

The Semantics of the Lexical Suffix **an/ḥak*

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0. Introduction

This paper addresses the semantics of the lexical suffix **an/ḥak* in Salishan, a family of twenty-three languages indigenous to British Columbia and northwestern United States. There are a hundred or more lexical suffixes in Salishan denoting basic vocabulary, such as body parts (FACE, HAND, BACK), cultural implements (CANOE, HOUSE, CLOTHING), and natural elements (FIRE, GROUND, WATER). Most lexical suffixes are extremely old and can be reconstructed for Proto-Salish. Nevertheless, they are still actively used to coin new words. Good control of the lexical suffix system is considered the mark of a fluent speaker.

Lexical suffixes are bound morphemes denoting entities usually referred to by full nouns in other languages, but bearing little or no resemblance to the corresponding full noun forms. See (1) below.

- (1) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. b, §14)
- | | | |
|--------------------|--------|----------|
| =cəs | céləx | ‘hand’ |
| =xən | sḥáḥə | ‘foot’ |
| =éwtx ^w | léləmḥ | ‘house’ |
| =əlweʔs | sḥáməl | ‘paddle’ |

1. The Data

The pan-Salish data for this paper consists of 800 tokens of the suffix **an/ḥak* compiled both from secondary source materials and original field work. The present study differs from other cross-Salish studies in that it considers only the semantics of the lexical suffix **an/ḥak*. Traditionally, this suffix is treated as a member of a morphological class and listed in the lexicon without discussion of its semantics.

It was not possible to obtain an equal number of examples for all languages of the family. However, this does not mean that suffix is not present in every language. It

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simply means that documentation for certain languages is scanty, or not readily available.

(2) Salishan Languages

SALISHAN LANGUAGES			CULTURE AREA
BRANCH	LANGUAGE	DIALECT	
Bella Coola	Bella Coola	Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Talio	NORTHWEST COAST
Tillamook*	Tillamook*		
Central Salish	Comox	Island Comox, Sliammon	
	Pentlatch*		
	Sechelt		
	Squamish		
	Halkomelem	Upriver (Chilliwak)	
		Downriver (Musqueam)	
		Island (Cowichan, Nanaimo)	
	Nooksack*		
	Northern Straits	Saanich, Sooke, Songheese	
		Samish, Lummi, Semiahmo	
	Klallam		
	Lushootseed	Northern Luchootseed	
		Southern Luchootseed	
	Twana*		
Tsamosan	Quinault*		
	Lower Chehalis		
	Upper Chehalis	Satsop, Oakville, Tenino	
	Cowlitz		
Northern Interior	Lillooet	Lower Lillooet	PLATEAU
		Upper Lillooet	
	Thompson		
	Shuswap		
Southern Interior	Okanagan		
	Columbian		
	Kalispel	Spokane, Kalispel, Flathead	
	Coeur d'Alene		

2. Semantics

Primarily, the lexical suffix **an/nak* denotes a human or animal belly, but it can also refer to the gut, to several internal organs, to the hip, and to the rump or tail. In addition, the suffix denotes shape, spatial reference points, relational concepts and positive and negative emotions, such as *kind hearted* and *mean spirited*. The suffix also grammaticalizes into a desiderative modality marker.

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I argue that the lexical suffix **an/ḥak* is a polysemous morpheme that extends from a concrete core meaning by means of metaphors grounded in culture and cognition.

- The reconstructed proto-form **an/ḥak* establishes the morphological integrity of the suffix throughout the Salishan family. See (3) below.
- The core meaning ABDOMEN assigned to the proto-form corresponds to the most frequent extant meaning of the suffix.²

(3) The reconstructed suffix **an/ḥak* ABDOMEN

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

The gestalt of the concept denoted by the suffix has an external aspect, the belly mound, and an internal aspect, the ventral cavity. In some Salish languages the suffix denotes the belly mound, while in others it denotes the contents of the belly, i.e. the gut. It is also possible for the suffix to have both meanings within one language.

The important issue here is that in its semantic path the suffix is associated both with the meanings “belly” and “gut”. Thus, meaning extensions of the suffix

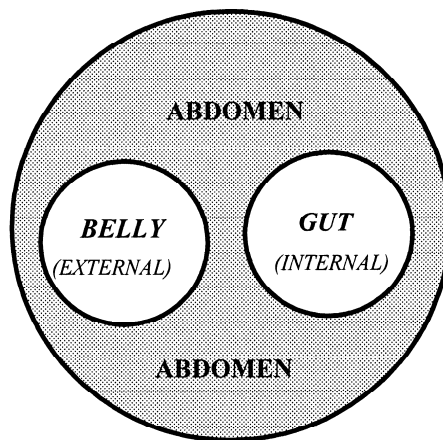
² Anatomically, the abdomen is the largest cavity in the body, extending from the thorax to the pelvis. It contains the intestines and some of the accessory organs of digestion, the liver, the spleen and the stomach.

represent, on the one hand, different aspects of the central concept embodied by the suffix, and on the other, the effect of human perception on the encoding of lexical meaning.

