The Semantics of the Lexical Suffix *wil. 1
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This paper addresses the semantics of the lexical suffix *wil. Salishan lexical suffixes constitute a very old morphological system that can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish. Historically, lexical suffixes appear to have developed from roots used as the right member of a compound (Egesdal 1981, Mattina 1987, Carlson 1989, Kinkade 1998). Morphologically, these suffixes are derivational morphemes that denote entities referred to by full nominals in other languages, e.g. body-parts (FACE, HAND, BACK, MOUTH), cultural implements (CANOE, HOUSE, CLOTHING), and natural elements (FIRE, GROUND, WATER, TREE). 2 The referentiality of the lexical suffix *wil is not an issue in this paper 3—the suffix is polysemous and has a generic rather than a referential function denoting a category of items related through a shape schema. Semantically, the suffix *wil has metaphorical, locational, and classificatory extensions. 4

1 The meanings denoted by the lexical suffix *wil

The lexical suffix *wil appears in expressions denoting bottle, dish, bailer, pail, barrel, box, coffin, canoe, car, plane, train, wagon, esophagus, belly, rib-cage, torso, and vagina throughout the Salishan family. In some languages it is also found in affect-like expressions that translate into English as tricky, generous, stingy, passed-out, and mean. Diachronically, the pattern of meanings extensions suggests a core shape-feature. Synchronically, features pertaining to use or function imposed by cultural change may, in some instances, have superseded the core shape feature. The question I am addressing here is how the lexical suffix *wil comes to denote such heterogeneous things as bottle, train, and belly, etc. Traditionally, the suffix is labeled canoe after its most frequent denotatum. However, there is evidence that the concept canoe is not the

1 The suffix is reconstructed as *wil by Kinkade and as *wil – wi I by Kuipers. (Kinkade 1998:282).
2 A major criterion to distinguishes inflectional from derivational morphology is obligatoriness. An inflectional category is obligatory marked on the stem category to which it applies. (Bybee 1985:27).
3 Gerds and Hinkson (1996) address the non discrete division between the referentiality and non-referentiality of lexical suffixes as incorporated nominals and postulate that the referentiality of lexical suffixes appears to be a gradient phenomena.
4 Hinkson, Mercedes Q. (1999) 'Salishan Lexical Suffixes: A Study in the Conceptualization of Space.'
core meaning of the suffix *wil*. Based on a pan-Salish corpus of 500 examples, I argue that the core meaning of the suffix is a schematic structure that specifies the feature 'concavity'. This schematic structure gives relational cohesiveness to the set of meanings denoted by *wil* and connects all attested semantic extensions. The analysis assumes that semantic systems have a hierarchy of their own, partly independent of syntax, and cognitively constructed in connection with the premises of a cultural system. (Friedrich 1970:385).

1.1 The meaning distribution of the lexical suffix *wil*

The distribution of meaning extensions for the suffix *wil* in Interior, Coast and Tsamosan languages is shown in Table 1.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRAL (COAST) SALISH</th>
<th>CONTAINER</th>
<th>WATER CRAFT</th>
<th>LAND CRAFT</th>
<th>AIR CRAFT</th>
<th>BODY PART</th>
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Table 1: *wil* Extensions Distribution: Coast, Interior, and Tsamosan

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5 Core meaning is the level of abstraction at which category cuts are made. The core meaning carries the crucial information that defines category boundaries and possesses the highest category cue validity.
### 1.2 Schematic shape features and lexical suffixes

Shape is a typological universal in grammar and one of considerable significance for a theory of semantics. There is precedent for shape-abstraction extensions in the semantics of body-part lexical suffixes in Salish.

1. **s-táw=qš**  
   NOM-unglossed=NOSE  
   ‘point of land’  
   (Upper Chehalis: Kinkade 1991:65)

2. **kʷl=ínk**  
   warm=ABDOMEN  
   ‘sunny sidehill’  
   (Okanagan: Mattina 1987:55)

The lexical suffixes for NOSE and ABDOMEN in examples (1-2), from Upper Chehalis and Okanagan, respectively denote a ‘point of land’ and a ‘hillside’. Shape-abstraction extensions project the most salient shape of a body part onto entities in the outside world perceived as having a similar shape (Hinkson 1999:53).

The Musqueam examples (3-4) below have the same predicate. Example (3) denotes a ‘crossbeam’—a beam located inside the cavity or empty space that constitutes the interior portion of a house—and has the suffix *wil*.

