
COOS

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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INTRODUCTION

The material on which this account of the Coos language is based was collected at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the summer of 1909. I obtained nineteen complete myths and other texts with inter-linear translations, and linguistic material consisting chiefly of forms, phrases, and sentences. I have also had at my disposal a number of texts and grammatical notes collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, during the summer of 1903, which were of great assistance on many points.

This material was obtained chiefly from James Buchanan and Frank Drew, both of whom proved to be intelligent and reliable informants. To the former especially I am indebted for the complete and rich collection of myths and texts, while the latter was my chief source of information on points of grammar and lexicography. Frank Drew's untiring efforts and almost perfect command of English made him a very valuable interpreter, in spite of the fact that this advantage was offset in a great many cases by his knowledge of the Hanis and Miluk dialects of the Coos, and by his inability to draw a dividing-line between the two dialects. Hence his information was very often contradictory, and showed many discrepancies; but, on the whole, he was found trustworthy and reliable.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Franz Boas, for the many valuable suggestions made in connection with this work, and for the keen and unceasing interest which he has taken in me during the many years of our acquaintance. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken; and its completion is due mainly to the efforts and encouragement received from him. He it was who first imbued me with an enthusiasm for the primitive languages of the North American continent, and the debt which I owe him in this and in a great many other respects will be of everlasting duration.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

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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 Siuslawan,¹ Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua¹ 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 Yahate reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahate 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'kwōs* SOUTH, which appears very often in phrases like *akukwō'sume* FROM WHERE SOUTH IS, *kūsemī'tōtc* SOUTHWARDS, etc.

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 L'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 *ɛ* 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 *î*; it can hardly be distinguished from long *î*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *û*, and was heard often as a long *û*-vowel.

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

Vowels							Semi-vowels		Diphthongs	
<i>E</i>										
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>w, y</i>		<i>ai, æ, œ</i>	
<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>û</i>				<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word *HELMET*, while the unlauted *ä* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German *WÄHLEN*. It very often occurs as the unlauted 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. I.

aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants \bar{l} , \bar{m} , \bar{n} , and \bar{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'	k'	$k'!$	x'	—
Alveolar	d	t , t'	t'	s , c	n , \bar{n}
Affricative	(dz ?), dj	ts , tc	ts' , tc'	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	—	m , \bar{m}
Lateral	$\underset{\cdot}{l}$	L	L'	\bar{l} , \bar{l} , \bar{l}	—
Glottal stop	ϵ	—	—	—	—
Aspiration	—	—	—	x x .	—
	y , \bar{y}	h	w		

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before \bar{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

$\eta ha^{w'e}wat$ I have it 18.4

$\hat{s} s\hat{o}^{x'tt\hat{t}\hat{a}'}n\hat{i}$ we two trade mutually 15.6

$\eta l\hat{o}^{w'x}t\hat{a}'ya$ I am watching it $\bar{l}\hat{o}w\hat{i}\bar{n}\hat{i}'yeqem$ he took care 66.3

26.11

$p\bar{i}^{x'}p\bar{i}$ he went home 28.2

$xp\bar{i}ye'$ etc backwards, homewards 42.7

$qai^{x'}qa'y\hat{o}n\hat{a}'ya$ 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*, *xcw*.

<i>helq-</i> to arrive	<i>halqtsō'wat</i> she would bring it to him 72.8
<i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4	<i>aqalqstō'wat</i> he scared him 92.20
<i>dx'mst</i> prairie 22.12	<i>dxmst'ec</i> 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*).

<i>l'ng</i> 7.5	<i>qa'mlt</i> 102.16
<i>y'xā'ntcpts</i> 60.3	<i>tqa'nits</i> 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:

<i>L'ē'x.simt</i> 74.19	<i>ē'lt</i> 7.8
<i>hatā'yims</i> 20.14	<i>milt!</i> 76.12
<i>y'xumx</i> 122.22	<i>tcils</i>
<i>k'!nt</i> 5.2	<i>be'ldj</i>
<i>xwāndj</i> 6.8	<i>he'wilt</i> 140.14
<i>k'wints</i> 96.11	<i>tc'!ltc!</i> 26.26
<i>Lōw'entc</i> 6.1	<i>tk'elm</i> 136.7 (St. Clair)
<i>denk'</i> 82.9	<i>xalt</i> 10.9
<i>hanL</i> 7.1	<i>qe'ltc</i> 6.4

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

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

dɛmst-

helq-

lɦɪnp-

mɪlɛ-

alq- + -s (§ 25)

wɪnq- + -s (§ 25)

dɛ' mɪt prairie 22.12

hɛ' laq he arrived 20.18

lɦɪ' nɔp he went through 22.11

mɪ' lɔw lunch 28.15

a' lqas fear 66.4

wɪ' nqas mat, spider 58.5

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

wɪnq- + -ɛɛm

helq- + -ɛɛm

lɪnq- + -a

wɪnɔ' qɛɛm it is spread out 32.14

hɛlɔ' qɛɛm it is the end 44.14

ɔw lɔnɔ' 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 *hɛlaq*. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), *hɛ' laq* denotes *TO GET*, *TO ARRIVE*; while *hɛlāq* with the rising tone of \bar{a} 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:

-*i* neutral § 31 -*ä* pronominal § 46 -*äye* transitional § 35

ŋhā'wits I make it grow

hā'wī he grew up 64.24

ŋtsxaw'wat I kill him 26.22

ŋtsxew'ä she kills me 24.14

ŋhā'k!wits I draw it up

ä hāk!wä'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), *-ēm* (§ 30), and by the imperative *-E* (§ 43).

ŋhā'k!ʷt̥ts I draw it up
k!a'wat he pecks at it 20.14
kwaā'n̄ya he knows it 26.18
pa'yat he shouted 32.1
tsxaʷ- to kill

ŋhā'k!ʷt̥tsū he draws me up
ŋk'e'w̄t̥tū he pecks at me
kwee'n̄yēm they know it 24.22
L pē'tE you must shout 32.2
tsæ'wE kill him! 68.3

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

-ām̄, *-ā̄is* pronominal § 46

-āȳam distributive § 37

-anāya § 50

<i>tc̄inē'hen̄</i> he is thinking 24.13, 14	<i>*tc̄inahanā'm̄</i> I am thinking of you
<i>hē'wes</i> a lie	<i>*hawasanā'is</i> you are lying to me
<i>x'ne'et</i> it is on top 10.1	<i>ŋx'naatā'ya</i> I am riding (a horse)
<i>k!lē'es</i> black	<i>k!laā'ȳam</i> blackish (black here and there)
<i>xū'n̄is</i> sick 42.18	<i>xū'nanā'ya</i> he made him feel sorry 42.18
<i>p̄lp̄w̄is</i> hat 136.14	<i>p̄lp̄w̄isanāya</i> he made a hat out of it

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

Here may also belong the qualitative change of *ȳi'xē'* ONE and *ȳi'xwā* TWO into *ȳi'wah̄'na* ONE EACH and *ȳi'xwah̄'na* TWO EACH (see p. 374), and changes like —

is we'lān̄i hanL we two fight will 116.11 (*w̄il-* to fight)

gamelān̄i'we he commenced to swim around (*m̄il-* to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun *lā*, *l̄iye*, into *la*, *l̄iya*, 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

-en̄ verbal § 45

-iye transitional § 35

-etc adverbial § 68

-iyanwa nominal § 62

<i>nwō' tīne</i> with blood it is (<i>wī- tīn</i> blood) 20.6	<i>la^u nk'ā' ha</i> they with ropes are (<i>k'ā</i> rope) 46.9
<i>ū ntc'wā' tē</i> they with fire are (<i>tc'wā' t</i> fire) 42.12	<i>nmī' laqa</i> with an arrow he is (<i>mī'- laq</i> arrow) 20.18
<i>hātct' enī' yegem</i> the story is being told (<i>hā' tētt'</i> story) 44.14, 15	<i>ū qanatcanī' waq</i> they began to make fun (<i>qa' nate</i> joke) 50.12
<i>īc hewese' nī</i> you two are lying 28.13, 14 (<i>hē' wes</i> lie)	<i>īt kwā' xalanī</i> they are making bows (<i>kwā' xal</i> a bow)
<i>qakīmī' ye</i> morning it got 20.4 (<i>qakīm-</i> morning)	<i>ṽhainahā' ya</i> I active became (<i>hai'- na</i> active)
<i>ā' yu īw' ī' ye</i> surely a canoe it was (<i>īw-</i> canoe) 126.10	<i>ṽdōwāyahā' ya</i> I happened to want it (<i>dōwa-</i> to desire)
<i>dēmstē tc Lhī' nāp</i> through a prairie he went 22.11 (<i>dē' m- sīt</i> prairie)	<i>t^h k' wī' l xā' a patc</i> he dove into the water (<i>xā' a p</i> water) 26.27
<i>yīwā' wexetc</i> <i>īa</i> into the house he went (<i>yīwā' wex</i> house) 28.10, 11	<i>L' tā' atc tsxawī' yat</i> on the ground he put it down (<i>L' tā</i> earth, ground) 36.20, 21

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

<i>t^h kwīLē' wat</i> he is following him 22.2	<i>ṽtsxawī' wat</i> I kill him (<i>tsxaw-</i> to kill) 26.22
<i>ṽtēntēcīnē' wat</i> I am thinking (of him)	<i>ē' wīlō' wat</i> you are looking for it (<i>wīl-</i> to look for something) 54.3

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

<i>lē' yī ūl</i> good, indeed 5.3	<i>īn hel</i> not so! 42.23
	<i>lē' yī yū' Lel</i> 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.

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

penlō'wai whale 30.10

ūx tīlā'qai they two are living
24.1

t!^Ecī'ta^u flint point

Lō^u- to eat

xwī'lūx^u head 30.14

k^u perhaps + *īs* we two

penlō'wayetc a whale with 88.30

hē'laq lē mā tīlā'qayetc he came
to the people (who) lived (there)
36.12, 13

nt!^Ecī'ta^uwe lē mō'laq flint points
have the arrows 62.27

Lōwā'was food 22.14

xL!ts xwī'lūwōtc she hit him over
the head 66.5, 6

kwīs 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 *ū*.

xteī'tcū + ūL

yī'ku + ūL

xteī'tcūL how would (it be) 5.2

yī'kūL perhaps it would (be) 17.7

- (2) Two long *i*-vowels are contracted into a long *ī*.

hā'k!^utī + -īye

henī + -īye

īl hā'k!^utī'ye they were drawn up
30.1

hē'nīye a while 42.17 (*hē'nīhen*
many times 88.1)

- (3) Long *e* or *ī* are contracted with a following *ā* into long *ā* or *ē*.

-enī + -āya

plpā'wīsenī he is making a
hat

-nēⁱ + -āwas

-anāya (see § 50)

plpā'wīsa'nāya he is making a hat
out of it

-nēⁱwas (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

tsī + hanL

canL a particle denoting certain
expectation (see § 90)

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 + *hə*
tsō then

yuwə' whenever 16.6
tsowə' as soon as 52.14

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

ŋ I + *in* NOT is contracted into *nī*.

e' THOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *ēn*.

xwōn WE TWO + *in* NOT is contracted into *xwō'n*.

līn WE + *in* NOT is contracted into *lī'n*.

ōin YOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *ōi'n*.

nī *tcētc* *la'* *tsəw'* *wat* not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21

ēn *han* *ḍē'* you not will (be) something 10.5

xwō'n *kwa'* *nīya* we two not know it 120.23

lī'n *can* *wtētc* *sqats* we (can) not seize her 56.18

ōi'n *k'ēlē'* *wat* you not forget it 40.18

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

ūx in kwa' *nīya* they two (did) not know it 22.9, 10

ūl in k'ēlē' *wit* 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*:

kwa' *nīya* + *-āya*

kwa' *nīyahā'ya* (they) came to know it 102.29

ŋ'ne + *-īye*

ŋnehī'ye I came to be (the one)

sīl'nē' + *-īye*

sīl'nēhī'ye joined together it became 13.4

ts!xa + *-a*

nts!xā'ha *lē* *kwa'* *xal* (covered) with skin is the bow 62.27, 28

hū'mā'k'e + *-e*

ūx nhū'mā'k'ēhe they two with wives are 42.15

hēlmī + *-īs*

hēlmī' hīs next day 6.7

Examples of division by means of accent:

l_E + -îtc

l!tā + -atc

alē'îtc l!äts with it he spoke 16.2

l!tā'atc lemī'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.

mā'lae lunch 28.15

dēmsî't prairie 22.12

lhî'nap he went through 22.11

a'lqas fear 66.4

hā'tcî't! story 20.2

tcî'lats he was astonished
22.28

kwā'xal bow 60.14

mā'lat he swam 30.7

mā'lae'nem lunch make me 114.5

dēmstē'tc lhî'nap to the prairie
he came 22.11

āe lhînpī'ye they two came
through 112.1

āe alqsā'ya they two are afraid of
it 7.5

hātct!enī'yeqem a story is being
told 44.14, 15

tcî'lts^Exem he was astonished 128.
15

āe nkwa'ala they two have bows
12.9

mā'tt^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.

hā'lātc elder brother 72.27

ē'k^ulātc father 20.25

la'^xlîs mud 52.10

qhū'mîsîts I marry her

hāl'tcī'yas elder brothers

ek^ul'tcī'yas fathers

xī'lîsa'etc with mud 52.13

hū'mîstsō'wat he married 26.14

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

mā'lkwī'yāt younger brother
72.1

ūl mā'lkwī'tcīnī they are younger
brothers (mutually) 84.20

ilurwe'x'tc's heart 5.3

ilū'tc'sītc lō'q^utats in his heart she
was boiling 108.27

pū'īyat he took him home
30.13

xwīn ēpūtā'mī hanL 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.

zhīnptsō'wat he takes him
through

ṛzhīnptsō'wītū he takes me
through

hū'māstsō'wat he is marrying
them 26.14

ēhū'māstsō'wītā'mī hanL 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'nīk river 14.6

tsā'yua^u small 20.5

wā'ī'līs food 14.7

mā'luk^u paint 10.2

tahā'līk quiver 66.26

xwī'lua^u head 30.14

x'nek hair 50.3

mēlū'kuk^u salmon heart 34.25

g'īmg'ī'mīs 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 ū mēn they began to
shout 24.22

k'a'wat he pecks at it 20.9

k'!ē'wītēm some one is pecking

ha'kat he crawled 32.12
tka'lmîts he sinks it
k!æd'yé'es he is talking
 to him 30.23

phāk grandfather 28.19
tahā'lik quiver 66.26
ax'w'awate uncle
k^mmā'w horn 86.25

xha'k'ite crawlingly 32.10
t^hk'e'lmîxem (a) deep place 84.24
k'!æ'em yé'es talk to me

phā'kate grandfather 30.6
tahā'likate into the quiver 116.19
axā'w uncle 34.9
nk^mmā'wa 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

xya'bas yapti'tsa lä . . . maggots
 ate up his . . . (literally, mag-
 goted his . . .) 40.6

bîsk'e'teyi'xumx he had it (the water) in a cup 128.25

p^hst'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.

mālat he swam 30.7

mā'lt^hqem he swam (out) 100.16

tcō'lats he was astonished
 22.28

tcō'lt^hs^hxem he was astonished 128.
 15

lhē'nap he went through 22.11

lhēnpt^hsō'wat he took him through

nmā'heñet it is (crowded) with
 people 20.1

xmā'hentite 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'yîms (1) *mîx'sō' wē'* (2) *k!a'wat* (3) *hE to'qmas* (4) the wood-pecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15

kî'nî stō'q lE dî'lōl there stood the young man 22.27

wāndj tēme'heni hE dî'lōl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14

e'nek lE L!tā sticking out was the earth 6.7

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'it le he'laq le wî'ngas ū temî'snātc (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
he 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.

he gō's dī't k'yēai's tsaxwī'yat everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
gō's dī't lai'x-tset he' kwî'na'tc (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
he qa'ltes the length
mā ū le ehe'ntc mā yā'lanī surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
la' he'ū kwî'lel le ēk'ī' lō'uts that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
ŋ'ne ūte le ēdōwāyēxtā'is qa'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 le'xā la' qats ī'nīex and he, he was just alone 68.2
ta le ī'wā la' penlō'wai ū lōwē'wat and they, they whale are eating 130.13

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

lela' gal!āxex'ī'we these began to flop around 17.6
qantc lela' laā'yam 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.

he de'msīt ntce'ne'nīs ha' tīl'qtsū at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
he tskwa'xīs nhāl! 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	<i>ŋ-</i>
		2d person	<i>e-</i>
		3d person	—
Dual	{	Inclusive	<i>is-</i>
		Exclusive	<i>awin-</i>
		2d person	<i>ic-</i>
		3d person	<i>ix-</i>
Plural	{	1st person	<i>lin-</i>
		2d person	<i>cín-</i>
		3d person	<i>il-</i>

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

he'mis dēt ŋk'ílō'wīt big something I saw 62.21

tsí e'qa'qat merely you are sleeping 68.19

ā'yu tō'hīts indeed! he hit it 13.3

is al'i canī hanL we (two) will play 38.11

mā awin wutxai'yat a man we (two) brought home 128.8

tsō ic lē'γi now you two (are) well 120.20

ā'yu ix l^hān surely they two went down into the water 54.16

lin pī'x pī hanL we will go home 120.21

cín sqats hanL tē tc'iwil you will seize that fire 40.18, 19

asō' tē il wu'tæ again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are *ice* and *cine* respectively, instead of *ic* and *cín*.

ice stō^uq you two stand up! 120.15

tsō'x tē ice dji here you two come! 82.13

cine lō^uq you get up! 30.19

But compare—

ic hemā'ye you two lay him bare! 24.10

tē ic q!mā'tse this you two eat! 120.16

tē cín l'e'ye tēγ k'e'la there you put this my hand! 80.19

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

gō^us dēt la^u tc!lē'wat, il lē mēlā'kuk^u, il lē ptsä, il lē mē'l^uxas
everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails
34.25, 26

xe'itc tēptē'yap lā ā, ū lā k'e'la, ū la kəla with it she painted their faces, their hands, their feet 122.7

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

tsō ī'k'ī qaxa'ntc ūx x'ī'ntset now both (of them) got on top 14.1

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

la^u gō's wāndj ūl L!ā'xem 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.

ī'k'ī ūx nkwa'xLa both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows) 12.9

tsō ŋqalōw'we now I commence to eat

īc xqantcū'wīs you two from what place (are)? 126.14

ūl k'!āā'a^p they have no water (literally, they [are] without water) 38.2

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle *in* into *nī* I NOT, *ēn* 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 *-īwe* or *-īye* (see §§ 32, 35).

ā'yū qalōw'we indeed (she) commenced to eat 24.11

qatcānehenī'we (he) began to think 20.7

ūx qawelānī'we they two commenced to fight

tsō ūx qayuwatī'ye now they two commenced to travel 12.6

qamīlī'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.

lā L!ahā'was la^u qa'xtō^u her garments (these) commenced to get stiff 110.3

qayāxumatā'īs (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling) 32.10

§ 20. *Privative* k'lä-

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

il k'lätc/wä't they (have) no fire 38.1

k'!ä'tetc mäl'at (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1

k'!ähuwä'was mätst'lti'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-*.

ai'wit le mä nL/tä'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10

ä'yu yu'kwe län yäw'wex surely he came ashore at his house (and not *lä nyäw'wex*) 36.6

lowi'tat he ä'löt läl nm'k'e ran the young man to that basket 28.27

näala'wis la^w he'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).

nwi'tine lä k^whü'yeq his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7

is nhümä'k'ehe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9

nä^ant mä la^w tc!pä'ya^w nk!ä'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9

ntc!a'ha ä'l'ä animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ 22. *Locative* x-

The prefix *x-* signifies *FROM*.

xqanto la^w sē'x·t^{tsa} from where that one scented it 22.24

xqał tqanLts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix *-ä'tc* *IN* (see § 67).

xkwilä' Lē'tc qdji I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)

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

ha'lkwīt hē k'ā hāw nk!wī'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' hīts hēx dī'lōt almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
kwī'la^u ha^{w'x}ts lēx mātēl' tsēnāte ice made the father-in-law 26.27, 28
xy'l'xē' dā'mīl la^u ha'lqait one man to him came 15.5
īn kwaā'nīya lēx wī'ngas hū^wmīk 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^wmīstsō^wwat lēx dī'lōt lē yū'xwū hū^wmā'kē married the young man the two women 26.14
k'īlō'wīt hē wīx'ī'ūs lēx hū^wmīs saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
k'īlō'wīt lēx dā'mīl lē xū'nīs saw the husband the sick (man) 128.11, 12
sqā'ts hāl hū^wmīk lēx swāl 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.

cx'īmīl ŋk'īlō'wītū the bear saw me (but *cx'īmīl ŋk'īlō'wīt* I saw the bear)
xya'bas yapt' tsa lā pī'līk'īs maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
ak'a'nak hē'lta hēx x'ōwā'yas sticking out is (the) tongue the snake 42.1, 2
xgain'ēs kā's tsxāū'wat cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
xwīt ŋtō'hītsū some one hit me
nī kwaā'nīya xwīt I don't know who (it is)
xī'nīlēx x'ā'l'ō'wīt lōp'ītēte alone (they) got into (the) basket 34.19, 20
xlalā^u lō^{wx}tā'ya that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

in lɛ'γi ɔkw'na^{tc} it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

xnā^{nt} la^u Lō^ux Lō^wwa^x 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'i nex hū^wmīs halloo, my wife! 54.2

ɛ^dji nex dā'mīl you come, my husband! 70.16

ɛ^{lō^u}tiyextā'is hanl nex ɛ't!ā you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

ɛ^dji nex temā'mīs you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

ɛ^{Lō^u}k^u nex 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 *ɛ^{Lō^u}k^u nex k!ō'la*, the *nex 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.

ɛ^{Lō^u}k^u pkā'k you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

mīlxa'nem L 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).

xLōw'ɛntc k!w'nts entirely *Lōw'ɛntc Lōw'itat* all (seals) ran
he swallowed her 102.23 (into the water) 56.9, 10

xtc'!tcū ɛ^xalal how are you? *tcū'!tcū ye^ɛ ūwwe^xtcīs* what do you
(literally, in what way you think? (literally, what your
do?) 36.13 heart?) 6.9; 7.1

xqa'lyeq^ɛtc ū kwīna'ɛ'wat as salmon they look upon it (literally,
in the manner of salmon they see it [*qa'lyeq* salmon]) 130.14

xp̄yē'etc qalnūwānī'we backwards she commenced to pull them (literally, in the manner of going home [*p̄w'p̄* he goes home]) 80.8, 9

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

qā'wīts hēw t!ē'ā'te I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the manner of . . .)

