

Anthropological Study of Yakama Tribe:
Traditional Resource Harvest Sites West of the Crest of the Cascades Mountains in
Washington State and below the Cascades of the Columbia River

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Executive Summary

This report summarizes evidence and scholarly opinion with regard to traditional resource harvests west of the Yakama treaty ceded area boundary by constituent groups of the Yakama Nation. Three groups are identified that appear to have legitimate claims as elements of the Yakama Nation and which occupied and regularly utilized resources in what is now western Washington State but outside the boundaries of any treaty cession. These are the Taitnapams or “Upper Cowlitz,” the Klickitats, and the Cascades Indians.

Disputes with respect to the linguistic and cultural affiliations of and territories occupied by these groups are reviewed, with particular attention paid to the historical context of the cultural identities and territorial occupations of these groups. All are judged to have been established in their respective areas west of the Cascade Mountains prior to significant Euroamerican intrusion, direct or indirect.

Annotated lists of sites named in the native languages of these groups are provided, along with lists of fish, game, and plant resource species known to have been harvested at these sites by members of these groups prior to Euroamerican intrusion. Evidence with regard to early 19th century intergroup contacts, hostile or peaceful, e.g., through intermarriage and/or traditional trade, is assessed. Areas of co-utilization by Yakama affiliated groups and those not so affiliated are described. If the areas occupied by these three groups plus those areas co-utilized by them define their traditional harvest zone, that zone should include the drainage basins of the Wind, Washougal, Lewis, and Cowlitz Rivers with the smaller intermediate drainages as well as the Columbia River from below the mouth of the Little White Salmon to the mouth of the Cowlitz River (see Map 1). In western Oregon there is evidence that the Cascade Indians and the Klickitats, as well as other Sahaptian groups from further east, co-utilized the fisheries of the lower Willamette River from its mouth up to and including Willamette Falls.

Yakama Nation Traditional harvest sites in southwestern Washington

1. Goals and Scope of this Report

“Usual and Accustomed” (U&A) refers most specifically to fishing sites the continuing use of which is guaranteed by treaty language common to those treaties negotiated by Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens with Indians of the Washington Territory in 1854 and 1855, including that with the Yakama Nation (see below):

The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams, where running through or bordering said reservation, is further secured to said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for curing them; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle on open and unclaimed land. (Article III, paragraph 2, *Treaty between the United States and the Yakama Nation of Indians...*)

Since the present study deals with a region not covered by treaties of cession, I will speak of “traditional” (rather than “usual and accustomed”) sites. Although the treaty language with respect to hunting and gathering of roots and berries is somewhat different than that for fishing, I will detail traditional hunting and gathering areas as well, whether or not they might be judged to lie on “open and unclaimed land.” I will note harvests for food, technological materials, and medicines as well as for both subsistence and traditional trade.

It is understood that these rights and privileges (with respect to fishing, at least) are not restricted to within the ceded area boundaries of the treaty in question (Swindell 1942:63). For example, in the Boldt decision (United States v. Washington, 384 F. Supp. 312 [1974]), the usual and accustomed fishing area of the Yakama Nation was adjudicated to include the basins of the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Lake Washington, Cedar, Duwamish, Green, White, Puyallup, and Nisqually Rivers as well as the intervening shoreline of Puget Sound (BIA 1978), all within the territory ceded by the Treaty of Medicine Creek.

The treaty council convened by Governor Stevens with southwestern Washington tribes broke up in disarray March 3, 1855 (Swan 1857:327-360; Marino 1990:171). As a result, that part of present Washington State west of the Yakama ceded area – west from approximately the Cascade crest – and south of the Medicine Creek ceded area – including among other river basins those of the Chehalis, Cowlitz, and Lewis Rivers – was not included in the Boldt decision. This report will summarize evidence such as might have been the basis for the adjudication of Yakama U&A – including but not limited to fisheries -- had the region in question been covered by a valid treaty of cession.

This report is based on a comprehensive review of the available evidence but it is by no means exhaustive. I have relied instead on more nearly exhaustive reviews, such as those of Hajda et al. 1995 and Bouchard, Kennedy, and Cox 1998, to assess what sources are most critical for the present evaluation and have limited my review to those sources. I will focus here on three ethno-linguistic groups, all closely allied either culturally and linguistically or politically via the treaty process to the contemporary Yakama Nation. These are the Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades. Their traditional harvest areas will be described as possibly representing Yakama Nation interests west of the Cascade crest and along the Columbia River below Bonneville Dam.

2. Defining the Relevant Indian Groups: Who are the “Yakama”?

Much confusion has resulted from the fact that names for Native American groups such as “Yakima/Yakama,” “Klickitat/Klickitat,” “Cowlitz/Taitnapam,” “Chinook,” etc. are applied in various contrasting senses by different authors and in different contexts. For example, “Yakima/Yakama” may refer to the “Yakama Nation,” a treaty tribe created at the Walla Walla treaty council in 1855. Tribal membership requires that at least one grandparent be a bona fide member of one of the 14 original signatory tribes and bands of the “Yakama Nation” and meet certain additional requirements imposed by the contemporary Tribal government. Tribal rights, such as those guaranteed by treaty, are restricted to tribal members. (An individual may be a member of one and only one tribe, which is quite at odds with how individuals affiliated with local groups in the pre-treaty era.) Thus tribal identities today are no trivial matter.

One of the 14 tribes and bands of the Yakama Nation are the “Yakama” proper, which may be understood roughly to include all those Native peoples resident on the Yakima River at the time of the treaty council, and to exclude such adjacent and/or related tribes and bands also signatory to the Yakama treaty, such as the “Wenatshapam/Pisquouse” [listed separately in the treaty but apparently identical], “Wish-ham,” and “Klickitat.”

Moreover, the “Yakama/Yakima” were frequently differentiated between the Yakama proper, that is, the “Lower Yakama,” also known as *mámachatpam* (Schuster 1998:327), and the “Upper Yakama” or “Kittitas,” also known as *pshwánwapam*. The former occupied the Yakima River and its tributaries from below Prosser to Wenas Creek; the latter occupied the Yakima River and its tributaries from Wenas Creek to the crest of the Cascade and Wenatchee mountains (cf. Gibbs 1855:407). More precisely still, one speaks of the *nachiish-láma* to differentiate those Lower Yakama most closely associated with the Naches-Tieton River Basin from those resident, for example, on Satus Creek (*satas-láma*) or at Prosser (*taptat-láma*). Thus “Yakama/Yakima” has at least three distinct senses of progressively more restricted scope.

2.1. How Sahaptin Names for Indian Groups are Formed.

Sahaptin employs two basic suffixes to name groups of people, *-pa* or *-pam* and *-lá* or *-láma*, which appear to be singular and plural forms respectively of the locative

suffix *-pa* ‘at’ and the agentive suffix *-lá*, with or without the plural suffix *-m[a]*. These suffixes are typically, though not invariably, appended to the name of a winter village site. However, as the scope of the term increases, the root form may be the name of a river/river basin, e.g., *nachiish-láma*, or some even more extensive land form, e.g., *aypaχ láma* ‘people of the plains’, *atachiish-pam* ‘people of the ocean[side]’. The two forms are apparently synonymous. Curtis suggests that the choice of suffixes is determined by considerations of sonority (1911:). It is intriguing that I have never seen the term “Yakama/Yakima” combined with either suffix. I suspect the reason is that the term is of recent vintage as a group name, originally referring not to a specific winter village or territory but to the hills across the Yakima River from the present city of that name, named for a mythic account in which five pregnant giantesses, the *i-yaki-ma* ‘the pregnant ones’, were transformed into these hills (but cf. Schuster 1998:348 for a discussion of alternative etymologies).

A somewhat similar process is characteristic of Upper Chinookan, as described by Silverstein (1990:533, fn): “The majority of Chinookan self-designations are possessive constructions based on place-names or other terms with geographical reference. These expressions have a prefix complex containing *g-* ‘those who’, a mark of the gender of the stem (*-i-*, *-a-*, or *-it-*), and a mark of the possessor (*-lá-* ‘their’).”

2.2. The Yakama Nation

Fourteen tribes and bands are specifically referenced in the Yakama treaty of 1855. Fourteen tribal leaders signed the treaty. However, there is no necessary connection between the fourteen signatories and the fourteen tribes and bands. It is possible that the fourteen tribes and bands named are those Kamiakan listed at the council on June 9, 1855: “He than [sic.] gave a list of the Tribes and lands over whom he had authority as Head Chief. This included the Pa-lou-ses, over whom he is by lineal descent the Chief,....” (Doty 1978:29). However, this list is nowhere separately enumerated.

Table 1: The 14 signatory headmen and chiefs of the Yakama Nation.

1	Kamaiakun * [<i>k'amáyaqan</i>]	Yakima/ Palouse
2	Skloom*	Yakima/Simcoe
3	Owhi* [<i>áwχay</i>]	Yakima/Kittitas
4	Te-cole-kun	unidentified
5	La-hoom	Yakima
6	Me-ni-nock [<i>manáynik</i>]	Skin-pah
7	Elit Palmer [<i>ilitp'áama</i>]	Celilo
8	Wish-och-kmpits	Wish-ham
9	Koo-lat-toose/Kah-lat-toose/Klah-toosh	Palouse
10	Shee-ah-cotte	Kah-milt-pah/Walawitis
11	Tuck-quille/Tah-kill	Skin-pah
12	Ka-loo-as/Colwas	Wish-ham
13	Schna-noo-as/Sonnewash	Wish-ham
14	Sla-kish	Celilo/Klikatat

Sources include Relander 1962, Rigsby 1965, Schuster 1975.

Table 2: The 14 tribes and bands of the Yakama Nation.

1	Yakama [<i>mámachatpam</i> + <i>pshwánwapam</i>]	NW Sahaptin
2	Palouse [<i>pelúuspem</i>]	NE Sahaptin
3	Pisquouse = Wenatshapam?	Columbia Salish
4	Wenatshapam [<i>wináatshapam</i>]	Columbia Salish
5	Klikatat [<i>χ^wátχ^waypam</i>]	NW Sahaptin
6	Klinquit	
7	Kow-was-say-ee [<i>kkáasu-i</i> ?]	CR Sahaptin
8	Li-ay-was	
9	Skin-pah = Rock Creek [<i>sk'in-pa</i>]	CR Sahaptin
10	Wish-ham [<i>wíshχam</i>]	Kiksht
11	Shyiks	
12	Oche-chotes	CR Sahaptin
13	Kah-milt-pah [<i>q'mít-pa</i>]	CR Sahaptin
14	Se-ap-cat	

Sources include Relander 1962, Rigsby 1965, Schuster 1975.

Clearly, there is no simple correspondence between the 14 signatory headmen and chiefs and the 14 “tribes and bands.” Thirteen of the signatories have been identified as representing one or more ethnic or village groups. In particular, there are multiple representatives for the Upper (Kittitas or *pshwánwapam*: Owhi) and Lower Yakima (Yakima proper or *mámachatpam*: Skloom, Kamaikan, Lahoom), Palouse (Koo-lat-toose, Kamaikan), Skin-pah (*sk'in*/Celilo: Me-ni-nock, Elit Palmer, Tuck-quille, Slakish), and Wish-ham (Wish-och-kmpits, Ka-loo-as, Schna-noo-as). In addition, certain of the signatories had ties to additional groups, such as Slakish to the Klikatat and Shee-ah-cotte with *wálawitis* (Maryhill). On the other hand, several of the tribes and bands listed are apparently unrepresented by the signatory chiefs. In particular, no signatory has been identified as representing the Salishan Pisquouse or Wenatshapam (which terms appear to refer to the same group), though Kamiakin’s insistence on including the Wenatshapam fishery in the treaty suggests close ties there, perhaps through his uncle Owhi.

Of the 14 “tribes and bands,” only nine can be confidently associated with particular village groups, and just five of these (Yakima, Palouse, Rock Creek [Kamilt-pah], Celilo Falls [Skin-pah], and Wishram [Wish-ham]) were represented by signatory headmen and chiefs. However, the nine known band territories are widely distributed across the ceded area, from the Winatshapam/Pisquouse on the north, the Palouse on the east, the Yakima and Klikatat on the west, and the Kow-was-say-ee (Crow Butte), Kamilt-pah (Rock Creek), Skin-pah (Celilo Falls), and Wish-ham (Wishram) along the north shore of the Columbia River. These nine groups include groups speaking dialects of each of the three major Sahaptin dialect groups recognized by Rigsby (1965), as well as two groups (or one group listed twice) of predominantly Columbia Salish speech and the Kiksht-speaking Wish-ham. Clearly, the treaty boundaries did not respect linguistic relationships, as closely allied Sahaptin-speaking groups were treated under other treaties, e.g., Walla Walla of the Northeast Sahaptin dialect group and Umatilla of the Columbia River Sahaptin group of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and

the so-called “Tenino” of the south shore and southern tributaries of the Columbia Warm Springs Confederated Tribes, subjects of the Treaty of Middle Oregon negotiated by General Joel Palmer (Hunn and French 1998). The latter treaty also incorporated the “Wascos,” close linguistic kin of the Wishrams, set apart from them only by virtue of their residence on the south shore of the Columbia. Finally, the “Cascade Indians” may be represented by either the Yakama Nation (as Wishrams) or the Warm Springs Confederated Tribes (as Wascoes) or of both. In short, the treaty confederacies are more-or-less arbitrary collections of contiguous village communities created by the treaty process toward the goal of a comprehensive transfer of title to the U.S. government.

Nevertheless, there is a reasonably close correspondence between the Yakama ceded area and 1) all Sahaptin-speakers not otherwise accounted for at Umatilla and Warm Springs, 2) Columbia Salish speakers (*nxa'amxcín*, inclusive of groups on the Wenatchee, Entiat, and Chelan river basins plus the area drained by Crab Creek east and south of the Columbia at the “Big Bend,” the Sinkiuse of Chief Moses; cf. Miller 1998:253, 254), and 3) the upriver Kiksht dialects of the Chinookan family extending down the Columbia to include the “Cascades,” but excluding the downrivermost Kiksht groups, the Multnomah and Cathlamet.

2.3. Who are the Klikatat?

Similar confusion is associated with the term “Klikatat/Klickitat.” For example, during the latter half of the 19th century “Klickitat” was widely used to refer to all or at least all western Sahaptin-speaking groups (Bouchard, Kennedy, and Cox 1998:249, fn 230), e.g., Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) refer to all east-side Sahaptin speakers as “Klickitat.”

“Klickitat” is a corruption of the place name *látaxat*, which refers to a key fishery at the falls on the Klickitat River some two miles above its mouth (contra Ray 1966:148). French and French (1998:362) describe it thus: “... 36, *látaxat* (Wishram name for *látaxat*, a Klickitat village with resident Chinookans);...” The falls were clearly an important traditional Klickitat harvest site, though quite possibly shared with resident Wishrams. However, the Klickitat self-designation was *χ^wátχ^waypam*, ‘people of the village *χ^wátχ^way*, apparently > *χ^wáshχ^way* ‘Steller’s Jay’ (Rigsby 1965:47-48, Hunn 1990:324), located at the junction of the Klickitat and Little Klickitat Rivers (Jacobs n.d.; Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Sally Buck, James Selam, June 19, 1986), 20 miles upstream from the Columbia. Ray’s list of Klikitat villages does not include *x^wátx^way*, but lists 17 sites concentrated on the lower Klickitat River, the White Salmon River, and the Indian Heaven plateau on the White Salmon-Lewis River divide.

Winter villages in Ray’s listings (1936:148-150), were restricted to near the mouth of the Klickitat and on the lower reaches of the White Salmon River. However, Ray describes a winter village, *wiltk^wu* (*wilt^wk* ‘the Lewis River’, Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, Jr., June 3, 1927), five miles above the mouth of the Lewis River. According to Ray (1966) this village was originally “Lewis River Cowlitz,” but became “Klikitat” as a result of a process of asymmetrical intermarriage or population replacement following the

demographic collapse of the lower Columbia River Indian population after 1830 (Ray 1966:A-2, following Jacobs 1937b). It has been suggested that these Lewis River Sahaptins might have been Lewis and Clark's "Cathlapotles" (Moulton 1991, vol. 6:24; "Cattla-pu-ttle tribe" in Ross 1821, quoted in ICC 1974:378 [159]) "Cattla-pu-ttle tribe (= "Cathlapottle") or Lewis River people (Gibbs 1856, quoted in ICC1974:377 [158]; cf. Kiksht *qatáp'ułx*, people of the Lewis River = *náp'ułx* [Silverstein 1990:534, Fig. 1, village #47), though this term more likely refers to a Chinookan group. However, there are hints in Lewis and Clark's journals of Sahaptin-speaking Indians at home on the Lewis River above its mouth. These might have been Lewis and Clark's obscure "Hul-loo-et-tell" (Moulton 1991, vol. 6:18-21; > *χluit il* 'strange country' [Silverstein 1990:545), variously placed upriver on the Cowlitz and the Lewis, but more likely on the latter. In sum, there is some uncertainty as to the geographical extent and timing of a Sahaptin/"Klikatat" presence in the Lewis River basin.

2.4. Who Are the Cascade Indians?

The Cascade Indians are Upper Chinookan or Kiksht speakers who controlled the critical passage of the Cascades of the Columbia River during the first half of the 19th century. They were identified by Lewis and Clark as the "Shahala," from *šáχlatkš* 'those upriver' (Moulton 1991, vol. 7:41), or alternatively as the "Watlala," likely derived from the village name *watála* (French and French 1998:). Some confusion is due to "the seasonal movements of the Shahala villagers between their homes at the Cascades and the Wappato Valley [the Columbia River valley between the Sandy and Kalama Rivers]." Also, Suphan quotes Hodge to the effect that,

"After the epidemic of 1829 [sic., actually 1830ff], the Watlala [i.e., Lewis and Clark's Wah-cl-el-lah, one of three Cascades village groups they described; cf. *watála*] seem to have been the only remaining tribe, the remnants of the others probably having united under that name, though they commonly were called Cascade Indians by the whites. In 1854 they were reported to number 80. In 1855 they joined in the Wasco treaty [i.e., the Treaty of Middle Oregon that established the Warm Springs Confederated Tribes] under the name of 'Ki-gal-twal-la band of Wascoes' and the 'Dog River band of the Wascoes', and were removed to the Warm Springs res. in Oregon, where a few still survive" (1910).

Suphan comments that, "the decimation of the population had the effect of causing these Cascades Indians to reverse their previous tendency and to orient themselves upstream through an affiliation with the Hood Rivers [i.e., Dog River Wascoes]" (1974:34 [46]).

2.5. Who Are the Cowlitz/Taitnapam?

The term "Cowlitz" is likewise subject to various interpretations. The contemporary "Cowlitz Tribe," an organization seeking federal recognition, and the "Cowlitz Tribe" as plaintiff before the Indian Claims Commission claims the Cowlitz River basin in its entirety, encompassing both "Lower Cowlitz" Salish speakers

(*ʔkʷilipam* in Sahaptin, fide Mary Eyley [Jacobs 1937a:195]) and the “Upper Cowlitz” Sahaptin speakers, also known as “Taitnapam.” The Yakama Tribe has contested this claim (Fitzpatrick 1986; Wilson 1980), arguing that the Upper Cowlitz are properly “Yakama.” Ray argued (1966) as expert witness for the Cowlitz before the ICC that there were in fact four Cowlitz “subtribes,” Lower, Upper, Lewis River, and Mountain. The ICC was not convinced by his testimony, ruling that Ray’s “Lewis River Cowlitz” were more likely “Klickitat” while the “Mountain Cowlitz” were remnants of the Kwalhiokwa, an Athabascan group now extinct (ICC 1974:390 [171]).

Ray argued further that “The Cowlitz tribe was more firmly and cohesively organized than other western Washington tribes” (1966:A-13). However, he presents no evidence to support this claim, and in fact much evidence to contradict it, to wit, his assertion that “the tightest organization was within the tribal divisions” (1966:A-13), “The ecology of the habitat of the Upper Cowlitz and many of the Lewis River Cowlitz was more akin to eastern Washington than to western Washington” (1966:A-12); and “The Cowlitz were a horse using people.... the most accomplished hunters of all western Washington tribes.... [and] depended more on roots as a diet supplement than did other western Washington tribes” (1966:A-12). These features, supposedly setting the Cowlitz apart and bringing them together as a tribe, are in fact characteristics shared most directly by the Taitnapam with their “Yakama” relations and neighbors. Ray’s claims to the contrary, the *ʔkʷilipam* and *táytnapam* were never in doubt as to who was who on the Cowlitz River. The cultural distinction was clearly highly salient to those living along the Lower-Upper Cowlitz divide, despite extensive intermarriage and bilingualism along the boundary (Jacobs 1934:225-227, fide Mary Eyley).

2.6. The Plateau/Northwest Coast Boundary: Treaty Lines Versus Cultural Divides

The ceded area boundary specified in the Yakama treaty demonstrates the imperfect knowledge of local topography of those who composed the document. For example, Governor Stevens and his staff mistakenly believed that the summit of Mt. Rainier lay on the Cascade crest (“Commencing at Mount Ranier, thence northerly along the main ridge of the Cascade Mountains...” Article 1, paragraph 2), when in fact Mt. Rainier stands twelve miles west of the crest. Given this ambiguity, it is not possible to interpret the treaty language precisely in respect of the ceded area boundary. Nor is the ceded area boundary in the Columbia Gorge well specified. The treaty text reads, “thence down the Columbia River [from Blalock Island] to midway between the mouths of White Salmon and Wind Rivers; thence [north] along the divide between said rivers to the main ridge of the Cascade Mountains; and thence along said ridge to the place of beginning [Mt. Rainier].” The ambiguity here is minor, but is due to the fact that the Little White Salmon River basin is located between that of the White Salmon and the Wind. The more generous interpretation, thus, would trace the boundary between the Wind River on the west and the Little White Salmon on the east from the Columbia to the head of the Little White Salmon basin, thence between the Wind and the White Salmon to the head of the Wind River basin, and finally along the Lewis-White-Salmon divide to the summit of Mt. Adams.

In any case, the western boundary of the Yakama ceded area, regardless of how one interprets the ambiguities in the treaty language, ignores a key ethnographic fact, i.e., that Sahaptin-speaking communities occupied the western slopes of the Cascades from Mount Rainier to the Columbia River. The “Klickitat,” for example, according to authoritative ethnographic sources, traditionally controlled all but the mouths of the Klickitat, White Salmon, Wind, and Lewis Rivers (and presumably the Little White Salmon and Washougal Rivers also) (Rigsby 1965:47, his $\chi^w \acute{a}t\chi^w aypam$), while the “Upper Cowlitz” or Taitnapam (Rigsby 1965:44-45, his $táytnapam$), occupied the upper Cowlitz (above Mossyrock) and Cispus River basins, perhaps for centuries. A third group, the Mishalpam (Rigsby 1965:45-47, his $mišálpam$; described more fully by Ballard in Jacobs 1931:95-96) occupied the headwaters of the Nisqually River (above LaGrande). However, this group seems more likely to have been equal parts Lushootseed- and Sahaptin-speaking and most closely affiliated socially and politically with the Nisqually villages immediately downstream (Smith 1940:13; Suttles and Lane 1990:488), and thus covered by the Treaty of Medicine Creek.

2.6.1. *Handbook of North American Indians: Northwest Coast versus Plateau*

It is noteworthy that the *Handbook of North American Indians* divides the ethnographic terrain between the *Northwest Coast* and *Plateau* volumes more-or-less along the lines traced above. Klickitat and Upper Cowlitz are treated under the heading “Yakima and neighboring groups” in the *Plateau* volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Schuster 1998:328). The *Northwest Coast* volume of the *Handbook* excludes any discussion of the upstream portions of the Cowlitz, Kalama, Lewis, and Washougal Rivers (Hadja 1990:504; Silverstein 1990:534), though they include the entire drainages of the Nisqually, Puyallup, and Snoqualmie under the “Southern Coast Salish” heading (Suttles and Lane 1990:486). Closer inspection of the ethnographic record reveals that the Sahaptin-Salishan linguistic boundary was less than precisely defined, with an intermediate zone characterized by intermarriage (cf. Jacobs 1937b). Whether this represented a dynamic situation, by which Sahaptin might gradually displace Salish as the predominant language through asymmetrical intermarriage, as Jacobs argued, or whether the boundary might have represented a long-term balance between two contrasting cultural-ecological orientations is unknown (see extended discussion below). However, the evidence that the Sahaptin presence in these upriver, Cascades west-slope regions was recent, that is, post European contact, is weak, as I will argue below. The fact that local Sahaptin speakers recognized and named not only several hundred place names in their own language (Jacobs 1934) but also named a large number of culturally significant local plants (Gunther 1974 [1945]) and animals suggest that the Sahaptin occupation of the west slope of the Cascades from Mt. Rainier south to the Columbia has considerable antiquity.

Nor does the ceded area boundary delimited in the Yakama treaty correspond with the treatment of Upper Chinookan by the *Handbook of North American Indians*. The *Northwest Coast* volume covers the “Chinookans of the lower Columbia” (Silverstein 1990:534) territory up to and including the “Multnomah” and “Clackamas,” dialect groups resident near present-day Portland, Oregon. The *Plateau* chapter picks up the

story with the “Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades” dialect groups, immediately upriver (French and French 1998:362-363). The westernmost Cascades village listed is *wašúxwal* at the mouth of the Washougal River, though a jointly occupied village (Cascades and Multnomah) is noted on the Oregon shore at what is now North Portland. French and French distinguish five Kiksht-speaking groups between the Dalles and the mouth of the Washougal, Wishram and White Salmon on the north shore, Wasco and Hood River on the south shore, and Cascades on both (1990:360). It is clear that at least some “Cascades” Indians subsequently were enrolled with the Yakama Nation (French and French 1990:360). In any case, the Washington State Supreme Court has ruled “that the Cascades Indians who lived at the Cascade Rapids of the Columbia River were a party to the [Yakama] treaty” in *State v. James*, 72 Wn.2d 746, 435 P.2d 521 [1967] (Frona Woods, letter to Hunn of March 19, 2003). The intense seasonal traffic upriver and down in the Columbia Gorge described by Boyd and Hajda (1987) from evidence in the Lewis and Clark journals suggests that no sharp division is justified to separate the “Cascades” from their upriver Kiksht-speaking kin. Rather, as reflected in the treatment in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, if a line needs to be drawn between Plateau and Northwest Coast Chinookans, the most “natural” division is between the Cascades and downriver groups.

2.7. Conclusions

My initial conclusion is that the “Yakama” of the treaty are most reasonably defined on their western borders so as to include the historically-documented traditional use areas of the Cascades, Klickitat, and Taitnapam or Upper Cowlitz. I will review the evidence in detail for the 19th century territorial limits and traditional resource harvest areas of these Yakama groups. (I will consider only briefly the evidence for joint Salishan-Sahaptin occupation of villages in the upper Nisqually, Puyallup, and Snoqualmie drainages, as this region has already been adjudicated in Boldt.) I will only briefly mention here the situation in Oregon, where a distinct language group, the Molala (Zenk and Rigsby 1998:440), appears to have played a role comparable to that of the Klickitat and Taitnapam in Washington, occupying the upriver portions of streams on the west slopes of the Oregon Cascades, leaving the lower stretches of those rivers to the Kalapuya or Clackamas Chinookans. The Molala language is thought to be most closely related to Sahaptian (Rigsby 1969; Noel Rude personal communication, June 2003). The Molalas were included in the Dayton and Molala treaties and survivors removed to the Grande Ronde Reservation on the Oregon coast (Zenk and Rigsby 1998:444).

After some further discussion of the scholarly debates with respect to the history and affiliations of the Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades groups, I will provide annotated lists of 1) places and 2) resources known to have been used by these Indians. I will distinguish as far as possible between places 1) occupied by Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades Indians and 2) those known to them and regularly visited by them for the purpose of harvesting resources, although occupied by other Indian peoples. As far as possible, I will specify the general historical period for which we have evidence of such occupation and/or use, noting in particular if that occupation or use predates Euroamerican influence, contact, and/or settlement.

3. Historical Questions

3.1. A Brief Summary of Early Euroamerican Influences in the Region

Traditional implies practices that have evolved within an indigenous or Native American social, cultural, and ecological context. Thus it is necessary to review here evidence of external, i.e., Euroamerican, influences throughout the critical period of early contact. The region of key interest in this report was directly exposed to powerful Euroamerican influences along the Columbia River from the first well documented coastal contacts in the mid-1770s, but the hinterland of the Columbia River, up the courses of its tributaries, was notably isolated from direct Euroamerican impacts until rather late, e.g., the 1860s. Yet indirect influences, particularly the introduction of European trade goods and the spread of epidemic diseases introduced from the Old World, might have induced dramatic social and cultural changes at a distance. I will briefly review the evidence for such changes here.

The earliest well documented exotic innovation to the region was the introduction of horses from Spanish colonies following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Nez Perce and Cayuse Indians on the southeastern border of the Columbia Plateau had acquired horses from the Shoshones by 1730 (Haines 1938) and Lewis and Clark found horses to be both abundant and well integrated into the Indian cultures of the Columbia Plateau by 1805. However, they reported seeing no horses below the White Salmon River (Moulton 1991, vol. 7:119). There is also no mention of horses by other early travelers on the lower Columbia River nor in Puget Sound. The earliest certain reference to horses in our area is reported by Alexander Henry, who sent four Iroquois in his employ to explore up the Cowlitz River. "One day's travel" up that river they met Indians who had "a great many horses which they use in hunting deer" (quoted in Boxberger 1984). Boxberger (1984) argues that the likely source of these horses were the Yakama via Cowlitz Pass or some other established trans-Cascade trail. This conclusion is supported by the later arrival of horses among the Nisqually and elsewhere in the Puget Sound region. Given that the Cowlitz (apparently both Lower and Upper Cowlitz were implicated) had "a great many horses" as early as 1814, Boxberger judges that they may have first acquired them as early as 1750 (1984). He notes also a clear reference to mounted visitors on the lower Fraser River by 1792. Boxberger concludes that the enhanced mobility provided by horses was the primary impetus for Sahaptin-speakers to settle on the upper Cowlitz River rather than the alleged attraction of downstream, westside resources, as Jacobs and Ray proposed, nor to the dislocations of epidemic diseases, which came significantly later, as we will see below.

