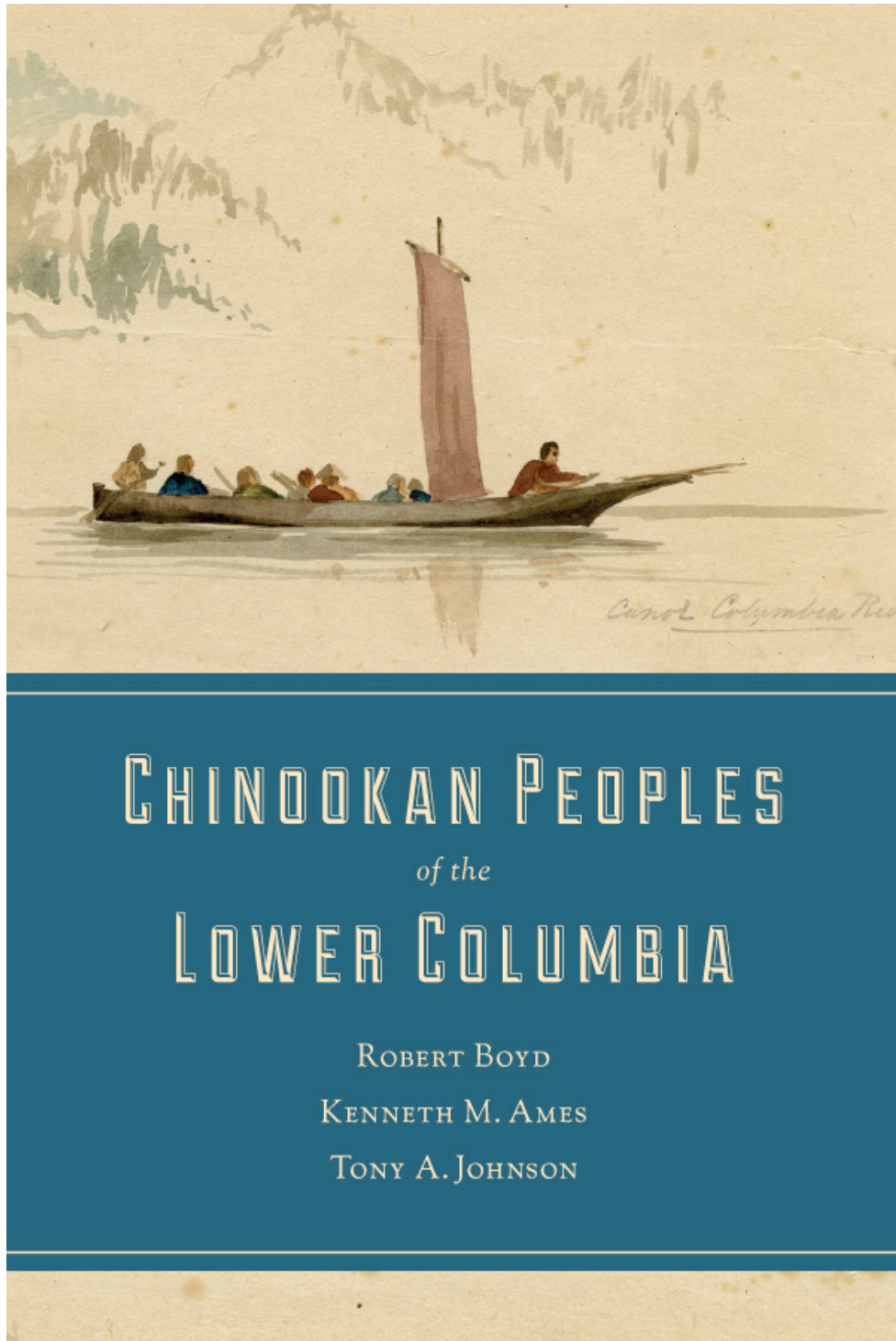


Supplemental Materials for:

Chapter 2: Cultural Geography of the Lower Columbia. David V. Ellis. *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia River* (R.T. Boyd, K.M. Ames, T. Johnson editors). University of Washington Press, Seattle 2013



**Table S 2.1. Lower Columbia Chinookan Villages:**  
Named sites from contemporary observers or multiple primary sources

Linguistic and ethnographic annotations by Henry Zenk

Ethnohistorical annotations by Robert Boyd

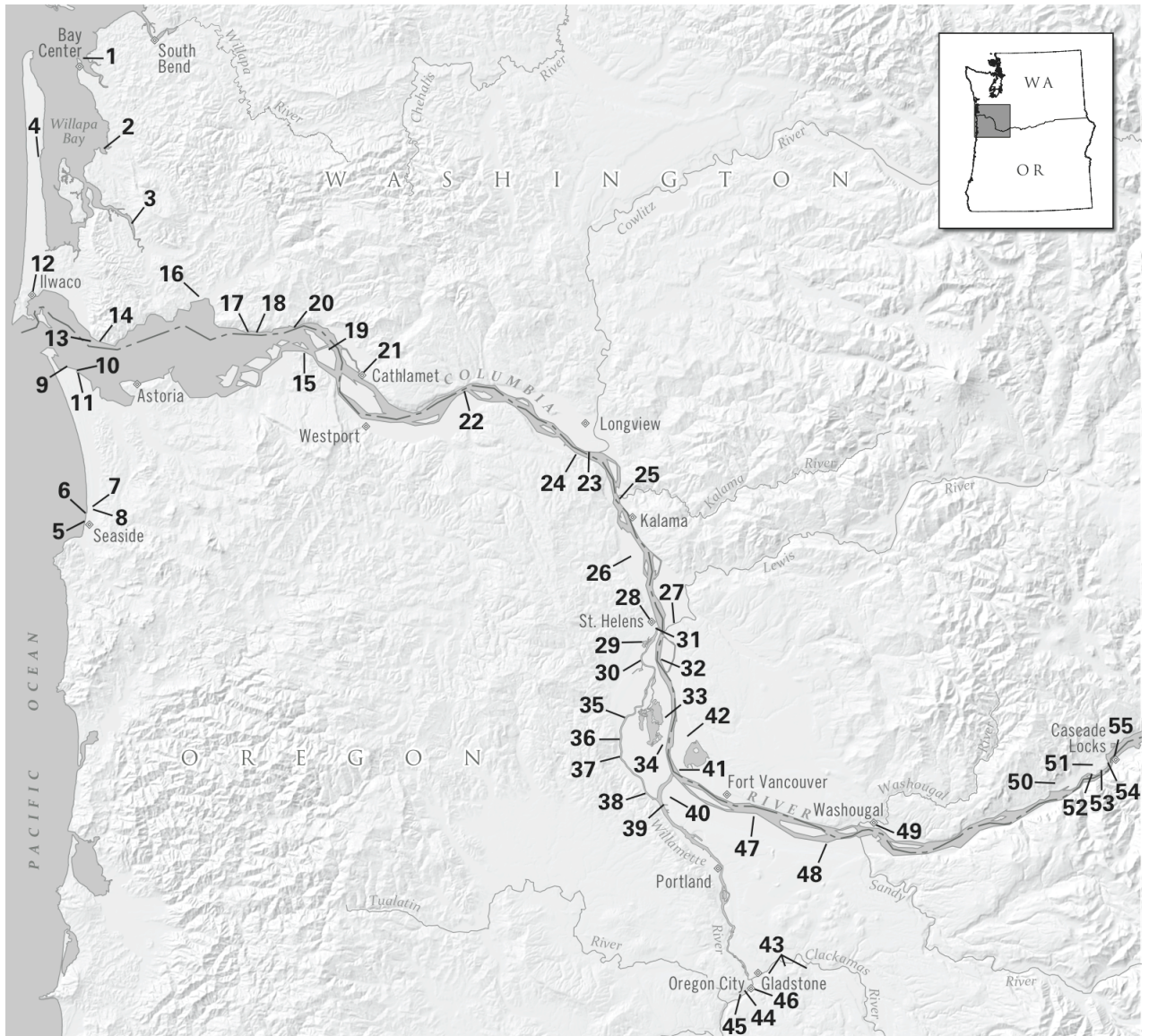
Base document by David Ellis

This table is not an exhaustive listing of names recorded for lower Columbia River villages and groups. Numbered villages and groups are those whose identifications are supported by: 1) known geographic locations (see map, page 3); 2) corroboration either from contemporary observers, or from independent mentions in at least two historical or ethnographic sources (citations of observers and sources key to the list of references, page 24). Accompanying *notes* add other names not meeting these criteria, where the sources cited are deemed more reliable. Note also: Lewis and Clark are considered “contemporary observers,” although they did not actually see all of the villages named in their journals. While staying with the Clatsop Chinookans during the winter of 1805-06, they acquired a degree of competency in what they took to be the “Clatsop language,” but which no doubt was actually a simplified Chinookan akin to the Chinuk Wawa of later record (see main volume, chapter 13). It was through this medium that they obtained descriptions of villages on Willapa Bay and in the densely populated Scappoose Bay/Multnomah Channel/Willamette Falls sections of lower Willamette River.

Most names cited from the first *Handbook of North American Indians* (Farrand 1907, 1910) are attributed to Franz Boas; we include some others in Boas’s own hand, preserved in the papers of Hodge compiler Livingston Farrand (ca. 1905). Boas’s principal source was Charles Cultee, a speaker of Chinook and Kathlamet. We have drawn upon Curtis (ca. 1910a, ca. 1910b) to identify most sources of names in Curtis (1911:180-183; abbreviated as Curtis 1911) and Curtis (1913:172-173; abbreviated as Curtis 1913); informants (where known) appear in parentheses following each abbreviated source-citation: (Millett) = Sam Millett, a Kathlamet speaker said to be 80 ca. 1910; (Martineau) = Marshall Martineau, a Métis (half-Cascades) riverboat captain; (E. Millett) = Esther Millett, Sam Millett’s wife, a Cowlitz (Salishan) speaker born about 1835. Ray (1938:38-41; abbreviated as Ray 1938) cites Sam and Esther Millett’s daughter, Emma Luscier, as well as Isabel Bertrand, both of Willapa Bay, Washington; Harrington (1981 [1942-43], mf rolls 17-18; abbreviated as Harrington 17.[frame no.], Harrington 18.[frame no.]) is mostly from Emma Luscier (we also cite from Harrington 1981 [1942-43], mf roll 20, abbreviated as Harrington 20.[frame no.]). While Emma Luscier’s father spoke Kathlamet, like other Bay Center Chinookans of his generation he used mainly local Salishan at home, with the result that Emma Luscier knew local Salishan and Chinuk Wawa, but little Chinookan.

*Other sources and abbreviations.* The journals of Lewis and Clark are cited by date (for example, Lewis and Clark 1/7/1806: journal entry dated January 7, 1806), so that they may be located in any published edition. *Lewis and Clark Estimate* refers to Lewis and Clark (1990:474-488); *Lewis and Clark Atlas* to Moulton (1983). Lyman (1900:320-321; abbreviated as Lyman 1900) cites Silas Smith, a part-Clatsop resident of Astoria, Oregon, and Louis La Bonte Jr., son of a Clatsop mother and a trader father, as original sources; Gairdner (1841:255-56) cites Michel LaFramboise, one of the original Astorians. Other abbreviations: Gibbs (1863:21-23) is abbreviated as Gibbs 1863, Silverstein (1990:534) as Silverstein, French and French (1998:362-63) as French and French.

