

## Four Stories by wlwlmelst\*

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**Abstract:** This paper is a collection of four stories written out by wlwlmelst (Maurice Michell). They are meant to serve as language learning materials for learners of n̄eʔkepmxcín, specifically those interested in the Southern yutémkt dialect of the Fraser Canyon, south of Lytton through to Spuzzm. These stories are words of wisdom passed down to wlwlmelst by his late mother and grandmother, and hold truths, both linguistic and moral, that we hope will be valued by all who read them.

**Keywords:** Salish, narrative, n̄eʔkepmxcín, Thompson language

### 1 Introduction

These four stories are just a small selection of the many stories that wlwlmelst (Maurice Michell) shares freely for the benefit of those who seek to connect with their traditional language and culture. His and our purpose for sharing these stories is to bring further attention to the n̄eʔkepmx language, provide important data for language learners, and highlight traits of interest from wlwlmelst's knowledge. He is one of the few remaining speakers of the Southern yutémkt dialect of n̄eʔkepmxcín, and so his way of presenting the language may offer new and interesting insights into how the language can function and sound.

As relative newcomers to learning this language and its academic study, we humbly welcome all who read these stories to contact us with corrections or suggestions for our analysis. At the same time, we want to gently remind readers that wlwlmelst put considerable effort into his presentation of these words, undergoing a number of revisions and refinement before what is presented here. He transcribed and translated these stories personally and was recorded reading them out. We edited his writing only when we were sure our changes would benefit understanding, and conform to the n̄eʔkepmx orthographic standard. His words, as presented, are therefore an accurate representation of the language that was passed to him by his ancestors, and any novel structures and incongruencies to other ways of speech can be accounted for by dialect variance. Each of these stories were passed down to wlwlmelst by his mother nxwelinek and grandmother ʔústko. They contain life lessons and words of wisdom wlwlmelst felt he wanted to share with his community.

### 2 Story traits

The experienced reader might notice some distinctions in wlwlmelst's language that differ from their own, or from that of their elders. Some of these are overt differences in dialect, some might be idiosyncratic free variation in the language, and more than a few are likely due to errors by the editors. We would like to highlight some of these differences that we have noticed in this section.

wlwlmelst is aware of the pronunciation for the word *nex<sup>m</sup>* 'very' in other dialects, but pronounces this same word *newm* 'very', eliminating the velar fricative, but leaving the rounding

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feature as a /w/ behind. wlwlmelst insists that this is a dialect variance in the yutémkt speech. Perhaps similarly, wlwlmelst consistently utters *túwe* and not *tú?e* ‘from’ that may be more common across other speakers of the language. There are also a few instances where wlwlmelst’s language is different enough from that which is described in the Thompson Language grammar (Thompson & Thompson 1992), and their Thompson River Salish Dictionary (1996), that we cannot account for their exact meaning. We highlight a few of these cases here. One is in *spték<sup>w</sup>lcms t nskixze?* ‘A Story My Mother Told Me’, line 11:

- (1) *ʔesexs*  
 ʔes-ex-s  
 ST-AUX-CAUSE  
 ‘use’

This is our best guess at a gloss and translation, but we are aware that a cluster of grammatical elements such as this does not appear anywhere else in his speech, or in the aforementioned resources, and so we admit that this could be quite wrong. Similarly, wlwlmelst uses what appears to be a particle *ks*, which appears quite often, and in all four of the following stories. We have glossed it as such:

- (2) *ks*  
 -k -s  
 -UNR -3.INTR  
 ‘it was’

This gloss is also a best guess, given that we could not find it in the Thompson and Thompson resources, or easily account for it in the stories themselves. More research on this needed.

Another point of interest from these stories, was our exposure through the dictionary to the vast repertoire of language referring to gathering and harvesting. In these stories wlwlmelst uses the roots:

- (3) *ʔíyúʔes-* ‘gather, collect things’  
 (4) *ʔéwés-* ‘gather, collect, harvest’

When referencing the dictionary to verify these words, we discovered numerous words that refer to gathering or harvesting with completely different roots and meanings depending on the subject, i.e.:

- (5) *kémeme-* ‘gather fallen conifer needles’  
 (6) *cástés-* ‘gather, harvest what is useful’  
 (7) *páséx-* ‘gather wood’  
 (8) *q<sup>w</sup>leweme-* ‘gather, harvest wild onion’

There are many more examples of this in the dictionary, and it would be worth researching further to better understand the distinction and their use.

