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Like Hair, or Trees: Semantic Analysis of the Coeur d'Alene Prefix *ne'* 'amidst'

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1. Introduction[1]

This paper investigates the semantic structure of a spatial prefix of Coeur d'Alene, a Salishan language spoken in northern Idaho and eastern Washington state. The prefix under study is *ne'*, which is realized through phonological conditioning as allomorphs [ni?], [nɛ?], [nə?], and [na?]. It contrasts in usage with other spatial prefixes, including n 'in'[2], čit 'on something broad', č 'on, narrow point of contact', t 'on, against' and cən 'under'. The prefix *ne'* has been written and glossed as nə? 'among' by Johnson (1975: 34) and *ni'* 'amongst' by Reichard, who also observed that "the combination *ni'-...-i'qs* refers to hair of the nostril, but is generalized for nose" (1938: 596). Reichard identified a second prefix with the same shape that she glossed as indicating "superlative degree" (596). Where a brief gloss is appropriate, we use 'amidst' because it seems to subsume the more abstract usages for which 'among' or 'amongst' seems sometimes inappropriate. Near synonyms in English, *amidst* connotes a more spatially restricted subject surrounded by its object, while *among* connotes commingling.[3] Both senses seem to occur in our data.

While we believe that all of these glosses are correct as far as they go, when compared to actual usages they are incomplete, and we are not convinced that Reichard was correct in proposing the homonymy of *ni'* 'amongst' and *ni'* 'superlative degree'. Furthermore, it is not immediately obvious exactly what any of these interpretations contribute to the understanding of such abstract words as *s-ni'-k'wi'n* 'choice' and *na'-qhił* 'maybe'. Our analysis will show how such usages are motivated by reasonable abstractions and extensions from a single prototypical sense of *ne'*. We treat *ne'* as a complex category as defined by Langacker to be a "network of related units centering on a prototype" (1991: 119). This resolves the homonyms identified by Reichard into a single category. While the connection may seem unintuitive, it appears that, in Coeur d'Alene, the superlative degree may have something in common with the hairs of the nostrils.

1.2 Related Work: Cora *u* and *a* ('inside' and 'outside')

The approach of studying affixes as complex categories has been used previously by Casad and Langacker in the analysis of two prefixes of Cora, a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in the state of Nayarit, Mexico (Casad and Langacker 1985; Langacker 1991). The prefixes *u* and *a* symbolize a basic 'inside'/'outside' contrast in Cora, but in some instances words that contrasted only in their usage of these two prefixes were assigned the same translation and could be "employed to described precisely the same objective situation" (Langacker 1991: 34). Such a situation might lead one to conclude that the choice

of prefixes was arbitrary or determined by grammatical rules rather than semantic considerations, but Langacker argued that "a clear semantic rationale for the choice can almost always be found" (1991: 34). Casad and Langacker demonstrated that the puzzling usages could be explained if speakers were construing the same objective situation in terms of contrasting imagery. A dog's tail might be described as 'inside' from a perspective behind the dog, because it is construed as inside the viewing area in the line of sight presented by the rump. But it can be described as 'outside' when imagined as viewed from the dog's side, because it is outside the viewing area in the line of sight. The base notion of a viewing area within a line of sight is itself an extension of the more prototypical concepts pertaining to 'containment in physical space'.

In addition to the contrast 'in line of sight'/'outside line of sight', Casad and Langacker also found other variants on the prototypes of u/a, such as the specializations 'on inner surface'/'on outer surface' and the extensions 'deep penetration to interior'/'shallow penetration to interior', 'accessible'/'inaccessible', and 'on back side'/'on face/front'. Such polysemous complexes naturally raise the question of whether any meaning can be discovered that is schematic for all senses of a prefix and that would therefore suffice to define it. Langacker concluded that "it is most improbable that a single abstract meaning can be found that would be schematic for all the specific values attested for u and a" (1991: 55). He argued further, that even if a fully schematic sense were found it would not suffice as a definition, because "it would also be schematic for indefinitely many values that u and a happen not to have" and "it would fail to provide an explicit account of the facts of the language, in particular the range of conventionally established senses and usages characteristic of these morphemes." (1991: 55).

Understanding the Coeur d'Alene prefix ne' also requires an understanding of extensions from a prototypical sense, but our data require no changes in construal or perspective comparable to those adduced by Casad and Langacker in their study of Cora u and a. Unlike those authors, we have found a very abstract sense of AMIDST COLLECTION OF ENTITIES that we believe is fully schematic for all of the attested senses of ne', but we agree with them that defining the schema is insufficient to provide an adequate account of conventionally established senses and usages. Furthermore, the schema subsumes no usages that are not also subsumed by one of its subschemas. In this respect, ne' contrasts with other spatial prefixes in Coeur d'Alene for which defining the schema of a complex category sometimes enables one to understand usages that are highly abstract or metaphorical in psychological or social domains, usages that are not subsumed within subschemas.

1.2 ne'

The prefix ne' appears to have a clear prototype with an anatomical component of meaning in its sense of AMIDST HAIR (OF). The prefix also appears in terms referring directly or indirectly to the intestines, pubic hair, and the clitoris. This centrality of anatomical usage is found in other Coeur d'Alene spatial prefixes, such as cen 'under', but not in all, as it is not a prominent

characteristic of any of the senses of n 'in' or č 'on' (Palmer 1990). However, Coeur d'Alene and other Salish languages have a set of suffixes whose primary meanings are clearly anatomical (e.g. head, face, back, hand, leg, etc.) (Palmer and Nicodemus 1985; Palmer 1993). In this respect Coeur d'Alene grammar might be said to have an "anthropocentric perspective" (Wierzbicka 1985)

A more schematic conceptualization of the meaning of *ne'* is AMIDST LONG THIN VERTICAL THINGS, a sense that underlies the usage in (8) *ni'tedish* 'it crept in the grass' and (9) the place name *ni'lokhwalqw* 'Cut in the Woods', an important camping site in former times. An extension from this is AMIDST THIN FLAT THINGS, which subsumes the term for 'bookmark' and the notion of setting something in the corner (in some sense, between the walls).

