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NOTES ON MAINLAND COMOX PHONOLOGY

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1. Mainland Comox is a Coast Salish language spoken by approximately five or six hundred members of the Sliammon, Klahuse, and Homalco bands of British Columbia. The oldest speaker is ninety-six years old; the youngest is under five. Everyone over thirty speaks the language and many people over twenty were monolingual in it until age seven, when they went away to boarding school. In recent years there has been greater contact with the surrounding English-speaking community and local schooling has become common, as has television. Consequently, individuals under twenty vary in their knowledge of the language from fluency to understanding only some items of the vocabulary.

The pronunciation rules of the language vary with age. Although the insights of younger speakers have been invaluable, the phonetic representations in this paper have been standardised to reflect the pronunciation of older female informants. However, the nonphonetic forms of words cited herein are valid for all age levels.

2. Within the sample of the Mainland Comox population which provided data for this paper, a marked difference was noted between the speech of men and that of women in two respects.

2.1. Women employ horizontal lip rounding, with concomitant lip protrusion.

Men employ vertical lip rounding, with the consequence of an absence of lip protrusion. The resulting impression is almost that men don't move their lips.

2.2. Women pronounce the glottal stop as a stop and glottalised stops as ejectives.

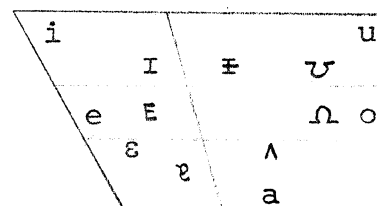
Men pronounce the glottal stop as stød¹ in the environments V_V and V_C and pronounce the glottalised consonants, especially /p̚/, somewhat weaker than ejective. Furthermore, one older man states an analogy between the glottalised stops of Mainland Comox and the voiced stops of English.

3.1. The following consonants are phonemic:

| | bilabial | interdental | alveolar | lateral | palatal | velar | | uvular | | glottal |
|-----------------|----------|-------------|----------|---------|---------|-------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|---------|
| fricatives | | θ | s | ʃ | ç | | x ^o | χ | χ ^o | h |
| voiceless stops | p | q | t | ʎ | ç | k | k ^o | q | q ^o | |
| | p̚ | q̚ | t̚ | ʎ̚ | ç̚ | k̚ | k̚ ^o | q̚ | q̚ ^o | ʔ |
| voiced stops | | | | | j | g | | | | |
| resonants | m | | n | l | y | | w | | | |
| round | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - |
| anterior | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| coronal | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| high | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| low | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| back | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - |

The features² listed are not sufficient to distinguish all of the various consonants from one another, but they do delimit enough natural classes to form a basis for the discussion in this paper. As an example of a natural class, the specification of both /ç/ and /k/ as nonback describes the palatalisation of /k/, /k̚/, and /g/.³

3.2. There are four phonemic vowels /i ə u a/ with length distinctive. At the phonetic level, an inventory of 13 vowels is used, closely approximating that used in Sapir (1915):



A long vowel is indicated by a colon (e.g. [pá:pɪm] ~ [pá:pɛm] 'working'). A half-long vowel is indicated by a raised period (e.g. [ʔɛ̌la.wɛʔ^{ɛ̌}] 'turnips'). Afterglides are indicated by the raised letters [wy^h] (e.g. [k^wámnač^h] 'root', [píč^yu] 'basket'). Peppet vowels are indicated by the raised letters [ɛ̌], [ʊ̌], etc. (e.g. [ji:k^{wɪ̌}t^h] 'rubbing')(see Boas, 1916). Where necessary for clarity, syllable boundaries are marked by a period (e.g. [k^wám.nač^h]).

4. There are four phonological features in which Mainland Comox is unlike other Salish languages but similar to Wakashan languages. The first two are innovations probably as a result of extended contact with the neighbouring Kwakiutl. The second two appear to be retentions of earlier Salish features, apparantly under Kwakiutl influence.

