PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LANGUAGE AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE UPPER CHINOOK[1]

By EDWARD SAPIR

In the summer of 1905 I was commissioned by the Bureau of American Ethnology to continue, the study of Chinookan linguistics and, incidentally, mythology, which had been begun some ten years ago by Professor Boas, and the results of which, so far as published, have appeared in " Chinook Texts " and " Kathlamet texts," both bulletins of the Bureau, and in Dr Swanton's " Morphology of the Chinook Verb " and Professor Boas' " Notes on the Chinook Vocabulary," both of which articles appear in the *American Anthropologist*.[2] This published material deals with the dialects of the Chinookan family spoken at or near the mouth of Columbia river. It was therefore desirable, in order to gain a somewhat more comprehensive idea of the peculiarities of Chinookan grammar, to devote study to the extreme eastern dialects.

The dialect or language to which the following notes refer is that spoken by the Indians formerly living on the northern shore of Columbia river, roughly speaking, from White Salmon river to the Long Narrows. These Indians, who are now on the Yakima reservation, Washington, called themselves *iłáxluit*, the 1st per. sing. of which (*itcxluit*, ' I am an Iłáxluit ') is in all probability the " Echeloot " of Lewis and Clark. They are known by their Yakima and Klikitat neighbors (tribes of the Sahaptian stock) as *Wúcxam*, which, in its anglicized form of Wishram, or Wishham, is their common apellation to-day. The language spoken by them is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the Wasco on the other side of the river and of the White Salmon and Hood (or Dog)

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[2] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins 20 and 26. *American Anthropologist*, N. S., II, 1900, pp. 199–237, and VI, 1904, pp. 118–147. The phonetic system followed in these works is used in this article. See either Bulletin for the key.

River Indians farther down the stream.   More prominent dialectic differences appear when we get as far down as the cascades ; the dialect of this locality may be considered transitional between the Wishram and the Clackamas of the Willamette region.

Viewing the Chinookan dialects as a whole, we find that the same general morphological characteristics apply to both Upper and Lower Chinook.   In both groups we have the concept of the word as distinct from the sentence clearly developed.[1]   Pronominal incorporation of subject, object, and indirect object in the verb ; a somewhat elaborate apparatus of pronominal elements and pronouns (including the dual and an inclusive and exclusive in the first person dual and plural) ; a peculiar method of expressing the possessive pronouns (these are prefixed elements related to the pronoun subjects of transitive verbs) ; a characteristic use in many cases of invariable particles accompanied by auxiliary verbs instead of the use of verb-stems to express the main idea (as though one were to say in English : " He made the bell ding-dong " instead of " he rang the bell ") ; a general tendency toward onomatopoesis ; the extraordinary phonetic weakness of many of the verb-stems (often consisting of but a consonant or cluster of consonants) ; local or adverbial prefixes and local and quasi-modal suffixes in the verb ; and a thoroughly developed system of grammatical sex-gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter), both in the noun and in the verb — all of these features are shared by both the upper and the lower dialects.

The first important difference between the Wishram and Lower Chinook is found to be in the phonetic systems of the two.   Whereas the lower dialects affect on the whole a surd articulation (with pre-

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[1] Such a word, for instance, as the Wishram *gatctcxcgám*, ' he took them away from the two (women) ' (*ga-* = tense sign indicating remote past ; *-tc-* = 3d sing. masc. subj. of trans. verb ; *-t-* = 3d pl. obj. of undefined gender ; *-c-* = 3d dual indirect object of undefined gender ; *-x-* = reflexive element indicating that object, *-t-* is possessed by persons referred to by *-c-*, here most easily rendered by ' from ' ; *-cg-* = verb-stem or "root" meaning ' take ' ; *-am* = verbal suffix generally denoting ' arriving, coming or going to do something,' but not quite transparent in its application to this verb) must be conceived of as an indivisible unity in the same sense in which a Latin form like *cōnscrīpsī* is an organic unit (not merely *cōn* + *scrīb* + *s* + *ī* as agglutinated elements intelligible *per se*) ; none of the elements in the given verb-form has any sort of meaning outside of its particular place in such form.   In other words, the word and sentence do not flow into one another in Chinookan.

