

**Kalispel {t}**

Nancy Mattina  
University of Montana

0. While working on a morphemic analysis of Tale XVI in Hans Vogt's *The Kalispel Language*, I noted 23 occurrences of the complement particle {t} in a text of 338 words. The distribution of {t} in Tale XVI may shed light on the descriptive problem posed by {t} complements as evidenced in the grammatical descriptions of Vogt 1940, Carlson 1972, and Speck 1980.<sup>1</sup>

Vogt describes a prefix {t-} as having "a great variety of functions" (pp. 67-68). He lists seven functions of {t-}, as follows:

1. preposition of locality, as in French "par"
2. marks the means by which something is done
3. marks into what something is changed
4. is used in various time expressions
5. marks indefinite quantity (partitive article)
6. marks the possessor when a possessive group is predicate
7. marks the real agent in indefinite dependent forms

Carlson labels the prefix {t-} "point of reference" which "introduces an adjunct referring to an object that is the main concern of the predication" (p.76). Carlson also notes that an adjunct following a middle predicate is preceded by {t-} "point of reference", as is "a separate agent adjunct [if] it comes after the object" (p. 87). Further, {t-} occurs before restricted demonstrative words (pp. 67-69).

Speck dubs the complement particle {t} "source" and exemplifies five functions of {t} in complements:

1. "source" (animate source is agent, inanimate is instrument)
2. marks possessor adjunct to intransitive possessives
3. marks factitive complement or the goal dependent for certain roots
4. marks the goal of an unexpressed predicate in a fragmentary utterance

---

<sup>1</sup>As a part of a graduate seminar on Interior Salish languages, Professor Anthony Mattina, University of Montana, hypothesized that the function(s) of {t} could be described more simply and generally than previously noted. I am grateful to him for suggesting the topic and assisting with the analysis for this paper.

5. marks a "time complement" accompanying a future predicate.

{t} complements in Vogt, Carlson, and Speck, respectively, and in Tale XVI most frequently are nominal adjuncts. The data from Tale XVI prompt a restatement of the functions of {t} with nominal adjuncts, which is the focus of this paper.

All but two of the {t} complements in Tale XVI are nominal adjuncts. {t} marks nominal adjuncts as follows:

1.0. {t} marks a nominal adjunct as subject/agent or object/goal, conditioned by the type of predicate: transitive, intransitive or ditransitive.

1.1. A nominal marked by {t} following a transitive form is "subject/agent". In a transitive form followed by one or two nominals, the nominal preceded by {t} is the subject/agent of the predicate. In transitive forms with indefinite agent suffix {-m}, the {t} complement is subject/agent. Nominal adjuncts not marked by {t} following transitive forms are object/goal.

cúi-s lu? x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá t sančəlé	Coyote said to Fox
em es-q <sup>w</sup> əlq <sup>w</sup> él-st-s lu? s-láxt-s t sančəlé	In vain Coyote tried to talk to his friend
cúi-s t sančəlép lu? x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Coyote said to Fox
lu? k <sup>w</sup> u a-səntxús cúi-s t sančəlé x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Coyote said to Fox
cúi-s lu? t sančəlé x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Coyote asked him
eí-n-ík <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> -m-i-s lu? səntxús-c t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Fox remembered his cousin
n lk <sup>w</sup> k <sup>w</sup> -m-í-s t sančəlé	Coyote remembered it
č-oýin-cút-m-nt-m sančəlé t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Fox laughed at Coyote
cú-nt-m sančəlé t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Fox said to Coyote
cu-nt-m t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá sančəlé	Fox said to Coyote
cu-nt-m sančəlép t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá	Fox said to Coyote
cu-nt-m t x <sup>w</sup> a·x <sup>w</sup> aá sančəlé	Fox answered him

As noted by Speck, inanimate nominal adjuncts in {t} complements may be interpreted as "instrument/agent". No example of inanimate {t} complements occur in Tale XVI, but Vogt notes

them elsewhere and groups them in his function class 2 "means by which something is done."

Vogt:65

t i-yúčəmən kúl-i-s yé spiqín

He fixed the head with  
paint

t sšéhš u púl-st-ən

I killed him with a  
stone

Speck:115

t s-teḥ u pul-st-n-c t s-šehs  
t luk<sup>w</sup> t ul-ulí-m

With what did he strike  
you? With a stone? A  
piece of wood? Metal?

