

The Puzzle of Plurals in ʔayʔajuθəm*

Marianne Huijsmans
University of Alberta

Mary McCarthy
University of Alberta

Abstract: In this paper, we explore the distribution of plural marking on ʔayʔajuθəm nouns and adjectives. In ʔayʔajuθəm, not all nouns or adjectives have plural forms. Even for nouns and adjectives with plural forms, the plural forms are often not used when referring to a plurality of individuals. In this paper, we investigate whether plural marking is ever obligatory on nouns and adjectives and if there are any tendencies regarding which nouns have plural forms. We find that plural marking on nouns is obligatory for human nouns but not for nonhuman nouns (see also Suttles 2004 for hənqəmiñən; Gerdt & Hinkson 2004 for Hul'q'umi'num'). Human nouns are also more likely to have plural forms. The picture with adjectives is less clear: for one speaker, plural marking on adjectives is obligatory when describing a plurality of humans, but for the other speakers we worked with, plural marking is not obligatory. We conclude with a brief sketch of the considerations that arise for a semantic analysis of unmarked and plural forms.

Keywords: ʔayʔajuθəm (Comox-Sliammon), plurality, semantics, pragmatics, animacy

We thank all the speakers who have worked with us on this project over the years, especially qaʔaxstales (Dr. Elsie Paul), Freddie Louie, Molly Harry, the late Joanne Francis, Doreen Point, Ochele (Betty Wilson), Phyllis Dominic, Randolph Timothy, the late Marion Harry, the late Karen Galligos, and the late Margaret Wilson. čěčəhatanapešt!

1 Introduction

In this paper, we explore the distribution of plural marking on nouns and adjectives in ʔayʔajuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon). In ʔayʔajuθəm, not all nouns or adjectives have plural forms. Even for nouns and adjectives with plural forms, the plural forms are often not used when referring to a plurality of individuals. In this paper, we investigate whether plural marking is ever obligatory and whether animacy plays a role in where plural marking is used. We find that plural marking on nouns is obligatory for human nouns but not animal or inanimate nouns. Human nouns are also more likely to have plural forms. The picture with adjectives is less clear: for one speaker, plural marking on adjectives is obligatory when describing a plurality of humans, but for the other speakers we worked with, plural marking on adjectives is not obligatory even when describing a plurality of humans. The overall picture that emerges suggests that plural-marked forms are semantically plural, while forms unmarked for plurality are underspecified for number. However, the competition between unmarked and plural forms plays out differently for human and nonhuman nouns.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides background on the language and previous literature on plural marking on nouns and adjectives in Central Salish. Section 3 provides evidence that plural marking is obligatory for human nouns but not animal or inanimate nouns. Section 4 discusses the availability of plural marking for each of these categories of noun. Section 5 concerns plural marking on adjectives. Section 6 is a brief discussion of our findings and their implications for the analysis of unmarked and plural forms in ʔayʔajuθəm.

* Contact info: huijsman@ualberta.ca, mmccarth@ualberta.ca

2 Background

ʔayʔajuθəm is a Central Salish language traditionally spoken along the Northern Georgia Strait in British Columbia; it is the ancestral language of members of the Tla’amin, Homalco, Klahoose, and K’ómoks Nations. In 2018, the First Peoples Cultural Council (FPCC) reported 47 L1 speakers of the language, all of whom were over the age of 60. Additionally, in 2022, the FPCC reported that across the four traditionally ʔayʔajuθəm-speaking communities, only 3% of the population identified as fluent speakers. However, a group of language champions have been working to document and revitalize the language across the four nations. Documentation and revitalization efforts include contributions to FirstVoices, master-apprentice pairings, adult language classes, language classes in local schools, a language nest in Homalco, and most recently, a K-Gr. 1 after-school immersion program in Tla’amin. In collaboration with several linguists, the four sister nations have also been working to create a dictionary and teaching grammar, which aim to meet the needs of teachers and learners of ʔayʔajuθəm. For the present study, we worked especially closely with three Elders who are first language speakers of ʔayʔajuθəm: qaʔaxstales (Dr. Elsie Paul) and Freddie Louie who are speakers of the Sliammon dialect and Molly Harry who is a speaker of the Homalco dialect.

The morphophonology of plural marking on ʔayʔajuθəm nouns and adjectives has been documented in some depth (e.g., Blake 1992, 2000; Watanabe 1994, 2003), but the distribution of plural marking has received less attention. Watanabe (1994:363) briefly states that “number is not obligatorily marked except in first and second person pronominal elements”. However, while nouns unmarked for number can often be used when the speaker is referring to a plurality of individuals, this is not always the case: sometimes plural marking is judged obligatory, as in (1).¹

(1) *Context: Describing a picture with three men talking.*

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|--------------|----|---|-----------|
| a. | q ^w εʔeq ^w ay | tə təmtumış. | b. | *q ^w εʔeq ^w ay | tə tumış. |
| | q ^w i<ʔi><q ^w >ay | tə=təm~tumiş | | q ^w i<ʔi><q ^w >ay | tə=tumiş |
| | talk<PL><DIM> | DET=PL~man | | talk<PL><DIM> | DET=man |
| | ‘The men are chatting.’ | | | ‘The men are chatting.’ | |

(vf/sf | EP.2024/01/19)

For closely related Central Salish languages, plural marking on nouns has been described as largely optional (Montler 2003:130 for Klallam; Suttles 2004:204 for hənqəminə̀m; Gerdt & Hinkson 2004 for Hul’q’umi’num’; Kuipers 1967:100 for Skw̥wú7mesh). However, for hənqəminə̀m and Hul’q’umi’num’, plural marking is noted to be perhaps obligatory or at least strongly preferred with human nouns (Suttles 2004:204–205; Gerdt & Hinkson 2004).