dominance of *p*, *t*, and velar surd *q* over *b*, *d*, and velar sonant *g*), the Wishram is prevailingly sonant in its use of stops.   Thus, where the Lower Chinook has ō'*p*a, ' yellow-jacket,' and an*t*ō'*t*ēna, ' I killed them,' the Wishram has wá*b*a and in*d*ú*d*ina.   Moreover, the short *u* and *i* of Wishram are generally represented in Lower Chinook by long *ō* and *ē*, as seen in the latter example cited.   The peculiar voiceless palatalized *l* (written ʟ) of the Pacific coast appears in Wishram with- out the characteristic stop quality of the Lower Chinook ; thus we have Lower Chinook ʟōn ' three,' but Wishram ɫun.   These phonetic differences, together with a number of local phonetic changes that it is not necessary to go into here,[1] would suffice to give the two groups of dialects a marked acoustic difference.   From internal evidence I am very strongly inclined to believe that the phonetics of Wishram represents better than that of the lower dialects the orig- inal condition of Chinookan.   Inasmuch as the phonetics of Lower Chinook is closely allied to that of the neighboring Coast Salish (such as the Tillamook and Chehalis), the interesting possibility pre- sents itself that the Chinookan tribes were formerly all located east of the Coast range and that some of them, proceeding down the river in their well-built canoes, came to the Pacific coast and there assimilated the phonetic system of their new neighbors.   This, however, is confessedly mere speculation, and needs confirmatory evidence.[2]

Leaving aside these phonetic differences, perhaps the most strik ing morphologic difference is in the treatment of the demonstrative pronouns.   Both the upper and lower dialects possess different forms for the various relations of near the speaker, near the person

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[1] Characteristic Coast features found in Lower Chinook but not in Wishram are be- sides : the presence of the voiceless palatal spirant *x·* as in German *ich* (Wishram employs instead a voiceless palatal spirant *x* pronounced far forward, yet quite distinct acoustically from *x·*, which to Wishram ears sounds like *c*) ; and the difficulty of distinguishing be- tween *m* and *b* and also *n* and *d*, a characteristic Coast Salish phonetic feature.

[2] Such a movement of the Chinook down the river would satisfactorily explain also the severed position of the Salish Tillamook, in Oregon, who are separated from the linguistic- ally related Chehalis only by Chinookan tribes.   Even though all the Salish tribes be of interior provenience, as generally believed, their occupancy of the Pacific coast, including the region directly north and south of the Columbia, may have long antedated the coming to the coast of the Chinook.   See A. B. Lewis, " Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Associa- tion*, 1906, I, pt. 2, p. 198.

addressed, and near the person spoken of, and both distinguish the three numbers and the three genders of the singular in the demonstrative. Whereas, however, the Lower Chinook further distinguishes between visibility and invisibility of the person or object, no such difference could be observed in the use of the demonstratives in Wishram.   Moreover, the principle of formation of the demonstratives is, in detail, quite dissimilar in the two groups.   In Lower Chinook the demonstrative is built up of three exceedingly weak phonetic elements : a consonant expressing visibility or invisibility, a vowel or consonant denoting the number and gender of the person or object referred to, and a consonant or two vowels defining the demonstrative relation.   In Wishram the principle of formation is simpler ; each demonstrative form is built up of two agglutinated syllables, one of which is the short form of a 3d pers. pronoun (defining both gender and number), and the other a characteristic element indicating the demonstrative relation.   Speaking generally, the demonstratives in Wishram seem to stand in much closer relation to the personal pronouns than they do in the lower dialects.[1]

