

Unearthing Long-Forgotten Treasures: The Early Comox-Sliammon Materials*

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Abstract: In this paper, we unearth the earliest records of ʔayʔajuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon; ISO 639-3: coo), a Coast Salish language spoken in British Columbia. Generally, it is assumed that the documentation of the language began in 1857, when the American ethnologist George Gibbs recorded a first short vocabulary of the K’omoks dialect (see, e.g., Davis 2018:7). While looking for Gibbs’s original records, we soon discovered a plethora of other early ʔayʔajuθəm materials, such as the K’omoks vocabularies by Roehrig (1870), Powell (1877), and Tolmie and Dawson (1884), a treatise on Salish numerals by Eells (1888), and a wordlist by Pinart (1902). Without doubt the most exciting find, however, is the (re)discovery of a Spanish-Homalco wordlist which can be traced back to the voyages of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* in 1792. Preceding Gibbs’s vocabulary by a stately 65 years, this wordlist not only represents the earliest documentation of ʔayʔajuθəm, but also one of the first records of a Salish language in general. For this paper, we carefully transcribed all these early materials and re-elicited the language data with four fluent speakers of the Tla’amin dialect. Comparisons of the old and new material not only reveal when certain sound changes took place, but also how resilient the language is. Crucially, the picture that emerges is not one of language loss. On the contrary, we find that Modern ʔayʔajuθəm remains just as expressive as it was 230 years ago.

Keywords: ʔayʔajuθəm (Comox-Sliammon), wordlists, archival material, language documentation, historical linguistics, orthography

1 Introduction

In this paper, we compile and analyze the earliest records of ʔayʔajuθəm (a.k.a. Comox-Sliammon; ISO 639-3: coo), a Coast Salish language spoken by the Tla’amin, Homalco, Klahoose, and K’omoks along the northern Strait of Georgia in British Columbia. Generally, it is assumed that the documentation of the language began in 1857, when the American ethnologist George Gibbs recorded a first short vocabulary of the K’omoks dialect (see, e.g., Davis 2018:7; Harris 1981:7–8). Our modest quest to find Gibbs’s original materials snowballed somewhat unexpectedly when we came across Pilling (1893)’s *Bibliography of the Salishan Languages* — a handy compendium which cataloged all the linguistic materials that were known at that time for the individual Salish languages. Following his breadcrumb trail, we soon not only discovered Gibbs’s original manuscript but also managed to track down a plethora of other early ʔayʔajuθəm materials, such as the K’omoks vocabularies by Roehrig (1870), Powell (1877), and Tolmie and Dawson (1884), a treatise on Salish numerals by Eells (1888), and a wordlist by Pinart (1902). Without doubt the most exciting find, however, is the (re)discovery of a Spanish-Homalco wordlist which can be traced back to the voyages of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* in 1792. Preceding Gibbs’s vocabulary by a stately 65 years, this wordlist not

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only represents the earliest documentation of ʔayʔajuθəm, but also one of the first records of a Salish language in general.¹

Figure 1 gives an overview of the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials. As highlighted in grey, only three of the records contain original data: the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist, the vocabulary by Gibbs, and the vocabulary by Tolmie and Dawson. The rest merely replicate, in some form or other, these first-hand sources.

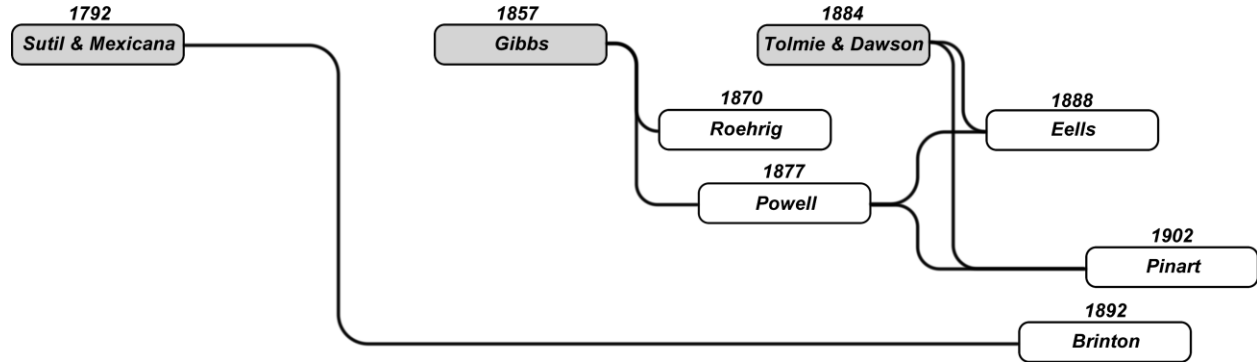


Figure 1: Timeline of the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials

Over the years, most of these records have vanished into obscurity, largely due to their inaccessibility. Scattered over various libraries and archives across the globe, some mislabeled, some undigitized, they have managed to escape the prying eyes of most Salishanists. With this paper, we hope to bring these old materials back into the light and share the linguistic treasures they contain with both language learners and linguists.

Our procedure involved several steps. First, we transcribed all the wordlists, paying close attention to maintain the original spellings of the forms. While this went generally smoothly, the transcription of some forms was complicated by careless handwriting or the low quality of the scans. Overall, however, the materials turned out to be surprisingly legible. Once we had transcribed the vocabularies, we tried to find Modern ʔayʔajuθəm (ModC) cognates for the forms that were listed in the old materials. While many of these cognates leapt off the page right away — compare, for instance, the words for ‘ten’: 1792 *open* vs. ModC *ʔopən* —, others required considerably more work. Three factors made it particularly difficult to identify modern cognates for some forms: (i) the fact that the spellings in the old materials differ significantly from the modern orthography (e.g., ‘belly’: 1792 *Coaa*’ vs. ModC *kʷaʔwa*), (ii) the fact that certain sound changes had not taken place when the words were first recorded, thus giving them a strikingly different appearance (e.g., ‘foot’: 1792 *euxin* vs. ModC *ʃiʃin*), and (iii) the fact that the early materials often involved miscommunication, leading to translations that are slightly off (e.g., Tolmie tried to elicit the word for ‘meat’, and instead received the word for ‘deer’). To deal with cases like these, we employed a multi-pronged reconstruction approach. This included the construction of grapheme-to-sound mappings for individual materials, research on historic sound changes, and the search for etymologically related forms in other Salish languages. Particularly, Kuipers (2002)’s *Salish Etymological Dictionary* and Beaumont (2011)’s *Sechelt Dictionary* proved to be useful resources for the reconstruction of earlier wordforms. As final step, we conducted follow-up elicitations with four fluent speakers of the Tla’amin dialect to see

¹ To our knowledge, the only record of comparable age is another wordlist from the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* expedition that contains data from a currently not clearly identified Coast Salish language (cf. Robertson 2021). It precedes, as far as we can tell, our Homalco wordlist by a few weeks and can be found at the Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid under the call number AMN 0128 Ms.0144 / 046.

whether they would recognize our reconstructed forms, whether the meaning of known forms had changed, or whether some forms had been replaced by other words.²

The work on the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials has been insightful in many ways. First and foremost, the old records offer some unique glimpses into the evolution of the language. Particularly, the re-emergence of the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist from 1792 opens the door to a stage of the language which appeared to be irreversibly lost just a short while ago. Together with the other early records, it throws light on when certain sound changes took place, how the meaning of individual terms evolved over the centuries, and how resilient the language is. Crucially, the picture that emerges is not one of language loss. On the contrary, we find that Modern ʔayʔajuθəm remains just as expressive as it was 230 years ago.

Even though the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials are a veritable treasure trove of language data, our analyses admittedly barely scratch the surface. Regardless, we hope that this paper will spark more detailed investigations on the evolution of the language. Likewise, we urge our readers to go out and look what other long-forgotten language materials are waiting in the archives and libraries to be rediscovered.

2 The Primary Sources

The old ʔayʔajuθəm records can be grouped into two categories: primary materials and secondary materials. While the former present novel and original language data, the latter merely replicate earlier sources. In this section, we will focus on the primary materials. Specifically, we will look at the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* wordlist from 1792 (Section 2.1), Gibbs’s K’omoks vocabulary from 1857 (Section 2.2), and Tolmie’s K’omoks vocabulary from 1883 (Section 2.3). Finally, we will discuss what these materials can tell us about how the languages has evolved over the past 230 years (Section 2.4).

2.1 Brinton (1892) and the *Sutil & Mexicana* Wordlist (1792)

2.1.1 Comox, a Patagonian Language?

Without doubt, the most interesting of the ʔayʔajuθəm materials listed by Pilling (1893:35) is a wordlist published by Daniel Garrison Brinton in 1892.³ Curiously, the article in which the wordlist appears is titled “Studies in South American Native Languages”. Indeed, Brinton’s article focuses on the languages of South America: he talks about Tacana (Bolivia), Jivaro (Peru and Ecuador), Cholona (Peru), Leca (Bolivia), Quechua (Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia), and several other South American varieties. But how does ʔayʔajuθəm, as a North American language, fit into this list?

As it turns out, Brinton had wrongly assumed that the wordlist came from a Patagonian dialect, called Hongote. This misclassification is understandable, considering that the wordlist was embedded in a Spanish manuscript that contains — in addition to a travelog describing a trip to Patagonia in 1789 — wordlists from the Patagonian dialects of Tsoneca or Tehuelhet. Here is what Brinton has to say about the materials:

Among the manuscripts in the British Museum⁴ there is one in Spanish (Add. MSS., No 17,631), which was obtained in 1848 from the Venezuelan explorer, Michelena y Rojas [...] It contains several anonymous accounts, by different hands, of a voyage (or voyages) to the east coast of Patagonia, “desde Cabo Blanco hasta las Virgines,” one of which is dated December, 1789. Neither the name of the ship nor that of the commander appears.

² While the ModC words in this paper represent the Tla’amin dialect in form and meaning, the words in the old materials come from the Homalco and K’omoks dialects. Consequently, we cannot control for any dialectal differences in this paper.

³ The ʔayʔajuθəm materials in Pilling (1893:35) are listed under the label “Komuk”.

⁴ The manuscript is now housed by the British Library in London, UK.

Among the material are two vocabularies of the Tsoneca or Tehuelhet dialect, comprising about sixty words and then numerals. [...] At the close of the MS., however, there is a short vocabulary of an entirely different linguistic stock, without name of collector, date or place, unless the last words, “á la Soleta,” refer to some locality. Elsewhere the same numerals are given, and a few words, evidently from some dialect more closely akin to the Tsoneca, and the name *Hongote* is applied to the tongue. [...] The list which I copy below, however, does not seem closely allied to the Tehuelhet nor to any other tongue with which I have compared it.

[Brinton 1892:83–84]

Retrospectively, the fact that Brinton had difficulties relating the words of that final vocabulary to any of the Patagonian languages he was familiar with is of course hardly surprising: the words are ʔayʔajuθəm, and not Patagonian. While Brinton himself did not notice this when he wrote his article, someone else must have made the right connection shortly thereafter — otherwise, Pilling (1893) wouldn’t have listed Brinton’s wordlist under the ʔayʔajuθəm materials.

2.1.2 The Question of Provenance

Before we look at the contents of the wordlist, the question of its provenance needs to be addressed. Why is there a Spanish-ʔayʔajuθəm wordlist at all? Where does it come from, and how old is it? After a quixotic study of old expedition logbooks and survey maps, we can offer some answers.

In the late 1700s, several colonial powers — most notably the British and Spanish — became increasingly interested in the Pacific Northwest. To strengthen their territorial claims, the Spaniards undertook roughly a dozen expeditions to the area. However, only two of these expeditions led them into territories where they could have encountered speakers of ʔayʔajuθəm: the 1791 voyage of the *Santa Saturnina*, and the 1792 voyages of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*.

Based on archival material, it is rather unlikely that the wordlist originated from the voyage of the *Santa Saturnina*. Francisco de Eliza sent out the schooner (commanded by José María Narváez) to survey the yet largely unexplored Strait of Juan de Fuca. Shortly after this goal had been accomplished, the Spaniards headed up north and undertook the first European venture into the Strait of Georgia. The maps stemming from this expedition indicate that they got as far as Texada Island before turning around (Wagner 1933:39). However, while Texada Island belongs to the traditional territories of the Tla’amin, nothing suggests that Narváez and his crew ever made contact with any inhabitants, let alone sat down with them to record a wordlist. In addition, there is nothing that links this expedition to a trip to Patagonia in 1789.

The circumstances surrounding the voyages of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, however, seem to fit almost perfectly. According to the British Library, the Spanish manuscript containing the wordlist is part of the so-called *Bauzá Collection* — named after Felipe Bauzá, who was the leading cartographer of the Malaspina expedition. This expedition left their home port in Cadíz, Spain on July 30, 1789, sailed around South America (with multiple stops in Patagonia in 1789), and eventually reached the Pacific Northwest in 1791. One year later, in the summer of 1792, Malaspina sent out the ships *Sutil* (commanded by Dionisio Alcalá Galiano) and *Mexicana* (commanded by Cayetano Valdés y Flores) to map the hitherto still largely unexplored Strait of Georgia. An account of this voyage is given in Espinosa y Tello (1802)’s *Relación del Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año de 1792 para reconocer el Estrecho de Fuca*.

On June 25, the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana* entered ʔayʔajuθəm-speaking territory by heading up the Malaspina Strait between Texada Island and the mainland. They set up their base just off the coast of West Redonda Island and spent the next few weeks mapping the area with smaller boats. They began their exploration by surveying Toba Inlet as well as the coastline along Desolation Sound. While they found some signs of habitation, they did not encounter any inhabitants in those early days of their explorations.

[June 27.] Valdés started at 9 in the morning in the *Mexicana*'s longboat with provisions for eight days, proceeding by the channel, to which the name "Tabla" was afterwards given [= Toba Inlet], taking on himself the duty of surveying the part lying to the east of it. [...] At nightfall Valdés returned with the longboat having examined a considerable arm, which he named "La Tabla" [...] He likewise looked at the adjacent channels, which were chiefly filled with islets of slight elevation, and saw some abandoned villages, without finding any inhabitant even outside of them.

[July 2.] July 2 was a lovely day and Galiano went out in the afternoon in the *Mexicana*'s longboat to continue the surveys. He returned on the night of the 5th, after carefully examining all the shore between the Punta de Sarmiento [= Sarah Point] and the Canal de la Tabla [= Toba Inlet], sticking very close to the mainland. He found one closed arm which communicated with two bays, and to these we gave the names of "Malaspina" [= Okeover Arm] and "Bustamante" [= Theodosia Arm].

[Wagner 1933:266–270]

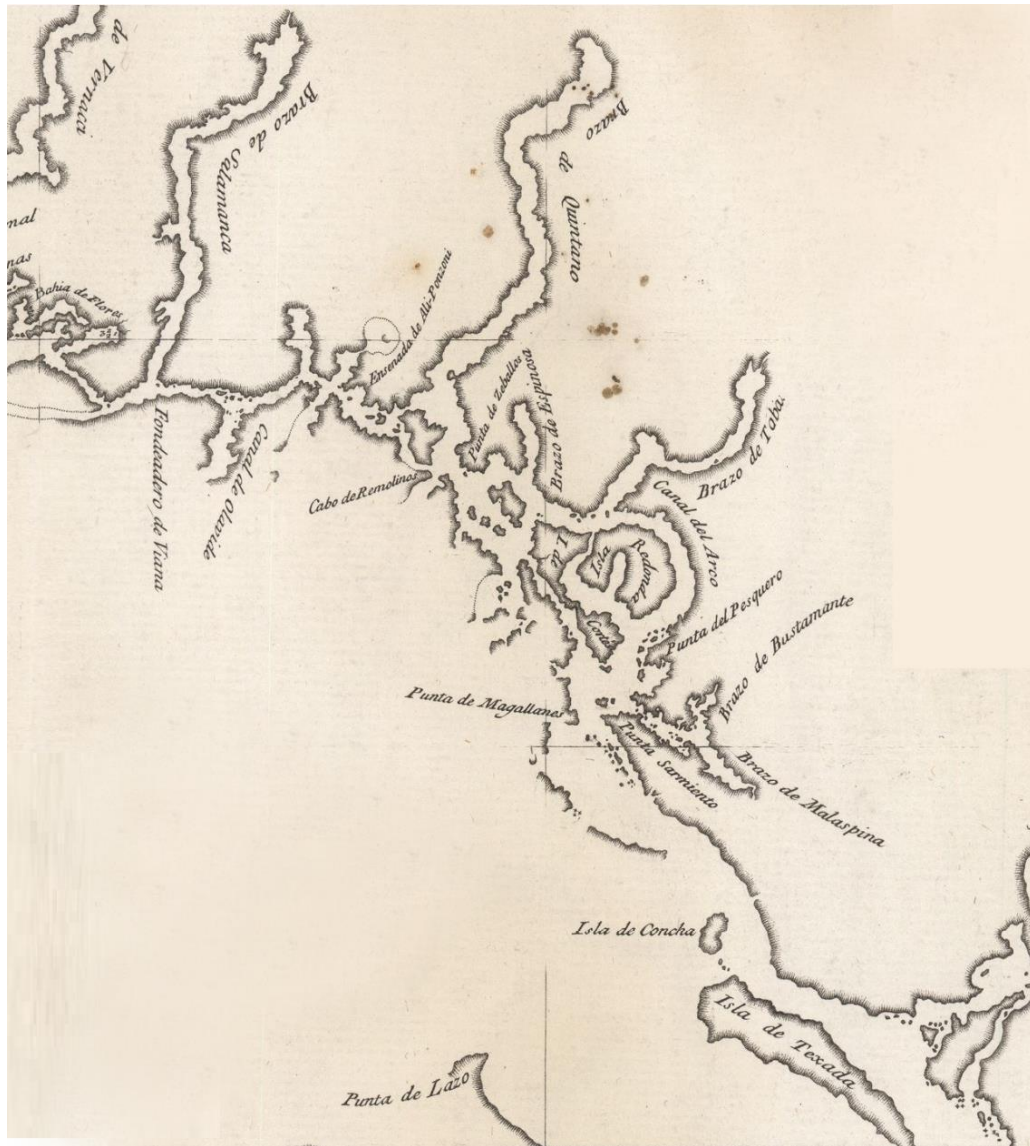
[July 4/5.] No Indians were met during the whole excursion even though some traces of habitation remained on the beaches examined, including in some places frameworks of village [houses] and quantities of shell which it was known had been heaped up after having contributed to [the Indian's] sustenance. In the easternmost of the Islas de Sarmiento [= group of islands lying outside of Prideaux Haven] was found also a chest covered with grass. Examination disclosed inside it another [chest] containing [the body of] a child of about two years already decomposed, with his coat of sea otter fur. He had also two necklaces of shells, three fishhooks, a cord, and various articles which apparently had been left with him.

[Kendrick 1991:145]

When Vernaci (Lieutenant of the *Sutil*) and Salamanca (Lieutenant of the *Mexicana*) set out a few days later with a longboat to survey Bute Inlet, they discovered a large settlement near the Arran Rapids, likely on Stuart Island. From here on, the logbook records several encounters between the Spanish and what must have been the Homalco.

[July 6.] On the 6th Vernaci and Salamanca set out with the longboat and boat to continue the surveys to the W. In the afternoon of the 8th, with a fresh SE wind, they entered an arm which they named "Quintano" [= Bute Inlet] [...] The sky having cleared in the early morning of the 10th, they continued their tasks with sea and wind favorable and proceeded to the channel, which is marked on the chart with the name of Angostura de los Comandantes [= Arran Rapids], because Galiano and Valdés afterwards went to examine it before attempting the passage with the schooners. They saw a large village situated in a lovely flat on the west point of the mouth of the Canal de Quintano. They went along shore until they reached the mouth of the Angostura where they noticed that the water was running out with marvellous rapidity and they at once took shelter at the southern point of the entrance, mooring the boats with a cable on land. [...] There were numerous canoes in the vicinity with two or three Indians in each engaged in fishing for sardines. [...] Many of the natives surrounded our officers without showing the slightest distrust. These men were of medium height, well made, robust and of dark color, and in features, language, dress, and arms were not different from those of the interior of the strait. The number of the natives in this place would reach 140, and they seemed the happiest in the strait, for being settled on the slope of a hill, with flats close by, and they dwell in a fertile and beautiful country. [...] As soon as Vernaci and Salamanca saw that the velocity of the current was diminishing, they passed through the Angostura and penetrated the next cove [...] They discovered a mouth which gave entrance to several channels but on the Indians assuring them that one of these continued to the sea, they resolved to suspend the survey and return by the way they had come. [...]

[Wagner 1933:270–272]



When the Spaniards returned to the area a few days later, this time with the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, Valdés and Galiano started looking for a way through the Arran Rapids, clearly to the dismay of the Homalco.

[July 16.] We anchored at nightfall between the shore and the island we called “Cevallos” [= Stuart Island] [...] Three canoes, with that number of natives in each, came from a village on the island, and proceeded to the *Sutil*, where they were treated with much kindness. They responded with the same kindness and struggled to make us understand that it was not advisable for us to go along that channel because there were wicked men in it who would kill us, and to persuade us to go to their villages where we should find the best welcome. On the *Mexicana* they made similar efforts to induce us to change our course, thus showing insistently a kind and thoughtful character, and an affection so disinterested that we could not do less than be grateful for it. [...]

[July 17.] The Indians received the commanders with the greatest friendship, and gave them to understand that they ought not to risk passing through the channel in the longboat for they would be swamped beyond help in the whirlpools, as happened to them in their canoes when they had the misfortune to be caught by the current. Galiano and Valdés thanked them for their warnings [...] The Indians, utilizing the sun's path, indicated to us very clearly that when that body was near the top of a high mountain on the mainland, the favorable moment we desired would come.