Though it is certain that horses enhanced cross-Cascades travel and social interactions, it is not therefore proven that Sahaptin-speaking Taitnapam (or "Lewis River Cowlitz") had not already pioneered the same cross-Cascades routes on foot. The Fryingpan rockshelter, dated to 6000 BP, on the east slope of Mt. Rainier revealed stone tools of Plateau provenience (Rice 1965). Thus, it seems more likely that horses simply amplified already established resource use patterns west of the Cascades by Sahaptin-

speaking Indians. It is worth noting that Mary Kiona describes winter crossings of the Cascades via Cowlitz Pass on snowshoes (Hardy 1965a).

The next major Euroamerican influence is disease. Boyd (1990, 1998) provides exhaustive summaries and excellent analyses of the evidence for the impact of Old World diseases on Native American populations, beginning with a smallpox epidemic in the mid-1770s that devastated virtually the entire Pacific Northwest. Lewis and Clark met individual survivors of that epidemic (Moulton 1990, vol. 7:65, 86) and learned of a second somewhat less-devastating outbreak in 1801. The cumulative mortality from these first two smallpox epidemics may have been ca. 45%. Yet these early smallpox epidemics pale in comparison to the effects of a series of outbreaks of “fever and ague” radiating from the Hudson Bay Company’s post at Ft. Vancouver beginning in 1830. These epidemics have been attributed to malaria introduced by ships arriving from Mexican ports (Cook 1955). Conservative estimates of the cumulative mortality by 1834 are 90% for the Chinookans living in the most heavily infested habitat along the lower Columbia River.

This epidemic petered out east of the Columbia Gorge and north in Puget Sound for want of anopheline mosquito vectors, though the Lower Cowlitz were decimated, according to the eye-witness testimony of the Hudson Bay Company’s Governor George Simpson (Merk 1968). It is well documented that certain mounted “Klickitat” parties took advantage of the resulting power vacuum to raid as far south in Oregon as the Umpqua River during the 1830s, but these incursions were short-lived.

Closely linked with the spread of new diseases was the expansion of Euroamerican trading enterprises in the region. Lewis and Clark noted European trade goods, e.g., iron tools, guns (no longer functional), clothing, beads, etc., among Indians as far inland on the Columbia as the mouth of the Snake River. These goods were acquired indirectly from ships calling at Indian settlements on the outer coast (beginning 1774 with Spanish, English, and American ships), at the mouth of the Columbia (since Capt. Gray’s voyage, 1792), or on Puget Sound (explored by Vancouver in 1792). The first land-based trading post was established by the American Astorian party near the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811, where David Thompson of the British North West Company visited soon after, having descended the Columbia River from its head. The adventures of these earliest fur trading parties ascending and descending through the Cascade Indian gauntlet are the subject of frontier legend (Irving 1951 [1838]). In any case, the Astorian post was soon transferred to the Hudson Bay Company (1818), then relocated (1824) to Ft. Vancouver, opposite the mouth of the Willamette River, in the heart of our region of interest. Satellite trading posts were established at Ft. Nisqually (1833) and Cowlitz Farm, establishing a major trade route overland from the lower Columbia River to Puget Sound via the lower Cowlitz River valley.

These trading posts attracted a camp following of Indians who modified their traditional subsistence rounds to incorporate the resources of the trading post. The “Klickitat Trail” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1980) traversed by McClellan’s party in 1853 (at the height of yet another smallpox outbreak), linked Ft. Vancouver with the Sahaptin

hinterland in and across the Cascades. It is possible that the “Klickitat” (we don’t know the exact provenience of the Indian peoples so-called) camps noted along this trail close behind Ft. Vancouver were recently established “colonies” of Sahaptin-speakers attracted west by trading opportunities, particularly following the decimation of the dense Chinookan populations that previously controlled the river frontage here. Nonetheless, the Sahaptin occupation in summer and fall of the high divide south of Mts. St. Helens and Adams is most likely of long standing. It is also likely that the Lewis River fisheries above the mouth as far as the falls on the Lewis were exploited by Klickitats and other Sahaptin groups while camped in what is now the “Indian Heaven Wilderness” of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1980; Hajda et al. 1995).

By the time the first Euroamerican settlers penetrated the “Big Bottom” country on the upper Cowlitz River or the Lewis River hinterland the historic patterns of Indian occupation were well established. It is particularly significant, therefore, to note that Yoke’s and Costima’s narratives (see below) reflect a time well before direct Euroamerican contact.

3.2. How did Sahaptin speakers end up on the west side of the Cascade crest?

A major cultural divide is widely recognized as dividing the Indian peoples of the “Plateau” from those of the “Northwest Coast.” This division has long been recognized by scholars and is enshrined in the organization of the new *Handbook of North American Indians* in the distinction between volume 7, *Northwest Coast* (Suttles 1990), and volume 12, *Plateau* (Walker 1998). This distinction is also recognized by native peoples in their own languages, e.g., Sahaptin speakers distinguish at a very general level between *atachūshpam* ‘ocean people’ and *áypaxpam* ‘plains people’. Topographically the Cascade Mountains divide clearly defines this division. Governor I. I. Stevens and General Joel Palmer relied as well on this watershed divide to carve out tribal territories as a basis for the Indian land cessions they pursued in their treaty negotiations. However, this neat cartographic division corresponds less than perfectly with the linguistic, cultural, and political realities that the treaties, in theory, respected in creating tribal federations and Indian nations as corporate groups.

If we take linguistic relationships as a convenient, if not perfect, first approximation for cultural connections, as they map onto the Cascade divide, we see that the Salishan family is divided between coastal groupings and an Interior Salish sub-family and that this linguistic boundary – likely of some 5000 years standing (Elmendorf 1964) – neatly maps to the Cascade crest from its junction with the southeasterly trending ridge of the Wenatchee Mountains north to the Fraser River canyon. Southward, however, the “Plateau” language, Sahaptin, straddles the crest, extending on the west side nearly to Puget Sound on the north and to the Columbia River on the south. At least, that is what the earliest 19th century maps indicate. Along the boundary between the Sahaptin zone and that unambiguously Coast Salish there is a band of bilingual villages in which the proportion of native Sahaptin speakers relative to that of native Coast Salishan speakers declines to the west (see Map 2).

Map 2: Bilingual villages of the Nisqually and Puyallup (M. W. Smith 1940:8).

The situation along the Columbia River with respect to the Chinookan languages is likewise complex, as Chinookan speech – normally regarded as a Northwest Coast language group – extends up the Columbia River to a point between The Dalles and historic Celilo Falls, some 50 river miles east of Bonneville Dam and 40 miles east from the treaty-defined western limit of Yakama ceded territory, on the divide between the Wind and White Salmon Rivers. Along the north shore of the Columbia between the Klickitat and Washougal Rivers (and possibly downriver to the Lewis) villages were reported to have been mixed Klickitat Sahaptin and Kiksht (i.e., Upper Chinookan) in speech. Further south, beyond Mt. Hood in Oregon, the Cascade divide and western Cascade slopes were home to a distinct linguistic community, the Molala (Zenk and Rigsby 1998). The Sahaptian presence west of the Oregon Cascades south from the Columbia River was limited to seasonal visitations by Indians welcomed as guests by the local Chinookan and/or Kalapuyan residents (Walker 1967).

The *Handbook of North American Indians* resolved these ambiguities by treating the west-slope Sahaptin-speaking communities (Klickitat and Taitnapam) within the “Plateau” culture area but split off the upriver Chinookans, or “Kiksht,” from their Northwest Coast congeners, the Multnomah, Cathlamet, and Lower Chinook, the former culturally more closely allied with the Plateau. This accords with the treaty boundaries defined by the Yakama and Middle Oregon treaties, which included Klickitats and the Wishram Chinookans (and by implication White Salmon and Cascades Chinookans) with the Yakama Nation and the Wasco Chinookans (and by implication Hood River and Cascades Chinookans – the Cascades Indians bridge the river and so might be considered either Yakama or Warm Springs) with the Warm Springs Confederated Tribes.

However, since Stevens’ efforts to conclude a treaty of cession with the various tribes of southwestern Washington (e.g., “Cowlitz,” “Chinook,” “Chehalis,” etc.) failed, those tribes and their respective territories have not been adjudicated as part of the U.S. v. Washington (Boldt) fishing rights litigation. Nevertheless, claims by these tribes before the Indian Claims Commission did recognize certain tribal groups and defined their respective territories for purposes of compensation. The “Cowlitz Tribe” was recognized by the ICC in 1969 as including both the Coast Salish-speaking Lower Cowlitz and the Sahaptin-speaking Upper Cowlitz, or Taitnapam (ICC 1974, vol. 3:364-365 [145-146]). The ICC rejected the further Cowlitz claim (based solely on Verne Ray’s expert opinion) that a Sahaptin-speaking Lewis River Cowlitz division should be considered part of the Cowlitz Tribe. Consequently, the cultural and hence legal affiliations of the Sahaptin-speaking Taitnapams and westside Klickitats (which are arguably one and the same as Ray’s “Lewis River Cowlitz”) remain uncertain.

3.3. James Teit’s hypothetical history

Granted that Sahaptin speakers occupied the western slopes of the southern Washington Cascades by the middle of the 19th century, by which time Euroamerican explorers, settlers, and government officials were present to summarize intelligence on

Indian communities, the question remains as to whether this occupation was of long standing or recent. If very recent, perhaps it did not represent “traditional” settlement patterns but the aftermath of disruptions consequent to Euroamerican influences in the region, such as the introduction of the horse, the expansion of long distance trade, the introduction of firearms, and/or the demographic impacts of introduced diseases. If a post-contact phenomenon, could the observed settlement patterns and resource harvest practices report for that period be considered “traditional”?

Several scholars have argued that the Sahaptin presence on the west side of the Cascades is the result of recent migrations of Sahaptin-speakers attracted by a “power vacuum” caused by depopulation due to introduced Old World diseases, in particular, the well documented massive mortality first noted in the vicinity of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Vancouver in the summer of 1830 and during successive summers that killed an estimated 90% of the Native population of the lower Columbia River and the Willamette Valley by 1834. Populations in Puget Sound and the Columbia Plateau were effected little or not at all (Boyd 1999). Upriver populations on the Cowlitz, Lewis, and other lower Columbia River tributaries may have suffered somewhat less, though there are no eyewitness accounts to resolve this issue.

The primary proponent of this view was James Teit who exaggerated a series of third-hand accounts combined with speculative reconstructions of tribal designations cited in Lewis and Clark into a grand pattern of 19th century population displacements that had Sahaptin speakers driven north from central Oregon by a Northern Paiute expansion, and that these in turn displaced an earlier Interior Salishan occupation of the middle Columbia River (1928). As one element of this expansion, “Yakima” Indians displaced the Wenatshapam/Pisquose Columbia Salish speakers from the upper Yakima River basin, while the Klickitat element of this expansion displaced Cowlitz Coast Salish speakers from their homes on the Lewis and Cowlitz Rivers. Teit’s close association with Franz Boas contributed to the influence of his hypothetical history (cf. Jacobs 1937b:68), which was reflected in Spier and Sapir’s “Wishram ethnography” (1930) and in Spier’s highly influential account of “Tribal distribution in Washington” (1936). This version of events has been repeated in one form or another up to the present (e.g., Scheuerman 1982, Bouchard, Kennedy, and Cox 1998).

3.4. Melville Jacobs’s counter argument

Melville Jacobs (1937b, 1938) and Verne Ray (1938) were at pains to argue to the contrary, based on their very extensive first-hand acquaintance with native people from the region. They argued that linguistic and ethnographic evidence militated against the view that there had been such extensive population movements during or immediately prior to the 19th century (Jacobs 1937b:69-71): “...the present Sahaptin distribution permits the plausible assumption of an ancient center for Sahaptin in eastern Washington, eastern Oregon, and central Idaho” (Jacobs 1937b:67), rather than in central Oregon, as Teit proposed. Furthermore, they noted that local people offered no accounts of significant recent population movements (Jacobs 1937b:69), certainly not with respect to a northward movement of Sahaptin speakers at the expense of an hypothetical Salish

occupation of the lower mid-Columbia. Jacobs articulated an alternative explanation for the presence of Sahaptin-speaking communities on the upper reaches of such west slope streams as the Lewis, Cowlitz, Nisqually, Puyallup, White, Green, and Snoqualmie. He argued that this seemingly anomalous linguistic distribution – i.e., a “Plateau” language on the “Northwest Coast” side of the range -- was more effectively explained as due to a slow process of asymmetrical intermarriage whereby, “The frontiers of interior, eastern or upstream dialects advanced at the expense of the frontiers of coastal, western or downstream dialects” (1937b:55). Sahaptin speaking wives (and perhaps husbands also) more often married into the “better endowed” downstream Salishan communities than the reverse (1937b), since, “A poor larder is little inducement for either trade or marriage” (Jacobs 1937b:65).

This hypothesis has been widely influential and is accepted as fact by many subsequent authors (M. W. Smith 1940; A. H. Smith 1964; Ray 1966; Dancey 1969; Jermann and Mason 1974; Hajda et al. 1995; Bouchard, Kennedy, and Cox 1998). I likewise find it convincing in broad outline, certainly moreso than the Teit alternative. However, an observation by Jacobs’ bilingual Cowlitz consultant Mary Eyley suggests that the process was less straightforward than originally proposed. Eyley identified herself as “t’łkwi’lipam,” the Sahaptin designation for the Lower Cowlitz, though she dictated her account in Taitnapam Sahaptin.

3. This is the way we poor Cowlitz were brought up long ago. The Cowlitz traded for all kinds of food with the upper Cowlitz people (ta’idnapam), so that they could eat huckleberries. (2) In that manner they gave a woman to the man (upper Cowlitz) hunters in return for food, because the ta’idnapam always had a great deal of food, meat of deer and elk, all sorts of things. (3) For it the Cowlitz gave a woman to the ta’idnapam hunters, it made no difference to them, though they were ashamed of it. They gave a woman or a man to the ta’idnapam for food. (Jacobs 1934:225)

In this account it is in no way clear that the downriver villages were better endowed. Boxberger expresses similar reservations about the Jacobs thesis, arguing to the contrary that it was the mobility horses provided that was the impetus for Sahaptin-speakers moving west of the Cascades (1984). Be that as it may, it seems likely that at some point in the process Jacobs describes a balance is achieved between the attractiveness of upriver and downriver villages for spouses. If this were true, it is possible that the historic boundary zone between Lower Cowlitz and Taitnapam speech may have been stable for many generations. I will evaluate linguistic and ethnographic evidence that, I believe, supports such a stable linguistic boundary on the Cowlitz River.

One final comment. If Teit’s sources were correct, one might expect stories of violent encounters between Indian groups contending for territory. However, there are few indication of hostile interactions among the Indian groups implicated in Teit’s hypothesis. With regard to Sahaptin residents of bilingual Puyallup villages, M. W. Smith notes that, “The attitude of the Salish toward the newcomers was one of complete acceptance.... inland groups tended to be proud of their east of the mountain

connections...” (1940:23). We do hear of a planned Lower Cowlitz attack on a Chinookan village at the mouth of the Cowlitz River, said to have been averted by the diplomacy of passing white travelers. Whether this was a raid to capture booty and/or women or slaves is not clear. However, there is no indication that it was part of a program of territorial aggrandizement by the Lower Cowlitz with respect to their Chinookan neighbors. One report does suggest that territorial boundaries in the region might not have been entirely settled by the mid-19th century. Martha Hardy recounts a local legend that Jim Yoke, “and a Nisqually chief had a fight over who was going to have the Upper Cowlitz valley... and that they got in this fight where there was a vine maple tree... and Jim Yoke got the other guy by the hair, and bent his head back into a crotch of the vine maple, and then chopped his head off... and so then the Nisqually didn’t try to come over here anymore...” (Hardy 1965b). Mary Kiona and Joyce Eyley confirmed the broad outline of the story. However, Ray reports that “Cowlitz neighbors to the north were the Nisqually tribe, with whom they were traditionally friendly although not intimate. Both tribes had numerous upstream villages on their respective rivers, especially the Cowlitz, but the intervening divide was high and rugged. The common boundary line was a notably stable one, not having changed within the memories of the oldest persons... (1966:A-4).

4. The Taitnapam.

4.1. Taitnapam Sources

Primary sources with regard to the Taitnapam are for the most part in what has been termed the “gray literature,” that is, reports prepared on contract for government agencies or private corporations to meet various legal requirements. The most important such reports for present purposes are: 1) the extensive bibliographic, archival and ethnographic research of Allan H. Smith on Indian use of Mt. Rainier National Park compiled for the National Park Service (1964); 2) Stuart Chalfant’s expert testimony with regard to the Wasco Indians (1974) and Verne F. Ray’s on behalf of the Cowlitz tribe (1966) before the Indian Court of Claims; Yvonne Hajda et al.’s report on “Ethnographic Sites of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest” prepared for the Forest Service (1995); and two reports by the British Columbia Indian Language Project (Randy Bouchard, Dorothy Kennedy, and Mark Cox) for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Plum Creek Timber Company, and the White Pass Company with respect to Indian use of certain areas within Taitnapam territory proposed for land exchanges or development (Bouchard and Cox 1998; Bouchard, Kennedy, and Cox 1998). Relevant archaeological reports include Dancey’s “Archaeological survey of Mossyrock Reservoir” (1969), Jermann and Mason’s “A cultural resource overview of the Gifford-Pinchot National Forest” (1976), and a report on the “Cowlitz Falls hydroelectric project” prepared by Historical Research Associates for the Bechtel Corporation (David V. Ellis et al. 1991). I rely on these sources for characterizations of earlier ethnographic and archival documents which address issues relevant to this report. Of particular note, I have consulted the original documents, e.g., Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1988, 1991). Relevant linguistic and ethnographic accounts have been carefully reviewed, in particular Spier and Sapir (1930), M. W. Smith (1940), Norton, Boyd, and Hunn (1990), and relevant chapters in the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Suttles 1990; Walker 1998).

I emphasize two ethnographic sources of particular value that have either been discounted or not fully exploited in these ethnographic analyses. Most helpful are the first-hand accounts by Taitnapam consultants recorded in their native Sahaptin language by Melville Jacobs in 1927-1928 (1934, 1937a). These narratives include not only myths but more valuable for present purposes, geographical and ethnographic narratives. In one such account, Jim Yoke, born ca. 1840, details some 280 named sites with which he was personally familiar within Taitnapam territory and adjacent regions. Complementing these narratives are a series of interviews recorded in 1964-1965 with Mary Kiona, Jim Yoke's niece, born in the mid-1850s, Mary Kiona speaks in Taitnapam Sahaptin with partial translations provided by either her daughter, Minnie Placid (Hardy 1964a, 1964b, 1964c), or her granddaughter, Joyce Eyley (Hardy 1965a, 1965b). Finally, Erna Gunther's *Ethnobotany of Western Washington* (1973 [1945]) cites Taitnapam terms (which she refers to as "Cowlitz") with uses for some 60 species of plants, recorded in 1937 from John Ike, Jim Yoke, and Mary Kiona.

4.2. Taitnapam Affiliations

The Taitnapam are a Sahaptin-speaking group who occupied the Upper Cowlitz River basin at first Euro-American contact. They distinguish themselves as *táitnapam* from the *á'kwilipam*, or Lower Cowlitz, and the *áypax-pam*, or "Yakima," that is, 'people of the plains' (cf. Jacobs 1934:223). The term *táitnapam* is most likely derived from *táitín* + *-pam* 'people of the Tieton River' (Jacobs 1934:234, 235). The Tieton is a tributary of the Naches River, for which the Yakama band, the *naxchiish-láma*, are named. However, there are no *naxchiish-láma* winter villages on the Tieton. The *naxchiish-láma* wintered at lower elevations on or near the Yakima River. The Tieton basin was well known to Jim Yoke, at least, among the Taitnapam. The fact that "Upper Cowlitz" people were named for a river on the east slope of the Cascades suggests their origins on that side of the range in the not too distant past.

The Taitnapam have been treated as a division of the Cowlitz Tribe by a number of early ethnographers and were so treated by the Indian Claims Commission in its characterization of Cowlitz territorial claims (ICC 1974: vol. 3, pp. 365, 389-390; Bouchard and Cox 1998:26). However, the Taitnapam are far more closely allied linguistically, culturally, and politically with their Sahaptin-speaking relatives east of the Cascade Crest (Bouchard and Cox 1998:16), in particular with the *nachiis-láma*, a subdivision of the Yakama proper closely associated with the Naches River basin (though likely wintering on the Yakima River between Ahtanum and Wenas Creeks). Most Taitnapam who abandoned their home villages on the Upper Cowlitz River in the aftermath of Euro-American settlement were subsequently enrolled with the Yakama Nation (Wilson 1980; Fitzpatrick 1988; McClure 1992:20). The contemporary Cowlitz Tribe, still seeking federal recognition, primarily represents descendants of the Salish-speaking Lower Cowlitz (Wilson 1980; Fitzpatrick 1988). Thus, despite the ICC ruling and the exclusion of their traditional territory from the Yakama treaty ceded area, a strong case can be made that the Taitnapam should be considered part of the Yakama Nation for present purposes.

4.3. Taidnapam Territory

The eastern and western boundaries of Taitnapam territory at the time of the first Euro-American contact (sometime after 1850) is the subject of wide agreement. The Lower Cowlitz occupied the Cowlitz River below Mossyrock, the Taitnapam occupied the Cowlitz River from Mossyrock to its headwaters, including the Cispus River. For example, According to Curtis (1913:5): “The Cowlitz comprised about thirty settlements distributed along Cowlitz river from its junction with the Columbia to a point a few miles east of the Willamette meridian,...” near contemporary Mossyrock. He lists 29 “villages,” the last two proceeding upriver “intermarried with Klickitat” (Curtis 1913:173). It is clear that he did not consider the inhabitants further upriver to be “Cowlitz.” An Upper Cowlitz origin myth recorded by Thelma Anderson (1934) attributes this historic boundary to Coyote himself. The eastern boundary is at the Cascade Mountain crest (Bouchard and Cox 1998). Taitnapam testimony distinguishes the Taitnapam from the *áypaxpam* ‘the people of the plains/river mouth, i.e., the Yakama, whose occupation is noted up to the Cascade Crest from the east. Taitnapam sources in Jacobs clearly identify certain resource areas on the Cascades crest as “Yakima” (e.g., Jacobs 1934:233), suggesting that “tribal” rights were clearly delineated at certain points, despite ready mutual access to harvest areas of neighboring groups, e.g., “Yakimas” camped at Adams Fork (McClure 1992) and hunted and gathered berries regularly on the south and east slopes of Mt. Rainier (A. H. Smith 1964).

Though clearly defined from the local Indian perspective, the ethnolinguistic boundary was bridged by intermarriage and bilingualism. For example, Mary Eyley, though she identifies herself as *ʔkwilipam*, or Lower Cowlitz, is perfectly at home speaking Taitnapam Sahaptin. Her son, Sam N. Eyley, Jr. is identified as Taitnapam, “speaking a nearly pure ta’idnapam dialect” (Jacobs 1934:102). Mary Kiona’s father’s father was “Yakima,” thus also was Jim Yoke’s father (Mary Kiona, Minnie Placid, tape of August 31, 1964).

The northern and southern limits are somewhat less certain. Ray asserted that Sahaptin-speaking Klickitats controlled the Upper Cispus in the latter half of the 19th century. However, Taitnapam testimony is clear that the Goat Rocks were within their range (as of the latter half of the 19th century), as was the larger portion of the Cispus River basin, perhaps including Walupt Lake (but see Hajda et al. 1995:) at its head. However, Lakeview Mountain and Potato Hill were considered to be Yakama sites (Jacobs 1934:233). (The upper Lewis River basin is generally conceded to the Klickitat, unless attributed to Ray’s “Lewis River Cowlitz,” a branch of the Taitnapam) Thus it is likely that the Taitnapam controlled all of the Cispus River basin excepting the subbasin of Adams Creek, which heads on Mt. Adams to the south. This allows the Taitnapam a bit more territory in the Cispus headwaters above the mouth of Adams Creek than was conceded by the ICC.

The ICC granted the “Cowlitz Tribe” all of the Toutle and Coweeman River basins on the north and west slopes of Mt. St. Helens. However, it is likely that this area

was controlled by Salish-speaking [Lower] Cowlitz, as there is no explicit recognition of these areas by Taitnapam witnesses.

On the north the ICC credited the “Cowlitz” with control only as far as the Nisqually River drainage divide (ICC 1974). However, Sahaptin place names are recorded for the Nisqually basin downstream as far as the territory of the *mical-láma*, or the “Eatonsville people” of Mashell Creek, tributary of the Nisqually at present-day La Grande. The ethnic affiliations of these Mishalpam is in dispute. The primary village (*bacálabc*) was a mixed Salishan-Sahaptin community, bilingual in the sense that village residents might speak one or the other, and sometimes both, languages. For example, Chief Leschi was a headman of the Mashell village of mixed parentage and likely bilingual (M. W. Smith 1940:22). A similar situation was reported by Smith for the “Tenino” village, located even further west in the Deschutes or Skookumchuck River basins as well as for three upriver Puyallup groups (1940:21-23; see Map 2). It has been suggested that these northwesternmost Sahaptin speakers crossed the Cascades further north, via Naches Pass, and may have been more closely affiliated with the Kittitas that with the Lower Yakima/Naches people. There is considerable evidence of at least recent Sahaptin influence along the White and Snoqualmie Rivers (e.g., Enumclaw is clearly derived from Sahaptin *inamk-lá* ‘thunder’ and there is a substantial Sahaptin influence on a Snoqualmie ethnozoological vocabulary published recorded in the 1960s [Turner 1976]), evidence for a longer Sahaptin presence north of Mt. Rainier is not compelling. In fact, stories told about Yakama excursions into the Snoqualmie area clearly indicate that the local Salish-speaking peoples considered the Yakama out of their element on this side of the mountains (Elmendorf 1999)

4.3.1. Jim Yoke and Lewy Costima on Taitnapam Territory

To complete the picture we have two geographical narratives recorded in Sahaptin by Melville Jacobs in 1927, a rather brief summary by Lewy Costima and a more-elaborate account by Jim Yoke. Yoke’s story is of particular note as he was a boy of perhaps 12 years at the outbreak of the Yakima wars in 1856. These geographical accounts are unique but appear to represent a traditional narrative form, as they highlight Coyote’s travels across the land, naming places and placing key resources at each for the benefit of the people “who are coming soon,” that is, the Indian peoples who are to occupy the land from the close of the myth age. That the accounts are not phrased as personal or historical narratives is strong evidence that they represent a collective tradition of substantial antiquity.

Yoke’s narrative begins at his home near Packwood, Washington; Coyote travels down the Cowlitz River to its mouth at the Columbia, then skips back to the Cispus, ascends the Cispus to the Cascade Crest; follows the crest north before descending to the east down the Tieton River to the Naches, thence to the Yakima River. Yoke has Coyote descend the Yakima to the junction with Toppenish Creek; then jump back to the Naches basin to ascend the American River, once again to the Cascade Crest; then west to the south slope of Mount Rainier and the upper reaches of the Nisqually River; finally returning down Skate Creek to the Cowlitz. Altogether Yoke mentions ca. 280 named

places along Coyote's route. The density of names and their provenience (i.e., borrowed or not) provide further evidence of the nature of Taitnapam occupation here. In particular, it is noteworthy that Yoke's names (and the few others recorded) are densely packed along the Cowlitz River as far downstream as Mossyrock (at 1.73 named site/river mile), but are sparsely distributed (at 0.39/mile) and very often of non-Sahaptin derivation below that point (Dale Kinkade, personal communication). Yoke's place names likewise taper off on the southeastern margins of his territory, below the mouth of the Naches River in Yakima country. At Union Gap on the lower Yakima he remarks, "That's as far as I know."

These geographic accounts not only list placenames but provide key evidence as well as to the role of particular sites in the traditional social ecology. I rely heavily on these narratives to pinpoint traditional harvest sites with the Taitnapam territory (see below). These accounts also name winter village communities. At least nine distinct Taitnapam village groups are named, using the standard Sahaptin practice of appending – *łáma* 'people of' to the name of a central village to refer to the people resident at that village. Thus we have (in Jacobs's orthography):

qwe':ltła'ma for the "m.[ossy]r.[ock] prairie Tait[napam]s" [*q'wilt-łá-ma*];
lalalxła'ma for the "Tilton [River] mouth Tait[napam]s" [*lalalx-łá-ma*];
wasala'ma for the "Morton Tait[napam]s";
nucnu:ta'ma for the "Tait[napam]s at the mouth of Cowlitz Canyon";
swiktswiktła'ma for the Nesika Tait[napam]s" [*swikt-swikt-łá-ma*];
k'wplá'ma for the Cowl[it] Falls Tait[napam]s" though no archaeological evidence of a winter village at Cowlitz Falls was found (Ellis et al. 1991);
cicpačła'ma for the Cispus Tait[napam]s" [of a village 15 miles up the Cispus River and nine miles south of Randle];
qiyaxuła'ma for the "Tait[napam]s on the Cowlitz 7 mi w of Kiona" [*q'iyax^w-łá-ma*];
cα'q'kła'ma for the "Kiona Cr. Tait[napam]s" [*shiq'k-łá-ma* ?].

