

The Lexical Suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ* and the Culture of Interior Salish People
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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, **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ*, are material suffixes of polysemous nature. I will argue that the root *číʔ* DEER is the conceptual source for the lexical suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ*, 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)¹. 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 *číʔ* and the lexical suffixes for HIDE and GAME

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

LANGUAGE	FORM	MEANING	SOURCE
CENTRAL			
Musqueam	číʔ	“booty”	Suttles (p.c.)
Cowichan	číʔ	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
Chilliwak	či	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
Squamish	s-či	“loot from raid”	Kuipers 1996:203
TSAMOSAN			
Upper Chehalis	íal=číʔ	“dress meat”	Kinkade 1991:144
NORTHERN INTERIOR			
Lillooet	číʔ	“deer, meat”	van Eijk 1987:94
Thompson	s-mečíʔ	“share of meat in a cooperative hunt”	Thompson 1996:193
Shuswap	číʔ	“deer, meat”	Kuipers 1996
SOUTHERN INTERIOR			
Okanagan	s-čʔ=ikst	“hind quarter, limb”	Mattina 1987:21
Spokane	čʔ=úliix*	whitetailed deer	Carlson 1989:13
Kalispel	čuʔ=úliix*	“deer”	Vogt 1940:141
Coeur d’Alene	číʔ	“deer”	Kuipers 1996:203

Table I

The root *číʔ* glossed as “booty” (Suttles p.c.), and as “loot from raid” or “game bagged” (Kuipers 1996) is the lexical source of the suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ*. 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 Tsamosan and Interior branches of the family.

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

1.3 *číʔ* “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 *číʔ*, “deer”. The Thompson *s-mečíʔ*, “share of meat in a cooperative hunt” (Thompson 1996:193), contains the morpheme *číʔ* functioning as the second member of a compound. The Bella Coola *ʔíčama-*, “blanket made out of hides” (Davis 1980:160), contains the morpheme *ʔíča-* functioning as a root, presumably followed by an *-m* suffix. The transition of the free root **číʔ* to the lexical suffix **íčáʔ* is probably due to compounding as the Thompson and Bella Coola examples mentioned seem to suggest. Please note that **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ* are diachronically related suffixes. The lexical suffix **álčáʔ* contains a connective element of the shape *-al-* that is no longer transparent or segmentable. (See, Kinkade 1996)

1.4 The chain of meanings of the lexical suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ*

The corpus of 700 examples upon which this paper is based shows a broader range of semantic extensions for the suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ* in Interior Salish. For this reason, the focus of this paper is on Interior Salish with only marginal references to Tsamosan, Central Coast and Bella Coola.² The meanings that obtain for these suffixes in Interior Salish issue from hunting events. Different aspects of the core meanings of the suffixes **álčáʔ* and **íčáʔ* become salient in the context of hunting events and originate new meanings.

The suffix **álčáʔ* occurs with the meaning GAME ANIMAL in Tsamosan 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., *šəb = álčíʔ* “dried meat” (Hess: 1976:10). This analysis considers the meaning GAME ANIMAL to be the core concept underlying **álčáʔ* and the primary source of all semantic extensions of the suffix.

Meaning extensions for the suffix **álčáʔ* in Interior Salish
GAME ANIMAL > MEAT > CARCASS > INNARDS > INSIDE > AFFECT

The semantic path of the suffix **álčáʔ* 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.

- (1) *kéy = łčíʔ* “to track an animal”
follow = GAME ANIMAL
Thompson Thompson: 1996-87
- (2) *s-peʔc = éłčíʔ* “dressed bear meat”
NOM - bear = game > MEAT
Thompson Thompson: 1996-229
- (3) *n-łoqʔ = éłčíʔ* “remove insides, disembowel”
LOC - pull out = INNARDS
Thompson Thompson: 1996-157
- (4) *puxʔ = łčíʔ - tn* “wind instrument”
blow = INSIDE = INSTR
Thompson Thompson: 1996-237
- (5) *n-ks = éłčíʔ - min - s* “dislike s.t., but keep silent about it”
LOC - bad = AFFECT- INTR - 3Poss
Thompson Thompson: 1996-112

The semantic extensions that obtain for Northern Interior within this corpus, also obtain for Southern Interior³.

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

³ The extensions GAME ANIMAL, MEAT and AFFECT are attested for Tsamosan within this corpus.

Figure 1 below graphically displays the semantic of the suffix **at'ca?* in Interior Salish.

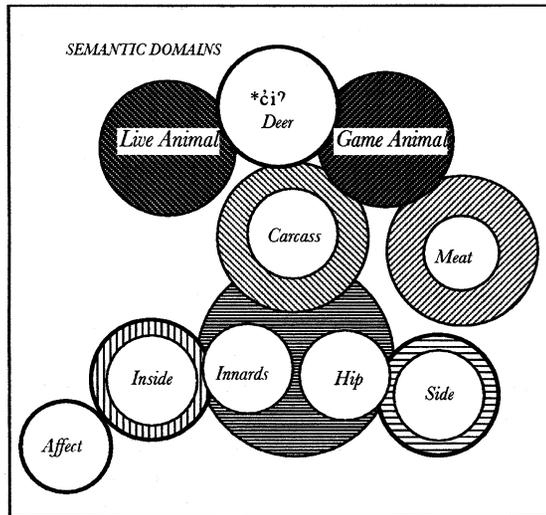


Figure 1

The suffix **i'ca?* 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 **i'ca?* in Interior Salish.
HIDE > FEATHERS > SCALES > OUTER SURFACE > BARK > RIND > AROUND
 Secondary meaning extensions for the suffix **i'ca?* in Interior Salish.
HIDE > WRAPPER > BALE

Besides the progressions outlined above the meanings CLOTHING and BLANKET obtain for the suffix **i'ca?* 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 which these items were once made.

