1.0 Introduction

This paper explores the issue of how lexical suffixes embody cultural knowledge. It is a known fact that Salishan languages have substantial suffixes that bear no resemblance to free standing nominals of similar meanings. These suffixes denote body parts and items pertaining to the material culture, and are important morphological elements in the coinage of words. The two suffixes treated here, *dīcə? and *ičə?, are material suffixes of polysemous nature. I will argue that the root *dīʔ? DEER is the conceptual source for the lexical suffixes *dīcə? and *ičə?, as suggested by Kuipers (1996); and that, the notions “inside” and “outside” are part of the chain of meanings that obtain for these suffixes in Northern and Southern Interior Salish, (Kinkade 1973). Most importantly, I will argue that the cultural practices of the Interior people underlie the semantic extensions that obtain for these suffixes.

1.1 The root *dīʔ? and the lexical suffixes for hide and game

Examples of the root *dīʔ? DEER in several languages of the family appear in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musqueam</td>
<td>d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“booty”</td>
<td>Suttles (p.c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowichan</td>
<td>d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“loot from raid”</td>
<td>Kuipers 1996:203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilkwak</td>
<td>d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“loot from raid”</td>
<td>Kuipers 1996:203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>s-d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“loot from raid”</td>
<td>Kuipers 1996:203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSAMOSAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Chehalis</td>
<td>t̓a=ʔ̓d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“dress meat”</td>
<td>Kinkade 1991:144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN INTERIOR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet</td>
<td>d̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“deer, meat”</td>
<td>van Eijk 1987:94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>s-məc̓ʔ?</td>
<td>“share of meat in a cooperative hunt”</td>
<td>Thompson 1996:193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN INTERIOR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan</td>
<td>s-čʔ=ikst</td>
<td>“hind quarter, limb”</td>
<td>Mattina 1987:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spokane</td>
<td>ʔ?=č̓likst</td>
<td>“whitetailed deer”</td>
<td>Carlson 1989:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalispel</td>
<td>ʔ?=č̓likst</td>
<td>“deer”</td>
<td>Vogt 1940:141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coeur d’Alene</td>
<td>ʔ?</td>
<td>“deer”</td>
<td>Kuipers 1996:203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I

The root *dīʔ? glossed as “booty” (Suttles p.c.), and as “loot from raid” or “game bagged” (Kuipers 1996) is the lexical source of the suffixes *alčə? and *ičə?. Please note the distribution of meanings depicted in Table I above. The meaning “booty” obtains in the Central Coast languages, while the meanings “deer” and “meat” obtain in the Tsimshian and Interior branches of the family.

1 Kinkade (1973) suggests that the meanings “inside” and “outside” obtain for these suffixes in Columbia.

1.3 *dīʔ? “deer” and the cline from root to suffix

The transition from root to lexical suffix in Salish is a function of compounding (Kuipers 1978, Egesdal 1981, Mattina 1987, Carlson 1990, Kinkade 1996). The Thompson and Bella Coola examples that follow depict transitional stages of the morpheme *dīʔ?, “deer”. The Thompson s-məc̓ʔ?, “share of meat in a cooperative hunt” (Thompson 1996:193), contains the morpheme *dīʔ functioning as the second member of a compound. The Bella Coola *ičama- “blanket made out of hides” (Davis 1980:160), contains the morpheme *iča- functioning as a root, presumably followed by an -m suffix. The transition of the free root *dīʔ to the lexical suffix *ičə? is probably due to compounding as the Thompson and Bella Coola examples mentioned seem to suggest. Please note that *dīcə? and *ičə? are diachronically related suffixes. The lexical suffix *alčə? contains a connective element of the shape -alcə- that is no longer transparent or segmentable. (See, Kinkade 1996)

1.4 The chain of meanings of the lexical suffixes *alčə? and *ičə?

The corpus of 700 examples upon which this paper is based shows a broader range of semantic extensions for the suffixes *alčə? and *ičə? in Interior Salish. For this reason, the focus of this paper is on Interior Salish with only marginal references to Tsimshian, Central Coast and Bella Coola. The meanings that obtain for these suffixes in Interior Salish issue from hunting events. Different aspects of the core meanings of the suffixes *alčə? and *ičə? become salient in the context of hunting events and originate new meanings.