¹ The top line of each ʔayʔajuθəm example (following the context, if present) is an orthographic representation, while the second line is a roughly phonemic transcription using NAPA. ‘vf’ stands for ‘volunteered form’, a form offered by the speaker, while ‘sf’ stands for ‘suggested form’, a form supplied by the authors for the speaker to judge for grammaticality and/or felicity in a given context. The abbreviations in this paper follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules with the following additional glosses: ACT.INTR ‘active intransitive’, CHAR ‘characteristic reduplication’, CLF.PRT ‘clefing particle’, CTR ‘control transitivizer’, EPEN ‘epenthetic’, and NCTR ‘noncontrol transitivizer’.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that not all nouns have plural forms in ʔayʔajuθəm. C₁əC₂-reduplication seems to be quite productive and used in recent borrowings, as illustrated in (2).¹

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|-------|---|
| (2) a.i. | puk
puk
book
'book' | a.ii. | pək puk
pək ~puk
PL ~book
'books' |
| b.i. | pun
pun
spoon
'spoon' | b.ii. | pən pun
pən ~pun
PL ~spoon
'spoons' |

At the same time, however, there seem to be arbitrary gaps in where plural marking is allowed. For instance, for one of the speakers we worked with, the word for 'broom' has a plural form (3a.ii) but the word for 'mop' does not (3b.ii):

- | | | | |
|----------|--|-------|---|
| (3) a.i. | x ^w ipomix ^w tən
x ^w ip-umix ^w -tən
sweep-ground-INSTR
'broom' | a.ii. | x^wəp x ^w ipomix ^w tən
x^wəp ~x ^w ip-umix ^w -tən
PL ~sweep-ground-INSTR
'brooms' |
| b.i. | t ^θ ok ^w omix ^w tən
t ^θ ək ^w -umix ^w -tən
wipe-ground-INSTR
'mop' | b.ii. | *t ^θ ok ^w t ^θ ok ^w omix ^w tən
t ^θ ək ^w ~t ^θ ək ^w -umix ^w -tən
PL ~wipe-ground-INSTR
'mops' (vf/sf EP .2024/06/21) |

An adjective modifying a noun can also be marked plural, but the distribution of plural marking on adjectives has received even less attention — both for ʔayʔajuθəm and in the literature on Central Salish languages. For Klallam, Montler (2003:130) states that an adjective preceding a plural-marked noun must also appear in its plural form.

In this paper, we explore the hypothesis that animacy plays a role in determining where plural marking is required in ʔayʔajuθəm. To do this, we examine the distribution of plural marking on nouns describing human, animal, and inanimate entities. We used a variety of methods, using picture prompts as well as providing verbal contexts and asking for utterances appropriate to the provided context. We also suggested utterances paired with pictures or verbal contexts and asked the speakers if the utterances were appropriate to describe the pictures or fit the contexts.

Throughout this paper, we contrast plural-marked forms with forms that are unmarked for plurality. We often refer to the latter as simply 'unmarked forms' for short. We do not refer to them as 'singular' forms, as this would be misleading since they can often be used in reference to a plurality of individuals.

¹ C₁əC₂~reduplication is also found on verbs, deriving pluractional readings (see Watanabe 2003:373–374; Mellesmoen & Huijsmans 2019; Huijsmans & Mellesmoen 2021), but we will not discuss this here.

3 Obligatoriness of plural forms

3.1 Human nouns

For all three speakers, plural marking is obligatory for human nouns, whenever a plural form is available. The speakers consistently use plural forms of human nouns used in reference to a plurality of individuals. In these contexts, speakers reject unmarked forms suggested by the researcher, as shown in (4) to (7).

(4) *Context: My children's friends come over to play. Felipe gets home from work and is surprised to see a child hiding behind the door. I tell him:*

a. k^wak^wayumotawtx^w tə čicuý.
 k^wa~k^way-imut-awtx^w tə=čəy~čuy
 PROG~hide-REFL-building DET=PL~child
 'The children are playing hide and seek.'
 (sf | EP.20224/03/08)

b. #k^wak^wayumotawtx^w tə čuy.
 k^wa~k^way-imut-awtx^w tə=čuy
 PROG~hide-REFL-building DET=child
Comment: "You need two to play hide and seek."
 (sf | EP.20224/03/08)

(5) a. q^wol k^wa səm qai⁰ k^w hawhegus.
 q^wəl=k^wa=səm qai⁰ k^w=haw~higus
 come=RPT=FUT gather DET=PL~leader
 'The leadership is going to gather.'
 (sf | EP.2024/03/08)

b. #q^wol k^wa səm qai⁰ k^w hegus.
 q^wəl=k^wa=səm qai⁰ k^w=higus
 come=RPT=FUT gather DET=leader
Comment: "You're only talking one hegus then, one hegus is going to gather."
 (sf | EP.2024/03/08)

(6) *Context: Describing a picture of three men talking together.*

a. q^wεq^waystawl tə təmtumiš.
 q^wi~q^way-st-awl tə=təm~tumiš
 PROG~talk-CAUS-RECIP DET=PL~man
 'The men are talking with each other.'
 (vf | FL.2023/12/12)

b. #q^wεq^waystawl tə tumiš.
 q^wi~q^way-st-awl tə=tumiš
 PROG~talk-CAUS-RECIP DET=man
 (sf | FL.2023/12/12)

(7) *Context: Describing a picture of two children playing catch.*

a. qai⁰εnx^wegəs tə čicuý hoy ga λε?ελk^wa?əm.
 qai⁰-ə-nx^w-igas tə=čəy~čuy huy=ga λi<?i><λ>k^wa?əm
 gather-EPEN-NCTR-RECIP DET=PL~child CONJ=DPRT catch<PL><<DIM>-ACT.INTR
 'The children got together and they're playing catch.'
 (vf | MH.2024/06/25)

b. # qat⁰enx^wegəs tə čuy̆ hoy ga λεʔελk^waʔəm.
 qat⁰-ə-nx^w-igas tə=čuy̆ huy=ga λi<ʔi><λ>k^waʔəm
 gather-EPEN-NCTR-RECIP DET=child CONJ=DPRT catch<PL><DIM>-ACT.INTR
 (sf | MH.2024/06/25)

We also found that the obligatoriness of plural marking on human nouns is not affected by whether an overt quantifier occurs. It further does not matter if the quantifier is predicative (8) or prenominal (9–11).

