

## COWLITZ (SALISH) PLACE NAMES

M. Dale Kinkade  
University of British Columbia

Cowlitz (Salish) was formerly spoken along the Cowlitz River in southwestern Washington from near its confluence with the Columbia River nearly up to the present community of Mossy Rock. The upriver (eastern) neighbors of the Cowlitz were the Taitnapam (sometimes called the Upper Cowlitz), a Sahaptin-speaking group who had presumably migrated from the east side of the Cascade Mountains; their southern neighbors were Kiksh (or Upper Chinook). To the north were the Upper Chehalis, who spoke a language quite similar to Cowlitz. The name Cowlitz (*káwlic*) apparently referred primarily to the river; the origin of the name is unknown. The Cowlitz called themselves *sá'púlmx* meaning something like 'the lower people' or 'the people below'. The language had become moribund by the 1970s; no known speakers remain. The language was apparently quite homogeneous, and no dialect variation is known to have existed. However, Cowlitz may have shaded off into Upper Chehalis, particularly to the west along the south fork of the Chehalis River, and south of the Newaukum River to the north (a major tributary of the Cowlitz rising in the Cascades; note that the Chehalis River itself rises in the Willapa Hills of southwestern Washington, not in the Cascades).

I worked on Cowlitz in the summer of 1967<sup>1</sup> with the help of Erik Beukenkamp (then a graduate student at the University of Kansas), collecting data from Mrs. Lucy Northover James of Yakima, Washington and Mrs. Emma Northover Mesplie of Brownstown, Washington. Mrs. James was then 81, and Mrs. Mesplie was 77. These two sisters, along with Mrs. Susan Olney, were the only persons who could be located who had any knowledge of more than a handful of words of Cowlitz. All three are now deceased. We were unable to work with Mrs. Olney because of her poor health. Mrs. James was born at Cowlitz Prairie in October 1887, Mrs. Mesplie near Toledo in December 1894. The family moved to the Yakima Reservation about 1895 and lived in the Simcoe Valley. Both daughters attended school for a few years at Fort Simcoe. There were also two older sisters and a brother; none of the next generation of this family learned to speak Cowlitz. Their mother, Frances Northover was raised by an uncle who spoke Cowlitz; she died in 1963 at the age of 105. Her mother (Mary) was Wishram-Yakima, her father (George ktá) was Yakima-Cowlitz. The father of Mrs. James and Mrs. Mesplie was Joe Northover. His mother was born in Kittitas County and was part Yakima; his father was William Northover, an Englishman. Mrs. James's first husband was Andrew Foster; she had two sons by him. Her second

<sup>1</sup> A number of people and organizations deserve special thanks for making my work on Cowlitz possible. First and foremost, I thank Mrs. James and Mrs. Mesplie, two very kind and charming ladies who gave generously of their time in order to make a record of their language possible. Their niece, Kay Northover Merritt, was helpful throughout in encouraging me and helping with some translations (she had a passive knowledge of the language learned from her grandmother, who raised her). I also thank Erik Beukenkamp, who was an invaluable assistant in recording the Cowlitz material in the summer of 1967. Throughout my work on this language, I have received much moral and intellectual support and advice from fellow scholars, particularly L. C. and M. T. Thompson and A. H. Kuipers. The latter kindly persuaded the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek to provide me with a grant to spend a few months in Holland so that I could work with Dr. Kuipers, and which enabled me to make much progress on organization of my Cowlitz data. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support provided over the years by the National Science Foundation, The University of Kansas, the University of British Columbia, and the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek.

husband was Walter James (part Puyallup), and they had four sons and four daughters. She moved to Vashon Island in the early 1940s, and did not return to the Yakima area until about 1952. Mrs. Mesplie's husband was August Mesplie (Wishram-French). She lived her entire life on the Yakima Reservation. By 1967 neither Mrs. James nor Mrs. Mesplie had used Cowlitz actively for a number of years, and were somewhat rusty in it at first, but remembered more and more as the summer progressed. However, they were unable to provide more than two or three place names in former Cowlitz territory. It has therefore been necessary to glean what few Cowlitz place names that can be found from a number of earlier sources, mostly poorly transcribed. The data obtained from Mrs. James and Mrs. Mesplie make it possible to make guesses as to a reasonable phonemicization of many of these names; in addition, names taken from the work of John P. Harrington and Melville Jacobs are well transcribed, and can generally be taken as correct by today's standards.

I have included in the list given below place names from all earlier sources that I have found. When my own data did not include these names, I have attempted to provide their probable phonemic form according to the transcription system I use; most of these guesses are based on known cognate forms in Upper Chehalis (see Kinkade 1991) or from the manuscript materials of John P. Harrington (1942), whose phonetic transcriptions of Cowlitz were quite accurate. These sources of data (with the abbreviations used in citing their forms) are the following (these sources contain vocabulary in general; not all include place names):<sup>2</sup>

- (a) Horatio Hale (1846) gives about 169 words of Cowlitz; his transcriptions are consistent and reasonably good, except that he does not write glottalization of consonants and does not distinguish front and back velars (these are both failings of all nineteenth century transcriptions of Cowlitz).
- (b) Albert Gallatin (1848) lists 56 Cowlitz words for comparative purposes; they are copied from Hale, with some orthographic changes.
- (c) Robert G. Latham (1862) lists these same 56 words, copied from Gallatin, and with the same changes.
- (d) George Gibbs (1853-60) has five words copied from a letter from U. G. Warbass (see Warbass 1858).
- (e) Gibbs (n.d.) is a list of nearly 160 words, presumably collected by Gibbs himself (although his informant's name, and the date and place of elicitation are not given); his transcriptions are consistent, but not as accurate as those of Hale.
- (f) Gibbs (1863) includes one Cowlitz word.
- (g) U. G. Warbass (1858) was an early settler at Toledo who provided Gibbs with some information on Cowlitz in a letter in answer to a request from Gibbs; his transcriptions are poorer than those of Hale or Gibbs. The letter includes 15 words in Cowlitz and a rough map of Cowlitz territory with several place names on it. Warbass gives as his sources Hoh-hoh and Bonaparte Plomondon; this Hoh-hoh is probably the same person as the How-How (or his father)<sup>3</sup> mentioned by Ross (1855:191-196) as a Cowlitz chief.
- (h) Warbass also provided Gibbs with material which is contained in another manuscript by the latter (Warbass 1857-58); it contains 23 words copied from Warbass.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these sources give names of creeks, prairies, and other natural features. Curtis's names are all village names (re-elicited as such by Harrington), but note that many of them correspond to names of natural features in other sources. This suggests that villages were often located at or near the mouths of creeks tributary to the Cowlitz River.