2.1. The core meaning.

The core meaning ABDOMEN splits into two well-defined conceptual prototypes, BELLY and GUT as illustrated in (4) below.

(4) The prototypes BELLY and GUT



The prototype BELLY is the source of shape extensions and of several locational and relational extensions.

- (5) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:370)
wax=**éńk**
show=**ABDOMEN**
'having one's belly showing [open shirt]'
- (6) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128)
s-q^wəbáy=**al=dəč**
NOM-dog=CON=**ABDOMEN**
'the belly of a dog'

The prototype GUT denotes the internal viscera and is the source of some locational extensions and of feeling extensions.

- (7) Shuswap (Kuipers 1983:19)
x-pt=**éńk-tń**
LOC-covering=**ABDOMEN-INSTR**
'spleen'

- (8) Coeur d'Alene (Reichard: 1938:615)
 peḥ=**enč**
 bend=**ABDOMEN**
 'liver'

Examples (5-8) above illustrate the conceptual prototypes BELLY and GUT.

3. Mechanisms of Extension

The five mechanisms of extension that account for the semantics of the suffix *an/ḥak throughout Salish are:

- The Principle of Anatomical Adjacency
- The Principle of Shape Abstraction
- The Principle of Canonical Orientation
- The Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics
- The Principle of Metaphorical Projection

3.1. The Principle of Anatomical Adjacency

The Principle of Anatomical Adjacency postulates that body-part terms denote by association adjacent parts of human or animal anatomy. Physical contiguity is the only link behind this type of extension. Association may occur between adjacent body parts on the exterior or interior of the body (Matisoff 1978:179).

Hips are defined as the projecting regions on each side of the lower trunk. The portion of the front body extending between the two hips is the “belly”.

- (9) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:137) Belly > Hip
 tá·w=**nč**
 big=**ABDOMEN**
 'big hipped'

The adjacency extension “rib” reflects the anatomy of the upper abdomen, which is bounded in the front and on the sides by the lower ribs.

- (10) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:175) Belly > Rib
 n-sk^wt=**ink**
 LOC-one side=**ABDOMEN**
 'half the ribs'

The anus is the physical end point of the intestines and the external opening for the GUT—an internal to external anatomical adjacency extension. In denoting “anus”, the suffix also denotes, again through adjacency, the general area that surrounds the “anus”, i.e. the “rump”.

- (11) Lushootseed (Hess 1976:128) Gut > Anus
 p̄əč=ál=**dəč**
 defecate=CON=**ABDOMEN**
 'feces on anus'

- (12) Halkomelem (Suttles in prep. a)
 łóq=əńć Anus > Rump
 end=ABDOMEN
 ‘rump’

The tail is the prolongation of the rump.

- (13) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:143)
 tó·m=ńć
 Rump > Tail
 short=ABDOMEN
 ‘short-tailed’

(14) Distribution by Branch of Anatomical Adjacency Extensions

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

3.2. The Principle of Shape Abstraction

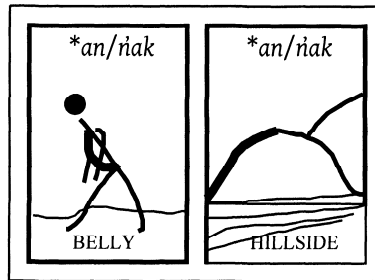
The most salient shape of a body-part is metaphorically extended to other entities in the world perceived as having a similar shape.

The suffix **an/riak* denotes the classificatory shape ‘prominently curved surface’, which refers to hills, humps, mounds, and dome-like objects (Allan 1977:301).

- (15) Okanagan (Mattina 1987:55) Belly > Hillside
 k^wł=ńk
 warm=ABDOMEN
 ‘sunny hillside’
- (16) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:193) Belly > Hillside
 n-me[?]n=ńk
 LOC-shade=ABDOMEN
 ‘shady hillside’

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(17) The Shape Extension Hillside



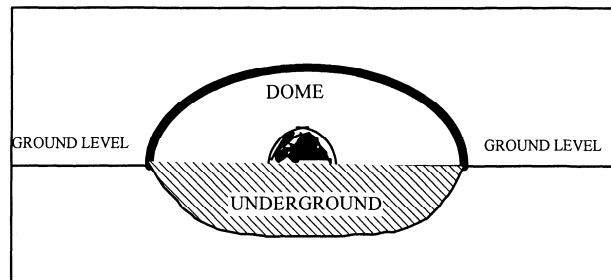
Examples (15) and (16) above illustrate the extension HILLSIDE for the suffix.

The traditional semi-subterranean dwelling of the Plateau area was dome-shaped.

- (18) Shuswap (Marianne Ignace p.c.) Belly > Dome
 x-*km*=*ənk*=*étx^w*
 LOC-surface=**ABDOMEN**=HOUSE
 ‘semi-subterranean dwelling’

Example (18) above illustrates the extension DOME for the suffix. A change of lexical suffix within the same basic stem conveys a totally different shape.³

(19) Dome-Shaped Semisubterranean Dwelling



³ Compare the example below with example (18) containing a different lexical suffix.
 Shuswap (Marianne Ignace p.c.)
 s-*km*=*qən*=*étx^w*
 NOM-surface=**HEAD**=HOUSE
 ‘pitched roof (of house)’

(20) Distribution by Branch of Shape-Based Extensions

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

3.3. The Principle of Canonical Orientation

Spatial reference points may be denoted by human or animal body-parts in Salish languages. Canonical orientation templates determine the specific structural relation the "belly" bears to the ground. The locational meanings that obtain for the suffix **an/nak* project this relation into adjacent space and thus reflect the canonical orientation of the body.

(21) Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Templates in Salishan

ORIENTATION	ANTHROPOMORPHIC	ZOOMORPHIC
BODY PART	BELLY/BACK	BELLY/BACK
LOCATION	FRONT/BEHIND	UNDERSIDE/TOP

Under anthropomorphic interpretation the suffix **an/nak* ABDOMEN has the locational meaning FRONT.

- (22) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.) Belly > Front
 n-pús=**ank**
 LOC-wet=**ABDOMEN**
 'wet front (of clothing on a person)'

- (23) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:274) Belly > Front
 qamin=**enk-e-s**
 throw=**ABDOMEN-SUF-3SG**
 'throw fishnet in front of someone else's'

Under zoomorphic interpretation the suffix **an/nak* ABDOMEN has the locational meaning UNDERSIDE.

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- (24) Lillooet (Albert Nelson p.c.)
 n-ǰaw=**ank**=us Belly > Underside
 LOC-low=**ABDOMEN**=FACE
 ‘bottom face (of something)’
- (25) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:58)
 n-čəmǰ=**enk**=xn Belly > Underside
 LOC-worn=**ABDOMEN**=FOOT
 ‘hole develops on sole of footgear’

The zoomorphic opposition HEAD/RUMP expressing the horizontal axis of the body is attested in Central Salish and Bella Coola.⁴ The opposition HEAD/FEET expressing the vertical axis of the body is attested in Interior Salish.⁵

(26) Vertical and Horizontal Axes in Salishan

ORIENTATION	ANTHROPOMORPHIC	ZOOMORPHIC
BODY PARTS	HEAD/FEET	HEAD /RUMP
LOCATION	TOP/BOTTOM	FRONT/ENDPOINT

- (27) Saanich (Montler: 1986:81)
 k^wəθ=**neč**-t End Point
 lift (?)=**ABDOMEN**
 ‘He tilted it (lifted it at one end).’
- (28) Bella Coola (Saunders and Davis 1975:169) End Point
 kuł=**nk** ti nucqaq
 area=**ABDOMEN** DET needle
 ‘non-pointed end of a needle’

The suffix **an/nak* construed as one extreme of the horizontal axis has the locational meaning END POINT in (27) and (28) above.

⁴ Only the prototype GUT is attested in Halkomelem, Squamish and Saanich from which derives the extension RUMP through the Principle of Anatomical Adjacency. The body-part belly is indicated by other lexical suffixes in these languages.

⁵ Anthropomorphic HEAD to FEET vertical orientation:
 Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:381)
 ʔəs-wux^wt=**qin**
 ASP-snowed=**HEAD**
 ‘snow on top of the mountain’

(29) Distribution by Branch of Locational Extensions

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN LOCATION-LIKE EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN “Front”	•			•	
ABDOMEN “Bottom/End Point”	•	•			
ABDOMEN “Bottom/Underside”				•	•

3.4. The Profiling Effect of Predicate Semantics

Relational meanings of the suffix obtain only with predicates of motion and position. While locational extensions establish spatial reference points, relational extensions address spatial relations between two entities, or refer to a trajectory in space and its end point. With predicates of motion and position the suffix **an/nak* denotes a general relational term which subsumes the notions “under”, “below” and “down”.