(8) a. səsəʔa tə čičuy̆ nεʔ tə q^wet.
 sisaʔa tə=čəy̆~čuy̆ niʔ tə=q^wit
 two.ppl DET=PL~child be.there DET=beach
 ‘There’s two kids on the beach.’ (vf | EP.2024/02/16)

b. #səsəʔa tə čuy̆ nεʔ tə q^wet.
 sisaʔa tə=čuy̆ niʔ tə=q^wit
 two.ppl DET=child be.there DET=beach (sf | EP.2024/02/16)

(9) a. nεʔ hεhewčis tə səsəʔa nəgəpti² ʔə taʔa.
 niʔ hi~hiw-čis tə=sisaʔa nəgəptəy ʔə=taʔa
 be.there PROG~forward-hand DET=two.PL women OBL=DEM
 ‘There are two women paddling over there.’ (vf | EP.2024/02/16)

b. #nεʔ hεhewčis tə səsəʔa saltx^w ʔə taʔa.
 niʔ hi~hiw-čis tə=sisaʔa saltx^w ʔə=taʔa
 be.there PROG~forward-hand DET=two.PL woman OBL=DEM
 (sf | EP.2024/02/16)

(10) *Context: Describing a picture of three men talking together.*³

a. q^wεq^waystawł čəlayu təmtumiš.
 q^wi~q^way-st-awł čəlayu təm~tumiš
 PROG~talk-CAUS-RECIP three.ppl PL~man
 ‘Three men are talking to each other.’ (vf | MH.2024/05/21)

b. #q^wεq^waystawł čəlayu tumiš.
 q^wi~q^way-st-awł čəlayu tumiš
 PROG~talk-CAUS-RECIP three.ppl man (sf | MH.2024/05/21)

² The word *nəgəpti* ‘women’ is a suppletive plural corresponding to *saltx^w* ‘woman’.

³ While nouns in argument position are always preceded by determiners, determiners are frequently elided. The same is true of the oblique marker *ʔə*. While elided determiners and oblique markers can always be restored, for this paper, we leave the utterances as pronounced by the speakers.

(11) *Context: Describing a picture of a bunch of kids playing tag.*

a. məmtkɛləm tə qaxmot čičuy jɛʎjɛʎ.
 mə~mtkal-əm tə=qəx̣-mut čəy~čuy jaʎ~jəʎ
 PROG~play.tag-MD DET=lots-INT PL~child PL~run
 ‘A lot of kids are running about playing tag.’ (vf | FL.2024/06/20)

b. #məmtkɛləm tə qaxmot čuy jɛʎjɛʎ.
 mə~mtkal-əm tə=qəx̣-mut čuy jaʎ~jəʎ
 PROG~play.tag-MD DET=lots-INT child PL~run (sf | FL.2024/06/20)

We noted one exception to the generalization that plural marking is obligatory with human nouns. The word *qaymix^w* /*qaymix^w*/ ‘First Nations person’ is often used in reference to a plurality of individuals, as in (12) and (13), although there is a plural form, *qayɛwmix^w* /*qayiwmix^w*/ ‘First Nations people’ as well. At this point, we do not have an explanation for this exception.

(12) hɛhɛw qaxmot qaymix^w q^wol̩ təs.
 hihiw qəx̣-mut qaymix^w q^wəl̩ təs
 really lots-INT FN.person come arrive
 ‘A lot of people have arrived.’ (vf | EP.2024/01/12)

(13) *Context: Narrating a short clip of a soccer game.*

hɛhɛw k^wa qaxmot qaymix^w nɛʔ, jɛjɛqanx^w yimaʔəm.
 hihiw=k^wa qəx̣-mut qaymix^w niʔ ja~jaqanx^w yiʔimaʔəm.
 really=RPT lots-INT FN.person be.there PROG~watch soccer
 ‘There are a lot of people there, watching soccer.’ (vf | FL.2024/04/22)

3.2 Animal and inanimate nouns

Unlike human nouns, animal nouns and inanimate nouns do not always appear in their plural forms when the speaker is referring to a plurality of entities. However, the optionality is modulated by whether there are other means of marking the plurality in the sentence, such as an overt quantifier. In the following utterances (14) to (17), where the intended plurality is not otherwise marked, the plural form is preferred.

(14) *Context: A picture of a herd of horses grazing.*

a. hɛhɛw ʔajumišmot tə təqtɛqɛw.
 hihiw ʔajumiš-mut tə=təq~tiqiw
 really beautiful-INT DET=PL~horse
 ‘The horses are really beautiful.’ (sf | EP.2024/01/12)

b. #hɛhɛw ʔajumišmot tə tɛqɛw.
 hihiw ʔajumiš-mut tə=tiqiw
 really beautiful-INT DET=horse
Comment: “You’re saying the horse is real pretty.” (sf | EP.2024/01/12)

(15) *Context: A picture of a mother dog with puppies.*

- a. qaqam č̣εʔεč̣noʔ tə tanet.
 qaq-am č̣a<ʔa><č̣>nu<ʔ> tə=tan-it
 nurse-MD dog<PL><DIM> DET=mother-3PL.POSS
 ‘The puppies are nursing at their mother.’ (vf | FL.2023/12/12)
- b. #qaqam č̣εč̣noʔ tə tanet.
 qaq-am č̣a<č̣>nu<ʔ> tə=tan-it
 nurse-MD dog<DIM> DET=mother-3PL.POSS (sf | FL.2023/12/12)

(16) *Context: Describing a picture with a pile of books stacked on a table.*

- a. p̣atanét tə p̣əḳpuk.
 p̣atan-ít tə=p̣əḳ~puk
 stack-STAT DET=PL~book
 ‘The books are stacked.’ (vf | EP.2024/01/19)
- b. #p̣atanét tə puk.
 p̣atan-ít tə=puk
 stack-STAT DET=book
Comment: “You’d be only talking about one book.” (sf | EP.2024/01/19)

(17) a. p̣ai⁰ənx^wegəs tə q̣əsq̣əsnaɪ.
 p̣ai⁰-ə-nx^w-igas tə=q̣əs~q̣əsnaɪ
 pile-EPEN-NCTR-RECIP DET=PL~shirt
 ‘The shirts are stacked together.’ (vf | MH.2024/06/25)

- b. #p̣ai⁰ənx^wegəs tə q̣əsnaɪ.
 p̣ai⁰-ə-nx^w-igas tə=q̣əsnaɪ
 pile-EPEN-NCTR-RECIP DET=shirt
Comment: “Then you’d only be talking about one.” (sf | MH.2024/06/25)

However, when a quantifier is used, singular forms of nouns occur spontaneously, as in (18a), (19a), and (20a) (corresponding plural forms are given in the (b) examples).