An even more schematic characterization of *ne'* is AMIDST OBJECTS, which underlies the term for 'blizzard' and the probable neologism for 'orgy'.³ An extension of this schema seems to be involved in the equally abstract IN THE CENTER, which we believe to underlie such terms as those meaning 'approximately' and the term for center itself: *ni'mi'te'wes*. A further specification of AMIDST OBJECTS is the notion of ONE SELECTED FROM MANY (hereafter abbreviated ONE FROM MANY), which subsumes terms for 'choice', 'appoint', and 'election'. The notions of 'farthest point', 'highest point', and 'best in the crowd', which all seem to pertain to the sense of EPITOME, may be derived by further specification of ONE FROM MANY. An extension of the notion of AMIDST OBJECTS is the notion of MIXED, which involves a cluster of unspecified objects construed reflexively. This sense subsumes terms for 'assorted', 'clutter', and 'blend'.

Similar abstractions from body-part prototypes and similar extensions and metaphorical usages that we see in such terms as those meaning 'approximately', 'choice' and 'best in the crowd' have been observed in other Native American languages. For example, Friedrich's report of extensions of body-part suffixes of locative space in Tarascan reveals a similar phenomenon to that emerging from our analysis of Coeur d'Alene prefixes (1979b; 1979a). The processes of abstraction and extension from terms for body-parts have also been reported by Brugman (1983) and summarized in Palmer (1990: 267-268):

> In Chalcatongo Mixtec, Brugman (1983) observed a hierarchy of extensions of body part terms in which literal uses are extended to metaphorical partitive uses, thence to spatial relational uses, and finally to abstract relational uses. The term nuu face, for example, also refers partitively to the face of an object, or relationally to the space in front of an object. The term čii belly can be extended beyond spatial senses to the abstract relation "because." Brugman also found that body part terms differ in their susceptibility to abstraction and extension, with the term nda?a hand/arm being most restricted, followed in rough order by čii belly, siki back, and the least restricted, nuu face.

Thus, this Coeur d'Alene prefix appears to behave much like other locative particles in other Native American languages. They are readily described as complex categories having both prototypical and schematic senses. Where obvious prototypical senses occur, these are often based on body parts. This work also parallels that of Brugman (1988) and Lakoff (1987) who proposed that the English preposition *over* be analyzed as a complex category made up of "instance links", "similarity links", and "transformational links". Since transformational links are based not on shared subschemas but on related subschemas, then, in the case of *over*, there can be no single schema that subsumes all of its usages. Thus, like Casad and Langacker, they would necessarily reject a single schema definition. But this conclusion of Brugman and Lakoff has been questioned by Dewell, who has proposed a central schema from which all of the spatial variants of *over* "can be derived either directly or indirectly using nothing but natural, independently-motivated image-schema transformations" (1993). Dewell's finding, then, appears to lend support to our findings concerning the Coeur d'Alene prefix *ne'*. This is not to argue that all such grammatical morphemes must always have a central schema, but it suggests that one should not overlook the possibility. In the following sections, we outline our methods and the actual analysis of terms with *ne'* in an attempt to provide a more precise characterization of *ne'* as a complex category.

2. Methods

The first step was to identify candidate words which might contain the prefix. We examined several reference works and grammars in Coeur d'Alene/English translation, producing a list of 59 words containing the prefix *ne'* (Reichard 1938; Johnson 1975; Nicodemus 1975a; Nicodemus 1975b; Palmer and Nicodemus 1985; Palmer, Nicodemus and Connolly 1987; Palmer, Nicodemus and Felsman 1987). Each word was parsed, using the general morphological analyses and glosses provided in Reichard (1938), Johnson (1975) and Nicodemus (1975a; 1975b). We used the morphological analyses to interpret the constructional meaning of each word in terms of the meaning of its constituent morphemes. Our interpretations were constrained to be consistent with the full-word-glosses provided by native speakers. For example, in (1) our constructed interpretation would be 'on the surface in the hair at the top of the head', which is consistent with the published gloss of 'in the hair at the top of the head'. Our constructed glosses were based in part on a schema of grammatical relations to be discussed in more detail below. Only the morpheme glosses and published native-speaker glosses are provided here.

Each word evokes an image based on its constituent morphemes. Commonalities in the imagery of several words were drawn as image-schemas (Figure 1). Commonalities among schemas were diagrammed as superschemas (Figure 2). We used the concepts of extension and elaboration developed by Langacker (1987, 1991), discussed below, to describe how schemas relate to one another (Figure 2). Finally, we proposed a single schema that subsumes all the others.

Perhaps the weakest link in this process lies in the visualization of the spatial image-schemas diagrammed in Figure 1. Our visualizations of image-schemas are based entirely on our interpretations of whole word-glosses and of morpheme glosses in context, as provided to researchers by native speakers, so they are largely inferential. However, the spatial schemas that govern the use of *ne'* and other Coeur d'Alene affixes are not necessarily available to conscious inspection by native speakers either. Therefore, while recognizing this limitation on our methodology, we nevertheless proceeded in the belief that new and valid results might be possible and that future research in Coeur d'Alene and other Salish languages may clarify the issues. At the very least, our results have provided us with a sharper focus for future elicitation and interpretation of texts.