The examples below illustrate the primary semantic progression of the suffix **i'ca?*. 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 “buffalo”, as in examples #6 or #7, the suffix references a “hide”.

- (6) q'isp = i'ce? “buffalo hide”
 buffalo = HIDE Thompson Thompson: 1996-296
- (7) q'asp = i'ca? “buffalo-hide, cowhide”
 buffalo - ASP = HIDE Columbian Kinkade: #1437

The suffix denotes feathers in Northern Interior languages and the scales of snakes and fish in Southern Interior languages.

- (8) kas = al = i'c? - an “to burn of down (of a bird)”
 heat up = CON = FEATHER - TR van Eijk: 1987:187
- (9) s - n - ix = i'ca? “scale of fish”
 NOM-LOC - un glossed = 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”.

- (10) pitu? = al = i'ca? “thick bark”
 thick = CON = BARK Thompson Thompson: 1996-338
- (11) t - qyqafy? = ca? “cantaloupe, watermelon”
 PRFX - marked = RIND Okanagan Mattina: 1987:157

The examples below illustrate the meaning WRAPPER for the suffix **i'ca?*. 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 - k'ix? = ca? - nt “unwrap something”
 PRFX - untie = WRAPPER Okanagan Mattina: 1987:199
- (13) k - pulk? = i'ca? axtux'ta “roll me a cigarette”
 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 **i'ca?* in Interior Salish.

Figure 2 below graphically displays the semantic of the suffix **i'ca?* in Interior Salish.

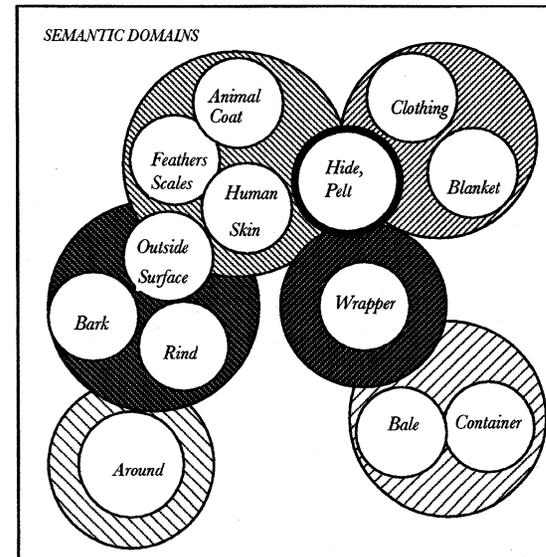


Figure 2

This paper presents examples of the different meanings that obtain for the suffixes **atčáʔ* and **ičáʔ* in Interior Salish. Section 2.0 addresses the semantics of the suffix **atčáʔ* GAME ANIMAL. Section 3.0 addresses the semantics of the suffix **ičáʔ* HIDE. Section 4.0 summarizes and compares the semantic progressions of **atčáʔ* and **ičáʔ* arguing that the proliferation of meanings that obtains for these suffixes in Interior Salish is a direct consequence of the prevalence of hunting as way life.

2.0 The different senses of the suffix **atčáʔ*

The semantic extensions of the suffix **atčáʔ* develop around hunting events. The meaning GAME ANIMAL for the suffix is semantically related to the source *číʔ* 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 **atčáʔ* 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) | tíw = ɪčáʔ
buy = GAME ANIMAL | “doe”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-196 |
| (15) | táwn = ɪčáʔa
little (?) = GAME ANIMAL | “doe”
Columbian | Kinkade: #378 |
| (16) | s - meʔm = éičeʔ
NOM - woman = GAME ANIMAL | “female deer”
Spokane | Carlson: 1989-4 |
| (17) | s - kom = éize
NOM - un glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “female deer in Spring”
Kalispel | Giorda 1879-88 |

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

- | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (18) | s - pépq = ɪče
NOM - white = GAME ANIMAL | “ermine”
Shuswap | Kuipers: 1974-142 |
| (19) | pápq = əɪčeʔ
white = GAME ANIMAL | “ermine, weasel”
Kalispel | Vogt: 1940-53 |
| (20) | s - cécqʷ = ɪče
NOM - red = GAME ANIMAL | “weasel”
Shuswap | Kuipers 1983-71 |
| (21) | s - pápq = ɪčáʔa
NOM - white = GAME ANIMAL | “weasel (white phase)”
Columbian | Kinkade: #391 |

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

- | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| (22) | s - ník = ɪčáʔ
NOM - not glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “elk”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-179 |
| (23) | s - néč = ɪčeʔ
NOM - un glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “elk”
Kalispel | Vogt 1940-53 |

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

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (24) | s - ty = ɪčáʔ
NOM - un glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “caribou”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-186 |
|------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| (25) | s - tiy = éičeʔ
NOM - un glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “caribou”
Kalispel | Vogt: 1940-53 |
|------|---|-----------------------|---------------|

GOAT AND SHEEP: The following utterances denote wild species of sheep and goat in Okanagan.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|-------------------|
| (26) | s - pqpáq = ɪčáʔ
NOM - white = GAME ANIMAL | “female/young mountain sheep”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-136 |
| (27) | s - crñ = ɪčáʔ
NOM - small = GAME ANIMAL | “female mountain goat”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-6 |

BIRDS AND FISH: The utterances that follow denote fowl and fish. Birds known to be hunted by the Shuswap and the Lillooet include swans, geese, ducks and grouse. (Alexander 1992:142). These animals were probably also hunted by Southern Interior people.

- | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------|-------------------|
| (28) | qáɪq = əɪčeʔ
grouse = GAME ANIMAL | “grouse”
Kalispel | Vogt: 1940-53 |
| (29) | qáɪqɪ = ɪčeʔ
un glossed = GAME ANIMAL | “grouse”
Spokane | Carlson: 1989-196 |

MULE: The Southern Interior utterances below denote farm animals introduced in post-contact times.

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (30) | s - ɪúɪ = ɪčáʔ
NOM - tear open = GAME ANIMAL | “mule”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-186 |
| (31) | ɪÉɪtÉɪq = aɪtsʰä - uɪ
kick = GAME ANIMAL - HABITUAL | “kicker”
Coeur d’Alene | Reichard 1938-615 |

Examples #32-#35 below contain predicates glossed as “look”, “follow”, “go”, and “see”. The utterances depict the tracking, chasing and sighting of game animals.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|--------------------|
| (32) | ǰʷań = xn = áɪčáʔ
look = FOOT = GAME ANIMAL | “to track an animal”
Lillooet | van Eijk: 1987-187 |
| (33) | ǰéy = ɪčíʔ
follow = GAME ANIMAL | “to track an animal”
Thompson | Thompson: 1996-87 |
| (34) | n - ʔuc = ʃn = éičeʔ
LOC - follow = FOOT = GAME ANIMAL | “Follow the tracks of game animals.”
Spokane | Carlson: 1989-7 |

Once an animal is caught it must be bled, skinned, quartered and gutted before it is fit to eat. When the utterances depict butchering events, the suffix **atčáʔ* GAME ANIMAL references the butchered animal.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|--------------------|
| (35) | n - sq = áɪčʰ - am
LOC - quarter = GAME ANIMAL - MID | “split a deer in half after skinning it”
Lillooet | van Eijk: 1987-104 |
| (36) | sem - p = éičeʔ
(smell ?)- ASP = GAME ANIMAL | “to hang up deer to drain it of blood”
Shuswap (E) | Kuipers: 1983-61 |
| (37) | n - til = áɪčáʔ
LOC - tear open = GAME ANIMAL | “clean fish”
Columbian | Kinkade: #405 |
| (38) | ɪɪl = ɪčáʔ
tear apart = GAME ANIMAL | “carve fish”
Okanagan | Mattina: 1987-216 |

2.1.1 **atčáʔ* used as classifier for game animals

The following Southern Interior examples display the suffix **atčáʔ* functioning as a classifier for animals.⁴

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|---------------|
| (39) | česəɪ = éičeʔ ɪuʰməné
two = ANIMAL CLASSIFIER | “He got two mountain sheep”
Kalispel | Vogt: 1940-53 |
|------|--|---|---------------|

⁴ The suffix is also used as a classifier for game animals in Upper Chehalis.

- (40) čsl = éiče? "two animals"
two = ANIMAL CLASSIFIER Spokane Carlson: 1989-135
- (41) ʔopn = čst = éiče? "ten animals"
ten = HAND = ANIMAL CLASSIFIER Spokane Carlson: 1989-135

2.2 *atča? denoting "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 = eiče "bear meat"
bear = MEAT Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-30
- (43) če? = éiče "deer meat"
deer = MEAT Shuswap Kuipers: 1993-22
- (44) ʔecqʷ = éiči? "rabbit/grouse cut thin and cooked"
baked = MEAT Thompson Thompson: 1996-3
- (45) s- ʃʷiʃ = eč = éiči? "mountain goat meat"
NOM - goat = (not glossed) = MEAT Thompson Thompson: 1996-437

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

- (46) s - iməlt- xʷ = áiče "beef"
NOM - cattle -SUF = MEAT Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-183
- (47) s - ʃʷáqʷ = íče? "hamburger, ground meat"
NOM - grind = MEAT Spokane Carlson: 1989-119
- (49) kʷuʃuħ = áiča? "pork meat"
pig = MEAT Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-178

Meat obtained from game animals was preserved by different drying processes. There are five traditional ways of drying meat: by the sun's rays, by wind in the shade, by smoke in the lodges, by heat from a fire; and, by hot air in sweat-houses or houses constructed like sweat-houses (Alexander 1992:124). Examples #50-#56 contain the suffix *atča? referencing types of dried meat throughout Interior Salish.

- (50) púm = íče? "smoked meat or fish"
smoked = MEAT Shuswap (E) Kuipers: 1983-47
- (51) kéx = íči? "dry meat on a rack"
dry = MEAT Thompson Thompson: 1996-102
- (52) cq? = íča? "dry meat over a fire"
lay to dry over fire = MEAT Okanagan Mattina: 1987-8
- (53) čq = ý = éiče? "dried meat"
prickly = CON = MEAT Spokane Carlson: 1989-14
- (54) s - kas = éize "dried, smoked meat"
NOM - dry (?) = MEAT Kalispel Giorda: 1879-239
- (55) s - haw = áiča? "dried meat, jerked meat"
NOM - dry (?) = MEAT Columbian Kinkade: #379
- (56) mót = íts'áʔä-n-ts "he smoked meat"
smoked = MEAT - TR- 3Sg Coeur d'Alene Reichard: 1938-615

In examples #57-#59 below *atča? functions as an adjunct to predicates depicting an attribute of the meat.