3. **sxʷ-šuš=wil-tn**  
   NOM/LOC cross=VESSEL-INS  
   ‘cross beam of houses’  
   (Musqueam: Suttles n.d.)

Example (4) denotes a ‘stringer’—a long, lighter beam that lies on top of a series of cross beams—and has the suffix =as 6. Stringers are on the upper face or surface of the house-frame ready for the removable planks to be laid on (Suttles p.c.).

4. **šuš=as-tn**  
   cross=FACE-INS  
   ‘stringer’  
   (Musqueam: Suttles n.d.)

In example (3) the schematic structure at the core of the material suffix *wil* denotes the interior portion of a building. Since this meaning patterns with other attested meanings of the suffix, I concluded that the feature

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6 The suffix =as is the suffix for FACE which in this case denotes surface.
concavity plays an important role in determining the semantics of the suffix *wil.*

1.3 The Principle of Shape Abstraction

The Principle of Shape Abstraction (Hinkson 1999:53) provides a template over which shape extensions may occur increasing the range of meanings of a lexical suffix. It acknowledges the importance of shape in the semantics of lexical suffixes. The features that establish diagnostic criteria in shape classifier languages, as defined by Allan (1977:291), are material, shape, consistency, size, location, arrangement, and quanta. Hypothesizing about the internal structure of lexical items Pustejovský (1995:76) proposes qualia structure for specifying aspects of a word's meaning: (a) constitutive quale—the relation between an object and its constitutive parts, i.e. material, weight, and component parts; (b) formal quale—the characteristics that distinguish an object within a larger set of similar objects, i.e orientation, magnitude, shape, dimensionality, color, and position, and (c) telic quale—the purpose and function of an object. Though I do not use qualia structure in this analysis, the general concept of qualia is important in understanding the semantics of the lexical suffix *wil.* Bearing this in mind, I am constraining and redefining the Principle of Shape Abstraction as follows.

1.3.1 The schematic structure denoted by a lexical suffix may metaphorically extend to other entities in the world perceived as having similar schematic characteristics.

1.3.2 Schematic characteristics are visual or tactile. The inherent shape embodied in the schematic characteristic of an entity limits the possible range of extensions.

Structure and shape characteristically relate to properties possessed by objects, rather than to the function objects have. Yet, objects originally categorized by structure and shape may become salient in specific utilitarian contexts. The profiling of an object’s function can induce semantic reanalysis and restructuring.

1.3.3 The profiling of function in specific contexts may induce reanalysis of meaning where structure and shape are superseded by function.

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7 As originally proposed the Principle of Shape Abstraction accounts for the shape extensions of body-part lexical suffixes and stipulates that the most salient shape of a body-part may metaphorically extend to other entities in the world perceived as having the same shape.

8 Quale is understood as a property, e.g. concavity, considered apart from things having that property.
I am proposing a hyponym VESSEL that subsumes all the meaning extensions of the suffix *wil. This is equivalent to saying that meaning extensions of *wil are subsets of the concept represented by the suffix. Figure 1 below sketches the category formed around the concept *wil VESSEL. It depicts the general semantic relations between category members and assumes that each member instantiates some aspect of the core.

The CONTAINER extension is primary and differs from the CANOE extension in size and function.

BODY PART meaning extensions of the suffix *wil are metaphorical and have their source in the type 'container'.

Vessel (a) hollow or concave utensil for holding something; (b) a hollow structure designed for navigation on the water; (c) any of various aircraft; (d) a tube or canal in which body fluid is contained. (Webster New Collegiate Dictionary 1980.)
AFFECT-TYPE meanings of the suffix *wil are metaphorical elaborations conceptually grounded in a body-part. (Hinkson 1999).

The CANOE extension becomes in time the most frequent denotatum of the suffix *wil. Canoes were a means of transportation for people and loads through different types of waterways.10

VEHICLE is a functional meaning extension of the suffix *wil. It has its source in ‘canoe’.11

Semantic extensions of the suffix *wil originally arose in the material world and cultural setting where the objects denoted by the suffix were created and developed.

2 Containers and the concept of 'concavity'

The suffix *wil expresses the concept ‘concavity’ and denotes a wide variety of containers ranging from coffin to bottle. We can thus think of the suffix as denoting a generic container.