These terms almost certainly refer to winter settlements, as the names of other places known to have hosted large gatherings of Indians (e.g., *ch'qūt* 'Skate Creek', at present-day Packwood; *łikálwit*, summer fishing camp at the mouth of the Cowlitz and the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz River) at other seasons are not so modified to label village groupings.

These geographical narratives also refer or allude to a range of subsistence resources harvested by local people. As these resources are attributed to the efforts of Coyote at the close of the myth age, there seems no reason to doubt the antiquity of the subsistence practices noted. Important fishing sites are pointed out far up the Cowlitz River. Specifically, at *łikálwit*, an important fishing camp at the junction of the Clear Fork and the Ohanapecosh River, there are to be Chinook and silver salmon, steelhead, "grayling," and Dolly Varden (Jacobs 1934:228, 246). At a site below Cowlitz Falls there are "trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden, graylings, suckers" (Jacobs 1934:242)." (I list all references I have been able to locate by resource species in Appendices 9.1, 9.2, and 9.3, below).

Below Olequa in Lower Cowlitz territory is *wilaps-as* ‘sturgeon-place’ (Jacobs 1934:231). We also learn that “calico” salmon (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*) and “smelts” (eulachon, *Thaleichthys pacificus*) may ascend the Cowlitz as far as Cowlitz Prairie, nearly to Taitnapam territory (fide Mary Eyley, Jacobs 1934:225). Chinook salmon spawning is noted for a lake near the head of the Cispus River called *mít’úla-yash*, which may be interpreted either as the ‘place of dog salmon’ or the ‘place of spawned-out Chinook salmon’ (Jacobs 1934:233). Several sites where steelhead and silver salmon spawn are noted along both the Cowlitz and Cispus Rivers (Jacobs 1934:232). Sites where fish were harvested with dip-nets (Jacobs 1934:230), spears (Jacobs 1934:243), hook and line (Jacobs 1934:242), and in basket traps or natural rock traps (*p’na*) (Jacobs 1934:230) are noted. At *lalálχ*, at the mouth of Tilton Creek, home to the *lalálχ-táma*, Coyote placed a “basket trap”: “Coyote made a basket trap for them in Tilton Creek.... There will always be a basket trap there.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings, salmon trout, silverside, Chinook salmon, steelhead will go into it” (Jacobs 1934:241).

The suggestion that the Cowlitz River was unimportant as a salmon fishery (Schalk 1986:33-34) is contradicted by these Sahaptin geographic narratives, which detail the abundance and variety of fisheries along the Cowlitz River nearly to the headwaters of both the Cowlitz and Cispus Rivers. The view that “with the exception of those groups on the Cowlitz below Cowlitz Falls and on the Kalama River, dependence upon salmon was not great” (Schalk 1986:33) and “that the runs of the Cowlitz may have been less productive or dependable relative to those of other rivers within the Lower Columbia...” (Schalk 1986:34) is based on second and/or third hand reports emphasized in Ray (1966) and is directly contradicted by the testimony of the Taitnapams themselves. Schalk remarks that, “Despite the apparent corroboration of the limited productivity of the Cowlitz in several different historical sources, the more recent historical data from fisheries biology reveals no such pattern.... Why such a contradiction exists remains unexplainable” (1986:34). On the contrary, it seems clear that the “apparent corroboration” is illusory.

Mountain goats are cited frequently, with specific reference to goat hunting in the Goat Rocks and in the Tatoosh Range (Jacobs 1934:233, 234; McWhorter 1918:). A mountain near the head of the Cowlitz River is called *ch’q^wElanmi* ‘of mountain beaver’ (Jacobs 1934:233), alluding to a species hunted for its valuable fur, used in traditional robes. Another spot is called *ptís-as* ‘muskrat place’. Birds are noted, e.g., ruffed grouse, band-tailed pigeons, Steller’s jays, wrens, and hummingbirds. The grouse and pigeons, at least, were likely hunted for their meat. There are numerous references to huckleberry harvest sites, detailing several species (*Vaccinium membranaceum*, *V. deliciosum*, *V. scoparium*), as well as references to trailing blackberries, salal berries, and wild strawberries. Plants harvested for their edible “roots,” such as tiger lily, woodfern, camas, hyacinth brodiaea, and ‘wild onion’ are mentioned. Other plant species with varied uses are noted: skunk cabbage, water-parsley, nettles, horsetail fern, swordfern, and maidenhair fern. There is specific mention of red cedar, Douglas fir, grand fir, big-leaf maple, red alder, and Oregon ash. Also noted are inanimate resources such as white

agates, earth for red facepaint, and mineral salt (see 9.1, 9.2, 9.3). It is worth noting also how frequent are the references to “burnt places” or “prairies” that were focal points for hunting and gathering as well as preferred campsites, and which were very likely anthropogenic (cf. Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983).

There is mention of sites of mythological and ritual significance. For example, basalt “postpile” formations may be named for the ‘soft-basket ogress’, *t’at’akya*, to commemorate Coyote’s taming of the dangerous beings that populated the land during the Myth Age. There are several such sites in the Cowlitz basin. Their names and the stories told about them provide strong, direct cultural connections to similarly personified sites east of the Cascade Crest in the Naches River basin (Jacobs 1934:; Hunn n.d.). A mountain goat hunting site in the Goat Rocks is called *shúuksh-ash* ‘place of the knower’, which may indicate a site with spirit power associations. A place for bathing near the headwaters of the Cowlitz River, *shimlúsha* ‘swim in the water’, may refer to a spot associated with spiritual purification or power acquisition (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke; Hajda et al. 1995).

In short, these Taitnapam narratives provide convincing evidence in support of the view that Sahaptin-speaking communities, collectively recognized as “Taytnapam” since at least the first half of the 19th century, have exclusively occupied the Cowlitz River basin down to Mossyrock Prairie since before first Euroamerican contact.

4.4. Contrary Views.

Nevertheless, several “experts” have affirmed a contrary view with regard to the nature and antiquity of Taitnapam residence on the Upper Cowlitz River. According to Ray, following Jacobs (1966:A-5): “... there was a gradual infiltration of Sahaptin speakers to the Cascade slopes on the west, but no comparable movement of Salish to the east. The process was slow but over the centuries extremely effective. This did not involve the movement of a people, only the occasional westward marriage of an individual woman... The end result was the replacement on the western slopes of the Cascade Mountains,... of Salish speech by Sahaptin. In this manner, the upriver Cowlitz on the Cowlitz and Lewis River drainage systems, although originally sharing a language with their fellow tribesmen on the lower courses of the rivers, came slowly to speak a quite different language, with their tribal relationships in no fundamental way being affected.” These now-bilingual “Cowlitz” occupied what had been Chinookan territory on the lower Columbia subsequent to the demographic dislocations caused by the introduction of epidemic diseases following Euro-American contact. Schalk accepts Ray’s view in his contribution to the “Compilation of Information on Salmon and Steelhead Losses in the Columbia River Basin” (Northwest Power Planning Council 1986:32-34). What I find questionable in Ray’s account is his assertion that the linguistic transition did not also imply fundamental cultural contrasts between Lower and Upper Cowlitz.

The historic intrusion of “Klickitats” into the Willamette Valley subsequent to 1830 is well known. “Between 1820 and 1830 [sic., the epidemic began in 1830] the tribes of Willamette valley were visited by an epidemic of fever and greatly reduced in

numbers. Taking advantage of their weakness, the Klikitat crossed the Columbia and forced their way as far as the valley of the Umpqua. Their occupancy of this territory was temporary, however, and they were speedily compelled to retire to their old seat n. of the Columbia” (Hodge 1907-1910:). However, extrapolations from that expansion to “explain” the occupation of territory for which there is no evidence of any recent population movements are unjustified. Yet that is the position argued by Bouchard and Cox (1998) in their report on behalf of the White Pass Co., Inc., in support of a proposal to expand the existing White Pass ski facility. Though the Bouchard and Cox report relates most specifically to the evidence for the use and occupation of the White Pass-Hogback Ridge area on and just west of the Cascade Divide at the headwaters of the Cowlitz River, in making their case for the culturally marginal position of the site of the proposed ski area development, they provide a meticulous review of all relevant ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence of Indian use and occupation of the region encompassing the proposed development site. Though not directly relevant to their charge, they conclude that, “Thus, although the data are far from conclusive, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources suggest that while some Sahaptin-speakers lived along the upper Cowlitz before the 19th century, and made seasonal use of this area and others west of the Cascades long before this time, Taitnapam permanent settlement along the Upper Cowlitz River took place in the early 19th century” (1998:20-21). In rendering this judgment they reject Jacobs’s considered dismissal of James Teit’s argument (1928) in favor of a recent Taitnapam occupation of the Upper Cowlitz (Bouchard and Cox 1998:17). In support of their conclusion they cite the testimony of several supposed experts. First, they cite an account by Charlie Ashue, a consultant to Arthur Ballard in the 1920s with respect to his ethnographic studies of the Salish-speaking Indians of the White, Green, and Puyallup Rivers. Ashue, born ca. 1860 of mixed Yakama and Puyallup descent, who attributed the permanent occupation of the Upper Cowlitz area by Sahaptin-speakers, from the Naches River area, to his own grandfather’s time. This story was never published and is several steps removed from an eye-witness account. They then cite W. F. Tolmie, Hudson’s Bay Company trader, who similarly argued that, “Before the decimation by disease of the river Indians, they [“the back country Indians or Kliketats”] had by them [i.e., the “river Indians”] been kept in the background and in a state of poverty; but active horsemen and keen hunters as they were, they in later days got the upper hand around Vancouver, and in small hunting and trapping parties extended themselves through the Walamet to the Umpqua Valley, and still further south in Oregon” (Tolmie 1878:5). However, this account speaks of a well-known later Klickitat expansion and says nothing with respect to the Taitnapam occupation of the Upper Cowlitz. Bouchard and Cox then cite a passage from Gibbs to the effect that “After the depopulation of the Columbia tribes by congestive fever [i.e., the “fever and ague,” actually malaria], which took place between 1820 and 1830 [actually 1830-1834 and subsequently], many of that tibe [Klikatat] made their way down the Kathlapûtl (Lewis River) and a part of them settled along the course of that river...” (Gibbs 1877:170-171). This is then elaborated upon by Teit as follows: “After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, around 1829, large numbers of them [i.e., “Klickitat”] moved into the Cowlitz Valley” (Teit 1928:99).

These third-hand accounts, most addressing a generalized “Klickitat” expansion rather than the Taitnapam occupation of the Upper Cowlitz, in my judgement, prove nothing with regard to the Taitnapam case. For Bouchard and Cox to have found such reports convincing requires that they ignore or discount the detailed first-hand evidence, expressed in the Sahaptin language, of Jacobs’s Taitnapam consultants. I believe the linguistic evidence in the geographic tales recorded by Jacobs rules out a 19th century Taitnapam occupation and supports the view that the Taitnapam have lived in the Upper Cowlitz for centuries, if not longer. It is absurd to suggest that Jim Yoke and Lewy Costima invented these stories and made up the names to go with them. They certainly learned these narratives from their parents and grandparents who in turn learned them from their own. (Jim Yoke cites Packwood Lake, *cuyu’ik*, as his ancestors’ place.) To suggest that such detailed nomenclatural and conceptual mapping of the Upper Cowlitz world could have been created from scratch in the one or two generations separating Jim Yoke and Lewy Costima from ancestors raised before white contact is untenable.

In conclusion, I am convinced that Sahaptin-speaking Taitnapam – closely allied with their Yakama kin east of the Cascades – had permanently occupied and controlled the Cowlitz, Cispus, and uppermost Nisqually River basins since long before the first European influences were felt there. They apparently intermarried with Salish-speaking communities downriver and travelled freely as far as the mouth of the Cowlitz River, as well as moving freely through adjacent Yakama-controlled territory east of the Cascade Crest. However, there is no evidence that their occupation of their core territory – described in detail by Jim Yoke and Lewy Costima in their Sahaptin narratives – was challenged by other Native peoples, at least within living memory.

4.5. Sites occupied and/or regularly visited by Taitnapam:

I list below 250 Taitnapam sites, 249 named in Sahaptin. Names in phonemic orthography are italicized. The great majority of these are listed in the two Sahaptin geographic texts collected by Jacobs in 1927-1928 from Jim Yoke and Lewy Costima (Jacobs 1934, 1937a). Of the Taitnapam place names recorded, 129 (52%) have resource harvests clearly specified or implied in the name and/or associated text. The names of these sites are in bold face. It is worth noting that the “density” of named sites on the Cowlitz River below Klickitat Creek at Mossy Rock is 22/56.5 river miles or 0.39/mile while the density of sites between Mossy Rock and the head of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz is 164/94.8, that is 1.73/mile. This contrast illustrates the greater familiarity of Jacobs’s Taitnapam consultants with the upper Cowlitz basin, recognized as Taitnapam territory, as opposed to that portion of the basin controlled by the Salish-speaking Lower Cowlitz.

Table 3: Distribution of named sites by river segment

	miles	fishing	hunting	gathering	not specified	totals	density
Cowlitz to Klickitat Cr.	56.5	7	0	2	13	22	0.39
Cowlitz on to	33.3	26	4	12	38	80	2.40

Cispus R.							
Cispus River to head	54.0	8	1	2	5	16	0.30
Cowlitz on to Skate Cr.	35.9	9	1	11	32	53	1.48
Cowlitz to head of Clear Cr. & Skate Creek	25.6	9	4	6	12	31	1.21
Sum of Cowlitz above Klickitat Cr.	94.8	44	9	29	82	164	1.73
Cascade divide		3	7	13	11	34	
Nisqually & Chehalis R.		0	1	3	10	14	
Total Taitnapam		62	18	49	121	250	

4.5.1. The Lower Cowlitz River outside of Taitnapam territory

shch'il

Taitnapam Sahaptin name for the Cowlitz River, named by Coyote (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima; Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley); used to refer to the entire length of the Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:).

shchil-aypáχ

Literally 'Cowlitz River mouth' (Jacobs 1931:225, Mary Eyley). Sahaptin speakers might also refer to this river by the Salish term: *kawlic* (Jacobs 1934:229).

qawím̓in

"Across from there [i.e., Kelso/*mansála*] flows out *qawím̓in* (Cowimen River)" (Jacobs 1934:231, Jim Yoke); cf. Curtis (1913:172).

mansála

Site at Kelso, WA, at the mouth of the Cowlitz River. "Coyote came this way from *mansála* (Kelso), as he came he named rivers and creeks" (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima; cf. pg. 231, fide Jim Yoke). Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, 6-3-1927, Morton: "*mansála* -- name of the Kelso region." [Dale Kinkade personal communication: a corruption of "Monticello," an early white settlement at the site of downtown Kelso.]

t'uus

[A creek a few miles above Kelso along the Cowlitz River] "of no use because there are no fish in it" (Jacobs 1934:229, 231, fide Jim Yoke).

nilh^wí

"A stream empties out there (six miles above Kelso) named ..." (231). "Coyote came this way.... As he came he named rivers and creeks..., he named another ... (a creek

opposite Castle Rock [Arkansas Creek],...” (239) (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke; 239, fide Lewy Costima).

shúq^w'k^w

“At that place a large stream flows out named ... (Toutle R.), it is also a fishing site” (231); ... named by Coyote (239) (Jacobs 1934:231, 239, fide Jim Yoke).

wílaps-as

Literally, 'sturgeon (*Acipenser transmontanus*) place'. “At that place below [Olequa] there it is named *wílaps-as* ('sturgeon place'). At that place a large stream flows out named [*shúq^w'k^w*] (Toutle R.),...” (231). “deep” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke).

k'ámaci

“... the prairie at Olequa” (231); = Olequa River (239) (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); 239, fide Lewy Costima); cf. Curtis (1913:172).

ínén

Literally, “('horn' or 'antler'), also a fishing site [below Toledo]” (321); “horn creek...” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke). [Cowlitz Salish name for this site also means 'horn', Dale Kinkade, personal communication, 4-9-93].

matíp

“Further below there is a creek at that place named *matíp* (opposite Toledo), also a fishing site” (321). “... still another he [Coyote] named *matíp* (Salmon Cr., below Toledo)” (Jacobs 1934: 231, fide Jim Yoke; 239, fide Lewy Costima). [A Cowlitz Salish name, Dale Kinkade, personal communication, 4-9-93]; cf. Curtis (1913:172).

waykánash-ash-ki

Literally, 'having fish place'; “fishing place across from Toledo.” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

calí-cali-ín

A creek next above *matíp* [Salmon Creek], below *suspán-as* [below Salkum] (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima).

náukχ^w

Cowlitz Prairie [Lower Cowlitz name]: “The smelts would occasionally reach Cowlitz Prairie, and they [the Lower Cowlitz or *χ^w'k^wílipam*] would catch them” (Jacobs 1934:225, 1937:195, fide Mary Eyley).

k^w'alsályals

“There is a creek flowing out named *k^w'alsályals* (five miles above Toledo [on the Cowlitz River])” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); “below Salkum”

pshwá-pshwa

Literally 'many small rocks'; "Below [ca. 5+ miles above Toledo] a creek flows out named *pshwá-pshwa* ('many rocks')" (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke).

suspán-as

Literally, 'strawberry place'; "Below there is a site named ... ('strawberry place', two or three miles below Salkum)" (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke; 239, fide Lewy Costima).

łk'achin

Literally, 'grand fir (*Abies grandis*)'; cf. *łk'á-łk'a*; "Below ['strawberry place', which is 'two or three miles below Salkum', on the Cowlitz River] a creek flows out named *łk'achin* ('white fir')" (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); "Coyote came this way ... [up the Cowlitz from the Columbia]. As he came he named rivers and creeks.... he named *łk'achin* ('white fir') creek [just below Salkum]" (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima). "*łaq'áten* -- white fir creek."

cúxiwun

Silver Creek [between Wilson Creek and Klickitat Creek above Salkum] at the Cowlitz River, Lewis Co., WA. (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima).

cíqls

A river between Winston Creek and Silver Creek, along the Cowlitz River, Lewis Co., WA. (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima).

sáلكum

"Further below [the mouth of Tilton Creek] flows out (a creek) named *sáلكum*" (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); "... he [Coyote] named another [creek] ..." (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima). [Between Winston {i.e., Wilson} Creek & Salkum on the Cowlitz]

shq^wílatim = shq^wílatam

(Klickitat Creek) (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke; 239, fide Lewy Costima). "[*shq^wílatam*] creek (Klickitat Creek) empties into the Cowlitz below Tilton Creek" (Jacobs 1934:231, fn 1).

4.5.2. Taitnapam occupied territory below the Cispus River

k^wíilt = q^wíilt

"There is (a prairie with camas) named ... [at Mossy Rock on the Cowlitz River]" (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke). Mossy Rock valley or camp" ... "Mossy Rock prairie -- camas"; "Coyote went on then from that place, he went on from [*q^wíilt*] (Mossy Rock prairie),..." (Jacobs 1934:240, fide Lewy Costima). Morton: "*k^wíilt* (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, 6-3-1927). "The band of [*táytna-pam*] living on Mossy Rock prairie was named [*q^wíilt-łá-ma*] ('*q^wíilt* people')" (Jacobs 1934:240, fn 1); "Twelve houses. Inhabitants of this and the following village [cf. *łalálχ*] were intermarried with Klickitat" (Curtis 1913:173).

cáluwaykt = cháluwayk

< *chá-* 'cause' + *-luu-* 'into the water' + *-way-* 'across' + *-k-*; Mary Kiona's birth place; "across from Mossy Rock" (Mary Kiona & Minnie Placid, August 31, 1964); "People lived at *lalálx*, *cháluwayk*, and *xáanit*" (Mary Kiona & Joyce Eyley, Aug. 17, 1965).

alála-yash

Literally 'nettle (*Urtica dioica*) place'; "nettles' -- prairie across from Mossy Rock." (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

ch'qáłint

"A fall above the Ike farm [just below mouth of Tilton Creek]" (Jacobs 1934:231). "t'shqáłmt – fall."

ch'ál-ch'al-sh

cf. *ch'al-ch'ál-sh* [Winston Creek, below Mayfield]. (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke; 239, fide Lewy Costima). Mouth of Tilton Creek. " = Klickitat Creek" [?].

lalálx

Place at the mouth of Tilton Creek [on the Cowlitz River] and/or the creek itself (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); "The band of táiDnapam living at the mouth of Tilton Creek used to be called [*lalalx-lá-ma*]" (Jacobs 1934:239, fide Lewy Costima); "Coyote made a basket trap for them in Tilton Creek (...) here. There will always be a basket trap there. (8) In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., = mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*], salmon trout [?], silverside [*Oncorhynchus kisutch*], Chinook salmon [*Oncorhynchus tsawytscha*], steelhead [*Oncorhynchus gairdneri*, in part] will go into it" (Jacobs 1934: 241, fide Lewy Costima). "A stream flows into the ... (Tilton Creek) named *p'tyálu* ("spear place"; north of Morton, 02608)." (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); Morton: "*lalálx* = Tilton River [Kelton (sic.)] (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927); People lived at *lalálx*, *cháluwayk*, and *xáanit* (Joyce Eyley & Mary Kiona, Aug. 17, 1965); "Four miles above [*q"iilt*] on the east bank. About thirty houses"; intermarried with Lower Cowlitz (Curtis 1913:173).

ch'ach'ix^wi

"There [near Morton] a creek is named *ch'ach'ix^wi*" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

yax^wáp

"There it empties (into Tilton Creek), it is named *yax^wáp* (Lake Creek, west of Morton)."

wasá

Davis Lake east of Morton in the Tilton Creek drainage (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); [outlet of Davis Lake = *wasá*] (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke)..

k'ttuu-lí

Literally '[the] swift one'. "There into the lake [Davis Lake] flows *k'ttuu-lí* ("very swift one")" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

q^wacúq^wn

“(a prairie three or four miles east of Morton)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

míxísh

Literally 'yellow'. “Coming right there [by *q^wacúq^wn*] is a creek named *míxísh* (“yellow”)” [east of Morton] (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

luuch'a-ní

Literally 'reddish, bay'. “There [east of Morton] a mountain is named *luuch'a-ní* (“brown-red”)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

páyalu

Literally 'spear' + ? “‘spear place', north of Morton; a stream [the East Fork of the Tilton?] that flows into *lalálx* (Tilton Creek)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Three named mountains round about: *palúit*; *c'axáxim*; & *x^wiyatł-ínsh*; and a lake named *wasá* (Davis Lake, east of Morton) is nearby.]

c'awáxam

< *c'a-* 'near, join' + ? A mountain north of Morton, Lewis Co., WA. (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

palúit

< *pá-líi-* 'put it into the water' + *-t*. A mountain at junction of Tilton Creek & East Fork Tilton Creek (Jacobs 1934:).

x^wiyatł-ínsh

< ? + 'place of'. “...a mountain near Morton”; apparently above the junction of Tilton Creek & the east fork of Tilton Creek (Jacobs 1931:225, fide Mary Eyley; 237, fide Jim Yoke).

k'aslay-k'áslay

Literally 'water bug sp.'. “A mountain is named *k'aslay-k'áslay* (a certain wiggly tailed waterbug; the mountain has a snake-like long ridge)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

núshnu

Literally 'nose'. “Below from that place [two or three miles below Riffe on the Cowlitz River] is a creek also flowing out named *núshnu* ('nose’)” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); “...he [Coyote] went on [from Mossy Rock prairie], he made a fishing place at which to catch salmon trout [*ayáy*], he named it *núshnu* ('nose'; at the upper end of the canyon of the Cowlitz)” (Jacobs 1934:240, fide Lewy Costima); “A group of [*táytnapam*] families living at the mouth of the canyon of the Cowlitz [= Dunn Canyon] was named [*nushnu-lá-ma* ('nose people')]” (Jacobs 1934: 240, fn 2). “canyon narrows”

shq'ilq'ilt = shqilqilt

Literally, 'skunk cabbages'. “There is one stream flowing out named *shq'ilq'ilt* ('skunk cabbages'; two or three miles below Riffe)” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); “He [Coyote] came on and again gave the name *shqilqilt* (one mile west of Riffe)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). “creek 2-3 m below Riffe”

iyánsh

. “... ('driftwood' or 'jam'), it boils and bubbles, it is also a place at which the people catch salmon” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke). [just above Mossy Rock]

sqálichim

“Coyote came on, as he came he named a brook *sqálichim* (near Mossy Rock).” [just below *shqilqilt*] (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

shxúmtani

“(an eddy and fishing site below Riffe)” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); “Again, as he came he [Coyote] named a salmon trout [*ayáy*] site *shxúmtani*, many salmon trout (are there)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). [very nearly at Riffe apparently]; “large eddy.”

qinúł

“... on the opposite side he named it *qinúł*” [opposite *íwashash*, one mile east of Riffe] (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

íwash-ash

Literally 'penis place'. “('penis place', a point of land in the Cowlitz one mile east of Riffe)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

wit'iq'in-ash

Literally 'band-tailed pigeon (*Columba fasciata*) place'. “On the other side it is named *wit'iq'in-ash* ('pigeon place'; a hill)” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke). [ca. three miles below Nesika]; “*wit'áqEnash*, across, hill.”

ilwá'ilwá'ilwa

cf. *ilwá-ilwa*. “('little fire cleared open space', three miles below Nesika)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “*Ilwálwa* -- 3 m below Nesida, 3 m above Riffe, a little (burned) clearing.”

paps-páps

Literally 'many small firs'. “There [ca. three miles below Nesika] it is named *paps-páps* ('small young Douglas fir'; a creek)” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke); “As he [Coyote] came along he again gave the name *paps-páps* ('thicket of young firs', several miles east of Riffe)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

kác'k = sqácq

“Below there is a creek named ...” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [Ca. 2 miles below Nesika on the Cowlitz River]; “fishing place.” [On the Cowlitz between Nesika and Riffe, named by Coyote; opposite *washápani*] (Jacobs 1934:242).

washápa-ni

Literally 'carrying it along'. “On the opposite side [from Nesika] flows in (a creek [Shelton Creek]) named *washápa-ni* ('carry along'; no fishing in this creek)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “he [Coyote] named [*sqácq*], on the opposite side he named it ... ('being packed along')” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

sáyam̓n

Jacobs: “He [Coyote] came on and named a high mountain [Winters Mtn. (3700')?] ... (a hill southwest of Nesika),...” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). [above *washápani*; below *swikswikt*]

swík-swík-t

Literally 'horsetails (*Equisetum* sp.)'. “That place (Nesika) is named *swík-swík-t* (a weed or grass resembling horsetail)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “he [Coyote] came along and named *swík-swík-t* (a weed; near the Kiona homestead at Nesika)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima); “The [*táytna-pam*] families resident at [*swík-swíkt*] were named [*swík-swíkt-láma*] ('*swík-swíkt* weed people')” (Jacobs 1934:242 fn 1).

swíkt-swíkt = Nesika [pronounced “*nísáyka*”], now being flooded by new dam: “Dam is gettin' now” [Joyce Eyley]. An Indian cemetery here complete with a few headstone earlier buried by bulldozer operators & now under water. Jim Suterlick the last one buried there [Joyce Eyley]. (Mary Kiona & Joyce Eyley, August 17, 1965).

nísáyka = “Nesika” of maps

Mary Kiona with Joyce Eyley (Hardy 1965a): Burial ground, at bridge, list of people buried there, now covered by water. Beautiful spot. [perhaps < Chinook Jargon, fide YH ?]

shúpwaq-ash

[a place at Nesika between *swikswikt* (below) and *wixáywasas*] (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

ptís-as

Literally 'muskrat place'; cf. *ptis* ‘muskrat’ (*Ondatra zibethicus*). “There (at Nesika) it is named [*shushaynshash-nmí*] ('place for steelhead', a creek [Landers Creek ?]). Right at that very same place is [*wixáywas-as*] ('ashwood place', a creek). And also right at that place flows out [*ptís-as*] ('little muskrat place', a creek)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). “... he [Coyote] named [*wixáywas-as*] ('ashwood place', a creek near the Eyley farm, Nesika, also named [*ptís-as*], 'musk rat place'),...” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

shúshaynsh-ash = shushaynsh-ash-nmí

Literally '[of] steelhead place' [*Oncorhynchus gairdneri*, in part]; “There (at Nesika) it is named ... ('place for steelhead', a creek)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “... the next

one yonder ... ('steelhead place', Landers Creek, Nesika)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). [*xíwún-ash* is the creek opposite]

shxéxlq'k

..., [Sand Creek?, about two miles above Nesika]; “*shxÁshAlq'k*” -- 2 m above Nesika, across.” (Jacobs 1934:).

xíwún-ash

“Below there on the opposite side (two miles above Nesika) it is named *xíwún-ash* ('place for suckers' [*Catostomus macrocheilus*]). At the very same place it is named [*shxéxlq'k*] creek [Sand Creek ?]: (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “the next one yonder [*shúshaynsh-ash*] ('steelhead place', Lander's Creek, Nesika), on the opposite side *xíwún-ash* ('sucker place', a creek opposite Nesika)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). [*xíwún* is the Taitnapam pronunciation for this sucker fide Mary Kiona]

wíxáywas-as

Literally 'ashwood place' [> Oregon ash, *Fraxinus latifolia*]. “Right at that very same place [Nesika] is *wíxáywas-as* ('ashwood place', a creek)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “he [Coyote] named *wíxáywas-as* ('ashwood place', a creek near the Eyley farm, Nesika, also named [*ptísas*], 'musk rat place’)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima); “*wUxáiwawas*, 'paddlewood [ash].’” USGS: Wakeawasis Creek, tributary of Landers Creek [apparent corruption of *wíxáywas-as*]

tisimcc-wás

> ? + 'place of'. “At one place, *tisimcc-wás*, there are snags in the river (three or four miles above Nesika in the Cowlitz)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

qmimsa-yás

Literally 'hummingbird place'. “(an open place below Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima); “camp.”

putápsin or patápsin ?