Carlson:88

sp-nt-és lu? x̄x̄ácín lu? t lúk<sup>w</sup>

The Indian hit the dog  
with a stick

If both an agent and instrument are expressed with nominals, one must occur initially as a separate clause (Carlson:88):

lu? t sqélix<sup>w</sup> u sp-nt-és lu? x̄x̄ácín  
lu? t lúk<sup>w</sup>

The Indian hit the  
dog with a stick

1.2. A nominal marked by {t} following an intransitive or middle form is "object/goal".

u wí-?-č-m t esqéi

They saw a house

x<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>aá tu mí t lko:só  
t sqéltč t sənq<sup>w</sup>əlpú  
u néx<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>á t steḥ

Fox bought some bacon,  
meat, bread, and who  
knows what else

Data in Vogt's class 3, "into which something is changed," fit into this category.

kúl-I t čsúnk<sup>w</sup>

It was made into an  
island

kúl-I t ?usú?ut

He was changed into a  
loon

This category may also subsume Vogt's class 5, "marks indefinite quantity". Each of his examples are middle forms with an expressed object in the {t} complement.

cqam-in-əm t sšéhš

He threw some stones

wič-əm t esqéi

He saw a house

kúf-əm t qí-cítx<sup>w</sup>-s

He made himself a house

Most of the forms in Speck's class 3, "marks factitive complement of the goal dependent for certain roots," are intransitive imperatives with an expressed object in a {t} complement, as follows:

Speck:115

es-čén-iš t s-?uk<sup>w</sup>-m

Gather some carrots

k<sup>w</sup>úf-iš t ?ye?

Make a boat (canoe)

q<sup>w</sup>mí-š t ul-ulím

Take some dollars

Further, Speck's class 4 "marks the goal of an unexpressed predicate in a fragmentary utterance" can be subsumed under this function if we assume that the "unexpressed predicate" is intransitive, as in the following example from Tale XVI:

k<sup>w</sup>mi? t i-qí-tu-mist-n

I wish I had something  
to buy with

cf. Speck:116

t i-qí-maly-ém-is-tn (-em-is?)

...I want medicine

t i-qí-ńi-ńč'-mń

...I want a knife

etc.

1.3. There are several intransitive forms in the data of Vogt and Speck where the nominal adjuncts are not introduced by {t} as I would expect. They are:

Vogt:67

kúf-iš qa-qí-stíłəm

Make a boat for us

Speck:115

luk<sup>w</sup> y-es-tíx<sup>w</sup>-m

I got wood

y-es-çalít-m s-n-q<sup>w</sup>f-pu

I ask for bread

1.4. There are two occurrences of {t} marking the factitive complement in Tale XVI. It is unclear whether this function is a

subset of the subject/object marking function of {t}, or a separate function. There are no examples of this construction in Vogt, Carlson, or Speck.

né k<sup>w</sup>u lč-nt-éx<sup>w</sup> yé  
t in-čelš

When you have tied me  
at my hands

m t i-s-ču?ču?šín m  
k<sup>w</sup>u qweít-m-nt-x<sup>w</sup>

You shall carry me by  
the feet

1.5. The contrast between transitive and intransitive forms is supported by data from Speck and Vogt, respectively:

Speck:115

Intransitive: čín es-tu-m-íst t s-meńx I bought tobacco  
Transitive: tu-m-íst-m-n s-meńx I bought tobacco

The object of an intransitive is expressed by means of a {t} complement. A {t} complement following a transitive form indicates subject/agent. As there is no {t} complement following the transitive form, the nominal is "object".

Under function class 7, Vogt points to this data pair as evidence of the role of psychological emphasis in {t} complementation:

Vogt:68

Intransitive: cú-t-i číná  
Transitive: cú-i-s yé t číná

Someone said  
One said to the other

Under my analysis, these two utterances can be differentiated by a grammatical criterion, i.e., that the agent of an intransitive is not marked by {t}, while the agent of a transitive must be marked by {t}.