- (57) ʔəmh = áiča? "good meat"
good = MEAT Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-304

- (59) ʃäs = íts'áʔä "delicious meat"
good = MEAT Coeur d'Alene Reichard: 1938-615

The meanings GAME ANIMAL and MEAT expressed by the suffix *atča? 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 killing⁵. 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.⁶

- (60) s- ʃəʔ = íče? = ékst "offering to a shaman after the hunt"
NOM - [sacred] = MEAT = HAND Shuswap (E) Kuipers: 1983-73
- (61) n - čoʔ = éiče? - n- cút-n "a prayer for the innards (lit.)"
LOC - pray = INNARDS -SUF -SUF -SUF Spokane Carlson: 1989-19

The cultural and subsistence value that hunting has for Interior Salish people is evidenced in examples #14-#61. Semantic extensions of the suffix that evolve around the butchering of game animals are the substance of the next section.

2.3 *atča? denoting "carcass"

The meaning CARCASS arises from butchering events and constitutes a secondary source of extensions for the suffix *atča?. Traditional hunters skinned, gutted and quartered game animals near the killing sites. The animal's innards 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.

- (62) s - qʷəht = éiči? "open up and pack a whole carcass"
NOM - pack = CARCASS Thompson Thompson: 1996-306
- (63) mlkʷ = íča? "whole carcass"
whole = CARCASS Okanagan Mattina: 1987-99

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

2.3.1 *atča? 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 *atča? and the lexical suffix for TAIL or END. This lexical suffix combination references the side end of a person, i.e., the hip area. The combination is glossed as "hip" in Columbian, and as "side" in Coeur d'Alene.

- (64) k - təqtəq = íča? = áp - m "hands on hip"
PRFX - touch = HIP = END -MID Columbian Kinkade: (Notes no date)
- (65) t - qaʔqaʔa = íts'áʔ = íp- mEn - ts "he put one on each side of his belt"
PRFX - stuck = SIDE = END-INSTR-3Sg Coeur d'Alene Reichard: 1938-624

The Thompson utterances # 66 and #67 denote the side of a body. In these examples the suffix *atča? occurs by itself without the addition of the suffix for TAIL.

⁵ Albert Nelson personal communication. (Mount Currie 1995)

⁶ Carlson 1989:19

- (66) s - čəkʷ? = ɪčɪ?
NOM - left = **SIDE** “left side (of person)”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-56
- (67) iʔh = ɪčɪ?
right = **SIDE** “right side (of person)”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-40

The meaning “side” in examples #68-#69 is still associated with human anatomy but references a natural landmark.

- (68) z - ntelɪ = ɛlze
PRFX - un glossed = **SIDE** “this side of the valley”
Kalispel Giorda: 1879-344
- (69) ch-ntelɪ = ɛlze
PRFX - un glossed = **SIDE** “the other side of the valley”
Kalispel Giorda: 1879-345

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.

- (70) t - kʷən = ɪčɪ? = wiɪ - n
PRFX - grab = **SIDE** = **VESSEL** - 1Sg “I caught the side of the canoe”
Columbian Kinkade: (Notes: No date)

The evisceration, quartering and dismemberment of game animals exposes to view the internal anatomy of the carcass and the bilateral symmetry of the body. The extension **SIDE** from **HIP** for the suffix originates within butchering contexts and extends to other domains. The following section addresses an extension of the suffix **atčaʔ* denoting the entrails contained within the carcass.

2.3.2 **atčaʔ* denoting “innards”

In examples #71-#72 the lexical suffix **atčaʔ* 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.

- (71) n - ɪoqʷ = ɛɪčɪ?
LOC - pull out = **INNARDS** “remove insides, disembowel”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-157
- (72) s - n - tɪkʷ = ɪčɪ? - s
NOM - LOC - pull up = **INNARDS** - 3Sg “He got done taking out the guts.”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-199

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

- (73) n - čxʷ = aɪčɪ? - a
LOC - clean = **INNARDS** - **SUF** “give s.o. a laxative”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-92
- (74) n - ciŋʷ = aɪčɪ?
LOC - bleed = **INNARDS** “internal bleeding”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-29
- (75) ɪeʔʂ = ɛɪčɪ? - y
sweet = **INNARDS** - **SUF** “diabetes”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-99
- (76) n - pəh - p = aɪčɪ?
LOC - (burn (?)) - **ASP** = **INNARDS** “burning from the throat down”
Columbian Kinkade: #392

In utterances #77-#78 the suffix denotes the inside area of a body and all the organs it contains.

- (77) n - kəm kəm = ɛɪčɪ?
LOC - area = carcass > **INNARDS** “insides (of person)”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-105
- (78) x - kəm = ɛɪčɪ?
LOC - area = carcass > **INNARDS** “inside of body”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-214

2.3.4 **atčaʔ* denoting “inside”

In the following examples the suffix **atčaʔ* 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 **atčaʔ* 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.

- (79) n - zuʔqʷ = aɪčɪ?
LOC - decay = **INSIDE** “inside of tree is rotten”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-296
- (80) naq = ɛɪčɪ?
hole through = **INSIDE** “rotten inside (of wood)”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-423

Utterances #81 and #82 below refer to the domain of trees and denote a hollowed inside surface.

