

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 paper³—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 Synchronically, features pertaining to use or function imposed by cultural change may, in some instances, have superseded the core shape feature.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 l by Kuipers. (Kinkade 1998:282).

² A major criterion to distinguish inflectional from derivational morphology is obligatoriness. An inflectional category is obligatory marked on the stem category to which it applies. (Bybee 1985:27).

³ Gerdts 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*⁵. 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.

	CONTAINER	WATER CRAFT	LAND CRAFT	AIR CRAFT	BODY PART	AFFECT	LOCATION
CENTRAL (COAST) SALISH							
Squamish	•	•			•		
Musqueam	•	•		•	•	•	•
Saanich	•	•			•	•	•
Klallam	•	•			•		
Lummi					•		
Lushootseed	•	•			•		•
TSAMOSAN							
Upper Chehalis		•					
NORTHERN INTERIOR SALISH							
Lillooet	•	•	•	•	•		
Thompson		•	•				
Shuswap	•	•	•				
SOUTHERN INTERIOR SALISH							
Coeur d’Alene	•	•	•		•		
Columbian	•	•	•		•		
Kalispel		•			•		
Spokane			•				
Okanagan	•	•					

Table 1: **wil* Extensions Distribution: Coast, Interior, and Tsamosan

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-láw=qs
NOM-unglossed=NOSE
'point of land'
(*Upper Chehalis: Kinkade 1991:65*)
2. kʷí=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. šxʷ-šəł=wíl-tən
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 =as⁶. 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. šəł=əs-tən
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

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.⁷ 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 Pustejovsky (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.⁸ 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.

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 VESSEL⁹ 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.

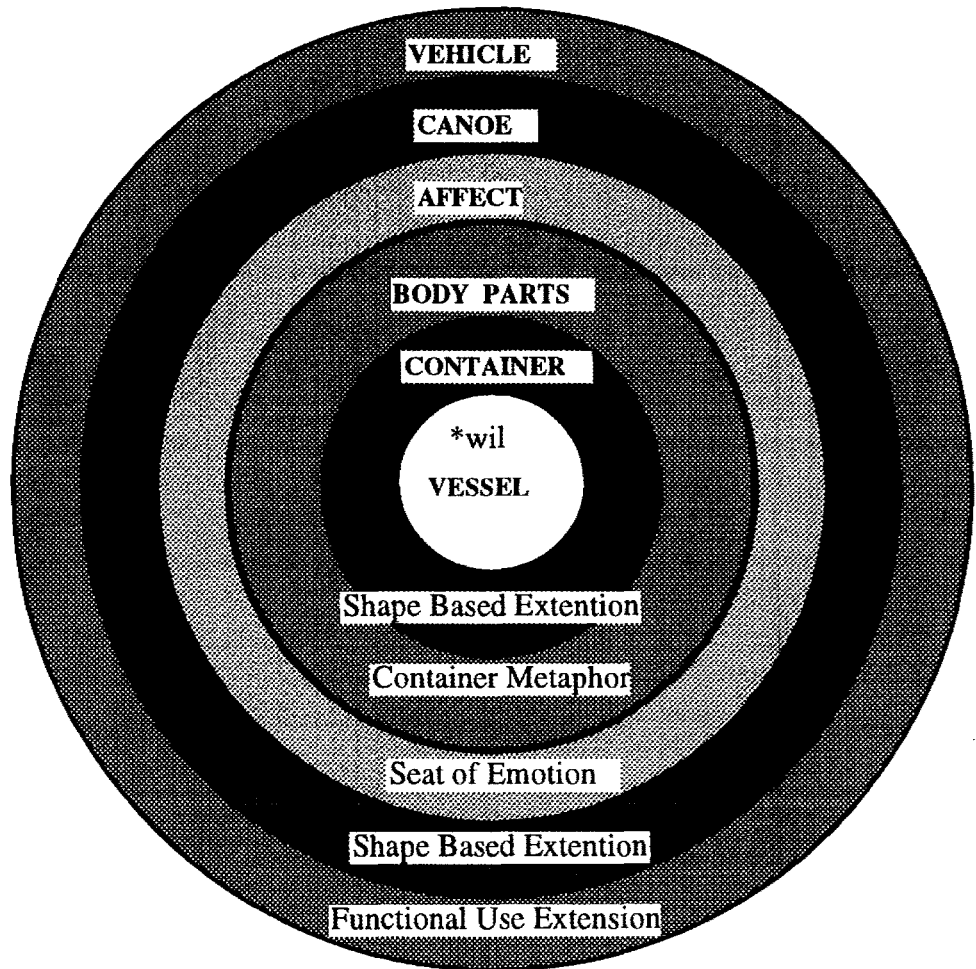


Figure 1: Radial Category for the Suffix **wil*

■ 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'.

⁹ 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. ǰəp=iʔə= wíl
cedar=(?)-VESSEL
'large wooden platter'
(*Squamish: Kuipers 1967:122, 366*)
6. ǰəǰ=wíl -t
wash=VESSEL-TR
'wash them (dishes)
(*Musqueam: Suttles p.c.*)
7. dxʷ-čib= wíl-d
LOC-lick=VESSEL-TR
'lick the pan'
(*Lushootseed: Hess 1976:174*)
8. čəkʷ= kʷíləʔ 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. q^wul=úl=wíł
filled up=CON=VESSEL
'full jar/bucket'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
10. sək^wsək^w=úl=wíł
shatter (redup.)=CON=VESSEL
'shatter a vase into many pieces'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
11. c-ǫmǰ-éwł
RSLT-spherical shape=VESSEL
'barrel'
(Shuswap: Kuipers: 1989:207)
12. c-wywəy=éwł
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* VESSSEL, i.e. *container*, denotes *abdomen*. The conceptualization of abdomen as a container is consistent with the basic shape schema of the suffix.

13. $ciq=wi\dot{t}-n$
 get stabbed=**VESSEL-TR**
 'stab someone in the belly'
 (*Squamish: Kuipers: 1967:122*)
14. $k^w u-t-\dot{q}^w=g^w ul$
 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. $?u-\dot{x}\dot{\lambda}=\acute{u}l=g^w i\dot{t}$
 PRFX-break (?)=CON=**VESSEL**
 'He broke his ribs (ribcage)'
 (*Lushootseed: Hess: 1976:174*)
16. $tk^w=\acute{a}l=k^w \acute{o}t$
 break=CON=**VESSEL**
 'He broke his rib (ribcage)'
 (*Saanich: Montler 1986:163*)
17. $\dot{\lambda}qt=uy=k^w t$
 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'.

18. $\check{x}(\text{ə})\text{ł}=\acute{u}\text{ł}=\text{g}^*\text{w}\text{ł}$
 sick=CON=VESSEL
 'side ache'
 (*Lushootseed: Carlson and Hess 1978:21*)

19. $\text{s-ne}^?\acute{ə}\text{ł}=\text{w}\text{ł}$ ¹³
 LOC-be there=CON=VESSEL
 'other side (of house or log)'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles p.c.*)

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. $^?\text{u-}^?\acute{a}\acute{q}=\text{g}^*\text{w}\text{ł}$
 PRFX-unplug, open=VESSEL
 'He choked (by getting something caught in his throat).'
 (*Lushootseed: Hess: 1976:173*)

21. $^?\acute{ı}\text{q}=\text{a}\text{w}\text{ł}$
 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. $\text{s}\acute{x}\acute{e}=\acute{w}\text{ł}$
 hold in lap=VESSEL
 'vagina'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles p.c.*)

23. $\text{s}\acute{e}=\text{w}\text{ł}$
 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 *wil VESSEL plus the suffix =iq" HEAD with example (25), which denotes 'penis' and has only the suffix =iq" HEAD.

24. $sx^y\epsilon=w\acute{o}l=iq^w$
 hold in lap=VESSEL=HEAD
 'clitoris'
 (Halkomelem: Galloway:p.c.)

25. $s-x^y\acute{\lambda}=iq^w$
 NOM-erect=HEAD
 'head of the penis'
 (Halkomelem: Galloway:p.c.)

The suffix *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 =idəg"əs 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) $s-ʔil=idəg"əs$
 NOM-lean against=INSIDE UPPER BODY
 'chest'
 (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:17)

(ii) $hig^w\Rightarrow l=idəg"əs$
 big, large=CON=INSIDE UPPER BODY
 'brave'
 (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:110)

(iii) $qəlqəl=á\acute{l}=idəg"əs$
 bad (redup.)=CON=INSIDE UPPER BODY
 'coward'
 (Lushootseed: Bates et al. 1994:302)

26. x^w-ʔə́y̌=wə́ł
 LOC-good=VESSEL
 'generous'
 (*Saanich: Montler: 1991:47*)
27. x^w-qə́ł=wə́ł
 LOC-bad=VESSEL
 'stingy'
 (*Saanich: Montler: 1991:47*)
28. ʃ^w-qə́ł=wə́ł
 LOC-bad=VESSEL
 'mean, tough person'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.*)
29. ʃ^w-qə́ʃ=wə́ł
 LOC-many=VESSEL
 'tricky'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.*)

In example 31 the suffix attaches to the root *mélq* 'forget'. This is a resultative form, and the initial ʃx^w is s- resultative plus x^w- 'inner'.¹⁶

30. ʃ-x^w-mémə́łq=wə́ł
 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 **wil*, 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 faculty. (Nuland 2001:62).

