

luuc kʷi sǎčiduput: Listening for the ǎč of the Land

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Abstract

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The Puyallup Tribe of Indians is a federally recognized tribe in Washington state that lives on highly urbanized land, and their connections to that land are being challenged by development. Using a method that combines Native language and ways of observing and analyzing with Western research paradigms, twelve members of the larger community were taken on a site tour of Puyallup Land, then invited to share their thoughts about the experience. I then analyzed the information they shared using a combination of grounded theory and Native methods. The research questions revealed that the Puyallup community relates to their land in many unexpected and complex ways, and that those relations are challenged by rapid change, including a concept I call “Layered Childhood Timescapes.” This study demonstrates the complexity and challenges of Native ways of examining the world in academic context.

ti dsxudxud gwəl txwəl dægwi, txwlaq ʔacitəlbixw. xwuʔələʔ čəxw gwəʔulaʔbdxw ti λ'aʔtəd ʔə
xəč ʔuhuyudəs ti swatxwixwtxəd. həwadəʔ čəd gwəkʷaxwacid čəd txwəl kʷ(i) adsluuc ti txwəlšucid
ʔal ti swatxwixwtxəd ʔəsʔistəʔ ʔə kʷədi tuʔiisədčəʔ. həwadəʔ čəd ʔupətidgewəsəb čəxw luλ' ti
dλ'aligwəd čəxwə ʔuhuyud ʔaw't, ʔiʔhaʔʔ λ'aligwəd čəxwə λ'utxwəlšucidəb ʔəsʔistəʔ ʔə kʷi
tuʔiisədčəʔ.

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Glossary

The items in the glossary are in the Lushootseed alphabetical order used by Bates et al. (1994):

ʔ a b c c' č č' d d' ə g g^w h i j k k' k^w k'^w l l' ł ł' m n p p' q q' q^w q'^w s š t t' u w x^w ǰ ǰ^w y

Note that initial *s-* is often a prefix in Lushootseed, called a nominalizer (Bates et al., 1994; Hilbert & Bierwert, 1980; Zahir, 2018a), and words that feature it are placed alphabetically by the root to which it is attached.

Definitions without citations are common usage in the Puyallup community. Neologisms are noted when applicable. The citations are not exhaustive, they reflect the sources that were most influential in my research.

Audio recordings of all entries below are available at [Briden Dissertation Playlist](#), or by pasting the following link into your browser window:

<https://on.soundcloud.com/cGPjuIRAo3np7tDEfZ>. Access recordings for individual words by clicking the words in the *tx^wəlšucid* column.

<i>tx^wəlšucid</i>	<i>pastəducid</i> (English)
ʔabəłǰəčbid	“to extend the <i>ǰəč</i> ” (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019)
ʔaciłtalbix^w ǰəč	literally first people <i>ǰəč</i> , “Native ways of knowing”
čayalq^wuʔ	“hidden water” (Waterman et al., 2001)
cəlac dx^wg^walčšid	“Five Teachers” – eyes, ears, nose, mouth, body (Zahir, 2022b)
scapaʔ	“grandfather, grandpa” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 43)
sc'aliʔ	“heart” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 51)
c'əbqid	“brain” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 52)
g^wəd'adad	“teaching from nature” (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019;

	Zahir, 2022b)
huyisəbtag^wil	“to experience one another’s existence for a reason,” coined by Zalmāi ʔaswəli Zahir and Chris Briden to refer to the ontological relationships established by the Changer
k^wʔalɪk^w	“to examine, scrutinize, size up” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 127), “study”
k^wʔalɪk^w syayayəʔ	“research family,” the term I use instead of the impersonal term, ‘participant group’
sk^wʔapad	“council” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 127), as in Puyallup Tribal Council
k^wʔələtʰəč	“the flowing of the ʰəč,” coined by Chris Briden
pətɪdɣ^wəsəb	“to think, to consider,” “philosophy” (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b, p. 14)
puyaləpabš	“Puyallup Tribe, Puyallup Tribe of Indians, (R. Wright, personal communication, n.d.)
ʔuk^wəd čəd ʔə ti dsyayus.	“I have been taken by my work.”
təq^wuʔmaʔ	One of the many names for Mount Rainier in <i>tx^wəlšucid</i> (Zahir, 2025)
ʰaxʰlʰ	<i>ʰaxʰlʰ</i> , “a little bit brushy” or “a little bit difficult,” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 259; Hess, 1976, p. 583) Hylebos Waterway and Creek (Waterman et al., 2003).
ʰəč	“intent,” “knowledge” (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b, p. 6), “heart/mind” (p. 9), “information,” (p. 12), “mind” (pp. 14, 19,

	20), “teachings” (p. 22), “thoughts” (p. 30), “feelings” (pp. 59, 68, 120); “mind, inner thoughts sense, understanding” (Bates, et al., 1994, p. 260)
<u>sǎčidupul</u>	“inherited teachings about the Land” or “inherited teachings from the Land,” coined by Chris Briden
<u>sǎwǐʔab</u>	“traditional narrative” (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019, p. 59), which refers to events before and during the time of change
<u>syəcəb</u>	“traditional story that deals with events after the time of change,” “news” (Bates et al., p. 276)

Chapter I

Positionality Statement—*tił cəxʷʔa tił (d)dxʷʔa*: The Place Where I Exist is the Reason I Exist

My grandfather, Reuben Wright Sr., drove my cousins and me around our reservation and beyond, telling us about old village sites, sites of important battles, landforms, and bodies of water. Most of those places no longer existed. By then, colonial development had subsumed all of these. What clues to the past remain today—like the old Puyallup River mouth—have been renamed to ensure that none of us could easily reconnect to the Land that created us (Smith, 2021).

My interest in the names and histories of places on our traditional lands began then. I would get excited when I saw cattails by the side of the road, because I thought that might be the remnants of an ancient waterway whose name no one even whispers today.

tił puyaləpabš – The Puyallup People

The Puyallup Tribe of Indians (PTOI), *puyaləpabš*, in *txʷəlšucid*, is a federally recognized Native American tribe in Washington State, whose traditional homeland was approximately between modern-day Steilacoom in Pierce County, WA, and Three Tree Point (Majors, 1975; Phillips, 1971) in King County, WA, from the eastern shores of the Kitsap Peninsula, including Vashon Island, to the Cascade Mountain range (Griffin, 1933).

The name *puyaləpabš* is the name that my Grandfather, Reuben Wright, used and the one I use in this paper. Variations of it appear in colonial literature as “Puyallupahmish” (Eells, 1887a, p. 9; Gibbs et al., 1970, p. 178). However, there were other variations which incorporated an *s*- prefix, such as “spuy’ələpabš” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 165), “spuya’lupo’bc” (Haerberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 9), “*spwiyä’laphabc*” (Smith, 1940, p. 9). Ramona Bennett’s grandmother

apparently said “Spalalabush” (Bennett Bill, 2025, p. 1).

After the first treaty war of 1855-1856 (Eckrom, 1989; Griffin, 1933; Nagle et al., 2011; Wilkinson, 2024), the *puyaləpabš* were gathered together on roughly the present-day reservation of 18,061.5 acres (Nagle et al., 2011). Today, the Puyallup Reservation is highly urbanized, covered by five different towns, urban centers, or census-designated areas: Tacoma, the City of Puyallup, Milton, Fife Heights, Fife, and Edgewood (Google, n.d.).

txʷəlšucid – Twulshootseed

The traditional Language of the *puyaləpabš* is commonly called *txʷəlšucid* (Bates et al., 1994; Hess, 1976; Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019). However, my grandfather, Reuben Wright, called it *puyaləpučid* (R. Wright, personal communication, n.d.), which means “Puyallup Language.” *txʷəlšucid* is one name for Lushootseed, a term coined by Thom Hess (Hess, 1976). Before Hess coined it this language was often called “Puget Salish” (Hess, 1973, 1976), and *txʷəlšucid* was called Southern Puget Sound Salish (Snyder, 1968), Puyallup, Nisqually (Smith, 1940) or Puyallup-Nisqually (Gibbs, 1877/1970; Smith, 1940; Zahir & Gibbs, forthcoming). In English, *txʷəlšucid* is often written as Twulshootseed. In this paper, I use *txʷəlšucid*, Twulshootseed, and Lushootseed freely, reflecting the usage within my community, except where the choice is pragmatic.

Prior to resettlement on reservations, there was a high degree of variability in Lushootseed. Smith (1941) says, “there are probably as many dialects or localisms represented as informants” (p. 206). Resettlement of the different *puyaləpabš* communities had a negative impact on this variety of dialects (Hess, 1977), which resulted in the lateral violence that I witnessed as a child. People who did not speak the Language enshrined the particular variety of *txʷəlšucid* that their parents, or grandparents spoke and denigrated all other *txʷəlšucid* speakers

and learners in the community, thereby upholding their own family's variety as the one, true Puyallup language.

s̥xud̥xud – Vocabulary

“š̥i+√š̥əqáčiʔd small ‘Indian’ hammer...” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 210)

“ʔəs̥xələt̥xəčəx^w tsiʔəʔ š̥išqačiʔed [*sic*] g^wəl ʔaab g^wəl ʔaabicut...”

Felt sad now this Hammer and cried and cried to herself...” (Hilbert, 1985, p. 171).

I surmise that there is rarely a one-to-one correspondence between words across languages. More specifically, words do not always translate between cultures. Words are value-laden. Words carry history. Words hold and convey the ʔəč of all those who have ever spoken them. “The vocabulary of each language reflects the life and beliefs of the people it serves” (Hilbert & Hess, 1982, p. 77).

I am attempting to convey my understanding of Native ideas, such as ʔəč and g^wəd^zadad; colonizer terms will not suffice. Kincaid (1988) poses the question, “isn’t it odd that the only language I have in which to speak of this crime is the language of the criminal...?” (p. 31). Only Native words can express Native concepts. “[N]o researcher is neutral because language confers form and meaning on observed realities. Specific use of language reflects views and values” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 114).

Wilson (2008) defined words like “Research Paradigm” (p. 33), “Ontology” (p. 33), “Epistemology” (p. 33), “Methodology” (p. 34), and “Axiology” (p. 34) informed by a Native worldview, and these definitions were useful to this research for a time. However, as this research paradigm, informed by traditional Lushootseed stories and teachings, took shape, these

concepts no longer made sense. They are European words because they are European concepts, even when you tie feathers on them. If I am going to use Lushootseed concepts, I must use Lushootseed words.

Throughout this work, you will find many *tx^wəlšucid* words. The reader is encouraged to consult the [Glossary](#) for definitions and the [Briden Dissertation Vocabulary playlist](#) on SoundCloud for pronunciation. I explain some concepts here in relation to my positionality as a Puyallup researcher. However, some key concepts, such as [huyisəbtag^{wil}](#), [ǰəč](#), and [g^wəd^{adad}](#), are also explained again in [Chapter IV](#) as they relate to the methodology of this study.

The *tx^wəlšucid* script often conflicts with standard academic usage. For example, the *tx^wəlšucid* script does not use capital letters (Bates et al., 1994; Hess & Hilbert, 1976a), which are required in certain places in an academic paper (see running header, section headings, and certain initials in the reference section). I followed Younging's (2018) second Indigenous Style Principle: "Indigenous style overrules other styles in cases of disagreement" (p. 99).

ǰəč

ǰəč is an important part of the Puget Sound concept of self. There is no word for this concept in English. Lushootseed revitalizationist Vi *taq^wšəblu* Hilbert describes it as the "seat of emotions." (Z. Zahir, personal communication, n.d.). The Lushootseed Dictionary (Bates et al., 1994) defines it as "mind, inner thoughts, sense, understanding" (p. 260) and also ties it to wisdom and patience. The Lushootseed Dictionary also gives the word *čəlǰəčəb*, which means "law, edict, proclamation, will, intention, decision" (Bates et al., 1994, p. 64), where the prefix *čəl-* means "make, construct" (Bates et al., 1994, p. 64). So, 'to make a decision' is 'to build your *ǰəč*'. From this, we also see that the *ǰəč* is also linked with intention (Zahir, 2018b).

I have often heard people compare the *ǰəč* to the metaphorical use of the word 'heart.'

However, the *txʷəlšucid* word for ‘heart’ is *scʷaliʔ* (Bates et al., 1994, p. 51). One crucial difference between the metaphorical ‘heart’ and the *ǰǰ* is that we extend our *ǰǰ* to the world and one another (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b; Zahir, 2018b). For example, when we prepare food, it is customary to ‘extend your *ǰǰ*’ in a good way for the benefit of the people eating it (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019, 2022). We see from this that our individual *ǰǰ* connects us to the world and one another (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b). This is what I define as *ǰǰ* theory.

The *ǰǰ* can also flow. When one person extends their *ǰǰ* to another person or to a place, the second person or place is altered by the first’s *ǰǰ*. Then, when the second person or place extends their *ǰǰ* to a third person or place, the second’s *ǰǰ* has been influenced or even carries the *ǰǰ* of the first person. Then, we can say that the *ǰǰ* flows from the first person, through the second person or thing, to the third person or thing. This process continues indefinitely. The *ǰǰ* flows through all things, through all people at all times. I call this *lakʷətətǰǰ*.

huyisəbtəgʷil

huyisəbtəgʷil is more accurately a set of five *gʷədʷadad* that I have gleaned from the Changer, Transformer, or *dukʷibət* stories told throughout the Pacific Northwest. (See [Chapter IV](#) for much more detailed discussion of [huyisəbtəgʷil](#).) This word translates roughly to ‘actively experiencing one another’s existence for a purpose.’

The first *huyisəbtəgʷil* is that all things are related. The second is that the physical and behavioral characteristics of every individual natural entity are in moral balance with the Changer. The third is that the Natural World as a whole is morally balanced. The fourth is the open set of relationships that the Changer defined between the Natural World and humans before humans existed. The fifth is that humans were created in such a way that we are *required* to fulfill the relationships decreed by the Changer to live.

These *huyisəbtag^{wil}* are the generative forces that create Nature, including human Nature. I use them as part of my theoretical framework to explain the complex relationship between my Community and their Land, Nature, Culture, and each other. The theoretical procedure of the study is to discover and honor the *huyisəbtag^{wil}*. Knowing more about the Land strengthens the *huyisəbtag^{wil}* and creates a healthier community.

Relevant Skills and Experience

puyaləpabš čəd. I am a Puyallup Tribal member. I spent a large part of my youth on the Puyallup Tribal Reservation and believe that my senses have been affected by this land (Meyer, 2008). I have always had a strong Puyallup identity and close ties to the rest of our community. Today, I work for the Puyallup Tribal Language Program (PTLP), where I teach families of the Puyallup Tribal Community, Puyallup Administration employees, and Puyallup Community youth. Occasionally, I perform outreach, I teach non-Native community members who nonetheless have a relationship with Puyallup Land by virtue of their living on it.

This intense interest in the Land has driven me to create a project within the PTLP by identifying the original *tx^wəlšucid* names of the various waterways in the Puyallup Valley, mainly as described by Waterman (Waterman et al., 2001). This is not as easy as it sounds, as many waterways such as Wapato Creek had more than one name—*spiq^wulc* (wapato potato), *qal'qalək^w* (circles/whirlpools) and *stuləg^wali* (river place)—referring to different locations or aspects of this waterway (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 248). Other bodies have been significantly altered, such as *dx^wwadačəb/dx^wwadabšəb* (Ballard, 1929; Haerberlin & Gunther, 1930; Smith, 1940; Waterman et al., 2001) which is completely invisible today, under the concrete of Tacoma. The second phase of this project was to create a presentation using photographs of locations where community members might commonly cross these creeks, streams, or rivers while driving. The

purpose of this was to give the community members a sense of connection to the places their ancestors lived. Lastly, I have undertaken to yell out the names of these places as I cross them driving, regardless of who is with me in the vehicle or if I am in a telephone conversation.¹

In addition to my teaching experiences, I am involved in many community activities that have led to a deeper appreciation of the variety and scope of lived Puyallup experiences. Canoe Journey is an intense, exhausting, and perilous cultural experience that has exposed me to cultural knowledge keepers and provided me opportunities to practice cultural values in life-or-death settings. Burnings, Welcomings, Giveaways, Funerals, Memorials, and other ceremonies have provided opportunities to see contemporary Puget Sound Culture in action.

Language. I bring many skills as a *tx^wəlšucid* speaker and teacher to my research.

“ləc’ug^wag^wəd tiʔəʔ swatix^wtəd. ləc’ug^wag^wəd tiʔəʔ tatačulbix^w. ləg^wag^wəd tiʔəʔ čitčalbix^w. ləg^wag^wəd tiʔəʔ bək^w stab.”

“The [E]arth speaks. The [big] animals speak. The little animals speak. Everything has a voice” (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003a, p. 90).

I was fortunate to have heard my *scapaʔ*,² Reuben Wright, speak *tx^wəlšucid*. Unfortunately, I did not learn much from him, as I was too interested in snakes and lizards than to listen and learn. He was also not a teacher. Later in life, I saw much lateral violence (Freire, 1970/2014) regarding our Language. I did not want this negativity in my life, so I avoided seriously studying my Language for decades.

Zalmi *ʔaswəli* Zahir is the language consultant for the PTLP. He has studied the

¹ Of course, safely, on a hands-free device

² grandfather

language for decades, starting off learning from his stepfather, Don Matheson, then with other first-language speakers throughout the Puget Sound. When I did start studying the Language it was in Zahir's pilot online class and I expected more of the same hostility toward variation. However, when I mentioned that my *scapa?* pronounced certain words differently, Zahir brightened and said, "Write that down! Then write down your *scapa?*'s name, where he was born, and when! If you can, get a recording of yourself saying it!" (Personal communication, n.d.).

Zahir and the Puyallup Tribal Language Department acknowledge that our Language existed in many dialects prior to colonization, prior to our people being herded onto a reservation. Smith (1941) says that "there are probably as dialects or localisms... as informants" (p. 206). Modern technology confirms this wide variety; all one has to do is listen to a number of recordings to realize that each recorded *tx^wəlšucid* speaker spoke slightly differently than all others, even others from the same family.

Linguistically-oriented lateral violence is an example of how the colonizers extended their *ǰǰ* in a bad way, through treaty-making and relocation, through Puyallup families, to affect the Puyallup Language (Hess, 1977). There is a direct relationship between the colonizer *ǰǰ*, the loss of Puyallup Land, and the loss of Puyallup Language, and I would like to disrupt that relationship.

Recovering our Language will help Puyallup families to know and appreciate the *huyisəbtəg^wil* that connects them to their Land. Knowing the names of places, rivers, creeks, hills, or old village sites will emplace them in Land that has been colonized, commodified, (Reiter, 1998a; Schaefer, 2010; Smith, 1940; Tuck & Yang, 2012), and developed (Smith, 2021).

Studying traditional narratives will provide them with the *g^wəd-adad* they need to protect

their *ǰǰ* in an actively racist, colonial world (Archibald, 2008; Besaw, 2022; Lee-Morgan, 2019; Pihama et al., 2019; Seed-Pihama, 2019). Speaking *tx^wǰlšucid* will change the way they see and interact with the World (Anzaldúa, 2007; Bill-Gerrish, 2023; Christian, 2019; Ullrich, 2020), allowing them to see beyond the individualistic, capitalist colonizer *ǰǰ* extended onto them (Cajete, 2015; Darder, 2016; Giroux & Giroux, 2008; Smith-Morris, 2019).

My Place. Even as a young, distracted child, I knew the Dirt beneath my feet was special. It was my grandpa’s Dirt; it was Puyallup Dirt. It could be dark and clumpy, fed by generations of fallen apples, or it could be sandy and pale, marking the former path of the Puyallup River before its channel was rerouted by foreign *ǰǰ*, before our *huyisǰbtǰ^wil* were cut.

Most of that Dirt is paved now. No snakes are to be found, no apple trees. What is not paved is either monoculture, cropped and manicured grass, or some cheap, monoculture single-family home. The *huyisǰbtǰ^wil* are still there; I can feel them, injured by greed, but they do not bring joy or wonder the way they did back then, but frustration and heartache (Hernandez, 2022). Nisqually tribal member Betty Pacheco said, “there is a lot of grief in our land” (B. Pacheco, personal communication, November 8, 2025).

I wonder what would be better: knowing what used to be there and suffering for it, or being oblivious to the past and taking joy in being able to afford a cell in one of these subdivisions. They are even the *color* of tombstones. The choice has been made for me; there is no point in wondering. *ǰuk^wǰd čǰd ǰǰ ti dsyayus.*³

³ I have been taken by my work.

Research Development—*ləxʷubiləxʷ ʔal ti čayalqʷu?*: Walking in Silence at the Hidden Water (a personal *syəcəb*)

As an assignment for Dawn Hardison-Steven’s class, TEDLD ‘581 Introduction to Decolonizing Research,’ I walked the land in silence on the beach at what may have been called *čayalqʷu?*, which means “hidden water” (Waterman et al., 2001). Now we just call it ‘The Landing’ because this was the landing site for Power Paddle to Puyallup in 2018, and is now used by Puyallup fishermen and divers. It is hard to pinpoint the old locations on today’s landscape because they have been hidden by development.

Most of *čayalqʷu?* is now paved over. Most of it is ugly: the cement is crumbling and covered in trash, and car parts litter the beach. The hillside behind also crumbles, exposing bare patches of orange earth along the cliff. I wonder how long that hill will suffer our comings and goings. Too steep to harbor trash, that hillside is brushy with invasive plants like Himalayan blackberry, Japanese knotweed, and English Ivy.

We truly are the Generous and Welcoming People.

Like we had a choice.

The tide is low, and the Land is certainly not silent. The crows are excited about all the polluted creatures that have been exposed by the retreat of the filthy water. They are enraged by my invasion and let me know it. I am surprised how many clam holes are visible in the sand between the bumpers and bed liners. It is nice to see that they can survive in this polluted place, hidden beneath the earth.

A huge barge smoothly leaves *šaxš’*, the Hylebos Waterway in English (Waterman et al, 2003), piled high with crushed cars. This is the source of the sundry car parts on the beach. I cringe at the thought of what else is hidden at the bottom of *šaxš’*. *šaxš’* is a beautiful word that

can be translated either as “a little bit brushy” or “a little bit difficult” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 259; Hess, 1976, p. 583). It gives a glimpse into my ancestors’ minds: “brushy” and “difficult” were the same thing.

From the beach, you can barely hear a trickle of water running down the cliff face. There is no visible cleft there to show the water’s path. It is also hidden as it runs under the concrete slab. The water somehow emerges into a freshwater lagoon separated from the beach by a natural berm. The water escapes from the north end of the pool by spreading out in a thin sheet over the compacted sand. There is no obvious channel or mouth there, either. I can see why this place was named *čayalq^{wu?}*. Anyone pulling⁴ by in the salt water would never know the lagoon was here.

It is difficult to see the land for what it used to be: a verdant paradise (Crosby, 1986) for those human people who were created here by the Changer. It is now paved, polluted, poisoned, owned...

Silently, a loud voice speaks to me:

“ʔal t(i) adsləx^wubil ʔal ti swatx^wix^wtx^wəd ʔə tiil puyaləpabš, ʔəsxał’ k^wi səslaʔbdx^w
t(u)asxids d^zix^wbid ʔə ti sułəčil ʔə ti paspastəd.

When you walk silently on Puyallup Land, it is difficult to see it as it used to be before the Europeans arrived.”

This is when I found my research topic. Before this moment, I did not appreciate the connection between my Native culture and their Land. I did not understand the importance of Hardison-Stevens’ (2023) concept of “Walking the Land in Silence” and resented being made to do such a

⁴ In my community, paddling in a canoe is commonly referred to as ‘pulling.’

‘touchy-feely’ activity.

tił s̄xiliččəł–Our Battle

A large proportion of the Puyallup Community reside or work on our traditional Land, but settler colonialism (Tuck & Yang, 2012) has severed their connections to that Land (Freire, 1970/2014; Grande, 2015; Schaefer, 2010, 2016; Smith, 2021; Smith, 1940, 1969; Weaver, 2001; and many others). This disconnection has negative social impacts, such as depression, high levels of crime, and diabetes (Hernandez, 2022; Oster et al., 2014; Quinless, 2022; Smith-Morris, 2019). This loss of connection was intentional: the less the Puyallup People are connected to their Land, the less likely they are to fight to keep and protect it.

The United States government has violently repressed *txʷəłšucid* (Nagle et al., 2011). Relocation of separate communities, each with its own unique dialect (Hess, 1977; Smith, 1941), has continued that repression through lateral violence (Freire, 1970/2014). Loss of *txʷəłšucid* place names erases the Puyallups’ ancient relationships with those places (Smith, 2021). As Zahir puts it, “*čəxəp kʷi pəd yəxʷ kʷi č’əł č’əł’əp yəxʷ kʷi qʷu? yəxʷ kʷi č’əłč yəxʷ kʷi bək’w stab λ’ucəldalbəs... ?əbil’əxʷ čəxʷ gʷək’wəlad tił tusxudxud čəxʷə ?əshigʷəd tił tučəčs həlgʷə?.* / The dirt, rocks, fresh water, salt water, and all things that breath [*sic*] are sacred... If you study these words, then you honor their minds and thoughts” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. iii).

Though common knowledge of place names and locations is sparse, some does exist in literature produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though some are more recent (Miller, 2015). However, the researchers who produced this literature often held problematic beliefs about their research subjects and did not treat them with respect (Boas & Rohner, 1969; Gibbs & Carstensen, 1954; Gibbs & Miller, 2016; Smith, 1949; Work, n.d.). Therefore, any Puyallup person wishing to learn more about their Culture and Land is also confronted with an

onslaught of disparaging remarks about their Ancestors. (For a discussion about these problematic resources, see [About Us](#) section in the Resource Review.)

Leading with the ǰǰ

My mother, Roberta Basch tells a story from her childhood on the Puyallup rez⁵ in which my grandfather, Reuben Wright Sr. demonstrates a strong ǰǰ in the face of racism:

When I was a little kid, me and my brothers and sisters were riding in the car with my dad [Reuben Wright Sr.] through the valley. And it was during the springtime. And we all used to work out in the, in whatever was growing at that time. And as we were driving, dad said, “Oh, there he is. That, that racist guy there, that mean guy.” He said, “This is how you deal with these racist guy[s]. And the window was rolled up and we were driving by and that guy looked really mean. He looked in the car and dad smiled at him, and he waved and he said, “Hi there, you old fart!” with a big smile on him, kept driving down the road. So that's how you deal with racist people, or that’s how HE dealt with racist people. (personal communication, March 28, 2026)

We have a choice when someone extends their ǰǰ to us in a bad way. We can let those people injure our ǰǰ, furthering bad emotions that create bad actions. Our bad actions then extend not just our own bad ǰǰ, but the bad ǰǰ from the originator. For that matter, *that* person is probably reacting to someone else’s negative ǰǰ, thereby extending a cycle of *lǰduk^{wil}*, darkness, evil.

But we can also smile and wave. We can steel our ǰǰ against others’ and stop cycles of *lǰduk^{wil}*. Ending negative *ǰabǰǰǰǰbid* (extending the ǰǰ) ends bad *ǰǰtidg^{wasǰb}* (thinking) and

⁵ colloquialism for “reservation”

bad *səshuy* (action), which results in a visible, physical positive impact in the World.

My grandpa had been to jail many times. He committed the crime of being a Puyallup while fishing on the Puyallup River. He fished next to a black train trestle whose burning was immortalized in accounts of the Fishing Wars (Bennett Bill, 2025; Heffernan, 2015; Wilkinson, 2024). Even after all he had been through, he was jovial and beloved by all.⁶ His nickname was Smiley, and the spot where he landed his boats was called Smiley's Landing (T. Deming, Personal Communication, October 10, 2024).

We can answer the problematic *ǰǰ* of past colonial researchers and writers by extending our own *ǰǰ* in a good way. It is time to find a way for Puyallup people to rediscover their history without suffering the racist *ǰǰ* of the colonizer. “We should no longer need to plough through two hundred or more years of racist scholarship about Indigenous peoples to help inform our questions and shape our knowledge” (Smith, 2021, p. 203). One way to access this information is to analyze it using *ǰacitǰbix*^w *ǰǰ*, Native ways of knowing (Housman, 2015; Makua et al., 2019; Meyer, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2008, 2013). Continuing Smith's (2021) quote, “We can choose to know that literature from a different intellectual position and bring an Indigenous analysis to what it tells us” (p. 203). Leadership is about strengthening our collective *ǰǰ*.

Purpose of my Research

Why am I even undertaking this project? Why am I eschewing traditional, European⁷ ways of thought? Why am I taking community members out into the November drizzle and yelling at them over the noise of aftermarket mufflers?

⁶ Well, except for the Washington State game wardens, I suppose.

⁷ I hesitate to say “Western” because Europe is quite obviously East of the Puyallup River.

Strengthening Bonds

The bonds between a people and their place create a sense of belonging (Hernandez, 2022; Keene, 2018; Lee-Morgan, 2019; Meyer, 2001b, 2008; Pewewardy, 2003; Smith et al., 2018; Styres, 2019; Waterman et al., 2001). The entire community suffers when this belonging is destroyed (Cajete, 2015; Hernandez, 2022; Oster et al., 2014). While we cannot peel back the layers of concrete colonization and let the Land heal in the sun, we can restore some knowledge about our Land. It may create some grief (Hernandez, 2022) that some Puyallup People may not want to experience, but on the whole, it will positively benefit the Puyallup Community. Puyallup People will live and walk differently on their Land, knowing where their Ancestors' houses stood, the names those ancestors gave to those places, what the Land once looked like, and how the Ancestors hunted and gathered there.

Justice

Justice is when Puyallup Youths' *ǰǰ* is not poisoned by racist *ǰǰ* when they study themselves. Justice is when they call the Places where they live by the names their Ancestors used. Justice is when Puyallup Children can see the World informed by their Native *ǰǰ*, and not that of the invader. Justice is when our Traditional Narratives are acknowledged as powerful tools for understanding the World. Justice is when a Puyallup Child can choose for themselves whether to say "Hello" or "*ha?l slǰǰil*."⁸ Justice will be achieved when we do not have to sacrifice our Traditional ways of knowing and being to survive.

⁸ "Good day."

Chapter II

ʔəsk'wəlatəb sʰal — Literature Review

This body of work helped me discover three things: first, the incredible importance of Land to the Puyallup Community; second, that Place-Knowledge revitalization has much in common with Language revitalization; and third, that Puget Sound ways of knowing are complicated and well-developed, just as much as any philosophy proposed by European traditions (Peoples, 2021). Each section below contributes to these epiphanies in some way.

Organizing this diverse body of work was very difficult and defied my complete satisfaction. I begin with an exploration of the early literature about the Puyallup people, often written by settler-colonists. This is followed by a section that is also about the Puyallup people and related families, but written by more recent authors who are much more sensitive and respectful. I contrast this with a section that helped me to realize how and why Puyallup Land is so important. Following this is a section on Lushootseed, because, as *tsi siʔab tutaqʷšəblu*, the Language comes from the Land (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b). The academic sources are an unwieldy lot because they covered so many diverse topics, and, for this reason, they are subdivided into three subcategories, each of which contributed to my unfolding understanding of my community in various ways: the critical race theorists helped me to understand the systematic oppression my people continually struggle against and that revitalizing place-knowledge traditions will help us in that struggle. The methodologists helped me to find new and exiting ways to analyze my community and the world that it lives in which ultimately led me to creating my own methodology. Finally, the epistemologists—especially Meyer (Aluli-Meyer, 2019; Meyer, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2008, 2013, 2019)—who opened my eyes to the complex and well developed Puget Sound epistemology that I have been living my entire life without realizing it.

The final section contains works written by Puget Sound Native People about Puget Sound Native People for Puget Sound Native People. This is the body of work that I used to piece together my own epistemology, methodology, and worldview—my own *ǰǰ*.

The categories are not as separate as the formatting of this paper suggests. They intertwine and influence one another.

About Us

This section is a collection of literature about us, written by non-Native authors. The first section was written in previous centuries, often by settler-colonists; the second section was written more recently by more respectful authors.

Colonial Writers. This section demonstrates the need for Native or Native-informed research. All of these sources were written by settler-colonizers, and some were honest about their relationships and positionality. Several were actually quite respectful of their subjects. Nevertheless, they all demonstrate the need for the Puyallup people to document themselves using a Puyallup *ǰǰ*, and not a colonizer *ǰǰ*.