2.0. {t} marks a nominal adjunct as "possessor" in transitive possessive constructions. No example of this function of {t} occurs in Tale XVI. Vogt illustrates the function as follows:

Vogt:65-68

k<sup>w</sup>u səmé-m-s lu? t Pol

I am Paul's wife

k<sup>w</sup> xamé?nč-s lu? t in-řox-řox-út

My parents like you  
(lit. You are my  
parents' love)

xs-éiče? t i-sile? sənxúl-s

My uncle's blood tastes  
good

Vogt describes the {t} complement as governing the possessor

of the subject of the predicate. He contrasts the first example above with

cút-i lu? səmém-s lu? Pól Paul's wife said

as evidence of this constraint. Vogt finds the function of {t} in the previous example "unclear". It is not problematic under my analysis. However, I would expect {t} before /Pól/ in /cút-i lu? səmém-s lu? Pól/ to mark the possessor adjunct.

Data from Speck include:

Speck:115

k<sup>w</sup> l7ew-s t Paul You are the father of Paul

k<sup>w</sup>u ilmíx<sup>w</sup>-m-s t qalispél-m I am the chief of the Kalispels

etc.

Speck's data include two examples in which there is no difference in the translations between possessor adjuncts with and without {t}. One such example follows:

k<sup>w</sup>u s-k<sup>w</sup>uy-s t k<sup>w</sup>l-n-cut-n or I am the mother of God  
k<sup>w</sup>u s-k<sup>w</sup>uy-s k<sup>w</sup>l-n-cut-n

3.0. Vogt's data include {t} complements specifying the object in ditransitive forms. There are no examples of this construction in Tale XVI.

kúl-št-əm t qs-c-?ilí-s Some food was made for him

k<sup>w</sup> es-tix<sup>w</sup>-št-əm-s t a-q-sqe?ém He is getting some milk for you

4.0. All but one of the nominal adjuncts in Tale XVI occur following the predicate. Data from Vogt, Speck and Carlson suggest that {t} complements typically follow predicates of all types except possessive intransitives. {t} complements in possessive intransitives typically precede the predicate as in,

né t suvét k<sup>w</sup>u xaménč If somebody loves me

čamí t səmém stix<sup>w</sup>ci-s This is only women's food

{t} complements precede the predicate in the following examples:

Vogt:67

t i-yúčəməən kúf-i-s yé spiqín	He fixed the head with paint
t sšéhš u púl-st-ən	I killed him with a stone
m t i-s-ču?ču?šín m k <sup>w</sup> u qweít-m-nt-x <sup>w</sup>	You shall carry me by my feet

Speck:114

t k <sup>w</sup> ɪ-n-cut-n u k <sup>w</sup> u k <sup>w</sup> úf-i-s	God made me
es-sux <sup>w</sup> -s-t-én lu? t šey u k <sup>w</sup> u š-oý-n-cút-m-i-s	I know the one who insulted me

When two nominals follow a predicate, the {t} complement may be the first or second nominal (see also 1.1.).

5.0. Two occurrences of {t} in Tale XVI do not mark nominal adjuncts, but appear to precede adverbial adjuncts.

lu? t šen m k <sup>w</sup> ei-šiyúst	You shall come out again
né t e?šén qe? ei-wiš-twex <sup>w</sup>	If ever we meet again some place

Other occurrences of {t} in the data sets of Vogt and Speck cannot be clearly assigned to the proposed classification. Some of these {t}'s precede nominal adjuncts, but others do not.

Vogt:67 cf. class 1 preposition

ei-cšáčqanaem yé t stiłəm-s	He stuck his head up through their canoe
class 4 time expressions	
tammít t sšasíp	One day in the future
t nk <sup>w</sup> á	One day in the past

Speck:116 cf. class 3 factitive complement

t sípi lu? i-sp-éčst	My gloves are of skin
----------------------	-----------------------

Speck:116 cf. class 5 time complement with future predicate

t mos-qt- m č-ac-éws

There were yet four days  
before Sunday

t ci?

In that time

6.0. The task of describing and classifying the functions of {t} complements is complex and invites the close study of the available Kalispel texts and further field work. In the relatively small set of data drawn on for this analysis, the majority of the {t} complements are subject/object (nominals) following a transitive/intransitive verb. There is also evidence that possessive intransitives and ditransitives are expanded by means of {t} complements in a manner related to complementation of transitive and intransitive forms. It would be useful to find a label for {t} that captures, at the least, these high frequency functions, until {t} is well charted and better understood.

#### Bibliography

- Carlson, Barry F. 1972. A grammar of Spokane. Working Papers in Linguistics (Hawaii) 4.
- Speck, Brenda J. 1980. An Edition of Father Post's Kalispel Grammar. UMOPL 1.
- Vogt, Hans. 1940. The Kalispel Language. Oslo, Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi.