COOS

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Kusan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects that were spoken by the people inhabiting (until 1857) Coos bay and the region along the Coos river. Their neighbors were Siuslauan,[1] Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua[1] Indians, on the east they bordered on the Kalapuya, while on the south they were contiguous to the Rogue river tribes, especially the Coquelle.[2] In 1857, when the Rogue river war broke out, the United States Government, acting in self-defence, removed the Coos Indians to Port Umpqua. Four years later they were again transferred to the Yahatc reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahatc was thrown open to white settlers, and the Indians of that reservation were asked to move to Siletz; but the Coos Indians, tired of the tutelage of the United States Indian agents, refused to conform with the order, and emigrated in a body to the mouth of the Siuslaw river, where the majority of them are still living.

Of the two principal dialects, Hanis and Miluk,[3] the latter is now practically extinct; while the former is still spoken by about thirty individuals, whose number is steadily decreasing. As far as can be judged from the scanty notes on Miluk collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903, this dialect exhibits only in a most general way the characteristic traits of the Kusan stock. Otherwise it is vastly different from Hanis in etymological and even lexicographical respects.

The name "Coos" is of native origin. It is derived from the reduplicated stem *ku'kwîs* SOUTH, which appears very often in phrases like *xkukwî'sume* FROM WHERE SOUTH IS, *kūsɛmī'tcîtc* SOUTHWARDS, etc.

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[1] Erroneously classified by Powell as part of the Yakonan family. My recent investigations show Siuslaw to form an independent linguistic group consisting of two distinct dialects,—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. A grammatical sketch of the former dialect will be found in this volume.

[2] An Athapascan tribe living on the upper course of the Coquelle river.

[3] Spoken on the lower part of the Coquelle river, and commonly called Lower Coquelle.

The Coos call their own language *hā'nîs ʟ!ē'yîs* THE HANIS TONGUE. The present work deals with this dialect only, as sufficient material could not be obtained for the purpose of writing a grammar of the Miluk dialect.

Texts of myths and tales were collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, and by the author of the present sketch, and were published by Columbia University.[1] All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2–14)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Coos is rich and fully developed. Clusters of consonants occur very frequently, but are void of difficult complications. The vowels show a high degree of variability, and occur in short and long quantities. The obscure vowel *e* is very frequent, and seems to be related to short *e* and *a*. Resonance vowels occur very often, and are indicated in this work by superior vowels. The diphthongs are quite variable. Long *ē* is not a pure vowel, but glides from *ē* to *ī;* it can hardly be distinguished from long *ī*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *ū*, and was heard often as a long *ū*-vowel.

The following may be said to be the Coos system of vowels and diphthongs:

Vowels							Semi-vowels	Diphthongs		
	E									
a	e		i	î	o	u	û	w, y	ai̇,	aᵘ, eᵘ
ā	ä		ē	ī		ō	ū		ēⁱ	ōᵘ

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word HELMET, while the umlauted *ä* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German WÄHLEN. It very often occurs as the umlauted form of long *ā*. *î* represents the short *y*-vowel so commonly found in the Slavic languages; while *û* indicates exceedingly short, almost obscure *u*. *ō* can not occur after the palatal surd *k* and fortis *k!*.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system of Coos is characterized by the prevalence of the sounds of the *k* and *l* series, by the frequent occurrence of

[1] Coos Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 1.

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aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants l, $\overline{m}$, $\overline{n}$, and $\overline{y}$, and by the semi-vocalic treatment of the nasals m, n, and of the lateral sounds (indicated in this sketch by a circle under the consonant). Surds and sonants were not always pronounced distinctly, especially in the alveolar series. No aspirated consonants were found besides the aspirated t' and k'. The fortis is pronounced with moderate air-pressure and glottal and nasal closure.

The system of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	$(g\ ?)$	q	$q!$	γ, x	–
Palatal	$g, g(w)$	$k, k(w)$	$k!, k!\ (w)$	–	–
Anterior palatal	$g^{\cdot}$	$k^{\cdot}$	$k^{\cdot}!$	$x^{\cdot}$	–
Alveolar................	d	t, t'	$t!$	s, c	$n, \overline{n}$
Affricative	$(dz?), dj$	ts, tc	$ts!, tc!$	–	–
Labial	b	p	$p!$	–	$m, \overline{m}$
Lateral	$\underset{.}{L}$	L	$L!$	$l, \bar{l}, \dot{l}$	–
Glottal stop............	$^\varepsilon$	–	–	–	–
Aspiration	–	–	–	$x\ x^{\cdot}$	–
	$y, \overline{y}$	h		w	

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before l, m, n, and w. It always disappears before velar and palatal sounds. The aspiration is always accompanied by a stricture corresponding to the quality of the vowel preceding it. After a, o, and u (and u diphthongs) it is of a guttural character; while when following e, i-vowels, or the i-diphthongs, it becomes palatal. It disappears before a following w or y.

$\eta ha^{w^x}ts$ I make it 10.4 $\eta ha^u w\tilde{e}^{\prime} wat$ I have it 18.4

$\hat{\imath}s\ s\bar{o}^x t\hat{\imath}t\ddot{a}'n\bar{\imath}$ we two trade mutually 15.6

$\eta l\bar{o}^{ux}t\bar{a}'ya$ I am watching it $l\bar{o}w\hat{\imath}t\bar{\imath}'yeq_Em$ he took care 66.3 26.11

$p\bar{\imath}'^x\cdot p\bar{\imath}$ he went home 28.2 $xp\bar{\imath}ye'etc$ backwards, homewards 42.7

$qai^{x\cdot}qa'y\bar{o}n\bar{a}'ya$ he became afraid of it 42.3

§ 4. Sound Groupings

As has been stated before, clusters of consonants are extensive, but present few complications. Whenever difficulties arise in pronouncing them, there is a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to

simplify them.   Thus, combinations of more than two consonants are rare, except in cases where one of the component elements (frequently the middle consonant) is m, n, or one of the lateral series. Such combinations are made possible through the semi-vocalic character of these consonants.   I have also found xpq, $xcx^{.}$.

$helq$- to arrive	$halqtsō^{u'}wat$ she would bring it to him 72.8
$a'lqas$ fear 66.4	$aqalqsitō^{u'}wat$ he scared him 92.20
$dε'msît$ prairie 22.12	$dεmste'tc$ through a prairie 22.11

In the same manner initial clusters, of which m, n, or l is the first element, are syllabified by vocalization of the first consonant either initially or terminally.   A similar process takes place in clusters consisting of two consonants that belong to the same group.

The only consonantic combinations that are inadmissible are those of a t, ts or $s+m$ or n.

Terminal clusters of three consonants are admissible only in cases where one of the component elements is a consonant easily subject to vocalization (a lateral, m or n).

$l'nq$ 7.5	$qa'mlt$ 102.16
$yîxa'ntcqts$ 60.3	$tqa'nlts$ 28.1

Terminal clusters of two consonants are confined to the combinations of $m+t$, $m+s$, $m+x$; n+alveolar or affricative, $n+k^{.}$, $n+l$; l+alveolar or affricative (excepting $l+n$), $l+m$; $l+t$ and $l+tc$.   All other combinations are inadmissible (see §11).

The following examples of terminal sound groupings may be given:

$l!ē'^{x.}sîmt$ 74.19	$î^{i}lt$ 7.8
$hatā'yîms$ 20.14	$mîlt!$ 76.12
$yî'xumx$ 122.22	$tcîls$
$k^{.}!înt$ 5.2	$be'^{i}ldj$
$xwändj$ 6.8	$he'wîlts$ 140.14
$k!wînts$ 96.11	$tc!îltc!$ 26.26
$lōwe'entc$ 6.1	$tk^{.}elm$ 136.7 (St. Clair)
$denk^{.}$ 82.9	$xalt$ 10.9
$hanl$ 7.1	$qe'ltc$ 6.4

An exceptional instance of a usually inadmissible sound grouping was found in $xyî'helq$ 20.21.

§ 4

All inadmissible terminal clusters are avoided through the insertion of a (weak) vowel between the two final consonants.

dɛmst-	*dɛ'msît* prairie 22.12
helq-	*he'laq* he arrived 20.18
ʟhînp-	*ʟhî'n͡ap* he went through 22.11
mîlx-	*mî'lax* lunch 28.15
alq- + *-s* (§ 25)	*a'lqas* fear 66.4
wînq- + *-s* (§ 25)	*wî'nqas* mat, spider 58.5

Inadmissible medial clusters are avoided through the insertion of a weak vowel or vowels:

wînq- + *-xɛm*	*wîna'qaxɛm* it is spread out 32.14
helq- + *-xɛm*	*hela'qaxɛm* it is the end 44.14
lnq- + *-a*	*ûx lna'qa* they two went down 8.4

§ 5. Accent

With the exception of the monosyllabic particles, that are either enclitic or proclitic, each word in Coos has its stress accent, designated by the acute mark (') or by the rising tone rendered here by ∼. The former accent is not inseparably associated with any particular syllable of a word. It may, especially in cases of polysyllabic stems, be shifted freely from one syllable to another, although it is very possible that this apparent shifting of accent may be largely due to the rapidity with which the words in question were pronounced by the natives. The circumflex accent appears mostly on the last syllable, and may best be compared with the intonation given to the word so in the English interrogative sentence Is THAT so ?

The accent very often modifies the syllable on which it falls by lending a specific coloring to the vowel, or by making it appear with a long quantity. This is especially the case in syllables with the obscure vowel, which, under the influence of accent, may be changed to an *a* or an *e*.

A very peculiar use of the accent is found in connection with the verbal stem *helaq*. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), *he'laq* denotes TO GET, TO ARRIVE; while *helāq* with the rising tone of *ā* expresses the idea TO CLIMB UP.

Phonetic Laws (§§ 6–14)

§ 6. Introductory

The phonetic laws are quite complex, and in a number of instances show such appalling irregularities that they defy all attempts at systematization. This is especially true of the contraction of two or more vowels into one, and of the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, the phonetic processes may be said to be due to contact phenomena and, in rare instances, to the effects of accent.

Vocalic Processes (§§ 7–11)

The processes treated in this division may be classified as follows:

(1) Vocalic Harmony.
(2) Consonantization of *i*- and *u*- diphthongs.
(3) Contraction.
(4) Hiatus.
(5) Processes due to change from terminal to medial position.

§ 7. VOCALIC HARMONY

The most important phonetic law in the Coos language is the law of vocalic harmony. This tendency towards euphony is so strongly developed in the language, that it may safely be said to be one of its chief characteristics. Its purpose is to bridge over as much as possible the difficulties that would arise in trying to pronounce in quick succession syllables with vowels of widely different qualities. The process may be of a retrogressive or progressive character; that is to say, the suffix may change the quality of the stem-vowel, or *vice versa*. Only the vowels of the *a*- and *e*- series are affected by this phenomenon, which is not always purely phonetic.

The following suffixes cause a change from *a* to *ä*, a process called the *i*-umlaut:

-*ī* neutral § 31   -*īl* pronominal § 46   -*īye* transitional § 35

ŋhā'wīts I make it grow	*hä'wī* he grew up 64.24
ŋtsxaū'wat I kill him 26.22	*ŋtsxewe'īl* she kills me 24.14
ŋhā'k!ᵘtīts I draw it up	*īl häk!ᵘtī'ye* they were drawn up 30.1

A change of *a*-vowels into *e*-vowels due to other causes is effected by the pronominal suffixes -*ū* (§ 46), -*ĕm* (§ 30), and by the imperative -*E* (§ 43).

n�̲hā′k!ᵘtîts I draw it up	*n̲hä′k!ᵘtîtsū* he draws me up
k!a′wat he pecks at it 20.14	*n̲k·e′witū* he pecks at me
kwaā′nīya he knows it 26.18	*kwee′nīyĕm* they know it 24.22
pa′yat he shouted 32.1	*L pEī′tE* you must shout 32.2
tsxaᵘ- to kill	*tsxe′wE* kill him! 68.3

The following suffixes change the *e*-vowels of the stem into *a*-vowels:

-*āmî*, -*aîs* pronominal § 46

-*āȳam* distributive § 37

-*anāya* § 50

tcîne′henī he is thinking 24.13, 14	*eᶜtcînahanā′mî* I am thinking of you
he′wes a lie	*eᶜhawasanā′îs* you are lying to me
x·ne′et it is on top 10.1	*n̲x·naatā′ya* I am riding (a horse)
k!le′es black	*k!laā′ȳam* blackish (black here and there)
xä′nîs sick 42.18	*xā′nanā′ya* he made him feel sorry 42.18
pLpä′wîs hat 136.14	*pLpā′wîsanāya* he made a hat out of it

[NOTE.—The suffix -*anāya* is composed of -*enī* + -*āya*. The long *ā* of -*āya* affects the *e* of -*enī*, and the compound suffix changes the quality of the stem-vowel.]

Here may also belong the qualitative change of *yîxē͞ⁱ′* ONE and *yû′xwä* TWO into *yîxahî′n̄a* ONE EACH and *yûxwahî′n̄a* TWO EACH (see p. 374), and changes like —

îs we′länī hanL we two fight will 116.11 (*wîl-* to fight)

qamelänī′we he commenced to swim around (*mîl-* to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun *lä*, *līye*, into *la*, *līya*, when preceding stems with *a*-vowels (see § 98).]

Progressive assimilation occurs very frequently, and affects almost all suffixes that have *e*-vowels. The following suffixes change their *e*-vowels under the influence of an *a*-vowel of the stem:

-*e* auxiliary §44

-*enī* verbal §45

-*īye* transitional §35

-*etc* adverbial §68

-*īyawa* nominal §62

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nwî'tîne with blood it is (*wî-tîn* blood) 20.6

îl ntc!wä'le they with fire are (*tc!wä'l* fire) 42.12

hätct!enî'yeqɛm the story is being told (*hä'tcît!* story) 44.14, 15

îc hewese'nî you two are lying 28.13, 14 (*hé'wes* lie)

qalîmî'ye morning it got 20.4 (*qalîm-* morning)

ā'yu îx·î'ye surely a canoe it was (*îx·* canoe) 126.10

dɛmste'tc ʟhî'ñap through a prairie he went 22.11 (*dɛ'm-sît* prairie)

yîxä'wɛxetc la into the house he went (*yîxä'wɛx* house) 28.10, 11

la^u nk!ā'ha they with ropes are (*k!ā* rope) 46.9

nmî'laqa with an arrow he is (*mî'-laq* arrow) 20.18

îl qanatcanî'waq they began to make fun (*qa'natc* joke) 50.12

îl kwā'xaʟanî they are making bows (*kwā'xaʟ* a bow)

ŋhainahā'ya I active became (*hai'-na* active)

ŋdōwāyahā'ya I happened to want it (*dōwa-* to desire)

t^Ek!wî'l xā'ᵃpatc he dove into the water (*xā'ᵃp* water) 26.27

ʟ!tā'atc tsxawî'yat on the ground he put it down (*ʟ!tā* earth, ground) 36.20, 21

The same progressive assimilation may have taken place in the change of the transitive suffix *-ē^iwat* into *-ō^uwat* (see p. 337) whenever suffixed to stems ending in *u*-diphthongs.

t^Ekwîʟē^i'wat he is following him 22.2

ŋtcîntcînē^i'wat I am thinking (of him)

ŋtsxaū'wat I kill him (*tsxa^u-* to kill) 26.22

e^ℇwîlō^u'wat you are looking for it (*wîl-* to look for something) 54.3

Another assimilatory process of this type is the change of the particle *îl* into *el* (*hel*) after a preceding *n* or *ʟ* (see p. 388).

lɛ'γî îl good, indeed 5.3

în hel not so! 42.23

lɛ'γî yū'lel good it would be indeed 70.5

In spite of this great tendency towards euphony, numerous instances will be found showing an absolute lack of vocalic harmony. Whether these cases are the result of imperfect perception, due to the rapid flow of speech or to other causes, cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

§ 8. CONSONANTIZATION OF I- AND U- DIPHTHONGS

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs are always changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* when they are followed by another vowel.

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The only exception to this rule occurs in cases where the diphthong is contracted with the following vowel (see § 9).

$pεnlō'wai$ whale 30.10	$pεnlō'wayεtc$ a whale with 88.30
$ûx$ $tîla'qai$ they two are living 24.1	$he'laq$ $lε$ $mä$ $tîla'qayetc$ he came to the people (who) lived (there) 36.12, 13
$t!^Ecî'ta^u$ flint point	$nt!^Ecî'ta^uwe$ $lε$ $mî'laq$ flint points have the arrows 62.27
$lō^u$- to eat	$lōwā'was$ food 22.14
$xwî'lûx^u$ head 30.14	$xl!ts$ $xwî'luxwītc$ she hit him over the head 66.5, 6
k^u perhaps $+ îs$ we two	$kwîs$ let us two 26.15

§ 9. CONTRACTION

In Coos the contraction of two vowels immediately following each other is so uncertain that it is difficult to formulate any rule that would cover all irregularities. The main difficulty lies in the fact that contraction of vowels, and hiatus, seem constantly to interfere with each other. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

(1) Two vowels belonging to the u-series are contracted into a long $\bar{u}$.

$xtcī'tcū + \bar{u}l$	$xtcī'tcūl$ how would (it be) 5.2
$yîku + \bar{u}l$	$yî'kūl$ perhaps it would (be) 17.7

(2) Two long $\bar{\imath}$-vowels are contracted into a long $\bar{\imath}$.

$hä'k!^utī + -īye$	$îl$ $hä'k!^utī'ye$ they were drawn up 30.1
$henī + -īye$	$he'nīye$ a while 42.17 ($he'nīhen$ many times 88.1)

(3) Long $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{\imath}$ are contracted with a following $\bar{a}$ into long $\bar{a}$ or $\bar{e}$.

$-enī + -āya$	$-anāya$ (see § 50)
$plpä'wîsenī$ he is making a hat	$plpāwîsa'nāya$ he is making a hat out of it
$-nē^i + -āwas$	$-nē^iwas$ (see § 59)

(4) Vowels of very short quantities are usually contracted with the following vowels of longer quantities, regardless of quality. The quality of the longer vowel predominates in such amalgamations. In the process of contraction, an h preceding the second vowel disappears.

$c^E + hanl$	$canl$ a particle denoting certain expectation (see § 90)
$tsî + hanl$	$tsanl$ only then shall . . . 78.15

An exception to this rule is found in the case of the *u*-vowels, which change a following *h* into a *w*.

yū + *he*   *yuwe'* whenever 16.6
tsō then   *tsowe'* as soon as 52.14

An interesting case of contraction is presented by the amalgamation of the personal pronouns and the negative particle *īn*.

ṇ I + *īn* NOT is contracted into *nī*.
eᵉ THOU + *īn* NOT is contracted into *ēn*.
xwîn WE TWO + *īn* NOT is contracted into *xwîⁱn*.
lîn WE + *īn* NOT is contracted into *lîⁱn*.
cîn YOU + *īn* NOT is contracted into *cîⁱn*.

nī tcītc laᵘ tsxaū'wat not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21
ēn hanʟ dīⁱl you not will (be) something 10.5
xwîⁱn kwaā'nīya we two not know it 120.23
lîⁱn canʟ xtcītc sqats we (can) not seize her 56.18
cîⁱn k·ellēⁱ'wat you not forget it 40.18

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

ûx īn kwaā'nīya they two (did) not know it 22.9, 10
îl īn k·îlō'wît they (did) not see it 32.3

§ 10. HIATUS

The same uncertainty that exists in the case of contraction of vowels is found in the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the coming-together of two vowels of like quantities and qualities is avoided by means of infixing a weak *h* between them. Two vowels of dissimilar quantities and qualities are kept apart by means of the accent.

Examples of insertion of *h:*

kwaā'nīya + *-āya*   *kwaā'nīyahā'ya* (they) came to know it 102.29

ṇ'ne + *-īye*   *ṇnehī'ye* I came to be (the one)
sīʟ'nēⁱ + *-īye*   *sīʟ'nēhī'ye* joined together it became 13.4

ts!xa + *-a*   *nts!xa'ha ʟɛ kwā'xaʟ* (covered) with skin is the bow 62.27, 28

hūᵘmä'k·e + *-e*   *ûx nhūᵘmä'k·ehe* they two with wives are 42.15

helmī + *-îs*   *helmī'hîs* next day 6.7

Examples of division by means of accent:

$lE + -\hat{\imath}tc$	$xle'\hat{\imath}tc\ L!\ddot{a}ts$ with it he spoke 16.2
$L!t\bar{a} + -atc$	$L!t\bar{a}'atc\ lem\bar{\imath}'yat$ into the ground he stuck it 64.1

§ 11. PROCESSES DUE TO CHANGE FROM TERMINAL TO MEDIAL POSITION

Terminal consonantic clusters are avoided by inserting a weak vowel between two consonants standing in final position (see § 4). But as soon as a suffix is added to a stem thus expanded, changing the cluster from a terminal to medial position, the inserted vowel is dropped, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

$m\hat{\imath}'lax$ lunch 28.15	$m\hat{\imath}lxa'nEm$ lunch make me 114.5
$dE'ms\hat{\imath}t$ prairie 22.12	$dEmste'tc\ Lh\hat{\imath}'\bar{n}ap$ to the prairie he came 22.11
$Lh\hat{\imath}'\bar{n}ap$ he went through 22.11	$\hat{u}x\ Lh\hat{\imath}np\bar{\imath}'ye$ they two came through 112.1
$a'lqas$ fear 66.4	$\hat{u}x\ alqs\bar{a}'ya$ they two are afraid of it 7.5
$h\ddot{a}'tc\hat{\imath}t!$ story 20.2	$h\ddot{a}tct!en\bar{\imath}'yeqEm$ a story is being told 44.14, 15
$tc\hat{\imath}'lats$ he was astonished 22.28	$tc\hat{\imath}'lts^ExEm$ he was astonished 128.15
$kw\bar{a}'xaL$ bow 60.14	$\hat{u}x\ nkw\bar{a}'xLa$ they two have bows 12.9
$m\hat{\imath}'lat$ he swam 30.7	$m\hat{\imath}'lt^EqEm$ he swam (out) 100.16

On the whole, Coos shows a marked tendency toward clustering of consonants in medial position. Thus, when a suffix beginning with a long vowel is added to a stem that has already been amplified by means of a suffix whose initial vowel is weak, the vowel of the first suffix is dropped, and its consonants are combined with the final consonants of the stem into a cluster.

$h\ddot{a}'L\ddot{a}tc$ elder brother 72.27	$h\ddot{a}Ltc\bar{\imath}'yas$ elder brothers
$e'k^uL\ddot{a}tc$ father 20.25	$ek^uLtc\bar{\imath}'yas$ fathers
$la'^xL\hat{\imath}s$ mud 52.10	$x^iLLsa'Etc$ with mud 52.13
$\eta h\bar{u}^{w'}m\hat{\imath}s\hat{\imath}ts$ I marry her	$h\bar{u}^um\hat{\imath}sts\bar{o}^{w'}wat$ he married 26.14

This change from a terminal to a medial position effects sometimes the dropping of a whole syllable.

$m\hat{\imath}Lkw\bar{\imath}'y\ddot{a}tc$ younger brother 72.1	$il\ m\hat{\imath}Lkw\bar{\imath}'tc\hat{\imath}n\bar{\imath}$ they are younger brothers (mutually) 84.20

íluwe′ˣtcîs heart 5.3

ílū′tcîsītc lō′qᵘtats in his heart she was boiling 108.27

pīī′yat he took him home 30.13

xwîn ɛᶜpīītā′mî hanʟ we two thee take home will 126.19, 20

Another effect due to this law is the weakening of the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. This change takes place regularly when two or more suffixes have been added to one and the same stem.

ʟhînptsō᷄ᵘ′wat he takes him through

ʊʟhînptsō′wîtū he takes me through

hū᷄ᵘmîstsō᷄ᵘ′wat he is marrying them 26.14

eᶜhū᷄ᵘmîstsōwîtā′mî hanʟ I marry thee will 184.6

Consonantic Processes (§§ 12–14)

§ 12. TYPES OF CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

Consonantic changes are few in number, and due to contact phenomena. The following are the processes affecting consonants:

(1) Consonantic euphony.

(2) Simplification of doubled consonants.

§ 13. CONSONANTIC EUPHONY

This law affects the palatal sounds only, and results from a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to assimilate, whenever possible, the consonants of the *k*-series to the character of the preceding or following vowels. As a consequence of this tendency, *i*-vowels are invariably followed or preceded by the anterior palatals, while *u*-vowels change a following palatal into a *k*-sound with a *u*-tinge (a labialized *k*).

lā′nîk· river 14.6

tsä′yux^u small 20.5

wîx·ī′lîs food 14.7

mā′luk^u paint 10.2

tahā′lîk· quiver 66.26

xwî′lux^u head 30.14

x·nek· hair 50.3

mēlä′kuk^u salmon heart 34.25

g·îmg·î′mîs rain

gō^us all 9.3

Instances are not lacking where actual palatalization has taken place, or where an anterior *k·* has been changed into a palatal *k* so as to conform to the character of the vowel following it.

k!a′lat he shouted 36.7

qak·elenī′we û, mēn they began to shout 24.22

k!a′wat he pecks at it 20.9

k·!e′wîtēm some one is pecking

ha'kat he crawled 32.12

tka'lmîts he sinks it

k!xa'ye'es he is talking
    to him 30.23

xha'k·îtc crawlingly 32.10

tᵡk·e'lmîxɛm (a) deep place 84.24

k·!xe'ɛm ye'es talk to me

pkāk· grandfather 28.19

tahā'lîk· quiver 66.26

ax·ī'axatc uncle

kᵘmā'x· horn 86.25

pkā'katc grandfather 30.6

tahā'lîkatc into the quiver 116.19

axā'x· uncle 34.9

nkᵘmā'xa it has a horn 88.7

The only cases of consonantic assimilation that occur in Coos are the changes of sonants into surds, under the influence of a following surd.

ya'bas maggots 40.12

bîsk·e'tc yî'xumx he had it (the water) in a cup 128.25

xya'bas yaptî'tsa lä . . . maggots ate up his . . . (literally, maggoted his . . .) 40.6

pᴱsî'k· ā'tsem a cup give me 68.17

§ 14. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLED CONSONANTS

Doubled consonants are simplified in consequence of the tendency to avoid the clustering of too many consonants. The process consists in the simplification of a long (doubled) consonant, when followed by another consonant. Owing to the fact that only *l, m, n,* and *y* appear in doubled (long) quantities, they are the only consonants that are affected by this law.

mîlat he swam 30.7

tcî'lats he was astonished
    22.28

ʟhî'ñap he went through 22.11

nmä'heñet it is (crowded) with people 20.1

mî'ltᴱqɛm he swam (out) 100.16

tcî'ltsᴱxɛm he was astonished 128.15

ʟhînptsō'ʷwat he took him through

xmä'hentîtc like a person 30.22, 23

§ 15. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations in Coos are expressed by means of one of the five following processes:

    (1) Prefixation.

    (2) Suffixation.

    (3) Reduplication.

    (4) Syntactic particles.

    (5) Phonetic changes.

The number of prefixes is very small, and by far the majority of grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes and syntactic particles. Reduplication, although frequently resorted to, is used to express only a limited number of categories; while the phonetic changes are very rare, and exhibit a decidedly petrified character.

§ 16. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All stems seem to be neutral, and their nominal or verbal character depends chiefly upon the suffixes with which they are used. Consequently two different suffixes — one of a verbal and the other of a nominal character — may be added to the same stem, nominalizing or verbalizing it, according to the requirements of the occasion. In the following pages a distinction is made between verbal and nominal stems, which is based solely upon the sense in which the stem is used.

All prefixes express ideas of an adverbial character.

By far the majority of verbal suffixes indicate ideas of action and such concepts as involve a change of the subject or object of the verb. Hence ideas indicating causation, reciprocity, reflexive action, the passive voice, the imperative, etc., are expressed by means of suffixes. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes. Only semi-temporal ideas, such as the inchoative, frequentative, and transitional stages, are expressed by means of suffixes; while the true temporal concepts are indicated by syntactic particles. Instrumentality and agency are also indicated by suffixes.

All local relations are expressed by nominal suffixes. Abstract concepts are formed by means of suffixes.

Ideas of plurality are very little developed, and, with the exception of a few suffixes, are expressed by different verbal and nominal stems. Distributive plurality occurs very often, especially in the verb, and is indicated by suffixes or by reduplication. Reduplication expresses, furthermore, continuation, duration, and repetition of action.

A great variety of concepts are expressed by syntactic particles, especially ideas relating to emotional states and to degrees of certainty.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,— one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU) and the other the exclusive (I AND HE).

The demonstrative pronoun shows a variety of forms, but does not distinguish sharply between nearness or remoteness in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is very well developed, exhibiting special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and the distributive, which are indicated by means of suffixes.

The syntactic structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, and is characterized by the facility with which the different parts of speech may shift their position without changing in the least the meaning of the sentence. Incorporation and compound words are entirely absent, and the various parts of speech are easily recognizable through their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 17–95)

Prefixes (§§ 17–24)

The number of prefixes is small. Three of the six prefixes found in this language — namely, the local, discriminative, and modal x- — must have originally expressed one general idea incorporating these three concepts, because the phonetic resemblance between these suffixes is too perfect to be a mere coincidence. In addition to these prefixes, the article and the personal pronouns may be treated in this chapter, as they are loosely prefixed to the nominal (or verbal) stems, and in a great many cases form a phonetic unit with the words that follow them.

§ 17. The Articles lE and hE

The article lE, or hE, is used in the singular and plural alike, and may denote a definite or indefinite object. The definite article indicates an object that actually exists or that is intimately known to the speaker. No fixed rules can be given for the occurrence of the two different forms lE and hE, but the following general principle may be said to hold good: hE tends to occur at the beginning of a sentence and after words ending in vowels, dentals, and sibilants; while lE occurs in all other cases.

> hE hatā'yĭms (1) mĭx·sō'wē' (2) k!a'wat (3) hE to'qmas (4) the woodpecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15
> hĭ'nī stō^uq lE dī'lōl there stood the young man 22.27
> wändj tcĭnĕ'henī hE dī'lōl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14
> ē'ñek· lE ʟ!tā sticking out was the earth 6.7 §17

The article very often performs the function of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, and in such cases is to be rendered by HE, SHE, or IT.

> *he'īt lɛ he'laq lɛ wī'nqas û temī'snätc* (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
> *hɛ tsū'tsū* he was killed 96.14

The article has a general nominalizing function, and when prefixed to adverbs, adjectives, etc., gives them the force of nouns.

> *hɛ gō^us dī^il k·yɛai's tsxawī'yat* everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
> *gō^us dī^il lai'^x·tset hɛx kwī'na^utc* (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
> *hɛ qa'lɛs* the length
> *mā il lɛ ehe'ntc mä γā'lanī* surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
> *la^u he'îl kwī'lɛl lɛ e^k·ī'lō^uts* that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
> *ŋ'ne ītɛ lɛ e^dōwāyɛxtā'îs qa^w'wa* I am the one whom you wanted last night 50.25, 26

In some instances the article is prefixed to the personal pronoun of the third person singular for the sake of emphasis.

> *ta lɛ'xä la^u qats ī'nīɛx* and he, he was just alone 68.2
> *ta lɛ ī'lxä la^u pɛnlō'wai il lōwē^i'wat* and they, they whale are eating 130.13

It is also prefixed for the same purpose to the demonstrative pronoun *la^u*.

> *lɛla^u qal!āxex·ī'we* these began to flop around 17.6
> *qantc lɛla^u laā'ɣam* wherever these went 22.17, 18

In certain local phrases the article prefixed to the whole and followed by the local term very often expresses local relation.

> *hɛ dɛ'msît ntce^ne'nîs ha^u til^ɛqtsū* at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
> *hɛ tskwa'^xɪîs nhal! stō'waq* at the lower part (of) the fir-tree he stood up 26.17

(For the article as a possessive prefix, see § 98.)

§ 18. The Personal Pronouns

The following are the personal pronouns in Coos:

Singular	{	1st person	*ṇ-*
		2d person	*eᶜ-*
		3d person	—
Dual	{	Inclusive	*is-*
		Exclusive	*xwin-*
		2d person	*ic-*
		3d person . . . . , ...	*ûx-*
Plural	{	1st person	*lin-*
		2d person	*cin-*
		3d person	*il-*

There is no special form for the third person singular, which is expressed by the mere stem or by the article.

he'm̄is dīᵆ ṇk·îlō'wît big something I saw 62.21
tsî eᶜqa'qal merely you are sleeping 68.19
ā'yu tō'hîts indeed! he hit it 13.3
is alî'canī hanL we (two) will play 38.11
mä xwîn wutxaī'yat a man we (two) brought home 128.8
tsō îc lE'γī now you two (are) well 120.20
ā'yu ûx Lᴱᾱn surely they two went down into the water 54.16
lin pī'ˣ·pī hanL we will go home 120.21
cîn sqats hanL tE tc!wäl you will seize that fire 40.18, 19
asō' tcī îl wu'txe again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are *iceᶜ* and *cîneᶜ* respectively, instead of *ic* and *cîn*.

iceᶜ stō^uq you two stand up! 120.15
tsî'x·tī iceᶜ djī here you two come! 82.13
cîneᶜ lō^uq you get up! 30.19

But compare—

ic hemī'yE you two lay him bare! 24.10
tēⁱ îc q!mî'tsE this you two eat! 120.16
tcī cîn l!eī'yE teṇ k·e'la there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (*îl*) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

gō^us dīᵆ la^u tc!lē^i'wat, îl lE mēlä'kuk^u, îl lE ptsä, îl lE mî'l^uxas everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails 34.25, 26

xle'ĭtc k̆ĭplĭ'yap lä ä, ĭl lä k·e'la, ĭl la k̆xla with it she painted their faces, their hands, their feet 122.7

The numerical particle ĭ'k·ĭ BOTH very often precedes the dual pronouns in order to emphasize the idea of duality.

tsō ĭ'k·ĭ qaxa'ntc ûx x·ĭ'ntset now both (of them) got on top 14.1

In the same way the particle gōᵘs ALL is placed before the plural forms in order to bring out the idea of plurality.

laᵘ gōᵘs wändj ĭl ʟ!ä'xɛm these all that way are talking 50.9, 10

As has been remarked before, the pronouns are loosely prefixed enclitics. They form no integral part of the word, although with a few exceptions they precede immediately the noun or verb to which they belong. They are always placed before the prefixes enumerated in §§ 19–24.

ĭ'k·ĭ ûx nkwā'xʟa both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows) 12.9

tsō ŋqaʟōwĭ'we now I commence to eat

ĭc xqantcū'wĭs you two from what place (are)? 126.14

ĭl k·!äxā'ᵃp they have no water (literally, they [are] without water) 38.2

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle ĭn into nĭ I NOT, ĕn THOU NOT, etc. (see § 9). The prefixed personal pronouns are also used in the formation of transitive subject and object pronouns (see § 46).

§ 19. Inchoative qa-

This prefix denotes the commencement of an action. The verb to which it is prefixed takes, with a few exceptions, the suffixes -ĭwe or -ĭye (see §§ 32, 35).

ā'ȳu qaʟōwĭ'we indeed (she) commenced to eat 24.11

qatcĭnehenĭ'we (he) began to think 20.7

ûx qawelänĭ'we they two commenced to fight

tsō ûx qayuwatĭ'ye now they two commenced to travel 12.6

qamĭlĭ'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3

When prefixed to an impersonal verb or to a noun with a verbal force, the suffix is omitted.

lä ʟ!ahā'was laᵘ qa'xtōᵘ her garments (these) commenced to get stiff 110.3

qayĭxumatā'ĭs (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling) 32.10

§ 19

§ *20. Privative* k·!ä-

It has the same function as the English suffix -LESS. With the possessive pronoun, it expresses ABSENCE (p. 399).

il k·!ätc!wä'l they (have) no fire 38.1
k·!ä'tetc mî'lat (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1
k·!ähuwä'was mîtsī^iltī'ye suddenly she became pregnant (literally, without delay she became pregnant) 10.7

§ *21. Adverbial* n-

This prefix may be rendered by IN, AT, TO, ON, WITH. When preceded by the article or those pronouns that end in a vowel, it is suffixed to them, and the unit thus obtained is loosely prefixed to the noun. The same rule applies to the discriminative and modal x-.

aî'wît lɛ mä nʟ!tā'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10
ā'yu yu'kwe län yîxä'wɛx surely he came ashore at his house (and not lä nyîxä'wɛx) 36.6
ʟowî'tat hɛ dī'lōl läl nmī'k·e ran the young man to that basket 28.27
nxala'wîs la^u hé'laq with heat she arrived 24.9

n- in the sense of WITH very often exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO HAVE, TO BE. In such cases the noun to which it is prefixed takes the verbal suffix -e or -a (see § 44).

nwî'tîne lä k^uhä'yeq his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7
îs nhūmä'k·ehe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9
nā^ant mä la^u tc!pā'ȳa^u nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9
ntc!a'ha dī^il animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ *22. Locative* x-

The prefix x- signifies FROM.

xqantc la^u sī'x·t^ɛtsa from where that one scented it 22.24
xqal tqanʟts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix -ē^itc IN (see § 67).

xkwîle'ʟē^itc n̥djī I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)

In some cases the nouns take, instead of the suffix -*ēⁱtc*, the adverbial prefix *n-* (see § 21).

> *ha'lkwît hᴇ k!ā häx nk!wî'nts* he took the rope off his neck 98.23
> (literally, he took off the rope his from on neck)

§ 23. *Discriminative* x-

The prefix *x-* occurs very often with the subject of transitive verbs, and denotes the performer of the action. (For *x-* preceded by the article or pronoun, see § 21.)·

> *kā*s tō'hîts hᴇx dî'lōl* almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
> *kwî'laᵘ haᵘ'ˣts lᴇxmîtcʟ'tsînätc* ice made the father-in-law 26.27,28
> *xyî'xēⁱ dä'mîl laᵘ ha'lqait* one man to him came 15.5
> *în kwaā'nīya lᴇx wî'nqas hū^{w'}mîk·* not knew it the Spider-Old-
> Woman 58.9, 10

x- is always prefixed to the subject of the sentence when the sentence contains both subject and object, or when the person spoken to may be in doubt as to which noun is the subject of the sentence.

> *hū^{u}mîstsō^{w'}wat lᴇx dî'lōl lᴇ yû'xwä hū^{u}mä'k·e* married the young
> man the two women 26.14
> *k·îlō'wît hᴇ wîx·î'lîs lᴇx hū^{w'}mîs* saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
> *k·îlō'wît lᴇx dä'mîl lᴇ xä'nîs* saw the husband the sick (man)
> 128.11, 12
> *sqa'ts häl hū^{w'}mîk· lᴇx swal* seized that old woman grizzly bear
> 102.21, 22

x- is never omitted as a prefix when the subject of the sentence is an animal, an inanimate object, or any part of speech other than a noun.

> *xcx·îml ṇk·îlō'wîtū* the bear saw me (but *cx·îml ṇk·îlō'wît* I saw
> the bear)
> *xya'bas yaptî'tsa lä pî'lîk·îs* maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
> *ak·a'nak· he'ⁱlta hᴇx x·ōwā'yas* sticking out is (the) tongue the snake
> 42.1, 2
> *xqaine'ᴇs kā*s tsxaū'wat* cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
> *xwît ṇtō'hîtsū* some one hit me
> *nī kwaā'nīya xwît* I don't know who (it is)
> *xî'nîᴇx x·ʟ!ō'wît lōpî'tetc* alone (they) got into (the) basket
> 34.19, 20
> *xlalaᵘ lō^{ux}tā'ya* that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

ĭn ʟɛ'ɣĭ xkwî'na^utc it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

xnā^ant la^u ʟō^{ux}ʟō^u'wax many (persons) her were clubbing 80.4, 5

x- is always prefixed to the vocative cases of nouns when they are used with the possessive pronouns. This is due to the desire on the part of the speaker to avoid ambiguity or obscurity of meaning.

tā'î nɛx hū^wmîs halloo, my wife! 54.2

ᵉdjî nɛx dä'mîl you come, my husband! 70.16

ᵉlō^{ux}tîyɛxtā'îs hanʟ nɛx cî't!ā you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

ᵉdjî nɛx temä'mîs you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

ᵉʟō^uk^u nɛx k!ō'la sit down, my father

While the vocative cases (especially for nouns expressing terms of relationship) have special forms, the omission of the discriminative prefix could nevertheless obscure the meaning of the sentence, as the possessive pronoun coincides with the form for the personal pronoun. Thus, if in the sentence *ᵉʟō^uk^u nɛx k!ō'la*, the *nɛx k!ō'la* were deprived of its discriminative prefix, it might mean YOU SIT DOWN. I (AM THE) FATHER. Since, however, the action is to be performed by the person addressed (in this particular instance, "the father"), it is discriminated by the prefix *x-*. Such an ambiguity can not occur in sentences where the vocative is used without the possessive pronoun, where the prefix is consequently omitted.

ᵉʟō^uk^u pkā'k· you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

mîlxa'nɛm ʟ ū'mā make me (necessarily) lunch, grandmother! 114.5

§ 24. *Modal and Instrumental* x-

This prefix may be best translated by IN THE MANNER OF. Its function is the same as that of our English suffix -LY. There is an etymological relation between this suffix and the discriminative and locative *x-*, although I was unable to ascertain its exact nature. The suffix *-tc* is frequently added to stems preceded by the modal prefix *·x* (see § 36).

xʟōwe'entc k!wî'nts entirely he swallowed her 102.23
(literally, in what way you do?) 36.13

xtcî'tcū ᵉxa'lal how are you? (literally, in what way you do?) 36.13

ʟōwe'entc ʟowî'tat all (seals) ran (into the water) 56.9, 10

tcî'tcū yeᵉ îluwe'^xtcîs what do you think? (literally, what your heart?) 6.9; 7.1

xqa'lyeqēⁱtc îl kwîna'ēⁱwat as salmon they look upon it (literally, in the manner of salmon they see it [*qa'lyeq* salmon]) 130.14

xpīyĕ'etc qaĺnuwänī'we backwards she commenced to pull them
(literally, in the manner of going home [pī'ˣpī he goes home])
80.8, 9

in xā'yuwītc ā'tsa a small amount she gave her (literally, not in
the manner of enough [ā'yu sure enough]) 64.21

ṇā'wîts hɛx t!ᴱcî'tc I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the
manner of . . .)

This prefix is used frequently to express the idea of instrumen-
tality. The noun is then usually followed by the adverbial suffix
-ɛtc (see § 70). The idea of instrumentality is here so closely inter-
woven with that of modality, that the instrumental use of a modal
prefix is very natural.

k!wînt xmî'laqɛtc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot
at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

paā'hît hɛ ʟō'pît xqa'lyeqɛtc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1

lɛx tsǫna'hɛtc ʟ!ä'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

xmīk·e'ɛtc tōwîtînī'ye by means of a basket he was dropped down
28.9, 10

Suffixes (§§ 25–80)

§ 25. General Remarks

The number of suffixes in Coos is quite small when contrasted with
the numerous suffixes found in some of the neighboring languages.
This number appears even smaller when we take into consideration
the compound suffixes that consist of two, and in some cases of three,
independent suffixes. A still more sweeping reduction may be obtained
through an etymological comparison between the different suffixes.
There can be little doubt that if the language, in its present status,
would lend itself to an etymological analysis, many suffixes, appar-
ently different in character and even in form, could be shown to
be derived from one common base. Thus it is safe to say that the
suffix -t primarily had a general verbal character, and that all the
other suffixes ending in -t are derived from this original form. This
assertion is substantiated by the fact that the present transitive suffix
-ts is added to a number of stems that have already been verbalized by
the general verbal -t suffix, and that the causative passive suffix -et is
always preceded by the transitive -t or -ts (see § 26).

In the same manner it may be said that -s was the general suffix
indicating nouns, and that all nominal suffixes ending in -s eventually
go back to this nominal suffix.

This theory of a close etymological connection between the different suffixes is practically proven by a comparison of the various adverbial suffixes ending in -*tc*.   Such a comparison will show that all these suffixes must have been derived from one universal form, which may be reconstructed as *tc.   Furthermore, all the suffixes expressing distribution have the element *n*- in common, which consequently may be regarded as the original suffix conveying the idea of distributive plurality; the more so, as in the following instances *n*- actually denotes distribution.

k·e'la hand 48.17	*k·e'lnatc ltōᵘ'x·îts* he rubbed her in his hands (literally, with each of his hands he rubbed her) 108.20, 21
djî it came 52.8	*lɛ djî'n̄ît* they came (singly) 52.17
k·tsas ashes	*k·îtsî'snɛtc lēpî'tît tet* with ashes he marked himself [all over] 28.16
cînɛᶜ tî'k·ɛ you stand! 122.10	*tsɛl'nēⁱ ûx tî'kîne* side by side they two were standing 62.22

There also seems to be an etymological connection between the suffix denoting neutral verbs and the suffixes expressing the passive voice, although in this case the relation is not as transparent as in the instances mentioned above; and there may have also existed an original relation between the verbal suffixes that end in -*ū*.

The following list will serve to illustrate better the theory set forth in the preceding pages.   The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the reconstructed original suffixes, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear to-day.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

*-*t* general verbal	-*nēⁱ*, -*n̄î* distributive
*-*t* transitive	-*änî* distributive
-*ts* transitive	-*înî* distributive
-*eet* causative passive	-*hîn̄a* distributive
-*et* causative passive	*-*u* modal (?)
-*î*, *ēⁱ* neutral	-*u* transitional
-*āyu*, -*ēⁱyu*, -*îyu* passive	-*ū* present passive
-*āȳaᵘ* passive participle	-*ū* transitive subject and object pronoun
-*îyawa* (?) agency	
*-*n* general distributive	-*ū* reflexive plural

§ 25

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

*-*s* general nominal	*-*tc* general adverbial
-*îs* nominal	-*tc* modal verbal
-*ES*, -*tES* abstract	-*ätc* (?) suffix of relationship
-*enîs* abstract	-*etc* local
-*āwas* abstract	-*ē*ⁱ*tc,* -*ītc* local and modal nominal
-*nē*ⁱ*was* abstract	-*ewîtc* local
-*ō*ᵘ*nîs* verbal noun	-*Etc* instrumental
-*sī* verbal noun	
-*îs* local	
-*îs* ordinal	

All suffixes may be classified into two large groups as verbal and nominal suffixes; that is to say, as suffixes that either verbalize or nominalize a given neutral stem. I have included adverbial suffixes in the latter group, on account of the intimate relation between nominal and adverbial forms.

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 26–55)

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 26–27)

§ 26. Transitive -*t*, -*ts*

-*t.* This suffix may have been originally the verbal suffix *par excellence.* It points out not only the active, transitive idea, but also presence of the object of a transitive action. It has frequently a causative meaning. It transforms impersonal or passive verbs into transitives, and verbalizes any other part of speech. It is usually suffixed to the bare verbal stems whenever these end in a vowel, nasal (*m, n*), or lateral; in all other cases it is preceded by *a* or *î*, making the suffix -*at* or -*ît*. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when -*at* or -*ît* ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that -*at* denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -*ît* designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -*t*.

*ŋp*ᴱ*cî't* I blow it away	*p*ᴱ*cī hE dī'lōl* blew away the young man 26.21
*ŋk!*ⁱʷ*ˣwît* I lose it	*k!u*ˣ*wī' le'ûx dä'mîl* got lost their (dual) husband 22.9
ŋx·pît I burned it	*x·pī* it burned down 58.12
ŋqa'ltcît I slacken it	*xqe*ⁱ*ltc* slowly 17.7
*tcī ʟ!kwît läl hū*ᵘ*mî'k·ca* there covered (them) that old woman (with blankets) 82.14	*ʟ!kwī* blanket 84.8

§ 26

xā'ᵃpatc ʟōwa'hait into the water she runs 56.8   *ʟōwa'hai ʟɛ dī'lōl* ran the young man 78.27

eᵉlō'kwît hanʟawe you will make lightning 18.7   *lō'wakᵘ* lightning 18.5

laᵘ qanō'tca ī'nuwît ʟɛ ā'la that one outside (it) pulled, the child 11.1, 2   *ī'nuwī* very much 98.28

îl ṇya'alt I am talking about them   *wändj γā'lanī* thus they are talking 56.18

qamlt he bit her 100.16

yî'xen ʟ!x·ī⁺nt once she examined it 86.18

k!wāᵃnt he heard it 24.8

ṇʟ!nōᵘt hɛ tc!î'lɛ I opened the door 74.9

qai'cîtc haᵘ îl yū'wîlt into small pieces that thing they divided it 130.26

ṇha'mʟt I float it

mu'xwît la kxla she felt for her foot 80.21   *ṇmu'xwat* I am feeling it

ṇtc!pît I braided a rope   *ṇtc!pat* I am braiding a rope

wî'luwît hɛ tsɛtse'kwîn he looked for the cane 28.18   *ṇwî'lat* I am looking (around)

aᵘ'qat hɛ k!ᵘlā'was he took off the shirt 78.11, 12

There are a few stems denoting intransitive ideas that occur with this suffix.

pî'nat ʟɛ we'hel shaking was the stomach 58.24
kwîlāt (the bow) was bent 64.3

-ts. This suffix has the same function as the previously discussed *-t*. Not the slightest difference could be detected in the use of these two phonetically different suffixes.

-ts is either suffixed directly to stems ending in a vowel, nasal (*m, n*), or a lateral, or it is connected with the stem by means of *a* or *î*. The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that *î* can never serve as a connective between the suffix *-ts* and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd *q*.

ṇtsōᵘˣʟlts I greased it   *tsōwe'ˣʟ* grease 122.6

ṇqai'nts I cool it   *ṇqai'na* I am cold

ṇxaî'lts I made him warm   *xaî'la* she became heated 108.26

ṇhā'wîts ʟɛ tcîcī'mîl I grew the spruce-tree   *hä'wī hɛ tcîcī'mîl* (it) grew up, the spruce-tree

ʟ!k·îts she poured it 102.12   *ʟ!k·ī'* it spilled 172.14

ṇpōᵘ'kwîts I made him a slave   *pōᵘkwîs* slave

ṇhū͞ʷmîsîts I marry (her)	*hū͞ʷmîs* woman 70.3
tc!wä'letc tsī'xˑîts in the fire he held him down 106.5	*tsîxˑ* here 106.8
în î'lxats not he looked at it 40.17	*tsō eᶜîlx* now you look 17.3
ûx la'ats lE hū͞ᵘmä'kˑe they two went over (the water) the women 128.4	*la* he went (intransitive) 22.18
ṇp!ī'xats I scatter it	*gōᵘs qantc laᵘ p!î'yEx* everywhere it is scattered 46.16
pōkwî'lnē̆ⁱ tî'lqats opposite one another he set them down 112.12	*îl tîla'qai* they were living (literally, sitting) 84.20
ṇlta'ts I am painting it	*ṇltî'ts* I painted it

There are a few stems that, in spite of this transitive suffix, are sometimes translated as intransitive verbs.

> *în lōwa'kats* she was not home (literally, not she was sitting) (*Lō͞ᵘkᵘ*- to sit [down]) 58.7
>
> *katʹE'mîs qa'lyeq la'ats län Lō'pît* five salmon got into his basket 34.23 (but *k!ā hanL yeᶜn k!wî'nts ṇla'ats* a rope I'll put around thy neck 94.12)
>
> *pāᵃts tE qᴱma'tîs* full (is) that fish-basket 36.7 (but *pāᵃts lE yîxä'wEx lEx tc!lā'ȳaᵘ qa'lyeqEtc* he filled the house with dried salmon 36.3, 4)
>
> *gōᵘs mî'lätc he qa'yaᵘts* he always becomes afraid (of it) 126.1

That the transitive *-t* was originally a general verbal suffix, may best be demonstrated by the circumstance that in a number of instances neutral stems are verbalized by means of the suffix *-ts*, after they had previously been changed into verbs by means of the *-t* suffix. This double verbalization may be explained as due to the fact that the verbal function of the *-t* suffix was so conventionalized that it had become entirely forgotten.

mu'xwît she felt for it 80.21	*eᶜmuxtîtsā'mî han* I want to feel of you 108.18
ṇyû'xwît I rub it	*îl yû'xtîts he'îltet* they rub themselves 52.13
ûx în nî'xˑîtēm those two no one touched 122.25	*nî'xˑtîts* he touched him 106.20
ṇha'k!wat I draw it up	*ṇha'k!ᵘtîts* I draw it up
lî'cat hE L!tā shaking is the earth 16.2	*ṇlî'ctîts* I shake it

§ 27. Causative -iyat

This suffix is always added to the bare stem of intransitive or neutral verbs. Stems ending in the palatal surd *k* or palatal spirant *x* palatize these final consonants (see § 13).

ā'yu pīī'yat häl tō'mîʟ indeed,   *pĭ'ˣ·pĭ* he went home 56.11
he took home that old man
30.13

ʟ!tā'atc tsxawī'yat on the   *tsxū* he lies 20.12
ground he laid (them) down
36.20, 21

ŋkwĭlĭ'yat tɛ k!wä'sîs I roll   *kwĭl^{ᴱ}lä'nī ʟɛ baltī'mîs* continually
that ball   rolling is the ocean 6.2

ā'yu ʟ!tcī'yat hɛ ā'la surely   *ʟ!ē^{i}tc* he went out 20.4
he took out the child 12.1

dĭ^{i}l ŋlaī'yat something I start   *la* he went 22.18

ʟĭn helaqaī'yat we took him up   *helãq* he climbed up 13.10

There is practically no difference between this causative suffix and the transitive *-ts*, except for the fact that *-ts* seems to be regularly suffixed to stems ending in velar or palatal consonants. There is only one verbal stem ending in a velar surd (*q*) that takes the causative suffix *-iyat;* namely, the stem *helãq-* TO CLIMB. This stem infixes an *a* between its final consonant and the causative suffix, as shown by the last example above.

The reason why the causative *-iyat* is suffixed to this stem, and not the transitive *-ts*, may lie in the fact that there are two stems *helaq-* differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, *he'laq* TO ARRIVE, and *helãq* TO CLIMB UP.

Since the transitive *-ts* has been suffixed to *he'laq* TO ARRIVE (compare *hatāyîms halqtsō^{u'}wat* SHE BROUGHT THE MONEY 78.13, 14), the causative *-iyat* may have been suffixed to *helãq* TO CLIMB because confusion is thus avoided.

When followed by the pronominal suffixes, *-iyat* is contracted with them into *-itā'mî, -itā'îs, -ī'tū,* and *ī'ta* (see §§ 9, 11).

xwîn e^{ɛ}pīītā'mî hanʟ we two will take you home 126.19, 20
e^{ɛ}tsxawītā'îs you laid me down
ŋhelaqa'ītū he took me up

§ 27

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 28–31)

§ 28. Intransitive -*aai*

This suffix signifies that a verb usually transitive is without an object. It is consequently employed in the formation of intransitive verbs. With the exception of one or two sporadic instances, it is always suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verbal stem, thus denoting a repetitive action.

ʟqa'ai lät tō'mîʟ he believes that, old man 28.16

i'nta dîⁱl hexwînne'îtc yōyō'waai bad something with us is stopping 24.3

yuwē' yî'mat haᵘ gōᵘs mî'lätc lōkᵘlō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (lō'wakᵘ lightning)

gōᵘs mî'lätc tsɛsʟa'qaai le'îl kwe'nɛʟ always bathing was their sister 84.21, 22	sʟaqa'ēwat she bathed him 60.6
ak!a'laai ʟɛ hūʷmîs shouting is the woman 56.5	k!a'lat he shouted 36.7
sîtsa'ataai he läl hūᵘmî'k·ca she was usually dancing the murder-dance, that old woman 116.26, 27	sa'at murder-dance
inî'naai (it is) nothing 122.27	în not 10.8
kwîtkwa'taai he was dreaming 98.6	kwᵃa'tîs dream 98.7

§ 29. Reciprocal *me*ᵘ

-*me*ᵘ is usually preceded by the transitive suffix -*t* or -*ts*. Owing to the fact that the consonantic combination of *t* or *ts* + *m* is not permissible, this suffix appears as -*ɛme*ᵘ (see § 4).

îl sqa'tsɛmeᵘ they seize one another

ā'yu ûx haîtî'tɛmeᵘ surely they two gambled together 38.23

îl tsî'xtsɛmeᵘ ʟɛ noʷ'sk·îlî hatā'yîms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1

îl î'nîye kweenî'yɛxtɛmeᵘ they no longer know one another 46.9

ûx wî'lɛmeᵘ they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: *qɛm*, -*xɛm*; *ū*; -*ēm*

-*qɛm* (-*xɛm*). This suffix serves a double purpose. The stem to which this suffix is added must have a singular subject. There is another suffix, -*ū*, which expresses the same idea for plural subjects. This suffix will be treated in § 52 (p. 357).

(1) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*, it assumes a reflexive character, indicating that the subject of the action is at the same time its object.

> *hän k·ĕ'la la'atsxɛm lɛ x·ōwā'yas* into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4
>
> Compare *mīk·ĕ'etc ꬶla'ats lɛ x·ōwā'yas* into the basket I put the snake
>
> *yuwe hī'me alĭcanī'waq laᵘ tcī he ē'k·tᴱxɛm* whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20
>
> *tqā'lĭsɛtc panā'qtsxɛm* in the sun he is warming himself 32.8
>
> *tsxā'yat ʟōᵘ'qtsxɛm* in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22
>
> *ꬶtc!ōᵘ'tsxɛm hanʟ* I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)
>
> Compare *tcī ĭl tc!ōᵘ* there they went to bed 50.12
>
> *dī'lōꬶtsqɛm häl tō'mîʟ* is making himself young that old man 22.7
>
> *yîqantcĕ'wîtc tctcî'tsqɛm* back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30
>
> *tsō lhĕ'tqɛm* now it rested 88.16
>
> *tsō ʟ!ha'tsqɛm lɛ hū''mîs* then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6
>
> Compare *ꬶʟ!ha'ts lɛ ā'la* I dress the child
>
> *hî'nī tᴱk·ĕ'lmîtsqɛm* there it let itself down 90.6

(2) When suffixed to the bare verbal stem, especially to intransitive stems or to stems expressing motion, it conveys the idea TO BE IN A POSITION, TO BE IN A CONDITION, TO BE IN THE ACT OF. For this last-named purpose the suffix *-xɛm* is mostly used.

> *wä'ndj ʟ!ä'xɛm* that way he is talking 15.8, 9
>
> *ā'yu ʟ!äts* indeed he spoke 16.2
>
> *ai'wa în kwī'lᴱxɛm* still not bent (it is) 62.29
>
> *kwī'lt* he bends it 62.29
>
> *tsemī'x·ɛxɛm k!wî'nts lɛ k!ā'-hat* the neck is fastened with a rope (literally, fastened condition, neck, with a rope) 92.4
>
> *tcī he tsîmîx·tōᵘ'wat lɛ îx·* there (they) fastened the canoes 46.6, 7

> *hî'nī kᵘ ē'k·ɛxɛm* there he may be among them 94.28
>
> *hats kwa ū'yu laᵘ wînā'qᵃxɛm* just like a rainbow (it is) spread out 32.14
>
> *tsō bĕ'ltcᴱxɛm* now he is warming his back 32.18
>
> *în tc!lĕ'xɛm tɛ lä'nîk·* not in a dry condition is that river 14.6 (*tc!lĭs* dry 166.2)

tsō le'tix· he'lkwExEm now from there she came out 108.28 (*ha'l-kwît* she took it out 60.1)

hats he'nīhen tī'wîxEm î la^u tsxū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix *-xEm* is used to express the place of a certain action. This use of the suffix is in perfect accordance with its general function of indicating the condition, or position of an occurrence.

qantc lE tc!we'xEm where the bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7	*îl tc!ō^u* they went to bed 50.12
hî'nī t^{E}k·e'lmîxEm there was a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24	*în t^{E}k·elm* it did not sink 136.7
c^i'γ^{i}tcxEm a circle (literally, it is clear around [it])	*ꝗc^{i}γ^{i}tctō$^{u'}$wat* I surround it

(See also § 40.)

-ẽm. This suffix indicates that an indefinite person, unknown to the speaker, is the subject of an action. It is always added to stems expressing transitive ideas, or to stems that have already been verbalized by means of the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26). The pronominal objects of actions performed by an indefinite subject are expressed by prefixing the personal pronouns (see § 18) to the verb.

kwaā'nīya he knows it 26.19	*ûx kwee'nīyẽm* those two somebody knows 19.10
nîxt- touch	*ûx în nî'x·îtẽm* those two not somebody touched 122.25
latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7	*latsōtẽm* somebody went after it 92.13
hā'k!^{u}t- to draw up	*hä'k!wîtẽm* somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral -*ī*, -*ẽ!f*

-*ī* (-*ē^i*) is employed in the formation of neutral verbs. It changes the *a*-vowels of the stem to *e* (see § 7).

yō'qē lE kā'wîl it split, the basket 8.1	*ûx yō'qat* they two split it 7.9
kā^{a}s kwa tc!hē^i almost as if it went out (the light) 128.19	*tc!hats* he put it out 128.26
Lōwe'entc x·tī the whole thing (wholly) slid down 26.19	*ꝗx·tît* I slide it down

kwa kwî′nîs pᴱcī lɛ dî′lōl like   *ŋpᴱcî′t* I blow it away
(a) feather blew away the
young man 26.21

gōᵘs dîⁱɬ hä′wī everything   *ŋhä′wîts* I grow it
grew up 9.3, 4

x·pī lɛ yîxä′wɛx it burned   *x·pî′tsī* débris 58.19
down, the house 58.12, 13

wîtcwehé′ˣtcī la ā′la it took   *waha′ˣtcas* sickness
sick, his child 42.17

eᵋpî′ctcī hanʟ you will get   *pî′ctcîts tet* he warmed himself 32.8
warm 100.27

In a few instances verbs having this suffix were rendered by the
passive voice, which may have been due to the fact that my informant
could not express in English the intransitive neutral idea implied in
the suffix.

ā′yu hä′k!ᵘtī xqa′wax indeed,   *ŋhä′k!ᵘtîts* I draw it up
he was drawn up from
above 98.2

maᵂᵘxa′hī û xwî′luxᵘ was   *mau′xat* he chewed him up 68.10
chewed up his head 124.3

k!u′ˣwī lɛ hū′ᵘ′mîs was lost   *k!u′ˣwît* he lost it
the woman 54.19

SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 32-35)

§ 32. Inchoative -*īwe*

-*īwe* indicates the commencement of an action, and is suffixed to
verbal stems expressing active or transitive ideas.   If the stem to
which it is to be suffixed does not express such an idea, it is preceded
by the verbal -*enī* (§ 45), but never by -*t* or -*ts*.   It may also be pre-
ceded by the distributive -*änī* (see § 37).   The verbal stem must always
be preceded by the prefix *qa* (see § 19).

ā′yu qaʟōwī′we indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11
tsō hanʟ qacᴱalctī′we now (he) will begin to work 26.18
qaɬnī′we (he) commenced to hunt 106.16
îl qaskweyänī′we they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21
qatcînehenī′we (he) began to think 20.7
qax·întetänī′we (he) began to jump about 102.15
qak·elänī′we û mēn began to shout at each other, the people
(literally, mutually) 24.22
qamelänī′we (he) began to swim around 176.16

§ 32

§ 33. Frequentatives -ēⁱwa(t), -ō^uwa(t)

-*ēⁱwa(t)* indicates repetition, frequency or duration of action. The verbal stem to which it is suffixed is very often reduplicated, thus bringing out more clearly the frequentative idea. It is added to stems regardless of whether they express real transitive actions or not.

tkwīlē^{i'}wat tE to'qmas he is following that woodpecker 22.2

ṇt^Ekwīlts I followed him

asō' ūlnē^{i'}wat again he is setting the basket 34.23

ṇīlnts I set the basket

xqa'wax la^u kwina'ēⁱwat from above these are looking at it 6.4

qe'ltc ûx kuî'nait down they two looked 6.4

gō^us dīⁱl aiwē^{i'}wat everything he is killing 68.23

ai'wît he killed (them all) 112.9

ā'yu xwändj ha^uwē^{i'}wat surely that way he has been doing it 92.8

yîxä'wEx ha^{ux}ts a house he built 32.18

tcī îl k·îx·ʟ!ōwē^{i'}wat ʟE hī^{i'}me there they are putting in the children 52.9

ṇx·ʟ!ō^ut I put it in

ʟehe^{u'}nēⁱ la^u hîthītōwē^{i'}wat side by side she put them down 60.4

la^u hî'tō^uts she put them down 60.4

k·!înk·!înē^{i'}wat hE päʟ!ä'ye he was trying the weight 78.18

ûx k·!înt they two try it 7.4

This suffix appears sometimes as -*īwat*. For an explanation of this seeming irregularity, see § 2.

ûx kwîskwī'wat they two are informing him 20.25

ṇskwī'wat hanʟ I will inform him 74.4

ṇxʟ!î'wat I am hitting him with a club

xʟ!ts he hit her with a club 64.28

Instead of an initial reduplication, the verbal stem very often appears with a reduplication of the final consonant, denoting continuity and distribution of action (see § 83).

ṇt!^Ecîcī'wat I am shoving it (back and forth)

t!cîts he shoved it 32.24

îlpîctcatcī'wat they are warming (themselves singly)

pî'ctcîts tet he warmed himself 32.8

tcī tsîx·ix·ī'wat there he was holding him (for a long time) 104.15, 16 (*tsîx·* here 24.4)

-*ō^uwa(t)* exercises the same function as -*ēⁱwat*. The only difference between the two suffixes is, that -*ō^uwat* is added to the verbs already amplified by the transitive suffixes -*t* or -*ts*, while -*ēⁱwat* can be suffixed only to the stem.

tsō ûx tkwīʟtsō^{u'}wat now they two follow him 9.9	*tkwīʟē^{i'}wat* he follows him 22.2
tc!e'etc hīt!^Etsō^{u'}wat hE pEn-ʟō'waⁱ ashore it brought a whale 88.22, 23	*hī'yet!* he came ashore 32.5
tcī halqtsō^{u'}wat there she is bringing it to him 72.8	*he'laq* he arrived 22.22
aqalqsîtō^{u'}wat he is frightening him frequently 100.24	*a'lqas* fear 66.4

In a few cases -*ō^uwat* is suffixed to the verbal stem.

ītislō^{u'}wat lE tēⁱ ʟ!tā he recognizes this (here) land 30.28
k!wenī'ya^u ŋwîlo^{u'}wat food I am looking for 54.4
ŋtsxaū'wat hanʟ I will kill him 26.22

The suffixation of -*ō^uwat* instead of -*ēⁱwat* in these instances may have been caused by the law of euphony, as these stems end in a *u*-diphthong. Thus, the stem of *tsxaū'wat* is *tsxa^u*-, as shown by the form *tsxawī'yat* (36.21) HE LAID HIM DOWN, consisting of the stem *tsxa^u*- and the causative suffix -*īyat*.

Whenever the pronouns expressing both subject and object are suffixed to verbs ending in -*ō^uwat*, this suffix changes to -*ō^uwît* (see § 11).

e^εhū^umîstsōwîtā'mî hanʟ I will marry you 184.6
ŋhalqtsō^{u'}wîtū he brought me frequently

§ 34. Frequentative Causative -*aēⁱwat*

There can be little doubt that the -*ēⁱwat* in -*aēⁱwat* is identical with the frequentative suffix -*ēⁱwat*, discussed on p. 336. Owing to the fact that a number of verbal stems ending in *a* take the suffix -*ēⁱwat*, there is a good deal of confusion between these two suffixes.

xā^ap la^u laa'ēⁱwat water carried them away 46.16, 17   *la* he went 22.18

îc sɪɴa′ē'wat you two are hid-   *ûx sɪɴī′yat* they two hide him
   ing him 24.11   24.9

la *tc!îcîla′ē'wat he* (on) that   *tc!i′cîl* mat 7.3
   (they) are sitting usually
   (literally, they caused it to
   be a mat) 38.3

Compare, on the other hand,

xqa′wax ûx kwîna′ē'wat from   *kwîna-* to look
   above they two are looking
   at it 6.9

§ 35. Transitionals *-īye, -ɳts, -u*

-īye indicates a transitional stage,—a change from one state into another, that has already taken place. It is suffixed mostly to nouns and particles, although frequently it is found added to verbs. It may best be rendered by IT BECAME, IT GOT, IT TURNED OUT TO BE, or by the passive voice. Stems ending in a vowel other than *i* insert an *h* between the final vowel and the suffix (see § 10), while stems ending in *-i* contract this vowel with the following *-i* of the suffix into a long *ī* (see § 9). When suffixed to a stem that has an *a*-vowel, it changes into *-aya* (see § 7).

dᴇmste′tc ûx ʟhînpī′ye they two came through a prairie (liter-
   ally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1
   (*ʟhî′ñap* he went through 22.11)

kwîna′ē'watī′ye he began to look at him

lin kwîne′weʟī′ye we became poor 28.21

*tslîmī′ye c*ᴱ it got summer, indeed (*tslîm* summer 162.20) 30.20

ā′yu î′x-īye surely it was a canoe (*îx·* canoe 44.20) 126.10

yîxe′n qalîmī′ye one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4

il he′tīye they became rich 84.17

ɳhai′nahā′ya I became active (*ɳhai′na* I am active)

qaᵘwahā′ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got)
   (*qaᵘ′wa* evening 50.26) 82.7

sɪɴē'hī′ye le′ûx mî′laq joined   *le′ûx mî′laq sɪɴ′nē'* their (dual)
   together became their two ar-   arrows joined together are
   rows 13.4   13.7

il hä′k!ᵘtī′ye they were drawn   *il hä′k!ᵘtī* they are (being) drawn
   up 30.1   up

tsō cîl xwändjī′ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way
   it turned out to be) 8.2

ɳnehī′ye laᵘ lō I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it
   became [to whom] that belongs)

go^usī'ye la^u tsxaū'wat all (of them) he killed 68.9
ā'yu cíl īn dī^ilī'ye surely, indeed, nothing it turned out to be
tsō la^u il kwaā'nīyahā'ya now they came to know it 92.14

When suffixed to the negative particle *īn*, or to the contracted forms of *īn* + the personal pronouns (see § 9), it forms new particles, *ī'nīye*, *nī'ye*, *ēnīye*, etc., which were always rendered by NO LONGER, I NO LONGER, THOU NO LONGER, etc.

il ī'nīye kwaā'nīya they no longer know it 50.18, 19
nī'ye ṇxä'nis I am no longer sick
ēnīye hanꞮ dī^il you will no longer (be) something 104.1

It appears as a suffix to the stem *he'nī-*, forming a compound *he'nīye* A WHILE, LONG TIME.

he'nīhen tī'wîxᴇm many times it coiled 88.1 (*-en* multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).
he'nīye ûx we'länī a long time they two fought (together) 132.8
īn he'nīye xä'nis la ā'la not very long sick (was) his child 42.17, 18

It takes the place of the inchoative suffix *-īwe* (see § 32) in verbs not expressing a transitive, active idea, or not transitivized by the transitive suffix *-e'nī*. (See also § 19.)

qamîlī'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3
ûx qayuwatī'ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-ṇts conveys an active transitional idea. The difference between this suffix and *-īye* lies in the fact that the change indicated by the latter came about without any apparent active cause; while *-ṇts* expresses a change from one state into another, that presupposes a subject of the action. It is hence best rendered by TO CHANGE ONE INTO.

ṇtō'mîꞮṇts ṇte't I into an old man change myself	*tō'mîꞮ* old man 22.7
dī'lōlṇtsqᴇm läl tō'mîꞮ he is making himself young that old man 22.7	*dī'lōl* a young man 22.11
ꞮE hī^i'me û lā'mak· tsî la^u yîxa'-ntcṇts (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3	*yîxe'ntce* together, one by one 64.8, 9

-u indicates a change from one state into another, that has not yet been completed. It is often preceded by the transitive *-t*.

hé'm̄istu lɛ yîxä'wɛx getting bigger is the house 34.14	*hēm̄'is* big 14.5
nā'ᵃntu lɛ mä multiplying are the people 12.4	*nāᵃnt* many 44.18
îc tɛltä'mîltu hanʟ you two will get strong 120.17, 18	*dä'mîl* (strong) man 14.7
qai'cu it is getting small	*qaic* small, a chunk 128.29

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal *-tc*

This suffix appears in four different forms, as *-îtc*, *-utc*, *-tc*, and *-eetc*.[1]

-îtc is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, except *m, n,* and any of the laterals; *-utc* is suffixed to stems ending in vowels; *-tc* is suffixed to stems ending in laterals; and *-eetc,* to stems ending in *m* or *n*. This suffix is always added to the bare stem. There can be little doubt that this suffix is identical with the adverbial suffix *-tc* (see § 25); the more so, as it implies, to a great extent, an adverbially modal idea. The Coos expresses by its means our participial ideas. The verb taking this suffix is usually preceded by the discriminative and modal prefix *x-* (see §§ 23, 24).

qawîlai'we xha'k·îtc (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; *hak-* to crawl) 32.10

ŋlai'yat hɛx nî'x·îtc I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)

tsᴇxaᵘ'tc îl dōwā'ya to kill they want him 66.22

în lɛ'γî xkwî'naᵘtc it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18

ŋā'wîts hɛx tcî'cʟtc I finished splitting (*ŋtcîcʟeⁱ'wat* I am splitting it)

ŋā'wîts hɛx heme'etc I stopped bringing it out (*ŋhamî'yat* I brought it out)

qai'nîs wîne'etc ʟᴇän into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; *ŋwî'nat* I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

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[1] [This is obviously the adverbial *-tc*, and might have been discussed with §§ 67-70.—ED.]

This suffix is often used in certain phrases to express abstract ideas. Thus, for instance, the Coos will express our sentence I AM GETTING HUNGRY by I AM GOING INTO HUNGER. (See § 118.)

> *ḷqatc ṇḷa* I am getting hungry (*ṇḷqa* I am hungry)
> *pḷ!îtc ṇḷa* I am getting heavy

§ 37. Distributives *-nēⁱ, -nī; -änī; -āȳam; -waq*

-nēⁱ, -nī, indicate distribution of an intransitive action. They are suffixed to intransitive verbs. Related to this suffix is the distributive *-înī* (§ 72).

kat'ᴇ'mîs tkwîL'nēⁱ ʟᴇ djî'nīt five (winds) following each other (they) keep on coming (singly) 52.17	*tkwîʟ* -to follow
tsᴇʟ'nēⁱ ûx tî'k·îne side by side they two were standing 62. 22	*tsᴇʟ-* (?)
le'ûx mî'ʟaq sîʟ'nēⁱ their (dual) arrows are joined together (literally, one after the other) 13.7	*sîʟ-* to join together
k!ā'γenī he'ûx xwî'luxᵘ ûx ʟ!ē'ˣ· sîmt against each other with their two heads resting they two go to bed 72.14	*k!āγ-* (?)
pōkwî'lnēⁱ ʟōwaka'ēⁱwat opposite one another (they) were sitting 120.4, 5	*pukul-* across
hîtcō'nīhī'ye û mēn were assembled people, came together people 46.1	*hītc-* (?)

-änī is suffixed to stems expressing transitive ideas. It is often accompanied by duplication of the final stem-consonant (see § 83).

îl tsa'k·înä'nī they help one another (mutually)	*tsak·în-* to help
îl ʟ!x·īnä'nī they examine one another	*ʟ!x·ī'n-* to examine
îl tsakᵘkwä'nī they continually spear one another	*ṇtskwîts* I speared him
îl tqanʟʟä'nī they mutually strike one another	*tqa'nʟts* he struck it 28.1

ît k!wanxᵘxä'nī they mutually cut one another's hair	*k!wa'nxat* he cut his hair

This suffix often changes the quality of the vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed (see § 7).

ā'yu ît qaheyänī'we surely they began to gamble 66.25	*ha'yat* he gambled 66.15
ît tsxewä'nī they kill one another	*tsxaū'wat* he killed (them) 68.9
ûx weᵉlänī they two fight 106.13	*wîl-* to fight

When suffixed to intransitive verbs or to verbs expressing motion, it denotes an idea that may best be rendered by BACK AND FORTH, TO AND FRO, UP AND DOWN, etc. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the close relationship that exists between the idea of mutuality and the idea expressed by these phrases.

tsō'nō kwîlᴱlä'nī ʟe baltī'mîs both ways is rolling the ocean 6.2	*kwîl-* to roll
qai'nîs laᵘ yaqᴱqä'nī away from the shore they run continually 36.18, 19	*yeq* he runs away 182.27
hî'nī sqaiʟʟä'nī lᴱ wā'wa there is going back and forth (through his fingers) the little girl 108.21	*sqaiʟēⁱ'was* the space between two fingers
ṇʟ!ēⁱtcîtcä'nī I keep on going out and coming in	*ʟ!ēⁱtc* he went out 20.4
ṇstōwaqᴱqä'nī I keep on rising and sitting down	*stō'waq* he stood up 20.7
tīyetä'nī ʟe wî'nqas hūᵘ'mîk· continually looking for some supply was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12	

-āȳam is suffixed to intransitive verbs and to adjectives only. Its exact function is obscure. With verbs, it invariably denotes an action performed by more than one subject; while when suffixed to adjectives, it seems to convey the idea of the English suffix -ISH. Most likely it has a distributive character, which the informant, not well versed in the English language, could not bring out.

yû'xwä hūᵘmä'k·e djinā'ȳam k·îlō'wît two women coming (towards him) he saw 126.13, 14

ā'yu kwî'yat ît laā'ȳam surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

§ 37

tsō͞uͭt x·ʟı̆mā'ɣam xā͞a'ₚEtc he washed it with luke-warm water
120.9, 10

xqaā'ɣam whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; *xqa's* white)

-waq. I am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix *-enī* (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

tsō ı̆l qanatcanī'waq now they make fun (of one another) (*qa'natc* joke) 50.12

yuwe' hīi'me alı̆canī'waq whenever children played (together?) 70.19

cı̂ma'ēwaq lE cī't!ā dragging (them singly?) was the pet 88.7

Compare also the nouns

sʟtsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7

qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

<center>The Passive Voice (§§ 38–42)</center>

<center>§ *38. Present Passive -ū*</center>

This suffix expresses the present tense of the passive voice. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem with initial reduplication (see § 82).

asō' tcī tEtī'k!ū lE tc!ı̂'lE again there is shut the door 74.27	*tī'k!wı̂ts* he shut (the door) 74.6
gō͞uͭs qantc la͞u qEqai'cū lä wı̂'tin in all directions that is being clubbed his blood 10.5, 6	*qaic* a piece 128.29
x·ı̂'x·ı̂ntū lE tc!wäl is being taken away quickly the fire 42.5	*x·ı̂ntī'yat* he runs with it 42.5
cEcū'ʟū le'ı̆l yı̂xä'wEx fire is being set to their house 58.11, 12	*cūʟ-* to burn

By adding to this suffix the transitional *-īye* (see § 35), the past passive is obtained. The initial *ī* of *-īye* is contracted with the *-ū* into a long *ū* (see § 9).

qEqaicū'ye lä ı̆luwe'ˣtcı̂s it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8

mä pEpı̂lsū'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (*pı̂ls-* to crush)

<center>§ 38</center>

§ 39. *Past Passive* -āyu, -ē'yu, -īyu

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem, which is invariably reduplicated. Stems ending in *w*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, immediately preceding these suffixes, appear with a glottal stop, no matter whether the stop is inherent in the stem or not (see §§ 81–82).

mä qᴇsqā'yu the person was seized 10.4	*sqa'ts* he seized it 68.8
îl aiai'ᵉ'wāyu they were killed 58.8	*aiwît* he killed them all 68.11
qaxʟ!î'yu he was struck 96.14 ·	*xʟ!ts* he hit her 64.29
tsō k·îx·tî'yuʟᴇ mîx·sō'wē ᶦa'ʟᴇc now was slid down the lucky stake 94.3	*ᶇx·tî'ts* I slide it down
kwîlkweᵉ'lēyu ʟᴇ hatā'yîms a'ʟᴇc was rolled down the money stake 92.11	*ᶇkwîlî'yat* I roll it down
ā'yu kwîʟkwā'yu surely it was cut off 76.15	*ᶇʟkwa'at* I cut it off
yᴇxyîxentceᵉnē'ᶦ'yu it was gathered up 84.16 .	*yîxa'ntcᶇts* she gathered up 60.3
hemheᵉmē'ᶦ'yu it was brought out	*hemî'yat* she took it out 62.23

§ 40. *Passive* -īyeqᴇm

This suffix is composed of the transitional *-īye* (see § 35) and the generic *-qᴇm* (see § 30). It serves a triple purpose, according to the manner in which it is suffixed to the verbal stem.

(1) When suffixed to the bare stem, it expresses a verbal conception of a continued character, which may best be rendered by the passive voice. This rendering is due largely to the fact that the *-īye*-element of the suffix predominates in these cases.

lōᵘˣt- to watch	*lōwîtî'yeqᴇm* he is watched 40.26
kwîna- to see	*lîn kwînā'yeqᴇm hanʟ* we shall be seen 30.23, 24
wîl- to look for	*gōᵘs qantc wîlî'yeqᴇm* everywhere she is looked for 56.1, 2
tqanʟts he strikes it 28.1	*tˣqanʟî'yeqᴇm xwa'lwalyᴇtc* she is continually struck with a knife 80.5

The verbal stem is often reduplicated in order to bring out more clearly the passive idea and the idea of continuation (see § 82).

ʟōᵘ- to buy	*î laᵘ ʟōᵘʟōᵘwī′yeqɛm lé′îl wîx·ī′lîs* when that was being bought their food 88.13, 14
mîntc- to ask	*mîtcmîntcī′yeqɛm xtcī′tcū yeᵉ îlu-we′ˣtcîs* he is being asked continually, "What do you think about it?" 70.9
ʟōᵘx- to club	*nî′k·înɛtc ʟōᵘxʟōᵘxwī′yeqɛm* with sticks she is being struck continually 80.6

(2) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* (see § 26), it denotes an intransitive action, of which the person spoken of is the object. Hence it was sometimes rendered by the reflexive.

î ûx ʟɪdjītī′yeqɛm when they two are fighting 122.25
tsō sōwîtī′yeqɛm hɛ qā′yîs now it is changing, the weather
tsō lōwîtī′yeqɛm now he took care of himself 66.3

(3) When preceded by the verbal suffix *-enī* (see § 45), it denotes a continued action, the subject of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hä′tcît! story 20.1	*wändj hätct!enī′yeqɛm* that way they are telling the story 44.14,15
skw- to inform, to tell	*laᵘ skweyenī′yeqɛm ʟɛ tc!wäl* they are talking about the fire 38.5, 6

§ 41. Causative Passive -eet, -et; -īyɛm

-eet expresses the passive voice of causative concepts. It is suffixed to the verbal stem. The object that is caused to perform the action is always in the singular. The suffix *-īyɛm* is used for plural objects (see § 53). This suffix may best be rendered by TO BE CAUSED TO. When suffixed to stems with *a*-vowels, it changes to *-aat* (see § 7).

qa′wax ʟ!e′et le′ûx e′kᵘʟätc high up was their (dual) father (literally, was caused to be high up; *ʟ!a-* to be in an upright position) 22.1
k·elé′ʟîsītc sʟné′et hɛ dī′lōl in a corner hidden was the young man (literally, was caused to be hidden; *sʟn-* to hide) 24.12
qā′yîsɛtc tsᴱné′et lɛ k!ā to the sky was stretched out the rope (*tsn-* to stretch) 28.20

xaya'nī ʟa k·ı̂lō'wı̆t tana'at old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (*pɛnʟō'wai ta'ntan* whale came ashore) 130.3

ā'yu tc!ı̆lé'et tɛ tc!wäl surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; *ṇtc!ı̆lı̆'yat* I kindle the fire) 38.8

ʟ!nōwa'at ṇk·î'ʟōᵘts ʟɛ tc!î'lɛ open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; *ʟ!nōᵘ-* to open)

x·né'et he is on top (*ṇx·înī'yat* I put it on top) 10.1

ṇla'at I was carried away (literally, caused to go; *ṇla* I go)

In certain instances this passive causative idea is not so apparent, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the verbal stem can not be analyzed.

ā'yu ʟ!lé'et surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3

wändj ʟōwé'et telı̆nné'ı̂tc that way it is eaten among us 130.11

î'nīɛx hewé'et ʟōwa'kats alone it was supposed she lived 60.10,11

-et. This suffix is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*. Under the influence of the *a*-vowels of the stem, it changes to *-at* (see § 7).

gōᵘs dı̄ꟼ lai'ˣ·tset everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; *ṇla* I go) 12.7

x̣āap hɛ'mtset water was laid bare 42.8

yuwé' qᴱtōᵘ'tset hé'lakwetc whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24

tsä'yuxwı̄tc pî'lstat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14

hḗⁱhats ʟ!nōᵘ'tat ʟɛ tc!î'lɛ suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5

tc!é'etc stōᵘ'qtset häl tō'mı̂ʟ ashore was put that old man (literally, caused to stand [up] on the shore) 32.4, 5

In certain cases the passive idea is hardly recognizable.

g·î'mtset it commenced to rain 42.9

éˢha'kᵘtat you were left 62.20

qa'lyeq ha'ltsat salmon came into the river 34.13

ʟaɣɛta't he became hungry 32.9

ʟowî'tat she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9

laᵘ hanʟ ûx cᴱa'lctet these two shall work 68.26

ʟōwa'hai ʟɛ dı̆'lōl was running the young man 78.27

xwändj cᴱa'lcı̂t ʟɛx îloxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17

§ 42. The Past Participle -āȳa^u

The past participle is formed by means of the suffix -āȳa^u added directly to the transitive or intransitive stems.

tc!pā'ȳa^u k!ā braided ropes 44.22	*ṇtc!pat* I braid it
ltā'ȳa^u ä a painted face 10.3	*ṇltî'ts* I paint it'
q!e'lē tcîcʟā'ȳā^u k!^{u}hî'lt (with) split pitch-wood she lighted them 84.1	*ṇtcî'cʟt* I split it
xā'^{a}pɛtc ʟ^{E}ān lɛtc!lā'ȳa^u into the water go down the dried (salmon) 36.18	*tc!lîs* dry 166.2
hemîsā'ȳa^u enlarged	*he'mîs* big 50.17

§ 43. The Imperative

The imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by means of suffixes added directly to the verbal stem, or, more frequently, following the transitive suffixes. Intransitive verbs, with the exception of a few stems indicating motion or ideas like TO HEAR, TO LISTEN, have no special suffixes. The imperative of such verbs is brought out by the (prefixed) pronouns of the second persons singular, dual or plural.

xle'îtc e^{ε}ʟ!äts with it speak! 16.5
e^{ε}t^{E}qa wake up! 68.18
cîne^ε ʟō^{u}q you (pl.) get up! 30.19
e^{ε}ali'canī you play! 60.21

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

-ᴇ. It follows the transitive suffixes -*t*, -*ts*, and expresses, beside the imperative idea, the presence of the object of the verb. The causative verbs in -*īyat*, and frequentatives in -*ē^{i}wat* and -*ō^{u}wat*, lose their final (transitive) -*t* when followed by the imperative suffix. It very often changes the broad *a*-vowels of the stem into *e*-vowels (see § 7).

k!wî'ntᴇ shoot it 13.3
cîn sîtsī$^{i'}$ntᴇ lᴇ wî'nqas hū^{w}mîk· you go and see the Old-Spider-Woman! 64.12, 13
tē^i îc q!mî'tsᴇ this you two eat! 120.16
îc hemī'yᴇ you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) 24.10

cˆineᵉ tqalī′yᴇ you wake up! 122.4

tc̄ cˆin ʟ!eī′yᴇ teꞑ k·e′ʟa there you put this my hand! 80.19

kwˆin ʟe tsxe′wᴇ let us quickly kill him! 68.3

sqaiʟtō^{u′}wᴇ stick it in a crack!

tē^i ʟ ʟō^{u′}wᴇ this you must eat!

ʟō nˆi′cˆitc xā^ap ha^{u′}wᴇ in it a little water have! 68.17, 18

tqā′ʟis sun 24.4

ʟ!aī′yat she put it 72.11

ꞑtsxaū′wat I kill him 26.22

ꞑsqaiʟtō^{u′}wat I stick it into a crack

ʟōwē^{i′}wat she is eating it 24.5, 6

ˆic ha^{u}ʻwē^{i′}wat you two have him 128.9

-ĕn expresses, besides the imperative, the absence of the object of the action.

tōhˆitsēn you must hit!
ʟōwēn eat! 28.26
g·ī′kwa qai′nas ˆic t‘a^iltsān a little closer to the fire you two dance! 82.19

-Ex, -Eq, suffixed to a few stems, expressing MOTION, or ideas like TO HEAR, TO CLOSE ONE'S EYES, etc.

eᵉk!ā′yEx temˆi′sī listen, O grandson! 114.7
tsˆix·ʟ tc!ō^{u′}wEx here you must lie down! 126.20, 21
ʟ!lᴇ′x ʟ shut your eyes! 16.9
cˆin la′Ex you (pl.) go! 30.23
hamīʟ lhé′tᴇq (you) may take a rest!

-īt suffixed to verbs that are transitivized by means of the transitive suffix *-āya* (see § 47).

lā′tsīt eᵉpkāk· go and get your grandfather! 28.19

lō^{u′x}tīt yeᵉtet watch yourself! 74.3

ˆin dōwā′īt don't desire it!

ûx tatsā′ya they two went to get him 20.14, 15

lō^{ux}tā′ya he watches it 92.3

dōwā′ya he wants it 92.12

-Em expresses, besides the direct object, the indirect object of the first person. It is hence suffixed to verbal stems expressing ideas like TO GIVE, TO MAKE. It is highly probable that this suffix may be an abbreviated form of the pronominal *-āmˆi* (see § 46).

§ 43

$p^Es\hat{\imath}'k\cdot$ $\bar{a}'tsEm$ a cup give me! 68.17

$ts\ddot{a}'yux^u$ $kw\bar{a}'xaL$ $\varepsilon^\varepsilon ha^{u'x}tsEm$ a small bow make me! 60.14, 15

$m\hat{\imath}lxa'nEm$ L $\bar{u}'m\bar{a}$ lunch make me, you must, O grandmother! ($m\hat{\imath}'lax$ lunch) 114.5

-E\^{\i}s. This suffix expresses a command involving the second person as the actor, and the first person as the object of the action. From a purely morphological standpoint, it is a modified form of the pronominal suffix $-\bar{a}\hat{\imath}s$ (see § 46).

$te\eta$ $nqatqa\hat{\imath}'L$ $y\hat{\imath}xuxwE'\hat{\imath}s$ by this my belt you hold me! 54.12

$tc\bar{\imath}$ $laE'\hat{\imath}s$ $teka'^xts\bar{\imath}$ there take me, O granddaughter! 80.14

Compare $\varepsilon^\varepsilon tsak\cdot\hat{\imath}nt\bar{a}'\hat{\imath}s$ $hanL$ you shall help me 80.16

In addition to these suffixes, the Coos language very often emphasizes the imperative idea by means of the particle L (see § 92).

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 44-45)

§ 44. Auxiliary -e (-a)

This suffix exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO BE. The noun to which it is suffixed invariably takes the adverbial prefix n- WITH (see § 21). The phrase thus obtained expresses the idea TO HAVE. This suffix is always changed to $-a$ whenever added to a stem having an a-vowel (see § 7).

$nt!^E c\hat{\imath}'ta^uwe$ lE $m\hat{\imath}'laq$ flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; $t!^E c\hat{\imath}'ta^u$ flint point) 62.27

$nw\hat{\imath}'t\hat{\imath}ne$ $l\ddot{a}$ $k^uh\ddot{a}'yeq$ bloody are his excrements ($w\hat{\imath}'t\hat{\imath}n$ blood) 20.6, 7

$nk^um\bar{a}'xa$ lE $c\hat{\imath}'t!\bar{a}$ horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; $k^um\bar{a}'x\cdot$ horn) 88.7, 8

$n\bar{a}^ant$ $m\ddot{a}$ $tc!p\bar{a}'\bar{y}a^u$ $nk!\bar{a}'ha$ many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; $k!\bar{a}$ rope) 46.8, 9

It very often transforms nouns into intransitive verbs without the aid of the prefix n-. In such cases the $-a$ form of this suffix is mostly used.

$xba'lt\hat{\imath}dj$ la^u $k!w\hat{\imath}s\hat{\imath}'sa$ from the west it blew ($k!w\ddot{a}'s\hat{\imath}s$ wind) 52.4. 5

$\eta kwaat\hat{\imath}'sa$ I dream ($kwaa't\hat{\imath}s$ a dream)

$xc\hat{\imath}'\gamma^it c\hat{\imath}tc$ la^u $xl\bar{\imath}'sa$ clear around him (he put) slime ($xl\bar{\imath}s$ slime) 128.18

§ 45. Verbal -en\bar{\i}

This suffix expresses the idea TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING. It is usually suffixed to nouns and to verbal stems that do not imply an

active, transitive action. This suffix is changed to *-anī* whenever added to stems having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

ŋᴘʟpäwîse'nī I am making a hat (*ᴘʟpä'wîs* hat)
ŋyîxä'wɛxenī I am making a house (*yîxä'wɛx* house)
ŋkwā'xaʟanī I am making a bow (*kwā'xaʟ* bow)
ᵉˡʟɛqaᵘwîya'tanī you tell a story (*lɛqaᵘwîya'tas* story) 38.13, 14
ŋhätcît!e'nī I tell a story (*hä'tcît!* story)
wändj tcînehe'nī that way he is thinking (*tcîn[e]-* to think) 40.14, 15
tsî kᵘ îc hewese'nī merely perhaps you two are lying (*he'wes* a lie) 28.13, 14
îl alî'canī they play (*a'lɛc* toy) 30.25
qawenîse'nī l'nuwī he got mad very much 98.28
îl γā'lanī they were saying 76.17; *tɛ hā'nîs γā'la mä* those (who) talk Coos (literally, those *hā'nîs* [Coos] talker-people) 50.3
xwändje'nī that way she was doing it (*xwändj* that way [modal]) 164.6

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 46-50)

§ 46. Transitive Subject and Object Pronouns

The Coos pronouns expressing both subject and object of a transitive verb are, morphologically speaking, suffixes added to verbal stems, or to stems that have been verbalized by means of some transitive suffix. The transitive suffixes may, however, be omitted, as the mere addition of these pronominal suffixes is sufficient to transform an intransitive stem into a transitive verb. These suffixes occur in four different forms, expressing the first, second, and third person as subject, and the first and second persons as object, of the action, regardless of number.

First person subject—second person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āmî*
Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) *-aîs*
Third person subject *-ū, -îl*
Third person object—first, second, third person subject, no suffix.

Since these suffixes are frequently preceded by the emphatic or abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns (see §§ 18, 96), the phonetic unit expressing the combined pronouns may be said to consist of the following elements:

(1) Personal pronoun for the subject.
(2) Personal pronoun for the object.

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(3) Verbal stem.

(4) Suffixed form of the combined pronoun.

The following peculiarities in the manner of expressing the transitive subject and object pronouns are noteworthy:

(1) The forms having the third persons as object indicate the subject by the pronouns ṇ for the first persons, $e^ɛ$ for the second (see § 18), regardless of number.

(2) The form expressing the second singular subject and the first singular object uses for its pronominal prefix the second singular $e^ɛ$.

(3) All other forms indicate the object by prefixing the personal pronouns according to number.

(4) The pronominal prefixes expressing the subject occur in singular form regardless of the actual number that is to be indicated (see § 96).

The following is a complete table showing the formation of the combined pronouns for the different persons:

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They	
Me	———	$e^ɛ$ -âis	ṇ- ŭ	ṇ - ïl
Thee	$e^ɛ$- -âmi	———	$e^ɛ$- ŭ	$e^ɛ$ - ïl
Him	ṇ- - - -	$e^ɛ$ - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -
Us (Incl) (Dual)	———	———	is-ŭ	is-ïl
Us (Excl) (Dual)	———	xwin-âis	xwin-ŭ	xwin-ïl
You (Dual)	ic- - âmi	———	ic-ŭ	ic -ïl
Them (Dual)	ûx ṇ - - -	ûx $e^ɛ$ - - -	ûx- -	ûx -
Us	———	lin-âis	lin -ŭ	lin -ïl
You	cin-âmi	———	cin -ŭ	cin -ïl
Them	il ṇ - - -	il $e^ɛ$ - -	il - - - -	il -

The personal pronouns are usually omitted for singular subjects. They always occur, however, when the subject is dual or plural.

nɛ'xkan wändj $e^ɛ$ïltā'mî I that way told you 17.2

$e^ɛ$muxtîtsā'mî I (want to) feel of you 72.10

$e^ɛ$laā'mî I take you along

ṇtō'hîts I hit it 64.5

$e^ɛ$tō'hîts you hit it 20.19

tō'hîts he hit him (or it) 20.19

ṇtō'hîtsū me he hit

$e^ɛ$tō'hîtsū thee he hit

cîn kwina'ïl you he sees

xwîn $e^ɛ$pīitā'mî hanʟ we two thee will take home 126.19, 20

lîn $e^ɛ$sîtsï'ntā'mî we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

The personal pronouns for the objective third persons dual and plural always precede the subjective pronouns.

ûx ṇtō′hîts them two I hit   *îl eᵋtō′hîts* them you hit

The suffixes for the combined pronouns are added either directly to the bare verbal stem or to the verb amplified by the transitive -*t* and -*ts*. This double system of adding the suffixes for the combined pronouns to the verb serves as a means of differentiating the duration of the action indicated by the verb. The bare verbal stem amplified by the pronominal suffixes denotes an action that has been performed more than once, or that has not yet been completed; while the verbs to which the pronominal suffixes are added *after* the transitive suffixes indicate actions that have been performed only once, or that are completed. The same purpose is served by the double forms of the combined pronoun having the third person as its subject. The suffix -*îl* is always added to the verbal stem; while -*ū* is suffixed to the stem, in addition to the transitive suffixes. It must be understood, however, that this interpretation of the double system of adding the combined pronominal suffixes does not apply to each individual case. Verbs with the pronominal suffixes added to the bare stem are frequently employed to denote past, completed actions, and *vice versâ*.

nɛ′xkan eᵋwîlā′mî I am looking for you	*eᵋwîluwîtā′mî* I have looked for you
eᵋwîwînā′mî I am cheating you	*eᵋwĭᵑntsā′mî* I have cheated you
eᵋk!wînā′ĭs you were shooting at me	*eᵋk!wîntā′ĭs* you took a shot at me
eᵋsqā′ĭs you were seizing me	*eᵋsqatsā′ĭs* you seized me
ṇk!wî′nîl he was shooting at me	*ṇk!wî′ntū* he shot at me

The imperative transitive pronouns have been described in § 43. They are -*ɛm* TO ME, -*ɛîs* ME.

§ 47. Transitive Verbs in -*āya*

Language in general has a number of verbal ideas, which, strictly speaking, do not imply any actions on the part of the subject; or denote actions, that, while intransitive, may be performed for the benefit of or in connection with a certain given object. Verbs like TO KNOW, TO UNDERSTAND, TO DESIRE, TO BELIEVE, TO WATCH, TO BE AFRAID, etc.,

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express ideas that are not real actions, but which may be used as such in connection with some object. Thus, I may KNOW HIM, UNDERSTAND THEM, DESIRE IT, BELIEVE HER, WATCH MYSELF, etc. On the other hand, verbs like TO GO, TO RUN AWAY, etc., express intransitive actions that may be performed in connection with a given object. Thus it is possible TO GO TO HIM, TO RUN AWAY FROM ME, etc.

Coos treats the stems expressing such ideas as intransitive verbs, which do not take any of the transitive suffixes; but since these intransitive verbs may, without the aid of any additional grammatical device, become transitive, and imply the existence of an object (which is usually that of the third person), there is a special suffix -āya which indicates the (mental) process described above. This suffix, always added to the bare verbal stem, denotes an intransitive action that has become transitive by being used in connection with the third person object. It may therefore be called the "pronominal suffix," expressing, besides the subject, the third person object of an intransitive verb.

ûxalqsā'ya they two are afraid of it 7.5	a'lqas fear 66.4
ŋdōwā'ya I want her 70.6	tsîx·tī' dō'wa wu'txe tī'ye pū'yatc here wants to come back thy uncle 122.15
nEqā'ya he ran away from it 42.4	nEq he ran away 100.16
ŋx·na^atā'ya I am riding (a horse)	x·ne'et he is on top 10.1
Lqā'ya lEx swāl believed it the grizzly bear 94.25	Lq- to believe
mîtsîsī'ya she knows it 60.1	mî'tsîs wise 132.6
īn kwaā'nīya (they) did not know it 86.12	kwaān- to know
latsā'ya he went after it 94.7	la he went 22.18
lō^{ux}tā'ya he watched it 94.6	lō^{ux}t- to watch
il Lō^ukwā'ya hE L!tā they occupy the country 44.21	e^εLō^uk^u you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle hēm̄a ALL (§ 109), or by the separate suffix -ītEx (§ 54).

ŋlō^{ux}tā'ya hE'm̄a I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix -īt (see § 43).

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ŋx·na^{a}tā'ya I am riding (a horse)	x·ne'et he is on top 10.1
Lqā'ya lEx swāl believed it the grizzly bear 94.25	Lq- to believe
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ŋlō^{ux}tā'ya hE'm̄a I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix -īt (see § 43).

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§ 48. Subject and Object Pronouns of Verbs in -*āya*

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, express-
ing, besides the object, also the subject of the first, second, or third
person, are etymologically related to the suffixes treated on p. 351.
They appear, however, in such changed form, that they require
separate discussion.   These forms are —

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They
Me	–	*eᶜ-yExtâis*	*ŋ-yExtū*
Thee	*eᶜ-yExtāmi*	–	*eᶜ-yExtū*
Him	–	–	—
etc.			

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

eᶜdōwā'yExtā'mî thee I want
eᶜlōˣtîyExtā'mî of thee I take care
eᶜlōˣtîyExtā'îs you take care of me 86.20
ŋkwee'nîyExtū me he knows
eᶜdōwā'yExtū thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (-*yExt*-) is quite
obscure.   It may be suggested that -*yEx*- is the adjectival suffix (see
§ 66), and -*t* the transitive (see § 26), although we are no longer able
to understand the psychological principles underlying this peculiar
formation.

§ 49. Transitive Verbs in -*a*

This suffix is preceded by the transitive suffixes.   Its function is
varied.   It may have expressed originally the indirect object; but
verbal ideas requiring both a direct and an indirect object are very few
in number in the Coos language, and the functional scope of this
suffix is much wider now, permitting its use for other purposes.
Thus it is very frequently suffixed to transitive verbs where the
object of the action is actually expressed, and not merely understood;
and it is often, but not as a rule, used as a suffix denoting plurality of
the object.   The most plausible suggestion that can be offered in
explanation of this suffix is that it may denote an action performed
upon an object that possesses another object.   At any rate, there can
be no doubt that the predominating function of this suffix is that
of a special characterization of the pronominal object.

§§ 48–49

ṇmílxa'na I made lunch for   *mí'lax* lunch 28.15
   him
ā'tsa he gave it to him 28.7   *āts-* to give

tetc cᴱalcta'tᴇxa clothes he made for (his child) 108.5
kwînā'was sī'ˣ·tᴱtsa smoke he scented 22.23
kwā'xaʟ haᵘˣtsa ʟᴇ temî'snätc a bow she made for her grandson
   112.25, 26
ā'yu ʟ!ha'tsa lä tetc surely (he) put on his clothes 28.23
kāᵃs yî'xēⁱ pᴇ'nʟta ʟᴇ tsî'γᴇn nearly he tore off one handle 30.4
pīi'ta ʟᴇ mä ai'wît he took to his house the people (pl.) whom he
   killed 112.11

eᵉwutxaî'ta li'ye ū'māc ûx   *wutxaî'yat lä pkā'katc* he
   pkāk· you (should) take   brought home his grand-
   home, thy grandmother   father 70.2
   them two (and) grandfather
   68.26
îl ṇî'lᴱxtsa at them I looked   *ṇî'lxats* I looked at him
ṇsqa'tsa ʟᴇ quwai's I seized   *ṇsqats ʟᴇ quwai's* I seized the
   the boards   board
lk!wa yîxu'xwa fern roots she   *hî'nī yîxuxwē^{i'}wat* there he
   had 64.14, 15   was holding it 64.3, 4

Compare, on the other hand,

tc!wä'letc t!cî'tsa into the fire   *tc!wä'letc t!cîts* into the fire
   he shoved it (no object is   he shoved it 32.24
   actually expressed here)
   32.26

or

yû'xwä wutxaî'yat hᴇ tcō'xtcōx two he brought home the rabbits
pōkwî'lnēⁱ tî'lqats opposite each other he set (them) down 112.12

§ 50. Verbs in *-anāya* with Direct and Indirect Object Pronoun

This suffix is composed of two suffixes, *-enī* (see § 45) and *-āya*
(see § 47). The broad *a*-vowel of the second suffix effects the retro-
gressive assimilation of the *-enī* into *-anī*, and the final vowel of *-enī*
coalesces with the initial of *-āya* into a long *ā* (see § 7). It may best
be rendered by TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF SOMETHING.

ṇkwāxaʟanā'ya I am making a bow out of it (*kwā'xaʟ* bow)
ṇyîxäwᴇxanā'ya I build houses out of it (*yîxä'wᴇx* house)
laᵘ k!wenîyawanā'ya ʟᴇ qa'lyeq he is making a supply out of the
   salmon (*k!we'niyaᵘ* supply) 34.24

> *yanʟawe dĭⁱł eᵋqaᵘwenîsa'nāya* whenever something you will get
> mad at (*qaᵘwenîse'nī* he got mad) 16.4
>
> *laᵘ hanʟ eᵋł'nuwanā'ya* at that thing you shall pull (*ł'nuwī* very)
> 72.2
>
> *ĭł wa'łwalanā'ya* they (would) make knives out of it (*wa'łwal* knife)
> 136.14, 15

The *a*-vowels of this suffix very often change the *e*-vowels of the
stem to which they are suffixed into an *a* (see § 7).

> *xā'nanā'ya* he made him feel sorry for it (*xä'nîs* sick) 42.18
>
> *ŋpʟpā'wîsanā'ya* I made a hat out of it (*pʟpä'wîs* hat)

Whenever suffixed to reduplicated stems, this suffix is changed to
-ōnāya.

> *aqa'lqsōnā'ya la ā'la* he became afraid of his child (*a'lqas* fear)
> 28.24, 25
>
> *mîtsma'tsōnā'ya ʟɛx dī'lōl* he became acquainted with him, the
> young man (*mî'tsîs* wise) 116.1
>
> *qaiˣ·qa'yōnā'ya* he became afraid of it (*ŋqa'yaᵘts* I am frightened
> [I fear]) 42.3

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 51–54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, compara-
tively speaking, a complicated matter. The chief difficulty arises
from the fact that Coos accords a different treatment to transitive and
intransitive verbs, and that the phenomena connected with plural
formation are by no means of a uniform character. As in most other
American languages, the Coos intransitive verbs express plurality
of subject, while stems expressing transitive concepts distinguish
between actions relating to a singular object and those relating to
plural objects.

As a rule, plurality of the subject of verbal ideas is not indicated.
One and the same stem is used in the singular and plural alike. There
are, however, a few verbal concepts that express such a plurality
by means of different stems. While this question ought to be more
properly treated under the heading "Vocabulary," it may neverthe-
less be found useful to give here a few examples of such different
stems.

§ 51

Singular	Plural	
ītsēm 26.20	*ne'tsī* 74.1	to do
yîxu'm̄e 10.3	*yuwī'tît, yuwat-* 12.6	to travel
tsxū 28.12	*ha'yatî* 58.19, 20	to lie
qa'ɋal 40.2	*tsî'msîmt* 74.1	to sleep
*xne*ˣ·*t-* 74.30	*xwaîlt-* 22.17	to fly, to jump
*lɛqa*ʷ'*wɛ* 42.18	*e'ɋe* 84.14	to die
l!ä-, 14.6	*γā'la-* 50.3	to speak
lōwa'kats, 38.10	*tîla'qai* 36.11, *kwee'tî* 50.7	to sit, to live

On the other hand, there are a few stems that seem to express singularity or plurality of subject by means of a grammatical process the history of which is not clear. This process may be said to consist in the change of the vowel connecting the suffix with the stem.

Singular	Plural
eᵉtc!a'at you walk 120.18	*îl tc!a'īt* they walk
ŋxa'yat I am whittling	*îl xa'yīt* they are whittling
ŋt'a'lats I dance	*îceᵉ t'a'līt* you two dance 82.18
ŋwî'nat I wade out	*îl wî'nīt* they wade out

This process is the more puzzling, as it also seems to be used for the purpose of distinguishing between duration of action (see § 26). It is quite conceivable that there may be an etymological relation between these two phenomena, and that the phonetic similarity exhibited by them is more than accidental.

§ 52. Reflexive Plural -*ū*

In a number of cases intransitive verbs indicate plurality of subject by means of a suffix which is phonetically different from the suffix expressing the corresponding singular idea. This is especially true in the case of the suffix -*qɛm*, -*xɛm* (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix -*ū*, which is always preceded by the transitive -*t* or -*ts*.

Singular	Plural
lhe'tqɛm it is resting 88.16	*îl lhe'tū* they are resting
ŋwe'lextxɛm I went to bed	*îceᵉ we'lextū* you two go to bed 82.13
*ŋlō*ʷ'*kᵘtsxɛm* I sat down	*tî'lᴱqtsū* (they) sat down 22.15
*ŋkwe'et*ᴱ*tsxɛm* I settled down	*îl kwe'et*ᴱ*tsū* they settled down 48.5
ŋsʟn'txɛm I hide myself	*îl sʟn'tū* they hide themselves

§ 53. Causative Passive Plural -*īyEm*

The same principle is applied to intransitive verbs expressing passive causative ideas. Singular subjects are expressed by means of the suffix -*eet* (see p. 345), while plurality of the subject is indicated by the suffix -*īyEm*. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial *ī* disappears before *u*-diphthongs without changing the *u* of the diphthong into a consonantic *w* (see § 8).

sLn-	Singular	Plural
ûx sLnī′yat they two hide him (caus.) 24.9	*sLne′et* 24.12	*sLnī′yEm*
x·En-		
ŋx·inī′yat I put it on top	*x·ne′et* 10.1	*x·nī′yEm*
lEm-		
ûx lemī′yat they two set it up 8.10	*lEme′et* 90.18	*lemī′yEm*
qᴱtoᵘ-		
ŋqᴱtōwī′yat I hang it up	*qᴱtōwe′et* 46.27	*qᴱtōᵘ′yEm* 84.15
(x)nō′we, right 44.9	*nōwe′et*	*nōᵘ′yEm* 44.22
L!a- to be on something		
il L!aīyat they put it on 80.20	*L!e′et* 22.1	*L!eī′yEm* 144.4

§ 54. Direct Plural Object -*ītEx*

The idea of plurality of objects in transitive verbs is not clearly developed. The treatment accorded to the different stems is so irregular that no definite rules can be formulated. The majority of stems make no distinction between singular and plural objects, and occur in one form only. Other stems have different forms for the singular and plural; e. g., *tsxaᵘ-* TO KILL ONE, *aiw-* TO KILL MANY, *la-* TO PUT IN ONE, *x·L!ōᵘ-* TO PUT IN MANY, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle *hEm̄a* (see § 109), or by means of the suffix -*ītEx*.

This suffix expresses the plural third person object, and may be added directly to the verbal stem, or after the transitive suffixes -*t*, -*ts*.

xwî′tsxūt cîma′ītEx (many) deer he pulled 88.12
ā′yu il Lana′ītEx surely they headed them off 56.16
hats Lōwe′entc laᵘ laaī′tEx just all (wholly) she dragged them 80.9

§ 55. MISCELLANEOUS SUFFIXES

While the functions of the verbal suffixes discussed in the preceding pages are clear, and could be described fairly accurately, there are a few others that appear only now and then, and express ideas of a varying character.   It is possible that these suffixes may represent the petrified remnants of grammatical formations that have become obliterated in the course of time.   The following is a list of these suffixes:

-a.   This suffix seems to express in a number of instances our infinitive idea.

lnēⁱ'wat xwî'tsxūt he is habitually hunting deer

sɫaqa'ēⁱwat she is bathing him (caus.) 60.6

ln'ta e'he lɛ dä'mîl hunting (had) gone the man 108.9

helmī'his asō' la ln'ta next day again he went hunting 110.10

yîxe'n sɫa'qa la once bathing she went (literally, to bathe) 84.24

In a few cases it has been found suffixed to neutral stems, and seems to denote impersonal actions.

lōqᵘ- to boil

kwîñā'was smoke 22.23

lōqu'qwa lɛ sˣaɫ! was boiling the pitch 102.11

în kwî'ña not it smokes 110.14

It is possible that this suffix may have the identical function with the -a (or -e) suffixed to the modal adverbs (see § 106), and it may consequently be related to the auxiliary -e (see § 44).

-e.   I am at a loss to detect the exact nature of this suffix and its etymological connection with any of the other suffixes.   In the few instances in which it occurs, it was rendered by the passive, or else as an abstract verbal noun.

k·îlō'wît she saw him 54.2

k·î'lōᵘts he found it 32.10

hä'wī he grew up 64.12

k!a'lat he shouted (at it) 36.7

mî'lat he swam 30.7

ā'yu k·îlō'we î laᵘ djī surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8

lä îx· k·ⁱLe her canoe was found 54.19

la û haᵘ'we it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16

ä'wī ŋk·e'le I quit shouting (literally, the shouts)

ä'wī eᶠmî'le stop swimming (literally, finish your swimming)

-anu. This suffix occurs in two instances only, and expresses in both of them the infinitive. It seems to be related to the verbal suffix *-enī* (see § 45).

yu'weʟ a pack 70.22	*la^u yu^{wi}ʟe'nu* he (went out in order) to pack (*enu > anu* [see § 7]) 162.25
a'ʟɛc toy 92.10	*mä he'ʟaq tcī alî'canu* people came there (in order) to play 90.26

-am occurs very rarely, and seems to denote the absence of the object of an action.

q!mîts he eats it 32.9	*hats hanʟ e^ɛq!a'mtsam* just will you eat 42.23, 24
ʟō^u- to eat 17.2	*la^u tsîx· he ʟō'wîyam* she usually here eats 24.4, 5

Nominal Suffixes (§§ *56-80*)

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 56-65)

§ 56. Nominal *-is*

This suffix may be said to have a general nominalizing function. It is found suffixed to a great number of stems, and expresses general nominal ideas, including many of our adjectival terms. For a discussion of its etymological nature, see General Remarks, § 25.

hä'wī he grew up 64.12	*hä'wîs* ready 5.4
stō^uq he stood 20.4	*stōwa'qwîs* wall 90.18.
ʟ!äts he spoke 16.2	*ʟ!ē'yîs* language 16.1
iluwe'^xtcîs heart 5.3	*k·elé'ʟîs* corner 58.13
wîx·î'lîs food 14.7	*k·îña'wîs* laziness 34.17
hele'yîs salmon-roe 34.27	(*k·î'nwîs* lazy)
hū^u'mîs woman 24.6	*kwäye'îs* ridge, mountain 22.13
baltī'mîs ocean 6.2	*kwä'sîs* ball 38.19
pî'lîk·îs anus 40.7	*kwî'nîs* feather 26.21
pō^u'kwîs slave	*k!wä'sîs* wind 22.11
pʟpä'wîs hat 136.14	*qā'yîs* day, sky, world 6.1
tama'lîs custom, fashion 19.8	*qai'nîs* mouth of river 58.1
tqā'lîs sun 24.2	*q^Ema'tîs* fish-basket 36.7
sîk·e'^x·kîs shield 28.7	*xala'wîs* heat 24.9
tskwa'^xʟîs fir-tree 9.2	*la'^xʟîs* mud 52.10
tce^ɛne'nîs edge 22.15	*ltce'îs* ocean beach 7.11
g·îlō'mîs breakers 8.1	*ʟʋa'lîs* sand beach 58.1

he'm̄îs large 14.5

hū'wîs poor 42.5

pʟ!îs heavy

mî'tsîs wise 132.6

tᴱqaⁱʹʟîs solid 7.6

tc!îcî'lîs sweet 32.27

tc!lîs dry 166.2

k·î'nwîs lazy

katᵉᴇ'm̄îs five 5.4

x·î'lwîs deep

xa'lwîs hot 24.6

xä'nîs sick 42.18

ʟe'm̄îs raw 32.23

§ 57. Nouns of Quality in -ᴇs, -tᴇs; -enîs

-ᴇs, -tᴇs. This suffix changes adjectives (or adverbs) into abstract nouns. No explanation can be given for the phonetic difference between the two suffixes.

he'm̄îs big 14.5

hats kwa x·nek· hemî'stᴇs hᴇ x·ōwā'yas the snake was just as big as a hair (literally, just like a hair [is] the size [of] the snake) 86.2

nā̄ᵃnt much, many 50.13

în kwee'nîyĕm îtse'ts he'îl nā̄ᵃ'ntᴇs no one knew how many they were (literally, not knew they how [was] their quantity) 78.2

ŋqai'na I am cold

xqaine'ᴇs kā̄ᵃs tsxaū'wat cold nearly killed him 32.7

he'nîye a while 38.15

taᵘ henî'yeᴇs ŋyîxu'm̄e (for) such length of time I travel 26.9

hethe'te rich 26.2

hethe'teᴇs wealth

paa- to fill 15.7

la û paa'wᴇs hᴇ xā̄ᵃp the water reached its full mark (literally, goes its fullness [of] the water) 44.19

e'hentc far 26.23

ehe'ntcᴇs distance 52.16

qaʟ long

qa'ʟtᴇs length

k!le'es black 162.13

k!le'estᴇs black color

qat below 36.11

qa'tᴇs, the lower part, half 16.10

-enîs transforms adjectives expressing sensations and emotions into abstract nouns.

cîn ʟqa you are hungry 70.12

tē̄ⁱ xwin ā'ȳa ʟaqe'nîs these we two died from hunger (literally, these we two [are] hunger-dead) 36.13, 14

qaᵘ'net he got angry 32.25

qaᵘwe'nîs anger, wrath 16.4

§ 58. Nouns of Location in -*Em*

This suffix expresses the abstract conception of a local idea. It is suffixed to adverbs only, and is (with one exception) preceded by the adverbial suffix -*tc*. It may best be rendered by THE PART OF, THE SIDE OF.

lexa'tca kwî'nait inside he looked 62.6

yîqantce'wîtc backwards 32.13

ï'la before, first 56.9

qat below 36.11

lexa'tcEm hanL ŋqa'qaɬ in the inside (part of my eye) will I sleep 40.2
hE yîxä'wEx lExa'tcEm of the house the inside (part)

pEnLō'wai yîqa'ntcEm djï a whale behind it was coming 88.22

îɬ k·îlō'wît îla'hatcEm djï they saw it in front coming 88.5
le'wî û îla'hatcEm dōwā'ya lä eᵋ-nätc he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother) 120.19, 20

xwändj γā'lanī lE mä qa'tEm tîla'qai that way are talking the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live 66.12

§ 59. Verbal Abstract -*āwas*, -*nēⁱwas*

-*āwas* changes the verb into a noun. It expresses the abstract concept of a verbal idea. If the verb expresses an active, transitive idea, it is suffixed to the bare stem, while in intransitive verbs it is preceded by the intransitive suffix -*enī* (see p. 349). In such cases the final vowel of the transitive suffix disappears, and the *a*-vowel of -*āwas* effects the retrogressive assimilation of the stem-vowels and suffix-vowels (see § 7).

cEa'lctet he is working 22.26

Lōwēⁱ'wat she is eating 24.5, 6

ŋL!hats I put it on
îs alî'canī we two play 38.11

e'qe dead 42.19
ha'yat he gambled 66.15

î laᵘ ä'wī cEalctā'was when he quit (the) work 34.6, 7

ä'wī û Lōwā'was she finished (her) food 24.13

lä L!ahā'was her clothes 110.3
alîcanā'was lîn haᵘˣts a game we (should) arrange 90.14

aqanā'was funeral
hayanā'was Indian game

In one instance this suffix has been changed to *-āwaʟ*.

*qa'ya*ᵘ*ts* he is scared 126.1   *īn yū dī*ⁱ*l qayawā'waʟ* hardly any-
thing can scare him (literally,
not very something scaring [to
him] 40.24; *qayawā'waʟ* a thing
that scares)

-nēⁱwas.   Composed of the distributive *-nē*ⁱ (see § 37) and the
nominal *-āwas.*   Hence it expresses an abstract concept that has a
distributive character.

*hä qtsä' nlaxanē*ⁱ'*was ʟōwa'kats* she was sitting between his teeth (lit-
erally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18
*sōwe'l laxanē*ⁱ'*was* between the fingers 108.21
*sqaiʟnē*ⁱ'*was* the space between the fingers, a crack (*sqai'ʟ*ᴱ*xɛm* it
was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in *-ōnîs, -sī*

-ōnîs.   This suffix indicates that something has become the object
of a certain action.   It may best be rendered by WHAT BECAME THE
OBJECT OF.   Either it is suffixed to the verbal stem directly, or it is
preceded by the transitive suffixes *-t, -ts* (see § 26).

îl γā'lanī they are talking 90.16   *la*ᵘ *îl γaaltō'nîs* they begin to talk
about it (literally, this they
[have as their] object of speech)
76.22

ŋk·î'tîts I cut it   *k·îtîtsō'nîs la kxla* she commenced
to cut her foot (literally, object
of cutting her foot [became]
80.21)

*ʟō*ᵘ- to eat 17.2   *la*ᵘ *ʟōū'nîs î ha'k·îtc la*ᵘ *yîxu'm̄e*
this became his food while he
walked crawling (literally, that
object of eating [it became]
while crawling that one trav-
eled) 32.11

ā'tsa he gave it to him 34.10   *atsō'nîs* gift 188.26

-sī is used in the formation of nouns from verbal stems.   The best
rendering that can be given for this suffix is THE RUINS, THE REM-
NANTS OF.

aī'wît he killed them 68.11

îs aī'wîtsī ītɛ we two (are the) remnants of the slaughter 62.18

x·pī it burned down 58.12

qawîlaī'we ʟɛ yîxä'wɛx nx·pî'tsī she commenced to look around (of) the house the débris 58.18, 19

It is very likely that the following example may belong here:

k·îtsî'mîs, k·îtsîmä'mîs half 32.11

hɛ k·îtsî'mîsī aī'wît half of them he killed (literally, the remaining half he killed) 112.10

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in -în

This suffix occurs in a few instances only. It is added to stems expressing adjectival ideas, and may be translated by PIECE, PORTION.

tcä'yux^u small 42.6

ī'k·ī tcä'yuxwîn ā'tsa (to) both a small portion he gave 120.17

qaic small 128.29

qaicî'nîs ûx yū'^wiyū in a small place they two are stopping 6.3

e'hentc far 26.23

nā'yîm ehentcɛsî'nə̂itc djî'n̄īt because quite far apart it keeps coming (literally, because distance-portion-modality, [they] are coming [singly]) 52.18

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in -ayawa, -eyäwe, -īyawa

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The -eyäwe form is added to stems with e-vowels (see § 7). Since the informant was frequently at a loss how to express in English the idea conveyed by this suffix, he invariably translated it by TO GO AND (perform the action in question).

t·a'lats he dances

t·alīya'wa a dancer

ʟ!x·ī̆nt he examined it 32.23

ʟ!x·înīya'wa examiner

nî'k·în wood 102.2

mî'ʟan ŋnîk·îneyä'we permit me to get some wood (literally, let me wood-getter be) 102.1

mî'laq arrow 12.10

îs mîlaqayä'we we two go and get arrows (literally, [we two are] arrow-makers) 160.6, 7

ʟō̆^u- to eat 17.2

ŋʟōwīya'wa I am an eater

ŋte'^xtîts ʟōwīya'wa I go in and eat 168.2, 3

§ 63. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place, -*îs*

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

qa'ntcū where? 94.25	*îc xqantcū'wîs* from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14
le'lɛx medicine	*xwîn lᴱlxeyäwd'wîs* we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15
tsä'yuxᵘ small 20.5	*tsäyuxwî'nîs enî'k·exɛm lɛ l!tä* on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26
qaic small 128.29	*qaicî'nîs ûx yū'ʷⁱyū* on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3

§ 64. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Locality, -*ume*

It signifies WHERE THE . . . IS.   It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

*kū*ᵘ*s* south	*xkukwî'sume hī'yet!* he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore)
tse'tîx· over here	*tsetî'x·ume lō heʷ heᵘ haʷ'wɛ* here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8
xwî'luxᵘ head 30.14	*xwîluxu'me* where the head is 146.26

§ 65. Terms of Relationship in -*ätc* (-*atc*)

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix -*ätc* or -*atc* (see § 7), except in the vocative case, where the stem alone is used. A few nouns exhibit in the vocative case an entirely different stem, while others occur in the vocative form only.

The phenomenon so characteristic of many American and other languages, whereby the different sexes use separate terms for the purpose of denoting corresponding degrees of relationship, is not found in Coos. This may in part be due to the fact that the language does not differentiate in any respect whatsoever between the two sexes, and that grammatical gender is a concept entirely unknown to the Coos mind. On the other hand, Coos has one trait in common

with some of the languages of the neighboring tribes, namely, in so far as two different stems are used to denote the same degree of relationship by marriage. One is employed as long as the intermediary person is living, while the second is used after the death of that person.

The following table shows the nouns expressing the different degrees of relationship:

English	Coos	Vocative case
Father	e'kᵘLātc	k!ō'la!
Mother	eᵉnātc	nĭ'k!a!
Son	(?)	Lᵒwa!
Daughter	kwayā'cĭtc	kwā'ya!
Older brother	hā'Lātc	häLᵗ!
Younger brother	mĭLkwĭ'yatc	mā'Lĭk!
Older sister	henĭ'kᵘnātc	he'nĭkwĭ!
Younger sister	kwĭya'ᶻLtc	kwe'ēL!
Grandfather	pkā'katc	pkā'k·!
Grandmother	ūmā'catc, ū'māc	ū'mā!
Grandson	temĭ'snātc, temĭ'sin	temĭ'sĭ! (sing.)
		temä'mis! (pl.)
Granddaughter	tek· ĭtsĭ'nātc	teka'ᶻtsĭ!
Paternal uncle	pĭl'yatc, pĭis	pī'sĭ!
Maternal uncle	ax·ĭ'axatc	axa'x·!
Paternal aunt	ā'tatc	ā'at!
Maternal aunt	xᵘkuĭ'nātc	kwā'kwĭ!
Father-in-law	mĭtcL'tsĭnātc	ya'k·! (?)
Mother-in-law	qalĭ'ksätc	kwa'lĭk!
Son-in-law	mĭ'nkatc	(?)
Daughter-in-law	mElū̆ᵉnätc [1]	(?)
Brother-in-law	ha'lĭk!	hal!
Sister-in-law	kwĭ'hatc	kwĭ'hai!
Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship.	xa'yusLätc	(?)
Nephew (son of sister)	tewĭ'tätc	teᵘ!
Nephew (son of brother)	(?)	kwĭne'wĭL! (?)
		ncxleᵘ! (?)
Niece (daughter of sister)	upxanā'catc	(?)
Niece (daughter of brother)	··(?)·	pEkwĭ'nLĭ!

[1] Alsea maᵗtān.

Besides the above-enumerated terms of kinship, there are two stems that are used as such, although they do not, strictly speaking, denote any degree of relationship. One of these is the term *sla'atc* (vocative *sla*), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is *xwĭl*, used in the same way in addressing females.

§ 65

In one instance the term *kwe'nēL* is employed to denote SISTER, without mentioning the rank of her birth. All attempts to obtain the corresponding term for BROTHER have proved unsuccessful.

§ 66. SUFFIXES *-ēx, -īyEx, -īyetEx*

These three suffixes, occurring in a few instances only, seem to express the idea PERTAINING TO. They are suffixed to nominal and to adverbial stems.

be^{i}ldj north	*lE lā'mak· lala^u tE bĭldjī'yEx* the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 50.5, 6
yĭ'qantc behind	*yĭqa'ntcĭmēx mä* the last generation 9.6
L!an-	*L!a'nēx qa'lyeq* new salmon 36.25
qa'lu winter (?) 162.20	*qa'lēx* old 38.18
qa'xan- up 14.1	*qaxanī'yetEx mä* from above the people 150.5
qā'yĭs sky 6.1	*gāyĭsa'yEx mä* the sky-people

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal *-ē^{i}tc, -ītc*

This suffix indicates rest, and was rendered by IN, AT, ON, UNDER. It is added to nouns and (very rarely) to verbs. For the parallel occurrence of *-ē^{i}tc* and *-ītc*, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

yĭxä'wEx house 22.25	*yĭxä'wExē^{i}tc Lōwa'kats* in the house he is sitting
L!Eā country 30.28	*yEai' L!tā'ītc ŋĭtse'ts* in another country I stay 26.8, 9
he'wĭlts road 138.17	*hewĭ'ltsĭtc stō^{u}q* on the road he stood 36.16
q^{u}wai's board 52.14	*î la^u quwai'sĭtc tcĭ!cĭle'et* while she under the board was 58.25
xā^{a}p water 6.9	*xā^a'pĭtc djī û mĭ'le* in the water it was swimming 88.21
îx· canoe 44.20	*asĭ'L ĭ'x·ītc ûx tc!ōwĭ'yat* in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23
kwĭ'leL sweat-house 62.25	*kwĭle'Lē^{i}tc tsxū lät tō'mĭL* in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12

tîla'qai (many) live 36.11   hǐ'nī ʟōwa'kats ʟɛ tǐl ʟɛ mä xqat tîla'qayītc there lived the kins-men (among) the people (who) below lived 60.11

By prefixing to the noun the local prefix x- (see § 22), and by suffixing to it the suffix -ēⁱtc, -ītc, the idea FROM is expressed.

qā'yîs sky 6.1   xqa'yîsītc he'laq from the sky he came

ʟ!tā country 30.28   xyɛai' ʟ!tā'ītc from another coun-try 26.6

pqai' back 82.13   xyû'xwä mä ʟ!ōˣk·înē'ʼwat xpqai'-hītc two men were supporting him from the back 40.9

When preceded by the discriminative x- (see § 23), this suffix assumes a modal significance, exercising the same function as the English adverbial suffix -LY or the word LIKE.

nmä'heñet it is populated 12.4   hats kwa xmähe'ntītc stō'waq just like a person he stood up 114.23, 24

xmähé'ntītc k·îlō'wît ʟɛ mä like persons she saw the beings (look) 54.18

ā'yu sure enough 7.4   gōᵘs dǐⁱl în xā'yuwītc tsxaū'wat he killed a little of everything (literally, [of] everything not enough-ly he killed) 64.19, 20

qa'lyeq salmon 34.14   xqa'lyeqēⁱtc îl kwîna'ēⁱwat as salmon they look upon it 130.14

xta'nuxwītc ʟōwa'kats sideways he was sitting 38.10

yîxēⁱʼ one 5.5   xyî'xēⁱtc dä'mîl xyî'xēⁱtc he'îl hūᵘmä'k·e each man has one wife (literally, one [modal] man, one [modal] their wives) 48.5

The prefix may sometimes be omitted, as shown by the following examples:

qantc where 8.8   yî'kwanʟ qantcî'tc teṇ la perhaps shall which way this I go 100.18

qaic small 128.29   qai'cîtc haᵘ îl yū'wîlt into small pieces they divided it 130.26

tsä'yuxᵘ small 20.5   tsä'yuxwītc pî'lstat to pieces it was smashed 124.14

§ 67

Owing to its modal significance, this suffix expresses the idea of our collective numerals IN TWOS, IN THREES, when added to the cardinal numerals.

gōᵘs qa′ntcītc xyûxwä′hēⁱtc il la everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
xyîpsɛ′nēⁱtc in threes (*yî′psɛn* three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, -etc

The suffix *-etc* indicates motion, action, and may be rendered by AT, IN, THROUGH, ON, INTO.

tcîcī′mîl spruce-tree 20.5	*ʟ!aî′yat ʟɛ tsä′yuxᵘ tcîcī′mîletc* he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8
dɛ′msît prairie 22.12	*lɛ′yī dɛmsté′tc ʟhî′ñap* a good prairie through he goes 22.11
yîxä′wɛx house 22.25	*yîxä′wɛxetc la* into the house he went 28.10, 11
	yîxä′wɛxetc djī to the house he came
tc!wäl fire 38.8	*tc!wä′letc t!cîts* into the fire he shoved it 32.24
ä face 10.3	*kwîna′ēⁱwat ä′hetc* he is looking at (his) face

When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, the suffix is changed to *-atc* (see § 7).

xāᵃp water 6.9	*tᴱk!wîl xāᵃ′patc* into the water he dove 26.27
ʟ!tā′ ground 6.7	*ʟ!tā′atc lemī′yat* on the ground he put it 64.1

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

tîla′qai (many) live 36.11	*tcī he′laq ʟɛ mä tîla′qayetc* there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13
stōᵘq he stands 20.4	*tsō ʟɛ mä qal stōᵘ′qetc he′laq* now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5
alî′canī (they) play 94.8	*hé′laq ʟɛ mä alîcanī′waqatc* he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15

§ 69. Local -*ewítc*

The local suffix -*ewítc* is rendered by TOWARDS.

bé⁴ldj north

> *bĭldje′wítc qai′cît* to the north he scattered 48.24

ē′qatce aside 26.20

> *ēqatcé′wítc kwĭlkwé⁴lē⁴′yu* to one side he was rolled 94.19,20

yî′qantc behind

> *yîqantce′wítc îlx* backwards he looked 32.13

qaits inside 140.24

> *qai′tsōwítc îl te′ˣtîts* (inside) they entered 22.29

yîxä′wɛx house 22.25

> *yîxäwɛxe′wítc ṇla* towards the house I am going   ·

§ 70. Instrumental -*ɛtc*

It expresses our ideas WITH, AGAINST. When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, it is pronounced more like -*atc;* while, if suffixed to a stem with an *e*-vowel, it invariably sounded like -*etc*. When the instrumental idea WITH is to be expressed, the stem to which this suffix is added is very often preceded by the prefix *x*- (see § 24).

*mā′luk*ᵘ paint

> *mā′lukwɛtc ltā′q̄a*ᵘ *lä ä* red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3

îx· canoe 44.20

> *mä xîx·ɛ′tc yîxu′m̄e* people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3

tc!îltc! hammer 26.26

> *tqanʟts tc!î′ltc!ɛtc ʟɛ kwî′la*ᵘ he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1,2

*mîx·sō′wē*ⁱ lucky 20.14

> *hatā′yîms mîx·sō′wɛtc alî′canī û mĕn* lucky money with they are playing 94.27

q!e′lē pitch 82.23

> *q!elē′yɛtc la*ᵘ *pā*ᵃ*ts* with pitch it was full 74.25

mî′k·e basket 28.27

> *xmîk·e′ɛtc tōwî′tînīye* in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9,10

qā′yîs sky 6.1

> *qā′yîsɛtc tskwī* against the sky it struck 22.4

tqā′lîs sun 24.2

> *tqā′lîsɛtc panā′qtsxɛm* in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tc!î′lɛ door 62.5

> *x·ne′ˣtîts tc!îlé′hɛtc* she jumped against the door 76.2

In the following instance the suffix is changed, without any apparent cause, to *-yEtc.*

wa'lwal knife 78.11 t^E*qanлī'yeqєm xwa'lwalyєtc* they hit her with a knife 80.5

In another instance it occurs as *-a^utc.*

gō^us dī̆ł tsäyä'neha^utc nʟ!pé'ne dī̆ł with all kinds of small birds 46.2

When suffixed to the article or to the personal pronouns, this suffix is changed to *-îtc.*

lє it 5.1	*xle'îtc û̆x k·!înt* with it they two try it 7.4
ŋ'ne I 50.25	*ŋne'îtc he'łaq* with (or to) me he came
é^ne thou 15.7	*yé^ne'îtc* with, to thee 18.11
xä he 15.10	*hexä'îtc* with, to her 86.3
xwîn we two	*hexwînne'îtc* with, to us two 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE *-eyîm*

This suffix indicates great quantity or quality. It corresponds to our superlative.

tsä'yux^u small 20.5	*hє tsäyuxwe'yîm ā'la* the smallest child
he'm̄îs big 14.5	*hє hem̄îse'yîm yîxä'wєx* the biggest house

It is added mostly to terms of relationship that denote either a younger or an elder member of the family. In such cases it implies that the member spoken of is the younger (or elder) in a family consisting of more than two members of the same degree of kinship.

henî'k^unätc elder sister (out of two) 50.8	*wändj ʟ!äts hє henîkuntcé'yîm* that way spoke the eldest sister 126.16

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE *-înî*

-înî is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives *-nē̆^i, -änî* (see §§ 25, 37).

sla'atc cousin 42.21	*û̆x sla'tcînî* they two were mutual cousins 42.15
hä'ʟätc elder brother 72.27	*lîn häʟtcî'nī* we are brothers mutually
mîʟkwī'yätc younger brother 72.1	*kat'є'mîs îl mîʟkwī'tcînî* five they (are) brothers (mutually) 90.8

§ 73. INTERROGATIVE -*ū*

It is added only to the particles *tcītc*, *qantc*, *mǐ'lätc*, *dīᵗl*, *wît*, *ītc*, to the adverb *nǐ'cîtc*, and to the stem *ītse'ts* (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

tcī'tcū xa'lal û měn what are they doing? 92.18
xtcī'tcū tEṇ xä'nîs how is it that I am sick?
laᵘ qa'ntcū la that one where did he go? 94.25
mǐ'lätcū hanʟ eᶻwu'txe when will you return? 28.3,4
dīⁱʟū he tE eᶻwîlōᵘ'wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3
dīⁱltce'tcū hanʟ tEîs k·!înt with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2
 (*dīⁱltce'tcū = dīⁱl + -tc + -Etc + -ū* (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11)
xwî'tū tsī'x·tī'yat who did it?
ī'tcū eᶻdōwā'ya e'xkan which one do you want? 50.17
îl nî'ctcū how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)
ītse'tsū hemî'stEs tī'ye yîxä'wEx how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74–77)

§ 74. Ordinal -*îs*

The ordinal numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals (see § 101) the suffix -*îs*. The first two numerals are irregular, especially the ordinal for ONE. The adverbial stem *īla* AHEAD, the temporal adverb *yuwînt* BEFORE, or the same adverb with the adjectival ending -*īyEx*, are used in lieu of the missing regular ordinal numeral for ONE. The ordinal for TWO is formed by adding the suffix -*îs* to the adverb *asō* AGAIN.

ī'la, yuwî'nt, yuwî'ntīyEx first
asō'wîs second
yîpsE'nîs third
hecʟⁱ'ʟîs fourth
kat`E'mîsîs fifth

hēⁱ xä ī'la ʟowî'tat she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9
leṇ yuwî'nt hūᵘ'mîs my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)
leṇ asō'wîs hūᵘ'mîs my second wife
Compare also *helmī'hîs* next day (*he'lmī* to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

Of an obscure composition is the indefinite ordinal *tsī'wîs* THE LAST. Its first component can not be explained, while the ending is plainly the ordinal suffix -*îs*.

tsō cku tsī'wîs now (this) must (have been) the last one 120.1

§ 75. Multiplicative -en

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix -en TIMES.

1. *yîxe'n*	6. *yîxē'' wîeqen*
2. *tsō'xe'n*	7. *yûxwä' wîeqen*
3. *yîpsE'nen*	8. *yîxe'' ahälen*
4. *hecL'' Len*	9. *yûxwä' ahälen*
5. *kat'E' mîsen*	10. *Lep!qa' nîen*

The numeral for TWICE is irregular. It seems to be composed of the conjunction *tsō* NOW, of the inclusive personal pronoun *ûx*, and of the multiplicative suffix -en.

> *yîxe'n sLa'qa la* once bathing she went 84.24
>
> *tsō'xe'n hanL ŋwu'txe* in two days will I return (literally, twice) 28.4
>
> *kat'E'mîsen qa'xantc x·né'�situs* five times upwards (they) jumped 76.4
>
> *tsō kᵘ kwa nîctcé'n qalîmī'ye* then, perhaps, in a few days . . . (literally, now, perhaps, it seems, a few times, morning it got) 56.21

To this group belongs also the indefinite *weste'n* SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem *wes* SO MANY.

> *hîs weste'n tsîx· ta hîs weste'n yEai' L!tā'îtc ŋîtse'ts* I stay here just as long as in the other country (literally, also so many times here, and also so many times in another country, I stay) 26.8, 9

§ 76. Ordinal-Multiplicative -entcis

The ordinal-multiplicative numerals, expressed in English by AT THE FIRST TIME, AT THE SECOND TIME, are formed by means of the compound suffix -entcis. This suffix consists of the multiplicative -en (see above), of the modal -tc (see § 36), and of the ordinal suffix -îs (see § 74).

> *xyîxē''wîeqé'ntcîs L!ē'tc lä îluwé'ᵡtcîs* at the sixth time went out her heart 76.6, 7
>
> *xkat'E'mîse'ntcîs* at the fifth time

The ordinal suffix -îs may be omitted, as shown in the following example:

> *hecL''Lentc qalîmī'ye laᵘ laatā'ya lä sla'atc* on the fourth day he went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got . . .) 42.20, 21

§ 77. Distributive -*hiña*

Distributive numerals in the sense of ONE EACH, ONE APIECE, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix -*hiña* (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, *yî̆xē̆ⁱ* and *yû̆xwä̆*, change their final vowels into *a* before adding the suffix. This change may be due to purely phonetic causes (see § 7). The numeral for THREE, *yî̆'psɛn*, drops its final *n* before taking the suffix.

yî̆xahî̆'ña one each
yû̆xwahî̆'ña two each
yî̆psɛhî̆'ña three each
hecɪ̆ⁱʟhî̆'ña four each
kat`ɛmîshî̆'ña five each
gō̆ᵘs yî̆xahî̆'ña û̆ nhū̆ᵘmä̆'k·e ɪɛ wî̆'nqas û̆ hī̆ⁱ'me all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9
yî̆xahî̆'ña hĕ'îs mî̆'laq we two have one arrow apiece

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78–79)

§ 78. Irregular Plurals

The majority of nominal stems have the same forms in singular and plural. There are, however, a number of nouns and adjectives that show in the plural a formation which is distinct from the singular form. This formation is based upon two grammatical processes, suffixation and phonetic change, and·may be said to be of a petrified character. It is impossible to describe, or even suggest, the processes that may have taken place in this formation; hence no attempt will be made to discuss them in detail.

The following is a list of nominal stems that occur in two distinct forms, — one for the singular, and the other for the plural:

Singular	Plural	
ā̆'la 10.8	*hī̆ⁱ'me* 20.3	child
hū̆ᵘ'mîs 24.6	*hū̆ᵘmä̆'k·e* 20.3	woman
tō̆'mîʟ 20.2	*tɛmä̆'ʟe* 24.1	old man
dä̆'mîl 14.7	*tî̆'mîlĭ* 56.18	man
mä̆ 10.1	*mĕn* 24.22	human being
k·nes	*k·enē̆'yese* 30.16	hunchback
tsä̆'yuxᵘ 20.5	*tsäyä̆'ne* 48.7	small
tcĕ'xet	*tcĕ'nîxet* 46.19	short
qaʟ	*kaʟɛ'mka* 134.25	tall
aʟî̆'maq 112.27	*aʟî̆'maqa* 44.20	big
tcītc 10.9	*tî̆tcä̆'ne* 46.3	kind, manner

This distinction is not consistently carried out. Cases where the singular form is applied to denote plural concepts are quite numerous. This phenomenon is very natural, since in place of the idea of plurality we find rather the idea of distribution developed in Coos.

§ 79. Plural of Terms of Relationship, *-iyas*

The only substantives that form a plural by means of a specific plural suffix are the terms of relationship. The suffix employed for this purpose (*-īyas*) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, *-ätc* (*-atc*) (see pp. 365, 366).

	mEanī'yas parents 86.12
kwīya'ˣʟtc younger sister 50.14	*kwīʟtcī'yas* younger sisters 82.14
hä'ʟätc older brother 72.27	*häʟtcī'yas, häʟī'yas* older brothers 130.23
e'kᵘʟätc father 20.13	*ekᵘʟtcī'yas, ekᵘʟī'yas* fathers
eᵉ'nätc mother 68.16	*eᵉntcī'yas* mothers

This suffix may be present in the stem *ʟ!tā'yas* VILLAGE, derived from *ʟ!tā* EARTH, GROUND, COUNTRY. The initial *ī* of the suffix would amalgamate with the final *ā* of the stem into *ā* (see § 9), and the noun would express a collective plural.

§ 80. MINOR SUFFIXES

Besides the suffixes discussed in the preceding pages, Coos has a few suffixes of obscure function, that occur sporadically only, and that are confined to certain given stems. These suffixes are as follows:

-i occurs in one or two instances, and is rendered by AND ALL.

mī'laq arrow 12.10; *nmī'laqa* with arrow he is 20.18	*hemī'yat ʟE mä û kwā'xaʟ nmī'laqai* she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23
lā'mak· bones 40.12	*nteˣt ta nlā'mak·i* with flesh and bones and all

-ca is suffixed to the noun *hūᵘ'mîk·* OLD WOMAN. It was explained to me as having an endearing character, but instances are not lacking where the suffix is used in a derogatory sense.

wändj ʟ!ä'xEm ʟe hūᵘmî'k·ca thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20

ʟxant tc!wälé'tc ʟE hūᵘmî'k·ca (she) threw it into the fire, the (bad) old woman (the Giant-Woman)

-āyîms occurs in three instances, and seems to have a nominalizing
character.

tc!hats he put it out (the light) ·	*k·!ătc!hā'yîms laᵘ tc!île'et* it (the
128.16	fire) is burning continually (lit-
	erally, without [being] put out
	it is· caused to burn) 40.25, 26
îceᵉ tîtc! you two come in!	*tîtcā'yîms ꞑdōwā'ya* to come in I
82.14	(should) like
hethé'te rich 26.2	*hatā'yîms* money 20.15

-īyaL, -āyaL, are suffixed to a few verbal stems, and seem to
denote the performer of an action.

în- to hunt 24.26	*înî'yaL mä* a hunter
alî'canī he plays	*alîcanī'yaL* a player
Lōᵘ- to eat	*Lōwī'yaL* a person that eats
	qacqayā'yaL a shadow (?) 104.9

-īye, -äye. This suffix is added to a number of stems expressing
adjectival ideas. It is idiomatically employed in the formation
of comparison (see p. 417), and in some instances it is used to
indicate plurality of adjectival concepts. When used for the
purpose of expressing comparison, it seems to have a nominal-
izing function.

pL!îs heavy	*yū kwa päL!ä'ye xkwî'naᵘtc* they
	(pl.) look very heavy (literally,
	much as if weight [according to]
	appearance) 64.8
x·î'lwîs deep	*asî'L la û x·îluwī'ye Lex ya'bas* the
	maggots go halfway deep (liter-
	ally, middle, goes its depth [of]
	the maggots) 40.12
xū'us light	*hîs xä ta he'ûx xwä'wīye LE ·éᵉne*
	they two are as light as you
	(literally, also he and their two
	light weight [as] yours)

Singular	Plural	
pL!îs	*päL!ä'ye*	heavy
mî'tsîs 128.20	*mätsä'ye*	wise
xū'us	*xwäwī'ye*	light

-γîya is suffixed in one or two instances to local adverbs, giving them
an adjectival coloring, as it were.

hĭ′nī there 5.2

hĭnī′yîya mä dīʰ laᵘ mî′tsîs from there the people something know 128.19, 20

tsî he′ît tama′tîs hĭnī′yîya mä just their fashion (of the) people from there 130.8, 9

The function of this suffix may best be compared to that of the German suffix *-ige* in phrases like —

der heutige Tag this day
die dortigen Einwohner the inhabitants from there

-ī has been found suffixed to the article only. It seems to express the idea of instrumentality, although this idea may be due to the prefixed instrumental *n-*.

lₑ it, he, the 5.1

nle′hī la with it he went 42:8
nle′hī wu′txe with it she returned 70.23

The infixed *h* is due to hiatus (§ 10).

Reduplication (§§ 81-83)

§ 81. Introductory

Reduplication as a means of forming grammatical processes is resorted to frequently in Coos. The reduplication may be either initial or final. Initial reduplication affects the consonant, vowel, or whole syllable. It consists in the repetition of the weakened vowel or consonant of the stem, or in the duplication of the first stem-syllable. The connecting vowel between two reduplicated consonants is the obscure *ᴇ*-vowel; but, owing to the great tendency of Coos towards euphony, this obscure vowel is frequently affected by the stem-vowel (see § 7). Final duplication is always consonantic, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant by means of a connecting obscure vowel, which very often changes its quality in accordance with the stem-vowel preceding it, or with the vowel of the suffix that follows it (see § 7).

The grammatical use of reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb.

§ 82. Initial Reduplication

Initial reduplication expresses, in connection with the proper verbal suffixes, intensity of action, repetition, duration, and customary action. It is employed, furthermore, in the formation of the passive

voice.   Syllabic reduplication is used very often in addition to a phonetic device (see § 84) for the purpose of forming a number of verbs expressing transitive ideas of continuous duration.   These verbs do not then require any of the transitive suffixes.   This latter application may be of a later, secondary origin.

Examples of reduplication of initial sound, or of initial consonant and following vowel:

wīⁱn- to cheat

qaic small 128.29

aī′wît (he) killed them 124.4

pîls- to tear up

tīʷ- to coil

ʟō^u- to buy

e̤ʷwîwînā′mî I am cheating you

qᴇqai′cū lä wî′tîn clubbed (into pieces) is his blood 10.6

îl aiai̤ʷwā′yu they were killed 58.8

pᴇpîlsū′ye he was torn up 48.16

ṇtîtīwēⁱ′wat I am coiling it

ʟō^uʟō^uwī′yeqᴇm it is being bought 88.13, 14

Examples of syllabic duplication:

tcîne′henī he is thinking 24.13, 14

cîm- to attract

ītîslō^u′wat he recognized it 30.28

ûx hî′tō^uts they two put it down 7.4

lēⁱp- to paint

ʟō^ux- to hit

pō^u′kwîs slave

wēʟ- to twist

sî′x·îts he shook it off 42.3

ĕn hanʟ tcîntcînā′îs you sha'n't think of me 88.29

cîmcîma′ēⁱwaq it was attracting by means of its breath 88.25

îtī′tîsî′lū (she) is being recognized 56.5

la^u hîthîtōwēⁱ′wat these he is putting down 34.8

xle′îtc lîplî′yap lä ä with it she painted their faces 122.6

xnā^ant la^u ʟō^uxʟō^u′wax many that one were hitting 80.4, 5

mä pō^ukpō^u′wak^u people she was enslaving 70.15

xqe′îltc wîʟwēⁱ′yaʟ slowly she is twisting him 60.7

ṇsîx·sî′yax· I am shaking it off

Owing to the fact that reduplication and duplication are based upon the principle of consonantic or stem weakening, the repeated element occurs very often in a changed form.   The following rules have been observed in this respect:

(1) The semi-vocalic y reduplicates into a long ī.

yîxe′ntce together 64.8

yatēⁱ′wat he is coaxing him

īyîxantcū′ye it was gathered up

wändj îl ī′yatū thus they were coaxed 98.4, 5

(2) The spirant *x·* in consonantic combinations, when reduplicated, becomes *k·*. In the same manner alveolar *s* becomes the affricative *ts*.

îs x·ʟ!ōᵘt we two put it in 26.25

îl k·îx·ʟ!ōwēⁱʹwat they are putting them in frequently 52.9

x·tī it slid down 26.19

k·îx·tīʹyu it was slid down 94.5

yîxéʹn sʟaʹqa la once to bathe she went 84.24

tsîsʟaʹqaai she was bathing 84.21

stōᵘq he stood 20.4

tsɛstōqēⁱʹyu he was made to stand on his feet

(3) The reduplication of the fortis palatal *k!* consists in the mere amplification of the consonant by means of a prefixed *a*-vowel.

k!aʹlat he shouted 36.7

ak!aʹlaai lɛ hūᵘʹmîs shouting is the woman 56.5

(4) Combinations of two or more consonants, of which a velar, a palatal, a nasal (*m*, *n*), an *h* or *l*, form the second element, reduplicate the second consonant. The lateral (*l*) is in such cases preceded by a vowel, since initial combinations of *l* + velar are impossible.

skwīʹwat he informed him 164.22

wändj kwîskwīʹwat that way he is informing her 60.19

tsxawīʹyat he put it down 36.21

xɛtsxawēⁱʹwat he is putting it down

ʟkwaʹat he cut it off

kwîʟkwāʹyu it was cut off 76.14

sqats he seized it 36.20

mä qɛsqāʹyu the person was seized 10.4

ʟ!xant he threw it 42.10

xaʟ!xanēⁱʹwat he is throwing it frequently

aʹlqas fear 66.4

aqaʹlqsōnāʹya he became afraid of him 28.24, 25

ʟ!haʹtsa he put on 28.23

haʟ!hāʹyu it was put on

xmenīʹyat he tipped it over 46.26

mɛxmenēⁱʹwat he is tipping it over

q!mîts she ate it 24.16

mɛq!mīʹyu it is eaten 142.6

xᴱalīʹyat he hugged him 116.4

elxeᶜlēⁱʹyu he was hugged

Compare also —

laîʹxwît she jabbed him 112.17

îlɛxūʹye he was jabbed

ʟ!nōᵘt he opens (the door)

nōʟ!nōweⁱʹwat he is constantly opening (the door)

(5) Syllables ending in an *m*, *n*, *l* + consonant omit the *m*, *n*, and *l* in the repeated syllable.

kwîlt- to roar

kwîtkwîʹltaai it is roaring 114.6

qals- to cut

qasqaʹlsaai he is cutting

x·ne'ˣtîts he jumped 32.4	*x·îtx·î'ntaai* he is jumping
mî'ntcîts she asked him 62.15	*mîtcmî'ntcī'yeqᴇm* he is asked 70.9
haᵘmx- to dress hides	*ûx haᵘ'xhaᵘmaᵘx* they two are dressing hides 68.27, 28
dä'mîl man 14.7	*îc tᴇltä'mîltu* you two (will) get strong 120.17, 18
k!wanxᵘ- to cut (the hair)	*k!wa'xk!wanax* he is cutting his hair
tsîlk· to tie a knot	*tsî'k·tsîlak·* he is tying a knot
sîlp- to comb (hair)	*sî'psîlap* he is combing (his hair)

A number of stems occur in parallel forms showing both consonantic reduplication and syllabic duplication.

yîxe'ntce together 64.8	*īyîxantceᵋnē^{i'}yu* it was gathered up
	yᴇxyîxentceᵋ'nē^{i}yu it was gathered up 84.16
x·ne'et he is on top 10.1	*x·înx·înē^{i'}wat* he is putting it on top
	x·î'x·întū it is being put on top
mîntc- to ask	*mîtcmî'natc* she is asking 80.12
	mᴇmîntcū'ye he was asked
cūʟts he set afire	*cîʟcū'ʟaai* it is burning
	cᴇcū'ʟū fire was set to 58.11

§ 83. Final Reduplication

Final reduplication is used for the purpose of expressing distribution, mutuality, and, in intransitive verbs, an action that is performed now and then (see § 37). It is also employed as a means of forming neutral verbs that indicate actions of long incessant duration.

yᴇq he went away	*qai'nîs laᵘ yaqᴱqä'nī* from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19
sōᵘˣt- to trade	*îs sōᵘˣtîtä'nī hanʟ* we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8
hūᵘ'mîs woman 26.7	*înīᴇxa'nā laᵘ hūᵘmîsîsä'nī* themselves they marry 12.5
stōᵘ'waq he stood 20.7	*stōwa'qᴇqänī* he is continually standing up and sitting down
kwîlî'yat he rolls it	*kwîlᴱlä'nī ʟᴇ baltī'mîs* rolling is the ocean 6.2
kwᵃa'tîs dream 98.7	*laᵘ kwāᵃtᴱsîsä'nī* he is constantly dreaming (literally, now and then) 72.1

ĭk!wī tᴇ xā͞ᵃp runs down the water 16.9

ĭk!wa'kᵘ tᴇ xā͞ᵃp is continually running down the water 17.4

x·pī lᴇ yîxä'wᴇx it burned down, the house 58.12, 13

x·pa'ap lᴇ yîxä'wᴇx burning (down) is the house

wu'txe he came back 28.9

wutxa'xa te'ĭs hī͡ᵛme came back (one by one) our (dual) children 44.7

k!ᵘˣwī' lᴇ hū͡ᵘ'mĭs the woman was lost 54.19

heŋ pʟpä'wĭs k!u'waxᵘ my hat got lost (impersonal)

nᴇq he ran away 100.16

ĭl nᴇqa'qa they ran away (severally)

There are a number of stems expressing verbal, nominal, and adjectival ideas, that appear invariably in reduplicated or doubled form. Some of these expressions are onomatopoetic in character; others may have been borrowed from the neighboring languages; while still others may be new formations, necessitated by the introduction of new ideas and concepts through the contact of the Coos with the white people. (See also § 116.)

The following is a partial list of such stems:

e'qeq killing spot 80.14 (compare *e'qe-* to die)

lĭ'plĭp white man's paint (compare *lē͡ⁱp-* to paint)

yî'myîm eyelash (compare *yîm-* to twinkle)

tcō'xtcōx rabbit 60.23

wa'lwal knife 78.11

g·îmg·î'mĭs rain (compare *g·î'mīt* it rains)

ha'x·hax· wagon (compare *haⁱx·-* to drag)

k·î'nk·în stick

hethe'te rich 26.2

k·îsk·a'sîʟ fish-hawk

he͡ᵘ'he͡ᵘ knot 92.8

ku'kum raven

pū'spūs[1] cat

qatqaĭ'ʟ belt 28.7 (compare *tqaⁱʟ-* to put a belt on)

pū͡ᵘ'xpux a spout 30.25

qa'lqal digging-stick 26.17

mūs'mūs[1] cow

x·î'nx·în saddle (compare *x·ne'et* it is on top)

ta͡ᵘ'ta͡ᵘ basket 112.4

xa'ʟxat ax (compare *ʟxat-* to chop)

tsᴇtse'kwîn cane 28.18

xwa'lxwal eye 40.1

tsᴇlĭ'mtsᴇlĭm button

xwî'tsxūt deer 64.19

ta'ntan to come ashore (whale) 128.28

pī'ˣ·pī to go home 28.3

yū'yū to stop (while traveling) 5.2

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[1] Chinook jargon.

Phonetic Changes (§§ 84-85)

Grammatical processes by means of phonetic changes are few in number, and not clearly developed. The phonetic change may be of a vocalic or consonantic character.

§ 84. Vocalic Changes

Vocalic change is confined to the verb, and consists in the amplification of the stem by means of a vowel (usually the *a*-vowel), or in the modification of the vowel connecting a suffix with a stem. Stem amplification is employed for the purpose of forming active or transitive verbs from verbal stems, and of denoting duration of action. The latter application occurs in verbs that have already been transitivized by means of some transitive suffix. The stem is frequently duplicated before amplification is applied to it (see §§ 82, 83). For another explanation of this phenomenon see §§ 4, 11.

tkwīʟ- to follow	*ĭn tcītc tkwī'yaʟ* (they) can not follow him
tcînʟ- to reach	*yĭxä'wɛxetc tcî'naʟ lä kᵘmä'x.* to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26
stō̆ᵘq he stood 20.4	*nhaʟ! stō'waq* at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17
ûx yū'yū they two stopped (for a moment) 5.2	*ûx yū'ʷⁱyū* they two stopped (for a long time) 5.5
k!aᵘ- to peck	*k·ĭlō'wĭt k!a'wat* he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9
sĭlp- to comb one's hair	*sî'psĭlap* he is combing his hair
mĭntc- to ask	*wändj mĭtcmî'natc* that way she is asking 80.12
wīʟ- to twist	*xqe'ltc wīʟwē̆ⁱ'yaʟ* slowly she is twisting him 60.7

Modification of a connecting vowel, whenever it occurs, is employed for the purpose of indicating duration of action. As this phenomenon has been discussed more fully in connection with the transitive suffixes *-t* and *-ts*, the reader is referred to the chapters dealing with those suffixes (see § 26 and also p. 357), in order to avoid repetition.

ûx lĭ'cît they two shake it 13.8	*lĭ'cat hɛ ʟ!tä* (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2
ŋmu'xwît I felt it	*ŋmu'xwat* I am feeling it
ŋltîts I painted it	*ŋltats* I am painting it

§ 85. Consonantic Changes

The application of consonantic changes as a means of forming grammatical processes is a very peculiar phenomenon, characteristic of the Coos language. Its use is confined to a very few instances; and the process, while to all appearances consisting in the hardening of the final consonant, is of such a petrified nature that it is no longer possible to analyze it. It occurs only in a few nouns of relationship, and its significance may be said to be endearing and diminutive. The following examples of consonantic change have been found:

kwē'ⁱs a young woman 86.1	*kwē'ĭk·* a young girl 12.2
hūʷ'mîs woman 24.6	*hūʷ'mĭk·* old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5
dä'mîl man 14.7	*tō'mîʟ* old man 20.2
dī'lōl young man 22.6	*dī'lōʟ* young boy 60.2

Syntactic Particles (§§ 86-95)

§ 86. Introductory

By syntactic particles is meant here the great number of enclitic and proclitic expletives that are employed in Coos as a means of expressing grammatical categories and syntactic relations. They cover a wide range of ideas, and refer more properly to the whole sentence than to any specific part of it. With the exception of two particles, none of them are capable of composition; that is to say, they can not be used with any suffix or prefix, although two or even three particles may be combined into one. Such combined particles usually retain the functions of each of the component elements. All syntactic particles are freely movable, and may be shifted from one position to another without affecting the sense of the sentence.

§ 87. Temporal Particles

1. **han** ABOUT TO. It denotes actions that will take place in the immediate future. Its position is freely movable, and it may be placed before or after the verb.

> *tsō han kwī'lt hᴇ k·îtsîmä'mîs* now he was about to bend the half 62.29
>
> *xᴱalī'yat han hᴇ dī'lōl* he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

2. **hanʟ** SHALL, WILL. It is regularly used to denote a future action, and it is the sign of the future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

neᴎ pkā'katc hanʟ ᴎk·îlō'wît I will see my grandfather
gōᵘs dîⁱl hanʟ hä'wî everything will grow 9.3
cîn sqats hanʟ tɛ tc!wäl you shall seize that yonder fire 40.18, 19
îs alî'canī hanʟ we two will play 38.11
īn ʟɛ'γī hanʟ not good will (it be)

3. **ɛît** INTEND, ABOUT TO. It gives the sentence the force of a periphrastic future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

î qantc ɛît ᵋla when anywhere you intend to go 15.3
î dîⁱl îl ʟōwē'wat ɛît when something they intend to eat 38.2
qaikᵘ ûx wutxa'xa ɛît te'îs hī''me I thought that they two should come back, those our (dual) children 44.7

4. **nīk!wa** USED TO (BE). It denotes an action that took place long ago. It is often used as a sign of the past tense. In such cases it is always preceded by the particle *he* USUALLY (see below), and it follows the verb which is used in its repetitive form.

tēⁱ nīk!wa yeᵋneᵘ nā'hîn this used (to be) your shinny club 38.16
xāᵃp ᴎlu'qwît nīk!wa water I used to boil
ᴎwîwî'naai he nīk!wa I used to cheat
ᴎsî'psîlap he ᴎx·ne'k· nīk!wa I used to comb my hair

By suffixing to *nīk!wa* the obsolete suffix *-lī*, the temporal adverb *nīk!wa'lī* YESTERDAY is obtained.

nīk!wā'lī ᴎqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)
hūʷmîs he'laq ʟɛ nīk!wa'lī a woman arrived yesterday 142.10

5. **he** USUALLY, FREQUENTLY, HABITUALLY, denotes an action that is performed very frequently. The particle either precedes or follows the verb. The verb is very often used in the repetitive form, whenever possible.

gōᵘs mî'lätc he ʟ!ä'xɛm always usually he is talking 15.4
tɛmä'ʟɛ mä laᵘ tc!îcîla'ēⁱwat he old people on that sit habitually 38.3

When following the future particle *hanʟ*, or its potential form *yanʟ* (see p. 391), *he* coalesces with them into *hanʟawe* and *yanʟawe* respectively.

yanʟawe dîⁱl eᵋqaᵘwenîsa'nāya, hanʟawe xle'îtc ʟ'nuwî eᵋʟ!ä'xɛm whenever you will get mad at something, you will talk with it

loud (literally, if shall usually something you get angry at it shall usually with it hard you be talking) 16.3, 4

yanⱡawe xqantc mä hū'yam, ⱡɛla^u hanⱡawe ê^kwā'nanā'ya whenever a person gets ready to come from somewhere, this you shall usually tell (literally, if shall usually from where a person get ready [to come] this shall usually you tell it) 19.3, 4

The particle *he* amalgamates with the adverb *yū* VERY into a temporal adverb, *yuwe* WHENEVER.

xa'lwîs he yuwe la^u yîxu'm̄e warm usually (it is) whenever that one travels 24.6

yuwe yi'mat ha^u gō^us mî'lätc lōk^ulō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), it is always lightning 16.6, 7

The same process may have taken place in the rare adverb *towe* WHEN. The first component may be a stem, *to-*, while the second element is the particle *he*. The example given below will substantiate this assertion. We have here a complex of two sentences stating a fact of frequent occurrence. In the first sentence the repetitive particle occurs clearly, while it seems to be missing in the subordinate sentence. And since, according to the examples given above, all the components of a complex of sentences must show the particle *he*, it is safe to assume that the frequentative particle is one of the two elements in *towe*. The example follows:

xyɛai' ⱡ!tā'ītc he ûx yîxu'm̄e towe hū^w'mîs hîk!a'mtīye from another country usually they two travel when(ever) a woman gets her monthly courses 26.6, 7

§ 88. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Knowledge*

6. ***kwa*** IT SEEMS, AS IF, LIKE, KIND OF, denotes an object or an action the quantity or quality of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hats kwa tō'hîts just as if he hit it

kā^as kwa lî'cat hɛ ⱡ!tā almost as if he shook the earth 16.2

hats kwa ū'yu wina'qaxɛm läl ⱡōwē^i'wat just like a rainbow is spread out that (which) he was eating 32.14

hats kwa ꞯtō'mîⱡ just like an old man I (am)

7. ***yîku, k^u*** MAYBE, PERHAPS, I GUESS. Both forms appear without any apparent distinction. This particle may apply to any part of speech in a sentence, and its position is freely movable. It has a

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dubitative character. It expresses the possibility of a certain action taking or having taken place, and at the same time doubts the certainty of its occurrence.

hî'nī kᵘ ē'k·ᴇxᴇm lī'ye hä'ʟätc there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28

tsî kᵘ îc hewese'nī merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14

ʟa'yᴇtat kᵘ (she) may get hungry 64.15

eᵋxä'nîs kᵘ maybe (that) you are sick

This particle is very often followed by the negation *īn* NOT.

yîku īn xä'nîs he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

When followed by the future particle *hanʟ*, it amalgamates with it into *yîkwanʟ* or *kwanʟ* (see §§ 8, 9), and it is translated by (I) WONDER WHETHER, (I) SUPPOSE IF.

nī kwanʟ ā'ȳa ŋqā'ya won't I loose my breath? (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14

laᵘ ŋxʟ!ts kwanʟ suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16

yîkwanʟ dī'ltēⁱ ŋʟōwēⁱ'wat I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20

It is contracted with the following *ūʟ* into *yîkūʟ, kūʟ* (see § 9 and p. 391).

yîkūʟ īn ʟᴇ'yī perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)

yîkūʟ xtcītc yūʟ ʟîm ŋhaᵘˣts I wonder how it would be if I should make a dam (literally, perhaps would [be] how, if should a dam I make) 34.16

īn kūʟ qaic haʷ'pît teŋ xmî'nkatc could not my son-in-law cut off a chunk? (literally, not perhaps would a chunk cut off this my son-in-law) 128.29

When followed by the particle *îl* SURELY (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into *yîkwîl* or *kwîl* (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

qa'wax kwîl lī'ye hä'ʟätc above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5

The particle *yîku, kᵘ*, appears sometimes as *yîkwa, yîkwe*, or *kwe*. The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

yîkwa qantc ła where may it have gone? (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

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yîkwe dī⁴l tᴇ ŋk·îlō'wît what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11

kwa kwe yū în ā'yu ʟ sla? (I) wonder if it is not so, cousin? (literally, as if perhaps very not surely [it] must be, O cousin!) 38.21

8. ***hakwaℓ, kwaℓ.*** A compound particle having the same significance as *kwa*. It consists of the unexplained prefix *ha-* (which seems to occur also in *hamīʟ,* see p. 392), the particle *kwa*, and the abbreviated form of *dī⁴l* (see p. 407).

hakwaℓ x·îā'ɣam ʟᴇ lî'kwît kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10

k!wāᵃnt hakwaℓ qa'lᵘxtat he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. ***qĕn*** denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qĕn dī⁴l ʟ!î'mᴇq she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10

kwa qĕn mä îc sʟna'ē⁴wat it seems as if you two are hiding a person (literally, as if, suspicion, a person you two are hiding) 24.11

10. ***qaiku*** expresses a supposition on the part of the speaker. It was invariably rendered by ɪ ᴛʜᴏᴜɢʜᴛ. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle *kᵘ*.

qaiku ûx wutxa'xa ᴇ̂it te'îs hī⁴'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7

qaiku īn îl yeᶜneᵘ lō I thought not surely (this was) your property 112.7

11. ***qainī.*** Neither of the two elements of this particle can be analyzed. It indicates that a certain fact came suddenly into one's recollection, and may best be translated by ᴏʜ, ɪ ʀᴇᴄᴏʟʟᴇᴄᴛ, ɪ ʀᴇᴍᴇᴍʙᴇʀ. It is usually amplified by the particle ʟ (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainī ʟ nwa'waʟa û qāyîs he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.3

qainī kᵘ nlō'we û qā'yîs ʟ he came to remember that there was such a thing (literally, recollection, perhaps, with such a thing, the world, must [be]) 32.9

12. ***natsī.*** It is used by the speaker for the purpose of expressing doubt. It was rendered by ɪ ᴅᴏᴜʙᴛ.

natsī xdī'l la^u ʟōwē^{i'}wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it
36.9

natsī xtcī́tc lĭn sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it
56.19, 20

13. **hĕn** HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is
known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be trans-
lated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hä'wī hĕn ʟᴇ wî'nqas û temî'snätc grew up the Spider's grandson,
it is said 66.11, 12

pᴇnʟō'wai hĕn ta'ntan whales are reported to (have) come ashore
128.28

ye^εne^u ʟ'le hĕn la^u ŋai'wît your enemies (as I heard you say) those I
killed 110.16, 17

14. **îl** SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the
appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to *hĕn*,
whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a wit-
ness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experi-
ence, and may be translated by I SAW IT. It either follows or
precedes that part of a sentence which it is to specify more
clearly.

mä îl ŋʟōwē^{i'}wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18
ŋîloxqai'nîs mä îl I am a doctor, surely 10.2
tcī îl e^εʟō^uk^u there, indeed, sit down 38.22
ŋk·ĭlō'wît îl I saw him, for sure
xä'nîs îl he is sick (I saw it)
lᴇ'γī hanʟel it will be good certainly 15.9 (*hanʟel = hanʟ + îl*
see § 7)
īn hel sla not so, cousin 42.23 (see § 7)

15. **cku** indicates knowledge by evidence. It is used whenever the
speaker wishes to state a fact that occurred beyond doubt, but
whose causes are not known to him. It is composed of *c^E* (see
p. 389) and *k^u*. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN
THAT.

yû'xwä cku hū^umä'k·e yu'kwe two women must have gone ashore
126.11, 12 (the speaker knows this fact to be true by examining
the tracks on the sand beach)

hats cku kwa xmä la^u tcī hîthîtōwē^{i'}wat just it must be as if a per-
son that thing there put it 112.2 (the evidence of this fact was
the finding of the object in question)

§ 89. Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas

16. *yîqax, yîqa.* The exact significance of this particle is not clear. It was rendered by STILL, ANYWAY, AT ANY RATE, NEVERTHELESS, RIGHT AWAY, JUST. In some cases it denotes a continual action.

> *yîqa în tō'hîts hᴇ to'qmas* still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
> *yîqa hanʟ tsîx· eᶻhakᵘtō'wat tī'ye îx·* at any rate, you will here leave your canoe 54.10, 11
> *yîqax hanʟ ŋla* right away I am going
> *mā yû'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaū'wat* even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
> *hats yîqa xqa'wax ûx kwîna'ē^iwat* just continually from above they two look at it 6.9

17. *qats* HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

> *xqa'wax hä'k!wîtēm, laᵘ qats kwa ā'yu ʟōwa'hai qa'xantc* from above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10
> *qats kwîʟkwā'yu, hats lᴇqaᵘ'we lᴇ ā'la* nevertheless it was cut off (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. *mā* BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

> *mā yû'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaū'wat* even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
> *ma yanʟawe tî'mîli dî⁴l eᶜtō'hîts, yîqa hanʟawe laᵘ eᶻtsxaū'wat* even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it 124.11, 12

mā with the negative particle *în* is rendered by NOT AT ALL.

> *mā în mä kwaā'nīya, mā wändj ʟ!ä'xᴇm* not at all people he saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that he saw them) 30.27

19. *nā, nāyim* BECAUSE.

> *eᶻalqsîtā'mî, nāyim wändj eᶜʟ!ä'xᴇm* you scare me, because that way you are talking 110.15, 16
> *nā ā'yu qa'lyeq ha'ltsat* because surely salmon (will) come into the river 36.26

§ 90. Particles Denoting Emotional States

20. *cᴱ* expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one's expectations.

> *hūᵘ'mîs cᴱ la ā'la* a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in this case) 108.6

dä'mîl c^E ā'yu a man (it was) surely

tslîmī'ye c^E summer it got 30.20

tsō c^E ʟq! now it was cooked 34.2

yū c^E ʟe ɛ^k!a'lat too loud you shout (literally, very contrary to my expectations you shout [the speaker ordered the whale to shout loud, but he did not expect such a noise; hence the use of *c^E* in this sentence]) 36.15

hä'wī c^E ʟe wî'nqas û temî'snätc grown up (has) the Spider's grandson (this statement was made by a person who believed the boy to have been dead) 64.24, 25

c^E is combined with the future particle *hanʟ* into *canʟ*, and with the potential *ūʟ* into *cūʟ* (see § 9). These new particles express expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be translated by I HOPE, IT OUGHT.

ɛ^lɛ'γī canʟ you will be all right (I hope) 124.14

nī canʟ tcîtc xa'ltîl (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally, not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2

yū cūʟ ŋk·!äk·îña'wîs yūʟ ŋʟî'mlet I ought to get very tired, if I keep on spearing (literally, very much, it ought to be, I without laziness, if should I spear it) 34.17

ʟɛ'γī cūʟ î la^u īn kwîʟkwā'yu good it might have been if that one not had been cut off 76.16

la^u cūʟ nî'cîtc îs pīī'yat (of) that a little we two ought to take home 112.3

c^E is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun *tɛ*, forming a new particle *ctɛ* or *cta*. This particle often follows the interrogative forms of *tcîtc*, *dī'l*, and *wît* (see pp. 407, 411), giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.

ɛ^wî'tū cta who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)

dī'lū cta tɛ ŋk·îlō'wît what do I see? (literally, what is it that I see?) 106.16, 17

xtcī'tcū cta tɛ la^u īn ʟ!nō^u'tat why does it not come open? (literally, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. **cîl** INDEED. Composed of *c^E* and *îl*. It has retained the significance of both of its component elements. It consequently denotes a fact known by actual experience, at the occurrence of which the speaker is surprised, as it came into existence contrary to his expectations.

hîs cîl ɛ^ne yɛ^ mē^ilä'kuk^u la û x·na'at also indeed, thou, O heart of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20

tsō cîl xwändjî'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2

ɛ^ne cîl you it is, indeed 10.3

This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix -*īye* (see § 35).

hĭ'nī ᴄîlī'ye māndj k!wāᵃnt there, indeed, already he felt it 32.16, 17

22. *hîtc* indicates surprise. The native Coos is unable to render it. Its meaning was deduced from the sense of the sentences in which it occurred.

hē'hats dä'mîl k·îlō'wît tsxū hîtc lᴇn henî'kᵘnätc suddenly a man she saw lying with her elder sister 50.22, 23
mä hem'tset hîtc a person was laid bare 58.22

§ 91. Particles Denoting the Conditional

23. *ūʟ* WOULD, SHOULD. It puts the sentence in which it occurs in a potential mode. It may either precede or follow the verb to which it belongs.

kat'ᴇ'mîsen qalîmī'ye ūʟ wu'txe teŋ ā'la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23
laᵘ ūʟ ŋk·îlō'wît alî'canī ᴜ̂ mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16
ŋk·ĭ'ʟōᵘts ūʟ I should find it if—
xtcī'tcūʟ how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from *xtcī'tcū + ūʟ;* see § 9).

24. *yūʟ* IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever *ūʟ* has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of *ūʟ*. It always precedes the verb.

xtcī'tcūʟ yūʟ îs sō˟tîtä'nī how would it be if we two should trade? 15.6
yūʟ kwîna'ē'wat laᵘ în ūʟ aiaiᶜwā'yu lᴇ hī''me if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11
lᴇ'γī yūʟ ŋnʟî'me good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap 34.19

25. *yanʟ* IF expresses the conditional in the present or future tense. It usually precedes the verb, and it is used in subordinate sentences in apposition to *hanʟ*. It also occurs independently of *hanʟ*. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, *yanʟ* is used to express also the present conditional.

îl nī hanʟ kwîna'îl, yanʟ ŋcᴱa'lctet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

yanʟ ēn dōwā′ya xwändj, yîxē^{i′} dĭ^il hanʟ e^emîtsmîtstā′mî if you
don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8

. . . *yanʟ yɛaĭ′ ʟ!tā′atc îs hé′laq* when in another country we
two shall arrive 28.23

ŋk·!înt yanʟel I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try,
surely; *yanʟel=yanʟ+îl;* see § 7)

§ 92. Exhortative Particles

26. **L** MUST, NECESSARILY. It signifies that a certain state of affairs
or an action must take place. It has therefore the force of an
emphatic imperative. It is placed either before or after the
verb (or noun), no matter whether the verb is used in its impera-
tive form or not.

ĭtcîla′aîs ʟ cîn la′ɛx close to the shore you (must) go 30.23

qa′xantc ʟ pɛī′tɛ loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards)
30.26

în ʟ tcītc xa′ltɛ teŋ dä′mîl don't you do anything to my husband
(literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15

cîne^e tîla′qai ʟ you must stay (here)

e^eʟɛqa^uwîya′tanī ʟ you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14

lō ʟ ūʟ lɛ′yī this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily,
should be good) 40.25

27. **hamīʟ, mīʟ, īʟ.** The exact function of this particle defies all
attempts at an explanation. It was usually translated by LET
ME, I SHOULD LIKE TO, BETTER (IT WILL BE, IF), whenever it
referred to the speaker. When referring to the person spoken
to or spoken of, it was rendered by BETTER, YOU MAY, PLEASE,
A WHILE.

hamīʟ ŋkwîna′ē^iwat I should like to look at him

mīʟ dîltē^{i′} tō′hîts better hit this one 124.15

hamīʟ e^ene xle′îtc e^ek·!î′ntqɛm you may with it try 92.1

hamīʟ e^eʟ!äts please, speak 16.2

mīʟ halt! e^ene xle′îtc e^eʟ!äts now you with it speak (a while) 16.5

īʟ hanʟ xtcītc xa′lal? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that
hamīʟ (or *mīʟ*) is of an exhortative character. By its means the
speaker either asks permission of the imaginary person spoken
to, to perform a certain action, or he conveys a polite command
to the person spoken to. In both cases the granting of the
desire is a foregone conclusion.

hamīʟ and *mīʟ* are contracted with the periphrastic *han* into *hamīʟan* and *mīʟan*, adding to the particle a future significance.

hamīʟan ŋʟ!ēⁱtc let me go out 28.26
hamīʟan nî'k·ⁱn ŋwîlōʷwat let me look for wood 102.3
mīʟan eᵋmuxtîtsā'mî permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. ***kwîs*** LET US TWO. This particle is composed of the particle *kᵘ* PERHAPS and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun *îs* WE TWO. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kwîs ʟxa'tE let us two chop wood 26.15, 16
kwîs tsE'mtîtsE tE tahā'lîk· let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. ***kwîn*** LET US (ALL) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle *kᵘ* PERHAPS. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural *lîn*. The contraction of *kᵘ + lîn* into *kwîn* may have been effected by the analogy of *kᵘ + îs* into *kwîs*.

kwîn ʟe tsxe'wE let us kill him quickly 68.3
kwîn sqa'tsE let us seize it

§ 93. Particles Denoting Emphasis

30. ***hēⁱ.*** By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

hēⁱ yū xtcä'yuxᵘ mä a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6
hēⁱ xä ī'la ʟowî'tat xā'ᵃpatc she first ran into the water 56.9
hēⁱ cîl kwēⁱk·ī'ye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever *hēⁱ* precedes the conjunction *hats*, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by SUDDENLY.

hēⁱhats mä k·îlō'wît suddenly a person she saw 54.2
hēⁱhats ʟ!nōʷtat ʟE tc!î'lE suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. ***hēⁱkwaīn*** EXCEEDINGLY (like the English colloquial AWFULLY). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: *hēⁱ, kwa,* and *īn.* Literally translated, the particle means VERILY, IT SEEMS NOT. Since the phrase is used as a sort of an exclamation with an interrogative character, it may best be compared to our English exclamation ISN'T THIS A FINE DAY! which really means THIS IS A FINE DAY.

hē'kwaĭn lɛ'γī û îluwe'ˣtcîs she was awfully glad (literally, what, as if not her heart good?) 64.9, 10

hē'kwaĭn xhū'wîs mä a very poor man (literally, what, as if not a poor man?) 42.5

hē'kwa îl în dōwā'ya they liked him very much (literally, what, as if they not liked him?) 24.29

32. *ītɛ* is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

ṇ'ne *ītɛ lɛ eᵉdōwāyɛxtā'îs qaᵘ'wa* I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night 50.25, 26

eᵉhū͡ᵘ'mîs ītɛ! you will (be) a woman (emphatic) 24.20

tēᵗ ītɛ kwā'xaʟ lī'ye e'kᵘʟätc this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father 62.24

qa'lyeq ītɛ în ītɛ pɛnʟō'wai it is salmon, not whale (literally, salmon [emphasis], not [emphasis] whale) 130.12, 13

§ 94. Restrictive Particles

33. **La** ONLY. It limits the action to a certain object. It always follows the word so limited.

laᵘ ʟa în tcītc xalt (to) that only not anything he did 68.13

wa'lwal ʟa ā'tsɛm a knife only give me 80.14, 15

wändj ʟa ûx kwee'nīyēm that way only people know them two 19.10

34. *tsî* SIMPLY, MERELY, JUST. It has a slight restrictive character.

tsî eᵉqa'qal you were merely sleeping 68.19

yîxe'n qalîmī'ye tsî în dī͡ʷl one morning, it was simply gone (literally, once, morning it got, simply, not something) 88.3

tsî contracts with the following *hanʟ* into *tsanʟ* (see § 9).

tsanʟ eᵉtā'tcînts only then shall you have it 78.15

§ 95. The Interrogative Particle ī

35. *ī.* This particle, exercising the function of our sign of interrogation, is used only in sentences that have no other interrogation. It is usually placed at the end of the sentence.

ā'yu eᵉîloxqai'nîs ī surely (art) thou a doctor? 10.4

tsîx· ûx la ī did they two go (by) here? 96.18, 19

eᵉkwina'ē͡ⁱwat ī neṇ hä'ʟätc have you seen my elder brothers? 96.18

When preceded by the particle *han,* *ī* is rendered by MAY I?

ṇq!mîts han ī may I eat it?

THE PRONOUN (§§ 96-100)

§ 96. The Independent Personal Pronouns

Coos has two sets of independent personal pronouns, formed from two different stems.

The first of these two sets is formed from the stem -*xkan* for the first and second persons, and -*xka* for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

Singular	1st person	*nE'xkan*
	2d person	*e'xkan*
	3d person	*xä'kä*
Dual	Inclusive	*ïsnE'xkan*
	Exclusive	*xwïnnE'xkan*
	2d person	*ïce'xkan*
	3d person	*üxxä'kä*
Plural	1st person	*lïnnE'xkan*
	2d person	*cïne'xkan*
	3d person	*ïlxä'kä*

The obscure vowel in *nE'xkan* is due to the law of consonantic clusters (see § 4).

For the dropping of the glottal stop, inherent in the second person singular, see § 3.

The peculiar vowels in the third person singular may be the combined effect of accent and of the dropping of the final *n*.

It will be seen from this table that the singular forms are the basis for the corresponding dual and plural forms. Thus, the inclusive is formed by combining the inclusive pronoun *ïs* with the singular for the first person *nE'xkan;* the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual *ïc*, and the singular for the second person *e'xkan;* etc.

These pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be translated by I (THOU, HE . . .) AM THE ONE, WHO ——

> *nE'xkan hanL la^u ŋx·întī'yat tE xā^ap* I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21
> *hîs hanL e'xkan yîxē^i'e^k!wînt* also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1 ·

§ 96

That the dual and plural forms of this set are not felt to be integral units, and may easily be separated according to their component elements, is best shown by the following example:

tsō hanʟ nɛ'xkan xwîn eᵋī'ltā'mî now will we two tell thee 126.21, 22 (*nɛ'xkan xwîn* instead of *xwînnɛ'xkan*)

This use of the singular pronouns in place of the plural has been referred to in § 46.

The second set of independent personal pronouns may be called the "verbal set." These pronouns are formed by prefixing the personal pronouns *ṇ*, *eᵋ*, etc., to the stem *-ne*, which seems to have a verbal significance. The pronouns thus obtained may be translated by IT IS I, IT IS THOU, etc.

The third persons singular, dual, and plural have no special forms in this set; but they are replaced by *xä*, *ûxxä*, *îlxä*, forms related to *xä'kä*, *ûxxä'kä*, and *îlxä'kä*.

The series follows.

Singular	1st person	*ṇ'ne*
	2d person	*eᵋne*
	3d person	*xä*
Dual	Inclusive	*i'sne*
	Exclusive	*xwîn'ne*
	2d person	*i'cne*
	3d person	*û'xxä*
Plural	1st person	*lin'ne*
	2d person	*cin'ne*
	3d person	*il'xä*

hîs hanʟ ṇ'ne tcī ṇla I too will go there 94.22
halt! eᵋne tsîx· eᵋstōᵘq now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32
hîs xä cᴱa'lctet she too is working 22.26, 27

The Possessive Pronouns (§§ 97-98)

§ 97. The Sign of Possession, û

The idea of possession is expressed in Coos by means of the possessive particle *û*, which follows the term expressing the possessor, and precedes that indicating the possessed object. The possessor is not infrequently preceded by the article.

§ 97

k!wé he û lⁱ'nēk· k·îʟō'ʷⁱtsa leaves of a willow he found 30.17, 18

hɛ hä'tcît! û ä'la x·î'ntset Hetcit's child got on top 24.23

ûx lemī'yat ʟɛ mexä'ye û kwä'xᵘ they two set up the eagle's feathers
8.10

xwändj û lɳ'nas hɛ tsä'yuxᵘ lä'nîk· such (was) the name of the small
river 46.10, 11

The possessive sign very frequently takes the place of the possessive
pronoun for the third persons singular and plural.

lɛ'γī û îluwe'ˣtcîs he was glad (literally, good his heart) 32.5

ä'ɣa cku û qä'ya she must have lost her breath (literally, gone must
    be her breath) 58.24, 25

la û haʷ'we ʟɛ tcîcī'mîl the spruce-tree is growing (literally, goes
its growth, the spruce-tree) 20.16

la û paa'wɛs ʟɛ xāᵃp the water is filling up (literally, goes its
fullness, the water) 44.17

ä'wī û ʟōwä'was she finished eating (literally, it ended, her food)
24.13

hɛ e'stîs mä aʟî'maqa û îx· some people had large canoes (liter-
ally, some people, large their canoes) 44.20

yûxwä' û hū̆ᵘmä'k·e he has two wives (literally, two [are] his
wives) 20.3

djî û x·na'at ʟɛ nōᵘsk·î'lī the Big Woman came quickly (literally,
comes her quickness, the Big Woman) 78.26

The possessive sign is employed in impersonal sentences, where the
subject of the sentence is *qä'yîs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE. In these
cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the posses-
sive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the
subject. The sentences are rendered by THERE WAS, THEY ARE.

k·!äʟ!tä' û qä'yîs there was no land (literally, without [its] land
the world) 5.5; 6.1

īn tc!lé'xɛm û qä'yîs there was no low tide (literally, not [has] its
dry condition [the] world) 15.8

nwa'waʟa û qä'yîs there was a spider (literally, with its spider
    [is] the world) 30.3

qaicî'nîs kwee'tî û mēn people were living in a small place (liter-
ally, in a small place their living [place have] people) 50.7

tcī tî'k·îne û mēn there they were standing (literally, there their
standing [place, severally have] people) 74.28

§ 98. The Possessive Pronouns Proper

The possessive pronouns proper are formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns *ṇ*, *eᶜ*, etc., the article *lE* or *hE*, or the demonstrative pronoun *tE*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

Singular . . .	1st person	*heṇ*	*leṇ*	*teṇ*
	2d person	*lĭ'ye*	*lĭ'ya*	*tĭ'ye*
	3d person	*hā*	*lä, la*	*tā (?)*
Dual	Inclusive	*he'is*	*le'is*	*te'is*
	Exclusive	*he'xwin*	*le'xwin*	*te'xwin*
	2d person	*he'ic*	*le'ic*	*te'ic*
	3d person	*he'ûx*	*le'ûx*	*te'ûx*
Plural	1st person	*he'lin*	*le'lin*	*te'lin*
	2d person	*he'cin*	*le'cin*	*te'cin*
	3d person	*he'il*	*le'il*	*te'il*

The second person singular *lĭ'ye* has resulted from the combination *lE + eᶜ*. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *lĭ'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having *a*-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu cĭlĭ'ye heṇ kwᵃa'tîs surely, true came my dream 100.14

laᵘ kwîna'ēⁱwat lĭ'ye îluwe'ˣtcîs that one is looking into thy heart 14.8

pĭⁱ'nts lĭ'ya kxla bend thy foot 120.13

hän ye'es laᵘ ʟ!k·its into his mouth she poured it 102.12

laᵘ hanʟ he'is kala'lîs these shall be our two subjects 124.6

halt!yū nāᵃnt he'lin cᴱalctā'was too great (is) our work 68.27

ʟōwa'kats he'il eᶜnätc living is their mother 84.21

lä ʟ!ahā'was her clothes 110.3

ʟōwa'kats la ā'la his child remained 110.10

xä'nis le'xwîn e'kᵘʟätc sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19

ic la'tsīt le'ic e'kᵘʟätc you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13

ûx kwîskwĭ'wat le'ûx e'kᵘʟätc they two were informing their (dual) father 20.25

lᴱyuwî'ltE le'cîn sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8

ṇtsxaū'wat hanʟ teṇ mî'nkatc I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22

tĭ'yex e'kᵘʟätc hanʟ laᵘ k·î'ʟōᵘts tĭ'ye îx· thy father will find thy canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *neṇ*. This form may be explained as a reduplicated stem, in which the first *n* is, so to speak, the article for the first person singular, formed in analogy to *lE* or *hE*.

neṇ pkā'katc hanʟ ṇk·îlō'wît my grandfather I shall see

aiaiᶜwā'yu neṇ hĭⁱ'me killed were (all) my children 62.18

The personal pronouns without prefixes are often employed as possessive pronouns. In such cases the second person singular e^ε occurs as ye^ε.

> $ī'tcū$ $ṇdä'mîl?$ which one (is) my husband? 80.3
> $ā'ȳa$ $ṇqā'ya$ I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath) 66.27
> $nā^ant$ $hanʟ$ ye^ε $ʟōwā'was$ you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food) 54.6
> $k!ā$ $hanʟ$ $ye^\varepsilon n$ $k!wînts$ $ṇla'ats$ a rope around thy neck I'll put 94.12

In two instances the possessive pronoun of the third person singular is amplified by the addition of the possessive sign.

> $ʟE'γī$ $hä$ $û$ $îluwe'^x tcîs$ he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)
> $dzū'lī$ $lä$ $û$ $kwī'yōs$ a fur-seal (as) his dog 132.2

A possessive pronoun expressing absence is formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns the prefix $k\cdot !ä$-. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

> $nī$ $kwîskwî'îl$ tEx $k\cdot !äṇ$ $ū'mā$ not me informed that my (absent) grandmother 62.12

Besides these pronouns, there is another series of independent possessive pronouns. They are formed by prefixing to the verbal form of the personal pronouns $ṇ'ne$, $e^\varepsilon ne$, etc., the article hE or lE, or the demonstrative tE, and by suffixing the possessive sign $û$.

Singular . . .	⎰1st person	$heṇ'ne^u$
	⎱2d person	$ye^\varepsilon ne u'$
	⎰3d person	$hexä u'$
Dual	⎧Inclusive	$heîsne u'$
	⎪Exclusive	$hexwîn'ne^u$
	⎨2d person	$heîcne u'$
	⎩3d person	$heûxxä u'$
Plural	⎰1st person	$helîn'ne^u$
	⎱2d person	$hecîn'ne^u$
	⎰3d person	$heîlxä u'$

The second person singular shows a phonetic irregularity which I am at a loss to explain.

These pronouns are independent, and have a verbal significance. They may be rendered by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc.

§ 98

heŋ'ne^u lō tɛ qɛ'mä my property is that camas 112.6,7
ɛ^ɛheŋ'ne^u ɫ'le you (are) my enemy 118.3
ye^ɛne^u pī^ɫ ʟ!a'nēx thy cradle is new 38.17
hexä^{u'} lō hēn it is his property (it is said) 116.21, 22

§ 99. The Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive pronouns to the stem *tet* BODY. The possessive pronominal prefixes for the first and second persons singular are *ŋ-* and *ye^ɛ-* respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

Singular	1st person	*ŋtet*
	2d person	*ye^ɛtet*
	3d person	*tet*
Dual	Inclusive	*he'ístet*
	Exclusive	*he'xwíntet*
	2d person	*he'íctet*
	3d person	*he'ûxtet*
Plural	1st person	*he'líntet*
	2d person	*he'cíntet*
	3d person	*he'íltet*

ŋtō'hîts ŋtet I hit myself
lō^{u'x}tīt ye^ɛtet watch thyself 74.3
wändj pî'ctcîts tet thus he warmed himself 32.8
ûx ʟ!x·î'nx·ît he'ûxtet they two examine themselves 84.3
îl yu'xtîts he'íltet they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle *î'nīɛx* ALONE is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

xî'nīɛx ŋtō'hîts ŋtet alone I hit myself

§ 100. The Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns exhibit a variety of forms. Attempts have been made to discover whether the different forms may not indicate position from the standpoint of the speaker; but they have proved unsuccessful, owing to the fact that this idea does not seem to be clearly developed in Coos. Only the first two pronouns seem to accentuate this distinction. The following demonstrative stems have been found.

tēⁱ denotes an object that is near to the speaker, and may be translated
by THIS HERE. It always precedes the object to which it refers.

tēⁱ hanʟ tō'hîts this here he shall hit 20.14
tēⁱ ᵉᵖāᵃts this here you fill up 78.12

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of HERE.

tēⁱ ŋyîxu'm͞e here I travel 26.9
ŋtēⁱ hāʟⁱ I (am) here, O elder brother ! 72.26.

tE indicates an object that is away from the speaker, and may be
rendered by THAT THERE. It usually precedes the object.

tkwīʟēⁱ'wat tE to'qmas he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2
ûx k·îlō'wît tE ʟ/tā they two saw that (there) land 6.5
dⁱⁱltcE'tc tE ŋʟ/aqa'ēⁱwat with what (shall) I point my finger (at)
this one (there ?) 40.24

tE often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunc-
tion THAT.

xtcī'tcū tE gōᵘs mî'lätc eᵉyîxu'm͞e why (is it) that always you
travel ? 48.14
xtcī'tcū tE wändj eᶜⁱⁱltā'îs why (is it) that thus you tell it to me ?

(For *tE* as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under
laᵘ below, and *lewî*, p. 402.)

dîltēⁱ'. A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle *dⁱⁱl*
SOMETHING (see p. 407) and the demonstrative *tēⁱ* THIS HERE. It
may be translated by THIS HERE.

dîltēⁱ' kᵘlî'yex this stone here 124.16, 17

dîlte'. A compound of *dⁱⁱl* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and *tE* THAT THERE.
It is usually translated by THAT THERE.

dîlte' tE kᵘlî'yex that stone yonder
dîlte' mä the person yonder

laᵘ, haᵘ. This pronoun has the force of a whole sentence. It
applies to both subject and object, and it is used in singular and
in plural alike. It invariably precedes the subject or object
to which it refers. It may be translated by HE, THAT IS THE
ONE ; HE IT IS.

yîxe'n qalîmî'ye laᵘ ʟ/ēⁱtc häl tō'mîʟ one morning that one went
out, (namely) that old man 20.4.
xqantc laᵘ sī'ˣ·tᴱtsa laᵘ tcī la from where he (was the one to)
scent it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24
laᵘ lä xwî'luxᵘ ba'nxᵘtat that (was the one) his head became bald
30.14

la^u teᵐä'ʟe mä la^u tc!icîla'ē^iwat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3

la^u în la^u î'ʟxats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8

la^u hanʟ ûx c^ᴱa'ʟctet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26

k·îda'mînatc ha^u x·ʟ!ît into the bowl she put it 102.6, 7

la^u and *ha^u* are frequently emphasized by the prefixed article or by the demonstrative pronoun *te.*

ʟe lä'mak·, lala^u te bîldjī'yɛx the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6

lala^u he ʟōwē^i'wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6

tɛla^u ŋha^uxts te ʟ!tä I am the one who made that land 10.3, 4

In composite sentences having one and the same subject, *la^u* and *ha^u* are used in the subordinate sentence to avoid the repetition of the subject.

kwîña'was sī'ˣ·t^ᴱtsa (ʟe dī'lōl) î la^u hî'nī stō^uq smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24

xā'nanā'ya la ā'la î la^u ʟɛqa^u'wɛ his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewî, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun *te;* and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by *la^u*. It may be translated by IT IS, THAT IS.

lewî ʟe eñī'k·exɛm that is it, sticking out 46.11

hē^i cîl lewî'ye ʟe tc!î'ʟe surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

läl, häl, a demonstrative pronoun used for subject and object, singular and plural. It precedes the subject or object. It denotes objects that have been previously mentioned. It is composed of the article *ʟe, he,* and of the abbreviated form of the particle *dī^il* SOMETHING (see p. 407).

qa'nōtc stō^uq läl tō'mîʟ outside stood that old man 20.4, 5

wändj ʟ!äts läl hū^u'mîk· thus spoke that old woman 102.10

asō' sqats häl hū^u'mîk· lɛx swal again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

ûx nɛqa'qa häl teᵐä'ʟe they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

häl and *läl* have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa la^u ū'yu wîna'qaxɛm läl ʟōwē^i'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

tcī'tcū tₑ laᵘ xtōᵘs häl ᵉᶠʟ!aha'ē'wat why (is it) that that thing stiff (is) which you have on 110.4, 5

lō has a nominal force, and denotes THAT KIND, SUCH A THING. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu lō k·î'ʟōᵘts hₑ pa'xwîya surely, that kind he found, the man-zanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu lō haᵘˣts now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, *lō* expresses the idea of property.

heₙ'neᵘ lō tₑ qₑ'mä that camas belongs to me 112.6, 7

Lō has a local meaning, and may be translated by IN IT, ON IT. It always follows the object to which it refers.

pᴱ'sîk· ā'tsₑm ʟō nî'cîtc xāᵃp haᵘ'wₑ a cup give me, in it a little water have 68.17, 18

tsetî'x·ume ʟō heᵘ'heᵘ haᵘ'wₑ! on this side make a knot (literally, where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k·!äₙ MY ABSENT. The prefix of this possessive pronoun may be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun (see pp. 323, 399).

THE NUMERAL (§§ 101-102)

§ 101. The Cardinals

1. *yîxē'ⁱ*	20. *yûxwä'ka*	
2. *yûxwä'*	30. *yîpsₑ'nka*	
3. *yî'psₑn*	40. *hecʟⁱ'ʟka*	
4. *he'cʟⁱʟ*	50. *kat'ₑ'mîska*	
5. *kat'ₑ'mîs*	60. *yîxē'ⁱwîeqka*	
6. *yîxē'ⁱwîeq*	70. *yûxwä'wîeqka*	
7. *yûxwä'wîeq*	80. *yîxē'ⁱahälka*	
8. *yîxē'ⁱahäl*	90. *yûxwä'ahälka*	
9. *yûxwä'ahäl*	100. *yîxē'ⁱ nî'k·în*	
10. *ʟep!qa'nī*	111. *yîxē'ⁱ nî'k·în ʟep!qa'nī*	
11. *ʟep!qa'nī yîxē'ⁱû'qtsī*	*yîxē'ⁱû'qtsī*	
12. *ʟep!qa'nī yûxwäû'qtsī*		

The Coos numeral system is of a quinary origin, and, strictly speaking, there are only five simple numeral stems; namely, those for the first five numerals. The numerals for SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are compounds, the second elements of which can not be explained. In the same manner the numeral for TEN defies all attempts at analysis.

Besides the cardinals, Coos exhibits special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and distributive numerals, formed by means of adding certain numeral suffixes to the cardinal numerals (see §§ 74–77).

The collective numerals expressed in English by the phrases IN TWOS, IN THREES, etc., are formed in Coos by means of suffixing to the numerals for TWO, THREE, etc., the adverbial suffix *-ē^itc* (see § 67).

> *yûxwä'hē^itc la^u hǐthǐtōwē^i'wat* in pairs he is putting them down 34.7, 8
> *xyîpsɛ'nē^itc* in threes

The collective numeral for ONE, *yîxe'ntce*, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal *yîxē^i'*, the distributive suffix *-n* (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix *-tc* (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix *-e* (see p. 359).

> *yîxe'ntce sqats* together he seized them 64.8, 9
> *yîxe'ntce îl nʟ!tā'yas* together they (live) in (one) village 122.18.

§ 102. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten have forms exemplified by TEN (TWENTY) ONE OVER. Thus *ʟep!qa'nī yîxē^iû'qtsī* ELEVEN literally means TEN ONE OVER, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of suffixing to the numerals from ONE to TEN (exclusive) the suffix *-ka*. The numeral for ONE HUNDRED, translated literally, means ONE STICK, which indicates that the Coos may have used counting-sticks for the purpose of counting up to one hundred. TWO HUNDRED would mean TWO STICKS, etc. The numeral ONE THOUSAND does not seem to have been used at all. There is no special stem for it. The natives to-day form this numeral by adding the noun *nî'k·în* STICK to the numeral stem for TEN, expressing ONE THOUSAND by the phrase TEN STICKS.

THE ADVERB (§§ 103-106)

§ 103. Introductory

The dividing-line between adverbs and particles can not always be drawn very definitely. This is especially true in the case of the three particles expressing locality, time, and modality (see § 112). Adverbs express local, temporal, and modal ideas. A few of them may be said to express local phrases. In a number of cases two adverbs have been combined for the purpose of indicating a new adverbial concept, which is nothing more than an amplification of the ideas conduced by each of the two separate component elements. Some of the local adverbs seem to distinguish slightly between the idea of locality that is near the first, second, or third person; although

I am somewhat doubtful on that point, owing to the fact that this idea is hardly recognizable in the demonstrative pronouns.

The great majority of modal adverbs occur with the adverbial suffix of modality -*tc* (see §§ 25, 36), and are often preceded by the modal prefix *x*- (see § 24). It is conceivable that this suffix may have been originally adverbial *par excellence*, and that it gradually became confined to adverbs expressing mode and manner. This opinion may be substantiated by the fact that the adverbial suffix -*tc*, when added to nouns, expresses other adverbial ideas besides those of modality. It is also suffixed to a number of stems expressing local phrases.

The following is a complete list of adverbs that have been found in Coos:

§ 104. Local Adverbs and Phrases

asî'ʟ between, halfway 5.1

ē'qatce to one side 42.3

ī'la before, ahead, in front 56.9

yî'helq close by 60.21

yîqa'tēⁱ close there (?) 90.23

yîqa'ltsîx· close here 104.12

yîqai'nī so far, right here 14.4

hî'nī there 5.2

tīᵘ over there 90.21

tsîx· here 24.4

tsî'x·tī over here 13.5

tse'tîx· over here

tcī there 7.4

tc!e'etc back in the woods 88.11

qaya'ᵃtc, *qa'tîtc* down the stream 24.24; 54.1

qa'wax high up 8.11

qai'nas close to the fire 82.19

qaî'nis away from the shore 36.18

qaits inside the house 140.24

qat below 36.11

qapu'kul the other side, across 140.18

qa'xan up 34.4

qaʟ down, below, under 116.9

xtse'tîx· from here 136.3

xqa'wax from above 6.4

xqa'lin from under 90.4

xle'tîx·, *le'tîx·* from there 12.2; 78.28

ltcîla'ais close to the shore 30.23

ʟ!ha'waîs near, close to 50.20

§ 105. Temporal Adverbs

asō' again 6.1

ai'wa still, yet 7.6

yuwe whenever (*yū* + *he* [see § 9]) 24.4

yuwî'nt before 178.25

*hats*ᴱ*yū* always (*hats* + *yū* [see § 110])

halt! now 15.6

māndj already (used for the purpose of expressing the past tense) 20.1

tᴇ'm̄a at the same time 17.3

tī'ˣ·tse to-day 19.9

kwî'yaʟ now 9.1

lᴱai'wa while (*lᴇ* + *aiwa;* the article is prefixed here for the sake of emphasis)

§ 106. Modal Adverbs

ā'yu sure, enough 16.2

yū very, very much 11.5

halt!yū (*halt!* + *yū*) too 44.18.

wändj, xwändj thus, that way 68.16; 6.8

pɛ'lukwītc entirely 130.7

ta^u, ta so, such 52.16

nā^ant much, many 44.18

nî'cîtc a few, a little 68.17

tsō'nō both ways 6.2

tsqé'yîxetc edgeways

g·ʼi, g·ī'kwa a little 36.6; 28.10

kā^as almost 20.19

x^u, yûx, yûxtî'k·ʼi hardly 28.17

xwé'lîxetc in a stooping position 118.15

xpīyé'etc homewards 42.7

txa'nuxwītc sideways 38.10

xtema'atc crossways 64.28

xnō'we right 44.9

xcî'yîtcîtc clear around it 128.18

xqe'ʼltc slowly 60.7

xLa'qatc belly up and mouth open 102.11

xLeye'entc truly 148.1

xlōwe'entc wholly 44.17

lai'sama quickly, hurriedly 30.1

ʼnuwī very, very much 15.6

L^Epé'xetc belly side down 58.14

Lōwe'entc entirely 30.11.

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

qa'xantc upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1

ya'nōtc outside 20.4

qeltc downwards 6.4

yî'qantc backwards

lɛ'xatc inside 62.8

é'hentc far off (compare *é'he* he was gone 108.9) 26.23

, *qa'tîtc* down stream 54.1

tɛqai'tc up stream 160.15

The temporal phrase *xtemī'towetc* FROM THAT TIME ON 42.12 may also belong here, although the original stem is no longer recognizable.

Whenever these modalized local adverbs are used in connection with verbs expressing motion or active ideas, they take the verbal suffix *-e* (see § 55).

é'hentc stō^uq far off he stood 26.23

qa'nōtclîn tsxū outside we lay 50.10

qeltc ûx îlx down they two looked 14.2

în e^ ehé'ntce yîxu'me not you far away go 112.24

qanō'tca îl L!é^tc outside they went 50.11

qé'ltce tsî'x·tī hé'laq down right here it came 13.5

PARTICLES (§§ 107-112)

§ 107. Introductory

No formal distinction can be made between the stems that were termed "syntactic particles" (see §§ 86–95), and the words treated in the following chapters. Both exhibit practically the same phonetic structure. There is, however, a vast difference between these two sets of words, which asserts itself in the grammatical use to which they are applied, and in the morphological treatment that is accorded to them. None of the syntactic particles can be clearly and definitely rendered when used independently; or, in other words, the syntactic particles are capable of expressing concepts only in a complex of words. On the other hand, all particles proper express definite ideas, regardless of whether they are used independently or not. However, the most important point of distinction between syntactic particles and particles proper lies in the fact that the latter are capable of word composition. Hence all grammatical processes may be applied to them; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of them occur with a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

§ 108. Pronominal Particles.

By means of these particles Coos expresses the ideas conveyed by our indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns. The following particles are employed for this purpose:

wît SOMEBODY is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by WHO.

> *în xwît la^u k·îtī'wîta* nobody that one can overtake 92.21, 22
> *kwaā'nīya wît läl hū^u'mîk·* she knew who it was that old woman 102.20

dī^il SOMETHING is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

> *he'm̂îs dī^il ŋk·îlō'wît* big something I saw 62.21
> *gō^us dī^il hanʟ hä'wī* everything will grow (literally, all something will grow) 9.3
> *yû'xwä dī^il ŋk·îlō'wît* two things I saw 112.26, 27
> *ntc!a'ha dī^il tcī he'laq* animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there) 46.1, 2
> *nʟ!pe'ne dī^il tcī he'laq* birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there) 46.2, 3

dĭⁱl is very often abbreviated to *l*.

k!wenî'yaᵘl ŋwî̄lōᵘ'wat for some food I am looking

(See also under *läl, häl*, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix *-ū* (see § 73) to *dĭⁱl* and *wît*, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by WHAT and WHO respectively (see also p. 390).

dĭⁱ'lū he tE eᶜwî̄lōᵘ'wat what are you continually looking for? 54.3
xwî'tū tsī̂ᵗx·tī'yat who did it?

wîctce' takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by WHICH ONE.

wîctce' eᶜdōwā'ya which one do you want? 50.16

ītc WHICH occurs very rarely. It may be said to exercise the function of our relative pronoun.

ītc yū he'm̄îs whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21
ītc he nq!eⁱltse whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

î'nīEx ALONE. This particle exercises the function of the reflexive pronoun in intransitive sentences. It is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, and precedes the verb. It is then rendered by MYSELF, THYSELF, etc. (see also p. 400).

xî'nīEx laᵘ lᴱãn alone they went down into the water 36.18
î'nīEx ŋcᴱa'lctet alone I work, I myself work
înīEx lōwa'kats alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as *înīExa'm̄a* or *înīExa'ña*. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

înīExa'ñā laᵘ hūᵘmîsîsä'nī they marry one another 12.5
înīExa'm̄a ûx γā'lanī they two speak to each other
înīExa'ñā lîn tōᵘsîsä'nī we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, *î'nīEx* assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by MY (THY) OWN.

xî'nīEx ŋhaᵘˣts ŋyîxä'wEx I build my own house
xî'nīExa'm̄à ŋhaᵘˣts ŋyîxä'wEx I build my own house

§ 109. Numeral Particles

ī′k·ī BOTH, *gō^us* ALL, *hɛ′ma* ALL, *denk·* EACH, EVERY, and *yEai′* ANOTHER, may be called numeral particles. *hɛ′ma* is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while *gō^us* precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

gō^us wändj îl ʟlä′xEm they all that way talk 50.9, 10

xgō^us mä la^u kwaā′nīyahā′ya all people came to know it 102.29

n̥k·îtī′wîta hɛ′ma I overtook them all

alqsā′ya hɛ′ma he is afraid of them all

denk· klwī′lîs every night 82.9

halt! yEai′ x·ne′ˣ·tîts qa′xantc now another one jumped upwards 76.3, 4

halt! yEai′ mä ʟowî′tat now another man runs 78.28

ī′k·ī expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

ī′k·ī tō′hâts he hit both of them 114.4

e′qe ī′k·ī dead (are) both 120.5

īk·ī ûx tclā′at both walked 120.19

§ 110. Conjunctions

Coos has a number of stems that must be classed as conjunctions. The following may be regarded as such:

hîs also	*hats* just
ta and	*tsō* now, then
î when, as, since, while	

hîs and *ta* serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

hîs xä cᴱa′lctet also she is working 22.26, 27

kwaā′nīyahā′ya läx hä′ʟätc hîs läx eⁿätc hîs läx e′k^uʟätc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23

sqats ta tclwäle′tc ʟlxant he caught and into the fire he threw him 104.15

î connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā′ȳa û îluwe′ˣtcîs î la^u lklwa′k^u lE xā^ap he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4

laqtsō^{uʷ}wat î djī he waited, as he came 118.9, 10

î la^u sqats la^u xähī′ye la^u lō when one seizes it, it belongs to him (literally, when that one seizes it, that one becomes he [to whom] that thing belongs) 92.22

hats serves to introduce a new idea.   It was conventionally rendered
by JUST, although it hardly conveys the idea expressed by our
English word.

> *ʟqa'at î tc!wä'letc kwî'nait.   Hats kwa mîᵉla ʟᴇ wā'wa î laᵘ xai'la*
> he opened his mouth, as into the fire he looked.   Just like a
> liver the little girl as she became warm 108.24, 25
>
> *ā'yu l'nuwî tc!îli'yat hᴇ tc!wäl.   Hats yî'qax qa'qaɬ ʟᴇ swal* surely,
> she built a big fire.   Just right away fell asleep the bear
> 100.27, 28

hats . . . hats is usually rendered by AS SOON AS.   *Hats* prefixed
to the adverb *yū* VERY forms a new adverb, *hatsᴱyū*, which was
invariably rendered by ALWAYS (see § 105).

tsō indicates a syntactic division with a continuation of the same
thought.   It was translated by NOW.

> "*hamī' ʟan nî'k·în ŋwîlō*ᵘ'*wat*" *wändj ʟ!ä'xᴇm ʟᴇ hū*ᵘ'*mîk·.   Tsō*
> *ā'yu tsä'yux*ᵘ *mî'k·e sqats* "(please) for wood I will look," thus
> said the old woman.   Now, surely, a small basket she took 102.3,
> 4, 8
>
> *mîtsîsî'ya läl hū*ᵘ'*mîk· ʟex swal, tsō asō' sqats häl hū*ᵘ'*mîk· ʟex swal*
> knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old
> woman, the bear 102.21, 22
>
> *tsō eᶠî·lltä'mî tsō hanʟ eᶠîlx* when I tell you, then you shall look
> (literally, now I tell it to you, now shall you look) 17.2, 3

§ 111. Interjections

ā'nta LOOK, BEHOLD!   It is always placed at the beginning of the
sentence.

> *ā'nta tēⁱ tî'ye mî'laq* look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28
> *ā'nta k·îlō'wîtᴇ* behold, see it! 94.25

tā'ī the greeting formula of the Coos.   It was rendered by HALLOO.

> *tā'ī sla'* halloo, cousin! 44.3
> *tā'ī nᴇx ā'la* halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

īn NOT, a particle of negation.   The particle of affirmation is *ᴇn.*   This
is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic par-
ticle *îl* SURELY (see p. 388).

> *īn k·î'ʟōᵘts* he did not find it 22.18, 19
> *ûx īn kwaā'nīya* they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

§§ 111–112

qantc PLACE, WHERE.

> *qantc lᴇlaᵘ laā' ɥ̄am, laᵘ hîs xä tcī la* wherever they went, he also
> there went 22.17, 18
> *ŋkwaā'nîya qantc* I know where (it is) 80.14
> *gōᵘs qantc* everywhere 46.22
> *în qantc k·î'ʟōᵘts* nowhere he found it

mî'lätc TIME.　It is used mostly in connection with the numerical
　　particle *gōᵘs*, and is then rendered by ALWAYS.

> *gōᵘs mî'lätc ʟ!ä'xᴇm* always he is talking 14.5, 6
> *mî'lätcū hanʟ eᵋwu'txe* when will you return? (literally, time,
> question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tcītc MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

> *gōᵘs tcītc îl alî'canī* all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25
> *tcītc he ʟōwēⁱ'wat* whatever he is eating (habitually)
> *îl în tcītc tsxaū'wat* they can not kill her (literally, they [have]
> no way [to] kill her) 80.24

ā'watu WHETHER OR NOT.　This particle is very rarely used.

> *ā'watu ŋdjī* I may or may not come
> *ā'watu în tsî'x·tī he'ḷaq* (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem *ītse'ts*

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem *īts-*, transitivized by
means of the suffix *-ts*, but its application covers such a wide range
of different ideas that each of them will have to be enumerated
separately.

(1) It is used as an expletive particle with a significance that adapts
itself to the sense of the sentence.

> *în kwee'nîyēm ītse'ts he'îl nāᵃ'ntᴇs* no one knew how many they
> were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, *what* [was] their
> number) 78.2
> *yᴇaî' ʟ!tā'ītc ŋītse'ts* in another country I *stay* 26.8, 9
> *xtcī'tcū ītse'ts hᴇ nōᵘsk·î'lī* what *is the matter with* the Big Woman
> 72.28
> *ītse'ts yî'kᵘ îl laᵘ henî'yᴇᴇs hînî' ʟōwa'kats* he may have been sit-
> ting there for a long time 40.14
> *kwaā'nîya xtcītc hanʟ ʟᴇ ītsēm* he knew what was going *to happen*
> (the *-ēm* in *ītsēm* is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20
> *ûx în kwaā'nîya qantc haᵘ ītsēm* they two did not know where he
> was 22.9, 10
> *ēn hanʟ tcītc ītsēm* to you nothing will *happen* 66.5

(2) When the transitive suffixes, other than -ts, are added to it, its significance is clearly verbal.

> *yî'kwanʟ xtcītc n̥ītsîtsī'wat* I wonder what I shall *do with it* 86.8
>
> *yî'kwanʟ xtcītc xwîn ᵉⁱtsîtsā'mî* I wonder what we two shall *do with* you, how we two shall *keep* you 24.3, 4
>
> *xtcī'tcū ᵉⁱtsîtōᵘʹwat tî'ye wîx·î'lîs* how did you *get* that your food? 64.17, 18
>
> *în kwee'nîyēm xtcītc îl î'tsetū* no one knew what *became of* them 52.1, 2·

§ 114. Verbs as Adjectives

The use of verbs as adjectives is confined to a few sporadic instances. These verbs are, as a rule, intransitive, although they occur with the transitive suffix -*t*. (See also § 117.)

> *lkwî'lît haᵘ yîxu'm̄e* she travels blazing (red-hot) (*lkwîl*- to burn) 24.18, 19
>
> *lkwî'lît tsaxa'lîsetc laᵘ lō'qᵘtîts* by means of red-hot pebbles she boiled it 102.6

Whether the phrases *paā'hît ʟe yîxä'wex* THE HOUSE IS FULL, *g·îmg·î'm̄ît* IT IS RAINING, belong here, is a problem which is hard to decide, although the psychological relation between these examples and those quoted above is not inconceivable.

§ 115. Nouns as Qualifiers

Substantives are often used to qualify other nouns. In such cases the qualifying noun always precedes the qualified substantive, and both nouns retain their nominal character.

> *dî'lōʟ ā'la* a young boy (literally, a young male child) 60.2
>
> *hūᵘʹmîk· mä ʟōwa'kats* there lived an old woman (literally, an old female being) 100.20, 21
>
> *tō'mîʟ dä'mîl tsxū* an old man lay (literally, an old male man) 50.21
>
> *tsäyä'ne tî'mîlî le'ûx hî̄ʹme* their (dual) little children were boys (literally, little male children) 42.16

§ 116. Vocabulary

All Coos stems are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (mostly bisyllabic). Monosyllabic stems consist of a vowel followed by one or two consonants, of one or two consonants followed by a vowel, or of consonants, vowel, and consonants. Some of the bisyllabic stems that are found in the language have been expanded by means of grammatical processes (see §§ 4, 84).

Examples of monosyllabic stems:

ai^w- to kill (many) 58.8	ḥak- to crawl 32.10
a^w- to quit 14.4	ḥa^{u}p- to tear off 58.14
$ē^ik$·- to be among 46.13	pîn- to shake 58.24
îlx- to look 14.2	mîl- to swim 24.27
ī^{i}l- to tell 7.8	te^{x}t- to enter 22.29
īln- to set up 34.23	tcîl- to be ashamed
ḥa^i- to gamble 38.23	k!al- to shout 24.22
ḥū- to be ready 19.3	wînq- to weave, to pile 18.1
pā^a- to fill 15.7	mîntc- to ask 62.15
sqa- to seize 10.4	tsîmx·- to fasten 46.7
ʟqa- to believe 28.13	k·îmst- to pick 17.1
tsxa^u- to kill (one) 14.7	tkwīl- to follow 9.9
yᴇq- to run away 36.19	· tqanʟ- to strike 28.1
yōq- to split in two 7.3	tqa^{i}ʟ- to put a belt on 28.22
wîn- to wade 58.2	

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

e'he to be gone 38.15	kwî'na- to look 6.4
yî'xux^u- to have, to carry 54.12	ak·a'nak· to stick out 42.1
wu'txe **to** come back 28.4	ītîsîl- to recognize 30.28
ḥa'k^{u}t- to leave 30.8	yîxu'm̄e to travel 10.3
sîtsī^{i}n- to go and see 9.7	tî'k·îne to stand 62.22
k·î'lō^u- to see 6.5	

With the exception of the terms of relationship, the nouns indicating parts of the body, and all other words of a denominative character, the Coos stems are neutral and receive their nominal or verbal character through the suffixes.

stō^{u}q- to stand 20.4	stōwa'qwîs wall 90.18
ʟ!ä- to speak 9.3	ʟ!ē'yîs language 14. 5
ʟ!ha- to put on 28.22	ʟ!ahā'was clothes 110.3
lō'wak^u lightning 18. 5	lō'kwît it lightens 18. 8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

tqaiʟ- to put around 28.22	qa'tqaiʟ belt 28. 22
tcō^u- to jump	tcō'xtcōx rabbit 60. 23
ʟxat- to chop wood 26.16	xa'ʟxat ax
pūx^u- to spout	pū^{w}xpūx^u a spout 30. 25
lē^{i}p- to paint	lî'plip paint
x·în- to be on top	x·î'nx·in saddle
yîm- to twinkle	yî'myîm eyelash

§ 116

§ 117. Structure of Sentences

The structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, owing chiefly to the fact that in the absence of incorporation, subjects, objects, and predicates are expressed by means of independent words. No strict rules can be laid down for the consecutive order in which the different parts of a sentence occur. It may, however, be said in a most general way, that all adverbial ideas precede the verb, and that the subject of the sentence tends to appear at the very end, especially in subordinate clauses. The object may either precede the verb or follow it.

> *kwîlé′ʟēⁱtc tsxū läl tō′mîʟ* in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12
> *yîxä′wExetc la ʟE hū^w′mîs* into the house went the woman
> *ʟEx tsṇna′hEtc ʟ!äts ʟE mā′qaʟ* with the thunder-language spoke the crow
> *xwändj ̂u lṇ′nas hE tsä′yux^u lā′nîk·* this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11
> *sqats ʟE hū^w′mîs ʟEx swāl* seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22
> *mä xwîn wutxaī′yat* a person we two brought home 128.8, 9
> *ṇtō′hîts ʟE dî′lōl* I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

> *tsä′yux^u lā′nîk·* a small river   *lā′nîk· tsä′yux^u* the river is small
> *he′m̄îs yîxä′wEx* the big house   *yîxä′wEx he′m̄îs* the house is big
> *xä′nîs mä* a sick person   *mä xä′nîs* the person is sick

No formal distinction is made between coordinate and subordinate clauses, nor is the succession of the parts of speech changed in different types of sentences. Subordinate clauses may precede the principal clauses whenever the occasion requires it. Subordinate clauses are distinguished by means of conjunctions that are placed at the beginning.

> *k·î′ʟō^uts ʟE qE′mä lEx dî′lōl ̂i la^u hî′nī he′laq* the young man found the kamass when he arrived there
> *̂i la^u tsxū ʟE hū^w′mîs k·îlō′wît ʟE yū′mī* as the woman lay (there) she saw the stars

§ 118. Idiomatic Expressions

An exhaustive discussion of the Coos idiomatic expressions is limited *a priori* by the scope of the present work. Consequently only the most salient features of this phase of the language will be pointed out in this chapter.

Perhaps the most striking examples of idiomatic phraseology are found in the manner of expressing verbal concepts, like IT GROWS, IT FILLS UP, IT RUNS, etc. These ideas are expressed in Coos by means of a phrase which consists of the verbal stem TO GO or TO RUN and of the abstract derivative of the particular verbal concept preceded by the sign of possession *û* (see § 97).

hä'wî he grew up 64.12

la û haᵘ'we hɛ tcîcī'mîl the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16

la û haᵘ'we le'ûx hä'wîs ʟ!tā their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11

x·î'lwîs deep

asî'ʟ la û x·îluwī'ye lɛx ya'bas the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12

paa- to fill

la û paa'wɛs lɛ xāᵃp the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17

x·în- to run

nle'hī la û x·na'at with it he ran (literally, with it went his swiftness) 42.8

la û x·na'at hɛ cx·īml the bear ran (literally, went his quickness [of] the bear)

mîl- to swim

djī û mî'le [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3

hamʟ- to float

la û hamʟaʟā'was läl tsä'yûxᵘ ʟ!tā that small piece of land kept floating (literally, went its [conception of] floating [of] that small place) 46.10

Another idiomatic expression worth while mentioning is the manner in which our terms THERE IS, THEY ARE, are expressed. The Coos subject of such a sentence is either the noun *qā′yîs* WORLD or *mĕn* PEOPLE, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

tc!l- to be dry	*tc!lī û qā′yîs* there was low tide (literally, dry its [condition of the] world) 18.6
	īn tc!lé′xᴇm û qā′yîs there is no low tide (literally, not dry its [condition of the] world) 15.8
nî′k·în wood, tree 26.25	*k·!änî′k·în û qā′yîs* there were no trees (literally, without trees its [appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8
wa′waʟ spider	*nwa′waʟa û qā′yîs* there was a spider (literally, with spider its [condition of the] world) 30.3
lō that thing 32.10	*nlō′we û qā′yîs* there was such a thing (literally, with that thing [was as] its [asset the] world) 32.9
kwee′tî many live	*qaicî′nîs kwee′tî û mĕn* they were living in a small place (literally, a small place [had as] their living [place the] people) 50.7
k!al- to shout	*qak·elenī′we û mĕn* they began to shout (literally, began their shouting [act, of the] people) 24.22
tî′k·îne many stand	*tcī tî′k·îne û mĕn* they were standing there (literally, there [the] standing [place was of] people) 74.28

To the same group of idiomatic expressions belong phrases like I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HUNGRY, I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HEAVY, etc. The verb of such phrases in Coos is always the stem *la* TO GO, which is preceded by the attributive complement amplified by means of the modal suffix *-tc* (see § 36). Consequently such a phrase, literally translated, means INTO A STATE OF . . . I (THOU, HE . . .) GO.

ʟqa- to be hungry	*ʟqatc ṇla* I am getting hungry
pʟ!- to be heavy	*pʟ!ītc la* he is getting heavy

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A very peculiar expression, though by no means confined to Coos alone, is the manner of forming sentences that have dual subjects. Such sentences present two possibilities. Either both subjects are actually expressed, or only one is indicated while the other is understood.

1. In sentences where one subject is understood, duality of subject is indicated in Coos by using the verb in its dual form, followed immediately by the (expressed) subject.

> *yîxä'wexEtc ûx wu'txe häl tō'mîL* into the house they two returned (the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16
>
> *tsō ā'yu tcī ûx la, lE ūmā'catc* now, surely, there they two went (he and) the grandmother 66.19
>
> *yî'xen qalîmī'ye tsî l'nta ûx la lä huʷ'mîs* one morning just hunting they two went (he and) his wife 110.26
>
> *ā'yu tcī ûx la lE tek·îtsî'nätc* surely, there they two went (she and) the granddaughter 80.15, 16

2. If both subjects are expressed, it will be found that, in addition to the dual form of the verb, the dual pronoun is placed before either one or both subjects.

> *hî'nī hanL ûx tîla'qai lE ū'māc ûx pkāk·* there shall they two live (namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28
>
> *wändj La ûx kwee'nīyēm tE ûx tsŋ'na ûx mā'qaL* thus only they two are known, that Thunder (and) Crow 19.10, 11

In a few instances a similar treatment has been found in sentences with plural subjects.

> *yîxä'wExetc îl la lE dä'mîl* into the house they went (the two women and) the man 128.7
>
> *tsî îl huwe'ītsēm lE huʷ'mîs* just they got ready (he and) the (two) women 130.17, 18

The last idiomatic formation worth mentioning here is the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives in accordance with the three degrees,—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

A comparative statement in the positive degree is expressed by means of a whole sentence in which the adjective is treated as a noun appearing with the nominal suffixes *-Es*, *-tEs* (see § 57), or *-īye*, *-äye* (see p. 376), and is placed between the subject and object with which it is compared. The sentence is invariably introduced by means of the conjunction *hîs* ALSO (see § 110); and its comparative character is

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further indicated by the use of the modal adverb *ta, ta^u*, SO, SUCH (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

hîs n'ne ta nhethe'tEEs tE e^ene I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you)

hîs n'ne ta nxä'nîsEs lE e^ene I am as sick as you are

hîs n'ne ta^u nlE'yîtEs tE e^ene I am as good as you are

hîs n'ne ta^u nhe'mîstEs lE e^ene I am as tall as you are

hîs xä ta xwä'wīye lE e^ene he is as light as you are

hîs xä ta^u päL!ä'ye lE e^ene he is as heavy as you are

hîs tE lä'nîk· ta^u x·îluwī'ye tE baltī'mîs that river is as deep as that ocean

In many instances the abstract noun expressing the adjective concept is repeated after the object, in which case the object (and also the subject) assumes the function of a possessive pronoun (for pronominal subjects and objects) or of a genitive case (for nominal objects and subjects).

hîs n'ne ta nqaine'Es lī'ye qaine'Es I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] me such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])

hîs e^ene ta ye^ene^u' q!äna'tEs tE hen'ne^u q!äna'tEs you are as young as I am (literally, also [of] thee such [is] thy youth [as is] that my youth)

The comparative degree is expressed by means of a sentence in which the adjective is used in its simple form, while the object is indicated by the use of the instrumental suffix *-Etc* (see § 70). There is a marked tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence.

ye^ene'îtc nlE'yī I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)

hexä'îtc nlE'yī I am better than he is

nne'îtc e^eqaL you are taller than I am

xä nne'îtc tsä'yux^u he is smaller than I am

xwîn tî'mîlî y^ene'îtc we two are stronger than you are

The superlative degree may be expressed in two ways. Either the numeral particle *gō^us* ALL (see § 109), amplified by means of the adverbial suffix *-Etc* (see § 70), is placed before the simple form of the adjective; or else the nominalized adverb *īla'hatcEm* (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

xgō^w'sîtc nlE'yī I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix *x-* see § 24)

tEn tē ka'pō xgō^w'sîtc pL!'îs this here is my heaviest coat

xä īla'hatcEm he'mîs hethe'te he is the biggest chief

xä īla'hatcEm tō'mîL mä L!ta'yasîtc he is the oldest man in the village

TEXTS

ORIGIN OF DEATH

Ûx[1] sla′tcînī.[2]　Laᵘ[3]　îl[4]　kwee′tî.[5]　Laᵘ[3]　ī′k·ī[6]　ûx[1]　nhūᵘmä′k·e-

They　cousins(were)　These　they　lived　These　both　they two　with wives
two　mutually.　　　　　　together.

he.[7]　Ī′k·ī[6]　tsäyä′ne[8]　le′ûx[9]　tî′mîlī[10]　hī¹′me.[11]　Yî′xen[12]　qalîmī′ye[13]

are.　Both　small　their(dual)　male beings　children.　Once　morning it got

tsî[14]　wîtcweḫe′ˣtcī[15]　la[16]　ā′la.　In[17]　he′nīye[18]　xä′nîs[19]　la[16]　ā′la.

just　sick it is　his　child.　Not　a long time　sick　his　child.

Tsî[14]　hats[20]　lᴇqaᵘ′wᴇ[21]　la[16]　ā′la.　Xānanā′ya[22]　la[16]　ā′la,　î[23]　laᵘ[3]

Merely　just　died　his　child.　Sorry (it) makes　his　child,　when　that
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　him (feel)　　　　　　　　　　one

lᴇqaᵘ′wᴇ.[21]　Tsō[24]　îl[4]　aqanā′ya.[25]　Helmī′hîs[26]　īn[17]　Lō′wîyam.[27]

died.　Now　they　buried it.　Next day　not　(he) eats.

Laᵘ[3]　maha′ēⁱwat[28]　lᴇ[29]　ā′la.　HecL¹′Lentc[30]　qalîmī′ye[13]　laᵘ[3]

That　is looking after it　the　child.　Four times at　morning it got　that
one　frequently　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　one

łaatā′ya[31]　lä[16]　sla′atc.[2]　"Eᵋ[32]　tcîne′henī.[33]　Tā′ī[34]　sla![35]　Xtcī′tᴄū[36]

went to him　his　cousin.　"Thou　thinking art.　Halloo,　cousin!　How

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[1] Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).
[2] *sla-* COUSIN; *-atc* suffix of relationship (§ 65); *-înī* distributive (§§ 72, 11, 7).
[3] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[4] Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18).
[5] Plural stem (§ 51).
[6] Numeral particle (§ 109).
[7] *n-* WITH (§ 21); *hūᵘmäk·e* WIVES (§ 78); *-e* auxiliary (§§ 44, 10, 7).
[8] Plural formation (§ 78).
[9] Possessive pronoun 3d person dual (§ 98).
[10] Plural formation (§§ 78, 115).
[11] Plural formation (§ 78).
[12] *yîxēⁱ* ONE (§ 101); *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).
[13] *qalîm-* MORNING; *-īye* transitional (§ 35).
[14] Restrictive particle (§ 94).
[15] *wîtcwahaxtc-* SICK; *-ī* neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 31, 7)
[16] Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 98, 7).
[17] Particle of negation (§ 112).
[18] *henī-* A WHILE; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).
[19] *xän-* SICK; *-îs* nominal (§ 56).
[20] Conjunction (§ 110).
[21] Singular stem (§ 51).
[22] *xän-* SICK; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).
[23] Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
[24] Conjunction (§ 110).
[25] *eqe* DEAD; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).
[26] *helmī* TO-MORROW; *-îs* ordinal (§§ 74, 10).
[27] *Lōᵘ-* TO EAT; *-am* (§ 55).
[28] *maha-* TO WATCH; *-ēⁱwat* frequentative (§ 33).
[29] Definite article (§ 17).
[30] *he′cLîL* FOUR; *-entcîs* ordinal multiplicative (§ 76).
[31] *ła-* TO GO; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
[32] Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).
[33] *tcîne-* TO THINK; *-enī* verbal (§ § 45, 10).
[34] Interjection (§ 111).
[35] Vocative (§ 65).
[36] *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcîtc* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).

yeᵋ³⁷ îluwe'ˣtcîs,³⁸ kat'ᴇ'mîsen³⁹ qalîmî'ye¹³ ūʟ⁴⁰ wu'txe ten⁴¹ ā'la.''
thy   heart,   five times   morning it gets should return that my child.''

Wändj⁴² ʟlä'xᴇm.⁴³ ''Īn¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla.³⁵ Hats²⁰ eᵋ³² qla'mtsam!⁴⁵
Thus   talking   '' Not   surely cousin. Just   thou eat!
        condition.

Laᵘ³ nî'wets hanʟ⁴⁶ yeᵋ³⁷ îluwe'ˣtcîs.''³⁸   Wändj⁴² ī¹lt.⁴⁷
That happy   will (be) thy   heart.''   Thus   (he) told
one   it to him.

Tsō²⁴ qats⁴⁸ ī'nīye⁴⁹ tcītc⁴² û⁵⁰ îluwe'ˣtcîs.³⁸ Hats²⁰ wändj⁴²
Now   still no more manner his heart.   Just   thus

tcîne'henī.³³ ''Eᵋ³² ʟalahā'mî⁵¹ hanʟel.''⁵² Ā'yu⁵³ īn¹⁷ yū⁵⁴
thinking (he) is. ''Thee get even with, shall surely.'' Surely not very
               I—thee

he'nīye¹⁸ ā'yu⁵³ wîtcwehe'ˣtcī¹⁵ la¹⁶ ā'la. Īn¹⁷ he'nīye¹⁸
long time surely sick it is   his child. Not long time

xä'nîs.¹⁹ Māndj⁵⁵ lᴇqaᵘ'wᴇ.²¹ Heᶦkwaīnta⁵⁶ û⁵⁰ îluwe'ˣtcîs,³⁸
sick.   Already (it) died.   Very bad   his heart

î²³ laᵘ³ lᴇqaᵘ'wᴇ²¹ la¹⁶ ā'la. Ā'yu⁵³ cîlī'ye⁵⁷ •lᴇ²⁹ wändj⁴²
when that died   his child. Surely indeed   he   thus
    one   it was

ʟlä'xᴇm,⁴³ î²³ laᵘ³ dōwā'ya⁵⁸ wu'txe la¹⁶ ā'la. Tsō²⁴ ā'yu⁵³
talking when that wants it   (to) return his child. Now   surely
condition   one

tcī⁵⁹ la. ''Tā'ī³⁴ sla!³⁵ Ā'yu⁵³ cūʟ⁶⁰ wutxa'xa⁶¹ ᴇît⁶²
there (he) ''Halloo, cousin! Surely ought (to) return singly about to
     went.

te'îs⁶³ ā'la. Kat'ᴇ'mîsen³⁹ qalîmî'ye¹³ ûx¹ wu'txe hanʟ⁴⁶ te'îs⁶³
this our child. Five times   morning it gets they return shall these our
(dual)   two   (dual)

ā'la.'' Wändj⁴² ī¹lt.⁴⁷ ''Īn¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla!³⁵ Hats²⁰ hanʟ⁴⁶
children.'' Thus   (he) told ''Not   surely cousin! Just   shalt
              it to him.

eᵋ³² qla'mtsam!⁴⁵ Laᵘ³ nî'wets hanʟ⁴⁶ yeᵋ³⁷ îluwe'ˣtcîs.''³⁸ Wändj⁴²
thou eat!   That happy   will (be) thy   heart.''   Thus
                  one

ʟlä'xᴇm.⁴³ ''Qaiku⁶⁴ ûx¹ wutxa'xa⁶¹ ᴇît⁶² te'îs⁶³ hī¹'me,¹¹ ta⁶⁵
talking ''(I) thought they return singly about to these our children, and
condition.   two   (dual)

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³⁷ Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).
³⁸ îluwextc- HEART (?); -îs nominal (§ 56).
³⁹ kat'ᴇ'mîs FOUR; -en multiplicative (§ 75).
⁴⁰ Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).
⁴¹ Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).
⁴² Modal adverb (§ 106).
⁴³ ʟ!ä- TO SPEAK; -xᴇm generic (§ 30).
⁴⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).
⁴⁵ q!m- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26); -am (§§ 55, 11).
⁴⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 87).
⁴⁷ īil- TO TELL TO; -t transitive (§ 26).
⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 89).
⁴⁹ īn NOT; -īye transitional (§ 35).
⁵⁰ Sign of possession (§ 97).
⁵¹ ʟala- TO GET EVEN WITH; -āmî transitive subject and object pronoun I—THEE (§§ 46, 10).
⁵² hanʟ SHALL; tl SURELY (§§ 87, 88, 7).
⁵³ Modal adverb (§ 106).
⁵⁴ Modal adverb (§ 106).
⁵⁵ Temporal adverb (§ 105).
⁵⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 93); ta so [literally, VERILY, NOT SO] (§ 106).
⁵⁷ cîl syntactic particle (§ 90); -īye transitional (§ 35).
⁵⁸ dōw- TO WISH, TO DESIRE; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
⁵⁹ Local adverb (§ 104).
⁶⁰ Syntactic particle (§§ 90, 91).
⁶¹ Reduplicated stem wutxe TO COME BACK (§ 83).
⁶² Syntactic particle (§ 87).
⁶³ Possessive pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 98).
⁶⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of knowledge (§ 88).
⁶⁵ Conjunction (§ 110).

qats[48] lau[3] ɛn[66] dōwā′ya[58] xwändj.[67] Hēi[68] hanʟ[46] yîqa[69] īn[17]
however that thou didst want thus. (Emphatic) shall still not
    thing not it

wûtxa′xa[61] ɛît[62] yanʟawe[70] mä lɛqau′wɛ,[21] nāyîm[71] ɛn[66] dōwā′ya[58]
return singly going to whenever beings die, because thou not didst want
          it

xwändj.[67] Xnōwe[72] î[23] cîl[57] tɛ[73] xwändj[67] eᵋ[32] ī′ltā′îs.″[74] Wändj[42]
thus. Right when indeed that thus thou didst tell it Thus
      there   to, thou—me.″

tcîne′henī.[33] Mā[75] xnōwe[72] lɛlau[3] wändj[42] ī′lt.[47] Kat′ɛ′mîsen[39]
thinking (he) is. However right that's thus (he) told it Five times
      (the thing)   to him.

qalîmī′ye[13] ūʟ[40] wutxa′xa[61] ɛît,[62] yūʟ[76] xwändj[67] ʟ!äts.[77] ʟɛ′ɣī ūʟ,[40]
morning it should return singly going if thus speak. Good would
gets   to should   be

yūʟ[76] kat ɛ′mîsen[39] qalîmī′ye[13] wutxa′xa[61] ɛît[62] hɛ[29] mä lɛqau′wɛ.[21]
if five times morning it return singly inten- the people die.
should   gets   tion (who)

Tsō[24] yîqai′nī[78] hela′qaxɛm.[79] Wändj[42] hätctlenī′yeqɛm.[80]
Now so far it got (the story). Thus the story is being told.

[Translation]

Once upon a time there were two cousins. They lived together. They were both married, and each had a little boy. One morning one of the boys became sick. He was not sick long before he died. The father felt sorry when the child died. Then they buried it.

The next day he (the father of the dead boy) could not eat. He was merely looking at the dead child. On the fourth day he went to his cousin. "Halloo, cousin! What do you think? Should my child return after five days?"—"Oh, no, cousin!" answered the other one. "You simply eat, and you will feel happy." He did not know what to answer. He was merely thinking to himself, "I will certainly get even with you."

After a short time the other man's child became sick. It was not ill very long before it died. The father was very much grieved when his child died. He therefore went to his neighbor and said to him, "Halloo, cousin! I think our two children ought to return. They ought to come back after five days." But the other man answered,

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[66] eᵋ THOU (§ 18); īn NOT (§ 112, 9).
[67] x- modal (§ 24); wändj THUS (§ 106).
[68] Syntactic particle (§ 93).
[69] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[70] yanʟ IF (future)(§ 91); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87).
[71] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[72] x- modal (§ 24); nōwe ALL RIGHT.
[73] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[74] īil- TO TELL, -t transitive (§ 26); -āis transitive subject and object pronoun (§ 46).
[75] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[76] Particle denoting the optative (§ 91).
[77] ʟ!ä- TO SPEAK; -ts transitive (§ 26).
[78] Adverb (§ 104).
[79] helaq TO ARRIVE; -xɛm generic (§§ 30 4, 11).
[80] hätcît! STORY; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 11); -īyeqɛm passive (§ 40).

"Oh, no, cousin! You just eat and you will feel happy again. I had intended that our dead children should come back, but you did not wish it that way. And now, whenever people die, they will not come back, because you objected to it. You were right when you spoke against it."

He was justified in thus addressing him. People would have come back after five days if he had originally consented to it. It would have been good if the dead people could come back. Here the story ends. In this manner people relate this story.

THE THEFT OF FIRE AND WATER

Nmä'heñet[1]	tE[2]	L!tā.	Gōᵘs[3]	tcītc[4]	lï'mx·nē̂l[5]	mä.
With people it (mutually) was	that there	land.	All	kinds	mixed up (they were) mutually	(the) beings.

Îlᵗ[6]	k·!ätc!wäl.[7]	Îlᵗ[6]	k·läxāᵃp.[7]	Î[8]	dīⁱl[9]	îlᵗ[6]	Lōwē̂i'wat[10]
They	without fire.	They	without water.	When	something	they	eat frequently

Eît,[11]	laᵘ[2]	îlᵗ[6]	L!pēqaqa'ē̂i wat.[12]	Xle'îtc[13]	t'a'lats.[14]	Laᵘ[2]
intend,	that	they	in the arm-pits to be,	With it with	(they) dance.	Those
	thing		it frequently.			thing

tEmā'Le[15]	mä	laᵘ[2]	tc!îcîla'ē̂iwat[16]	he.[11]	Tsō[8]	he[11]	pî'ctcī,[17]
old	people	that thing	cause it to be underneath, frequently	customarily.	Now	customarily	warm it gets,

tsō[8]	he[11]	laᵘ[2]	q!mîts.[18]	Yuwe[19]	qa'lyeq	L!'le,	laᵘ[2]	he[11]	îlᵗ[6]
now customarily	custom arily	that thing	(they) eat.	Whenever	salmon	comes out,	they are the ones	usually	they

Ltl!ē̂i'yat.[20]	Wändj[21]	yuxtîk·[21]	he'îl[22]	Lōwā'was.[23]	Laᵘ[2]
scoop it out.	That way	barely	their	food.	That thing

skweyenī'yeqEm[24]	lE[25]	tc!wäl.	"Xtcī'tcū[26]	ūL,[27]	yūL[27]	laᵘ[2]	lïn[28]
it is talked about	the	fire.	"How	would it be,	if should	that thing	we

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[1] n- adverbial (§ 21); mä PEOPLE; -e auxiliary (§§ 44, 10); -n distributive (§§ 37, 25); -t transitive (§§ 26, 4).

[2] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

[3] Numeral particle (§ 109).

[4] Particle (§ 112).

[5] limx·- TO MIX; -nēi distributive (§ 37).

[6] Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18)

[7] k·!ä- privative (§ 20).

[8] Conjunction (§ 110).

[9] Pronominal particle (§ 108).

[10] Lōu- TO EAT; -ē̂iwat frequentative (§§ 33, 8).

[11] Syntactic particle (§ 87).

[12] L!pēq- TO BE IN ARM-PITS; -aē̂iwat frequentative causative (§ 34); see also reduplication (§ 83).

[13] x- instrumental (§ 24); lE article (§ 17); -Etc instrumental (§ 70).

[14] t'al- TO DANCE; -ts transitive (§ 26).

[15] Plural formation (§ 78).

[16] tc!icîl MAT; -aē̂iwat frequentative causative (§ 34).

[17] pîctc- TO BE WARM; -î neutral intransitive (§ 31).

[18] q!m- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26).

[19] yū VERY (§ 106); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87); see also § 9.

[20] Ltl!- TO SCOOP OUT; -îyat causative (§§ 27, 2).

[21] Modal adverb (§ 106).

[22] Possessive pronoun 3d person plural (§ 98).

[23] Lōu- TO EAT; -āwas verbal abstract (§§ 59, 8).

[24] skw- TO TALK ABOUT; -enî verbal (§ 45); -îyeqEm passive (§§ 40, 9).

[25] Article (§ 17).

[26] x- modal (§ 24); tcītc MANNER (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).

[27] Syntactic particle (§ 91).

[28] Personal pronoun 1st person plural (§ 18).

ɫⁿatū′ya?"²⁹—"Tcī³⁰ hanʟ³¹ ɬîn²⁸ ɫa." Tsō⁸ ā′yu²¹ tcī³⁰ îɫ⁶ ɫa.
go to it?"— "There shall we go." Now surely there they went.

Ā′yu²¹ tcī³⁰ îɫ⁶ he′ɫaq. Ā′yu²¹ tcɬîla′at³² tɛ² tcɬwäl, î⁸ îɫ⁶
Surely there they arrived. Surely to burn it is that fire, when they
                                                  caused
                                                  there

te′ˣtîts.³³ Hats⁸ yîqax³⁴ k·îɫō′wît³⁵ ɫɛ²⁵ xāªp. ʟōwa′kats³⁶
entered. Just right away (he) saw it the water. Sat

tcī³⁰ ɫɛ²⁵ mä ha′ɫqait.³⁷ Xta′nuxwītc³⁸ ʟōwa′kats.³⁶ "Tā′ī³⁹
there the person (he) came to. Sideways (he) was sitting. "Halloo,

slaɫ Îs⁴⁰ alî′canī⁴¹ hanʟ."³¹ Hats⁸ kwa⁴² în⁴ kɬayaha′eⁱwat.⁴³
cousin! We play shall." Just as if not (he) hears it.
two

XpEkwî′ltcume⁴⁴ ʟōwa′kats.³⁶ Tsō⁸ he′nīye,⁴⁵ tsō⁸ î′lxats.⁴⁶
From the opposite side (he) sat. Now (after) a while now (he) ooked
                                                                at him.

"Qanîya′ta⁴⁷ eᶠ⁴⁸ hen′neᵘ⁴⁹ sla hîtc⁵⁰ cantɛ?"⁵¹ Wändj²¹ ʟɫäts.⁵²
Stranger thou my cousin (surprise) (?) " Thus (he) spoke.

"Eᶠ⁴⁸ ɫɛqaᵘwîya′tanī⁵³ ʟ."⁵⁴ "Mā³⁴ cku⁴² eᶠ⁴⁸ hen⁴⁹ nīla′hatcɛm⁵⁵
"Thou story tell must." "But it must thou my at priority
                                          be

ɫa yeᶠ⁵⁶ haᵘ′we."⁵⁷ Tsō⁸ qats³⁴ ʟɫēⁱtc. He′nīye⁴⁵ e′he qanō′tca.⁵⁸
goes thy growth." Now, however, (he) went A while (he) was outside.
                              out. gone

Tsō⁸ asō′⁵⁹ te′ˣtîts.³³ "Tā′ī³⁹ slaɫ Ānta³⁹ tēⁱ² nī′kɫwa³¹ yeᶠneᵘ⁵⁶
Now again (he) entered. "Halloo, cousin!" Look this used (to be) thy
                                                      here

pī¹ɫ. Tɛ² yeᶠneᵘ⁵⁶ pī¹ɫ laᵘ² ʟɫa′nēx.⁶⁰ Tɛ² hen′neᵘ⁴⁹ pī¹ɫ laᵘ²
Indian That thy Indian that (is) new. That my Indian that
cradle. there cradle one there cradle one

qa′lēx⁶¹; ta⁸ tēⁱ² nī′kɫwa³¹ yeᶠneᵘ⁵⁶ naᵘ′hîn, ta⁸ tēⁱ² nī′kɫwa³¹
(is) old; and this used (to be) thy shinny-club, and this used (to be)
        here here

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²⁹ɫa- TO GO; -t transitive (§ 26); -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

³⁰Local adverb (§ 104).

³¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).

³²tcɬîl- TO BURN; -eet causative passive (§§ 41, 7).

³³text- TO ENTER; -ts transitive (§ 26).

³⁴Syntactic particle (§ 89).

³⁵k·îlōu- TO SEE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 8).

³⁶ʟōuku- TO SIT; -ts transitive (§§ 26, 11).

³⁷helq- TO ARRIVE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 7, 11).

³⁸x- modal (§ 24); tanuxu- SIDE; -îtc modal (§§ 67, 8).

³⁹Interjection (§ 111).

⁴⁰Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).

⁴¹alEc TOY; -enî verbal (§§ 45, 7).

⁴²Syntactic particle (§ 88).

⁴³kɬayaha- TO HEAR; -ēⁱwat frequentative (§ 33).

⁴⁴x- locative (§ 22); pEkwil- OPPOSITE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -ume nominalizing (§ 64).

⁴⁵henī- A WHILE; -īye transitional (§§ 35, 9).

⁴⁶îlx- TO LOOK; -ts transitive (§ 26).

⁴⁷qanîya′ta BELONGING TO A DIFFERENT TRIBE, A STRANGER.

⁴⁸Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).

⁴⁹Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).

⁵⁰Syntactic particle (§ 90).

⁵¹Can not be analyzed.

⁵²ʟ!ä- TO SPEAK; -ts transitive (§ 26).

⁵³ɫEqaᵘwîyatas STORY (compare ɫEqaᵘwE TO DIE); -enī verbal (§§ 45, 7).

⁵⁴Syntactic particle (§ 92).

⁵⁵n- adverbial (§ 21); îla BEFORE (§ 104); -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 103, 10, 7); -ɛm adverbial abstract (§ 58).

⁵⁶Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18, 98).

⁵⁷hau- TO GROW; -e (§ 80); see also §§ 8, 118.

⁵⁸qanō- OUTSIDE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -a directive (§ 55).

⁵⁹Temporal adverb (§ 105).

⁶⁰ʟ!an- NEW; -ēx adjectival (§ 66).

⁶¹qal- OLD (compare qalu WINTER); -ēx adjectival (§ 66).

heṇ'neu⁴⁹   nau'hîn,   ta⁸   tē¹²   nī'k!wa³¹   ye⁵neu⁵⁶   kwä'sîs,⁶²   ta⁸   tē¹²
°my   shinny-club,   and   this   used (to be)   thy   ball,   and   this
here   here

nī'k!wa³¹   heṇ'neu⁴⁹   kwä'sîs.⁶²   L!a'nēx⁶⁰   ye⁵neu⁵⁶   kwä'sîs.⁶²   Qa'lēx⁶¹
used (to be)   °my   ball.   New (is)   thy   ball.   Old (is)

tē¹²   heṇ'neu⁴⁹   kwä'sîs.⁶²   Kwa⁴²   kwe⁴²   yū²¹   īn⁴   ā'yu²¹   L⁵⁴   sla."
this   °my   ball.   As if   perhaps   very   not   surely   must   cousin."
here   (be)

Tcī³⁰   hîtōᵘtsa'tExa.⁶³   Ā'yu²¹   k·îlō'wît.³⁵   "Ā'yu²¹   cîlî'ye⁶⁴   sla.
There   (he) put them down for   Surely   (he) saw it.   "Surely   indeed   cousin
him.   it is

Tcī³⁰   îl⁶⁵   e⁵⁴⁸ Lōᵘkᵘ.   Îs⁴⁰   alî'canī⁴¹   hanL."³¹   Tsō⁸   a'yu²¹   ûx⁶⁶
There   surely   thou sit down.   We   play   shall."   Now   surely   they
two   two

haītî'tEmeᵘ.⁶⁷   "Yî'kwanL⁶⁸   dᵢ¹ltcE'tc⁶⁹   ten⁷⁰   L!aqa'e¹wat,⁷¹
gamble together.   "Perhaps shall   something   that I   point my finger at
with   him frequently,

î⁸   laᵘ²   L!'tEta⁷²   lE²⁵   na'mᴱxqa?"   Tcîne'henī.⁷³   "Yî'kuL⁷⁴
when   that   puts (his) hands   the   players?"   (He) is thinking.   "Perhaps
one   behind (his) back   would be
(one of)

xtcītc⁷⁵   yūL²⁷   wî'yetc   nxwa'lxwal⁷⁶   ṇ⁷⁷   x·L!ōwa'e¹wat?⁷⁸
in the   if would   a piece of   in eye   °I   cause it to be inside?
manner   abalone shell

Lexa'tcEm⁷⁹   hanL³¹   ṇ⁷⁷   qa'qaḷ.   Cîn⁸⁰   L!ōˣk·înā'îs⁸¹   hanL,³¹   yanL²⁷
Inside, the part   shall   °I   sleep.   You   support you—me   shall,   if shall.

ṇ⁷⁷   L!'tEta."⁷²   Wändj²¹   L!ä'xEm.⁸²   Wändj²¹   î¹lt⁸³   lE²⁵   ma'nat.
°I   put (my hands)   Thus   talking,   Thus   (he) told the   crowd.
behind (my) back."   condition.   it to

Ā'yu²¹   yîqa'x³⁴   wändj.²¹   Tsō⁸   ā'yu²¹   L!aqa'e¹wat,⁷¹   î⁸   laᵘ²
Surely   just   that way.   Now   surely   (he) points (the) finger   when   that
at him, frequently   one

L!tE'ta.⁷²   Ā'yu²¹   yûxwä'¹⁰⁹   mä   L!ōˣk·înē¹'wat,⁸⁴   Tcī'tcū⁸⁵   cᴱ⁸⁶   dî̱l⁹
puts (his)   Surely   two   persons support him steadily.   How   sur-   things
hands behind   prise
(his) back.

ītsēm.⁸⁷   Xya'bas⁸⁸   yaptî'tsa⁸⁹   lä⁹⁰   pî'lîk·îs,⁹¹   lä⁹⁰   ye'es,   lä⁹⁰   tcūḷ,   lä⁹⁰
happened.   Maggots   ate up   his   anus,   his   face,   his   nose,   his

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⁶²kwäs- ?; -îs nominal (§ 56).
⁶³hîtôu- TO PUT DOWN; -ts transitive (§26); -tEx direct object pronoun plural (§54); -a indirect object
pronoun (§ 49; see also § 7).
⁶⁴cîl syntactic particle (§ 90); -îye transitional (§ 35).
⁶⁵Syntactic particle (§ 88).
⁶⁶Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).
⁶⁷haî- TO GAMBLE; -t transitive (§ 26); -meu reciprocal (§ 29; see also § 4).
⁶⁸yiku syntactic particle (§ 88); hanL SHALL (§§ 87, 8, 9).
⁶⁹dᵢ̱l SOMETHING (§ 108); -tc adverbial (§ 25); -Etc instrumental (§ 70).
⁷⁰Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§§ 18, 93).
⁷¹L!aqa- TO POINT AT; -ēiwat frequentative (§ 33).
⁷²L!tEta TO PUT ONE'S HAND BEHIND THE BACK (during a game).
⁷³tcîn- TO THINK; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 10).
⁷⁴yiku PERHAPS (§ 88); ûL WOULD BE (§§ 91, 9).
⁷⁵x- modal (§ 24); tcītc particle (§ 112).
⁷⁶n- adverbial (§ 21); xwalxwal EYE (§§ 83, 116).
⁷⁷Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 18).
⁷⁸x·L!ōu- TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); -aᵉiwat frequentative causative (§§ 34, 8).
⁷⁹lexatc INSIDE (§ 104); -Em adverbial abstract (§ 58).
⁸⁰Personal pronoun 2d person plural (§ 18).
⁸¹L!ōˣk·în- TO STEADY, TO SUPPORT; -aîs transitive, subject and object pronoun THOU-ME (§ 46).
⁸²L!ä- TO TALK; -xEm generic suffix (§ 30).
⁸³î̱l- TO SAY TO; -t transitive (§ 26).
⁸⁴L!ōˣk·în- TO SUPPORT; -ēiwat frequentative (§ 33).
⁸⁵tcītc particle (§ 112); -û interrogative (§ 73).
⁸⁶Syntactic particle denoting surprise (§ 90).
⁸⁷îts- TO DO, TO BE (§ 113); -ēm suffix defining the subject (§ 30).
⁸⁸x- discriminative (§ 23); yabas MAGGOT.
⁸⁹yab- MAGGOT; -t transitive (§ 26); -ts transitive (§§ 26, 25); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
⁹⁰Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98).
⁹¹pîlîk·- ANUS; -îs nominal (§ 56).

kᵘha'ñas.   Hîs ⁸   ĭnɬhenī'yeEs ⁹²   xya'bas ⁸⁸   qǃmîts.¹⁸   Laᵘ ²   īn ⁴   laᵘ ²
ears.   'Also   (in) no time   maggots   ate him.   That   not   that
                                                                              one   thing

î'lxats.⁴⁶   Hats ⁸   yî'qa ³⁴   tcī ³⁰   Lōwa'kats.³⁶   Xyûxwä' ⁹³   mä
(at) looked.   Just   continually   there   (he) sat.   Two   per-
                                                                                            sons

Lǃōˣk·îñēⁱ'wat⁸⁴   xpqai'hītc.⁹⁴   Wî'yax   x·Lǃōwa'ēⁱwat ⁷⁸   län ⁹⁵
support him steadily   from (the) back.   Abalone shell   (he) caused to be   his in
                                                                inside

xwa'lxwal.   Lexa'tcEm ⁷⁹   qa'qaɬ.   Laᵘ ²   qats ³⁴   kwa ⁴²   ā'yu ²¹
eye.   Inside, the part   (he) slept.   That one   just   as if   surely

kwî'nait.⁹⁶   Hîtc ⁵⁰   wî'yax   lE ²⁵   x·Lǃī'ye ⁹⁷   län ⁹⁵   xwa'lxwal.   Hats ⁸
looked at it.   Surprise   abalone   it   inside it is   his in   eye.   Just
                             shell

lä'mak·   Lōwa'kats.³⁶   Asî'L ³⁰   ɬa   û ⁹⁸   x·îluwī'ye ⁹⁹   lEx ¹⁰⁰   ya'bas,   î ⁸
bones   sitting.   Halfway   goes its   growth (of)   the   maggots, when

laᵘ ²   xya'bas ⁸⁸   Lōweⁱ'wat.¹⁰   Ītse'ts ¹⁰¹   yîku ⁶⁵   îl ⁶⁵   laᵘ ²   henī'yeEs ⁹²
that   the maggots   eat him continually.   May be surely   he   for some time
one

hî'nī ³⁰ Lōwa'kats.³⁶   Tsō ⁸ wändj ²¹   tcîne'henī.⁷³   "YîkwanL ⁶⁸   dī'ltcE'tc ⁶⁹
there   (he) sat.   Now   thus   thinking.   "Perhaps shall   something
                                                                                       with

tEɳ ⁷⁰   Lǃaqa'ēⁱwat?" ⁷¹   Hats ⁸   kwanL ¹⁰²   īn ⁴   yū ²¹   dī'ɬ ⁹   qayaᵘ'wīye,¹⁰³
that I   point my finger at   Just   as if   not   very   something   scared,
           him frequently?"   shall   he becomes

yūL ²⁷   xle'îtc ¹³   ɳ ⁷⁷   Lǃaqa'ēⁱwat." ⁷¹   Wändj ²¹   tcîne'henī.⁷³   Yî'qa ³⁴   īn ⁴
if would   with it   ᵒI   point my fingers at   Thus   thinking.   Still   not
with   him frequently."

î'lxats ⁴⁶   lE ²⁵   ya'bas;   mä ³⁴   îl ⁶⁵   hats ⁸   lä'mak·   sīL'nēⁱ.¹⁰⁴   Yî'qa ³⁴   īn⁴
(he) looked   the   maggots;   how-   surely   just   bones   joined   Still   not
at   ever   together.

î'lxats.⁴⁶   "Cîⁿn ¹⁰⁵   k·eɬēⁱ'wat.¹⁰⁶   Cîn ⁸⁰   sqats   hanL ³¹   tE ²   tcǃwäl,   yanL ²⁷
(he) looked   "You not   forget it.   You   grab   shall   that   fire,   if shall
at it.   there

ɬin ²⁸   tqats.¹⁰⁷   Laᵘ ²   hîs ⁸   tE ²   xäᵃp   cîn ⁸⁰   x·întī'ta ¹⁰⁸   hanL." ³¹
we   win (game).   That one   also   that   water   you   cause it to run   shall."
                                              there

Wändj²¹   Lǃä'xEm.⁸²   Yîxēⁱ'¹⁰⁹   mä   wändj²¹   Lǃä'xEm.⁸²   "NE'xkan ¹¹⁰
That way   talking,   One   person   that way   talking,   "I
             condition.   condition.

hanL³¹   laᵘ²   ɳ⁷⁷   x·întī'yat¹¹¹   tE²   xäᵃp.—Tēⁱ²   laᵘ² eᶜ⁴⁸ x·întī'yat¹¹¹   hanL³¹
shall (be)   the   ᵒI   run, cause it   that   water.—   This   the you to run, cause it   shall
               one   there   here   one

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⁹² īn negation (§ 112); l abbreviated form of dīil (§ 108); henīye A WHILE; -Es noun of quality (§ 57).
⁹³ x- discriminative (§ 23); yä'xwä TWO (§ 101).
⁹⁴ x- FROM (§ 22); pqai BACK; -ītc local suffix (§§ 67, 10).
⁹⁵ lä possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); n- adverbial (§ 21).
⁹⁶ kwina- TO LOOK; -t transitive (§ 26).
⁹⁷ x·Lǃ- TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); -īye transitional (§ 35).
⁹⁸ Sign of possession (§ 97).
⁹⁹ x·îlu- DEEP; -īye nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).
¹⁰⁰ lE article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 23).
¹⁰¹ See § 113.
¹⁰² kwa AS IF (§ 88); hanL SHALL (§§ 87, 9).
¹⁰³ qayau- TO BE AFRAID; -īye transitional (§§ 35, 8).
¹⁰⁴ sīL- TO JOIN; -nēⁱ distributive (§ 37).
¹⁰⁵ cîn personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); īn NOT (see § 9ь).
¹⁰⁶ k·el- TO FORGET; -ēⁱwat frequentative (§ 33); see § 83.
¹⁰⁷ tq- TO WIN; -ts transitive (§ 26).
¹⁰⁸ x·Ent- TO RUN; -īyat causative (§ 27); -a indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).
¹⁰⁹ Cardinal numeral (§ 101).
¹¹⁰ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).
¹¹¹ x·Ent- TO RUN; -īyat causative (§ 27).

tE² tc!wäl."   Tsō⁸ xwändj²¹ ī¹lt.⁸³   "Kwī′yał¹¹² halt!¹¹³ eᶜne¹¹⁴ he¹¹
that   fire."   Now   thus   (he) told   "Now   now   thou   custom-
there   it to   arily
                     him.

L!tE′ta."⁷²   Wändj²¹ ī¹lt.⁸³   "Yī′kwanL⁶⁸ dī¹ltcE′tc⁶⁹ tEn⁷⁰ L!aqa′ēⁱwat?"⁷¹
put (thy)   Thus   (he) told   "Perhaps shall   something   this   point the finger at
hands behind   it to   with   here I   him continually?"
(thy) back."   him.

"Hats⁸ īn⁴ yū²¹ dī¹ł⁹ yū²¹ qayawā′waL.¹¹⁵ Ło¹¹⁶ L¹¹⁷ ūL²⁷ lE′γī,
"Just   not   very   some-   very   scaring.   That   neces-   would   good,
               thing   thing   sarily   be

yūL²⁷ x·ōwā′yasEtc¹¹⁸ ņ⁷⁷ L!aqa′ēⁱwat."⁷¹ K·!ätc!hā′yîms¹¹⁹ lau²
if   snake with   Į̇   point (my) finger at   Without dying down   that one
should   him continually."   (the fire)

tc!îla′at.¹²⁰ Tsō⁸ ā′yu²¹ x·ōwā′yasEtc¹¹⁸ L!a′qat.¹²¹ Łōwîtī′yeqEm.¹²²
to burn, it is   Now   surely   snake with   (he) pointed   (He) is watching
caused.   (the) finger   himself.
                             at him.

X·ōwā′yas hän¹²³ djî′letc xa′lᴱmats.¹²⁴ Hats¹²⁵ kwa⁴² xtcītc⁷
Snake   his at   thighs   wraps around.   Just   looks like   something

ītsēm.⁸⁷ Mā³⁴ ai′wa¹²⁶ īn⁴ k·îlō′wît.³⁵ Hän¹²³ we′hel lau²
happened   How-   still   not   (he) sees it.   His to   waist   that
          ever   one

he′laq lE²⁵ x·ōwā′yas. Hän¹²³ ye′es lau² kwa⁴² ł′nuwît.¹²⁷
arrived   the   snake.   His to   mouth   that one   as if   threatens
                                       (to go).

Ak′a′nak·¹²⁸ he′ⁱlta hEx¹²⁹ x·ōwā′yas. Hats⁸ han¹³⁰ kwa⁴²
Sticks out   (the) tongue   the   snake.   Just   will   as if

hän¹²³ tcūl lau² te′ˣtîts³³ lE²⁵ x·ōwā′yas. Qaiˣ·qa′yōnā′ya,¹³¹ î⁸
his in   nose   that one   enter   the   snake.   Afraid, (it) made him, when

lau² k·îlō′wît.³⁵ Sī′x·îts¹³² ēⁱqatce.¹³³ Neqā′ya.¹³⁴ L!xanā′yēm¹³⁵
that   (he) saw it.   (He) shook it   one side to.   (He) ran away   Throw (indefinite)
one   off   from it.   (People shout at him)

ye′es. X·î′x·întū¹³⁶ lE²⁵ tc!wäl. Hēⁱkwaīn¹³⁷ xhū′wîs¹³⁸ mä
mouth.   (It) is being taken   the   fire.   Very   poor   person
       away quickly   (is)

lau² x·întī′yat¹¹¹ lE²⁵ tc!wäl. Hēⁱyū¹³⁹ xtcä′yuxu¹³⁸ mä lau²
the   (to) run, causes   the   fire.   Very   small   person   the
one   (he is)   one

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112 Temporal adverb (§ 105).
113 Temporal adverb (§ 105).
114 Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 96).
115 qayau- TO FEAR; -āwaL nominal suffix (§ 59).
116 Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
117 Syntactic particle (§ 92).
118 x·ōwāyas SNAKE; -Etc instrumental (§ 70).
119 k·!ä- privative (§ 20); tc!ha- TO EXTINGUISH; -äyîms nominal (§ 80).
120 tc!îl- TO BURN; -aat passive causative (§§ 41, 7).
121 L!aqa- TO POINT AT WITH ONE'S FINGER; -t transitive (§ 26).
122 łōuxt- TO WATCH; -īyeqEm passive (§§ 40, 3, 11).
123 hä possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); n- adverbial (§ 21).
124 xalm- TO WRAP AROUND; -ts transitive (§ 26).
125 Conjunction (§ 110).
126 Temporal adverb (§ 105).
127 łnuwî VERY, modal adverb (§ 106); -t transitive (§ 26).
128 ak′ank·- TO STICK OUT (§ 4).
129 hE article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 23).
130 Syntactic particle (§ 87).
131 qayau- TO SCARE; -anāya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 3, 82).
132 sîx·- TO SHAKE OFF; -ts transitive (§ 26).
133 Local adverb (§§ 104, 103, 55).
134 nEq TO RUN AWAY; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
135 L!xan- TO THROW; -āya (§ 47); -ĕm suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 9).
136 x·Ent- TO RUN; -ū present passive (§§ 38, 82).
137 Syntactic particle (§ 93).
138 x- discriminative (§ 23).
139 hē syntactic particle (§ 93); yū VERY, modal adverb (§ 106).

t!kwî′tsa¹⁴⁰	lᴇ²⁵	xā°p.	Xpīye′etc¹⁴¹	ʟºwa′hait¹⁴²	hᴇ²⁵	mēn.¹⁴³
kicks it	the	water.	In the manner of	run	the	people.
			going home

Kᵘha′ñasatc¹⁴⁴	haᵘ²	lᴇxalxā′yu¹⁴⁵	hᴇ²⁵	tc!wäl.	Nle′hī¹⁴⁶	ła	û⁹⁸
Ear in	that one	was put in	the	fire.	With it	goes	his

x·na′at.¹⁴⁷	Lᴇ²⁵	xā°p	ha′kwał¹⁴⁸	hᴇ′mtset,¹⁴⁹	î⁸	laᵘ²	t!kwî′tsa.¹⁴⁰
quickness	The	water	as if	(to) lay bare,	when	that	kicked it.
(he runs).			caused, it was,		one

Māndj¹⁵⁰	hats⁸	g·î′mtset¹⁵¹	lᴇ′tsîx·.¹⁵²	Kᵘmene′îletc¹⁵³	ʟ!xa′na¹⁵⁴
Already	Just	(to) rain caused	right here.	Brush into	(he) threw it,
		it was

lᴇ²⁵	tc!wäl.	K!we′hetc¹⁵⁵	laᵘ²	ʟ!xant.¹⁵⁶	Hats⁸	ʟ!xant,¹⁵⁶
the	fire.	Willow into	that	threw it.	Just	(he) threw it,
			one

māndj¹⁵⁰	łkwî′lītu.¹⁵⁷	Tsō⁸	asō′¹⁵⁰	îł⁶	wu′txe	tsî′x·tī.¹⁵⁸
already	to blaze, it begins.	Now	again	they	returned	here.

Xtemī′towetc¹⁵⁹	lᴇîł¹⁶⁰	ntc!wä′łe.¹⁶¹	Xtemī′towetc¹⁵⁹	towe¹⁶²
From that time on	they	with fire are.	From that time on	usually

g·î′mīt.¹⁶³	Laᵘ²	xwändj²¹	towe¹⁶²	g·î′mīt.¹⁶³	Xwändj²¹	ʟa¹⁶⁴
(it) rains.	That	(is) thus (the	usually	(it) rains.	That way	only
		manner how)

kwee′nīyēm.¹⁶⁵	Tsō⁸	tcī³⁰	ä′wîxᴇm.¹⁶⁶
know it (indefinite).	Now	there	end, condition.

[Translation]

The earth was full of people. All kinds of people lived in a
mixed-up fashion. They had no fire or water. Whenever they
wanted to eat, they would put the food under their arms (in order
to heat it). They would dance with it, or the old people would sit on
it. And when the food became warm, then they would eat it. When-
ever salmon came ashore, they used to scoop it out.

¹⁴⁰ t!kw- TO KICK; -ts transitive (§ 26); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
¹⁴¹ x- modal (§ 24); pīx·- TO GO HOME; -eetc modal (§ 36; also § 3).
¹⁴² ʟowahai- TO RUN; -t transitive (§ 26).
¹⁴³ Plural formation (§ 78).
¹⁴⁴ kuha′ñas EAR; -etc local (§§ 68, 7).
¹⁴⁵ lax- TO BE INSIDE (singular object); -āyu past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).
¹⁴⁶ n- adverbial (§ 21); -lᴇ article (§ 17); -ī instrumental (§§ 80, 10).
¹⁴⁷ See § 118.
¹⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 88).
¹⁴⁹ hᴇm- TO LAY OPEN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).
¹⁵⁰ Temporal adverb (§ 105).
¹⁵¹ g·im- TO RAIN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -et causative passive (§ 41).
¹⁵² lᴇ article (§ 17); tsîx· HERE, local adverb (§ 104).
¹⁵³ kumene′îł BRUSH; -etc local (§ 68).
¹⁵⁴ ʟ!xan- TO THROW; -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
¹⁵⁵ k!wehe- WILLOW; -etc local (§§ 68, 9).
¹⁵⁶ ʟ!xan- TO THROW; -t transitive (§ 26).
¹⁵⁷ łkwîl- TO BLAZE; -t transitive; -u transitional (§§ 35, 114).
¹⁵⁸ Local adverb (§ 104).
¹⁵⁹ x- FROM, locative (§ 22); temitowetc (see § 106).
¹⁶⁰ lᴇ article (§ 17); îł personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).
¹⁶¹ n- WITH, instrumental (§ 21); tc!wäl FIRE; -e auxiliary (§ 44).
¹⁶² See § 87.
¹⁶³ g·im- TO RAIN; -t transitional (§§ 26, 114).
¹⁶⁴ Syntactic particle (§ 94).
¹⁶⁵ kwaan- TO KNOW; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47); -ēm suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 7).
¹⁶⁶ äw- TO FINISH, TO END; -xᴇm generic (§ 30).

In this manner they had hardly any food.   They were all the time talking about fire.   "How would it be if we should go after fire?"— "Let us go."   They went.   When they arrived, they found the fire burning; and one of them saw the water.   The chief of the people (to whom they came) was sitting indoors.   He was sitting sideways. "Halloo, cousin!" said the earth-chief.   "Let us gamble (for the fire and water)!"   The sky-chief acted as if he did not hear.   The earth-chief sat down opposite him.   After a short time the sky-chief looked up and said, "You belong to a different tribe, so in what way are you my cousin?   You must tell a story."   But the earth-chief answered, "You are older than I," and he went out.   After a while he came back and said, "Halloo, cousin!   Look! this here is your Indian cra-dle.[1]   Your Indian cradle[1] is new, while mine is old.   And this here is your shinny-club,[2] while that there is my shinny-club.[2]   This is your ball,[2] and that one is my ball.[2]   Your ball[2] is new, but mine is old.   Is it not so?"   Then he put all these things before him.   The sky-chief looked at them, and said, "Indeed, it is so, O cousin!   Sit down here, we will gamble."

They began to play. ·The earth-chief thought to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at the player who puts his hand behind his back?   Suppose I put a piece of abalone shell into my eye?   I will sleep in the inside part of my eye."   Then he said to his followers, "You shall support me when I put my hands behind my back;" and what he demanded was done.

Then he pointed his finger at him (the sky-chief) when he put his hand behind his back.   Two men were supporting him.   Thus things happened.   Maggots began to eat up his (the sky-chief's) anus, his face, his nose, his ears.   Soon the maggots ate him up; but he did not notice it.   He kept on sitting there.   Two men were still sup-porting him from the back.   He had an abalone shell in his eye, and was sleeping in that inside part.   Now it seemed as if the sky-chief were looking at it.   To his surprise, he saw an abalone shell in the other man's eye.   By this time only bones had remained of him, for

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[1] "Cradle" or "bed" is a piece of canvas (in former days tanned hide) spread on the ground and stretched by means of pegs or nails, before which the player participating in the so-called "game of guessing" was squatting, while mixing the sticks in his hands, which were held behind his back.   Upon receiving the guessing-signal from a player of the opposite side, the sticks were thrown on the "cradle," usually one by one, while the marked stick was laid bare.

[2] The informant was mistaken in the use of these terms.   "Club" and "ball" are used in a game of shinny, while the game played by the two chiefs was the favorite game of "guessing."

the maggots had eaten up almost half of his body.   The earth-chief was sitting there for a while, and began to think, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that I ought to point at him with some very terrible thing." The sky-chief still did not look at the maggots. Only his bones, joined together, were sitting there. Still he did not look.

Now the earth-chief said to his people, "Don't forget to seize the fire as soon as we win the game.—And you take hold of the water." One of his men said, "I will run away with the water, and you ought to run with the fire." The earth-chief said to the head man of the sky-people, "Now it is your turn to put your hands behind your back." All the time he was thinking to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that nothing terrifies him. It will be very good if I point at him with a snake."

In the mean time the fire kept on burning. He then pointed at him with a snake. But he (the sky-chief) was on the lookout. The snake coiled around his thigh. Still he did not mind it. It crawled up to his waist and threatened to go into his mouth, all the while sticking out its tongue. Soon it seemed as if it were about to enter his nose. The sky-chief became afraid when he saw this. He shook off the snake and ran away. People were shouting at him.

The earth people quickly seized the fire. A very poor man ran away with the fire, while a little man kicked the water. They were running homewards. The man put the fire into his ear while running. As soon as the water was spilled, it began to rain. The fire was thrown into some willow-brush, and soon began to blaze. Thus they returned. From that time on, people have had fire; and from that time on, it has rained. Thus only the story is known. This is the end of it.