mus te kwúkwpi?s he sła?xáns - The Four Food Chiefs*

wlwlmelst (Maurice Michell), Maria Adams, Jonathan Janzen[□] Kanaka Bar Indian Band

Abstract: This paper is a retelling of the "Four Food Chiefs" story, transcribed by wlwlmelst (Maurice Michell) in nle?kepmxcín. Its purpose is to add to the growing body of written nle?kepmxcín literature, educate on traditional knowledge, and further spark interest in nle?képmx research. It also gives some insight into episodic narrative structure.

Keywords: Salish, narrative, nle?kepmxcín, Thompson Language

1 Introduction

The Four Food Chiefs is a well known story among the nle?képmx. wlwlmelst notes that most nle?képmx can correctly name the Four Food Chiefs, but not in nle?kepmxcín. He could also find no written record of this story in nle?kepmxcín, so we wrote it out by memory. He, therefore, took it upon himself to transcribe this story, relying on the spelling conventions set out by the Thompson River Salish Dictionary (Thompson & Thompson 1996). wlwlmelst shares his language freely for the benefit of those who seek to connect with this traditional story and teachings. His and our purpose for this publication is to bring further attention to the nle?képmx language, and provide important resources for language learners. We want to gently remind readers that wlwlmelst put considerable effort into his work. He transcribed and translated this story 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 nle?képmx orthographic standard.

wlwlmelst is one of the few remaining speakers of the Southern utémkt dialect of nle?kepmxcín, which includes all communities on the Fraser River, South of Lytton, from Siska through to Spuzzum. His way of presenting the language may differ from that of other fluent speakers. Some of the differences in language presented in this paper will be due to dialect varience, some might be idiosyncratic free variation in the language, and more than a few are likely due to errors in the analysis. Nevertheless, wlwlmelst's words as presented are an accurate representation of the language that was passed to him by his ancestors.

2 Story structure

This story has some notable structural traits. The narrative can be easily broken down into four sections: exposition, rising action, climax, and dénouement. The exposition sets the narrative as an origin story. Here, the Creator makes the Earth and the people, but notices that the people were suffering, and so creates resources for them to survive on. The rising action introduces the main characters of the story: the animals. They continue the story in the same trajectory as the exposition, looking to help the suffering people. The climax is itself broken into four separate parts, each with one of the four Food Chiefs rising up with dialogue to claim chieftainship, and committing to help the people with its own body. Finally the dénouement concludes the story. The first three sections are introduced linguistically with the procitic l = "REM=". The exposition and rising action sections begin with l=cimel=us... "REM=first.time=3SBJV" and $l=nw\acute{en}=us$ "REM=already=3SBJV" respectively. The climax section begins with $l=2\acute{ex}=us...$ "REM=be=3SBJV", and the dénouement begins with $2\acute{ewi}$? 'because'. More research is needed on nle2képmx narratives to determine

In Proceedings of the International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages 60, Ella Hannon, Brian Diep, Laura Griffin, Mila Loginova, Bruce Oliver, Lauren Schneider, Reed Steiner, and Bailey Trotter (eds.). Vancouver, BC: UBCWPL, 2025.

^{*} Language work funded in part through FPCC.

[□] Contact info: <u>language@kanakabarband.ca, jonjanzen@foragerhill.ca</u>

whether these discourse particles are a language-wide trait, a trait of this particular speaker, or simply a pattern within this one narrative.

3 The Four Food Chiefs

We present the story in three parts to help the reader identify what they might want to access. Section 3.1 gives the entire narrative in nle?kepmxcín, whereas section 3.2 gives the translation into English. Section 3.3 provides an interlinear gloss of the nle?kepmxcín with the translation in English below it. The interlinear analysis is the sole responsibility of Jonathan Janzen, as is the quality and editing of the audio recording. Suggestions, concerns, and questions should be directed to him¹.

3.1 nłe?kepmxcín – Thompson River Salish

ł címełus cutés he tmix^w xe?łk^wúk^wpi? ?eł cutéys ?eł Âu? ?es ntéys nmimł ne tmix^w, kémeł təté?e ks ste?s ne tmix^w. ?es k^wencs he seytknmx ł xe?łk^wúk^wpi? newm q^wənq^wént ?eł nx^wazxn. ?es cuts, "x^wuỷ kənténe he seytknmx." ?e ne ?es cutés he q^wu?q^wu?úy, he scwccwewx^w, he pəłpéłusk^wu, he sptétk^wu ?eł he speps. ?e ne ?es cutés he sq^wəm, he syepyép, he mimúyx, he k^wmi?x^wép, he spzu?pzú?, sqyeytn, ?eł tekm he twit ne tmix^w.

ł nwénus tekm he spzu?pzú?, mimúyx, sqyeytn ?eł tekm he ste? ne tmix^w ?ex q^wincút. tekm he spzu?pzú?, stuytúymx^w, sqyeytn ?eł tekm he ste? he twit ne tmix^w moq^wmóq^wix ?es céwus, ste? x^wuỷ kt kenm ?e ks kentm he seytknmx tes q^wənq^wénts ?eł nx^wazxn.

ł exus ne céwu? ?es telixs słule ?es cuts, "ncéwe? xwuy kwukwpi?s he spzu?pzú?, tes xwuy xe? cuxic he xwe?pits, sła?xáns, cumins ?eł he mlamns tuw nsłiqw ?eł xwuy xe? cúne s?ixwł te spzu?pzú? ks xiyms ?eł łu?." ?es telixs ?eł lu? ł łkwəpn ?es cuts, "ncéwe? xwuy kwukwpi?s he kwmi?xwép xwuy xe? qwzcems ne sła?xáns ?eł he mlamns ?eł xwuy xe? cúne s?ixwł te kwmi?xwép ks xiyms ?eł lu? té?e." ?es cuts ?eł lu? sqyeytn, "ncéwe? xwuy kwukwpi? ne tekm he ?ex ne qwu?, xwuy xe? qwzcems ne sła?xánsc ?eł mlamns. xwuy xe? cúne tekm xe nqáyix ?eł twit ne qwu? ks xiyms ?eł lu? té?e." ?es cuts scaqwm, "ncéwe? xwuy kwukwpi?s he tekm te he ste? he twit wə sxe?s he tmixw. łe seytknmx xwuy xe? qwzcems ne sła?xáns ?eł he mlamns. xwuy cúne tekm he stuytúymxw ks xiyms te? ?eł lu?."

?éwi? ?es cuts lə k^wúk^wpi? sĺúle, lk^wəpn, sqyeytn, ?el scaq^wm, x^wi? nextm he siwenx^w kt ?e ks ?es sla?xáns ?el he mlamns he seytknmx ?el x^wi? xe cuntm tekm he ste? ne tmix^w ks xiyms ?el lu? té?e. tu? xé?e te silqt ?es ſápnux^ws he seytknmx tes he sla?xáns ?el ?e smlamn ?eył.

3.2 semecín - English

In the beginning when the Creator made the land and people and put us on the land, there was nothing on the land. The Creator watched the people, they were pitiful and starving. Then he said, "I will help the people." He made the rivers, creeks, lakes, springs and ponds. He made the mountains, trees, bushes, roots, animals, fish and all that grows on the land.

Long ago all the animals, plants, fish and everything on the land was able to talk. All the animals, plants, fish and everything that grew on the land got together and talked about how they could help the people because they were pitiful and starving.

While they were talking the deer stood up, "I will be chief for all the animals for I can provide them with clothes, food, tools and medicine from my body and I will talk to the other animals to do the same." The bitter root also stood up and said, "I will be the chief of the roots. The people will use me as food and medicine and I will tell all the others roots to do the same." Salmon said, "I will be chief of all living things in the water. The people will use me for food and medicine. I will tell all that swim and grows in the water

¹Contact: jonjanzen@foragerhill.ca

to do the same." Saskatoon said, "I will be chief of all the things that grow above the ground. The people will use me as food and medicine. I will tell all the plants that grow above the ground to do the same."

The four food chiefs – deer, bitter root, salmon, and saskatoon said they would give up their lives so the people could have good and medicine and they would tell the others to do the same. From that day the people survived because they had food and medicine.

(1)	ł ł= REM was	címełu címeł first.tir beginn	ne	=us 3sbjv	cutés cu(w) do/mał he mak		-t TR	-ø 30bj	-es 3sbj	he he DET the lan	tmix ^w tmix ^w land d	
	xe?łk ^w xe? up Creato	-ł- CONN	k ^w úk ^w p chief	bi?	?eł ?eł ADD and	cutéys cu(w) do/mał he mał		-t TR	-ey 1pl.ob	J	-es 3sbj	?eł ?eł ADD and
	ุ้น? ุ้ใน? EXCL so	?es ?e COP then	=s NMLZ	ntéys n give he give	-t TR es us	-ey 1pl.ob	3J	-es 3sbj	nmimł nmimł 1PL.INI we	DEP	ne ne= at on	tmix ^w tmix ^w land land
	ķémeł kémeł CTST but	təté?e Cə- RED not	té?e NEG	ks k= DET there	=s NMLZ	ste?s s- NMLZ someth	te? someth	ning	=s 3poss	ne ne= at on	tmix ^w . tmix ^w land land	

3.3 Interlinear gloss²

'In the beginning when the Creator made the land and people and put us on the land, there was nothing on the land.'

(2)	?es ?e =s COP NMLZ then		k ^w encs k ^w en -t -Ø look TR 30BJ he watch them		-es 3sbj	he seytknmx he seytkn DET Indigenous the people			-mx people			
	ł xe?łk ł= REM the Cre	wúkwpi? xe? up eator	- l- CONN	k ^w úk ^w p chief	bi?	newm newm very very	q ^w ənq ^w CVC- AUG poor	ént q ^w ént poor	?eł ?eł ADD and	nx ^w azxr n- LOC starving	x ^w az hunger	-xn foot

'The Creator watched the people, they were pitiful and starving.'

(3)	?es		cuts,		"x ^w uỷ	kəntén	ne		
	?e	$=_{\mathbf{S}}$	cut	$=_{\mathbf{S}}$	x ^w uý	kən	-t	-Ø	-éne
	COP	NMLZ	say	3poss	PROSP	help	TR	3obj	1sg.sbj
	then		he said		will	I help	them		

²See the appendix for a complete list of glossing terms.

he seytknmx." he seytkn -mx DET Indigenous people the people

'Then he said, "I will help the people.".'

(4) ?e ne? cutés es ?e ne? e =scu -t -Ø -és COP do/make 3obj 3sbj DEM D/C NMLZ TR and then he makes it scwcwewxw he q^wu?q^wu?úy he CVC- q^wu? CVCcwewxw he -úy he s-AUG NMLZ- AUG creek DET water- RFM DET the rivers the creeks nəłnéłuskwu ?eł he he sntétkwu he spens

ne	parperu	SK U		ne	spicik	u		ICI	ne sper	15	
he	CVC-	péłus	-k ^w u	he	s-	pt	-étk ^w u	?eł	he	s-	peps
DET	AUG	lake	water	DET	NMLZ	source	water	ADD	DET	NMLZ	pond
the lake	es			the spri	ings			and	the pon	ıds	

'He made the rivers, creeks, lakes, springs, and ponds.'

(5) ?e ne? cutés es ne? ?e -Ø -és e cu =s-t COP DEM do/make 3obj 3sbj D/C NMLZ TR he makes it and then he sq^wəm he syepyép he mimúyx he CVC-CVmúyx he sq^wəm he sγép DET NMLZ mountain DET NMLZ AUG DET AUG bush tree the mountains the trees the bushes he kwmi?xwép he spzú?pzú? sqyeytn he k^wmi?x^w -ép he s-CCVC-pzú? s--eytn qy NMLZ fish DET root bottom DET NMLZ AUG animal salmon the roots the animals fish ?eł tekm tmixw he twit ne ?eł tekm he twit =Ø tmixw n =e ADD all D/C grow 3sbj at DET land and all that grows on the land

'He made the mountains, trees, bushes, roots, animals, fish and all that grows on the land.'

(6)	ł	nwénus	tekm	he	spzu?pzú?,				
	ł=	nwén =us	tekm	he	s-	CCVC-	pzú?	CV-	múyx
	REM	already 3SBJV	all	DET	NMLZ	AUG	animal	AUG	bush
	was	long ago	all	the ani	mals			bushes	

sqyeytr	ı	í I	?eł	tekm	he	ste?		ne		tmixw
S-	qy	-eytn a	?eł	tekm	he	S-	te?	n	=e	tmixw
NMLZ	fish	salmon A	ADD	all	DET	NMLZ	something	at	DET	land
fish		8	and	all	the	things		on the		land

'Long ago all the animals, plants, fish and everything on the land was able to talk.'

(7) spzu?pzú?, stuytúymxw tekm he sqyeytn tekm he CCVC-pzú? s--úymx^w stuyt sqy -eytn all DET AUG animal NMLZ plant land NMLZ fish salmon NMLZ all the animals plants fish ?eł he ste? tmixw tekm he twit ne ?eł tekm he ste? he twit =Ø tmixw n =e ADD all DET something D/C grow 3sbj DET land NMLZ at and all the things that grow the land on moq^wmóq^wix ?es céwus ste? xwuỷ kt CVC- móq^w céwu te? ?e =s $x^w u \dot{y} = kt$ -ix =ssdiscuss 3POSS NMLZ AUG gather AUT COP NMLZ something PROSP 1PL.SBJ they talked what will we they gathered and then ?e ks kntem kenm kenm ?e =k k'n -Ø =s-em -t -30bj do.what COP D/C NMLZ help -TR -1PL.SBJ do so that we help them ?eł he seytknmx q^wənq^wénts tə tə= CVC-?eł he seytkn =sq^went -mx =sNMLZ Indigenous AUG 3poss ADD DET people OBL poor the people because they are poor and nx^wazxn nx^waz -xn hunger foot LOC starving

'All the animals, plants, fish and everything that grew on the land got together and talked about how they could help the people because they were pitiful and starving.'³

(8) ł ?exus ne? céŵu ?es télixs céwu =Ø **ł**= ?ex ne? ?e téł-ix =us =s=sdiscuss =3SBJ stand-AUT 3POSS REM be 3sbjv DEM COP NMLZ when it was they were talking then he stood up sλúle "ncéwe? ?es cuts x^wuỷ k^wúk^wpi?s λ́úle ?e ncéwe? xʷuỷ kwúkwpi? s-=scut $=_{S}$ -S

³ fn re: clitics pointing towards each other

NMLZ deer	deer	COP and the	NMLZ en	say he say	3poss	1SG.IN myself		PROSP will	chief their cł	nief	3poss
he he DET the	spzu?p s- NMLZ- animal	CVC- AUG	pzu? animal	tes te= OBL.DF since	ET	=s NMLZ	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will	xe? xe? DEM			
cuxíc cu[w] do/mal he can	ke do for t	-xi INDR hem	-t TR	-ø 30bj	-es 3sbj	he he DET their be	xwe?pit xwe?pit belong elonging	ings	-s 3poss		
sła?xái s- NMLZ their	ns, ła?xán eat-toc food		-s -3poss	cumíns cu[w] do/mał		-mín -INS	-s -3poss	?eł ?eł ADD	he he DET		
mlamn mlam heal their m	ns -mn INS nedicine	-s 3poss	tuw tuw= from from	nsłiq ^w n- 1sg.pc my boo		s- NMLZ	łiq ^w body	?eł ?eł ADD and	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will		
xe? xe? DEM that	cúne cu tell I tell th	-t TR nem	-Ø Зовј	-ne 1sg.er	G	s?ix ^w ł s- NMLZ others	?ix ^w ł others				
te te= OBL to the	spzu?p s- NMLZ- animal	CVC- AUG	pzu? animal		ks =k D/C that	=s NMLZ	xiyms xiy do.so they do	-m CTR.MI the sam		=s 3POSS	
?eł Żu? ?eł ADD also	?." Åu? EXCL										

'While they were talking the deer stood up, "I will be chief for all the animals for I can provide them with clothes, food, tools, and medicine from my body and I will talk to the other animals to do the same.'

(9)

?es ?e COP and the	téłixs =s NMLZ en	teł stand he stoo	-ix AUT d up	=s 3poss	?eł Âu? ?eł ADD also	2 Au? EXCL	ł łkwapi ł łkwapi REM bitterro	n bitterroot
?es ?e COP	=s NMLZ	cuts cut say	=s 3poss	"ncéwe ncéwe? 1sg.ini	?	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP	k ^w úk ^w p k ^w úk ^w p chief	

and then he s	id I	will	their chief
---------------	------	------	-------------

he k ^w mi?x ^w ép he k ^w mi?x ^w -ép DET root botton the roots			-	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will	xe? xe? DEM that	q ^w zcem q ^w z use they us	-t TR	-cem 1sg.oe	8J	-s 3sbj	
ne ne= at as	sła?xán s- NMLZ food	ıs ła?x eat	-áns tooth	?eł ?eł ADD and	he he DET their m	mlamn mla heal aedicine	s -mn INS	-s 3poss	?eł ?eł ADD and	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will	xe? xe? DEM that
cúne cu tell I tell th	-t TR nem	-Ø Зовј	-ne 1sg.sb	J	s?ix ^w ł s- NMLZ other	?ix ^w ł others	te te= OBL roots	, k ^w mi?x k ^w mi?x root	1	-ép bottom	
ks k= D/C that	=s NMLZ	xiyms xiy do.so they do	-m CTR.MI o it	D	=s 3POSS	?eł Åu? ?eł ADD also	ี่ Xu? EXCL	té?e." té?e DEM that			

'The bitter root also stood up and said, "I will be the chief of the roots. The people will use me as food and medicine and I will tell all the other roots to do the same.'

(10)	Pes Pe COP and the	=s NMLZ	cuts cut say he said	=s 3POSS	?eł Źu? ?eł ADD also	ุ่ גิ่น? EXCL	sqyeytr s- NMLZ salmon	qy fish	-eytn salmon	"ncéwe ncéwe 1SG.INI I)	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will
	k ^w úk ^w p k ^w úk ^w p chief chief		ne ne= at of	tekm tekm all all	he he D/C that	?ex ?ex be are	=ø 3sbj	ne ne= at in the	q ^w u? q ^w u? water water			
	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will	xe? xe? DEM that	q ^w zcem q ^w z use they us	-t TR	-cem 1sg.ob	J	-s 3sbj	ne ne= at as	sła?xán s- NMLZ their fo	ła?x eat	-áns tooth	?eł ?eł ADD and
	mlamn mla heal	s -mn INS	-s 3poss									

heal INS 3 their medicine

'Salmon said, "I will be chief of all living things in the water. The people will use me for food and medicine.'

(11) $x^{w}u\dot{y}$ xe? cúne tekm xe $x^{w}u\dot{y}$ xe? cu -t -Ø -ne tekm xe =Ø

PROSP	DEM	tell	TR	3obj	1SG.SB.	J	all	IPFV	=3sbj
will	that	I tell th	em				all	be	
nqáyix			?eł	twit		ne q ^w uí)	ks	
n-	qáy	-ix	?eł	twit		ne=	q ^w u?	k=	$=_{\mathbf{S}}$
LOC	swim	AUT	ADD	grow		at	water	D/C	NMLZ
swimm	ing		and	growin	g	in the	water	that	
xiyms xiy do.so they do	-m CTR.MI o it	D	=s =3POSS	5	?eł Żu? ?eł ADD also	λ҆u? EXCL	té?e." té?e DEM that		

'I will tell all that swims and grows in the water to do the same.".'

(12)	?es ?e COP and the	=s NMLZ en	cuts cut say he said	=s 3POSS	scaq ^w n s- NMLZ saskato	caq ^w m saskato		"ncéwe" ncéwe? 1sg.ind I		x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP will	
	k ^w úk ^w ŗ k ^w úk ^w ŗ chief their cl	bi?	-s 3poss	he he DET the	tekm tekm all all	te te= OBL of	he he DET the	ste? s- NMLZ things	te? somethi	ng	he he D/C that
	twit twit grow grow	=ø 3sbj	wə wə= to to	sxe?s s= NMLZ above	xe? up	=s 3poss	he he DET the	tmix ^w . tmix ^w . land ground			

'Saksatoon said, "I will be chief of all the things that grow above the ground.'

(13)	łe łe REM	seytknmx seytkn Indigenous		-mx people	x ^w uỷ x ^w uỷ PROSP	xe?	q ^w zcem q ^w z use	-t	-cem 1sg.ob	J	-s 3sbj
	ne ne= at	sła?xár s- NMLZ	ns ła?x eat		?eł ?eł 3POSS	ADD	he he DET	mlamns mla heal	s -mn INS	-s 3poss	

'The people will use me as food and medicine.'

(14)	xwuỷ cúne tekm he stuytúymxw ks xiyms te? ?eł Âu?."									
	x ^w uý	cúne				tekm	he stu	ytúyṁx ^w		
	x ^w uý	cu	-t	-Ø	-ne	tekm	he	S-	tuyt	-úyṁxʷ
	PROSP	tell	TR	3obj	1sg.sbj	all	DET	NMLZ	plant	land
	will	I tell t	hem			all	the	plants		

ks		xiyms			te?	?eł Żu?	."
ks		xiyms			te?	?eł Żu?	
k=	$=_{\mathbf{S}}$	хiy	- m	$=_{S}$	te?	?eł	λ́u?
D/C	NMLZ	do.so	CTR.MID	=3poss	DEM	ADD	EXCL
that	they do	it			that	also	

'I will tell all the plants that grow above the ground to do the same.".'

(15)	?éwi? ?éwi? because because		?es ?e COP then	=s NMLZ they sa	cuts cut say id	=s 3poss	lə lə= REM was	k ^w úk ^w p k ^w úk ^w p chief chiefs		sੈúle, s- NMLZ deer	, λúle deer	
	łkwəpn, łkwəpn bitterro bitterro	oot	sqyeytr s NMLZ salmon	-qy fish	-eytn salmon		?eł ?eł ADD and	scaq ^w m s- NMLZ saskato	caq ^w m saskato	on	x ^w i? x ^w i? PROSP will	
	nextm nex give we give	-t TR e them	-Ø Зовј	-em 1PL.SB.	I	he he DET our live	siweńx siweńx life es		SS	?e ks ?e COP so that	=k D/C	= _S NMLZ
	?es ?es- STAT they ha	sła?xár s- NMLZ tve food	ns ła?x eat	-áns tooth	?eł ?eł ADD and	he he DET the	mlamns mla heal medicin	-mn INS	-s 3poss	he he DET the		
	seytkni seytkn Indiger people		-mx people	?eł ?eł ADD and	x ^w i? x ^w i? PROSP will	xe? xe? DEM that	cuntm cun tell we tell	-t TR them	-Ø Зовј	-em 1PL.SBJ	ſ	
	tekm tekm all all	he he DET the	ste? s- NMLZ things	te? someth	ing	ne ne at on the	tmix ^w tmix ^w land land	ks k= D/C that	=s NMLZ			
	xiyms xiy do.so they do	-m CTR.MI the sam		=s 3poss	?eł Âu? ?eł ADD also	λ҆u? EXCL	té?e té?e DEM that					

'The four food chiefs – deer, bitter root, salmon, and saksatoon said they would give up their lives so the people could have food and medicine and they would tell the others to do the same.'

(16)	tu? tu from from	xé?e xé?e DEM that	te siẢqt te OBL the	siŻợt day day	?es ?e COP then	=s NMLZ	Sápnux Sáp night they su	-nux ^w PRSV	=s 3poss	he he DET the
	seytknmx seytkn Indigenous people ?es mlamn ?es- mla STAT heal they have media		eytkn -mx ndigenous person					s- s- ła?x -ans		
			-mn INS	?eył ?eył now now						

'From that day the people survived because they had food and medicine.'

References

- Thompson, Laurence & Thompson, M. Terry (1992). *The Thompson language*. 2nd edn. Missoula, MT: University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics 8.
- Thompson, Laurence & Thompson, M. Terry (1996). *Thompson River Salish Dictionary*. Missoula, MT: The University of Montana Occasional Papers in Linguistics 11.

Appendix

The following table defines all abbreviated glosses that appear in the prayers. They are organized alphabetically by morpheme, starting with the glottal stop, *?*, to stay consistent with the Thompson & Thompson (1996) dictionary. Modern glossing conventions are used in the Gloss column, following research that has been ongoing since the 1990s. The gloss definitions that are derived from the Thompson & Thompson (1992) grammar are given in the T&T Gloss column. Direct quotes are referenced with the shortened form of this publication, (T&T 1992), followed by a page number.

Morphemes	Gloss	T&T Gloss	Definition	T&T Definition			
-	-	-	affix boundary	affix boundary			
=	=	N/A	clitic boundary	lexical suffix boundary; lexical suffixes are bound (must attach to something) morphemes that have root-like meanings (lexical suffixs are indeed suffixs, not clitics as = would suggest)			
?e	СОР	INT	(equational) copula	introductory predicative; 'there is/are, it is that' (T&T 1992: 95); 'and then' when followed by nominalized predicate or auxiliary (T&T 1992: 180-181)			
?es-	STAT	ST	stative; appears as a prefix on predicates to specify it as a state or condition that is already in effect as opposed to an activity or event				
-?úy	RFM	RFM	reaffirmative	'basic, ordinary, plain, simple, real, genuine' (T&T 1992: 129)			
Сә-	IRED	AFF	Initial (C ₁) reduplication	affective; denotes 'special attitudes ranging from familiarity, perhaps with overtones of nostalgia, to extreme specialization.' (T&T 1992: 115); formed by reduplicating the first consonant plus /ə/ vowel			
CV(C)-	AUG	AUG	augmentative; this form of reduplication can indicate plural meaning, a repeated or persistent action, an intensification of activity, state or size, or a specialized meaning (see T&T 1992: 82-93); formed by reduplications the first consonant-vowel-and sometimes the final consonant or by reduplicating the first consonant-consonant-vowel				
(h/?)e=	DET	DIR	determiner; determiner- complementizer; distribution is dependent on sentence structure	direct complement marker; introduces complements that specify predicates. It can also have possessive meaning when it follows a third person pronominal			
-е	IMP	IMP	imperative; grammatic	al mood that signals a command or request			
?e l	ADD	ACCM	additive; and, or	'and, also, too, along with'; accomplished (T&T 1992: 139)			
-ey	1pl.obj	1pl.obj	first person plural obje	ct; 'us'			

(w)?ex; xe	IPFV	ALT	imperfective	auxiliary particle; 'exist, be located, reside, stay: persistent, progressive, actual' (T&T 1992: 142)			
-it	FMV		general formative	No specific meaning (T&T 1992: 125)			
-i(y)x	AUT	AUT	autonomous	'refers to acts controlled by a specific agent' (T&T 1992: 101)			
k=; =k	DET	UNR	determiner	unrealized; a complement marker referring to states that are as of yet unrealized, meaning they can be unknown or 'established in the future, if at all' (T&T 1992: 150)			
kémeł	CTST		contrastive	'but, on the other hand, although, though, even if' (T&T 1992: 179)			
-kt	1pl.poss	1pl.poss	first person plural poss	sessive; 'our'			
=kt	1pl.intr	1pl.intr	first person plural intra	ansitive; 'we'			
4	REM	EP	remote determiner	established in the past and/or established far away			
- ł -	CONN	LIG	compounding connective	ligature; a connective that joins stems to create compound words			
λu?	EXCL	PER	exclusive; but	persistent; 'only, just, until, up to' (T&T 1992: 139)			
-m	PASS	IDF	passive	indefinite subject; i.e. 'someone, everyone, etc.'			
-m	CTR.MID	MDL	control middle	middle; refer to actions or states where the subject is also the agent meaning they are acting with volition			
-m(i)n	INS	INS	instrumental	creates words used as instruments or implements (see also <i>-tən</i>), can also specify certain materials, 'means of carrying out activities and processes' (T&T 1992: 121)			
n-	LOC	LCL	locative	localizer; signals location of an action, can have abstract meaning			
-n	CTR	DRV	control (directive)	directive; -e DRV to see			
-(e)n(e)	1sg.sbj	1sg.sbj	first person singular su	ıbject; 'I'			
ncéwe?	1sg.sbj. indep	1sg.sbj	first person singular in	dependent; 'I'			
nmimł	1pl.indef)	independent first perso	on plural pronoun			
n=	AT	AT	locative preposition	'at, to, in, into, with', denotes a precise location or direction (T&T 1992:155)			
s-; s=; =s	NMLZ	NOM	nominalizer	creates a noun			
-(e)s	3.sbj	3.sbj	third person subject; 'l	ne, she, it, they'			
$=_{S}$	3.poss	3.poss	third person possessive; 'his, hers, its, theirs'				

-s(e)m	1sg.obj	1sg.obj	first person singular ol	oject; 'me'
-t	TR	TR	transitivizer	marks predicates as transitive, meaning they take both object and subject arguments
té?e	DEM	EM.PART	demonstrative	emphatic particular; 'about to be set forth' (T&T 1992: 136)
t(ə)=	OBL	OBL	oblique particle	introduces complements of predicates. These are usually objects but can also refer to means or instruments, specify what lexical suffixes are referring to, or definite and indefinite subject. See T&T (1992: 146-147) for examples.
te?(e)	NEG	NEG	negative; 'no, not'	
=u?	OOC		out of control	It often indicates that an event occurs or a state of affairs develops spontaneously, without human intervention. Subjects mentioned are in patient relationship. (T&T 1992: 99)
=us	3.sbjv	3.cjv	third person subjunctive	third person conjunctive; 'he, she, it, they'
xé?e	DEM		distal demonstrative	
xʷuỷ	PROSP	FUT	prospective	future notion
$= \emptyset$	3.OBJ		third person object; 'h	im, her, them'