[...] The natives went some way off from the schooner without ever belying their friendly character, but rather confirming it by unmistakably proving their interest in our welfare, because, besides giving us the first fresh salmon we had seen in the strait, and a great quantity of sardines just caught, they allowed few moments to pass without trying to point out to us the dangers we were about to encounter, and the way and time to overcome them. They explained to us the method they pursued in this passage and the continual mishaps which nevertheless befell them, deducing that the size and resistance of our vessels would not promise us a more happy lot, but rather a more disastrous one than they had met with their canoes. For this humane and benevolent attitude we continued to call them "Good Indians" and we strove to give them whatever we knew might contribute to their satisfaction and comfort. [...] at 4 we perceived the moment had come for putting our enterprise into execution. We took advantage of it with fitting alacrity, accompanied for some time by our worthy friends, who likewise did not fail to advise us of the opportune moment, or to accompany us as far as the middle of the passage. They then returned hurriedly to their villages, for the current began to acquire strength, leaving, however, one canoe with a man and a woman in it to guide us somewhat, without any request for this on our part.

[Wagner 1933:274–277]

In the end, the Spanish successfully managed to pass the Arran Rapids and entered the Cadero Channel, which would finally lead them out of the Homalco territory.

While the wordlist is not explicitly mentioned in the logbook, a lot of circumstantial evidence indicates that it originated from the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* expedition. After all, the records show (i) that members of the Malaspina expedition were in Patagonia in 1789, (ii) that they spent considerable time in the territory of the Tla'amin, Klahoose, and Homalco in 1792, and (iii) that they communicated on multiple occasions with the Homalco near the Arran Rapids. As a matter of fact, we might even be able to determine the exact date and location that the Spaniards recorded the vocabulary. As noted earlier, Brinton (1892) pointed out that there is a phrase at the bottom of the page which he could not interpret: "á la Soleta". A look at the manuscript itself reveals that Brinton misread the final word. It doesn't read "Soleta", but "Goleta" — which is how the Spanish called their schooners. This suggests that the wordlist might have been recorded with the Homalco on July 16, 1792, near the Arran Rapids — the only time speakers of ʔayʔajuθəm ever set foot on one of the Spanish vessels.

Based on the evidence presented above, the wordlist that Brinton discovered constitutes not only the oldest record of ʔayʔajuθəm, preceding Gibbs (1857)'s vocabulary by 65 years, but also one of the oldest records of any Salish language.

2.1.3 Description of the Manuscript

These days, the Spanish manuscript containing the wordlist is housed by the British Library in London, UK. It is part of the Bauzá Collection and carries the call number Add. Mss., No 17,631. Upon our request, the library kindly digitized the entire manuscript for us. As noted by Brinton (1892:84), the wordlist can be found at the very end of the manuscript. It consists of one sheet of paper, with handwritten notes on the front and the back.

The front page is titled *Descripcion del Indio* (≈ 'Description of Indian') and contains 16 body-part terms, two miscellaneous items, and the numerals from 1 to 10 in both languages. A note reading *no le he*

podido entender más (‘I could no longer understand him’) concludes the front page, highlighting that communication must have been rather challenging.

On the back page, we find another six word pairs, primarily for everyday objects like ‘canoes’, ‘paddles’, and ‘buttons’. The phrase *A la Goleta* (\approx ‘On the schooner’) and a note about some of the ship’s inventory — *Jamón 12 arrobas y 5 libras. En limpio 9 arrobas y 5 libras* (‘Ham 12 arrobas and 5 libras. Cleaned 9 arrobas and 5 libras’) — concludes the manuscript.⁵

2.1.4 Decoding the Manuscript

When the Spanish explorers sat down with the Homalco to record the wordlist, they had to come up rather spontaneously with a way to represent the words that they received. Without doubt, this was not a straightforward task. After all, a conventionalized ʔayʔajuθəm orthography did not exist back then — and even if it had, the Spaniards would not have known of it. Instead, the explorers had to represent the complex Salish sound system with the letters they knew from their mother tongue. Considering the significant differences between the Spanish and ʔayʔajuθəm sound inventories, and the fact that the Spaniards were not accustomed to many of the Salish sounds, it is hardly surprising that the transcriptions exhibit numerous errors and inconsistencies.

Disregarding the vowels for the moment, Table 1 provides a rough guide to show which grapheme(s) represent which consonant(s) in the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist. The mappings are only based on those words and word fragments that we managed to reconstruct with a certain level of confidence, and mappings that involved obvious transcription errors were not considered. While we tried to take recent sound changes in the development of ʔayʔajuθəm as well as potential peculiarities within the orthography of 18th-century Spanish into account when reconstructing the old Homalco forms, the following key should nonetheless be taken with a healthy grain of salt.

Table 1: The grapheme-to-sound mappings for the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist

Grapheme	Sound	Grapheme	Sound
	[b] ~ [m] ⁶	<n>	[n] ~ [d]
<c>	[k ^w], [k ^w], [q], [q ^w], [q̣ ^w], [θ] ⁷	<p>	[p]
<ch>	[č]	<s>	[s], [š], [θ], [x ^w] ⁸
<d>	[n] ~ [d] ⁹	<t>	[t], [ṭ]
<g>	[χ] ¹⁰	<v>	[m] ¹¹
<j>	[χ] ¹²	<x>	[x], [q]
<l>	[l] ¹³	<y>	[y]
<m>	[m] ~ [b]	<z>	[θ] ¹⁴

⁵ *Arrobas* and *libras* are old Spanish units of weight.

⁶ For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation in ʔayʔajuθəm , see Section 2.4.4.

⁷ In Spanish, the letter <c> represents either the velar stop [k] or the labiodental fricative [θ] (e.g., *cinco* /θinko/ ‘five’).

⁸ It is not clear whether all these fricatives had phonemic status in ʔayʔajuθəm in 1792.

⁹ For a discussion of the [d] ~ [n] alternation in ʔayʔajuθəm , see Section 2.4.4.

¹⁰ In Spanish, the letter <g> represents either the velar stop [g] or the velar fricative [x] (e.g., *gigante* /xigante/ ‘giant’).

¹¹ In Spanish, the letters and <v> represent the same sound: [b]. Coupled with the [b] ~ [m] alternation in ʔayʔajuθəm (see Section 2.4.4), it is thus not surprising to find the nasal [m] represented by the grapheme <v>.

¹² In Spanish, the letter <j> represents the velar fricative [x] (e.g., *jamón* /xamon/ ‘ham’).

¹³ It is not entirely clear whether the letter <l> represented [l] or [ʎ], or perhaps even both.

¹⁴ In Spanish, the letter <z> represents the labiodental fricative [θ] (e.g., *zapato* /θapato/ ‘shoe’).

As can be seen in Table 1, there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between a grapheme and a consonant sound. Instead, we find that some graphemes represented multiple sounds, and vice versa. For instance, the Spanish used the letter <c> for a wide range of velar and uvular stops (i.e., [k^w], [k^h], [q], [q^w], [q^h]) as well as for the labiodental fricative (i.e., [θ]). Conversely, a wide range of letters (i.e., <m>, , <v>) was used to represent the nasal [m].

2.1.5 The Wordlist

Below, we finally present the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* wordlist. The first column provides an item ID for easier reference, while the second column shows the intended meaning of the lexemes in English. In the third and fourth columns, we replicate the individual Spanish-Homalco word pairs in the order that they appear in on the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* wordlist, while carefully maintaining their original spellings. Illegible characters are highlighted by brackets []. Last, the final column shows any Modern ʔayʔajuθəm (ModC) cognate forms that we elicited with speakers of the Tla’amin dialect. A dash (—) marks word forms or word segments that speakers are no longer familiar with, either because they have been lost or because they have been replaced by something else. The footnotes provide additional information concerning the individual lexemes.

#	English	Spanish (1792)	Homalco (1792)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
1	‘head’	Caveza	Seyocup	sayeq ^w ən ¹⁵
2	‘forehead’	Frente	Eyssen	ʔičsən ¹⁶
3	‘eyes’	Ojos	Can	— ¹⁷
4	‘ears’	Orejas	Coana	q ^w owaʔana ¹⁸
5	‘nose’	Narizes	Bacsen	məqsən ¹⁹
6	‘eyebrows’	Cejas	Suman	θoman ²⁰
7	‘mouth’	Boca	Zúzin	θoθən
8	‘teeth’	Dientes	Idis	ʃunes ²¹
9	‘neck’	Pescuezo	Saislan	say— ²²

¹⁵ **1 head** — Lit. ‘top of head’. See also Boas (1890:1): *sā’ēqēn* (‘crown of head’). The Spaniards must have misheard the final [n] as [p]. The ModC word for ‘head’ is *moʔos*.

¹⁶ **2 forehead** — The 1792 form was likely pronounced [ʔiysən]. The [č] in the ModC form must be a recent innovation.

¹⁷ **3 eyes** — ModC: *qawqaʔwum* (singular: *qaʔwum*).

¹⁸ **4 ears** — Lit. ‘ear’ (singular). The ending *-aʔana* is the lexical suffix for ‘ear’. While this suffix is trisyllabic in ModC, it used to be disyllabic in Proto-Salish: **-anaʔ* (cf. Kuipers 2002:84).

¹⁹ **5 nose** — The 1792 form was likely pronounced [bəqsən] ~ [məqsən]. For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation, see Section 2.4.4.

²⁰ **6 eyebrows** — Lit. ‘eyebrow’ (singular).

²¹ **8 teeth** — Lit. ‘tooth’ (singular). The 1792 form was likely pronounced [yɪts] ~ [yɪns], with the [y] > [j] sound change not having taken place yet. Cf. the Proto-Coast Salish form **yənīs* ‘tooth’ (Kuipers 2002:156) and the Sechelt cognate *yénis* ‘tooth’ (Beaumont 2011:483). For a discussion of the [d] ~ [n] alternation, see Section 2.4.4.

²² **9 neck** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the first syllable can be identified as the root *say* ‘whole, entire’ (cf. Blake 2000:422, fn. 20), the rest of the word remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘neck’ is *sayəʔna*, the ModC word for ‘throat’ is *saylat*.

#	English	Spanish (1792)	Homalco (1792)	Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
10	‘arms’	Brazos	Cheslan	čis— ²³
11	‘hands’	Manos	Cupa’ches	q ^w op— ²⁴
12	‘fingers’	Dedos	Gaayocoye	χ ^w aʔwεq ^w oʔje ²⁵
13	‘belly’	Barriga	Coaa’	k ^w aʔwa ²⁶
14	‘thighs’	Muslos	Cava	qəməp ²⁷
15	‘leg’	Pierna	Euxin	ʃiʃin ²⁸
16	‘foot’	Pie	Paxasen	pəqalʃin ²⁹
17	‘on the shells’	Alas conchas	Cha[vin]	— ³⁰
18	‘knives’	Cuchillos	Chavi	— ³¹
		<i>sus q^{tas} se enpiezan el</i> ³²		
19	‘one’	1	Pa	paʔa
20	‘two’	2	Sa	saʔa
21	‘three’	3	Chalas	čelas ³³

²³ **10 arms** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the first syllable seems to be a contraction of the root *čeyiʃ* ‘hand, arm’ (cf. Blake 2000:411), the rest of the word remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘arms’ is *čičeyiʃ*.

²⁴ **11 hands** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the first segment can be identified as the root *q^wop* ‘body hair’ (cf. Blake 2000:115), the final segment resembles the lexical suffix for ‘hand’: *-čis* (cf. Blake 2000:411). Thus, the word might have meant ‘hairy hand’. However, modern speakers no longer recognize the reconstructed form **q^wop(a)čis*. The ModC word for ‘hands’ is *čičeyiʃ*.

²⁵ **12 fingers** — Lit. ‘finger’ (singular). The 1792 form was likely pronounced [χəyoq^woye]. The first /y/ in this form likely represents an intermediate step in the sound change from Proto-North Georgia **l* to /w/. The second /y/ in the 1792 form indicates that the /y/ > /j/ sound change had not taken place yet. For a more detailed discussion of these sound changes, see Section 2.4.3.

²⁶ **13 belly** — Lit. ‘belly; stomach’ (cf. Blake 2000:344). See also Boas (1890:1): *koā’oa ~ k!wa’wa* (‘torso’).

²⁷ **14 thighs** — The 1792 form was likely pronounced [qəbəp] ~ [qəməp]. The Spaniards must not have heard the final consonant. For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation, which is represented here by the letter <v>, see Section 2.4.4.

²⁸ **15 leg** — The 1792 form was likely pronounced [yəxɪn], thus resembling the Proto-Coast Salish root **yəxən* ‘lower leg; foot’ (Kuipers 2002:156). The ModC form *ʃiʃin* is the result of two subsequent sound changes (/y/ > /j/ and /x/ > /ʃ/), as discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.3.

²⁹ **16 foot** — Lit. ‘bottom of foot; sole of foot’. The ModC word for ‘foot’ is *ʃiʃin*.

³⁰ **17 on the shells** — It is unclear what exactly the prompt ‘on the shells’ is referring to here. Perhaps, it was a continuation of the preceding prompt: ‘foot on the shells’. Alternatively, it might also belong to the following prompt, ‘knives’, as the Coast Salish used mussel-shell knives. In addition to this semantic issue, the recorded Homalco form is also difficult to decipher. Brinton (1892) transcribes it as *chavin*, though it might just as well read *chavui* or *chaoui*.

³¹ **18 knives** — ModC: *čitčitqamen* (singular: *čitqamen*).

³² This note, probably a shorthand for *sus cuentas se empiezan el* (‘their counts are begun the [...’]), introduces the numbers from 1 to 10.

³³ **21 three** — The form for ‘three’ evolved from Proto-Salish **kaʔas* (Kuipers 2002:37) to ModC *čelas*. Whether the change from **l* to /l/ had already taken place in 1792 is not clear. The Sechelt cognate *chálhás* ‘three’ (Beaumont 2011:473) still shows the original /l/, just like the ModC form *čelaye* ‘three people’.

#	English	Spanish (1792)	Homalco (1792)	Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
22	‘four’	4	bok	mos ³⁴
23	‘five’	5	Ciechs	θiyεčis
24	‘six’	6	Tejan	təχəm ³⁵
25	‘seven’	7	Zohs	tʰočis ³⁶
26	‘eight’	8	Tachs	təʔačis
27	‘nine’	9	T[e]us	tigix ^{w37}
28	‘ten’	10	open	ʔopən
<i>no le he podido entender más</i> ³⁸				
29	‘canoe’	Canoā	Tajabay	təχəmay ³⁹
30	‘paddle’	Canalete	Asaup	— ⁴⁰
31	‘all kinds of buttons’	Toda Clase de Botones	Coyocuy	kʷuyok ^{w41}
32		<i>los de mi chaleco no sé en \</i> <i>q^e se diferencian q^e \</i>	Cocoes	— ⁴²
33	‘beads’	Abalorios	Jamts	— ⁴³
<i>A la Goleta.</i> <i>Jamón 12 arrobas y 5 libras. En limpio 9 arrobas y 5 libras</i>				

³⁴ **22 four** — The 1792 form was likely pronounced [bos] ~ [mos]. The Spaniards must have misheard the final consonant. For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation, see Section 2.4.4.

³⁵ **24 six** — The Spaniards must have misheard the final consonant.

³⁶ **25 seven** — The numeral ‘seven’ involves the lexical suffix for ‘hand’: -čis (see also θiyεčis ‘five’ and təʔačis ‘eight’). In the 1792 forms, this lexical suffix is usually spelled <chs>, as shown in #23 and #26. The form *zohs* ‘seven’ consequently appears to contain a transcription error and should read *zochs* instead.

³⁷ **27 nine** — The second letter of the 1792 form is difficult to decipher. Brinton (1892) transcribes it as an <e>. Perhaps, the 1792 form was pronounced [təwis], thus resembling the Proto-Coast Salish root *təwix^w ‘nine’ (Kuipers 2002:152). This would suggest that the sound change from Proto-North Georgia */w/ > /g/ had not taken place yet (see Section 2.4.3). That the Spaniards transcribed the final consonant as <s> is somewhat surprising as well.

³⁸ The Spanish note translates to ‘I could no longer understand him’.

³⁹ **29 canoe** — Lit. ‘(red) cedar’. The ModC word for ‘canoe’ is *nəx^wεl*. Since canoes are traditionally made of western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*), this might just have been a case of miscommunication between the Spaniards and the Homalco. For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation, see Section 2.4.4.

⁴⁰ **30 paddle** — ModC: *toʔmt* ~ *toʔəmt*.

⁴¹ **31 all kinds of buttons** — Lit. ‘(fish) hook’. Either this was the result of miscommunication between the Spaniards and the Homalco, or *kʷuyok^w* was a metaphorical expression for ‘button’. BW pointed out that buttons were fastened by “hooking them in”. The ModC word for ‘buttons’ is *kɪpɪpəm* (singular: *kɪpəm*).

⁴² The Spanish note translates to ‘I don’t know how the ones on my vest differ’. Most likely, the conversation still revolved around ‘buttons’, as in the line above (cf. #31). Perhaps the Homalco used a different term to describe the buttons on the uniforms of the Spaniards. The \ likely served as line breaks or separators between the Spanish and the Homalco columns.

⁴³ **33 beads** — *Abalorios* were small glass beads that the Spaniards used for trading.

2.2 Gibbs (1857), Roehrig (1870), and Powell (1877)

Having identified the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist as the oldest record of ʔayʔajuθəm, we now turn to Gibbs (1857)'s K'omoks wordlist which previously held that title. In this section, we will also discuss the contributions by Roehrig (1870) and Powell (1877), who replicated and reworked Gibbs's records in their comparative vocabularies.

2.2.1 Description of Materials

In September 1857, as part of the Northwest Boundary Survey, the American ethnologist George Gibbs travelled to Nanaimo, BC and elicited a K'omoks wordlist from a man named Peter. Gibbs refers to this event twice in his journal:⁴⁴

Sept. 20. Obtained from Sampson's wife vocabulary of the Kwakkwioult; from another one of the Haida; from Peter of the **K'omooks** and from a boy one of the Nanaimewh.⁴⁵

[Gibbs 1858:18r]

Sept. 21. [...] a vocabulary of the **Komookhs** was obtained at the same place [= Nanaimo] from an Indian man of that tribe, by which it appears that there [sic!] use a dialect of the Nisqually. The same person stated that the Klo-óhse opposite them speak the same. It would therefore seem that those two tribes are the most northern of the Flathead family. [...] The Kó-mooks call themselves S'tlaht-loht'lt-hoo. The other is the Yu-kwulta appellation for them.⁴⁶

[Gibbs 1858:23r]

A note in Powell (1877) reveals a little bit more about the elicitation process:

NOTE.—Their own name is S'tlaht-tohtlt-hu; that of **S'ko-mook** is the one given them by the Uguultas.

The words in this vocabulary were given as corresponding with those in the Kuwalitsk, the Indians not understanding the jargon.—

G.G.⁴⁷

[Gibbs qtd. in Powell 1877:269]

As basis for his elicitations, Gibbs used a pre-printed vocabulary form from the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC, designed to collect data for the languages along the Pacific coast. In the span of six pages, this form presents 180 English prompts that should be elicited. They cover a wide variety of concepts, including kinship relations, body parts, animals, colors, pronouns, numbers, etc. While Gibbs followed the

⁴⁴ Gibbs must have been in contact with the K'omoks even earlier as his journal entry for September 16, 1857 already contains the word for 'spring salmon': *sat-sub* (= ModC: *θat'əəm*). It appears under the label "Kowmooks" in a table that lists the words for 'salmon' (Gibbs 1858:16v).

⁴⁵ *Kwakkwioult* refers to the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl; Wakashan). *Nanaimewh* refers to the Snuneymuxw (Nanaimo; Coast Salish).

⁴⁶ *Nisqually* refers to a subdialect of dx^wləšúcid (= Lushootseed; Coast Salish), spoken in Washington State. *Klo-óhse* is an old spelling for Klahoose, an ʔayʔajuθəm-speaking community based around Toba Inlet. *Flathead* is an outdated term used for the Salish language family. *S'tlaht-loht'lt-hoo* (also *Sahultx^w* or *θatoltx^w*) refers to the K'omoks (Island Comox; Coast Salish), the ʔayʔajuθəm-speaking community based on Vancouver Island. *Yu-kwulta* refers to the Ligwilda'xw (Southern Kwakiutl; Wakashan).

⁴⁷ As highlighted by Robertson (2022), *Kuwalitsk* refers here to Hulqumínúṃ, and not Cowlitz. The initials *G.G.* stand for George Gibbs.

form closely for the most part, he made some changes and additions where he considered them necessary. For instance, instead of just eliciting the generic word for ‘wind’ (#66), he also recorded the words for ‘north wind’ and ‘south wind’. Likewise, instead of just eliciting the word for ‘near’ (#144), he also added the prompt ‘far’ to the list. Conversely, the Smithsonian form also contained a handful of prompts which Gibbs did not manage to elicit. These gaps include primarily abstract terms, like darkness (#59) or ‘affection’ (#113), and terms for animals that were not native to the area, like ‘buffalo’ (#93) or ‘tortoise’ (#99). In total, Gibbs collected 174 K’omoks forms, which makes his wordlist the most comprehensive of the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials. The original manuscript — titled *Nanaimo, Skittaget, and Komook Comparative Vocabulary* — is currently housed at the National Anthropological Archives in Suitland, MD under the call number NAA.MS710.

Gibbs (1857)’s K’omoks wordlist remained the primary resource for ʔayʔajuθəm for several decades, and his data would be (partially) replicated in the large comparative vocabularies that the late 1800s brought forth. In this regard, particularly, the compilations by Roehrig (1870) and Powell (1877) deserve to be mentioned.

Frederick L. O. Roehrig was an American philologist and linguist who worked, among many other things, on the languages of the Pacific Northwest (cf. Barreiro 2012). Around 1870, he put together three comparative vocabularies in which he not only compared the lexica of numerous Salish languages, but occasionally also offered comments and notes on individual forms.⁴⁸ All three of these handwritten vocabularies have been compiled into one manuscript and are currently housed at the National Anthropological Archives in Suitland, MD under the call number NAA MS 3072 (a.k.a. *Three comparative vocabularies of the Salish languages*). The contents of Roehrig’s comparative vocabularies are split into three parts, which are as follows:

- i. *Comparative Vocabulary of the Selish Languages* (a.k.a. *Ist Series*) — 47 pages
- ii. *Comparative Vocabulary of the Selish Languages* (a.k.a. *IInd Series*) — 86 pages
- iii. *Synoptical Vocabulary of the Selish Languages* — 6 double pages.