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

k!wīnt xwī'laqetc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

paā'hēt hē Lō'pīt xqā'lyeqetc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1
lēw tsqna'hete L!ā'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

xwīk'e'etc tōwītīnī'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, apparently 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

dji it came 52.8
k'tsas ashes

cine' ti'k'E you stand! 122.10

k'e'lnate ttō'w'its he rubbed her
in his hands (literally, with each
of his hands he rubbed her)
108.20, 21

le dji' nāt they came (singly) 52.17
k'itsi' snetc tēp' tāt tet with ashes
he marked himself [all over]
28.16

tsel' nē' āa ti' kine 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

**-t* transitive

-ts transitive

-eet causative passive

-et causative passive

-ī, ēⁱ neutral

-āyu, -ē^tyu, -īyu passive

-āya^u passive participle

-īyawa (?) agency

**-n* general distributive

-nē^t, -nī distributive

-ānī distributive

-īnī distributive

-hīna distributive

**-u* modal (?)

-u transitional

-ū present passive

-ū transitive subject and object
pronoun

-ū reflexive plural

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

*-s general nominal

-is nominal

-es, -tes abstract

-enis abstract

-āwas abstract

-nēwas abstract

-ōnīs verbal noun

-sī verbal noun

-is local

-is ordinal

*-tc general adverbial

-tc modal verbal

-ātc (?) suffix of relationship

-etc local

-ētc, -ātc local and modal nominal

-ewtc local

-etc instrumental

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 *i*, making the suffix -at or -it. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when -at or -it ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that -at denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -it designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -t.

np^hcī't I blow it awayp^hcī hē dā'lōt blew away the young man 26.21pk!^uwīt I lose itk!^uwō' le'āw dā'mīl got lost their (dual) husband 22.9

wəpīt I burned it

wəpī it burned down 58.12

wqāltcīt I slacken it

wqēltc slowly 17.7

tēi L!kwīt lāl hū'mī'k'ca there
covered (them) that old wo-
man (with blankets) 82.14

L!kwō blanket 84.8

- wā'apac* *lōwa'hai* into the *lōwa'hai* *lē* *ā'lōl* ran the young
water she runs 56.8 man 78.27
- ēlō'kwit* *hanlawe* you will *lō'wak** lightning 18.5
make lightning 18.7
- la** *qanō'tca* *l'nurwīt* *lē* *ā'la* *l'nurwī* very much 98.28
that one outside (it) pulled,
the child 11.1, 2
- ū* *ŋya'alt* I am talking about *wāndj* *ŋā'lanī* thus they are talk-
them ing 56.18
- gamlt* he bit her 100.16
- ŋi'xen* *l!**x'v'nt* once she examined it 86.18
- k!wā^ant* he heard it 24.8
- ŋL!nō^ut* *hē* *tc!ŋ'lē* I opened the door 74.9
- qai'cōtc* *ha^u* *ū* *ŋi'wōlt* into small pieces that thing they divided it
130.26
- ŋha'mlt* I float it
- mu'xwīt* *la* *kala* she felt for *ŋmu'xwat* I am feeling it
her foot 80.21
- ŋtc!pīt* I braided a rope *ŋtc!pat* I am braiding a rope
- wi'luwīt* *hē* *tsetse'kwīn* he *ŋwi'lat* I am looking (around)
looked for the cane 28.18
- a^uqat* *hē* *k!lā'was* he took off the shirt 78.11, 12

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

- pi'nat* *lē* *wē'hel* shaking was the stomach 58.24
- kwīlāt* (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 *ī*. The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that *ī* can never serve as a connective between the suffix **-ts** and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd *q*.

- ŋtsō^wxLts* I greased it *tsōwē^xL* grease 122.6
- ŋqai'nts* I cool it *ŋqai'na* I am cold
- ŋaxa'īts* I made him warm *xa'la* she became heated 108.26
- ŋhā'wīts* *lē* *tcōcī'mīl* I grew *hā'wī* *hē* *tcōcī'mīl* (it) grew up, the
the spruce-tree spruce-tree
- l!k'īts* she poured it 102.12 *l!k'ī* it spilled 172.14
- ŋpō^wkwīts* I made him a slave *pō^wkwīs* slave

<i>phū^wmīsīts</i> I marry (her)	<i>hū^wmīs</i> woman 70.3
<i>tc!wā'letc tsi'x'its</i> in the fire	<i>tsi'x'</i> here 106.8
he held him down 106.5	
<i>in i'lxats</i> not he looked at it	<i>tsō ē'ilx</i> now you look 17.3
40.17	
<i>ūx la'ats</i> <i>lē</i> <i>hū^wmā'k'e</i> they	<i>la</i> he went (intransitive) 22.18
two went over (the water)	
the women 128.4	
<i>np'i'xats</i> I scatter it	<i>gō^{us} qantc la^u p'i'yex</i> everywhere
	it is scattered 46.16
<i>pōkwī'lnē' t'ilgats</i> opposite	<i>il tīla'qai</i> they were living (liter-
one another he set them	ally, sitting) 84.20
down 112.12	
<i>qīta'ts</i> I am painting it	<i>qītī'ts</i> I painted it

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

<i>in lōwā'kats</i> she was not home (literally, not she was sitting)	
(<i>lōw^k</i> - to sit [down]) 58.7	
<i>kat'ē'mīs qa'lyeq la'ats lān lō'pīt</i> five salmon got into his basket	
34.23 (but <i>k!ā</i> <i>han</i> <i>lē'n</i> <i>k!w'nts</i> <i>qla'ats</i> a rope I'll put around	
thy neck 94.12)	
<i>pā^{ats} tē q^ēma'tīs</i> full (is) that fish-basket 36.7 (but <i>pā^{ats} lē yīwā'wex</i>	
<i>lēx tc!lā'yā^u qa'lyeqtc</i> he filled the house with dried salmon	
36.3, 4)	
<i>gō^{us} mī'lātc</i> he <i>qa'yā^{us}ts</i> 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.

<i>mu'xwīt</i> she felt for it 80.21	<i>ēmu'xīttsā'mī han</i> I want to feel of
	you 108.18
<i>nyū'xwīt</i> I rub it	<i>il yū'xītts</i> <i>he'iltet</i> they rub them-
	selves 52.13
<i>ūx in nī'xītēm</i> those two no	<i>nī'xītts</i> he touched him 106.20
one touched 122.25	
<i>phā'k!wat</i> I draw it up	<i>phā'k!ūtts</i> I draw it up
<i>lī'cat</i> <i>hē</i> <i>l!tā</i> shaking is the	<i>qlī'ctīts</i> I shake it
earth 16.2	

§ 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* palatalize these final consonants (see § 13).

- ā'yū pñ'iyat hāl tō'mā* indeed, *pñ'x pñ* he went home 56.11
 he took home that old man
 30.13
- l!tā'atc tsaxwī'yat* on the *tsaxū* he lies 20.12
 ground he laid (them) down
 36.20, 21
- ŋkwīl'iyat tE k!wā'sis* I roll *kwīl'ēlā'nā lE baltī'mās* continually
 that ball rolling is the ocean 6.2
- ā'yū l!tci'yat hE ā'la* surely *l!ē'itc* he went out 20.4
 he took out the child 12.1
- dī'l ŋlā'iyat* something I start *la* he went 22.18
- lān helāqā'iyat* we took him up *helāq* 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 *helāq-* 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 *helāq-* differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, *he'laq* TO ARRIVE, and *helāq* TO CLIMB UP.

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

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

- awin ēpñtā'mā hanL* we two will take you home 126.19, 20
ētsaxwītā'is you laid me down
ŋhelāqā'itū he took me up

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.

lga'ai läl tō'mîL he believes that, old man 28.16

ī'nta dī't heawīnnē'itc yōyō^swaai bad something with us is stopping 24.3

ywōē' yī'mat ha^u gō^{us} mī'lātc lōk^ulō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (*lō'wak^u* lightning)

gō^{us} mī'lātc tseSLa'qaai lē'it slaqa'ēwāt she bathed him 60.6

kwe'neL always bathing

was their sister 84.21, 22

ak!a'laai lē hū^umīs shout- *k!a'lat* he shouted 36.7

ing is the woman 56.5

sītsa'ataai hē läl hū^umī'k'ca sa'at murder-dance

she was usually dancing the

murder-dance, that old

woman 116.26, 27

īnī' naai (it is) nothing 122.27 *īn* not 10.8

kwo'tkwa'taai he was dream- *kwo'a'tīs* dream 98.7

ing 98.6

§ 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 *-eme^u* (see § 4).

it sqā'tseme^u they seize one another

ā'yu āx hāitī'teme^u surely they two gambled together 38.23

it tsī'xtseme^u lē no^usk'itl hātā'yīms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1

it ī' nīye kwēenī'yēexteme^u they no longer know one another 46.9

āx wī'lēme^u they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: *qEm*, *-xEm*; *ū*; *-ēm*

-qEm (*-xEm*). 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.

hün k'ēta la'atsæm lE w'ōwā'yas into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4

Compare *mīk'ē etc ŋla'ats lE w'ōwā'yas* into the basket I put the snake

yūwe hū'me alīcān'waq la^u tē he ē'k't^Eæm whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20

tqā'ūsetc panā'qtæm in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tsā'yat lō'qtæm in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22

ŋtē!ō'w tsæm hanL I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)

Compare *tē ū tē!ō^u* there they went to bed 50.12

dī'lōbqtsgem hāl tō'māL is making himself young that old man 22.7

yūqantcē'wītc tētcī'tsgem back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30

tsō lē'tgem now it rested 88.16

tsō L!hā'tsgem lE hū'w mās then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6

Compare *ŋL!hā'ts lE ā'la* I dress the child

hū'nā t^Ek'ē l'mātsqem 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 *-æm* is mostly used.

wā'ndj L!ā'æm that way he *ā'yu L!āts* indeed he spoke 16.2
is talking 15.8, 9

ai'wa in kwī'l^Eæm still not *kwī'lt* he bends it 62.29
bent (it is) 62.29

tsemā'w'æm klwī'nts lE klā'- *tē he tsēmā'w'at lE tē* there
hat the neck is fastened with (they) fastened the canoes 46.6, 7
a rope (literally, fastened
condition, neck, with a rope)
92.4

hū'nā k^u ē'k'æm there he may be among them 94.28

hats kwa ū'yu la^u wānā'q^aæm just like a rainbow (it is) spread
out 32.14

tsō bē'l^Eæm now he is warming his back 32.18

in tē!lē'æm tē lā'nīk' not in a dry condition is that river 14.6
(*tē!līs* dry 166.2)

tsō lé t̃iā' he'lkwe'em now from there she came out 108.28 (*ha'l-kwīt* she took it out 60.1)

hats he'nīhen t̃i'wī'em i la^u tswū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix *-em* 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.

qanc̃ lē tē!wē'em where the bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7 *ū tē!ō^u* they went to bed 50.12

hē'nī tēk'ēlmī'em there was a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24 *īn tēk'ēlm* it did not sink 136.7

c'γ'tcē'em a circle (literally, it is clear around [it]) *γc'γ'tcēō^uwat* I surround it

(See also § 40.)

-ēm. 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 *ūw kwēē'nīyēm* those two somebody knows 19.10

nīat- touch *ūw īn nī'xītēm* those two not somebody touched 122.25

latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7 *latsōtēm* somebody went after it 92.13

hā'k!^ut- to draw up *hā'k!wītēm* somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral-*ī*, -*ēff*

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

yō'qē lē k̃ā'wīl it split, the basket 8.1 *ūw yō'qat* they two split it 7.9

k̃ā's kwa tē!hē' almost as if it went out (the light) 128.19 *tē!hats* he put it out 128.26

Lōwē'entc x̃tī the whole thing (wholly) slid down 26.19 *γw'tīt* I slide it down

- kwa kw' nīs p^ēcī lē dī' lōl* like *ŋp^ēcī't* I blow it away
 (a) feather blew away the
 young man 26.21
gō^{us} dī't hū'wī everything *ŋhā'wīts* I grow it
 grew up 9.3, 4
x'pī lē yīxā'wex it burned *x'pī'tsī* débris 58.19
 down, the house 58.12, 13
wītwehe'xtcī la ā'la it took *waha'xtcas* sickness
 sick, his child 42.17
ēpī'ctcī hanL you will get *pī'ctcīts 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 hū'k!^utī xqa'wax* indeed, *ŋhā'k!^utīts* I draw it up
 he was drawn up from
 above 98.2
ma^{wu}xa' hī ū xwī'lux^{wu} was *mau'xat* he chewed him up 68.10
 chewed up his head 124.3
k!^uxwī lē hū^wmīs was lost *k!^uxwīt* 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 preceded by the distributive *-ānī* (see § 37). The verbal stem must always be preceded by the prefix *qa* (see § 19).

- ā'yu qaxōwī'we* indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11
tsō hanL qac^ēalcī'we now (he) will begin to work 26.18
qalnī'we (he) commenced to hunt 106.16
īl qaskweyānī'we they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21
qacānehenī'we (he) began to think 20.7
qax'īntetūnī'we (he) began to jump about 102.15
qak'elānī'we ū mēn began to shout at each other, the people
 (literally, mutually) 24.22
qamelānī'we (he) began to swim around 176.16

§ 33. Frequentatives -*ē'wa(t)*, -*ō'wa(t)*

-*ē'wa(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.

<i>tkwīLē'wat</i> <i>tE to'qmas</i> he is following that woodpecker 22.2	<i>ŋt^EkwīLts</i> I followed him
<i>asō' īlnē'wat</i> again he is setting the basket 34.23	<i>ŋīlnts</i> I set the basket
<i>wqa'wax la^u kwīna'ē'wat</i> from above these are looking at it 6.4	<i>qe'ttc ūa kwī'nait</i> down they two looked 6.4
<i>gō^s dīl' aŋwē'wat</i> everything he is killing 68.23	<i>ai'wīt</i> he killed (them all) 112.9
<i>ā'yu xwāndj ha^uwē'wat</i> surely that way he has been doing it 92.8	<i>ŋāw'wex ha^uts</i> a house he built 32.18
<i>tēi ūl' k'īw^L!ōwē'wat</i> <i>lE hī'me</i> there they are putting in the children 52.9	<i>ŋw^L!ō^ut</i> I put it in
<i>Lehe^u nē' la^u hīhītōwē'wat</i> side by side she put them down 60.4	<i>la^u hī'tō^uts</i> she put them down 60.4
<i>k'īnk'!īnē'wat</i> <i>hE pāl'ā'ye</i> he was trying the weight 78.18	<i>ūa k'īnt</i> they two try it 7.4

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

<i>ūa kwīskwī'wat</i> they two are informing him 20.25	<i>ŋskwī'wat hanL</i> I will inform him 74.4
<i>ŋw^L!ī'wat</i> I am hitting him with a club	<i>w^L!ts</i> 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).

<i>ŋt!^Ecīcī'wat</i> I am shoving it (back and forth)	<i>t!^Ecīts</i> he shoved it 32.24
<i>īl'pītcātē'wat</i> they are warming (themselves singly)	<i>pī'ctēts tet</i> he warmed himself 32.8

tē tsāw'āw'ī'wat there he was holding him (for a long time)
104.15, 16 (*tsāw'* 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 āw tkwīLtsō^w'wat now they two *tkwīLē^w'wat* he follows him 22.2
follow him 9.9

te!ē etc hīt!^Etsō^w'wat *hē pen-* *hē'yet!* he came ashore 32.5
lō'wai ashore it brought a whale
88.22, 23

tē halqtsō^w'wat there she is bringing *hē'laq* he arrived 22.22
ing it to him 72.8

aqalqstō^w'wat he is frightening *a'lqas* fear 66.4
him frequently 100.24

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

ītslō^w'wat *lē tēⁱ L!tā* he recognizes this (here) land 30.28

k!wenī'ya^u wvōlō^w'wat food I am looking for 54.4

ītsxaw'wat hanL 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 *tsxaw'wat* is *tsxaw^u*, as shown by the form *tsxawī'yat* (36.21) HE LAID HIM DOWN, consisting of the stem *tsxaw^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^uwēt* (see § 11).

ē hū^umīstswītā'mī hanL I will marry you 184.6

īhalqtsō^wwītū he brought me frequently

§ 34. Frequentative Causative *-āēⁱwat*

There can be little doubt that the *-ēⁱwat* in *-āēⁱwat* 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^up la^u laa'ēⁱwat water car- *la* he went 22.18
ried them away 46.16, 17

ic sɬnɔ'ɛ'wat you two are hid- *ux sɬnɪ'yat* they two hide him
 ing him 24.11 24.9
lɔ^w tɔ'icɪla'ɛ'wat he (on) that *tɔ'icɪl* mat 7.3
 (they) are sitting usually
 (literally, they caused it to
 be a mat) 38.3

Compare, on the other hand,

æga'wax ux kwina'ɛ'wat from *kwina-* to look
 above they two are looking
 at it 6.9

§ 35. Transitionals *-iye*, *-nts*, *-u*

-iye 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).

ɬemstɛ'tɔ ux ɬhɪnpɪ'ye they two came through a prairie (literally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1
(ɬhɪ'nap he went through 22.11)

kwina'ɛ'watɪ'ye he began to look at him

hɪn kwɪnɛ'wɛɪ'ye we became poor 28.21

tsɬimɪ'ye c^ɛ it got summer, indeed (*tsɬim* summer 162.20) 30.20

ā'yu i'x'īye surely it was a canoe (*ix* canoe 44.20) 126.10

yɪxɛ'n qalɪmɪ'ye one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4

ɪl hɛ'tīye they became rich 84.17

ɣhɪɪ'nahā'ya I became active (*ɣhɪɪ'na* I am active)

qɔ^wwahā'ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got)
(qɔ^wwa evening 50.26) 82.7

sɪɪnɛ'hɪ'ye *lɛ'ux mɪ'laq* joined *lɛ'ux mɪ'laq sɪɪ'nɛ* their (dual)
 together became their two ar- arrows joined together are
 rows 13.4 13.7

ɪl hā'k'ɪ^wɪ'ye they were drawn *ɪl hā'k'ɪ^wɪ* they are (being) drawn
 up 30.1 up

tsō ɔɪl wɔwāndʒɪ'ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way
 it turned out to be) 8.2

ɣnehɪ'ye lɔ^w tō I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it
 became [to whom] that belongs)

go^usi'ye la^u tsaxa^uwat all (of them) he killed 68.9
ā'yu cīl īn dī'kī'ye surely, indeed, nothing it turned out to be
tsō la^u ūl 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.

ūl ī' nīye kwaā' nīya they no longer know it 50.18, 19
nī' ye ūā' nīs I am no longer sick
ēnīye hanL dī'k 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'wīxem many times it coiled 88.1 (*-en* multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).

he'nīye ūx we'lānī a long time they two fought (together) 132.8
īm he'nīye xā' nīs 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 *-ē'nī*. (See also § 19.)

gamīlī'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3
ūx gayuwatī'ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-nts 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 *-nts* 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.

<i>ŋtō'mīLnts ŋtē't</i> I into an old man change myself	<i>tō'mīL</i> old man 22.7
<i>dī'lōŋtsqem lūl tō'mīL</i> he is making himself young that old man 22.7	<i>dī'lōl</i> a young man 22.11
<i>lē hē'me ū lā'mak tsī la^u yīxā'-ntcpts</i> (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3	<i>yīxē'ntce</i> 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*.

<i>he'mistu</i> <i>lē yāxā'wex</i> getting bigger is the house 34.14	<i>hem'is</i> big 14.5
<i>nā'antu</i> <i>lē mā</i> multiplying are the people 12.4	<i>nā'ant</i> many 44.18
<i>ic tettā'miltu</i> <i>hanL</i> you two will get strong 120.17, 18	<i>dā'mil</i> (strong) man 14.7
<i>qai'cu</i> it is getting small	<i>qaic</i> small, a chunk 128.29

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal -*tc*

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

-*itc* 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 *w-* (see §§ 23, 24).

qawīlāwē *cha'h'itc* (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; *hak-* to crawl) 32.10

qlāw'yat *hew* *nā'w'itc* I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)

ts'xa'w'tc *il dōwā'ya* to kill they want him 66.22

in *lē yā* *kwō'na'w'tc* it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18

qā'wits *hew* *tc'cltc* I finished splitting (*qtc'cle'wat* I am splitting it)

qā'wits *hew* *hem'etc* I stopped bringing it out (*qhamā'yat* I brought it out)

qai'nīs *wīnē'etc* *L^ēān* into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; *qwi'nat* I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

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.)

lqatc ɲla I am getting hungry (*ɲlqa* I am hungry)

pl'itc ɲla I am getting heavy

§ 37. Distributives *-nēi*, *-nī*; *-ānī*; *-āyam*; *-waq*

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

kat' e' mās tkwīL' nēi *lē dji' nīt*
five (winds) following each
other (they) keep on com-
ing (singly) 52.17

tkwīL -to follow

tseL' nēi *ūx tī' k' īne* side by side
they two were standing
62. 22

tseL- (?)

lē' ūx mī' laq sīL' nēi their (dual)
arrows are joined together
(literally, one after the
other) 13.7

sīL- to join together

k!ā' yenī he' ūx xwī' luax' ūx
L!ē' x' sīmt against each other
with their two heads resting
they two go to bed 72.14

k!āy- (?)

pōkwī' lnēi *Lōwaka' ē' wat* op-
posite one another (they)
were sitting 120.4, 5

pukul- across

hītcō' nīhē' ye ū mēn were as-
sembled people, came to-
gether people 46.1

hītc- (?)

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

ū tsa' k' ānā' nī they help one
another (mutually)

tsak' ān- to help

ū L! x' ānā' nī they examine
one another

L! x' ān- to examine

ū tsak' kwā' nī they continually
spear one another

ɲtskwāts I speared him

ū tqanLLā' nī they mutually
strike one another

tqa' nLts he struck it 28.1

il k!wanaxwā'nī they mutually cut one another's hair *k!wa'nwat* 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 il qaheyānī'we surely they began to gamble 66.25 *ha'yat* he gambled 66.15
il tsxewā'nī they kill one another *tsxan'wat* he killed (them) 68.9
ūx we'lānī they two fight *wil-* to fight 106.13

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 kwil^Elā'nī *le baltī'mīs* *kwil-* to roll
both ways is rolling the ocean 6.2
qai'nīs la^u yaq^Eqā'nī away from the shore they run continually 36.18, 19 *yeq* he runs away 182.27
hī'nī sqaiLLā'nī *l^E wā'wa* *sqaiLē^uwas* the space between two fingers
there is going back and forth (through his fingers) the little girl 108.21
qL!ē'tētcā'nī I keep on going out and coming in *L!ē'tc* he went out 20.4
qstōwaq^Eqā'nī I keep on rising and sitting down *stō'waq* he stood up 20.7
tuyetā'nī *le wī'ngas hū^u'mīk* continually looking for some supply was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12

-āyam 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.

yū'xwā hū^u'mā k'e dji'nā'yam k'īlō'wīt two women coming (towards him) he saw 126.13, 14

ā'yu kwī'yat il laā'yam surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

tsō^{ut} x'îlmā'yam xā'^apɛtc he washed it with luke-warm water
120.9, 10

xqaā'yam 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 ūl qanatcanī'waq now they make fun (of one another) (*qa'nate* joke) 50.12

ywwe' hē^yme alīcanī'waq whenever children played (together?)
70.19

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

Compare also the nouns

słtsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7

qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

The Passive Voice (§§ 38-42)

§ 38. Present Passive -ū

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

asō' tci teti'k!ū lɛ tc!i' lɛ again *tī'k!wīts* he shut (the door) 74.6
there is shut the door 74.27

gō^{us} qante la^u qeqai'cū lā wī'- *qaic* a piece 128.29
tīn in all directions that is
being clubbed his blood
10.5, 6

x'ī'x'īntū lɛ tc!wāl is being *x'īntī'yat* he runs with it 42.5
taken away quickly the fire
42.5

cēcū lū lē'ūl yīāi'wex fire is *cūl-* to burn
being set to their house
58.11, 12

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).

qeqai'cū'ye lā ūlwe'x'cīs it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8

mā pepīlsū'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (*pīls-* to crush)

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

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).

