location and orientation of the anatomical source. They are “front”, “inside”, “end point”, and “underside”. The relational extensions “under”, “below”, and “down” also obtain for the suffix **ań/nak*. These meanings obtain when the suffix attaches to specific types of predicates. Thus, relational meanings of the suffix are conditioned by the semantics of the predicates. “Seat of emotion” extensions denote the location of the physiological effect of emotion. In addition, the extension “feeling” for the suffix **ań/nak* undergoes grammaticalization and denotes desiderative modality.

Chapter 3 addresses the semantic extensions of the suffix **ikiń/n* BACK. This suffix denotes the anatomical back of humans and animals. The human back defines anthropomorphic orientation in the opposition front/back. The back of an animal defines zoomorphic orientation in the opposition top/bottom. The suffix also denotes the spine. In denoting the backbone of humans and animals, the suffix covertly refers to a principle of symmetry and to the canonical axes of the spine, vertical in humans, horizontal in animals.

Metonymic extensions of the suffix derive from the bearer/burden relation. They are “load”, “bundle”, “container”, and “saddle”. Locational extensions of the suffix derive from anatomical meanings. They are “other side”, “surface”, “top”, “outside”, and “middle/center”. Relational extensions of the suffix are conditioned by context and by the lexical semantics of the predicates with which the suffix combines. They are “behind”, “on/across”, “above”, “over”, and “between”.

Chapter 4 addresses the semantic extensions of the suffix **ana*² EAR. This suffix denotes the anatomical ear in humans and animals and the auditory function of the ear. The extensions “sound”, “information”, “understand”, “know”, and “believe” derive from the sense of hearing or the auditory ear. These meanings denote ability to listen, which in an oral culture amounts to knowledge and understanding. In addition, the suffix denotes symmetrical body-part pairs that are adjacent to the ear, such as “cheeks”, “temples”, “sideburns” and, “shoulders”. It also denotes “braids”, “tassels”, and “wings”, “horns”, and “flippers”.

Shape extensions of the suffix express a direct visual perception of the position and shape of the ears in a human or animal body. They are “protrusion”, “shell”, and “leaf”. Locational extensions of the suffix refer to the position of the ears on the sides of the body and to the joining of two sides. These extensions are “side” and “corner”. The relational extensions of the body part “ear” are “over” and “on”. These meanings obtain with predicates of “coverage” and “spillage”. In addition, the meaning “on” for the suffix obtains in predications having to do with daylight, darkness, and the seasons of the year, as in “darkness covering the land” or “winter covering the land”. The suffix can also acquire deictic meaning. The expression “that side”, in which the suffix for EAR denotes “side”, evolves into a deictic, roughly meaning “there”.

Chapter 5 addresses the meaning extensions of the material-culture lexical suffix **áłci*² which primarily denotes a number of wild animals that are trapped or hunted for food, or for the value of their furs. This suffix also functions as a classifier for animals and denotes terms germane to butchering and hunting contexts, such as “carcass”, “innards”, “flesh”, and “food”.

Locational extensions of the suffix are modeled on the gutted carcass of an animal, e.g. “side” and “inside”. The suffix **áíciʔ* also denotes the “innards”. Since the location of the “innards” is inside the body, the place where strong emotions are felt, the suffix extends to denote the seat or source of emotion.

Chapter 6 addresses the suffix **íćaʔ* HIDE. This suffix chiefly denotes the hide of an animal and its extensions denote “hide”, “human skin”, “live animal coat”, “scales”, and “feathers”. The suffix **íćaʔ* also denotes “clothing” and “blankets”, material culture items that were once made out of hides. The fact that blankets are denoted by expressions containing the suffix **íćaʔ* points to the original raw material, i.e. the hide of an animal. Downriver Halkomelem stretches the meaning of the suffix **íćaʔ* even further. Blankets within the culture denote wealth.

The suffix **íćaʔ* is also used as shape classifier for flat, flexible, two-dimensional objects. With the introduction of woven fabrics made of linen, cotton, and wool, the shape-classificatory function of **íćaʔ* extends to encompass these products. The meaning extensions that obtain for the suffix are “cloth” and “wrapper”. The extensions “package” and “container” derive from “wrapper”.

The locational extension of the suffix **íćaʔ* is “outside layer”. This extension may refer to the peel of a fruit, the shell of a nut, the bark of a tree, or the siding of a house. There is one relational extension of the suffix; it obtains with predicates of encirclement and means “around”.

The central claim of this thesis is that the different senses exhibited by lexical suffixes are members of a category of meaning. Meaning extensions are based on perceived or imputed similarity to the central core of a category. The links connecting meaning extensions to each other and to the center of the category are the standard paths of lexical change, i.e. metaphor, metonymy, spatial contiguity, and analogy. Since lexical suffixes have many different meanings, structuring these meanings into categories imparts regularity to the lexicon and captures the cognitive and cultural motivations behind lexical change.

Chapter Two: The Suffix BELLY.

2.0 Introduction.

In this chapter, I survey the semantic extensions of the Salish lexical suffix for ABDOMEN. Examples for this analysis are drawn from a data base consisting of 547 entries representative of the entire Salish family. I present approximately 256 examples of the suffix, considering the distribution of its synchronic extensions and describing the possible semantic paths that lead to its multiple senses. In addition, I reconstruct the proto-form of the suffix and posit a proto-meaning.

Synchronically, the lexical suffix **ań/nak* denotes a human or animal belly, but it can also refer to the gut, to several internal organs, to the hip area, and to the rump or tail. In addition, the suffix denotes shape, spatial reference points, and relational concepts. We can say that in its referential function the suffix denotes three-dimensional objects in the world, while in its relational function it denotes a location or a relation in space.

The gestalt of the concept “belly” denoted by the suffix has an external aspect, the belly mound, and an internal aspect, the ventral cavity. In some of the languages considered in this chapter, the suffix denotes the belly mound, while in others it denotes the contents of the belly, i.e. the gut. It is also possible for this suffix to have both meanings within one language. The important issue here is that in its semantic path the suffix is associated with the meanings “belly” and “gut”. Body parts expressed by a single lexical suffix in Salish include HEAD, SHOULDER, EYE, FACE, MOUTH, NOSE, EAR, CHEST, BELLY, BACK, HAND, and FOOT. These are perceived as the most central and prominent parts of the body. Thus, the meaning changes exhibited by these suffixes represent, on the one hand, different aspects of the central concept embodied by the suffixes, and on the other, the effect of human perception on the encoding of lexical meaning.

2.0.1 The data.

Table I displays the main sources used in this chapter and the number of examples obtained from each source. I have attempted in all instances to provide a meaning for the roots and affixes forming each entry. In cases where the meanings or functions of the morpheme were not

accessible, I have labeled the morphemes “unglossed”. In data from my original field notes, I give the full name of the speaker providing the example.

SOURCES FOR “BELLY”			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	PRINCIPAL SOURCES	NO.
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	Davis (1980), Nater (1984), Saunders (1975)	48
Central Salish	Comox	Voo and Adams (1961)	6
	Sliammon	Voo and Adams (1961)	7
	Squamish	Kuipers (1967)	8
	Sechelt	Voo and Adams (1961)	17
	Halkomelem	Suttles (in prep. a and b)	30
	Saanich	Montler (1986), Pidgeon (1970)	5
	Lushootseed	Bates et al (1994), Hess (1976)	7
	Tillamook	Tillamook	Newman (n.d.)
Tsamosan	Quinault	Gibson (n.d.)	10
	Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	22
Interior (Northern)	Lillooet	van Eijk (1987, 1997)	53
	Thompson	Thompson and Thompson (1996)	103
	Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)	90
Interior (Southern)	Okanagan	Mattina (1987)	54
	Columbian	Kinkade (n.d.)	36
	Kalispel	Vogt (1940)	9
	Spokane	Carlson (1989)	35
	Coeur d’Alene	Reichard (1938)	4
TOTAL			547

TABLE I: SOURCES FOR THE LEXICAL SUFFIX ABDOMEN

I was not able to obtain an equal number of examples of the suffix for all languages of the family. This does not mean that the suffix is not present in those languages; however, it does mean that all languages are not equally well documented. The lack of available documentation for certain languages is reflected in this chapter.

2.0.2 The lexical suffix for ABDOMEN and the Salish family tree.

The family tree shown in Figure 1 represents genetic relations amongst Salish languages. Languages from which data was obtained are circled, and the respective forms of the lexical suffix for ABDOMEN appear under each circle.

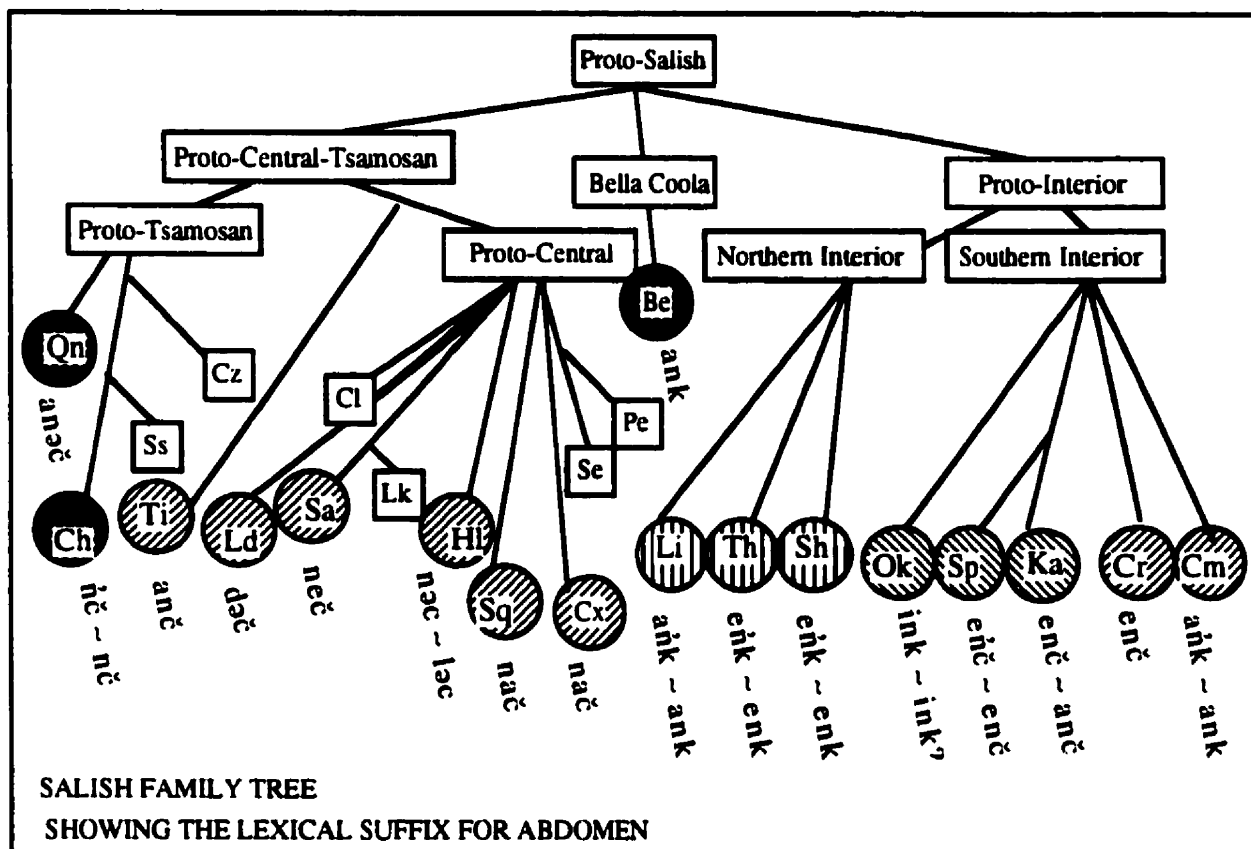


Figure 1: Salish Family Tree Showing the Lexical suffix for ABDOMEN.

Haeberlin (1974:326) reports the existence of the suffix for ABDOMEN in the languages marked with in Figure 1. The suffix is attested in the word for "tail"¹ in the following languages (Haeberlin 1974:326):

Satsop só·ps=*anč*

Cowlitz súps=*ank*

Clallam sλap=*énč*

Lkungen (Straits) λe p̄e:s=*neč*

¹ TAIL is one of the meanings that obtains for the suffix through the anatomical adjacency principle. (See section 2.1.2.3.)

Sechelt, Pentlatch, and Comox *só·p=ənač*.

Examples of the suffix are plentiful in Bella Coola and the Interior languages, but somewhat scanty in the Central and Tsamosan branches of the family. Tillamook, for which there was little available data, is included mainly for achieving a well-rounded reconstruction.² In spite of the gaps, the examples given in this chapter provide a well-balanced and suitable base for making a solid phonological and semantic reconstruction of the suffix.

2.0.3 The reconstructed form of the lexical suffix for ABDOMEN.

This section reviews the sound correspondences and alternations affecting the reconstruction of the lexical suffix for ABDOMEN in Salish and posits a proto-form for the suffix. The principal sound correspondences are *k ~ č ~ c* and *n ~ d*. The /n/ for /l/ retention is internal to Downriver Halkomelem. All instances of the suffix in the examples that follow will be glossed ABDOMEN.

Examples (1) and (2) are cognate sets illustrating the *k ~ č* correspondence in Southern Interior Salish.

- (1) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:153)
máq=e nč
full=ABDOMEN
'to have a full stomach'

- (2) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #625)
máq=ánk
full=ABDOMEN
'be full, satiated'

The *n ~ d* correspondence within this corpus affects Lushootseed, a Central Salish language. Examples (3) and (4) show cognate predicates with the corresponding variants of the suffix.

² The reconstruction of any lexical suffix to Proto-Salish is more convincing if there is a token of the suffix from at least one of the languages located at the periphery of the Salish geographical continuum, i.e. Bella Coola and Tillamook (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

- (3) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
 pə́c̣=al=də́č
 defecate=CON=ABDOMEN
 'feces on anus'
- (4) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #626)
 s-n-p̣c̣=ánk-əx̣ʷ
 NOM-POS-defecate=ABDOMEN-ASP
 'diarrhea'

The *n* for *l* retention is internal to Downriver Halkomelem and different from the *l* for *n* substitution of upriver dialects.³ Examples (5) and (6) contain the /l/ and /n/ variants of the lexical suffix for ABDOMEN in Downriver Halkomelem.

- (5) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 s-lól=ləc
 NOM-behind=ABDOMEN
 'rump'
- (6) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 póḳʷ=nəc-t
 get warm=ABDOMEN-TR
 'put it (a pot) over the fire'

As one can see, Bella Coola, Northern Interior Salish, and Columbian and Okanagan from the Southern Interior group have *k*. Tsamosan, Central Salish, and Spokane and Kalispel and Coeur d' Alene from the Southern Interior group have *č*. Halkomelem is an exception in that it has *c*.

³ The *n*-form dialect of Musqueam is found in a section of the Musqueam speaking community. The retention of *n* did not occur in the vicinity of the Halkomelem /l/ vs. /l/, *n/* isogloss, but in a tiny section of the Halkomelem world, surrounded by dialects which made the /l/ and /n/ distinctions. Pairs such as *tənəsʷ=élḳʷ* and *tənəsʷ=énḳʷ* are typical of this alternation. The old high class Musqueams spoke with *n*-forms as opposed to *l*-forms, and this way of speaking is called *sʷám=qs-ən*. It appears that one segment within the Musqueam community (perhaps a single extended family), and a segment having high status, used a dialect characterized by the retention of /n/ forms. This highly localized speech difference was cultivated as a status indicator (Elmendorf and Suttles 1960:7, 8).

DISTRIBUTION of <i>k</i> and <i>č</i> in SALISH				
BELLA COOLA			INTERIOR	
Bella Coola	<i>k</i>		Lillooet	<i>k</i>
TILLAMOOK			Thompson	<i>k</i>
Tillamook		<i>č</i>	Shuswap	<i>k</i>
CENTRAL COAST			Okanagan	<i>k</i>
Halkomelem		<i>c</i>	Columbian	<i>k</i>
Lushootseed		<i>č</i>	Spokane	<i>č</i>
Saanich		<i>č</i>	Kalispel	<i>č</i>
TSAMOSAN			Coeur d'Alene	<i>č</i>
Quinault		<i>č</i>		
U. Chehalis		<i>č</i>		

TABLE II (a): the *k* - *č* - *c* CORRESPONDENCES.

The distribution of *n* - *d* correspondence is shown below.

DISTRIBUTION of <i>n</i> , <i>l</i> , and <i>d</i> in SALISH				
BELLA COOLA			INTERIOR	
Bella Coola	<i>n</i>		Lillooet	<i>n</i>
TILLAMOOK			Thompson	<i>n</i>
Tillamook	<i>n</i>		Shuswap	<i>n</i>
CENTRAL SALISH			Okanagan	<i>n</i>
Halkomelem	<i>n, l</i>		Columbian	<i>n</i>
Lushootseed	<i>d</i>		Spokane	<i>n</i>
Saanich	<i>n</i>		Kalispel	<i>n</i>
TSAMOSAN			Coeur d'Alene	<i>n</i>
Quinault	<i>n</i>			
U. Chehalis	<i>n</i>			

TABLE II (b): DISTRIBUTION OF *n*, *l*, *d* CORRESPONDENCES

As one can see, Bella Coola, Tillamook, Interior Salish, and Tsamosan have *n*. While in Central Salish, Saanich has *n*, Halkomelem *n* and *l*, and Lushootseed *d*.

Table III shows the different phonological shapes of the suffix for ABDOMEN.

THE FORMS OF THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR BELLY	
BELLA COOLA	
Bella Coola	ank
TILLAMOOK	
Tillamook	anč
CENTRAL DIVISION	
Comox	ənač
Halkomelem	nəc ~ ləc ~ ələc
Lushootseed	dəč
Saanich	neč
TSAMOSAN DIVISION	
Quinault	anəč ~ nač ~ snač ~ ənič
U. Chehalis	ńč ~ ənč ~ nč
INTERIOR DIVISION (N=K)	
Lillooet	anʔak ~ ańak ~ ańk ~ ank
Thompson	eneʔk ~ eńk ~ enk ~ nəʔk
Shuswap	eńk ~ enk ~ ənk ~ nk
INTERIOR DIVISION (S=A)	
Okanagan	ink
Columbian	ańk ~ ank ~ nk
Spokane	eńč ~ ńč ~ enč
Kalispel	anč ~ enč
Coeur d'Alene	enč

TABLE III: THE DIFFERENT PHONOLOGICAL SHAPES OF THE SUFFIX FOR ABDOMEN

BELLA COOLA					
Bella Coola		a	n	k	
TILLAMOOK					
Tillamook		a	n	č	
CENTRAL COAST					
Comox		ə	n	a	č
Halkomelem		ə	n/l	ə	c
Lushootseed			d	e	č
Saanich			n	e	č
TSAMOSAN					
Quinault		i/ə/a	n		č/č̣
U. Chehalis		ə	n/ń		č
INTERIOR					
Lillooet		a	n/ń	a	k
Thompson		ə	n/ń	ə	k
Shuswap		e	n/ń	e	k
Okanagan		i	n		k
Columbian		a	n/ń		k
Spokane		e	n/ń		č
Kalispel		e/a	n		č
Coeur d'Alene		i/e	n		k
	*	a	n/ń	a	k

TABLE IV: THE PROTO-FORM OF THE SUFFIX FOR ABDOMEN

The proto-form of the suffix appears on the bottom line of Table IV. I have reconstructed **aŋ/nak* as the proto-form of the suffix, because forms of the suffix containing glottalized resonants surface in Interior Salish.⁴ Resonant glottalization in Salish is a phenomenon not yet well understood. Since deglottalization is a more common phonological process than glottalization, I have used this criterion to include the glottalized resonant in the Proto-Salish form.

This proto-form is based on instantiations of the suffix in a geographical continuum extending from the Central Coast of British Columbia to the Northern Coast of Oregon on a North-to-South axis, and from the Pacific Coast to the Interior Plateau on a West-to-East axis.

2.0.4 The central meaning of the lexical suffix **aŋ/nak*.

Internal semantic reconstruction (Traugott 1986) consists in outlining the semantic path of a lexical item by hypothesizing a central meaning from its synchronic senses. After considering the synchronic meanings that obtain for this suffix, I conclude that the central meaning of **aŋ/nak* refers to the abdomen.

The abdomen is the largest cavity in the body, extending from the thorax to the pelvis. It contains the intestines and some of the accessory organs of digestion, the liver, the spleen, and the kidneys. In addition, the abdomen can vary in capacity and shape according to the conditions of the viscera it contains (Gray 1858: 895). These differences in shape are manifested externally and are visually perceptible.

The central meaning of the suffix, i.e. ABDOMEN, is the source of two well-defined prototype concepts, BELLY and GUT. The prototype BELLY, denoting the external belly, is the source of all shape extensions for the suffix and of several locational and relational extensions. The prototype GUT, denoting the internal viscera contained in the abdomen, is the source of some locational extensions and of feeling extensions.

⁴ Kuipers reconstructs the suffix as **ank* (Kinkade 1998:281), and Kinkade (1998:281) reconstructs **anak*.

The central meaning of the suffix subsumes features of shape and containment inherent to the abdomen. The megagloss ABDOMEN encompasses all meaning extensions of the suffix that derive from the shape of the belly mound, or from the containment property of the abdominal cavity.

Figure 2 illustrates the division of the central meaning ABDOMEN into two conceptual prototypes.

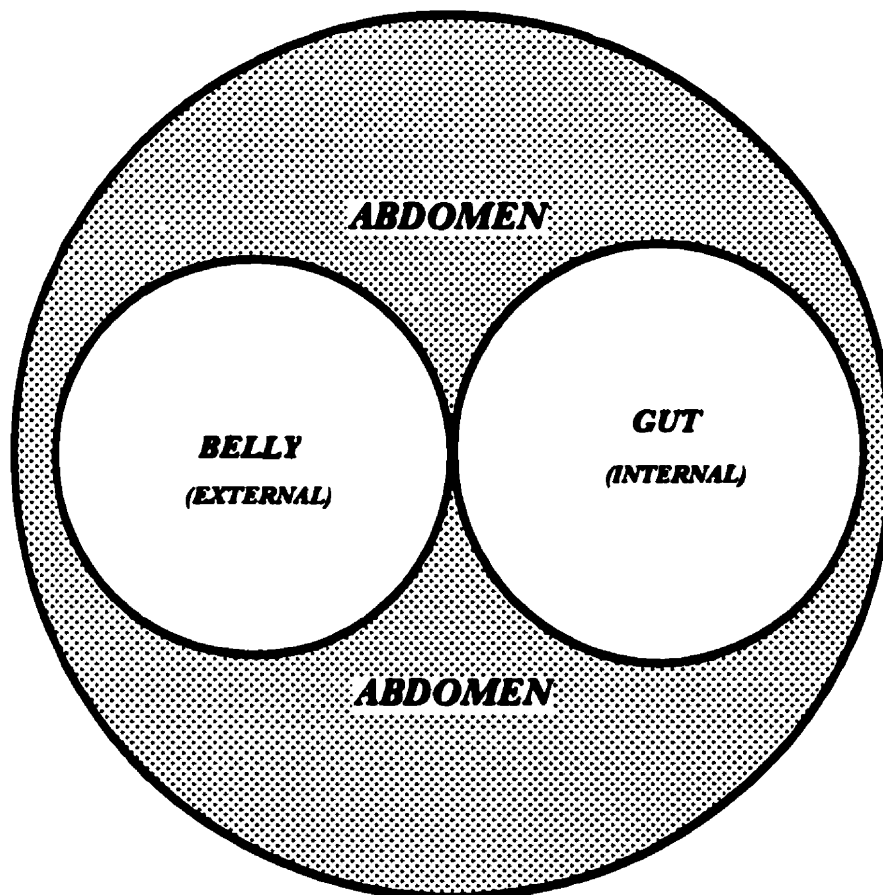


Figure 2: The Conceptual Prototypes BELLY and GUT

I have proposed that the semantics of the suffix **an/nak* ABDOMEN subsumes the prototypes BELLY and GUT. Thus, in its semantic path, the suffix **an/nak* is associated both with properties of shape and properties of containment. This split into distinct conceptual prototypes is the result of extralinguistic factors, either perceptual, social, or cultural.

2.0.5 Processes affecting the meanings of *ań/nak.

Four processes affect the meaning extensions that obtain for the suffix *ań/nak ABDOMEN. These arise from the way body parts function cognitively and from the effect of predicate semantics on the meaning extensions of the suffix. The first process stems from the canonical orientation of animate bodies, the second from the mechanics of association via anatomical adjacency, the third from the abstraction of the salient shapes of body parts, and the fourth stems from the semantic subcategorization of predicates.

THE PRINCIPLE OF CANONICAL ORIENTATION affects the conceptualization of space in that the orientation of a body comes into play when a spatial concept is denoted through a metaphorical relation between a given body part and a spatial point. Spatial reference points may be denoted by human body parts or animal body parts. The typical patterns that obtain for the body part “belly” are outlined below (Heine et al. 1991:126-127):

ANTHROPOMORPHIC MODEL	ZOOMORPHIC MODEL
Belly [FRONT]	Belly [UNDER]

Example (7) denotes the front part of an entity and exemplifies anthropomorphic orientation.

- (7) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
n-pús=ańk
LOC-wet=ABDOMEN
'wet front'

Example (8) denotes the underside of an entity and exemplifies zoomorphic orientation.

- (8) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
n-řaw=ańk=us
LOC-low=ABDOMEN=FACE
'bottom (of something)'

The **PRINCIPLE OF ANATOMICAL ADJACENCY** postulates that body-part terms can by association denote adjacent parts of human or animal anatomy. Association may occur between adjacent body parts located on the exterior of the body, between adjacent body parts located in the interior of the body, or from a point on the exterior to an adjacent point in the interior or vice

versa. Physical contiguity is the only link behind this type of extension (Matisoff 1978:179). The source prototypes BELLY and GUT extend to denote other parts of mammalian anatomy through association via anatomical adjacency.

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency for the suffix **ań/nak*. In example (9) the suffix denotes the body part “belly”, while in example (10) it denotes the body part “hip”. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > HIP.

(9) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:168)

?ic-ut=ank-m

rub-SUF=ABDOMEN-MID

‘rub one’s belly’

(10) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:175)

s-kuł=iǰ*=ank

NOM-unglossed=HEAD=ABDOMEN

‘hip’

The **PROFILING EFFECT OF PREDICATE SEMANTICS** plays an important role in determining the meaning of lexical suffixes. Cases in point are predicates subcategorized for object shape. Attached to these predicates, a lexical suffix refers to the end point of a trajectory, or a final location.

Example (11) contains the predicate *c* “lay long objects”. The end point denoted by the suffix is a place **under** the railroad tracks.

(11) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:16)

n-c=éńk-ń-s

LOC-lay long object=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG

‘replace ties on railroad (lay pole under)’

Example (12) contains the predicates *cəq* “set bulk”. The end point referred to by the suffix is a place in **front** of the speaker.

(12) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:4)

n-cq=éńk-cm-s

LOC-set bulk=ABDOMEN-1SG OBJ-3SG SUB

‘someone set something directly in front of me’

The predicates *c* “lay long objects” and *cəq* “set bulk” are subcategorized for object shape and select an aspect of the lexical suffix suitable for denoting the final location of the implied object.

The different meanings exhibited by the suffix in examples (9) through (12) are contingent on the Canonical Orientation of the body part “belly”. An orientation template is chosen for the suffix according to the context in which an expression is uttered. Selection of the zoomorphic template yields “under”, while selection of the anthropomorphic template yields “front”.

In addition to these three processes, lexical suffixes may abstract the salient shape of a body part and metaphorically extend it to other entities in the world perceived as having the same shape. **THE PRINCIPLE OF SHAPE ABSTRACTION** expounds that the characteristic shape of a body part can be abstracted and applied to entities perceived as having a similar shape. Shape extensions of body-part lexical suffixes are very common in Salish languages. The suffix for ABDOMEN in its prototype BELLY denotes the classificatory shape “prominent curved surface” (Allan 1977:301), which refers to hillsides in Interior Salish (see section 2.2.1).

The four conceptualization processes mentioned—the Principle of Canonical Orientation, the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, the Principle of Shape Abstraction, and the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics—are the chief mechanisms through which the meaning extensions of the lexical suffix **ań/nak* obtain.

2.0.6 Categories of meanings that obtain for the suffix **ań/nak*.

The extensions of the suffix **ań/nak* ABDOMEN are categorized below.

Anatomical conceptual prototype

ABDOMEN > BELLY (2.1.1 and 2.1.1.1)

ABDOMEN > GUT (2.1.2 and 2.1.2.1)

Anatomical adjacency extensions of the prototype BELLY:

BELLY > HIP (2.1.1.2)

BELLY > RIB (2.1.1.2)

Shape extensions of the prototype BELLY:

BELLY > HILLSIDE > CLIFF (2.2.1)

BELLY > HILLSIDE (2.2.2)

BELLY > DOME > SKY (2.2.3)

Locational extensions of the prototype BELLY:

BELLY > FRONT (2.3.1)

BELLY > SIDE (2.3.2)

BELLY > UNDERSIDE (2.3.5)

Relational extensions of the prototype BELLY:

BELLY > UNDER (2.4.1)

Anatomical adjacency extensions of the prototype GUT:

GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL (2.1.2.2) (2.1.2.3)

Locational extensions of the prototype GUT:

GUT > INSIDE (2.3.3)

GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL > END POINT(2.3.4)

Metaphorical projections of the prototype GUT:

GUT > INSIDE > AFFECT (2.5)

Grammaticalized extension of the prototype GUT:

INSIDE > AFFECT > DESIDERATIVE MODALITY (2.5.3)

The suffix is labeled by its central meaning, ABDOMEN, in examples (13) through (27). The captions preceding each example, or set of examples, identify the prototype source concepts BELLY or GUT and speak to the nature of the semantic extension.

ANATOMICAL MEANINGS AND ANATOMICAL ADJACENCY MEANINGS: Examples (13) and (14) show the division of the central meaning ABDOMEN into the prototypes BELLY and GUT.

ABDOMEN “Belly (human and animal)”

- (13) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
ʔu-čəx *čəx *a l =dəč-t-əb
ASP-club (redup.)=CON=ABDOMEN-TR-MID
'someone clubbed him repeatedly in the belly'

ABDOMEN “Gut (internal viscera)”

- (14) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:369)
ximxim=nač-tn
heavy (redup.)=ABDOMEN-INSTR.
'kidney'

Examples (15) through (17) exemplify the Anatomical Adjacency extensions BELLY > HIP and GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL.

BELLY “Hip”

- (15) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)
s-^θáṁ=nəc
NOM=bone=ABDOMEN
'hip bones'

GUT “Anus/Rump/Tail”

- (16) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)
x*-ʔáṁ=ələc-əm
LOC-wipe=ABDOMEN-MID
'wipe one's anus'⁵
- (17) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:143)
tóṁ=nč
short=ABDOMEN
'short-tailed'

SHAPE EXTENSIONS: Examples (18) through (20) are shape extensions that show the semantic paths BELLY > HILLSIDE, BELLY > SKY, and BELLY > CONFINE.

BELLY “Hillside”

- (18) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:193)
n-m eʔn=énk
LOC-shaded=ABDOMEN
'shady on the hillside'

BELLY “Sky”

- (19) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:135)
s-táq=nč
NOM-shaded=ABDOMEN
'sunset'

⁵ e.g., š-x*-ʔáṁ=ələc-əm-tení “toilet paper”, i.e. that with which you wipe the anus (Halkomelem, Suttles in prep. a).

BELLY “Confine”

- (20) Spokane (Carlson 1989:23)
n-čm=nč=éłxʷ
LOC-area=ABDOMEN-HOUSE
'wall of a house'

LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Example (21) shows the path **BELLY > FRONT**. example (24) shows the path **BELLY > UNDERSIDE**. example (22) shows the path **GUT > INSIDE**, and example (23) shows the path **GUT > ANUS/RUMP/ TAIL > END POINT**.

BELLY ‘Front’

- (21) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
n-pús=ańk
LOC-wet=ABDOMEN
'wet front'

GUT ‘Inside’

- (22) Spokane (Carlson 1989-115)
xl=énč
poles laid next to each other=ABDOMEN
'area just inside the tipi'

GUT ‘End Point’

- (23) Saanich (Montler 1986:161)
kʷəθ=néč-t
lift=ABDOMEN-TR
'He tilted it (lifted at one end).'

BELLY ‘Underside’

- (24) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:23)
x-təxʷtəxʷ=éńk=xn
LOC-straight (redup.)=ABDOMEN=FOOT
'flat feet'

RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Example (25) shows the semantic path **BELLY > UNDER** for the suffix.

BELLY ‘Under’

- (25) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:75)
łap=ay=ənč
deep=CON=ABDOMEN
‘under a seat’

FEELING EXTENSIONS: Example (26) conceptualizes the “seat of emotion” as located inside body. The semantic path taken is GUT > INSIDE > AFFECT.

GUT ‘Affect’

- (26) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:475)
n-kəs=éñk
LOC-bad=ABDOMEN
‘cranky, vicious’

The extension AFFECT is the source for desiderative modality extensions. Desiderative modality is shown in example (27). The semantic path for this extensions is INSIDE > AFFECT > DESIDERATIVE.

- (27) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:253)
kł-čm=ñk
ASP-like=ABDOMEN
‘will want’

Each of the semantic extensions exemplified will be treated in subsequent sections of this chapter. Section 2.1 addresses the anatomical meanings of the suffix. Section 2.2 addresses the shape extensions of the suffix. Section 2.3 addresses the locational extensions of the suffix. Section 2.4 addresses the relational extension of the suffix. Section 2.5 addresses those extensions of the suffix that denote affect and desire.

2.1 The anatomical meanings of the suffix *ań/nak.

As used here, ABDOMEN may refer to the external visible belly mound, BELLY, and to the cavity that contains the internal viscera, GUT. The semantic progressions BELLY > HIP and GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL obtain by the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency.

Figure 3 schematizes the anatomical meanings of the suffix *ań/nak. External anatomy is shown by shaded areas, internal anatomy is left unshaded. In the following sections, the

semantics of each one of these extensions is treated in detail and examples are provided for every language considered in the chapter.

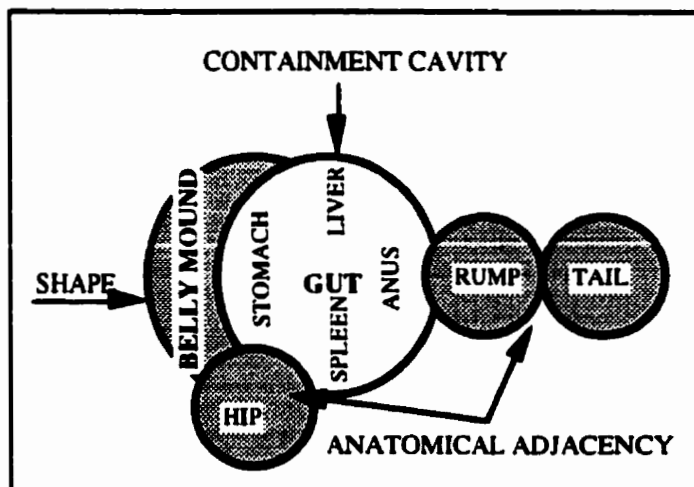


Figure 3: Schema of Anatomical Meanings for the Suffix **an/nak*.

The anatomical domain referred to by the suffix **an/nak* is discussed as follows: section 2.1.1 and 2.1.1.1 address the meaning BELLY; section 2.1.1.2 addresses the meaning HIP. Section 2.1.2 addresses the meaning GUT; section 2.1.2.1 addresses the meaning STOMACH. Section 2.1.2.2 gives examples of the suffix denoting other internal viscera. Section 2.1.2.3 addresses the meaning(s) ANUS /RUMP. Section 2.1.2.4 addresses the meaning TAIL.

2.1.1 The external anatomical aspect of the meaning ABDOMEN.

This section addresses the meaning BELLY for the suffix, and those meaning extensions derived from BELLY through the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency. The suffix **an/nak* ABDOMEN denotes BELLY in section 2.1.1.1 and HIP in section 2.1.1.2.

2.1.1.1 **an/nak* denoting “belly”.

First, we will consider a straightforward example where the suffix **an/nak* denotes BELLY. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY.

- (28) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:370)
 wax = énk
 show = ABDOMEN
 ‘having one’s belly showing [open shirt]’

In this example the suffix clearly refers to the external human belly. In fact, the human belly seems to be the prototypical referent of the suffix **ań/nak*. The following are some representative examples:

- (29) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:175)

ci ḳ=ul=ank
stab-SUF=ABDOMEN
'to stab someone in the belly'

- (30) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)

?u-ts=al=dəč-d-ub čəd
ASP-hit=CON=ABDOMEN-TR-MID 1SG
'I got punched in the belly'

- (31) Lillooet (van Eijk: 1987:96)

n-sup=ańák-əm
LOC-scratch=ABDOMEN-MID
'to scratch one's belly'

- (32) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)

qay=ének-e-s
shoot=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG⁶
'shoot someone in the belly'

Examples (33) through (35) are ambiguous in that the suffix refers to the stomach which is located on the inside of the body. I have listed these examples as denoting the external belly, because it is the belly mound what one rubs or holds when afflicted by a stomach ache, and the location of the pain is associated with the external belly, as seen in example (34).

- (33) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:129)

?əs-ǰəl=ádəč
ASP-bad=ABDOMEN
'stomach ache'

⁶ The ending in this entry appears in the *Thompson Dictionary* as being one morpheme. In other instances, such as in entries (170) and (171), the ending *-es* is segmented as *-e-s*. Dale Kinkade suggests that the ending in (32) should be segmented as *-e-s*.

(34) Shuswap (Bridget Dan p.c.)
kəp=eŋk-n-k
ache=ABDOMEN-Q-2SG.
'Do you have a belly ache?'

(35) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:179)
s-n-čáʔr=ínk
NOM-LOC-ache=ABDOMEN
'stomach ache'

The predicates in examples (29) through (35) denote actions or states. Combined with these predicates, the suffix **aŋ/nak* functions as an incorporated object or as the location of the state denoted by the predicate.

Several Interior Salish languages use the suffix **aŋ/nak* to indicate pregnancy. The roots in examples (36) through (38) are cognate and glossed as "piled up". The connotation is a visual one and the image evoked is the belly of a pregnant woman (Georgina Nelson p.c.).

(36) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:231)
s-q*m-ank
ASP-piled up=ABDOMEN
'be pregnant'

(37) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:242)
c-q*m=enk
RSLT-piled up=ABDOMEN
'be pregnant'

(38) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:298)
ʔes-q*m=enk
ASP-humped=ABDOMEN
'be pregnant'

Expression (39) is semantically equivalent to examples (36) through (38), but its predicate is not cognate with them.

- (39) **Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #616)**
 nəp=áŋk
 unglossed=ABDOMEN
 ‘pregnant girl’

The gloss of the Upper Chehalis example (40) does not make explicit reference to the body part “belly”, but a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis of the utterance suggests that the literal translation is that a basket is fastened around the front body of a person.

- (40) **Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:66)**
 ʔám=nč-tŋ
 trap=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 ‘tie the strings of a basket around self’

Though the human belly is the prototypical referent of the suffix in the data considered in this chapter, the lexical suffix *aŋ/nak can denote the belly of an animal, as in example (41).

- (41) **Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)**
 s-q*əbáy=ał=dəč
 NOM-dog=CON=ABDOMEN
 ‘the belly of a dog’

The reading “belly” also obtains for the suffix in examples (42) through (46). These expressions refer to implements used for constraining or harnessing an animal’s belly.

- (42) **Lillooet (van Eijk: 1987:107)**
 n-síŋ*=aŋk-əŋ
 LOC-loosen up=ABDOMEN-TR
 ‘to loosen the cinch of a saddle’
- (43) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:284)**
 ɔ́l=cŋk-tŋ
 cover=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 ‘cinch for a horse’
- (44) **Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:218)**
 ʔ-ʔc=éŋk-tŋ
 LOC-tie=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 ‘strap to tighten cinch’

- (45) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:234)
 ǰ-qét=nk-tn
 LOC-hoist=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'martingale'
- (46) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #617)
 kł-láw=nk-tn
 POS-tie on=ABDOMEN-INSTR.
 'cinch'

The predicates in the examples (47) through (50) are glossed "rip" or "tear". The suffix refers to the belly in contexts related to the cleaning or butchering of game.

- (47) Lillooet (van Eijk: 1987:76)
 cŷ=ank-ɔn
 rip=ABDOMEN-TR
 'gut an animal'⁷
- (48) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:46)
 cŷ=ank-e-s
 rip=BELLY-SUF-3SG
 'butcher fish'
- (49) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #631)
 n-til=ánk-n
 POS-tear=ABDOMEN-1SG
 'clean fish or game'
- (50) Spokanc (Carlson 1989:93)
 s-n-tl=enč-m
 NOM-LOC-tear=ABDOMEN-MID
 'gutted fish'

Recapitulating, the anatomical meanings of the suffix **án/nak* may denote the belly of a human being or an animal.

⁷ Example (47) can also have the meaning "to operate on someone".

2.1.1.2 *ań/nak denoting “hip”.

The prototypical meaning BELLY for the suffix *ań/nak extends to denote HIP via the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency. Hips are defined as the projecting regions on each side of the lower trunk (*Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980*). In a human being, the portion of the front body extending between the two hips is the “belly”. In an animal, the hip area defines the posterior end of the trunk, since the axis of the spine is horizontal to the ground. The suffix *ań/nak means HIP⁸ in examples (51) through (56). The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > HIP.

(51) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:175)

s-kuł=iǰ*=ank
NOM-area=HEAD=ABDOMEN
'hip'

(52) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

s-ǰ⁹śm=nəc
NOM-bone=ABDOMEN
'hip bones'

(53) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-k⁹*éy=nəc
NOM-incapacitated=ABDOMEN
'hip disease'

(54) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:37)

čśm=ńč
inverted=ABDOMEN
'hip bone'

(55) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:102)

pśn=nč
near, beside=ABDOMEN
'hip region'

⁸ This extension of the suffix is also found in Sechelt: *waqt* = *ənəč* “hip” (Voo and Adams 1961).

(56) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:137)

tá·w̄=nč

big=ABDOMEN

'big hipped'

In the Okanagan example (57), the suffix **an/nak* denotes a different anatomical adjacency extension, the ribs. This adjacency extension reflects the anatomy of the upper abdomen, which is bounded in the front and on the sides by the lower ribs.⁹ The semantic path of the suffix in this examples is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > RIB**.

(57) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:175)

n-sk̄*t=ink

LOC-one side=ABDOMEN

'half the ribs'

The root in example (57) is glossed as "one side" and the entire expression is translated as "half the ribs". This suggests a butchering context. Animals are split open along the belly and eviscerated. The exposed abdominal cavity has two sides, each one containing half the lower ribs and one hip.

The most prevalent anatomical adjacency extension for the suffix **an/nak* is **HIP**. In Okanagan the suffix extends to denote **RIB**.

2.1.2 The internal aspect of the meaning **ABDOMEN**.

We discussed the external aspect of the **ABDOMEN—BELLY**—and its anatomical adjacency extensions in the previous section. We now address the internal aspect of the **ABDOMEN**—the abdominal cavity and its contents, i.e. **GUT**. We will discuss here the prototypical meaning **GUT** and the adjacency extensions that derive from it via the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, i.e. the anus, the rump, and the tail.

⁹ I have not found this extension of the suffix in other languages besides Okanagan.

2.1.2.1 *ań/nak denoting “gut”.

The stomach is contained within the abdominal cavity and denoted by the suffix *ań/nak in its prototype GUT. Example (58) shows the suffix *ań/nak denoting stomach, i.e. the internal counterpart of the belly. In addition, the suffix also denotes all the internal organs contained in the abdominal cavity. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT.

- (58) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:234)
k^wosw=áńk
pig=ABDOMEN
'to overeat'

Similar meanings for the suffix are found in expressions (59) through (63). The predicates in these expressions are cognate and denote a state of satiation. The lexical suffix *ań/nak refers to the stomach:

- (59) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
lɔč^h=áɫ=dɔč
full (container)=CON=ABDOMEN
'belly filled'
- (60) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:192)
mǎ́=áneʔk
full=ABDOMEN
'have enough to eat (rude)'
- (61) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #625)
mǎ́q=áńk
full=ABDOMEN
'be full, satiated'
- (62) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:153)
mǎ́q=eńč
full=ABDOMEN
'to have a full stomach'

- (63) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:153)
 čin mǫ=anč=étk*
 1SG full=ABDOMEN=WATER
 'my stomach is full'¹⁰

The suffix **an/nak* is also attested with the meaning “stomach” in Lushootseed and Okanagan, as seen in examples (64) and (65).

- (64) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:26)
 saǰ=adǰč-ǰd
 scrape=ABDOMEN-TR
 'scraping the inside of the stomach'

- (65) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:19)
 čwq=fnk-nt
 bore a small hole=ABDOMEN-TR
 'pull something out of the stomach'

Example (66) is ambiguous in that it may denote either the stomach or the intestines.

- (66) Spokane (Carlson 1989:13)
 he-n-čǰʔr=énč-i
 ASP-LOC-hurt=ABDOMEN-ASP
 'indigestion'

The above examples are instances where the suffix **an/nak* refers to the stomach.

Besides denoting the stomach, the lexical suffix **an/nak* denotes other internal organs of the body, including the intestines, the liver, the kidneys, the spleen, and the vagina.

Examples (67) through (72) denote the intestines or tripe. The semantic path of the suffix is

ABDOMEN > GUT.

- (67) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:81)
 s-čm=ánk
 NOM-area=ABDOMEN
 'intestines'

¹⁰ Example (63) implies that a person is stuffed with water as opposed to food.

- (68) Spokane (Carlson 1989:91)
 s-tǰ=énč
 NOM=bitter=ABDOMEN
 'intestines'
- (69) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard: 1938:615)
 s-táǰ=e nč
 NOM=bitter=ABDOMEN
 'intestines'
- (70) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:472)
 ʔǰč-p=éńk
 constrict-ASP=ABDOMEN
 'intestinal blockage, get appendicitis'
- (71) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:245)
 n-pt=éńk-tń
 LOC-cover=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'entrails'
- (72) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:177)
 s-čm=e n k
 NOM-area=ABDOMEN
 'tripe, guts'

The suffix is also found in Quinault in examples (73) and (74). These examples refer to a "tapeworm" and the suffix denotes the habitat of the tapeworm, the intestines.¹¹ The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT.

- (73) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.91.12)
 qáǰ-l=nǰč
 unglossed-SUF=ABDOMEN
 'tapeworm'

¹¹ The Quinault notes vary phonetically. We can find a č and č̣ in expressions having the same meaning (See examples (73) and (74).)

- (74) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.73.3)
 kiʃs-l=anəč
 unglossed-SUF=ABDOMEN
 'tapeworm'

Examples (75) and (76) refer to the use of tripe for making sausages. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT.

- (75) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:85)
 s-púm=naʔk
 NOM-smoked=ABDOMEN
 'smoked bear gut'

- (76) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:144)
 s-t-púm=nk
 NOM-LOC-smoked=ABDOMEN
 'bear sausage'

Examples (77) through (81) denote the spleen, the liver, the kidneys, and the vagina. All these organs are contained within the abdominal cavity and denoted by the suffix *an/nak. In example (79) the meaning ROUND THING is an extension of FACE. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT.

- (77) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:19)
 x-pt=éńk-tn
 LOC-covering=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'spleen'
- (78) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard: 1938:615)
 peń=enč
 bend=ABDOMEN
 'liver'
- (79) Lillooet (Veronica Bikadi p.c.)
 məʃ' =uʃ=áńk-tən
 inside=ROUND THING=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'kidney'

(80) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:369)
 ʃimʃim=nač-tən
 heavy (redup.)=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 ‘kidney’

(81) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:172)
 yáq*=nč
 un glossed=ABDOMEN
 ‘vagina’

Internal organs are denoted by the suffix **ań/nak* in examples (77) through (81). Since these organs are located within the abdominal cavity, it is understandable that the suffix **ań/nak* is the generic cover term that denotes them.

2.1.2.2 **ań/nak* denoting “anus” and “rump”.

This section addresses the extensions ANUS/RUMP for the suffix. The suffix **ań/nak* denotes the ANUS through the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency—an internal to external adjacency extension. The anus is the physical end point of the intestines and the external opening for the GUT. In denoting ANUS, again through adjacency, the suffix also denotes the general area that surrounds the ANUS, i.e. the RUMP.

The rump area is generally defined as the back of the hips, or the fleshy part of the body upon which a person sits. The suffix **ań/nak* denotes this general area in examples (82) through (88), and its semantic path is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP.¹²

(82) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
 pəc=ál=dəč
 defecate=CON=ABDOMEN
 ‘feces on anus’

¹² This extension is also attested in Sliammon: *láy=nač-ten* “skirt”, *kʷó=nač-em-en-áye* “rump”, *kʷa=nač* “sit”, and *qʷéqʷəp=ənəč* “spider” (Voo and Adams 1961). The extension is also attested in Sechelt: *s-nəw=ənəč* “pants”, *s-qəl=neč* “skirt”, *čəqʷo=neč-tən* “chair”, and *sal=nač* “rump” (Voo and Adams 1961). In Mainland Comox, it is attested in *qas=nač-č* “I’m tired on the behind” (J. Davis 1970:42), and in *qas=nač* “tired of sitting” (J. Davis 1970:80).

- (83) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

x^w-ʔáḗ=ələc-əḡ¹³

LOC-wipe=ABDOMEN-MID

'wipe one's anus'

- (84) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

láq̣=ənéc

end=ABDOMEN

'rump'

- (85) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-lál=ləc

NOM-behind=ABDOMEN

'rump'

- (86) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

x^w-čéʔ=nəc-əḡ

LOC-be set=ABDOMEN-MID

'sit on a chair, perch'

- (87) Saanich (Montler 1986:81)

x^w-ʔamət-əḡ=néc

LOC-set-SUF=ABDOMEN

'He is squatting.'

- (88) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:7)

ʔáwt=nč

behind=ABDOMEN

'hind part'

The Quinault examples (89) and (90) have final č̣. See examples (73) and (74) and (158) through (162) where there is an alternation between č̣ and č in expressions of identical meanings.

- (89) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.57.5)

x^wáč̣=ən íč̣

stink=ABDOMEN

'stinking seat'

¹³ The suffix appears as =ələc in the -l- dialects of Downriver Halkomelem.

- (90) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.57.4)
 síp=n íč̣
 hit, whip=ABDOMEN
 'to whip on buttocks'

In a closely related meaning extension, the suffix **an/nak* denotes "feces". Kinkade (1998:281) reconstructs two proto-forms that are pertinent to this particular semantic extension of the suffix **an/nak*.

PROTO-FORM	MEANING	PROTO-FORM	MEANING
*i=anak	'intestines, belly'	*m=anak	'excrement'

The reconstructed forms shown above have **i* and **m* variants and respectively denote "belly" and "feces". Kinkade proposes that lexical suffixes are the remnants of these original forms. Thus, if these words are not complex forms, we might be dealing with two different suffixes. The issue that concerns me here is the fact that the meanings "belly", "intestines" and "feces" are attested for the suffix **an/nak* in this corpus. These meanings can be phonologically traced to a shape **an/nak*, and semantically derived from a central concept ABDOMEN.

Examples (91) through (96) denote the by-product of the digestive system eliminated through the anus. The semantic path followed is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP > FECES.

- (91) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:95)
 pá tq̣*=n č̣-n
 wrap=ABDOMEN-3SG
 'what is wrung out of a diaper'
- (92) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:277)
 s-wac=áńak
 NOM-defecate=ABDOMEN
 'manure'
- (93) Shuswap (Antoinette Archie p.c.)
 n-čsqax̣a=énak
 LOC-horse=ABDOMEN
 'horse manure'

- (94) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:299)
 q^wn o ǰ^w=ének
 sick=ABDOMEN
 'dysentery'
- (95) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #626)
 s-n-pč=ánk-əx^w
 NOM-POS-defecate=ABDOMEN-ASP
 'diarrhea'
- (96) Spokane (Carlson 1989:120)
 n-ǰ^wl=énč
 LOC-throw away=ABDOMEN
 'bowel movement'

The meaning ANUS/RUMP is attested for the suffix in Tsamosan and Central Salish, and the meaning FECES is attested for the suffix in Tsamosan and Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter.

2.1.2.3 *ań/nak denoting "tail".

This section addresses the meaning TAIL for the suffix *ań/nak. A tail is the prolongation of the rump in the body of an animal.

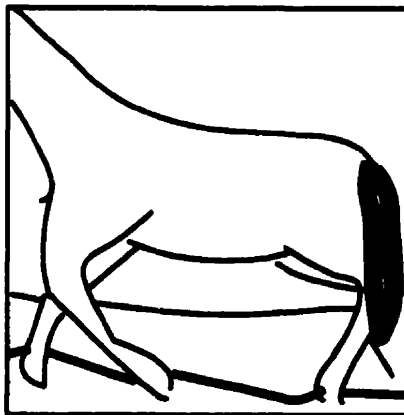


Figure 4: The Adjacency Extension TAIL for the Suffix *ań/nak.

The suffix denotes a generic tail in examples (97) through (102). The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP > TAIL.

- (97) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 š-xʷ-šáɸ=əl=ləc
 NOM-LOC-deep=CON=ABDOMEN
 'tail of a mammal or bird'¹⁴
- (98) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)
 xʷ-íəqʷ=əl=ləc-t
 LOC-be severed=CON=ABDOMEN-TR
 'cut its tail off'
- (99) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 kič=l=šs=nk
 crooked=CON=NOSE=ABDOMEN
 'to have a crooked tail'
- (100) Saanich (Montler 1986:81)
 s-šəpéys=nəč
 NOM-unglossed=ABDOMEN
 'tail'
- (101) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:143)
 ló·m̓=nč
 short=ABDOMEN
 'short-tailed'
- (102) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.122.7)
 tí=nəč
 unglossed=ABDOMEN
 'tail'

The suffix for NOSE regularly extends to denote POINT as in example (99). The suffix denotes the tails of fish, birds, reptiles, and of land and sea mammals in examples (103) through (110).¹⁵

¹⁴ In Musqueam the s- NOM > š- before the -xʷ LOC.

¹⁵ The extension TAIL is also attested in Sechelt: *pəq̓* = *əneč* "goose". It is attested in Sliammon as: *ʔolt* = *šwnəč* "lizard" and *θóp* = *ənəč* "tail" (Voo and Adams 1961).

- (103) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 smłk=l=χs=nk
 fish=CON=NOSE=ABDOMEN
 'fish tail'¹⁶
- (104) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 ʔasx* =l=χs=nk
 seal=CON=NOSE=ABDOMEN
 'seal tail'
- (105) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 wač=l=χs=nk
 dog=CON=NOSE=ABDOMEN
 'dog tail'
- (106) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 x*-χ́əqt-ənc
 LOC-long=ABDOMEN
 'cougar'
- (107) Saanich (Montler 1986:81)
 x*-χ́éqt=nəč
 LOC-long=ABDOMEN
 'cougar'
- (108) Halkomelem (Hukari and Peter 1995:266)
 ḳ*etχ-əṁ=nəc
 rattle-MID=ABDOMEN
 'rattlesnake'¹⁷
- (109) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 x*-ḳ*etχ-əṁ-nəc
 LOC-rattle-MID=ABDOMEN
 'rattlesnake'

¹⁶ Examples (103) through (105) have the lexical suffix =χs NOSE meaning POINT in addition to the lexical suffix =nk.

¹⁷ Examples (108) through (110) refer to a rattlesnake and have a suffix intervening between the root and the lexical suffix.

- (110) Saanich (Montler 1986:81)
 xʷ-ḡétłx-əm =nəč
 LOC-shake a rattle-MID=ABDOMEN
 ‘rattlesnake’

In Mainland Comox (J. Davis 1970:41) the suffix is attested in the expression *səq=nəč* “towing, e.g. logs”. The meaning of the suffix is TAIL and the visual image conveyed conforms to that of a “tail”, as logs are tied and dragged while being towed. This could also be the beginning of the spatial meaning “behind” for the suffix **aŋ/nak* under a zoomorphic interpretation. The meaning TAIL, as illustrated in examples (103) through (110), is an expected extension for the lexical suffix **aŋ/nak* following the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency.

2.1.3 Summary and distribution of the anatomical meanings of **aŋ/nak*.

Table V shows the distribution by branch of the anatomical meaning extensions of the suffix **aŋ/nak* ABDOMEN and sums up the content of section 2.1. The extensions ANUS/RUMP/TAIL are tabulated under one heading (See sections 2.1.2.1, 2.1.2.2, and 2.1.2.3).

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN ANATOMICAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN “Belly”	•	•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN “Hip”	•	•	•		
ABDOMEN “Rib”					•
ABDOMEN “Gut”		•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN “Anus/Rump/Tail”	•	•	•	•	•

TABLE V: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOMICAL EXTENSIONS

The extension HIP for the suffix is not attested in Interior Salish, and the extension GUT is not attested for Bella Coola. The attested extensions in the data considered in this chapter are as follows:

- The meaning BELLY is attested in all branches of the family.

- The adjacency extension BELLY > HIP is attested in Bella Coola and in the Central and Tsamosan branches.
- The adjacency extension BELLY > RIB is attested in Okanagan.
- The meaning GUT is attested in all branches of the family except Bella Coola.
- The meanings GUT > ANUS/RUMP/(FECES) TAIL are attested in all branches of the family.

Table VI shows the two conceptual prototypes BELLY and GUT and their attested anatomical extensions derived through the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency.

PROTOTYPE SOURCE	BELLY	GUT
ADJANCENCY EXTENSIONS	HIP/RIB	ANUS/RUMP/TAIL
BELLA COOLA (North)		
Bella Coola	belly, hip	tail
CENTRAL		
Squamish		gut
Halkomelem	hip	anus, rump, tail
Lushootseed	belly	anus
Saanich		tail
TILLAMOOK (South)		
Tillamook	belly	
TSAMOSAN		
Quinault		gut, rump
U. Chehalis	belly (front), hip	anus, rump
INTERIOR SALISH (North)		
Lillooet	belly	gut
Thompson	belly	gut
Shuswap	belly	gut
INTERIOR SALISH (South)		
Columbian	belly	gut
Okanagan	belly, rib	gut
Spokane	belly	gut
Kalispel	belly	gut
Coeur d'Alene		gut

TABLE VI: ATTESTED ANATOMICAL ADJACENCY EXTENSIONS

The left hand column in Table VI lists the languages considered in this chapter. The middle column lists the languages in which the prototypical meaning BELLY and its anatomical adjacency

extensions HIP and RIB are attested. The right hand column lists the languages in which the prototypical meaning GUT and its anatomical adjacency extensions ANUS/RUMP/TAIL are attested.

Languages are apt to construct their systems of body-part nomenclature in different ways. Words for body parts may denote, through association, an adjacent part of anatomy. This semantic association does not imply a shared function between body parts designated by the same term. The common link is anatomical contiguity (Matisoff 1978:179).

2.1.4 The linking of anatomical adjacency extensions.

This section addresses the semantic chaining of anatomical meanings. First, it considers the fact that in some languages within this corpus the adjacency derived meanings HIP and ANUS/RUMP/TAIL, are not attested. Secondly, it considers the gaps in the data and the strategies adopted by languages to denote the prototype concepts BELLY or GUT when they do not use the suffix **an/nak* to denote these concepts. Some Central Salish languages have alternative strategies for denoting “belly”.

Table VII shows those languages where the prototype meanings BELLY and GUT are not attested for the suffix **an/nak*. It also shows the languages where the anatomical adjacency meanings, HIP and ANUS/RUMP/TAIL, are not attested for the suffix.

MEANINGS NOT ATTESTED	Bella Coola	Squamish	Halkomelem	Saanich	Lushootseed	Quinault	U. Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Spokane	Kalispel	Coeur d'Alene
ANATOMICAL AND ADJACENCY MEANINGS NOT ATTESTED															
ABDOMEN “Belly ”	•				•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN “Hip/Rib”	•		•				•				•				•
ABDOMEN “Gut”		•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN “Anus/Rump/Tail”	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		

TABLE VII: ADJACENCY MEANINGS NOT ATTESTED

A blank space indicates that the extension is not attested for a particular language; conversely, a dot means that the extension is attested.

The suffix **an/nak* denotes the general area of the trunk that comprises the HIP and the RIB. The semantic path BELLY > HIP/RIB represents an anatomical adjacency link, whereby the hip, the belly, and the ribs are denoted by the same morpheme.

- The prototype-meaning BELLY for the suffix is not attested for the following Central Salish languages: Squamish, Halkomelem, and Saanich. The meaning BELLY for the suffix is attested in Lushootseed.
- The meaning HIP for the suffix is not attested in Squamish, Saanich, and Lushootseed. The suffix is attested with the meaning HIP in Halkomelem.
- The meaning HIP for the suffix is not attested in Northern Interior Salish, nor in the following Southern Interior languages: Columbian, Spokane, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene. The suffix is attested with the meaning RIB in Okanagan.

The lack of a given meaning for the suffix **an/nak* within a language or branch of the family is important. The morphemes chosen to denote the body part "belly" may shed light on the conceptualization processes underlying the change. Even if we are unable to define precisely the specifics triggering the change, it is worth noting that the change takes place. In the language-by-language analysis shown in Table VII, the suffix **an/nak* is not attested with the meaning BELLY in Squamish, Halkomelem, or Saanich. Nevertheless, the suffix is attested with the meaning BELLY in other Central Salish languages, e.g. Lushootseed. The path is ABDOMEN > BELLY.

(111) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)

s-q*əbáyʔ=al=dəč

NOM-dog=CON=ABDOMEN

'the belly of a dog'

The fact that the body part “belly” is not always denoted by the suffix **an/nak* in Central Salish prompted an examination of the strategies adopted for denoting this body part in Central languages. In Halkomelem (Musqueam), the lexical suffix =aʔce denotes the “belly”.¹⁸

(112) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

ḡóʔ=əʔ=əʔce

hurt=CON=ABDOMEN

‘have a stomach ache’

(113) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

čqʷ=aʔce

pierced=ABDOMEN

‘get pricked in the belly’¹⁹

(114) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-ḡəʔqʷ=aʔce

NOM-striped=ABDOMEN

‘striped belly’

¹⁸ Although not attested in Halkomelem with the meaning “belly”, the reflex =nəc from **an/nk* occurs with the meaning “hip”, an anatomical adjacency extension of BELLY with the following semantic path ABDOMEN > BELLY > HIP.

(i) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

s-ʔʰəʔm̄=nəc

NOM- bone =BELLY

‘hip bones’

¹⁹ The ‘l’ of the connective elements is eliminated in examples (113) and (114). The vowel of the connective element and the vowel of the lexical suffix coalesce into a long vowel. Compare example (112) that has the connective element with examples (113) and (114) that have a long vowel and no connective element (Wayne Suttles, p.c.).

Saanich indicates the anatomical belly with the lexical suffix that denotes round objects:

(115) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:29)
čq̣ʷi=iʔás-t
punch=ROUND OBJECT-TR
'punch him in the belly'

(116) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:29)
čəq=iʔás
big=ROUND OBJECT
'big rounded object'

(117) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:29)
šč̣=iʔás-t sən
hit with a stick=ROUND OBJECT-TR 1SG
'I got hit on the belly with a stick.'

Squamish denotes the body part "belly" with the lexical suffix *wil* CANOE/CONTAINER as in examples (118) through (120).

(118) Squamish (Kuipers: 1967:122)
ciq=wil-n
stab=CANOE/CONTAINER-TR
'stab someone in the belly'

(119) Squamish (Kuipers: 1967:122)
ča=wil-n
punch=CANOE/CONTAINER-TR
'punch someone in the belly'

(120) Squamish (Kuipers: 1967:372)
č̣ʷilʔ=wil-tn
come out=CANOE/CONTAINER-INSTR
'laxative (lit. to empty the belly)'

The use of the lexical suffix *iʔás* ROUND OBJECT to denote BELLY in the Saanich examples (115)-(117) relates to the shape extensions that obtain for the suffix **an/nak* in Northern Interior Salish. The use of the lexical suffix *wil* CANOE/CONTAINER to denote "belly" suggests that the

conceptualization of this body part involves containment. These two comparisons seem to indicate that the abdomen is associated with features of shape and containment regardless of the suffix that denotes it.

If the distribution of anatomical meanings is considered by family branch, the picture that emerges is somewhat different. The complete semantic path BELLY > HIP is attested in Bella Coola, Tsamosan, and Central Salish, but not in Interior Salish. This is in itself important since it sets a boundary between Salish languages spoken in the Interior Plateau and the rest. The semantic path GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL is attested in Tsamosan, and Central Salish. The link FECES is attested in Northern and Southern Interior Salish. The meaning GUT for the suffix is not attested in Bella Coola within this corpus.

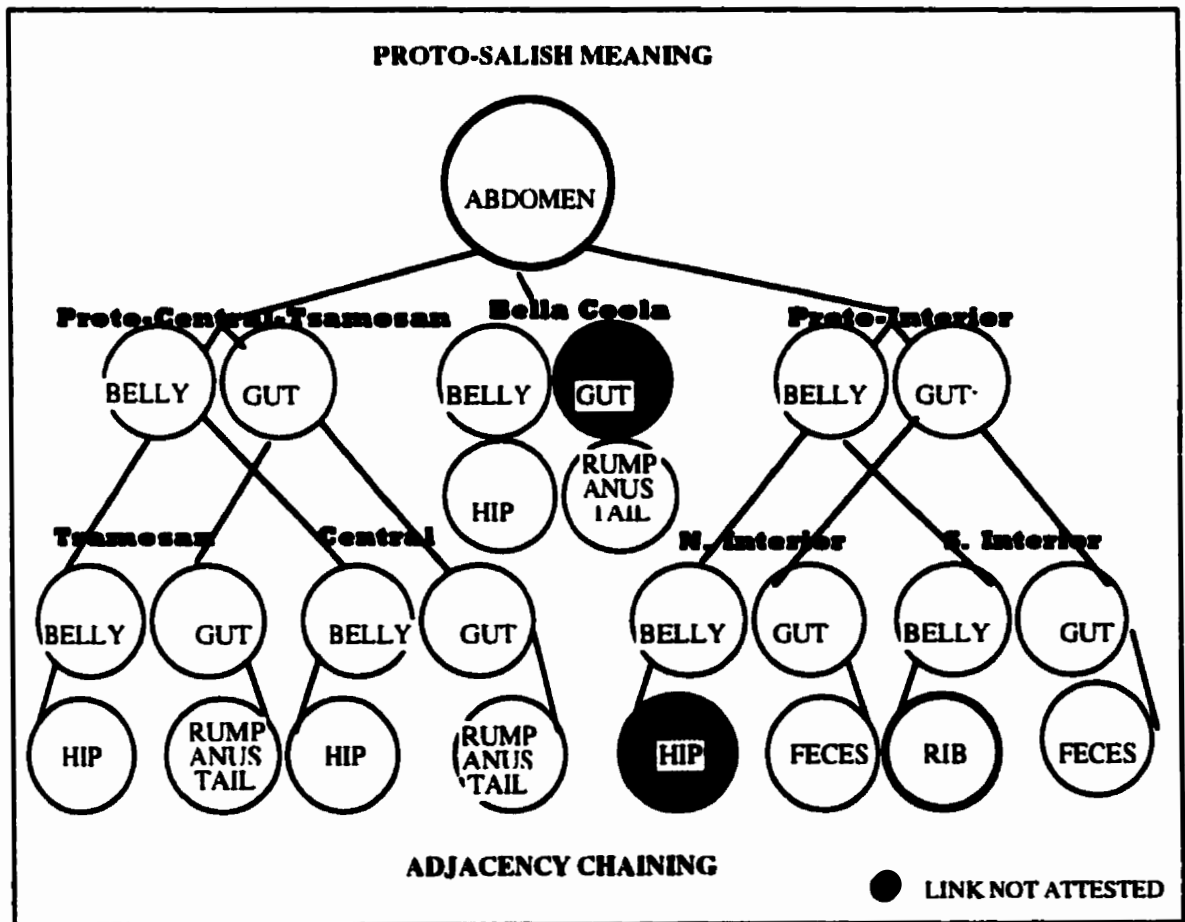


Figure 5: The Linking of Anatomical Extensions

Figure 5 displays the linkage of anatomical meanings in the different branches of the family. The semantic paths BELLY > HIP and GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL/FECES are displayed for every branch of the family. If the semantic link is not attested for a particular branch in the data considered in this chapter, the circle corresponding to the missing meaning is shaded.

The distribution of the semantic paths BELLY > HIP and GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL is much more even when viewed at the level of family branch. It is reasonable to assume that the omissions found in a language-by-language analysis may be due to the paucity of the data considered here, or to the fact that the specific contexts where these meanings would emerge were never elicited.

Not all meanings are attested in all branches of the family. In Bella Coola the link GUT is not attested. Nevertheless, the meaning TAIL, which under this analysis derives from GUT via the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, is attested in data like the following:

- (121) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 kič=l=χs=nk
 crooked=CON=NOSE =ABDOMEN
 'to have a crooked tail'

The semantic path NOSE > POINT is standard for the lexical suffix *qs. For other examples see section 2.1.2.4.

The extension HIP is not attested for the suffix in Interior Salish. Two Interior languages, Shuswap and Okanagan, have alternative strategies for denoting the hip area, as shown in the examples (122) and (123). The compound of the suffixes =eqst and =xñ denotes the HIP in these languages. The suffix =eqst or =aqst is not given a gloss separate from the suffix for FOOT in Shushwap or Okanagan. (See section 2.1.1.2.)

- (122) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:67)
 səp=éqst=xñ
 hit=LEXICAL SUFFIX=FOOT
 'get hit on the hip'

- (123) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:317)
 n-spəp=áqst=xn
 LOC-hit (redup.)=LEXICAL SUFFIX=FOOT
 ‘get hit on the hip’

We see that alternative morphemes are used to denote the prototype concept BELLY in Halkomelem, Saanich, and Squamish, and that Shuswap and Okanagan compound two lexical suffixes, *aqst and xən, to denote HIP. Thus the suffix *ań/nak may be replaced by other morphemes in expressions denoting the body parts “belly” and “hip”.

2.2 Shape extensions of the prototype BELLY.

The shape extensions of the suffix *ań/nak presented in the sub-sections that follow are based on the external shape of the belly, that is to say, the belly mound. Cross-linguistically, the classificatory shape “prominent curved surface” refers to hills, humps, heaps, rib cages, and bow-like objects (Allan 1977:301).