[A site below Cosmos.] “(a hill a mile or more below Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke; 242, fide Lewy Costima). [an open place nearby is *qmimsayás*]

ch'álacha

Literally 'bracken fern tops' [*Pteridium aquilinum*] (Gunther 1945:14). A site below the mouth of Rainey Creek on the Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

waynúuk-sha

Literally 'it flows around the bend'. “There it is named *waynúuk-sha* (“it bends”); Rainey Creek, south of Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

chímchin-aypáx

A creek [Rainy Creek] that flows into the Cowlitz River at Cosmos (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); glossed “chímchin-mouth” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima; 1937:208). *chamchín* = Glenoma (Mary Kiona & Joyce Eyley, Aug. 17, 1965).

sít'x^ws-as

Literally 'root of *Brodiaea hyacinthina*' + 'place of'. “There (a place) is named *sít'x^ws-as* (“sít'x^ws root place”).” [above Cosmos] (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

páxapx-ash

cf. *apáx-apx-ash* 'leaves' + 'place of'. “('leaves place', a mountain ten miles south of Cosmos),... “ (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima). [Vanson Peak (4948') or Black Mtn. (5302') ?]

x^wán-x^wan-aym

“Below there [*xúlímshch'i*] is *x^wán-x^wan-aym* (no fishing at that place)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [apparently just up the Cowlitz from Cosmos]

xúlímshchi

“On from there [a short ways above on the Cowlitz from Cosmos] is a creek [Peterson Creek ?] likewise small named *xúlímshchi*, also a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “... the [Cowlitz] river makes a bend (at) *xúlímshchi* (an open place),...” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima); “*xulímsh'tshi* -- small creek, salmon fishing.” [apparently just above the mouth of Rainy Creek]

imútł'k-sha

Literally 'it boils and bubbles'. “('it boils and bubbles', three to four miles below Cowlitz Falls)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “4-5 mi below Cowlitz Falls.”

yáwashímlii-sha

Literally 'it sits in the water'. [at a rapid between Cowlitz Falls and Cosmos ?] “There is a rock named *yáwashímlii-sha* ('sits in the water')” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [Maybe = *yáwashímlii-t*]

yáwashímlii-t

“Another [place] is named *yáwashímlii-t* ('thing sitting in the water'), also a place where the water bubbles and boils)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [apparently just above Cosmos in the Cowlitz River] [Maybe = *yáwashímlii-sha*]

miti-chni-k

Literally 'toward between' ? “between Cosmos [and Cowlitz Falls] -- used to be many people” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

p'na

Literally 'natural fish trap rock hole' or 'basket trap'. [Between Cowlitz Falls and Cosmos] “At that place it is named [*p'na*] ('hollow rock under falls’)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “natural rock trap at falls; Coyote made it” (Jim Yoke).

wáxtl'ki

Literally 'cut through with axe'. “Another [fishing site] is named *wáxtl'ki* ('cut through by axe)’” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [on the Cowlitz between the Cispus and Cosmos]

xiit'áy

“Another [fishing site] is named *xiit'áy*” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “salmon stopping place” (J. Yoke) [apparently on the Cowlitz between Cowlitz Falls and Cosmos].

ya-pni-t-ash

Literally 'elk place'. [between Cowlitz Falls and Cosmos] “That (other) rock is named *ya-pni-t-ash* ('elk `place')” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). < *wiya-pni-t* [elk. *Cervus canadensis*].

yawaluu-ní

Literally 'hanging up' ? “Another one [fishing site] is named *yawaluu-ní* ('hanging up'; between the Cispus and Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

siimán = simán

[Below Cowlitz Falls] “Below there is (a fishing creek) named *siimán*” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [*simán*, Goat Creek below Cowlitz Falls] (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

ch'áchin

Cf. ch'ach'ín '[winter] wren' [*Troglodytes troglodytes*] [Klickitat dialect]. A rapids below Cowlitz Falls; a rocky narrows four miles above Cosmos, “a good place to catch (fish) food, a great quantity of food is taken (there), at the whirlpool at t'cátçin there is always food to be caught”; “There will be many people there.” (Jacobs 1934:230, 242, fide Lewy Costima).

mic'ay-nmí

Literally 'of [the] root'. “Another [fishing site] is named *mic'ay-nmí* (a rapid between Cowlitz Falls and Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “water boils place between Cowlitz Falls & Cosmos” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

ptís

Literally 'muskrat' [*Ondatra zibethica*]; cf. *ptís-as*. “[quoting Coyote] There will be many people there. In future, they will have a good big time, they will always catch food (there). It [ca. 4 miles above Cosmos near the mouth of Rainy Creek on the Cowlitz] is a fine place. (4) Above there at [*ptís*] ('musk rat') they will catch trout and salmon trout, at that [*ptís*] they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish, trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*Salvelinus malma*], graylings [sic., actually, mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*], suckers [*Catostomus macrocheilus*].” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

shq'úni

Literally 'whirlpool' or 'eddy'. [below Cowlitz Falls] “Further below from there it is named *shq'úni*, below there is where a great many people used to stay, and obtain fish” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

páps

Literally 'tall Douglas fir' [*Pseudotsuga menziesii*]. [A creek just below Cowlitz Falls] named *páps* ('Douglas fir'), also (good) for catching salmon. (2) There the people used to dip-net fish” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “right across from *sxÁtsaikt*; net salmon here.”

cmíls

Eddy at *nukshaynmí*, about a mile below Cowlitz Falls, Lewis Co., WA; “large eddy” (Jacobs 1934, fide Jim Yoke)

nukshay-nmí

Literally 'of otter'. [A campsite more than 3/4 mile below Cowlitz Falls] “At that place an eddy is named [*cmíls*]. At that place it is named [*nánik-nanik*] ('many cedars')” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

nánik-nanik

Literally 'many small cedars', from *nank* '(*Thuja plicata*)'. [More than 3/4 mile below Cowlitz Falls] (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

watámk^wi

Literally 'of lake'. “A little further below there it is named *watámk^wi* (a quiet stretch three quarters of a mile below Cowlitz Falls, where canoes could ferry across stream)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “smooth, like lake.”

ayám-'ayam

Literally 'much grass'? “Another [fishing site near Cowlitz Falls, Lewis Co., WA.] is named *ayám-'ayam* ('trout') [sic.]” (Jacobs 1934: 230, fide Jim Yoke).

íwach-ash

“... (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish, to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them. They will take fish out of the water for food” (Jacobs 1934:243, fide Lewy Costima).

nch'í íwachash

Cf. *íwachash*. “('big salmon resting place'),” a fishing site below Cowlitz falls (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

sxícaykt

[Just below mouth of Cispus River] “Further below there it is named *sxícaykt* (name of creek and adjacent camp)” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “*sxÁtsaikt* -- creek and camp, further down [below *k^wsís*].”

xcxíc-as

Cf. *xc-xíc* + *-as* 'water-parsley (*Oenanthe sarmentosa*) place'. “On the other side many people will be at *xcxíc-as* [*xc-xíc*, a vegetable whose stalk is eaten; near Cowlitz Falls). Blue Jays (*Cyanocitta stelleri*), pheasants (i.e., ruffed grouse, *Bonasa umbellus*), [*wáwxs*] birds will be there in time to come near the falls, they will live there, at that place great numbers of persons, women and men, will be in future times” (Jacobs 1934:243, fide Lewy Costima).

k^wíp

Literally 'waterfall'; cf. *k'up* [waterfall]. “... (a creek) named *k^wíp* ('falls') [just below the mouth of the Cispus on the Cowlitz]” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

níshawł

“The falls [Cowlitz Falls] go down, at the place where the falls go down, there fish drop into it, when they leap towards shore. Further below from there it is named [*shq'úni*], below there is where a great many people used to stay, and obtain fish. (7) at that place *níshawł* (creek) flows out” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke); “(a creek below Cowlitz Falls)” (Jacobs 1934:242, fide Lewy Costima).

x^wiyách

Literally sweat lodge; *x^wiyách* is a transcriptional variant. [a rock formation at Cowlitz Falls in the shape of a sweat lodge] “At *x^wiyách* ('sweat lodge', a rock at Cowlitz Falls; it used to be a sweat lodge, according to native belief), Coyote sat down, he planned what to make [Mts. Rainier, Adams, and St. Helens, among other things]” (Jacobs 1934:243, fide Lewy Costima). Cf. *x^wiyaych-mí*.

shíq'ímsh

Literally 'big-leaf maple (*Acer macrophyllum*)'. “There is a fishing site named *shíq'ímsh* ('large, soft maple') [below the mouth of the Cispus on the Cowlitz & above Cosmos]” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

luc'a-nmí

Literally 'of red'; could be red-osier dogwood [*Cornus stolonifera*]. “A place for catching fish [on the Cowlitz River below the mouth of the Cispus] is named *luc'a-nmí* ('of red')” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke).

yawúin-kni-ki

Literally 'going around'. “There is another [fishing site] named *yawúin-kni-ki* ('go-around place’)” (Jacobs 1934:230, fide Jim Yoke). [below the mouth of the Cispus and apparently at or very near Cowlitz Falls]

pałtxí = *pałtxí*

[A hill adjoining the point of land at the mouth of the Cispus River.] [A hill adjoining the point of land at the mouth of the Cispus River.] (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke); [near k'ttuli]

páwiikyut

Literally 'junction' ? “Coyote went on up river. ... he named *páwiikyut* ('junction', at the mouth of Cispus R.),” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

ayáy-ash

Literally 'trout place'. Creek near Cowlitz Falls, Lewis Co., WA.; & over a rise from the point at the junction of the Cispus & Cowlitz Rivers (Jacobs 1934:245, Lewy Costima).

4.5.3. The Cispus River basin

shíshpash

Literally ? + 'place of' ? The Cispus River (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “*shíshpash*. Cispus River.” (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927).

shishpash-aypáχ

Literally 'Cispus River mouth' (Jacobs 1931:225).

k'ttu-lí

Literally '[the] swift one'. “(There is) a point of land at the mouth of the Cispus, and the creek at the mouth (is) *k'ttu-lí* ('very swift’)” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke); “*qttuli* -- 'the swift one', creek near Cispus mouth.”

shchawcháw

Cf. *shk'áwk'aw* 'Oregon grape sp.' *Berberis* sp. “(there is) *shchawcháw* river, a fishing site for steelhead, (which) spawn there. (2) There is a place where there is a foot log bridge across the river [the Cispus presumably]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [Just above the mouth of the Cispus, apparently]

tk^winat-ash-nmí

Literally 'of the chinook salmon [*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*] place'. “A creek, *tk^winat-ash-nmí* ('Chinook salmon place'), flows out into the (Cispus) river” [a short ways above its mouth]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke).

k^wayáyqim

“... a deep spot, Chinook salmon stop there and rest” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [on the Cispus River]

wáq'amu-yash

Literally 'camas (*Camassia quamash*) place'. “The mountain (there) is named *wáq'amu-yash* ('camas place’)” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [a short distance up the Cispus River]

ilwá'ilwa

Cf. *ilwá-ilwá-ilwa* “('little burned over place') a stream flows out [into the Cispus River]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke).

iyánsh

“(‘drift’; a camp)” [on the Cispus River] (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke).

tawayawish-nmí

Literally 'of earth slide'. “A stream flows out, *tawayawish-nmí* ('of earth slide)’” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [near the headwaters of the Cispus]

yu-yu-lá

Literally 'shouter'. “Up above there is *yu-yu-lá* ('person who shouts') river, a spawning place of silverside salmon [*Oncorhynchus kisutch*]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [North Fork of the Cispus ?]

ixá'ixa

Literally 'alders (*Alnus rubra*)'. “There comes flowing out *ixá'ixa* ('alder'), a spawning place for steelhead” (Jacobs 1934:229, 232, fide Jim Yoke), on the Cispus River; “*xáxá* -- alder creek,” + “*ixá'xa* -- alder mtn” [between *shushaynsh-ash-nmí* & *mulay-nmí*]

shpálim

“There is named *shpálim* mountain, it stands there a long, large rock” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke). [high up the Cispus River, but below Walupt Lake, apparently]; “*shpálm*.”

inwa-nmí

“(‘big burned over place’) creek, a spawning place for silverside salmon [*Oncorhynchus kisutch*] [on the Cispus River]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke).

miliish-ínsh

Literally 'tongue place'. “There is named *miliish-ínsh* ('tongue place'), a place for mountain goats [*Oreamnos americanus*], long ago at that place [at the head of the Cispus River] people caught mountain goats” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke).

anawitash-nmí

Literally 'hunger place'. Big creek, steelhead & Chinook salmon spawning place, Cispus River, Lewis Co., WA (Jacobs 1934, fide Jim Yoke); “hungry creek.”

ch'alacha-nmí

Literally 'of bracken fern (*Pteridium aquilinum*)'. “(‘of ferns’) flows in, (it is) a spawning place for steelhead. (3) 'Steelhead spear pole' stands there, in the myth of Coyote (it was) made by his command, (it is) near the river [Cispus River]” (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke); [listed in Jacobs arc: between *k^wayáqim* & *ixá'ixa*]

4.5.4. The Cispus/Klickitat Divide

c'lit-insh

Literally ? + 'place of'. A mountain somewhere between the upper Cispus and the upper Tieton River basins (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke); “a rocky mountain in the Cispus River valley” (Jacobs 1931:225).

c'áqap-sha

Mountain, huckleberry patch in the upper Cispus River basin (?), Lewis Co., WA. (Jacobs 1934:232, fide Jim Yoke); “huckleberries gathered, dried there.”

lalíwat

“There is a mountain *lalíwat*, a huckleberry patch. At that place there is a large lake named [*mít'úlayash*] ('spawning Chinook salmon place')” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). [near the headwaters of the Cispus River]

mít'úla-yash

Literally 'dog salmon place' or 'spawned-out salmon place'. “There is a mountain *lalíwat*, a huckleberry patch [red huckleberries ?]. At that place there is a large lake named [*mít'úlayash*] ('spawning Chinook salmon place')” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke); “lake has no outlet.” [near the headwaters of the Cispus River]

tímlá-tímla

Literally 'little heart'. [near the Cispus headwaters] “On the other side [from Blue Lake ?] there is *tímlá-tímla* ('little heart'; a rock of that shape is there) mountain, a huckleberry patch” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

shamchash-wák'ł

Literally like face paint, cf. *shapinchash-wák'ł*. “There is a mountain goat place , *shamchash-wák'ł* ('resembling orange-pink face paint)’” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). [In the headwaters of the Cispus River] Cf. [*shapinchash-wákuł*]

panaxpí = paanaxpí

At that place (is) a large lake [Walupt Lake ?], (which is) the source of the Cispus, named *panaxpí* lake. (11) There is a huckleberry patch mountain [Lakeview Mountain ?] belonging to the Yakima Indians” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). A lake; MK pointing up Johnson Creek in direction of “Berry Patch” area at headwates of Johnson Creek (*paanaxpí*, Mary Kiona, Joyce Eyley, August 17, 1965) [Chambers Lake or Walapt Lake ?]

walpt = wálípt, wálupt

Cf. *panaxpí* (Jacobs); Walupt Lake, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co., WA. (*wálípt*, *wálupt*, Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Don Umtuch, May 11, 1977; fide Josephine Andrews, November 26, 1990). [Source of the Cispus River]. From Potato Hill, north, of lake was Walpt or Walpet. Means you come up to a point or eminence of land (*walpet*, Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George, Watson Totus, others).

[Potato Hill]

Indian name for Potato Hill momentary forgotten (in other notes). That is later day picking place: patches where most of berries were gathered in the old days were west [of Potato Hill] (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George, Watson Totus, others). “Potato Hill... place to pick huckleberries after mid-July” (Relander 1962, pg. 28).

taak-táak

Literally 'small prairies'; listed as “Takh Takh Meadow” on USFS Map of Mt. Adams Wilderness area, @ T9N, R10E, Sect. 17, ca. 4500+ feet elev., se of “Takhlakh Lake,” which may be a corruption of same term [likely a camping & berrying site linking the lower Yakima Valley via the upper Klickitat River valley & Potato Hill and the Indian Heaven area visited by Yakima's in late summer]. cf. *tak-ták*, Cowlitz basin #117

shishpash-xanátt

Literally 'Cispus River source'] (Jacobs 1931:225).

waltuti-lá

Literally 'spray person'; “There is a stream flowing there named *waltuti-lá* ('spray person’)” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). [apparently between Walupt Lake and Goat Rocks]

áshash

Literally 'go inside place' or 'it goes in'. Goat Rocks; mountain goat hunting spot (Jacobs: 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). “This “go inside place” [Yoke in Jacobs <1927-31:vol. 20>] was in the Goat Rocks area. A goat “graveyard” was said to be on a small floating island in an adjoining lake. Mary Kiona [1964-1965] also mentioned the place; Hazel Umtuch [1985] spelled the name as *ashk*.

tq^w'aychí

Literally 'lies across' ? “Right there [at Goat Rocks, at *áshash* & *shúukshash*] also is named *tq^w'aychí* rock” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

shúuksh-ash

Literally 'the one who knows'. “And also there is a mountain goat place named *shúuksh-ash* ('the knower’)” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke); “*shúkshash*.” [in the Goat Rocks area]

shapinchash-wákuł

Literally 'like face paint'; cf. “Shop-in-chosh” = /*shapinchash*/. “Further on [somewhere along the Cascade Crest in the Goat Rocks area] a large rocky mountain is named *shapinchash-wákuł* ('resembling face paint’)” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

4.5.5. Cowlitz River above the Cispus

k^w'sís

Literally 'point'. Place at the mouth of the Cispus River (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke), 245 (Costima); “Coyote went on up river.... he named *k^w'sís* ('pointed', near Cowlitz Falls)” (Jacobs 1934: 245, fide Lewy Costima).

wiinánp'a-sha

Literally 'it curves' ? “Coyote went on up river [from Cowlitz Falls]. He named *wiinánp'a-sha* ('it curves'),...” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

tax^wúq^wi = taxúq^wi

“A mountain is named *tax^wúq^wi* (below Randle)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); [*taxúq^wi*] (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima). [an unspecified place near Randle]

q'iyánx^w-lá-ma

Literally *q'iyánx^w* + 'people of' [indirect allusion to this place by Lewy Costima] “He [Coyote] named [*ikkiit-ásh*] ('little babies' place' [which see], one mile above [*q'iyánx^w-lá-ma*])” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

ikkiit-ásh = ikkiit-ash-nmí.

Literally '[of] place of children'; “(‘place of the children’)” [between Randle and Cispus River mouth] (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “(‘little babies' place'), one mile above *q'iyánx^w-lá-ma*” [near Randle ?] (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

chá-kum-ash

Literally 'bracken fern root place' [*Pteridium aquilinum*, cf. Gunther 1973:14]. 'fern root place', below, four or five miles west of Randle. (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke; 245, fide Lewy Costima).

lik'á

Literally 'bent'. “There it is named *lik'á* (“bend”); long ago (it was) a blackberry patch, there the people long ago obtained blackberries” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [above Cosmos, at *l̥xc'áyim* stream]

l̥xc'áyim

“Another stream, a creek, flowing (there) is named *l̥xc'áyim*” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [near *lik'á*, above Cosmos, adjacent to *ax^wamí* stream]

túłq'psh = túłq'ps

“Another [site] is named *túłq'psh* ('scratch', above Cispus R.)” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); [near Randle]; “‘scratch’” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima); “between Randle and Cispus mouth.”

ax^wamí

Literally *a-* + *x^waami* 'high [directive]' ?; = *áx^wamí* ? A creek [Kiona Creek ?] tributary to the Cowlitz River above Cosmos, Lewis Co., WA.; adjacent to a stream called *l̥xc'áyim*, & to *lik'á*, *s̥t'x^ws-as...* above Cosmos in that order (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); a fishing site near Randle (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

shashán'shìn

“There is a place there on a small mountain *shashán'shìn*” [between Randle & Cosmos] (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

q'áws

“A creek flowing there is named *q'áws*” [below Randle, near *shashán'shín*] (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); possibly diminutive of *q'áwx* [*Lilium columbianum*]?

táy-tay

Literally [a species of tree moss (or lichen)]. “On the opposite side (of the Cowlitz) [from the mouth of Silver Creek] from it there flows out that (creek) named *táy-tay* (a tree moss; at Randle), it is also a salmon fishing place” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “(Silver Creek)” (Jacobs 1934: 245, fide Lewy Costima).

shíq'k

“There is a place named *shíq'k*, it is also a salmon fishing place (at the Kiona famr a mile below Randle), long ago a great many people used to be there” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “(Kiona Creek)” [named by Coyote] (Jacobs 1934: 245, fide Lewy Costima); “*sháq'uk* -- below Randle, fishing, Kionas.”

c'íqalim = cíqaalim

Creek [Silver Creek] at Randle, Lewis Co., WA.; between creeks named *q'áws* (below) and *sc'úlím* (above) (*cíqaalim*, Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); place at Randle, Lewis Co., WA. (*c'íqalim*, Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima); “*t's'qálim* --Randle” (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927).

sc'úlím

Creek next above *cíqaalim* creek at Randle (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

yít-yít-ash

Literally 'spotted sandpiper (*Actitis macularia*) place'. “*yít-yít-ash* ('snipe place', an open place near Randle)” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima).

nítu

[Silver Creek near Randle] (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

yíth^w

“He [Coyote] went further on [up the Cowlitz near Randle], he named a stream *yíth^w* (Silver Creek [#2 just above Randle, but cf. *tay-táy*]), it is a bad creek there, steelhead are there. At the large fall above, it [*t'at'at'íya*, a dangerous being of the myth age] gives signs to people, it kills them. (4) When Coyote reached there, he made it cease, he took it by the tail, he pulled it out, he killed it, he threw it entirely away to the devil, and then he went away” (Jacobs 1934:245, fide Lewy Costima); upstream from this point Coyote “emerged into an open place, a trail went along, and above there a woman lay on her back, she called out to everyone... The Soft Basket Person [*t'at'at'íya*, a dangerous being of the myth age] would bite and kill men.”

plús

Literally 'brains'. “Another spring is named *plús* ('brains'), it is white” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke). [Just above Silver Creek above Randle.]; “This spring over here [i.e., near Skyo Ranch below Packwood], they call it 'brain spring.' Martha Hardy describes it as “a mass of gray curlicues coming out of the rock.” The whole area is now called Sulphur Springs, likewise the old post office; near Skyo Ranch (Mary Kiona, Joyce Eyley, August 17, 1965).

mulmul-tá

“They name a place there [just above Silver Creek and below Lewis, i.e., Packwood, on the Cowlitz River] where it (a spring) comes up out of the ground, it is named *mulmul-tá* ('bubbles person)’” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “... another *mulmul-tá* ('person who bubbles', a creek above Lewis)” (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima).

k^w'aalínim-schít

Literally 'trail of the dangerous being'. “There on the other side [from *sc'úlim* creek above Randle] it is named *k^w'aalínim-schít* (“trail of the dangerous beings”).” [& below *k'aslay-k'áslay* river] (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

t'at'ashíya

Literally ‘Soft-basket Ogress’. Site of Coyote killing the Soft Basket Person (Vagina Dentata) and turning her into a waterfall “now to be seen beside the Cowlitz River highway a few miles east of Randle” (Jacobs 1934:189, fide Jim Yoke) [see story pp. 188-190]. [cf. Rick McClure of USFS, Gifford Pinchot NF, re specific location.... was it Kilborn Creek ?]

k'aslay-k'áslay

Literally 'water bug sp.'. “There above [i.e., *k^w'aalínim-schít*] it is named *k'aslay-k'áslay* (a water bug) river.” [Davis Creek ?] (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

waan-mí

Literally 'of loon (*Gavia immer*)'. “There across it is named *waan-mí* (“Swan's”) creek; it empties into the (Cowlitz) river” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [across from *k'aslay-k'áslay* river, above Randle at *shíq'imsh* mountain (6-7 miles above Randle)]

áyahuusim

Place on the Cowlitz River near Randle, Lewis Co., WA.; above *k'aslay-k'áslay*, a river (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

k'usí-k'usi-yas

Literally 'dog's place'. “There [at *shíq'imsh* mountain, 6-7 miles above Randle] a prairie on a level place is named *k'usí-k'usi-yas* (“dog's place”)” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). Also here is *k^wyáxim*.

shíq'imsh

Literally 'big-leaf maple (*Acer macrophyllum*)'. “There it is named *shíq'imsh* (“soft maple”) mountain (six or seven miles above Randle)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Prairie Mtn. ?]

mísmés

Literally *-mís-* 'with, by ear' + redup ? "There [near *takták*, 7-8 miles above [N] of Randle is a big ridged mountain named *mísmés*" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

tak-ták

Literally 'small prairies'. "A mountain there is named *tak-ták* ('small prairie'), a place for berrying" (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke). [between Packwood and Silver Creek along the Cowlitz]; "There on the other side [from *k'áshinu*, 7-8 miles west of Packwood] is a huckleberry site mountain named *tak-ták* ("little prairie"; seven or eight miles above Randle)" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke) [near a ridged mountain named *mísmés*]; *taak-taak*, place to go for berries (Mary Kiona, Joyce Eyley, August 20, 1964).

kayáxim = k^wyáxim

"(Another) [creek] flows out [between Lewis, i.e., Packwood, and Silver Creek on the Cowlitz River]" (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); "There [at *k'usi-k'úsi-yas*, ca. 6-7 miles above Randle ?] it is named *kayáxim = k^wyáxim*" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Willame Creek ?]

sáqim

"There [at *k'usí-k'usi-yas* & *k^wyáxim*, and below anawaykí, 6-7 miles above Randle] a spawning place for silverside salmon is named *sáqim*" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke).

k'áshinu

Literally 'elbow'. "Opposite there [a mountain named "Skunk" three or four miles below Lewis, i.e., Packwood, on the Cowlitz River] (and below) there is a mountain named *k'áshinu* ('elbow'), a place at which to get berries" (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); "There it is named *k'áshinu* ("elbow"); seven or eight miles west of Lewis [Packwood], near the Cowlitz R.), a huckleberry site" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [*Takták* is "on the other side" from this and seven or eight miles above Randle.]; cf. Mary Kiona (Hardy 1965a).

laxpít-nmí

Literally 'water moss sp.' + *-nmí*, possessive suffix]. A creek between Lewis, i.e., Packwood, and Silver Creek along the Cowlitz River. Means "a water moss" [+ possessive suffix] (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

shishú

Literally 'rotten' ? "Another creek empties out named *shishú*" (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke). [Between Packwood and Silver Creek, perhaps 4+ miles below Packwood]

mulay-nmí

Literally 'of hot spring'. "At that place [just below Lewis, i.e., Packwood] there flows out *mulay-nmí* (creek)" (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

ixá-ixa

Literally 'many alders' [*Alnus rubra*]. “There is a mountain named *ixá-ixa* (“alder”). (10) At that place there flows out *mulainmí* creek” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

shushaynsh-ash-nmí

Literally 'of the steelhead place'. “There is another (creek) named *shushaynsh-ash-nmí* ('place of steelhead', below Lewis [i.e., Packwood])” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke; 246, fide Lewy Costima). [Johnson Creek ?]

anawaykí

Literally 'hungry'. Place on the Cowlitz River above Randle, Lewis Co., WA (Jacobs: 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [above *saq'im*, thus more than seven miles above Randle; & just below *ch'úlayim*]

ch'úlayim

< *ch'u-* 'fear' + *-lay-* 'toward the water' + *-im* cislocative? “There above [i.e., *anawaykí*] it is named *ch'úlayim*” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [& just below *kúm-kum*]

kúm-kum

Literally 'salmon head cartilage'. “There above [i.e., *ch'úlayim*] it is named *kúm-kum* (“salmon head”)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [& just below *chyawnu-nmí*]

chyawnu-nmí

Literally 'gills' + possessive suffix. “There above [i.e., *kúm-kum*] it is named *chyawnu-nmí* (“of gills”)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [and just below *cxlimay-nmí*]

cxlimay-nmí

Literally ‘of sword fern’, cf. *tslímay* ‘sword fern (*Polystichum munitum*)’ (Gunther 1973:13). In the upper Cowlitz River basin at least 10 miles above Randle, Lewis Co., WA. (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [below *q'awix-ash*; above *chyawnu-nmí*]

q'áwix-ash

Literally 'place of *q'áwix* root [*Lilium columbianum*]; cf. *q'áws*. “Above there [i.e., *cxlimay-nmí*] is a rock jutting into the water, it is named *q'áwix-ash* (*q'áwix* root place).” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [just below *xánxan-ash*]

χánχan-ash

Literally 'wild onion place'. “There above [i.e., *q'awix-ash*] it is named *χánχan-ash* (“*χánχan* or wild onion place”)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [& just below *lakas-nmí*]

lakas-nmí

Literally 'mouse' + possessive suffix. “There above [i.e., *χánχan-ash*], a small salmon trap place is named *lakas-nmí* (“of mice”)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [the last place named in Yoke's narrative.]

tiskáya

Literally 'skunk in myth', < *tiskáy* [striped skunk, *Mephitis mephitis*]. “That mountain (right there) is named *.tiskáya* ('Skunk', three or four miles below Lewis [i.e., Packwood])” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); cf. Mary Kiona (Hardy 1965a).

náwk

Name of Skyo Mountain, below Packwood (Mary Kiona, August 17, 1965).

waq'áq'k

[onomatopoeic]. “There is a mountain named *waq'áq'k* ('frog croaking') [Snyder Mountain ?], also (good) for berrying” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke) [very near Lewis, i.e., Packwood]

washchay-ní

< ? + *-chay-* 'motion upwards' + stative ? “(There is a mountain) named *washchay-ní*, a huckleberry patch” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke). [just below Lewis, i.e., Packwood]

q^wá-q^wa-tim

[A creek below Lewis, i.e., Packwood]; [q^waq^watim] (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke).

pshu-wínsh

Literally 'beard place'; “He [Coyote] named another (creek) *pshu-wínsh*, a creek that flows past here (Lewis [i.e., Packwood]) into the big river (Cowlitz)” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “Right here (near Lewis [i.e., Packwood]) is a mountain named *pshu-wínsh*” (Jacobs 1934:231, fide Jim Yoke). “name of a creek emptying into the Cowlitz River near Ohanapecash Hot Springs, Washington”; “mtn -- creek” (Jacobs 1931:226).

chawachas

“This was a Taitnapam village, located where Packwood is now (Haines 1962:53; Onat and Hollenbeck 1981:507-509, 511; Smith 1964:141; Stevens 1876:519)” (Hajda et al. 1995:37).

