An analysis of the names for Mount Rainier

Zalmai ʔəswəli ZAHIR

University of Oregon

EDITOR:

Gabriela Pérez Báez (University of Oregon)

ABSTRACT

Over the years, there have been frequent attempts to rename Mount Rainier to its Indigenous name by both Native and non-Native parties (Carson, 2010; Changing the Name of Mount Rainier?, n.d.; Herbert Hoover Petition Signature Photo, 1926; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893). Through these endeavors, it has become apparent that Mount Rainier has a variety of Native American names and words associated with it written in various ways that have an assortment of meanings. The result is often a lack of clarity as to what the original, indigenous name is for Mount Rainier and how it should be written. In this article I will present the various names and words associated with Mount Rainier and their written forms. I will then present morphological (grammar) and diachronic (historical evolution) analyses for these names. I will then discuss the metaphorical meanings that have attached to these words that reflect the First People's cultural narratives and world view of Mount Rainier.

laʔalikʷ

txʷəl tiił qa tudᶻaladub, qa tiił ʔaciłtalbixʷ yəxʷ tiił xʷəl ʔaciłtalbixʷ gʷəl łələhuyat txʷəl kʷi gʷəsʔay'gʷəsəd ti sdaʔ ʔə Mount Rainier txʷəl tiił gʷəł ʔaciłtalbixʷ sdaʔ (Carson, 2010; Changing the Name of Mount Rainier?, n.d.; Herbert Hoover Petition Signature Photo, 1926; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893). ʔal ti suhuyatils həlgʷəʔ, ʔuhayalbut həlgʷəʔ ʔuləhaydxʷ qa tiił sdadaʔ yəxʷ tiił sx̌udx̌ud txʷəl Mount Rainier gʷəl qa ti tusutulutəbs. ti dəxʷəsʔistəʔ gʷəl ʔučałabid stabəxʷ kʷi gʷəł ʔaciłtalbixʷ tusdaʔ ʔə Mount Rainier gʷəl ʔəsx̌id kʷi łusx̌alads. ʔal ti dišəʔ sx̌al, łulaʔad čəd tiił qa sdadaʔ yəxʷ tiił sx̌udx̌ud txʷəl Mount Rainier yəxʷ ti sutulutəbs, čədə łuʔugʷusbid ʔəsx̌id kʷi gʷəsux̌alatəbs. ƛ'al łubəʔugʷusbid čəd ʔəsx̌id kʷi gʷəsusik'ʷidčəł tiił sdadaʔs yəxʷ tiił sx̌udx̌uds čədə łubəʔugʷusbid ti sx̌əčalbs. huy łux̌aladəxʷ čəd ʔəsx̌id kʷi gʷəsʔuʔay'gʷəstəb ʔə tiił tuʔaciłtalbixʷ x̌əč ti sutulutəbs.

1. INTRODUCTION[1] [2]

Over the years, there have been frequent attempts to rename Mount Rainier to its indigenous name by both native and non-native parties (Carson, 2010; Changing the Name of Mount Rainier?, n.d.; Herbert Hoover Petition Signature Photo, 1926; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893). Through these endeavors, it has become apparent that Mount Rainier has a variety of native names and words associated with it written in various ways that have an assortment of translations. The result is often a lack of clarity as to what the original, Indigenous name is for Mount Rainier, and how it should be written.

In this article I will present various names and words associated with Mount Rainier and their written forms. I will then present etymological (the origin and historical development of the name and its meaning) and diachronic (historical evolution) analyses of these names. To close, I discuss metaphorical meanings that have attached to these words that reflect the First People's cultural narratives and world view of Mount Rainier.

2. ABOUT MOUNT RAINIER

Mount Rainier is situated within the Cascade Mountain Range of Washington about 59 miles south southeast of Seattle (*Mount Rainier | Location, Elevation, & Facts*, n.d.). At an elevation of 14,411 feet, it is the tallest mountain within the Cascade Range (*Mount Rainier | Location, Elevation, & Facts*, n.d.). Its current name, Mount Rainier, was given in 1792 by British explorer George Vancouver in honor of his British friend, Rear Admiral Peter Rainier, who had not ever been to the Washington State region.

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[2] SYMBOLS & TERMINOLOGY:

Letters within pointed brackets, < >, represents the letter (e.g., <a> means 'the letter A'). Letters within forward slashes, / /, represents the sound the letter represents (e.g., /a/ means 'the sound <a> represents'). Letters within parentheses, ( ), are part of a morpheme but are not pronounced (e.g., the /xʷ/ in parentheses in *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* is not pronounced).

A tilde, ~, in front of a word/affix means the word is a variant (e.g., *wak'ʷ/~wək'ʷ* means *wək'ʷ* is a variant of *wak'ʷ*)

A singular asterisk, *, means 'Proto-Salish form'; a double asterisk, **, means 'unattested form'.

'Salish' refers to the Salish language spoken within Interior-Salish; 'Salishan' refers to the Salish family of languages; and 'Proto-Salish' refers to a hypothetical ancestral source of Salishan languages.
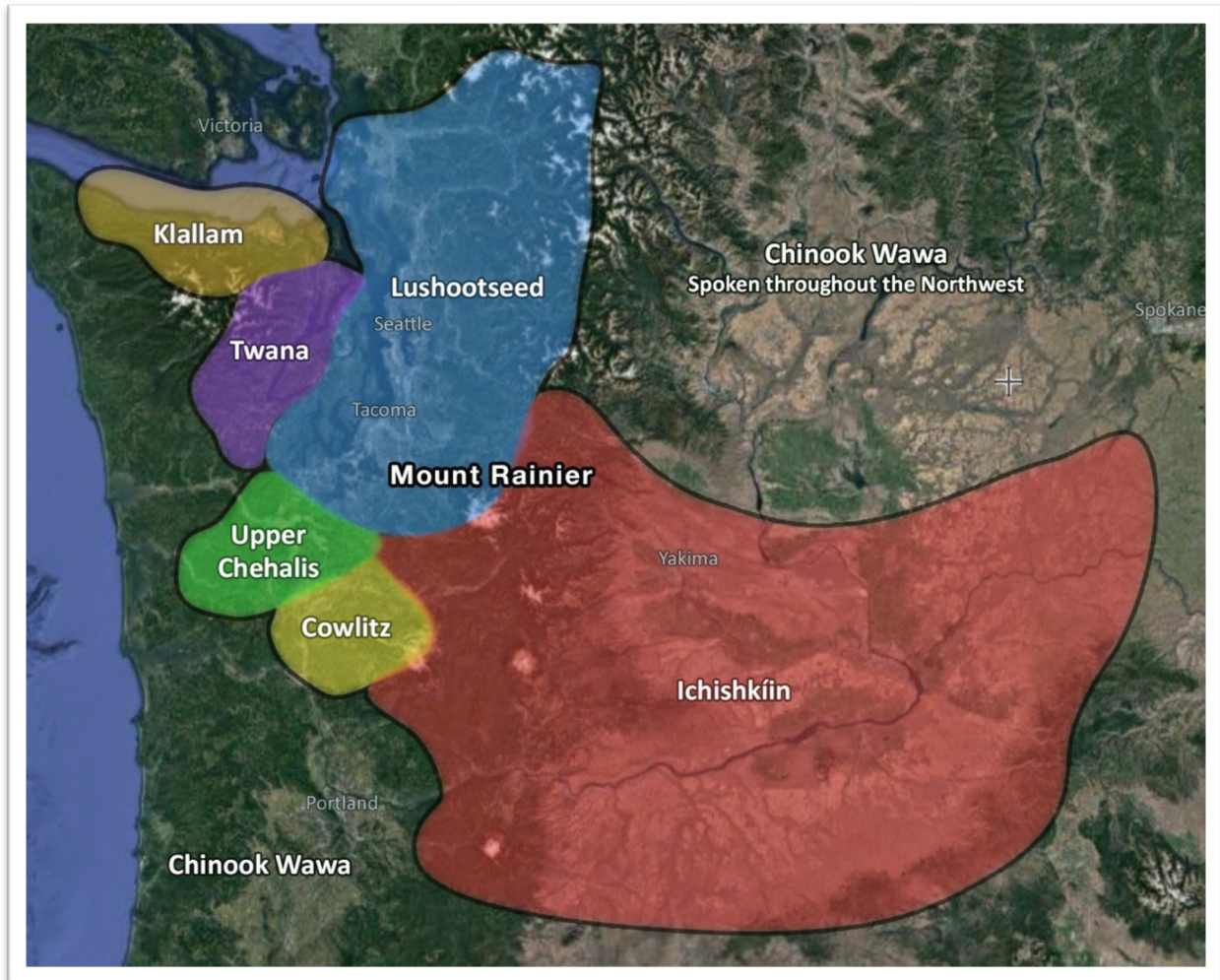
Figure 1: Mount Rainier and its surrounding language communities

(Map by Chris Duenas. Courtesy of the Puyallup Tribal Language Program; Duenas, 2021a)

3. ABOUT THE LANGUAGES AND THEIR RESOURCES

3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE LANGUAGES AROUND MOUNT RAINIER

Mount Rainier is surrounded by several native languages (Figure 1). Lushootseed, Klallam and Twana lie to the north and west; Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz lie to the southwest; and Ichishkíin is to the east and south. Chinook (Chinuk) Wawa is a language that is native to all these tribes and beyond. Lushootseed and Ichishkíin have several different dialects spoken by tribes within the boundaries of these languages. The Lushootseed groups mentioned in this article are Skagit, Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually. Ichishkíin includes Yakima, Klickitat, Warm Springs, and Umatilla.