- (81) x - ck = ɛɪčɪ - n - s
LOC - carve = **INSIDE** - **TR** - 3Sg “to hollow out”
Shuswap (E) Kuipers: 1983-21
- (82) na - túm = ɪčɪ?
LOC - root = **INSIDE** “hollow tree or log”
Columbian Kinkade: #395

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

- (83) n - xl = ɪčɪ?
NOM - cut s.t. = **INSIDE** “dug-out canoe”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-126
- (84) n - qlt = ɪčɪ?
NOM - over the top = **INSIDE** “board a canoe”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-148

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

- (85) qaʔɪ = aɪčɪ?
sooted = **INSIDE** “soot in stove pipe”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-223
- (86) ʔəs n - ʃətq = aɪčɪ?
ASP LOC - hole through = **INSIDE** “be hollow inside; a pipe”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-423
- (87) na - ʃkʷ - p = aɪčɪ?
NOM - pierced - **ASP** = **INSIDE** “put a pole into a pipe”
Columbian Kinkade: #404
- (88) hɪn - mɔʔɔf = ɪtsʔäʔä
PRFX - smoked = **INSIDE** “it (chimney) is smoking”
Coeur d’Alene Reichard: 1938-566

Examples #89 through #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.

- (89) puxʷ = ɪčɪ? - tn
blow = **INSIDE** = **INSTR** “wind instrument”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-237
- (90) x - puxʷ = ɪčɪ - tn
LOC - blow = **INSIDE** = **INSTR** “flute, whistle, wind instrument”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-142
- (91) n - puxʷ = ɪčɪ?
LOC - blow = **INSIDE** “horn”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-80
- (92) n - puxʷ = ɪčɪ? - tn
LOC - blow = **INSIDE** = **INSTR** “trumpet”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-62
- (93) na - pəxʷ = ɪčɪ? - tn
LOC - blow = **INSIDE** = **INSTR** “bugle”
Columbian Kinkade (Notes no date)
- (94) hɪn - puxʷ = ɪtsʔäʔ - äñ
PRFX - blow = **INSIDE** - **SUF** “wind instrument”
Coeur d’Alene Reichard: 1938-596

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 - cqéq̄ = éłce - ten
LOC - hit = INSIDE = INSTR | “tongue of a bell”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-174 |
| (96) | n - p̄eʔx̄w = éłceʔ
LOC - shinning = INSIDE | “a house light”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-215 |

In examples #97-#100 the scale of the interior space denoted by the suffix increases⁷.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (97) | n - x̄ál - s = x̄áłcaʔ - tn
LOC - clear - 3Poss = INSIDE = INSTR | “an all window room.”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-80 |
| (98) | n - ik̄w = éłceʔ
LOC - set down = INSIDE | “It lies inside a house.”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-100 |
| (99) | n - paak = éłze
LOC - (bright) = INSIDE | “The room is well illuminated”
Kalispel Giorda: 1879-207 |
| (100) | naqs = áłcaʔ
another = INSIDE | “the other room, one room”
Columbian Kinkade: #386 |

Example #71 through #100 exemplify the semantic progressions 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 *alcaʔ* is the extension AFFECT. Its origin lies in the fact that strong emotions are physically felt in the viscera. 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) | ʔamh = alcaʔ
good = AFFECT | “good natured”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-304 |
| (102) | n - q̄l̄ = áłcaʔ
LOC - bad = AFFECT | “mean”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-212 |
| (103) | x - lexéx = łce
LOC - poor = AFFECT | “kind-hearted, generous”
Shuswap (E) Kuipers: 1983-15 |
| (104) | x - k̄əs = éłce
LOC - bad = AFFECT | “mean at heart”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974- 215 |

2.4 Summary of the semantic development of the suffix *alcaʔ

The extensions of the suffix **alcaʔ* 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 **ciʔ* DEER and bring to mind the context of the hunt. Locational meanings such as SIDE 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.

⁷ The suffix exhibits a pharyngeal increment in the Okanagan example #96.

⁸ It has been brought to my attention (Florence Simon, p.c.) that the suffix =éłce < **alcaʔ* in Secwepemctsin can mean “to have the feelings of a deer” in the context of a hunter’s training.

3.0 The different senses of the suffix *icaʔ

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

3.1 *icaʔ denoting “hide”

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

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (105) | nék̄w̄eh = íceʔ
tan = HIDE | “tanned hide with hair left on”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-213 |
| (106) | x - p̄m = qs = íc̄-m̄
LOC - smoke = NOSE = HIDE - MID | “to smoke a hide”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-144 |
| (107) | m̄ul = qs = íceʔ
wet = NOSE = HIDE -MID | “to soak a hide”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-149 |
| (108) | x̄f̄k̄w̄ = čaʔ
tan (scrape) = HIDE | “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 *icaʔ denoting “human skin”

The suffix **icaʔ* 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- pek̄w̄ - p = íceʔ
PREFIX - scatter - ASP = HUMAN SKIN | “to have the skin flaking off”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-84 |
| (110) | k - six - p = ícaʔ
PREFIX - aired out - ASP = HUMAN SKIN | “get the chills”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-189 |
| (111) | č - qu - p = íc̄ʔe - y
PREFIX - itch - ASP = HUMAN SKIN - SUF | “hives (skin)”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-71 |
| (112) | k - s̄əx - p = ícaʔ
PREFIX - root - ASP = HUMAN SKIN | “hair stands on end, get a fright”
Columbian Kinkade: #1479 |
| (113) | p̄ul - Em = āts̄’ā’á
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-(w)up = íce = tn
NOM - hair = HUMAN SKIN - INSTR | “hair on body”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-334 |
| (115) | k-m̄fn = čaʔ - nt
PREFIX - rub = HUMAN SKIN - TR | “rub somebody’s body”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-32 |
| (116) | s- k- waš - p = ícaʔ
NOM-PREFIX- 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 **icaʔ* references the totality of the area affected, i.e., the skin that covers the body all over.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (117) | q̄’éý = íceʔ
ache = HUMAN SKIN | “ache all over”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-291 |
|-------|--|--|