<sup>3</sup> The episode described by Ross took place in 1818, and Warbass collected his information in 1857-58. If the man mentioned by them is the same, he would have been very old when Warbass talked to him. Note that Ross says that How-How had a marriageable daughter, so he was no longer a young man in 1818.

(i) F. L. O. Roehrig (1870 and n.d.) put together two lengthy manuscripts of comparative Salish; they include between 110 and 115 words of Cowlitz taken from the manuscripts of Gibbs, and include a few words from Warbass.

(j) Edward Curtis (1911) gives 188 words of Cowlitz and 29 village names (some of which are Kiksht); these were actually written down by his assistant, W. E. Myers, and are reasonably accurate and well transcribed. The place names were collected from Esther Millett, "born about 1835 at the village of Wiyamitih" (Curtis 1911:172).

(k) The Franz Boas collection at the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia includes a large manuscript of comparative Salishan vocabularies (Boas 1925). Mostly these are not in Boas' handwriting, and were probably compiled by James A. Teit and Herman K. Haeberlin. The Cowlitz materials, consisting of roughly 640 words, were almost certainly collected by Teit sometime during the first decade of the twentieth century; the transcriptions are fairly good.

(l) Boas himself collected a large body of Upper Chehalis material in 1927; these incidentally include nearly 50 Cowlitz words scattered through his notebooks, and the transcriptions are quite good.

(m) An article by Boas and Haeberlin (1927) includes 33 items taken from the comparative vocabularies (see k above).

(n) Haeberlin also prepared an article on lexical suffixes which was not published until 1974; this includes 67 Cowlitz words, also taken from the comparative vocabularies.

(o) Melville Jacobs' Sahaptin grammar (1931) includes six Cowlitz place names in a specimen text at the end of the volume; the text was dictated by Lewy Costima.<sup>4</sup>

(p) One of Jacobs' collections of Sahaptin folk-tales (1934) contains two Cowlitz words and many place names in texts from Lewy Costima, Jim Yoke, and Mary Iley; several of these names appear to be Cowlitz. Jacobs' transcriptions are quite accurate.

(q) Thelma Adamson is known to have collected a large amount of data on the Cowlitz language, but the original material has all disappeared. She had prepared an unarranged typescript of her field notes (Adamson 1926-27), and a carbon copy (lacking diacritics and special symbols that were probably added by hand to the original copy) is on deposit in the Melville Jacobs Collection in the University of Washington Archives in Seattle.

(r) Adamson did, however, publish a number of Cowlitz folk-tales in English (1934), and 68 Cowlitz words are scattered through them; her transcriptions leave much to be desired. Adamson's sources for these tales were Mary Iley, Sophie Smith, James Cheholts, Lucy Youckton, Frances Northover, and Minnie Case.

(s) Verne F. Ray worked with Mrs. Emma Luscier (born about 1871) at Bay Center between 1931 and 1936 collecting Lower Chinook ethnographic data. Mrs. Luscier's mother was Esther Millett, Curtis's source of place names. Ray (1938) also includes three Cowlitz personal names.

(t) John P. Harrington also collected data from Mrs. Luscier in 1942. He re-elicited much of the vocabulary in Curtis (1911), and his manuscripts include nearly 130 words from this source and a number of place names and personal names. He also collected about 35 words from Joe Peter, a Cowlitz residing on the Yakima Reservation. Harrington's transcriptions are excellent, but significant discrepancies from other Cowlitz data in his transcriptions of Mr. Peter suggest that the latter had not used Cowlitz for some

<sup>4</sup> The names of Indian sources of data are not spelled consistently by the different people who worked with them. Thus Jacobs (1931) names Lewy Castama, but Jacobs (1934) spells the last name Costima. Jacobs (1934) names Mary Eyley, but Adamson (1934) spells it Iley. Curtis (1911) gives as his source Esther Millett; Ray (1938) spells her name Millet. Warbass (1857-58) cites Napoleon Plumondo; the usual spelling of this name is Plomondon. I use here what I believe to be the preferred spellings.

time, and was quite rusty.

(u) In 1960 Silas Heck volunteered five Cowlitz words (which he had learned from his wife) while I was working with him on Upper Chehalis.

(v) Three sources contain one place name each: Tolmie (1968; Cowlitz), Anonymous (1855-1860; Toutle River), and Anonymous (1956; Toutle River).

In citing forms from these various sources, I have retained the transcriptions of the originals except in three respects, all because of the difficulty of printing unusual symbols. I have replaced the small raised epsilon of Boas 1927 with a glottal stop (?); since Boas did not write ? in this manuscript, there is no ambiguity. Boas marked aspiration with an apostrophe the shape of which is inverted from what I use—that is, his had the head down, open to the right. I have replaced Harrington's small, odd capital *k* with *q*, since this is now the usual symbol for this sound. My own transcriptions used in this dictionary are phonemic, not narrowly phonetic.

Geographical locations of the sites listed below are shown on the accompanying sketch maps of the Cowlitz River (sites outside this area are more generally known, except for those in Upper Chehalis territory, hence not mapped; for the Upper Chehalis sites see Kinkade 1991). Most indications of locations must be considered approximate, except where a source specifies a stream or prairie name or other location that can be definitely identified. Jacobs' and Harrington's sources located sites only approximately, or in imprecise relation to other sites. Curtis gives distances between villages in miles, but the total of his miles and the actual distance between Kelso and Toledo do not coincide; the greatest discrepancy is between Castle Rock and Toledo. The basis of Curtis's distances is not clear in any case; these may be estimates by Mrs. Millett, or, if he visited sites, they may have meant miles by canoe, or they may be miles by horseback, which could be quite different from miles along the river by canoe (to say nothing of miles based on modern highway distances, which do not follow the meanderings of streams). I have assumed that villages would most likely be located at or near the mouths of tributary creeks and rivers. Virtually no archaeological work has been done along this part of the Cowlitz River, and most traces of sites from the mouth of the Toutle River southward were probably destroyed by the flooding and mudflows resulting from the eruption of Mt. Saint Helens in 1980.

