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**A GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY OF WYANDOT**

by

**Craig Alexander Kopriv**  
**August 15, 2001**

**A dissertation submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of The State  
University of New York at Buffalo  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of Linguistics**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### Transcriptions:

- <X>** ..... Barbeau's transcription as orthography  
**[X]** ..... phonetic interpretations of Barbeau's orthography  
**/X/** ..... phonemicization  
**\*** ..... unattested or reconstructed  
**\*\*** ..... unattested and unreconstructed

### Source Codes:

- IR:08** ..... Barbeau (1915a), p. 8  
**TN:29:259:44** ..... Barbeau (1960), text #29, p. 259, word #44  
**WD:NR:001** ..... Barbeau (n.d.), Noun Radicals section, card #001  
**WD:VR:350** ..... Barbeau (n.d.), Verb Radicals section, card #350  
**WM:086** ..... Barbeau (1915b), p. 86

### Phonology:

- C** ..... any consonant  
**D** ..... any stop  
**G** ..... glide or resonant  
**L** ..... either laryngeal (h, ?)  
**O** ..... voiceless obstruent  
**S** ..... s or š  
**T** ..... voiceless stop  
**V** ..... any vowel

**Y** ..... any nasal vowel

**Stem-classes:**

**A** ..... a-initial

**C** ..... consonant-initial

**E** ..... e- or ɛ-initial

**I** ..... i-initial

**O** ..... u- or ɔ-initial

**Y** ..... Y-initial

**YV** ..... Y and oral vowel-initial

**YY** ..... Y and nasal vowel-initial

**Morphology:**

**1** ..... first person

**2** ..... second person

**3** ..... third person

**:** ..... acting on (indicating transitivity)

**AGT** ..... agent

**AUG** ..... augmentative

**BEN** ..... benefactive

**CAUS** ..... causative

**CISLOC** ..... cislocative

**COINC** ..... coincident

**CONTR** ..... contrastive

<b>DIM</b>	.....	<b>diminutive</b>
<b>DISLOC</b>	.....	<b>dislocative</b>
<b>DISTAL</b>	.....	<b>distal anteprenominal</b>
<b>DISTR</b>	.....	<b>distributive</b>
<b>dl</b>	.....	<b>dual</b>
<b>DU</b>	.....	<b>dualic</b>
<b>EX</b>	.....	<b>exclusive</b>
<b>FACT</b>	.....	<b>factual</b>
<b>FEM.IND</b>	.....	<b>feminine-indefinite</b>
<b>FEM.ZOIC</b>	.....	<b>feminine-zoic</b>
<b>FUT</b>	.....	<b>future</b>
<b>HAB</b>	.....	<b>habitual</b>
<b>IMP</b>	.....	<b>imperative</b>
<b>IN</b>	.....	<b>inclusive</b>
<b>INCH</b>	.....	<b>inchoative</b>
<b>INST</b>	.....	<b>instrumental</b>
<b>JOIN</b>	.....	<b>joiner vowel</b>
<b>LOC</b>	.....	<b>locative</b>
<b>MASC</b>	.....	<b>masculine</b>
<b>NEG</b>	.....	<b>negative prenominal</b>
<b>NEUT</b>	.....	<b>neuter</b>
<b>NOM</b>	.....	<b>nominalizer</b>

<b>NON.MASC</b>	.....	<b>non-masculine</b>
<b>non-SAP</b>	.....	<b>non-speech-act participant</b>
<b>non.sg</b>	.....	<b>non-singular</b>
<b>NOT</b>	.....	<b>negative anteprenominal</b>
<b>NOUN</b>	.....	<b>noun suffix</b>
<b>OPT</b>	.....	<b>optative</b>
<b>PART</b>	.....	<b>partitive</b>
<b>PAST</b>	.....	<b>past</b>
<b>PAT</b>	.....	<b>patient</b>
<b>pl</b>	.....	<b>plural</b>
<b>POP</b>	.....	<b>populative</b>
<b>PROG</b>	.....	<b>progressive</b>
<b>PROTH</b>	.....	<b>prothetic</b>
<b>PUNC</b>	.....	<b>punctual</b>
<b>PURP</b>	.....	<b>purposive</b>
<b>REFL</b>	.....	<b>reflexive</b>
<b>REM</b>	.....	<b>remote anteprenominal</b>
<b>REP</b>	.....	<b>repetitive</b>
<b>SAP</b>	.....	<b>speech-act participant</b>
<b>SEMI</b>	.....	<b>semireflexive</b>
<b>sg</b>	.....	<b>singular</b>
<b>STAT</b>	.....	<b>stative</b>

**STAT.PL** ..... stative plural  
**SUBST** ..... substantivizer anteprenominal  
**TEMP** ..... temporal anteprenominal  
**TRANS** ..... translocative  
**UNDO** ..... undoer

## ABSTRACT

Wyandot is a Northern Iroquoian language. Although no longer spoken (the last speakers having lived in the 1960s), there are extensive texts prepared by Marius C. Barbeau. These texts are the basis for this grammar and dictionary.

The nature of Barbeau's data created several problematic issues that needed to be resolved before analysis. The first problem was an orthography that was both under- and over-differentiated, as well as described inconsistently, leaving certain expected phonetic and phonemic distinctions (e.g., aspiration, voicing) opaque. A second problem was the use of ambiguous and inconsistent word boundaries, interfering with morphological analysis.

Although previous discussions of Wyandot in the Iroquoian literature have been primarily diachronic in nature, the orientation taken here is synchronic. Phonological and morphological analyses were tied as closely as possible to the surface forms as given by Barbeau, to reduce the level of abstraction of underlying forms.

Features distinguishing Wyandot from other Iroquoian languages, such as further morphological elaboration (anteprenominal prefixes), are clarified. Finally, evidence is given showing that Wyandot is not a daughter language of Wendat (Huron), but rather a sister language, probably Tionontati (Petun, Tobacco).

Appendices show sample pages of the source data, two fully interlinearized texts, and a morpheme-level Wyandot-English root list with an English-Wyandot index.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

The Iroquoian language family is divided into two main branches, Southern and Northern. Southern Iroquoian consists solely of Cherokee in its various dialects. No other Southern Iroquoian language has ever been attested. Modern grammars and dictionaries of Cherokee include King (1975) and Pulte (1975). According to the former, dialects include Lower (or Elati), Middle (or Kituhwa), Western (or Oтали), Overhill, and Snowbird.

The Northern branch is also bifurcated. Lake Iroquoian is so named because the entire branch centers around the Great Lakes, particularly Ontario and Erie (both Iroquoian names). The other node, consisting of Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin, is generally unnamed but may be referred to as "Coast" to parallel "Lake", as speakers of these languages were originally located near the Atlantic coasts of modern Virginia and North Carolina. Tuscarora is still spoken. Modern grammars and dictionaries include Williams (1976) and Rudes (1999). According to Hewitt (1910) the three groups making up the Tuscarora were the *Kahtehnu?á:ka:?*, *Akawétsá:ka:?*, and *Skarú:rə?* (orthography modernized).

Nottoway is extinct but attested in two word lists (Gallatin 1836) and some town names, including *Cohannehahanka*, *Cottashowrock*, *Tonnatora*, and *Rowonte* (Binford 1967:149). Meherrin is also extinct, but has left two town names, *Unote* and *Cowochahawkon* (Binford

1967:153, c.f. Rudes 1981b)<sup>1</sup>. The Meherrin were eventually absorbed into the Tuscarora (Rudes 1981a).

Boyce (1978:282) mentions the possibility that two other languages from the same geographical area might also have been Iroquoian: "Geary [1955] has suggested, on the basis of their ethnic or tribal names, that the Neusiok and Coree were possibly Iroquoian." The actual references to Geary in Boyce are unfortunately a mixture of both an appendix to a volume (Quinn 1955) and sections of that appendix. Neither of the sections nor the appendix as a whole refers to either the Neusiok or the Coree. However, the preceding appendix of that same volume (Quinn 1955), "The Map of Raleigh's Virginia", does refer to both the Coree and Neusiok, with reference to statements by Geary. Quinn (1955:872) gives three relevant entries. Under *Neusiok* we find: "Professor Geary, on linguistic grounds, considers that it was probably Iroquoian." These grounds are not discussed. Under the entry for the name of the Neusiok village, *Newasiwac / Neuusiooc / Neruusiooc / Nesiok / Newciok*, Quinn states: "Professor Geary regards the name as probably Iroquoian, but *Newasiwac* as an Algonquian plural form." Again, the reasoning is unstated. Finally, the entry for the Coree village has: "Professor Geary suggests that while the forms of [*Coree / Cwarenuoc / Cwarcook / Warreā / Waren*] are likely to be Iroquoian there may be an Algonquian word behind one or the other of them." Due to the lack of more tangible evidence Neusiok and Coree will be left out of further discussions.

Details of the sub-grouping within Lake Iroquoian have been debated, with generally another binary branching into Five Nations and Huronian. The Five Nations branch then

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<sup>1</sup> Also spelled *Cowinchahawkon* and *Kawitziokan*.

forms what has sometimes been referred to as a dialect continuum consisting of Laurentian, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Susquehannock, Cayuga, and Seneca. Laurentian (also called Stadaconan, Hochelagan) is extinct but with two extant word lists (Cartier 1545). According to Trigger and Pendergast (1978:357), the Stadaconans and Hochelagans were distinct, and the word lists were taken from Stadaconans. These lists have been discussed repeatedly in the literature (Cuoq 1869, Biggar 1924, Hoffmann 1959, Barbeau 1959, Lounsbury 1978, Mithun 1982, etc). According to Lounsbury (1978:335) the speakers were probably a heterogenous mix of Wendats,<sup>2</sup> Mohawks, and an otherwise unattested group. Modern grammars and dictionaries of Mohawk include Bonvillain (1973) and G. Michelson (1973). For Oneida, there is a verb morphology by Lounsbury (1953), dictionaries by Christjohn and Hinton (1996) and Michelson (2001). A grammar of Onondaga can be found in Chafe (1970). Susquehannock, also called Andaste, Minqua, and Conestoga, is also extinct but has left word lists (Campanius 1696; Holm 1834). Mithun (1981) indicates that Susquehannock is closer to Onondaga than the other languages. Seneca is described in Chafe (1967). Cayuga, often placed between Seneca and Onondaga, seems to have wandered from branch to branch. See Chafe and Foster (1981) for the reasoning behind this. Mithun and Henry

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<sup>2</sup>The "Huron" people referred to themselves as Wendat. The term *huron* was used by the French, and has been linked etymologically to either a term for the native hairstyle (likened to that of a boar) or an old term for *ruffian*. In either case it is considered a derogatory ethnic slur, and so Wendat is used here. *Huronian* will continue to be used for the linguistic sub-grouping.

(1982) provides a pedagogically oriented grammar and dictionary, while Kick *et al* (1988) is a thematically arranged dictionary.<sup>3</sup>

Huronian consists of Wendat, Wyandot, and probably several other unattested languages reported by Jesuit missionaries (Thwaites 1896-1901) as similar to Wendat, all extinct. Wendat has left several manuscript dictionaries from the 17th century. Lagarde (1980) is a modern interpretation of one of the old manuscripts. Members of the Wendat Confederacy included the Attignawantan (Bear), Ataronchronon, Tahontaenrat (Deer), Attigeeenongahac (Cord), and Arendahronon (Rock).

Wyandot, the focus here, has no previous grammar, although Barbeau (1960) includes texts, and Barbeau (n.d.) is a dictionary (to be discussed in more detail later). According to Barton (1797), the Wyandots were also called Wanats and Junúndats. The modern Wyandots are descendants of refugees from the various Huronian groups, especially the Tionontatis (see section 1.2 *History of the Wyandot People*). The last speakers were alive in the early 1960s (Chafe 1962).

The unattested Huronian languages include Atiwandarok, Wenro, Erie, and Tionontati. Atiwandarok, or Neutral, has left various names. Mithun (1979:160) reports:

On the basis of the Neutral name given to Père Chaumonot in 1641, Roy Wright has deduced that Neutral was closer to the Five Nations languages than to Huron. The name

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<sup>3</sup>Grammars and dictionaries of all the living Northern Iroquoian languages will be published through the University of Toronto Press in the near future. Rudes (1999) and Michelson (2001) are part of this series.

Oronhiaguehre "heaven bearer" or "priest" cited in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1896-1901, 1841) indicates that Neutral did not share the Huron sound shift  $g > y > \emptyset$ .

Conversely, the Jesuits sometimes referred to them as the *Hurons de la Nation Neutre*. It is possible that the Neutrals were several different groups, sharing political neutrality between the Iroquois and Wendat confederacies. White (1978a:409) gives the following Neutral groups: Attiragenrega, Ahondihronon, Antouaronon, Onguiaronon, Kakouagoga, and Wenro.

The Wenro speech was said by the Jesuits to be like Atiwandaronk. Originally part of the Neutrals, they became temporarily independent.

The Eries were another confederacy, and have left some town names, including *Rigué* and *Gentaienton* (White 1978b:412). According to McConnell (1996:182) they may have been the ancestors of the Westos of the Carolinas. Wright (1974) discusses terms for the Eries.

The Tionontatis, or Petuns, were said to be like the Wendats (specifically, the Attignawantan group), according to Jesuit missionaries. They had two groups, the Wolves and Deer. The Tionontatis were sometimes called *les Hurons de la Nation du Pétun* by the French (Tooker 1978:405).<sup>4</sup>

The classification of Iroquoian languages is summarized in chart 1 below, adapted from Lounsbury (1978).

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<sup>4</sup>Additional terms for Iroquoian groups are known, such as Honniasont. See Wright (1974) for examples.

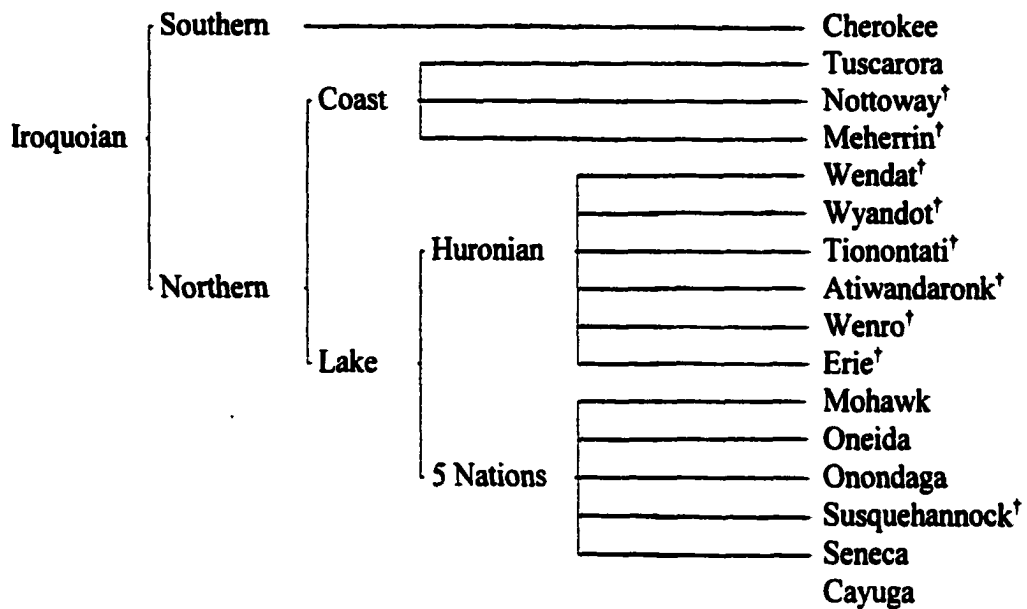


Chart 1: Iroquoian Family Tree

Cayuga is not linked to a higher node due to its idiosyncratic history (Chafe and Foster 1981).

Laurentian is not indicated due to its probably being several languages. Dead languages are indicated by †.

What should be noted here is that Wyandot is in a separate branch of Iroquoian, Huronian, from any of the living languages. Only Lagarde (1980) provides an extensive grammatical analysis of a language in the Huronian branch, Wendat. That analysis is based on a single 17th century manuscript purported to be by Chaumonot, augmented by the works of Potier in Fraser (1920).

Lounsbury (1961) provides an alternate sub-grouping into outer languages (Cherokee, Tuscarora, Laurentian, Wendat, and Wyandot) versus inner languages (easternmost 5 Nations). This is based on what were probably dialectal variants in Proto-Iroquoian that were overridden by the later division into Northern and Southern groups.

## 1.1 History of Wyandot Linguistics

Iroquoian languages were first recorded in the 16th century (Cartier 1545). During the 17th and 18th centuries much work was done by Jesuit missionaries in New France, resulting in several manuscript grammars and dictionaries, primarily focussing on Wendat. A description of many of these manuscripts on both Wendat and Mohawk (among others) can be found in Hanzeli (1969). Further references can be found in Pilling (1888), Lindsay (1900), Barbeau (1957), Tehariolina (1984), and the various works of Steckley in *Arch Notes*. The manuscripts include Brébœuf (1630), Sagard (1632), Brébœuf (1636), Carheil (1744), Potier (1751), and various anonymous and frequently undated works, such as the *French-Huron Dictionary* of 1663, *Radices linguæ huronicæ* (late 17th century), and the *Dictionnaire huron & hiroquois onontaheronon*. The early 19th century saw further dictionaries and grammars of Wendat, including Bruté de Rémur (1800) and Chaumonot (1831). Manuscripts that have not been lost or already published can be found scattered in several archives, including the Archives Indiennes, Notre-Dame de Montréal, Place d'Armes, Montreal; Archives of Laval University; Archives de Montserrat, Saint-Jérôme, Québec; Archives des Pères Jésuites, Collège Saint-Marie, Montréal; Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Bibliothèque de la Législature, Province de Québec; Bibliothèque National in Paris; and the New York Public Library. Later manuscripts tend to focus on other Iroquoian languages, and many are to be found in the American Philosophical Society library and the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

Other manuscripts are said to have existed, but are now lost, including Wendat grammars by Chaumonot and Garnier; a dictionary by Joseph LeCaron; *Principes de la*

*langue huronne* by Jérôme Lalemant; *Marie de l'Incarnation* (Lindsay 1900); and a 150 page Wyandot dictionary by William E. Connelley (*Wyandot Manuscript* n.d.).

The available works present a wealth of data on the Wendat language, though not without difficulties of accessibility, legibility, consistency, and soundness of transcription. For the most part these works have been unanalyzed in detail, with the notable exceptions of Lagarde (1980) and Norwood (forthcoming), which each deal with a detailed analysis of a single work, and the various works by Steckley (e.g., 1988, 1993), which deal with particular forms in a variety of manuscripts. Some of the early works are still highly regarded and used, especially Sagard (1632), and the collection of Potier (1745, 1747, 1751) in Fraser (1920). These are also the most readily available, having been published.

Modern studies of Iroquoian languages began with Lounsbury (1953), a morphological study of Oneida verbs. This important work set the standard for morphological analyses of Iroquoian languages, a pattern which was continued in Chafe (1967), which examined morphological structure in Seneca. These two standards present the morpheme slot-ordering methodology found in most grammatical studies of Iroquoian languages.

Barbeau (1915a) preceded, and perhaps enabled, the later descriptions by analyzing the interaction of pronominal prefixes and following morphemes in Mohawk, Oneida, and Wyandot. His analysis pointed out the five phonologically-conditioned conjugation classes found in Northern Iroquoian languages.



Further references on Iroquoian languages can be found in Foster (1996), and Mithun (1979, 1999). A comprehensive annotated bibliography of older material can be found in Pilling (1888).

## 1.2 History of the Wyandot People

The history of the Wyandot people begins with contact between their ancestors, the Wendats, and French traders and explorers. Although Iroquoian speakers were first encountered by Cartier in 1534 (Trigger 1978b:344), it was not until 1609 that the Wendats in particular encountered the French, through Champlain's raid on the Mohawks (Trigger 1978b:349). This history then weaves through epidemics and wars that resulted in mixed groups of refugees from several Huronian groups, who eventually were the first to be called Wyandot. Moving from territory to territory, the refugees laid the foundation for the current state of affairs, with Huronian descendants spread from Quebec to Oklahoma. The four surviving groups of Wendat and Wyandot descendants are the Nation Huron-Wendat in Lorette, Quebec; the Wyandot Band of Anderdon, in Anderdon, Ontario; the Wyandot Nation of Kansas; and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

In the early 1600s the Wendats consisted of a loose confederacy of five different groups. In many ways this confederacy paralleled that of the Five Nations to their southeast. The Attignawantan, Attigeeonongahac, Arendahronon, Tahontaenrat, and Ataronchronon each spoke a different dialect, though to what exact extent they differed is unknown. Steckley (1996) suggests a split between Northern and Southern dialects of Attignawantan, with the Southern variety more closely related to Attigeeonongahac, and the Northern closer

to Arendahronon. The territory the Wendats lived in, covering parts of modern Ontario north of Lake Ontario and east of Lake Huron, was called Huronia, or Wendake.

The neighbors of the Wendats who lived between the Wendat Confederacy and the hostile Iroquois League were mostly other Iroquoian-speaking groups. Nearby were the friendly Tionontatis. Farther away to the south were the Atiwandaronks (Neutrals). One member of the Neutral Confederacy, the Wenro, eventually lost membership, spending some time as an independent nation before joining the Wendat.<sup>5</sup> They bordered on the Senecas. Finally, also bordering on the Senecas, were the Eries.

In the second half of the 1630s the Wendats suffered from several epidemics, which killed about half the people. The hardest hit were the elders, political and cultural leaders (Heidenreich 1978:387). At the same time the Iroquois changed military tactics from hit-and-run raids to extermination, wiping out and / or adopting whole villages at a time, in an attempt to win control of the fur trade. By 1649 the Wendats were forced to leave their country. Some went east into French territory, some were captured and adopted by the Iroquois, some headed west and north to join the Ottawas, and others joined the Tionontatis.

The eastward-moving group of Jesuit-led Wendat refugees arrived at Quebec in 1650. After some wandering they settled in 1697 at Lorette, now officially called Village-des-Hurons. Their descendants remain at Lorette, constituting the Nation Huron-Wendat. According to Steckley (1995), they may be mostly descended from the Attigneenongahac.

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<sup>5</sup>According to Steckley (1985), the Wenro became the Wyandot Turtle clan. The term Wenro itself is cognate with the Wyandot name of the moss-back turtle clan, *āmęřúre' ngyá'wic*, or *awęřúri? dyá?wiš*.

Those that joined the Tionontatis did not escape from the Iroquois, since the Tionontatis were then destroyed in war. Wendat and Tionontati refugees joined the Atiwandaronks in 1649. However, by the 1650s the Atiwandaronks were in turn annihilated. Survivors had two fates. Many ended up captives of the Iroquois, who were also absorbing the remains of the Eries. The others, including fleeing Eries, headed northwest to modern Michigan, where they ended up at Mackinac around 1650 (although other Eries headed south to become the Westos, according to McConnell 1997:182).

According to Tooker (1978), around 1652 this mixed refugee group travelled southwest to modern Wisconsin, at Huron Island near Green Bay. Between the late 1650s and mid 1660s they continued northward on to Chequamegon (Wisconsin), before returning eastward to Mackinac in 1671. Between 1701 and 1704 they then settled to the south near Detroit, Michigan and Anderdon, Ontario. Their descendants there are known today as the Wyandot Band of Anderdon.

In 1738 some Wyandots began moving south to Sandusky (Ohio). Between 1795 and 1807 the Wyandots sold most of their land in Ohio. In 1843 the Indian Removal Act was passed and the Wyandots were pushed westward on to Kansas, in what was to become the area of Kansas City. Their descendants are known today as the Wyandot Nation of Kansas.

As white demand for the Kansas area grew, some Wyandots began moving southward onto Seneca reservations in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). This occurred between 1855 and 1870. Those that made this trip are known today as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

On August 27, 1999 representatives of these four surviving groups met and renewed the Wendat Confederacy.

Since most of the refugee population ancestral to the Wyandots consisted of Tionontatis rather than Wendats, it has been suggested that the Wyandot language is actually Tionontati, and not the modern form of Wendat (Lounsbury 1978; Steckley 1993, 1996). Differences and similarities between classical Wendat, as evidenced primarily by the 16th and 17th century Jesuit works, and modern Wyandot, as evidenced by the 20th century works of Barbeau, will be addressed in chapter 8: *Further Research*.

### 1.3 Status of Wendat / Wyandot Research

Aside from the manuscript dictionaries and grammars previously mentioned, and other than Lagarde (1972, 1980) and Steckley (various), modern work on this branch of Iroquoian has consisted mostly of diachronic phonological investigation, rather than grammatical analysis.

Short word lists and scattered terms appear in many works, including Adelung (1816), Allen (1931), Assall (1827), Balbi (1826), Barbeau (1914, 1915b, 1915c), Barton (1797), Beauchamp (1893), Biggar (1924), Buschmann (1853), Campbell (1879, 1884), Cass (1823), Chafe (1962, 1964), Connelley (1899, 1900, 1920), Finley (1840, 1859), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Gatschet (1881, 1885), Haldeman (1847, 1850, 1860), Hale (1883, 1885), Hewitt (1894), Howse (1850), Johnston (1820), Latham (1846), Lounsbury (1978), McIntosh (1843), Mithun (1979, 1980, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1986), Morgan (1868-70, 1871), J. Parsons (1767), S. Parsons (1793), Powell (1881), Rousseau (1945), Rudes (1976), Schoolcraft (1847), Slight (1844), Taylor (1973), Trigger (1969), and Walker (1852). These works use a variety of orthographies of varying quality.

Short texts appear in *Wyandot Language: Papers* (n.d.) and Munn (n.d.). This latter consists of approximately 63 pages of hand-written hymns, without translation. The legibility varies, but is not as clear as that of Barbeau. Other texts tend to be little more than a paragraph, usually the Paternoster.

Some modern work has used Wyandot data in sorting out the subgrouping within Iroquoian, including Mithun (1981, 1985) and Rudes (1981b).

Wyandot data have also been used for historical work by Rudes (1976) on Tuscarora phonology, Mithun (1986) on development of evidentials, and Chafe (1977) on pronominal distinctions.

Most work has been on historical phonology, exploring the sound changes between Wendat, Wyandot, and the other Iroquoian languages. This is especially explored in Lounsbury (1978), Mithun (1979), Lagarde (1972), and Rudes (1995). The first article concentrates on the entire Iroquoian family, giving rules for phonological changes on p. 338. The second article concentrates more on Northern Iroquoian, giving Wendat and Wyandot sound change rules on pp. 166-168. These rules are usually similar, though often not the same. Lagarde (1972) is an MA thesis with more specialization in Wendat than the articles, although also dealing with all of Northern Iroquoian. Rudes (1995) reconstructs the Proto-Iroquoian phonemic inventory, and stress and lengthening rules.

#### 1.4 Marius C. Barbeau and his Works

Although a few hundred pages of mostly untranslated Wendat texts appear in Fraser (1920),<sup>6</sup> for Wyandot there are extensive collections of translated texts. These are the primary sources for this analysis. Barbeau (1960) is a collection of approximately 253 pages of legible handwritten transcription of Wyandot and typed word glosses, with an additional 51 typed pages of free translation. The orthography used by Barbeau is a semi-regular phonetic one. A long list of lexical items is available in Barbeau (n.d.). A few of his sound recordings exist, stored at the Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

Brief biographies of Barbeau's consultants can be found in Barbeau (1960). Barbeau used both informants and interpreters in recording the texts, transcribing the Wyandot and clarifying through interpreters who spoke both Wyandot and English.<sup>7</sup>

Barbeau (1915a) uses Wyandot, Oneida and Mohawk data to define the five phonologically-conditioned conjugation classes found in Northern Iroquoian languages.

Barbeau (n.d.) is a manuscript dictionary containing 500 stock cards of entries. This manuscript also contains many terms from earlier works, such as Cartier, Chaumonot, Sagard,

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<sup>6</sup>Fraser (1920) contains slightly under 200 pages of untranslated Wendat text, plus an additional 30 pages of Wendat and Latin in parallel columns, and another eight of Wendat with interlinear French glosses.

<sup>7</sup>It should be noted that despite being the last speakers of a dying language, their texts show little signs of morphological or phonological loss, especially considering the complexity of Iroquoian morphology and morphophonemics. There are instances of decay in the use of the intrusive glottal stop (see section 2.16 *Epenthesis and Prothesis*), possible collapse of the distinction between aspirated clusters and unaspirated stops (see section 2.3 *Under-differentiation*), possible simplification of derivational suffixes (see section 5.3.1 *Inchoative*), and uncertainty about the status of particles versus clitics versus prefixes (see sections 4.4 *Word Boundaries* and 4.5 *Anteprepronominals*). Elaboration of which of these are due to decay and which are due to Barbeau are beyond the scope of the present work.

Potier, Hale, and Rabelais' *Pantagrue*. The organization of Wyandot entries is by English word class (e.g., adjectives, adverbs, etc). Some orthographic distinctions are ignored in the sort order for entries within a category (e.g., there is no distinction alphabetically between <e> and <ɛ>, although these are kept distinct in transcription). Alphabetical order is often ignored, and laryngeals might or might not be considered in the alphabetizing. Inconsistencies abound, both within and across entries. A root may appear with different renderings in different examples, beyond standard Iroquoian morphophonemics. The same single example word may be used for several different morpheme cuts, not including allomorphy. Furthermore, Barbeau had difficulties in ascertaining word boundaries (see section 4.4 *Word Boundaries*). Individual words were often broken up into two or more parts. In the texts the parts are adjacent, and so the words are recoverable. In the dictionary, however, the parts are not in context and so the actual original words are not easily recoverable.<sup>8</sup>

According to Lagarde (1972:27), Marius C. Barbeau himself was born March 5, 1882, in Ste-Marie de Beauce, Quebec. According to Hand *et al.* (1950) his birth date was 1883. The latter also states that he went to primary school at the Collège des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes. He received his B.A. in 1903 from the Collège Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, studied at Laval for law (and was admitted to the bar), received his B.Sc. in Anthropology from Oxford in 1910, and studied as well at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes de la Sorbonne and the Ecole d'Anthropologie in Paris. Lagarde (1972) gives his death date as February 28,

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<sup>8</sup>The analytical differences apparent between Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau (1915a) are difficult to reconcile with both works having the same author.

1969, in Ottawa. His fieldwork on Wyandot was performed in the summers of 1911 and 1912.

### 1.5 Methodology

The bulk of the material available is in the form of texts (Barbeau 1960), and these are the primary sources for the analysis presented here. Supplemental sources are Barbeau (1914, 1915a, 1915b, 1915c, n.d.) and Barbeau's archived notes on Wyandot. The latter consist of vocabulary items, partial paradigms, and miscellaneous other notes located at the Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

The original format of the texts by Barbeau included only Wyandot words and word glosses. These were arranged in parallel columns, rather than interlinearly. Words and glosses were co-indexed by numbers. Free translations were placed in a separate section, preceding the parallel texts, and indexed with them by title and text number. These translations are almost identical to the English texts found in Barbeau (1915b). Appendix B contains a sample page from the texts (Barbeau 1960), while Appendix C contains a sample page from Barbeau (n.d.).

In order to make them more useful for the analysis presented here, each text was typed into a separate interlinear database, using the Linguist's Shoebox program, from SIL. On a word by word basis, each of the Wyandot words was linked to an entry in a separate vocabulary database. Difficulties immediately appeared in that there were frequently discrepancies between numbering, glossing, and writing of words. A string of text might be



written by Barbeau as two words, but glossed as one; written as one word, but numbered as two; or any combination of the three factors.

Each vocabulary item had Barbeau's transcription<sup>9</sup>, his word gloss<sup>10</sup>, and the addition of a code to indicate exact source. At this stage, a typical lexical item appeared as:

- (1)   <sup>n</sup>du<sup>u</sup><sup>n</sup>dá'  
      the.arrow  
      TN:21:154:51

The Shoebox program was used to line up glosses and Wyandot forms in the text databases. Furthermore, each line of text was given a source code for reference, based on the index numbers of the first and last words on the line.<sup>11</sup> The line of text for this word appeared as:

- (2)   TN:21:154:49-53  
      ξnóme<sup>ε</sup>      dē'εca'   <sup>n</sup>du<sup>u</sup><sup>n</sup>dá'    ε'ce'cró<sup>n</sup>ga<sup>ε</sup>    tēd<sup>ɪ</sup>  
      a.black.locust the.other    the.arrow    must.thou.make two

After this, the free translation given separately by Barbeau was added to the texts, trying to match the free translation and the word glosses as closely as possible. In many cases,

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<sup>9</sup>Although generally fairly legible, word boundaries were not always clear. That is, the amount of space between words was sometimes non-existent. Furthermore, certain characters, including <sup>ε</sup> and <sup>ε</sup>, were difficult to distinguish from each other.

<sup>10</sup>Barbeau did not indicate whether the word glosses were from the speakers, or were of his own devising. The glosses used non-colloquial English, often re-arranging English word order to roughly parallel Wyandot morpheme order. Archaic phrasing, such as use of *thou* and *thee*, is also frequent.

<sup>11</sup>See chapter 8: *Syntax* for a discussion of the nature of these lines.

different ordering of elements between English and Wyandot forced glosses and translations to be on separate lines. In this stage the texts looked like:

- (3) TN:21:154:49-53  
 ʒnɔ̃mɛ˘ dɛ˘tca˘ ˘du˘u˘dǎ˘ ɛ˘ce˘crɔ˘˘ga˘ tɛdɪ˘  
 a.black.locust the.other the.arrow must.thou.make two  
 black locust wood, and two arrows

As can be seen, one of the word glosses, 'must thou make', does not appear in the free translation. When adjacent lines are added the relationship of the glosses to the free translation becomes clearer:

- (4) TN:21:154:46-48  
 ayɛ˘hǎɔ˘ sǎtǎ˘ʒnɔ˘˘ga˘ na˘ɔ˘˘  
 she.said thou.a.bow.makest that.kind  
 Make a bow of

TN:21:154:49-53  
 ʒnɔ̃mɛ˘ dɛ˘tca˘ ˘du˘u˘dǎ˘ ɛ˘ce˘crɔ˘˘ga˘ tɛdɪ˘  
 a.black.locust the.other the.arrow must.thou.make two  
 black locust wood, and two arrows

TN:21:154:54-57  
 hǎ˘˘rǎ˘ u˘˘gɔ̃hǎ˘rǎ˘ u˘˘skwi˘˘ra˘ da˘˘ɛ˘  
 only dogwood a.switch that.one  
 out of a switch of dogwood.

The lexical database was then used to develop the phonological analysis (see chapter 2: *Phonology*). The resulting phonemicizations were then added to the lexical database, resulting in entries such as:

- (5)    <sup>h</sup>du<sup>h</sup>da<sup>h</sup>  
      du?da?  
      the.arrow  
      TN:21:154:51

The last stage in the development of the lexical database was the morphological analysis. Morphemes and related information were placed in a third type of database, which included both glosses and full translation possibilities. The latter refer to the range of glosses given for a particular form. The entry for 'arrow', for instance, looked like:

- (6)    -?d-  
      arrow  
      arrow  
      noun

There are two rows containing 'arrow' since no other gloss is given in the texts for words with this morpheme. The rows can be different:

- (7)    -?dahkw-  
      drum  
      drum; barrel; bushel; bucket  
      noun

Here the gloss used is 'drum', as it appears as the most frequent gloss in the texts. However, other glosses given include 'barrel', 'bushel', and 'bucket'. With the morphological information added, the resulting lexical entry became:

- (8) "du)" "dǎ)  
du?dǎ?  
d-u-?d-a?  
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-arrow-NOUN  
the.arrow  
TN:21:154:51

A morphological breakdown was then added to each lexical entry individually.<sup>12</sup>

The morphological breakdown was obtained both by the traditional method of comparing variant forms of words with similar meanings, and by the use of comparative evidence. This has proven especially useful in cases where only a limited number of similar forms were available. Without native speakers to ask questions of, cognate forms from other Iroquoian languages have been compared instead.

Although previous modern work has been mostly diachronic in nature, the orientation here is synchronic. The analysis presented is based on surface forms rather than underlying historical reconstructions.

## 1.6 Organization

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of Wyandot, starting with Barbeau's orthography and the difficulties in using it. This is followed by sections detailing consonants, vowels, morphophonemics, and stress.

The next four chapters all deal with aspects of morphology, based on morpheme slot order. A verb minimally consists of three slots:

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<sup>12</sup>Although the Shobox program was designed to function both as a database and as a parser, the parsing function could not be made to work.

Pronominal Prefix	Verb	Aspect Suffix
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**Chart 2: Minimal Verb**

Additional morpheme slots can be added at either end of the word:

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefix	Verb	Aspect Suffix	Attributive Suffix
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**Chart 3: Expanded Verb**

Chapter 3 addresses the pronominal prefixes, giving conjugation classes and charts of the prefixes themselves. Chapter 4 examines the prepronominal prefixes. Chapter 5 discusses verb stem elements, covering the slots for the verb and the aspect suffixes. This includes reflexives, derivational suffixes, temporal suffixes, and the attributives.

Chapter 6 moves on to nouns, which are morphologically simpler than verbs, although noun structure is parallel to that of a minimal verb.

Chapter 7 moves beyond the single word in a brief discussion of syntax.

Finally, chapter 8 examines questions for further research, especially the relationship between Wendat and Wyandot.

Appendices include a Wyandot-English morpheme list, an English-Wyandot index, examples of pages from Barbeau (1960) and Barbeau (n.d.), and sample interlinearized texts.

## 1.7 Morpheme Names

Terminology has varied among Iroquoianists, both in the use of different terms for the same morpheme, and in the use of the same term for different morphemes. Differences between usages here and those of Lounsbury (1953) and Chafe (1967) are shown in chart 4 below. Cf. Foster (1986) for a fuller discussion.

<i>Here</i>	<i>Lounsbury (1953)</i>	<i>Chafe (1967)</i>
Benefactive	dative	dative
Dislocative	purposive	transient
Dualic	dualic	duplicative
Factual	aorist	indicative
Habitual	serial	iterative
Optative	indefinite	optative
Purposive	----	purposive
Reflexive	full reflexive	reciprocal
Repetitive	iterative	repetitive
Semireflexive	semi-reflexive	reflexive
Stative	perfective	descriptive
Undoer	inflective	oppositive

Chart 4: Divergent Terminological Usage

The choice of using the current set of terms is to avoid confusion with the earlier standards, since in some cases they used the same term differently: Lounsbury and Chafe use both purposive and iterative for completely different morphemes. The terminology used here is based on that currently used in Iroquoian studies. Morpheme names are capitalized to distinguish them from generic uses. For example, "the Causative morpheme has a causative meaning" capitalizes the morpheme name but not the general term.

## CHAPTER TWO

### PHONOLOGY

Whereas in most analyses actual utterances are transcribed by the researcher in phonetic detail in order to provide the data for a subsequent phonemic winnowing, the lack of native speakers of Wyandot renders this approach impossible. Here, the transcription system used by Barbeau in various works is the point of departure for a phonemic analysis.

Barbeau's transcription will be discussed first, in terms of which characters are used and the sounds they represent. This will be followed by the difficulties and problems posed by the system, and then the phonemic inventory and allophonic instantiations that can be discerned. Finally, phonemic distribution and alternations will be examined.

#### 2.1 Barbeau's Characters

The following descriptions are taken with little alteration from various Barbeau works, especially Barbeau (1960:57-58) and (1915a, b). They are presented as Barbeau laid them out, in the same order and format, with the only additions being a few notes comparing different descriptions (indented under the main description), and IPA equivalents (on the far right). Additionally, *m* and *n* are placed on separate lines, whereas Barbeau placed them together.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Barbeau's terms *sonant* and *palatal* correspond to modern *voiced* and *velar*, respectively.

## VOWELS

a	as in English <i>mat</i> , and in French <i>parade</i> Barbeau (1915a) hedges with "a vowel closely resembling those in"	[æ ~ a]
e	as in French <i>é</i> - English <i>a</i> in <i>cave</i>	[e ~ e']
ɛ	as in French <i>è</i> - English <i>e</i> in <i>pet</i>	[ɛ]
i	as in French <i>i</i> - English <i>i</i> in <i>fit</i>	[i ~ I]
u	as in French <i>ou</i> , - English <i>o</i> in <i>lose</i>	[u ~ u <sup>w</sup> ]

## NASALIZED VOWELS

ə, ɛ̃, ĩ (rare), the *a*, *e*, *i* above vowels nasalized:

ə̃	as in the French <i>marchand</i>	[ə̃]
ɛ̃	as in the French <i>in</i> , in <i>vin</i>	[ɛ̃]
õ	the open <i>o</i> nasalized as in French <i>bon</i>	[ɔ̃]

## SEMIVOWELS

w	as in the English <i>wine</i>	[w]
y	as in the English <i>yes</i>	[j]

## CONSONANTS

c	as in the English <i>she</i> , - French <i>chat</i>	[ʃ]
j	as in the French <i>jamais</i> followed by a brief <i>y</i> Barbeau (1915a) hedges, with "closely resembling that of French <i>jamais</i> ", and adding that the <i>y</i> is very brief	[ʒ']
s	as in the English <i>sit</i>	[s]
t	as <i>t</i> with a slight aspiration Barbeau (1915a) states "approximately as in English and French" Barbeau (1949) also indicates "followed by a slight aspiration"	[t ~ t <sup>h</sup> ]
d	as in <i>done</i> , often preceded by a weak " Barbeau (1915a) hedges with "approximately" Barbeau (1915b) refers to a "weak <i>n</i> "	[t ~ d ~ "d]
k	as in <i>key</i> Barbeau (1915a) states "approximately as in English"	[k ~ k <sup>h</sup> ~ c ~ c <sup>h</sup> ]
g	the sonant <i>g</i> followed by a <i>y</i> , often preceded by a weak " Barbeau (1915a) uses <i>gy</i> , with a "preceding weak <i>n̄</i> " Barbeau (1915b) also uses <i>gy</i> , described as "sonant <i>g</i> immediately followed by <i>y</i> , often with a preceding weak <i>n̄</i> ", palatalized <i>ng</i> of English <i>sing</i> "	[g̃j ~ "g̃j ~ j ~ j']]
k̃	<i>k</i> followed by <i>y</i> Barbeau (1915a, b) instead use <i>ky</i>	[k <sup>j</sup> ~ k <sup>h</sup> j ~ c ~ c']
m	and	[m]
n	as in English and French	[n ~ n]
n̄	as the <i>n̄</i> in Spanish; the <i>gn</i> in Italian	[ŋ]



r	corresponding to the English r Barbeau (1915b) hedges with "roughly"	[ɹ]
ʀ	rare; deep palatal, tending to disappear Barbeau (1915a, b) lack this character	[unknown]
h	aspiration always followed by a vowel	[h]

Superior letters indicate very brief, and sometimes unvoiced consonants and vowels, as in "dǎtrá'ᵃskwǐjù'ᵃdǐ'

#### DIACRITICAL MARKS

ʔ	glottal stop or catch as in "gá'ᵃwic	[ʔ]
◌̤	breathing after a vowel and before a consonant as in a'cɛk	[h]
◌̇	over a vowel shows the main stress or accent in a word; it usually corresponds to a rising pitch of the voice Barbeau (1915b) refers to this as "high pitch"	
◌̣	minor or weaker accent Barbeau (1915a) uses "secondary"	
◌̄	a raised period after a vowel indicates that it is long, as in ÿó·tɛ'	
◌̆	over a vowel makes it brief: tēhát	

Unmarked vowels are of medium length. Two consecutive brief vowels may be combined into one main accent:

ūrēhə'

Barbeau also uses some additional characters which will be described below. The "superior letters" refer primarily to ʀ, which usually appears before d or after a nasal vowel, as well as to vowels repeated after glottal stop, i.e. i ɛ c f a p o ɔ u.

Barbeau (1915a:25, footnote 3) further describes <t k><sup>13</sup> as "unaspirated surds", which expressly contrasts with the description of <t> as having a "slight aspiration".

Additional characters not mentioned but used include:

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<sup>13</sup>Angled brackets <X> will be used for Barbeau's transcription as an orthography, with square brackets [X] reserved for phonetic interpretations thereof. Slashes /X/ will be used for phonemicizations.

- <sup>n</sup> in Barbeau (1915a), appearing in the environment <sup>n</sup>gy  
apparently <sup>n</sup> assimilating to a velar environment<sup>14</sup>
- <sup>ñ</sup> in Barbeau (1915b), appearing in the environment <sup>n</sup>gy  
apparently <sup>n</sup> assimilating to a velar environment
- ç rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)  
presumably equivalent to cy, on the analogy k:k::c:ç
- h rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)  
presumably equivalent to hy
- w rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)
- y rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)
- s rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)
- r rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)
- ÿ rarely used, in Barbeau (1960)<sup>15</sup>

In general the different descriptions of the symbols used are in agreement with each other, differing mostly in the amount of hedging Barbeau used in comparing Wyandot sounds to similar sounds in other languages. The use of different symbols in different works can be ascribed to the demands of typesetting. Barbeau (1960) and Barbeau (n.d.) are both handwritten. In published articles, e.g. Barbeau (1915a,b), Barbeau would use ky for typesetters unable to create k̄, while for those unable to print é he would use e´, and so on.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, although his handwriting is mostly clear, there can be difficulty in distinguishing ç, ÿ, ´, ` , and · from each other.

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<sup>14</sup>Note this use of <sup>n</sup> as velar, while ñ is described as palatal.

<sup>15</sup>The character <p> also appears, but only in kúpi, a call for horses.

<sup>16</sup>Among Barbeau's personal correspondence can be found some letters describing possible procedures for photographic reproduction of his handwritten texts and dictionary, as means of avoiding the difficulties of typesetting. Fortunately, modern electronic typography can render such problems nearly moot.

As for the use of the under-arc  $\underset{\cdot}{\_}$  as a diacritic, Boas *et al.* (1917:10-11) state that it "is regularly used to indicate a point of articulation in front of the standard one adopted for the sound indicated by the simple character." That is, since *k* is velar (in modern terms),  $\underset{\cdot}{k}$  is palatal. Thus,  $\underset{\cdot}{c}$  and  $\underset{\cdot}{h}$  should indicate fronted versions of *c* and *h*.

It is not clear what  $\underset{\cdot}{r}$  as a "deep palatal" might be. Replacing *palatal* with *velar* to modernize the term is not especially helpful, as *deep velar* is not clear either. However, Boas *et al.* (1917:13) refer to  $\underset{\cdot}{r}$  as "cerebral", i.e. retroflex. Whether this is Barbeau's intention is unknown. It should be pointed out that the 19th century phonetician Samuel Haldeman, in doing field work on Wyandot, described *r* as "the smooth English sound, never vibrant" (Haldeman 1847:269).

Difficulties in ascertaining the phonetic nature of the Barbeau characters are readily apparent. For instance, vowels are often described as similar to phonemic equivalents in French and English, even though French and English vowels are often quite different phonetically. The offglides on English [e' u"] do not appear on French [e u], for one example. For another, although beginning students of French, if they are native speakers of English, may often perceive French [a] as [æ], the two are phonetically distinct. Although the nasal vowels are described as nasalized versions of the oral vowels, the descriptions of oral <a> as [æ ~ a] do not correspond to the description of nasal <ā> as [ã].<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>The descriptions are less inconsistent if Barbeau was referring to his own Québécois speech rather than a European standard. Around 1911 he recorded Prosper Vincent singing Wendat songs at Lorette, Quebec. At the beginning of each recording is a brief identification in French, presumably by Barbeau. The pronunciation given of *Vincent* uses the nasal vowels [ẽ â], as opposed to [ɛ ã].

Orthographic renderings here will follow whatever transcription variant is used in the original source. The single exception involves a shared "accent" of the type indicated under "Diacritical Marks" above by:

(9) ūṛḗḣḗ'

Note that in the original there is but a single acute accent mark, which is placed above an arc linking the two breves. Here such linked accent marks, as well as accents placed over an intervocalic consonant, will be represented by separate equivalent marks over both vowels concerned. Thus, in the example of ūṛḗḣḗ' the single acute and linking sign have been replaced by two acutes.

There are several difficulties in using Barbeau's orthographic system, one of which is the use of non-standard characters. For instance, <ḣ> represents the string ky, while <ḡ> and <ḣ> stand for h and ʔ. This is problematic for reasons of interpretation, in that there is no accepted standard for the characters, as there is for the IPA, for instance. Furthermore, <ḡ> and <ḣ> can be difficult to distinguish in handwriting. Typographically, obscure symbols are harder to access for publication purposes. A further difficulty is that there is an abundance of stackable diacritics reducing ease of reading. Barbeau's orthography makes more sense in light of the dates of his fieldwork, centering around 1912.<sup>18</sup> However, this does not explain why Barbeau retained the system in publishing Barbeau (1960).

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<sup>18</sup>When, for example, uvulars were called velars, velars were called palatals, and palatals were called prepalatals. Hence, Barbeau's description of ḡ as palatal.

Two more characteristics of the Barbeau system are over-differentiation and under-differentiation in the characters used. Over-differentiation is only problematic in that the transcription is cluttered and awkward (and is in fact useful for discovering allophonic variation). On the other hand, under-differentiation is a problem, since some contrastive distinctions may be lost.

## 2.2 Over-differentiation

It is clear from only a few examples that the system employed by Barbeau is over-differentiated in certain respects. The same word may appear with several different patterns of length, stress and nasalization, as in chart 5. Recall that the diacritic *̃* indicates nasalization, *ˈ* main accent, *ˋ* minor accent, and *˘* shortness. These diacritic patterns are shown in the rightmost column apart from the letters, to make them more readily apparent.

a.	ahɛhaǫʔ 'he said' TN:28:251:40 <sup>19</sup>	ˈ
b.	ahɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:12:113:18	ˈ ˈ
c.	ahɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:01:062:20; TN:02:063:36	ˈ ˈ
d.	ǎhɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:12:114:15	ˈ ˈ
e.	ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:01:060:09	ˈ ˈ
f.	ahɛ̃ˈhǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:01:060:03	ˈ ˈ
g.	ahɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:20:145:46; etc	ˈ
h.	ǎhɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:17:132:14; TN:28:246:41	ˈ ˈ
i.	ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:02:068:03a	ˈ ˈ
j.	ahɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:18:133:30	ˈ ˈ
k.	ahɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:12:114:58; TN:20:147:01; TN:24:190:03	ˈ ˈ
l.	ǎhɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:15:125:28	ˈ ˈ
m.	ahɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:28:246:18; etc	ˈ ˈ
n.	ahɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:02:068:12; etc	ˈ ˈ
o.	àhɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:20:146:28	ˈ ˈ
p.	ǎhɛ̃haǫʔ 'he said' TN:28:245:56; etc	ˈ ˈ
q.	ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:02:064:31	ˈ ˈ
r.	ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:02:064:48; etc	ˈ ˈ

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<sup>19</sup>Examples are in one of two formats. These examples, in the shorter format: **ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ 'he said' TN:02:068:03** list first the original transcription by Barbeau **ǎhɛ̃hǎǫʔ**, the gloss 'he said', and the source code **TN:02:068:03**. The longer format will be described when it appears.

s.	ǎhḗhǎó' 'he said' TN:12:113:11	˘˘˘˘ ˙˙˙˙
t.	ǎhḗhǎó' 'he said' TN:24:194:11	˘˘˘˘ ˙˙˙˙
u.	ǎhḗhǎó' 'he said' TN:29:259:44	˘˘˘˘ ˙˙˙˙

Chart 5: Non-contrasting Patterns of Length, Stress and Nasalization

Each of these shows a different pattern of diacritics.

In the examples in chart 5 all but one of the forms have final nasalization and stress <ó>. In example (j), the final <ó> remains nasalized, though unstressed. However, every other vowel differs. Nine examples (d, e, h, i, l, p-s) have a short initial <ǎ>, while another nine (a-c, f, g, j, k, m, n) have an <a> of normal length. One (o) has an initial <à> with secondary stress. In the other two examples (t, u), with nasalized initials, one is short <ǎ> and the other regular length <a>.

In five examples (a, b, d, g, h) the penultimate vowel is plain <a>, in three versions (c, e, f) a short <ǎ>, in six (k-m, o-q) a nasal <a>, in another six (i, n, r-u) a short nasal <ǎ>, and in one (j) a stressed nasal <á>.

In ten versions (b-e, k, n, q, r, t, u) the antepenult is nasalized with secondary stress <ḗ>, and in one (i) it is short with secondary stress, and no nasalization <ḗ>. In one (a) it is oral, without stress or shortness <ε>, and another (j) oral and short <ḗ>. In six (g, h, l, m, o, p) there is a plain nasal <ḗ>, and one (s) a short nasal <ḗ>. And in the remaining example (f) it is nasalized with secondary stress as well as being followed by a nasal <ḗ<sup>n</sup>>.

Vowels may also appear in different qualities, which do not contrast:

- (10) a)<sup>a</sup>wé·hɔ̃ 'she thought' TN:04:082:24; TN:17:131:27  
 a)<sup>a</sup>wé·hɔ̃ 'she thought' TN:01:059:14; TN:04:079:41

In example 10 the penultimate vowel is <e>, but in the second <ɛ>, although this distinction in pronunciation does not lead to a distinction in meaning in this instance. In other cases <ɛ> alternates with <ɛ̃>, so that <ɛ> cannot be seen as simply a variant of <e>. Any phonemicization of Barbeau's materials must take into consideration that not all of his characters represent distinct phonemes.

### 2.3 Under-differentiation

Conversely, the Barbeau transcription system may be under-differentiated in certain respects. For example, all living Iroquoian languages contrast the simple phonemes /t/ and /k/ with the clusters /th/ and /kh/.<sup>20</sup> However, neither cluster appears in the Barbeau transcription, with the exception of a small number of occurrences of <t̃>, including:

- (11) yátsí·rũt̃ 'she stops it' TN:19:138:51  
 té̃·t̃ 'not I mean' ('I don't mean ...') TN:28:236:13<sup>21</sup>

Note that these are both final <t̃>. Compare the following:

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<sup>20</sup>Usually phonetically realized as [t k] and [t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>]. These are frequently represented as <d g> and <t k> in orthographies intended for English-speaking learners. In Iroquoian /th kh/ are considered clusters rather than aspirated stops due to various rules, including morpheme boundary phenomena.

<sup>21</sup>Glosses in parentheses are renderings of Barbeau's glosses into more colloquial English.



- (12) **yatsí·rut** 'obstruction' TN:18:133:54  
**téʔt** 'not I mean' ('I don't mean ...') TN:28:237:43

The final aspiration may indicate simply release of the final consonant. Only one non-final example of <ʔ> in Wyandot occurs in Barbeau's texts:

- (13) **aʔwátíʔt** 'they pound corn' TN:26:203:25

Although the cognate of 'pound' in other Iroquoian languages has an aspirated cluster in this position, e.g. Cayuga *-theʔt-* (Mithun & Henry 1982), other examples of this morpheme in Wyandot lack the aspiration:

- (14) **watítʔt** 'they pound corn' TN:04:078:01

Wendat, the putative ancestor of Wyandot, maintained the distinction between /t k/ and the clusters /th kh/, the latter written as <θ χ>. In addition, Wendat had <d g> as in Wyandot. These are shown with examples from Bruté de Rémur (1800). In 15 both <θ> and <χ>, i.e. /th kh/, are shown.

- (15) **θo iondesti de χichias ?**  
'combien y-a-t-il de temps que tu es ici?'

The former appears in the first word and the latter in the last. Instances of <t> and <k> appear in 16:

- (16) akesarakʎat  
'chaise, siège; pulpit, seat'

One word contains both characters.<sup>22</sup> The letters <d> and <g> also both appear. An example of <g> is 17:

- (17) ostengʎarata  
'bleu; blue'

The character <d> is demonstrated in 18:

- (18) ʎdèta  
'groseilles; a currant tree'

Either Barbeau's transcription system fails to represent the distinction between /t k/ and /th kh/, or Wyandot is the only Iroquoian language to have lost the distinction, merging all /th/ with /t/ and all /kh/ with /k/.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>The character ʎ represents <ou> in French orthography, i.e. [w] before vowels and [u] before consonants.

<sup>23</sup>The loss of a /th kh/ versus /t k/ distinction, in the additional presence of <d g>, would make the system more like English.

The stop correspondences between Barbeau's orthography for Wyandot and cognate forms in other Iroquoian languages are given in chart 6:

Wyandot (Barbeau)	Wendat	5 Nations
t	θ	th
	t	t
k	χ	kh
	k	k
d	d	n
g	g	
n	n	

Chart 6: Orthographic Correspondences for Stops

Note that the 5 Nations branch of Northern Iroquoian has two oral stop series, /th kh/ and /t k/, while Wyandot, also with two oral orthographic series, has different ones: <t k> and <d g>.<sup>24</sup> Wendat however has three orthographic oral stop series, <θ χ>, <t k>, and <d g>.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Although Tuscarora also shares the <th kh> and <t k> distinctions, it is left out of the chart due to complications arising from sound changes where generally \*t became ?n, and \*n became t.

<sup>25</sup>Wyandot <d g n> are all descended from \*n. Generally, before a glide and an oral vowel \*n became <g>. Before a nasal vowel (with an optional intervening glide) \*n remained <n>. Before an oral vowel \*n became <d>. However, both <d> and <n> can appear outside of the historically conditioning environments, and so are not treated as allophones. Cf. sections 2.5 *Consonant Allophones*, 2.8 *Comparative Perspective on Consonants*, 2.9 *Further Notes on d*, and 2.10 *Further Notes on g*.

Since English-based orthographies for Iroquoian languages use <d g> to represent /t k/ and <t k> to represent /th kh/, it may be argued that the presence of both <d g> and <t k> in Barbeau's orthography indicates this distinction. Thus, no examples of <t k> should be found, as these sounds are represented already by the simple stops <t k>. The influence of English on Iroquoian orthographies is shown below:

<i>Phone</i>	<i>Iroquoian Phonemicization</i>	<i>English-speaker Interpretation</i>	<i>English-based Orthography</i>
t <sup>h</sup>	th	t	t
k <sup>h</sup>	kh	k	k
t	t	d	d
k	k	g	g

Chart 7: Alternative Representations of Oral Stops

Note in chart 7 how an English speaker would interpret and transcribe the aspirated versus unaspirated stops. An English-based orthography would include <d g>, just as Barbeau includes <d g>.

However, this hypothesis is disproven by the fact that Barbeau's <d> is not cognate with /t/ in the other Iroquoian languages. Rather, it is cognate with /n/. Compare the following words for 'bread' in Cayuga (Mithun & Henry 1982) and Wyandot:

- (19) o-náʔta:-ʔ 'bread'<sup>26</sup>  
 dū-dáʔtār-aʔ 'the bread' TN:04:084:26

In this example the Cayuga root has both /n/ and /t/. The Wyandot cognate has <d> instead of <n>, but uses <t> in the same position as Cayuga. The same Cayuga word in an English-based orthography appears as (Kick *et al* 1988):

- (20) onáʔda:ʔ 'bread'

Note here that the Cayuga /t/ is written as <t> in 19, but <d> in 20. However, the phone written variously as <t> or <d> in Cayuga is written <t> in the Wyandot cognate, while the Wyandot <d> is <n> in both Cayuga orthographies.

Therefore Barbeau did not interpret unaspirated [t] as an English speaker would, as <d>, and thus Barbeau's <t> does not automatically correspond to just /th/.

By the same token, <k> and <g> are not simple English-biased misrepresentations of [kh] and [k], as <g> is an allophone of /d/ and thus also cognate with /n/ (see discussion under 2.5 *Consonant Allophones*).