The suffix *alčə? occurs with the meaning GAME ANIMAL in Tsimshian and Interior Salish within this corpus of data. This meaning does not occur in Bella Coola or the Central Coast languages; but the related meaning MEAT obtains for the suffix in Lushootseed, e.g., səb = dīʔə? “dried meat” (Hess: 1976:10). This analysis considers the meaning GAME ANIMAL to be the core concept underlying *alčə? and the primary source of all semantic extensions of the suffix.

Meaning extensions for the suffix *alčə? in Interior Salish

GAME ANIMAL > MEAT > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT

The semantic path of the suffix *alčə? is exemplified by the Thompson utterances below. Please note that root predicates bring into prominence a property or aspect of the suffix relevant to the speech event.

(2) s- peʔc = d̓ičə? = “dressed bear meat” Thompson Thompson: 1996:229
(3) n- loʔq = etiʔə? = “remove insides, disembowel” Thompson Thompson: 1996:157
(5) n- səs = ʔəʔiʔə? - min - s = “dislike st., but keep silent about it” Thompson Thompson: 1996:112

The semantic extensions that obtain for Northern Interior within this corpus, also obtain for Southern Interior.

2 Inclusion of semantic extensions that obtain for these suffixes in Central Coast languages and Tsimshian, and a comparison of these extensions with those that obtain in Interior languages is the subject of a much longer paper still in progress.

3 The extensions GAME ANIMAL, MEAT and AFFECT are attested for Tsimshian within this corpus.
Figure 1 below graphically displays the semantic of the suffix *ača? in Interior Salish.

The suffix *ača? occurs with the meaning HIDE in all Interior Salish. The primary and secondary meaning progressions outlined below are typical of the suffix in Interior Salish languages and derive from the core concept HIDE.

Primary meaning extensions for the suffix *ača? in Interior Salish.

**HIDE > FEATHERS > SCALES > OUTER SURFACE > BARK > RIND > AROUND**

Secondary meaning extensions for the suffix *ača? in Interior Salish.

**HIDE > WRAPPER > BALE**

Besides the progressions outlined above the meanings CLOTHING and BLANKET obtain for the suffix *ača? across the entire family. Clothes and blankets were items originally made from animal hides. Thus, it is possible to think of the meaning HIDE as underlying the extensions CLOTHING and BLANKET since it denotes the raw material out of which these items were once made.

The examples below illustrate the primary semantic progression of the suffix *ača?. Please note that the extensions FEATHER and BARK are exclusive to Northern Interior languages within this corpus, while the extensions SCALE and RIND obtain for Southern Interior.

When attached to predicates such as “thick” or “marked”, as in examples #10 and #11, the suffix denotes “tree bark” and “fruit rind”.

(8) ḏas = a1 = iča? - an
heat up = CON = FEATHER - TR
van Eijk: 1987:187

(9) s - n - īx = ēqa?
NOM-LOC - unglossed = SCALE - TR
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-74

When attached to predicates such as “thick” or “marked”, as in examples #10 and #11, the suffix denotes “tree bark” and “fruit rind”.

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When attached to predicates such as “thick” or “marked”, as in examples #10 and #11, the suffix denotes “tree bark” and “fruit rind”.

(10) plul = a1 = iča?
thick = CON = BARK
Thompson Thompson: 1996-238

(11) t - ĭyqay = ēqa?
PRFX - marked = RIND
Okanagan Mattina: 1987:157

The examples below illustrate the meaning WRAPPER for the suffix *ača?. This meaning abstracts the flatness and two dimensionality of a “hide” and conveys one of the uses to which hides were put within the culture.

(12) t - kix = ēqa? - n
PRFX - wrap around = WRAPPER
Thompson Thompson: 1996-338

(13) k - puU = ēqa? axtux*ta
PRFX - PRFX - wrap around = WRAPPER
Columbian Kinkade: #1432

Semantic extensions are not predictable since speech events and root lexical suffix combinations bring forth novel features of a suffix within an utterance. Figure 2 below graphically displays the semantic extensions that obtain for the suffix *ača? in Interior Salish.

Figure 2 below graphically displays the semantic of the suffix *ača? in Interior Salish.

The suffix *ača? denotes feathers in Northern Interior languages and the scales of snakes and fish in Southern Interior languages.
2.0 The different senses of the suffix *alēça?

The semantic extensions of the suffix *alēça? develop around hunting events. The meaning GAME ANIMAL for the suffix is semantically related to the source ciʔ DEER through the hunt; along with bighorn sheep, black bear, caribou and grizzly bear, Interior people hunted mule deer and white deer. Several meanings of the suffix arise in the context of hunting and butchering and allude to the internal anatomy of game animals. Anatomical terms semantically extend into locative and other semantic domains.