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1. **now-oo-tson** Uwa Monticello (now Longview); JT nawútsen mouth of the Cowlitz River; JHjp nawútsən mouth of the Cowlitz River: "confluence" (*prob.* nawúcn; *cf.* náwa- old, big). (√náwa- 794)
2. **mansa'la** MJa-ic, Mjb-iy, ic Kelso; JH Mansélu, mǎnsélu; JH mǎnsélaw place near Longview; JH mǎnsélor the bend of the Cowlitz River, Longview; JH mǎnsélo site on the Cowlitz River; JH mǎnséla, mǎnsélor a landing near the mouth of the Cowlitz River; VR mǎnse'la' Cowlitz village located where Longview now stands (*prob.* mansílu or mansíla). (From English Monticello.) (mansa'la 709)
3. **Cowee-men** Uwa Coweeman River; JT kauwémen, kaúwemen Coweeman Creek; EC Kawímni village at the mouth of Coweeman River; Mjb-iy qawi'men Coweeman River; JH qáwí·mání a creek below Monticello, Coweeman Creek; JH q'áwí·m'ni village at mouth of Coweeman Creek; JHjp q'áwíman Coweeman Creek; JHsa q'áwíman Coweeman Creek (called le forche by the French); JH'a·wí·mǎni a creek entering the Cowlitz river a little above Monticello (a Kathlamet Chinook name); VR awí'mani a Cowlitz village at the mouth of Coweeman river (*prob.* qawíman or qawímni). (Coweemen 965)
4. **Tiálianakshih** EC "On Rock", at the site of Kelso. (An Upper Chinook name.)
5. **céft** lake; Uwa Tsalkh lake (or the name of a lake?); HH tselx; GG tséh-tl; EC tsé'ñl; CV,BH tsé.t; Warbass's map makes this look like a place name, but it is more likely simply a designation of the location of a lake. Warbass made no attempt to draw his map (which he calls a "representation") to scale; this "lake" is drawn at the head of a nameless creek west of the Cowlitz River a short distance north of the mouth of the Coweeman River. (√céft 153)
6. **Wakóthi mali** EC "Perpendicular", a mile above Kelso on the east side of the Cowlitz River. (Possibly rocky Point, two miles upstream from Kelso; an Upper Chinook name.)
7. **Stiwe** EC site about a mile and a half above Kelso on the east bank of the Cowlitz River: "marten"; *cf.* tce'tó'xwe' fisher). (tce'tó'xwe' 285)
8. **t'u·'s** Mjb-iy a creek downstream from ni'hwí'; Uwa tosp (*prob.* t'ús). (Possibly Ostrander Creek.) (t'u·'s 1399)
9. **ná·yaq'otsix** JH a former Cowlitz village; EC Naíyakotšuih a village two miles above Stiwe on the east bank of the Cowlitz River. (ná·yaq'otsix 801)
10. **Silkén-stá'm'sli** EC a village about one mile above Naíyakotšuih on the west bank of the Cowlitz River: "slave town"; *poss.* syəlqín?-stá'ncš; *cf.* yəlqíní?- slave, ta't- spread flat, lie flat. (√yəlqíní?- 1673, √ta't- 1243)
- 11a. **káwlic** Cowlitz; Talmie Tawallish, Twallish, Tawallitsh; FB Qaueli'tsq; JH qáwli'tsq Cowlitz Prairie; JHjp khawlitš lower Cowlitz River. (√káwlic 358)
- 11b. **káwlicq'** Cowlitz River; JT kauwilé'tsk; FB qáwlicq; JH qáwli'tsq Cowlitz tribe; JH q'ázwilí·tsq' Cowlitz River. (√káwlic 358)
12. **nu-che-lip** Uwa Cowlitz River below Cowlitz Landing; JT Nutsélep, nutsélep, nutsélep Mount Rainier ("because it is at the head of Nutsalép River"), Cowlitz River. (nu-che-lip 824)
13. **sá·'klámáx** JH a former Cowlitz village: "red-colored dirt"; Uwa tsa-ka-lump name of a rapids; EC Tsákalum'hí a village a mile and a half above silkén-stá'm'sli on the east bank of the Cowlitz River: "red earth"; *poss.* c'áqlmX; *cf.* c'iq- red, bay. (√c'iq- 249)
14. **Kamá'lstn** EC a village a mile above Tsákalum'hí; *poss.* kamá'lstn; *cf.* kóm- bend over, stoop, invert. (√kóm- 369)
15. **wa·'táx** JH village site "put fire in the brush and burn all"; EC Wahíúhí a village a mile and a half above Kamá'lstn on the west bank of the Cowlitz River; *poss.* wa'táx. (wa·'táx 1415)
16. **ni'hwí'** MJa-ic, Mjb-ic a creek opposite Castle Rock (possibly Arkansas Creek or Whittle Creek—MDK), Mjb-iy a stream six miles above Kelso; Uwa neth-wee; *poss.* ni'x'í. (ni'hwí' 818)
17. **cayles** Uwa place on the lower Cowlitz River. (cayles 378)