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 **mélq*=wə́ł 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 *sdəxʷit* 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 *snəxʷət*. However, to distinguish it from the other canoe style, it was also called *syíxaʔət* '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 *snəxʷit* in Squamish and *sləxʷət* in Upriver Halkomelem. The Musqueam however called this type of canoe *sqʷxʷáməxaʔit* '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=əgiʔ
left side=VESSEL
'left side of a canoe'
(Comox: Harris 1977:120)

32. qəq= wíl
 younger sibling=VESSEL
 'brand new canoe'
 (*Squamish: Kuipers 1967:122*)
33. həq= éwət
 shove=VESSEL
 'shove a canoe out'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.*)
34. θéy= wət
 build=VESSEL
 'build a canoe'
 (*Saanich: Montler 1991: 60*)
35. θé?-i= wət
 build=VESSEL
 'build a canoe'
 (*Klallam: Thompson & Thompson 1985:66*)
36. qíq=əg*it
 baby=VESSEL
 'new canoe'
 (*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 *wíl , as seen in the Musqueam example below.

37. sək*əm=əy= áwət
 whole bark=TREE=VESSEL
 'birch bark canoe'
 (*Halkomelem: Suttles in prep.*)

5.2 Canoe: Interior Salish

The Interior Salish people, Kalispel, Lillooet, 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 Lillooet also had bark canoes made out cedar, spruce, birch, and pine. (Ray: 1942:155).

38. n-xəl=wíl-tn
 LOC-make (?)=VESSEL-INSTR
 'Early Winters Creek (Lit. make cedar canoes)'
 (*Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2250*)

39. kʷúl= wɪ- m
 turn into=**VESSEL**-MID
 'make build a canoe'
 (*Okanagan: Mattina 1987:66*)
40. paχ=úl = wɪɫ
 scrape=**CON**=**VESSEL**
 'to plane a canoe'
 (*Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000*)
41. cw=éwɫ
 make=**VESSEL**
 'make a canoe'
 (*Thompson: Thompson & Thompson 1996:44*)
42. cw=éwɫ
 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. šl= éwɫ - n
 chop tree=**VESSEL**-TR
 'I chopped down a tree to make a boat.'
 (*Spokane: Carlson 1989:89*)
45. n- xəl= wɪɫ- m
 LOC-make=**VESSEL**-INTR
 'he made a canoe'
 (*Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2259*)
46. hɪn- tʉkʷ= gʷil- 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. nəqs=wíl
 one=VESSEL
 'a single bowl, a load
 (Columbia: Kinkade n.d. #2266)

The utterance *nəqs=wíl* can be understood as *load* or as *bowl*. The shape feature is explicit in the meaning *bowl* and implicit in the meaning *load*—canoes were one mode of transporting loads.

6 Other Conveyances: Functional extensions

The suffix **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 **wil* denotes *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 **wil* as one in which function predominates over shape—a profiling of the telic quale of the suffix.

6.1 Vehicles: Interior Salish

48. n-čx*=iwl
 LOC-liquid pours=VESSEL-MID
 'fill a car (with gasoline)'
 (Okanagan: Mattina 1987:20)
49. təq*-p=éwł
 dented-INCHOATIVE=VESSEL
 'car gets dented'
 (Thompson: Thompson & Thompson 1996:351)
50. łəq*=wíl-n
 park (?)=VESSEL-TR
 'park a car'
 (Columbia: (Kinkade #2264)
51. ʔəq=úl= wíł
 get flattened=VESSEL
 'dented car
 (Lillooet : M. Pierre p.c. 2000)

52. čaw=úl= wił
wash=CON=VESSEL
'wash a car'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
53. ce cpnih=úl=wił
Japanese=CON=VESSEL
'Japanese car'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
54. t(ə)x*=úl=wił
to buy=CON=VESSEL
'to buy a car'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)
55. x*lałp=úl= wił
dead person=CON=VESSEL
'hearse'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

6.2 Aircraft: Coast and Interior Salish

56. lałək*=əwəl
be flying=VESSEL
'airplane'
(Halkomelem: Suttles notes n.d.)
57. saq*=áwł
fly=VESSEL
'airplane'
(Lillooet : M. Pierre p.c. 2000)

6.3 Workhorses, Wagons and Trains: Interior Salish

58. x-ʔəlkst-m=ełł
LOC-work-INTR=VESSEL
'work horse'
(Shuswap: Kuipers 1989:229)
59. sqawc=úl= wił
potato=CON=VESSEL
'potato wagon on a train'
(Lillooet : V. Bikadi p.c. 2000)

63. pálʔ=ul=wíł
 one=CON=VESSEL
 'one bottle, canoe, car'
 (*Lillooet: van Eijk 1997:97*)
64. ʔesl=éwł
 two=VESSEL
 'two vehicles'
 (*Spokane: Carlson 1989:5*)
65. łixʷ=algʷíł
 three=VESSEL
 'three canoes'
 (*Lushootseed: Bates et al 1994:147*)
66. múš =gʷul
 four=VESSEL
 'four wagons'
 (*Coeur D'Alene: Bartheimaier 1996:72*)
67. łqéčs⇒ xʷł
 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.¹⁷ Today, functional derivations of **wil* denote motorized vehicles used in transportation rather

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.

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