Shape-based extensions of the suffix *ań/nak may denote the slope of a hillside, or the dome shape of traditional dwellings. The latter extends to denote walls and ceilings, i.e. CONFINE(S). These last two extensions are a transfer of ancient nomenclature to modern technology and presuppose the extension DOME. Section 2.2.1 addresses the extension HILLSIDE for the suffix, section 2.2.2 addresses the extension DOME and the extension CONFINE. Section 2.2.3 addresses the extension SKY for the suffix.

2.2.1 *ań/nak denoting “hillside”.

The external belly mound lends itself to metaphorical extensions based on shape. The most common shape extension that obtains for the suffix *ań/nak is HILLSIDE. Figure 6, illustrates the shape abstraction on which the extension “hillside” originates.

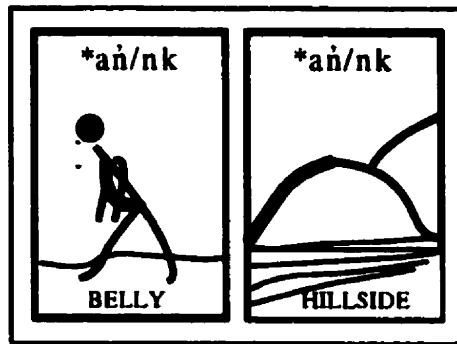


Figure 6: The Shape Extension HILLSIDE for the Suffix **ań/nk*

The extension HILLSIDE for the suffix denotes shape and it is attested in the Interior languages in the examples that follow. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > HILLSIDE.

- (124) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:219)
n-qaq̣pʔ=ánk
 LOC-sand=ABDOMEN
 'sandhill'
- (125) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:137)
x-pce kł=enk
 LOC-leafed=ABDOMEN
 'tree-covered sidehill'
- (126) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:215)
n-ǰost=énk
 LOC-shale=ABDOMEN
 'mountain consisting of shale rock'
- (127) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:263)
x-wis=enk
 LOC-high=ABDOMEN
 'high hillside'
- (128) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:193)
n-meʔn=énk
 LOC-shade=ABDOMEN
 'shady on the sidehill'

(129) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:332)

n-soʃ*est=énk

LOC-descend=ABDOMEN

'sloped straight down'

(130) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #604)

n-ʃ*aʃ=ánk

POS-hole=ABDOMEN

'cave in hillside'

(131) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:55)

k*í=ínk

warm=ABDOMEN

'sunny sidehill'

(132) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:255)

kʰ-ʃs=ínk

TRANSLOC-good=ABDOMEN

'sidehill'

In examples (124) through (132), the suffix **an/nak* denotes HILLSIDE and functions as an adjunct to predicates that describe a salient property or attribute of the hillside.

The Columbian examples that follow represent a metonymic extension of the meaning HILLSIDE for the suffix where the suffix **an/nak* denotes a CLIFF. Conceivably, a hill may have high steep bluffs on its slope. A bluff is not seen as separate from the hill; rather, it is an intrinsic part of the overall contour of the hill and may be denoted by the same term.

Examples (133) and (134) represent a part-whole metonymy whereby a hillside and the bluff it contains are denoted by the same morpheme. The root in example (133) means to "uncover". The literal meaning of example (133) is "to uncovered the hillside", implying that a cliff is that part of a hill where the underlying rock structure is exposed. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > HILLSIDE > CLIFF**.

(133) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #627)

n-kàx k*ʷ=ánk

POS-uncover=ABDOMEN

'a rock wall breaks off'

- (134) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #630)
 n- k̑aw-lx=ánk
 POS-climb-AUT=ABDOMEN
 'climb a bluff'

The lexical suffix combines with predicates of motion or position in examples (135) through (139). The expressions imply location upon a hillside or movement along a hillside. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > HILLSIDE**.

- (135) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:189)
 n- k̑əlt=ánk
 LOC-cross=ABDOMEN
 'to walk up a hill diagonally'

- (136) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:419)
 n- ʃaý-pt=énk=xé(n)
 LOC-steep-cover=ABDOMEN=FOOT
 'go down a mountain gradually'

- (137) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)
 č̑t-ʔem t=énč
 LOC-sit=ABDOMEN
 'He sat on the side of the mountain.'

- (138) Spokane (Carlson 1989:111)
 č̑t-x *st=énč
 LOC-walk=ABDOMEN
 'walk on the side of a hill'

- (139) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:275)
 kl-ʔaks-wx=ínk
 TRANSLOC-dwell=ABDOMEN
 'dwell on a sidehill'

The suffix **an/nak* denotes **HILLSIDE** and **CLIFF**. This is originally a shape-based extension with a semantic path **BELLY > HILLSIDE**. At some point, the extension **HILLSIDE** is extended by metonymy in Columbian and originates the semantic path **HILLSIDE > CLIFF**.

2.2.2 *aṅ/nak denoting “semi-subterranean dwellings”.

The classificatory-shape “prominent curved surface” denoted by the suffix may refer to dome-shaped structures. A domed wall/ceiling describes the traditional semi-subterranean dwellings of the Interior Plateau people. The Lillooet, Shuswap, and Thompson built dwellings and sweat lodges that were domed-shaped (Alexander 1992:136).

Examples (140) and (141) from Thompson and Shuswap denote dome-shaped dwellings. The lexical suffix *aṅ/nak in these examples co-occurs with the lexical suffix for HOUSE. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > DOME.

(140) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:309)

q̣* i q̣* y = e n k = é t x *

ripening season (redup.)=ABDOMEN=HOUSE

‘double shelters used in full summer heat’

(141) Shuswap (Marianne Ignace p.c.)

x - ḳ m = ə n k = é t x *

LOC-surface=ABDOMEN=HOUSE

‘semi-subterranean dwelling’²⁰

The limits of an enclosed space are its confines. If the dwelling is a dome-shaped structure, all confines can be designated by the same term since the structure is a continuum. Therefore, independent words for denoting wall or ceiling are not necessary. This is not the case if the dwelling in question is box-like or rectangular in shape. In such buildings, confines are sharply defined by converging surfaces bearing names such as “walls” and “ceiling”.

²⁰ Compare examples (141) and (145) with the example below containing the suffix for HEAD. The expression with the suffix for HEAD denotes a roof.

(i) Shuswap (Marianne Ignace p.c.)

s - ḳ m = q ə n = é t x *

NOM-surface=HEAD=HOUSE

‘pitched roof (of house)’

Figure 7 schematizes the structure of the traditional semi-subterranean dwelling that the Interior people used to build.

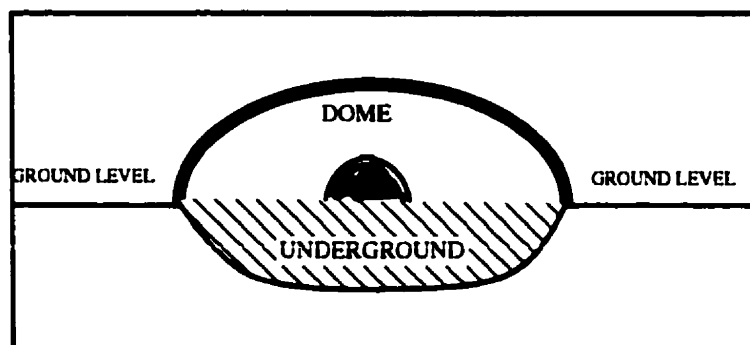


Figure 7: The Shape Extension DOME for the Suffix **ań/nak*.

The suffix **ań/nak* is used for denoting confines, i.e. walls and ceilings in Interior Salish languages. Examples (140) and (141) show the suffix **ań/nak* combined with the suffix for HOUSE in expressions referring to walls and ceilings. The semantic path followed is ABDOMEN > BELLY > DOME > CONFINE.

(142) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:47)

$n-km = nk = iłx^*$

LOC-area=ABDOMEN=HOUSE

'walls, ceiling'

(143) Spokane (Carlson 1989:23)

$n-čm = nč = éłx^*$

DIR-area=ABDOMEN=HOUSE

'wall of a house'

My assumption is that the term translated as "wall" is a contemporary extension of the suffix **ań/nak*. This term, once used to designate a semi-subterranean dwelling and its confines, refers now to the structural components of a modern house, e.g. "wall", "ceiling".

Example (144) shows the suffix **ań/nak* combined with the suffix for HOUSE. The expression is translated as "ceiling".

- (144) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:142)
 n-łʔ=ank=áłxʷ
 LOC-put together=ABDOMEN=HOUSE
 'ceiling'

Example (145) should be contrasted with example (141). We see in this comparison that the expression is interchangeable and may be used for denoting a traditional dwelling, as in (141), or the ceiling of a contemporary house, as in (145).

- (145) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)
 x-ḳm=nk=éłxʷ
 LOC-area=ABDOMEN=HOUSE
 'ceiling'

Example (146) comes from Lillooet and denotes the foundation of a house. The predicate in this expression translates as “lying down area” and refers to the place where the dome of a house is laid.

- (146) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:153)
 n-kic=ank=áłxʷ
 LOC-lay=ABDOMEN=HOUSE
 'foundation'

Example (146) suggests that the floor area was denoted by the same term as the whole semi-subterranean structure. The suffix, which once denoted the entire semi-subterranean dwelling, has specialized its meaning to denote the structural parts of a dwelling in the context of contemporary houses, i.e. floor and ceiling.

In the following examples, the suffix denotes “confines” without the presence of the suffix for HOUSE within the utterance. The probable context for examples (147)-(151) is that of modern buildings; the suffix refers to walls and ceilings. The semantic path is ABDOMEN > BELLY > DOME > CONFINE.

- (147) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:226)
 x-xáł=nk-tn
 LOC-partition=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'wallpaper'

- (148) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #634)
 na- káx * =nk
 POS-open(ing)=ABDOMEN
 'opening or hole in a wall'
- (149) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:89)
 n- laʔm =nk
 LOC-close to=ABDOMEN
 'next to a wall'
- (150) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938: 615)
 a- n- qe l̥x * =e nč
 PP-LOC-hooked=ABDOMEN
 'she was hooked to the wall'
- (151) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #632)
 na- xát =nk
 POS-high, up=ABDOMEN
 'high ceiling'

In sum, this shape extension of the suffix **ań/nak* denotes semi-subterranean dwellings and their sub-parts. The meaning of the suffix has gone from denoting the entire traditional semi-subterranean dwelling to denoting the walls, ceilings, and foundations of buildings.

2.2.3 **ań/nak* denoting “sky”.

This section addresses a plausible shape extension of the lexical suffix **ań/nak*. One that conceptualizes the sky as a dome or ceiling superimposed on the ground surface (see Figure 8). The classical metaphor “celestial dome” is a productive shape-based conceptualization found in many European languages. The sky appears to be dome-shaped when viewed from ground level.²¹ This shape resembles the ceiling of a semi-subterranean dwelling.

²¹ “The oak tree he stood beneath seemed to mark the exact center of the empty fields; the blue bowl of the sky balanced directly above it; which made the place seem important, ...” (Earley: 1999:174).

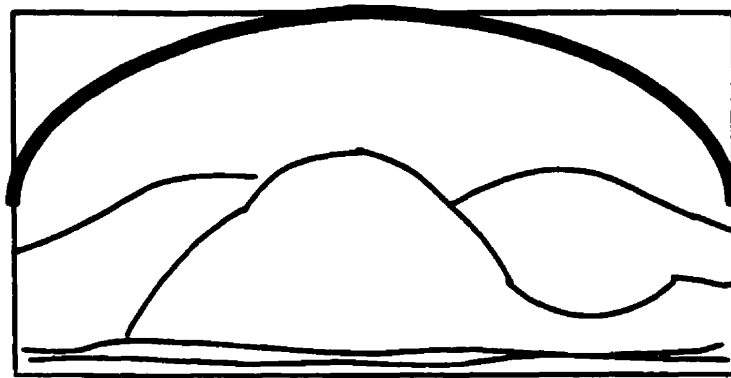


Figure 8: The Shape Extension SKY for the Suffix **ań/nak*.

It is tempting to ascribe examples (152) through (155) to the shape-based conceptualization **ABDOMEN > BELLY > DOME > SKY**. The examples come from Shuswap, and the suffix **ań/nak* seemingly refers to the perceived shape of the sky.

(152) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:170)

*x-cəq**=éńk

LOC-red=ABDOMEN

'red clouds at dusk'

(153) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:162)

x-íəp=éńk

LOC-dark=ABDOMEN

'black clouds'

(154) Shuswap (Kuipers 1993:10)

*š-q**iq*iy (redup.)=éńk

LOC-blue=ABDOMEN

'blue sky'

The extension SKY in Shuswap has been confirmed by Sarah Denault (August 1999) in the following example.

(155) Shuswap (Sarah Denault 1999)

x-ńm=éńk

LOC-area=ABDOMEN

'sky, firmament'

The Upper Chehalis example (156) describes the sky at sunset, and the Thompson example (157) describes a sweltering summer day.

(156) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:135)

s-táq=nč

NOM-shaded=ABDOMEN

'sunset'

(157) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:313)

s-n-ǫ*y=e nk

NOM-LOC-ripening=ABDOMEN

'hot weather, summer'

The following Quinault examples cast a shadow on the validity of the extension SKY for the suffix, suggesting that an entirely different morpheme might be involved.²²

(158) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: #2.16.3)

?is-úl=snačə

come-CON=ABDOMEN (?)

'sunrise'

(159) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: #3.65.5, 2.16.3)

kǫl=snač

sink-ABDOMEN (?)

'sunset'

(160) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: #3.65.7)

ǫ*u?əlá=snač

hot-ABDOMEN (?)

'hot day'

(161) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: #4.14.6)

jǫǫ=snač

light=ABDOMEN (?)

'moonshine'

²² Quinault seems to have an alternation between č and č̣ in expressions having the same meaning. (See examples (158) through (162).)

(162) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: #4.14.7)

ǰəxʷ-úl=snač

light=CON=ABDOMEN (?)

'sunshine'

Semantically, the Quinault forms correspond to the Northern Interior and Upper Chehalis forms, except for the fact that the morpheme *-snač*, has an initial *s-*. It may be the case that the initial *s-* is the nominalizer, and that the form *-snač* is not a lexical suffix. Therefore, until further evidence appears, we should consider the extension DOME > SKY an open question subject to debate.

2.2.4 Summary and distribution of shape meaning extensions of *an'/nak.

This section addresses the distribution of the shape extensions that obtain for the suffix *an'/nak. As mentioned, shape extensions have their source in the rounded contour of the external belly, conceptualized as the classificatory shape "prominent curved surface". The shape attributes implicit in the suffix subsume concave and convex features.

The shape extensions of *an'/nak are glossed here as HILLSIDE, a mountain slope being its most frequent denotatum; as DOME, the descriptive term for the traditional dwellings of Interior people; as SKY, the "celestial dome" covering the land; and as CONFINE, a derived extension that presupposes the extension DOME. Table VIII illustrates the distribution of shape extensions by branch.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN SHAPE-BASED EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN "Hillside"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Dome"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Confine"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Sky"			•	•	•

TABLE VIII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF SHAPE-BASED EXTENSIONS

Shape extensions of the suffix **ań/nak* ABDOMEN denote topographic features, the structural shape of material objects, and visual perceptions.

- The extension HILLSIDE is confined to the Interior branches and appears to be an innovation.
- The extension DOME is attested in Interior Salish.
- The extension CONFINE denoting “walls” is attested in Interior Salish and presupposes the extension DOME.
- The extension SKY is attested in Interior Salish and possibly in Tsamosan.

Shape extensions are not attested throughout Salish, but are limited to Tsamosan and Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter.

2.3 Locational extensions of the suffix for ABDOMEN.

The spatial reference points denoted by the suffix **ań/nak* reflect the general location of the belly relative to the body as a whole. This section addresses the locational extensions that obtain for the suffix **ań/nak* and the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic templates that generate them. Orientation templates underlie locational meanings. Salish languages use both the anthropomorphic and the zoomorphic models to denote spatial reference points.

The opposition BELLY (FRONT)/BACK (BEHIND) is the result of anthropomorphic orientation. The face, the eyes, and the belly determine the front of the human body, while the nape of the neck and the back determine its other side (Vandeloise 1991:90). The opposition BACK (TOP)/BELLY (UNDERSIDE) is the result of zoomorphic orientation.²³ The back of an animal determines the topside of its body, while the belly determines the underside.

²³ The contrasting anthropomorphic axis is HEAD (TOP)/FEET (BOTTOM):

Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:381)

ʔəs-wux*t=q í n

ASP-snowed=HEAD

‘snow on top of the mountain’

The lexical suffix **ań/nak* ABDOMEN has two prototypical meanings, BELLY and GUT. Located on the front part of the human body, the body part “belly” extends to denote the locational point FRONT. In example (163), the prototype BELLY is the source concept for the locational reference point FRONT. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > FRONT. The suffix is labeled FRONT in the example that follows.

- (163) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:398)
 ʔes n-xt=énk
 ASP LOC-nicked=FRONT
 ‘it is gouged out on the front’

The intestines, located on the inside of the body, extend by adjacency to mean ANUS/RUMP. (See section 2.1.1.2.) This body-part area is the source for the locational extension END POINT, as in example (164), where the suffix **ań/nak* denotes the bottom of a pot. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP > END POINT. The suffix is labeled END POINT in the example that follows.

- (164) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)
 páǰ*=nəc-t
 get warm=END POINT-TR
 ‘put it (a pot) over the fire’

Locative construals of body-part lexical suffixes are metaphorical in nature and extend the domain of the body part into the region of space immediately adjacent to it. They also denote parts of an entity that stand in the same relation to the whole as the specific body part denoted by the suffix stands to the body.

Figure 9 conflates anthropomorphic and zoomorphic orientation, illustrating the anatomical range of meanings denoted by the lexical suffix **ań/nak*. Shaded areas represent locations; unshaded areas represent body parts. There is a direct relation between the position the body part has in the body and the locational space the body part denotes.

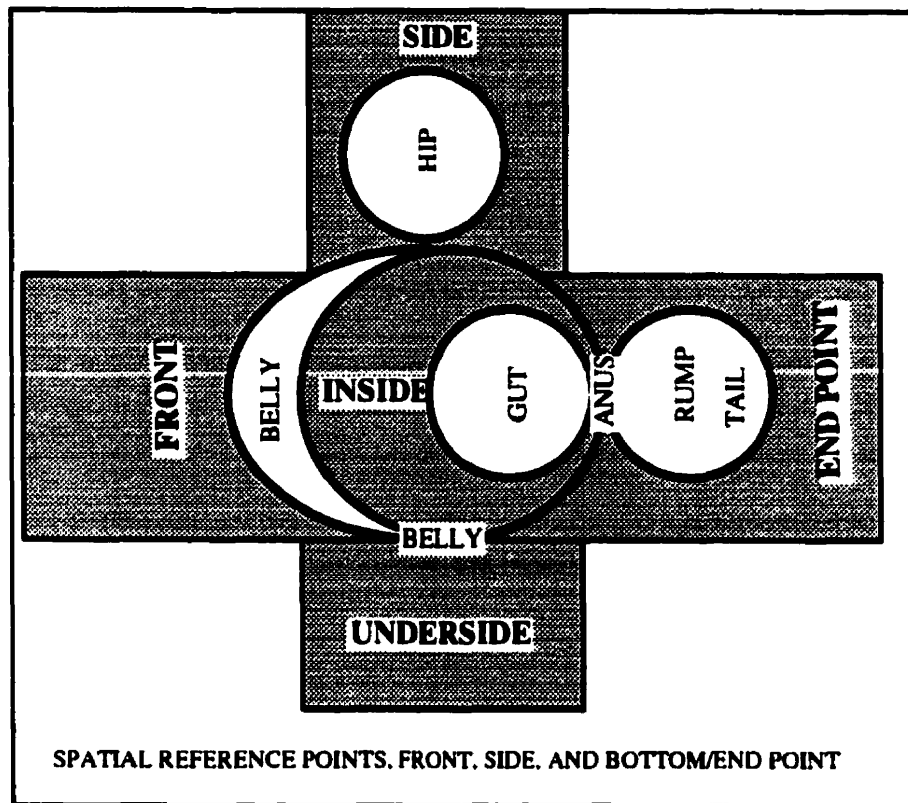


Figure 9: Schema of Locational Meanings for the Suffix **an/nak*.

The locational extensions of **an/nak* shown in Figure 9 depend on the orientation template attributed to the body part, on the semantics of the predicates, and on the location the body part has relative to the body as a whole. Section 2.3.1 addresses the extension FRONT. Section 2.3.2 addresses the extension SIDE. Section 2.3.3 addresses the extension INSIDE. Section 2.3.4 addresses the extension END POINT, and section 2.3.5 the extension UNDERSIDE.

2.3.1 **an/nak* denoting “front”.

The first locative extension of the suffix **an/nak* addressed in this section derives from the anatomical meaning BELLY. The front/back asymmetry of the human body is the source of the spatial reference-point FRONT that obtains for the suffix.

Examples (165)-(171) refer to animate entities; the suffix **an/nak* denotes the frontal plane of the human body: The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > FRONT.

- (165) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:75)
 ?as=ank-c ?a! ?inu
 LOC=ABDOMEN-1SG PP 2SG
 'I am directly in front of you.'
- (166) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:17)
 ?as=ank=a!
 LOC=ABDOMEN=FOOT
 'to stand in front of someone'
- (167) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
 n-pús=ank
 LOC-wet=ABDOMEN
 'wet front (of clothing on a person)'
- (168) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:111)
 n-ḳm=énk
 LOC-body surface=ABDOMEN
 'front of body'
- (169) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:122)
 n-k*n=eńk-e-s
 LOC-grasp=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG
 'take s.t. from in front of s.o.'
- (170) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:274)
 qamin=enk-e-s
 throw=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG
 'throw fishnet in front of someone else's'
- (171) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:92)
 n-ki?=énk-e-s
 LOC-precede=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG
 'precede someone, go ahead of someone'

Examples (172)-(174) refer to inanimate entities. The template of the human body is transferred to the entities denoted in the examples: a village in example (172), and probably a house in examples (173) and (174).

Examples (177) and (178) contain two lexical suffixes. The second lexical suffix denotes the entity whose side is referred to by the suffix **ań/nak*.

(177) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:76)
s-kut=ank=us
NOM-area=ABDOMEN=FACE
'side of the face'

(178) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:241)
ci·x̄=ank=us-is
dig=ABDOMEN=FACE-3SG²⁴
'dig alongside something'

The locational reference point *SIDE* for the suffix **ań/nak* is a metaphorical extension of the body part "hip" attested only in Bella Coola.

2.3.3 **ań/nak* denoting "inside".

The internal viscera—*GUT*—are the source concept for the locative extension *INSIDE*. The semantic path of the suffix is *ABDOMEN > GUT > INSIDE*.

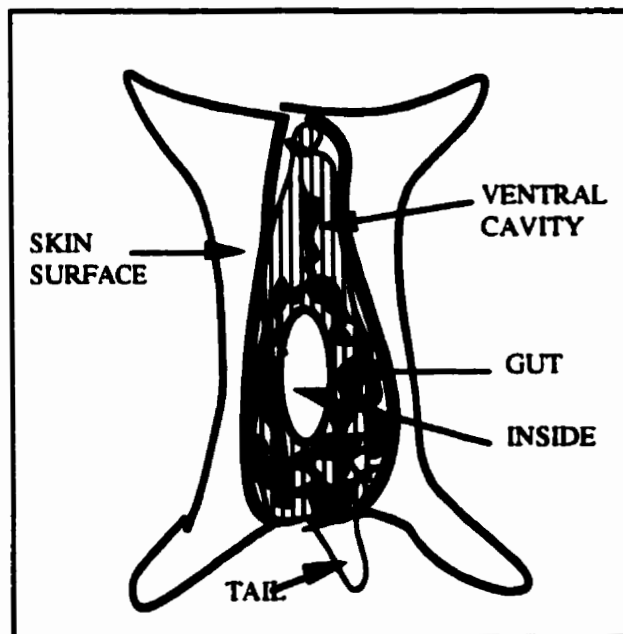


Figure 10: The Extension *GUT > INSIDE* for the Suffix **ań/nak*.

²⁴ The meaning *SURFACE* is a regular semantic extension of the suffix for *FACE*.

Example (179) exemplifies the extension **INSIDE** for the suffix **ań/nak*.

(179) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:166)

n-ńm=ańk

LOC-area=ABDOMEN

'seed of any fruit'

Example (180) denotes the inside part of an entity conceptualized as possessing distinctive inside and outside parts.

(180) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:114)

n-čəs-p=ínk-s

LOC-gone-ASP=ABDOMEN-3POSS

'He cleaned off the inside of it.'

The suffix **ań/nak* refers to the inside part of the entities in examples (181) through (183).

(181) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:157)

n-kl=ańk-ən

LOC-take apart=ABDOMEN-TR

'take apart inside bark for use in basket'

(182) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:268)

x-yút=nk=xn

LOC-make smooth=ABDOMEN=FOOT

'lining of moccasin (made of straw)'

(183) Shuswap (Kuipers 1993:54)

x-łéx*=ańk-tn

LOC-wear=ABDOMEN-INSTR

'lining (said of clothes)'

The following examples denote containment in an interior space. They refer to a fire pit, or oven, and to the kindling placed inside them for lighting up the fire. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > GUT > INSIDE**.

(184) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:279)

n-ǰəłw=éńk-ń-s

LOC-pass=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG

'put something in the oven'

(185) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:270)

n-ŷ*cl=áńk-tən

LOC-burn=ABDOMEN-INSTR

'kindling'

(186) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:220)

ǰ-ŷ*l=áńk-tn

LOC-shine, glitter=ABDOMEN-INSTR

'kindling (in oven or fire pit)'

Examples (187) and (188) respectively denote a battery, the light source inside a flashlight, and a fountain pen, whose ink deposit is inside the body of the pen. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > GUT > INSIDE**.

(187) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:68)

ʔes-čm=éńk-s c s-čéǰ*

ASP-area=ABDOMEN-3POSS COMP NOM-shine

'battery'

(188) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:68)

ʔes-čm=éńk tək čəǰ*-min

ASP-area=ABDOMEN COMP write-INSTR

'fountain pen'

Examples (189) through (191) denote entities having an inside space where things can be placed, e.g. a bag, a chest of drawers, and a cupboard. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > GUT > INSIDE**.

(189) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:81)

n-iǰ=éńk-ń-s

LOC-insert=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG

'put something in a bag'

(190) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:24)
cək^w-p=éńk
pull-ASP=ABDOMEN
'chest of drawers'

(191) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #611)
n-saʔl=ánk-tn
POS-set down =ABDOMEN-INSTR
'cupboard'²⁵

Examples (192) through (194) contain expressions referring to an inside area. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > GUT > INSIDE**.

(192) Spokane (Carlson 1989:115)
ǰl=éńč
poles laid next to each other=ABDOMEN
'area just inside the tipi'

(193) Spokane (Carlson 1989:115)
n-ǰl=éńč
DIR-poles laid next to each other =ABDOMEN
'storage pocket created inside a tipi'

(194) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:256)
n-ǰw=ínk
LOC-dry=ABDOMEN
'something dry inside'

The extension **INSIDE** for the suffix **an/nak* refers to the interior of entities conceived as having an inside and an outside part. It can also refer to things that are located on the inside of something. The insiderness can be two-dimensional, as the inside of tree bark, or three-dimensional, as the inside cavity of an oven.

²⁵ The glottal stop in this predicate is the inchoative aspect (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

2.3.4 *ań/nak denoting “end point” in Bella Coola and Central Salish.

The semantic path of the suffix *ań/nak in Bella Coola and Central Salish represents one end of the zoomorphic opposition HEAD to RUMP. The rump, located on the posterior extremity of the mammalian trunk, represents one end of the HEAD to RUMP opposition. Figure 11 shows the zoomorphic opposition HEAD to RUMP and its locational counterparts FRONT and END POINT.

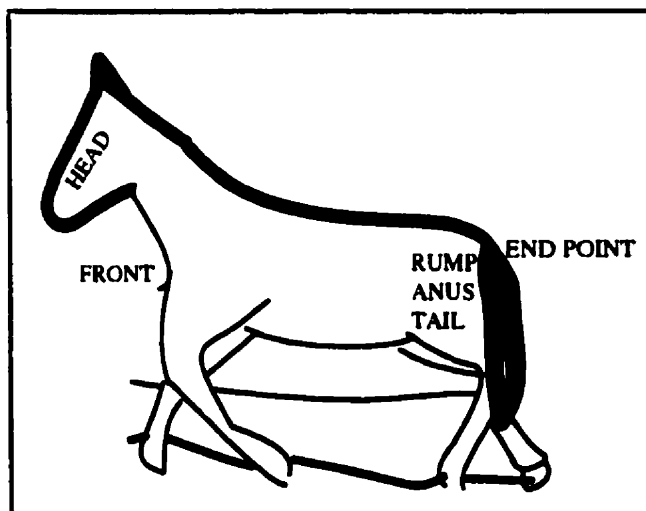


Figure 11: The Zoomorphic Opposition HEAD (FRONT) to RUMP (END POINT).

The locational reference point ENDPOINT originates in the anatomical adjacency extension GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL. The semantic path of suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL > END POINT.²⁶

Example (195) comes from Halkomelem; the referent is a root vegetable.

(195) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

q̣*śm=nəc-t

be pulled=ABDOMEN-TR

'pull it out by the root'

Though a tree stands in upright position, its base or root is considered an END POINT, and so is denoted by the suffix *ań/nak in examples (196) through (199).

²⁶ This extension is also attested in Sliammon: *k*śəm = nəč* “root”, and in Sechelt: *s - q̣op=ənəč* “uprooted stump”, *q*ś=ənəč* “root”, *xeč=ənəč - em* “cut stump” (Voo and Adams 1961). In Mainland Comox (J. Davis 1970:41) the suffix is attested in *θÉq̣=nəč* “digging cedar roots”.

(196) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)

kuł=nk ti stn
unglossed=ABDOMEN DET tree
'base of a tree'

(197) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

x*ɔł^θ-néc-ɔm
unbalanced=ABDOMEN-MID
'become uprooted, as by wind'²⁷

(198) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

qaqá^ʔ-nɔc-t-ɔm
water (redup.)=ABDOMEN-TR-PASS
'become uprooted, as by water'

(199) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

ḵ*ɔq*=nɔc
hit with ax=ABDOMEN
'cut around the base of a tree to kill it'

In examples (200) through (203) the end point of an entity is denoted by the suffix **an*/*nak*.²⁸ The location of the body part "rump" is transposed into the world at large. The semantic path of suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL > END POINT.

(200) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)

ʔas=uc=nk
LOC=MOUTH=ABDOMEN
'bottom of a doorway'²⁹

(201) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)

qu·ḵ=nk
cover=ABDOMEN
'to cover the bottom of something'

²⁷ The predicate in this expression also forms more abstract constructions, such as the resultative form *ḵx*áx*ł^θ* "crazy" (Wayne Suttles p.c.).

²⁸ This meaning for the suffix is also attested in Sechelt: *ḵəp=ənɛč=əwıl* "board on bottom" (Voo and Adams 1961).

²⁹ The meaning DOOR is an expected semantic extension of the suffix for MOUTH.

- (203) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 š-x*-q*é=nəc
 NOM-LOC-pass through=ABDOMEN
 'a hole in the bottom of anything'

In examples (204) through (206), the suffix denotes the extreme points of entities whose orientation seems predominantly horizontal. The semantic path of suffix is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL > END POINT.

- (204) Saanich (Montler 1986:81)
 k*əθ=néč-t
 lift (?)=ABDOMEN-TR
 'He tilted it (lifted it at one end).'

- (205) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169)
 kuł=nk ti nucqaq
 area=ABDOMEN DET needle
 'non-pointed end of a needle'

- (206) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)
 qət=néc
 proceed=ABDOMEN
 'go around (as the end of a lake)'

The suffix **an/nak* denotes the locational reference END POINT in the examples above. This meaning for the suffix obtains in Bella Coola and Central Salish.

2.3.5 **an/nak* denoting “underside” in Interior Salish.

The semantic path of the suffix **an/nak* in Interior Salish represents the zoomorphic opposition BACK (TOP)/BELLY (UNDERSIDE). The “belly” in animals (see section 2.1.1) is in opposition to the back and denotes the underside portion of an animal’s body; conversely, the body part “back” denotes the top portion of an animal’s body (see section 3.3.4).

Figure 12 shows the opposition TOP SIDE/UNDERSIDE. In this opposition the body part “belly” has zoomorphic orientation, and the lexical suffix **an/nak* denotes the locational reference point UNDERSIDE.

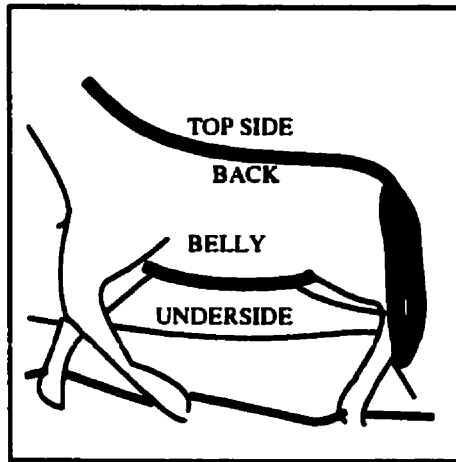


Figure 12: The Zoomorphic Opposition BACK (TOP) to BELLY (UNDERSIDE)

Example (207) comes from Lower Lillooet, an Interior Salish language. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE**. The suffix is labeled **UNDERSIDE** in example (207).

- (207) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
 n-*ǰaw*=*ańk*=us
 LOC-low=UNDERSIDE=FACE
 'bottom face (of something)'

The suffix **ań/nak* in example (207) refers to the underside surface of objects. The expression was applied to several objects placed on top of a table, e.g. a cup, a butter dish, a tea pot. The suffix denoted the bases of these objects, which were in contact with the surface of the table. Structurally, example (207) differs from examples (195) through (206) in section 2.3.4, in that it contains two lexical suffixes.

Examples (208) and (209) denote a tire: the suffix refers to its general location underneath the car. The semantic path of the suffix is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE**.

- (208) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:100)
ǰəł'-*p*=*ańk*=*xəŋ*
 deflated-ASP=ABDOMEN=FOOT
 'to have a flat tire'
- (209) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:174)
 n-*kʔ*=*ańk*=*xəŋ*
 LOC-stick something=ABDOMEN=FOOT
 'place a rock to prevent wheel from rolling'

Examples (210) through (219) also contain the suffix **ań/nak* compounded with a second lexical suffix. Feet are conceptualized as having two distinct sides, the instep and the sole. The instep is the arched middle portion of the human feet in front of the ankle joint (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980*). The sole is the undersurface of the foot, or the part of an item of footwear where the sole rests (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980*).

The top, or instep, is denoted by the suffix for BACK compounded with the lexical suffix for FOOT (see section 3.3.4.3). The sole or underside is denoted by the lexical suffix **ań/nak* ABDOMEN compounded with the lexical suffix for FOOT. The semantic path of the suffix **ań/nak* is ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE.

In examples (210) through (213), the suffix **ań/nak* appears in expressions referring to the sole of the foot:

- (210) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:93)
 n-čičǵ* = ańk = x ɔ n
 LOC-sore = ABDOMEN = FOOT
 'to have tender sore feet'
- (211) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:161)
 x-tǵǵ* tǵǵ* = éńk = x n
 LOC-straight (redup.) = ABDOMEN = FOOT
 'flat feet'
- (212) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:58)
 n-čǵm ǵ = éńk = x n
 LOC-worn = ABDOMEN = FOOT
 'hole develops on sole of footgear'
- (213) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:162)
 n-lǵ = éńk = x n
 LOC-stab = ABDOMEN = FOOT
 'get a nail in the bottom of one's foot'

A zoomorphic canonical orientation is imposed on the suffix when it refers to human feet. The feet are parallel to the ground, thus the top of the foot is denoted by the suffix for BACK, and the sole by the suffix for ABDOMEN.

In examples (214) through (219), the suffix **aŋ/nak* appears in expressions referring to the palm of the hand. The canonical position of the human hand is not parallel to the ground. The use of suffix **aŋ/nak* ABDOMEN to denote the palm of the hand suggests an analogical formation structurally modeled on expressions denoting “feet”. The zoomorphic orientation for the suffix is preserved. The suffix **aŋ/nak* denoting palm is only attested in Interior Salish. Central Salish and Tsamosan languages use a different strategy for denoting “palm” and “sole”.³⁰

Alternatively, we could think of the suffix **aŋ/nak* in examples (214) through (219) as simply denoting BELLY. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE in the examples that follow.

³⁰ Examples are seen in (i) through (iv).

- (i) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:215)
s-təb=us=ačɪʔ
NOM-root=FACE=HAND
'palm of hand'
- (ii) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:215)
s-təb=us=šəd
NOM-thing=FACE=FOOT
'sole of foot'
- (iii) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:102)
pən=á·čá
near=HAND
'palm and fingers'
- (iv) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:75)
šəp=áy=šn
deep-CON=FOOT
'sole of foot'

- (214) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:85)
 n-x*as=ank=ákst
 LOC-grease=ABDOMEN=HAND
 'give or receive the Last Sacrament'³¹
- (215) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)
 x-ḳm=nk=ekst
 LOC-area=ABDOMEN=HAND
 'palm of the hand'
- (216) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:61)
 n-čəq̣*=enk=éks(t)-tn
 LOC-mark=ABDOMEN=HAND-INSTR
 'life line in palm of hand'
- (217) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.: #606)
 niʔ-ḳəm=ańk=ákst
 unglossed-area=ABDOMEN=HAND
 'palm of hand'
- (218) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #635)
 niʔ-xəń=ańk=ákst
 unglossed-crusted=ABDOMEN=HAND
 'callus on the hand'
- (219) Spokane (Carlson 1989:233)
 s-n-č̣m=ńč̣=éč̣st
 NOM-DIR-area=ABDOMEN=HAND
 'palm of hand'

Examples (214) through (219) denote the palm of the hand. The suffix **an/nak* is compounded with the lexical suffix for HAND, and their combined meanings describe the palm. The extension **UNDERSIDE** is found in Interior Salish and originates in the prototype **BELLY**. It contrasts with the extension **END POINT**, addressed in section 2.3.4, which has its origin in the prototype **GUT** and is found Bella Coola and Central Salish. Both these extensions are zoomorphic but exploit different axes of the body.

³¹ In the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, the palms of the dying person are anointed.

The extension **END POINT** implies zoomorphic orientation on a **HEAD to RUMP** axis. The extension **UNDERSIDE** implies zoomorphic orientation on a **BACK (TOP) to BELLY (UNDERSIDE)** axis. The use of the suffix **an/nak* to express the zoomorphic opposition **TOP/UNDERSIDE** is restricted to the Interior languages.

2.3.6 Summary and distribution of locational extensions.

Locational meanings of the suffix **an/nak* **ABDOMEN** are abstracted from anatomical meanings and subsume the canonical orientation that the body part bears to the ground.

Table IX displays the distribution of locational reference point extensions.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN "Belly > Front"	•			•	
ABDOMEN "Hip > Side"	•				
ABDOMEN "Gut > Inside"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Anus/Rump/Tail" > End Point"	•	•			
ABDOMEN "Belly > Underside"				•	•

TABLE IX: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS

- The location **FRONT** is the result of the anthropomorphic opposition **BELLY/BACK** and is attested in **Bella Coola** and **Northern Interior Salish**.
- The location **SIDE** is attested only in **Bella Coola**.
- The location **INSIDE** is attested only in **Interior Salish**.
- The location **END POINT** is the result of the zoomorphic opposition **HEAD/RUMP** and is attested in **Bella Coola** and **Central Salish**.
- The location **UNDERSIDE** is the result of the zoomorphic opposition **BACK/BELLY (TOP/UNDER)** and is attested in **Interior Salish**.

Locational extensions that obtain from the prototype **BELLY** or the adjacency extension **HIP** can have either zoomorphic or anthropomorphic orientation. Locational extensions that obtain

from the extension ANUS/RUMP/TAIL have zoomorphic orientation. The locational reference point INSIDE that obtains for the prototype GUT is not subject to canonical orientation templates, since it conveys concepts of containment and insiderness.

2.4 Relational extensions of the prototype BELLY.

Evidence points to the semantic path ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE as the source of the relational concept addressed in this section. Whereas locational extensions establish spatial reference points such as front, side, inside, or underside, relational extensions address spatial relations between two entities, or refer to a trajectory in space and its direction. The following cline describes the progression from body part to relational extension in Salish.

BODY PART > LOCATIONAL EXTENSION > RELATIONAL EXTENSION

The suffix **ań/nak* appears to code a general relational concept in different languages of the family which is translated as “under”, “below”, or “down”. The different glosses given to the suffix are a reflection of English. Section 2.4.1 addresses the concept UNDER conveyed by the suffix, section 2.4.2 addresses the concept DOWN, and section 2.4.3 addresses the concept BELOW.

2.4.1 **ań/nak* and the relational concept “under”.

The suffix **ań/nak* gets translated as UNDER in combination with predicates meaning “deep”, “drag”, “lay long objects”, and “opening of the ice”. The source for this extension is the opposition expressed by the body parts “back” and “belly” in the body of an animal. The semantic path followed is ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE > UNDER.

Example (220) and Figure 13 show the relational notion expressed by the suffix **ań/nak*.

(220) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)

łəp=ank-s

deep=ABDOMEN-3POSS

‘The hat is under the table.’

ti lətám-a

DET table-DET

ti qmut-a

DET hat-DET

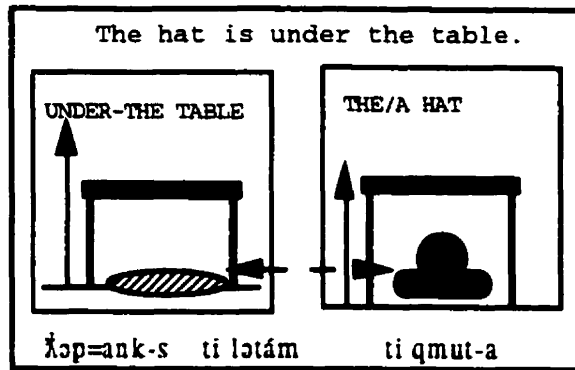


Figure 13: The Extension UNDER for the Suffix **an/nak*.

In examples (221) through (233), the suffix functions as an adjunct to the predicate “deep” and is translated as “under”.

(221) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)

ł̣əp=ánk-s	ti	tih-a
deep=ABDOMEN-3POSS	DET	teapot-DET
'under the teapot'		

(222) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:412)

ł̣p=énk-s	le	n-púy-tn
deep=ABDOMEN-3POSS	DET	LOC-bed-INSTR
'under the bed'		

(223) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:75)

ł̣ap=áy⇒nč
deep=CON=ABDOMEN
'under a seat'

In examples (224) and (225) the suffix functions as an adjunct to predicates denoting concepts such as “lay long objects”, “pull”, and “drag”, and it is translated as “under”.

(224) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:16)

n-c=énk-ń-s
LOC-lay long object=ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG
'replace ties on railroad (lay under rails)'

(228) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:229)

n-wx*=ínk

LOC-hang=ABDOMEN

'hang underneath'

(229) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:265)

n-yx*-(u)t=ínk

LOC-dropped-place=ABDOMEN

'below'

The translation “below” for the suffix **an/nak* reflects the fact that UNDER and BELOW code slightly different spatial arrangements in English. The glosses given to the suffix reflect these differences. This does not mean that the suffix specifies these same exact notions in Salish.

2.4.3 **an/nak* and the relational concept “down”.

The suffix **an/nak* is translated as DOWN when attached to predicates expressing dynamic motion. The semantic path of the suffix is ABDOMEN > BELLY > UNDERSIDE > UNDER

Figure 15 illustrates the trajectory and direction described by a falling body.

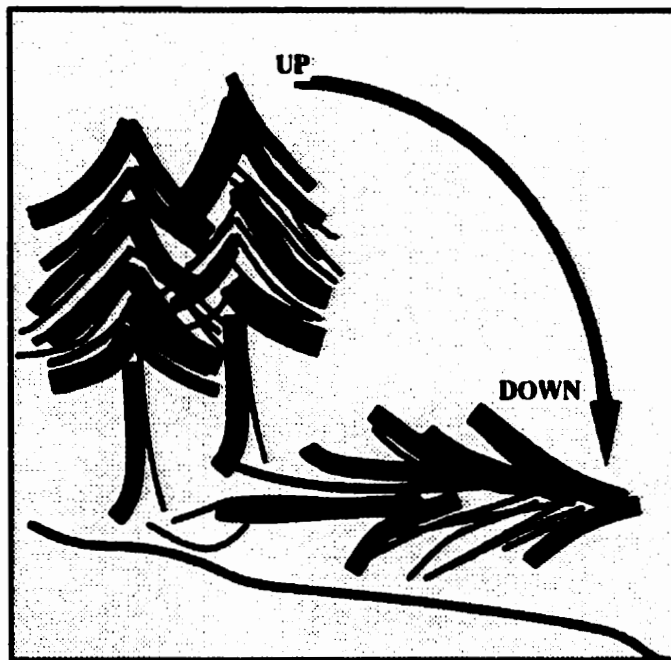


Figure 15: The Extension DOWN for the Suffix **an/nak*.

In examples (230) and (231), the suffix denotes a trajectory and functions as an adjunct to predicates meaning “jump” and “fall”. It denotes the general direction of the trajectory.

suffix **ań/nak*. Even though emotions are abstract concepts, the conceptualization of emotions is anchored in bodily experience (Lakoff 1987:377).

Strong visceral sensations establish a somatic marker in the body (Damasio 1994:163). The concept “seat of emotion” has its root in the physiological effect that strong emotions have on the physical body. In English, the somatization of emotions is evidenced in expressions such as “I can’t stomach her” or “he is a gutless individual”. The body part deemed to be the seat of emotion usually coincides with the internal organ on which the somatic marker imprints. In this case, the locus is the inside body, i.e. any of the internal organs denoted by the suffix **ań/nak*. In denoting the internal organs contained in the abdomen, the suffix **ań/nak* also refers to emotional states.

Section 2.5.1 has examples of the suffix in expressions denoting negative emotions such as meanness, viciousness, and sadness. Section 2.5.2 has examples of the suffix in expressions denoting positive emotions such as love and affection. Section 2.5.3 discusses the grammaticalization of the suffix **ań/nak* to denote desiderative modality.

2.5.1 **ań/nak* denoting negative emotions.

Examples of the suffix in expressions conveying negative emotions are listed below. The lexical suffix **ań/nak* denotes the locus of emotion or feeling, which is conceptualized as located inside the body. The semantic path of this extension is **ABDOMEN > GUT > FEELING**. The suffix is glossed as **ABDOMEN**.

(232) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:168)

n-*ks=áńk*

LOC-bad=ABDOMEN

‘mean (spirited)’

(233) Shuswap (Dora Billy p.c.)

x-*kas=eńk*

LOC-bad=ABDOMEN

‘mean’

- (234) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:475)
 n-*k̑əs=éñk*
 LOC-angry=ABDOMEN
 ‘cranky, vicious’
- (235) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:428)
 n-*ǰm=eñk-m*
 LOC-unglossed=ABDOMEN-MID
 ‘memento of a dead person, keepsake’³²
- (236) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:142)
 paʔpaʔs=ínk
 sad (redup.)=ABDOMEN
 ‘feel bad’
- (237) Spokane (Carlson 1989:62)
 hec-puʔpuʔs=énč
 ASP-sad (redup.)=ABDOMEN
 ‘They are sad.’
- (238) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #624)
 puʔpuʔs=ánk
 heart (redup.)=ABDOMEN
 ‘mourn’³³

These examples attest the extension FEELING for the suffix. The extension is attested in Northern and Southern Interior Salish.³⁴

2.5.2 **añ/nak* denoting positive emotions.

The suffix **añ/nak* also appears in expressions that denote positive emotions, such as the ones conveyed in examples (239) through (242) below. The semantic path of this extension is ABDOMEN > GUT > FEELING. The suffix is glossed as ABDOMEN.

³² Example (235) is a loan from Okanagan (Thompson 1996: 428). In Northern Interior Salish the term *ǰmank* means “heavy”.

³³ This predicate has the inchoative aspect -ʔ- and distributive reduplication.

³⁴ This extension of the suffix is possibly attested in Mainland Comox in *lǰǰ = anč = m* “to get cranky” (J. Davis 1970: 61).

- (239) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:175)
 ye s- ʃa m =e n č- ə m
 ASP-unglossed=ABDOMEN-MID
 'love, affection'
- (240) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #636)
 ʃm =á n k
 unglossed=ABDOMEN
 'like, love, want'
- (241) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:253)
 ʃm =n k - n - cú t
 like=ABDOMEN-SUF-RFLX
 'like oneself'
- (242) Spokane (Carlson 1989:117)
 ʃʃm ' =é n č
 like (?) (redup.)=ABDOMEN
 'He liked something little.'

The suffix is attested in constructions that denote positive emotions only in Southern Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter.

2.5.3 *ań/nak as a desiderative.

A completely different extension for the suffix is addressed in this section. The suffix *ań/nak is attested with desiderative force and acquires grammatical meaning in the Southern Interior Salish languages Columbian and Okanagan.

Desideratives express agent-oriented modality, reporting on the existence of inner or outer conditions on the agent with respect to completion of the action implied by the predicate (Bybee et al. 1994:177). The transition of the suffix *ań/nak from denoting emotion or feeling to denoting agent-oriented modality is both semantic and grammatical. It is semantic in that the lexical meaning of the suffix is bleached and a new and incipient grammatical meaning emerges. It is grammatical in that the suffix no longer denotes the "seat of emotion", but expresses mode

2.5.4 Summary and distribution of feeling extensions and desideratives.

Table XI illustrates the distribution of feeling extensions for the suffix **an/nak*, along with the distribution of the grammaticalized extension construed as desiderative.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF FEELING EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN "Negative feeling"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Positive feeling"					•
ABDOMEN "Desiderative"					•

TABLE XI: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF FEELING EXTENSIONS

We see that "feeling" and "desiderative modality" extensions are restricted to Interior Salish within the data examined in this chapter.

- The extension FEELING is attested in Northern and Southern Interior Salish and possibly in Central Salish.³⁵
- DESIDERATIVE modality is an innovation attested only in Southern Interior Salish.

Visceral sensation is an apt term to describe the meaning extensions of the lexical suffix **an/nak* considered above. Desiderative modality represents a different kind of development wherein the suffix is grammaticalized and conveys the disposition of the agent with respect to completion of the action implied by the predicate.

2.6 Culturally determined extensions.

Culturally-determined extensions of the suffix **an/nak* are idiomatic coinages confined to only one language or to one branch of the family. Idiomatic coinages are triggered by cultural use, conceptual metaphors, and belief systems. Three meanings for the suffix **an/nak* fit the category of idiomatic coinages; two of them are attested in Interior Salish and one in

³⁵ See note 34.

Halkomelem. Unlike the previous categories examined in this chapter, the extensions treated below are not transparent.

Section 2.6.1 addresses Halkomelem examples where the suffix denotes “price”, section 2.6.2 addresses Interior Salish examples where the suffix refers to a “hide”, and section 6.2.3 addresses Interior Salish examples where the suffix is associated with supernatural powers.

2.6.1 *aŋ/nak > nəc denoting “price”.

The meaning “price” for the reflex =nəc of the suffix *aŋ/nak obtains in Halkomelem. This meaning originates in a metaphor for securing the acquisition or purchase of an object. Literally, you secure the object by sitting on it, that is, by placing your rump on it. This would make the meaning PRICE a culturally motivated metaphoric extension of the anatomical meaning ANUS/RUMP. A parallel metaphor involving a different body part exists in Spanish, where *dar un pie*, lit. “give a foot” means to put a down payment on something with the intention of buying it. The term *pie* “foot” and “money” are metaphorically linked in the context of purchasing. In similar fashion, =nəc comes to denote both money and price in examples (247) and (248) that follow. The suffix is glossed as RUMP in these examples. The semantic path is ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP.

(247) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

ʔəŋm =nəc-t

give=ABDOMEN-TR

‘put money down (as down payment)’

(248) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

kʷəx =nəc-t

name=ABDOMEN-TR

‘name a price’

The metaphorical extension described in examples (247) and (248) is also found in other Central Salish languages.³⁶

³⁶ This extension is also attested in Sechelt: *nəw=ənəč* “pay back money” (Voo and Adams 1961).

2.6.2 *ań/nak denoting “hide”.

The meaning extension “hide” for *ań/nak obtains in Columbian and Shuswap, and probably has its source in the material culture. The procuring of skins and hides involves hunting, the skinning of the animal, and the subsequent processing of the hide. The examples that follow refer to the processing of hides. The suffix is glossed by its central meaning ABDOMEN in these examples.

(249) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:202)
x-lɣ=éńk-tn
LOC-stick into=ABDOMEN-INSTR
'stick for taking off skin from stretching board'

(250) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #629)
na-x*fk*=nk-n
POS-tan=ABDOMEN-1SG SUB
'tan a rawhide'

(251) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #628)
na-paǰ=nk-n
POS-scrape=ABDOMEN-1SG SUB
'scrape a rawhide'

In examples (249) through (251), the suffix *ań/nak denotes a hide and combines with three different predicates.

2.6.3 *ań/nak denoting a spell or power.

The following extensions delve into the belief systems or mythological web that ties and defines a culture. They are merely noted here with no explanation as to the specific meaning the suffix might have within the utterances. The suffix is glossed by its central meaning ABDOMEN in these examples.

(252) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:19)
x-sx*=éńk-m
LOC-recognize=ABDOMEN-MID
'put a spell on a hunter so he has no success'

(253) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:168)
 s-ǰʷaʔst=ińk-əm
 NOM-burp=ABDOMEN-MID
 'pull something out of nowhere' ³⁷

(254) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:168)
 s-ǰʷaʔst=ińk
 NOM-burp=ABDOMEN
 'Coyote started his power'

The meanings conveyed by the lexical suffix **ań/nak* in the examples above are culturally dependent and not readily accessible to the outsider. In this respect, the conceptual system that formulates them is not universal but reflects the beliefs and social processes of a social group.

2.6.4 Summary and distribution of culturally-derived extensions for **ań/nak*.

Table XII displays the distribution of extensions that obtain for the lexical suffix **ań/nak* and sums up the content of section 2.6.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF CULTURAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN "Price"		•			
ABDOMEN "Hide"				•	•
ABDOMEN "Power"					•

TABLE XII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL EXTENSIONS

Table XII shows the culturally dependent and idiomatic meanings of the suffix. These meanings do not emerge all of a sudden, and their use is exclusive to some culture areas. They point to semantic developments particular to distinct geographical areas.

³⁷ Example (253) above refers to Coyote's Power (Mattina 1987:168).

2.7 Summary of the semantic extensions that obtain for *an/nak.

This section illustrates the polysemy of the lexical suffix **an/nak* by means of a radially structured category with prototype effect (Lakoff 1987:91, 378). The central meaning of the category, in this case “abdomen”, determines the possible semantic extensions of the suffix. Meaning extensions of the suffix are motivated by real or perceived similarity to the central meaning.

The radially structured category **an/nak* ABDOMEN contains two prototypical subcategories BELLY and GUT, and several non-central meaning extensions derived from the BELLY and GUT prototypes. Figure 16 illustrates the radial category **an/nak* ABDOMEN.

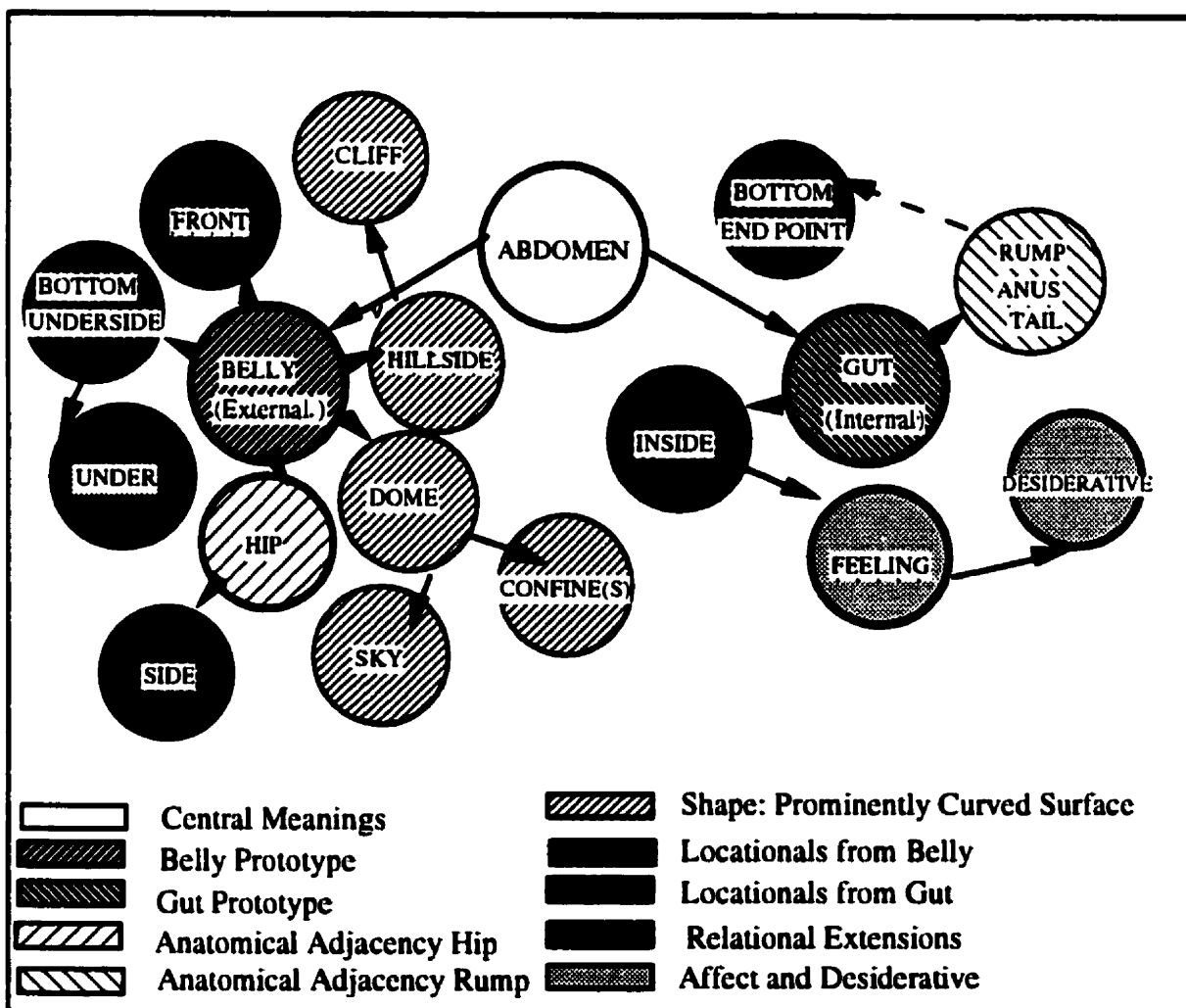






Figure 16: Radial Category of the Meanings of the Suffix **an/nak*.


 Marks the central meaning of the category and refers to the abdomen. The internal and external aspects of the abdomen give rise two to distinct subcategories BELLY and GUT.


 Marks the prototype meaning BELLY. The semantic extensions subsumed by this prototype refer to the shape of the external abdomen.


 Marks the prototype meaning GUT. The semantic extensions subsumed by this prototype refer to the internal abdomen.

 Marks the anatomical adjacency extension BELLY > HIP for the prototype BELLY.

 Marks the anatomical adjacency extension GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL for the prototype GUT.

 Marks the classificatory shape extension “prominent curved surface” abstracted from the shape of the external abdomen. The extensions that obtain are HILLSIDE, DOME, and WALL and CEILING, which obtain from DOME.

 Marks the locational extensions of the suffix derived from the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic orientations of the BELLY.

 Marks the locational extensions of the suffix derived from the zoomorphic orientation of ANUS/RUMP/TAIL.

 Marks the relational extensions of the suffix derived from the prototype BELLY.

 Marks the affect extension and the desiderative modality extension of the suffix.

The semantic extensions above do not constitute a uniquely Salish development. Similar semantic extensions occur in other languages of the world. Table XIII illustrates the extensions that obtain for the body part “abdomen” in Chontal of Oaxaca (Turner and Turner 1971).

Chontal		Meaning Attested in Salish
laguhu	‘stomach, abdomen’	yes
liguhu	‘the inside of a house’	yes
liguhu	‘the interior of a box’	yes
liguhu gahmis	‘the sole of the foot’	yes

TABLE XIII: BODY PART EXTENSIONS IN CHONTAL

In Chontal, as in Salish, the term “inside” derives from the body part “stomach”. Table XIV illustrates the extensions that obtain for the body part “belly” in Mezontla Popoloca (Veerman-Leichsenring 1992)

Mezontla Popoloca		Meaning Attested in Salish
n gɥ:	‘his stomach, his liver’	yes
n gɥ:ù-tu	‘belly’	yes
túní-n gɥ:	‘to become angry’	yes
šaši: n gɥ:	‘to remember’	yes
thi: n gɥ:	‘he loves’	yes
thi: n gɥ:	‘he wants’	yes

TABLE XIV :BODY PART EXTENSIONS IN MEZONTLA POPOLOCA

Mezontla Popoloca, like Interior Salish, conceptualizes the stomach as the “seat of emotion”. This language also conveys feeling states such as “love” and “desire” with the body-part term “belly/stomach”. The morpheme denoting the body part “stomach” also denotes other internal organs, such as the liver. If we compare these examples with the Interior Salish examples shown in sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.5, we see that the concept ABDOMEN has parallel semantic extensions in languages that are not genetically related to Salish.

2.8 Distribution of semantic extensions by language.

This section addresses the distribution by language of the semantic extensions that obtain for the lexical suffix **ań/nak*. Tracing a semantic extension through the different languages of the Salish family can give an idea about the relative time depth of the extension. The assumption here is that extensions that are found throughout the entire the family are very old and probably date back to proto-Salish. Conversely, specialized extensions, or extensions found only in certain branches of the family are probably innovations having a shallower time depth.

Not every meaning extension is attested in this corpus for all languages of the family. This by no means indicates that the extension was not present in those languages at one point in time. It may simply indicate that a particular extension is not recorded in the existing grammars and

dictionaries, or perhaps that the appropriate context for a specific meaning of the suffix was never elicited by the researcher working on the language.

Table XV shows the distribution of the meaning extensions that obtain for the lexical suffix *an/nak throughout the different languages of the family.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Squamish	Halkomelem	Saanich	Lushootseed	Quinault	Upper Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Spokane	Kalispel	Coeur d'Alene
BODY PART MEANINGS															
ABDOMEN "Belly"	•				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN "Hip"	•		•				•				•				
ABDOMEN "Gut"		•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
ABDOMEN "Anus/Rump/Tail"	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		
SHAPE EXTENSIONS															
ABDOMEN "Hillside"								•	•	•	•	•			
ABDOMEN "Dome"								•	•	•		•			
ABDOMEN "Confine"								•		•	•	•	•		•
ABDOMEN "Sky"						(•)	(•)	(•)	(•)						
LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS															
ABDOMEN "Front"	•							•	•						
ABDOMEN "Side"	•														
ABDOMEN "Inside"								•	•	•	•	•	•		
ABDOMEN "End Point"	•		•	•											
ABDOMEN "Underside"	•							•	•	•		•			
RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS															
ABDOMEN "Under, Below, Down"	•						•	•	•	•	•				
AFFECT AND DESIRE EXTENSIONS															
ABDOMEN "Feeling"								•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
ABDOMEN "Desiderative"											•	•			
CULTURALLY MOTIVATED EXTENSIONS															
ABDOMEN "Price"			•												
ABDOMEN "Hide"										•		•			
ABDOMEN "Power"										•	•				


 Bella Coola Central Tsamosan N. Interior S. Interior

TABLE XV: DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS BY LANGUAGE

Some meaning extensions of the suffix shown in Table XV are found throughout the family; others are found only in certain languages. Aspects of the central concept denoted by the suffix have been lexicalized in the different languages.

- The meaning **BELLY** for the suffix is attested in all the languages considered here except Squamish, Halkomelem, and Saanich. The anatomical adjacency extension **HIP** is attested in Bella Coola, Halkomelem, Upper Chehalis, and Okanagan.
- The meaning **GUT** denoting the internal organs of the body is attested in all the languages considered here except Bella Coola, Halkomelem, and Saanich. The anatomical adjacency extension **RUMP/ANUS/TAIL** is attested in all the languages considered here except Squamish, Okanagan, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene.
- Shape meaning extensions are an exclusive development of Interior Salish, and are attested in Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene. They are not attested in Bella Coola, Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, or Upper Chehalis.
- Locational meaning extensions are attested in Bella Coola, Halkomelem, Saanich, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokane. They are not attested in Squamish, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene.
- Relational meaning extensions are attested in Bella Coola, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagan. They are not attested in Squamish, Halkomelem, Saanich, Lushootseed, Columbian, Spokane, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene.
- Feeling extensions are exclusive to Interior languages, and are attested in Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Kalispel.
- Desideratives, agent-oriented modality expressions, are attested only in Okanagan and Columbian.

2.9 Conclusions.

In concluding, a few general remarks about the distribution and synchronic meanings of the suffix are in order. It should be pointed out that some of the unattested extensions within this corpus may be due to the unevenness of the material collected from each language.

The central meaning of the suffix **aṅ/nak* is **ABDOMEN**, and in all likelihood this meaning goes back to proto-Salish. In the daughter languages, the central concept **ABDOMEN** splits into the prototypes **BELLY** and **GUT**, which respectively denote the external and internal aspects of the abdomen. Daughter languages may develop both prototypes, or just one of them. In some languages only the anatomical adjacency extensions of the prototypes are attested.

Languages which do not denote the body part “belly” with the suffix **aṅ/nak* enlist a different suffix for the purpose. Such is the case with Musqueam, Saanich, and Squamish. These are Central languages, and each one of them uses a different lexical suffix to denote the anatomical “belly” (see section 2.1.4). Nevertheless, reflexes of the prototype meaning **BELLY** are present in these languages as adjacency anatomical extensions. For example, the extension **HIP**, an anatomical adjacency extension of **BELLY**, is present in Musqueam (see section 2.1.1.2).

The extensions **FRONT** and **UNDER** that obtain for the lexical suffix **aṅ/nak* constitute supporting evidence for the existence of a universal tendency whereby anthropomorphic and zoomorphic templates mediate the conceptual transfer from body parts to spatial reference points. In this respect, a definite cognitive preference comes into play whereby the existence of a zoomorphic model in a language presupposes the existence of the anthropomorphic model. No known language uses the zoomorphic template to the exclusion of the anthropomorphic template (Heine 1997:40). Both the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic templates are attested in the Salish family.

Locational interpretations of the suffix do not imply a different treatment of the lexical suffix in **ROOT + LEXICAL SUFFIX** constructions. Locative meanings are sanctioned by the lexical semantics of the predicate and the other lexical material with which the lexical suffix occurs. In the Halkomelem expressions that follow, the suffix denotes a body part and a spatial reference point. The semantic path in (255) is **ABDOMEN > BELLY > HIP**. The semantic path in (256) is **ABDOMEN > ANUS/RUMP > END POINT**.

(255) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #21)

s-^hə́m̄=nəc

NOM-bone=ABDOMEN

'hip bones'

(256) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

š-x*-q*ə=néc

NOM-LOC-pass through=ABDOMEN

'hole in the bottom of anything'

Predicates provide information about what will be encoded in the utterance by the lexical suffix, be it a body part or a spatial reference point.

The encoding of simple locational relationships like FRONT or UNDER with the body part "belly" is just the first step in a process. The perception of space and orientation in space are basic to human interaction. Lexical suffixes are mixed elements in that they convey lexical meaning and function as locative elements. The categorization of space relations with body-part lexical suffixes provides us with some insight into the conceptual system Salish languages use for anchoring events in space. This rich locational reference system seems to be tied to the context of speech events, emphasizing the fact that communicative behavior is anchored in space. Body-part lexical suffixes provide coordinates for defining space. In certain respect, these coordinates are universal because the shape of the human body is universal. This explains why analogous semantic extensions obtain for certain body parts in genetically unrelated languages of the world.

Chapter Three: The Suffix BACK.

3.0 Introduction.

In this chapter, I give an analysis of the lexical suffix for BACK in Salish, presenting 348 examples out of a total data base of 569 examples. I reconstruct the suffix to its proto-Salish form and posit a proto-Salish meaning based on the extant senses of the suffix. In addition, I explore the synchronic semantic extensions of the suffix, demonstrating how changes in culture caused its evolution and proliferation, and how semantics of the roots influence its extended meanings.

The lexical suffix for BACK is used primarily to denote the back of a human or animal being, but it can also refer to the back part of concrete objects, the spine, the top of a hill, and other entities such as flat surfaces, bundles, loads, containers, and saddles. Alongside referential functions, the suffix frequently denotes purely spatial relations.

The lexical suffix **ikin/n* has a concrete central meaning from which all its semantic extensions derive. Undoubtedly, we have many visual images associated with our conceptualization of BACK, and the glosses provided for the examples in this chapter are translations of these images. The actual translations given to the different meanings of the suffix are affected by discourse and context. The extent to which phrases and uses have become lexicalized and are unanalyzable in the mind of a speaker is to a certain extent moot. The speaker will use words like “saddle” or “basket” to express them in English, whereas what is actually said in the language is “set on an animal’s back” or “carried on the back”. In this sense translations reflect an interpretation made by the speaker to convey the scene before his or her eyes and communicate it in English.

3.0.1 The data.

The sources for the data used in this chapter and the number of entries per language appear in Table I below. When giving examples, I have attempted in all instances to provide a meaning for the roots and affixes forming each entry. In cases where meanings are not accessible, I have labeled the morpheme ‘unglossed’.

SOURCES FOR "BACK"			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	PRINCIPAL SOURCES	NO.
Bella Coola		Davis (1980), Nater (1984), Saunders (1975)	50
Central Salish	Comox	Boas (n.d.)	2
	Squamish	Kuipers (1967)	29
	Halkomelem	Suttles (in preparation a and b)	40
	Saanich	Montler (1986), Pidgeon (1970)	5
	Lushootseed	Bates et al. (1994), Hess (1976)	48
Tsamosan	Quinault	Gibson (n.d.)	19
	Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	28
Interior (Northern)	Lillooet	van Eijk (1987,1997)	35
	Thompson	Thompson and Thompson (1996)	79
	Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)	71
Interior (Southern)	Okanagan	Mattina (1987)	50
	Columbian	Kinkade (n.d.)	63
	Kalispel	Vogt (1940)	8
	Spokane	Carlson (1989)	29
	Coeur d'Alene	Reichard (1938, 1945)	13
			569

TABLE I: SOURCES FOR THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR BACK

I was not able to obtain a significant number of examples of the lexical suffix for BACK from all languages of the family, since some languages are better documented than others. Thus, along with examples from the sources displayed in Table I, this section contains a few additional examples that demonstrate the phonological integrity of the suffix throughout the family.