In discussions of an earlier draft of this paper, it has been argued that the lines of Figure 2 could be drawn otherwise. It is certainly possible that Figure 2 is not a valid interpretation of the semantic relations among this set of terms. Furthermore, it is not exhaustive because one can always posit more schemas and lines of extension. But the organization in Figure 2 is the one that makes the most sense to us given the criteria that we will present in this section for identifying elaborations and extensions of schemas. As additional data become available from Coeur d'Alene and comparative data are adduced from other Interior Salish languages it will become more clear whether Figure 2 is an adequate representation of *ne'* as a complex category.

The validity of our analysis depends in part on our ability to discover and define schemas for a group of similar usages of the prefix. In cognitive linguistics schematization has been given a simple definition that gives great latitude to the researcher. Talmy defined it as "a process that involves the systematic selection of certain aspects of a referent scene to represent the whole, while disregarding the remaining aspects" (Talmy 1983: 225). According to Langacker, "a schema is an abstract template representing the commonality of the structures it categorizes, which thus elaborate or instantiate it" (Langacker 1991: 59-60). Langacker also asserts that "a schema differs from a list of critical attributes in being an integrated concept in its own right".

Concepts may be linked by elaboration or by extension. Elaboration of a schema, also called instantiation, is symbolized with a solid arrow as [A] $\longrightarrow$ [B], where [B] is a more detailed instance that nevertheless conforms to all specifications of the schema [A] (1991: 267). Extension of a prototype category "implies some conflict in specifications between the basic and extended values; hence [A] $\cdots\rightarrow$ [B] indicates that [B] is incompatible with [A] in some respect, but is nevertheless categorized by [A]" (Langacker 1991: 266). Langacker also introduced a third kind of relationship [A] $\leftarrow\cdots\rightarrow$ [B], which symbolizes "a perception of mutual similarity". Following these conventions, a complex category can be described as a network of concepts, including schemas, prototypes, and variants.

This simple distinction between elaboration and extension is not always easy to discern in the data. Langacker regards elaboration as simply a limiting case of extension in which the incompatibilities in the specifications of the two concepts being compared are reduced to zero. Therefore, it is usually sufficient

to simply determine whether they are plausibly related by commonalities. Schemas are identified in our data wherever they seem clearly warranted.

The meanings of the spatial prefixes of Coeur d'Alene can all be characterized as instantiations of a special, but more general, kind of schema in that they are relational, as opposed to nominal. In Langacker's framework, a relation connects two entities that are called trajector and landmark. Langacker defined a *trajector* as "the **figure within a relational profile**" (1987: 217). By analogy, a *landmark* would be the ground within a relational profile. The terms trajector and landmark are abbreviated as *tr* and *lm*. Every relation connects a trajector and a landmark, either of which may or may not be further elaborated. We have adopted the hypothesis that, in Coeur d'Alene, trajectors of spatial prefixes are always supplied by the word root or stem. These may have meanings that pertain to things (nominal), processes, or states. Though it may seem more intuitive to limit the concept of trajector to figures in motion, Langacker's definition applies to static, as well as dynamic, figures. Landmarks in Coeur d'Alene predications are often instantiated by lexical suffixes, and these often specify body parts. Some common ones are qən 'head', us 'face, eye', cən 'mouth', ixən 'arm', ičt 'hand, arm', ičən 'back', and šən 'leg, foot'.

These concepts of relation, trajector, and landmark will enable us to describe the various schemas, elaborations, and extensions of *ne'* with greater precision. Thus, to provide an example, the term č-ni?-čəm-áwəs-qən 'in the hair at the top of the head' can be analyzed as follows: *ne'* (realized as [ni?]) has the sense AMIDST HAIR OF. The trajector for *ne'* is an abstract entity instantiated by the root morpheme čəm 'surface'. The landmark, characterized by *ne'* as a hairy entity, is instantiated or elaborated by the suffix complex awəs-qən 'the top of the head'. The prefix č 'on' requires its own separate analysis.

In the following section we will show that most elaborations and extensions of *ne'* operate on the landmark. Thus, our definitions in small caps often describe the landmark (AMIDST OBJECTS, AMIDST THIN FLAT THINGS, AMIDST HAIR OF, AMIDST INTESTINES, ONE SELECTED FROM MANY), but they are neutral as to the nature of the trajector. They could have been written more completely as TRAJECTOR AMIDST OBJECTS, etc. Other definitions locate the trajector with respect to more abstract or tacitly understood landmarks (IN THE CENTER, EPITOME). The notion of MIXED seems to conflate trajector with landmark, so that trajectors and landmarks are defined reflexively.

2. Data

In this section the data are presented in schematic groupings. In all cases, the landmark of *ne'* is a plural spatial domain; the prototypical landmark is the hair atop the human head. Sources are coded by initial and page as follows:

J: Johnson (1975)
Na: Nicodemus (1975a)
Nb: Nicodemus (1975b)
P&N: Palmer and Nicodemus (1985)
PNF: Palmer, Nicodemus, & Felsman (1987)
PNC: Palmer, Nicodemus, & Connolly (1987)
R: Reichard (1938)

Terms from Nicodemus's dictionaries and from Palmer, Nicodemus, & Felsman (1987) and Palmer, Nicodemus, and Connolly are written using Nicodemus's practical orthography, which uses underlining for stress and does not write schwas. The first example of this orthography is term (2), below. Terms from Johnson (1975) and from Palmer and Nicodemus (1985) are written in Americanist phonemic orthography, as in term (1). Terms from Reichard are converted to this orthography.