Reference was made above to the general tendency toward onomatopoesis in the Chinookan dialects.   The impression which Professor Boas had obtained of such a character in his study of the lower dialects was in every way confirmed by my own study of the Wishram.   The frequent rhetorical lengthening or shortening of vowels and consonants, the duplication or quintuplication of imitative elements, and the frequent use of onomatopoetic particles in

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[1] For convenience of comparison the demonstratives of both Lower Chinook and Wishram are tabulated below.   Those in parentheses are the Chinook correspondents of the Wishram forms immediately above :

	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter	Dual	Plural
Near 1st Person {	dáuya	dáua	dáuɫa	dáucda	dáuda ⎫
hīc {	(x·ik)	(x·ak)	(x·īLik)	(x·īctik)	(x·ītik) ⎭
Near 2d Person {	yáxdau	áxdau	ɫáxdau	cdáxdau	dáxdau ⎫
iste {	(x·iau)	(x·au)	(x·īLa)	(x·īcta)	(x·īta) ⎭
Near 3d Person {	yáxia	áxia	ɫáxia	cdáxia	dáxia ⎫
ille {	(x·ix·)	(x·aX)	(x·ōLa)	(x·ōcta)	(x·ōta) ⎭
Shortened Pronouns in Wishram	ya(x)	a(x)	ɫa(x)	cda(x)	da (x)

The Lower Chinook forms here given are those implying visibility.   The corresponding demonstratives used to refer to invisible objects are obtained by changing the initia *x· -* to *q -*.

lieu of verb-stems are not the only phenomena which illustrate this onomatopoetic tendency.   Most characteristic of Wishram, and prob- ably of the other Chinookan dialects also, is the employment of a series of changes in the manner and, to some extent, in the place of articulation of the various consonants, in order to express diminution and augmentation.   This singular rhetorico-grammatical process works in such a way that all surd and sonant stopped consonants be- come exploded consonants (better known as " fortis ") to express the diminutive idea (i. e. *b* and *p* become *p!*, *d* and *t* become *t!*, *g* and *k* become *k!*), while all surd and exploded consonants become sonant to express the augmentative (i. e. *p* and *p!* become *b*, *t* and *t!* become *d*, *k* and *k!* become *g*, *q* and *q!* become *g̣*); in the case of the velar consonants a possible change to the " fortis " to denote the diminutive is attended also by a more forward, i. e. palatal, articulation (i. e. *g* and *q* become, not *q!*, but *k!*).   More- over, the sibilant consonants *c*, *tc*, and *tc!* on the one hand, and *s*, *ts*, and *ts!* on the other, are related to each other as augmentative and diminutive consonants, while *dj* may sometimes, though rarely, be employed as the augmentative grade of *tc* and *ts* (e. g., *idjïk-*) *djïk* ' big wagon,' from *itsïktsïk* ' wagon.'   The guttural spirant *x̣* becomes *x* in the diminutive form.   Subjoined are a few illus- trations for the purpose of making the process more easily under- stood.   The normal word in Wishram for ' hip-joints ' is *ck!álkal*. The diminutive of this word is *sk!álkal*, in which, it will be noticed, the *c* of the first word has been changed to *s* in consonance with our rule.   The word *sk!álkal* would be appropriately used to designate a baby's hip-joints, for instance.   On the other hand the augmentative would require a change of the fortis *k!* to a sonant *g* — hence *cgálkal* is used to denote ' big hip-joints,' as of a giant. Similarly, while *aq!óxł* with velar fortis (*q!*) is the normal word for ' knee,' *ak!úxł* with palatal fortis (*k!*) and guttural spirant pronounced farther front (*x*) is the diminutive, and *agóxł* with sonant velar (*g̣*) the augmentative.   Not infrequently there is a slight change of meaning accompanying the phonetic change.   Thus, while *itcł̣í'nôn* (masc.) denotes   ' eagle,' *iłtsł̣í'nôn* (neut.) with diminutive consonantism means ' bird '; *ik!álamat* denotes ' stone,' but *igálamat* with augmentative consonantism means ' rock.'   It