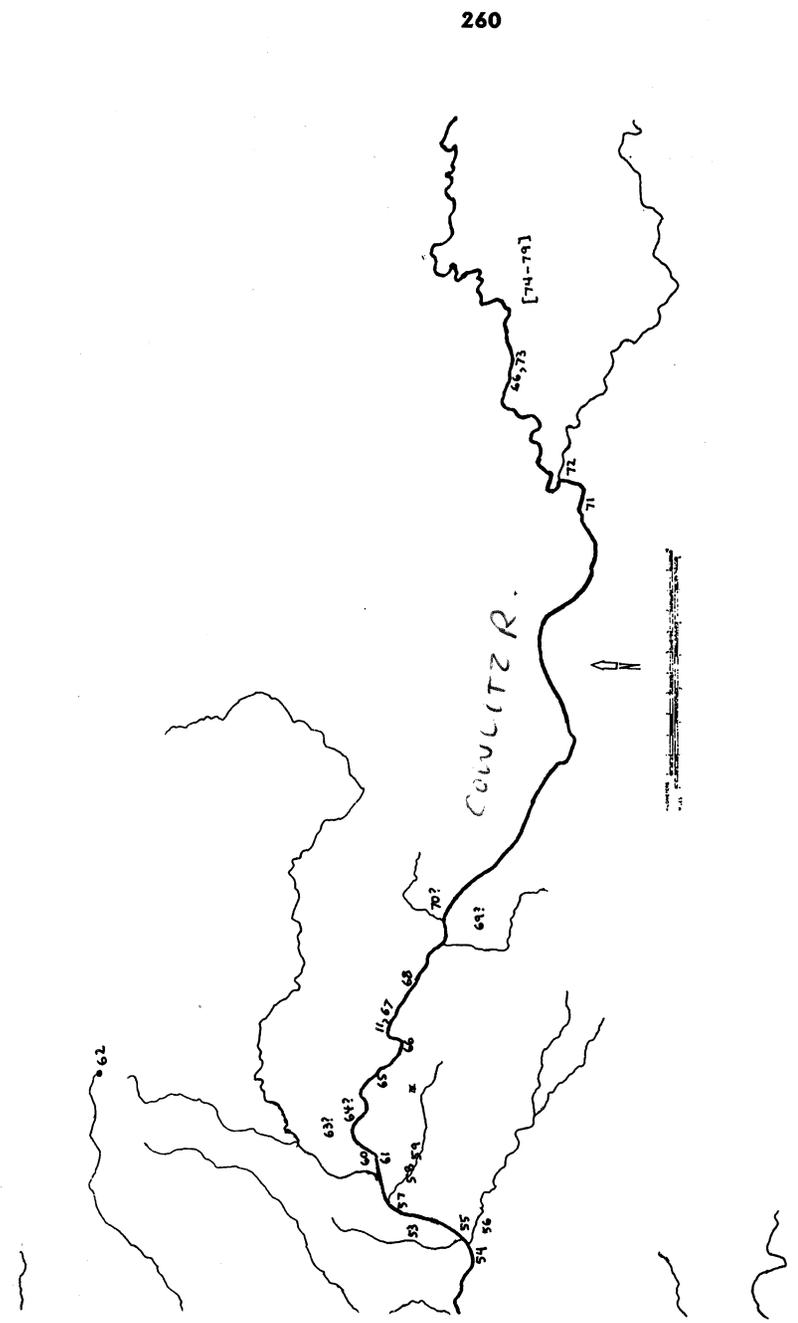
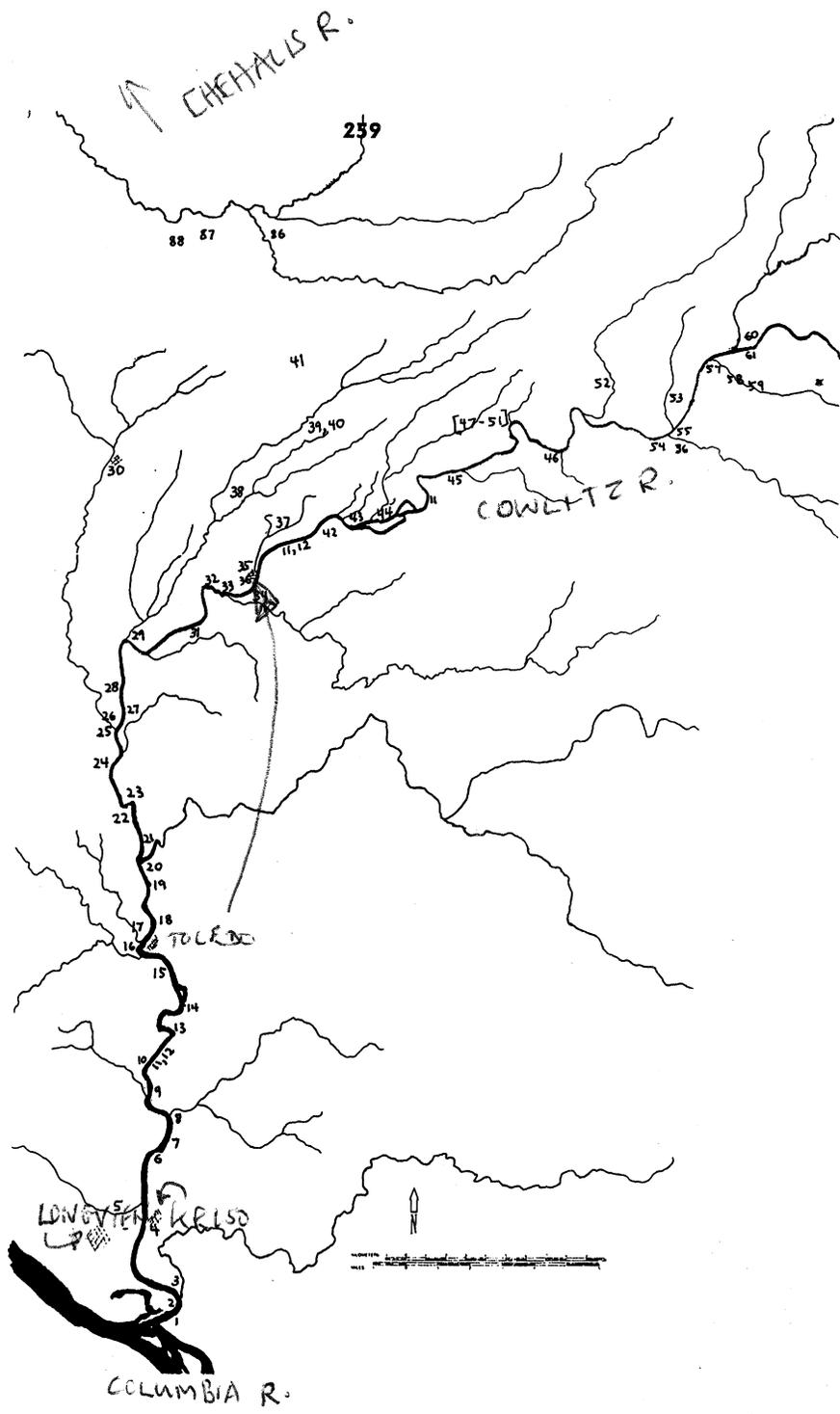
18. **wiyá·mátxw, wiyá·mátx** JH a former Cowlitz village; Uwa ne-yam-a-tikh name of a rapids; EC Wiyamitíhí a village about two miles above Wahíúhí on the east bank of the Cowlitz River: "long rifle"; *poss.* wiyámátx'. (wiyá·mátxw, wiyá·mátx 1473)
19. **Wahíáhi etkúk** EC a village one mile above Wiyamitíhí on the east bank of the Cowlitz River ("the name refers to the fact that the river here once cut through a point of land"). (wa·'táx 1415)
20. **síq'w't** an area and people in southern Cowlitz territory between Kelso and Toledo; *also* a good class of people; Notices & Voyages River Seko Toutle River; PRR seh-quu Toutle River; Uwa Se-a-kt; TAB st.·'q'w Toutle River Cowlitz; MJa-ic ce·'q'k Toutle River; Mjb-iy ce·'q'w'k' Toutle River; Mjb-ic ci·'q'k' Toutle River; *cf.* síq'w- [meaning unknown]. (√síq'w- 1174)
21. **Tsiúk'flewala** EC a village on the west bank of the Cowlitz River just above the mouth of Toutle River (said by Curtis to be based on ʔaksč'iq 'red' and Kathlamet Chinook 'íwala 'to paddle', but note that the Sahaptin name for this site is wílapšas 'sturgeon place'—Mjb-iy); Uwa Tse-qual-i-sen forks of the Cowlitz River and a tributary; *poss.* c'íwq-íwala; *cf.* c'íwq sturgeon; or *poss.* síq'w't-íwala based on the preceding name. (√c'íwq 253)
22. **sk'watí·máx** JH a site on the Cowlitz River; EC Tsqa'hími'ñl a village a mile and a half above Tsiúk'flewala on the west bank (refers to marks on the rocks above the site) (*prob.* sq'w'atím't' or sq'w'atím'x; *cf.* q'w'oté- mark, write, design, brand, vote). (√q'w'oté- 1094)
23. **Tskelé'tn** EC village two miles above Tsqa'hími'ñl on the east bank of the Cowlitz River; *poss.* cq'ilin; *cf.* q'ilin elk. (√q'ilin 980)
24. **Skatiék'á'tns** EC a village a mile and a half above Tskelé'tn on the west bank of the Cowlitz River: "Crow's Sweat lodge"; *cf.* k'a·ka?- crow, qā'.ten sweathouse. (√k'a·ka?- 386, qā'.ten 944)
25. **máxkan'tá'watsan** JH Olequa depot: "deer's slough"; JH máxkan'tá'watsan place name: "elk's horn" (*prob.* máxkan'talucn; *cf.* mǎxkán- horn, antlers). (√mǎxkán- 754)
26. **ka'matsi** MJa-ic, Mjb-ic Olequa River; Uwa Cow-mat-tsen; EC Kámatšihí a village two miles above Skatiék'á'tns on the west bank of the Cowlitz River at Olequa; TAA-iy K'amatsi creek name?; Mjb-iy ka'matsi prairie at Olequa; JH k'a'matsi site of Olequa; JHsa K'ámatš'í a slough on the west side of the Cowlitz River in Olequa region; JHsa K'ámatš'í site of Olequa. (ka'matsi 392)
27. **wálikwayus** JHjp Olequa (?) or a man's name (?) (*prob.* wálik'ayus). (wálikwayus 1412)
28. **stám'tá·mán't** JH (place name); Uwa Tun-ta-malk Grand Rapids; EC Stúmtáma'nñl a village one mile above Kámatšihí on the west bank of the Cowlitz River; *poss.* stám'támn't; *cf.* stám'tám- beads, necklace. (√tám- 1245)
29. **skwatí·'xá'** JH a former Cowlitz village; EC Tsqatíhí a village about two miles above Stúmtáma'nñl on the Cowlitz River (*prob.* sq'w'atí'xá?; *cf.* q'w'atí'xá? body louse). (√q'w'atí'xá? 1042)
30. **q'ápn't** TAB Winlock: "blueberry plant"; TAA-ph K'apant; *cf.* q'á'p short huckleberry, blueberry. (√q'á'p 995)
31. **tsí·'xpán't** JH (place name); EC Tsi'úh'pünñl a village two miles above Tsqatíhí on the east bank of the Cowlitz River (*prob.* c'í'xpán't; *cf.* tsí·'xp root sp.). (√tsí·'xp 257)
32. **takwal** JH a place a little above tsí·'xpán't; Uwa Cla-quil; EC Hlaqú' a village about three miles above Tsi'úh'pünñl on the west bank of the Cowlitz River. (takwal 565)
33. **'áwí·lka'n't** JH "red-ochre place"; Uwa ow-well-kenkh Paint-illahae (a prairie at Cowlitz Landing); EC Awé'kínñl a village half a mile above Hlaqú' on the west bank of the Cowlitz River; TAA-iy awé'kán't place to get paint, near Toledo, on Cowlitz prairie (*prob.* ʔawí'lk). ('áwí·lk, 'áwí·lk 38)
34. **matá·p** Mjb-iy creek opposite Toledo; Uwa ma-tap-pa-lu; EC Ma'úp a village one mile above Awé'kínñl on the east bank of the Cowlitz River opposite the site of Toledo, and on a creek of the same name; TAA-iy mat p Olequa Creek at Vader and Winlock; MJa-ic, Mjb-ic matá·p Salmon Creek (near Toledo); JH matá·p creek near Toledo; *cf.* 693. macáp, 789. natép. (matá·p 721)
- (34). **macáp** a creek that flows into the Cowlitz River at the Toledo grange hall; *cf.* 721. matá·p. (macáp 693)