Having shown that <d g> are not cognate with /t k/, it remains to be shown that <t k> can be cognate with either /t k/ or /th kh/ in other Iroquoian languages. Compare the following Wyandot forms and Cayuga (Mithun & Henry 1982) cognates:

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<sup>26</sup>Hyphens are used to separate strings, whether morphological in nature or not, that address the point in question. A full morphological breakdown is not always supplied in this chapter.

- (21) a. Wyandot:  
 ǎ-hàti-cró'ga' 'they make' TN:07:100:40
- b. Cayuga:  
 hati-?tṛehtq̄:nihs 'mechanics (males)' (lit. 'they make cars')

In 21 the pronominal prefix appears in both languages as *-hati-*, with Wyandot <ǎ> in 21a corresponding to Cayuga /t/ in 21b. However, <ǎ> can also be found where related languages have /th/:

- (22) a. Wyandot:  
 tāha-rá·tḡ-→ 'there he climbed up' TN:29:258:62
- b. Cayuga:  
 tat-rá:thḡ-h 'climb up here!'

Wyandot *-ratḡ-* in 22a corresponds to Cayuga *-rathḡ-* in 22b. With this root, then, Wyandot <ǎ> corresponds to /th/.

Wyandot <k> can be cognate with /k/ or /kh/ in related languages, as shown with examples from Mohawk (G. Michelson 1973).

- (23) a. Wyandot:  
 nǎhu-gák-a' 'he got married' TN:18:134:45-46
- b. Mohawk:  
 waké-nyak-s 'I get married'

The <k> of Wyandot *-gak-* 'marry' in 23a corresponds to /k/ in Mohawk *-nyak-* 'get married' in 23b (cf. discussion following example 26). Conversely, Wyandot <k> of *-tsikeʔt-* 'sugar' in 24a corresponds to Mohawk /kh/, as in *-tsikheʔt-* 'sugar' in 24b:

- (24) a. Wyandot:  
       du-tsīkεʔt-aʔ 'the sugar lump' TN:14:123:30-31
- b. Mohawk:  
       o-tsīkhè:t-a 'sugar'

Note the /kh/ cluster in Mohawk, but the simple <k> in Wyandot.

Furthermore, Barbeau fails to write <h> across morpheme boundaries after <ʔ>. That is, when a morpheme beginning in <h> follows one ending in <ʔ>, the <h> disappears.

- (25) a. tūsa-h-āráʔtāt 'there again he runs' ('he runs there again') TN:28:243:38-40
- b. aʔʔ-āráʔtat 'he runs' TN:19:138:53

In 25a the masculine singular *-h-* appears with the verb *-araʔt-* 'run', after <a>.

However, in 25b the same verb with the same pronoun lacks an overt <h> after <ʔ>.

The status of <h>-initial morphemes after <k>-final ones is more complicated, due to historical changes whereby generally \*k became y unless "protected" by an adjacent consonant.

<i>Proto-phones</i>	<i>Modern reflexes</i>
*k	y
*Ck	(C)k

Chart 8: Development of \*k

Several exceptions to this pattern have been left out of chart 8. As a general rule, intervocalic and prevocalic \*k became y, while \*k after another consonant remained k. As previously noted, the verb 'marry / get married' in cognate languages is *-nyak-* (G. Michelson 1973 for Mohawk, Mithun & Henry 1982 for Cayuga). The following example shows three forms of this verb in Wyandot, in the three basic aspects (which are treated in chapter 5: *Verb Base*):

- (26) a.    āyè· - "gá<sup>k</sup> 'I married' TN:02:067:25  
           b.    dētàgū - "gás 'that they get married' TN:07:098:45  
           c.    ūsahūti - "gá<sup>k</sup>ka<sup>ʔ</sup> 'they (2) married' TN:02:071:12

The Wyandot root is *-<sup>ʔ</sup>gay- / -<sup>ʔ</sup>gak-*. In 26a there is no overt suffix (the <y> being written as <ḡ>), in 26b, <s> (the resultant <ys> cluster is reduced to just <s>). In 26c, however, there is <k> instead of <y>, before an <a> suffix. Retention of \*k implies the historical presence of another consonant (see section 2.15 *Further Notes on y*). In this case, the cognate suffix in other Northern Iroquoian languages (the Punctual - see section 5.4.3) has an allomorph *-haʔ*. Thus it can be inferred that the Wyandot suffix was originally also *-haʔ*. A combination of the morpheme *-<sup>ʔ</sup>gay-* 'marry' with a following morpheme that is <h>-initial results in <k>. It can be argued that <k>, here, must represent an aspirated cluster



/kh/ since if the <k> did not occur next to a consonant, it would be <y>. On the other hand, it could be argued that <k> was retained historically for this reason, but that since then the aspiration has been lost.

To summarize, Barbeau's <t> corresponds to both /t/ and /th/ in cognate languages. Barbeau's <k> corresponds to both /k/ and /kh/ in cognate languages. English speakers interpret general Iroquoian /t k/ as <d g>, and Iroquoian /th kh/ as <t k>. However, this is not evidence that Barbeau's orthography is English-based, since his <d g n> are all cognate with /n/ in general Iroquoian. Thus it is not clear whether Wyandot has reduced all obstruent + *h* clusters to just the obstruent, or whether Barbeau's transcription is deficient.

Two possible ways to ascertain whether there has been phonological change or whether this is a case of orthographic deficiency are to examine Barbeau's transcriptions of other Iroquoian languages, and to check others' transcriptions of Wyandot. Unfortunately, Barbeau's examples from other languages are ambiguous. The following examples are from Barbeau (1959), with equivalents from Cayuga (Mithun & Henry 1982) and Mohawk (G. Michelson 1973). The English gloss refers to the entry in Barbeau (1959).

(27) /t/ as <t> 'feet'  
ohsi?ta? (Cayuga)  
ʔu'si·ta'

(28) /t/ as <d> 'feet'  
ohsi:ta (Mohawk)  
ʔo'si'dε

- (29) /th/ as <t> 'that one'  
 thi:k<sub>ʌ</sub> (Mohawk)<sup>27</sup>  
 ti·gə·
- (30) /th/ as <tʰ> 'cold'  
 yothó:re (Mohawk)  
 yutʰó·reʰ
- (31) /k/ as <k> 'nails'  
 ʌkátketeʔ (Mohawk)  
 agatʰkědeʰ
- (32) /k/ as <g> 'arm'  
 khnɛtsháʔkeh (Cayuga)  
 knɛʰtsʰaʰge
- (33) /kh/ as <k> 'my child'  
 kheyʌ:ʔa (Mohawk)  
 keyə·ʔəʰ
- (34) /kh/ as <kʰ> 'bread'  
 sate:khó:nih (Cayuga)  
 kʰó·niʰ

As can be seen from these examples, Barbeau writes the simple stops /t k/ in other Iroquoian languages as both <t k> and <d g>. Additionally, he writes the aspirated clusters /th kh/ as both <tʰ kʰ> and <tʰ kʰ>.

Ascertaining the status of aspiration and stops in Wyandot using the transcriptions of other researchers is also problematic. For the most part these are of poor quality, although there may be indications that aspirated clusters and unaspirated stops did indeed fall together:

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<sup>27</sup>For ease in comparison across languages, certain redundant information has been added to examples from other languages. In particular, nasalization has been indicated on ʌ and ʌ in Mohawk and Oneida, and ʌ has been used instead of v.

- (35) a. kiarascooa 'we set off, thou and I'  
 b. u·sěkará(śkwa)<sup>a</sup> 'back let us go' ('let's go back') TN:19:137:53

Here 35a, from Gallatin (1848:cxxx), shows the first person inclusive dual agent *-k-* written as <ki>. The second example, 35b, shows an equivalent form by Barbeau. Since Gallatin used <ki> rather than <gi>, the stop may have been aspirated like in English. Unfortunately, many early recordings of Iroquoian languages use English voiceless stops where the Iroquoian languages have unaspirated stops, as shown by the neuter agent prefix *-ka-* in many place-names: Canajoharie, Canandaigua, Cattaraugus, Caughnawaga, etc. The loss of Connelley's dictionary (section 1.1 *History of Wyandot Linguistics*) is especially regrettable in that Connelley apparently had both a good ear and a consistent transcription system.

If Wyandot did collapse unaspirated stops and aspirated clusters, then there would be resultant ambiguous forms, as in examples 25a and 25b where the masculine singular agent, *-h-*, disappears in Barbeau's orthography. Some pronominal prefixes contrast solely due to <h>, such as *-hu-* masculine singular patient and *-u-* feminine-zoic singular patient; *-hi-* masculine dual agent and *-i-* non-masculine dual agent. For other pairs see the pronominal prefix charts in chapter 3: *Pronominal Prefixes*.

## 2.4 Consonants

This section details the inventory of consonant phonemes in Wyandot, their distribution, and their allophones.

The symbols used for consonants by Barbeau are <t ʔ k ʔk ʔk ʔ d ʔd g ʔg j s ʰ c ç h ʰ m n ʰ ñ r ʀ r ʷ w ʸ y ʸ ỹ>. These are displayed in the following table:

	<i>labial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<i>voiceless stop</i>		t	ʔ	k	ʔ
<i>prenasalized voiceless stop</i>		ʔt	ʔʔ	ʔk	
<i>voiced stop</i>		d	g		
<i>prenasalized voiced stop</i>		ʔd	ʔg		
<i>voiceless fricative</i>		s ʰ	c		ç h
<i>voiced fricative</i>			j		
<i>nasal</i>	m	n ʰ	ñ	ŋ	
<i>rhotic</i>		r ʀ			
<i>glide</i>	w ʷ		y ʸ ỹ		

Chart 9: Barbeau Consonant Characters

Because their place of articulation is unclear, the voiceless fricatives ç and h and the rhotic ʀ have been left out. They will be described in more detail below. The term "alveolar" for the second column is used here with the caveat that Barbeau was not explicit in his description of the place of articulation of this series. These are described as both like English, and thus alveolar, and also like French, and thus dental. For convenience, this place of articulation will be referred to as "alveolar"; however, these consonants may be dental, or may vary between both alveolar and dental areas.

Some of these symbols are treated here as digraphs because they are either described as a sequence of sounds, written as multiple characters in printed works, or both:

- (36) <k̥> = <ky>  
 <g> = <gy>  
 <ç> = <cy>  
 <h̥> = <hy>  
 <ñ̥> = <ny>

This variety of consonant signs can be reduced to a much smaller set of consonant phonemes, as arrayed in the following chart:

	<i>labial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<i>voiceless stop</i>		t		k	ʔ
<i>voiced stop</i>		d			
<i>voiceless fricative</i>		s	ʃ		h
<i>voiced fricative</i>			ʒ		
<i>nasal</i>	(m)	n			
<i>rhotic</i>		r			
<i>glide</i>	w		y		

Chart 10: Wyandot Consonant Phonemes

The first series, /t k ʔ/, are voiceless stops. Although described by Barbeau as both unaspirated and aspirated, the voiceless stop series is treated as unaspirated here since Barbeau's transcription system fails to differentiate between /t k/ and /tʰ kʰ/. The voiced stop series consists solely of /d/. There are three voiceless fricatives, /s ʃ h/. The single voiced fricative is /ʒ/. The nasals are /m n/. (m) is placed in parentheses since in almost all cases it can be shown to be an allophone of /w/. See section 2.5 *Consonant Allophones*, and example 48. Because there are a small number of unexplained <m>, however, it is included as a marginal phoneme. The single rhotic is /r/. There are two glides, /w y/.

The labial category consists only of /w/. The alveolar series is the most developed, with voiced, voiceless, and nasal stops, as well as a voiceless fricative and a rhotic. The palatal series lacks stops, consisting solely of fricatives and a glide. There is one velar, /k/, while the glottal series contains a stop and a fricative.

An unusual feature of this system is that there is a single voiced stop, /d/, contrasting with a voiceless stop /t/. Since /k/ has no voiced counterpart, there is a gap in the system. Another unusual feature is the presence of a voiced fricative /ʒ/. Furthermore, no other Iroquoian language has a voicing distinction, leaving Wyandot unique within Iroquoian. This particular fricative is also unusual cross-linguistically, in that there is a /ʒ ʒ/ contrast without a corresponding /s z/ contrast.

## 2.5 Consonant Allophones

Some phonemes have allophones distinct enough to have been recorded by Barbeau. This section discusses those allophones that can be discerned from his transcription. Strings of phones under discussion in the allophone sections, whether forming a morpheme or not, will be separated by parentheses in the Barbeau transcription line.

There is free variation between [d] and [ʰd], as shown in 37:

- (37) [d] ~ [ʰd]<sup>28</sup>
- a.    **tayě(mě·d)úrǽhəʔ**  
       **tayewè:dúrǽhəʔ**  
       **taye-wəd-urə-haʔ**  
       **2,sg:1,sg-voice-find-IMP**  
       **'thou my desire findest out' ('find out what I want')**  
       **TN:04:088:18**
- b.    **ǎhǎ(mě·ʰd)úrǽhəʔ**  
       **ahawè:dúrǽhəʔ**  
       **a-ha-wəd-urə-haʔ**  
       **FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-voice-find-PUNC**  
       **'he her desire finds out' ('he found out what she wants')**  
       **TN:04:088:47**

Note that the final phoneme of the morpheme *-mǽ·d-* 'word' (phonemically *-wəd-*) appears as <d> in 37a, and <<sup>h</sup>d> in 37b.

The same variation holds for [g] and [ʰg], which are allophones of /d/ before glides:

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<sup>28</sup>These examples are in a longer format than earlier examples, with the following structure.

**tayěmǽ·dúrǽhəʔ**  
**tayewè:dúrǽhəʔ**  
**taye-wəd-urə-haʔ**  
**2,sg:1,sg-voice-find-IMP**  
**'thou my desire findest out'**  
**TN:04:088:18**

First is the original transcription, followed by the phonemicization, then the morphological breakdown, followed by the morphological glosses, then a gloss for the whole word, and finally the source code. Lines may be left out when not pertinent.

- (38) [g] ~ [ˠg]
- a.     ǎhi·(gǎha)  
           ahi:dyáha  
           a-hi-dya-ha  
           FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
           'they (2) eat'  
           TN:04:081:34
- b.     ǎhǎti(ˠgǎha·)  
           ahatidyáha:  
           a-hati-dya-ha  
           FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
           '(for) them to eat'  
           TN:03:076:28

Note that the initial phoneme of *-dya-* 'eat' appears as <g> in 38a, and <ˠg> in 38b.

The status of [g] and [ˠg] as allophones of /d/ is an extension of another rule found in Wyandot, as well as Cayuga and some Mohawk dialects, alternating t and k (see section 2.14 Phonemic Alternations):<sup>29</sup>

- (39) /t/ → k / \_y           Wyandot, Cayuga, some Mohawk  
       /d/ → g / \_y           Wyandot

Otherwise, \*<dy> does not occur, and [g] only appears before glides. (<gw> does occur, but will be discussed later. See 2.10 *Further Notes on g*).

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<sup>29</sup>This rule will be modified in section 2.15 *Further Notes on y*.



- (40) /d/ → [g] /   y
- a. nāhāti(‘crò·'g)a'  
 nahátihšrò:dya?  
 n-a-hati-hšròdy-a?  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC  
 'now they made'  
 TN:37:293:05-06
- b. hūti(‘crò'dí)  
 hutìhšròdí?  
 huti-hšròdi-?  
 MASC,pl,PAT-make-STAT  
 'they had made'  
 TN:37:293:59

Note that in these different inflections, the form for 'make', *-hšròdy-* / *-hšròdi-* ( *-cròg-* / *-cròdi-*), alternates between /di/, written <di>, and /dy/, written <g>.<sup>30</sup>

Barbeau refers to the "deep palatal" <ɾ>. This is an allophone of /r/ before /h/, as in the following examples:

- (41) /r/ → [ɾ] /   h
- a. dā'ú·(r)hə?  
 da?ú:rhə?  
 d-a?-u-rhə-ha?  
 PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC  
 'the next day'  
 TN:04:088:05

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<sup>30</sup>See also section 2.15 *Further Notes on y*.

- b. **dīyá·(r)h**i<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 diyá·rhi?  
 di-ya-rhi-?  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN<sup>31</sup>  
 'that tree'  
 TN:03:074:28

Unfortunately, the exact phonetic nature of this "deep palatal, tending to disappear" is unknown. An example where r disappears is:

(42) /r/ → Ø / \_h (optionally)

- a. **dīyá·(h)**i<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 diyá·hi?  
 di-ya-rhi-?  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN  
 'around the tree'  
 TN:03:075:43

- b. **dīyá·(r)h**i<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 diyá·rhi?  
 di-ya-rhi-?  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN  
 'around the tree'  
 TN:03:075:34-35

Here the r is present in the second example (as r̥), but missing in the first. This can also happen after š:

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<sup>31</sup>Although a noun root, *-rhi-* 'tree' anomalously takes some verbal prefixes. See chapter 4: *Prepronominal Prefixes* and chapter 6: *Nouns*.

- (43) /r/ → Ø / ṣ̌ (optionally)
- a.    āhāti·(c)ḡ·ga'  
       ahāti:šḡ:dya?  
       a-hati-hšḡḡdi-a?  
       FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC  
       'they (are) to make' ('they made')  
       TN:07:099:48
- b.    āhàti·(cr)ḡ<sup>h</sup>ga'  
       ahàti:šḡḡdya?  
       a-hati-hšḡḡdi-a?  
       FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC  
       'they make'  
       TN:07:100:40

Examples can also occur where the /r/ seems to have been written afterwards:

- (44) dā'ú(')hḡhḡ'  
       da?úrḡhḡ?  
       d-a?-u-rḡhḡ-ha?  
       PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC  
       'the next morning'  
       TN:28:254:20-21

The superscript <sup>h</sup> appears to have been a correction or afterthought.

The labiovelar glide /w/ has an allophone [m] in the vicinity of a nasal vowel, with an optional intervening glottal stop /ʔ/.

- (45) /w/ → [m] /  $\_ \bar{Y}$   
 āhǎ(m̥)·<sup>̄</sup>dūr̥hǎ  
 ahaw̥è:dúr̥hǎ?  
 a-hǎ-w̥əd-ur̥-hǎ?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-voice-find-PUNC  
 'he her desire finds out' ('he found out what she wants')  
 TN:04:088:47

Note that here /w/ is anticipatorily (or regressively) nasalized to [m] before a nasal vowel, /ɛ̃/. This nasalization can also be perseverative (or progressive), affecting a /w/ following a nasal vowel.

- (46) /w/ → [m] /  $\bar{Y} \_$   
 āh(ò̃m)ǎɛdǎ·q̃  
 ahò̃waedǎ:q̃?  
 a-hq̃wa-Yeda-q̃?  
 FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-catch-PUNC  
 'they him get hold of' ('they got hold of him')  
 TN:27:232:09

In this example /w/ becomes [m] due to the preceding /q/. This nasalization may also occur when a glottal stop occurs between the nasal vowel and /w/.

- (47) /w/ → [m] / Y ? \_  
 ahăyqñ(ò)m)ă'cĕ"dré·  
 ahayqnyò?wahşędré:  
 a-hayq-nyò?wahşe-dre  
 FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-bill-tie.PUNC<sup>32</sup>  
 'he their bills tied up' ('he tied their bills up')  
 TN:11:110:16

Nasalization in this example occurs despite the intervening glottal stop. There are a small number of <m>s that do not occur in the environment of a nasal segment. Often, a nearby segment is nasal, but not indicated as such. However, the <m> can be seen to still be /w/ when those forms are compared to other examples of the same form, or to other members of the same paradigm.

Those rare cases of <m> which cannot yet be shown to be due to nasalization of /w/ will be indicated in the phonemicization as /m/.

- (48) măhă'cănó·  
 mähahşanó:  
 'most so' ('very much')  
 TN:02:064:05

In this example there is an initial <m> preceding a nasal <ă>. Since there is no \*ă phoneme, it is unclear how <m> arises, unless nasalization spread across the entire word from the last vowel /q/, skipping the penultimate vowel, and nasalizing initial /w/.

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<sup>32</sup>Although aspect suffixes normally have their own morphological slot (see chapter 5: *Verb Stem Elements*), occasionally no overt suffix appears. In such cases the aspect is treated as fused with the verb. An alternative is to postulate a Ø suffix. No theoretical stance is intended by this choice.

## 2.6 Phonemic Consonant Distribution

The following chart lists the consonant phonemes and the environments in which they occur. The top row indicates the phoneme in question, while the left column gives the various environments. Pluses indicate the occurrence of that phoneme in that environment, while minuses indicate non-occurrence. Note that stop + h clusters, although presumably present from comparative evidence, are not indicated.

	t	k	?	d	s	š	h	ž	n	r	w	y
#_a	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_e	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_ę	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
#_i	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)
#_q	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
#_u	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
#_t	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_k	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_s	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_š	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_ž	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_r	+	-	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_w	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_y	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
V_V	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
a_#	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	-	+
e_#	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
ę_#	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
i_#	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
q_#	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
u_#	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

t_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
?_#	+	+	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s_#	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʃ_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
h_#	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʒ_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
w_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
y_#	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Chart 11: Consonant Environments

Pluses in parentheses indicate marginal clusters that occur either in a single example or very few.

The status of initial #yi is weak. It occurs only in a particular exclamation, occurring at the end of texts.

- (49) yīhé<sup>c</sup>  
yihéh  
'Yihae!'  
TN:06:098:26; TN:20:150:15



Aside from this interjection, there are no examples of initial /yi/. It should be noted that although this exclamation appears at the end of texts, Barbeau (1960:2) describes it as used at the beginnings of texts. Initial #wu also only occurs in an exclamation:

- (50) wú<sup>c</sup>  
wúh  
'wuh!  
TN:22:167:35; TN:23:173:33

These marginally occurring environments are indicated by (+).

## 2.7 Consonant Clusters

Wyandot consonants may appear in clusters. Initial clusters can be up to three consonants long, medial up to four, and final up to two.

Initial CC clusters include: ts-, tr-, kw-, ky-, dr-, dy-, st-, sk-, šr-, and ny-. Additionally, there is a single #CCC, skw-. These are represented in the following table. The left column gives the first member of the cluster, the top row the second.

	t	k	s	r	w	y
t	-	-	+	+	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	+	+
d	-	-	-	+	-	+
s	+	+	-	-	-	-
š	-	-	-	+	-	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	+

Chart 12: #CC Clusters

Final clusters can consist of two members: -ʔt, -ʔk, -ʔs, -st, -ht, -hk, -hs, -hš, and -rh. Most of these are of the form LO, where L stands for a laryngeal (h, ʔ) and O stands for a voiceless obstruent (t, k, s, š).

There are no CCC# clusters. The following table represents the final two-consonant clusters, to be read the same way as the preceding table.

	t	k	s	š	h
ʔ	+	+	+	-	-
s	+	-	-	-	-
h	+	+	+	+	-
y	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	+

Chart 13: CC# Clusters

Medial clusters can be two, three, or four consonants long. Medial CC clusters include: -tr-, -kw-, -ky-, -ʔt-, -ʔk-, -ʔd-, -ʔs-, -ʔh-, -ʔž-, -ʔr-, -ʔw-, -ʔy-, -dr-, -dy-, -st-, -sk-, -sh-, -šk-, -šr-, -ht-, -hk-, -hs-, -hš-, -hr-, -ny-, -rh-, -yʔ-, and -yr-.

The following chart shows the medial CC clusters.

	t	k	ʔ	d	s	š	h	ž	r	w	y
t	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
ʔ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
s	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
š	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
h	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
r	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
y	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Chart 14: -CC- Clusters

Medial CCC clusters are: -ʔts-, -ʔtr-, -ʔkw-, -ʔky-, -ʔdr-, -ʔdw-, -ʔdy-, -ʔsk-, -ʔny-, -skw-, -sky-, -hts-, -hkw-, -hky-, -hst-, -hsk-, -hšt-, -hšr-, -hšy-, and -hny-. Most of these can be reduced to the following types: LDG, LSG, skG, and Lts. Here L stands for either laryngeal (h, ʔ), D any stop (voiced d, voiceless t k, or nasal n), G a glide

or rhotic (w, y, r), and S either s or š. The following table shows the medial CCC clusters.

The first two consonants are listed at the left, while the final consonant is listed across the top.

	t	k	s	r	w	y
?t	-	-	+	+	-	-
?k	-	-	-	-	+	+
?d	-	-	-	-	+	+
?s	-	+	-	-	-	-
?n	-	-	-	-	-	+
sk	-	-	-	-	+	+
ht	-	-	+	-	-	-
hk	-	-	-	-	+	+
hs	+	+	-	-	-	-
hš	+	-	-	+	-	+
hn	-	-	-	-	-	+

Chart 15: -CCC- Clusters

Medial CCCC clusters are: -?skw-, -hstr-, -hskw-, and -hsky-. Note that these clusters take the form LsTG, where L stands for laryngeal, T for voiceless stop, G for glide or rhotic. They are also a subset of the possible combinations of CC# and #CC.

## 2.8 Comparative Perspective on Consonants

Since the phonemes /d š ž/ do not occur in closely related languages, it is necessary to show that they are not allophones of other phonemes. These phonemes and their cognates are shown in the following chart.

Wyandot	Northern Iroquoian
n	n
d	
s	s
š	
ž	Cy

Chart 16: Special Consonant Correspondences

As can be seen in the chart, both Wyandot /n/ and /d/ are cognate with /n/ in the other languages. The reflexes of /s/ in Wyandot are /s/ and /š/. The Wyandot phoneme /ž/ corresponds to clusters of y after various consonants.

First it will be shown that /d/ and /n/ contrast in Wyandot (see also section 2.9:

*Further Notes on d):*

- (51) #\_a
- a. da  
da  
'that; the; who'  
TN:05:095:35 etc.
- b. na  
na  
'now; then'  
TN:28:238:14 etc.
- (52) #\_e
- a. dēheréꞤ  
deheréḥ  
'at a great distance'  
TN:16:126:24-25
- b. nēwáʼtu  
newáʼtu  
'next time'  
TN:02:067:28
- (53) #\_ɛ
- a. dɛʼka  
dɛʼka  
'that so' ('that is what ...')  
TN:27:226:58
- b. nɛkaʼ  
nɛkaʼ  
'hereto'  
TN:36:286:51
- (54) #\_ɔ
- a. dɔʼmáꞤ  
dɔʼwáh  
'this direction'  
TN:21:155:18

- b. **nɔmɑ'ⁿde'**  
**nɔwa?de?**  
 'this time'  
 TN:24:193:08
- (55) #\_u
- a. **du'wá'**  
**du:wá?**  
 'out of'  
 TN:10:107:12
- b. **nūсахүтэ·ⁿdütɔ'**  
**nusahüté:dutɔ?**  
**n-usa-hu-atɛdutɔ-?**  
 TEMP-OPT.REP-MASC,sg,PAT-speak-PUNC  
 'now again he (to) him spoke' ('now he spoke to him again')  
 TN:28:236:50-51
- (56) #\_y
- a. **ⁿgá're'**  
**dyá:re?**  
 'first'  
 TN:05:092:30
- b. **ñɛté·ri'**  
**nyɛté:rih**  
**[ny]-Yɛteri-h**  
 1,sg,AGT-know-STAT  
 'I know'  
 TN:28:241:48
- (57) V\_V
- a. **dayūdatǎɛtɔ·ñɔ'**  
**dayudataɛtɔ:nyɔ?**  
**d-ayu-dat-a-Yɛt-(h)ɔnyɔ-?**  
 SUBST-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-JOIN-have-DISTR-STAT  
 'that they have their camp several bodies' ('that several of them have a camp')  
 TN:37:296:54-56

- b. naʎwǎŋé·ròtiʔ  
 naʎwané:ròtiʔ  
 n-aʎ-wa-nəʎoti-ʔ  
 TEMP-FACT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
 'when I hunt'  
 TN:35:284:25-26

Both the phonemes /š/ and /s/ are cognate with /s/ elsewhere in Iroquoian. Here it is shown that in Wyandot there is a contrast:

- (58) #\_a
- a. sǎhǎʎcró·ga  
 sahaʎšró:dya  
 s-a-ha-hšrɔdi-a  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-make-PUNC  
 'again he builds up'  
 TN:21:152:42
- b. cǎhǎáʎtǎt  
 šahaáʎtat  
 ša-ha-Yaʎt-a-t  
 COINC-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT  
 'same one body' ('the same person')  
 TN:22:167:44
- (59) #\_e
- a. sěáʎtiʎcà·  
 seáʎtihšà:  
 se-Yaʎt-ihša-:  
 2,sg:FEM.INDEF-body-look.for-IMP  
 'thou somebody look' ('look for someone')  
 TN:27:234:51



b. cĕkĕáʔiʔcaʔs  
 ŧekeáʔtihŧahs  
 ŧe-t-ye-Yaʔt-ihŧa-hs  
 COINC-CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-body-look.for-HAB  
 'I (for) it have been looking' ('I have been looking for it')  
 TN:27:217:50

(60) #\_e

a. sĕʔdĭhaʔcĕʔ  
 sĕdĭhahŧĕʔ  
 s-e-dih-a-hŧĕ-eʔ  
 2,sg,PAT-SEMI-borrow-JOIN-DISLOC-STAT  
 'thou borrow (it)'  
 TN:29:261:14

b. cĕʔtĕriʔ  
 ŧĕtĕrih  
 ŧ-Yĕteri-h  
 2,sg,AGT-know-STAT  
 'thou knowest'  
 TN:15:125:50

(61) #\_o

a. sqmáʔa  
 sqwáʔ  
 'thyself'  
 TN:27:228:12

b. cĕʔmáʔ  
 ŧĕʔwáh  
 'yonder'  
 TN:27:218:07

(62) #\_u

a. sũñqʔdĕʔ  
 sunyq:déʔ  
 s-(h)u-nyqde-ʔ  
 REP-MASC,sg,PAT-take-STAT  
 'back he him brought' ('he brought him back')  
 TN:19:144:39

b. cuhǎhǒ'kɛ'  
 šuhahǒkɛ?  
 š-u-hah-ǒkɛ-?  
 DISTAL-MASC,sg,PAT-road-travel-STAT  
 'away he travels' ('he was travelling')  
 TN:12:112:38-39

(63) V\_V

a. ɛsɛgáha  
 esedyáha  
 e-se-dya-ha  
 FUT-2,sg,PAT-eat-PUNC  
 'must thou eat' ('you must eat')  
 TN:08:102:21

b. ɛcɛ'játǒ'  
 ešɛ:žátǒ?  
 e-šɛ-žatǒ-?  
 FUT-2,sg,AGT-mark-PUNC  
 'will you mark' ('you will make a mark')  
 TN:14:124:07

(64) a\_#

a. áhù'tátǒ'sɛ́has  
 ahù'tatǒhsɛ́has  
 a-hu-?tatǒhs-ɛ́-has  
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-basket-have-BEN.PUNC  
 'she (before) him basket lays down' ('she sets the basket down in front of him')  
 TN:26:203:37

b. yāgá·hac  
 yadyá:haš  
 ya-dya-haš  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-eat-HAB  
 'she eats'  
 TN:21:152:18; TN:21:152:31

- (65) i\_#
- a. hutí<sup>n</sup>dá<sup>ʔ</sup>rè<sup>·</sup>tsis  
 hutidáʔarè:tsis  
 huti-daʔar-etsi-s  
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-horn-long-STAT.PL  
 'their horns are long'  
 TN:28:241:05
- b. deyǎgyá<sup>ʔ</sup>wic  
 deyadyáʔwiš  
 de-ya-dyaʔwiš  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-turtle  
 'the it turtle' ('the turtle')  
 WM:086
- (66) h\_#
- a. hǎş̣<sup>·</sup>gá<sup>ʔ</sup>s  
 haṣ̣̣:dyáhs  
 ha-s-qdi-ahs  
 MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB  
 'he makes bowls'  
 TN:28:240:43
- b. ha<sup>n</sup>·drǎwà<sup>ʔ</sup>crǎnóma<sup>ʔ</sup>c  
 ha:ʔdrawàhšranówahš  
 ha-draw-a-hšr-a-nqw-ahš  
 MASC,sg,AGT-dance-JOIN-NOM-JOIN-fond-HAB  
 'he (of) dances is fond of' ('he is fond of dancing')  
 TN:24:185:27-28

Unlike /n d/ or /s š/, /š/ and /ž/ are from historically different sources. In general, the source for /š/ was \*s, while the sources for /ž/ were mostly \*ry, \*hy, and \*ky. However, due to their phonetic similarity, /š/ and /ž/ must still be shown to contrast:

- (67) #\_a  
 a. caʰkwáʰstiʰ  
 šaʰkwáʰstih  
 š-Yaʰt-wahst-ih  
 2,sg,AGT-body-good-STAT  
 'thou art pretty'  
 TN:04:083:41
- b. jaʰkwáʰstiʰ  
 žaʰkwáʰstih  
 y-Yaʰt-wahst-ih  
 1,sg,AGT-body-good-STAT  
 'I am nice'  
 TN:25:197:16
- (68) #\_e  
 a. cé·heʰ  
 šé:heʰ  
 š-ehe-ʰ  
 2,sg,AGT-think-STAT  
 'thou wantest'  
 TN:25:195:26
- b. jéwaʰ  
 žéwaʰ  
 'walnut tree'  
 WD:NR:067
- (69) V\_V  
 ecé·jätqʰ  
 ešé:žätqʰ  
 e-še-žätq-ʰ  
 FUT-2,sg,AGT-mark-PUNC  
 'will you mark' ('you will make a mark')  
 TN:14:124:07

Only one example is given in 69, since both /š/ and /ž/ appear there intervocalically.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>There are occasional examples where š appears instead of expected ž, and vice versa.

These three sets of examples show that the unusual phonemes of Wyandot do indeed contrast with those more common to Iroquoian. This is shown for /d/ in 51-57, for /š/ in 58-66, and for /ž/ in 67-69.

## 2.9 Further Notes on *d*

The phonemic status of *d* is not as clear-cut as with other segments. That is, arguments can be proposed that 1) *d* is just an allophone of *n*, or 2) *d* and *n* are in free variation, or 3) *d* is phonemic in Wyandot.

The position that *d* is an allophone of *n* is based on the historical origin of *d*, and the distributional results of that origin in modern Wyandot. Both *d* and *n* are reflexes of proto-Iroquoian \**n*. Before a nasal vowel \**n* remained *n*, while elsewhere \**n* became *d*. The following example shows \**n* before a nasal vowel in the proto-form:

(70)	ʔhouse <sup>34</sup>	
	Proto Northern Iroquoian	*-nqhs-
	Tuscarora	-nehs-
	Wyandot	-nqhs̥-
	Mohawk	-nqhs-
	Oneida	-nqhs-
	Cayuga	-nqhs-
	Seneca	-nqhs-

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<sup>34</sup>Tuscarora from Rudes (1999), Mohawk from G. Michelson (1973), Oneida from Christjohn & Hinton (1996), Cayuga from Mithun & Henry (1982), and Seneca from Chafe (1967).

Note that Wyandot **-nq̣hš-** 'house' retains **n** before the nasal vowel **q̣**. The next example is of **\*n** before an oral vowel:

(71)	'kettle, bucket, pail'	
	Proto Northern Iroquoian	<b>*-naʔts-</b>
	Tuscarora	<b>-naʔč-</b>
	Wyandot	<b>-daʔts-</b>
	Mohawk	<b>-naʔtsy-</b>
	Oneida	<b>-naʔtsy-</b>
	Cayuga	<b>-naʔts-</b>
	Seneca	<b>-nq̣ʔtsy-<sup>35</sup></b>

Note that Wyandot **-daʔts-** 'kettle' has **d** instead of **n** before the oral vowel **a**.

A following **\*y** was skipped in determining the nasality of the environment. Thus, **\*nyY** patterned like **\*nY**, remaining **nyY**. Similarly, **\*nyV** patterned like **\*nV**, and became **dyV**, transcribed by Barbeau as **<g>**, i.e. **gyV** (recall that **g** is treated here as an allophone of **d** before glides). The skipping of **\*y** in retaining nasality is shown before **q̣** in 72:

(72)	'squash, pumpkin'	
	Proto Lake Iroquoian	<b>-hnyq̣hs-</b>
	Wyandot	<b>-nyq̣hš-</b>
	Cayuga	<b>-hnyq̣hs-</b>
	Seneca	<b>-hnyq̣hs-</b>

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<sup>35</sup>Seneca has **q̣** instead of **a** due to a change whereby **a** became **q̣** after **n**. This does not affect the reconstructed form, since the change is recent and can be seen underway in works of the early to mid-eighteenth century (e.g., Wright 1842).

Note that although \*y is oral, \*n did not become d in Wyandot here because the following vowel is nasal.

In most instances the proto-environment is retained in Wyandot, such that most instances of Wyandot n occur before a nasal vowel (with optional intervening y), while most instances of d occur before an oral vowel (with g before y and an oral vowel). Among the pronominal prefixes can be found pairs that end in either n or d depending on the following vowel:

- (73) a. hēndéheʔ  
hədéheʔ  
həd-ehe-ʔ  
MASC,pl,AGT-think-STAT  
'they wanted'  
TN:38:301:42
- b. hēnò·mé<sup>c</sup>  
hənò:wéh  
hən-qwe-h  
MASC,pl,AGT-person-STAT  
'they (m.) persons'  
TN:03:077:13

In 73a the masculine plural agent is -həd- before an oral vowel, while in 73b the allomorph is -hən- before a nasal vowel.

Thus, both diachronically and in most synchronic positions, it can be argued that d is just an allophone of n. The advantage of such an analysis is that the voicing distinction unique to Wyandot among all Iroquoian languages is reduced by one phoneme, and alternations such as -həd- / -hən- can be handled phonologically.

The second position, that d and n are in free variation, is based on the fact that both phones can occur outside the environment expected from historical changes, with apparently no change in meaning. The following example shows such a variation:

- (74) a.    **nōi<sup>h</sup>ˈdāwé<sup>h</sup>ʔt**  
           **noidawéʔt**  
           **n-qi-dawéʔt**  
           **X-1,dl,PAT-sibling.in.law.STAT**  
           **'we two are brothers and sister-in-law'**  
           **TN:04:084:23**
- b.    **dōj<sup>h</sup>ˈdāwé<sup>h</sup>ʔt**  
           **doidawéʔt**  
           **d-qi-dawéʔt**  
           **X-1,dl,PAT-sibling.in.law.STAT**  
           **'we two are brother and sister-in-law'**  
           **TN:04:084:14**

Note that in 74a n appears before a nasal vowel, as expected from historical changes, while in 74b d appears in the same position, contrary to diachronic expectations. Furthermore, the word is glossed the same in both instances.

A similar pattern appears with these examples of the verb -ihaq- 'say':

- (75) a.    **dahèhə́q<sup>h</sup>**  
           **dahèhaq<sup>h</sup>ʔ**  
           **d-a-he-ihaq-ʔ**  
           **PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC**  
           **'that he said'**  
           **TN:21:157:43-44**



- b.     nahɛ̃hã́  
         nahɛ̃hã́  
         n-a-hɛ̃-ihã  
         X-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say.PUNC  
         'that he says'  
         TN:20:148:67

Note that in this case it is the d which is in the expected environment, while the n is not before a nasal vowel.

The advantage of considering d and n to be in free variation is that these instances of the phones appearing to alternate is to be expected.

The third possibility, that d is phonemic, is based on the fact that there are alternations of forms with d or n, regardless of environment, that maintain a specific semantic distinction. Forms beginning with d are often glossed with 'the' or 'that', while forms beginning with n are often glossed with 'now' or 'then'. The following example shows this distinction of form with distinction of meaning:

- (76) a.     daʎwã́ɛ̃:rɔ̃tiʔ  
           daʎwã́ɛ̃:rɔ̃tiʔ  
           d-aʎ-wa-nɛ̃rɔ̃ti-ʔ  
           PART-FACT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
           'that I hunt'  
           TN:35:285:26-27
- b.     naʎwã́ɛ̃:rɔ̃tiʔ  
         naʎwã́ɛ̃:rɔ̃tiʔ  
         n-aʎ-wa-nɛ̃rɔ̃ti-ʔ  
         TEMP-FACT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
         'when I hunt'  
         TN:35:284:25-26

Note that the difference in form is the presence of either initial **d** or initial **n**. The remaining string is a valid word on its own:

- (77) aʷwānǣrǫtiʰ  
aʰwanǣrǫtiʰ  
aʰ-wa-nǣrǫti-ʰ  
FACT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
'I hunt'  
WD:VR:142

The difference in meaning added by the difference between **d** and **n** is that 76a gains the gloss 'that' while 76b gains the gloss 'when'. In general, the initial **d** is either the Partitive (as in example 76a), or the Substantivizer (see section 4.5.3). Forms beginning with **n** usually carry a meaning related to time, glossed as 'now' or 'when'. The **n** prefix is the Temporal (see section 4.5.4).

When words demonstrating either **n** or **d** without a difference in gloss are put into context, a temporal versus non-temporal meaning is often found. Placing 75a in context, no time-related meaning is added:

(78) ...kāhę hūmę "gēri<sup>c</sup>  
 kahę huwędyerih  
 hu-wędyeri-h  
 MASC,sg,PAT-willing-STAT  
 'there he is content

dēhōmętsę't<sup>a</sup>  
 dehōwę'tsęhti'ah  
 de-h-ōwe-?tsęhti-?ah  
 SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-young,STAT-DIM  
 the he is a boy

dahęhăq'<sup>o</sup>...  
 dahęhaq'<sup>o</sup>  
 d-a-hę-ihăq-?  
 PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 that he said'

The boy agreed to it and said, ...  
 TN:21:157:40-44

This is consistent with the use of initial d. However, when 75b is taken in context, a temporal meaning does appear:

(79) ...kāhătú<sup>c</sup> năhútę "du·tq'<sup>o</sup>  
 kahătúh nahútędu:tq'<sup>o</sup>  
 n-a-hu-atędutq-?  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-speak-PUNC  
 'now there now he (to) him spoke

nahęhăq'<sup>o</sup>...  
 nahęhaq'<sup>o</sup>  
 n-a-hę-ihăq  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say.PUNC  
 that he says'

Now the Lion [spoke to the man], saying, ...  
 TN:20:148:64-67

Note that both the preceding words are glossed with 'now', which also appears in the free translation in reference to the time of the saying. This is consistent with the use of the Temporal.

The same distinction holds true for 74a and 74b. In context, 74b lacks a reference to time:

- (80) ...yq<sup>n</sup>dà<sup>ʔ</sup>\*tārawíhε<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 yq<sup>n</sup>dà<sup>ʔ</sup>tarawáhe<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 yq-da<sup>ʔ</sup>tar-a-w-a-he-<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 1,sg:2,sg-bread-JOIN-take-JOIN-DISLOC-STAT  
 'I (to) you bread come to give

dǫ̀l <sup>n</sup> dāwé <sup>ʔ</sup> *t	tūh <sup>n</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> r <sup>n</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> ...
dǫ̀l <sup>n</sup> dawé <sup>ʔ</sup> t	tuh <sup>n</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> r <sup>n</sup> á <sup>ʔ</sup> ?
d-qi-dawe <sup>ʔ</sup> t	
SUBST-1,dl,PAT-sibling.in.law.STAT	
we two are brother and sister-in-law	that is all'

I only came to give you this bread, my cousin-in-law.  
 TN:04:084:13-16

Note the presence of the Substantivizer d-. On the other hand, 74a in context carries a time-related meaning:

- (81) ...dāε káhε<sup>ʔ</sup>                      nǫ̀i<sup>n</sup>dāwé<sup>ʔ</sup>\*t...  
 dae káhε<sup>ʔ</sup>                              nǫ̀idawé<sup>ʔ</sup>t  
     n-qi-dawe<sup>ʔ</sup>t  
     TEMP-1,dl,PAT-sibling.in.law.STAT  
 'that is the one                      we two are brothers and sister-in-law'

This is the very one [who is to be] my cousin-in-law.  
 TN:04:084:21-23

The reference is to a future state where the relationship will hold, rather than an existing condition. Note the presence of the Temporal n-.

The advantage of positing d as a phoneme itself is that the difference between the Partitive or Substantivizer on the one hand and the Temporal on the other can be maintained.<sup>36</sup>

In summary, d has an ambiguous status as a phoneme. In most instances d and n are in complementary distribution, while in a few cases they appear to be in free variation. However, they also are used rather consistently to distinguish certain morphemes. This instability can be postulated to be evidence for a phonemic split in progress. That is, by the time of the early 20th century Wyandot d has grown beyond being simply an allophone of n, but has not progressed so far as to be completely contrastive with n.

In the analysis presented here, d is treated as a separate phoneme, with the acknowledgment that there are instances where d is not fully phonemic.

## 2.10 Further Notes on *g*

There are a few additional problems concerning <g>, all interrelated. Two are synchronic: the use of two different types of orthographic <g> by Barbeau, and the phonemic

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<sup>36</sup>Another possibility is to analyze the Temporal n- as underlyingly nY, with loss of the Y. Postulating aY is consistent with the probable historical origin of this form, the particle neḡh 'now'. Loss of the vowel is consistent with the patterning of the Substantivizer anteprenominal d(e), which retains its vowel as a particle but loses it as a prefix. This possibility is not adopted here for two reasons. One is that the Temporal often appears as na when a particle, clearly lacking a nasal vowel. The other is that the postulation of underlying forms goes against the synchronic, surface-form oriented analysis used elsewhere in this grammar.

status of the voiced velar stop. The diachronic problem is the proto-Northern Iroquoian source of the <gw> cluster. Each will be dealt with in turn.

Barbeau writes two different forms of <g>. Sometimes he uses open-hook <g>, but more often <g> with a closed descender. The difference is not explained, although some instances of closed <g> are clearly open <g> with the under-arc <sub>˘</sub>. This distinction is more frequent in Barbeau (n.d.) than in Barbeau (1960). Barbeau (n.d.) even has a separate alphabetical slot for closed <g> as opposed to open <g>, but the examples in those entries vary between open <g> and closed <g> (compare Appendix C). The difference disappears in print, where the character used matches whatever typeface has been set, e.g. <g> or <g>, etc.<sup>37</sup>

Based on Barbeau's use of the under-arc diacritic <sub>˘</sub>, it can be postulated that open <g> is velar while closed <g> is palatalized <gy>. Thus, <g g> are parallel to <k k̟>. Additionally, both <g> and <g> can appear before <w>, resulting in four clusters:

	Open Descender	Closed Descender
Pre-Nasalized	<sup>h</sup> gw	<sup>h</sup> gw
Plain	gw	gw

Chart 17: GW Clusters

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<sup>37</sup>Note that this adds two more characters, g and <sup>h</sup>g, to chart 9 *Barbeau Consonant Characters*.

This hypothesis, that open <g> is velar and closed <g> is palatal, can be tested by frequency counts for both characters in palatal versus velar environments. That is, open <g> should be more frequent near velars, with closed <g> reserved for palatal environments. Although the transcription is inconsistent, a test count can still be made. In order to avoid assigning the environment based on the characters, morphemes were chosen based on historical environments. That is, although the environment may not always be clear synchronically, the historical forms clearly show where such environments once could be found. Two roots with <g> or <g> in historically palatal environments were chosen, \**-qni-* / \**-qny-* 'make' and \**-nyak-* 'marry', as well as four other roots with historically labiovelar environments: \**-tkwir-* 'branch', \**-tkwɛ-* 'blood', \**-tkwɛʔt-* 'bag', and \**-tsiʔtkwar-* 'yellow / green'. The following chart gives the reconstructed forms and the modern reflexes the reconstructions were derived from.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Cherokee from King (1975), Tuscarora ('bile', not 'yellow') from Rudes (1999), Cayuga from Mithun & Henry (1982), Seneca from Chafe (1967), Oneida from Christjohn & Hinton (1996), and Mohawk from G. Michelson (1973).

	Palatal Environment		Labiovelar Environment			
	'make'	'marry'	'branch'	'blood'	'bag'	'yellow'
*	- <i>qny</i> -	- <i>nyak</i> -	- <i>tkwir</i> -	- <i>tkwɛ</i> -	- <i>tkwɛʔt</i> -	- <i>tsiʔtkwar</i> -
Cherokee	- <i>ʎne</i> -					
Tuscarora	- <i>ɛty</i> -	- <i>tyak</i> -	- <i>(a)tkwir</i> -			- <i>ɕiʔtkwar</i> -
Wyandot	- <i>ɔg</i> -	- <i>gak</i> -	- <i>gwir</i> -	- <i>gwɛʎ</i> -	- <i>gwɛʔt</i> -	- <i>tsigwar</i> -
Cayuga	- <i>qny</i> -	- <i>nyak</i> -		- <i>tkwɛhs</i> -	- <i>tkwɛʔt</i> -	- <i>tsiʔtkwa</i> -
Seneca	- <i>qny</i> -	- <i>nyak</i> -	- <i>kwiy</i> -	- <i>tkwɛhs</i> -	- <i>tkwɛʔt</i> -	- <i>tsiʔtkwa</i> -
Oneida	- <i>ɥny</i> -	- <i>nyak</i> -	- <i>kwil</i> -	- <i>nikwɔhs</i> -		- <i>tsiʔnkwal</i> -
Mohawk	- <i>ɥny</i> -	- <i>nyak</i> -	- <i>kwir</i> -	- <i>nekwɔh</i> -		

Chart 18: Test Environments for <g> versus <ɔg>

The level of reconstruction of the proto-forms is not stated in the chart since it varies: Proto-Iroquoian for 'make', Proto-Northern Iroquoian for 'marry', 'branch', and 'yellow', and Proto-Lake Iroquoian for 'blood' and 'bag'. The forms given for 'make' for the Northern Iroquoian languages are allomorphs appearing before vowels. Frequency counts are shown in this chart:



	Open g	Closed g	gy
'make'	-	64	7
'marry'	-	22	1
<b>Total Palatals</b>	0	86	8
'branch'	8	12	-
'blood'	11	5	-
'bag'	4	1	-
'yellow'	1	2	-
<b>Total Labiovelars</b>	24	20	0

Chart 19: Frequency Counts of <g> and <g>

The first column lists the glosses of the forms. The characters open <g> and closed <g> are listed across the top, along with instances of <gy> used by Barbeau in printed works. Totals for each character in each environment are also given. Note that in palatal environments only closed <g> is used. Open <g> is less clear cut in the labiovelar environments, however, with just a slightly greater tendency than closed <g>. Thus, although it is clear that in palatal environments closed <g> is used, there is no clear-cut distinction between closed <g> and open <g> in labiovelar environments.

The distinction will be maintained in orthographic examples. As an aside, Barbeau tends to use open <g> in English, rather than closed <g>.

As discussed in section 2.5 *Consonant Allophones*, <g> is treated here as an allophone of /d/ before /y/. This is demonstrated in examples 39 and 40. Given the parallel

<g g> and <k k̥>, it can be argued that <g> itself should be phonemic. This allows the orthography to be more regular, and creates a more symmetrical phonemic system that includes both /t k/ and /d g/, rather than leaving a gap. This gap can be seen both in Chart 9: *Barbeau Consonant Characters* and Chart 10: *Wyandot Consonant Phonemes*. However, such an analysis cannot be reconciled with the limited distribution of <g g>, which can only appear before glides. Thus, <g g> will be maintained as an allophone of /d/, despite the irregularity of the resulting consonant inventory.

The cluster <gw> is problematic historically, although synchronically it is simply /dw/. Since /d/ is descended from \*n (see section 2.9 *Further Notes on d*), such a cluster would be expected to derive from proto-Northern Iroquoian \*\*nw. As indicated by the double asterisks, this cluster is not reconstructed (Michelson 1988). Instead, where cognates can be found, /dw/ comes from \*tkw, as seen in Chart 18: *Test Environments for <g> versus <g̃>*. The problem is the lack of a nasal source in \*tkw for the change from \*n to /d/. The cluster \*tkw would be expected to result in /kw/ in Wyandot, not /dw/, following other known historical changes. One expected path involves a simplification of the cluster \*tk to simply /k/ (discussed further in section 2.14 *Phonemic Alternations*):

(82)    \*t k w  
           \ / |  
           k w

This results in the wrong cluster.

Another expected path involves two changes. One is the simplification of the cluster \*kw to simply /w/. This can be seen comparing Wyandot and Mohawk cognates. The Wyandot form, with just w, appears in 83:

- (83) rǫméʼ  
 rǫwéh  
 r-ǫwe-h  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN  
 'he person' ('the man')  
 TN:11:110:55, etc

Compare the Mohawk (G. Michelson 1973) form with kw:

- (84) rǫ:kweh  
 'a male'

The second change is the alternation of /t/ and /k/ before glides, discussed in section 2.14 *Phonemic Alternations*. Together these show a different path of descent from \*tkw, but also leading to the wrong result:

- (85) \*t k w  
 | \ /  
 t w  
 \ /  
 k w

Thus the question remains: where did the nasalization come from? This also applies to the Mohawk form for 'blood', and the Oneida for 'blood' and 'yellow', in chart 18: *Test Environments for <g> versus <g̃>*.

Lagarde (1972:41) reconstructs proto-Northern Iroquoian \**tsitkwar* 'yellow'. In order to account for <gw> in the Wendat form, given as *otsingwara*, Lagarde develops a route whereby \**tkw* could become <gw>. She gives the sound change

(86) t > n / i \_ kw

to account for this morpheme. This would add the nasalization required for a stage where <gw> did arise, becoming <g̃w> (thus /d̃w/) in Wyandot for this particular morpheme, as well as a source for nasalization for the Oneida form as well. That is, the cumulative effect of sound changes whereby \**n* became /d/ and \**kw* simplified to /w/ could give rise to /d̃w/ clusters:

Proto-Northern-Iroquoian	* <i>tsitkwar</i>
Lagarde's rule t > n / i _ kw	* <i>tsinkwar</i>
* <i>kw</i> → w	* <i>tsinwar</i>
* <i>n</i> → d	* <i>tsidwar</i>
/d/ → g / _ glides	< <i>tsigwar</i> >

Chart 20: Potential Route of Change from \**itkw* to <g̃w>

Note that the global changes are not crucially ordered. These changes, however, would not account for any of the morphemes besides 'yellow' in Chart 18: *Test Environments for <g>*

versus <g>. If Lagarde's rule is modified to eliminate the reference to \*i, then these morphemes could be accounted for as well.

One final problem involving **g** centers on the morpheme (in Barbeau's orthography) <-gqh-> for 'blood; skin; hide', for which a phonemicization has been left out of the following example:

- (87) hūgqhāme<sup>ʔ</sup>  
hu-gqh-amε-<sup>ʔ</sup>  
MASC,sg,PAT-blood-have-STAT  
'he the hide has' ('he has the hide')  
TN:27:219:37

Note the presence of open **g**. What Barbeau transcribed as closed **g** is usually interpreted phonemically as **dy** in this analysis, with **gw** and **gw** phonemicized as **dw**. In 87 **g** is not phonemicized as **dy** since Barbeau never uses **g** for historically palatal environments (as seen from Chart 18: *Test Environments for <g> versus <g>*). Comparative evidence indicates that <-gqh-> comes from \*tkqh, as seen comparing the Tuscarora cognate from Rudes (1999):

- (88) -tkε-  
'blood; gore'

The Nottoway form was probably along the lines of **katkq** phonemically. The reason this morpheme is problematic for the analysis presented here (where **g** and **g** are allophones of **d**

before glides) is that there is no glide. Thus, <-gqh-> should have been <-dqh-> in Barbeau's orthography, since there is no glide.<sup>39</sup>

In Iroquoian languages there is a tendency for *w* to drop before back vowels. This holds for Wyandot as well. In 89 the noun *-rihw-* 'law' loses *w* before the *q* of *-qt-* 'tie':

- (89) *hūdatrīhóʔtqʔ*  
*hudatrihóʔtqʔ*  
*hud-at-rihw-qt-(h)q-ʔ*  
MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-law-tie-DISTR-STAT  
'they office hold' ('they hold office')  
TN:28:243:10

Loss of *w* before *q* suggests the possibility of \**tkwqh* as an underlying version of the historical form for 'blood; skin; hide'. This underlying form would create the \**tkw* which could serve as the source for Wyandot *dw* (i.e., <*gw*>). However, positing underlying phonemes which can never appear on the surface (as opposed to the occasionally appearing *w* of 89) is contrary to the analytical orientation of this work, so this morpheme will remain problematic.

## 2.11 Vowels

The following section treats the vowels in Wyandot and their distribution and allophones. Barbeau uses the following vowel characters in his transcription system:

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<sup>39</sup>Note that this form is doubly problematic for an analysis where *d* is an allophone of *n* in non-nasal environments. This is because *g* lacks a glide and is before a nasal vowel.

i	í	ì	ĩ	í	ĩ	ì	í	ì			
e	é	è	ě	é	è	ẹ	é	è	ẹ	é	è
ε	é	è	ε	é	è	ε	é	è	ε	é	è
a	á	à	ã	á	à	ạ	á	à	ạ	á	à
o	ó	ò	õ	ó	ò	ọ	ó	ò	ọ	ó	ò
u	ú	ù	ũ	ú		ụ	ú	ù	ữ		

Chart 21: Vowel Characters

Each base character is on a separate row, while each column represents a particular set of diacritics. The first character is plain, without diacritics. The following columns are with diacritics that indicate primary stress; secondary stress; shortness; shortness with primary stress; shortness with secondary stress; nasalization; nasalization with primary stress; nasalization with secondary stress; nasalization and shortness; nasalization, shortness, and primary stress; and nasalization, shortness, and secondary stress. The gaps are probably accidental. This range of symbols can be shown in the following matrix:

	plain	ˈ	ˊ	ˋ	ˌ	ˍ	ˎ	ˏ	ː	ˑ	˒	˓	˔	˕
i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		
e	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
ɛ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		
a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		
o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
u	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-		

Chart 22: Diacritic Patterns

These 64 different characters can be reduced to six phonemes, with an additional marginal phoneme. They are represented in the next table, according to primary phonetic realization:

i	u
e	
ɛ	ɔ
a (a)	

Chart 23: Wyandot Vowel Phonemes

The six primary vowel phonemes can be arranged in a symmetrical chart, with high front /i/, high back /u/, low back /a/, low front /e/, front nasal /ɛ/, and back nasal /ɔ/.



i u  
 ɛ ɔ  
 e a

Chart 24: Wyandot Vowel Phonemes Symmetrically Arranged

Although Barbeau described the back nasal as [ɔ̃] ("the open *o* nasalized as in French *bon*"), he wrote it as <ɔ̃>. For simplicity, the back nasal will be written /ɔ/ here as well. Similarly, the front nasal will be written as /ɛ/ instead of /ɛ̃/. Although most instances of <ə̃> can be shown to be allophones of /a/, there are a small number that cannot be so explained. It is for this reason that (ə̃) is entered parenthetically in chart 23. See example 95 in section 2.12 *Vowel Allophones*.

2.12 Vowel Allophones

This section will discuss vocalic allophony. Each vowel has multiple allophones, especially in the environment of a nasal.