### 3 Four stories by wlvmlmelst

#### 3.1 *spték<sup>w</sup>lcms l nskíxze?* ‘A Story My Mother Told Me’

Í nwénus cutés e tmix<sup>w</sup> í xe?lk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi? eł cutéys eł łu? ?eschete?ís ne tmix<sup>w</sup>. kémeł təté? ks ste? ne tmix<sup>w</sup>. ?eswíksc he séytknmx í xe?lk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi? nɣ<sup>w</sup>əzɣ<sup>w</sup>ázxn eł newm q<sup>w</sup>əŋq<sup>w</sup>ént. e né?e ?escúts “x<sup>w</sup>úy kənténe e séytknmx”. e né?e ?escutés e q<sup>w</sup>u?q<sup>w</sup>ú?, ɕe xé?e he q<sup>w</sup>u?úy, péłusk<sup>w</sup>u, scweŋx<sup>w</sup>, ptətk<sup>w</sup> eł speps. ?escutés e syepɣép eł mimúyx ɕe xé?e x<sup>w</sup>úy q<sup>w</sup>əztém ne sła?ɣáns kt eł e mlámn kt. túwe syəp cutém e w?éxtən kt eł ?éw<sup>m</sup> te sła?ɣáns eł mlámn túwe kəxmékes eł túwe k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup>éps. túwe mimúyx ?úyusmtm e pɕəckłs, sɣ<sup>w</sup>its, spáqms eł e k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup>éps ?esq<sup>w</sup>əztém ne sła?ɣáns kt eł mlámn kt. ne tmix<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>?i?t te łu?łix<sup>w</sup>eł te stuytúytm<sup>w</sup> ex xe q<sup>w</sup>əztm e spáqms, e sɣ<sup>w</sup>its ne sła?ɣáns kt eł mlámn kt. ne zsewt ntes e muslé?xn, eł séy?e?xn eł xe ex nɣ<sup>w</sup>elíx eł xe ex q<sup>w</sup>íwix e ks q<sup>w</sup>əztm<sup>w</sup> xe ne sła?ɣáns kt, mlámn kt eł ne x<sup>w</sup>e?pít kt. ne q<sup>w</sup>u?úy, scweŋx<sup>w</sup> eł e péłusk<sup>w</sup>u ntes ne?é e sqyéytn eł sweŋł ?esexs xé?e he sła?ɣáns kt. í cúk<sup>w</sup>us ntes tek<sup>m</sup> e ste? ne tmix<sup>w</sup> ?esnk<sup>w</sup>énes í ɕýes ?esx<sup>w</sup>?i?tsɕ i? né?e e stuytúytm<sup>w</sup>. ?esptínussms x<sup>w</sup>úy meł xe késtne. ?esk<sup>w</sup>énes e tmix<sup>w</sup> e ne ?escuts “wé?e x<sup>w</sup>úyus nténe”. ɕe wí?xe ?eył ex x<sup>w</sup>?i?t te łu?łix<sup>w</sup> eł te sła?ɣáns eł mlámn ex ?úyusstm nł pténi. ɕe wí?e ?esk<sup>w</sup>enwís e sk<sup>w</sup>est pténi, tes séy<sup>n</sup>ins xe te x<sup>w</sup>?i?t te sła?ɣáns eł mlámn.

- (1) Í nwénus cútes e tmix<sup>w</sup> í xe?lk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi? eł  
 Í n- wénus cu -t -es e tmix<sup>w</sup> í xe?- ł- k<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi? eł  
 EP LCL long.ago do/make TR 3.SBJ DIR land EP up LIG chief ACCM  
 cutéys eł łu? ?eschete?ís ne  
 cu -t -ey -s eł łu? ?es- c- he -t -e? -ey ne  
 do/make TR 1PL.OBJ 3.POSS ACCM PER ST EMPH DIR TR FMV 1PL.OBJ at  
 tmix<sup>w</sup>  
 tmix<sup>w</sup>  
 land

‘Long ago when the Creator made the earth, he also made us and put us on the earth.’

- (2) kémeł təté? ks ste? ne tmix<sup>w</sup>.  
 kémeł Cə- te? -k -s s- te? ne tmix<sup>w</sup>  
 CTST AFF NEG UNR 3.SBJ NOM something AT land  
 ‘There was nothing on the land.’

- (3) ?eswíksc he séytknmx í xe?lk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi?  
 ?es- wik -s -t -s he séytkn -mx í xe?- ł- k<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>pi?  
 ST see CAUSE TR 3.SBJ DIR Indigenous people EP up LIG chief  
 nɣ<sup>w</sup>əzɣ<sup>w</sup>ázxn eł newm q<sup>w</sup>əŋq<sup>w</sup>ént.  
 n- CVC- x<sup>w</sup>az -xn eł newm CVC- q<sup>w</sup>en -t  
 LCL AUG hunger foot ACCM very AUG poor IM  
 ‘The Creator saw the people and they were starving and pitiful.’

- (4) e né?e ?escúts “x<sup>w</sup>úy kənténe e séytknmx”.  
 e né?e ?es- cút -s x<sup>w</sup>úy kəñ -t -éne e séytkn -mx  
 DIR EST.CTX ST say 3.INTR FUT help TR 1.SBJ DIR Indigenous people  
 ‘Then he said, “I am going to help the people.”’

- (5) e né?e ?escutés e q<sup>w</sup>u?q<sup>w</sup>ú?, ðe xé?e he  
 e né?e ?es- cu -t -es e CVC- q<sup>w</sup>ú? ðe xé?e he  
 DIR EST.CTX ST do/make TR 3.SBJ DIR AUG water EMPH.INT nearby DIR  
 q<sup>w</sup>u?úy, péfusk<sup>w</sup>u, scweŋx<sup>w</sup>, ptatk<sup>w</sup> eŋ speps.  
 q<sup>w</sup>u? -?úy péfus -k<sup>w</sup>u s- cweŋx<sup>w</sup> pt -atk<sup>w</sup> eŋ s- peps  
 water RFM lake water NOM creek source water ACCM NOM pond  
 ‘He made the waters, that is the rivers, lakes, creeks, springs and ponds.’
- (6) ?escutés e syepýép eŋ mimúyx ðe xé?e  
 ?es- cu -t -es e s- CVC- ýép eŋ CV- muyx ðe xé?e  
 ST do/make TR 3.SBJ DIR NOM AUG tree ACCM AUG bush EMPH.INT nearby  
 x<sup>w</sup>uý q<sup>w</sup>əztém ne sła?xáns kt eŋ e mlámn  
 x<sup>w</sup>uý q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -em ne s- ła?xáns kt eŋ e mlám -n  
 FUT use TR 1PL.SBJ AT NOM eat 1PL.INTR ACCM DIR heal FMV  
 kt.  
 kt  
 1PL.POSS  
 ‘He made the trees and bushes so we could use them as food or medicine.’
- (7) túwe syəp cutém e w?éxtən kt eŋ  
 túw -e s- ýəp cu -t -em e w?éx -tən kt eŋ  
 from DRV NOM tree do/make TR 1PL.SBJ DIR reside/exist INS 1PL.POSS ACCM  
 ?éwm te sła?xáns eŋ mlámn túwe kəxmékes  
 ?éwm te s- ła?xáns eŋ mlám -n tuw -e kəxm -eke? -s  
 harvest OBL NOM eat ACCM heal FMV from DRV branch digit 3.INTR  
 eŋ túwe k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup>éps.  
 eŋ túw -e k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup> =ep -s  
 ACCM from DRV root bottom 3.INTR  
 ‘From the trees, we built our homes and we got food and medicine from the boughs and roots.’
- (8) túwe mimúyx ?úy?smtm e pcækłs,  
 tuw -e CV- muyx ?úý =u?sm -t -m e pcæk -VC- -s  
 from DRV AUG bush gather same TR 1PL.SBJ DIR leaf DIM 3.POSS  
 s<sup>w</sup>q<sup>w</sup>its, s<sup>w</sup>paqms eŋ e  
 s- q<sup>w</sup>i -t -s s- paq -m -s eŋ e  
 NOM berry TR 3POSS NOM flower MDL 3.POSS ACCM DIR  
 k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup>éps ?esq<sup>w</sup>əztém ne sła?xáns kt  
 k<sup>w</sup>mi?x<sup>w</sup> =ep -s ?es- q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -em ne s- ła?xáns kt  
 root bottom 3.POSS ST use TR 1PL.SBJ AT NOM eat 1PL.POSS  
 eŋ mlámn kt.  
 eŋ mlám -n kt  
 ACCM heal FMV 1PL.POSS  
 ‘From the bushes, we harvested leaves, berries, flowers and roots to use as food or medicine.’

