

consonant [t] was indeed present. This is an example of the two constructions being contrasted in the same sentence.

When my wife and I left in 1972 to be gone for a year, Mary George told us

- (4a) *chia'at zem k'wenanapi e kw chíanas*⁶
 [čʷɛʔɛt t⁰əm k^wʷɔnanapɛ ə k^w čéʌnʌs
 short.time 1SG.SBJ.FUT see-RESULT.TR-2PL PREP ART some
sem z'ok'w
səm t⁰ok^w]
 FUT day
 'I'll see you (PL) someday.'

Then she repeated this more emphatically, expressing intent rather than simple future

- (4b) *chia'at zem t k'wenanapi e kw chíanas sem t z'ok'w*
 [čʷɛʔɛt t⁰əm t k^wʷɔnanapɛ ə k^w čéʌnʌs səm t t⁰ok^w]

One time Mary George, my wife, and I were about to go into town. Mary George said

- (5) *'ewk'w shtem t thoho*
 [ʔuokw štəm t θoθo]
 all 1PL.SBJ.FUT [t] are-going

and then repeated in English “we’ll all go together”, meaning that we will surely be together.

Other examples include:

- (6) *chianey sem t e tho xana-t e te kiapɛy-s*
 [čʷɛniy səm t ə θo χanʌt ə tə kʷæpiys]
 I FUT [t] CLEFT go give-him OBL the coffee-his
 ‘I will (be the one to) give him his coffee.’
- (7) *nesh a chwhem t lhawumot*
 [niš a čç^wəm t lʌwumot]
 here Q 2SG.SBJ.FUT [t] stay
 ‘Are you going to stay (behind)?’
- (8) *thamshia' qomay ey qajit zem t t'alhsem*
 [θamšʷʌʔ qomʌy iy qajit t⁰əm t tʰʌlsəm]
 twenty years and still 1SG.SBJ.FUT [t] strong
 ‘In twenty years I’ll still be strong.’

These would be equally grammatical without [t], but the addition of [t] makes each one more a statement of certainty.

⁶ This word *chíanas* was used by Tommy Paul in many of his explanations. Mary George translated it into English as ‘some’ when she said it and when Tommy Paul said it.

Although the [t] is not grammatically required, some situations seem to require [t] for their rhetorical force:

- (9) *hiya zem t tho*
 [hɛyɬ t⁰əm t θo]
 immediate 1SG.SBJ.FUT [t] go
 ‘I’ll go right now.’
- (10) *hiya zem t qwel’ e kw tl’i*
 [hɛyɬ t⁰əm t q^wɬɬ ə k^w ʎɛ]
 immediate 1SG.SBJ.FUT [t] come PREP ART fast
 ‘I’ll come right away.’
- (11) *kwekwtem es chia’at, qwayigan ’iyajem sem t*
 [k^wɔk^wtəm əs ʧ^vɛɬɛt q^wayegɬɬ ʔɛyɬɬim səm t]
 sick STAT right.now opinion get.better FUT [t]
 ‘He’s sick right now, but he’ll (surely) get better.’
- (12) *ho ga, qi-qiy-t-h-em sem t*
 [ho gɬ qɛqɛyθəm səm t]
 go suggestion CV-beat-TR-you-PASS FUT [t]
 ‘Go, they’ll (surely) beat you up.’
- (13) *ganigan ch kwes ’i’ilhtenstomayit, chianey sem t*
 [ganegɬɬ ʧ k^wəs ʔɛʔɛtənstomayit, ʧ^vɛniy səm t]
 give.up I SUBORD they.feed.me I FUT [t]
’a’jemithot ’i’lhten
ʔaʔaymɛθot ʔɛʔɛtən]
 by.myself eating
 ‘I give up (having) them feed me, I’ll be feeding myself.’

In the data collected from 1969 to 1980, this enclitic *t* does not occur in a clause introduced by *’ot* or *ga* (see example (3) above).

Talking about the story of T’al

- (14a) 'ot⁷ chiap sem wha' xigap, ga wha'ap xigap,⁸
 [ʔot čʲɛp səm ç^waʔ χεεΛp gΛ ç^waʔap χεεΛp]
 if 2PL.SBJ FUT not warning if not.you warning
 'If you guys don't (take the) warning, if you guys might not (take the) warning, ...'
- (14b) qwel' sem t q'wit t'al ey ma'tanapim sem e kw ni's
 [q^wΛlʔ səm t q^wɛt t'al iy maʔtanapɛm səm ə k^w nɛʔs]
 come FUT [t] beach t'al and take.you FUT PREP ART place.his
 'T'al will surely come down and take you to his⁹ place.'

More recently, I have said goodbye on the phone to Marion Harry by saying

- (15) chia'at zem qwey-qway-sto-mi
 [čʲɛʔɛt t^θəm q^wɛq^waɪstomɛ]
 short.time 1SG.SBJ.FUT CVC-talk-CAUS¹⁰-you
 'I will talk with you soon.'

and she has replied with the more emphatic

- (16) chia'at zem t qweyqwaystomi
 [čʲɛʔɛt t^θəm t q^wɛq^waɪstomɛ]
 'I will (certainly) talk with you soon.'

