Melville Jacobs, in his Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar (1931, p.96), suggests that the main outlines of that sketch will be "roughly valid" for the language as spoken at Warm Springs. There was, as Jacobs noted, no documentation of the Warm Springs Sahaptin of that period. However, for the period since the early 1970s, copious text recording and analysis, and grammatical and lexical elicitation have made it possible for me to begin to assess differences between Warm Springs Sahaptin and Klickitat, Cowlitz and Makula–Palus as Jacobs described them in the Grammatical sketch and as they emerge in the published texts (Jacobs, 1929, 1931, 1934 and 1971). Access to Bruce Rigby's unpublished manuscript of an article on Sahaptin for the forthcoming Language volume of the new Handbook of American Indians being prepared under auspices of the Smithsonian Institution adds the further perspective of modern (post-1958) Umatilla and Yakima Sahaptin.

The folk-linguistic view at Warm Springs, among the people I have worked with there, is that those people in Washington have lots of "ii" and "K". What is the basis of this prevalent notion? Or does it have any basis at all?

As to the "ii's", there are two origins of the feeling that the northern dialects are full of "ii". One lies in the deictics. Many demonstratives in the Northern dialects have initial i- which is absent in the Sahaptin at Warm Springs and Umatilla (cf. Rigby, ms.). In the examples that follow, Warm Springs forms are cited first in each instance. Forms from Jacobs are all Cowlitz (Tatnapiam) unless otherwise indicated. E.g., ði 'here' vs. iði 'here', iði 'there (loc.)' vs. ðiði 'there (loc.)', iði 'kana' vs. iði 'kana'; iði 'today' at this time'.

It is interesting to note that at Warm Springs the word for the language, which is a kana word, is ði-kana, rather than the ðiði of the Warm Springs as in Umatilla as presented by Rigby (ms. 1970 and 1971). The affixive forms are the only ones in the ði-kana paradigm that have initial i-.

It is interesting to note that at Warm Springs the word for the language, which is a kana word, is ði-kana, rather than the ðiði of the Warm Springs as in Umatilla as presented by Rigby (ms. 1970 and 1971). The affixive forms are the only ones in the ði-kana paradigm that have initial i-.

The presence of "ii" or "K" is most differentiated in the following cases. In the Northern dialects there are a number of fairly common lexical items in which those dialects have "ii" or "K". For example, the clitics do not of themselves indicate the case status of the first or second person subject.

There are a number of minor differences in various grammatical affixes between Warm Springs and the northern dialects: E.g., ði-kana 'reflective', (as noted above) vs. ði-kana, ði-kana 'benefactive suffix' vs. ði-kana, ði-kana 'benefactive plural' vs. ði-kana, ði-kana 'benefactive plural' vs. ði-kana, ði-kana 'benefactive plural'.

In contrast to the clitics, the person marking prefixes, with two exceptions, so always unambiguously index case as well as person and number of the constituents they refer to. That is to say that if one sees i- on a verb, there is definitely a third person subject, either actually singular or unmarked for plural. Pa- always indicates a third person plural subject. Pā- indicates that both subject and object are third person and that the subject is singular, and pata- indicates that subject is third person plural and object is third person. The system is as laid out by Rigby for all of Sahaptin, but based mainly on his work at Umatilla and Yakima. It is the system that has seemed to apply well to the Warm Springs data.

The first of the exceptions to the characteristic variety of person-marking prefixes...
as restricted to third person, and as capable of unambiguously marking person and number without reference to the clitics, involves a prefix -pà- which is homophonic with the third person -pà- mentioned above. This -pà- is the only verb prefix indicating a non-third person and one recognizes it by its co-occurrence with the second person clitic -man of the examples above. It then indicates first person object of the second person subject, human pà-man. Then you will see me.

The second exception is to the generalization that the verb prefixes unambiguously indicate case without reference to the presence or absence of clitics. The -pà- of the preceding paragraph is not. I think, an exception to this generalization in that both it and the other -pà- do indicate object. Reference to the presence or absence of clitics alone does not determine the person of the object as well, of course, as distinguishing which it is. The case of -pà- does offer an exception, however. As noted above, in the discussion of the clitics, the verb prefix -pà- indicates a third person object of the first or second person subject indexed by the clitic. The co-presence of a clitic and -pà- is what defines the case role of each, if these were the only use of -pà- then mere presence would indicate third person object, even though a clitic would always co-occur. But, at Warm Springs -pà- may also be a variant of third person subject -pì-. This is the case at Umatilla also, and neither Riggsby nor I have ever felt we had a satisfactory explanation of the variation. Jacobs' grammar indicates the presence of this alternation in the Northwestern dialects and the texts bear out the fact of alternation, though neither of Jacobs' very tentative and brief explanations of the basis of the alternations seems to hold up in light of the texts. This is clearly an area for research in all the dialects of Sahaptin.

Comparison of the Joe Hunt Klickitat texts with the Cowits texts seem to show that á- third person subject is more common in Klickitat than in Cowits, where its frequency decreases to a low, small percentage in the Warm Springs. An overall impression one gets from the system in the northern dialects is that á- third person object subject is more common in Klickitat than in Cowits, where its frequency decreases to a low, small percentage in the Warm Springs. An overall impression one gets from the system in the northern dialects is that if á- is the third person subject then it indicates just that the object is third person, whereas if it occurs without a clitic, then only context will tell whether it indicates third person subject or indicates both third person subject and third person object. In any case, at Warm Springs and Umatilla, á- is an exception to the generalization that the prefixes unambiguously indicate case without reference to the presence or absence of clitics.

The investigation of the alternation in the northern dialects of á- with -pat- to indicate third person singular subject while first or second person subject, has turned out to be the most fruitful and exciting result of my attempts to pull together in this paper what I knew of the differences between Warm Springs Sahaptin and the other dialects. It has led me to the discovery of at least a few uses of á- as third person subject with third person object in one of my Warm Springs texts and to the beginnings of an understanding of what may be involved in the choice between á- and -pat- as third person subject with third person object prefixes. My research into this question is at its very earliest stages but the findings so far seem worth reporting at once for their wider relevance to discourse functions of grammatical features.

In the manuscript of Riggsby's sketch of Sahaptin grammar, he reports that -pat- is the prefix used to indicate in and of itself, third person singular subject acting on third person object. Though he mentions that Jacobs records this prefix in alternation with á- in the Northwestern dialects, he does not indicate any use of the alternate at Umatilla and does not include the á- form in his chart of transitive clause prefixes and clitics except of course for its use as third person object of first or second subject. In my own work at Warm Springs everything seemed to cease out Riggsby's analysis. In fact, I had become unaware, if ever really was aware of the use of á- as an alternant of -pat- in Jacobs' grammar and texts. Rereading Riggsby, and particularly his compilation of -pat- as an objective, led me to look more closely at Jacobs' mention of -pat- and á- in the grammar. I was interested in finding out what kind of connection
The first use of pâ- with Wildcat as subject and Timber Rabbit as object occurs in the verb of saying in Wildcat's refusal. Finally they do take turns scratching each other, at Timber Rabbit's suggestion and with Wildcat's reluctant compliance. There are about six uses of pâ- with Wildcat as subject and an equal number with him as object during the page long episode which ends with Wildcat's killing and skinning Timber Rabbit. all with pâ- prefix. Here the role being played by pâ- constructions is less clear then in the rest of the narrative. All instances of Wildcat's being object are here, as elsewhere, marked by pâ-. Perhaps in this case the use of pâ- pretty much reciprocally is indicating something about the importance of this interaction with Timber Rabbit. At the end of this episode it will Wildcat 'predicts' timber rabbit's future as just being food for Wildcat. He then reclaims his brother Cougar.

The analysis of one long narrative which, the use of pâ- so clearly singles out one character as protagonist, and of another where choice of pâ- over other alternatives.

The instances of Timber Rabbit being object in a pâ- construction all involve Wildcat as subject. There are a number of them during an episode in which Wildcat comes upon Timber Rabbit in his travels and Timer Rabbit suggests they Should play together,

The first use of pâ- with Wildcat as subject and Timber Rabbit as object occurs in the verb of saying in Wildcat's refusal. Finally they do take turns scratching each other, at Timber Rabbit's suggestion and with Wildcat's reluctant compliance. There are about six uses of pâ- with Wildcat as subject and an equal number with him as object during the page long episode which ends with Wildcat's killing and skinni..
The other difference lies in the fact that there are a large number of words in Warm Springs Sahaptin in which a stressed vowel that occurs in that word in the other dialects is present, and the stress has been shifted to the other vowel of the word. These missing vowels may be either obscured stressed vowels which Jacobs says never drop out in the Northwest dialects in the way that unstressed vowels may or full vowels. A few examples out of the many I have collected are: sh forma wooden mountain' vs. shtsaanu 'twist's' pretty bear' vs. twit's 'twit's' hide'skin' vs. aké 'meat' vs. meet'. In future, I hope to be able to document this process more fully. In the interest of this, it seems to me, in the suggestion it gives that Sahaptin is a language in which the consonants are somehow more important to the identity of the sentence than the vowels. If one sees how vowels may be lost, stress may shift and yet the consonantal skeleton of the word remains, one is prompted to think of another feature of all Sahaptin dialects, this feature was pointed out by Jacobs and is found in Warm Springs Sahaptin as well. There is a very common process by which adverbs or adjectives are derived from verb roots. The verb roots are typical vowel-less and the adverbs have long vowel sa: e.g. ka·m 'to use', to do all of becomes A'sa'.

1. As 'be angry' becomes S'aax 'fierce'; S'aax 'to fool, tease' becomes S'aax or by a further process Sa'aax 'foolish, silly'; q'aax 'to until or loosen' becomes S'aax 'untied, loose': AM 'be full' S'aax 'full'. Vowels may be inserted to derive new words with an intensive meaning: e.g. M'aax 'day becomes M'áax' all day; vowels may 'break' to give a different but related meaning: e.g. puut 'blind' puut 'almost pretty, nearly blind' (Verbenia Greene at Warm Springs: mix 'nice, good, well' m'í witty 'careful'. In addition vowels may be lengthened for expressive or narrative structural purposes. This is not to say that there are no consonant changes for expressive or derivational purposes in Sahaptin. For example, m to l, b to p and t to c are very common for diminutivization and for 'Coyote talk' or 'talking little', a way of talking characteristic of some individuals. There are also a few cases of consonant change for augmentation. A'saax 'claw' to A'saax 'huge claw' comes immediately to mind, but overwhelmingly it is the vowels that change for derivational and expressive purposes. Thus perhaps it is not surprising that the kind of dropping out of stressed vowels that seems to have occurred at Warm Springs should take place.

References

Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2 no. 6. University of

in Anthropology, Vol. 1 no. 2. University of Washington Press,
Seattle.

1934, Northwest Sahaptin Texts Part I, (English) Columbia University Contributions
to Anthropology, IX Part 1, Columbia University Press, New
York.

1937, Northwest Sahaptin Texts Part II, (Sahaptin) Columbia University Contributions
to Anthropology, IX Part 2, Columbia University Press, New
York.

Pigeon, Bruce, m. 1974. Sahaptin Grammar. (In preparation for the Language volume
of the Handbook of American Indians to be published by
Smithsonian Institution.)