2.1 *alēça? denoting "game animal"

The examples below denote a number of wild animals hunted for meat, or trapped for the value of their furs. Although the suffix denotes mostly wild animals, its use extends to denote at least one domestic animal, the mule, introduced after contact time. (See, #30-#31)

DOE: The following utterances come from Southern Interior and reference a female deer.

(14) tew = lēʔa?
buy = GAME ANIMAL
doec
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-196

(15) tawm = lēʔaʔ
little (?) = GAME ANIMAL
doec
Columbian Kinkade: #378

(16) s - meʔm = élēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
female deer
Spokane Carlson: 1989-4

(17) s - kom = élēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
female deer in Spring
Kalsipel Giora 1879-88

ERMINE AND WEASEL: The following utterances come from the Interior Salish and denote ermine and weasel.

(18) s - péʔpq = lēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
"ermince"
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-142

(19) pěʔpq = alēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
"ermince, weasled"
Kalispel Vogt: 1940-53

(20) s - cēcq = lēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
"weasel"
Shuswap Kuipers 1983-71

(21) s - pěʔpq = lēʔaʔ
GAME ANIMAL
"weasel (white phase)"
Columbian Kinkade: #391

ELK: The utterances below come from Southern Interior and denote elk.

(22) s - něk = lēʔa?
GAME ANIMAL
"elk"
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-179

(23) s - něc = lēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
"elk"
Kalispel Vogt 1940-53

CARIBOU: The following utterances come from Southern Interior and denote caribou.

(24) s - ty = lēʔa?
GAME ANIMAL
"caribou"
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-186

2.1.1 *alēça? used as classifier for game animals

The following Southern Interior examples display the suffix *alēca? functioning as a classifier for animals. The suffix references the butchered animal.

(25) s - tty = élēcę?
GAME ANIMAL
"caribou"
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-136

(26) s - pęʔpq = lēʔa?
GAME ANIMAL
"female/young mountain sheep"
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-136

(27) s - cīn = lēʔa?
GAME ANIMAL
"female mountain goat"
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-6
2.2 *alēʾ* denying “meat”

Game animals were the chief source of meat for Interior Salish people in pre-contact time. Examples #42–#45 denote the meat of different wild animals hunted for food. 

(42) kenm = ēlē
bear = MEAT

(43) ēʔ = ēlē
“bear meat”

(44) ?quna = ēlēʔ?
baked = MEAT

(45) s- xʷiʔ = čč = ēlēʔ?
“mountain goat meat”

Uterances #46–#49 denote meat from domestic animals and exemplify a post contact extension of the suffix.

(46) s - iʔm̕iʔ - xʷ = ēlēč
beef

(47) s - šx̣̣qʷ = ēlēʔ?
hamburger, ground meat

(48) kʷtun = ōlēč
“pork meat”

Meat obtained from game animals was preserved by different drying processes. There are five traditional *anic*—

(50) pū́ = čč
smoked = MEAT

(51) čč = čč
“dried meat over a fire”

(52) čč = čč
lay to dry over fire = MEAT

(53) čč = čč
prickly = CON = MEAT

(54) s - ḵas = čč
NOM - dry (?) = MEAT

(55) s - ḵaw = šlēč
“dried meat, jerked meat”

(56) m̕š́ = šlēč-n-ís
smoked = MEAT - TR - 3Sg

In examples #57–#59 below *alēʾ* functions as an adjunct to predicates depicting an attribute of the meat.

(57) ?onm = alēć
“good meat”

Semantic extensions of the suffix that evolve around the butchering of game animals are the substance of the next section.

2.3 *alēʾ* denoting “carcass”

The meaning CARCASS arises from butchering events and constitutes a secondary source of extensions for the suffix *alēʾ*. Traditional hunters skinned, gutted and quartered game animals near the killing sites. The animal’s inwards were wrapped in the hide and dragged or carried to the base campsite. (Tyhurst 1992:374). The practice of elaborate butchering processes required a detailed knowledge of anatomy which is expressed in the lexicon.

Utterances #50–#56 contain the suffix *alēʾ* referencing types of dried meat throughout Interior Salish.