The earliest reference in this group to the people of the Southern Puget Sound comes from John Work, a fur trapper and explorer (Majors, 1975; Work, n.d.). His navigations and appellations are suspect, however. In a letter written on Monday, December 6th, 1824, he describes the Nisqually River, “which falls in from the E[ast] into a pretty large bay” (Work, n.d.), while, in fact, a cursory look at any map of the Puget Sound shows that the Nisqually River flows into the Sound from the South. Many authors, such as Majors (1975), conclude that his reference to the “Qualax River” is the Puyallup River, but this, too, is unsubstantiated, because

the *ḡax̄ł'*, *spiq^wulc*,⁹ and several mouths of the *puyaləp* river all flowed into Commencement Bay at that time (Majors, 1975; Smith, 1940; Waterman et al., 2001). Work holds judgmental, racist views; describing the Native people of the area, he says, “Nation consisting of six houses, these are miserable habitations constructed of poles covered with mats” (Work, n.d.).

Smith (1940) is the most comprehensive documentation of the Puyallup (and Nisqually) culture that presently exists. This work, while informative, also has problematic elements. In her introduction, she states, “Puyallup-Nisqually culture is gone” (1940, p. xi). Given that this book is a reference for many *puyaləpabš*, it is problematic that they are told that they and their culture do not exist every time they crack it open. Smith (1941) is less problematic but still written from the colonizer’s point of view. It is useful because it clearly demonstrates that there was a still a great diversity in the *tx^wəlšucid* language at the time of her study and that this is a likely source of linguistic lateral violence within the Puyallup Community today. (For a discussion of linguistic lateral violence, see the [tx^wəlšucid-Twulshootseed](#) section).

George Gibbs is another problematic yet useful author. On the one hand, he wrote the earliest dictionary of our language (Gibbs 1877/1970; Zahir & Gibbs, forthcoming), which documents certain features of our language while still early in its exposure to English. On the other hand, according to Wilkinson (2024), Gibbs was involved in the disastrous treaty negotiations that resulted in the Treaty War of 1855-1856 (Eckrom, 1989; Nagle et al., 2011) and the Fishing Wars of the 1970’s (Bennett Bill, 2025; Heffernan, 2015; Nagle et al., 2011; Wilkinson, 2024). His attitude towards Native people of the Puget is laid bare in his other works,

⁹ Hylebos and Wapato Creeks (Waterman et al., 2001)

such as Gibbs (1877/1978): “owing to the great number of small bands... the labor of treating with and disposing of the latter will be much the greatest” (p. 39). Comparing the Native people of the interior to those of the Puget Sound, Gibbs says, “[I]t would hardly be believed that the Flathead of the Rocky Mountains whose virtues approach him more nearly to the ideal savage of romance than any other upon the continent, was the kinsman, if not the progenitor of the Niskwalli [*sic*]” (Gibbs et al., 1877/1970, p. 163-164). Clearly, Gibbs is not the ideal person to have documented the language or culture of the “Puyallup-Niskwalli” (Gibbs 1877/1970).

Franz Boas (Boas & Rohner, 1969) was an unequivocal example of racism, paternalism, colonialism, and essentialization. Unfortunately, Boas was among the earliest and most influential ethnographers to visit the Pacific Northwest and helped establish a lineage of colonial researchers. His letters describe robbing graves and buying skulls (Boas & Rohner, 1969). In 1888, Boas describes the Natives of the Pacific Puget Sound in disparaging terms, while referring to the Kootenay as “the first real Indians that I have seen: red skin, eagle noses, the famous blanket, moccasins... with their hair hanging loose or braided, more than six feet long” (Boas & Rohner, 1969, p. 102) demonstrating his proclivity to rank Native people (see Risling Baldy, 2018). One of the very few useful things he says is that “the [C]hinook spoken here [Siletz, in modern-day Oregon] is very different from that in British Columbia, and therefore I experience difficulty in talking with them” (Boas & Rohner, 1969, p. 117). This is interesting because it challenges the common assumption that Chinuk Wawa “served as a regional lingua franca facilitating communication between speakers of different tribal languages...” (Chinuk Wawa Dictionary Project, 2012, p. 13).

Wickersham (1893) is an interesting figure. Unlike so many authors of his time, he had an admirable respect for the Native people of the Southern Puget Sound, yet demonstrated a

complete ignorance of their culture and language. At the opening of the work, which is a report of the proceedings of the Tacoma Academy of Sciences, he discusses a panel that he assembled of “prominent Indians representing the Puyallup, Nesqually [*sic*] and Klickitat tribes” (p. 5), which is a surprise, given that Native opinions and knowledge was rarely consulted, especially in formal, scientific contexts. This respect is tempered by the rest of the piece in which Wickersham shares correspondence with supposed experts in Native names for the mountain, who, in fact, are other European-Americans from the area.

Meeker (1905) is a very thought-provoking work. On the one hand, Ezra Meeker, the founder of the city of Puyallup, was the quintessential colonist. His purpose in life was colonization: “It was land we wanted whereby we might stake a claim, and not scenery to tickle our fancy” (Meeker, 1905, p. 58). His *šəč* was colonizer, through and through. And yet, he had some of the most touching and respectful attitudes toward the native people as well as a level of self-awareness and honesty that most writers of the time lacked:

We had been in the Indian country for nearly a year, but with guns by our sides if not in our hands for nearly half the time, while on the plains, but we had not stopped to study the Indian character. We took it for granted that the Indians were our enemies and watched them suspiciously accordingly, but here seemed to be a disposition manifested to be neighborly and helpful. (Meeker, 1905, p. 47)

Yet even with his ability to respect the *puyaləpabš*, he was hell-bent on destroying our land for his own benefit: “I did tackle a quarter section of that heaviest timber land, and never let up until the last tree, log, stump, and root disappeared...” (Meeker, 1905, p. 61). I realized while reading this book that settlers do not need “racial animus” (Pulido, 2015) in order to operate as agents of colonialism.

Haerberlin & Gunther (1930) is mainly Haerberlin's research, conducted in 1916 and 1917 and reprinted by Gunther. It is a survey of many cultures in the Puget Sound region, with only a few references to the Puyallup specifically.

The six articles by the missionary colonist Myron Eells (1887a, 1887b, 1889, 1890a, 1890b, 1892) offer a kaleidoscope of colonialism. Myron Eells was a missionary on the Skokomish reservation. The Skokomish Reservation is on Hood Canal, and whether Hood Canal is part of Puget Sound is debated. However, I consider Eells' writings relevant to my research given the close cultural ties between the *dx^wwadx^w* (Twana) people and the rest of the Lushootseed-speaking peoples. Also, branches of my tribe trace their roots back to the *dx^wwadx^w* people, alongside a large portion of today's *bəqəlšutabš* (Muckleshoot people).¹⁰ Bond (2016) critiques Myron Eells and provides insights into Eells' character and flaws. In stark contrast to Eells is Elmendorf (1993) about whom I will discuss in the [Puget sound ǰǰ](#) section.

Much like Elmendorf, Arthur Ballard (1927, 1929, 1935, 1950) is a figure who, for the most part, respected his Native research subjects enough to allow their ǰǰ to flow through him and to us unadulterated, with one exception. Ballard (1950), which is an exploration of calendric terminology, is problematic, saying, "the people of this region did not conceive of the division of the year... as do those of a more sophisticated culture" (p. 78). Characterizing Native Puget Sound calendric terminology as a symptom of lack of sophistication clearly demonstrates a judgmental, racist ǰǰ. I discuss his other, less problematic works, in the [Puget Sound ǰǰ](#) section.

¹⁰ I do not have citations for this statement because they are my family. To verify, we can go visit them together. It would be lots of fun.

Gunther 's (1945/1973) research is useless and perhaps dangerous. It is well known throughout the Native community in Western Washington that she was a very disagreeable person who needled her informants for their knowledge (Y. Peterson, personal communication, November 12, 2025). For this reason, Elders often fabricated information to satisfy her hunger. Some even deliberately fed her false information so that she would leave them alone.

The resources in this section are problematic on several levels. On the one hand, they contain the bulk of what the Puyallup people know about themselves today. Many “facts” found in their pages are considered “traditional knowledge” by today’s Puyallup People. On the other hand, they were recorded by European-American settlers who, intentionally or unintentionally, held colonial *ǰǰ* that influenced everything they wrote. We need to inform ourselves while recognizing these works for what they are: potentially flawed, biased accounts of a People who were suffering from the weight of colonialism and making tough decisions in order to survive.

About Us, But Recently. There is recent research about the Puget Sound Native people. These researchers are valuable because they have conducted in-depth research and gathered substantial information that can help current and future generations of *puyalǰpabš* better understand themselves. Most of these researchers, however, are non-Native and, though they have the best of intentions, conduct and share their research with a non-Native *ǰǰ*, which can and often does alter the history and *ǰǰ* of their research subjects.

Jay Miller is an intriguing figure, a pillar of the Lushootseed revitalization movement. After reading Smith’s (2021), Patel ’s (2015), Tuck ’s (2009) and other works that decry non-Native research on Native subjects, I was hesitant to approach his. For example, in one article (Hilbert & Miller , 2004), Miller writes that certain topics are taboo to Native people—“never said aloud” (p. 201)—then describes them in detail, breaking the very taboo he just described.

However, for this article, he collaborated with *tsi siʔab tutaqʷšəblu* (Vi Hilbert), a first-Language *dxʷləšucid* speaker and cultural authority. If she had not vetted his research and writing, she would not have allowed her name to be associated with this article. Miller shared that "Vi always set the parameters when we wrote, & she always wanted to be honest to show something of the culture to respect" (J. Miller, personal communication, January 13, 2026).

Similar is Miller (2015) which is about the "*sxəʔəbabš*" (p. 1) who lived at what is now Minter Bay, Washington, on Henderson Bay. On the one hand, Miller appears flippant about sacred matters making puns off of the community's s----t p----r with the name "chompions" (p. 1). However, this choice does not seem intentionally disparaging; to the contrary, Miller is attempting to honor this community, just in a way to which some may object. In addition, Miller (2015) delved into interviews recorded in journals with Jerry Meeker to document a very specific group of families who would later become parts of the Muckleshoot, Nisqually, and Puyallup tribes¹¹ to a degree not found in any other source.

Works like Reiter (Reiter, 1998a) and Schaefer (Schaefer, 2010; Schaefer, 2016) go into great detail about how the allotment system and the 1893 "Puyallup Act" (p. 14) affected the *puyaləpabš*. These two works delve into the legal history of the Puyallup Tribe as it relates to Land, and to the ways that the Tribe adapted as a culture to colonialism.

I have placed several seeming outliers at the end of this section. The first is *Jesintel* (Mapes et al., 2022), a collection of interviews with Elders from around Puget Sound. The second is Wilkinson (2024). It is an outlier because this book is not written in an academic

¹¹ I do not have a source for this assertion because these people are my relatives. To check the validity of this statement we can go visit them together. This would also be a fun trip.

way that ancient Native American village sites, midden sites, and forest gardens had a positive effect on biodiversity that is still detectable after centuries of human absence.

Place attachment provided several insights into the ways that Puyallup families and individuals form, or do not form, relationships with their Land (Brown et al., 2003; Hester, 1993; Low, 1992; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Pretty et al., 2003; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). These articles can be challenging, however, as they approach the topic from a very Western, academic perspective, which tends to downplay the affective and spiritual nature of Place.

Language

This collection is organized into two categories: those dealing with Lushootseed and those dealing with Language Revitalization. Reading this group of literature reaffirmed the need to use *txʷəłšucid* terminology for *txʷəłšucid* concepts and gave exemplars of how this could be done.

Caesar & McDevitte (1886) stand alone. These are Julius Caesar's field notes about his campaigns in Gaul in the first century BC. This work led me to consider whether words carry the baggage (*ǰǰ* in a pejorative sense) of the cultures that have used them throughout history (Hilbert & Hess, 1982; Rorick, 2019). I questioned whether I wanted to use technical terminology derived from Latin and Greek, because they carry an imperialist, genocidal European *ǰǰ* into my research.

Lushootseed. Really, there are two sections about Lushootseed, this one and [the Puget Sound ǰǰ section](#). The difference between them is more about the impact that they had on this research than their content. This section addresses more technical considerations, such as vocabulary, narrative style, and history. The later Language section impacted how I formulated

my worldview and methodology.

Ballard (1927, 1929) are minimally important in this category, but not worthless. The two collections of stories cited here contain only a handful of words in *txʷəlšucid*. Furthermore, Ballard's ear was not great, and he did not distinguish between several important *txʷəlšucid* morphemes, making his transliterations suspect. He does mention some important places and their histories, however. Ballard (1935) is valuable here because it shares extensive kinship terminology as well as describes a kinship system that is quite different than Western conceptions of these relationships.

Bierwert (1993) is a classic in the Lushootseed community with an extensive description of the Lushootseed Language and the governing principles of Lushootseed narrative style.

The Puyallup Tribal Language Program's two pedagogical volumes, a classroom reference guide (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019) and a collection of lesson plans for the classroom teacher (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2022), answer the need for Language revitalizationists to create their own, high-quality, self-informed materials (Platero, 2008).

Hayward et al. (2022) is a webpage by the Puyallup Tribal Language Program (PTLP) that presents biographical information about Ernest *šidut* Barr, a Snoqualmie Southern Lushootseed First-Language Speaker. Amber Hayward's report (Hayward & Zahir, n.d.) on the Cushman Indian Boarding school shares the harrowing history of that school from the perspective of its victims. This text is in *txʷəlšucid* and English.

Language Revitalization. A portion of my reading was centered on Language revitalization. I am somewhat familiar with the tenets of language revitalization in my capacity as a *txʷəlšucid* language teacher. One goal of Language revitalization in the Puyallup Tribal Language Program is to reestablish the natural transmission of language between parent and

child. This goal is closely aligned with my research—to reestablish the transmission of place knowledge (*sx̣əčiduput*) within my community, including *txʷəłšucid* names. For this reason, many methods used by language revitalizationists apply to my research. Language revitalization is also important to cultural revitalization because Language shapes the way a community thinks (Rorick, 2019).

Lastly, I realized quite late in my research that the values and tenets of Language revitalization align well with the long-term goals of my research. The primary source for these materials is the classic tome of language revitalization, Hinton & Hale (2008), an incredible resource relating to language and therefore cultural revitalization projects from around the world (Arnold, 2008; Ash, 2008; Hale, 2008; Hinton, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2008f; King, 2008; No'eau Warner, 2008; Pecos & Blum-Martinez, 2008; Platero, 2008; Wilson & Kamanā, 2008).

Academic Sources

This is an extremely diverse group of sources, and the divisions within and between them are artificial. In actuality, they work with one another and with resources in other categories quite closely. Often, a resource finds its place only by the narrowest definition or simply by how I use that source most, not by the bulk of its contents.

Critical Race Theorists and Decolonizers. A lot of keys have been struck describing the basic idea that colonialism is bad and respect for Native people is good. The authors in this section discuss many different topics in relation to colonialism but even more ideas and definitions of decolonialization. This body of works can be summed up with a quote from Kurt Vonnegut's *Timequake* (1998): "What is the white stuff in bird poop?... That is bird poop, too" (p. 127).

I begin this section with what I consider “the Big Three:” Grande (2015), Freire (1970/2014), and Tuck & Yang (2012).

Sandy Grande (2015) provides the most comprehensive description of colonialism in North America that I have come across. Grande describes the history that resulted in the destruction of our culture and sever our ties—our *huyisəbtag^{wil}*— with our Land. Continuing with the theme of a critical pedagogy, Freire (1970/2014) is a very enlightening work that describes various forms of oppression and techniques for resistance.

Tuck & Yang (2012) describe the overarching logic and nature of settler colonialism, as well as several maneuvers that settler colonizers make, which they call ‘moves to innocence,’ “which problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity” (p. 3).

Appropriation and homogenization are dangerous to Native thought (Weaver , 2001). Agrawal (2002) describes “scientisation” (p. 291), which strips the relevant context from Indigenous Knowledge so that it can be appropriated into mainstream Western thought. Bell (1976) writes about school desegregation issues following the Brown decision. This does not seem relevant to my research, but it demonstrates that schools are more than just a place; they are also a culture (pp. 514-515). Second, a minority group may not want to be put into mainstream “white” schools because their values and culture are different, which relates to Agrawal’s (2022) scientisation which homogenizes communities, Meyer’s (2003) use of hermeneutics, and to Hinton’s (2008a) concept of school culture.

Black (2012) demonstrates how Chief Seattle’s speech was co-opted and appropriated for neocolonial purposes. Pulido (2015) discusses appropriation as one of the processes of (supposed) white supremacy and privilege and the concept of “racial animus” (Pulido, 2015, p.

813). DuPré (2019) warns students to be aware of knowledge extraction and the fact that settlers are not just curious, but feel entitled to Native knowledge. Paired with DuPré (2019), King et al. (2019) made me question whether I wanted to share my research with academia at all, because a large portion of their article is devoted to appropriation. Breen (2019) explores the tension between appropriation and allyship. Flowers (2015) continues the exploration of allyship, though couched in a broader discussion about anger, rage, refusal, and possibly forgiveness toward non-Native people.

Closely related to fears of academic appropriation are the broader set of challenges that Native students face in academia. I consider the following sources to be a set of guides for how to navigate my academic life. Eve Tuck (2009) writes a letter that argues that damage-centered research harms disenfranchised communities. Her discussions of knowledge extraction and tokenization are the issues that affect me most directly. Fine et al. (2008) discusses the tension between a study's local interests versus the academic need for its generalizability.

Yosso (2005) is an intriguing article that redefines what 'wealth' actually means: there are different forms of cultural wealth besides the mainstream, white, settler forms.

Sankofa Waters (2024) is primarily focused on Black Feminism and African-American issues, but still has a lot of relevant information, especially regarding urban culture and education, since the Puyallup Tribe lives in an urban environment.

McCarty et al. (2014) explain why Critically Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy is important and give case examples. Oster et al. (2014) conducted a study linking cultural continuity to lower incidence of diabetes in Indigenous communities in Alberta, Canada. They defined cultural continuity as taking part in cultural activities and speaking Indigenous Languages.

Some authors dealt with issues of language in academia and these works led me to my decision to use *txʷəłšucid* words (Anzaldúa, 2007; Martinez, 2013; Younging, 2018) for *txʷəłšucid* concepts (hooks, 1991; Rorick, 2019) in order to deploy an outsider, “wide angle advantage” (Dunbar, 2008, p. 86) to analyze relationships between People, Culture, and Place.

The Methodologists. There are several lines of thought regarding methodology. Rather than contrasting, these lines intersect and intertwine. Instead of thinking of the sections below as categories, it would be more accurate to visualize them as foci of groups, whose edges overlap.

The Story Makers. This group consists of a huge number of texts that deal with how to build a methodology around traditional narratives.

Archibald (2008) started a trend of using story, or “storywork” (title) as a methodology. Archibald takes Kirkness & Bernhardt’s (1991) “four R’s—respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility” (Archibald, 2008, p. 1)—and expands them to “the seven storywork principles” (p. 33) of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. Archibald’s storywork methodology has been expanded and explored by many writers, many of whom contributed to my methodology (Archibald et al; 2019a; Archibald et al.; 2019b; Archibald & Parent, 2019; Behrendt, 2019; Besaw, 2022; Cavino, 2019; Christian; 2019; Davidson, 2019; Martin & Williams, 2019). Some authors transferred Archibald’s Native North American storywork concept to a Māori context (Archibald et al., 2019b; Jones, 2019; Lee-Morgan, 2019; Pihama et al., 2019; Seed-Pihama, 2019).

Some authors use story telling in other Native North American (Begay, 2002; Davidson, 2018; Deschutes Public Library, 2022; Healy Akearok & Sallaffie, 2019; Penak, 2019; Wilson, 2008) or Polynesian contexts (Makua et al., 2019) in a way that seems more independent of Archibald (2008). McFarland’s (2013) dissertation was especially interesting because she

organized her literature review around stories. Furthermore, McFarland is a respected Puyallup Tribal member.

All of this study of Native Storytelling tradition contrasts with my own understanding of Western Renaissance humanist rhetoric, which I studied as a student of early music (Susenbrotus & Brennan, 1541/1953; Mather & Karns, 1987; Tarling; 2005).

The Metaphor Makers. Some authors structured their methodologies around making metaphors. I explored the possibility of using metaphor in this research project, but decided to avoid using it on a large scale. I have come to realize that it is related to storytelling, though not an exact parallel.

Absolon (2022) is the premier metaphor builder, as her book is a dense confusion of metaphors. A few of her ideas are useful, especially those about Language and the academic priority of literature. Davidson (2018) was mentioned above regarding story. However, the bulk of the article deals with using the Diné hogan as a metaphor for “womb-based knowledge” (p. 44) or “womb-based Inquiry” (p. 45).

Native/Nature Informed Methodologies. This section brought me closer to my Puget Sound ̓̓ methodology.

Many books and articles described research methodologies or pedagogies that are specifically designed for Native people, and each one of these helped me to understand how and why my research could impact the Puyallup community. Wilson’s works (2001, 2008) need to come first. Wilson (2001) provides clear, concise definitions of an Indigenous research methodology. Wilson (2008) expands upon Wilson (2001) in content as well as rhetorical devices. Cajete (2015) describes how to create a Native-informed pedagogy.

Denzin & Lincoln (2008) discuss Critical Indigenous Pedagogy. Jacob (2013) gives

examples of methodologies of building decolonizing pedagogical practice within dance/movement revitalization, Language revitalization, and traditional food revitalization. Kovach (Indian Education, 2018) discusses many topics, including the elements necessary to claim Indigenous Methodology. Fast & Kovach (2019) talk about the role of the community in research methodology and the interplay of individual identity. Munson & San Pedro (2019) argue for tribally specific research methodologies. Quinless (2022) describes research methods specific to Native communities. Anderson & Meshake (2019) is based on kinship as research methodology” though it is mainly about reconciliation.

Grounded Theory is not an Indigenous methodology, but its precepts and processes are very amenable to my own axiology and worldview. (Charmaz, 1996, 2014; Creswell, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The epistemologists. I found some authors important because they helped me explore my own epistemology, which I define elsewhere in *txʷəłšucid* terminology as my *ǰəč*.

North American Native Epistemology. There is a wide variety of Native North American epistemological sources that influenced my research in some way.

Absolon (2022), Deloria (2003), and Deloria & Wildcat (2001) all describe various aspects of Native epistemology and helped me to analyze my own epistemology and worldview. Hardison -Stevens (2023) does not use the word ‘epistemology,’ but describes the epistemic practice of centering the Land in Native thought and ontology. Though not Native North American, Desai (2016) uses Native Philippine epistemology to create a ‘kapwa’ pedagogy for healing colonial trauma. Kincheloe & Steinberg (2008) was the concept of “multilogicality,” the idea that Native epistemologies can be used alongside Western ones. Jacob & Johnson (2020) gives a wide survey of different topics, some of which are related to epistemology. Price (2023)

discusses the way that Native Americans gain resiliency using “cultural knowledge and practice” (p. 2) which I interpret as epistemology/ḡǎč. Shirley & Angulo (2019) discuss how they implemented Diné epistemology as praxis in some educational projects, which is refreshing amongst so much theory. Swadener & Mutua (2008) prompted me to analyze my own Pacific Northwest ḡǎč.

Zamora Corona (2022) is another interesting case in that the author does not directly discuss Native epistemology but rather one manifestation of it in literacy.

brown (2017) does not position themselves as Native and does not claim that their methodology is Native-informed, yet it complements the primacy of observing and emulating Nature in the Pacific Northwest ḡǎč.

Kimmerer (2000, 2002, 2013, 2014) are interesting cases because her works are *examples* of how Native epistemologies can be practiced rather than *explained*. This resonated with the Native pedagogical practices I am familiar with. Kimmerer bundles together Place and Storytelling into an epistemology and that is how they were most impactful in the context of my research.

Similarly, Montgomery (2023) is a collection Native authors who present Native ways of knowing Academia (Bill-Gerrish, 2023; Bill & Bill-Gerrish, 2023; Hardison-Stevens, 2023). This collection challenges common assumption that there is a divide between Native Culture and Academic Culture.

Polynesian Epistemology. The Polynesian epistemologists were the ones who caused me to analyze what I had been reading since childhood in a new way.

Meyer (2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2008, 2013) changed everything for me. Manulani Aluli

Meyer gave me color vision when I had been reading and listening in black and white.¹² Meyer articulates her interpretations of Hawaiian epistemology clearly and concisely, undecorated with metaphor and unencumbered with personal reflection or stories. Many of her ideas are directly relatable to Puget Sound ʻāc, and contrasting features were still helpful because they helped me elucidate my own interpretations of ʻāc theory.

Meyer also had collaborations and followers, such as Makua et al. (2019) and (Garcia et al., 2019). Depending on the resource, this Meyer-centered group articulates three (Meyer, 2003, 2008, 2013), five (Makua et al., 2019), or seven (Garcia et al., 2019; Meyer, 2001a, 2008) epistemological precepts. Meyer (2003) is different from other resources in that it deals with hermeneutics and uses hermeneutics to define what success for Native Hawaiian education looks like. (This reminded me of Bell [1976] in the “[Critical Race Theorists](#)” section). This technique helped me to see the strengths within the Puyallup community (along with Yosso [2005]).

Other Polynesian writers who were only loosely or not overtly linked with Meyer also contributed to the formation of my methodology (Housman, 2015; Smith, 2021; Wright, 2018).

Puget Sound ʻāc

This is the section that formed my worldview and formulated my research paradigm. This section is organized by how relevant the sources are to the worldview and research paradigm, beginning with the most general and moving successively to the most relevant.

Layer 1. The interesting thing is that these resources had been available to me for years; some of them I read or heard when I was a small child.¹³

¹² I know, I said I would avoid metaphors. Sorry.

¹³ I was born quite young.

Although Arthur Ballard (1927, 1929, 1935, 1950) was a settler in the Auburn, WA, area, many of the ancestors' *ǰǰ* flowed through him because of his own (mostly) respectful *ǰǰ*. For a discussion of his more problematic work (Ballard, 1950), see [Colonial Writers section](#).

Elmendorf (1993) contains direct quotations from my great-great-grandfather, Henry Allen, and his brother, Frank Allen, and information about some more distant ancestors gathered in his fieldwork between 1934 and 1940. In one *syacəb*, Frank discusses an interaction between my great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, *sústǰ*, and my great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, *xʷixʷ(ə)ǰ' dís*, from the *sǰʷuǰ'əbabš*.¹⁴ Relevant to my research, however, are the comments that Frank Allen makes about Myron Eells: “Myron Eells was the missionary here. People did not like him very well” (Elmendorf, 1993, p. 5). Frank Allen also reports that when Eells was attempting to collect Klallam words, the Klallam people would feed him profanities instead. This relates to the questionable *sǰʷiʔab* that Eells (1890a, 1890b) shares because it demonstrates that the Native people were accustomed to feeding white researchers false information. (See Bond [2016] for a critique of Myron Eells.)

Similar to Ballard and Elmendorf was John Paul Marr, who recorded Nisqually elders George and Andrew Sanders. In 2020, Zalmay *ʔəswəli* Zahir transcribed and translated the four recordings, and it is this document (Zahir et al., 2020a) that I studied. George Sanders was also an informant in the dictionary for the Upper Chehalis language (Kincade, 1991) demonstrating his linguistic brilliance. The content of the stories contributed to my *huyisəbtagʷil* theory (see [Worldview section, Chapter IV](#)).

¹⁴ Elmendorf had a very good ear and used very sophisticated orthography; however, I have regularized his orthography to the one adopted by the Puyallup Tribal Language Department for ease of reading.

Warren Snyder (1968) was another respectful researcher who collected stories from around the Puget Sound. Many of the stories told by his informant, *siʔab tu* Jerry Kanim, helped me to discover the *gʷədʷadad* that I describe in my worldview section.

Harriet Turner (1976) was a non-Native researcher, but I include her here for the same reason that I included Arthur Ballard (1927, 1929, 1935, 1950) and Snyder (1968): She respected the Elders with whom she worked, and their *ǰǰ* could flow through time to us.

Dawn Bates was the principal editor of the Dictionary of Lushootseed (Bates et al., 1994), to which *taqʷšəblu* contributed substantially. Similar to the Lushootseed dictionary is the Sahaptin Dictionary (Beavert et al., 2009). Virginia Beavert, a Yakama Elder, was the primary contributor and editor of this work, and her deep knowledge of Native protocols and culture is evident. While most people today think of *Ichishkiin sínwit* as an Eastern Washington language, it was a very common language in the Southern Puget Sound, at least shortly after contact with Europeans (Gibbs et al., 1970; Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930; Smith, 1940). Virginia was a beloved pedagogue and revitalizationist whose recent passing is still painful for people on both sides of the mountains. This work demonstrated how powerful, culturally sensitive, scholarly work can impact Native people seeking to reconnect with their Language and Culture.

Thom Hess. Thom Hess (1973, 1976, 1977, 1993) was an amazing linguist and person. Hess used his keen structuralist intellect to document and theorize about our Language, giving Lushootseed speakers today a wealth of insightful resources.

Vi taqʷšəblu Hilbert. Vi *taqʷšəblu* Hilbert, or *taqʷšəblu*, was an Upper Skagit Elder who devoted her life to revitalizing Lushootseed. She respected Native Elders and followed Native Puget Sound Protocol in listening to the *ǰǰ* of her Elders because she grew up immersed in the culture. Vi is responsible for the birth of the Lushootseed vitalization movement, and it is no

exaggeration to suggest that all Lushootseed speakers today are only possible because of her.

Hilbert (1985) is a collection of *sx̣ʷiʔab*, mainly from the Northern Puget Sound. These narratives document Puget Sound culture in general and narrative practice specifically. *taqʷšəblu* was also a gifted storyteller, and her *syəcəb* “Lifting the Sky” (yəhaw’ collective, 2019) demonstrates the collectivist, cooperative value system of Puget Sound Native Culture. The video is also nuanced, however, in that the story is told as part of a *Revels*¹⁵ performance, which raises questions about why *taqʷšəblu* would share such a story in a nontraditional setting.

Vi Hilbert Collaborations. Hilbert and Bierwert (1980) is an early collaboration, with half of this work a text in Lushootseed and English about a selection of longhouse scenes by Vi Hilbert, and the second half a sketch of the Lushootseed language by Bierwert.

Vi *taqʷšəblu* Hilbert and Thom Hess collaborated and changed the world. Lushootseed exists today thanks to their synergy. This duo began classes at the University of Washington (Hilbert & Hess, 1982) and created Lushootseed textbooks (Hess & Hilbert, 1976a, 1976b) changed the trajectory of Native scholarship in the Puget Sound. There are children born in 2026 (the year of this dissertation’s publication) who will grow up in bilingual environments because of these books and their authors. This is the type of hybrid scholarship to which Native people can aspire.

taqʷšəblu collaborated with non-Native scholars to translate and produce collections of narratives told by Puget Sound Native, first language speakers such as *siastənu* (Shelton, 1995) and *gʷəqʷulc’əʔ* (gʷəqʷulc’əʔ & Peter, 1995).

¹⁵ From the nonprofit Puget Sound Revels (n.d.) website: “Revels, Inc. was founded in 1971 by John Langstaff to enliven the community through traditional dance, music, drama and poetry. All his life he believed we need art that connects us to each other.”

Zalmai ʔaswəli Zahir. Nearer the end of her life, *taqʷšəblu* collaborated with her student and the Puyallup Tribal Language Program's current language consultant, Zalmai ʔaswəli Zahir, to produce the *Grandmother Video Project* (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003a, 2003b). This collection is the bedrock for my own worldview (Worldview section) and the methodology of this research project (Methodology section).

Mentioned above, Zalmai ʔaswəli Zahir was *taqʷšəblu*'s student. He collaborated with *taqʷšəblu* on an analysis of T. T. Waterman's unpublished manuscript about Puget Sound place names (Waterman et al., 2001). This is an exemplar of the type of reframing that needs to be done to so many other colonial sources about the Southern Puget Sound People.

Zahir's doctoral thesis (Zahir, 2018a) continues the trend of joining Western academia with Native ways of knowing and valuing. There are several outstanding theses in Zahir's work. Zahir listened for the Elders' ǰǰ, and built his ideas upon their voices.

Zahir's scholarship continues *taqʷšəblu*'s ability to join Native Puget Sound ǰǰ with Western academia in a way that allows Native people to recover their Language, History and (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003a, 2003b; Waterman et al., 2001; Zahir, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2022b, 2025; Zahir & Gibbs, forthcoming; Zahir et al., 2020a). I hope to emulate Zahir's ability to draw on Native worldviews to contribute to academic discourse and to inform Native communities through Native values.

Relevant Projects

Several projects have contributed to this research project, some of which I participated in, such as Canoe Journey, and some that I had studied from afar.

Wayne Buchanan's Tours of Muckleshoot Land

Muckleshoot scholar Wayne Buchanan inspired the idea for a Puyallup site tour. Wayne

brings Muckleshoot tribal members to their historic and sacred village sites in the Spring and Summer, though Wayne restricts his participants due to the cultural sensitivity of the areas (W. Buchanan, personal communication, December 11, 2024).