2.1 Container: Coast Salish

5. əp=iʔə= wil
cedar=(?)=VESSEL
‘large wooden platter’
(Squamish: Kuipers 1967:122, 366)

6. ʰəx=wil-t
wash=VESSEL-TR
‘wash them (dishes
(Musqueam: Suttles p.c.)

7. dxʷ-čib=wil-d
LOC-lick=VESSEL-TR
‘lick the pan’
(Lushootseed: Hess 1976:174)

8. čəkʷ= kʷilaʔ sən
wash=VESSEL 1SG
‘I am washing dishes.’
(Saanich: Pidgeon 1970:30)

10 See note #17.
11 Vehicles introduced after contact time are usually denoted by the suffix *wil. In these extensions, the perceived function of the canoe within the culture predominates over the shape-feature of the core.
2.2 Container: Interior Salish

9. qʷu₁=ú₁=wił
   filled up=CON=VESSEL
   ‘full jar/bucket’
   (Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

10. səkʷsəkʷ=ú₁=wił
    shatter (redup.)=CON=VESSEL
    ‘shatter a vase into many pieces’
    (Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

11. c-q'mx-éwl
    RSLT-spherical shape=VESSEL
    ‘barrel’
    (Shuswap: Kuipers: 1989:207)

12. c-wywɛ=éwl
    RSTL-corpse (redup.)=VESSEL
    ‘coffin’
    (Shuswap: Kuipers: 1974:267)

The only commonality between the various meanings of the suffix in these examples is the feature ‘concavity’ realized as a capacity for containing some kind of substance or entity.

3 Body-part meanings as metaphorical extensions based on the concept container.

   Why does the suffix *wil denote body parts? Even before understanding the biological function of internal organs, through the slaughter of beasts and the killing of enemies, people must have known that inside their bodies dwelt structures of various shapes, colors, and textures. It is in this context that the suffix *wil denotes the abdominal and thoracic cavities. These cavities can be thought of as containers since they are the concave repositories of our internal organs.

3.1 The suffix *wil denoting the abdominal cavity

   The Squamish and Coeur d’Alene examples below exemplify the shape schema inherent to the suffix *wil. The suffix denotes abdomen in examples (13-14) regardless of the fact that *anak is the usual suffix for denoting abdomen in Salishan languages. (Hinkson 1999:81). A metaphorical transfer occurs whereby the suffix *wil VESSEL, i.e. container, denotes abdomen. The conceptualization of abdomen as a container is consistent with the basic shape schema of the suffix.
13. ciq= wil- n
   get stabbed=VESSEL-TR
   'stab someone in the belly'
   (Squamish: Kuipers: 1967:122)

14. k*w-u-t-q̓= qul
   2SG-person-fat=VESSEL
   'you are a fat belly'
   (Coeur d'Alene: Barthmeier: 1996:72)

3.2 The suffix *wil denoting the thoracic cavity

Examples (15-17) demonstrate the concavity feature of the suffix
*wil by denoting the thoracic cavity, i.e. ribcage or torso. Anatomically
the thoracic cavity is the dwelling place of the heart and the lungs and is
separated from the abdominal cavity by the diaphragm. 12

15. ?u-x̱=u̱= qul
   PRFX-break (?)=CON=VESSEL
   'He broke his ribs (ribcage)'

16. tk*=ál= k*ał
   break=CON=VESSEL
   'He broke his rib (ribcage)'
   (Saanich: Montler 1986:163)

17. Xqt=uy=kwl
   long (?)=CON=VESSEL
   'torso'
   (Klallam: Thompson & Thompson 1985:228)

3.2.1 Locational Extensions of suffix *wil

The suffix occurs in Lushootseed and Musqueam with the meaning
side. The rib cage or torso is usually construed as belonging to the upper
body, however its salient dimension is laterality. (The posterior portion of
the torso is known as the upper back and the anterior portion as the chest
or abdomen.) Thus the spatial reference point denoted by the suffix *wil in
examples (18-19) profiles the lateral dimension of the torso and extends
the relation it bears to the body as a whole to the world at large.

12 Montler (1986:74) labels the suffix 'torso' in one set of examples (2.2.10.1.10) and
'canoe' in another set (2.2.10.1.9) adding that the extension 'torso' may be related to
'canoe' by way of 'container'.
3.3 The suffix *wil denoting the esophagus

The esophagus, a muscle tube extending from the pharynx to the stomach, is the passageway for the food we eat. Examples (20-21) focus on the esophagus as an obstructed conduit. 14

20. ꔑ-ʔáq = gʷiɬ
PRFX-unplug, open=VESSEL
‘He choked (by getting something caught in his throat).’