(58) s - qʷalt = čč
NOM - pack = CARCASS

(59) s - qʷolt = čč
“open up and pack a whole carcass”

(60) s - ḵaʔ = čč
whole = CARCASS

The semantic extensions of the suffix derived from CARCASS in the context of butchering events are HIP > SIDE, INNARDS, and INSIDE.

2.3.1 *alēʾ* denoting “side”

The hip defines the side of a carcass and the side of a human or animal body. The Southern Interior examples below contain the suffix *alēʾ* and the lexical suffix for TAIL. Traditional hunters skinned, gutted and quartered game animals near the killing sites. The animal’s inwards were wrapped in the hide and dragged or carried to the base campsite. (Tyhurst 1992:374). The practice of elaborate butchering processes required a detailed knowledge of anatomy which is expressed in the lexicon.

Utterances #66–#67 denote the side of a body. In these examples the suffix *alēʾ* occurs by itself without the addition of the suffix for TAIL. 

The meanings GAME ANIMAL and MEAT expressed by the suffix *alćaʔ* are rooted in hunting events. The utterances below attest the rituals associated with the hunting and killing of game animals in the culture of the Interior people. Example #60 alludes to a traditional practice whereby young hunters make a gift of their first killing. Example #61 portrays a situation where 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.

(61) n - čōʔ = ēlēʔ - n - cūt-n
“a prayer for the inwards (lit.)”

The cultural and subsistence value that hunting has for Interior Salish people is evidenced in examples #14–#61. 

6 Carlson 1989:19

5 Albert Nelson personal communication. (Mount Currie 1995)

The Thompson utterances #66 and #67 denote the side of a body. In these examples the suffix *alēʾ* occurs by itself without the addition of the suffix for TAIL.
The meaning "side" in examples #68-#69 is still associated with human anatomy but references a natural landmark.

Example #70 denotes the side of an inanimate object. This implies the equation of "hip" and "side" and the transfer of an anatomically based concept to an inanimate domain.

Example #83 through #84 below denote canoes, please note that these conveyances were once carved out of trees.

Examples #85 through #88 reference a tube. The inside of the tube is the salient trait focused by the speech event.

In examples #73-#76 the suffix extends to denote internal organs of the human body.

In utterances #77-#78 the suffix denotes the inside area of a body and all the organs it contains. The extension of the suffix #86-#87 is exclusive to Interior languages and develops into a containment schema.

2.3.4 "al'ca" denoting "inside"

In the following examples the suffix "al'ca" references three dimensional spaces with a containment potential. The extension inside for the suffix relates to the core concept GAME ANIMAL through the extension INNARDS since the ventral cavity contains the entrails or innards of an animal. The extension inside for "al'ca" is exclusive to Interior languages and develops into a containment schema.

In examples #79-#80 the concept INNARDS becomes INSIDE as it applies to the domain of trees.

2.3.2 "al'ca" denoting "innards"

In examples #71-#72 the lexical suffix "al'ca" reference the innards of a butchered animal. The context for these utterances is the butchering process and the disemboweling of animals. This extension of the suffix is exclusive to Interior languages.

In examples #91-#94 denote wind instruments. The utterances have root predicates meaning "to blow", and the suffix denotes the inside space into which the air is blown.

In utterances #77-#78 the suffix denotes the inside area of a body and all the organs it contains. The extension of the suffix #79-#80 is exclusive to Interior languages and develops into a containment schema.
In the examples below the feature that defines the function of the object denoted in the utterance is located on the inside. Example #95 denotes the “tongue of a bell” and example #96 the incandescent filament inside a light bulb.

(95) x - cqeq = elêc - ten
LOC - hit = INSIDE = INSTR
“tongue of a bell”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-174

(96) n - pe* = elêc?
LOC - shining = INSIDE
“a house light”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-215

In examples #97-#100 the scale of the interior space denoted by the suffix increases.

(97) n - rîì - s = ñåâcê - tn
LOC - clear = 3Poss = INSIDE = INSTR
“an all window room.”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-80

(98) n - ik* = elêc?
LOC - set down = INSIDE
“It lies inside a house.”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-100

(99) n - paak = elêc
LOC - (bright) = INSIDE
“The room is well illuminated.”
Kalispe Giorda: 1879-207

(100) naqs = ñåâcê
other = INSIDE
“the other room, one room”
Columbian Kinkade: #386

Example #71 through #100 exemplify the semantic progresses INNARDS to INSIDE. The meaning INSIDE has its genesis in the location of the intestines: a location that becomes exposed in butchering events. In this respect the extension INSIDE relates to the hunt and is culturally motivated.