- (9) ne tmix<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>?i?t te λiλix<sup>w</sup>eł te stuytútyuymx<sup>w</sup>  
 ne tmix<sup>w</sup> x<sup>w</sup>? -?- it te CV- λix<sup>w</sup>eł te s- CVC- tuyt -uymx<sup>w</sup>  
 AT land many INC FMV OBL AUG different OBL NOM AUG plant ground  
 ex xe q<sup>w</sup>əztn e spáqms, e  
 ex xə q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -m e s- páq -m -s e  
 AUX PTZG use TR 1PL.SBJ DIR NOM flower MDL 3.POSS DIR  
 sq<sup>w</sup>its ne sła?xáns kt eł mlámn  
 s- q<sup>w</sup>i -t -s ne s- ła?xáns kt eł mlám -n  
 NOM berry TR 3.POSS AT NOM eat 1PL.POSS ACCM heal FMV  
 kt.  
 kt  
 1PL.POSS

‘On the land, he put many different kinds of plants with flowers, berries for us to use as food or medicine.’

- (10) ne zsewt ntes e musłé?xn, eł séyfe?xn  
 ne zs =ewt n -t -es e mus -ele?x -n eł seye -ele?x -n  
 AT forest remote AT TR 3.SBJ DIR four animal FMV ACCM two animal FMV  
 eł xe ex nx<sup>w</sup>elíx eł xe ex q<sup>w</sup>íwix e  
 eł xə ex n- x<sup>w</sup>el -ix eł xə ex q<sup>w</sup>iw -ix e  
 ACCM PTZG AUX LCL raise.up AUT ACCM PTZG AUX crawl AUT DIR  
 ks q<sup>w</sup>əztn xe ne sła?xáns kt, mlámn  
 -k -s q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -em xə ne s- ła?xáns kt mlám -n  
 UNR 3.INTR use TR 1PL.SBJ PTZG AT NOM eat 1PL.POSS heal FMV  
 kt eł ne x<sup>w</sup>e?pít kt.  
 kt eł ne x<sup>w</sup>ep -?- it kt  
 1PL.POSS ACCM AT unfold INC FMV 1PL.POSS

‘In the forest he put four legged and two legged animals, the ones that fly and the ones that crawl for us to use as food, medicine and clothing.’

- (11) ne q<sup>w</sup>u?úy, scwew<sup>w</sup> eł e péłusk<sup>w</sup>u ntes ne?é  
 ne q<sup>w</sup>u? -?úy s- cwew<sup>w</sup> eł e péłus -k<sup>w</sup>u n -t -es ne? -e  
 AT water RFM NOM creek ACCM DIR lake water AT TR 3.SBJ EST.CTX FMV  
 e sqyéytn eł swewł ?esexs xé?e he  
 e s- qy -eytn eł s- wewł ?es- ex -s xé?e he  
 DIR NOM fish salmon ACCM NOM small.fish ST AUX CAUSE nearby DIR  
 sła?xáns kt.  
 s- ła?xáns kt  
 NOM eat 1PL.POSS

‘In the rivers, creeks, and lakes, he put fish and trouts for us to use as food.’

- (12) ɬ cúkwus ntes tekme ste? ne tmixw  
 ɬ cukw -us n -t -es tekme s- te? ne tmixw  
 EP finish 3.INTR AT TR 3.SBJ all DIR NOM something AT land  
 ʔesnkʷénes ɬ çýes ʔesxʷʔíʔtsc  
 ʔes- n- kʷéñ -t -es ɬ çýe -s ʔes- xʷʔ -ʔ- it -s -t -s  
 ST LCL look TR 3.SBJ EP basket 3POSS ST many inc FMV CAUSE TR 3.POSS  
 iʔ néʔe e stuytúymxw.  
 iʔ néʔe e s- tuyt- úymxw  
 yet EST.CTX DIR NOM plant ground  
 ‘When he finished putting things on the land, he looked in his basket and he saw he still had a lot of plants in it.’
- (13) ʔesptínussms xʷuy meɬ xe késtne.  
 ʔes -pt =inus -em -s xʷuy meɬ xə ke -s -t -en -e  
 ST source thought 3.OBJ CAUSE FUT next PTZG what CAUSE TR 1.POSS IMP  
 ‘He wondered what he should do with them.’
- (14) ʔeskʷénes e tmixw e ne ʔescuts “wéʔe  
 ʔes- kʷéñ -t -es e tmixw e ne ʔes- cu -t -s wéʔe  
 ST look TR 3.SBJ DIR land DIR at ST do/make TR 3.SBJ PART.CTX  
 xʷuyus nténe”.  
 xʷuy -us ñ -t -ene.  
 FUT 3.INTR give TR 1.SBJ  
 ‘He looked at the land and said, “That is where I’ll put them.”’
- (15) çe wíʔxe ʔeyɬ ex xʷʔíʔt te ʕixw eɬ te  
 çe wiʔ -x -e ʔeyɬ ex xʷʔ -ʔ -it te ʕixw eɬ te  
 EMPH.INT indeed ACHV FMV now AUX many INC FMV OBL different ACCM OBL  
 sɬaʔxáns eɬ mlámn ex ʔúyʊʔstm nɬ  
 s- ɬaʔxáns eɬ mlám -n ex ʔúy -VC- s -t -m n- -ɬ  
 NOM eat ACCM heal FMV AUX gather DIM CAUSE TR MDL LCL FMV  
 pténi.  
 pt =eni  
 source atop  
 ‘So that is why you could harvest all these different kinds of food and medicine up Botanie.’
- (16) çe wiʔ tu xéʔe ʔeskʷenwís e skwest pténi,  
 çe wiʔ tu xéʔe ʔes kʷen -wn -s e s- kwest pt =eni  
 EMPH.INT indeed from nearby ST grasp CHR CAUSE DIR NOM name source atop  
 tes séyñins xe te xʷʔíʔt te sɬaʔxáns  
 te -s sey =ni -n -s xə te xʷʔ -ʔ- it te s- ɬaʔxáns  
 OBL 3.SBJ cover atop FMV 3.SBJ PTZG OBL many INC FMV OBL NOM eat  
 eɬ mlámn.  
 eɬ mlám -n  
 ACCM heal FMV  
 ‘That is how Botanie got its name because he covered it with all these foods and medicines.’