4.5.6. Skate Creek, the Tatoosh Range, and the Cowlitz/Nisqually Divide

ch'qūt = chqūt

“another (creek) flows out, named *ch'qūt*, (good) for catching fish [near Lewis, i.e., Packwood]” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); Skate Creek at Lewis [= Packwood] in the Cowlitz basin (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima); “west of Lewis”; [possibly “Skate” is a corruption of *ch'qūt*?]

q'iq'iná

Place for picking *at'it*, huckleberries (Mary Kiona, tape August 17, 1965).

t'ixim

“There it is named *t'éxim*” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [between *páx^wtaasha* & *k'áshinu* (8 miles west of Packwood)]

páxutaa-sha

“A huckleberry site mountain is named *páxutaa-sha* (“on top of the other one”)” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [Between *símsim* mountain & *t'éxim*; in the Tatoosh Range?]

sím-sím

“A huckleberry site mountain is named *sím-sím*” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [between *xíw^wna* & *páx^wtaasha*, in the Tatoosh Range ?]; fide LV McWhorter's published account given by Saluskin who guided a climbing expedition to Mt. Rainier; from camp at “Yakima Park” [??] and/or by a lake called *watám* in June of 1855, looked down a “sharp ridge” called “Sum-sum”, covered with mountain goats (*waw*) (Haines 1962:16).

xíw^wna

A site near *t'apil* mountain and *asaasa-nmí* [Tatoosh Ridge ?] (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

t'apil

A mountain opposite *wáptash-insh*, another mountain, and right across from *asaasa-nmí* (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

asaasa-nmí

Place in the Cowlitz River basin, Lewis Co., WA (Jacobs: 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke.); right across from *t'ápil* mountain; “Yakima designation of the Tatoosh Range is: As-sas-san-mé: descriptive of vast numbers of wild goats to be found there. No-keát [?], is the name of a great peak south of the lake lying between Tatoosh Range and a minor range next to Paradise Valley”; *as-sas-san-me'* = Tatoosh Range, refers to wild goats [?] (McWhorter n.d.); “Tatoosh range -- ... -- many wild goats found there” (McWhorter 1918, fide Noh Sluskin, 1925).

lúluk-ash

Literally 'breast'; = *niq'út* 'breast' [Mt. Tatoosh] (Jacobs 1934:229)? Berry patch on mountain west of Packwood “that resembles a tit” (James Selam, personal communication, November 26, 1990); Huckleberry patch on mountain due west of *líkalwit* (about two miles upriver [or above? where terrain flattens out] from Packwood); a second, smaller patch is nearby, but forgot the name (Josephine Andrews, personal communication, November 26, 1990).

niq'út = nuq'út

Literally 'breast'; = *lúluk-ash*. “He [Coyote] thought of a mountain, he named it ... ('breast', Mt. Tatoosh). At that place he determined there would be lots of berries, that people would climb up it, gather those berries, dry them, and descend again to the same place where they were drying fish [on the Cowlitz near present day Packwood]” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “From there [i.e., Mt. Rainier] is another mountain named *niq'út*

(Tatoosh Mt.)” (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke); “*níqo't* (milk) berries on top”; place for picking *at'it*, huckleberries (Mary Kiona [Hardy 1965a]); OK (James Selam, personal communication, April 8, 1993).

no-keát

“Yakima designation of the Tatooch Range is: As-sas-san-mé: descriptive of vast numbers of wild goats to be found there. No-keát [?], is the name of a great peak south of the lake lying between Tatooch Range and a minor range next to Paradise Valley” (McWhorter n.d.) [Pinnacle Peak at T15N R8E Section 25?] [cf Nisqually Basin]

li-li-wayk-ash

Literally *li-* 'turn ? + redup + *wayk-* 'across' + *-ash* 'place of'; McWhorter n.d.: fide Noah Sluskin, 1925; “Yakima name for Sluskin Falls -- Rainier Nat. Park -- *lil-i-wí-kosh* -- 'jump across' -- referring to rocks above the falls where hunters crossed.”

álxayx

Literally 'moon'. Source of the Nisqually River. Coyote named it thus (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

wáptash-insh

Literally 'feather place'. “bird feather’, name of a mountain near Mt. Rainier”; (Jacobs 1934:225, fide Jim Yoke); “There it is named *wáptash-insh* (“bird feather”; a mountain)” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [between *suq'íls* & *t'ápil* mountains]

suq'íls

“There it is named *suq'íls*” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [between *shimlíisha* & *wáptash-insh* mountain]

shimlíisha

Literally 'swim in the water'. “There across a small distance [from *tímlá-tímla*] it (a place) is named *shimlíisha* (“swim in the water”). There it is named *suq'íls*” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke); cf., power acquired, or spirit purified by swimming near the headwaters of the Cowlitz (Hajda et al. 1995).

4.5.7. The Cowlitz River Above Skate Creek

shchúush

“He [Coyote] named (a creek) for getting fish *shchúush* (near Ohanapecosh)” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); “He named a stream *shchúush* (eight or ten miles above Randle)” (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima); “... another (place) *shchúush* (a mountain near Lewis [Packwood]),....” (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke).

shuwiyúwik

Cf. *shuyúyk*. A creek above Lewis [i.e., Packwood] (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima).

shuyúyk

Cf. *shuwiwíuwik*. “There is a large lake, it may be two miles long (*shuyúyk*, Packwood Lake). It is of that (lake) I am recounting, it is valuable (information), a price could be set for it” (Jacobs 1934:231. fide Jim Yoke); Jim Yoke's ancestors' place; trout creek.”

talásiks

< *tála*, 'dollar', from Chinook jargon, mountain near Packwood (Mary Kiona [Hardy 1965a]).

tamxíux = tamxiyéx

“Right here (at Lewis [i.e., Packwood]) there flows (a creek) named *tamxíux*, also (good) for fishing” (Jacobs 1934:229, fide Jim Yoke); [above Packwood apparently] “another *tamxiyéx*, a place for Chinook salmon” (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima).

muk-múk

“He [Coyote] named another [stream] *muk-múk* ('Muddy Fork')” (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima) [which joins with the Clear Fork and the Ohanapecosh to form the Cowlitz ca. five miles above Packwood]; Used to follow this up from *líkálwit* to pick huckleberries; also a place for *wisík* (*Rubus ursinus*) (Mary Kiona [Hardy 1965a]); Saluskin led the survey/climbing party from the Cascade crest across the “Mook-mook” to their high camp on the mountain [said to have been at “Yakima Park,” but more likely near Paradise] (Haines 1962: fide LV McWhorter, 1917).

p'na

Literally 'natural fish trap hole in rock' or 'basket trap'. “Another (site) [at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh or just below] is named [*p'na*] ('water worn rock pocket under the falls' [where fish are trapped]), a (good) place to catch (club) salmon, for us to get salmon” (Jacobs 1934:228, fide Jim Yoke).

alíl

Long, high rock in Cowlitz River near Packwood, Lewis Co., WA; myth reference (Jacobs 1934: 229, fide Jim Yoke).

líkálwit

Major Taitnapam village at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and Ohanapecosh River; “[Coyote] stepped in the water of the *líkálwit* (Clear Fork),... he scraped with a sharp stick, out came salmon [*Oncorhynchus* spp.], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*], a great many of them.... He said, 'At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*], steelhead [*Oncorhynchus mykiss*], silverside [*Oncorhynchus kisutch*], graylings, Dolly Vardens [*Salvelinus malma*], a great many Dolly Vardens. They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanepcash....” (Jacobs 1934:228, fide Jim Yoke; 246, fide Lewy Costima). [The name for the village & for the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz River.]; “Old Jim Yoke used to camp here. At “Lewis.” Yakimas came over, dried *mit'úla* [either spawning salmon in general or dog salmon, *Oncorhynchus keta*], names of Indians marked down somewhere on trees.

Present site of Lawishwish State Park campground (Mary Kiona, Joyce Eyley [Hardy 1965a]); Village ca. 2 miles above Packwood. Dog salmon fishing site (James Selam, personal communication, November 26, 1990); Taytnapams came there; it is near *lúluk-ash* and right below & west of *txú-wash*.

awatám

< *a-* + 'lake'. “lake for fishing, empties into Clear Fork [Cowlitz River] at *likálwit* camp” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke). [Bluff Lake via Purcell Creek ?]

...

“Soda Spring, above Packwood. Her grandfather discovered it; Indians used to bathe there free, all the time; now whites have fenced it off & charge an entry fee.” Apparently the soda spring on Summit Creek; it was described as being on the main Yakima-Cowlitz cross Cascades trail between *likálwit* and *txú-wash* (Mary Kiona, Joyce Eyley, [Hardy 1965a]).

áwxanapayk-ash

Literally 'standing at the edge'; cf. Ohanapecosh. Limit of fish runs & settlement on the Cowlitz River (*áw xanapaikash*, Jacobs 1934:228, fide Jim Yoke); Lewy Costima, “none [nofish] will be above Ohanepecash, no people will ever dwell above there, there will be a great deal of snow in the winter time. The people will always be here [or at *likálwit*], at this place they will have salmon for food” (Jacobs 1934:246, fide Lewy Costima); “*awxánapEEkash* -- Ohanepecosh Hot Springs” (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927).

pák'ink-ash

Literally 'barrier place'. “At that place it is named *pák'ink-ash* ('place of the barrier'), the people of long ago used to get mountain goats (there), near (at the foot of) [*taxúma*] (Mt. Rainier)” (Jacobs 1934:234, fide Jim Yoke).

taxúma-yaw

Literally 'at/to Mt. Rainier'. “foot of Rainier, goats” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

wáynp-as

= Ohanapecosh Creek ? “There is that (little) stream or lake for the people to get fish at [at Ohanapecosh], which stream flows out (as the) *wáynp-as* (it empties into the Clear Fork [of the Cowlitz] above Lewis {i.e., Packwood})” (Jacobs 1934:228, fide Jim Yoke).

t'at'akíya

Literally 'Soft-basket Ogress'; cf. *t'at'akíya-ash*; *t'at'ashíya*. Palisades just off US 12 above Ohanapecosh (Josephine Andrews personal communication, November 26, 1990).

4.5.8. The Cowlitz/Tieton Divide

píixatu

Goat Rocks (pee-haut-to, Relander archive, Click Relander's hand, fide Robert Boyd). Goat Rocks (*púixatu*, Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Josephine Andrews, November 26, 1990).

áshash

Literally 'go inside place'. Goat Rocks; mountain goat hunting spot (Jacobs: 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

wilawáyk-ash

Literally 'jump across place'. “There is a large rock cave [see *túli*, below], they smoke dried [mountain goat meat] inside it there. At that place it is named *wilawáyk-ash* ('jump across place'), a cascade of water falls down, and there, according to the belief of the mythology, the people who were made in myth times used to jump across, (that was where) they leaped across in myth times” (Jacobs 1934:233-234, fide Jim Yoke). [headwaters of the Cowlitz River, but which fork ?]

túli

Literally 'cave'. “smoke dry inside there” (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

tpásh

Literally 'salt place' [fide Jacobs]. “Some distance from there [*aytalú*] is a mountain with a huckleberry patch named *tpásh*, (“salt place”; an open spot at the foot of the mountain)” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

luch'á

Literally 'bay' or 'reddish brown'. “There is a huckleberry patch mountain named *luch'á* (red') [head of the Cowlitz River]” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

ilwáxam-ilwaxam

Literally 'little fire cleared opening'. (“(‘little fire cleared open place’), long ago a great many people stayed there and got huckleberries” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke); “*lwaxámlwaxam* -- 'a little open place after fire cleared it over'; open place on west side of divide...”[Near the headwaters of the Cowlitz.]

xit'áy

Literally 'big flat'; cf. *xiit'áy*. “Right near that place [apparently referring to {'salt place'} a huckleberry patch somewhere near the headwaters of the North Fork of the Tieton and Goat Rocks] is a mountain with a huckleberry patch named *xit'áy* ('big flat site'). There the source of the Cowlitz first appears” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

sit'áxs

Literally 'liver'. “There [at *xit'áy*] ('big flat site') the source of the Cowlitz first appears. At that place is a large long rock named *sit'áxs* ('liver'), a great many mountain goats (are) there, they caught the mountain goats, and smoke dried (the meat). (7) There is a large rock cave, they smoke dried inside it there....” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). mentioned; a site near *txúwash* (Eugene Hunn field notes, Josephine Andrews, November

26, 1990). “Hamilton Butte (also called Liver Mountain)... This was and is an important site. A lake is located on the top. Mountain goats, which were smoke-dried in a cave, were hunted; huckleberries are found; and medicinal roots (perhaps for men only?) grow in certain areas (Hajda et al. 1995:39).

ptíwi

Literally having “wild onion' sp. [*xpti* + *-wi*] ?” “10. I'll take him over to the Cowlitz River [from the Cispus headwaters] now. 11. There is a huckleberry patch named [*ptíwi*], at that place long ago they obtained huckleberries. (2) Across from there at the source of the 'white' creek [at White Pass ?] is a ridge summit,... “ (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke). One of three onions is called *xpti*; (Mary Kiona, August 17, 1965).

shq^w'la-nmí

Literally 'of mountain beaver (*Aplodontia rufa*)'. “Across from there at the source of the 'white' creek is a ridge summit, and there is a big mountain named *shq^w'la-nmí* ('of mountain beaver)’” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke); “*ch'q^wElanmi* -- 'of mtn. beaver' -- long mtn ridge or divide.” [= Hogback Mountain ?]

yéxt-ash

< *yéxt* + 'place of'. “At the ridge summit is a large lake, *yéxt-ash*, the source of the white (creek). It is named [*x^wiyat-nmí*] ('of white agates'), that river that flows (there)” (Jacobs 1934:234, fide Jim Yoke). [apparently either Leech or Dog Lakes just east of White Pass]

x^wiyat-nmí = quyx-nmí

Literally 'of white agates'; ‘of white’. “At the ridge summit is a large lake, [*yíxt-ash*], the source of the white (creek). It is named *nmí* ('of white agates'), that river that flows (there)” (Jacobs 1934:234, fide Jim Yoke). [apparently just east of White Pass; Note that White Pass is named for a surveyor named White {Allan H. Smith 1965}]

txú-wash

Literally 'place of cow's parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*)'. “Some distance from there is a huckleberry patch, *txú-wash* ('*txú* weed place'; at head of Tieton River), at that place every summer the Yakima Indians always were and they gathered large and small [sweet] huckleberries. (4) There is a stream flowing there named [*ayáyash*] ('place of mountain trout'), they wade across it (on the Yakima trail)” [Used by *naxchish-tá-ma* and *taytna-pam*.] (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke) [Indian Creek ?]. *txú-wash tamak* name of a mountain across from *plús*, Soda Spring. [Tumac Mountain located at the site named *txú-wash*, which Joyce Eyley, Mary Kiona, & Martha Hardy locate just opposite *líkálwit*, Jim Yoke's summer camp -- now Lawishwish Camp Ground. The soda spring is apparently the one located T14N, R11E, Sect.18 on Summit Creek, likely the route of the “Yakima Trail” (Mary Kiona [Hardy 1965a]). Indian Creek Meadows; berrying place nnw of Clear Lake, Yakima Co., WA, near or on the Cascade crest north of Goat Rocks. At crest on trail from Tieton River to Packwood & the Cowlitz River; traveled there on horseback; on mountain right above Packwood; trail from there came right down to fishery at Packwood; cut timber there and ruined it (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Gilbert Smartlowit, May 30, 1987; fide

Josephine Andrews, November 26, 1990). Hunn: August 1, 1993, I hiked the Cowlitz Trail from Soda Spring Campground on Summit Creek, up Summit Creek to near Cowlitz Pass, then up & over the summit of Tumac Mtn, then down the north side and west to the Twin Sisters Lakes, then back to the start. I observed no cow's parsnip en route, but suspect such may still be found at Indian Creek Mdws. From the summit of Tumac Mtn. the only large, conspicuous open meadow area was Indian Creek Meadows @ T14N, R12E, Sect. 10 near the headwaters of Indian Creek. Based on various clues I surmise that the Yakima/Tieton/Taitnapam trail went up Summit Creek [or up Carlton Ridge], past Tumac Mtn via one or the other side, then to Indian Creek Meadows, then down Indian Creek under Bootjack Rock to the outlet of Clear Lake.

tamá-k

Literally 'baking'; cf. Tumac Mountain, elev. 6340 ft., T14N, R12E, sect. 8 [but "Tumac" a corruption of "two Mac's, two surveyors named Mac...]. *txú-wash tamák* name of a mountain just above the soda spring [on Summit Creek presumably]. [Tumac Mountain located at the site named *txú-wash*, which Joyce Eyley, Mary Kiona, & Martha Hardy locate just opposite *likálwit*, Jim Yoke's summer camp -- now Lawishwish Camp Ground. The soda spring is apparently the one located T14N, R11E, Sect. 18 on Summit Creek, likely the route of the "Yakima Trail" (Mary Kiona [Hardy 1965a]).

aypáx-kan shchít = aypax-nmi-shchít = taytna-pam-i-kan

Literally 'trail toward Yakima country'; 'Yakima people's trail'; 'Taitnapam's trail'. Allusion to "Yakima Trail" over Cascade Crest between Summit Creek & N. Fork Tieton; passes *aytalú*, *ayáyash*, [*txúwash*] (Jacobs 1934: fide Jim Yoke); "*aypáxkan shchít* ... 'Yakima Trail' (Taitnapam name); = *taitnapamIkan shchít* 'Taitnapam Trail' (Yakima name)" (Jacobs n.d., fide Jim Yoke).

ayáy-ash

Literally 'trout place'. "There is a stream flowing there named *ayáy-ash* ('place of mountain trout' [*Oncorhynchus mykiss* in part], they wade across it (on the Yakima Trail)" [Indian Creek?]; "mt. trout place -- lake, creek, & mtn" (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

aytalú

Literally 'mountain grass sp.'. Small huckleberry patch near the Cascade Crest along the Yakima Trail (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke); "grass like oats."

ma'ma

Place up the Naches River, good for huckleberries. Yakima Co., WA. (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide MC, July 23, 1980).

lamtáx = klum-tah, KLUM-Tah

"KLUM-Tah: 'head'. Klickitat name for a large mountain about 18 miles northeast of Tahoma [Mt. Rainier], at one time a part of latter mountain" (McWhorter n.d.) [Slide Mt. or some other summit on the White River shed?]

ayáy

Literally 'rainbow trout' [*Oncorhynchus mykiss* in part]; Mentioned as a camping site used by Yakima Indian guide for mountaineering expedition from Moxee to Rainier; identified as Fish Lake at the head of Bumping Creek [at Carlton Pass, T15N, R11E, Sect 28, @ ca. 4000' elev. (Haines 1962).

4.5.9. Mt. Rainier

taxúma = taho'ma, tahoma

“Coyote named *taxúma* (Mt. Rainier) (Jacobs 1934:234, fide Jim Yoke); “He (Coyote) thought that he would make *taxúma* (Mt. Rainier)” (Jacobs 1934:243, fide Lewy Costima); “taxoo'ma --Mt. Rainier or snow peak” (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927); OK (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, Elsie Albert Selam, September 27, 1990); “A big stake standing to the sky' -- [fide] Chief Sluskin” (tahoma, McWhorter 1918); EH/EAS:IX-27-90, Mt. Rainier, 3rd wife of Sun Man in myth of *wáxsham*. [may be Salishan]

pt'xanáw

Literally 'mountain' [landform generic]. For Mt. Rainier, or *pt'qanáw* (Mary Kiona (Hardy 1965a).

k'pís-as = khPus-as

Literally 'cold place'. “Always cold' -- 'Cold wind' -- 'Everything cold' Klickitat and Yakima name for Rainier” (khPus-as, McWhorter 1918).

4.5.10. The Chehalis and Nisqually Basins

nukch'alxínimí

< *nukch'alx* + poss. Newaukum River [tributary of the Chehalis; abstracted from *nukch'alxínimí-xanátt* = 'source of the Newaukum River', i.e., Newaukum Lake; uncertain if [-*ínimí*] is part of the name of the river or part of a possessive construction with *xanátt* 'source'] (Jacobs 1931:225).

nukch'alxínimí-xanátt

Literally 'Newaukum River source'. Newaukum Lake, source of the South Fork of the Newaukum River, at T14N, R3E, Sect. 30 (Jacobs 1931:225).

shq^wáli

Jacobs 1934:236 (Yoke): “It is named *shq^wáli* (Nisqually River), its source Coyote named *álxayx* (“moon”).” Jacobs 1934:237 (Yoke): “A lake named *hímáy-hímáy* (“soft”, “muddy”) empties into the *shq^wáli* (Nisqually) river.” The *shqipqip-ash-nmí* flows into it (pg. 236). [a nearby mountain is named *lúx^waaxum*]

mishál

Hunn: Inferred from “tribal” designation, *mishál-pam*, 'people of mishal' (Rigsby 1965:46); cf. Mashel Prairie, Mashel River of maps.

mishál-pam

Literally 'people of *mishál*'. [A place ?] Sahaptin speaking Indians of the upper Nisqually River, Lewis & Pierce Cos. (Rigsby 1965:46).

sqipqip-ash-nmí

Literally 'of devil's club (*Oplopanax horridum*) bush'. "It flows into the *shq^wáli* (Nisqually) River" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [cf. *shqapqápnu-wash*, devil's club, *Oplopanax horridum*] [Mineral Creek ?]

hímay-hímay

Literally 'soft', 'muddy'. "...a lake named *hímay-hímay* empties into the *shq^wáli* (Nisqually) River" (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Mineral Lake ?]

lúx^wlaaxum

A mountain, perhaps above the lake *hímay-hímay* [Mineral Lake ?] that feeds the *shq^wáli* (Nisqually) River (Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Stahl Mountain ?]

túxtúx-insh = túxtúx-insh

< *túxtúx* + locative; "a mountain near Mineral, Lewis Co., Wash." (Jacobs 1931:225; Jacobs 1934:237, fide Jim Yoke). [Roundup Mountain ?]

sháxat-ash

Literally 'raspberry' + 'place'. Name of the valley along the Nisqually River at the mouth of Silver Creek (just west of Copper & Goat Creeks); homestead of "Indian Henry," aka, *sutulik*; corrupted by local residents to "Succotsash Valley"; later site of James B. Kernahan homestead (Haines 1962:62, 80, 222).

nuwaxám-insh

Literally 'burnt place'. "fire cleaned over", name of a mountain near Longmire Springs"; "fire clearing", a place to get huckleberries" (Jacobs 1931:225, 236).

pachu-pamá

Literally 'for the middle'. "There it is named *pachu-pamá* ("middle one") mountain" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [near Longmire, MRNP ?]

q^wnántim

"A large rock mountain there, a place for mountain goats, is named *q^wnántim*" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [above a tributary of the Nisqually; the mountain, *tímlá-tímla*, is across a small stream from this mountain ?]

tímlá-tímla

Literally 'little heart'. "There across a small stream [from the mountain, *q^wnántim*] it (a mountain) is named *tímlá-tímla* ("little heart")" (Jacobs 1934:236, fide Jim Yoke). [the place *shímlísha* is across a small distance away ?]

5. The Klickitat

5.1. Klickitat Sources.

We are concerned primarily with that portion of the Klickitat territory at and west of the Cascade crest, particularly in the basins of the Lewis and Washougal rivers. There is no native testimony for this region comparable to that recorded by Jacobs for the Taitnapam. Our primary source are the journals of the Pacific Railroad Survey under the command of Captain George McClellan (Cooper 1853, 1855, 1860; Gibbs 1854; McClellan 1853; Minter 1854). The survey party traversed the “Klickitat Trail” from Fort Vancouver en route to Fort Simcoe, departing Fort Vancouver July 18 and arriving at Conboy Lake August 12, 1853, passing through the heart of Klickitat territory in the process (see Map 3). The various members of the party recorded detailed ethnographic and ecological observations. Norton, Boyd, and Hunn (1983) have analyzed these reports in a wider ethnohistorical, ethnographic, linguistic, and ethnobiological context. Additional ethnographic and ethnohistorical evidence for specific harvest sites was compiled by Hajda et al. (1995) for the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

Norton, Boyd, and Hunn (1983) note that,

“Information on these western Klickitat is sparse.... The important foods of the western group were concentrated in anthropogenic prairies. Data suggest that the Klickitat maintained a winter village at or near LaCamas Plain (near Fort Vancouver), on the lower reaches of the Washougal River (Beaver 1959:58; Gibbs 1854:420; Tappan 1854a). Many of the subsistence areas in the northwestern portion of Clark county were co-utilized with Lewis River /táitnapam/, a kindred Sahaptin group [according to Ray 1966]. All western Klickitat (along with the Lewis River /táitnapam/) were moved to the Yakima Reservation in the late 1850s” (133).

5.2. Klickitat Sites from the Cascade Crest West

I list below 52 named sites west of the Yakama treaty ceded area boundary, 20 in the Lewis River basin, 23 on the Indian Heaven divide and west slopes of Mt. Adams, and 9 in the Wind River basin.

5.2.1. The Lewis River Basin and the Lower Columbia River

wée-kas

“Information by Chief Stwire Waters: CHIEF WHITE SWAN. About eight miles west of Vancouver, Wash. is Weé-kas, a lake of considerable size [Vancouver Lake?]. It was a great resort of the white swan, as well as of geese and ducks. In 1852, according to Chief Waters, the Klikitats sold these water fowls to the small town of Portland, by the canoe load. For a swan they received \$1-50, the geese bringing \$1-00 each, while a duck was worth only 50 cents. The Indians exchanging for flour, sugar, coffee and other

household commodities. A small Klickitat boy was sent at night to the shores of Weé-kas for the purpose of obtaining tahmahnwis. He ‘fell down’ and the swans came in a circle about him and sang. The boy received the swan tah, and he said: ‘I have seen the white swan and heard their song. From this time I will take the name of White Swan.’ This lad afterward was Chief White Swan of the of the Yakimas. Chief Stwire G. Waters, brother of White Swan said: ‘I have heard the swans singing. They begin all together just like girl-singers. It is nice music; fine to hear. They sing different times of day.’ Weé-kas appears to have no particular definition, no meaning” (McWhorter n.d.); Silverstein maps two Multnomah villages at Vancouver Lake (1990:).

alashík-ash

Literally ‘turtle place’. Gibbs: Lower Plain (Jolie Prairie) near present-day Vancouver, Clark Co., WA. >Gibbs (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982). [Sahaptin, but note that *alashik* means ‘turtle’ in Nisqually Salish also {Gibbs 1970}]

wawachí

Literally ‘acorn’; cf. “Wah-wów-wach” of McWhorter. McClellan/Minter: First Plain near present-day Vancouver, Clark Co., WA. (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

papú-papu

Literally ‘burrowing owls’ ? McClellan: Second Plain near present-day Vancouver, Clark Co., WA. >McClellan (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

kolsas

Perhaps *qáls-as* ‘place of balsamroots (*Balsamorhiza deltoidea*)’; McClellan (1853): next camp past *papú-papu* on Klickitat Trail ne of Vancouver; may not be Sahaptin (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

simsik

McClellan (1853): next camp past *kolsas* on Klickitat Trail ne of Vancouver; may not be Sahaptin; here the survey party found an “old Indian camp” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982:126).

tiichám

Literally ‘land’. McClellan: Mill Plain, near present-day Vancouver, Clark Co., WA. (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

táak

Literally ‘vernal meadow: NWS’; = *ták*. McClellan/Gibbs/Minter: LaCamas Plain east of present-day Vancouver, Clark Co., WA. (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

wilt'k = wilt^wu

“*wI't'kh* = Lewis River” (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927). A Klickitat town, Wiltkwu, was listed by Spier (1936:24) as being ... at the mouth of the Lewis River [or near forks of Lewis River, fide Ray].

tam-qíplá-yash

Literally ‘shooting place’ ? Place on Lewis River (JA/TD: 1926).

yahkohtle

Yacolt. McClellan (1853): camp on the Klickitat Trail just north of the South Fork ford [unnamed] and south of ch'álacha. “McClellan (1853:18) noted that Yahkotl (now Yacolt) ‘...abounds with berries & is much visited by the Indians about a month later...,’ that is, late August, the time the dwarf huckleberry [*Vaccinium caespitosum*] ripens” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127). “... yahkohtl prairie... ‘...seems to have been caused by fires as there are several mounds scattered over it, the remains of stumps & logs (Cooper 1853:13)” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127). “A few ‘Tlikatat’ families were camped at a falls on the Yahkohtl River (now the East Fork of the Lewis) fishing for steelhead.... They were Plateau-style Indians, and horsemen as well. McClellan (1853:16) states, ‘They had a double barrel shot gun etc—their saddles resemble those of the Comanches’” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127).

ch'álacha

Literally ‘bracken fern (*Pteridium aquilinum*)’. McClellan: Meadow near present-day Chelatchie, Clark Co., WA. (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982). “Chalacha (now Chelatchie) Prairie was noted for berries as well as its dense stands of bracken fern and a grove of oaks” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127). “At Chalacha Indians were cultivating potatoes, introduced in the area by the Hudson’s Bay Company.... the Indian Agent recommended in 1854 that Chalacha be made a reservation for the Vancouver Klickitat, Lewis River ‘táitnapam’, and Cowlitz (Tappan 1954b)” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127).

spilyáy

Literally ‘Coyote, in myth’. McClellan: Ford on the Lewis River, Clark Co., WA. (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982). “Lindsley reported that the huckleberry [perhaps *Vaccinium scoparium* given the method of harvest] was still of importance [ca. 1883] to the Native Americans here, and that some had ‘lately took forty gallons of berries away. They pick them very rapidly by means of a wooden comb, raking it through the bush and holding a dish underneath’ (Lindsley 1980:199)” (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:127); cf. Speelyai Creek, right bank tributary of the Lewis River at river mile 28.6, now beneath Lake Merwin (Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee 1967:35).

ilík-ash

Literally ‘place of kinnikinnik [*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*]’. McClellan/Minter: Camp site on the Lewis River used by the McClellan railroad survey party (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

noomptnahmie

Perhaps Loompt-nee-nee ‘belongs to the blue’ < *lùmt-naamí* ‘blue’ + possessive plural; according to McWhorter’s source this refers to a “blue-looking” mountain back of the stream [Swift Creek, right bank tributary of the Lewis River at river mile 47.9 now beneath Swift Reservoir (Columbia Basin Inter-Agency Committee 1967:38).], and

possibly paralleling it... this stream was mostly unfordable for horseback traveling; a wild, and at times murky torrent. I have some few legends covering that section..." (McWhorter n.d.); McClellan (1853): next camp on the Klickitat Trail up the Lewis River from *ilík-ash*, but below *weninepat* (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982).

tach-tach-quié-quié

"Splawn (1944:482) recorded this as the name for 'ice caves around Mt. Adams'" (Hajda et al. 1995:55); "Ice Caves - perhaps to be identified with tach-tach-quié-quié. This was a "lunch stop" en route to the berry fields, where ice water for drinking was available. In Coyote stories, "animals came out there" (Hajda et al. 1995:40).