- (34). **natóp** name of a site on the Cowlitz River; cf. 721. **mató'p**. (natóp 789)
35. **Klac-olks, klac-olts** *Uwa* Cowlitz Landing (at Toledo). (Klac-olks, klac-olts 567)
36. **stáw'úm'an't-xáw't** *JH* "mowing-place road"; EC Tawámilúh'áwíh'l village at the site of Toledo (*prob.* st'áw'ém'n't-xáw't; cf. staw'úm cut, mow, xáwál- road, row). (staw'úm 1370, √xáwál- 1495)
37. **Now-ok** *Uwa* prairie, Hudson Bay farms on the Cowlitz River; *MJB-mi* ná'wq Cowlitz Prairie; *JH* ná'w·qy, náwq'y the Catholic mission at Cowlitz: "Big Prairie"; *JH* náwq', náwq' Cowlitz; *JHjp* náwk' Cowlitz Prairie (*prob.* náwq'; cf. náwa- old, big). (√náwa- 794)
38. **máxkan't** Lacamas Creek; *Uwa* Mock-kaults Mill Creek; *TAA-md* Mæxkan't, M xkan't a Cowlitz prairie and creek (other side of Jackson, near the Catholic church); cf. mæxkán- horn, antlers. (√mæxkán- 754)
39. **nixk'wá·nax't'an** *JHij* a prairie with lots of camas; *JHs* ná'fk'wá·nax't Lackamas Prairie: "stretching a hide" (*prob.* nixq'ánax'tn; cf. Upper Chehalis q'w'ánaxi- stretch a skin on a frame, nšq'w'ánxtn Mima Creek, Mima Prairie). (nixk'wá·nax't'an 1080)
40. **lakamás'fíl'i, lakamá·s'íl'i** *JHmc* a prairie close to Cowlitz; *TAA-ly* lakamasili a creek about half a mile from Cowlitz Prairie (camas and cattails were gathered there) (*prob.* lakamás'fílihi). (From Chinook Jargon La'-kam-ass, kam'-ass, cam'-as camas, il'-la-hee country, land, earth.) (lakamás'fíl'i, lakamá·s'íl'i 496)
41. **kulu'ín** *MJB-mi* Jackson Prairie (*prob.* k'wulú'n). (k'wulú'n 456a)
42. **tá·k'lu·tsan** *JH* place name; EC Hátlákaluú'fšn a village about two miles above Tawámilúh'áwíh'l on the east bank of the Cowlitz River; *poss.* ták'w'lucn; cf. ták'w- other side. (√tá'k'w- 564)
43. **sq'wí·'tp-an't xaw't** *JH* stumpy road (in reference to a place name); EC Sqéñlapilúh'áwíh'l a village one mile above Hátlákaluú'fšn on the west bank of the Cowlitz River (*prob.* sq'wí'tp'n't xáw't; cf. q'wí'tap- root, xáwál- road, row). (√q'wí'tap- 1101, √xáwál- 1495)
44. **che-wap-pow-lik** *Uwa* a creek between Toledo and Salkum; *TAA-ly* tcawap<sup>c</sup> a creek name (a place where camas was dug). (che-wap-pow-lik 275)
45. **ʔakwáp, ʔakwápan't** *JH* a Cowlitz village; EC Taqú'p a village two miles above Sqéñlapilúh'áwíh'l on the east bank of the Cowlitz River: "spotted buttock"; *TAA-ly* t' kwap place at Cowlitz where fish-trap was made; *poss.* ʔak'w'áp. (ʔakwáp, ʔakwápan't 1355)
46. **skwayúx** *JH* a Cowlitz village; EC Tskaiyúw a village two miles above Taqú'p on the east bank of the Cowlitz River: "river bend"; *poss.* sk'w'ayéx'w. (skwayúx 429)
47. **tsali'tsalitən** *MJB-ic* name of a creek (*prob.* calícalitn). (tsali'tsalitən 130)
48. **k'walsa'lyals** *MJB-ly* a creek five miles above Toledo (*prob.* k'w'alsályals). (k'walsa'lyals 468)
49. **pcwa'pcwa** *MJB-ly* a creek between Toledo and Salkum: "many rocks" (here c = [ʃ]; a Sahaptin name (*prob.* pšwápšwa; cf. Sahaptin pšwa rock). (pcwa'pcwa 883)
50. **ʔə'k'atcən** *MJB-ic* a creek below Salkum: "white fir"; *MJB-ly* ʔəq'a'tcən (a Sahaptin name) (*prob.* ʔək'áčən; cf. Sahaptin ʔək'áčən grand fir). (ʔə'k'atcən 591)
51. **suspa'nas** *MJB-ly,ic* a site two or three miles below Salkum: "strawberry place" (a Sahaptin name); *poss.* suspána·š; cf. Sahaptin suspána·š strawberry plant. (suspa'nas 1194)
52. **sa'lkum** *MJB-ly,ic* a creek at Salkum (Mill Creek); *Uwa* Sol-cum; *poss.* sálk'w'm. (sa'lkum 1122)
53. **tsi·'xiwun** *MJB-ic* Silver Creek (above Mayfield) (*prob.* cíxiwn). (tsi·'xiwun 183)
54. **tsi'qls** *MJB-ic* a creek between Mayfield and Silver Creek (*prob.* cíqls). (tsi'qls 178)
55. **Quailt** *Uwa* the Klickitats' prairie; EC Qé'lt a village three miles above Tskaiyúw on the east bank of the Cowlitz River; *MJB-ly* kwe·'lt a prairie with camas at Mossyrock; *MJB-ic* qwe·'lt Mossyrock prairie; *poss.* k'w'ilt or q'w'ilt; cf. site 57. (Distances and relation to other sites suggest that this should be at Mayfield, rather than Mossyrock.) (Quailt 443, cqwe·'litam 1206)