4.1. In most Salish languages initial clusters of three, four, or more consonants are common. However, in Mainland Comox only two words were recorded with initial consonant clusters, and these two seem to be recent borrowings from other Salish languages (see 4.2.).⁴

4.2. Probably as a result of having no initial consonant clusters, Mainland Comox lacks an s- nominaliser prefix at the word level. Only two forms have been recorded with it:

| | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| pəq sčiaʃən | [pəq sčéʌʃɪn] | 'weasel' |
| sk ^o iči | [sk ^w iči] | 'bothersome, noisy' |
| cf. k ^o ik ^o iči | [k ^w ík ^w iči] | 'bothering' |

4.3. In Mainland Comox the phoneme /λ/ occurs frequently, while in other Salish languages known to me λ is not a phoneme. The phonemic status of /λ/ is attested by the following contrasts:

| | | |
|--------|----------|--|
| λaqəm | [λáqʌm] | 'grass' |
| ɬaqəm | [ɬáqʌm] | 'to wait' |
| məλ | [mʌλ] | 'the water's calm' |
| pəλ | [pʌλ] | 'plucked bare (e.g. a duck or a hillside)' |
| čel | [čɛɬ] | 'rain' |
| λəsəm | [λʌsɪm] | 'hit with fist, punch' |
| λaɬsəm | [λʌɬsɪm] | 'physically strong' |

It is interesting to note that Swadesh (1952) lists /λ/ among the Proto-Salish phonemes. Many instances of /λ/ in Mainland Comox will most likely prove to occur in words borrowed from Kwakiutl; however, the following two forms appear to be retentions of Salish etyma:

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| λiʔq ^o | [λéʔq ^{hw}] | 'fish meat' |
| compare Musqueam /slíq ^o / | 'meat' (Elmendorf 1962) | |
| λux ^o t | [λóx ^{hw} t ^h] | 'to spit' |
| compare Cowichan /íxéłce/ | 'to spit' (Kava 1969) | |

4.4. Swadesh (1952) writes, "There is no Salish language, with the exception of Tillamook, in which h is a common phoneme" (p 236). The phoneme /h/ is common in Mainland Comox and it also occurs in syllable final position, which has not been reported for other Coast Salish languages.

| | | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| tah | [táh] | 'mother (vocative)' |
| mah | [máh] | 'father (vocative)' |
| ʔah | [ʔáh] | 'Raven (mythical name)' |
| qaht | [qáht] | 'to lift something' |
| tih | [tí·] ~ [tíh] | 'large, big' |
| ʔahšən | [ʔáhšín] ~ [ʔáxšín] | 'sore foot' |

5. The most conspicuous morphophonemic alternation in Mainland Comox is that of the high voiced⁵ stops with their homorganic glides.

The voiced velar stop alternates with the velar semivowel:

| | | |
|-------|---------|------------------------|
| qiw | [qéw] | 'Deer (mythical name)' |
| qigəθ | [qégəθ] | 'deer' |

The voiced palatal stop alternates with the palatal semivowel:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|---|
| ʔaxay | [ʔáxay] | 'old, aged' |
| ʔaxajut | [ʔáxajut] | 'the former/deceased old person/people' |

The rule could be stated that the stop occurs before a vowel, the semivowel word finally or before a consonant, as in the set of forms:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| jux ^o ət | [jóx ^w nt ^h] | 'to vomit' |
| jujux ^o ət | [jújóx ^w nt ^h] | 'vomiting' |
| juyx ^o ət | [júyx ^w nt ^h] | 'trying to vomit' |

except for the existence of the form

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| jujx ^o ət | [jújx ^w nt ^h] | 'vomiting a little bit' |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|

which is possibly a recent innovation in the language, historically speaking, but which complicates the synchronic description.