Ice Caves

"Perhaps to be identified with tach-tach-quié-quié. This was a "lunch stop" en route to the berry fields, where ice water for drinking was available. In Coyote stories, "animals came out there" (Hajda et al. 1995:40).

weninepat

McClellan (1853): next camp on the Klickitat Trail up the Lewis River from *noomptnahmie*; trail leaves the river here and climb southward to *wahamis* (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982)..

wahamis

McClellan (1853): next camp on the Klickitat Trail above *weninepat*; south of and above the Lewis River; next camp is *yawakamis* (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982). "McClellan (1853) called it *taunkamis* and also *susuk*. McWhorter (n.d.) referred to it as Noisy or Little Creek. It is on a branch of the middle Lewis River between *weninepat*... and *yawakamis*..., very likely either 2x4 Prairie or Paradise Valley. 'The coldest possible water', 'excellent grass... strawberries' and huckleberries could be found. In a myth, the *Tom-noo-klias* spirit, a huge disembodied head that traveled by jumping, destroyed Wildcat and Cougar's fish trap (McWhorter n.d.)" (Hajda et al. 1995:53).

yawakamis

McClellan (1853): next camp on the Klickitat Trail east of *wahamis*; last stop before the crest at ca. *kalamát* (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1982). "McClellan Meadows – *yawakimas*.... The 'small meadow full of excellent grass' held some 'old Indian huts'. The Indians from the Yakama Reservation camped in the McClellan Meadows area and collected huckleberries growing in the nearby Paradise Hills... (Hajda et al. 1995:43).

Imoowi Imoowi = em-mow-wee, moee-moee

"Probably the same as Council Butte.... A place for berries on the way to Hamilton Butte (Hajda et al. 1995:40).

5.2.2. Mt. St. Helens

lawiilat-tá = lawaláyt-tá, walalay-t-tá, low-we-lat-klah

Literally [smoker]. "Coyote sat down, he planned what to make.... He thought that he would make *lawiilat-lá* ('person from whom smoke comes', Mt. St. Helens)" (Jacobs 1934:243, fide Lewy Costima). "*lawelatlá* -- Mt. St. Helens" ... "*lowllatlá*' -- Mt. St. Helens (Yak., Teit) The snow mt. that smokes."Mt. St. Helens (Jacobs n.d., fide Sam Eyley, June 3, 1927). "Mt St. Helens... 'throwing up smoke' -- a Yakima name. Also, "Loh-we-lat-kláh, Low-we-not-thlát" (McWhorter n.d.). Mt. St. Helens; one of five wives of Sun Man in myth of wáxsham, which see (*walalay-t-lá*, Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Elsie Albert Selam, November 27, 1990).

5.2.3. Indian Heaven on the White Salmon River/Lewis River Divide

tamanak'isha

General term for the Indian Heaven area, according to [Virginia Beavert] Martin (1979) (Hajda et al. 1995:40).

luc'á pushtáy

Literally 'red' + 'hill'. Cf. *shapinchash*, *shapinchash-wáakuł*, "Shop-in-chosh" of GPNF. "Red Hill" south of Kalamat [possible loan translation] (Eugene Hunn field notes, Howard Jim, May 29, 1991).

shapinchásh = shapinchásh-wáakuł, shop-in-chosh

Literally '[resembles] face paint'. Cf. "Shop-in-chosh" of Gifford Pinchot National Forest. Red Mountain just south of *kalamát*, Indian Race Track (shop-in-chosh, GPNF). "Further on [somewhere along the Cascade Crest in the Goat Rocks area] a large rocky mountain is named *shapinchash-wákuł* ('resembling face paint')" (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke).

áyun-ash = áyun-aash, A-yun-ash, ey yo nosh

Literally 'place of *áyun*', a medicinal root, *Ligusticum canbyi*; Hunn: Near Indian Race Track, Gifford Pinchot N.F., Klickitat Co., WA; summer camp site of Columbia River Sahaptins, a few hundred yards southeast [or north ?] of *kalamát*. "... ey yo nosh was north of KaLahMet, where at KalahMet they held races, gathering of all peoples. Foot races, wrestling, horse races, rock carrying contests" (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George, Watson Totus, others). [these described]. Berry Mountain, just north of *kalamát* (A-yun-ash, GPNF, note conflict with JS). (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, May 6, 1979).

kalamát = kalahmet

Literally 'yellow pond lily' [*Nuphar polysepalum*]. Hunn: Indian Race Track historic site in Gifford Pinchot N.F. Columbia River Indian berry picking and summer gathering site; get year's supply of kinnikinnick here; Pine Creek and Rock Creek people went here, not Alderdale people; they went to *Psawas-wáakuł* instead; At T6N-R8E (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, November 8, 1976; fide James Selam, Elsie Albert Selam, September 27, 1990). "'*kalamát*' ('race track') This camp and race track was located about two miles west of [*tak^wtak^w*; Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co., WA.] (Ray 1936:149)." DF:1991, cf. "Klamath" (David French, personal communication, 1991);

“South of Adams slope was Kahlamet, means pipe [cf. "calumet"]. First huckleberry Shatush. It is southwest of Mt. Adams, above Trout Lake” (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George, Watson Totus, others). [south of psow was wash kuh]

laxs p'ushtay = laks-push-ti

> *laxs* 'one' diminutivized + *p'ushtay* 'hill']. GPNF: = Lone Butte in the Indian Heaven Wilderness; loan translation; interpretation by JS:VI-24-92.

lámt watám = lahm-mt wahtum

Literally 'blue lake'. GPNF: = Blue Lake in the Indian Heaven Wilderness; a loan translation.

tuksay-wáakuł = tuk-si-wa-kuch

Literally 'bucket, cup' + 'resembles'; cf. "Tuk-si-wa-kuch" of GPNF. GPNF: VI-23-92, East Crater in the Indian Heaven Wilderness.

***łmáma* = lah-ma-mah-po-sh-way**

Literally *łmáma* 'old lady' + *pshwá* 'rock'. Lemei Rock, Lemei Butte (GPNF); partial loan translation. A butte wsw of *psawas-wáakuł*, Klickitat summer camp site, Skamania Co., WA.; a summer camp at Lemei Mountain" (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, SB, June 19, 1986). "*łmámá* ('old woman,' mythological reference) (Ray 1936:149). ["Lemei" means 'old woman' in Chinook Jargon ?]

whkloom-wah-tum

GPNF: = Deep Lake in Indian Heaven Wilderness area; possible loan translation, but obscure.

***kakya-lmí* = kak-yem-mee**

Literally, 'of the bird'. Cf. *kakya-lmí* & *kak-la-me-wa-tum* of GPNF; "*kakyalímí* ('pertaining to the little bird'); a summer camp at Bird Mountain [Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co.]" (Ray 1936:150). At T6N-R8E-Sect. 3 (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, March 10, 1986); Bird Mountain in the Indian Heaven Wilderness (GPNF).

kak-la-me-wa-tum

Literally 'lake of the bird'. Cf. *kakya-lmí*, *kakya-nmí*. Steamboat Lake (GPNF); interprets as *kakya-lmí watám*, lit. 'little bird lake' [but not near Bird Mountain?] (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, June 24, 1992); "Steamboat Lake, due east of Mosquito Lakes in the White Salmon River drainage, was called "little bird lake" by informants... and is a fishing place" (Hajda et al. 1995:41). [possible nonce form].

***psawas-wáakuł* = psow was wash kuh, p-sow-wa-swa-koth**

Literally 'saw-like'. Cf. "P-sow-wa-swa-koth" of GPNF. Sawtooth Mountain in the Indian Heaven Wilderness (GPNF). A summer camp at Sawtooth Mountain" (Ray 1936:149); psow was wash kuh was Shatush or camp north of Kalahmet, present name of white men for it is Indian Heaven (Relander archive, Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George,

Watson Totus, others); the Klickitat Indian berrying and summer camp site in the southern Cascades, Skamania Co., WA. (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, SB, June 19, 1987); a few miles sw of Tillicum root area near Sawtooth Mountain," about 30 miles northwest of Trout Lake (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, May 6, 1979, March 10, 1986; Elsie Albert Selam, July 1, 1977; James Selam, Elsie Albert Selam, September 27, 1990); camping area for Alderdale people in the fall. [Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co., WA]; Alderdale people stayed here rather than at *Kalamát*; stayed one month drying berries, racing horses, playing the stick game; lots of people here; camped at Meadow Creek (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide Elsie Albert Selam, n.d.); "(rough, rugged" ?)

k'pís wanáy-t = kpss-wa-nite

Literally 'cold' + 'spring of water', possible loan translation; cf. Kpss-wa-nite of GPNF. GPNF, VI-23-92, for Cold Springs campground in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, at the edge of the Indian Heaven Wilderness Area; EH/JS,EAS,SQ: IX-27-90, referred to as "Cold Springs camp," camping place for *tap'ash-naqit-lá-ma*, 'people of ponderosa pine-edge', i.e., Bickleton, WA.

iskís watám = skis-wa-tum

Literally 'little lake'. "Skis-wa-tum" for Surprise Lakes in Indian Heaven Wilderness (GPNF); name of Twin Buttes near Sawtooth Mountain in the Indian Heaven Wilderness. (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, June 24, 1992, July 15, 1992); likely nonce form.

luluk-ash-wáakuł = lu lu cash wah quh , lah-luc-kuesh-wah-colwth

Literally 'resembles breast'. ... lu lu cash wah quh was Twin Buttes, back of Mt. Adams, twin buttes, like woman's breasts, means woman's breasts, peaked like woman's breasts (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly George, Watson Totus, others). "Lah-luc-kuesh-wah-colwth" for Twin Butte (GPNF); interpreted as above (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, June 24, 1992).

wawá-yash

Literally 'mosquito place' [Culicidae]. A summer camp at Twin Buttes [Near Cold Springs huckleberry research site, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co., WA]" (Ray 1936:149). "Wa-wah-ash" of GPNF."

5.2.4. Mt. Adams

pátu = pahto, pah-toe, pah-too

Literally 'snow-capped peak'. Mt. Adams. "(Mount Adams)," cf. myth (Relander 1986:52); Mt. Adams. Also wife of Anhyi ([who] killed both) (pah-toe, Relander archive, Click Relander's hand, fide Boyd). pah-too = Mt. Adams (GPNF); also known as "Thappanish cli-mi Pah-to," "snow-peak of the Toppenish people" (McWhorter n.d.).

tímáma

Cf. *tamáma*, transcriptional variant, which see. A specific name for Mt. Adams? (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, November 26, 1990).

sum sum

[One of old time berry picking places was] Sum Sum, west slope, southwest slope of Adams. Means kind of hill, comes to a ridge, a hill with a sharp back (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly george, Watson Totus, others).

wit-que-quásh

McWhorter n.d.: “creek on west side, Mt. Adams. Wit ququásh = ‘water only day time’.

sach a lux

[One of old time berry picking places was] sach a lux, ans foretop of hair, specifically the peculiar Yakima type hair top, combed up. It was on the west slope of Mt. Adams (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly george, Watson Totus, others).

tach lite

= *taak-layt*, < ‘meadow’ + ? [One of old time berry picking places was] Tach Lite, exposed to sun, or exposed to fire, southwest side of Mt. Adams, means exposed to the sun, hot sun shining on it openly Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly george, Watson Totus, others). [north of ya wa cunch]

ya wa cunch

[One of old time berry picking places was] Ya Wa Cunch, south of TachLite, means like have a flood, a wash out, a place washed out by heavy water (Relander archive, fide Thomas K. Yallup, Kelly george, Watson Totus, others).

5.2.5. Wind and Little White Salmon River Basins

Cook = Cook’s Landing

“This town at the foot of Dog Mountain is at or near the old village of *skalxLmax* at the mouth of the Little White Salmon River.... Cook’s Landing is an in-lieu Indian fishing site still in use” (Hajda et al. 1995:38).

***skalxLmax* = sq’ldalpł**

“Translated from the Chinook as ‘eating place’. Another Chinook name for the same place, *sq’ldalpL*, ‘it keep tearing out’, is the origin of Lee’s Scaltape (Lee and Frost 1968 [1844]:176). It is at the mouth of the Little White Salmon River, just upriver from Cook (if not the same place). The Chinook village was occupied year-round; the warm-season fishery drew Sahaptin relatives as well as the resident Chinookans. Apparently this was the village where Lewis and Clark saw mountain goat furs and traded for cranberries and root bread on October 29, 1805 (Moulton 1988:348-354). The place was an important locale for several events in Coyote myths (Curtis 1911:8:112; French and French n.d.; Sapir 1909:26-27)” (Hajda et al. 1995:49). ”This town [Cook] at the foot of Dog Mountain is at or near the old village of *skalxLmax* at the mouth of the Little White Salmon River.... Cook’s Landing is an in-lieu Indian fishing site still in use” (Hajda et al. 1995:38).

ho-ho-lah-me

The Wind River: > *χύχυχ* ‘raven’ + ? + poss. suff. “ho-ho-lah-me – “River of crows,” a name that may refer to Wind River. It is referred to in a myth. “Speel-ye and the Five Sisters of the Che-Wana,” recorded by McWhorter (n.d.)” (Hajda et al., 1995:39).

Carson

“At the mouth of the Wind River, the town is a reference point for a much wider area, in particular for Mowich Mountain. The area provided fish, game birds, and berries better in the past than at present, but early huckleberries and chokecherries may still be found. This was once Klickitat country, but other river people, including those now at Warm Springs, use the area (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

Mowich Mountain = Mowich Butte

“At the mouth of the Wind River, the town is a reference point for a much wider area, in particular for Mowich Mountain. The area provided fish, game birds, and berries better in the past than at present, but early huckleberries and chokecherries may still be found. This was once Klickitat country, but other river people, including those now at Warm Springs, use the area (Hajda et al. 1995:36). “Mowich Butte – An old camp and burials were said to be located in a meadow on ‘that mountain by Carson’. River people were once the primary users; it is popular with Indians from Warm Springs, many of whom were also ‘river people’. Huckleberries, game birds, and game were once taken here; the berries still are. Commercial beargrass collecting apparently occurs...” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Hool-hool-pam = Hool-hool-sie, Hoolho-olsie

“Hool-hool-pam (also Hoolho-olsie) – “mouse land.” “Mouse land” refers to a myth about a giant and his mouse-consort murdered by the giant’s wife (Gibbs (1854:424-425). The place was in the lava area between Goose Lake and the Ice Caves, since the giant’s wife dug a lava tube to find the mouse. Another source... identifies Hool-hool-sie with Beaver Creek” (Hajda et al., 1995:39-40).

xálya

Literally ‘balsamroot sunflower’ [*Balsamorhiza* sp.]. “*xalíá* (‘where wild sunflowers grow’). A summer camp at Huckleberry Mountain, Gifford Pinchot National Forest, Skamania Co., WA” (Ray 1936:149). “a Klickitat summer camp and huckleberry-gathering site on the ridge between the Wind River and Little White Salmon River drainages. The location of the camp is unknown, but was probably near a spring on the mountain ridge.... This is probably the same as Big Huckleberry Mountain” (Hajda et al., 1995:40).

xálya-xálya = skis-xálya

“Little Huckleberry Mountain... A camp here near the Little White Salmon headwaters gave access to earlier-ripening huckleberries for Indians from ‘the south’ (probably the Columbia River area). Drying trenches and a sweat lodge were found here... (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

watipáykt = wah-ti-piked

< ‘*wati + pay-k-t*, 'overhanging' ? A place south of Red Mountain = Wah-ti-piked (GPNF); interpreted as "overhanging," roughly (Eugene Hunn field notes, fide James Selam, June 24, 1992).

6. The Cascades Indians.

6.1. Cascades Sources

Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1991), Thompson (Glover 1962), Franchère (1854), Ross (1855), and other early explorers and traders of necessity passed the Cascades of the Columbia River in the course of their explorations and commercial activities. We thus have a substantial record of the impressions of these early Euroamerican visitors to the region. However, the information in these sources is often biased and/or sketchy. A somewhat richer record is found in the writings of the Methodist missionaries stationed at The Dalles between 1838 and 1845 (Lee and Frost 1968 [1844]; Boyd 1996). The primary ethnographic resource is Spier and Sapir's "Wishram Ethnography" (1930). The ethnography on which this treatise is based was collected from a remnant of the Wishram people then living on the Yakima Indian Reservation, where most had been induced to move in 1860-1865. Sapir visited the Yakima Reservation in 1905 to collect linguistic data; "ethnographic information was somewhat of an aside" (Spier and Sapir 1930:153). Spier's ethnographic research was conducted during 1924 and 1925. The authors caution that, "It must be understood... that this sketch is woefully incomplete... [due] primarily to the brevity of our visits" (153). However, they note that "new data on the Wasco, Cascades, and other Upper Chinook are included here" (153). One of Sapir's informants, Pete McGuff, was influenced by a "long residence in [his] early years among the Cascade Indians" (154). Robert Suphan prepared the government's "Ethnological report on the Wasco and Tenino Indians relative to socio-political organization and land-use" (1974) for the Indian Claims Commission. This report evaluates ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence with respect to the Cascades Indians (pp. 31-34 [43-46]).

David and Kathrine French's *Handbook of North American Indians, Plateau* chapter on the "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades" (1998) summarize what little is known of the specifics of Cascades traditional resource sites. A copy of their map of Cascades villages is attached to this report (see Map 4).

Boyd and Hajda's analysis of Lewis and Clark's population figures for Columbia Gorge tribes makes a strong case for a pattern of systematic seasonal movements related to resource harvests up and down the Columbia (1987). Thus, the Indians resident at the Cascades of the Columbia were noted by Lewis and Clark to have frequented a village at the mouth of the Willamette River, "Ne-er-cho-ki-oo," for the purpose of harvesting wapato roots (*Sagittaria latifolia*) – a highly prized and also highly localized resource – and for hunting deer and elk "at every season of the year." Lewis and Clark were also told that they visited Willamette Falls up the Willamette River for fishing (Moulton 1991, vol. 7, pg. 38, 40; quoted in Suphan 1974:32 [44]). Ne-er-cho-ki-oo is the Upper Chinookan name of the "Cascades Village" cited by French and French as the westernmost outpost of the Cascades Indians (French and French 1998:362, 363, #62), a

village shared with local Multnomahs. Lewis and Clark offer the following summary account of the “Sha-ha-la Nation” [i.e., the Cascades Indians]: “... reside at the Grand Rapids of the Columbia and extend down in different villages as low as the Multnomah river [i.e., the Willamette]” (Moulton 1991, vol. 6, pp).

Although Hodge indicates that the Cascades Indians were subsumed within the Wascoes signatory to the Treaty of Middle Oregon, it is equally likely that some Cascades descendants, at least, were treated as Wishram and thus signatory to the Yakama treaty. Suphan discusses the range of opinions of early observers as to whether the Hood River Indians – considered by Mooney to be “Cascades Indians,” were to be considered “one people” with the White Salmon Indians opposite, on the Washington shore, as they spoke an identical dialect of Kiksht (Spier 1936; Curtis 1911; cf. Suphan 1974:30-31 [42-43]). In any case, the most economical interpretation of the evidence at this point is that all five upriver Kiksht-speaking groups, Wasco, Wishram, Hood River, White Salmon, and Cascades, should be treated as a single ethnic unit subsequent to the demographic disaster of 1830 ff. Thus, the Cascades may be considered to be party to both the Treaty of Middle Oregon and that with the Yakama Nation.

6.2. Cascades Villages

“The seasonal movements of the Shahala villagers between their homes at the Cascades and the Wappato Valley [the Columbia River valley between the Sandy and Kalama Rivers] are perhaps the best example of this lateral movement [of people to resources along the lower Columbia River]” (Boyd and Hajda 1987:319). Lewis and Clark observed partially occupied settlements in the area [of the Cascades of the Columbia] in early April. “Wahcclallah” [*watála*] village, for example, still had 14 inhabited houses, while nine more had ‘lately removed’, the explorers were informed, to the spring salmon fishery at Willamette Falls” [the spring Chinook salmon run not yet arriving at the Cascades] (Boyd and Hajda 1987:319). Cascades Indians also moved in fall to share a village site with Multnomah Chinookans, likely to take advantage of the abundant wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*) harvests there. Also, it is noted that “the Cascades, like The Dalles, was ‘a place of resort for all the neighbouring tribes as well as those of the place’” (Boyd and Hajda 1987:319, quoting Ross 1956:87). This helps explain the fact that Lewis and Clark’s population estimate for the Shahala more than doubled between their downstream visit in November 1805 [the winter population], and their upstream passage in April 1806 [counting visitors come to share the abundant migratory spring salmon resource], from 1300 to 2700 (Boyd and Hajda 1987:320).

6.2.1. Columbia River Downstream from the Wind River to the Willamette River

watála

‘small lake’, Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #48, 49); “Wahlala, ‘Their Lake’, opposite Cascade Locks, Oregon,” one of five villages of the Gahlahishack, “commonly called the cascades,” fide Curtis (1911) (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

sk'mániak

‘obstructed’ [not at the site of modern Skamania], Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #50); “Shamanyak, ‘obstructed’, at the middle cascades,” one of five villages of the Gahlahishachk, “commonly called the cascades,” fide Curtis (1911) (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

qixayagílxam

‘middle village’, Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #51); “Kihaiagilhum, ‘Middle Village’, a little below Sahmanyak,” one of five villages of the Gahlahishachk, “commonly called the cascades,” fide Curtis (1911) (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

wimałgikšat

Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #52, 53 [in winter?]).

gayačáqłq^wtix (?)

‘manzanita place’ (?), Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #54); “Kaiuchikhlqtiḥ, at the lower cascades,” one of five villages of the Gahlahishachk, “commonly called the cascades,” fide Curtis (1911) (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

kamigwáixat

‘upper road’, Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #55); “Kamigwaihat, ‘Upper Road’, a little below [Kaiuchikhlqtiḥ]” one of five villages of the Gahlahishachk, “commonly called the cascades,” fide Curtis (1911) (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

-łaxwálułt

‘they are running by her continually’, Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #56).

nimišxáya

Cascades village, west of Beacon Rock (French and French 1998:362, #57).

waxix

‘daylight’ or ‘face place’, Cascades village (French and French 1998:362, #58).

wašúxwal (or *wašúxal*)

Cascades village, just east of the mouth of the Washougal River (French and French 1998:362, #59).

-wáyaxix

‘his face place’ Cascades village (Oregon side) (French and French 1998:362, #60); “Gahlawaiahah [a second Cascades grouping], those on the south bank of the Columbia at the cascades; their principal village was Waiahah at the site of Cascade Locks, while another permanent village, Swapapani, was a few miles below at Eagle Creek” (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

swapapáni

Cascades village (Oregon side) (French and French 1998:362, #61); “Gahlawaiahih [a second Cascades grouping], those on the south bank of the Columbia at the cascades; their principal village was Waiiahih at the site of Cascade Locks, while another permanent village, Swapapani, was a few miles below at Eagle Creek” (Suphan 1974:33 [45]);

Cascade Village [Kiksht name not recorded]

Cascades village, at present day Portland, Oregon; fully occupied while wapato tubers were being gathered, was to the west of the most easterly Multnomah village (French and French 1998:362, 363, #62); this is likely Siverstein’s village #58, named *ničáq^wli* ‘stand of pines’, the uppermost Multnomah village mapped (1990:534, Fig. 1).

7. Conclusions.

The Cascades Indians occupied villages on the Columbia River shore as far west as the mouth of the Washougal River, and jointly occupied a village with Multnomahs just above the mouth of the Willamette. Though the Cascades Indians were more river-oriented than their Sahaptin-speaking neighbors, there seems no reason to doubt that they regularly harvested resources in the uplands behind the Columbia River to the headwaters of the short tributary streams of the Columbia River Gorge, both north and south of the river (French and French 1998:365). As early as 1805 it was reported that Cascades Indians normally resident at the Cascades of the Columbia traveled to the mouth of the Willamette River and up that stream to Willamette Falls to fish, harvest wapato, and hunt deer and elk. This co-utilization of downstream resources appears to have been normal, traditional practice involving entire families for extended periods in season.

The Klickitat Indians, a.k.a. *χ^wátχ^waypam*, occupied the basins of the Klickitat, White Salmon, Little White Salmon, and Wind Rivers, with winter villages on the lower reaches of the Klickitat and White Salmon Rivers, at least. They shared village sites at the mouths of these rivers and along the north shore of the Columbia River with Kiksht-speaking White Salmon Indians, as attested by Lewis and Clark. In summer and fall they camped on the White Salmon-Lewis River divide, in the company of other Sahaptin-speaking peoples from as far north as the Yakima River and as far east as Pine Creek on the Columbia. This occupation is documented as early as 1853 by the McClelland railroad survey party and is substantiated by numerous Sahaptin place names throughout the “Indian Heaven” district, as it is now known. The “Klickitat Trail” was a well-traveled route linking the eastern marches of the Klickitat country to the Hudson Bay Company’s Ft. Vancouver, established in 1824. Though it is not possible to establish when Sahaptin-speaking “Klickitat Indians” established a permanent presence in the lower Lewis River basin as well as in the low elevation hinterland of the Columbia River back of Ft. Vancouver, there are a number of Sahaptin place names applied to campsites along the Klickitat Trail from near Ft. Vancouver to the Cascade Crest. A winter village at the junction of the East Fork of the Lewis River and the main branch, just four miles above the mouth, may have been Sahaptin-speaking since before Lewis and Clark (cf.

their “Hul-loo-et-tell” [Moulton 1991, vol. 6:18-21]). However, direct Klickitat access to the Columbia River shore between the Wind and the Cowlitz likely dates to the 1830s following the decimation of the resident Upper Chinookan populations by disease.

The Taitnapam or “Upper Cowlitz” occupied the Cowlitz/Cispus River basin at and above Mossyrock when first recognized as a distinct group by Euroamericans. However, the native-language testimony (i.e., Sahaptin) of Jim Yoke, Lewy Costima, and Mary Kiona, among others -- Taitnapams born in the 1840s and 1850s and raised in Taitnapam country -- demonstrates conclusively that the Taitnapam had established permanent occupation of that country long before Euroamericans arrived in the region, and quite likely, in my judgment, before the arrival of horses (contra Boxberger 1984). Taitnapams maintained close ties with their relations east of the Cascades via several well-traveled cross-Cascade trails (e.g., at Carlton, Cowlitz, Tieton, and Cispus passes, among others). They also were intermarried with Salish-speaking Lower Cowlitz and traveled freely down the Cowlitz River through Lower Cowlitz country to the Columbia, as their traditional geographic narratives indicate. It is also possible that Sahaptin-speakers intermarried with some Upper Chehalis, though I found no direct evidence of traditional Taitnapam resource harvests outside of the Cowlitz basin and in the upper extremity of the Nisqually River basin.