The K’omoks data are distributed quite unevenly across these different vocabularies. While Part I only contains four K’omoks forms, Part II contains 48, and Part III contains 96. Across all three vocabularies, Roehrig presents a total of 123 distinct lexemes from this dialect. While he does not explicitly mention where his data are coming from, a look at the selection of words and the way they are spelled shows very clearly that all his K’omoks forms must come directly from Gibbs (1857).

Yet, Roehrig (1870) did not just copy them blindly. On the one hand, he made considerable improvements to some of Gibbs’s forms by fixing errors and inaccuracies. For instance, he noticed that Gibbs had accidentally switched the words for ‘black’ (#115) and ‘red’ (#116) and consequently corrected this mix up. He also realized that Gibbs’s K’omoks term for ‘birds’ (#103) specifically only referred to ‘sea fowl’, and he discerned that Gibbs’s K’omoks terms for ‘husband’ (#8), ‘wife’ (#9), ‘son’ (#10), and ‘daughter’ (#11) are not just plain nouns, but complex noun phrases with first-person possessive marking (i.e., ‘my husband’, ‘my wife’, ‘my son’, ‘my daughter’). On the other hand, Roehrig also introduced some issues that were not present in the source material. Primarily, these issues can be classified as transcription errors. For instance, Roehrig mistranscribes *soh-sed* as *sod-sed* ‘mouth’ (#22), *jāad-hoo* as *jaatl-hoo* ‘salmon’ (#110), and *kāi-tab* as *kāi-tah* ‘to kill’ (#175). Considering that Gibbs’s wordlist is handwritten and his letters not always easy to decipher, errors of this sort are not surprising. In addition to these misinterpretations, Roehrig occasionally also adds material to words that is not attested in the original

⁴⁸ The second of Roehrig’s vocabularies was compiled in Ithaca, NY on November 15, 1870, as a note on the final page reveals.

wordlist. For example, he turns *táh-tá-pó-sh* into *táh-ta-poshe* ‘infant’ (#6), and *éh bah-shá* into *éh-bah-sháh* (#180). Overall, however, such deviations from the source material are rare in Roehrig’s vocabularies.

A few years later, in 1877, John Wesley Powell — at that time director of the US Geological Survey — also put together a comparative vocabulary, spanning 18 different varieties spoken in the Pacific Northwest. It appeared in a print volume called *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office. The K’omoks data included in his volume also come from Gibbs (1857), as explicitly stated by Powell:

Vocabulary of the Ko-mookhs

A tribe of the Selish [sic!] family, obtained at Nanaimo, September, 1857, from a man, by George Gibbs.

[Powell 1877:269]

In total, Powell (1877)’s comparative vocabulary comprises 188 English prompts. For 173 of these, K’omoks forms are given. While Powell tries to maintain Gibbs’s orthography, his transcriptions often deviate from the original forms. Without doubt, most of these discrepancies result from misinterpretations of Gibbs’s handwriting. For example, Powell turns *da-áh-dat* into *aa-ah’-dat* ‘evening’ (#61), *shait-latl* into *shait-tatl* ‘neck’ (#26), *hah-bap* into *hah’-pap* ‘wings’ (#106), and *tuch-hub-ái* into *tuch’-hut-ai* ‘six’ (#155). Particularly Gibbs’s <h> seems to have caused a lot of issues for Powell, as he often misinterprets it as <n> or . For instance, he turns *duch-whehtl* into *duch-whentl* ‘canoe’ (#48), *hwa-haht-sa* into *hwa-hant’-sa* ‘pipe’ (#52), *shee-áht* into *shee-ant’* ‘sky’ (#54), *g’yaht-e g’yat* into *g’yant-e-gyant* ‘who’ (#143), *shish-jáh-shóhtl* into *shish-jan-shohtl* ‘yesterday’ (#146), and *ta-áh-chish* into *ta-ab’-chish* ‘eight’ (#157). The gravest deviation from the original source, however, occurs in the word for ‘pine’ (#90), which Powell lists as *klaa-d* instead of *klāa-kut*. Considering the sheer number of such issues, we advise against using Powell (1877) as a source for historic language data.

2.2.2 Decoding the Wordlist

Before we move on to look at the vocabularies that we introduced above, it seems useful to first provide a brief guide on how to interpret Gibbs’s orthography. While his original K’omoks wordlist from 1857 was not accompanied by any instructions on how to read the words he recorded, Gibbs later tried to remedy this issue. In 1863, he presented a standardized orthography for the documentation of the languages in the Pacific Northwest. Although Gibbs had recorded the K’omoks wordlist six years earlier, his new writing system seems to work for the old data as well. Below, we will briefly summarize the key conventions of his orthography.

For the vowels, Gibbs (1863:18) proposed the grapheme-sound mappings presented in Table 3. While he identifies the individual sounds merely by giving example words, we add their modern APA equivalents for easier reference as well.

Table 2: Vowels in Gibbs (1863)’s orthography

Grapheme	Example	APA	Grapheme	Example	APA
<a>	<i>hat</i> (German)	/a/	<ō>	<i>go</i>	/oo/
<ā>	<i>father</i>	/ɑ/	<u>	<i>full</i>	/ʊ/
<e>	<i>met</i>	/ɛ/	<ū>	<i>fool</i>	/u/
<ē>	<i>they</i>	/eɪ/	<α>	<i>fat</i>	/æ/
<i>	<i>pin</i>	/ɪ/	<u>	<i>but</i>	/ʌ/
<ī>	<i>marine</i>	/i/	<ai>	<i>aisle</i>	/aɪ/
<o>	<i>home</i>	/o/	<au>	<i>now</i>	/aʊ/

To indicate vowel length, Gibbs (1863:18) proposes two methods. The first is to treat open syllables as long vowels and closed syllables as short vowels.⁴⁹ The other is to use a macron (¯) to denote a long vowel and a “curved mark” (ˇ) for a short vowel. In his 1857 wordlist, Gibbs rarely seems to make use of the second solution, however. Lastly, stress is marked with an accent mark.

While the vowels can provide some level of support when reconstructing forms and identifying cognates, we found that the consonants proved much more useful — especially in the beginning steps of identification. Table 3 presents the grapheme-to-sound mappings for the consonants. For the most part, these follow Gibbs (1863)’s descriptions, though we also include some of our own insights from working with the wordlist. Just as before, we only include mappings that we could reconstruct with a certain level of confidence, while mappings that result from obvious transcription errors were not considered.

Table 3: The consonant grapheme-to-sound mappings for the Gibbs wordlist

Grapheme	Sound	Grapheme	Sound
	[b] ~ [m] ⁵⁰	<kw>	[k ^w], [k ^w], [q], [q̇], [q ^w], [q̇ ^w]
<ch>	[č], [č̇], [χ]	<l>	[ɬ]
<d>	[d] ~ [n] ⁵¹	<lh>	[l]
<dj>	[j]	<m>	[m] ~ [b]
<dy>	[j]	<n>	[n]
<g>	[g]	<p>	[p], [ṗ], [m]
<h>	[h], [x], [χ], [ʔ]	<s>	[θ] ~ [s]
<hl>	[ɬ]	<sh>	[s], [š]
<hoo>	[x ^w]	<t>	[t], [ṫ], [n]
<hw>	[w], [x ^w], [χ ^w]	<tch>	[č]
<j>	[j]	<tl>	[ɬ], [λ]
<k>	[k ^w], [k ^w], [q], [q̇], [q ^w], [q̇ ^w]	<ts>	[ẗ ^θ], [ẗ ^θ]
<kh>	[q]	<w>	[w]
<kl>	[λ], [λ̇], [ɬ]	<y>	[y]

2.2.3 The Wordlists

Below, we present the K’omoks data from Gibbs (1857) and compare them to the copies by Roehrig (1870), and Powell (1877). In the first column, we provide an item ID for easier reference, while the second column shows the English prompts. In columns three, four, and five, we list the K’omoks forms as attested by Gibbs, Roehrig, and Powell. We use brackets and small caps to highlight when authors modified the original English prompts. For instance, the [MY] in Roehrig’s item #8 indicates that he lists the prompt as ‘my husband’, and not just ‘husband’. The small numbers below the individual K’omoks words indicate where exactly the forms can be found in the original manuscripts or books. For example, the notation (II, 1, 3) underneath Roehrig’s item #2 refers the reader to Roehrig’s second vocabulary (the IInd series), page 1, item 3. Finally, the last column shows the Modern ʔayʔajuθəm cognates of the individual lexemes, as elicited by us from our Tla’amin speakers. Words and word fragments that were no longer recognized by them are marked by a dash (—). Further notes and explanations appear, whenever necessary, in the footnotes.

⁴⁹ The term *open syllable* refers to syllables that do not have a final consonant, such as *-tai-*. Conversely, the term *closed syllable* refers to syllables that are marked by a final consonant, such as *-gib-*.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the [b] ~ [m] alternation in ʔayʔajuθəm, see Section 2.4.4.

⁵¹ For a discussion of the [d] ~ [n] alternation in ʔayʔajuθəm, see Section 2.4.4.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
1	man	tó-besh (1, 1)	—	to'-besh (271, 01)	tumış
2	woman	sháhl-t-hoo (1, 2)	sláh-lt-hū (II, 1, 3)	shahlt'-hoo (271, 02)	sałtx ^{w52}
3	boy	chó-ie (1, 3)	—	cho'-ie (271, 03)	čuy ⁵³
4	girl	sháh-shlt-hoo (1, 4)	—	shah'-shlt-hoo (271, 04)	sałtx ^w ~ sałtex ^{w54}
5	infant	táh-tá-pó-sh (1, 5)	táh-ta-poshe (III, 1, 10)	tah'-ta-poshe (271, 05)	tutamış ⁵⁵
6	father	bāad (1, 6)	bāad (III, 1, 26)	baad (271, 06)	man
7	mother	nek'-yh (1, 7)	nek'yh (III, 1, 28)	nek'yh (271, 07)	— ⁵⁶
8	husband	kluts-shahlt-hoo (1, 8)	[MY] kluts-shahlt-hoo (III, 1, 24)	kluts shahlt-hoo (271, 08)	(tət ^θ) sałtu ⁵⁷
9	wife	tud-yáh-kash (1, 9)	[MY] tud-yah-kash (III, 1, 25)	tud-yah-kash (271, 09)	(tət ^θ) gaqaθ ⁵⁸
10	son	tuts-bah-da (1, 10)	[MY] tuts-bah-da (III, 1, 30)	tuts-mah-da (271, 10)	(tət ^θ) maʔna ⁵⁹
11	daughter	klā-shahlt-hoo (1, 11)	[MY] tuts-bah-da (III, 1, 31)	tuts-mah-da (271, 11)	(tət ^θ) maʔna ⁶⁰
12	brother ⁶¹	chet-kah-bet (1, 12)	[ELDER] chet-kah-bet (III, 1, 33)	[ELDER] chet-kah-bet (271, 12)	čutqamen ⁶²

⁵² **2 woman** — The first <l> in Roehrig's form must be a transcription error.

⁵³ **3 boy** — Lit. 'baby; child'. The ModC word for 'boy' is *tutamış*.

⁵⁴ **4 girl** — Lit. 'little girl'.

⁵⁵ **5 infant** — Lit. 'little man'. Both Roehrig and Powell add a word-final <e>, which is not attested by Gibbs. The ModC word for 'infant' is *čuy*.

⁵⁶ **7 mother** — Boas (1890:1) attests a strikingly similar form: *nikχ' ~ nek* 'mother!' (call with name). The ModC word for 'mother' is *tan*.

⁵⁷ **8 husband** — The forms in #8 and #9 are switched. Lit. '(my) wife'. Roehrig realized that this form also contained possessive marking (i.e., 'my'). The ModC word for 'husband' is *gaqaθ*.

⁵⁸ **9 wife** — The forms in #8 and #9 are switched. Lit. '(my) husband'. Roehrig realized that this form also contained possessive marking (i.e., 'my'). The ModC word for 'wife' is *sałtu*.

⁵⁹ **10 son** — Lit. '(my) child'. The use of <m> instead of in Powell's form suggests that he might have tried to untangle the [b] ~ [m] alternations.

⁶⁰ **11 daughter** — Lit. '(my) child'. Gibbs crossed out a form here. Roehrig and Powell assumed the form would be the same as in #10. But actually, we would expect a different determiner for 'daughter': *tət^θ mana*. The use of <m> instead of in Powell's form suggests that he might have tried to untangle the [b] ~ [m] alternations.

⁶¹ **12 brother** — Gibbs lists two K'omoks forms for the prompt 'brother', while Roehrig and Powell make a more fine-grained distinction between 'elder brother' and 'younger brother'.

⁶² **12 brother** — The 1857 form resembles ModC *čutqamen* 'knife'. The ModC word for 'older brother' is *nul*, a borrowing from Kwak'wala 'nula 'older brother'.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
13	sister ⁶⁴	tets-kéh-uch (1, 12)	[YOUNGER] tets-keh-uch (III, 1, 34)	[YOUNGER] ats-keh-uch (271, 13)	(tət ^θ) / (ʔət ^θ) qεχ ⁶³
		klets-aish (1, 13)	[ELDER] klets-áish (III, 1, 35)	[ELDER] klets-aish (271, 14)	lət ^θ ʔayis ⁶⁵
			[YOUNGER] klets-áish (III, 1, 36)	[YOUNGER] klets-aish (271, 15)	lət ^θ ʔayis ⁶⁶
14	Indians, people	kai-mehw (1, 14)	kái-mehw (III, 1, 617)	kai-mehw (271, 16)	qaymɪx ^{w67}
15	head	bo-ó'sh (1, 15)	bo-óhsh (III, 1, 59)	bo-ohsh' (271, 17)	moʔos
16	hair	bah-ket (1, 16)	bah-ket (III, 1, 60)	bah-ket (271, 18)	maqen ⁶⁸
17	face	skáo-káo (1, 17)	skáo-káo (III, 1, 63)	skao'kao' (271, 19)	—
18	forehead	eht-shud (1, 18)	éht-shud (III, 1, 64)	eht'-shud (271, 20)	ʔičsən
19	ear	kwan-wa (1, 19)	kwan-wa (II, 9, 70; III, 1, 70)	kwan-wa (271, 21)	q ^w owaʔana ⁶⁹
20	eye	tskáh-oom (1, 20)	tskáh-oom (III, 2, 65)	tskah'-oom (271, 22)	(t ^θ) qaʔwom ⁷⁰
21	nose	muk-shud (1, 21)	muk-shud (II, 10, 72; III, 2, 72)	muk-shud (271, 23)	məqsən
22	mouth	soh-sed (1, 22)	so-dsed (II, 10, 77); sod-sed (III, 2, 77)	soh-sed (271, 24)	θoθen ⁷¹
23	tongue	téhw-sutl (1, 23)	tehw-sutl (II, 11, 81; III, 2, 81)	tehw'-sutl (271, 25)	tix ^w θaɫ
24	teeth	djid-diss (1, 24)	djid'-diss (II, 12, 80);	djid'-diss (271, 26)	ʃunɪs ⁷²

⁶³ **12 brother** — Lit. ‘(my) younger brother’. For some reason, the first segment in Powell’s form deviates from the source material.

⁶⁴ **13 sister** — Gibbs lists one K’omoks form for the prompt ‘sister’, while Roehrig and Powell make a more fine-grained distinction between ‘elder sister’ and ‘younger sister’.

⁶⁵ **13 sister** — Lit. ‘my (female) cousin’. The ModC word for ‘older sister’ is (lə) nuɫ.

⁶⁶ **13 sister** — Lit. ‘my (female) cousin’. The ModC word for ‘younger sister’ is (lə) qεχ.

⁶⁷ **14 Indians, people** — Lit. ‘First Nations person’.

⁶⁸ **16 hair** — The final <t> in the old forms represents a special case of the [d] ~ [n] alternation where the oral stop [d] was perceived as voiceless.

⁶⁹ **19 ear** — The presence of the second <w> in the 1857 form is somewhat puzzling. The ending -aʔana is the ModC lexical suffix for ‘ear’. In Proto-Salish, the suffix was disyllabic *-anaʔ (cf. Kuipers 2002:84).

⁷⁰ **20 eye** — Lit. ‘(my) eye’.

⁷¹ **22 mouth** — The first <d> in Roehrig’s first form must be a mistranscription.

⁷² **24 teeth** — Lit. ‘tooth’ (singular).

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ṽayṽaṽuṽam
			djíd-diss (III, 2, 80)		
25	beard	kó-po-sed (1, 25)	kó-po-sed (III, 2, 76)	ko'po-sed (271, 27)	q ^w opoθen
26	neck	shait-latl (1, 26)	shait-latl (II, 13, 85; III, 2, 85)	shait-tatl (271, 28)	sayla ⁷³
27	arm	chah-ash (1, 27)	chah-ash (II, 13, 92; III, 2, 92)	chah-ash (271, 29)	čeyiś
28	hand	ko-tetsh-e-dó-jah (2, 28)	ko-tetsh-e-dója (III, 2, 93)	ko-tetsh-e-do'-ja (273, 01)	—oṽje ⁷⁴
29	fingers	hwau-we-kwoje (2, 29)	hwau-we-kuoje (III, 2, 100)	hwau-we-kwoje (273, 02)	χ ^w aweq ^w oṽje ⁷⁵
30	nails	kah-pah-je-kó-je-te (2, 30)	kah-pah-je-kó-je-te (III, 2, 106)	kah-pah-je-ko'-je-te (273, 03)	qap̣eq ^w oṽje ⁷⁶
31	body ⁷⁷	[CHEST] ai-yo-dash (2, 31) [BELLY] kwaw-wa (2, 31)	ai-yo-dash (III, 2, 86) —	[THE CHEST] ai-yo-dash (273, 04a) [THE BELLY] kwaw-wa (273, 04b)	ṽiyenəs ⁷⁸ k ^w əṽwa ⁷⁹
32	leg	jish-jesh-id (2, 32)	jesh-jesh-id (III, 2, 108)	jesh-jesh-id (273, 05)	ṽiśṽiśin ⁸⁰
33	foot	pak-ahl-shid (2, 33)	pak-áhl-shid (III, 2, 107)	pak-ahl'-shid (273, 06)	pəqalśin ⁸¹
34	toes	hwa-wáu-o-shid (2, 34)	hwa-wáu-o-shid (III, 2, 115)	hwa-wau'-o-shid (273, 07)	χ ^w aṽwawośin ⁸²
35	bone	haw-o-shid (2, 35)	háv-o-shid (III, 2, 120)	haw'-o-shid (273, 08)	χawśin

⁷³ **26 neck** — Lit. ‘throat’. The second <t> in Powell’s form must be a mistranscription. The ModC word for ‘neck’ is *sayeṽna*.

⁷⁴ **28 hand** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as the lexical suffix *-oṽje* ‘hand; arm’, the rest of the word remains obscure. Boas (1890:2) attests the same form: *kūtētsino’ja* ‘hand’. The ModC word for ‘hand’ is *čeyiś*.

⁷⁵ **29 fingers** — Lit. ‘finger’ (singular).

⁷⁶ **30 nails** — Lit. ‘fingernail’. The old form was likely pronounced [q̣ap̣ajeq^woṽeṭən] and appears to be an archaic form of *qap̣eq^woṽje* ‘fingernail’. The segment *-ṭən* is likely the lexical suffix for ‘instrument’ and is still attested by Blake (2000:408): *qap̣eq^woṽjeṭən* ‘fingernail’. The contribution of the *-aj-* element remains unclear, though it is still attested by Boas (1890:2): *qap̣’ājēqōjēṭin* ‘fingernail’.

⁷⁷ **31 body** — Gibbs makes a more fine-grained distinction between ‘chest’ and ‘belly’ here.

⁷⁸ **31 body** — Lit. ‘chest’. The ModC word for ‘body’ is *giyews*.

⁷⁹ **31 body** — Lit. ‘belly; stomach’ (cf. Blake 2000:344). See also Boas (1890:1): *koā’oa ~ k/wa’wa* ‘torso’.

⁸⁰ **32 leg** — Lit. ‘legs’ (plural).

⁸¹ **33 foot** — Lit. ‘bottom of foot; sole of foot’. The ModC word for ‘foot’ is *jiśin*.

⁸² **34 toes** — Lit. ‘toe’ (singular).

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
36	heart	kts-kwái-e-gat (2, 36)	kts-kwai-e-gat (III, 2, 125)	kts-kwai-e-gat (273, 09)	(k ^w ot ⁰) q ^w ayigən ⁸³
37	blood	kwehtl (2, 37)	kweh-lt (II, 16, 131); kwehtl (III, 2, 131)	kwehtl (273, 10)	q ^w ɛl ⁸⁴
38	town, village	—	—	—	—
39	chief	éh-guse (2, 39)	éh-guse (III, 2, 17)	eh'guse (273, 12)	həgus
40	warrior	klal-sháhm (2, 40)	klal-sháhm (III, 2, 19)	klal-shahm' (273, 13)	ʔalsəm ~ ʔasəm ⁸⁵
41	friend	tets-háthl (2, 41)	tets-ha'htl (II, 17, 23; III, 2, 23)	tets-hathl' (273, 14)	tət ⁰ ʔaʔ ⁸⁶
42	house	klúb-ush (2, 42)	klúb-ush (III, 2, 425)	klub'-ush (273, 15)	ʔəms ⁸⁷
43	kettle	húl-lich-kláh (2, 43)	hul-lich-klah (III, 2, 853)	hul-lich-klah' (273, 16)	hankəla ~ hanʔəla ⁸⁸
44	bow	tluk-hw (2, 44)	tluk-hu (III, 2, 447)	tluk-hw (273, 17)	toq ^w
45	arrow	hai-e-héh-ye (2, 45)	hai-e-heh-ye (III, 2, 449)	hai-e-heh'-ye (273, 18)	hihi
46	axe	sho-pai'h (2, 46)	sho-pai'h (III, 2, 415)	sho-pai'h (273, 19)	sopaye ⁸⁹
47	knife ⁹⁰	[POCKET] klaht-lap-hoo (2, 47)	klaht-lap-hū (II, 19, 416); klaht-lap-hoo (III, 2, 416)	klaht-lap-hoo (273, 20a)	ʔaʔapx ^{w91}
		[SHEATH] keóshe-keó-sha (2, 47)	—	keoshe'-keo'-sha' (273, 20b)	—
48	canoe	duch-whehtl (2, 48)	duch-whehtl (III, 2, 466)	duch-whentl (273, 21)	nux ^w ɛl ⁹²

⁸³ **36 heart** — Lit. '(my) inner self; inner voice; spirit; feeling'. The final <t> in the old forms represents a special case of the [d] ~ [n] alternation where the oral stop [d] was perceived as voiceless. The ModC word for 'heart' is ʔuk^wenəs.