That it is the voiced stops that alternate with the semivowels, and not vice versa, is shown by the facts that (1) wherever possible,⁶ j and g alternate, whereas there are instances of y and w which do not alternate (2) the segments y and w do occur before vowels, for example:

| | | |
|-------|-------------------|------------|
| welə | [wálə] | 'bullfrog' |
| yamey | [íaməy] ~ [íáməy] | 'penis' |

6. Between a high nonback obstruent and /a/ a nonphonemic glide is inserted:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| šiasəm | [š ^Y é ^s am] | 'to sneak' |
| ȳiasuɫ | [ȳ ^Y é ^s uɫ] ~ [ȳ ⁱ é ^s uɫ] | 'yesterday' |
| čia | [č ^Y é] | 'where?' |
| čiam | [č ^Y é ^m] ~ [č ^Y é [?] m] | 'how?' |
| x ^o ə [?] čiaməs | [x ^w č ^é aməs] ~ [x ^w ič ^é aməs] | 'he will/can/could not do it; it will/can/could not happen' |
| čianəw | [č ^é anəw] | 'dog' |
| kiapu | [k ^Y épo] | 'coat' |
| tət [?] kiawəs | [t [?] t [?] k ^Y awəs] | 'winking' |

As can be seen from the above, the left hand column is not written phonemically but in a notation that includes the nonphonemic glide and glottalised resonants. From the transcription in the left hand column the phonetic level can be determined in a one-step operation.

It should be noted that monosyllabic words containing ia (e.g. šia[?]t [š^Yé[?]t] 'high') are classified as containing "one and a half syllables" by the one informant who has mentioned syllables. Likewise, he classifies čianəw as having "two and a half syllables".

7. The citation form of Mainland Comox verbs is the perfective aspect, which is glossed herein as the English infinitive. The perfective aspect is opposed to the imperfective aspect, glossed hereing as the English gerund form. Almost all⁷ verbs form their imperfectives by initial C₁V₁-reduplication. For example:

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----------------|
| hasəm | [há ^s am] ~ [xá ^s am] | 'to sneeze' |
| hahasəm | [há ^h asam] ~ [xá ^h asam] | 'sneezing' |
| ȳiaq ^o əm | [ȳ ^Y é ^q am] | 'to sweat' |
| ȳiaȳiaq ^o əm | [ȳ ^Y é ^Y é ^q am] | 'sweating' |
| əi ^q əm | [ə ^s é ^q m] | 'to dig' |
| əiəi ^q əm | [ə ^s ə ^s é ^q m] | 'digging' |
| ȳuəet | [ȳú ^ə et ^h] | 'to push (it)' |
| ȳuȳuəet | [ȳú ^ȳ uəet ^h] | 'pushing (it)' |

After C₁V₁-reduplication, some verbs undergo syncope of the stem vowel:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| qahəm | [qáh(?)am] | 'to lift (object unspecified)' |
| qaqha [?] am | [qáqha [?] am] | 'lifting' |
| pənəm | [pán(?)am] | 'to plant' |
| pəpna [?] am | [pápn ^a am] | 'planting' |
| tək ^o t | [túk ^{hw} t ^h] | 'to pull (it)' |
| tət ^o t | [t [?] t [?] k ^w a [?] am] ~ [t [?] át ^k w ^a am] | 'pulling (object unsp.)' |

| | | |
|----------|---------------------|------------|
| nəšəm | [nɪšɪm] | 'to swim' |
| nənšəm | [nɛnšɪm] ~ [nʌnšɪm] | 'swimming' |
| yəməm | [yɪmʌm] | 'to kick' |
| yəymaʔam | [yɪ:maʔam] | 'kicking' |

And if the initial consonant is j or g, after syncope it comes to stand before a consonant and becomes its homorganic semivowel⁸:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| gəqʰəm | [gʷqʰɪm] | 'to drag (obj. unspecified)' |
| gəwqʰaʔam | [gʷ:qʰaʔam] | 'dragging' |
| jəʎ | [jɪʎ] | 'to run' |
| jəyʎ | [jɪ:ʎ] | 'running' |
| jəqəš | [jʎqəʂ] ~ [jɛqəʂ] | 'to crawl' |
| jəyqəš | [jɪ:qəʂ] | 'crawling' |
| jəkʰət | [jʷkʰɪtʰ] | 'to rub (it)' |
| jəykʰət | [jɪ:kʰɪtʰ] | 'rubbing (it)' |