Canoe Journey

Canoe Journey is a revival of ancient canoe practices from the Pacific Northwest. Each year, a tribe hosts over one hundred canoes from all around the Puget Sound, Canada, Alaska, Oregon, and even farther places, such as Taiwan and Polynesia. I am a member of the *swaq'wsəb* (Lightning) canoe family, based out of Puyallup. Due to its cultural nature and foundation outside of Western academia, this knowledge is gained through participation in the event and cannot be verified through usual academic citations.¹⁶ I organized my *k'watalik'w syayayə?* research family, around the concept of a canoe family.

Puyallup Tribal Language Program

I have mentioned above that I am a teacher for the Puyallup Tribal Language Program (PTLP). The PTLP has brought me into intimate contact with most of the recordings and printed works in the [Puget Sound ǰǰ](#) section of my resource review. However, the PTLP has also caused me to appreciate the importance of Puyallup Land/Place since we are often called upon to provide information about traditional places and place names.

Local Resources

I interact with many local entities on a weekly and sometimes daily basis. All of these contribute in some way to this research.

¹⁶ If you would like to verify these claims, we can attend the event together. You will have lots of fun.

Puyallup Tribal Departments

The Puyallup Tribe of Indians is very generous and forward-thinking when it comes to cultural activities. The tribe provides generous funding for the Puyallup Tribal Language Department, mentioned above, as well as other projects. Recently, the tribe has invested in building a community longhouse, which will hopefully become a cultural hub (Sabzalian et al., 2020). The PTLP often works alongside the Puyallup Tribe's Historic Preservation Department to bring awareness to the importance of Puyallup Land.

Historic Preservation Department. The Puyallup Tribe's Historic Preservation Department (HPD) is an authority in the Puyallup Tribe on Place names and history. The department's director, Brandon Reynon, often conducts site tours of important Puyallup sites. This department is also involved in creating signage rubric for the City of Tacoma and other local municipal entities. Brandon adds that, "The HPD is a US Govt recognized Tribal Historic Preservation Office, and recognizes Brandon Reynon as the Tribe Historic Preservation Officer. This designation gives the Department a distinct authority over the cultural resources, protections, history, and placenames for the PTOI" (B. Reynon, personal communication, December 30, 2025).

Culture. The Puyallup Tribe's culture department is primarily focused on Puyallup cultural representation through song, dance, ceremony, crafting regalia, food traditions, and gathering. However, song and dance sanctify (for lack of a better word) the spaces in which they take place. So, an otherwise unremarkable location may become a site of cultural importance after years of ceremony, accompanied by song, dance, and donning regalia (see [Childhood Connection to Timescapes](#) in the Results section). These seemingly unrelated activities honor ancient spaces and create new sacred spaces for future generations. The culture department also

honors our ancient *huyisəbtag^{wil}* when they gather in our usual and accustomed places.

Sustainability. The Puyallup Tribe’s sustainability department also actively strengthens the bonds between the Puyallup Community and their Land by sponsoring and performing land cleanup, restorations, and educational activities. While they do not routinely incorporate *tx^wəlšucid*, history, or overtly cultural aspects into their activities, they do actively support and invite specialists in these areas to participate.

City of Tacoma

The City of Tacoma has taken several important steps to recognize that the land they occupy is Puyallup Land, and I only mention a few here. Along the Thea Foss Waterway, for example, there is some signage that recognizes the Puyallup historical and contemporary presence on the Waterway. Melanie Jan LaPlant Dressel Park, in the same area of the city, features Puyallup basket patterns provided by Puyallup Elder Sharron Nelson and her daughter, Denise Reed (Parks Tacoma, 2026). Several sidewalks throughout Tacoma feature artwork and *tx^wəlšucid* phrases by Puyallup Tribal member Christopher Duenas. While Chris’ brothers, Anthony and Daniel Duenas, have art featured around the city. Bringing *tx^wəlšucid* to the reservation, “The Puyallup Tribal Language Program, in collaboration with the Puyallup Tribe Planning Department and the City of Tacoma, unveiled 176 new Lushootseed street signs in late July[, 2025]. The names were taken from the Lushootseed Creation History, *duk^wibəl*” (Rohwer, 2025). All of these projects reestablish and reaffirm the *puyaləpabš* connection to their ancient lands in modern landscape.

Washington State Department of Transportation

The Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT) has taken many steps to include the Puyallup Tribe, specifically the PTLP and HPD, in the development of the Tacoma to

Puyallup Regional Trail (Washington State Department of Transportation, 2026). When completed, the trail will traverse the Puyallup River Valley, from the Thea Foss Waterway, into Fife, then travel upstream to the City of Puyallup, totaling 12 miles. The two Puyallup departments have contributed substantially to the content and design of signage along the trail's route.

Conclusion

A lot of work has been done to both separate the Puyallup People from their Land, and to reconnect severed ties. However, due to the effects of settler colonialism, even the most well-meaning of these efforts are guided by a non-Native *ǰǰ*. The effect of this is that the non-Native *ǰǰ* continues to spread through Puyallup Land and Community. My project, hopefully, builds upon the good intentions of the resources that I discussed in this chapter and contributes to my own understanding of a *puyaləpabš ǰǰ*.

Although my research project focuses on the *puyaləpabš*, *ǰǰ* theory, and other precepts of Puget Sound ways of knowing and existing they apply to communities and situations worldwide. After all, these ideas formed the basis of survival practices that enabled people to thrive for approximately 13,000 years in the Pacific Northwest without depleting or poisoning their Natural environment and to withstand the onslaught of colonialism (Ames, 2003).

Chapter III

This chapter is all about who is involved in this study: the research family and the interlocking communities of which they are a part.

k'wəłalik^w syayayə? – Research Family

My experience in the *swaq 'wsəb q'ilbid syayayə?*, the Lightning Canoe Family, and with the Pacific Northwest canoe culture inspired the way that I chose and organized my research family. As the captain of the *swaq 'wsəb* family, I facilitate communications and logistics, while all decision-making is done as a group. Sometimes these group discussions include all or as many members as possible, while other times there may be a focus group for pragmatic reasons. The only members who have any right to dictate decisions or tasks are Elders on Land and the skipper on the Water. I attempted to emulate this in my study, and it had advantages and drawbacks, the specifics of which I will discuss in [Chapter IV](#).

I was advised to choose a family of not less than ten members. I approached 14 individuals, with two nonresponsive. The remaining twelve responded enthusiastically and have continued with all phases of the research. I chose based on the following criteria:

1. The family members lived, worked, commuted, or otherwise spent time in the geographical area in which the tour took place, though not necessarily at the specific locations themselves.
2. The family members have lived in the area for enough time to gain some familiarity with the area in which the tours took place and at least a passing familiarity with the Puyallup people.

3. The family members had an affable, agreeable disposition that would “vibe”¹⁷ well with other family members.
4. The family members must be over 18, able to travel by automobile, and communicate in English.

Demographics

The twelve *k’watalik’w syayayə?* were highly diverse, as shown in Table 1. The ages range from 25 to 77. Nine members are Native American/Alaskan Native, and seven of those are enrolled Puyallup Tribal members. The ages in Table 1 are their ages at the time of the site tour. The self-declared ethnicity is given verbatim, thus categories like “European-American,” “white,” and “Caucasian” are not combined. Not all members are enrolled members of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians, though all are members of the Puyallup Community, about which I say more in the [next section](#).

Table 1

k’watalik’w syayayə? demographics

Family Members’ Initials	Age	Gender	Self-declared ethnicity	Puyallup Tribal Member?
1. 626	77	M	“Clatsop-Nehalem/Siletz, Puyallup Tribal Community”	No
2. 562	70	F	“Native American”	Yes

¹⁷ This colloquialism refers to a difficult-to-define quality that includes sociability and a predisposition toward group interaction and cohesion; qualities required in a canoe family participant.

3. 165	64	F	“Euro-American, German, and Irish”	No
4. 756	51	F	“Mixed”	Yes
5. 321	45	F	“Puyallup, Salish, Black”	Yes
6. 743	42	M	“Alaskan Native, White”	No
7. 247	39	F	“Native/Filipino/White”	Yes
8. 252	37	M	“Puyallup”	Yes
9. 213	37	M	“Native American”	Yes
10. 495	43	F	“White”	No
11. 617	27	F	“Native American”	Yes
12. 263	25	F	“Caucasian, Scottish, and Louisiana French”	No

puyaləpabš syayəʔ/ʔiišəd – Puyallup Community

This group reflects a selection of people whom I consider members of the Puyallup Community, and some of those are members of the Puyallup Tribe. The group includes European American community members and Puyallup members, because all people who live on or spend time on Puyallup Land have relationships with that Land. The point of the research was to observe the way that the *xəč* flows between the Land and **all** members of the Puyallup Community.

puyaləpabš – Puyallup Tribe

The unqualified term ‘*puyaləpabš*’ refers to the Puyallup Tribe of Indians (PTOI), the federally recognized Native American Tribe described in [Chapter I](#). Seven out of the twelve, 58.3%, research family members are PTOI members. The ethnographic component of this study

focuses on the Culture, History, and Language of the PTOI.

gʷəl talə – Economic Base

Today's PTOI relies heavily on casino revenue from the Emerald Queen casinos (Douglas, 2016), though their economic activities include a "marina, golf course, convenience stores, cannabis stores, and much more" (Puyallup Tribe, 2026b). The "much more" includes hotels, investment in an Amazon sorting center, the opening of the BetMGM @ EQC sportsbook, and partnerships between the tribe and Kenmore Air and the famed chef Roy Yamaguchi (Puyallup Tribe, 2026b). The Tribe has recently built a new, beautiful, and modern administration (Puyallup Tribe, 2026b) on a site that holds significant importance to the Tribe (Bennett Bill, 2025; Nagle et al., 2011; Waterman et al., 2001).

The tribe also began Tahoma Global Logistics (note the non-*txʷəlšucid* name for the Sacred Mountain), purchased a local candy company which is now called Puyallup Chocolates, and entered into a "host city supporter agreement with the Seattle 26 for the upcoming World Cup"¹⁸ (Puyallup Tribe, 2026b). The tribe has christened a seaplane terminal on Commencement Bay in partnership with Kenmore Air (Puyallup Tribe, 2026b).

Community Impact

The tribe shares its economic success with the *puyaləpabš* and the larger community. "Charity Trust Board donations are funded from Emerald Queen Casino revenue as part of an agreement with the state of Washington..." (Puyallup Tribe, 2026c). In 2022, for example, "the Tribe donated more than \$2 million to over 100 qualified organizations..." (Puyallup Tribe,

¹⁸ For legal reasons, neither the Tribe nor I are allowed to state the name of the specific football federation behind the World Cup.

2026c).

The economic benefits of the above support many efforts to protect our distinctive cultural aspects. The Tribe, for example, is planning a permanent museum to be administered by the Tribe's Historic Preservation Department (Puyallup Tribe, 2026d). The business revenues also fund the Puyallup Tribal Language Program, of which I am an employee. This department is committed to revitalizing *txʷəlšucid*, the traditional Language of the Puyallup Tribe (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2026).

The Puyallup Tribe continues its traditional relationships, *huyisəbtagʷil*, with the environment, though modified by European values. A sentence from the Environmental Protection section of the Puyallup Tribe Impact page reads, "The Puyallup Tribe has protected lands and waters since time immemorial" (Puyallup Tribe, 2026c), which is beautiful and runs counter to extractive settler-colonial attitudes toward the natural environment (see Meeker, 1903). However, the sentence does demonstrate that many of today's *puyaləpabš* assume a distinction between them and the Natural Environment, even while respecting and protecting it. I chose to reflect my worldview by grouping the natural environment with the human community in a single section.

The Tribe has taken a somewhat activist stance against "Tacoma LNG, Electron Hydro, and other threats to the health and well-being of the people and species that call the land and waters home" (Puyallup Tribe, 2026c). Nevertheless, the Tribe is caught up in the neoliberal dilemma of needing to develop economically to support itself and benefit its *puyaləpabš* membership while attempting to honor its ancient obligations to the environment.

ʔalalus – Culture

'Culture' is a word laden with meanings and expectations. I am not qualified to describe

the broad and diverse set of beliefs and practices present in the Puyallup Tribal Community, either diachronically or synchronically. Therefore, I restrict this discussion to examples of how certain distinctive cultural aspects of the *puyaləpabš* influenced my research. I use ‘distinctive’ to mean distinctive from the mainstream Western society that surrounds the Puyallup Tribe of Indians. It includes my own observations as well as those from my *k’wətalik’w syayayə?*

hig’alik’w ?ə tiit sləluλ’təd – Elder Veneration

Elder Veneration is one distinctive *puyaləpabš* cultural trait that affected my research. According to some, a certain amount of respect is given to the elderly in mainstream society,¹⁹ but the Puget Sound Native community manifests this value in observable practices that go far beyond mainstream belief and practice.

During the site tour on November 16, 2025, only a small number of people shared information on-site. Research family members 626 and 562 each spoke at site 1, site 2, and site 3. Members 626 and 562 are community Elders at ages 77 and 70, respectively. These Elders often speak at community events. A few others also spoke, but not many. During the follow-up conversation on December 26th, 2025, member 252 expressed that he, at 37, was not qualified to share his views in the same context as the Elders 626 and 562. In effect, when the Elders spoke, they elevated the event to an almost ceremonial context to such a degree that at least one non-Elder did not feel comfortable speaking. He reports that he saved his comments for the car rides between the sites with 213 (aged 37) and 247 (aged 39), which, unfortunately, were not recorded. This was an effect that I did not anticipate, and it negatively affected my research by decreasing

¹⁹ With the benefit of the “wide angle advantage” (Dunbar, 2008), I question whether respect for the elderly is truly a mainstream Western cultural trait. Observed practices suggest otherwise.

the opportunity for members to share their *ǰǰ* in the recorded group setting.

Elder veneration is a form of social obligation, which leads to the next distinctive cultural characteristic of the Puget Sound *ǰǰ*.

Rights versus Obligations

I often hear Puyallup Tribal members, including the council members, talk about our treaty rights. However, I believe this is due to our ongoing need to protect our ancient ways against ongoing settler colonialism. Our traditional stories and practices, however, suggest that obligations were and are more important to the Puget Sound *ǰǰ*.

The first salmon ceremony, as described by *taq^wšǰblu* Vi Hilbert (Hilbert & Bierwert, 1980), for example, is not an assertion of our right to harvest salmon, but an event meant to honor ancient obligations which result in the ongoing and hopefully everlasting relationship (*huyisǰbtǰwil*) between humans and salmon. *taq^wšǰblu* phrases it thus: “*ǰ’uǰabaǰ ǰǰ čǰ... dx^wǰal tiǰǰ? sǰuladx^w ǰal k^{wi} ǰ’usq’ils ǰal k^{wi} pǰ(d)dǰǰtg^wad šuk^walb / We... extend our appreciation for the salmon when they first arrive in the month of June” (pp. 14, 15).*

This distinctive cultural trait manifested during the site tours and in the follow-up discussions, when several participants expressed the need to honor the sites and the ancestors who lived there. I will speak more about this in [Chapter IV](#) while discussing results.

Summary

My research family is a cross-section of the Puyallup Community: Puyallup Tribal Members, Native Americans from other tribes, European Americans, and African Americans. The age range spans from 25 to 77. Rather than labeling this group a ‘research group,’ I considered this group to be a *k^wǰalik^w syǰǰǰǰǰ?*, a research family. I organized it according to the principles of a Pacific Northwest Canoe family, as I have come to understand them through

my participation in Tribal Canoe Journeys.

Chapter IV

Worldview

In order to understand the methodology of this study, the reader must understand the worldview that created it (Absolon, 2022; Creswell, 2007; Cross et al., 2019; Hart, 2010; Rorick, 2019).

I have already shared a lot of my worldview in the [first chapter](#) of this work. This chapter presents more aspects of that worldview, this time within the context of my methodology. Some of these Native concepts do not come to me naturally; I must often consider them and how they apply to a question or situation only after my colonized mind has already analyzed it. More often than not, applying the Native analytical concepts described below provides additional understanding that Western thought alone could not provide (Dunbar, 2008).

ǰǰ

This discussion focuses on how the *ǰǰ* operates in my research. As shown in the [About Us section of the Literature Review](#), non-Native writers continue to impose their Western *ǰǰ* upon the *puyaləpabš*, long after their deaths. The writers described in the [About Us, But Recently](#) section are generally more sensitive and respectful; however, they still operate with a Western *ǰǰ* and, even with the best intentions, they extend that Western *ǰǰ* to the *puyaləpabš* today.

Much of the literature in the [Academic sources](#) section encourages the Native scholar to explore, understand, and implement their own Native ways of researching and knowing (*ǰǰ*). While the [Puget Sound ǰǰ section](#) provided many teachings about the *ǰǰ* that directed this research.

First and foremost is the understanding that what is usually called ‘data’ collected from

my ‘research participants’ is, in fact, their *ǰǰ*. Second, their *ǰǰ* must not be adulterated as so many [colonial researchers](#) have done, but respected and transmitted as faithfully as possible in the manner of Ballard (1927, 1929, 1935). Grounded Theory, specifically as described by Charmaz (1996, 2014) and Creswell (2007), allows for this, and is discussed more fully in the [c’ǰǰid/brain section of the Methodology](#).

Third, it must be understood that no one’s *ǰǰ* originates solely from them. Instead, every person, place, and thing is the conduit for countless other *ǰǰ* which constantly interact and intersect. So, when listening to one person share their *ǰǰ*, any researcher must acknowledge that they are also listening to countless other voices that flow through the single research family member.

sǰ’iǰab yǰx’ syǰcǰb – Story

Stories are the foundation of this methodology. In this dissertation, stories also convey ideas to the reader. Traditional narratives are an important, effective, and powerful way of transmitting information because that information is contextualized within a cultural, emotional, and affective framework (Archibald, 2008; Archibald et al., 2019a; Begay, 2002; Besaw, 2022; Desai, 2016; Kimmerer, 2000, 2002, 2013, 2014; McFarland, 2013; Penak, 2019; Smith, 2021).

sǰ’iǰab are stories that take place before *duk’ibǰł*, the Changer, or the Transformer changed the animals, plants, and landforms into what they are today. In this type of story, all these things had personalities, could talk, and interact with one another.

syǰcǰb are a broad category of narratives that often deal with human matters after the

Changer had already changed the world.²⁰ The word literally means “news, (true) story, a report” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 276). These stories include events that happened prior to contact, all the way to today. It can also refer to news in general (Bates et al., 1994, p. 276; Hess, 1976, p. 629). I use personal *syəcəb* narratives about my own experiences to make certain points throughout this paper (See [Research Development](#) in Chapter I).

Below are some of the key features that have bearing on this research.

gʷədʷadad

gʷədʷadad are teachings “from the Mother Earth, from Nature” (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019, p. 59), and they are commonly transmitted through traditional narratives.²¹ They differ from morals in that they are not told or prescribed, but meant to be discovered by the listener. However, this prohibition is relaxed today due to the influences of colonialism (Archibald, 2008). I choose the nontraditional route by sharing one of my *gʷədʷadad* below, which I call *huyisəbtagʷil*.

huyisəbtagʷil

This is a word that Zahir and I created, and it translates roughly to “experience one another’s existence for a reason.” We do not know an original *txʷəlšucid* word for this idea. Perhaps there was a word for this concept that we no longer know, or perhaps there was no such idea prior to colonization. While I make declarative sentences below, they are meant to be understood as personal opinions that are speculative and continuously changing. Continuous evolution is an important feature of *gʷədʷadad*.

²⁰ This is how the word is commonly used in the Puyallup Tribal Community.

²¹ “*ḫəčʷusədəʔ*” or “*ḫəčʷusadad*” in Northern Lushootseed (Bates et al., 1994, p. 261)

As stated above, before the Changer stepped down from the sky, all animals, landforms, and waterways could move, talk, and interact. The Changer changed these entities from whatever they were before into the elements of the Natural world we know today, including humans. George Sanders states that “*x^{wi}? dǎč’u? bisalik^w λ’uhuyudəx^w...* / he did not choose one to make” (Zahir et al., 2020b, p. 7), which may imply that whatever pre-Changer forms those entities had, if any, was less diverse than after they were changed. This is the first *huyisəbtag^{wil}*, the fact that all living things and the Land are related in the sense that they could, at one time, all talk and interact. Furthermore, they may have been identical in form, though this is unclear from the stories. When you hear an Elder say that we are all related, they may be referring to this pre-Changer similarity.

The Changer walked the Earth, interacting with all these beings and changing them into their current forms based on those interactions. If the interaction were positive, the being was changed into a being with a relatively peaceful, pleasant life, such as Beaver, Elk, Mountain Goat, or *təqu?mə?*.²² If the interaction were negative, the being would be changed into an animal commonly used as prey or other resource, such as Deer, Mink, Black Gooseberry, or Frog (Ballard, 1927; Ballard, 1929; Snyder, 1968; Zahir et al., 2020a), for example. This is the second *huyisəbtag^{wil}*, the balance created when the Changer gave these entities he/she encountered their form and mode of life. The second *huyisəbtag^{wil}* manifests itself today in the fact that the physical characteristics of every individual entity in Nature are in moral balance between that entity and the Changer.

²² One of many names for Mount Rainier (Zahir, 2025)

At this point, we can see that all features of the Natural World are the result of the way that the changed beings and the Changer *ʔabəłxəčbitag^{wil}*, extended their *xəč* to one another. When a being mistreated the Changer, the relationship was put out of balance. The Changer brought the relationship back into balance by transforming him/her into their current form. From this, we can deduce that the whole Natural World is an expression of moral balance (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). This can be defined as the third *huyisəbtəg^{wil}*, which created the morally balanced Natural World as a whole. *hiwil tiit duk^{wibət}*.²³

Almost every time the Changer changed a being, he also proclaimed how that animal would be used by “behind ones” (Zahir et al., 2020a, p. 45); “the people who are coming soon” (Snyder, 1968, p. 25); or some other phrase denoting the impending arrival of humans. Deer, for example, was caught sharpening bones with which to kill Changer. When Changer transformed him into the deer we know today and proclaimed, “*day’ čəx^w luʔətəds [sic] tx^{wəl} tiit x^wlaq ʔacittalbi^{x^w}*” / “You will only be food for the behind people (coming generations)” (Zahir et al., 2020a, p. 30). This, then, is the fourth *huyisəbtəg^{wil}*. The fourth *huyisəbtəg^{wil}* is the relationship that the Changer made between humans and the Natural World before humans even existed.

Humans were the last animals Changer created. From pieces of rotten wood (Zahir et al., 2020a, p. 47), they were created without fur, without leaves, without roots, with poor eyes and ears, and unable to hibernate. Our frail bodies are often sick and need the medicines provided by those who grow in the ground (Hardison-Stevens, 2023; Hernandez, 2022; Hilbert & Zahir, 2003; Kimmerer, 2013, 2014). We were created so that we would *have* to complete the

²³ Changer continued.

relationships decreed by the Changer (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). In other words, the fifth *huyisəbtəgʷil* defines our physical and spiritual being, and these define humans' relationship to the Natural World. The fifth *huyisəbtəgʷil* dictates our physical and spiritual existence and defines our obligations to the Earth and all the beings within it.

I numbered and defined these *huyisəbtəgʷil* in the order I encountered them in the Traditional Narratives. The definition of these five does not mean to suggest that there are *only* five.

lakʷətəłxəč – the Flowing of the xəč

The *xəč* flows through all things and all people at all times changing the entities through which it flows. Every person is the result of an uncountable number of interactions between the way people, places, and even things have extended their *xəč* throughout time. We are the biological result of the interaction between the *xəč* of our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and so on. Our existence is a vibrating network of *xəč* interactions between the biological node that we associate with selfhood and the rest of the world. This challenges Euro-Western beliefs about individuality (Cross et al., 2019; Deloria, 2003; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Grande, 2015; Hart, 2010; Patel, 2015; Smith-Morris, 2019; Smith, 2021; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015).

Baker (2018) is a good example of this. This book goes into detail on school finance models and might not be an obvious example of how the *xəč* flows. Through *xəč* theory, a budget can be seen as a quantifiable measure of the intentions of a community, though “subject to political whims and power plays” (Baker, 2018, p. 108). When a community *ʔabətəłxəčbid ʔə kʷi haʔl* (extends the *xəč* in a good way), it is reflected in higher funding levels. Conversely, when a community does not value something, it does not extend its *xəč* in a good way (or to a lesser

degree), resulting in a lack of funding. The quantifiable measure of the *ǰǰ*, tax revenue, travels through the government bureaucracy, through budgets, to schools, to students, then ultimately back to its source, since education benefits the entire community (D. Kennedy, personal communication, June 28, 2025).

Methodology

My methodology consists of three major elements: the *cǎlac dx^wg^walčšid* (the five teachers), the *c'ǎbqid* (the brain), and the *ǰǰ*. This tripartite structure is similar to the three points in Meyer's ((2003, 2008, 2013) triangulation of meaning, and like Meyer's (2013) point, these three are not inseparable from one another; each was created using the elements of the other two, and each uses the others in both its definitions and process.

As demonstrated in the [huyisǎbtg^{wil} section](#), *duk^wibǎt* created humans to fit the preexisting relationships that he ordained. Part of our *sǎx^wǎshuy* (ontology, physical being [Creswell, 2007; Hart, 2010; Wilson, 2001, 2008;]) are the *cǎlac dx^wg^walčšid*—eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and body—with which we are equipped to understand the world (Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2019) with our *c'ǎbqid* (brain). To close the circle, these *cǎlac dx^wg^walčšid* and the *c'ǎbqid*, like the rest of the Natural World, are the results of the way that *duk^wibǎt* extended his *ǰǰ*.

cǎlac dx^wg^walčšid /The Five Teachers

Humans use their eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and body, which are the five teachers, in order to understand the World (Zahir, 2022b). Given *huyisǎbtg^{wil}* number three, that the Natural World is an expression of moral balance, we see that the *cǎlac dx^wg^walčšid* equip us to discover moral balance (or imbalance). These discoveries about the Natural World are called *g^wǎd^wadad* (see [g^wǎd^wadad section](#)). One effective way to transmit *g^wǎd^wadad* is through traditional

narratives, called *sx̣ʷiʔab*, and *syəcəb* (see [sx̣ʷiʔab/syəcəb section](#)).

Using the *cəlac dxʷgʷalčšid* to discover the world is in line with Meyer’s (2001b) definition of ‘empiricism,’ which is that “it is the idea that knowledge comes from experience as detailed by our five senses” (p. 190), though Meyer does not cite her source for this definition.

It should be noted here that my analysis of the *c’əbqid* differs from Zahir, who views thinking as a part of the *ǰəč*: “*ʔal kʷi dʷixʷ, λ’upətigʷəsəbəxʷ čəl ʔal ti ǰəč*. / First we think in our *ǰəč*” (Zahir, 2022a). But this discrepancy might be a matter of degree or function, where actively analyzing (*kʷatalikʷ*) is the brain’s function, while the impetus or inclination to analyze is a function of the *ǰəč*. Ultimately, perhaps, the confusion stems from a lack of shared vocabulary between *txʷəlšucid* and English.

The *cəlac dxʷgʷalčšid* reveal what Charmaz (1996, 2014) calls ‘rich data.’ Yet using all five may be a challenge for today’s researcher. How do you employ your nose in participant research without crossing personal boundaries? The challenge comes from the way Western science and academia privilege the literature over all other forms of experience (Patel, 2015; Price, 2023; Smith, 2021; Zamora Corona, 2022).

qəl’qəlub/eyes are less problematic than others, and are frequently cited in literature as a research tool, usually unconsciously. The eyes are involved in many processes that researchers employ: watching, analyzing participants’ art, reading participants’ journals, and so on. The eyes can be used to gather “thick data” (Charmaz, 1996, 2014), data that many traditional researchers might not consider relevant, such as facial expressions, postures, skin color, walking speed, etc.

qʷəl’qʷəladiʔ/ears are another obvious research tool. Unless a researcher lacks this teacher, the chances are very good that the ears play an important role in research. However, due to Western Academia’s expectations, researchers may overlook some information from their

research family. Breathing speeds and patterns, tension in the laryngeal muscles, and rumbling stomachs are all possible data points that may provide information.

ti qədx^w/the mouth is perhaps a less commonly used research tool than the *q^wəlq^wəladi?*/ears or *qəl'qəlub*/eyes. “The mouth is used for the sense of taste” (Z. Zahir, personal communication, April 8, 2026). However, I contend that the mouth can also be used in more abstract ways, such as analyzing the act of eating, food, and food production, and how these relate to the geography of a village. For example, many of the sites we visit on the tour portion of the research are situated on the edges of what used to be expansive mudflats that provided ample food for the Puyallup people (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930; Meeker, 1905a; Phillips, 1971; Smith, 1940; Waterman et al., 2001). The *qədx^w*/mouth can be an invitation to analyze the locations of these specific sites.

ti bəqsəd/the nose is probably not a commonly used tool in phenomenological research, outside of culinary projects (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015); however, it can be very revealing in place-based research. The ‘aroma of Tacoma’ is a common phenomenon for anyone who grew up in the Tacoma area. It is the smell of industrial pollution and contamination in the Port of Tacoma. As mentioned earlier, the Port of Tacoma was once a huge mudflat that fed the Puyallup people for centuries. The ‘aroma of Tacoma,’ then, is one way that people can use their nose to experience the colonization and destruction of Puyallup Land.

ti c'uq^wəb/the body is difficult to define. It can possibly mean two things: the sense of touch and visceral reactions, and I do not know if the ancestors had a preferred usage. Maybe both, maybe neither. The sense of touch can include all skin-oriented sensation, including heat, wind, vibration, humidity, ground texture, or any other sensation. Visceral sensations are often very fascinating as they are usually involuntary. Involuntary reactions provoke questions such as,

“Why do I feel anxious in this space?” “Why is my heart rate higher at the doctor?” “Why did I get an adrenaline rush when he said, ‘Mount *Tahoma*?’” Awareness of visceral reactions can teach the researcher about themselves and their relationship to the world without any intermediary interpretation.

c’əbqid/brain

These are the two terms that I use to refer to the analytical portion of research, or *k’watalik’w*. The English and *tx’əłšucid* words refer not to the processes or the actions that take place within it or that it performs, but to the brain, itself. I chose to use the physical organ because it is the physical manifestation of the choice that *duk’wibəł* made, which was to give humans the ability to understand what the *cəlac dx’g’w’alčšid* tell us. *tutaq’šəblu* phrases it this way, “*ti?ə? c’əbqid g’w’əl dił tul’al k’wi xəxə?... t(u)adəx’w’əshaydx’w*. / This brain is a gift of the Spirit... It is the reason that you know anything” (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b, p. 19).

The bound suffix form related to *c’əbqid* is *-qid* (or *-qin*), which means ‘head’ (Bates et al., 1994, p. 178; Hess, 1976, p. 384). Many traditional *tx’əłšucid* personal names end with this suffix, possibly showing the brain’s importance to my Puget Sound Ancestors. My own great-great-grandfather’s *tx’əłšucid* name was *ʔabədqinəm*, which my grandfather, Reuben Wright, said meant “councilor” or “advisor” (R. Basch, personal communication, n.d.). My grandpa spelled it “Abdkinm” (R. Wright, personal communication, n.d.), which I interpret as *ʔabədqinəm* in modern Lushootseed script (Hess & Hilbert, 1976a, 1976b).

k’watalik’w/Analysis

The brain’s job is analysis. There are many analytical options available in the academic literature, and Charmaz’s description of grounded theory (Charmaz, 1996, 2014; Creswell, 2007) fits my worldview, purpose, and values neatly. The goal of this research is to allow the *xəč* of the

k'watalik^w syayayə? to flow to the reader with as little disruption as possible. Grounded theory, specifically as described by Charmaz (2014, p. 149), supports this goal: “Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data themselves. Thus[,] researchers construct a theory ‘grounded’ in their data (p. 1).”

Primary Research Questions

The research questions were helpful guides that unlocked a deeper understanding of the relationships between the Puyallup Community and their Land. To avoid imposing preconceived ideas or expectations on the research family’s *šəč*, the research questions do not present hypotheses and are broad enough to allow many themes to emerge.

1. *stab k^wi sšəčidupuł ?ə tiil puyaləpabš ?al ti sləxil.*

This single *tx^wəšucid* sentence can be translated into English in two ways, each of which reflects the source of the *šəč* and how it can behave:

- a. “What Ancestral Knowledge about Puyallup Land exists within the Puyallup Community today?”