must not be supposed that this characteristic consonant-gradation is confined to the noun; it is found just as well in every other part of speech.   An example of its use in the verb will serve to give an idea of its rhetorical possibilities.   *Inigɛ́ltcim* is the normal word for ' I struck him with it.'   If the verb-stem *-tcim* appears, with diminutive consonantism, as *-tsim*, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix *-gɛl-*, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced *-k!ɛl-*, the implication is that the missile used is a small one.   Hence we have four forms: *inigɛ́ltcim* ' I hit him with it,' *inigɛ́ltsim* ' I hit him (a child perhaps) with it,' *inik!ɛltcim* ' I hit him with it (something small),' and *inik!ɛltsim* ' I hit him (a child) with it (something small).'   It would seem then necessary, so far as Chinookan grammar is concerned, to allow as a regular grammatical process, alongside of reduplication, vowel change or " ablaut," and pre-, in-, and suffixation, a fourth process — consonant-gradation or " ablaut."

Turning again to morphology, there was one feature which was well calculated to arouse a certain degree of surprise.   The work which had been done on Lower Chinook disclosed a paucity of tenses that is, on the whole, quite in accordance with the general morphologic character of many American linguistic stocks.   In Wishram, however, I found that it was necessary to distinguish carefully six tenses: 1st, a tense characterized by the prefix *ga-* (before consonants) or *gal-* (before vowels) in certain cases optionally by the prefixed consonant *n-*), which refers to time long past, say more than one year ago, and which is used regularly in the recital of myths; 2d, a tense characterized by the prefix *ni-* (before consonants) or *nig-* (before vowels), used to refer somewhat indefinitely to time past and which is used in speaking of events that happened say less than a year ago, yet more than a couple of days ; 3d, a tense characterized by prefixed *na-* (before consonants) or *nal-* (before vowels) and suffixed *-a*, which seems to refer to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday ; 4th, a tense characterized by prefixed *i-* (before consonants) or *ig-* (before vowels), which refers to an action already performed to-day ; 5th, a tense characterized normally by suffixed *-t*, referring to an action now going on but, as it seems, with the implication of its soon being

completed ; and 6th, a future tense, normally characterized by pre-
fixed *a*- (before consonants) or *al*- (before vowels) and suffixed -*a*.[1]
Besides this series of six positively characterized tenses, I should
not omit to mention that some verbs, when referring to present
time, are morphologically tenseless, and seem to form their immedi-
ate past tense by a verbal prefix -*t*- which ordinarily denotes action
toward the speaker.[2]

In this connection I may also mention a group of verb-forms
which are characterized by the consonant *l* (assimilated in nasal
surroundings to *n*) suffixed or infixed to the verb-stem, sometimes
by -*lal* (or -*nan*) suffixed to the verb-stem. These forms denote
frequentative or continuative action and, as a rule, do not allow the
verb to be further characterized by a tense element. They may
then, from a certain point of view, be considered as forming a
seventh tense — the present tense with no implication of comple-
tion.[3]   The most interesting point about these *l*-frequentatives is

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[1] Examples —

TENSE:	*ga*-FORM	*ni*-FORM	*na*-FORM
	gayúya 'he went'	*niyúya*	*nayúya*
	galúya 'she went'	*niǥúya*	*nalúya*
	gatcigÉlkEl 'he saw him'	*nitcigitkEl*	*natcigÉlgEla*
	galíxux 'he became'	*nigíxatx*	*nalixúxwa*
	gacgnúx 'they two did to me'	*nicgnátx*	*nacgnúxwa*

	i-FORM	PRES. *t*-FORM	FUT. *a*-FORM
	iyúya / *iǥúya*	*yúit* / *úit*	*ayúya* / *alúya*
	itcigÉlkEl	(*tssík!Elutkt*) 'he looks at him'	*atcigÉlgEla*
	igíxux	—————	*alixúxwa*
	icgnúx	*cgnuxt*	*acgnúxwa*

[2] Thus *úxt* (= *a* + *u* + *xt*) means 'she is seated,' but 'she was sitting' is rendered
by *átxt*, in which the prefix -*u*- has been changed to -*t*-.   Cf., for this interchange,
túgwat 'they fly (away from me)' and *títgat* 'they fly toward (me).'