⁸⁴ **37 blood** — Roehrig's first form contains a mistranscription: he turns the final <tl> into <lt>.

⁸⁵ **40 warrior** — Lit. 'strong'. See also #122. The variant ʔalsəm, with an additional [ʔ], seems to be falling out of use, though it is still attested in Blake (2000:xx). The ModC word for 'warrior' is qalq̣. Cf. Sechelt s-kayx 'warrior (head warrior)' (Beaumont 2011:512).

⁸⁶ **41 friend** — Lit. 'my want(ing)'. Roehrig's form contains a mistranscription: he turns the final <thl> into a <htl>. The ModC word for 'friend' is ʔeʔʔe.

⁸⁷ **42 house** — Blake (2000:219, 406) also attests ʔəmes 'where one resides'.

⁸⁸ **43 kettle** — The 1857 form was likely pronounced [hanixʔlā'la]. It is a borrowing from Kwak'wala hənxtlala 'pot'. Boas (1890:4) still attests the form with the fricative: haniʔt̪lā'la ~ hā'nɪ'ɫāla.

⁸⁹ **46 axe** — This word is a borrowing from Kwak'wala subayu 'axe'.

⁹⁰ **47 knife** — Gibbs adds the word 'sheath' to the wordlist.

⁹¹ **47 knife** — Lit. 'pocket knife'. The ModC word for a regular 'knife' is ʔitqamen.

⁹² **48 canoe** — The <n> in Powell's form is a mistranscription.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
49	shoes	kluk-shid (2, 49)	kluk-shid (II, 21, 501; III, 3, 501)	kluk-shid (273, 22)	ʔəqʃʃin ⁹³
50	pipe	hwa-haht-sa (2, 50)	—	hwa-hant'-sa (273, 23)	waxatʰe ⁹⁴
51	tobacco	a-wáhk-hu (2, 51)	—	a-wahk'-hu (273, 24)	ʔawok ^w
52	sky	shee-áht (2, 52)	shee-aht (III, 3, 308)	shee-ant' (273, 25)	ʃeʔt ⁹⁵
53	sun	tái-gib (2, 53)	—	tai-gib (273, 26)	təgəm
54	moon	tái-gib (2, 54)	—	tai-gib (273, 27)	təgəm
55	star	ko-shud (2, 55)	kó-shud (II, 24, 311; III, 3, 311)	ko'-shud (273, 28)	kʷusen
56	day	bah-he-ái-ta (2, 56)	—	bah-he-ai-ta (273, 29)	mahyeyitən ⁹⁶
57	night	datt (2, 57)	da-tt (II, 25, 344); datt (III, 3, 344)	datt (273, 30)	nat
58	light	—	—	—	—
59	darkness	—	—	—	—
60	morning	kwái-ee (2, 60)	kwái-ee (III, 3, 347)	kwai-ee (275, 02)	kʷiʔ
61	evening	da-áh-dat (2, 61)	—	aa-ah'-dat (275, 03)	nanat ⁹⁷
62	spring	—	—	—	—
63	summer	kwash (3, 63)	kw-ash (II, 27, 337; III, 3, 337)	kw-ash (275, 05)	kʷas ⁹⁸
64	autumn	—	—	—	—
65	winter	chem-i-chém (3, 65)	—	tchem-i-tchem (275, 07)	čumčum ⁹⁹
66	wind	póh-hab (3, 66)	po'h-hab (III, 3, 324)	[GENERIC] poh'-hab (275, 08a)	puʔəm ¹⁰⁰

⁹³ **49 shoes** — Lit. ‘moccasins’. The ModC word for regular ‘shoes’ is *qʷatqʷoteyšin*.

⁹⁴ **50 pipe** — Lit. ‘pipe (for smoking)’. This word is a borrowing from Kwakʷwala ‘*waxatsi*’ ‘pipe (for tobacco use)’. The <n> in Powell’s form is a mistranscription.

⁹⁵ **52 sky** — Lit. *ʃeʔt* ‘up’, based on the root *səʔ* ‘high’. The <n> in Powell’s form is a mistranscription.

⁹⁶ **56 day** — Lit. ‘noon’. The old forms are missing the final consonant. The ModC word for ‘day’ is *tʰokʷ*.

⁹⁷ **61 evening** — The first <a> in Powell’s form is a mistranscription.

⁹⁸ **63 summer** — Lit. ‘hot; heat’. The ModC word for ‘summer’ is *ʔoqʷowi*.

⁹⁹ **65 winter** — Lit. ‘cold’. The ModC word for ‘winter’ is *sotič*.

¹⁰⁰ **66 wind** — Gibbs lists three Kʷomoks forms for this prompt, distinguishing between generic, north, and south wind.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
		[N] to-ab-bai (3, 66)	—	[N.] to-a b-bai (275, 08b)	tuwəmayəʔ ¹⁰¹
		[S] tah-kah-ak (3, 66)	—	[S.] tah-kah-ak (275, 08c)	ʔaqaʔaq ¹⁰²
67	thunder	hái-heh (3, 67)	—	hai-heh (275, 09)	— ¹⁰³
68	lightning	kuthw (3, 68)	kut'hw (III, 3, 323)	kut'hw (275, 10)	— ¹⁰⁴
69	rain	chetl (3, 69)	—	chetl (275, 11)	čut
70	snow	ko'-bai (3, 70)	—	ko'-bai (275, 12)	qʷomay ¹⁰⁵
71	hail	t'tsáh-o-shid (3, 71)	—	t' tsah'-o-shid (275, 13)	tʰotʰawuʃun
72	fire	kwái-'ch (3, 72)	kwai'ch (III, 3, 437)	kwai'ch (275, 14)	qʷeyχ ¹⁰⁶
73	water	káh-ái (3, 73)	kah'-ai (II, 31, 318); káh'ái (III, 3, 318)	kah'-ai (275, 15)	qaʔye
74	ice	táú (3, 74)	—	táú (tahw) (275, 16)	tu
75	earth, land	gid-yeh (3, 75)	—	gid-yeh (275, 17)	giǰe ¹⁰⁷
76	sea	kóhtl-ko (3, 76)	kohtl-kó (III, 3, 665)	kohtl'-ko (275, 18)	kʷotʰkʷu ¹⁰⁸
77	river	kwút-tum (3, 77)	—	kwut'-tum (275, 19)	qʷətəm
78	lake	sáh-atl (3, 78)	sáh-atl (II, 33, 331; III, 3, 331)	sah'-atl (275, 20)	θayeł
79	valley	sháh-ye-akw (3, 79)	—	shah'-ye-akw (275, 21)	— ¹⁰⁹
80	hill, mountain	táh-kut (3, 80)	—	tah-kut (275, 22)	ʔaqt ~ ʔaqt ¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ **66 wind** — Lit. ‘westerly wind’.

¹⁰² **66 wind** — Lit. ‘southeast wind’.

¹⁰³ **67 thunder** — The ModC word for ‘thunder’ is *χʷatqʷom*.

¹⁰⁴ **68 lightning** — The ModC word for ‘lightning’ is *sagəm*.

¹⁰⁵ **70 snow** — Lit. ‘snow (on the ground)’.

¹⁰⁶ **72 fire** — Lit. ‘(fire)wood’.

¹⁰⁷ **76 earth, land** — The use of <dy> instead of <j> in the old forms is somewhat unusual, unless the consonant hadn’t fully transitioned to /j/ yet (see Section 2.4.3)

¹⁰⁸ **76 sea** — Lit. ‘salt water’. The ModC word for ‘sea’ is *senkʷu*.

¹⁰⁹ **79 valley** — The form was likely pronounced [saʔyik]. See also *saʔyikʷ* ‘prairie; tide flats’ (Blake 2000:407). While this form is documented in the literature, it is no longer recognized by any of our speakers. The ModC word for ‘valley’ is *saʔpet*.

¹¹⁰ **80 hill, mountain** — Lit. ‘mountain’.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔaʔuθəm
81	island	kwo-sáish (3, 81)	kwo-sáish (III, 4, 850)	kwo-saish (275, 23)	k ^w uθays
82	stone	háh-jaish (3, 82)	—	hah-jaish (275, 24)	χaʔjis
83	salt	koht-lobe (3, 83)	koht-lobe (III, 4, 334)	koht-lobe (275, 25)	k ^w oʔom ¹¹¹
84	iron	héhts (3, 84)	hehts (III, 4, 371)	hehts (275, 26)	χeʔ ^θ
85	tree	páh-ad-ái (3, 85)	—	pah'-ad-ai (275, 27)	páʔyənay ¹¹²
86	wood	kwáhta-hobe (3, 86)	kwaht'-a-hobe (III, 4, 634)	kwaht'a-hobe (275, 28)	— ¹¹³
87	leaf	h'yái-ba (3, 87)	—	h'yai-ba (275, 29)	yəmay ¹¹⁴
88	bark	páh-yatt (3, 88)	pah'-yatt (II, 37, 268); páh-yatt (III, 4, 268)	pah'-yatt (275, 30)	páʔyən ¹¹⁵
89	grass	kluk-kum (3, 89)	—	kluk-kum (275, 31)	ʔaʔəm
90	pine	[FIR] klāa-kut (3, 90)	[PINE] klaā-kut (II, 38, n/a)	[FIR] klaa-d (275, 32)	— ¹¹⁶
91	flesh, meat	chét-tut (3, 91)	chet'-tut (III, 4, 121)	chet'-tut (277, 01)	— ¹¹⁷
92	dog	chāa-do (3, 92)	—	chaa-do (277, 02)	čeno
93	buffalo	—	—	—	—
94	bear	béh-hatl (3, 94)	[BLACK] beh'-hatl (II, 40, 163); béh-tatl (III, 4, 163)	[BLACK] beh'-hatl (277, 04)	mexaʔ ¹¹⁸
95	wolf	klaht-lobe (3, 95)	—	[GREY] klaht'-lobe (277, 05)	ʔaʔlom

¹¹¹ **83 salt** — Lit. 'be salty'. The ModC word for 'salt' is ʔaləm.

¹¹² **85 tree** — Lit. 'Douglas fir' (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). The ModC word for 'tree' is ʔeʔʔe.

¹¹³ **86 wood** — The ModC word for '(fire)wood' is ʔ^weyχ.

¹¹⁴ **87 leaf** — In PNG, *ləmay likely meant 'branch'. Cf. Sechelt *s-lémay* 'branch/limb (of tree); knot (in wood); twig (on a branch); penis' (Beaumont 2011:770). In ModC, the form *yəmay* is primarily used as word for 'penis'. The 'branch' reading survived among older speakers in the form *yəmaʔeʔʔe* (First Voices: Sliammon), while current speakers associate this form with 'tree knots'. The ModC word for 'leaf' is *sayʔe*.

¹¹⁵ **88 bark** — Lit. 'Douglas fir bark', but also used for generic 'bark'.

¹¹⁶ **90 pine** — The ModC word for 'pine' is *qaqyanay*. The ModC word for '(Douglas) fir' is *páʔyənay*.

¹¹⁷ **91 flesh, meat** — The ModC word for 'meat' is *məʔəθ*.

¹¹⁸ **94 bear** — Lit. 'black bear'. The first <ʔ> in Roehrig's second form is a transcription error.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
96	deer	kéh-gass (3, 96)	—	keh'-gass (277, 06)	qɛgəθ
97	elk	kái-eh̄tsh (4, 97)	kái-éhtsh (II, 42, 156; III, 4, 156)	kai-eh̄tsh' (277, 07)	q̄ɛʔɛč
98	beaver	túk-kobe (4, 98)	—	tuk'-kobe (277, 08)	— ¹¹⁹
99	tortoise	—	—	—	—
100	fly	hwah-hwa-jobe (4, 100)	hwa'h-hwa-jobe (III, 4, 252)	hwah'-hwa-jobe (277, 10)	χ ^w aχ ^w ayum ¹²⁰
101	mosquito	tsak-choshe (4, 101)	—	tsak-chohshe (277, 11)	t ^θ ačos
102	snake	ohl-kái (4, 102)	óhl-kai (II, 44, 246); ohl-kai (III, 4, 246)	ohl-kai (277, 12)	ʔolqay
103	bird ¹²¹	bo-oke (4, 103)	[SEA FOWL] bo'-oke (II, 44, 750; III, 4, n/a)	[SEA FOWL] bo'-oke (277, 13)	moq ^w ¹²²
		kwah-kwáh (4, 103)	—	—	q ^w aq ^w wayχ ¹²³
104	egg	hwah-hweht (4, 104)	—	hwah-hweht (277, 14)	χ ^w aʔχ ^w ɛt
105	feathers	tsoht-tsókw (4, 105)	—	tsoht-tsokw' (277, 15)	t ^θ ot ^θ oq ^w
106	wings	hah-bap (4, 106)	—	hah'-pap (277, 16)	— ¹²⁴
107	duck	[MALLARD] kehd-a-kehd (4, 107)	—	[MALLARD] kehd-a-kehd (277, 17)	qɛʔɛnqɛn ¹²⁵
108	pigeon	há-ah-boh (4, 108)	háh-a-boh (III, 4, 643)	hah'-a-boh (277, 18)	haʔmo
109	fish	—	—	—	—

¹¹⁹ **98 beaver** — Gibbs's form was likely pronounced [tak^wom]. See also Boas (1890:5): *t'akō'm ~ t'ă'kōm* 'beaver' and Sapir (1915:11): *t!Akqm''* 'beaver'. The ModC word for 'beaver' is *q^wowot*.

¹²⁰ **100 fly** — Lit. 'house fly'. The use of the <j> spelling in the old forms is somewhat surprising, as it would indicate that the consonant was pronounced [j], and not [y].

¹²¹ **103 bird** — Gibbs lists two K'omoks forms for this prompt.

¹²² **103 bird** — The exact meaning of this word is not entirely clear. First Voices (Sliammon) lists it as 'black duck', while Beaumont (2011:699) translated the Sechelt cognate *muḵ^w* as 'duck (black scoter?)'. Roehrig (1877: II, 44) lists cognates for several neighboring languages and adds: "All these expressions serve to designate more particularly sea-ducks and birds of that sort." The ModC word for 'birds' in general is *tɛtɛstɛs*.

¹²³ **103 duck** — Lit. '(generic) duck' (cf. Blake 2000:350), but as noted by FL can also be used when talking about seagulls.

¹²⁴ **106 wings** — The first <p> in Powell's form must be a mistranscription. The ModC word for 'wing (of a bird)' is *ʃimʔay* (cf. Blake 2000:434).

¹²⁵ **107 duck** — Lit. 'mallard duck' (*Anas platyrhynchos*).

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
110	salmon	jāad-hoo (4, 110) sat-sub (4, 110)	jaatl-hoo (III, 5, 260) —	jaatl-hoo (277, 20) —	ʃɛnx ^{w126} θat ^θ əm ¹²⁷
111	sturgeon	kwoo-tái-o-sid (4, 111)	kwū tái-o-sid (II, 48, 621); kwoo tái-o-sid (III, 5, 621)	kwoo-tai'-o-sid (277, 21)	k ^w otečən ¹²⁸
112	name	tus-dahd (4, 112)	tu-sdáh-'d (II, 49, 142); tus-dáhd (III, 5, 142)	tus-dahd' (277, 22)	(təθ) nan ¹²⁹
113	affection	—	—	—	—
114	white	pukh (4, 114)	pukh (I, 15, 293; II, 49, 293; III, 5, 293)	pukh (277, 24)	pəq ¹³⁰
115	black	táht-sehm (4, 115)	hwush (III, 5, 294)	taht'sehm (277, 25)	x ^w os ¹³¹
116	red	hwush (4, 116)	táht-sehm (III, 5, 299)	hwush (277, 26)	tat ^θ əm ¹³²
117	blue	kwash-kwash (4, 117)	kwásh-kwash (III, 5, 295)	[LIGHT] kwash'-kwash (277, 27)	k ^w os— ¹³³
118	yellow	—	—	—	—
119	green	klésh-éh-bo-kt (4, 119)	klesh-eh-bohkt (III, 5, 296)	klesh-eh-bohkt (277, 29)	ʔəsəmuk ^w t ¹³⁴
120	great	tee'h (4, 120)	tee'h (II, 54, 561); téeh (III, 5, 561)	tee'h (277, 30)	tih
121	small	te-tóhlh (4, 121)	—	te-tohlh' (277, 31)	titol ¹³⁵

¹²⁶ **110 salmon** — The <tl> in Roehrig and Powell's forms is a mistranscription.

¹²⁷ **110 salmon** — Lit. 'spring salmon' (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*). Gibbs recorded the same form also in his journal entry for September 16, 1857 (Gibbs 1858:16v).

¹²⁸ **111 sturgeon** — Lit. 'humpback salmon' (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*).

¹²⁹ **112 name** — Lit. '(your) name'. The ModC word for 'name' is *nan*.

¹³⁰ **114 white** — See also #127.

¹³¹ **115 black** — The forms in #115 and #116 are switched by Gibbs and Powell. Lit. 'red'. The ModC word for 'black' is *x^wos*. Another ModC word for 'black' is *pəθ*. The semantic difference between *pəθ* and *x^wos* is currently not clear.

¹³² **116 red** — The forms in #115 and #116 are switched by Gibbs and Powell. Lit. 'black'. The ModC word for 'red' is *tat^θəm*.

¹³³ **117 blue (light)** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. The root is the same as in the ModC word for 'blue': *k^wosem*. A reduplicated form *k^wosk^wos*, without the middle marker *-em*, however, remains unattested in ModC.

¹³⁴ **119 green** — Lit. 'yellow blanket'. The form is composed of the root *ʔasem* 'yellow' and the lexical suffix *-uk^wt* 'blanket'. Both Roehrig and Powell add an <h> in the final syllable, which is not attested by Gibbs. The ModC word for 'green' is *k^wosem*.

¹³⁵ **121 small** — Gibbs's form was likely pronounced [titol], with the /t/ > /l/ change not having taken place yet.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
122	strong	klalh-shap (4, 122)	—	klalh'-shap (279, 01)	ʔalsəm ~ ʔasəm ¹³⁶
123	old	shesh-hó-hó'tl (4, 123)	—	shesh-ho-hohtl' (279, 02)	sχ ^w oχ ^w oɬ ¹³⁷
124	young	k[...][...]h	—	—	— ¹³⁸
125	good	ái-yh (4, 125)	ái'yh (II, 56, 556; III, 5, 556)	ai-yh (279, 04)	ʔi
126	bad	klúch (4, 126)	—	kluch (279, 05)	ləχ
127	handsome	pukh (4, 127)	pukh (III, 5, 675)	pukh (279, 06)	pəq ¹³⁹
128	ugly	—	—	—	—
129	alive	kote-ho-káh-ash (4, 129)	—	kote-ho-kah'-ash (279, 08)	— ¹⁴⁰
130	dead	kai'h (5, 130)	kai'h (II, 58, 678; III, 5, 678)	kai'h (279, 09)	qay
131	cold	cháh-chum (5, 131)	cháh-chum (III, 5, 565)	chah'-chum (279, 10)	čẽčũm ¹⁴¹
132	warm	kwáss-tch (5, 132)	kwáss-tch (II, 59, 566; III, 5, 566)	kwass-tch (279, 11)	k ^w asč ¹⁴²
133	I	che-detl (5, 133)	che-detl (III, 5, 591)	che-detl (279, 12)	čũnɛɬ ~ čũnɛ
134	thou	deg-yeh (5, 134)	d'eg-yeh (II, 61, 592); deg-yeh (III, 5, 592)	deg'-yeh (279, 13)	nĩgɛ ¹⁴³
135	he	tote-séhtl (5, 135)	tote-séhtl (II, 61, 593; III, 5, 593)	tote-sehtl' (279, 14)	— ¹⁴⁴
136	we	deh-bó'htl (5, 136)	deh-bóhtl (II, 62, 594; III, 5, 594)	deh-bohtl' (279, 15)	nɛmoɬ

¹³⁶ **122 strong** — The variant *ʔalsəm*, with an additional [ɬ], seems to be falling out of use, though it is still attested in Blake (2000:xx). See also #40.

¹³⁷ **123 old** — Gibbs's form was likely pronounced [šesχ^woχ^woɬ] and appears to be an archaic variant of ModC *sχ^woχ^woɬ* 'long ago'. The initial segment might be a blend of the determiner *šɛ* and the old stative prefix *ʔas* (cf. Davis 2019:59). The initial *s-* of the ModC form is a reflex of the old stative prefix. See also Section 2.4.2.

¹³⁸ **124 young** — Gibbs lists a crossed-out form, which cannot fully be deciphered. The ModC word for 'young' is *čoy*.

¹³⁹ **127 handsome** — Lit. 'white'. See also #114. Roehrig (1877: II, 49) notes in his entry for 'white': "This word means also 'handsome', somewhat similarly perhaps as we see that in other languages, in Russian, for inst., red serves to designate beauty. Or, it is an alusion [sic!] to the complexion of the white man, in contrast to the Indian; though every tribe is apt to consider itself, if not as the most handsome of all, at least not inferior in beauty and excellence to the other races of man." In ModC, *pəq* is only used as a color term.

¹⁴⁰ **129 alive** — The ModC word for 'alive' is *k^wak^wem*.

¹⁴¹ **131 cold** — Lit. 'being cold'. The ModC word for 'cold' is *čĩmčĩm*.

¹⁴² **132 warm** — Lit. 'I'm hot'. The ModC word for 'hot' is *k^was*.

¹⁴³ **134 thou** — Lit. 'you' (singular).