*Transcription and spelling.* Where sufficient phonetic detail is available, technical spellings are provided using the alphabets of the new *Handbook of North American Indians* (e.g., Suttles 1990:x-xi). These are either italicized (to denote *phonemic* spellings); or bracketed (to denote phonetic spellings that have not been subjected to phonemic analysis). For example, the name of village no. 22 appears with the phonemic spellings *qániak*, *iqániak*; and the phonetic spellings [qʰán(i)yaq, iqʰániyaq]. Supporting citations of names from historical and ethnographic sources are given in their original spellings, arranged by date of original recording. For example, the foregoing name is also represented by the original spellings Iqā’niak (from Boas 1894), Qā’niak (from Boas 1901), and k’ā’niyak, k’ā’nyak’, ’ik’ā’niyak (from Harrington 1942).



**Map.** Numbered sites are those known from contemporary observers and/or multiple primary sources. Approximate locations were mapped by the authors with reference to cited historical sources and to French and French (1998:362-63), Hajda (1984:61-122), and Silverstein (1990:534). Volker Mell, GIS Coordinator for the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, compiled the results into the GIS database underlying this map, which was drafted by Jesse Nett for the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. It is used here by permission of the Oregon Historical Society. See Zenk, Hajda, Boyd (2016) for general background on the historical and ethnographic record of Chinookan villages, including supplemental detail on the sources used to compile this list.

(1–4) Willapa Bay: mixed Chinookan and Salishan at least by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

1. *λ'pílqs* 'slough covered by trees' (Salishan form, Boas and Harrington) <sup>1</sup>  
*git̓aλ'pílqs* 'those of *λ'pílqs*' (Chinookan-prefixed form of foregoing Salishan name)
 

Palux	Indians of the Copa'lux or Palux R.	Swan 1857 (1972:211)
Pé-luks, Ko-pé-luks	place-name (Palix R.)	Gibbs 1863
Gitlā'-t̓lpē'leks	"division of Chinook... living on Palix R."	Farrand 1910:195
ɬlpē'leq̓c	(Salishan form)	Farrand 1910:195
Kpelks	place-name (Palix R.)	Curtis 1913 (Millett)
toq'píluk̓s	Chinook village, m. of Palix R.	Ray 1938
t̓p'ílk̓s	(Salishan form)	Harrington 17.0032
  
2. *nímax<sup>w</sup>* (Silverstein)
 

Mar'hoo, Nemar	place-name (Nemah R.)	Swan 1857 (1972:26, 211)
Nēmax	place-name (unidentified)	Boas 1894:217.2
Nē'ma	village at Nemah, Wash.	Farrand 1910:54
	"Chehelis name"	
Ma'hw̓, Ní-ma'hw̓	Chinook-Salishan village, m. of Nemah R. 6 houses, 150 people (c1850)	Curtis 1911 (Millett)
  
3. *git̓t̓lilam* (?) (Chinookan name, Silverstein; Hymes: *git̓t̓lilam*) <sup>2</sup>  
*[núts'əl'áʔppun̓t̓]* 'wild-rose place' (Salishan name, Curtis) <sup>3</sup>  
*nisdál* (Boas)
 

Gílā'lēlam, Gílā'lelam	Naselle R. people (general term)	Boas 1894:260, 1901:201
Nóʔsaláppó <sup>an</sup> h̓l	head of Naselle R. estuary 8 houses, 200 people (c1850) Salishan "mixed with Chinook"	Curtis 1911 (Millett)  Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett)
Nasal	place-name (Naselle R.)	Swan 1857 (1972:211)
Ne-sal	place-name (Naselle R.)	Gibbs 1863
Nīsál	Naselle R. people	Farrand 1910:75
Ne'sl	place-name (Naselle R.)	Curtis 1911
inĩ'sál	village at head of Naselle R. estuary large all-year town	Ray 1938

<sup>1</sup> David Robertson (personal communication 2016) observes that the name *λ'pílqs* appears to be of Salishan origin: consisting of *λ'ap* 'deep' plus a lexical suffix (*-ilaqs* 'skirt'?).

<sup>2</sup> Boas's original spellings show the prefix complex as <Gílā'...>. The interpretation of Boas's <L> is problematic. Comparisons with other records of Chinookan reveal that he conflated the two segments [ɬ] (voiceless lateral fricative) and [t̓] (voiceless lateral affricate), representing both as <L> (published transcription) or as <tl> (earlier field transcription). While Boas's transcriptions of lexical stem forms can usually be corrected by comparing his spellings with cognate forms from other dialects (Dell Hymes personal communications to Tony A. Johnson and Henry Zenk ca. 1998), some confusion remains in the interpretation of certain prefix complexes. Silverstein reads the plural element *t-* into Boas's <L> here, evidently understanding the stem to be a plural noun based on *-tala* 'lake' + *-ilxam* 'town': hence, 'those of the lake town'. Hymes's (1955:130) analyzed respelling marks the noun-stem differently: *g-i-t̓t̓lilam* 'those of *-lilam* [no meaning given]' (*g-* 'those of', *i-* MASCULINE NOUN, *t̓t̓-* NEUTER-COLLECTIVE POSSESSIVE; original: *k-i-Lá-lilam* 'people of Nisal').

<sup>3</sup> Curtis's name is spelled and glossed following Harrington's (17.0174) recording of Lower Chehalis [ts'əl'áʔp̓ap̓un̓t̓] ts'al'l̓a'p̓ap̓o'n̓t̓ 'wild-rose'.



Note: Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) adds Nú'-hwas'hl 'blackberry place', a "mostly Chinook" village at the mouth of Bear River several miles south of *nisál*; "all dead in informant's boyhood." Cf. *nów'shwa's"nł* 'wild-blackberry', a place at mouth of Bear River (Harrington 17.0847). The name is Lower Chehalis Salishan *nú?x'wasn't*, *nú?sx'wasn't* (*nú?* 'place of', *s-* NOMINALIZER, *-x'wasn't* 'blackberry vines'; David Robertson personal communication 2016).

4. *tiápšuyi* 'grassy place' (Chinookan name, Silverstein)  
*gitłápšuyi* 'grassland people' (Chinookan name, Boas) <sup>4</sup>  
*páččł* 'grass' (Salishan name, Harrington)

Gilā'pcō-i	old site of Sealand, Wash. <sup>5</sup>	Boas 1894:260
Pū'fšchīhl	'grass town'; at Nahcotta, Wash. 7 houses "under chief Nákata" (c1850)	Curtis 1911 (Millett)
núpatstčł	Salishan "mixed with Chinook" 'lots of grass'; settlement at Nahcotta "a village chief" was ná'kati	Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) Ray 1938
pátstjł	'grass'; name of Nahcotta, Wash. nákat once lived there	Harrington 18.0812

Note: Additional Willapa Bay villages identified as Salishan in earlier sources are: [gałáqstxuqł, naqštúxúktł] (Gałá'qstxoql in Farrand 1907:688, a "subdivision of the Chihelish [Lower Chehalis]" at North River; Naqctxō'kl in Boas 1901:196, name of North River; Kil-laxt-ħo-kles in Lewis and Clark Estimate, a village of 8 houses, pop. 100); *cłilsu* 'little sandy place' (Tshélso in Curtis 1913, a Salishan-Kwalhioqua speaking village of 5 houses at South Bend, c1850; tsxe'lsos in Ray 1938, a Chinook village between South Bend and Raymond); *x'áxuc* (Hwáħofš in Curtis 1913, an "extinct" Salishan village at Bruceport<sup>6</sup>; *xwá'xots* in Ray 1938, an "important" Chinook winter village at Bruceport; *Nixwá'xōtse*, *Ẃwá'xōts* in Farrand 1910:938, Salishan name of a group at Bruceport; *xwá'xv'tsi* in Harrington 17.0032, a Willapa Bay area place-name).

(5–11) Clatsop (*tłác'əp*) villages.

5. *nakut'át* (Silverstein)

Nakōt!á't, Nakōtjā't	place-name (Seaside, Ore.)	Boas 1894:133.1, 271.2
Ne-co-tat	village at Seaside	Lyman 1900
(unnamed)	Village betw Seaside and Necanicum R. 2 houses	Lewis & Clark 1/7/1806

<sup>4</sup> See note to the Chinookan name of village 3, above. According to Boas (1911:602), the stem *-psu* 'grass' is a plural noun; which in this instance means that Boas's <Gilā'...> is to be parsed as *g-(i)t-tłá...* (*g-* 'those of'; *t-* PLURAL NOUN; *tlá-* NEUTER-COLLECTIVE POSSESSIVE).

<sup>5</sup> Sealand is not on modern maps. According to Susan Pakanen Holway (personal communication), a native of Oysterville, Washington, it was near modern-day Nahcotta.

<sup>6</sup> Bruceport, Washington, does not appear on modern maps. According to Tony A. Johnson, Chairman of the Chinook Indian Nation and a native of South Bend, Washington, it was on Willapa Bay, two miles east of Stony Point (Stony Point is approximately halfway between the mouths of the Palix and Willapa Rivers).