[3] Such frequentative forms are :

WITH TENSE-SIGN	FREQUENTATIVE
gatksánbnatx	*tksánbnantx*
'they jumped in the water'	'they keep jumping in the water'
	(verb-stem *bna*-)

that certain verb-stems apparently infix the *l* or *n*.   If our English word 'look,' e. g., were also a Wishram verb-stem, 'he looked at it' would be *itciúlook*, but 'he keeps looking at it' would probably be *tciúloolk*.[1]   I pass over many other verbal peculiarities, such as the distributive suffix -*yu* (*alxk!wáya* 'we shall go home,' but *alxk!wáyuwa* 'we shall go each to his own home') or the passive suffix -*ix* (*itciúlxum* 'he ate it up,' but *yulxúmix* 'it is eaten up') to mention the considerable difficulty experienced in analyzing the noun, apart from its syntactic elements which are transparent enough.

The pronominal elements prefixed to the noun (every noun is either masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular, dual, or plural) are in Lower Chinook identical with the pronominal object elements incorporated into the transitive verb, except for the feminine singular, which in the noun shows *ō-* (from original *wa-*) as compared with -*a*- in the verb.   In Wishram, however, the noun has prefixed a pronominal element differing from the corresponding element in the verb by an initial *w*- (masc. and fem.) or *i*-(neuter, dual, and plural).   The following table shows the corresponding elements :

	NOUN IN WISHRAM	NOUN IN CHINOOK	OBJ. IN WISHRAM VERB
masc.	*wi-, i-*	*i-*	-*i-*
fem.	*wa-, a-*	*ō-*	-*a-*
neut.	*il-*	*L-*	-*l-*
dual	*ic-, (is-)*	*c-, (s-)*	-*c-, (-s-)*
pl.	*id-*	*t-*	-*d-*

*g*atssúbEna   tssubEná*nan*
'he jumped'   'he keeps jumping'
*g*atccinq!wô'*l*gunaba   tccinq!wô'*l*k^nnanp*l*
'he grasped him with his claws'   'he scratches him'
*g*akdúgwiptck   kdúgwi/ptck
'she gathered driftwood'   'she keeps gathering driftwood
*g*ayúkwa   yugwá*lal*
'he flew'   'he flies about'

[1] Some examples of this phenomenon are :

WITH TENSE-SIGN	FREQUENTATIVE
*g*a*l*ixpcut	ixpcú*l*it
'he hid himself'	'he is hiding himself'
*g*atcíuci*l*	tciuci*ll*
'he used it'	'he keeps using it'
ksí'nk!itk*l*	ksínk!id*El*/k
'she looks at me'	'she keeps looking at me'
	(verb-stem *tk-*

The choice between *wi- wa-* and *i- a-* in Wishram is dependent chiefly upon considerations of syllabic length : *wílx* ' land ' (cf. Chinook *í*lē*'*ē), but *i*gánuk ' beaver '; *wá*mal ' marrow ' (cf. Chinook *ō′ mala*), but *a*gagílak ' woman.'