3.0.2 The lexical suffix for BACK and the Salishan family tree.

The family tree depicted in Figure 1 represents genetic relations amongst Salish languages. Languages from which data was obtained have the respective form of the lexical suffix written under the circle.

Supplemental data was obtained from Haerberlin (1974:240). These languages are marked with a in Figure 1. The forms listed mean "back" and contain the lexical suffix for BACK.

Lower Chehalis *stale* = eč

Quinault *lê'au* = ečan

Satsop *sá·ut* = *ečən*

Snohomish and **Nisqually** (Sub-dialects of Lushootseed) *stáΩ·le* = *eč*

Clallam, *scacé·u* = *ken*,

Nooksack *ôkol* = *eč*

Lummi (Straits) *táskot* = *ač*

Comox *áie·* = *čín*,

Pentlach *se·qué* = *ič*

Tillamook *naé·* = *čín*

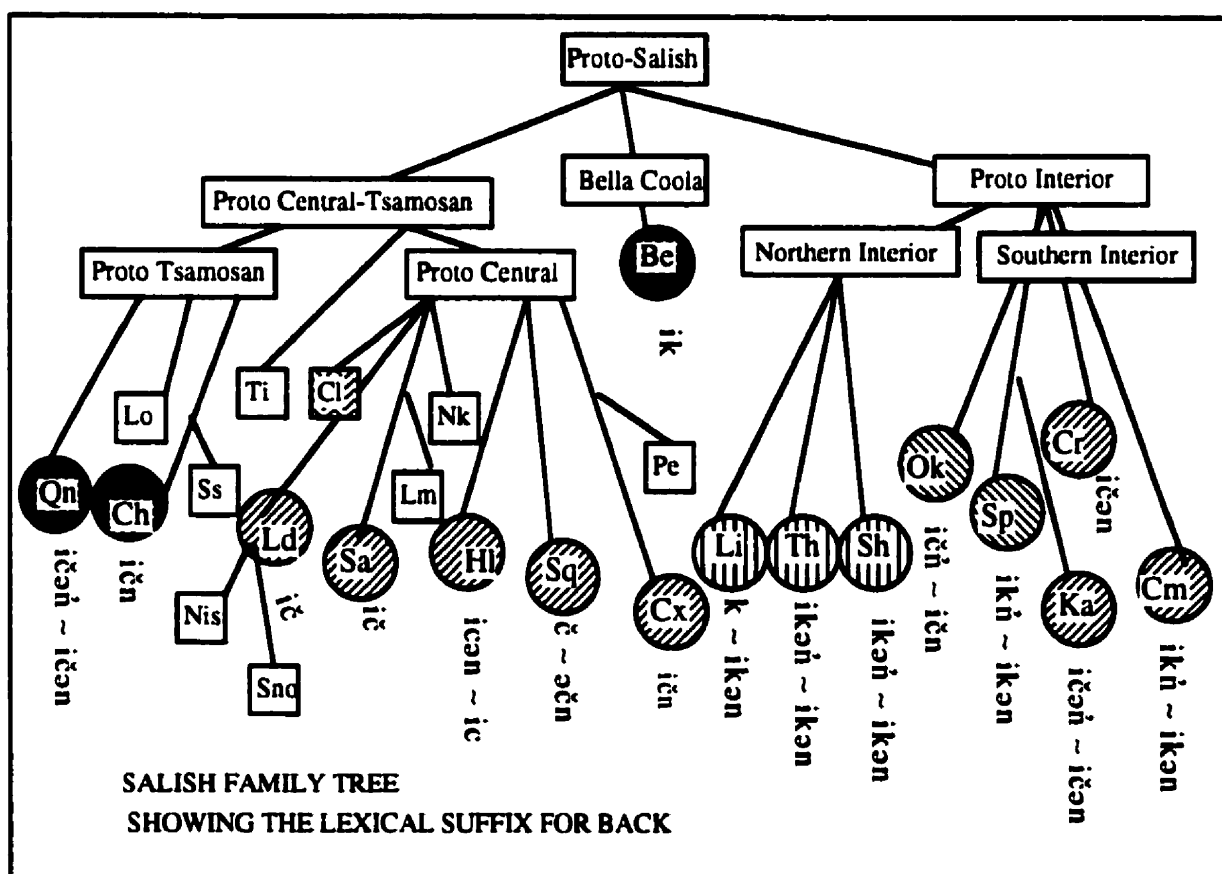


Figure 1: Salish Family Tree Showing the Lexical Suffix for BACK.

The data in this chapter is more plentiful for the Interior branches of the family than for the Central or Tsamosan branches. Nevertheless, the examples considered here constitute a robust corpus of evidence from which we can draw valid semantic inferences and solid phonological reconstructions.

3.0.3 The reconstructed form of the lexical suffix for BACK.

This section reviews the connective elements that affect the phonological reconstruction of the lexical suffix for BACK. Connective elements co-occur with the suffix, and must be accounted for in positing a proto-form.¹

Lexical suffixes may be preceded by a connective element of the shape vowel plus resonant. In reconstructing the proto-form of the lexical suffix for BACK, I have segmented off these connective elements, retaining only the bare form of the suffix.

The Central Salish languages considered here have two sets of connective elements, i.e. *əw ~ w* and *əl ~ əl*. These elements appear in construction with lexical suffixes in certain contexts and not in others. The function and semantic import of connective elements are synchronically difficult to determine, and they are mentioned here solely to make explicit the reconstruction of the proto-form.

The connective element -əw ~ -w: An element *əw ~ w* fused to the bare lexical suffix is present in utterances (1) and (2). These expressions refer to the body part “back”.

- (1) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
təqtəwíc
wide=BACK
'have a broad back'
- (2) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:183)
ʔəs-ǵəp=wíc
ASP=gathered=BACK
'it has a humpback'

The Halkomelem example below does not contain a connective element. Instead, the bare form of the suffix appears with a fused *-n* ending.²

¹ See section 2.0.2.

² This ending belongs to an older layer of the language, and should not be segmented for reconstruction purposes (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

- (3) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 # 67)
 s-k*ám=əcən
 ASP-lump=BACK
 ‘humpbacked’

Example (4) comes from Halkomelem and contains the root $\check{\lambda}x^w$ “to cover”. The lexical suffix refers to a person’s back, and the utterance contains the element $\partial w \sim w$.

- (4) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 $\check{\lambda}x^w=\partial w\acute{ic}-tən$
 cover=BACK-INSTR
 ‘blanket put around a person, robe’

Examples (5) and (6) also come from Halkomelem. The lexical suffix refers to a surface in both instances, and the element $\partial w \sim w$ is not present.³

- (5) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 $\check{\lambda}x^w=\acute{ic}-t$
 cover=BACK-TR
 ‘cover it (as a surface)’

- (6) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 $\check{\lambda}x^w=\acute{ic}ən$
 cover=BACK
 ‘covered (as a surface)’

Examples (7) and (8) come from Lushootseed and show utterances with and without the connective $\partial w \sim w$. If the referent of the suffix is the body part “back”, the connective element is present, as in number (7) below.

- (7) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:258)
 $\text{ʔu-}\acute{\lambda}\acute{a}l=w\acute{ic}-təb$ čəd
 ASP-mark=BACK-thing that 1SG
 ‘They wrote on my back.’

However, if the referent of the suffix is a covered surface, as in example (8), the connective element $\partial w \sim w$ is not present.

³ The meaning SURFACE for the suffix is an expected semantic extension (see section 3.3.3).

- (8) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:137)

ʔu-ləx̣ʷ=fj-əd

ASP-cover=BACK-TR

'It covered it.'⁴

- (9) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:137)

*ʔu-ləx̣ʷ-əd

ASP-cover-TR

'It covered it.'

Considering the above data, it seems that in Central Salish languages the referent "back" for the suffix requires the connective element əw ~ w, as in example (7). Example (8) has the transitive suffix -əd indicating a non-specific third person referent. The referent is probably a surface, and the connective element əw ~ w is not required. Example (9) is ungrammatical with this reading if it does not contain the lexical suffix for BACK.

The extension BACK > SURFACE for the suffix is also attested in Southern Interior languages, as shown in the contrasting examples (10) and (11) below, although there is no intervening connective element between root and lexical suffix, whether the meaning denoted is the body part "back" or a surface.

- (10) Spokane (Carlson 1989:22)

s-n-č̣m=fč̣ṇ

NOM-LOC-body=BACK

'back'

- (11) Spokane (Carlson 1989:101)

n-ṭḳʷ=fč̣ṇ

LOC-lay down=BACK

'It is laid on something.'

The factors determining the presence or absence of the element əw ~ w in Central Salish languages are not well understood. Since some forms contain the element əw ~ w and others do not, it is safe to assume that historically the suffix and the element əw ~ w were independent

⁴ The form=fj is a variant of the regular form =fč̣ in Lushootseed.

morphological pieces. What I have done here is outline the problem, explaining why the connective element is not included in the reconstruction of the proto-form.

The connective element *al-əl-ay*: We will now show the connective *al ~ əl* that sometimes precedes the lexical suffix **ikin/n*. The Central Salish examples (12), (13), and (14) below have connective elements, and the suffix denotes the relation OVER, an expected extension of the suffix for BACK (see section 3.4.2). The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > OVER.

In example (12), internal phonological changes have lengthened the vowel of the root and glottalized the resonant.⁵

- (12) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 čá·l̥=əc
 land atop=BACK
 'go over a hill'

- (13) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 dʷəl=əl=ič
 turn around=CON=BACK
 'go over a rise or hill'

Example (14) contains the connective element *ay ~ ay̓*, the Squamish reflex of *al - əl*.

- (14) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:302)
 səse yq̓=ay̓=č
 high (redup.)=CON=BACK
 'pass over a mountain'

Examples (15) through (17) come from Bella Coola, Thompson, and Upper Chehalis. In these examples the lexical suffix for BACK denotes the relation OVER.

- (15) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:81 #34)
 ʃlq=ik-m-s-k*
 turn about=BACK-MID-3SG-QUOT
 'he came over the mountain'

⁵ The underlying form of example (12) is *čeʔ = al = əc*. The root *čeʔ* "land atop" coalesces with the connective element. This explains the long vowel and the glottalized resonant (Wayne Suttles p.c.).

(16) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)

n-ǰaz=i x =i k n̄-(n̄)-s

LOC-jump=AUT=BACK-SUF-3SG

'jump over something'

(17) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:76)

ǰaǰ^w=i č n =ǰ l u w a s

climb=BACK=MIDDLE

'overlap, pile over'

Unlike the Central Salish examples, the Bella Coola, Thompson, and Upper Chehalis expressions do not have a connective when denoting the relation OVER. This suggests that diachronically connectives are segmentable elements and should not be reconstructed as part of the proto-form.

Table II shows the forms of the lexical suffix for BACK.

THE FORMS OF THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR BACK	
BELLA COOLA	
Bella Coola	ik
TILLAMOOK	
Tillamook	č in
CENTRAL DIVISION	
Sliammon	i č n̄
Squamish	č - a č n̄
Halkomelem	ic - ic n̄
Lushootseed	i č
Saanich	i č
QUINULTAN DIVISION	
Quinault	i č a n̄ - i č n̄
U. Chehalis	i č n̄
WESTERN DIVISION (U-S)	
Lillooet	k - ik n̄
Thompson	ik n̄ - ik n̄
Shuswap	ik n̄ - ik n̄
WESTERN DIVISION (U-S)	
Okanagan	ik n̄ - ik n̄
Columbian	ik n̄ - ik n̄
Spokane	i č n̄ - i č n̄
Kalispel	i č n̄ - i č n̄
Coeur d'Alene	i č n̄

TABLE II : THE DIFFERENT PHONOLOGICAL SHAPES OF THE SUFFIX FOR BACK

Table III shows the proto-form of the suffix.

Bella Coola		i	k		
Tillamook			č	i	n
Sliammon		i	č	ə	n
Squamish		ə	č		n
Halkomelem		i	c	ə	n
Lushootseed		i	č		
Saanich		i	č		
Quinault		i	č	ə/i	ń/n
Upper Chehalis		i	č		n
Lillooet		i	k		n
Thompson		i	k		ń/n
Shuswap		i	k		ń/n
Okanagan		i	k		ń/n
Columbian		i	k		ń/n
Spokane		i	č		ń/n
Kalispel		i	č		ń/n
Coeur d'Alene		i	č		ń
	*	i	k	i	ń/n

TABLE III: THE PROTO-FORM OF THE SUFFIX FOR BACK

I reconstruct the suffix as **ikin̩/n*.⁶ This reconstruction reflects the fact that within this corpus glottalized resonants appear in the Interior Salish forms of the suffix. Furthermore, the glottalization of resonants is not yet well understood, and deglottalization is a more likely phonological process than glottalization.

3.0.4 The central meaning of the lexical suffix **ikin̩/n*.

The objective of this section is to make explicit the central meaning of the lexical suffix and account for its polysemy. After considering the synchronic meanings of the suffix **ikin̩/n*, I assume that the central meaning of the suffix is BACK. The basis for this assumption stems from the fact that the body part “back” is the most frequent meaning of the suffix, and the meaning from which all semantic extensions can be derived. Considering the above, I posit that the proto-meaning of the suffix also denotes the body part “back”—the central concept from which all further semantic extensions derive. The attested semantic extensions of the suffix, e.g. “back

⁶ The suffix has been reconstructed as **ikin* by Kinkade and as **ikn* by Kuipers (Kinkade 1998: 281).

side”, “spine”, “behind”, and “middle” could not possibly obtain if the central or proto-meaning of the suffix were “surface”.

A speculative inventory of the properties that can be abstracted from the body part “back” includes **top**, as an animal’s back is the top part of its body, **surface**, also from animal back, **other side**, based on the anatomical opposition of front and back in the human body, **behind**, also based on the anatomical opposition of front and back, and **middle** based on the location of the vertebral column. Figurative and extended meanings of the suffix for BACK are triggered by perceived similarity to the central meaning denoted by the morpheme **ikin/n*. This generates metaphorical transfers across semantic domains, making **ikin/n* a polysemous suffix.

Figure 2 shows the metaphorical extensions possible for the concept “back”.

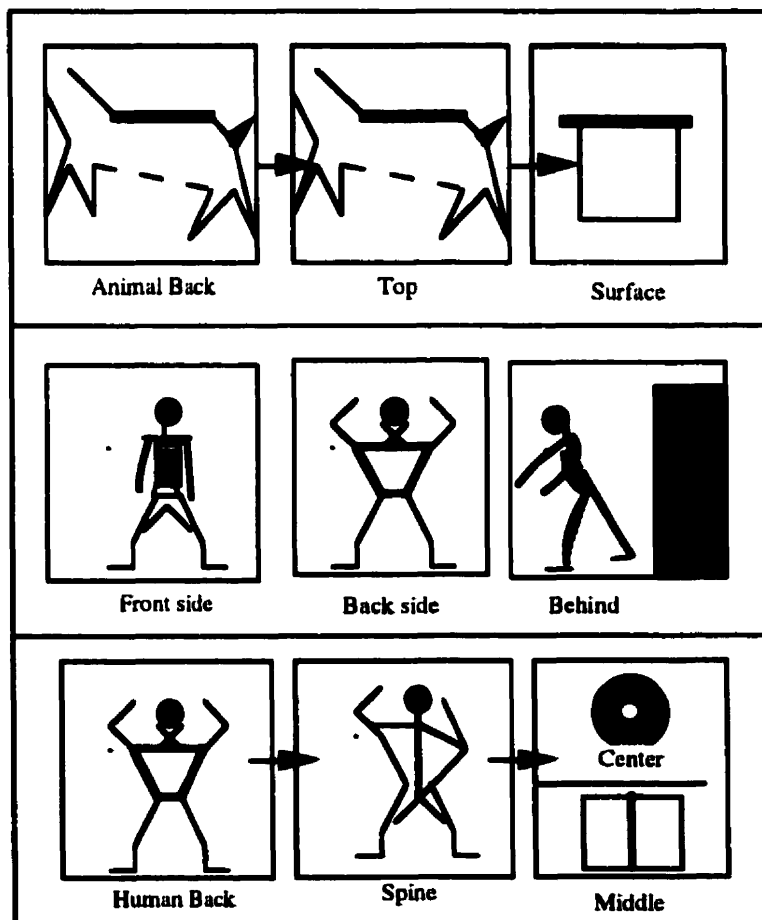


Figure 2: Possible Metaphorical Extensions for the Suffix **ikin/n*

It is not possible to predict systematically the semantic extensions the lexical suffix **ikin/n* may develop. An entity may be perceived as being similar or related in some respect to the central meaning of the suffix; nevertheless, this perception need not be synchronically apparent. Some extensions of the suffix, coined in the remote past, are not transparent to today's speakers.

I have assigned the central meaning BACK to the suffix **ikin/n* after considering its extant meanings, the frequency of the meaning "back" for the suffix within the family, and the type of semantic extensions that obtain. Taking all this into account, I conclude that the central meaning BACK assigned to **ikin/n* is also its proto-meaning.

3.0.5 Conceptual processes affecting the meanings of **ikin/n*.

The conceptual processes affecting the semantic extensions of the suffix **ikin/n* BACK are the Principle of Canonical Orientation, the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, the Bearer/Burden Relation, and the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics (see section 2.0.5).

The body-part term "back" in Salish refers to both a human back and an animal back. Andersen (1978) attributes this type of polysemy to structural similarity. Structurally, the "back" is opposite the "belly", and this opposition holds for humans and animals. An elaboration of this opposition yields two intrinsic canonical orientations for the anatomical back. Figure 3 below shows two orientations of the spine that result in two different canonical templates.

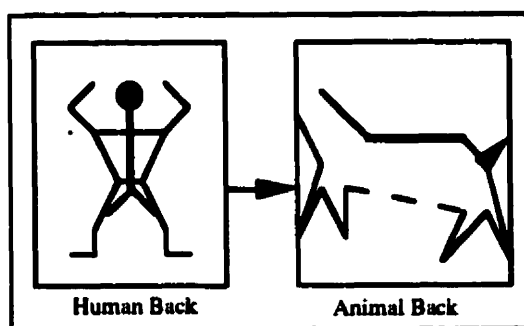


Figure 3: Canonical Orientation Templates

If the spine is vertical, the canonical position of man, the orientation template is anthropomorphic.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC MODEL

Back vertical [BACK > BEHIND]

If the spine is horizontal to the ground, the canonical position of most animals, the orientation template is zoomorphic.

ZOOMORPHIC MODEL

Back horizontal [BACK > ON/TOP]

In the languages considered in this study, spatial concepts are metaphorically derived from human body parts or from the body parts of four legged animals. The semantic path **BACK > BEHIND** characterizes anthropomorphic orientation, as in example (18) below.

- (18) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)
n-qaʔ-ix=ik(ń)-ń-s
LOC-jump-AUT=BACK-SUF-3SG
'jump behind someone'

The semantic path **BACK > TOP** characterizes zoomorphic orientation, reflecting that an animal's back is the highest part of its body.

- (19) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:388)
ʔəs-n-xʔ=íkń
ASP-LOC-rise=BACK
'way up on top (of a mountain)'

While some languages of the world rely entirely on the human body to denote spatial concepts, no language relies completely on the body of four legged animals to denote spatial concepts (Heine et al. 1991:127).⁷ As evidenced by examples (18) and (19) above, Salish languages exhibit both types of canonical orientation, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Intrinsic canonical orientation splits the domain of the body part "back" in Salish along the two distinct orientational axes of the spine.

The Bearer/Burden relation is a family resemblance concept that describes the characteristics holding between a supporting object and its burden (Vandeloise 1991:194). It applies to the lexical suffix **ikin/n* BACK because the suffix denotes both the bearer and the burden (see

⁷ I mention "four-legged animals" to characterize zoomorphic orientation. The zoomorphic model is also called the pastoralist model, and it is prevalent in societies whose livelihood depends on caring for large herds of animals.

section 3.2). Metonymy is the process whereby one thing comes to stand in place of something else due to an intrinsic relation between the two things. The Bearer/Burden Relation exemplifies such a process in that the BACK stands for what is carried, i.e. the PACK. Examples (20) and (21) below illustrate the semantic path BACK > PACK. The lexical suffix for “back” attaches to roots denoting carrying and is reanalyzed as “pack”; thus the bearer and the burden are denoted by the same morpheme.⁸

(20) Lillooet (Bert Williams p.c.)
 n-*kíh*=k-*ám*
 LOC-put=BACK-MID
 ‘to put on one’s back’

(21) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:173)
 n-*kíh*=k-*xít*
 LOC-put=BACK-BENEF
 ‘to put something in one’s pack for someone’

I have exemplified two of the four processes affecting the semantic extensions of the lexical suffix **ikin/n*: Canonical Orientation Templates and the Bearer/Burden Relation. The Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics and the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency have been addressed in section 2.0.5 in relation to the suffix **an/nak*. The above-mentioned processes will recur throughout the body of this chapter.

3.0.6 Categories of meaning that obtain for the suffix **ikin/n*.

The lexical suffix **ikin/n* BACK develops the following chains of meaning extensions:

Anatomical Adjacency extensions:

BACK > SPINE (3.1.2)

Bearer/Burden Relation derived extensions:

BACK > PACK (3.2.1)

BACK > LOAD (3.2.2)

⁸ In Vandeloise’s analysis the Bearer/Burden Relation is considered the source concept for the French preposition *sur*. *Family Resemblance Concept* is a term proposed by Wittgenstein in 1953. It proposes that a concept may be represented by various combinations of its traits

BACK > BUNDLE (3.2.2.1)
BACK > CONTAINER (3.2.2.2)
BACK > SADDLE (3.2.3)

Locational extensions mediated by Canonical Orientation Templates:

BACK > OTHER SIDE (3.3.2)
BACK > SURFACE (3.3.3)
BACK > TOP (3.3.4)
BACK > OUTSIDE (3.3.5)
SPINE > MIDDLE/CENTER (3.3.6)

Relational extensions mediated by the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics:

BACK > BEHIND (3.4.1)
BACK > ON (3.4.2.1)
BACK > ACROSS (3.4.2.2)
BACK > ABOVE (3.4.2.3)
BACK > OVER (3.4.2.4)
BACK > BETWEEN (3.4.3)

ANATOMICAL MEANINGS: Examples (22) through (24) show the anatomical meanings denoted by the suffix **ikin/n*.

BACK “Human back”

- (22) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:349)
n - cáẉ=k - aṁ
LOC-wash=BACK-MID
'to wash one's back'

BACK “Animal back”

- (23) Colombian (Kinkade n.d.: #1530)
n - məq̣* məq̣* = fkn
POS-lumped (redup.)=BACK
'camel'

BACK “Spine”

- (24) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:52)
s-čəl=ič
NOM-unglossed=BACK
'backbone (of mammals)'⁹

BEARER/BURDEN RELATION DERIVED MEANINGS: Examples (25) through (29) show extensions of the suffix based on the Bearer/Burden Relation.

BACK “Pack”

- (25) Lillooet (van Eijk: 1987:225)
n-qił=k-añ
LOC-load=BACK-TR
'to put something in someone's pack'

BACK “Load”

- (26) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
sal iʔ=al=ič
two=CON=BACK
'two cords of wood'

BACK “Bundle”

- (27) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:141)
ʔəs-1ŋʷ=kñ
ASP-untie=BACK
'package is loose'

BACK “Container”

- (28) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:29)
čəp=ičn
strong=BACK
'strong basket'

⁹ This root is not glossed in the *Lushootseed Dictionary*. Historically, it probably comes from *čəl 'one to stand'.

BACK “Saddle”

- (29) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
člɣʷ=ikən-aṃ
(install squat object)=BACK-MID
'to saddle'

LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Examples (30) through (34) show the semantic paths BACK (HUMAN) >

OTHER SIDE, BACK (ANIMAL) > TOP, BACK (ANIMAL) > SURFACE, SURFACE > OUTSIDE, SPINE >

MIDDLE/CENTER.

BACK “Other side”

- (30) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
ləqʷ=əl=fc
end=CON=BACK
'other side (of a peninsula)'

BACK “Surface”

- (31) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:456)
zəw=kṇ-m e
skim=BACK-MID
'skim fat off surface'

BACK “Top”

- (32) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)
sp̥=ik
strike=BACK
'hit the top of something'

BACK “Outside”

- (33) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:35)
t-kəm=kṇ=fɪxʷ
RSLT-surface=BACK=HOUSE
'outside house'

BACK “Middle/Center”

- (34) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:20)
 ?úḍ-əg^w=ič
 middle=CON=BACK
 ‘middle of house, road, rope’¹⁰

RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Extensions (35) through (40) show the relational extensions BEHIND, ON/ACROSS, ABOVE, OVER and BETWEEN for the suffix.

BACK “Behind”

- (35) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:285)
 s-t=aý=č-s t scəq
 NOM-DEICTIC=CON=BACK- 3POSS DET tree
 ‘behind the tree’¹¹

BACK “On/Across”

- (36) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:88)
 ?u-dʔáq=ič
 ASP-fall=BACK
 ‘(A tree) fell on him/it.’

- (37) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:271)
 ič^w=aý=č
 cut=CON=BACK
 ‘cut across (water, land)’

BACK “Above”

- (38) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:51)
 n-čəʔk^w=ik n̩
 LOC-shine=BACK
 ‘light visible just above the ridge’

¹⁰ The root in this example is ?úḍ-; the form əg^w < əq^w is some sort of connector (Thom Hess p.c.). The compound means “middle”. Ld. g^w usually derives from w (Dale Kinkade p.c.). Therefore this entry could be ?úḍ-əg^w=ič where the (ə)g^w < (ə)w is a connector.

¹¹ Kuipers (1967b.:264) states taý is “Probably not a root but a combination of /t- / and the connective /aý/.”

BACK “Over”

- (39) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §16 #66)
cʰəṁ=eʔc-t
jump=BACK-TR
'jump over it (as a log)'

BACK “Between”

- (40) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)
n-tʰ*=ikn=ix
LOC-straight=BACK=AUT¹²
'get oneself between two things standing straight.'

We see that the suffix acquires a vast array of meanings that can be traced to its central concept and proto-meaning, i.e. BACK.

3.1 The anatomical meanings of the suffix **ikin/n*.

The anatomical meaning of the suffix **ikin/n* is the body part “back”—the external back of humans and animals; the internal back in human and animals, i.e. the vertebral column; and the dorsal fin of fish. section 3.1.1 addresses the meaning BACK for the suffix. Section 3.1.2 addresses the meaning SPINE for the suffix. Section 3.1.3 addresses the meaning DORSAL FIN.

3.1.1 **ikin/n* denoting the body part “back”.

The lexical suffix **ikin/n* BACK denotes the anatomical back in different constructions. Combined with active transitive or positional predicates, the suffix **ikin/n* functions as an incorporated object or location. Combined with stative predicates, the suffix **ikin/n* functions as the entity or thing undergoing the condition or state implied in the predicate. The latter use is frequently seen in the names of animals.

Examples (41) through (52) contain the suffix **ikin/n* functioning as the head of an incorporated object.

¹² Though the AUTONOMOUS suffix usually goes before lexical suffixes, the suffix *-ix* in entry (40) is labeled as the autonomous form in the dictionary.

- (41) **Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)**
 lis-uł=ik
 push-SUF=BACK
 'push someone's back'
- (42) **Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:120)**
 piʔ=č-an
 grab=BACK-TR
 'grab someone's back'
- (43) **Saanich (Montler 1986:88)**
 xʷ-təm=wič
 PRFX-hit=BACK
 'He got hit on the back.'
- (44) **Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:137)**
 ʔu-dxʷ-ləxʷ=wíč
 ASP-PRFX-stab=BACK
 'He stabbed me in the back.'
- (45) **Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:30)**
 ča xʷ=íč in-i-cš
 wash=BACK-SUF-RFLX
 'He washes his own back.'
- (46) **Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:95)**
 n-súp=k-am
 LOC-scratch=BACK-MID
 'scratch one's back'
- (47) **Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:67)**
 x-səpiḥ=kń
 LOC-hit (redup.)=BACK
 'get hit on the back'
- (48) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:70)**
 n-čq=fkń
 LOC-hit=BACK
 'get hit on the back'

- (49) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:182)
 n-səpəp=ɪk n̩
 LOC-hit (redup.)=BACK
 'be hit on the back'
- (50) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:164)
 n-sp=ɪčə n̩
 LOC-be hit=BACK
 'I strike him on the back.'
- (51) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:594)
 guɫ-n̩-ch=ɪč n̩
 DEM (PL)-LOC -turn toward=BACK
 'their backs were turned toward'
- (52) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1497)
 n-qi y̆=ɪk n̩
 POS-write, mark=BACK
 'tattoo on the back'

The lexical suffix **ikin/n* BACK also gets used with positional predicates. The examples below contain "positional predicates", and the lexical suffix for BACK denotes the part of the body affected by the action of the predicate, or the part of the body that carries out the action implied by the predicate.

Examples (53) through (56) below have cognate roots.¹³ These roots imply a supine position in which the back is in contact with the ground.

- (53) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:202)
 c-xɬəʔ=ɪkn-ə m̩
 RSLT-lie spread out=BACK-MID
 'to lie down on one's back'

¹³ Kuipers (1974:226) does not segment the *x-* from the rest of the root. Based on the other Northern Interior languages, the *x-* attached to the root may be the locative prefix.

- (54) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:226)
 ?s-t-xlʔ=ɪkn
 ASP-LOC-lie spread out=BACK
 'to fall down on the back'
- (55) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:142)
 n-lʔ=k-ám
 LOC-be close=BACK-MID
 'to lean with one's back against something'
- (56) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:143)
 n-lʔ=ɪkń-me
 LOC-lean, against=BACK-MID
 'lean one's back against something'

Depending on the language, the root *lʔ is translated as “be close”, “lie spread out”, and “lean against” and describes the specific position assumed by the anatomical back.

The Bella Coola example below denotes a corpse.

- (57) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:249)
 ti-ka-us-lǎǎ=ik-am
 PRFX-ASP-surface-lay out=BACK -MID
 'he (the dead man) is laid out (on his back)'

Another use that is extremely common is the combination of the suffix with stative roots.

These roots usually denote a condition affecting the anatomical back, as seen in examples (58) through (74).¹⁴

- (58) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:34)
 nu-tutuk*m=ɪk
 PRFX-sprained (redup.)=BACK
 'sprained one's back'

¹⁴ The Comox example that follows refers to “Beaver”, a mythological being:

- (i) Comox (Boas n.d.)
qāix tapēt = cin
 'mink warms his back'

- (59) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14, #101)
 ʃəl=əwíc
 sore=BACK
 'have an aching back'
- (60) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ləqt=əwíc
 wide=BACK
 'have a broad back'
- (61) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 qəw=ícəŋ
 bake=BACK
 'warm the back'
- (62) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:328)
 ləq=č
 broad=BACK
 'have a broad back'
- (63) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:309)
 n-šʷuč=č
 LOC-bruised (bluish)=BACK
 'have a bruised back'
- (64) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:249)
 pumʔ=č
 swollen=BACK
 'have a swollen back'
- (65) Lillooet (Martina Pierre p.c.)
 kʷəc-p=k
 stiff-ASP=BACK
 'stiff back'
- (66) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:248)
 n-šəʔs=ək
 LOC-sore=BACK
 'have a tired back'

- (67) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:200)
 n-xəc=íkń
 LOC-unglossed=BACK
 'scorch one's back'
- (68) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:135)
 ʔəs-n-k'úč=kń
 ASP-LOC-crooked=BACK
 'have a crooked back'
- (69) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:101)
 kéǰ=íkń
 dirty=BACK
 'got a dirty back (of person)'
- (70) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:272)
 n-ŷay=íkń
 LOC-tired=BACK
 'have a tired back'
- (71) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:173)
 n-sk*=íkən
 LOC-sore=BACK
 'sore back'
- (72) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1509)
 s-n-təm-p=íkń
 NOM-POS-scorch-ASP=BACK
 'back is burned'
- (73) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:140)
 čin es-ən-čal=ičən-i
 1SG NOM (?) -LOC-hurt=BACK-ASP
 'I have a sore back.'
- (74) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1546)
 s-n-(w)up=íkń
 NOM-POS-body hair=BACK
 'hair on the back'

The predicate in example (75) may be a nominal or stative predicate. I am considering the prefix to be the nominative *s-*, but it is also possible that it is the stative prefix *s-*.

- (75) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:362)
s-q*ín=č
NOM-hair=BACK
'hair on the back'

The following pattern occurs in expressions that mean "humpback" in various Salish languages. Examples (76) through (79) are cognate expressions containing the same roots and the lexical suffix **ikin/n*. The Upper Chehalis root *x*am* in (78) is not glossed independently from the suffix in the *Upper Chehalis Dictionary*, but I consider this root to be cognate with the Squamish and Halkomelem roots. Velar softening explains the change *k* > x**.

- (76) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:293)
s-k*umʔ=čn
ASP-go upward=BACK
'humpback'
- (77) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #67)
s-k*ám=čən
ASP-lump=BACK
'humpbacked'
- (78) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:156)
x*am=fčn
lumped (?)=BACK
'humpbacked, hunchback'
- (79) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.67.12)
kəmʷúw=čəń
unglossed=BACK
'humpback'

Examples (80) through (85) contain expressions meaning "humpback" constructed with stative predicates.

- (80) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:183)
 ʔəs-ǰəp=wič
 ASP-gathered=BACK
 'it has a humpback'
- (81) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:208)
 s-ǰəw=ikən
 ASP-broken=BACK
 'humpback (human)'
- (82) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:208)
 s-qəwǰəw=ikən
 ASP-broken (redup.)=BACK
 'humpback salmon'
- (83) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.61.7)
 cəlǰ-ʔu=čən
 break-CON=BACK
 'broken back, hump back'
- (84) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.61.6)
 m ulǰ-ʔu=čən
 knoll, hill-CON=BACK
 'humpback'
- (85) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1566)
 n̄n- m əǰ*=ikən
 POS-lump=BACK
 'hunchback'

In examples (86) through (94) the lexical suffix **ikin/n* appears in fauna nomenclature. These examples are descriptive and refer to animals identifiable by markings or properties peculiar to their backs. A case in point is the word for camel in Columbian Salish.

- (86) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1530)
 n- m əǰ* m əǰ*=ikn̄
 POS-lump (redup.)=BACK
 'camel'

The description offered in example (86) has CVC reduplication and depicts an animal whose back is mounded up twice. Figure 4 below graphically depicts the word formation of the word “camel” as described in the Columbian example (86).

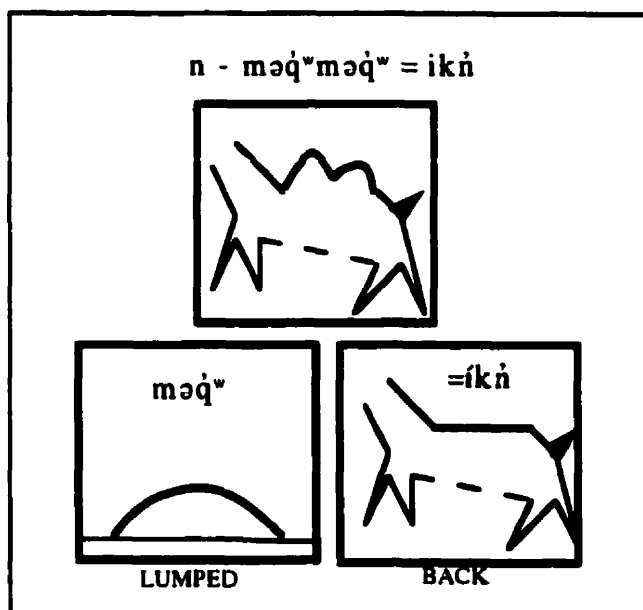


Figure 4: The Structure of the Word for Camel in Interior Salish.

The reduplication *məq̣*məq̣** in example (86) indicates multiplicity. Bactrian camels were introduced to the interior of British Columbia in 1862 in the belief that they would acclimatize themselves and be useful as pack animals (Thompson & Thompson 1996:674). Bactrian camels have two humps, as opposed to dromedaries, which are bred for speed and have only one.

Examples (87) through (89) describe terms for camel in different Salish languages:

- (87) Shuswap (Bridget Dan p.c.)
 x-q̣*mq̣*miṁ=kən
 LOC-mounded (redup.)=BACK
 ‘camel’
- (88) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:172)
 c-x-cḷḷḷḷ=ḳṇ
 RSLT- LOC-stand up (redup.)=BACK
 ‘camel’¹⁵

¹⁵ Reduplication of *cḷḷḷḷ*= *iḳṇ* “standing up= back” (Kuipers 1989:172).

- (89) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:57)
 n-čə́lč́l=íkn̩
 LOC-hump (redup.)=BACK
 'two humped camel'

Examples (90) through (94) refer to insects:

- (90) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:277)
 čə́cm=ičn̩
 incised (redup.)=BACK (animal)
 'ant (lit. with incised back)'
- (91) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 s-kʷám̩⇒cə́n
 LOC-strong=BACK
 'an insect (a black beetle, an omen of death)'
- (92) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.80.14)
 łə́q-ʷúʷu=čə́n̩
 wide-CON=BACK
 'broad back, sowbug'
- (93) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:236)
 n-xə́nxań=íkn̩
 LOC-low (redup.)=BACK
 'bug (lit. low back)'¹⁶
- (94) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1556)
 n-xə́nxań=íkn̩
 POS-crusted=BACK
 'ladybug, a small gray beetle'

Examples (95) through (99) refer to animals with conspicuous marking on their backs.

- (95) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ʃə́ʃp̩=ícn̩
 scratched (redup.)=BACK
 'chipmunk'

¹⁶ It would appear that (93) and (94) have cognate predicates, yet the roots are translated by different terms into English.

- (96) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:227)
 n-ǰǰǰǰǰ=ǰk
 LOC-curl up (redup.)=BACK
 ‘chipmunk (the way it curls its back)’
- (97) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:609)
 sǰ-sar=ičǰ
 NOM-unglossed=BACK
 ‘one of the squirrels of chipmunk’
- (98) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 s-k*éy=ǰcǰn
 NOM-incapacitated=BACK
 ‘grizzly bear (from the hump on the back)’
- (99) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:240)
 c-ǰ-ǰlǰ=ǰkǰn
 RSLT-LOC-make a circle=BACK
 ‘wolverine’

We see that the lexical suffix **ikin/n* denotes the body part “back” of both humans and animals .

3.1.2 **ikin/n* denoting “spine”.

The lexical suffix for BACK forms part of expressions denoting the SPINE. The relation here is one of part and whole. Figure 5 below depicts the construals BACK and SPINE for the suffix **ikin/n*.

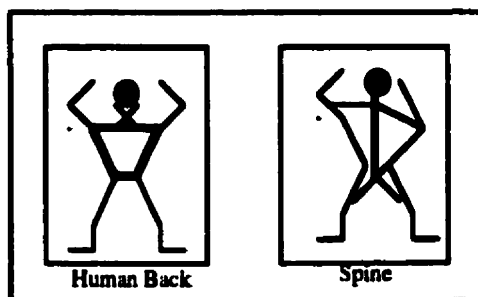


Figure 5: The Extension BACK and SPINE for the Suffix **ikin/n*.

The examples below refer to the spine, and the lexical suffix **ikin/n* actually has the meaning BACK. Examples (100) through (102) are nominalizations, and the predicates express notions such as “to link” and “to be standing”.

(100) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)

s-x *p=ík

NOM-tie=BACK

'one vertebra' ¹⁷

(101) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)

s-x *píp=k

NOM-tie (redup.)=BACK

'spine'

(102) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:52)

s-čəl=íč

NOM-unglossed=BACK

'backbone (of mammals inc. humans)' ¹⁸

Examples (103) through (106) contain locative prefixes. These prefixes convey the notion "in", and the lexical suffix denotes the location of the spine in relation to the whole of the back.

(103) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:167)

x-cet=íken

LOC=center =BACK

'backbone'

(104) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:320)

n-ʔəxč=ək

LOC-disk (vertebra)=BACK

'backbone' ¹⁹

(105) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:111)

n-ík m=íkn

LOC-surface=BACK

'spine (back longitudinally)'

¹⁷ Nater (1990:122) has *sxpik*, without labialization.

¹⁸ Diachronically, this root may come from *čl* 'one to stand'.

¹⁹ Examples (104) and (107) have cognate predicates.

(106) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.80.14)

tál=ičəń

along=BACK

'backbone'

Examples (107) and (108) have bare roots with the suffix for BACK attached. The composite meaning of these root plus lexical suffix constructions is transparent. They respectively describe the "vertebrae or disks in the back" and the "bone in the back".

(107) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:311)

ʔe xč=č

disk (vertebra)=BACK

'backbone'

(108) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:130)

šáw=ičn

bone=BACK

'backbone'

Examples (109) and (110) are a bit different. Through the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, the semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > SPINE**

(109) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)

tk*⇒wíč

break= BACK

'He broke his spine'

(110) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1516)

ck*=íkń-m

pull=BACK-MID

'pull sinew off backbone'

The concept SPINE first encountered in this section, becomes the source of further semantic extensions that will be discussed again in section 3.6.5. The semantic extension SPINE from BACK obtains for the lexical suffix **ikin'/n* in Central and Southern Interior Salish.

3.1.3 *ikiñ/n in expressions denoting “dorsal fin”.

This section addresses an extension of *ikiñ/n that refers to the part of a fish’s body conceptualized or construed as its back. The dorsal fin of a fish is located on the back side of the fish. The Latin *dorsum*, from which “dorsal fin” derives, denotes the anatomical back.

The lexical suffix *ikiñ/n appears in expressions denoting “back fin” or “dorsal fin” in the examples below.

- (111) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:34)
s-q*ł=ik
NOM-mark=BACK
‘dorsal fin’
- (112) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:357)
(s-) qaw=ičn
NOM-joined=BACK
‘back fin’
- (113) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:27)
čal=ičñ
unglossed=BACK
‘dorsal fin’²⁰
- (114) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:81)
n-čam=k
LOC-bone=BACK
‘dorsal fin’
- (115) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:192)
s-čm=ičñ
NOM-body area=BACK
‘back fin’
- (116) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:259)
s-š*š*ł=ičñ
NOM- throw away (redup.)=BACK
‘back fin’

²⁰ Diachronically, this root may come from *čl* “one to stand”.

- (117) Spokane (Carlson 1989:14)
 s-n-čl=fčń
 NOM-LOC-stick out=BACK
 ‘fish fin’

Example (118) comes from Island Halkomelem and is glossed “fin”.

- (118) Halkomelem (Donna Gerdts p.c.)
 s-pəχ=əwéʔc
 NOM-unglossed=BACK
 ‘fin’

The connective element əw in example (118) suggests that the intended meaning of the utterance is “dorsal fin” (see section 3.0.3).

The range of anatomical meanings denoted by the suffix for BACK is rather small, if compared to the range exhibited by the suffix for ABDOMEN. Mainly, the lexical suffix *ikin/n refers to the anatomical back in humans and animals.

3.1.4 Summary and distribution of anatomical meanings of the suffix *ikin/n.

Table IV below shows the distribution of the anatomical meaning extensions of the suffix *ikin/n BACK and sums up the contents of Section 3.1.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF ANATOMICAL MEANINGS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
BACK “Human and animal”	•	•	•	•	•
BACK “Spine”	•	•	•	•	•
BACK “Dorsal fin”	•	•	•	•	•

TABLE IV: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOMICAL EXTENSIONS

The anatomical meanings of the suffix *ikin/n are evenly distributed throughout Salish.

3.2. The Bearer/Burden relation and the lexical suffix for BACK.

This section addresses those extensions of the suffix **ikin̄/n* motivated by the **Bearer/Burden Relation**. The Bearer/Burden Relation is a *family resemblance concept*²¹ that describes the relation holding between a supporting object and its burden (Vandeloise 1991:194):

- (a) the bearer is generally lower than the burden;
- (b) the burden is generally in contact with the bearer;
- (c) a part of the bearer may be hidden by the burden;
- (d) the bearer is generally larger than the burden; and,
- (e) the force of the bearer works against the force of gravity on the burden.

This relation can easily motivate a metonymy where the suffix **ikin̄/n* refers to the body part “back” and then to the load carried on the back. Section 3.2.1 addresses the meaning shift **BACK > PACK** that obtains for the suffix. Section 3.2.2 addresses the classificatory meaning **LOAD** for the suffix. Section 3.2.3 addresses the meaning **SADDLE** that obtains for the suffix.

3.2.1 The semantic shift **BACK > PACK**.

If languages lexicalize typical body positions like **STAND**, **SIT**, and **LIE**, it is also possible that they lexicalize typical uses of the human body (Haviland 1992:546:547). In cultures that lack the use of the wheel, carrying is done on the back of humans or of beasts of burden. The use of the suffix **ikin̄/n* in the examples of this section attests the practice of “packing by back” amongst speakers of Northern Interior Salish. The semantic shift **BACK > PACK** obtains for the suffix **ikin̄/n* **BACK** through the Bearer/Burden Relation. The suffix denotes both the back that bears the load and the load itself.

Examples (119) through (122) below refer to the act of carrying or transporting something. These expressions do not explicitly say whether a human or animal back is carrying the load.

²¹ *Family Resemblance Concept* is a term proposed by Wittgenstein in 1953, which states that a concept may be represented by various combinations of its traits (Vandeloise 1991:4).

- (119) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:156)
 tex=kn
 carry (?)=BACK
 'to carry on the back'²²
- (120) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:156)
 tex=kn=eseł
 carry (?)=BACK=FISH
 'to carry salmon on the back'
- (121) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:156)
 tex=kn=etq
 carry (?)=BACK=BERRY
 'to carry berries on the back'
- (122) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:156)
 tex=kn=fiłe
 carry (?)=BACK=OFFSPRING
 'to pack a child on the back'

Examples (123) and (124) below are nominalizations. They contain the *s-* nominalizer, and the reading of the suffix is ambiguous between “back” and “pack”.

- (123) Shuswap (Mary Jane Anthony p.c.)
 s-tex=kn
 NOM-carry=BACK
 'load carried on the back'
- (124) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:156)
 s-tex=kn
 NOM-carry=BACK
 'pack carried on the back'

Example (125) contains a locative prefix and is nominalized with the suffix *-tan*.

²² Kuipers does not gloss this predicate. Florence Simon (p.c.) told me “I can’t tell you what *tex* means”, then she added that *tex = qin* meant something carried on the head. Marianne Ignace (p.c.) informs me that the this root means to ‘carry a contained load’.

- (125) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:160)
 x-təx=kń=sqéǰə?-tn
 LOC-carry=BACK=HORSE-INSTR
 'packhorse'

In the examples below, the lexical suffix attaches to roots denoting “falling”, “laying”, and “throwing”. The English glosses for these examples are “pack”, “bag”, and “sack”: these terms suggest a container of malleable contour. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > PACK**.

In the Lushootseed example (126) and the Okanagan example (127), the suffix refers to a “bag” and attaches to roots such as *taq* “to fall” and *cq* “to throw”.

- (126) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 łaq=ał=iǰ-əd
 fall=CON=BACK-TR
 'lay pack down'

- (127) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:9)
 cq-mən=kín-m
 throw-SUF=BACK-MID
 'throw a pack down.'

In the Northern Interior examples, (128) through (130), the suffix attaches to roots meaning “put in” and “enter” and refers to a sack, a bag, or a pack. The semantic path is **BACK > PACK**.

- (128) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:173)
 n-kíh=k-mín
 LOC-put in=BACK-INSTR
 'put in one's own pack'

- (129) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:196)
 x-ləm=k n-te ɣ-scítn
 LOC-put in=BACK-IMP DET-food
 'Put the food in a sack!'

- (130) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:148)
 n-ləm=k n-mə
 LOC-enter=BACK-MID
 'put into one's pack, bag, sack'

The metonymic shift **BACK > PACK** originates in the practice of carrying food from outlying gathering areas and hunting grounds to permanent settlements. Transportation of meat and seasonal “pickings” was done mostly by human back or by pack-dogs before the introduction of the horse. After the introduction of the horse, horseback packing became the chief means for transporting foodstuffs (Romanoff 1992:472). A metonymy based on the Bearer/Burden Relation motivates the meaning extension **BACK > PACK** for the suffix. The gestalt captured by the suffix **ikin/n* encompasses both the bearer and the burden. The lexical suffix denotes “back”, i.e. the bearer of the load, and comes to denote both the “bearer” and the “burden”.

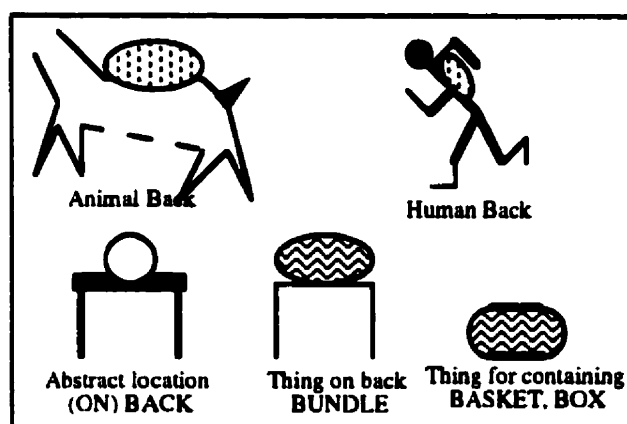


Figure 6: The Bearer/Burden Relation and the Suffix **ikin/n*.

Figure 6 shows the Bearer/Burden Relation as it applies to the extension **BACK > PACK** for the suffix. The **bearer** in this relation is the body part “back”. The **burden** is the load carried on the back. The **burden** is usually contained and smaller than the **bearer**. It is in direct contact with the **bearer**. The lexical suffix **ikin/n* denotes the **bearer**, i.e. the location of the **burden**. **Burden** and **bearer** become associated in one gestalt and are denoted by the lexical suffix **ikin/n*.

3.2.2 **ikin/n* and the classificatory meaning “load”.

This classificatory function of the suffix **ikin/n* denotes a generic load. A load can be any kind of merchandise or produce carried from one point to another. Webster (1980) defines load as “whatever is put on a man or pack-animal to be carried”. Most loads are contained for

transportation purposes and may be counted and quantified depending on the cultural or economic context of the transport.

The examples that follow contain stative roots denoting quantity. The lexical suffix **ikin/n* functions as an adjunct to this type of root and classifies loads of different kinds, focusing on quantity rather than load-type. The semantic path is **BACK > PACK > LOAD**.

The type of load is not morphologically expressed in examples (131) through (138) below:

- (131) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
nəč=əl=éʔc
be one=CON= BACK
'one bundle (as of blankets)'
- (132) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
lix^w=əl=ič
be three=CON=BACK
'three cords of wood'
- (133) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
sal iʔ=əl=ič
be two=CON=BACK
'two cords of wood'
- (134) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:67)
clkst=e kñ-m
be five=BACK-MID
'five sacks'
- (135) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:67)
k^{*}n x=e k n
be many=BACK
'How many bags?'
- (136) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:30)
ci(y)=ks=e kñ
open=HAND=BACK
'five bundles'

(137) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:83)
 kəʔt=e k ñ
 be three=BACK
 'three bundles of things'

(138) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:249)
 t-x wʔ=i k ñ
 RSLT-be many=BACK
 'many bundles'

Quantification is the salient feature in these examples. The amount of the transported or loaded substance is the focus of the speech event. This classificatory function of the suffix refers to unspecified loads.

Along with expressing a generic load, the suffix also denotes vessels for containing different types of loads. Central and Interior Salish languages express diverse forms of packing by means of the suffix **ikin/n* BACK. The conceptualization of containment seems to be generic. The suffix translates into English as “basket”, “box”, “sack”, or “bottle” depending on the type of load it refers to and the type of root with which it combines. Thus, if the referent of **ikin/n* is a load that needs tying or wrapping, the suffix is translated as “bundle” or “pack”. If the referent of **ikin/n* is a load of semi-fluid consistency, not suitable for wrapping or bundling, the suffix is glossed as “basket”, “box”, or “bottle”.

Figure 7 below schematizes the different types of containment vessels denoted by the suffix.

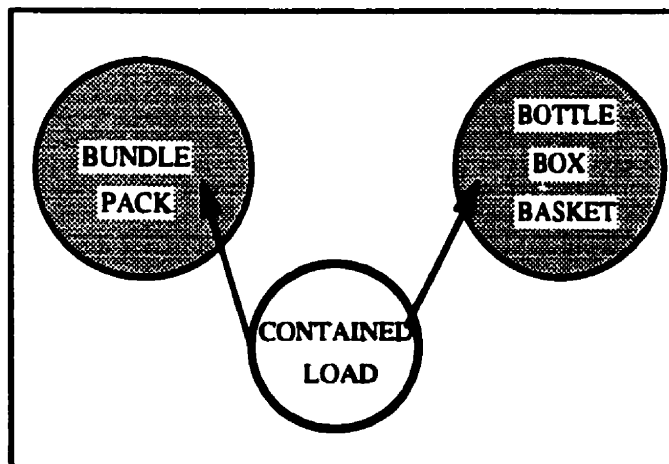


Figure 7: Schema of Containment Vessels denoted by the Suffix **ikin/n*.

The suffix **ikin/n* conveys the concept of a generic container which is sketched lexically according to the type of load contained. Section 3.2.2.1 addresses the meaning BUNDLE for the suffix. Section 3.2.2.2 addresses the meaning CONTAINER for the suffix.

3.2.2.1 **ikin/n* denoting “bundle”.

Bundles usually contain goods wrapped or tied together for transportation. We address here an extension of the suffix **ikin/n* that denotes wrapped loads. The extension is glossed BUNDLE and it obtains when the suffix **ikin/n* attaches to roots meaning “tie”, “untie”, “fix”, and “wrap”. The extension BUNDLE is attested in Central and Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter. It is not attested in Bella Coola or Tsamosan. The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > PACK > LOAD > BUNDLE.

The suffix has the meaning BUNDLE in examples (139) through (146).

- (139) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #51)

yəx̣ʷ=ə́l=eʔc-t
 untie=CON=BACK-TR
 ‘untie it (bundle)’

- (140) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #51)

q̣p̣=ə́l=eʔc-t
 tie=CON=BACK-TR
 ‘tie them up in a bundle’

- (141) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)

x̣q=fč-yi-d
 wrap=BACK-BEN-TR
 ‘wrap something for someone’

- (142) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:372)

x̣ʷi q̣ʷ=iʔč-n
 wrap=BACK-TR
 ‘bundle s.t. up’²³

²³ = iʔč is a reduced form of = aý and = č (Kuipers 1967b.:372).

(143) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:141)

ʔes líŋʷ=k̄n

ASP-untied=BACK

'package is loose'

(144) Spokane (Carlson 1989:92)

n-tr=ičn-t-m

LOC-untie=BACK-TR-PASS

'a pack was untied from the horse'

(145) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)

t-k̄ʷixʷ=k̄n-nt

RSLT-untie=BACK-TR

'untie a bundle or load'

(146) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1532)

lɔk̄=fk̄n̄

bind=BACK

'rope to bind a load with'

(147) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:590)

eʔn̄=eče n̄

tie (?)=BACK

'sack is tied up'

The roots in examples (139) through (147) denote notions such as “tie”, “untie”, “wrap”, and “bind”. The salient feature of the loads denoted in these examples is that they are wrapped or bound together with a rope. With roots meaning “wrapping” or “tying”, the suffix is understood as BUNDLE, and with roots meaning “throwing” or “putting into”, the suffix is understood as PACK.

3.2.2.2 *ikiñ/n denoting “container”.

The suffix *ikiñ/n can also denote loads that are not suitable for wrapping. In the examples that follow, the suffix is glossed as CONTAINER and translated into English as different kinds of vessels suitable for carrying water or berries. The semantic path is BACK > PACK > LOAD > BUNDLE/CONTAINER.

In the Halkomelem examples below, the suffix **ikin/n* attaches to nominal roots, namely “water” and “berries”. The glosses for examples (148) and (149) are “water box” and “berry basket”. The particular type of containers referred to in these expressions is not morphologically specified.

(148) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b:§14 #50)

qaʔ=l=iʔc
 water=CON=BACK
 ‘water box’

(149) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #50)

iʰfm=e l=eʔc
 berries=CON=BACK
 ‘berry basket’

Example (150) comes from Island Halkomelem and contains the root “to cover” and the instrumental suffix. The entire expression is a nominal that denotes the lid of a pot.

(150) Halkomelem (Hukari and Peters 1995:57)

qɔ̃p=e l=eʔc-tən
 cover=CON=BACK-INSTR
 ‘cover for a container, pot lid’

The Upper Chehalis example below denotes a “basket”. In example (151), the suffix attaches to the root *čəp* “strong”, and the utterance is glossed as “strong basket”.

(151) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:29)

čəp=fčn
 strong=BACK
 ‘strong basket’

In example (152) below, the root *kʷúl* is unglossed in the dictionary, and the root plus lexical suffix combination translates into English as “hard basket”.

(152) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:58)

kʷúl=fčn
 unglossed=BACK
 ‘hard basket’

The following example comes from Columbian, a Southern Interior language, and the suffix refers to a type of basket.

(153) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1547)

n-s-cq=íkn

POS-NOM-set upright=BACK

'large pack basket'

We have seen that the suffix **ikin/n* denotes rigid containers such as baskets in the examples above. This extension is perhaps the same as the one glossed BUNDLE; however, it describes a different kind of load and method of packing.

In examples (154) through (156) the suffix appears in expressions denoting a different type of containment vessel, e.g. bottle, jar, and barrel, which are suited for storing fluids. The suffix *-úl-* seems to be diagnostic of these examples.

(154) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:60)

la w-úl=ičn

unglossed-SUF=BACK

'bottle, jar'

(155) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.1.2)

íam =úl=ičəń

unglossed-SUF=BACK

'barrel'

(156) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.1.1)

laq* =úl=ičəń

unglossed-SUF=BACK

'bottle'

The three examples that follow are yet a further extension of the suffix. As I pointed out in section 2.1.4. the conceptualization of the body part "belly" involves the notion of containment. We have ascertained that the extension of the body part "back" resulting from the Bearer/Burden relation comes to denote LOAD, and the vessels carrying the load, BUNDLE and CONTAINER.

Examples (157) and (158) exploit the notion of containment and denote the body part “belly” conceptualized as a container. The semantic path is CONTAINER > BELLY/STOMACH.²⁴

(157) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.4.9)

ʔac=úł=ičən

unglossed-SUF=BACK

‘stomach’

(158) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 5.1.4)

nəw=úł=ičən

bottom, end-SUF=BACK

‘stomach’

Recapitulating, there is evidence for the semantic transfer BACK > LOAD for the suffix **ikin/n*. The extension LOAD for the suffix denotes different types of burdens. Since the physical specifications for load containment vary with the type of load, the suffix also denotes several kinds of containment vessels. In addition, in a surprising extension, the suffix is used to denote the body part “belly”. The belly is conceived as a type of container, similar to the ones found in Squamish, appearing in chapter 2, where the belly is denoted by the suffix for CANOE.

3.2.3 Saddling events and the lexical suffix for BACK.

This section explores the meaning SADDLE for the suffix **ikin/n*, a semantic extension that falls into a natural class with load-like extensions. The extension SADDLE derives from “on-back” and is exclusive to Interior Salish languages. The load being transported in this case is the saddle and the rider. Horses became plentiful in the Interior plateau around the mid-nineteenth century, profoundly affecting the traditional methods of food processing and distribution (N. Tumer 1992:431).

The meaning SADDLE for the suffix **ikin/n* usually obtains with the root *člx*. In Thompson, this root is subcategorized for object shape and glossed as “set squat object”.

²⁴ The suffix might refer to the stomach of an animal or human stomach, containing grass or food, or to the stomach of a fish or a seal that is used as a container. This was suggested to me by Dale Kinkade.

Kuipers (1974:179) considers the Shuswap combination *čl-ilx*, as composed of *čl* “to stand” and the autonomous suffix *-ilx*.²⁵ Thus the root *člx* in Shuswap actually comes from “standing body” or “settle body”. The meaning of the root *člx* is no longer accessible to Lower Lillooet speakers, and the form *člx* does not appear in the *Lillooet Dictionary*. However, Lower Lillooet speakers in Mount Currie have no difficulty producing utterances about saddling events, as the example below shows. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > SADDLE**. The suffix is labeled **BACK** in the examples that follow.

(159) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)

<i>čəlx</i> = <i>ikən</i>	<i>ikax</i> ti	n- m úsm us- a
unglossed=BACK	2SUB DET	1POSS-cow-DET
'You saddle my cow.' ²⁶		

It is possible that the root *člx* was never transparent to Lillooet speakers, especially if the term for “saddle” turns out to be a borrowing from Shuswap, as Romanoff suggests: “Dried or smoked meat was packed to the villages by women before the Lillooet obtained horses from the Shuswap” (1992:472). Therefore, along with the horse, the Lillooet might have borrowed from the Shuswap an already coined term for saddle.

The root in example (159) above has been left unglossed, but the cognate root appears glossed as “set squat object” in the Thompson example (160) that follows.

(160) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:57)

n- *čəlx* = *ikn*- tn
 LOC-set squat object=BACK-INSTR
 ‘a saddle’

A saddle, in the Thompson example, is the squat object set upon a horse’s back. Figure 8 illustrates the component parts of the expression “saddle” in Interior Salish.

²⁵ Shuswap uses the predicate *člx* in the following combinations *člx* = *iləp* “chair”, *člx* = *ikn* “saddle”, *člx* - n = *sqéxe?* “saddle”, *člx* - n - *wewx* “packsaddle”.

²⁶ Cows are saddled for certain rodeo competitions.

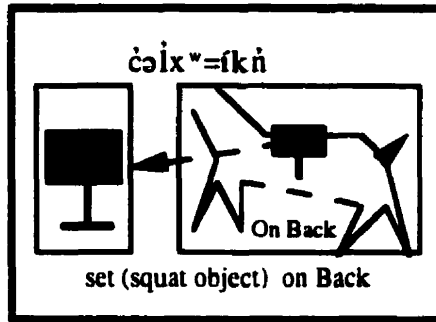


Figure 8: The Extension SADDLE for the Suffix **ikin/n*.

The combination of the root *člxʷ* and the lexical suffix **ikin/n* corresponds to the image depicted in Figure 8. The semantic shift BACK > SADDLE is due to reanalysis—a reinterpretation akin to the one undergone by the Old English (*ge*)*bead* “prayer”, whose meaning in Modern English is “bead”. Presumably, the Modern English meaning is a usage-based change derived from the medieval practice of keeping track of one’s prayers on the counters of a rosary. In like manner, the phrase “set upon-BACK-instrument”, through frequent usage, becomes opaque to speakers and is reanalyzed and translated as “saddle”.

Examples (161) through (166) show expressions meaning SADDLE that contain the suffix **ikin/n* BACK in Northern Interior Salish.

- (161) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
 n-čəlxʷ=fkən-am
 LOC-settle object=BACK-MID
 ‘to saddle’
- (162) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
 n-čəlxʷ=fkən-in
 LOC-settle object=BACK-INSTR
 ‘saddle’
- (163) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:179)
 člxʷ=fkñ
 settle object=BACK
 ‘saddle’

(164) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:179)
čl x^w=ík n- m̄
settle object=BACK-MID
'to saddle'

(165) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:179)
čl x^w=ík n̄-s
settle object=BACK-3SG
'to saddle it'

(166) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:179)
čəl x^w=ík n̄
settle body=BACK
'saddle'

The Columbian example (167) patterns with the Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap examples (161) through (166), in that it uses the root čl x^w to denote a saddle. However the meaning ascribed to the root by Kinkade is "frame".

(167) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1503)
n-čəl x^w=ík n̄- t n
POS-frame=BACK-INSTR
'stock saddle'

Other Southern Interior languages, namely Spokane and Okanagan, use the root ík^w "put down", in expressions denoting a saddle. In examples (168) and (169), Okanagan attaches the suffix *ikin̄/n BACK to the root ík^w "put down" to convey the meaning SADDLE.

(168) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:215)
n-í k̄^w=ík n̄- n t
LOC-put down=BACK-TR
'put saddle on'

(169) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:215)
c-n-í k̄^w=ík n̄
CISLOC-LOC-put down=BACK
'have the saddle on'

Next, we will compare the Okanagan examples (168) and (169) with examples (170) and (171) respectively from Spokane and Okanagan. In example (170) the suffix denotes a SURFACE.

- (170) Spokane (Carlson 1989:101)
n-*t̥kʷ*=*ičn̄*
LOC-set down=BACK
'It is set down on something'

In example (171) the suffix denotes WATER.

- (171) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:215)
kɫ-*t̥kʷ*=*itkʷ*
DIR-put down=WATER
'float'

All four examples have the root *t̥kʷ*, which translates into English as “set or put down”. The “setting down” denoted by the root takes place on a surface in example (170), and the meaning of the lexical suffix shifts from BACK > SURFACE, as the zoomorphic model predicts. In example (171), the “setting down” occurs in water and the expression denotes the action of “floating”.

The point of this comparison is that **ikin̄/n* refers to SADDLE when combined with verbs of putting only if the context for a saddling event exists in the discourse. If the context for a saddling event is not present, **ikin̄/n* denotes ON/SURFACE. Thus, specific meanings of root plus lexical suffix combinations are tied to the speech event. The data examined so far suggests that the presence of **ikin̄/n* is indispensable for the meaning “saddle” to obtain, given saddling event contexts.

The Spokane example below illustrates a different strategy for denoting the concept SADDLE. The root *məqʷ* in example (172) is glossed as “mounded (v.)”. The root plus lexical suffix combination translates into English as “mounded up on the back”.

- (172) Spokane (Carlson 1989:53)
s-n-məqʷ=*ičn̄*
NOM-LOC-mounded=BACK
'Indian saddle'

In examples (173) and (174) the conceptualizations of SADDLE literally mean “set down on horse’s back” and “thing to put down on a horse”.

(173) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:173)

čl x^{*}=kñ=sqéǰeʔ

settle body=BACK=HORSE

‘saddle’

(174) Spokane (Carlson 1989:254)

n-í k^{*}-č iʔ=sqaǰeʔ-tn

LOC-put down-DEER=DOMESTIC ANIMAL-INSTR²⁷

‘saddle’

Horses may be ridden bare-back or saddled. In utterances expressing “bare-back riding”, with the root “to sit”, as (175) and (176) below, the suffix **ikin/n* can only refer to the horse’s back.

(175) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:17)

x-m tít=kñ

LOC-sit (redup.)=BACK

‘to ride bareback’

(176) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)

n-ʔe m t=fčñ

LOC-sit=BACK

‘He rode bareback.’

The Interior Salish examples (175) and (176) contain the root “to sit”. The suffix **ikin/n* refers to the back of a horse, i.e. the place of the sitting event. Examples (177) and (178) also come from Interior Salish and denote sitting events whose meaning contrasts with the meanings of examples (175) and (176). The semantic path of the suffix in (177) and (178) is BACK > SURFACE.

(177) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:154)

m t= í kñ

sit=BACK

‘to sit on the ice (singular)’

²⁷ In Spokane the term “horse” is conveyed by *č iʔ=sqaǰeʔ* “deer”=DOMESTIC ANIMAL.

- (178) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)
 č-č- m t=íčń
 DIR-DIR-sit=BACK
 'He sat on the top of a hill.'

The roots in examples (177) and (178) mean “to sit”. The suffix **ikiń/n* refers to a surface, the place of the sitting event, which is not morphologically expressed in the utterances. Under a zoomorphic interpretation, the suffix **ikiń/n* denotes the concept SURFACE (see section 3.3.3). Such interpretation reinforces the fact that the suffix may have different readings depending on the event context.

The meaning “saddle” for this suffix is a direct consequence of the introduction of the horse into the culture of the Interior Plateau. It demonstrates how extra-linguistic factors affected the semantics of the suffix **ikiń/n* in Interior Salish. The meaning SADDLE for the suffix **ikiń/n* obtains with roots meaning “putting” or “setting”. Examples denoting bare-back-riding events have roots different from examples denoting saddling events. This speaks to the importance the semantics of the root and the context of the event have on the meaning of the suffix.

3.2.4 Summary and distribution of the Bearer/Burden extensions of **ikiń/n*.

Table V below addresses the distribution of the Bearer/Burden Relation extensions that obtain for **ikiń/n* and sums up section 3.2.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF BEARER/BURDEN RELATION EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
BACK “Load”		•		•	•
BACK “Bundle”		•		•	•
BACK “Container”		•	•	•	•
BACK “Saddle”				•	•

TABLE V: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF BEARER/BURDEN RELATION EXTENSIONS

The extensions **LOAD**, **BUNDLE** and **CONTAINER** have to do with the transportation of goods, and develop from a gestalt in which the bearer (i.e. the anatomical back) and the burden (i.e. the load placed on the back) are construed as one. The extension **SADDLE** is an innovation, probably the reanalysis and lexicalization of a frequently used expression.

- The extension **LOAD** is attested in Central and Interior Salish.
- The extension **BUNDLE** is attested in Central and Interior Salish.
- The extension **CONTAINER** is attested in Central Salish, Tsamosan, and Interior Salish.
- The extension **SADDLE** is attested in Interior Salish.

We see that load-carrying functions appear to be lexicalized, and have a broad distribution in Interior Salish, and that the extension **SADDLE** is a development unique to the Interior Plateau culture, probably a direct consequence of the introduction of the horse.

3.3 Locational extensions of the lexical suffix for BACK.

This section treats those extensions of **ikin/n* that are locations. Locational extensions denote spatial reference points and have body parts as their sources. The evolution of locational terms from the anatomical “back” is mediated by the canonical orientation of the body. Section 3.3.1 addresses different metaphorical transfers from body part to location in Salish. Section 3.3.2 considers **ikin/n* denoting the concept “back-side” or “other side”. Section 3.3.3 considers the extension “surface” for the suffix **ikin/n*. Section 3.3.4 considers the extension “top” for the suffix **ikin/n*. Section 3.3.5 considers the extension “outside” for the suffix. Section 3.3.6 considers the extension “middle/center” for the suffix.

3.3.1 The transfer from body part to location.

Many languages of the world use terms derived from body parts (human or animal) to describe location.

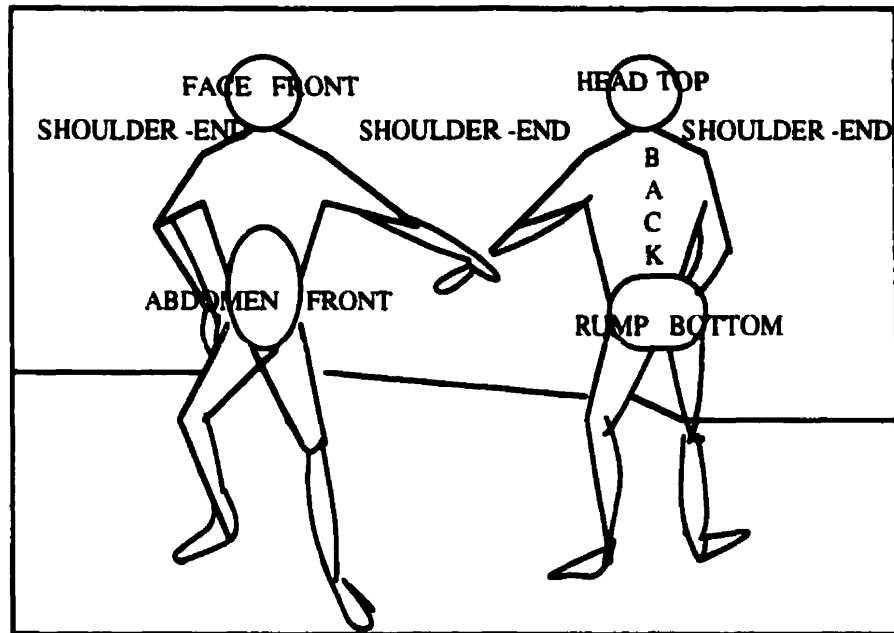


Figure 9: Body Parts and Locational Counterparts.

The transfer from body part to location has been described by Bowden 1992, Brown and Levinson 1992, Brugman 1983, Casad and Langacker 1985, de León 1992, Friedrich 1969, Goldap 1992, Haviland, 1992, Levy 1992, and MacLaury 1989, among others. Some languages derive locational concepts exclusively from the human body; but no language relies entirely on the animal body (Heine et al. 1991:127). Polysemy is inherent in this type of semantic extension, since the same phonological sequence designates both the body part and the locational term. Salish body-part lexical suffixes also extend to denote location, as shown by the suffixes for MOUTH, UPPER ARM, HEAD, and FACE in the Halkomelem examples below.

- (179) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ǵət=áθən
 proceed=MOUTH > EDGE
 'walk along something (as the shore)'
- (180) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 nəʔ=éχən
 be there=UPPER ARM > SIDE/SIDE
 'reach an end.'

(181) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 # 80)

ʔəp=qén-əm

deep, under=HEAD > TOP-MID

'go downhill'

(182) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

kʷfʔ=qən

climb=HEAD > TOP

'climb a mountain top'

(183) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

nəʔ=ás

be there=FACE > FRONT

'look toward'

Examples (179) through (183) attest to the metaphorical transfer of body part to location in Halkomelem. The sections that follow outline some metaphorical transfers of the body part "back" that are attested in Salish.

3.3.2 *ikin/n denoting "other side" or "back side".

The extension OTHER SIDE for the suffix *ikin/n is based on an anthropomorphic template. In inanimate objects, the most functional and detailed side is conceptualized as the "front" by analogy with the human face (Vandeloise 1991:36). The suffix *ikin/n in example (184) denotes the side of an object that is opposite to the front. This metaphorical shift transposes the front/back opposition of the human body to inanimate objects. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > OTHER SIDE**.

(184) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:285)

s-t=aý=č-s

NOM-deictic=CON=BACK- 3POSS

'back part of house'²⁸

ta lamʔ

DET house

Figure 10 below gives a view of a house where the entrance, the marked side, is facing the river (see example (185)).

²⁸ See footnote 11.

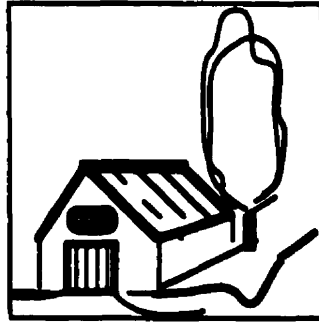


Figure 10: The Entrance and its Opposite Side.

Examples (185) and (186) also refer to the back part of a house. In example (173) the front of the house is the part that faces the river. The opposite side is considered the back.

- (185) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:230)
 t-ʔɔwl-tk-ikn̄
 LOC-upstream area-SUF=BACK
 'back of house (front faces river)'²⁹

Example (186) simply denotes the back of the house.

- (186) Shuswap (Lorraine Billy p.c.)
 x-k̄m =fkən̄
 LOC-area =BACK
 'back of the house'

The intrinsic orientation of an object is by definition independent of the position of the speaker. Not every object possesses enough distinctive traits to assign the name "front" to one of its sides. An alternative strategy used with entities that lack distinctive intrinsic orientational traits, as happens with mountains or trees, is contextual orientation. Contextually oriented objects relate to the speaker or viewer. The two strategies of contextual orientation in languages of the world are the "mirror image" model and the "in tandem" model (Vandeloise 1991:39). These are also known as the "face-to-face" and the "single-file" models (Heine 1997a:13).

Figure 11 below adapted from Vandeloise (1991:39) contrasts the two types of canonical encounter models.

²⁹ t-ʔiwl-tk means 'upstream area, interior' (Kuipers 1974:279).

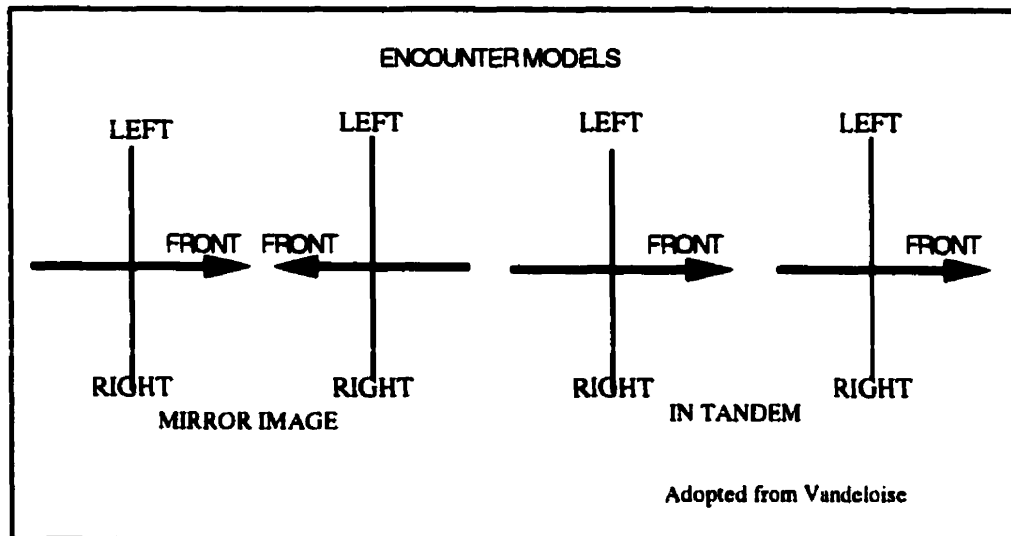


Figure 11: Canonical Encounter Models.

The mirror image model assumes that the entity, e.g. mountain or tree, opposite the speaker is facing the speaker. The in tandem model assumes that the entity, e.g. mountain or tree, opposite the speaker is oriented in the same direction as the speaker. The lexical suffix for **BACK** denotes the “back side” or “other side” of a mountain in the Halkomelem examples (187) and (188) below. The mountain is construed as facing the speaker; the part of the mountain not visually accessible to the speaker is denoted by the suffix for **BACK**. This presupposes a “mirror image” canonical encounter template. The semantic path for the suffix is **BACK > OTHER SIDE**.

(187) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #66)

łəq̣=ɛl=íc

end=CON=BACK

‘opposite side of something’

(188) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s- nəʔ=ícən

NOM-be there=BACK

‘other side’

Figure 12 below sketches the conceptualization of space exemplified by examples (187) and (188) above.

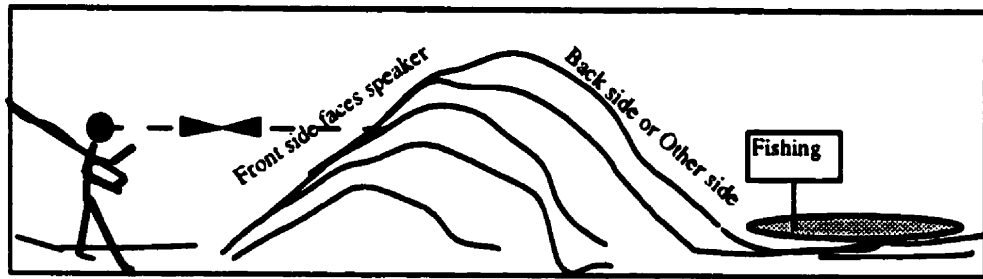


Figure 12: The Extension BACK SIDE/OTHER SIDE for the Suffix **ikin/n*.

The path BACK > OTHER SIDE for **ikin/n* is attested in this corpus for Tsamosan and Interior Salish.

- (189) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:63)
 łáǰ* = ičn
 there (near speaker) = BACK
 'other side of the mountain'
- (190) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:30)
 s-ǰ*ɔt = i k n̄
 NOM-one or other side = BACK
 'the other side of the house, fence or ridge'
- (191) Spokane (Carlson 1989:26)
 t-hil h = fčn
 DIR-unglossed = BACK
 'the other side of the mountain'
- (192) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:89)
 c-łáʔ = f k n̄
 CISLOC-next to = BACK
 'He came to the (other side of) fence.'
- (193) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1523)
 k̄n-łáʔ = f k n̄
 toward-edge = BACK
 'the other side of a ridge'

We see that the semantic extension of **ikin/n* denoting the BACK SIDE or OTHER SIDE of some entity is anthropomorphic in nature based on a "mirror image" encounter model.

3.3.3 *ikiñ/n denoting “surface”.

The semantic extension **SURFACE** for the suffix **ikiñ/n* derives from the canonically horizontal orientation of an animal’s back. The schema abstracted is that of a surface or horizontal plane. In a very real sense, an animal’s back constitutes a surface or expanse upon which objects can be placed and people can sit. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > SURFACE**.

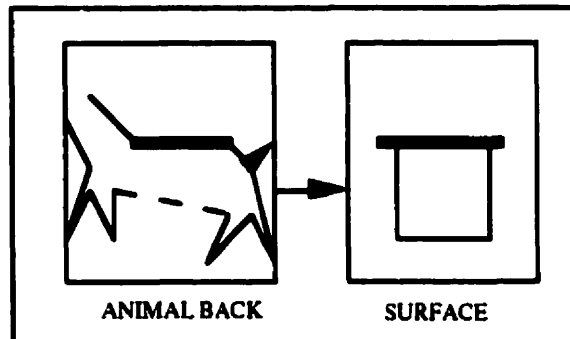


Figure 13: The Schema Abstraction **ANIMAL BACK > SURFACE**.

Translated as either “ground”, “sand”, “swamp”, “ice”, or “snow”, the suffix **ikiñ/n* attaches to different roots. The suffix itself does not mean any of these things in the conventional sense of the word. Rather, the salient properties that make up a “swamp”, “ice” or “sand” are read off the root-suffix combination within the context of the speech event. The point here is that whether the suffix **ikiñ/n* denotes a swampy or frozen expanse, the extension **SURFACE** subsumes all these referents.

The suffix **ikiñ/n* refers to “ground surface”, “sand”, and “swamp” in the Central Salish languages below:

- (194) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
pq*=ícən
broken up=BACK
'sand, broken up surface'

- (195) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
s-čəp=al=ič
NOM-stagnant=CON=BACK
'stagnant water, swamp'

Climatic conditions make frozen-over expanses of water a common occurrence in the geographical locations where Interior languages are spoken. The suffix **ikin'/n* refers to “iccd over surfaces” and “snowed over surfaces” in examples (196) through (203) below:

- (196) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:178)
 səq-p=íkəń
 break into chunks-ASP=BACK
 ‘ice break up in creeks (in Spring)’
- (197) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:147)
 mc=íkń
 flooded=BACK
 ‘flooded (especially of ice)’
- (198) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:138)
 c-pes=kń
 RSLT-water on=BACK
 ‘there is water on top of the ice’³⁰
- (199) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:25)
 cəpǎ=íkń e n-páǎ’w
 break=BACK COMP LOC-freeze
 ‘the surface of the ice broke’
- (200) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:228)
 n-páǎ’w=kń
 LOC-frozen=BACK
 ‘iccd surface on frozen pond or lake’
- (201) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1506)
 xəń-p=íkń
 crusted-ASP=BACK
 ‘crust on snow’

³⁰ The prefix *c-* denotes a state, in this case a “watered” state (see Kuipers 1974:71).

- (202) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1562)
 ʒəłʒał-m=(kŋ
 clear (redup.)-SUF=BACK
 ‘clear ice’
- (203) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:548)
 e-čət=ečŋ
 PRF-unglossed=BACK
 ‘it exists put on flat surface’

The morphology in examples (204) and (205) below contains no overt expressions of the concept “vessel”. The lexical suffix **ikin/n* refers to the surface of a liquid substance, which is presumably contained in vessels in both examples.

- (204) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:456)
 zéw=kŋ-m e
 skim=BACK-MID
 ‘skim scum off jelly’
- (205) Bella Coola (Nater 1990: 34)
 nu-tup-m=ik
 PRFX-bubble up-MID=BACK
 ‘something is frothing in a vessel’

We see that the locational reference point SURFACE for the suffix **ikin/n* derives from BACK and is attested in Bella Coola and in Central and Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter.

3.3.4 **ikin/n* denoting “top”.

The following section treats the semantic extension TOP that obtains for the suffix **ikin/n*. We address here a different extension of **ikin/n*, one that conceptualizes the back of an animal as the top portion of its body. The extension **ikin/n* TOP refers to the uppermost surface of an entity and has its source in the concept BACK.

We have seen in section 3.3.3 that an animal’s back is thought of as a flat surface upon which things can be placed. In its extension SURFACE, the suffix denotes a layer of water, ice, or

fat that extends over a surface. In this respect, the expressions “skim the top” and “skim the surface” are semantically equivalent, since a surface can be the TOP portion or layer of an entity.

The Bella Coola examples (206) and (207) below refer to a TOP and beautifully exemplify the referential ambiguity of **ikin/n*. In example (206), the external noun can be either a piano or a table, or any other area construed as a top surface in the context of the speech event. The area to be wiped is cross-referenced in the predicate complex by the suffix **ikin/n*. The semantic path is **BACK > TOP**.

- (206) Bella Coola (Newman n. d.)
 tsp=ik
 wipe=BACK
 ‘wipe the table, top of piano’

If there is no external noun phrase that disambiguates the referent of **ikin/n*, as in example (206), we can assume that the lexical suffix cross-references in the root the most salient trait of the entity denoted by the utterance.

- (207) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)
 qu·x=ik
 cover=BACK
 ‘cover the top of something’

In sentences (206) and (207) the concept TOP is central to the meaning of the utterance. The precise referent of the lexical suffix can be made explicit grammatically by means of an external noun.

Figure 14 shows the semantic path followed by **ikin/n* SURFACE > TOP.

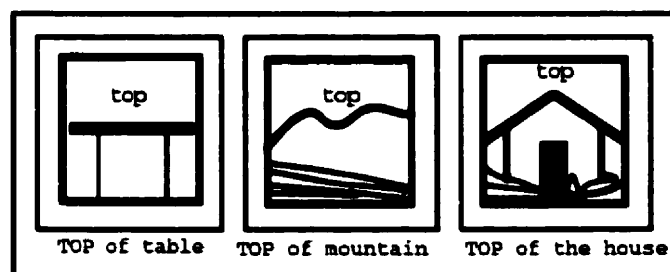


Figure 14: The Schema Abstraction SURFACE > TOP.

The extension TOP for **ikin*/*n* BACK is attested in all four branches of the family. The most frequent denotata are “top of mountain”, treated in section 3.3.4.1; “top of house”, treated in section 3.3.4.2; and “top of shoe or foot”, treated in section 3.3.4.3. Examples in the following sections are grouped according to the kind of entity referred to by the suffix.

3.3.4.1 **ikin*/*n* denoting “mountain top”.

The suffix **ikin*/*n* denotes a mountain top in this section. The examples come from Interior Salish. The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > TOP.

(208) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:388)

s-xʔ=*ikn*

NOM-over=BACK

‘top of mountain ridge’

(209) Spokane (Carlson 1989:23)

č-čʼm=*ičn*

DIR-area=BACK

‘top of the mountain’

(210) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:148)

q|t=*ikn*

go over=BACK

‘top of the ridge’

(211) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1519)

s-ǰəʔ-p=*fkn*

NOM-on top-ASP=BACK

‘on top of high mountains’

(212) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:544)

h|n-ɾʔʔʔɯʔ=*ičn*

LOC-stretch stringlike object=BACK

‘street car’

In addition, the lexical suffix for BACK appears in mountain names in several Central Salish and Southern Interior Salish languages.

- (213) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 qəw=ícən
 warm=BACK
 ‘Cowichan’³¹
- (214) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1553)
 kat-ṗəł̃=fk n
 POS-one object stands=BACK
 ‘Southeast part of Badger Mountain’
- (215) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1555)
 s-tx*=ík n
 NOM-lie, lean against=BACK
 ‘Stehekin ridge’
- (216) Spokane (Carlson 1989:107)
 č-us=šn=ičñ
 DIR-rise up=FOOT=BACK
 ‘one of the three Chewelah peaks’
- (217) Spokane (Carlson 1989:60)
 pqpq=ičñ
 white (redup.)=BACK
 ‘Miles town (white mountain)’

I have included these place name examples because they represent a very old stratum of language and are extremely useful in elucidating the semantics of the suffix.

3.3.4.2 *ikiñ/n denoting “roof”.

In the following examples the suffix **ikiñ/n* refers to the top of a house, i.e. a roof or ceiling. The examples come from Bella Coola, Central Salish, Tsamosan, and Interior Salish. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > TOP**.

³¹ “The word *Kawutsun* refers to a certain projecting rock on the side of the mountain Tsohélim, which guards the entrance of the Cowichan river on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island” (Curtis 1913:32).

- (218) **Bella Coola (Nater 1990:48)**
 k uł=ík
 area=BACK
 'roof'
- (219) **Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:165)**
 ʔuć=ík
 upper=BACK
 'crest of roof'
- (220) **Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)**
 s-q*ə=ícən
 NOM-pass through=BACK
 'opening for a smoke hole' ³²
- (221) **Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)**
 x*-ćéń=əc-əm
 LOC-alight=BACK-MID
 'alight (as a bird on top of a tree)'
- (223) **Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:50)**
 k*ác=l=fʔčn-s
 middle=CON=BACK-3POSS
 'ridge pole'
- (224) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:18)**
 caŋcŋ=íkń
 ripped (redup.)=BACK
 'roofing ripped, torn'

³² A contrasting expression is found with the same predicate and the lexical suffix *ańək.

- (i) **Musqueam (Suttles in prep. a)**
 š-x*-q*ə=néc
 NOM - LOC - pass through = BELLY > UNDERSIDE
 'hole in the bottom of anything'

(225) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:176)

cwx-m=ikn

creek-MID=BACK

'to drip from the roof'

(226) Spokane (Carlson 1989:34)

n-kʷkʷlč'=ičn

LOC-dome shaped (redup.)=BACK

'a buggy top'

The suffix for mouth in example (227) denotes an edge, the expression is literally "top edge".

(227) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1499)

n-čʷiyx=ikn=c-tn

POS-frame-work=BACK=MOUTH-INSTR

'rafters'

The examples below have the root *čl* 'high/above'. Example (228) is a nominalization and contrasts with example (229), which includes the transitivizer *-t*.

(228) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #67)

s-cl=ícən

NOM-high/above=BACK

'top'

(229) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #67)

cl=ícən-t

high/above=BACK-TR

'put it on top'

Examples (230) and (231) come from Central Salish, and contain the root *šəq* 'high/above'.

The suffix **ikin/n* functions as an adjunct and translates into English as TOP.

(230) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:211)

šq=əl=ič

high/above=CON=BACK

'high on top (of the mountain)'

- (231) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:211)
 šəq=əl=ič tiʔit səspus-əb-s
 high/above=CON=BACK DEM float-MID-3SG
 'It's floating on top of the water'

Example (232) comes from Thompson and expresses the spatial point TOP. It contains the root *xʔ* meaning "high".

- (232) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:388)
 ʔəs-n-xʔ=ikn̩
 ASP-LOC-high/rise=BACK
 'way up on top (of a mountain)'

The meaning TOP for the suffix **ikn̩/n* obtains with roots denoting notions of height.

3.3.4.3 **ikn̩/n* denoting "the top of a shoe" or "the instep of the foot".

The suffix **ikn̩/n* can also reference the top of a shoe and the instep of the foot. The examples below come from Tsamosan, Central Salish, and Interior Salish.³³ The semantic path is BACK > TOP.

- (233) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 qəp̄=əc-t
 tie up=BACK-TR
 'lace them (shoes) up'

- (234) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:265)
 ʔəc=ikn̩=əx(n)-am
 tie=BACK=FOOT=MID
 'to tie one's shoe laces'

³³ The opposition TOP/UNDERSIDE represented by the suffixes for BACK and BELLY under zoomorphic orientation is evident in examples (233) - (238). The TOP of the foot is denoted by **ikn̩/n* BACK while the sole of the foot is referenced by the lexical suffix *an̩/nak* ABDOMEN.

- (i) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:160)
 c-x-təqʔtqʔ=e nk = xn
 LOC-LOC - arched (redup.)=ABDOMEN > UNDERSIDE=FOOT
 'arch of foot'

- (235) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:186)
 s-lək=ɪkn=xn-m
 NOM-tie something, wind around=BACK=FOOT-MID
 ‘bead work on moccasins’
- (236) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:70)
 n-čq=ikn=xn
 LOC-hit=BACK=FOOT
 ‘get hit on top of one’s foot’
- (237) Spokane (Carlson 1989:23)
 s-čl-čm=ičn=šn
 NOM-LOC-area=BACK=FOOT
 ‘top of the foot’
- (238) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1534)
 kat-kəm=ɪkn=xn
 POS-area=BACK=FOOT
 ‘instep’

The extension of the suffix **ikin/n* shown above denotes the spatial reference point TOP. Mountain tops, roof tops, insteps, and the top of a shoe are construed as being top surfaces.

3.3.5 **ikin/n* denoting “outside”.

The extension OUTSIDE for the suffix **ikin/n* relates to the extension SURFACE. (See section 3.3.3.) The suffix denotes a surface established in relation to another entity, e.g. the yard of a house is the outside area that surrounds it. The suffix **ikin/n* defines the location OUTSIDE in relation to a dwelling in (239). The semantic path of the extension OUTSIDE in the examples that follow is BACK > SURFACE > OUTSIDE.

- (239) Spokane (Carlson 1989:42)
 č-lqq=čn=éʔlxʷ
 DIR-sit (redup.)=BACK=HOUSE
 ‘They sat outside their tipis.’

Figure 15 below sketches the location “outside” in relation to a tipi.

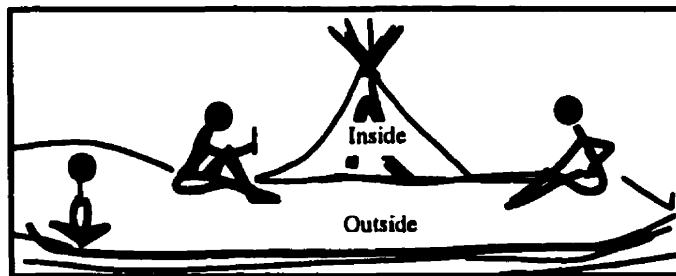


Figure 15: The Extension OUTSIDE for the suffix **ikin/n*.

The suffix **ikin/n* refers to the ground surface external to the dwelling. The dwelling itself is morphologically expressed in the utterances by the suffix =*éłx*°. The extension OUTSIDE for the suffix is attested in Southern Interior Salish:

- (240) Spokane (Carlson 1989:42)
 č-łq=čn =éłx °
 DIR-sit=BACK=HOUSE
 ‘He sat outside his house.’
- (241) Spokane (Carlson 1989:61)
 č-pk °=čn =éłx °-n
 DIR-pile round objects=BACK=HOUSE-1SG
 ‘I piled rocks all around the house.’
- (242) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:9)
 k-cq̣- m n =kń =fłx °
 ASP/RSLT-throw-SUF=BACK=HOUSE
 ‘throw something outside of the house’
- (243) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:35)
 t-kəm =kń =fłx °
 RSLT-area=BACK=HOUSE
 ‘outside the house’

In the examples above, the concept OUTSIDE is defined in relation to a house whose outside surface is salient to the content of the utterance. A slight variation appears in example (244), where the root incorporates the shape of the object.

- (244) Spokane (Carlson 1989:66)
 č-ḥn=čḥ=éłx*-n
 DIR-set long objects lying=BACK=HOUSE-1SG
 'I placed logs outside (in the yard).'

The yard of a house is usually understood as the surface area surrounding the house where objects may be scattered about.

Figure 16 below illustrates example (244).

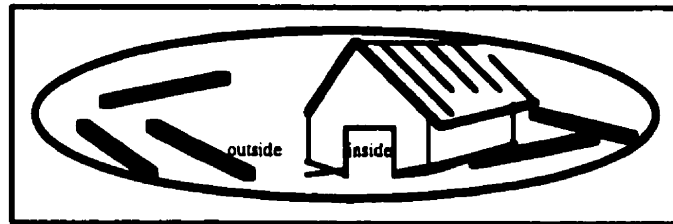


Figure 16: The Extension OUTSIDE for the Suffix **ikin/n*.

In the Columbian example (245), the suffix **ikin/n* refers to an outside surface. However, there is no explicit mention of a HOUSE in the morphology of this example.

- (245) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1492)
 k-čx*=fk n
 POS-spill=BACK
 'I spilled it outside.'

The semantic path of the suffix in example (245) is BACK > SURFACE > OUTSIDE. The outside surface is not defined in relation to a dwelling, as in examples (239) through (244). The act of "pouring" or "spilling" requires a conceptually established ground out of which the substance is poured. Within the context of example (245), OUTSIDE is defined in relation to an inside space which is not morphologically expressed.

The lexical suffix **ikin/n* comes to denote OUTSIDE. This meaning obtains with predicates subcategorized for object shape, like "pile round objects" and "set long objects lying". We can also find this extension of the suffix with positional predicates, like "sit", and with predicates of space traversal and coverage, like "throw" and "spill".

3.3.6 *ikin/n denoting “middle” or “center”.

The concept MIDDLE or CENTER denoted by the suffix *ikin/n has the following semantic path **BACK > SPINE > MIDDLE/CENTER**. Figure 17 below illustrates a principle of symmetry abstracted from the location of the SPINE.

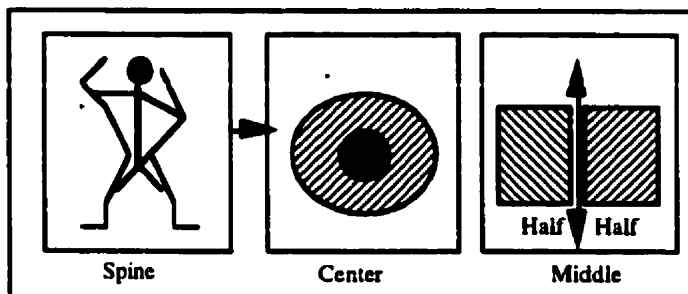


Figure 17: The Semantic Path SPINE > MIDDLE > CENTER.

The spine is located in the center of the body and divides it in half laterally. The extension MIDDLE is a metaphorical extension that abstracts a principle of symmetry from the location the vertebral column occupies within the body. The conceptualization behind the extension MIDDLE/CENTER is twofold: the spine divides the body in two halves; the spine is the axis of the body and located at its CENTER.

The expressions below come from Thompson and exemplify the semantic path SPINE > MIDDLE/CENTER. The suffix *ikin/n denotes SPINE in (246) and CENTER in (247).

(246) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)

tš* = a w s = i k ñ

straight = BODY = BACK

'spine, backbone'

(247) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:36)

n - tš* = i k ñ - s

e

s - p a q - m

LOC-straight = BACK-3POSS

COMP

flower

'center of the flower'

Figure 18 below illustrates the path SPINE > CENTER whereby the suffix denotes “center”.³⁴

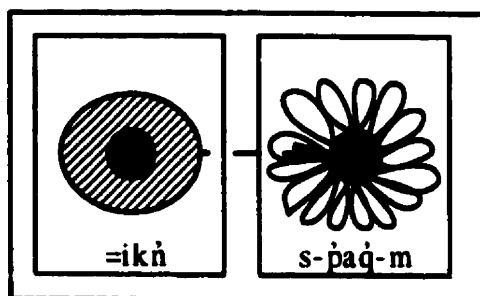


Figure 18: The Extension CENTER for the Suffix *ikin/n.

The semantic path BACK > SPINE > MIDDLE/CENTER for the suffix is illustrated by examples (248) through (253), which represent all branches of the family.

(248) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:34)

nu-kal=ik

PRFX-right, straight=BACK

‘center, middle, half’

(249) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:137)

tš* =áł=ičn

straight (?)=CON=BACK

‘half of moon’

(250) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:63)

n-təš*tš* =ək

LOC-straight (redup.)=BACK

‘to be in the middle’

(251) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)

n-təš*tš* =ikn-s

e

s-čəq? =éwł

LOC-straight (redup.)=BACK-3POSS

COMP

boat

‘middle of canoe’

³⁴ Examples (246), (247), and (249) through (253) have roots with the meaning “right there”, “precisely there”, and “straight”. The roots are cognate. (248) also has a root meaning “straight”, but it is not cognate with the other root.

- (252) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)
 n-ta \check{x} *=a \check{w} s=i \check{k} n
 LOC-straight=BODY=BACK
 'right in the center/middle of s.t.'
- (253) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)
 n-tə \check{x} *t \check{x} *=i \check{k} n e s-ma \check{f} -xe \check{t} n
 LOC-straight (redup.)=BACK COMP month
 'middle of month'

The meaning MIDDLE/CENTER for the suffix obtains with several kinds of predicates. In some of the expressions below, **ikin*/*n* co-occurs with a second lexical suffix.

- (254) Bella Coola (Nater 1984:82)
 nu- \check{x} =ik
 PRFX-unglossed=BACK
 'middle, half, in two'
- (255) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 ?úda \check{g} *=i \check{c}
 middle=BACK
 'middle of the house, road, pile'
- (256) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:167)
 x-cet=i \check{k} en
 LOC-center=BACK
 'middle of lake'
- (257) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:326)
 n-?i?z=k=a \check{w} t
 LOC-just enough=BACK=CANOE
 'to be in the middle of a canoe'
- (258) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1559)
 s-n-mi \check{y} -t=u?s=i \check{k} n
 NOM-POS-middle-SUF=BODY=BACK
 'middle of a lake or river'³⁵

³⁵ The lexical suffix =a \check{w} s is realized as =u?s in example (257) (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

The suffix **ikin/n* in (254) through (258) refers to a specific part of an entity, e.g. the middle or center of a house, a canoe, or a river. The source concept for the locative extension MIDDLE/CENTER is the anatomical spine.

3.3.7 Summary and distribution of the locational extensions for **ikin/n*.

The distribution of the locational extensions that obtain for **ikin/n* appear in Table VI

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
BACK "Other side"	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Surface"	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Top"	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Outside"					•
BACK "Middle/Center"	•	•	•	•	•

TABLE VI: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS

Locational extensions denote spatial reference points and are distributed evenly throughout the family. The one exception is the extension OUTSIDE, found only in Southern Interior Salish within the examples considered in this chapter.

- The extension OTHER SIDE has its source in the extension BACK under anthropomorphic orientation.
- The extension SURFACE has its source in the extension BACK under zoomorphic orientation.
- The extension TOP has its source in the extension BACK under zoomorphic orientation.
- The extension OUTSIDE has its source in the extension SURFACE.
- The extension MIDDLE/CENTER has its source in the extension SPINE.

The semantic paths shown in Figure 19 below outline the shift from body part to locational reference point that obtains for the suffix **ikin/n*.

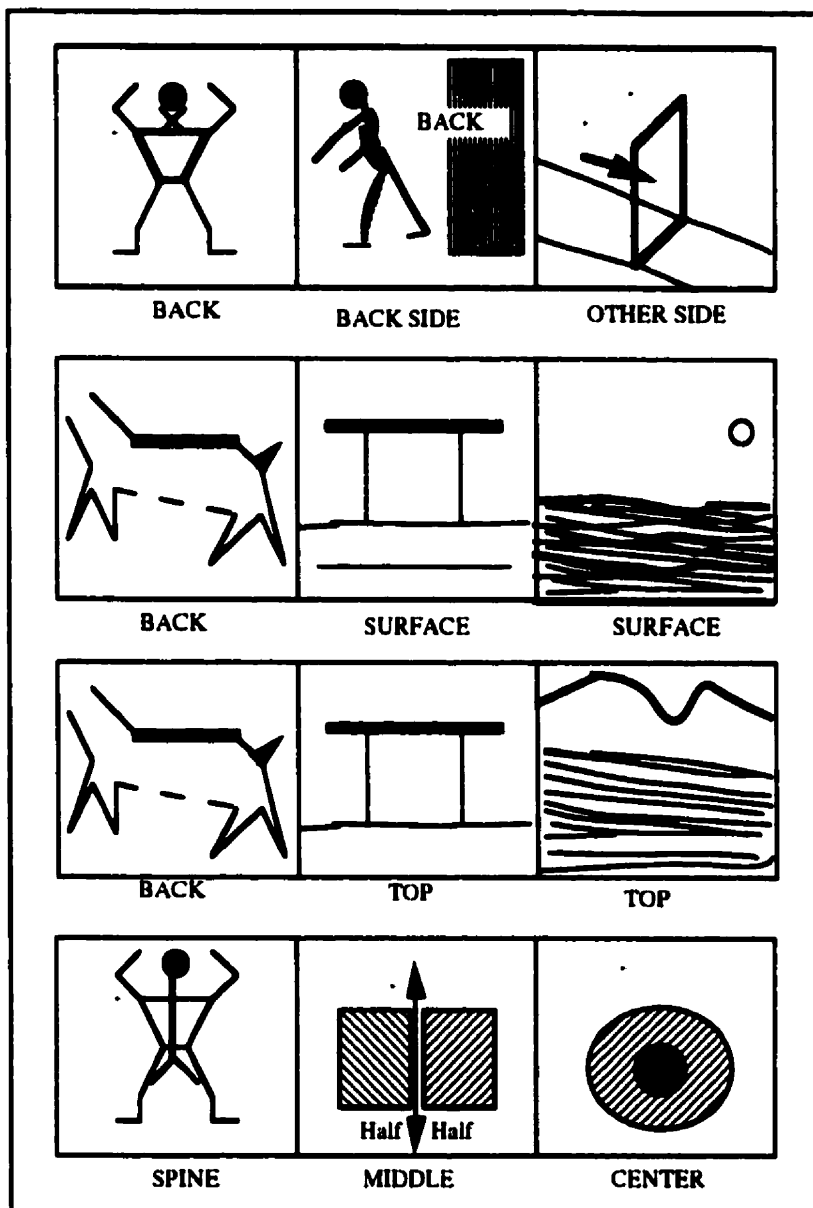


Figure 19: Metaphorical Paths from Body Part to Location.

The locational extensions of **ikin/n* originate in the BACK/FRONT opposition of the human body conveyed by the body parts “belly” and “back”. This opposition yields the extension BACK SIDE or OTHER SIDE. Locational extensions also originate in the TOP/BOTTOM opposition in the body of four legged-animals, an opposition which yields the extensions SURFACE and TOP for the suffix. A principle of symmetry abstracted from the central location of the SPINE in humans and animals yields the extension MIDDLE/CENTER for the suffix.

3.4 Relational extensions of the lexical suffix for BACK.

The relational extensions of the suffix **ikin/n* are akin to the English prepositions “behind”, “between”, “on”, “across”, “over”, and “above”. They describe the spatial relation an entity bears to some other entity, or the trajectory an entity describes in space with respect to a stationary ground. Relational space is discussed in the literature by Bowden 1982, Casad and Langacker 1985, Lindner 1981, and Senft 1997. Section 3.4.1 addresses the relation BEHIND, section 3.4.2 addresses the relations ON, ACROSS, ABOVE, and OVER; section 3.4.3 addresses the relation BETWEEN.

3.4.1 **ikin/n* denoting “behind”.

In this section we will discuss the extension of the suffix **ikin/n* that denotes the relation BEHIND. Examples (259) and (260) express a relation between two entities along a linear trajectory. The semantic path of the suffix **ikin/n* is BACK > BEHIND.

(259) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:361)

n-tuwe k=ik(n)-n-s
LOC-walk=BACK-SUF-3SUB
'walk behind someone'

(260) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:143)

n-čiʔt=fčəñ
LOC-close=BACK
'I come close to it from behind.'

In examples (261) and (262), the predicate *lkʷ*, glossed as “leave”, establishes a relationship with a directional component—a trajectory in space that extends from the back of the person who has left to the place or person left behind.

(261) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:69)

n-lkʷkʷ-lx=ikn
LOC-leave (redup.)-AUT=BACK
'a ways behind'

- (262) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:69)
 s-n-lk*k*-lx=ikñ-s
 ABS-leave (redup.)-AUT=BACK-3SG
 'He is behind them.'

Figure 20 below graphically expresses the spatial relation conveyed by *ikiñ/n in examples (261) and (262). The solitary figure is to the back of or behind the other two figures.

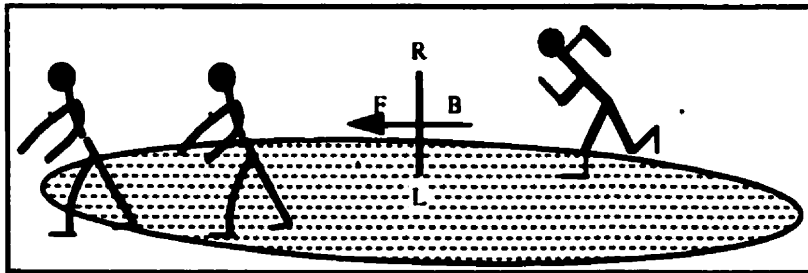


Figure 20: The Relational Extension BEHIND for the Suffix *ikiñ/n.

Line-of-sight directionality, construed as a trajectory from the eyes of the beholder to the targeted object, is probably universal for predicates of vision. The English “see” comes from the PIE *sek* which also gives the Latin *sequor* “follow” (Sweetser 1990:32). The relational concept denoted by *ikiñ/n in the Thompson example (263) below expresses line-of-sight directionality in the sense that there is visual monitoring taking place. The gaze of the beholder follows a moving target whose back side is presumably the end-point of the gazing.

- (263) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:129)
 ?as-k*en=ikñ-s-c
 ASP-regard=BACK-SUF-3SUB
 ‘follow someone watching’³⁶

The predicate gloss in example (263), “regard”, means “to watch or be looking”. What we see in the glossing of this example is perhaps the beginning of a transference from the domain of space denoted by BACK > BEHIND to the temporal domain, i.e. the shift BEHIND > AFTER. The African languages in Table VII (Heine 1995:16) show the progression of the concept “back” from a space domain to a temporal domain.

³⁶ This is the exact gloss given to the entry in (Thompson & Thompson 1996:129). It shows motion, for the gaze follows a path stretching from the beholder to the back of an entity.

Languages	Body-part Domain	Meaning	Reduced Form	Spatio-Temporal Domain
Maasai	en-korioŋ	"back, spine"	orioŋ	"in, inside, within"
Acholi	ŋec	"back"	ŋe	"behind, after"

TABLE VII : A SHIFT TO THE TEMPORAL DOMAIN BACK > BEHIND > AFTER

Line-of-sight directionality construed as a trajectory also appears in the Spokane and Okanagan examples below. In examples (264) and (265), the direction of the gaze or line of sight goes in an inverse direction to the displacement of the beholder. That is, the line of sight trajectory goes from the beholder to a target or end-point situated towards the beholder's back. The semantic path of the suffix is **BACK > BEHIND**.

(264) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:128)

n-ʃač̣x̣=k ṇ-cút

LOC- regard=BACK-RFLX

'look behind oneself'

(265) Spokane (Carlson 1989:1)

n-ʔač̣x̣=č̣ṇ-cút

DIR-look=BACK-RFLX

'He looked back upon something.'

The context for examples (266) through (268) is an entity situated in space in relation to some other entity. The suffix **ikiṇ/n* BACK denotes the spatial relation BEHIND describing the relationship that holds between the two entities. The meaning BEHIND in the examples below implies anthropomorphic orientation.

(266) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:166)

kuł=ik-c ʔał ʔinu

surface=BACK-1SG PP 2SG

'I am behind you.'

(267) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:285)

s-t-ay=č̣-s ta scəq

NOM-DEICTIC=CON=BACK-3 POSS DET tree

'behind the tree'

- (268) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:47)
 k s-n-km=ikəŋ Tarás
 TRNSLOC NOM-LOC-area=BACK Theresa
 ‘Theresa is behind you.’

Examples (269) through (272) below contain predicates of motion and position. The “jumping”, “walking”, “galloping”, and “crossing” events depicted below happen towards the back of an unspecified entity.

- (269) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:180)
 x-nəxʷ=ikn
 LOC-run=BACK
 ‘to gallop in pursuit’
- (270) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)
 n-qaž-ix=ik(ŋ)-ŋ-s
 LOC-jump-AUT=BACK-SUF-3SUB
 ‘jump behind someone’
- (271) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:361)
 n-twek=ik(ŋ)-ŋ-s
 LOC-walk=BACK-SUF-3SUB
 ‘walk behind someone’
- (272) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1514)
 n-ʔəmt=ikn
 POS-pass, go by=BACK
 ‘cross (behind) someone’

In example (273) the speaker indicates that someone is sitting behind his/her back.

- (273) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)
 qʷun-ʔəmt=iči-s
 unglossed-sit=BACK-3POSS
 ‘He is sitting behind my back.’

The suffix **ikin/n* denotes the spatial relation “behind” in the Bella Coola example below: presumably the suffix *-am* makes the expression a verb-like notion.

- (274) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:166)
 kuł=ik-am
 body surface=BACK-MID
 'to go behind someone'

In the Squamish examples (275) and (276) below, the spatial relation is indicated by the suffix **ikin/n*.³⁷

- (275) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:264)
 s-t=aý=č
 NOM-DEICTIC=CON=BACK
 'space behind'

- (276) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:260)
 tx*-t=aý=č
 DIR-DEICTIC=CON=BACK
 'go behind'

In examples (277) and (278) **ikin/n* indicates the direction from which something approaches.

- (277) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:242)
 ǰ-q*ǰpq*ǰpǰ=ʔíkǰǰ
 LOC-apprehensive (redup.)=BACK
 'afraid that danger threatens from behind.'

- (278) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:143)
 n-č'íʔt=ičǰǰ-á
 LOC-close=BACK-SUF
 'I come close to it from behind.'

The Southern Interior examples (279) through (281) are interesting because the suffix is not translated in the glosses.

- (279) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:28)
 n-kcn=ikǰ-n t
 LOC-overtake=BACK-TR
 'overtake somebody (going)'

³⁷ See footnote 11 when reading examples (275) and (276).

(280) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1494)

na-kíc=kn

POS-arrive=BACK

'catch up to'

(281) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:605)

hən-tətəg*íns=čń-c-əń

LOC-fall short (redup.)=BACK-2SG-1SG

'I failed to keep up with thee from the start'

The predicates in these examples imply motion, and the glosses suggest the act of overtaking, catching up, or lagging behind someone. The actions of overtaking and catching up imply an approach from behind, while lagging means falling behind. For these reasons, it is probably not necessary for the suffix to be explicitly translated in the glosses.

3.4.2 **ikin'/n* denoting “on”, “across”, “above”, and “over”.

In this section, I address the extensions ON, ACROSS, ABOVE and OVER that obtain for the suffix **ikin'/n*. Brugman (1988) has argued that the spatial configurations defined by “on”, “across”, and “above” are all possible for the English *over*. The lexical suffix **ikin'/n* conveys these very same spatial relations. I have adopted Brugman’s basic categories for “over” to describe the spatial relations denoted by **ikin'/n*.

Each relational meaning of **ikin'/n* depends on the semantic sub-categorizations of the predicates with which the suffix combines. Section 3.4.2.1 treats the extension ON, section 3.4.2.2 treats the extension ACROSS, section 3.4.2.3 treats the extensions ABOVE and ON TOP, and section 3.4.2.4 treats the extension OVER.

3.4.2.1 **ikin'/n* denoting “on”.

In this section, I address the extension ON for the suffix **ikin'/n*. The source concept for this extension is BACK > SURFACE, as shown by the examples below.

- (282) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 pəpí=ɛcən
 get blown (redup.)=BACK > SURFACE
 'a little wind blowing on the surface of the water'³⁸

- (283) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:25)
 n-cəq-p=ík n-ne
 LOC-set-ASP=BACK > SURFACE-I SG
 'I landed my boat unexpectedly (on a sandbar)'

In Lushootseed, the meaning extension SURFACE undergoes further extension, and perhaps grammaticalization, when it denotes the relation "on". The relational meaning ON obtains in Lushootseed with predicates denoting trajectories determined by gravity. The trajectories of a "fall", "rain", "snow", or of a liquid that is "poured" or "spilled" inevitably end up on a ground surface. The end point of this gravity-determined trajectory is denoted by the suffix **ikin/n*. The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > SURFACE > ON.

- (284) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)
 ʔu-qəlab=fíč čəd
 ASP-rain=BACK 1SG SB/OB
 'It rained on me.'

Figure 21 below depicts the trajectory of rain or snow falling toward the earth. Rain and snow do not traverse the ground surface, they fall on it. Their path and directionality obey a physical law.

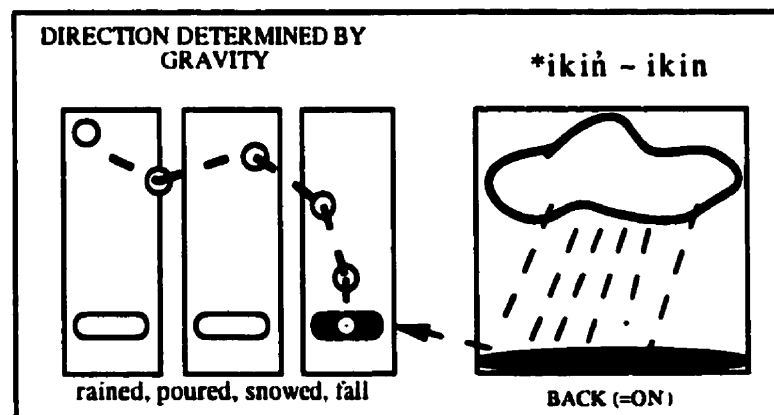


Figure 21: The Relational Extension ON for the Suffix **ikin/n*.

³⁸ The root in example (282) is the diminutive form of the root **pah - pa*.

In Lushootseed, the meaning ON for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains when the suffix combines with predicates denoting a free fall. The configuration underlying this extension of **ikin/n* is shown in Figure 22 below.

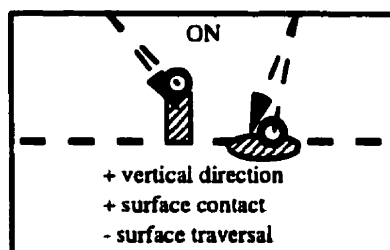


Figure 22: Features Underlying the Relational Extension ON.

In examples (285) through (287) that follow, **ikin/n* indicates the contact point of precipitation:

- (285) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:189)
 ?u-q*át=ič čəd
 ASP-snow falling=BACK 1SG SB/OB
 'It snowed on me.'

- (286) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)
 ?u-k*ł=iŋ-əd čəd
 ASP-pour=BACK-TR 1SG SB/OB
 'I poured it on him.'

- (287) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)
 ?u-k*ł=ič čəd
 ASP-spill=BACK 1SG SB/OB
 'It spilled on me.'

The end point of the trajectory in example (288) is determined by gravity.

- (288) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:88)
 ?u-dʒáq=ič
 ASP-fall=BACK
 'A tree fell on it/him.'

Example (289) denotes dusk, or the coming of darkness upon a person.

- (289) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:34)
 ʔu- bəsád=íj-əxʷ čəxʷ
 ASP-grow dark=BACK-SUF 2SG
 ‘It’s getting dark on you.’

The meaning of **ikin/n* in these examples should be SURFACE, denoting the end point of a trajectory. Instead, the suffix denotes ON and refers to the contact point of the spatial trajectories of “light”, “rain”, “liquid”, and “snow”.

Example (290) comes from Kalispel and shows the suffix **ikin/n* denoting the end point of the trajectory described by entities that are shaken off into the fire. The term “fire” is not morphologically expressed.

- (290) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:157)
 es-č- p kʷ=ičəŋ
 NOM-DIR-shake off=BACK
 ‘They are thrown on the fire.’

The contact point of the trajectories in examples (291) and (292) is “ego” and the relation “on” is denoted by the suffix **ikin/n*.

- (291) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:565)
 ʔu-xʷ uíʔ-il=ič čəd ʔə tə yíqus
 ASP-fall-VOICE=BACK 1SG SB/OB COMP DET basket
 ‘The cedar-root basket fell on me.’

- (292) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:565)
 ʔu-xʷ uíʔ-il=ič čəd ʔə tə xʷ-labalí
 ASP-fall-VOICE=BACK 1SG SB/OB COMP DET PRFX-bottle
 ‘The bottle fell on me.’

In example (293), there is no explicit end-point to the trajectory—it is “ego” itself that is falling; the suffix **ikin/n* is not present in the utterance.

- (293) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:565)
 ʔu-xʷ íʔ-il čəd
 ASP-fall-VOICE 1SG SB/OB
 ‘I fell (from a high place).’

The extension ON for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains with predicates denoting trajectories, and refers to the contact point or end point of the trajectory.

3.4.2.2 **ikin/n* denoting “across”.

The extension ACROSS for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains with predicates of cutting or traversal such as “pass”, “cut”, “walk”, or “trot”. The semantic path of the suffix in this extension is BACK > SURFACE > ACROSS.

The Squamish example (294) below contains the predicate *iqʷ* “cut”, and the action implied in the predicate applies to an expanse of land or water.

- (294) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:271)
iqʷ=*a*ʔ=*č*
 cut=CON=BACK
 ‘cut across (water, mountains)’

Figure 23 below shows the configuration that defines the extension ACROSS for the suffix **ikin/n*.

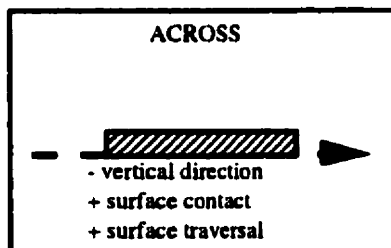


Figure 23: Features Underlying the Relational Extension ACROSS.

In examples (295) through (300), the meaning ACROSS obtains for the suffix **ikin/n* when the suffix combines with predicates of traversal.

- (295) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:301)
səsəyq (redup.)=*a*ʔ=*č*
 pass=CON=BACK
 ‘to pass across a ridge’

- (296) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: § 14 #66)
iqʷ=*é*l=*ə*c
 severed=CON=BACK
 ‘take a shortcut (as a pass between the islands)’

- (297) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:44)
 c̣ḳʷ=ič
 straight=BACK
 'shortcut'
- (298) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:404)
 xʷəsɪt=fkəŋ
 walk=BACK
 'walk across the ice'
- (299) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:35)
 kl-qc-əlɪx=ikəŋ
 DIR-trot-AUT=BACK
 'run across a snow crust'
- (300) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:159)
 čin čl-c-qəc-ilš=ičəŋ-m
 1 SG LOC-DIR-run-AUT=BACK-MID
 'run across the ice'

There are not very many examples of the meaning extension ACROSS for **ikin/n* in this corpus; nevertheless, the existing examples clearly attest the semantic extension ACROSS in two branches of the family, Central and Interior Salish.

3.4.2.3 **ikin/n* denoting “above”.

The extension ABOVE for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains when the suffix combines with light-emission predicates. The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > TOP > ABOVE.

Figure 24 below shows the configuration for the extension ABOVE.

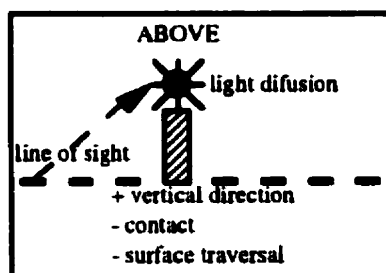


Figure 24: Features Underlying the Relational Extension ABOVE.

In the Thompson and Shuswap examples (301) and (301), the predicate denotes a light source located in space and viewed from the perspective of the speaker. In example (301) the light source is situated in relation to another entity, a “mountain ridge” viewed from ground level.

- (301) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:51)
 n-čəʔkʷ=íkñ-tñ
 LOC-shine=BACK -INSTR
 ‘fire or light visible just above the ridge’

In example (302) the suffix **ikin/n* also conveys the spatial relation ABOVE. The utterance presupposes a ground level from which the speaker views the light. Anything glowing in the sky, viewed from this perspective, is perceived as being above the speaker.

- (302) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:169)
 x-cəkʷ-t=ikəñ
 LOC-shine-SUF=BACK
 ‘glow of flame (in the sky)’

Example (303) comes from Lushootseed and contains a light-emission predicate.

- (303) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:137)
 ʔu-ləx-il=ič-əxʷ ɔlgʷɔʔ
 ASP-light-VOICE=BACK -ASP 3PL
 ‘They would be enveloped with light.’

The predicate in (303), glossed as “light”, translates into English as “enveloped by light”. The direction or location of the light source is not explicit in the morphology of the example, but the dictionary mentions that the entry refers to daylight. It follows that the specific light source must be the sun. Thus, a more literal translation would be something like “light from above”.

3.4.2.4 **ikin/n* denoting “over”.

The extension OVER for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains when the suffix combines with predicates of motion. Predicates such as “jump” and “climb” conflate direction and motion. The semantic path of the suffix in this extension is BACK > TOP > OVER.

Figure 25 below shows the configuration for “over”.

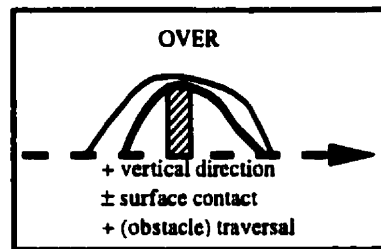


Figure 25: Features Underlying the Relational Extension OVER.

Examples (304) through (310) represent the extension OVER for the suffix **ikin/n*. The following examples contain predicates implying upward movement, and the suffix **ikin/n* denotes the relation OVER.

(304) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:9)

ʔasʔs-sqʷ=i k- is

NEG-jump=BACK-3SG

‘It did not jump over it (log).’

(305) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:342)

kʷumʔ=č

lump=BACK

‘go over a hill’

(306) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:349)

xʷit-im=č-anʔ

jump-MID=BACK-TR

‘jump over it’

(307) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: § 14 #66)

cʔəmə=cʔc-t

jump=BACK-TR

‘jump over it (as a log)’

(308) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:76)

ʔačʷ=ičn=ól uws

climb=BACK=MIDDLE/JUNCTION

‘pile up, overlap’

- (309) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)
 n-ǰaz-i x=ɪkǰ-(ǰ)-s
 LOC-jump-AUT=BACK-SUF-3SG
 ‘jump over something or someone.’

Example (310) is a bit different in that the predicate means “to cause something to go around or over something”. The context is that of mountain climbing, and I have glossed the predicate as “pass”.

- (310) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980: 81 #34)
 ǰlǰ=ɪk-m- s- k^w
 pass=BACK-MID-3SG-QUOT
 ‘(He came) over a mountain.’

Examples (311) through (315) imply the turning or flipping over of a canoe. The context is a capsizing event and the suffix **ikin/n* is not overtly translated in the examples. The predicate in these expressions is always “turn”,³⁹ and the lexical suffix denotes the relation “over”. This particular extension for the suffix obtains only in Bella Coola and Lushootseed in the data considered in this chapter.

- (311) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:87)
 pl=ik-m
 turn=BACK-MID
 ‘to capsize’

- (312) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:87)
 pl=ik-cut
 turn=BACK-RFLX
 ‘to play at turning over a canoe’

- (313) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:151)
 ka-pl=ik-l
 UNR-turn=BACK-IPL
 ‘or we’ll tip over’

³⁹ A turn implies rotation around a center or axis.

(314) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:296)

ʔaʔ pl=ik

PP-turn=BACK

'to be turned over'

(315) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)

ʔu- x̣ḳ*=ič

čəd

ASP-turn=BACK

1SG SB/OB

'The canoe turned over on me.'

The Halkomelem examples (316) through (318) are different in that the suffix **ikin/n* becomes abstract. It denotes vigilance during a period of time, as in "to watch over someone who is dead" in example (316), singing, as a shaman "sings over someone for effecting a cure" in example (317), and repeated action, as in "doing something over" in example (318) (Wayne Suttles p.c.). The predicates with which the suffix combines mean "be awake", "sing (ritual song)", and "fix".

(316) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

x̣*əỵ=icən

be awake=BACK

'watchman at a wake'

(317) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

ʔim n=əc- t

sing ritual song=BACK-TR

'sing a song with rattle for a person'

(318) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

θéy=əcən

fix=BACK

'change the wrappings of the dead'

We see that the meaning OVER for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains mostly with predicates of motion, such as "jump", "turn", and "climb". The suffix acquires an abstract meaning in Halkomelem, where it denotes the duration of an action in time, an action performed for another

with the intention of healing, requiring ritual locations for performer and recipient, or a task that must be redone.

3.4.2.5 *ikiñ/n denoting other senses of “over”.

This section addresses an extension of the suffix that I have labeled OVER₂. The implied meaning of the suffix is OVER in the sense of COVER OVER. It obtains with predicates denoting surface coverage and its source concept is the extension SURFACE. The semantic path of the suffix is BACK > SURFACE > OVER₂.

Figure 26 below shows the configuration of this semantic extension.

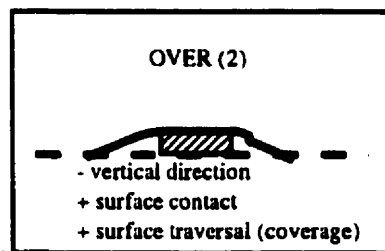


Figure 26: Features Underlying the Relational Extension OVER₂.

In examples (319) through (322) *ikiñ/n forms part of expressions whose English translation is “cover”.

(319) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

šxʷ=iç-t

cover=BACK-TR

‘cover it (a surface)’

(320) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-šxʷ=içən

NOM-cover=BACK

‘covered (surface)’

(321) Lushootsed (Bates et al. 1994:257)

šac=ič- əb tə tibu

cover=BACK-MID DET table

‘Cover the table.’

If an object is conceived as being in between, it is in an intermediate relation to two other entities, i.e. it is located in the middle. In contexts depicting movement, like “the ball went in **through** the fence”, the ball follows a trajectory that puts it on the other side of the fence. This movement can be construed as a ball going **BETWEEN** the slats that constitute the fence.

The extension **BETWEEN** for the suffix **ikin/n* obtains in examples (325) through (327).

- (325) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:113)
ḳy=*iḳn*-*me*
 squeeze dry=BACK-MID
 ‘dry and straighten soaked material by passing and squeezing it between knife and finger’
- (326) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:363)
*n-tš**=*iḳn*=*i**x*
 LOC-straight=BACK=AUT
 ‘go through a fence [between two things lying straight and horizontally (logs or wires)]’⁴⁰

There is no overt morphological marking of plurality in these examples, yet the glosses explicitly indicate two objects through which a moving object passes. The relation that holds is **BETWEEN**—in these cases, an entity displacing through two stationary points.

3.4.4. Summary and distribution of relational extensions by branch.

This section addresses the distribution of relational extensions that obtain for **ikin/n*. Table VIII below graphs by branch the relational extensions of **ikin/n*.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
BACK “Behind”	•	•		•	•
BACK “On/Across	•	•		•	•
BACK “Above”		•		•	
BACK “Over”	•	•	•	•	
BACK “Between”				•	

TABLE VIII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS

⁴⁰ See note 12.

Relational extensions do not refer to concrete things or entities, nor do they refer to inherent attributes or parts of things. Rather, they describe spatial relations. In this respect, they are akin to, and translated by, prepositions in the English glosses.

Relational extensions are found in all branches of the family. It could be argued that the suffix **ikiñ/n* conveys just one relational meaning which gets translated into English with different prepositions.

Figure 28 below shows the relational extensions of the suffix **ikiñ/n* BACK.

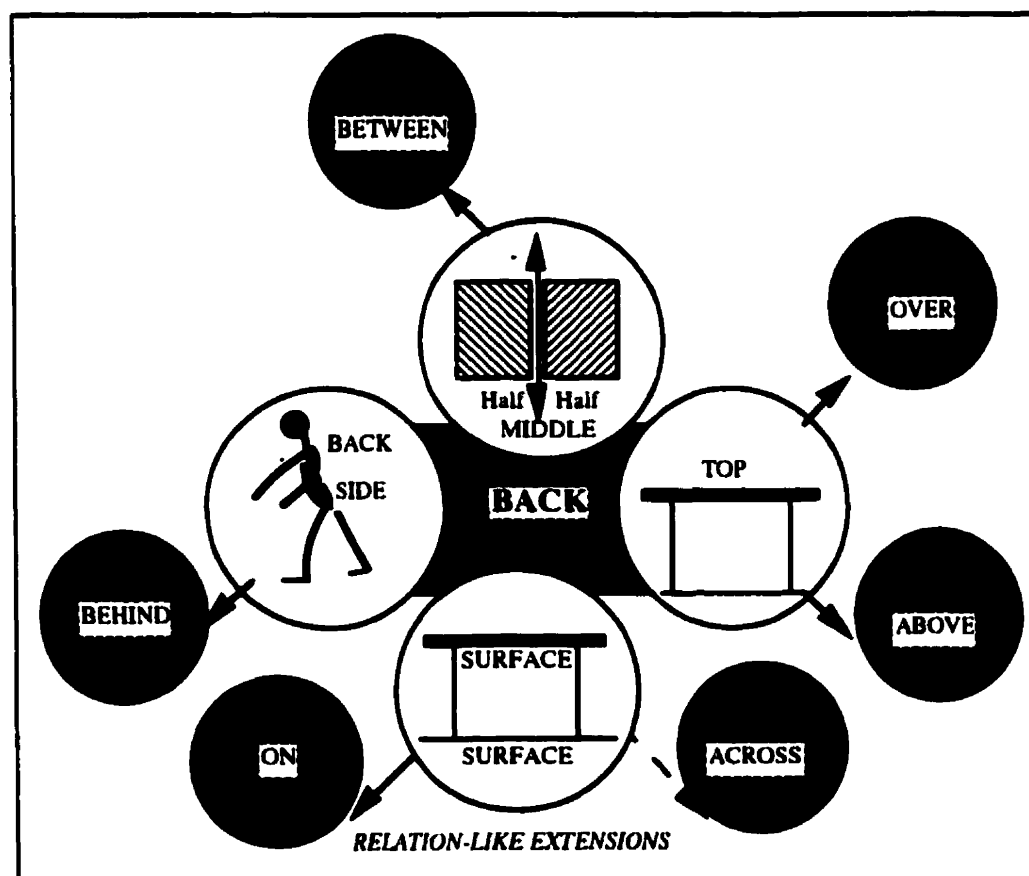


Figure 28: The Schema of Relational Extensions.

3.5 Summary of the semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix **ikiñ/n*.

This section summarizes the semantic extensions of **ikiñ/n* BACK in radial category format. Figure 28 represents the relations between the different meanings of the polysemous lexical suffix **ikiñ/n*. These relations are based on perceived or imputed similarity to the central meaning of the suffix.

The central meaning of the category is the concept **BACK**, denoting the back of humans or animals, and the vertebral column. The “location on back” is the source concept for what is called here the **Bearer/Burden Relation**. Locational meanings have their source in body-part extensions of the suffix. Relational meanings have their source in the locational readings of the suffix and in the lexical semantics of the predicates with which the suffix combines.

Figure 29 below shows the radial category BACK.

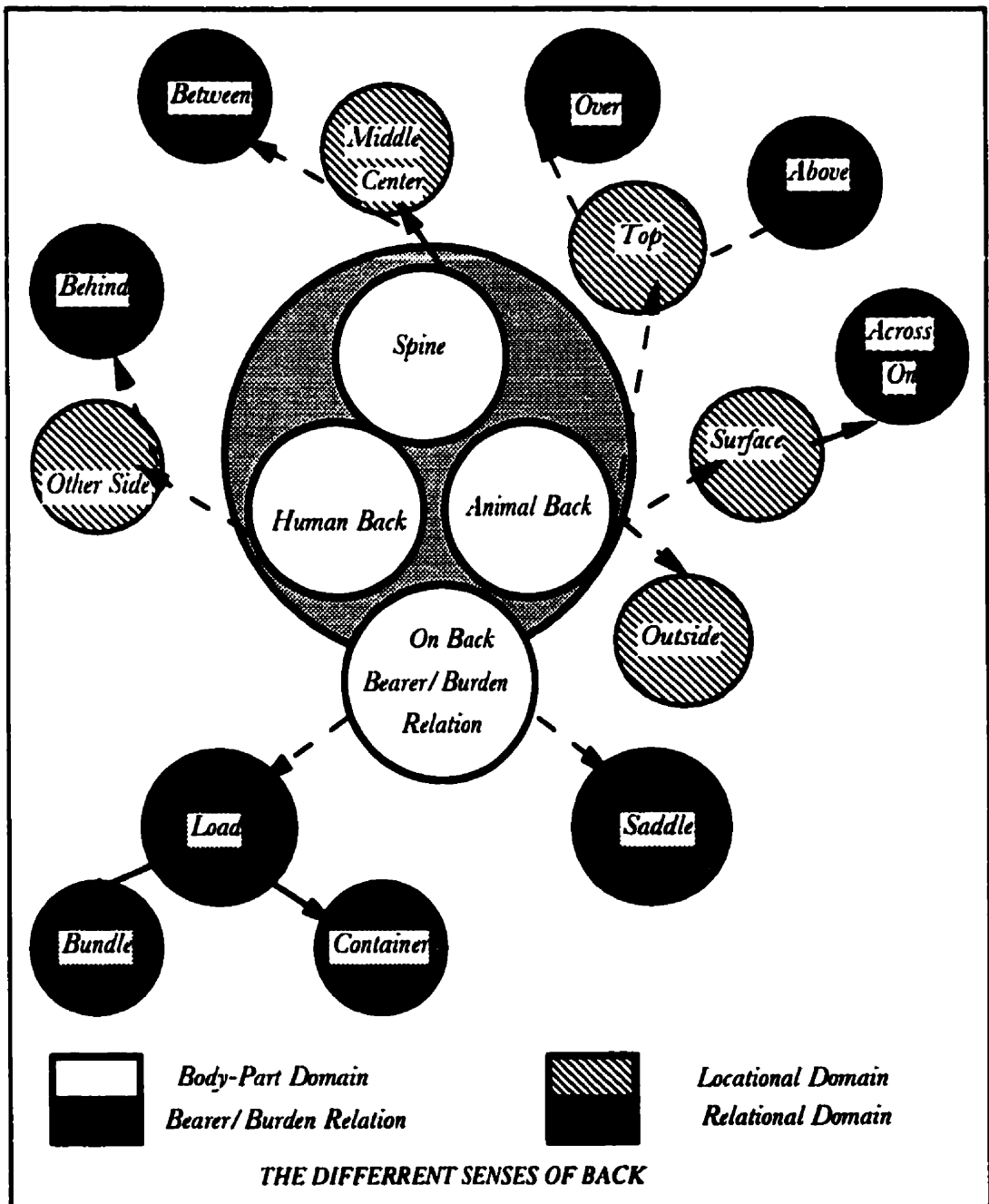


Figure 29: Radial Category of the Meanings of the Suffix **ikin/n*.

▭ Defines the central meaning of the category BACK. The prototypes HUMAN BACK and ANIMAL BACK obtain through the mediation of orientation templates. The central meaning of the category is also the source of the BEARER/BURDEN RELATION extensions.

█ Defines the extensions that obtain from the BEARER/BURDEN RELATION, i.e. SADDLE and LOAD. The extension LOAD motivates the sub-types CONTAINER and BUNDLE.

▨ Defines the locational extensions that obtain from the body part BACK through metaphorical transfers. The pertinent concepts included in this domain are OTHER SIDE, SURFACE, TOP, MIDDLE/CENTER and OUTSIDE.

█ Defines the relational extensions that obtain for the suffix **ikin/n*. The pertinent concepts included in this domain are BEHIND, ON, ACROSS, OVER and BETWEEN.

The arrangement of related senses in the radial category conveys the connections between the different meanings of the suffix and the central core of the category. A radial category is a complex cognitive category characterized by having subcategories and extensions of these.

3.6 Distribution of semantic extensions by language.

Tracing a semantic extension through the different languages of the Salish family can give an idea about the relative time depth of the extension. The assumption here is that extensions that are found throughout the family are very old and probably date back to Proto-Salish. Conversely, specialized extensions, or extensions found only in certain branches of the family are probably innovations having a shallower time depth.

The distribution by language of the semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix **ikin/n* is shown in table IX below. Not every meaning extension is attested in this corpus for all languages of the family. However, this by no means ensures that the extension was not present in those languages at one point. It might be that a particular extension is not recorded in existing grammars or dictionaries, or that the appropriate context for a specific meaning of the suffix was not elicited by the researcher working on the language.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Squamish	Halkomelem	Saanich	Lushootseed	Quinault	Upper Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Spokane	Kalispel	Coeur d'Alene
BODY PART MEANINGS															
BACK "Human back"	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Animal back"	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Spine"	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•			
BEARER/BURDEN RELATION EXTENSIONS															
BACK "Load"			•		•				•	•	•				
BACK "Bundle"		•	•		•				•	•	•	•			•
BACK "Container"			•		•	•	•		•	•		•			
BACK "Saddle"								•	•	•	•	•	•		
LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS															
BACK "Other side"	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	•		•			
BACK "Surface"	•	•	•		•		•		•	•		•			•
BACK "Top"	•		•				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "Outside"													•	•	
BACK "Middle/center"	•				•		•	•		•		•			
RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS															
BACK "Behind"	•	•				•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•
BACK "On/across"	•	•	•		•				•		•			•	
BACK "Above/over"	•	•	•		•				•	•					
BACK "Between"									•			•			

 Bella Coola
  Central
  Tsamosan
  N. Interior
  S. Interior

TABLE IX: DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS BY LANGUAGE

Table IX shows the range of semantic extensions for **ikin/n* throughout the family.

- The extensions HUMAN BACK and ANIMAL BACK are attested in every language considered in this chapter.
- Expressions denoting SPINE with the suffix **ikin/n* are attested in Central Salish languages, except Halkomelem. These expressions are also attested in Columbian (but not in

the other Southern Interior Salish languages), in Bella Coola, and in Northern Interior Salish.

- Extensions denoting loads or containers derive from the BEARER/BURDEN RELATION and are attested in Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, Quinault, Upper Chehalis, Thompson Shuswap, and Columbian.
- Extensions denoting SADDLE are attested in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbian, and Spokane.
- Locational extension are attested in Bella Coola, Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- Relational extensions are attested in Bella Coola, Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, Quinault, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene.

Summing up, the study of the synchronic meanings of the suffix allowed the positing of a network of relations based on perceived similarity between the different members of the category and the central core. The distribution of extensions clearly shows that the core meaning of the suffix has the widest distribution.

3.7 Conclusion.

The body-part lexical suffix **ikin/n* BACK conveys more than one meaning. Its polysemy is explained by postulating semantic paths for the different extensions of the suffix where all synchronic extensions are connected to a central meaning. The interpretation of the synchronic meanings considers the historical, cultural, and cognitive forces that may have shaped them.

Reconstructing the suffix required finding instances of the suffix in as many languages as possible. The suffix is attested as BACK throughout the family, though every extended meaning of the suffix is not attested in every language of the family.

The Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics affects the extensions that obtain for the suffix **ikin/n*. Examples (327) through (348) come from different branches of the Salish family and show the importance of predicate semantics.

As adjunct to stative predicates such as HURT or SORE that describe an animate entity's physical discomfort or damage, the only possible meaning for the suffix is the body part "back":

(327) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #101)

ǰəł=əwíc

sore=BACK

'have an aching back'

(328) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:173)

n-sk*=íkn

LOC-sore=BACK

'He'll have a sore back.'

As an adjunct to predicates such as CUT, STRIKE, HIT that involve a physical activity performed on an animate entity, the lexical suffix also refers to the body part "back":

(329) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)

x*-íəm=əwíč

PRFX-strike=BACK

'He got hit on the back'

(330) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1535)

n-íəm=íkn

POS-cut (redup.)=BACK

'I got cut on the back.'

As an adjunct to predicates such as LEAN and LIE, which describe a position of the body, the suffix refers to the body part "back" in contact with a surface:

(331) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:226)

c-xlə?=íkn-əm

RSLT-lie spread out=BACK-MID

'to lie down on one's back'

- (332) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:142)
 n-łaʔ=k-ám̃
 LOC-lean=BACK-MID
 'to lean with one's back against something'

As an adjunct to predicates whose action takes place over a physical expanse, such as FREEZE and SKIM, the extension of the suffix is SURFACE.

- (333) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:228)
 n-paŋʷ=íkń
 LOC=freeze=BACK
 'get layer of ice on top'

- (334) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:53)
 s-čəp̃=al=ič̃
 NOM-stagnant=CON=BACK
 'stagnant water, swamp'

- (335) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1505)
 ka t-qʷəŋʷ-p=ík n
 POS-slide, slip-ASP=BACK
 'slide on ice'

- (336) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:456)
 zéw=kń-m e
 skim=BACK-BACK
 'skim scum off jelly'

As an adjunct to predicates such as WRAP or TIE, the extension of the suffix denotes the wrapped object itself, i.e. a BUNDLE.

- (337) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 ʃq=ič̃-yi-d
 wrap=BACK-BENEFACTIVE-TR
 'wrap something for someone'

(338) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)

ɬ-kʷixʷ=kɲ-nt

RSLT-untie=BACK-TR

'untie a bundle or load'

As an adjunct to predicates that describe a spatial reference point, the extension of the suffix denotes that point, i.e. TOP.

(339) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:166)

kuɬ=ik-am

area=BACK-MID

'go to the top of something'

(340) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:211)

ʃq=áɬ=íč

above=CON=BACK

'high on top (of mountain)'

(341) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:388)

s-xʔ=ikɲ

NOM-high=BACK

'top of mountain'

As an adjunct to predicates that imply the end point of a trajectory, the extension of the suffix denotes that end point, i.e., BACK SIDE/OTHER SIDE.

(342) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:285)

s-t=aý=č-s

ta lamʔ

NOM-unglossed=CON=BACK-3POSS DET house

'back side of house'

(343) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #67)

s-nəʔ=ícən

NOM-be there=BACK

'other side, that side'

As an adjunct to predicates that describe an ascending motion, such as CLIMB or JUMP. the extension of the suffix is OVER.

(344) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:9 #50)

ʔasʰs-sqʷ=ik-is

NEG-jump=BACK-3SG

'He did not jump over it.'

(345) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

čá·l̄=ɛc

land atop=BACK

'go over a hill' ⁴¹

As an adjunct to predicates such as RUN and CUT that describe motion with horizontal displacement or surface traversal, the extension of the suffix is ACROSS.

(346) Okanagan (Mattina 1987: 35)

kɪ-qc-əlx=ikəñ

DIR-run-AUT=BACK

'run across a snow crust'

(347) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #66)

íqʷ=éʔl=ɛc

be severed=CON=BACK

'take a short cut (as a pass between islands)'

As an adjunct to predicates describing a falling or descending motion, such as POUR, RAIN, SNOW, FALL, the extension of the suffix is ON.

(348) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:129)

ʔu-kʷl̄=ič-əd čəd

ASP-pour=BACK-TR 1SG

'I poured it on him.'

These remarks on predicate semantics are intended as mere observations and as a departure point for further research on the polysemy of lexical suffixes.

⁴¹ This is the Cowichan cognate of example (345).

(i) Cowichan (Wayne Suttles p.c.)

kʷe·l̄ = ɛc

climb = BACK

'go over a hill'

The multiple meanings of the lexical suffixes for ABDOMEN and BACK discussed thus far do not portray the actual world. Rather, these meanings convey the experience of the world that speakers perceive. Research on conceptual transfer establishes several source models for locative or spatial expressions in language. The most frequent source models are body parts and landmarks (Svorou 1988:135-152). This axiom proves true in Salish, where the body parts “belly” and “back”, expressed by the lexical suffixes **aŋ/nak* and **ikiŋ/n*, acquire locative meaning under both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic interpretation.

Chapter Four: The Suffix EAR.

4.0 Introduction.

In this chapter, I present 337 examples of the lexical suffix for EAR in Salish. The examples have been selected from a data base of 540 examples that represent the entire Salish family. I examine the distribution of the synchronic senses of the suffix and establish a central meaning that accounts for its multiple semantic extensions.

We have seen that the lexical suffixes for ABDOMEN and BACK establish the FRONT/BACK axis for the human body and the TOP/BOTTOM axis in an animal's body.¹ Since lateral orientation follows from general orientation (Fillmore 1997:32), I will argue that the lexical suffix for EAR denotes the lateral axis of the human body and by extension the locational concept SIDE.

The lexical suffix for EAR has a prototypical range of meanings directly tied to the anatomical ear, and forms part of expressions denoting ornaments and other artifacts related to the ear. Other meanings of the suffix denote parts of the body that are matched pairs. Such expressions are rendered in English as braids, cheeks, temples, sideburns, shoulders, wings, horns, and flippers, and abstract the general location of the ear in the human body.

A second set of meanings for the suffix refer to the auditory ear. These meanings comprise abstract notions such as "listening", "understanding", "knowledge", and "belief". Shape extensions of the suffix refer to protruding entities, to the leaves of certain plants, and to the shells of certain mollusks. Locational extensions denote the sides of things or allude to entities situated on the side of the body. Alongside the above extensions, the suffix for EAR has a range of metaphorical and specialized meanings.

¹ Certain parts of the body, such as the forehead, the chin, and the belly, determine the positive direction of general orientation. The nape of the neck, the back, and the heels determine the negative direction. In addition, the direction of movement and the line of sight also establish the positive direction, while the direction of defecation establishes the negative direction. General orientation in humans is thus directed from the region of the kidneys in the back to the region of the stomach, and from the nape of the neck to the chin (Vandeloise 1991:90).

4.0.1 The data.

Table I below displays the sources for the data used in this chapter and the number of entries per language.

SOURCES "EAR"			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	PRINCIPAL SOURCES	NO.
Bella Coola		Davis (1980), Nater (1984), Saunders (1975)	35
Central Salish	Comox	Harris (1977)	2
	Squamish	Kuipers (1967)	15
	Musqueam	Suttles (in preparation a and b)	19
	Saanich	Montler (1986), Pidgeon (1970)	9
	Twana	Drachman (1969)	2
	Lushootseed	Bates (1994), Hess (1976)	38
Tsamosan	Quinault	Gibson (n.d.)	24
	Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	30
Interior (Northern)	Lillooet	van Eijk (1997), (1987)	49
	Thompson	Thompson and Thompson (1996)	72
	Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)	45
Interior (Southern)	Okanagan	Mattina (1987)	77
	Columbian	Kinkade (n.d.)	48
	Spokane	Carlson (1989)	47
	Coeur d'Alene	Reichard (1938), (1945)	8
	Kalispel	Vogt (1940)	26
Total			540

TABLE I: SOURCES FOR THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR EAR

4.0.2 The lexical suffix for EAR and the Salishan family tree.

Figure 1 below shows genetic relations amongst the Salish languages used in this chapter, differentiating between the data obtained from the sources mentioned in Table I and the data obtained from Haerberlin. Languages from which data was obtained are circled, and the form of the suffix appears below each circle. Languages marked with a square represent the set of examples obtained from Haerberlin.

The Haerberlin (1974:238) data below contains the lexical suffix for EAR in expressions that refer to the anatomical EAR.

Tillamook *i=áné*

Quinault, Lower Chehalis and Cowlitz *kwêl=án*

Clallam *k·waf=an*

Lummi (Straits) *kʷəʔ=ín*

Nooksack *kol=án*

Seshelt *qʷol=áda*

Pentatch *sxú=e·na.*

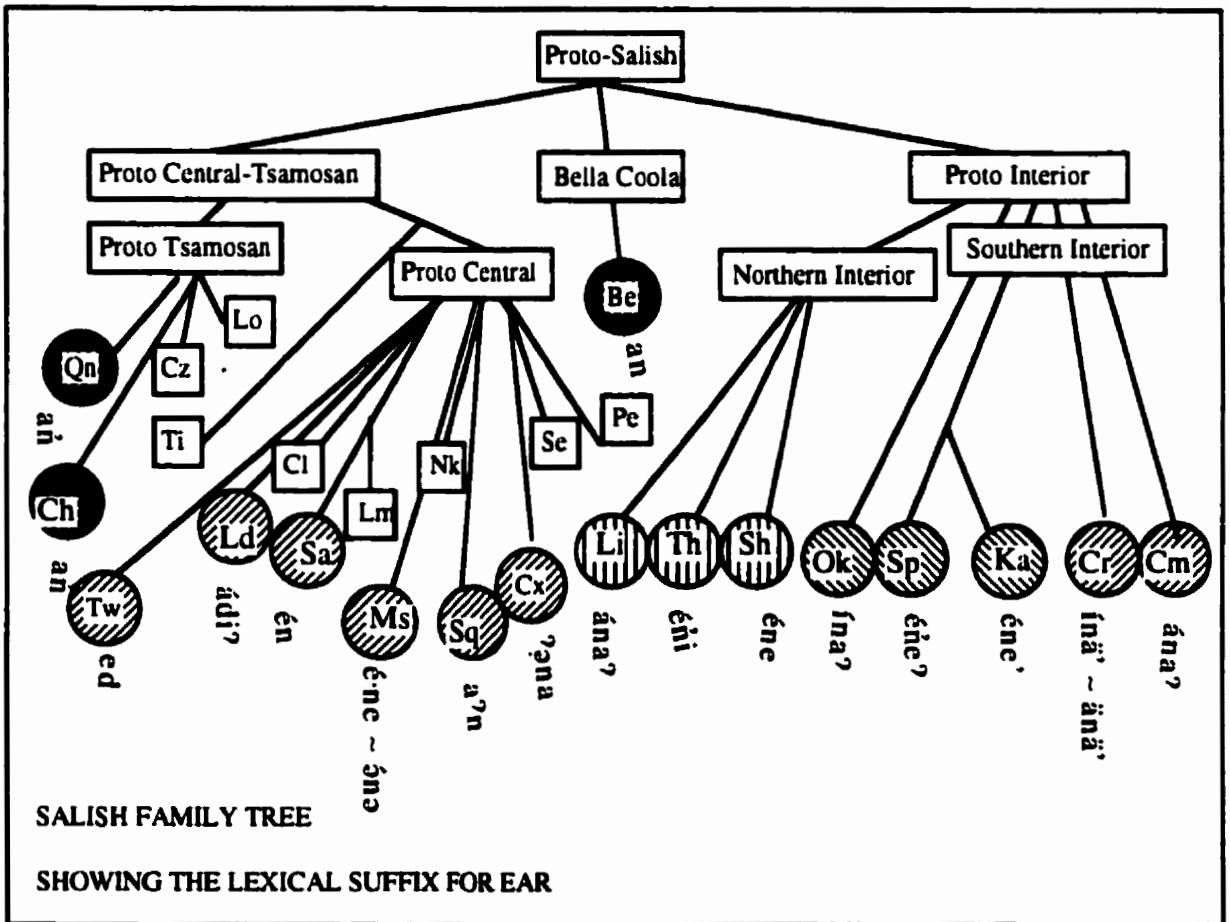


Figure 1: Salish Family Tree Showing the Lexical suffix for EAR.

The Haerberlin examples are included as tokens from extinct languages, or from languages that are not represented in the data used for this chapter.

4.0.3 The reconstructed form of the lexical suffix for EAR.

The different phonological forms of the lexical suffix for EAR appear in Tables II and III.

THE FORMS OF THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR EAR	
BELLA COOLA	
Bella Coola	an
TILLAMOOK	
Tillamook	áne
CENTRAL COAST	
Squamish	aṅ
Halkomelem	ənə
Lushootseed	adiʔ
Saanich	ənəʔ
TSAMOSAN DIVISION	
Quinault	aṅ
U. Chehalis	aṅ
INTERIOR DIVISION (N.W.)	
Lillooet	anaʔ
Thompson	eṅi ~ ṅi
Shuswap	eṅə ~ ene
INTERIOR DIVISION (S.W.)	
Okanagan	ínaʔ ~ naʔ
Columbian	ánaʔ ~ naʔ
Spokane	eneʔ ~ eṅeʔ ~ neʔ
Kalispel	eneʔ
Coeur d'Alene	eneʔ ~ ineʔ

TABLE II: THE DIFFERENT PHONOLOGICAL SHAPES OF THE SUFFIX FOR EAR

BELLA COOLA					
Bella Coola		a	n		
TILLAMOOK					
Tillamook		a	n	e	
CENTRAL COAST					
Squamish		a	ṅ		
Halkomelem		ə	n	ə	
Lushootseed		a	d	i	ʔ
Saanich		ə	n	ə	ʔ
TSAMOSAN					
Quinault		a	ṅ		
Upper Chehalis		a	ṅ		
INTERIOR					
Lillooet		a	n	a	ʔ
Thompson		e	ṅ/n	i	
Shuswap		e	ṅ/n	e	
Okanagan		i	n	a	ʔ
Columbian		a	n	a	ʔ
Spokane		e	ṅ/n	e	ʔ
Kalispel		e	n	e	ʔ
Coeur d'Alene		e/i	n	ä	ʔ
	*	a	n	a	ʔ

TABLE III: THE PROTO-FORM OF THE SUFFIX FOR EAR

Following Kinkade (1998:281), the posited-proto form for the suffix is **anaʔ*.² The proto-form does not have a glottalized resonant because in Squamish and Upper Chehalis the ʔ combines with the *n* after the loss of the intervening vowel. In Thompson and Shuswap the ʔ has migrated over the vowel to combine with the *n*. The Spokane =*eneʔ* would support positing a glottalized resonant in the proto-form, but this is not very strong support (Dale Kinkade p.c.). The posited form does not account for *i* as a second vowel in Lushootseed and Thompson.

4.0.4 The central meaning of the lexical suffix for EAR.

Synchronically, lexical suffixes have a number of interrelated senses, which are extensions and specializations of their central meanings. I am assuming here that the central meaning of the suffix **anaʔ* is the anatomical ear. I consider the meaning “ear” to be central because it tends to obtain in more contexts and with more frequency, and because it is the meaning that is thought of first when the suffix is mentioned. Thus, we can think of EAR as the prototypical meaning of the suffix. Non-prototypical meanings of the suffix are, in some cases, partially unanalyzable. Examples (1) and (2) below exemplify this point. In example (1) the suffix refers to the anatomical EAR. The semantic extension exemplified in (2) is opaque. It originates in a metaphorical transfer which is addressed in section 4.6.3 of this chapter.

(1) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:27)

k-ckʷckʷ=inaʔ

ASP/SLT-pull (redup.)=EAR

‘to pull the ears’

(2) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:43)

kʷu t-kəlxʷ=inaʔ

IPI RSLT-dark=EAR

‘We are late.’

The meaning “ear” for the suffix **anaʔ* appears to have greater cognitive salience than other meanings that obtain for the suffix. Historically, the most salient meaning of a lexical item is

² Kuipers reconstructs the suffix for EAR as **ana* and Kinkade reconstructs it as **anaʔ* (Kinkade 1998:281).

considered as prior in time, more entrenched, and more widely distributed. This is valid regarding the incidence of the meaning EAR for the suffix *ana?. For these reasons, I consider EAR to be the central meaning of the suffix, and also its proto-Salish meaning.

4.0.5 Categories of meaning that obtain for the lexical suffix *ana?.

The semantic extensions of the suffix *ana? EAR are categorized below into the following groups:

Anatomical adjacency extensions of the suffix for EAR:

EAR > TEMPLES (4.2.1)

EAR > CHEEKS (4.2.2)

EAR > SIDEBURNS (4.2.3)

EAR > BRAIDS (4.2.4)

EAR > SHOULDERS (4.2.5)

EAR > GILLS, EAR > FLIPPERS, EAR > WINGS (4.2.6)

Auditory extensions of the suffix for EAR:

EAR > SOUND (4.3.2)

Shape extensions of the suffix for EAR:

EAR > PROTRUSION (4.4.1)

EAR > SHELL (4.4.2)

EAR > LEAF (4.4.3)

Locational extensions of the suffix for EAR:

EAR > SIDE (4.5.1)

EAR > CORNER (4.5.2)

Relational extensions of the suffix for EAR:

EAR > OVER (4.6.1)

EAR > ON (4.6.3)

ANATOMICAL MEANINGS: Example (3) typifies the anatomical meaning of the suffix.

EAR “Anatomical ear”

- (3) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:167)
es-ən-št'éné?
ASP-LOC-one long object to stand=EAR
'It is stuck in his ear.'

ADJACENCY DERIVED EXTENSIONS: Examples (4) through (10) denote pairs located on the sides of the body, paralleling the location of the ears.

EAR “Braids”

- (4) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:240)
s-t-ǵ̣le=ʔéñe
NOM-LOC-braid=EAR
'person with braids'

EAR “Cheeks”

- (5) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:122)
ciq=añ
stab=EAR
'get one cheek stabbed'³

EAR “Temples”

- (6) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)
x-ḳm=éne
LOC-area, surface=EAR
'temple (of head)'

EAR “Sideburns”

- (7) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:378)
ʔəs-n-up=éñi
ASP-LOC-hair=EAR
'style of long sideburns'

EAR “Gills”

- (8) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:81)
n-č̣em=l=ánaʔ
LOC-bone=CON=EAR
'bone around the gill'

³ I will write the Squamish form of the suffix =aʔn as =añ.

EAR “Shoulders”

- (9) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:341)
taχ=ñi
paddle=EAR
'shoulder blade'

EAR “Wings”

- (10) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:380)
yəl=añ
unglossed=EAR
'wing'

AUDITORY OR INTERNAL EAR: Examples (11) through (14) address meaning extensions of the suffix that denote the sensory function of the EAR, i.e. the sense of hearing.

EAR “Auditory ear”

- (11) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:163)
čín séu=neʔ
1SG ask=EAR
'I listen.'
- (12) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:49)
m-ks=inaʔ-m-nt
ASP-bad=EAR-SUF-TR
'make someone angry by saying things'
- (13) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:166)
čín n-súxʷ=neʔ
1SG LOC-understand=EAR
'I understand.'

EAR “Sound”

- (14) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5)
χəl=ídiʔ
sound=EAR
'noise'

SHAPE EXTENSIONS: Examples (15) through (17) illustrate the shape extensions that obtain for the suffix **anaʔ*. These extensions stem from the shape and size of the external ear and denote entities whose shape, location, function, or size resemble the EAR.

EAR “Protrusion”

- (15) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)
kʷəd-əb=adiʔ
grab-SUF=EAR
'handle'

EAR “Shell”

- (16) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:65)
s-kʷkʷrʔ=inaʔ
NOM-cracked (redup.)=EAR
'clam shell, mussel'

EAR “Leaf”

- (17) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:249)
s-xʷy=inaʔ
NOM-unglossed=EAR
'prickly pear cactus'

LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Examples (18) and (20) exemplify the locational extensions that obtain for the suffix.

EAR “Side”

- (18) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:35)
k-skʷt=inaʔ
ASP/RSLT-one side=EAR
'the other side'
- (19) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:108)
n-səwsíw=anaʔ
LOC-move over (redup.)=EAR
'move along the side of the road'

EAR “Corner”

- (20) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
ʔas=an
LOC=EAR
'corner'

RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Examples (21) through (23) describe the relational extensions of the lexical suffix for EAR.

EAR “Over”

- (21) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:173)
čł-x*épe=neʔ-n
LOC=spread hide=EAR-1SG
'I spread it on him.'

EAR “On”

- (22) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:290)
zəłq=ánaʔ
topple=EAR
'wood or rocks fall on something'
- (23) Spokane (Carlson 1989:21)
čn čł-čʔeʔey=éneʔ
1SG LOC-dry, dark (redup.)=EAR
'Autumn came on me.'

The semantic categories that obtain for the suffix **anaʔ* have been described above. These categories have counterparts in other languages of the world genetically unrelated to Salish. The fact that analogous semantic extensions obtain for the body part “ear” in genetically unrelated languages reinforces the hypothesis that EAR is the central meaning for the suffix.

The following examples come from Papantla Totonac, a language spoken in Mexico (Levy 1992). The body-part prefix *aq-* denotes the anatomical “ear” in Papantla Totonac, and the semantic extensions that obtain for this prefix are similar to the meanings that obtain for the suffix **anaʔ* in Salish. Table IV below illustrates the extensions that obtain for the prefix EAR in Papantla Totonac.

PAPANTLA TOTONAC (Levy 1992)		
ANATOMICAL EAR		
aqa- chaq'- i· kin- kam EAR-wash-TR my-kid		'I wash my kids' ears.'
EARRING		
aqa- nu-nan EAR-something hangs		'He wears earrings.'
SENSE OF HEARING OR AUDITORY EAR		
aqa-pina EAR-go		'He listens when he pays attention.'
UNDERSTAND, KNOW BELIEVE		
aqa-wa·n-nan EAR-do		'He understands.'
PROTRUSION		
aqa-pa'qlh EAR-break	ní-t-xa·lu PRFX-jug	'He broke the jug's handle.'
aqa-staj'-ma EAR-drip-ASP	ki'wi tree	'The tree branches are dripping.'

TABLE IV : PAPANTLA TOTONAC

Table V shows the extensions that obtain for the prefix *da^a*- EAR in Takelma (Sapir 1922:77).

TAKELMA (Sapir 1922)		
ANATOMICAL EAR		
daa- ts'agāp' EAR-wash		'He washed his ears.'
AUDITORY EAR		
daa- aganí- n EAR-hear -1SG		'I heard it.'
SIDE		
daa- gelām EAR-river		'along the river'
BRAIDS		
di·i daa- t'béck't'bagams EAR		'They had their hair tied on the sides.'
CHEEKS		
daa- i-lats'agí-n EAR-touch-1SG		'I touched his cheek.'

TABLE V: TAKELMA

The Papantla Totonac and Takelma examples above establish a universal background for the semantic extensions that obtain for the lexical suffix EAR. Like the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR, the prefixes *aqā-* EAR and *da^a-* EAR denote ornaments and artifacts connected to the anatomical ear, the auditory functions of the ear, projections and protrusions, and the lateral axis of the human body. Takelma and Papantla Totonac are not genetically related to Salish nor to each other; thus the similarity of the semantic extensions that obtain for the anatomical “ear” cross-linguistically suggests a universal cognitive pattern.

4.1 The external anatomical ear.

This section addresses the prototypical range of meanings for the suffix **anaʔ*. The suffix refers primarily to the external anatomical ear and to objects and utensils related to the ear. The shape of the external ear, the location of the ear in relation to the general orientation of the body, and the fact that ears are matching pairs of body organs are the source concepts from where the semantic extensions of the suffix **anaʔ* arise. Figure 2 below sketches the external ear.



Figure 2: The Anatomical Ear.

Section 4.1.1 addresses extensions of the suffix that denote the external ear. Section 4.1.1.1 addresses extensions of the suffix **anaʔ* that refer to the secretion of the ear. Section 4.1.1.2

addresses extensions denoting artifacts related to the ear. Section 4.1.1.3 addresses expressions where the suffix **anaʔ* combines with active predicates and functions as an incorporated object. Section 4.1.1.4 addresses constructions where the suffix **anaʔ* combines with stative predicates and the whole expression denotes a physical condition affecting the ear. Section 4.1.1.5 addresses expressions where the suffix **anaʔ* appears in terms of animal nomenclature.

4.1.1 **anaʔ* denoting the external “ear”.

The most frequent meaning of the suffix **anaʔ* in this chapter is the anatomical “ear”. The lexical suffix for EAR attaches to distinct roots in the different branches of the family when denoting the anatomical “ear”.

Examples (24) through (29) come from the Central Salish and Tsamosan branches and exhibit the root **qʷl ~ qʷəw* to which the suffix **anaʔ* attaches.

- (24) Comox (Davis 1970:78)
qʷəwa=anə
 unglossed=EAR
 ‘ear’

- (25) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:122)
qʷəl=an
 unglossed=EAR
 ‘ear’

- (26) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:196)
qʷəl=ádiʔ
 unglossed=EAR
 ‘ear’

- (27) Twana (Drachman 1969:118)
qʷəlʔqʷəl=de
 unglossed (redup.)=EAR
 ‘ears’

- (28) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.90.7)
qʷl̥i=an
 unglossed=EAR
 ‘ear’

(29) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:117)

q̣*al=áṇ

unglossed=EAR

'ear'

Example (30) has the same root as the above examples, but the expression denotes deafness.

(30) Saanich (Montler 1986:80)

q̣*əlé?⇒n

unglossed=EAR

'deaf'

Examples (31) through (36) come from Interior Salish and also denote the anatomical ear.

These expressions contain a single consonant to which the suffix *ana' attaches.

(31) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:122)

ǰ=áṇaʔ

empty morph=EAR

'ear'

(32) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:797)

ǰ=éni

empty morph=EAR

'ear'

(33) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:83)

ṭ=éne

empty morph=EAR

'ear'

(34) Spokane (Carlson 1989:177)

ṭ= éneʔ

empty morph=EAR

'ear'

(35) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:308)

ṭ= ínaʔ

empty morph=EAR

'ear'

- (36) Columbian (Kinkade 1998:272)
 t̥=anaʔ
 empty morph=EAR
 'ear'

Kinkade (1998) argues that the [Consonant + Lexical Suffix] forms are the original forms from which the suffix derives. Central Salish and Tsamosan have [Root+ Lexical Suffix] forms to denote the anatomical “ear”, as in examples (24) through (29), whereas Interior Salish has the older [Consonant + Lexical Suffix] form, as in examples (31) through (36). The suggested historical and morphological developments do not affect the pattern of semantic extensions that obtains for the suffix *anaʔ.

4.1.1.1 *anaʔ in expressions denoting a part of the ear or a secretion of the ear.

This section addresses expressions denoting a part of the ear or the secretion of the ear, i.e. ear wax. Examples (37) and (38) come from Bella Coola and Columbian and denote parts of the “ear”:

- (37) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 ʔas-als=ik=an
 LOC-inside=BACK=EAR⁴
 'inner ear'

- (38) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #558)
 s-k-lúp=naʔ
 NOM-POS-unglossed=EAR
 'ear lobe'

Examples (39) through (42) come from Bella Coola and Interior Salish and denote “ear wax”, the natural secretion of the ear.

- (39) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 s- t̥wkʷ=als=ik=an
 NOM-bleed (?)-inside=BACK=EAR
 'ear wax'

⁴ The suffix for BACK extends to denote CENTER/MIDDLE. This explains the meanings “inner ear” and “ear wax” in examples (37) and (39).

- (40) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:91)
 ćúq*=ana?
 scab=EAR
 'ear wax'
- (41) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:168)
 s-x-ck=éne
 NOM-LOC-hard spot=EAR
 'ear wax'
- (42) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #555)
 s-na-q*úq*=na?
 NOM-POS-unglossed (redup.)=EAR
 'ear wax'

The predicates in the above examples are not cognate and speak to the variety of possible root-lexical suffix combinations that may form a given concept. Presumably, the rendering of the concept "ear wax" in the above utterances describes the perceived physical properties of the substance. We see that miscellaneous referential expressions containing the lexical suffix **ana* denote a part of the ear or the secretion of the ear.

4.1.1.2 **ana* in expressions denoting artifacts related to the ear.

The following examples come from Interior Salish and denote items used over or around the ears. These expressions represent new coinages describing items introduced after contact time.

Examples (43) through (45) come from Northern Interior Salish and denote ear-muffs and earphones.

- (43) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:117)
 n-qp=ána?-tən
 LOC-cover=EAR-INSTR
 'ear muffs'
- (44) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:207)
 nəq*=ána?-tən
 warm=EAR-INSTR
 'ear muffs'

- (45) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:151)
 n-ləm tʊm =ní-tn
 LOC-install (redup.)=EAR-INSTR
 'earphones'

Examples (46) through (49) come from Southern Interior Salish and denote a head-rest.

- (46) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:158)
 s-n-qaʔ=ínaʔ
 NOM-LOC-get stuck=EAR
 'pillow, head or ear rest'
- (47) Spokane (Carlson 1989:19)
 n-čʔ=éneʔ
 LOC-rounded=EAR
 'pillow'
- (48) Spokane (Carlson 1989:80)
 n-ǫʔǫʔm=éneʔ
 LOC-piled up material (redup.)=EAR
 'piled up material used as a pillow'
- (49) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:142)
 s-ən-čeʔ=éneʔ
 NOM-LOC-put down round object=EAR
 'pillow'

The suffix **anaʔ* forms part of expressions that denote ear-related artifacts in Interior Salish. Within the data examined in this chapter it appears that the suffix is more productive in Interior Salish.

4.1.1.3 **anaʔ* as an incorporated object denoting the anatomical ear.

This section addresses instances where the lexical suffix **anaʔ* functions as an incorporated object. The suffix **anaʔ* refers to the ear in these expressions and combines with predicates that are typically transitive.

The predicates in examples (50) through (54) denote the action of punching.

- (50) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
qup̣=aq=ik=an
strike with the fist=SUF=BACK=EAR
'to punch someone behind the ear'⁵
- (51) Lillooet (Martina Pierre p.c.)
tup=ánaʔ-əm
punch with the fist=EAR-MID
'to punch someone's ear'
- (52) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #17)
iʰq̣ʷ=ánə-t
strike with the fist=EAR-TR
'hit him on the ear'
- (53) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:70)
n-čq̣=éni
LOC-hit=EAR
'get hit on ear'
- (54) Spokane (Carlson 1989:99)
n-íq̣ʷ=éneʔ-n
LOC-slap=EAR-1SG
'I boxed his ears.'

The predicates in examples (55) through (59) denote the action of cutting.

- (55) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:32)
q̣əm=án-ət
take clean off=EAR-TR
'take off his ear'
- (56) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:30)
čuč=án
cut off=EAR
'cut off an ear'

⁵ BEHIND is a meaning extension of the suffix for BACK.

- (57) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.90.7)
 hɪʔn čit šíp-ən šnuʔ qʷtí=án
 LOC unglossed hit-TR unglossed unglossed=EAR
 'I hit him on the ear.'
- (58) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:154)
 čin čən-ničč=éneʔ
 1SG PREVERB-cut (completive)=EAR
 'My ear got cut.'
- (59) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #538)
 k-tím̄m=ánaʔ
 POS-cut (redup.)=EAR
 'He cut his ear.'

The predicates in examples (60) and (61) denote the action of washing.

- (60) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:32)
 čəkʷ=án-ət
 wash=EAR -TR
 'wash your ears'
- (61) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:7)
 čàgʷ=əl=diʔ-b
 wash=CON=EAR-MID
 'wash ears'

The predicates in examples (62) through (67) denote actions such as 'stab', "scratch", "pick", "poke", and "pull".

- (62) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:275)
 ciq=y=án
 stab=CON=EAR
 'stab someone in the ear'
- (63) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:95)
 n-sup=ánaʔ-əm
 LOC-scratch=EAR-MID
 'to scratch one's ear'

- (64) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ʔkʷ=ənə-t
 pick with ends of finger=EAR-TR
 'grab someone by the ear'
- (65) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:195)
 x-lʔ=éne
 LOC-poke=EAR
 'get poked in the ear'
- (66) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:73)
 n-čxʷ=éni-n-s
 LOC-drip slow=EAR-TR-3SG
 'put drops in someone's ear'
- (67) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:27)
 k-ckʷckʷ=inaʔ
 ASP/RSLT-to pull (redup.)=EAR
 'to pull the ears'

The Coeur d'Alene example number (68) is translated by Reichard as "he was ear-sprinkled" emphasizing the fact that the suffix incorporates to the predicate.

- (68) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:565)
 hɪn ɪəlɪəl=eneʔ-ent-əm
 LOC-sprinkle (redup.)=EAR-SUF-MID
 'he was ear-sprinkled'

Summing up, the examples above are cases of object incorporation where the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR attaches to transitive active predicates.

The following examples denote the perforation of the ears for wearing ornaments or earrings. Semantically, expressions (69) through (73) below denote ear piercing, and their predicates have glosses such as "prick", "make a hole", "tear", and "perforate". The lexical suffix **anaʔ* refers to the anatomical ear.

- (69) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:13)
 nu-cq=als=ik=an
 PRFX-prick-inside=BACK=EAR
 'to have a pierced ear'⁶
- (70) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #17)
 q^ué=ne[?]-t
 pass through=EAR-TR
 'pierce the ears'
- (71) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.40.11)
 łúk^v=ań
 pierce=EAR
 'pierced ear'
- (72) Upper Chchalis (Kinkade 1991:61)
 cłq^v=ń
 tear=EAR
 'ear torn (after being pierced)'
- (73) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:247)
 ǰətq=ána[?]
 pierce=EAR
 'pierced ear'

Expressions (74) and (75) denote pierced ears and contain an aspectual prefix.

- (74) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:423)
 ʔəs-ǰəpǰə=éńi
 ASP-prick (redup.)=EAR
 'have pierced ears'
- (75) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:157)
 es-ptk^v=éne[?]
 ASP-perforate=EAR
 'His ear is perforated.'

Expressions (76) and (77) are nominalizations and denote pierced ears.

⁶ See footnote 4.

(76) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:296)
s-q*əh=ay=añ
NOM-hole through=CON=EAR
'holes through the ears'⁷

(77) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #547)
s-š*aŋš*aŋ=ánaʔ
NOM-holes (redup.)=EAR
'pierced ears'

Examples (78) through (82) denote earrings and come from Central Salish and Tsamosan languages. These expressions are nominalizations and contain predicates such as “pierce”, “spear”, and “stretch”.

(78) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
s-čq*=ənə
NOM-pierce=EAR
'earring'

(79) Lushootsed (Hess 1976:6)
s-šəg*=adiʔ
NOM-spear=EAR
'earring'

(80) Saanich (Montler 1986:80)
s-šq*=ən
NOM-unglossed=EAR
'earring'

(81) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:32)
s-q̣*=ənəʔ
NOM-stretch (?)=EAR
'earring'

⁷ The root in this example is apparently cognate with that of the Halkomelem example (70).

- (82) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.38.6)
 łúkʷ=áʔən-uʔ
 pierce=EAR-DIMIN
 'earring'

The Southern Interior examples (84) through (85) are nominalizations denoting the concept "earring".

- (83) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:181)
 s-n-ʔacʔac=inaʔ
 NOM-LOC-tie (redup.)=EAR
 'earrings'
- (84) Spokane (Carlson 1989:126)
 s-n-ʔacʔac=éneʔ
 NOM-LOC-tie (redup.)=EAR
 'earrings'
- (85) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:137)
 sə-n-aʔc=éneʔ
 NOM-LOC-tie=EAR
 'earring'

The Northern Interior examples (86) through (88) below also denote the concept "earring". These root-lexical suffix combinations do not require the nominalizer *s-* nor an instrumental suffix.

- (86) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:214)
 qə́lq=ánaʔ
 ornament=EAR
 'earring'
- (87) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:208)
 knp̓=éne
 squeeze=EAR
 'earring'

- (88) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:97)
 ḳz=éni
 prick=EAR
 'earring'

We see that predications denoting ear-piercing have active predicates, and that the lexical suffix **anaʔ* functions as an incorporated object. The conceptualizations and word formation patterns that underlie the concept “earring” in different branches of Salish vary from denoting “something that is tied to the ear”, to denoting “something that squeezes the ear”.

4.1.1.4 **anaʔ* in expressions denoting specific conditions affecting the ear.

The lexical suffix for EAR attaches to predicates that translate as “swollen”, “broken”, “itchy”, “bleeding”, “dirty”, and “dry”.

Expressions (89) through (91) denote swollen ears.

- (89) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 pus-m=i k=an
 swell up-SUF=BACK=EAR
 'have a swelling in the ear'
- (90) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:39)
 n-paw=anaʔ-lkan
 LOC-be swollen=EAR-1SG
 'I have a swollen ear.'
- (91) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:232)
 pəw=ni
 swell up=EAR
 'ears swell up inside'

Expressions (92) through (96) denote an array of conditions affecting the ear. The examples come from Saanich, Squamish, Kalispel, and Columbian.

- (92) Saanich (Pidgeon 1970:32)
 təkʷ=án
 broken=EAR
 'broken ear'

- (93) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:274)
caqʷ=ay=ań
bleed=CON=EAR
‘have one’s ears bleeding’
- (94) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:159)
čín n-qaup=éneʔ
1SG LOC-itch=EAR
‘My ear itches.’
- (95) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:170)
čín n-čéltfí=éneʔ
1SG LOC-dirty (redup.)=EAR
‘My ears are dirty.’
- (96) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #572)
n-təkʷtəkʷ-p=ánaʔ
POS-stuffy, smother (redup.)-ASP=EAR
‘ears plugged (at high elevation)’

Expressions (97) through (105) refer to pain felt in the ear.

- (97) Bella Coola (Nater 1990:13)
nu-ta-kan-als=ik=an
PRFX-LOC-hurt-inside-BACK=EAR
‘to have an earache’⁸
- (98) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.101.12)
qʷóm[kʷil=án]
ache (?) [unglossed=EAR]
‘earache’
- (99) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:236)
n-qʷáí=anaʔ
LOC-hurt=EAR
‘have an earache’

⁸ See footnote 4.

- (100) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:205)
 x-kəp=éne
 LOC-sick=EAR
 'have a sore ear'
- (101) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:178)
 x-čəl=áne
 LOC-hurt=EAR
 'have ears throb'
- (102) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:113)
 n-čáʔr=ínaʔ
 LOC-hurt=EAR
 'ear ache'
- (103) Spokane (Carlson 1989:13)
 s-n-čéʔr=éneʔ
 NOM-LOC-ache=EAR
 'earache'
- (104) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #535)
 na-číl=naʔ
 POS-sick=EAR
 'earache'
- (105) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:140)
 čin es-ən-čáʔčáʔl=éneʔ-i
 1SG ASP-LOC-ache (redup.)=EAR-ASP
 'My ears are aching.'

We see that in the above examples the lexical suffix for EAR attaches to predicates that denote a condition that affects the ear.

Before finishing this section, I will introduce a metaphorical extension of the suffix in which the lexical suffix *anaʔ delimits the expanse of a smile. The predicate in this example is stative and the semantics of this predicate plus lexical suffix combination has universal resonance.

- (106) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:259)
 n-ǰʷəsǰʷís=anaʔ
 LOC-smile (redup.)=EAR
 'smile all the time'

The image conveyed in example (106) above is of someone "smiling from ear to ear".

Structurally, this is achieved with the reduplicated root "smile" and the lexical suffix for EAR.

4.1.1.5 *anaʔ in utterances denoting animal ears.

The lexical suffix *anaʔ also appears in expressions that refer to animals. Semantically, the expressions that follow denote attributes perceived as characteristic or distinctive of the ears of certain animals. The connection can also be mythological, referring to the appearance of the animal after events that take place in a myth or story in which an animal is a protagonist.

- (107) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:7)
 kʷč=ay=adíʔ
 wild=CON=EAR
 'rabbit (wild ears)'
- (108) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.101.12)
 qʷiʔqʷól=án
 unglossed (redup.)=EAR
 'rat'
- (109) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #545)
 n-ǰól=ánaʔ
 POS-torn, tear=EAR
 'wolf'⁹
- (110) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:216)
 n-ǰl=ǰánaʔ
 LOC-torn, tear=EAR
 'wolf'¹⁰

⁹ The name of the wolf in Columbian comes from a myth (Dale Kinkade p.c.)

¹⁰ The suffix has a pharyngeal increment in the Okanagan example (110).

This concludes the discussion of the anatomical and related meanings that obtain for the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR.

4.1.2 Summary and distribution of the anatomical meanings of **anaʔ*.

Table VI shows the distribution of the anatomical meanings that obtain for the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR in Salish and summarizes the content of section 4.1.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF ANATOMICAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
EAR "Human" and "Animal"	•	•	•	•	•
EAR "Ear wax"	•			•	•
EAR "Earring"		•	•	•	•
EAR "Ear-muff" and "Earphones"				•	•
EAR "Pillow"					•

TABLE VI: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF ANATOMICAL EXTENSIONS

The suffix for EAR in Salish denotes the anatomical "ear" in humans and animals throughout the family. Expressions related to the "ear" containing the suffix **anaʔ* denote "ear wax", "ear-muffs", "earphones", "earrings", and "pillow". At least two of these expressions, "earphones" and "ear-muffs" must be new coinages.

4.2 **anaʔ* denoting matched pairs and bilateral location.

This section addresses expressions where the lexical suffix **anaʔ* refers to parts of the body that are matched pairs and are adjacent to the ear, or to animal body parts that are matched pairs. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* appears in expressions denoting temples, cheeks, shoulders, and in expressions denoting hair arrangements such as braids and sideburns. It also appears in expressions denoting wings, gills, flippers, and horns. Rather than denoting the anatomical ear, the suffix denotes a location adjacent to the ear, or a location paralleling the location of the ear in the body of animals. Section 4.2.1 addresses expressions denoting the temples; section 4.2.2 addresses expressions denoting the cheeks; section 4.2.3 addresses expressions denoting

sideburns; section 4.2.4 addresses expressions denoting braids; section 4.2.5 addresses expressions denoting the shoulders; section 4.2.6 addresses expressions denoting gills, wings, flippers and horns.

4.2.1 *ana' denoting "temples".

The temples are the flattened areas located at each side of the forehead just above the ears. The lexical suffix *ana' denotes the general location of the temples in examples (111) through (113). The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > TEMPLE. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

(111) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)

sp=an
hit=EAR
'temple'

(112) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)

x- k̑m- énc
LOC-area=EAR
'temple (of head)'

(113) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:111)

n- k̑m= éñi
LOC-surface=EAR
'temple, side of the face'

The Columbian examples below denote the temple area with two lexical suffixes instead of just one. In examples (114) and (115) the lexical suffix for MOUTH, in its extension EDGE, precedes the suffix for EAR.

(114) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #546)

n- k̑m=cn= áña'
POS-area=MOUTH =EAR
'temple'¹¹

¹¹ The meaning EDGE is an expected semantic extension of the suffix for MOUTH. This explains examples (114) and (115).

(115) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #560)

n-*teq**=cn=*ána*?-a^h

POS-slap (?)=MOUTH=EAR-TR

'slap someone on the temple'

In expression (116) the lexical suffix for TAIL, which extends to denote END, precedes the lexical suffix for EAR.

(116) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #557)

n-m*əq**=ap=*ána*?

POS-mound=TAIL=EAR

'bulge on the side of the face'

Examples (117) through (121) below contain semantically transitive predicates. The suffix **ana*? EAR denotes the general area of the head affected by the action implied in the predicate. These expressions are analogous to the English expression "box his ears", and the suffix denotes the temples.

(117) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5, 6)

?u-d*x**-ts=*ál*=*adi*?-d-*əb*

ASP-PRFX-punch=EAR-SUF-MID

'I want to punch him on the side of the face.'

(118) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:147)

*təq**-*án*-n

slap=EAR-3SUB

'slap on the head'

(119) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:125)

sa*p*-*án*-n

strike=EAR-3SUB

'strike on the head'

(120) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:70)

n-*čq*=*éni*-s

LOC-hit=EAR-3SG

'hit someone on the side of the head'

(121) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:70)

čq̣=éñi

hit=EAR

'get hit on the side of the head'

The lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR refers to side area of the head that are adjacent to the ear in examples (117) through (121). This area is usually known as the temple area.

4.2.2 **anaʔ* denoting "cheek".

The portion of the face located below eye level and towards the ear is referred to as the cheek area. The suffix **anaʔ* EAR denotes the general location of the cheeks in examples (122) through (124). The semantic path of the suffix EAR > CHEEK, and the suffix is labeled EAR.

(122) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

š-xʷ-əíí=əno

NOM-LOC-unglossed=EAR

'cheek'¹²

(123) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:122)

ciq=añ

stab=EAR

'get one cheek stabbed'

(124) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:258)

noxʷ-miiw=añ

PRFX-edge=EAR

'cheek'

Examples (125) through (129) come from Central Salish and Northern Interior Salish and denote the cheek of a fish, which is considered a delicacy.

(125) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-ʔəθ=əno

NOM-unglossed=EAR

'head portion of the salmon (cheek)'¹³

¹² The NOMINALIZER *s-* becomes *š-* before the LOCATIVE *xʷ-* in Musqueam.

¹³ The form *ʔəθ* in example (125) could be the lexical suffix for mouth used as a root.

(126) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:218)
tal=ədiʔ
dollar=EAR
'cheeks of fish (lit. money on the side)'

(127) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:236)
təb=ádiʔ
unglossed=EAR
'cheeks of fish'

(128) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:274)
qʔ=éni-tn
plug=EAR-INSTR
'cheek meat of any fish'

The expressions above refer to fish, the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR denotes a location in the body of the fish construed as parallel to the general location of the human ears.

(129) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #571)
n=qiyʔ=ap=ánaʔ
POS-unglossed=TAIL=EAR
'branded on the cheek'

Expression (129) denotes the cheek area and the lexical suffix for TAIL denoting END precedes the lexical suffix for EAR.

4.2.3 **anaʔ* in expressions denoting "sideburns".

The sideburns are the continuation of the hair line in the area immediately in front of the ear. The root predicates in these utterances denote "hair". The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the general location of the "hair" in relation to the ear. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SIDEBURN. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

(130) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
qu·p-l=an
hair-SUF=EAR
'sideburns'

- (131) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:190)
 q'ułq'łúb=ádi'
 grey hair (redup.)=EAR
 'gray sideburns'
- (132) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:378)
 ʔəs-n-(w)up=áni'
 ASP-LOC-hair=EAR
 'style of long sideburns'
- (133) Spokane (Carlson 1989:108)
 n-upup=éne'
 LOC-hair (redup.)=EAR
 'sideburns'

The examples above denotes matched pairs in the general area of the ears.

4.2.4 *ana' in expressions denoting "braids".

This section addresses expressions denoting braids that contain the lexical suffix *ana'. A braid is made by intertwining three or more strands of hair to make a long chain. The hair is usually divided in two even sections and each section is further divided into three strands that are folded over each other to form a chain or braid. Prototypically, braids fall on the sides of the face, over or behind the ears. The suffix *ana' denotes this location. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > BRAID. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

- (134) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:174)
 ʔəs-n-ǰəm x=ni
 ASP-LOC-braid=EAR
 'have hair in two braids'

Figure 3 below depicts the position of the braids on a woman's head following the model provided in example (134).



Figure 3: Prototypical Braids.

Examples (135) through (140) below contain predicates meaning “braid”. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* indicates the placement or location of the braids. The examples come from Central and Interior Salish.

(135) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:7)

ʔəbš=áy=diʔ-d

braid=CON=EAR-TR

‘braids her hair’

(136) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:7)

ʔəs-ʔəbʔəbš=áy=diʔ-d

ASP-braid (redup.)=CON=EAR-TR

‘braided hair’

(137) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:224)

qáqʔl=ánaʔ

braid (redup.)=EAR

‘braided hair’

(138) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:240)

s-t-ǫʔe=ʔéne

NOM-LOC-braid=EAR

‘person with braids’

(139) Spokane (Carlson 1989:73)

hec-ǫc=énʔe-y

ASP-braided=EAR

‘She has braided hair.’

- (140) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #541)
 s-k-pəlpál=naʔ
 NOM-POS-braid (redup.)=EAR
 'She has braided hair.'

The Columbian examples (141) and (142) denote "girl" and "maiden". Traditionally, the position of braids on women has cultural significance. One braid in the back identified a married woman, while two braids around the ears signaled a girl available for marriage (Martina Pierre p.c.). We can only surmise that the suffix *anaʔ in examples (141) and (142) refers to the traditional use of braids by women and denotes a hair arrangement that falls on the sides of the head.

- (141) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #568)
 k-yəŋʷ=ánaʔ
 POS-gather=EAR
 'girl'

- (142) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #569)
 k-iḥ=ánaʔ
 POS-unglossed=EAR
 'maiden'

Unbraided hair seemed to have a social connotation. In example (143), unbraided hair is equated with seduction.

- (143) Spokane (Carlson 1989:107)
 kʷ wíwɪxʷ=neʔ
 2SG unbraided hair (redup.)=EAR
 'You are a seductress.'

Example (144) remarks on the fact that someone's hair has become unbraided.

- (144) Spokane (Carlson 1989:107)
 s-n-wíxʷ=neʔ
 NOM-LOC-unbraid=EAR
 'Her hair has become unbraided.'

Example (145) below refers to the tassels on a horse. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the general area of the ear.

- (145) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:269)
x-yɫ-p=éne-tɪ
LOC-wound around-ASP=EAR-INSTR
'tassels on side of horse's head'

This concludes the discussion of expressions denoting braids or tassels that contain the lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR.

4.2.5 **anaʔ* in expressions denoting "shoulders".

The lexical suffix for EAR denotes the shoulder area in the examples below. The literal meanings of expressions (146) through (149) are "ear bone", "ear area", "tied on the ear instrument", and "ear-paddle instrument". These expressions focus on the parallel location of ears and shoulders along the lateral axis of the body. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SHOULDER. It reflects lateral axis of the body and the fact that ears and shoulders are aligned along this axis. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

- (146) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
s-cap=an
NOM-bone=EAR
'clavicle'
- (147) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:213)
t-ḳm=én
LOC-area=EAR
'shoulder'
- (148) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:247)
t-q̣ʷʔ=éne-ten
LOC-tie on=EAR-INSTR
'suspenders'

- (149) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:341)
 taχ=ñi-tn
 paddle=EAR -INSTR
 'shoulder blade'

The lexical suffix **ana*' EAR appears in expressions that denote the anatomical shoulders in the examples above. Both the lexical suffix for EAR and the lexical suffix for SHOULDER can denote the lateral axis of the body, since their location is perpendicular to the FRONT/BACK axis of the body denoted by the suffixes for BELLY and BACK. In Salish, the anatomical shoulders are usually denoted by the lexical suffix **aχan*.¹⁴

¹⁴ See the following examples:

- (i) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 łəq=ɔl=éχɔn
 end=CON=SHOULDER
 'front quarter of deer'
- (ii) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:13)
 s-təb=l=áχəð
 NOM-thing that =CON=SHOULDER
 'shoulder'
- (iii) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:162)
 χaχ=áχan
 break=SHOULDER
 'animal's shoulder breaks'
- (iv) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:330)
 sk=éχn
 hit with stick=SHOULDER
 'get hit on the shoulder'
- (v) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:87)
 n-lx*-p=aχn-nt
 LOC-slip on-ASP=SHOULDER - TR
 'loop something over the shoulder'

4.2.6 *ana' in expressions denoting "gills", "wings", "flippers", and "horns".

Examples (150) through (151) denote "gills", "wings", "flippers", and "horns" in the bodies of animals. The suffix for EAR conveys the bilateral location of these body parts. These extensions of the suffix are the first intimation that the suffix for EAR extends to denote the locational reference point SIDE.

The following examples come from Central Salish and Interior Salish and denote the "gill" of fish. The "gills" are construed as located in the general area that would correspond to the ears in a human body. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > GILL. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

(150) Comox (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983)

xʷ=inaʔ

unglossed=EAR

'gill arch'

(151) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:54)

čílk=adiʔ

fin=EAR

'pectoral fin (close to the gill)'

(152) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:81)

n-čém=l=ánaʔ

LOC-bone(?)=CON=EAR

'bone around the gill'

Example (153) comes from Central Salish and denotes "wing". The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > WING, reflecting the symmetry of paired organs and their bilateral location. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

(153) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:380)

yəl=ań

unglossed=EAR

'wing'

Example (154) comes from Thompson and denotes “flippers”. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes matched pairs and the lateral symmetrical location of the flippers on the body of a seal. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > FLIPPER**, reflecting matched pairs and their bilateral location. The suffix is labeled **EAR** in the examples that follow.

- (154) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:276)
n-ǰay=ni
LOC-unglossed=EAR
'flipper of seal'

Examples (155) and (156) come from Columbian and denote the antlers in deer. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > HORN/ANTLER**, reflecting the symmetry of matched pairs and bilateral location. The suffix is labeled **EAR** in the examples that follow.

- (155) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #551)
tx*txʷ=ánaʔ
unglossed (redup.)=EAR
'spiked deer'

- (156) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #552)
mǝkʷmákʷ=naʔ
unglossed (redup.)=EAR
'fawns in fall (with buttons for horns)'

In the above examples, the lexical suffix **anaʔ* forms part of expressions denoting body organs that come in pairs and are located on the sides of the body.

4.2.7 Summary and distribution of the ear adjacency extensions of the suffix.

Table VII below shows the distribution of adjacency extensions by branch and sums up section 4.2.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS OF LATERAL SYMMETRICAL PAIRS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
EAR "Temples"	•		•	•	•
EAR "Cheeks"		•		•	
EAR "Sideburns"	•	•			•
EAR "Braids"		•		•	•
EAR "Shoulders"	•		•	•	•
EAR "Wings"		•			
EAR "Gills"		•		•	
EAR "Flipper"					•
EAR "Horns"					•

TABLE VII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF BILATERALLY LOCATED PAIRS

In the examples considered in this section, the suffix **ana'* denotes a location adjacent to the anatomical ear, or bilateral location on an animal's body paralleling the locations of the ears. These examples are translated into English as temples, cheeks, sideburns, braids, shoulders, wings, gills, flippers, and horns in different languages of the family.

4.3 The internal auditory ear.

Along with the external anatomical "ear", the suffix **ana'* denotes the internal or auditory "ear". I will examine here those meaning of the suffix that derive from the auditory function of the ear, or sense of hearing.

Predicates of hearing in Standard Average European languages usually give rise to two types of verbs, each with a different semantic implication. Whereas "hear" means to perceive with the ears, "listen" means to hear with thoughtful attention. In its auditory extension the lexical suffix for EAR forms part of expressions conveying both these meanings.

A sense of undivided attention in the context of listening is salient to the meanings expressed by the suffix **anaʔ*. In the Squamish example that follows, listening is equated with settling one's ears upon what is said.

- (157) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:263)
 tʰ* = a y = a n̄ - i m̄
 settled=CON=EAR-SUF
 'make sure (lit. settle one's ears)'

The lexical suffix **anaʔ* EAR in the examples that follow denotes the auditory function of the ear. Section 4.3.1 addresses the auditory meanings of the suffix. Section 4.3.2 addresses the meaning "sound" for the suffix.

4.3.1 **anaʔ* in expressions denoting auditory functions.

The lexical suffix **anaʔ* appears in expressions that denote listening in examples (158) through (169). The predicates in these examples mean "to stop", "to ask", "to obey", "to open", and "to be strong", and speak to the quality of attention necessary for proper listening.

- (158) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 ʔ a n u - s - c a y = a n - m
 ASP-PRFX-stop=EAR-MID
 'to be listening (lit. stopped ears)'

- (159) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: § 14 #17)
 x * - ʔ ə ỵ = ə n é ʔ
 LOC-good=EAR
 'listen'

- (160) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:260)
 i k * = a y = a n̄ - m i n
 un glossed = CON = EAR - SUF
 'listen to'

- (161) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.18.8)
 q i y ʔ n = á n̄ - ə m
 un glossed = EAR - MID
 'pay attention, listen'

- (162) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.42.2)
 ʔəns čin=án-əm
 NEG 1SG un glossed=EAR-MID
 'I don't want to listen'
- (163) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:251)
 c- kəl=én-m
 RSLT-to obey=EAR-MID
 'to listen'
- (164) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:170)
 kal=án-min-an-cut
 quiet=EAR-SUF-TR-RFLX
 'to listen to one's own advice'
- (165) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:39)
 k-ywyw=inaʔ
 ASP/RSLT-strong (redup.)=EAR
 'listen'
- (166) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:163)
 čin séu=neʔ
 1SG ask=EAR
 'I listen.'
- (167) Spokane (Carlson 1989:45)
 č-łxʔłxʔ-p=éneʔ
 DIR-open (redup.)-ASP=EAR
 'He started listening.'
- (168) Spokane (Carlson 1989:83)
 séw=neʔ-š
 ask=EAR-IMP SG
 'Listen to me!'
- (169) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #563)
 xák=anaʔ
 un glossed=EAR
 'listen'

The Lushootseed example (170) below is different. The predicate itself is glossed “to hear”.

(170) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:7)

lúh=əl=àdiʔ

hear=CON=EAR

‘to hear’

If listening implies attention, as explained above, deafness is defined as an impediment that prevents listening. Examples (171) through (175) describe the concept of deafness with expressions having cognate predicates. These predicates translate into English as “stopped up”, “stilled”, and “stuffy”.

(171) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:155)

c-x-təkʷtkʷ=éne

RSLT-LOC-stopped up (redup.)=EAR

‘deaf’

(172) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:59)

n-tkʷ=ánaʔ

NOM-still=EAR

‘deaf’

(173) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:59)

ka-n-təkʷ=ánaʔ-a

ASP-LOC-stilled=EAR-SUF

‘to get deafened’

(174) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #543)

n-təkʷtkʷ=ánaʔ

POS-stuffy, smother (redup.)=EAR

‘hard of hearing’

Examples (175) through (178) also denote deafness. The predicates in these expressions translate into English as “be closed” and “to lack”.

- (175) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.75.10)
 xʷúʔn=aʔań
 unglossed=EAR
 'deaf'
- (176) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.18.8)
 túlqʷ=áń
 unglossed=EAR
 'deaf'
- (177) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:139)
 ʔac-taq=áń
 ASP-closed=EAR
 'deaf'
- (178) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:349)
 təm=éńi-(n)-s
 lack=EAR-SUF-3SG
 'prevent someone from hearing something'

In example (179) the cause that prevents someone from listening is specified.

- (179) Spokane (Carlson 1989:67)
 č-ḥupú-p=éncʔ
 DIR-echo (redup.)-ASP=EAR
 'He can't hear because of all the noise.'

In the Southern Interior examples (180) through (182) below, the suffix for EAR attaches to a predicate glossed as "touch". The composite meanings of these utterances are clear, but do not reflect the sum of the meanings denoted by their parts. It is easy to see how a "closed ear" may convey the notion of deafness, but it is not at all clear how a "touched ear" can convey the same notion.

- (180) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:205)
 n-tqtq=ínaʔ
 LOC-touch (redup.)=EAR
 'deaf'

(181) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:169)

es-ən-tq=éneʔ

NOM-LOC -touch=EAR

'He is deaf in one ear.'

(182) Spokane (Carlson 1989:90)

he-n-tqtq=éneʔ

ASP-LOC-touch (redup.)=EAR-SUF

'He is deaf.'

The suffix **anaʔ* in the examples above has the meaning EAR and denotes the sense of hearing. The difference between the suffix denoting the “anatomical ear” in concrete notions, such as “carring”, and the “auditory ear” in abstract notions, such as “listening”, depends on the type of predicate to which the suffix attaches.

The sense of hearing allows humans to obtain information by means of listening. Thus, listening is tantamount to the acquisition of information, and implies knowledge and understanding. In societies where traditional knowledge is passed on by word of mouth, one who is unable to comprehend speech cannot acquire knowledge. The consequence of deafness is deprivation from knowledge. Deafness, rather than being considered a physical impairment, is equated with lack of understanding. This state of affairs must have been true at one point in the English speaking cultures, since the word “dumb” denotes both inability to speak and stupidity. In the following examples, knowledge, understanding, and belief are conveyed by expressions that contain the suffix for EAR.

In the Lushootseed examples (183) and (184) below, inability to understand is blamed on a “confused” or “stilled” ear.

(183) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)

ʔəs-dʔəʔl=əɬ=ədiʔ-mid čəd

ASP-confused= CON=EAR-SUF 1SG.

'I misunderstood it.'

(184) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5)

ʔəs-tkʷ=àdiʔ

ASP-stilled (?)=EAR

'not understand'

In Quinault the suffix appears in expressions that denote understanding and knowledge.

(185) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 5.33.6)

ʔáxʷ səgʷape l=án čit

NEG un glossed=EAR IPL

'We don't understand it.'

(186) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.36.10)

ʔflp=aʔań

in front=EAR

'foretell'

In the Spokane utterance (187) below, inability to understand is ascribed to a "wrong ear"¹⁵.

(187) Spokane (Carlson 1989:83)

n-sisì=éncʔ

LOC-wrong (redup.)=EAR

'He is one who cannot comprehend.'

Expressions (188) through (189) denote knowledge, belief, and intelligence.

(188) Spokane (Carlson 1989:53)

n-mim y=éncʔ

LOC-know (redup.)=EAR

'He is smart.'

(189) Spokane (Carlson 1989:86)

he-n-súxʷ=éncʔ

ASP-LOC-comprehend=EAR

'He knows a language.'

¹⁵ We are left at a loss, after reading the English gloss of (187), not knowing what prevents understanding.

- (190) Spokane (Carlson 1989:123)
 ?iil-p=éne?
 poke-ASP=EAR
 'He believed it without a doubt.'

The Okanagan examples below denote informed consent and belief.

- (191) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:239)
 kən xʔ=ínaʔ
 1SG agree=EAR
 'I consent.'

- (192) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:227)
 n-wn xʷ=ínaʔ-tn
 LOC-truly=EAR-INSTR
 'belief'

- (193) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:226)
 s-n-wn xʷ=ínaʔ-s
 NOM-LOC-truly=EAR-3POSS
 'one's believing'

The Kalispel examples below denote belief and understanding.

- (194) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:155)
 čin nunnxʷ=éneʔ
 1SG believe=EAR
 'I believe something.'

- (195) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:166)
 čin n-súxʷ=əneʔ
 1SG LOC-understand=EAR
 'I understand.'

The following examples come from Interior Salish and refer to different fact-finding situations.

(196) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:421)

ʔək-p=éñi

know-ASP=EAR

'find the truth about something'

(197) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:63)

təʔ*-p=al=ánaʔ

straight-ASP-CON=EAR

'to find something out'

(198) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:235)

n-q*al-ut=ánaʔ

NOM-speak-SUF=EAR

'hint'

(199) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:266)

x-wəy=éne-mn-s

LOC-revealed=EAR-SUF-3SG

'to get informed'

(200) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:158)

x-tʔ*=en-m

LOC-straight=EAR-MID

'to correct somebody's information'

(201) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:104)

k-my-p=ínaʔ

RSLT-be surc-ASP=EAR

'find out the truth'

Example (202) denotes knowledge gained through listening.

(202) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)

ʔax*s=an

perceived, learned=EAR

'to know something (after being told)'

In the Thompson example below, the allusion is perhaps to music, since the expression denotes something sweet to the ear. This use represent a metaphorical extension for the predicate $\dot{x}e^?x$ “sweet”, since the quality of sweetness applies to sound.

- (203) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:168)
 n- $\dot{x}e^?x$ = $\acute{e}ni$
 LOC-sweet=EAR
 ‘sounds sweet’

The Southern Interior examples (204) and (205) below express delight in listening to something.

- (204) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:255)
 c-n- $\acute{x}s$ = $\acute{ina}^? -nt$
 ASP-LOC-good=EAR-TR
 ‘enjoy listening to something.’

- (205) Coeur d’Alene (Barthmaier 1996:77)
 h $\acute{a}n$ - $\acute{x}ess$ = $\acute{ina}^?$
 LOC-good=EAR
 ‘He was delighted.’

The hearing extensions of the suffix for EAR cover a ground that comprises notions of listening, deafness, knowledge, belief, information, and consent. Each of these notions in English requires a distinct word. It would seem that these uses of the suffix $*ana^?$ EAR point to the primary role listening has in the context of an oral tradition, or in a non-literate society.

4.3.2 $*ana^?$ in expressions denoting “sound”.

The suffix $*ana^?$ appears in expressions that denote the perception of sound without the added attention that listening requires. Sound is a sensation perceived by the inner ear and caused by sound waves propagating through the air. The meaning SOUND for the suffix obtains in Central and Interior Salish. The suffix may occurs with numeral predicates and its semantic path is EAR > SOUND. The suffix is glossed EAR in the examples that follow.

What we see in example (206) is the lexicalization of that which is perceived through the ear, i.e. sound.

- (206) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:26)
lɪxʷ=al=ádiʔ
three=CON=EAR
'three sounds'

In the Central Salish and Tsamosan examples (207) through (208), the suffix respectively refers to the sound of thunder, an echo, and the sound of shooting.

- (207) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5)
ʃʷíqʷ=ádiʔ
unglossed=EAR
'thunder'
- (208) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:242)
túç=ádiʔ
shoot=EAR
'fire a shot'

- (209) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.15.3)
gʷaýt=aʔań
unglossed=EAR
'echo'

In the Northern Interior Salish examples (210) and (211), the suffix denotes a sound or noise.

- (210) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:23)
x-cičéy=nə
LOC-unglossed (redup.)=EAR
'have a ringing in one's ear'
- (211) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:102)
kəý-st=éńi
quiet-SUF=EAR
'I don't hear any noise.'

In Southern Interior Salish the suffix can denote non-specific noises, as in the Okanagan and Columbian examples (212) and (213):

(212) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:50)

kw-p=inaʔ

finish-ASP=EAR

'sound is gone'

(213) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #570)

na-húy=naʔ

POS-annoy, tire=EAR

'get annoyed by noise'

Expression (214) refers to a sound-emitting source that prevents someone from sleeping.

(214) Spokane (Carlson 1989:113)

čn čl-xʷús=neʔ

1SG LOC-awake=EAR

'Something kept me awake.'

Expression (215) denotes a piano; it contains the instrumental suffix.

(215) Spokane (Carlson 1989:90)

čl-tq=éneʔ-tn

LOC-touch=EAR-INSTR

'piano'

In the examples above, we see that the suffix *anaʔ EAR shifts from denoting the anatomical "ear" to denoting that which the ear perceives, i.e. SOUND.

4.3.3 Summary and distribution of meanings derived from the auditory ear.

Table VIII shows the distribution of the meanings of the suffix *anaʔ that originate in the sense of hearing or the auditory ear.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF AUDITORY EAR EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
EAR "Listen/Deafness"	•	•	•	•	•
EAR "Information", "Knowledge", "Belief"	•	•	•	•	•
EAR "Sound"		•	•	•	•

TABLE VIII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF AUDITORY EXTENSIONS

The suffix **anaʔ* denotes the auditory functions of the ear in all branches of the family. Auditory meanings convey notions of knowledge, understanding, information, belief, and consent. The meaning SOUND for the suffix not attested for Bella Coola.

4.4 Shape extensions of the lexical suffix for EAR.

The shape extensions denoted by the suffix **anaʔ* are a visual analogy of the structural relation the ear has to the head. Figure 4 below illustrates the visual relation between a handle and the human ear.¹⁶



Figure 4: The Extension PROTRUSION for the Suffix **anaʔ*.

The semantic extensions of the suffix **anaʔ* treated in this section denote parts of an object that project from the larger mass of the object's body, e.g. handles. The suffix also denotes the shells of certain mollusks, and the leaves of certain plants. Section 4.3.1 denotes the extension

¹⁶ In Spanish, the handle of a cup can be referred to as "la oreja de la taza", i.e. "the ear of the cup".

PROTRUSION for the suffix. Section 4.3.2 denotes the extension SHELL for the suffix. Section 4.3.3 denotes the extension LEAF for the suffix.

4.4.1 *anaʔ denoting “protrusion”.

The meaning PROTRUSION for the suffix is shape-derived and denotes parts of inanimate objects that can be grabbed or handled. These parts physically protrude from the body of the object, but do not need to have an ear-like shape. Thus, the suffix *anaʔ may refer to the flint-lock of a gun, a shelf, and the handle of a container. The semantic path of the suffix in these expressions is EAR > PROTRUSION. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

The following utterances exemplify the shape extension PROTRUSION denoted by the suffix *anaʔ.

(216) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
sme·nt=ánaʔ
rock=EAR
‘flint-lock’

(217) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #544)
s-táʔ*áanaʔ
NOM-hard=EAR
‘flint’

(218) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5, 6)
ʔəs-k*əd=adiʔ-b
ASP-grab=EAR-MID
‘He has it by the bail (handle)’

(219) Lushootseed (Hess 1976: 6)
k*əd-əb=adiʔ
grab-SUF=EAR
‘handle, bail hoop.’

In the Lushootseed examples (220) and (221) below, the suffix denotes the projecting shape of a shelf or ledge, or the head of a hammer.

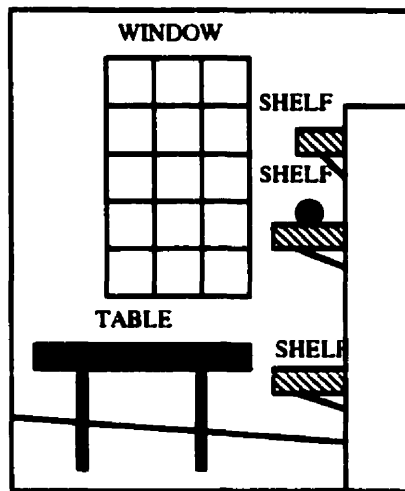


Figure 5: The Extension PROTRUSION for the Suffix **ana?*.

(220) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)

ʔal ti šq=ádiʔ

LOC DET high=EAR

‘on a ledge or shelf’

(221) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:210)

šəq=ádiʔ

high=EAR

‘hammer, small axe.’

The examples contained in this section address a shape extension of the suffix **ana?* where the suffix denotes a shelf or a handle. The common shape that unites these examples is a perception of the EAR as something that **protrudes** from the side of the head, hence the meanings handle and shelf.

4.4.2 **ana?* denoting “shell”.

This section discusses a use of the suffix **ana?* germane to expressions denoting mollusks such as clams, mussels, oysters, and snails. Most mollusks have soft bodies covered by shells: mussels, clams, and oysters have small oblong shells, while snails have external spiral shells. The shape denoted by the suffix reflects the perceived similarity between the external ear and a conch or shell. The connection between the ear and the shape of shells and conchs has been noted—“conch” is the name given to the largest and deepest concavity of the external ear

(*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980*). The suffix **ana*² EAR denotes SHELL and suggests the lexicalization of a shape similarity between the external ear and the shell of clams, mussels, oysters, and snails. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SHELL. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

The Twana and Quinault examples (222) and (223) denote a clam.

(222) Twana (Elmendorf n.d.)

k^{*}áč⇒di

unglossed=EAR

'clam'

(223) Quinault (Gibson n.d.:2.99.12)

k^{*}áč^{*}⇒na[?]

unglossed=EAR

'butter clam'

Figure 6 below depicts a clam with its protruding siphon and distinctive shell.

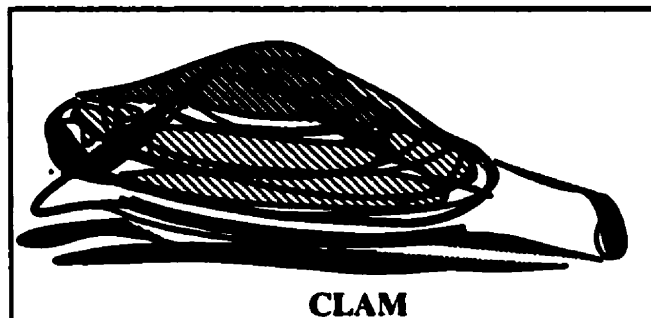


Figure 6: The Extension SHELL for the Suffix **ana*².

The Spokane and Okanagan examples (224) and (225) also denote shells. The predicates in these examples are cognates, though their English glosses suggest that they denote different marine organisms.

(224) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:65)

s-k^{*}k^{*}r'=fna[?]

NOM-cracked (redup.)=EAR

'mussel'

- (225) Spokane (Carlson 1989:35)
 s-*k'k'w*l=én e?
 NOM-cracked open (redup.)=EAR
 'oyster'

The Bella Coola and Columbian examples (226) and (227) below denote snail and shell respectively. Snails are gastropod mollusks and have spiral shells. The lexical suffix **ana'* seems to be the common element grouping shell-possessing creatures into a class.

- (226) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 ?ax*ss=an-ta
 holler=EAR-INSTR
 'snail'¹⁷

- (227) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #544)
 s-tóŋ^w=ána?
 NOM-unglossed=EAR
 'a white shell'

We see that the extension SHELL for the lexical suffix **ana'* is shape based and suggests the contour of the external ear.

4.4.3 **ana'* in expressions denoting “plants”.

I address here an extension of the lexical suffix **ana'* that links the shape of leaves to the “ear”. The Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokane utterances (228) through (230) denote a prickly pear cactus. This extension is a shape abstraction and its semantic path is EAR > LEAF. The suffix is labeled EAR in the examples that follow.

- (228) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:249)
 s-x*y=ína?
 NOM-sharp (?)=EAR
 'prickly pear cactus'

¹⁷ Nater (1990:6) glosses the root *ax^ws* as “holler” or “be audible”. The meaning “be audible” is consistent with the fact that if you put a shell to your ear, you can hear the ocean. He also says that *ax^ws = an-ta* denotes “a large type of sea-shell or conch” and “interpreter”. This is consistent with the use of large conchs as voice amplifiers.

- (229) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #549)
 s-x*iy=ánaʔ
 NOM-sharp=EAR
 'cactus'

Figure 7 below illustrates the shape of a prickly pear cactus., which can easily be perceived as being similar in shape to an animal's ear.

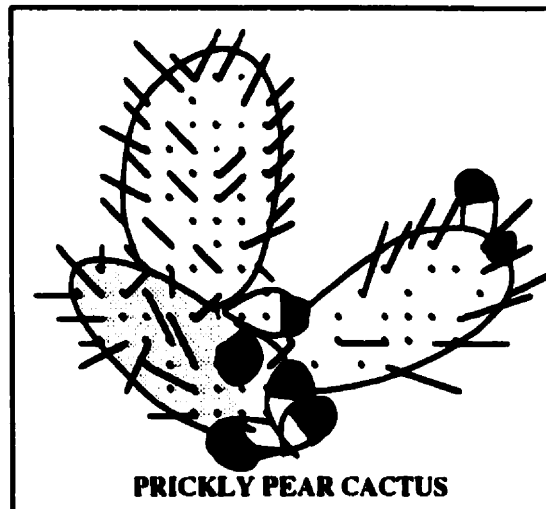


Figure 7: The Extension LEAF for the Suffix *anaʔ.

- (230) Spokane (Carlson 1989:112)
 s-x*ý=éneʔ
 NOM-sharp=EAR
 'prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia polycantha*)'

Examples (231) through (232) below denote several plants. The suffix seemingly refers to the shape of the plants' leaves.

- (231) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:146)
 ləq̣-p=anaʔ
 flipped over-ASP=EAR
 'purple penstemon'
- (232) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:191)
 s-x*x*ʔ=ínaʔ
 NOM-unglossed (redup.)=EAR
 'matted saxifrage'

The second lexical suffix in example (239) is FACE, and the expression denotes “fleabane *Erigeron pumilus*”.

- (239) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)
 t-kʷkʷxʷnʷ=ús
 RSLT-mouse (redup.)=EAR=FACE
 ‘fleabane’

The first lexical suffix in examples (237) through (239) is probably a reduced form of the suffix for EAR which extends its meaning to denote smallness of size and quantity.¹⁸ It also appears that

¹⁸ The lexical suffix for EAR is used as a classifier for smallness of size and quanta in examples (i) through (iii). This classification is consistent with the categories of classification proposed by Allan (1977:297). The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SMALL in the three Okanagan examples that follow, and denotes QUANTA.

- (i) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)
 kʷkʷy=ínaʷ
 little (redup.)=EAR
 ‘a little quantity’
- (ii) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)
 iwa s-ǵʷǵʷy=ínaʷ-s
 even if NOM-little (redup.)=EAR- 3POSS
 ‘no matter how small’
- (iii) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)
 k-s-ǵʷǵʷy=ínaʷ-s
 RSLT-NOM- little (redup.)=EAR- 3POSS
 ‘the smallest’

The suffix is also found in expressions denoting small animals and insects in Spokane and Okanagan. All of them are small, not all of them have ears, so the suffix could well be denoting size.

- (iv) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:66)
 kʷi kʷxʷ=naʷ
 mouse (redup.)=EAR
 ‘mouse’

the term $k^w k^w x^w = n^?$, the stem in these three examples, denotes a mouse. In addition, the lexical suffix for EAR seems to denote smallness of size in some Salish languages. The word for apricot in Ucwalmicwts (Lower Lillooet) is $\acute{x}ana^?$ denoting perceived similarities of shape and size between a dried apricot and a human ear (Martina Pierre p.c.).

The two Halkomelem examples that follow describe the component parts of a plant. The meaning of the suffix in these utterances seems to be LEAF.

(240) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #16)

$s\acute{t}an\acute{o}y^? = \acute{e}\cdot n$

woman=EAR

'female component (flat leaf of cattail)'

(241) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #16)

$w\acute{o}y^?q\acute{o}^? = \acute{e}\cdot n$

man=EAR

'male component (flowering stalk of cattail)'

(v) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:49)

$k^?k^?st = \acute{a}na^?$

unglossed=EAR

'nits'

(vi) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:218)

$\acute{t}tq = \acute{f}na^?$

unglossed=EAR

'mud hen'

(vii) Spokane (Carlson 1989:56)

$s\text{-}nak^?k^? = ne^?$

NOM-unglossed (redup.)=EAR

'toad'

(viii) Spokane (Carlson 1989:34)

$s\text{-}k^? \acute{e}k^? \acute{t} = ne^?$

NOM-unglossed (redup.)=EAR

'house mouse'

I have shown above several plant terms that contain the suffix **ana*?. I propose that the suffix denotes the leaves of these plants, and that this use originally arose from the resemblance these leaves bear to the shape of the anatomical ear.

4.4.4 Summary and distribution of shape meaning extensions of **ana*?

Table IX shows the shape-based extensions of the suffix and their distribution throughout Salish, based on the data considered in this chapter.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF SHAPE EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
EAR "Protrusion"		•			•
EAR "Shell"	•	•	•		•
EAR "Leaf"		•		•	•

TABLE IX: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF SHAPE EXTENSIONS

- The extension PROTRUSION for the suffix **ana*? is attested in Central Salish and Southern Interior Salish.
- The extension SHELL for the suffix **ana*? is attested in Bella Coola, Tsamosan, Central Salish and Southern Interior Salish.
- The extension LEAF for the suffix **ana*? is attested in Northern and Southern Interior Salish and possibly in Halkomelem.

4.5 Locational extensions of the suffix for EAR.

The geometry of the human body clearly determines two privileged directions, frontal and lateral (Vandeloise 1991:18). In inanimate objects whose top/bottom and front/back axes are not canonically defined, a side may be construed as the end which is less functional, or less distinctively marked.

The extension SIDE that obtains for the suffix **ana*? has a complex meaning, since a "side" can at the same time be an "end" and an "extreme". Thus, the SIDE of a large rectangular object,

such as a house, can be construed as its far end or extreme, its near end or extreme, its front end or extreme, and its back end or extreme, depending on context and on the location of the speaker.

Figure 8 below illustrates this analogy with the figure of a house.

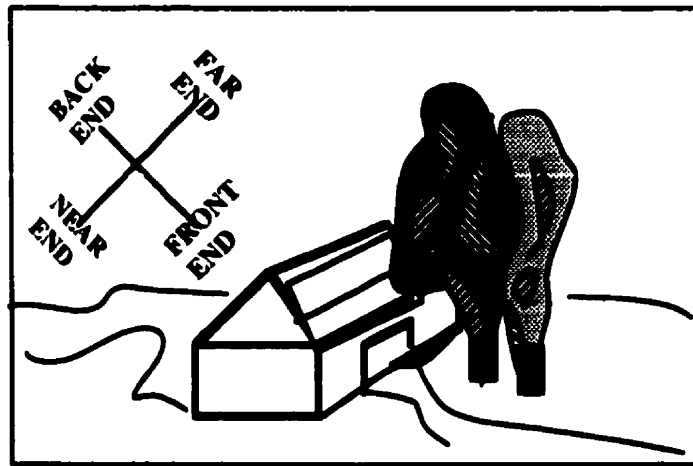


Figure 8: The Ambiguity of the concept SIDE.

The Central Salish expressions below contain the lexical suffixes **aǰan* SHOULDER and **anaʔ* EAR denoting SIDE. Shoulders and ears equally express the lateral axis of the body, since their general orientation is perpendicular to the front/back axis of the human body. In the Halkomelem examples (242) and (243), the lexical suffix for SHOULDER denotes the spatial reference point SIDE.¹⁹

¹⁹ The most frequent way of denoting SIDE is with the lexical suffix **aǰan* UPPER ARM/SHOULDER, as shown in examples (i) through (x), where the lexical suffix **aǰan* denotes the axis of the shoulders and defines the SIDE. The semantic path is SHOULDER > SIDE.

- (i) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
x-cəłqʷ=éǰən
 LOC-away from water=SHOULDER
 'back side of house'
- (ii) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:12)
xʷ-ʔíł=əǰəd
 PRFX-lean against=SHOULDER
 'side of body'

-
- (iii) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:81)
 díʔ-aʔad
 other side=SHOULDER
 ‘other side’
- (iv) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:138)
 líl=aʔad
 far away=SHOULDER
 ‘far away on the other side’
- (v) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:123)
 ʔ-čít=aʔan
 PRFX-near=SHOULDER
 ‘the near side’
- (vi) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:258)
 s-miiwʔ=aʔan
 NOM-side=EDGE=SHOULDER
 ‘side of anything’
- (vii) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:123)
 ciq=aʔan
 stab=SHOULDER
 ‘get stabbed in the side’
- (viii) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:123)
 s-ʔiuʔ=c=aʔan-s
 NOM-sharp=MOUTH=SHOULDER-3POSS
 ‘its sharp side’
- (ix) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:66)
 łam=aʔn
 tie=SHOULDER
 ‘the side ropes’
- (x) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:89)
 tu-ʔáł-naw=aʔn
 PART-PART-get old=SHOULDER
 ‘right side’

(242) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #83)

ʔfɪ=éʔən

far away=SHOULDER

‘far end of a house or road’

(243) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #83)

táyt=éʔən

upstream=SHOULDER

‘upper end of a row of houses’

In the Lushootseed example (244) below, the lexical suffix for EAR denotes the spatial reference point SIDE.

(244) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5, 6)

díʔ=adiʔ

opposite=EAR

‘other end of the house’

We see that the lexical suffixes for SHOULDER and EAR denote the lateral reference point SIDE in the examples above. Anatomically, this is perfectly understandable, since these body parts define the plane of the human body that is perpendicular to the front/back axis of the body.

The lateral axis of the body is determined by the alignment of the “ears” and the “shoulders”. The concept SIDE indicated by the suffix for *anaʔ derives from this orientational axis and subsumes the locational notion of EXTREME. Section 4.5.1 addresses the abstract concept SIDE. Section 4.5.2 addresses the extension CORNER denoted by the suffix *anaʔ. Section 4.5.3 addresses deixis and the lexical suffix *anaʔ.

4.5.1 *anaʔ denoting the concept “side”.

The orientation of a road follows from the general orientation of the body of whoever is walking through. The front/back axis of the traveler determines the direction of movement along the road and also establishes lateral orientation. Thus, the side of the road corresponds to the area adjacent to the sides of the body of the traveler, and the symmetry of the human body is projected onto the road. The lexical suffix *anaʔ denotes the locational reference point SIDE in the expressions below. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SIDE.

The examples that follow come from Northern Interior Salish. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the SIDE of a road. This particular context for the meaning SIDE is not attested in other branches of the family.

- (245) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:58)
 n-taɬ=ánaʔ-s-a ti xʷáɬ-a
 LOC-other side=EAR-3POSS-SUF DET road-DET
 'on the other side of the road'
- (246) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:241)
 qʷut=ánaʔ-s-a ti xʷáɬ-a
 place next to=EAR-3POSS-SUF DET road-DET
 'on the other side of the road'
- (247) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:108)
 n-səwsíw=anaʔ
 LOC-move over (redup.)=EAR
 'move along the side of the road'
- (248) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:163)
 x-təkʔ-lx=éne
 LOC-go-AUT=EAR
 'to go off the road'
- (249) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:140)
 plk=éñ-m
 to roll something=EAR-MID
 'to roll off the road'
- (250) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:199)
 x-lʷ-lx=éne
 LOC-jump-AUT=EAR
 'to jump off the road'
- (251) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:108)
 n-kiʔkeʔt=éñi-s-c
 LOC-near (redup.)=EAR-SUF-3SG
 'It is close to the side of the road.'

(252) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:122)

n-k *m=éñi-me

LOC-flatten=EAR-MID

'to level the sides of a road'

(253) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:7)

n-u-ʔéy-c h=éñi-(s)

LOC-PRFX-there-SUF=EAR-3POSS

'on this side of the road or trail'

In examples (245) through (253), the meaning **SIDE** for the suffix derives from the placement of the anatomical ears. Thus, the side of the road is ultimately defined by the symmetry of the body.

In the following examples, the abstract concept **SIDE** is denoted by the suffix for **EAR**. The referent in the Lushootseed example (254) is a human being, and the concept **SIDE** refers to a movement from ear to ear, i.e. side to side.

(254) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)

čəx*-x*əbx*əb=ál=ádiʔ-b

2SG-throw (redup.)=CON=EAR-MID

'you will toss your head from side to side'

In the Lushootseed example (255), the referent is a tree. The end of the tree that has become uprooted is denoted by the suffix for **EAR**. This same idea is conveyed in Halkomelem by the suffix =*nec* (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.4). The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

(255) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:175)

qəl=ádiʔ

bad=EAR

'uprooted tree'

The Lushootseed example (256) has a root translated as "back up". The lexical suffix **anaʔ* attaches to this root, and the resulting expression denotes the "back-up side of a house". The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

- (256) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)
 qád=adiʔ
 back up=EAR
 'behind the house'

In the Lushootseed example (257), the long side of a house is referred to by the suffix **anaʔ*. In traditional "longhouses", the sides were the long portions of the structure. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

- (257) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:106)
 háadʔ=ɬl-adiʔ
 long=CON=EAR
 'long sided house'

The side of a house that doesn't face the ocean is referred to by the suffix for EAR in the Lushootseed example (258).²⁰ The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

- (258) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)
 ʔəq̄t=ádiʔ
 landward=EAR
 'landward side of the house'

The Halkomelem example (259) refers to the movement of a ship, and the lexical suffix for EAR denotes the SIDE. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

- (259) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 ʔəx̄x̄=neʔc
 cross=EAR
 'go with the wind from the side'

The prow and the stern define the front/back axis of the ship and determine its lateral axis. The wind hits the ship from the side, which is denoted by the suffix **anaʔ*.

Examples (260) and (261) come from Lillooet. In example (260), the suffix **anaʔ* denotes the far side of a room. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

²⁰ See Chapter 3, section 3.3.2, example (185). By comparing these two examples we can infer that the front side of houses traditionally faced the water, either a river or the sound (cf. Boelscher 1988:24).

(260) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:86)²¹

n-čk=ánaʔ

LOC-finish=EAR

'last one from the wall'

In example (261), the lexical suffix **anaʔ* indicates a locational point that marks the end of the displacement. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**

(261) Lillooet (Martina Pierre p.c.)

síw=anaʔ

move=EAR

'move to the side'

In example (262), the suffix **anaʔ* indicates one of the two sides of an object. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

(262) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:241)

n-čʷut=ánaʔ

LOC-place next to=EAR

'other side of something'

The Shuswap example (263) denotes the act of straightening a bed. The suffix **anaʔ* denotes the sides of the bed. The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

(263) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:172)

tk-cx=éñe

LOC-spread out=EAR

'to adjust blanket (lit. adjust sides)'

The Thompson example (264) refers to the side of a mountain. The side which is not visible to the speaker is denoted by the suffix **anaʔ*.²² The semantic path of the suffix is **EAR > SIDE**.

(264) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:343)

s-teʔ-ciʔ=éñi

NOM-that other=EAR

'on the other side of the mountain'

²¹ Example (260) refers to the far side of the room (Veronica Bikadi p.c.).

²² The suffix for **BACK** is also used to denote the "other side" of things. See Chapter 3, section 3.3.2, examples (184) through (193).

The Okanagan example (265) refers to the side of a non-specific entity, the suffix **anaʔ* denotes *SIDE*. The semantic path of the suffix is *EAR > SIDE*.

- (265) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:35)
k-s-kʷt=inaʔ
ASP/SLT-NOM-across=EAR
'the other side.'

In the Columbian example (266), the lexical suffix **anaʔ* refers to an area located to the side of the door. The semantic path of the suffix is *EAR > SIDE*.

- (266) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #595)
xəl=ánaʔ
lay evenly=EAR
'area next to the door.'

The suffix **anaʔ* extends to denote the abstract notion *SIDE*. The extension *SIDE* for the suffix has its source in the geometry of the human body and the location of the ears.

4.5.2 **anaʔ* denoting "corner".

This section addresses a geometrical projection denoted by the suffix **anaʔ*, which presupposes the extension *SIDE* for the suffix. In several languages of the Salish family, the suffix extends to denote *CORNER*—the point where two sides come together. The extension *CORNER* is attested in Tarascan for the *EAR/SHOULDER* suffix. In Tarascan, the *EAR/SHOULDER* suffix *-ndi* refers to the juncture area of a floor and wall, or of earth and sky—which leads ultimately to a general definition of "inner surfaces of an angle" (Friedrich 1979:350). The semantic path of the suffix is *EAR > SIDE > CORNER*.

The Lushootseed example (267) denotes the place where two sides of an entity converge, defining the concept *CORNER*.

- (267) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:26)
lid=ál=adiʔ-d
tie=CON=EAR-TR
'tie sides together'

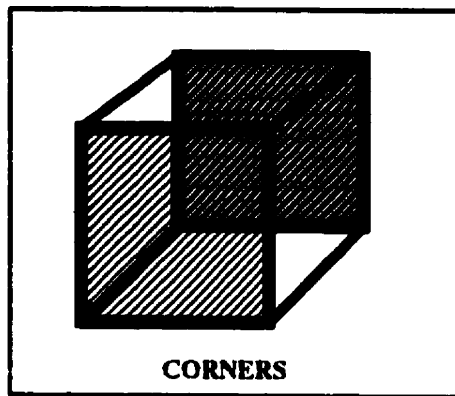


Figure 9: The Extension CORNER for the Suffix *anaʔ.

The lexical suffix *anaʔ denotes this convergence point and foreshadows the meaning CORNER for the suffix which obtains in example (268).

- (268) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:6)
 xč=adiʔ ʔə ti ʔəlʔal
 corner=EAR COMP DET house
 'It is in the corner of the house.'

Examples (269) through (275) come from Bella Coola and Interior Salish. The semantic import of the lexical suffix *anaʔ is CORNER.

- (269) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 ca·qʷ=an
 long=EAR
 'long corner'
- (270) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 nu-ʔil=an
 PRFX-go or come=EAR
 'to go or come around a corner'
- (271) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:172)
 nu-yalč=an
 PRFX-round=EAR
 'round corner'

- (272) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:258)
 ʃ*č=ánaʔ
 bend (?)=EAR
 'corner of fence, house'
- (273) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:301)
 ʔes-n-qʷuʔqʷuʔ=éni
 ASP-LOC-bent (redup.)=EAR
 'basket that is not square at the corner'
- (274) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:111)
 n-km=éni-s e čyé
 LOC-area=EAR-3POSS COMP basket
 'corner of a basket'
- (275) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #594)
 s-n-ʃ*č-čqʷ=ánaʔ
 NOM-POS-unglossed-unglossed=EAR
 'corner'

The meaning *SIDE* for the lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the juncture or internal angle formed by two surfaces: the suffix denotes the concept *CORNER*.

4.5.3 Deixis and the lexical suffix **anaʔ*.

We now address a use of the suffix **anaʔ* EAR that conveys deictic notions. I will argue that this development represents a grammaticalization of the meaning *SIDE* for the suffix **anaʔ*. Deictic systems exhibit similarities across languages, but are largely motivated by culturally situated practices (Gumperz and Levinson 1996:227). In most cultures, deictics are associated with bodily gestures that correspond to modes of access to the deictic field (Hanks 1996:249).

The lexical suffix **anaʔ* refers to the far end of a house in the Lushootseed example (276) below. What perspective sanctions this use for the suffix? The only clue that we have is the predicate, which is glossed as "opposite". The semantic path of the suffix is *EAR > SIDE*.

(276) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:5, 6)

$diʔ=adiʔ$

opposite=EAR

'other end of the house'

The suffix for EAR defines a point in space in example (276). This point denotes the side of a house which is opposite to where the speaker stands.

In example (277), the lexical suffix **anaʔ* refers to the far end of a room, or the "finish side" (Veronica Bikadi p.c.). The far end of the room is conceptualized from a fixed perspective, i.e. the door.

(277) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:86)

$n-čk=ánaʔ$

LOC-finish=EAR

'last one from the wall'

In the expression (277), the last person from the wall sleeps at the end of the room, or the "finish" SIDE, as the literal translation of this expression states.

There is a covert perspective in the use of the suffix **anaʔ* in expressions (276) and (277) above. Deictics are indexical elements that depend on context for their meaning. The context necessary for understanding deictics is a socio-cultural one, for their semantics depend on the values, perspectives, and routine practices of the interactants (Hanks 1996:241). We can think of deictics as representing spatial relations or space trajectories that lead to objects or places through sensory, attentional, and culturally meaningful pathways (Hanks 1996:241-243).

In the following examples the suffix for EAR attaches to deictic elements and becomes part of deictic expressions. The suffix undergoes reanalysis, and the meaning SIDE or END for the suffix **anaʔ* is bleached. Depending on the deictic element with which the suffix combines, the resulting deictic expressions denote notions such as there, here, and now. The semantic path of the suffix is EAR > SIDE. The suffix is grammaticalized in these contexts and is labeled EAR.

In examples (278) through (280) the lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes deictic notions.

(278) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:77)
 ìək-ì=éne
 into-CON=EAR
 'over there'

Example (279) has temporal as well as spatial meaning.

(279) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:83)
 ìʔ=éne
 prefix in deictics=EAR
 'this, thus, here, now'

(280) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:82)
 ìl=éne
 prefix in deictics=EAR
 'there'

It appears that the suffix **anaʔ* in extension EAR > SIDE is reanalyzed in certain contexts and becomes part of expressions that have deictic meaning in at least one Salish language.

4.5.4 Summary and distribution of the locational extensions of the suffix.

Table X shows the distribution of locational extensions by branch and sums up section 4.4.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS OF	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS					
EAR "Side"		•		•	•
EAR "Side of the Road"				•	
EAR "Corner"	•	•		•	•
EAR "Deictic"				•	

TABLE X: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS

The locational extension SIDE denoted by the suffix stems from the position of the anatomical ears marking the lateral axis of the body.

- The extension SIDE is attested the Central and Interior branches of the family.

- The meaning CORNER is attested in all branches of the family except Tsamosan.
- The suffix is attested with deictic meaning only in Shuswap.

4.6 Relational concepts expressed by the lexical suffix for EAR.

The relational meanings of the suffix **anaʔ* are rooted in the metaphor “up to the ears”.²³ The expressions that follow come from Interior Salish and set the ground for the metaphorical transfer in which these relational extensions originate.

Example (281) comes from Okanagan and has the instrumental suffix; it denotes a blanket.

- (281) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:37)
 k-tp=ínaʔ-tn
 ASP/RSLT-cover=EAR-INSTR
 ‘blanket’

The literal translation of example (282) above is “cover-ear instrument”. Example (268) is a reflexive and denotes someone covered with a blanket.

- (282) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:627)
 če^c-yilxʷ=eneʔ-en-cut
 LOC-cover=EAR-TR-RFLX
 ‘He covered himself with his blanket.’

The question to address is why the suffix for EAR appears in expressions denoting blankets in both examples (281) and (282), if the usual suffix for denoting blankets is *ícaʔ* HIDE.²⁴ The answer lies in a metaphor and on the use given to blankets by the Interior Plateau people.

Blankets and robes appear to have been the garment of choice for protection against the elements in the Plateau cultures. The more completely a person is covered by the blanket, the better protected from the elements the person is. Thus, efficient coverage is coverage “up to the

²³ I was first made aware of this meaning for the suffix by Dale Kinkade.

²⁴ The usual suffix for denoting blankets throughout Salish is *ícaʔ* HIDE.

(i) Columbian (Kinkade n.d. #1450)
 s-ǰǰǰǰ=cn=ícaʔ
 NOM-dog=MOUTH = HIDE
 ‘a dog-fur blanket for sleigh.’

ears". This image is metaphorically transferred to other contexts and semantic domains. Figure 10 below shows the use of a blanket or robe as protection from the cold.



Figure 10: The Use of Blankets or Robes as Overcoats.

The notion “over” is conveyed by the suffix **anaʔ* with predicates of coverage. This extension may have its origin in the use of robes as overcoats in the Interior Plateau. The relational extensions **OVER** and **ON** for the suffix **anaʔ* are discussed in the following sections. Section 4.6.1 addresses predicates of coverage and the suffix **anaʔ*. Section 4.6.2 addresses predicates of spillage and the suffix **anaʔ*. Section 4.6.3 addresses the meaning **ON** for the suffix **anaʔ*.

4.6.1 **anaʔ* meaning “over” with predicates denoting coverage.

The relational extension **OVER** for the suffix **anaʔ* occurs with predicates of coverage. The relation expressed by the suffix **anaʔ* in examples (283) through (288) is **OVER**. The predicates in these expressions have the meanings “cover” and “uncover”. The semantic path of the suffix is **UP TO THE EAR > OVER**.

- (283) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:144)
 ləp̌=ánaʔ-an
 covered=EAR-TR
 ‘cover up something with dirt or gravel’
- (284) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:164)
 qʷy=ínaʔ
 cover=EAR
 ‘cover surface’
- (285) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #554)
 k-ləŋʷləŋʷ=ánaʔ-tn
 POS-cover (redup.)=EAR-INSTR
 ‘overshoes’
- (286) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:27)
 k-cm=ínaʔ
 ASP/RSLT-cover=EAR
 ‘be covered with a layer’
- (287) Spokane (Carlson 1989:20)
 hes-čl-čh=éneʔ
 ASP-LOC-uncovered=EAR
 ‘it’s uncovered’
- (288) Spokane (Carlson 1989:101)
 čl-íkw=éneʔ s-c
 LOC-set down=EAR-SUF-3SG
 ‘He laid over something’

Examples (289) through (292) also denote coverage. The roots in these expressions are translated into English as “fold”, “spread out”, “come apart”, and “solid sheet”. The lexical suffix for EAR conveys the relation OVER in these utterances.

- (289) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:173)
 xʷ-pən=ən-cut
 LOC=fold something=EAR-RFLX
 ‘I cover myself’

(290) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:226)

t-x n=éñe

LOC-spread out=EAR

'to cover'

(291) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:209)

t-ki=éñe

LOC-come apart=EAR

'to uncover'

(292) Spokane (Carlson 1989:88)

hes-čl-šñ=éñe?

ASP-LOC-solid sheet=EAR

'It has a disk over it.'

The predicates in examples (293) and (294) also imply coverage and have the meanings “to hide” and “to fade”. The sense of covering is closely related to the notion of hiding something. These examples are somewhat abstract in that their meanings imply that events or facts are being covered—that which is covered is hidden from view by a physical or metaphorical layer. The suffix denotes the relation OVER in these expressions.

(293) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:449)

ʔəs-yɫʷ=éñi-n-s

ASP-hide=EAR-SUF-3SG

'covered up (of an event)'

(294) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:96)

ks=éñi-n-s

fade=EAR-SUF-3SG

'conceal something from people'

The predicate in (295) has the meaning “deep”, and the context can be construed as being buried “up to the ears”.

(295) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:84)

n-łp=q=ána?

LOC-deep=SUF=EAR

'get covered up'

“Cover” can mean “to protect or secure something”. It may denote a buffer against the elements, as in the kind of coverage provided by a blanket; or it may denote coverage with dirt or earth. In both instances, covering for protection against the cold and covering with dirt, i.e. burying, the thing buried or covered is not visible.

Examples (296) through (303) denote the covering over of some entity with mud or snow. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the relation OVER.

- (296) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:318)
n-ʔáǰʷ=anaʔ
LOC-slide=EAR
‘get covered up in an avalanche’
- (297) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:54)
n-məǰʷ-p=ánaʔ
LOC-snow=ASP=EAR
‘get covered by falling snow’
- (298) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:200)
məǰʷ-p=éńi
snow-ASP=EAR
‘get buried in the snow’
- (299) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:205)
n-moʔl=éńi
LOC-pile up dirt=EAR
‘caught by a slide, avalanche’
- (300) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:243)
pkʷ=éńi-s-c
spill (dry mass)=EAR-SUF-3SG
‘dump dry mass covers someone’
- (301) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:101)
k-mqʷqʷ=ínaʔ
ASP/RSLT-falling snow (redup.)=EAR
‘be snowed under’

(302) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:71)

k-líq̣=naʔ-n t

ASP/RSLT-bury=EAR-TR

'bury something'

(303) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #590)

ka t-q*úł=áñaʔ

POS-dust=EAR

'covered with dust'

The Okanagan example (304) also implies coverage or, better said, the lack of snow coverage on the ground.

(304) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:201)

k-s-taʔm=ínaʔ

ASP/RSLT-NOM-clear ground=EAR

'there is no snow on the ground'

The predicates in the following expressions have meanings such as “walk”, “fly”, and “run”. We can consider them predicates of motion. The trajectory an entity describes in running or walking covers the length or width of the ground surface traversed; similarly, the path of a bird's flight is metaphorical ground coverage. The suffix denotes the relation OVER in examples (305) through (307), which contain predicates of motion.

(305) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:361)

twek=éñi-n-s

walk=EAR-SUF-3SG

'walk over someone's grave'

(306) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:402)

n-x*el-ix=éñi-n-s

LOC-fly-AUT=EAR-SUF-3SG

'fly over something'

(307) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:36)

k-sx̣*-p=ínaʔ

ASP/RSLT-run-ASP=EAR

'run over (a surface)'

The examples above show the relation OVER for the suffix with predicates that denote real or metaphorical coverage.

4.6.2 *anaʔ meaning “upon”.

The meaning OVER also obtains for the suffix *anaʔ when it combines with roots meaning “spilling” and “pouring”. If the substance covering a surface is a liquid, the suffix *anaʔ is translated as OVER or ON depending on the extent of the area covered by the spillage. The two Thompson examples below are identical in structure, and the relation expressed by the suffix *anaʔ is translated as OVER in example (308) and ON in example (309). the semantic path of the suffix is UP TO THE EAR > OVER/UPON.

(308) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:169)

ʔe kʷ=éni-n-s

pour liquid=EAR-SUF-3SG

‘pour water over something’

(309) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:134)

kʷl=éni-n-s

spill liquid=EAR-SUF-3SG

‘pour liquid on to something’

The suffix expresses a relational meaning in the examples above. The pragmatic context of the events depicted might force the construal UPON for the suffix in the English translations.

The Lillooet example (310) contains the predicate “pour”, and conveys the relation UPON.

(310) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:188)

n-kʷl=ánʔ-an

LOC-pour=EAR-TR

‘pour something all over someone’

Examples (311) through (313) contain roots meaning “drip” and “squirt”. The expressions depict situations where an animate patient is affected by the action implied in the predicate. The lexical suffix *anaʔ denotes the relation UPON, which in this case subsumes the terminal point of the motion denoted by the predicate and also the ground affected by the action implied in the predicate.

(311) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:28)

cəxʷ-p=éni

drip-ASP=EAR

'get dripped on'

(312) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:347)

təɣ-p=éni

squirt-ASP=EAR

'have something drip on one'

(313) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:138)

čín es-čl-au-p=éneʔ

1SG ASP-LOC-drip-ASP=EAR

'It is dripping on me.'

Examples (314) through (316) come from Columbian, and have predicates that denote the spillage of different types of substances. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the relation UPON.

(314) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #579)

k-čxʷ=ánaʔ

POS-spill, pour=EAR

'spill water on'

(315) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.: #578)

k-pʔ=ánaʔ-an

POS-dump something wet=EAR-1SG

'I dumped it on him.'

(316) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.: #575)

kat-póqʷ=naʔ-an

POS-spill something dry=EAR-1SG

'I spilled it on him.'

The Columbian example (317) below contains the predicate "to touch", which implies coverage with the hand. The suffix **anaʔ* conveys the relation UPON.

- (317) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #580)
 k-táqəq=naʔ
 POS-touch (redup.)=EAR
 ‘accidentally put hand on and smear’

·A hand is implied in the example above, but there is no morphological expression of the concept “hand” in the utterance. The touching in example (317) results in a limited type of coverage. If you touch something with greasy hands, you cover with a stain the portion of the surface that you touch.

The following examples depict situations where a surface is covered by extraneous matter falling upon it. Examples (318) through (320) come from Northern Interior Salish. The roots in these examples have meanings such as “collapse” and “topple”, and the lexical suffix **anaʔ* conveys the notion UPON. The semantic path of the suffix is UP TO THE EARS > OVER/UPON.

- (318) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:291)
 zəl kʷ=ánaʔ
 collapse=EAR
 ‘to collapse on top of something’

- (319) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:290)
 zəʔáq=ánaʔ
 topple=EAR
 ‘rocks, wood fall on top of someone’

- (320) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:135)
 n-łç=ánaʔ
 LOC-piled up=EAR
 ‘shed or house falls on someone’

Examples (321) through (323) come from Southern Interior Salish and show instances of physical contact between two animate entities. The predicates in these examples are translated as “to jump” and “to step”. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* conveys the relation UPON.

(321) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:624)

če-ṭux*-ilc=ineʔ-en-c

LOC-jump-AUT=EAR-TR-3SG

'He jumped on him.'

(322) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:159)

čl-qa lu·t=éneʔ-n

LOC-step=EAR-1SG

'I step on him.'

(323) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:624)

če-taṭq=ineʔ-^cnt-əm

LOC-step=EAR-TR-MID

'He was stepped on.'

Next, we will see a set of examples that represent an interesting development for the suffix. The predicates in these examples denote natural phenomena, i.e. the seasons, sunrise, and sunset. The lexical suffix for EAR denotes the relationship UPON. Examples (310) through (313) come from Southern Interior Salish and depict the seasons of the year, the onset of darkness, and the onset of daylight. These phenomena are construed as descending upon an entity. The affected entity is denoted by a first person singular marker in the examples that follow. The lexical suffix **anaʔ* denotes the relation UPON.

(324) Spokane (Carlson 1989:70)

čn čl-qppc=éneʔ

1SG LOC-Spring=EAR

'Spring came on me.'

(325) Spokane (Carlson 1989:21)

čn čl-čʔeʔey=éneʔ

1SG LOC-dry, dark (redup.)=EAR

'Autumn came on me.'

(326) Spokane (Carlson 1989:6)

čn čl-ʔesstč=éneʔ

1SG LOC-winter=EAR

'Winter came on me.'

- (327) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:174)
 čin-čl-čal-p=éne?
 1SG-LOC-daylight-ASP=EAR
 'The daylight is on me.'

Examples (328) through (331) refer to being overtaken by darkness or being rained upon.

The referent is probably the land itself, which is cross-referenced by a zero pronominal.

- (328) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:115)
 n-k*a?c=ína?
 LOC-dark=EAR
 'dark overtakes'
- (329) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:284)
 k-s-?is=tk=ína?
 ASP/RSLT-NOM-change=WINTER=EAR
 'winter comes'
- (330) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #583)
 k-ta wá w=na?
 POS-rain (redup.)=EAR
 'get rained on'
- (331) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:251)
 k-s-čl-p=ína?
 ASP/RSLT-NOM-clear-ASP=EAR
 'daylight comes on somebody'

Expression (332) literally means darkness is upon us. This is a further metaphorical extension for the suffix into the temporal domain. The descent of darkness marks the end of the day and is associated with the late hours of the day, or with being late in arriving somewhere.

- (332) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:43)
 k*u t-kəlx*=ína?
 1PI RSLT-dark=EAR
 'We are late.'

The following examples contain predicates that denote “cutting”, “throwing”, and “putting”. The surfaces mentioned in the English translations below are not morphologically expressed. The suffix **anaʔ* denotes the relation UPON.

(333) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:155)

íim=ńi-me
trim brush=EAR-MID
'cut brush on top of grave'

(334) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:137)

k-pqʷ=ínaʔ
ASP/RSLT-throw=EAR
'throw something on a surface'

(335) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:215)

k-íkʷ=ínaʔ-nt
ASP/RSLT-put=EAR-TR
'put something on top'

The suffix **anaʔ* attaches to the predicates “mark” and “mast” in the Thompson examples (336) and (337). The instrumental suffix nominalizes these utterances. The expressions denote grave-markers and can be literally translated as “mark upon something” and “mast upon something”.

(336) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:427)

ǰk=éńi-tn
mark=EAR-INSTR
'tombstone, grave marker'

(337) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:66)

ći-p=éńi-tn
mast-ASP=EAR-INSTR
'gravepole, cross, tombstone'

4.6.3 Summary and distribution of relational extensions.

Table XI graphs the distribution of the relational extensions that obtains for the suffix **anaʔ* within this chapter.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
EAR "Over"				•	•
EAR "Upon"				•	•

TABLE XI: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS

Relational extensions of the suffix **anaʔ* EAR are attested only in Interior Salish and can be translated into English as the prepositions OVER and UPON. The relational extensions OVER and ON obtain with predicates of coverage and seem to originate in a metaphorical transfer of the expression "up to the ears". The uses of blankets and robes within the material culture is the probable source of the relational meanings that obtain for the suffix **anaʔ* in Interior languages.

4.7 Cultural extensions of the suffix **anaʔ*.

The following extension arises from practices within the culture and denotes a person who is of low birth.

(338) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.104.1)

ḡsə ʔáʔš=añ

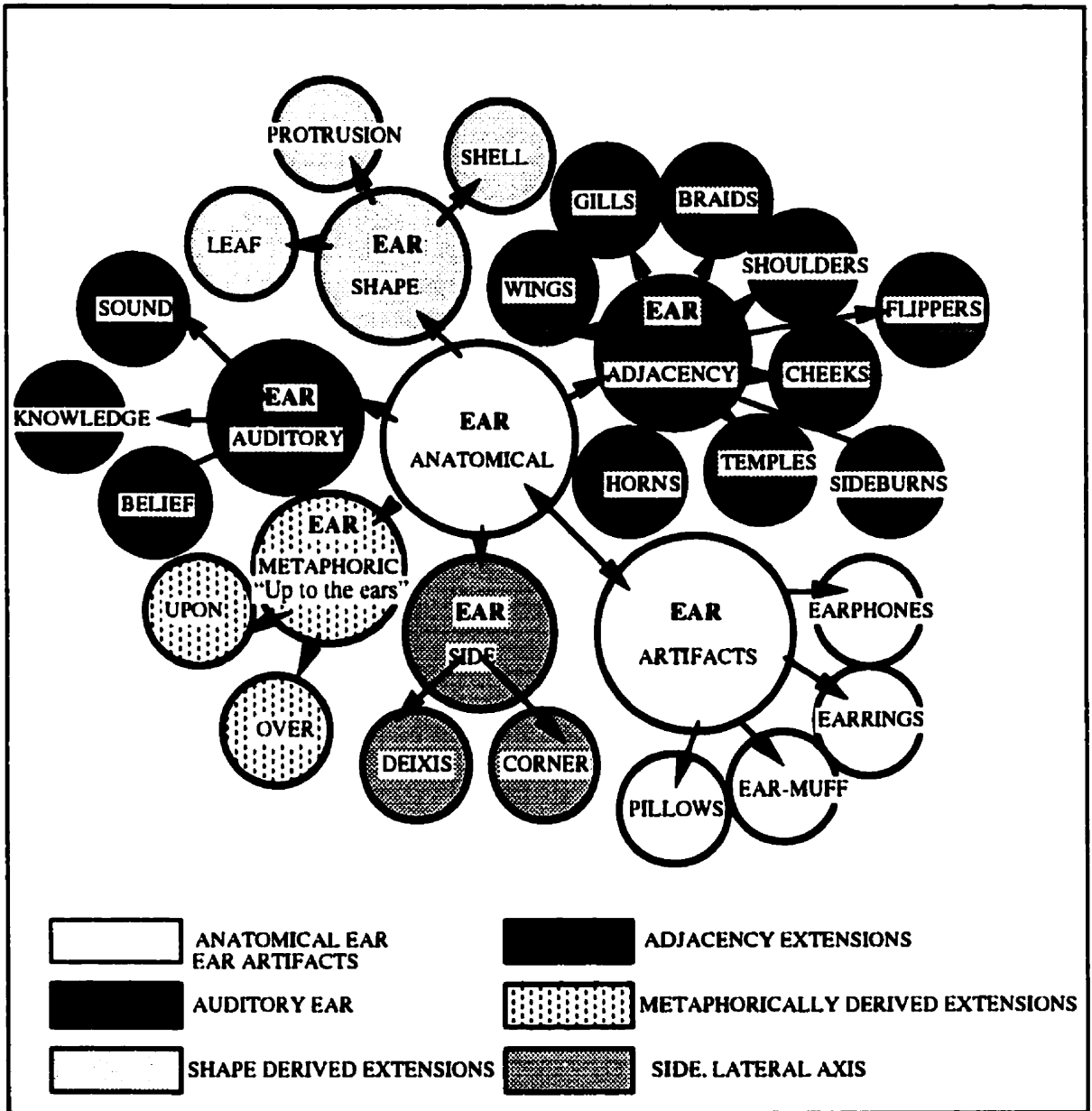
unglossed unglossed=EAR

'lowly born'


I don't know why the suffix for EAR should be part of a word meaning lowly born. In the immediate region, slaves were required to keep their hair cut short, which means that the ears of the person were visible (Wayne Suttles p.c.). This may be a possible explanation, but I do not know if this custom existed among the Quinault.

4.8 Summary and distribution of semantic extensions by language.


The semantic extensions of the lexical suffix **anaʔ* arranged in radial category format appear in Figure 11 below. The different semantic domains of the suffix have been coded in the drawing for ease of understanding.



11: Radial Category of the Meanings of the Suffix *ana?.


 Denotes the external ear and artifacts such as pillows, ear-muffs, earrings, and earphones.

 Denotes the auditory ear, sounds, noises, abstract information, knowledge, and belief.

 Denotes classificatory shape extensions abstracted from the shape of the external ear and its position in relation to the bulk of the head.

















 Denotes adjacency derived extensions.

 Denotes metaphorically-derived relational extensions of the suffix.

 Denotes the extension SIDE.

4.9 Distribution of extensions by language.

Table XII shows the distribution of the different extensions of the suffix *ana' EAR.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Comox	Squamish	Halkomelem	Saanich	Twana	Lushootseed	Quinault	Upper Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Spokane	Kalispel	Cocur d'Alene
ANATOMICAL EAR																	
EAR "Anatomical"	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
ADJACENCY EXTENSIONS																	
EAR "Temples"	•						•		•			•		•			
EAR "Cheeks"			•	•			•				•			•			
EAR "Sideburns"	•						•				•				•		
EAR "Braids"							•		•		•	•		•	•		
EAR "Shoulders"	•										•	•					
EAR "Gills"		•					•			•							
EAR "Wings"			•														
EAR "Flippers"											•						
EAR "Horns"														•			
AUDITORY EAR																	
EAR "Listening/Deafness"	•		•	•			•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
EAR "Sound"							•	•				•	•	•	•		
SHAPE EXTENSIONS																	
EAR "Protrusion"				•			•							•			
EAR "Shell"	•						•						•	•	•		
EAR "Leaf"				(•)						•			•	•	•	•	
LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS																	
EAR "Side"				•			•			•	•	•	•	•			
EAR "Corner"	•						•			•	•			•			
EAR "Deixis"												•					
RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS																	
EAR "Over"										•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
EAR "Upon"										•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

 Bella Coola
  Central
  Tsamosan
  N. Interior
  S. Interior

TABLE XII: DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS BY LANGUAGE

The meaning **EAR** for the suffix **anaʔ* is attested in all the languages considered in this chapter. Meanings referring to the auditory ear are not attested in Comox, Squamish, Saanich, Twana and Upper Chehalis, chiefly because there are not many entries from these languages in the data base.

- Shape-based extensions of the suffix are attested in this corpus for Bella Coola, Halkomelem, Twana, Lushootseed, Lillooet, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Kalispel.
- Locational extensions are attested in Bella Coola, Halkomelem (Downriver), Lushootseed, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, and Columbian.
- Adjacency extensions are attested in Bella Coola, Comox, Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokane.
- Relational extensions of the suffix are attested only in Interior Salish.

4.10 Conclusions.

In concluding, I would like to point out that the extensions of the lexical suffix for **EAR** covered in this chapter closely correspond to the extensions found for prefixes denoting “car” in genetically unrelated languages. No claim of universality can be made for these developments in the area of innate grammatical knowledge. However, most of these extensions are based on the perception of shape and general position of the anatomical “ear”, and in this respect point to a cognitive process that is uniquely human, and in that sense universal.

The relational concepts **OVER** and **ON** denoted by the suffix cannot be assumed to represent semantic primitives. They are conceptual artifacts metaphorically evolved and grounded in the way individuals perceive and interact with their environment, i.e. in this case with blankets and robes. In short, relational extensions reflect a perception of the world mediated by a cultural frame.

In this analysis, we assume polysemy for the suffix **anaʔ* and also contextualization. The meanings **OVER** and **ON** are defined by context. Context selects the predicate of a sentence and the inherent sub-categorization of this predicate determines the ultimate reading of the suffix.

The **FRONT/BACK** opposition in humans and the **TOP/BOTTOM** opposition in animals is denoted by the body parts “back” and “belly”. The spine defines the vertical axis of the human body and parallels the ground surface in an animal’s body. The lateral axis is a line perpendicular to the vertical or horizontal axes defined by the spine. If the spine defines the vertical axis of the human body, the line of the shoulders is the perpendicular line that crosses it. We have seen that the suffix for **EAR** can refer to the body part “shoulder”. This substitution equates ears and shoulders as representing the lateral axis of the body and motivates the extension **SIDE** for the suffix.

Chapter Five: The Suffix GAME ANIMAL.

5.0 Introduction.

This chapter addresses the semantics of the lexical suffix **áłciʔ*. The suffix is traditionally considered a material-culture suffix. However, it can also be considered as belonging to the somatic domain, since it primarily denotes game animals. I will argue that the hunting practices of the Interior Plateau people underlie the proliferation of meanings of this suffix, which include “animal”, “flesh”, “carcass”, and “innards”. The locational notions “inside” and “side” are part of the chain of meanings that obtain for the suffix in Northern and Southern Interior Salish. These locational extensions obtain through the projection of an anatomical relation into adjacent space. A metaphorical extension of the suffix **áłciʔ* denotes the seat of emotion in Interior Salish. This parallels the affective meanings conveyed by the suffix **an/nak* addressed in Chapter 2.

5.0.1 The data.

Table I shows the sources for the suffix and the number of entries per language.

SOURCES FOR “GAME ANIMAL”			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	SOURCES	NO
Bella Coola			0
Central Salish	Squamish	Kuipers (1967)	0
	Halkomelem	Suttles (in preparation a and b)	7
	Saanich	Montler (1986), Pidgeon (1970)	0
	Lushootseed	Bates (1994), Hess (1976)	5
Tsamosan	Quinault	Gibson (n.d.)	4
	Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	27
Interior (Northern)	Lillooet	van Eijk (1985), (1987)	20
	Thompson	Thompson and Thompson (1996)	60
	Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)	58
Interior (Southern)	Okanagan	Mattina (1987)	46
	Columbian	Kinkade (n.d.)	55
	Kalispel	Vogt (1940), Giorda (1879)	29
	Spokane	Carlson (1989)	37
	Coeur d’Alene	Reichard (1938)	13
TOTAL			261

TABLE I : SOURCES FOR THE SUFFIX FOR GAME ANIMAL

The semantic analysis presented here is based on 361 examples of the lexical suffix **átciʔ*. I introduce 231 examples of the suffix in this chapter, tracing the distribution of its extensions throughout the family, categorizing its semantic domains, and exploring the particular chains of meaning that obtain. In the 361 examples considered, the meanings “game” and “animal” occur exclusively in Tsamosan and Interior Salish. The suffix **átciʔ* is not attested in Bella Coola or Central Salish with the meaning GAME ANIMAL.¹

5.0.2 The root *ciʔ* and the lexical suffix for GAME ANIMAL.

Kuipers (1996:203) reconstructs the suffix as **átcaʔ* and suggests a relation to the root **ciʔ* “loot from raid” and “game bagged”, which has cognates in Squamish, Cowichan, Musqueam, Chilliwack, Shuswap, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d’Alene.²

LANGUAGE	FORM	MEANING	SOURCE
CENTRAL			
Musqueam	ciʔ	“booty”	Suttles (p.c.)
Cowichan	ciʔ	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
Chilliwak	ci	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
Squamish	s-ci	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
TSAMOSAN			
Upper Chehalis	ʔal=ciʔ	“dress meat”	Kinkade 1991:144
NORTHERN INTERIOR			
Lillooet	ciʔ	“deer, meat”	van Eijk 1987:94
Thompson	s-me ciʔ	“share of meat in a hunt”	Thompson & Thompson 1996:193
Shuswap	ciʔ	“deer, meat”	Kuipers 1996
SOUTHERN INTERIOR			
Okanagan	s-cʔ=ikst	“hind quarter, limb”	Mattina 1987:21
Spokane	cʔ=úlix*	“whitetailed deer”	Carlson 1989:13
Kalispel	cuʔ=úlix	“deer”	Vogt 1940:141
Coeur d’Alene	ciʔ	“deer”	Kuipers 1996:203

TABLE II: DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROOT **ciʔ*

¹ The related meaning “meat” occurs in Central Salish, e.g. Lushootseed *šab=átciʔ* “dried meat” (Hess 1976:10).

² This is the position I took in Hinkson 1998:235-256. Kuipers (1996:203) suggests that **átcaʔ* and **ícaʔ* contain the root *ciʔ*.


Table III above shows the general distribution of the different meaning of the root *ci*?. The meaning “booty” predominantly occurs in the Central Salish languages, while the meanings “deer” and “meat” predominantly occur in the Tsamosan and Interior branches of the family.

Relating *ci*? to a suffix reconstructed with final **a* requires accounting for the final vowel (see Tables III and IV). Kinkade finds the relation of this suffix to the root *ci*? problematic and reconstructs the suffix for GAME ANIMAL as **álcí*?, as opposed to **álcá*?, to account for the final *i* vowel in Thompson, Lushootseed, and Upper Chehalis (1998:281). A relation between **álcá*? and *ci*? might be possible if one posits a reduction of *i* to *ə* with stress shift, and the lowering *ə* to *a*. This is the case in some Salish languages, but at present there is no evidence that it happened across Salish (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

The other obstacle in relating *ci*? to **álcá*? is accounting for *-at-*. If this is the widespread compounding morpheme, there is not reason for it to take the stress in preference to what follows (Dale Kinkade p.c.). Diachronically, the suffix **álcí*? appears to be a sequence of the element *-at-* and the element *-ci*?. Synchronically, there is no evidence of a function for *-at-* compatible with compounding lexical suffixes. Thus, the form **álcí*? must be considered a lexical unit.

5.0.3 The lexical suffix for GAME ANIMAL and the Salishan family tree.

This section addresses the genetic relations between Salishan languages as they affect the suffix **álcí*?. The family tree depicted in Figure 1 shows the forms of the suffix in the languages from which data was obtained.

Additional forms of the lexical suffix **álcí*? were obtained from Haeblerlin (1974:301); these languages are marked with a square  in Figure 1.

Nisqually (Southern Lushootseed) and **Twana** *taú=əlce* “doe”

Satsop and Cowlitz *taú=əlce* “doe”

Pend Oreille (Kalispel) *smêm=əlce* “doe” and *stie=lca* “caribou”.

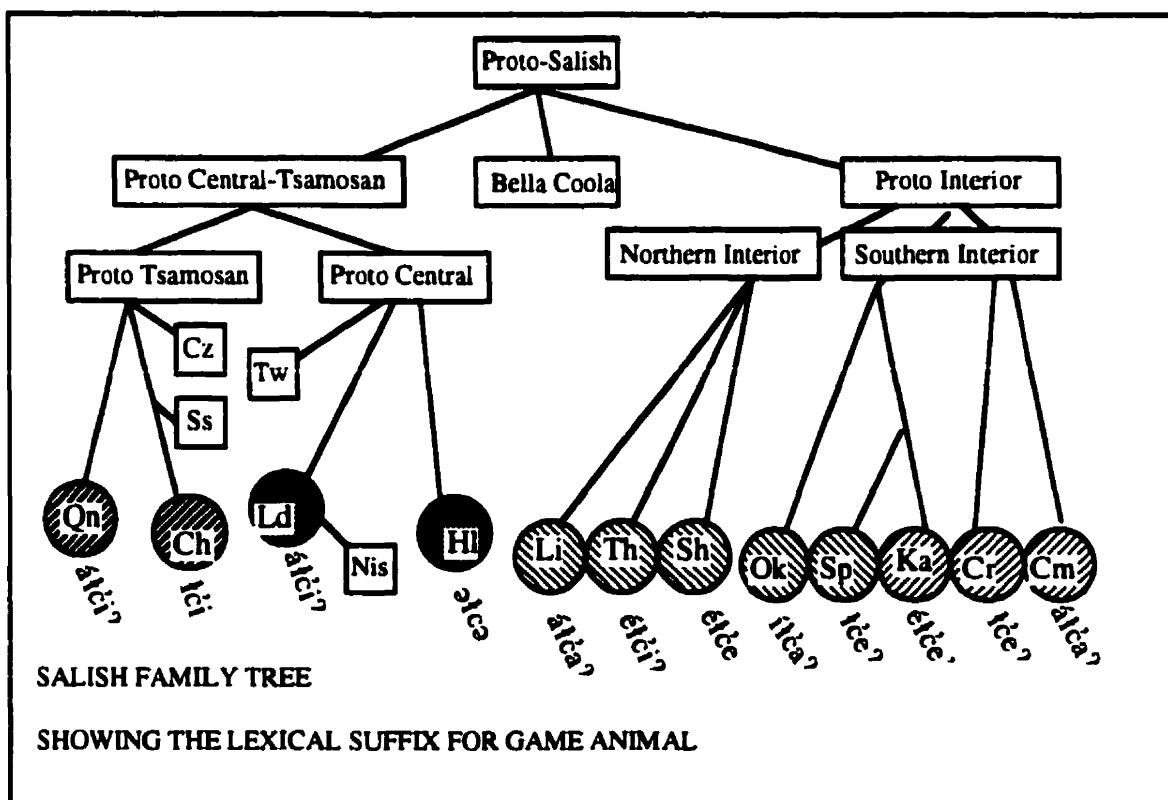


Figure 1: Salish Family Tree Showing the Lexical suffix **álci?*.

A visual inspection of Figure 1 might lead to the impression that the suffix **álci?* is characteristic of Interior Salish. While it is true that some suffixes are characteristic of the Interior and others are characteristic of the Coast (Haeberlin 1974:226), it cannot be ascertained from the data in this chapter that **álci?* is exclusive to Interior Salish. Nevertheless, a broader range of semantic extensions obtains for the suffix **álci?* in Interior Salish. Since published lexical material on Interior Salish is more extensive and available, the greater number of examples may be due to a bias in the data, or perhaps to the influence culture has upon the range of associative domains possible for a given suffix.

I have shown here genetic relations amongst Salish languages through cognate forms of the suffix **álci?*. The Haeberlin data is included as an aid to the semantic reconstruction of the suffix throughout the family.³

³ Glottalized *c'* is not present in the the forms obtained from Haeberlin; the suffix is transcribed with a plain *c*.

5.0.4 The reconstructed form for the lexical suffix GAME ANIMAL.

The reconstruction of the suffix *áłci? takes into account the phonological shape of the suffix throughout the family. Its main purpose within this study is to demonstrate the morphological identity of the suffix. Once the morphological identity of a suffix is established, a semantic analysis can be performed by tabulating the meanings of the suffix throughout the family.

In reconstructing the proto-meaning of *áłci? within Salish, it is important to notice that the meanings “animal”, “carcass”, “flesh”, and “innards” are associated with the suffix.⁴

Table III illustrates the different shapes of the lexical suffix GAME ANIMAL in Salish.

THE FORMS OF THE LEXICAL SUFFIX GAME ANIMAL	
CENTRAL DIVISION	
Luchootseed	áłci?
PLACIDIAN DIVISION	
Quinault	áłci?
U. Chehalis	áłci
INTERIOR DIVISION (North)	
Lillooet	áłca?
Thompson	éłci?
Shuswap	éłcə
INTERIOR DIVISION (South)	
Okanagan	íłca?
Columbian	áłca?
Spokane	éłce?
Kalispel	éłce?
Coeur d'Alene	íłce?

TABLE III: THE DIFFERENT PHONOLOGICAL SHAPES OF THE SUFFIX FOR GAME ANIMAL

⁴ The Latin *testam, testum* “pot” changed its meaning to “head” in French and Italian (Bloomfield 1933:441). *Tête* in contemporary French means “head” and not “pot”. Thus in reconstructing a proto-meaning for *tête* within Romance, it is important to notice that the meanings “pot” and “head” are associated with the word, and to determine the possible context triggering the change.

Table IV lists the forms of the suffix aligned by segment.

Luchootseed		á	ɫ	č	i	ʔ
Quinault		á	ɫ	č	i	ʔ
U. Chehalis		á	ɫ	č	i	
Lillooet		á	ɫ	č	a	ʔ
Thompson		é	ɫ	č	i	ʔ
Shuswap		é	ɫ	č	ə	
Okanagan		í	ɫ	č	a	ʔ
Columbian		á	ɫ	č	a	ʔ
Spokane		é	ɫ	č	e	ʔ
Kalispel		é	ɫ	č	e	ʔ
Coeur d'Alene		í	ɫ	č	e	ʔ
	*	á	ɫ	č	i	ʔ

TABLE IV: THE PROTO-FORM OF THE SUFFIX FOR GAME ANIMAL

Following Kinkade (1998), I posit a proto-form **áɫciʔ* for the suffix. This form accounts for the final *-i* vowel in Thompson, Lushootseed, and Upper Chehalis.

5.0.5 The central meanings of the lexical suffix **áɫciʔ*.

The central meaning GAME ANIMAL was assigned to the suffix **áɫciʔ* on the basis of its extant semantic extensions in the different languages of the family. These semantic extensions seem to originate on hunting practices, and the on the importance game has as a primary source of food. The suffix **áɫciʔ* refers to game animals and to the meat of game animals. It also refers to the flesh of domestic animals and to other foods not necessarily of animal origin. In addition, it denotes concrete and abstract entities and locations. Cases in point are the Shuswap examples (1) and (2), where the suffix refers both to “meat” and “feeling”.

- (1) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:30)
 knm =éɫč
 bear=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘bear meat’
- (2) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:193)
 x-kəs =éɫč
 POS-bad=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘cranky’

Within the scope of this analysis, and after considering the extant meanings of the suffix **áłciʔ* throughout the family, it is possible to derive all its semantic extensions from the core meaning **GAME ANIMAL**. The linguistic processes through which semantic extensions obtain are the standard paths of lexical change, metaphor, metonymy, and analogy applied in specific cultural settings. The Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, the Principle of Canonical Orientation, the Principle of Shape Abstraction, and the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics systematize these means of extension in the context of the Salish family. The range of meanings embodied by the lexical suffix **áłciʔ* are displayed below:

GAME ANIMAL > FLESH /BODY /CARCASS (5.1.2, 5.1.3, 5.1.4)

CARCASS > HIP > SIDE (5.2.1)

GAME ANIMAL > INNARDS > INSIDE (5.1.5) (5.2.2)

INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT (5.2.1)

Recapitulating, I conclude that the central meaning of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL** and that all semantic extensions of the suffix are traceable to this central meaning.

5.0.6 Categories of meanings that obtain for the lexical suffix **áłciʔ*.

The following categories address the array of meanings subsumed by the lexical suffix **áłciʔ*.

MEANINGS RELATED TO HUNTING AND BUTCHERING: Examples (3) through (11) show meanings directly derived from the central meaning of the suffix, **GAME ANIMAL**.

GAME/ANIMAL “Animal”

- (3) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
 s-tiyé=łceʔ
 NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘caribou’

GAME/ANIMAL “Game”

- (4) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:399)
 x*ʔ=éłciʔ
 much=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘lots of game taken when hunting’

GAME/ANIMAL “Body”

- (5) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:91)
ʔləl-p=fłčáʔ
motionless, die-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
‘The body will stop (quivering).’

GAME/ANIMAL “Carcass”

- (6) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:229)
s-peʔc=éłčíʔ
NOM-black bear-GAME ANIMAL
‘dressed bear carcass’

GAME/ANIMAL “Innards”

- (7) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:69)
n-čoʔl=áłčíʔ
NOM-sour=GAME ANIMAL
‘sour aftertaste from indigestion’

- (8) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:231)
wiʔ s-n-təlkʷ=fłčíʔ
INTRJCT NOM-LOC-pull out=GAME ANIMAL
‘He got done taking out the guts.’

GAME/ANIMAL “Flesh”

- (9) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:80)
ʔəʔs=áłčáʔ
good (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
‘The meat tastes good’.
- (10) Spokane (Carlson 1989:119)
s-n-ʔʷáqʷ=łčéʔ-tn
NOM-DIR-grind=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
‘meat grinder’

GAME/ANIMAL “Food”

- (11) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:20)
s-n-čáʔx*=fíčáʔ
NOM-LOC-pour liquid=GAME ANIMAL
'hot cakes'

LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Examples (12) and (13) show locational extensions of the suffix based on the anatomy of game animals.

GAME/ANIMAL “Side”

- (12) Columbian (Kinkade no date)
t-k*ən=łčáʔ=wíł-n
POS-grab=GAME ANIMAL=VESSEL-1SG
'I caught the side of the canoe.'

GAME/ANIMAL “Inside”

- (13) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:181)
s-n-yx*=íłčáʔ
NOM-LOC-dropped=GAME ANIMAL
'inside'

FEELING EXTENSIONS: Example (14) shows the entrails construed as the seat of emotion.

GAME/ANIMAL “Feeling”

- (14) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:255)
n-šáwń=áłčáʔ
LOC-low=GAME ANIMAL
'humble'

The inventory of semantic categories that obtain for the suffix **áłčiʔ* sustains the positing of the central meanings GAME ANIMAL for the suffix.

5.1 **áłčiʔ* referring to “game animal”.

The meaning GAME ANIMAL for the suffix **áłčiʔ* is attested throughout the Interior and Tšamosan branches of the family. The suffix is not attested with the meaning GAME ANIMAL in Central Salish, a fact that lends itself to speculation about the influence of culture on the semantics of the suffix.

The examples below denote a number of wild animals trapped or hunted for meat or for the value of their pelts across Salish speaking lands.

DOE: Examples (15) through (19) refer to a female deer and come from Tsamosan and Southern Interior Salish:

(15) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:136)

táwn=łci

unglossed=GAME ANIMAL

'doe, mare'

(16) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:196)

tíw=łcaʔ

trade=GAME ANIMAL

'doe (white-tailed and mule deer)'

(17) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #378)

táwn=łcaʔ

unglossed=GAME ANIMAL

'doe'

(18) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)

s-meʔm=éłceʔ

NOM-woman=GAME ANIMAL

'female deer'

(19) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:88)

s-kom=éłze

NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL

'female deer in spring'

ERMINE AND WEASEL: Examples (20) through (24) come from Interior Salish and denote animals hunted for their fur.

(20) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:142)

s-pépq=łce

NOM-white (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

'ermine'

- (21) **Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)**
 pápq=łće?
 white (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'ermine, weasel'
- (22) **Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:71)**
 s-cécqʷ=łće
 NOM-red (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'weasel'
- (23) **Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #391)**
 s-pápq=łća?
 NOM-white (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'weasel (white phase)'
- (24) **Spokane (Carlson 1989:60)**
 s-pápq=łće?
 NOM-white (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'weasel (short tailed)'

ELK: Examples (25) through (27) below come from Southern Interior Salish and refer to the elk, a large game animal hunted both for meat and for its hide:

- (25) **Okanagan (Mattina 1987:179)**
 s-ník=łća?
 NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'elk'
- (26) **Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)**
 s-néč=łće?
 NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'elk'
- (27) **Kalispel (Giorda 1879:116)**
 s-néch=elze
 NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'female elk'

CARIBOU: Examples (28) and (29) below come from Southern Interior Salish and refer to the caribou, another large animal also hunted for its meat and its hide:

(28) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:186)
s-ty=fl̥caʔ
NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
'caribou, moose, elk, stag'

(29) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
s-tiy=éfl̥ceʔ
NOM-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
'caribou'

GOAT AND SHEEP: Examples (30) and (31) come from Southern Interior Salish and denote wild species of sheep and goat.

(30) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:136)
s-pqpaq=fl̥caʔ
NOM-white (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
'female mountain goat'

(31) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:6)
s-cr̥m=fl̥caʔ
NOM-small=GAME ANIMAL
'female young mountain sheep'

BIRDS AND FISH: Examples (32) through (37) denote fowl and fish game. ⁵

(32) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.20.6)
tút=ál̥ciy̓
unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
'cod'

(33) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:116)
s-qʷúx̣ʷ=fl̥ci
NOM-white=GAME ANIMAL
'tundra swan'

⁵ Birds hunted by the Interior Plateau people include swans, geese, ducks, and grouse (Alexander 1992:142).

- (34) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:29)
 ciʔqʷ=éłciʔ
 red=GAME ANIMAL
 '[of salmon] have turned red'
- (35) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
 qáłq=áłceʔ
 unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'grouse'
- (36) Spokane (Carlson 1989:70)
 qáłqł=łceʔ
 unglossed (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'grouse'
- (37) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
 čil-nkʷ=éłceʔ
 only-one=GAME ANIMAL
 'He caught only one fish.'

Although the suffix refers mostly to game animals, its use extends to denote some domestic animals introduced after contact time. In the examples below, the suffix **áłciʔ* refers to domestic animals. Introduced in post-contact times, mules and horses were used as farm animals. Example (38) shows the farm task allotted to a mule, and example (39) refers to an animal that kicks, either a horse or a mule. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > DOMESTIC ANIMAL**.

- (38) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:186)
 s-łłłúł=łcaʔ
 NOM-tear open (plow) (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'mules'
- (39) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:615)
 təłtəłq=áłce-uł
 kick (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL-HABITUAL
 'kicker'

Examples (40) through (47) denote hunting contexts. The suffix attaches to predicates meaning “to follow”, “to look for”, “to go”, and “to chase”. The resulting expressions illustrate the tracking, chasing, and sighting of game animals.

- (40) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:9)
 ʔəʃ=łci
 see=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘see a deer, elk, bear (game)’
- (41) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:136)
 s-táš=łci h-n
 NOM-follow=GAME ANIMAL-3SG
 ‘chase deer’
- (42) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:187)
 kʷań=x n=éłcaʔ
 look=FOOT=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘to track an animal’
- (43) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:196)
 x-kʷń=x n=éłce
 LOC-check=FOOT=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘to look for tracks of game’
- (44) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:191)
 s-n s=éłc=m x
 NOM-go=GAME ANIMAL=LAND
 ‘deer coming down from the snow’
- (45) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:87)
 kéy=łciʔ
 follow=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘to track an animal’
- (46) Spokane (Carlson 1989:7)
 n-ʔuc=šn=éłceʔ
 LOC-follow=FOOT=GAME ANIMAL
 ‘follow the tracks of game animals’

(47) Spokane (Carlson 1989:257)

čn wíč=ł́čéʔ

1SG see=GAME ANIMAL

'I saw a deer.'

In the Spokane example (48), the meaning of the suffix has broadened to a non-hunting setting and the prey can be a person.

(48) Spokane (Carlson 1989:91)

qeʔ č-tq=éł́čéʔ

1PL DIR-chase=GAME ANIMAL

'We chased something (game/girlfriend).'

This is the only instance in the data where the suffix refers to a person that is being chased or pursued.

After catching game, the hunter must bleed, skin, quarter, and gut the animal before taking it home. The following examples reflect butchering practices. The hunter prepares the animal for transportation and subsequent consumption. The suffix seems to denote deer in Shuswap and Lillooet. In Thompson and Southern Interior Salish the suffix denotes fish and fowl. The distribution of the words for deer in Central Salish is addressed by Hess (1979).

The suffix **álčíʔ* GAME ANIMAL appears in expressions related to the butchering of game and fish in examples (49) through (54).

DEER BUTCHERING

(49) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:104)

n-sq=álčéʔ-am

LOC-quarter=GAME ANIMAL -MID

'split a deer in half after skinning it'

(50) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:166)

s-cp=éł́čé

ASP-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL

'to hang up deer to drain it of blood'

- (51) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:187)
 s-ʔuleʔ=éłciʔ-me
 NOM-deer=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'butchered deer'

FOWL PLUCKING AND SKINNING

- (52) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:131)
 kʷəłkʷ=éłciʔ
 remove=GAME ANIMAL
 'skin fowl by scalding'

- (53) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #407)
 ləq=álcaʔ-n
 pull out=GAME ANIMAL-1SG
 'pluck a bird'

FISH GUTTING

- (54) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #405)
 n-təl=álcaʔ
 POS-tear open=GAME ANIMAL
 'clean fish'

The above expressions are exclusive to Interior Salish and attest the importance that hunting had in the economy of the Interior Plateau. This ends the discussion of the meaning GAME ANIMAL that obtains for the suffix **álciʔ*.

5.1.1 **álciʔ* used as a classifier for animals.

This section addresses a classificatory meaning of the suffix **álciʔ*. The examples that follow contain stative predicates denoting quantity. The lexical suffix **álciʔ* functions as classifier for animals in the Tsamosan and Southern Interior examples (55) through (69).

- (55) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:87)
 nač=áw=łci
 one=CON=GAME ANIMAL
 'one deer'

- (56) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:19)
 cá m =l̥ci
 two=GAME ANIMAL
 'two deer'
- (57) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:57)
 k̥ʷí- n =l̥ci
 how many-SUF=GAME ANIMAL
 'how many deer (killed)?'
- (58) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:107)
 qáʃ =l̥ci
 many=GAME ANIMAL
 'many deer'
- (59) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:399)
 xʷʔ =é l̥ciʔ
 much=GAME ANIMAL
 'lots of game taken when hunting'
- (60) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
 česəl =é l̥ceʔ t̥l̥uʔ mən é
 two=GAME ANIMAL goat
 'He got two mountain sheep.'
- (61) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č̥sl̥ =é l̥ceʔ
 two=GAME ANIMAL
 'two animals'
- (62) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č̥-č̥eʔ l̥ =é l̥ceʔ
 DIR-three=GAME ANIMAL
 'three animals'
- (63) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č̥- m ús =l̥ceʔ
 DIR-four=GAME ANIMAL
 'four animals'

- (64) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č-clčst=éłće?⁶
 DIR-five=GAME ANIMAL
 'five animals'
- (65) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č-íqnčst=éłće?
 DIR-six=GAME ANIMAL
 'six animals'
- (66) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č-sspłč=éłće?
 DIR-seven=GAME ANIMAL
 'seven animals'
- (67) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č-he[?]m=éłće?
 DIR-eight=GAME ANIMAL
 'eight animals'
- (68) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 č-ǰǰnt=éłće?
 DIR-nine=GAME ANIMAL
 'nine animals'
- (69) Spokane (Carlson 1989:135)
 ?opnčst=éłće?
 ten=GAME ANIMAL
 'ten animals'

This concludes the discussion of the classificatory meaning that obtains for the suffix **áłci?*

GAME ANIMAL.

5.1.2 **áłci?* referring to "flesh".

We address here a meaning of the suffix **áłci?* referring to the flesh of animals hunted for food. Examples (70) through (79) refer to the flesh of diverse animals consumed as food:

⁶ The Spokane examples (64), (65), and (69) contain the lexical suffix =čst HAND.

venison, elk, whale, bear, deer, rabbit, mountain goat, and fish. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > FLESH**.

- (70) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:178)
s-qígʷəc=əl̥ciʔ
NOM-deer=GAME ANIMAL
'venison'⁷
- (71) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:107)
qilát=l̥ci
elk=GAME ANIMAL
'elk meat'
- (72) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:53)
s-kʷúyxʷ=l̥ci:
NOM-whale=GAME ANIMAL
'whale meat'
- (73) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:30)
kenm=él̥ce
bear=GAME ANIMAL
'bear meat'
- (74) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:93)
čeʔ=él̥ce
deer=GAME ANIMAL
'deer meat'
- (75) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:3)
ʔecqʷ=él̥ciʔ
baked=GAME ANIMAL
'rabbit/grouse cut thin and cooked in ashes'
- (76) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:229)
s-peʔc=él̥ciʔ
NOM-bear=GAME ANIMAL
'dressed bear meat'

⁷ The Lushootseed example (70) is the only Central Salish example of the suffix. Its meaning is FLESH.

- (77) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:437)
 s- ǰ*íǰ=eć=éǰci?
 NOM-goat=SHAG (?)=GAME ANIMAL
 'mountain goat meat'
- (78) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:216)
 tíl=ǰca?-m
 tear apart=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'carve fish'
- (79) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:140)
 lí?x=eǰci?
 slimy=GAME ANIMAL
 'flesh [of fish] gets slimy'

Examples (80) through (84) contain contemporary extensions of the suffix where the referent is the flesh of animals introduced in post-contact times.

- (80) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:183)
 stm lt-x*=áǰće
 cattle-SUF=GAME ANIMAL
 'beef'
- (81) Spokane (Carlson 1989:119)
 s- ǰ*áǰ*=ǰće?
 NOM-grind=GAME ANIMAL
 'hamburger, ground meat'
- (82) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:178)
 k*usuh=áǰca?
 pig=GAME ANIMAL
 'pork meat'
- (83) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:132)
 šíp=ǰci
 sheep=GAME ANIMAL
 'mutton'

(84) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:53)

k^{*}ušú=l̥ci·

pig=GAME ANIMAL

'pork'

The Interior Plateau people had at least five different methods for drying meat and fish: (a) by the sun's rays, (b) by wind in the shade, (c) by smoke in the lodges, (d) by heat from fire; and (e) by hot air in sweat-houses, or in houses constructed like sweat-houses (Alexander 1992:124). The following utterances contain the suffix *áłci' referring to types of dried meat.

(85) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:10)

šəb=áłciʔ

dry=GAME ANIMAL

'dried meat'

(86) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:152)

púm=l̥ceʔ

smoked=GAME ANIMAL

'smoked meat or fish'

(87) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:102)

kéx=l̥ciʔ

dry=GAME ANIMAL

'dry meat on a rack'

(88) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:8)

cqʔ=íłcaʔ

dry over fire=GAME ANIMAL

'dry meat over a fire'

(89) Spokane (Carlson 1989:14)

čq=ỵ=éłceʔ

prickly=CON=GAME ANIMAL

'dried meat'

- (90) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:239)
 s-kas=él ze
 NOM-dry (?)=GAME ANIMAL
 'dried, smoked meat'
- (91) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #379)
 s-ḥaw=áłčáʔ
 NOM-dry=GAME ANIMAL
 'dried meat, jerked meat'
- (92) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:615)
 mót=łčéʔ-e n-c
 smoked=GAME ANIMAL-TR-3SG
 'He smoked meat.'

In examples (93) through (100) the lexical suffix **áłčíʔ* denotes meat. The predicates in these examples denote a quality attributed to the meat.

- (93) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:30)
 s-łəl=ałčíʔ
 NOM-split open= GAME ANIMAL
 'sliced meat'
- (94) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:115)
 nłk=łčáʔ
 cut= GAME ANIMAL
 'cut meat'
- (95) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:304)
 ʔəm h=ałčáʔ
 good= GAME ANIMAL
 'good meat'
- (96) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:170)
 słc=łčáʔ
 new=GAME ANIMAL
 'fresh meat'

- (97) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:239)
 s-kol=élze
 NOM-roast=GAME ANIMAL
 'roasted meat'
- (98) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:239)
 tífz=lze
 hard=GAME ANIMAL
 'hard meat'
- (99) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #376)
 qəl=áícaʔ
 fresh=GAME ANIMAL
 'fresh meat'
- (100) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:615)
 xəs=íłceʔe
 good=GAME ANIMAL
 'delicious meat'

Although the suffix primarily refers to foods of animal origin, the examples that follow show that the suffix expands its meaning to denote other kinds of food. This extension implies a generalization of the meaning FLESH. The suffix *áłciʔ refers to "food" in the Southern Interior examples below. The semantic path followed is GAME ANIMAL > FLESH > FOOD.⁸

Examples (102) through (104) below denote pancakes.

- (102) Spokane (Carlson 1989:66)
 s-n-ṗeṗíx=łceʔ
 NOM-LOC=scared (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'pancake'

⁸ This is the reversal of what happened in English. The word "meat" use to denote all kinds of dishes and then became specialized denoting dishes that consisted of flesh (Bloomfield 1933:431).

(103) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:20)
 n-čáʔxʷ=fłčáʔ-m
 LOC-pour liquid=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'make pancakes, pour dough'

(104) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:20)
 s-n-čáʔxʷ=fłčáʔ
 NOM -LOC-pour liquid=GAME ANIMAL
 'hot cakes'

Examples (105) and (106) convey the idea of plate or vessel for containing liquid food.

(105) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
 qá p=éłčéʔ=tən
 soft=GAME ANIMAL=INSTR
 'dish (for eating)'

(106) Spokane (Carlson 1989:70)
 qp=éłčéʔ
 soft=GAME ANIMAL
 'plate (for eating)'

The examples below express ideas related to the abundance of food. In example (107) the suffix **áłciʔ* cross-references "berries" in the predicate. In example (108) the suffix **áłciʔ* cross-references "potatoes" in the predicate.

(107) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:246)

ḡ-qʷy=ełč-m	kn	í	spəqpéq
LOC=(have plenty)=GAME ANIMAL-MID	1SG	DET	berries

'I'll eat my fill of berries.'

(108) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:246)

meʔ ḡ-qʷy=ełč-nt-p	ík	pətáq
ASP LOC-(have plenty)=GAME ANIMAL-TR-2PL	DET	potatoes

'Let (the horses) feast on potatoes!'

Example (109) refers to the lack of food:

- (109) Spokane (Carlson 1989:14)
n-ćéỵx̣* =ełć-m
DIR=lacking=GAME ANIMAL-MID
'lacks sufficient food to quell hunger'

The extension FOOD for the suffix is attested only in Interior Salish.

5.1.3 *áłci? referring to “body” or “person”.⁹

The extension BODY for the suffix *áłci? is attested in Quinault, Upper Chehalis, Thompson, Okanagan, and Coeur d'Alene. A similar extension exists in Indo-European (Buck 1949: 201) where “flesh” or “meat” may refer to the body of a person, as in “The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak”.

Examples (110) through (118) exemplify the extension BODY for the suffix *áłci?. The semantic path of the suffix is GAME ANIMAL > FLESH/BODY.

- (110) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.49.5)
ʔəlp=áłcəʔ
first, in front=GAME ANIMAL
'front of body'
- (111) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 4.67.12)
xəq̣* =áłciʔ
unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
'girdle (something tight around the body)'
- (112) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 2.49.6)
pən =áłcəʔ
near, beside=GAME ANIMAL
'sides of body'

⁹ Mengarini (1861:106) considers that *áłci? means “meat”, “animal body”, and “human body.”

- (113) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:103)
 p̥it=łci
 all over=GAME ANIMAL
 'whole body'
- (114) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:116)
 s-kóh=łtsie
 NOM-white=GAME ANIMAL
 'white man'¹⁰
- (115) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:146)
 łec̣=álci
 unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'one not of the body'
- (116) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:263)
 qaʔz=éłciʔ
 fatigued=GAME ANIMAL
 'person gets tired (physically)'
- (117) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:80)
 kʷu n-xʷaʔxʷʔł̥=łcaʔ
 1PL LOC-enough (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'Our bodies are picking up.'
- (118) Coeur d'Alene (Barthmaier 1996:18)
 čən duxʷ=łčeʔ
 1SG fall=GAME ANIMAL
 'I fell (body fell).'

Examples (119) through (121) that follow suggest a possible path of grammaticalization for the suffix whereby it comes to denote an unspecified third person. The semantic path is **GAME ANIMAL > BODY > SOMEONE**.

¹⁰ This form was collected by George Gibbs 1850/60 (Kinkade 1991).

(119) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:259)

ʃ*l=fłčáʔ

leave=GAME ANIMAL

‘leave somebody’

(120) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:154)

qíqay=fłčáʔ

call (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

‘call somebody down’

(121) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:9)

cq=fłčáʔ

hit by throwing=GAME ANIMAL

‘throw something at somebody’

The origin of the extension BODY is unclear, and I have not been able to find clear contexts or intermediate forms that elucidates the issue.¹¹ My assumption is that the meaning BODY is interchangeable with the meaning FLESH, and that both these meanings represent a specialization of the central meaning GAME ANIMAL. The grammaticalization of BODY yields SOMEONE and this usage seems exclusive to Okanagan.

5.1.4 *áłčáʔ referring to “carcass”.

Traditionally, the butchering of game animals took place near the killing sites. If conditions permitted, the liver of the animal was roasted during the butchering; but if butchering had to be completed quickly due to the distance from camp or to bad weather, the animal was skinned and quartered. The quartered animal and its internal organs were wrapped in the animal’s hide and taken to the base campsite (Tyhurst 1992:374).

The importance of butchering and hunting practices in the life of Interior Salish people cannot be overestimated. The knowledge of animal anatomy that butchering requires is expressed in the lexicon of Interior Salish. In this case, it leads to novel semantic extensions for the suffix *áłčáʔ. The prevalence of cultural activities connected with hunting and butchering is attested by

¹¹ Such a form would parallel the Lillooet *ʔámh = áłčáʔ* where the suffix can mean both “meat” and “nature” (van Eijk 1987:304).

the examples below. In examples (122) through (125) the suffix **áłciʔ* refers to the carcasses of quartered animals. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > FLESH/BODY/CARCASS**.

(122) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:306)

s-ǵ*əłt=éłciʔ

NOM-pack=GAME ANIMAL

'open up and pack a whole carcass'

(123) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:131)

k*ənəx=éłciʔ

how many=GAME ANIMAL

'how many carcasses?'

(124) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:30)

ciks=éłciʔ

five=GAME ANIMAL

'five carcasses'

(125) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:99)

mlk*=fłcaʔ

whole=GAME ANIMAL

'whole carcass'

The meaning **CARCASS** for **áłciʔ* becomes a source for locational extensions of the suffix (see section 5.2).

5.1.5 **áłciʔ* referring to "innards".

The meaning **INNARDS** for the suffix **áłciʔ* reflects an aspect of the butchering process, i.e. the disemboweling of game. The carcass and the innards are separated in this process. Examples (126) through (130) show the lexical suffix **áłciʔ* functioning as a generic term for denoting **INNARDS**. This extension of the suffix is exclusive to Interior Salish. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS**.

(126) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:157)

n-łoǵ*=éłciʔ

LOC-pull out=GAME ANIMAL

'remove insides, disembowel'

- (127) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:231)
 wiʔ s-n-tlkʷ=fɪčaʔ-s
 INTRJC NOM-LOC-pull up=GAME ANIMAL-3SG
 'He got done taking out the guts.'
- (128) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:80)
 n-wik=fɪčaʔ-m
 LOC-see=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'see the insides'
- (129) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:265)
 s-n-yəxʷ-t=fɪčaʔ
 NOM-LOC-dropped-SUF=GAME ANIMAL
 'guts'
- (130) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #409)
 s-n-wən t=fɪčaʔ
 NOM-POS-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'insides of the stomach'

The meanings expressed by the suffix **fɪčaʔ* derive from hunting practices. The examples below attest to the rituals associated with the hunting and killing of game animals in the culture of the Interior people. Example (148) alludes to a traditional practice whereby young hunters make a gift of their first killing.¹²

- (131) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:73)
 s-ǰəʔ=tčəʔ=éks
 NOM-[sacred]=GAME ANIMAL=HAND
 'offering to a shaman after the hunt'

The root *ǰəʔ* is not glossed in example (131); however, this root has the connotation of things sacred or taboo in other languages of the family.

¹² Albert Nelson recalled this practice, which his grandmother taught him, but could not remember the name for it (Mount Currie, B.C. 1995).

Example (132) portrays a situation wherein the person who receives the gift of a “first killing” offers a prayer for the young hunter so that he or she may have good luck as a food provider.

- (132) Spokane (Carlson 1989:19)
n-čoʔ=éłčəʔ-n-cút-n
LOC-pray=GAME ANIMAL-SUF-act in a certain way-3SG
'a prayer for the innards (lit.)'

The expressions above provide a glimpse into the cultural and subsistence value that hunting has for Interior Salish people.

In the following examples, the suffix **áłciʔ* denotes the “gut” and is labeled INNARDS to differentiate it from **an/nak* GUT. (See Chapter 2.) The internal organs of an animal are exposed in the butchering process. These organs are inside the body in animals and humans; hence the association of INNARDS with INSIDE. Examples (133) through (135) come from Interior Salish, and the suffix **áłciʔ* denotes conditions of the body affecting internal organs. The semantic path of the suffix is GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS.

- (133) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:92)
n-čxʔ=ałčəʔ-a
LOC-clean=GAME ANIMAL-SUF
'give someone a laxative'
- (134) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:172)
n-káx=ałčəʔ
LOC-dry=GAME ANIMAL
'constipation'
- (135) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:53)
n-čəw=lciʔ-me
LOC-wash=GAME ANIMAL-MID
'administer douche, enema'

In examples (136) and (137) the suffix refers to the stomach. The semantic path of the suffix is GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS.

(136) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:151)
x-pʰ-p=éʔc̥e
LOC-empty-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
'empty stomach'

(137) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #388)
(s)-na-ǰíʔ=ʔc̥aʔ
NOM-POS-sick=GAME ANIMAL
'stomach ache'

Example (138) comes from Shuswap and forms a set with the two examples above. The expression has the root predicate *téy*, "hunger", and though the lexical suffix is not given an independent gloss, it denotes the place inside the body where hunger is felt. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS**.

(138) Shuswap (Kuipers 1993:156)
cx-téy=ʔc̥e
half full-hungry=GAME ANIMAL
'to remain hungry'

The following examples come from four different Interior languages. The utterances denote pregnancy and other conditions affecting the inside of the body. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS**.

(139) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:89)
cəxc=éʔc̥e
half done (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
'pregnant'

(140) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:29)
n-ciʔʷ=áʔciʔ
LOC-bleed=GAME ANIMAL
'have internal bleeding'

(141) Spokane (Carlson 1989:99)
ʔeʔʂ=éʔc̥eʔ-y
sweet=GAME ANIMAL-SUF
'diabetes'

- (142) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #392)
 n-pəh-p=ət̪caʔ
 POS-burn, sore-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
 'burning from the throat down'

In examples (143) and (144), the meaning of the suffix expands to designate the total inside area of the body and all the organs it contains. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS**.

- (143) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:105)
 n-kəm k̄m =éłciʔ
 LOC-area (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'insides (of person)'

- (144) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)
 x-k̄m =éłc̄e
 LOC-area=GAME ANIMAL
 'inside of body'

The following example comes from Downriver Halkomelem and features a lexical suffix that exhibits semantic and phonological similarities to the suffix *ət̪ciʔ. In example (145) the suffix =aʔtce refers to the innards. (See section 2.1.4, examples (107)-(108)).¹³

- (145) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 qəlp̄=aʔtce-t-ə̄m
 tie=INNARDS-TR-MID
 'have a cramp in the stomach'

The extension **INSIDE > AFFECT** is a regular semantic extension of the suffix *ət̪ciʔ (see section 5.3). This same range of extensions obtains for the Halkomelem =aʔtce.¹⁴ While the semantics of

¹³ The basic form of the suffix is =aʔtce ~ =ət̪=ət̪ce. The form =ət̪ct̪ is a third variant of this suffix, and it appears to have a fused connective element (Suttles in prep. b, §14).

¹⁴ In examples (i) through (iii) the suffix is glossed as **INNARDS** and refers to the seat of emotion and understanding.

the Downriver Halkomelem suffix are similar to the semantics of the suffix **álcíʔ*, the historical relation between the two is problematic, since the **c* segment of the proto-form is realized as *c*, instead of the expected *i*^θ correspondence. On the other hand, the semantic connection between the “inside body” and the “seat of emotion” is affirmed by these examples.

-
- (i) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
səm k^{*}=élcł
lump=INNARDS
'be worried (lit. have a lump in the belly)'
- (ii) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
ʔśý=əlcł
good=INNARDS
'have a good mind'
- (iii) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
xəł=əlcł
hurt=INNARDS
'be sorry, regret'

5.1.6 Summary and distribution of meanings related to game animals for the lexical suffix *áłci?

Table V below shows the distribution of the anatomical meaning extensions that obtain for the suffix *áłci? GAME ANIMAL and sums up the content of section 5.1.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF HUNTING RELATED EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
GAME ANIMAL "Game animal"			•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Animal Classifier"			•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Flesh"		•	•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Body"			•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Carcass"				•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Innards"		(•)		•	•

TABLE V: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF HUNTING RELATED EXTENSIONS

- The extension GAME ANIMAL and the classifier function of the suffix are attested in Tsamosan and Interior Salish.
- The extension FLESH is attested in Tsamosan, Central Salish, and Interior Salish.
- The extension BODY is attested in Tsamosan and Interior Salish.
- The extension CARCASS is attested in Interior Salish.
- The extension INNARDS is attested in Interior Salish and possibly in Central Salish.

This concludes the discussion concerning the distribution of hunting-related meanings that obtain for the suffix *áłci?.

5.2 Locational extensions of the lexical suffix GAME ANIMAL.

The locational notions expressed by the suffix *áłci? are SIDE and INSIDE. The extension SIDE derives from the meaning CARCASS that obtain for the suffix (see sections 5.1.3 and 5.1.4). The carcass of an animal comprises the bulk of its trunk, that is, the entire region of the rib cage and

the hips. The extension *SIDE* for the suffix is sensitive to the bilateral symmetry of the body, which becomes exposed in an eviscerated carcass.

The extension *INSIDE* derives from the extension *INNARDS*. Since the innards are contained within the ventral cavity, the suffix **áłciʔ* becomes associated with the place where the innards are located and comes to denote *INSIDE*. The notion of containment within a hollow space is part of the meaning denoted by the suffix in its extension *INSIDE*. Section 5.2.1 below addresses the extension *SIDE* for the suffix, and section 5.2.2, the extension *INSIDE*.

5.2.1 **áłciʔ* referring to “side”.

The extension *SIDE* that obtains for the suffix **áłciʔ* in the Southern Interior examples (147) through (149) occurs in expressions that contain two lexical suffixes. In these expressions the suffix **áłciʔ* immediately follows the root predicate, and it is followed in turn by a second lexical suffix, e.g. *TAIL > END*. These expressions literally refer to the side end of a person; the translations for these examples are “hip” in Columbian, and “side of belt” in Coeur d’Alene.¹⁵ The semantic path of the suffix is *GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > SIDE*.

(146) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)

k-cəkək=łcaʔ=áp

POS-hit (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL=TAIL

‘He got hit on the hip.’

(147) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)

k-təqtəq=łcaʔ=áp-m

POS-touch (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL=TAIL-MID

‘hands on hip’

(148) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:624)

t-qaʔqaʔa=łłceʔ=łp-mən-c

LOC-stuck (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL=TAIL-INSTR-3SG

‘He put one on each side of his belt.’

¹⁵ See section 2.1.1.2, where the suffix **anı/nak* forms parts of expressions denoting the “hip”.

The following examples come from Thompson, and the suffix *áłciʔ refers to the SIDE without the presence of the suffix for TAIL.

(149) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:177)

ʔəx *-p= éłciʔ

crippled-ASP=GAME ANIMAL

'paralyzed on one side'

(150) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:56)

s-čək *ʔ=łciʔ

NOM-left=GAME ANIMAL

'left side (of person)'

(151) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:80)

iʔh=łciʔ

good=GAME ANIMAL

'right side (of person)'

The concept SIDE becomes more abstract in examples (152) through (155), as the suffix denotes the sides of inanimate objects. The suffix *áłciʔ means "side" in the following Southern Interior examples.

(152) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:102)

pan=áłci

near=GAME ANIMAL

'side'

(153) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #380)

t-kəm=łcaʔ=wil

POS-area=GAME ANIMAL=VESSEL

'side of the canoe.'

(154) Columbian (Kinkade (n. d.))

t-kʔən=łcaʔ=wil-n

POS-take, grab= GAME ANIMAL=VESSEL-1SG

'I caught the side of (e.g. box).'

- (155) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:344)
 s'chit=élze
 unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'side'

The Kalispel examples below show further extensions of the suffix **átci'*. The suffix attaches to seemingly deictic predicates and refers to the sides of a natural landmark, a valley, as shown in Figure 2. The meaning *SIDE* for the suffix in examples (156) and (157) below is visually associated with the bilateral symmetry of the mammalian body, e.g. like the symmetry of an open carcass, since a valley is a long depression of the earth's surface between ranges of hills or mountains.

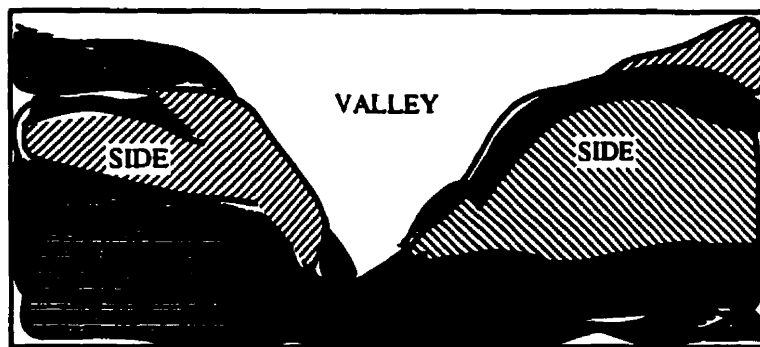


Figure 2: Two Sides of the Valley.

- (156) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:344)
 z-nteli=élze
 PRFX-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'this side of the valley'

- (157) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:345)
 ch-nteli=élze
 PRFX-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'the other side of the valley'

The extension *SIDE* for the suffix **átci'* arises within a butchering context and extends to include inanimate objects both in nature and man-made. The evisceration, quartering, and dismemberment of game animals exposes to view the anatomy of the ventral cavity, i.e. the

hollowed central space from which the innards are taken, and the bilateral symmetry of the remaining carcass, hence the notion *SIDE*. (See Figure 10, section 2.3.3.).

5.2.2 **álciʔ* referring to “inside”.

This section addresses the meaning *INSIDE* that obtains for the suffix **álciʔ*. The extension *INSIDE* for the suffix relates to the extension *INNARDS* by way of the ventral cavity, the hollow space that contains the *INNARDS*.¹⁶ The semantic development *INNARDS* > *INSIDE* for the suffix **álciʔ* is exclusive to Interior languages. The suffix denotes a three-dimensional space with a potential for containment. The semantic path of the suffix is *GAME ANIMAL* > *CARCASS* > *INNARDS* > *INSIDE*.

In examples (158) and (159) the suffix **álciʔ* refers to the inside part of a tree.

(158) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:296)

n-zuʔqʷ=álcaʔ

LOC-decay=GAME ANIMAL

‘inside of tree is rotten’

(159) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:211)

naq=élciʔ

hole through=GAME ANIMAL

‘rotten inside (of wood)’

In examples (160) through (163) the concept of hollowness is associated to the concept *INSIDE* in the context of trees.

(160) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:168)

x-ck=élc-n-s

LOC-carve=GAME ANIMAL-TR-3SG

‘to hollow out’

(161) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:423)

ʔəs n-ǰətq=élciʔ

ASP LOC-hole through=GAME ANIMAL

‘be hollow inside’

¹⁶ A parallel semantic development obtains for the lexical suffix **an/nak* *BELLY/GUT* in its semantic extension *INSIDE* (See Chapter 2, section 2.3.3).

(162) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #395)

na-túm=ícaʔ

POS-rotten= GAME ANIMAL

'hollow tree or log'

(163) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)

n-wəq=áícaʔ

POS-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL

'hollow (log, or potato with a hole)'

Examples (164) and (165) below refer to canoes, conveyances that were once carved out of logs or tress. The suffix denotes the hollowed inside space of canoes. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE**.

(164) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:148)

n-qlt=fícaʔ

LOC-over the top=GAME ANIMAL

'board a canoe'

(165) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:126)

n-xl=fícaʔ

LOC-cut something=GAME ANIMAL

'dug-out canoe'

The inside of a hollow tube, such as a pipe or a chimney, is the salient trait denoted by the suffix in examples (166) through (171).

(166) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:223)

qáʔt=áícaʔ

sooted=GAME ANIMAL

'soot in stove pipe'

(167) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:423)

ʔəs n-xətq=éíciʔ

ASP LOC-hole through=GAME ANIMAL

'a pipe'

- (168) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #404)
 na-ǰkʷ-p=áɫcaʔ
 POS-pierced-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
 'put a pole into a pipe'
- (169) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #402)
 c-n-čuwq=áɫcaʔ-n
 CISLOC-POS-pull apart=GAME ANIMAL 1SG
 'I pull a rod out of a pipe'
- (170) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.)
 n-čq=áɫcaʔ-n
 POS-throw=GAME ANIMAL 1SG
 'I stuck it in a pipe'
- (171) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:566)
 hɪn-mɔʔɔt=ɫceʔe
 LOC-smoked=GAME ANIMAL
 'it (chimney) is smoking'

The root in the following examples means "to blow" into something. The suffix denotes the inside space into which the air is blown. Example (172) comes from Shuswap and illustrates the use of the hand to emit an amplified whistle sound. The semantic path of the suffix is **GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE**.

- (172) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:142)
 x-púxʷ=ɫč-m
 LOC-blow=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'to blow or whistle on one's hands'

Expressions (173) through (179) denote wind instruments. Except for the Okanagan example (175), all utterances are constructed with the instrumental suffix or a nominalizer.

- (173) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:237)
 puxʷ=ɫciʔ-tɪ
 blow=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
 'wind instrument'

- (174) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:142)
 x-púx *=*l̥c̥*-tn
 LOC-blow=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
 'flute, whistle, wind instrument'
- (175) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:140)
 n-púx *=*l̥c̥aʔ*
 LOC-blow=GAME ANIMAL
 'horn'
- (176) Spokane (Carlson 1989:62)
 n-púx *=*l̥c̥ʔ*-tn
 LOC-blow=GAME ANIMAL
 'trumpet'
- (177) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)
 na-póx *=*l̥c̥aʔ*-tn
 POS-blow=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
 'bugle'
- (178) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)
 n-papóx *=*l̥c̥aʔ*-tn
 POS-blow (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
 'harmonica'
- (179) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:596)
 hɪn-púx *=*l̥c̥ʔ*-en
 LOC-blow=GAME ANIMAL-NOM
 'wind instrument'

In the Okanagan example (180) below, the suffix denotes the spatial reference point "inside".

- (180) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:224)
 n-wik=*l̥c̥aʔ*-m
 LOC-look=GAME ANIMAL-MID
 'look inside there'

In expressions (181) and (182), the feature that defines the function of the object is located on the inside. Example (181) denotes the “tongue of a bell”, and example (182) denotes the “incandescent filament inside a light bulb”.

(181) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:174)
x-cqéq̣=éłce-tn
LOC-hit (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL-INST
'tongue of a bell'

(182) Spokane (Carlson 1989:215)
n-ḥeʔx*=éłceʔ
DIR-shining=GAME ANIMAL
'a house light'

In examples (183) through (189) the scale of the inside space referred to by the suffix increases and the suffix denotes a room or a house.

(183) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:80)
ṭi met ɫ nəqs=fłcaʔ
PART maybe PP one=GAME ANIMAL
'They were in one room.'

(184) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:120)
ḳ n-nqs=fłcaʔ
TRNSLOC another=GAME ANIMAL
'in another room'

(185) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:80)
s-n-ḥum=fłcaʔ-tn
NOM-LOC-smoke=GAME ANIMAL-INSTR
'smoking shed'

(186) Spokane (Carlson 1989:100)
n-ṭk*=éłceʔ
DIR-set down=GAME ANIMAL
'It lies inside a house.'

- (187) Kalispel (Giorda 1879:207)
 n-paak=élze
 LOC-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'The room is well illuminated.'
- (188) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #375)
 n-ccəmʔ=áłčáʔ
 LOC-small=GAME ANIMAL
 'small rooms'
- (189) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #386)
 naqs=áłčáʔ
 one, another=GAME ANIMAL
 'the other room, one room'
- (190) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #397)
 n-qʔtń=áłčáʔ
 unglossed=GAME ANIMAL
 'roomy'

The meaning **INSIDE** has its genesis in the location of the intestines, a location that becomes exposed in butchering practices.

5.2.3 Summary and distribution of the locational extensions of the suffix *áłciʔ.

Table VI below shows the distribution of the locational meaning extensions that obtain for the suffix **GAME ANIMAL**, and sums up the content of section 5.2.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
GAME ANIMAL "Side"			•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL "Inside"				•	•

TABLE VI: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS

The meanings **SIDE** and **INSIDE** for the suffix *áłciʔ are attested in Interior Salish. These meanings also obtain for the suffix *an/nak. (See sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.)

5.3 Affect and the lexical suffix *áłciʔ.

In the following section, the suffix *áłciʔ refers to emotions. The origin of this extension lies in the fact that strong emotions are viscerally felt. This leads to the notion that the seat or locus of feeling is somewhere inside the body. A similar extension obtains for the suffix *an/nak ABDOMEN and is addressed in section 2.5. The meaning INSIDE that obtains for both these suffixes is the source of the semantic extension AFFECT.

5.3.1 *áłciʔ denoting affect and volition.

Strong emotions establish somatic markers on the viscera (Damasio 1994). The English expression “to have a lump in the throat” is a case in point, meaning roughly that a person feels like crying or is suppressing tears. The roots in these examples have meanings such as “bad”, “sick”, “angry”, “pity”, “poor”, and “criticize”. We can think of them as coloring or profiling the emotion. The lexical suffix merely denotes the place where the emotion is felt or has its source. The semantic path of the suffix is GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT.

The Kalispel example (191) below alludes to a somatic marker and depicts a person who is tied up in knots. A literal translation of this expression reads “tied up inside”.

- (191) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:53)
n-a-c=éłce -is
LOC-tied=GAME ANIMAL -3SG
'She is tied up in a bundle.'

Examples (192) through (200) below imply negative emotional states. These examples come from Interior Salish and Tsamosan and demonstrate the semantic path INSIDE > AFFECT.

- (192) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:212)
n-q! =áłcaʔ
LOC-bad=GAME ANIMAL
'mean'
- (193) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:234)
n-q*núx* =ałcaʔ
LOC-sick=GAME ANIMAL
'sad'

- (194) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:193)
 x- ḳəs=éł̣c̣e
 LOC-bad=GAME ANIMAL
 'cranky'
- (195) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:259)
 ʃ-ŷy-p=éł̣c̣e
 LOC-angry-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
 'angry'
- (196) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:298)
 n-q*no ʃ̣* =áł̣c̣iʔ
 LOC-sick=GAME ANIMAL
 'be sick at heart, sad, have sorrows'
- (197) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:112)
 n- ḳs=éł̣c̣iʔ-m i n-s
 LOC-bad=GAME ANIMAL -SUF-3POSS
 'dislike something, but keep silent about it'
- (198) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:422)
 n- ʃ̣o ʃ̣ ʃ̣a ʃ̣ =éł̣c̣iʔ
 LOC-pity (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'feel pity (for someone or something)'
- (199) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:292)
 n-q*ə n q* n =áł̣c̣iʔ
 LOC-poor (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'to feel sorry'
- (200) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:142)
 tó·k* =ł̣c̣i
 criticize=GAME ANIMAL
 'hate, dislike'

Examples (201) through (204) denote positive emotions, or a sensitive and vulnerable nature.

(201) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:304)

?əm h=ałca?

good=GAME ANIMAL

'good natured'

(202) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:158)

x-təm ám=łcc

LOC-cloudy (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

'easily moved to tears'

(203) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:186)

x-ləx éx=łcc

LOC-generous (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

'kind hearted'

(204) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:210)

ǰ-q*nq*n=éłcc?

LOC-poor (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

'kind, soft-hearted'

Examples (205) and (206), from Shuswap and Thompson respectively, denote various feelings perceived as located inside the body.

(205) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:172)

x-čəm=éłcc

LOC-bite=GAME ANIMAL

'to be close to tears'

(206) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:407)

n-x*əsx*s=éłci?

LOC-fierce (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL

'brave'

The lexical suffix *áłci? denotes mental and emotional processes in expressions (207) through (210). The locus of volition from whence thought and desire arise is conceived of as being inside the body.

- (207) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:177)
 x-sl=éłčé
 LOC-come apart=GAME ANIMAL
 'indecisive, of two minds'
- (208) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:158)
 x-taʔa=ʔéłčé
 LOC-negative=GAME ANIMAL
 'to feel like not doing something'
- (209) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:444)
 n-yəłxič=éłčéʔ
 LOC-lucid (redup.)=GAME ANIMAL
 'intelligent, quick witted'
- (210) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)
 n-wəl=łcaʔ-n-cút
 POS-unglossed=GAME ANIMAL -TR-RFLX
 'wishful thinking'

This concludes the discussion of the meaning extension AFFECT for the suffix *áłčéʔ.

5.3.2 Summary and distribution of the affect-related extensions of the suffix *áłčéʔ.

Table VII below shows the distribution of affect-related meaning extensions that obtain for the suffix GAME ANIMAL and sums up section 5.3.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF AFFECT RELATED EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
GAME ANIMAL "Affect"					
		(•)	•	•	•

TABLE VII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF AFFECT RELATED EXTENSIONS

The extension AFFECT is attested in Interior Salish and possibly in Halkomelem. The connection between the meaning GAME ANIMAL and the meaning AFFECT for the suffix is intriguing, because the suffix *áłčéʔ also has a purely cultural connotation related to affect. In

Shuswap, the suffix can mean “to have the feelings of a deer” (Florence Simon p.c.). Used in this sense, the suffix denotes someone who has received the “feelings of the deer” after training to be a hunter.

5.4 Summary of extensions for the suffix *áłciʔ.

This section summarizes the extensions of the suffix *áłciʔ by means of a radial category format. The central meaning of the suffix, **GAME ANIMAL**, brings into the lexicon the context of the hunt. Locational meanings such as **SIDE** and **INSIDE** arise from the exposed anatomy of the ventral cavity in butchering contexts. A containment image schema develops from the place occupied by the **INNARDS**, i.e. the ventral cavity, and it becomes the source of the extension **INSIDE**. The **INSIDE** is perceived as the seat of emotion and become the source of the extension **AFFECT**.

Figure 3 graphically relates the extended meanings of the suffix to the central meaning **GAME ANIMAL**.

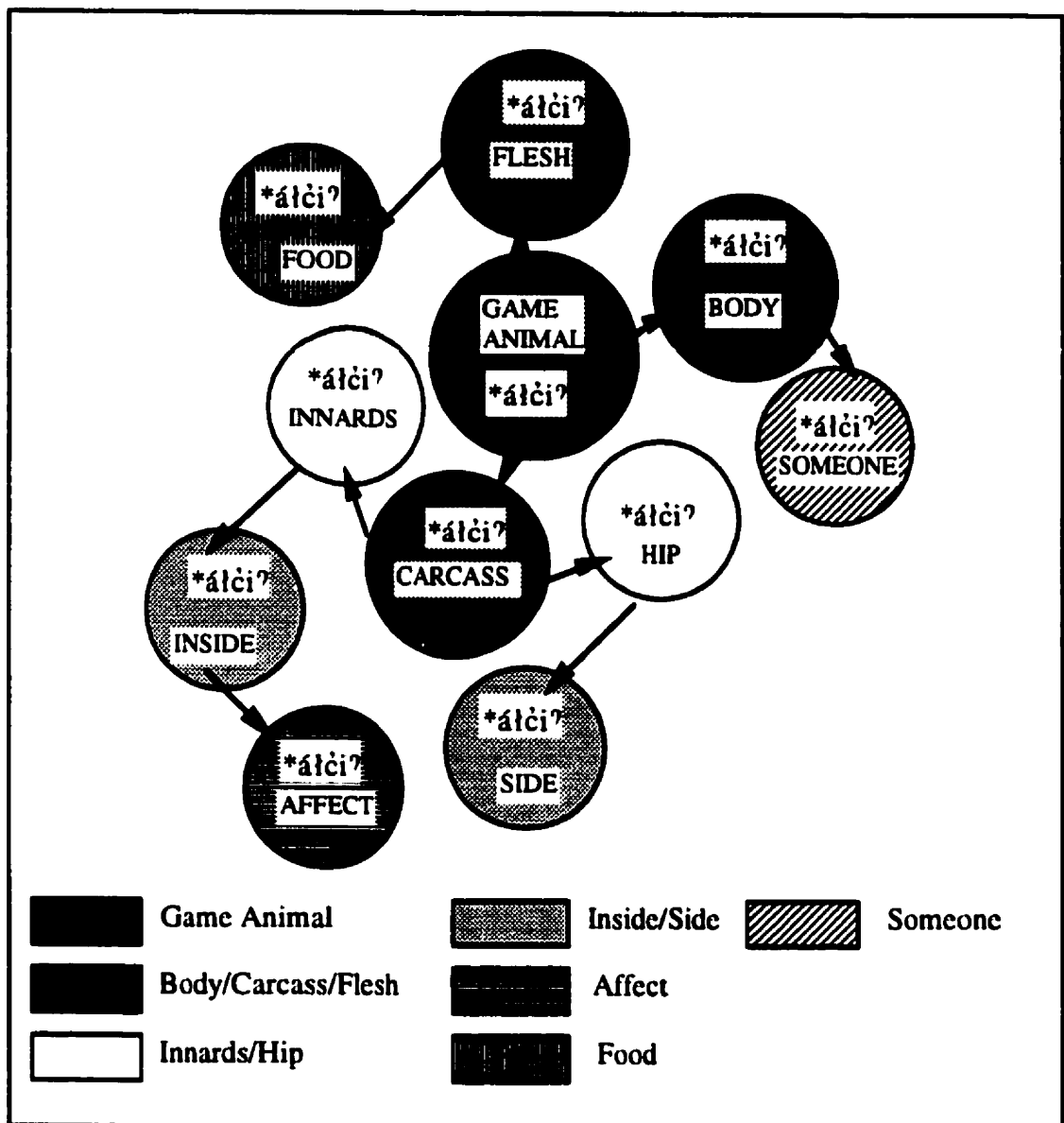


Figure 3: Radial Category of the Meanings of the Suffix *áłci?*.


■ Defines the semantic domain **GAME ANIMAL**, comprising animals traditionally hunted for food and for their furs or skins.

▨ Defines extensions that arise from butchering and hunting practices. The principal meanings of the suffix within this domain are **BODY/CARCASS** and **FLESH**.

■ Defines the semantic domain **FOOD**.

□ Defines the semantic domains **INNARDS** and **HIP**. These extensions act as source concepts for the spatial meanings of the suffix.

 Defines the semantic domains **SIDE** and **INSIDE**.

 Defines the semantic domain **AFFECT**. This domain can be construed as the “seat of emotion”.

 Defines the extension **SOMEONE** for the suffix.

5.5 Distribution of semantic extensions by language.

This section addresses the distribution by language of the semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix **ətci?*.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Squamish	Halkomelem	Lushootseed	Quinault	Upper chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Kalispel	Spokane	Coeur d'Alene
HUNTING EXTENSIONS														
GAME ANIMAL “Game/Animal”					•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL “Carcass”								•		•				
GAME ANIMAL “Body”					•	•		•		•				
GAME ANIMAL “Flesh”				•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL “Food”										•			•	•
GAME ANIMAL “Innards”			(•)				•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS														
GAME ANIMAL “Side”							•	•	•			•	•	•
GAME ANIMAL “Inside”							•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
AFFECT EXTENSIONS														
GAME ANIMAL “Affect”			(•)			•	•	•	•			•	•	
POSSIBLE GRAMMATICALIZATION														
GAME ANIMAL “Someone”										•				

 Bella Coola  Central  Tsamosan  N. Interior  S. Interior

TABLE VIII: DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS BY LANGUAGE

- The suffix is attested with the meaning **GAME ANIMAL** in this chapter in Quinault, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene. It is not attested with this meaning in Central Salish or Bella Coola.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **CARCASS** in Thompson and Okanagan.

- The suffix is attested with the meaning **BODY** in Quinault, Upper Chehalis, Thompson and Okanagan.
- The suffix is attested with meaning **SOMEONE** in Okanagan only.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **FLESH** in Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **FOOD** in Okanagan, Kalispel, and Spokane.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **INNARDS** in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Kalispel, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, and possibly Halkomelem.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **SIDE** in Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbian, and Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene. .
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **INSIDE** in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The suffix is attested with the meaning **AFFECT** in Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbian, Kalispel, and possibly Halkomelem.

We see that the meanings of the suffix discussed above are not attested in Bella Coola or Central Salish, excepting for the meaning **FLESH** Lushootseed (example (70) in this chapter), and that the cognate status of the Downriver Halkomelem forms is problematic (see example (145) and note #13).

5.6 Conclusions.

The central meaning of the suffix **áłciʔ* is **GAME ANIMAL**. The suffix is most productive in Interior Salish, and its polysemy reflects the influence of cultural practices such as hunting and butchering.

In hunting, game is skinned, butchered, and dressed for food. In this cultural context, the suffix acquires the meanings **BODY**, **FLESH**, **CARCASS**, and **INNARDS**. At a very concrete level the lexical suffix **áłciʔ* has the primary meaning **GAME ANIMAL**, and one of its locational extensions is **INSIDE**. The connection between these two meanings is inherent in the central meaning **GAME ANIMAL** in the context of hunting. An eviscerated carcass has an empty space inside from where

the inner organs are extracted. All the viscera fit on the inside of the ventral cavity, and, excepting the kidneys, fall out spontaneously once the muscles that hold the cavity together are cut. The extension **INNARDS** is thus related to the locational meaning **INSIDE**.

I have shown how the semantic extensions of the suffix **áłciʔ* are influenced by the hunting culture of the Interior Plateau. The next chapter addresses a suffix that is semantically related to **áłciʔ* **GAME ANIMAL**. The semantic relation that exists between these two suffixes, **GAME ANIMAL** and **HIDE**, is grounded on the culture of the Interior Plateau. The nature of the relation is made explicit in the Okanagan examples (211) and (212) where the suffix **áłciʔ* denotes an animal, and the suffix **íčaʔ* a robe made out of the skin of that same animal.

(211) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:196)
łíw=ičaʔ
deal, bargain=**GAME ANIMAL**
'doe, female white tailed and mule deer'

(212) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:178)
s-ǰaʔcnm=ičaʔ
NOM-deer=**HIDE**
'deer-skin robe'

The relation between **GAME ANIMAL** and **HIDE** is also made explicit in the Thompson examples (213) and (214).

(213) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:87)
kéy=iłciʔ
follow=**GAME ANIMAL**
'to track an animal'

(214) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:213)
nékʷeh=iłceʔ
tan=**HIDE**
'tanned hide with hair left on'

In analyzing the semantics of the suffix **áłciʔ* **GAME ANIMAL** it becomes apparent that culture may influence the conceptual system of speakers. The semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix **áłciʔ* **GAME ANIMAL** would not be conceivable in an urban or agrarian milieu. Meaning

extensions like INNARDS > INSIDE, and CARCASS > SIDE in certain respects are not universal. These extensions are possible within hunting cultures, like the ones found in the Interior Plateau. It is important to notice that the suffix **álciʔ* GAME ANIMAL is practically absent in Central Salish and that Central Salish languages are spoken in different culture area.

6.0 Introduction.

This chapter addresses the semantics of the lexical suffix **t̥caʔ*. The suffix belongs to the material culture domain, as opposed to the somatic domain. Suffixes of the material culture domain are well represented in all Salish languages. Material culture suffixes—like body-part suffixes—go back to Proto-Salish and constitute a sub-system of the Proto-Salish lexical suffix inventory. However, the cognate sets found for material-culture suffixes throughout Salish are fewer than the sets for body-part lexical suffixes (Newman 1968:20).

I have collected tokens of the suffix **t̥caʔ* in twenty different Salish languages. Sixteen of these languages appear in Table I and constitute the main body of data. The rest of the languages from which sample tokens were collected appear in Figure 1 below.

6.0.1 The data.

Table I show the sources for the suffix **t̥caʔ* and show the number of entries per language.

SOURCES FOR "HIDE"			
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	SOURCES	NO
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	Davis et al. (1980)	3
Central Salish	Comox	Boas (n.d.) Ms. 7 1-174	1
	Squamish	Kuipers (1967)	2
	Halkomelem	Suttles (in preparation a and b), Leslie (1979)	14
	Saanich	Montler (1986), Pidgeon (1970)	4
	Lushootseed	Bates (1994), Hess (1976)	17
Tsamosan	Quinault	Gibson (n.d.)	6
	Upper Chehalis	Kinkade (1991)	19
Interior (Northern)	Lillooet	van Eijk (1985), (1987)	25
	Thompson	Thompson and Thompson (1996)	80
	Shuswap	Kuipers (1974)	21
Interior (Southern)	Okanagan	Matina (1987)	57
	Columbian	Kinkade (n.d.)	59
	Kalispel	Vogt (1940)	4
	Spokane	Carlson (1989)	29
	Coeur d'Alene	Reichard (1938)	7
TOTAL			348

TABLE I: SOURCES FOR THE SUFFIX FOR HIDE

In this chapter, I present 199 examples of the lexical suffix **íçáʔ* HIDE, tracing the distribution of the suffix throughout the family, contrasting its semantic extensions, and exploring the meanings that obtain throughout the family. The analysis is based on 348 examples of the lexical suffix **íçáʔ*.

In the 348 examples of the suffix **íçáʔ* that are considered, the meaning “hide” is attested in all Interior languages. The meanings “clothing” and “blanket” also obtain for the suffix across the entire family. The assumption here is that clothes and blankets were originally made from animal hides. Hence, the meaning “hide” underlies these extensions, because it denotes the raw material out of which clothes and blanket were once made.

I argue that the notions “outer layer” and “flat-flexible material” are part of the chain of meanings that obtain for the suffix in Northern and Southern Interior Salish (Kinkade 1973.)¹ I also argue that the hunting practices of the Interior Plateau people underlie the proliferation of meanings that obtain for this suffix in Interior languages.

6.0.2 The root *çíʔ* and the lexical suffix for HIDE.

Kuipers (1996:203) reconstructs the suffix as **íçáʔ* “hide” (there is no stress mark on his reconstructed suffix) and derives it from the root **çíʔ*. The problem of relating *çíʔ* to **íçáʔ* is that the origin of **íçáʔ* with an initial glottal stop is supported in several languages (see section 6.2.2).

The lexical suffix **íçáʔ* is a good example of the transition from root to lexical suffix (Egesdal 1981, Carlson 1990, Kinkade 1996, 1998). The root status of the morpheme **íçáʔ* is shown in the Bella Coola form *?íçáma-* “blanket made out of hides” (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:160), which contains the morpheme *?íçá-* functioning as a root, presumably followed by an *-m* suffix; and in the Musqueam form *s-?íçáam* “clothing” or “blanket” (Wayne Suttles p.c.), which contains an *s* - prefix and an *-m* suffix. These examples come from two different branches of the family, Central Salish and Bella Coola, and constitute evidence for the origin of the suffix **íçáʔ* in the root *?íçá-*.

¹ Kinkade suggests that the meaning “outside” obtains for this suffix in Columbian.

Kuipers (1996:203) suggests that the root *ciʔ* may be present in suffixes **-atcaʔ*² (**atciʔ*) and **-icaʔ*. The semantic relation that exists between the suffixes **atciʔ* and **icaʔ* is shown in examples (1) and (2) where the suffix **atciʔ* denotes an animal, and in examples (3), (4), and (5), where the suffix **icaʔ* denotes the hide of an animal.

- (1) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:91)
 ʃl-əl-p=ɪcaʔ
 die-SUF-ASP=GAME ANIMAL
 'a body becomes still'
- (2) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:170)
 ckʷ=ɪcaʔ-s-əlx
 drag=GAME ANIMAL-3SG-PL
 'They dragged the meat home.'
- (3) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:242)
 xʷɪkʷ=caʔ-m
 tanned=HIDE-MID
 'tanned hide'
- (4) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:242)
 k-tíw=caʔ-nt
 ASP/RSLT-buy=HIDE-TR
 'buy clothing'
- (5) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:176)
 ʃəqʷ=iceʔ
 sew=HIDE
 'make a dress'

The position taken here is that these suffixes are semantically related within the hunting culture of the Interior plateau, but that there is no phonological evidence that the suffixes have a common origin.

² **-atcaʔ* is Kuiper's reconstruction, he suggests (1996:203) that the root *ciʔ* may be present in the suffixes **-atcaʔ* and *icaʔ*.

6.0.3 The lexical suffix for HIDE and the Salishan family tree.

This section addresses the genetic relations between Salishan languages using cognate forms of the suffix **í'ca'* throughout the family.

Figure 1 has the Salish Family Tree and cognate forms of the suffix **í'ca'*.

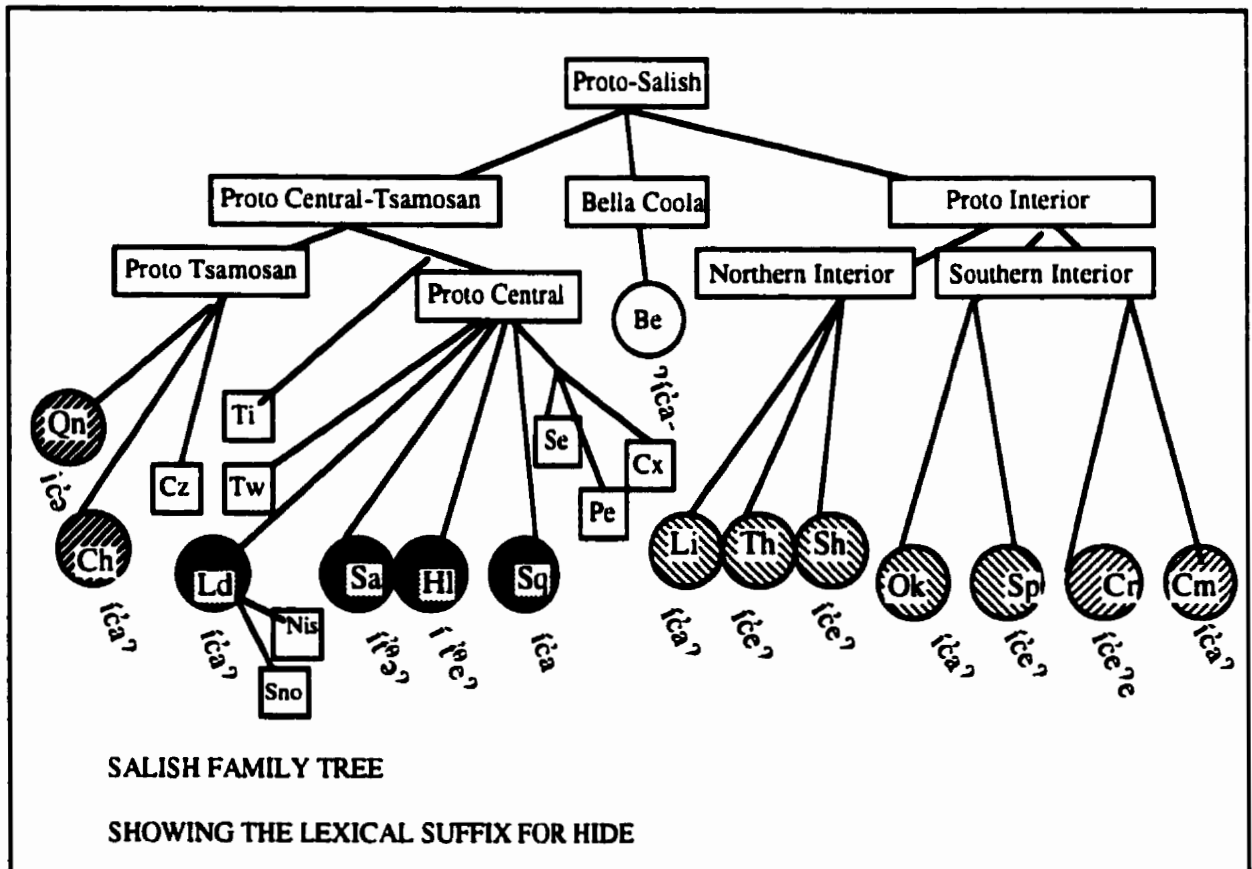


Figure 1: Salish Family Tree Showing the Lexical suffix for HIDE.

The suffix is attested in languages marked with a square in Figure 2 (Haeblerlin 1974:262-263).

Tillamook *s-λ a'nal=é'ca* "blanket"

Sechelt *é'cam* "blanket", *nečá'w=i'ca* "one blanket", and *sam=i'ca* "two blankets".

Comox *é'cam* "blanket"

Nisqually (Southern Lushootseed) *ší=cam* "blanket", *koša.č'ol=ica* "rabbit skin robe"

Twana *icol'v=ica* "skirt"

Snohomish (Northern Lushootseed) *sé=cob* “robe”

Lower Fraser (Halkomelem) *sʔé=cəm* “blanket”

Pentlatch *é·cámen* “blanket” and *xuo·melé·ič* “salmon skin”

Sechelt *s·xó·mle·c* “salmon skin”

Comox *š·omié·č* “salmon skin”

Cowlitz *tlálecon=íca* “deer-skin robe”, *šá·tlol=íca* “rabbit-skin robe”, *λ á·kom=eca* “cape”, and *spanyól=íca* “poncho”.

I have shown above the genetic relations amongst Salish languages through cognate forms of the suffix **ícaʔ*. The Haeblerlin data is an aid to the semantic reconstruction of the suffix.

6.0.4 The reconstructed form for the lexical suffix HIDE.

The phonological reconstruction of the suffix **ícaʔ* takes into account the phonological shape of the suffix throughout the family. Its purpose is to establish the morphological identity of the of suffix, so that the different meanings exhibited by the suffix can be semantically analyzed.

Table II illustrates the different shapes of the lexical suffix for HIDE in Salish.

THE FORMS OF THE LEXICAL SUFFIX FOR HIDE	
Bella Coola	ʔícam-
CENTRAL DIVISION	
Halkomelem	íʔeʔ
Saanich	íʔaʔ
Lushootseed	ícaʔ
TRAMOGAN DIVISION	
Quinault	íçə ~ çí
U. Chehalis	ícaʔ
INTERIOR DIVISION (North)	
Lillooet	ícaʔ
Thompson	íceʔ
Shuswap	íceʔ ~ íçe
INTERIOR DIVISION (South)	
Okanagan	ícaʔ
Columbian	ícaʔ
Spokane	íceʔ
Kalispel	íceʔ
Coeur d'Alene	íceʔ

TABLE II: The Different Phonological Shapes of the Suffix for HIDE

Table III aligns the suffix by segments. The Bella Coola form is a root and has an initial glottal stop, therefore it is not, strictly speaking, a form of the suffix. However, it is the form from which the suffix potentially derived. I did not find an example of the suffix in Bella Coola, but both the root and the suffix forms are attested in Downriver Halkomelem.

Bella Coola	ʔ	í	ć	a-	
Halkomelem		í	íʰ	ə	ʔ
Saanich		í	íʰ	ə	ʔ
Lushootseed		í	ć	a	ʔ
		í	ć	ə	
U. Chehalis		í	ć	a	
Lillooet		í	ć	a	ʔ
Thompson		í	ć	e	ʔ
Shuswap		í	ć	e	ʔ
Okanagan		í	ć	a	ʔ
Columbian		í	ć	a	ʔ
Spokane		í	ć	e	ʔ
Kalispel		í	ć	e	ʔ
Coeur d'Alene		í	ć	a	ʔ
	*	í	ć	a	ʔ

TABLE III: THE PROTO-FORM OF THE SUFFIX FOR HIDE

Following Kinkade (1998), I posit a proto-form **íćaʔ* for the suffix.

6.0.5 The central meanings of the lexical suffix **íćaʔ*.

The suffix **íćaʔ* denotes primarily the “hide of an animal” and it occurs frequently in the lexicon of Interior Salish languages—its most frequent meanings throughout the family are “blanket” and “clothing”. The central meanings HIDE was assigned on the basis of the extant semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix in different languages of the family.

Hides are an important by-product of the hunt. The Interior Plateau people valued them greatly as the prime raw material for making moccasins and clothing. Hierarchical protocols used to exist around the acquisition of deer hides in the culture of the plateau people. If many deer were caught during a hunt, the best hunters got the greater part of the skins; if only one deer was caught, the leader of the hunt took the hide and divided the meat equally among the other

members of the hunting party (Alexander 1992:108). The importance ascribed to deer hides within the culture explains why the suffix **ícaʔ* with the meaning “hide” figures so prominently in the lexicon of Interior Salish languages.

The meanings “clothing” and “blanket” obtain for the suffix **ícaʔ* across the entire language family. It is reasonable to assume that the meaning HIDE for the suffix precedes and underlies the extensions “clothing” and “blanket”, since clothes and blankets were originally made from animal hides.

Historically, the suffix may have denoted only the hide of an animal. Synchronically, the more abstract meanings of the suffix **ícaʔ* derive from the properties of an animal hide, such as its ability to cover or envelop the animal while on its body, or the flat and two-dimensional properties that characterize it once it is removed from the body. These qualities and properties inform the more abstract extensions of the suffix. The range of meanings embodied by the lexical suffix **ícaʔ* are displayed below:

HIDE > ANIMAL SKIN/HUMAN SKIN/FEATHERS /SCALES (6.1.1) (6.1.2)(6.1.3) (6.1.4)

HIDE > CLOTHING (6.2.1)

HIDE > BLANKET (6.2.2)

HIDE > CLOTH (6.3.1)

HIDE > WRAPPER > PACKAGE /CONTAINER (6.3.3)

HIDE > OUTER LAYER > BARK > RIND (6.4.1)

HIDE > AROUND (6.5)

Within the scope of this analysis, and after considering the extant meanings of the suffix **ícaʔ* throughout the family, I conclude that the central meaning HIDE is the source of all semantic extensions.

6.0.6 Categories of meaning that obtain for the lexical suffix **ícaʔ*.

The following categories address the array of meanings subsumed by the suffix **ícaʔ* HIDE.

HIDE AND RELATED MEANINGS: Examples (6) through (12) represent analogical extensions of the meaning HIDE. They denote the pelt of an animal, human skin, the coat of a live animal, the scales of fish, and the feathers of birds.

HIDE “Hide, pelt, leather”

- (6) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1454)
s-qəlaŋ=íca
NOM-beaver=HIDE
'beaver skin'

HIDE “Human skin”

- (7) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1483)
k-láŋkʷkʷ=caʔ
POS-scratch (redup.)=HIDE
'go through bushes and get scratched'

HIDE “Live animal coat”

- (8) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:129)
kʷén=íceʔ
regard=HIDE
'(dog) examines skin for [for fleas]'

HIDE “Scales, feathers”

- (9) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1440)
s-n-ləx=ícaʔ
NOM-POS-lay down pl. objects=HIDE
'scales of a fish'
- (10) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:187)
kas=al=íčʔ-an
heat up-CON=HIDE-TR
'to burn off down (of a bird)'

MATERIAL CULTURE ITEMS MADE OUT OF HIDE: Examples (11) and (12) denote objects made out of animal hides that have a utilitarian use.

HIDE “Clothing”

- (11) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:49)
m i ʔ = á l = í c a ʔ
dirty=CON=HIDE
'dirty clothing'

HIDE “Blanket”

- (12) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.: #1451)
s- w ə p = c n = í c a ʔ
NOM-body hair=MOUTH=HIDE
'Hudson Bay blanket'³

SHAPE CLASSIFIER FUNCTION DENOTING FLAT, FLEXIBLE, TWO-DIMENSIONAL OBJECTS: Examples

(13) through (16) reflect the two-dimensional shape and functional properties of a hide.

HIDE “Cloth”

- (13) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)
ʔ x ʔ = í t ʔ
hard=HIDE
'stiff cloth'

HIDE “Wrapper”

- (14) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:144)
k - p l k = í c a ʔ
ASP/RSLT-wrap around=HIDE
'roll or wrap'

HIDE “Package”

- (15) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:68)
k - l k = í c a ʔ
ASP/RSLT-tied=HIDE
'package, bale, wrap'

³ The word *s-wep=cín* in Columbian means “beard” and this name for blanket possibly refers to the traders from whom these blankets were obtained (Dale Kinkade p.c.).

HIDE “Container”

- (16) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:148)
n-lem=čéʔ- me
LOC-enter=HIDE-MID
‘fill one’s pockets’

LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Examples (17) through (20) show the relation the hide of an animal bears to the inner body of the animal.

HIDE “Outer Layer”

- (17) Spokane (Carlson 1989:123)
č-iłx*=íčéʔ
DIR-cover=HIDE
‘outside covering’
- (18) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:145)
k-páʔx*=íčáʔ
ASP/RSLT-shine=HIDE
‘shiny surface’

HIDE “Rind”

- (19) Spokane (Carlson 1989:235)
č-lq=íčʔe- n
DIR-peel=HIDE-1SG
‘I peeled around it with a knife’

HIDE “Bark”

- (20) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:8)
s-ʔ=íčéʔ
NOM-neutral stem=HIDE
‘cottonwood bark’

RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS: Example (21) shows the relationship “around” for the suffix.

HIDE “Around”

- (21) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:191)
t-kəkəw=íćeʔ
LOC-far (redup.)=HIDE
‘outer reaches, farthest you can go’

CULTURAL EXTENSIONS: Example (22) shows an extension of the suffix rooted in mythology and culture. This extension is not analyzable or transparent.

HIDE “Ghost”

- (22) Spokane (Carlson 1989:36)
s-kʷúss=ćeʔ
NOM-not glossed=HIDE
‘ghost’

The above categorizations exemplify the range of meanings subsumed by the suffix *íćaʔ. All semantic extensions of the suffix within this corpus derive from the central concept HIDE. The inventory of semantic categories that obtain for the suffix *íćaʔ sustains the positing of the central meaning HIDE for the suffix.

6.1 The meaning extensions of the suffix *íćaʔ HIDE.

We address now the semantic development of the suffix *íćaʔ HIDE, considering its extended meanings. The central meaning of the suffix *íćaʔ denotes the skin or pelt of an animal. By analogy, the suffix also refers to the human skin, the coat of a live animal, the scales of fish and snakes, and the feathers of birds. In addition, it forms expressions denoting items of clothing and blankets.

Functional extensions of the suffix focus on the two-dimensional attributes of a tanned hide. In this type of extension, the suffix functions as classifier for two-dimensional objects, emphasizing properties of flatness and flexibility.

Hides, feathers, and scales are the surface layer of animate bodies, a layer that can be removed and used in various crafts. The concept OUTER LAYER derives from HIDE and gets

translated into English as “rind” and “bark” in different branches of the family. At a more abstract level the suffix combines the envelopment and layering properties of an animal’s hide denoting encirclement, or surrounded areas.

Sections 6.1.1 addresses the meaning HIDE for the suffix *íćaʔ. Section 6.1.2 refers to live ANIMAL COAT. Section 6.1.3 refers to HUMAN SKIN. Section 6.1.4 refers to FEATHERS and SCALES. Section 6.2 addresses extensions of the suffix that denote material objects made out of animal hides. Section 6.3 addresses shape classificatory extensions of the suffix. Section 6.4 addresses locational extensions of the suffix. Section 6.5 addresses relational extensions of the suffix, and section 6.6 addresses culturally-based extensions of the suffix.

6.1.1 *íćaʔ referring to “hide” or “pelt”.

The meaning HIDE for the suffix *íćaʔ represents the core meaning of the suffix, and all semantic extensions derive from it. The examples that follow come from Interior Salish and contain the suffix *íćaʔ referring to a “pelt” or “hide”. These skins may be either raw or dressed, and represent real value in the culture.

(23) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:64)

s-qləw=íćəʔ

NOM-beaver=HIDE

‘beaver skin’

(24) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:144)

x-ḥm=qs=íć-ḥ

LOC-smoke=NOSE=HIDE-MID

‘to smoke a hide’

(25) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:149)

m ul=qs=íćeʔ

wet=NOSE=HIDE

‘to soak a skin’

- (26) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:189)
 tk-cʔ=íć-m
 LOC-scorch=HIDE-MID
 'singe hair off skin'
- (27) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:189)
 knm=íće
 bear=HIDE
 'bear skin'
- (28) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:362)
 txəć=íćeʔ
 elk=HIDE
 'elk hide'
- (29) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:296)
 q*isp=íćeʔ
 buffalo=HIDE
 'buffalo hide'
- (30) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:213)
 nék*eh=íćeʔ
 tan=HIDE
 'tanned hide with hair left on'
- (31) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1481)
 x*ík*=ćaʔ
 tan=HIDE
 'scrape a raw hide'
- (32) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1471)
 ts=áp=ćaʔ
 stiff=TAIL > END=HIDE
 'hard not well tanned leather'
- (33) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1437)
 q*əsp=íćaʔ
 buffalo=HIDE
 'buffalo-hide robe, cowhide'

- (34) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:4)
 k-ck*=*ícaʔ*
 ASP/RSLT-pull=HIDE
 ‘pull the skin off’
- (35) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:87)
 k-łx*-p=*ícaʔ*-m
 ASP/RSLT-slip on-ASP=HIDE-MID
 ‘string up a hide’

A whole craft existed around the processing and tanning of hides, as examples (36) and (37) imply.

- (36) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1456)
 púk*=*caʔ*-tn
 tan=HIDE-INSTR
 ‘tanning blade’
- (37) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:181)
 s-n-x**íkaʔ*=*caʔ*-tn
 NOM-LOC-scrape=HIDE-INSTR
 ‘tanning place’

The above expressions exemplify hide-processing technology within the culture.

6.1.2 **ícaʔ* referring to a live animal coat.

This meaning extension presupposes a live entity that possesses skin or fur. The extension is conceptually related to HIDE. i.e. the coat of a live animal becomes a hide once the animal is trapped. The predicates in examples (38) through (44) denote concepts such “heat up”, “spur”, “spotted”, and “lick”. The suffix refers to the coat of the animal affected by the action or state implied in the predicate. The semantic path of the suffix is HIDE > LIVE ANIMAL COAT.

- (38) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:187)
 k*ak*s=*al=ícaʔ*-an
 heat up (redup.)=CON=HIDE-TR
 ‘to burn off hair of an animal’

- (39) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:111)
 k̄m=ičeʔ=us
 chew=HIDE=FACE
 '[animal] chews on self eating his lice'
- (40) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:397)
 xk̄=ičeʔ
 short hair=HIDE
 '[dog of] short hair'
- (41) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:182/235)
 t-xm=ičaʔ-s
 RSLT-spur=HIDE-3SG.
 'He spurred him (refers to horse).'
- (42) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:175)
 k-slsaʔl=ičaʔ
 ASP/RSLT-spotted (redup.)=HIDE
 'speckled gray, appaloosa'
- (43) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1445)
 t-kʷal=ičaʔ
 POS-red, bay=HIDE
 'white horse with red coloring on it'
- (44) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)
 k-táqʷ=čaʔ-s
 POS-lick=HIDE-3SUB
 'It licked off (a new born animal).'

The semantic extension LIVE ANIMAL COAT that obtains for the suffix is distinct from the one denoted by its central meaning HIDE. The extensions are related since LIVE ANIMAL COAT denotes the skin of a living entity, and HIDE denotes the skin of a non-living entity.

6.1.3 *ičaʔ referring to "human skin".

The following section addresses a related extension for the suffix that refers to HUMAN SKIN. The examples in this section come from Interior Salish languages, and the suffix *ičaʔ attaches

to diverse roots that denote states or actions that affect the skin. The semantic path of the suffix is

HIDE > HUMAN SKIN.

- (45) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:150)
t-pəkʷ-p=íçeʔ
LOC-scatter-ASP=HIDE
'to have the skin flaking off'
- (46) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:148)
t-pəí-m=íçeʔ
LOC-scald-SUF=HIDE
'to break out in spots, skin rash'
- (47) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:189)
k-six-p=íçáʔ
ASP/RSLT-aired out-ASP=HIDE
'get the chills'
- (48) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:28)
k-cqʷcʰíqʷ=çáʔ
ASP/RSLT-summer (redup.)= HIDE
'naked body'
- (49) Spokane (Carlson 1989:71)
č-qup=íçʔe-y
DIR-itch=HIDE-SUF
'hives (skin)'
- (50) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)
č-ʔem kʷ=íçʔe
DIR-peel=HIDE
'the skin peeled off'
- (51) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1479)
k-səx-p=íçáʔ
POS-get a fright-ASP=HIDE
'hair stands on end, get a fright'

(52) **Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1483)**
s-lákʷkʷ=čáʔ
NOM-scratch (redup.)=HIDE
'go through bushes and get scratched'

(53) **Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1452)**
t-xʷúl=čáʔ-tn
POS-steam=HIDE-INSTR
'sweat house'

(54) **Coeur D'Alene (Reichard 1938:564)**
pʉl-əm=ečéʔá
poison ivy-SUF=HIDE
'He applied poison ivy.'

Since the skin covers the entire surface of the body, a tendency to equate skin with body appears in the following utterances. The semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > HUMAN SKIN**.

(55) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:45)**
cw=fíčéʔ
pound=HIDE
'pound someone's body hitting the skin'

(56) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:330)**
sk=fíčéʔ-s
hit=HIDE-3POSS
'whip someone'

(57) **Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:334)**
s-(w)up=fíčé-tn
NOM-hair=HIDE-INSTR
'hair on body'

(58) **Okanagan (Mattina 1987:100)**
k-mín=čáʔ-nt
ASP/RSLT-rub=HIDE-TR
'rub somebody's body'

(59) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1465)
s-k-waχ-p=ícaʔ
NOM-POS-unglossed-ASP=HIDE
'itchy body'

(60) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.)
k-míλ=ca-tn
POS-unglossed=HIDE-INSTR
'liniment'

The Quinault and Thompson examples below refer to states affecting the whole body. The suffix *ícaʔ refers to the totality of the area affected, i.e. the skin that covers the body all over. The semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > HUMAN SKIN > BODY**.

(61) Quinault (Gibson n.d.:3.92.4)
χ*om naw=ci
unglossed-big=HIDE
'pain all over the body'⁴

(62) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.68.7)
náw=ci
big=HIDE
'body'

(63) Quinault (Gibson n.d.: 3.68.7)
qəš=ci-ni
similar=HIDE-SUF
'looks like'

(64) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:291)
q*éy=fceʔ
ache=HIDE
'ache all over'

⁴ The Quinault examples have a plain affricate in (61) and (62) and a glottalized affricate in example (63).

- (65) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:299)
 q*no x̣=íćeʔ
 sick=HIDE
 ‘feel ill generally, sick all over’

The following examples come from Coeur d’Alene; the suffix *íćaʔ refers to some entity that is affected by the meaning implied in the predicate. The English translation given the suffix is “all over”. I am assuming that the suffix refers to the human skin in examples (66) and (67), and that a rash or scratches cover the entire body.

- (66) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:622)
 e-č-yi ḷx̣*=íćeʔe
 PP-LOC-covered=HIDE
 ‘It is covered all over.’

- (67) Coeur d’Alene (Reichard 1938:622)
 a-t-dje x̣=ćeʔe
 PP-LOC-groove=HIDE
 ‘It is scratched all over.’

The examples below indirectly denote the skin of a living human being. As a somatic change begins to be enacted, for instance a strong emotion, the autonomic nervous system increases the secretion of fluid in the sweat glands and changes the electric conductivity of the skin. Skin conductance responses are part of a body state, which if completely unfolded, will produce perceptible signs of excitement and arousal—goose pimples in some people.

- (68) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1479)
 k-səx-p=íća
 POS-unglossed-ASP=HIDE
 ‘hair stand on end, get a fright’

If one does not have a skin conductance response, it is not possible to have the conscious body-state characteristic of an emotion (Damasio 1994:207-209). Impressions and sensations can cause nervous system reactions that have repercussions on the skin. In the Shuswap examples that follow, *íćaʔ denotes the human skin in the context of a sensory function that permeates the whole body and the person. The semantic path is **HIDE > HUMAN SKIN > BODY**.

(69) Shuswap (Kuipers: 1989-230)

t-ʔe xʷl-n=íçeʔ

LOC-suspect-SUF=HIDE

'to sense, to suspect'

(70) Shuswap (Kuipers: 1983-86)

t-qʷəp qʷəpəʔ=íçeʔ

PRFX-apprehensive (redup.)=HIDE

'to get a spooky feeling'

The above examples describe the close relation existing between the meanings HUMAN SKIN and BODY that obtains for the suffix **íçaʔ*. The sensory, enveloping and covering properties of the skin are emphasized by this relation.

6.1.4 **íçaʔ* referring to “scales” and “feathers”.

This section addresses three extensions of **íçaʔ* that denote the external coats of oviparous animals. In the following Interior Salish utterances the suffix **íçaʔ* HIDE denotes the external coating of snakes, fish, and birds. These extensions derive from the core concept HIDE. We can think of these extensions as analogical. Scales are to fish, and feathers to birds, as the hide is to the deer. The semantic path is HIDE > FEATHERS/SCALES.

(71) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:187)

kás=a l=íçʔ-a n

heat up=CON=HIDE-TR

'to burn off down (of a bird)'

(72) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:261)

s-t-wp=íçeʔ

NOM-PRFX-hair= HIDE

'feather'

(73) Spokane (Carlson 1989:4)

č-ʔe m kʷ=íçʔe-n

DIR-peel=HIDE-1SG

'I took the feathers off (e.g., chicken).'

- (74) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:131)
 kʷəłk=íceʔ-me
 scald= HIDE-MID
 'remove feathers by scalding'
- (75) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:213)
 ne k=ceʔ-me
 change=HIDE-MID
 '[of snake] change, shed skin'
- (76) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1440)
 s-n-ləx=ičaʔ
 NOM-POS-lay down pl. objects=HIDE
 'scales of a fish'
- (77) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:74)
 s-n-ix=ičaʔ
 NOM-LOC-unglossed=HIDE
 'scale of fish'

The external coating of birds and fish is not truly a hide. Nevertheless, feathers and scales have the same function and serve the same purpose as the hide—they cover the inner body and demarcate the outer body surface.

6.1.5 Summary and distribution of analogical meanings of the lexical suffix *ičaʔ.

Table IV below shows the distribution of analogical meanings derived from the central meaning HIDE that obtains for the suffix *ičaʔ and sums up the content of section 6.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF HIDE AND ANALOGICAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE "Hide", "Pelt"				•	•
HIDE "Live Animal Coat"				•	•
HIDE "Human Skin/Body"			•	•	•
HIDE "Feathers", "Scales"				•	•

TABLE IV: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF ANALOGICAL EXTENSIONS

In the data considered in this section the core meaning HIDE extends to denote LIVE ANIMAL COAT, HUMAN SKIN/BODY, and FEATHERS/SCALES.

- The meaning HIDE is attested in Interior Salish.
- The meanings LIVE ANIMAL COAT, HUMAN SKIN and BODY are attested in Tsamosan and Interior Salish.
- The meaning FEATHERS and SCALES are attested in Interior Salish.

6.2 *ícaʔ denoting items originally made of animal hide.

This section addresses two extensions of the suffix *ícaʔ HIDE denoting articles of the material culture made from animal hides. Clothes were originally made from animal skins, and so were blankets, hence the extensions CLOTHING and BLANKET derive from the central meaning of the suffix, HIDE.

The semantic extensions CLOTHING and BLANKET are found throughout the entire family. In spite of the fact that *ícaʔ does not surface as HIDE in certain languages, the meaning HIDE underlies the extensions CLOTHING and BLANKET, because it represents the raw material out of which they were made. Section 6.2.1 addresses the extension CLOTHING for the suffix, and section 6.2.2 addresses the extension BLANKET.

6.2.1 *ícaʔ referring to “clothing”.

The examples below denote buckskin clothes or goods made out of animal hide, as seen in the Okanagan examples (78) and (79) below. The semantic path of the suffix is HIDE > CLOTHING.

(78) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:178)
s-ǰaʔcnm=ícaʔ
NOM-deer=HIDE
'deerskin robe'

(79) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:163)
q*sp=ícaʔ
NOM-buffalo=HIDE
'buffalo robe'

The suffix extends to denote all types of garments. In examples (80) through (84) the suffix functions as an adjunct to predicates meaning “deep” or “underneath”, and the resulting expressions denote undergarments.

- (80) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:204)

$g^w\text{əd}=\acute{f}\acute{c}a^?$

underneath=HIDE

‘underwear, undershirt’

- (81) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

$s-\acute{x}p=\acute{f}\acute{c}a^?$

NOM-deep=HIDE

‘slip, undergarment’

- (82) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:134)

$\acute{x}i\acute{x}p\text{-}tn=\text{a}y=\acute{c}a$

deep (redup.)-INSTR=CON=HIDE

‘undershirt’

- (83) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:121)

$s-\acute{x}p=\acute{a}l=\acute{f}\acute{c}a^?$

NOM-deep=CON=HIDE

‘underwear’

- (84) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:184)

$s-\acute{x}p=\acute{f}\acute{c}c^?$

NOM-deep=HIDE

‘shirt’

The examples below reflect contemporary uses of the suffix $*\acute{f}\acute{c}a^?$ in Northern Interior languages. The suffix denotes items of clothing, while the predicates in such expressions define the use or most prominent trait of the garment denoted.

- (85) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:272)

$\acute{f}^w\text{u}\acute{y}t=\acute{f}\acute{c}a^?$

sleep=HIDE

‘pajamas, nightie’

- (86) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:478)
 n-ʃ*o ýt=íçe?
 LOC-sleep=HIDE
 'nightgown'
- (87) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:69)
 cəs-p=íça?
 stretch-ASP=HIDE
 'sweater'
- (88) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:182)
 k*ə!k*əl'=íça?
 yellow (redup.)=HIDE
 'yellow dress'
- (89) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:344)
 s-tekt=íçe?
 NOM-rain=HIDE
 'raincoat'
- (90) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:615)
 səx*m=íçe?
 bathe=HIDE
 'bathing suit'

Examples (91)-(105) denote generic items of clothing. The suffix combines with different types of predicates.

- (91) Halkomelem (Leslie 1979:81)
 p!t=íʰə
 thick=HIDE
 'thick clothes'
- (92) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:203)
 ?u-si k*=ál=íça? čəd
 ASP-rip=CON=HIDE 1SG
 'I ripped my clothing.'

- (93) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:203)
 ʔu-láɡʷ=íçáʔ-b
 ASP-leave=HIDE-MID
 'took clothes off'
- (94) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b: §14 #27)
 łəw=íʔəʔ
 escape=HIDE
 'naked'
- (95) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:151)
 łəlp=é·çá
 put on=HIDE
 'clothes, clothing [for women]'
- (96) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:241)
 ǵʷíç=al=íçáʔ
 wash=CON=HIDE
 'to wash clothes'
- (97) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:269)
 ʔiʔiʔ=íçáʔ
 magpie=HIDE
 'coat made out of magpie skins'
- (98) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:400)
 xʷaǵʷ=íççʔ
 thin=HIDE
 'clothes get worn, threadbare'
- (99) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:40)
 cúkʷ=ççʔ
 finish=HIDE
 'finish making dress'
- (100) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:163)
 t-qʷńqʷń=íçáʔ
 RSLT-pitiful (redup.)=HIDE
 'be poorly dressed'

- (101) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:55)
 k^wí=íca?
 warm=HIDE
 'dressed warm'
- (102) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1467)
 t-ǰs=íca?
 POS-good=HIDE
 'good clothes, dress clothes'
- (103) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)
 t-píx=ca?
 POS-ragged=HIDE
 'worn-out, ragged clothes'
- (104) Spokane (Carlson 1989:76)
 č-q^wńq^wń=íce?
 DIR-pitiful (redup.)= HIDE
 'He's poorly dressed.'

The suffix is attested with the meaning CLOTHING in Shuswap, as seen in (105). However, the usual suffix for indicating clothes in Shuswap is =*elqs*.⁵

- (105) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:66)
 s-tk-lŷ^w=íce?
 NOM-LOC-hide=HIDE
 'hidden under one's clothes'

This concludes the discussion of the meaning CLOTHING that obtains for the suffix *íca?.

⁵ The suffix =*elqs* is also used in expressions denoting items of clothing, e.g. *q^wey =íqs* "black robe", *sex^wm=elqs* "bathing suit", and *q^wy=elx=elqs* "dancing dress" (Christine and Florence Simon p.c.).

Kuipers (1974:66) has *t-k^wltk=elqs* "underwear". The lexical suffix =*qs* means NOSE > POINT and it is used in combination with the suffix =íce? in the following expressions: *x-ml=qs=íce?* "soak a skin" and *x-pm=qs=íc^w-m* "smoke a skin". Kuipers (1974:67) suggests that the meaning of the suffix =*elqs* is connected to "hide".

6.2.2 *íçáʔ referring to “blanket”.

Like the extension CLOTHING, the extension BLANKET that obtains for the suffix *íçáʔ denotes an item originally made out of hide. At present, the suffix *íçáʔ refers to different types of blankets—some made from animal hides, some woven. We cannot ascertain that woven blankets received their name from earlier hide blankets, but it seems a likely possibility. Synchronically, the suffix *íçáʔ denotes woven blankets, comforters, and quilts, as shown in the examples that follow.

The examples below come from Bella Coola, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, and Shuswap. They refer to a generic blanket. These examples contain the form *íçáʔ as a lexical root followed by the middle voice suffix, *-m*. These forms attest to the possible origin from *íçá- for the suffix.

(106) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:203)

s-íçáʔ-b

NOM=hide-MID

‘blanket’

(107) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b., §14 #27)

s-ʔíçáʔ-m

NOM-hide-MID

‘blanket’

Examples (108) and (109) also contain the form *íçáʔ as a root followed by the middle suffix.

(108) Bella Coola (P. Davis and Saunders 1980:160)

ta ʔíçáma-m-is

DET hide-MID -3SG

‘that one blanket she wore’

(109) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:228)

c-x-ʔíçá-m

RSLT-LOC-hide-MID

‘be covered with a blanket’

The examples below contain the suffix *íçáʔ, and refer to blankets made from animal hides.

The semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > BLANKET**.

- (110) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:131)
 ʃəwł=ł=íca
 mountain beaver=CON=HIDE
 'marmot blanket'
- (111) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:233)
 s-qʷəŋqʷənt=ícaʔ
 NOM-whistler (redup.)=HIDE
 'blanket made out of whistler (i.e. hoary marmot) skins'

Examples (112)–(119) refer to woven blankets.

- (112) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:203)
 ǰəsgʷ=ícaʔ
 hair=HIDE
 'the old type blanket made of dog and goat hair'
- (113) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:358)
 ǰi wʔ=íca
 round and round=HIDE
 'to string up wool on the loom'
- (114) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:264)
 s-qəʃʔ=íceʔ
 NOM-dog= HIDE
 'dog-wool blanket'
- (115) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:297)
 ɣíy=caʔ
 weave= HIDE
 'weave blanket'
- (116) Columbian (Kinkade n.d. #1451)
 s-wəp=cn=ícaʔ
 NOM-body hair=MOUTH=HIDE
 'Hudson Bay blanket'⁶

⁶ See footnote 3.

(117) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1450)
s-ššəʃ=cn=ícaʔ
NOM-dog= MOUTH=HIDE
'a dog-fur blanket for sleigh'

(118) Spokane (Carlson 1989:36)
s-kʷkʷim=caʔ
NOM-small (redup.)=HIDE
'small blanket'

In the following examples, the meanings “quilt” and “comforter” are associated with the suffix *ícaʔ.

(119) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:165)
s-íəqʷ=íceʔ
NOM-sew=HIDE
'quilt'

(120) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:301)
n-qʷúp=ceʔ
LOC-stuffed with something=HIDE
'comforter'

(121) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:125)
n-kʷúp=ceʔ
LOC-push=HIDE
'quilt stuffed with fur, down, cotton'

(122) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1453)
s-pə́t=ícaʔ
NOM-unglossed=HIDE
'quilt'

(123) Spokane (Carlson 1989:100)
s-íaqʷ=íceʔ
NOM=sew=HIDE
'a quilt'

In the examples below, *ícaʔ denotes BLANKET and combines with different predicates.

- (124) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 m ə ʔ = é · l = i^h ə[?]
 return=CON=HIDE
 'to return wealth (blankets)'⁷
- (125) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:203)
 q[?] á s d = ù l = í ç a[?]
 unglossed=CON=HIDE
 'ceremonial blanket made of goat and dog hair'
- (126) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:120)
 č s - q[?] í x̄ = ú l = í ç a
 COLOR-blue=CON=HIDE
 'blue blanket'
- (127) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:316)
 s e[?] x = í ç e[?] - s - c
 odor fades=HIDE-SUF -3SG
 'managed to get one's blankets washed'
- (128) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:158)
 i p̄ = í ç e[?]
 hang=HIDE
 'hang one's blankets out to air'
- (129) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:281)
 k̄ t -[?] x[?] = í ç a[?]
 TRANSLOC-enter=HIDE
 'put something under a blanket'
- (130) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:144)
 k - p̄ ú m = ç a[?]
 ASP/RSLT-smoked=HIDE
 'brown blanket'

⁷ The meaning BLANKET in the Halkomelem example (124) can be understood as “wealth” if blankets are distributed at a potlatch (Wayne Suttles p.c.).

- (131) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1444)
 kʷl-n=ičáʔ
 lend, borrow-SUF(?)=HIDE
 'borrow a blanket'
- (132) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.)
 s-paḥ=ičáʔ
 NOM-grey= HIDE
 'a grey blanket'
- (133) Spokane (Carlson 1989:123)
 n-(y)il kʷ=ičéʔ
 LOC-bent=HIDE
 'blanket worn over the shoulder'
- (134) Spokane (Carlson 1989:9)
 ʔal-p=ičéʔ
 lost-ASP=HIDE
 'He lost his blanket (gambling).'

This concludes the discussion of the meaning BLANKET that obtains for the suffix *ičáʔ.

6.2.3 *ičáʔ as a classifier for blankets.

The suffix *ičáʔ attaches to quantifying predicates and functions as a classifier for blankets in Upper Chehalis and Southern Interior Salish. Examples (135) through (148) below show the suffix *ičáʔ functioning as a classifier for BLANKETS.

- (135) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:57)
 kʷín=ičá
 how many=HIDE
 'how many blankets'
- (136) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:87)
 načʰ=áw=ičá
 one=CON=HIDE
 'one blanket'

- (137) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:19)
 čam=ičá
 two=HIDE
 'two blankets'
- (138) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:34)
 cán=áw=ičá
 three=CON=HIDE
 'three blankets'
- (139) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:85)
 múš=ičá
 four=HIDE
 'four blankets'
- (140) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:23)
 cilčst=á·l=ičá
 five=CON=HIDE
 'five blankets'
- (141) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:148)
 řařám=ičá
 six=HIDE
 'six blankets'
- (142) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:32)
 čupst=á·l=ičá
 seven=CON=HIDE
 'seven blankets'
- (143) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:20)
 cámust=á·l=ičá
 eight=CON=HIDE
 'eight blankets'
- (144) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:140)
 təwx*řt=á·l=ičá
 nine=CON=HIDE
 'nine blankets'

(145) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:94)

pančst=ál=iča

ten=CON=HIDE

'ten blankets'

(146) Columbian (Kinkade n. d.)

clakst=iča?

five=HIDE

'five blankets'

(147) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:548)

tuwšič=iče?e

six=HIDE

'six blankets'

(148) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:622)

m ús=če?e

four=HIDE

'four blankets not folded'

This concludes the discussion of the extensions of the suffix **iča?* denoting items made of hide used in the material culture.

6.2.4 Summary and distribution of material culture extensions of the suffix **iča?*.

Table V below shows the distribution of extensions denoting items made out of animal hide that obtains for the suffix **iča?*, and sums up the content of section 6.2.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF MATERIAL CULTURE EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE "Clothing"		•	•	•	•
HIDE "Blanket"	•	•	•	•	•

TABLE V: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL CULTURE EXTENSIONS

The extension CLOTHING is attested in all branches of the family except Bella Coola. The extension BLANKET is attested in all branches of the family. This concludes the discussion of the material culture extensions that obtain for the suffix **íçáʔ*.

6.3 **íçáʔ* as a shape-classifier for flat, flexible, two-dimensional objects.

This section addresses the suffix **íçáʔ* as a shape-classifier for two-dimensional objects. A saliently two-dimensional classifier often combines with consistency categories—objects that are saliently “two dimensional” and “flexible” are classified as “fabric-like”—objects that are saliently “two dimensional” and “rigid” are classified as “plank-like” (Allen 1977:301). The above qualities are associated both with raw and well-tanned animal hides, since flatness, flexibility, and two-dimensional shape are inherent properties of a hide or pelt.

The use of animal hide was extensive in the culture of the Interior Plateau. Deer and elk hides were the most important, but bear, wolf, coyote, lynx, fox, marmot, hare, and marten hides were also used. Animals were skinned and their hides partly cleaned immediately after the kill; further cleaning was done at the base camps. If the hides were not to be used as blankets or robes, the hair was removed from them while they were still fresh (Alexander 1992:138).

The use of **íçáʔ* HIDE as a classifier for flat, flexible objects has a counterpart in the Mon-Khmer family, where the term **plah* LEAF functions as the classifier for flat and flexible objects (Adams 1989:155). The point here is that properties of shape and function abstracted from a basic material used in the culture extend to novel semantic domains. In cultures where Mon-Khmer languages are spoken, plants and leaves are used for making clothes, for weaving mats, and for wrapping. Interior Salish people relied upon hunting for subsistence. Animal hides were put to many uses suited to their two-dimensional shape and flexible texture.

Table VI shows the range of entities classified by **plah* LEAF in Mon-Khmer.

MON-KHMER FAMILY					
PALAUNGIC					
		LEAF	LINEN	CLOTHES	PAPER
Gold Palaung	<i>plah</i>	•			
Antidel's Wa	<i>plah</i>				•
Bible Wa	<i>plah</i>	•			
Drage's Wa	<i>plah</i>	•	•	•	
Kawa	<i>plah</i>	•			
Lawa	<i>plah</i>			•	
NORTH BAHNARIC					
Anon's Rongao	<i>blah</i>		•	•	
Jeh	<i>blah</i>		•	•	
Halang	<i>blah</i>		•		
KATUIC					
Brou	<i>ploah</i>	•			
Pacoh	<i>plah</i>		•	•	

TABLE VI: The CLASSIFIER **plah* IN MON-KHMER

The meanings denoted by **i'ca'* refer to objects that have a salient two-dimensional shape. In this respect the classificatory function of the suffix covers approximately the same range as the Mon-Khmer **plah* LEAF classifier. This is a case where two different cultures abstract the shape and functional uses of a material commonly used in the culture and extend them to other domains.

Section 6.3.1 addresses the extension CLOTH for the suffix. Section 6.3.2 addresses the extension WRAPPER for the suffix.

6.3.1 **i'ca'* referring to "cloth".

The suffix **i'ca'* denotes CLOTH, an item introduced in post-contact times. The extension is attested in Central and Interior Salish, and is exemplified in the utterances below.

Examples (149) and (150), from Halkomelem and Saanich respectively, predicate the quality of “stiffness” in reference to cloth. This extension abstracts the properties of flexibility and two-dimensionality inherent in a hide. The semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > CLOTH**.

(149) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a, §14 #27)

íʰc=íʰəʔ

stiff=HIDE

‘stiff cloth’

(150) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)

ǰǰʷ=íʰəʔ

hard=HIDE

‘stiff cloth’

Example (151) does not overtly refer to a piece of cloth, but to any entity that can be boiled and dyed, such as linen or cotton.

(151) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)

qʷə́l-s=íʰəʔ

boil-SUF=HIDE

‘She dyed it.’

In the Interior examples (152) and (153), the suffix attaches to a root used for denoting white persons. A literal translation of these utterances would be “white man’s hide”.

(152) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:97)

səmʔ=ícaʔ

white person=HIDE

‘cloth’

(153) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:322)

se mʔ=íceʔ

white person=HIDE

‘cloth, rag’

Examples (154) and (155) denote objects whose function is to cover a surface, as tablecloths, blankets, and flat two-dimensional objects do.

(154) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:19)
čwq=íčáʔ-nt
cover something=HIDE-TR
'pull something out of a flat cover'

(155) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:254)
ǰp=íčáʔ-m
pile flat objects=HIDE-MID
'pile limber flat objects'

The shape classificatory meanings of the suffix are abstracted from the two-dimensional properties of a hide. Considering the semantic range of this extension, one could say that the suffix functions as a classifier for denoting entities that are saliently two-dimensional and have a flexible texture.

6.3.2 *íčáʔ referring to a wrapper.

The extension WRAPPER for the suffix is abstracted from HIDE. This functional extension of the suffix *íčáʔ denotes materials that can be wrapped around objects. The extension is exemplified in the following section, where the suffix *íčáʔ refers to different types of wrappers.⁸

Examples (156) through (159) show the suffix *íčáʔ referring to the material used for rolling home-made cigarettes. The suffix attaches to predicates meaning “roll up”, “wrap around”, “turn”, and “wrap”. The wrapping materials denoted by the suffix can be paper, cloth, or hide. The semantic of the suffix path is HIDE > WRAPPER.

(156) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:410)
x*íǰ*=íčéʔ-me
roll up=HIDE-MID
'to roll a cigarette'

⁸ Bear skins were used to wrap loads. You can see this in Fort Langley, where different kinds of furs and their trading uses and values are on display. Bear skins were almost worthless; they were used on the floor or for wrapping parcels.

(157) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1432)
k-pul k̓ʷ=ícaʔ-ax t-ux ʷ-taʔ
POS-fold=HIDE-BNFCT-2SG SB-IMPER
'Roll me a cigarette!'

(158) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:144)
k-ɔl k̓ʷ=ícaʔ
ASP/RSLT-turn=HIDE
'roll, wrap'

(159) Spokane (Carlson 1989:67)
č-ɔl ɔl k̓ʷ=íceʔ
DIR-wrap (redup.)=HIDE
'cigarettes.'

Undoubtedly, animal hides serve as wrapping material in cultures that rely on hunting for subsistence. Examples (160) through (167) show the suffix attached to roots meaning "wrap", "tie", "untie", "lace", and "mark".

(160) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:68)
c-k-l k̓ʷ=ícaʔ
CISLOC-ASP/RSLT-tie=HIDE
'The hay is baled.'

(161) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:226)
s-t-yéʃʷ=če
NOM-LOC-wrap=HIDE
'wrapped up, tied into a package'

(162) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:199)
t-k̓ʷíx ʷ=čaʔ-nt
RSLT-untie=HIDE-TR
'unwrap something'

(163) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:69)
k-l k̓ʷ=ícaʔ-nt
ASP/RSLT-tie=HIDE-TR
'wrap, bale something'

- (164) Spokane (Carlson 1989:67)
 č-ɔl kʷ=íçʔe-n
 DIR-wrap=HIDE-1SG
 'I wrapped it.'
- (165) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1448)
 t-ɔi y=íçáʔ-n
 POS-mark=HIDE-1SG
 'address a package to go'
- (166) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1436)
 kx=íçáʔ-n
 lace on=HIDE-1SG
 'lace on a pack'
- (167) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:674)
 le tiʔ atxap=íçeʔe
 DET DEM unglossed=HIDE
 'that which was already wrapped'

This concludes the discussion of the semantic path HIDE > WRAPPER for the suffix *íçáʔ' .

6.3.3 *íçáʔ referring to “package”.

The extension PACKAGE derives from the function to which hides are put within the culture. In its semantic development, the suffix *íçáʔ goes from denoting the wrapping material to denoting the wrapped object itself. The extension WRAPPER extends through metonymy to denote PACKAGE. In the Okanagan examples below the suffix *íçáʔ attaches to numeral predicates, and functions as a classifier for packages. The semantic path of the suffix is HIDE > WRAPPER > PACKAGE.

- (168) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:120)
 k-nqs=íçáʔ
 ASP/RSLT-one=HIDE
 'one package'
- (169) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:284)
 k-ʔasl=íçáʔ
 ASP/RSLT-two=HIDE
 'two packages'

(170) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:40)
t-kaʔl=ícaʔ
RSLT-three=HIDE
'three packages'

(171) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:102)
t-m ús=caʔ
RSLT-four=HIDE
'four packages'

In the context of packaging, the suffix **ícaʔ* also refers to containers for liquids and to pouch-like containers. The following examples denote a jug, and the semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > PACKAGE/CONTAINER**.

(172) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1439)
t-q̣c̣=ícaʔ
POS-unglossed=HIDE
'two-gallon jug'

(173) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1438)
t-q̣* uq̣*=ícaʔ
POS-unglossed=HIDE
'five-gallon jug'

Examples (174) refer to some kind of sheath for covering the blade of a knife:

(174) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)
š-nəẉ=íʔəʔ šíp-ən
NOM-inside=HIDE knife
'pocket knife'

Example (175) denotes a pocket or a bag.

(175) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:81)
n-iɣ=íceʔ-me
LOC-insert=HIDE-MID
'put food in pocket'

The extension **CONTAINER** for **ícaʔ* derive from the function to which hides were put within the culture.

6.3.4 Summary and distribution of the two dimensional shape classifier extensions of the suffix *íçáʔ.

Table VII shows the distribution of shape classifier extensions for the suffix *íçáʔ and sums up section 6.3.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN TWO DIMENSIONAL SHAPE CLASSIFIER	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE “Cloth”		•		•	•
HIDE “Wrapper”				•	•
HIDE “Package/Container”		•		•	•

TABLE VII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF SHAPE CLASSIFIER EXTENSIONS

These extensions are attested in two branches of the family, Central and Interior Salish.

- The extension CLOTH is attested in Central and Interior Salish.
- The extension WRAPPER is attested solely in Interior Salish.
- The extension PACKAGE is attested in Central and Interior Salish.

6.4 The locational concept expressed by the lexical suffix for HIDE.

Extensions of the suffix *íçáʔ abstract shape and functional properties of an animal hide and extend them to entirely different semantic domains. The extension OUTER LAYER for the suffix *íçáʔ abstracts the location of the hide in an animal’s body. The hide is a layer that can be removed from the body and used as raw material. ⁹

The extension OUTSIDE LAYER for the suffix *íçáʔ is sometimes translated into English as “rind” or as “bark” in different branches of the family. Section 6.9.1 addresses instances where

⁹ There are two ways of skinning game animals. One is by severing the head of the animal and pulling the inner body of the animal through the opening, detaching the connective tissue that fastens the hide to the inner body, as you pull. With this method, the hide is preserved intact. The other method is using a knife to peel off the hide as you cut along the interface of skin and inner body. The problem with the second method is that the skin is not preserved intact, since it may be nicked by the cutting blade (William Poser p.c.).

the suffix is construed as the outer layer of concrete inanimate objects. Section 6.9.1.1 addresses instances where the suffix is construed as the rind of certain fruits. Section 6.9.1.2 addresses instances where the suffix is construed as the “bark” of certain trees.

6.4.1 *íčáʔ referring to “outer layer”.

This extension of the suffix refers to external surfaces of different inanimate entities. The English glosses “rind” and “bark” are provided for this extension in different languages of the family. Yet, the suffix conveys the concept OUTER LAYER, which is derived from the location of the hide in an animal’s body. The semantic path is HIDE > OUTER LAYER.

(176) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:388)

s-xʔ=íčéʔ

NOM-over=HIDE

‘outside surface’

(177) Columbia (Kinkade n.d.: #1460)

k-łc=íčáʔ-tn

POS-stack thin objects=HIDE-INSTR

‘siding’

(178) Spokane (Carlson 1989:66)

č-pqʷ=íčʔe

DIR-powdered=HIDE

‘It is powdered on the outside.’

In Interior Salish, the suffix *íčáʔ is used in expressions that denote the rind of fruits and vegetables.

(179) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #1477)

k-səʃʷ=íčáʔ-n

POS-peel=HIDE-1SG

‘take off the outside of an onion’

(180) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:174)

s-kʷrʷkʷrʷ=íčáʔ

NOM-yellow (redup.)=HIDE

‘tomato’

- (181) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:157)
 t-ḡyḡáŷ'='čá'
 RSLT-marked (redup.)=HIDE
 'cantaloupe, watermelon'
- (182) Spokane (Carlson 1989:37)
 č-lḡ='íč'e-n
 DIR-peel=HIDE-1SG
 'I peeled it around with a knife'
- (183) Spokane (Carlson 1989:75)
 č-q"q"áŷ='če'
 DIR-blue (redup.)=HIDE
 'watermelon'
- (184) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:162)
 tk-twx"='íče'
 LOC-peel=HIDE
 'to peel as an orange without a knife'

In Northern Interior Salish, the suffix *íčá' appears in expressions denoting the outer layer of trees, i.e. bark.

- (185) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:32)
 pʔut=al='íčá'
 thick=CON=HIDE
 'thick bark'
- (186) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:213)
 t-km='íče'
 LOC-surface=HIDE
 'bark of root'
- (187) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:185)
 t-sl-p='íče'
 LOC-come apart-ASP=HIDE
 'to peel off bark'

The focus in the utterance below appears to be the sheet-like property of a tree-bark, and it gives us an inkling into the ways tree-bark was processed within the culture.

(188) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:338)

sə| =íćeʔ

peel=HIDE

'bark removed in a sheet and rolled'

Traditionally, bark was pulled off the trees in long flat strips and used for making baskets and canoes. The meanings of the suffix *íćaʔ not only refer to the surface layer of an animal's body, i.e. the HIDE, but also alludes to the location of the hide in the body of an animal, i.e. its OUTER LAYER.

6.4.2 Summary and distribution of the locational extensions of the lexical suffix *íćaʔ.

Table VIII below shows the distribution of the locational extensions that obtain for the suffix *íćaʔ and sums up the contents of section 6.9.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE "Outer Layer"					

TABLE VIII: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF LOCATIONAL EXTENSIONS

The extension OUTSIDE LAYER obtains solely in Interior Salish in the data considered in this chapter.

6.5 Relational extension of the lexical suffix for HIDE.

The extension AROUND for the suffix *íćaʔ reflects the enfolding properties of a hide, and denotes notions of encirclement and encasement. We can think about this extension by visualizing the inner body of an animal as surrounded by its hide, or conversely, visualizing the hide as extending all around an animal's body. This last image becomes palpable in the skinning of game animals (see note 10).

In examples (189) and (191) the suffix attaches to predicates meaning “to make a circle”. The notion of encirclement derives by analogy from the function the hide has on an animal’s body. Example (189) below denotes the encirclement of the moon by a halo. This image is metaphorically transferred to a different semantic domain. The semantic path for the suffix is **HIDE > OUTER LAYER > AROUND**.

(189) Lillooet (van Eijk 1987:289)

zənk=al=íčáʔ-n ti ǰanamtn -a
 circle=CON=AROUND-TR DET moon -DET
 ‘The moon has a circle.’

The predicate in example (189) means “circle” and the suffix *íčáʔ denotes the relation **AROUND**.

Figure 2 illustrates a halo, a circle of light surrounding the moon resulting from the refraction or reflection of light by ice particles in the atmosphere.

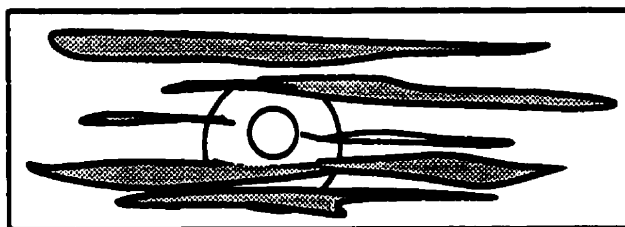


Figure 2: The Extension **AROUND** for the Suffix *íčáʔ

Example (190) below comes from Shuswap, and denotes an entity that defines the boundaries of a contained space. The example has the predicate “make a circle”, and the suffix *íčáʔ follows the semantic path **HIDE > OUTER LAYER > AROUND** denoting the location and function of the hide in the body of animals.

(190) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:237)

t-qłǰ=íčeʔ-tn
 LOC-make a circle=HIDE-INSTR
 ‘log fence’

The literal sense of the example above is “circle around”. The terms “log” and “fence” are not lexically expressed. The fence is then the encirclement of some area to prevent escape or access.

Examples (191) and (192) allude to the outer limits or the encirclement of a real or hypothetical territory. The semantic path of the suffix is **HIDE > OUTER LAYER > AROUND**.

(191) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:191)
t-kekew=íće?
LOC-far (redup.)=AROUND
'outer reaches, farthest you can go'

(192) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:206)
s-t-qlǎ=íće?
NOM-LOC-circle=HIDE
'wooden prison (wall)'

In the Okanagan example (193), the suffix *íća? also denotes the concept **AROUND**.

(193) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:227)
wr'=íća?-nt
be burning=HIDE-TR.
'start a fire around something'

In the Coeur d'Alene example (194) the suffix refers to some entity that enfolds around another entity. The suffix conveys the concept **AROUND**.

(194) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard 1938:547)
a-t-čənp=íće?e
PP-LOC=unglossed=HIDE
'It clasps all around on it.'

The meaning **AROUND** for the suffix *íća? is attested here in contexts of encirclement. This relational meaning of the suffix derives from the function of the **HIDE** in an animal's body and from the use of hides as wrapping material.

6.5.1 Summary and distribution of the relational extension of the lexical suffix *íća?.

Table IX below shows the distribution of the relational extension that obtains for the suffix *íća? and sums up the contents of section 6.5.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE "Around"					

TABLE IX: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIONAL EXTENSIONS

The extension AROUND for the suffix is attested only in Interior Salish.

6.6 *ícaʔ referring to culturally-determined meanings.

This section addresses a culturally-determined meaning of the suffix *ícaʔ. This meaning of the suffix is connected with death, or perhaps with life after death. For lack of a better term, I have labeled this extension GHOST. The motivation for this extension is no longer accessible or transparent. Aspects of a people's belief system and world knowledge remain embodied in the lexicon and are not accessible outside the particular culture and time frame.

(195) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

s-pəlkʷ=íʔeʔ

NOM-be exposed (?)=HIDE

'dead person, ghost'

(196) Saanich (Montler 1986:88)

s-pəlkʷ=íʔeʔ

NOM-unglossed=HIDE

'screech owl, ghost, human corpse'

(197) Shuswap (Florence Simon p.c.)

s-kʷəy-em=íce

NOM-smooth (?)=HIDE

'feeling a ghost'¹⁰

¹⁰ There is a root kʷy- "smooth" (Kuipers 1974:220) which might be the root in example (197), in which case the combination of root + lexical suffix would render a literal meaning of "smooth=HIDE".

(198) Spokane (Carlson 1989:36)
 s- k'úss=č'e
 NOM-unglossed=HIDE
 'ghost'

(199) Coeur d'Alene (Barthmaier 1996:37)
 čən s- k'ús=če'
 ISG NOM-unglossed=HIDE
 'I will be a ghost'

The cultural context within which this extension arises may be quite ancient, since it is attested in both the Central and the Interior branches of the family.

6.6.1 Summary and distribution of the cultural extensions of the lexical suffix *íč'a'.

Table X below shows the distribution of the culturally motivated extension that obtains for the suffix *íč'a' and sums up the contents of section 6.6.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF CULTURALLY MOTIVATED EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOSAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
HIDE "Ghost"		•		•	•

TABLE X: BRANCH DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL EXTENSIONS

The extension GHOST is attested in Central and Interior Salish. This extension possibly obeys to a culture specific naming process. For example, the moon in Greek is called the "measurer", in Latin it is called the "glittering" (Cassirer 1971:285). These different names denote the same entity, but can no longer give an account of the way in which these names were given, because naming has to do with highly complex cultural processes that vary in each particular case.

Though I have not found an explanation for the extension GHOST for the suffix, it does not mean that an explanation does not exist. The particular context from which this meaning arose could possibly be found in myths, the ceremonial lore that surrounds death, or in recorded accounts of the ancient belief system of Central Coast and Interior Salish communities.

6.7 Summary of extensions for the suffix *ícaʔ.

This section summarizes the semantic extensions of *ícaʔ in radial category format. Figure 3 graphically displays the semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix.

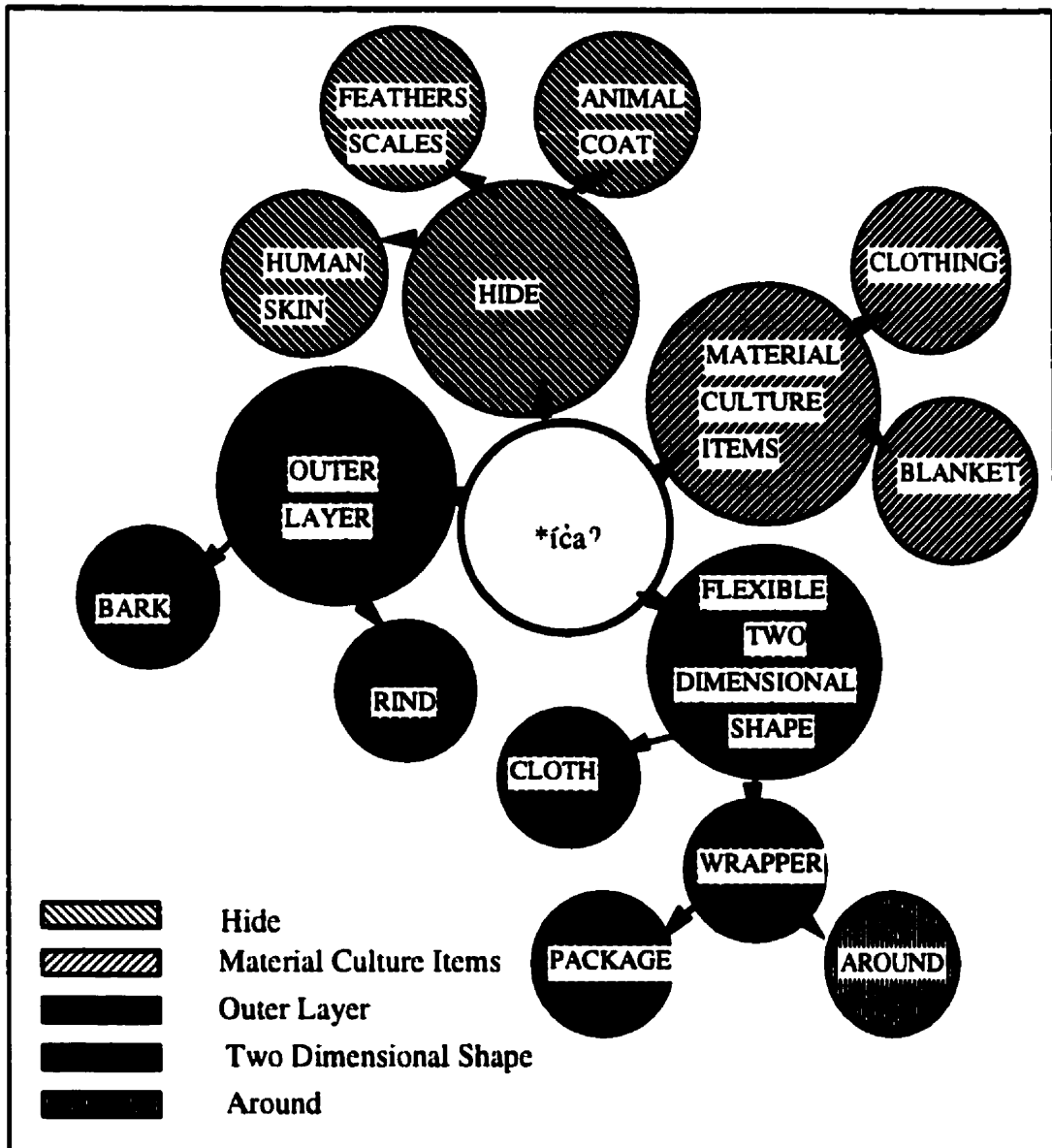


Figure 3: Radial Category of the Meanings of the Suffix *ícaʔ.

Diagonal lines The meaning HIDE characterizes this semantic field. Its principal extensions are HUMAN SKIN, LIVE ANIMAL COAT, FEATHERS, and SCALES.

Cross-hatch Artifacts originally made from animal hides characterize this semantic field. Its principal extensions are CLOTHING and BLANKET.

- The extension **HIDE** is attested in Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, and Columbian.
- The extension **LIVE ANIMAL COAT** is attested in Lillooet, Thompson, Okanagan, and Columbian.
- The extension **HUMAN SKIN/BODY** is attested in Quinault, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The extensions **FEATHERS** and **SCALES** are attested in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, and Columbian.
- The extension **CLOTHING** is attested Squamish, Halkomelem, Saanich, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokane.
- The extension **BLANKET** is attested in Bella Coola, Squamish, Halkomelem, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis, Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The extension **CLOTH** is attested in Halkomelem, Saanich, Lillooet, Thompson and Okanagan.
- The extension **WRAPPER** is attested in Thompson, Okanagan, Columbian, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The extension **PACKAGE** is attested in Saanich, Thompson, Okanagan, Columbian, and Columbian.
- The extension **OUTSIDE LAYER** is attested in Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Columbian, and Spokane.
- The extension **AROUND** is attested in Lillooet, Shuswap, Okanagan, and Coeur d'Alene.
- The extension **GHOST** is attested in Halkomelem, Saanich, Shuswap, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene.

6.9 Conclusions.

The central meaning of the suffix **tʰcaʔ* is **HIDE**. A hide is the surface layer of an animal's body. At a very concrete level, the lexical suffix **tʰcaʔ* means **HIDE** and develops the locational extension is **OUTER LAYER**. The meaning **OUTER LAYER** is rooted in the location and function a hide

has in the body of an animal. When applied to the inanimate domain, the suffix refers to the surface of objects; the bark of trees and the rind of certain fruits are also denoted by the suffix.

In hunting, a game animal is skinned, butchered, and dressed for food. The removed hide is processed, cured, and used as raw material for making clothing and blankets. In addition, hides were used for packing and wrapping goods. A series of packing related meanings develop from the use hides were put to within the culture.

A comparison of the suffix **áłci* GAME ANIMAL and **ícaʔ* HIDE validates and expands for all the Interior Salish languages the suggestion made for Columbia (Kinkade 1973), that the concepts “inside” and “outside” are part of the chain of meaning that obtains for the suffixes **áłciʔ* and **ícaʔ*.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.0 Introduction.

I have made a number of points concerning the variations in meaning exhibited by Salish lexical suffixes, attempting to make explicit the system that underlies their semantics. The semantics of Salish lexical suffixes are complex in the sense that the relation between a suffix and its referent is not simple or one-to-one. Lexical suffixes express the relation of many-to-one, i.e. polysemy. This study shows in some detail the ways in which several lexical suffixes extend their semantic domains.

The lexical suffix for **ABDOMEN** has the following meanings:

ABDOMEN > BELLY/GUT
BELLY > HIP > SIDE
BELLY > HILL/DOME/SKY
BELLY > FRONT
BELLY > UNDERSIDE > UNDER
GUT > ANUS/RUMP/TAIL > END POINT
GUT > INSIDE > FEELING > DESIDERATIVE

The lexical suffix for **BACK** has the following meanings:

BACK > PACK > LOAD > BUNDLE > CONTAINER
BACK > OTHER SIDE > BEHIND
BACK > SPINE > MIDDLE/CENTER > BETWEEN
BACK > SURFACE > ACROSS/OUTSIDE
BACK > TOP > OVER/ABOVE/ON

The lexical suffix for **EAR** has the following meanings:

EAR > UNDERSTANDING > KNOWLEDGE > BELIEF
EAR > SOUND/NOISE
EAR > CHEEK/TEMPLE/BRAIDS/SHOULDERS
EAR > WINGS/HORNS/FLIPPERS
EAR > PROTRUSION/SHELL/LEAF
EAR > SIDE > DEICTIC
EAR > OVER/UPON

The lexical suffix for **GAME ANIMAL** has the following meanings:

GAME ANIMAL > FLESH/BODY/CARCASS
GAME ANIMAL > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT
CARCASS > HIP > SIDE

The lexical suffix for **HIDE** has the following meanings:

HIDE > HUMAN SKIN > LIVE ANIMAL COAT
HIDE > FEATHERS > SCALES
HIDE > OUTSIDE LAYER > AROUND
HIDE > WRAPPER > PACKAGE/CONTAINER

The general assumption of this analysis is that meaning in language is anchored in human experience and culture. Therefore, understanding the extended meanings of lexical suffixes entails delving into the cultural and cognitive foundation of their semantics. This analysis assumes that the basic meanings of lexical suffixes are concrete, and that their extended meanings reflect human perception mediated by culture. Thus, perceptual and experiential knowledge of the world determines the kinds of semantic extensions that obtain.

I have approached the semantics of lexical suffixes synchronically, with an awareness that the morphological system from which these suffixes come goes back to Proto-Salish. In addition to metaphor and metonymy, the mechanisms of semantic change posited here—the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency, Canonical Orientation Templates, and the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics—account for the different extensions of a suffix. However, since specific meanings are triggered by cognitive processes and discrete contextual frames grounded in culture, the range of possible meanings a given suffix may acquire cannot be predicted. Further extensions of these suffixes can be accounted for by the mechanisms proposed in this study. However, not even a motivated listing of all the senses of a lexical suffix would help predict a semantic extension that might obtain in a given real-life context.

7.1 Anatomical meanings.

Anatomical meanings denote body parts and reflect the proto-meanings of the suffixes. The central meaning of a suffix may develop sub-categories that follow independent semantic paths.

The gestalts that develop from the central meaning of a suffix focus on aspects of the central meaning. In the case of the lexical suffix for ABDOMEN, the sub-categories BELLY and GUT are generated (see Chapter 2).

ABDOMEN > BELLY

- (1) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:277)
 q̄a ȳ=éneʔk-e-s
 shoot=BELLY-SUF-3SG
 'to shoot someone in the belly'
- (2) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
 s-qʷəbáy=al=dač
 NOM-dog=CON=BELLY
 'the belly of a dog'

ABDOMEN > GUT

- (3) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:245)
 n-pt=éñk-tñ
 LOC=cover=GUT=INS
 'entrails'
- (4) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:26)
 saχ=adač-əd
 scrape=GUT-TR
 'scraping the inside of the stomach'

7.2 Anatomical adjacency meanings.

Body-part suffixes may refer to anatomical regions that are adjacent to the principal body part denoted by the suffix. Physical contiguity is the only motivation for this type of extension. The examples below come from Central and Interior Salish and illustrate the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency.

BELLY > HIP

- (5) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:137)
 tá·w=nč
 big=HIP
 'big hipped'

- (6) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #21)
 s-ł^hám=nəc
 NOM-bone=HIP
 ‘hip bones’

EAR > CHEEK

- (7) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:273)
 caq^w=ay=an̓
 bleed=CON=EAR
 ‘have one’s ear bleeding’

- (8) Squamish (Kuipers 1967b:273)
 ciq=an̓
 stab=CHEEK
 ‘get one’s cheek stabbed’

EAR > TEMPLE

- (9) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:254)
 c-x̣ɿ=éne
 ASP-torn off=EAR
 ‘have ear torn off’

- (10) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:214)
 x-ḳm=éne
 LOC-area=TEMPLE
 ‘temple of head’

7.3 Shape-classificatory meanings:

Shape extensions of body-part lexical suffixes are very common in Salish languages—the salient shape of a body part is metaphorically extended to other entities in the world perceived as having a similar shape. The suffix for ABDOMEN in its extension BELLY is a case in point, since it denotes the classificatory shape “prominently curved surface”, which prototypically refers to hillsides in Interior Salish (see section 2.2.1).

BELLY > HILLSIDE

- (11) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:481)
n-zwest=**énk**
LOC-twitch=BELLY
'one's belly twitches'
- (12) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:481)
ʔəs-n-ŋʷs=**énk**
ASP-LOC-sun shine=BELLY
'sunny side of mountain'

EAR > PROTRUSION

- (13) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:50)
dxʷ-čàgʷ=əl=**diʔ**-əd
PRFX-wash-CON=EAR-TR
'She washed his ears.'
- (14) Lushootseed (Hess 1976: 6)
kʷəd-əb=**adiʔ**
grab-SUF=EAR
'handle, bail hoop'

The overall shape of a body part can be abstracted to denote objects perceived as having a similar shape to the body part. This point is illustrated with the lexical suffix for HEAD in Central and Interior Salish.

- (15) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
xəl=**aqʷ**
hurt=HEAD
'head ache'
- (16) Island Halkomelem (Margaret James p.c.)
}ixʷ=**aqʷ**
three=HEAD
'three lettuces, garlics, cabbages'¹

¹ The suffix for HEAD seems to be a shape-classificatory suffix for round things. It applies to berries, which used to be the sole fruit category, and seems to have extended to include cabbage, lettuce, and garlic.

(17) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:95)
súp=qʷ-am
scratch=HEAD-MID
'scratch one's head'

(18) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:95)
n-ʔánwas=əqʷ
LOC-two=HEAD
'two balls of wool'

Conversely, shape or material-culture suffixes may refer to body parts that are perceived as having the shape or function implied by the suffix. Cases in point are the suffix for ROUND OBJECT in Saanich, which denotes the anatomical belly (see section 2.1.4), and the suffix for SACK in Lillooet, which also may denote the anatomical belly .

(20) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:85)
q̣c̣=átməx
weave=SACK
'gunny sack'

(21) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:85)
súp=átməx-am
scratch=SACK-MID
'to scratch oneself on the belly'

Shape classifications are an important aspect of word formation, as proven by the shape abstractions that obtain for body-part suffixes. In addition, Salish languages have suffixes that solely denote shape, such as “long object”, “flat object”, and “round object”. Some shape suffixes are exemplified below for Interior Salish.

LONG OBJECTS:

(22) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:160)
s-ṭup=lqʷ
ASP-twisted=LONG OBJECT
'twisted rope'

FLAT OBJECTS:

- (23) Lillooet (van Eijk 1997:89)
paqʷ=áíikst
look=FLAT OBJECT
'to read'

ROUND OBJECTS:

- (24) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:245)
cw=úseʔ
make=ROUND OBJECT
'berries are already fully formed'

Lexical suffixes function as numeral classifiers when combined with numeral predicates. Classifiers are often, though not exclusively, shaped-based (Haas 1978:333). They have meaning, in the sense that they denote the most salient perceived or imputed characteristic of an entity (Allan 1977: 285). The seven most common categories of classification are (a) material, (b) shape, (c) consistency, (d) size, (e) location, (f) arrangement, and (g) quanta (Allan 1977:297). In the data considered in this study, the following suffixes have classificatory functions:

BACK is a classifier for loads:

- (25) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:249)
t-xʷʔ=ikn̩-n t
RSLT-be many=BACK-SUF
'many bundles'

GAME ANIMAL is a classifier for animals:

- (26) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:107)
qáx̣=ṭci
many=GAME ANIMAL
'many deer'

HIDE is a classifier for blankets and packages in Okanagan, and a classifier for blankets in Tsamosan.

- (26) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:102)
 t-m ús=čáʔ
 RSLT-four=HIDE
 'four packages'
- (27) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:57)
 kʷín=ičá
 how many=HIDE
 'how many blankets'

Haerberlin (1974:228) argues that the shape-classificatory meanings of lexical suffixes are secondary, because body-part suffixes are part of a very old system that has a wide distribution, and only a few suffixes have classificatory meanings.

I contend that aspects of a lexical suffix become salient in specific contexts and can become lexicalized in the language. In the Thompson utterances, *mičaq = qén* "to sit on top" (Boas 1898:36) and *pia = qén tkaúza* "one (round thing) egg" (Boas: 1898:36), the suffix for HEAD denotes the location TOP, and the classificatory shape ROUND. The aspects of the suffix HEAD that surface in constructions with positional verbs such as "to sit" associate head with the location of the human head and denote the top surface of some entity. The aspect of the human head that surfaces in constructions with numeral predicates is its overall shape. In no way does this indicate that the meanings TOP for the suffix precedes the meaning SHAPE.

7.4 Locational meanings.

Locational meanings usually extend into adjacent space the relation that a specific body part bears to the body as a whole. Canonical orientation templates determine the specific structural relation a body part bears to the body as whole, e.g. the relation "back" is different in human and animal bodies. These relations may be metaphorically projected onto other objects in the world.

Locational extensions may also denote final destination points. This process is hinted at by Gibson (1973:50-51) for Eastern Shuswap. He states that *tk-rač mən = qín* "paddle to reach a destination" is based on *tk-reč-mín* "paddle for a purpose". The addition of the lexical suffix

=*qín* HEAD to the stem denotes the final destination. (It refers to source of the river). Destinations are end points in space and in this sense constitute locational extensions.

The locational extensions denoted by the suffix for SHOULDER in the Central Salish examples below represent a metaphorical transfer from body part to location.

SHOULDER > SIDE

- (28) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

ʔəq̣=əl=éʔən

end=CON=SHOULDER

'front quarter of deer'

- (29) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)

x-cə́lq̣*=éʔən

LOC-away from water=SHOULDER

'back side of house'

- (30) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:13)

s-təb=l=áʔəd

NOM-thing that =CON=SHOULDER

'shoulder'

- (31) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:138)

lfl=aʔəd

far away=SHOULDER

'far away on the other side'

Locational extensions of body-part lexical suffixes are common in many languages of the world, and examples of metaphorical transfers from body part to location appear throughout this study.

Body-part lexical suffixes provide coordinates for defining space, as asserted by Cassirer (1955:206-207).

"Once he has formed a distinct representation of his own body, once he has apprehended it as a self-enclosed and intrinsically articulated organism, it becomes, as it were, a model according to which he constructs the world as a whole. In this perception of his body, he possesses an original set of coordinates, to which in course of development he

continually returns and refers—and from which accordingly he draws the terms which serve to designate this development.”

On the one hand, the set of coordinates is universal because the shape of the human body is universal; on the other, the conceptualization of the body parts used to denote locational space may differ from culture to culture (see section 1.2.1, examples (34) and (35)). One possible conclusion is that bodies, human or animal, and the structural relations among their parts, are models for the conceptualization of space in Salish. Driven to its logical conclusion, this strongly suggests that the conceptualization of space arising from body-part lexical suffixes in Salish is different from that of English or other languages.

7.5 Relational meanings.

Relational extensions of body-part lexical suffixes are subject to the Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics. They obtain with certain types of predicates and represent a metaphorical transfer from the domain of static space, i.e. location, to the domain of dynamic space, i.e. relation. Relational extensions are translated into English by prepositions, a fact that reinforces the claim that spatial relations derived from body parts represent a different conceptualization of space.

BACK > BEHIND

(32) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:180)

x-nəʔx̣ʷ=íkn

LOC-run=BACK

‘to gallop in pursuit’

BACK > TOP > OVER

(33) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, § 14 #66)

cʰáʔm̄=eʔc-t

jump=BACK-TR

‘jump over it (as a log)’

BACK > TOP > ABOVE

- (34) Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:169)
x-cə́kʷ-t=íkən
LOC-shine-SUF=BACK
'glow of flame (in the sky)'

BACK > SURFACE > ON

- (35) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:114)
ʔu-qələb=íč-čəd
ASP-rain=BACK 1SG SB/OB
'It rained on me.'

BACK > SURFACE > ACROSS

- (36) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #66)
íqʷ=éí=əc
severed=CON=BACK
'take a shortcut (as a pass between the islands)'

EAR > UPON

- (37) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:115)
n-kʷaʔc=ínaʔ
LOC-dark=EAR
'dark overtakes'
- (38) Thompson (Thompson and Thompson 1996:28)
cə́xʷ-p=éni
drip-ASP=EAR
'get dripped on'
- (39) Kalispel (Vogt 1940:174)
čín-čl-ǰal-p=éneʔ
1SG-DIR-daylight-ASP=EAR
'The daylight is on me.'

A running theme throughout this study is the influence that the semantics of predicates has on the semantics of the lexical suffixes. Certain classes of predicates seem to determine the

relational extensions of lexical suffixes. Predicates define the contextual frame of an event, e.g. a predicate of motion, like “jump”, implies a different scene from a predicate like “scratch”.

The Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics defines the background against which the relational meanings of lexical suffixes obtain. It can be said that the meaning of the predicate—in determining the background of the event—selects an aspect of the core meaning of a lexical suffix that fits the context of the event. This is one area in which further study is needed. A study of the comparative semantics of Salish roots would clarify this issue (see Chap. 3, section 3.7).

7.6 Metaphor-based meanings.

Broadly defined, a metaphor is a process of human understanding by which we make sense of experience. A metaphor in this experiential sense explains one domain of experience in terms of another domain (Johnson 1987:15). For example, the body-part lexeme “back” undergoes metaphorical transfers in Acholi. It denotes “behind” in an object-to-space metaphorical transfer, and it denotes “after” in a space-to-time metaphorical transfer (Heine 1995:16).

Language	Body-part Domain	Meaning	Reduced Form	Spatio-Temporal Domain
Acholi	ŋec	“back”	ŋe	behind, after

Hence, a body-part-to-space metaphorical transfer conveys locational concepts, and locational concepts extend metaphorically to denote time. The latter extension conceptualizes time as a line from past to future.

Emotions are abstract concepts, yet they are physiologically experienced in the body. The body part where the emotion is felt becomes the metaphorical seat of emotion. Seat-of emotion-metaphors are language-specific, motivated by aspects of the culture in which the language is embedded (see section 1.2.1, examples (26–28), section 2.5, and section 5.3).

The location of emotion can be construed as being anywhere on the body. The anatomical features that refer to emotion in Salish are always located on the inside of the body.

GUT > FEELING

- (40) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:245)
 n-pt=**éńk**-tń
 LOC-cover=ABDOMEN-INSTR
 'entrails'
- (41) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:475)
 n-kəs=**éńk**
 LOC-angry=ABDOMEN
 'cranky, vicious'
- (42) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 s-ʔac=**ígʔəd**-s
 NOM-there=INNARDS-3POSS
 'his insides'
- (43) Lushootseed (Bates et al. 1994:115)
 dxʷ-ǰʷáqʷ=**ígʔəd**
 PRFX-worry=INNARDS
 'worry'

7.7 Metonymic-based meanings.

The Bearer/Burden Relation expressed by the lexical suffix for BACK is an interesting metonymic extension that lexicalizes a cultural function, that of carrying loads on the back. Metonymy is the process whereby one thing comes to stand in place of something else due to an intrinsic relation between the two things. The Bearer/Burden Relation exemplifies such a process in that the BACK stands for what is carried, i.e. the PACK. Different kinds of metonymic relations can be expressed in language, but only a few become productive. The following are some productive metonymies in English (Dirven 1985:96).

- (i) The whole **city** protested. *City* denotes the people who live in it.
- (ii) That was an excellent **dish**. The Container/Contained Relation originates this metonymy. *Dish* refers to the food, i.e. what is contained in the dish, not to the dish itself.

The Bearer/Burden Relation is akin to type (ii) metonymy, the Container/Contained Relation, and seems productive in several Salish languages (section 3.2).

(44) Shuswap (Mary Jane Anthony p.c.)

s-tex=k n

NOM-carry=BACK

'load carried on the back'

(45) Shuswap (Kuipers 1974:196)

x-ləm=k n-te

γ-scifn

LOC-put in=BACK-IMP

DET-food

'Put the food in a sack!'

7.8 Grammaticalized meanings.

Grammaticalizations are a product of historical change that has morphosyntactic consequences. Lexical suffixes have concrete meanings and refer to body parts and elements of the material culture. Several suffixes within this study metaphorically extend to reference the seat or location of emotion (section 2.5 and section 5.3). One of these suffixes, *ań/nak ABDOMEN, becomes grammaticalized and denotes desiderative modality (section 2.5.3). Whether this grammaticalization process has gone its full length is a moot point. In the examples considered in this study, it is clear that the suffix conveys a speaker's attitude about what is being said, thus expressing desiderative modality. The grammaticalization of the suffix for ABDOMEN gives it a new function and changes its category from lexical to grammatical (Traugott and Heine 1992:5). Strictly speaking, grammaticalization is not a semantic process; however, it does entail an increase in the pragmatic meaning of the grammaticalized term at the cost of lexical meaning.

(46) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #616)

nəp=á nk

unglossed=ABDOMEN

'pregnant girl'

(47) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #624)

pu'pu's=á nk

heart=FEELING

'mourn'

- (48) **Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #638)**
 lút-k n n-nùǰ*=á nk
 NEG-1SG. POS-go=DESIDERATIVE
 'I don't want to go.'

Deictics are indexical elements that depend on context for their meaning. The suffix for EAR denotes the lateral axis of the body, and by extension the locational meaning SIDE (section 4.4). The suffix can also refer to the extreme(s) of entities, such as houses or roads (section 4.4.1 and 4.4.1.1), and the extreme point of a trajectory, i.e. the side opposite to its beginning point. Combined with certain elements, the extension SIDE from EAR is grammaticalized and forms part of deictic expressions such as, “there”, “here”, “this”, “thus”, and “now” (section 4.4.3). This is probably an old grammaticalization that is now completely lexicalized.

- (49) **Shuswap (Kuipers 1989:168)**
 s-x-cǰ=é ne
 NOM-LOC-hard spot=EAR
 'ear wax'

- (50) **Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:77)**
 ǰǰk-t=é ne
 into-CON= DEICTIC
 'over there'

7.9 Cultural meanings.

The semantics of the material-culture lexical suffixes *áǰá? GAME ANIMAL and *ǰá? HIDE considered in this study seem tied to specific culture areas. The lexical suffix *áǰá? GAME ANIMAL is the source of hunt-related meaning extensions in Interior Salish. The lexical suffix for *ǰá? HIDE is the source for expressions meaning “blanket” and “clothing”, and its use is widespread. In addition to these meanings, which seem determined by the cultural use of hides in ancient economies, there are other extensions of the suffix, based on myth or religious beliefs, which I have not even attempted to explain. One such instance pertains to the suffix for HIDE (section 5.11), where the suffix is connected to meanings related to ghosts; another pertains to the suffix for ABDOMEN (section 2.6.1), where the suffix metaphorically extends to denote price.

HIDE

- (51) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
s-pəlkʷ=ifʰeʔ
NOM-be exposed (?)=GHOST
'dead person, ghost'

ABDOMEN > GUT > ANUS/RUMP

- (52) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14 #21)
kʷəx=nəc-t
name=ANUS/RUMP-TR
'name a price'

7.10 Conclusions.

We have seen an overview of the different categories of extensions that obtain for all the suffixes considered in this study, and of the mechanisms through which they obtain.

Though the primary focus of this study is not universal in nature, the question must be asked as to how locational and relational extensions of lexical suffixes fit into universal grammar. The kinds of semantic extensions shown in this study can be called universal, in the sense that any language could use any one of the semantic projections analyzed here, or any subset of the categories established in this study. It is not my intention to establish a universal projection mechanism for body-part extensions. However, if the locational and relational functions of body-part lexical suffixes are part of the grammar, and if the link to their concrete meanings, i.e. the body part, is metaphorical, then we must consider these metaphorical processes as intrinsic to the grammatical systems of Salish languages.²

Furthermore, if the link between concrete and locational senses of lexical suffixes is an active metaphorization process, the speakers must be aware of the recurring metaphorical senses a body-part lexical suffix acquires in the language. They must also recognize that metaphorization from the domain of body parts creates new meanings for lexical suffixes, and that this is a powerful method for enriching and extending the lexicon.

² A similar conclusion is drawn by Brugman (n.d.).

The meanings resulting from such metaphorical extensions are comparable to the following English combinations: “back-up”, “back-down”, “back-pack”, “back-flow”, “back-talk”, and “back-stab”. The particular meanings of these expressions are related to the semantics of the other member in the formation. “Back-stab” and “back-pack” have the anatomical meaning BACK; “back-flow” and “back-down” refer to direction of movement, i.e. reversal; “back-talk” is a metaphorical extension implying a tart reply; “back-up” has several metaphorical extensions, so much so that a whole dissertation could be written about it. The point here is that there is no clear relationship between the syntactic form and the semantics. Instead, one must look to the particular semantics of each member of the formation to read the semantics of the whole. The only possible basis for describing the differences in meaning in these expressions is purely semantic.

Metaphorical processes, including conceptual categorization, underlie the polysemy of Salish lexical suffixes. The lexicon viewed from this perspective includes not only the definition of the lexical suffix, but also the connections between the separate senses of the suffix. This view of the lexicon is a more accurate representation of the lexical knowledge native speakers seem to have about lexical suffixes. I have witnessed again and again conversations between native speakers of both Interior and Central Salish where a lexical suffix is productively used to convey diverse meanings. The control a speaker has over the language limits the productivity of a lexical suffix, totally fluent speakers are able to employ fully the different aspects of a suffix in discourse.

I conclude that a theory of prototype categorization provides explanatory principles for the organization of the lexicon of Salish languages. The chaining of metaphors within prototype categories of meaning accounts for the semantic variations of lexical suffixes in an organized fashion. This method is far superior to accounting for these various meanings by listing them in the lexicon. No attempt to extend the conclusions of this study to other languages is made here. The search for semantic universals belongs to another level of inquiry where body-part extensions from a wide range of languages are examined and compared.

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