8. The resultive aspect⁹ of a word is formed by the addition of /i/:

| | | |
|----------|-----------------|--|
| ʔaʎəθ | [ʔaʎʌθ] | 'to lie down' |
| ʔaʎiθ | [ʔaʎɛθ] | 'to be lying down' |
| səčəm | [sɪčɪm] | 'to itch' |
| səčim | [sɪči·m] | 'itchy' |
| təlket | [tʎlɪkʷɪtʰ] | 'to make a hole in something' |
| təliḱ | [tʎlɪḱʷɪtʰ] | 'a hole' |
| ʎəp | [ʎʌpʰ] | 'deep' |
| ʎipəms | [ʎɛpɛms] | 'under it' |
| ʎipəçə | [ʎɛpɛçʌ] | 'woman's slip; underblanket' |
| ʎipiws | [ʎɛpɛws] | 'man's undershirt' |
| təw | [tʷwʔ] | 'ice' |
| taʔgit | [tʎʎʔgit] | 'it's frozen' |
| ʎaw | [ʎʎwʔ] ~ [ʎʎʔu] | 'to leave' |
| ʎaʔgit | [ʎʎʎʔgit] | 'he got away' |
| ʎaʔgitçə | [ʎʎʎʔgɪ·çʌ] | 'naked' |
| ʎuxʰət | [ʎʎxʰɪtʰ] | 'to spit' |
| ʎuxʰit | [ʎʎxʰɪtʰ] | 'spittle' |
| ʎuxʰət | [ʎʎxʰɪtʰ] | 'to vomit' |
| ʎuxʰit | [ʎʎxʰɪtʰ] | 'vomit' |
| ʎayeš | [ʎʎɪʂ] | 'to come towards shore' |
| ʎayt | [ʎʎɪtʰ] | 'to land' |
| ʎayit | [ʎʎɪtʰ] | 'he has landed' |
| ʎupit | [ʎʎɔpɪtʰ] | 'it's peeled off (e.g. the skin or a blanket)' |
| qayəws | [qʎʎʎu·s] | 'tired' |
| qayəgis | [qʎʎʎʎʎʎ] | 'tired out' |

9. In this section some of the conditioning environments for the allophones of the vowels are given. It will be noted that there is overlapping in the allophonic range of the vowel phonemes, an analysis that is acceptable within the theory of autonomous phonology so long as the added criterion of invariance is not imposed. For example, the phone [ɛ] following a palatal obstruent plus [ʸ] must be assigned to /a/, whereas the phone [ɛ] following a glottalised stop must be assigned to /i/.

9.1. The vowel /i/ is realised

(a) as [ɛ] next to a glottalised stop:

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| kiki | [kí:kɛkʸ ^h] | 'crow' |
| çiçiq | [çéçɛçqʰ ^h] | 'mud' |
| k ^o in | [kʷɛn] | 'how much? how many?' |
| tin | [tɛn] | 'barbecued fish' |
| xiç | [xéç ^h] | 'iron, steel' |
| piq | [pɛq] | 'wide' |
| θiqəm | [θéqʌm] | 'to dig' |

(b) as [ɛ] between /ʔ/ and a nonglottalised anterior consonant:

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--|
| λiʔq ^o | [λéʔqʰ ^{hw}] | 'fish meat' |
| ʔilqey | [ʔélqʌy] | 'meat or clams dried out over a fire' |
| ʔiltən | [ʔéltɛn] | 'to eat; food' |
| ʔimeš | [ʔémʌš] | 'to walk' |
| miʔin | [mɛʔɛn] | 'carrots' |
| θiʔθə | [θéʔθʌ] | 'she' |
| tiʔə | [tɛʔɛ] ~ [tɛʔɪ] | 'here' |
| ʔə tiʔə | [ʔʌ tɛʔɛ] | 'et cetera' |

(c) as [e] after a nonhigh consonant:

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------|--------------------|
| λipiws | [λépews] | 'man's undershirt' |
| giʔiws | [gíʔews] | 'the whole body' |
| qigəθ | [qégʌθ] | 'deer' |
| teqit | [tʌqetʰ ^h] | 'closed' |
| θiwəitən | [θéwəetɛn] | 'table' |
| ʔiʔaʃəm | [ʔéʔaʃim] | 'young woman' |
| hiwtəwnəs | [héwtəwnɛs] | 'front tooth' |