2.01 AMIDST HAIR (OF)

ne' describes the location of something (the trajector), as amidst hair on something (the landmark).

(1) čniʔčemáẃesqen, č-neʔ-√čem-iẃes-qen, on-amidst-surface-middle-head, top, 'in the hair at the top of the head' (P&N:355)

(2) *sni'ch'ma'wasqn*, s-ni'-√ch'm-a'was-qn, NOM[4]-amidst-surface-waist, middle, between-top, 'crest (lit. the top of the head)' (Nb:103)[5]

(3) niʔɬáq̓qen, neʔ-√ɬaq̓-qen, amidst-wide-head, top, 'Wide Forehead, Wide Surface Under Hair' (place name, probably referring to a wide ridge or mountain) (PNF:60)

(4) eniʔkʷúselsčen, ʔic-neʔ-√kʷus-ilsčen, CUST-amidst-curly-forehead, 'hair curls back from forehead' (J:236)

(5) *sni'ch'ami'qs*, s-ni'-√ch'am-i'qs, NOM-amidst-surface-nose, 'nose (lit. surface of the ...)' (Na:218)

(6) *sni'ch'amch'ami'qs*, s-ni'-(REDUP)√ch'am-i'qs, NOM-amidst-surface-nose, 'nostrils (lit. surfaces amidst the nose)' (P & N:356)

2.02 AMIDST LONG THIN VERTICAL THINGS

The abstract conceptualization for hair would be LONG THIN VERTICAL THINGS. The conceptualization arises from the qualities of human hair, being of greater length than width and usually observed in a vertical orientation relative to the scalp and the ground due either to its pattern of vertical growth or to the fact that gravity causes it to hang down. Native American hair is characteristically straight. Therefore, this schema subsumes the schema for AMIDST HAIR (OF). This schema can be instantiated by such diverse things such as grass, brush, logs, houses, and humans. *ne'* locates the trajector amidst the plural elements of the landmark. In fact the frequent occurrence of terms with the frame [niʔ___-ilqʷ/amidst___log, tree] 'in the trees/forest' suggests a

prototype that may rival AMIDST HAIR in its salience. That this is a highly conventionalized combination is further suggested by the contraction of ilqʷ in (11).

(7) *ni'tekw*, ni'-√tekw, amidst-stuffy, choke, 'thicket, brushwood, brake (lit. a woods whose interior is, suffocating)' (Nb:72)

(8) *ni'tedish*, ni'-√ted-ish, amidst-squirm-act of, 'it crept in the grass', 'He acted foolishly' (Na:160)

(9) *ni'lukhwalqw*, ni'-√lukhw-alqw, amidst-cut-tree, log, 'Cut in the Woods' (place name) (PNF:25)

(10) *ni'ch'ch'a'ra'lqw*, ni'-(REDUP)√ch'ar-alqw (DIM GLOT), amidst-band lies-tree, log, 'Small Cut in the Woods' (place name) (PNF:124)

(11) *ni'nsi'*, ni'-nes-i'[lqw], amidst-damp-tree, log, 'Damp in the Woods' (place name) (NPF:29)

(12) *ni'gwalpalqw*, ni'-√gwal-p-alqw, amidst-burn-INCHOAT-tree,log, 'burned (lit. the forest was ...)' (Nb:82), (contrasts with t-gwal-p-alqw 'the log burned'.)

(13) *ni'gwept*, ni'-√gwep-t, amidst-hairy-inherent, 'bushiness (lit. the forest is bushy within)' (Nb:83)

(14) *sni'sharus*, s-ni'-√sher-us, NOM-amidst-hang-fire, 'boiled beef' (hanging over fire) (Nb:65)

(15) *sni'tata'ri'tkhw*, s-ni'-(REDUP)√te'ri-tkhw, NOM-amidst-covered with trails-house, 'alley' (Nb:13)

In (15), we suggest that the landmark is houses, or house walls and corners, construed as long thin things (as in the mission town of DeSmet at the turn of the century), and that the trajector (√te'ri 'covered with trails') is placed amidst them. The possibility has been raised by discussants that the landmark of this term should be regarded as the trails. In this interpretation, the trajector is amidst the trails rather than amidst the houses. We prefer our interpretation because the great preponderance of terms supports an argument based on morphosyntax: trajectors are always supplied by the root, and landmarks, when given, are supplied by a lexical suffix. To draw a parallel in English, given the phrase, "covered with trails among the houses", we would argue that the trajector of the preposition 'among' is 'covered with trails' and the landmark is 'the houses'. Although the order of occurrence of these elements is different in Coeur d'Alene—[rel tr lm] as opposed to English [tr rel lm]—it must still be considered in assigning an interpretation. Note that (15) is parallel to (16), which clearly supports our assignment of trajectors to roots and landmarks to lexical suffixes.

(16) tkʷe'ini?celútxʷ, tkʷet-?ic-ne?-√cel-ut-itxʷ, distributed-CUST-amidst-one stands-position-house, 'he was standing around among the houses' (J:234)

(17) *na'qwa'qwe'elstkhw*, na'-(REDUP)√qwe'l-stkhw, amidst-one speaks-IMP, 'you (sg.) are to speak to h/h' (Na:154)

(18) sni?g*épšən, s-nə?-√g*ep-šən , NOM-amidst-hair-legs, 'pubic hair' (P & N:85)

(19) *sni'ch'musshn,* s-ni'-√ch'm-us-shn, NOM-amidst-surface-face, eye-leg, 'clitoris ('lit. surface of 'small hill' at upper end of vulva)' (Nb:114)

(20) *ni'y'lkhusshn,* ni'-√y'lxw-us-shn, amidst-cover with fabric-face, eye-leg, 'apron (lit. a covering for the lap)' (Nb:25)

(21) *ni'bmpa'wes,* ni'-√bem-p-a'wes, amidst-whir-INCHOAT-waist, middle, between, 'orgy (lit. there is speeding or intoxication among them)' (Na:159)

2.03 AMIDST THE INTESTINES

Another extension occurs with the intestines, which are conceived of as long thin things with the trajector located somewhere within them. The trajector is either diffuse or indeterminate as to its discreteness. Note that the suffix inč 'belly, stomach' is restricted by the glosses in this data to the intestines and bowels.

(22) *sni'testspench,* s-ni'-(REDUP)√tes-ts-p-ench, NOM-amidst-bulge-VB?-INCHOAT-stomach, 'bulkage (lit. swellings among the intestines)' (Nb:80)

(23) *sni'ts'a'ts'a'rench,* s-ni'-(REDUP)√ts'ar-ench (GLOT), NOM-amidst-hurt-stomach, 'intestinal pains' (Na:219)

(24) *sni'ch'esch'ssmench,* s-ni'-(REDUP)√ch'es(REDUP?)-m-ench, NOM-amidst-bad-MDL-stomach, 'constipation (lit. something going wrong with the bowels)' (Na:218)

2.04 AMIDST THIN FLAT THINGS

This group shares the idea of landmark length being greater than thickness, like human hair, and it extends the dimension of width. In this way the trajector can be located amidst thin flat things such as walls or the pages of a book.

(25) *ni'q'e'i'wesn a q'e'yminn,* ni'-√q'e'-i'wes-n a q'e'yminn, amidst-stick-middle,waist-nom ART book, 'bookmark (lit. placed between the pages of a book)' (Nb:67)

(26) ni?caqáwasqenən, nə?-√ceq-iwis-qən-ən , amidst-upright-between-head-NOM, 'I set a hollow object in the corner' (J:233)

2.05 AMIDST OBJECTS

Here, a highly abstract use of *ne'* describes a trajector amidst various kinds of objects that are not specified as to whether they are long, thin, or vertical. In some words of this group, the landmark need not even be specified. The trajector may be diffuse or indeterminate as to its discreteness.

(27) kupsni?láɋlaɋwesšʟtemš, kup-s-ni?-√leɋ-iwes-šet-emš, 2p. sg.-NOM-amidst-search for-waist, middle-BEN-MOD, 'she is to look amongst for something as a favor to you' (R:596)

(28) snɪ'tmtmiihʉsmsh, s-ni'-(REDUP)√tam-i?-us-m-ush, NOM-amidst-scorch-?-fire-MDL-act of, 'blizzard' (Nb:61)

(29) ni?pux"íwes, ni?-√pux"-iwis, amidst-blow-waist, middle, between, 'he blew among' (J:237)

(30) na'qhesmɪchtmntkhw, na'-√qhes-m-icht-mn-tkhw, amidst-good-MDL-hand-INST-2p. sg, 'elaborate (lit. you manipulate it carefully)' (Na:155)

2.06 IN THE CENTER

The landmark is a diffuse space. The schema locates the trajector at the very center of the landmark.

(31) ne'shi+, ne'-√shi+, amidst-exact, 'approximately' (Nb:25), 'circa' (Nb:108)

(32) sni'tslɑ'wasqn, s-ni'-√tsl-a'was-qn, NOM-amidst-five[poss. mistranscription of ts'el 'one stands']-waist, middle, between-head, 'porcupine quill over head' (Na:219)

(33) ni?sátči?qsen, ni?-√setč-i?qs-en, amidst-twist-nose, beak-NOM, 'crank' (J:238)

(34) ni'mɪ'te'wes, ni'-√mi't-e'wes, amidst-centered-waist, middle, between, 'among, center, midpoint, middle, axis' (Nb:16), 'amid' (Na:99)

Nicodemus has provided two interesting variants on this term for 'center' in (35) and (36):

(35) ep+ sni?mí?tewes, ep+ s-ni?-√mi?t-iwis, s/h/it has NOM-amidst-centered-waist, middle, between, 'concentric (lit. It has a common center)' (Na:73)

(36) te'l ni'mɪ'te'wes, te'l ni'-√mi't-e'wes, from amidst-centered-waist, middle, between, 'centrifugal (lit. moving or directed from the center)' (Nb:99)

2.07 MIXED

The tacit landmark for this group is a cluster of unspecified objects. The trajector describes turning motion.

(37) eni'selm, e-ni'-√sel-m, CUST-amidst-turn-MDL, 'assorted (lit. It is a mixture)' (Nb:31)

(38) ni'sellm, ni'-√sel(REDUP)-m, amidst-turn around-cause, 'clutter' (lit. it was piled in a disordered state)' (Nb:116)

(39) ni'selmstm, ni'-√sel-m-stm, amidst-turn-MDL-PASS, 'blend (lit. It was mixed, i.e. with other entities)' (Nb:60)

2.08 ONE SELECTED FROM MANY

The landmark is a set of objects. The trajector is one of those objects. All of our examples are based on the same root *k'wi'n* 'choose'.

(40) *sni'k'wi̱'n*, s-ni'-√k'wi'n, NOM-amidst-choose, 'choice (lit. something chosen from among several)' (Na:219)

(41) *sni'k'wi̱'nm*, s-ni'-√k'wi'n-m, NOM-amidst-choose-MDL, 'election (lit. the act of choosing someone)' (Na:219)

(42) *ni'k'wi̱'nnts*, ni'-√k'wi'n-nts, amidst-choose-TRNS, 'appoint' (Nb:25)

2.09 EPITOME

Terms in this group single out something (or someone) that possesses the greatest value of a quality. Therefore, it is a special case of the ONE FROM MANY schema. These are the terms that fit Reichard's observation that "The prefix [*ne'*] is used to indicate the superlative degree" (Reichard 1938: 39, 596). The trajector is the quality that characterizes the person or thing and is designated by the stem. It is the stem that introduces a scale of value. In (45) - (48) it also seems to connote a range of possibilities that serve as the tacit plural landmark. In (49) - (51) the landmark is specified. Note that (51) has the [ni?-___-ilqʷ] frame, but here it belongs to the EPITOME schema rather than the AMIDST THE TREES subschema of LONG THIN VERTICAL THINGS. However, it seems quite likely that the available metaphor of trees is a motivating influence on this construction.

(43) *sni'lḁkut*, s-ni'-√lek-ut, NOM-amidst-distant-be in position, 'apogee (lit. the farthest point)' (Na:219)

(44) *sni'ngwḁst*, s-ni'-n-√gwes-t, NOM-amidst-in-high, ascend-inherent, 'acme (lit. the highest point)' (Nb:6)

(45) *sni't'i̱k'wt'ik'ut*, s-ni'-(REDUP)√t'ik'w-ut, NOM-amidst-old-be in position, 'eldest (lit. h/s is oldest person in group)' (Na:219)

(46) *sni'qhḁst*, s-ni'-√qhes-t, NOM-amidst-good-inherent, 'h/s is the best in crowd, best, elite' (Na:219)

(47) *sni'ch'ch'ḁ'ne*, s-ni'-√ch'ch'e'ne, NOM-amidst-small, 'atom (lit. the very smallest entity)' (Na:218)

(48) *sni'siysiyu̱s*, s-ni'-(REDUP)√siy-us, NOM-amidst-able-face, eyes, 'champ (lit. one who is most capable)' (Nb:100)

(49) sni?cecíw̓temš, s-ne?-(REDUP)√ciw̓-t-emš, NOM-amidst-youngest adult-inherent-people, 'the little one who was youngest' (J:233)

(50) sni?ceciw̓tumš, s-ne?-[(REDUP)√ciw̓-t-emš](DIM GLOT), NOM-amidst-youngest adult-inherent-people, 'the youngest of the small ones' (R:596)

(51) sni?céšalqʷ, s-ni?-√ceš-alqʷ, NOM-amidst-be long, tall-long stiff object, 'the tallest' (R:596)

2.10 POSSIBILITY

ne' has also acquired an abstract sense of POSSIBILITY, perhaps as a metaphorical extension of ONE SELECTED FROM MANY. Thus, Nicodemus (1975b: 259) gives the following terms:

maybe, adv. na'qhi̱ɬ
maybe, adv. ne' (stem)
maybe, adv. ne'gwni̱khw
maybe so, adv. ne''m'nus

The complex terms in this group can be analyzed as follows:

(52) *na'qhi̱ɬ*, na'-√qhi̱ɬ, amidst-to leave, desert, abandon, 'maybe, possibly' (Na:155)

(53) *ne'gwni̱khw*, ne'-√gwnikhw, amidst-true, 'maybe'

(54) *ne''m'nus*, ne'-√mine'-us? (GLOT), amidst-to be apt, likely-eye, face, 'maybe so' (Na:259,151)

To these can be added the imperative form in (55)

(55) *ne'wi̱'intkhw*, ne'-√wi'in-tkhw, amidst-call-IMP3, 'call (lit. you shall ... h/h aloud!)' (Nb:87)

All of the above terms have been attested and published. Other terms that apparently include the prefix *ne'*, but which were unanalyzable (59) or whose attestations or transcriptions seem less reliable (56-58) include the following:

(56) *na'nstq'e̱'lkhwn*	'Place for Hooking On' (place name; NPF:52)
(57) *na'ulstq'e̱'lkhwn*	'Maybe Belonging to Place for Hooking On' (place name; NPF: 55)
(58) *ne'atsqha̱qhst'm*	'Where Crows Call' (place name; NPF:43)
(59) *ni'ɬukhwtelch'i̱*	(personal name; well attested but meaning not known; √ɬukhw 'pull on' NPC:51)

3. Conclusions

Various senses of the Coeur d'Alene prefix *ne'* are depicted as schemas that belong to a complex category. Both schematic relations and prototype-to-variant relations figure prominently in the semantic structure of *ne'*. Given that the prefix predicates a relation that connects a trajector to a landmark, we have found that it is changes in the landmarks that account most frequently for variations in meanings. Prototypical landmarks refer to hair and trees. The reference to hair is not surprising given the importance of body part symbolism in spatial and locative terms in other Native American languages, e. g. Mixtec and Tarascan.

Our findings support the work of Casad and Langacker that shows that spatial prefixes can be described as complex categories. Unlike these authors, and contrary to expectations generated by the work of Brugman and Lakoff, we find that a central schema can be reasonably posited for the prefix *ne'*. However, we concur with Langacker that a central schema needs to be supplemented with other conventional schemas to provide an adequate account of a complex category.

Few clearly metaphorical usages emerge, though some usages seem vaguely metaphorical, as in terms that refer to epitomes, centers, and possibility. Perhaps the lack of clearly metaphorical usages reflects the high level of abstraction of spatial prefixes.