The last link in the semantic progression posited for the suffix alêcâ is the extension AFFECT. Its origin lies in the fact that strong emotions are physically felt in the viscer. This leads to the notion that the “seat” or “locus” of feeling is located somewhere inside the body. In examples #101-#104 the root predicates indicate the color of the emotion. The lexical suffix merely denotes a place inside where emotions have their source. 8

(101) ?农牧 = alêcâ?
good = AFFECT
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-304
“good natured”

(102) n - qìl = elêcâ
LOC - bad = AFFECT
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-212
“mean”

(103) x - leixé = elêc
LOC - poor = AFFECT
Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-15
“kind-hearted, generous”

(104) x - kas = elêc
LOC - bad = AFFECT
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-215
“mean at heart”

2.4 Summary of the semantic development of the suffix *alêcâ *

The extensions of the suffix *alêcâ* follow a path from the concrete to the abstract, GAME > ANIMAL > MEAT > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT. The concrete meanings of the suffix are semantically close to the root *êc* in DEER and bring to mind the context of the hunt. Locational meanings such as inside and INSIDE have their genesis in butchering events and the exposed anatomy of the ventral cavity. A containment schema develops from the CARCASS > INNARDS link becoming the source of the extension INSIDE. The inside body is perceived as the seat of emotion and becomes the source of the extensions AFFECT.

3.0 The different senses of the suffix *êcâ *

The suffix *êcâ* denotes the hide of an animal and figures prominently in the lexicon of Interior Salish languages. Besides being phonologically transparent, the connection of *êcâ* with éci? “deer” is semantically clear in that deer skin was a valued raw material for making moccasins and clothing. Hides are an important product of the hunt and greatly valued by the Interior people.

3.1 *êcâ* denoting “hide”

Examples #105-#108 contain the suffix *êcâ* denoting a “hide” and come from Southern and Northern Interior Salish. These utterances exemplify the primary meaning of the suffix *êcâ*.

(105) nêk=eb = ñêcâ
“tanned hide with hair left on”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-213

(106) x - ñm = ñêcâ
LOC - smoke = NOSE = HIDE - MID
“to smoke a hide”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-144

(107) mul = ñêcâ
wet = NOSE = HIDE-MID
“to soak a hide”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-149

(108) x-îk* = ñêcâ
“scrape a raw hide”
Columbian Kinkade: #1481

The extensions addressed below presume a live entity that owns the skin referenced by the suffix.

3.2.1 *êcâ* denoting “human skin”

The suffix *êcâ* in the utterances below denotes the skin of some unspecified person. The root predicates define a state or condition affecting the person’s skin.

(109) t - pek* - p = ñêcâ
PRFX - scatter - ASP = HUMAN SKIN
“to have the skin flaking off”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-84

(110) k - axm - p = ñêcâ
PRFX - aired out - ASP = HUMAN SKIN
“get the chills”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-189

(111) ñâ - qu - p = ñêcâ - y
PRFX - itch - ASP = HUMAN SKIN - SUF
“hives (skin)”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-71

(112) k - sax - p = ñêcâ
PRFX - root - ASP = HUMAN SKIN
“hair stands on end, get a fright”
Columbian Kinkade: #1479

(113) ñpul - Em = ñtâsâ/pâ
poison ivy - MID = HUMAN SKIN
“he applied poison ivy”
Coeur D’Alene Reichard 1938-564

Please note that because the skin covers the entire surface of the body, a tendency to equate skin with body appears in the English glosses of the following utterances.

(114) s-wup = ñêcâ = tn
NOM - hair = HUMAN SKIN - INSTR
“hair on body”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-334

(115) k - mn = ñêcâ - nt
PRFX - rub = HUMAN SKIN - TR
“rub somebody’s body”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-32

(116) s- k - wak - p = ñêcâ
NOM-PRFX - root - ASP = HUMAN SKIN
“itchy body”
Columbian Kinkade: #1465

In the Thompson and Coeur d’Alene examples below the utterances refer to states affecting the whole body. The suffix *êcâ* references the totality of the area affected, i.e., the skin that covers the body all over.

(117) q*éy = ñêcâ
ache = HUMAN SKIN
“ache all over”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-291
3.2. *icəʔ* denoting a live animal coat

In examples #121-#125 the suffix references the coat of a live animal affected by the action or state implied in the predicate.

