Mainland Comox 'Plurals': A Working Paper*

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0. Introduction.

In Mainland Comox (hereafter MCx), a Central Salishan language spoken in the province of British Columbia (Canada), number is not obligatorily marked except in first and second person pronominal elements (subject, object, and possessive affixes and clitics).[1] However, 'plurality' can be explicitly indicated, and there are seven different formations involved in marking it. Although the details of the processes may not be as complicated as in Upper Chehalis (Tsamosan Salish) as discussed in Kinkade (1995), MCx plural formations are varied and show some of the characteristics of Salish.

The most productive of all the plural formations is $C_1əC_2$• reduplication. There are three affixes which express plurality; *-Vg(-)*, is quite productive, whereas the other two (*-tən* and *-ʔəm*) apply to specifically limited stems. Some roots with *ə* as their (first) vowel have ablaut forms for plurals.[2] A few roots have suppleted forms to express plurality. Finally, Plurality can also be expressed by an analytical construction using an independent word (*qəx̌*).

This paper is organized as follows: the remaining part of Introduction gives some characteristics of MCx which will facilitate the understanding of the examples cited in this paper. In Section 1, I will exemplify and discuss the plural forms in the following order: reduplication (1.1), *-Vg(-)* (1.2), ablaut (1.3), *-tən* (1.4), *-ʔəm* (1.5), suppletion (1.6), and analytical expression (1.7).

MCx predicates usually occur clause initially. Except for reduplicative materials, a root occurs initially in a stem. The two most prevalent shapes of MCx roots are C_1VC_2 and $C_1VC_2C_3$, and there are also some C_1V and C_1VC_2V roots. Longer roots are not synchronically analyzable but may historically be

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[1] At least two dialects are recognized of Comox: Island Comox (hereafter ICx), (formerly) spoken on Vancouver Island, and Mainland Comox, spoken on the mainland of British Columbia. The latter is spoken by three groups: Sliammon, Klahoose, and Homalco. Further dialectal differences among these groups, if any, have not been recognized. It should be noted that the term 'Mainland Comox' is disliked by the speakers of that dialect. However, since there seems to be no other appropriate cover term for the mainland dialect, I will use this term in this paper. The MCx phonemic inventory includes the following: *p, (tᶿ), t, (λ), č, (k), (kʷ), q, qʷ, ʔ, p', tᶿ', t', λ', č', (k'), kʷ', q', qʷ', ǰ, g, ǰ', g', θ, s, ɬ, š, xʷ, x̌, x̌ʷ, h, m, n, (l), y, w, m', n', (l'), y', w', i, u, a, ə.* Primary stress falls on the first syllable of word. Those in parentheses are so far observed as rare or limited in their occurrences. Note that *ǰ'* and *g'* are realized phonetically as [ʔǰ] and [ʔg] respectively. For a justification in considering them as single unit phonemes, and also for (morpho)phonological rules observed so far, see Watanabe (1994a, b). There are regular alternations, most notably *ǰ' ~ y, g ~ w, ǰ' ~ y', g' ~ w'*. See Blake (1992) for a more theoretical treatment of MCx phonology.

[2] It may be that such a *ə* should be treated as epenthetic, in which case the process in question would not be *ə* > *a* ablaut. However, much needs to be worked out on *ə* epenthesis in MCx.

comprised of more than two morphemes. Root compounding is not a productive process. Aside from the numerous reduplications, the language is mainly suffixing in its morphology, with only a few infixes and different types of ablaut. It may be noteworthy that plural expressions involve all of these four morphological processes (i.e., reduplications, suffixes, an infix, and an ablaut).

The referent of third persons can be explicitly expressed by lexical arguments, which can be of two types: direct lexical arguments express subject of intransitive predicates and subject and object of transitive predicates (i.e., all core arguments); oblique lexical arguments express all others. The latter is marked by the preceding particle *ʔə*, whereas the former is not. Both types of lexical arguments are usually preceded by a determiner. My use of the terms 'lexical argument' and 'predicate' is essentially that of Kinkade (1995: 361).

As already mentioned above, number is not obligatory (in third persons) and neither is gender.[3] Thus, when the English translation of the examples cited reads 'he / him', it can also be translated as 'she, they / her, them'.

1. Plural variants.

1.1. Reduplication. $C_1əC_2$• reduplication is by far the most productive of all the processes which express plurality. (C_1VC_2• reduplication is one of the commonest devices for indicating plurality in Salish, and MCx $C_1əC_2$• reduplication fits within this context.) Other reduplication types which form plurals, namely $C_1V?V$• and $C_1a?aC_2$•, are observed with a limited number of stems. All three types occur with both predicates and lexical arguments. There are other types of reduplication which seem to express plurality, and I will discuss these later in section 1.3.