¹⁴⁴ **135 he** — ModC does not have an independent third person pronoun. Instead, demonstratives like *tita* 'that one' are often used in their place.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
137	ye	do-ahp (5, 137)	dó-ap (III, 5, 595)	do'-ap (279, 16)	nuwap ¹⁴⁵
138	they	séh-ye-wote (5, 138)	séh-ye-wote (III, 5, 596)	seh'-ye-wote (279, 17)	— ¹⁴⁶
139	this	—	—	—	—
140	that	ko-te-táh (5, 140)	ko-te-táh (III, 5, 598)	ko-te-tah' (279, 19)	—tita ¹⁴⁷
141	all	áh-wókw (5, 141)	ah-wókw (II, 64, 544; III, 6, 544)	ah-wokw' (279, 20)	ʔuk ^w
142	many, much	kuch (5, 142)	kuch (II, 65, 683; III, 6, 683)	kuch (279, 21)	qəχ
143	who	g'yaht-e g'yat (5, 143)	g'yaht-e-g'yaht (III, 6, 599)	g'yant-e-gyant (279, 22)	giget ¹⁴⁸
144	near	eh-éh-bit (5, 144)	eh-éh-bit (III, 6, 548)	eh-eh'-bit (279, 23a)	— ¹⁴⁹
	far ¹⁵⁰	te-deh-je ah ta (5, 144)	—	te-deh-je-ah-ta (279, 23b)	—niʔe ʔə ¹⁵¹
145	to-day	tsoh'-kw (5, 145)	tsóh-kw (III, 6, 353)	tsoh'-kw (279, 24)	st ⁰ ok ^w ¹⁵²
146	yesterday	shish-jáh-shóhtl (5, 146)	—	shish-jan-shohtl' (279, 25)	sʔesol ¹⁵³
147	to- morrow	kwái-ish-ub (5, 147)	kwái-ish-ul (II, 67, 354); kwái-ish-ub (III, 6, 354)	kwai-ish-ub (279, 26)	k ^w isəm ¹⁵⁴
148	yes	gid-dáh-hwott (5, 148)	—	(I) gid-dah-hwott (279, 27)	gənax ^w ʔot ¹⁵⁵
149	no	hwáh (5, 149)	hwáh (II, 68, 555; III, 6, 555)	hwah' (279, 28)	x ^w a

¹⁴⁵ **137 ye** — Lit. ‘you all’.

¹⁴⁶ **138 they** — A cognate of this form still exists in Sechelt: *yáwit* ‘them; these/those; they’ (Beaumont 2011:469, 949).

¹⁴⁷ **140 that** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as *tita* ‘that one’, the first segment remains obscure. Perhaps it is supposed to represent the determiner *k^w*, though its use here would be somewhat surprising.

¹⁴⁸ **143 who** — The old form was likely pronounced [gətgət] and appears to be an archaic variant for *giget* ‘who’ [PL]. Both <n> in Powell’s form are mistranscriptions.

¹⁴⁹ **144 near** — A similar form also appears in other early materials: *eai-bek* (Tolmie & Dawson 1884), *e’eimit* ~ *ēiēimiq* (Boas 1890:6). The ModC word for ‘near’ is *təsət*.

¹⁵⁰ **144 far** — Gibbs added the prompt ‘far’ to the wordlist.

¹⁵¹ **144 far** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the middle segment can be identified as *niʔe ʔə* ‘far OBLIQUE’, the surrounding segments remain obscure. The ModC word for ‘far’ is *niʔe*.

¹⁵² **145 today** — Gibbs’s form is missing the initial *s-*. In ModC, this prefix marks the difference between ‘day’ (*t⁰ok^w*) and ‘today’ (*st⁰ok^w*).

¹⁵³ **146 yesterday** — Gibbs’s form was likely pronounced [šəsʔesol] and appears to be an archaic variant of ModC *sʔesol* ‘yesterday’. The initial segment might be a blend of the determiner *šə* and the old stative prefix *ʔəs* (cf. Davis 2019:59). The initial *s-* of the ModC form is a reflex of the old stative prefix. See also Section 2.4.2.

¹⁵⁴ **147 to-morrow** — The <l> in Roehrig’s first form must be a transcription error.

¹⁵⁵ **148 yes** — Lit. ‘it’s true’. The ModC word for ‘yes’ is *ʔeʔ*.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
150	one	peh-páh-a (5, 150)	peh-pá-ha (II, 69, 523); peh-páh-a (III, 6, 523)	peh-pah'-a (279, 29)	pepaʔa ¹⁵⁶
151	two	sheh-shah (5, 151)	shéh shah (II, 70, 524; III, 6, 524)	sheh'-shah (279, 30)	sesaʔa ¹⁵⁷
152	three	chaht-lái (5, 152)	chaht-lai (II, 71, 525); chaht-lái (III, 6, 525)	chaht-lai (279, 31)	čɛlay ¹⁵⁸
153	four	bo-sái (5, 153)	bo-sai (I, 20, 526); bo-sái (II, 72, 526; III, 6, 526)	bo-sai (281, 01)	mosay ¹⁵⁹
154	five	séh-at-sái (5, 154)	séh-at-sái (III, 6, 527)	she'-at-sai (281, 02)	θiyɛčɪsɪy ¹⁶⁰
155	six	tuch-hub-ái (5, 155)	tuch-hum-ai (I, 21, 528); túch-hub-ai (II, 73, 528); túch-hub-ái (III, 6, 528)	tuch'-hut-ai (281, 03)	təχəmay ¹⁶¹
156	seven	tsó-che-sái (5, 156)	tsóches-ai (II, 74, 529); tsó-che-sái (III, 6, 529)	tso'che-sai (281, 04)	tʰočɪsɪy ¹⁶²
157	eight	ta-áh-chish (5, 157)	—	ta-ab'-chish (281, 05)	təʔačɪs ¹⁶³
158	nine	teg-éhw (5, 158)	—	teg-ehw (281, 06)	tɪgix ^w
159	ten	o-pad (5, 159)	ó-pad (II, 76, 532; III, 6, 532)	o'-pad (281, 07)	ʔopən
160	eleven	opad ehak-páá (5, 160)	ó-pad eh-ak-pah-a (II, 77, 533); ó-pad ehak páh-a (III, 6, 533)	o'-pad eh-ak-pah-a (281, 08)	ʔopən (ʔi) hək ^w paʔa
161	twelve	opad eh-hak sha-a (5, 161)	ó-pad eh hak-shaha (II, 77, 534; III, 6, 534)	o-pad eh-hak shah-a (281, 09)	ʔopən (ʔi) hək ^w saʔa

¹⁵⁶ **150 one** — Lit. ‘one person’. The ModC word for ‘one’ is *paʔa*.

¹⁵⁷ **151 two** — Lit. ‘two people’. The ModC word for ‘two’ is *saʔa*.

¹⁵⁸ **152 three** — Lit. ‘three people’. The ModC word for ‘three’ is *čelas*.

¹⁵⁹ **153 four** — Lit. ‘four people’. The ModC word for ‘four’ is *mos*.

¹⁶⁰ **154 five** — Lit. ‘five people’. The ModC word for ‘five’ is *θiyɛčɪs*.

¹⁶¹ **155 six** — Lit. ‘six people’. The ModC word for ‘six’ is *təχəm*. The use of <m> instead of in Roehrig’s first form suggests that he might have tried to untangle the [b] ~ [m] alternations. The final <t> in Powell’s form must be a transcription error.

¹⁶² **156 seven** — Lit. ‘seven people’. The ModC word for ‘seven’ is *tʰočɪs*.

¹⁶³ **157 eight** — The in Powell’s form must be a transcription error.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
162	twenty	tsum sháá (5, 162)	—	tsum sha'-a (281, 10)	θamšɛ
163	thirty	chad-ahw sháá (5, 163)	—	chad-ahw sha-a (281, 11)	čɛnux ^w šɛ
164	one hundred	te-shá-itsh (6, 164)	te-sháh-itsh (III, 6, 540)	te-shah'-itsh (281, 12)	təseʔɛč
165	one thousand	—	—	—	—
166	to eat	ehtl-tid (6, 166)	éht-lin (II, 79, 552); éhtl-tid (III, 6, 552)	ehtl-tid (281, 14)	ʔɛltən ¹⁶⁴
167	to drink	kó-óh-ko (6, 167)	kó-óh-ko (II, 80, 553; III, 6, 553)	ko'-oh'-ko (281, 15)	q ^w oʔoq ^w o ¹⁶⁵
168	to run	jɪtl (6, 168)	—	jɪtl (281, 16)	ʃiɬ
169	to dance	cheht-lib (6, 169)	—	cheht-lib (281, 17)	čɪlɛm
170	to sing	hwo-obe (6, 170)	hwo-obe (III, 6, 571)	hwo-obe (281, 18)	wuwom
171	to sleep	kláh-chit (6, 171)	kláh-chit (III, 6, 1176)	klah'-chit (281, 19)	ʃačɪt ¹⁶⁶
172	to speak	tets-kwái (6, 172)	teh-kwái (II, 82, 569); tets-kwái (III, 7, 569)	tets-kwai (281, 20)	(tət ⁰) q ^w ay ¹⁶⁷
173	to see	ko-táh-ta (6, 173)	ko-tats-ta (III, 7, 1063)	ko-tah'-ta (281, 21)	k ^w ot— ¹⁶⁸
174	to love	tuts-hahtl' (6, 174)	tuts-háhtl (III, 7, n/a)	tuts-hahtl' (281, 22)	tət ⁰ ʃaɬ ¹⁶⁹
175	to kill	kái-ta[b] (6, 175)	kái-tah (II, 84, n/a; III, 7, n/a)	kai-tah (281, 23)	qaytəm ¹⁷⁰
176	to sit	kwah-da-cha[b] (6, 176)	kwah-da-cháh (III, 7, 710)	kwah-da-chah' (283, 01)	k ^w anəčum ¹⁷¹
177	to stand	kwa-éhsh (6, 177)	kwa-éhsh (III, 7, 711)	kwa-ehsh' (283, 02)	k ^w ɛʔɛš ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ **166 to eat** — The use of <n> instead of <d> in Roehrig's first form suggests that he might have tried to untangle the [d] ~ [n] alternations. Roehrig's first form is also missing the second <t>.

¹⁶⁵ **167 to drink** — Lit. 'be drinking'. The ModC word for 'to drink' is q^woʔoq^wo.

¹⁶⁶ **171 to sleep** — Lit. 'to be sleeping'. The ModC word for 'to sleep' is ʃiɬ.

¹⁶⁷ **172 to speak** — Lit. 'my speaking'. The ModC word for 'to speak' is q^way. The <h> in Roehrig's first form is a mistranscription.

¹⁶⁸ **173 to see** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the first segment can be identified as the root k^wot 'to see it', the final segment remains obscure. The ModC word for 'to see' is k^won.

¹⁶⁹ **174 to love** — Lit. 'my want(ing)'.

¹⁷⁰ **175 to kill** — Lit. 'to get killed'.

¹⁷¹ **176 to sit** — The final letter in Gibbs's form is difficult to decipher.

¹⁷² **177 to stand** — Lit. 'to stand up'. The ModC word for 'to stand' is k^wɛʔɛš.

#	English	Gibbs (1857)	Roehrig (1870)	Powell (1877)	Mod. ʔayʔajuθəm
178	to go	yách-heh lā (6, 178)	yach-híh-la (III, 7, 575)	yach'-heh'-la (283, 03)	— ¹⁷³
179	to come	kwo-láh-g'ya (6, 179)	kwo-láh-g'yah (III, 7, 576)	kwo-lah-g'yah (283, 04)	qʷolaga ¹⁷⁴
180	to walk	éh bah-shá (6, 180)	éh-bah-sháh (III, 7, 573)	eh'bah shah' (283, 05)	ʔemaš

2.3 Tolmie and Dawson (1884)

Having examined both the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist from 1792 as well as Gibbs (1857)'s vocabulary and its offshoots, we now turn to the third and final of the primary sources: the K'omoks vocabulary by Tolmie and Dawson from 1884.

2.3.1 Description of Materials

In an 1884 print volume called *Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia*, the Canadian surveyor George Mercer Dawson and the Scottish fur trader William Fraser Tolmie compiled many of the wordlists that they had collected during their travels through the Pacific Northwest. For a “private investigation”, as they describe their endeavor, the Tolmie-Dawson vocabularies cover an impressive range of First Nations languages and dialects. Among them is of course also a wordlist of ʔayʔajuθəm (see Tolmie & Dawson 1884:38–48). In their book, they attribute it to the “Kowmook or Tlathool” and, confusingly, identify it as a Cowichan dialect.¹⁷⁵ Tolmie elicited it in Nanaimo in 1883 from a K'omoks woman named Mary, the wife of a Pentlatch.¹⁷⁶

KAWITSHIN. **KOWMOOK**, OR TLATHOOL.—Inhabiting Comox and vicinity, Vancouver Island, and extending northward to the Likwiltah. Vocabulary obtained at Nanaimo in 1883, from Mary, wife of a Puntlatsh Indian.

(Tolmie & Dawson 1884:119)

Certain remarks in the final section of the volume suggest that Tolmie and Dawson might have also been in contact with the Klahoose — or Tlahoos, as they refer to them — though they never explicitly present any data from this dialect.

¹⁷³ **178 to go** —The ModC word for ‘to go’ is *θo ~ ho*.

¹⁷⁴ **179 to come** —Lit. ‘Come!’ [archaic]. The form consists of the root *qʷol* and the old imperative marker =*aga*. BW remembers older speakers using this form. Nowadays, *qʷaga* is the more common imperative form. The ModC word for ‘to come’ is *qʷol*.

¹⁷⁵ Back then, the term *Kawitshin* (= Cowichan) did not to refer to the Island dialect of Halkomelem but serves as an umbrella term for several Central Salish varieties, some of which are considered independent languages nowadays, e.g., Sechelt, Squamish, and Klallam (cf. Tolmie & Dawson 1884:119–120).

¹⁷⁶ For more on the close contact between the K'omoks and the Pentlatch at that time, see for instance Franz Boas's field diary from 1886:

I have already written that I had the impression that the Comox spoke two different languages. After some fruitless questioning I discovered that they have combined with the tribe of the Pentlatish. There is only one family of these left — the last of the tribe — and I immediately made friends with them and am now learning this newly discovered language.

[Boas 1886]

The numeral 4 as *mōs*, *mōh*, *mooh* extends from the Selish proper of the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains (see map) to the various tribes of the Niskwalli on Puget Sound, U. S. A., to those of the Kawitshin Family on both shores of Fuca Strait, and north to where on Bute Inlet (**Tlahoos** tribe) this language, the Kawitshin, meets the Kwakiool. [...]

The numeral 6, *tuchum*, Tshinook D. 342, occurs again in the Staktamish in the upper Cheheilis Valley, Washington Territory, U. S., again in the Snanaimooh and Kowmook, V.I., and lastly in **Tlahoos** at Bute Inlet, the latter dialects affiliating closely with Kawitshin. [...]

[Tolmie & Dawson 1884:130]

In terms of content and organization, the Tolmie-Dawson vocabularies strongly resemble the materials we presented in Section 2.2. In total, their K’omoks wordlist comprises 241 English prompts. The first 211 of these are directly adopted from Gibbs (1863), who had made some refinements to the Smithsonian’s elicitation form. The remaining 30 prompts represent Tolmie and Dawson’s own additions. To make sure that they would record these words correctly in the field, Tolmie and Dawson decided to repeat the forms back to their instructors until the latter were satisfied (1884:6). Using this method, Tolmie managed to gather 159 K’omoks words — some of which are only attested here. What happened with the other prompts remains unclear, though there is one striking, continuous gap ranging from item #112 to item #148 where not a single K’omoks form is recorded. We don’t know whether Tolmie simply decided to skip these prompts during his elicitations, or whether maybe one page of his manuscript was lost before the book got published. Without seeing Tolmie’s original records, we can only speculate about this issue.¹⁷⁷

2.3.2 Decoding the Wordlist

For their vocabularies, Tolmie and Dawson (1884) adopt the orthography developed by Gibbs (1863) for the documentation of the languages of the Pacific Northwest and refine it by also implementing some recommendations brought forth by Powell (1880). In the “Introductory Note” to the volume, they present the details of this new spelling system.

The vowels of the previous spelling system were revised and built upon. Key changes include the removal of the two <u> graphemes in favour of just one, and changing the grapheme that represents /aʊ/ from <au> to <ow>. While some of the vowel referents may have changed, Tolmie and Dawson follow Gibbs (1863)’s recommendations to distinguish long and short vowels by leaving long vowels in open syllables and closing the syllable if the vowel is short. Occasionally, they also use macrons and breves above the vowels to highlight their length or shortness, respectively (Tolmie & Dawson 1884:10).

Table 4: Vowels in Tolmie and Dawson’s (1884) orthography

Grapheme	Example	APA	Grapheme	Example	APA
a	<i>fat</i>	æ	ō	<i>go</i>	oʊ
ā	<i>father</i>	ɑ	u	<i>nut, but</i>	ʌ
e	<i>met</i>	ɛ	y	<i>why, year</i>	y
ē	<i>they</i>	eɪ	ai	<i>aisle</i>	aɪ
i	<i>pin</i>	ɪ	ei	<i>vein</i>	eɪ
ī	<i>marine</i>	i	oo	<i>pool, fool</i>	u
o	<i>pot</i>	ɒ	ow	<i>now</i>	aʊ

¹⁷⁷ We currently don’t have any information about the whereabouts of Tolmie’s original manuscript.

The consonants used in Tolmie-Dawson are presented below in Table (5). As before, the mappings are not only based on Tolmie and Dawson's own comments about their orthography, but also on our own observations from working with their materials.

Unlike Gibbs (1863), Tolmie and Dawson attempt to note glottalization by using an apostrophe before the voiceless stop, such as using <'k> to represent [q̟]. However, this notation is only used once in the K'omoks wordlist, namely for the form *kul'k* 'warrior' (#51). This is obviously not due to a lack of glottalized stops in the language, but rather because they may have struggled to identify glottalization in the first place. This struggle is reflected in the authors' transcription of glottal stops, which are largely unmarked but represented occasionally as long vowels or geminate consonants.

The Tolmie-Dawson wordlist also has relatively consistent marking on affricates. The grapheme <j> is used to represent either [j] or [č], which helps remove the potential doubt of <j> referring to the palatal glide [y]. Instead, <y> (and in rare cases also <ll>) is used to represent this sound.

Table 5: The consonant grapheme-to-sound mappings for the Tolmie wordlist

Grapheme	Sound	Grapheme	Sound
	[b] ~ [m]	<n>	[n] ~ [d], [ɳ]
<d>	[d] ~ [n]	<p>	[p] ~ [m]
<dh>	[d] ~ [n]	<s>	[s], [θ], [ɬ]
<dj>	[j], [j̟]	<sh>	[s], [š], [č], [ɬ]
<g>	[g]	<t>	[t], [t̟]
<h>	[χ], [x ^w]	<th>	[t], [θ]
<hl>	[ɬ]	<thl>	[ɬ], [θ]
<j>	[j], [j̟], [č]	<tl>	[ɬ], [λ], [λ̟]
<k>	[k ^w], [k̟ ^w], [q], [q ^w], [q̟ ^w]	<ts>	[t̟ ^θ], [t̟ ^{θ̟}]
<'k>	[q̟]	<tsh>	[č], [č̟], [t̟ ^θ]
<kl>	[λ]	<tz>	[č], [t̟ ^θ], [θ]
<kw>	[k ^w], [k̟ ^w]	<w>	[w], [w̟]
<l>	[l], [ɬ]	<wh>	[x ^w], [χ ^w]
<lh>	[ɬ], [χ], [y] ¹⁷⁸	<y>	[y], [y̟]
<m>	[m] ~ [b]		

2.3.3 The Wordlist

After this brief introduction to Tolmie and Dawson (1884)'s orthography, we can finally look at their K'omoks data. We replicate their vocabulary here in Table 6. The first column shows the item ID, using the same numbering as the original wordlist. The second column contains the English prompts and is directly followed by Tolmie's K'omoks forms in the third column. As always, we pay close attention here to maintain the original spellings of the words. In the fourth and final column, we present their Modern ʔayʔajuθəm cognates, as elicited by us from our Tla'amin speakers. Dashes (—) are used to mark words or word fragments that are no longer recognized.

Finally, it should be noted that for items #38 to #74, we give two forms in the third column. This is due to an unfortunate mix up that must have happened in the editing process for Tolmie and Dawson (1884)'s

¹⁷⁸ Tolmie and Dawson (1884:11) describe the <lh> grapheme as being similar to the *ll* in Spanish and *tilh* in Gaelic. At least in Spanish, the grapheme <ll> represents the voiced palatal fricative /j/, which sounds fairly similar to [y]. This explains why we sometimes find the grapheme <ll> used for a [y]: e.g., 1884: *ko-balh* vs. ModC: *q'omay* 'snow' (#80).

book. Their K'omoks forms in this number range (listed in the column KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL) are actually Hul'qumi'num, and their Hul'qumi'num forms in this number range (listed in the column SNANAIMOOH TRIBE) are actually K'omoks. By item #75, the data are again in their correct columns. To highlight the relevant forms, we have grayed out the Hul'qumi'num forms that accidentally ended up in the K'omoks column.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.	
1 Man	enika		— ¹⁷⁹
2 Woman	sahlt		sałtx ^w
3 Boy	tshui		čuy ¹⁸⁰
4 Girl	sas-tooh		sałtx ^{w181}
5 Infant	mān-nă		maʔna ¹⁸²
6 My father (said by son)	nān		man ¹⁸³
7 My father (said by daughter)	nān		man ¹⁸⁴
8 My mother (said by son)	tān		tan ¹⁸⁵
9 My mother (said by daughter)	tān		tan ¹⁸⁶
10 My husband	tats-guika		tət ⁰ gaqaθ ¹⁸⁷
11 My wife	tlats-asht		łət ⁰ sałtu
12 My son (said by father)	tals <i>or</i> tits-i-mānă		tət ⁰ maʔna
13 My son (said by mother)	—		—
14 My daughter (said by father)	salks-māna		— maʔna ¹⁸⁸
15 My daughter (said by mother)	salks-māna		— maʔna ¹⁸⁹
16 My elder brother	tluhai		łaxay ¹⁹⁰

¹⁷⁹ **1 Man** — The ModC word for ‘man’ is *tumış*.

¹⁸⁰ **3 Boy** — Lit. ‘baby; child’. The ModC word for ‘boy’ is *tutamış*.

¹⁸¹ **4 Girl** — Lit. ‘little girl’.

¹⁸² **5 Infant** — Lit. ‘child’. The ModC word for ‘infant’ is *čuy*.

¹⁸³ **6 My father** — Lit. ‘father’. The initial <n> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error. The ModC phrase for ‘my father’ is ʔət⁰ man ~ tət⁰ man.

¹⁸⁴ **7 My father** — See previous footnote.

¹⁸⁵ **8 My mother** — Lit. ‘mother’. The ModC phrase for ‘my mother’ is ʔət⁰ tan ~ łət⁰ tan.

¹⁸⁶ **9 My mother** — See previous footnote.

¹⁸⁷ **10 My husband** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [θ].

¹⁸⁸ **14 My daughter** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as *maʔna* ‘child’, the first segment remains obscure. The ModC phrase for ‘my daughter’ is łət⁰ maʔna.

¹⁸⁹ **15 My daughter** — See previous footnote.

¹⁹⁰ **16 My elder brother** — Lit. ‘old person; elder’. The ModC phrase for ‘my elder brother’ is ʔət⁰ nul ~ tət⁰ nul.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.	
17 My younger brother	skēlh		qεχ ¹⁹¹
18 My elder sister	tluhai		ḷaxay ¹⁹²
19 My younger sister	tats-nō		tət ⁰ nul ¹⁹³
20 An Indian	datsio		— ¹⁹⁴
21 People	nood-kwai-doh		nuk ^w aymix ^w ¹⁹⁵
22 Head	utuh-osh		moʔos ¹⁹⁶
23 Hair	—		—
24 Face	tubo-osh		(tə) moʔos ¹⁹⁷
25 Forehead	sa-ykso		say— ¹⁹⁸
26 Ear	ko-a-āda		q ^w owaʔana
27 Eye	ka-a-wōm		qaʔwom
28 Nose	muk-shin		məqsən
29 Mouth	tho-thed		θoθen ¹⁹⁹
30 Tongue	stiw-h-sash		tix ^w θaɪ ²⁰⁰
31 Teeth	gi-geis		— ²⁰¹
32 Beard	ko-po-thled		q ^w opoθen
33 Neck	sai-a-dha		sayeʔna
34 Arm	tshai-ash		čeyiś

¹⁹¹ **17 My younger brother** — Lit. ‘younger sibling’. The ModC phrase for ‘my elder brother’ is ʔət⁰ qεχ ~ tət⁰ qεχ.

¹⁹² **18 My elder sister** — Lit. ‘old person; elder’. The ModC phrase for ‘my elder sister’ is ʔət⁰ nul ~ lət⁰ nul.

¹⁹³ **19 My younger sister** — Lit. ‘my older brother’. This form better fits the English prompt in #16. Tolmie’s form is missing the final [ɪ]. The ModC phrase for ‘my younger sister’ is ʔət⁰ qεχ ~ lət⁰ qεχ.

¹⁹⁴ **20 An Indian** — Tolmie’s form might have been pronounced [dačew] ~ [načew], in which case it could have been short for načewmix^w ‘stranger’. The ModC word for ‘First Nations person’ is qaymix^w.

¹⁹⁵ **21 People** — The form was recognized by two speakers (BW, EP), but both were not sure about its exact translation. EP mentioned hearing it from some of the older speakers and suggested it might refer to a ‘group of people from different nations’. See also ɲōɲqoaɪmix ‘all people from all nations’ (Boas 1890:20), nok^waymix^w ‘population of village’ (Blake 2000:342), and Sechelt nukwalmixw ‘other people (not Sechelt)’ (Beaumont 2011:714). The final <d> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error.

¹⁹⁶ **22 Head** — The initial <ut> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error. See also #24.

¹⁹⁷ **24 Face** — Lit. ‘(the) head’. See also #22.

¹⁹⁸ **25 Forehead** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the first segment can be identified as say-, the final segment remains obscure. Perhaps, Tolmie’s form is related to sayeq^wen ‘top of head’. The ModC word for ‘forehead’ is ʔičsən.

¹⁹⁹ **29 Mouth** — Tolmie’s use of <th> suggests that the form was pronounced [θoθen]. This is surprising, as it is commonly claimed that the K’omoks dialect does not have a /θ/ (cf. Mellesmoen 2019:129).

²⁰⁰ **30 Tongue** — The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²⁰¹ **31 Teeth** — The ModC word for ‘teeth’ is ʃinʃims.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.	
35 Hand	sko-a-okoidja		χ ^w aʔwεq ^w oʔʃε ²⁰²
36 Fingers	—		—
37 Thumb	tla-hei-koija		ʃaχεq ^w oʔʃε
38 Nails	kwā-lootsis	katla-je-koija	—εq ^w oʔʃε ²⁰³
39 Body	smistai-ooh	gei-oohsh	giyεws
40 Chest	stzei lush	yei-dash	ʔiyεnəs ²⁰⁴
41 Belly	kwulla	skwa-wa	k ^w aʔwa ²⁰⁵
42 Female breasts	skumma	tzum-tid	t ^h əmtən
43 Leg	shunna	jis-hin	ʃiʃin
44 Foot	snu-whil-tit-shim	spuk-alt-shin	pəqalʃin ²⁰⁶
45 Toes	snu-shin	st-wha-wa-wishid	χ ^w aʔwawuʃin ²⁰⁷
46 Bone	stzaum	show-wishin	χawʃin ²⁰⁸
47 Heart	tzē-la	tlik-weid-ash	ʃuk ^w εnəs
48 Blood	sa-sai-ung	kweilh	q ^w εl
49 Town, village	ul-ālum	klub-klub-stad	ʃəmʃəmstən ²⁰⁹
50 Chief	sīam	sei-gioos	hegus ²¹⁰
51 Warrior	shto-mash	kul'k	qalq
52 Friend	si-aia	tits-ja-ja	(tət ^h) ʃεʔʃε ²¹¹
53 House	lalum	tlub	ʃəms ²¹²

²⁰² **35 Hand** — Lit. ‘finger’. The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2). Note that Tolmie also identifies the first consonant of the root as a stop instead of a fricative. Comments by BW suggest that, particularly for some older speakers, uvular stops (e.g., [q^w]) and uvular fricatives (e.g., [χ^w]) may sound undistinguishable. The ModC word for ‘hand’ is čeyiʃ.

²⁰³ **38 Nails** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment represents the lexical suffix -εq^woʔʃε ‘finger’, the first segment remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘(finger)nail’ is qapεq^woʔʃε.

²⁰⁴ **40 Chest** — Tolmie’s form is missing the initial [ʔi].

²⁰⁵ **41 Belly** — Lit. ‘belly; stomach’ (cf. Blake 2000:344). See also *koā’oa* ~ *k!wa^wwa* ‘torso’ (Boas 1890:1). The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²⁰⁶ **44 Foot** — Lit. ‘bottom of foot; sole of foot’. The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2). The ModC word for ‘foot’ is ʃiʃin.

²⁰⁷ **45 Toes** — Lit. ‘toe’ (singular). The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²⁰⁸ **46 Bone** — The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²⁰⁹ **49 Town, village** — Lit. ‘a group of small, temporary shelters’ (EP). The form ʃəmstən is used when referring to only one small shelter. Reportedly, these were small cabins built for travels up and down the coast and contrast with permanent homes (i.e., ʔayεʔ ‘house’ / ʔiʔayεʔ ‘houses’).

²¹⁰ **50 Chief** — The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²¹¹ **52 Friend** — Lit. ‘(my) friend; (my) relative’.

²¹² **53 House** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [s].

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.	
54 Skin lodge	—	—	—
55 Kettle	—	—	—
56 Bow	tw̥h-ātsh	thluk	ʔoq̣ ^w
57 Arrow	skwul-lasp	hai	hihi ²¹³
58 Axe, hatchet	ske-kōm	so-paio	sopaye ²¹⁴
59 Knife	tatsh-tin	tshi-taitin	č̣it—tən ²¹⁵
60 Canoe	sniw-hilh	nu-whilh	noχ ^w el
61 Moccasins	saluki-hin	tla-dak-luk-ishin	ʔaʔnoχ ^w ʔəq̣ʃun ²¹⁶
62 Pipe	sput-māla	wuh-atzi	waxaṭ ⁰ ε ²¹⁷
63 Tobacco	spatlum	ow-awh	— ²¹⁸
64 Sky	skwai-ul	thloak	ʔoq̣ ^w 219
65 Sun	si-ok-um	tad-jiss	— ²²⁰
66 Moon	til-kāltz	tad-jiss	— ²²¹
67 Star	kwas-sun	koo-shin	k ^w usen
68 Day	skwai-il	tzoak	ṭ ⁰ oḳ ^w 222
69 Night	snēt	dawk	— ²²³
70 Morning	ne-tuts	hudji-kwoi	qəʃe k ^w iʔ
71 Evening	swhun-ā-nit	da-ādat	nanat
72 Spring	kwei-kwil-ōs	tlei-tshoos	ʔič̣os
73 Summer	sum-kwa-luk-wa	tluk-wowi	ʔoq̣ ^w owi
74 Autumn	a-hai-til-kit	shoo-shoo-teks-yid	— ²²⁴

²¹³ **57 Arrow** — The ModC for ‘arrow’ is *hihi*. Whether **hi* also exists in ModC is currently unclear.

²¹⁴ **58 Axe** — This word is a borrowing from Kwak’wala *subayu* ‘axe’.

²¹⁵ **59 Knife** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. It was likely pronounced [č̣itayetən] and composed of the root č̣it ‘to cut’ and the lexical suffix -tən ‘instrument’. The contribution of the middle segment -aye- remains obscure. See also Boas (1890:4): *tštā’ēten ~ tc!Etā’yiten* ‘(pocket) knife’. The ModC word for ‘knife’ is *č̣itqamen*.

²¹⁶ **61 Moccasins** — Lit. ‘skin/hide moccasins’.

²¹⁷ **62 Pipe** — Lit. ‘pipe’ (for smoking). This word is a borrowing from Kwak’wala *waxaṭsi* ‘pipe (for tobacco use)’.

²¹⁸ **63 Tobacco** — The ModC word for ‘tobacco’ is *ʔawok^w*.

²¹⁹ **64 Sky** — Lit. ‘clear sky’.

²²⁰ **65 Sun** — Tolmie’s form is perhaps related to *tačim* ‘be visible’, or to *tātšja* ‘full moon’ (Boas 1890:9). Our speakers were not familiar with the latter, however. The ModC word for ‘sun’ is *ʔəgəm*.

²²¹ **66 Moon** — See previous footnote. The ModC word for ‘moon’ is *ʔəgəm*.

²²² **68 Day** — See also #164.

²²³ **69 Night** — The ModC word for ‘night’ is *nat*.

²²⁴ **74 Autumn** — The ModC word for ‘autumn’ is *χeč̣ič̣*.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOR TRIBE.	
75 Winter	soo titsh		sotič
76 Wind	pō-um		puʔəm
77 Thunder	swhā-tkom		χ ^w atq ^w om ²²⁵
78 Lightning	sei-eishi-dip		— ²²⁶
79 Rain	tshil		čɪl
80 Snow	ko-balh		q ^w omay ²²⁷
81 Fire	kwei-ih		q ^w eyχ ²²⁸
82 Water	ka-ya		qaʔye
83 Ice	th-ow		tu
84 Earth, land	gi-ja		giʃe
85 Sea	kotl-ko		k ^w oχk ^w u ²²⁹
86 River	kwt-um		q ^w ətəm
87 Lake	tzai-alh		θayel
88 Valley	tluh-til-kād		— ²³⁰
89 Prairie	sa-ei-ya		— ²³¹
90 Hill	tā-kut		taqt ~ taqet ²³²
91 Island	kwil-thlaish		k ^w uθays
92 Stone, rock	ha-jaish		χaʔjis
93 Salt	kwō-tlom		k ^w oχlom ²³³
94 Iron	heitsh		χet ⁰
95 Forest	kāt-lum		qaχəm ²³⁴
96 Tree	ja-ja		ʃeʔje

²²⁵ **77 Thunder** — The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.1).

²²⁶ **78 Lightning** — The ModC word for ‘lightning’ is *sagəm*.

²²⁷ **80 Snow** — Lit. ‘snow (on the ground)’. As noted by Tolmie and Dawson (1884:11), they (sometimes) use <lh> “as in *ll* [in] Spanish”. In Spanish, <ll> represents the sounds [y], which is what we would expect here. See also #101.

²²⁸ **81 Fire** — Lit. ‘wood; firewood’. See also #97.

²²⁹ **85 Sea** — Lit. ‘salt water’. The ModC word for ‘sea’ is *senk^wu*.

²³⁰ **88 Valley** — The ModC word for ‘valley’ is *saʔpet*.

²³¹ **89 Prairie** — Tolmie’s form might be missing a final <k>. If this is the case, the form was likely pronounced [saʔyik]. See also *saʔyik^w* ‘prairie; tide flats’ (Blake 2000:407). While this form is documented in the literature, it is no longer recognized by any of our speakers.

²³² **90 Hill** — Lit. ‘mountain’.

²³³ **93 Salt** — Lit. ‘to be salty’. The ModC word for ‘salt’ is *χaləm*.

²³⁴ **95 Forest** — Lit. ‘a place full of bushes and underbrush’ (BW). The ModC word for ‘forest’ is *θičem*.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)	Mod. ṽayṽaṽuṽəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOORH TRIBE.
97 Wood	kwai	ḡ ^w εṽχ ²³⁵
98 Leaf	sai-ja	saṽyṽε
99 Bark	ta-i-adh	ṽaṽyεn ²³⁶
100 Grass	tlu-kum	ṽaṽam
101 Pine	spai-ad-ailh	ṽaṽyεnay ²³⁷
102 Maize	—	—
103 Squash	—	—
104 Flesh, meat	skei-gia	qεgəθ ²³⁸
105 Dog	tzia-dho	ḡεṽno
106 Buffalo	—	—
107 Bear (black)	me-halh	mεχaṽ
108 Wolf	tla-hlōm	ṽaṽlom
109 Fox	—	—
110 Deer	skei-ga	qεgəθ ²³⁹
111 Elk	ske-itsh	ḡεṽεḡ ²⁴⁰
112 Beaver	—	—
113 Rabbit, hare	—	—
114 Tortoise	—	—
115 Horse	—	—
116 Fly	—	—
117 Mosquito	—	—
118 Snake	—	—

²³⁵ **97 Wood** — See also #81. Tolmie’s form is missing the final [χ].

²³⁶ **99 Bark** — The initial <t> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error. The ModC word for ‘(Douglas fir) bark’ is ṽaṽyεn.

²³⁷ **101 Pine** — Lit. ‘Douglas fir’ (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2). As noted by Tolmie and Dawson (1884:11), they (sometimes) use <lh> “as in *ll* [in] Spanish”. In Spanish, <ll> represents the sound [y], which is what we would expect here. See also #80. The ModC word for ‘pine’ is qaqyənay.

²³⁸ **104 Flesh, meat** — Lit. ‘deer’. See also #110. Perhaps, Tolmie was pointing to deer meat when this word was elicited. Tolmie’s form is missing the final [θ]. The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2). The ModC word for ‘meat’ is məṽəθ.

²³⁹ **110 Deer** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [θ]. See also #104. The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

²⁴⁰ **111 Elk** — The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix (see Section 2.4.2).

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ?ay?ajuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMO OH TRIBE.	
119 Rattlesnake	—		—
120 Bird	—		—
121 Egg	—		—
122 Feathers	—		—
123 Wings	—		—
124 Goose	—		—
125 Duck (mallard)	—		—
126 Turkey	—		—
127 Pigeon	—		—
128 Fish	—		—
129 Salmon	—		—
130 Sturgeon	—		—
131 Name	—		—
132 White	—		—
133 Black	—		—
134 Red	—		—
135 Light blue	—		—
136 Yellow	—		—
137 Light green	—		—
138 Great, large	—		—
139 Small, little	—		—
140 Strong	—		—
141 Old	—		—
142 Young	—		—
143 Good	—		—
144 Bad	—		—
145 Dead	—		—
146 Alive	—		—
147 Cold	—		—
148 Warm, hot	—		—

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)	Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.
149 I	tshi-dilh	čineɫ ~ čine
150 Thou	ni-gi	nige
151 He	to-tlel	___ ²⁴¹
152 We	tāt-noo-ap	—nuwap ²⁴²
153 Ye	tāt-se-ioo	___ ²⁴³
154 They	noo-ap	nuwap ²⁴⁴
155 This	tei-dha	tin̩ ~ tin̩e ²⁴⁵
156 That	stā-dhe	tan̩ ²⁴⁶
157 All	stat-amok	—ʔuk̩ ²⁴⁷
158 Many, much	kuh	qəχ
159 Who	gi-āt	gət ²⁴⁸
160 Far	de-āji	niʃe
161 Near	eai-bek	___ ²⁴⁹
162 Here	deish-āpe	niš ʔə ___ ²⁵⁰
163 There	tā-di	tan̩ ²⁵¹
164 To-day	tzōk	st ⁰ ok̩ ²⁵²

²⁴¹ **151 He** — ModC does not have an independent third person pronoun. Instead, demonstratives like *tita* ‘that one’ are often used in their place.

²⁴² **152 We** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as *nuwap* ‘you all’, the first segment remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘we’ is *nemot*.

²⁴³ **153 Ye** — The ModC word for ‘ye’ is *nuwap*. See also #154.

²⁴⁴ **154 They** — Lit. ‘you all’. This form better fits the English prompt in #153.

²⁴⁵ **155 This** — The form *tin̩e* is an archaic variant of *tin̩* ‘here; this’, still used by some of the older speakers (FL, EP).

²⁴⁶ **156 That** — This form, likely pronounced [tañe], appears to be an archaic variant of the ModC demonstrative *tan̩* ‘there; that’. See also #163.

²⁴⁷ **157 All** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as *ʔuk̩* ‘all’, the first segment remains obscure.

²⁴⁸ **159 Who** — The <gi> spelling in Tolmie’s form shows that the [g] was notably palatalized in the 1880s.

²⁴⁹ **161 Near** — A similar form also appears in other early materials: *eh-éh-bit* (Gibbs 1857), *e’e’mit ~ ēiēimiq* (Boas 1890:6). The ModC word for ‘near’ is *təset*.

²⁵⁰ **162 Here** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the initial segments can be identified as *niš* ‘be here’ and *ʔə* ‘OBLIQUE’, the final segment remains obscure.

²⁵¹ **163 There** — This form, likely pronounced [tañe], appears to be an archaic variant of the ModC demonstrative *tan̩* ‘there; that’. See also #156.

²⁵² **164 To-day** — Tolmie’s form is missing the initial [s]. In ModC, this [s] is important as it differentiates between *ʔok̩* ‘day’ and *st⁰ok̩* ‘today’. See also #68.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)	Mod. ꠔayꠔaꠔuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOTH TRIBE.
165 Yesterday	shish-jāsha	sʃesol ²⁵³
166 To-morrow	kwēi-shun	k ^w isəm ²⁵⁴
167 Yes	gid-awh	gənax ^{w255}
168 No	whā-a	x ^w a
169 One	pa-a	paꠔa
170 Two	sa-a	saꠔa
171 Three	tshā-las	čelas
172 Four	mōs	mos
173 Five	si-ashus	θiyεčis
174 Six	tuh-um	təχəm
175 Seven	tsō-tshis	t ^θ očis
176 Eight	ta-āt-shis	təꠔačis
177 Nine	ti-giwh	tigix ^w
178 Ten	ōpan	ꠔopən
179 Eleven	ōpan-āpa	ꠔopən ꠔi paꠔa ²⁵⁶
180 Twelve	—	—
181 Twenty	shtshin-sha	—še ²⁵⁷
182 Thirty	—	—
183 Forty	—	—
184 Fifty	—	—
185 Sixty	—	—
186 Seventy	—	—
187 Eighty	—	—
188 Ninety	—	—

²⁵³ **165 Yesterday** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [l]. It was likely pronounced [šesʃesol] and appears to be an archaic variant of ModC *sʃesol* ‘yesterday’. The initial segment might be a blend of the determiner *šɛ* and the old stative prefix *ꠔas* (cf. Davis 2019:59). The initial *s-* of the ModC form is a reflex of the old stative prefix. See also Section 2.4.2.

²⁵⁴ **166 To-morrow** — The final <n> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error.

²⁵⁵ **167 Yes** — Lit. ‘it is true’. The ModC word for ‘yes’ is *ꠔeꠔ*.

²⁵⁶ **179 Eleven** — Some speakers use *ꠔopən hek^w paꠔa* instead of *ꠔopən ꠔi paꠔa*.

²⁵⁷ **181 Twenty** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as the lexical suffix *šɛ* ‘tens’ (cf. Watanabe 2003:500), the first segment remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘twenty’ is *θamšɛ*.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)	Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOH TRIBE.
189 One hundred	si-sāl	— ²⁵⁸
190 One thousand	kei-tis-a-itsh	—təseʔeč ²⁵⁹
191 To eat	ei-eit-thlin	ʔeʔeltən ²⁶⁰
192 To drink	ko-kwa	q ^w oq ^w o
193 To run	ī-jeṭk	— ²⁶¹
194 To dance	jei-jil-thlip	čečilem ²⁶²
195 To sing	wo-wo	wuwom ²⁶³
196 To sleep	tlātshit	ʔačit ²⁶⁴
197 To speak	kwa-kwai	q ^w aq ^w ay ²⁶⁵
198 To see	kook-jai	— ²⁶⁶
199 To love	hātł	χaʔ ²⁶⁷
200 To kill	kai-ṭum	qeytəm ²⁶⁸
201 To sit	kwā-dha	k ^w anəč ²⁶⁹
202 To stand	ko-eishit	k ^w eʔešit
203 To go	koo-so	(k ^w u) θo ²⁷⁰
204 To come	koo-āgia	q ^w olaga ²⁷¹

²⁵⁸ **189 One hundred** — The ModC word for ‘one hundred’ is *paʔa təseʔeč*.

²⁵⁹ **190 One thousand** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as *təseʔeč* ‘hundred’, the first segment remains obscure. The ModC word for ‘one thousand’ is *ʔopən təseʔeč*.

²⁶⁰ **191 To eat** — Lit. ‘to be eating’. Tolmie’s form is missing the [t] in the last segment. The ModC word for ‘to eat’ is *ʔeltən*.

²⁶¹ **193 To run** — The ModC word for ‘to run’ is *jiʔ*.

²⁶² **194 To dance** — Lit. ‘to be dancing’ (ceremonial dancing). The ModC word for ‘to dance’ is *čilem*.

²⁶³ **195 To sing** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [m].

²⁶⁴ **196 To sleep** — Lit. ‘to be sleeping’. The ModC word for ‘to sleep’ is *ʔičt*.

²⁶⁵ **197 To speak** — Lit. ‘to be speaking’. The ModC word for ‘to speak’ is *q^way*.

²⁶⁶ **198 To see** — The ModC word for ‘to see’ is *k^won*.

²⁶⁷ **199 To love** — Lit. ‘to want’.

²⁶⁸ **200 To kill** — Lit. ‘to get killed’.

²⁶⁹ **201 To sit** — Tolmie’s form is missing the final [č].

²⁷⁰ **203 To go** — Lit. ‘to have gone’. The initial segment in Tolmie’s form is probably the clausal demonstrative *k^wu*, which fulfills an evidential/aspectual function in ModC (cf. Huijsmans & Reisinger 2021). The ModC word for ‘to go’ is *θo* ~ *ho*.

²⁷¹ **204 To come** — Lit. ‘Come!’ [archaic]. The form consists of the root *q^wol* and the old imperative marker =*əga*. BW remembers older speakers using this form. Nowadays, *q^waga* is the more common imperative form. The <gi> spelling in Tolmie’s form shows that the [g] was notably palatalized in the 1880s. The ModC word for ‘to come’ is *q^wol*.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOTH TRIBE.	
205 To walk	e-edash		ʔeʔemas ²⁷²
206 To work	kath-leim		— ²⁷³
207 To steal	tshoo-olh		čuʔol
208 To lie	tuhei-giak		— ²⁷⁴
209 To give	hud-alti-gia		ʃanət ga ²⁷⁵
210 To laugh	kash-kush-ek		qasqəsem ²⁷⁶
211 To cry	tlō-whe		ʃox ^w et ²⁷⁷
Afraid	—		—
Bear (grizzly)	—		—
Boots	—		—
Clouds	—		—
Country	—		—
Coyote	—		—
Day (a fine, calm)	—		—
Finger (little)	—		—
Forefinger	—		—
Frog	—		—
God (of modern time)	—		—
Grouse (blue)	—		—
Marten	—		—
Mountain	—		—
Mt. Baker	—		—
Ocean	—		—

²⁷² **205 To walk** — Lit. ‘to be walking’. The <d> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error. The ModC word for ‘to walk’ is ʔemas.

²⁷³ **206 To work** — The ModC word for ‘to work’ is ʔapəm.

²⁷⁴ **208 To lie** — The ModC word for ‘to lie down’ is ʔaxet.

²⁷⁵ **209 To give** — This form was likely pronounced [ʃanətəg^ʷa] and appears to be an archaic variant of ModC ʃanət ga ‘Give it to him/her!’. This imperative form consists of the root ʃan ‘give’, the linking vowel -a-, the control transitive marker -t, and the old imperative marker =əga. The <gi> spelling in Tolmie’s form shows that the [g] was still notably palatalized in the 1880s.

²⁷⁶ **210 To laugh** — Lit. ‘to be smiling’. The <k> in Tolmie’s form must be a transcription error. The ModC word for ‘to laugh’ is qəsłac.

²⁷⁷ **211 To cry** — Lit. ‘to be crying’. Tolmie’s form is missing the final [t]. The ModC word for ‘to cry’ is ʃox^w.

# English	Tolmie & Dawson (1884)		Mod. ʔayʔaʃuθəm
	KAWITHSHIN. KOWMOOK OR TLATHOOL.	KAWITHSHIN. SNANAIMOOTH TRIBE.	
Prairie (camas)	stā-kō-moh		—omix ^{w278}
Sea (calm)	—		—
Sea (rough)	—		—
Slave	—		—
Snowfall	a-auwh		ʔaʔax ^{w279}
Supreme being (of old)	—		—
Tamanawash	—		—
“Thunder Bird”	—		—
Whale	—		—
Whirlpools	—		—
Whirlpools (malevolent being in)	—		—
To fly	—		—
To run away	—		—
To smoke	—		—

2.4 Insights on the Evolution of the Language

Thanks to the Spaniards, Gibbs, Tolmie, and of course their ʔayʔaʃuθəm consultants, we can examine how certain aspects of the language have developed over time, going all the way back to 1792. In the following paragraphs, we will use their linguistic snapshots to explore the following issues: (i) the robustness of the core lexicon, (ii) the loss of morphological material, (iii) the chronology of the most important sound changes, and (iv) the evolution of the nasal ~ stop alternations.

2.4.1 The Lexicon

First, we can use the three wordlists to investigate how robust the core lexicon has been over the last 230 years. For this purpose, we coded each word form as ‘fully recognized’ (1), ‘partially recognized’ (2), or ‘not recognized’ (3) by current speakers, and subsequently calculated the proportions of these categories for each wordlist.

²⁷⁸ **Prairie (camas)** — This form can only be partially reconstructed. While the final segment can be identified as the lexical suffix -omix^w ‘land’, the root remains obscure. The initial <s> is likely the old nominalizer prefix. Perhaps the full form meant ‘camas land’.

²⁷⁹ **Snowfall** — Lit. ‘it’s snowing’.

(1) Examples of fully recognized forms:

a.	‘eyebrows’	1792: <i>Suman</i>	ModC: <i>θoman</i>
b.	‘man’	1857: <i>tó-besh</i>	ModC: <i>tumiš</i>
c.	‘woman’	1884: <i>sahlt</i>	ModC: <i>saltx^w</i>

(2) Examples of partially recognized forms:

a.	‘neck’	1792: <i>Saislan</i>	ModC: <i>say—</i>
b.	‘to see’	1857: <i>ko-táh-ta</i>	ModC: <i>k^wot—</i>
c.	‘nails’	1884: <i>katla-je-koija</i>	ModC: <i>—eq^woʔje</i>

(3) Examples of not recognized forms:

a.	‘paddle’	1792: <i>Asaup</i>	ModC: —
b.	‘face’	1857: <i>skáo-káo</i>	ModC: —
c.	‘man’	1884: <i>enika</i>	ModC: —

The picture that emerges is rather positive. We find, across all three wordlists, that most forms are still recognized by current speakers. The values range from 72.73% for the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist up to 87.93% for Gibbs’s vocabulary. Conversely, only a minority of forms are no longer recognized. Unsurprisingly, the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist as the oldest record exhibits with 18.18% the highest proportion of unrecognized forms, followed by the Tolmie-Dawson vocabulary with 12.10%, and the Gibbs wordlist with 9.20%. Figure 3 visualizes these results.

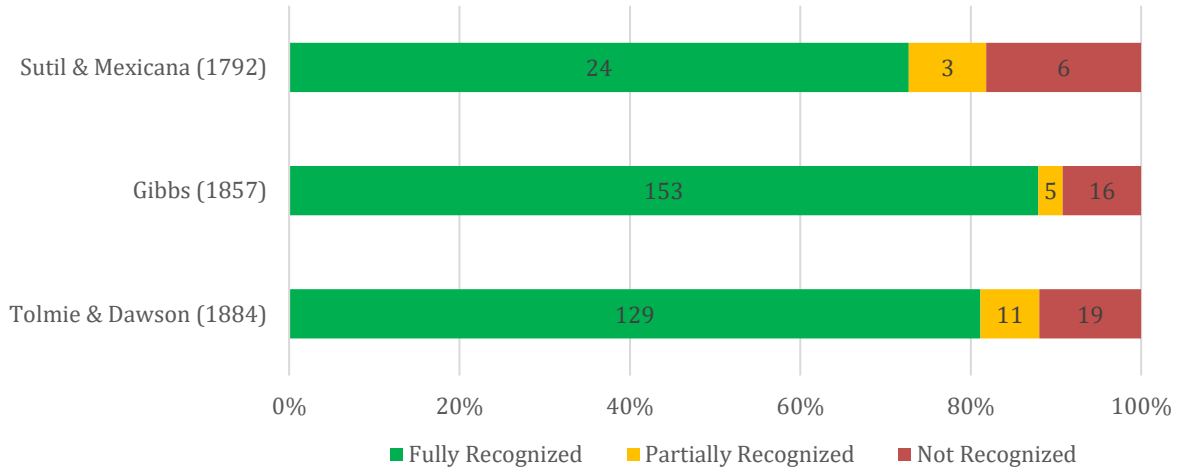


Figure 3: The robustness of the core lexicon across the three primary wordlists

While the proportions of unrecognized forms may appear shockingly high at first, it is imperative to note that this category should not be equated with a loss of expressiveness. On the contrary, we find that most forms that we label as ‘not recognized’ have simply been replaced by other words in Modern ʔayʔajuθəm, as illustrated by (4).

(4) Examples of not recognized forms that have been replaced by other forms:

a.	‘knives’	1792: <i>Chavi</i>	ModC: <i>čutčutqamen</i>
b.	‘beaver’	1857: <i>túk-kobe</i>	ModC: <i>q^wowot</i>
c.	‘lightning’	1884: <i>sei-eishi-dip</i>	ModC: <i>sagəm</i>

Only few words seem to have been lost completely, without any replacement at all. Impressionistically, it is particularly the low-frequency items that are most at risk of being forgotten. Example (5) presents a few such cases.

(5) Examples of not recognized forms that have disappeared without replacement:

a.	‘glass beads’	1792: <i>Jamts</i>	ModC: —
b.	‘sheath’	1857: <i>keóshe-keó-sha</i>	ModC: —
c.	‘camas prairie’	1884: <i>stā-kō-moh</i>	ModC: —

With the item *sa-ei-ya* ‘prairie’ (TD #89), we also discovered a form that appears to have been lost fairly recently. While Blake (2000:407) still attests *saʔyik^w* as ‘prairie; tide flats’, none of the speakers we worked with recognized this form. This indicates that it must have disappeared from the lexicon at some point in the last 20 years. Overall, however, our analysis suggests that the lexicon has lost little of its expressiveness.

2.4.2 The Morphology

The early wordlists can also help us better understand certain morphological peculiarities of Modern ʔayʔajuθəm. In the following paragraphs, we will focus on two such developments: (i) the loss of the *s*-nominalizer prefix and (ii) the reduction of temporal expressions.

Across many Salish languages, an *s*-nominalizer prefix is used to turn verbs into nouns (i.e., to “nominalize” them). In Sechelt, for instance, attaching the *s*-marker to the verb *ʔilhten* ‘to eat’ derives the noun *s-ʔilhten* ‘food’ (Beaumont 2011:810, 977). In Modern ʔayʔajuθəm, this nominalizer has disappeared, just like all other prefixes in the language (cf. Blake 2000:262; Watanabe 2003:45, 70–72). Since this marker is no longer present, verbs and nouns these days often tend to look alike, as illustrated by the word *ʔeltən*, which can both be translated as ‘to eat’ or as ‘food’. With the help of the old records, we can assess when approximately this loss might have occurred.

A look at the early materials reveals that (at least some) speakers still used the *s*-prefix quite productively in the mid-1880s. In Tolmie and Dawson (1884)’s vocabulary, we find roughly a dozen forms that still carry the old nominalizer, as illustrated by the examples in (6).

(6)	a.	‘tongue’	1884: <i>stiw̄h-sash</i>	ModC: <i>tix^wθaʔ</i>
	b.	‘belly’	1884: <i>skwa-wa</i>	ModC: <i>k^waʔwa</i>
	c.	‘bone’	1884: <i>show-wishin</i>	ModC: <i>χawšin</i>
	d.	‘thunder’	1884: <i>swhā-tkom</i>	ModC: <i>χ^watq^wom</i>
	e.	‘elk’	1884: <i>ske-itsh</i>	ModC: <i>q̣eʔeč</i>

This suggests that the loss of the nominalizer prefix must have been a relatively recent development. Yet, it should also be noted that this marker is not attested in any of the other materials. Neither the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist (1792) nor Gibbs (1857)’s vocabulary contain any forms that carry the *s*-nominalizer.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ The only form in Gibbs (1857) that looks like it could carry the *s*-nominalizer prefix is *skáo-káo* ‘face’ (G #17). However, as current speakers no longer recognize this word, we cannot say much about its morphological composition.

This is somewhat unexpected. Currently, we can only speculate why the nominalizer would only occur in the most recent of the three materials but not in the older ones.

Another morphological issue that we can explore with the help of the early wordlists is the reduction of temporal expressions. A look at both Gibbs (1857) and Tolmie and Dawson (1884) reveals that words like ‘long ago’ or ‘yesterday’ used to be morphologically much more complex than they are now, as highlighted by the examples in (7).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| (7) | a. | ‘long ago’ | 1857: <i>shesh-hó-hó’tl</i> | 1884: — | ModC: <i>sχ^woχ^wot</i> |
| | b. | ‘yesterday’ | 1857: <i>shish-jáh-shóhtl</i> | 1884: <i>shish-jāsha</i> | ModC: <i>sjesot</i> |

These days, only a little trace of the original construction — a solitary *s-* — remains and has led to some debate. Harris (1981:91) describes this *s-* element on the modern forms as a “temporal case marker”, while Davis (2019:59) treats it as a trace of the old *ʔas-* stative prefix. Watanabe (2003:77–78) muses it might be a nominalizer, but ultimately rejects this idea and treats these temporal expressions simply as lexicalized adverbs. While we won’t be able to solve this issue, we cannot help but notice that the forms attested in the old vocabularies look strikingly similar to an example that Davis (2019:59) presents: *k^wəs χ^woχ^wot* ‘long ago’. Davis analyzes the initial element of this form as a combination of the determiner *k^w-* and the old Salish stative marker **(ʔə)s-*. Perhaps, then, the old forms in (7) above exhibit the same structure — only with the *ʃε* determiner in lieu of Davis’s *k^w* determiner. Regardless of which analysis turns out to be correct, with the help of the old wordlists, we can see that the reduction of temporal expressions must have taken place comparatively recently.

2.4.3 The Sound Changes

So far, we have used the old records to examine the evolution of *ʔayʔajuθəm* from a lexical and a morphological perspective. However, the wordlists and vocabularies can also throw light on how the sound inventory has changed over the centuries. Modern *ʔayʔajuθəm* has undergone several major innovations with respect to Proto-North Georgia (PNG).²⁸¹ In this section, we will look at four of these sound changes: (i) the trajectory of PNG **l*, (ii) the fronting from **x* to */š/*, (iii) the emergence of the phoneme */j/*, and (iv) the change from **w* to */g/*.

First, the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* wordlist sheds light on the debate of how exactly PNG **l* developed into */y/* and */w/* in Modern *ʔayʔajuθəm*. While Boas and Haeberlin (1927:110) as well as Blake (1992:5) propose that **l* directly split into */y/* and */w/*, depending on the surrounding sounds, Swadesh (1952:244), introduces an intermediate step.²⁸² He argues that PNG **l* first changed to */y/*, and that later */y/* split into */y/* and */w/*. Their proposals are schematized in (8).²⁸³

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----|--|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|---|----------------------------|
| (8) | a. | Boas and Haeberlin (1927): | | | | | | |
| | | <table border="0"> <tr> <td>PNG: <i>*l</i></td> <td>></td> <td>ModC: <i>/w/</i> next to <i>/u/</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>></td> <td>ModC: <i>/y/</i> elsewhere</td> </tr> </table> | PNG: <i>*l</i> | > | ModC: <i>/w/</i> next to <i>/u/</i> | | > | ModC: <i>/y/</i> elsewhere |
| PNG: <i>*l</i> | > | ModC: <i>/w/</i> next to <i>/u/</i> | | | | | | |
| | > | ModC: <i>/y/</i> elsewhere | | | | | | |

²⁸¹ The North Georgia branch of Salish includes Pentlatch, Sechelt, and Comox-Sliammon (e.g., Swadesh 1950:163; Kronenfeld & Thomas 1983:373). We use the term *Proto-North Georgia* (PNG) to refer to their common proto-language.

²⁸² In contrast to Boas and Haeberlin (1927), Blake (1992) proposes a three-way split for PS **l*.

²⁸³ Boas and Haeberlin (1927) use slightly different symbols for the relevant sounds.

- b. Blake (1992):
 PNG: *l > ModC: /l/ word-final position
 > ModC: /w/ next to /u/
 > ModC: /y/ elsewhere
- c. Swadesh (1952):
 PNG: *l > /y/ > ModC: /w/ next to /u/
 > ModC: /y/ elsewhere

The early records provide support for Swadesh’s argument. This is best illustrated by the word for ‘finger’. While its root shows a /w/ in Modern ʔayʔaʃuθəm (i.e., $\chi^w a \lambda w \varepsilon q^w o \lambda \check{f} \varepsilon$), it originally contained an *l in Proto-North Georgia (i.e., * $\chi \lambda i q^w u y a$).²⁸⁴ The development from PNG *l to ModC /w/ seems not to have been direct, however. After all, the form recorded by the Spanish in 1792 has a /y/ in its place: *gaayocoye*, pronounced [ʔəyoq^woyε]. This suggests that there indeed was an intermediate step to this sound change, just as argued by Swadesh (1952:244). By 1857, when Gibbs recorded his K’omoks wordlist, the transition to /w/ appears to have been completed, as he records the word for ‘finger’ as *hwau-we-kwoje*. Example (9) shows the different stages of this sound change.

(9) ‘finger’: PNG: * $\chi \lambda i q^w u y a$ 1792: *ʔəyoq^woyε* 1857: *hwau-we-kwoje* ModC: $\chi^w a \lambda w \varepsilon q^w o \lambda \check{f} \varepsilon$

Second, the old wordlists also provide some information on the fronting of *x to /š/ that is attested for many of the Coast Salish languages (e.g., Boas & Haeberlin 1927:125). Some of the recorded lexemes on the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist — particularly *euxin* and *paxasen* — suggest that these two sounds might have been in a state of flux in 1792. As can be deduced from their modern cognates — *ʃišin* ‘leg’ and *pəqałšin* ‘sole’ —, both items contain the lexical suffix for ‘foot’, which can be reconstructed to *xən in Proto-Coast Salish (cf. Kuipers 2002:156). Strikingly, however, the forms recorded by the Spanish indicate that the pronunciation of this suffix seems to have varied between /x/ and /š/ in 1792, suggesting that the sound change had not affected the entire lexicon yet.²⁸⁵ By 1857, when Gibbs recorded his K’omoks wordlist, the fronting of *x to /š/ appears to have finally been completed. This is illustrated by his forms *jish-jesh-id* and *pak-al-shid*, which now both surface with a /š/. Examples (10) and (11) summarize this evolution.

(10) ‘leg’: PNG: *yaxən 1792: *Euxin* 1857: *jish-jesh-id* ModC: *ʃišin*

(11) ‘sole’: PNG: *pəqalxən 1792: *Paxasen* 1857: *pak-al-shid* ModC: *pəqałšin*

Third, the early records also allow us to investigate the emergence of the phoneme /j/ in ʔayʔaʃuθəm. As noted by Boas and Haeberlin (1927:133–134) as well as Harris (1981:19) and Blake (1992:5; 2000:280), this affricate can be traced back to the Proto-North Georgia approximant *y.²⁸⁶ Strikingly, the forms recorded on the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist do not show any signs that this *y to /j/ change had taken place by 1792. This is best illustrated by the lexical suffix for ‘hand’, which surfaces with a /j/ in Modern ʔayʔaʃuθəm (i.e., -oʔʃε) but still with a /y/ in the old Homalco form (i.e., -oyε). The words for ‘tooth’ and

²⁸⁴ Cf. Sechelt *xəl-ikw-úya* ‘finger (general)’ (Beaumont 2011:159).

²⁸⁵ Boas and Haeberlin (1927:125) observe that the first consonant of this lexical suffix still varies the same way in Spokane and Coeur d’Alene.

²⁸⁶ It should be noted that Boas and Haeberlin (1927) use <dj> as symbol for the palato-alveolar affricate /j/, while Harris (1981) uses a plain <y>.

‘leg’ provide further evidence that the affrication must have started at a later point. While the modern forms of these words — *ḡines* and *ḡišin* — clearly surface with the affricate, the old forms — *Idis* and *euxin* — do not show any signs of it. In Gibbs’s wordlist, on the other hand, all these forms surface with a /j/. This suggests that the affrication of *y to /j/ must have set in sometime between 1792 and 1857. Examples (12) to (14) illustrate this process.

(12)	‘hand’:	PNG: *- <i>uya</i>	1792: - <i>oye</i>	1857: <i>o-jah</i>	ModC: - <i>oʔʃe</i>
(13)	‘tooth’:	PNG: * <i>yānis</i>	1792: <i>Idis</i>	1857: <i>djid-diss</i>	ModC: <i>ḡines</i>
(14)	‘leg’:	PNG: * <i>yānis</i>	1792: <i>Euxin</i>	1857: <i>jish-jesh-id</i>	ModC: <i>ḡišin</i>

Last, the early records might also shed light on the shift from Proto-North Georgia *w to /g/. Without doubt, the latter had already emerged by the time Gibbs recorded his K’omoks wordlist in 1857. After all, we find numerous items among his forms that historically had *w, but surface with a /g/ in his vocabulary, as illustrated by a few examples in (15) to (17).