- (30) Upper Chehalis (Kinkade 1991:172)
 s-yáq=**nač-n** Under/Below/Down
 ASP-fall=**ABDOMEN-3SG**
 ‘fall down’

- (31) Bella Coola (Saunders 1975:169)
 sq^w-c[?]uǰ=**nk** Under/Below/Down
 jump-1SG. unglossed=**ABDOMEN**
 ‘I am going to jump down.’

(32) Distribution by Branch of Relational Extensions

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN RELATION-LIKE EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN “Under, Below, Down”	•		•	•	•

3.5. Metaphorical Projection and the Seat of Emotions

The concept “seat of emotion” has its root in the physiological effect strong emotions have on the body. The body-part deemed to be the seat of emotion coincides with the internal organ on which a somatic marker imprints. (Damasio 1994:163). Metaphorically, the place where the emotion is felt stands for the emotion itself. (Lakoff 1987). This extension is attested in Interior Salish.⁶

- (33) Thompson (Thompson & Thompson 1996:475)
 n-kəs=éńk
 LOC-angry=ABDOMEN
 ‘cranky, vicious’

Grammaticalization is a case of historical reanalysis with morphosyntactic consequences. The lexical suffix **an/nak* expresses agent oriented modality in Southern Interior Salish.⁷

- (34) Columbian (Kinkade n.d.: #637)
 lút-kn n-ʔíln=ánk
 NEG-1SG POS-eat=ABDOMEN
 ‘I don’t want to eat.’

(35) Distribution by Branch of Affect Extensions

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN FEELING EXTENSIONS	BELLA COOLA	CENTRAL	TSAMOAN	N. INTERIOR	S. INTERIOR
ABDOMEN “Negative feeling”				•	•
ABDOMEN “Positive Feeling”					•
ABDOMEN “Desiderative”					•

4. Conclusions

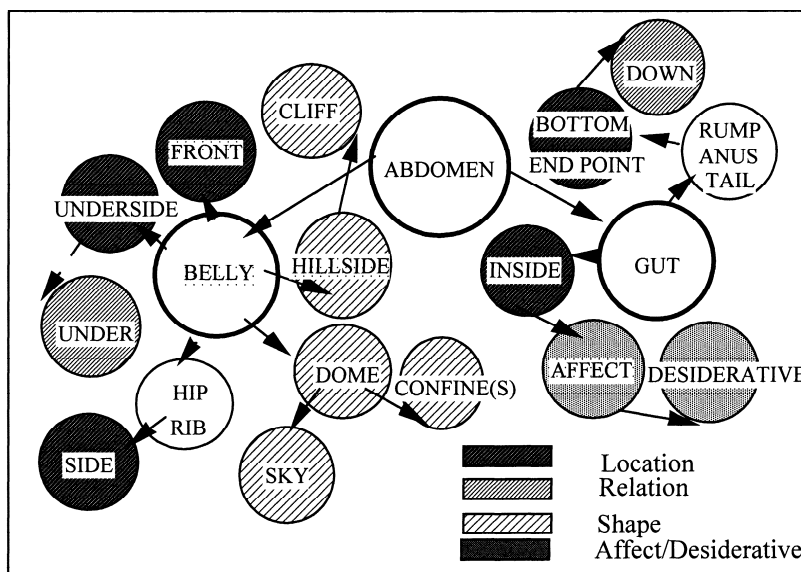
As the first systematic analysis of the semantic extensions of a lexical suffix this paper traces the range of the semantic extensions that obtain for **an/nak* throughout

⁶ The extension is also possibly attested in Mainland Comox in *təx = anč = m* “to get cranky” (Davis 1970: 61).

⁷ Agent-oriented modality reports on the existence of inner or outer conditions on the agent with respect to completion of the action implied by the predicate (Bybee 1994:177).

Salish to a single concept, ABDOMEN. See (37) below for the full range of meanings that obtain for the suffix **an/nak*.⁸

(36) The Semantic Extensions of the Lexical Suffix **an/nak*



As a comparative semantic overview this analysis uncovers meaning relationships that appear unmotivated when viewed within a single language, but which can be seen through a systematic study of the extensions of the suffix in all the Salishan languages. The Salish facts argue for a correlation between the meaning extensions of the suffix and the culture area in which the extension occurs. The lexicon viewed from this perspective includes not only the core meaning of the suffix, but also motivated links, grounded in culture, between the separate senses of the suffix. This view of the lexicon is a more accurate representation of the lexical knowledge native speakers of Salish languages seem to have. In addition, the semantics of **an/nak* ABDOMEN provide verification for the cognitive mechanisms of body part extensions proposed as universals of human language, and contribute to our understanding of the interface between language and cognition.

⁸ Not all semantic extension of the suffix are exemplified in this paper due to space limitations.

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