Endnotes

[1]We wish to thank Dale Kinkade, Margaret Langdon, and George Urioste for useful comments on this paper. They are not responsible for the mistakes that remain.

[2]n 'in' is written hən in Palmer and Nicodemus (1985) and Palmer (1990).

[3]Websters Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1976, pp. 70, 72) has *among* (or *amongst*) "surrounded by: in the midst of: intermingled with" (p. 72) and *amid* (or *amidst*) "in or into the middle of: surrounded or encompassed by: AMONG" (p. 70).

[4]Many of the terms in this paper are taken from the two volume dictionary by Nicodemus (1975a,b). The dictionary was apparently produced by presenting Nicodemus with a list of terms in English in order to elicit Coeur d'Alene equivalents. The result was undoubtably a number of invented words never before uttered in Coeur d'Alene, but nevertheless revealing of the semantic principles underlying their construction. Unfortunately, it is often not possible to say with certainty which are traditional usages and which are neologisms.

[5]Adding a new wrinkle to the search for the function of the puzzling s prefix in Salish, Kinkade (1993) has found that s in Upper Chehalis functions to mark imperfectives in directly quoted speech.

[6]This was glossed as 'chest' in the source, an apparent typographical error.

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x

x   x

x O_{tr}

     x x

    x

Im
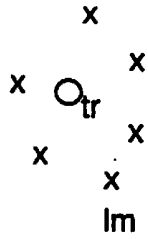
AMIDST
OBJECTS

ni'puxwį'wiṣ
`he blew among'

tr
O
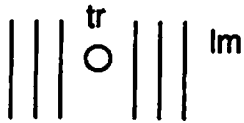
| | | | | | Im AMIDST LONG,
THIN VERTICAL
THINGS

ni'gwalpalqw
`burned' (the forest was...)

AMIDST THIN
FLAT THINGS

Im
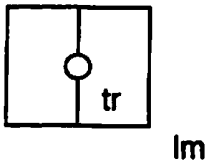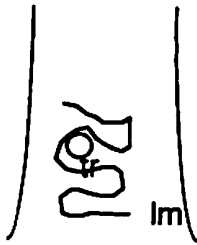
ni'q'e'i'wesn a q'e'ymįnn
`bookmark'

tr
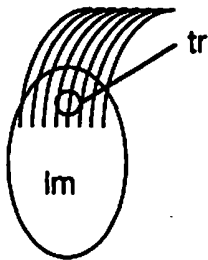
AMIDST HAIR
ON HEAD

Im

chni'chmạ'wesqn
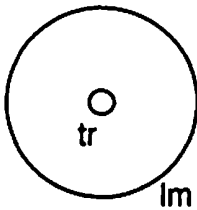`on the surface in the hair
at the top of the head'

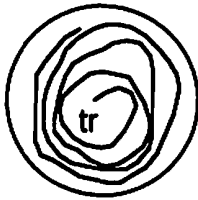# Figure 1: Image-Schemas for the Coeur d'Alene Prefix *ne'*

Figure 1, continued

	AMIDST THE INTESTINES	*sni'ts'a̱'ts'a'rench* `intestinal pains'
	IN THE CENTER	ni'mi̱'t'wes `among, center, midpoint, middle axis'
	MIXED	*eni's̲e̲lm* `assorted'
	ONE FROM MANY	*sni'k'wi̱'n* `choice'
	EPITOME	*sni'l̲e̲kut* `apogee' (the farthest point)
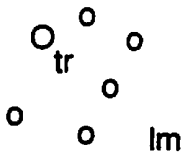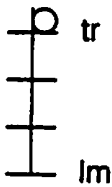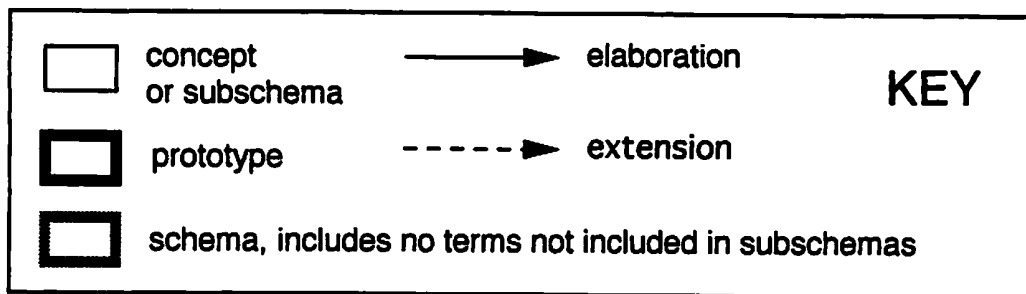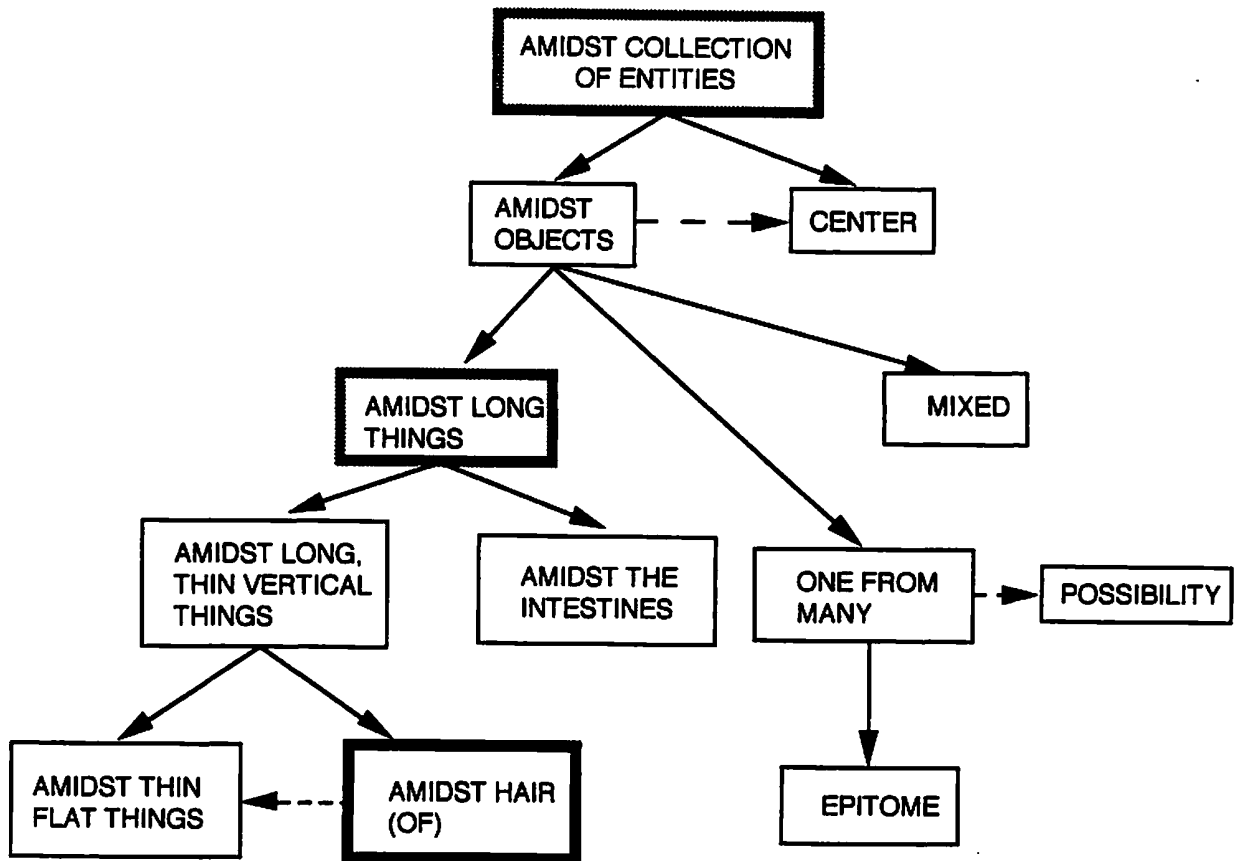
Figure 2: Prefix *ne'* as a Complex Category