Of these seven languages, Klallam, Twana, Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz are Salishan languages. Klallam, Twana, and Lushootseed are part of the Central Salishan subgroup of Salishan languages, while Chehalis and Cowlitz are part of the Tsamosan subgroup of Salishan languages. The Ichishkíin language territory borders the Salishan languages – Lushootseed, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz – along the Cascade Mountain Range, and it belongs to the Sahaptian language family which is a Plateau branch of Penutian (Jansen, 2010, p. 2). Chinuk Wawa is a jargon language that is spoken throughout the Northwest and beyond. It evolved as a pidgin spoken between different language groups that creolized as it matured. It has its own unique linguistic structure, and it was an important language in the trade that occurred between people of different language groups, including people of native languages, Canadian French and English ("Chinuk Jargon," 2020).

3.2 PROTO-SALISH AND ITS ALPHABET

Most of the languages discussed in this paper belong to the Salishan language family. The Salishan language family is comprised of 23 North American languages that extend from what is now Canada to Oregon and from the Pacific Ocean east into Montana. Like Latin is an ancestral language of Romance languages, Proto-Salish is an ancestral language of Salishan languages. However, Latin is attested and Proto-Salish is unattested, and therefore it is theoretical. Although Proto-Salish is undocumented, scholars of historical linguistics (the study of the history of languages) like Aert Kuipers have done extensive research on what a portion of the Proto-Salish vocabulary might have looked like. Although Salishan languages use a variety of alphabets, Kuipers uses an orthography (alphabet) in his Salishan Etymological Dictionary (2002) that is similar to today's Lushootseed orthography. For continuity, I am using this same orthography that Kuipers uses (2002, p. X) for this publication. See https://www.puyalluptriballanguage.org/basics/alphabet.php for presentations on the Lushootseed sounds, and the letters used to represent them.

3.3 LANGUAGES RESOURCES

The various words associated with Mount Rainier were obtained using several resources. They include personal communication, audio recordings, dictionaries, other publications, and ethnographic materials. The personal communication sources are from Earnest (šidut) Barr (Barr, 1992, 1993), Snoqualmie, and Vi (taqʷšəblu) Hilbert, Upper Skagit (Hilbert 1983). Barr was a Lushootseed 1st language speaker whom I worked with during the early 1990s while he lived on the Muckleshoot Reservation. Hilbert was a Lushootseed 1st language speaker whom I worked with from the 1980s into the 2000s.

There are four audio recordings of Lushootseed 1st language speakers. They are: Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually; Hattie Cross, Puyallup; Peter James, Duwamish; and Annie Jack Daniels,

Duwamish and Muckleshoot. Billy Frank Senior was recorded speaking Lushootseed by Jean Sanders during the mid-1970s. Sanders recorded vocabulary, short phrases, sentences, songs and one short traditional narrative about Mount Rainier (see Appendix A). Hattie Cross was Puyallup and was recorded by her family during the 1970s. Her recordings include Lushootseed vocabulary, short phrases and sentences, as well as a short personal history given in English (Turnipseed, m.s.). Peter James was recorded by John Paul Marr of Berkeley in 1941 (James, 1941). Recordings were made on aluminum disks and consist of several narratives told in both Lushootseed and English. Annie Jack Daniels was recorded in the early 1950s by Leon Metcalf. She recorded several traditional narratives in Lushootseed (Zahir, 2018).

Dictionary resources include: the Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates et al., 1994); Klallam Dictionary (Montler, 2012); *Ichishkíin sínwit* Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary (Beavert & Hargus, 2009); Twana Dictionary Student Version (Thompson, 1979); Upper Chehalis Dictionary (Kinkade, 1991); Cowlitz Dictionary and Grammatical Sketch (Kinkade, 2004); and Chinuk Wawa *kakwa nsayka ulman-tilixam łaska munk-kəmtəks nsayka* As our elders teach us to speak it (Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde community of Oregon, 2012).

Other resources are from publications and ethnographic records. These publications include: *sdaʔdaʔ gʷəɬ dibəɬ dxʷləšucid ʔaciɬtalbixʷ* Puget Sound Geographical names (Hilbert et al., 2000); Mythology of Southern Puget Sound Legends Shared by Tribal Elders - Reprint of the 1929 Publication Recorded, Translated and Edited by Arthur Ballard (Watson, 1999); and Is It "Mt. Tacoma" or "Rainier"? (Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893). Ethnographic material comes from field notes by Thomas Talbot Waterman, Bancroft Library, California University, Berkeley (Waterman, 1996).

I consider the personal communication, audio recordings and dictionary sources as the most reliable sources. These materials are from 1st language speakers and by linguists who had the ability to pronounce and/or write words associated with Mount Rainier accurately.

The Wickersham publication and the ethnographic notes I cite for this paper are from the 1890s and early 1900s. The words associated with Mount Rainier from these sources are not as reliable as those just mentioned. The scholars who recorded these words were not trained linguists. They used letters that were inadequate to fully represent the sounds of these languages. Their information is useful though, when these older documents are analyzed with the more reliable sources just mentioned above.

There are a few other publications that provide information about Mount Rainier that date back to 1877 (Clark, 1953; Crane, 2010; "Early Missionary Tells of Change in Peak Name," 1924; Howell, 1948; Reese, n.d.; Zahir, Forthcoming). These documents have invaluable ethnographic information.

However, the words from these documents come from the Wickersham source already mentioned above, or their forms do not correlate with the words of more reliable sources. Therefore, I will not be using these materials for this article.

I now begin my analyses of words associated with Mount Rainier with names of Mount Rainier that are from the more reliable sources mentioned above. I will then use these sources to corroborate the less reliable forms that follow.

4. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH MOUNT RAINIER

Before presenting the details of the several names and words associated with Mount Rainier, it is helpful to reference the map in Figure 2 below that shows how all the names disperse across several languages. The map shows the languages around Mount Rainier and lists the names used for the mountain by each language. Lushootseed has the greatest number of names, while Twana, Ichishíin and Chinuk Wawa only list one.
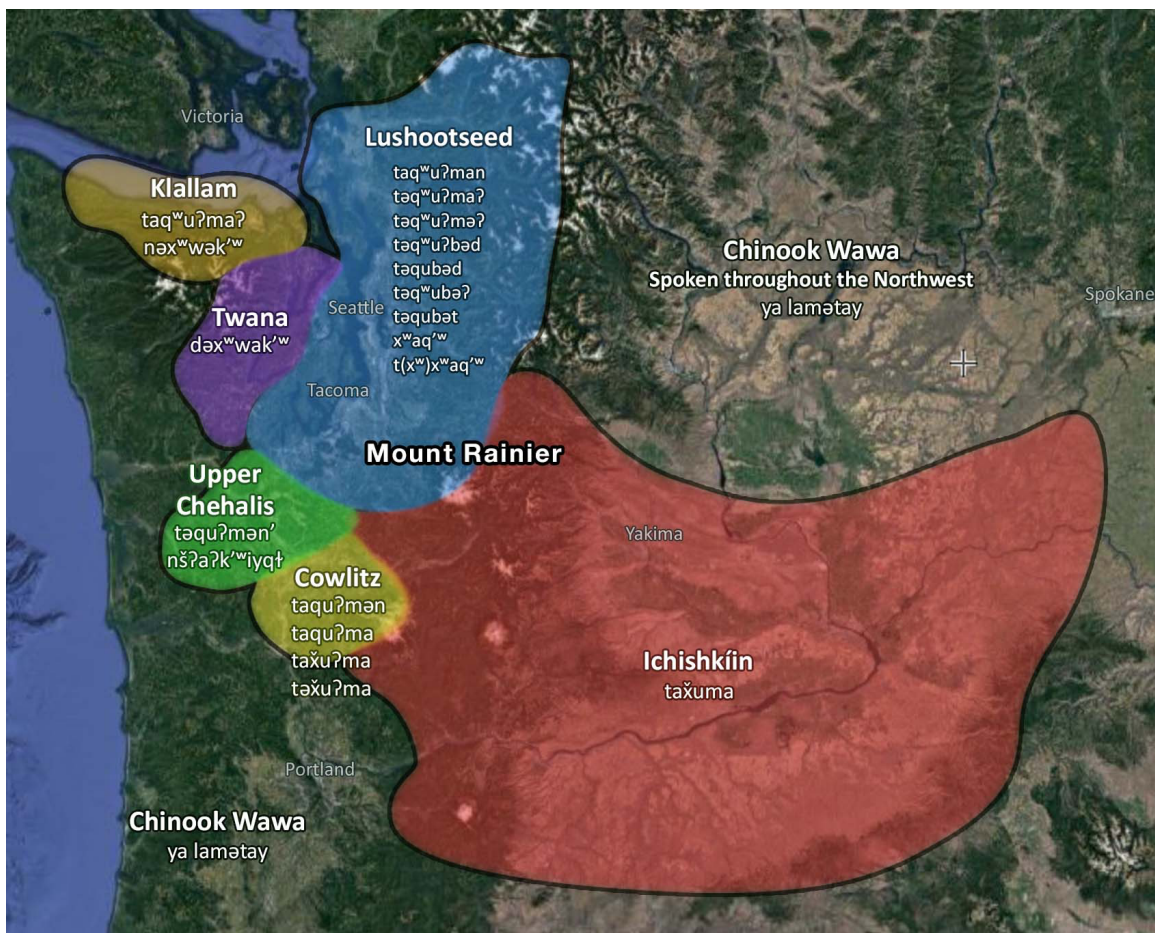

Figure 2: Map with Mount Rainier names and associated words

(Map by Chris Duenas, Courtesy of the Puyallup Tribal Language Program; Duenas, 2021b)

4.1 RELIABLE SOURCES

Starting with the audio recordings mentioned above – Billy Frank Senior, Hattie Cross, Peter James, Annie Jack Daniels – and personal communication with Earnest Barr, the first word associated with Mount Rainier that I will discuss comes from Billy Frank Senior. He was a speaker of the Nisqually dialect of Lushootseed. Frank repeatedly told a traditional narrative about Mount Rainier[3] for a total of 4 times: 2 in Lushootseed and 2 in English (Appendix A). Frank consistently says the name for Mount Rainier is *təqʷuʔmaʔ* in all 4 versions (see Appendix A, version 1: lines 4, 5, 8, 9; version 2: lines 4, 7, 11, 12, 13; version 3: lines 7, 8; version 4: lines 3, 6, 13). Frank said that this name translates as, 'don't forget the water, bring the water with us' (version 1: lines 5, 6; version 2: line 4; version 4: lines 3, 4, 12, 13).