(d) as [i] after a high consonant:

| | | |
|-------------------|----------|------------------|
| giʔiws | [gíʔews] | 'the whole body' |
| k ^o i | [kʷí] | 'already' |
| k ^o iʔ | [kʷíʔ] | 'morrow' |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| k ^o išk ^o iš | [k ^w išk ^w iš] | 'bluejay' |
| kikyə | [kík ^y .yə] | 'a bug' |
| wiwlus | [wiw ⁱ los] | 'young man' |

9.2. The long vowel /i:/ is realised

- (a) as [ey] after a glottalised consonant or a nonhigh back consonant:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------------------|
| ʔiič | [ʔéyč] | 'twisted cedar bark rope' |
| titqiiguł | [tétqeyguł] | 'foal' |
| cf. tiqiw | [téqew] | 'horse' |

- (b) varies between [ey] and [i:] after a low consonant:

| | | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|
| ʔii | [ʔéy(?)] ~ [ʔi:(?)] | 'good' |
| ʔiimut | [ʔéymut] ~ [ʔi:mut] | 'very good' |

and if the sequence iy can be considered equivalent to ii, the following form can be included here:

| | | |
|-------|---|-----------|
| hiyum | [héyum?] ~ [híyum?] ~ [heyú?m] ~ [hiyú?m] | 'seagull' |
|-------|---|-----------|

if not, this form can be included under 9.1.c above.

- (c) as [i:] elsewhere:

| | | |
|--------|----------|----------------------------|
| tiiʔə | [tí:ʔi] | 'right here' |
| siitət | [sí:tət] | 'to toss, throw underhand' |

9.3. The vowel /ə/ is realised

- (a) as [ɛ] after a palatal in syllable final position:

| | | |
|-------|---------|---------------|
| ʔaʔjə | [ʔáʔjɛ] | 'nice' |
| ʔayə | [ʔáyɛ] | 'house' |
| čəjə | [čéjɛ] | 'grandmother' |
| čəčyə | [číčyɛ] | 'granny' |

- (b) as [ɛ] after a palatal and before a glottal stop and under stress:

| | | |
|--------|----------|----------|
| ʔayəʔ | [ʔáyɛʔ] | 'house' |
| čəčyəʔ | [číčyɛʔ] | 'granny' |

- (c) as [ɪ] after a palatal and not in syllable final position:

| | | |
|--------|----------|------------|
| nənšəm | [nénšim] | 'swimming' |
| mačən | [máčin] | 'louse' |
| čəɪ | [číɪ] | 'to rain' |
| jəɪ | [jíɪ] | 'to run' |
| čəɪəm | [číɪ.ɪm] | 'to dance' |
| yəməm | [yím.ɪm] | 'to kick' |

- (d) as [ɪ] between two palatals if at least one is glottalised:

| | | |
|------|----------------------|------------------------|
| yəč | [yíč] | 'full (e.g. a bucket)' |
| čəčɪ | [číč ⁱ ɪ] | 'raining' |

(e) as [i] between two palatals:

| | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|
| čěčlēm | [číčlɛm] | 'dancing' |
| čəyčuy̆ | [čí:čuy̆] | 'children' |
| čěčyə | [číčyɛ] | 'granny' |
| yəymaʔam | [yí:maʔam] | 'kicking' |
| ʝəy̆ | [ʝí:ʝ] | 'running' |
| ʝəy̆kʰaʔam | [ʝí:kʰaʔam] | 'rubbing' |

(f) as [u] between two high consonants if at least one is round:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| ʝəkʰt | [ʝúkʰwʊtʰ] | 'to rub (it)' |
| gəwqʰaʔam | [gú:qʰaʔam] | 'dragging' |