### 3.2 kže ʔústko ‘Grandmother Ustko’

cuntis ɩ kže kt ʔústko xʷuý kt ex xe yémit e nláqe ut ne snwenwn. kʷukʷstéxʷ xeʔkʷúkʷpiʔ tes n̄tis xʷúýceʔ te siłq̄t ks siwén kt. nxʷən tətéʔ ɩ xeʔkʷúkʷpiʔ ks xʷuýs zumíntis, xəztéys eł néxtis tek̄m he ʕiłtm ex sʕapnúxʷ kt. xʷuý xe péyeʔstuxʷ e sxʷewkʷ we tek̄m hes ʔínut, we tek̄m hes cwuw eł we éxuxʷ yémit. naʕʔíp xʷiʔ ʔeskiyeʔstéxʷ he kže, spápzeʔ, sʔiʔtm̄ eł tek̄m he nkseytkn. xʷuý xe cunxʷ eł m̄ənxʷ tek̄m e ʔéwəsmnuxʷ, e ʔúýuʔsmnuxʷ, e zéw̄muxʷ eł píx̄mnuxʷ eł xʷuý cun e ɕe then e xʷúýus xe qʷəztéxʷ. ex xe kəntém eł m̄əntm e séytknm̄xʷ e ʕyíʔus ks ʔéwəsms, ʔúýusms, zəw̄ms eł píx̄ms. kəntém eł ʕuʔ e séytknm̄xʷ e tətéʔ ks puts eʕ ʔéwəms, ʔúýuʔsms, zéw̄mus, eł píx̄mus. ɕe te ɩ séytknm̄xʷ kt ex xe k̄neyt eł m̄əns e séytknm̄xʷ e ʕiłtus.

- (1) cuntis ɩ kže kt ʔústko xʷuý kt ex xe  
 cun -t -ey -s ɩ kže kt ʔústko xʷuý kt ex xe  
 tell TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ EP grandmother 1PL.POSS Ustko FUT 1PL.INTR AUX PTZG  
 yémit e nláqe ut ne snwenwn.  
 yém =it e n- láq -e -ut ne s- n- wen -wn  
 revere AGENT DIR LCL wake RSL 1PL.INTR AT NOM LCL early CHR  
 ‘Our grandmother Ustko told us to pray when we woke up in the morning.’
- (2) kʷukʷstéxʷ xeʔ kʷúkʷpiʔ tes n̄tis xʷúýceʔ te  
 kʷukʷs -t -exʷ xeʔ- ɩ- kʷúkʷpiʔ te -s n̄ -t -ey -s xʷúýceʔ te  
 save TR 2.SBJ up LIG chief OBL 3.SBJ give TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ again OBL  
 siłq̄t ks siwén kt.  
 sił =q̄t -k -s siwén kt  
 day day UNR 3.INTR alive 1PL.INTR  
 ‘Thank the Creator for giving us another day to be alive.’
- (3) nxʷən tətéʔ ɩ xeʔkʷúkʷpiʔ ks xʷuýs  
 n- xʷən Cə- tətéʔ ɩ xeʔ- ɩ- kʷúkʷpiʔ -k -s xʷuý -s  
 LCL believe AFF NEG EP up LIG chief UNR 3.SBJ FUT 3.SBJ  
 zumíntis, xəztéys eł  
 zu -mín -t -ey -s xəz̄ -t -ey -s eł  
 take.care.of INS TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ guard TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ ACCM  
 néxtis tek̄m he ʕiłtm ex  
 néx -t -ey -s tek̄m he ʕił -t -em ex  
 provide TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ all DIR hard TR 1PL.SBJ AUX  
 sʕapnúxʷ kt.  
 s- ʕap -núxʷ kt  
 NOM of.person further 1PL.INTR  
 ‘Believe that the Creator will protect us, care for us and provide all that we need to survive.’
- (4) xʷuý xe péyeʔstuxʷ e sxʷewkʷ we tek̄m hes  
 xʷuý xe péyeʔ -s -t -xʷ e s- xʷewkʷ w -e tek̄m he -s  
 fut PTZG one CAUSE TR 2.SBJ DIR NOM heart to DRV all DIR 3.SBJ  
 ʔínut, we tek̄m hes cwuw eł we éxuxʷ yémit.  
 ʔínut w -e tek̄m he -s cwuw eł w -e éx -xʷ yém =it  
 utter to DRV all DIR 3.SBJ do/make ACCM to DRV AUX 2.SBJ revereAGENT  
 ‘You have to be true to your heart in all that you say, all that you do and when you pray.’