In 90a the root *-Yeraʔt-* 'use' appears with [e], while 90b the same root is shown with [ɛ]:

- (90) /e/ → [ɛ] (optionally)  
 a.    āhàtij(é)-rat  
       ahàtižé:rat  
       a-hati-Yeraʔt  
       FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-use.PUNC  
       'they used'  
       TN:07:099:05

- b. àhǎ(ɛ)raʔ  
 àhaéraʔt  
 a-ha-Yeraʔt  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-use.PUNC  
 'he used'  
 TN:13:119:31

Although /ɛ/ can appear as [ɛ], as in 91a, it is usually realized as [ɛ̃], as in 91b:

- (91) /ɛ/ → [ɛ̃] (optionally)
- a. hɔmǎts(ɛ)ʔtʔaʔ  
 hɔwetsǎhtiʔah  
 h-ɔwe-ʔtsǎhti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM  
 'he is a boy'  
 TN:21:156:57
- b. hɔmǎts(ɛ̃)ʔtʔaʔ  
 hɔwetsǎhtiʔah  
 h-ɔwe-ʔtsǎhti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM  
 'he is a boy'  
 TN:21:156:09

As an allophone of /ɛ/, [ɛ̃] usually appears in the vicinity of a nasal, with optional intervening segments. Some or all of these may be due to errors in transcription. That is, the nasal nature of a nearby nasal segment might have masked nasalization on the vowel itself. This allophone may thus actually be an English-biased perception mistake. As seen in the following example, /ɛ/ appears as [ɛ̃] in 92a, and [ɛ] in 92b, adjacent to a nasal segment [ʔ].

- (92) /ɛ/ → [ɛ̃] / % N
- a. aʔtēm(ɛ̃)taye<sup>c</sup>  
 aʔtew-ɛ̃-tayeh  
 haʔ-te-w-ɛ̃t-aye-h  
 TRANS-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT  
 'every day'  
 TN:01:059:03
- b. aʔtēm(ɛ̃)ʔtá·ye<sup>c</sup>  
 aʔtew-ɛ̃-tá:yeh  
 haʔ-te-w-ɛ̃t-aye-h  
 TRANS-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT  
 'every day'  
 TN:12:112:23

Nasalization can also spread to /i/, resulting in [ĩ]. This can occur regardless of whether the nasal segment precedes or follows the /i/. Note in 93a the nasal [ĩ], and in 93b the oral [i]:

- (93) /i/ → [ĩ] / % N
- a. tāt(ĩ)ʔdá·re  
 tatidá:re  
 t-(h)ati-dare  
 CISLOC-MASC,pl,AGT-live.STAT  
 'they live' ('they live at ...')  
 TN:29:270:25
- b. tat(i)dá·rɛʔ  
 tatidà:rɛʔ  
 t-(h)ati-dare-ʔ  
 CISLOC-MASC,pl,AGT-live-STAT  
 'they live' ('they live at ...')  
 TN:40:309:14

The phoneme /a/ can be nasalized to [ã] before a nasal segment, or following a nasal segment with an optional intervening laryngeal. 94a shows nasalization of /a/ before the pre-nasalized stop /d/. 94b shows nasalization of /a/ after /w/, which itself has been nasalized to [m] by the preceding /q/. 94c shows nasalization of /a/ after nasal /ɛ/ and an intervening /h/.

- (94) /a/ → [ã] / {  $\begin{matrix} \_ N \\ \bar{N}(L) \_ \end{matrix} \}$
- a.     āh(ə·<sup>h</sup>g)á<sup>h</sup>  
ahà:dyãh  
a-ha-dya-h  
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-chase-PUNC  
'he her chases (after)' ('he chased her')  
TN:02:069:26
- b.     h(òmq̃)yüwá·nɛ<sup>h</sup>  
hòwayuwá:mɛh  
hɔwa-yuwanɛ-h  
MASC,pl:MASC-large-STAT  
'he is big (head leader)' ('he is the leader')  
TN:02:070:14
- c.     ahǎjáʔ\*tür(ɛ·hə)  
ahažáʔturɛ:haʔ  
a-hay-Yaʔt-urɛ-haʔ  
FACT-MASC,sg:1,sg-body-find-PUNC  
'he me finds' ('he found me')  
TN:01:061:27

There are sporadic examples of [ã] where the nasalizing environment cannot be found.

Those cases will have ɛ̃ in the phonemicization, as in 95:

- (95) h̩ʔʳ̩ʔ  
 h̩ʔʳ̩ʔʔ  
 'only'  
 TN:04:081:37; TN:24:192:27

Here there is no apparent nasal segment from which nasalization could have spread. Such examples are primarily restricted to particles.

The high back vowel /u/ can also nasalize before a nasal segment, becoming [ɯ]. In 96a /u/ is nasalized preceding the pre-nasalized stop /d/, while in 96b it remains oral [u].

- (96) /u/ → [ɯ] / \_ N (optionally)
- a. t(ɯ)·<sup>n</sup>di  
 tú:di  
 'also'  
 TN:02:065:27
- b. t(ú)·<sup>n</sup>diʔ  
 tú:diʔ  
 'also'  
 TN:24:194:15

The back nasal /q/ is often written [o] in the environment of a nasal, with optional intervening segments. As with [ɛ] as allophone of /e/, this may be a transcription error, with the nasality of a nearby nasal segment hiding the nasality of the vowel /q/. This can be seen in 97:

- (97) /q/ → [o] / % N
- a. **kasákaʔkən(o)**  
 kasakyaʔkyenq  
 ka-s-at-Yaʔt-Yenq  
 CISLOC-2,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-fall.IMP  
 'here thou liest down' ('lie down here')  
 TN:04:086:09-10
- b. **āhākaʔkən(o)**  
 ahākyaʔkyen-q  
 a-h-at-Yaʔt-Yenq  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-body-fall.PUNC  
 'he lies down'  
 TN:12:112:42

There are also occasional examples where /q/ is transcribed as [a], indicating that the phonetic ranges of /q/ and /a/ may slightly overlap, or at least come close in vowel space:

- (98) /q/ → [a] (optionally)
- a. **sā(ha)té'diyòrūja's**  
 sahqtéʔdiyòružahs  
 s-a-hq-ate-ʔdiyqr-už-ahs  
 REP-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-sense-play-HAB<sup>40</sup>  
 'again they went on playing' ('they went back to playing')  
 TN:03:075:07
- b. **nt(ō)tediyóruja's**  
 tqtediyóružahs  
 t-(h)q-ate-ʔdiyqr-už-ahs  
 CISLOC-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-sense-play-HAB  
 'where they were playing'  
 TN:03:075:05

Here the pronominal prefix -hq- *they* appears as <hā> in 98a, and <(h)q> in 98b.

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<sup>40</sup>Anomalous use of the Habitual with a modal prefix, the Factual. See chapter 5: *Verb Stem Elements*.

Another variant of /q/ is [u] before /w/, which, as previously mentioned, becomes [m] after a nasal. Thus, /qw/ can appear as [um]:

- (99) /q/ → [u] / \_ m (optionally)
- a. h(ũ)mɛʔ<sup>c</sup>tsɛʔtʔa<sup>c</sup>  
 hɔwɛʔtsɛhtiʔah  
 h-qwe-ʔtsɛhti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young-DIM  
 'boy'  
 TN:19:144:25
- b. h(õ)mɛʔ<sup>c</sup>tsɛʔtʔa<sup>c</sup>  
 hɔwɛʔtsɛhtiʔah  
 h-qwe-ʔtsɛhti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young-DIM  
 'boy'  
 TN:19:142:26

In 99 the term for 'boy' appears with either [um] or [qm]. Together the variants of /q/ as [a] and [u] indicate that the back nasal can range over the entire height spread for back vowels.

The vowel /u/ can also appear as [ã], but only when short. That is, /u/ is occasionally represented as <ã>. This can occur even under stress. In 100a the verb *-yuwanɛ-* 'large' is transcribed with [ã], while in 100b with [ũ].

- (100) /u/ → [ã] (optionally)
- a. kway(ã)wãɛɛ<sup>c</sup>  
 kwayúwãɛɛh  
 t-wa-yuwanɛ-h  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
 'she is large elder' ('she is the elder')  
 TN:24:191:45

- b.    kway(ũ)wa·nɛ̃<sup>c</sup>  
       kwayuwa:nɛ̃h  
       t-wa-yuwanɛ̃-h  
       CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
       'she is big (the eldest)' ('she is the elder')  
       TN:28:246:01

Additionally, all vowels may be repeated after a glottal stop. Occasionally when either a nasal vowel is repeated, or an oral vowel in a nasal environment is repeated, the orality / nasality of the repeated vowel does not match that of the main vowel.

Each of the following examples shows a different echoed vowel: <sup>i e ɛ f a ɸ o ɔ u</sup>.

The echoed <sup>o</sup> only occurs after <sup>ɸ</sup>.<sup>41</sup>

- (101) yǎhà·wí<sup>i</sup>  
       yahà:wí<sup>?</sup>  
       ya-hawi-<sup>?</sup>  
       FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-carry-STAT  
       'she carries'  
       TN:04:090:26

- (102) yɸ<sup>o</sup>tǎré<sup>e</sup>  
       yɸtaré<sup>?</sup>  
       y-ɸtar-e<sup>?</sup>  
       FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lake-NSF  
       'lake'  
       TN:08:103:50

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<sup>41</sup>It is possible that what Barbeau transcribed as echoed vowels was phonetically creaky voice.



- (103) hò<sup>h</sup>ʔyɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔáhə<sup>h</sup>  
 hòteʔyɛʔáhah  
 hɔ-ate-ʔyɛʔaha-h  
 MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-sibling-STAT  
 'their brothers'  
 TN:40:307:47
- (104) yɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔric  
 yɛriš  
 ya-iriš  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion  
 'lion'  
 TN:09:105:33
- (105) ʔe<sup>h</sup>(skēmɛ<sup>h</sup>ʔdără<sup>h</sup>ʔcɔñɔ<sup>h</sup>)  
 ehskewɛdaráʔšɔnyɔʔ  
 e-hske-wɛd-a-r-a-ʔšɔnyɔ-ʔ  
 FUT-2,sg:1,sg-voice-JOIN-put.away-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC  
 'will thou (with) me converse' ('you will speak to me')  
 TN:04:079:10
- (106) há<sup>h</sup>ʔrə  
 háʔrə  
 'only'  
 TN:02:066:27; etc.
- (107) cɔ<sup>h</sup>ʔmə  
 šɔʔwá  
 'by far'  
 TN:04:080:49
- (108) ɛskò<sup>h</sup>ʔtrɔ<sup>h</sup>·<sup>h</sup>da<sup>h</sup>  
 eskòʔtrɔ:dah  
 e-s-yɔ-iʔtrɔ-d-ah  
 FUT-REP-1,sg:2,sg-live-DISLOC-PUNC  
 'will I you take there' ('I will take you there')  
 TN:02:071:37-38

(109) u<sup>h</sup>wá<sup>h</sup>tsa  
u<sup>h</sup>wáhtsa  
u-<sup>h</sup>wahts-a  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-meat-NOUN  
'the meat'  
TN:21:151:27

### 2.13 Phonemic Vowel Distribution

The following section lists the vowel phonemes and the environments they appear in.

This is represented in the chart below.

	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	u
#_a	-	-	-	-	-	-
#_e	-	-	-	+	-	-
#_ɛ	-	-	-	+	-	-
#_i	-	-	-	+	+	-
#_ɔ	-	-	-	+	-	-
#_u	-	+	-	+	-	-
#_t	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_k	-	+	-	+	+	+
#_?	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_d	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_s	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_š	+	+	-	+	+	+
#_h	+	+	+	+	+	+
#_ž	+	+	-	+	-	+
#_n	+	+	-	+	+	+
#_r	+	+	-	+	+	+
#_w	+	+	-	+	+	+
#_y	+	+	-	+	-	+
v_v	-	+	-	+	-	-
a_#	+	+	+	+	+	-
e_#	-	+	-	-	-	+
ɛ_#	-	-	+	-	+	-
i_#	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɔ_#	-	-	-	-	+	-
u_#	-	-	-	-	+	-

t_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
k_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʔ_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
d_#	+	+	-	+	+	+
s_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʃ_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
h_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʒ_#	+	+	-	+	-	+
n_#	+	+	+	+	+	+
r_#	+	+	+	+	+	-
w_#	+	+	+	+	+	-
y_#	+	+	+	+	+	+

Chart 25: Vowel Environments

As can be seen from the chart, vowels need not be separated by consonants. The following vowel clusters can be found: ae-, aɛ-, ai-, aɔ-, au-, eu-, qi- initially; -VeV- medially; -aa, -ae, -aɛ, -ai, -aɔ, -ee, -eɛ, -eɔ, -oɔ, -uɔ, and -eu finally. These do not appear to form diphthongs.

## 2.14 Phonemic Alternations

A certain number of alternations between forms can be stated for Wyandot. The historical origins of many of these alternations are readily apparent.

The following is an example of ty replaced by k. 110a shows *-yqhš-* 'face' after a vowel, while 110b shows the same noun after the Semireflexive (SEMI) *-at-*. The combination of t from the Semireflexive and y from 'face' results in k.

(110) t + y → k

a. **eskeyó'curəhə'**  
**eskeyóhšurəhə?**  
 e-ske-yqhš-urə-hə?  
 FUT-2,sg:1,sg-face-find-PUNC  
 'will thou my face find' ('you will invite me')  
 WD:NR:085

b. **səhəməkó'cütädî·hə'**  
**səhəwəkóhšutädî:hə?**  
 s-a-həw-at-yqhš-ut-a-di-hə?  
 REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC  
 'thou self face stick to or present (go and invite)' ('invite them')  
 TN:24:188:54-55

The next shows the final t of the Semireflexive *-at-* becoming k before the w of *-wəd-* 'voice':

(111) t → k / \_w

**üşáhakwə'dú'utə's**  
**ušáhakwədú'təhs**  
 usa-h-at-wəd-u'tə-hs  
 OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-voice-kind-PUNC  
 'again his voice is the same' ('his voice imitated the other one')  
 TN:29:257:38

It should be noted that the two rules in 110 and 111 are not parallel. The reasons will become clearer in section 2.15 *Further Notes on y*.

There is an alternation between d and t after s:

- (112) d → t / s \_
- a.    ya<sup>h</sup>dà<sup>h</sup>úr<sup>h</sup>áha<sup>h</sup>  
       yadà<sup>h</sup>úr<sup>h</sup>áha<sup>h</sup>?  
       ya-da<sup>h</sup>úra-ha<sup>h</sup>?  
       FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-able-STAT  
       'onebody is able to'  
       TN:27:229:56-57
- b.    ěstà<sup>h</sup>úr<sup>h</sup>áha<sup>h</sup>  
       esdà<sup>h</sup>úr<sup>h</sup>áha<sup>h</sup>?  
       e-s-da<sup>h</sup>úra-ha<sup>h</sup>?  
       FUT-2,sg,AGT-able-PUNC  
       'thou art able'  
       TN:29:270:32

In 112a the initial stop of the morpheme *-da<sup>h</sup>úra-* 'able' appears as d, after the vowel a, but is t in 112b, after s.

There is also an alternation between ž before a vowel and the sequence ri before a consonant:

- (113) ri → ž / \_ C
- a.    ayq̄mātúr<sup>h</sup>ihà<sup>h</sup>·ke<sup>h</sup>  
       ayq̄watúr<sup>h</sup>ihà<sup>h</sup>:kye<sup>h</sup>?  
       a-yq̄w-at-uri-h-akye-?  
       FACT-3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC-SEMI-drive-STAT-PROG-PUNC  
       'he them is driving' ('he is driving them')  
       TN:29:267:35

- b. hayǫmátũjeʔs  
 hayǫwátužeʔs  
 hayǫw-at-už-eʔs  
 MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-SEMI-drive-HAB  
 'he them drives' ('he drives them')  
 TN:27:211:01

Note that the verb *-uri-* 'drive' appears as *-uri-* before h in 113a, and as *-už-* before e in

113b. This is the result of a historical change, where \*ry became ž.

When initial i of an I-stem (see 3.2 *Phonological Conjugation Classes*) follows a pronominal prefix ending in a, the vowels a and i are replaced by ɛ:

(114) a + i → ɛ / pronominal prefix \_ other morpheme

- a. teʔstĩʔtĩjáʔ  
 tehstĩhtĩžáʔ  
 te-hst-iht-ižaʔ  
 DU-2,dl-field-cross.IMP  
 'you two cross (the field)'  
 TN:24:183:34
- b. yɛʔtáʔ\*yeʔ  
 yɛhtáʔyeh  
 ya-iht-a-ʔyeh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-JOIN-LOC  
 'the prairie on' ('on the prairie')  
 TN:29:270:12

Here the second dual pronominal prefix *-hst-* and the noun root *-iht-* 'field' retain their basic forms in 114a. In 114b, however, where the noun follows the zoic agent (FEM.ZOIC,AGT) *-ya-*, there is merger at their juncture into ɛ.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>This is the traditional Iroquoianist approach since Barbeau (1915a). An alternative is to treat pronominal prefixes as overlapping I-stems with ɛ, without postulating that the

## 2.15 Further Notes on *y*

The phoneme /*y*/ enters into two different but overlapping sets of alternations. In one set *y* alternates with *ny* and *k*. In the other set *y* alternates with *ny*, *w*, *ž*, and  $\emptyset$ .

- (115) *y*, *ny*, *k*  
*y*, *ny*, *w*, *ž*,  $\emptyset$

In the first set *y* is the most frequently occurring, with fewer instances appearing as *ny*, and the fewest as *k*. In the other set  $\emptyset$  is the most often found, with *w*, *ny*, *ž* less frequent, and *y* appearing the least often. The first set of alternates will be represented by *y*, while the second set of alternations will be represented by the morphophoneme *Y*.<sup>43</sup>

The following chart summarizes the alternations of *y* and *Y*. The question marks indicate unclear interactions. Different alternations and interactions will be addressed in turn.

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pronominal prefixes occurring before I-stems are underlyingly the same as those occurring before C-stems (see 3.2 *Phonological Conjugation Classes*).

<sup>43</sup>The first set is descended from \**k*, while the second is from \**y*. According to Mithun (1979), the two sets of alternations are \**k* > *k*, *y*, *ž* and \**y* > *y*, *ž*,  $\emptyset$ .



	y	Y
i_V	y	ž
i_Y	ny	ny
e_V	?	?
e_Y	?	ny
e_V	y	Ø
a_V	y	Ø
a_Y	y	ny
q_V	y	w
q_Y	y ~ ny	w
u_V	y	w
ʔ_V	y	?
C_V	k	y
C_C	-	i
t_C	-	[t]i
t_V	[k]	[k]y
š_	[s]k	?

Chart 26: Alternations of y and Y

The first several lines of the chart indicate various intervocalic alternations for y and Y. This is followed by alternations involving consonants. Square brackets indicate segments that overlap or replace elements from the environment.

Example 116 shows a y ~ k alternation from the first set (i.e., y) for the verb -yɸ- 'be in':<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Recall the historical rule where \*k became y except after another consonant, from section 2.3 *Under-differentiation*.

- (116) a. **yà:redáyo<sup>ç</sup>**  
**yà:redáyoh**  
**ya-reda-yo-h**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-cave-in-STAT**  
**'the cave in' ('in the cave')**  
**TN:19:138:63**
- b. **yǎnó<sup>ç</sup>skó<sup>ç</sup>**  
**yanóhskoh**  
**ya-nohs-yo-h**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-house-in-STAT**  
**'it house in' ('in the house')**  
**TN:29:265:53**

The first example shows 'be in' beginning with a y, while the second shows the same verb with a k. This alternation is triggered by the presence or absence of a preceding consonant. When there is such a consonant, k appears. Otherwise, y.

However, when the preceding consonant is ʔ, y remains:

- (117) **a<sup>ʔ</sup>yǎkwɛ<sup>ʔ</sup>diha<sup>ʔ</sup>**  
**a<sup>ʔ</sup>yakwɛdiha<sup>ʔ</sup>**  
**a<sup>ʔ</sup>-y-at-wɛd-iha-ʔ**  
**FACT-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-voice-shout-PUNC**  
**'I shouted to' ('I shouted to them')**  
**TN:28:242:46**

In 117 the first person singular agent -y- remains y despite being after a consonant, ʔ.

The alternation of y and ny is optional. Here the verb -yɛ- 'see' appears both with the alternation and without:

- (118) a.    **ǎhá·yɛ̃ʔ**  
               **ahá:yɛ̃ʔ**  
               **a-ha-yɛ̃-ʔ**  
               **FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-PUNC**  
               **'he saw'**  
               **TN:17:132:06**
- b.    **ahǎyóñɛ̃ʔ**  
               **ahayónyɛ̃ʔ**  
               **a-hayɔ-yɛ̃-ʔ**  
               **FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-see-PUNC**  
               **'he them saw' ('he saw them')**  
               **TN:02:070:09**
- c.    **nǎhayó·yɛ̃ʔ**  
               **nahayó:yɛ̃ʔ**  
               **n-a-hayɔ-yɛ̃-ʔ**  
               **TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-see-PUNC**  
               **'now he them saw' ('now he saw them')**  
               **TN:24:186:66-187:01**

The y in 118a corresponds to ny in 118b, between nasal vowels. Although in the same environment, 118c retains y. This optional alternation is triggered by a preceding ɔ.

The first alternation to be shown from the second set (i.e., Y) is that of Y and w, shown with -Yɔ- 'arrive'. In 119a, -Yɔ- is realized by y, while in 119b y is replaced by w. The appearance of y is due to the preceding consonant. The conditioning environment for the w is the preceding back rounded vowel, u.

- (119) a.    **āhāyómàʔkqʔ**  
           **ahayówàʔkyqʔ**  
           **a-hayq-Yaʔt-Yq-ʔ**  
           **FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-body-arrive-PUNC**  
           **'he (with) them two arrived home' ('he arrived home with them')**  
           **TN:24:185:07**
- b.    **tèʔsu·wq̄**  
           **tèʔsu:wq̄**  
           **teʔ-s-(h)u-Yq̄**  
           **NEG-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-arrive.STAT**  
           **'not back he has arrived' ('he hasn't returned')**  
           **TN:04:081:31**

Additionally, it may be seen that in 119a the Y in *-Yaʔt-* 'body' also corresponds to w, this due to the preceding q. That is, back vowels trigger the alternation of Y and w.

The alternation of Y and ny can also be shown with the verb *-Yq-* 'arrive'. In 120 Y appears as ny. The triggering environment is a combination of the i preceding the Y, and the nasal vowel afterwards.

- (120) **tuhāhátĩñq̄**  
           **tuhahátinyq̄**  
           **tu-h-a-hati-Yq̄-ʔ**  
           **REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC**  
           **'there they arrived'**  
           **TN:37:299:38-39**

When i precedes Y but the following vowel is oral, then the alternant found is ž:

- (121) **tehōmatījǎʹtūrēʹdiʹ**  
**tehōwatižǎʹturēʹdiʹ?**  
**te-hōwati-Yaʹt-urē-di-ʹ?**  
**NEG-3,non.sg:MASC,non.sg-body-find-BEN-STAT**  
**'not their body found' ('they did not find their bodies')**  
**TN:40:311:03-04**

Note that in 121 Y appears as ž. This ž also appears when Y follows y, as in 122:

- (122) **àwǎjé·dà·qʹ**  
**àwažé:dà:qʹ?**  
**a-way-Yeda-qʹ?**  
**FACT-1,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC**  
**'it (of) me takes hold of ('it takes hold of me')**  
**TN:05:091:43**

The y at the end of first singular patient *-way-* fuses with the Y of *-Yeda-* 'catch' to form ž.

The most common alternant of Y is Ø. This occurs intervocally, aside from the environments just discussed. That is, after e and a the morphophoneme Y becomes Ø, regardless of nasality of the following vowel. In 123 the verbs *-Yęteri-* 'know' and *-Yeda-* 'catch' both appear with Ø for Y after a, even though they differ in the nasality of the vowel after Y.

- (123) a. **hǎętērʹ**  
**haęterih**  
**ha-Yęteri-h**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-know-STAT**  
**'he knows'**  
**TN:24:184:16**

- b.     **ǎhòməédá·qʼ**  
           **ahòwaedá:qʼ**  
           **a-hqwa-Yeda-qʼ**  
           **FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-catch-PUNC**  
           **'they him get hold of' ('they get hold of him')**  
           **TN:27:232:09**

Y also appears as  $\emptyset$  after e:

- (124) **ekēaʔtqʼ·"gaʼ**  
           **ekeʔtqʼ:dyʔ**  
           **e-t-ye-Yaʔt-qdi-aʔ**  
           **FUT-CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-body-make-PUNC**  
           **'I body make' ('I will create people')**  
           **TN:01:062:23**

To show that there are two different alternations, one for Y and one for y, examples need to be shown where the /y/ of one alternation set does not undergo the changes of the other set.

For example, y does not become w after back rounded vowels. In 125 the change from y to w expected for Y does not occur: y remains y (cf. 119).

- (125) **ǎhu·yĕʼ**  
           **ahu:yĕʼ**  
           **a-hu-yĕ-ʼ**  
           **FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-see-PUNC**  
           **'he him saw' ('he saw him')**  
           **TN:12:113:24**

The alternations between Y and Ø intervocalically, and between Y and ž after palatals (i and y), also fail to occur for y. In 126 both examples show *-yerq-* 'stay' with y. The first shows an intervocalic y (cf. 123) and the second shows y instead of ž (cf. 121).

- (126) a.    *ăwăyé·rǫʔ*  
               *awayé:rǫʔ*  
               *awa-yerǫ-ʔ*  
               1,EXCL,pl,AGT-stay-STAT  
               'we sit together'  
               WD:VR:350
- b.    *hătīyé·rǫ*  
               *hatiyé:rǫ*  
               *hati-yerǫ*  
               MASC,pl,AGT-stay.STAT  
               'they stayed'  
               TN:40:309:46

Since y fails to join in the alternations of Y, they must be separate, even though they overlap.

The exchange of i and Y depends on whether a consonant or vowel follows. Before a consonant i can be found, while Y precedes a vowel.

Before Consonant	Before Vowel
i	Y

Chart 27: Alternation of *i* and *Y*

This can be seen using the verb *-hšřǫdi-* 'make'. 127a shows the verb 'make' as *-hšřǫdi-* before a consonant, and 127b *-hšřǫdY-* before a vowel.

- (127) a. hũti'crq̃'di'  
 hutihšrɔdi'  
 huti-hšrɔdi-?  
 MASC,pl,PAT-make-STAT  
 'they had made'  
 TN:37:293:59
- b. āhāti'crq̃'ga'  
 ahāti:šrɔdya'  
 a-hati-hšrɔdi-a?  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC  
 'they make'  
 TN:07:100:40

There are different interactions between t and y on the one hand, and between t and Y on the other. These interactions are further affected by the alternation between Y and i.

The following example shows that t alternates with k before Y.<sup>46</sup> 128a shows the noun *-rɔt-* 'log' ending in a t and followed by a vowel. 128b shows the same noun, this time appearing as *-rɔk-* when preceding Y.

- (128) t → k / \_ Y
- a. yārɔ'ta'  
 yarɔ:ta'  
 ya-rɔt-a?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-NOUN  
 'log'  
 TN:11:109:36

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<sup>46</sup>Since /k/ is an independent phoneme, this rule has a different status than the similar allophonic rule converting /d/ to [g] before /y/ (see section 2.5 *Consonant Allophones*).



- b. aʔ<sup>a</sup>rɔ̃:kyaʔ  
 aʔrɔ̃:kyaʔ  
 aʔ-Ø-rɔ̃t-Yaʔ  
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-log-break.PUNC  
 'I log cut' ('I cut the log')  
 IR:08

The alternation of t and k before a palatal glide is common in Iroquoian languages, also occurring in dialects of Mohawk and Cayuga.

When a morpheme ending in t is followed by a morpheme beginning with y, their boundary has k instead of t, y, or ty. Thus, ty alternates with k. This can be seen in example 110, as well as here:

- (129) aʔ<sup>a</sup>wákɛ̃:seʔ  
 aʔwákɛ̃:seʔ  
 aʔ-w-at-yɛ̃-ʔs-eʔ  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-see-BEN-PUNC  
 'she (at it) looked' ('she looked at it')  
 TN:26:202:38

At the boundary between the Semireflexive *-at-* and the verb *-yɛ̃-* 'see' is found k, rather than ty.

Extending the alternation of tY with ky to include the alternation between Y and i results in tY appearing as either ky before a vowel, or ti before a consonant.

Before	Before
Consonant	Vowel
ti	ky

Chart 28: t + Alternation of *i* and *Y*

This *ti* / *ky* alternation can be seen with the verb *-nɛrɔti-* / *-nɛrɔkY-* 'hunt'. Note in 130 that the root for 'hunt' appears as *-nɛrɔti-* before *h*, but as *-nɛrɔky-* before *e*. This is parallel to 127, with the additional alternation of *t* and *k*.

- (130) a. **dehũŋɛːrɔtiʔ**  
**dehunɛːrɔtih**  
**d-e-hu-nɛrɔti-h**  
**SUBST-FUT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC**  
**'that he (may) hunt'**  
**TN:04:079:23**
- b. **hũŋɛːrɔkɛʔs**  
**hunɛːrɔkyeʔs**  
**hu-nɛrɔti-eʔs**  
**MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-HAB**  
**'he goes out hunting'**  
**TN:23:176:07**

The interactions of both *Y* and *y* with a preceding *t* are summarized in this chart:

	Before	Before
	Consonant	Vowel
t + y	-	k
t + Y	ti	ky

Chart 29: Interaction of *t* with *Y* and *y*

In 29, the two rows indicate which alternation, Y or y, follows t. The columns indicate whether the tY / ty occurs before a consonant or a vowel.

Finally, š before another consonant, other than r, alternates with s. Before y the result is sk. In 131a the noun root *-ʔnqhs-* 'bag' is shown before a. 131b shows the same root before k, where it appears as *-ʔnqhs-*. This k itself is explained in section 2.16 *Epenthesis and Prothesis*, with example 133.

- (131) a.    **ya'no'ca'**  
               **yaʔnohšaʔ**  
               **ya-ʔnohš-aʔ**  
               **FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-NOUN**  
               **'it bag' ('bag')**  
               **TN:31:274:02**
- b.    **hatino'skwi)'tré'ska'**  
               **hatinohskwiʔtréhskaʔ**  
               **hati-ʔnohš-wiʔtré-hsk-aʔ**  
               **MASC,pl,AGT-bag-tie-UN-STAT**  
               **'they the bag tie unfastened' ('they untied the bag')**  
               **TN:29:269:58**

Before y, š alternates with s, with the y alternating with k:

- (132) a.    **ano'camę'**  
               **anqhsawęh**  
               **a-nqhs-awę-h**  
               **1,sg,PAT-house-have-STAT**  
               **'a house I have' ('my house')**  
               **WD:NR:082**

- b. ayūnq'(skq)  
 ayunq'hsq?  
 ayu-nqhš-yq-?  
 FEM.INDEF,sg,PAT-house-in-STAT  
 'the house (hold) in' ('in the house')  
 TN:30:272:51

In 132a the noun *-nqhš-* 'house' appears with š before a, while in 132b the intersection of the š of *-nqhš-* 'house' with the y of *-yq-* 'in' results in sk.

## 2.16 Epenthesis and Prothesis

There are various ways by which extra phones are added. An epenthetic k is inserted between s and w:

- (133) s + w → skw
- a. sāhātrē<sup>n</sup>dūtə<sup>a</sup>da<sup>a</sup>  
 sahātrēdutà<sup>a</sup>da?  
 s-a-h-at-rəd-ut-a-<sup>a</sup>d-a?  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
 'again he sings thereat' ('he sang again')  
 TN:24:186:22
- b. skwātrē<sup>n</sup>dú<sup>a</sup>ta<sup>a</sup>  
 skwātrē:dú<sup>a</sup>ta?  
 sk-w-at-rəd-ut-a?  
 REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-HAB  
 'again she (instead of) him sings' ('she sang for them instead of him')  
 TN:24:190:57

Note how the repetitive (REP) *-s-* is followed by a in 133a, but there is a k between it and the following w in 133b.

When certain morphemes are joined together (usually incorporated nouns and following verbs, but also nouns and verbs followed by consonant-initial suffixes), the vowel *a* is sometimes inserted in between to break up consonant clusters. This *-a-* is called the joiner vowel (JOIN). In 134 the Joiner *-a-* is inserted between the roots *-qwehts-* 'land' and *-wahst-* 'good'.<sup>47</sup>

- (134) *kqme'tsawá'sti'*  
*kyqwehtsawáhstih*  
*t-y-qwehts-a-wahst-ih*  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-land-JOIN-good-STAT  
 'to the land good' ('to the promised land')  
 TN:29:267:20

A verb needs to be at least two syllables long. If it is not, then a prothetic (PROTH) *i-* is appended to the beginning of the word. The verb in 135 would only be one syllable long if the Prothetic were not added.

- (135) *íde's*  
*íde?s*  
*i-d-e-?s*  
 PROTH-3,dl,AGT-go-HAB  
 'they two walk'  
 TN:24:187:05

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<sup>47</sup>An alternative, used by Chafe (1967:15) for Seneca, is to postulate basic versus combining allomorphs. The combining allomorphs end in a (or, in the case of Seneca, *æ*, *q*, and *ę* as well).

However, there are several instances of initial *i* which also lack any meaning, but due to the length of the word, do not serve the same function as the Prothetic.

- (136) Ihāyúwà·nɛ̃  
 ihayúwà:nɛ̃h  
 i-ha-yuwanɛ̃-h  
 PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
 'he is large'  
 TN:13:118:32

The word in 136 is four syllables long without the initial *i*, so that it is not the Prothetic. Or, it could be the Prothetic, but with some other unclear function.

An intrusive glottal stop ʔ, sometimes complete with echoed vowel, can appear before a consonant, without affecting meaning. Note that the first example in 137 has the string <qt> while the second includes a glottal stop ʔ and echoed vowel. Otherwise, the forms are identical phonemically and semantically.

- (137) a. āh(ó<sup>ʔ</sup>t)è<sup>ʔ</sup>wa<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 ahó<sup>ʔ</sup>tè<sup>ʔ</sup>wa<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 a-hq-ate<sup>ʔ</sup>w-a<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 'they fled'  
 TN:40:307:17
- b. āh(ó<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔt)è<sup>ʔ</sup>wa<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 ahó<sup>ʔ</sup>tè<sup>ʔ</sup>wa<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 a-hq-ate<sup>ʔ</sup>w-a<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 'they fled'  
 TN:20:147:05

This intrusive ʔ can also occur before consonant clusters. In 138 the consonant cluster <ñ> (representing ny) is preceded by a glottal stop ʔ and echoed vowel only in 138b.

- (138) a.     dēhùʔk(ξ̃ñ)eʔ  
               dehùhkényeʔ  
               de-hu-hkényeʔ  
               SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT  
               'the he is younger' ('the younger one')  
               TN:01:062:21
- b.     dēhùʔk(ξ̃ʔñ)eʔ  
               dehùhkényeʔ  
               de-hu-hkényeʔ  
               SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT  
               'the he is younger' ('the younger one')  
               TN:01:063:03-04

The most frequent occurrence of the intrusive glottal stop is before d, both across morpheme boundaries and within morphemes:

- (139) a.     dũ(ʔdáʔtār)aʔ  
               dudáʔtaraʔ  
               d-u-daʔtar-aʔ  
               SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-bread-NOUN  
               'the bread'  
               TN:04:078:08
- b.     du(ʔdáʔtār)aʔ  
               duʔdáʔtaraʔ  
               d-u-daʔtar-aʔ  
               SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-bread-NOUN  
               'the bread'  
               TN:34:282:13-14

The root for 'bread', *-daʔar-*, appears prenasalized initially in 139a, but with a glottal stop in 139b. The intrusive glottal stop can also appear within a morpheme:

- (140) a.    **ahūwédāʔ**  
           **ahuwédaʔ?**  
           a-hu-Yeda-ʔ?  
           FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC  
           'it him caught' ('it caught him')  
           TN:13:121:08
- b.    **ahōmàtije`dāʔ**  
           **ahōwàtizédáʔ?**  
           a-hōwati-Yeda-ʔ?  
           FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,non.sg-catch-PUNC  
           'they them caught' ('they caught them')  
           TN:37:292:06

The root for 'catch', *-Yeda-*, appears with the glottal stop in 140b, but without in 140a.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.17 Stress Placement

Barbeau indicates two types of stress or accent, primary and secondary. The first is the "main stress or accent in a word" which "usually corresponds to a rising pitch of the voice" (Barbeau 1960:58). Instead of "rising pitch", Barbeau (1915b) calls this "high pitch". It is symbolized with the acute mark ´. The second is described as a "minor or weaker accent", marked by the grave diacritic ` . Various primary stress patterns and their exceptions will be presented first, followed by secondary stress.

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<sup>47</sup>It is interesting to note that the historical changes affecting \*n and \*t in Tuscarora also involve the addition of a glottal stop. However, in Tuscarora, where \*n became *ɬ*, it is the reflex of \*t that gained a glottal stop: *ʔn*.



According to Michelson (1988:52), Proto-Lake Iroquoian had penultimate accent, unless the penultimate vowel was the Joiner *-a-* (see section 2.16 *Epanthesis and Prothesis*). In that case, the accent was antepenultimate. Examples of Wyandot words that also follow this rule can be found. Each of the examples in 141 shows primary accent on the penultimate vowel, with none of the forms showing the Joiner *-a-*.

- (141) a.     **ācegáha**  
           **ašedyáha**  
           **a-še-dya-ha**  
           **FACT-2,sg,AGT-eat-PUNC**  
           **'for them to eat'**  
           **TN:28:243:56**
- b.     **ahādà'ürá'ha'**  
           **ahadà'urá:ha?**  
           **a-ha-da'ura-ha?**  
           **FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-able-PUNC**  
           **'he is able'**  
           **TN:26:207:46**
- c.     **āhāá'kq'**  
           **ahaá'kyq?**  
           **a-ha-Ya't-Yq-?**  
           **FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-arrive-PUNC**  
           **'he her brought (in)' ('he brought her in')**  
           **TN:02:065:31**
- d.     **dehūmĕ'tsè'ŋ'a·**  
           **dehqehtsęhti'ŋa:**  
           **de-h-qwe-?tsęhti-?a**  
           **SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM**  
           **'the he person young' ('the young man')**  
           **TN:02:072:51**

- e. yāwáʼstíʿ  
 yawáhstih  
 ya-wahst-ih  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT  
 'it is nice'  
 TN:22:165:16

The following forms show the Joiner *-a-* as the penult, with stress thus on the antepenult, as in the Proto-Lake Iroquoian rule:

- (142) a. arɛ·<sup>n</sup>díhàʿcaʿ  
 arɛ:díhàhšaʿ  
 a-r-ɛ-dih-a-hš-aʿ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-borrow-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
 'he went to borrow'  
 TN:29:261:34
- b. aʷwátēyàʿt  
 aʷwátēyàʿt  
 aʷ-w-atey-a-ht  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-burn-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC  
 'she set fire'  
 TN:22:161:33
- c. hawíʿcaʿ<sup>a</sup>yeʿ  
 hawíhšaʿʔyeh  
 h-awihš-a-ʔyeh  
 MASC,sg,AGT-strength-JOIN-LOC  
 'his strength'  
 TN:19:141:02
- d. sǎhǎkáʿ(ʔa)<sup>a</sup>da  
 sahakáhtaʿʔda  
 s-a-h-akaht-a-ʔd-a  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
 'again he goes to see (visit)' ('he went to visit again')  
 TN:21:153:42

- e.     tëyɛ̃<sup>n</sup>dātɔ̃kwādi<sup>c</sup>  
teyeʔdatɔ̃hkwadi:h  
te-ye-ʔd-atɔ̃hkw-a-di-h  
DU-1,sg,AGT-arrow-shoot-JOIN-BEN-STAT  
'one side then the other' ('I shot both sides')  
TN:28:237:49

All of these forms show a stressed antepenult with the penult being the Joiner *-a-*.

Contrary to the historical rule, however, in Wyandot the Joiner *-a-* can be stressed when penultimate. In the following examples, the Joiner *-a-* vowel is stressed despite being penultimate.

- (143) a.     ǎ<sup>c</sup>te<sup>c</sup>ũtsɛ̃<sup>c</sup>ʔtá<sup>c</sup>di<sup>c</sup>  
ǎhtehutsɛ̃htá<sup>c</sup>:dih  
ǎh-te-hu-tseht-a-di-h  
NOT-NEG-MASC,sg,PAT-eat-JOIN-BEN-STAT  
'no not she him feeds' ('she doesn't feed him')  
TN:27:211:15-16
- b.     ǎhũmɛ̃<sup>n</sup>dá<sup>n</sup>ta<sup>n</sup>  
ahuwɛ̃dá<sup>n</sup>ʔta<sup>n</sup>  
a-hu-wɛ̃d-a-t-a<sup>n</sup>  
FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-voice-JOIN-stand-PUNC  
'he prays for mercy'  
TN:25:197:07
- c.     ěsǎtrɛ̃<sup>n</sup>dūtá<sup>n</sup>da<sup>n</sup>  
esatrɛ̃:dutá<sup>n</sup>ʔda<sup>n</sup>  
e-s-at-rɛ̃d-ut-a-ʔd-a<sup>n</sup>  
FUT-2,sg,PAT-SEMI-song-stick.up-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
'will again thou sing thereat' ('you will sing again then')  
TN:24:193:16

- d. **hǎʰgáʰyeʰ**  
**haʔdyáʔyeh**  
**ha-ʔdy-a-ʔyeh**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-finger-JOIN-LOC**  
**'his finger on' ('on his finger')**  
**TN:28:237:19**
- e. **dǎyòʰmĕskwá·diʰ**  
**dayòʰweskwá:dih**  
**d-ay-ɔweskw-a-di-h**  
**PART-1,sg,PAT-like-JOIN-BEN-STAT**  
**'that I it like' ('that I like it')**  
**TN:35:285:24-25**

There are also stress patterns which do not match that reconstructed for Proto-Lake Iroquoian. For instance, Wyandot words can have ultimate stress:

- (144) a. **ǎhà·ʰgáʰ**  
**ahà:dyáh**  
**a-ha-dya-h**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-chase-PUNC**  
**'he her chases (after)' ('he chases her')**  
**TN:02:069:26**
- b. **ǎhà·yĕʰ**  
**ahà:yĕʰ**  
**a-ha-yĕ-ʰ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-PUNC**  
**'he saw'**  
**TN:23:170:56**
- c. **ǎhĕhǎóʰ**  
**ahĕhǎóʰ**  
**a-hĕ-ihǎo-ʰ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC**  
**'he said'**  
**TN:24:194:11**

- d. **dūkà<sup>h</sup>ʔtúrí<sup>h</sup>**  
**dukyàʔturíh**  
**d-u-at-Yaʔt-uri-h**  
**PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-cover-STAT**  
**'that body covered' ('... that covered its body')**  
**TN:29:260:29-30**
- e. **hāmɛ<sup>h</sup>dījú<sup>h</sup>**  
**hawēdižúʔ**  
**ha-wēd-ižu-ʔ**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-voice-good-STAT**  
**'his voice (is) big'**  
**TN:01:063:02b**

Although stress placement is often consistent (see chart 5: *Non-contrasting Patterns of Length, Stress and Nasalization*), stress can also be variable in Wyandot. That is, a given word may appear with more than one stress pattern. In 145 primary stress is on the second syllable in a, but on the third in b.

- (145) a. **ǎhátɛ<sup>h</sup>·<sup>h</sup>du·tq<sup>h</sup>ʔ<sup>h</sup>**  
**ahátɛ:du:tqʔ**  
**a-h-atɛdutq-ʔ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC**  
**'he it told' ('he told it')**  
**TN:18:134:54**
- b. **ǎhatɛ<sup>h</sup>·<sup>h</sup>du·tq<sup>h</sup>ʔ**  
**ahatɛ:du:tqʔ**  
**a-h-atɛdutq-ʔ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC**  
**'he them tells' ('he told them')**  
**TN:38:301:44**

In 146 the three forms show stress on the second, third, and fourth syllables, although the words are otherwise identical.

- (146) a.    **āhāti·gahaʻ**  
**aháti:dyahaʻ**  
**a-hati-dya-haʻ**  
**FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC**  
**'they eat'**  
**TN:28:254:17**
- b.    **ahāti<sup>n</sup>gāha**  
**ahatídyaha**  
**a-hati-dya-ha**  
**FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC**  
**'they eat'**  
**TN:03:076:22**
- c.    **āhāti<sup>n</sup>gáha·**  
**ahatidyáha:**  
**a-hati-dya-ha**  
**FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC**  
**'(for) them to eat' ('they eat')**  
**TN:03:076:28**

In 147a stress is shown on the second syllable, while 147b has stress on the fourth.

- (147) a.    **ahátrę·<sup>n</sup>dù·tęʻ**  
**ahátřędù:tęʻ**  
**a-h-at-řęd-ut-ęʻ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-PUNC**  
**'he sings'**  
**TN:26:209:48**
- b.    **àhãtrę·<sup>n</sup>dú<sup>tę</sup>ʻ**  
**àhatrę:dú<sup>tę</sup>ʻ**  
**a-h-at-řęd-ut-ęʻ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-PUNC**  
**'he sings'**  
**TN:24:189:33**

The word for 'the younger one' appears variously with antepenultimate, penultimate, and ultimate stress:

- (148) a. **děhúʔkɛñèʔ**  
**děhúhkɛnyèʔ**  
**de-hu-hkɛnyeʔ**  
**SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT**  
**'the he is younger' ('the younger one')**  
**TN:01:062:27**
- b. **děhùʔkɛñéʔ**  
**děhùhkɛnyéʔ**  
**de-hu-hkɛnyeʔ**  
**SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT**  
**'the he is younger' ('the younger one')**  
**TN:01:062:21**
- c. **děhuʔkɛñéʔ**  
**děhuhkɛnyéʔ**  
**de-hu-hkɛnyeʔ**  
**SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT**  
**'the younger one'**  
**TN:04:083:07**

Example 149 shows stress either on the first syllable, as in a, or the fourth, as in b:

- (149) a. **háwatenòʔrɔ**  
**háwatenò:rɔ**  
**haw-atɛnɔrɔʔ**  
**MASC,sg:1,sg-uncle.STAT**  
**'uncle'**  
**WM:250**

- b.     **hawǎtǎnǒ·rǒʔ<sup>o</sup>**  
           **hawatenǒ:rǒʔ**  
           **haw-atenrǒʔ**  
           **MASC,sg:1,sg-uncle.STAT**  
           **'my uncle'**  
           **TN:19:144:07**

In 150 stress varies between penultimate and ultimate:

- (150) a.     **sǎhǎ·ǒʔ**  
               **sahǎ:rǒʔ**  
               **s-a-ha-Yǒ-ʔ**  
               **REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC**  
               **'again he comes (home)' ('he comes home again')**  
               **TN:21:152:33**
- b.     **sahǎ·ǒʔ**  
               **saha:rǒʔ**  
               **s-a-ha-Yǒ-ʔ**  
               **REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC**  
               **'back she gets (home)' ('she gets back home again')**  
               **TN:23:179:01**

As can be seen, primary stress is not clear-cut in Wyandot. Although many words have consistent primary stress, many do not. Even among those that do, variant patterns can be found.

Secondary stress can sometimes replace primary stress. That is, in a given instance of a word the location of primary stress may be the same as that for secondary stress in another instance of the same word. In 151a primary stress is on the second syllable, while (b) has secondary stress there instead.



- (151) a. **ahákaʔke·nqʕ**  
**ahákyaʔkye:nqh**  
**a-h-at-Yaʔt-Yenq-h**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-body-fall-PUNC**  
**'he lay down'**  
**TN:34:280:41**
- b. **āhàkaʔkəno**  
**ahákyaʔkyenq**  
**a-h-at-Yaʔt-Yenq**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-body-fall.PUNC**  
**'he lies down'**  
**TN:12:112:42**

In 152a the final syllable bears primary stress, while in b it has secondary stress instead:

- (152) a. **dēhiwé·yʕ**  
**dehiwé:yh**  
**de-hi-wey-h**  
**SUBST-MASC,dl,AGT-marry-STAT**  
**'the his spouse' ('his wife')**  
**TN:02:073:30**
- b. **dēhiwè·yʕ**  
**dehiwè:yh**  
**de-hi-wey-h**  
**SUBST-MASC,dl,AGT-marry-STAT**  
**'the his wife' ('his wife')**  
**TN:28:255:23-24**

The following remaining examples also all show an alternation between primary stress in a and secondary stress in b:

- (153) a. **dīré·heʼ**  
**diré:heʼ**  
**di-r-ehe-ʼ**  
**PART-MASC,sg,AGT-think-STAT**  
**'that he thought'**  
**TN:24:192:29**
- b. **di·rèhɛʼ**  
**di:rèheʼ**  
**di-r-ehe-ʼ**  
**PART-MASC,sg,AGT-think-STAT**  
**'that he thought'**  
**TN:26:206:06**
- (154) a. **hu<sup>n</sup>dá·mɛʼ**  
**huʔdá:wɛh**  
**hu-ʔd-awɛ-h**  
**MASC,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT**  
**'he arrows has' ('he has arrows')**  
**TN:26:202:52**
- b. **hu<sup>u</sup>dà·mɛʼ**  
**huʔdà:wɛh**  
**hu-ʔd-awɛ-h**  
**MASC,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT**  
**'he arrow has' ('he has arrows')**  
**TN:26:202:40**
- (155) a. **sě<sup>n</sup>dīkwārú·riʼ**  
**sɛdikwarú:rih**  
**s-ɛd-ikwar-ur-ih**  
**2,sg,PAT-SEMI-quilt-cover-STAT**  
**'thine quilt over (thine) face' ('the quilt on your face')**  
**TN:28:253:18**
- b. **sɛ<sup>n</sup>dí·kwārù·riʼ**  
**sɛdí:kwarù:rih**  
**s-ɛd-ikwar-uri-h**  
**2,sg,PAT-SEMI-quilt-cover-IMP**  
**'thou quilts put over (thee)' ('put on the quilt')**  
**TN:28:252:50**

Just as primary stress is variable, so too is secondary stress. That is, two tokens of the same word may appear with different placements of secondary stress. In 156 secondary stress alternates between the second and third syllables, although primary stress remains penultimate:

- (156) a. **dēyà̀yq̄mɛ́ʔa**  
**dəyà̀yq̄wɛ́ʔa**  
**de-yayq-Yɛʔa**  
**SUBST-FEM.INDEF:NON.MASC,non.sg-child.STAT**  
**'the her children' ('her children')**  
**TN:11:109:30-31**
- b. **dəyǎ̀yq̄·mɛ́ʔaʔ**  
**dəyayò:wɛ́ʔah**  
**de-yayq-Yɛʔah**  
**SUBST-FEM.INDEF:NON.MASC,non.sg-child.STAT**  
**'the her children (little girls)' ('her children')**  
**TN:23:177:38**

Example 157 shows consistent ultimate primary stress, but secondary stress varying between first and second syllables:

- (157) a. **tèʔnɛ́ʔtɛ́rɪʔ**  
**tèʔnyɛ́teriɪh**  
**teʔ-[ny]-Yɛteri-h**  
**NEG-1,sg,AGT-know-STAT**  
**'not I know' ('I don't know')**  
**TN:24:184:27-28**

- b. te<sup>h</sup>ñɛtɛr<sup>h</sup>  
 te<sup>h</sup>nyɛterih  
 te<sup>h</sup>-[ny]-Yɛteri-h  
 NEG-1,sg,AGT-know-STAT  
 'not I know' ('I don't know')  
 TN:05:092:08

In 158 both a and b have final main stress, but a has antepenultimate secondary stress while b has penultimate secondary stress:

- (158) a. tūsàha·ó<sup>h</sup>  
 tusàha:ó<sup>h</sup>?  
 t-usa-ha-Yɔ-?  
 DU-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
 'there back he comes' ('he came back there')  
 TN:05:093:26-27
- b. tūsahà·ó<sup>h</sup>  
 tusahà:ó<sup>h</sup>?  
 t-usa-ha-Yɔ-?  
 DU-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
 'there he arrived' ('he arrived there')  
 TN:05:092:42

In 159 primary stress on the antepenult, but differ in placement of secondary stress. 159a has secondary stress on the syllable before the primary, while b has secondary stress on the syllable after the primary.

- (159) a. ù<sup>h</sup>cátūha<sup>h</sup>  
 ù<sup>h</sup>šátuha<sup>h</sup>?  
 u-hšatu-ha<sup>h</sup>?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT  
 'she is sick'  
 TN:34:279:17

- b. u<sup>ˈ</sup>cátùha<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 uhšátùha?  
 u-hšau-ha?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT  
 'she is sick'  
 TN:34:279:06

Next the placement of secondary stress varies between the first and second syllables:

- (160) a. yàñɛnó<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 yànyɛnóh  
 ya-nyɛnóh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-dog  
 'dog'  
 TN:13:118:42
- b. yǎñɛnó<sup>ˈ</sup>  
 yanyɛnó:h  
 ya-nyɛnóh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-dog  
 '(the) dogs'  
 TN:40:310:08

Since both primary and secondary stress can vary in placement unpredictably, they will be indicated in the phonemicization.

## 2.18 Addendum

This phonemic analysis is assumed throughout the rest of the chapters. When phones are specified, it should be assumed that they are phonemes rather than Barbeau's transcription. Hence, the <[bracket]> and /slash/ conventions will not be used in later chapters, except in those few cases where such a distinction is being discussed.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

One of the major affix categories in Wyandot is that of the pronominal prefixes. These prefixes appear on both verbs and nouns. On verbs they represent the arguments. The use with nouns is discussed in chapter 6: *Nouns*.

#### 3.1 Distinctive Categories

There are two sets of intransitive prefixes, which form subsets of the transitive prefixes. In some cases intransitives have marking like that of a transitive subject, as in an accusative language (with certain restrictions discussed in section 3.6 *Transitives*). In other cases intransitives have marking like the transitive object, as in an ergative language (with certain restrictions discussed in section 3.6 *Transitives*).<sup>48</sup> The two types of relation are standardly called agent and patient in the Iroquoian literature, following Chafe (1970). Transitive prefixes, also called interactive (Foster, Michelson & Woodbury 1989), mark both agent and patient, and are usually treated as unit morphemes. Some, however, can be further broken down to a limited extent (Lounsbury 1953, Chafe 1967). In this discussion transitive prefixes will be treated as unit morphemes.

Pronominal prefixes cover various categories of distinctions: person, number, gender, and relation. Relation has already been described as covering agent (AGT) and patient

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<sup>48</sup>i.e., Iroquoian languages are split intransitive.

(PAT). Persons are first (1), inclusive (IN), exclusive (EX), second (2), and third (3). First person is treated as a category in addition to inclusive and exclusive in that the latter two are neutralized in patient prefixes. Number covers singular (sg), dual (dl), plural (pl), and non-singular (non.sg). Non-singular neutralizes the dual and plural categories. If defined in terms of contrast sets rather than absolute number, then there would be two different singulars: one which contrasts with dual and plural, and one which contrasts only with non-singular.

Gender only occurs in the third person. There is a masculine (MASC), a feminine-indefinite (FEM.IND), a feminine-zoic (FEM.ZOIC), and a non-masculine (NON.MASC). The feminine-indefinite refers to some females, as well as generics (often glossed as 'onebody' or 'they'), while the feminine-zoic refers both to other females as well as animals and others of neuter gender.<sup>49</sup> A specifically neuter category also exists, but is subsumed under the feminine-zoic in all but a few transitive relations, discussed in section 3.6 *Transitives*. The term non-masculine is used, adapted from Chafe (1967), to refer to a collapsing of the gender categories not specifically male. This is despite the fact that often there are certain similarities in form between the non-masculine and the feminine-zoic. These similarities are such that the non-masculine non-singular patient and the non-masculine plural agent (but not the non-masculine dual agent) appear to be extensions of the feminine-zoic, but not of the feminine-

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<sup>49</sup>In some Iroquoian languages, e.g., Seneca, the feminine-indefinite is simply feminine, while the feminine-zoic is simply neuter.

indefinite.<sup>50</sup> Finally, in the first person agent dual and plural there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive.<sup>51</sup>

Charts 30 and 31 show the categories relevant to the intransitive prefixes, without the actual affixes.

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN			
	EX			
2				
3	MASC			
	FEM.IND			
	FEM.ZOIC			

Chart 30: Categories Covered by Agent Prefixes

As can be seen in chart 30, there is a collapse of feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic into non-masculine in the dual and plural. There are 15 agent categories.

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<sup>50</sup>An alternative, used by Barbeau (1915a), is to treat the feminine-indefinite as only appearing in the singular. Then the non-masculine could be more accurately described as feminine-zoic. Interestingly, Barbeau (1915a) uses non-masculine to refer to what is called the feminine-zoic here (and calling the feminine-indefinite simply indefinite).

<sup>51</sup>There is one other morpheme in the pronominal prefix morpheme slot, tsi- ~ tsa- ~ tsu-, the simple Zoic. It only occurs in certain animal names. In the other languages the simple Zoic can co-occur with pronominal prefixes, or appear in other morpheme slots (Lachler 1992). However, in Wyandot it appears where a pronominal prefix would be expected, and so is treated here as a pronominal of limited distribution.



		singular	dual	plural
1				
2				
3	MASC			
	FEM.IND			
	FEM.ZOIC			

Chart 31: Categories Covered by Patient Prefixes

Chart 31 shows the patient prefix categories. Note that there is no inclusive / exclusive distinction. In the third person, dual and plural are collapsed into the non-singular. Similarly to the agent distinctions, the feminine-indefinite and feminine-zoic collapse together into non-masculine in the non-singular. There are 11 patient categories.

The actual prefixes will be presented later in sections 3.4 *Agent Prefixes* and 3.5 *Patient Prefixes*.

### 3.2 Semantic versus Morphological Intransitivity

In section 3.1 comparisons were made between intransitive and transitive marking in reference to split intransitivity, with the mention of certain restrictions. These restrictions relate to the definition of intransitivity. In a semantically transitive relation involving a single feminine or neuter argument, that argument is not overtly indicated. The pronominal prefix used for such a relation is indistinguishable in morphological form from an intransitive.

For example, first singular agent (1,sg,AGT) *-ye-* 'I' can also mean 'I' acting on 'it', or 'I' acting on 'her', as in 161a-c. In 161a *-y-* first singular agent (1,sg,AGT) refers to just



tú <sup>ć</sup>	aʎé· <sup>ń</sup> drę <sup>ć</sup>	aʎ <sup>ʎ</sup> kę <sup>ń</sup> dá <sup>ʎ</sup> skwạ...
túh	aʎyé:dręh	aʎkędáʎskwa
	aʎ-ye-drę-h	aʎ-t-y-ędaʎskw-a
	FACT-1,sg,AGT-tie-PUNC	FACT-DU-1,sg,AGT-jump-PUNC
there	I it tie	I jump'

the longer I wish my hair to grow, the higher up on to the tree trunk I fasten it, and then I leap down.