1.1.1. $C_1əC_2$• reduplication is formed by reduplicating the stem initial C_1VC_2 and placing it before the stem, with the modification of the V to *ə* when the vowel is one of the full vowels (*i, u,* or *a*).[4] For example,[5]

(1)	*t'ən•t'in*	'lots of barbecued fish' [t'ə́nt'ɛn]	(*t'in* [t'én -- t'én])
(2)	*kʷəs•kʷusin*	'stars' [kʷə́skʷu•sɪn]	(*kʷusin* [kʷú•sɪn])
(3)	*məθ•maθač*	'black ducks' [mə́θma•θač]	(*maθač* [má•θač])
(4)	*məs•məs*	'minks' [(ʔ)mʌ́smʌs•]	(*məs* [mʌ́s•])

$C_1əC_2$• reduplication can express distribution ('plurality') over space or time. Thus,

(5)	*ʔəm•ʔimaš*	'to (be) walk(ing) around' [ʔʌ́mʔe•mʌš]	(*ʔimaš* 'walk' [ʔé•mʌš])

[3] Feminine gender can be indicated in lexical arguments by the use of the determiner *łə*, however, its function may not be restricted to marking gender. Much needs to be worked out on MCx determiners.

[4] A limited number of stems form their plurals by C_1VC_2• reduplication, rather than by $C_1əC_2$• reduplication. E.g., *kʷiš•kʷišk̓ʷiš* 'blue jays' (*kʷišk̓ʷiš* 'blue jay').

[5] I give only a limited number of examples for sections 1.1 and 1.2 in the present work. For more examples, see Watanabe (1994a, b, c). The symbols and abbreviations used in this paper are: = lexical suffix, • reduplication, [...] in phonemic representation indicates infixes, A.Intr active-intransitive, CTr control transitive, Det determiner, Fut future, Imp imperative, Impf imperfective, Mdl middle, NTr noncontrol transitive, Obl oblique, Pl plural, Psv possessive, ptc particle, Qn question marker, s.o. someone, s.t. something, Stv stative. + (plus sign) is used in the gloss when two forms are fused into one morpheme and thus synchronically unsegmentable. For the sake of record, I include the phonetic transcriptions (between [...]) of each example cited. The corresponding non-plural simplex forms are given in parenthesis following the plural forms.

(6) *ʔəɬ•ʔuɬqʷu* 'always digging clams' [ʔʌ́ɬʔoɬqʷo] (*ʔuɬqʷu* 'dig clams' [ʔóɬqʷo])

$C_1əC_2$• reduplication of predicates refers to the plurality of the subject in intransitive predicates and of the object in transitive predicates. Thus,

(7) Intransitive subject
gəq'•gəq' *tə* *ʔəm•ʔimin*
Pl•open Det Pl•door
'All the doors are open.' [gʌ́q'gʌq' tə ʔʌ́mʔemen]

(8) Transitive object
gəq'•gəq'-t *tə* *ʔəm•ʔimin*
Pl•Open-CTr Det Pl•door
'Open all the doors!' [gʌ́q'gʌq't tə ʔʌ́mʔɛmɛn]

1.1.2. Some stems form their plurals by reduplications other than $C_1əC_2$•. Such reduplications include $C_1V?V$• (mostly $C_1aʔa$•) and $C_1aʔaC_2$•. I have yet to identify the rules governing which types of stems undergo which types of reduplication.

$C_1V?V$• reduplication
(9) *naʔa•nxʷiɬ* 'canoes' [náʔaɳxʷɪɬ] (*nəxʷiɬ* [nə́ɯ̓xʷɪɬ])
(10) *ƛ'aʔa•ƛ'x̣ay'* 'lots of elders' [ƛ'áʔa•ƛ'x̣ayʔ] (*ƛ'aƛ'x̣ay'* [ƛ'áƛ'x̣ay'], *ƛ'ax̣ay'* [ƛ'áx̣ay'])
Cf. also recorded as 'lots of elders': *ƛ'ax̣•ƛ'ax̣ay* [ƛ'áx̣ƛ'ɑ•x̣ay]
(11) *t'θiʔi•t'θqinas* 'chicken hawks' [t'θéʔet'θqɛnʌs] (*t'θit'θqinis* [t'θét'θqɛ•nɛs])
(12) maʔa•ma-t-as tə čəy•čuy'
C₁aʔa•take-CTr-3Sbj Det Pl•child
'He is taking all the kids.' [máʔɑ•mɑ•tʌs tə čí:čuyʔ]
Cf. *maʔ•ma-t-as*[6] 'He is getting it.' [(ᵊ)máʔmà•tas]