21. ꔑq = awiɬ
scrape=VESSEL
‘to choke’
(Lillooet: van Eijk 1997:97)

3.4 The suffix *wil denoting the vaginal cavity

The Musqueam and Samish examples below exemplify the concavity feature expressed by the suffix *wil and denote the vagina.

22. sxé=ɬəɬ
hold in lap=VESSEL
‘vagina’
(Halkomelem: Suttles p.c.)

23. sə=ɬəɬ
not glossed=VESSEL
‘vagina’
(Samish: Galloway:1986:75)

13 I am not addressing the entire range of locational extension of the suffix *wil in Halkomelem in this paper.

14 Carlson and Hess (1978:21) observe that the suffix *wil designates two rather distinct body parts, throat and ribs. They also express that “whether these are metaphorical extensions or homonyms is not clear.”
Compare example (24), which denotes 'clitoris' and has the suffix \(^{*}\text{wil}\) VESSEL plus the suffix \(=\text{iq}^{*}\) HEAD with example (25), which denotes 'penis' and has only the suffix \(=\text{iq}^{*}\) HEAD.

24. \(sx'y_{e}=\text{wol}=\text{iq}^{*}\)
    hold in lap=VESSEL=HEAD
    'clitoris'
    (Halkomelem: (Galloway:p.c.)

25. \(s-x'y_{A}=\text{iq}^{*}\)
    NOM-erect=HEAD
    'head of the penis'
    (Halkomelem: Galloway:p.c.)

The suffix \(^{*}\text{wil}\) appears to denote body parts which are characteristically concave or hollow and which have some capacity for containment. Body-parts, such as torso or ribcage, are possible sources for affect-like extensions, since they contain the vital organs of the body.

4 Affect like extensions: the Seat of Emotion

Though the concept of emotion is abstract, emotions are viscerally felt. The seat of emotion is conceptualized as located within the body, e.g. "She broke his heart". In many cultures, the organ considered to be the seat and source of emotion is denoted by the same lexeme that denotes the emotion itself. 15

The ribcage or upper torso contains the heart. I am positing that in the Straits and Halkomelem examples (26-29), the affect type meanings of the suffix are metaphorical extensions that represent the seat of emotion.

15 In the Lushootseed examples below, the lexical suffix \(=\text{idag}^{*}\text{as}\) appears to denote the inside of the upper body which contains the "heart" in the examples that follow. It also denotes the seat of emotion.

(i) \(s-\text{ng}=\text{idag}^{*}\text{as}\)
    NOM-lean against=INSIDE UPPER BODY
    'chest'
    (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:17)

(ii) \(h\text{ig}^{*}=\text{al}=\text{idag}^{*}\text{as}\)
    big, large=CON=INSIDE UPPER BODY
    'brave'
    (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:110

(iii) \(q\text{alq}=\text{al}=\text{idag}^{*}\text{as}\)
    bad (redup.)=CON=INSIDE UPPER BODY
    'coward'
    (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:302)
26. $x^-?\hat{\gamma}=\omega f$
   LOC-good=VESSEL
   'generous'
   (Saanich: Montler: 1991:47)

27. $x^-q\omega=\omega f$
   LOC-bad=VESSEL
   'stingy'
   (Saanich: Montler: 1991:47)

28. $\hat{x}^-q\dot{x}=\omega f$
   LOC-bad=VESSEL
   'mean, tough person'
   Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.)

29. $\hat{x}^-q\dot{x}=\omega f$
   LOC-many=VESSEL
   'tricky'
   (Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.)

   In example 31 the suffix attaches to the root $m\tilde{e}lq$ 'forget'. This
   is a resultative form, and the initial $\tilde{s}x^-$ is $s$- resultative plus $x^-$
   'inner'.

30. $\tilde{s}-x^-m\tilde{e}m\alpha l=q=\omega f$
   RSLT-LOC-forget (redup.)=VESSEL
   'passed out'
   (Halkomelem: Suttles p.c.)