6. *nikánik[ə]m* (Silverstein)
- |               |   |                        |
|---------------|---|------------------------|
| Necanicum     | s. side Clatsop (=Necanicum) R. mouth<br>2 houses | Lewis & Clark 1/7/1806 |
| Nekánahum     | place-name (Necanicum R.)                         | Gibbs 1863             |
| Ne-hay-ne-hum | “Indian lodge up Necanicum Creek”                 | Lyman 1900             |
7. *niáxaqši* (Boas)  
*niak’ákʷsi* ‘where the little pines are’ (Silverstein)
- |             |   |                        |
|-------------|---|------------------------|
| Neacoxie    | Neacoxie Creek; Clatsop winter residence          | Lee & Frost 1844:295   |
| Ni-a-kók-si | Neacoxie Creek                                    | Gibbs 1863             |
| Niā’xaqcē   | name of Neacoxie Cr.                              | Boas 1894:92.8         |
| Ne-ah-coxie | village at mouth of Neacoxie Cr.                  | Lyman 1900             |
| (unnamed)   | village on NE bank Necanicum R. mouth<br>3 houses | Lewis & Clark 1/7/1806 |
8. *niák’iwanqi* ‘where there is killing’ (Silverstein)
- |                    |   |                         |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Ne-er-ca-war-re-ca | old village at cr. 8 mi. s. of Pt. Adams<br>3 houses, empty | Lewis & Clark 12/9/1805 |
| Ne-ah-ko-win       | village at m. of Ohanna (Neawanna) <sup>7</sup> Cr.         | Lyman 1900              |
| Niā’kǰēwanqîX      | “middle town” of Clatsops                                   | Boas 1901:236.5         |
9. *tlác’[ə]p, ták’[ə]p* ‘those who have pounded salmon’ (Silverstein)  
*tiák’ilakix* ‘pounded salmon place’ (Boas)  
*niák’ilaki* ‘pounded salmon place’ (Silverstein)
- |                         |  |                          |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Clatt Shop nation       | “Quannio Chief”  | Lewis & Clark 12/7/06    |
| Clât Sop                | on both sides of Point Adams<br>14 houses, pop 200   | Lewis & Clark Estimate   |
| Clott sop Nation        | “8 large wood houses”  | L & Clark Atlas (map 82) |
| Clatsop                 | pop 214 men  | Stuart 1812 (1935:4)     |
| Clatsops                | “nation” at Point Adams; pop 130<br>chief: Wahhoola  | Kennedy 1824-25          |
| Tlatsap                 | “tribe” name   | Hale 1846:215            |
| Hlâtsap                 | village at Fort Stevens<br>9 houses under chief Wásilta (c1850)                              | Curtis 1911 (Millett)    |
| lât’cəp                 | village betw. Seaside and m. of Columbia R.  | Ray 1938                 |
| lât’səp                 | place name<br>source: Emma Luscier   | Harrington 17.0848       |
| Tlât’t.səp              | Fort Stevens<br>source: Clara Pearson  | Harrington 17.0850       |
| Klahhelnk [sic]         | Clatsop Point “nation”   | Gairdner 1835            |
| Tiā’kǰēlakē             | Clatsop; the Clatsops  | Boas 1894:92.6, 228.6    |
| Ne-ah-keluc             | ‘place of Okeluc’; large village at Pt. Adams<br>“where Okeluc (salmon pemmican)<br>is made” | Lyman 1900               |
| lā’kǰēlak, Tiā’kǰēlakîX | Clatsop; the Clatsops  | Boas 1901:231.1 233.7    |

<sup>7</sup> See McArthur (2003:693).

10. *k'unúpi* (Harrington)  
*k'unupí* (Silverstein after Curtis)
- |           |                                    |                       |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Kōnō'pē   | "town" name                        | Boas 1894:272.12      |
| Ko-na-pee | village "near Hotel Flavel"        | Lyman 1900            |
|           | named for Konapee <sup>8</sup>     |                       |
| Ḳunupí    | a mile above Fort Stevens          | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
|           | 40 large houses under chief Hlásin |                       |
|           | destroyed by smallpox (c1850)      |                       |
| k'unô'pí  | "used to be a big town"            | Harrington 17.0855    |
|           | source: Emma Luscier               |                       |
11. *naiáaqštawi* (Boas)  
*naiáaqsta* 'at the head' (Silverstein)
- |               |                                      |                       |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nai-a'ak-sten | place-name ("Raymond's")             | Gibbs 1863            |
| Nayā'aqtaōwē  | place-name (Clatsop region)          | Boas 1894:229.20      |
| Ne-ahk-stow   | large village near Hammond           | Lyman 1900            |
| Naiyáaksta    | 1-1/4 mi. above Fort Stevens         | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
|               | 11 houses                            |                       |
|               | same chief as <i>k'unúpi</i> (c1850) |                       |

*Note:* Curtis 1911 (Millett) adds three Clatsop region villages: Ni'tl, an abandoned village on Lewis and Clark River (cf. Nē'tel, a placename in Boas 1901:175.8); Nú'smá'spu, a village of five houses under chief Wáluski on Youngs Bay near Astoria (c1850); and Skepínáun (cf. Sqēpanā'wunX, a placename in Boas 1901:236.3, 240.4), a village 4 miles below Ni'tl consisting of 8 houses under chief Shă'ūk (c1850). These names appear on Silverstein's list spelled *ni'tl*, *nu'sma'spu* [sic], *sqipanáwunx*. According to additional detail in Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett), the name Nú'smá'spu is Lower Chehalis meaning 'at butterball [bufflehead duck]', although the village itself was Hlatskanai (Clatskanie Athapaskan) speaking.<sup>9</sup> Also Clatskanie-speaking: [ki'áunatłx] Ḳi-ḥlá-u-na tḥlḥ, a large abandoned village at the head of Youngs River estuary (cf. Kilhawanackkle, Kilhowanackkle, name of Youngs River in Lewis and Clark 2/16, 3/5, 3/8, 3/10 1806; the name appears to show the Chinookan prefix complex *g-i-ta-* 'those of . . .'); and two other villages farther up Columbia River (see village no. 22, *note*).

(12–14) Chinook (*c'inúk*, *čínúk*<sup>w</sup>) villages.

<sup>8</sup> Referred to as "the first white man in Oregon" (Lyman 1900:321).

<sup>9</sup> David Robertson (personal communication 2016) observes that Millett's name is clearly for Lower Chehalis *nú?-s-[má?sp]-u?* (*nú?*- 'place of', *s-* NOMINALIZER, *-u?* DIMINUTIVE). The identification of the stem [má?sp] is uncertain, as none of the Lower Chehalis terms on record for ducks provide obvious confirmation of Millett's translation. Robertson finds *másp'* 'little earths'; Tony A. Johnson (personal communication 2016) recalls hearing of a kind of dangerous being called *másp*. Johnson also observes that "butterball" was formerly the usual local English term for a bufflehead duck.

12. *wítčutk* ‘road coming down’ (Chinookan name, Silverstein)  
*núʔsqʷəlɣʷt, núʔsqʷəlʔəxʷšəwʔt* ‘where the trail comes out’ (Salishan name) <sup>10</sup>
- |                          |  |                       |
|--------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| <i>Uítšhutk</i>          | village of 15 houses (c1850)                   | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
| <i>nóʔsqwalakl</i>       | village at Ilwaco; last chief: <i>iluwakʔú</i> | Ray 1938              |
| <i>náwʔskwalʔoxšəwʔt</i> | ‘where the road comes out’                     | Harrington 17.0842    |
|                          | Unity (old name of Ilwaco) <sup>11</sup>       |                       |
13. *cʔinúk* (attributed to local Salishan, Boas)  
*čínúkʷ, čtčinúkʷ* (local Salishan forms, Harrington) <sup>12</sup>
- |                         |  |                           |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Chinoak, Chinouk        | village n. side Columbia R., near mouth    | Boit 1792 <sup>13</sup>   |
|                         | “command’d by a cheif name <i>Polack</i> ” |                           |
| Chin-nook Tribe         | “in Small Villages & Single houses”        | Lewis & Clark 1990: 154   |
|                         | 1 <sup>st</sup> chief: Stock-home          |                           |
|                         | 2 <sup>nd</sup> chief: Com-com-mo-leye     |                           |
|                         | n. side Columbia R. near mouth             | Lewis & Clark Estimate    |
|                         | 28 houses, pop. 400                        |                           |
|                         | “Old Chin nook village”; 36 houses         | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#82) |
| Chin-nook Nation        | n. side Columbia R. near mouth, and        | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#83) |
|                         | 18 houses along E. bank of a river         |                           |
|                         | extending north into Willapa Bay           |                           |
| Chinook                 | 280 men                                    | Stuart 1812 (1935:4)      |
| Chinooks                | Chinook Point village; chief: Comcomely    | Kennedy 1824-25           |
|                         | Point George village; chief: Calpo         |                           |
|                         | pop. 720 (Chinook Pt.), 190 (Pt. George)   |                           |
| Tshinūk                 | “tribe” name                               | Hale 1846:215             |
| Ts!inúk                 | Lower Chehalis name of Chinooks            | Boas 1911:563             |
| Chínúk                  | (name of village cluster)                  | Curtis 1910a (Millett)    |
| tjinnú·kw, tjt.tjínú·kw | Lower Chehalis name of Chinooks            | Harrington 18.0189        |

<sup>10</sup> According to David Robertson (personal communication 2016) these are Lower Chehalis and may be parsed: *núʔ-s-qʷəlɣʷ-t, núʔ-s-qʷəlʔəxʷ-šəwʔt* (*núʔ-* ‘place of, *s-* NOMINALIZER, *-qʷəlɣʷ/-qʷəlʔəxʷ* ‘go down to river’, *-t* INTRANSITIVE PERFECTIVE; *-šəwʔt* is probably a lexical suffix: ‘trail’).

<sup>11</sup> “They changed the town’s name from Unity, to put on it the name of the ‘chief’, *ʔilwákú*” (Emma Luscier to Harrington, 17.0842).

<sup>12</sup> See discussions of the name “Chinook” in Silverstein (1990:544) and in the main volume. Apparently, it was originally the name of a specific village site on Baker’s Bay later generalized to include: 1) the Native population of the north shore of lower Columbia River, which by the late-nineteenth century lived mainly between modern Chinook, Washington, and Meglar, Washington (“The Chin[ooks] used to live at McGowan & had a minor town at [modern] Chinook”; Sammy Jackson to Harrington 18.0806); 2) all Lower Chinook speakers on the north side of Columbia River (vs Clatsops, located on the south side); 3) all speakers of Chinookan languages. Kennedy (1824-25) alone uses the name for two groups under the two most prominent lower-river chiefs of the time, Comcomely (or Concomly), whose group he locates at Chinook Point (modern Fort Columbia) on the north side of Columbia River, and Calpo (or Coalpo), whose group he places at “Point George” (near Fort George, at modern Astoria, Oregon). Coalpo is more usually identified as a Clatsop chief (see nos. 5-11).

<sup>13</sup> In Howay (1990:398, 437).



14. *qíq'ayaqílaxam* 'middle town' (Chinookan name, Silverstein)  
*kʷacámč* 'in the middle' (Salishan name, Harrington)<sup>14</sup>
- |                     |  |                       |
|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| <i>Kékaiüǵílhüm</i> | 9 houses, 2 miles below Megler   | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
| <i>qwatsámts</i>    | at mouth of Chinook River<br>the principal village of the Chinooks<br>also had associated satellite villages | Ray 1938              |
| <i>kwatsâ'mts'</i>  | "Chinook town"<br>source: Emma Lusier  | Harrington 18.0791    |
| <i>kwatsámats'</i>  | betw Point Ellice and Chinook, Wash.<br>source: Sammy Jackson  | Harrington 18.0808    |
- Note:* Curtis 1911 (Millett) is the source of the following additional identifications of villages appearing on Silverstein's list (cf. Curtis 1911:182): *wal[ə]ml[ə]m* 'rotten wood' (Curtis's *Walü'mlüm*, 10 houses; cf. *Walémlem*, name of Fort Canby in Boas 1894:272.26, 244); *wálxat* (Curtis's *Wálhüt*, 8 houses; cf. *Wál-la-kut*, a creek near Baker's Bay in Gibbs 1863, *wâ'lxat*, a placename in Harrington 17.0840); *wapłúcin* (Curtis's *Wapłúfšin*, eight houses located two miles below modern Chinook); *-łáqat* 'their creek' (Curtis's *Hlákhañl*, 15 houses at modern Chinook); *ucmuyáqṣan* 'snails' (Curtis's *Ufšümüiě'khan*, 16 houses at Fort Columbia)<sup>15</sup>; *qailc'íak* (Curtis's *Qaiłłsúuk*, 16 houses 1-1/2 miles below Meglar). According to Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett): "From *Hlákhañl* to *Qaiłłsúuk* the whole territory was known as *Chñúuk*" (*note*: this includes village 14, which was in between *ucmuyáqṣan* and *qailc'íak*).