(121) kwakʷs = a1 = icaʔ-an
heat up = CON = LIVE COAT -TR
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-187
"to burn off hair of an animal"

(122) kʷm = icəʔ = us
chew = LIVE COAT = FACE
Thompson Thompson: 1996-111
"[animal] chews on self eating his lice"

(123) k - sləsʷ = icəʔ
PRFX - spotted = LIVE COAT
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-175
"speckled gray, appaloosa"

(124) t - kʷəl = icəʔ
PRFX - red = LIVE COAT
Columbia Kinkade: #1445
"white horse with red coloring on it"

(125) k - səʔ = icəʔ-s
PRFX - lick = LIVE COAT -3-Poss
Columbia Kinkade: (Notes: No date)
"it licked off (a new born animal)"

3.3 *icəʔ* denoting “feathers”

The following examples are extensions from the core concept HIDE. The suffix *icəʔ* denotes the external coatings of snakes, fish and birds in Interior Salish. A way to think about these extensions is the analogy that scales are to fish, and feathers to birds, as the hide is to the deer.

(126) nek = icəʔ -me
change = SCALES - mid
Thompson Thompson: 1996-231
"[of snake] change, shed skin"

(127) kʷəqʷk = icəʔ -me
scald = FEATHERS - MID
Thompson Thompson: 1999-131
"remove feathers by scalding"

(128) s - n - lox = icəʔ
heat up = CON = SCALES
Columbia Kinkade: #1440
"scales of a fish"

The external coating of birds and fish is no longer a hide. Nevertheless, feathers and scales have the same function and serve the same purpose as the hide. Mainly, they cover the inner body and demarcate the outer body surface. The feature "outer surface", a functional property of animal hides, is common to all these extensions and part of the conceptual properties embodied in the suffix *icəʔ* HIDE.

3.4 *icəʔ* referencing outer surface

The extension OUTER SURFACE is an abstract concept reflecting that the hide is the outer layer of an animal’s body. When applied to inanimate domains, as in utterances #129-#131, the suffix denotes surfaces that constitute the outside layers of inanimate entities.

(129) s - x? = icəʔ
NOM - over = OUTER SURFACE
Thompson Thompson: 1996-388
"outside surface"

3.5.1 *icəʔ* denoting “rind”

Examples #132-#134 come from the Southern Interior Salish and the suffix *icəʔ* denotes the rind of fruits and vegetables.

(132) t - ʔuqəʕəʔy = icaʔ?
PRFX - marked = RIND
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-157
"cantaloupe, watermelon"

(133) ʔ - q - ʔuqəʕəʔy = icaʔ?
ASP - blue = RIND
Spokane Carlson: 1989-75
"watermelon"

(134) s - μəʔ = icaʔ-n
PRFX - unglossed = RIND - SUF
Spokane Carlson: 1989-75
"take off the peel of an onion"

3.5.2 *icəʔ* denoting “bark”

Examples #135-#137 come from Northern Interior Salish and the suffix *icəʔ* references tree-bark. The sheet-like property of a tree-bark is in focus in utterance #135 and gives an inkling into the ways tree-bark was processed within the culture. Traditionally, bark was pulled off the trees in long flat strips and used for making baskets and canoes.

(135) səʔ = icəʔ?
peel = BARK
Thompson Thompson: 1996-338
"bark removed in a sheet and rolled"

(136) prəʔ = a1 = icaʔ?
thick = CON = BARK
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-32
"thick bark"

(137) t - s - p = icəʔ?
"to peel off bark"
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-185

3.5.3 *icəʔ* denoting “around”

The examples in this section describe the extension AROUND for the suffix *icəʔ*. The extension AROUND abstracts the enfolding properties of a hide and denotes notions of encirclement and encasement. It can be said that the inner body of an animal is surrounded by its hide, or conversely, that the hide extends all around an animal’s body, this analogy that becomes palpable in the skinning of game animals. The next section addresses extensions of the suffix *icəʔ* where the suffix references the concept AROUND.

The suffix *icəʔ* in the example below denotes the encirclement of an entity, the moon.

(138) səʔ = a1 = icaʔ?: n ti - ʔaməʔtənə
circle = CON = AROUND-TR DET moon
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-289
"The moon has a circle."
The circle around the moon depicted in Figure 3 envelopes the celestial body just as the hide enfolds the body of an animal.

Example #139 denotes an entity that limits the boundaries of a contained space.