- (118) a - t - d jāx̄ = ts'āʔā
PRFX - PRFX - groove = HUMAN SKIN “it is scratched all over”
Coeur d'Alene Reichard 1938-622
Our skin is the most highly innervated organ of the body. Tactile impressions and sensations are first perceived through the skin. The meanings of the utterances below acknowledge the sensory function of the human skin.
- (119) t - ʔexʷeɪn = íc̥eʔ
PRFX - suspect = HUMAN SKIN “to sense, to suspect”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1993-160
- (120) t - qʷəp̄qʷəp̄əʔ = íc̥eʔ
PRFX - apprehensive = HUMAN SKIN “to get a spooky feeling”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-86

3.2. *íć̥aʔ 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) k̄ʷak̄ʷs = aɪ = íc̥eʔ-an
heat up = CON = LIVE COAT -TR “to burn off hair of an animal”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-187
- (122) k̄m̄ = íc̥eʔ = us
chew = LIVE COAT = FACE “[animal] chews on self eating his lice”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-111
- (123) k - sɪsaʔɪ = íc̥aʔ
PRFX - spotted = LIVE COAT “speckled gray, appaloosa”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-175
- (124) t - kʷaɪ = íc̥aʔ
PRFX - red = LIVE COAT “white horse with red coloring on it”
Columbian Kinkade: #1445
- (125) k - íáqʷ = c̣aʔ-s
PRFX - lick = LIVE COAT -3-Poss “it licked off (a new born animal)”
Columbian Kinkade: (Notes no date)

3.3 *íć̥aʔ denoting “feathers”

The following examples are extensions from the core concept HIDE. The suffix *íć̥aʔ 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) ne k̄ = íc̥eʔ -me
change = SCALES - mid “[of snake] change, shed skin”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-231
- (127) k̄ʷəʔk̄ = íc̥eʔ-me
scald = FEATHERS - MID “remove feathers by scalding”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-131
- (128) s - n - ləx = íc̥ʔa
heat up = CON = SCALES “scales of a fish”
Columbia Kinkade: #1440

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 *íć̥aʔ HIDE.

3.4 *íć̥aʔ 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 - xʔ = íc̥eʔ
NOM - over = OUTER SURFACE “outside surface”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-388

- (130) kɪc̣ = íc̥aʔ- tn
root = OUTER SURFACE - INSTR “siding”
Columbia Kinkade: #1460
- (131) č - p̄q̄ʷ = íc̥ʔe
PRFX - powdered = OUTER SURFACE “It is powdered on the outside.”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-66

The meaning *íć̥aʔ* OUTER SURFACE specializes and comes to denote RIND and BARK. The semantic extensions “rind” and “bark” relate to “hide” through the concept “outer surface”. The hide of an animal is the outer surface of its body. Extensions of the suffix *íć̥aʔ often abstract the shape and functional properties of a hide extending them to entirely different semantic domains. Within this corpus the extension RIND obtains in Southern Interior languages, the extension BARK obtains in Northern Interior languages.

3.4.1 *íć̥aʔ denoting “rind”

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

- (132) t - q̄yq̄áʔȳ = c̣aʔ
PRFX - marked = RIND “cantaloupe, watermelon”
Okanagan Mattina: 1987-157
- (133) č - qʷqʷáʔȳ = c̣eʔ
ASP - blue = RIND “watermelon”
Spokane Carlson: 1989-75
- (134) k - səʔʷ = íc̥aʔ- n
PRFX - un glossed = RIND - SUF “take off the peel of an onion”
Columbian Kinkade: #1477

3.4.2 *íć̥aʔ denoting “bark”

Examples #135-#137 come from Northern Interior Salish and the suffix *íć̥aʔ 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) s̄əɪ = íc̥eʔ
peel = BARK “bark removed in a sheet and rolled”
Thompson Thompson: 1996-338
- (136) p̄t̄uɪ = aɪ = íc̥aʔ
thick = CON = BARK “thick bark”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-32
- (137) t - sɪ - p = íc̥eʔ
PRFX - come apart- ASP = BARK “to peel off bark”
Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-185

3.4.3 *íć̥aʔ denoting “around”

The examples in this section describe the extension AROUND for the suffix *íć̥aʔ. 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 *íć̥aʔ where the suffix references the concept AROUND.

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

- (138) zənk = aɪ = íc̥aʔ- n tɪ - ʔanaɪm̄t̄na
circle = CON = AROUND- TR DET moon “The moon has a circle.”
Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-289

The circle around the moon depicted in Figure 3 envelops the celestial body just as the hide enfolds the body of an animal.

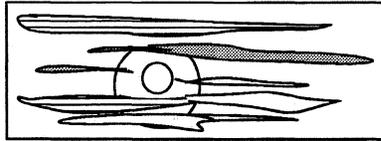


Figure 3

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

- (139) t - qłx̄ = íc̄eʔ = tn "log fence"
 PRFX - circle = AROUND - INSTR Shuswap Kuipers: 1974-237

The literal sense of utterance #139 above is "circle around something"; "log" and "fence" are not lexically expressed in the utterance. The fence then is defined by an encirclement AROUND some area that prevents escape or access.