- (5) naʃʔiʔ x<sup>w</sup>iʔ ʔeskiyeʔstéx<sup>w</sup> he kže, spápeʔ,  
naʃʔiʔ x<sup>w</sup>iʔ ʔes- kiyeʔ -s -t -ex<sup>w</sup> he kže s- CV- pzeʔ  
always FUT ST ancestor CAUSE TR 2.SBJ DIR grandmother NOM AUG grandfather  
sʔiʔtm̄ eʔ tek<sup>m</sup> he nkseytkn.  
s- CV- ʔtm̄ eʔ tek<sup>m</sup> he n- k- seytkn  
NOM AUG parent ACCM all DIR 1.POSS near Indigenous  
‘You must always respect your grandmother, grandfather, parents, and relatives.’
- (6) x<sup>w</sup>uý xe cunx<sup>w</sup> eʔ m̄ənx<sup>w</sup> tek<sup>m</sup> e  
x<sup>w</sup>uý xe cun -ex<sup>w</sup> eʔ m̄ən -ex<sup>w</sup> tek<sup>m</sup> e  
FUT PTZG tell 2.SBJ ACCM gift 2.SBJ all DIR  
ʔéwəsmnux<sup>w</sup>, e ʔúy<sup>u</sup>ʔsmnux<sup>w</sup>, e  
ʔéw̄ -e -s -mn -ux<sup>w</sup> e ʔúȳ =uʔs -mn -ux<sup>w</sup> e  
harvest DRV CAUSE INS 2.CJV DIR gather top.surface INS 2.CJV DIR  
zəw̄mux<sup>w</sup>eʔ píx̄m̄nux<sup>w</sup> eʔ x<sup>w</sup>uý cun e  
zəw̄m̄ -x<sup>w</sup> eʔ píx̄ -m̄ -n -x<sup>w</sup> eʔ x<sup>w</sup>uý cun e  
dipnet.fish 2.SBJ ACCM hunt.game MDL FMV 2.SBJ ACCM FUT tell DIR  
çe then̄ e x<sup>w</sup>úy<sup>u</sup>s xe q<sup>w</sup>əztéx<sup>w</sup>.  
çe t- heñ e x<sup>w</sup>úȳ -us xe q<sup>w</sup>əz̄ -t -éx<sup>w</sup>  
EMPH.INT QLT where DIR FUT 3.INTR PTZG use TR 2.SBJ  
‘We have to tell and give gifts to all that we harvest, fish for and hunt for, what we are going to use them for.’
- (7) ex xe kəntém eʔ m̄əntm̄ e séytknm<sup>x</sup> e  
ex xe kəñ -t -ém̄ eʔ m̄ən -t -m̄ e séytkn -mx<sup>w</sup> e  
AUX PTZG help TR 1PL.SBJ ACCM gift TR 1PL.SBJ DIR Indigenous person DIR  
ʔyíʔus ks ʔéwəsm̄s,  
ʔyíʔ -us -k -s ʔéw̄ -e -s -m̄ -s  
unable 3.INTR UNR 3.INTR harvest DRV cause IDF 3.SBJ  
ʔúy<sup>u</sup>sm̄s, zəw̄ms eʔ píx̄ms.  
ʔúȳ -us -m̄ -s zəw̄ -m̄ -s eʔ píx̄ -m̄ -s  
gather 3.INTR MDL CAUSE dip MDL CAUSE ACCM hunt.game MDLCAUSE  
‘We help people and give to people that weren’t able to harvest, fish, or hunt.’
- (8) kəntém eʔ ʔuʔ e séytknm<sup>x</sup> e tətéʔ ks  
kəñ -t -em̄ eʔ ʔuʔ e séytkn -mx̄ e Cə- téʔ -k̄ -s  
help TR 1PL.SBJ ACCM PER DIR Indigenous people DIR AFF NEG UNR 3.INTR  
puts es ʔéwəms, ʔúy<sup>u</sup>ʔsm̄s,  
put -s es ʔéw̄ -em̄ -s ʔúȳ =uʔs -m̄ -s  
enough CAUSE DIR harvest IDF CAUSE gather top.surface IDF CAUSE  
zəw̄mus, eʔ píx̄mus.  
zəw̄ -m̄ -us eʔ píx̄ -m̄ -us  
dip IDF 3.INTR ACCM hunt.game IDF 3.INTR  
‘We also helped people that weren’t able to harvest enough, catch enough fish, or hunt.’





- (3) cúnems                    ɫ nskíxze?                    he    ɕe    te    héñus    xe  
 cún -t -sem -s    ɫ n-            s-    kíxze? he    ɕe-    te    héñ -us    xə  
 tell TR 1.OBJ 3.SBJ EP 1.POSS NOM mother DIR EMPH OBL how 3.INTR PTZG  
 ʔesqʷəzús                e    qʷuʔqʷúʔ    eɫ    e    suswét                he    ex  
 ʔes- qʷəz -us        e    RED- qʷúʔ    eɫ    e    CV- s-    wét    he    ex  
 ST use 3.INTR DIR AUG water ACCM DIR AUG NOM who DIR AUX  
 qʷəztés.  
 qʷəz -t -es  
 use TR 3.SBJ

‘My mother told me about the uses of these waters and who used them.’

- (4) cukʷ ʔuʔ e    kʷukʷúkʷpiʔ            ex    qʷəztés                e    qʷuʔúy            éxus  
 cukʷ ʔuʔ e    CV- kʷúkʷpiʔ            ex    qʷəz -t -es    e    qʷuʔ -ʔúy    ex -us  
 finish PER DIR AUG chief            AUX use TR 3.SBJ DIR water RFL the 3.INTR  
 cuwecút                                    eɫ    ɕʷácnme.  
 cu                    -e -cut    eɫ    ɕʷácnme  
 do/make IMP RFL ACCM purification

‘Only the Chiefs were allowed to use the rivers for fasting and purification.’