It had been hoped that some light would be thrown on the derivative elements of the noun, but it cannot be claimed that all desirable success was attained in this direction.   Perhaps the most transparent derivative elements that were found are the suffixes -*lit* and -*mat.*   The former of these seems to denote a group, particu- larly a grove of trees.   Thus the word *ilíbum* ' apple ' (borrowed, of course, from the French *la pomme*) forms the derivative noun *ilibúmᴇlit* ' orchard.'   The suffix -*mat* is perhaps best defined as denoting ' something used for so and so.'   For instance, *isqxús* denotes ' the eyes,' *isqxúsmat* means ' something for the eyes,' i. e. spectacles.[1]   An interesting group of nouns is formed by descriptive verb phrases, such nouns being in effect pure verb forms.   The loon, e. g., is described as ' he shouts along the river ' (*tci-ilúmat wímaɬ*), and ' telescope ' is rendered by ' people keep looking through it ' (*qēxgᴇ́lgᴇlim*).

The most puzzling linguistic phenomenon found in Wishram, because it is at complete variance with what we have in the lower dialects, is the use of a certain number of loosely tagged on postposi- tions, in some cases optionally prepositions.   We have a suffix -*ba* denoting ' in ' or ' at,' a suffix -*iamt* meaning either ' towards,' or ' from,' a suffixed or prefixed element *báma* meaning ' for,' the post- or pre-positions *ámᴇni* and *ᴇ́nᴇgi* meaning ' with ' or ' made out of,' and an element -*bᴇ́t*, meaning ' when,' suffixed to verb forms.[2]   The

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[1] Further examples of this suffix are : *igíctxmat* ' load ' (from verb-stem -*ctx* ' to carry on one's back ') ; *itk!íciɬmat* ' tools ' (verb-stem -*ciɬ* ' to use ') ; *ak!ixwácamat* ' plane ' (verb-stem -*xwac* ' to plane ').

[2] The following examples illustrate the use of these elements with nouns, pronouns, and verbs :

ba : *wímaɬba* ' in the river ; *dáuyaba wílX* ' in this country ' (lit. ' this-in country ') ; *gatcigᴇ́lkᴇlba* ' where he saw him ' (*gatcigᴇ́lkᴇl* ' he saw him ').

iamt : *wímaɹiámt* ' to or from the river '; *imigáiɬ naikáyamt* ' you are bigger than I ' (lit. ' your bigness [is] me-from, compared with me ') ; *átpᴋiamd agáɬax* ' to where she goes out towards [us] (*atpX* ' she goes out towards'), the sun,' i. e. ' east.'

báma : cán bama ' for whom ?' ; *Múlmul bama* ' from, belonging to Fort Simcoe.' *ámᴇni : igábᴇnac amᴇni* ' made out of young oak.'

ᴇ́nᴇgi(ngi) : aq!ē′wiqxi ngi ' with a knife.'

bᴇt : gayúyabᴇt ' when he went '; *nk!áckacbᴇt* ' when I was a child.'   In length- ened form *bä′t* it means ' as soon as ' : *gayuyabä′t* ' as soon as he went.'

extent of pronominal incorporation of indirect objects and the use of local or relational prefixes in the verb are such in the Chinookan dialects that the employment of these local tags (one might be inclined to call them " cases," if they had less individuality) seems quite unnecessary.   It is of considerable theoretic importance, there- fore, to note that the neighboring Sahaptian dialects, quite similarly to the Klamath, make an extended use of such case-suffixes.   We would then have here a good example of the *grammatic*, not merely lexical, influence that dialects of one linguistic stock may exert on geographically contiguous dialects of a fundamentally distinct stock.[1]

In conclusion a few words may be devoted to the mythology of the Upper Chinook.   I have not as yet enough texts of myths to present a really complete description of the mythologic concepts and elements present in the tales of the Wishram, but some of the main points seem patent enough.   As in other Indian mythologies it is believed that there was a time antedating the present one when animals walked about as men, though having approximately the same mental and, to a large extent, physical characteristics as now. At that time, when there were no Indians, properly speaking, in the country, but only anthropomorphic animals, many things were not as they should be, and, in order to make the country fit for habita- tion by the Indians destined to hold it, it was necessary for a culture- hero or transformer to rectify the weak points in creation.   This transformer is, as in the plateau regions to the east, the Coyote. There is a cycle of myths made up of local tales telling how Coyote traveled all the way up the Columbia river, transforming monsters and instructing the people in the various arts of life.   This string of local tales is, if I am not mistaken, continued in unbroken succes- sion by the Sahaptian tribes living farther up the river, so that we have here a series of myths, belonging together yet distributed over a large number of different tribes.   Some of the things that Coyote does are : to stock the Columbia with fish that had been withheld from the rest of the world by two women ; to transform two women, who entice wayfarers, into birds ; to provide the people of the