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes of Coeur d'Alene

Manner	Lab.	Alv.	Palat.	Velar	Uvular -rnd	Uvular +rnd	Pharyn. -rnd	Pharyn. +rnd	Laryn.
Stops									
voiceless	p	t		kʷ	q	qʷ			ʔ
ejective	p̓	t̓		k̓ʷ	q̓	q̓ʷ			
voiced	b	d			gʷ				
Affricates									
voiceless		c	č						
ejective		c̓	č̓						
voiced			ǰ						
Fricatives									
medial		s	š	xʷ	x	xʷ			h
lateral		ɬ							
Sonorants									
non-ejective		l			r		ʕ	ʕʷ	
ejective		l̓			r̓		ʕ̓	ʕ̓ʷ	
Nasals									
non-ejective	m	n							
ejective	m̓	n̓							
Semivowels									
non-ejective			y	w					
ejective			y̓	w̓					

[a]based on Table 1 in Johnson, Robert E., The Role of Phonetic Detail in Coeur d'Alene Phonology. (Ph.D. dissertation in Language and Linguistics, Washington State University, Pullman, WA, 1975). Johnson and other Coeur d'Alene scholars have used /R/ to represent the pharyngeal phoneme /ʕ/ and its labial and ejective counterparts.

Table 2: Vowel Phonemes of Coeur d'Alene[a]

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Middle	e	ə	ɔ
Low		a	

[a]Coeur d'Alene vowels undergo both progressive harmony and, under the influence of low-back consonants, regressive lowering.

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Margaret Langdon
Volume Editor

Leanne Hinton
Series Editor

This volume is dedicated to

JAMES E. REDDEN

on the occasion of his retirement

for his enduring commitment to the publication

of the results of research on Yuman, Hokan, Penutian and

other American Indian languages

and also

for his contributions to the

documentation of the Hualapai language

INTRODUCTION

This volume includes a number of papers presented in conjunction with the 1993 Linguistic Institute at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, at two conferences on American Indian Languages: the meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous languages of the Americas, held July 2-4, 1993, and the meeting of the Hokan-Penutian Workshop, held on the morning of July 3, 1993.

This continues a tradition initiated during the Linguistic Institute at the University of Arizona in 1988, of offering conferences on American Indian languages during the summer Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, which is held every two years on the campus of the host institution. The interaction thus afforded between students and faculty of the Institute and specialists in American Indian languages has proved mutually profitable.

We gratefully acknowledge the dedication of Catherine Callaghan in making these meetings thoroughly enjoyable, as well as the hospitality of Ohio State University.

The Hokan-Penutian Conference has a tradition of meetings dating as far back as 1970, when the first Hokan Conference was hosted by Margaret Langdon at UCSD. Since 1976, the Hokan (and later Hokan-Penutian) Conference proceedings were published most years by James Redden, as part of the series *Occasional Papers on Linguistics*, out of the department of Linguistics at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Beginning this year, with James Redden's retirement, the reports of these conferences are being published as part of the *Survey Reports* out of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at the University of California at Berkeley.

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