The literal sense of utterance #139 above is *The salient properties denoted by the suffix *{

3.5 *ica* denoting “wrapper”

The salient properties denoted by the suffix *ica* in the extensions below are the flatness and two dimensionality of an animal hide. A similar development is attested in the Mon-Khmer family where the term *COAT* > *FEATHERS* > *SCALES* > *OUTER SURFACE* > *PEEL* > *BARK*.

In examples #140 the suffix *ica* may denote the real boundaries of an unspecified space, or a figurative boundary.

The semantic path of the suffix *ica* discussed so far has the following links *HIDE* > *HUMAN SKIN* > *LIVE ANIMAL* > *COAT* > *FEATHERS* > *SCALES* > *OUTER SURFACE* > *PEEL* > *BARK*.

More abstract meaning for the suffix develops from the placement and enveloping function of the hide in an animal’s body. This new meaning obtains in the domain of space and is realized as the meaning AROUND for the suffix *ica*.

3.5.1 *ica* denoting “bale”

Undoubtedly animal hides are the original wrapping material in cultures that rely on hunting for subsistence.

In its semantic development the suffix *ica* goes from referencing the wrapping material as in #142-#144 above, to referencing the wrapped object itself as in #145-#149 below.

Examples #150-#153 show the suffix *ica* functioning as a classifier for packages.

Examples #154-#155 denote the suffix *ica* denoting material items made out of animal hide.

3.6.1 *ica* denoting “clothing”

The suffix *ica* denotes buckskin clothes or clothing made out of animal hide in examples #105-#106 below.

Utterances #107-#110 reflect the contemporary use of the suffix *ica* in Northern Interior languages. The suffix denotes items of clothing and the predicates define the use, or most prominent trait, of the particular garment denoted in the utterance.

Utterances #111-#115 show the suffix *ica* denoting material items made out of animal hide.
The above set finishes the discussion of the extension CLOTHING for the suffix.

3.6.2 (114) t - others woven. Probably the first blankets were made out of animal skins. We cannot ascertain that woven blankets received their name from earlier hide blankets, but it seems a likely possibility. Synchronically the Examples treated in section (116) are attested within this corpus for the entire family. The suffix references items originally made out of animals hides and used as covers. The hunt and the by products of the hunt were essential to the subsistence of Interior people. Deer was hunted for meat, its sinew made into thread and its hide tanned and used for making clothing and blankets. The survival value of hunting in the Interior cultures makes possible the proliferation of meanings that obtain for the suffix *ića? HIDE.

3.7 Summary of the semantic development of the suffix *ića?: The primary meaning of the suffix *ića? references the skin of an animal, i.e., HIDE. The suffix extends to reference HUMAN SKIN and LIVE ANIMAL COAT. The hide of an animal completely covers the animal’s body and constitutes the surface layer that covers its entire body. The covering properties of a hide, by analogy the extensions FEATHERS and SCALES. Hides, feathers and scales constitute the outer surface of animal bodies. The concept OUTER SURFACE is abstracted from these and extends into the inanimate domain yielding the extensions BIRD and BARK. A yet more abstract extension of the suffix combines the coverage and outer surface properties of an animal hide and yields the extension AROUND in spatial domains.

The secondary semantic progressions of the suffix cluster around the classificatory properties of twodimensionality and flatness inherent to a tanned hide and emphasize qualities of shape and flexibility. The extensions WRAPPER and BALE are cases in point. Besides these extensions, the suffix denotes BLANKET and CLOTHING, items once made out of animal hides.

4.0 Extensions of the suffixes *ića? and *ića?

The semantic extensions of the suffixes *ića? and *ića? are graphed below for the entire Salish family. There is a marked asymmetry in the distribution of these extensions with most of them falling in the Interior branches of the family. (See Table I and Table II) The paucity of examples for *ića? and *ića? in Bella Coola and Central Coast languages within the data base might be due to the sources used, or to the fact that hunting was a much more prevalent activity in the interior plateau than in the coastal regions.