- (5) ɬe            qəɬqəlmín                    ʔqəmtés                                    e    kʷukʷúkʷpiʔ    nə  
 ɬ -e    CVC- qəlmín                    ʔqəm                                    -t -es    e    CV- kʷúkʷpiʔ    ne  
 EP DRV AUG old.person spiritual.teaching TR 3.SBJ DIR AUG chief    at  
 ɕiy                    tehéñ                    e    xʷúyus                    qʷəztés                e    qʷuʔúy  
 ɕiy                    te    héñ                    e    xʷúy -us                    qʷəz -t -es    e    qʷuʔ -ʔúy  
 certain.way OBL how DIR go 3.INTR use TR 3.SBJ DIR water RFL  
 tes                    newn                    xe    nʔəpɬ                    eɫ    xʷúsxʷəst.  
 te                    -s    new -n    xə    n- ʔəp -t    eɫ    CVC- xʷəs -t  
 OBL 3.SBJ SPZG FMV PTZG LCL deep IM ACCM AUG fast IM

‘The elders taught the chiefs how to use the rivers because they are deep and swift.’

- (6) ɬə            qəɬqəlmín                    ʔqəmtés                                    e    séytknmx                ne  
 ɬ -ə    CVC- qəlmín                    ʔqəm                                    -t -es    e    séytkn                -mx    ne  
 EP DRV AUG old.person spiritual.teaching TR 3.SBJ DIR Indigenous people at  
 ɕiy                    te    heñ                    e    xʷúyus                    qʷəztés                e    scweʔuʔxʷ    éxus  
 ɕiy                    te    heñ                    e    xʷúy -us                    qʷəz -t -es    e    s-    cweʔxʷ -VC-  
 certain.way OBL where DIR go 3.INTR use TR 3.SBJ DIR NOM creek DIM  
 éxus                    cuwecút                                    eɫ    ɕʷácnme.  
 ex -us    cu                    -e -cút    eɫ    ɕʷácnme  
 then 3.INTR do/make IMP RFL ACCM purification

‘The people were taught by the elders how to use the creeks for fasting and purification.’

(7) ex xə q<sup>w</sup>əztíyxs e scweʔuʔx<sup>w</sup> e séytknmx te  
 ex xə q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -iyxs e s- cweʔx<sup>w</sup> -VC- e séytkn -mx te  
 AUG PTZG use TR 3.SBJ DIR NOM creek DIM DIR Indigenous people OBL  
 sk<sup>w</sup>míʔmeʔs eʔ tək sx<sup>w</sup>úsx<sup>w</sup>əsts  
 s- k<sup>w</sup>m -VC- eʔ -s eʔ tək s- CVC- x<sup>w</sup>us -t -s  
 NOM small DIM FMV 3.POSS ACCM DSCR NOM AUG fast IDF CAUSE  
 çiy te q<sup>w</sup>uʔúy.  
 çiy te q<sup>w</sup>uʔ -ʔúy  
 certain.way OBL water RFM

‘The people used the creeks because they are smaller and less swift than the river.’

(8) n heñ te, te péʔusk<sup>w</sup>u cuk<sup>w</sup> ʔuʔ e səx<sup>w</sup>néʔm ex  
 n- heñ te te péʔus -k<sup>w</sup>u cuk<sup>w</sup> ʔuʔ e səx<sup>w</sup> -neʔ -m ex  
 LCL how OBL OBL lake water finish PER DIR secret power IDF AUX  
 q<sup>w</sup>əztés tes ʔaʔxétk<sup>w</sup>us eʔ zoʔ<sup>w</sup>zóʔ<sup>w</sup>t e  
 q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -es te -s ʔaʔx -etk<sup>w</sup>u -s eʔ CVC- zóʔ<sup>w</sup>t e  
 use TR 3.SBJ OBL 3.SBJ supernatural water 3.INTR ACCM AUG strong DIR  
 mlámns.  
 mla -mn -s  
 heal INS CAUSE

‘Some of the lakes were used only by Indian Doctors because they were sacred and had healing powers.’

(9) kémeʔ sʔix<sup>w</sup> ʔ te péʔusk<sup>w</sup>u ex xe q<sup>w</sup>əztíxs e  
 kémeʔ six<sup>w</sup> -ʔ- ʔ te péʔus -k<sup>w</sup>u ex xə q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -iyxs e  
 CTST use INC EP OBL lake water AUX PTZG use TR 3.SBJ DIR  
 séytknmx éxus séx<sup>w</sup>m eʔ cuwecút.  
 séytkn -mx ex -us sex<sup>w</sup> -m eʔ cu -e -cut  
 Indigenous people then 3.INTR bathe RLT ACCM do/make FMV RFL

‘Other lakes were used by the people for bathing and purification.’

(10) e sptétk<sup>w</sup>u newm ek<sup>w</sup>u xe ʔaʔxétk<sup>w</sup>u eʔ zuʔzúʔt,  
 e s- pt -etk<sup>w</sup>u newm ek<sup>w</sup>u xə ʔaʔx -etk<sup>w</sup>u eʔ CVC- zuʔt  
 DIR NOM source water very RPRPT PTZG supernatural water ACCM AUG strong  
 eʔ newm nçəʔétk<sup>w</sup>u eʔ lox<sup>w</sup>t.  
 eʔ newm n- çəʔ -etk<sup>w</sup>u eʔ lox<sup>w</sup>t  
 ACCM very LCL cold water ACCM pure

‘Springs are considered sacred and powerful and they are the coolest and most pure.’