$C_1aʔaC_2$• reduplication
(13) *maʔaƛ'•məƛ'* 'calm spot all over the place' [máʔaƛ'mʌƛ'] (*məƛ'* 'calm (water)' [mʌ́ƛ'])
(14) *t'aʔaq•t'əq-t* 'putting lots of things on wall' (*-t* CTr) [t'á•ʔʌqt'ʌqt] (*t'əq-t* 'to put/glue/pin s.t. on wall' [t'ʌ́qt])

1.2. *-Vg(-).* The vowel of this affix can be any one of the three full vowels (*i*, *u*, and *a*).[7] This affix occurs either after the first syllable of the stem (excluding prefixing reduplicants) or at the end of it.[8] In the former position, *-Vg(-)* sometimes breaks up a stem that is otherwise (at least synchronically) unsegmentable, and thus it cannot be treated simply as a suffix.

[6] This reduplication appears to be irregular; imperfective is expressed by C_1V• reduplication, and I cannot explain the occurrence of *ʔ* in this form.

[7] *g* appears before a vowel and alternates with *w* before a consonant or a word boundary, and thus this affix appears as *-Vw(-)* in the latter environments.

[8] However, the affix seems to precede *-ʔuɬ* Past: *niʔ-ig-uɬ šṭ* 'We were there' (*niʔ* 'to be there, to exist', *šṭ* 1pl.Sbj).

This affix is found primarily with predicates, and I have recorded only a few lexical arguments with it.[9] In contrast with the $C_1əC_2$• reduplication discussed above, when *-Vg(-)* occurs with predicates, it can refer to the plurality of an intransitive subject and of both a transitive subject and object. It seems that the referent of this affix, whether to the subject or to the object, is ambiguous out of context. It does not appear to denote plurality in a temporal or spatial sense but only the plurality of the persons involved.

Examples (15) to (18) show this affix occuring after the first syllable of the stem. When this affix occurs in this position, the vowel of the affix is a copy of the vowel of that syllable.[10]

Intransitive subject
(15) *ʔiɬ[iw]tən*[11] *štəm*
eat[Pl] 1pl.Sbj+Fut
'We will eat (together).' [ʔé•ɬewtənštəm]
Cf. *ʔiɬtən tᵊəm* 'I will eat.' (*tᵊəm* 1sg.Sbj+Fut)
Compare also: *ʔəɬ•ʔiɬtən* 'always eating' (with $C_1əC_2$• reduplication)

(16) *č'ah-ag-əm*
pray-Pl-Mdl
'They are praying.' [č'é^{ə}hʌ•gəm]
Cf. *č'ah-am* 'He prays.'

Transitive subject
(17) *ʔaq'-ag-aθ-as-uɬ*[12] *čəniɬ*
chase-Pl-CTr+1sg.Obj-3Sbj-Past 1sg.
'They ran after me.' [ʔá•q'ɑ•gɑ•θʌsoɬ čínɪɬ]
Cf. *ʔaq'-aθ-as-uɬ čəniɬ* 'He ran after me.' [ʔá•q'ɑ•θʌsoɬ čínɪɬ]

Transitive object
(18) *ʔaq'-ag-at-uɬ* *č*
chase-Pl-CTr-Past 1sg.Sbj
'I ran after them.' [ʔá•q'ɑ•gɑ•tòɬč]
Cf. *ʔaq'-at-uɬ č* 'I ran after him.' [ʔá•q'ɑ•tòɬč]

In examples (19) to (21), this affix is attached at the end of the stem. In this position, the vowel of the affix is *i*, regardless of the first vowel of the stem or the nearest vowel in the stem.[13]

[9] E.g., *qay[aw]mixʷ* 'Native Indian people' (*qaymixʷ*). See also example (59).

[10] I have not found any data for which this affix directly follows a stem initial $C_1əC_2$ sequence.

[11] The stem *ʔiɬtən* is intransitive. For the transitive predicate meaning 'to eat s.t.', *məkʷ-* is used.

[12] The linking vowel of the control transitive marker *-(V)t* follows the following pattern (Kroeber 1989:110): (a) immediately after roots of shape CəC, no link vowel (e.g., example 8); (b) immediately after roots of shape CVC (V≠*ə*), link vowel is the same as root vowel (e.g., 23a); (c) immediately after roots of shape CəCC, link vowel is *a*; (d) after longer forms, especially suffixed ones, no link vowel (e.g., 22 and 24; exception: forms with •VC reduplication or with *-Vg(-)* take link vowel *a* [e.g., 17 and 18]). In my previous studies, I segmented the link vowel from the following transitive marker, but I will not do so in the present analysis for the sake of simplicity.