<i>mā qesqā'yu</i> the person was seized 10.4	<i>sqa'ts</i> he seized it 68.8
<i>īl aiaī'wāyu</i> they were killed 58.8	<i>aiwīt</i> he killed them all 68.11
<i>qaxl'ī'yu</i> he was struck 96.14	<i>xl'ts</i> he hit her 64.29
<i>tsōk'īx'tī'yulēmāx'sō'wē'a'lēc</i> now was slid down the lucky stake 94.3	<i>ṽx'tī'ts</i> I slide it down
<i>kwīlkwē'lēyu lē hatā'yīms a'lēc</i> was rolled down the money stake 92.11	<i>ṽkwīl'ī'yat</i> I roll it down
<i>ā'yu kwīlkwā'yu</i> surely it was cut off 76.15	<i>ṽlkwa'at</i> I cut it off
<i>yēwīxentce'nē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16	<i>yīwā'ntcētts</i> she gathered up 60.3
<i>hemhē'mē'yu</i> it was brought out	<i>hemī'yat</i> she took it out 62.23

§ 40. *Passive* -īyeqem

This suffix is composed of the transitional *-īye* (see § 35) and the generic *-qem* (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.

<i>lōwt-</i> to watch	<i>lōwītī'yeqem</i> he is watched 40.26
<i>kwīna-</i> to see	<i>īn kwīnā'yeqem hanl</i> we shall be seen 30.23, 24
<i>wīl-</i> to look for	<i>gō's qantc wīlī'yeqem</i> everywhere she is looked for 56.1, 2
<i>tqanlts</i> he strikes it 28.1	<i>t²qanlī'yeqem xwa'lwalyetc</i> 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).

Lō^u- to buy

î la^u Lō^uLō^uwî'yeqem le'ûl wîx'îlîs
when that was being bought
their food 88.13, 14

mîntc- to ask

mîntcmîntc'yeqem xtc'î'tôu ye^s îlu-
wé^xtéts he is being asked con-
tinually, "What do you think
about it?" 70.9

Lō^ux- to club

nî'k'înetc Lō^uxLō^uwî'yeqem with
sticks she is being struck con-
tinually 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 lîdjî'yeqem when they two are fighting 122.25
tsō sōwî'yeqem hē qā'yîs now it is changing, the weather
tsō îōwî'yeqem now he took care of himself 66.3

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

hî'tcît! story 20.1

wündj hâtet'enî'yeqem that way
they are telling the story 44.14, 15

skw- to inform, to tell

la^u skweyenî'yeqem lē tc'wûl
they are talking about the fire
38.5, 6

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

-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 *-îyem* 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 L!e'et le'ûx e'k^uLâtē high up was their (dual) father (literally, was caused to be high up; *L!a-* to be in an upright position)
22.1

k'êl'îsîtc sln'et hē dî'lôl in a corner hidden was the young man
(literally, was caused to be hidden; *sln-* to hide) 24.12

qā'yîsetc ts^{En}e'et lē k!ā to the sky was stretched out the rope
(*tsn-* to stretch) 28.20

- waya'nē la k'ūlō'wīt tana'at* old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (*pēnlō'wai ta'ntan* whale came ashore) 130.3
ā'yu tc!lē'et tē tc!wāl surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; *ṇtc!ūlī'yat* I kindle the fire) 38.8
L!nōwa'at ṇk'ī' Lō'uts lē tc!ī'lē open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; *L!nō'* to open)
x'ne'et he is on top (*ṇx'īnī'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 L!lē'et* surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3
wāndj Lōwe'et telinnē'ite that way it is eaten among us 130.11
ī'nēx herwe'et Lōwa'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).

- gō'us dī'ī' lai'x'tset* everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; *ṇla* I go) 12.7
xāap hē'mtset water was laid bare 42.8
yūwe' q^xtō'w'tset hē'lakwetc whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24
tsā'yūwōtc pī'lstat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14
hē'hats L!nō'w'tat lē tc!ī'lē suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5
tc!ē'etc stō'w'qtset hāl tō'mīL 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'ī'mtset* it commenced to rain 42.9
ē'ha'k^wtat you were left 62.20
qa'lyeq ha'ltat salmon came into the river 34.13
layeta't he became hungry 32.9

- low'ī'tat* she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9
la^w hanL ūx c^xa'letet these two shall work 68.26

- Lōwa'hai lē dī'lōl* was running the young man 78.27
xwāndj c^xa'leēt lēx ūloxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17

§ 42. The Past Participle -āyā^u

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

<i>tc!pā'yā^u k!ā</i> braided ropes	<i>ȳtc!pat</i> I braid it
44.22	
<i>ltā'yā^u ā</i> a painted face 10.3	<i>ȳlti'ts</i> I paint it
<i>q!elē tcēclā'yā^u k!ūhē'lt</i> (with)	<i>ȳtcē'clt</i> I split it
split pitch-wood she lighted	
them 84.1	
<i>āā'apetē L^Eān lētc!lā'yā^u</i> into	<i>tc!lās</i> dry 166.2
the water go down the dried	
(salmon) 36.18	
<i>hēmā'sā'yā^u</i> enlarged	<i>hē'mās</i> 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.

<i>ālē'tc ē^L!āts</i> with it speak! 16.5
<i>ē^{tE}qa</i> wake up! 68.18
<i>cānē^ē Lō^uq</i> you (pl.) get up! 30.19
<i>ē^{al}'cānī</i> you play! 60.21

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

- E. 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 -ēⁱwat and -ō^uwat, 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).

<i>k!wī'ntē</i> shoot it 13.3
<i>cān sītsē'ntē lē wī'ngas hū^umīk</i> you go and see the Old-Spider-
Woman! 64.12, 13
<i>tēⁱ īc q!mī'tsē</i> this you two eat! 120.16
<i>īc hēmī'yē</i> you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) 24.10

<i>c̄ne^e tgalī'yē</i> you wake up! 122.4	<i>tqā'ūs</i> sun 24.4
<i>tōi c̄n L'ēi'yē tēp k'e'la</i> there you put this my hand! 80.19	<i>L'āi'yat</i> she put it 72.11
<i>kūn Lē tsæ'wē</i> let us quickly kill him! 68.3	<i>ṽtsaū'wat</i> I kill him 26.22
<i>sqaīLtō'wē</i> stick it in a crack!	<i>ṽsqaīLtō'wat</i> I stick it into a crack
<i>tēi L Lō'wē</i> this you must eat!	<i>Lōwēi'wat</i> she is eating it 24.5, 6
<i>Lō nī'c̄tēc xā^ap ha'wē</i> in it a little water have! 68.17, 18	<i>īc ha'wēi'wat</i> you two have him 128.9

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

<i>tōh̄tsēn</i> you must hit!
<i>Lōwēn</i> eat! 28.26
<i>g'v̄kwa qai'nas īc t'a'ītsān</i> 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.

<i>ēk!ā'yēx tem̄'sī</i> listen, O grandson! 114.7
<i>tsūw L tc!ō'wēwēx</i> here you must lie down! 126.20, 21
<i>L!lē'w L</i> shut your eyes! 16.9
<i>c̄n la'ēx</i> you (pl.) go! 30.23
<i>ham̄L lhē'tēq</i> (you) may take a rest!

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

<i>lā'tsīt ēpkāk</i> go and get your grandfather! 28.19	<i>ūw tatsā'ya</i> they two went to get him 20.14, 15
<i>tō'xtīt yē'tet</i> watch yourself! 74.3	<i>tō'xtā'ya</i> he watches it 92.3
<i>īn dōwā'īt</i> don't desire it!	<i>dōwā'ya</i> 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 *-āmī* (see § 46).

p^Es't'k' ā'tsem a cup give me! 68.17

tsä'yux^u kwä'xal e'ha^wx'tsem a small bow make me! 60.14, 15

m'laa'nem L ā'mā lunch make me, you must, O grandmother!
(*m'laa* lunch) 114.5

-E'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 *-ā'is* (see § 46).

teq ngatqai' L y'lauxwe'is by this my belt you hold me! 54.12

tci lae'is teka'xtsi there take me, O granddaughter! 80.14

Compare *e'tsak'intā'is 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!^Ec'i'ta^uwe le m'i'laq flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; *t!^Ec'i'ta^u* flint point) 62.27

nw'i'tine lä k^uhā'yeg bloody are his excrements (*w'i'tin* blood) 20.6, 7

nk^umā'xa le c'i't'ā horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; *k^umā'x* horn) 88.7, 8

nā^unt mā tclpā'yā^u nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; *k!ā* 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.

aba'ttādj la^u k!wīs'sa from the west it blew (*k!wä'sis* wind) 52.4, 5

pkwaat'i'sa I dream (*kwaa'tis* a dream)

ac'y'tcitic la^u al'i'sa clear around him (he put) slime (*al'is* slime) 128.18

§ 45. Verbal *-enī*

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).

- ɲplpāwīse'nī* I am making a hat (*plpā'wīs* hat)
ɲɣāxū'wexenī I am making a house (*ɣāxū'wex* house)
ɲkwā'xalanī I am making a bow (*kwā'xal* bow)
ɛ'leqa'wīya'tanī you tell a story (*leqa'wīya'tas* story) 38.13, 14
ɲhātēt!é'nī I tell a story (*hā'tēt!* story)
wāndj tēnehe'nī that way he is thinking (*tēn[e]*-to think) 40.14, 15
tš k'ic hewese'nī merely perhaps you two are lying (*he'wes* a lie)
 28.13, 14
ū al'canī they play (*a'lec* toy) 30.25
ɣawenīse'nī l'nunwī he got mad very much 98.28
ū ɣā'lanī they were saying 76.17; *tē hā'nīs ɣā'la mā* those
 (who) talk Coos (literally, those *hā'nīs* [Coos] talker-people)
 50.3
xwāndjé'nī that way she was doing it (*xwāndj* 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) *-āmī*

Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āīs*

Third person subject *-ū, -ūl*

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.

(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 *ŋ* for the first persons, *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 *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	—	<i>ɛ - ʔis</i>	<i>ŋ - ʔ</i>	<i>ŋ - ʔi</i>
Thee	<i>ɛ - ʔmi</i>	—	<i>ɛ - ʔ</i>	<i>ɛ - ʔi</i>
Him	<i>ŋ - - - -</i>	<i>ɛ - - -</i>	- - - -	- - - -
Us (Incl) (Dual)	—	—	<i>is - ʔ</i>	<i>is - ʔi</i>
Us (Excl) (Dual)	—	<i>xwɪn - ʔis</i>	<i>xwɪn - ʔ</i>	<i>xwɪn - ʔi</i>
You (Dual)	<i>ic - ʔmi</i>	—	<i>ic - ʔ</i>	<i>ic - ʔi</i>
Them (Dual)	<i>ʔx ŋ - - -</i>	<i>ʔx ɛ - - -</i>	<i>ʔx -</i>	<i>ʔx -</i>
Us	—	<i>ʔin - ʔis</i>	<i>ʔin - ʔ</i>	<i>ʔin - ʔi</i>
You	<i>cɪn - ʔmi</i>	—	<i>cɪn - ʔ</i>	<i>cɪn - ʔi</i>
Them	<i>ʔl ŋ - - -</i>	<i>ʔl ɛ - -</i>	<i>ʔl - - - -</i>	<i>ʔl -</i>

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

nɛ'akan wāndʒ ɛ'ɪ'ltā'mi I that way told you 17.2

ɛ'muʔtitsā'mi I (want to) feel of you 72.10

ɛ'laā'mi I take you along

ŋtō'hits I hit it 64.5

ɛ'tō'hits you hit it 20.19

tō'hits he hit him (or it) 20.19

ŋtō'hitsū me he hit

ɛ'tō'hitsū thee he hit

cɪn kwina'ʔl you he sees

xwɪn ɛ'pɪtā'mi hanɫ we two thee will take home 126.19, 20

ʔin ɛ'sitsi'ntā'mi we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

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

ū *ṽtō' kīts* them two I hit

ū *ē'tō' kīts* 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 *-ū* 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 versa*.

nē'akan ē'wīlā'mī I am looking for you

ē'wīwīnā'mī I am cheating you

ē'k'wīnā'is you were shooting at me

ē'sqā'is you were seizing me

ṽk'wī'nīl he was shooting at me

ē'wīlūwītā'mī I have looked for you

ē'wīntsā'mī I have cheated you

ē'k'wīntā'is you took a shot at me

ē'sqatsā'is you seized me

ṽk'wī'ntū he shot at me

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

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.

ūwalqsā'ya they two are afraid
of it 7.5

ṽdōwā'ya I want her 70.6

neqā'ya he ran away from it
42.4

ṽx'na^atā'ya I am riding (a
horse)

lqā'ya *lex swāl* believed it the
grizzly bear 94.25

mîtsîsî'ya she knows it 60.1

în kwaā'nîya (they) did not
know it 86.12

latsā'ya he went after it 94.7

lō^{ux}tā'ya he watched it 94.6

îl Lō^ukwaā'ya *hE* *L!tā* they
occupy the country 44.21

a'lqas fear 66.4

tsîx'tî' dō'wa wî'tæ tî'ye
pî'yato here wants to come
back thy uncle 122.15

neq he ran away 100.16

x'ne'et he is on top 10.1

lq- to believe

mî'tsîs wise 132.6

kwaān- to know

la he went 22.18

lō^{ux}t- to watch

e^eLō^uk^u you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle *hE^{mā}* ALL (§ 109), or by the separate suffix *-îtex* (§ 54).

ṽlō^{ux}tā'ya hE^{mā} I watch them all

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

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

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, expressing, 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	-	<i>ē-yExtāis</i>	<i>ŋ-yExtū</i>
Thee	<i>ē-yExtāmī</i>	-	<i>ē-yExtū</i>
Him	-	-	-
etc.			

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

ēdōwā'yExtā'mī thee I want
ēlō'tūyExtā'mī of thee I take care
ēlō'tūyExtā'is you take care of me 86.20
ŋkwee'nūyExtū me he knows
ēdōwā'yExtū thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (*-yExt-*) is quite obscure. It may be suggested that *-yExt-* 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.

ŋmā'xa'na I made lunch for him
mī'la lunch 28.15

ā'tsa he gave it to him 28.7 *āts-* to give

tet c^Ealcta'texa clothes he made for (his child) 108.5

kwā'wā'was sī'x^Et^Etsa smoke he scented 22.23

kwā'xal ha^wtsa lē teml'snātc a bow she made for her grandson 112.25, 26

ā'yu L!ha'tsa lā tet surely (he) put on his clothes 28.23

kā's yī'xē' pēⁿlta lē tsī'yeⁿ nearly he tore off one handle 30.4

pū'ta lē mā ai'wīt he took to his house the people (pl.) whom he killed 112.11

*e'wutxā'ta lī'ye ā'māc āx
 pkāk* you (should) take
 home, thy grandmother
 them two (and) grandfather
 68.26

ū ŋī'l^Etsa at them I looked
ŋsqā'tsa lē quwāi's I seized
 the boards

lk!wa yīxā'xwa fern roots she
 had 64.14, 15

wutxā'yat lā pkā'katc he
 brought home his grand-
 father 70.2

ŋī'lwats I looked at him
ŋsqats lē quwāi's I seized the
 board

hī'nī yīxāxwō'wat there he
 was holding it 64.3, 4

Compare, on the other hand,

tc!wā'tet t!cū'tsa into the fire
 he shoved it (no object is
 actually expressed here)
 32.26

tc!wā'tet t!cūts into the fire
 he shoved it 32.24

or

yū'xwā wutxā'yat hē tō'wēcōw two he brought home the rabbits
pōkwī'lnē' tī'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 retrogressive 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.

ŋkwāxalanā'ya I am making a bow out of it (*kwā'xal* bow)

ŋyīxāwēxanā'ya I build houses out of it (*yīxā'wēx* house)

lā^w k!wenīyawanā'ya lē qā'lyeq he is making a supply out of the
 salmon (*k!wēnīya^w* supply) 34.24

yanLawe dīl ē qa^uwenīsa'nāya whenever something you will get mad at (*qa^uwenīse'nī* he got mad) 16.4

la^u hanl ēl'nurvanā'ya at that thing you shall pull (*l'nurwī* very) 72.2

ū wa'lwalanā'ya they (would) make knives out of it (*wa'lwal* 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 (*xā'nīs* sick) 42.18

ṗlpā'wisanā'ya I made a hat out of it (*ṗlpā'wīs* hat)

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

aqa'lqōnā'ya la ā'la he became afraid of his child (*a'lqas* fear) 28.24, 25

mātsma'tsōnā'ya lex dī'lōl he became acquainted with him, the young man (*mī'tsīs* wise) 116.1

qai^z·qa'yōnā'ya he became afraid of it (*ṗqa'ya^uts* I am frightened [I fear]) 42.3

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 51-54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, comparatively 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 nevertheless be found useful to give here a few examples of such different stems.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ĩtsẽm</i> 26.20	<i>nẽ'tsĩ</i> 74.1	to do
<i>yĩxũ'mẽ</i> 10.3	<i>yũwĩ'tĩt, yũwat-</i> 12.6	to travel
<i>tsxũ</i> 28.12	<i>hã'yatĩ</i> 58.19, 20	to lie
<i>qa'qal</i> 40.2	<i>tsĩ'msĩmt</i> 74.1	to sleep
<i>xnẽ^x-t-</i> 74.30	<i>xwãĩt-</i> 22.17	to fly, to jump
<i>lẽqa^wwẽ</i> 42.18	<i>ẽ'qẽ</i> 84.14	to die
<i>L/ã-</i> , 14.6	<i>yã'la-</i> 50.3	to speak
<i>lõwa'kats</i> , 38.10	<i>ĩlã'qai</i> 36.11, <i>kwee'tĩ</i> 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
<i>ẽ'tc!a'at</i> you walk 120.18	<i>ĩl tc!a'ĩt</i> they walk
<i>yãa'yat</i> I am whittling	<i>ĩl xã'yĩt</i> they are whittling
<i>yĩt'a'lats</i> I dance	<i>ĩcẽ^ẽ t'a'ĩt</i> you two dance 82.18
<i>yũĩ'nat</i> I wade out	<i>ĩl wĩ'nĩt</i> 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 -ũ

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 -*qẽm*, -*xẽm* (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix -*ũ*, which is always preceded by the transitive -*t* or -*ts*.

Singular	Plural
<i>lھے'tqẽm</i> it is resting 88.16	<i>ĩl lھے'tũ</i> they are resting
<i>yũwẽ'lextxẽm</i> I went to bed	<i>ĩcẽ^ẽ wẽ'lextũ</i> you two go to bed 82.13
<i>yũlõw'kũtsxẽm</i> I sat down	<i>ĩl'leqtsũ</i> (they) sat down 22.15
<i>yũkwẽ'et'ẽtsxẽm</i> I settled down	<i>ĩl kwẽ'et'ẽtsũ</i> they settled down 48.5
<i>yũsln'txẽm</i> I hide myself	<i>ĩl sln'tũ</i> they hide themselves

§ 53. Causative Passive Plural *-iyem*

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 *-iyem*. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial *i* disappears before *u*-diphthongs without changing the *u* of the diphthong into a consonantic *w* (see § 8).

<i>SLn-</i>	Singular	Plural
<i>ûx slnî'yat</i> they two hide him (caus.) 24.9	<i>slne'et</i> 24.12	<i>slnî'yem</i>
<i>x'en-</i>		
<i>ûx'inî'yat</i> I put it on top	<i>x'ne'et</i> 10.1	<i>x'nî'yem</i>
<i>lem-</i>		
<i>ûx lemî'yat</i> they two set it up 8.10	<i>leme'et</i> 90.18	<i>lemî'yem</i>
<i>q^{Eto}u-</i>		
<i>ûq^{Eto}wî'yat</i> I hang it up (<i>x</i>) <i>nō'we</i> , right 44.9	<i>q^{Eto}we'et</i> 46.27 <i>nōwe'et</i>	<i>q^{Eto}wî'yem</i> 84.15 <i>nō'yem</i> 44.22
<i>L/a-</i> to be on something		
<i>û L/aîyat</i> they put it on 80.20	<i>L/e'et</i> 22.1	<i>L/eî'yem</i> 144.4

§ 54. Direct Plural Object *-itex*

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., *tsxa^u-* TO KILL ONE, *aiw-* TO KILL MANY, *la-* TO PUT IN ONE, *x'L/ō^u-* TO PUT IN MANY, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle *hema* (see § 109), or by means of the suffix *-itex*.

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

wo' tsxūt cîma'itex (many) deer he pulled 88.12

ā'yu ûl land'itex surely they headed them off 56.16

hats lōwe'ento la^u laa'itex 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.

<i>lnē'wat wwi'tswūt</i> he is habitually hunting deer	<i>ln'ta e'he lE dā'māl</i> hunting (had) gone the man 108.9
	<i>hēlmā' hīs asō' ta ln'ta</i> next day again he went hunting 110.10
<i>slāqa'ē'wat</i> she is bathing him (caus.) 60.6	<i>yāwē'n slā'qa la</i> 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.

<i>lōq^u</i> - to boil	<i>lōqu'qwa lE s^aal!</i> was boiling the pitch 102.11
<i>kwīnā'was</i> smoke 22.23	<i>īn kwī'na</i> 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.

<i>k'īlō'wit</i> she saw him 54.2	<i>ā'yu k'īlō'we ī la^u dji</i> surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8
<i>k'ī' Lō^uts</i> he found it 32.10	<i>lā īw^u k'ī^u lē</i> her canoe was found 54.19
<i>hā'wī</i> he grew up 64.12	<i>la ā ha^u'we</i> it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16
<i>k'a'lat</i> he shouted (at it) 36.7	<i>ā'wī p^uk'ē'le</i> I quit shouting (literally, the shouts)
<i>mī'lat</i> he swam 30.7	<i>ā'wī ē^umī'le</i> 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'wel a pack 70.22

la^u yu^{wi}le'nu he (went out in order) to pack (*enu* > *anu* [see § 7]) 162.25

a'lec toy 92.10

mā he'laq tēi al'i'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!mīts he eats it 32.9

hats hanL e'q!a'mtsam just will you eat 42.23, 24

Lō^u- to eat 17.2

la^u tsīx he Lō'wīyam 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.

hū'wī he grew up 64.12

hū'wīs ready 5.4

stō^uq he stood 20.4

stōwa'qwīs wall 90.18.