This translation reflects how the Ancestors’ *šəč* about Puyallup places may or may not have flowed from precontact Puyallup civilization to today. It is possible that all the Place-knowledge, or *sšəčidup*, that exists in the Puyallup community today comes from non-Native researchers, such as those discussed in the [Colonial Writers](#) of the About Us section of the Literature Review. It is also possible that some information is still passed within Puyallup families through oral histories. This I call *sšəčidupuł*, inherited knowledge about or from the Land.

This interpretation of the sentence is problematic because its scope is too broad and

requires a type of research that is drastically different from the site tour/interview process that was actually performed. It would require many more participants and more time than is currently available, among other constraints.

- b. “What inherited knowledge does the Puyallup Land have about the Puyallup People today?”

As shown above ([see *ǰǰǰ* section](#)), all things, including places, have a *ǰǰǰ*: “*ǰabsǰǰǰ tiǰǰǰ bǰk’w stab yǰǰi hǰli. hǰli g’ǰǰ ǰabsǰǰǰ.../Everything has feelings because it is alive. It is alive because it has feelings...*” where Zahir translates ‘*ǰǰǰ*’ as ‘feelings’ (Hilbert & Zahir, 2003b, p. 59). Therefore, the places that generated the Puyallup people and their culture also have a *ǰǰǰ*.

This interpretation of the research question provided a wealth of information. Following Grounded Theory methods (Charmaz, 1996, 2014; Creswell, 2007), a large amount of *sǰǰǰidupǰ* flowed from the Land through the research family’s words. The answer to this question forms the bulk of the [Results section](#) of Chapter V.

2. ǰǰǰid k’wi ǰǰǰayǰǰg’astǰb ǰǰ k’wi sǰǰǰidup tiǰǰ puyalǰpabǰ.

“How does knowledge about the Land change the Puyallup people?”

This was the focus of my research. I wanted to know whether knowledge about specific Puyallup Places, such as *tx’ǰǰǰucid* place names, history, context, or connections, has any effect on the research participants’ (*k’w’atalik’w syayayǰǰ*) *ǰǰǰ*. This question yielded interesting [Results](#). Several authors in the [Language](#) and [Academic Sources](#) of the Literature Review claim that knowing information such as place names can create a stronger bond between a Native People and their Land (Christian, 2019; Smith, 2021; Styres, 2019). The [Results](#) were more complicated than that.

Secondary research questions.

a. ʔuʔid kʷi sləkʷəʔ ti ʔəč.

“How does the ʔəč flow?”

I have already discussed the concept of *ləkʷəʔəʔəč* (see [ləkʷəʔəʔəč](#) section), which is the way that the ʔəč can flow throughout the world. This secondary research question proved much more useful than expected, uncovering previously hidden relationships, which are discussed in more detail in the [Results](#) section of Chapter V.

b. stab kʷi huyisəbtagʷil.

“What are the generative relationships?”

As I explained in the [huyisəbtagʷil](#) section, these are the relationships that generate the physical world. They can be used as a research tool by working backwards from their physical manifestations to uncover the possible ʔəč, or intent, of whoever created the object. This question proved less useful in the analytical process, and I discuss possible reasons for this in [Chapter V](#).

ʔəč

The ʔəč is the third pillar of this research methodology. Regarding how it functions in research, most important is the interaction between the *dxʷkʷəʔəʔəč* (researcher) and the *kʷəʔəʔəč syayəʔəč* (research family). There must be respect and positive intent between the two. The researcher must extend their ʔəč in a good way to the research family, in order that the research family will share their ʔəč back with the researcher accordingly. Charmaz (2014) uses Western ideas to describe this: “What we can do and ask in a setting depends on how our research participants identify and know us” (p. 23). Knowing and identifying each other are ways that people extend their ʔəč to one another. Many writers in the [Academic Sources](#) section of the

Literature Review, (Absolon, 2022; DuPré, 2019; Hernandez, 2022; Patel, 2015; Smith, 2021; Tuck, 2009) describe the antithesis of this—extractive, paternalistic, and exploitative research—in great detail. The writers of the [Colonial Writers](#) section are examples of this (Boas & Rohner, 1969; Eells, 1887a, 1887b, 1889, 1890a, 1890b, 1892; Gibbs, 1978; Gunther, 1945/1973; Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930; Meeker, 1905b; Smith, 1940; Wickersham, 1893; Work, n.d.).

This portion of this methodology departs most radically from traditional Western research methodologies because of its more holistic approach and worldview. Hart (2010) might call me a “Radical Indigenous Scholar” because I “resist the pressure to participate in academic discourse that strips Indigenous intellectual traditions of their spiritual and sacred elements” (p. 6). Western research methods concern themselves almost exclusively with the *cəlac dx^wg^walčšid* (empirical inquiry) and *c’əbqid* in the form of rational thought (Deloria, 2003; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Hart, 2010; Meyer, 2001b, 2003; Smith, 2021; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). Therefore, this *ǰǰ*-oriented method runs the greatest risk of being dismissed by today’s academic community, along with the entire methodology and study.

Method

This research consisted of several phases: choosing and then researching the sites for the site tour, the site tour, conducting the *luuc ti ǰǰ*,²⁴ coding, and analysis.

Site Selection and Research.

This phase began with choosing a large enough number of sites to provide a range of responses, yet small enough to research within a realistic amount of time, to visit in a single day,

²⁴ This might be called ‘gathering data’ in more traditional academic contexts.

and to complete in a timeframe that would not tire or bore the participants. In addition, choosing sites in areas where participants may have some familiarity, before and after the tour, would also provide more information. Therefore, the five sites in Table 2, were chosen and the route is shown in Image 1 and Image 2, on Google Maps (Google, n.d.).

Table 2

Table of Sites Included in Tour

Site	Associated <i>tx'əlšucid</i> Terminology in Literature	Modern Referents
Site 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “qəlšabid” for a creek at the site, meaning, “coming from the salmon eggs” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 252) • “cátcqad²⁵” for a village near the site (Smith, 1940, p. 9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PTOI Administration Campus • Takopid Health Center • Kwawachee Mental Health Center • Emerald Queen Casino, Tacoma
Site 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Kô’yôb” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 248), no translation (p. 252) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 778 E 26th St, Tacoma, WA 98421 • Freighthouse Square
Site 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “^{Tux}wa’dabcEb” (Waterman et al., p. 248) • “twádebcøb” (Smith, 1940, p. 9) • “dux wa’dAbcøb” from <i>tusiʔab</i> George Young (Ballard, 1929, p. 140) • “Swā’d abc” (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pierce County Fleet Garage • 2406 Pacific Ave, Tacoma, WA 98402 • Cheers Bar and Grill • Jack in the Box (Closed)

²⁵ For names that are not known today, I use the authors’ original orthography.

	<p>p. 9)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “dəx^wwadačəb” (Waterman et al., p. 251) 	
Site 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Pu-yä’lup,” “puyaləp” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 251) <p><i>puyaləpabš</i>, written variously by Waterman and Smith:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “<i>spwiyä’laphabc</i>,” “Located at the mouth of the Puyallup River... the house sites at 15 Street and Pacific Avenue, Tacoma” (Smith, 1940, p. 9) • “spuya’lupo’bc” for the people who “lived along the banks of the Puyallup and White Rivers...” (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15th and Pacific, Tacoma
Site 5	<p>“tił stulək^w ?ə tił ?upuyaləp [<i>sic</i>]” Peter James (1941, side 1, 12:01)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wheeler Osgood Waterway • Melanie Jan LaPlant Dressel Park

Image 1

The Tour Route with Sites, in Tacoma, WA

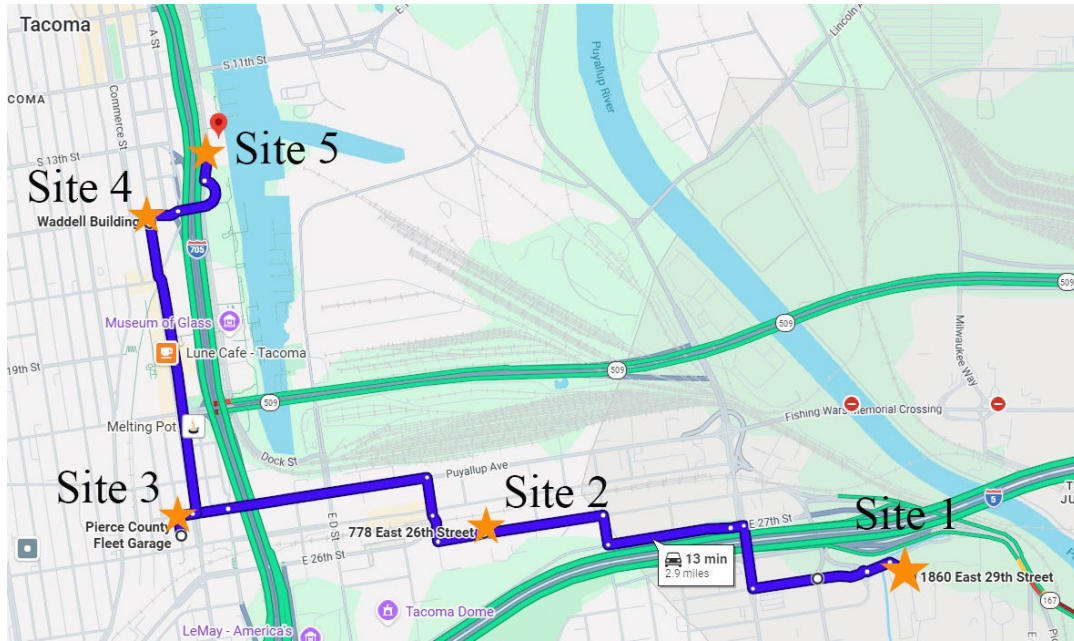


Image 2

The Tour Route within the Context of Tacoma, WA



Site 1 is in an area that has been historically important to the Puyallup Tribe for generations, having been the site of a major village (Smith, 2021), Cushman Indian Trades Industrial Boarding School, Cushman Hospital, and the Puyallup Tribal Administration building, among many other events, departments, schools, and programs (Bennett Bill, 2025; Nagle et al., 2011). Sites three through five are within Tacoma's downtown core, through which many participants travel on daily commutes and with which some members had personal experiences. Site two is one of the most interesting sites in that it is very developed today, not directly on most participants' commutes, and known today for negative associations such as homelessness, drug abuse, and urban decay.

Research on these sites consisted of reading early colonial authors, including those discussed in the [Colonial Writers](#) section of the Literature Review, which offered many layers of information. Most notable was the problematic nature of many of the works: alongside facts about history and culture are many off-handed derogatory remarks about South Sound Natives, such as their "marginal development in... woodworking" (Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 34), Puyallups being "the laziest set on earth" (Meeker, 1905a, p. 54), and the like.

Also, some sources interact with each other, expanding understanding beyond either. Site three offered the most intriguing example of this. Haeberlin & Gunther (1930), for example, describe a creek in the area of 24th and Pacific, which was called "Swā'd abc" (p. 9). While Ballard (1929), from *tusiʔab* George Young, gives "dux wa'dabcəb" (p. 140), for the name of a village in the same area. This coincides neatly with Waterman's "tux'wa'dabcEb" (p. 248) given in his own orthography (Waterman et al., 2001). These three correspond also with Smith's (1940) "twádebcab" for "the house sites at 24 Street and Pacific Avenue, Tacoma" (p. 9). Regularized to the script developed by Thom Hess and Vi Hilbert (Hess & Hilbert, 1976a,

1976b) and aligned by morphemes, the relationship between these four words looks like this:

Haerberlin (Haerberlin & Gunther, 1930, p. 9)	<i>swadabš</i>
Waterman (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 248)	<i>tx^wwadabšəb</i>
<i>tusiʔab</i> George Young in Ballard (1929, p. 140)	<i>dx^wwadəbšəb</i>
Smith (1940, p. 9)	<i>tx^wwadəbšəb</i>

Bates et al. (1994) defines that common element, *wadabš* and *wadəbš*, as “a people living east of the mountains” (p. 245), where the suffix *-abš* often appears as *-əbš*, meaning “people of” (Bates et al., p. 41). Ballard (1929) and Haerberlin & Gunther (1930) corroborate the link between this site and inland people in different ways: *tusiʔab* George Young in Ballard (1929) describes the connection through war, and Haerberlin & Gunter (1930) through trade with inland people. Smith (1940) does not elaborate on any connections between this name and inland people.

However, the controversy stems from the way that the editors of the 2001 publication of Waterman’s manuscript interpreted Waterman’s original orthography in light of the translation that he gives: “said to mean ‘ground flooded or dry according to the tides’” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 248). They used this gloss to reinterpret the word in his orthography, “^{tu}xwa’dabcEb” (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 248), as “dəx^wwadačəb” in the modern orthography (Waterman et al., 2001, p. 251), based on the root *wadəč*, “tide” (Bates et al., 1994, p. 245).

Why is the name of this one creek/village site important? It highlights a very difficult reality my Tribe faces. Our language and history are known only imperfectly. The sources sometimes conflict with one another. The reality on the ground—on the concrete in the middle of our city—is that we do not have a complete picture and never will. There is no one left to ask but white, extractive, paternalistic researchers who felt they owed nothing to our people.

Site Tour

The site tour happened on the drizzly morning of November 11, 2025. At site 1, we all stood in a circle in the rain, across the street from the Puyallup Tribal Administration building. I introduced myself, though all participants knew me already. The rest of the family introduced themselves.

After this introductory portion, the rest of the tours proceeded in a similar fashion. I shared relevant information about the site, including some of its history and the *tx^wəlšucid* names of nearby villages or bodies of water. I then asked members of the *k^watalik^w syayayə?* to share any thoughts, feelings, or information that they had about this site. Sharing was varied; often, the Elders, 562, and 626 spoke, while younger members usually did not. Later, it would become apparent that this was due, in some cases, to [Elder Veneration](#), discussed in Chapter III.

Site five, the last site at Melanie's Park (The park's full name is Melanie Jan LaPlant Dressel Park [Parks Tacoma, 2026b]), opposite the former mouth of the Puyallup River began the same way, but concluded differently. Here, I shared a brief synopsis of the next steps, including the different ways participants could provide follow-up responses, how I intended to analyze the *ǰǰ* they shared, and the academic and publication deadlines.

The event concluded with gifts of water bottles and an assortment of chocolates from a local confectionery.

luuc ti ǰǰs—Listening to the ǰǰ for a Specific Purpose

In an attempt to communicate with the participants in whatever way they felt most comfortable, I offered a wide variety of communication media. They could communicate their thoughts through in-person interviews, telephone conversations, Zoom calls, emails, or journaling. This flexibility proved problematic.

Email responses were substantially less useful than all other response forms. Recorded in-person interviews were the most useful, and I will use these in any future studies of this type. One participant composed an email, then later followed up with a telephone conversation, accounting for the thirteen responses from twelve participants in Table 3.

Table 3

Breakdown of Participants' Response Types

Response Type	Number of Responses	Average Approximate Transcribed Word Count
Recorded In-Person Interview	5	2096.6
Zoom Interview	2	2087.5
Recorded Telephone Interview	2	711.5
Email Message	4	400.75

In addition to providing more of the participants' *řáĉ*, the in-person interviews and the Zoom interviews have the added advantage of providing more of what Charmaz (1996, 2014) calls "rich data" which includes considerations such as the "description of the situation, the interaction, the person's affect" and so on (Charmaz, 1996, p. 33). This rich data included vocal inflections, blushing, stammering, and filler words, all of which may indicate emotional reactions to the conversation topics.

Absolon's (2022) prohibition against interviews proved unhelpful. Absolon's statement that "An interview is one-way mining and extracting data whereas conversations uphold reciprocity and relationality" (p. 107) is narrow-minded. There are more ways to express reciprocity and relationality than by contributing to a conversation. Many of my research participants expressed appreciation and surprise at being asked to share their *řáĉ*. Also, if the

researcher is so keen on sharing their opinion, they should undertake an autoethnographical study. Lastly, I discovered during analysis that some of the participants' statements may have been affected by my own contributions to the conversation. In other words, *ɔuɔayɔwastəb ɔə ti dʒəʃ ti ʒəʃs təʃ ʃəd ɔuʒudʒud* / My *ʒəʃ* altered their *ʒəʃ* because of my talking.

Primary Interview Question

Creating a series of specific or detailed questions would have placed constraints upon the *ʒəʃ* of the interviewees. Therefore, I approached the interview as a conversation (Absolon, 2022) and opened with a very general question: "Do you have any thoughts or feelings after the site tour? They could be about the sites on the tour or any other places." The participants' responses to this opening question accounted for the bulk of the *ʒəʃ* they shared.

Secondary Interview Questions

I attempted to limit any other questions to clarifying the participants' statements, not to change the topic or direction of their narratives. Examples of these types of questions are "How old were you then?" "Were you in a car or on foot?" or "Did you get ringworm?" However, in an attempt to make the interview a conversation, per Absolon (2022), I sometimes interjected what I later determined to be useless and irrelevant statements. Lesson learned.

There was one exception: the question, "Did you share any information that you learned on the site tour with any friends or family?" I was careful to save this question for late in the conversation, when it seemed the participant was wrapping up their statements. This late placement is because I tried to avoid redirecting their *ʒəʃ* toward their family, and I was curious to find out whether or not they would discuss their family without being prompted.

Coding

I employed grounded theory techniques as described by Charmaz (1996, 2014) and Creswell (2007) for reasons explained in the [c'əbqid/brain section of the Methodology](#). Charmaz's flexible guidelines provide options for coding at different levels, including at the levels of "words, lines, segments, and incidents" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 109).

The first step in the analysis was transcribing the interview in Microsoft Word 2024. Paragraph breaks were sometimes arbitrary, but where possible, they coincided with pauses in the participant's narrative or with topic changes. For the in-person, Zoom, and phone interviews, I made annotations in the text in square brackets that referred to nonverbal communication, gestures, other observations, such as crying, laughing, pausing to gather thoughts, shaking or nodding their head, and so on. These would prove useful later in the coding procedures.

I began with segment analysis, in which I would determine a segment of the text, usually a topic chosen by the participant, then summarize it. I quickly found that I was very uncomfortable with this level of coding because I was making too many decisions about what was and was not important. I was deciding what a 'segment' was and what that segment was about by prioritizing some information over others. In other words, I was overextending my *ǎǎ* and obscuring the participants' *ǎǎ*. Thus, I switched to line-by-line coding, which served as my Initial Coding.

Line-by-Line Initial Coding. Line-by-Line involved reading a line of the transcribed text and summarizing it into a code beginning with a gerund because "We gain a strong sense of action and sequence with gerunds" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 120). This level of coding was very useful because it analyzed the participants' *ǎǎ* at a much finer scale and less information had to be deprioritized in making a summary.

Line-by-line coding revealed a large amount of surprising information and proved optimal for initial coding. In contrast to summarizing entire paragraphs or topics, line-by-line coding highlighted details that might otherwise be overlooked.

For example, when participants discussed how the site tour affected them, initial summaries focused on its affective impact. However, line-by-line coding revealed that many of these participants began these statements with offhand remarks about traveling through the tour sites as an introduction to statements about affective changes. The tone of their voice during these introductory statements, compared with their description of how their thinking or feelings have changed, suggests that they considered information about traveling through these areas unimportant. However, line-by-line coding demonstrated that traveling through the tour sites is an interaction many participants have with those areas. Furthermore, this was the only relationship that some participants had with these areas prior to the site tour. This commonality invited further analysis in Focused Coding. (See [Results section in Chapter V](#) for an in-depth analysis of this theme/code.)

The challenge of coding at a fine grade scale was not losing the larger topic that the participant was discussing, this is where Focused Coding became important.

Focused Coding. Focused coding involved analyzing the relationships among the initial codes for similarities, contrasts, or other connections. As stated above, line-by-line coding risks of losing the forest for the trees. Focused coding provided a way of making sense of all the otherwise disparate line codes.

For example, in a segment of text, 756 is discussing tour site 5, across the Thea Foss Waterway from the former mouth of the Puyallup River. However, in that segment, she also discusses driving past the site, going to the bar at the end of Dock Street, and singing karaoke

there, and the coding of that segment's lines reflects this. The next step is to determine whether each of these individual line codes requires an entirely new, focused code or whether each one applies to a preexisting one established earlier in the narrative. It is important when making the focused codes to remember that an adjacent set of lines and, therefore, line codes may not apply to the same set of focused codes and that each line code may apply to several focused codes.

Choosing or creating Focused codes is one place where I must extend my *řǎř* onto the data. There is a fine, difficult-to-articulate line between making code that is too general and making code that is too specific. If it is too general, the points of the individual line codes are lost, and if it is too specific, they lose their relevance to the rest of the participants' narrative. The focused codes contextualize the initial codes, honor the important information they share, and relate them more broadly to the participants' overall narratives.

Table 4 shows the relationship between 756's narrative in the left column, the initial line-by-line code assigned to that line of text in the center column, and the focused code to which that initial code either created or applied. This table is a bit misleading, however, because it implies a 1-to-1-to-1 relationship between a text, the initial code, and the focused code. This is because of the limited selection chosen for Table 4; in reality, a single focused code can comprise many initial codes, and a single initial code can apply to several lines of text.

Table 4*The Relationships Between Lines of a Narrative, Initial Codes, and Focused Codes*

756's Narrative	Line-by-line initial Coding	Focused Code
<p>“What did it really look like? What... You know, so, that was just cool to see. Like that</p>	<p>visualizing what the area looked like is the focus of her memory</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visualizing Past Timescapes
<p>location is still there and it's its purpose is different because the water way's different, but also</p>	<p>noting that the location is still there, but its purpose has changed</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change/Loss
<p>that, I never noticed it... Like, I've never stopped at that little park or that like, I've driven Dock</p>	<p>relating her personal experience with the location, driven past it, but never stopped from youth</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Experiences at Places • Connections During Youth
<p>Street many a times, and I used to karaoke down at the little bar on the end of Dock Street, you</p>	<p>sharing her personal experiences with locations nearby, usually travelling from youth</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Experiences at Places • Connections During Youth
<p>know, all the time, on every Thursday.”</p>	<p>sharing personal experiences with places nearby from youth</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal Experiences at Places • Connections During Youth

Many codes were so closely related that they could be considered subcategories of a broader code. However, care had to be taken to ensure that grouping into codes enhanced understanding of their relationships rather than obscuring or generalizing them. .

In Vivo Codes or IVC's. Some participants used some words or phrases that are culture- or community-specific. These types of words or phrases are termed in vivo codes (IVCs).²⁶ The IVCs in the data fall under two of the IVC categories given in Charmaz (2014) as “Terms everyone ‘knows’ that flag condensed but significant meanings” and “Insider shorthand terms reflecting a particular group’s perspective” (p. 134). These codes were useful after the relationships between the initial and focused codes were established to identify shared distinctive cultural traits between the participant and the larger community.

The term “East Side” in Table 5 is an In Vivo Code that reflects the participant’s assumption that I know the participant is referring to a particular geographical area that includes the Puyallup Tribe of Indians reservation and areas of Tacoma, WA. Furthermore, this code also refers to the area’s depressed economic conditions and high crime rate.

Table 5 demonstrates how initial codes could be nested under a focused code and how IVCs were flagged for later analysis. The bold, centered rubric is the title of the focused code. The initial codes, in the left column, are samples drawn from several research participants. Often, one initial code is relevant to more than one focused code, and these related codes are in the Related Codes column. The Observation column displays information that helps explain the initial code or its relationship to the focused code. These observations may include information

²⁶ Sentence suggested by Zahir (personal communication, April 10, 2026)

not conveyed in the text, such as vocal inflections or other mannerisms

Table 5

Examples of Initial Codes, Focused Codes, and their Relationships

Focused Code 1 – Forming Connections during youth		
Initial Codes	Related codes	Observation
1. relating her personal experience with the location in youth, driven past it, but never stopped	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traveling 	Contrasting vocal inflections suggests that the information about traveling is less important to X than later information
2. remembering going through the “east side” (IVC) all the time as a kid, but now just driving through. Relationship with the area has changed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traveling • Change 	“East Side” IVC
Focused Code 2 – Change		
Initial Codes	Related codes	Observation
1. remembering going through the “east side” (IVC) all the time as a kid, but now just driving through. Relationship with the area has changed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forming Connections during youth • Traveling 	“East Side” IVC
Focused Code 3 – Feeling Loss, Grief		
Initial Codes	Related codes	Observation
1. comparing past features, the huge weeping willow, to modern development, a car dealership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change • Grief 	Mannerisms display sadness not conveyed by text

Analysis. Very little analysis was required after the focused coding stage. The *ǰǰ* of my *k'watalik'w syayayə?* spoke clearly through the two coding processes, demonstrating surprising ideas and concepts. It was only *after* these ideas became apparent that I asked whether ideas such as *lək'wətətǰǰ*, *huyisəbtag'wil*, or *g'wəd=adad* were relevant or applied to the shared themes. This way, the theoretical concepts did not alter the *ǰǰ* that the family shared; instead, the *ǰǰ* defined the theoretical concepts. [Chapter V](#) discusses the results of this analysis in detail.

Conclusion

A worldview defined both by Western thought and Puget Sound Native *ǰǰ* informed the methodology of this study. That methodology involved empirical observation using the *cəlac dx'gwalčšid* (the five teachers), the *c'əbqid* (the brain) and the *ǰǰ*. The method or implementation of the study was through research on specific sites, a site tour, interviews and then analysis along the lines of grounded theory.

This study produced surprising results discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter V

Results

The two research questions, the secondary questions, and grounded theory allowed the participants to share their *ǰǰ*, and allow the *sǰǰiduput* to flow through them. Below are the main themes that flowed through the participants. Then the discussion speculates about the implications of these results for the Puyallup Community and for other communities who live in quickly changing environments.

Personal Orientation

Four participants (33%) discussed using places as landmarks for physical orientation. 247 states that they often use “The Mountain”²⁷ as a more permanent and reliable navigation aid. 165, on the other hand, seems to use “the water” unconsciously, saying they felt disoriented when they did not know whether they were close to it or in which direction it was. Furthermore, 165 is very much aware of the biomes associated with water, stating that they feel more secure when they see plants or hear birds associated with water, even if the water itself is not visible.

Beyond simply figuring out where you are going in the city, using natural landmarks versus man-made ones may play a role in developing identity and reflects a *ǰǰ* that is connected to natural environments. When a person chooses an object for personal orientation or navigation, they are making choices about how they want to relate to the Land. 247 also observes that *tǰquǰmaǰ* is a more permanent landmark than street signs. 247’s need for a landmark more permanent than street signs suggests that the personal identity extends beyond their own personal

²⁷ *tǰquǰmaǰ* (Zahir, 2025), currently called Mount Rainier

timeframe into pre- and possibly postcolonial timeframes. In other words, 247 orients themselves to the precontact geological land rather than to its current, ephemeral state. Furthermore, 247 points out that to people from any other community, *təqʷuʔmaʔ* would be in a different direction. So then every time 247 orients themselves using the mountain, they are also reaffirming their positionality on Puyallup Land and in precontact time.

These choices can also be analyzed using *ǰǰ* theory. Whether or not the participants are aware of it, their choice of landmarks makes them the receiving end of different *ǰǰ*. The mountain, *təqʷuʔmaʔ*,²⁸ was created by *dukʷibəl*, and, through the principle of *ləkʷətəlǰǰ*, *dukʷibəl*'s *ǰǰ* flows through the mountain to 247 each time they use her (the mountain) to navigate. The street signs, however, are the product of... well, I do not actually know, but it is most likely NOT a sacred being whose father was a star. The fact that these individuals may not be aware of the *ǰǰ* flowing to them demonstrates that the *ǰǰ* is different than the brain; they are affected by the originator's *ǰǰ*, whether their analytical mind is aware of it or not.

Honoring through an Event

Four members (33%) mentioned being inspired to hold an event to honor two places in particular: site 4, *puyaləp*, and site 5, the mouth of the Puyallup River. This alludes to features of *puyaləpabš* spirituality that I will not discuss in depth in this paper, other than to say that the concepts of personhood and agency extend beyond humans and that respect for ancestral beings is critical. This inclination can be related to maintaining cultural continuity in adverse settings.

²⁸ Currently called Mt. Rainier

Much of pre-contact *puyaləpabš* culture was forcefully taken from us. After the boarding schools were closed, (Nagle et al., 2011) Western, European-American values and lifestyles eroded what little cultural practice remained. However, some members demonstrated and advocated for the continuity of distinctive *puyaləpabš* cultural practices while on the site tour and in their daily lives. (For a discussion of distinctive cultural traits, see the [ʔalalus – Culture](#) section in Chapter III.)

One of the *kʷatəlikʷ syayəyəʔ*, 617, had personal experience with site 2, which was once a village site. Unhoused people, including some *puyaləpabš*, take refuge in this area, and 617 noted that these members continue to gather around fires as their ancestors did, though under very different circumstances.

These examples suggest that awareness of the importance of cultural sites and some knowledge about those sites helped the members of the *kʷatəlikʷ syayəyəʔ* to recognize various aspects of *puyaləpabš* cultural continuity and to possibly situate themselves within it.

In *ǰəč* theory, the ancestors' *ǰəč* persist in these locations, independent of time or development. Through Deloria's concept of correlation (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), we know that the existence of the present-day *puyaləpabš ǰəč* correlates to the existence of the ancestors' *ǰəč* in these locations.

***ladəkʷ*–traveling/commuting**

Nine of the twelve participants (75%) mentioned traveling through the sites of the tour. Sometimes these travels occur regularly, in the case of a handful of members who commute or work in the area of the site tour, while for other members the traveling was less common. This says more about the choice of sites than it does about the participants.

The sites chosen for the tour are now largely non-residential. Site 1 is not residential but

within one city block of a residential area. The fact that many participants' relationship to these places was traveling through them demonstrates how the importance of these places has changed from permanent *puyaləpabš* village sites (Ballard, 1929; Haeberlin & Gunther, 1930; Smith, 1940, 1941; Waterman et al., 2001) or corridors of travel to industrial areas and business districts today. When someone's primary relationship with a place is commuting through it, they are saying that they belong elsewhere.

“Crawling into their Minds”–Wanting to Learn

Eleven members (92%) wanted to learn more about these sites after the tour to better understand the people who once lived there. For one study participant who is a *puyaləpabš* community member, it was a matter of “crawl[ing] in their mind of what... they might be thinking,” referring to the *puyaləpabš* Ancestors. For these members, knowing the *txʷəlšucid*²⁹ name of the place, how the residents lived or traded, or how they interacted with their land helped them to form a relationship with the sites visited on the tour. They also extended this relation-through-knowledge procedure to areas beyond the study site tour to areas with which they felt a personal connection. *kʷatalik*^w *syayayə?* member 626 used the term “Power of Place” to refer to this inclination.

This raises the question of why these participants, and possibly other community members, were thus inclined to know or understand the Ancestors' *ǰəč*. Does the desire to know and understand the Ancestral *puyaləpabš* *ǰəč* imply that today's community members consider it an ideal or at least an alternative to the pervasive, colonized *ǰəč* that the must live in today? Do

²⁹ if only for a brief time

these members use what they learn about the *ḡəḡ ɽə tiil puyaləpabš tuɽiišəd* (*ḡəḡ* of the Ancestral Puyallup People) to form their identity as *puyaləpabš* or Puyallup Community members today?

This manner of connection was not universal, however. Member 321 expressed that, in their many years of experience working in the Puyallup Tribe's Historic Preservation Department, they became very familiar with *txʷəlšucid* place names, associated genealogies, historic topography, etc. However, 321 never formed affective relationships with those places, with all that information remaining academic trivia. 321 states that without “experiences or memories of those places... I didn't connect with them physically.” 321 contrasts her lack of connections with 562's sharing personal experiences at many of the sites.

txʷəlšucid – *Twulshootseed*

The effect of knowing place names associated with the sites on the tour was complicated. Overall, it was much less important than some of the literature suggests it should be (Christian, 2019; Smith, 2021; Styres, 2019).

While on the tour, I shared some associated *txʷəlšucid* place names that I had learned during the [research phase](#). Only one of the research family (8.33%) used any of these names in the follow-up conversations, referring to two of them in their email response. Another participant asked for a list of names after the tour, but it is unclear for what purpose this list was used. 321, who had a long association with *txʷəlšucid*, worked in the Puyallup Tribe's Historic Preservation Department and the Language Program, expressly stated that knowing the names did not help them form personal connections with those places.

While knowing the *txʷəlšucid* names of old village sites might give us a clue about how the ancestors related to those places, the *puyaləpabš* relate to those places very differently today, if at all. Of the five sites on the tour, four of them, sites 2 through 5, do not come up often in

conversation, so they are not referred to in any language. Site 1, however, is very important to the *puyaləpabš* community today, and the community uses a mix of *txʷəlšucid* and English to refer to institutions or buildings at the site: *higʷədaldʔtxʷ* or “Elders” for the Elders center, or “Takopid”³⁰ for the “Puyallup Tribal Health Authority.”