[13] There is, however, at least one exception in which the vowel is *u*: *ʔuɬqʷu-ʔ-uw* 'They dig clams.' I treat the glottal stop in this example as an epenthetic consonant which breaks up the VV sequence.

Intransitive subject

(19) *či·čiɬ-im-iw*
Impf-dance-Mdl-Pl
'They are dancing.' [čí·či·ɬe·mew]
Cf. *či·čiɬ-im* 'He is dancing.' [čí·či·ɬem]

Transitive subject

(20) *ɬaʔq'-at-as-iw*
wait-CTr-3Sbj-Pl
'They waited for him.'

Transitive object

(21) *səp'-t-iw* *čan* *səm*
club-CTr-Pl 1sg.Sbj Fut
'I will club them all.' [sʌ́p'tewčensəm]
Cf. *səp'-t čan səm* 'I will club it.' [sə́p'čénsəm]

These examples (15 - 21) confirm that *-Vg(-)* can refer to the plurality of all core arguments. [14]

1.3. Ablaut.

1.3.1. Some roots whose (first) vowel is *ə*, have an ablaut form to express plurality. In such stems, the vowel *ə* is changed to *a*. As is shown in the examples below, the ablauted forms denote plurality of the arguments, and also that of temporal and spatial sense. However, there is no example in the corpus in which the ablauted form refers to plural transitive subject. This process has not been found to occur with lexical arguments but only with predicates. The following examples show the ablaut forms in (a) and its corresponding simplex form in (b):

(22a) *q'ajǐp'=uǰ'a-θi* *tᶿəm*[15]
fold=hand-CTr+2sg.Obj 1sg.Sbj+Fut
'I'll roll up your sleeves.' [q'á·ǰi·p'ʊ.ʔǰʸæθe·tᶿim]

(22b) *q'əyp'=uǰ'a-θ* *ga*
fold=hand-CTr+1sg.Obj Imp
'Roll up my sleeve!' [q'éɪ·p'ʊ.ʔǰʸɛθgʌ]

(23a) *θaxʷ-at-as*
stab(pl.)-CTr-3Sbj
'He's stabbing it many times.' [θá·xʷa·təs]

[14] However, in transitive predicates, there is perhaps a tendency for this affix to be interpreted as referring to the transitive object when it occurs after the first syllable and to the transitive subject when it occurs at the end of a stem. See, for example, (27) and (28) below. It is interesting to see that the apparent cognate affix in Sechelt (*-Vw*) refers to intransitive subjects and transitive objects (Beaumont 1985:86), but apparently not to transitive subjects.

[15] I cannot account for the insertion of the second vowel in the ablaut form. Parallel to the *g* and *w* alternation, *ǰ* appears before a vowel and alternates with *y* before a consonant or a word boundary.

(23b) *θəxʷ-t-as-uɬ*
stab-CTr-3Sbj-Past
'He stabbed it.' [θúxʷtasoɬ]

(24a) *sap'=iqʷa-t*[16] *čxʷ* *tə* *ǰanxʷ*
club(pl.)=top.of.head-CTr 2sg.Sbj Det fish
'Keep on clubbing the fish!' [sá·p'eqʷʌčxʷ tə ǰʸénxʷ]

(24b) *saʔp'=iqʷa-t* *čxʷ*
club=top.of.head-CTr 2sg.Sbj
'Club him on the head!' [sáʔp'eqʷʌčxʷ]
(*səp'*- 'to club'; *ə* > *aʔ* /(#)C _ C'V [Kroeber 1989])

(25a) *ƛas-aθ-as*
punch(pl.)-CTr+1sg.Obj-3Sbj
'He hit me all over the body.' [ƛásə·sas]

(25b) *ƛəs-θ-as*
punch-CTr+1sg.Obj-3Sbj
'He hit me.' [ƛásθas]

The meaning of the root *sap'*- in (24a) is often translated as 'to spank', as shown in the following example:

(26) *sap'-at* *tᶿəm* *tə* *čuy'*
club(pl.)-CTr 1sg.Sbj+Fut Det child
'I will spank the kid.' [sá·p'a·tᶿəm tə čúyʔ]

Now, observe also the next examples, where this ablauted stem cooccurs with *-Vg(-)*.

(27) *sap'-ag-at-as* *tə* *čəy·čuy'*
club(pl.)-Pl-CTr-3Sbj Det Pl·child
'He is spanking all the kids.' [sá·p'a·ga·təs tə čí·čuyʔ]

(28) *sap'-at-as-iw* *tə* *čəy·čuy'*
club(pl.)-CTr-3Sbj-Pl Det Pl·child
'They are spanking the kids.' [sáp'atasew tə čí·čuyʔ]

In these two examples, the *a* ablaut refers to the plurality of the act of 'clubbing' (= 'spanking'), and the *-Vg(-)* affix refers to that of the arguments.