TN:22:159:07-15

c. ...<sup>ń</sup>dā<sup>ʎ</sup>ʎ<sup>ʎ</sup>t  
daʎí:t  
d-aʎ-[i]-it  
PART-FACT-1,sg,AGT-mean.PUNC  
'this I mean

ānà<sup>ʎ</sup>·<sup>ń</sup>ke<sup>ń</sup>dātó·kwę<sup>ʎ</sup>  
anàʎkeʎdató:kwęʎ  
n-aʎ-t-ye-ʎd-atqhk-w-ęʎ  
TEMP-FACT-CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-arrow-shoot-PUNC  
I shot on both sides in turn

i:t	nq̄n	áʎye <sup>ń</sup> dé· <sup>ń</sup> ga <sup>ć</sup>
i:t	nq̄	áʎyeʎdé:dyah
[i]-it		aʎ-ye-ʎdedy-ah
1,sg,AGT-mean.STAT		FACT-1,sg,AGT-overtake-PUNC
that's it	when	I her overtake

ācá <sup>ʎ</sup> ·a	<sup>ń</sup> da·ñq̄ñę <sup>ć</sup>	kq̄má <sup>ć</sup>
ažá:ʎa	da:nyq̄nyęh	kq̄wáh
a-ø-ʎža-ʎ		
FACT-1sgA-shoot-PUNC		
I shoot	the bear	the other side

ya<sup>ʎ</sup>·<sup>ń</sup>táté<sup>ć</sup>kwí<sup>ć</sup>...  
yatatéhkwi<sup>h</sup>  
y-at-atehkwi-h  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-side-STAT  
the body side'

I said that [when I was young I used to] shoot my arrows first at the bear's [right] side and then at its [left] side,

TN:28:238:34-41

In a parallel fashion to the agent prefixes, patient prefixes also have limited transitive uses. First person singular patient (1,sg,PAT) *-way-* 'me' can also mean 'it' acting on 'me', or 'she' acting on 'me', as in 162. In 162a *-waye-* first singular patient (1,sg,PAT) just refers to the 'I' that is willing, while in 162b *-way-* refers to both the 'it' taking hold and the 'me' that is held. In 162c *-way-* refers to the 'she' doing the catching, and the 'me' that is caught.

- (162) a.    ...wāyèməŋ<sup>h</sup>géri<sup>h</sup>            ěskò<sup>h</sup>tró<sup>h</sup>da<sup>h</sup>  
           wayèwedyérih               eskò<sup>h</sup>tró<sup>h</sup>da<sup>h</sup>  
           waye-wedyeri-h            e-s-yò-i<sup>h</sup>tró-d-ah  
           1,sg,PAT-willing-STAT   FUT-REP-1,sg:2,sg-live-DISLOC-PUNC  
           'I am willing               will I you take there

sà<sup>h</sup>dũmĕ<sup>h</sup>de<sup>h</sup>...  
 sà<sup>h</sup>duwĕ<sup>h</sup>deh  
 sa-du<sup>h</sup>wĕ<sup>h</sup>deh  
 2,sg,PAT-mother-LOC  
 thine mother to'

I am willing to take you down to your mother's home.  
 TN:02:071:36-39



treated as intransitive, regardless of the English gloss. This discrepancy between semantic transitivity and morphological transitivity is the reason for the Iroquoianist term *interactive*, which avoids the problem.

### 3.3 Phonological Conjugation Classes

Iroquoian pronominal prefixes are standardly divided into five phonologically-based conjugation classes, following Barbeau (1915a). This article set up classes for all Iroquoian languages, based on data from Wyandot, Oneida, and Mohawk, that are distinguished by the initial phoneme of the verb stem. The classes are currently referred to as C, A, E, I, and O. C represents any consonant, A a stem beginning with *a*, E either *e* or *ɛ*, O either *u* or *ɔ*, and I stands for *i*. In some instances the prefix overlaps the verb root. O is used, instead of U, since in all of the other Lake Iroquoian languages the back oral vowel is *o* rather than *u*. These are usually referred to as C-stem, A-stem, etc. Barbeau's own versions of the classes are examined more fully in section 3.7 *A Closer Look at Barbeau's Conjugation Classes*.

A clearer analysis obtains for Wyandot specifically when the CAEOI categories are divided into more detailed subcategories. Many of the morphemes in the E and O classes show a pair of regular alternations, as seen in chart 32 below:

GLOSS	ALLOMORPHY	STEM CLASSES
1,dl,PAT	qđ- ~ qn-	E
1,EX,dl,AGT	ad- ~ an-	E, O
MASC,dl,AGT	d- ~ n-	E, O
MASC,pl,AGT	hęđ- ~ hęn-	E, O
NON.MASC,dl,AGT	d- ~ n-	E, O
NON.MASC,pl,AGT	węđ- ~ węc-	E, O
1,EX,pl,AGT	aż- ~ any-	O
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT	[u]- ~ [q]-	O

Chart 32: Pronominal Allomorphy in E- and O-stems

This is to be read such that the masculine plural agent, for example, shows both *hęđ-* and *hęc-* in both the E and O stem classes. Recalling that E covers e-initial and ę-initial stems, and that O covers q-initial and u-initial stems, note that all of the alternations in the E and O classes involve a choice of final *n* or *d*. Those allomorphs ending in *n* occur before ę or q, while those ending in *d* occur before e or u. That is, allomorphs end in *n* before a nasal vowel and *d* before an oral vowel. Morphemes lacking this alternation, such as the non-masculine non-singular patient *-ud-* (E-stem) and *-un-* (O-stem) are due to the lack of examples for each subconjugation. That is, there are no examples of the non-masculine non-singular patient before ę or u. Presumably, if such were found, the same *n* ~ *d* alternation would appear.

This alternation can be handled by establishing both E and Ę classes, as well as both O and Q subconjugations, resulting in C, A, E, Ę, O, Q, and I-stem classes.<sup>53</sup>

The last two allomorph sets listed in chart 32 show different alternations, but also resolve to forms appearing before *u* versus those appearing before *φ*.

The C-stem class can also be usefully divided, due to the historical changes from \**y* to the alternations subsumed under Y (*y* ~ *w* ~ *∅* ~ *ž* ~ *ny*) (see section 2.15: *Further Notes on y*). Since the other consonants covered in the C class do not undergo similar alternations, the first division can be between C-stem and Y-stem. Note that while stems beginning with *Y* would of course be part of the Y-stem class, those beginning with *y* would still be C-stem. A Y-stem and a C-stem beginning with *y* are shown in 163a-b to demonstrate the difference. Note that the C-stem with *y* has simple *-hati-* as pronominal allomorph, while the Y-stem pronominal overlaps the verb stem with [ž].<sup>54</sup>

- (163) a.    āhátīyε'  
           ahátīyε'  
           a-hati-yε-?  
           FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-see-PUNC  
           'they saw'  
           TN:37:292:41
- b.    ...nōmá'εde'    'daé'  
           nōwá?de?    daé?  
           'right now    this

---

<sup>53</sup>However, cf. section 2.9 *Further Notes on d*.

<sup>54</sup>Recall from 2.15: *Further Notes on y* that *i*+ *Y* results in *ž*.



hātatijàʹtūréd  
 haʹtatižàʹturéḥ  
 h-aʹ-t-(h)ati-Yaʹt-urḥ-h  
 TRANS-FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-body-find.out-PUNC  
 they investigated

ndaéʹ	āhàtijé·rat	dě
daéʹ?	ahàtižé:rat	de
	a-hati-Yeraʹt	
	FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-use.PUNC	
this (particular)	they used	the

ya·cúʹ	ndaéʹ
ya:žúʹ?	daéʹ?
ya-žú-ʹ	
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT	
animals	that

tīñótuʹtḗʹ  
 tinyótuʹtḗʹ?  
 ti-y-qt-uʹtḗʹ-ʹ  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-life-SEMI-kind-STAT  
 what kind of life

dě	ya·cúʹ...
de	ya:žúʹ?
	ya-žú-ʹ
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT
(of) the	animals'

Then these groups studied the nature and habits of the game that they used.  
 TN:07:099:01-11

Although this division between C- and Y-stem conjugation classes reduces unexplained allomorphy, it does not eliminate it. Compare the allomorphy among the Y-stems in chart 33, where □ indicate overlapping morphemes:

GLOSS	ALLOMORPHY
1,sg,AGT	-[ž]- ~ -[ny]-
1,EX,dl,AGT	-ai[ž]- ~ -ai[ny]-
1,IN,dl,AGT	-ti[ž]- ~ -ti[ny]-
2,dl,AGT	-tsi[ž]- ~ -tsi[ny]-
MASC,dl,AGT	-hi[ž]- ~ -hi[ny]-
NON.MASC,dl,AGT	-i[ž]- ~ -i[ny]-
MASC,pl,AGT	-hati[ž]- ~ -hati[ny]-
NON.MASC,pl,AGT	-wati[ž]- ~ -wati[ny]-
1,sg,PAT	-wa[ž]- ~ -wa[ny]-
1,dl,PAT	-qi[ž]- ~ -qi[ny]-
2,dl,PAT	-tsi[ž]- ~ -tsi[ny]-
MASC,pl,PAT	-huti[ž]- ~ -huti[ny]-
NON.MASC,pl,PAT	-uti[ž]- ~ -uti[ny]-

Chart 33: Pronominal Allomorphy in Y-stems

There is clearly a regular alternation between allomorphs that overlap the following stem with [ž] and those that overlap with [ny]. Indeed, the first singular agent consists only of this overlap. The first type of allomorph occurs before Y-stems that have an oral vowel after the Y, while the second type occurs before Y-stems that have a nasal vowel following. In essence, we can then distinguish between YV-stems on the one hand and YŶ-stems on the other.

Compare 163b, with *-hati[ž]-* before a YV-stem, with 164 where there is *-hati[ny]-* before a YŶ-stem:

- (164) ...nɛ<sup>c</sup> tũ    ăhátĩñɔʔ...  
           nɛh    tu    ahátinyɔʔ  
                           a-hati-Yɔ-ʔ  
                           FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
           'now    there    they arrived'

TN:13:117:04-06

Thus, the stem classes in Wyandot are C, YV, YȲ, A, E, Ȳ, O, Q, and I.

### 3.4 Agent Prefixes

Choice of agent versus patient prefixes is complicated in Iroquoian. Most actors are indicated by agent prefixes, and most agent prefixes indicate actors.<sup>55</sup> In each of the following examples the performer of the action, whether 'cut' in 165, 'come' in 166, or 'kill' in 167, is indicated by the use of agent prefixes.

- (165) aʔrɔ:kyaʔ  
           aʔrɔ:kyaʔ  
           aʔ-Ø-rɔt-Yaʔ  
           FACT-1,sg,AGT-log-break.PUNC  
           'I log cut' ('I cut the log')  
           IR:08

- (166) hăhá·tĩñɔʔ<sup>9</sup>  
           hahá:tinyɔʔ  
           h-a-hati-Yɔ-ʔ  
           TRANS-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
           'they came'  
           TN:08:103:43

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<sup>55</sup>The term *actor* is not intended in a theoretical manner.

(167) yǎñ·jú's  
 yari:žúhs  
 ya-rižu-hs  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-HAB  
 'I kill habitually'  
 TN:36:287:51

Agent prefixes are not restricted to just highly 'agentive' actions, but include some experiencers as well. The following two examples show the states of 'knowing' in 168 and 'knowing how' in 169:

(168) ...nɛʕ hǎtĩñɛtɛ·riʕ  
 nɛh hǎtinyɛtɛ:rih  
 hati-Yɛteri-h  
 MASC,pl,AGT-know-STAT  
 'now they know

dayũdatǎɛtò·ñʕ'...  
 dayudataɛtò:nyʕ?  
 d-ayu-dat-a-Yɛt-(h)ʕnyʕ-?  
 PART-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-JOIN-have-DISTR-STAT  
 'they have their camp several bodies'

they know by now where our camps are  
 TN:37:296:52-56

(169) ...hǎñɛ·miʕ  
 hanyɛ:wih  
 ha-nyɛwih  
 MASC,sg,AGT-know.how.STAT  
 'he knows how

dǎhatätò·gǎwí'sa'...  
dahatatò:dyawí:sa?  
d-a-h-atat-ǒdyawis-a?  
PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-REF-swim-PUNC  
that he swims'

'he knows how to swim'  
TN:05:095:13-15

The arguments of some true states also take agent prefixes, as shown with 'large':

(170) ǎyù·wǎnǎ<sup>ç</sup>  
ayù:wanǎh  
a-yuwanǎ-h  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
'she is big'  
TN:21:152:01

Charts for each of the nine conjugation classes for agent prefixes follow, using forms partially based on those in Barbeau (1915a). Superscript <sup>ç</sup> preceding certain forms indicates allomorphs appearing after a consonant.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>The third person plural agent forms *hati-*, *rati-*, and *wati-*, and the third person non-singular patient forms *huti-* and *uti-*, can be replaced by a third person non-singular *tí-*, especially in terms for ethnic groups.

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	ye- ~ Ø- ~	ti-	kwa-
	EX	°ke-	ai-	awa-
2		(h)š(e)- ~ (h)s-	tsi-	(h)skwa-
3	MASC	(h)a-	hi-	hati- ~ rati-
	FEM.IND	(Y)e-		
	FEM.ZOIC	ya- ~ (w)a- ~ °ka-	i-	(w)ati-

Chart 34: C-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	[ž]- ~ °ke-	ti[ž]-	kwa-
	EX		ai[ž]-	awa-
2		(h)š-	tsi[ž]-	skwa-
3	MASC	ha-	hi[ž]-	hati[ž]-
	FEM.IND	e-		
	FEM.ZOIC	ya- ~ (w)a- ~ °ka-	i[ž]-	wati[ž]-

Chart 35: YV-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	[ny]- ~ 'k-	ti[ny]-	kwa-
	EX		ai[ny]-	awa-
2		š-	tsi[ny]-	skwa-
3	MASC	ha-	hi[ny]-	hati[ny]-
	FEM.IND	e-	i[ny]-	wati[ny]-
	FEM.ZOIC	ya- ~ wa- ~ 'ka-		

Chart 36: YY-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y- ~ 'k-	ky-	kw-
	EX		až-	aw-
2		(h)š-	ts-	skw-
3	MASC	(h)-	ž-	(h)[q]-
	FEM.IND	[q]-	ž- ~ ky-	y[q]-
	FEM.ZOIC	w- ~ y-		

Chart 37: A-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y- ~ [i]-	t- ~ ky-	kw-
	EX		ad-	aw-
2		(h)š-	(h)st-	(h)skw-
3	MASC	r-	d-	hęd-
	FEM.IND	e- ~ a(y)[ę]-	d-	węd-
	FEM.ZOIC	w-		

Chart 38: E-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y- ~ ʹke-	t-	kw-
	EX		an-	aw-
2		š-	st-	skw-
3	MASC	r-	n-	hęn- ~ h[ɔ]-
	FEM.IND	[ɔ]- ~ ay-	n-	węn- ~ y[ɔ]-
	FEM.ZOIC	w-		

Chart 39: Ẹ-Stem Agent Prefixes



		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y-	t-	y-
	EX		ad-	
2		š-	st-	ts-
3	MASC	r-	d-	həd-
	FEM.IND	ay- ~ Ø-	d-	wəd-
	FEM.ZOIC	Ø- ~ y- ~ [u]-		

Chart 40: O-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y-	t-	ky-
	EX		an-	any-
2		š-	st-	ts-
3	MASC	r-	n-	hən-
	FEM.IND	ay- ~ Ø-	n-	(w)ən-
	FEM.ZOIC	Ø- ~ iny- ~ y-		

Chart 41: Q-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	[i]- ~ 'k-	t-	hkw[ɛ]-
	EX		ad-	aw[ɛ]-
2		(h)š-	(h)st-	skw[ɛ]-
3	MASC	h[ɛ]-	d-	(h)ɛd-
	FEM.IND	e- ~ ay[ɛ]- ~ a-	d-	(w)ɛd-
	FEM.ZOIC	y[ɛ]- ~ w- ~ 'k[ɛ]-		

Chart 42: I-Stem Agent Prefixes

### 3.5 Patient Prefixes

Undergoers of states and conditions tend to be indicated by patient prefixes, and patient prefixes tend to indicate undergoers of states and conditions.<sup>57</sup> In the following examples the undergoer of being 'sick' in 171, and the experiencers of 'intending' in 172, and 'having' in 173 are indicated with patient prefixes:

- (171) hu'cātúha'  
huhšatúha?  
hu-hšatur-ha?  
MASC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT  
'he was sick'  
TN:28:248:36

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<sup>57</sup>The terminology chosen is not intended to be taken theoretically.

(172) ...udĕrín'ngĕ<sup>Ĉ</sup>  
 uderí:mĕh  
 ud-erinĕ-h  
 NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-intend-STAT  
 'they two had wanted'

ajejǎtè)'wa<sup>Ĉ</sup>...  
 ežǎtè?wah  
 e-ž-ate?w-ah  
 FUT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 (for) them to escape'

The rabbits tried to steal away  
 TN:22:165:31-32

(173)	...tiwá')	ndĕ	cù·mĕ')
	tiwá?	de	šù:wĕ?
			š-u-awĕ-?
			COIN-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-have-STAT
	'as much	the	she has got

"dǎtè'skǒ'gá')\*ta'  
 dutĕhskyqdyá?ta?  
 d-u-atehskyqdy-a-?t-a?  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-dress-JOIN-INST-STAT  
 that her clothing to dress with

de	yǎwá'sti <sup>Ĉ</sup> ...
de	yawáhstih
	ya-wahst-ih
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT
the	it is nice'

'Then she adorned herself with all the nicest finery in her possession.'  
 TN:22:165:10-16

Not all uses of patient prefixes are semantically transparent, as in this example of a performer of an action with a patient prefix:

(174) **ěwǎnērǫ·tiʔ**  
**ewanerǫ:tiʔ**  
**e-wa-nerǫti-ʔ**  
**FUT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC**  
**'will I go hunting'**  
**TN:28:252:40**

Yet another complication is that some verbs can switch between agent and patient marking. Many verbs take agent prefixes in the Habitual and Punctual aspects, but patient in the Stative (see 5.4 *Aspects and Temporals*). The next two examples show the verbs *-draw-* 'dance' in 175 and *-ǫdi-* 'make' in 176 in the Habitual. Note that both have agent prefixes.

(175) **yeʔdrǎwǎ'skǝ·nǝʔ**  
**yedrawǎhskǝ:nǝʔ**  
**ye-draw-ahs-kǝnǝʔ**  
**1,sg,AGT-dance-HAB-PAST**  
**'I danced as a rabbit past'**  
**TN:25:194:25a-26**

(176) **hǎsǫ·'gǎ's**  
**hasǫ:dyǎhs**  
**ha-s-ǫdi-ahs**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB**  
**'he makes bowls'**  
**TN:28:240:43**

The next two examples of the same verbs are in the Punctual aspect. Both still have agent prefixes.

(177) **āwáti<sup>?</sup>drà·wa<sup>?</sup>**  
awáti<sup>?</sup>drà:wa<sup>?</sup>  
a-wati-draw-a<sup>?</sup>  
FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-dance-PUNC  
'they two danced'  
TN:27:222:54

(178) **āhàti·crq̄<sup>?</sup>ga<sup>?</sup>**  
ahàti:šr̄q̄dya<sup>?</sup>  
a-hati-hšr̄q̄di-a<sup>?</sup>  
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC  
'they make'  
TN:07:100:40

In the Stative, however, there is a change. Note that in the Stative aspect, shown in 179 and 180, both verbs use patient prefixes instead of agents.

(179) **āyù·<sup>?</sup>drām̄é<sup>?</sup>**  
ayù:draw̄é<sup>h</sup>  
ayu-draw-é<sup>h</sup>  
FEM.IND,sg,PAT-dance-STAT  
'they are dancing'  
TN:37:299:40

(180) **hūtì<sup>?</sup>crq̄<sup>?</sup>dì<sup>?</sup>**  
hutìhšr̄q̄dì<sup>?</sup>  
huti-hšr̄q̄di-<sup>?</sup>  
MASC,pl,PAT-make-STAT  
'they had made'  
TN:37:293:59

This prefix alternation occurs in all Northern Iroquoian languages.

Although the semantically-based terms *agent* and *patient* are used to refer to the classes of intransitive pronominal prefixes, the functions of the classes should not be interpreted as being simply that of those semantic roles.

Charts of the conjugation classes for the patient prefixes follow, using forms partially based on those in Barbeau (1915a). Entries that are *italicized* were not discussed in Barbeau (1915a), but are inferred from other forms.

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)aye- ~ wa- ~ weye-	qi-	(Y)qwa-
2		(h)s(a)- ~ se-	tsi-	skwa- ?
3	masculine	(h)u-	huti-	
	feminine	(Y)(a)yu-	(Y)uti-	
	zoic	(Y)u-		

Chart 43: C-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)a[ž]-	qi[ž]-	qwa-
2		(h)sa-	tsi[ž]-	skwa- ?
3	masculine	hu[w]-	huti[ž]-	
	feminine	ayu[w]-	uti[ž]-	
	zoic	u[w]-		

Chart 44: YV-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		wa[ny]-	qi[ny]-	qwa-
2		sa-	tsi[ny]-	skwa- ?
3	masculine	hu[w]-	huti[ny]-	
	feminine	ayu[w]-	uti[ny]-	
	zoic	u[w]-		

Chart 45: YY-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)(a)y- ~ wey-	(Y)qny-	qw-
2		s-	ts-	skw- ?
3	masculine	h[u]-	(h)ud-	
	feminine	ay[u]-	ud-	
	zoic	[u]-		

Chart 46: A-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)ay-	qđ-	qđw-
2		s-	(h)st-	skw- ?
3	masculine	haw-	hud-	
	feminine	ayaw-	ud-	
	zoic	aw-		

Chart 47: E-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)ay-	qđ-	qđw-
2		s-	st-	skw- ?
3	masculine	haw-	hun-	
	feminine	ayaw-	un-	
	zoic	aw-		

Chart 48: E-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)(a)y-	qđ-	qđny-
2		s-	st-	ts-
3	masculine	ha-	hud-	
	feminine	ay-	ud-	
	zoic	[u]-		

Chart 49: O-Stem Patient Prefixes



		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)(a)y-	qn-	qny-
2		s-	st-	ts-
3	masculine	ha-	hun-	
	feminine	ay-	un-	
	zoic	a-		

Chart 50: Q-Stem Patient Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1		(w)a-	qd-	qw[ɛ]-
2		s[ɛ]-	(h)st-	skw[ɛ]-
3	masculine	(h)[u]-	hud-	
	feminine	ay[u]-	ud-	
	zoic	[u]-		

Chart 51: I-Stem Patient Prefixes

### 3.6 Transitives

The intransitive agent and patient prefixes form a subset of the transitive prefixes. Although only intransitives are dealt with in Barbeau (1915a), transitives are addressed in Barbeau (n.d.). This manuscript gives a list of some transitive prefixes as they appear with a C-stem verb, as well as lists of examples for unanalyzed stems. Additional forms can be found in Barbeau's notes.

Unlike the intransitives, there are many discrepancies between the transitive prefixes given by Barbeau on the one hand and those showing up in the texts on the other. Interestingly, comparative data agree with the textual examples, rather than with the forms explicitly given by Barbeau. This section will deal with those transitive prefixes appearing in the texts. The additions from Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau's notes are examined in section 3.8 *Transitive Prefixes According to Barbeau*.

To aid in comparison, a template chart of the transitive prefixes will be presented, with the prefixes themselves in four smaller charts based on speech act participation, rather than the one large one traditionally used following Lounsbury (1953).<sup>58</sup> The smaller versions will have a) first and second persons acting on first and second, i.e., speech act participants (SAPs) as both arguments; b) first and second acting on third (i.e., SAPs on non-SAPs); c) third acting on first and second (i.e., non-SAPs on SAPs); and finally d) third acting on third (i.e., both arguments non-SAPs).

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<sup>58</sup>Such charts can be found in Lounsbury (1953) for Oneida, Chafe (1970) for Onondaga, Chafe (1997) for Seneca, Williams (1976) for Tuscarora, and King (1975) and Cook (1979) for Cherokee.

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl	Ø ~ N,sg	F.Z.,sg	M,sg	F.I,sg	N.M,ns	M,ns
1,sg												
EX,dl												
EX,pl												
IN,dl												
IN,pl												
2,sg												
2,dl												
2,pl												
Ø ~ N,sg												
F.Z.,sg												
M,sg												
F.I,sg												
F.Z,dl												
F.Z,pl												
M,dl												
M,pl												

Chart 52: Categories Covered by Pronominal Prefixes

Chart 52 shows the pattern of categories covered by transitive prefixes in Wyandot. More detailed information about which categories are grouped appears in discussion of the appropriate smaller charts. For reasons of space, three abbreviations are changed in the overall pronominal prefix chart: F.Z replaces FEM.ZOIC; F.I replaces FEM.IND; and M replaces MASC. In this and all following transitive prefix charts, the agents are listed in the left-hand column, while patients are listed in the top row. Thus, the long thin box in the upper right corner is for a first singular agent (1,sg,AGT) acting on a feminine-indefinite singular patient (FEM.IND,sg,PAT) or on a third person non-singular patient (3,non.sg,PAT).

All Iroquoian languages share the structure shown in chart 53 by outlined cells. Outlines indicate categories that are merged in all other Iroquoian languages. For example, every Iroquoian language uses one prefix set for the categories first singular acting on second dual (1,sg:2,dl), exclusive dual on second singular (1,EX,dl:2,sg), and exclusive dual on second dual (1,EX,dl:2,dl). It is assumed here that those merged categories also hold for Wyandot. Thus, presumably the forms *-ki-* and *-ky-*, attested only as first singular acting on second dual (1,sg:2,dl), also cover exclusive dual on second singular (1,EX,dl:2,sg), and exclusive dual on second dual (1,EX,dl:2,dl). The form *-hsə-* would cover not just exclusive plural acting on second singular (1,EX,pl:2,sg), but also first singular on second plural (1,sg:2,pl), exclusive dual on second plural (1,EX,dl:2,pl), exclusive plural on second dual (1,EX,pl:2,dl), and exclusive plural on second plural (1,EX,pl:2,pl).

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,sg				yq <sup>-ca</sup> yqw <sup>-a</sup> <sup>c</sup> kq <sup>-ci</sup> <sup>c</sup> kqw <sup>-a</sup>	<sup>c</sup> ki <sup>-c</sup> ky <sup>-a</sup>	
1,X,dl						
1,X,pl					hsa <sup>-c</sup>	
1,I,dl						
1,I,pl						
2,sg	hš(e) <sup>-c</sup> (h)ske <sup>-c</sup> (h)sk <sup>-y<sup>ni</sup></sup>		hskwa <sup>-c</sup>			
2,dl	hskwa <sup>-c</sup>					
2,pl	ski <sup>-c</sup> sk <sup>-o</sup>					

Chart 53: Prefixes for Speech-Act Participants Acting on Speech-Act Participants

Superscript letters after an allomorph indicate the conjugation class.

Chart 54 shows SAPs acting on non-SAPs.  $\emptyset$  stands for lack of an argument, i.e. an intransitive, while N stands for a neuter meaning (*it*). The  $\emptyset \sim N,sg \sim FEM.ZOIC,sg$  column in chart 54 represents the agent pronominal prefixes. That is, [AGENT] in the first singular (1,sg) row refers to the first singular agent prefixes (1,sg,AGT).

The italicized form *hehskw<sup>-a</sup>* second plural acting on masculine singular (2,pl:MASC,sg) was not found but can be inferred. The forms for second dual and plural acting on third persons are identical to those for third persons acting on second dual and plural in all other attested Northern Iroquoian languages, as well as partly identical in

Cherokee. Assuming this identity of form to be the case in Wyandot as well, we can take *hehskw-<sup>h</sup>* masculine singular acting on second plural (MASC,sg:2,pl) from chart 55 and apply it to second plural on masculine singular (2,pl:MASC,sg) in chart 54. This is further justified in that the C-stem form that was found is *hehskwa-<sup>h</sup>*. The reverse procedure will be seen in chart 55 with the inferral of italicized *hehskwa-<sup>h</sup>* as masculine singular on second plural (MASC,sg:2,pl).

Heavy-outlined cells are categories which are probably merged, from comparative evidence. That is, *yaeskwa-<sup>h</sup>* second person non-singular acting on third non-singular (2,non.sg:3,non.sg) and feminine-indefinite singular (2,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg) is only attested in a more restricted use: second plural acting on non-masculine non-singular (2,pl:NON.MASC,non.sg). However, in other Lake Iroquoian languages the same prefixes are used to cover multiple transitive categories. It assumed here that those comparative generalizations also hold for Wyandot.

	Ø ~ N sg	FEM.ZOIC sg	MASC sg	FEM.IND sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
1,sg		[AGT]	hi- <sup>c</sup> he- <sup>c</sup> a[ž]- <sup>y</sup>	ke- <sup>c</sup> ayay- <sup>a</sup> aya[ž]- <sup>y</sup>		
1,EX,dl		[AGT]				
1,EX,pl		[AGT]				
1,IN,dl		[AGT]		yahše- <sup>c</sup> yahš- <sup>a</sup>		
1,IN,pl		[AGT]	hekwa- <sup>cy</sup> hekw- <sup>a</sup>			
2,sg		[AGT]	hehša- <sup>c</sup> hehše- <sup>c</sup> hehš- <sup>ya</sup>	se- <sup>y</sup>		
2,dl		[AGT]	hehtsi- <sup>c</sup> hehtsi[ž]- <sup>y</sup>	yaeskwa- <sup>c</sup> yaesk- <sup>y</sup>		
2,pl		[AGT]	hehskwa- <sup>c</sup> <i>hehskw-<sup>u</sup></i>			

Chart 54: Prefixes for Speech-Act Participants Acting on Non-Speech-Act Participants

Chart 55 shows pronominals for non-SAPs acting on SAPs. The row labelled Ø ~ N,sg consists of the patient prefixes. For example, the cell labelled [PAT] in the first singular (1,sg) column refers to the first singular patient (1,sg,PAT) prefixes. As in the previous charts, heavy-outlined cells are probably merged as single categories, according to comparative data. The status of italicized *hehskwa-<sup>c</sup>* was discussed in reference to chart 54.

In a parallel fashion italicized *yaeskwa-<sup>c</sup>* feminine-indefinite and third non-singular acting on second non-singular (FEM.IND,sg:2,non.sg and 3,non.sg:2,non.sg) can be inferred to fill the heavy-outlined cells in the lower right corner. In many other Iroquoian languages

the form for second non-singular acting on feminine-indefinite singular (2,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg) is the same as second non-singular on third non-singular (2,non.sg:3,non.sg). Furthermore, this form also covers feminine-indefinite singular on second non-singular (FEM.IND,sg:2,non.sg) and third non-singular on second non-singular (3,non.sg:2,non.sg). Assuming the same to be the case in Wyandot, italicized *yæskwə<sup>-c</sup>* has been added as tentative in this chart.



	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
$\emptyset$ ~ N,sg	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
FEM.ZOIC sg	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
MASC sg	ha- <sup>c</sup> (h)aye- <sup>c</sup> ha[ž]- <sup>y</sup> hahš- <sup>y</sup> haw- <sup>a</sup>	hsqi- <sup>c</sup>	(h)sqwa- <sup>c</sup> hsq[w]- <sup>y</sup>	ža- <sup>c</sup> ž- <sup>a</sup>	hehtsi- <sup>c</sup> hehtsi[ž]- <sup>y</sup>	hehskwa- <sup>c</sup> hehskw- <sup>a</sup>
FEM.IND sg	qye- <sup>c</sup> (Y)qnye- <sup>c</sup> (Y)q[ny]- <sup>y</sup> qny- <sup>a</sup>	qki- <sup>c</sup> qki[ž]- <sup>y</sup>		Yesa- <sup>c</sup>	yaeskwa- <sup>c</sup> yaesk- <sup>y</sup>	
FEM.ZOIC dl	hoye- <sup>c</sup>			hesa- <sup>cy</sup> hes- <sup>a</sup>		
FEM.ZOIC pl						
MASC dl						
MASC pl						

Chart 55: Prefixes for Non-Speech-Act Participants Acting on Speech-Act Participants

Chart 56 shows non-SAPs acting on non-SAPs. As in chart 54, the  $\emptyset$  ~ N,sg column includes agent intransitives, and as in chart 55 the  $\emptyset$  ~ N,sg row includes patient prefixes. Cognate patterns are less consistent in these relations, so the heavy-outlined cells are more tentative here than elsewhere.

	Ø ~ N sg	FEM.ZOIC sg	MASC sg	FEM.IND sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
Ø ~ N,sg	[AGT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
FEM.ZOIC,sg						
MASC,sg	[AGT]	[PAT]	ru <sup>-c</sup> ru[w] <sup>-y</sup>	(h)sayu <sup>-cyə</sup>	hsayu <sup>-c</sup> hsayu[w] <sup>-y</sup> yqwa <sup>-c</sup> yqw <sup>-ə</sup>	hayq <sup>-ci</sup> hayq[w] <sup>-y</sup> hayq[ny] <sup>-y</sup> hayqw <sup>-ə</sup> hayu <sup>-c</sup> hayu[w] <sup>-y</sup>
FEM.IND,sg	[AGT]	[AGT]	(h)qwa <sup>-cy</sup> hqw <sup>-ə</sup> hqw[ɛ] <sup>-i</sup>		yayq <sup>-c</sup> yayq[w] <sup>-y</sup>	
FEM.ZOIC,dl	[AGT]					
FEM.ZOIC,pl	[AGT]				(y)qwati <sup>-c</sup> (y)qwati[ž] <sup>-y</sup>	(h)qwati <sup>-c</sup> hqwati[ž] <sup>-y</sup>
MASC,dl	[AGT]			hayu <sup>-c</sup>		
MASC,pl	[AGT]					

Chart 56: Prefixes for Non-Speech-Act Participants Acting on Non-Speech-Act Participants

As can be seen by the heavy outline, the form *yɔwə* - 'MASC,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg' in chart 56 can probably be extended to cover the range 'FEM.IND,sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg' and '3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg'. In a parallel fashion forms based on *hɔwə* - probably extend between the endpoints of 'FEM.IND,sg:MASC,sg' and 'MASC,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg'. Other ranges cannot be ascertained comparatively, as with *hsayu* - 'MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg'.

Contrary to the previous use of italicization in pronominal charts to indicate forms inferred in one chart from another, the three italicized forms here are not so inferred. Rather, their textual glosses, and thus their positions in the chart, are ambiguous. Italicized *hsayu* - is glossed as 'he...them', while italicized *yɔwəti* - and italicized *hɔwəti* - are both glossed as 'they...them'. The glosses leave it unclear as to whether 'them' refers to masculine or non-masculine non-singulars. Their places have been tentatively assigned from comparison with other Lake Iroquoian languages, where cognates of *yɔwəti* - are used with non-masculine non-singulars, and cognates of *hɔwəti* - with masculine non-singulars.

Note that *-hsayu* - appears for both masculine singular acting on feminine-indefinite singular (MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg) and masculine singular on non-masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg). These have not been joined into a single category, because *-yɔw(a)* - also appears as masculine singular on non-masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg), but not for masculine singular on feminine-indefinite singular (MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg).<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the allomorphs of *-hsayɔ* -

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<sup>59</sup>Cognates of *hsayu* - are used for just masculine singular on feminine-indefinite singular (MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg) in Seneca and Wendat. In Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, *hsayu* - is used additionally for masculine singular on third person non-singular (MASC,sg:3,non.sg).

'MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg' (and 'FEM.IND,sg:MASC,non.sg') are often used as masculine singular on non-masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg). There is another set of allomorphs appearing as masculine singular on masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg) and feminine-indefinite singular on masculine non-singular (FEM.IND,sg:MASC,non.sg), *-hayu-*. There may have been confusion of use here, as *-hayu-* also appears as masculine non-singular on feminine-indefinite singular (MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg). Similarly, the use of *-yqw(a)-* as masculine singular on non-masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg) may be due to confusion with third non-singular on feminine-zoic singular (3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg).<sup>60</sup>

It should also be pointed out that the form *-ru(w)-* appears only as masculine singular acting on masculine singular (MASC,sg:MASC,sg), not as intransitive masculine singular patient (MASC,sg,PAT). Conversely, the other forms for masculine singular on masculine singular (MASC,sg:MASC,sg) are indeed used as intransitive masculine singular patient (MASC,sg,PAT). This is indicated by the dashed line separating *-ru(w)-* from [PAT].

This chart is also where the feminine-zoic is distinguished from neuter. Note that with a feminine-indefinite singular agent, or a third person non-singular agent, a neuter patient argument is unmarked (as expected given how agent and patient prefixes form subsets of the transitives). However, with those same agents, when the patient is feminine-zoic singular the result is a transitive prefix, *yqwa-*, rather than intransitive agent prefixes.

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<sup>60</sup>In the other Lake Iroquoian languages the prefixes used for the category masculine singular acting on masculine non-singular (MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg) differ from those used for the category feminine-indefinite singular on masculine non-singular (FEM.IND,sg:MASC,non.sg).

### 3.7 A Closer Look at Barbeau's Conjugation Classes

Barbeau (1915a) presents an analysis of Wyandot conjugation classes that differs in various points from the one presented here. Barbeau designates the conjugation classes with Roman numerals, with the letters A, B, and C used for sub-conjugations. The latter usage contrasts with the modern usage of those letters for the primary classes themselves.

A correlation chart between Barbeau's conjugations and the stem classes used here follows:

<i>Barbeau's Conjugations</i>	<i>Modern Stem Classes</i>
I	A
IIA	C
IIB	
IIC <sup>1</sup>	
IIC <sup>2</sup>	YV
	YY
III	I
IVA <sup>1</sup>	E
IVA	
IVB	
IVA <sup>2</sup>	Ė
IVC	
VA	O
VB	Q

Chart 57: Stem Classes: Barbeau's and Modern Equivalents

Barbeau (1915a) does not describe his conjugations completely, but they can be inferred based on what he does describe, as well as inferring *inter alia*. He calls the Agent prefixes paradigm A, and the Patient prefixes paradigm B (thus using the letters A and B to represent sometimes paradigms and other times sub-conjugations).<sup>61</sup> Each paradigm is divided into five conjugations. Conjugation I is what is here called A-stem. Barbeau's paradigm B has two sub-conjugations in conjugation I, A and B. IA and IB differ in the choices of first singular patient (1,sg,PAT). Whereas IB has <wey-> as first person singular patient (1,sg,PAT), IA has <way->, <ay->, and <y->.

Conjugation II consists of C- and Y-stems. IIA and IIB in paradigm A (i.e., agents) cover stems beginning with <t- ts- s- g- gw- gy- k- y- j- n- h- m- w-> (Barbeau 1915a:11). The difference between sub-conjugations IIA and IIB is that A has <ya-> and B <wa-> for the feminine-zoic agent (FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT). Paradigm B (i.e., patients) lacks sub-conjugation IIB. Barbeau refers to subconjugations IIC<sup>1</sup> and IIC<sup>2</sup> as "contracted sub-conjugations". Apparently this is a reference to how some of the prefixes (especially first person singular agent) fuse with the stem (or, are Ø in a different analysis). IIC<sup>1</sup> includes <d- n- r- j- kw-> stems. IIC<sup>2</sup> apparently covers YV- and YV-stems. Paradigm B (patients) lacks sub-conjugation IIB.

Conjugation III includes I-stems.

Conjugation IV covers E- and Ė-stems. Sub-conjugation IVA<sup>1</sup> is for <e-> while IVA<sup>2</sup> is for <ė->. IVB and IVC are for verbs that alternate between classes. IVB is a small

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<sup>61</sup>The chart for paradigm A is on p. 2, and that for paradigm B on p. 3 in Barbeau (1915a).

set of verbs that alternate between <e> and <i>. Barbeau suggests that these were originally I-stems that changed diachronically to E-stems (Barbeau 1915a:15). IVC includes a few stems that alternate between <a> and <ξ>, which again are attributed to historical change, this time between A-stem and E-stem. Paradigm B (patients) has only IVA and IVC, the former <e-> and the latter <ξ->.

Conjugation V covers O- and Q-stems. VA is for <u-> and VB for <q->. In paradigm B (patients) only <q-> stems appear.

Thus, the modern C-stem class joins Barbeau's IIA, IIB, and IIC<sup>1</sup>. Modern E-stems cover Barbeau's conjugations IVA<sup>1</sup>, IVA, and IVB. E-stems collapse together Barbeau's IVA<sup>2</sup> and IVC. Conversely, Barbeau's IIC<sup>2</sup> neutralizes the YV-stems and YY-stems.

### 3.8 Transitive Prefixes According to Barbeau

Barbeau (1915a) does not discuss transitive prefixes, although they are mentioned in Barbeau (n.d.) and in Barbeau's notes. These transitives can differ significantly from those found in the texts or through comparative examination.

Chart 58 shows the categories indicated by Barbeau, without the actual prefixes represented. Compare chart 52: *Categories Covered by Pronominal Prefixes* for the categories actually occurring in the texts.

The charts that follow show the prefixes given by Barbeau, with each agent given a separate chart. Lack of a superscript letter after a form indicates that Barbeau did not mention which conjugation class is appropriate. Not all conjugation classes are represented

**for all prefixes. Note that there is little overlap between the forms from the texts and the forms given by Barbeau, even just examining those categories where there are textual forms.**



	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl	Ø ~ N,sg	F.Z,sg	M,sg	F.I,sg	N.M,ns	M,ns
1,sg												
EX,dl												
EX,pl												
IN,dl												
IN,pl												
2,sg												
2,dl												
2,pl												
Ø ~ N,sg												
F.Z,sg												
M,sg												
F.I,sg												
F.Z,dl												
F.Z,pl												
M,dl												
M,pl												

Chart 58: Categories Covered by Pronominal Prefixes, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,sg	hay- way- yq <sup>-c</sup>			yq <sup>-c</sup> yqw <sup>-c</sup> yqwa? <sup>-c</sup> yq? <sup>-c</sup> yqwa <sup>-c</sup> nyqwa <sup>-a</sup> yan <sup>-o</sup>	tši <sup>-c</sup> tei <sup>-c</sup> i? <sup>-c</sup> iža <sup>-ca</sup> i <sup>-a</sup> iny <sup>-a</sup> ki <sup>-a</sup>	iwa <sup>-c</sup> wa <sup>-ca</sup>

Chart 59: Transitive Prefixes with First Person Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,EX,dl	skwi- (s)qi-	haqi <sup>-c</sup>	a?wa-	sai- qki- ski <sup>-c</sup> esa <sup>-ca</sup> sa <sup>-a</sup>	itsi <sup>-c</sup> etsi <sup>-ca</sup>	

Chart 60: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Dual Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,EX,pl	(s)qwa- skwa- <sup>c</sup>			hekwa- a?ki- esa- <sup>ca</sup>	etsi- <sup>c</sup> aitsi- <sup>c</sup> etsiža- <sup>a</sup>	

Chart 61: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Plural Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,IN,dl	skwi- (s)qi-	esa:- <sup>c</sup>	a?wa-	heti- (e)sa- <sup>ca</sup>	etsiž- <sup>c</sup> etsi- <sup>ca</sup>	aitsiž- <sup>c</sup> aitsiny- <sup>c</sup> aitsi- <sup>ca</sup>

Chart 62: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Dual Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,IN,pl	(s)qwa- skwa- <sup>c</sup> esa- <sup>c</sup>			hekwa- a?ki- esa- <sup>ca</sup>	aitsi- <sup>c</sup>	

Chart 63: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Plural Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2,sg	ža- sa:- stri- <sup>c</sup> sk- <sup>c</sup> sky- <sup>c</sup> ske- <sup>c</sup> st- <sup>c</sup> ska- <sup>a</sup>	ski- <sup>c</sup> skwi- <sup>c</sup> skya- <sup>a</sup> (ski)ža- <sup>a</sup>	skwa- <sup>ca</sup> wa- <sup>a</sup>			

Chart 64: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2 dl	(h)etsi- ski- <sup>c</sup> skiž- <sup>c</sup> skiny- <sup>c</sup> skya- <sup>a</sup> skiža- <sup>a</sup>	haqi- <sup>c</sup> taai- <sup>c</sup> kyqki- <sup>c</sup> taskiža- <sup>a</sup>	haqwa- <sup>c</sup>	etsi- hqri- <sup>c</sup> ski- <sup>c</sup>	haetsi- <sup>c</sup>	

Chart 65: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Dual Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2 pl	skwa <sup>-ca</sup>	haqi <sup>-c</sup> ɸki <sup>-c</sup> ɸkiny <sup>-c</sup> ɸkiža <sup>-a</sup>	ɸki <sup>-c</sup>	hqri <sup>-c</sup>	haetsi <sup>-c</sup>	

Chart 66: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Plural Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,sg	y <sup>-aco</sup> ye <sup>-c</sup> ∅ <sup>-c</sup> [ž] <sup>-c</sup> [ny] <sup>-c</sup> [i] <sup>-i</sup>	iža <sup>-c</sup> eri <sup>-c</sup> i <sup>-c</sup> ye <sup>-c</sup> ž <sup>-c</sup> ny <sup>-c</sup> ∅ <sup>-c</sup> ya <sup>-a</sup>	eri <sup>-c</sup> eža <sup>-c</sup> ha(?) <sup>-c</sup> i <sup>-c</sup> ∅ <sup>-c</sup> ž <sup>-c</sup> he <sup>-c</sup> ny <sup>-c</sup> ha <sup>-a</sup>	ške <sup>-c</sup> (i)ke <sup>-c</sup> ke(a) <sup>-c</sup> k <sup>-c</sup> kea <sup>-a</sup>	yari <sup>-c</sup> yaža <sup>-c</sup> wa <sup>-c</sup> yaye <sup>-c</sup> (y)ajž <sup>-c</sup> yany <sup>-c</sup> kaya <sup>-c</sup> kaye <sup>-c</sup> ya <sup>-c</sup> yaya <sup>-a</sup>	hari <sup>-c</sup> haža <sup>-c</sup> ha <sup>-c</sup> haye <sup>-c</sup> (h)ajž <sup>-c</sup> hany <sup>-c</sup> taye <sup>-c</sup> hate <sup>-c</sup> haya <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 67: Transitive Prefixes with First Person Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,EX,dl	až- <sup>a</sup> ai- <sup>c</sup> ad- <sup>coi</sup> an- <sup>co</sup>	etsi- <sup>c</sup> ai- <sup>c</sup> aiž- <sup>c</sup> ainy- <sup>c</sup> (a)ža- <sup>a</sup>	qki- esa- hetsi- <sup>c</sup> (s)ai- <sup>c</sup> saiž- <sup>c</sup> sainy- <sup>c</sup> (sa)ža- <sup>a</sup>	etsi- <sup>c</sup> aki- <sup>c</sup> kiž- <sup>c</sup> ki- <sup>ca</sup> kiža- <sup>a</sup>	ahš- aʔkay- aʔyay- yait(s)i- <sup>c</sup> yai- <sup>c</sup> yaiž- <sup>c</sup> yainy- <sup>c</sup> yaža- <sup>a</sup>	ahš- aʔtay- aʔhay- hait(s)i- <sup>c</sup> hai- <sup>c</sup> haiž- <sup>c</sup> hainy- <sup>c</sup> haža- <sup>a</sup>

Chart 68: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,EX,pl	awa- <sup>c</sup> aw- <sup>ac</sup> až- <sup>o</sup> any- <sup>o</sup> aw[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	skwa- <sup>c</sup> awa- <sup>ca</sup>	ekwa- skwa- <sup>c</sup> sawa- <sup>ca</sup>	etsi- <sup>c</sup> aki- <sup>c</sup> kiž- <sup>c</sup> ki- <sup>ca</sup> kiža- <sup>a</sup>	yae(s)kwa- <sup>c</sup> yawa- <sup>c</sup> yaewa- <sup>c</sup>	hae(s)kwa- <sup>c</sup> hawa- <sup>c</sup> haewa- <sup>c</sup>

Chart 69: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,IN,dl	ti- <sup>c</sup> ky- <sup>a</sup> t- <sup>coi</sup>	ati- <sup>c</sup> eti- <sup>c</sup> etiž- <sup>c</sup> etiny- <sup>c</sup> ekya- <sup>a</sup>	eti- hati- <sup>c</sup> hatiž- <sup>c</sup> heti- <sup>c</sup> hetiž- <sup>c</sup> hetiny- <sup>c</sup> hekya- <sup>a</sup>	(a)ki- <sup>c</sup> aikiž- <sup>c</sup> aikiny- <sup>c</sup> kiža- <sup>a</sup> ekya- <sup>a</sup>	ahš- aʔkay- aʔyay- yait(s)i- <sup>c</sup> kai(ti)- <sup>c</sup>	ahš- aʔtay- aʔhay- hait(s)i- <sup>c</sup> tai(ti)- <sup>c</sup> taitiž- <sup>c</sup> taitiny- <sup>c</sup> hai(tiny)- <sup>c</sup> taikya- <sup>a</sup> haikya- <sup>a</sup>

Chart 70: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,IN,pl	kwa- <sup>c</sup> kw- <sup>ac</sup> ky- <sup>o</sup> kw[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	awa- <sup>c</sup> ikwa- <sup>c</sup> ekwa- <sup>ca</sup>	sawa- (h)ekwa- <sup>ca</sup>	(a)ki- <sup>c</sup> aikiž- <sup>c</sup> aikiny- <sup>c</sup> kiža- <sup>a</sup> ekya- <sup>a</sup>	yawa- <sup>c</sup> yaikwa- <sup>c</sup> yaekwa- <sup>ca</sup>	ha(e)wa- <sup>c</sup> haikwa- <sup>c</sup> haekwa- <sup>ca</sup>

Chart 71: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2,sg	še <sup>-c</sup> s <sup>-c</sup> š <sup>-caco</sup>	š(r)i <sup>-c</sup> hše <sup>-c</sup> st <sup>-c</sup> hša <sup>-a</sup>	šri <sup>-c</sup> hehš(e) <sup>-c</sup> hehst <sup>-c</sup> hehša <sup>-a</sup>	še(:) <sup>-c</sup> šea <sup>-a</sup>	ya(?)šri <sup>-c</sup> yahšri <sup>-c</sup> yahš(e) <sup>-c</sup> yahst <sup>-c</sup> yaitsi <sup>-c</sup> yaya <sup>-a</sup> yahš(a) <sup>-a</sup>	ha(h)šri <sup>-c</sup> hahše <sup>-c</sup> hahst <sup>-c</sup> haitsi <sup>-c</sup> (h)ahš <sup>-c</sup> haya <sup>-a</sup> hahša <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 72: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2,dl	tsi <sup>-c</sup> ts <sup>-a</sup> st <sup>-coi</sup>	hɔwa <sup>-c</sup> (e)tsi <sup>-c</sup> etsiž <sup>-c</sup> (e)tsa <sup>-a</sup>	hesa <sup>-c</sup> hetsi <sup>-c</sup> hetsiž <sup>-c</sup> hetsiny <sup>-c</sup> hetsa <sup>-a</sup>	hayu <sup>-c</sup> etsi <sup>-c</sup> etsiž <sup>-c</sup> ažetsi <sup>-c</sup> tsiny <sup>-c</sup> etsiža <sup>-a</sup>	yɔwa <sup>-c</sup> yaitsi <sup>-c</sup> yaitsiny <sup>-c</sup> yɔwati <sup>-c</sup> yaetsa <sup>-a</sup> yaitsa <sup>-a</sup>	hɔwati <sup>-c</sup> haitsi <sup>-c</sup> haitsiž <sup>-c</sup> haitsiny <sup>-c</sup> haetsa <sup>-a</sup> haitsa <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 73: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau



	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2.pl	skwa <sup>-c</sup> skw <sup>-ac</sup> ts <sup>-o</sup> skw[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	hɔwa <sup>-c</sup> (e)hskwa <sup>-c</sup> askwa <sup>-a</sup>	hesa <sup>-c</sup> skwa <sup>-c</sup> hehskwa <sup>-ca</sup>	hayu <sup>-c</sup> etsi <sup>-c</sup> atsiža <sup>-a</sup>	yɔwa <sup>-c</sup> yaeskwa <sup>-c</sup> yaɛskwa <sup>-c</sup>	haɛkwa <sup>-</sup> hɔwati <sup>-c</sup> haeskwa <sup>-c</sup> haɛskwa <sup>-c</sup>

Chart 74: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
Ø ~ N,sg	(w)(a)ye <sup>-c</sup> (w)a <sup>-ci</sup> (w)a[ž]- <sup>c</sup> wa[ny]- <sup>c</sup> (w)(a)y <sup>-ac</sup> wey <sup>-a</sup> (wa)y <sup>-o</sup>	ɸi <sup>-c</sup> ɸi[ž]- <sup>c</sup> ɸi[ny]- <sup>c</sup> ɸny <sup>-a</sup> ɸd <sup>-ci</sup> ɸn <sup>-co</sup>	ɸwa <sup>-c</sup> ɸw <sup>-ac</sup> ɸny <sup>-o</sup> ɸw[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	sa <sup>-c</sup> s <sup>-aco</sup> s[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	tsi <sup>-c</sup> tsi[ž]- <sup>c</sup> tsi[ny]- <sup>c</sup> ts <sup>-a</sup> st <sup>-coi</sup>	skwa <sup>-c</sup> skw <sup>-ac</sup> ts <sup>-o</sup> skw[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>

Chart 75: Transitive Prefixes with Zero or Neuter Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
FEM.ZOIC,sg	ša - ha - way - u:- ari- <sup>c</sup> waye- <sup>c</sup> wa- <sup>c</sup> waž- <sup>c</sup> wany- <sup>c</sup> waya- <sup>a</sup>	qdi- <sup>c</sup> qi- <sup>c</sup> qiž- <sup>c</sup> qiny- <sup>c</sup> qnya- <sup>a</sup>	qwa- <sup>ca</sup>	aʔye- (e)sa- <sup>ca</sup>	(e)tsi- <sup>c</sup> etsiž- <sup>c</sup> etsiny- <sup>c</sup> etsa- <sup>a</sup>	iskwa- <sup>c</sup> (e)skwa- <sup>ca</sup>

Chart 76: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
MASC,sg	hehš- hu[:]- hari- <sup>c</sup> (h)aye- <sup>c</sup> hay(a)- <sup>c</sup> ha- <sup>c</sup> haž- <sup>c</sup> hany- <sup>c</sup> haya- <sup>a</sup>	sɔdi- <sup>c</sup> sɔi- <sup>c</sup> sɔiž- <sup>c</sup> sɔn- <sup>c</sup> sɔnya- <sup>a</sup>	sɔwa- <sup>ca</sup>	ahe- ža- <sup>c</sup> eža- <sup>c</sup> aže- <sup>c</sup> (h)aža- <sup>ca</sup>	(h)etsi- <sup>c</sup> hitsi- <sup>c</sup> hitsiny- <sup>c</sup> hetsa- <sup>a</sup> hitsa- <sup>a</sup>	heskwa- <sup>c</sup> hahskwa- <sup>c</sup> (heh)skwa- <sup>ca</sup>

Chart 77: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl	
FEM.IND,sg	še- (sa)yu- ɔri- <sup>c</sup> ɔy(e)- <sup>c</sup> ɔny(e)- <sup>c</sup> ɔya- <sup>a</sup> ɔnya- <sup>a</sup>	ɔki- <sup>c</sup> ɔkiny- <sup>c</sup> ɔkiž- <sup>c</sup> ɔkiža- <sup>a</sup> skwa- <sup>a</sup>		aʔkeh- etsi- esa- <sup>ca</sup>	etsiž- <sup>c</sup> etsiny- <sup>c</sup> skwa- <sup>c</sup> etsi- <sup>ca</sup> etsiža- <sup>a</sup>		

Chart 78: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
FEM.ZOIC,dl	yahš- tayq-	yaqi- <sup>c</sup>	yaqwa- <sup>c</sup>	(y)esa- <sup>c</sup>		yaeskwa- <sup>c</sup>
FEM.ZOIC,pl	kayq- yqwa- yqri- <sup>c</sup>					

Chart 79: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Non-singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
MASC,dl	hahš- hayq- tayq- hesa- həwa-	(ha)qi- <sup>c</sup> hqi- <sup>c</sup> hqiž- <sup>c</sup> hqiiny- <sup>c</sup> raqi- <sup>c</sup>	yaqwa- <sup>c</sup> qki- <sup>c</sup> haqwa- <sup>ca</sup>	yesah- <sup>c</sup> hesa- <sup>ca</sup>	ha(?)etsi- <sup>c</sup> haitsi- <sup>c</sup> etsi- <sup>a</sup> etsiža- <sup>a</sup> hatsiža- <sup>a</sup> hetsiža- <sup>a</sup>	yaeskwa- <sup>c</sup> haeskwa- <sup>ca</sup>
MASC,pl	hqi- hqiye- <sup>c</sup> hqri- <sup>c</sup> hqiiny(e)- <sup>c</sup> hq- <sup>c</sup>	haqnya- <sup>a</sup>				

Chart 80: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Non-singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
Ø ~ N,sg		u <sup>-c</sup> [u]- <sup>ai</sup> aw <sup>-c</sup> a <sup>-o</sup>	hu <sup>-c</sup> h[u]- <sup>ai</sup> haw <sup>-c</sup> ha <sup>-o</sup>	ayu <sup>-c</sup> ay[u]- <sup>ai</sup> ayaw <sup>-c</sup>	uti <sup>-c</sup> uti[ž]- <sup>c</sup> uti[ny]- <sup>c</sup> ud <sup>-aci</sup> un <sup>-o</sup>	huti <sup>-c</sup> huti[ž]- <sup>c</sup> huti[ny]- <sup>c</sup> hud <sup>-aci</sup> hun <sup>-o</sup>

Chart 81: Transitive Prefixes with Zero or Neuter Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.ZOIC,sg	ya <sup>-c</sup> wa <sup>-c</sup> w <sup>-ac</sup> [u]- <sup>o</sup> [ɸ]- <sup>o</sup> iny[ɸ]- <sup>o</sup> y[ɛ]- <sup>i</sup>	ye <sup>-c</sup> uw <sup>-c</sup> žu <sup>-c</sup> u <sup>-ca</sup>	huw <sup>-c</sup> hu <sup>-ca</sup>	ayuw <sup>-c</sup> ayu <sup>-ca</sup>	(y)ayɸ <sup>-c</sup> yayɸw <sup>-c</sup> (y)ayɸwa <sup>-a</sup>	(h)ayɸ <sup>-c</sup> (h)ayɸw <sup>-c</sup> (h)ayɸwa <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 82: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
MASC,sg	ha <sup>-c</sup> h <sup>-a</sup> r <sup>-co</sup> h[ɛ] <sup>-i</sup>	ha(:) <sup>-ca</sup>	han <sup>-c</sup> huw <sup>-c</sup> hu <sup>-ca</sup>	yu <sup>-c</sup> sayu <sup>-ca</sup>	(h)ayq <sup>-c</sup> hayqw <sup>-c</sup> (h)ayqwa <sup>-a</sup>	(h)ayq <sup>-c</sup> (h)ayqw <sup>-c</sup> (h)ayqwa <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 83: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.IND,sg	e <sup>-cci</sup> [ɔ] <sup>-aco</sup> ay <sup>-co</sup> a <sup>-i</sup> ay[ɛ] <sup>-i</sup>	yqwa <sup>-ca</sup>	hɔwa <sup>-ca</sup>	ɔki-	kɔwa - yqwa <sup>-c</sup> yqwati <sup>-c</sup> yqwatiž <sup>-c</sup> yqwatin <sup>-c</sup> yqwada <sup>-a</sup> yqweɗa <sup>-a</sup>	tɔwa - hɔwa <sup>-c</sup> hɔwati <sup>-c</sup> hɔwatiž <sup>-c</sup> hɔwatin <sup>-c</sup> hɔwada <sup>-a</sup> hɔweɗa <sup>-a</sup>

Chart 84: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.ZOIC,dl	i- <sup>c</sup> i[ž]- <sup>c</sup> i[ny]- <sup>c</sup> ž- <sup>a</sup> d- <sup>coi</sup> n- <sup>co</sup>	ekwa- <sup>c</sup> yqwa- <sup>c</sup>	yaitsi- hekwa- <sup>c</sup> hqwa- <sup>c</sup>	yayu- <sup>c</sup>	yq- <sup>c</sup> yqwati- <sup>c</sup>	hqwati- <sup>c</sup>
FEM.ZOIC,pl	(w)ati- <sup>c</sup> wati[ž]- <sup>c</sup> wati[ny]- <sup>c</sup> y[ɸ]- <sup>ac</sup> wɛd- <sup>coi</sup> wɛn- <sup>c</sup> ɛn- <sup>o</sup> ɛd- <sup>i</sup>					

Chart 85: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Non-singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
MASC,dl	hi <sup>-c</sup> hi[ž] <sup>-c</sup> hi[ny] <sup>-c</sup> ž <sup>-a</sup> d <sup>-coi</sup> n <sup>-co</sup>	yqwa <sup>-ca</sup>	haitsi- hqwa <sup>-ca</sup> hesa <sup>-c</sup>	(y)ayu <sup>-c</sup> hayuw- hayu <sup>-ca</sup>	yqwati <sup>-c</sup> yqwatiž <sup>-c</sup> yqwada <sup>-a</sup> yqwəda <sup>-a</sup>	yqri <sup>-c</sup> hqwati <sup>-c</sup> hqwatiž <sup>-c</sup> hqwatin <sup>-c</sup> hqwada <sup>-a</sup> hqwəda <sup>-a</sup> haqwada <sup>-a</sup>
MASC,pl	hati <sup>-c</sup> hati[ž] <sup>-c</sup> hati[ny] <sup>-c</sup> h[ɸ] <sup>-cc</sup> hɸd <sup>-coi</sup> hɸn <sup>-co</sup>					

Chart 86: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Non-singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau



There is some agreement between the forms found in the texts and those given by Barbeau: both charts 53 and 59 have *yq-* as first singular acting on second singular, while charts 53 and 64 have a variant of *sk-* as second singular acting on first singular. However, the first on first and second on second forms are found only in Barbeau's list: there are none in the texts. Additionally, in related languages such categories involve the Semireflexive morpheme and would not appear in the chart anyway.