The expression in (30) means something akin to 'taking leave of your
senses'. The suffix $*wl$, perhaps denoting the thoracic or abdominal
cavity, stands for the seat of reason. The anatomical area between the
chest and the uppermost portion of the central abdomen internally
corresponds to the diaphragm --- a broad sheet of muscle that separates
the thoracic and the abdominal cavities. Because of its adjacency to the
thoracic and abdominal cavities, the diaphragm or phrenes has been
regarded as the seat of reason since in pre-Homeric times. Hence the
terms frenetic and schizophrenic imply an impairment of the reasoning

The cultural conceptualization of an organ stems from the sum of
legends associated with it. The apparent convergence of the pre-Homeric
and the Salish conceptualization for the seat of the mind suggested by
example (30) points to the universality of notions having their source in
body parts.

16 Suttles explained that there ought to be a form $*m\tilde{e}lq=\omega f$ but he had not recorded it.
5 The generic term for canoe

The suffix *wil appears in expressions denoting canoe in Coast and Interior Salish languages. Carlson and Hess (1978:22) report that consultants described all canoes as *sdəxʷíl when responding to survey questions in Lushootseed. Apparently, this was not the case if consultants answered in English. In English, consultant usually designated different types of canoes by size or length.

Suttles (1987:4-5) describes the different types of canoes used by the Central Coast Salish and the lexical terms that denote them. He concludes that there seems to be a generic term for 'canoe', which is used when referring to the preferred local style of canoe. He exemplifies with one style of canoe used both by the Straits and salt-water Halkomelem people. Where this type was the most common type, it was generally called *snəxʷ ál. However, to distinguish it from the other canoe style, it was also called *sytxaʔal 'southern' or 'of Puget sound style' (from *yíx 'Puget Sound'). Suttles continues to illustrate the use of the generic term for canoe, explaining that the other common type of canoe was better adapted to river travel and was made and used by the Squamish and Upriver Halkomelem people. These people called it by the generic terms *snəxʷíl in Squamish and *stəxʷál in Upriver Halkomelem. The Musqueam however called this type of canoe *sqʷxʷáməxəʔl 'Squamish style' (from *sqʷxʷáməx 'Squamish').

Even though I have not looked at detailed data of this type in Interior and Tsamosan languages, the fact that the generic term for canoe in Coast Salish languages contains the suffix *wil is relevant to this analysis. It confirms that the suffix *wil appears to characterize both containers and canoes as objects related by shape, which in turn suggests that the suffix itself conveys a shape schema. In fact the concavity of canoes is the very feature that permits their use in the transportation of goods and people.

5.1 Canoe: Coast Salish

Canoes were usually hollowed out of logs in the coast cultures. Barnett (1939:238) states that canoes were constructed out of cedar logs hollowed out by burning. The localities mentioned are East Saanich, Cowichan, Nanaimo, Pentlatch, Comox, Klallam, Sechelt, Squamish, and West Saanich.

31. qəxʷ=əgil
left side=VESSEL
'left side of a canoe'
(Comox: Harris 1977:120)
32. \( q\omega q = \textit{wil} \)
younger sibling=VESSEL
‘brand new canoe’
\textit{(Squamish: Kuipers 1967:122)}

33. \( h\omega q = \textit{\dot{e}w}\dot{a}\dot{t} \)
shove=VESSEL
‘shove a canoe out’
\textit{(Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.)}

34. \( \theta\dot{e}\dot{y} = \dot{w}\dot{a}\dot{t} \)
built=VESSEL
‘build a canoe’
\textit{(Saanich: Montler 1991: 60)}

35. \( \theta\dot{e}\dot{t} - i = \dot{w}\dot{a}\dot{t} \)
built=VESSEL
‘build a canoe’
\textit{(Klallam: Thompson & Thompson 1985:66)}

36. \( q\dot{q} = \textit{\dot{e}g}\textit{\textasciitilde i}\dot{t} \)
baby=VESSEL
‘new canoe’
\textit{(Lushootseed: Carlson and Hess 1978:20)}

Consistent with the shape feature proposed for the suffix both dugout canoes and birch-bark canoes are denoted by \(*\textit{wil}*\), as seen in the Musqueam example below.

37. \( s\dot{e}\dot{k} = \omega m = \ddot{o} = \textit{\dot{a}w}\dot{a}\dot{t} \)
whole bark=TREE=VESSEL
‘birch bark canoe’
\textit{(Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.)}

5.2 Canoe: Interior Salish

The Interior Salish people, Kalispel, Lilooet, Thompson, Flathead, and Coeur d'Alene hollowed canoes out of native cedar, drift cedar, pine, and cottonwood and then chiseled them. (Ray 1942:154). The Shuswap and the Lilooet also had bark canoes made out cedar, spruce, birch, and pine. (Ray: 1942:155).

38. \( n - x\dot{o}l = \textit{wil}-\textit{tn} \)
LOC-make (?)=VESSEL-INSTR
‘Early Winters Creek (Lit. make cedar canoes’)’
\textit{(Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2250)}
39. k-úl=m
    turn into=VESSEL-MID
    'make build a canoe'
    (Okanagan: Mattina 1987:66)

40. paξ=úl=wil
    scrape=CON=VESSEL
    'to plane a canoe'
    (Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

41. cw=éwl
    make=VESSEL
    'make a canoe'
    (Thompson: Thompson & Thompson 1996:44)

42. cw=éwl
    make=VESSEL
    'build, make a canoe'
    (Shuswap: Kuipers 1989:171)

43. s-šil=éul
    NOM-chop tree=VESSEL
    'dugout canoe'
    (Kalispel: Vogt: 1940:166)

44. s=éwl-n
    chop tree=VESSEL-TR
    'I chopped down a tree to make a boat.'
    (Spokane: Carlson 1989:89)

45. n-xol=wil-m
    LOC-make=VESSEL-INTR
    'he made a canoe'
    (Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2259)

46. h1n-ตก*=gil-ən-c
    LOC-lay one=VESSEL-TR-3/3
    'he laid it in his canoe'
    (Coeur d'Alene: Reichard 1938:614)

The suffix *wil denotes the typical shape of a canoe in examples (31-46). Example (47) is ambiguous in that it can be read as container or canoe depending on the event structure in which the expression is uttered.
47. \text{n-naqs=wil
one=VESSEL
\text{\textquoteleft a single bowl, a load}}
\text{(Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2266)}

The utterance \text{n-naqs=wil} can be understood as \textit{load} or as \textit{bowl}. The shape feature is explicit in the meaning \textit{bowl} and implicit in the meaning \textit{load}—canoes were one mode of transporting loads.

6 Other Conveyances: Functional extensions

The suffix *\text{wil} also denotes motor vehicles and conveyances introduced by the European cultural and technological encroachment in the Salish world. In developing functional extension speakers establish correspondences between conceptual domains. The suffix *\text{wil} denotes \textit{canoe} alluding to its shape structure. Eventually, the suffix incorporates into its core the function a canoe serves within the culture, i.e. transportation.

With the introduction of other means of transportation the suffix extends to expressions denoting motor vehicles. Because the suffix is presently used to denote motor vehicles, we can describe the semantic shift undergone by *\text{wil} as one in which function predominates over shape—a profiling of the telic quale of the suffix.

6.1 Vehicles: Interior Salish

48. \text{n-\text{\textacute{c}x}*=iwl
LOC-liquid pours=VESSEL-MID
\text{\textquoteleft fill a car (with gasoline)}
\text{(Okanagan: Mattina 1987:20)}

49. \text{t\alpha q^*-p= \text{\textacute{e}w}l
dented-INCHOATIVE=VESSEL
\text{\textquoteleft car gets dented}
\text{(Thompson: Thompson & Thompson 1996:351)}

50. \text{\text{\textacute{l}o}q^*=w\text{\textacute{i}l}-n
park (?)=VESSEL-TR
\text{\textquoteleft park a car}
\text{(Columbia: (Kinkade #2264)}

51. \text{p\text{\textacute{p}o}q=\text{\textacute{u}1}= \text{\textacute{w}l
get flattened=VESSEL
\text{\textquoteleft dented car}
\text{(Lillooet: M. Pierre p.c. 2000)}}
52. ča:w=úl= wit
wash=CON=VESSEL
'wash a car'
(Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

53. cecpnih=úl=wit
Japanese=CON=VESSEL
'Japanese car'
(Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

54. t(o)x*=úl=wit
to buy=CON=VESSEL
'to buy a car'
(Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

55. x*la:p=úl= wit
dead person=CON=VESSEL
'hearse'
(Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

6.2 Aircraft: Coast and Interior Salish

56. łálok*=o:wəl
be flying=VESSEL
'airplane'
(Halkomelem: Sutters notes n.d.)

57. saq*=áwəl
fly=VESSEL
'airplane'
(Lillooet: M. Pierre p.c. 2000)

6.3 Workhorses, Wagons and Trains: Interior Salish

58. x-?əlkt-m=e:wəl
LOC-work-INTR=VESSEL
'work horse'
(Shuswap: Kuipers 1989:229)

59. sqawc=úl= wit
potato=CON=VESSEL
'potato wagon on a train'
(Lillooet: V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
7 Cultural Metaphors in Thompson

I do not know the precise origin behind the following uses of the suffix \(*wil\). The context for these uses might well be a race or a parade where linear order determines rank. Thus the first position takes precedence over all other positions. This hierarchical notion is applied to other semantic domains as exemplified below.

60. \(s-ki?=ew\)  
   NOM-precede=VESSEL  
   'leader, head, director, authority, leading example of a class'  
   (Thompson: 1996:92 Thompson & Thompson)

61. \(s-ki?=ew\)-c  
   e  
   n-plit  
   NOM-precede (?)=VESSEL-3SG COMP LOC-priest  
   'bishop'  
   (Thompson: 1996:92 Thompson & Thompson)

62. \(s-ki?=ew\)-c  
   e  
   s-tuyt=ûyìnx  
   NOM-precede (?)=VESSEL-3SG COMP NOM-wced=GROUND  
   'head, typical plant of a class of plants'  
   Thompson: 1996:92 (Thompson & Thompson)

8 Classification with numerals.

The occurrence of the suffix \(*wil\) with numerals is very important to this analysis. It is here that the suffix indicates with a high degree of specificity the diagnostic feature characteristics of its core. The stem to which the suffix attaches is a numeral and the whole expression denotes a quantity of either bottles, canoes, cars or wagons. Since the meaning of the root is known, we can assume the suffix, in denoting such vast array of entities, directly reflects its core feature.

Combined with the numerals 'one' to 'five', in the examples below, (63), (65). and (67) the suffix denotes entities generally categorized as having a hollow interior, thus reflecting the feature 'concavity'. Examples (63), (64), and (66) show that the functional feature of the suffix (telic qualia) is part and parcel of the core at this point in time.
63. pál?ul=wil
   one=CON=VESSEL
   'one bottle, canoe, car'
   (Lillooet: van Eijk 1997:97)

64. ?esl=ewl
   two=VESSEL
   'two vehicles'
   (Spokane: Carlson 1989:5)

65. lix*=alg*it
   three=VESSEL
   'three canoes'
   (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:147)

66. mús=g*ul
   four=VESSEL
   'four wagons'
   (Coeur D'Alene: Barthemaier 1996:72)

67. lqécs=x*l
   five=VESSEL
   'five canoes'
   (Sooke: Efrat 1969:141)

9 Conclusions

The lexical suffix *wil is used to denote natural kinds of human artifacts. Understanding the structural concept behind the different denotata requires a full and accurate description of the typical feature that distinguishes the kind. I have proposed the feature 'concavity' as the core meaning of the suffix *wil. A hollow interior space and the capacity for containment seems to best describe this structural feature. The feature accurately conceptualizes the internal logic that binds all attested extensions of the suffix, e.g. bottle, dish, bailer, pail, barrel, box, coffin, canoe, esophagus, belly, ribcage, torso, and vagina.

Justification for the functional extension of one entity denoted by the suffix, i.e. canoe, has to be mentioned. The extension of the suffix *wil that denotes modern vehicles of transportation has its genesis in the function the canoe played within the culture. Today, functional derivations of *wil denote motorized vehicles used in transportation rather

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17 Indians carried their possessions in canoes from one camp to another. "Travel necessarily varied with the seasons, except on the coast of British Columbia where the climate remained mild throughout the year" (Jenness 2000:101). "Canoes greatly lightened the burden of summer transportation in all regions except the prairies and certain parts of the Arctic and sub-Arctic" (Jenness 2000:105).
than the structure of a canoe's physical features, e.g. car, plane, train, wagon.

In conclusion, meaning extensions of the lexical suffix *wil reflect the basic shape feature inherent to the suffix, i.e. 'concavity'.

(1) Objects perceived as being characteristically concave are denoted by the suffix *wil.
(2) In the context of particular events or class of events the saliency of the shape feature can diminish, as the specific function of a given object becomes prominent. Functional prominence triggers a restructuring of the core meaning.
(3) Cultural or idiosyncratic uses of the suffix are also possible. For example, the use of the suffix *wil in Thompson seems to indicate a culture-specific development.

References