- (11) w e sptétk<sup>wu</sup> éxus nes e sməlmúlec e  
w e s- pt -etk<sup>wu</sup> ex -us nes e s- CVC- múlec e  
to DIR NOM source water then 3.INTR go DIR NOM AUG woman DIR  
zuzúmtus, né?e es cuwecúts eł  
CVC- zum -t -us né?e es cu -e -cut -s eł  
AUG menstruateIM 3.INTR EST.CTX DIR do/make RSL RFL 3.SBJ ACCM  
?escaxecúts.  
?es- çax -e -cut -s  
ST clean RSL RFL 3.SBJ  
‘The springs were where the women went to purify and cleanse themselves when  
grandmother visited them each month.’
- (12) cúncms ł nskíxze? cuk<sup>w</sup> ?u? e səx<sup>w</sup>né?m ex  
cún -t -sem -s ł n- s- kíxze? cuk<sup>w</sup> ?u? e səx<sup>w</sup> -ne? -m ex  
tell TR 1.OBJ 2.SBJ EP 1.POSS NOM mother finish PER DIR secret power IDF AUX  
q<sup>wə</sup>ztés e speps éxus zux<sup>w</sup>ux<sup>w</sup>cút eł  
q<sup>wə</sup>z -t -es e s- peps ex -us zux<sup>w</sup> -VC- cut eł  
use TR 3.SBJ DIR NOM pond then 3.INTR strong DIM RFL ACCM  
cuwecút.  
cu -e -cut  
do/make FMV RFL  
‘Mom told me that only Indian Doctors used the ponds to strengthen and purify themselves.’
- (13) newm xe xa?xétk<sup>wu</sup> eł zu?zú?t e speps tes  
newm xə xa?x -etk<sup>wu</sup> eł CVC- zu?t e s- peps te -s  
very PTZG supernatural water ACCM AUG strong DIR NOM pond OBL 3.INTR  
táté? ks l<sup>x</sup>wəps e q<sup>wu</sup>? w e speps eł  
Cə -te? -k -s l<sup>x</sup>w -əp -s e q<sup>wu</sup>? w e s- peps eł  
AFF NEG UNR 3.SBJ flow.in INC 3.INTR DIR water to DIR NOM pond ACCM  
táté? ks ziyts e q<sup>wu</sup>? túwe speps.  
Cə -te? -k -s ziy -t -s e q<sup>wu</sup>? tuw -e s- peps  
AFF NEG UNR CAUSE flow.out TR 3.SBJ DIR water from DRV NOM pond  
‘The ponds are sacred and powerful because water does not flow into them and water does  
not flow out of them.’

- (14) he tmix<sup>w</sup> ʕiʕts xe tekme e q<sup>w</sup>uʔq<sup>w</sup>úʔ, tes  
 he tmix<sup>w</sup> ʕiʕ -t -s xə tekme e RED- q<sup>w</sup>úʔ te -s  
 DIR land hard TR 3.SBJ PTZG all DIR AUG water OBL 3.INTR  
 ʕiʕts xe éxus cuxítiyxs tekme e sʕaʔxáns  
 ʕiʕ -t -s xə ex -us cu -xi -t -iyxs tekme e s- ʕaʔxáns  
 hard TR 3.SBJ PTZG then 3.INTR do/make IND TR 3.SBJ all DIR NOM eat  
 kt, mlám<sup>n</sup> kt eʕ tekme te e steʔ ex  
 kt mlám-n kt eʕ tekme te e s- teʔ ex  
 1PL.POSS heal FMV 1PL.POSS ACCM all OBL DIR NOM something AUX  
 q<sup>w</sup>əztém exs ʕapnúx<sup>w</sup> kt.  
 q<sup>w</sup>əz -t -em ex -s ʕap -nux<sup>w</sup> kt  
 use TR 1PL.SBJ AUX CAUSE evening further 1PL.INTR  
 ‘The earth needs all these waters so she can provide us with food, medicine, and all that we  
 need to survive.’

### 3.4 nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt ‘Our language’

cut ʕ nskíxzeʔ nx<sup>w</sup>elinek (Mildred Michell) ʔesxǰúmstm ks xəkstém eʕ q<sup>w</sup>incút kt ne nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt:  
 nʕeʔkepmcín. cuxítis e q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt xeʔk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>piʔ. ex xe sux<sup>w</sup>nwéntis e q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt. xəkstéys e tmix<sup>w</sup>  
 exut q<sup>w</sup>incút neʔ q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt. tekme e q<sup>w</sup>uʔq<sup>w</sup>úʔ neʔ tmix<sup>w</sup> xəksteʔis exut q<sup>w</sup>incút neʔ nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 exut q<sup>w</sup>incút neʔ nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt tekme e twit neʔ tmix<sup>w</sup> xəkstéys. tekme e spzupzú neʔ tmix<sup>w</sup> kt xəkstés  
 e q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt. ex xe ceʔcʔéx<sup>w</sup> e skiʔkíyeʔ kt nʕ xeʔtmíx<sup>w</sup> exus qeʔnímetis q<sup>w</sup>incút neʔ q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 ʔe q<sup>w</sup>incútn neʔ q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt, ex xe cuntm, ex kt iʔ ʕuʔ nʔéye. húmef.

- (1) cut ʕ nskíxzeʔ nx<sup>w</sup>elinek (Mildred Michell) ʔesxǰúmstm  
 cut ʕ n- s- kíxzeʔ nx<sup>w</sup>elinek (Mildred Michell) ʔes- xǰúm -s -t -m  
 say EP 1.POSS NOM mother Mildred Michell ST great CAUSE TR MDL  
 ks xəkstém eʕ q<sup>w</sup>incút kt ne nq<sup>w</sup>incútn  
 -k -s xək -s -t -em eʕ q<sup>w</sup>incút kt ne n- q<sup>w</sup>incút -n  
 UNR 3.SBJ know CAUSE TR IDF ACCM speak 1PL.POSS AT 1.POSS speak FMV  
 kt: nʕeʔkepmcín.  
 kt nʕeʔkepm =cín.  
 1PL.INTR Thompson River mouth  
 ‘Mom said it’s important to know and speak our language: Thompson.’

- (2) cuxítis e q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt xeʔk<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>piʔ.  
 cu xí -t -ey -s e q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt xeʔ- ʕ- k<sup>w</sup>úk<sup>w</sup>piʔ  
 do/make ACT TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ DIR speak FMV 1PL.POSS up LIG chief  
 ‘The Creator made the language for us.’

- (3) ex xe sux<sup>w</sup>nwéntis e q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 ex xe sux<sup>w</sup> -nwén -t -ey -s e q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt  
 AUX PTZG recognize finally TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ DIR speak FMV 1PL.POSS  
 ‘The language identifies us.’