(15–24) 'Downstreamers' (*itgígʷalatks*) and associated groups

<i>Itkigwálatksñ</i> <i>itgígʷalatks</i>	Villages from no. 21 downriver Chinookans of Kelso, WA, region source: Victoria Howard	Curtis ca. 1910a (Martineau) Jacobs 1929-30,52:77
<i>gígʷalat</i>	a Chinookan-speaking tribe some went to Grand Ronde source: Victoria Howard	Jacobs 1929-30,67:134
Skil-lute Nation	50 houses; pop. 1500/2500	Lewis & Clark Estimate

<sup>14</sup> "kwatsámats' is merely Cheh[alis Salishan] & means in the middle, bec[ause] it was in the middle betw[een] Point Ellice & Chinook town" (Sammy Jackson to Harrington 18.0808). Sammy Jackson lived there until a grown child. Cf. Upper Chehalis *kʷác-* 'middle' (Kinkade 1991:50).

<sup>15</sup> Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) actually has *Tsü-mú-i-kü* 'snails'. The published spelling follows Catherine Hawks (or *Chíisñt*, born at *wapłúcin* about 1830), apparently also source of the Lower Chinook vocabulary appearing in Curtis (1911:198-205). According to her, this is where the famous chief Concomly (*Kamkámili*) resided, together with several wives, nine sons, and two houses of slaves in addition to all the slaves living in his own household.

Note: Lewis and Clark distinguish 15 and 16 from the *itgígʷalatš* villages farther upriver, their “Skillute(s).” The identification and demarcation of the latter group or groups is very uncertain.<sup>16</sup> The name *itgígʷalatš* itself is a geographical designation comparable to *šáxlatš* ‘upstreamers’ (nos. 47-55: referring to any and all Cascades-region peoples); available documentation does not permit exact demarcation of its boundaries.

15.	<i>gałámat</i> (Chinookan form, Silverstein)		
	<i>čtkatáʔamat</i> (Salishan form, Harrington)		
	Calt-har-mar [sic]	“9 large wood houses”	Lewis & Clark 11/26/1805
	Cath-lâh-mâh	s. side Columbia R. opp. Seal Islands	Lewis & Clark Estimate <sup>17</sup>
		9 houses, pop. 200/300	
	Cathlamet	94 men	Stuart 1812 (1935:18)
	Cathlamit	“tribe,” s. side Columbia above Tongue Pt.	Kennedy 1824-25
		chief: Ashwallix; pop 125	
	Katlámat	“tribe” name	Hale 1846:215
	Kat-hlámet	village near Cathlamet Point	Gibbs 1863
	Cathlamet	village a few miles above Astoria	Boas 1901:5
	Gaľámat	“tribe” name	Boas 1901:244.14
	Kaľlámat	at “Cathlamet Head” [Aldrich Point]	Curtis 1911 (Millett)
		7 houses under chief Wákañoŋk (c1850)	
	kałáamat	village 4 mi. below Puget Isl., s. side	Ray 1938
	tʃtkatáʔamat	ethnic name	Harrington 18.0913

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) adds [ɬilúskwəxix] Hlilúsqahíh (cf. Tle-las-qua, name of Knappa, Oregon, Lyman 1900), a Kathlamet-speaking village of four large houses under chief Stuliáh, eight miles above John Day, northwestern (not northeastern!) Oregon (c1850).

<sup>16</sup> According to Lewis and Clark’s description, this “Nation” extended along the Columbia River from “Wappeto [Sauvie’s] Island ... to the marsey Islands [cf. no. 16] ... and on either Side of the Coweliske [Cowlitz] River [below] Hull-loo-et-ell.” “Hull-loo-et-ell” is for Chinookan *xluit il* ‘strange, different country’, an expression applied to non-Chinookan lands, according to Silverstein (1990:545). Cf Franchère’s (1969:78) name “Chreluit,” which appears to be a rendering of (i)xluit ‘they are strange, different’, based on the same root. Lewis and Clark apply the word “Nation” inconsistently to different groups in their two versions of the “Estimate”; both, however, use it in reference to Skillute(s) (in the explorers’ own words, villages were grouped together when they were “linked by a similarity of dress and manners, and houses and languages, which much more than the feeble restraints of Indian government contribute to make one people”; Allen 1814, 2:227, referring to the Multnomahs, no. 34). The name “Skillute” has no obvious matches in later sources. We note a close resemblance in form to *squlút* (original: *šk’ulút*), said to mean ‘valley’ in Salmon River Tillamook, and appearing in the forms *squlút-stiwát* (*šk’ulút’ št’iwát*) ‘valley person’, *squlútwaš* (*šk’ulút’wəš*) ‘valley Indians’ (Harrington 20.0340; source: Louis Fuller). While the latter two forms were given with reference to Kalapuyan peoples of the Willamette Valley, it is possible that they represent a local Salishan name in former wider currency (compare *čakáwa*, village no. 45). Silverstein (1990:545) proposes two explanations of Lewis and Clark’s “Skillute(s)”: 1) that it was not a proper name at all, but rather, a misunderstanding of the Chinookan expression *s(i)k’alútk* ‘look at him!’; 2) that it was for the placename *sqúlups* (Cape Horn, Washington). Explanation 2 runs aground on the fact that there are actually two features with this name on the Washington side of the lower Columbia River: one just east of Washougal, Washington; the other just east of Cathlamet, Washington. Silverstein’s source is evidently Curtis (1911:110), which refers to the former not the latter Cape Horn—far removed from Lewis and Clark’s “Nation.” Other names offering some degree of resemblance: *n(α)sk’alú’s* (unidentified Clatsop-language geographic name; Harrington 17.0855); *sč’aləhát* (*stʃaləhát*) (Tillamook name of the Clatskanie language; Harrington 17.0836: cf. Chillwitz, no. 22?). Compare “Hellwits,” “Chillwitz,” etc. (cited under no. 22).

<sup>17</sup> Entries from Lewis and Clark’s “Estimate” combine numbers and descriptive information from both versions.

16. *wáqaiqam* (Silverstein)

War-ci-a-cum Tribe	n.w. side, in bend in Col. R., behind islands	Lewis & Clark 1990:155
	2 villages; chief: Scumar-qua-up	
Wack-ki-a-cum	n. side of Col. R., opp. "Marshy Islands"	Lewis & Clark Estimate
	11 houses, pop. 100/200	
Warkiacum Nation	4 upriver houses; 7 downriver houses	Lewis & Clark Atlas (#81)
Waak-i-cum	66 men	Stuart 1812 (1935:28) <sup>18</sup>
Wakycomes	"tribe" at Grays Bay	Kennedy 1824-25
	pop. 210; chief: Skinaquia	
Wakaikam	"tribe" name	Hale 1846:215
Wa-kái-a-kum	a village "above" Jim Crow Hill	Gibbs 1863
Wā'qa-iqam	at Gray's Bay ("Grey's Harbor" [sic]) <sup>19</sup>	Boas 1901:6
	Kathlamet-speaking "tribe"	
wáqaiya'qam	village 2 mi. n. of mod. Cathlamet, Wash. <sup>20</sup>	Ray 1938
wá'káykam	ethnic name	Harrington 18.0964

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) lists four additional named sites on the north side of Columbia River between Grays River and Altoona, Washington. These appear in Silverstein's list with the following standardized spellings and translations (cf. Curtis 1911:182): *kiláwiuks* 'kingfishers' (Curtis's Kiláwiuks, on Grays Bay just below Grays River; abandoned, but formerly a large town), *tiaksami* [sic] 'where small horns are' (Curtis's Tiyaksami, on Grays Bay just above Grays River; five houses), *níqilc̓* 'where it goes down into' (Curtis's Níqilch̓l, at Crooked Creek; abandoned, "but about 1815 there were nine houses"), *nak'áłqwi* (Curtis's Nakáth̓lqi, about a mile below Altoona; 12 houses).

17. *čakʷayálxam* 'summer town' (Boas, Curtis)

Tcakwayā'lxam	"summer town" near Pillar Rock	Farrand 1907:232
Chaqayálh̓m	abandoned village at Altoona, Wash.	Curtis 1911 (Millett)
	canoe cemetery there of 300 canoes	

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) also lists Chañl̓kl̓'lh̓m (Silverstein: *čaxlk̓l̓lxam*) 'winter town', consisting of four large houses at Skamokawa, Washington, about 15 miles upriver. The chief there was Skamáqeap ([sqamákwiyap] skamâ'kwiyap in Harrington 17.0830: locally spelled "Skamokawa"; the same as Scumar-qua-up, noted by Lewis and Clark to be chief at no. 16; cf. Skinaquia, noted by Kennedy in 1825 to be chief of no. 16).

18. *łálqak* 'eddy' (Boas, Curtis)

Tlā'legak	"town" a little below Pillar Rock	Farrand ca. 1905
lā'legak	"eddy" town near Pillar rock	Farrand 1910:762
Hlálkak	2 miles above Altoona; abandoned village	Curtis 1911 (Millett)

<sup>18</sup> According to Stuart, two generations earlier these people were a part of the Chinook, but because of a dispute, they separated. They were named after the chief at the time of the separation.

<sup>19</sup> Grays Bay (Columbia River estuary, north bank) is not to be confused with Grays Harbor, some 50 miles north on the Washington coast.

<sup>20</sup> While "Kathlamet" appears in most ethnographic literature as a general term for like-speaking related villages along this part of Columbia River, "Wakaikum" has also been so recorded. It appears that Ray's sources understood the name in this sense and used it for the principal late-historical village of the larger ethnic group—the settlement at modern Cathlamet, Washington (see no. 21 below).

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) adds Qířsakasnai (Silverstein: *kʷícasnai*), a village of seven large houses seven miles below Skamokawa; and Wakatáma (Silverstein: *wakatáma*), a village of 6 houses 3.5 miles below Skamokawa.