L!ūts he spoke 16.2

L!ē'yīs language 16.1

lūwē'^xtēis heart 5.3

k'elē'lis corner 58.13

wīx'ī'lis food 14.7

k'īnā'wīs laziness 34.17

hele'yīs salmon-roe 34.27

(*k'ē'nwīs* lazy)

hū^wmīs woman 24.6

kwäyē'is ridge, mountain 22.13

baltī'mīs ocean 6.2

kwā'sīs ball 38.19

pī'lik'īs anus 40.7

kwī'nīs feather 26.21

pō^wkwīs slave

k!wā'sīs wind 22.11

plpā'wīs hat 136.14

qā'yīs day, sky, world 6.1

tamā'lis custom, fashion 19.8

qai'nīs mouth of river 58.1

tqā'lis sun 24.2

q^Ema'tīs fish-basket 36.7

sīk'e'^xkīs shield 28.7

xala'wīs heat 24.9

tskwa'^xlis fir-tree 9.2

la'^xlis mud 52.10

tce'ne'nīs edge 22.15

ltce'is ocean beach 7.11

g'īlō'mīs breakers 8.1

lva'lis sand beach 58.1

he'mîs large 14.5
hū'wîs poor 42.5
pl'îs heavy
mî'tsîs wise 132.6
t^Eqa' Lîs solid 7.6
tc'icê'lîs sweet 32.27
tc'lîs dry 166.2

k'î'nvîs lazy
kat'ê'mîs five 5.4
x'î'lwîs deep
xa'lwîs hot 24.6
xî'nîs sick 42.18
Le'mîs raw 32.23

§ 57. Nouns of Quality in *-Es*, *-tes*; *-enîs*

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

he'mîs big 14.5

nā'ant much, many 50.13

ŋqa'na I am cold

he'nîye a while 38.15

hethê'te rich 26.2

paa- to fill 15.7

ê'hento far 26.23

qaL long

k!lê'es black 162.13

qat below 36.11

hats kwa x'nek' he'mî'stes hE
x'ôwā'yas the snake was just as
 big as a hair (literally, just like
 a hair [is] the size [of] the snake)
 86.2

in kwê' nîyēm ūtsê'ts he'ū nā'ntes
 no one knew how many they
 were (literally, not knew they
 how [was] their quantity) 78.2
xgainê'es kâ's tsxā'wat cold
 nearly killed him 32.7

ta^u henî'yees ŋyāw'mē (for) such
 length of time I travel 26.9

hethê'tees wealth

la ū paa'wes hE xā^ap the water
 reached its full mark (literally,
 goes its fullness [of] the water)
 44.19

ehē'ntees distance 52.16

qa'Ltes length

k!lê'estes black color

qa'tes, the lower part, half 16.10

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

cîn lqa you are hungry 70.12

qa'net he got angry 32.25

tê' xwîn ā'yā laqê'nîs these we two
 died from hunger (literally,
 these we two [are] hunger-dead)
 36.13, 14

qa^uwē'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 *-te*. It may best be rendered by THE PART OF, THE SIDE OF.

<i>lexa'tca kwí'nait</i> inside he looked 62.6	<i>lexa'tcem hanl ŋqa'qat</i> in the inside (part of my eye) will I sleep 40.2
<i>ŋiqante'e'wite</i> backwards 32.13	<i>he ŋáwí'wex lexa'tcem</i> of the house the inside (part)
<i>í'la</i> before, first 56.9	<i>penlō'wai ŋqa'ntcem djī</i> a whale behind it was coming 88.22
	<i>ū k'ílō'wít í'la'hatcem djī</i> they saw it in front coming 88.5
	<i>le'wí ū í'la'hatcem dōwā'ya lā e-nūte</i> he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother) 120.19, 20
<i>gat</i> below 36.11	<i>wāndj ŋā'lanī le mā qa'tem</i> ūlā'qai that way are talking the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live 66.12

§ 59. Verbal Abstract *-āwas, -nē'was*

-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).

<i>c^Ea'letet</i> he is working 22.26	<i>ī la^u ā'wī c^Ealctā'was</i> when he quit (the) work 34.6, 7
<i>lōwē'wat</i> she is eating 24.5, 6	<i>ā'wī ū lōwā'was</i> she finished (her) food 24.13
<i>ŋL!hats</i> I put it on	<i>lū L!ahā'was</i> her clothes 110.3
<i>īs al'canī</i> we two play 38.11	<i>al'canā'was ūn ha^uts</i> a game we (should) arrange 90.14
<i>e'qe</i> dead 42.19	<i>aganā'was</i> funeral
<i>ha'yat</i> he gambled 66.15	<i>hayana'was</i> Indian game

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

qa'ya^uts he is scared 126.1

in yū dīl qayawā'wal hardly anything can scare him (literally, not very something scaring [to him] 40.24; *qayawā'wal* a thing that scares)

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

hāqtsā'nlaxanē'was lōwa'kats she was sitting between his teeth (literally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18

sōwe'l laxanē'was between the fingers 108.21

sqa'ilnē'was the space between the fingers, a crack (*sqa'il^{LExem}* it was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in *-ōnīs*, *-sī*

-ōnīs. 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).

il yā'lanī they are talking 90.16

la^u il yaaltō'nīs they begin to talk about it (literally, this they [have as their] object of speech) 76.22

pk'ī'tīts I cut it

k'ītītsō'nīs la kēla she commenced to cut her foot (literally, object of cutting her foot [became] 80.21)

Lō^u to eat 17.2

la^u Lōū'nīs ī ha'k'īto la^u yāw'mē this became his food while he walked crawling (literally, that object of eating [it became] while crawling that one traveled) 32.11

ā'tsa he gave it to him 34.10

atsō'nīs 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 REMNANTS OF**.

ai'wīt he killed them 68.11

x'pī it burned down 58.12

is ai'wītstī īte we two (are the) remnants of the slaughter 62.18

qawīlāi'we lē yīā'wēx nā'pī'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'ītsī'mīs, k'ītsīmā'mīs half
32.11

hē k'ītsī'mīsī ai'wīt half of them
he killed (literally, the remain-
ing half he killed) 112.10

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in *-in*

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

tā'yua^u small 42.6

qaič small 128.29

ē'hentc far 26.23

ī'k'ī tā'yuawīn ā'tsa (to) both a
small portion he gave 120.17

qaič'nis ūx yū'wīyū in a small
place they two are stopping 6.3
nā'yīm ehentcēsī'nētc dji'pīt be-
cause quite far apart it keeps
coming (literally, because dis-
tance-portion-modality, [they]
are coming [singly]) 52.18

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in *-ayawa, -eyāwe, -iyawa*

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The *-eyāwe* 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

L!x'īnt he examined it 32.23

nī'k'in wood 102.2

mī'laq arrow 12.10

lōw- to eat 17.2

t'alīya'wa a dancer

L!x'īnīya'wa examiner

mī'lan ūnīk'īneyā'we permit me
to get some wood (literally, let
me wood-getter be) 102. 1

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

ūlōwīya'wa I am an eater

ūte'xītis lōwīya'wa I go in and
eat 168.2, 3

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

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

<i>qa'ntcū</i> where? 94.25	<i>ic xqantcū'wis</i> from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14
<i>le'tex</i> medicine	<i>awin l^lweyāwe'wis</i> we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15
<i>tsä'yux^u</i> small 20.5	<i>tsä'yuxwī'nīs enī'k'exem l_E l!tā</i> on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26
<i>qaic</i> small 128.29	<i>qaicī'nīs āx yū'wīyū</i> 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.

<i>kū^us</i> south	<i>akukwī'sume hī'yēt!</i> he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore)
<i>tse'thā</i> over here	<i>tsethī'xume lō hē' hē^u hā'w_E</i> here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8
<i>awī'lux^u</i> head 30.14	<i>awīluxwī'me</i> where the head is 146.26

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

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix *-ātc* 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	<i>e'kuLātc</i>	<i>k!ō'la!</i>
Mother	<i>e'nātc</i>	<i>nā'k'a!</i>
Son	(?)	<i>Lowa!</i>
Daughter	<i>kwayā'cātc</i>	<i>kwā'yā!</i>
Older brother	<i>hā'Lātc</i>	<i>hāL!</i>
Younger brother	<i>māLkwī'yātc</i>	<i>mā'Lā!</i>
Older sister	<i>heni'kwnātc</i>	<i>he'nākwī!</i>
Younger sister	<i>kwīya'zātc</i>	<i>kwē'zā!</i>
Grandfather	<i>pkā'kātē</i>	<i>pkā'k!</i>
Grandmother	<i>āmā'cātē, ū'māc</i>	<i>ū'mā!</i>
Grandson	<i>temi'snātc, temi'sān</i>	<i>temi'si! (sing.)</i> <i>temā'mis! (pl.)</i>
Granddaughter	<i>tek' tēt'nātc</i>	<i>teka'zā!</i>
Paternal uncle	<i>pū'yātc, pū's</i>	<i>pū'si!</i>
Maternal uncle	<i>āz'āzātē</i>	<i>āzā'z!</i>
Paternal aunt	<i>ā'tātē</i>	<i>ā'at!</i>
Maternal aunt	<i>zūkwī'nātc</i>	<i>kwā'kwī!</i>
Father-in-law	<i>mātc!tē'nātc</i>	<i>yā'k'! (?)</i>
Mother-in-law	<i>qāw'kātē</i>	<i>kwā'k!</i>
Son-in-law	<i>mī'nkātē</i>	(?)
Daughter-in-law	<i>mētū'nātc</i> ¹	(?)
Brother-in-law	<i>hā'k!</i>	<i>hā!</i>
Sister-in-law	<i>kwī'hātē</i>	<i>kwī'hā!</i>
Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship.	<i>zā'yustātc</i>	(?)
Nephew (son of sister)	<i>tewī'tātē</i>	<i>tew!</i>
Nephew (son of brother)	(?)	<i>kwīne'wīL! (?)</i> <i>nezeu! (?)</i>
Niece (daughter of sister)	<i>upxanā'cātē</i>	(?)
Niece (daughter of brother)	(?)	<i>pēkwī'nā!</i>

¹ Alsea, *mā'stān*.

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 *slā'atē* (vocative *slā*), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is *xwīl*, used in the same way in addressing females.

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, -iyēx, -iyetēx*

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.

bēldj north

lē lā'mak' lala^u tē bīldjī'yēx the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 50.5, 6

yī'qantē behind

yī'qa'ntēāmēx mā 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'yetēx mā from above the people 150.5

qā'yīs sky 6.1

qā'yīsa'yēx mā the sky-people

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal *-ē^{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^{tc}* and *-ītc*, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

yīxā'wēx house 22.25

yīxā'wēxē^{tc} lōwa'kats in the house he is sitting

L!tā country 30.28

yēai' L!tā'ītc yītse'ts in another country I stay 26.8, 9

he'wīlts road 138.17

he'wīltsītc stō^uq on the road he stood 36.16

q^uwai's board 52.14

ī la^u q^uwai'sītc tēl'cīlē'et while she under the board was 58.25

xā^ap water 6.9

xā^apītc dji ī mī'le in the water it was swimming 88.21

īx canoe 44.20

asī'L īx'ītc īx tēlōwī'yat in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23

kwi'leL sweat-house 62.25

kwi'leLē^{tc} tsxū lāl tō'mēL in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12

tīla'qai (many) live 36.11

hī'nī lōwa'kats lē tīl lē mā wqat
tīla'qayītc there lived the kins-
men (among) the people (who)
below lived 60.11

By prefixing to the noun the local prefix *w-* (see § 22), and by suffixing to it the suffix *-ē'tc*, *-ītc*, the idea FROM is expressed.

qā'yīs sky 6.1

wqā'yīsītc *he'laq* from the sky he
came

L!tā country 30.28

wyēai' L!tā'ītc from another coun-
try 26.6

pqai' back 82.13

wyū'wū mā L!ō'k'īnē'wat wpgai'-
hītc two men were supporting
him from the back 40.9

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

nmā'heñet it is populated 12.4

hats kwa wmahe'ntītc stō'waq just
like a person he stood up 114.23,
24

wmahe'ntītc k'īlō'wīt lē mā like
persons she saw the beings (look)
54.18

ā'yu sure enough 7.4

gō'us dīl īn wā'yurwītc tsāw'wat he
killed a little of everything
(literally, [of] everything not
enough-ly he killed) 64.19, 20

qa'lyeq salmon 34.14

wqa'lyeqē'tc ūl kwīna'ē'wat as
salmon they look upon it 130.14
xta'nuawītc lōwa'kats sideways he
was sitting 38.10

yīwē' one 5.5

wyī'wē'tc dū'mīl wyī'wē'tc he'ūl
hū'mā'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

yī'kwanl qantcī'tc tē la perhaps
shall which way this I go 100.18

qaic small 128.29

qai'cītc hā' ūl yū'wīt into small
pieces they divided it 130.26

tsū'yūw' small 20.5

tsū'yūwītc pī'lstat to pieces it was
smashed 124.14

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

gō's qa'ntētc xyānōd' hē'tc īl la everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
xyīpse' nē'tc in threes (*yī'psen* three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, *-etc*

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

<i>tēcī'mīl</i> spruce-tree 20.5	<i>L!aī'yat lē tsā'yua^u tēcī'mīletc</i> he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8
<i>dē'msīt</i> prairie 22.12	<i>lē'yī demstē'tc l'hā'nap</i> a good prairie through he goes 22.11
<i>yāw'wex</i> house 22.25	<i>yāw'wexetc la</i> into the house he went 28.10, 11
	<i>yāw'wexetc djī</i> to the house he came
<i>tē'wōl</i> fire 38.8	<i>tē'wōle'tc tē'cīs</i> into the fire he shoved it 32.24
<i>ū</i> face 10.3	<i>kwīna'ē'wat ū' hē'tc</i> he is looking at (his) face

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

<i>wā^ap</i> water 6.9	<i>tē'k!wīl wā^apatc</i> into the water he dove 26.27
<i>L!tā'</i> ground 6.7	<i>L!tā'atc lemī'yat</i> on the ground he put it 64.1

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

<i>tīla'qai</i> (many) live 36.11	<i>tēi hē'laq lē mā tīla'qayetc</i> there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13
<i>stō^uq</i> he stands 20.4	<i>tsō lē mā qal stō^uqetc hē'laq</i> now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5
<i>alī'canī</i> (they) play 94.8	<i>hē'laq lē mā alī'canī'waqatc</i> he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15

§ 69. Local *-ewite*

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

<i>bēldj</i> north	<i>bēldje'wite qai'elt</i> to the north he scattered 48.24
<i>ē'qatce</i> aside 26.20	<i>ēqatce'wite kwilkwēlē'yu</i> to one side he was rolled 94.19, 20
<i>yā'qante</i> behind	<i>yāqante'wite ilx</i> backwards he looked 32.13
<i>qaits</i> inside 140.24	<i>qai'tsōwite il tē'xitts</i> (inside) they entered 22.29
<i>yāw'wex</i> house 22.25	<i>yāw'wex'e'wite ŋla</i> towards the house I am going

§ 70. Instrumental *-Etc*

It expresses our ideas WITH, AGAINST. When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, it is pronounced more like *-ate*; 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).

<i>mā'luk^u</i> paint	<i>mā'lukwetc ttā'ya^u lä ä</i> red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3
<i>īx^u</i> canoe 44.20	<i>mā xīx'e'tc yāxu'me</i> people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3
<i>tc!iltc!</i> hammer 26.26	<i>tqanLts tc!i'ltc!etc lē kwī'la^u</i> he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1, 2
<i>mīx'sō'wē'</i> lucky 20.14	<i>hatā'yims mīx'sō'wetc alī'canī ū mēn</i> lucky money with they are playing 94.27
<i>q!e'tē</i> pitch 82.23	<i>q!elēyetc la^u pā^uts</i> with pitch it was full 74.25
<i>mī'k'e</i> basket 28.27	<i>xmīk'e'etc tōwī'tinīye</i> in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9, 10
<i>qā'yīs</i> sky 6.1	<i>qā'yīsetc tskwī</i> against the sky it struck 22.4
<i>tqā'līs</i> sun 24.2	<i>tqā'līsetc panā'qtsxēm</i> in the sun he is warming himself 32.8
<i>tc!i'le</i> door 62.5	<i>x'ne'xitts tc!i'le/etc</i> she jumped against the door 76.2

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

wa'lwai knife 78.11

tʰqanli'yeqem xwa'lwalyetc they
hit her with a knife 80.5

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

gō's dīʰ tsäyā'neha^utc nL!pēne dīʰ with all kinds of small birds 46.2

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

le it 5.1

ale'itc ōx k'!int with it they two
try it 7.4

y'ne I 50.25

yne'itc he'laq with (or to) me he
came

e'ne thou 15.7

ye'ne'itc with, to thee 18.11

xä he 15.10

hexä'itc with, to her 86.3

xwin we two

hexwinne'itc with, to us two 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE *-eytm*

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

tsä'yua^u small 20.5

he tsäyua^uwe'yim. ä'la the smallest
child

he'mis big 14.5

he hemise'yim yäw'wex the big-
gest 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.

heni'k^unätc elder sister
(out of two) 50.8

wändj L!äts he henikuntce'yim
that way spoke the eldest sister
126.16

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE *-inī*

-inī is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives *-nēi*, *-änī* (see §§ 25, 37).

sla'atc cousin 42.21

ōx sla'tcīnī they two were mutual
cousins 42.15

hā'lätc elder brother 72.27

līn hā'ltcīnī we are brothers mu-
tually

mā'lkwi'yātc younger brother
72.1

ka'tē'mis ū mā'lkwi'tcīnī five they
(are) brothers (mutually) 90.8

§ 73. INTERROGATIVE -*ū*

It is added only to the particles *tcētc*, *qantc*, *mīlātc*, *dīl*, *wīt*, *ītc*, to the adverb *nīcītc*, and to the stem *ītsēts* (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

tcē'tcū xā'lal ū mēn what are they doing? 92.18

xtcē'tcū tēŋ xā'nīs how is it that I am sick?

la^w qā'ntcū la that one where did he go? 94.25

mī'lātcū hanL ē'wūtāe when will you return? 28.3,4

dī'wū he tē ē'wīlō^w wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3

dī'ltcē'tcū hanL tēis k'īnt with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2

(*dī'ltcē'tcū* = *dīl* + *-tc* + *-etc* + *-ū* (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11)

awī'tū tsī'x-tī'yat who did it?

ī'tcū ē'dōwā'ya ē'ākan which one do you want? 50.17

ū nī'ctcū how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)

ītsē'tsū hēmī'stes tī'ye yī'xā'wēx how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74-77)

§ 74. Ordinal -*īs*

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

ī'la, yuwī'nt, yuwī'ntīyēx first

asō'wīs second

yīpsē'nīs third

hecl'īīs fourth

kat'ē'mīsīs fifth

hē' xā ī'la lowī'tat she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9

lēŋ yuwī'nt hū'wīs my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)

lēŋ asō'wīs hū'wīs my second wife

Compare also *hēlmī'hīs* next day (*hē'lmī* to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

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

tsō cku tsē'wīs 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. <i>yāxé'n</i> | 6. <i>yāxé'wíegen</i> |
| 2. <i>tsō'wé'n</i> | 7. <i>yāxwō'wíegen</i> |
| 3. <i>yāpsé'nén</i> | 8. <i>yāxé'ahālen</i> |
| 4. <i>hecl'Len</i> | 9. <i>yāxwō'ahālen</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'E'māsen</i> | 10. <i>Lep!qa'nēn</i> |

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

yāxé'n sla'qa la once bathing she went 84.24

tsō'wé'n hanl ywū'tæ in two days will I return (literally, twice) 28.4

kat'E'māsen qa'wante wné'tits five times upwards (they) jumped 76.4

tsō kwā nīctcé'n qākimī'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 *westé'n* SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem *wes* SO MANY.

hīs westé'n tsāx ta hīs westé'n yēai' L!tā'ite qītsé'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 *-is* (see § 74).

wyāwē'wíeqé'ntcis L!ē'tc lā ilwōé'tcis at the sixth time went out her heart 76.6, 7

wkat'E'māse'ntcis at the fifth time

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

hecl'Lentc qākimī'ye la' laātā'ya lā sla'atc on the fourth day he went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got . . .) 42.20, 21

§ 77. Distributive *-hñā*

Distributive numerals in the sense of ONE EACH, ONE APIECE, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix *-hñā* (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, *yāwē* and *yāwā*, 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, *yī'psen*, drops its final *n* before taking the suffix.

yāwahí'ñā one each

yāwawahí'ñā two each

yī'psehí'ñā three each

hecl'lhí'ñā four each

kat'emíshí'ñā five each

gō's yāwahí'ñā ūl nhū'mā'k'e lē wí'ngas ū hñ'mē all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9

yāwahí'ñā he'is mī'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	
<i>ā'la</i> 10.8	<i>hñ'mē</i> 20.3	child
<i>hñ'mā's</i> 24.6	<i>hñ'mā'k'e</i> 20.3	woman
<i>tō'māL</i> 20.2	<i>tēmā'Le</i> 24.1	old man
<i>dā'māL</i> 14.7	<i>tī'māL</i> 56.18	man
<i>mā</i> 10.1	<i>mēn</i> 24.22	human being
<i>k'nes</i>	<i>k'enē'yese</i> 30.16	hunchback
<i>tsā'yūw</i> 20.5	<i>tsāyā'ne</i> 48.7	small
<i>tē'wet</i>	<i>tē'nāwet</i> 46.19	short
<i>qal</i>	<i>kālē'mka</i> 134.25	tall
<i>alī'maq</i> 112.27	<i>alī'maqā</i> 44.20	big
<i>teite</i> 10.9	<i>tēte'ne</i> 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 (*-iyas*) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, *-ātc* (*-atc*) (see pp. 365, 366).

<i>kwīya'zLtc</i> younger sister 50.14	<i>meanī'yas</i> parents 86.12
<i>hā'Lātc</i> older brother 72.27	<i>kwīLtcī'yas</i> younger sisters 82.14
<i>e'k^uLātc</i> father 20.13	<i>hāLtcī'yas, hālī'yas</i> older brothers 130.23
<i>e'ē'nātc</i> mother 68.16	<i>ek^uLtcī'yas, ek^uLī'yas</i> fathers
	<i>e'ntcī'yas</i> mothers

This suffix may be present in the stem *L!tā'yas* VILLAGE, derived from *L!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.

<i>mī'laq</i> arrow 12.10; <i>nmī'laqa</i> with arrow he is 20.18	<i>hemī'yat lE mā ā kwā'xal nmī'laqai</i> she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23
<i>lā'mak</i> bones 40.12	<i>ntet ta nlā'mak'i</i> with flesh and bones and all

-ca is suffixed to the noun *hū'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.

wāndj L!ā'xem lE hū'mîk'ca thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20

lxant tc!wāle'te lE hū'mîk'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.

<i>tc!hats</i> he put it out (the light) 128.16	<i>k'âtcc!hā'yîms la^u tc!îlé et</i> it (the fire) is burning continually (literally, without [being] put out it is caused to burn) 40.25, 26
<i>îce^e tîtc!</i> you two come in! 82.14	<i>tîtcā'yîms ydōwā'ya</i> to come in I (should) like
<i>hethé te</i> rich 26.2	<i>hatā'yîms</i> money 20.15

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

<i>îñ-</i> to hunt 24.26	<i>îñ'yāL mǎ</i> a hunter
<i>al'canî</i> he plays	<i>al'canî'yāL</i> a player
<i>Lō^u-</i> to eat	<i>Lōwî'yāL</i> a person that eats
	<i>qacqayā'yāL</i> a shadow (?) 104.9

-îye, -āye. 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 nominalizing function.