(18) a. *Context: I’m setting the table, but short two spoons. I ask Felipe:*

- ho ga maʔam saʔa pun.
 hu=ga məʔ-ʔəm saʔa pun
 go=DPRT get-ACT.INTR two spoon
 ‘Can you get two more spoons.’ (vf | EP.2024/03/15)

b. *Context: We’re getting ready to serve tea.*

- ho ga k^waʔam k^wusk^wasta hega k^w p̣ənpun ʔə tə θɛwθɛtən.
 hu=ga k^wəʔ-ʔəm k^wəs~k^wasta higa k^w p̣ən~pun ʔə=tə=θiwθitən
 go=DPRT put-ACT.INTR PL~cup CONJ DET=PL~spoon OBL=DET=table
 ‘Go put some cups and spoons on the table.’ (vf | EP.2024/02/23)

- (19) a. *Context: Describing a picture of cups on a table.*
 qaxmot k^wasta neʔ tolet tə θewθetən.
 qəx̣-mut k^wasta niʔ tuł-ít tə=θiwθitən
 lots-INT cup be.there put.on.top-STAT DET=table
 ‘There’s a lot of cups on the table.’ (vf | MH.2024/02/14)
- b. k^waʔtçox^w k^wosk^wasta θewθetən.
 k^wəʔ-t=çax^w k^wəs~k^wasta θiwθitən
 put-CTR=2SG.SBJ PL~cup table
 ‘Put the cups on the table.’ (vf | MH.2024/05/21)
- (20) a. qaxmot tə k^wasta taʔa nəpét sink.
 qəx̣-mut tə=k^wasta taʔa nəp-ít sink
 lots-INT DET=cup there put.in-STAT sink
 ‘There’s a lot of cups there in the sink.’ (vf | JF.2018/02/14)
- b. qaxmot tə k^wosk^wasta tolet θohna.
 qəx̣-mut tə=k^wəs~k^wasta tuł-ít θuhna
 lots-INT DET=PL~cup put.on.top-STAT other.room
 ‘There’s a lot of cups in the other room.’ (vf | JF.2018/02/14)

Judgments vary in elicitation with unmarked forms in combination with a quantifier sometimes accepted but sometimes rejected (21–22).

- (21) *Context: I saw a lot of dogs in the soccer field on my walk.*⁴
- a. qaxmot çinʔəm neʔol še nišiyεʔk^w.
 qəx̣-mut çan-ʔəm niʔ-uł šə=nišiyεʔk^w
 lots-INT dog-PL be.there-PST DET=field
 ‘There were a lot of dogs in the field.’ (sf | EP.2024/03/08)
- b. #qaxmot çéno neʔol še nišiyεʔk^w.
 qəx̣-mut çanu niʔ-uł šə=nišiyεʔk^w
 lots-INT dog be.there-PST DET=field
Comment: “You’re saying qaxmot, and then you’re saying one dog.”
 (sf | EP.2024/03/08)
- (22) a. həhew qaxmot tə məxmeχał ʔə tə q^wətəm.
 hihiw qəx̣-mut tə=məx̣~miχał ʔə=tə=q^wətəm
 really lots-INT DET=PL~bear OBL=DET=river
 ‘There are a lot of bears at the river.’ (sf | EP.2024/02/16)

⁴ It may be that *memaw* ‘cat’ and *çéno* ‘dog’ are exceptions and do have obligatory plural forms as judgements with these have been quite consistent. If so, this might have to do with the sentence we ascribe to these animals.

- b. hēhew qaxmot tə mɛχal ʔə tə q̣ʷətəm.
 hihiw qəχ̣-mut tə=miχal ʔə=tə=q̣ʷətəm
 really lots-INT DET=bear OBL=DET=river (vf | EP.2024/02/16)

Unmarked forms are occasionally even preferred when accompanying a quantifier, as in (23), or when the predicate indicates the plurality, as in (24), where plurality is marked through reduplication on the adjective that is functioning as the main predicate.

(23) *Context: Describing a picture of an assortment of mugs on a table.*

- a. qaxmot ḳʷasta niš ṭolet tɛʔɛ.
 qəχ̣-mut ḳʷasta niš tuł-ít tiʔi
 lots-INT cup be.here put.on.top-STAT DEM
 ‘There’s lots of cups on here.’ (vf | MH.2024/05/21)

- b. ??qaxmot ḳʷosḳʷasta niš ṭolet tɛʔɛ.
 qəχ̣-mut ḳʷəs~ḳʷasta niš tuł-ít tiʔi
 lots-INT PL~cup be.here put.on.top-STAT DEM (sf | MH.2024/05/21)

(24) *Context: Describing a picture of a group of sea lions, some of them barking.*

- a. hēhew ṭʰaṭʰiṭʰaymot tə ḳʷumaqen.
 hihiw ṭʰa~ṭʰiṭʰay-mut tə=ḳʷumaqin
 really PL~loud-INT DET=sea.lion
 ‘The sea lions are really loud.’ (vf | EP.2024/03/01)

- b. ??hēhew ṭʰaṭʰiṭʰaymot tə ḳʷumḳʷumaqen.
 hihiw ṭʰa~ṭʰiṭʰay-mut tə=ḳʷəm~ḳʷumaqin
 really PL~loud-INT DET=PL~sea.lion (sf | EP.2024/03/01)

Since plural marking on animal and inanimate nouns is specifically preferred where the plurality is not otherwise recoverable, the question arises whether plural marking is required in anaphoric contexts, where plural reference has been previously established. Our findings are preliminary with respect to this point, but so far we find that speakers continue to volunteer plural-marked forms and reject unmarked forms if the plurality is not otherwise indicated. To investigate this, we asked speakers to narrate very short storyboards with repeated reference to a plurality of entities, as shown in (25) and (26), which are narrations of the short storyboard in Figure 1.