1.3.2. It may be the case that this ablaut vowel *a* is the source of the vowels in C_1a· and C_1aC_2· reduplications.

[16] *=iqʷan* 'top of head'. *n* is generally deleted before *t*.

In examples (29) and (30), the roots underwent the *a* ablaut and $C_1V\cdot$ imperfective reduplication. The former process (i.e., *a* ablaut) must have preceded the reduplication, because this reduplication copies the stem-initial CV,[17] and the vowels in the reduplicant in the following examples are *a*.

(29) *λa·λap[i]x^w-at*
Impf·break(pl.)[Stv]-CTr
'breaking lots of them (e.g., sticks)' [ƛáƛapexʷʌtʰ]
Cf. *λə·λpx^w-at* 'breaking it' [ƛáƛp(ʊ)xʷʌt]; *λəpx^w-at* 'to break (s.t. in two)'

(30) *k'a·k'ap'=iq^w=uy-ʔəm*
Impf-cut(pl.)=pointed?=hand-A.Intr
'cutting one's fingernails' [kʼʸéːkʼʸɛᵊpʼɛːqʷʊˌyʔəm]
Cf. *k'əp'-ʔəm* 'to cut (with scissors)' [kʼʸípʼʔʌm]

In examples (31) and (32), the roots have undergone the *a* ablaut and the $C_1V\cdot$ imperfective reduplication. They are also suffixed by *-Vg(-)*, however, the semantic contribution of this is not entirely clear. (The following examples with $C_1V\cdot$ reduplication have not been recorded without the *-Vg(-)* affix.)

(31) *χa·χaλ-aw*
C_1a·break(pl.)-Pl
'Lots of string-like object [ropes] are breaking up.' [χáːχaːƛaw]
Cf. *χəλ* 'string-like object breaks' [χáƛ], *χə·χλ* '(it is) breaking up'

(32) *pa·paχ-aw*
C_1a·tear(pl.)-Pl
'(e.g. clothes, bag is) tearing apart (into pieces)' [páːpaːχàw]
Cf. *paχ* 'to get ripped' [páχ]

Examples (33) and (34) below have C_1a· as their reduplicant, however, unlike the examples above, the roots have lost their vowels. In contrast with the examples above, they do not seem to indicate the imperfective aspect, and the reduplication involved here does not appear to be $C_1V\cdot$ imperfective reduplication. Thus, we cannot be certain as to the source of the vowel *a* (or the C_1a· as a whole), however, plurality is clearly expressed:

(33) *č'a·č'pχ tə tᶿ ʔiʔagikʼʷ*
C_1a·dirty Det 1sg.Psv clothes
'My clothes are all dirty.' [čʼʸéčʼpχ tʌtᶿ ʔéʔɑgikʼʷ]
Cf. *č'əpχ* '(it is) dirty' [čʼípχ]

[17] If the (first) vowel of the root is *ə*, the root loses that vowel when it undergoes $C_1V\cdot$ imperfective reduplication.

(34) *χa·χλ-it tə χʷil'əm*
C_1a·break-Stv Det rope
'The rope is broken/severed in multiple points.' [χáːχʌɛtʰ tʌχʷéʔɬəm]
Cf. *χəλ-it tə χʷil'əm* 'The rope is broken/severed.' [χáƛɛtʰ tə χʷéʔɬəm]
Compare also with example (31).

The second type of reduplication which perhaps involves the *a* ablaut is $C_1aC_2\cdot$ reduplication. Its meaning is not entirely clear, however, most of the examples with this reduplication express plurality of some kind. For example,

(35) *naš·nəš-əm*
C_1aC_2·swim-Mdl
'swimming back and forth' [nášnišim -- nášnɪšɪm]
Cf. *nəš-əm* 'to swim' [níšɪm]

(36) *gaq'ʷ·gəq'ʷ=šən-əm*
C_1aC_2·drag=foot-Mdl
'(to be) dragging one's both feet' [gáqʼʷgʊˌqʼʷšɪnəm]

(37) *qʷam·qʷum=qin-ʔəm*
C_1aC_2·put.in.mouth=mouth-A.Intr
'always kissing' [qʷámqʷomqɛnʔʌm]
Cf. *qʷum=qin-ʔəm* 'to kiss' [qʷómqɛnʔəm]