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[1] Of the postpositive elements given above, three, *báma*, *ÉnEgi*, and *ámEni*, are certainly of Sahaptin origin, probably also *-ba* (cf. Yakima *-pa* ' in ').   This explains their entire absence in Lower Chinook.

Cascades country with mouths that had formerly been lacking ; to instruct men in the art of catching white salmon in basket traps and of spearing and steaming salmon ; to put an end to the atrocities of the merman who swallows canoes with men and all, and of the dread woman, At!at!áłia, who steals children and roasts them on an island still pointed out at the Long Narrows; and so on. In all this Coyote is distinctly the benefactor of mankind, but at the same time he is, as often elsewhere, conceived of as cunning, deceitful, and gluttonous. In some stories, particularly in such as do not belong to the cycle of Coyote as Transformer, he is an insufferable marplot, as when he, contrary to Eagle's injunction, opens a box containing the souls of his and Eagle's wife and son, thus bringing death into the world. At the same time he is indescribably obscene ; some of the deeds of this kind performed by the culture-hero of the Tillamook, as communicated by Professor Boas, are also told by the Wishram of him. Although Coyote is the main transformer, I think it would be incorrect to speak of him as the hero of the Wishram. This point comes out clearly when Coyote himself, in one of the transformation myths, admits that he is no chief, that title being reserved, among the animals, for the Eagle and the Salmon. These two may, indeed, be considered the true heroes of Wishram myth, their deeds being narrated with considerable sym- pathy and admiration. The Salmon, in particular, may be described as the local hero of the Chinookan tribes, an elaborate salmon myth being common to both the Lower Chinook and the Wishram. I cannot say definitely whether Bluejay, who figures so prominently as buffoon among the coast tribes, such as the Kathlamet and Qui- naiult, occupies a corresponding position among the Wishram. So far as the material collected is concerned, he is quite a subordinate character, and I suspect that he is almost entirely superseded by Coyote. The mischievous and spiteful elements of his character, as of the Mink of more westerly and northerly regions, are embodied also in the Weasel.

Besides the main type of myth — i. e. the Transformer or Cul- ture-hero myth, one can discern also a species of nature myth that is somewhat different in character. This type is represented, e. g., by the tale of the contest between the East Wind and the West

Wind, in which the latter proves successful.   Another example of this type is the struggle of the five East Wind brothers with the five Thunder brothers, resulting in the death of all but one of the latter, which exception accounts for the existence of a certain amount of thunder to-day.

The single myth motives of Wishram mythology are many, probably most of them, found distributed over considerable areas elsewhere.   Such well-known incidents as the magic increase of a small amount of food, the blundering imitation of the host, the life and death contest at gambling bones, the unsuccessful attempt to destroy strangers in an overheated sweat-house, the abandonment and later enrichment of a poor boy while his maltreaters are starving — all these and many others are common property of the Northwest Pacific coast and regions to the east and south, though the setting in which they occur may vary indefinitely.   On the whole, the chief interest of Wishram mythology seems to lie in its transitional character between the mythologies of the coast and of the plateau.   Although it shares, as we have seen, a local and specifically Chinookan salmon myth with the Lower Chinook, many of the myth motives are not duplicated farther down the river, but are found in other regions, such as the plateaus.   Here again we observe that linguistic and cultural, more specifically mythologic, distribution areas are by no means necessarily congruent.

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