56. **ʔcal'ca'lc** *MJB-ic* Winston Creek (below Mayfield); *MJB-ly* ʔca'lc'calc (here c = [ʃ]) (*prob.* ʔál'čálš). (ʔcal'ca'lc 298)
57. **qwe·'litam** *MJB-ly* Klickitat Creek (between Mayfield and Mossyrock); *MJB-ic* cqwe·'latəm (here c = [ʃ]); *poss.* šq'élitm; cf. site 55. (cqwe·'litam 1206, Quailt 443)
58. **ʔáqatət** *JH* Klickitat (*prob.* ʔéqətət). (ʔáqatət 599)
59. **ʔáq'atət fíl'i** *JHs* Big Bottom (place up the Cowlitz River). (Last part is from Chinook Jargon il'-la-hee country, land, earth.) (ʔáqatət 599)
60. **lala'lx** *MJB-ly,ic* Tilton Creek; *JHjp* la·lálx, lálá·lx Tilton River (*prob.* lálálx). (lala'lx 500)
61. **ʃi·lálálx** *JH* a Cowlitz village; EC Nšhílalál'fí a village four miles above Qé'lt on the east bank of the Cowlitz River (*prob.* nšlalálx). (lala'lx 500)
62. **tsala'fí·q't** *MJB-mi* a lake near Cinnabar Mountain at the head of the Chehalis River (*prob.* calátiq't; cf. céf't lake). (Probably Newaukum Lake, at the head of the South Fork Newaukum River, a major tributary of the Chehalis River.) (√céf't 153)
63. **ala'layac** *MJB-ly* a prairie opposite Mossyrock: "place of nettles" (here c = [ʃ]; a Sahaptin name); *poss.* ʔalálayaš; cf. Sahaptin alálala nettles, -aš site, place, bush, shrub, etc. (ala'layac 13)
64. **sqá'litcəm** *MJB-ic* a creek near Mossyrock (here c = [ʃ]) (*prob.* sqáličn). (sqá'litcəm 1184)
65. **tca'luwaik** *MJB-ly* a valley near Mossyrock (Dunn Canyon?) (here c = [ʃ]) (*prob.* čáluwayk). (tca'luwaik 272)
66. **iya'nc** *MJB-ly* narrows in the Cowlitz River near Mossyrock (where Salmon were caught): "driftwood, jam" (here c = [ʃ]); *poss.* ʔiyáns or ʔiyánc; cf. Upper Chehalis yánc drift log, snag. (iya'nc 107)
67. **táytnapam** Taitnapam, Upper Cowlitz; *Uwa* Ti-tin-a-pam Cowlitz River above Cowlitz Landing, Klickitat tribe. (táytnapam 1282)
68. **nu'cnu** *MJB-ly,ic* a creek at the upper end of a narrow canyon on the Cowlitz River near Mossyrock: "nose" (here c = [ʃ]; a Sahaptin name) (*prob.* nšnu). (nu'cnu 830)
69. **cxu'mtani** *MJB-ly* an eddy and fishing site below Riffe; *MJB-ic* cxu'mtani a salmon trout site (here c = [ʃ]) (*prob.* šx'umtani). (cxu'mtani 1624)
70. **cq'ilq'it** *MJB-ly* a creek two or three miles below Riffe: "skunk cabbages"; *MJB-ic* cqilq'it a creek one mile west of Riffe (here c = [ʃ]); *prob.* sq'ilq'it; cf. Upper Chehalis q'iltnt skunk-cabbage). (√q'il- 1020)
71. **cha-chin** *Uwa* a stream feeding into the upper Cowlitz River; *MJB-ly* ʔca'tcən a rapids below Cowlitz Falls (below the mouth of Cispus River); *MJB-ic* ʔca'tcən a rocky narrows four miles above Cosmos (*prob.* ʔčáčən). (cha-chin 297)
72. **scow-wow-woulk** *Uwa* a tributary of the upper Cowlitz River (possibly Cispus River). (scow-wow-woulk 1179)
73. **ctci'l** *MJA-ic, MJB-ic* Cowlitz River (*prob.* ščíl). (ctci'l 289)
74. **t'apayé·n'p** *JH* a village up the Cowlitz River (*prob.* sk'apayé·n'p; cf. k'óp deep). (√k'óp 667)
75. **šwána'ye** *TAB-mi* Coyote's daughter and name of a river. (šwána'ye 1518)
76. **lala·'xum** *TAB-mi* a place where camas grows (*prob.* láláx'm or láláx'w'm). (lala·'xum 501)
77. **Ta'ux** *TAB-as* name of a creek. (Ta'ux 1283)
78. **tapa't** *TAB-mc* a creek adjoining Dip Creek. (tapa't 1253)
79. **ʔacx'íx'í?k't** Windy Point; cf. x'í?t- [meaning unclear]. (√x'í?t- 1618)
80. **sá·k'w, nšsá·k'w** *SH* Mount St. Helens. (√sá·k'w, nšsá·k'w 1120)
81. **lawe'lata'** *TAB-mc* Mount St. Helens; *TAB-mi* lawe'lat'fa'; *JHjp* lawí·lat'fa' a mountain that used to let out a lot of volcanic smoke (*prob.* lawílat-ʔá). (From Sahaptin lawílayt-ʔá "the smoker".) (lawe'lata' 516)
82. **ʔak'áyaqs** *FB* Blue Mountains; cf. ʔók sharp. (√ʔók 589)
83. **c'ililə't** Mount Adams; *TAB-mc* t'čili'łt. (c'ililə't 247)
84. **patu'** *TAB-mi* Mount Adams (a Sahaptin name) (*prob.* patúʔ). (patu' 848)
85. **taqo'mən** *TAB-ic* Mount Rainier; *TAB-mc* təxó'ma; *TAB-mi* təxó'ma; (*prob.* təq'úma). (taqo'mən 1299)