(38) *k'ʷan·k'ʷən-ʔəm č*
C_1aC_2·see-A.Intr 1sg.Sbj
'I'm looking around' [kʼʷánkʼʷʊnʔəmč]
Cf. *k'ʷən-ʔəm* 'to see' [kʼʷúnʔʌm]

(39) *taq'ʷ·tuq'ʷ-it*
C_1aC_2·cough-Stv
'cough and stop, cough and stop' [táqʼʷtoːqʼʷèt]

(40) *k'ʷat'ᶿk'ʷit'ᶿ-im*
C_1aC_2·jump-Mdl
'(It is) hopping/jumping continuously' [kʼʷátʼᶿkʼʷeːtʼᶿèm]

For some stems which undergo $C_1aC_2\cdot$ reduplication (the a forms below), forms with $C_1əC_2\cdot$ reduplication (discussed in 1.1) were also recorded (the b forms). The difference in the meaning of the two reduplication types is difficult to discern precisely, however, example (41) shows that they may express different kinds of plurality.

(41a) *sač·səč-əm*
C_1aC_2·itch-Mdl
'itchy all over' [sáčsɪčìm -- sáčsɪčìm]

(41b) *səč•səč-əm* *tə* *t$^{\theta}$* *čayiš*
Pl•itch-Mdl Det 1sg.Psv hand
'My hand is always itchy *in one spot*.'[18] [síčsɪčìm təɬ$^{\theta}$čéyɪš]

In the next two pairs of examples, the semantic contribution of the reduplication is not entirely clear, however, they are clearly C_1aC_2• in form and contrast with $C_1əC_2$• reduplication.

(42a) *ʔaɬ•ʔiɬɬ[i]n* *č*
C_1aC_2•eat[Stv] 1sg.Sbj
'I'm enjoying my meal, eating slowly, bit by bit. / eating a little bit at a time / snacking, sampling food' [ʔáˑɬʔɛˑɬtenč]

(42b) *ʔəɬ•ʔiɬtən* *č*
Pl•eat 1sg.Sbj
'I'm always eating' [ʔʌ́ɬʔɛɬtənč]

(43a) *ʔaɬ•ʔuɬq^{w}u*
C_1aC_2•dig.clams
'(to be) enjoying digging clams' [ʔáˑɬʔoˑɬq^{w}ò]

(43b) *ʔəɬ•ʔuɬq^{w}u*
Pl•dig.clams
'always digging clams' [ʔʌ́ɬʔoɬq^{w}ò]

1.4. *-tən*. This suffix attaches to a limited number of stems to form plurals.[19]

(44) *qix-tən* 'younger siblings (brothers / sisters)' [q^{x}éχtən] (*qiʔx*[20] 'younger sibling' [qéʔχ])
(45) *ʔimaθ-tən* 'grandchildren' (*ʔimaθ* 'grandchild')
(46) *(qəx-mut) həǰuq^{w}-tən* 'barbecued seals' [qʌ́χmot hʌ́ǰoq^{w}tən] (*həǰuq^{w}* [hʌ́ǰʊˑq^{w}])

I have not been able to elicit any other examples with this suffix in MCx, however, Harris (1977:95-6) recorded more examples of this suffix in ICx. This suffix in ICx (transcribed by Harris as *-tan* or *-tən*) attaches to many, but not all, kinship terms, and to a limited number of non-kin terms. Examples given by Harris (1977: 95-96) are[21]:

[18] Emphasis is the speaker, Mrs. Mary George's.
[19] There is a lexical suffix of the same phonemic shape, *=tən*, which indicates 'instrument'. E.g., *t'$^{\theta}$ay=tən* 'shade' (*t'$^{\theta}$ay-* 'shade'), *nəp=us=tən* 'mask' (*nəp-* 'put in', *=us* 'head/face'). However, it seems difficult to see any semantic connection between this lexical suffix and the plural *-tən*.
[20] The loss of *ʔ* in the suffixed form cannot be explained. It is apparently retained in the corresponding ICx form (see example 47).
[21] I have normalized the notation in Harris (1977) to match the usage in this paper.

ICx
(47) *qiʔx-tən* 'younger siblings' (*qiʔx*)
(48) *čaps-tan* 'uncles / aunts' (*čaps*)
(49) *k^{w}uʔpaʔ-tən* 'grandfathers' (*k^{w}uʔpaʔ*)
(50) *ʔays-tən* 'brothers / sisters' (*ʔayš*)
(51) *ʔimas-tən* 'grandchildren' (*ʔimas*)[22]
(52) *ƛ'əms-tan* 'village' (*ƛ'əms* 'house')[23]
(53) *ǰənis-tan* 'gums' (*ǰənis* 'tooth')

Cognate forms of this suffix are found in four sister languages (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz, Sechelt, and Pentlatch), and it can be reconstructed to Proto-Salish (Kinkade 1995:351). This suffix is usually used in combination with a particular prefix in these languages: Upper Chehalis *nš-*, Cowlitz *nx-*, Sechelt *x^{w}-*, and Pentlatch *x^{w}-*.[24] The affix complex seems to form plurals of certain kinship and non-kinship terms.