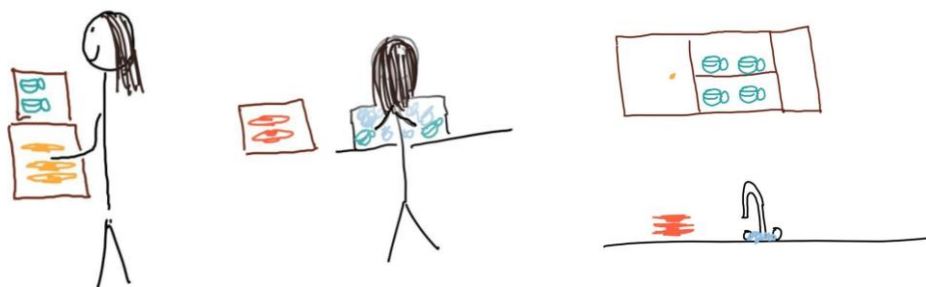


Figure 1: New dishes storyboard

- (25) $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}t^0\chi^wam\dot{e}m$ Marianne. $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}t^0\chi^wt\dot{e}s$ $t\dot{e} k^w\dot{o}sk^wasta$
 $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}\sim\dot{t}^0\dot{x}^w-am-\dot{e}m$ Marianne $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}\sim\dot{t}^0\dot{x}^w-t-as$ $t\dot{e}=k^w\dot{e}s\sim k^wasta$
PROG~wash-dishes-MD Marianne PROG~wash-CTR-3ERG DET=PL~cup
hega $t\dot{e} k^w\dot{o}k^w\dot{a}lt$ $\dot{c}et$ $y\dot{e}q\dot{o}x^w\dot{e}s.$
higa $t\dot{e}=k^w\dot{e}t\sim k^w\dot{a}lt$ $\dot{c}a?at$ $y\dot{a}q-\dot{e}x^w-as$
CONJ DET=PL~cup now buy-NCTR-3ERG
qaqamesat\dot{e}s. $q\dot{a}ji ?ot$ $n\dot{e}?$
qa~q<a>m<i>s-at-as $q\dot{a}ji=?ut$ $ni?$
PROG~put.away<PL>< PL >-CTR-3ERG still=EXCL be.there
totl\dot{e}t $t\dot{e} \{k^w\dot{o}k^w\dot{a}lt / \#k^w\dot{a}lt\}.$ $x^wa\sim x^wa?$
tu<i>t-it $t\dot{e}=\{k^w\dot{e}t\sim k^w\dot{a}lt / \#k^w\dot{a}lt\}$ $x^wa\sim x^wa?$
put.on.top<PL>-STAT DET={PL~cup / cup} PROG~not
 $\dot{t}^0\dot{o}\chi^wam\dot{o}x^w\dot{e}s.$
 $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}\dot{x}^w-am-\dot{e}x^w-as$
wash-dishes-NCTR-3ERG

‘Marianne is washing dishes. She’s washing cups and plates that she’s just bought. She’s putting them away. There’s still plates on the counter. She hasn’t washed them yet.’

(vf/sf | EP.2024/06/28)

- (26) ho k^wa $y\dot{e}q?am\dot{o}t$ $k^w\dot{o}k^w\dot{a}lt$ hega $k^w\dot{o}sk^wasta.$
hu= k^wa $y\dot{a}q-?am-ut$ $k^w\dot{e}t\sim k^w\dot{a}lt$ higa $k^w\dot{e}s\sim k^wasta$
go=RPT buy-ACT.INTR-PST PL~plate CONJ PL~cup
 $\dot{t}^0\dot{o}\chi^wam\dot{e}m$ $\{k^w\dot{o}sk^wasta / \#k^w\dot{a}sta\}$ $?i$ qamesat\dot{e}s.
 $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}\dot{x}^w-am-\dot{e}m$ $\{k^w\dot{e}s\sim k^w\dot{a}sta / \#k^w\dot{a}sta\}$ $?i$ q<a>m<e>s-at-as
wash-dishes-MD {PL~cup / cup} CONJ put.away<PL>< PL>-CTR-3ERG
 $q\dot{a}ji ?ot$ $x^wa?$ $\dot{t}^0\dot{o}\chi^w\dot{o}x^w\dot{e}s$ $t\dot{e} k^w\dot{o}k^w\dot{a}lt$
 $q\dot{a}ji=?ut$ $x^wa?$ $\dot{t}^0\dot{a}\dot{x}^w-\dot{e}x^w=as$ $t\dot{e}=k^w\dot{e}t\sim k^w\dot{a}lt.$
still=EXCL NEG wash-NCTR=3SBJV DET=PL~plate

‘She bought plates and cups. She washed the cups and put them away. She still hasn’t washed the plates.’

(vf/sf | FL.2024/06/27)

4 Availability of plural forms

In addition to investigating where plural forms are obligatory, we explore whether there are tendencies in where plural forms are available. In particular, we investigate whether human nouns are more likely to have plural forms as compared to animal or inanimate nouns.

As a rough way of determining the availability of plural forms, we examined 15 frequently occurring nouns from each category. To select these, we sorted the nouns in a database of 27106 utterances (representing fieldwork over the past 8 years) and took the most frequent in each category (sometimes looking beyond the first 15 if there were reasons to set aside certain nouns, as discussed below). An important caveat is that much of the database is from elicitation, so the selected nouns may not be the most common nouns in naturally occurring speech; they nevertheless seem impressionistically to be reasonably frequently used forms. We then checked plural forms of these nouns with three speakers. Our findings are reported in table format below.

For human nouns, we found that the majority have plural forms familiar to all the speakers. Only *tan* ‘mother’ and *man* ‘father’ have no plural form for any of the speakers.⁵ The rest of the plural forms are familiar to all three speakers with the exception of *k^wupaten* /k^wupatin/ ‘grandfathers’, *gəqaθtən* ‘husbands’, and *saltutən* ‘wives’, which are not familiar to one of the speakers. (Variation between speaker judgements is indicated with %). The plural for ‘grandmother’ also has different forms for different speakers: *čičyē?*, a plural diminutive corresponding to the commonly used diminutive form *čičyē?* and *čējetən*, an irregular plural corresponding to *čiyē*, the non-diminutive form.^{6,7}

Table 1: Availability of plural forms of human nouns

Singular			Plural		
<i>tumiš</i>	/tumiš/	‘man’	<i>təmtumiš</i>	/təmtumiš/	‘men’
<i>sałtx^w</i>	/sałtx ^w /	‘woman’	<i>nəgəpti</i>	/nəgəptəy/	‘women’
<i>tan</i>	/tan/	‘mother’	<i>*təntan</i>	/təntan/	‘mothers’
<i>get</i>	/gat/	‘who, someone’	<i>giget</i>	/gigat/	‘who all’
<i>qex</i>	/qiχ/	‘younger sibling’	<i>qexətən</i>	/qiχtən/	‘younger siblings’
<i>čuy</i>	/čuy/	‘child’	<i>čičuy</i>	/čəyčuy/	‘children’
<i>qaymix^w</i>	/qaymix ^w /	‘FN person’	<i>qayəwmix^w</i>	/qayiwmix ^w /	‘FN people’
<i>hegus</i>	/higus/	‘chief, leader, rich person’	<i>hawhegus</i>	/hawhigus/	‘chiefs, leaders, rich people’
<i>man</i>	/man/	‘father’	<i>*mənman</i>	/mənman/	‘fathers’
<i>k^wuk^wpa</i>	/k ^w uk ^w pa/	‘grandfather’	<i>%k^wupaten</i>	/k ^w upaten/	‘grandfathers’
<i>ʔayiš</i>	/ʔayiš/	‘cousin, sibling’ ⁸	<i>ʔayištən</i>	/ʔayištən/	‘cousins, siblings’
<i>gəqaθ</i>	/gəqaθ/	‘husband’	<i>%gəqaθtən</i>	/gəqaθtən/	‘husbands’
<i>sałtu</i>	/sałtu/	‘wife’	<i>%saltutən</i>	/sałtutən/	‘wives’

⁵ Blake (1992, 2000) documents *təntan* ‘mothers’, so it must have been used by at least some speakers.