19. *tənas-íliʔi* ‘island’ (Chinuk Wawa name)
- |             |                                    |                                 |
|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Tanas ilahi | place-name; ethnic name            | E. Jacobs 1933-34 <sup>21</sup> |
|             | language “a little like Clatsop”   |                                 |
| tā’nās ılı́ | a village; a “famous fishing site” | Ray 1938                        |
| tánas ʔlı́i | place-name (Tenasillahe Island)    | Harrington 18.0124              |
20. *gaʔiášg[a]n[a]maxix* ‘those of the place of cedar trees’ (Silverstein)
- |                    |                                       |                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| QLā’cgenemaxīX     | ethnic name                           | Boas 1901:244.14      |
| lā’cgenemaxīx      | n. side Columbia R., opposite no. 15  | Boas 1901:6           |
| Gatliā’cgenemáqē   | a little below no. 21, on Columbia R. | Farrand ca. 1905      |
| Qahliā’šhkūnimahiñ | 4 miles above Skamokawa               | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
|                    | 7 houses (c1850)                      |                       |
21. *gaʔiaʔiśáʔix* ‘those of the place of kinnikinnick berries’ (Boas, Curtis)
- |                  |   |                            |
|------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Guithliá-ishalxi | “tribe” below Oak Point                   | Gatschet 1877              |
| Klā’ecalxīx      | “tribe” at modern Cathlamet               | Boas 1901:6                |
| Ḳahliāiśháhlhiñ  | abandoned village at mod. Cathlamet       | Curtis 1911 (Millett)      |
|                  | very large burial ground there (c1850)    |                            |
| Isáhñl [sic]     | first of the <i>itgígʷalatks</i> villages | Curtis c 1910a (Martineau) |
- note: According to Curtis ca. 1910a (Martineau), Isáhñl [sic] (given as meaning “like partridge berries”: cf. Chinook and Kathlamet -ʔiśáʔx ‘kinnikinnick berries’) was “the first village of Itkigwálatksñ, as the upper river people called the Chinookans of the lower river.” Silverstein, following Ray 1938, adds *ilóxumin* (Ray’s *ilóxumun*, a village near the mouth of Elochoman R.; cf. *ʔilóxumun*, a place-name, Harrington 18.0698).
22. *giʔáxaniak* ‘those of *qániak*’ (Boas)  
*qániak*, *iqániak* (Boas)  
 [qʰán(i)yaq, iqʰániyaq] (Harrington)  
 Chillwitz <sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> From the Tillamook field notes of Elizabeth Derr Jacobs (E. Jacobs 1933-34, 113:54-55). Mrs. Jacobs’s source was Clara Pearson, who spoke Nehalem Tillamook.

<sup>22</sup> Note “H~Wh~Ch” in the historical synonyms below, suggesting the presence of a voiceless fricative sound like x(ʷ); and note also our suggestion of a possible local Salishan source for “Skillute,” above. Upper Chehalis /xʷəl- ‘drift downstream’ is suggestive, albeit it has not been documented as part of any later-recorded local name: cf. *sxʷəlčstn* (also: *hwíʔlEts ʔatcu.m*) ‘go downstream’ (Kinkade 1991:156, 212). Cf. also *sčʔaləhət stʃaləhət* (Tillamook name of the Clatskanie language; Harrington 17.0836).

Ketlakoniak	Oak Point “nation,” s. bank Columbia R. <sup>23</sup> an offshoot founded <i>šíámištix</i> (no. 23)	Gairdner 1841
Ne-co-ni-ac	small village near Oak Point	Lee&Frost 1844 (1968:194)
Kukhn-yak, Kakhn-yak	place-name (Oak Point, Oregon)	Gibbs 1863
Iqā’niak	place-name (Rainier, Oregon)	Boas 1894:227.3
Qā’niak	place-name (Oak Point)	Boas 1901:247.1
Giā’xaniak	people of Qā’niak	Boas 1901:244.14
Kányāk	village 4 miles above Clatskanie, Or. (c1850) 6 houses under chief Klakúm [Klahúm] <sup>24</sup>	Curtis 1911 (Millett)
ik’ánaiaik	n. side of Columbia, m. of Coal Cr. Slough easternmost Kathlamet village; “large”	Ray 1938
κ’á’nyak’	a place “opposite” Oak Point source: Sarah Scarborough	Harrington 17.0825
κ’á’nyak, ’ik’á’nyak	Oak Point source: Emma Luscier	Harrington 17.0826-27
Hellwits	200 men	Stuart 1812 (1935:28)
Whill Wetz	“great Whill Whetz village on Oak Point”	Ross 1849:109
Chill-wetz	“tribe” near (w. of) Oak Point, Ore.	Ross 1821 (1974)
Chilwitz	“tribe,” s. side Columbia R. at Chilwitz [Clatskanie] R. chief: Killa kina; pop. 150	Kennedy 1824-25
Upper Chillwitz	“tribe,” n. side Columbia R., at a small r. chief: Wasalsal; pop. 135	Kennedy 1824-25

Note: Boas (1901:6, 158) adds Tē’iaqjōtcoē (Silverstein: *tiáq’učui*), a Kathlamet-speaking village on the south side of Columbia River, three miles above Oak Point; and *lā’qalala* (Silverstein: *-lā’qalala* [sic]), a Kathlamet-speaking village on the north side of Columbia River, also three miles above Oak Point. According to Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett), there were also two Hlatskanai (Clatskanie Athapaskan speaking) villages on the Oregon side of the river, in between villages no. 15 and no. 22: *Ḳawilūmkók*, consisting of four houses at Westport, Oregon, under chief Ktlūmin (apparently a Chinookan name: *-kāmín* ‘moon’); and *Wíěktlok*, a mixed Kathlamet-Clatskanie village at Clatskanie, Oregon.

23. *qašíámišti(x)* ‘those of the place of the beak’<sup>25</sup> (Silverstein)  
*šíámištix*, *łštámištix*<sup>26</sup> (Boas)

<sup>23</sup> Historically, the name Oak Point designated a location on the south side (not north side, as presently) of Columbia River (see McArthur 2003:714).

<sup>24</sup> Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) spells Klahúm, suggesting a copying error here in Curtis 1911.

<sup>25</sup> The meaning ‘place of the beak’ may refer to the beak-like shape of the Cowlitz River mouth: cf. Clatsop Lower Chinook [siamistímał] siāmistē’matl ‘river mouth’ (from *-mał* ‘river’) (Boas 1890).

<sup>26</sup> The form *łštámištix* (*ł-štá-mišt-ix*) shows the classificatory (number/gender) prefix (here, *šta-* DUAL) following the possessive prefix (here *ł-* NEUTER-COLLECTIVE); this reversal of normal order happens whenever a dual noun is inflected for possession by a neuter-collective subject (Dyk 1933:99). Not only are the positions reversed, but the forms too are switched: in normal order, the DUAL NOUN prefix is *š-*; the NEUTER-COLLECTIVE POSSESSIVE prefix is *łá-*. The alternate form of the name parses as *š-íá-mišt-ix* (*š-* DUAL NOUN, *íá-* MASCULINE POSSESSIVE, *-mišt* ‘beak’, *-ix* ‘place of’).

(unnamed)	5 houses at mouth of “Cow-e-lis-kee”	Lewis & Clark Atlas (#89)
	6 more ascending the Cowlitz	
Seamysty	“nation,” split off from <i>qániak</i> (no. 22)	Gairdner 1841
	“for want of room”	
Se-ah-mis-tie	place-name (just below m. of Cowlitz R.)	Gibbs 1853-56
qaciā́mictīX	‘the people of Monticello (Longview)’	Boas 1901:185.1
lctā́mēctīx	½-mile below mouth of Cowlitz R.	Boas 1901:6
	Kathlamet-speaking “tribe”	
ciā́mēctix	“band” at the mouth of Cowlitz R.	Farrand 1910:493

Note: Curtis ca. 1910b (E. Millett) lists the following mixed Kathlamet (Chinookan)—Cowlitz (Salishan) villages along lower Cowlitz River: Kawímni (Kathlamet-Cowlitz speaking village of 14 houses, at mouth of Coweman R; said to be a Kathlamet name), [tiáḡanakšix] Tiáḡanakših (20 large houses, site of Kelso; from Kathlamet for ‘rock’), [wakútḡmali] Wakóthmali (20 houses, one mile above Kelso on the east bank of Cowlitz River; from Kathlamet for ‘straight, perpendicular’, referring to a cliff), [stxwe] stḡwe (10 houses about one-half mile above foregoing, east bank Cowlitz River; Salishan for ‘fisher’<sup>27</sup>, but a mixed village), [náiak’utsuix] Naíyakoḡsuih (said to be a Cowlitz-speaking village of eight houses, two miles above foregoing, on east bank of Cowlitz River; but the name is Chinookan, from Kathlamet for ‘bone’). Villages farther up Cowlitz River were all Cowlitz-speaking.

24. *klágulaq, ḡúlaq* (Boas, Curtis)

Wilt-kwil-luk	village a little below Rainier	Gibbs 1853-56
Guthlákuēlak	“tribe” at Oak Point	Gatschet 1877
Guathláguit	(given as synonym of Guthlákuēlak)	Gatschet 1877
Klā́ḡulaq	2 mi. below Rainier	Boas 1901:6
	Kathlamet-speaking “tribe”	
ḡúlaq	place-name	Boas 1901:183.13
Hlqúlak	1 mile below Rainier	Curtis 1911
	4 houses under chief Tsúnaḡsuna	

Note: Boas (1901:6, in Farrand 1907:664) gives *klámuix* (Klā́mōīx’), *gaḡiámuix* (GaLiā́moix) as the name of another Kathlamet-speaking “tribe,” this one on the site of modern Rainier.

(25–26: classification uncertain)

25. *gaḡák’alama* ‘those of the rock’ (Silverstein 1990:545)  
*tk’álama, ḡák’alama* (Boas)

Cal-la-mak	10 houses, pop. 200	Lewis & Clark Estimate <sup>28</sup>
Thlacalama	village on both sides of a small stream	Franchere 1811 (1969:81)
Klakalama	“nation” on a small r., n. side Columbia R.	Gairdner 1841
Tkaláma	“tribe” above Oak Point	Gatschet 1877
Tkḡalā́ma	place-name (Kalama)	Boas 1901:183.6
lā́kḡalama	Kathlamet-speaking “tribe” at Kalama	Boas 1901:6
ḡálamat	m. of Kalama R., Cowlitz speaking	Curtis c 1910a (Martineau)

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) adds [ímaḡ-kwíakaits] ímaḡl-qíakaits ‘small river’ (cf. Kathlamet *í-maḡ* ‘river’; -k<sup>w</sup>aic [Boas], [iyákaits] [Curtis] ‘small’), a large abandoned village “opposite” Kalama, Washington.

<sup>27</sup> The translation is published as ‘marten’, but appears as ‘fisher’ in Curtis ca. 1910b (E. Millett). Cf. Upper Chehalis .sto’ḡwe’ ‘fisher’ (Kinkade 1991:144).

<sup>28</sup> Listed by Lewis and Clark as one of the Wapato Valley villages (see below).