I surmise that in order for a *txʷəlšucid* place name to be relevant to the community, the place to which it refers must be relevant to the community. Otherwise, the name will be rarely used and rarely remembered.

Family

Family was a theme that stood out early and often in my interviews. When asked to share their thoughts or feelings after the site tour, seven of the twelve participants (58.33%) mentioned family in some way, even though the interview question did not refer to family. Some of the *kʷətalikʷ syayayəʔ* made the connection explicit, saying that a certain site reminded them of their parents, grandparents, or other relatives. In *ǰəč* theory, it could be said that the family members’ *ǰəč* linked the research participant to the sites. Perhaps the family members’ *ǰəč*, or a portion of it, persists in the sites.

Other times, the place-family connection was less direct, such as when a research participant was inclined or even inspired to share what they learned on the site tour with a family member. The family-place relationship is best expressed in the *txʷəlšucid* sentence, *lək ʷət ti sǰəčiduput tulʼal kʷədi tusyayayəʔ txʷəl tił syayayəʔ*. / “The inherited teachings/feelings/mind of the land flows from the past family to this present family.”

³⁰ one of the many *txʷəlšucid* names for Mt. Rainier (Ballard, 1929; Zahir, 2025)

Participant 617 observed that some of the sites visited on the tour are where our Ancestors met, fell in love, and produced the *puyaləpabš* alive today. In the context of *puyaləpabš* history, this is important because a limited number of places played a large role in our history. The Cushman hospital, which stood on site 1, for instance, treated Native people from around the Pacific Northwest (Nagle et al., 2011) and many of its patients met there and began families who make up large portions of the *puyaləpabš* today. This is the history of my family also.

One interesting fact is that when asked about how the tour of these five sites made them feel or think, one non-Native participant discussed family that had no connection to the sites in question. It appears that learning about the importance of these sites to *puyaləpabš* families made them think about the importance of their childhood places to their own families from other places.

There are many close ties between the family recollections and childhood recollections more broadly. This makes sense, considering that for most people, childhood is spent in the company of family. These affective connections may deepen as time passes, and family members may pass on (Brown et al., 2003; Pretty et al., 2003; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). Recollections of family are very closely linked to recollections of childhood places.

Childhood Connection to ‘Timescapes’

Six participants (50%) recalled childhood memories of historical places and described their physical characteristics. I call these historical features of a particular place ‘timescapes.’³¹

³¹ This word has no intentional relation to the science fiction novel of the same name (Benford, 1980).

A timescape refers to the physical characteristics of any particular site at any particular time. They are a shorthand for phrases such as “The area when...,” “What this place was like when...”, among many others.

Many local adult community members, especially the *puyaləpabš* members, had personal experiences and strong memories of certain timescapes. These members used their childhood timescapes to find personal identity in several ways, including recalling and describing their timescapes, discussing and comparing them with other community members, and describing them to people who are unfamiliar with them.

These adult and Elder participants tended to have stronger affective ties to childhood timescapes than with the sites as they exist today. 562, for example, discusses various locations in and around site 1 and states that “Everyone was so happy then. We were a smaller group of people that seemed to be very close.” Riger & Lavrakas’ (1981) study corroborates this: “persons who are high in both physical and social attachment are older adults...” (p. 61).

These recollections were not universally positive, however, often depending on how the timescapes changed between the time of recollection and today. 617, for example, discusses seeking out and assisting family members at site 2 who were homeless and suffering from addiction. 617 states that “I can't really describe the feeling that it gives me. It makes me feel sad, but also happy...”

We see from this discussion that these participants formed complex relationships with places that increased in quality and intensity over time. Locations under discussion, whether it be a site from the tour or another location brought up by the participant, embodied several timescapes, and those timescapes associated with the participants’ childhood tended to have the most positive affective import in this participant group. I can imagine, however, that this could

be vastly different for people or communities who have experienced childhood trauma.

Discussion

The interaction among the seven themes discussed above describes the various ways in which the Puyallup Community as a whole and the *puyaləpabš* in particular relate to their Land. The five sites featured in the tour inspired the *k^watalik^w syayayə?* to reflect on and share their *sxəčidupul*, and, in some cases, to discuss locations not on the tour. The shared *sxəčidupul* give insight not just into the *puyaləpabš* or the Puyallup Community, but can be applied to analyze any population's relationships to their Land. It is especially relevant, however, to populations who live in urban environments that undergo rapid and drastic change. A population that resides in a place that is subject to rapid, drastic change produces what I call 'layered interpersonal timescapes.'

Layered Interpersonal Timescapes

As shown above, each person can have relationships with many timescapes at any given location. Within the *k^watalik^w syayayə?*, childhood timescapes tended to have the greatest affective impact in adulthood. This means that individuals from different generations can have affective relationships with different timescapes in the same location. In a fast-changing environment, this creates layers of childhood timescapes among a population of different generations.

To demonstrate this concept, take participant 252, a *puyaləpabš*, who grew up near site 1, the Puyallup Administration campus, and had many childhood memories of the area. At age 37, this participant had a very strong connection to this area's timescape in the 1990's and early 2000s. 252 demonstrated this by excitedly and happily sharing, discussing, and comparing his intimate knowledge of the street layouts, greenbelts, trails, family residences, and now-

demolished buildings that comprise this timescape.

After the site tour, participant 252 shared satellite images of the area with an elder family member who also lived much of their life in this area as well. That family member showed no strong affective response to these images. Participant 252 states that “[I]t didn't really pop [for her]. But... she was a full adult in that time because that one [satellite view of the area] goes back to 1990.”³² Using timescape terminology, you could say that 252 and 252's elder had affective connections to different timescapes, even though those timescapes were on the same Land.

In places that experience continuous, drastic change, such as Puyallup Land, each generation has a strong affective connection to a particular timescape. In contrast, their parents' generation have similar affective connections, but to previous timescapes (see [Childhood Connection to 'Timescapes' section](#)), and so on. This produces a layering effect in which different generations of *puyaləpabš* do not share affective relationships with the same timescapes. Furthermore, this layering effect in a fast-changing environment may result in families lacking common timescapes from which to build a common sense of place or security, even though they may actually share the same locations. This is an entirely new level of displacement, where a community might continuously occupy ancestral lands, each generation forming bonds with that land, but with resident generation forming their identity through different timescapes.

This echoes statements made by participant 247 to the effect that change itself is

³² Participant 252's statement here inspired the entire layered timescape theory.

traumatizing and that, over a longer lifetime, continued change for Elders might be compounded, which Brown et al. (2003) corroborates: “place attachment was higher for those with more years of residence...” (p. 265). Each time a timescape is altered, important places are lost and “[t]he loss of such places would reorder or destroy some social process familiar to the community’s collective being” (Hester, 1993, p. 272). I believe shared timescapes are one of those social processes. In timescape terminology, Elders may be more traumatized as their childhood timescapes become more and more obscured in a changing environment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

The disruption of layered interpersonal timescapes does not nullify, but may weaken, the effect of Low’s (1992) concept of genealogical place attachment. Low describes genealogical place attachment as “linkage to the land through history or family lineage” (p. 166), but is unclear about whether this attachment is between the individual and the land, or between the community and the land. Given the Western academic’s proclivity toward individualism (Cross et al., 2019; Darder, 2016; Deloria, 2003; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Smith-Morris, 2019; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015), I assume the definition applies to the individual. Low’s more in-depth definition also sheds no light on this question: “genealogical place attachment is maintained, strengthened, and acted upon by living in a place...” (Low, 1992, p. 167), but could apply to a community “living in a place.” Given the highly affective nature of childhood timescapes demonstrated above and Manzo & Perkins’ (2006) claim that “emotional connection is at the core of a sense of community” (p. 339), were the members of the *puyaləpabš* community to have similar affective childhood timescapes, their sense of community would be improved. Conversely, rapid environmental change negatively impacts the *puyaləpabš* sense of community.

huyisəbtəg^{wil}–timescape

The personal timescape is an example of the *huyisəbtəg^{wil}* operating at a personal level. As stated in the [huyisəbtəg^{wil}](#) section, they are the generative ontological relationships that give form and function to creation. The childhood timescape of a location performs the same function, giving identity and security in a functional environment and producing trauma and insecurity in a dysfunctional one. Just as Deer's form and behavior was defined by his interaction with Changer (Zahir et al., 2020a), each research participant's form and behavior was formed by their interaction with their place. For some of the *k^watalik^w syayayəʔ*, the places on the tour are where their ancestors met and gave rise to their families. For others, these sites are where those ancestors found security and identity, even naming themselves after one of the sites (*puyaləpabš*, "people of *puyaləp*" [Bates et al., 1994, p. 165]).

The way that humans extend their *ǰəč* to the Land affects the *huyisəbtəg^{wil}* between that Land and its inhabitants. Various industries, for example, poisoned Puyallup Land with arsenic (Davis et al., 1997; Tepper & Tepper, 2013), making the sacred berries and plants that the Changer intended for the *puyaləpabš* unsafe to eat. This shows how the colonizers' *ǰəč* disrupted the Changer's *ǰəč*, altering the *huyisəbtəg^{wil}* that created the *puyaləpabš*.

Perhaps one day, perhaps aided by this research, the current inhabitants of Puyallup Land will come to appreciate that the way they extend their *ǰəč* to the Land that they live on, the Land responsible for their existence, that will determine the lives, happiness and security of their descendants.

Conclusion

ʔal tiʔiʔ, x^wuʔəʔəʔ g^wəlaʔbdub ʔə k^wi suk^wəšəd ti saliʔ dsɬaʔus ʔal ti dsuʔxalad. g^wəʔ
 λ'alig^wəd ti d^zix^w g^wələ ʔug^wusbid ti ʔaciʔtalbix^w ǰəč. g^wəʔ swatx^wix^wtx^wədigi^wəd ti cəbabəx^w g^wələ

k'wafalikw ʔuxid k'wi xǎč ʔə k'wi ʔaciltalbiḵw yəxw k'wi swatx'ix'wtx'wəds. hawadəł čəd ʔutalxǎdəd ti xǎč čəłxǎčəb tx'wəl k'wi łusł'əlabutbidčəł ti suhuyisəbtag'wilčəł yəxw ti sǎčədidupul ʔə k'wi ʔilhaʔł. ʔəstalx tił saliʔ slaʔus tx'wəl k'wi sduł'əlabutbid ʔəsǎxid k'wi səx'uyayatub ʔə k'wi ʔaciltalbiḵw ʔal/tx'wəl k'wi sʔas č'it yəxw lil ʔə ti swatx'ix'wtx'wəd ʔə tił ʔupuyaləpabš.

By now, the reader may have noticed that there are two goals in this writing. The first is theoretical and explores the Native *xǎč*. The second pertains to place attachment and examines the *xǎč* that exists between people and their Land. I hope that I have used *xǎč* theory to better understand our ontological creative relationships and the inherited *xǎč* of the land. These two goals are useful for understanding how people form relationships with and on their place, near and far from the land of the Puyallup people.

ʔaciltalbiḵw xǎč—Native ways of knowing.

g'wədʔadad

I discovered that there are challenges to using the Puget Sound ways of knowing and transmitting knowledge in an academic context. The *g'wədʔadad*, for example, may prove difficult to import or scientize (Agrawal, 2002) into academic contexts. *g'wədʔadad*, after all, are personal and traditionally not to be shared (Archibald, 2008; Puyallup Tribal Language Program, 2022). Academia, and Western thought in general have difficulty accepting this sort of subjectivity (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Denzin et al., 2008; Dunbar, 2008; Meyer, 2013; Patel, 2015; Risling Baldy, 2018; Smith, 2021). When sharing a *g'wədʔadad* from a traditional narrative, an academic may ask, “How do we know this?” The short answer is that “we” do not know it, “we” cannot know it. It is a discovery that each person must make on their own.

This leads to a related problem. Given the highly subjective nature of a *g'wədʔadad*, an unscrupulous researcher could potentially shield themselves from criticism by claiming that a

controversial topic is a personal *g^wəd^zadad*, and cannot therefore be questioned. For that matter someone could validly raise this issue with the propositions made in this research.

In the end, the nontransferability of *g^wəd^zadad* to academia may be a good thing. Perhaps it is for the best that concepts cannot be neutered and extracted from their cultural context to be exploited the way Western cultures are inclined to do.

ǰǰ

The word ǰǰ can be translated using several words in English (see [Glossary](#)). The converse of this is that many English words and concepts collapse into this one *tx^wəlšucid* word, and it may appear to some academics that this fact is an attempt to sidestep the use of what they may perceive as more precise English terminology. In earlier drafts of this research, I attempted to remedy this situation by subdividing the ǰǰ concept by creating *tx^wəlšucid* calques that referred to the original meanings of these terms in Greek or Latin. I abandoned this effort, though, because I realized that I was just creating a word-for-word translation of the Western ǰǰ into *tx^wəlšucid*.

Polluting *tx^wəlšucid*

Continuing the conversation of creating *tx^wəlšucid* calques for English terms, I had also created *tx^wəlšucid* words for concepts like “colonization,” “development,” “free market fundamentalism,” and other negative words that did not exist in *tx^wəlšucid*, to my knowledge. This seemed natural and useful. Hinton (2008a) after all, says that language revitalization “refers to the development of programs that result in reestablishing a language... into full use in all walks of life” (p. 5).

However, as quoted already in the [šxudšud–Vocabulary](#) section, *tsi siʔab taq^wšəblu* states that “The vocabulary of each language reflects the life and beliefs of the people it serves”

(Hilbert & Hess, 1982, p. 77). The fact that these words did not exist in *txʷəłšucid* speaks to the nature of the people who spoke the *txʷəłšucid* language and about the culture and history of the people who felt the need to create those words.

In the end, I removed those words from this work and, were I to feel the need to discuss those concepts while speaking or writing *txʷəłšucid*, I would use the English terms to reflect the nature and culture of their origin.

Individuality versus Communalty

In the course of this research, I discovered an ontological rift between myself and most of the academics I read, especially those pertaining to place attachment (Brown et al., 2003; Hester, 1993; Low, 1992; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Pretty et al., 2003; Riger & Lavrakas, 1981; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Maybe my brain is broken, but when I read, I visualize how the text relates to my community as they stand on their land. For example, when Low (1992) writes “Cosmological place attachment is maintained through believing in a place” (p. 167), I literally and involuntarily visualize thousands of Puyallup people turned toward the Puyallup River with their hands raised. This makes it difficult to interpret these works because, more often than not, their default reference is to individuals’ experiences. Riger and Lavrakas (1981), for example, discuss community ties, but do so entirely from the viewpoint of the individual: “The development of cohesive local ties may be the product not simply of individual life circumstances, but rather of the fit between characteristics of community members and the environment” (p. 66). While definitely not wrong in any way, within their worldview, the community, as it exists over time and in a place, seems incidental to the choices made by individuals who happen to live next to one another. This is not true for the *puyaləpabš* who are bound as a community because of history, culture, *xəč*, and *txʷəłšucid*.

Place

This was a small population, and my previous experience conducting participant research projects was very limited or nonexistent. However, I learned a great deal about how this group of twelve Puyallup Community Members relates to the land they live on, drive through, and work on. Further research with a larger group of participants over a longer period would provide much more information. Further research in another area, with another community, would also yield useful insights into community-land relationships.

However, the observations made could be used to understand other communities' relationships to their Land, especially urban Native communities, since most Indigenous people live in urban environments today (Hernandez, 2022; Quinless, 2022). This contrasts with the tendency among most academics and American society at large to assume that Natives who live in urban settings were relocated there (Fast & Kovach, 2019; Hernandez, 2022; Pewewardy, 2003) or to assume a natural opposition between urbanity and the reservation (Fox et al., 2015). The *puyaləpabš* sit in a liminal space in the academic literature, being a Native community whose reservation occupies a sizeable portion of their traditional lands and yet still residing in an urban environment.

I hope that this study contributes to my community's understanding of their relatively unique situation and helps other communities to understand how they interact with their land.

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Appendix 1–Coding of the Narratives Shared at the Five Locations

These tables summarize the relationships between participants' narratives at the various tour sites, the initial line-by-line codes, and the focused codes. The text in the participant narrative column on the left includes orthographic representations of speakers' vocal inflections, false starts, grammatical/syntactic idiosyncrasies, and other speech details. The initial codes in the central column may summarize the narrative lines, demonstrate their relationships to the research questions, or explain their context within the broader narrative. The focused code column on the right shows how the initial code relates to the research questions.

Tour Site 1

Transcription and Coding of Narratives shared at Site 1

Participant 247		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
Um yeah. Like for me, like living history. Living memories. Is that used to be for	Living memories	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes
Cascadia number one use to play Frogger <laughs> to get across right here. And then there's a	Living personal memories.	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes
big circle. and there (wa)s a huge totem pole middle and then firecracker alley. The	Describing timescape of Cascadia	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes

first place is		
here, and the whole hill, like the lower part, would just be filled with tons and tons of stands.	Describing the timescape of Cascadia, especially the firework stands	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes
And then the food is typically all the way up at the top of the hill,...	describing events at Cascadia, specifically the firework stands, which involved her dad.	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes Family Loss
I Like, me and my family, we always had the fireworks and then, um my dad's side is	describing the timescape of Cascadia, mentioning her family's involvement	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes Family Loss
Filipino, so we also had a food stand.... [interruption from other member]	describing her family's ethnicity and food stand at Boom City.	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes Family Loss
Our line would go all the way down the hill. And it was just like the funnest time. And	describing what a fun time Boom City was.	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes Family Loss
also we went into the the dilapidated buildings we	Describing the fun she/they had in the buildings at	Feeling Connected to Place Remembering Timescapes

weren't supposed to and they were terrifying.	Cascadia.	Family
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Participant 562		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
I remember you sprained your ankle running down that old building and we finally got to	sharing a personal memory in Cascadia that involves me.	Family
the bottom floor.	sharing a personal memory in Cascadia, that involves me.	Family
Ah... Who was it? great great grandfather was at the school here, when it was a school.	sharing family connection, her great-great grandfather when to the school that was on this site.	Feeling Connected to Place Family
And then my mother was, a tuberculosis patient patient here.	Sharing family Feeling Connected to Place, mentioning that her mother was a tuberculosis patient at this place when it was a hospital.	Feeling Connected to Place Family
Miss Valentine!	sharing family experiences at this place, her mother won	Feeling Connected to Place Family

	Miss Valentine award when she was a patient at Cushman.	
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Participant 626		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
I was principal <uh> at Chief Leschi when it was on the second-floor um	sharing personal experiences at Site 1, was the principal of Chief Leschi.	History Personal Connection to Sites
of Cascadia. And most of you kind of know me generally... as... kind of a soft spoken	sharing personal experiences, giving some of his positionality as a “soft spoken sort of a guy”	History Personal Connection to Sites
sort of a guy.... Well,... when I was principal, I... I got ran over, you know, in the beginning.	sharing personal experiences having to do with his career and that it was not successful at first.	History Personal Connection to Sites
But I do have to say that I, um, I went into a classroom, <uh, now ma-> it was on the second floor.	Sharing personal experience at Site 1	History Personal Connection to Sites
But I went into a classroom to get a student, whose mother was in my office, and he was	sharing personal experience at site 1, describing other participants in the episode.	History Personal Connection to Sites

in trouble for a lot of different reasons. And I walked in the classroom to um, tell him that his	continuing with a story that took place at site 1.	History Personal Connection to Sites
mom was here, and we needed to talk and blah blah blah... And he got up. He bolted across the	sharing a personal story that took place at site 1	History Personal Connection to Sites
room and jumped out the window of the second floor. [group laughs and gasps]	sharing a personal story that took place at site 1, this portion has a surprising twist.	History Personal Connection to Sites
Now,... he was a..., he ended up being a, a family member after we got married.	it turns out that the central figure in this story became a family member.	History Personal Connection to Sites Family
Oh, I yeah [Group laughs], and so it made a... a great story uh, for many years after that	discussing the impact of his personal story in the family.	History Personal Connection to Sites Family
um, until today uh.... So anyway, there was um, there was a lot of great things that happened on	discussing the “great things” that happened at site 1	History Personal Connection to Sites

the second floor, um... of that building. <inaudible>	discussing the great things that happened at Chief Leschi School	History Personal Connection to Sites
Chief Leschi, uh, elementary was down... over there. The <i>new</i> Chief Leschi Elementary	describing the timescape of Site 1, the location of Chief Leschi elementary	History Personal Connection to Sites
as we called it. Because that was in 197...8... ish, that the Chief High School was built over	giving the date that Chief Leschi school building was built at site 1	History Personal Connection to Sites
there, and it moved there from Hawthorn, um, which was an abandoned public school right over	sharing history of site 1 as it pertains to Chief Leschi School	History Personal Connection to Sites
by La Quinta. [became like question]. That sound right? Um, and so the elementary moved there,	giving the date that Chief Leschi school building was built at site 1	History Personal Connection to Sites
and then Chief Leschi was able to eventually expand and go upstairs uh, of, Cascadia an it..., <it	sharing history of CLS, it's a little out of order	History Personal Connection to Sites
was> it was a great opportunity for, for, um... the	Sharing the benefits to the community of having CLS,	History Personal Connection to Sites

students, but also, um, you know, for staff. I	maybe specifically CLS at Cascadia.	Community
know I've gotten a lot out of that experience. I realized that I work well, I worked better with first	sharing his self discovery at Site 1 as a teacher	Identity Personal Connection to Sites
graders, the high schoolers. [Group Laughs] Um, that was uh..., awakening.	“awakening” to the realization that he is better suited to working with first graders	Identity Personal Connection to Sites

Participant 562		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
I have another one. At the powwow here. My son, Chris, won first place for fancy dance for his age category.	sharing memories that have to do with family	History Personal Experiences at Site Family

Participant 626		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
Let me let me hold your phone for you.	making a joke about wanting me to demonstrate fancy dancing	History Personal Experiences at Site Family

Participant 562		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
I don't want to leave out the church in the cemetery either. Um... We were very involved	sharing more about the timescape of Site 1, this time involving the church.	Personal Experiences at Site Family
with the church. In fact, our mom used to like to brag that she was the youngest elder of that church.	sharing about the church at Site 1, tying in her mother	History Personal Experiences at Site Family
At that time, the church was the main gathering place because there was nothing around	sharing the importance of the church to the tribal community.	History Personal Experiences at Site Family Community
here. It was the community center. Everybody used to gather up maybe three times a week and	sharing the importance of the Church as a meeting space and that people would meet there three times a week.	History Personal Experiences at Site Family
just visit up there. I think ah, Judy and the family used to gather everybody up for song and	expanding on the events that took place at the church	History Personal Experiences at Site Family

dance. My grandmother, Faye Bosshart, used to do ah, culture lessons.	expanding on the events that took place at the Church at site 1, tying in her grandmother.	History Personal Experiences at Site Family Community
Her family were carvers and so everybody learned how to carve up there. Um, So that	discussing her family's connection to the church	History Personal Experiences at Site Family
was kind of like the community center back when I was a child.	discussing her connection to the church and how it was a community center	History Personal Experiences at Site Community Childhood Connection to Site

Participant 617		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
Lots of memories. My favorite is that my great grandparents met here and that is part of	sharing that her great grandparents met at site 1	Family History
the reason I'm alive.	sharing that her great grandparents met at site 1	Family History

Tour Site 2

Transcription and Coding of Narratives shared at Site 2

Participant 562		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
I have a real special connection to this area because as a child, there were a lot of native	having a “real special connection to this area” because of childhood experiences	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site
people that lived right around here. The Iyalls used to live right up there <gestures south>. Our	having a special connection to the area because of family/friends who lived in the area.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
relatives Skokomish used to live right over here <gestures east>. And we used to travel here.	having a family connection to site 2.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
There were, there were, there was more, train traffic that went through here.	describing the timescape of site 2, more train traffic.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
I remember crossing through this area a LOT as a child, then going up that way <gestures	describing connection to the place because of childhood experiences.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site

		Loss
And SOMEhow it fee··ls good. It fee··ls like I know this is where I belong. Regardless	feeling a sense of belonging in the area because of childhood and family connections to the area	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
of what it looks like, this is this is part of my soul right here. Uh, And I think it might be because	feeling a VERY strong connection to the place, regardless of how it appears today.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
of all the relationships that we've had. And like I said, everything grew up around here.	Feeling a very strong connection to the place because of the relationships she had with the people who lived in the area.	Childhood Connection to Site Family Personal Connection to Site Loss
But the feeling of love family still exists. And, it still exists in a happy, happy, kind of,	feeling of family love still exists	Family Feeling (Love) Continuity
way. Peaceful but yet busy. So, I just wanted to share that.	being reminded of family love persisting by this site, even though it has changed drastically.	Family Feeling (Love) Continuity Acknowledging Change

Participant 213		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
Do you know what what they do here. Like what this industry is?	Discussing modern timescape.	?əx ^w sləhaydub huyud new connections
Waste paper....	Discussing modern timescape.	?əx ^w sləhaydub huyud new connections

Participant 263		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
That says Tacoma mill. over there,	Discussing modern timescape.	?əx ^w sləhaydub huyud new connections

Tour Site 3

Transcription and Coding of Narratives shared at Site 3

Participant 562		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
Um. We do have Klickitat lineage. [Chris Briden: Yeah.] I always wondered how that	Wanting more information related to family	?əx ^w sləhaydub Family History
happened. [Chris Briden: Yeah.] That might be how that happened?	requesting more information about our family lineage.	?əx ^w sləhaydub Family History

<p>As a small child again. They're bringing me back to these memories. There used to be a</p>	<p>using her memories as a small child to form connections with site 3</p>	<p>Childhood Connection to Site</p>
<p>place where my dad, Ruben Wright, used to, uh <car honks> get, uh, fishing nets <car engine</p>	<p>using her family, in this case her father Reuben Wright Sr, to create connections to this place.</p>	<p>Family Childhood Connection to Site</p>
<p>sounds block out Roberta> in <laughter> in one of these buildings right here. Probably has</p>	<p>continuing to use her father, Reuben Wright Sr, to draw connections to this site, Site 3</p>	<p>Family Childhood Connection to Site</p>
<p>nothing to do with the location but my connection to the land here.</p>	<p>explicitly stating that her connection to this site is through her father, Reuben Wright Sr.</p>	<p>Family Childhood Connection to Site</p>

Tour Site 4

Transcription and Coding of Narratives shared at Site 4

<p style="text-align: center;">Participant 617</p>		
<p>Participant Narrative</p>	<p>Initial Line Code</p>	<p>Focused Code</p>

<p><inaudible> picture for the newspaper. You know what I'm talking about? I'll have to</p>	<p>Sharing personal experience with the place, through Elder Judy Wright.</p>	<p>History Continuity Personal Experience at Site</p>
<p>share a picture with you. There's a picture with <unknown> Judy Wright. She's in front of one of</p>	<p>sharing maybe not a personal experience but a memory of Judy Wright discussing the importance of this location.</p>	<p>History Continuity</p>
<p>these buildings, and she was talking about how it was a village site.</p>	<p>sharing a memory or maybe even just a fact that Judy Wright talked about this being a village site.</p>	<p>History Continuity</p>

Tour Site 5

Transcription and Coding of Narratives shared at Site 5

Participant 743		
Participant Narrative	Initial Line Code	Focused Code
<p>I uh, I've spent a number of years now trying to figure out everything that's happened at</p>	<p>describing his relationship to this location through his job, having a lot of information about this place.</p>	<p>CRM (Cultural Resource Management)/Career Personal Connection to Site History</p>
<p>this site, working on behalf of the Port of Tacoma. Uh, on</p>	<p>defining his relationships to the place through his job.</p>	<p>CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site</p>

cultural resources aspects, for the skill		History
center and for the administrative buildings. So the the yellow one now is, going to be the port Administration building.	describing his knowledge of the area through his work.	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
And I've got so many photos, of the, the South Fork of the river coming out here. Really,	describing his knowledge of the river mouth	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
really beautiful setting and trying to untangle all the different layers that have been put on this	describing the complexity of his work, trying to untangle layers imposed on site	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
site. It's at the South Fork. And as you've alluded to, that used to be where the river came out.	sharing details of the site's history	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
And then the North Fork came out just kind of almost where it where it is now.	sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
This being a historic island.	sharing details of the historic	CRM/Career

And, and I've read some reference to some of the earliest <i>fill</i>	timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	Personal Connection to Site History
this was, I've never been able to see this in any history book. I've only seen it in the archeological	sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning the fill	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
report. Some of the earliest fill actually came from, sluicing off the hillside and then redepositing	sharing details of the development of the area, specifically about how the area was filled using sluicing off the hillside.	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
it over there <gestures to Port of Tacoma>. Yeah. So one of the, one of the key concerns with	continuing information of sluicing and fill	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History
that earliest <i>fill</i> is that you might actually have a village site redeposited	describing how the sluicing may have relocated the village site into the fill of the mudflats	CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History Loss
to a very culturally significant	sharing details of	CRM/Career

<p>landform in and of itself. So that's that's one of those</p>	<p>development. I think he is saying that the culturally significant place of Puyallup may have been deposited directly onto another culturally significant site, the river mouth</p>	<p>Personal Connection to Site History Loss</p>
<p>things that we've been trying to, untangle, is what happened</p>	<p>describing his work trying to untangle the history of development of this site.</p>	<p>CRM/Career Personal Connection to Site History Loss</p>
<p><remainder inaudible></p>		

Appendix 2–Focused Coding

The sections of this appendix correspond to the participants of the study. During the initial coding process, each line of the participants' narrative was given a line-by-line code; the narratives themselves are not shared for privacy reasons. In the second stage of analysis, each line of code was assigned to one or more focused codes. Each table represents one focused code for each participant section. The initial codes are in the left column of a focused code table. Often, one initial code relates to more than one focused code, and these Related Codes are in the central column, named "Related Code(s)." The "Observations" column contains notes that provide extra context, such as notes on nonverbal communication, or are notes to myself. (See [Analysis](#) section for a more in-depth discussion of codes and procedures.)

No attempt was made to homogenize the focused codes across participants, as they were generated from participants' narratives. Imposing homogenization would disrupt the participants' shared *řǎř*. The entries are not numbered because doing so might suggest chronology, ranking, or other forms of organization that do not exist in the data. *tx^wǎłřucid* text is not italicized in the tables because the entries represent my spontaneous thoughts or impressions, and italicizing them would suggest a duality that does not exist in my thought processes.

The notation "IVC" occurs throughout the text. These are In-Vivo-Codes ([see Analysis section](#)) that provided insights into community relationships after the initial and focused coding.