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9.1. Appendix 1: Fish species and traditional fishing sites in Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades territories west of the Cascade divide

Entosphenus [Lampetra] tridentatus; lamprey or “eel”; *aasúm = asúm* (Northwest Sahaptin), *k’súyas* (Columbia River Sahaptin), food

Oncorhynchus tshawytscha, Chinook salmon, *tk^wínat [núsuχ]*, food, place name, spawning:

Taitnapam:

anawitash-nmí, spawning site for steelhead and Chinook salmon (Jacobs 1934:232).

íwachash, “At the place where Chinook salmon, silversides, steelheads and Jack salmon [*k^w’líi*] rest on their way upstream, at (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish [*núsuχ*], to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them” (Jacobs 1934:243).

kwayáqim, “a deep spot, Chinook salmon stop there and rest” (Jacobs 1934:232).

lalálχ, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sχuuní*], salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínux*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*” (Jacobs 1934:242).

líkálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41); “He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the líkálwit (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsuχ*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sχuuní*], a great many of them..... (26.) He said, ‘At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínux*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχ^wnú*], Dolly Vardens [*chúwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanepcash,...” (Jacobs 1934:246).

mit’ulayash ‘chinook spawning place’, a large lake in the Cispus headwaters (Jacobs 1934:233).

tamxiix, *tamχiyéχ*, a creek at Packwood; “A Taitnapam settlement... a spot that was ‘good for chinook salmon fishing’ (Jacobs 1934:229, 246)” (Hajda et al. 1995:51).

tk^winatash-nmí ‘Chinook salmon place’, a creek that flows out into the (Cispus) river (Jacobs 1934:232). ‘a short ways above Cispus mouth’; a ‘chinook salmon place’” (Hajda et al. 1995:52).

Oncorhynchus tshawytscha, in part, jack salmon, *k^w’li[-n̄mí]*, food:

Taitnapam:

íwachash, “At the place where Chinook salmon, silversides, steelheads and Jack salmon [*k^w’li*] rest on their way upstream, at (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish [*núsux*], to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them” (Jacobs 1934:243).

Oncorhynchus kisutch, silver salmon, *sínux*, spawning, food:

Taitnapam:

inwan-mí ‘big burned-over place’, a creek on the Cispus; a silverside salmon spawning place (Jacobs 1934:232; Hajda et al. 1995:55).

íwachash, “At the place where Chinook salmon, silversides, steelheads and Jack salmon [*k^w’li*] rest on their way upstream, at (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish [*núsux*], to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them” (Jacobs 1934:243).

lalálx, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sxuuní*], salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínux*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

l̄kálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41); “He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the *l̄kálwit* (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsux*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sxuuní*], a great many of them..... (26.) He said, ‘At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínux*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sx^wnúí*], Dolly Vardens [*chíwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanepcash,...” (Jacobs 1934:246).

sáq’im, “in the Cowlitz River drainage six or seven miles above Randle”; “silverside salmon... spawning area” (Hajda et al. 1995:47).

yuyu-tá ‘person who shouts’, in the Cispus River drainage, possibly on the North Fork of the Cispus River; a silverside salmon spawning place (Jacobs 1934:232; Hajda et al. 1995:54).

Oncorhynchus keta, dog salmon, *mit’úla* [*mit’úla* could refer to dog salmon or to spawned out Chinook]; food; place name, spawning [of Chinook ?]:

Taitnapam:

likálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41).

mit’ulayash ‘chinook spawning place’, a large lake in the Cispus headwaters (Jacobs 1934:233).

Oncorhynchus gorbuscha, pink or “calico” salmon, *ʔkʷáy* [Taitnapam], *wats’yá* [Klikitat], food, Lower Cowlitz:

Lower Cowlitz/Taitnapam:

Speared by Lower Cowlitz (*ʔkʷílipam*) at unspecified location (Jacobs 1934:225, Mary Eyley).

Oncorhynchus gairdneri, sea run, steelhead, *shúshaynsh[-ash]*, spawn, place name:

Taitnapam:

anawitash-nmí, spawning site for steelhead and Chinook salmon (Jacobs 1934:232).

ch’alacha-nmí, spawning site; “steelhead spear pole” made by Coyote here (Jacobs 1934:232).

íwachash, “At the place where Chinook salmon, silversides, steelheads and Jack salmon [*kʷlíi*] rest on their way upstream, at (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish [*núsux*], to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them” (Jacobs 1934:243).

ixá-ixa ‘alders’, mouth of a creek on the Cispus River; a spawning place for steelhead (Hajda et al. 1995:53).

lalálχ, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium*

williamsoni, *sχuuní*), salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínuχ*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*]" (Jacobs 1934:242).

líkálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; "A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where 'salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon' were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here" (Hajda et al. 1995:41); "He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the *líkálwit* (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsux*], graylings [*sχuuní*], a great many of them..... (26.) He said, 'At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínuχ*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχ^wní*], Dolly Vardens [*chíwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanepecash,..." (Jacobs 1934:246).

shchawcháw, a river that enters the Cispus River just above its mouth, "a fishing site for steelhead, (which) spawn there" (Jacobs 1934:232).

shushaynsh-ash, 'steelhead place', Landers Creek, at Nesika on the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:242).

shushaynsh-ash-nmí 'place of steelhead', a creek in the Cowlitz River drainage below [or above?] Packwood; possibly Johnson Creek (Jacobs 1934:230, 246; Hajda et al. 1995:49).

yi^h = nitlu, a creek 4-5 miles above Randle; a source of steelhead (Hajda et al. 1995:54); "it is a bad creek there, steelhead are there. At the large fall above, it gives signs to people, it kills them" (Jacobs 1934:245).

Salmon, in general, *núsux*, food:

Taitnapam:

awxánapayk-ash, on the Ohanapecosh River; the upper limit of salmon and other fisheries in the Cowlitz Basin (Jacobs 1934:228, 246); cf. the species listed for *líkálwit*, just downstream at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh River.

ínín 'horn', a fishing site below Toledo (Jacobs 1934:231).

íwachash, "At the place where Chinook salmon, silversides, steelheads and Jack salmon [*k^wlíi*] rest on their way upstream, at (a site near Cowlitz Falls), there will be a place to spear fish [*núsux*], to catch fish with pole and spear point, at that place they will be speared with them" (Jacobs 1934:243).

iyánsh 'driftwood/jam', "a place at which people catch salmon" (Jacobs 1934:231).

kwayayqIm; a Chinook salmon hole located on the Cispus drainage by Yoke (Jacobs 1934:232); a place where salmon stop and rest (Hajda et al. 1995:41).

lakas-nmí, on the Cowlitz River above *xánxan-ash*; “A small salmon trap place” (Jacobs 1934:237; Hajda et al. 1995:41).

líkálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41); “fish netting right here to get salmon” (Jacobs 1934:228); “He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the *líkálwit* (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsux*], graylings [*sχuuní*], a great many of them.... (26.) He said, ‘At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínux*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχ^wnú*], Dolly Vardens [*chíwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanepecash,...” (Jacobs 1934:246).

kúmikum ‘salmon head’, a place on the Cowlitz River, > 7 miles above Randle (Jacobs 1934:237).

lalálχ, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sχuuní*], salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínux*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

matíp, opposite Toledo; a fishing site (Jacobs 1934:231).

núshnu ‘nose’, “he made a fishing place [*nusuxpamá*] at which to catch salmon trout [*ayáyash*]... a place where many fine fish [*núsux*] could be caught” (Jacobs 1934:240).

pápsh ‘Douglas fir’, “[good] for catching salmon” (Jacobs 1934:230).

p’na, “a stream on the Cowlitz floodplain either at the junction of the Clear Fork and the Ohanapecosh rivers or just below... a place where salmon were clubbed” (Hajda et al. 1995:45).

shiq’k, a Kiona Creek in the upper Cowlitz River basin; a fishing place (Hajda et al. 1995:48); “a salmon fishing place [at Kiona farm, one mile below Randle]” (Jacobs 1934:229).

tay-táy ‘tree-moss’, at or across from the mouth of Siler Creek in the Cowlitz River drainage; “a salmon fishing place” (Jacobs 1934:229; Hajda et al. 1995:51).

Klickitat:

Cougar Rock, at the head of the east fork of the Lewis River; “the general area once had grouse and other game birds, salmon, and deer... (Hajda et al., 1995:38).

Oncorhynchus gairdneri, resident, rainbow trout, *ayáy*; *ayám* ‘ayam

Oncorhynchus clarki, resident, cutthroat trout, *ayáy*, spawning

Trout, in general, *tk^wála*, *tk^walá*, food [\neq *ayáy*]:

Taitnapam:

Packwood Lake = *shyúyk*; “[the lake] evidently supplied fish” (Hajda et al. 1995:45); “Those little trout would enter them [little streams that flow into the lake], for my people to catch” [introduced by *pshwánwapam* from Lake Kachees (*k’átsis*)] (*Jacobs 1934:231).

ptís ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [$>$ 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sxuuní*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

Klickitat:

Twin Buttes = *luluk-ash-waakul*; “A major summer camp for Yakamas and for Rock Creeks and other river people....also... deer, and trout” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Trout Lake = *shaxshax-mí*; “A camp near the lake was the ‘largest of Klickitat summer villages’ (Ray 1936:149)... Trout... gathered here” (Hajda et al. 1995:48).

“Mountain trout”, *ayáy*, place name:

Taitnapam:

ayáy-ash, ‘trout place, a creek over a rise from Cowlitz Falls,
ayáy-ash, ‘trout place’, a stream in the Cowlitz Basin headwaters; the name means ‘trout place’; on the “Yakima Trail”; near *txúwash* [Cowlitz Pass?] (Jacobs 1934:233).

Klickitat:

Sawtooth = *psawas-wáakul*; “The name is used for the ridge on top of Sawtooth Mountain, for a meadow nearby, and more generally for the area. A summer camp... has been used by people from Rock Creek, Alderdale, and other places on the Columbia River as well as from the Yakama Reservation.... Resources include...deer, elk, bear, and mountain trout. Grizzlies... have been seen...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

“Salmon trout”, *ayáy*, food:

Taitnapam:

lalálχ, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sχuuní*], salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínux*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

núshnu ‘nose’, “he made a fishing place [*nusuxpamá*] at which to catch salmon trout [*ayáyash*]... a place where many fine fish [*núsuχ*] could be caught” (Jacobs 1934:240).

ptís ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [> 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχuuní*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

shxúmtani, just above Riffe on the upper Cowlitz River, “many salmon trout [*ayáy*] (are there)” (Jacobs 1934:242).

“Lake trout”:

Klickitat:

Blue Lake, in the Indian Heaven area; “lake trout” caught here (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

Salvelinus malma, Dolly Varden, *chíwa*, food:

Taitnapam:

líkálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41); “He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the *líkálwit* (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsuχ*], graylings [*sχuuní*], a great many of them..... (26.) He said, ‘At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínux*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχ^wní*], Dolly Vardens [*chíwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanapecash,...” (Jacobs 1934:246).

ptís ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [> 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sxuuní*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

Prosopium williamsoni, mountain whitefish or “grayling” (sic.), *sxuuní*, *sχ^wní* (Taitnapam), *símay* (Kittitas), food:

Taitnapam:

lalálχ, Tilton Creek, “Coyote made a basket trap... in Tilton Creek ... here.... In summer time, in the dry season, when the river goes dry, there will always be fish there. Graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *Prosopium williamsoni*, *sxuuní*], salmon trout [*ayáy*], silverside [*sínuχ*], Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

líkálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41); “He [Coyote] stepped in the water of the *líkálwit* (Clear Fork), he did it in this manner, he scraped with the sharp stick, out came salmon [*núsux*], graylings [*sxuuní*], a great many of them.... (26.) He said, ‘At this place will be salmon, Chinook salmon [*tk^wínat*], steelhead [*shúshaynsh*], silverside [*sínuχ*], grayling [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sχ^wní*], Dolly Vardens [*chíwa*], a great many large Dolly Vardens. (2) They will not go further upstream, none will be above Ohanapecash,...” (Jacobs 1934:246).

ptís ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [> 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sxuuní*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).

Acipenser transmontanus, white sturgeon, *wílaps*, place name:

Lower Cowlitz/Taitnapam:

wílapsas ‘sturgeon place’, at the mouth of the Toutle River (Jacobs 1934:231).

Thaleichthys pacificus, eulachon, *wílχína*, food; to Mossyrock:

Lower Cowlitz/Taitnapam:

Cowlitz Prairie, ca. 5 miles ne of Toledo north of the Cowlitz River;
 “occasionally would reach Cowlitz Prairie, and they [the λ k^w *ilipam*] would catch them.... a great many died of smelts [poisoning]” (Jacobs 1934:225, Mary Eyley).

Catostomus macrocheilus, *nchí-xíwín*, *χíwún*[-ash], place name, food:

Taitnapam:

ptís ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [> 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *σχουνί*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).
χíwúnash ‘place for suckers’ (Jacobs 1934:230); a creek opposite Nesika [on the opposite side from Landers Creek] on the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:242).

Fish, edible, in general, *waykánash*, food:

Lower Cowlitz/Taitnapam:

shüq^w’k^u, the Toutle River, a fishing site (Jacobs 1934:231).

Taitnapam:

áχ^wami, possibly at Kiona Creek on the Cowlitz River; a fishing place (Jacobs 1934:237, 245).

ayám’ayam ‘trout’, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

ch’áchin ‘winter wren [*Troglodytes troglodytes*]’, “(a rocky narrows four miles above Cosmos) is a good place to catch (fish) food, a great quantity of food is taken (there), at the whirlpool at *ch’áchin* there is always food to be caught . (3) ‘There will be many people there. In future, they will have a good big time, they will always catch food (there)’” (Jacobs 1934:242).

ch’alch’álsh, Winston Creek, below Mayfield, at the Cowlitz River, “(4) At that place he made a place to catch fish, he made a seat from which to spear fish, he made it for spearing better, so that one could tug strong and not fall into the water. (5) There in the river he made a place where it boils and bubbles, there fish come out on the surface, right there he speared them” (Jacobs 1934:239).

chyawnu-nmí ‘of gills’, a place on the Cowlitz River, > 7 miles above Randle (Jacobs 1934:237).

Cispus River; fisheries noted (Hajda et al. 1995:34).

- Clear Fork, of the Cowlitz River; a Taitnapam camp; fish and game abundant in the area (Hajda et al. 1995:37).
- Cowlitz Falls = *q'up*, on the upper Cowlitz River; “The site of the largest Taitnapam settlement... a major fishing site” (Hajda et al. 1995:38); archaeological evidence for use of the site for at least 4,300 years (Ellis et al. 1991)..
- luts'a-nmí* ‘of red’, “A place for catching fish” (Jacobs 1934:232).
- míts'ay-nmí*, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).
- Muddy Meadows; “...a camp here... from which Indians left to fish in the Cispus River” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).
- Muddy Fork of the Cowlitz River = *muk-muk*; “A summer camp and fishing place, with huckleberries and deer in the mountains nearby” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).
- nch'í iwachash* ‘big salmon resting place’, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).
- Ohanapecosh = *awxanapayk-ash*, on the Ohanapecosh River; the upper limit of salmon and other fisheries in the Cowlitz Basin (Jacobs 1934:228, 246); cf. the species listed for likalwit, just downstream at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh River.
- Packwood Lake = *shyúyk*; “[the lake] evidently supplied fish” (Hajda et al. 1995:45); “Those little trout would enter them [little streams that flow into the lake], for my people to catch” [introduced by pshwánwapam from Lake Kachees (k'átsis)] (*Jacobs 1934:231).
- páps* ‘Douglas fir’, “(a creek)... (good) for catching salmon [at Cowlitz Falls] ... There the people used to dip-net fish” (Jacobs 1934:230).
- ptís* ‘muskrat [*Ondatra zibethica*]’, [> 4 miles above Cosmos] “they will catch trout [*tkwalá*] and salmon trout [*ayáy*], at that *ptís* they will make trout hooks, there they will get food with long ropes, they will haul them out of the water, early in the morning they will see a great many fish [*waykánash*], trout, salmon trout, Dolly Varden [*chíwa*], graylings [sic., actually mountain whitefish, *sxuuní*], suckers [*χíwún*]” (Jacobs 1934:242).
- shchúush*, creek near Ohanapecosh; “for fish” (Jacobs 1934:229).
- shiq'k*, a Kiona Creek in the upper Cowlitz River basin; a fishing place (Hajda et al. 1995:48); “a salmon fishing place [at Kiona farm, one mile below Randle]” (Jacobs 1934:229).
- shq'ímsh* ‘large soft maple’, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).
- shq'uni*, Tumwater Creek, below Cowlitz Falls on the Cowlitz River; “a great many people used to stay and obtain fish here” (Hajda et al. 1995:48).
- shxúmtani*, an eddy and fishing site below Riffe, on the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:231).
- siimán*, “A ‘fishing creek’ below Cowlitz Falls, perhaps Goat Creek” (Jacobs 1934:230; Hajda et al. 1995:49).
- Skate Creek = *chqit*; important Taitnapam camp; fish dried here (Hajda et al. 1995:36); a fishing site (Hajda et al. 1995:37).
- Tatoosh Mountain = *níqut* ‘breast’; “... a fishing camp was located here; salmon could be caught in Muddy Fork and Ohanapecosh rivers.... grass for horses” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

waynp-as, “Yoke (Jacobs 1934:228) ... applied the name to a stream near the mouth of Clear Fork [of the Cowlitz River] on which a fishing site was located” (Hajda et al. 1995:53).

wáχʔ'ki, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

xiit'áy, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

xúlimshch'i, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

yawúinkniki, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

yawaluuní, “a fishing site” (Jacobs 1934:230).

Klickitat:

Big Goose Lake/Goose Lake = *ákak*, in the Indian Heaven area; a base camp for Columbia River Indians, though avoided by some due to supernatural associatios; “Fish were trapped in a 15-foot crater on an island in the lake...” (Hajda et al. 1995:35).

Carson: “At the mouth of the Wind River, the town is a reference point for a much wider area, in particular for Mowich Mountain. The area provided fish, game birds, and berries better in the past than at present, but early huckleberries and chokecherries may still be found. This was once Klickitat country, but other river people, including those now at Warm Springs, use the area (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

Cat Creek, near Hamilton Butte; fishing mentioned for this site (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

chikash, in the Indian Heaven area, possibly at Sheep Lakes; fish are noted (Hajda et al., 1995:37).

Lewis River, generally; “Several fishing sites were located along the river..., and the surrounding area provided hunting...” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Lower Falls of the Lewis River; “A much frequented fishing spot at the mouth of Chickoon Creek...” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Meadow Creek Camp = *psawas-wáakuʔ*; “a base camp for gathering cedar and huckleberries, fishing, and hunting...” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Mosquito Lakes = *wawayash*, in the Indian Heaven area; “A Klickitat summer camp... and a popular fishing spot... (Hajda et al. 1995:43).

skalxLmax = sq'ldalpʔ; “The Chinook village was occupied year-round; the warm-season fishery drew Sahaptin relatives as well as the resident Chinookans” (Hajda et al. 1995:49).

Steamboat Lake = *kak-ya-me-wa-tam*, “due east of Mosquito Lakes in the White Salmon River drainage... a fishing place (Hajda et al. 1995:41).

Surprise Lakes = *iskis watám*, in the Indian Heaven area, between Cold Spring and Twin Buttes; “Fish and game are to be found, as cinnamon bears once were” (Hajda et al. 1995:50).

Wind River; “A trail used by Columbia River people to get to the berry fields followed the river.... Fish are taken at places along the river” (Hajda et al. 1995:53).

Yakama/Taitnapam:

Walupt Lake = panaxpi; “A camp and fishing site were located at the head of the lake. Besides fish, huckleberries and blueberries were found in the area. The lake... was considered to be traditional Yakama territory (Jacobs 1934:233; Hajda et al. 1995:45).

Some kind of fish, *ts'wán*, food:

Some kind of fish?, *lakutín*:

Freshwater clams, *xístú*, food:

Klickitat:

Trout Creek, a creek with campsite near Trout Lake; “freshwater clams were gathered here” (Hajda et al. 1995:52).

9.2. Appendix 2: Bird and mammal species and traditional hunting sites in Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades territories west of the Cascade divide

Game, in general:

Taitnapam:

shmlisha, “This valley stream on the upper Nisqually is where Yoke spoke of driving animals into water” (Hajda et al. 1995:37).

Clear Fork, of the Cowlitz River; a Taitnapam camp; fish and game abundant in the area (Hajda et al. 1995:37).

Klickitat:

Blue Lake, in the Indian Heaven area; “game” here (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

Lewis River, generally; “Several fishing sites were located along the river..., and the surrounding area provided hunting...” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Meadow Creek Camp = *psawas-wáakuł*; “a base camp for gathering cedar and huckleberries, fishing, and hunting...” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Mt. St. Helens; “hunting continues” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Mowich Butte, a mountain above Carson near the mouth of the Wind River; “River people were once the primary users; it is popular with Indians from Warm Springs, many of whom were also ‘river people’. Huckleberries, game birds, and game were once taken here... (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Race Track = *kalamát*, “at the southwest end of the Indian Heaven Wilderness...”; “Though Ray... lists it as Klickitat, this was a well known summer gathering place for Pine Creek and Rock Creek and perhaps other river people....game... among the resources.... horse races...” (Hajda et al. 1995:47).

Surprise Lakes = *iskis watám*, in the Indian Heaven area, between Cold Spring and Twin Buttes; “Fish and game are to be found, as cinnamon bears once were” (Hajda et al. 1995:50).

East Crater = *tuksay-wáakuł* ‘resembles bucket, cup’, in the Indian Heaven Wilderness; a hunting area” (Hajda et al. 1995:52).

Oreamnos americanus, mountain goat, *wáw*, meat; horn; hide:

Taitnapam:

asaasa-nmí, the Tatoosh Range or some part thereof; mountain goat hunting (Jacobs 1934:236; McWhorter n.d.).

áshash, in the Goat Rocks area; mountain goat hunting (Jacobs 1927-1931); “There is a mountain goat place named *áshash* (‘go inside place’; ‘Goat Rock’ now), a great rocky place, tthere the people got mountain goats, there used to be a great many mountain goats (there)” (Jacobs 1934:233, fide Jim Yoke);

Oo-ishe, in the Goat Rocks area; “a place to get mountain goats” (Hines 1992:275-281; McWhorter n.d.).

- Goat Rocks area, on the Tieton-Cispus divide; “in addition to mountain goats... blacktail deer... (Hajda et al. 1995:39).
- Hamilton Butte = *sit'áxs* ‘liver’, on the Lewis-Cispus divide; “Mountain goats... were [hunted and] smoke-dred in a cave... (Hajda et al. 1995:39).
- l̓kálwit*, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41).
- m̓liish-insh*, “Hunting for mountain goats took place at the head of the Cispus River... at ‘tongue-place’” (Hajda et al. 1995:43).
- Mt. Rainier; a source of mountain goats (Jacobs 1934:243; Hajda et al. 1995:44).
- Mt Rainier National Park: “‘Klickitat’ Indian men are reported by Allen... to have hunted goat on the flanks of Mt. Rainier while their women were gathering huckleberries. Inasmuch as these Indian parties are said to have crossed the Cascades from the sagebrush plains to the Park region, it may be presumed that in this instance the Yakima, not the Klickitat, are intended” (Allan H. Smith 1964:194). “Sluisin [a Taidnapam resident at Packwood], Hazard Stevens’ guide in his 1870 ascent of Mt. Rainier, is said by Stevens (1916:108) to have ‘frequently hunted the mountain sheep [sic., mountain goat is meant] upon the snow-fields of Takhoma’ (Allan H. Smith 1964:195).
- Mt. Wow, in the southwestern corner of the Park between the South Puyallup and Nisqually Rivers.... is unquestionably a popular rendering of the Sahaptin term for ‘mountain goat’.... The reason for this Sahaptin designation of the mountain seems clear when it is recalled that the people occupying this headwaters Nisqually country were Sahaptin-speakers; they were the ‘Meshal’. In short, it seems probable that it was these ‘Meshal’ (not the distant Yakima, Kittitas, or Taidnapam) who were responsible for this native toponym (Allan H. Smith 1964:205-206).
- pákink-ash* ‘place of the barrier’, at the foot of Mt. Rainier on the Cowlitz River; “Mountain goats... were hunted...” (Hajda et al. 1995:45).
- Purcell Mountain; “Resources include grouse and huckleberries, while goats were found on a mountain to the north...” (Hajda et al. 1995:47).
- qwnántim*, “at *sqipqip-ash-nmí* in the southwest corner of Mount Rainier National Park in the Nisqually River drainage, possibly Mineral Creek”; mountain goats found here (Hajda et al. 1995:47).
- shamchashwák^wł*, ‘resembling orange-pink face paint’, a mountain goat place (Jacobs 1934:233).
- shipanchash-wákuł*, a “large, rocky, orange-pink colored mountain in the Cispus River drainage headwaters on the Cascade crest was an area for mountain goats” (Hajda et al. 1995:48); *shipinchash-wák^wł* ‘resembling face paint’, a large rocky mountain [further on from Goat Rocks] (Jacobs 1934:233).

shúukshash ‘the knower’, “Goat Rocks in the Cispus River drainage... meat was smoke-dried in a cave” (Hajda et al. 1995:49); a mountain goat place (Jacobs 1934:233).

túli ‘cave’, a cave at *xit’ay* mountain, on Mt. Rainier near headwaters of the Cowlitz; mountain goat meat was smoke-dried here (Hajda et al. 1995:52).

wilawayk-ash ‘jump across place’, a waterfall near the head of the Cowlitz River; “There is... a ‘large rock cave’ here where mountain goat meat... was smoke-dried” (Hajda et al. 1995:53).

Odocoileus hemionus columbianus, black-tail deer, *ʔ’álk*, meat, hide, bone:

Taitnapam:

Goat Rocks area, on the Tieton-Cispus divide; “in addition to mountain goats... blacktail deer... (Hajda et al. 1995:39).

Mt. Rainier: “Deer... was the primary game sought by all four tribal groups [Yakima, Taidnapam, Nisqually, Puyallup]. They were stalked with bow and arrow... not... driven over cliffs nor pursued with dogs...” (Allan H. Smith 1964:185). “The Indians from the sagebrush plains east of the Cascades are said ... to have hunted deer on Mt. Rainier while their women picked huckleberries. He identifies them as Klikatat; as we have observed the Yakima are evidently meant, to judge from their homeland” (Allan H. Smith 1964:185).

Deer, in general, *wínat*, food:

Lower Cowlitz/Taitnapam:

Lower Cowlitz (*ʔ’k’ílípam*) traded for huckleberries, deer, and elk meat with Taitnapams (Jacobs 1934:225, Mary Eyley).

Taitnapam:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

chqiit = Skate Creek; important Taitnapam camp; nearby mountains had deer in winter; game dried here (Hajda et al. 1995:36).

l̓kálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41).

Muddy Fork of the Cowlitz River = *muk-muk*; “A summer camp and fishing place, with huckleberries and deer in the mountains nearby” (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Yakama:

Potato Hill = *xwaami?*; “This was a traditionally Yakama place, on the Cispus/Klickitat divide north of Mt. Adams... The area provided... elk and deer; grizzlies and coyotes were in the area...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Klickitat:

Cold Springs = *k'p̓is wanaytt*, camp site used by Columbia River Indians, in the Indian Heaven area, to include the wider vicinity; “In addition to huckleberries, cedar, herbs and medicine, bear, deer, and elk are found in the area. Pasture for horses is available” (Hajda et al. 1995:37).

Cougar Rock, at the head of the east fork of the Lewis River; “the general area once had grouse and other game birds, salmon, and deer... (Hajda et al., 1995:38).

Sawtooth = *psawas-wáakuł*; “The name is used for the ridge on top of Sawtooth Mountain, for a meadow nearby, and more generally for the area. A summer camp... has been used by people from Rock Creek, Alderdale, and other places on the Columbia River as well as from the Yakama Reservation.... Resources include...deer, elk, bear, and mountain trout. Grizzlies... have been seen...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Twin Buttes = *luluk-ash-waakuł*; “A major summer camp for Yakamas and for Rock Creeks and other river people....also... deer, and trout” (Hajda et al. 1995:42).

Ovis canadensis, mountain sheep, *tnúun*,

Taitnapam/Yakama:

Mt. Rainier National Park: “...from Yakima Indians who had hunted in what is now the park, Schmoe..., former Park Naturalist..., learned that some thirty or forty years previous to the time of his report [i.e., c. 1890] ‘there were a few sheep to be found on the mountain’.... ‘Old Indian Jim’ [likely Jim Yoke, Taitnapam] is reported to have killed a sheep about 1890 over on the Cowlitz somewhere” (Allan H. Smith 1964:209-210).

Cervus canadensis, elk, *knúwat*, *tashímka*, female, meat, hide, place name;

Cervus canadensis, elk, [*wi*]yapnít, male, place name:

Taitnapam:

Mt. Rainier: "... native elk [judged to have been Roosevelt elk, *Cervus canadensis roosevelti*] ... were said to have been hunted by the Yakima, Taidnapam, and Nisqually.... ... mentions elk among the animals hunted by the 'Yakimas and Klickitats' when they came each summer into the high valleys of Mt. Rainier Park to hunt and collect wild berries" (Allan H. Smith 1964:188-189).
yapnítash 'elk place', a rock in the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:230).

Klickitat:

Cold Springs = *k'pís wanaytt*, camp site used by Columbia River Indians, in the Indian Heaven area, to include the wider vicinity; "In addition to huckleberries, cedar, herbs and medicine, bear, deer, and elk are found in the area. Pasture for horses is available" (Hajda et al. 1995:37).
tashimka-mí 'of the female elk', a lake (Hajda et al. 1995:51, fide Virginia Beavert Martin).

Equus caballus, horse, *k'úsi*:

Taitnapam:

Backbone Mountain, a trail ran up this ridge from Lawiswis Campground to Mt. Rainier; good for grazing horses (Hajda et al. 1995:35).
 Chapman Prairie, in the Big Bottom area of the upper Cowlitz River; a winter camp (Taidnapam ?); grazing for horses (Hajda et al., 1995:37).
 Davis Mountain, north of the Cowlitz River between Packwood and Randle; "grass for horses was available" (Hajda et al. 1995:39).
 Tatoosh Mountain = *níqut* 'breast'; "... a fishing camp was located here; salmon could be caught in Muddy Fork and Ohanapecosh rivers.... grass for horses" (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Yakama:

Potato Hill = *xwaami*?; "This was a traditionally Yakama place, on the Cispus/Klickitat divide north of Mt. Adams... The area provided... elk and deer; grizzlies and coyotes were in the area...." (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Klickitat:

chikash, in the Indian Heaven area, possibly at Sheep Lakes; horse grazing and a race track are noted (Hajda et al., 1995:37).
 Cold Springs = *k'pís wanaytt*, camp site used by Columbia River Indians, in the Indian Heaven area, to include the wider vicinity; "In addition to huckleberries, cedar, herbs and medicine, bear, deer, and elk are found in the area. Pasture for horses is available" (Hajda et al. 1995:37).
 Grand Meadows, a meadow on the Pacific Crest Trail; "Grass for horses was available here" (Hajda et al. 1995:39).

Race Track = *kalamát*, “at the southwest end of the Indian Heaven Wilderness...”; “Though Ray... lists it as Klickitat, this was a well known summer gathering place for Pine Creek and Rock Creek and perhaps other river people....game... among the resources.... horse races...” (Hajda et al. 1995:47).

Sawtooth = *psawas-wáakuł*; “The name is used for the ridge on top of Sawtooth Mountain, for a meadow nearby, and more generally for the area. A summer camp... has been used by people from Rock Creek, Alderdale, and other places on the Columbia River as well as from the Yakama Reservation.... Resources include...deer, elk, bear, and mountain trout. Grizzlies... have been seen...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Felis concolor, cougar, *k^w’aawí*:

Taitnapam:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

Ursus horribilis, grizzly bear, *wapaan-tá*:

Yakama:

Potato Hill = *xwaami?*; “This was a traditionally Yakama place, on the Cispus/Klickitat divide north of Mt. Adams... The area provided... elk and deer; grizzlies and coyotes were in the area...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Klickitat:

Sawtooth = *psawas-wáakuł*; “The name is used for the ridge on top of Sawtooth Mountain, for a meadow nearby, and more generally for the area. A summer camp... has been used by people from Rock Creek, Alderdale, and other places on the Columbia River as well as from the Yakama Reservation.... Resources include...deer, elk, bear, and mountain trout. Grizzlies... have been seen...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Ursus [Euarctos] americanus, black bear, *anahuí*:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

Bear Prairie, at the head of Skate Creek, along a trail from near Packwood on the Cowlitz to the Nisqually Basin near Longmire; as the name suggests, bear were abundant here (Hajda et al. 1995:35).

likálwit, at the junction of the Clear Fork of the Cowlitz and the Ohanapecosh Rivers; “A permanent Taitnapam village... at the junction of the Clear Fork and Muddy Fork Rivers. It was the furthest upriver settlement of the Taitnapams. This was a major fishing site where ‘salmon, chinook salmon, steelhead, silverside, graylings, Dolly Varden, and dog salmon’ were caught and dried by Yakamas as well as Upper Cowlitz people. Huckleberries, salal berries, blackberries, goats, bear, and deer were gathered or hunted in the vicinity and prepared and dried here” (Hajda et al. 1995:41).

Mt. Rainier: “Bear [*Ursus americanus*] are reported by Schmoe... as having been one of the animals hunted each summer by the ‘Yakimas and Klickitats’ when they journeyed into the high valleys of Mt. Rainier to secure game and gather berries” (Allan H. Smith 1964:192).

Klickitat:

Cold Springs = *k’p̄is wanaytt*, camp site used by Columbia River Indians, in the Indian Heaven area, to include the wider vicinity; “In addition to huckleberries, cedar, herbs and medicine, bear, deer, and elk are found in the area. Pasture for horses is available” (Hajda et al. 1995:37).

Sawtooth = *psawas-wáakut*; “The name is used for the ridge on top of Sawtooth Mountain, for a meadow nearby, and more generally for the area. A summer camp... has been used by people from Rock Creek, Alderdale, and other places on the Columbia River as well as from the Yakama Reservation.... Resources include...deer, elk, bear, and mountain trout. Grizzlies... have been seen...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Surprise Lakes = *isk̄is watám*, in the Indian Heaven area, between Cold Spring and Twin Buttes; “Fish and game are to be found, as cinnamon bears once were” (Hajda et al. 1995:50).

Lutra canadensis, river otter, *nuksháy*, place name:

Taitnapam:

nukshay-nmí ‘of otter’, a camp site below Cowlitz Falls (Jacobs 1934:230).

Mephitis macroura, striped skunk, *Tiskáya*, myth character

Canis latrans, coyote, *Spilyáy*, myth character:

Taitnapam:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

Yakama:

Potato Hill = *xwaami*?; “This was a traditionally Yakama place, on the Cispus/Klickitat divide north of Mt. Adams... The area provided... elk and deer; grizzlies and coyotes were in the area...” (Hajda et al. 1995:46).

Erethizon dorsatum, porcupine, *shíshaash*, food:

Taitnapam:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

mouse, *lakas[-nmí]*, , myth character, place name:

Klickitat:

“Hool-hool-pam (also Hoolho-olsie) – “mouse land.” “Mouse land” refers to a myth about a giant and his mouse-consort murdered by the giant’s wife (Gibbs (1854:424-425). The place was in the lava area between Goose Lake and the Ice Caves, since the giant’s wife dug a lava tube to find the mouse. Another source... identifies Hool-hool-sie with Beaver Creek” (Hajda et al., 1995:39-40).

Ondatra zibethicus, *ptís[-as]*, place name:

Taitnapam:

ptísas ‘muskrat place’, a creek at Nesika on the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:230, 242).

Tamiasciurus douglasii, Douglas squirrel, *sinmí*, myth character:

Taitnapam:

áyun-ash, a campsite near Red Mountain in the Indian Heaven area; Yakama consultants report bear, deer, porcupine, squirrels, cougar, and coyote in the area (Hajda et al., 1995:35).

Marmota caligata, hoary marmot, *wáwshit’un*, food:

Taitnapam:

Mt. Rainier National Park: “Smaller animals, as marmots... and grouse, were also hunted by the Yakima, and doubtless by other groups as well, within the bounds of the Park” (Allan H. Smith 1964:210). “Hazard Stevens (1916:123-

124) reports that in 1870 his guide Sluisin, apparently a Taidnapam..., while camped in the Sluisin Falls area at the head of Paradise River, killed and dressed our marmot as food” (Allan H. Smith 1964:212).

Aplodonia rufa, mountain beaver, *shq^w’lá*, hides, place name:

Taitnapam:

shqw’la-nmí ‘of mountain beaver’, “a big mountain on a ridge summit at ‘white’ creek in the Cowlitz River drainage. It may possibly be Hogback Mountain” (Jacobs 1934:233; Hajda et al. 1995:48).

Lepus americanus, *nukash*, fide Minnie Placid (Hardy 1964c).

Birds of significance

Game birds, in general

Klickitat:

Carson: “At the mouth of the Wind River, the town is a reference point for a much wider area, in particular for Mowich Mountain. The area provided fish, game birds, and berries better in the past than at present, but early huckleberries and chokecherries may still be found. This was once Klickitat country, but other river people, including those now at Warm Springs, use the area (Hajda et al. 1995:36).
Cougar Rock, at the head of the east fork of the Lewis River; “the general area once had grouse and other game birds, salmon, and deer... (Hajda et al., 1995:38).

Mowich Butte, a mountain above Carson near the mouth of the Wind River; “River people were once the primary users; it is popular with Indians from Warm Springs, many of whom were also ‘river people’. Huckleberries, game birds, and game were once taken here... (Hajda et al. 1995:44).

Gavia immer, common loon, *wáan[-mí]*, place name [‘swan’]:

Taitnapam:

waan-mí, a creek 6-7 miles above Randle (Jacobs 1934:237).

Cathartes aura, *k’shpali*, fide Minnie Placid (Hardy 1964c).

Grouse, in general:

Taitnapam:

Mt. Rainier National Park: blue (sooty) grouse [*Dendragapus fuliginosus*] likely hunted in appropriate habitat [“in meadows between 4000 and 6000 feet”] on the mountain, but no positive evidence cited (Allan H. Smith 1964:213-216). Purcell Mountain; “Resources include grouse and huckleberries, while goats were found on a mountain to the north...” (Hajda et al. 1995:47).

Klickitat:

Cougar Rock, at the head of the east fork of the Lewis River; “the general area once had grouse and other game birds, salmon, and deer... (Hajda et al., 1995:38).

Bonasa umbellus, ruffed grouse, *sampasá*, bird [food?] [‘pheasants’]:

Taitnapam:

Mt. Rainier National Park: ruffed grouse [*Dendragapus fuliginosus*] likely hunted in appropriate habitat [“lower, heavy forests of the southern boundary [of the Park]”], but no positive evidence cited (Allan H. Smith 1964:212-213). *xtsxitx-as* ‘water-parsley [*Oenanthe sarmentosa*] place’, near Cowlitz Falls on the upper Cowlitz River; “Blue jays, pheasants [ruffed grouse], and other birds (*wáwχs*) were also here” (Hajda et al. 1995:54).

Actitis macularia, spotted sandpiper, *yítyit[-ash]*, place name [‘snipe’]:

Taitnapam:

yítyitash “‘snipe place’, an open place near Randle” (Jacobs 1934:245).

Columba fasciata, band-tailed pigeon, *wit’iq’in*, place name:

Taitnapam:

wit’iq’inash ‘pigeon place’, a hill 3 miles below Nesika in the upper Cowlitz River (Jacobs 1934:231).

Trochilidae, hummingbird in general, *Qmîmsayá[-s]*, myth character, place name:

Taitnapam:

qmîmsayás ‘hummingbird place’, “(an open place below Cosmos)” (Jacobs 1934:242).

Melanerpes lewis, síwsiw, myth character

Corvus corax, raven, *χίχux*, a myth character, place name:

Klickitat:

“ho-ho-lah-me – from $\chi\acute{u}\chi u\chi$, “raven,” “River of crows,” a name that may refer to Wind River. It is referred to in a myth. “Speel-ye and the Five Sisters of the Che-Wana,” recorded by McWhorter (n.d.)” (Hajda et al., 1995:39).

Corvus brachyrhynchos, American crow, $\acute{a}'a$, myth character

Cyanocitta stelleri, Steller’s jay, $X^w ash\chi^w \acute{a}ya$; $\chi^w \acute{a}sh\chi^w ay$, myth character; bird:

Taitnapam:

xtsxitx-as ‘water-parsley place’, near Cowlitz Falls on the upper Cowlitz River; “Blue jays, pheasants [ruffed grouse], and other birds ($w\acute{a}w\chi s$) were also here” (Hajda et al. 1995:54).

Troglodytes troglodytes, winter wren, $ch' \acute{a}ch\acute{i}n$, $Ch' \acute{a}ch' iinya$, $Ch' \acute{a}ch' iinya$, place name, myth character:

Taitnapam:

$ch' \acute{a}ch\acute{i}n$ ‘winter wren [*Troglodytes troglodytes*]’, “(a rocky narrows four miles above Cosmos) is a good place to catch (fish) food, a great quantity of food is taken (there), at the whirlpool at $ch' \acute{a}ch\acute{i}n$ there is always food to be caught . (3) ‘There will be many people there. In future, they will have a good big time, they will always catch food (there)’” (Jacobs 1934:242).

Some kind of bird, $w\acute{a}w\chi s$, bird, myth character:

Taitnapam:

xtsxitx-as ‘water-parsley place’, near Cowlitz Falls on the upper Cowlitz River; “Blue jays, pheasants [ruffed grouse], and other birds ($w\acute{a}w\chi s$) were also here” (Hajda et al. 1995:54).

Some kind of bird, $sts\acute{i}tsi$, bird, myth character

9.3. Appendix 3: Plant species and traditional gathering sites in Taitnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades territories west of the Cascade divide

Summary of Taidnapam, Klickitat, and Cascades plant uses from Gunther (1973 [1945]; Jacobs 1934, 1937a; Allan H. Smith 1964; Hajda et al. 1995); close phonemic renditions are italicized.

BERRIES, IN GENERAL, *tímanít*,
food (Jacobs 1934:228).

“... berries form the chief food of the natives [along the Klickitat Trail] at this season (late summer) ...” (Cooper 1853:4).

ROOT FOODS, IN GENERAL, *χnít*,
roots with direct object suffix, *χnít-nan*, food at *lalálχ* (Jacobs 1934:239).

ROOT, IN GENERAL, *mítsay*, place name
of roots, *mítsay-nmí*, place name (Jacobs 1934:230).

FUNGI

Fomes sp.
tialaxo'xo, tech (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

ACERACEAE

Acer circinatum Pursh
, , *technology

Acer macrophyllum Pursh
cuk'ums, technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).
large soft maple, *shítq 'imsh*, place name (Jacobs 1934:230).
soft maple, *shítq 'imsh*, place name, a mountain (Jacobs 1934:237).
of soft maples, *shítq 'imsh-nmí*, material to make dip nets (Jacobs 1934:241).
Lower Cowlitz made woven maple bark mats (Gogol 1985:8)

ALISMATACEAE

Sagittaria latifolia Willd., wapato, food

APIACEAE

Heracleum lanatum Michx.
**tχú[-wash]*, place name (Mary Kiona).
weed place, *tχú-wash*, place name, large and small huckleberries (Jacobs 1934:233).

Ligusticum canbyi Coult. & Rose

**ayún*, *med

Yakima sought medicinal root in Mt. Rainier NP, *áyun*; “as much as 20 pounds, a 3 or 4 year supply, were dug at one time” (Allan H. Smith 1964:224).

stopped from harvesting *áyun* by park rangers recently (Elsie Albert Selam personal communication, 2001).

Oenanthe sarmentosa Presl.

x̄tsxu'ts, young stems, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

vegetable, stalks eaten, *χtsχʰts*, food, young stems (Jacobs 1934:243).

vegetable, stalks eaten, *χtsχʰts-as*, place name (Jacobs 1934:243).

wild carrots, *ptíwi*, place name (Jacobs 1934:233).

ARACEAE

Lysichitum americanum Hultén & St. John

ka'ilet, plant; dipdi'p, seed stalk, food; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

**q'ilt*, plant; *patch*, *shq'ilq'ilt*, place name

skunk cabbage, *shq'ilq'ilt*, place name, a stream (Jacobs 1934:231).

ARALIACEAE

Oplopanax horridum (Smith) Miq

sqaipqa'ipas, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

sqipqip-ash-nmí, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:233).

ASTERACEAE

Achillea millefolium L.

w3p3nw3'p3n, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Arctium minus (Hill) Bernh.

tcuktcu'k, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Balsamorhiza deltoidea Nutt., *qáls*, *food

roots (*qáls*, perhaps from Salish) dug by Lower Cowlitz (Jacobs 1934:225).

Balsamorhiza sagittata (Pursh) Nutt.

sunflower, *χálya*, Klickitat place name (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983).

Cirsium edule Nutt.

**st'uux*, *food, Mary Kiona

Wyethia amplexicaulis Nutt., *piyík*, place name [-0], food (Jacobs 1934).

BERBERIDACEAE

Berberis sp.

(ł)k'wa'ukawus, food; technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

BETULACEAE

Alnus rubra Bong.

*technology

alder, *ixá'ixá*, place name (Jacobs 1934:229).

alder, *ixá'ixá*, place name, a stream (Jacobs 1934:232).

Corylus cornuta Marsh var. *californica* (DC.) Sharp = *Corylus californica*

k'ko'sas, tree; yuka'yuka', catkin; food, nuts (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

kkúush, Lower Cowlitz women prepared hazelnuts for winter (Jacobs 1934:225)

Lower Cowlitz women harvested hazelnuts at *Kawáswai* (Jacobs 1934:225)

hazel rope + with, *wípt-ki*, for fish dam fastenings (Jacobs 1934:241)

CAPRIFOLIACEAE

Lonicera ciliosa (Pursh) DC.

t'a'tcanminad'it, no use (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Sambucus cerulea Raf., mat'p, place name ?

Sambucus racemosa L. var. *arborescens* (T. & G.) Gray = *Sambucus callicarp*

t'cu'matas, food; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Lower Cowlitz women dried elderberries, *ch'mít*, for food (Jacobs 1934:225)

CUPRESSACEAE

Thuja plicata Donn.

nun̄k, tree; lot'sa'kes, bark; pa'lumkwi, lúway, shredded bark; technology , medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Lower Cowlitz women harvested, shredded cedar bark (*lúway*) at *Kawáswai* (Jacobs 1934:225)

nank-mí tákwan/psá, technology

green cedar bark (*płxaw lúway*) harvested (Jacobs 1934:226).

many cedars, *nán̄kn̄an̄ik*, place name (Jacobs 1934:230).

cedar root for basketry, Taitnapam basketry illustrated (Gogol 1985)

cedar bark for basketry, Taitnapam basketry illustrated (Gogol 1985:5, 6, 7)

“As of October 1994, 5,877 [peeled cedar] trees had been recorded from 321 individual sites” in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest (Hajda et al. 1995:12).

EQUISETACEAE

Equisetum hyemale L.

sikwsi'k, food (cone), technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).
 weed like horsetail, *swík-swikt*, place name (Jacobs 1934:230, 242).
siik^wsiik^w, place name (Jacobs 1934).

Equisetum telmateia Ehrh

smu q', plant, technology , xumxu m, roots, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

ERICACEAE

Gaultheria shallon Pursh

Lower Cowlitz women dried salal berries (*ník'uut*) (Jacobs 1934:225)
 Lower Cowlitz women harvested salal berries at *Kawáswai* (*ník'uut*) (Jacobs 1934:225)

Vaccinium spp., ripe fruit

*at'it, *food

huckleberry patch, *át'it'ash* (Jacobs 1934:229, 233).
 berry patch, *at'it-pamá* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 huckleberries with direct object suffix, *át'it-nan* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 large huckleberry, *át'it*, at *txú-wash*, not *ililmúk* (Jacobs 1934:233).

Vaccinium deliciosum Piper

small huckleberry, *ililmúk*, at *txú-wash* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 small huckleberry patch, *ililmúk-ash* (Jacobs 1934:233).

Vaccinium membranaceum Dougl.

Lower Cowlitz traded for these from the Upper Cowlitz, *wíwnu* (Jacobs 1934:225).
 huckleberry patch, *wíwnu-wash átításh* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 huckleberry patch, *wíwnu-wash* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 huckleberry patch, *wíwnu-yash* (Jacobs 1934:233).
 huckleberry patch mountain, *pít'xanu átításh, átításh pít'xanu* (Jacobs 1934:233).

Vaccinium scoparium Leiberg

q'ap = wiwlú-wiwlú, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).
 Lower Cowlitz women harvested small huckleberries at *Kawáswai* (Jacobs 1934:225)

FAGACEAE

Quercus garryana Dougl.

ts'u'nips, food; technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

FUMARIACEAE

Dicentra formosa (Andr.) Walp.

xwoixwoi'as, plant, no use; tumla'tumla' 'little hearts', no use
 (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

GROSSULARICACEAE

Ribes divaricatum Dougl.

tmuxwas, food; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

HYDRANGEACEAE

Philadelphus lewisii Pursh. = *Philadelphus gordonianus*

sa'xit, technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

*saxiyaas

LAMIACEAE

Mentha sp.

cu'xacu'xa, medicinal, tea; two varieties (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

LILIACEAE

Allium spp., *q^wláwi*[-yash], place name

Allium sp., *χánχan*[-ash], place name

wild onion, *χánχan*, food (Jacobs 1934:237).

wild onion place, *χánχan-ash*, place name (Jacobs 1934:237).

Brodiaea hyacinthina (Lindl.) Baker

root place, *sít'χ^ws-as*, place name (Jacobs 1934:237).

Camassia quamash (Pursh) Greene

wak'amo, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

roots dug by Lower Cowlitz (Jacobs 1934:225).

soaked camas eaten (Jacobs 1934:226).

k^w'iilt is a place with camas (Jacobs 1934:231).

camas place, *wáq'amu-yash*, place name, a mountain (Jacobs 1934:232).

camas with direct object suffix, *wáq'amu-un*, food at *lalálx* (Jacobs 1934:239).

camas, *wáq'amu*, food (Jacobs 1934:246).

prairies of the Lewis and Washougal River basins intentionally burned, in part to enhance camas harvests, "one of their principal vegetables... the whole tribe [Klikitat] resorts to them and encamps during June and July to gather the Kamass root" (Cooper 1855:12-13).

Clintonia uniflora (Schult.) Kunth.

hwik'hwakuł, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Erythronium montanum Wats., **xíik^wk*, *food

Lilium columbianum Hanson, paaná, spirit power

guardian spirit power for basket weaver (Jacobs 1934:227).

tiger lily roots with direct object suffix, *paaná-t-nan*, food at *lalálχ* (Jacobs 1934:239).

Veratrum viride Ait. = *Veratrum eschscholtzii*
mimu'n, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Xerophyllum tenax (Pursh) Nutt.

ya'i, yáy, technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

bear grass, for basketry imbrication, harvested in Mt. Rainier NP, especially in burns and meadows at 4000-6000 feet elevation (Allan H. Smith 1964:221); Taitnapam basketry illustrated, described (Gogol 1985:10-11)

lily sp., q'áwix [-ash], place name

lily root, q'áwχ, food (Jacobs 1934:237).

lily root place, q'áwix-ash, place name (Jacobs 1934:237).

NYMPHAEACEAE

Nuphar polysepalum Engelm.

kalamát, place name, race track in the Indian Heaven Wilderness, some of this species in a small tarn in the meadow; term perhaps a corruption of "Klamath," for whom this species, known as "wocas," is a key staple (Norton, Boyd, and Hunn 1983:138; David French personal communication).

OLEACEAE

Fraxinus latifolia Benth.

waxáywas[-as], *technology, place name

ashwood place, waxáywas-as, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:230, 242).

ORCHIDACEAE

Goodyera oblongifolia Raf. = *Peramium decipiens*

mli'smli's, tonic tea (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

OXALIDACEAE

Oxalis oregana Nutt

tcna''ai, food, leaves; medicinal, eyes (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

PINACEAE

Abies grandis (Dougl.) Forbes, *h̄q'áchin*, *h̄q'achin*, place name; *l̄ik'íl̄ik'í*, place name?

white fir, *h̄q'achin*, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:231, 239).

Pinus albicaulis Engelm.

n̄n̄ík-ash, tree; pine nuts, n̄n̄ík, food, harvested at timberline on Mt. Adams

Pseudotsuga menziesii (Mirbel) Franco var. *menziesii* = *Pseudotsuga taxifolia*
 ta'xsa, big tree; food; technology ; medicinal; charms (Gunther 1973 [1945]).
páps, *táxsha*; Douglas fir, place name (Jacobs 1934:230).
 ta'xsata'xsa; little firs, place name (Gunther 1973 [1945]).
 small young Douglas firs, *paps-páps*, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:231).
 thicket of young firs, *paps-páps*, place name (Jacobs 1934:242).
 Douglas firs, *páps**páps* *táxshataxsha*, habitat description (Jacobs 1934:232).

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg.
 sisku'pas, food; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

POACEAE

Avena sativa L., lawiin, food [< fr. l'avoine]

“grass like oats”, *aytalú*, place name
 grass like oats, *aytalú*, place name, a berry patch (Jacobs 1934:233).

[a sharp-edged grass], *q'uixlá*, technology
q'uixlá grass, *q'uixlá*, for cutting (Jacobs 1934:244).

POLYGONACEAE

Rumex sp.
 te'lwa'cus, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

POLYPODIACEAE

Adiantum pedatum L., *tsxlimay[-nmí]*, place name
 of maidenhair fern, *tsxlimay-nmí*, place name (Jacobs 1934:230).

Athyrium filix-femina (L.) Roth.
 qa'lqali, technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Dryopteris austriaca (Jacq.) Woynar = *Dryopteris dilatata*
 ts'kwai, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Polypodium glycyrrhiza D. C. Eat. = *Polypodium vulgare*
 k'łwe:lk, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Polystichum munitum (Kaulf.) Presl. var. *munitum*
 tsli'mai, technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Pteridium aquilinum (L.) Kuhn.
 te'a'latca, tops, food; tc'a'kum, rhizome, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

place name, *ch'alách'a* (Jacobs 1934:230).
 of ferns, *ch'alacha-nmí*, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:232).
 fern root place, *chákum-ash* (Jacobs 1934:229, 244).

PORTULACACEAE

Claytonia lanceolata

“Indian potato,” anipash, tubers eaten

Montia sibirica (L.) Howell = *Claytonia sibirica*

anipaswa'kuł, hair tonic (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

RANUNCULACEAE

Anemone sp.

lu'ła', medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Aquilegia formosa Fisch.

t'u'mts, no use (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

RHAMNACEAE

Rhamnus purshiana DC.

k'łota'ni (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

ROSACEAE

Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt., chcháya, food

Fragaria vesca L. var. *bracteata* (Heller) Davis = *Fragaria bracteata*, suspa'n, berry, food

suspa'n, berry, food; suspana's, plant, tea (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

strawberry place, *suspán-as*, place name (Jacobs 1934:231, 239).

strawberry with direct object suffix, *suspán-an*, food at *lalálχ* (Jacobs 1934:239).

Holodiscus discolor (Pursh) Maxim.

shq'umít, place name [-ins], *shq^w'mít, *technology

Oemleria cerasiformis (H. & A.) Landon = *Osmaronia cerasiformis*

t'skwani'yas, plant; tmuc, berry, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Prunus emarginata (Dougl.) Walp. var. *mollis* (Dougl.) Brew.

Lower Cowlitz used cherry bark for basketry imbrication (Gogol 1985:8)

Pyrus fusca Raf. = *Pyrus diversifolia*

ku'mtlas, plant; kumł, fruit, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Rosa nutkana Presl.

tca'pama:c, not eaten; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Rubus leucodermis Dougl.

ca'xatac, bush; ca'xat, berry, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Rubus ursinus Cham. & Schlecht. = *Rubus macropetalus*

wisi'kas, bush; wisi'k, fruit, food, tea; wiskalai 'little stickers (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

blackberry guardian-spirit power (Jacobs 1934:224, fide Mary Eyley).

Lower Cowlitz women dried blackberries (Jacobs 1934:225).

blackberries, *wisik* (Jacobs 1934:237).

blackberry patch, *wisik-as* (Jacobs 1934:237).

Rubus parviflorus Nutt.

k^uku:'cnas, food; technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Rubus spectabilis Pursh

e'twanac, plant, e'twan, berry, food (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

RUBIACEAE

Galium aparine L.

kamati', charm (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

SALICACEAE

Populus trichocarpa T. & G.

xu'p_xp, technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

cottonwood roots (*χἰpχἰp-nmí m'ítsay*) used to start fires (Jacobs 1934:226).

Salix spp.

táxsh; technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

willow branches used to start fires (Jacobs 1934:226).

willow, *ttíxsh*, material for making dip nets (Jacobs 1934:241).

Salix lasiandra Benth. var. *lasiandra*

duxsha'u, technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

SAXIFRAGACEAE

Tolmiea menziesii (Pursh) T. & G.

t'satsu'ms spama' tautmi'k^w, medicinal: 'for boils' (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

TAXACEAE

Taxus brevifolia Nutt.

wawani'nc, technology ; medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

TYPHACEAE

Typha latifolia L.

tstci'yux; shch'iw, technology (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

Lower Cowlitz made cattail mats (Gogol 1985:8)

URTICACEAE

Urtica dioica L. var. *lyallii* (Wats.) Hitchc. = *Urtica lyallii*

ala'la, alála, medicinal (Gunther 1973 [1945]).

nettles place, *alála-yash*, place name, a prairie (Jacobs 1934:231).

MISCELLANEOUS

algae, *laxpít*, place name

lichen, *taytáy*, place name

“tree moss,” place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:229).

“water moss”, *asaasa-[nmí]*, *laxpít-[nmí]*, place name

of water moss, *laxpít-nmí*, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:229).

of water moss, *asaasa-nmí*, place name, a mountain (Jacobs 1934:233).

[type of root], *xímxim*, food

roots with direct object suffix, *xímxim-nan*, food at *lalálx* (Jacobs 1934:239).

leaf, *páxapx*[-ash], place name

timber, *ílk^was*

burned areas

little fire cleared open place, place name, *ilwá'ílwá'ílwa* (Jacobs 1934:230).

little fire cleared open place, place name, *ílwáxam'ílwaxam* (Jacobs 1934:233).

little burned over place, *ílwá'ílwa*, place name, a stream (Jacobs 1934:232).

big burned over place, *inwa-nmí*, place name, a creek (Jacobs 1934:232).

fire clearing, *nuwaxám-insh*, place name, a mountain (Jacobs 1934:233).

little prairie, *tak-ták* (Jacobs 1934:233).