(15)	‘land’:	PNG: * <i>wiya</i>	1792: —	1857: <i>gid-yeh</i>	ModC: <i>ḡiʃe</i>
(16)	‘who’:	PNG: * <i>wat</i>	1792: —	1857: <i>g’yaht-g’yant</i>	ModC: <i>gat</i>
(17)	‘chief’:	PNG: * <i>hiwus</i>	1792: —	1857: <i>eh’guse</i>	ModC: <i>hegus</i>

Whether the change from *w to /g/ had already taken place by 1792 is more difficult to say, primarily due to the sparse data in the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist. However, at least the form for ‘nine’ indicates that the /g/ had not emerged yet when the Spaniards recorded the Homalco vocabulary. In contrast to Gibbs’s record of this numeral, which has a /g/, the 1792 form does not show any signs of this sound yet. Instead, we just find the vowel sequence <eu> in its place. Considering this, we tentatively propose that the change from *w to /g/ might have occurred at some point between 1792 and 1857. Example (18) provides the evidence for this hypothesis.

(18)	‘nine’	PNG: * <i>təwix^w</i>	1792: <i>T[e]jus</i>	1857: <i>teg-éhw</i>	ModC: <i>tiḡix^w</i>
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To sum up, a look at the old materials suggests that the transition from *l to [w] and from *x to [š] must have begun sometime before 1792, as we find some first signs for these changes in the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist. The affrication of *y to [j] and the shift from *w to [g], on the other hand, seems to have occurred later, sometime between 1792 and 1857. Figure 4 visualizes the evolution of these four sound changes.

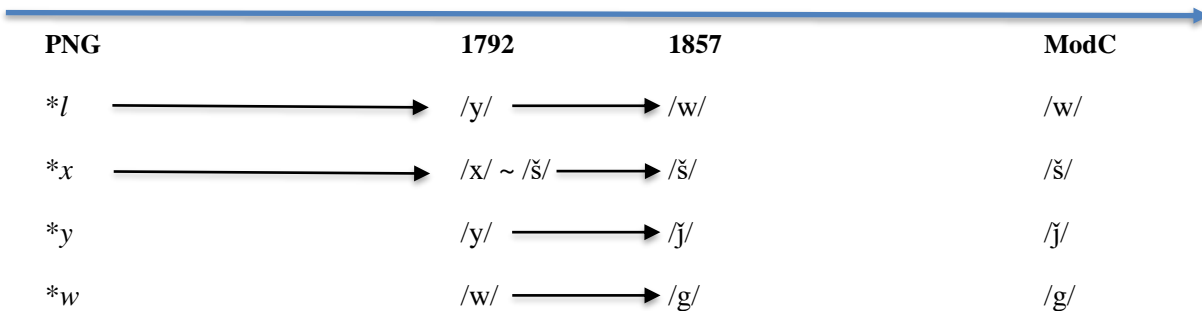


Figure 4: The timing of some key sound changes between PNG and ModC

2.4.4 The Nasal ~ Stop Alternations

Last, the old wordlists also contribute to the debate concerning the infamous nasal ~ stop alternations that have been attested in several Salish and neighboring languages (e.g., Boas 1911:22; Sapir 1915:7; Swadesh 1952:238; Davis 1970:34; Thompson and Thompson 1972; Kinkade 1985; Blake 2000:27; Mellesmoen 2018:127–128; Davis 2019:60). In short, it has been found that in many Northwest languages, the nasals /m/ and /n/ appear to alternate with the voiced stops /b/ and /d/. While Modern ʔayʔajuθəm lacks voiced stops altogether (cf. Watanabe 2003:10),²⁸⁷ we can still see signs of these alternations in all the wordlists. Example (19) shows a few instances for the [b] ~ [m] alternation, while example (20) presents a few cases for the [d] ~ [n] alternations.²⁸⁸

(19)	a.	‘nose’	PNG: * <i>maqsən</i>	1792: <i>Bacsen</i>	ModC: <i>maqsən</i>
	b.	‘red cedar’	PNG: *—	1792: <i>Tajabay</i>	ModC: <i>təxəmay</i>
	c.	‘father’	PNG: * <i>man</i>	1857: <i>bāad</i>	ModC: <i>man</i>
	d.	‘wind’	PNG: *—	1857: <i>poh’-hab</i>	ModC: <i>puʔəm</i>
	e.	‘head’	PNG: * <i>məʔus</i>	1884: <i>tubo-osh</i>	ModC: (tə) <i>moʔos</i>
	f.	‘snow’	PNG: * <i>qʷumay</i>	1884: <i>ko-balh</i>	ModC: <i>qʷomay</i>
(20)	a.	‘tooth’	PNG: * <i>yənis</i>	1792: <i>ldis</i>	ModC: <i>jɪnəs</i>
	b.	‘father’	PNG: * <i>man</i>	1857: <i>bāad</i>	ModC: <i>man</i>
	c.	‘star’	PNG: * <i>kʷusən</i>	1857: <i>kó-shud</i>	ModC: <i>kʷusən</i>
	d.	‘evening’	PNG: * <i>nanat</i>	1884: <i>da-ādat</i>	ModC: <i>nanat</i>
	e.	‘mouth’	PNG: * <i>cucin</i>	1884: <i>tho-thed</i>	ModC: <i>θoθen</i>

Interestingly, these alternations are not distributed equally across the different materials. As shown by Figure 5, the oral stop [b] is considerably more common than the corresponding nasal stop [m] in both the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist (1792) and Gibbs (1857). For Tolmie and Dawson (1884), on the other hand, the nasal stop [m] is much more prevalent than the oral stop [b]. Interestingly, Tolmie himself made a similar observation: “Gibbs used *b* often when I thought *m* more suitable” (Tolmie & Dawson 1884:10).

For the [d] ~ [n] alternation, the picture appears more chaotic, as presented in Figure (6). While the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist (1792) exhibits a strong preference for the nasal stop [n], its oral counterpart [d] is more dominant in Gibbs (1857). For Tolmie and Dawson (1884), they appear to be distributed almost evenly.

²⁸⁷ The velar stops /g/ and /g̊/ are notable exceptions.

²⁸⁸ Occasionally, we also find the voiceless stops [t] and [p] alternating with the nasals in Gibbs (1857), as can be seen in (i)

(i)	a.	‘knife’	1857: <i>chet-kah-bet</i>	ModC: <i>čutqamen</i>
	b.	‘hair’	1857: <i>bah-ket</i>	ModC: <i>maqən</i>
	c.	‘heart’	1857: <i>kts-kwái-e-gat</i>	ModC: (kʷot ^θ) <i>qʷayigən</i>
	d.	‘infant’	1857: <i>táh-tá-pó-sh</i>	ModC: <i>tutamiš</i>
	e.	‘strong’	1857: <i>klalh-shap</i>	ModC: <i>łalsəm</i>

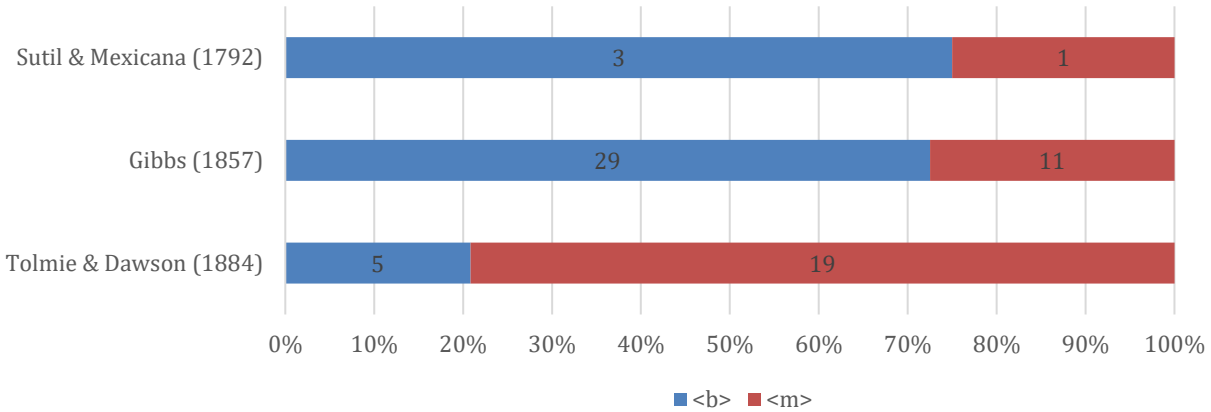


Figure 5: Proportions of and <m> across the three primary wordlists

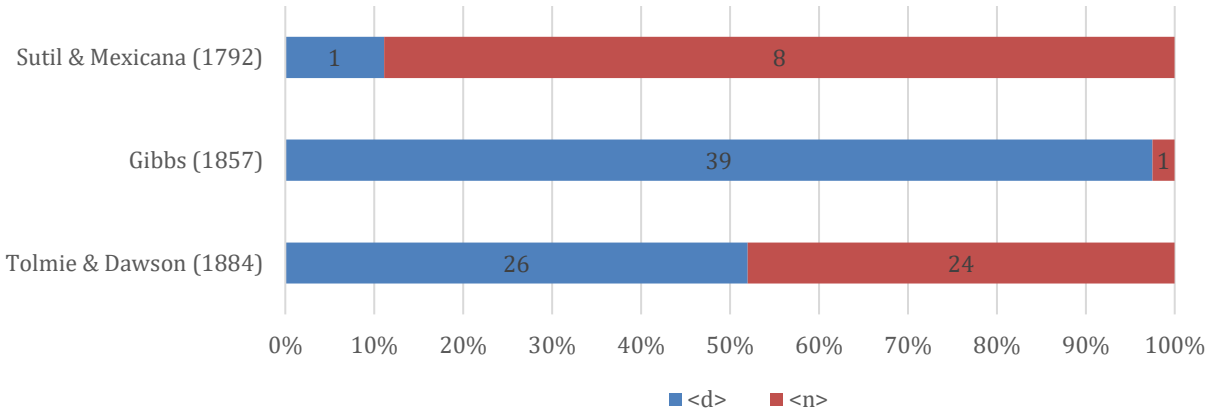


Figure 6: Proportions of <d> and <n> across the three primary wordlists

Together, these figures suggest that both alternations evolved at different rates.

However, what is the exact nature of these alternations in the first place? Boas (1911:22) proposes that all the involved sounds were actually “semi-nasalized consonants” that involved an incomplete opening of the velum. Kinkade (1985:480) postulates the same idea, arguing that languages like Comox had sounds “intermediate between nasals and voiced stops”. Mellesmoen (2018:128) links the alternations to pre-nasalization and its variable effects. In contrast, others propose that the voiced stops were positional variants of the nasals. Sapir (1915:7), for instance, argues that [b] and [d] were often found between two vowels, while the nasals were more likely to occur in word-initial or word-final position. In the same vein, Swadesh (1952:238) claims that the nasals /m/ and /n/ “tend to be pronounced as voiced stops in prevocalic position” in Comox. These descriptions stand in striking opposition to Davis (1970:34) and Blake (2000:27), who find the voiced stops primarily word finally.

Based on what we see in the wordlists, we argue against the positional accounts proposed by Sapir (1915), Swadesh (1952), but also Davis (1970) and Blake (2000). We have found numerous examples that

show that both nasal and oral stops are not predictable in the old materials. They seem to freely alternate in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final position, as highlighted by the examples in (21) to (26):²⁸⁹

(21) Word-initial alternation of [b] ~ [m]:

a.	‘nose’	PNG: * <i>maqsən</i>	1857: <i>muk-shud</i>	ModC: <i>məqsən</i>
b.	‘head’	PNG: * <i>məʔus</i>	1857: <i>bo-ó’sh</i>	ModC: <i>moʔos</i>

(22) Intervocalic alternation of [b] ~ [m]:

a.	‘Indian person’	PNG: * <i>qalmix^w</i>	1857: <i>kai-mehw</i>	ModC: <i>qaymix^w</i>
b.	‘man’	PNG: * <i>tumiš</i>	1857: <i>tó-besh</i>	ModC: <i>tumiš</i>

(23) Word-final alternation of [b] ~ [m]:

a.	‘eye’	PNG: * <i>qəlum</i>	1857: <i>tskáh-oom</i>	ModC: (<i>t^θ</i>) <i>qaʔwom</i>
b.	‘sun’	PNG: *—	1857: <i>tái-gib</i>	ModC: <i>təgəm</i>

(24) Word-initial alternation of [d] ~ [n]:

a.	‘people’	PNG: * <i>nukwalmix^w</i>	1884: <i>nood-kwai-doh</i>	ModC: <i>nuk^waymix^w</i>
b.	‘evening’	PNG: * <i>nanat</i>	1884: <i>da-ādat</i>	ModC: <i>nanat</i>

(25) Intervocalic alternation of [d] ~ [n]:

a.	‘child’	PNG: * <i>məna</i>	1884: <i>mānă</i>	ModC: <i>maʔna</i>
b.	‘ear’	PNG: * <i>q^wəlana</i>	1884: <i>ko-a-āda</i>	ModC: <i>q^wowaʔana</i>

(26) Word-final alternation of [d] ~ [n]:

a.	‘leg’	PNG: * <i>yəxin</i>	1884: <i>jis-hin</i>	ModC: <i>jışin</i>
b.	‘village’	PNG: * <i>ləmləmstən</i>	1884: <i>klub-klub-stad</i>	ModC: <i>ləmləmstən</i>

While these nasal ~ stop alternations are no longer found in Modern ʔayʔaʔuθəm (Mellesmoen 2018:128), they seem to have disappeared only recently. Davis (2019), for instance, reports that he still encountered this variation during his fieldwork in the 1970s:

The shift [n] to [d] reflects the areal variation of nasal and stop. Noel George Harry (born circa 1890; father-in-law of Bill Galligos) sometimes pronounced /m/ as [b] and /n/ as [d] for rhetorical emphasis.

[Davis 2019:60]

Likewise, Blake (2000:27) mentions that some of the older speakers she worked with still occasionally used voiced stops instead of nasals, but also points out that this phenomenon was no longer found with the younger speakers.

²⁸⁹ For better comparability, examples (21) to (23) show the alternation of [b] ~ [m] based on data from Gibbs (1857), while examples (24) to (26) show the alternation of [d] ~ [n] based on data from Tolmie and Dawson (1884). The same phenomena are attested across all wordlists, however.

3 Secondary Materials

With the *Sutil & Mexicana* wordlist (1792) and the vocabularies by Gibbs (1857) and Tolmie and Dawson (1884), we have now seen all the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials that contain novel data, i.e., data that was collected first-hand. For the sake of completeness, this section will briefly review the remaining early records, as listed by Pilling (1893:35). These are not grounded in original fieldwork but rather rely on second- or even third-hand data. First, in Section 3.1, we will discuss Eells (1888)’s treatise on Salish numerals. Then, in Section 3.2, we will look at a K’omoks vocabulary compiled by Pinart (1902).

3.1 Eells (1888)

Pilling (1893:35) reports that some K’omoks data can be found in an article by the American missionary Myron Eells. This article, published in the *The American Antiquarian* in 1888 under the title “Indians of Puget Sound: Measuring and Valuing”, provides an overview of how numbers and measurements are used across the Salish communities. Upon closer inspection, however, references to the K’omoks turn out to be fairly sparse. Eells mentions them only twice, namely when talking about the numerals for ‘three’ and ‘four’, and he never provides any linguistic forms that can unambiguously be attributed to their language:

Klé-*hu*, three, slightly varied is in the Nisqually, Skokomish, Clallam, Cowichan, Lummi and Skagit [...]. The Upper and Lower Chehalis, Kwinaielt, Shiwapmukh, Shooswaap, Nikutemukh, Okinaken, Wakynakaine, Shwoyelpi, Skoyelpi, Spokane, Piskwaus, Kalispelm, Kulleespelm, Coeur D’Alene, Flathead, Lilowat, and **Komookhs** are similar.

[Eells 1888:175]

The word for four, however, in slightly varied forms, easily traced, combines more of the languages given than any other numeral; bai-es, busus, bos, boh, nos, ngos, mos, mees, and similar variations are seen in all the languages, of which the numerals are given above, except the Chinook jargon. It is the only one which connects the Makah with the others, and shows relationship also in the following languages: Coeur D’Alene, Spokane, Skoyelpi, Shwoyelpi, Okenazen, Kullispelm, Piskwaus, regular Chinook, Bella Bella, Ahts, Songis, Tait, Shuswaap, Nikutemukh, Lilloet, **Kowmock**—twenty-nine in all.

[Eells 1888:175]

It remains equally obscure whether he ever worked with a speaker of K’omoks. While Eells (1888:174) states, at the beginning of the paper, that he conducted some original fieldwork on the languages of the Puget Sound area and their neighbors in British Columbia, he also mentions relying on data from Gibbs, via Powell (1877), and from Tolmie and Dawson (1884). From which of these sources he draws his knowledge of the K’omoks numerals remains unclear.

3.2 Pinart (1902)

In his Salish bibliography, Pilling (1893:35) further suggests that the French ethnologist Alphonse Louis Pinart also had collected some K’omoks materials.

Some years ago, in response to my request, Mr. Pinart furnished me with a rough list of the linguistic manuscripts in his possession, collected by himself, embracing vocabularies, texts and songs. Circumstances prevented him from giving me detailed descriptions of this material, which embraced the following Salishan languages: **Comux**, Nanaimo, Belahoola, Cowitchin, Shuswap (several dialects), Clallam, Lummi, Kwinault (two dialects), Chehalis, Niskwali, Spokane, Cœur d’Alene, Pend d’Oreille and Kalispel.

[Pilling 1893:51]

While most of Pinart's writings are now publicly available via the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, tracking down his K'omoks materials turned out to be a Sisyphean task. Not only have many of his manuscripts not been digitized yet, but the information provided for them in the library catalogs is also often too vague to be of much use. After weeks of unsuccessful search, we finally discovered (some of) Pinart's K'omoks materials — hidden in an undated manuscript with the misleading title *Vocabulaires des différents dialectes de la langue Cowitchin (Ile de Vancouver, Rivière Frazer, etc) d'après des travaux divers par A. L. Pinart*.

The manuscript is currently housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University under the reference number WA MSS S-285. A digitized version is also available in the digital collections of the Yale University Library. When exactly the manuscript was put together is not clear. While the front page suggests that it was compiled in Paris in 1902, the introduction was written by Pinart in Boulogne-sur-Seine in 1904. The manuscript contains several handwritten wordlists from various Salish varieties, including Cowichan, Kwantlen, Songhees, Lillooet, Snohomish, and several others, with the reference languages being either French or Castilian Spanish.

The K'omoks wordlist appears under the title “Court Vocabulaire du Dialecte Comox (Komookhs ou Tlathool) recueilli par Geo. Gibbs et le. Dr. W. F. Tolmie” (Pinart 1902:59–67 [112–120]). As the title suggests, it does not contain any original data but is based exclusively on the earlier wordlists by Gibbs, via Powell (1877), and Tolmie, via Tolmie and Dawson (1884).

In total, Pinart (1902) lists 288 K'omoks forms: 171 from Gibbs and 117 from Tolmie and Dawson. Forms coming from Gibbs are marked with a (G.), while forms coming from Tolmie are marked with a (T.). Although Pinart's vocabulary appears to be a mere reproduction of previous wordlists, he implements some changes to the way the data are presented. For instance, he capitalizes the first letter of every K'omoks word, removes all hyphens and most of the stress markers, and does not include any length markers on the vowels either, as exemplified in (27).

(27) a.	‘good’	1877: ai-yh	1902: Aiyh
b.	‘morning’	1877: kwai-ee	1902: Kwaiee
c.	‘child’	1884: mān-nă	1902: Manna

For the data coming from Tolmie and Dawson (1884), Pinart also makes some changes to the orthography. Most notably, he replaces the graphemes <j> with <dj>, <wh> with <w>, and <lh> with <ll>.

(28) a.	‘leaf’	1884: <i>saija</i>	1902: <i>Saidja</i>
b.	‘tongue’	1884: <i>stiwhsash</i>	1902: <i>Stiwsash</i>
c.	‘snow’	1884: <i>ko-balh</i>	1902: <i>Koball</i>

In addition, we also came across a few items that seem to contain transcription errors, as exemplified by two cases in (29) below.

(29) a.	‘pigeon’	1877: <i>hah’-a-boh</i>	1902: <i>Hahabots</i>
b.	‘to give’	1884: <i>hud-alti-gia</i>	1902: <i>Hudaltigua</i>

Last, Pinart also de-segments and elides possessive markers from some of the kinship terms, as shown in (30).

(30)	‘(my) wife’	1884: <i>tats-guika</i>	1902: <i>Guika</i>
	‘(my) husband’	1884: <i>tlats-asht</i>	1902: <i>Asht</i>

We currently don't know whether the wordlist mentioned above represents all the K'omoks materials that were in Pinart's possession, let alone whether he ever collected *original* data of the language, for instance while he was travelling through British Columbia in 1876 (cf. Cole 2011:52). Considering the somewhat untransparent situation surrounding Pinart's literary estate, we believe that only a thorough examination of his papers and journals can provide a definitive answer to these questions. A good starting point for such an investigation would be the diary that is currently stored at the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley under the call number BANC MSS Z-C 8: Box 2, Volume 7, which covers the period of Pinart's stay in British Columbia.

4 Conclusion and Outlook

In this paper, we compiled and discussed most, if not all, of the early ʔayʔajuθəm materials. While we initially started this project primarily to make these old records more accessible to the ʔayʔajuθəm-speaking communities, our research also ended up offering some striking glimpses into the development of the language. Without doubt, however, the most exciting contribution of this investigation is the (re)discovery of the wordlist from the *Sutil & Mexicana* expedition in 1792, which highlights that the documentation of the language had begun much earlier than previously believed.

Of course, the attentive reader will have noticed that one important name has been missing in our collection: Franz Boas. The German anthropologist travelled to British Columbia in 1886 and spent two and half weeks at the Comox settlement on Vancouver Island. During this time, he worked frantically with several speakers of the language and managed to collect more than 1000 words and phrases, roughly a dozen traditional narratives, as well as ethnographic notes about the cultural practices of the K'omoks. Thus, his short stay produced arguably the most comprehensive and valuable documentation of that period. We are currently in the process of re-eliciting his vocabulary lists with several speakers of the language and hope to publish the fruit of this labor in next year's ICSNL proceedings. In addition, a collection of his K'omoks narratives is currently in preparation and will hopefully appear via PNWLL Press in the foreseeable future.

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