(54) Upper Chehalis (ibid. 350)
nš-ʔímc-tn 'grandchildren' (*ʔímc* 'grandchild')

(55) Pentlatch (ibid..)
x^{w}-číčt-tn 'brothers and sisters' (*číčt* brother and sister)

(56) Sechelt (Beaumont 1985)
x^{w}-ʔímac-tən 'grandchildren' (*ʔímac* 'grandchild')

The prefixed element does not appear in MCx, however this is a historically regular development; Cx lost almost all prefixes to avoid word-initial consonant cluster.

1.5. *-ʔəm*. This suffix likewise occurs with a limited number of stems. Note that in the first two examples below ('dogs' and 'trees'), the stems are modified from their simplex forms. The third example ('owls') has both the *-Vg(-)* plural affix and *-ʔəm*.

(57) *č'ən•č'ən-ʔəm* 'dogs' [č'ɪnč'ɪnʔəm] (*č'an'u* [č'ʸéʔno])
(58) *ǰaǰiy-ʔəm* 'trees' [ǰéǰiːʔəm] (*ǰaǰ'a* [ǰʸáʔǰʸa])

[22] ICx *s* corresponds to MCx *θ* (see example 45).
[23] The plural 'villages' is formed through $C_1əC_2$• reduplication: *ƛ'əm•ƛ'əms-tan* (Harris ibid.). The word for 'house' in MCx is *ƛ'əms=tən* (besides *ʔayaʔ*, which also means 'house'; *ƛ'əms-* 'to live'; Cf. Blake [1992:183] *ƛ'amstan* 'house'; Sechelt *ƛ'əmstan* 'house' [Beaumont 1985:16, 17]). The suffix (*=tən*) in the MCx form is not the plural suffix but a lexical suffix 'instrument' (and Sechelt *=tan* 'container, enclosure'). Incidentally, the vowel of the suffix, whether *ə* or *a*, is difficult to tell; full vowels, especially *a*, often reduces to *ə* in unstressed position. I have recorded the form *q'aymətən* [q'ʌ́ymətən] for 'village' in MCx.
[24] Apparently, these prefixes are cognates (Kinkade 1995:351). The Pentlatch material is originally collected by Boas, but is cited here from Kinkade (1995). I have converted the Sechelt orthography used in Beaumont (1985) to match the usage in this paper. Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz belong to the Tsamosan branch, and Sechelt and Pentlatch belong to the Central branch.

(59) *xix̣[iw]niq'-əm*[25] 'owls' [x̣éx̣ɛwnɛq'ʌm̩] (*xix̣niq'* [x̣éx̣ᴱnɛq'ˣ])

In the neighboring Sechelt, the most productive process to form plural is $C_1əC_2$· reduplication (cf. Beaumont 1985:37), just as in MCx. Interestingly, however, Sechelt has an affix complex *x*^{w}-...-*am* which occurs with some words to denote collective plural (Beaumont ibid. 38, 65).[26] Moreover, two of the three MCx words above have corresponding forms in Sechelt, whose plural forms are derived with this complex. It seems probable that the MCx *-ʔəm* and the Sechelt *-am* are of the same origin.[27] (The absence of *x*^{w}- in the MCx forms is expected as mentioned above.) The Sechelt examples are:

Sechelt (Beaumont ibid.)
(60) *x*^{w}*-č'án-am* 'dogs' (*s-č'ánu*)
(61) *x*^{w}*-síy-am* 'trees' (*síya*) Cf. *sə́ysíya* 'trees'

As is shown above, for example (61) (but apparently not for 60), there is another plural form derived by $C_1əC_2$· reduplication. According to Beaumont (1985:38) the plural form with *x*^{w}-...-*am* is a collective plural, meaning 'a lot of trees' or 'all the trees', whereas the reduplicated form is a normal plural 'trees'. I have not been able to elicit $C_1əC_2$· plural forms (without the suffix *-ʔəm*) for the three MCx examples above (57, 58, and 59).[28]

1.6. Suppletion. A few pairs of stems show number suppletion. There are only three clear examples in my data so far. Note that for (62), there is another plural form derived by $C_1əC_2$· reduplication. However, no difference in their semantics has been observed.