<i>pl!îs</i> heavy	<i>yū kwā pāl!ā'ye akwî'na^ute</i> they (pl.) look very heavy (literally, much as if weight [according to] appearance) 64.8
<i>wî'lwîs</i> deep	<i>asî' L la ā wîlwî'ye lēx ya'bas</i> the maggots go halfway deep (literally, middle, goes its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12
<i>wî'us</i> light	<i>hîs wā ta hē'ūx wāwî'wîye lē ēne</i> they two are as light as you (literally, also he and their two light weight [as] yours)

Singular	Plural	
<i>pl!îs</i>	<i>pāl!ā'ye</i>	heavy
<i>mî'tsîs</i> 128.20	<i>mātsā'ye</i>	wise
<i>wî'us</i>	<i>wāwî'ye</i>	light

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

hî'nî there 5.2

hînî' yîya mû dî't la^u mî'tsîs from
there the people something
know 128.19, 20

tsî hê'it tama'îs hînî' yîya mû 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

-î 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-*.

l_E it, he, the 5.1

nlê hî la with it he went 42:8

nlê hî wu'tæ 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 *E*-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:

wi'n- to cheat
gaic small 128.29

ai'wit (he) killed them 124.4

pils- to tear up

tiw- to coil

Lōu- to buy

éwîwîwîwî'mî I am cheating you
qeqai'cû lă wî'tîn clubbed (into pieces) is his blood 10.6

îl aiai'wā'yu they were killed 58.8

pepîlsū'ye he was torn up 48.16

ti'ti'wē'wat I am coiling it

Lō^uLō^uwî'yeqem it is being bought
88.13, 14

Examples of syllabic duplication:

tāine'henî he is thinking 24.13,
14

ām- to attract

ti'slō'wat he recognized it
30.28

āx hî'tō^us they two put it
down 7.4

lē'p- to paint

Lō^ux- to hit

pō^ukwîs slave

wēL- to twist

sî'x'îts he shook it off 42.3

en hanL tāintāinā'is you sha'n't
think of me 88.29

āmāma'ē'waq it was attracting by
means of its breath 88.25

ti'ti'sî'lū (she) is being recognized
56.5

la^u hîthitōwē'wat these he is put-
ting down 34.8

alē'ite kîpî'yap lă ā with it she
painted their faces 122.6

xnā^unt la^u Lō^uxLō^uwax many that
one were hitting 80.4, 5

mā pō^ukpō^uwak^u people she was
enslaving 70.15

xqē'ite wîLwē'yāL slowly she is
twisting him 60.7

îsîx'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 *i*.

yîxē'ntee together 64.8

yatē'wat he is coaxing him

îyîxāntēū'ye it was gathered up

wāndj îl î'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*.

<i>is xL!ō^ut</i> we two put it in	<i>il k'ixL!ōwē'wat</i> they are putting
26.25	them in frequently 52.9
<i>x'ti</i> it slid down 26.19	<i>k'ix'ti'yu</i> it was slid down 94.5
<i>yixē'n sLa'qa la</i> once to bathe	<i>tsisLa'qaai</i> she was bathing 84.21
she went 84.24	
<i>stō^uq</i> he stood 20.4	<i>tsestōgē'yu</i> 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.

<i>kla'lat</i> he shouted 36.7	<i>akla'laai lE hū^w mīs</i> 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.

<i>skwī'wat</i> he informed him	<i>wāndj kwīskwī'wat</i> that way he is
164.22	informing her 60.19
<i>tsawwī'yat</i> he put it down	<i>xetsawwē'wat</i> he is putting it
36.21	down
<i>Lkwa'at</i> he cut it off	<i>kwīLkwā'yu</i> it was cut off 76.14
<i>sqats</i> he seized it 36.20	<i>mā qesqā'yu</i> the person was
	seized 10.4
<i>L!xant</i> he threw it 42.10	<i>xal!xanē'wat</i> he is throwing it
	frequently
<i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4	<i>aga'lqsōnā'ya</i> he became afraid
	of him 28.24, 25
<i>L!ha'tsa</i> he put on 28.23	<i>hal!hā'yu</i> it was put on
<i>xmenī'yat</i> he tipped it over	<i>mexmenē'wat</i> he is tipping it over
46.26	
<i>q!mīs</i> she ate it 24.16	<i>meq!mī'yu</i> it is eaten 142.6
<i>x^Ealī'yat</i> he hugged him 116.4	<i>elxē^Elē'yu</i> he was hugged

Compare also —

<i>laī'xwīt</i> she jabbed him 112.17	<i>lExwī'ye</i> he was jabbed
<i>L!nō^ut</i> he opens (the door)	<i>nōL!nōwē'wat</i> 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.

<i>kwīlt-</i> to roar	<i>kwītkwī'ltai</i> it is roaring 114.6
<i>qals-</i> to cut	<i>qasqa'lsaai</i> he is cutting

<i>x'ne'x'tits</i> he jumped 32.4	<i>x'itx'i'ntaai</i> he is jumping
<i>m'i'ntc'its</i> she asked him 62.15	<i>m'itcm'i'ntc'i'yegem</i> he is asked 70.9
<i>ha'mx-</i> to dress hides	<i>ua ha'xha'ma^ux</i> they two are dressing hides 68.27, 28
<i>dä'mil</i> man 14.7	<i>ic teltä'miltu</i> you two (will) get strong 120.17, 18
<i>k!wanx^u-</i> to cut (the hair)	<i>k!wa'xk!wanax</i> he is cutting his hair
<i>tsilk-</i> to tie a knot	<i>tsi'k'tsilak-</i> he is tying a knot
<i>silp-</i> to comb (hair)	<i>si'psilap</i> he is combing (his hair)

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

<i>yix'e'ntce</i> together 64.8	<i>yixwantceⁿnē'yu</i> it was gathered up
	<i>yexyixentce^snē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16
<i>x'ne'et</i> he is on top 10.1	<i>x'inx'inē'wat</i> he is putting it on top
	<i>x'i'x'intū</i> it is being put on top
<i>m'into-</i> to ask	<i>m'itcm'i'nate</i> she is asking 80.12
	<i>mem'into'ye</i> he was asked
<i>cūlts</i> he set afire	<i>cilcū'laai</i> it is burning
	<i>cēcū'lū</i> 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.

<i>yEq</i> he went away	<i>qai'nīs la^u yaq^Eqā'nī</i> from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19
<i>sō^{ux}t-</i> to trade	<i>is sō^{ux}tītā'nī hanL</i> we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8
<i>hū'^umīs</i> woman 26.7	<i>inēxa'nā la^u hū'^umīsīsā'nī</i> themselves they marry 12.5
<i>stō'^uwaq</i> he stood 20.7	<i>stōwa'qeqā'nī</i> he is continually standing up and sitting down
<i>kwi'lī'yat</i> he rolls it	<i>kwi'lī'lā'nī lE baltī'mīs</i> rolling is the ocean 6.2
<i>kwā'a'tīs</i> dream 98.7	<i>la^u kwā^atīsīsā'nī</i> he is constantly dreaming (literally, now and then) 72.1

<i>lk!wī tē xā^ap</i> runs down the water 16.9	<i>lk!wa'k^u tē xā^ap</i> is continually running down the water 17.4
<i>x'pī lē yīxū'wēx</i> it burned down, the house 58.12, 13	<i>x'pa'ap lē yīxū'wēx</i> burning (down) is the house
<i>wu'txē</i> he came back 28.9	<i>wutxā'xa tē'is hū'mē</i> came back (one by one) our (dual) children 44.7
<i>k!uxwī lē hū'w'mīs</i> the woman was lost 54.19	<i>heq pLpā'wīs k!u'wax^u</i> my hat got lost (impersonal)
<i>nēq</i> he ran away 100.16	<i>īl nēqa'qa</i> 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 onomatopoeic 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:

<i>e'qeq</i> killing spot 80.14 (compare <i>e'qe-</i> to die)	<i>kī'pīp</i> white man's paint (compare <i>kē'p-</i> to paint)
<i>yī'myīm</i> eyelash (compare <i>yīm-</i> to twinkle)	<i>tcō'atcōx</i> rabbit 60.23
<i>wa'lwal</i> knife 78.11	<i>g'img'i'mīs</i> rain (compare <i>g'i'mīt</i> it rains)
<i>ha'x'haax</i> wagon (compare <i>ha'x-</i> to drag)	<i>k'ī'nk'in</i> stick
<i>hethe'te</i> rich 26.2	<i>k'isk'a'sīL</i> fish-hawk
<i>he'he^u</i> knot 92.8	<i>ku'kum</i> raven
<i>pū'spūsⁱ</i> cat	<i>qatqai'L</i> belt 28.7 (compare <i>tqa'L-</i> to put a belt on)
<i>pū'xpux</i> a spout 30.25	<i>qa'lqal</i> digging-stick 26.17
<i>mūs'mūsⁱ</i> cow	<i>x'ī'nax'in</i> saddle (compare <i>x'ne'et</i> it is on top)
<i>ta'uta^u</i> basket 112.4	<i>xa'lxat</i> ax (compare <i>lxat-</i> to chop)
<i>tsētse'kwīn</i> cane 28.18	<i>wva'lwal</i> eye 40.1
<i>tselī'mtselīm</i> button	<i>wvī'tsxūt</i> deer 64.19
<i>ta'ntan</i> to come ashore (whale) 128.28	
<i>pī'x'pī</i> to go home 28.3	
<i>yū'yū</i> to stop (while traveling) 5.2	

¹Chinook 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 transitive 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.

tkwīL- to follow

īn tēte tkwī'yal (they) can not follow him

tēnL- to reach

yīwā'wēāte tē'nāl lā k'mā'x.
to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26

stō^ug he stood 20.4

nhal' stō'waq at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17

ūw yū'yū they two stopped (for a moment) 5.2

ūw yū'^{wi}yū they two stopped (for a long time) 5.5

k'a^u- to peck

k'ūlō'wīt k'a'wat he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9

sīlp- to comb one's hair

sī'psīlap he is combing his hair

mīntc- to ask

wāndj mītemī'nate that way she is asking 80.12

wīL- to twist

xqē'tc wīLwē'yal 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.

ūw lī'āt they two shake it 13.8

lī'cat hē L'tā (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2

qmū'awīt I felt it

qmū'awat I am feeling it

qltīts I painted it

qltats 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

hūw'mîs woman 24.6

dä'mîl man 14.7

dī'lōl young man 22.6

kwē'ik a young girl 12.2

hūw'mîk old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5

tō'mîL old man 20.2

dī'lōL 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 hē k'îtsîmă'mîs now he was about to bend the half 62.29

w^Eal'yat han hē dī'lōl he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

2. *hanL* 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.

nen phā'kato hanL ŋk'ilo'wit I will see my grandfather

gō's dī't hanL hā'wī everything will grow 9.3

cīn sqats hanL te tc!wāl you shall seize that yonder fire 40.18, 19

is al'canī hanL we two will play 38.11

in le'γī hanL not good will (it be)

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

ī gante Ēit ē'la when anywhere you intend to go 15.3

ī dī't ū Lōwē'wat Ēit when something they intend to eat 38.2

qai'k' ūx wutxa'xa Ēit te'is 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.

tē' nīk!wa ye'ne' nā'hīn this used (to be) your shinny club 38.16

wā'p ŋh' qwīt nīk!wa water I used to boil

ŋwīwī' naai he nīk!wa I used to cheat

ŋsī' psīlap he ŋx'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!wa'lī ŋqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)

hū'mīs he'laq le 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.

gō's mī'lātē he L'ā'xēm always usually he is talking 15.4

temā'le mā la' tc!īcīla'ē'wat he old people on that sit habitually 38.3

When following the future particle *hanL*, or its potential form *yanL* (see p. 391), *he* coalesces with them into *hanLawe* and *yanLawe* respectively.

yanLawe dī't ē'qa'wenīsa'nāya, hanLawe al'ē'tc ūnuwī ē'L'ā'xēm
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
yanlawe wqante mā hū'yam, lēla^u hanlawe ēkwā'nā'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.

wā'lwīs he yuwe la^u yīan'mē warm usually (it is) whenever that one travels 24.6

yuwe yī'mat ha^u gō^us mī'lāte lōk^ulō'kwāai 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:

wyēa' L'tā'īto he ūw yīaw'mē towē hū^umīs hīk!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'hīts just as if he hit it

kā^us kwa lī'cat hē L'tā almost as if he shook the earth 16.2

hats kwa ū'yu wīnd'qaxēm lāl lōwē'wat just like a rainbow is spread out that (which) he was eating 32.14

hats kwa ŋtō'mīL just like an old man I (am)

7. *yīku, 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

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.

hā'nā k^u ē'k'ēēm lī'ye hā'lātc there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28
tšī k^u īc hewesē'nā merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14
la'γētat k^u (she) may get hungry 64.15
ē'wā'nās k^u maybe (that) you are sick

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

yīku īn wā'nās he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

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

nā kwanL ā'ya ŋqā'ya won't I loose my breath? (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14
la^u ŋæl!ts kwanL suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16
yīkwanL dī'tē' ŋlōwē'wat I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20

It is contracted with the following *ūL* into *yīkūL*, *kūL* (see § 9 and p. 391).

yīkūL īn lē'γī perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)
yīkūL atētc yūL līm ŋhā^uts 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 kūL qaic ha^upīt tēŋ xmi'nkate 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 *īl* SURELY (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into *yīkwīl* or *kwīl* (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

qā'waw kwīl lī'ye hā'lātc above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5

The particle *yīku*, *k^u*, appears sometimes as *yīkwa*, *yīkwe*, or *kwe*. The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

yīkwa qante la where may it have gone? (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

yíkwe dīl tē ŋk'ílō'wīt what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11

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

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

hakwał x'ā'yam lē l'kwīt kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10

k!wā'nt hakwał qa'l'atāt he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. ***qēn*** denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qēn dīl L!i'meq she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10

kwa qēn mā īc slna'ēwat 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 I THOUGHT. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle *k^u*.

qaiku ūw wutca'xa ēt te'is hū'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7

qaiku īn īl ye'ne' 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 OH, I RECOLLECT, I REMEMBER. It is usually amplified by the particle *L* (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainī L nwa'wala ū qāyīs he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.3

qainī k^u nō'we ū qā'yīs L 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 I DOUBT.

natsi xāi' lā' lōwē'wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it
36.9

natsi xicōtc līn sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it
56.19, 20

13. **hēn** HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be translated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hū'wī hēn lē wī'ngas ū teni'snātc grew up the Spider's grandson,
it is said 66.11, 12

pēnlō'wai hēn tā'ntan whales are reported to (have) come ashore
128.28

yē'ne' ū'le hēn lā' ūai'wīt your enemies (as I heard you say) those I
killed 110.16, 17

14. **īl** SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to *hēn*, whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a witness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experience, 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.

mā īl ūlōwē'wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18

ūlōwqai'nīs mā īl I am a doctor, surely 10.2

tē īl ē'lō'kū there, indeed, sit down 38.22

ūk'īlō'wīt īl I saw him, for sure

xā'nīs īl he is sick (I saw it)

lē'γī hanlēl it will be good certainly 15.9 (*hanlēl* = *hanl* + *īl*
see § 7)

īn hēl slā 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^x* (see p. 389) and *kū*. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN THAT.

yū'xwā cku hū'mā'k'e yū'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 xāi' lā' tē hīhītōwē'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 in tō' hîts he tō'qmas still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
yîqa hanL tsîx' ê'hak'wō'wat tî'ye îx' at any rate, you will here
 leave your canoe 54.10, 11

yîqax hanL nla right away I am going

mā yū'xwā mā la, yîqa îl tsxarū'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

hats yîqa xqa'wax îx kwîna'ê'wat just continually from above they
 two look at it 6.9

17. *qats* HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

xqa'wax hā'k!wîtem, la^u qats kwa ā'yu lōwa'hai qa'xante from
 above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely
 ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10

qats kwîLkwā'yu, hats lēqa'we lē ā'la nevertheless it was cut off
 (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. *mā* BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

mā yū'xwā mā la, yîqa îl tsxarū'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

ma yanlawe tî'mîkî dî'îl ê'tō'hîts, yîqa hanLawe la^u ê'tsxarū'wat
 even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it
 124.11, 12

mā with the negative particle *in* is rendered by NOT AT ALL.

mā in mā kwaā'nîya, mā wāndj L!ā'xem not at all people he
 saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that
 he saw them) 30.27

19. *nā, nāyim* BECAUSE.

ê'alqsîtā'mî, nāyim wāndj ê'L!ā'xem 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. *c^E* expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one's expectations.

hū'wîs c^E la ā'la a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in
 this case) 108.6

dā'mīl c^E ā'yu a man (it was) surely

tshīmī'ye c^E summer it got 30.20

tsō c^E Lq' now it was cooked 34.2

yū c^E Le ēk!d'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

hā'wī c^E lē wī'ngas ū temī'snātc '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 *hanL* into *canL*, and with the potential *ūL* into *cūL* (see § 9). These new particles express expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be translated by I HOPE, IT OUGHT.

ēlē'γī canL you will be all right (I hope) 124.14

nī canL tētc wā'tīl (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally, not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2

yū cūL qk'!āk'īnā'wīs yūL qLī'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

lē'γī cūL ī la^u īn kwīLkwā'yu good it might have been if that one not had been cut off 76.16

la^u cūL nī'cītc īs pī'yat (of) that a little we two ought to take home 112.3

c^E is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun *te*, forming a new particle *ctē* or *cta*. This particle often follows the interrogative forms of *tētc*, *dī'vī*, and *wīt* (see pp. 407, 411), giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.

ēwī'tū cta who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)

dī'vī cta te qk'īlō'wīt what do I see? (literally, what is it that I see?) 106.16, 17

wtē'tcū cta te la^u īn L'nō'wat why does it not come open? (literally, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. *cīl* INDEED. Composed of *c^E* and *īl*. 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.

hīs cīl ēne ye mē'lā'kuk^u la ū w'na'at also indeed, thou, O heart of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20

tsō cīl wāndjī'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2

ēne cīl you it is, indeed 10.3

This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix *-iye* (see § 35).

hē'nī cīl'iye māndj k'wā^ant there, indeed, already he felt it 32.16, 17

22. *hītc* 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 dā'mīl k'īlō'wīt tsxū hītc lēn hen'k'nātē suddenly a man she saw lying with her elder sister 50.22, 23

mā hem'tset hītc a person was laid bare 58.22

§ 91. Particles Denoting the Conditional

23. *ūL* 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'e'mīsen qalīmī'ye ūL wu'txē teŋ ā'la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23

lax ūL ŋk'īlō'wīt al'i canī ū mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16

ŋk'ī'lō^{ts} ūL I should find it if—

xtcī'tcūL how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from *xtcī'tcū + ūL*; see § 9).

24. *yūL* IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever *ūL* has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of *ūL*. It always precedes the verb.

xtcī'tcūL yūL īs sō^xtītā'nī how would it be if we two should trade? 15.6

yūL kwīnā'ē'wat lax īn ūL aiaī^swā'yu lē hī'mē if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11

lē'γī yūL ŋnīlī'mē good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap 34.19

25. *yanL* 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 *hanL*. It also occurs independently of *hanL*. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, *yanL* is used to express also the present conditional.

īl nī hanL kwīnā'īl, yanL ŋc^Fa'letet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

yanL en dōwā'ya wāwādj, yāwē' dīt hanL ēmātsmātsā'mā if you don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8

. . . yanL yēai' L!tā'atc is hē'laq when in another country we two shall arrive 28.23

ŋk'!nt yanLeL I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try, surely; *yanLeL* = *yanL* + *l*; 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 imperative form or not.

ttēla'aīs L cīn la'ēx close to the shore you (must) go 30.23

qa'xante L pē'tē loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards) 30.26

īn L tē'tc xā'ttē tēŋ dā'mā don't you do anything to my husband (literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15

cīnē tīla'qai L you must stay (here)

ē'leqa'wāya'tanī L you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14

tō L ūL lē'γī this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily, should be good) 40.25

27. *hamīL, mīL, īL*. 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.

hamīL ŋkwīna'ē'wat I should like to look at him

mīL dīltē' tō hīts better hit this one 124.15

hamīL ē'ne xlē'itc ē'k'!n'tqem you may with it try 92.1

hamīL ē'L!āts please, speak 16.2

mīL halt! ē'ne xlē'itc ē'L!āts now you with it speak (a while) 16.5

īL hanL xē'ttē xā'lat? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that *hamīL* (or *mīL*) 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.

ham̄l and *m̄l* are contracted with the periphrastic *han* into *ham̄lan* and *m̄lan*, adding to the particle a future significance.

ham̄lan ŋl!ē^{tc} let me go out 28.26

ham̄lan n̄!k̄ⁱⁿ ŋw̄lō^wwat let me look for wood 102.8

m̄lan ē^{m̄}uax̄t̄tsā^{m̄} permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. *kw̄is* LET US TWO. This particle is composed of the particle *k̄^u* PERHAPS and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun *is* WE TWO. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kw̄is l̄ax̄^ate let us two chop wood 26.15, 16

kw̄is tse^{m̄}t̄t̄tse te tah̄^al̄lk̄ let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. *kw̄in* LET US (ALL) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle *k̄^u* PERHAPS. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural *in*. The contraction of *k̄^u + in* into *kw̄in* may have been effected by the analogy of *k̄^u + is* into *kw̄is*.

kw̄in le ts̄æ^ewe let us kill him quickly 68.3

kw̄in sq̄^atse let us seize it

§ 93. Particles Denoting Emphasis

30. *h̄ēⁱ*. By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

h̄ēⁱ yū x̄tc̄^ayua^w mā a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6

h̄ēⁱ x̄ū i^lla Low̄ⁱtat x̄ā^apatc she first ran into the water 56.9

h̄ēⁱ c̄il kw̄ē^ki^lye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever *h̄ēⁱ* precedes the conjunction *hats*, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by SUDDENLY.

h̄ēⁱhats mā k̄l̄l̄ō^wit suddenly a person she saw 54.2

h̄ēⁱhats l̄!n̄ō^wtat le te!l̄^ele suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. *h̄ē^kwāin* EXCEEDINGLY (like the English colloquial AWFULLY). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: *h̄ēⁱ*, *kwa*, and *in*. 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'kwāin lē'γī ū ūlwo'e'tōis she was awfully glad (literally, what, as if not her heart good?) 64.9, 10

hē'kwāin xhū'wīs mū a very poor man (literally, what, as if not a poor man?) 42.5

hē'kwa ūl īn dōwā'ya they liked him very much (literally, what, as if they not liked him?) 24.29

32. *īTE* is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

γ'ne īTE lē ē'dōwāyēatā'is qa'wa I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night 50.25, 26

ē'hū'wīs īTE! you will (be) a woman (emphatic) 24.20

tē' īTE kwā'xal lī'ye ē'k^uLātc this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father 62.24

qa'lyeq īTE īn īTE penlō'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.

la^u La īn tētc walt (to) that only not anything he did 68.13

wa'lwal La ā'tsem a knife only give me 80.14, 15

wāndj La ūa kwēl'nīyēm that way only people know them two 19.10

34. *tsī* SIMPLY, MERELY, JUST. It has a slight restrictive character.

tsī ē'qa'qal you were merely sleeping 68.19

γāwē'n qālmī'ye tsī īn dīl one morning, it was simply gone (literally, once, morning it got, simply, not something) 88.3

tsī contracts with the following *hanL* into *tsanL* (see § 9).

tsanL ē'tā'tēnts 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 ē'lowqai'nīs ī surely (art) thou a doctor? 10.4

tsīw' ūa ta ī did they two go (by) here? 96.18, 19

ē'kwīnā'ē'wat ī neq hā'Lātc have you seen my elder brothers? 96.18

When preceded by the particle *han*, *ī* is rendered by MAY I?

ng'māts 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 *-aka* for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

Singular	1st person	<i>nɛ'xkan</i>
	2d person	<i>e'xkan</i>
	3d person	<i>xä'kä</i>
Dual	Inclusive	<i>isnɛ'xkan</i>
	Exclusive	<i>xwimɛ'xkan</i>
	2d person	<i>icɛ'xkan</i>
	3d person	<i>äxxä'kä</i>
Plural	1st person	<i>linnɛ'xkan</i>
	2d person	<i>cine'xkan</i>
	3d person	<i>ilzä'kä</i>

The obscure vowel in *nɛ'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 *is* with the singular for the first person *nɛ'xkan*; the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual *ic*, 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 —

nɛ'xkan hanL laⁿ ɲə'inti'yat tɛ xä^ap I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21

his hanL e'xkan yäwɛ'ɛ'k!wint also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1

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 hanL ne'akan xwîn e'iltā'mî now will we two tell thee
126.21, 22 (*ne'akan xwîn* instead of *xwînne'akan*)

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 *ŋ*, *e*, 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 *xā*, *ūxwā*, *ūlaxā*, forms related to *xā'kā*, *ūxwā'kā*, and *ūlaxā'kā*.