Participant 321

Focused Code – Lack of Connection

Initial Codes	Related Code(s)	Observations
Lacking an emotional connection to places she read about.	Learning	
not having connection		
could not create her own experiences or memories of the places.	Learning Language	
not having physical connection	Learning Language	
Visualizing old places doesn't work (to create personal connections?)	Learning Language	
not having connection through sda?idup	Learning Language	

Focused Code – Feeling of Connection

Initial Codes	Related Code(s)	Observations
feeling connection to one of the tour sites.		
feeling connection to site 1		
feeling connection because of the works she did on that site.		
feeling a connection through family	Family	

feeling connection because of a family member's experiences on that site.	Family	
feeling connection to this site because of family connection	Family	

Focused Code – Learning

Initial Codes	Related Code(s)	Observations
choosing not to share information during tour		321 was saying that she would rather listen and learn from more informed people.
listening to others to gain information		
connecting with other members, maybe information, unclear		
choosing to listen and connect		
believing that words must mean something		
Thinking about her own past experiences in gaining knowledge.	Language	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
Listening instead of sharing		

personal experience		
Lacking an emotional connection to places she read about.	Lack of Connection Language	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
could not create her own experiences or memories of the places.	Language Lacking Connection	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
not having physical connection	Learning Lacking Connection	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
Visualizing old places doesn't work (to create personal connections?)	Learning Lacking Connection	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names

Focused Code – Language

Initial Codes	Related Code(s)	Observations
not having connection through sda?idup		
Lacking an emotional connection to	Lack of Connection	during this code, 321

places she read about.	Learning	is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
could not create her own experiences or memories of the places.		during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
not having physical connection	Lack of Connection Learning	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names
Thinking about her own past experiences in gaining knowledge.	Lack of Connection Learning	during this code, 321 is talking about her experiences in HP, learning place names

Focused Code – Family

Initial Codes	Related Code(s)	Observations
feeling a connection through family	Feeling Connection	
feeling connection because of a family member’s experiences on that site.	Feeling Connection	

Participant 743

Focused Code–Learning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
staring at old photos and maps trying to know		
spending time focusing...		
trying to know the history of that particular location		
trying, expending effort to know, connect		
expending effort while driving/commuting		
discovering history of place		
knowing names of obscure places		
imagining, visualizing previous timescape		
imagining pre-settlement places		
knowing names of obscure places		
not glossing [over places]		
knowing past stories are not static		
feeling connection to this site because of family connection	Feeling Connection	

staring at old photos and maps trying to know		
spending time focusing...		
trying to know the history of that particular location		
trying, expending effort to know, connect		
expending effort while driving/commuting		
discovering history of place		
knowing names of obscure places		
imagining, visualizing previous timescape		
imagining pre-settlement places		
knowing names of obscure places		
not glossing [over places]		
knowing past stories are not static		
discovering history of a specific place		
ʔulələʔuləb		
feeling disappointed in self for not having information memorized		
tying particular settler people to		

Puyallup history		
tying a particular property to events beyond that property		
tying a particular property to events beyond that property		
feeling surprised that a particular property had a richer history than expected		
“transformed”		
being inspired toward intellectual curiosity	change as result of tour	
staring at old photos and maps trying to know		
spending time focusing...		
trying to know the history of that particular location		
trying, expending effort to know, connect		
expending effort while driving/commuting	travel	
discovering history of place		
knowing names of obscure places		
imagining pre-settlement places		

knowing names of obscure places		
not glossing [over places]		
extending information to other sites, not on tour	Changing	
being inspired by tour to follow rabbit hole.	Changing	
being inspired by tour to follow rabbit hole.	Changing	
Tour inspired 743 to do research on people/place	Changing	
being inspired toward intellectual curiosity	Changing	
tour inspired curiosity knowing that more things happen than “the most significant”	Changing	

Focused Code – Language

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
knowing names of obscure places	Learning	
apologizing for not knowing/remembering native place names	Changing	
thinking differently because of place	Changing	

name knowledge		
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Focused Code – Changing as Result of the Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
changing as result of tour		
changing behavior after site tour/knowing more		
connecting intersections to history		
feeling in an area		
thinking, remembering information from site tour		
thinking about information from site tour		
delineating time after tour		
thinking differently because of place name knowledge	Language	
extending information to other sites, not on tour	Learning	
being inspired by tour to follow rabbit hole.	Learning	
following research rabbit holes (IVC?)	Learning	
Tour inspired 743 to do research on	Learning	

people/place		
being inspired to know more	Learning	stammering: emotional reaction?
describing specific places in Puyallup land		
being transformed transformed by tour or his research on the above property?		
being transformed by another participant's memories		
being surprised at the personal experiences of an unremarkable place		
being surprised at the personal experiences of an unremarkable place		
other people's experiences		
being inspired toward intellectual curiosity	Learning	
tour inspired curiosity knowing that more things happen than "the most significant"		
apologizing for not knowing/remembering native place names	Learning, Traveling, Changing	

Focused Code – Cultural Resource Management (CRM)/Employment/Career

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
critiquing cultural resources honestly		
Who or what happened in places, related to CRM protocols		
critiquing how cultural resource management emphasizes people or events		
critiquing CRM's focus on specific properties		
critiquing/evaluating CRM's emphasis on firsts		
critiquing CRM's deciding people are not important	Loss	
knowing about human remains provides some relief	Loss	
feeling emotion of human remains	Loss	emotion apparent, haac t'aqšøds
suspecting human remains but not finding	Loss	
development/remediation		
sharing personal employment history contextualizing	Positionality	

building	Loss	
working on remediation and restoration	Loss	
interaction between archeology and development	Loss	
feeling better about remediation or restoration	Loss	
developing	Loss	
being asked for help by engineers		
seeing cultural resources as a hinderance to development (by developers/engineers)	Loss	
seeing cultural resources as a hindrance to development	Loss	
defining cultural sites using IVC		
defining development process		
Describing work Looking at records		
Describing work looking at ethnographic documentation IVC		
defining work connection between work and tribes connection between development and tribes		

describing work answering developers' questions about regulation		
interaction between development and tribes		
ascertaining relationship between project and the cultural setting		
describing work predicting request		
anticipating investigation and consultation with tribes		
Working with PTOI HPD.		
coordinating with PTHPD regularly on Port of Tacoma		
seeing his work as a "colonized approach" to the landscape IVC	Positionality	
Personal connection to places.	Positionality	
referring to his home's cultural resources	Positionality	
critiquing cultural management honestly	Positionality	
Cultural Resource management is not saving anything.	Loss	

sharing personal history regarding career	Positionality	
assessing probability of historic sites		
describing work process		repeating words—does this suggest a careful choice of phrasing or words?
sharing personal history regarding work, tying in Native people	Positionality	
critiquing CRM, CRM does not save anything	Loss	
critiquing CRM. CRM allows things to be destroyed.	Loss	
critiquing CRM. CRM is “just a permitting mechanism” IVC		
Improvement of specific areas.		
evaluating a specific site in regard to CRM		
sharing specific problematic details of a site	Loss	
sharing knowledge of a site from perspective of work		
sharing knowledge of specific site.		

“fish mix” IVC		
sharing opinion: current development is an improvement over previous development	Positionality	
Sharing perspective: current development is an improvement over previous development		
sharing opinion: current development can be “respectful” IVC		
admitting development on “culturally significant area” IVC	Loss	
Development of an important area can be difficult.	Loss	
depreciating own opinion. Does 743 mean that he it is not for him to comment on within the context of his work duties?	Positionality	
sharing opinion, even respectful development is development	Loss	
sharing difficulties in developing a culturally important area with the PTHPD	Loss Positionality	
sharing that development of a specific	Loss	

site was difficult because of its cultural importance.		
depreciating own opinion. Again, from professional input?	Positionality	
I wonder why 743 feels like he is not allowed to “speak on” whether a project is good or bad.	Positionality	
reconciling loss with lack of “regulatory relevance” IVC	Loss	
describing his relationship to this location through his job, having a lot of information about this place.	History	
defining his relationships to the place through his job.		
describing his knowledge of the area through his work.	History	
describing his knowledge of the river mouth	History	
describing the complexity of his work, trying to untangle layers imposed on site``	History	
describing his relationship to this location through his job, having a lot of	History	

information about this place.		
defining his relationships to the place through his job.	History	
describing his knowledge of the area through his work.	History	
describing his knowledge of the river mouth	History	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	History	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	History	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning the fill	History	
sharing details of the development of the area, specifically about how the area was filled using sluicing off the hillside.	History	
continuing information of sluicing and fill	CRM	
describing how the sluicing may have relocated the village site into the fill of	CRM	

the mudflats		
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Focused Code – History

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
describing his relationship to this location through his job, having a lot of information about this place.	CRM	
defining his relationships to the place through his job.	CRM	
describing his knowledge of the area through his work.	CRM	
describing his knowledge of the river mouth	CRM	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	CRM	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning that between the mouths of the river was an island.	CRM	
sharing details of the historic timescape of the area, mentioning the fill	CRM	
sharing details of the development of the area, specifically about how the	CRM	

area was filled using sluicing off the hillside.		
continuing information of sluicing and fill	CRM	
describing how the sluicing may have relocated the village site into the fill of the mudflats	CRM	
sharing details of development. I think he is saying that the culturally significant place of Puyallup may have been deposited directly onto another culturally significant site, the river mouth	CRM	
describing his work trying to untangle the history of development of this site.	CRM	

Focused Code – Listening to Other Participants

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
being reminded by other participant's narrative		
interacting with other research members		

Focused Code – Loss

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
thinking about what is lost		
Loss, material and history		
acknowledging loss, destruction		
describing types off loss, destruction		
personalizing loss: “homes” IVC?		
acknowledging loss, death		
acknowledging that some past lives may go unrecognized		
reconciling loss with lack of “regulatory relevance” IVC	CRM	
knowing about human remains provides some relief	CRM	
suspecting human remains but not finding	CRM	
emotional baggage-loss		
defining “heavy” emotional baggage related to place IVC?		
building	CRM	
working on remediation and restoration	CRM	
interaction between archeology and	CRM	

development		
feeling better about remediation or restoration	CRM	
developing	CRM, Positionality	
Cultural Resource management is not saving anything.	CRM	
admitting development on “culturally significant area” IVC	CRM	
Development of an important area can be difficult.	CRM	
critiquing CRM, CRM does not save anything	CRM	
critiquing CRM. CRM allows things to be destroyed.	CRM	
critiquing CRM, CRM does not save anything	CRM	
sharing opinion, even respectful development is development	CRM	
sharing difficulties in developing a culturally important area with the PTHPD	CRM POSITIONALITY	
sharing that development of a specific site was difficult because of its cultural	CRM	

importance.		
critiquing CRM's deciding people are not important	CRM	
interaction between archeology and development	CRM	
seeing cultural resources as a hinderance to development (by developers/engineers)	CRM	
seeing cultural resources as a hindrance to development	CRM	
sharing specific problematic details of a site	CRM	
acknowledging importance even though material culture is lost		(SEE 756's COMMENTS)
acknowledging emotional baggage of places		
feeling emotion of human remains	CRM	emotion apparent, haac t'aqšøds

Focused Code – Traveling/Commuting

Initial Codes	related code	observations
being familiar with place		
traveling through place		

apologizing for perceived lack of direction[al sense]		
being confused by the geography of a specific place		
traveling		
expending effort while driving/commuting	Learning	

Focused Code – Positionality

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
perspective – self awareness		
defining self as outsider		
personal experiences may not be the most significant thing to happen in a place		
not having questions about research question		
Colonized versus Native ləʔalig ^w əd.		
noticing European philosophy		
feeling guilty about his choice of words, in light of my explanations		
seeing his work as a “colonized approach” to the landscape IVC	CRM	

viewing his narrative as “stream of consciousness” IVC		
seeing his work as a “colonized approach” to the landscape IVC		
Personal connection to places.		
referring to his home’s cultural resources	CRM	
critiquing cultural management honestly	CRM	
telling personal history contextualizing		
sharing opinion: current development is an improvement over previous development	CRM	
Sharing perspective: current development is an improvement over previous development	CRM	
depreciating own opinion. Does 743 mean that he it is not for him to comment on within the context of his work duties?	CRM	
sharing difficulties in developing a culturally important area with the PTHPD	CRM LOSS	

depreciating own opinion. Again, from professional input?	CRM	
I wonder why 743 feels like he is not allowed to “speak on” whether a project is good or bad.	CRM	
sharing personal employment history contextualizing	CRM	
sharing personal history regarding career	CRM	
sharing personal history regarding work, tying in Native people	CRM	
apologizing for perceived lack of direction[al sense]		

Participant 252

Focused Code – Change as a Result of Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
feeling unclear about whether the site tour made him think differently		
Thoughts kept “popping up” after tour		
showing that cultural topics “stick” with him		
being continually reminded of topics		

from the tour		
Tour reminded of personal experience.	Remembering	
comparing well-known sites to less well known		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
comparing well-known sites to less well known		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
naming the other sites, knowing the cross streets, not a lot of other people did		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
not thinking about one particular "Zone" IVC		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
knowing certain site only vaguely		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
off hand knowledge of places	Remembering	252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
knowing mouth of river site because of personal involvement with it	Remembering	252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour

being cognizant or mindful		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
attempting to be mindful of an otherwise unknown place		252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour
not feeling aware of old geography, but made aware during tour		
not being aware of previous geography even though he travels through the area “all the time”		
not being aware of the cultural significance of a place prior to tour		
feeling different about a place after the site tour		
Being inspiration to investigate further		
being triggered to know more		
Inspiration, wanting to know more.		
not wanting to know or think more		
passing regularly by these places	Travel	252 is discussing his thoughts as a result of the tour, iteration seems important,

		traveling also seems important, both here and in 743's interview
holding knowledge, even if not in a profound way	Travel	He is discussing how his ideas have changed during his commute after the site tour
referring back to parts of conversation and discussing how those places tie in with family	Family	
being inspired by tour or information about tour		
being inspired to do something (rather than just sharing information?)	Emotion	
being inspired to "truly do something"		
suggesting that we pull the canoes in to the river mouth location		
Tour was not life changing, but did have an effect		
distinguishing profundity with sticking with him IVC		

remembering things shared during site tour? Being inspired to do other things? Sharing information with other people? What does “stuck with me” mean?		
adding to “knowledge bank” IVC	Remembering	
new knowledge “stuck with me”		
travelling through areas triggers memories/ideas	Travel	
having personal iterative familiarity with a place	Travel	he is discussing how his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour
having personal iterative familiarity with a place	Travel	he is discussing how his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour
sticking with you through personal iterative experience	Travel	he is discussing how his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour
being happy/glad about participation.	Emotion	which is saying something, 252 is a very busy person with

		many social commitments
“spawned” new ideas		
becoming “more of a history dude”		
inspiration to overlay images to create new maps		
thinking more deeply about things		
desiring to create new resources that display changes in environment	Emotion	
desiring to create new resources that display changes in environment	Emotion	
comparing past experience with newly discovered cultural significance	Remembering	
tour inspired additional conversations with people who did not go on the tour		
having new conversations that were spawned by the site tour		
undertaking his own history with an emphasis on architecture of Cascadia		
describing his own history project about Cascadia		
more inspiration for new projects		
describing ways/resources he can use		

to “look back”		
using a personal story to convey the emotional impact of the tour	Family	Story was the conversation with his wife
Including his mom in the information shared in the site tour	Family	
being inspired to show his mom google maps after the site tour	Family	

Focused Code – Positionality

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
252 felt uncomfortable talking in the group.		252 explains that he felt uncomfortable because of status as a non-Elder
being uncomfortable talking in groups		252 explains that he felt uncomfortable because of status as a non-Elder
wanting to listen to Elders instead of talking	Learning	252 explains that he felt uncomfortable because of status as a

		non-Elder
expressing relationship between the site tour and our job		
tie in between site tour and work		
getting new ideas from site tour		
discussing weather during tour		Mitigating bad circumstances of tour weather
having a connection to a place, “every time” he sees it		

Focused Code – Learning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
hearing a lot more of the history		
Learning new histories about places		
discussing information from site tour		
discussing information from site tour		
hearing others speaking, especially Elders		
hearing others speaking, especially Elders		
feeling like he “should look” at	Emotion	

historical maps		
being inclined to look for more information or confirmation of memories	Emotion	
being prompted by small group to continue his own research		
applying traditional PNW techniques to analyzing places		
tying traditional ideas to modern techniques of analyzing land		
feeling comfortable about using traditional techniques to analyze modern place		
drawing ties between “shit that we do” in Language and heritage and place knowledge		
Making the point that the work we do can benefit people later, or else make them inquire	Teaching/sharing	

Focused Code – Remembering

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
being reminded of growing up nearby		

Tour reminded of personal experience.		
off hand knowledge of places	Change	
knowing mouth of river site because of personal involvement with it	Change	
admitting non-familiarity with one of the places on the tour		
Defining past experience at a place.		
personal experience, though unrelated to history or culture.		
defining past experience of at a place		
defining past experience at a place		
drawing distinction between going out for a cultural purpose versus Pokémon.		It seems like getting out of the car for the purpose of Pokémon does not qualify as getting out of the car. does this give “getting out” a special meaning IVC?
finding a “specific tie to that zone” IVC		does “tie” mean “personal experience”?

liking being at site 5, by the mouth of the Puyallup River	Family Emotion	liked being at a place he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
defining personal experience Site 5	Family Emotion	liked being at a place he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
adding to “knowledge bank” IVC	Change	
describing 252’s personal experience with these places		
defining iteration		
connecting place and childhood		
remembering youth		
drawing distinction between knowing and “grasping” IVC		
comparing past experience with newly discovered cultural significance	Change	
connections to almost forgotten		

personal experiences		
describing childhood experiences		
drawing connections between place and family	Family	
family connection to the place	Family	
thinking in terms of timelines		
drawing connections to memories of childhood		
drawing connections to memories of childhood		
feeling loss of “direct connection” IVC	Loss of Connection	
remembering another place, the cemetery, not on the tour		
remembering another place, a parking lot, not on the tour		
remembering another place, k ^w ax ^w ačič, not on tour	Language	
having difficult time recalling or “putting together” IVC	Loss of Connection	
Having difficulty because of time	Loss of Connection	
feeling weird, that these places actually still exist when 252 is away from them.	Emotion	

feeling that the tudx ^w ?a are still there when he's away from them	Emotion	
feeling like the tuloop is still there when he is away from them IVC	Emotion	
feeling weird because one place can have many memories	Emotion	
feeling disconnection between prior geography and current	Emotion	
disorienting trying to remember	Emotion	
knowing history can be disorienting!!!	Emotion	
naming specific place, dăč'u? šəgł	Language	
describing ways/resources he can use to "look back"	Change	
desiring to look back at "youth things" IVC		
wanting documentation of his memories?	Emotion	
Having memories that he cannot place	Loss	
wanting resources to "place" his memories more accurately. I think he's looking for accuracy of location and not really confirmation. Accuracy seems very important to 252.	Emotion	

correcting and describing an old location		
correcting and describing an old location		
discussing old location and placement of buildings		
feeling curious and wanting to look at old maps to clarify memories	Emotion	
defining a particular area he grew up in		
linking a particular place to his age and events		
defining the modern state of the house he grew up in		
having a lot of memories of this area		
memories tied to visualization		
describing that comfortability is a process: “my comfortability... solidifies”, but see next comment or the rest of 252’s thought	Emotion	
feeling loss: being more comfortable with the 2025 landscape causes the memories are “slipping away” IVC	Emotion Loss Remembering	
having memories triggered	Change	

remembering previous conversations about the five teachers		
feeling that recalling things “solidifies” them IVC		
losing the “tether” IVC between, not the place, but six-year-old identity!	Loss	
responding to CB’s comment about dreaming of places as they once were, in dreams places have not changed, they’re still “legit” IVC		
trying to remap out a place that had been in conversation		
sharing/confirming details about an old location	Sharing	
remembering an area vividly		
trying to recall an event that happened at a location, maybe the event is what made the details important for 252?		
trying to recall that event. trying to recall why he was at that location		
Including family members in recalling memories	Family	
plotting his mother’s experiences in	Family	

certain places along a timeline with his own.		
working out his own age in relation to images on google docs		
recalling conversation about place with non-participant		
discussing the road layout near location 1		
describing the road layout near location 1		
describing the road layout near location 1		
recalling details of the former street layout		
recalling details of former street layout		
recalling details of former street layout		
recalling details of former street layout, but not being able to remember details, needing to consult google maps		
feeling “weird” about remembering	Emotion	
remembering being at places and going to places		

remembering going to and being at grandparents house	Family	
remembering going to a specific house		
remembering a house that no longer exists		
remembering a house that no longer exists and giving the location's current identity		
standing in a location and trying to relate it to previous timescape		
feeling unsure about locations, losing the "current" IVC	Loss Emotion	
having vivid memories of his Grandma	Family	
placing his Grandma Alice's house	Family	
sharing memories about his grandma Alice's house with his dad, and his dad gives conflicting information.	Family Sharing	
being unable to recall his grandma Alice's house	Family Loss	
having memories of his Aunt Susie's house	Family	
Knowing where his Aunt Susie's house is, I think this is contrast to his	Family	

Grandma Alice's house, which he cannot remember.		
giving location of his aunt [name]'s house using landmarks that do still exist today	Family	
remembering going through the "east side" IVC all the time as a kid, but now just driving through. Relationship with the area has changed.		
Tying in recent events to family locations which still exist, like his Aunt Babe's house	Family	
tying youth history to a place that still exists, though the family who live in those places are different	Family	

Focused Code – Language

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
remembering another place, k ^w ax ^w ačič?, not on tour	Remembering	
naming specific place, dəč'uʔ šəgl	Remembering	
Responding to my point that the elders who shared the place names that we	Loss	

think we know were dealing with the same loss of connection, probably even more so		
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Focused Code – Travel

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
passing regularly by these places	Change	iteration seems important, traveling also seems important, both here and in 743's interview
holding knowledge, even if not in a profound way	Change	He is discussing how his ideas have changed during his commute after the site tour
travelling through areas triggers memories/ideas	Change	
having personal iterative familiarity with a place	Change	he is discussing how his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour
having personal iterative familiarity	Change	he is discussing how

with a place		his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour
sticking with you through personal iterative experience	Change	he is discussing how his daily commute is changed because of knowledge from tour

Focused Code – Family

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
referring back to parts of conversation and discussing how those places tie in with family	Change	
family involvement in site 2		
mentioning family connections and 'dreams' IVC		
liking being at site 5, by the mouth of the Puyallup River	Emotion Remembering	liked being at a place he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
defining personal experience Site 5	Emotion	liked being at a place

	Remembering	he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
drawing connections between place and family	Remembering	
family connection to the place	Remembering	
calling wife to bring her into the conversation afterwards	Sharing	
bringing wife into experience, showing excitement	Emotion Sharing	
using a personal story to convey the emotional impact of the tour	Change	Story was the conversation with his wife
describing that comfortability is a process: “my comfortability... solidifies”, but see next comment or the rest of 252’s thought	Remembering	
feeling loss: being more comfortable with the 2025 landscape causes the memories are “slipping away” IVC	Emotion Loss Remembering	
Including family members in recalling	Remembering	

memories		
Including his mom in the information shared in the site tour	Change	
being inspired to show his mom google maps after the site tour	Change	
giving details about the interaction with his mother		
being surprised that his mother did not have the same reaction to seeing historical places that he did	Emotion	
speculating that the connection was different from his mother's because she was an adult at those locations. This is pretty important, maybe the strong connections are formed when we are children at places.	Emotion Loss	
speculating that his mother's memories about places were not as emotionally charged as his.	Emotion	
plotting his mother's experiences in certain places along a timeline with his own.	Remembering	
remembering going to and being at	Remembering	

grandparents' house		
having vivid memories of his Grandma	Remembering	
placing his Grandma Alice's house	Remembering	
sharing memories about his grandma Alice's house with his dad, and his dad gives conflicting information.	Remembering Sharing	
being unable to recall his grandma Alice's house	Remembering Loss	
having memories of his Aunt Susie's house	Remembering	
Knowing where his Aunt Susie's house is, I think this is contrast to his Grandma Alice's house, which he cannot remember.	Remembering	
giving location of his aunt susie's house using landmarks that do still exist today	Remembering	
stating that the area is not safe nowadays		Referring to Aunt Suzie's house
giving location of his aunt Susie's house		
giving information about the area as it		

is today where his aunt [name]'s house once stood		
tying in family (spouse) to old relationships (dad's best friend)		
tying in family (spouse) to old relationships (his babysitter)		
tying in family (spouse) to old relationships (his buddy, his Aunt [name])		
Tying in recent events to family locations which still exist, like his Aunt [name]'s house	Remembering	
tying youth history to a place that still exists, though the family who live in those places are different	Remembering	
responding to my comment, that I could have asked my dad to confirm the location of a place up until he passed away	Loss	
imitating my dad's response	Loss	

Focused Code – Emotion

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
liking being at site 5, by the mouth of the Puyallup River	Family Remembering	liked being at a place he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
defining personal experience Site 5	Remembering Family	liked being at a place he had been at before, which had a personal and family connection (the Reed stamps)
being inspired to do something (rather than just sharing information?)	Change	
using a lot of filler words. does this suggest marking emotional import that he does not feel that he has adequately expressed?		
not finding adequate words to explain himself?		
being happy/glad about participation.	Travel	which is saying

		something, 252 is a very busy person with many social commitments
saying that site tour was a “random kind of thing”		
feeling uncomfortable in group setting		
being reluctant to do things, I get it		
not wanting to “be on” IVC		
expressing happiness that he participated in ST		
expressing appreciation about information share don ST		
liking the mudflats, especially		
desiring to create new resources that display changes in environment	Change	
desiring to create new resources that display changes in environment	Change	
asking for acknowledgement	Validation	
asking for acknowledgement	Validation	“Know what I mean?” Requesting participation in

		recollection?
feeling weird, that these places actually still exist when 252 is away from them.	Remembering	
feeling that the tudx ^w ?a are still there when he's away from them	Remembering	
feeling like the tuloop is still there when he is away from them IVC	Remembering	
feeling that his feelings or thoughts are weird, what does this mean?		
feeling weird because one place can have many memories	Remembering	
asking for agreement or participation in thought	Validation	
disorienting trying to remember	Remembering	
knowing history can be disorienting!!!	Remembering	
wanting documentation of his memories?	Remembering	
wanting resources to "place" his memories more accurately. I think he's looking for accuracy of location and not really confirmation. Accuracy seems very important to 252.	Remembering	
feeling curious and wanting to look at	Remembering	

old maps to clarify memories		
asking for mutual recollection	Validation	
feeling like he “should look” at historical maps	Learning	
being inclined to look for more information or confirmation of memories	Learning	
being happy about being able to discuss the tour with other participants with whom 252 is close	Sharing	
being more comfortable in a smaller group setting than the whole group		
needing a break from the big group to speak to smaller group.	Sharing	
bringing wife into experience, showing excitement	Sharing Family	
sharing that the “sharing” part was what he enjoyed the most, I’m not actually sure what part he means. I think he means his conversation in the car with 247 and 252.	Sharing	
Wanting to share more because of the small group conversations with 247	Sharing	

and 213.		
setting up idea about comfort		
Holding knowledge about past geography gives 252 some “weird comfortability with the modern layout landscape of this zone, all of Tacoma”		
feeling loss: being more comfortable with the 2025 landscape causes the memories are “slipping away” IVC	Emotion Loss Remembering	
feeling comfortable about using traditional techniques to analyze modern place		
feeling that recalling things “solidifies” them IVC		
being surprised that his mother did not have the same reaction to seeing historical places that he did	Family	
speculating that the connection was different from his mother’s because she was an adult at those locations. This is pretty important, maybe the strong connections are formed when we are children at places.	Family Loss	

speculating that his mother’s memories about places were not as emotionally charged as his.	Emotion	
feeling desensitized to technology		
feeling “weird” about remembering	Remembering	
feeling weird “to be removed” IVC	Loss	
feeling unsure about locations, losing the “current” IVC	Loss Remembering	
losing things makes you lose the “sense of... ‘I remember’”	Loss	
knowing that you can’t go to certain childhood locations makes you lose connection to them.		

Focused Code – Validation

feeling loss of “direct connection” IVC	Related code	Observations
asking for mutual recollection	Remembering	
asking for agreement or participation in thought	Remembering	
asking for acknowledgement	Emotion	
asking for acknowledgement	Emotion	“Know what I mean?”
feeling a “kick in the gut”		

Focused Code – Loss of Connection

felling loss of “direct connection” IVC	Related code	Observations
felling loss of “direct connection” IVC	Remembering	
feeling removed from historical geography		
feeling removed from historical geography		
feeling loss about past building		
having difficulty remembering past road layout		
having difficult time recalling or “putting together” IVC	Remembering	
Having difficulty because of time	Remembering	
feeling disconnection between prior geography and current	Remembering	
Having memories that he cannot place change is disorienting		
feeling loss: being more comfortable with the 2025 landscape causes the memories are “slipping away” IVC	Emotion Loss Remembering	
losing the “tether” IVC between, not the place, but six-year-old identity!	Remembering	

speculating that the connection was different from his mother's because she was an adult at those locations. This is pretty important, maybe the strong connections are formed when we are children at places.	Family Emotion	
recalling details of former street layout, but not being able to remember details, needing to consult google maps		
losing "exact coordinates" of a location, requesting confirmation		
feeling weird "to be removed" IVC	Emotion	
feeling unsure about locations, losing the "current" IVC	Emotion	
being unable to recall his grandma Alice's house	Remembering Family	
beginning a thought about "removal" but then digressing about memory, maybe not a digression but a tæc to expand on the idea		
losing things makes you lose the "sense of... 'I remember'"	Emotion	
Responding to my point that the elders	Language	

who shared the place names that we think we know were dealing with the same loss of connection, probably even more so		
responding to my comment about losing track of locations on the Rez, requesting confirmation that I understand his point		
responding to my comment, that I could have asked my dad to confirm the location of a place up until he passed away	Family	
imitating my dad's response	Family	
losing knowledge, connection		

Focused Code – Teaching/Sharing

falling loss of “direct connection” IVC	Related code	Observations
describing his own historical project	Change	This project was inspired by the walking tour
tour inspired additional conversations with people who did not go on the tour	tour inspired additional conversations with people who did not go on the tour	tour inspired additional conversations with

		people who did not go on the tour
having new conversations that were spawned by the site tour	having new conversations that were spawned by the site tour	having new conversations that were spawned by the site tour
describing the current geography		
comparing old and new loop		
comparing old and new loop		
being happy about being able to discuss the tour with other participants with whom 252 is close	Emotion	
holding conversation in a smaller group with people he was close to		
needing a break from the big group to speak to smaller group.	Emotion	
calling wife to bring her into the conversation afterwards	Family	
bringing wife into experience, showing excitement	Family Emotion	
sharing that the “sharing” part was what he enjoyed the most, I’m not actually sure what part he means. I	Emotion	

think he means his conversation in the car with 247 and 213.		
Wanting to share more because of the small group conversations with 247 and 213.	Emotion	
roping in other people, who were not part of the tour, to share history		
describing a conversation and informal research session we engaged in which was inspired by the site tour		
continuing to describe a separate informal research and conversation session and its emotional impact		
Discussing the modern layout of location 1		
sharing/confirming details about an old location	Remembering	
comparing timelines between technology and lives		
describing how some people don't appreciate the lack of certain technology in the recent past		252 is discussing how technology can be used or not used to document past

		timescapes
sharing memories about his grandma Alice’s house with his dad, and his dad gives conflicting information.	Remembering Family	
giving location of his aunt susie’s house	Sharing	
Making the point that the work we do can benefit people later, or else make them inquire	Learning	
stating the possibility that people in the future can benefit from the site tour research by drawing connections		

Participant 213

Focused Code – Travel/commute

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
responding to my question, sets up the response by stating that “when I’m driving around town...”		
driving around with his kids, he can explain	Family Sharing/Teaching	

Focused Code – Emotion

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
drawing connections between place and happy memories and ancestors	Family/Ancestors	
feeling/knowing that the land is “ours” IVC	Identity	
feeling that “we belong to the space”	Identity/Belonging	
feeling inspired to do additional research	Sparking Curiosity	
feeling inspired to do additional research about the Klickitats	Sparking Curiosity	
“Laughing through the pain” IVC=pain of colonialism		

Focused Code – Family/Ancestors

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
drawing connections between place and happy memories and ancestors	Emotion	
driving around with his kids, he can explain	Family Sharing/Teaching	
Sharing teachings and connections with his kids.	Sharing/Teaching	
remembering childhood experiences		

with his dad		
talking about what his dad talked about when he (213) was a child		
recalling his dad’s experiences, mentions “left side of Vashon Island” which assumes our shared location south of the Island		
sharing information his dad shared with him		
sharing information his dad shared with him		
sharing information his dad shared with him		
speculating about when his dad was doing his fishing	Thinking	
Talking about how his dad was continuing the tribe’s legacy		
drawing ties between his dad and what I said during the tour		
looking at some places, like the Puget Sound or the river makes him think of his dad’s time in other places that he cannot see. It draws a connection to	Thinking	

distant places and people.		
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Focused Code – Sharing/Teaching

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
driving around with his kids, he can explain	Family Emotion	
Sharing teachings and connections with his kids.	Family	

Focused Code – Identity/Belonging

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
feeling more secure in identity		
feeling more confident after learning more information		
feeling/knowing that the land is “ours” IVC	Emotion	
feeling that “we belong to the space”		
feeling “just a little bit more... security and confidence in my identity”		
adding to his “pocket of confidence and identity		
discussing information I shared during the tour, beginning a thought that ends		

in reassurance		
being reassured by Meeker’s account of Puyallup people		
finding reassurance that our ancestors found “moments of happiness and joy and connection”		

Focused Code – Sparking Curiosity

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sparking curiosity, especially in location 2 and the Klickitat connection		
feeling inspired to do additional research	Emotion	
feeling inspired to do additional research about the Klickitats	Emotion	
requesting list of place names. expressing interest in the places we talked about on site tour		
feeling torn between taking notes and “being in the moment” IVC		

Focused Code – Thinking/Learning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
Looking at the river makes him think about other places and times		
speculating about when his dad was doing his fishing	Family	
Looking at places makes him think of history, seeing history as a connection		
looking at some places, like the Puget Sound or the river makes him think of his dad's time in other places that he cannot see. It draws a connection to distant places and people.	Family	
Looking at places makes him think of history, seeing history as a connection		
Enquiring about modern timescape.		
Enquiring about modern timescape.		

Participant 165Focused Code – tx^wəlšucid

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
ʔutx ^w əlšucidəb “haʔl sləxil” IVC		
ʔuxudxud ʔə ti suhuy ʔal ti ləʔug ^w us	Bonding	

<p>yəx^w ʔə ti pišpiš ʔuwələx^wtx^w ti syayaʔčəł.</p>		
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Focused Code – Bonding

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
<p>ʔuxudxud ʔə ti suhuy ʔal ti ləʔug^wus yəx^w ʔə ti pišpiš ʔuwələx^wtx^w ti syayaʔčəł.</p>	tx ^w əlšucid	
<p>acknowledging that the land may remember us helps us care for it</p>		
<p>being thankful for being able to participate, expressing how the study was valuable</p>		

Focused Code – Process

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
<p>making layers of notes, first impression notes then “cleaned up” notes IVC</p>		

Focused Code – Orientation in Landscape

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
<p>feeling “directionally-challenged, and geographically challenged.</p>		<p>This is a big contrast to many native family</p>

		members who were very aware of the geography and direction, see 247, 252
Using clues to orient herself to the water		
traveling through sites regularly		

Focused Code – Finding Contrasts

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
contrasting “city space” and “less-built” environments using clues IVC		
Noticing that the sites of the tour were missing the clues present in “less-built” environments	Emotion	
being struck by how urban the sites we visited were. I wonder if she was disappointed.	Emotion	
being struck by how a “built-up/industrialized landscape can hid a place, making it invisible to anyone who doesn’t know what was there	Emotion	

citing specific examples of how urbanity can hide a place		
being surprised by historic hydrography	Emotion	
seeing the birds-eye view helped her to see proximity to water.		
Focusing on proximity to water.		

Focused Code – Listening/Learning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
hearing stories was helpful,		helpful in what, I wonder, seeing the proximity to water she mentioned before? She does expand in the next sentence.
being clued in based on my talk in her class		
being inspired to do more research at home after the site tour		
describing the at-home research she conducted		

realizing the “scope of the transformation of the land and the displacement of the people” through the birds-eye view or through the site tour? both?		
appreciating being able to imagine former sites.		I wonder what “appreciating” means
expanding appreciation through personal stories		
hoping for a future trajectory that involves memory	Memory	
passing down memories about place	Memory	

Focused Code – Memory

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
hoping for a future trajectory that involves memory	Listening/Learning	
passing down memories about place	Listening/Learning	

Focused Code – Positionality

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
analyzing her “ignorance” in terms of her positionality		

referring to her thoughts in self-deprecating terms, offering more input		
expanding exchange into a diachronic experience		

Focused Code – Emotion

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
appreciating being able to imagine former sites. I wonder what “appreciating” means	Listening/Learning	
being struck by how urban the sites we visited were. I wonder if she was disappointed.	Listening/Learning	
being struck by how a “built-up/industrialized landscape can hid a place, making it invisible to anyone wo doesn’t know what was there	Finding Contrasts	
being surprised by historic hydrography		
being haunted by the idea that the land remembers us		

Focused Code – Land

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
addressing the places		
being haunted by the idea that the land remembers us		

Participant 495

Focused Code – About Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
having many thoughts about the tour		
being grateful for being asked to participate	Emotion	
referring to a specific place, dx ^w wadačəb/dx ^w wadabšəb.		Describing site 3
discussing the stream that is now completely covered or culverted and invisible		Describing site 3
visualizing past waterbodies		Describing site 3
not believing that “there’s no traces of those places left”		

Focused Code – Emotion/Mood

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
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being grateful for being asked to participate	About Tour	
referring to a pervious talk I gave at TCC		Lead up to statement about emotion
describing her emotional state at the previous event in which I talked about my study		
expressing her opinion of the previous event and my teaching style		
expressing that she liked the topic		
having mood improved by the event		
apologizing for not knowing a Twulshootseed word		
expressing gratefulness at having mood changed by previous experience		
fearing that she was being presumptuous by accepting my offer for volunteers		
feeling a strong emotional connection to... not sure what, she explains more in later lines. This is the strongest emotional reaction of all the participants		

<p>realizing that a developed place can still have happy connections</p>		<p>laʔbəd čəd, liʔal ti sukʷiʔusils, ʔuwələxʷidgʷəsils. laʔdxʷ čəd ti dsupətidgʷəsəb ʔuʔids. [Long pause]</p>
<p>Not having a strong connection to place causes emotion. xʷəl huyisəbtagʷil ʔə ti dxʷʔas gʷəl ʔuʔələʔxəčtxʷ.</p>		
<p>feeling, guilt? exclusion? self deprecating</p>		
<p>feeling sad for their Indigenous family members, because they have to deal with loss? colonialism? As I was reading/reviewing this, I assumed that it was an inability to identify, but she states that she is actually sad for them. So, is the connection a weakness? or is it the loss of previous connection?</p>	<p>Family</p>	
<p>beginning a new thought with lots of filler words, suggests adrenaline?</p>		

being happy that she returned to Washington	Emotion	
feeling connected to Washington	Connection	
feeling connected to what sounds like Western Washington, though she does not actually say that, she refers to the ocean	Connection	
confirming my suspicion that she is referring to Western Washington	Connection	
expressing gratitude in being a part of the research		

Focused Code – Connection to Particular Place

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
Thinking about what a strong connection to a place means. To 495? To RB? “Connection,” “mean” IVC		
feeling well acquainted with a landscape		
knowing the geology and history of a place well		
being familiar with “sites” in a particular context IVC		

knowing a place through archival materials in an academic context		
acknowledging that there are more ways of knowing a place than the ways she has been able to know it		
thinking and wondering about the place, I wonder what “it” means here		
changing locations, from Kenya to Vancouver Island, defining positionality there	Positionality	
searching the for the word to describe the history of V/V and how it reflects her relationships with the Native people there	Positionality	
thinking about her connections to “land in general”		
sharing her happy place from the visualization		
sharing her background in terms of place	Positionality	
pivoting to her academic background, but exploring it in term of place	Positionality	
being happy that she returned to	Emotion	

Washington		
feeling connected to Washington	Emotion	
feeling connected to what sounds like Western Washington, though she does not actually say that, she refers to the ocean	Emotion	
confirming my suspicion that she is referring to Western Washington	Connection	
expanding her discussion to the University District in Seattle, well, I did. But she refers to her sister who lived in that area		
sharing childhood experiences on land, referring to mud, sticks and stuff	Positionality	
making a discovery about herself in situ, that maybe there is a connection between her childhood experiences on the land and her current profession	Positionality	
continuing with the self discovery above, that there is a connection between her childhood experiences on the land and her current profession	Positionality	

Focused Code – Family

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
<p>applying thoughts to her husband and daughter, who are indigenous. Maybe she is feeling exclusion within her own family regarding this particular topic. Exclusions may be strong, inability to identify with their experience.</p>		
<p>sharing insight into her family dynamic, Indigenous husband and daughter, non-Indigenous mother/wife</p>		
<p>feeling sad for their Indigenous family members, because they have to deal with loss? colonialism? As I was reading/reviewing this, I assumed that it was an inability to identify, but she states that she is actually sad for them. So, is the connection a weakness? or is it the loss of previous connection?</p>	<p>Emotion</p>	
<p>discussing this with her husband</p>		
<p>bringing these ideas to her students</p>		
<p>not being able to see the places today</p>		<p>Discussing or</p>

<p>as exciting. At least, I think she’s talking about the old places here.</p>		<p>expanding upon the attitude of her students</p>
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Focused Code – Lack of Connection to Particular Place

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
<p>Not having a strong connection to place causes emotion. x^wəl huyisəbtag^wil ʔə ti dx^wʔas g^wəl ʔuxələłxəčtx^w</p>		
<p>Not having a strong connection to any particular place.</p>		
<p>questioning what it means to be Indigenous when you are far away from where you’re from. I wonder if she is thinking about, say, a removed Puyallup person or herself here. The next line clarifies.</p>		

Focused Code – tx^wəlšucid

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
<p>apologizing for not knowing a Twulshootseed word</p>		

apologizing for being “terrible at languages” and comparing herself to others		
referring to a word I used at a previous event, but I can’t place the exact word, either		
agreeing tentatively that the word may have been haʔl ʔəč, but it was probably ʔabəʔlʔəčbid ʔə kʷi haʔl		
enjoying Twulshootseed place names		
mentioning not being able to remember Twulshootseed place names		

Focused Code – Positionality/Archeology

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
fearing that she was being presumptuous by accepting my offer for volunteers		
beginning her positionality		
discussing her training in Western academic fields		
sharing positionality, centered around academic achievement		

living around the country		
changing locations, from Kenya to Vancouver Island, defining positionality there		
knowing the different dynamics of colonialism		
discussing her relationship with, presumably, Native people on Vancouver Island/Victoria		
defining the type of things the Native communities on Vancouver Island do not share with her		
searching the for the word to describe the history of V/V and how it reflects her relationships with the Native people there	Connections	
recognizing or surmising that past missionary work has affected her relation		
confirming her positionality outside of colonialism		
believing or acknowledging that native people would upset 495 if they shared		

their spiritual beliefs		
continuing earlier point, confirming that 495 is not a missionary or colonizer		
bringing herself “holistically” as an anthropologist IVC		
defining her academic background		
Using academic backgrounds to define “semi decent human” IVC		
being caused to think about dynamic between herself and Native interaction on V/V	Thinking	
continuing thought: how the site tour made her think about her interactions on V/V	Thinking	
defining her background as being centered around change	Change	
continuing emphasis on change in archeology, “sexy questions” IVC	Change	
defining certain types of change in archeological questions	Change	
wondering if questions about change are inherently colonial	Change	

valuing “cool papers” IVC		
continuing and exploring the value of “cool papers”		
placing herself into the concept of change she was just describing	Change	
viewing things as an archeologist		
providing specific examples of archeological discoveries		
sharing that some archeological finds may not seem important to some but are actually very important		
sharing recent experiences at Squaxin Island		
Naming a person at the Squaxin Island museum. Building relationships with tribal communities and TCC community		
describing the concept of a “wet site” IVC		
describing artifacts as beautiful. This seems insignificant, but after reading so many judgmental and disparaging settler accounts, this is very refreshing.		

sharing conversation 495 had with [name redacted] about Squaxin artifacts		
reporting that the Squaxin Island museum person has a personal connection to artifacts.		
referring to her family as settlers, explaining and exploring her positionality		
sharing her background in terms of place	Connection to Place	
pivoting to her academic background, but exploring it in term of place	Connection to Place	
sharing childhood experiences on land, referring to mud, sticks and stuff	Connection to Place	
making a discovery about herself in situ, that maybe there is a connection between her childhood experiences on the land and her current profession	Connection to Place	
continuing with the self discovery above, that there is a connection between her childhood experiences on the land and her current profession	Connection to Place	

Focused Code – Awareness of Change

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
setting up conditional statement about the development of Western Washington		
acknowledging that colonialism can change how a place looks		
knowing academically that connections to land can persist even though colonialism can change a place drastically	Thought	
acknowledging that places “can look very different”	Thought	Discussing changing her mindset
not expecting places to be pristine. I am not sure what this means, free of colonialism, free of human interaction in any form?		
emphasizing that change is a very large part of “archeological questions” IVC		
defining her background as being centered around change	Positionality	
continuing emphasis on change in		

archeology, “sexy questions” IVC		
defining her background as being centered around change	Positionality	
defining certain types of change in archeological questions	Positionality	
wondering if questions about change are inherently colonial	Positionality	
contrasting our proclivity toward stability with the “sexy questions” which center around change		
acknowledging that “change is constant”		
placing herself into the concept of change she was just describing	Positionality	
comparing engineering to “manhandling” IVC		
thinking about current events in the context of historic waterbodies and waterways		

Focused Code – Thought

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
often thinking of landscapes through		

academic training		
needing to change mindset, I wonder why. Needing to do something implies an expected outcome, I wonder what that that is		
acknowledging that places “can look very different”	Awareness of Change	Discussing changing her mindset
knowing academically that connections to land can persist even though colonialism can change a place drastically		
Knowing and writing about place academically		
being caused to think more broadly about places she visits by the site tour		
experiencing other places and working with communities		
being caused to think about dynamic between herself and Native interaction on V/V	Positionality	
continuing thought: how the site tour made her think about her interactions	Positionality	

on V/V		
coming back to her training as an archeologist, introducing another point		
commenting on her diverse thoughts		
thinking my consent form is appropriate		
agreeing with my choice not to use jargon		

Focused Code – Affirmation

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
requesting interaction or affirmation with questions frequently		
continuing questions about colonial questions		
recalling our experience in [participant name]’s class		

Focused Code – Curiosity

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
seeing or wanting to see history in landscapes she finds herself in		

Focused Code – Listening/Learning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
<p>“listening to other people’s stories” helped that knowledge sink in a bit more. “sunk in” IVC emotionally?</p>		
<p>having perspective broadened through hearing personal syəcəb</p>		
<p>hearing syəcəb about Koyob, particularly changed her perspective</p>		
<p>shifting into quoting RB, identifying and using another person’s first-person narrative to know a place better</p>		
<p>realizing that a place doesn’t have to “look” the same for there to be continuing connections to that place IVC</p>		
<p>realizing that a developed place can still have happy connections</p>		<p>laʔbəd čəd, liʔal ti suk^{wi}ʔusils, ʔuwələx^{widg}wəsils. laʔdx^w čəd ti dsupətidge^{wəsəb} ʔuʔids. [Long pause]</p>

being curious, at least enquiring about the location of “drainages” IVC		
Asking me about my research question.		
Asking about research timeline after interviews		
responding to my idea that the land remembers us, using my visualization technique		
using my visualization exercise with students to make connections to place		
approving of my visualization method		

Focused Code – Teaching

Initial Codes	Related code	Observations
using my visualization exercise with students to make connections to place	Listening/Learning	
approving of my visualization method	Listening/Learning	
declining to ask me any more questions, asking if I have any more questions for her		
saying that I can write as much as I want to in my own dissertation. MM would disagree, I think.		

extending invitation for additional questions		
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Participant 263

Focused Code – Emotion/feeling/state

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
expressing gratitude for the check in. Planning to review the transcripts in order to respond		
Wanting to share thoughts before being busy with finals week		
being preoccupied with school		
being impacted by hearing community voices about the impact they had on them		
learning about history of a place caused enjoyment	Learning Sharing	
amplifying affect		
feeling sad about land being destroyed	Sharing	
having heavy feelings on site tour because of the heavy industrialization		
heartwarming to other people’s memories	Learning/knowing Hearing memories	

enjoying knowing that others' memories at these places can "bring them back" IVC	Hearing memories	
enjoying other participants memories and bonding	Hearing memories	

Focused Code – Travel/Commute

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
being familiar with places because we travel through them every day		

Focused Code – Connecting

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
knowing Twulshootseed names helped her feel a connection to the places	tx ^w əlšucid Learning	

Focused Code – tx^wəlšucid

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
knowing Twulshootseed names helped her feel a connection to the places	Connecting Learning	

Focused Code – learning/knowing

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
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knowing Twulshootseed names helped her feel a connection to the places	Connecting tx ^w əlšucid	
learning about history of a place caused enjoyment	Emotion Sharing	
Knowing history helped her to appreciate time depth	Sharing	
reflecting on time depth, as revealed by history shared in tour.		
Discussing modern timescape.		

Focused Code – Sharing/recognizing Positionality

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
Using the word “occupy” twice, once referring to herself once referring to the Puyallups		
learning about history of a place caused enjoyment	Emotion Learning	
Knowing history helped her to appreciate time depth	Learning	
being nature-centered IVC		
feeling sad about land being destroyed	Emotion	
heartwarming to other people’s memories	Emotion Hearing story	

expanding positionality in terms of “community and togetherness” IVC		
expressing gratitude in being invited		

Focused Code – Hearing Memory/Story

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
heartwarming to other people’s memories	Emotion Sharing	
enjoying knowing that others’ memories at these places can “bring them back” IVC	Emotion	
enjoying other participants memories and bonding	Emotion	
heartwarming to other people’s memories	Emotion Hearing story	

Participant 247

Focused Code – Activities/Observations at Locations

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing that she has performed bathing ceremonies at other locations		
pointing out that at Brown’s point there		

are spectators which opens up the discussions about colonizer curiosity		
remembering that in location three there was a guy with a dumpster fire on the street.		
discussing the guy who had a fire going at site 3		
commenting on the guy's dumpster fire at site 3		
not spending a lot of time at the sites		
stating negative features of site1		
commenting on how people do not know how to use roundabouts		Roundabout is a feature of Site 1
acknowledging some of the negative aspects of site 1		

Focused Code – Change

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
realizing how fast things can change, and how that affects elders	Empathizing	
considering how drastic changes can affect people	Empathizing	
acknowledging that drastic change in	Empathizing	

the environment can be “retraumatizing” IVC		
exploring the ways and implications of place change		
comparing the historical situation of the reservation to modern development		
placing her memories from past geographic locations into the modern geography, with those things gone		
holding and maintaining connection to a tree that is not there anymore	Grief Connection to Place	
having a connection to the tree that is so strong that she had a tattoo of it, making it both emotionally and physically permanent	Grief Connection to Place	
being familiar with places, even though they are not the same		
hearing how the allotment used to be, it was big enough that one could walk to the river		
being amazed at how fast things, places, can change	Emotion	
thinking that a place’s memory might		

depend on how long a place was a certain way		
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Focused Code – Connections to people

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
using her tribal connections to try to find an appropriate place for bathing		
not being able to find help through tribal connections		
expanding her experience to a community issue		
sharing with her daughter		
making connections to related families in the clan		
remembering stories from her Aunties		
Remembering stories about the way the allotment was in more distant times	Remembering timescapes	
tying in what a tribal Elder used to say		
wondering and worrying about her daughter’s connections to place	Family	
remembering Muckleshoot Tribal Member, [name redacted] from Canoe Journey		

Remembering [name redacted]		
noticing that [name redacted]’s canoe family was stopping at certain places		
Acknowledging that the Black River Canoe Family was stopping and acknowledging traditional spaces.		
expanding on the idea of a march, or maybe just an event in general, “to be in community with space”		
acknowledging that visibility is an important part of a community experience	Connections to Place Acknowledging through action/event	

Focused Code – Connection to Place

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
comparing past features, the huge weeping willow, to modern development, a car dealership	Loss Feeling Grief	
holding and maintaining connection to a tree that is not there anymore	Change Grief	
having a connection to the tree that is so strong that she had a tattoo of it,	Change Grief	

making it both emotionally and physically permanent		
passing by cemetery, beginning of a thought		
tempting to remember the location of a cemetery		
feeling a connection to the cemetery in which her family is buried		
expanding her personal connection to a tribal connection		
being familiar with places, even though they are not the same	Change	
Her identity is confirmed by places expanding her places from the reservation to the whole I-5 corridor	Positionality	
defining some of the places she grew up in, outside the rez and how those places confirm her identity. she talks about it in disparaging terms	Positionality	
defining other places off the rez, like North Seattle and the connection that place had with her grand parents	Positionality	
wondering how people can move away	Positionality	

from home, given that places carry so much memory		
remembering graduating and leaving WA, and not planning to come back	Positionality	This is within the context of discovering her connections to place
changing her mind about leaving Washington, After being in Europe, she decides that she is going to stay in Washington.	Positionality	
Deciding to never leave home, home being the I-5 corridor? North Seattle, the rez? Skyway?	Positionality	
feeling that having no relation to place is a “wild concept”	Positionality	
travelling and deciding that making a home somewhere else is “wild”	Positionality Travelling	
having a “huge mental map”	Travel	
having a mental map when driving through areas, which surprises her husband	Travel	
remembering places because you grew up in those places	Travel	

being able to navigate in areas because she grew up in them	Travel	
knowing a place well enough that you can find anything if you look for familiar places to navigate from	Travel	
using the mountain as a geographical marker	Travel	
noticing that in historical documents, they talk about their “orientation” to things IVC	Travel	
noticing that our “orientation” to the mountain would be very different than the way the Nisqually would orient themselves. IVC	Travel	
“reorienting” herself to natural... lack of word elements than human made ones. ? IVC	Travel	
acknowledging that the mountain is an active volcano		
using “mental maps” IVC	Travel	
acknowledging that there are some people who will never know what firecracker alley was like.	Loss	beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this

		<p>mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?</p>
<p>feeling sadness/anger/grief, negativity, that some people will never know certain features of the sites that she knew as a child</p>	<p>Loss</p>	<p>beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?</p>
<p>acknowledging that similar sites and situations may be similar but never the same</p>	<p>Loss</p>	<p>beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?</p>
<p>being made to think of other places that she has connections to. I'm not sure if it is what she was already talking about that made her think about this, or my comment</p>		

remembering that the first house had a plum tree, her grandpa's plum tree	Remembering Timescapes Loss	
having such a strong connection to the plum tree that she got the courage to ask the new tenants if she could see the tree	Remembering Timescapes Loss	
describing her experience visiting her grandpa's tree	Remembering Timescapes Loss	
attempting to visit an old tree, but the tree was gone	Remembering Timescapes Loss	
having lots of memories of places	Remembering Timescapes	
having memories of places because she used to ride her bike	Remembering Timescapes	
knowing places and having memories of them because she walked a lot, and knows the nooks and crannies	Remembering Timescapes	
continuing the analogy between land and gardens, asking the question, "how do we form new relationships" as an analogy to a garden whose soil has been cared for and prepped for generations	Family	

beginning a thought about comparing the land to planting a garden that has family connections	Family	
making an analogy of a garden in which the soil has been cared for generations, versus a newly planted garden.	Family	
expanding on the idea of a march, or maybe just an event in general, “to be in community with space”	Connections to People Acknowledging through action/event	
acknowledging that visibility is an important part of a community experience	Connections to People Acknowledging through action/event	
acknowledging that sharing an experience is important in building a relationship with the land	Connections to People Acknowledging through action/event	
Living memories		
Living personal memories.		
Describing timescape of Cascadia		
Describing the timescape of Cascadia, especially the firework stands		
describing events at Cascadia, specifically the firework stands, which		

involved her dad.		
describing the timescape of Cascadia, mentioning her family’s involvement		
describing her family’s ethnicity and food stand at Boom City.		
describing what a fun time Boom City was.		
Describing the fun she/they had in the buildings at Cascadia.		

Focused Code – Curiosity/Wanting to Know

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
wanting to know how I picked the sites		
wondering about old photos of these locations, enquiring about a name		
acknowledging that many people do not have place orientation (See 165)		

Focused Code – Discussing Place on Site Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
describing the physical characteristics of a particular place, but I am not following which place she’s talking		

<p>about, maybe the cliff down from puyaləp to the Thea Foss</p>		
<p>questioning about former characteristics of Tacoma sites, I think she’s talking about the various grades that took place in Downtown Tacoma, about which 743 talks in his interview</p>		
<p>using another word, backfill, to describe the way that land was altered, related to the grading she mentioned above and the sluicing in 743’s interview</p>		

Focused Code – Development/Displacement

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
<p>describing how she reached out to tribal entities for help in finding a place, to no avail</p>	<p>Grief</p>	
<p>beginning a story to təč on the concept of ecological grief</p>	<p>Grief</p>	
<p>Sharing an example of feeling ecological grief related to not finding a</p>	<p>Grief</p>	

place suitable to perform a bathing on our own rez/river. Lack of non-industrialized locations on our own rez.		
sharing her experience of conducting a ceremony		
sharing her experience of conducting a ceremony	Grief	In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it was marginal
giving details about finding a location for a bathing	Grief	In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it was marginal
not finding a place to dunk in our own territory	Grief	In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it was marginal
having to use a spot that she was “not supposed to”	Grief	
discussing how there are not	Grief	

appropriate spots for ceremony on our rez		
describing how she reached out to tribal entities for help in finding a place, to no avail	Grief	
recognizing that “access to take care of ourselves is much harder to do and find [next line] in today’s day and age.” IVC		Notice that taking-care-of-ourselves requires a connection to place
tying in the tribe’s development out of poverty into the location discussion.		Tribal development? Do I need a new code?
Placing displacement (of native people?) within the context of geological time		
comparing Seattle and Tacoma land and fill		

Focused Code – Empathizing

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
thinking about other participants’ “processing” IVC		
comparing her own memories to her		

elders' memories regarding place		
realizing how fast things can change, and how that affects elders	Change	
considering how drastic changes can affect people	Change	
acknowledging that drastic change in the environment can be "retraumatizing" IVC	Change	

Focused Code – Family

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
wondering how her daughter will form memories and ties to place		
comparing the way that she and her daughter interact with place		
comparing her own experiences with her daughter, because she (247) was a latchkey kid and LS is not.		
wondering how she [LS] will build relationships with place because of their different circumstances.		
looking for other opportunities for [LS] to form relationships with place		

using activities for LS to form relationships, not necessarily to place.		
making sure to take Lily to ceremonies that she (247) is participating in		
wondering what LS will remember		
noticing that people tend to remember “little things. It’s never... the big, huge things”		In the context of providing memories for LS
feeling responsible for providing the little things for Lilly to remember		
trying to think of more places to take Lilly to form relationships		
connecting Lilly to old village sites		
describing the ways that 247 tries to connect LS to land		
discussing a specific event that is important to her and the rest of her family connected to LS		
describing LS asking questions about important places		
describing the interaction between 247 and LS regarding an important place		
Listening to LS retell stories of the		

place to other family		
describing how LS talked about important places		
feeling the importance of the “little things” to LS IVC		
wondering and worrying about her daughter’s connections to place	Connections to Place	
beginning a thought about comparing the land to planting a garden that has family connections	Connections to Place	
making an analogy of a garden in which the soil has been cared for generations, versus a newly planted garden.	Connections to Place	
continuing the analogy between land and gardens, asking the question, “how do we form new relationships” as an analogy to a garden whose soil has been cared for and prepped for generations.	Connections to Place	
responding to my idea of including family trees into the dissertation. adding that it would be fun to see how		

everyone was related		
noting that many people in the office and in the research family are related, even though we are very diverse		
specifically the firework stands, which involved her dad.		
describing the timescape of Cascadia, mentioning her family’s involvement		
describing her family’s ethnicity and food stand at Boom City.		
describing what a fun time Boom City was.		

Focused Code – Feeling

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
feeling like she is on display when doing ceremony, “Which sucks.”	Grief Connection to other places	
being happy that she lives on the reservation, close to her allotment land	Positionality	
feeling as if places that are gone or irrevocably changed are still there	Remembering Timescapes	
comparing past features, the huge weeping willow, to modern	Loss Grief	

development, a car dealership	Feeling	
being amazed at how fast things, places, can change	Change	
responding to my questions about whether or not places remember us, she likes the idea. She things places hold memory or energy		
not liking old houses because they might have the energy of the previous tenets,		
questioning if a place's energy or memory is all in her head		
feeling like an old house is not her own space		
needing to live in a place that felt like hers		
Describing the fun she/they had in the buildings at Cascadia.		

Focused Code – Positionality/Experience

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing positionality, former employee		

of HPD		
sharing that she had done a rez tour in former job		
sharing that rez tour that she had done included spots that were close but not identical to spots on my tour		
questioning herself about locations		
being happy that she lives on the reservation, close to her allotment land	Emotion	
Her identity is confirmed by places expanding her places from the reservation to the whole I-5 corridor	Connections to place	
defining some of the places she grew up in, outside the rez and how those places confirm her identity. she talks about it in disparaging terms	Connections to place	
defining other places off the rez, like North Seattle and the connection that place had with her grand parents	Connections to Place	
wondering how people can move away from home, given that places carry so much memory	Connections to place	
remembering graduating and leaving	Connections to Place	This is within the

WA, and not planning to come back		context of discovering her connections to place
changing her mind about leaving Washington, After being in Europe, she decides that she is going to stay in Washington.	Connections to Place	
Deciding to never leave home, home being the I-5 corridor? North Seattle, the rez? Skyway?	Connections to Place	
feeling that having no relation to place is a “wild concept”	Connections to Place	
travelling and deciding that making a home somewhere else is “wild”	Traveling Connection to Place	
coming back to her Indigenous Identity		

Focused Code – Remembering Timescapes

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
discussing the former conditions at the admin building site		
feeling that things that “rich in	Grief/Loss	

memory” do not exist anymore		
feeling as if places that are gone or irrevocably changed are still there	Feeling	
having “snippets” of memories, unsure, of feelings? memories?		
remembering details about former places, from childhood		
remembering that the houses seemed tiny		
remembering the tiny houses		
Remembering stories about the way the allotment was in more distant times	Connections to people	
feeling like certain events from childhood are simultaneously long ago and recent. liking remembering		
remembering the way our families would gather together for the sake of gathering together.		
commenting on how our families were so much more interdependent when we were all poorer as a tribe		
discussing having to sell one of her	Loss	

family's houses		
not knowing what was going on when the first house was sold	Loss	
remembering that the first house had a plum tree, her grandpa's plum tree	Loss Connections to Place	
having such a strong connection to the plum tree that she got the courage to ask the new tenants if she could see the tree	Loss Connections to Place	
having lots of memories of places	Connections to Place	
having memories of places because she used to ride her bike	Connections to Place	
knowing places and having memories of them because she walked a lot, and knows the nooks and crannies	Connections to Place	
noticing that people tend to remember "little things. It's never... the big, huge things"		
Living memories		
Living personal memories.		
Describing timescape of Cascadia		
Describing the fun she/they had in the		

buildings at Cascadia.		
describing her family’s ethnicity and food stand at Boom City.		
describing what a fun time Boom City was.		