(62) *nəgəptay* 'women' [nə́gʌptɪy -- nə́gʌptʌy] (*sałtx*^{w} [sə́·ɬtx^w])
Cf. *səɬ·sałtx*^{w} 'women' [sɪ́ɬsɑɬtx^w]
(63) *tigix*^{w}*aɬ* 'children (of one family, of the same parents)' [tɪ́gix^{w}ʌɬ] (*man'a* 'child, offspring' [mɑ́ʔnɑ])
(64) *x̣*^{w}*ay* 'several die' [x̣^{w}áy] (*qəy'* [q^{x}éʔ^i])

The plurality of (64) refers to the subject when the predicate is intransitive and to the object when transitive.

(65a) *x̣*^{w}*ay* *tə* *məm·mimaw*
die(Pl.) Det Pl·cat
'All the cats died.' [x̣^{w}áy tʌ mʌ́m:me·mɑ̀w]

[25] *ʔ* is often deleted when it follows a glottalized obstruents, especially in allegro speech.

[26] I do not know whether the prefixed part of this complex, *x*^{w}-, and that of the complex *x*^{w}-...-*tən* are the same elements.

[27] However, I do not know if they are cognates or if one is a borrowed element from the other.

[28] It may be interesting to point out that, at least in two of the MCx examples, the stems have undergone $C_1əC_2$· reduplication (57) and *-Vg(-)* suffixation (59), and theoretically these processes should be enough to indicate plurality. (Example 58 appears to be a reduplicated form from its corresponding simplex, however, it is not clear which process has taken place.) The Sechelt examples do not show such modifications of the stems. It may be possible that the added suffix *-ʔəm* once had a slightly different function from that of indicating simple plural. However, much more data in MCx and comparative work are necessary to understand the history of the MCx plural formations.

(65b) *x̣*^{w}*aǰ-at* *čx*^{w} *tə* *qəw·qigaθ*
die(Pl.)-CTr 2sg.Sbj Det Pl·deer
'Kill all the deer!' [x̣^{w}ɑ́ǰɛčx̣^{w} tə qʌ́wqe·gʌθ]

Such paired roots are much more abundant in Interior Salish and Upper Chehalis than in Bella Coola and languages of Central Salish which have only a few such pairs (Kinkade 1981).

1.7. Analytical expression. Plural reference can be indicated syntactically by juxtaposing *qəx̣* 'many' (sometimes in combination with *-mut* 'very'). For example,

(66) *x̣aƛ'-a* *k*^{w} *qəx̣-mut* *qay'a*
want-Qn Det many-very water
'Do you want lots of water?' [x̣ɑ́ƛ'ɑ k^w qʌ́x̣mot qɑ́ʔyɛ]

Also, *qəx̣* can be used as predicates meaning 'there are lots of ...'. For example,

(67) *qəx̣* *tə* *čəy·čuy'*
many Det Pl·child
'There are lots of kids.' [qʌ́x̣ tə čɪ́·čuyʔ]

The next example is a segment from a text (conversation) in which an elderly couple is reminiscing about their fishing trip. The plurality of 'owls' in the first line is only implied, but the English translation provided by the consultant reflects this. In the second line, the plurality is explicitly stressed by the use of *qəx̣*.

(68)
JG: *k*^{w}*uk*^{w}*-im* *k*^{w} *x̣ix̣niq'*
hoot-Mdl Det owl
'Owls were hooting.' [k^{w}uk^{w}em k^w x̣ɛx̣nɛq' (laughs)]

MG: *m'''m* *qəx̣-mut* *k*^{w} *x̣ix̣niq'* *čičk*^{w}*am'-s* *tə* *q'*^{w}*ətəm*
(exclamation) many-very Det owl side?-3Psv Det river
'Uh-huh. There were lots of owls on both sides of the river.'
[m:::m qʌx̣mot k^{w}x̣ɛx̣nɛq' čɪ·čk^{w}ʌm's tə q'^{w}ʊtəm]

2. Final remarks.

In this paper, I showed that MCx makes use of various devices to indicate plurality. Some of the processes (*-tən*, *-ʔəm*, and suppletion) occur only with a limited number of stems, however, the other processes are fairly productive. Although available data is still limited in many respects, it shows that some processes can occur on the same items to indicate different kinds of plurality (e.g., [15] *ʔiɬ[iw]tən* and *ʔəɬ·ʔiɬtən*, and perhaps also [42] *ʔaɬ·ʔiɬtən*). There are also examples in which two processes cooccur (e.g., [28] *a* ablaut and *-Vg(-)*). A variety of plural markings are available to add different nuances, and this appears to be possible because 'plurality' in MCx is not a single category associated with a single formal device to be marked obligatorily.

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