86. **nulk-tsuluk** Uwa Newaukum River (*prob.* náx<sup>w</sup>č'afx; *cf.* Upper Chehalis náx<sup>w</sup>č'afx). (nulk-tsuluk 805)
87. **náwaq<sup>w</sup>m** "Big Prairie"; TAB na 'waqum Newaukum River; MJB-mi nawa 'qum Newaukum Prairie; JHjp náwaq<sup>w</sup>m Jackson Prairie (?); *cf.* náwa- old, big; *cf.* Upper Chehalis náwaq<sup>w</sup>m Newaukum River. (√náwa- 794)
88. **lapa 'ləm** MJB-mi a creek near Newaukum Prairie (*prob.* lapálm). (lapálm 504a)
89. **hí·kwátó** JHjp a prairie somewhere between Jackson Prairie and Chehalis Prairie; JT tlakwéto Claquato (*prob.* łak<sup>w</sup>ítu; *cf.* Upper Chehalis łak<sup>w</sup>ítu Claquato). (hí·kwátó' 566)
90. **nexsúlap.x** JT Chehalis River; JT Nusu 'lapex, Nesū 'lapc the Chehalis of Chehalis River (*prob.* nxsúlapx; *cf.* Upper Chehalis nsúlapš). (nexsúlap.x 832)
91. **ta 'tunkəŋ** TAB-mc Ford's Prairie (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* tá·t'n'k'n; *cf.* táit- spread flat, lie flat; *cf.* Upper Chehalis tá·t'n'c's'n' Ford's Prairie: "resting place"). (√táit- 1243)
92. **L'aqa 'yaqł** TAB-mc Grand Mound Prairie (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* X'aqáyqł, its Upper Chehalis name; *cf.* X'áq- long, tall). (√X'áq- 641)
93. **wała 'lən** TAB-jc,mc Scatter Creek (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* wałá·l'n, its Upper Chehalis name). (wała 'lən 1414)
94. **łta 'ls** TAB-mc "Little Rochester Prairie" (a prairie near Rochester in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* ʔitáłs, its Upper Chehalis name). (łta 'ls 86)
95. **man 'kət** TAB-mc across the river from Gate City (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* manók'uwł; *cf.* Upper Chehalis manók'uwł). (man 'kət 705)
96. **łəa 'wən** TAB-mc Oakville Reservation Prairie (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* łəawn, its Upper Chehalis name). (łəa 'wən 1212)
97. **sa 'ts'ət** TAB-mc Black River: "made lake" (in Upper Chehalis territory) (*prob.* sácəłt; *cf.* sáʔa- do, make, céłt lake; *cf.* Upper Chehalis sácəłt Black River). (√sáʔa- 1112, √céłt 153)
98. **wlí·mpya** JHjp Olympia; *poss.* wəlĩmpiya. (From English Olympia.) (wlí·mpya 1456)
99. **smálexko** JT White River (*prob.* smáłq<sup>w</sup>u?; *cf.* Lushootseed sbáłq<sup>w</sup>u? White River). (smálexko 699)
100. **.s'kóp, .sqop** JT Green River (*prob.* sk<sup>w</sup>úp). (.s'kóp, .sqop 490)
101. **kopéls** JT Copalis (*prob.* k<sup>w</sup>upíls). (kopéls 491) JT = T2it
102. **wílpa** JT Willapa River. (wílpa 1457)
103. **swól** JHjp the Kwalhioqua at Pe Ell; JH swá·l, swá·l; JT Su'wa 'l, Sewa 'll Willapa (people); *poss.* swál or swól. This name may refer to the Kwalhioqua people rather than to a place. (swól 1474)
104. **łá·kulutsən** JH Columbia River, Shoalwater Bay: "the way down river"; *poss.* łák<sup>w</sup>lucn; *cf.* łák<sup>w</sup>- other side. (√łák<sup>w</sup>- 564)
105. **łáktáit, łáktait, łáktəłait** JT old name of Columbia River; JT Ła 'kłait Lower Chinook (people). (łáktáit, łáktait, łáktəłait 563)
106. **ł·niya** TAB-mi Rainier, Oregon (*prob.* lĩniya). (From English Rainier.) (ł·niya 544)
107. **wíłtk** JHjp Lewis River: "smoking"; JT wíłtek, willek Lewis River (Cowlitz name) (*prob.* wíłtk). (wíłtk 1461)
108. **łapús** JT Scappoose, Oregon. (łapús 396)
109. **pú·łəən** JH Portland; (*prob.* púłəən). (From English Portland.) (pú·łəən 895)
110. **qáwał'ál'qan** JH a big rock on the west side of the Cowlitz River (*prob.* qawał'álqan). (qáwał'ál'qan 964)
111. **qwa 'ya** MJB-mi (unidentified site) (*prob.* q<sup>w</sup>áya). (q<sup>w</sup>áya 1088a)
112. **waxa 'lat** MJB-mi (unidentified site) (*prob.* waxálat). (waxálat 1428a)
113. **kawa 'swai** MJB-mi (unidentified site; a place for gathering hazelnuts and salalberries) (*prob.* kawásway). (kawásway 356a)
114. **sa 'lk** MJB-mi (unidentified site) (*prob.* sáłk). (sáłk 1121a)

115. **L'alam x<sup>u</sup>, L'alamxu** TAa people who lived between the wánək<sup>w</sup>t and the Lower Cowlitz; TAa-h Lala mox;<sup>u</sup> a place; TAa-h Lałə nł people of Lalamox<sup>u</sup>; JT łə'łé' mēx Taitnapam (?); JT łəłámux Klickitat (?), interior tribes; JT łəłámux mountain people, Columbia River people; JT Ła 'lamux<sup>u</sup> tribes of the interior (*prob.* X'alámux<sup>w</sup>; *cf.* Upper Chehalis X'alámux<sup>w</sup>; *cf.* X'al- [meaning unknown]). (√X'al- 632)
116. **łcqa 'tənt** MJB-iy a falls above the Ike farm (near Mossyrock) (here c = [š]) (*prob.* łcqátnt). (łcqa 'tənt 319)
117. **.spóp, .spúp** JT falls on a creek (*prob.* spúp waterfall; *cf.* Upper Chehalis spúp waterfall). (.spóp, .spúp 888)



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

## DATA SOURCES:

AG - Albert Gallatin 1848  
 BH - Franz Boas and Herman Haerberlin 1927  
 CV - Franz Boas 1925  
 EC - Edward S. Curtis 1911  
 FB - Franz Boas 1927  
 FR - F. L. O. Roehrig 1870 and n.d.  
 GG<sub>a</sub> - George Gibbs 1853-1860  
 GG<sub>b</sub> - George Gibbs n.d.  
 GG<sub>c</sub> - George Gibbs 1863  
 HH - Horatio Hale 1846  
 HT - Herman Haerberlin 1974  
 JH - John P. Harrington 1942  
 MJ<sub>a</sub> - Melville Jacobs 1931  
 MJ<sub>b</sub> - Melville Jacobs 1934  
 PRR - Anonymous 1855-1860  
 RL - Robert G. Latham 1862  
 SH - Silas Heck  
 TA<sub>a</sub> - Thelma Adamson 1926-1927  
 TA<sub>b</sub> - Thelma Adamson 1934  
 UWA - U. B. Warbass 1857-1858  
 UW<sub>b</sub> - U. G. Warbass 1858  
 VR - Verne F. Ray 1938

## NATIVE SOURCES:

fn - Frances Northover  
 gs - George Sanders  
 h - Mary or Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis)  
 jc - James Cheholts  
 jp - Joe Peter  
 jy - Jim Yoke  
 lc - Lewy Costima (Castama)  
 lj - Lizzie Johnson  
 ly - Lucy Youckton  
 mc - Minnie Case  
 md - Marion Davis (Upper Chehalis)  
 mi - Mary Iley (Eyley)  
 ph - Peter Heck (Upper Chehalis)  
 ss - Sophie Smith

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS:

cf. - compare  
 poss. - possibly  
 prob. - probably  
 ENM - Emma Mesplie  
 LNJ - Lucy James  
 KNM - Kay Merritt

## SPECIAL SYMBOLS:

Several unconventional symbols will be found in forms cited from other sources; their phonetic values may not always be obvious. I give an explanation of some of these here:

α - the same as a, or sometimes a

g, f - the same as š ([ʃ])

c - the same as š ([ʃ]) (in Adamson 1926-27, 1934, and Jacobs 1931, 1934)

ε - the same as ə

ι - short i as in bit

fl - the same as f (in Curtis 1911)

L - the same as either l or l'

u, u - short u, like oo in book or u in put

h - x or x (in Curtis 1911)

small raised letters are short, murmured versions of those same letters when written normal size

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