Hattie Cross and Peter James were speakers of the Puyallup and Duwamish dialects of Lushootseed respectively. Both say *təqubəd* for the name of Mount Rainier (James, 1941; Turnipseed, m.s.).

Annie Jack Daniels, a speaker of the Duwamish and Muckleshoot dialects of Lushootseed, gave the name *təqʷuʔbəd* 'Mount Rainier' (Zahir, 2018, p. 357). This was confirmed by Earnest (Earnie) Barr, who was a speaker of the Snoqualmie dialect of Lushootseed (Personal communication, 1993 1992).

Bertha McJoe, a speaker of the Muckleshoot dialect of Lushootseed, said *təqʷuʔməʔ* is what the elders called the city of Tacoma (Bates et al., 1994, p. 223), which was named in honor of Mount *təqʷuʔməʔ* ("Early Missionary Tells of Change in Peak Name," 1924; Meeker, 1904). McJoe also provides *təqʷuʔbəd*, *təqubəd*, and *təqʷubəʔ* as any 'permanently snow-covered mountain'. The Lushootseed Dictionary also defines *təqʷubəʔ* as 'any snowcapped mountain' elsewhere (Bates et al., 1994, p. 193), but does not cite the source. Vi Hilbert, a speaker of the Skagit dialect of Lushootseed, said *təqʷubəʔ* was a general term for 'any snowcapped mountain' by Lushootseed speakers (Hilbert, 1983). Therefore, I take this to mean that this was a generally accepted term and translation for any dialect of Lushootseed.

The Klallam dictionary provides the name *taqʷuʔma* (Montler, 2012, p. 658) for Mount Rainier and the City of Tacoma. As just mentioned, the name for the City of Tacoma was taken from the native name for Mount Rainier.

The Upper Chehalis dictionary gives *təquʔmən'* (Kinkade, 1991).

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[3] This story is also told by Henry Sicade, Nisqually (Sicade March 8th, ??)

The Cowlitz dictionary has three forms all provided by the same source, Thelma Adamson, in 1934. They are: *təẋoʼma, taẋoʼma and taqoʼmən* (*təẋuʔma, taẋuʔma and taquʔmən*)[4] (Kinkade, 2004, p. 332).

The Yakima dictionary gives *Taxúma* (*taẋuma*) (Beavert & Hargus, 2009, p. 209) and cites Cowlitz as the source of this word as *təẋoʼma, taẋoʼma* or *taqoʼma* (*təẋuʔma, taẋuʔma, taquʔma*).

A second name for Mount Rainier was provided by Peter James as *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ.* He says the name several times while telling a Mount Rainier narrative. He says *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ* a couple of times but uses both names, *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ* and *təqubəd*, said together several times. *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ* is also used by Thomas Talbot Waterman (Hilbert et al., 2000, p. 245). The word *xʷaqʼʷ* '(sky) wiper' is given as the name for Mount Rainier in the Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates et al., 1994, p. 250), which is a variant form of *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ* (discussed below). Klallam cites *nəxʷwəkʼʷ* (Montler, 2012, p. 658) as a name for Mount Rainier, and the Twana language attests *dɜxWwaKW* (*dəxʷwakʼʷ*) (Thompson, 1979, p. 177). Another name for Mount Rainier occurs in the Upper Chehalis Dictionary that appears to be grammatically unrelated to any of the other forms is *nšʔaʔkʼʷiyqɬ* (Kinkade, 1991, p. 335).

4.2 LESS RELIABLE SOURCES

Ethnologists as early as the 1870s have recorded names for Mount Rainier, including: *Takobet, Takoman, Ta-co-man, Ta-co-ban, Tacobut, Tacobet Tahoma*, *TcWauck* and *Ta-kob* (Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893; Zahir, Forthcoming). However, these scholars often limited themselves to only use an English based alphabet that lacks the ability to record the several non-English sounds found in the phonetic inventory of Salishan and other neighboring languages (Zahir, Forthcoming, pp. vi, vii). Such sounds include ejectives, such as, /pʼ/, /tʼ/, /ƛʼ/, /kʼ/, /kʼʷ/, /qʼ/, /qʼʷ/; the lateral fricative /ɬ/; the uvular consonants, /q/, /qʼ/, /qʷ/, /qʼʷ/; sounds that are labialized (marked with /ʷ/) as in /xʷ/, /x̌ʷ/, /kʷ/, /kʼʷ/, /qʷ/, /qʼʷ/, and the glottal stop, /ʔ/. Early ethnologists tried to compensate for this inability of English to record these sounds by using consonant clusters like <kl> to represent barred-L /ɬ/ and using letters like <k> to represent both the velar[5] stop /k/ and the uvular[6] stop /q/, but these strategies were not adequate to cover all the rich sounds of the native languages of North America. The result is a limited ability for these transcriptions to be reliable.

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[4] These words are written initially in the alphabet of the language source and then are rewritten using the Proto-Salish alphabet.

[5] The velar is where the tongue touches the upper, back part of the mouth when making sounds like the /k/ and /g/.

[6] The uvular is the top of the mouth that is further back than the velar. In Lushootseed, it is where sounds like /q/ and /x̌/ are made.

This does not discount the value of these materials. On the contrary. These materials often include ethnographic notes that provide insights into the culture. In addition, the vocabulary from these sources can still be used, but they must be approached with caution. The way in which this article will validate these ethnographic materials is by confirmation with the more reliable sources mentioned above. However, the Wickersham document mentioned above attests that one name is ta-ku-man (1893, pp. 9, 13), which if reconstructed as *taqʷuʔman*, would correlate with the diachronic analysis presented below. Therefore, I will be using this one form for my analysis below.

Other sources cite the name for Mount Rainier as *tacobet* (*təqubət*) (Waterman, 1996, p. 149; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, pp. 1, 2, 12, 16; Wright, m.s., p. 1). There are no audio recordings or dictionary citations to support this form. However, recent transcriptions of the Nisqually dialect of Lushootseed reveal that the /d/ at the end of a word can be devoiced, becoming /t/ (Zahir, 2020, pp. 48, 49). Therefore, I take the form *təqubət* as a viable option.

One source cites the name for Mount Rainer as *Yalemite* (History of the Aboriginal Names of the Mountain, n.d.), which is likely from Chinuk Wawa *ya laImətay* from *ya* '3rd person (e.g., 'he, she)' and Canadian French *la mootawyn* 'the mountain' (Chinuk Wawa *kakwa nsayka ulman-tilixam łaska munk-kəmtəks nsayka* As our elders teach us to speak it. 2012, p. 128).

4.3 SUMMARY OF WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH MOUNT RAINIER

These words can be broken into three groups. The first group has the words listed in Table 1 and the second has the words listed in Table 2. Both are presented below. The third grouping consists of the Upper Chehalis and Chinuk Wawa names (Table 3).

The first group in Table 1 lists 14 different words associated with Mount Rainier. All these names begin with /t/. There are two parts of Table 1: Part A lists words that contain the sounds /m/ and/or /n/, and Part B lists all the words that have /b/ and /d/ which occur in Lushootseed. As will be presented below, a sound shift occurred in Lushootseed where nasal sounds /m/ and /n/ became /b/ and /d/ (Kroeber, 1999, p. 8).

The second set of words associated with Mount Rainier are those that have the cognate[7] *xʷaqʼʷ, wakʼʷ* or *wəkʼʷ* in them (Table 2).

The third grouping of words associated with Mount Rainier are the Upper Chehalis name *nšʔaʔkʼʷiyqł* and the Chinuk Wawa name *ya laImətay*. These two names are not related, but they are grouped together because these names are fairly straight forward in that they have no known variations (Table 3).

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[7] Two or more words that evolved from the same word are call cognates of each other.

Name	Language
Part A: words with /m/ and /n/	
1. taqʷuʔman	Lushootseed
2. təquʔmən'	Upper Chehalis
3. taquʔmən	Cowlitz
4. taqʷuʔmaʔ	Klallam
5. təqʷuʔmaʔ	Lushootseed
6. təqʷuʔməʔ	Lushootseed
7. taquʔma	Cowlitz
8. taǧuʔma	Cowlitz
9. təǧuʔma	Cowlitz
10. taǧuma	Ichishkíin
Part B: words with /b/ and /d/	
11. təqʷuʔbəd	Lushootseed
12. təqubəd	Lushootseed
13. təqʷubəʔ	Lushootseed
14. təqubət	Lushootseed

Table 1: Words associated with Mount Rainier that begin with /t/

Name	Language
1. xʷaq'ʷ	Lushootseed
2. t(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Lushootseed
3. dəxʷwak'ʷ	Twana
4. nəxʷwək'ʷ	Klallam

Table 2: words associated with Mount Rainier that contain xʷaq'ʷ, wak'ʷ or wək'ʷ

Name	Language
1. nšʔaʔkʼʷiyqɬ	Upper Chehalis
2. ya lamətay	Chinuk Wawa

Table 3: Upper Chehalis and Chinuk Wawa words associated with Mount Rainier

This concludes my summation of the names and words associated with Mount Rainier. In the next section, I will present a grammar breakdown for all these words and will discuss theories for their historical developments.

5. ETYMOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EVOLUTION ANALYSIS

In this section, I present analyses of the names and words associated with Mount Rainier. In Section 5.1, I begin with an analysis of all the words listed in Table 1 followed by a diachronic (historical development) analysis of these names in Section 5.2. In Section 5.3, I present an analysis on the names from Table 2 followed by a diachronic analysis. I conclude Section 5 with an analysis of the Upper Chehalis and Chinuk Wawa names in Section 5.4.

5.1 ANALYSIS OF WORDS FROM TABLE 1

How the names for Mount Rainier listed in Table 1 became associated with the definitions listed above is not transparent. These definitions include 'don't forget the water', 'bring the water with us' (Billy Frank Senior); 'breast' (Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, p. 6); 'snow-capped mountain' (Bates et al., 1994, p. 193); and 'white mountain' (Waterman, 1996, p. 149; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, pp. 6, 7). To bring to light how these translations evolved, I am going to begin with an etymological analysis (the process of tracing back the origins of words) that supports Frank Senior's definitions. To do this analysis, I am going to begin by proposing a reconstructed Proto-Salishian name for Mount Rainier based on the names listed in Table 1. The attested form with the least amount of elided (omitted) or reduced sounds is likely the first name in Table 1, *taqʷuʔman*, making this the oldest name. To posit this, I am assuming that the older name had /a/ vowels instead of /ə/ vowels; the /qʷ/ is the original uvular form of the second consonant; and the original form had closed second and third syllables[8], which changed into /ʔ/ and /n/, respectively. However, the second name in Table 1 (*təquʔmən*) has a stop added after the /n/ as /nʼ/ in final position. Therefore, I am going to assume that the original Proto-Salish form also has an /nʼ/ and write the unattested form as *taqʷuʔmanʼ* (The single asterisk (*) in front of the word *taqʷuʔmanʼ* means this is

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[8] A closed syllable ends with a consonant versus open syllables that end with a vowel.

a hypothetical or proposed Proto-Salish reconstruction). This theoretical name for Mount Rainier will be further supported by my diachronic (historical linguistic) analysis below.

Billy Frank Senior provides two definitions for *taqʷuʔman'* that both include the word 'water'. They are 'don't forget the **water**' and 'bring the **water** with us'. If we use these occurrences of 'water' as a clue to begin the etymological analysis, there are several morphemes (the smallest parts of words that carry meaning) in Salishan languages that are related to 'water' that also seem associated to the first part of *taqʷuʔman'*. They include *taqʷuʔ*, *-tqʷuʔ*, *taqʷ*, *staqʷ*, *-təkʷ*, *qʷuʔ*, and *qʷu*. The word *taqʷuʔ* and the apparent cognate *-tqʷuʔ* occurs in two Salishan languages. In Lushootseed, *taqʷuʔ* translates as 'thirsty' (Bates et al., 1994, p. 218). If the /a/ in *taqʷuʔ* is elided (omitted), then this would create the Halkomelem morpheme *-tqʷuʔ* in the word *sqʼiašatqʷuʔm* 'whirlpool' (Galloway, 2009, p. 481).

If *taqʷuʔ* is indeed analyzed as a Proto-Salish morpheme, then the other morphemes listed above can be analyzed as cognates of *taqʷuʔ*, further supporting the theory that *taqʷuʔ* is a Proto-Salishian morpheme for something related to 'water'. The contraction of *taqʷuʔ* by eliding the final vowel and consonant /uʔ/ conditions *taqʷ*, which in Squamish translates as 'drink'. When this word is prefixed with the nominalizer *s-*, this word becomes *staqʷ* 'water, river' (Squamish Nation Education Department, 2011, pp. 150, 164). If the /a/ vowel in *taqʷ* reduces to /ə/ to produce *təqʷ*, this vowel reduction could have conditioned the final uvular consonant /qʷ/ to shift forward to the velar consonant /kʷ/. This would produce the Salish suffix *-təkʷ* which also translates as 'water' (Pete, 2010, p. 690). The contraction of *taqʷuʔ* by eliding the first consonant and vowel /ta/ conditions the morpheme *qʷuʔ*. This morpheme and its variant *qʷu* occur in several Salishan languages to translate as 'water' or words related to 'water' (Kuipers 2002, 91). Therefore, it can be theorized that the first part of *taqʷuʔman'*, *taqʷuʔ*, is a Proto-Salish morpheme that translates as or is related to 'water'.

The next morpheme in *taqʷuʔman'* is *-m*. The suffix *-m* in Salishan languages is called the 'middle voice' marker (Gerdts & Hukari, 2006). Middle voice means that someone or something performs an action and receives or experiences the action of the verb[9].

This leaves the last morpheme of *taqʷuʔman'* as *-an'*. This suffix is attested in Lushootseed as *-ad* with variants *-əd* and *-ən'* (Bates et al., 1994, pp. 11, 25; Zahir, 2020, p. 27). This suffix is derivational, meaning that it derives a new meaning from a characteristic related to the word it attaches to. For example, the Lushootseed word *hud* 'fire' suffixed by *-ad* derives the word *xʷ(h)ud**ad*** 'ash' (Bates et al., 1994, p. 111) where ashes are the result of fire and thereby related to fire.

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[9] For example, *the man is riding the horse*. In this example, the man is doing the action of riding, as well as was experiencing the event of riding the horse.

In Klallam, the Proto-Salishian middle marker *-m* occurs as *-ŋ or -əŋ* (/ŋ/ is the same as /ng/ in English *sing*). Montler combines the 'middle' marker with *-ən* to translate as 'piece of '. For example, compare *ʔəsq'əy'-əŋ'* ('middle') 'camping while fishing or hunting' versus *q'əy'-ŋən* ('middle' + *-ən*) 'to camp', 'campground' (Montler, 2012, p. 573) where 'to camp' or 'campground' can be thought of as a piece of 'camping while fishing'.

The Lushootseed and Klallam data indicate that the final morpheme of *taqʷuʔman'* is *-an'*. Because this morpheme is used to derive alternate related meanings to words that it suffixes, it is defined as a 'derivational' suffix. With this information, we can now parse the name *taqʷuʔman'* into 3 meaningful morphemes (1) (*taqʷuʔ* 'water', 'related to water' is glossed as 'water' for simplicity.).

(1)   *taqʷuʔman'

        taqʷuʔ-m-an'

        water-middle.voice-derivational

Today, there is no known Lushootseed form of *taqʷuʔman'* that translates to Billy Frank Senior's definitions 'don't forget the water', 'bring the water with us'. In Lushootseed, *yaƛ-əb* means 'carry water, get water, dip out' (*yaƛ* 'fetch water, gore, dip out water'; *-əb* 'middle voice') (Bates et al., 1994, p. 275). However, Klallam, Halkomelem, and Chilliwack combine their morpheme for water (*qʷuʔ, qoo,* and *qʷa:*) with the middle (*-əŋ* and *-m*) that have translations that are close to Frank Senior's definitions (2).

(2)   (a)   qʷuʔəŋ (Klallam)

                qʷuʔ-**əŋ**

                water-**MIDDLE**

                'go for water', 'draw water' (Montler, 2012, p. 344),

        (b)   qoo**m** (Halkomelem)

                qoo-**m**

                water-**MIDDLE**

                'to dip water', 'get water', 'fetch water', 'pack water' (Galloway, 2009, p. 456)

        (c)   qa:**m** (Chilliwack)

                water-MIDDLE

                'to dip water', 'fetch water' (Kuipers 2002, 91)

All the words in (2) mirror the first two morphemes in *taqʷuʔman*, however they lack the use of *-an'* 'derivational'. If 'derivational' is added to the definitions in (2), this addition to the meaning attached to the name could theoretically be because Mount Rainier is a unique, abundant source of water that flows down all the rivers that come from the mountain's glaciers and drainage basins thereby giving the definition of (1) above as (3).

(3)   *taqʷuʔman'

        taqʷuʔ-m-an'

        water-middle.voice-derivational

        a unique, abundant source to get, fetch or carry water from

The fact that the historical form *taqʷuʔman'* can be broken into meaningful Salishan morphemes, which is not apparent in Ichishkíin, supports the Yakima Ichishkíin dictionary's claim that the Ichishkíin word *taẋuma* is a barrowed word from the Salishan language, Cowlitz (Beavert & Hargus, 2009, p. 209).

This still leaves the mystery of how *taqʷuʔman'* also translates as 'breast', 'snow-capped mountain', and 'white mountain'. Later, I will show that even though these translations are not related to the etymological analysis of *taqʷuʔman'*, they are indeed accurate definitions that have become part of the metaphorical meaning of the names given to this mountain and express an element of the Indigenous cosmology.

5.2 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORDS FROM TABLE 1

I will now present a series of graphs to show the theoretical, historical evolution of the Proto-Salish word *taqʷuʔman'*. Several attested names for Mount Rainier replace the /a/ in the first and third syllable with /ə/, and I will begin with this as a necessary first step to explain how the original name evolved into other forms (Figure 3, Step 1). All attested forms of *taqʷúʔman'* have the primary stress on the second syllable. The change of the /a/ to /ə/ in the first and third syllables likely occurred to emphasize the stress on the second syllable. This produced three unattested forms ***taqʷuʔmᵊn', **tᵊqʷuʔmᵊn'*, and ***tᵊqʷuʔman'* (two asterisks (**) indicates 'unattested', 'no clear evidence', 'unverified'). These three unattested forms are necessary for subsequent attested forms presented below (Step 1 is labeled in the first column under Original name. The /a/ and /ə/ are in bold and underlined for clarity. The arrow lines show the direction of the progression of change and are in bold to highlight the step that is being discussed).

		Language
Original name	*ta̲qʷuʔma̲n'	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**taqʷuʔmə̲n' **tə̲qʷuʔmə̲n' **tə̲qʷuʔman'	unattested

Figure 3: a → ə

Figure 4 presents the second evolution (Step 2) where the labialization (a rounding of the lips, represented with a raised-W /ʷ/) of /qʷ/ is dropped and becomes /q/. This change gives way to the Upper Chehalis form, *təquʔmən'* and three unattested forms (*** taquʔman', **taquʔmən'* and ***təquʔman*).

		Language
Original name	*ta**qʷ**uʔman'	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**ta**qʷ**uʔmən' **tə**qʷ**uʔmən' **tə**qʷ**uʔman'	unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** ta**q**uʔman' **ta**q**uʔmən' tə**q**uʔmən' **tə**q**uʔman'	unattested/Upper Chehalis

Figure 4: /ʷ/ → Ø

Steps 3 and 4 describe two transformations of the final /n'/. The letter /n'/ combines two sounds, /n/ and /ʔ/. A final nasal /n/ is attested in some of the names, while /ʔ/ is attested in others. It is not known which change occurred first, but for clarity, I am listing them into two separate steps. Step 3 shows the deletion of the /ʔ/ which conditions /n'/ to become /n/. This change created the two attested forms *taqʷuʔman* (Lushootseed) and *taquʔmən* (Cowlitz) (Figure 5).

		Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔma**n'**	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**taqʷuʔmən' **təqʷuʔmən' **təqʷuʔman'	unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** taquʔman' **taquʔmə**n'** təquʔmən **təquʔman'	unattested/Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	taqʷuʔma**n** taquʔmə**n**	Lushootseed/Cowlitz

Figure 5: n'→n

In step 4 (Figure 6), the final letter /n'/ becomes /ʔ/, creating a Klallam attested form, *taqʷuʔmaʔ*, and two Lushootseed forms, *təqʷuʔməʔ* and *təqʷuʔmaʔ*. In addition, there are two unattested forms, ***taquʔmaʔ* and ***təquʔmaʔ*.

Original name					Language
					Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔma**n'**				Proto-Salish
1. a→ə		**taqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔmə**n'**	**təqʷuʔma**n'**	unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** taquʔma**n'**	**taquʔmən'	təquʔmən'	**təquʔma**n'**	unattested/Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	taqʷuʔman	taquʔmən			Lushootseed/Cowlitz
4. n'→?	taqʷuʔma**?** **taquʔma**?**		təqʷuʔmə**?**	təqʷuʔma**?** **təqu?ma**?**	Klallam/Lushootseed unattested

Figure 6: n' → ?

In step 5, the final /ʔ/ was dropped to give the attested cowlitz name *taquʔma* and another unattested form ****təquʔma* (Figure 7).

Original name					Language
					Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'				Proto-Salish
1. a→ə		**taqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔman'	unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** taquʔman'	**taquʔmən'	təquʔmən'	**təquʔman'	unattested/Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	taqʷuʔman	taquʔmən			Lushootseed/Cowlitz
4. n'→?	taqʷuʔma? **taquʔma**?**		təqʷuʔmə?	təqʷuʔma? **təqu?ma**?**	Klallam/Lushootseed unattested
5. ?→Ø	taquʔm**a**			**təquʔm**a**	Cowlitz/unattested

Figure 7: ?→Ø

In step 6, the uvular stop /q/ reduced to a voiceless uvular fricative /x̌/ giving way to 2 more Cowlitz variants of the name, *tax̌uʔma* and *təx̌uʔma* (Figure 8).

						Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'					Proto-Salish
1. a→ə		**taqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔman'		unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** taquʔman'	**taquʔmən'	təquʔmən'	**təquʔman'		unattested/Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	taqʷuʔman	taquʔmən				Lushootseed/Cowlitz
4. n'→ʔ	taqʷuʔmaʔ **taquʔmaʔ		təqʷuʔməʔ	təqʷuʔmaʔ **təquʔmaʔ		Klallam/Lushootseed unattested
5. ʔ→Ø	ta**g**uʔma			**tə**g**uʔma		Cowlitz/unattested
6. q→x̌	ta**x̌**uʔma			tə**x̌**uʔma		Cowlitz

Figure 8: q → x̌ for Cowlitz

In step 7, the /ʔ/ at the end of the second syllable is deleted, thereby creating the Ichishkíin name *tax̌uma* (Figure 9).

						Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'					Proto-Salish
1. a→ə		**taqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔmən'	**təqʷuʔman'		unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	** taquʔman'	**taquʔmən'	təquʔmən'	**təquʔman'		unattested/Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	taqʷuʔman	taquʔmən				Lushootseed/Cowlitz
4. n'→ʔ	taqʷuʔmaʔ **taquʔmaʔ		təqʷuʔməʔ	təqʷuʔmaʔ **təquʔmaʔ		Klallam/Lushootseed unattested
5. ʔ→Ø	taquʔma			**təquʔma		Cowlitz/unattested
6. q→x̌	tax̌u**ʔ**ma			təx̌uʔma		Cowlitz
7. ʔ→Ø	tax̌uma					Ichishkíin

Figure 9: ʔ → Ø for Ichishkíin

A similar progression of changes occurred for Mount Rainier words that have /b/ and /d/ in them. Like the words just discussed above, all the words with /b/ and /d/ are historically related to the Proto-Salish form *taqʷuʔman'*. However, only steps 1 through 5 from the tables above are needed to explain these forms as summarized in Figure 10.

		Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**təqʷuʔmən'	Unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	təquʔmən'	Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	**təqʷuʔmən · **təquʔmən	Unattested
4. n'→ʔ	təqʷuʔməʔ	Lushootseed
5. ʔ→Ø	**təqʷuməʔ · **təqumən	Unattested

Figure 10: Summary of steps 1-5 for words with /b/ and /d/

One form in step 3 (**təqʷuʔ<u>mən</u>) and the two forms in Step 5 (**təqʷu<u>mə</u>ʔ and **təqu<u>mən</u>) then evolved the words in step 6 where nasals /m/ and /n/ became /b/ and /d/ (Figure 11).

		Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**təqʷuʔmən'	Unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	təquʔmən'	Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	**təqʷuʔ**mən** · **təquʔmən	Unattested
4. n'→ʔ	təqʷuʔməʔ	Lushootseed
5. ʔ→Ø	**təqʷu**mə**ʔ · **təqu**mən**	Unattested
6. n/m→b/d	təqʷuʔ**bəd** · təqu**bəd** / təqʷu**bə**ʔ	Lushootseed / Lushootseed

Figure 11: /m/ and /n/ → /b/ and /d/

To obtain the form *təqubət*, the /d/ in final position of *təqubəd* is devoiced, conditioning a /t/ in place of the /d/ in step 7 (Figure 12).

		Language
Original name	*taqʷuʔman'	Proto-Salish
1. a→ə	**təqʷuʔmən'	Unattested
2. /ʷ/→Ø	təquʔmən'	Upper Chehalis
3. n'→n	**təqʷuʔ**mən** **təquʔmən	Unattested
4. n'→ʔ	təqʷuʔməʔ	Lushootseed
5. ʔ→Ø	**təqʷu**mə**ʔ **təqu**mən**	Unattested
6. n/m→b/d	təqʷuʔ**bəd** təqʷu**bə**ʔ təqu**bəd**	Lushootseed Lushootseed
7. d→t	təqubə**t**	Lushootseed

Figure 12: /d/ → /t/ for Lushootseed

This concludes my analysis of the words listed under Table 1. I now turn the discussion to the words listed in Table 2.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF WORDS FROM TABLE 2

Table 2 is reposted below for reference. It lists four attested names for mount rainer in three salishan languages: lushootseed (*xʷaqʼʷ* and *t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ*), twana (*dəxʷwakʼʷ*), and klallam (*nəxʷwəkʼʷ*).

Name	Language
1. xʷaqʼʷ	Lushootseed
2. t(xʷ)xʷaqʼʷ	Lushootseed
3. dəxʷwakʼʷ	Twana
4. nəxʷwəkʼʷ	Klallam

Table 2: Words associated with Mount Rainier that contain xʷaqʼʷ, wakʼʷ or wəkʼʷ (reposted)

5.3.1 ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDS FROM TABLE 2

The Lushootseed name *xʷaq'ʷ* for Mount Rainier is translated as '(sky) wiper' (Bates et al., 1994, p. 250). If we begin with this information as a basis to unravel a possible common root cognate for all four names listed in Table 2, there is a similar morpheme in Proto-Salish that resembles the name *xʷaq'ʷ*, that is **xʷak'ʷ* 'to wipe, brush, smooth, clean, bathe' (Kuipers, 2002, p. 119). Indeed, even the definition 'to wipe' is proposed for the Proto-Salish form. In addition, **xʷak'ʷ* is similar to the last consonant-vowel-consonant structures of the other three names, *t(xʷ)**xʷaq'ʷ***, *dəxʷ**wak'ʷ***, and *nəxʷ**wək'ʷ***. If **xʷak'ʷ* is the cognate root, then the last three names of Table 2 are prefixed with *txʷ-*, *dəxʷ-*, and *nəxʷ-*. These prefixes are all the same cognate that translate as 'one who, thing that, place of' (Bates et al., 1994, p. 85, Montler, 2012, p. 760, Thompson, 1979, pp. 37–38). Because the voiced alveolar stop /d/ is a relatively new innovation in Twana, and /t/ is theoretically a reduced form of /d/, I am reconstructing the Proto-Salish form of the prefix to be **nəxʷ-*. This reconstructs the Proto-Salish name for the words in Table 2 to be (4):

(4) **nə(xʷ)-*xʷak'ʷ*

     thing.that-wipe

    'thing that wipes'

This concludes my etymological analysis of the words from Table 2. I will now use a series of graphs to illustrate how the names in Table 2 historically evolved into the forms that are attested today in Lushootseed, Twana and Klallam.