3 Hagèè recorded another instance of the enclitic *t*

Hagèè (1981:162) gives the following two sentences:

- (17) saysay t ch ga¹¹ lhaw-th-awh
 [saysʌy t č gΛ lʌwθΛç^w]
 fear [t] I that leave-me-you
 'j'ai peur que tu ne me quittes'

Taking into account that the enclitic [t] occurs here, a fuller translation is 'I really fear that you might leave me'.

⁷ For an explanation of 'ot and ga as subordinators, see Davis (2012).

⁸ The intransitive *xigap* means 'be warned' or 'heed a warning' and can be transitivized, just as other predicates in Coast Salish languages are intransitive until a transitive suffix is added, even though they must be translated into European languages by transitive verbs, English et cetera not having morphologically or syntactically intransitive equivalents.

⁹ This is from the common coastal story about the basket ogress. However, when Noel George Harry (born circa 1890) told the story, along with its moral and present-day origin of mosquitoes and horseflies, he was definite that this was a basket ogre, a male.

¹⁰ The causative includes some situations which can only be considered comitative.

¹¹ For an explanation of this use of *ga*, see Davis (2012).

- (18) *qwayigan t ch s¹² xatl'-s kw-th¹³ tho*
 [q^wayegʌn t č s χaʎs k^wəθ θo]
 opinion [t] 1SG.SBJ that desire-3SG.SBJ ART-2SG.POSS go
 'je pense que tu veux partir'

Hagège's translation is 'I think you want to go'; the grammar indicates that the literal translation is '[I] really think that it is desirable that you go', meaning that I really think you want to go. Unlike the previous sentence, in this sentence the second matrix predicate [χaʎ] is seemingly impersonal, with the suffix [-s] being required by the nominalizing proclitic [s]. Compare the following;

- (19a) *th xatl' kwe-th tho*
 [θ χaʎ kwəθ θo]
 2SG.POSS want ART-2SG.POSS go
 'You want to go.'
- (19b) *xatl' kwe-th tho*
 [χaʎ kwəθ θo]
 want ART-2SG.POSS go
 'You want to go.'

Here both sentences have the same meaning and intent, but when the second sentence is further subordinated by the nominal proclitic, a subject marker is required. Subjects of nominalized clauses are expressed by possessive affixes. In the absence of the 2SG.POSS the 3.POSS is added, but does not mean that a third person wants you to go.

Example (18) shows that this [t] is an enclitic, not a suffix. Compare *yəm-igan-t-as* 'kick-ribs-INTENT-TR-AGENT' where the /n/ of the lexical suffix disappears before the intent transitive suffix to yield [yimegatas] 'he kicked him in the ribs'.

4 Hagège noted another expression of emphasis in Comox

Hagège (1978) presents examples of a number of lexical suffixes, among them

- (20) *'ah-lhalh ch*
 [ʔahɫɫ č]
 sore-throat I
 'I have a sore throat.'

He then contrasts this sentence with the same description without a lexical suffix

¹² This *s* is not a prefix, but a proclitic nominalizing an entire subordinate clause.

¹³ This *th*, or [θ], hides the underlying *s* nominalizing proclitic by occupying the same syntactic slot.

- (21) 'ah tez saylhalh
 [ʔah tət⁰ saylʌlʌ]
 sore my throat
 'I really have a sore throat.'

He then writes "... the opposition between synthetic solution (lexical suffixation) and syntactic solution in Comox ... marks rather, the relation of ordinary to emphatic. In my texts, the syntactic solution is statistically less frequent than the synthetic one."

5 Emphasis and the Salish change of nasal to voiced stop

Among the varieties of Coast Salish, those spoken in the Puget Sound area are noted for having the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ where other varieties have /m/ and /n/. One explanation of this sound shift can be found in the emphatic pronunciation of Noel George Harry, who was born circa 1890 in Church House but lived in Sliammon during the last years of his life. Examples include /jədɪs/ for /jənɪs/ 'tooth' and /bajaθ/ for /majaθ/ 'meat'. Noel George Harry regularly pronounced the nasals, but when he wanted to emphasize what he was saying, he would substitute the voiced stops.

Ronald Beaumont says that the /b/ and /d/ pronunciations were used in Sechelt for baby talk (personal communication).

6 Origin of the name Comox

The earliest documentation of this language was written in 1857 by George Gibbs and published in 1877. In his introduction, Gibbs notes that "Their own name is S'tlaht-tohlt-hu; that of S'ko-mook is the one given them by the Uguultas." Here Gibbs (or the typesetter) gives a second spelling for the name. This word list is then a vocabulary of Thalhohltwh [θaʌtoɫtɕ^w], or Island Comox. (nota bene: The last speaker of Island Comox substituted [s] for [θ], unlike what my teachers resident at Sliammon said 1969–1974. Franz Boas recorded the name as Çatloɫtq, using ç to represent [θ].) The spelling Ko-mookhs may be Gibbs' attempt to write /qaymæç^ws/ [qaymøç^ws] which would mean 'person of' = 'person' /qaymæç^w/ plus 'of' /s/. This, then, would be the first word of a two-word phrase which remains incomplete. It is probable that the speaker said the two syllables of this word slowly and separately as Gibbs wrote them down. Assuming that Gibbs was an English-dominant speaker, the spelling "ko" would approximate the sound of /qa/ and the spelling "mookhs" would approximate the sound of /mæç^ws/ with the /y/ being lost during the attempt to pronounce in such a way as to satisfy an unfamiliar white man.

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