⁶ We also examined the highly frequent word *jeʔje* /jaʔja/ ‘relative’, the plural of which, *jeʔaje* /jaʔaja/ ‘relatives’, was also recognized by all three speakers. However, because the word is homophonous with ‘tree’, we could not get an accurate count without going through every instance in the entire database.

⁷ Diminutive forms of the words for ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandfather’ are more commonly used than their non-diminutive counterparts. The diminutive reduplication indicates endearment in these cases.

⁸ Speakers differed in whether they considered the correct translation to be ‘cousin’ or ‘sibling’.

For animal nouns, we find many more gaps where no plural form is available and also more variation between speakers in whether plural forms are accepted. The plural form for ‘dog’ also varied between speakers, with two of the three speakers using *ćinćeño* and one alternating between *ćinʔəm* and *ćinćinʔəm*.

Table 2: Availability of plural forms of animal nouns

Singular			Plural		
<i>ǰenx^w</i>	/ǰanx ^w /	‘fish’	*ǰinǰenx ^w	/ǰənǰanx ^w /	‘fish’
<i>mɛmaw^w</i>	/mimaw ^w /	‘cat’	<i>məmmɛmaw^w</i>	/məmmimaw ^w /	‘cats’
<i>ćeño</i>	/ćaņu/ ¹	‘dog’	<i>ćinćeño</i> , <i>ćinćinʔəm</i> , <i>ćinʔəm</i>	/ćənćaņu/ ¹ , /ćənćanʔəm/ ¹ , /ćənʔəm/	‘dogs’
<i>mexal</i>	/miχal/	‘black bear’	% <i>məχmexal</i>	/məχmiχal/	‘black bears’
<i>qegaθ</i>	/qigaθ/	‘deer’	% <i>qawqegaθ</i>	/qawqigaθ/	‘deer’
<i>walθ</i>	/walθ/	‘frog’	% <i>wəlwalθ</i>	/wəlwalθ/	‘frogs’
<i>ʔasx^w</i>	/ʔasx ^w /	‘seal’	* <i>ʔəsʔasx^w</i>	/ʔəsʔasx ^w /	‘seals’
<i>k^wumaqen</i>	/k ^w umaqin/	‘sea lion’	<i>k^wumk^wumaqen</i>	/k ^w əmk ^w umaqin/	‘sea lions’
<i>ćikis</i>	/ćəkəns/	‘chicken’	* <i>ćikćikins</i>	/ćəkćəkəns/	‘chickens’
<i>ʔotqay</i>	/ʔuʔqay/	‘snake’	% <i>ʔəʔotqay</i>	/ʔəʔuʔqay/	‘snakes’
<i>qatən</i>	/qatən/	‘rat’	% <i>qətqatən</i>	/qətqatən/	‘rats’
<i>t^hačus</i>	/t ^h ačus/	‘mosquito’	% <i>t^hət^hačus</i>	/t ^h əčt ^h ačus/	‘mosquitos’
<i>pal</i>	/pal/	‘heron’	* <i>pəlpal</i>	/pəlpal/	‘herons’
<i>k^wašu</i>	/k ^w ašu/	‘pig’	% <i>k^wəšk^wašu</i>	/k ^w əšk ^w ašu/	‘pigs’
<i>q^waləs</i>	/q ^w aləs/	‘raccoon’	% <i>q^wəlq^waləs</i>	/q ^w əlq ^w aləs/	‘raccoons’

The animal nouns *ćećetən* ‘mouse’, *k^wak^waǰu* ‘squirrel’, *χeχneq* ‘owl’, and *nənqəm* ‘orca’ were all among the 15 most common animal nouns, but these forms all have lexicalized reduplication. In case this could be a confound, blocking plural reduplication, we searched for additional nouns that did not have lexicalized reduplication for the table above. We did attempt plural forms for *ćećetən* ‘mouse’, *k^wak^waǰu* ‘squirrel’, *χeχneq* ‘owl’, and *nənqəm* ‘whale’ as well, however, and found that none of these allowed plural reduplication (**ćetćetən*/*ćiććetən*, **k^wak^wk^waǰu*, **χeχχeχneq*/*χeχχeneq*, **nənnənqəm*/*nəqnəqəm*).

For frequent inanimate nouns, we found that many have plural forms, as with human nouns. We find three cases of no plural form, and three cases where plural forms are accepted by only some speakers: only one more gap in plural forms than with human nouns. Beyond the judgements summarized in the table, it is worth noting that one speaker accepted two of the forms *pičpiču* /pəčpəču/ ‘baskets’ and *qʷəsqʷasəm* /qʷəsqʷasəm/ ‘flowers’ but said that these sound like words from a long time ago when she was growing up that would not be used now. Unfortunately, the same speaker was not familiar with *ʔatnopel* /ʔatnupil/ ‘car’, so we could not check the plural form with her.