5.3.2 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORDS FROM TABLE 2

For Klallam, the Proto-Salish form **nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* made two changes. The /xʷ/ in **xʷak'ʷ* became /w/ and the /a/ changed to /ə/ to form *nəxʷ**wək'ʷ***. Given that the /ə/ only occurs in the Klallam form, but the /w/ occurs in both Klallam and the Twana *dəxʷ**wak'ʷ***, the change of the /xʷ/ to /w/ likely occurred before the /a/ changed to /ə/ in Klallam.

The Twana name also went through two changes. The /n/ in ****nə(xʷ)xʷ**ak'ʷ* changed to a /d/, and the /xʷ/ changed to /w/ to create *d**əxʷ** **wak'ʷ***. Of the three Salishan languages discussed in this section, Lushootseed and Twana are the only two where the nasals /n/ and /m/ became /d/ and /b/. These changes in both languages likely occurred at about the same time and are relatively newer innovations that came after the /xʷ/ change to /w/. Therefore, I put the change of the /xʷ/ to /w/ in Step 1 to create an unattested form ***nəxʷwak'ʷ* (Figure 13).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)**xʷ**ak'ʷ	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	────────→**nəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested

Figure 13: xʷ → w

The /a/ in *wak'ʷ* then changed to /ə/, creating the Klallam form *nəxʷwək'ʷ* (Figure 14).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	**nəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested
2. a→ə	nəxʷwək'ʷ	Klallam

Figure 14: Klallam a → ə

For Lushootseed, the prefix *nəxʷ-* likely changed to *dəxʷ-* first, then created *dxʷ-* and finally then evolved into *txʷ-*. There was also a change of the last consonant /k'ʷ/ to /q'ʷ/ to form *t(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ*. There is no evidence to support what change occurred first but given that the /n/ to /d/ change is relatively new, I list the change of the /k'ʷ/ to /q'ʷ/ first in Step 3 to create an unattested form **nə(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ* (Figure 15).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)xʷa**k'ʷ**	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	**nəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested
2. a→ə	nə(xʷ)xʷək'ʷ	Klallam
3. k'ʷ→q'ʷ	**nə(xʷ)xʷa**q'ʷ**	unattested

Figure 15: k'ʷ → q'ʷ

The next change replaced the /n/ in *nəxʷ-* with /d/, creating an unattested form and the Twana name (Figure 16).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	**nəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested
2. a→ə	nə(xʷ)xʷək'ʷ	Klallam
3. k'ʷ→q'ʷ	**nə(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	unattested
4. n→d	**də(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ dəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested/Twana

Figure 16: n → d

An unattested form then likely occurred when the /ə/ in *dəxʷ-* was dropped, creating **d(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ* in Step 5, and then the /d/ in *dxʷ-* changed to /t/, creating the Lushootseed name *t(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ* in Step 6 (Figure 17).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	**nəxʷwak'ʷ	Unattested
2. a→ə	nə(xʷ)xʷək'ʷ	Klallam
3. k'ʷ→q'ʷ	**nə(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Unattested
4. n→d	**də(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ dəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested/Twana
5. ə→Ø	**d(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Unattested
6. d→t	t(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Lushootseed

Figure 17: ə → Ø and d → t

This was followed by the evolution of the Lushootseed name *xʷaq'ʷ* when the prefix *txʷ-* was omitted in Step 7 (Figure 18).

		Language
Original name	*nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ	Proto-Salish
1. xʷ→w	**nəxʷwak'ʷ	Unattested
2. a→ə	nə(xʷ)xʷək'ʷ	Klallam
3. k'ʷ→q'ʷ	**nə(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Unattested
4. n→d	**də(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ dəxʷwak'ʷ	unattested/Twana
5. ə→Ø	**d(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Unattested
6. d→t	t(xʷ)xʷaq'ʷ	Lushootseed
7. txʷ-→Ø	xʷaq'ʷ	Lushootseed

Figure 18: txʷ- → Ø

This concludes my analysis for the names of Mount Rainier in Table 2. I now turn the discussion to the third group of names from Upper Chehalis and Chinuk Wawa.

5.4 ANALYSIS OF UPPER CHEHALIS AND CHINUK WAWA WORDS

As stated before, the Upper Chehalis name *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł* and the Chinuk Wawa name *ya lamətay* are unrelated. These two names are discussed together in this section because each name has no known variant, and their etymologies are only analyzed within the language they are attested in. I begin with the Upper Chehalis name *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł*. With only the dictionary as reference material, it is not clear what the prefix and suffix are for this word, but the root *ʔak'ʷ* is defined as 'water coming out' (5). Its definitions, 'fountain' and 'Mount Rainier', come from the Upper Chehalis Dictionary (Kinkade, 1991, p. 335). This name was likely conceived in reference to the rivers that flow from Mount Rainier like a fountain.

(5)   nš?a?k'ʷiyqł

  nš-?ak'ʷ-?-iyqł

  ??-water.coming.out-DIMINUTIVE-??

  'fountain', 'Mount Rainier'

The Chinuk Wawa name breaks down into two words (6) that translates as 'she the mountain'.

(6)   ya lamətay

  ya   lamətay

  3rd.person mountain

  'she the mountain'

Given the straightforwardness of these names and lack of variant forms, there is no need for further discussion on their historical developments. Therefore, this concludes the etymological and evolutionary analyses for the words and names related to Mount Rainier. However, the story does not stop here. In the next section, I will represent the topographic distribution of these names in Section 6, and then discuss the metaphorical meanings attached to both *taqʷuʔman'* and *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* in Section 7*.

6. TOPOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAMES

If all of these of these names and words associated with Mount Rainier just discussed are plotted on a map under the languages they are attested in (Figure 19), we can see interesting patterns emerge. The first is that the words from Table 1 (*taqʷuʔman'* and its variants) occur in all the languages except for Twana[10]. All the names for Mount Rainier from Table 2 (*nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* and its variants) exist only in the Salishan languages that are north or northwest of Mount Rainier, which are Lushootseed, Klallam and Twana. Lushootseed has the greatest variety of names and words associated with Mount Rainier. The names with /x̌/ in them (*tax̌uʔma, təx̌uʔma* and *tax̌uma*) only occur in Cowlitz and Ichishkíin. Lastly, Ichishkíin only has one name for Mount Rainier, *tax̌uma*. These patterns suggest that there are stories to tell that might provide insights into these topographical and linguistic distributions.

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[10] My only resource for Twana is limited to the student version of the Twana dictionary, and further research may reveal that Twana has a word related to *taqʷuʔman'*.
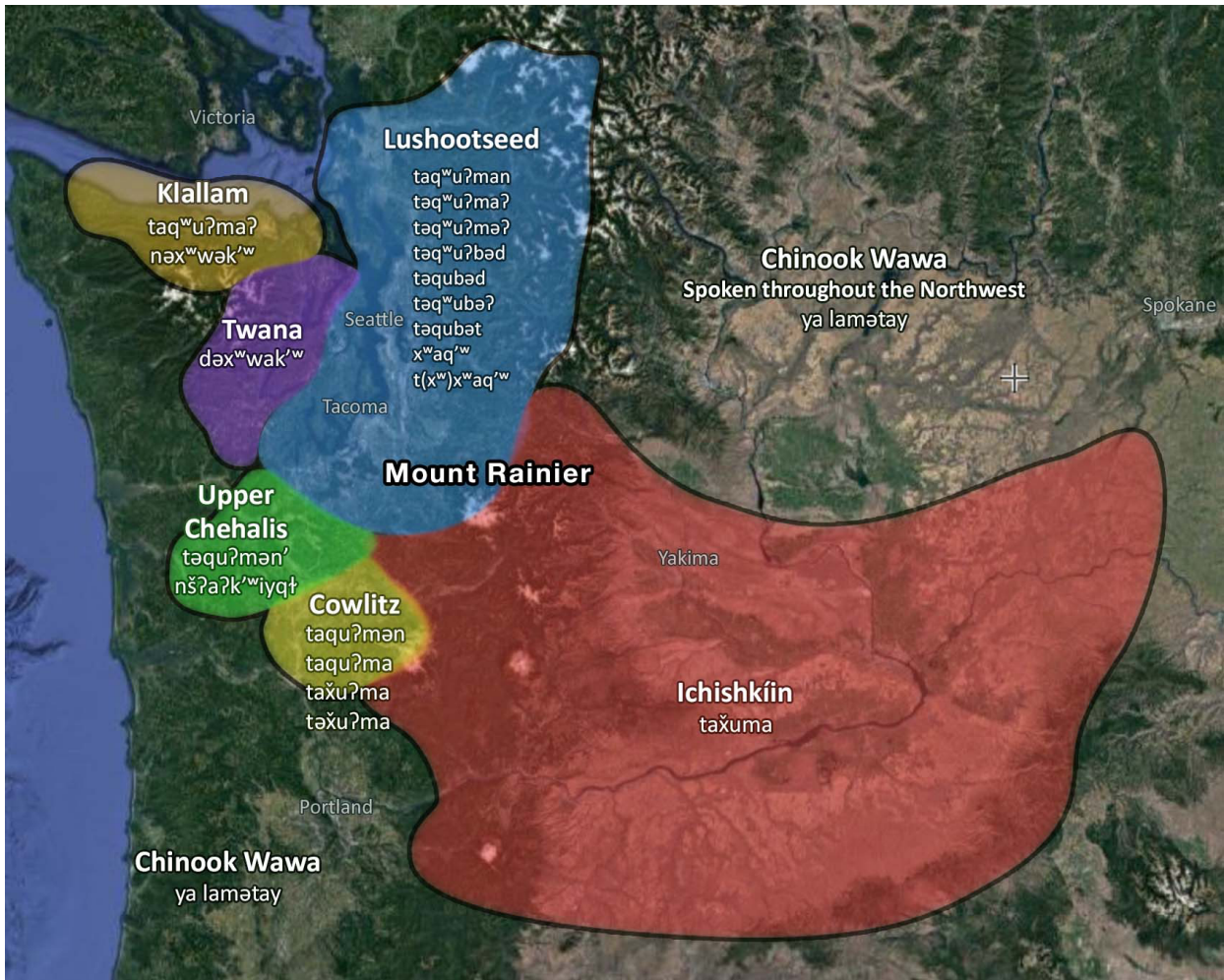
Figure 19: Map with Mount Rainier names and words

(Map by Chris Duenas, Courtesy of the Puyallup Tribal Language Program; Duenas, 2021b)

The large variety of *taqʷuʔman'* variants that exist in Lushootseed over the other languages is probably due to two reasons. First, the author of this article studies Lushootseed more than any of these other languages, and therefore has more resources that are Lushootseed in origin. Second, compared to the other languages, Lushootseed tends to have the most documentation, thereby providing opportunity to gather more variants of *taqʷuʔman'*. However, it is also the case that, of the Salishan languages mentioned in the article, Lushootseed has the largest land base and population of speaking communities. These factors likely facilitated the development of the vast variation of *taqʷuʔman'* in Lushootseed. As this article is read by more people, it will be interesting and insightful to see what other variants may appear in other languages.

The word *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* and its variants are not attested in the Salishan languages, Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz, nor in Ichishkíin. The reason is not clear. However, it may be the fact that these language

groups prefer the metaphor of *taqʷuʔman'* as being a bearer of fresh water that flows from its glaciers and nurses the land and all who live upon it over *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* '(sky) wiper'.

The fact that names that have /x̌/ in them only occur in Cowlitz and Ichishkíin might signify that there was more interaction between the Cowlitz and Ichishkíin language communities. Although, I would suggest good anthropological research is needed to confirm this idea.

The case that Ichishkíin only has one name for Mount Rainier, *tax̌uma*, is another indication that *taqʷuʔman'* is Salishan in origin and that the name used by Ichishkíin speakers may be relatively new. Like *taqʷuʔman'*, the Ichishkíin word *pátu* is a word that translates as 'any snow-capped mountain'. For Yakima speakers, this is also the name for Mount Adams, the closest snow-capped mountain to Yakima (Beavert & Hargus, 2009, p. 136). Since Ichishkíin has a word that overlaps in translation with *taqʷuʔman'*, it is possible that *tax̌uma* is a more recent occurrence and has not had the time to create variants. In addition, since *tax̌uma* competes in meaning with *pátu*, then it is also possible that *tax̌uma* was not used as frequently as *pátu*, and therefore was not utilized enough to develop variants. In the next section, I discuss metaphorical meanings of the names and words associated with Mount Rainier that emphasize this point.

7. MEANINGS, METAPHORS, AND BELIEFS ASSOCIATED WITH NAMES FOR MOUNT RAINIER

As presented in Section 5, *taqʷuʔman'* was shown to be Salishan in origin and translates as 'a unique, abundant source to get, fetch or carry water from'. However, other translations are also attached for *taqʷuʔman'* and its variants. These translations include 'breast', 'white mountain' and 'any snowcapped mountain'. In addition, the name *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* and its variants translate as '(sky) wiper'. In this section, I will discuss how these translations are metaphoric in origin.

Several ethnographic sources have cited the translation of *taqʷuʔman'* and its variants to translate as 'breast' or related to 'breast feeding'. For example, the Klickitat (a dialect of Ichishkíin) translation for the name for Mount Rainier *tax̌uma* is 'woman's breast', 'woman's breast that feeds'. This is because the Earth is the mother, and she feeds the land with the milky waters that flow from *tax̌uma*, the mountain that is her breast. This mountain provides water to drink and white rivers that overflow and make the grasses grow. This is why *tax̌uma* also applies to other mountains, because these mountains have flowing waters that provide sustenance for the land and all living things, as well (Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, p. 6).

This perception that *taqʷuʔman'* is a source of nourishment is further explained within a traditional narrative by John Hote (x̌ut), Puyallup:

> I learned the stories and legends and myths in the customary way by the oral traditions from my grandfather. The Puyallup loved their grandmother *təqubət*, the mountain that is now called Rainier. *təqubət* fed them and her other grandchildren through her rivers which she kept always supplied with life-giving fish and clean, cold water. *təqubət* had received this privilege from the moon[11]. In the beginning of things, *təqubət* was a lovely woman. She was less powerful only than the moon who gave her the privilege of choosing what she would like to be when the end came. She wished to be a mountain she said, because in this way she might always feed her grandchildren, sending everlasting life to her own people the Puyallups (Wright, m.s.).

Furthermore, the word **taqʷuʔman'* can translate as 'plenty of food or nourishment'. Hence in Lushootseed, a woman who has plenty of milk in her breasts is called a *taqʷuʔmaʔ sładayʔ* '*taqʷuʔmaʔ* woman' or 'the motherly woman', where the act of providing plenty of food and nourishment is considered to be 'motherly' (Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, p. 4). In this case, the nourishment that flows from the mountains is metaphorically extended to include the act of nursing by women.

In turn, Wickersham says that when snow-capped mountains are compared to a *taqʷuʔmaʔ sładayʔ*, the mountains are called *hikʷ taqʷuʔmaʔ* 'big *taqʷuʔmaʔ*' or 'big providers of food and nourishment'. Here, the metaphor of *taqʷuʔmaʔ* 'breast, breast feeding' extends from women back to snow-capped mountains. Thus, the nourishment the female breast provides and the nourishment the mountain provides is the same.

This evidence suggests that the definition related to 'breast' or 'breast feeding' for **taqʷuʔman'* is a metaphoric extension. It originated from the world view that the Earth is our mother and snowcapped mountains are her breasts from which she provides nourishment and sustenance through the waters that flow from her. Even though **taqʷuʔman'* does not literally translate as 'breast', this translation is well attested to be attached to this word because of the life force that flows through the rivers that come down from Mount Rainier and all other snow-capped mountains. This view that rivers are a life force that flows from a mother's breast is not limited to the word **taqʷuʔman'*. The definition of the Proto-Salish suffix **-mixʷ* 'life force' also includes several other translations, such as: 'river', 'person', 'woman's breast' and 'milk' (Kuipers, 2002, p. 205).

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[11] In traditional narratives of Western Washington, after the transforming character, *dukʷəbəł* 'Transformer', finished changing all things in the world, it became the moon. Because of this, in narratives such as this one told by John Hote, the Transformer is sometimes referred to as the moon.

Another characteristic of the word *taqʷuʔman'* and its variants is that it applies to both any snow-capped mountain, as well as the name for Mount Rainier. It is not clear whether this word was originally meant for any snow-capped mountain that narrowed in meaning to the name for Mount Rainier, or if the name for Mount Rainier expanded to include any snow-capped mountain.

If the word originated with Mount Rainier, then the traditional narratives told by Billy Frank Senior and John Hote (x̌ut) would indicate that Mount Rainier received the name *taqʷuʔman'* around the time of change when a woman was transformed into Mount Rainier. The time of change is an event that occurred in early Indigenous history when an entity called *dukʷibəɬ* 'Transformer' (also known as 'Changer') changed all things into what they are today. Frank Senior's narrative not only explains why the mountain is called *taqʷuʔman'*, but he is also explicit as to its etymological translation, 'to get or fetch water, to carry or pack water'. *taqʷuʔman'* then would have expanded to mean any snow-capped mountain through the idea that, they too, are breasts of the Mother Earth with flowing waters that nourish the land. Therefore, like the term *taqʷuʔman sɬaday?* for a woman who has plenty of nourishing milk for the young, the word *taqʷuʔman'* was metaphorically extended to mean any snow-capped mountain.

On the other hand, *taqʷuʔman'* could have begun as meaning any snow-capped mountain. Since Mount Rainier is a snow-capped mountain, local tribes would have used this term for the mountain which eventually became its name, thereby narrowing the meaning of *taqʷuʔman* 'any snow-capped mountain' to be the name for Mount Rainier. The narratives told by Frank and Hote would have had to been created after the meaning was narrowed to mean the name for Mount Rainier, thereby explaining the metaphorical and etymological meanings of the name. This suggests that the stories came from the name rather than the name evolving from the narratives.

Although it is important to recognize its numerous meanings, whether the word *taqʷuʔman'* expanded in meaning to any snow-capped mountain or narrowed to mean the name for Mount Rainier is not known. Meanings of words historically expand and narrow over time, and cultures continuously create and adjust narratives to reflect their cosmologies.

Another translation for *taqʷuʔman'* is 'white mountain' (Waterman, 1996, p. 149; Wickersham & Tacoma Academy Of Science, 1893, pp. 6, 7). This may be a metaphorical application to the name since all snow-capped mountains are white (baring pollution, etc.). However, Waterman suggests that the *qʷub* in *taqʷuʔbə?* translates as 'white'. I am not aware of a Salishan cognate *qʷub* 'white', but *k'up* 'white' is a Chinuk Wawa word. It is possible that Waterman is incorrectly applying a Chinuk Wawa

interpretation to the non-Chinuk Wawa word *taqʷuʔbəʔ* that originated from the Salishan word *taqʷuʔman'*.

The name *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* is defined in the Lushootseed Dictionary as '(sky) wiper'. This is likely a metaphorical expression since the height of Mount Rainier is so immense (14, 411 FT) compared to other Cascade mountains that Mount Rainier appears to be 'wiping the sky'.

8. CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on linguistic analyses for the plethora of Indigenous names and translations attached to Mount Rainier. I presented diachronic analyses of the names which tie back to two Proto-Salish forms; *taqʷuʔman'* 'a unique, abundant source to get, fetch or carry water' and *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* '(sky) wiper'. There are a total of 20 attested names identified in this article; 14 are derived from *taqʷuʔman'*, 4 are derived from *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ*, one is an Upper Chehalis word *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł* and one is Chinuk Wawa *ya lamətay* 'she the mountain'. I have also explained how *taqʷuʔman'* has metaphorically expanded to translate as 'breast', as well as translated to mean any snow-capped mountain. I have also explained how *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* translates as '(sky) wiper'.

Given that modern-day linguistic documentation for the languages mentioned in this paper only goes back to the 1800s, it is difficult to put an accurate timeline to the historical development of most of the names for Mount Rainier. The Upper Chehalis name *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł* is not attested in other languages, and the root of this name *aʔk'ʷ* 'water coming out' does not appear to be attested in other Salishan languages. This reasons that it is likely not as old as *taqʷuʔman'* or *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ*. The Chinuk Wawa word *lamətay* in the name *ya lamətay* is a Canadian French construction, which means that it could not have formed before contact with French fur traders in the early 1800s. The Upper Chehalis name *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł* could have formed before or after *ya lamətay* but without more documentation, when *nšʔaʔk'ʷiyqł* formed is not clear. Etymological evidence reveals that the origins of *taqʷuʔman'* and *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* are Salishan. The name *taqʷuʔman'* has more variants and a wider geographical distribution than *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ*. Based upon its distribution and number of variants, one could speculate that *taqʷuʔman'* is an older form than *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ*, but with the limited documentation, this assumption is presumptuous. It is just as possible that *nə(xʷ)xʷak'ʷ* is an older form that gave way to a more popular *taqʷuʔman'* once it was conceived. What can be stated is that the etymologies of both names are only understood by comparing morphemes (words or meaningful parts of words) between several Salishan languages and Proto-Salish. This infers that the inception of these names extends back to a time when the Salishan languages discussed in the paper were more like Proto-Salish.

If the reader was hoping for an easy answer as to what name is best to use for an official national renaming of Mount Rainier, they should expect to do further research and work on community attitudes and social relationships. Renaming this most important mountain is a cultural, social, and political

issue, and I would suggest a spiritual matter, as well. For the renaming of the mountain to be done correctly, it will take much more leg work and community activism that is necessary to extract the correct name for *kayaʔ* 'Grandmother' **taqʷuʔmanʼ/*nə(xʷ)xʷakʼʷ/ nšʔaʔkʼʷiyqɬ/ya lamətay*. Given the plethora of diverse names for Mount Rainier mentioned in this paper, I suggest that it would be good for communities to reconcile upon a name that best reflects this diversity. By pursuing this manner with careful thought, intention and understanding, hopefully the mountain and all her grandchildren will be well honored.

Appendix A

Four versions about Mount Rainier

told by Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually

Mount Rainier (Lushootseed, version 1)

told by Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually

Recorded by Jean Sanders, Nisqually, mid-1970s, Tape #1

Transcribed and translated by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir, 7/27/2020

(1) ʔal kʷədi tuhaʔkʷ, gʷəl tuʔaciłtalbixʷ ti sx̌ʷa x̌ʷul' čəł x̌ʷləsčaʔkʷ.

A long time ago, there were people there, whom were just made to be in the west.

(2) gʷəl tuč'əx̌idəxʷ (h)ilgʷəʔ.

And they became crowded.

(3) gʷələ gʷič'gʷič'əxʷ tsi suqʷuʔbəd txʷəl ti bədəč'uʔ skʷatəč.

And the woman who was taking the water moved to another mountain.

(4) gʷələ ʔal su...qʷibəxʷs (h)ilgʷəʔ txʷəl sgʷič'gʷič's (h)ilgʷəʔ, gʷələ cuudəxʷ ti sbədəʔs, "təqʷuʔmaʔ."

And as there were preparing to move, she told her son, "*təqʷuʔma.*"

(5) "təqʷuʔmaʔ."

"*təqʷuʔmaʔ.*"

(6) That means, 'not to forget the water', 'take the water with us'.

(7) hay gʷəl tugʷič'gʷičəxʷ (h)əlgʷəʔ txʷəl ti bədəč'uʔ skʷatəč.

And then they had moved to the other mountain.

(8) gʷəl diłəxʷ s(ə)xʷəsdaʔs, 'təqʷuʔmaʔ', tił ʔuqʷuʔbəd.

And that is why it is called, '*təqʷuʔmaʔ*, the one who had taken the water.

(9) dił sdaʔs, 'təqʷuʔmaʔ'.

That is her name, '*təqʷuʔmaʔ*.

(10) diłəxʷ səxʷk'ʷəł tił stuləkʷ tul'al tił skʷatəč.

That is why the rivers flow from that mountain.

(11) bək'ʷ stuləkʷ tul'al tił skʷatəč.

All of the rivers are from that mountain.

(12) qa stuləkʷ.

There are many rivers.

Mount Rainier (English, version 2)

told by Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually

Recorded by Jean Sanders, Nisqually, mid-1970s, Tape #1

Transcribed and translated by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir, 7/27/2020

(1)   Oh, many, many years ago these mountains along the ocean they were people at that time.

(2)   [And they were ...] They got crowded now. They got too many different people living there.

(3)   [And this a...] This mountain moved over to this other range.

(4)   And [uh ...] when they were leaving, they told her son to not forget the water, *təqʷuʔmaʔ*.

(5)   That's what she said to her son.

(6)   So, they took the water along and that's how all of the rivers come out of that mountain.

(7)   *təqʷuʔmaʔ* mountain, *təqʷuʔmaʔ* mountain.

(8)   All the rivers come out of that mountain.

(9)   [That's how it got] See, he took the water with him.

(10) [Jean Sanders] That's what the Indians called the mountain, huh?

(11) Yeah, *təqʷuʔmaʔ*.

(12) [Jean Sanders] *təqʷumaʔ*?

(13) *təqʷuʔmaʔ*.

(14) That's the name of that mountain up there. That's Mount Rainier, the white man call him.

Mount Rainier (Lushootseed, version 3)

told by Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually

Recorded by Jean Sanders, Nisqually, mid-1970s, Tape #2

Transcribed and translated by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir, 7/28/2020

(1)   ʔal kʷədi tuhaʔkʷ, gʷəl tuʔaciɬtalbixʷ tsiɬ skʷakʷatəč tuləsčaʔkʷ.

 A long time ago, the mountains were women who were in the west.

(2)   gʷəl tučʼəx̌idəxʷ tsi dišəʔ ...

 And this woman here had been crowded out...

(3)   čʼəx̌idəxʷ tsi...

 She had become crowded out ...

(4)   čʼəx̌idəxʷ tsiɬ ləqʷuʔbəd.

 The one who had been taking the water with her was crowded out.

(5)   gʷələ dᶻəx̌ʷəxʷ txʷəl ti bədəčʼuʔ skʷatəč.

 So, she moved to this other mountain.

(6)   ʔal kʷədi tuhaʔkʷ tuʔaciɬtalbixʷ (h)əlgʷəʔ ʔə tiɬ bədab.

 A long time ago, they had been people, (and) she had a son.

(7)   gʷələ cuj̆əxʷ ti bədəʔs, "təqʷuʔmaʔ."

 And she told her son, "*təqʷuʔmaʔ*."

(8)   diɬəxʷ s(ə)xʷdaʔ ʔə tiɬ təqʷuʔbəd, 'təqʷuʔmaʔ'.

 That is why the one who has the water is called '*təqʷuʔmaʔ*'.

(9)   gʷələ tulʼal tiɬ ʔukʼ'ʷəɬ ʔə tiɬ stuləkʷ.

 And it is from her that the rivers flow from.

(10)   qa stuləkʷ ʔukʼ'ʷəɬ tulʼal tiɬ təqʷuʔbəd.

 There are many rivers that flow from the one who has the water.

Mount Rainier (English, version 4)

told by Billy Frank Senior, Nisqually

Recorded by Jean Sanders, Nisqually, mid-1970s, Tape #2

Transcribed and translated by Zalmai ʔəswəli Zahir, 7/28/2020

(1)   These mountains, the Olympic Range, they were people at one time way back in the two, three million years ago.

(2)   And, this mountain up here got crowded out and she had to move out.

(3)   And when she was leaving, she told her son, "*təqʷuʔmaʔ.*"

(4)   And then, "don't forget the water. Take it along with us."

(5)   So, they moved up to the Cascade Range.

(6)   And that mountain is '*təqʷuʔmaʔ*.

(7)   That's the name of this mountain up here.

(8)   And that's why all the rivers run out of that mountain.

(9)   Several rivers come out of the mountain.

(10)   That's because the boy didn't forget the water, see? He took it along with him.

(11)   And that's how the rivers come out of that mountain.

(12)   [Jean Sanders] Can you say, 'don't forget the water'?

(13)   [xʷiʔ kʷ(i) ads- ...] təqʷuʔmaʔ.
         [Don't...] Don't forget the water.

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