(g) as [ɹ] between two consonants if one is high, one nonhigh, and at least one is round:

| | | |
|--------|------------|------------------------|
| gəqʰt | [gúqʰwʊtʰ] | 'to drag (it)' |
| guxʰəm | [gúxʰwɪm] | 'to bark (e.g. a dog)' |
| xʰəs | [xʰwɪs] | 'black' |
| qawəm | [qáʔwɪm] | 'eye' |
| čəkʰəm | [čúkʰwɪm] | 'to wipe' |

(h) as [ʌ] after a nonhigh consonant and before a high round consonant:

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------------|
| tihəwnəs | [tíhəwnɛs] | 'big tooth' |
| tihəwnexʰ | [tíhəwnɪxʰ] | 'big swell/wave' |
| məməkʰt | [mámakʰwɪtʰ] | 'eating' |
| pəwʔkʰ | [páwʔkʰwɪ] | 'round like an egg' |
| ʔəwəkʰ | [ʔáwɪkʰwɪ] | 'tobacco' |
| čəpəwč | [čápəwč] | 'I'm busy' |

(i) as [ʌ] next to a low or nonhigh back consonant:

| | | |
|----------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| ləʔamən | [láʔamɛn] | 'Sliammon (adj.)' |
| ʎəʔamən | [ʎáʔamɛn] | 'Lund (place name)' |
| səq̆ | [sáq̆ʰ] | 'cracked, split; half' |
| pəq̆ | [páq̆ʰ] | 'smoke' |
| pəq | [páq̆ʰ] | 'white' |
| q̆ʰəy̆x̆ | [q̆ʰwáʎʔx̆] ~ [q̆ʰwáʎʔɪx̆] | 'wood' |
| məqsən | [máqsɛn] ~ [máqsɛn] | 'nose' |

(j) varies between [ʌ] and [ɛ] between two nonglottalised anterior consonants:

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| səsqnəč | [sásqʰnɛčʰ] ~ [sɛsqʰnɛčʰ] | 'towing' |
| šiasəm | [šʎsɛsɛm] ~ [šʎsɛsɛm] | 'to sneak' |
| čəmtən | [čámtɛn] ~ [čɛmtɛn] | 'breast (nipple?)' |
| xʰəʔč nəmən | [xʰwʊʔč náʔmɛn] ~ [xʰwʊʔč náʔmɛn] | 'I'm not like that' |

(k) as [ɛ] between two glottalised anterior consonants:

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| čəčk ^o aʔam | [čɛčk ^w aʔam] | 'wiping' |
| čəčq ^o aʔam | [čɛčq ^o aʔam] | 'throwing overhand' |
| cf. čačəm | [čɛčq ^o am] | 'throw overhand, pitch' |
| tətkiawəs | [tɛtk ^y awəs] | 'winking' |

9.4. The vowel /a/ is realised as [a] after a nonpalatal:

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| q ^o ay | [q ^w áy] | 'to speak/talk; word' |
| k ^o amnəč | [k ^w ámnəč ^h] | 'a root' |
| tihaq | [tíhaq ^h] | 'large genitals' |
| tithawəs | [títhawəs] | 'both eyes large' |
| naǎm | [náǎmʔ] ~ [náʔm] | 'that's right/correct' |
| tam | [tám] | 'what?' |
| man | [mán] | 'father' |
| tan | [tán] | 'mother' |
| hasəm | [hásɛm] | 'to sneeze' |
| ʔaʔax ^o | [ʔáʔax ^o] | 'it's snowing' |
| pápəm | [páǎpɛm] ~ [páʔpəm] | 'to work' |

9.5. The sequence ia is realised

(a) as [Yɛ] after a palatal obstruent and in word final position;

| | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|
| čia | [čYɛ] | 'where?' |
| šiaʔ | [šYɛ] ~ [šYɛʔ] | 'upwards' |

(b) elsewhere as [Yɐ] after /š/:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------|
| šiaʔt | [šYɐʔt] | 'high; sky' |
| šiašiasəm | [šYɐšYɐsəm] | 'sneaking' |
| šiaʔǎəč | [šYɐʔǎəč ^h] | 'belly up' |

(c) elsewhere as [Yɐ] ~ [iɐ] after /j/:

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------|
| jiajia | [jYɐjYɐ] ~ [jɪɐjYɐ] | 'cousin' |
| jəjianeš | [jɪjYɐnɛs] ~ [jɪjɪɐnɛs] | 'small tooth' |

(d) elsewhere as [Yɐ] after /č/ in a monosyllabic word:

| | | |
|-------|---------|----------------------------|
| čiaǎm | [čYɐʔm] | 'how?' |
| čiaam | [čYɐ:m] | 'jam (to spread on bread)' |

(e) elsewhere as [eʌ] after /č/ or /č̌/ in a polysyllabic word:

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| čialeš | [čéʌʌs] | 'three' |
| čianəx ^o | [čéʌnax ^o] | 'three times' |
| čianəw | [čéʌnəw] | 'dog' |

9.6. The long vowel /a:/ is realised as [a:] after a nonpalatal:

| | | |
|----------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| páapəm | [pá:pɛm] ~ [pá:ʔpəm] | 'working' |
| wawǎasut | [wáwǎa:soʔ] | 'baby waxes' |
| waxəs | [wáwǎa:] | 'small frog with a loud voice' |

9.7. The vowel /u/ is realised

- (a) as [u] next to a high consonant and not next to a low consonant or a uvular:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| jujuχ ^o et | [j ^u j ^o χ ^w et ^h] | 'vomiting' |
| gugux ^o em | [g ^u g ^u ux ^w em] | 'barking' |
| ɬuk ^o | [ɬ ^u k ^{hw}] | 'to fly' |
| x ^o uməč | [x ^o umɪč] | 'skin of human or salmon' |
| čuý | [č ^u yʔ] | 'child, young' |

- (b) as [o] next to a nonhigh consonant and not next to a high consonant:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| q ^o uč | [q ^o oč] | 'waterlogged wood' |
| q ^o uməy | [q ^o oʔmɔy] | 'snow on ground; age ("snow year")' |
| q ^o aqemustən | [q ^w áq ^o amostɛn] | 'aspirin' |
| ɬuɬmuʔm | [ɬ ^o ɬ ^o moʔm] | 'littleneck clam' |
| q ^o upəm | [q ^o op ^o am] | 'hairy' |
| ɬuq ^o | [ɬ ^o q ^{hw}] | 'clear weather' |
| pux ^o | [p ^o ox ^o] | 'a stink' |
| q ^o əɬus | [q ^w áʔlos] - [q ^w ʌʔos] | 'be facing toward' |
| wawχaasuɬ | [wáwχa:soɬ] | 'baby waxes' |
| ʔayhus | [ʔáyhos] | 'sea serpent (type of spirit power)' |
| χ ^o ux ^o uɬ | [χ ^o oχ ^o oɬ] | 'long ago' |

9.8. The long vowel /u:/ is realised

- (a) as [o:] next to uvular or a low consonant and not next to a high consonant:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| tuuq ^o | [t ^o :q ^{hw}] | 'Squirrel Cove (place name)' |
| ʔuup | [ʔ ^o :p ^h] | 'the island at Church House' |
| χ ^o uuχ ^o uɬ | [χ ^o o:χ ^o oɬ] | 'long long ago' |

- (b) as [u:] elsewhere:

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| ɬuuɬuk ^o | [ɬ ^u :ɬuk ^{hw}] | 'flying' |
| k ^o uunuɬ | [k ^o ú:not] | 'porpoise' |
| ʔuuk ^o | [ʔ ^u :k ^{hw}] | 'all' |

1. H. J. Uldall (1933, p ix) symbolises stød with a raised comma, stating:

' is in most people's pronunciation a glottal roll; only when special emphasis is required it is pronounced as a real stop. It is pronounced simultaneously with the latter part of the sound indicated by the preceding letter; thus, in e'n the latter part of the e is pronounced with glottal roll, while in fsm' the glottal action is applied to m.