Some of the discrepancies can be attributed to misparsing on the part of Barbeau. For example, in his notes he gives the forms  $\langle -yq- \rangle$ ,  $\langle -yqm\grave{a}- \rangle$ ,  $\langle -yq' \rangle$ , and  $\langle -yan \rangle$  for first singular acting on second singular, whereas only the first allomorph appears in the texts or is expected from comparative Iroquoian. Fortunately, in this case Barbeau gives the words these forms were taken from:

- (180)  $\text{iy}\ddot{o}\text{j}\acute{u}$  'I have killed thee'  
 $\text{y}\ddot{o}\text{m}\grave{a}\text{ti}'\text{c}\acute{a}\text{i}'$  'I have looked for thee'  
 $\text{yq}'\text{gy}\ddot{a}\text{r}\grave{a}'\text{s}\acute{e}'\text{d}\acute{i}'$  'I have helped thee'  
 $\text{y}\ddot{a}\text{n}\ddot{o}\text{t}\acute{e}'$  'I have given thee'

All of the unexpected forms involve parsing the beginning of the verb or incorporated noun root as the end of the pronominal prefix. The form  $\langle -yqm\grave{a}- \rangle$  misplaces part of the morpheme  $\langle -m\grave{a}\text{t}- \rangle$  ( $-Ya?t-$ ) 'body' onto the prefix  $\langle -yq- \rangle$ , with the *Y* of  $-Ya?t-$  alternating as expected with *w* after a back vowel, and phonetically nasalized after a nasal vowel, resulting in  $\langle m \rangle$ . Similarly, the  $\langle \rangle$  of  $\langle -yq' \rangle$  belongs to the verb  $\langle -\text{'gyara} \rangle$  ( $-?dyara-$ ) 'help'. The last word is more complicated. The  $\langle n \rangle$  belongs to  $\langle -n\ddot{o}t \rangle$

(-nqht-) 'give', leaving <yā̃-> as the prefix. However, considering that the back vowels have large vowel space (see section 2.12 *Vowel Allophones*), this is easily seen as a mishearing of yq- before a nasal.

There is also some similarity with the forms under inclusive plural acting on masculine singular, second plural on masculine singular, and second plural on non-masculine non-singular. There is some resemblance as well with masculine singular acting on first singular, masculine singular on first plural, masculine singular on second singular, masculine singular on second dual, masculine singular on second plural, and feminine-indefinite singular on second singular.

In the texts (as well as the other languages) forms for SAPs acting on non-SAPs do not distinguish between dual and plural non-SAPs. However, in Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau's notes, sometimes such a distinction is indicated. For instance, exclusive plural acting on non-masculine non-singular (1,EX,pl:3,NON.MASC,non.sg) <-yaewa-> is explicitly given as only with a dual patient, not a plural. <-yawa-> is contradictively given as only dual or only plural, with disagreement between Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau's notes, as well as between one note and another. <-yaeskwa-> has no number indicated. This occasional splitting of the non-masculine non-singular and masculine non-singular into dual and plural occurs with the exclusive plural, inclusive plural, second dual, second plural, feminine-indefinite singular, and masculine non-singular.

An interesting question is why there is such a discrepancy between the forms asserted by Barbeau and those actually found in the texts. Clearly, the pronominal tokens appearing in the texts are likely not to cover the full paradigm, either in categories or in allomorphy.

**However, even the structure and arrangement of categories given by Barbeau is different from the texts. The texts, in turn, are corroborated by comparative examination of other Iroquoian languages. At present this difference remains a mystery.**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The prepronominal prefixes are an array of 11 affixes that occur before the pronominal prefixes. They are not obligatory, and may occur in combinations of multiple prefixes. Because of the degree of fusion between prepronominals, prefix combinations are treated separately (see section 4.3 *Prefix Complexes*). The prepronominals can be divided semantically into modals, locatives, and an irrealis-like category, with the rest not falling into a neat category. The three modal prefixes are the factual (FACT), future (FUT), and optative (OPT). The two locatives are the cislocative (CISLOC) and the translocative (TRANS). The two members of the irrealis-like category are the contrastive (CONTR) and the negative (NEG). The remaining prefixes include the coincident (COINC), dualic (DU), partitive (PART), and repetitive (REP). Chafe (1967), in discussing Seneca, also refers to a modal class, and he places the Cislocative and Repetitive together as the *primary prefixes* (being closest to the verb), and the Partitive, Coincident and Contrastive as the *secondary prefixes* (being further from the verb). The other prefixes he treats individually.

#### 4.1 Forms and Meanings

Each individual prepronominal prefix will be addressed in turn before the prefixes are treated in conjunction with one another. The three modals, Future, Optative, and Factual, will be addressed first, followed by the locatives, Cislocative and Translocative. These are

followed by the Negative and Contrastive, the two irrealis-like prepronominals. The remaining prefixes follow in no particular order.

The analysis of forms and meanings presented here is based on that of Lounsbury (1953) for Oneida and Chafe (1967) for Seneca. A more extensive analysis of the prepronominals would require examination of influences from discourse, particles, and meanings of lexical items.

#### 4.1.1 Future (FUT)

The Future, often glossed as 'will', 'shall', or 'must' in the texts, conveys not simply future time, but rather probability of occurrence. In other words, although the term implies a tense category the usage is more properly that of a mood (c.f. Foster 1985, 1986 for a discussion across Northern Iroquoian). The Future prefix always takes the form *e-*, as in 182:

- (182) **ek̄átéʔéwaʔ**  
**ekyàtéʔwaʔ**  
**e-ky-ateʔw-aʔ**  
 FUT-1,IN,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 'will we two escape' ('We will run away')  
 TN:27:214:09

In all other Northern Iroquoian languages the cognate Future morpheme is nasalized, *ē-* or *ʔ̄-*.

#### 4.1.2 Optative (OPT)

The Optative, often glossed with 'would' or 'might' in the texts, or occurring following a previous reference to an intention or desire, expresses conditionality, or the possibility of occurrence (again c.f. Foster 1985, 1986). Example 183 occurs in a section of text where the characters are searching for a means of escape.

(183)	...ǻ'tehǻǻtè·ri'	à·nq'mǻ'ǻ
	ǻ'tehǻǻtè:ri?	à:nq'wa?
	ǻ?-te-ha-Yǻteri-?	
	NOT-NEG-MASC,sg,AGT-know-STAT	
	'no not he knows	whereto

há·'dǻ't  
há:deht  
h-a-:d-e-ht  
TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-CAUS-PUNC  
they (should) go

dǻǻ·jǻte'wa'...  
dá:žate'wa?  
d-a:-ž-ate'w-a?  
PART-OPT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
'that they two escape'

he knew not where to escape to ('he didn't know where to escape to')  
TN:21:154:31-35

The Optative appears as *a:-*, except when the Repetitive or Cislocative is present (see section 4.3 *Prefix Complexes*), or before pronominal prefixes beginning with *Y*. In the latter case, there is fusion over the morpheme boundary into *až-*.

(184) ...te>yé·he'                      ajäyèhə́'
   
te?yé:he:                              aʒayèha'ó?
   
te?-y-ehe-:                            aʒ-Yayə-ihaq-?
   
NEG-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT        OPT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
   
'don't I want to                      anybody to say

mëṛə ˈdĩṇq̄t...
   
wəradĩnyqht
   
w-ər-a-dĩnyqht
   
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-moss-hang.STAT
   
it moss hangs'

'I will not suffer anybody to say that the moss hangs' <sup>62</sup>
  
TN:22:167:13-15

#### 4.1.3 Factual (FACT)

The Factual indicates that the likelihood of occurrence is certain, more likely than the Future (probable) or Optative (possible) (c.f. Foster 1985, 1986). It is often translated in texts with the English narrative past:

(185) ...nɛʕ    əhə́ ˈtè)ˈwa'                      de    wā ˈdát...
   
nɛh    ahə́tè?wa?                                      de    wadát
   
          a-hə-ate?w-a?
   
          FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
   
'now    they fled                                      the    villagers'

Now they took to flight
   
TN:40:307:16-19

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<sup>62</sup>Apparently some sort of insult.

Non-past word glosses can also occur outside the narrative context. Note that in 186 the form glossed with a non-past ('they run off') appears as a past in the free translation.

(186) ...nɛ́ʰ ahq̄ráʰskwaʰ  
 nɛ́h ahq̄ráhskwah  
 a-hq̄-arahskw-ah  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 'now they went

āhq̄ʰʰt̄ʰwaʰ  
 ahq̄t̄ʰwaʰ  
 a-hq̄-ateʰw-aʰ  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 they run off

nɛ́ʰ h̄máti·ʰgaʰ...  
 nɛ́h h̄wáti:dyah  
 h̄wati-dya-h  
 3,non.sg:MASC,non.sg-chase-STAT  
 now they them are chasing'

Now then the Senecas started tracking the Wyandots, who ran off.  
 TN:37:291:50-54

The free translation, however, need not also use the past. Note that although both words with the Factual in 187 are glossed in the past, the free translation avoids the narrative past. Such a translation might be 'he saw several men who stood there'.

(187) ...nɛ́ʰ ah̄yóñɛʰ  
 nɛ́h ah̄yónyɛʰ  
 a-hayq̄-yɛ-ʰ  
 FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-see-PUNC  
 'now he them saw



hēnɔ·méc  
 hənɔ:wéh  
 hən-qwe-h  
 MASC,pl,AGT-person-NOUN  
 they people

tūtéhé·<sup>h</sup>dát...  
 tutehé:dat  
 t-ute-həd-a-t  
 DU-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-JOIN-stand.PUNC  
 there they stood'

TN:02:070:08-11  
 Several men could be seen standing [at a distance].

Allomorphs of the Factual are *a-* and *aʔ-*. Other allomorphs, those occurring with the Repetitive or Cislocative and another prenominal, are discussed in section 4.3 *Prefix Complexes*. The allomorph *aʔ-* occurs before vowels:

(188)	...nɛ́h	ǎ'é·tu <sup>c</sup>	dě
	nɛ́h	aʔé:tuh	de
		aʔ-e-tuy-h	
		FACT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-know-PUNC	
	'now	one finds out	that

tù'ǎhɛ́'ʔtrɔʔ...  
 tùhehéʔtrɔʔ  
 tu-he-hɛ-iʔtrɔʔ-ʔ  
 REM-TRANS-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 there he stays'

('Now they found out that he was staying there')  
 TN:27:233:13-17

Both allomorphs can occur before glides, *h*, *d*, and *r*. Examples of *a-* before *h* can be seen in 185-187. The allomorph *aʔ-* appears before *h* in 189:

- (189) aʔhəhə́ʔ  
 aʔhə́hə́ʔ  
 aʔ-hə́-ihaq-ʔ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 'he said'  
 TN:26:203:53<sup>63</sup>

The following examples show both forms before glides in 190 and 191, before *d* in 192, and before *r* in 193:

- (190) a.     ăyq̄mắtɛ·<sup>n</sup>du·tq̄  
 ayq̄wá́tɛ:du:tq̄ʔ  
 a-yq̄w-atɛd̄utq̄-ʔ  
 FACT-1,sg:2,sg-speak-PUNC  
 'I (to) thee want to tell' ('I want to tell you...')  
 TN:12:115:22
- b.     aʔyắtɛʔ<sup>w</sup>a  
 aʔyátɛʔwaʔ  
 aʔ-y-atɛʔw-aʔ  
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 'I self am or go away' ('I ran away')  
 IR:15
- (191) a.     ăwắtɛ·<sup>w</sup>a  
 awátɛ:ʔwah  
 a-w-atɛʔw-ah  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 'she escaped'  
 TN:28:237:30

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<sup>63</sup>Note that most variants of this word use the shorter allomorph *a-*.

- b. a>wǎrá'skwa<sup>c</sup>  
a?waráhskwah  
a?-w-arahskw-ah  
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
'she returned (went)' ('she went back')  
TN:22:167:36
- (192) a. há·<sup>n</sup>de't  
há:deht  
h-a-:d-e-ht  
TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-CAUS.PUNC  
'they went'  
TN:04:085:06
- b. a'dà'tarq·<sup>n</sup>gyá'  
a?dà'tarq:dya?  
a?-Ø-da'tar-qdi-a?  
FACT-1,sg,AGT-bread-make-PUNC  
'I bread make' ('I make bread')  
IR:16
- (193) a. há·re't  
há:reht  
h-a-r-e-ht  
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-CAUS.PUNC  
'he came'  
TN:27:225:20
- b. ta<sup>n</sup>ri·jú<sup>c</sup>  
ta?ri:žúh  
t-a?-Ø-rižu-h  
CISLOC-FACT-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC  
'I killed'  
TN:04:083:01

Other than before vowels, the two allomorphs *a-* and *a?-* are probably in free variation.

#### 4.1.4 Cislocative (CISLOC)

The Cislocative indicates simple location, or direction of motion, and is usually glossed in the texts by 'at', 'down', 'here', 'off', 'out', 'over', 'there', 'to', 'towards', 'where', 'whereat', 'wherefrom', or 'yonder'. Complexities of the Cislocative in Oneida are explored in Abbott (1981), and in Mohawk in Bonvillain (1981).

The Cislocative in 194, on a non-motion verb, indicates the simple location of the 'finding':

- (194) tayēmè·<sup>o</sup>dūrḡhə<sup>o</sup>  
tayewè:durḡhah  
t-(h)aye-wəḡd-urḡ-hah  
CISLOC-MASC,sg:1,sg-voice-find-STAT  
'there he my voice, word finds' ('there he found what I wanted')  
WM:070

In 195 the Cislocative indicates the location of 'planting', also non-motion:

- (195) ...nḡ tū há:re<sup>o</sup>  
nḡ tu há:reh  
h-a-r-e-h  
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC  
'now there he goes

dētutīñḡ·kwí<sup>o</sup>...  
detutinyé:kwih  
de-t-(h)uti-Yḡkw-ih  
SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,pl,PAT-plant-STAT  
where they two have planted'

He went to look for him in the garden.  
TN:26:198:43-47

With verbs of motion the Cislocative indicates direction, as in 196, where the verb *-arahskw-* 'go out' combined with the Cislocative is glossed as 'come home'.

- (196) ...*ěketũmĕ* 'hãmè·ta' nĕ  
*ekyetqwéhawè:h̄ta?* nĕh  
 e-t-ye-at-qwe-haw-ĕ-ht-a?  
 FUT-CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-person-carry-INCH-CAUS-PUNC  
 'I one (of them) brought back when
- tãyără* 'skwa'...  
*tayaráhskwa?*  
 t-a-y-arahskw-a?  
 CISLOC-FACT-1,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 I came home'
- '[One day] I brought one back with me'  
 TN:28:244:51-53

In 197 the verb *-Yayĕ-* 'go out' bears the Cislocative, and is glossed as 'come out', in reference to the perspective of a group of spectators.

- (197) ...tu<sup>ċ</sup> *tãhĩcãyĕ·hã*\*  
 tuh *tãhĩžayĕ:ha?*  
 t-a-hi-Yayĕ-ha?  
 CISLOC-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 'there they came out of the water
- te* 'hũdátútãñò·mĩċ...  
*tehudátútanyò:wih*  
 te-hud-at-ut-a-nyq-w-ih  
 DU-MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-stick.up-JOIN-DISTR-CAUS-STAT  
 there they were fastened together'
- '[the Snake and the Indian maiden] came out of the lake, twisted together'  
 TN:08:103:53-56

With the verb *-e-* 'go / come' the Cislocative gives a gloss of 'come':

- (198) **tām̩ɛ́'déʔ**  
**taw̩ɛ́dɛ́ʔ**  
**t-a-wɛ́d-e-ʔ**  
CISLOC-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC  
'they come'  
TN:12:113:03

Compare the use of the Translocative in section 4.1.5, where the resulting gloss is 'go'.

Additionally, the Cislocative can be used as a superlative, 'most' or '-st':

- (199) **tāyũwá·nɛ́ʕ**  
**tayuwá:nɛ́h**  
**t-(h)a-yuwanɛ́-h**  
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
'big one (eldest)'  
TN:23:171:52

Without the Cislocative, this word simply refers to large size in general:

- (200) **hāyũwá·nɛ́ʕ**  
**hayuwá:nɛ́h**  
**ha-yuwanɛ́-h**  
MASC,sg,AGT-large-STAT  
'it is big'  
TN:07:100:16

Allomorphs of the Cislocative are *t-*, *k-*, *ti-*, and *ka-*. Vowels condition the *t-* allomorph, as in 194 and 198-199 above, while *k-* occurs before glides, as in 195. The former can also appear before *r*.

(201) tr̥ə·<sup>n</sup>daq̊  
 tr̥ə:daq̊?  
 t-r-ɔdaq̊-?  
 CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 '(where) he lives'  
 TN:29:268:52

The remaining allomorphs *ti-* and *ka-* are less frequent and have distributions that are less clear. *ti-* can show up before glides, as well as *h*, *r*, and *s*.

(202) tí·we'  
 tí:we?  
 ti-w-e-?  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PURP  
 'she walks'  
 TN:22:165:49

(203) tíh̥ə·<sup>n</sup>dé'  
 tíh̥ə:dé?  
 ti-h̥əd-e-?  
 CISLOC-MASC,pl,AGT-go-PURP  
 'there they come'  
 TN:23:173:47

(204) tí·re's  
 tí:re?s  
 ti-r-e-?s  
 CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB  
 'about he (the owl) is walking' ('the owl is walking about')  
 TN:24:184:41

(205) tiskwǎdá·re'  
 tiskwǎdá:re?  
 ti-skwa-dar-e?  
 CISLOC-2,pl,AGT-live-STAT  
 'you live' ('where you live')  
 TN:20:149:04





<p>(209) ...yéhe' yéhe? y-ehe-? 1,sg,AGT-think-STAT 'I want</p>	<p>ka·wǎjà'tǎtɛ'... ka:wažǎ'tatɛ? ka-way-Ya't-a-tɛ-? CISLOC-1,sg,PAT-body-JOIN-stop-STAT here I stay (stop)'</p>
---	--

I wish to stay here  
TN:27:217:33-34

It remains unclear why *ti-* and *ka-* are sometimes chosen instead of *t-* and *k-*, although there is a tendency for *ka-* to appear before second person pronominals.

#### 4.1.5 Translocative (TRANS)

The Translocative indicates distant location, or motion away from a referent. It is usually glossed as 'across', 'at them', 'away', 'here', 'off', 'out', 'there', 'thereof', or 'where' in the texts.

Example 210 demonstrates the distal locative sense, referring to the place where a previous camp had been set up:

<p>(210) dēhèhūtídǎtǎɛ 'ta'k dehèhutidátaɛtahk de-he-huti-dat-a-Yɛta-hk SUBST-TRANS-MASC,non.sg,PAT-camp-JOIN-have-PAST 'where they had camped previously' TN:19:138:04-05</p>
--

The Translocative indicates that the direction of throwing is away from the thrower in 211:

(211) hǎhú·ti·  
 hahú:ti:?  
 h-a-hu-ati-?  
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-pitch-PUNC  
 'he threw (it) away'  
 TN:28:250:25

With the verb *-e-* 'go / come' the Translocative gives a gloss of 'go':

(212) há·de'  
 há:de?  
 h-a-:d-e-?  
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-PUNC  
 'they went'  
 TN:16:126:13

Compare the previous use with the Cislocative where the meaning was 'come'. Allomorphs are *h-* (before vowels), *he-* (before consonants), and *ha?*- before the Dualic.

#### 4.1.6 Negative (NEG)

The Negative can be used to indicate simple negation, as in 213 and 214:

(213)	...dǎε' dae?	hǎ· <sup>?</sup> ra' hǎ? <sup>?</sup> ra?	te·yǎǎtə·ri' te?yaǎtə:rih te?-ya-Yǎteri-h NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-know-STAT
	'that	only (because)	not she knows
	ǎnə· <sup>?</sup> má' anə:? <sup>?</sup> wáh	hú·sǎwe' hú:saweh h-u:sa-w-e-h TRANS-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC	
	which way	for her to go	

du·sayādāta·ra<sup>ʕ</sup>  
 du:sayadāta:rah  
 d-u:sa-ya-dat-a-r-ah  
 PART-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-camp-JOIN-put.away-PUNC  
 that again (for) her to visit

dūdu<sup>ʔ</sup>nḡ·<sup>n</sup>de<sup>ʕ</sup>...  
 dudu<sup>ʔ</sup>wé:deh  
 d-u-du<sup>ʔ</sup>wə-deh  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-mother-LOC  
 the her mother at'

As she had no idea of the way to her mother's home...  
 TN:02:071:27-34

(214) ...yḡ<sup>ʕ</sup>(tjǰ)<sup>u</sup>rūṅ<sup>ʔ</sup>°  
 yḡhtǰǰ<sup>ʔ</sup>rūṅ<sup>ʔ</sup>?  
 y[ḡ]-iht-ižu-<sup>ʔ</sup>-rūṅ<sup>ʔ</sup>?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-good-STAT-POP  
 'prairie turtle tribe

nḡcāde	ti <sup>n</sup> dé· <sup>ʕ</sup> sḡ <sup>ʔ</sup>
nḡšade	tidé:hsḡ <sup>ʔ</sup>
and then	hawk

ḡā <sup>ʕ</sup> cḡ <sup>ʕ</sup> k	ēwà· <sup>ʕ</sup> sḡ <sup>ʔ</sup>	īmḡ <sup>n</sup> tāyε <sup>ʕ</sup>
ahšḡhk	iwà:hsḡ <sup>ʔ</sup>	iwé <sup>ʔ</sup> tayeh
		i-w-ḡt-aye-h
		PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
three	ten (thirty)	days

tǰ <sup>ʔ</sup> ǰ	stḡ <sup>ʔ</sup> tǰ <sup>ʔ</sup> ḡ
tǰ <sup>ʔ</sup> ǰ	stḡ <sup>ʔ</sup> tǰ <sup>ʔ</sup> u
not	anything

te<sup>ʔ</sup>sūtǰǰháy...  
 te<sup>ʔ</sup>sutǰǰháy  
 te<sup>ʔ</sup>-s-[h]uti-dya-hay  
 NEG-REP-MASC,pl,PAT-eat-STAT  
 not they eat'

Several men of the Prairie Turtle and Hawk clans... abstained from any food for thirty days

TN:09:105:13-24

The Negative can also be used for other contrary-to-fact situations.<sup>64</sup> This is shown in 215, where the speaker is describing what he would do if married.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(215) ...dīyé·heʹ<br/>         diyé:heʹ<br/>         di-y-ehe-ʹ<br/>         PART-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT<br/>         'I want</p> | <p>ka·jéha·<br/>         ka:ʹžéha:<br/>         ka-y-Ye-ha<br/>         CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-do-HAB<br/>         I do this way</p> |
|---|---|

teʹwayéʹ°gǎiʹ  
 teʹwayéʹdyaih  
 teʹ-waye-dyay-h  
 NEG-1,sg,PAT-marry-STAT  
 (as) if I were married

tǎyatákanǒñǒhǒʹ...  
 tayatákyanǒnyǒhǒh  
 t-ay-ataky-a-nǒnyǒ-hǒh  
 CISLOC-1,sg,PAT-talk-JOIN-DISTR-STAT  
 I (with) her would converse continually'

I wish that, were I married, I would converse like this forever.

TN:04:082:07-10

Allomorphs are *te-* and *teʹ-*. Vowels are preceded by *teʹ-*, while *h* is almost always preceded by *te-*. The latter also occurs before the Optative + Repetitive and Optative +

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<sup>64</sup>Matthew Dryer suggests that the Negative may thus actually be an irrealis morpheme.

Cislocative combinations that start with *u*. They are in free variation before consonants other than *h*. In 216 both allomorphs appear before *w*.

(216) a. ...tēwati'ʔtə'tsa'ʃ  
 tewatí:ʔtəhtsahs  
 te-wati-ʔtəhts-ahs  
 NEG-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-hatch-HAB  
 'not they hatch

dē yù'cátə'...  
 de yùhšátəʔ  
 yu-hšatə-ʔ  
 FEM.IND,sg,PAT-ride-STAT  
 the horse'

horses don't hatch  
 TN:32:276:10-13

b. te'wāyemē 'gérihə'  
 te'wayewədyérihəh  
 te'-waye-wədyeri-həh  
 NEG-1,sg,PAT-willing-STAT  
 'no I am willing

dusāyátrə 'dù'tə  
 dusayátrə:dù:tə  
 d-usa-y-at-rəd-ut-ə  
 PART-REP.FACT-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-PUNC  
 that again I sing'

No, I am no longer willing to sing.  
 TN:24:189:04-07

Northern Iroquoian languages differ as to whether the Negative can co-occur with the modals or not.<sup>65</sup> Wyandot patterns both ways, with the Negative able to appear with the

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<sup>65</sup>In Oneida they cannot co-occur, while in Seneca they can.

Optative, but not the Factual or Future. In order to convey a negative meaning with the Factual or Future, the Contrastive is used.

#### 4.1.7 Contrastive (CONTR)

The Contrastive indicates simple negation in instances when the Negative cannot be used, that is, with the Factual or Future.

In 217 the Factual is used in a negated verb. Since the Factual and Negative cannot co-occur, the Contrastive appears instead:

- |       |         |                                  |
|-------|---------|----------------------------------|
| (217) | ...hə'ə | tahɛ ʰdù·rɛ'hə'                  |
|       | hə'ə    | tahɛdù:rɛ'ha?                    |
|       |         | t-a-hɛd-urɛ-ha?                  |
|       |         | CONTR-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-find-PUNC |
|       | 'no     | not they find are able to        |
|       | dě      | hɔ·'tɛ'ʰtsɛ's...                 |
|       | de      | hɔ:tɛtsɛhs                       |
|       |         | hɔ-ate-tsɛ-hs                    |
|       |         | MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB        |
|       | the     | they her are doctoring'          |

They could not find out what was the matter.  
TN:34:278:63-67

The Contrastive is also used to indicate the opposite of what was expected. Example 218 is from a text where Turtle keeps winning races against faster opponents. In this instance he had defeated Raccoon by unexpectedly arriving first.

(218) ...nɛ̃<sup>ɕ</sup> dǎɛ̃<sup>ʔ</sup>      nɔmǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>de<sup>ʔ</sup>      dɛ̃      tú·kwɛ̃jǎ·kwe<sup>ɕ</sup>  
 nɛ̃h      dǎɛ̃<sup>ʔ</sup>      nɔwǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>de<sup>ʔ</sup>      de      tú:kwẽžǎ:kweh  
 'now      the one      next time      the      raccoon

a<sup>ʔ</sup>ʔá<sup>ʔ</sup>atadiskwa<sup>ʔ</sup><sup>a</sup>      ǫmǎt<sup>ʔ</sup>yaǫmɛ̃<sup>ɕ</sup>  
 a<sup>ʔ</sup>kyǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>atadiskwa<sup>ʔ</sup>      ɔwatí<sup>ʔ</sup>yaǫwɛ̃h  
 a<sup>ʔ</sup>-ky-atadiskw-a<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 FACT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-race-PUNC  
 they two the race ran      quite a while ago

tisù·wó<sup>ʔ</sup>t      <sup>n</sup>dɛ̃<sup>ɕ</sup><sup>n</sup>gǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>wic...  
 tisù:wó<sup>ʔ</sup>ht      de<sup>ʔ</sup>dyǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>wiš  
 ti-s-u-Yɔ-ht      de<sup>ʔ</sup>-dya<sup>ʔ</sup>wiš  
 CONTR-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-arrive-CAUS.STAT      SUBST-turtle  
 there back he gets in      the turtle'

The Raccoon then competed with the Turtle, but the Turtle reached the island first  
 TN:05:093:49-58

Allomorphs are *t-* (before vowels), *tɪ-* (before consonants), and *ɬɪ-* (before the Dualic).

#### 4.1.8 Coincident (COIN)

The Coincident is usually glossed as 'same' in the texts, and indicates that one entity is identical to another.<sup>66</sup> Both 219 and 220 indicate identity of a person:

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<sup>66</sup>Lounsbury (1953:46) indicates that the Oneida cognate involves simultaneity, in addition to identity of entities, while Chafe (1967:32) states the Seneca form shows that "what follows coincides in time or space with some other reference."

- (219) ...dǎétuʷ wé·tiʷ cǎhǎáʔtǎt  
 daétuʷ wé:tih šahaáʔtat  
 ša-ha-Yaʔt-a-t  
 COINC-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT  
 'that too all same one body

dūtahǎè·rǝnǝkeʷ...  
 dutahaè:rǝnǝkyeʷ  
 d-uta-ha-Yerǝ-nǝ-ǝ-akye-ʔ  
 PART-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-trick-DISTR-STAT-PROG-PUNC  
 'that he me tricked several times'

And the same one has now cheated me ever so many times!  
 TN:22:167:42-45

- (220) ...tũʷcǝʷcaʷ cǎtǎ·reʷ  
 tuhšǝʷšaʷ šǝtǎ:reʷ  
 š-ǝta-r-e-ʔ  
 COINC-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC  
 'there it is again yonder he comes

dè·rǝmǝʷ...  
 dè:rǝwéh  
 de-r-ǝwe-h  
 SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN  
 'the he person'

There, at a distance, he saw the same fellow coming along.  
 TN:27:223:12-16

In combination with the Dualic, the meaning is 'half' or 'middle'.

- (221) caʔteyáʷdaʷkwǝtsiʷ  
 šaʔteyáʷdahkwǝtsih  
 šaʔ-te-ya-ʷdahkw-etsi-h  
 COINC-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-drum-long-STAT  
 'bushel half-way long'  
 WD:NR:065





- (223) **teyǝhǝtɛ́·tsíʼs**  
**teyǝhǝtɛ́:tsih**  
**te-yǝ-ahǝht-etsi-hs**  
**DU-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-ear-long-STAT.PL**  
**'double-ears long' ('a pair of long ears')**  
**TN:40:310:09-10**

Here the Dualic refers to the ears being paired. When only one ear is referred to, the Dualic is absent:

- (224) **ʎwayahǝʼtáʼtǝʼ**  
**wayahǝtáhtǝʼ?**  
**way-ahǝht-ahtǝ-ʼ?**  
**1,sg,PAT-ear-lose-STAT**  
**'I my ear lose'**  
**WD:NR:062**

Other paired body parts also can appear with the Dualic, such as 'feet' in 225 and 'eyes' in 226:

- (225) **teyaʼciʼtawáʼstiʼ**  
**teyahšiʼtawahstih**  
**te-y-ahšiʼt-a-wahst-ih**  
**DU-1,sg,AGT-foot-JOIN-good-STAT**  
**'my feet pretty' ('my pretty feet')**  
**WD:NR:012**
- (226) **teyěyáʼkweʼdāwáʼstiʼ**  
**teyeyáhkweʼdawahstih**  
**te-ye-yahkweʼd-a-wahst-ih**  
**DU-1,sg,AGT-eye-JOIN-good-STAT**  
**'my eyes that are pretty' ('my pretty eyes')**  
**TN:22:164:23-24**

The Dualic can also appear with paired items other than body parts, as in 227:

- (227) **tehu'ce'da:é**  
**tehuššeda:é**  
**te-hu-hššed-a-Yé**  
**DU-MASC,sg,PAT-name-JOIN-have.STAT**  
 'two names he has got' ('he has two names')  
 WD:NR:038

The Dualic can also indicate a change of state. In 228 there are two states, one before transfiguration and one as a human:

- |       |                                  |                        |                           |      |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------|
| (228) | ...dī                            | hé'cə'ǣ'               | ǎñò'gáka                  | dǎε  |
|       | di                               | həhššə'ǣh              | anyò:dyáka                | dae  |
|       |                                  |                        | a-Yə-dyaka                |      |
|       |                                  |                        | FACT-1,sg:2,sg-marry.PUNC |      |
|       | 'me                              | it has been so         | I you married             | that |
|       | <b>há'ra'</b>                    | <b>ědà'úraha'</b>      |                           |      |
|       | <b>há'ra?</b>                    | <b>edà'úraha?</b>      |                           |      |
|       |                                  | <b>e-Ø-da'ura-ha?</b>  |                           |      |
|       |                                  | FUT-1,sg,AGT-able-PUNC |                           |      |
|       | only                             | will that I be able    |                           |      |
|       | <b>detējá'tù'tə</b>              |                        | <b>tījú'</b>              |      |
|       | <b>detežá'tù'tə</b>              |                        | <b>tižúh</b>              |      |
|       | <b>de-te-y-Ya't-u'tə</b>         |                        |                           |      |
|       | SUBST-DU-1,sg,AGT-body-kind.STAT |                        |                           |      |
|       | that I be transformed            |                        | as though (like)          |      |

**dǎ** yò·mế˘...  
**da** yò:rweh  
 y-qwe-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN  
**the** it person'

As it is, I will be transfigured into a human being to marry her.  
 TN:02:068:13-23

Two states, one before a camp was set and one after, are indicated with the Dualic in 229:

(229) ...né˘ tēhati˘dataé˘...  
 nēh tehatidataé˘?  
 te-hati-dat-a-Yé-?  
 DU-MASC,pl,AGT-camp-JOIN-have-STAT  
 'now they a camp have'

So they pitched camp.  
 TN:20:145:18-19

Other examples are less clear. Example 230 may also indicate two states, one before scalping and one after. However, the Oneida cognate requires the Dualic lexically, so this may hold for Wyandot as well.

(230) tēhàyūnó·rà˘kwa˘'  
 tehàyunó:ràhkwa˘?  
 te-hayu-nqr-a-hkw-a˘?  
 DU-MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg-scalp-JOIN-take-HAB  
 'they onebody scalp' ('they scalp people')  
 TN:30:272:42

However, there are many instances where the purpose of the Dualic is vague or unclear, as in the following examples.

- (231) ...tú<sup>c</sup> aʔyé·<sup>n</sup>drɛ<sup>c</sup> aʔkɛ̃<sup>n</sup>dáʔskwə...  
 túh aʔyé:drɛh aʔkɛ̃dáʔskwa  
 aʔ-ye-drɛ-h aʔ-t-y-ɛ̃daʔskw-a  
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-tie-PUNC FACT-DU-1,sg,AGT-jump-PUNC  
 'there I it tie I jump'

I fasten it, and then I leap down  
 TN:22:159:13-15

- (232) ...aʔ<sup>n</sup>kúhaʔ<sup>n</sup>teʔ né<sup>c</sup>  
 aʔkyúhaʔteʔ nɛ̃h  
 aʔ-t-Yu-haʔt-eʔ  
 FACT-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-dawn-PUNC  
 'the dawn then

aʔ<sup>n</sup>tɔrá<sup>n</sup>tát  
 aʔtɔráhtat  
 aʔ-t-[h]ɔ-araht-at  
 FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-run-PUNC  
 they ran

tùdē kǎnɔ<sup>n</sup>‘cá·ɛ̃’...  
 tùde kanɔhśá:ɛʔ  
 t-ya-nɔhś-a-Yɛ-ʔ  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT  
 to the house'

At daybreak they ran to an isolated house  
 TN:38:301:21-25

- (233) ...aʔ<sup>n</sup>te<sup>n</sup>dēhére<sup>c</sup> tɛ̃hùtíʔdá·ʔ<sup>n</sup>wāti<sup>c</sup> tú<sup>c</sup> á·tíʔ  
 aʔteʔdehére<sup>h</sup> tɛ̃hùtiʔdá:ʔwatih tuh á:tiʔ  
 te-huti-daʔwat-ih  
 DU-MASC,non.sg,PAT-dig-STAT  
 'no not far down they dug in there just

ihá·'nq'  
 ihá:ʔnqʔ  
 i-ha-ʔnq-ʔ  
 PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-bury-STAT  
 he was buried

è·rǫmé'...  
 è:rǫwéh  
 e-r-qwe-h  
 e-r-qwe-h  
 X-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN  
 the he person'

before they had dug far into the ground, they found a buried human being  
 TN:16:130:15-22

It may be the case that these are also lexically determined, in that in other Northern Iroquoian languages the Dualic is obligatory with certain verbs.

Uses for enumeration or repetition as described by Lounsbury (1953) for the Oneida Dualic are not apparent in Wyandot. No example of *tedih* 'two' appears with the Dualic on the following enumerated item, for example. Furthermore, no example glossed with 'again' uses the Dualic and the Cislocative, so it is not possible to see if the Dualic is used to replace the Repetitive in the presence of the Cislocative.

Allomorphs are *t-* in combination with various other prepronominals, *k-* in those same combinations but before glides, and *te-* elsewhere.

#### 4.1.10 Partitive (PART)

The range of uses of the Partitive does not reduce easily to a single English translation. It often covers 'how', 'how much', 'where', or 'when' in the texts, as well as especially 'to' and 'that'.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Lounsbury (1953:46) refers to the Oneida cognate as used for "*the amount of, how much, how many.... manner of, kind of, the way, how.... where, (the place) of.... when, the time when*".

Example 234 shows the verb 'give' with the Partitive attached to its intended result, the verb 'plant', adding the gloss 'that' to the latter.

<p>(234) ...a'u·nq̣'ʔ  aʔu:nq̣t  aʔ-u-nq̣ht  FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC  'she her gave</p>	<p>dēkatq̣'ʔskwaʔyɛʔ  dekatq̣hskwaʔyɛh  de-ketq̣hskwaʔyɛh  SUBST-toad  the toad</p>
--	---

daʔyǎɛ'ʔkwaʔ  
daʔyaɛkwaʔ  
d-aʔ-ya-Yɛkw-aʔ  
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-plant-PUNC  
that she planted (the seeds)

dunɛ'haʔ...  
dunɛ:haʔ  
d-u-nɛh-aʔ  
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-corn-NOUN  
the corn'

The toad now gave the woman grains of corn [to plant]  
TN:01:061:09-12

Example 235 relates a verb of knowing and a verb indicating what action is known, also linked through the gloss 'that':

<p>(235) ...yěñɛ'miʔ  yenyɛ:wih  ye-nyɛwih  1,sg,AGT-know.how.STAT  'I know how</p>	<p>dà'ʔnɛ'skwaʔ...  dàʔnɛ:skwaʔ  d-aʔ-Ø-nɛskw-aʔ  PART-FACT-1,sg,AGT-steal-PUNC  that I steal'</p>
---	--

I am a thief  
TN:29:262:25-27





(237) ...dāhāyaqʔdiyqháʔtəʔ  
 dahayaqʔdiyqháʔtəʔ  
 d-a-hayq-ʔdiyqʔ-haʔt-əʔ  
 PART-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-sense-fool-PUNC  
 'that he them two has fooled

dīháʔtqʔ	ǣdʔ...
diháʔtqʔ	ǣdíʔ
di-h-atq-ʔ	
PART-MASC,sg,AGT-say-STAT	
when he has said	me'

he had only deceived them when he said, 'It is I!  
 TN:24:190:38-43

The verb marked with the Partitive need not be the first verb following the main verb. In 238 the Partitive form, 'the next day', relates the time of the other verbs, but precedes them.

(238) ...dāɛʔ	nqʔmáʔdeʔ	dāʔúʔrhɛhaʔ
daeʔ	nqʔwáʔdeʔ	daʔúʔrhɛhaʔ
		d-aʔ-u-rhɛ-haʔ
		PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC
'that one	next time	the next day

dāɛʔ	nqʔmáʔ	aʔʔtúkàʔsārúʔʔtaʔs
daeʔ	nqʔwáʔ	aʔʔtukàʔhsarúʔʔtahs
		aʔ-t-(h)u-akahsarúʔʔt-ahs
		FACT-DU-MASC,sg,PAT-watch-HAB
that one	that time	he him kept on watching <sup>68</sup>

tēhūyáʔdraʔ	nqʔʔmáʔ
tehuyáʔdraʔ	nqʔʔwáh
te-hu-yadr-aʔ	
DU-MASC,sg,PAT-look.at-STAT	
he at him was looking	the way

---

<sup>68</sup>Anomalous use of Habitual with Factual.



da'kwátiĵa'tu'te'ǵ'  
 da?kwátiža?tu:te?ah  
 d-a?-t-wati-Ya?t-u?te-?ah  
 PART-FACT-DU-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-body-kind.STAT-DIM  
 the animals

tūhà'wátiĥà'cǵ'...  
 tuhà?wátiĥàhšǵ?  
 tu-h-a?-wati-bahš-Yǵ-?  
 REM-TRANS-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-council-have-PUNC  
 there they council held'

After a while they all assembled at the place where the child was imprisoned, and here they held a council.  
 TN:19:139:21-36

Although the Oneida cognate of *-u?te-* 'be a kind of' requires the Partitive lexically, this does not hold of Wyandot and so a lexical explanation cannot be as easily adopted here. The following example shows *-u?te-* 'be a kind of' without the Partitive:

(240) ...tēwa'tijá'tù'utǵ'  
 te-wati-tižá?tu?te?  
 te-wati-Ya?t-u?te-?  
 DU-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-body-kind-STAT  
 'all kinds (of them)

dē yajú'...  
 de yažú?  
 ya-žu-?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT  
 the the game'

'all kinds of game'  
 TN:36:289:31-34

Other examples are equally obscure:



In 244 the state of the NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT 'they' having gone out continues to hold:

(244) **sūdāráʼskwɛʼ**  
**sudaráhskwɛh**  
**s-ud-arahskw-ɛh**  
REP-NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-go.out-STAT  
'they were gone'

'they were no longer anywhere there'  
TN:13:117:47

The distribution of the Repetitive allomorphs are difficult to ascertain. The allomorphs are *s-*, *š-* (before *r*), *sk-* (before *w*), *ts-* (before the feminine-zoic singular agent when no modal is present, as well as other unclear uses), *tsi-* (optionally before the second person), and *sə-* (in unclear distribution).

#### 4.2 Morpheme Slot Ordering

Chart 87 is based on a similar chart in Lounsbury (1953:45, Table 5: Positional Arrangement of Prepronominal Morphemes) for Oneida. It shows the relative ordering of the prepronominal prefixes, other than the modals. The patterning of the modals is complex, and will be addressed afterwards. No examples of members of the same slot appearing together have been found.

OUTER		INNER
Negative Contrastive Partitive Coincident Translocative	Dualic	Repetitive Cislocative

Chart 87: Non-Modal Prepronominal Morpheme Slot Ordering

As can be seen, the Negative, Contrastive, Partitive, Coincident, and Translocative as a whole precede all other prefixes. The next non-modal is the Dualic, followed by the Repetitive and Cislocative last. The first set of prefixes will be called the *outer* prefixes, while the last set will be the *inner* prefixes. This is a departure from the terminology used by Chafe (1967) for Seneca, *primary* (Cislocative, Repetitive) and *secondary* (Contrastive, Partitive, Coincident). The difference is based on the Negative and Translocative not being among Chafe's secondary prefixes, but patterning partly with them in Wyandot. When all three slots are filled, outer prefixes precede the Dualic, which precedes the inner prefixes. The only exception is the lack of examples with both the Negative and Dualic. This could be due to either a grammatical prohibition, or be simply a gap in the data. Comparative evidence is not helpful here, since this combination is prohibited in Oneida but allowed in Seneca.

Because the modals have a complex interaction with the other prepronominal prefixes, several small charts will be presented before one large complete chart. In the following charts the modals will be indicated with *italics*, and fused slots by dashed lines. The Future appears before the inner prefixes, and after the Dualic and outer prefixes:

OUTER	Dualic	<i>Future</i>	INNER
-------	--------	---------------	-------

Chart 88: The Future with Other Prepronominal Prefixes

The Optative follows the outer prefixes and Dualic, but fuses with the inner prefixes:

OUTER	Dualic	INNER	<i>Optative</i>
-------	--------	-------	-----------------

Chart 89: The Optative with Other Prepronominal Prefixes

The Factual has the most complicated distribution. With just the inner prefixes, or with just the outer prefixes, the Factual follows:

OUTER INNER	<i>Factual</i>
----------------	----------------

Chart 90: The Factual with Inner or Outer Prepronominal Prefixes

With just the Dualic, the Factual precedes:

<i>Factual</i>	Dualic
----------------	--------

Chart 91: The Factual with the Dualic

With an outer prefix and the Dualic, the Factual is in the middle.

OUTER	<i>Factual</i>	Dualic
-------	----------------	--------

**Chart 92: The Factual with the Dualic and an Outer Prepronominal Prefix**

With the Dualic and an inner prefix, the Factual fuses with the inner prefix, and the fused complex follows the Dualic.

Dualic	INNER	<i>Factual</i>
--------	-------	----------------

**Chart 93: The Factual with the Dualic and an Inner Prepronominal Prefix**

With both an outer and an inner prefix, the Factual fuses with the inner prefix, and the fused complex follows the outer prefix.

OUTER	INNER	<i>Factual</i>
-------	-------	----------------

**Chart 94: The Factual with an Outer and an Inner Prepronominal Prefix**

When the Factual appears with an outer, an inner, and the Dualic, then the Factual fuses with the inner, and the fused complex follows the Dualic, which in turn follows the outer.

OUTER	Dualic	INNER	<i>Factual</i>
-------	--------	-------	----------------

**Chart 95: The Factual with Other Prepronominal Prefixes**



Chart 96 shows the complete prenominal prefix slot orders. The modal prefixes are in *italics* due to their complex patterning. Solid lines separate slots, while dashed lines indicate fusion between adjacent slots.

OUTER				INNER		
NEG CONTR PART COINC TRANS	<i>FACT</i>	DU	<i>FUT</i> <i>OPT</i>	<i>REP</i> <i>CISLOC</i>	<i>FACT</i>	

Chart 96: Prenominal Morpheme Slot Ordering

#### 4.3 Prefix Complexes

As seen in the previous examples, the prenominal prefixes can occur in clusters as well as singly at the beginnings of words. These are shown in chart 97, based on the equivalent chart in Lounsbury (1953:36-37, Table 3: Pre-nominal Prefixes) for Oneida. Across the top are four columns, one for no modal prefix and three for the modals. The rows list non-modal prenominals and their combinations. For instance, the combinations of Dualic, Repetitive, and Factual are *t-us-*, *t-usa-*, and *t-use-*. It will be noticed that many of the possibilities are not indicated. For instance, no example is given for Translocative, Dualic, Repetitive and Optative occurring together. In this instance the reason is that no such form appears in the corpus. Other forms are missing because they are not allowed in the

grammar. In Wyandot the Negative can appear with the Optative (at least when the Cislocative or Repetitive is present) but not the Factual or Future.

In the Factual and Optative columns, in rows containing the Cislocative or Repetitive and at least one more prefix, as well as the Cislocative or Repetitive and the Optative alone, there is one fewer morpheme segmented than named. This is because the Factual and Optative fuse with the Repetitive and Cislocative (see section 4.2 *Morpheme Slot Ordering*).<sup>69</sup> Whereas the Dualic, Repetitive and Future is easily segmented into *t-e-s-*, with each morpheme clearly separated, the Dualic, Repetitive and Factual *t-usa-* has only the Dualic as a clearly separate morpheme. Within the *-usa-* string, the *-s-* can be seen as the Repetitive. However, this leaves *-u...a-* as a discontinuous morpheme for the Factual. The same holds for the Dualic, Cislocative, and Factual, which would then consist of *t-* Dualic, *t-* Cislocative, and *-u...a-* Factual.

Lounsbury (1953), in discussing Oneida, divides the prepronominals into a series of smaller morpheme partials, allowing all phonological segments to be assigned particular positions. The Factual and Optative are analyzed as discontinuous morphemes in which the Repetitive and Cislocative are infixes. This type of analysis has the advantage of accounting for all segments among the prepronominals, as well as allowing for a relatively clear arrangement of morpheme slots. However, there are also disadvantages. The Factual shows up in two slots, separated by five other slots. The Optative also appears in two slots, though separated by merely two other slots. Additionally, this analysis results in five separate empty

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<sup>69</sup>The other modal prefix, Future, does not fuse, occurring before the Cislocative and Repetitive while after the other prefixes.

morphemes consisting of a single vowel each, covering four of the six vowels available in Oneida.

Hopkins (1988) avoids this same problem in Mohawk by dividing the prenominal prefixes into two groups, inflectional and derivational. The inflectional prefixes are Partitive, Coincident, Contrastive, Negative, Factual, Future, and Optative. In terms of Chafe (1967)'s classification for Seneca, these are the secondary and modal prefixes, plus the Negative. The derivational prefixes are the Repetitive, Cislocative, Dualic, and Translocative. For Chafe, these are the primary prefixes plus the Dualic and Translocative. Hopkins' inflectional and derivational affixes provide two different templates, depending on whether the Cislocative or Repetitive is present. That is, there is a morpheme slot template that includes the Cislocative and Repetitive slot, and another template that lacks such a slot. The string *-aʔ-* is treated not as part of one or more morphemes, but as a "hinge" linking the templates. This approach eliminates the need for morpheme partials and places all examples of *-aʔ-* together, but on the other hand creates multiple morpheme slot templates while not clearly defining why certain prenominals are inflectional and others derivational.

Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989), in discussing Iroquoian in general, treat each prenominal prefix complex as a unit. Although this loses detail as to morpheme boundaries, it avoids the problem of the interaction between the Cislocative and Repetitive and the modals.

The analysis presented here blends the approaches of Lounsbury (1953) and Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989). The Cislocative and Repetitive are treated as fused with

the Factual and Optative, while the other easily segmentable morphemes are indicated separately. Instead of

(245) tusa -  
t-u-s-a -  
DU-FACT<sub>1</sub>-REP-FACT<sub>2</sub>-

where the modal and Repetitive are treated separately, causing the Factual to be placed in two positions, the morphemes are segmented as

(246) tusa -  
t-usa -  
DU-REP.FACT-

where the Repetitive and Factual are treated as a single portmanteau morpheme, with the Dualic indicated. This allows more detail to be shown than for Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989), without the discontinuous morphemes of Lounsbury (1953).

	FUT	FACT	OPT
REP	s(e)- ~ š- / ~ ts(i)- ~ sk- <sup>w</sup>	a(?)-	a: - ~ až-
CISLOC	k(a)- ~ t(i)-	s-a-	usa- ~ use-
DU	te-	t-a(?)-	uta-
TRANS	he(?) - ~ ha-	a?-t(e)- ~ a?-k- <sup>w</sup>	t-a:-
DU, REP	te-(h)s-	h-a(?)-	
DU, CISLOC	te-t- ~ te-k- <sup>w</sup>	t-us- ~ t-usa- ~ t-use-	t-u:sa- ~ t-u:se-
TRANS, REP	he-(h)s- ~ he-š- / ~ he-tsi-	t-ut- ~ t-uta- ~ t-ute- ~ t-utu-	t-u:ta-
TRANS, DU	ha?-t(e)-	h-usa-	h-u:sa-
TRANS, DU, REP	ha?-te-tsi-	h-a?-t(e)-	ha?-t-a:-
PART	d(i)-	ha?-t-usa-	
PART, REP	di-s-	d-a(?)-	d-a:-
PART, CISLOC	di-t-	d-usa-	d-u:sa- ~ d-u:se-
PART, DU	da?-te-	d-uta-	d-u:ta-
COINC	ša-	d-a?-t-	
	š-a-	š-a?-	

COINC, CISLOC	še-t-		š-ota- <sup>70</sup>	
COINC, DU	šaʔ-te-			
CONTR			t-a(?)-	
CONTR, REP	ti-s- ~ ti-š-'			
CONTR, DU	taʔ-te-		t-aʔ-t-	
CONTR, DU, REP	taʔ-te-s-			
CONTR, DU, CISLOC	ta-te-k- <sup>71</sup>			
NEG	te(?)-			
NEG, REP	te-(h)s- ~ teʔ-s- ~ teʔ-š-' te-ts(i)-			te-usa-
NEG, CISLOC				te-uta-

Chart 97: Prepronominal Prefix Combinations

<sup>70</sup>The nasalization here is anomalous. The cognates for the Future in other Lake Iroquoian languages use the front nasal vowel, *e* or *ɛ*, while Wyandot has denasalized this to *e*. In the other languages, the Factual and Optative, when fused with the inner prefixes, use the back nasal vowel, *o* or *u*, while Wyandot has denasalized these to *u*. There is only one example of Coincident-Cislocative.Factual, transcribed with <ḡ>. Based on the denasalization in the other prefixes, the expected form here would be *š-uta-*

<sup>71</sup>The single example of this prefix cluster lacks *ʔ* at the end of the Contrastive, \**taʔ-te-k-*, as would be expected from the presence of the Dualic.

#### 4.4 Word Boundaries

One of the primary difficulties in ascertaining the forms of the prenominal prefixes is Barbeau's inconsistency in indicating word boundaries. At times individual words would be written as such, as in 247 where all morphemes are written together as a unit.

- (247) **sahũṅ·rõti**  
**sahuné:rõti**  
**s-a-hu-ṅrõti**  
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
'again he goes out hunting' ('he goes out hunting again')  
TN:21:152:04

At other times sections of words would be transcribed as if they were separate words themselves:

- (248) **sa hũṅ·rõti'**  
**sa huné:rõti'**  
**s-a-hu-ṅrõti-'**  
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC  
'again: he goes out hunting' <sup>72</sup> ('he goes out hunting again')  
TN:21:151:46-47

In 248 the Repetitive-Factual prefix complex <sa> is written separately from the rest of the word, as well as being glossed on its own ('again'). Furthermore, sometimes what is written as a single word is numbered and glossed as if more than one:

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<sup>72</sup>The colon in the gloss indicates the separation between separate glosses in the text. Although such split glosses occur frequently, in general they will not be indicated.

- (249) **sáwará'skwa'**  
**sawaráhskwa?**  
**s-a-w-arahskw-a?**  
**REP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC**  
**'back home she goes' ('she went back home')**  
**TN:34:278:22-23**

Although written as one word, <sa> is numbered separately, as well as having its own gloss ('back home').

The location of the false word boundaries can also vary. In the following example

- (250) **tūta hé·<sup>n</sup>de'**  
**tutahé:de?**  
**t-uta-hęd-e-?**  
**DU-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC**  
**'there: they are coming'**  
**TN:40:310:38-39**

the Dualic-Cislocative.Factual prefix complex <tūta> 'there' is written and glossed separately, whereas in

- (251) **tū tahé·<sup>n</sup>dè'**  
**tutahé:dèh**  
**t-uta-hęd-e-h**  
**DU-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC**  
**'there: they came'**  
**TN:12:113:36-37**

it is just <tū> 'there' which is separated.

Since Barbeau does not explain his methodology, it is not clear whether separating prefix parts and clusters was done by the informants or by Barbeau himself.



## 4.5 Anteprenominals

In addition to the ambiguity in Barbeau's transcription involving known prenominal prefixes being written either as prefixes or as separate particles (see the discussion of <sa> in 4.4 *Word Boundaries*), there are additional forms that also alternate. Since they appear before the prenominal prefixes, they are referred to here as the anteprenominals. These are *ši(h)* Distal, *tu(h)* Remote, *d(e)* Substantivizer, *n(a)* Temporal, and *ə* NOT. Note that cognates of the anteprenominals are particles in other Iroquoian languages.

### 4.5.1 Distal (DISTAL)

The Distal anteprenominal (DISTAL) is glossed as 'yonder', 'at a distance', 'away', 'there(at)', 'way', 'then', 'along', 'far', 'already', 'much', and so on. It indicates 'at a great distance'. It is written as a particle 27 times and as a prefix 29 times, with six ambiguous instances.

In 252 *ši(h)* is written as a prefix:

(252)	...dãε'	dε	hăté·tsε'
	dæ?	de	haté:tsεh
			h-ate-tse-h
			MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-STAT
	'the one	the	he doctors

cĩhá·re'  
šihá:reh  
ši-h-a-r-e-h  
DISTAL-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC  
over there he went

**yāhà·ryó·t...**  
**yahà:rhyó:t**  
**ya-harh-yq-t**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-woods-in-X**  
**it woods into'**

**The medicine man went into the woods**  
**TN:34:280:35-39**

On the other hand, it also appears as a separate word, as in 253:

**(253) ...de tātèrʔa<sup>ʕ</sup>**  
**de tātèrʔah**  
**t-(h)-atɛr-i-ʔah**  
**CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-left-STAT-DIM**  
**'the one left**

<b>čí:</b>	<b>há·re<sup>ʕ</sup></b>
<b>ší:</b>	<b>há:reh</b>
	<b>h-a-r-e-h</b>
<b>DISTAL</b>	<b>TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC</b>
<b>yonder</b>	<b>he goes</b>

**yāhárʔye<sup>ʕ</sup>...**  
**yahárʔyeh**  
**ya-harh-ʔyeh**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-woods-LOC**  
**the woods in'**

**Tatenri'a then went to the woods**  
**TN:23:180:47-51**

Note that there is no difference in the form *há:reh* in 252 and 253 other than the affixation or not of *ší*.

#### 4.5.2 Remote (REM)

The same ambiguity between affix and particle holds for the Remote anteprenominal, *tu(h)* (REM). It is glossed as 'there', 'here', 'in', 'then', 'thereat', 'therein', 'thereto', 'to', '(to) where', etc. It is used as a generic locative at an unspecified distance. Compare the fourth word in 253, *há:reh* 'he goes', starting with the Translocative and lacking *tu(h)*, with the second word in 254, which starts with *tu(h)*.

(254)	...nɛ̃ <sup>◌</sup>	tũhá·re <sup>◌</sup>	
	nɛ̃h	tuhá:reh	
		tu-h-a-r-e-h	
		REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg.AGT-go-PUNC	
	'now	there he goes	
	de	dãtɛ̃ <sup>◌</sup> dárá·wí <sup>◌</sup>	ẽtrò· <sup>◌</sup> daó <sup>◌</sup> ...
	de	datɛ̃ <sup>◌</sup> dárá:wih	etrò:daó?
		d-ate?dar-a-w-ih	e-t-r-ɔdaɔ-?
		X-spear-JOIN-take-STAT	FUT-CISLOC-MASC,sg.AGT-live-PUNC
	that	onebody spear carries	(to) his home'

The next day he looked for the spear-man.  
TN:27:233:48-52

Example 255 shows the same verb where the Remote anteprenominal is a separate particle.

(255)	...nɛ̃ <sup>◌</sup>	tũ	há·re <sup>◌</sup> ...
	nɛ̃h	tu	há:reh
			h-a-r-e-h
			TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg.AGT-go-PUNC
	'now	there	he goes'
			TN:34:279:36-38

Again, the only difference in the forms for 'there he goes' in 254 and 255 is whether *tu(h)* is an affix or particle.

#### 4.5.3 Substantivizer (SUBST)

The third anteprenominal is *d(e)*, the Substantivizer (SUBST). It is glossed as 'the', 'that', or 'those'. *d(e)* is a type of nominalizer, creating noun phrase-like structures.

When before a verb, the Substantivizer indicates that the verb that follows functions as a nominal unit:

(256)	...nɛ	sahātɛ· <sup>h</sup> dūtɔʔ	wáʔ <sup>h</sup> tuʔ
	nɛ	sahatɛ:dutɔʔ	wáʔtuʔ
		s-a-h-atɛdutɔʔ-ʔ	
		REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC	
	now	he her told	again (next)

deyāwīnɔʔ<sup>h</sup>  
 deyawinɔʔ:h  
 de-ya-winɔʔ-h  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT  
 the she is pretty

dāhɛhəɔʔ...  
 dahəhəɔʔ  
 d-a-hɛ-ihəɔʔ-ʔ  
 PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 that he said'

Then the Thunder spoke again to the young woman, and said...  
 TN:02:074:01-05

The use of *d(e)* is not restricted to nominalizing verbs, but can be used for any type of nominal:

(257)	...dē	yē·ric	tōrōtqʻ	
	de	yē:riš	tōrōtqʻ?	
		y[ē]-iriš		
		FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion		
	'the	lion		a great many
	u'sàhúnqʻt		dē	hú·ñqʻt...
	usàhúnqʻht		de	hú:nyqʻht
	usa-hu-no;ht			
	OPT.REP-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC			
	again he him gives		the	deer charm'

He also gave him a large number of hugnont  
TN:13:120:18-23

Here both instances of *de* precede morphological nouns.

As with the other anteprenominals, *d(e)* is also written seemingly arbitrarily as either a prefix or as a separate particle. In 258 *d(e)* appears as a prefix to the verbs 'he is old' and 'she is pretty' while separate from 'he thunders'.

(258)	... <sup>n</sup> dāéʻ	ūsàhāñqʻ <sup>n</sup> t	dē	h <sup>i</sup> ?nqʻʻ <sup>o</sup>
	daéʻ?	usàhanyqʻt	de	h <sup>i</sup> ?nqʻ?
		usa-ha-nyqʻt		
		OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-take.PUNC		
	'that one	back he her took	the	he thunders
	dēháʻ <sup>n</sup> qʻ		<sup>n</sup> dēyawì·nqʻ <sup>o</sup> ...	
	deháʻ?tqʻ?		deyawì:mqʻh	
	de-ha-?tqʻ-?		de-ya-winq-h	
	SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-old-STAT		SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT	
	the he is old		she is pretty'	

The old man [Thunder] took the young woman along with him.  
TN:02:070:43-071:01



(261)	...na	húṭṭe· <sup>n</sup> du·ṭə'...
	na	húṭṭe:du:ṭəʔ
	n-a-	hu-atəḍutə-ʔ
	TEMP-FACT-	MASC,sg,PAT-speak-PUNC
	'then	he him told'

'then he told him'  
TN:32:276:35-36

In most cases the *a* of the Temporal appears to be the Factual. In a few cases it is unclear whether this is true. Thus, it is possible that all instances of *n(a)* can ultimately be resolved to just *n-*.

#### 4.5.5 Negative (NOT)

The negative anteprenominal *ḡ* (NOT) is usually glossed in the texts as 'no', although it is actually used as a general negative 'not'. It often occurs before the Negative prefix, as in 262. Note that in this example it is also an affix.

(262)	...kaṭú <sup>ʕ</sup>	nḡ <sup>ʕ</sup>	ḡ <sup>n</sup> te'satīñḡ·tēri <sup>ʕ</sup>
	kaṭúh	nḡh	ḡ <sup>n</sup> teʔsatinyé:terih
			ḡ <sup>n</sup> -teʔ-s-(h)ati-Yḡteri-h
			NOT-NEG-REP-MASC,pl,AGT-know-STAT
	'thereat	now	no not they know

de	tĩŋq'céñqde'	kə'
de	tiŋhšényqdeh	kəh
that	Senecas	there

nq̄má'əde'	usăq'·'dà're't...
nq̄wá'əde?	usăq:dà:reht
	usa-hq-dare-ht
	OPT.REP-MASC,pl,AGT-live-CAUS.PUNC
now then	back they lived'

The Senecas really no longer knew where the Wyandots lived.  
 TN:37:296:62-297:07

Of course, *ə* NOT can also appear as a separate particle. In 263 *ə?* NOT appears as a separate particle, not a prefix.



(263)	...ahèhàq'	á'á'
	ahèhàq'	á'?
	a-hè-ihaq-?	
	FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC	
	'he said	no
	tu·sayã'itrò'da'	
	tu:saya'itròda?	
	t-u:sa-ya-i'itrò-d-a?	
	DU-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-DISLOC-PUNC	
	there I (will) them give <sup>73</sup>	
	díka' tēd' di·wì·nó'...	
	díka? tedih di:wì:nòh	
	d-i-winò-h	
	PART-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-pretty-STAT	
	these two the two (are) pretty'	

The Deer said, "I will never give him back these two young women..."  
 TN:24:193:49-56

Although in 262 the Negative prefix follows NOT, it is not required. Recall from section 4.1.6 that the Factual and Negative cannot co-occur. In these cases the Contrastive is used instead. Example 264 shows NOT used before the Contrastive:

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<sup>73</sup>The pronominal prefix here is anomalous, since *ya + i* results in *yə*. However, cf. Cayuga *-kæ-* feminine non-singular, for which a putative Wyandot cognate would be *-yæ-*, avoiding the problem of phonological fusion.

(264)	...ndǎénó· daénó:	ǎ "tawǎjèdǎó' ǎtawǎžèdǎó' ǎ-t-a-way-Yeda-ǎ? NOT-CONTR-FACT-1,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC
	'may be	no not she me catches
	dě de	mǎ'ye... wǎ'ye awǎ-ye water-LOC
	(in) the	water'

Perhaps it might not catch me in the water.  
TN:20:147:55-59

Neither the Negative nor the Contrastive is required after NOT:

(265)	...ǎ'ǎmǎ'ye' ǎ'awǎ'yeh ǎ'-awǎ-ye NOT-water-LOC 'no the water on	té'yǎ' té'yǎh te?-y-ǎ-h NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT not it is
	wǎ'ja wǎ'ža wa-ža FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-small.STAT a little	hǎ'rá' hǎ'rá' only
	kǎhǎ'rá' kǎhǎ'rá' that (is) just so	yǎdé'kwǎtǎtsi'... yǎdékwǎtǎtsih ya-dehkw-atǎtsi-h FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-liquid-thick-STAT that water deep,thick'

There is hardly any water there.  
TN:29:269:38-46

Note that NOT in 265 is followed by neither the Negative nor the Contrastive.

There are three ways to deal with these ambiguous affixal status of these morphemes. One is to treat them as separate words, ignoring Barbeau's habit of transcribing affixes as particles. In this case *ši(h)* Distal, *tu(h)* Remote, *d(e)* Substantivizer, *n(a)* Temporal, and *ə* NOT would be of the same status as clear particles like *ati?* 'once', 'ever', 'which', 'will be'; *wá?tu?* 'once more', 'again'; or *kwa:mq̄h* 'often'. The second method is to assume the influence of Barbeau's mistranscriptions, and treat them as prefixes. This would necessitate a new initial morpheme slot preceding the outer prepronominals. The third alternative is to set these forms up as a type of clitic, loosely adhering to following words. The approach used here is to treat each case as it appears in Barbeau's transcription, whether affix or particle.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### VERB STEM ELEMENTS

The verb stem consists of several classes of morphemes, some obligatory and others optional. The main slots are shown in chart 98, where obligatory slots are headed in small capitals. Minimally, there is a verb root followed by one of three primary aspect suffixes, Habitual (HAB), Punctual (PUNC), and Stative (STAT),<sup>74</sup> or a special aspect limited to verbs of motion, Purposive (PURP). Although not semantically a true aspect, the Imperative (IMP) is traditionally treated with them (Lounsbury 1953, Chafe 1967) since it occupies the same distributional slot, and so will be here as well. Another occupant of this slot is the Stative Plural (STAT.PL). Optional expansions include reflexive and nominal positions before the verb root, derivational suffixes after, temporals mixed in with the aspects,<sup>75</sup> and attributives at the end of the word.

The terms *stem* and *base* have varied definitions in the Iroquoian literature. Chafe (1967), in discussing Seneca, used the term *verb stem* to include all slots from the reflexives to the aspects. Chafe (1967) and Lounsbury (1953) (for Oneida) used the term *verb base* to include just the slots from the reflexives to the derivational suffixes. The temporals and

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<sup>74</sup>The Habitual is an imperfective, the Punctual a perfective. The Stative has many uses, including a perfect.

<sup>75</sup>Although temporals are optional and aspects are obligatory, they occupy the same morphological slot. Their relative ordering is complex, so in chart (98) they are represented in adjacent cells separated by a dashed line. See section 5.4 *Aspects and Temporals*.

aspects were classed by Lounsbury (1953) as *inflectional suffixes*. Here *verb stem* is simply used to indicate all verbal roots and affixes occurring after the pronominal prefix.

Reflexive	Nominal	VERB	Derivational Suffix	ASPECT	Temporal	Attributive
SEMI REFL	noun verb-NOM	verb	CAUS BEN DISLOC DISTR INCH INST UNDO	HAB PUNC STAT IMP PURP STAT.PL	PROG PAST	AUG DIM CHAR POP

Chart 98: Verb Stem Slots

The reflexives include the Semireflexive (SEMI) and full Reflexive (REFL). The nominal position contains an incorporated noun root, or a verb root followed by the Nominalizer (NOM) (see chapter 6: *Nouns*). Noun incorporation can be recursive.

The group of derivational suffixes after the verb root is referred to as the root suffixes by Chafe (1967), while Lounsbury (1953) divides these into suffixes forming a complex verb stem, case positions, and a purposive position (for his Purposive morpheme, which is currently called the Dislocative). The morphemes concerned are the Inchoative (INCH), Causative (CAUS), Undoer (UNDO), Instrumental (INST), Distributive (DISTR), Benefactive (BEN), and Dislocative (DISLOC).

Temporals are those suffixes which enhance aspect suffixes, occupying the same slot. They are often called post-aspectual suffixes, although they are not completely restricted to

appearing after the aspects. A temporal can allow multiple aspects to appear, in varying orders. The temporals include the Progressive (PROG) and Past (PAST).

Attributives are the Augmentative (AUG), Diminutive (DIM), Characterizer (CHAR), and Populative (POP).

There are additional morphemes found in other Northern Iroquoian languages found in the verb stem slots, but that do not appear in the Wyandot text corpus. These include the Ambulative, Directive, Intensifier (derivational suffixes); Eventuative, Facilitative, Modalizer (temporals); Customary, Decessive, Pluralizer, and Typicalizer (attributives).

## 5.1 Reflexives

Members of the reflexive slot are the Semireflexive (SEMI) and the Reflexive (REFL).

### 5.1.1 Semireflexive (SEMI)

According to Lounsbury (1953:74), the Semireflexive (SEMI) in Oneida indicates "semi-reflexive action upon something belonging to the doer". Chafe (1967:26) adds that for the Seneca cognate the "meaning of the base immediately involves or affects the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix.... roughly comparable to the *middle voice* of some Indo-European languages". Both also indicate that the Semireflexive detransitivizes transitive verbs, and in some instances has idiosyncratic effects. In Wyandot the Semireflexive can be used to indicate action performed by the performer for the performer. In 266 the Semireflexive indicates that the performer of 'wash' is also the recipient of the action.

(266) ...ǎstè            sǎáʔtāt  
 astè                saáʔtat  
                       s-(h)a-Yaʔt-a-t  
                       REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT  
 'outside            he stands

hǎkq̄rèʼsúhǎreʼ...  
 hǎkq̄rèhsúhareh  
 h-at-yq̄res-uhare-h  
 MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-hand-wash-HAB  
 his hands washes'

[he] was washing his hands outside.  
 TN:38:301:37-39

A second use in Wyandot is as a detransitivizer. Note that the verb *-ts̄-* 'cure' takes a transitive pronominal prefix, *-hayu-* 'they:somebody', in 267:

(267) ...nǎhǎrí·wìʼca·  
 naharí:wìh̄ša:  
 n-a-ha-rihw-ih̄ša:  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-law-look.for.PUNC  
 now he enquires

hatijǎyúrihùʼʔt̄	nq̄n̄éʼ
hatizǎyúrihùʔt̄	nq̄n̄éʔ
hati-Yayu-rihw-uʔt̄	
how-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-law-kind.STAT	
what their customs	when

ǎh̄q̄t̄:táhaʼ  
 ah̄q̄t̄:táhaʔ  
 a-hq̄-at̄-ta-haʔ  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC  
 they onebody hire

dǎhà·yútsɛ̃ʰ...

dahà:yútsɛ̃h

d-a-hayu-tsɛ̃-h

PART-FACT-MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg,AGT-cure-PUNC

that they doctor' ('they cure people')

he inquired about their customs in the hiring of medicine-men

TN:34:279:45-51

When the recipient of curing is not mentioned, an intransitive pronominal prefix is used in combination with the Semireflexive, as in 268:

(268) ...'da·éʰ      à·rūrɛ̃həʰ  
da:éʰ?      à:rurɛ̃həʰ?  
a-r-urɛ̃-həʰ?  
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-find-PUNC  
'that one      he found out

dè·rɔ̃mɛ̃ʰ      hǎté·tsɛ̃ʰs  
dè:rɔ̃wéh      haté:tsɛ̃hs  
de-r-qwe-h      h-ate-tsɛ̃-hs  
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN      MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB  
the he person      he doctors

hǎtǎʰúʰ      yǎrehəʰ'gaʰ  
hǎtaʰúh      yarihəʰdyaʰ  
ya-rihw-qdi-aʰ  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-law-make-PUNC  
what is it      the cause

duʰcatúhaʰ  
duhšatúhaʰ  
d-u-hšatur-həʰ  
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT  
that she is sick



**dě** yawi:nô'...  
**de** yawi:nôh  
 ya-winq-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT  
**the** she is young'

The Indian doctor was the one who had discovered the cause of the young woman's trouble.

TN:34:282:29-38

Notice that *haté:tsəhs* 'he doctors' refers to a habitual activity, rather than specific actions of curing. Instead of a transitive pronominal prefix there is an intransitive and the Semireflexive.

The Semireflexive is also quite common in idiosyncratic uses. The verb -arq̄- 'ask' always takes the Semireflexive, as in 269. No instance of this verb without that prefix has been found.

(269)	...ūwa'há'ra'	tūhusá're'
	uwa'há:ra'	tuhusá:re'
		tu-h-usa-r-e-?
		REM-TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
	'another one	there back he goes

**kānô'cǎé'**  
**kanôhšáé'**  
 t-ya-nôhš-a-Yé-?  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT  
 the house to

āhātārōtq'  
 ahātārōtq?  
 a-h-at-arōtq-?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-ask-PUNC  
 he asks

ʰdá·ʰtāra'  
 dá:ʔtara?  
 daʔtar-aʔ  
 bread-NOUN  
 for bread<sup>76</sup>

Another one went to the house and asked for some bread.  
 TN:03:075:08-12

The primary allomorphs of the Semireflexive are *-ate-* and *-at-*. The allomorph *-ate-* occurs before most consonants, including y (examples 270 - 272):

(270) ...túʰ āháḳḳe'  
 túh ahákye?  
 a-h-at-Ye-?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-sit.down-PUNC  
 'there he sits

āhatēdáʰtsānē·crq'...  
 ahatedáʔtsanē:šrq?  
 a-h-ate-daʔts-a-nešrq-?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-kettle-JOIN-turn.over-PUNC  
 he kettle turns over (himself)'

Turning the kettle upside down he hid himself under it.  
 TN:37:299:66-69

(271) dehātētséʰska'  
 dehatetséʔska?  
 de-h-ate-tse-ʔs-ka?  
 SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB-CHAR  
 'that he self doctor be' ('he is a doctor')  
 WM:116

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<sup>76</sup>Anomalous missing pronominal prefix.

(272) **tūsajātè·yę**  
**tusažatè:yę**  
**t-usa-ž-ate-yę**  
**DU-REP.FACT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-see.PUNC**  
 'there again they each other saw' ('they saw each other there again')  
 TN:20:149:33-34

The allomorph **-at-** appears before vowels and *r* (examples 273 - 275):

(273) ...nę<sup>c</sup> **tūsawātá<sup>a</sup>tātò<sup>c</sup>cra<sup>c</sup>**  
**nęh tusawatá?tatòhšrah**  
**t-usa-w-at-a?tatòhs-r-ah**  
**DU-REP.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-basket-put.away-PUNC**  
 'now there again she basket takes

**nāhú<sup>c</sup>skq<sup>o</sup>cra<sup>c</sup>**  
**nahúhskyq?šrah**  
**n-a-hu-hskyq-?šr-ah**  
**TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-love-DISLOC-PUNC**  
 now she (to) him goes to make love

**deyu<sup>c</sup>cáhárę<sup>t</sup>**  
**deyuhšáhárę**

the Y. (n.)

**e:žará<sup>a</sup>se<sup>o</sup>...**  
**e:žará?se?**  
**e-:ž-ara?se-?**  
**X-MASC,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT**  
 his cousin'

The young woman then took up the basket and went away to make love to Yucaharet's cousin.  
 TN:04:080:35-40

- (274) ...tūhəʔrəʔ           dɛ  
 tuhəʔrəʔ                de  
 'that is all only       that

hūdaʔtəmɛtsātaʔkwɛhəʔkɛʔ...  
 hudatɔwɛtsatahkwɛhəʔkɛʔ  
 hud-at-ɔwɛts-a-tahkw-ɛh-akye-ʔ  
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-land-JOIN-go.round-STAT-PROG-STAT  
 they (2) the land round going'

In the same manner they kept on travelling all about the land.  
 TN:04:086:26-29

- (275) ...däɛʔ           í:t                           dɛ  
 daeʔ                í:t                           de  
                       [i]-it  
                       1,sg,AGT-mean.STAT  
 'that thing       I meant                   the

hātijaʔtádúɔʔ                           dɛ  
 hatiʒaʔtádúɔʔ                         de  
 hati-Yaʔt-a-durɔʔ-ʔ  
 MASC,pl,AGT-body-JOIN-difficult-STAT  
 chiefs                                   the

hūdatrīhɔʔtɔʔ...  
 hudatrīhɔʔtɔʔ  
 hud-at-rihw-ɔt-(h)ɔʔ-ʔ  
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-law-tie-DISTR-STAT  
 they office hold'

I [wanted you to invite] those who stand above the others in rank, that is, the chiefs,  
 TN:28:243:05-10

Another allomorph, the result of the rule alternating *t* and *k* before glides (see section

2.15 *Further Notes on y*), is *-ak-*, which appears before *w*, as in 276, and *Y*, as in 277:

(276) ...cihí                    aʼyǎkwɛʰnʰdīhaʼ  
           šihí                     aʼyakwɛdīhaʼ  
                                       aʼ-y-at-wɛd-ih-a-ʼ  
                                       FACT-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-voice-shout-PUNC  
 'from a long distance I shouted to

yǎrɛhɛtsiʰs  
 yarɛhɛtsihs  
 ya-rɛh-etsi-hs  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree.top-long-STAT.PL  
 the trees tall

kǎʰhitɔʰnɔʰ  
 karhitɔʰnyɔʰ?  
 t-ya-rhi-t-(h)ɔnyɔ-ʼ  
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT  
 where trees stand many

tú·diʰ                    kadǔrɔʰ...  
 tú:diʰ                    kadurɔʰ?  
                                       t-ya-durɔ-ʼ  
                                       CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-difficult-STAT  
 there to                the difficult places'

For those to whom I have shouted, from a distance, 'Here is my face!' were only the tall pine trees in the woods and the steep hills.  
 TN:28:242:45-50

(277) ...daéʰ                    ahákatu·ri  
           daéʰ                     ahákyaʰtu:ri  
                                       a-h-at-Yaʰt-uri  
                                       FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-body-cover.PUNC  
 'that one                he his body covered

de	ḵāṭóskwēřóʔt	yǎǵó·həʔ...
de	kyutóskwerqht	<sup>77</sup>
(with) the	the cattle	its skin'

he wrapped himself up in the ox's hide  
TN:29:258:49-53

The allomorph *-ak-* can also occur before *y*. However, in this case this allomorph overlaps the following morpheme, replacing the *y*, i.e. *-a[k]-* (see 2.15 *Further Notes on y*).

This can be seen in the following examples. In 278 the *t* of *-at-* merges with the following *y* (*-yqhš-* 'face'), leaving *-ak-*:

(278) ...nēwáʔtuʔ nɛʕ  
newáʔtuʔ nɛh  
'once more now

sāhɔmǎkóʕcūtādi·haʔ  
sahɔwakóhšutādi:haʔ  
s-a-hɔw-at-yqhš-ut-a-di-haʔ  
REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC  
again one body (to) him shows (his) face (invites)

dù·sǎjé·<sup>n</sup>drāwaʕ...  
dù:sǎžé:drawah  
d-u:sa-Ye-draw-ah  
PART-OPT.REP-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-dance-PUNC  
that again one-body dances'<sup>78</sup>

Once again a messenger, showing his face, invited the Owl to a dance  
TN:24:188:51-189:02

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<sup>77</sup>For the reason for the missing phonemicization of this word, see section 2.10 *Further Notes on q*.

<sup>78</sup>It is not clear why *Y* appears as *ž* here, instead of *ʕ*

In 279 the *t* and *y* (-*yɛ*- 'see') merge into *k*:

(279)	...ayākɛ·ʔ <sup>c</sup> se <sup>c</sup>	dɛ·	skát	sá <sup>ʔ</sup> da·mɛ <sup>c</sup> ...
	ayakɛ:ʔseh	dè:	skát	sá <sup>ʔ</sup> da:wɛh
	ay-at-yɛ-ʔs-eh			sa-ʔd-awɛ-h
	1,sg,PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP			2,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT
	'I want to see (let me see it)	that	one	thee arrow hast

Let me see your arrow!  
TN:26:202:57-60

The allomorph *-atɛ-* appears before some *d* and *t* roots.<sup>79</sup> In 280 *-atɛ-* appears before *d* (*-dinq-* 'buy') while in 281 before *t* (*-tɛr-* 'fort'):

(280)	...nɛ <sup>c</sup>	hũmɛ· <sup>n</sup> gè·ri <sup>c</sup>
	nɛh	huwɛ:dyè:rih
		hu-wɛdyeri-h
		MASC,sg,PAT-willing-STAT
	now	he was content

tũhɛ <sup>ʔ</sup> ra <sup>ʔ</sup>	sahãró·mãwa <sup>ʔ</sup>
tuhɛ <sup>ʔ</sup> ra <sup>ʔ</sup>	saharó:wawa <sup>ʔ</sup>
	s-a-ha-rɔw-a-w-a <sup>ʔ</sup>
	REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-remove-JOIN-CAUS-PUNC
that is all (therefrom)	back he went

dãé <sup>ʔ</sup>	ahãtɛ· <sup>n</sup> dinq <sup>c</sup>
daé <sup>ʔ</sup>	ahátɛ:dinqh
	a-h-atɛ-dinq-h
	FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-buy-PUNC
that one	he it had traded

---

<sup>79</sup>If this allomorph only appeared before *d*-stems, it would be possible to analyze the nasality of *ɛ* as spreading phonetic nasalization from *d*, eliminating this allomorph in favor of *-ate-*. However, this would not account for *t*-stems.

daʔkátrāhaʔ	dě	kūtóʔskwēroʔt...
daʔkyátrahaʔ	de	kyutóʔhskwerqht
d-aʔ-ky-atra-haʔ		
PART-FACT-1,IN,dl,AGT-meet-PUNC		
when they two met	the	ox'

Now the boy was willing to barter his ox [with the stranger].  
TN:27:222:05-15

- (281) dētũ<sup>n</sup>datētē:rō<sup>n</sup>diʔ  
 detudatētē:rōdih  
 de-t-(h)ud-atē-tēr-qdi-h  
 SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-fort-make-STAT  
 'that both (vague duality) they (m.pl.) self palisade to make' ('they built a fort')  
 WM:285

As discussed in chapter 3: *Pronominal Prefixes*, many pronominal prefixes have forms which overlap A-stems, such as -h[q]- masculine plural agent. This holds for the Semireflexive as much as for other A-stems. So, for each of the forms discussed above, there is a counterpart lacking *a*. The corresponding form for -at- is -t-. In 282 the feminine-zoic patient -[u]- overlaps the *a* of -at-, resulting in only *t* on the surface.

- (282) ...ũnéʔ            ūteñē<sup>n</sup>diʔcàʔiʔ  
 unéh                utenyēdihšáʔih  
                           u-ate-nyēdihš-a-ʔ-ih  
                           FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-finish-JOIN-CAUS-STAT  
 'now                 she had finished

ūtōtārō<sup>n</sup>diʔ...  
 utōtarō:dih  
 [u]-at-ōtar-qdi-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-lake-make-STAT  
 she lake made'

they saw that she had finished making a lake  
 TN:08:103:44-46



Corresponding to *-ate-* is *-te-*, as in 283, where the masculine plural agent *-h[ɔ]-* overlaps the *a*.

(283) ...nɛʰ nɔmáːʔaɗeʔ    ǎháti·'drà·waʔ  
           nɛh    nɔwáːʔdeʔ    aháti:drà:waʔ  
   a-hati-draw-aʔ  
   FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-dance-PUNC  
 now    this time    they dance began

dīyárhǐ  
 diyárhǐ?  
 di-ya-rhi-ʔ  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN  
 around the tree

ǎhótětà·seʔ...  
 ahótetà:seʔ  
 a-h[ɔ]-ate-tase-ʔ  
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-go.around-PUNC  
 they went around'

they began to dance around the tree  
 TN:03:075:31-36

For *-atɛ-* there is *-tɛ-*, in this word from example 267, where the masculine plural patient *-hɔ-* overrides the beginning of the Semireflexive.

- (284) **ǎhǒtɛːtáhaʔ**  
**ahǒtɛːtáhaʔ**  
**a-hǒ-atɛ-ta-haʔ**  
**FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC**  
**'they onebody hire' ('they hire people')**  
**TN:34:279:49**

For **-ak-** there is just **-k-**, as in 285 with masculine patient **-h[u]-** removing the **a**:

- (285) **...ahūkweːndíháʔtɛʔ**  
**ahukweːdiháhtɛʔ**  
**a-hu-at-wɛd-íha-ht-ɛ-ʔ**  
**FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-voice-shout-CAUS-BEN-PUNC**  
**'she him scolds**

**de**    **hūdúʔmɛʔ**  
**de**    **hudúʔwɛh**  
          **hu-duʔwɛ-h**  
          **MASC,sg,PAT-mother-NOUN**  
**the**    **his mother**

**de**    **ròmɛnɛʔtiʔ...**  
**de**    **ròwenyɛhtiʔ**  
          **r-qwe-nyɛhti-ʔ**  
          **MASC,sg,AGT-person-young-STAT**  
**the**    **he is young'**

The [husband's] mother scolded him still more bitterly.  
**TN:02:067:13-18**

When the following verb begins with **y**, the **t** of the Semireflexive is lost (see 2.15

*Further Notes on y*), leaving just **-a-**. Combined with certain A-stem pronominal prefixes that overlap **a**, the Semireflexive is essentially removed from the surface structure. In 286 the



(287)	...nɛ	ahɛhaɔʔ	sɛ̃ˈdíkwarù·riˈ...
	nɛ	ahɛhaɔʔ	sɛdíkwarù:rih
		a-hɛ-ihaɔ-ʔ	s-ɛd-ikwar-uri-h
		FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC	2,sg,PAT-SEMI-quilt-cover-IMP
	'now	he said	thou quilts put over (thee)'

So he said, "Put a blanket over your head,"  
TN:28:252:48-50

In 288 the Semireflexive is *-ɛ-* (*-nɔhs-* 'house'):

(288)	...tɛ̃nɛnɔˈsté·yɛˈ	daɔməʔ
	tenɛnɔhstí:yɛh	daɔwaʔ
	te-n-ɛ-nɔhs-diy-ɛh	
	DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-house-close-STAT	
	'they two have houses close to	that herself only

háʔ·rɔʔ	tù·diʔíyɛˈ	dūweˈsáˈaˈdík...
háʔrɔʔ	tù:diʔíyɛh	duwehsáʔdih
		d-u-Yehsaʔdih
		PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-widow
only	that the same	that she is a widow'

They found out that their neighbor was a poor widow  
TN:27:234:59-235:01

The conditioning factors for these two rare allomorphs are unclear.

### 5.1.2 Reflexive (REFL)

According to Lounsbury (1953:74) the Reflexive (REFL) in Oneida indicates "action upon oneself, not simply middle voice or action upon one's possession" as well as "reciprocal action". Chafe (1967:26) puts it for Seneca as "the total meaning of the base has as both its performer and its goal the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix". In Wyandot

the Reflexive has two primary functions: a) reciprocity, and b) a more intense, total effect on the undergoer than the Semireflexive.

The first is shown with *-yɸ-* 'see':

- (289) ...nɔ·nɛʔ      kãtsi·skwa·óʔ  
 nɔ:nɛʔ      katsi:skwa:óʔ  
                  ka-tsi-skwa-Yɸ-ʔ  
                  CISLOC-REP-2,pl,AGT-arrive-IMP  
 'now then      here you come back

tětsikãtátěyɸʔ...  
 tetsikyatátěyɸʔ  
 t-e-tsi-ky-atate-yɸ-ʔ  
 DU-FUT-REP-1,IN,dl,AGT-REFL-see-PUNC  
 will again thou me see'

When you come back, you will find me here. ('we will see each other again')  
 TN:20:149:12-15

Here the Reflexive is used to indicate the mutuality of the seeing.

The more intensifying effect of the Reflexive is shown in 290, where the word *ahátatɔ:dyaʔ* 'he transformed himself' uses the Reflexive on the verb *-ɔdi-* 'make'.

- (290) ...tutãyàʔ\*ʔyó·craʔ  
 tutayàʔyó:šrah  
 t-uta-ya-ʔdyɔhšr-a-hkw  
 DU-CISLOC.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hammer-JOIN-take.PUNC  
 'there she a hammer picked up

dě      yɛ·ric  
 de      yɛ:riš  
          yɸ-iriš  
          FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion  
 the      lion's

hù <sup>u</sup> ngó <sup>ʔ</sup> crāmɛ <sup>ʔ</sup>	de
hù <sup>ʔ</sup> dyóhšrawəh	de
hu- <sup>ʔ</sup> dyóhšr-awɛ-h	
MASC,sg,PAT-hammer-have-STAT	
he maul has	the
yǎá <sup>ʔ</sup> tǎyq <sup>ʔ</sup> tsi <sup>ʔ</sup>	tú <sup>ʔ</sup>
yaá <sup>ʔ</sup> tayəhtsih	túh
ya-Ya <sup>ʔ</sup> t-a-yəhtsi-h	
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-old-STAT	
she is old	there
à <sup>ʔ</sup> yá·wǎ <sup>ʔ</sup> è	tsi· <sup>ʔ</sup> nq·mǎ <sup>ʔ</sup>
à <sup>ʔ</sup> yá:wa <sup>ʔ</sup> è	tsi: <sup>ʔ</sup> nq:wǎ <sup>ʔ</sup>
a <sup>ʔ</sup> -ya-wa <sup>ʔ</sup> e	
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hit.PUNC	
she hits	a worm
ǎhá <sup>ʔ</sup> tatò· <sup>ʔ</sup> ga <sup>ʔ</sup> ...	
ahá <sup>ʔ</sup> tatò:dya <sup>ʔ</sup>	
a-h-ata <sup>ʔ</sup> t-ɔdi-a <sup>ʔ</sup>	
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-REF-make-PUNC	
he self had transformed'	

The witch then took hold of her "lion" club and struck hard, without avail as Tatenri'a had now changed himself into a worm.

TN:23:177:54-178-07

With just the Semireflexive the sense is one of 'prepare' rather than 'transform':

(291) ...nɛ <sup>ʔ</sup>	tù· <sup>ʔ</sup> dí <sup>ʔ</sup>	ahá <sup>ʔ</sup> tɛ <sup>ʔ</sup> crq <sup>ʔ</sup> · <sup>ʔ</sup> ga <sup>ʔ</sup>
nɛh	tù:dí <sup>ʔ</sup>	ahá <sup>ʔ</sup> tɛhšrɔdya <sup>ʔ</sup>
		a-h-ate-hšrɔdi-a <sup>ʔ</sup>
		FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-make-PUNC
'now	also	he gets ready

de	tātɛrʔa <sup>ɕ</sup>		ɕí·
de	tatɛríʔah		ší:
	t-(h)-atɛr-i-ʔah		
	CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-left-STAT-DIM		
the	one left		yonder
há·re <sup>ɕ</sup>		yäháʔye <sup>ɕ</sup> ...	
há:reh		yahárʔyeh	
h-a-r-e-h		ya-harh-ʔyeh	
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC		FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-woods-LOC	
he goes		the woods in'	

Tatenri'a then went to the woods to prepare himself for the game.  
TN:23:180:44-51

Notice that with the Semireflexive instead of the Reflexive the sense is just that of getting ready.

Another example of the use of the Reflexive for a more complete effect on the argument is the difference between the terms for 'fight' and 'murder'. Example 292 shows the Reflexive attached to *-rižu-* 'kill', with the result being 'murder'.

(292)	...ə <sup>ɕ</sup>	nɔ <sup>n</sup> dá·ɛ <sup>ʔ</sup>	dǎñɔtatrījú <sup>(ta)</sup> ...
	əh	nɔdá:e <sup>ʔ</sup>	dinyɔtatrížúhta <sup>ʔ</sup>
			di-Yɔ-atat-rižu-ht-a <sup>ʔ</sup>
			PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-REF-kill-INST-HAB
'no	the same (it is)		that onebody commits murder with'

[the charms] could not be designed for injuring anybody  
TN:21:158:22-24

When the Semireflexive is used instead the resultant meaning is simply one of fighting:





yè·ja·jú'ska'  
 yè:ža:žúhska?  
 e-ža-žu-hs-ka?  
 FUT-MASC,sg:2,sg-kill-HAB-CHAR  
 will he thou kill surely<sup>81</sup>

dajārá'<sup>a</sup>se'<sup>c</sup>...  
 dažará?seh  
 d-až-ara?se-h  
 SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT  
 my cousin'

You are really very pretty; and your body shall be wasted [if you stay here], for my cousin will kill you.  
 TN:04:083:40-084-01

As with the Semireflexive, some A-stem pronominal prefixes overlap and replace the *a* of the Reflexive, resulting in three corresponding forms without initial *a*. In 292 the feminine-indefinite agent *-[q]-* overlaps the initial *a* of the Reflexive, which in turn precedes *r* (*-rižu-* 'kill'), leaving just *-tat-* on the surface.<sup>82</sup>

The corresponding form for *-atate-* is *-tate-*, as in 295. Here the masculine plural agent *-h[q]-* overlaps the *a*.

(295) a'<sup>a</sup>tótātè·yɛ'  
 a?tótātè:yɛ?  
 a?-t-(h)q-atate-yɛ-?  
 FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-see-PUNC  
 'they reach other saw' ('they saw each other')  
 TN:24:193:60

Finally, after *q* or *u* and before *Y* the form *-tak-* appears:

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<sup>81</sup>Anomalous use of Future with Habitual.

<sup>82</sup>Although no examples of *-atate-*, as opposed to *-tat-*, appear before *r*, presumably this is just a gap in the data and is an allowable combination.

(296) ...dūṣahātʰʰgāyɛ·həʔ  
 duṣahatiʔdyayɛ:haʔ  
 d-usa-hati-ʔd-Yayɛ-haʔ  
 PART-REP.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-X-go.out-PUNC  
 'that again they escaped'

dāhòtākɛʔəʔ...  
 dehòtakyeʔah  
 de-hə-atat-Yɛʔah  
 SUBST-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-child.STAT  
 'that they are relatives'

And the Wyandots again escaped  
 TN:40:311:16-20

Although no examples of the Reflexive before *w* have been found, presumably they would take the *-atak-* / *-tak-* forms as well.

## 5.2 Nominal Position

This position can contain either a simple noun root, or a noun derived from a verb using the Nominalizer (NOM). In 297 there is a simple noun root, *-Yaʔt-* 'body', incorporated into the verb *-Yɔ-* 'arrive':

(297) ...tūdɛʔcaʔ      āhāáʔkɔʔ...  
 tudɛʔšaʔ      ahaáʔkyɔʔ  
                     a-ha-Yaʔt-Yɔ-ʔ  
                     FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-arrive-PUNC  
 'therein      he her brought (in)'

he brought the young woman in  
 TN:02:065:29-31

In 298 *-ʔdahkw-* 'drum' is incorporated into *-aʔe-* 'hit':

<p>(298) ...sáʔtat  sáaʔtat  s-(h)a-Yaʔt-a-t  REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT  'one of them</p>	<p>hāhē-teʔ  hahē:teʔ  ha-hēt-eʔ  MASC,sg,AGT-lead-HAB  he leads</p>
--	--

hù<sup>n</sup>daʔkwāʔéhākeʔ...  
hùʔdahkwaʔéhakyeʔ  
hu-ʔdahkw-aʔe-h-akye-ʔ  
MASC,sg,PAT-drum-hit-STAT-PROG-STAT  
he the drum goes on beating'

their leader was beating the drum  
TN:03:076:07-09

In order to break up consonant clusters, the joiner vowel (JOIN) *-a-* is inserted between the noun and following verb. In 299 *-a-* is inserted between the noun *-Yaʔt-* 'body' and the verb *-du-* 'cold':

(299) ...ǎhǎá'ta·duʿst  
 ahaáʔta:duhst  
 a-ha-Yaʔt-a-du-hst  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-cold-INCH.PUNC  
 'his body was cold

tuʿtúʔ	nq <sup>n</sup> dǎéʔ	hĩʔ <sup>n</sup> dá·ta·ǧʔ
tuhtúʔ	nqdaéʔ	hidá:ta:ǧʔ
		hi-dat-a-Yǧ-ʔ
		MASC,dl,AGT-camp-JOIN-have-STAT
there	just so	they camped

hǎháʔ<sup>a</sup>gǎràʔs  
 haháʔdyaràʔs  
 h-a-ha-dyara-ʔs  
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-help-BEN.PUNC  
 he her helped

a·játěyaʿt...  
 a:žáteyaht  
 a-:ž-atey-a-ht  
 FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-burn-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC  
 they two a fire built'

So chilled was he, that they had to build a fire to warm him up.  
 TN:28:249:28-33

The Joiner is also inserted when the noun -rǧt- 'log' is incorporated into -yǧ- 'be in':

(300) ... hù· <sup>n</sup> dáté·ʔ <sup>a</sup> mǧʿ	de
hù:daté:ʔwǧh	de
hud-ateʔw-ǧh	
MASC,non.sg,PAT-run.away-STAT	
'they escaped	the

yārō·täyq̄  
 yarō:tayqh  
 ya-rqt-a-yq-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-in-STAT  
 it log inside

yārōtātēʔtraʔ...  
 yarōtatēʔtraʔ  
 ya-rqt-a-tētr-aʔ  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-lie-STAT  
 it log lying'

they hid inside a hollow log lying [on the ground]  
 TN:40:309:61-64

When *-ʔdiyqr-* 'sense' precedes *-hšē-* 'eat', as in 301, again the Joiner is added:

(301) ahùʔ<sup>u</sup>dīyq̄·ráʔcēʔ  
 ahùʔdiyq̄:ráhšēʔ  
 a-hu-ʔdiyqr-a-hšē-ʔ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-sense-JOIN-eat-PUNC  
 'he mind is troubled'  
 TN:29:258:31

The nominal position can also contain a nominalized verb. In this case a verb root is followed by the Nominalizer (NOM), which is in turn followed by another verb. The Nominalizer has three allomorphs, *-hšr-*, *-hš-*, and *-šr-*.<sup>83</sup> In 302 the Nominalizer form *-hšr-* is added to the verb *-ta-* 'hire' before the latter is incorporated into the verb *-ihšay-* 'look for'.

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<sup>83</sup>The *r*-less allomorph is probably due to the disappearing *r* phenomenon, and the *h*-less form due to Barbeau's inconsistency with laryngeals (see chapter 2: *Phonology*).

- (302) **yětaʼcrĩcá·keʼ**  
**yetahšrišá:keʼ**  
**ye-ta-hšr-ihšay-[h]e-ʼ**  
 1,sg,AGT-hire-NOM-look.for-DISLOC-PURP  
 'I am work (hunting) looking for' ('I am looking for work')  
 TN:27:225:25

As noted in the introduction to the chapter, the nominal slot can include examples of recursive noun incorporation. That is, not only can a noun root be incorporated into a verb, but that verb root can be followed by the Nominalizer, and thus function as a noun and be incorporated into a second verb.<sup>84</sup> In 303 the noun root *-Yaʼt-* 'body' is incorporated into the verb *-ta-* 'hire' (with a Joiner as well).

- (303) **děhuḵaʼtātáʼcrõmęʼ**  
**dehukyaʼtatahšrawęh**  
**de-hu-at-Yaʼt-a-ta-hšr-awę-h**  
 SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-JOIN-hire-NOM-have-STAT  
 'the he hired hand has' ('he has a hired hand')  
 TN:23:170:50-51

This incorporation is schematized in 304:

- |       |               |   |             |                |
|-------|---------------|---|-------------|----------------|
| (304) | <b>-Yaʼt-</b> | + | <b>-ta-</b> |                |
|       | body          |   | hire        |                |
|       | noun          |   | verb        | = verb complex |

---

<sup>84</sup> In other Iroquoian languages this process can continue further, although more often in artificial settings.

The resulting noun-verb complex then has the Nominalizer appended to it, resulting in another complex noun, as shown in 305:

(305) -Yaʔtata- + -hšr-  
 body-hire NOM  
 verb complex derivational affix = noun complex

This entire structure is then incorporated into another verb, -awę- 'have', as in 306:

(306) -Yaʔtatahšr- + -awę-  
 hired body have  
 noun complex verb = verb complex

As can be seen, noun and verb complexes can nest inside of each other.

### 5.3 Derivational Suffixes

The next position in the verb stem is for the derivational suffixes. More than one such suffix can be present. These affixes are the Causative (CAUS), Benefactive (BEN), Dislocative (DISLOC), Distributive (DISTR), Inchoative (INCH), Instrumental (INST), and Undoer (UNDO).<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Lounsbury (1953) called the Dislocative *purposive*, giving it its own slot in the verb which preceded that of the aspectual slots. Chafe (1967) used the term *purposive* for a special aspect (still called the Purposive), though including it in the discussion of his root suffixes, since it requires the Dislocative (which Chafe called the *transient*). These uses of the same term for two different (but connected) morphemes has been a great source of confusion. See sections 5.3.7 *Dislocative* and 5.4.6 *Purposive*.

### 5.3.1 Inchoative (INCH)

The Inchoative indicates a change of state of one sort or another and has the forms *-hst-*,<sup>86</sup> *-st-*, and *-ɸ-*. The first is shown in 307, where *-hst-* follows the verb *-wey-* 'marry'.

(307) ...skaaʔtat	háʔrəʔ	təʔə
skaaʔtat	háʔrəʔ	təʔ
s-ya-Yaʔt-a-t		
REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-stand		
'one	only	no
těhà·júʔ	daeʔ	nəʔdaéʔ
tehà:žúʔ	daeʔ	nədaéʔ
te-ha-žu-ʔ		
NEG-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT		
not he killed	that one	that it is
ahiwé·ʔstaʔ		
ahiwé:hstaʔ		
a-hi-wey-hst-aʔ		
FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-marry-INCH-PUNC		
they two got married		
dejäteʔyɛʔá·haʔ...		
dežateʔyɛʔá:haʔ		
de-ž-ate-ʔyɛʔaha-ʔ		
SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-sibling-STAT		
the they two are brother and sister'		

The only young woman that Tatenri'a had not killed then became his brother's wife.  
TN:23:180:08-17

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<sup>86</sup>The cognates for the form *-hst-* in other Iroquoian languages are not the Inchoative, but rather the Causative and Instrumental (Oneida: Lounsbury 1953; Wendat: Lagarde 1980), or the Causative-Instrumental (Seneca: Chafe 1967). Evidence that *-hst-* is the Inchoative and not the Causative in Wyandot are given later in this section.



Compare *hiwé:hsta?* 'they two got married' in 307 to a similar form without the Inchoative, in 308, where only the state of being together or married is indicated by the form *hiwé:y* 'they two live together', without the "become" sense of the Inchoative.

(308)	...tu <sup>?</sup>	kéǎ <sup>?</sup> di	iyáá·tū <sup>?</sup> te <sup>?</sup>	
	tu <sup>?</sup>	kéadi	iyáá:tu <sup>?</sup> tə <sup>?</sup>	
			i-ya-Ya <sup>?</sup> t-u <sup>?</sup> tə <sup>?</sup> -h	
			PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-kind-STAT	
	'there	almost	it is body-like (resembles)	
	dě	kwayáwǎnǎ <sup>?</sup>		
	de	kwayúwǎnə <sup>?</sup>		
		t-wa-yuwanə <sup>?</sup> -h		
		CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT		
	the	she is large elder		
	de	hǎ <sup>?</sup> dá <sup>?</sup> wa <sup>?</sup>		hiwé·y...
	de	hadá <sup>?</sup> wah		hiwé:y
		ha-da <sup>?</sup> w-ah		hi-vey
		MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN		MASC,dl,AGT-marry. STAT
	that	he is cotton-like		they two live together'

The Horned-Owl's body resembled very much that of the elder wife of the Deer  
TN:24:191:41-49

Because the Inchoative in Wyandot is cognate with the Causative and Instrumental elsewhere in Northern Iroquoian, a few more examples will be shown to demonstrate that this is indeed an Inchoative rather than one of the others.

A form with the Inchoative (excerpted from example 286) indicates the inception of friendship. In 309 a form with the Inchoative appears for the verb *-at-eru-* 'be friends', with the sense of "become".

(309) **ǎhũ<sup>h</sup>datě́rú<sup>h</sup>sta<sup>h</sup>**  
**ahudatę́rúhsta<sup>h</sup>**  
**a-hud-at-ęru-hst-a<sup>h</sup>**  
**FACT-MASC,pl,PAT-SEMI-friend-INCH-PUNC**  
**'they became friends'**  
**TN:13:119:39-40**

In 310 the plain form of the verb appears, but with a simple stative interpretation:

(310) **...ně<sup>h</sup> hătě́<sup>h</sup>du<sup>h</sup>tq<sup>h</sup>**  
**nę<sup>h</sup> hătě́du:tq<sup>h</sup>**  
**h-atędutq-<sup>h</sup>?**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC**  
**'now he (to) her spoke**

**tsĩgá<sup>h</sup>ka<sup>h</sup>**  
**tsidyá:kah**  
**tsi-dyakah**  
**2,dl-marry.IMP**  
**(for) them (to) live together (marry)<sup>87</sup>**

**nqñá<sup>h</sup>těru<sup>h</sup>**  
**nqnyátęru<sup>h</sup>**  
**n-qny-at-ęru-<sup>h</sup>?**  
**SUBST-1,dl,PAT-SEMI-friend-STAT**  
**my friend**

**tũñętǎw<sup>h</sup>dĩpa<sup>h</sup>...**  
**tunyętaw<sup>h</sup>dĩ<sup>h</sup>ah**

**T.(n.)'**

**"My friend Tawidi'a wishes to marry you."**  
**TN:28:246:04-08**

The next pair show the verb *-du?a-* 'be a stepson'; 'his stepparent' with and without the Inchoative. Note the addition of the Inchoative in 311 adds an inchoative meaning.

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<sup>87</sup>Although glossed as 'them' the pronominal prefix is second dual.

Additionally, it is the *-st-* allomorph.<sup>88</sup> Lack of an Inchoative in 312 leaves a simple stative sense.

(311) ahūdúʔastaʔ  
 ahudúʔastaʔ  
 a-hu-duʔa-st-aʔ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-stepson-INCH-PUNC  
 'he became a son (or stepfather)

hāmɛʔʔtsɛʔʔɔʔ  
 hɔwɛʔʔtsɛhtiʔʔah  
 h-qwe-ʔtsɛhti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM  
 he small boy

nɛʔ	neʔdǎɛʔ	hūri-wiʔcǎ-ɛʔ
nɛh	nɛdǎɛʔ	huri:wihšǎ:h
		hu-rihw-ihšǎ
		MASC,sg,PAT-law-look.for.STAT
now	exactly	he plan has made

ndáhūcuʔ <sup>u</sup>	hūskwǎ·hɛ...
dǎhužuʔ	huskwǎ:hɛ
d-a-hu-žu-ʔ	hu-hskwaɛ
SUBST-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-kill-PUNC	MASC,sg,PAT-hate.STAT
that he him kills	he him hates'

A little boy became the stepson of a man who hated him and wanted to kill him.  
 TN:18:133:01-07

(312) ...nɛʔdǎɛʔ	hǎtsɛʔʔtǎdís
nɛ:dǎɛʔ	hatsɛhtadís
	ha-tsɛht-a-di-s
	MASC,sg,AGT-eat-JOIN-BEN-HAB
'now that one	he him feeds

---

<sup>88</sup>As with other morphemes, the *h*-less allomorph may be just an artifact of Barbeau's transcriptions.

dāi·jú <sup>Ꞁ</sup>	dě	hù <sup>Ꞁ</sup> skwáhę <sup>Ꞁ</sup>
dai:žúh	de	hùhskwáhęh
		hu-hskwahę-h
		MASC,sg,PAT-hate-STAT
that is why	that	she him dislikes

dě	hùdú <sup>Ꞁ</sup> a <sup>Ꞁ</sup>
de	hùdú?ah
	hu-du?a-h
	MASC,sg,PAT-stepson-STAT
the	stepson'

[she hated him because he kept feeding that animal]  
 TN:27:213:20-26

The next pair are formed from *-ita?w-* 'sleep.' In addition to the Inchoative, the Joiner *-a-* can also be seen in 313. With the Inchoative, the meaning is one of entering a state of sleeping, whereas without it (in 314) only the simple state of sleep is indicated.

(313) ...nę<sup>Ꞁ</sup> ú<sup>Ꞁ</sup>?a<sup>Ꞁ</sup>?wà<sup>Ꞁ</sup>(stá<sup>Ꞁ</sup>)  
 nęh ú?ta?wàhstá?  
 u-ita?w-a-hst-a?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-JOIN-INCH-STAT  
 'now she got sleeping

tīdèhērę <sup>Ꞁ</sup>	iyā <sup>Ꞁ</sup> 'dá <sup>Ꞁ</sup> ?täwà <sup>Ꞁ</sup> (sti <sup>Ꞁ</sup> )...
tīdèheręh	iyadá?täwàhstih
	i-ya-da?t-a-wahst-ih
	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-coach-JOIN-good-STAT
that much	her couch is good'

Her coach was so comfortable to be in that she soon fell asleep.  
 TN:22:166:49-53

(314) ...ayātraʼ<sup>a</sup>skwáʼtiʼ  
 ayatraʼskwáhtih  
 ay-atraʼskw-a-ht-ih  
 1,sg,PAT-dream-JOIN-CAUS-STAT  
 'I dreamt

daʼcɛʼk	ĩmɛʼtāyeʼ
dahšɛʼhk	iwɛʼtayeʼh
d-ahšɛʼhk	i-w-ɛʼt-aye-h
SUBST-three	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
that three	days

u·táʼ<sup>a</sup>wiʼ...  
 u:táʼwih  
 u-itaʼw-ih  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-STAT  
 'would she be sleeping'

I dreamt that she will sleep three days long.  
 TN:04:089:11-14

### 5.3.2 Causative (CAUS)

The Causative adds a meaning of causation, or making. The forms are *-ht-*, *-st-*, and *-w-*. The selectional restrictions among them are unclear. Example 315 shows the simple verb *-diy-* 'be close':

(315) teyahqʼtadí·yɛʼ  
 teyahqhtadí·yɛʼh  
 te-y-ahqht-a-diy-ɛʼh  
 DU-1,sg,AGT-ear-JOIN-close-STAT  
 'both my ears are close together'  
 WD:NR:062



hu'cātúha'	nɔ'dǎé'	dǎi'wé'y'...
huhšatúha?	nɔdaé?	dairwé:y
hu-hšatu(r)-ha?		d-ai-vey
MASC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT		SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-marry.STAT
he is sick	the very one	the my spouse'

No, this is not he; for he is sick, my husband  
 TN:28:252:18-22

With the Causative added this becomes 'make sick':

(318) ...nɛ' awákɔtɛ'  
 nɛh awáhɔtɛ?  
 a-w-ahkɔt-ɛ?  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-begin-PUNC  
 'that she began

ǎ'wātāté'cātùrá't...  
 a?watatéhšatùráht  
 a?-w-atate-hšatur-a-ht  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-REFL-sick-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC  
 she herself makes sick'

The old woman pretended to be sick,  
 TN:27:212:21-24

Another allomorph is *-st-*, identical in form to the Inchoative previously described.

This can be seen in 319, where *-ɔdu-* 'rain' is followed by the Causative *-st-*.

- (319) ...tsijútq'q      hăqdüstihăke'  
 tsižútq'q      haqdustihakye?  
                          ha-qdu-st-ih-akye-?  
                          MASC,sg,PAT-rain-CAUS-STAT-PROG-STAT  
 'Ts.(name)      he rain is making'

Tsijutoon, the Wyandot, is making the rain.  
 TN:02:074:24-25

Compare a non-causativized form of the same verb, where the lack of a Causative morpheme correlates with a lack of a sense of "making" associated with the word:

- (320) ...tũ              hăhə·q'  
 tu                      hăha:q'  
                          h-a-ha-Yq-?  
                          TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
 'there              he goes in

taháta·se'	daijúj'
taháta:seh	daižúh
t-a-h-atahse-h	
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-hide-PUNC	
there he hides	because

dĩñq 'dú's...  
 dinyqdúhs  
 di-y-qdu-hs  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-rain-HAB  
 it is raining'

One day, while a storm was raging, he ran for shelter into a hollow tree  
 TN:15:124:47-51

A third allomorph is *-w-*. In 321 is an example of the verb *-akaht-* 'see' with this Causative allomorph added, and a sense change to 'look':



- (321) ...<sup>h</sup>dɛhè·ré<sup>h</sup> a<sup>h</sup>sákà<sup>h</sup>kwa<sup>h</sup>...  
 dehè:réh a<sup>h</sup>?sákàhkwa?  
 a<sup>h</sup>?-s-akaht-w-a?  
 FACT-2,sg,PAT-see-CAUS-PUNC  
 'at a distance thou lookest'

Look over there!  
 TN:22:163:45-47

The causative meaning is even more evident in the following example, which includes the Semireflexive and *-rihw-* 'law':

- (322) a<sup>h</sup>yōtrí·wàka<sup>h</sup>kwa<sup>h</sup>  
 a<sup>h</sup>?yōtrí:wàkahkwa?  
 a<sup>h</sup>?-yq-at-rihw-akaht-w-a?  
 FACT-1,sg:2,sg-SEMI-law-see-CAUS-PUNC  
 'I made them look out for me'  
 TN:36:287:43

Here the speaker refers to a surprising behavior on his part, startling others and causing them to look at him.

### 5.3.3 Instrumental (INST)

The Instrumental indicates using something, and is often glossed as 'with'. The allomorphs are *-hkw-*, *-ht-*, and *-?t-*.<sup>90</sup> The first allomorph is shown in 323, following the verb *-ra ?tq-* 'fletch', in a reference to trimming arrows:

(323) ...te)'sāḡtá)'sḡ'ndi'  
te?saḡtá?ḡdih  
te?-sa - Yḡta - ?se-di-h  
NEG-2,sg,PAT-have-BEN-BEN-STAT  
'no hast thou any left'<sup>91</sup>

da'cāḡtè·ra)'tḡ'kwa't...  
dahḡatè:ra)'tḡ'kwaht  
d-a - hḡ - ate - ra)'tḡ - hkw-a - ht  
PART-FACT-2,sg,AGT-SEMI-fletch-INST-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC  
that thou thine arrow feather with'

Have you got any of these feathers left to trim the arrows with?  
TN:26:201:08-11

Shortly after is an example referring to an arrow that had been trimmed with the feathers of a particular kind of bird:

---

<sup>90</sup>It may be noted that the Inchoative and Causative both have allomorphs in *-st-*, while the Causative and Instrumental both share *-ht-*. This is not unusual in Iroquoian, since in Oneida the Causative and Instrumental both have *-(h)t-* and *-st-* (Lounsbury 1953); in Tuscarora the Causative and Instrumental share *-?t-* and *-ht-* (Williams 1974); and in Wendat (Lagarde 1980) the Inchoative and Causative both use *-h-* while the Causative and Instrumental both show *-hst-*. Here homophonous morphemes are distinguished based on English glosses.

<sup>91</sup>Note the unusual instance of a double Benefactive.

(324)	...ǰʰ	dǎɛʰ	téʰyɛʰ	kwɛʰkwɛʰkwɛʰ
	ǰh	daeʰ	téʰyɛh	kwɛhkwɛhkwɛʰ
			teʰ-y-ɛ-h	
			NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT	
	'no	that one	not it is	woodcock
	nò·daéʰ	ũhò·ráʰ		
	nò:daéʰ?	uhò:ráʰ?		
		u-hòhr-aʰ		
		FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN		
	that one	his feather		
	déʰ'caʰ	tsǎmɛhúhiʰ		
	déʰʂaʰ?	tsawɛhúhiʰ?		
	this (other) one	eagle		
	ũhò·ráʰʰ	yà·raʰ'tóʰkwiʰ...		
	uhò:ráʰ?	yà:raʰ'tóhkwiʰ?		
	u-hòhr-aʰ	ya-raʰ'tq-hkw-iʰ		
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-fletch-INST-STAT		
	his feather	it is feathered with'		

[the arrow] was not trimmed with the woodcock's feathers, but with the eagle's,  
TN:26:202:41-50

Without the Instrumental attached, the glosses lose the sense of 'with', as in 325:

(325)	...da·éʰ	è'ce·ráʰt
	da:éʰ?	èhše:ráʰt
		e-hš-Yeraʰt
		FUT-2,sg,AGT-use.PUNC
	'that one	must thou use
	dèʰ'cǎte·ráʰ'tqʰ	
	dèhšate:ráʰ'tqʰ?	
	d-e-hš-ate-raʰ'tqʰ-ʰ	
	PART-FUT-2,sg,AGT-SEMI-fletch-PUNC	
	that will thou feather fix on to	

da·éʼ	dīsa·éʼ	de
da:éʼ?	disa:éʼ?	de
	di-sa-Ye-ʼ?	
	PART-2,sg,PAT-have-STAT	
that one	that thou hast	the

tsāmɛhú·hiʼ	yǎngéʼraʼ	
tsawɛhú:hiʼ?	yadyéʼraʼ	
	ya-dyar-aʼ	
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tail-NOUN	
eagle	its tail	

túʼ	èʼcīhɔʼrūdawaʼ	
túh	èhšehɔhrudawaʼ	
	e-hše-hɔhr-udaw-aʼ	
	FUT-2,sg,AGT-quill-pull-PUNC	
there at	must thou quills pull off	

dèʼcrá·ʼtɔʼ  
dèhšrá:ʼtɔʼ?  
d-e-hš-raʼtɔʼ-ʼ?  
PART-FUT-2,sg,AGT-fletch-PUNC  
that thou feather fixest

dúʼ<sup>n</sup>daʼ...  
dúʼdaʼ?  
d-u-ʼd-aʼ?  
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-arrow-NOUN  
the arrows'

For the feathering, pull quills from the tail of the eagle which you own, and use them to fix the arrows.

TN:21:154:57-155:13

The Instrumental also has the shape *-ht-*. The bare form *-rižu-* 'kill' is shown in 326:

- (326) ε'crijù'  
 ehšrižù?  
 e-hš-rižu-?  
 FUT-2,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC  
 'will thou her kill' ('you will kill her')  
 WM:128

When followed by the Instrumental, as in 327 (excerpted from 292), 'with' appears in the gloss:

- (327) dāñq̄tatrījú'ta'  
 dinyq̄tatrīžúhta?  
 di-Yq̄-atat-rižu-ht-a?  
 PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-REF-kill-INST-HAB  
 'that onebody commits murder with'  
  
 ('murdering people with the magic charms')  
 TN:21:158:24

Here the sense changes from just killing to killing through the use of a tool (magic charms).

The next allomorph is *-ʔr-*. The verb *-q̄di-* 'make' incorporating the noun *-s-* 'bowl' appears in 328 below. Without the Instrumental, there is no mention of what the bowls consist of.

(328) ...tè'cātó·'tēwa' nē  
 tēhšató:tewah ne  
 t-e-hš-aṭṭew-ah  
 DU-FUT-2,sg,AGT-run.against-PUNC  
 'must thou him run against the

hāsò·'gá's...  
 hasò:dyáhs  
 ha-s-ḡdi-ahs  
 MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB  
 he makes bowls'

Then pass by your uncle Bowl Maker.  
 TN:28:240:40-43

Compare this to when the Instrumental is added, and where there is reference to what the bowls are made out of:

(329) ...na·rūnó'(tsiskə' cì'  
 na:runóhtsiskya? ših  
 n-a-ru-nḡhtsi?r-sky-a?  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-cut.off-PUNC  
 'now he his head takes off away (yonder)

harūnó'(ts'irḡti) de  
 harunḡhtsi?rḡti? de  
 ha-ru-nḡhtsi?r-ḡti-?  
 TRANS-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-pitch-STAT  
 he his head threw away the

yārhi'tḡnó' tú·  
 yarhi'tḡnó? tú:  
 ya-rhi-t-(h)ḡnḡ-?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT  
 trees stand many (a grove) there

haʔútsiʔkù·tɛʔ  
 haʔútsihkù:tɛʔ  
 h-aʔ-u-tsihk-ut-ɛʔ  
 TRANS-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-knot-stick.up-PUNC  
 it... a knot (on a tree) became

hɛhǎʔ	tǎtɛri·ʔaʔ
hɛhaʔʔ	tatɛri:ʔah
hɛ-ihaʔ-ʔ	
MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC	
he said	the one left

hɔtɛsɔʔgáʔta  
 hɔtesɔdyǎʔta  
 hɔ-ate-s-ɔdi-a-ʔt-a  
 MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-bowl-make-JOIN-INST-HAB  
 they body bowl make with

dǎwèʔskwáʔkeʔ	ʔqméʔ
dawèhskwáhkeh	qweh
	[q]-qwe-h
	FEM.IND,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
in the future (afterwards)	the ones

ɔtó·ʔdeʔ...  
 ɔtó:deʔ  
 [q]-aʔtɔ-d-iʔ  
 FEM.IND,sg,AGT-possible-BEN-STAT  
 onebody becoming

And cutting the gambler's head off, he threw it away to the woods. The head became a large knot on a tree. Tatenri'a said, "The people thereafter shall make bowls for the stone game out of this kind of knot."

TN:23:182:51-183:08

### 5.3.4 Undoer (UN)

The Undoer *-w-* or *-hsk-* indicates the reversal or undoing of the action or state indicated by the verb. Following are examples of the verb *-dinyqht-* 'hang', 330 incorporating *-ra-* 'bag', and 331 incorporating *-er-* 'moss':

(330) *dēya·rə<sup>h</sup>di<sup>h</sup>ñq<sup>h</sup>t*

*deya:radí:nyqht*

*de-ya-ra-dinyqht*

SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-hang.STAT

'the it bag hangs (up)' ('the bag is hanging up')

WM:229

(331) *...te<sup>h</sup>yé<sup>h</sup>·he<sup>h</sup>·*

*te<sup>h</sup>yé<sup>h</sup>:he<sup>h</sup>:*

*te<sup>h</sup>-y-ehe<sup>h</sup>-:*

NEG-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT

'don't I want to

*ajâyê<sup>h</sup>hâq<sup>h</sup>'*

*ažayê<sup>h</sup>haq<sup>h</sup>?*

*až-Yayê-ihâq-?*

OPT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-say-PUNC

anybody to say

*mę<sup>h</sup>ra<sup>h</sup>di<sup>h</sup>ñq<sup>h</sup>t...*

*węradinyqht*

*w-er-a-dinyqht*

FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-moss-hang.STAT

it moss hangs'

'I will not suffer anybody to say that the moss hangs'

TN:22:167:13-15

Compare them to the following examples with the Undoer added. The noun *-Ya<sup>h</sup>?* 'body' is incorporated in 332, while 333 incorporates *-tu(w)-* 'door'.



(332)	...tühá'ca' tuháhša? 'that only (the only way)	nó· nó: if so	
	ăwayătrí·jěri·ha' awayatrí:žeri:ha? a-way-atřižeri-ha? FACT-1,sg,PAT-believe-PUNC I believe	"ditu <sup>c</sup> dituh thereto	
	ěhé'ca'ǎdíñq'ǎwà' ehéhša?ǎdínyq'ǎwà? e-hehš-Ya?t-a-dinyqht-a-w-a? FUT-2,sg:MASC,sg-body-JOIN-hang-JOIN-UN-PUNC thou unhitchest		
	dè·rá'ʔta' dè:rá'ʔta? d-e-Yera?t-a? SUBST-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-use-HAB that (which) one uses	de de the	
	kǎtq'ṣkwērqt kyutqḥskwerqt cattle	ăisěné'q <sup>c</sup> aisėné'ʔah ay-senė?-ah 1,sg,PAT-domestic-NOUN my stock	
	ěrḡ·'dà·ǎrahá·kwa' erḡ:dà:ʔrahá:kwa? e-r-ḡd-a-rah-a-hkw-a? FUT-MASC,sg,AGT-dirt-JOIN-get-JOIN-INST-PUNC the dirt turns over	de de that	
	hăěrá'ʔta... hăèrá'ʔta ha-Yera?t-a MASC,sg,AGT-use-HAB he it uses'		

I will believe you only if you unyoke the oxen with which my servant is now ploughing my field.

TN:29:262:41-55

(333) ...dāhú'hęhę'

dahúręęha?

d-a?-u-ręę-ha?

PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC

'the next morning

hatūwadiño 'tāwa)'<sup>a</sup>

hatuwadinyota?

ha-tuw-a-dinyoht-a-w-a?

MASC,sg,AGT-door-JOIN-hang-JOIN-UN-PUNC

he the door took off

sāhá'wa'

sahá:wa?

s-a-ha-w-a?

REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-take-PUNC

back he carried

ūsahą́'

usahą́?

usa-ha-Yq-?

OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC

back he came home

de

de

(to) the

hutenórq'

hutenórq?

hu-atenórq?

MASC,sg,PAT-uncle.STAT

his uncle

ētrq 'dāq'...

etrqdaq?

e-t-r-qdaq-?

X-CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT

(to) his house'

he came down in the morning, and took the door off to his uncle's house

TN:28:245:17-24

All four examples use the same verb root *-dinyoht-* 'hang', but the addition of the Undoer changes the sense to 'unhanging' or 'unhitching'.

The next example incorporates *-Yaʔt-* 'body' into *-qt-* 'tie'. Together they refer to tying something up.

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| (334) | <p>...ědaʔurá·haʔ<br/> edaʔurá:haʔ<br/> e-∅-daʔura-haʔ<br/> FUT-1,sg,AGT-able-PUNC<br/> 'will I be able</p> | <p>e·ri·júʔ<br/> eri:žúʔ<br/> e-∅-rižu-ʔ<br/> FUT-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC<br/> will I him kill</p> |
|-------|---|---|

dehěskwá·ʔtqť...  
deheskwá:ʔtqť  
d-e-heskwa - Yaʔt-qt-ę  
PART-FUT-2,pl:MASC,sg-body-tie-PUNC  
you him tie'

I'll kill [the animal], if you tie it first.  
TN:27:213:40-43

When the Undoer is added, however, the meaning changes to untying someone:

(335) ...tə·wátɔ  
 tə:wáʔtɔ  
 t-a-w-aʔtɔ-ʔ  
 CONTR-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC  
 'impossible

du'sǎhókya'ə̀q̄·tǎwa'...  
 dusahókyaʔq̄:tawaʔ  
 d-usa-hq-at-Yaʔt-qt-a-w-aʔ  
 PART-REP.OPT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-body-tie-JOIN-UN-PUNC  
 that they body unfasten'

They could not extricate themselves  
 TN:37:293:64-66<sup>91</sup>

A final pair of examples is based on the verb root *-tsirut-* 'close':

(336) ...tù'hǎhúwá'k̄q̄<sup>nt</sup>  
 tǎhahuwáʔkq̄ht  
 tu-h-a-hu-Yaʔt-yq-ht  
 REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-body-in-CAUS.PUNC  
 'there he him placed in

nǎhǎtsi·ru·t̄ɛʔ<sup>t</sup>  
 nahátsi:ru:t̄ɛʔ  
 n-a-ha-tsirut-ɛʔ  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-PUNC  
 that he closed (it)

---

<sup>91</sup>The *t* of *-Yaʔt-* is missing in Barbeau's transcription since this page of the text is missing many of the characters along the left margin. This word continued on two lines, allowing the middle of the word to be on the left margin.

"düredähářt...  
 duredahářet  
 d-u-reda-harët  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-rock-hollow.STAT  
 the hole (in the rock)'

[he] shut him up in a rocky cavern  
 TN:18:133:14-18

When the Undoer is added to *-tsirut-* 'close' the meaning changes to 'open'. In 337 the reference is to a bottle containing smallpox:

(337) ...nò·nέć      täyù·k'é'stić  
           nò:méh      tayù:kyéhstih  
                           t-ayu-at-Yehst-ih  
                           CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-SEMI-gather-STAT  
 'now then      the crowd gathered

tahätsi·rutáwa'  
 tahatsi:rutáwa?  
 t-a-ha-tsirut-a-w-a?  
 CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-UN-PUNC  
 that he (it) uncorked'

So he uncorked the bottle in the midst of a large crowd [of his people, whom he had] called together.  
 TN:06:096:29-31

Adding the Undoer to 'close' results in opening the bottle.

The allomorph *-hsk-* is shown with *-drę-* 'tie', where the addition of *-hsk-* to *-drę-* changes the meaning from 'tie' to 'untie':

(338) aʔyé·drɛʔ  
 aʔyé:drɛh  
 aʔ-ye-drɛ-h  
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-tie-PUNC  
 'I tie' ('I tied it')  
 WD:VR:189

(339) ayeʔdrɛʔskaʔ  
 ayeʔdrɛhskaʔ  
 aye-drɛ-hsk-aʔ  
 1,sg,PAT-tie-UN-STAT  
 'I untie' ('I've untied it')  
 WD:VR:189

### 5.3.5 Distributive (DISTR)

The Distributive indicates 'several' or 'many', especially in reference to occurrences of an action. The allomorphs are *-hɔ-*, *-ʔʃrɔ-*, *-hɔnyɔ-*, *-hʃɔnyɔ-*, *-nɔnyɔ-*, *-ɔnyɔ-*, and *-ʔʃrɔnyɔ-*. As may be noted, several allomorphs are apparently two iterations of the Distributive, if *-nyɔ-* is also considered an allomorph<sup>92</sup>. In related languages this construction is called the Double Distributive. However, since these doubled forms are the norm for Wyandot, and since *-nyɔ-* does not appear separately, they will be treated as individual allomorphs.

The form *-hɔ-* appears below with the verb *-atɛdutu-* 'speak':

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<sup>92</sup>This would be expected from cognates.

(340) ...nɛʕ  
 nɛh awãti'cé'crõ'ga'  
 awatihšéhšrõdya?  
 a-wati-hšehšr-õdi-a?  
 FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-feast-make-PUNC  
 'now they hold a feast

da'utɛ·du·tõhõ·  
 daʔutɛ:du:tõhõ:  
 d-aʔ-u-atɛdutõ-hõ  
 PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-speak-DISTR.PUNC  
 that she her spoke

dě yõmäyuwá·nɛʕ...  
 de yõwayuwá:nɛh  
 yõwa-yuwanɛ-h  
 MASC,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-large-STAT  
 the she person big (leader)'

now the people hold the [Ustura] feast to comply with the command given the woman  
 by the leading one  
 TN:10:107:18-23

Interestingly, the literal gloss is unaffected. With other forms, however, there is a change.

The verb *-iʔtrõta-* 'jump' in 341 is followed by the allomorph *-ʔšrõ-*. Note the addition of  
 'severally' to the gloss:

(341) ...túʕ  
 túh haʔtẽ'diʔtrõtá'crõ'  
 haʔtediʔtrõtáʔšrõʔ  
 h-aʔ-te-d-iʔtrõta-ʔšrõ-ʔ  
 TRANS-FACT-DU-MASC,dl,AGT-jump-DISTR-PUNC  
 'there (to) they jumped down severally (one by one)

de sǎyɛ̃'(tsúwat hū́kú'kwa)...  
 de sayɛ̃htsúwat hukyúhkwa?  
 hu-ikyuhkw-a?  
 MASC,sg,PAT-crowd-NOUN  
 the (n.) his crowd'

Now then, Sayentsuwat and his warriors leaped down one at a time  
 TN:37:294:04-08

The following examples show the longer forms cognate with the Double Distributive in the other languages. Example 342 is based on the verb *-arahskw-* 'go out'. It shows the allomorph *-hɔnyɔ-*, adding the gloss 'many' in reference to many people returning to their separate homes:

(342) ...nɛ̃' a'yɛ̃hǎɔ'  
 nɛ̃h a'yɛ̃hǎɔ'  
 a'y-ɛ̃-ihǎɔ-?  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 'now she said

satsǎrá'skwǎhɔ'·ñɔ'	ǎwé·ti'...
satsaráhskwahɔ':nyɔ'	awé:ti'
s-a-ts-arahskw-a-hɔnyɔ-?	
REP-FACT-2,dl-go.out-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC	
back you go many	all'

And she declared, "You may all now go back to your homes!"  
 TN:26:203:09-12

The next example is adjoined to *-Yɛkw-* 'plant', using the form *-hšɔnyɔ-*, which again has the gloss 'several' added to it, referring to many different things planted:



(343) ...nɛʰ aʷwǎyɛ·rɔʰ  
 nɛh aʰwayɛ:paʰ  
 aʰ-wa-yɛ-raʰ  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-summer-put.away-PUNC  
 'now it summertime is

nahíñékwá(cǒñò)...  
 nahínyékwahšǒnyòʰ?  
 n-a-hi-Yɛkw-a-hšǒnyɔ-ʰ  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-plant-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC  
 'they two are planting several (things)'

In the spring time, they sowed the seeds of several plants in their garden.  
 TN:26:197:26-29

The next form is *-nǒnyɔ-*. Here in 344 the verb is *-atakya-* 'talk', referring to conversation between a boy and a porcupine:

(344) dētejātāká·nǒñɔʰ  
 deteʒatakýá:nǒnyɔh  
 de-te-ž-atakya-nǒnyɔ-h  
 SUBST-DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-talk-DISTR-STAT  
 'the he (with) him conversing several'  
 TN:18:133:41-42

The verb *-hšatu(r)-* 'sick' can also be followed by the Distributive, in this case the form *-ǒnyɔ-*. In 345 sickness is spread among members of a population.

(345) ...nɛʰ áyucǎtú·rəŋɔʰ...  
 nɛh ayuhšatú:rənyɔh  
 ayu-hšatur-qnyɔ-h  
 FEM.IND,sg,PAT-sick-DISTR-STAT  
 'now they-body got sick many'

all of them fell ill with smallpox  
 TN:06:096:38-9

The final allomorph is *-ʔšrɔnyɔ-*, demonstrated with the verb *-ɬ-* 'hire' in 346. In this case several doctors were hired, each one individually in turn:

(346) ...nɛʰ e·jātəʰ·təʰ·crəŋɔʰs  
 nɛh e:žatətə:ʔšrɔnyɔhs  
 e-:ž-atə-tə-ʔšrɔnyɔ-hs  
 FUT-MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-hire-DISTR-HAB<sup>93</sup>  
 'now must they be hiring several in turns'

de	yǒməʰ·tsɛʰs	de
de	yɔwá:ʔtsɛhs	de
	yɔwa-tse-hs	
	3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-cure-HAB	
the	they her are doctoring	the

yawí·nɔʰ	duʰcǎtúhaʰ...
yawí:nɔh	duhšatúhaʰ?
ya-winq-h	d-u-hšatur-haʰ?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT	SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT
she is young	that she is sick'

Her parents then hired several white man's doctors, in turn, to attend her.  
 TN:34:278:54-62

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<sup>93</sup>The Future with the Habitual instead of the Punctual is anomalous.

### 5.3.6 Benefactive (BEN)

The Benefactive generally indicates that an action is 'to' or 'for' someone or something. That is, the Benefactive sometimes adds a sense of indirectness. It is not necessarily beneficial in a literal sense. The allomorphs are *-di-*, *-ʔs-*, *-has-*, and *-e-*.

A basic use of the Benefactive is shown in example 347, where a group is receiving the law:

- (347) *sɔmɔriwaɕta* <sup>di</sup>  
*sɔwariwaɕtadih*  
*sɔwa-rihw-a-Yɕt-a-di-h*  
MASC,sg:1,pl-law-JOIN-have-JOIN-BEN-STAT  
'the law to us is given' ('the law is given to us')  
WD:NR:032

The most frequent form, *-di-*, as shown again in 348 with the verb *-ut-* 'stick' incorporating *-yɔhš-* 'face'. The sense is of presenting one's face to the Owl:

- (348) ...*tsinɕ*<sup>c</sup>      *ti·nɕ*<sup>·</sup>      *nɔmá*<sup>ʔ</sup>*de*<sup>ʔ</sup>  
*tsineh*      *ti:nɕ:*      *nɔwáʔdeʔ*  
'who is it      who now      the next time

*ɛsũkɔcútádi·ha*  
*esukɔhšútádi:ha*  
*e-s-(h)u-at-yɔhš-ut-a-di-ha*  
FUT-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC  
'will again one (to) him show (his) face (invite)

dě yúʷkuʷ...  
 de yúʷkuʷ?  
 y-uʷkuʷ?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-owl  
 the owl'

Who will go and show his face to the Owl?  
 TN:24:192:47-193:04

The Benefactive can be used for certain psychological states, as in 349:

- (349) ...tūŋɕʰ dīñǣʰ(tàǣ)  
 tunɕh dinyéhtǣʰ?  
 dinyéht-a-Yǣ-ʔ  
 snow-JOIN-have-STAT  
 'when it had snowed
- dāijúʰ yěwastá·diʰ  
 daižúh yewastá:dih  
 ye-wahst-a-di-h  
 1,sg,AGT-good-JOIN-BEN-STAT  
 that's why I found it good
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| daʷyǎjàʰ(sé·mǣ)<br>daʷyažǎhsé:waʰ<br>d-ayay-Yahsé-waʰ<br>PART-1,sg:3,non.sg-track-HAB<br>that I them track | du·déʰ(tǔta)<br>du:déhtǔtaʰ<br>d-u-dehtǔtaʰ<br>SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-turkey<br>the feathers-stick-out (turkeys)' |
|--|--|
- 'after a snow-fall [I liked to] follow their tracks in the snow'  
 TN:36:286:23-29

Compare German *es gefällt mir*, or French *ça me plaît*.

A meaning of "indirectness" is shown in 350, where the same allomorph appears with the verb *-atǫhkw-* 'shoot' incorporating *-ʔd-* 'arrow'. Instead of shooting the Bear directly, the arrows are shot towards the Bear:

(350) ...kǎhɛ́ʔ  
 kahɛ́ʔ  
 'first

tēyɛ́<sup>n</sup>dātókwādi-<sup>c</sup>  
 teyeʔdatóhkwadi:h  
 te-ye-ʔd-atóhkw-a-di-h  
 DU-1,sg,AGT-arrow-shoot-JOIN-BEN-IMP  
 one side then the other

ʔda·ñqñɛ́ʔ...  
 da:nyqnyɛ́ʔ  
 d-anyqnyɛ́ʔ  
 SUBST-bear  
 the bear'

Run after the bear, and stick arrows all around its body.  
 TN:28:237:48-50

Examples can be found of pairs where one word has the Benefactive and the other does not. In 351 *-ahkerq-* 'scared' appears without the Benefactive, while in 352 the verb has the suffix:

(351) ...ne húʔkerò·hə  
 ne húhkerò:ha  
 hu-ahkerq-ha  
 MASC,sg,PAT-scared-STAT  
 'now he got scared

ǎháɛ̀-ʔwaʔ...  
 aháɛ̀:ʔwaʔ  
 a-h-ateʔw-aʔ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC  
 he runs off'

the man was so frightened that he ran away  
 TN:11:109:11-13

(352) ...ǎháʔkaʔ  
 aháʔkaʔ  
 a-h-ahk-aʔ  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-stop-PUNC  
 'he stopped

huʔkērò<sup>n</sup>diʔ...  
 huhkeródiʔ  
 hu-ahkerq-di-ʔ  
 MASC,sg,PAT-scared-BEN-STAT  
 he being scared'

No longer frightened, he stopped crying  
 TN:18:133:28-29

The presence or absence of the Benefactive in 351 and 352 does not lead to translations with 'to' or 'for' in the gloss. The purpose of the Benefactive here is unclear.

The following example shows the allomorph *-ʔs-*, using the verb *-yɸ-* 'see'. The addition of the Benefactive changes the meaning from 'see' to 'show to'. The verb *-at-yɸ-ʔs-* 'SEMI-see-BEN' in 353 is used when the seeing is for the benefit of the one doing the seeing:

(353)	...ayäkɛːʔseː	dɛː	skát
	ayakɛːʔseh	dɛː	skát
	ay-at-yɸ-ʔs-eh		
	1,sg,PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP		
	'I want to see (let me see it)	that	one

sáːdaːmɛː...  
 sáːdaːwɛh  
 sa-ʔd-awɸ-h  
 2,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT  
 thee arrow hast'

Let me see your arrow!  
 TN:26:202:57-60

Compare the following example of *-yɸ-* 'see' without the Benefactive, which retains the simple undirected sense of 'see':



ně háʼtqʼ...  
 ne háʼtqʼ?  
     ha-ʼtq-ʼ?  
     MASC,sg,AGT-old-STAT  
 the he is old'

'the elder of the two young women laid down her basket near the old man'  
 TN:26:203:34-39

The allomorph *-e-* is shown in 356, an excerpt from example 285, where the literal meaning is 'she raises her voice at him':

(356) ahũkwę́ 'dĩhá(ʼtę́)  
 ahukwę́diháhtę́?  
 a-hu-at-wę́d-ihá-ht-ę́-ʼ?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-voice-shout-CAUS-BEN-PUNC  
 'she him scolds'  
 TN:02:067:13

### 5.3.7 Dislocative (DISLOC)

The Dislocative adds a sense of motion or change of location to the meaning of the verb, usually glossed as 'go to' or 'there(at)'. The allomorphs are *-d-*, *-ʼd-*, *-he-*, *-hš-*, and *-ʼšr-*. Examples of the first, using the verb *-atę́dutq-* 'speak', include:

(357)	...naʼú:rhę́hę́ʼ	nę́ʼ
	naʼú:rhę́hę́ʼ?	nę́h
	n-aʼ-ú-rhę́-hę́ʼ?	
	TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-next.day-PUNC	
	'the next day	now



ǎhǎṭṭ·"dúťóda  
ahate:dúťóda  
a-h-atṭdutṭ-d-a  
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC  
he went to speak (tell) at

děkṭ'ṭmṭṭ' dĕkĕ'"daré'  
dekṭ'wah dekyè:daré?  
de-t-Ye-dare-?  
SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
that this way that they body live at

ayũ"dà'tǎwéti'...  
ayudàtawéti?  
ayu-dat-aweti?  
FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-all  
one's village all' <sup>94</sup>

The young man went the next day to another village not very far away where some people were living  
TN:21:156:39-48

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<sup>94</sup>This word ends in the particle *aweti?*'all', rather than a regular verbal form.





sahāká(ʔà)<sup>n</sup>da'  
 sahákàhtàʔda?  
 s-a-h-akaht-a-ʔd-a?  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
 back he goes to see

tūyʔtù·rá·	īyěʔtrɔʔ	dě
tuʔtù:rá:	iyěʔtrɔʔ	de
	i-yɛ-iʔtrɔ-ʔ	
	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-STAT	
at the same place	she sits (stays)	the

ku <sup>u</sup> gě <sup>ʔ</sup> tse <sup>ʔ</sup>	wáskɛʔñəʔə...
kyuʔdyɛtseh	wáskɛʔnyaʔa
	wa-skɛʔny-a-ʔa
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pet-JOIN-DIM
snake	she pet small'

The next day, he went to see the imprisoned snake.  
 TN:21:150:47-151:01

(361) ...sāká(ʔà)<sup>a</sup>da'  
 sákàhtàʔda?  
 s-akaht-a-ʔd-a?  
 2,sg,PAT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-IMP  
 'thou there looketh

ūsetīwí·hākà'  
 usetiwí:hakyaʔ  
 use-ti-w-ih-akye?  
 OPT.REP-1,IN,dl,AGT-take-STAT-PROG.IMP  
 thou cometh along

tūhá<sup>a</sup>se<sup>ʔ</sup>t  
 tuháʔseht  
 tu-h-aʔ-s-e-ht  
 REM-TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-CAUS-PUNC  
 there thou goest

dětu tǎyǎtɔʔtsaʔ...  
 detu tayaʔtɔhtsaʔ  
 t-a-ya-ʔtɔhts-aʔ  
 CISLOC-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hatch-PUNC  
 where it hatched'

Go to the place where it was hatched and look carefully. Let me go with you!  
 TN:32:276:23-29

In 362, showing the allomorph *-he-*, two young women are travelling around looking for the Woolly-One:

(362) ...tũháʔcaʔ                      nǎhǒmàʔtũrǎhǎʔ  
 tubáhšǎʔ                              nahǒwàaʔturǎhaʔ  
     n-a-hǒwa-Yaʔt-urǎ-haʔ  
     TEMP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-body-find-PUNC  
 'until                                      that they him find

di-wì·nɔʔ                                      dǎ  
 di:wì:nɔh                                      de  
 d-i-winɔ-h  
 SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-pretty-STAT  
 the young women (pretty)                      that

hǒmǎʔtũcǎke  
 hǒwàtũhšǎke  
 hǒw-at-ihšǎy-(h)ɛ  
 3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-look.for-DISLOC.PURP  
 they two him look for

ne hǎʔdǎʔwaʔ...  
 ne hadǎʔwaʔ  
                     ha-daʔw-aʔ  
                     MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN  
 the he is cotton-like'

Until then, the two young women had taken the Owl for the real Woolly-One, whom they had been looking for.  
 TN:24:188:09-19

The allomorph *-hš-* is illustrated in 363:

- (363) ...tūháʼse<sup>c</sup>  
tuháʼseh  
tu-h-aʼ-s-e-h  
REM-TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-PUNC  
'there thou go
- sĕ<sup>n</sup>díhaʼcĕʼ...  
sĕdíhahšĕʼ?  
s-ĕ-dih-a-hš-ĕʼ?  
2,sg,PAT-SEMI-borrow-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC  
thou borrow (it)'
- Go over there, and borrow [it]!  
TN:29:261:13-14

The final allomorph has the form *-ʔšr-*. The following examples demonstrating this allomorph are from texts where women are sent to court potential husbands. Example 364, without the Dislocative, describes being or falling in love:

- (364) húʼskòhəʼ  
húhskyòhəʼ  
hu-hskyò-həʼ  
MASC,sg,PAT-love-STAT  
'she (with) him fell in love' ('she fell in love with him')  
TN:02:063:24

With the Dislocative added, the reference is to going and courting someone to cause them to fall in love, as in 365 and 366:



## 5.4 Aspects and Temporals

There are five members of the aspect slot: Habitual (HAB), Punctual (PUNC), Stative (STAT), Purposive (PURP), and Imperative (IMP). The Stative Plural also appears in this slot. Temporals are also called post-aspectual suffixes, and are treated by Chafe (1967) as expansions of the aspects. Included are the Progressive (PROG) and the Past (PAST). The forms used for each aspect vary widely. Representative examples will be shown.

### 5.4.1 Imperative (IMP)

The Imperative, as the name implies, indicates a command or request. As stated previously, the Imperative is not a true aspect, but does occupy the same morphological slot.

A common allomorph is *-ʔ-*, as with *-atɛdutɔ-* 'speak' in 367, where someone is told to ask someone else to do something:

(367)	...sātɛ· <sup>n</sup> dūtɔʔ satɛ:dutɔʔ s-atɛdutɔ-ʔ 2,sg,PAT-speak-IMP 'thou (to) her speak	ãñɔynɛ'(hũyɛ)ʔas inyɔnyɛ'huyɛʔahs i-Yɔny-ɛhuyɛʔ-a-hs PROTH-1,dl,PAT-shell.corn-JOIN-STAT.PL she (for) us corn shells
	ãñɔñatɛ'ñũhɔs inyɔnyatɛʔnyɔhɔs i-Yɔny-atɛʔny-ɔhɔ-hs PROTH-1,dl,PAT-cook-DISTR-STAT.PL she (for) us corn cooks	



àʰcewáʰt  
 àʰšewáht  
 a-ʰšewaht  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-sieve  
 a sieve

ěyaʰǫmʰ...  
 iyaʰǫwíh  
 i-ya-ʰǫw-ih  
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-full-STAT  
 it is full'

ask her to shell and parch a bark trayful of corn for us  
 TN:28:246:21-25

Example (368) shows the Imperative allomorph *-h-* with the verb *-e-* 'go'. Note that this is a first person imperative (hortative), rather than second:

(368)	<p>...hé·kweʰ          hé:kweh          he-kw-e-h          TRANS-1,IN,pl,AGT-go-IMP          'let us go</p>	<p>tũ    hè·kwāńé·rāèʰ...          tu    hè:kwané:raèʰ?                he-kwa-nęraę-ʰ                TRANS-IN,pl,AGT-watch-IMP          there must (shall) we wait'</p>
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Let us go there and wait!  
 TN:39:306:21-23

#### 5.4.2 Habitual (HAB)

The Habitual "restricts the meaning of the verb root to repeated or periodic events, or to an episodic event in progress but incapable of indefinite prolongation" according to Chafe (1967:12) for Seneca. In Oneida, according to Lounsbury (1953:85), it is used to "represent actions which take place at repeated points in time". In Wyandot the Habitual is used for repetitive, on-going, or continuing activities. It is an imperfective.

The Habitual allomorphs often, though not always, have an *s* in them. Forms include *-s-*, *-ahs-*, *-hs-*, *-ʔs-*, and *-eʔs-*. The following example shows the *-s-* allomorph for the verb *-dyay-* 'marry':

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (369) | <p>...ahātiʔkəriʔk<br/>         ahatiʔkyerihk<br/>         a-hati-ʔt-Yerih-k<br/>         FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-X-straighten-PUNC<br/>         'they straightened out</p> | <p>tājúʔtiʔ<br/>         tižúhtiʔ<br/>         ti-žuhiti-ʔ<br/>         3,non.sg-rules-NOUN<br/>         the way (rules)</p> |
|-------|--|--|

dētàgūʔgás...  
 detàyudyás  
 de-t-ayu-dyas  
 SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-marry.HAB  
 'that they get married'

There they settled their marriage customs.  
 TN:07:098:43-45

The allomorph *-ahs-* appears in 370, using *-Yękw-* 'plant':

- (370) dęękwaʔs  
 deękwahs  
 d-e-Yękw-ahs  
 PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-plant-HAB  
 'what one plants'  
 TN:04:091:01

The verb *-žu-* 'kill' demonstrates the *-hs-* Habitual allomorph:



Allomorphs beginning with a vowel appear after consonant-final verb roots, while those beginning with a consonant appear after vowel-final roots.

#### 5.4.3 Punctual (PUNC)

The Punctual "restricts the meaning of the verb root to one unique event" (Chafe 1967:15 on Seneca), or describes "actions which take place at some particular point in time" (Lounsbury 1953:85 on Oneida). It also requires the addition of a modal prefix: Factual, Future, or Optative (see chapter 4: *Prepronominal Prefixes*). In Wyandot the Punctual is most often used with complete events. It is a perfective.

The Punctual allomorphs are : *-a-*, *-haʔ-*, *-ah-*, *-h-*, *-Ø-*, *-aʔ-*, *-haʔ-*, and *-ʔ-*. They are shown in the following examples, starting with *-a-* and the verb *-atɛdutɔ-* 'speak' plus Dislocative *-d-*. This is taken from example 357:

- (374) *āhātɛ·dútóda*  
*ahatɛ:dútóda*  
*a-h-atɛdutɔ-d-a*  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC  
 'he went to speak (tell) at' ('he went to a place to tell people')  
 TN:21:156:42

The next shows *-haʔ-* with *-Yayɛ-* 'go out':

- |       |                |               |
|-------|----------------|---------------|
| (375) | <i>...skāt</i> | <i>á'cɔ'ɔ</i> |
|       | <i>skat</i>    | <i>áhšɔʔ</i>  |
|       | 'one           | at a time     |

tāwati·jáyę·hą)\*  
 tawati:žáyę:ha?  
 t-a-wati-Yayę-ha?  
 CISLOC-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 they came out

dětija'á·ha'...  
 detiža'á:ha?  
 de-ti-ža-?-a-ha?  
 SUBST-3,non.sg-young-STAT-JOIN-DIM  
 the they are small'

The little bears crawled out, one at a time  
 TN:19:143:55-59

The allomorph *-ah-* is demonstrated with the verb *-arahskw-* 'go out':

(376) ...dǎenǫ'˘      yǎwá'sti˘  
 daenǫ:h          yawáhstih  
                           ya-wahst-ih  
                           FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT  
 'may be            it is good (better)

dù·sa'cǎrá'skwa˘...  
 dù:sahšaráhskwah  
 d-u:sa-hš-arahskw-ah  
 PART-OPT.REP-2,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 that back thou goest'

It might be better for you to go back home  
 TN:04:083:36-39

*-h-* is shown using *-e-* 'go':

- (377) **hú·sāwe<sup>c</sup>**  
**hú:saweh**  
**h-u:sa-w-e-h**  
**TRANS-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC**  
**'for her to go' ('she should go back')**  
**TN:02:071:31**

The ~~Ø~~-allomorph appears with *-nqht-* 'give':

- (378) **...ăwé·ti<sup>?</sup>**      **tahūnó<sup>t</sup>**  
**awé:ti<sup>?</sup>**      **tahunóht**  
                          **t-a-hu-nqht**  
                          **CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC**  
**'all**              **she (to) him gives**

**dūyé<sup>(te)</sup>**  
**duyéhte<sup>?</sup>**  
**d-u-yehte-<sup>?</sup>**  
**SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-carry-STAT**  
**what back hangs on**

**da<sup>(sté)</sup>'tsijà·mę<sup>?</sup>...**  
**duhsté<sup>?</sup>tsižà:wę<sup>?</sup>**  
**d-u-hsté<sup>?</sup>tsiž-awę-<sup>?</sup>**  
**SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT**  
**what she owns (her property)'**

**she turned the finery that hung from her neck over to him**  
**TN:22:166:13-18**

Using *-Yękw-* 'plant', the allomorph *-a<sup>?</sup>-* can be shown:

(379) **daʔyaǎ́kwaʔ**  
**daʔyaǎ́kwaʔ**  
**d-aʔ-ya-Yǎkw-aʔ**  
**PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-plant-PUNC**  
**'that she planted (the seeds)' ('so she would plant the seeds')**  
**TN:01:061:11**

The allomorph **-ʔ-** is used in an example with the verb **-ratǎ-** 'climb':

(380) **...túʔ diyaʔrhiʔ**  
**túh diyaʔrhiʔ**  
**di-ya-rhi-ʔ**  
**PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN**  
**'there the tree**

**tǎhará:tǎʔ...**  
**tǎhará:tǎʔ**  
**t-a-ha-ratǎ-ʔ**  
**CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-climb-PUNC**  
**there he climbed up'**

**There he climbed a tree**  
**TN:29:258:60-62**

The allomorphs **-h-** and **-ʔ-** appear after vowels. The other allomorphs can appear after either vowels or consonants.

#### 5.4.4 Stative (STAT)

The Stative "restricts the meaning of the verb root to a continuous action or state without defined temporal limits" (Chafe 1967:12 on Seneca). According to Lounsbury (1953:85 on Oneida), the Stative is used to "represent states; some of these are the results of

actions." That is, the Stative functions as a perfect. In Wyandot the Stative also represents states, describes situations, and performs as a perfect.

Allomorphs of the Stative include *-h-*, *-ɸh-*, *-ih-*, *-ʔ-*, and *-ɸʔ-*. The first form is shown by the verb *-uwanɸ-* 'large' (also representing an example of a state):

- (381) *yǎrɔ̀tũwá·nɛ̀*  
*yarɔ̀tuwá:nɛ̀h*  
*ya-rɔ̀t-uwanɸ-h*  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-large-STAT  
 'logs large' ('big logs')  
 TN:27:224:52

The allomorph *-ɸh-* can be demonstrated with the verb *-draw-* 'dance' (also representing the Stative as describing a situation):

- |       |              |                            |                                  |
|-------|--------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (382) | <i>...tu</i> | <i>hũ̀tì·drá·mɛ̀</i>       | <i>ũsé·mɛ̀<sup>n</sup>·tá·ye</i> |
|       | <i>tuh</i>   | <i>hutì:dráwɸh</i>         | <i>usé:wɛ̀ʔtáʔyeh</i>            |
|       |              | <i>huti-draw-ɸh</i>        | <i>u-sewɛ̀ʔt-a-ʔyeh</i>          |
|       |              | MASC,non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT | FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-stomach-JOIN-LOC |
|       | 'there       | they dance                 | his belly on'                    |

people were dancing upon his bosom  
 TN:24:186:61-63

With the verb *-Yɸkw-* 'plant' the Stative allomorph is *-ih-*:



(383) ...nɛ isɛŋɛ nɔː uːsǎwǎtíʔcɛʔ  
 nɛ isɛnɛ nɔː uːsawátíhšɛʔ  
 usa-wati-hš-ɛʔ  
 OPT.REP-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-kill-PUNC  
 'now surely it might be they it eat up

dɔɪnɛʔkwiː  
 dɔɪnyɛkwih  
 d-qi-Yɛkw-ih  
 PART-1,dl,PAT-plant-STAT  
 that we two have planted'

Surely the crows by now must have eaten up all that we have sown.  
 TN:26:198:29-33

Example 383 also demonstrates the use of the Stative as a perfect.

The *-ʔ-* allomorph can be demonstrated with the verb *-Yɔ-* 'arrive':

(384) ...kǎhɛʔdɛʔcaʔ hɛsùtíñóʔ dɛ  
 kahɛdɛʔšaʔ hesùtinyóʔ de  
 he-s-(h)uti-Yɔ-ʔ  
 TRANS-REP-MASC,non.sg,PAT-arrive-STAT  
 'there those back they go that

tutíwʔ hàːkɔː...  
 tutíwíʔ hàːkyɔh  
 t-(h)uti-w-iʔ h-at-Yɔ-h  
 CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-take-STAT MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-arrive-STAT  
 they with him had come'

When his [envious] companions reached home...  
 TN:13:121:01-04

The *-ɔʔ-* allomorph appears with *-nɛɾɔti-* 'hunt':

(385) hũnɛ̃·rɔ̃kɔ̃ʔ  
 hunɛ̃:rɔ̃kyɔ̃ʔ  
 hu-nɛ̃rɔ̃ti-ɔ̃ʔ  
 MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-STAT  
 'he hunted' ('he was hunting')  
 TN:23:177:21

As with the Punctual, the *-h-* and *-ʔ-* allomorphs occur after vowels, while the other allomorphs are not so restricted.

#### 5.4.5 Stative Plural (STAT.PL)

The Stative Plural, *-ʔs-*, indicates both a state or condition as well as multiplicity of the entities in that state or condition. A simple Stative suffix appears in 386, indicating the size of a *-rɔ̃t-* 'log':

(386) yãrɔ̃tũwá·nɛ̃ʔ  
 yarɔ̃tuwá:nɛ̃h  
 ya-rɔ̃t-uwanɛ̃-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-large-STAT  
 'a big tree'  
 TN:19:141:58

The Stative Plural appears in 387 for comparison. The same state holds as for 386, but the argument is in this case plural:

(387) **yarijú<sup>ʔ</sup>tūwǎŋ<sup>ʔ</sup>s**  
**yarižúhtuwanǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>s**  
**ya-rižuh<sup>t</sup>-uwanǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>-s**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-stone-large-STAT**  
**'rocks big'**  
**TN:19:136:38**

The Stative Plural need not be used instead of the simple Stative. The motivation for specifically choosing the Stative Plural is unclear.

#### 5.4.6 Purposive (PURP)

According to Chafe (1967:25) the Purposive "indicates purpose or intention" in Seneca. It only attaches to verbs of motion. Unlike Seneca, the Dislocative is not required preceding the Purposive. In 388 the verb **-e-** 'go / come' appears with the Purposive:

<p>(388) <b>ērǫ·mé<sup>ʔ</sup></b>  <b>erǫ:wǎh</b>  <b>e-r-ǫwe-h</b>  <b>X-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN</b>  <b>'he person (man)'</b></p>	<p><b>í·re<sup>ʔ</sup></b>  <b>í:re<sup>ʔ</sup></b>  <b>i-r-e-<sup>ʔ</sup></b>  <b>PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PURP</b>  <b>he walks</b></p>
--	---

**sǎyùwǎrǫ<sup>ʔ</sup>s**  
**sayùwerǫhs**  
**sayu-Yerǫ-hs**  
**MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg-trick-HAB**  
**he is a trickster'**

'A man was travelling. He was a trickster.'  
 TN:22:158:27-29

Note that the lack of a modal prefix (see chapter 4: *Prepronominal Prefixes*) precludes this example from being in the Punctual. The form of the aspect suffix also precludes the possibility of the Habitual, as the verb *-e-* 'go / come' has a different Habitual:

- (389) tí're's  
 tí:re?s  
 ti-r-e-?s  
 CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB  
 'he walks'  
 TN:27:226:33; TN:27:231:48

#### 5.4.7 Progressive (PROG)

For Chafe (1967:27) the meaning of the Progressive is "one of progression, often translatable as *along* or *all along*". In the Wyandot texts the gloss is often based on *go on*, or uses the English progressive.

The Progressive appears after the Stative, and can be followed by any aspect. Thus it is a means of deriving active verbs from stative ones. It has the shape *-akye-*. In 390 the verb *-draw-* 'dance' appears, followed by the Stative *-ɸh-*, the Progressive, and another Stative *-?*.

- (390) hūti'drāmɸhá'kɛ'  
 hutidrawɸhá:kye?  
 huti-draw-ɸh-akye-?  
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT-PROG-STAT  
 'they dancing go on' ('they went on dancing')  
 TN:03:075:47

The Progressive followed by the Habitual is shown in 391, using *-rɔw-* 'remove', its Stative *-ɛh-*, and the Habitual *-ʔs*.

- (391) ...háʔrə      dēsũrǝmǝhá·kɛʔs...  
          háʔrə      desũrǝwɛhá:kyeʔs  
                       de-s-(h)u-rǝw-ɛh-akye-ʔs  
                       SUBST-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-remove-STAT-PROG-HAB  
          'only              that it is undoing'
- he only cared for ruin  
 TN:01:062:02-03

Finally, a Punctual form appears, based on the Stative form of 'drive', *-urih-*, and the Punctual *-ʔ*.

- (392) ...túnɛʔ      úwaʔ      tuhũhãhǝkɛʔ  
          túnɛh      úwaʔ      tuhuhahǝkyeʔ  
                       tu-hu-hah-ǝkye-ʔ  
                       REM-MASC,sg,PAT-road-travel-STAT  
          'just then      someone      there he road comes along
- ayǝmãtũríhã·kɛʔ  
 ayǝwatũríhã:kyeʔ  
 a-yǝw-at-urih-akye-ʔ  
 FACT-3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-SEMI-drive-STAT-PROG-PUNC  
 he them is driving
- dudĩkũkũwã·nɛʔ                      kũtǝʔskǝrǝʔt...  
 dudikyũhkuwã:mɛh                      kyutǝhskwerǝht  
 d-u-d-ikyuhkw-uwanɛ-h  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-crowd-large-STAT  
 that crowd large                      (of) cattle'
- Someone came along the road, driving a herd of cattle.  
 TN:29:267:31-38

Note that in 392 the addition of the Progressive to a Stative form allows it to appear in the Punctual and thus bear a modal prefix, the Future.

#### 5.4.8 Past (PAST)

The Past has the meaning the name implies. The Past appears after the Habitual or Stative, but not the Punctual. The forms are *-hk-*, *-kwaʔ-*, *-neʔ-*, *-yeh-*, and *-kenəʔ-*. It is usually glossed as 'past', 'used to', or using the English past perfect 'had Xed'. The first example of the Past is the allomorph *-neʔ-*, cognate with Lounsbury (1953)'s Remote-Past. Here it appears after the verb *-qdi-* 'make', in its Stative form *-qdi-*:

- (393) **hũ<sup>h</sup>datěté·rə<sup>h</sup>dì·nə<sup>h</sup>**  
**hudatetə:rədi:nəh**  
**hud-ate-tər-qdi-nəʔ**  
**MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-fort-make.STAT-PAST**  
**'they a palisade (fortress) had built' ('they had built a fort')**  
**TN:40:312:09-10**

The form *-hk-* is shown in 394 using *-dare-* 'live; dwell':

- (394) **hëyadäre<sup>h</sup>k**  
**heyadärehk**  
**he-ya-dare-hk**  
**TRANS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live.STAT-PAST**  
**'here many lived'**  
**TN:36:287:54**

The allomorph *-kwaʔ-* only appears after the Habitual<sup>95</sup>, and is cognate with Lounsbury's Former-Past. It is demonstrated here with the Habitual form of *-ihša(y)-* 'look for':

- (395) ye'e(ʔicákè)skwaʔ  
 yeʔehʔiśákè:ʔskwaʔ  
 ye-ʔeht-ihšay-(h)e-ʔs-kwaʔ  
 1,sg,AGT-claw-look.for-DISLOC-HAB-PAST  
 'I clawmarks [of the bear] hunt for used to'

I used to go out and hunt for the bear's claw  
 TN:28:235:34

The form *-kɛnɛʔ-* is interesting in that it appears to include the allomorph *-nɛʔ-*. It also only appears after the Habitual. The example here uses the Habitual form of *-draw-* 'dance':

- (396) ye<sup>n</sup>drāwá(śkɛ:nɛʔ)  
 yedrawáhskɛ:nɛʔ  
 ye-draw-ahs-kɛnɛʔ  
 1,sg,AGT-dance-HAB-PAST  
 'I danced as a rabbit past' ('I used to dance as a rabbit)  
 TN:25:194:25a-26

This allomorph also only appears after *s*, whereas the plain *-nɛʔ-* form does not occur after *s*. Because *y* alternates with *k* after *s* (see 2.14 *Phonemic Alternations*), the existence of a form with *y* in place of *k* might be inferred. Although no form \**-yɛnɛʔ-* has been found, *-yɛh-* does appear. In 397 the Past follows the Stative *-hay-* of the verb *-dya-* 'eat':

---

<sup>95</sup>This may only be due to the dearth of examples.

(397) ...daʔk      ĩmé·<sup>h</sup>tāye<sup>ʕ</sup>  
dahlk      iwé:ɬayeh  
                    i-w-ɛt-aye-h  
                    PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT  
'four            days in

těhùtīgāhá·ĩñɛ<sup>ʕ</sup>...  
tehùtidyahá:inyèh  
te-huti-dya-hay-yèh  
NEG-MASC,non.sg,PAT-eat-STAT-PAST  
since they eat they had'

they ate for the first time in four days  
TN:37:295:44-48

The existence of *-yèh-* makes the allomorph *-kɛnɛʔ-* appear as perhaps a double Past, sequencing *-yèh-* and *-nɛʔ-*.

## 5.5 Attributives

The final set of affixes are the attributives, which can appear on either verbs or nouns.

They include the Augmentative (AUG), Diminutive (DIM), and Populative (POP).

### 5.5.1 Augmentative (AUG)

The Augmentative adds a meaning of importance or large size. It has the form

*-kuwa-*<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>The Augmentative can be followed by *-ʔ*, *-:*, *-h*, or *-ʔ*, apparently in free variation with *-h* being the most frequent.



- (398) kūrá'kūwà'  
 kuráhkuwàh  
 kurah-kuwah  
 X-AUG<sup>97</sup>  
 'wealthy man'  
 TN:29:264:14

### 5.5.2 Diminutive (DIM)

The Diminutive is used for small size or young age. The form is *-ʔah*, as in 399 where the Diminutive is added to a verb meaning 'young':

- (399) hōmētse'ti'a'  
 hōwetsēhtiʔah  
 h-ōwe-ʔtsehti-ʔah  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM<sup>98</sup>  
 'he is small'  
 TN:27:216:16

### 5.5.3 Characterizer (CHAR)

The Characterizer is used to indicate characteristic features, as in this description of when it is raining:

---

<sup>97</sup>The first part of this word is unclear. The cognate morpheme in Seneca, *-kowæ-*, as in *kówæhko:wa:sh* 'king', is left unglossed in Chafe (1967).

<sup>98</sup>*-ōwe-* 'person' anomalously takes variant pronominal prefixes.

(400) ʎo "dú'ska'  
ɔdúhska?  
ɔdu-hs-ka?  
rain-HAB-CHAR  
it is rainy  
TN:02:074:18

Professional habits often use the Characterizer, as in example 271, repeated here:

(401) dɛhātɛtsɛ́ʎ'ska'  
dehatetsɛ́ʎska?  
de-h-ate-tse-ʎs-ka?  
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB-CHAR  
'that he self doctor be' ('he is a doctor')  
WM:116

#### 5.5.4 Populative (POP)

Although attributives may appear on nouns or verbs according to Chafe (1967:29), they primarily appear on verbs in Wyandot. This may simply be due to the overwhelming number of verbs compared to nouns.

An exception is the Populative, *-runɔ-*<sup>99</sup>, used to characterize inhabitants of an area, and frequently appearing in names of ethnic groups. It usually appears on nouns:

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<sup>99</sup>The terminations are the same as for the Augmentative, except that *-ʎ* is the most frequent. See section 5.5.1 *Augmentative*.

(402) **dědět'cú·rũnq'**  
**dedèhšú:runq?**  
**de-dehšu-runq?**  
**SUBST-hell-POP**  
**'that the underground is a dweller of ('underground dweller; devil')**  
**WM:051**

(403) **dēwatāyú·ru·nq'**  
**dewatayú:ru:nq?**  
**de-watayu-runq?**  
**SUBST-cave-POP**  
**'that hole in the ground or cave is a dweller (Cherokees)**  
**WM:280**

However, the Populative does occasionally appear on verbs in Wyandot, as in 404 where it follows the verb *-ižu-* 'good':

(404) **"deyēt'tijú·ru·nq'**  
**deyēhtižú:ru:nq?**  
**de-ya-iht-ižu-runq?**  
**SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-good-POP**  
**'the it field or land big as a dweller' ('Prairie people')**  
**WM:086**

## CHAPTER SIX

### NOUNS

Nouns in Wyandot are less frequent than verbs in occurrence in the texts as well as making up a smaller proportion of the lexicon. They are also far simpler in morphological structure. There are two primary structural categories, analyzable and unanalyzable. Within the analyzable category there are a small number of subgroups.

Unanalyzable nouns are words that cannot be broken down into smaller morphemes. They primarily are animal terms, and are often onomatopoeic. The terms for 'rabbit' and 'wolf' are monomorphemic:

(405) ta·n̄óñ̄əh̄a  
ta:myónyəha  
'a rabbit'  
TN:17:131:22

(406) narí·skwa  
narí:skwa  
'wolves'  
TN:12:113:51

The word for 'owl' is also unanalyzable, as well as being onomatopoeic:

(407) híhí<sup>c</sup>  
híhíh  
'horned-owl'  
TN:24:191:40; TN:24:193:48

Sometimes an unanalyzable form can be shown to be a borrowing. The word for 'soldier' is clearly a borrowing from the English equivalent:

(408) sùdár<sup>c</sup>  
 sùdárh  
 'soldiers'  
 TN:40:307:36

### 6.1 Analyzable Nouns

Analyzable nouns are of two basic types, with some exceptions. The structure of a typical noun is shown in chart 99:

Pronominal Prefix	Nominal	Nominal Suffix
Agent Patient	Noun Root Verb Root + Nominalizer	Noun Suffix Locative

Chart 99: Noun Structure<sup>100</sup>

Nouns normally consist of a pronominal prefix,<sup>101</sup> a nominal slot, and a nominal suffix. The pronominal prefix can be either agent or patient, and is generally feminine-zoic. The nominal slot is either a noun root (the most frequent case) or a nominalized verb root. The suffixes are the simple Noun Suffix (NOUN) and the Locative (LOC). The Noun Suffix can appear

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<sup>100</sup>Note that the information is in one row, not two. There is no correlation between which prefix is used and the complexity of the nominal, or the choice of suffix.

<sup>101</sup>Iroquoian languages differ as to whether pronominal prefixes on nouns are the same as or slightly different from those on verbs. In Wyandot they are the same.

as *-a?*, *-ah*, or *-a*. Example 409 shows the allomorph *-a?* attached to the noun root *-dyaru?t-* 'canoe, trough':

- (409) a<sup>n</sup>garú<sup>ʔ</sup>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>  
adyarú<sup>ʔ</sup>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>  
a-dyaru?t-a?  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-canoe-NOUN<sup>102</sup>  
'canoe'  
WD:NR:009

The form *-ah* is shown by *-da?ts-* 'kettle':

- (410) yā<sup>n</sup>dá<sup>ʔ</sup>tsa<sup>ʔ</sup>  
yadá<sup>ʔ</sup>tsah  
ya-da?ts-ah  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kettle-NOUN  
'kettle'  
TN:23:170:24

The allomorph *-a* is demonstrated with *-wed-* 'land':

- (411) yāwé·dā  
yawé:da  
ya-wed-a  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-land-NOUN  
'country'  
TN:36:290:19

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<sup>102</sup>Recall from chapter 3: *Pronominal Prefixes* that since there is no formal distinction between feminine-zoic and neuter except for a small subset of the transitive prefixes, they are treated as the same, and glossed as feminine-zoic.

It is possible that the allomorph *-a* is simply an inconsistency in transcription, and that the Noun Suffix always ends in *h* or *ʔ*. Another possibility is that *-a* is the suffix, and final *h* and *ʔ* are simply phonetic, since the distribution appears random. The most frequent of the forms is *-aʔ*.

Both agent and patient prefixes can be used with nouns. Agent prefixes can be seen on the previous examples. Example 412 shows a patient prefix with the root for 'meat', *-ʔwahts-*:

- (412) ũwá'tsa'  
uwáhtsaʔ  
u-ʔwahts-aʔ  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-meat-NOUN  
'meat'  
TN:02:065:43; TN:17:132:33

The same prefix can be seen with *-hskwir-* 'switch':

- (413) u'skwì:rá'<sup>a</sup>  
uhskwì:ráʔ  
u-hskwir-aʔ  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-switch-NOUN  
'(with) a switch'  
TN:23:170:29

The distinction in use between agent and patient prefixes on nouns is not straightforward in the other languages, although a vague tendency to use patient for natural items and agent for artificial items has been noted in the other languages (cf. Michelson

1991:137, footnote 15 for Oneida)<sup>103</sup>. The choice is generally considered lexical. Not enough examples of basic nouns have been found in Wyandot to ascertain what the distinction, if any, here is. Although pronominal prefixes on verbs are arguments, on nouns they have no similar function.

Nouns may also be followed by the Locative instead of the Noun Suffix.<sup>104</sup> There are three allomorphs of the Locative, *-ʔyeh*, *-yeh* and *-deh*. Example 414 shows the *-ʔyeh* allomorph with the noun root *-qtar-* 'lake':

- (414) *yõtáráʔye*<sup>c</sup>  
*yõtáráʔyeh*  
*y-qtar-a-ʔyeh*  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg.AGT-lake-JOIN-LOC  
 'the lake in' ('in the lake')  
 TN:29:272:12

The *-deh* form appears in 415 with *-duʔwɛ-* 'mother':

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<sup>103</sup>Typical minimal pairs in related languages include 'body' (patient) versus 'doll' (agent); 'face' (patient) versus 'mask' (agent); and 'extended family' (patient) versus 'nuclear family' (agent).

<sup>104</sup>Note that analyses of Iroquoian languages differ as to whether certain morphemes are stative verbs or nominal suffixes. For example, Chafe (1967) treated the Internal Locative as a nominal suffix, whereas it is currently usually treated as a stative verb 'be in'. Conversely, Chafe (1967)'s stative verb *be genuine* is currently treated as a suffix, the Typicalizer.



- (415) **sàʔdũmɛ̃·deʔ**  
**sàʔduwɛ̃:deh**  
**sa-duʔwɛ̃-deh**  
**2,sg,PAT-mother-LOC**  
**'thine mother to' ('at your mother's')**  
**TN:02:071:39**

The form *-deh* appears twice in the texts, both times with *-duʔwɛ̃-*. The glosses are 'to' and 'at'. The other two allomorphs appear far more frequently, with glosses ranging from 'on' and 'in' (the most frequent), to 'up', 'down', 'around', 'behind', '-wards', 'into', 'to', and 'at'. Due to the lack of *-deh* examples it is not clear why this allomorph may be chosen in stead of *-ʔyeh*.