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

- (140) t - kekew = íc̄eʔ "outer reaches, farthest you can go"
 PRFX - far = AROUND Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-77

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

3.5 *íç̄aʔ denoting "wrapper"

The salient properties denoted by the suffix *íç̄aʔ 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 "leaf" *plah serves as a unifying concept for classes of flat and flexible items. (Adams 1989:155). The point here is that properties of shape and function abstracted from a basic material used within the culture extend to novel semantic domains. In the area where Mon-Khmer languages are spoken, leaves are used for making clothes, weaving mats, and for wrapping. The Interior Salish people relied on the hunt for subsistence. Animal hides obtained in the hunt were put to many uses; one of these uses was wrapping.

Utterances #141-#144 below contain the predicates "roll up", "wrap around", "turn", and "wrap" and denote home-made cigarettes. The suffix *íç̄aʔ denotes the wrap that enfolds the tobacco leaves.

- (141) x*ík̄ = íc̄eʔ-me "to roll a cigarette"
 roll up = WRAPPER - MID Thompson Thompson: 1996-410
- (144) k - pulk̄ = íc̄aʔ ax̄tux̄ta "roll me a cigarette"
 PRFX - wrap around = WRAPPER Columbian Kinkade: #1432
- (143) k - ðl̄k̄ = íc̄aʔ "roll, wrap"
 PRFX - turn = WRAPPER Okanagan Mattina: 1987-144
- (144) č - ðl̄p̄l̄k̄ = íc̄eʔ "cigarettes."
 ASP - wrap = WRAPPER Spokane Carlson: 1989-67

3.5.1 *íç̄aʔ denoting "bale"

Undoubtedly animal hides are the original wrapping material in cultures that rely on hunting for subsistence. In its semantic development the suffix *íç̄aʔ goes from referencing the wrapping material as in #142-#144 above, to referencing the wrapped object itself as in #145-#149 below.

- (145) s - t - yéŋ̄* = c̄e "wrapped up, tied into a package"
 NOM - PRFX - wrap = BALE Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-72
- (146) c - k - l̄k̄ = íc̄aʔ "The hay is baled."
 ASP - PRFX - tie = BALE Okanagan Mattina: 1987-68
- (147) č - ðl̄k̄* = íc̄eʔe- n "I wrapped it."
 PRFX - wrap = BALE - TR Spokane Carlson: 1989-67
- (148) t - q̄iŋ̄ = íc̄aʔ- n "address a package to go"
 PRFX - write = BALE - TR Columbian Kinkade: #1448
- (149) l̄ätiʔ at̄č̄ap = íts̄'äʔä "that which was already wrapped"
 gloss unknown = BALE Coeur d'Alene Reichard 1938-674

3.5.2 *íç̄aʔ functioning as a classifier for packages

Examples #150-#153 show the suffix *íç̄aʔ functioning as a classifier for packages. This extension occurs only in Okanagan within this corpus.

- (150) k - nqs = íc̄aʔ "one package"
 PRFX - one = BALE Okanagan Mattina: 1987-120
- (151) k - ʔasl̄ = íc̄aʔ "two packages"
 PRFX - two = BALE Okanagan Mattina: 1987-284
- (152) t - kaʔl̄ = íc̄aʔ "three packages"
 PRFX - three = BALE Okanagan Mattina: 1987-40
- (153) t - m̄ús = c̄aʔ "four packages"
 PRFX - three = BALE Okanagan Mattina: 1987-102

3.6 *íç̄aʔ denoting material items made out of animal hide

The two main extensions of the suffix *íç̄aʔ HIDE addressed in the sections that follow are CLOTHING and BLANKET. These semantic extensions are not restricted to Interior Salish but are found throughout the entire family. Clothes were originally made from animal skins and so were blankets, hence these extensions probably derive from the core meaning HIDE.

3.6.1 *íç̄aʔ denoting "clothing"

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

- (105) s - ʔaŋ̄cnm = íc̄aʔ "deer skin robe"
 NOM - deer = CLOTHING Okanagan Mattina: 1987-178
- (106) q*sp = íc̄aʔ "buffalo robe"
 NOM - deer = CLOTHING Okanagan Mattina: 1987-299

Utterances #107-#110 reflect the contemporary use of the suffix *íç̄aʔ 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.

- (107) ŋ̄*uȳt = íc̄aʔ "pajamas, nightie"
 sleep = CLOTHING Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-272

- (108) cəs - p = ícá? "sweater"
stretch - ASP = CLOTHING Lillooet van Eijk: 1987-69
- (109) s - tekł = ícē? "raincoat"
NOM - rain = CLOTHING Thompson Thompson: 1996-344
- (110) səx* - m = ícē? "bathing suit"
bathe - SUF = CLOTHING Thompson Thompson: 1996-615

The suffix attaches to different predicates and denotes generic items of clothing in examples #111-#114 below.