- (4) xəkstéys e tmix<sup>w</sup> exut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne?  
 xək -s -t -ey -s e tmix<sup>w</sup> ex -ut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne?  
 know CAUSE TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ DIR land AUX 1PL.INTR speak EST.CTX  
 q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt  
 speak FMV 1PL.POSS  
 ‘The Earth knows who we are when we speak our language.’
- (5) tek<sup>m</sup> e q<sup>w</sup>u?q<sup>w</sup>ú? ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> xəksteʔis  
 tek<sup>m</sup> e CVC- q<sup>w</sup>ú? ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> xək -s -t -eʔ -ey -s  
 all DIR AUG water EST.CTX land know CAUSE TR FMV 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ  
 exut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne? nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 ex -ut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne? n- q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt  
 AUX 1PL.INTR speak EST.CTX 1.POSS speak FMV 1PL.INTR  
 ‘All the waters on the land know who we are when we speak our language.’
- (6) exut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne? nq<sup>w</sup>incútn kt tek<sup>m</sup> e twit  
 ex -ut q<sup>w</sup>incút ne? n- q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt tek<sup>m</sup> e twit  
 AUX 1PL.INTR speak EST.CTX 1.POSS speak FMV 1PL.INTR all DIR grow  
 ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> xəkstéys.  
 ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> xək -s -t -ey -s  
 EST.CTX land know CAUSE TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ  
 ‘When we speak our language all that grows on the land knows us.’
- (7) tek<sup>m</sup> e spzupzú ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> kt xəkstés e  
 tek<sup>m</sup> e s- CVC- pzú ne? tmix<sup>w</sup> kt xək -s -t -es e  
 all DIR NOM AUG animal EST.CTX land 1PL.POSS know CAUSE TR 3.SBJ DIR  
 q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt  
 speak FMV 1PL.POSS  
 ‘All the animals on our land know our language.’
- (8) ex xe ceʔcʔéx<sup>w</sup> e skiʔkiye? kt nʔ  
 ex xe CVC- cʔéx<sup>w</sup> e s- CVC- kiye? kt n- ʔ-  
 AUX PTZG AUG make.feeling DIR NOM AUG ancestor 1PL.POSS LCL LIG  
 xeʔtmix<sup>w</sup> exus qeʔnímetis q<sup>w</sup>incút ne?  
 xeʔ- ʔ- tmix<sup>w</sup> ex -us qeʔnīm -e -t ey -s q<sup>w</sup>incút ne?  
 up LIG land AUX 3.INTR hear DRV TR 1PL.OBJ 3.SBJ speak EST.CTX  
 q<sup>w</sup>incútn kt.  
 q<sup>w</sup>incút -n kt  
 speak FMV 1PL.POSS  
 ‘It also makes our ancestors in the spirit world happy when they hear us speaking in our language: nʔeʔkepmxcín.’

- (9) ʔe qʷincútut neʔ qʷincútn kt, ex xe cuntm,  
 ʔe qʷincút -ut neʔ qʷincút -n kt ex xe cun -t -m  
 INT speak 1PL.INTR EST.CTX speak FMV 1PL.POSS AUX PTZG tell TR IDF  
 ex kt iʔ ʔuʔ nʔéye.  
 ex kt iʔ ʔuʔ n- ʔéye  
 AUX 1PL.INTR yet PER LCL here  
 ‘When we speak our language, we are telling them, we are still here.’

- (10) húmɛł.  
 húmɛł  
 done  
 ‘I’m done.’

### References

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## Appendix: Glossing terms

We largely follow the glossing terms and definitions set out by Thompson and Thompson (1992). In some cases, we have modified the gloss to be more clear or cross-linguistically standard. The full list of glossing terms is below, organized alphabetically by morpheme.

Morpheme	Gloss	Meaning
-ʔ-	INC	inchoative
ʔe	INT	introductory predicate
ʔes-	ST	stative
-ʔúy	RFM	reaffirmative
c-	EMPH	emphatic
Ce-	AFF	affective (reduplication of the first consonant plus /e/ vowel)
-cut	RFL	reflexive
CV(C)-	AUG	augmentative (reduplication of the first consonant-vowel-
ċe-	EMPH.INTRO	emphatic introductory particle
e	DIR	direct complement marker
-e	RSL	resultative
-e	IMP	imperative
-eʔ	FMV	general formative
ek <sup>w</sup> u	RPRT	reportative
eł	ACCM	accomplished
ex	AUX	auxiliary particle
-ey	1PL.OBJ	first-person plural object ‘us’
-ex <sup>w</sup>	2.SBJ	second person subject ‘you’
-əp	INC	inchoative



-it	FMV	general formative
-ix	AUT	autonomous
kémeł	CTST	contrastive
ks	3PL.INTR	third-person intransitive ‘he/she/it’
kt	1PL.POSS	first-person plural possessive ‘our’
kt	1PL.INTR	first-person plural intransitive ‘we’
ł	EP	established in the past (past tense)
ł-	LIG	ligature/connector
łu?	PER	persistant
-m	IDF	indefinite subject
-min	INS	instrumental
n-	LCL	localizer
n-	1SG.POSS	first-person possessive ‘my’
-n	FMV	general formative
new	SPZG	specializing
nə	AT	preposition
ne?e	EST.CTX	established context
s-	NOM	nominalizer
-s	3.SBJ	third-person subject ‘he/she/it’
-s	3.POSS	third-person possessive ‘his/her/its’
-s	CAUSE	causative
-t	TR	transitivizer
-t	IM	immediate

-t	IDF	indefinite subject
t-	QLT	qualitative
te	OBL	oblique particle
teʔ	NEG	negative ‘no/not’
-us	3.INTR	third-person intransitive ‘he/she/it’
-ut	1PL.INTR	first-person plural intransitive ‘we’
-ux <sup>w</sup>	2.CJV	second-person conjunctive
-VC-	DIM	diminutive
-wn	CHR	characteristic
-x	ACHV	achievement
xə	PTZG	particularizing
x <sup>w</sup> u <sup>ɨ</sup>	FUT	future tense