26. Cathlahaws (Lewis and Clark)<sup>29</sup>

Cath-la-haw's [sic]	lower Kalama R., s. bank 2 houses	Lewis & Clark Atlas (80)
Cathlahaws	old village on Deer Island	Clark 1814 <sup>30</sup>

(27–42) Wapato Valley

27 *gáṭap'uḷx* 'those of Lewis River (*náp'uḷx*)'<sup>31</sup> (Silverstein 1990:544)

Quath-lah-poh-tle	"above the Entrance of Cahwahnahiooks [Lewis] river" <sup>32</sup> 14 connected houses extending ¼ mile	Lewis & Clark 11/05/1805
Cathlapoutle	a "Nation"; 14 houses, pop. 300/900 "large village" at entrance to Cowitk [not Cowlitz] river	Lewis & Clark Estimate Franchere 1811 (1969:81)
Cathlapootle Nation	180 men	Stuart 1812 (1935:31-32)
Catleapootle	"tribe" on small r., n. side Columbia R. pop. 195	Kennedy 1824-25
Katlaportl	"nation," n. side Columbia R. extending 5 miles from m. of a small r.	Gairdner 1841
Nah-poo-itle	a village across Columbia R. from no. 28 chief: Sha-al	Lyman 1900
Nā'p!ōLx	name of river	Farrand 1907:217
Gā'lap!ōLx	name of people	Farrand 1907:217

Note: Henry 1814 (1992:666) has Catlipoh as a "village near the mouth of the Willamette."<sup>33</sup> According to Curtis ca. 1910a (Martineau), "the country about the mouth of Lewis River" was called [wiḷkt] Wīḷikt and was inhabited by Klickitats. Martineau's observation is indicative of the drastic decline of local Chinookan populations by the mid-nineteenth century.

28. *náiaquguix* (Curtis, Boas)<sup>34</sup>

Nai-a-kook-wie	village at St. Helens	Gibbs 1853-56
Nayakaúkau	"tribe" at St. Helens, Oregon	Gatschet 1877
Ni-a-kow-kow	St. Helens, home of chief Ke-as-no <sup>35</sup>	Lyman 1900
Nā'yagōgo-îXpa	at St. Helens	Boas 1901:56.9
Náiyakukuih	village at St. Helens	Curtis 1911 (Millett)

<sup>29</sup> Given as "Cath-la-haw's Village." Silverstein and Moore spell the name *gaṭáxawš* in Lewis and Clark (1990:25), translating it as 'the ones who have cous roots'. Silverstein (1990:534), however, uses Lewis and Clark's spelling without translation. Cous (presumably, biscuit-root, *Lomatium* Cous) is not found along the Columbia River west of the Cascades.

<sup>30</sup> In Jackson (1978, 2:542).

<sup>31</sup> -*p'uḷx* very likely refers to some local feature or resource.

<sup>32</sup> Though the "Cah-wah-na-hi-ooks" River is clearly the Lewis, both maps 80 and 89 in the Lewis and Clark Atlas show the village at the mouth of Lake River, which empties into the Lewis above its mouth. This is the location of the archaeological Cathlapotle.

<sup>33</sup> In the early nineteenth century there were three "mouths" of the Willamette, separated by Coan and Percy Islands, now attached to Sauvie Island and the mainland, respectively (Boyd 1996:29).

<sup>34</sup> Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) translates 'noisy place', explained as "referring to the fact that walking produces a hollow rumbling under foot."

<sup>35</sup> For *k'ídsnu* (Casino, Kiesno); see no. 30.

Note: Curtis 1911 (Millett) adds Kasníūkatnai, an abandoned village at Columbia City, Oregon.

29. *łáqst'ax, gatqst'áx* (Boas) <sup>36</sup>
- |                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Clack Star Nation    | on small stream west of Sauvie's Isl.<br>20/28 houses, pop. 350/1200 <sup>37</sup>          | Lewis & Clark Estimate                        |
| Tlā'kstaq, Gatkštā'q | 4-8 houses; on route to Tillamook<br>s side of Columbia, a little below no. 37<br>a "tribe" | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#84)<br>Farrand ca. 1905 |
| lā'qst'ax            | moved later to <i>wák'anasisi</i> (no. 41)<br>(respelling of above)                         | Farrand 1910:762                              |
30. *gałáq'map* 'those of the mound' <sup>38</sup> (Silverstein)
- |                           |  |                        |
|---------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Cath-lah-cum-ups          | w. side Multnomah Channel<br>6 houses, pop. 150/450                    | Lewis & Clark Estimate |
| Cath lah cum ups          | 3-5 houses   | Lewis & Clark Atlas    |
| Cathlakamass [sic]        | m. of Multnomah Channel, opp. no. 27<br>120 men                        | Stuart 1812 (1935:32)  |
| Wacam-appé,<br>Wa com app | a "tribe"  | Ross 1821 (1974)       |
| Wacumass [sic]            | "tribe" at m. of Willamette<br>chief: Kassino <sup>39</sup> ; pop. 290 | Kennedy 1824-25        |
| Wakamas [sic]             | "nation," Deer Isl. to Multnomah Channel<br>chief: Kesho [sic]         | Gairdner 1841          |
31. *sqápus* (Boas)  
[nipítšak] (Gatschet)
- |                             |  |                       |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Scap-poose                  | village at mouth of Milton Creek   | Gibbs 1853-56         |
| Sqé'pōs                     | a place "below" St. Helens   | Boas 1901:219.12      |
| Skáppus                     | village at Scappoose, Oregon   | Curtis 1911 (Millett) |
| Ne-pe-chuck,<br>Ne-pe-chuch | "band" camped at Milton, Oregon <sup>40</sup><br>pop. 20; chief: Chona-Chona | Smith 1856            |
| Nīpī'tchak                  | "tribe" at Milton  | Gatschet 1877         |

Note: Gatschet adds [wałápayak] Uathlápayak as the name of "another tribe" "above St. Helens."

<sup>36</sup> According to Kraus (in Suttles 1990:532): "The name is Chinookan *iláqštaq* 'roundheads' [reference to non-Chinookan people lacking flattened heads] (Michael Silverstein, communication to editors 1987)." However, Boas's information appears to identify the group as Chinookan. Farrand (1910:763) claims that the name is for the Athapaskan speaking Clatskanie.

<sup>37</sup> Interior Athapascan Clatskanies may have seasonally descended Scappoose Creek (Kraus in Suttles 1990:530); such seasonal movement may explain the variable numbers in the two versions of Lewis and Clark's "Estimate" (Boyd and Hajda 1987).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *wáq'map* 'mound', a Wishram village name (French and French).

<sup>39</sup> Spelled Casino in other historical sources; spelled Kiesno in the main volume: for Chinookan *k'íasnu* (Silverstein 1990:541). He was one of the prominent Chinookan chiefs on the lower river during the fur-company era, and was well known to local Whites.

<sup>40</sup> This name does not appear in earlier records and appears to have been first used to refer to part of the people placed on the temporary reservation at Milton in 1855. The town of Milton no longer exists. According to McArthur (2003:648) it was located near the mouth of Milton Creek, which enters Multnomah Channel (the part of Willamette River flowing around the west side of Sauvie's Island) just south of St. Helens, Oregon.

32. *namúitk* (Boas)
- |                |  |                  |
|----------------|--|------------------|
| Namuit         | “tribe” on an island opp. Willamette R.<br>chief: Twatillacome <sup>41</sup> ; pop 190 | Kennedy 1824-25  |
| Namouite tribe | e. side m. of Willamette R. main stem  | Ross 1821 (1974) |
| Mamnit [sic]   | extinct “nation” on Sauvie’s Isl., e. side   | Gairdner 1841    |
| Nah-moo-itk    | place-name (a point on Sauvie’s Isl.)  | Lyman 1900       |
| Namō’itk       | village, e. side Sauvie’s Isl,<br>near lower end                                       | Farrand 1910:18  |
33. Clannahquah (Lewis and Clark)
- |                     |  |                                      |
|---------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Clan-nah-queh       | e. Sauvie’s Isl., downstr. end Sturgeon L.<br>2 houses | Lewis & Clark 1/4/1805,<br>3/30/1806 |
|                     | 4 houses; pop. 130                                     | Lewis & Clark Estimate               |
| Clan nah quah Tribe | 1 “large house,” 2 more downriver                      | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#88)            |
34. *máʔnumax* ‘those towards the water (Columbia R)’ (Silverstein 1990:545)  
*nímaʔnumax* (Boas)
- |              |  |  |
|--------------|--|--|
| Mult-no-mah  | s. e. Sauvie’s Isl., upstr. end Sturgeon L.<br>6 houses, pop. 200/800<br>3-7 houses; some detached downriver | Lewis & Clark 11/4/1805,<br>3/30/1806<br>Lewis & Clark Estimate<br>Lewis & Clark Atlas (#88),<br>1991: 63, 69. |
| Maltnoba     | two villages on a wooded island  | Franchere 1811 (1969:82)   |
| Math-la-nobs | 80 men; upper end Sauvie’s Isl.  | Stuart 1812 (1935:32)  |
| Emulthnomah  | a point on Sauvie’s Isl. above no. 32  | Lyman 1900   |
| Nē’mal̓nōmax | place-name (‘downriver’)   | Farrand 1907:956   |
35. Cathlanaminimin (Lewis and Clark)
- |                    |  |  |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Clan-nar-min-a-mun | s.w. Sauvie’s Isl.<br>3-4 houses   | Lewis & Clark 3/22/1806,<br>4/3/1806<br>Lewis&Clark Atlas (#s80,<br>88), 1991:69 |
| Clan-nar-min-a-mon | 12 houses, pop. 280  | Lewis & Clark Estimate   |
| Cathlanaminimin    | “tribe” “on the banks of the Wolamat”  | Franchere 1811 (1969:94)   |
| Cathlanamencimen   | “tribe” on “Long [Sauvie’s] Island”<br>reduced by smallpox “to about 60 men” | Stuart 1812 (1935:32)  |
| Katlaminimin       | “nation” on Sauvie’s Isl.<br>survivors all living on e. side of island       | Gairdner 1841  |

<sup>41</sup> Original reads: “Twatillicome & Namuit,” Principal Chiefs “Not Known.” Twatillacome appears in McDougall (1999) as a chief’s name. Apparently, Kennedy misentered the name in his *Names of the Tribes* column. Twatillacome was a Portland basin chief mentioned in several early 1820s sources. John Work mentions “Titellhams upper village,” just upriver from “Kaisenos” [Kiesno’s] (see nos. 28, 30). Apparently, there was a lower (seasonal?) village too, but its location is not given (Work 1824, Hajda personal communication 2010).

36. Claninata (Lewis and Clark)
- |                |                        |                                       |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Clan-in-na-tas | 5 houses, pop. 100/200 | Lewis & Clark Estimate                |
| Clah-in-na-ta  | 3-5 houses             | Lewis&Clark Atlas (#s80, 88), 1991:69 |
37. *gałánaq<sup>w</sup>aix*, *naq<sup>w</sup>áix* (Boas)  
*gałának<sup>w</sup>aix* (Silverstein)
- |                    |   |   |
|--------------------|---|---|
| Cath-lah-nah-quiah | w. coast Sauvie's Isl., upr. from widest part<br>2-3 houses | Lewis & Clark 3/29/1806<br>Lewis & Clark Atlas (#80), 1991:69 |
| Năxuaíx            | 6 houses, pop. 150/400<br>"tribe" on Sauvie's Island        | Lewis & Clark Estimate<br>Gatschet 1877                       |
| Galā'naqoa-ix      | (group name)  | Farrand 1907:217  |
| Naqoā'ix           | (group name)  | Farrand 1910:13   |
| Naḵwaiiḥ           | betw Multnomah Ch and Willamette R                          | Curtis c 1910a (Martineau)                                    |
| Gaḥlanáḵwaiiḥ      | (name of the people)  | Curtis c 1910a (Martineau)                                    |
| Na-qaí-iḥ          | on Multnomah Ch, 4 mi. s. of Scappoose                      | Curtis c 1910a (Millett)                                      |
- Note:* the spelling of the village name in Curtis (1911:181) varies somewhat from the spellings in Curtis ca. 1910a. Also, the published statement that the name applied to villages no. 28 and no. 31 (as well as to no. 37) is not in the sections of Curtis ca. 1910a seen by us. Curtis ca. 1910a (Millett) adds: "Informant once saw many houses there while passing on a steamboat."
38. Cathlacommahtup (Lewis and Clark)
- |                     |  |   |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Cath-la-com-mah-tup | mainland opp. upstr. end Sauvie's Isl.<br>3-5 houses | Lewis & Clark 3/30/1806<br>Lewis&Clark Atlas (#s 80, 88), 1991:63, 69 |
|                     | 3 houses, pop. 70/170                                | Lewis & Clark Estimate  |
39. Nemaquinne (Lewis and Clark)  
*nimátłx<sup>w</sup>inix* (Silverstein following Lewis and Clark)
- |                |   |                                       |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Ne-mal-quinner | e. bank Willamette R., 2 miles above m.<br>4 houses, pop. 100/200 | Lewis & Clark Estimate                |
|                | 1 house on Willa. R., 2 on Columbia Slough                        | Lewis&Clark 1991:63, 69 <sup>42</sup> |
40. *gałáwakšín* 'those of *wáksin*' (Curtis)  
*wáksin* 'dam' (Silverstein)
- |             |  |                         |
|-------------|--|-------------------------|
| Gaḥláwakšīn | "the people of the village Wáksīn"<br>mouth of Willamette R.                   | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
| Wóxsūn      | village at St. Johns, m. of Willamette R. <sup>43</sup><br>source: John Wachen | Drucker 1934            |

<sup>42</sup> Lewis and Clark provide additional detail on this site in a journal entry dated 4/2/1806: "10 miles from this [Willamette] river's entrance into the Columbia [note discrepancy with the Estimate's "2 m[ile]s": 10 miles places *nimátłx<sup>w</sup>inix* plausibly at the archaeological St. John's site] to a large house on the N.E. side...this is the house of the Cush-hooks Nation [no. 46] who reside at the falls of the [Willamette] river which they make use of when they come down to the Vally to gather Wappato..a number of other Smaller houses are situated on two Bayous on the SE side a little below the house."

<sup>43</sup> Lewis and Clark show *nimátłx<sup>w</sup>inix* (no. 39) at St. Johns. But their maps (Lewis and Clark 1991:63,69) show 4 or 3 houses along a slough on the east side of the Willamette behind the former Percy Island. These houses are possibly to be identified with *wáksin*.

41. *gałák'anasisi* 'those of butterball [bufflehead] ducks' (Silverstein)  
*wák'anasisi* 'butterball [bufflehead] ducks' (Boas)
- |                    |   |                         |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Wa-kan-a-sis-se    | village opp. m. of Willamette R.  | Gibbs 1853-56           |
| Uákānāshishi,      | opp. m. of Willamette R.; place of a "tribe"  | Gatschet 1877           |
| Guáthlakanashishi  | "the whole tribe"   | Gatschet 1877           |
| Wa-kan-a-shee-shee | a point opp. no. 34   | Lyman 1900              |
| Wā'kjanasīsi       | place and people name   | Boas 1901:219.7, .16    |
| Gā'tlak'anasisi    | "tribe," formerly living at <i>łáqstax</i> (no. 29)<br>called thus after relocating to <i>wák'anasisi</i> | Farrand 1905            |
| Wakánašhīshi,      | village name: 8 miles below Vancouver   | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
| Gāñlakánašhīshi    | the people of the village   | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
42. Shoto (Lewis and Clark)
- |               |   |                                      |
|---------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Shoto         | "village...2 miles from the river behind<br>a pond" | Lewis & Clark 3/20/1806,<br>4/3/1806 |
|               | 8 houses, pop. 160/460                              | Lewis & Clark Estimate               |
| Choteau Tribe | 3 houses behind lake, 4 along Columbia              | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#79)            |
| Shotoes       | houses behind lake, 3 along Columbia R.             | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#88)            |
| Shoto Nation  | 3 or 4 houses along Lake R.                         | Lewis & Clark 1991:63, 69            |
43. *gitłáq'imaš*, *giłáq'imaš* 'those of *niq'imaš* (Clackamas R.)' <sup>44</sup> (Silverstein 1990:544)  
*niq'imašix* (Silverstein)
- |                    |   |                         |
|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Clark-a-mus Nation | on a small r. falling into lower Willa. R.<br>11 towns (info. from man at no. 47) | Lewis & Clark 4/3/1806  |
|                    | pop. 800/1800   | Lewis & Clark Estimate  |
| Clukemas           | a "tribe of Indians who dwell up" this river                                      | Henry 1814 (1992:656)   |
| Klakimass          | "nation" "on river of that name"  | Gairdner 1841           |
| Clack a mas tribe  | Clackamas River "tribe"   | Belden 1855             |
| Nekémash           | name of Clackamas language  | Gatschet 1877           |
| Guithlákimas       | a Clackamas Indian  | Gatschet 1877           |
| Giłā'qjēmas        | a Clackamas (person)  | Boas 1901:237.3         |
| Giñlakémašh        | tribe living on Nikémašhīh (Clackamas R.)   | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |

Note: Several names of villages on Clackamas River were given by John Wachenso (Drucker 1934); while none are reliably transcribed, three are relatively unambiguously identified: *ap'suxitcalxum* ("town" at Estacada, Oregon); *[q]alaiłlxum*, *kalañlxum* ("winter town" on Eagle Creek near Estacada); *[q]au wũ háí pa*, *qawahaipa* (fall fishing village at Gladstone, Oregon).

<sup>44</sup> According to the Wishram Kiksht speaker Philip Kahclamat (linguistic informant to Sapir, Dyk, and Hymes), the name is from *itq'imaš* 'sprouts' (Hymes 1955-57). While this explanation may just be a folk etymology, it does illustrate the fact that to an indigenous sensibility, place-names ordinarily designate some local feature (often, a characteristic plant or animal), and only secondarily may acquire associations with entire geographical regions—such as, here, a major river. To Hymes's Wasco Kiksht speaking consultant Hiram Smith, the Clackamas people were the *itgašq'wímlíq* or *atgašq'wímlíq*, from the word for 'vine-maple'; hence also: *itiašq'wímlíq* '[its] vine-maples' for Clackamas River (Hymes 1955-57).

(44—46) Willamette Falls

44. *gitłáwiwalamt* (?) <sup>45</sup> ‘those of *wiwalamt*’ (Boas)  
*wálamt* (Silverstein after Curtis) <sup>46</sup>  
*gaławálamt* ‘those of *wálamt*’ (Curtis)  
*łáwiwala*, *łáwiwala* (Silverstein 1990:545)

Willhametts	Willamette Falls, w. bank	Slacum 1972 (1837)
	“This tribe was formerly very numerous”	
Willamette Tum-water	(signed Willamette Valley Treaty)	U. S. Statutes 1855a
Wal-lamt	w. bank Willamette R. near Oregon City	Lyman 1900
Wálamt	w. bank Willamette R. at Willamette Falls	Curtis 1911 (Martineau)
Gitlā’wēwalamt	(explanation of name “Clowewalla”)	Farrand ca. 1905
Giłā’wēwalamt	(transliteration of foregoing)	Farrand 1907:313
Gaḥlawálamt	name of the “tribe” there	Curtis 1911 (Martineau)
wólamt	village at Oregon City, w. bank Willa. R.	Drucker 1934
	source: John Wachen	
Clow e walla	“Indians...six houses...parallel with the River” at Willamette Falls	Henry 1814 (1992:657)
Katlawewalla	“nation” at Willamette Falls	Gairdner 1841
Keowewallahs	(synonym of Wilhametts above)	Slacum 1837 (1972)
	Willamette Falls, w. bank	
	“This tribe was formerly very numerous”	
Clow-we-wal-la	(signed Willamette Valley Treaty)	U. S. Statutes 1855a

45. *čaká’wa* (Molala name; Frachtenberg, Jacobs) <sup>47</sup>

Charcowah Nation	above Willamette Falls, w. bank	Lewis & Clark Estimate
	pop. 200	
	(info. from man at no. 48)	Lewis & Clark 4/3/1806
Char-cow-ah Nation	4 houses	Lewis & Clark 1991:63
ts’akā’wa	name of Oregon City (Molala language)	Frachtenberg 1911
tcaká’wa’aifq	people at Oregon City (Molala language)	Jacobs n.d.

<sup>45</sup> Boas did not clearly distinguish between the fricative consonant [ɬ] and the affricative consonant [tɬ], writing both as <tl> (early field transcription) or as <ɬ> (publication orthography) (see note to the Chinookan name of village 3). His transcription of this name is therefore ambiguous as to whether the prefix complex should be parsed as *g-it-łá-(wiwalamt)*, with *it-* PLURAL NOUN marking the stem; or as *g-i-łá-(wiwalamt)*, with *i-* MASCULINE NOUN marking the stem. Silverstein’s alternate form with *t-* (*t-łá-wiwala*) suggests that the stem can indeed be marked as plural; hence, we conjecture *g-it-łá-(wiwalamt)* (*g-* ‘those of’, *it-* PLURAL NOUN, *łá-* NEUTER COLLECTIVE POSSESSIVE). Curtis (Martineau) shows the name with *a-* FEMININE NOUN: *g-a-łá-(wálamt)*. While *-wiwalamt*, *-wiwala*, and *-walamt* appear to be for the same name, we find nothing in the sources to support an explanation of its varying forms and original significance.

<sup>46</sup> According to Lyman (1900:320), the name is properly accented on the second syllable; while Curtis shows it accented on the first syllable.

<sup>47</sup> Apparently, this name had passed out of currency among Chinookan speakers before it could be accurately recorded; but survived as a geographic and ethnic name in the neighboring Molala language. On July 3, 1812 Robert Stuart said “the first nation above the Falls are the Cathlapoo-yays, supposed to be 300 strong” (1935:33). Although the location appears to be the same, “Cathlapoo-yays” may refer to non-Chinookan Kalapuyans of the Willamette Valley.