The series follows.

Singular	{1st person	<i>ŋ'ne</i>
	{2d person	<i>e'ne</i>
	{3d person	<i>xā</i>
Dual	{Inclusive	<i>i'sne</i>
	{Exclusive	<i>xwîn'ne</i>
	{2d person	<i>i'cne</i>
	{3d person	<i>ū'xwā</i>
Plural	{1st person	<i>lîn'ne</i>
	{2d person	<i>cln'ne</i>
	{3d person	<i>ū'xā</i>

hîs hanL ŋ'ne tōi ŋlā I too will go there 94.22

halt! e'ne tsîx· e'stō'q now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32

hîs xā e'a'letet 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.

k!wé'he ú w'nēk· k'īlō'witsa leaves of a willow he found 30.17, 18
he hā'tēt! ú ā'la x'ī'ntset Hetcit's child got on top 24.23
ūx lem'yat le mexā'ye ú kwā'x they two set up the eagle's feathers
 8.10

xwāndj ú tɣ'nas he tsā'yua' lā'nīk· 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.

le'γī ú ilwv'e'xtōis he was glad (literally, good his heart) 32.5
ā'ya cku ú qā'ya she must have lost her breath (literally, gone must
 be her breath) 58.24, 25

la ú ha'we le tēci'mīl the spruce-tree is growing (literally, goes
 its growth, the spruce-tree) 20.16

la ú paa'wes le xā'p the water is filling up (literally, goes its
 fullness, the water) 44.17

ā'wī ú lōwā'was she finished eating (literally, it ended, her food)
 24.13

he é'stīs mā alī'maga ú īw some people had large canoes (literally,
 some people, large their canoes) 44.20

yūxwā' ú hū'mā'k'e he has two wives (literally, two [are] his
 wives) 20.3

djī ú x'na'at le nō'sk·ī'tī 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 *qā'yīs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE. In these cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the possessive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the subject. The sentences are rendered by THERE WAS, THEY ARE.

k'!āL!tā' ú qā'yīs there was no land (literally, without [its] land
 the world) 5.5; 6.1

īn tē!lē'xēm ú qā'yīs there was no low tide (literally, not [has] its
 dry condition [the] world) 15.8

nwa'wala ú qā'yīs there was a spider (literally, with its spider
 [is] the world) 30.3

qaič'nis kwē'tī ú mēn people were living in a small place (literally,
 in a small place their living [place have] people) 50.7

tē tī'k'īne ú 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 *n*, *e*, etc., the article *le* or *he*, or the demonstrative pronoun *te*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

Singular . . .	1st person	<i>heŋ</i>	<i>leŋ</i>	<i>teŋ</i>
	2d person	<i>tā'ye</i>	<i>tā'ya</i>	<i>tā'ye</i>
	3d person	<i>hā</i>	<i>lā, la</i>	<i>tā (?)</i>
Dual	Inclusive	<i>he'is</i>	<i>le'is</i>	<i>te'is</i>
	Exclusive	<i>he'xwin</i>	<i>le'xwin</i>	<i>te'xwin</i>
	2d person	<i>he'ic</i>	<i>le'ic</i>	<i>te'ic</i>
	3d person	<i>he'ax</i>	<i>le'ax</i>	<i>te'ax</i>
Plural	1st person	<i>he'nin</i>	<i>le'nin</i>	<i>te'nin</i>
	2d person	<i>he'cin</i>	<i>le'cin</i>	<i>te'cin</i>
	3d person	<i>he'il</i>	<i>le'il</i>	<i>te'il</i>

The second person singular *tā'ye* has resulted from the combination *le*+*e*. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *tā'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having *a*-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu ālī'ye heŋ kw^aa'tis surely, true came my dream 100.14

lā^u kwīna'e'wat tī'ye iluwe'xtcis that one is looking into thy heart 14.8

pī'nts tī'ya kala bend thy foot 120.13

hān ye'es lā^u L!k'its into his mouth she poured it 102.12

lā^u hanL he'is kala'lis these shall be our two subjects 124.6

halt!yū nā^unt he'nin e^alotā'was too great (is) our work 68.27

Lōwa'kats he'il eⁿnātc living is their mother 84.21

lā L!ahā'was her clothes 110.3

Lōwa'kats la ā'la his child remained 110.10

xā'nīs le'xwin e'k^uLātc sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19

ic la'tsit le'ic e'k^uLātc you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13

āx kwiskwī'wat le'āx e'k^uLātc they two were informing their (dual) father 20.25

tēywo'lte le'cin sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8

ntswā'wat hanL teŋ mī'nkate I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22

tī'yex e'k^uLātc hanL lā^u k'ī Lō^uts tī'ye īx thy father will find thy canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *neŋ*. 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*.

neŋ pkā'kate hanL ŋk'īlō'wīt my grandfather I shall see

aia:ēwā'yu neŋ hī'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^c occurs as y^c .

ʔ'tcū ɳdä'mäl? which one (is) my husband? 80.3

ä'ya ɳqä'ya I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath) 66.27

nä'nt hanL y^e lōwä'was you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food) 54.6

k!ä hanL y^en k!wänts ɳla'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.

l_E'yī hä ü iluwe'^xtcis he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)

dzü'lī lä ü 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!ä-*. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

nī kwiskwī'ül t_{EX} k!äɳ ü'mä 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 $y'ne$, $e'ne$, etc., the article h_E or l_E , or the demonstrative t_E , and by suffixing the possessive sign $ü$.

Singular . . .	1st person	<i>hep'neu</i>
	2d person	<i>ye'neu'</i>
	3d person	<i>heäü'</i>
Dual	Inclusive	<i>hetsneu'</i>
	Exclusive	<i>hexwīn'neu</i>
	2d person	<i>heicneu'</i>
	3d person	<i>heäzäü'</i>
Plural	1st person	<i>helin'neu</i>
	2d person	<i>hecin'neu</i>
	3d person	<i>heäzäü'</i>

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.

heŋ'ne^a tō tē qe'mā my property is that camas 112.6,7

ēheŋ'ne^a ɣ'le you (are) my enemy 118.3

ye'ne^a pīt L'a'nēw thy cradle is new 38.17

hewā' tō 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^ε-* respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

Singular . . .	1st person	<i>ŋtet</i>
	2d person	<i>ye'tet</i>
	3d person	<i>tet</i>
Dual	Inclusive	<i>he'tetet</i>
	Exclusive	<i>he'awintet</i>
	2d person	<i>he'tetet</i>
	3d person	<i>he'ūtetet</i>
Plural	1st person	<i>he'ūntet</i>
	2d person	<i>he'cintet</i>
	3d person	<i>he'ūtet</i>

ŋtō'hits ŋtet I hit myself

tōw'xit ye'tet watch thyself 74.3

wāndj pī'ctōits tet thus he warmed himself 32.8

ūw L'a'ī'nw'it he'ūtetet they two examine themselves 84.3

ūl yu'xtits he'ūtetet they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle *ī'nēw* ALONE is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

āī'nēw ŋtō'hits 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.

tē 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.

tē hanL tō' hāts this here he shall hit 20.14

tē ēpā^{ts} this here you fill up 78.12

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of **HERE**.

tē yīxw'mē here I travel 26.9

qētē hāLⁱ 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.

tkwīlē^u wat tE to'qmas he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2

ax k'īlō'wāt tE L'tā they two saw that (there) land 6.5

di^uttē^u tE qL'aqa'ē^u wat with what (shall) I point my finger (at) this one (there?) 40.24

tE often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunction **THAT**.

atēⁱ tēu tE gō^us mī'lātc ēyīxw'mē why (is it) that always you travel? 48.14

atēⁱ tēu tE wāndj ēvīltā'is why (is it) that thus you tell it to me?

(For *tE* as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under *la^u* below, and *lewⁱ*, p. 402.)

dīltē^u. A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle *dī^u* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and the demonstrative *tēⁱ* **THIS HERE**. It may be translated by **THIS HERE**.

dīltē^u k^ul'yeu this stone here 124.16, 17

dīlteⁱ. A compound of *dī^u* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and *tE* **THAT THERE**. It is usually translated by **THAT THERE**.

dīlteⁱ tE k^ul'yeu that stone yonder

dīlteⁱ mū the person yonder

la^u, ha^u. 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**.

yīwē'n qāīmī'ye la^u L'ē^utc hāl tō'mīL one morning that one went out, (namely) that old man 20.4.

xqāntē la^u sī^u·tētsa la^u tēⁱ la from where he (was the one to) scent it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24

la^u lā wōi'lux^u ba'na^utat that (was the one) his head became bald 30.14

la^u tēmā'le mā la^u tē'āla'ē'wat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3

la^u in la^u i'lwats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8

la^u hanL ūx c^ēa'letet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26

k'ida' mīnate ha^u w^ēL'it 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 *tē*.

lē lā'mak[·], lala^u tē bīldj'ye the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6

lala^u he lōwē'wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6

tēla^u qha^uts tē L'tā 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.

kwi'na'was sī^x·t^ētsa (lē dī'lōl) i la^u hī'nī stō^uq smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24

wā'nā'ya la ā'la i la^u lēga^uwe his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewī, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tē*; and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by *la^u*. It may be translated by IT IS, THAT IS.

lewī lē ēnī'k'ewem that is it, sticking out 46.11

hē' cīl lewī'ye lē tē'ī'le surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

lāl, hāl, 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 *lē*, *hē*, and of the abbreviated form of the particle *dī'l* SOMETHING (see p. 407).

qa'nōtc stō^uq lāl tō'mīL outside stood that old man 20.4, 5

wāndj L'āts lāl hū^u'mīk[·] thus spoke that old woman 102.10

asō' sqats hāl hū^u'mīk[·] lēx swā again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

ūx neqa'qa hāl tēmā'le they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

hāl and *lāl* have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa la^u ū'yu wīna'qaxem lāl lōwē'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

te'i tcū tE la^u xtō^us hāl e^sL! aha'eⁱwat why (is it) that that thing stiff
(is) which you have on 110.4, 5

tō has a nominal force, and denotes THAT KIND, SUCH A THING. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu tō k'i lō^uts hE pa'awōya surely, that kind he found, the man-
zanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu tō ha^uts now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, **tō** expresses the idea of property.

hep'ne^u tō tE qE'mā 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.

p^u sikh ā'tsem Lō nī cītc xā^ap ha^uwe a cup give me, in it a little
water have 68.17, 18

tseti'x'ume Lō he^u he^u ha^uwe! on this side make a knot (literally,
where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k!ān 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. <i>yāwē'</i> | 20. <i>yūawā'ka</i> |
| 2. <i>yūawā'</i> | 30. <i>yīpsē'nka</i> |
| 3. <i>yī'psen</i> | 40. <i>hecl' Lka</i> |
| 4. <i>he'cl'L</i> | 50. <i>kat'E'miska</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'E'mis</i> | 60. <i>yāwē'wiegka</i> |
| 6. <i>yāwē'wieg</i> | 70. <i>yūawā'wiegka</i> |
| 7. <i>yūawā'wieg</i> | 80. <i>yāwē'ahālka</i> |
| 8. <i>yāwē'ahāl</i> | 90. <i>yūawā'ahālka</i> |
| 9. <i>yūawā'ahāl</i> | 100. <i>yāwē' nī'k'in</i> |
| 10. <i>Lep!qa'nī</i> | 111. <i>yāwē' nī'k'in Lep!qa'nī</i> |
| 11. <i>Lep!qa'nī yāwē'ā'qtsī</i> | <i>yāwē'ā'qtsī</i> |
| 12. <i>Lep!qa'nī yūawā'ā'qtsī</i> | |

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'tc* (see § 67).

yáwä' hē'tc la^u hāthītōwē'wat in pairs he is putting them down

34.7, 8

wyāpsē'nē'tc in threes

The collective numeral for ONE, *yāē'ntce*, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal *yāē'*, the distributive suffix *-n* (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix *-tc* (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix *-e* (see p. 359).

yāē'ntce sqats together he seized them 64.8, 9

yāē'ntce ū nL!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 *lep!qa'nā yāē'ū'qtsi* 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 *nī'k'in* 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

<i>as'i</i> between, halfway 5.1	<i>qa'wax</i> high up 8.11
<i>ē'qatce</i> to one side 42.3	<i>qa'i'nas</i> close to the fire 82.19
<i>ī'la</i> before, ahead, in front 56.9	<i>qa'i'nīs</i> away from the shore 36.18
<i>y'i'helq</i> close by 60.21	<i>qait</i> inside the house 140.24
<i>yīqa'tē</i> close there (?) 90.23	<i>gat</i> below 36.11
<i>yīqa'tsīx</i> close here 104.12	<i>qapn'kul</i> the other side, across 140.18
<i>yīqai'nī</i> so far, right here 14.4	<i>qa'xan</i> up 34.4
<i>h'i'nī</i> there 5.2	<i>qal</i> down, below, under 116.9
<i>tī^u</i> over there 90.21	<i>wtse'tīx</i> from here 136.3
<i>tsīx</i> here 24.4	<i>xqa'wax</i> from above 6.4
<i>tsī'x-tī</i> over here 13.5	<i>xqa'tīn</i> from under 90.4
<i>tsē'tīx</i> over here	<i>xlē'tīx</i> , <i>lē'tīx</i> from there 12.2; 78.28
<i>tē</i> there 7.4	
<i>tc!ē etc</i> back in the woods 88.11	<i>ltcīla'ais</i> close to the shore 30.23
<i>qaya'atc</i> , <i>qa'tītc</i> down the stream 24.24; 54.1	<i>l!ha'waīs</i> near, close to 50.20

§ 105. Temporal Adverbs

<i>asō'</i> again 6.1	<i>tx'ma</i> at the same time 17.3
<i>ai'wa</i> still, yet 7.6	<i>tī'x-tse</i> to-day 19.9
<i>yūwe</i> whenever (<i>yū</i> + <i>he</i> [see § 9]) 24.4	<i>kwī'yat</i> now 9.1
<i>yūwī'nt</i> before 178.25	<i>lē'ai'wa</i> while (<i>lē</i> + <i>aiwa</i> ; the article is prefixed here for the sake of emphasis)
<i>hats^Eyū</i> always (<i>hats</i> + <i>yū</i> [see § 110])	
<i>halt!</i> now 15.6	
<i>māndj</i> already (used for the purpose of expressing the past tense) 20.1	

§ 106. Modal Adverbs

<i>ā'yu</i> sure, enough 16.2	<i>awē'lwetc</i> in a stooping position 118.15
<i>yū</i> very, very much 11.5	<i>apīye'etc</i> homewards 42.7
<i>halt!yū</i> (<i>halt!</i> + <i>yū</i>) too 44.18.	<i>tax'nuawwetc</i> sideways 38.10
<i>wāndj, wōāndj</i> thus, that way 68.16; 6.8	<i>xtema'ate</i> crossways 64.28
<i>pe'lukwetc</i> entirely 130.7	<i>anō'we</i> right 44.9
<i>ta^u, ta</i> so, such 52.16	<i>xēl'y^tētc</i> clear around it 128.18
<i>nā^unt</i> much, many 44.18	<i>xqe'ⁱtc</i> slowly 60.7
<i>nē'ētc</i> a few, a little 68.17	<i>xla'gate</i> belly up and mouth open 102.11
<i>tsō'nō</i> both ways 6.2	<i>xleyē'entc</i> truly 148.1
<i>tsqe'yūwetc</i> edgeways	<i>xlōwē'entc</i> wholly 44.17
<i>gⁱ, gⁱ'kwa</i> a little 36.6; 28.10	<i>lai'sama</i> quickly, hurriedly 30.1
<i>kā^s</i> almost 20.19	<i>l^unuwī</i> very, very much 15.6
<i>x^u, yūx, yūwī'kⁱ</i> hardly 28.17	<i>L^upe'wetc</i> belly side down 58.14
	<i>Lōwē'entc</i> entirely 30.11.

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

<i>qa'xantc</i> upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1
<i>qa'nōtc</i> outside 20.4
<i>qettc</i> downwards 6.4
<i>yⁱ'qantc</i> backwards
<i>lx'wate</i> inside 62.8
<i>e'hentc</i> far off (compare <i>e'he</i> he was gone 108.9) 26.23
<i>qa'ttētc</i> down stream 54.1
<i>txqai'tc</i> up stream 160.15

The temporal phrase *xtemi'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).

<i>e'hentc stō^uq</i> far off he stood 26.23	<i>in ē ehe'ntce yāw'mē</i> not you far away go 112.24
<i>qa'nōtc līn tsawū</i> outside we lay 50.10	<i>qanō'tca il līē'tc</i> outside they went 50.11
<i>qettc ūx ilx</i> down they two looked 14.2	<i>qe'ttce tsī'w'tī he'laq</i> 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:

wit SOMEBODY is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by WHO.

in wit la^u k'it'i'wita nobody that one can overtake 92.21, 22

kwaā'nīya wit lāl hū'u'māk she knew who it was that old woman 102.20

di't SOMETHING is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

he'mās di't ŋk'itō'wit big something I saw 62.21

gō'us di't hanL hū'wī everything will grow (literally, all something will grow) 9.3

yū'wā di't ŋk'itō'wit two things I saw 112.26, 27

nte!a' ha di't tē he'laq animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there) 46.1, 2

nL!pe'ne di't tē he'laq birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there) 46.2, 3

d̄iʔ is very often abbreviated to *ʔ*.

k!wen!yaʔ ʔw̄lōʔwat for some food I am looking

(See also under *lāl*, *hāl*, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix *-ū* (see § 73) to *d̄iʔ* and *wit*, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by **WHAT** and **WHO** respectively (see also p. 390).

d̄iʔtū he t̄ ɛʔw̄lōʔwat what are you continually looking for? 54.3
w̄v̄tū ts̄iʔ t̄iʔyat who did it?

w̄ict̄ce' takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by **WHICH ONE**.

w̄ict̄ce' ɛʔdōwā'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 m̄is whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21

ītc he nq!e'ītse whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

ī'n̄īex **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).

āi'n̄īex laʔ L^Fān alone they went down into the water 36.18

ī'n̄īex ʔc^Ea'let̄et alone I work, I myself work

īn̄īex lōwa'kats alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as *īn̄īexa'mā* or *īn̄īexa'nā*. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

īn̄īexa'nā laʔ hūʔm̄is̄is̄i'n̄i they marry one another 12.5

īn̄īexa'mā ūx yā'lan̄i they two speak to each other

īn̄īexa'nā t̄in tōʔs̄is̄i'n̄i we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, *ī'n̄īex* assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by **MY (THY) OWN**.

āi'n̄īex ʔhaʔʔts ʔȳiʔā'wex I build my own house

āi'n̄īexa'mā ʔhaʔʔts ʔȳiʔā'wex I build my own house

§ 109. Numeral Particles

īk'ī BOTH, *gō's* ALL, *hē'ma* ALL, *denk'* EACH, EVERY, and *yEai'* ANOTHER, may be called numeral particles. *hē'ma* is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while *gō's* precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

gō's wāndj ī l!ā'xēm they all that way talk 50.9, 10

xgō's mā lā' kwāā' nīyahā'ya all people came to know it 102.29

ŋk'itī'wīta hē'ma I overtook them all

alqsā'ya hē'ma he is afraid of them all

denk' k!wī'lis every night 82.9

halt! yEai' w'ne'x'tits qā'xante now another one jumped upwards 76.3, 4

halt! yEai' mā Lowō'tat now another man runs 78.28

īk'ī expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

īk'ī tō'hāts he hit both of them 114.4

ē'qe īk'ī dead (are) both 120.5

īk'ī ūx tc!a'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:

hīs also

hats just

ta and

tsō now, then

ī when, as, since, while

hīs and *ta* serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

hīs xā c^Ea'lotet also she is working 22.26, 27

kwāā' nīyahā'ya lāx hā'lātc hīs lāx ē'nātc hīs lāx ē'k^ulātc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23

sqats ta tclwālē'tc l!want he caught and into the fire he threw him 104.15

ī connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā'ya ū īlūwē'x'tcis ī lā' īk!wa'h^u lE xā^ap he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4

laqtsō^w wat ī dji he waited, as he came 118.9, 10

ī lā' sqats lā' xāhī'ye lā' 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.

Lga'at i tc!wā'tetc kwī'nait. Hats kwa mē'la lē wā'wa i lā'wai'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'nuwī tc!lī'yat hē tc!wāl. Hats yī'qax qa'qal lē 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, **hats^{yū}**, 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 lan nī'k'in qwīlō'wat" wāndj l!ā'xēm lē hū'wīk. Tsō
ā'yu tsā'yua^m mī'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

mītsī'ya lāl hū'wīk lēx swal, tsō asō' sqats hāl hū'wīk lēx swal
knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old
woman, the bear 102.21, 22

tsō ē'īltā'mi tsō hanl ē'īlax 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 tē' tī'ye mī'laq look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28

ā'nta k'īlō'wītē behold, see it! 94.25

tā'ī the greeting formula of the Coos. It was rendered by **HALLOO**.

tā'ī slā' halloo, cousin! 44.3

tā'ī nēx ā'la halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

īn **NOT**, a particle of negation. The particle of affirmation is **En**. This is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic particle **īl** **SURELY** (see p. 388).

īn k'ī'lō'ut he did not find it 22.18, 19

ūx īn kwaā'nīya they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

qantc PLACE, WHERE.

qantc lɛla^u laā' ʔam, la^u hās xā tɛɪ la wherever they went, he also there went 22.17, 18

ʔkwaā'nīya qantc I know where (it is) 80.14

gō^us qantc everywhere 46.22

in qantc k'ʔlō^uts nowhere he found it

mī'lātc TIME. It is used mostly in connection with the numerical particle *gō^us*, and is then rendered by ALWAYS.

gō^us mī'lātc L!ā'xem always he is talking 14.5, 6

mī'lātcū hanL ɛ'wɪ'tɛ when will you return? (literally, time, question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tɛtc MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

gō^us tɛtc ʔl alī'canī all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25

tɛtc he lōwē'wat whatever he is eating (habitually)

ʔl in tɛtc tsawū'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 ʔdʒi I may or may not come

ā'watu in ts'ɪ'x'ɪ he'laq (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem *ɪtsɛ'ts*

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem *ɪts-*, 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.

in kwee'nīyēm ɪtsɛ'ts he'ʔl nā'ntɛs no one knew how many they were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, *what* [was] their number) 78.2

yēai' L!tā'ɪtc ɪtsɛ'ts in another country I stay 26.8, 9

xtɛ'ɪtcū ɪtsɛ'ts he nō^usk'ʔlɪ what is the matter with the Big Woman 72.28

ɪtsɛ'ts ʔl'k^u ʔl la^u henī'yees hīnī' lōwa'kats he may have been sitting there for a long time 40.14

kwaā'nīya xtɛtc hanL le ɪtsēm he knew what was going to happen (the *-ēm* in *ɪtsēm* is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20

ūw in kwaā'nīya qantc ha^u ɪtsēm they two did not know where he was 22.9, 10

ēn hanL tɛtc ɪtsēm to you nothing will happen 66.5

Examples of monosyllabic stems:

a^w- to kill (many) 58.8
a^w- to quit 14.4
ēⁱk⁻- to be among 46.13
il^w- to look 14.2
īⁱl⁻- to tell 7.8
īⁱn⁻- to set up 34.23
haⁱ- to gamble 38.23
hū- to be ready 19.3
pā^a- to fill 15.7
sqa- to seize 10.4
lqa- to believe 28.13
tsæ^w- to kill (one) 14.7
yεq- to run away 36.19
yōq- to split in two 7.3
wīn- to wade 58.2

hak- to crawl 32.10
ha^wp- to tear off 58.14
pīn- to shake 58.24
mīl- to swim 24.27
te^t- to enter 22.29
teīl- to be ashamed
k!al- to shout 24.22
wīng- to weave, to pile 18.1
mīntc- to ask 62.15
tsīm^w- to fasten 46.7
kⁱmst- to pick 17.1
tkwīl- to follow 9.9
tqanL- to strike 28.1
tqaⁱL- to put a belt on 28.22

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

eⁱhe to be gone 38.15
yīⁱwū^w- to have, to carry 54.12
wūⁱtæ to come back 28.4
haⁱk^wt- to leave 30.8
sītsīⁱn- to go and see 9.7
kⁱīⁱlō^w- to see 6.5

kwīⁱna- to look 6.4
akⁱaⁱnak⁻ to stick out 42.1
īⁱtsīl- to recognize 30.28
yīⁱwūⁱmē to travel 10.3
tīⁱkⁱīne to stand 62.22

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^wq- to stand 20.4
L!ā- to speak 9.3
L!ha- to put on 28.22
lōⁱwak^w lightning 18.5

stōwaⁱqwīs wall 90.18
L!ēⁱyīs language 14.5
L!ahāⁱwas clothes 110.3
lōⁱkwīt it lightens 18.8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

tqaiL- to put around 28.22
tcō^w- to jump
l^wat- to chop wood 26.16
pū^w- to spout
lēⁱp- to paint
xⁱn- to be on top
yīm- to twinkle

qaⁱtqaiL belt 28.22
tcōⁱxtcō^w rabbit 60.23
xaⁱl^wat ax
pū^wxpū^w a spout 30.25
lēⁱpⁱp paint
xⁱn^wīn saddle
yīⁱmyīm eyelash

§ 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 lē'tc tsxū lāl tō'mîL in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12

yîxā'wexetc la lē hū'wîs into the house went the woman

lēx tsqna' hētc L'āts lē mā'qal with the thunder-language spoke the crow

xwāndj ū b'p'nas hē tsā'yux' lā'nîk this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11

sqats lē hū'wîs lēx swāl seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

mā xwîn wutxā'yat a person we two brought home 128.8, 9

qtō'hîts lē dī'lōl I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

tsā'yux' lā'nîk a small river *lā'nîk tsā'yux'* the river is small

hē'mîs yîxā'wex the big house *yîxā'wex hē'mîs* the house is big

xā'nîs mā a sick person *mā xā'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 lō'uts lē qe'mā lēx dī'lōl î la' hî'nî hē'laq the young man found the kamass when he arrived there

î la' tsxū lē hū'wîs k'îlō'wîl lē yū'mî 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).

hă'wî he grew up 64.12

la û ha'we hE təc'c' mîl the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16

x'î'wîs deep

la û ha'we le'ûx hă'wîs L!tā their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11

as'î' L la û x'îlwo'ye lEx ya'bas the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12

paa- to fill

la û paa'wes lE xā'p the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17

x'î'n- to run

nle' hî la û x'na'at with it he ran (literally, with it went his swift-ness) 42.8

la û x'na'at hE cx'îml the bear ran (literally, went his quick-ness [of] the bear)

mîl- to swim

djî û mî'le [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3

hamL- to float

la û hamLalā'was lāl tsä'yûx L!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'yis* **WORLD** or *mēn* **PEOPLE**, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

tc!l- to be dry

tc!l̄ ū qā'yis there was low tide
(literally, dry its [condition of
the] world) 18.6

in tc!l̄'x̄em ū qā'yis there is no
low tide (literally, not dry its
[condition of the] world) 15.8

n̄!k'in wood, tree 26.25

k'!ān̄!k'in ū qā'yis there were no
trees (literally, without trees its
[appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8

wa'wal spider

nwa'wala ū qā'yis there was a
spider (literally, with spider its
[condition of the] world) 30.3

lō that thing 32.10

ntō'we ū qā'yis there was such a
thing (literally, with that thing
[was as] its [asset the] world)
32.9

kwee'ti many live

gaic̄'n̄is kwee'ti ū mēn they were
living in a small place (literally,
a small place [had as] their liv-
ing [place the] people) 50.7

k!al- to shout

gak'elen̄'we ū mēn they began to
shout (literally, began their
shouting [act, of the] people)
24.22

t̄!k'ine many stand

tc̄i t̄!k'ine ū mēn they were stand-
ing 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**.

lga- to be hungry

lgate q̄la I am getting hungry

pl!- to be heavy

pl!̄'tc la he is getting heavy

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.

yáxá'wexetc úx wu'tæ hál tō'míl into the house they two returned

(the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16

tsō á'yu tēi úx la, le úmā'catc now, surely, there they two went

(he and) the grandmother 66.19

yí'xén qalimā'ye tsí v'nta úx la lá hu'w'mís one morning just hunt-

ing they two went (he and) his wife 110.26

á'yu tēi úx la le tek'itsi'nātc 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.

hí' nā hanL úx tšlá'qai le ú'māc úx pkāk there shall they two live

(namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28

wāndj la úx huwe'nāyēm te úx tsq'na úx mū'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.

yáxá'wexetc úl la le dā'míl into the house they went (the two women and) the man 128.7

tsí úl huwe'itsēm le hu'w'mís 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*, *-āye* (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 *hís* ALSO (see § 110); and its comparative character is

further indicated by the use of the modal adverb *ta*, *ta^u*, SO, SUCH (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋhethé'tes tē é'ne I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you)

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋwā'nīsēs lē é'ne I am as sick as you are

hīs ŋ'ne ta^u ŋlē'γītes tē é'ne I am as good as you are

hīs ŋ'ne ta^u ŋhē'mīstes lē é'ne I am as tall as you are

hīs xā ta xwā'wīye lē é'ne he is as light as you are

hīs xā ta^u pāl'ā'ye lē é'ne he is as heavy as you are

hīs tē lā'nīk' ta^u x'īlūwī'ye tē baltī'mās 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).

hīs ŋ'ne ta ŋgain'ēs lī'ye gain'ēs I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] me such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])

hīs é'ne ta ye'ne^u qlānā'tēs tē heŋ'ne^u qlānā'tēs 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'ne'etc ŋlē'γī I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)

hewā'etc ŋlē'γī I am better than he is

ŋne'etc é'qal you are taller than I am

xā ŋne'etc tsā'yūw^u he is smaller than I am

xwān tī'mīti ye'ne'etc 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 *īlā'hatcem* (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

xgō^usītē ŋlē'γī I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix *x-* see § 24)

tēŋ tē ka'pō xgō^usītē pl'īs this here is my heaviest coat

xā īlā'hatcem hē'mīs hethē'te he is the biggest chief

xā īlā'hatcem tō'mīl mā l'ta'yasītē he is the oldest man in the village

TEXTS

ORIGIN OF DEATH

¹ Ūx¹ sla'tcīnī.² La^{u3} īl⁴ kwee'tī.⁵ La^{u3} ī'k-ī⁶ ūx¹ nhū^umā'k-e-
 They cousins(were) These they lived These both they two with wives
 two mutually. together.

he.⁷ ī'k-ī⁶ tsāyā'ne⁸ le'ūx⁹ tī'mīlī¹⁰ hī'me.¹¹ Yī'xen¹² qalīmī'ye¹³
 are. Both small their(dual) male beings children. Once morning it got

tsī¹⁴ wītewehe^xtcī¹⁵ la¹⁶ ā'la. In¹⁷ he'niye¹⁸ xā'nīs¹⁹ la¹⁶ ā'la.
 just sick it is his child. Not a long time sick his child.

Tsī¹⁴ hats²⁰ leqa^uwē²¹ la¹⁶ ā'la. Xānanā'ya²² la¹⁶ ā'la, ī²³ la^{u3}
 Merely just died his child. Sorry (it) makes his child, when that
 him (feel) one

leqa^uwē.²¹ Tsō²⁴ īl⁴ aqanā'ya.²⁵ Helmī'hīs²⁶ in¹⁷ Lō'wīyam.²⁷
 died. Now they buried it. Next day not (he) eats.

La^{u3} maha'ā'wat²⁸ le²⁹ ā'la. Hecl'ī'le³⁰ qalīmī'ye¹³ la^{u3}
 That one is looking after it the child. Four times at morning it got that
 one frequently one

haatā'ya³¹ lā¹⁶ sla'atc.² "E³² tcīne'henī.³³ Tā'ī³⁴ sla!³⁵ Xtcī'tcū³⁶
 went to him his cousin. "Thou thinking art. Halloo, cousin! How

¹ Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

² *sla-* COUSIN; *-atc* suffix of relationship (§ 65); *-mī* 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); *hūmā'k-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 *ytā'ē* ONE (§ 101); *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).

¹³ *qalīm-* MORNING; *-īye* transitional (§ 35).

¹⁴ Restrictive particle (§ 94).

¹⁵ *wītewahatc-* SICK; *-ī* neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 81, 7).

¹⁶ Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 98, 7).

¹⁷ Particle of negation (§ 112).

¹⁸ *henī-* A WHILE; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).

¹⁹ *xān-* SICK; *-īs* nominal (§ 56).

²⁰ Conjunction (§ 110).

²¹ Singular stem (§ 51).

²² *xān-* SICK; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²³ Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).

²⁴ Conjunction (§ 110).

²⁵ *ēqe* DEAD; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²⁶ *helmī* TO-MORROW; *-īs* ordinal (§§ 74, 10).

²⁷ *Lōw-* TO EAT; *-am* (§ 55).

²⁸ *maha-* TO WATCH; *-āwat* frequentative (§ 33).

²⁹ Definite article (§ 17).

³⁰ *he'cl'īl* FOUR; *-entcīs* ordinal multiplicative (§ 76).

³¹ *la-* TO GO; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

³² Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).

³³ *tcīne-* TO THINK; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 10).

³⁴ Interjection (§ 111).

³⁵ Vocative (§ 65).

³⁶ *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcūc* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).

ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs,³⁸ kat'e'mīsen³⁹ qālmī'ye¹³ ūl⁴⁰ wu'txe tep⁴¹ ā'la."
 thy heart, five times morning it gets should return that my child."
 Wāndj⁴² Lā'xEM.⁴³ "In¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla.³⁵ Hats²⁰ e^{ε 32} q'la'mtsam!⁴⁵
 Thus talking condition. "Not surely cousin. Just thou eat!

La^{u 3} nī'wets hanL⁴⁶ ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs."³⁸ Wāndj⁴² ilt.⁴⁷
 That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus (he) told it to him.

Tsō²⁴ qats⁴⁸ i'niye⁴⁹ tcitc⁴² ū⁵⁰ fluwe'xtcīs.³⁸ Hats²⁰ wāndj⁴²
 Now still no more manner his heart. Just thus
 tcīne'heni.³³ "E^{ε 32} lalahā'mi⁵¹ hanLel.⁵² Ā'yu⁵³ in¹⁷ yū⁵⁴
 thinking (he) is. "Thee get even with, shall surely." Surely not very
 I—there

he'niye¹⁸ ā'yu⁵³ wītewehe'xtcī¹⁵ la¹⁶ ā'la. In¹⁷ he'niye¹⁸
 long time surely sick it is his child. Not long time
 xā'nīs.¹⁹ Māndj⁵⁵ leqā'wē.²¹ Hē'kwaīnta⁵⁶ ū⁵⁰ fluwe'xtcīs.³⁸
 sick. Already (it) died. Very bad his heart

ī²³ la^{u 3} leqā'wē²¹ la¹⁶ ā'la. Ā'yu⁵³ cīl'ye⁵⁷ le²⁰ wāndj⁴²
 when that one died his child. Surely indeed it was he thus

Lā'xEM.⁴³ ī²³ la^{u 3} dōwā'ya⁵⁸ wu'txe la¹⁶ ā'la. Tsō²⁴ ā'yu⁵³
 talking condition when that one wants it (to) return his child. Now surely

tcī⁵⁹ la. "Tā'ī³⁴ sla!³⁵ Ā'yu⁵³ cūL⁶⁰ wutxa'xa⁶¹ Eit⁶²
 there (he) went. "Halloo, cousin! Surely ought (to) return singly about to

te'īs⁶³ ā'la. Kat'e'mīsen³⁹ qālmī'ye¹³ ūx¹ wu'txe hanL⁴⁶ te'īs⁶³
 this our child. Five times morning it gets they two return shall these our (dual)

ā'la." Wāndj⁴² ilt.⁴⁷ "In¹⁷ hel⁴⁴ sla!³⁵ Hats²⁰ hanL⁴⁶
 children." Thus (he) told it to him. "Not surely cousin! Just shalt

e^{ε 32} q'la'mtsam!⁴⁵ La^{u 3} nī'wets hanL⁴⁶ ye^{ε 37} fluwe'xtcīs."³⁸ Wāndj⁴²
 thou eat! That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus

Lā'xEM.⁴³ "Qaiku⁶⁴ ūx¹ wutxa'xa⁶¹ Eit⁶² te'īs⁶³ hī'me,¹¹ ta⁶⁵
 talking condition. "(I) thought they two return singly about to these our children, and

³⁷ Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).

³⁸ fluwe'xtc- HEART (?); -ts nominal (§ 56).

³⁹ kat'e'mīs FOUR; -en multiplicative (§ 75).

⁴⁰ Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).

⁴¹ Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).

⁴² Modal adverb (§ 106).

⁴³ L/ā- TO SPEAK; -xEM generic (§ 30).

⁴⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).

⁴⁵ q'im- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26); -am (§§ 55, 11).

⁴⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 87).

⁴⁷ ilt- TO TELL TO; -t transitive (§ 26).

⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

⁴⁹ in NOT; -iye transitional (§ 35).

⁵⁰ Sign of possession (§ 97).

⁵¹ lala- TO GET EVEN WITH; -āmī transitive subject and object pronoun I—THEE (§§ 46, 10).

⁵² hanL SHALL; ū 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 cīl syntactic particle (§ 90); -iye 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	la ^{u3}	ēn ⁶⁶	dōwā'ya ⁵⁸	xwāndj. ⁶⁷	Hē ⁶⁸	hanL ⁴⁶	yīqa ⁶⁹	in ¹⁷
however	that	thou	didst want	thus.	(Emphatic)	shall	still	not
	thing	not	it					
wūtxa'xa ⁶¹	Eīt ⁶²	yanLawe ⁷⁰	mā	leqa ^{u'we} , ²¹	nāyīm ⁷¹	ēn ⁶⁶	dōwā'ya ⁵⁸	
return singly	going to	whenever	beings	die,	because	thou not	didst want	it
xwāndj. ⁶⁷	Xnōwe ⁷²	ī ²³	cīl ⁵⁷	te ⁷³	xwāndj ⁶⁷	e ³²	īltā'is. ⁷⁴	Wāndj ⁴²
thus.	Right	when	Indeed	that	thus	thou didst tell it	to, thou—me."	Thus
				there				
tcīne'henī. ³³	Mā ⁷⁵	xnōwe ⁷²	lela ^{u3}	wāndj ⁴²	īlt. ⁴⁷	Kat'e'mīsen ³⁹		
thinking (he) is.	However	right	that's	thus	(he) told it	Five times		
			(the thing)		to him,			
qalīmī'ye ¹³	ūL ⁴⁰	wutxa'xa ⁶¹	Eīt, ⁶²	yūL ⁷⁶	xwāndj ⁶⁷	L!ats. ⁷⁷	Le'yi	ūL ⁴⁰
morning it	should	return singly	going to	if	thus	speak.	Good	would
gets			to	should				be
yūL ⁷⁶	kat e'mīsen ³⁹	qalīmī'ye ¹³	wutxa'xa ⁶¹	Eīt ⁶²	he ²⁹	mā	leqa ^{u'we} . ²¹	
if	five times	morning it	return singly	inten-	the people	die.		
should		gets		tion	(who)			
Tsō ²⁴	yīqai'nī ⁷⁸	hela'qaxem. ⁷⁹	Wāndj ⁴²	hātctlenī'yeqem. 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,

⁶⁶ e THOU (§ 18); in NOT (§ 112, 9).⁶⁷ x- modal (§ 24); wāndj THUS (§ 106).⁶⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 93).⁶⁹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷⁰ yanL IF (future) (§ 91); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87).⁷¹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷² x- modal (§ 24); nōwe ALL RIGHT.⁷³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).⁷⁴ īlt- TO TELL; -t transitive (§ 26); -āis transitive subject and object pronoun (§ 46).⁷⁵ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁷⁶ Particle denoting the optative (§ 91).⁷⁷ L!ā- TO SPEAK; -ts transitive (§ 26).⁷⁸ Adverb (§ 104).⁷⁹ helaq TO ARRIVE; -xem generic (§§ 30 4, 11).⁸⁰ hātct! STORY; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 11); -īyeqem 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 With people it (mutually) was	te ² that there	Litā. land.	Gō's ³ All	tcītc ⁴ kinds	h'mx'nē ⁵ mixed up (they were) mutually	mā. (the) beings.
Ī ⁶ k'latc!wā. ⁷ They without fire.	Ī ⁶ k'lāxāp. ⁷ They without water.	Ī ⁸ dī ⁹ When something	Ī ⁶ Lōwē'wat ¹⁰ they eat frequently	Xle'ite ¹³ With it with	t'a'lats. ¹⁴ (they) dance.	La ^{u2} Those
Eit. ¹¹ la ^{u2} intend, that thing	Ī ⁶ L'pēqaqa'e'wat. ¹² in the arm-pits to be, cause it frequently.	he. ¹¹ custom- arily.	Tsō ⁸ he ¹¹ p'etci. ¹⁷ Now custom- arily warm it gets,	tsō ⁸ he ¹¹ la ^{u2} q'mīts. ¹⁸ now custom- arily that (they) eat.	Yuwe ¹⁹ Whenever	qa'lyeq L'le, la ^{u2} he ¹¹ Ī ⁶ salmon comes out, they are usually they
tēmā'Le ¹⁵ old	mā la ^{u2} tcīcīla'e'wat ¹⁶ people that cause it to be under- neath, frequently	he'Ī ²² their	Lōwā'was. ²³ food.	LTLē'yat. ²⁰ scoop it out.	Wāndj ²¹ That way	yuxtīk. ²¹ barely
skweyenī'yeqem ²⁴ it is talked about	le ²⁵ the	tc!wā. fire.	"Xtcī'tcū ²⁶ How	ūL, ²⁷ would it be,	yūL ²⁷ if should	la ^{u2} Īn ²⁸ that we

¹n- adverbial (§ 21); mā PEOPLE; -e auxiliary (§§ 44, 10); -n distributive (§§ 37, 25); -t transitive (§§ 26, 4).

²Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

³Numeral particle (§ 109).

⁴Particle (§ 112).

⁵h'mx- TO MIX; -nē distributive (§ 37).

⁶Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18)

⁷k'latc- privative (§ 20).

⁸Conjunction (§ 110).

⁹Pronominal particle (§ 108).

¹⁰Lōw- TO EAT; -ēwat frequentative (§§ 33, 8).

¹¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).

¹²L'pēq- TO BE IN ARM-PITS; -aēwat frequentative causative (§ 34); see also reduplication (§ 83).

¹³x- instrumental (§ 24); Lx article (§ 17); -etc instrumental (§ 70).

¹⁴lat- TO DANCE; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁵Plural formation (§ 78).

¹⁶tcīcīl MAT; -aēwat frequentative causative (§ 34).

¹⁷picic- TO BE WARM; -i neutral intransitive (§ 31).

¹⁸q'm- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁹yū VERY (§ 106); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87); see also § 9.

²⁰LTL- TO SCOOP OUT; -iyat causative (§§ 27, 2).

²¹Modal adverb (§ 106).

²²Possessive pronoun 3d person plural (§ 98).

²³Lōw- TO EAT; -āwas verbal abstract (§§ 59, 8).

²⁴skw- TO TALK ABOUT; -enī verbal (§ 45); -īyeqem passive (§§ 40, 9).

²⁵Article (§ 17).

²⁶x- modal (§ 24); tcītc MANNER (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).

²⁷Syntactic particle (§ 91).

²⁸Personal pronoun 1st person plural (§ 18).

²⁹ *la* 'a²⁹ 'ya? — "Tci³⁰ han³¹ l³¹ in²⁸ la." Tsō⁸ ā'yu²¹ tci³⁰ ſi⁶ la.
 go to it? — "There shall we go." Now surely there they went.
 Ā'yu²¹ tci³⁰ ſi⁶ he'laq. Ā'yu²¹ tci'la'at³² tē² tci'wāl, ſi⁸ ſi⁶
 Surely there they arrived. Surely to burn it is caused there fire, when they
 te'x³³ tti³³. Hats⁸ yiqax³⁴ k'ilo'wīt³⁵ lē²⁵ xā²⁵ p. Lōwa'kats³⁶
 entered. Just right away (he) saw it the water. Sat
 tci³⁰ lē²⁵ mā ha'laqait.³⁷ Xta'nuxwītē³⁸ Lōwa'kats.³⁶ "Tā'ī³⁹
 there the person (he) came to. Sideways (he) was sitting. "Halloo,
 sla! ſi⁴⁰ al'cani⁴¹ han³¹." Hats⁸ kwa⁴² in⁴ k'layaha'e'wat.⁴³
 cousin! We play shall. Just as if not (he) hears it.
 Xpekwi'ltcume⁴⁴ Lōwa'kats.³⁶ Tsō⁸ he'niye⁴⁵ tsō⁸ ſi'kats.⁴⁶
 From the opposite side (he) sat. Now (after) a while now (he) ooked
 at him.
 "Qaniya'ta⁴⁷ e⁴⁸ heg'ne⁴⁹ sla hītc⁵⁰ cante?⁵¹ Wāndj²¹ L'ats.⁵²
 Stranger thou my cousin (surprise) (?) " Thus (he) spoke.
 "E⁴⁸ leqa'wīya'tani⁵³ L.⁵⁴ "Mā³⁴ cku⁴² e⁴⁸ heg⁴⁹ nīla'hatcem⁵⁵
 "Thou story tell must. "But it must thou my at priority
 la ye⁵⁶ ha'we."⁵⁷ Tsō⁸ qats³⁴ L'ē'tc. He'niye⁴⁵ e'he qanō'tca.⁵⁸
 goes thy growth. Now, however, (he) went A while (he) was outside.
 out.
 Tsō⁸ asō⁵⁹ te'x³³ tti³³. "Tā'ī³⁹ sla! Ānta³⁹ tē¹² nī'k'wa³¹ ye'ne⁵⁶
 Now again (he) entered. "Halloo, cousin!" Look this used (to be) thy
 here
 pī¹¹. Tē² ye'ne⁵⁶ pī¹¹ la¹² L'ā'nēx.⁶⁰ Tē² heg'ne⁴⁹ pī¹¹ la¹²
 Indian That thy Indian that (is) new. That my Indian that
 cradle there cradle one there cradle one
 qa'lēx⁶¹; ta⁸ tē¹² nī'k'wa³¹ ye'ne⁵⁶ na'ū'hīn, ta⁸ tē¹² nī'k'wa³¹
 (is) old; and this used (to be) thy shinny-club, and this used (to be)
 here

²⁹ *la*- TO GO; -*t* transitive (§ 26); -*āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

³⁰ Local adverb (§ 104).

³¹ Syntactic particle (§ 87).

³² *ci'la*- TO BURN; -*et* causative passive (§§ 41, 7).

³³ *et*- TO ENTER; -*ts* transitive (§ 26).

³⁴ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

³⁵ *k'ilo*- TO SEE; -*t* transitive (§§ 26, 8).

³⁶ *lōwa*- TO SIT; -*ts* transitive (§§ 26, 11).

³⁷ *he'laq*- TO ARRIVE; -*t* transitive (§§ 26, 7, 11).

³⁸ *x*- modal (§ 24); *tanux*- SIDE; -*itc* modal (§§ 67, 8).

³⁹ Interjection (§ 111).

⁴⁰ Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).

⁴¹ *alēc* TOY; -*enī* verbal (§§ 45, 7).

⁴² Syntactic particle (§ 88).

⁴³ *k'ayaha*- TO HEAR; -*ē'wat* frequentative (§ 83).

⁴⁴ *x*- locative (§ 22); *pekwi*- OPPOSITE; -*tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -*ume* nominalizing (§ 64).

⁴⁵ *henī*- A WHILE; -*īye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).

⁴⁶ *luc*- TO LOOK; -*ts* transitive (§ 26).

⁴⁷ *qaniya'ta* BELONGING TO A DIFFERENT TRIBE, A STRANGER.

⁴⁸ Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).

⁴⁹ Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).

⁵⁰ Syntactic particle (§ 90).

⁵¹ Can not be analyzed.

⁵² *L'ā*- TO SPEAK; -*ts* transitive (§ 26).

⁵³ *leqa'wīyat* STORY (compare *leqa'wē* TO DIE); -*enī* verbal (§§ 45, 7).

⁵⁴ Syntactic particle (§ 92).

⁵⁵ *n*- adverbial (§ 21); *ila* BEFORE (§ 104); -*tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 103, 10, 7); -*xm* adverbial abstract (§ 58).

⁵⁶ Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18, 98).

⁵⁷ *ha*- TO GROW; -*e* (§ 80); see also §§ 8, 118.

⁵⁸ *qanō*- OUTSIDE; -*tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -*a* directive (§ 55).

⁵⁹ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

⁶⁰ *L'an*- NEW; -*ēx* adjectival (§ 66).

⁶¹ *qa*- OLD (compare *qalu* WINTER); -*ēx* adjectival (§ 66).

heŋ'ne^{u49} na^u/hín, ta⁸ tē¹² nī'k'wa³¹ ye^{ne}^{u56} kwā'sís,⁶² ta⁸ tē¹²
 my shinny-club, and this here used (to be) thy ball, and this here
 nī'k'wa³¹ heŋ'ne^{u49} kwā'sís.⁶² Lla'nēx⁶⁰ ye^{ne}^{u56} kwā'sís.⁶² Qa'lēx⁶¹
 used (to be) my ball. New (is) thy ball. Old (is)
 tē¹² heŋ'ne^{u49} kwā'sís.⁶² Kwa⁴² kwe⁴² yū²¹ in⁴ ā'yu²¹ L⁵⁴ sla."⁷
 this here my ball. As if perhaps very not surely must cousin,
 (be)
 Tcī³⁰ hītē^utsa'tēxa.⁶³ Ā'yu²¹ k'īlō'wīt.³⁵ "Ā'yu²¹ cīlī'ye⁶⁴ sla.
 There (he) put them down for him. Surely (he) saw it. "Surely indeed it is cousin
 Tcī³⁰ īl⁶⁵ e^e⁴⁸ Lō'ku.⁶ Īs⁴⁰ alī'canī⁴¹ hanL."³¹ Tsō⁸ ā'yu²¹ ūx⁶⁶
 There surely thou sit down. We two play shall." Now surely they two
 haitī'teme^u.⁶⁷ "Yī'kwanL⁶⁸ dīl'tce'tc⁶⁹ ten⁷⁰ Llaqa'ē'wat,⁷¹
 gamble together. "Perhaps shall something with that I point my finger at him frequently,
 ī⁸ la^u² Lī'teta⁷² le²⁵ na'm'xqa?"⁷ Tcīne'henī.⁷³ "Yī'kūL⁷⁴
 when that one behind (his) back (one of) players?" (He) is thinking. "Perhaps would be
 xtcīte⁷⁵ yūL²⁷ wī'yete nxwa'lxwal⁷⁶ n⁷⁷ x'Llōwa'ē'wat?⁷⁸
 in the manner if would a piece of abalone shell in eye I cause it to be inside?
 Lexa'tcem⁷⁹ hanL³¹ n⁷⁷ qa'qaL. Cīn⁸⁰ lō'k'īnā'īs⁸¹ hanL³¹ yanL²⁷
 Inside, the part shall I sleep. You support you-me shall, if shall.
 n⁷⁷ Lī'teta."⁷² Wāndj²¹ Lla'xem.⁸² Wāndj²¹ īl't⁸³ le²⁵ ma'nat.
 I put (my hands) behind (my) back." Thus talking, condition. Thus (he) told the crowd.
 Ā'yu²¹ yīqa'x³⁴ wāndj.²¹ Tsō⁸ ā'yu²¹ Llaqa'ē'wat,⁷¹ ī⁸ la^u²
 Surely just that way. Now surely (he) points (the) finger when that one
 Līte'ta.⁷² Ā'yu²¹ yūxwā'¹⁰⁹ mā lō'k'īnē'wat,⁸⁴ Tcī'tcū⁸⁵ c^e⁸⁶ dīl⁹
 puts (his) hands behind (his) back. Surely two persons support him steadily. How sur- prise
 itsēm⁸⁷ Xya'bas⁸⁸ yaptī'tsa⁸⁹ lā⁹⁰ pī'lik'īs,⁹¹ lā⁹⁰ ye'es, lā⁹⁰ tcūl, lā⁹⁰
 happened. Maggots ate up his anus, his face, his nose, his

⁶² kwā's-?; -s nominal (§ 56).

⁶³ hītē- TO PUT DOWN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -tēx direct object pronoun plural (§ 54); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49; see also § 7).

⁶⁴ cīl syntactic particle (§ 90); -īye transitional (§ 35).

⁶⁵ Syntactic particle (§ 88).

⁶⁶ Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

⁶⁷ hait- TO GAMBLE; -t transitive (§ 26); -t transitive (§ 26); -meu reciprocal (§ 29; see also § 4).

⁶⁸ yīku syntactic particle (§ 88); hanL SHALL (§§ 87, 8, 9).

⁶⁹ dīl SOMETHING (§ 108); -tc adverbial (§ 25); -etc instrumental (§ 70).

⁷⁰ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§§ 18, 98).

⁷¹ Llaqa- TO POINT AT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).

⁷² Lī'teta TO PUT ONE'S HAND BEHIND THE BACK (during a game).

⁷³ tcīn- TO THINK; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 10).

⁷⁴ yīku PERHAPS (§ 88); ūL WOULD BE (§§ 91, 9).

⁷⁵ x- modal (§ 24); tcīte particle (§ 112).

⁷⁶ n- adverbial (§ 21); xwalxwal EYE (§§ 83, 116).

⁷⁷ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 18).

⁷⁸ x'Llōw- TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); -ā'ē'wat frequentative causative (§§ 34, 8).

⁷⁹ Lexa- INSIDE (§ 104); -em adverbial abstract (§ 58).

⁸⁰ Personal pronoun 2d person plural (§ 18).

⁸¹ Lō'k'īn- TO STEADY, TO SUPPORT; -ās transitive, subject and object pronoun THOU-ME (§ 46).

⁸² Līl- TO TALK; -xem generic suffix (§ 30).

⁸³ īl- TO SAY TO; -t transitive (§ 26).

⁸⁴ Lō'k'īn- TO SUPPORT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).

⁸⁵ tcīte particle (§ 112); -ā interrogative (§ 73).

⁸⁶ Syntactic particle denoting surprise (§ 90).

⁸⁷ īs- TO DO, TO BE (§ 113); -em suffix defining the subject (§ 30).

⁸⁸ x- discriminative (§ 23); yabas MAGGOT.

⁸⁹ yab- MAGGOT; -t transitive (§ 26); -ts transitive (§§ 26, 25); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).

⁹⁰ Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98).

⁹¹ pīlik- ANUS; -s nominal (§ 56).

<i>ku'ha'ñas.</i> ears.	<i>Hís</i> ⁸ Also	<i>inlheni'yees</i> ⁹² (in) no time	<i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ maggots	<i>q!mfts.</i> ¹⁸ ate him.	<i>La</i> ^{u 2} That one	<i>in</i> ⁴ not	<i>la</i> ^{u 2} that thing
<i>í'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (at) looked.	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just	<i>yí'qa</i> ³⁴ continually	<i>tcī</i> ³⁰ there	<i>lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat.	<i>Xyúxwá'</i> ⁹³ Two	<i>mā</i> persons	
<i>Llō'xk'íne'wat</i> ⁸⁴ support him steadily		<i>xpqai'hītc.</i> ⁹⁴ from (the) back.	<i>Wí'yax</i> Abalone shell	<i>x'lōwa'ē'wat</i> ⁷⁸ (he) caused to be inside	<i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in		
<i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye.	<i>Lexa'tcem</i> ⁷⁹ Inside, the part	<i>qa'qał.</i> (he) slept.	<i>La</i> ^{u 2} That one	<i>qats</i> ³⁴ just	<i>kwa</i> ⁴² as if	<i>ā'yu</i> ²¹ surely	
<i>kwí'nait.</i> ⁹⁶ looked at it.	<i>Hītc</i> ⁵⁰ Surprise	<i>wí'yax</i> abalone shell	<i>le</i> ²⁵ it	<i>x'lí'yē</i> ⁹⁷ inside it is	<i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in	<i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye.	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just
<i>lā'mak.</i> bones	<i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ sitting.	<i>Así'L</i> ³⁰ Halfway	<i>la ū</i> ⁹⁸ goes its	<i>x'íluwí'yē</i> ⁹⁹ growth (of)	<i>lex</i> ¹⁰⁰ the	<i>ya'bas,</i> maggots, when	<i>í</i> ⁸
<i>la</i> ^{u 2} that one	<i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ the maggots	<i>Lōwe'wat.</i> ¹⁰ eat him continually.	<i>Ítse'ts</i> ¹⁰¹ May be surely	<i>yíku</i> ⁶⁵ he	<i>la</i> ^{u 2} for some time	<i>heni'yees</i> ⁹²	
<i>hí'ni</i> ³⁰ there	<i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat.	<i>Tsō</i> ⁸ Now	<i>wāndj</i> ²¹ thus	<i>tcíne'heni.</i> ⁷³ thinking.	<i>“YíkwānL</i> ⁶⁸ “Perhaps shall	<i>dí'tce'tc</i> ⁶⁹ something with	
<i>ten</i> ⁷⁰ that I	<i>L'laqa'ē'wat?</i> ⁷¹ point my finger at him frequently?	<i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just	<i>kwanL</i> ¹⁰² as if	<i>in</i> ⁴ not	<i>yū</i> ²¹ very something	<i>dí'í</i> ⁹ scared,	<i>qaya'u'wiye,</i> ¹⁰³ he becomes
<i>yūL</i> ²⁷ if would	<i>xle'ítc</i> ¹³ with it	<i>n</i> ⁷⁷ I	<i>L'laqa'ē'wat.</i> ⁷¹ point my fingers at him frequently.	<i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ Thus	<i>tcíne'heni.</i> ⁷³ thinking.	<i>Yí'qa</i> ³⁴ Still	<i>in</i> ⁴ not
<i>í'lxats</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at	<i>le</i> ²⁵ the	<i>ya'bas;</i> maggots;	<i>mā</i> ³⁴ how- surely	<i>í</i> ⁶⁵ just	<i>hats</i> ⁸ bones	<i>lā'mak.</i> joined together.	<i>síl'nēi.</i> ¹⁰⁴ Still not
<i>í'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at it.	<i>“Cín</i> ¹⁰⁵ “You not	<i>k'ellē'wat.</i> ¹⁰⁶ forget it.	<i>Cín</i> ⁸⁰ You	<i>sqats hanL</i> ³¹ grab shall	<i>te</i> ² that	<i>tc!wāi,</i> there fire,	<i>yanL</i> ²⁷ if shall
<i>ín</i> ²⁸ we	<i>tgats.</i> ¹⁰⁷ win (game).	<i>La</i> ^{u 2} That one	<i>hís</i> ⁸ also	<i>te</i> ² that there	<i>xā'p</i> water	<i>cín</i> ⁸⁰ you	<i>x'ínti'ta</i> ¹⁰⁸ cause it to run
<i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ That way	<i>L'ā'xem.</i> ⁸² talking, condition.	<i>Yíxē'</i> ¹⁰⁹ One	<i>mā wāndj</i> ²¹ person that way	<i>L'ā'xem.</i> ⁸² talking, condition.	<i>“NE'xkan</i> ¹¹⁰ “I		
<i>hanL</i> ³¹ shall (be)	<i>la</i> ^{u 2} the	<i>n</i> ⁷⁷ I	<i>x'ínti'yat</i> ¹¹¹ run, cause it	<i>te</i> ² that there	<i>xā'p.</i> that water.	<i>—Tē</i> ² This	<i>la</i> ^{u 2} the you
						<i>e</i> ⁴⁸ one	<i>x'ínti'yat</i> ¹¹¹ cause it
							<i>hanL</i> ³¹ shall

⁹² *in* negation (§ 112); *í* abbreviated form of *dí'í* (§ 108); *heni'ye* A WHILE; *-es* noun of quality (§ 57).

⁹³ *x-* discriminative (§ 23); *yú'xwá* two (§ 101).

⁹⁴ *x-* FROM (§ 22); *pqai* BACK; *-itc* local suffix (§§ 67, 10).

⁹⁵ *lā* possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); *n-* adverbial (§ 21).

⁹⁶ *kwina-* TO LOOK; *-t* transitive (§ 26).

⁹⁷ *x'lí-* TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); *-íyē* transitional (§ 35).

⁹⁸ Sign of possession (§ 97).

⁹⁹ *x'ílu-* DEEP; *-íyē* nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).

¹⁰⁰ *lex* article (§ 17); *x-* discriminative (§ 23).

¹⁰¹ See § 113.

¹⁰² *kwa* AS IF (§ 88); *hanL* SHALL (§§ 87, 9).

¹⁰³ *qaya'u-* TO BE AFRAID; *-íyē* transitional (§§ 35, 8).

¹⁰⁴ *síl-* TO JOIN; *-nēi* distributive (§ 37).

¹⁰⁵ *cín* personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); *in* NOT (see § 9).

¹⁰⁶ *k'el-* TO FORGET; *-íwat* frequentative (§ 33); see § 83.

¹⁰⁷ *q-* TO WIN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).

¹⁰⁸ *x'ent-* TO RUN; *-íyat* causative (§ 27); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).

Cardinal numeral (§ 101).

¹¹⁰ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).

¹¹¹ *x'ent-* TO RUN; *-íyat* causative (§ 27).

te ² tc!wāl. ⁷² that fire. there	Tsō ⁸ xwāndj ²¹ flt. ⁸³ Now thus (he) told it to him.	"Kwī'yał ¹¹² halt! ¹¹³ e ^{ne} ¹¹⁴ he ¹¹ "Now now thou customarily
L!te'ta. ⁷² put (thy) hands behind (thy) back. ⁷²	Wāndj ²¹ flt. ⁸³ Thus (he) told it to him.	"Yī'kwānl ⁶⁸ dīl'te'tc ⁶⁹ ten ⁷⁰ L!qa'e'wat? ⁷¹ "Perhaps shall something with this here I point the finger at him continually"
"Hats ⁸ in ⁴ yū ²¹ dīl ⁹ yū ²¹ qayawā'wal. ¹¹⁵ "Just not very something very scaring.	Lo ¹¹⁶ L ¹¹⁷ ūl ²⁷ le'yi, That neces- would good, thing sarily be	
yū ²⁷ x'ōwā'yasetc ¹¹⁸ if should	n ⁷⁷ L!qa'e'wat. ⁷¹ point (my) finger at him continually."	K'latc!hā'yims ¹¹⁹ la ^{u2} Without dying down that one (the fire)
tc!lā'at. ¹²⁰ to burn, it is caused.	Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ x'ōwā'yasetc ¹¹⁸ Now surely snake with	L!a'qat. ¹²¹ Lōwītī'yeqem. ¹²² (he) pointed (the) finger at him. (He) is watching himself.
X'ōwā'yas hān ¹²³ dī'letc ¹²⁴ xa'l ¹²⁵ mats. ¹²⁴ Snake his at thighs wraps around.	Hats ¹²⁵ kwa ⁴² xtc!tc ⁷ Just looks like something	
itsēm. ⁸⁷ Mā ³⁴ ai'wa ¹²⁶ in ⁴ k'ilo'wīt. ³⁵ happened How- still not (he) sees it.	Hān ¹²³ we'hel la ^{u2} His to waist that one	
he'laq le ²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. arrived the snake.	Hān ¹²³ ye'es la ^{u2} kwa ⁴² i'nuwīt. ¹²⁷ His to mouth that one as if threatens (to go).	
Ak'a'nak. ¹²⁸ he'lta hex ¹²⁹ x'ōwā'yas. Sticks out (the) tongue the snake.	Hats ⁸ han ¹³⁰ kwa ⁴² Just will as if	
hān ¹²³ tcūl la ^{u2} te'x'tits ³³ le ²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. his in nose that one enter the snake.	Qai'x'qayōnā'ya, ¹³¹ i ⁸ Afraid, (it) made him, when	
la ^{u2} k'ilo'wīt. ³⁵ Si'x'its ¹³² e'qatce. ¹³³ Neqā'ya. ¹³⁴ L!xanā'yēm ¹³⁵ that one (he) saw it. (He) shook it off one side to. (He) ran away from it. Throw (indefinite) (Peopleshout at him)		
ye'es. X'ī'x'intū ¹³⁶ le ²⁵ tc!wāl. mouth. (It) is being taken the fire. away quickly	Hē'kwaīn ¹³⁷ xhū'wis ¹³⁸ mā Very poor person (is)	
la ^{u2} x'inti'yat ¹¹¹ le ²⁵ tc!wāl. the one (to) run, causes the fire.	Hē'yū ¹³⁹ xtcā'yux ^{u138} mā la ^{u2} Very small person (he is) the one	

¹¹² Temporal adverb (§ 105).¹¹³ Temporal adverb (§ 105).¹¹⁴ Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 96).¹¹⁵ qayaw- TO FEAR; -āwal nominal suffix (§ 59).¹¹⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).¹¹⁷ Syntactic particle (§ 92).¹¹⁸ x'ōwāyas SNAKE; -etc instrumental (§ 70).¹¹⁹ k'īlā- PRIVATIVE (§ 20); tc!hā- TO EXTINGUISH; -āyims nominal (§ 80).¹²⁰ tc!lā- TO BURN; -aat passive causative (§§ 41, 7).¹²¹ L!qa- TO POINT AT WITH ONE'S FINGER; -t transitive (§ 26).¹²² lōuzt- TO WATCH; -īyeqem passive (§§ 40, 3, 11).¹²³ hā 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 Innuwī VERY, modal adverb (§ 106); -t transitive (§ 26).¹²⁸ ak'ank- TO STICK OUT (§ 4).¹²⁹ hē article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 23).¹³⁰ Syntactic particle (§ 87).¹³¹ qayaw- TO SCARE; -andya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 3, 82).¹³² sīx- 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); -ēm 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!kwí'tsa ¹⁴⁰ kicks it	le ²⁵ the	xā ^a p. water.	Xpiye'etc ¹⁴¹ In the manner of going home	L'wa'hait ¹⁴² run	he ²⁵ the	mēn. ¹⁴³ people.
K'uhā'nasatc ¹⁴⁴ Ear in	ha ^{u2} that one	lexalxā'yu ¹⁴⁵ was put in	he ²⁵ the	tc!wāl. fire.	Nle'hī ¹⁴⁶ With it	la ū ⁹⁸ goes his
x'na'at. ¹⁴⁷ quickness (he runs).	Le ²⁵ The	xā ^a p water	ha'kwa ¹⁴⁸ as if	he'mtset, ¹⁴⁹ (to) lay bare, caused, it was,	ī ⁸ when	la ^{u2} t!kwí'tsa. ¹⁴⁰ that one kicked it.
Māndj ¹⁵⁰ Already	hats ⁸ Just	g'í'mtset ¹⁵¹ (to) rain caused it was	le'tsīx. ¹⁵² right here.	K'mene'iletc ¹⁵³ Brush into	L!xa'na ¹⁵⁴ (he) threw it,	
le ²⁵ the	tc!wāl. fire.	K!we'hetc ¹⁵⁵ Willow into	la ^{u2} that one	L!xant. ¹⁵⁶ threw it.	Hats ⁸ Just	L!xant, ¹⁵⁶ (he) threw it,
māndj ¹⁵⁰ already	ikwí'litu. ¹⁵⁷ to blaze, it begins.	Tsō ⁸ Now	asō' ¹⁵⁰ again	ī ⁶ they	wu'txe returned	tsí'x'tī. ¹⁵⁸ here.
Xtemi'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on	leī ¹⁶⁰ they	ntc!wā'le. ¹⁶¹ with fire are.	Xtemi'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on	towe ¹⁶² usually		
g'í'mit. ¹⁶³ (it) rains.	La ^{u2} That	xwāndj ²¹ (is) thus (the manner how)	towe ¹⁶² usually	g'í'mit. ¹⁶³ (it) rains.	Xwāndj ²¹ That way	La ¹⁶⁴ only
kwee'niyēm. ¹⁶⁵ know it (indefinite).	Tsō ⁸ Now	tcī ³⁰ there	ā'wīxēm. ¹⁶⁶ 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. Whenever 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; -etc modal (§ 36; also § 3).¹⁴² Lowahai- TO RUN; -i transitive (§ 26).¹⁴³ Plural formation (§ 78).¹⁴⁴ k'uhā'nas EAR; -etc local (§§ 68, 7).¹⁴⁵ lax- TO BE INSIDE (singular object); -āyu past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).¹⁴⁶ n- adverbial (§ 21); -le article (§ 17); -i instrumental (§§ 80, 10).¹⁴⁷ See § 118.¹⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 88).¹⁴⁹ hēm- 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 le article (§ 17); tsīx- HERE, local adverb (§ 104).¹⁵³ kumene'it BRUSH; -etc local (§ 68).¹⁵⁴ L!xan- TO THROW; -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).¹⁵⁵ k!wehe- WILLOW; -etc local (§§ 68, 9).¹⁵⁶ L!xan- TO THROW; -t transitive (§ 26).¹⁵⁷ ikwí- TO BLAZE; -t transitive; -u transitional (§§ 35, 114).¹⁵⁸ Local adverb (§ 104).¹⁵⁹ x- FROM, locative (§ 22); temi'towetc (see § 106).¹⁶⁰ le article (§ 17); ū personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).¹⁶¹ n- WITH, instrumental (§ 21); tc!wāl 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 āw- TO FINISH, TO END; -zēm 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 cradle.¹ Your Indian cradle¹ 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 ball² 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 supporting 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

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 shake."

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.