Table 3: Availability of plural forms of inanimate nouns

Singular			Plural		
<i>saplen</i>	/saplin/	‘bread’	* <i>səpsaplen</i>	/səpsaplin/	‘loaves, breads’
<i>ʔatnopel</i>	/ʔatnupil/	‘car’	% <i>ʔətʔatnopel</i>	/ʔətʔatnupil/	‘cars’
<i>kiks</i>	/kiks/	‘cake, cookies’	* <i>kikkiks</i>	/kəkkiks/	‘cakes, cookies’
<i>kʷaʔsta</i>	/kʷaʔsta/	‘cup’	<i>kʷoskʷaʔsta</i>	/kʷəskʷaʔsta/	‘cups’
<i>nuxʷel</i>	/nəxʷil/	‘canoe, boat’	<i>naʔanxʷil</i> , ⁹ <i>nuxʷnuxʷel</i>	/naʔanxʷil/, /nəxʷnəxʷil/	‘canoes, boats’
<i>puk</i>	/puk/	‘book’	<i>pəkpuk</i>	/pəkpuk/	‘books’
<i>piču</i>	/pəču/	‘basket’	<i>pičpiču</i>	/pəčpəču/	‘baskets’
<i>xʷuʃumayɛ</i>	/xʷəʃumaya/	‘store’	% <i>xʷixʷuʃumayɛ</i>	/xʷəyxʷuʃumaya/	‘stores’
<i>ʔemen</i>	/ʔimin/	‘door, road’	<i>ʔəmʔemen</i>	/ʔəmʔimin/	‘doors, roads’
<i>qʷasəm</i>	/qʷasəm/	‘flower’	% <i>qʷəsqʷasəm</i>	/qʷəsqʷasəm/	‘flowers’
<i>ʔayɛʔ</i>	/ʔayaʔ/	‘house’	<i>ʔiʔayɛʔ</i>	/ʔəyʔayaʔ/	‘houses’
<i>qawθ</i>	/qawθ/	‘potato’	* <i>qoqawθ</i>	/qəwqawθ/	‘potatoes’
<i>θewθetən</i>	/θiwθitən/	‘table’	<i>θuθewθetən</i> , <i>θawθewtən</i>	/θəwθiwθitən/, /θawθiwθitən/	‘tables’
<i>məmkeyustən</i>	/məmkayustən/	‘window’	<i>məmməmkeyustən</i>	/məmməmkayustən/	‘windows’
<i>qəsnaɪ</i>	/qəsnaɪ/	‘shirt, dress’	<i>qəsqəsnaɪ</i>	/qəsqəsnaɪ/	‘shirts, dresses’

⁹ For one speaker, *naʔanxʷil* /naʔanxʷil/ ‘boats, canoes’ is specific to smaller boats, like canoes, not fishing boats. She does not use *nuxʷnuxʷel* /nəxʷnəxʷil/, so she has a gap in plural forms for larger boats.

The word $\chi^w a \chi^w \eta t$ ‘egg’ was within the 15 most common inanimate nouns, but we set this form aside for the purposes of the table above, as it may have lexicalized reduplication, and included $\acute{q} \acute{a} s n a y$ ‘dress, shirt’ instead. As with the animal nouns above, we were concerned that lexicalized reduplication could block plural reduplication. We nevertheless checked if a plural form for $\chi^w a \chi^w \eta t$ ‘egg’ is available, but our attempts to pluralize were rejected by all three speakers ($*\chi^w o \chi^w \chi^w a \chi^w \eta t$).

5 Plural marking on adjectives

We found that speakers differed in how they treated plural marking on adjectives. All three speakers were familiar with at least some of the plural adjective forms that we checked. However, only one of the speakers treated plural marking on adjectives as obligatory, and then only for adjectives describing human entities.

Below, we provide an example with a plural-marked adjective from each of the speakers. As can be seen, plurality on adjectives is typically marked by C_{1a} -reduplication.¹⁰

(27) *Context: We’re talking about a team of carvers.*

hehew	čĕčigat.	
hihiw	ča~čəgat	
really	PL~skilled	
	‘They are really skilled.’	(vf MH.2024/06/24)

(28) *Context: We keep seeing a group of workers standing or sitting around by side of the road.*

hehew	ʔaʔoʔmatmot	təmtumış.
hihiw	ʔa~ʔuʔmat-mut	təm~tumiş
really	PL~lazy-INT	PL~man
	‘Those men are really lazy.’	(vf FL.2024/06/06)

(29) *Context: We need something heavy put up high. There’s some tall guys talking nearby with some other men.*

hot ⁰ əm	gayət	tə ʔaʔaʔaʔ	təmtumış	hiyəs
hu=t ⁰ +səm	gay-at	tə=ʔa~ʔaʔaʔ	təm~tumiş	hiy=as
go=1SG.SBJ+FUT	ask-CTR	DET=PL~tall	PL~man	COP=3SBJV
	ʔə q ^w ol	tołot.		
	ʔə=q ^w əl	tuł-ut		
	CLF.PRT=come	put.on.top-CTR		
	‘I’m going to ask those tall men if they will come put it up.’			(vf EP.2024/03/08)

Two of the speakers also volunteered non-pluralized forms of adjectives when describing human entities, but the third treated plural-marking as obligatory in these cases:

¹⁰ Derived resultative statives also behave as adjectives (Huijsmans 2023) but are plural marked through reduplication of the first consonant infixed following the first vowel: *tołét* ‘on top’ vs. *tołét* ‘on top (of plural objects)’.

- (30) *Context: We're talking about a team of carvers.*

čigatmot k^w yeyεθots.
 čəgat-mut k^w=ya~ya-θut=s
 skilled-INT DET=PROG~do-CTR+REFL=3POSS
 'They're skilled at what they are doing.' (vf | MH.2024/06/24)

- (31) *Context: We keep seeing a group of workers standing or sitting around by the side of the road.*

hehew ʔoʔmat təmtumiš
 hihiw ʔuʔmat təm~tumiš
 really lazy-INT PL~man
 'Those men are lazy.' (vf | FL.2024/06/06)

- (32) *Context: I have neighbours a few houses down that are having a noisy party.*

hehew {t⁰a⁰t⁰i⁰aymot / #t⁰i⁰aymot}. sk^wičimot.
 hihiw {t⁰a~t⁰i⁰ay-mut / #t⁰i⁰ay-mut} sk^wiči-mut
 really {PL~loud-INT / loud-INT} annoying-INT
 'They're really noisy. It's annoying.' (sf | EP.2023/10/28)

- (33) *Context: Watching a group of men lifting something really heavy.*

hehew {ʔaʔasʔasəm¹¹ / #ʔasəm} tə təmtumiš.
 hihiw {ʔa~ʔas~ʔasəm / #ʔasəm} tə=təm~tumiš
 really {PL~PL~strong / strong} DET=PL~man
 'Those men are really strong.' (sf | EP.2023/11/17)

For the latter speaker, the obligatoriness of plural forms of adjectives seems confined to cases describing human entities. She does not always use plural-marked adjectives when describing pluralities of non-human entities (34–35). However, she does sometimes express a preference for plural forms (36).