46. *k'áṣxəkš, k'aṣxəkšix* (Jacobs)<sup>48</sup>
- |                   |  |                           |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Cush-hooks        | e. bank of Willamette R., below falls        | Lewis & Clark 4/3/06      |
|                   | 1 house (info. from man at no. 47)           |                           |
|                   | pop. 250/650                                 | Lewis & Clark Estimate    |
|                   | 4 houses                                     | Lewis & Clark 1991:63     |
| <i>k'aṣxəkšix</i> | a place in myth where people starved         | Jacobs 1929 (1958-59:462) |
|                   | at Oregon City, or betw there and Oswego     |                           |
| <i>k'ácxək</i>    | a ceremonial site                            | Jacobs 1929-30, 52:10     |
| <i>q'acūx cīx</i> | village just above Willamette Falls, w. bank | Drucker 1934              |
|                   | source: John Wachen                          |                           |
- (47–55) 'Upstreamers' (*šáxlatkš*)
- šáxlatkš* 'those upriver' (Silverstein and Moore in Lewis & Clark 1990, 6:10)  
*šáxl(a)* 'upriver, above' (Silverstein and Moore in Lewis & Clark 1990, 6:10)  
*giṭáxišačk* 'those of the falls' (Boas, Curtis)  
*ikišačk* 'falls' (Boas)
- |                     |  |                            |
|---------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Sha-ha-la Nation    | The Cascades to Sauvie's Isl. (ethnic term)            | Lewis & Clark Estimate     |
|                     | 62 houses, pop. 1300/2800                              |                            |
| Saho Latak Language | language spoken from Cascades to Astoria <sup>49</sup> | Gairdner 1841              |
| Sahalatak           | (same, ref. to Willamette Falls groups)                | Gairdner 1841              |
| Saxala              | ethnic name ('above')                                  | Farrand 1910:519           |
| Giṭā'xicatck        | people of The Cascades                                 | Boas 1894:276.26           |
| ikē'catck           | placename (Cascades of the Columbia)                   | Boas 1901:53.1, 8          |
| Giṭláhiṣhachk       | n. side Columbia R., at the Cascades                   | Curtis ca1910a (Martineau) |
|                     | village-complex, including #50-55                      |                            |
47. Neerchokioo (Lewis and Clark)  
*gaṭatála* 'those of *waṭála*': see no. 54
- |                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Ne-er-cho-ki-oo      | 1 plank house, 24 "straw" <sup>50</sup>   | Lewis & Clark Estimate<br>Lewis & Clark Atlas (#88) |
| Cathlalthlalah Tribe | "winter village Banks of the Columbia<br>opposite Vancouver...<br>summer village Columbia Cascades" | HBC 1838  |

<sup>48</sup> Silverstein (1990:545), referring to Lewis and Clark's spelling, proposes a different etymology: "Wasco-Wishram Chinookans humorously refer to the Clackamas and other related Chinookans from below the Cascades as *qáštɬukš* 'the *qáštɬu* ones' ('those who say *qáštɬu* 'thus' instead of *qídau*'). This name was recorded by Lewis and Clark as Cash-hooks and Cush-hooks...." Cf. also *ikišačk* 'falls', recorded as a name both of Willamette Falls and of the Cascades of the Columbia River.

<sup>49</sup> The source distinguishes the "Saho Latak Language" from the "Chenook Language," the latter spoken on Clatsop Point [Point Adams] and at Baker's Bay.

<sup>50</sup> All houses were occupied in the fall ("this is the residence of the Natives from the [Cascades] Rapids when gathering Wappato in the Fall"); only the plank house was occupied in the spring (Lewis and Clark Atlas [#88]). "5 men & a woman ... informed us that their relations who was with them last fall reside at the Great rapids [Cascades of the Columbia], and were down ... getting wappato" (Lewis and Clark 3/31/06).

48. *ničáqʷli* ‘stand of pines’ (Silverstein)
- |               |   |                           |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| Ne-cha-co-lee | “one long house with Seven appartments”   | Lewis & Clark 4/2-3/1806  |
|               | + 5 houses of former “very large Village” |                           |
| Ne-cha-co-kee | s. bank Columbia R., opp. Government Isl. | Lewis & Clark Estimate    |
|               | 1 house, pop. 100                         |                           |
| Nech-er-cokee |   | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#79) |
49. *gaławašúxʷal* ‘those of *wašúxʷal*’ (Curtis) <sup>51</sup>  
*wašúxʷal*, *wašúxal* (French and French)  
*gałatála* ‘those of *wałála*’: see no. 54
- |                  |  |                         |
|------------------|--|-------------------------|
| Wasaughalles     | “tribe,” n. side Columbia R.; pop. 100 | Kennedy 1824-25         |
| Wa-sucally tribe | s. side Columbia R., at Sandy R.       | Ross 1821 (1974)        |
| Wasough-ally     | (alternate form)                       | Ross 1849:106           |
| Gaḥlawāšhúhwal   | “tribe” at Wašhúhwal                   | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
| Wašhúhwal        | village near Washougal, Washington     | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
| Catklaklila      | (listed with Wasaughalles)             | Kennedy 1824-25         |
- Note:* French and French add *wáxix*, a village on the north side of Columbia River opposite Bridal Veil, Oregon.
50. *łatála*, *gałatála* ‘those of (wa)łála’: see no. 54 <sup>52</sup>
- |                               |  |                           |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Wah-clel-lah,<br>Clahclellars | “North side...a mile below the beacon rock”<br>“the winter station of<br>the Wah-clel-lahs and Clahclellars” <sup>53</sup><br>14 houses occupied<br>...9 houses latterly abandoned<br>...remains of 10 or 12 others...in the rear” | Lewis & Clark 4/9/1806    |
| Wahclalla                     | 9 houses of Shahala Nation   | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#79) |
- Note:* Curtis 1911 (Martineau), Curtis ca. 1910a (Martineau), and Spier and Sapir (1930:167-168) list four additional villages at the lower Cascades. These appear in French and French’s list respelled as *nimišxáya* (Spier and Sapir’s *nimíxcáya*, north side just west of Beacon Rock; Curtis ca. 1910a *Nimíshhaia* ‘he paints his face’, mouth of Woodward Cr); *-łaxʷáluł* (Spier and Sapir’s *łaxʷáluł*, north side just below Hamilton Island); *kamigʷáixat* ‘upper road’ (Curtis 1911 *Kamigwaíhat*, a little below the following); and *gayačáqłqʷtix* (Curtis 1911 *Ḳaiuchúʷkḥlqṭíh*, at the lowest of the three Cascades).

<sup>51</sup> Curtis ca. 1910a (Martineau) explains the name as “referring to the noise made by the water of a creek.”

<sup>52</sup> Lewis and Clark recognized Wah-clel-lah (no. 50) and Clahclellars (no. 51) as separate groups of Shahalas (*šáxlatkš*) with villages located near Beacon Rock and Bradford Island, respectively. Their spellings however point to two inflected forms of the same name, *-łala* (David French in Boyd 1996:349; see no. 54 below).

<sup>53</sup> Lewis and Clark made an important observation on the seasonal movements of the Wah-clel-lah and Clahclellars on April 9, 1806: “the former have lately removed to the falls of the Multnomah [Willamette Falls]...where they take their salmon...the latter have established themselves a few miles above...opposite the lower point of brant [Bradford] island...[where]they also take their salmon.”

51. *łatłála, gałatłála* ‘those of (wa)łála’: see no. 54
- |              |   |                           |
|--------------|---|---------------------------|
| Clahcellar   | n. side at lower end of Bradford Is. Lewis & Clark 4/9/1806<br>summer village |                           |
| Clah-lar-lar | 4 houses  | Lewis & Clark Atlas (#79) |
| Cathlathlaly | below (?) The Cascades  | Henry 1814 (1992:644)     |
- Note:* French and French add *wimałjikšat* (in between *gayačáqłqʷtix* [see no. 50] and no. 52), which also appears in Adams (1958:7) for a village on the north side of the Columbia near modern Bonneville Dam, on authority of Mr. & Mrs. Frank Esterbrook, Cascade Indians. According to Curtis 1911 (Martineau), there was an associated Middle Cascades village named *swapapáni* on the Oregon side at Eagle Creek (refer to French and French).
52. *qixayagılxam* ‘middle village’ (French and French)
- |              |  |                         |
|--------------|--|-------------------------|
| ? Katlagakya | ‘middle people’ (?) <sup>54</sup><br>“nation,” Cascades to Vancouver | Gairdner 1841           |
| Kiħaiagılħüm | village a little below no. 53  | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
53. *sk’mániak* ‘obstructed’ (French and French)
- |            |  |                         |
|------------|--|-------------------------|
| Skamányāk  | n. side middle (of the three) Cascades | Curtis 1911 (Martineau) |
| sk!emániak | village a little below no. 54          | Spier & Sapir 1930:167  |
54. *wałála* ‘small lake’ (French and French)  
*łatłála, gałatłála* ‘those of (wa)łála’ (French and French 1998:376)
- |                 |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| (unnamed)       | “old deserted village on a Pond<br>on a high Situation of 8 Houses” | Lewis & Clark 10/31/05                               |
| Waw thloo las   | people on n. side Cascades  | Thompson 1811(1994:155)                              |
| Watłlala        | Indians of The Cascades   | Hale 1846:214  |
| Watlala         | language name (Upper Chinook)                                       | Hale 1846:569  |
| Wah-lal-la band | Cascades “band”<br>(signed Willamette Valley Treaty)                | Belden 1855  |
| Ki-gal-twal-la  | (signed Middle Oregon Treaty)                                       | U. S. Statutes 1855a                                 |
| Waħlálála       | Upper Cascades, n. side   | U. S. Statutes 1855b                                 |
| Gaħlalaħlálála  | (name of the people)  | Curtis ca1910a (Martineau)                           |
| wałála          | at Slide; “doubtfully a village”                                    | Curtis ca1910a (Martineau)<br>Spier & Sapir 1930:167 |

*Note:* Kennedy 1824-25 lists Canhooks as a “tribe”, pop. 150, on the north side of The Cascades.

<sup>54</sup> “Another name proposed as a synonym [for Cascades (people)] is Katlagakya . . . . Possibly it can be reconstituted (respelled) as ? [sic] *gałaxiq’aya(k)* ‘middle people’, with the name being related to *qixayagılxam* ‘middle village’ . . . .” (French and French 1998:376).

55.	<i>gaławáyaxix</i> ‘those of <i>wáyaxix</i> ’ (Curtis) - <i>wáyaxix</i> ‘his face place’ (French and French)	
Yehuh	8 houses “on a Deep bend,” starboard side	[Clark] 10/30/05 Lewis & Clark Atlas (#79)
Y-eh-huh	8 houses n. side, 6 houses South	Lewis & Clark 1988:370
Wy-ach-hich	Village on n. side just above the rapids	[Lewis] 4/11/06
	same, “removed” to opp. side to fish	[Clark] 4/13/06
	“village...of 11 houses	
	...about 60 fighting men”	
We yark eek	people on s. side Cascades	Thompson 1811(1994:155)
Cath-le-yach-e-yach	“tribe” at Cascades, s. side	Ross 1821 (1974), 1849:111
Thlamoooyackeack [sic]	(group name)	Henry 1814 (1992:644)
Cathlayacky	above Cascades, n. side, 3 houses	Henry 1814 (1992:648)
Cathlayackty	above Cascades, s. side, 8 houses	Henry 1814 (1992:648)
Waíahih	village at Cascade Locks, Oregon	Curtis 1911 (Martineau)
Gaḥlawáiahñ	people occupying s. side of Cascades	Curtis 1911 (Martineau)
wáiax’ix’	“tribe” just above Cascade Locks	Spier & Sapir 1930:173

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