Focused Code – Sadness/Grief/Loss

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
experiencing ecological grief		
beginning a story to tæč on the concept of ecological grief		
Sharing an example of feeling ecological grief related to not finding a place suitable to perform a bathing on our own rez/river. Lack of non-industrialized locations on our own rez. sharing her experience of conducting a ceremony		
sharing her experience of conducting a ceremony		In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it

		was marginal
giving details about finding a location for a bathing		In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it was marginal
not finding a place to dunk in our own territory		In the context of grief because she only found a location with great difficulty and it was marginal
having to use a spot that she was “not supposed to”		
discussing how there are not appropriate spots for ceremony on our rez		
describing how she reached out to tribal entities for help in finding a place, to no avail		
feeling like she is on display when doing ceremony, “Which sucks.”	Feeling	
feeling that things that “rich in memory” do not exist anymore	Remembering Timescapes	

holding and maintaining connection to a tree that is not there anymore	Change Connection to Place	
having a connection to the tree that is so strong that she had a tattoo of it, making it both emotionally and physically permanent	Change Connection to Place	
comparing past features, the huge weeping willow, to modern development, a car dealership	Change Connection to Place	
using particular language and words while doing outreach		Within the context of not being able to come home
acknowledging that “we don’t have the option to come home” I need to communicate with 247 about what this means		
clarifying above statement, that we do not have the option to come home because of prices, I wonder if she means Puyallups or Seattlites.		
continuing above thought. We can’t move back to the rez? to seattle?		
being able to afford only “unsafety”		

IVC		
acknowledging that there are some people who will never know what firecracker alley was like.	Connection to Place	beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?
feeling sadness/anger/grief, negativity, that some people will never know certain features of the sites that she knew as a child	Connection to Place	beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?
acknowledging that similar sites and situations may be similar but never the same	Connection to Place	beginning a thought, using a lot of filler words, what does this mean? is she gathering her thoughts? avoiding a topic? delaying?
discussing having to sell one of her	Remembering Timescapes	

family's houses		
not knowing what was going on when the first house was sold	Remembering Timescapes	
remembering that the first house had a plum tree, her grandpa's plum tree	Remembering Timescapes Connections to Place	
having such a strong connection to the plum tree that she got the courage to ask the new tenants if she could see the tree	Remembering Timescapes Connections to Place	
describing her experience visiting her grandpa's tree	Remembering Timescapes Connections to Place	
attempting to visit an old tree, but the tree was gone	Remembering Timescapes Connections to Place Loss	
Describing the timescape of Cascadia, especially the firework stands		
describing events at Cascadia, specifically the firework stands, which involved her dad.		
describing the timescape of Cascadia, mentioning her family's involvement		
describing her family's ethnicity and food stand at Boom City.		

describing what a fun time Boom City was.		
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Focused Code – Travel/Commute/Navigation

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
travelling		
travelling and deciding that making a home somewhere else is “wild”	Positionality Connection to Place	
having a “huge mental map”	Connection to Place	
having a mental map when driving through areas, which surprises her husband	Connection to Place	
remembering places because you grew up in those places	Connection to Place	
being able to navigate in areas because she grew up in them	Connection to Place	
knowing a place well enough that you can find anything if you look for familiar places to navigate form	Connection to Place	
using the mountain as a geographical marker	Connection to Place	
noticing that in historical documents, they talk about their “orientation” to	Connection to Place	

things IVC		
noticing that our “orientation” to the mountain would be very different than the way the Nisqually would orient themselves. IVC	Connection to Place	
“reorienting” herself to natural... lack of word elements than human made ones. ? IVC	Connection to Place	
trying to find the right word [for a more permanent or prominent landmark with which to orient oneself]	Connection to Place	
trying to find the right word, still [for a more permanent or prominent landmark with which to orient oneself]	Connection to Place	
seeing the mountain as more “permanent” than anything else, implying human made IVC	Connection to Place	
using “mental maps” IVC	Connection to Place	

Focused Code – Visualizing Precontact Timescapes

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
thinking about land that she saw on Canoe Journey, finding connection		

between the tour and other events from the Summer		
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Focused Code – Acknowledging Place through Action/Events

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
wondering if we can use techniques similar to the black river canoe family to acknowledge traditional spaces on land		
acknowledging spaces on land, similar to how the black river canoe family was acknowledging land next to the water on canoe journey.		
Proposing gathering at a large village site.		
suggesting that a march could unite the tribe.		
expanding on the idea of a march, or maybe just an event in general, “to be in community with space”	Connections to People Connections to Place	
acknowledging that visibility is an important part of a community experience	Connections to People Connections to Place	

acknowledging that sharing an experience is important in building a relationship with the land	Connections to People Connections to Place	
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Participant 626

Focused Code – Sharing Personal History Related to Place

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing personal experiences at Site 1, was the principal of Chief Leschi.		
sharing personal experiences, giving some of his positionality as a “soft spoken sort of a guy”		
sharing personal experiences having to do with his career and that it was not successful at first.		
sharing personal experiences, giving some of his positionality as a “soft spoken sort of a guy”		
continuing with a story that took place at site 1.		
sharing a personal story that took place at site 1		
sharing a personal story that took place		

at site 1, this portion has a surprising twist.		
discussing the “great things” that happened at site 1		
discussing the great things that happened at Chief Leschi School		
describing the timescape of Site 1, the location of Chief Leschi elementary		
giving the date that Chief Leschi school building was built at site 1	History	
sharing history of site 1 as it pertains to Chief Leschi School	History	
giving the date that Chief Leschi school building was built at site 1	History	
sharing history of CLS, it’s a little out of order	History	
Sharing the benefits to the community of having CLS, maybe specifically CLS at Cascadia.	Community	
sharing his self discovery at Site 1 as a teacher	Positionality	
“awakening” to the realization that he is better suited to working with first	Positionality	

graders		
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Focused Code – Family/Community Connections

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
it turns out that the central figure in this story became a family member.		
discussing the impact of his personal story in the family.		
Sharing the benefits to the community of having CLS, maybe specifically CLS at Cascadia.	History	
making a joke about wanting me to demonstrate fancy dancing		Within the context of a conversation about family

Focused Code – Positionality

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
I wonder if he is citing Deloria and Wildcat’s idea or book		Sharing academic background?
sharing his self discovery at Site 1 as a teacher	Personal History	

“awakening” to the realization that he is better suited to working with first graders	Personal History	

Focused Code – Discovering Precontact Life

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
making a strong distinction between pre- and post- colonization, using phrases like “peel back the effects/affects of time” IVC		
using the idea of “peeling” a lot to think about land, history and people IVC		
thinking about effects/affects of time helps 626 get “in touch” with ancestors IVC		

Focused Code – Touching Ancestors’ Personalities/Values

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
getting in touch with Ancestors’ personalities.		There seems to be a process: peel back

		<p>effects/affects of time, helps 626 get in touch with ancestors in various ways, adopting Ancestors thoughts and attitudes [this last step is articulated in the phone transcription]. This process is what he calls the “Power of Place.” This could be a whole dissertation right here, The Power of Place is the process by which we use the land, what we think we know about it and what we think we know about our ancestors in order to form relationships with them and,</p>
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		ultimately adopt aspects of their ǎǎ. This is one way that the we can see the k'wǎǎǎǎǎǎ.
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Participant 562

Focused Code – Sharing Memories

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
bringing up memories. 562 had more memories than she shared on the tour.		Notice that she did not share all of her memories on the tour. Could this be a clue into something?
citing a specific set of events, the powwow, and how that was important to many people		
“transporting.” One story/memory brought 562 farther back into even deeper memories IVC		
relating history of the fireworks stands, tying in family	Family	
relating history, she may be talking		

specifically about the number of people and stands, not the size of the tribe as a whole.		
sharing history, noting how first the fireworks grew, then the powwow.		
sharing through bloodlines, memories of people, events and reclaimed events	Sharing/Teaching	
having memories that differ between people. does she mean about the same event?		This is the only time I can recall now where someone addresses the issue of conflicting memories
sharing memories that have to do with family	Family	
sharing more about the timescape of Site 1, this time involving the church.		
sharing about the church at Site 1, tying in her mother	Family	
sharing the importance of the church to the tribal community.	Continuity	
sharing the importance of the Church as a meeting space and that people would meet there three times a week.	Continuity	

expanding on the events that took place at the church		
expanding on the events that took place at the Church at site 1, tying in her grandmother.	Family	
discussing her family’s connection to the church	Family	
discussing her connection to the church and how it was a community center		

Focused Code – Connecting to current people/participants

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
commenting on what another person shared on the tour		
being reminded of family love persisting by this site, even though it has changed drastically.	Feeling, Family	
using her memories as a small child to form connections with site 3	Sharing Memories, Childhood	
using her family, in this case her father Reuben Wright Sr, to create connections to this place.	Family, Childhood	

continuing to use her father, Reuben Wright Sr, to draw connections to this site, Site 3	Family, Childhood	
explicitly stating that her connection to this site is through her father, Reuben Wright Sr.	Family, Childhood	

Focused Code – Childhood

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
using her memories as a small child to form connections with site 3	Sharing Memories, Childhood, Connection	
using her family, in this case her father Reuben Wright Sr, to create connections to this place.	Family, Childhood, Connection	
continuing to use her father, Reuben Wright Sr, to draw connections to this site, Site 3	Family, Childhood, Connection	
having a “real special connection to this area” because of childhood experiences	Childhood	
feeling a sense of belonging in the area because of childhood and family connections to the area	Connection, Childhood	

having a “real special connection to this area” because of childhood experiences	Family	
describing connection to the place because of childhood experiences.	Connection	
feeling a sense of belonging in the area because of childhood and family connections to the area	Family	
using her memories as a small child to form connections with site 3	Sharing Memories, Childhood, Family	
using her family, in this case her father Reuben Wright Sr, to create connections to this place.	Family, Connection	
continuing to use her father, Reuben Wright Sr, to draw connections to this site, Site 3	Family, Connection	

Focused Code – Family

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
relating history of the fireworks stands, tying in family	Sharing Memories	
relating history of the fireworks stands, tying in family, expanding the	Connecting to Place	

discussion to a place that was not on the tour.		
noting that everyone was “so happy then” and that “We were a smaller group of people that seemed to be very close” This brings up a lot of issues, is the size of the tribe affecting communality?		
tying land to family at Koyob	Connection to Place	
feeling familiarity from land	Connection to Place	She says that the feeling of familiarity comes from having family in these areas.
Relating to the people in the photo more clearly because of her experiences on the tour	Effect of Tour	
relating to people in the photo	Effect of Tour	
relating to the people in the photo, poetic language reflects the affect of her situation.	Effect of Tour Feeling	Affect
sharing a personal memory in Cascadia that involves me.		
sharing a personal memory in		

Cascadia, that involves me.		
sharing family connection, her great-great grandfather when to the school that was on this site.	Connection to Place	
Sharing family connection to place, mentioning that her mother was a tuberculosis patient at this place when it was a hospital.	Connection to Place	
sharing family experiences at this place, her mother wone Ms Valentine when she was a patient at Cushman.	Connection to Place	
sharing memories that have to do with family	Sharing Memories	
sharing about the church at Site 1, tying in her mother	Sharing Memories	
expanding on the events that took place at the Church at site 1, tying in her grandmother.	Sharing Memories	
discussing her family’s connection to the church	Sharing Memories	
having a “real special connection to this area” because of childhood experiences	Childhood	discussing family in the area

having a special connection to the area because of family/friends who lived in the area.		
having a family connection to site 2.		
feeling a sense of belonging in the area because of childhood and family connections to the area	Connection, Childhood	
feeling a VERY strong connection to the place, regardless of how it appears today.	Feeling	
Feeling a very strong connection to the place because of the relationships she had with the people who lived in the area.	Connection, Feeling	
feeling of family love still exists	Feeling	
being reminded of family love persisting by this site, even though it has changed drastically.	Feeling Connection to Current	
Wanting more information related to family	Wondering	
requesting more information about our family lineage.	Wondering	

Focused Code – Continuity

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing that “we’re still here, but different” this reminds me of the Schaefer quote that the Puyallup were never colonized, but were affected		
believing that the Puyallup suffer but we have to release the pain but bring along our positive attributes as well.		
sharing the importance of the church to the tribal community.	Sharing Memories	
sharing the importance of the Church as a meeting space and that people would meet there three times a week.	Sharing Memories	

Focused Code – Change

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing her feeling that as the tribe grows, the people grow more distant. Is there a remedy for this? A tribal channel or a tribal radio station?		
relating to the land as it used to be, not what it is like now	Connection to Place	Different timescapes

seeing beyond the people or businesses that are there now	Connection to Place	
continuing unbroken ties despite how much it has changed. Reiterating ties to Admin (Site 1) through family,	Connection to Place	
demonstrating continuity: the land is still Puyallup, no matter how it is used.	Connection to Place	

Focused Code – Sharing/Teaching

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
extending memories to others by teaching, I never thought of teaching this way, for that matter, we can think of extending the xǎč as a form of teaching		
holding the community together through telling stories/memories and join them together with current events.		
sharing makes 562 feel richer and noting that the community shares as well.		
sharing through bloodlines, memories of people, events and reclaimed events	Sharing Memories, Community	

Focused Code – Effect of Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing that her bond with the community and place is stronger because of the visit		
not feeling that her feelings have changed, just deepened, maybe		
sharing that the only feeling she felt is familiarity with one of the locations, later comment makes clear that she is talking about site 3	Connection to Place	
sharing her experiences at Admin after the site tour		
sharing her memory after being on the site tour		
Relating to the people in the photo more clearly because of her experiences on the tour	Family	
relating to people in the photo	Family	
relating to the people in the photo, poetic language reflects the affect of her situation.	Family Feeling	Affect

Focused Code – Wondering, Questioning

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
wondering if the Land holds the feelings or is it from her?	Connection to Place	
feeling connectedness through fascination and imagination	Connection to Place	
knowing details about ancestors gives 562 feelings of fascination which makes her feel connected.	Connection to Place	Note that his is similar to 626's concept of "Power of Place"
Wanting more information related to family	Family	
requesting more information about our family lineage.	Family	

Focused Code – Passing Through

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
not feeling a strong connection to this place, despite cultural connections between the place and the tribe as a whole	Lack of Connection	
feeling feelings of ownership over the	Connection to Place	

land, as she passes through. no mention of family at this location, either.		
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Focused Code – Connection or Lack of Connection to Place

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
feeling feelings of ownership over the land, as she passes through. no mention of family at this location, either.	Passing Through	
not feeling a strong connection to this place, despite cultural connections between the place and the tribe as a whole	Passing Through	
relating history of the fireworks stands, tying in family, expanding the discussion to a place that was not on the tour.	Family	
tying land to family at Koyob	Family	
feeling familiarity from land	Family	She says that the feeling of familiarity comes from having family in these areas.
relating to the land as it used to be, not what it is like now	Change	

sharing that the only feeling she felt is familiarity with one of the locations, later comment makes clear that she is talking about site 3	Effect of Tour	
wondering if the Land holds the feelings or is it from her?	Wondering	
feeling connectedness through fascination and imagination	Wondering	
knowing details about ancestors gives 562 feelings of fascination which makes her feel connected.	Wondering	
continuing unbroken ties despite how much it has changed. Reiterating ties to Admin (Site 1) through family,	Change	
seeing beyond the people or businesses that are there now	Change	
demonstrating continuity: the land is still puyallup, no matter how it is used.	Change	
desiring reclamation, feeling sadness, feeling ownership	Feeling	
acknowledging the beinghood of the river mouth. The river mouth has desires. "Animism"		Animism

having a “real special connection to this area” because of childhood experiences	Family	
describing the timescape of site 2, more train traffic.		
describing connection to the place because of childhood experiences.	Childhood	
feeling a sense of belonging in the area because of childhood and family connections to the area	Family, Childhood	
Feeling a very strong connection to the place because of the relationships she had with the people who lived in the area.	Feeling, Family	
using her memories as a small child to form connections with site 3	Sharing Memories, Childhood, Family	
using her family, in this case her father Reuben Wright Sr, to create connections to this place.	Family, Childhood,	
continuing to use her father, Reuben Wright Sr, to draw connections to this site, Site 3	Family, Childhood,	

sharing family connection, her great-great grandfather when to the school that was on this site.	Family	
Sharing family connection to place, mentioning that her mother was a tuberculosis patient at this place when it was a hospital.	Connection to Place	
sharing family experiences at this place, her mother wone Ms Valentine when she was a patient at Cushman.	Connection to Place	

Focused Code – Feeling

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
desiring reclamation, feeling sadness, feeling ownership	Connection to Place	Reclamation
feeling sadness over displacement of villages as tideflats were developed		Displacement
imagining past activities and state on the land. Adjective use demonstrates affect: “proudly,” “freely”		Imagining
knowing the history of the place causes many feelings: “righteousness, pride, sad” IVC		Knowing history

relating to the people in the photo, poetic language reflects the affect of her situation.	Effect of Tour Feeling	Affect
feeling a VERY strong connection to the place, regardless of how it appears today.	Connection to current	
noting that everyone was “so happy then” and that “We were a smaller group of people that seemed to be very close” This brings up a lot of issues, is the size of the tribe affecting communality?	Sharing memories	
Feeling a very strong connection to the place because of the relationships she had with the people who lived in the area.	Family, Connection to Place	
feeling of family love still exists	Family	
being reminded of family love persisting by this site, even though it has changed drastically.	Connection to current, Family	

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
devising ways to honor the river mouth		
devising ways to honor the river mouth		
devising ways to honor river mouth		

Participant 617

Focused Code – Negative Connection

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
remembering the same place for more negative reasons		
discussing some negative aspects about this particular place		
making a connection: people today still feel that they can run to this spot, just as their ancestors used to gather here.	Continuity	
relating a personal experience in this place “ <i>kələ</i> ” IVC		Story gets negative later
traditional context: sharing food after a feast/event		Story gets negative later
relating personal experience, saw four homeless family members at this location	Family Connection to Land	
sharing personal experience, the	Continuity	

homeless family members were falling back, in a way, to “circling up” and building a fire IVC	Family Connection to Land	
relating personal experience about homeless family in this area	Family Connection to Land	
noticing continuity in the behaviors, though the circumstances and the places of changed	Continuity Family Connection to Land	Story has to do with addiction and homelessness
attempting to express emotions that English words fail: feeling happy and sad at the same time, while witnessing cultural continuity in adverse settings	Continuity Feeling Family Connection to Land	
relating to site 2 based on family’s similar behaviors but in wildly different circumstances	Family Connection to Land	
feeling sadness that family were all “using” together IVC	Feeling	
feeling deep connection. mentioning people “losing their way” IVC	Feeling	

Focused Code – Learning/Researching/“Diving Deeper”

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
trying to find this place on a map, to		

find a stronger connection to it		
feeling like she needs to change her study technique or intent		
blending of western and Native ǰǎǰ: asking for ancestral support in research process		
wanting to change the way she performs research in order to honor ancestors		
feeling like she needs to stop doing “research for herself” IVC		
feeling like ancestors are helping in her research		
giving agency to ancestors in her research.		
quoting Ramona Bennet, showing a common sentiment in the tribe that people need to be ready to learn		
summing up her thoughts about her identity		

Focused Code – Feeling

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
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feeling the strongest feelings at location 2, Koyob		
feeling emotional about a story that she continues in later lines		
attempting to express emotions that English words fail: feeling happy and sad at the same time, while witnessing cultural continuity in adverse settings	Continuity Negative Connection Family Connection to Land	
feeling sadness that family were all “using” together IVC	Negative Connection	
feeling deep connection. mentioning people “losing their way” IVC	Negative Connection	

Focused Code – Continuity

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
forming a relationship with a place through knowing that ancestors used to gather there and that they still do like to gather		
making a connection: people today still feel that they can run to this spot, just as their ancestors used to gather here.	Negative Connection	
sharing personal experience, the	Negative Connection	

homeless family members were falling back, in a way, to “circling up” and building a fire IVC		
noticing continuity in the behaviors, though the circumstances and the places of changed	Negative connection	Story has to do with addiction and homelessness
attempting to express emotions that English words fail: feeling happy and sad at the same time, while witnessing cultural continuity in adverse settings	Negative connection Feeling Family connection to land	
Sharing personal experience with the place, through Elder Judy Wright	Positive Connection	
sharing maybe not a personal experience but a memory of Judy Wright discussing the importance of this location.	History	
sharing a memory or maybe even just a fact that Judy Wright talked about this being a village site.	History	

Focused Code – Colonization/Change

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
acknowledging that colonization has changed how we gather		

being reminded of layers of experience, her personal experience, then thinking back to ancestors' experience		
comparing ancestral inhabitants of site 2 to modern day inhabitants		

Focused Code – Family connections to Land

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
remembering personal experience with family at other locations, at Nisqually		
relating personal experience, saw four homeless family members at this location	Negative Connection	
sharing personal experience, the homeless family members were falling back, in a way, to “circling up” and building a fire IVC	Continuity Negative Connection	
relating personal experience about homeless family in this area	Negative Connection	
noticing continuity in the behaviors, though the circumstances and the places of changed	Continuity Negative Connection	Story has to do with addiction and homelessness
attempting to express emotions that	Continuity	

English words fail: feeling happy and sad at the same time, while witnessing cultural continuity in adverse settings	Feeling Negative Connection	
remembering personal experiences at locations other than the site tour, Nisqually		
relating personal experiences, related though cultural event, but not the location		
relating to site 2 based on family's similar behaviors but in wildly different circumstances	Negative Connection	
making a connection between her own existence and site 1.	Positive Connection	No one else made this point, that this location is where her ancestors met and interacted, so it is directly responsible for her and our existence. This is true for me.
knowing that ancestors met at this location, ancestor's personal		

experience with places		
pointing out these two places as important, in particular		
discussing how important another site on the rez is important for the same reason, ancestors met and interacted at those sites, producing descendants.		
stating that a large portion of the Puyallup community would not exist without these places.		
continuing discussion about how crucial Chief Leschi is to the community because ancestors met there		
recalling a location by her connection through Judy/family rather than through history.		
sharing that her great grandparents met at site 1		
sharing that her great grandparents met at site 1		

Focused Code – Inspired to do event/ceremony/honor

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
believing a cleansing should happen at this site because of all that has happened there.		
“raising hands” IVC		

Focused Code – Positive Connection

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
feeling a deep connection to here, clarifying the Cushman campus in the next line		
discussing past state of Site 1 and how its timeline relates to her life		
relating her own personal experience with site 1		
making a connection between her own existence and site 1.	Family	No one else made this point, that this location is where her ancestors met and interacted, so it is directly responsible for her and our existence. This is true

		for me.
Sharing personal experience with the place, through Elder Judy Wright.	Continuity	

Focused Code – Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
enquiring about the number of places we visited on the site tour.		
beginning a discussion about one the places we visited, trying to recall the name.		
trying to recall a location, it turns out it was puyaləp.		Think about why she couldn't recall this location. This was theoretically the most relevant of all the sites!
recalling that there used to be “a village” there, but not recalling that it was THE village there		
reanalyzing my question.		Notice that she took my question and reworded it using the

		concept of “questioning” IVC
explaining why she hasn’t talked to her family		
explaining why she hasn’t talked to her family recently		

Focused Code – History

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
enquiring about how site 2 was used		
discussing the Griffin court of claims to corroborate claims about site 2		
speculating that Site 2 may have been a “warrior village” IVC		
speculating that Site 2 may not have been a “warrior village” because it was not known to... whom. She says “we” maybe, HPD? IVC		we
wondering about the “types of people” who lived in site 2		Types of people
wanting to know more about site 1, or more specifically, Cushman building		
wanting to know more about site 1,		

maybe she means the site as a whole or specifically the historic village that used to be there.		
wanting to know what site was historically. She says “used for anything” I don’t know what that means.		use
sharing her perspective about historical bias		
sharing maybe not a personal experience but a memory of Judy Wright discussing the importance of this location.	Continuity	
Sharing personal experience with the place, through Elder Judy Wright.	Continuity	
sharing a memory or maybe even just a fact that Judy Wright talked about this being a village site.	Continuity	

Participant 756

Focused Code – Tour

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
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begins with what was most memorable about the tour		
beginning with her memories about the last site, the river mouth, was the most memorable to 756		
knowing the basic history of the last site		
noting that these two locations were most memorable from the site tour		
has not shared information from site tour with family/friends		
has not shared with family/friends		

Focused Code – Visualizing past timescapes

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
knowing the basic history of the last site		
visualizing what the area looked like is the focus of her memory		
discussing another location on the other side of commencement bay, the restaurant we could not remember is the Cliff House.	History	

sharing that this place was important to her and the ancestors because of the vantage point that it had in precontact times.	Learning History	
claiming that this spot was a gathering spot. Based on [name redacted]'s research/claims?	Learning History	
clarifying that the gathering was non-aggressive, so, a trading spot?	Learning History	
failing, both of us, to remember the name of the restaurant	Learning History	
sharing that his is an important location because of the view	Learning History	
discussing the view from the site	Learning History	
speculating about the past features of the overlook	Learning History	
speculating about how a location may have been used in the past	Learning History	

Focused Code – Change/Loss

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
noting that the location is still there,		

but its purpose has changed		
being aware of the changes from youth to today	Personal Experiences Youth	
believing that an area can be “lost” by “big things going around” IVC IVC		
describing how the location became unsuitable for healing, This is similar to 247’s discussion about not finding suitable locations on the rez for ceremonies.	Personal Experience at Places	
continuing discussion about how this event ended because it was unsuitable for healing/ceremony		
continuing discussion about the degradation of Fireman’s Park and how this made it unsuitable for healing/ceremony		
continuing discussion of Fireman’s park’s degradation		
saying that they moved the candlelight vigil event		
“re-establishing ourselves” IVC		
finishing thought, she is specifically		

<p>talking about reestablishing ourselves in basketry</p>		
<p>describing a problematic dynamic which is that we cannot really attribute what baskets we do have to many specific people</p>	History	
<p>discussing the limited documentation of baskets that we do have</p>	History	
<p>describing a problematic dynamic which is that we cannot really attribute what baskets we do have to many specific people</p>	History	
<p>discussing the limited documentation of baskets that we do have</p>	History	
<p>discussing the problems related to documenting the provenance of baskets.</p>	History	
<p>continuing discussion about documenting the provenance of surviving baskets, or not</p>	History	
<p>discussing the difficulty of documenting basket provenance</p>	History	
<p>describing why it is difficult to</p>	History	

establish Puyallup provenance of baskets		
describing why know provenance is important, it is knowing who put their “spirit” into the object. This is related to k’wəłəłxəč.	History	

Focused Code – Personal Experience at places

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
relating her personal experience with the location, driven past it, but never stopped from youth	Youth	
sharing her personal experiences with locations nearby, usually travelling from youth	Youth	
sharing personal experiences with places nearby from youth	Youth	
expanding on personal experiences from youth and bringing them up-to-date	Youth	
sharing personal experiences about nearby places from youth	Youth	
sharing personal experiences from	Youth	

youth in nearby locations		
being aware of the changes from youth to today	Change	
sharing personal experiences in areas nearby, on Dock street		
relating her personal experiences during youth with the location	Youth	
relating how she used to relate to the place as a youth	Youth	
relating how she thought of the place over time		
relating her personal experiences and how they relate to that place, at that time she “wasn’t Puyallup” IVC		
continuing her thought. Notice that she does not expand on this last statement suggesting a negative affect		
sharing her personal experiences from youth, at another location, not on the tour	Youth	
relating her personal experiences from youth at another location, not on the tour	Youth	

sharing her personal experiences, of a place that was not on the tour	Youth	
discussing places that were important to her as a child that were not on the site tour, Point Defiance	Youth	
continuing discussion about Point defiance	Personal connection to places	
discussing what she did at point defiance in youth	Personal connection to places	
defining why Point defiance was important to her “calming to my ǰǰ.” IVC	Personal connection to places	
being in Natural environment is calming to 756, which is why she is connected to Point Defiance	Personal connection to places	
acknowledging the animal residents of Point Defiance	Personal connection to places	
mentioning another place that is important to her, Fireman’s Park, in downtown Tacoma	Connection to Land	
discussing how Billie Barnes cited Fireman’s Park as an important place	Personal experience at places	
describing how BB would honor that	Personal experience at	

place with regular candle light vigils	places	
discussing what she learned about Fireman’s Park from Billie Barnes	Personal experience at places	
continuing discussion about Fireman’s Park	Personal experience at places	
continuing discussion about Fireman’s Park	Personal experience at places	
describing the event and why it ended	Personal experience at places	
describing how the location became unsuitable for healing, This is similar to 247’s discussion about not finding suitable locations on the rez for ceremonies.	Change/Loss	
responding to my question, the domestic violence department put on these events at Firemen’s Park		
discussing an event and its importance to modern day Puyallups and the ancestors		

Focused Code – Connection to Land/Water

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
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<p>sharing that she didn't know her connection, but still loved commencement bay. This suggests that knowing that she is Puyallup and being an enrolled member brought another type of connection besides "loving" IVC</p>		
<p>remembering downtown Tacoma areas secondarily, while "traveling" IVC</p>		
<p>mentioning another place that is important to her, Fireman's Park, in downtown Tacoma</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>discussing how Billie Barnes cited Fireman's Park as an important place</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>describing how BB would honor that place with regular candle light vigils</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>discussing what she learned about Fireman's Park from Billie Barnes</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>continuing discussion about Fireman's Park</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>continuing discussion about Fireman's Park</p>	<p>Personal experience at places</p>	
<p>describing the event and why it ended</p>	<p>Personal experience at</p>	

	places	
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Focused Code – Connections during youth

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
sharing her personal experiences from youth, at another location, not on the tour	Connection to places	
relating her personal experiences from youth at another location, not on the tour	Connection to places	
sharing her personal experiences, of a place that was not on the tour	Connection to places	
relating her personal experiences during youth with the location	Connection to places	
relating her personal experience with the location, driven past it, but never stopped from youth	Connection to places	
sharing her personal experiences with locations nearby, usually travelling from youth	Connection to places	
sharing personal experiences with places nearby from youth	Connection to places	
sharing personal experiences about	Connection to places	

nearby places from youth		
sharing personal experiences from youth in nearby locations	Connection to places	
being aware of the changes from youth to today	Connection to places Change/Loss	
acknowledging the pollution of places that we enjoyed as a child.		
remembering or “thinking back” to the way a place was in youth		
comparing previous states of the river, between her youth and even deeper history	History	
feeling that his location was “strong” to her. Because of associations in youth, perhaps IVC		
stating previous non-awareness of cultural significance of the area		
discussing places that were important to her as a child that were not on the site tour, Point Defiance	Personal connection to places	
continuing discussion about Point defiance	Personal connection to places	
discussing what she did at point	Personal connection to	

defiance in youth	places	
defining why Point defiance was important to her “calming to my xǎč.” IVC	Personal connection to places	
being in Natural environment is calming to 756, which is why she is connected to Point Defiance	Personal connection to places	
acknowledging the animal residents of Point Defiance	Personal connection to places	
acknowledging the ancient function of Point defiance as a home to deer, etc.	Personal connection to places	

Focused Code – History

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
“getting history” of a place is valuable		
comparing previous states of the river, between her youth and even deeper history	Youth	
expanding discussion to tour conducted by [name redacted]	Listening	
discussing [name redacted]’s history tour	Listening	
clarifying the place she is talking	Listening	

about.		
using the Landing site's translated Lushootseed name to clarify where she is talking about	Listening	
clarifying where she is talking about	Listening	
talking about the Cliff House	Listening	
sharing that this place was important to her and the ancestors because of the vantage point that it had in precontact times.	Learning Visualizing	
claiming that this spot was a gathering spot. Based on [name redacted]'s research/claims?	Learning Visualizing	
clarifying that the gathering was non-aggressive, so, a trading spot?	Learning Visualizing	
failing, both of us, to remember the name of the restaurant	Learning Visualizing	
sharing that his is an important location because of the view	Learning Visualizing	
discussing the view from the site	Learning Visualizing	
speculating about the past features of the overlook	Learning Visualizing	

<p>speculating about how a location may have been used in the past</p>	<p>Learning Visualizing</p>	
<p>sharing first half of a very important idea, that “our history is never going to look like European history.”</p>		
<p>sharing an important difference between Puyallup Culture and European culture: our stories are oral stories</p>		
<p>sharing another important point, Puyallups left knowledge after death, not objects.</p>		
<p>sharing another important point, objects were not handed down, we valued story and knowledge</p>		
<p>sharing important point, we valued learning knowledge and taking it forward to make it your own</p>	<p>Learning/Knowledge</p>	
<p>often items were offered to ancestors in burnings, so they do not stay in this world</p>		
<p>describing interactions with outsiders, probably non-Natives in which they</p>		

expected us to have artifacts		
describing how 756 explains to outsiders why we do not have artifacts or archeological sites		
explaining to outsiders why we do not have artifacts		
explaining what we do have, images and renderings		
explaining artifacts that do exist, from European collections		
discussing the idea of validation to non-Natives		
discussing that validation to Europeans means through physical objects		
sharing her perspective of səx ^w əsq'ič, we do not/did not pass things along the way Europeans did		
describing a problematic dynamic which is that we cannot really attribute what baskets we do have to many specific people	Loss	
discussing the limited documentation of baskets that we do have	Loss	

discussing the problems related to documenting the provenance of baskets.	Loss	
continuing discussion about documenting the provenance of surviving baskets, or not	Loss	
discussing the difficulty of documenting basket provenance	Loss	
describing why it is difficult to establish Puyallup provenance of baskets	Loss	
describing why know provenance is important, it is knowing who put their “spirit” into the object. This is related to k’wəłəłxəč.	Loss	
noting that recordings are directed by the recorder, is this related to the way that linguists and anthropologists may have influenced their recordings/transcriptions?		
wanting to “take the middleman out” of recordings and hear people’s perspectives directly		

Focused Code – Honoring

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
referencing other person’s suggestion that a ceremony should honor the river mouth.		See 562, 247
wanting to address the ancestors that live in the area		
wanting to “uphold this area” animism IVC		

Focused Code – Listening/Learning/Knowing

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
remembering other people’s speaking		
citing other people’s memories that made areas memorable		
listening to other people’s connections during their youth		
sharing that other people’s memories allowed her to see beyond what it is today		
sharing that other people’s memories allowed her to see beyond what it is		

today		
enquiring to 617		
discussing another location on the other side of commencement bay, the restaurant we could not remember is the Cliff House.	Visualizing	
expanding discussion to tour conducted by [name redacted]	History	
discussing [name redacted]'s history tour	History	
clarifying the place she is talking about.	History	
using the Landing site's translated Lushootseed name to clarify where she is talking about	History	
clarifying where she is talking about	History	
talking about the Cliff House	History	
trying to remember the name of the restaurant	History	
sharing that this place was important to her and the ancestors because of the vantage point that it had in precontact times.	History Visualizing	

claiming that this spot was a gathering spot. Based on [name redacted]'s research/claims?	History Visualizing	
clarifying that the gathering was non-aggressive, so, a trading spot?	History Visualizing	
failing, both of us, to remember the name of the restaurant	History Visualizing	
sharing that his is an important location because of the view	History Visualizing	
discussing the view from the site	History Visualizing	
speculating about the past features of the overlook	History Visualizing	
speculating about how a location may have been used in the past	History Visualizing	
sharing important point, we valued learning knowledge and taking it forward to make it your own	History	
having 562 on the site tour had an impact of its own		
having 562 on the site tour, speaking, made 756 want to hear recordings of more people to hear their perspectives		

on these places		
having 562 on the site tour, speaking, made 756 want to hear recordings of more people to hear their perspectives on these places		
not wanting to read journals, maybe just hear people talk		
wanting to hear information about our people, directly from our people		expanding the concept of “our people” to include neighboring tribes
focusing on recorded ancestors, I don't know if she means recorded in a general sense, or literally audio recordings		

Focused Code – Positionality/Career

Initial Codes	Related code	Observation
discussing herself as a resource		
discussing herself as a resource and her role at the DV office		
discussing herself as a resource for “how things were before contact”		