9 The suffix is also attested as classifier for blankets in Upper Chehalis.
4.1 Categorization and distribution of the different senses of the suffix *\(a\lambda\)a? GAME ANIMAL

Table II displays the attested extensions of the lexical suffix *\(a\lambda\)a? within this corpus for the entire Salishan family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS</th>
<th>Bella Coola</th>
<th>Squamish</th>
<th>Masquaque</th>
<th>Lower Coast U. Clohols</th>
<th>Lilloet</th>
<th>Thompson</th>
<th>Stswapp</th>
<th>Cowichan</th>
<th>Colville</th>
<th>Nez Perce</th>
<th>Coast T'Quuz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GAME-ANIMAL “Game”</td>
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<td>BUTCHERING EXTENSIONS</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Game”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Meat”</td>
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<td>“Carcass”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Hides”</td>
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<td>“Innards”</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPATIAL AND ABSTRACT EXTENSIONS</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Inside”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Affect”</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the Interior branches of the family the suffix *\(a\lambda\)a? exhibits a rich polysemy presumably arising from hunting and butchering events. The Tsamosan branch exhibits many but not all the extensions found in the Interior branches. Extensions having to do with “butchering events” (i.e., CARCASS, HIP/SIDE and INNARDS) do not occur in Tsamosan within this corpus. Curiously, the extension AFFECT does occur in Tsamosan, a fact that suggests a gap in the data base or in the sources from where the data base was compiled. It is possible that butchering event extensions of the suffix may have been present in the Tsamosan branch at one time. There are several examples of suffix *\(a\lambda\)a? in the Central Coast languages exhibiting the meaning MEAT. The suffix *\(a\lambda\)a? does not occur in Bella Coola.

4.2 Categorization and distribution of the different senses of the suffix *\(i\)c\(a\)? HIDE

Table III that follows displays the attested extensions of the lexical suffix *\(i\)c\(a\)? within this corpus for the entire Salishan family.

Meanings such as SCALES and FEATHER, or BARK, RIND and OUTER SURFACE either derive from HIDE by analogy, or abstract functional features intrinsic to an animal hide. These extensions are exclusive to Interior languages.

Meanings denoting two dimensional classificatory features, or use features, such as WRAPPER, do occur in the Central Coast languages. In these contexts the suffix is translated into English as “cloth” in Saanich and Masquaque.

Extensions of the suffix *\(i\)c\(a\)? in the Tsamosan branch are almost the same the ones attested in this corpus for the Central Coast languages.

The meanings BLANKET and CLOTHING for the suffix occur throughout the family within this corpus.

Conclusion

The primary meaning of the suffix *\(i\)c\(a\)? in Interior Salish is GAME ANIMAL. The semantic development of this suffix in the Interior languages is greatly influenced by hunting and butchering events. In these contexts the suffix acquires, among others, the meanings MEAT and INNARDS. The extension INSIDE for the suffix derives from the extension INNARDS. Applied to an inanimate domain the extensions INSIDE denotes the “inside surface” of objects.

The primary meaning of the suffix *\(i\)c\(a\)? in Interior Salish is HIDE representing one of the most important by-products of the hunt. The meaning OUTER SURFACE for the suffix develops from the location and function the hide has in an animal’s body. Applied to an inanimate domain the meaning OUTER SURFACE denotes the “outside surface” of objects.

The above comparison confirms and expands for the whole of Interior Salish the suggestion made for Columbian (Kinkade 1973) that the concepts “inside” and “outside” are part of the chain of meaning that obtains for the suffixes *\(i\)c\(a\)? and *\(a\lambda\)a?.

The polysemy exhibited by the suffixes *\(i\)c\(a\)? and *\(a\lambda\)a? can only be explained in the context of the hunt and the importance hunting had and continues to have in the material economy of Interior people. The source concept *\(i\)c\(a\)? DEER posited for these two suffixes, (Suttles, p.c., and Kuipers 1996) relates the attested meaning extensions of these suffixes to the hunt, as in the extensions MEAT and INNARDS, and to the by products of the hunt, as in the extensions HIDE and WRAPPER. In addition the extensions BLANKET and CLOTHING attest the widespread use of “hides” in the material culture. Thus the semantic development of the suffixes *\(i\)c\(a\)? and *\(a\lambda\)a? in Interior Salish is intrinsically tied to the cultural practices of the Interior people.
Salish Aboriginal communities of Interior British Columbia are engaged in language revitalization. One challenging task facing these communities is that of creating vocabulary for items recently introduced in the culture. An analysis of the semantic shifts undergone by lexical suffixes that takes into account the cultural practices underlying these shifts, exposes the mechanisms of word formation and their relation to traditional culture. Thus it is a useful tool for groups attempting to develop new vocabulary.

REFERENCES:


Turner, Nancy (Unpublished Manuscript) Plant Knowledge of the Stil't'imx (Lillooet) People of British Columbia.