- (111) s - tk - luł* = ícē? "hidden under ones clothes"
NOM - PRFX - hide = CLOTHING Shuswap Kuipers: 1983-66
- (112) t - q*ñq*ñ = ícá? "be poorly dressed"
PRFX - pitiful = CLOTHING Okanagan Mattina: 1987-163
- (113) t - x̄s = ícá? "good clothes, dress clothes"
PRFX - good = CLOTHING Columbian Kinkade: #1467
- (114) č - q*ñq*ñ = ícē? "He's poorly dressed."
ASP - pitiful = CLOTHING Spokane Carlson: 1989-76

The above set finishes the discussion of the extension CLOTHING for the suffix ícá?. The extension BLANKET treated in section 3.6.2 below also references a material culture item originally made out of hides.

3.6.2 *íćá? referencing "blanket"

The suffix *íćá? references different types of blankets in the utterances below, some made from animal hides, 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 suffix *íćá? denotes woven blankets, comforters and quilts as shown in the examples that follow.

Example #115 below denotes a blanket made from the hides of animals.

- (115) s-q*ənq*ənt = ícá? "blanket made out of whistler skins"
NOM - poor = BLANKET Lillooet van Eijk 1987-233

Examples #116-#120 denote woven blankets.

- (116) s - qəx̄? = ícē? "dog-wool blanket"
NOM -dog = BLANKET Thompson Thompson: 1996-264
- (117) s - x̄x̄əx̄ = cn = ícá? "a dog-fur blanket for sleigh."
NOM - go uphill = EDGE = BLANKET Columbian Kinkade #1450
- (118) γíy = ča? "Weave blanket."
weave = BLANKET Okanagan Mattina 1987-297
- (119) s - x̄áqł = ča? "weave blanket"
NOM - root = BLANKET Columbian Kinkade #1458
- (120) s - wəp = cn = ícá? "Hudson Bay blanket"
NOM - hair = EDGE = BLANKET Columbian Kinkade #1451

Utterances #121-#124 denote "quilt" and "comforter"

- (121) s - íəmq* = ícá? "quilt"
NOM -torn apart = BLANKET Shuswap (E) Kuipers: 1983-68
- (122) n - q*úp = čē? "comforter"
LOC - stuffed with s.t. = BLANKET Thompson Thompson: 1996-301
- (123) s - pát = ícá? "quilt"
NOM - pour = BLANKET Columbian Kinkade #1453

- (124) s - íaq* = ícē? "a quilt."
NOM - sew = BLANKET Spokane Carlson 1989-100

Besides denoting diverse kinds of bed coverings, the lexical suffix *íćá? also functions as classifier for blankets.

3.6.2.1 *íćá? as a classifier for blankets

The suffix *íćá? occurs as a classifier for BLANKETS in Southern Interior languages within this corpus⁹.

- (125) claks - t = ícá? "five blankets"
five = BLANKET CLASSIFIER Columbian Kinkade (Notes)
- (126) tuwci tc = íts'á'á "six blankets"
six = BLANKET CLASSIFIER Coeur d'Alene Reichard 1938--548
- (127) mús = ts'á'á "four blankets not folded"
four = BLANKET CLASSIFIER Coeur d'Alene Reichard 1938-622

The material culture extensions of the suffix *íćá? end here. The extensions BLANKET and CLOTHING for the suffix *íćá? are attested within this corpus for the entire family. The suffix references items originally made out of animal 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 *íćá? HIDE.

3.7 Summary of the semantic development of the suffix *íćá?:

The primary meaning of the suffix *íćá? 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 yield 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 RIND 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 two-dimensionality 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 the suffixes *íćá? and *atćá?

The semantic extensions of the suffixes *íćá? and *atćá? 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 *íćá? and *atćá? 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 *atca? GAME ANIMAL

Table II displays the attested extensions of the lexical suffix *atca? within this corpus for the entire Salishan family.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Squamish	Musqueam	Lushootseed	U. Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Kalispel	Spokane	Coeur d'Alene
GAME-ANIMAL "Game"					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HUNTING EXTENSIONS													
GAME-ANIMAL "Meat"				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BUTCHERING EXTENSIONS													
GAME-ANIMAL "Carcass"							*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GAME-ANIMAL "Innards"						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GAME-ANIMAL "Hip/Side"					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
SPATIAL AND ABSTRACT EXTENSIONS													
GAME-ANIMAL "Inside"				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
GAME-ANIMAL "Affect"				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table II

In the Interior branches of the family the suffix *atca? 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 *atca? in the Central Coast languages exhibiting the meaning MEAT. The suffix *atca? does not occur in Bella Coola.

4.2 Categorization and distribution of the different senses of the suffix *itca? HIDE

Table III that follows displays the attested extensions of the lexical suffix *itca? 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 Musqueam.

Extensions of the suffix *itca? 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.

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENSIONS	Bella Coola	Squamish	Musqueam	Cowichan	Saanich	Lushootseed	U. Chehalis	Lillooet	Thompson	Shuswap	Okanagan	Columbian	Spokane	Coeur d'Alene
HIDE AND ANALOGIES														
HIDE "Hide, pelt, leather"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Human skin"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Live animal coat"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Scales and feathers"									*	*	*	*	*	*
EXTERNAL SURFACE														
HIDE "Outer surface"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Peel"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Bark"									*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Around"									*	*	*	*	*	*
TWO DIMENSIONAL SHAPE														
HIDE "Wrapper"		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Bale, Package"		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
MATERIAL CULTURE														
HIDE "Clothing"	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
HIDE "Blanket"	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table III

Conclusion

The primary meaning of the suffix *atca? 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 *itca? 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 *itca? and *atca?.

The polysemy exhibited by the suffixes *itca? and *atca? 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 *ci? 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 *itca? and *atca? 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.

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