Using this convention, the following words would be transcribed in men's speech as:

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| sa'ma | [sá'ma] | 'mussel' |
| ma'na | [má'na] | 'son, daughter' |
| ʌi'əm | [ʌí'ʌm] | 'cockle' |
| ʌi'q ^o | [ʌís'q ^{hw}] | 'fish meat' |

2. The feature round includes the traditional terms labial and round. Anterior means at or in front of the alveolar ridge. Coronal means apical or laminal. The features high, low, and back refer to the body of the tongue and not to the tip or blade.

3. Swadesh writes, "Comox and Bella Coola share with Kwakiutl, their common neighbor, a fronted pronunciation of k sounds, giving a y-like timbre to k and g,..." (1952, p 247). This palatalisation is also reflected in Sapir's transcription (1915). Examples of all three velar stops would be:

| | | |
|--------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| təlket | [tʰʌíkʰʌt ^h] | 'to drill a hole' |
| kikyə | [kíkʰ.yɛ] | 'a bug' |
| gəʃi | [gʰɪʃi] | 'ground, earth; place' |

4. The form [q^htá:ʔabas] 'wooden ball for a game', recorded by Sapir (1915), was not recognised by any Mainland Comox speakers. The form [ʌpɪ:ʔca] 'yellow cedar bark blanket' is probably the same as ʌipeče [ʌépɛʔçʌ] 'underblanket; woman's slip'.

5. Sapir (1915) also recorded b and d as stop variants of m and n. Today, this is rare and restricted to the oldest speakers, who seem to consider such a pronunciation deviant. For example, if one pronounces məjəθ 'meat' or ʌenəs 'tooth' as [bʰʌjʌθ] or [ʃídɛs], he immediately corrects himself. However, the stops b and d do occasionally occur in allegro delivery of traditional tales.

6. It has not been possible to elicit illustrative paradigms of some lexical items, for example the word get [gʰʌt^h] 'who?'

7. Exceptions to this rule are:

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| siit̚et | [sɪ:t̚t ^h] | 'to throw, toss underhand' |
| səsiit̚et | [sɛ:si:t̚t ^h] | 'tossing' |
| ʒaʔəm | [ʒáʔám] | 'to throw overhand, pitch' |
| ʒəʔq̣aʔam | [ʒɛʔq̣aʔám] | 'pitching' |
| ʔuk̚ ^o | [ʔúk̚ ^w] | 'to fly' |
| ʔuuʔuk̚ ^o | [ʔú:ʔuk̚ ^w] | 'flying' |
| p̚ap̚əm | [p̚áp̚ɛm] | 'to work' |
| p̚aap̚əm | [p̚á:p̚ɛm] | 'working' |
| qəsəm | [qʌsɛm] | 'to laugh/smile' |
| qasqəsəm | [qásqʌsɛm] | 'smiling; lots of smiles' |
| ʔaʔet | [ʔáʔat̚ ^h] | 'to whisper to someone' |
| ʔáʔq̣ʔaʔet | [ʔáʔq̣ʔaʔat̚ ^h] | 'whispering to someone' |
| t̚əwq̣əm | [t̚áwq̣ám] | 'to cough' |
| t̚əwt̚əwq̣əm | [t̚áwt̚əwq̣ám] | 'coughing' |
| hay̚iəm | [háyiɛm] | 'to flirt' |
| hayhay̚iəm | [háyhayyiɛm] | 'flirting' |

It should also be noted that in Mainland Comox, as in other Coast Salish languages, there is no formal distinction between nominal roots and verbal roots: any root can take a wide variety of affixes.

8. This is also true of another aspect, which has been noted in two verbs so far but is unnamed:

| | | |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| ʔux̚ ^o et | [ʔóx̚ ^w et̚ ^h] | 'to vomit' |
| ʔuyx̚ ^o et | [ʔúyx̚ ^w et̚ ^h] | 'trying to vomit' |
| ʔuθet | [ʔúθet̚ ^h] | 'to push (it)' |
| ʔuyθet | [ʔúyθet̚ ^h] | 'trying to push (it)' |

The form ʔuyx̚^oet 'vomiting a little' is not imperfective but attenuative.

9. For a previous usage of this term, see Thompson and Thompson (in press), page 45.

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