- (34) *Context: I had some chairs outside because it had been a beautiful sunny day and we were sitting outside, but I forgot about them and it clouded over and rained. They got all wet. It cleared up again, so I've left them out to dry off, but when I go to check them, they are still wet (these are chairs with cushions). I tell my husband:*

qəʔi ʔot {ʔaʔəmʔəm / ʔəmʔəm} tə θok^wθok^wnačtən.
 qəʔi=ʔut {ʔa~ʔəm~ʔəm / ʔəm~ʔəm} tə=θək^w~θək^wnačtən
 still=EXCL {PL~get.wet~CHAR / get.wet~CHAR} DET=PL~chair
 'The chairs are still wet.' (vf | EP.2023/09/29)

¹¹ There is both C₁əC₂~ plural reduplication and Ca~ plural reduplication on this form. At this point, it is not clear if each of these instances of reduplication are contributing to the meaning of the form or if this is a lexicalized whole.

(35) *Context: Describing a picture of a bunch of black pigs standing together.*

- a. **x^wax^ws** tə k^wɪʃk^waʃu.
x^wa~x^ws tə=k^wəʃ~k^waʃu
PL~black DET=PL~pig
 ‘The pigs are black’
- b. qaxmot k^wɪʃk^waʃu, x^wəs tə k^wɪk^waʃu.
 qəx̣-mut k^wəʃ~k^waʃu x^wəs tə=k^wəʃ~k^waʃu
 lots-INT PL~pig black DET=PL~pig
 ‘There’s a lot of pigs, the pigs are black.’

(vf | EP.2024/03/08)

(36) *Context: Watching a team of horses on TV moving a heavy fallen tree.*

- həhəw {**ʔaʔəsʔasəm** / ??ʔasəm} tə təqtəqəw.
 hihiw {**ʔa~ʔəs~ʔasəm** / ??ʔasəm} tə=təq~tiqiw
 really {**pl~pl**~strong / strong} DET=PL~horse
 ‘Those horses are really strong.’

(sf | EP.2023/10/28)

For none of the speakers is it always obligatory to use a plural-marked adjective accompanying a plural-marked noun. Unlike what Montler (2003:130) reports for Klallam, then, there does not seem to be obligatory agreement between plural marking on a noun and modifying adjective in ʔayʔajuθəm. However, most of our examples involve predicative adjectives modifying nouns in argument position. Further work should investigate whether judgements differ when the adjective is modifying a noun within the determiner phrase or as part of a complex nominal predicate.

6 Discussion

In this paper, we’ve shown that plural-marking in ʔayʔajuθəm is obligatory with human nouns, but not with non-human nouns. With non-human nouns, non-plural-marked forms can be interpreted as singular or plural. Plural-marking on nouns in ʔayʔajuθəm therefore distributes like plural-marking in hənqəminəm (Suttles 2004:204–205) and Hul’q’umi’num’ (Gerds & Hinkson 2004). We also found that human nouns are especially likely to have plural forms, though there are gaps in plural marking for both human and non-human nouns. For adjectives, we found that plural-marking is optional, except for one of the speakers. For this speaker, plural marking is obligatory specifically when the adjective is used to describe human referents. None of the speakers seem to require adjectives to agree with plural-marked nouns, unlike in Klallam (Montler 2003:130), though more work is needed to check if this is the case across syntactic configurations.

The next step for this investigation is to work out the semantics of plural-marked and unmarked forms. As a first attempt, we suppose that plural forms are semantically plural while forms unmarked for plurality are underspecified (see Farkas & de Swart 2010 for such an analysis of English and Hungarian).¹² If this is the case, singular interpretations of unmarked forms arise due to competition with the plural forms, which are more informative. However, the competition between forms has different outcomes for human and nonhuman nouns. For human nouns,

¹² Their analysis tackles the problem pointed out in Krifka (1989) et seq. that plural-marked nouns allow atomic referents in their domain. For instance, utterances such as *do you have children?* elicit a ‘yes’ answer even if the addressee has only one child (Krifka 1989:85). This still requires exploration in ʔayʔajuθəm.

competition between forms always ends up with the plural form being preferred for plural reference, while unmarked forms are interpreted as singular. For nonhuman nouns, competition between forms leaves plural forms optional when referring to pluralities of animals and inanimates, so long as the plurality is marked in some way. An alternate approach might be to treat unmarked human nouns as semantically singular, in contrast to unmarked nonhuman nouns. Fully working out how the human/nonhuman distinction interacts with the competition between forms will have to await future work. In the meantime, we hope that our findings will be useful to language learners and teachers as well as linguists interested in the distribution of plural forms and contribute to our understanding of plurality in Central Salish.

References

- Blake, Susan J. (1992). *Two aspects of Sliammon (łáʔaminqən) phonology*. MA thesis. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.
- Blake, Susan J. (2000). *On the distribution and representation of schwa in Sliammon (Salish): Descriptive and theoretical perspectives*. Doctoral dissertation. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.
- Farkas, Donka & Henriëtte de Swart. (2010). The semantics and pragmatics of plurals. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 3(6):1–54.
- First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC). (2018). Report on the status of B.C. First Nations languages. URL: <http://www.fpcc.ca/files/PDF/Language/FPCC-LanguageReport-141016-WEB.pdf>.
- First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC). (2022). Report on the status of B.C. First Nations languages. URL: <https://fpcc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/FPCC-LanguageReport-23.02.14-FINAL.pdf>
- Gerds, Donna & Mercedes Hinkson. (2004). Salish numeral classifiers: a lexical means to a grammatical end. *STUF — Language Typology and Universals* (pp. 247–279).
- Huijsmans, Marianne & Gloria Mellesmoen. How to distribute events: ʔayʔajuθəm pluractionals. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 87(3):339–368.
- Huijsmans, Marianne 2023. ʔayʔajuθəm lexical categories. *Papers ICSNL* 58:159–187.
- Kuipers, Aert H. (1967). *The Squamish language: Grammar, texts, dictionary*. Berlin, Germany: de Gruyter.
- Krifka, Manfred. (1989). Nominal reference, temporal constitution and quantification in event semantics. In Renate Bartsch, Johan van Benthem, & P. van Emde Boas (eds.), *Semantics and contextual expression*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Foris.
- Mellesmoen, Gloria & Marianne Huijsmans. (2019). Types of plurality and plurality across domains. *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)* 29:103–116.
- Montler, Timothy. (2003). Auxiliaries and other Categories in Straits Salishan. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69(2):103–134.
- Suttles, Wayne. (2004). *Musqueam Reference Grammar*. University of British Columbia Press.

Watanabe, Honoré. (1994). A Report on Sliammon (Mainland Comox) Reduplication. *Papers for ICSNL* 29:321–342.

Watanabe, Honoré. (2003). *A Morphological Description of Sliammon, Mainland Comox Salish, with a Sketch of Syntax*. Osaka, Japan: ELPR Publications.