The allomorphs *-ʔyeh* and *-yeh* are in free variation, as seen in 416:

- (416) a. **haáʔtäyeʔ**  
**haáʔtayeh**  
**ha-Yaʔt-a-yeh**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-LOC**  
**'his body on' ('on his body')**  
**TN:22:160:16; TN:29:257:04**
- b. **hääʔtaʔyeʔ**  
**haáʔtaʔyeh**  
**ha-Yaʔt-a-ʔyeh**  
**MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-LOC**  
**'his body on' ('on his body')**  
**TN:24:192:18**

An exceptional form of noun is one which is partly analyzable. For example, the term for 'dog' has the feminine-zoic singular agent pronominal prefix *ya-*, but lacks any suffix:

- (417) yǎñĕ·nq<sup>ć</sup>  
 yanyĕ:nqh  
 ya-nyĕnqh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-dog  
 'dog'  
 TN:31:273:48

An alternative is to consider such forms as monomorphemic, having an initial string which coincidentally is the same as that for a pronominal prefix.

The last type of complex noun is derived from a verb. Instead of a noun root, the core of the noun contains a verb root followed by the nominalizer (NOM). In the following example the verb *-qte-* 'live' is followed by the Nominalizer *-hšr-*.

- (418) ũtq̄te'crá'ye<sup>ć</sup>  
 utq̄tehšrá?yeh  
 u-at-qte-hšr-a-?yeh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-live-NOM-JOIN-LOC  
 'her heart on' ('into her heart')  
 TN:23:178:25

The Nominalizer converts the verb into a noun, allowing the Locative to be added.

## 6.2 Possession

Possession is indicated by the person, number and gender of the pronominal prefix.

When the prefix is not feminine-zoic singular it indicates the possessor. For instance, the general word for 'doll' uses a feminine-zoic singular agent pronominal prefix:

- (419) **agwahʔtsaʔ**  
**adwahiʔtsaʔ**  
**a-ʔdwahiʔts-aʔ**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-doll-NOUN**  
**'doll'**  
**WD:NR:009**

The prefix is changed to masculine patient *-hu-* when discussing a male's dog effigy:

- (420) **hugwáhiʔtsá·**  
**hudwáhiʔtsá:**  
**hu-ʔdwahiʔts-a**  
**MASC,sg,PAT-doll-NOUN**  
**'he dog has' ('his dog-shaped doll')**  
**TN:23:174:45**

The use of the masculine patient indicates possession by a male. Although in 420 the relation marked by the pronominal prefix changed from agent to patient, this is not necessary.

The word for 'kettle' normally has the feminine-zoic singular agent prefix:

- (421) **yà·nɛ·úʔ**  
**yà:nɛ:úh**  
**ya-nɛu-h**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kettle-NOUN<sup>105</sup>**  
**'kettle'**  
**TN:23:171:26**

When possessed by a first person the prefix remains agent, but changes to first person:

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<sup>105</sup>This is an anomalous Noun suffix in *-h*. The following example has another anomalous Noun suffix in *-ʔ*. Instead of an anomalous Noun suffix, 'kettle' may simply be a semi-analyzable noun.

- (422) yeŋǣúʷ  
 yeŋǣúʷ?  
 ye-nǣu-ʷ  
 1,sg,AGT-kettle-NOUN  
 'I kettle have' ('my kettle')  
 TN:23:171:28

In 422 the first singular agent prefix is used to indicate possession. Although both agent and patient can be used to indicate possession, agent prefixes appear with far more frequency. The few examples with patient prefixes do not clearly point to a motivation for their choice.

With possession by females the situation is less clear. Since simple nouns normally have the feminine-zoic singular prefix already, using the feminine-zoic singular to indicate possession is ambiguous. In 423 the noun root *-rihšr-* 'legging' has a feminine-zoic singular patient pronominal prefix. It is not clear whether the sense of possession is by context or through another means (such as choice of agent or patient).

- (423) ūrǣ'ca  
 urǣ:hša  
 u-rihš(r)-a  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-legging-NOUN  
 'her leggings'  
 TN:04:089:04

This ambiguity can be further shown by 424, where the masculine singular agent is used on *-Yaʔt-* 'body' to indicate a male's body:

(424) ...nqʷmáʷdeʷ hùjätǫñqʷ  
 nqʷwáʷdeʷ hùžatǫnyqʷ  
 hu-žatq-nyq-ʷ  
 MASC,sg,PAT-mark-DISTR-STAT  
 'this time he has marks several

haáʷtäyeʷ  
 haáʷtaʷyeh  
 ha-Yaʷt-a-ʷyeh  
 MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-LOC  
 his body on

ũnqʷdáʷ	hūwērǫʷteʷ...
unqʷdáʷ	huwērǫʷteʷ
u-nqʷd-aʷ	hu-Yeraʷt-iʷ
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-paint-NOUN	MASC,sg,PAT-use-STAT
Indian paint	he has used'

[Another time], the same one [the trickster] decorated his body with Indian paint.  
 TN:22:160:14-18

The feminine equivalent uses the feminine-zoic singular prefix:

(425) yǎáʷtäyeʷ  
 yaáʷtäyeh  
 ya-Yaʷt-a-ʷyeh  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-LOC  
 'her body on'

around her body  
 TN:22:161:39

However, this same word can also be glossed without a sense of possession:

(426) **yaá'tāye<sup>c</sup>**  
**yaáʔtāyeh**  
**ya - Yaʔt-a -yeh**  
**FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-LOC**  
**'the body around'**

**from her body**  
**TN:22:162:02**

In 426 no possessive is indicated in the gloss, but both free translations have 'her body'. Since the feminine-zoic singular is used both for possession by a female and for genericity, there is ambiguity.

In other Iroquoian languages alienability is important in determining whether the possessor is marked by agent or patient prefixes. However, the lack of morphological nouns in the corpus, and the lack of possessed nouns among those few that do appear, does not allow an analysis. What little that can be said can be seen by looking at the examples of possessed nouns that occur in this chapter: agent prefixes are used for 'body' and 'kettle', while patient prefixes are used for 'mother', 'doll', and 'leggings'.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SYNTAX

Wyandot morphology is highly structured and tightly organized. That is, there are several slots for morphemes to fall into, and these slots cannot be re-ordered. Wyandot syntax is, however, much looser and has less readily apparent structure. Word order is not fixed, and even what constitutes a single utterance is unclear.

#### 7.1 Barbeau's Structures

Within Barbeau's texts there is little overt indication of structure. There are no convenient indicators of utterance boundaries, such as punctuation, particular physical layouts, intonation contours, or numbering of items. Lines of text are physical rather than linguistic in nature. That is, a line does not indicate an utterance unit of some sort, but only the amount of text that could be written across a page.

On the other hand, three potential levels of organization are discernible. At the top level is the entire text itself, always distinct from other texts. A text can run anywhere from only a single page (e.g., #10: *The White Otter*) to 25 pages in length (e.g., #27: *The Steer and the Ill-Treated Stepson*). At the bottom level is the word. Although often clear, as mentioned in chapter 4: *Prepronominal Prefixes*, there are frequent instances of separate words written together, or of single words written as two or more.

The intermediary level is the least certain. There are occasional indentations at the beginnings of lines that give the appearance of paragraphing. Their purpose is not explained.

Sometimes such an indent occurs where one would expect a paragraph break in English, but the correlations are inconsistent. A Wyandot indent might or might not occur where an English break would be, and an English break might or might not occur where a Wyandot indent appears. A block of text separated by indents might be only a single word, or cover multiple pages. Additionally, on rare occasions a large amount of white space appears within a line, giving the visual impression of a break.

Thus, there are no readily usable indications of what a Wyandot speaker might think of as an utterance. This is further complicated by the fact that, due to Wyandot's polysynthetic nature, even a single word can contain all the elements necessary for a complete utterance:

(427) hāsò·<sup>n</sup>gá's  
hasò:dyáhs  
ha-s-òdi-ahs  
MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB  
'he makes bowls'  
TN:28:240:43

Here the word contains the predicate as well as both arguments, not to mention aspectual marking. Decisions as to what constitutes a syntactic unit, whether utterance, clause, or something else, must be either left unresolved or based on English free translations.



## 7.2 Word Order

There is no fixed word order in Wyandot. The orders of nominal units<sup>106</sup> in apposition to agent and patient prefixes on verbs in relation to those verbs are variable, although there is a strong tendency for a nominal unit to follow the verb rather than precede.

To show that the word order is not fixed, both intransitive and transitive verbs, each with both agent and patient pronominal prefixes, will be shown with nominal units in apposition to those prefixes on both sides of the verb.

First to be shown is an intransitive verb, *-e-* 'go / come', bearing an agent pronominal prefix, preceded by the noun the agent prefix refers to:

(428)	... <sup>u</sup> a·n'·skwa'	tāmè <sup>n</sup> dé'...
	na:rí:skwa?	tawèdé?
		t-a-wèd-e-?
		CISLOC-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC
	'wolves	they come'

A pack of wolves came [rushing toward him]  
TN:12:113:02-03

Next shown is an intransitive verb, *-i?trɔ-* 'live', also with an agent pronominal prefix, but where the appositional nominal unit comes after the verb:

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<sup>106</sup>The term *nominal unit* is used for what would more commonly be called a noun phrase. This has been done to avoid implying any particular theoretical orientation about the nature of Wyandot syntactic constituency, beyond the idea that both morphological nouns as well as morphological verbs can apparently function as syntactic nouns.

(429) ...hanɛ·é' hīyé'·trɔ' dĕka' yá·sti'...  
 hanɛ:é? heyé?trɔ? deka? yá:sti?  
 he-y[ɛ]-i?trɔ-?  
 TRANS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 'where she sits (stays) this monster'

'where the monster lived'  
 TN:16:129:43-46

In 430 a nominal unit precedes an intransitive verb, *-qredi-* 'starve', bearing a patient

pronominal prefix:

(430) ...dàtɔmə'tɛ 'di' hūnɔ'·rɛ 'di'...  
 dàtɔwà'tɛdɪ? hunɔ:redi?  
 hun-qredi-?  
 MASC,pl,PAT-starve-STAT  
 'the Potawatomes they are starving'

The Potawatomes were starving  
 TN:33:276:48-50

The following example demonstrates a nominal unit in apposition to a patient prefix

following the verb with that prefix:

(431) ...hĕsùtĩñó' dĕ  
 hesùtinyɔ? de  
 he-s-(h)uti-Yɔ-?  
 TRANS-REP-MASC,non.sg,PAT-arrive-STAT  
 'back they go that'

tutiwʔ	hà·kɔʕ...
tutiwíʔ	há:kyq̄h
t-(h)uti-w-iʔ	h-at-Yq-h
CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-take-STAT	MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-arrive-STAT
they with him	had come'

'his [envious] companions reached home...'  
 TN:13:121:02-04

Variable word order is also apparent with transitive verbs. In 432 the transitive verb *-q̄di-* 'make' appears with an agent pronominal prefix. The appositional noun appears before the verb.

(432) ...dĕ háʔtɔʔ  
 de háʔtɔʔ  
 ha-ʔtɔ-ʔ  
 MASC,sg,AGT-old-STAT  
 'the he is old

hãtɛnõ ʔgáʔnɔʕs...  
 hatɛnɔdyáʔnɔhs  
 h-atɛ-ʔn-q̄di-a-ʔnɔ-hs  
 MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-arrow-make-JOIN-DISTR-HAB  
 he (for) self arrows makes many'

'he was making arrows'  
 TN:26:198:09-12

The following example shows the appositional noun following the agent-marked transitive verb:

(433) ...ăhătrîwăñî·mîsta·nq'  
 ahatrîwanyê:wîsta:nq?  
 a-h-at-rihw-a-nyewi-st-a-nq-?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-law-JOIN-know,how-CAUS-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC  
 'he him entreated

ˈda nărîskwa'...  
 da narîskwa?  
 the wolf

'the Wolf entreated him'  
 TN:12:114:12-14

A transitive verb with a patient pronominal prefix can appear with the appositive nominal preceding, as in 434. Note that the few examples of this ordering that have been found all involve vocative uses.

(434) ...yesêné'ə'	kasĕ ˈdɪ'sq'...
yesenê'ah	kasêdɪ'sq̄h
ye-senê'-ah	ka-s-êd-i'-sq-h
1,sg,AGT-domestic-NOUN	CISLOC-2,sg,PAT-SEMI-excrement-drop-IMP
'I the domestic have	here thou drop excrements'

"O my domestic, defecate here!"  
 TN:27:222:37-39

In the final word order possibility a transitive verb with a patient pronominal prefix precedes the nominal unit appositive to that pronominal prefix:

(435) ...tūhàhūñó ˈdɛ't  
 tuhàhunyo'deht  
 tu-h-a-hu-nyode-ht  
 REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-take-CAUS.PUNC  
 'there she him took

de hūmɛ̃ʷtsɛ̃ʷtʰa...  
 de hɔwɛ̃ʷtsɛ̃ʷtʰa  
 h-ɔwe-ʷtsɛ̃ʷti-ʷa  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM  
 the boy'

'she took the lad along with her'  
 TN:19:136:06-09

Normally only one nominal unit appears per utterance. However, on rare occasions both arguments appear with overt nominals. In 436 overt nominals appear for both the 'cat' and the 'rabbit':

(436)	...tākú·c	hūwẽʷdā́q̃hā́ʷk̃ẽʷ	ta·ñóñq̃hā...
	takú:š	huwedaq̃haʷk̃yeʷ	ta:nyónyq̃ha
		hu-Yeda-qh-akye-ʷ	
		MASC,sg,PAT-catch-STAT-PROG-STAT	
	'a cat	it caught	a rabbit'

A rabbit was caught by a cat  
 TN:17:131:20-22

Although nominal apposition to pronominal prefixes on verbs seems to have little effect on word order, information structure may play a role. Chafe (1985) states that newsworthiness is an important factor in Seneca word order, with more newsworthy items ordered before less newsworthy items. Example 437 is from a creation text, and contains two nominal units in apposition to a transitive pronominal prefix. Previous to this the good Elder Brother had created humans. The evil Younger Brother in imitation decides to also make people. However, all he can make are monkeys:

(437) ...yūrōsḗ·<sup>n</sup>díḥ ḁhayòḡmá'<sup>n</sup>tḡ<sup>n</sup>gà'<sup>a</sup>  
 yūrōsḗ:dih ahayòwá?tḡdyà?  
 a-hayḡ-Ya?t-ḡdi-a?  
 FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-body-make-PUNC  
 'monkeys he them bodies made

dēhú'kḡñè'...  
 dehúhkḡnyè?  
 de-hu-hkḡnye?  
 SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-younger.STAT  
 the he is younger'

And the monkeys he brought forth  
 TN:01:062:25-27

In this stretch of text, it is the result of the Younger Brother's creation, rather than the act of creation itself, that is more important.

### 7.3 "Clause" Combining

Considering the difficulties in ascertaining what an utterance might consist of, it is even more unclear how parts of an utterance interact. For instance, methods for combining clauses, however clauses are to be defined, are not readily apparent. In English, clauses can be conjoined with *and*, whereas in Wyandot units can be simply strung together. In the following example the Wyandot text has the words 'let our bodies stop' and 'let us go hunting' juxtaposed. In the free translation, however, there are two coordinate clauses joined by 'and':

(438) ...hḡhḡḡ'	dē	hḡmāyuwá·nḡ'
hḡhḡḡ?	de	hḡwayuwá:nḡh
h[ḡ]-ihaḡ-?		hḡwa-yuwanḡ-h
MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC		MASC,pl:MASC,sg-large-STAT
'he said	the	he person big (leader)

ǒñòmqáʹtātɛʹ  
 anyòwááʹtātɛh  
 a-Yqwa-Yaʹt-a-tɛ-h  
 FACT-1,pl,PAT-body-JOIN-stop-IMP  
 let our bodies stop

ǎñòmánɛʹrǒʹ(t)ʹ...  
 anyòwanɛʹ:rǒtiʹ?  
 a-Yqwa-nɛrǒti-ʹ?  
 FACT-1,pl,PAT-hunt-IMP  
 let us go huntingʹ

Their leader said, "Let us halt here and go hunting!"  
 TN:20:145:13-17

Sometimes what may be joined by 'and' in English is separated by a particle in Wyandot. In 439 clauses that are conjoined in English have structures that parallel each other in Wyandot. The translation equivalents for each English clause follow the form Temporal Particle + Verb.

(439) ...nɛʹ sǎhǎtʹgǎyɛ̀hǎʹ  
 nɛ̀h sahǎtʹdyayɛ̀hǎʹ  
 s-a-hati-ʹd-Yayɛ̀-hǎʹ  
 REP-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-ʹ-go.out-PUNC  
 'now off they escaped

nɛʹ sahǒmáʹtǐgaʹ...  
 nɛ̀h sahǒwáʹ:tidyah  
 s-a-hǒwati-dya-h  
 REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,non.sg-chase-PUNC  
 now off they them chasedʹ

'Then they escaped and were pursued'  
 TN:40:309:48-53

In both 438 and 439 the Wyandot utterances appear to have a flat structure, looking like juxtaposed clauses. This juxtaposition can hold even when the English translation involves more complex syntactic structures. Whereas the English gloss in 440 uses a *to* + infinitive construction, the Wyandot forms again appear to be simply strung together as juxtaposed clauses.

(440)	...dɪʔ	ɪyé·heʔ		àyǫnɔ <sup>n</sup> t
	díʔ	iyé:heʔ		àyǫnɔht
		i-y-ehe-ʔ		a-yǫ-nɔht
		PROTH-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT		FACT-1,sg:2,sg-give.PUNC
	I	I want		I thee give

dātráʔ<sup>n</sup>\*kwijúʔ<sup>n</sup>dɪʔ...  
 datráʔskwižúdiʔ  
 d-atraʔskw-ižu-d-iʔ  
 SUBST-dream-good-BEN-STAT  
 the good fortune'

'I wish to bring you good luck'  
 TN:14:123:41-44

Despite varied translations into English, Wyandot syntactic structure appears relatively flat, involving mostly juxtaposition. However, due to the difficulties in ascertaining structural boundaries, Wyandot syntax remains an open area for further research.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several areas where further research can have fruitful results, especially for historical and comparative Iroquoian. Phonological, grammatical, and lexical material is now available that can shed light on Iroquoian diachrony, especially the status of Wyandot vis-à-vis Wendat.

Wyandot is traditionally referred to as either a dialect or descendant of Wendat: in other words, simply modern Wendat. As discussed in chapter 1: *Introduction*, however, the ancestors of the Wyandot did not consist solely of Wendat speakers, but were rather a refugee group that included many speakers of a variety of Huronian languages. It is possible, due to large numbers of Tionontati in the refugee group, that Wyandot may be more modern Tionontati than modern Wendat (Lounsbury 1978; Steckley 1993, 1996). Barton (1797) goes so far as to call the Wyandots Junúndats. If true, this would mean that an Iroquoian language thought entirely unattested actually has much documentation available. With the prerequisites of descriptions of both Wendat and Wyandot satisfied, a position has been reached where the two can begin to be adequately compared.

Such a comparison would run into several problems, however. The first involves the original documentation of Wendat. With the exception of Lagarde (1980) and Steckley (various), there has been little in-depth modern examination of the language, so that the old

missionary manuscripts mostly still need interpretation.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, there were several dialects of Wendat, with varying degrees of difference between them (Steckley 1996). Distinguishing between Wyandot and Wendat would also involve distinguishing the varieties of Wendat. That is, are differences between Wyandot and Wendat simply due to Wyandot descending from dialects other than those usually recorded by the missionaries?

There is a significant disparity in time as well, with most Wendat work from the 17th century, and Barbeau's work at the beginning of the 20th. Do the differences imply three centuries of further sound changes on the part of Wyandot, or are there phonological differences that cannot be descended from Wendat?

Since the other languages that could be ancestral to Wyandot are essentially unattested, they cannot themselves be used in comparison. What little documentation is available are references by missionaries that the languages were similar, but to what degree is unclear: Père Paul Le Jeune "classified Neutral, Seneca, Onondaga, and Andaste as Huron" (Mithun 1979:144), a statement which may mean that the classificatory term *Huron* was merely used equivalently to *Iroquoian* today.

## 8.1 Phonology

Extensive lists of sound changes in Wendat, or Wendat and Wyandot, can be found in Barbeau (1915a), Lagarde (1972), Lounsbury (1978), Mithun (1979), and Lagarde (1980). There are a small number of differences between the changes given for Wendat and Wyandot,

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<sup>107</sup>Pearson (2001) provides an interlinearization of Barbeau (1960). However, it was not available in time for comparison with the analysis presented here.

but many of these can be postulated as additional changes to Wyandot over the centuries since dispersal.

For instance, whereas Wendat can have either *o* or *u*, Wyandot has only *u*. Wyandot also has echoed vowels after *ʔ*, unlike Wendat. These features can be explained as further development in Wyandot, and need not require Wyandot to be Tionontati (although they do not contradict that hypothesis either).

Mithun (1979) and Lagarde (1980) both give the following diachronic rule for Wendat (and thus Wyandot):

(441) \*w > Ø / # \_

However, this is not always the case in Barbeau's Wyandot. In example 442 the feminine-zoic agent has the form *w-* before an A-stem verb:

(442) wátqtarɛʔ  
wátqtarɛʔ  
w-atqtarɛ-ʔ  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-glad-STAT  
'she very glad was' ('she was very glad')  
TN:28:252:35

No equivalent form is given in Lagarde (1980). On the other hand, the Wendat cognate of the feminine-zoic agent can appear non-initially with *w*:

(443) iʂatonk<sup>108</sup>  
i-w-atq-k  
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-HAB  
'elle dit' ('she said')  
Lagarde 1980:145

This instance of glide retention also occurs in Wyandot:

(444) iwá·tq̣  
iwá:tq̣h  
i-w-atq-h  
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-HAB  
'she said'  
TN:22:167:09

In 443 and 444 both Wendat and Wyandot have non-initial *w*.

When Lagarde does give an example of an appropriate prefix, the non-masculine plural agent *ati-*, in initial position, it is different from the Wyandot cognate. In Wendat the non-masculine plural agent is *ati-* initially, as in 445:

(445) atiroch  
ati-raʔo-ṣ̌  
NON.MASC,pl,AGT-rough.hew-HAB  
'elles bûchent' ('they rough-hew')  
Lagarde 1980:147

In Wyandot, however, the *w* can be retained initially, giving the form *wati-*:

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<sup>108</sup>Wendat form and French gloss from Lagarde (1980). Morphological breakdown mine, based on Lagarde's analysis.

(446) watitéʔt  
 watitéʔt  
 wati-teʔt  
 NON.MASC,pl,AGT-pound.corn  
 'they pound corn'  
 TN:04:078:01

In other Wyandot examples, however, the glide does disappear:

(447) ...ätiʔdäreʔ  
 atidaréʔ  
 ati-dare-ʔ  
 NON.MASC,pl,AGT-live-STAT  
 they inhabit

kwátijàʔtütəhəʔ  
 kwátizàʔtuʔtəhəʔ  
 CISLOC-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-body-kind-DISTR-STAT  
 several animal-kinds there are found

yə·ríç	yəʔda·réʔ
yə:ríš	yada:réʔ
yə-iriš	ya-dare-ʔ
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
lion	it lives

nariʔskwa	ʔdätiwá·nəʔs...
nariʔskwa	datiwá:məhs
	d-ati-wanə-ʔhs
	SUBST-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-large-STAT.PL
wolf	they are large

it was haunted by many kinds of large, vicious animals, such as lions and wolves.  
 TN:13:118:11-17

The discrepancy between loss of initial *w* in Wendat and its optional retention in Wyandot is not confined to Agent pronominal prefixes. In 448 the 1,sg,PAT is *aye-* in Wendat when initial:

- (448) *a,e,ete*  
*aye-yeht-e*  
1,sg,PAT-carry-STAT  
'je porte' ('I carry')  
Lagarde 1980:138

In Wyandot the same prefix is *waye-*:

- (449) *wāyèmę "gérí*  
*wayèwedyérih*  
*waye-wedyeri-h*  
1,sg,PAT-willing-STAT  
'I am willing'  
TN:02:071:36

On rare occasions *aye-* also occurs in Wyandot initially, but *waye-* is more frequent.

The cluster *\*kw* generally became *w* in Wyandot, so it can be argued that these instances of initial *w* are descended from initial *\*kw*. However, cognates in the other Iroquoian languages which did not share this change clearly indicate that the Wyandot *w*-initial forms do not descend from *\*kw*. The remaining possibilities are a) Wyandot is modern Wendat, and regained the initial *w* that Wendat had lost; b) Wyandot is modern Wendat, but descended from dialects other than those described in the missionary manuscripts, that lost

initial *w*; and c) Wyandot is not modern Wendat, but another related Iroquoian language, such as Tionontati.

Another area of difference lies in the reflexes of \**y*, but this contrast may be unresolvable due to limitations of Jesuit orthography. Recall that in Wyandot *Y* alternates with *w* after *u* and *q* (see section 2.15 *Further Notes on y*). After *q* this *w* has a nasal allophone, [m], as shown in 450:

- (450) **dayǫ̃(m)ɛdǎ·qʷ**  
**dayqwedǎ:qʷ**  
**d-a-yq-Yeda-qʷ**  
**PART-FACT-1,sg:2,sg-catch-PUNC**  
**'I thee take hold off' ('I take hold of you')**  
**TN:25:195:29-30**

Lagarde (1980) gives an example of the verb 'cut', based on \**-yaʔk-*, after the same pronominal prefix:

- (451) **e, oñasen**  
**e-yq-Yaʔk-ʔs-ɛ**  
**FUT-1,sg:2,sg-cut-BEN-PUNC**  
**'je couperai pour toi' ('I will cut for you')**  
**Lagarde (1980:192)**

Note that where Wyandot has *w* (realized as [m]), the Wendat form is transcribed with *ñ*.

What sound does this symbol represent? Lagarde (1980:26) gives this description:

- (452) *ñ* son appartenant à la syllabe précédente  
*oñ* pour [õ] ou [on]  
*eñ* pour [ē] ou [ē], ou [en]

That is, *ñ* is a "sound belonging to the preceding syllable", either indicating nasalization of the preceding vowel, or being simply *n*, such that *oñ* is pronounced as either [õ] or [on].

If *ñ* is just *n*, with *oñ* being [on], then the Wendat form could be rewritten as *eyonasε*. Thus \**y* would have two different reflexes in Wendat and Wyandot, [n] in Wendat versus [m] in Wyandot. The difference could be seen as a further shift in Wyandot, with this [n] becoming [m] after a back rounded nasal vowel. This interpretation of *ñ* leaves out nasalization on the vowel, however, which causes the nasalization of \**y* in the first place.

The other interpretation of *ñ*, as indicating nasalization, such that *oñ* is pronounced [õ], results in the Wendat form as *eypasε*. Although this allows nasalization on the vowel, necessary for the change to [m] in Wyandot, the result precludes Wyandot being descended from Wendat. That is, \**y* became  $\emptyset$  in Wendat, but [m] in Wyandot. Wyandot could not innovate a change to [m] in just those instances descending from \**y*, when Wendat had already lost *y*, if Wyandot is just modern Wendat.

There is another possibility of interpretation unmentioned in 452, that *ñ* represents both a nasal and preceding nasalization, so that *oñ* represents *on*. Thus, 451 could be rewritten as *eypnasε*. This, however, is inconsistent with transcriptions of *ony* as *onni*, in 453:



- (453) e, echonniahai  
 'je continuerai d'accommoder'  
 Lagarde (1980: 110)

A further discrepancy with the *ɨ* symbol is its use with pronominal prefixes. It appears in Wendat pronominal prefixes where other Iroquoian languages have *ʷw* (pronounced *ʷm* in Wyandot). This is shown in 454 with the pronominal prefix for third person non-singular acting on masculine singular in Wendat, Wyandot, and Oneida:

(454)	<i>Wendat</i>	<i>Wyandot</i>	<i>Oneida</i>
	hoñä -	hōwa -	hūwa -
		<hōma ->	

Note that if the Wendat form were pronounced as in Wyandot, the expected spelling would have an *m*, as in \**homä*. If the pronunciation had *w* instead, the expected spelling would be \**hoŵä* or \**honŵä*, neither of which is the case.

Thus, there are some differences in the Wendat and Wyandot reflexes of \**y* that do not reflect Wyandot as descendent from Wendat, but rather as parallel. However, this evidence is only circumstantial, in that the Wendat orthography is deficient.

## 8.2 Pronominal Prefixes

There are extensive categorical differences in the pronominal prefix systems of Wendat and Wyandot, especially among the transitive prefixes dealing with speech-act participants (SAPs) acting on third persons (non-SAPs), and non-SAPs acting on SAPs. In both instances Wendat has more finely detailed categories than Wyandot.

When SAPs are the agents and non-SAPs are the patients, there are three primary differences. First, in Wendat transitives with a feminine-indefinite singular patient (SAP:FEM.IND,sg,PAT) are distinct from transitives with a third person non-singular patient (SAP:3,non.sg,PAT). Other than Cayuga, in all of the other Lake Iroquoian languages these transitives are not distinguished from each other. Even in Cayuga the distinction only holds in transitives with first singular agent and second singular agent.

Second, in Wendat transitives with a non-masculine non-singular patient (SAP:NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT) and those with a masculine non-singular patient (SAP:MASC,non.sg,PAT) are distinct. None of the other Lake Iroquoian languages, including Wyandot, have this distinction.

Third, in Wendat transitives with dual and plural agents are distinct. None of the other languages have this distinction.

These differences between Wendat and Wyandot are shown in the following table.<sup>109</sup> Each distinction is represented by a separate cell. The dotted line in the Wyandot chart indicates the additional categories found in Cayuga. Since Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk all follow the Wyandot pattern, it can be inferred that Wendat is innovative here.

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<sup>109</sup>For considerations of space, the following additional abbreviations are used in these charts: F.I feminine-indefinite; F.Z feminine-zoic; I inclusive; M masculine; N.M non-masculine; ns non-singular; X exclusive.

<i>Wendat</i>	F.I sg	N.M ns	M ns
1,sg			
1,X,dl			
1,X,pl			
1,I,dl			
1,I,pl			
2,sg			
2,dl			
2,pl			

<i>Wyandot</i>	F.I sg	N.M ns	M ns
1,sg			
1,X,dl			
1,X,pl			
1,I,dl			
1,I,pl			
2,sg			
2,dl			
2,pl			

Chart 100: Wendat vs Wyandot: SAP:non-SAP Pronominal Categories

In transitives where non-SAPs are the agents and SAPs the patients, there are again three primary differences. First, in Wendat transitives with a feminine-indefinite agent (FEM.IND,sg:SAP) are always distinct, whereas in the other languages only Wyandot, Seneca and Cayuga have a distinct transitive feminine-indefinite agent here. However, in the latter three languages this is only with first singular (FEM.IND,sg:1,sg) and second singular (FEM.IND,sg:2,sg) patients.

Second, in Wendat transitives with a non-masculine non-singular agent (NON.MASC,non.sg:SAP) are distinct from those with a masculine non-singular agent (MASC,non.sg:SAP). In the other languages, including Wyandot, there is no such distinction.

Third, in Wendat transitives with dual patients (non-SAP:1,dl and non-SAP:2,dl) are distinct from those with plural patients (non-SAP:1,pl and non-SAP:2,pl). The other Lake languages have no such distinction.

These differences are shown in chart 101. Each distinction is again represented in a separate cell. The dotted lines in the Wyandot chart indicate categories found in Wyandot, Seneca, and Cayuga, but not Onondaga, Oneida, or Mohawk. The categories in the various languages again indicate that Wendat is innovative while Wyandot is conservative.

<i>We</i>	1 sg	1 dl	1 pl	2 sg	2 dl	2 pl
F.Z sg						
M sg						
F.I sg						
N.M dl						
N.M pl						
M dl						
M pl						

<i>Wy</i>	1 sg	1 dl	1 pl	2 sg	2 dl	2 pl
F.Z sg						
M sg						
F.I sg						
N.M dl						
N.M pl						
M dl						
M pl						

Chart 101: Wendat vs Wyandot: non-SAP:SAP Pronominal Categories

With the additional pronominal categories of Wendat being so much more extensive than those of Wyandot, which is quite close to proto-Lake Iroquoian, the differences need to be explained. One possibility is, assuming Wyandot to be modern Wendat, that Wendat innovated the extra categories and then Wyandot lost just those categories, returning to the Lake Iroquoian system. This is extremely unlikely. A second possibility is that the recordings of Wendat only dealt with innovating dialects, and that Wyandot is descended only from non-innovating dialects. As with using this explanation for the other differences between Wendat and Wyandot, a clearer and more extensive picture of the old Wendat dialect differences is necessary (but in progress, due to the work of Steckley). A fourth possibility is that the Wendat extensions are an artifact of fieldwork, not indicators of actual use, perhaps created merely to satisfy the inquisitive missionary. However, this does not explain why related languages, having undergone more intensive work, show no such parallels, or why the extensions show regular patterns instead of being ad hoc. The final possibility is that Wyandot is parallel to Wendat, not a descendant, both inheriting the Lake Iroquoian pronominal system. While Wyandot maintained the original categories, Wendat innovated.

On a final note about differences in pronominal categories, Barbeau (n.d), as well as his notes, indicate a distinction that does not appear in any other Iroquoian language, nor in the texts themselves. He indicates a dual versus plural patient distinction among the non-SAPs with the following agents: exclusive plural (1,EX,pl:non-SAP), inclusive plural (1,IN,pl:non-SAP), second dual (2,dl:non-SAP), second plural (2,pl:non-SAP), feminine-indefinite (FEM.IND:non-SAP), masculine non-singular (MASC,non.sg:non-SAP).

### 8.3 Lexicon

A valuable area for future research is a comparison of the Wendat and Wyandot lexicons. In some instances Wendat and Wyandot share a morpheme both with each other and with other Iroquoian languages:

(455) **-nq̄hš-**  
'house'

The root for 'house' is cognate in all Iroquoian languages, including Cherokee (where it has the meaning 'room').

Sometimes Wendat and Wyandot share a morpheme with each other that is not used in the other Lake Iroquoian languages.

(456) 'cook':  
Wendat:       **-yanhi-**  
Wyandot:     **-yanyq-**  
Mohawk:      **-khw-ɥni-**  
Seneca:       **-khw-qni-**  
Cayuga:       **-khw-qni-**

Here Wendat and Wyandot have monomorphemic cognates for 'cook', while Mohawk, Seneca, and Cayuga use a different construction, literally meaning 'make a meal'. Comparison of such examples between the Huronian and Five Nations branches of Northern Iroquoian can lead to a fuller understanding of the proto-language by revealing forms lost in one or the other branch.

There are also instances where Wendat and Wyandot do not share cognate forms.

- (457) 'sick':  
 Wendat: -iheyq-  
 Wyandot: -hšatur-  
 Seneca: -heyqʔta-yę-  
 Seneca: -nqhsotaiy-

The Wendat form for 'sick', *-iheyq-*, is not cognate with the Wyandot form, *-hšatur-*.<sup>110</sup>

However, cognates for both may be found in Seneca. The first Seneca example given is cognate with Wendat, while the second is cognate with Wyandot.

There are examples where more common Wendat and Wyandot terms are not cognate, but less common ones are. The Wendat root *-tsar-* and the Wyandot root *-Yęʔw-*, both meaning 'tobacco', are not cognate:

- (458) Wendat: ʔatsara  
 'tobacco'  
 Potier 1751:454

- (459) Wyandot: ǫmęʔmąʔ  
 uwęʔwah  
 u-Yęʔw-ah  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-tobacco-NOUN  
 'tobacco'  
 WD:NR:89

However, Wendat also shows a cognate word:

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<sup>110</sup>The Wyandot cognate, *-ihe-*, does share another meaning of the Wendat term: 'die, dead'.

(460) Wendat:       8en8a<sup>111</sup>  
                  'tobacco'

This less common form is cognate with Wyandot. More detailed lexical comparison can retrieve more cognates when the languages are assumed to lack them.

Finally, there are roots which differ between Wendat and Wyandot, but which have cognates elsewhere. The morphemes for 'hunt' are clearly unrelated:

(461) 'hunt':  
      Wendat:       -ator-  
      Wyandot:   -nęṛqti-

The Wendat form has cognates in the other Northern Iroquoian languages:

(462) 'hunt':  
      Mohawk:     -atorat-  
      Oneida:     -atolat-  
      Cayuga:     -atowat-  
      Seneca:     -atowæt-  
      Tuscarora: -aturat-<sup>112</sup>

None of these sheds any light on the Wyandot term. However, a cognate can be found in Cherokee, the most distantly related language:

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<sup>111</sup>This Wendat form supplied by Blair Rudes (p.c.).

<sup>112</sup>According to Rudes (1987), a partly-assimilated borrowing from one of the other languages.



(463) Cherokee:    -nóhli:to?  
                  'hunt'  
                  King 1975:250

The sound changes involved indicate that neither Cherokee nor Wyandot borrowed the term from the other. Thus, Wyandot inherited from Proto-Iroquoian a form lost in Wendat, without the adoption of the Wendat term.

A possible counter to the Wyandot and Cherokee forms being cognate is the ending of the Wyandot form *-nɛrɔti-* looking suspiciously like the verb *-ɔti-* 'pitch; throw'. That is, the verb looks as if it could be analyzed as *-nɛr-ɔti-* 'throw a *-nɛr-*'. However, there is no example of a noun containing *-nɛr-*. Even if *-nɛrɔti-* is diachronically *-nɛr-ɔti-*, that is, the verb *-ɔti-* 'pitch' incorporating a lost noun root, this does not affect the Cherokee cognate.

#### 8.4 Conclusion

With the various discrepancies between Wyandot and Wendat in diachronic phonology, pronominal prefixes, and lexicon, it is clear that the traditional assertion that Wyandot is descended from Wendat needs modification. Further work needs to be done comparing Wyandot with Wendat, as well as sorting out the Wendat dialects themselves. With more information it may be possible to decide whether Wyandot is truly modern Wendat (and explain the inconsistencies), or if Wyandot is descended from Wendat dialects unexamined by the Jesuit missionaries (and discover what they were), or if Wyandot is not Wendat at all, but Tionontati.

## Appendix A: Morpheme List

This section consists of a list of Wyandot morphemes and allomorphs. This is not intended to be either comprehensive, in giving all known information about a morpheme, or exhaustive, in giving all morphemes of Wyandot. Rather, it is a preliminary set of roots useful for comparative work, or for further research into Wyandot lexicography.

Each morpheme has its own line. First is the root itself, set off by hyphens if bound. Second is the part of speech in *italics* and parentheses. Last is the gloss. Allomorphs are referenced to the primary morpheme, which contains a list of allomorphs. Alphabetical order is: Ø a d e ě h i k n o r s š t u w y ž ?.

Following the Wyandot-English list is an English-Wyandot index.

## WYANDOT-ENGLISH ROOT LIST

Ø

**-Ø-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

**-Ø-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

a

**-a-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual

**-a-** (*suffix*) Joiner

**-a-** (*modal prefix*) Factual

**-a-** (*suffix*) Noun Suffix

**-a-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

**-a-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

**-a-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-a-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Patient

**-a:-** (*modal prefix*) Optative

**-aʔ-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Negative anteprenominal prefixominal

**aʔ** (*particle*) Negative particle

**-ad-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Dual Agent

**adyah** (*particle*) nowhere; elsewhere; not here; past; extinct; gone

**-ah-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual

**-ah-** (*suffix*) Noun Suffix

**-ahkerq-** (*verb*) be scared; frightened

**-ahki?w-** (*verb*) scout; be on a war expedition

**-ahkqt-** (*verb*) begin

**-ahqht-** (*noun*) ear

**-ahs-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual

**-ahsqt-** (*noun*) night

Allomorphs: **-ahsqt-**, **-sqt-**

**ahše?** (*particle*) it is; it must be; as if

**-ahšę-** See (w)ahšę ten

**-ahšęh-** See (ah)šęh(k) three

**(ah)šęh(k)** (*particle*) three

Allomorphs: **-ahšęh-**, **-ahšęhk-**, **-šęhk-**

**(ah)šęnqh** (*particle*) middle; half

**-ahši?t-** (*noun*) foot

**-aht-** (*noun*) sugar tree

**-ahtq-** (*verb*) lose; be lost

**-ai-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Dual Agent

**ak-** See **-at-** Semireflexive

**-akahk-** See **-akaht-** see

**-akahsaru-** (*verb*) watch

**-akahsaru-** See **-akahsaru-** watch

**-akaht-** (*verb*) see; look (out)

Allomorphs: **-akahk-**, **-akaht-**

**-akənyatq-** (*verb*) peep

**-aki-** (*verb*) be with power; be with witchery; have witch power; have magic power; be a witch; gifted with (power); supernatural power; good and bad monsters; manitous; guardian spirits

**-aky-** See **-ati-** pitch

**-akyaʔkyenq-** See **-at-Yaʔt-Yenq-** lie down

**-akyaʔtadist-** See **-at-Yaʔt-a-dist-** depend on

**-akye** (*suffix*) Progressive

**-akyə-** See **-at-Yə-** sit down

**-an-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Dual Agent

**-any-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural Agent

**anyqnyəʔ** (*noun*) bear

**aqwaʔ** (*particle*) herself; himself; itself

**-arahskw-** (*verb*) go; go out; go home; go away; start; return; come home

**-araht-** (*verb*) run

**-araʔse-** (*verb*) (be) cousin(s)

**araʔyəhəʔ** (*particle*) more

**-arətə-** (*verb*) cry (out)

**-arita-** (*verb*) bite

**-arq-** (*verb*) hear

**aste** (*particle*) outside

**-at-** (*reflexive prefix*) Semireflexive

Allomorphs: ak-, at-, k-, t-

**-atadihskw-** (*verb*) race; run a race

**-at-a-diy-a-ht-** (*verb*) follow

**-atahkwa-** (*verb*) draw (out)

**-atahse-** (*verb*) hide

**atak-** See **-atat-** Reflexive

**-atakya-** (*verb*) talk; converse

**-at-arqtq-** (*verb*) ask; inquire (enquire)

**-atat-** (*reflexive prefix*) Reflexive

Allomorphs: atak-, atat-, tak-, tat-

**-atate-** (*reflexive prefix*) Reflexive

Allomorphs: atate-, tate-

**-ataʔt-** (*verb*) trade; exchange

**-ataʔtsure-** (*verb*) gather close

**-ate-** (*reflexive prefix*) Semireflexive

Allomorphs: -ate-, te-

**-ate-** See **-ate(y)-** burn

**-atehstəh** (*verb*) come down

**-atek-** See **-ate(y)-** burn

**-ate-kw-ihšə-** (*verb*) eat

**-ate(y)-** (*verb*) burn; set fire

Allomorphs: **-ate-**, **-atek-**, **-atey-**

**-ateʔdar-** (*noun*) spear; sword

**-ateʔšrat-** (*verb*) draw back

**-ateʔw-** (*verb*) run; run away; run off; run from; flee; escape; get away

**-atə-** (*reflexive prefix*) Semireflexive

Allomorphs: **atə-**, **tə-**

**-atə-** (*verb*) be left behind; remain

**-atədutə-** (*verb*) speak; tell; notify; talk; say; report

**-atəŋərəʔ** (*verb*) uncle; be uncle to

**-at-əru-** (*verb*) be friends; become friends; befriend; friendship

**-atətsi-** (*verb*) thick; deep; strong

**-atəʔny-** (*verb*) cook

**-ati-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-ati-** (*verb*) other side

**-ati-** (*verb*) throw; pitch

Allomorphs: **-aky-**, **-ati-**

**-ati[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-atirqtę-** (*verb*) pull; draw  
**-ati[ǰ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent  
**ati?** (*particle*) then; ever; it is; it was  
**-atq-** (*verb*) say  
**-atq-** See **-Yatq-** eat  
**-atqharę-** (*verb*) befall  
**-atqhk-** (*verb*) shoot; stick around or across  
**-at-qreħšahsta?** (*verb*) be hungry; get hungry  
**-atqtarę-** (*verb*) glad  
**-atqwę-** (*verb*) tired  
**atq?węsq** (*verb*) thank  
**-atra-** (*verb*) meet  
**-atra?skw-** (*noun*) dream; luck; fortune  
**-at-rihw-** (*noun*) agreement  
**-at-rihw-ahš-** (*verb*) angry; mad; fierce  
**-atrižeri-** (*verb*) believe  
**-atrqny-** (*verb*) speak; converse; talk together  
**-atsih-** See **-Yatsih** name  
**-atu-** north  
**atuyę?** (*noun*) axe  
**-at-Ya?t-a-dist-** (*verb*) depend on; depend upon



Allomorphs: -akyaʔtadist-

-at-Yaʔt-Yenq- (*verb*) lie down

Allomorphs: -akyaʔkyenq-

-at-Ye- (*verb*) sit down

Allomorphs: -akye-

-aw- (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural Agent

-aw- (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Patient

-awa- (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural Agent

awetiʔ (*particle*) all

-aw[ɛ]- (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural Agent

-awɛ- (*verb*) happen

-awɛ- (*verb*) have; have got; own

-awihš- strength

-ay- (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

-ay- (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

-ayaw- (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Patient

-ayay- (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Third Non-Singular

-aye- (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

-aye- (*verb*) [be a number or amount]

aye- See waye- First Singular Patient

-ay[ɛ]- (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

- ayę-** See **-(Ya)yę-** go out
- ayęh** (*particle*) so; thus
- ayu-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Patient
- ay[u]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Patient
- ayu[w]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Patient
- až-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Dual Agent
- až-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural Agent
- a[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- aža-** (*noun*) fruit
- ažaʔ-** See **-Yažaʔ** cross
- aʔ-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual
- aʔ-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual
- aʔ-** (*modal prefix*) Factual
- aʔ-** (*suffix*) Noun Suffix
- aʔa-** (*verb*) shoot
- aʔe-** See **-(w)aʔe-** hit
- aʔęd-** (*noun*) bow
- aʔęn-** (*noun*) bow
- aʔ-k-** (*modal prefix*) Factual-Dualic
- aʔk-** See **-Yaʔ(k)-** break
- aʔk-** See **-Yaʔt-** body

**-aʔkw-** (*verb*) stay overnight

**-aʔšr-** (*noun*) axe

**-aʔšr-** (*noun*) dam

**-aʔt-** See **-Yaʔt-** body

**-aʔtatqhs-** See **-aʔtatqhš-** basket

**-aʔtatqhš-** (*noun*) basket

Allomorphs: **-aʔtatqhs-**, **-aʔtatqhš-**

**-aʔ-te-** (*modal prefix*) Factual-Dualic

**aʔtereʔ** (*particle*) eight

**-aʔtqti-** (*verb*) leave (behind)

**-aʔtuʔte-** see **-Yaʔt-uʔte-** be transformed

**-aʔuh** thing

**aʔyaʔtutę** (*particle*) always

## **d**

**-d-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Substantivizer

**-d-** (*prenominal prefix*) Partitive

**-d-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Dual Agent

**-d-** (*suffix*) Benefactive

**-d-** (*suffix*) Dislocative

**-d-a-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Factual

**-d-a:-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Optative  
**-da-** (*noun*) river  
**da** (*particle*) the; that; just; who  
**daenq** (*particle*) maybe  
**dae?** (*particle*) that; that one  
**-dah-** (*verb*) spoil  
**daizuh** (*particle*) because  
**-dare-** (*verb*) live; inhabit; exist; reside; home; dwell  
**dasayanə?** (*noun*) Delaware people  
**-dat-** (*noun*) camp; village; town  
**dawahka** (*particle*) a little while  
**-dawe?t** (*verb*) brother and sister-in-law; cousins-in-law  
**-dawə-** (*verb*) warm  
**-dayə-** (*noun*) door; doorway  
**-d-a?-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Factual  
**da?** (*particle*) that  
**-da?ar-** (*noun*) horn  
**-d-a?-t-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Factual-Dual  
**-da?tar-** (*noun*) bread  
**-da?-te-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Partitive-Dual  
**-da?ts-** (*noun*) kettle

- daʔura-** (*verb*) be able (to do)
- daʔw-** (*noun*) cotton; liver
- daʔwat-** (*verb*) dig (a hole)
- de-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Substantive
- de** (*particle*) Substantive
- deh-** (*noun*) Locative
- dehkw-** (*noun*) liquid
- dehkw-** (*verb*) swallow
- dehšr-** (*noun*) flannel
- dehšu-** (*noun*) hell; underground
- deht-** (*noun*) pine tree
- dehtqtaʔ** (*noun*) turkey
- deraw-** (*verb*) be astonished; wonderful
- derəh** (*verb*) peeled
- dew-** (*noun*) fur
- deʔny-** (*noun*) year
- di-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Partitive
- di-** (*suffix*) Benefactive
- dih-** (*verb*) borrow
- dihšr-** (*noun*) sun
- dinq-** (*verb*) buy; purchase; trade; sell

- dinyçht-** (*noun*) snow; white
- dinyqht-** (*verb*) hang; hitch
- di-s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Partitive-Repetitive
- dišr-** (*noun*) gift; power; charm
- di-t-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Partitive-Cislocative
- diy-** (*verb*) close (together)

Allomorphs: -diy-, -tiy-

- diyq-** See -(?)diyq(r)- sense
- diyqr-** See -(?)diyq(r)- sense
- d-i?** (*particle*) me
- draht-** (*noun*) leaf
- draw-** (*verb*) dance; sing
- dre-** (*verb*) tie
- du** (*particle*) that; the; a
- du-** (*verb*) be cold; get cold
- durq-** (*verb*) difficult; valuable
- durq?** (*verb*) tired
- dušr-** (*noun*) skin robe
- d-u:sa-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Optative.Repetitive
- d-usa-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Repetitive.Factual
- d-u:se-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Optative.Repetitive

- dut-** (*noun*) charm; magic; power
- d-uta-** (*modal prefix*) Partitive-Optative.Cislocative
- duʔa-** (*verb*) be a stepson; his stepfather; his stepmother
- duʔt-** (*noun*) charm; magic; power
- duʔwɛ-** (*noun*) mother
- dwɛʔt-** (*noun*) bag
- dwɛʔy-** (*noun*) blood
- dwir-** (*noun*) tree
- dy-** (*verb*) howl
- dya-** (*verb*) chase; follow
- dya-** See **-(ʔ)dya-** eat
- dyah-** (*noun*) soup; corn soup
- dyak-** See **-dyay-** marry
- dyar-** (*noun*) tail
- dyara-** (*verb*) help
- dyaruʔt-** (*noun*) canoe; boat; trough; hollowed out
- dyay-** (*verb*) marry; get married; married; live together

Allomorphs: **-dyak-**, **-dyay-**

- dyaʔt-** (*verb*) call
- dyaʔwiʃ** (*noun*) turtle
- dyeʔʃr-** (*verb*) sit up; sit upon; be on

**-dyeʔr-** (*noun*) skirt

**-dyuhkw-** (*noun*) smallpox

**e**

**-e-** (*modal prefix*) Future

**-e-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent

**-e-** (*verb*) go; come; get away; walk

**-e-** See **-Ye-** do

**-eda-** See **-Yeda-** catch

**-eh-** See **-Yeh-** wake up

**-che-** (*verb*) think; want; desire

**-ehq-** (*verb*) think; want; desire

**-ehša-** (*verb*) spoil; decay

**-ehst-** (*noun*) bark

**-e-k-** (*modal prefix*) Future-Cislocative

**-enq-** See **-Yenq-** fall

**-eraʔt-** See **-Yera-ʔt-** use

**-eri-** See **-Yeri-** cure

**-erine-** (*verb*) want; go to; be about to

**-erq-** See **-Yerq-** trick

**-e-s-** (*modal prefix*) Future-Repetitive



**-e-sa-** (*modal prefix*) Future-Repetitive

**esa-** See **-Yesa-** Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Second Singular

**-e-tsi-** (*modal prefix*) Future-Repetitive

**-etsi-** (*verb*) long; tall; high; thick

**-etsikeʔtr-** (*verb*) sprinkle at arm's length

**-eʔs-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual

## ɛ

**-[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine Indefinite Agent

**-ɛ-** (*reflexive prefix*) Semireflexive

**-ɛ-** (*suffix*) Inchoative

**-ɛ-** See **-(w)ɛ-** say

**-ɛ-** See **-Yɛ(ta)-** have

**-ɛd-** (*reflexive prefix*) Semireflexive

**ɛdahk** (*particle*) four

**-ɛdaʔskw-** (*verb*) jump

**-ɛdya-** See **-Yɛdya-** beat

**-ɛh-** (*aspect suffix*) Stative

**-ɛhe-** (*verb*) think; want; desire

**-ɛhq-** (*verb*) think; want; desire

**-ɛkw-** See **-Yɛkw-** plant

- ęr-** (*noun*) moss
- ęśr-** See **-Yęśr-** skin
- ęt-** (*noun*) day
- ęt-** See **-Yęt-** have
- ęt-** See **-Yęt-** stick
- ęta-** See **-Yę(ta)-** have
- ę-te-** (*modal prefix*) Future-Cislocative
- ęteri-** See **-Yęteri-** know
- ętu-** (*verb*) grow up; mother; raise

## g

- gqh-** (*noun*) hide; skin; blood [N.B. see 2.10 *Further Notes on g*]

## h

- h-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual
- h-** (*aspect suffix*) Purposive
- h-** (*aspect suffix*) Stative
- h-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular acting on Third Masculine Singular
- h-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Agent
- ha-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual
- ha-** (*attributive suffix*) Diminutive

- h-a-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Factual
- ha-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Agent
- ha-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Patient
- həʔrə** (*particle*) only; just
- h-ae-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Optative
- hah-** (*noun*) road; trail
- hahš-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on First Singular
- hahšə-** (*noun*) council
- hək-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Exclusive Plural acting on Masculine Singular
- haqwaʔah** (*particle*) himself
- harət-** (*verb*) hollow
- harh-** (*noun*) woods; forest
- has-** (*suffix*) Benefactive
- hati-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hati[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hati[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hatqwaʔtadiʔ** (*noun*) Pottawatomie
- haw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on First Singular
- haw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Patient
- hawa-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural acting on Masculine Non-Singular
- hawi-** (*verb*) carry; take; bring

**-hay-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on First Singular

Allomorphs: **haž-**

**-haye-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on First Singular

**-hayq-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular

**-hayq[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular

**-hayq[w]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular

**-hayqw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular

**-hayq[w]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Feminine-Indefinite Singular

**-hayqw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Feminine-Indefinite Singular

**haž-** See **-hay-** Masculine Singular acting on First Singular

**-haʔ-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual

**-haʔ-t-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Translocative-Dualic

**-haʔt-** (*verb*) fool; cheat; outwit

**-haʔ-ta-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Factual.Dualic

**-haʔ-te-tsi-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Translocative-Dualic-Repetitive

**-haʔ-t-usa-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Dualic-Repetitive.Factual

**-h-e-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Future

**-he-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Translocative

**-he-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Masculine Singular

**-he-** (*suffix*) Dislocative

**-he-(h)s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Translocative-Repetitive

Allomorphs: **hehs-**, **hes-**

- hehse-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hehskw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Plural
- hehskw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural acting on Masculine Singular
- hehskwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Plural
- hehskwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural acting on Masculine Singular
- hehš-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hehša-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hehše-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hehtsi-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Dual
- hehtsi-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual acting on Masculine Singular
- hehtsi[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Dual
- hehtsi[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual acting on Masculine Singular
- hekw-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural acting on Masculine Singular
- hekwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural acting on Masculine Singular
- her-** (*noun*) stalk
- hes-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Second Singular
- hes-** See **-he-(h)s-** Translocative-Repetitive
- hesa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular
- hesa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Second Singular
- he-š-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Translocative-Repetitive

- h-e-tsi-** (*modal prefix*) Translocative-Future-Repetitive
- he?**- (*prepronominal prefix*) Translocative
- h[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Agent
- hɛd-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hɛn-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hi-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hi-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Dual Agent
- hk** (*suffix*) Past
- hkar-** (*noun*) chip; root; wood
- hkɛnye?** (*verb*) younger
- hkɔt-** See **-(Ya)hkɔt-** hang
- hkw-** (*suffix*) Instrumental
- hkw-** (*verb*) take; take from; take away; pick up
- hkwe-sɛhuʒah** (*noun*) prairie chicken
- h[q]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Plural Agent
- hq-** (*suffix*) Distributive
- hqhr-** (*noun*) quill; feather
- hqhšr-** (*noun*) board
- hqnyq-** (*suffix*) Distributive
- hqw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hqwa-** (*noun*) canoe

- hqwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hqwati-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular
- hqw[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Singular
- hoye-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on First Singular
- hs-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual
- hs-** (*aspect suffix*) Perfect Plural
- hsa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Patient
  - Allomorphs: hsa-, sa-
- hsayu-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Third Non-Masculine
  - Allomorphs: -sayu-
- (h)sk-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on First Singular
  - Allomorphs: hsk-, sk-
- hsk-** (*suffix*) Undoer
- (h)ske-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on First Singular
  - Allomorphs: hske-, ske-
- hskuʔt-** (*noun*) head
- (h)skwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural acting on First Singular
  - Allomorphs: hskwa-, skwa-
- hskwahe-** (*verb*) hate; dislike
- hskwir-** (*noun*) switch
- hskyq-** (*verb*) love; make love

**-hsqi-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on First Dual

**-(h)st-** (*suffix*) Inchoative

Allomorphs: **-hst**, **-st**

**-hstat-** (*verb*) dry; dried

**-hsti-** (*noun*) monster

**-hš-** (*suffix*) Nominalizer

**-hš-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Agent

Allomorphs: **-š-**

**-hš-** (*suffix*) Dislocative

**-hš-** (*verb*) kill; slay; slaughter

**-hšatę-** (*verb*) ride (on horseback)

**-hšatu-** See **-hšatu(r)-** sick

**-hšatu(r)-** (*verb*) sick; ill

Allomorphs: **-hšatu-**, **-hšatur-**

**-hše-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on First Singular

**-hše-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Agent

Allomorphs: **hše-**, **še-**

**-hše?** (*verb*) ride (on horseback)

**-hšę-** (*verb*) eat

**-hšęd-** (*noun*) name

**-hšęhšr-** (*noun*) feast



**-hšqnyq-** (*suffix*) Distributive

**-hšr-** (*suffix*) Nominalizer

**-(hšr-)qdi-** (*verb*) make; fix; build

Allomorphs: **-hšrqdi-**, **-hšrqdy-**, **-qdi-**, **-qdy-**

**-hšuta?** (*noun*) grandmother; grandfather

**-ht-** (*suffix*) Causative

**-ht-** (*suffix*) Instrumental

**-htar-** (*noun*) clan

**-htawahte?** (*verb*) give up

**-hu-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular acting on Third Masculine Singular

Patient

**-h[u]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Patient

**-hu-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Patient

**-hud-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-huhta-** (*verb*) land

**-hun-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**hunyqt** (*noun*) deer charm

**-h-u:sa-** (*modal prefix*) Transitive-Optative.Repetitive

**-huti-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-huti[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-huti[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient

- i-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent
- i-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Dual Agent
- ih-** (*aspect suffix*) Stative
- iha-** (*verb*) shout; scold; raise one's voice
- ihaq-** (*verb*) say; tell; answer; ask; reply
- ihe-** (*verb*) die
- ihq-** (*verb*) say; tell; answer; ask; reply
- ihša-** See **-ihša(k)-** look for
- ihša(k)-** (*verb*) look for; hunt for
- Allomorphs: **-ihša-**, **-ihšak-**
- iht-** (*noun*) field; ground; prairie
- ikwar-** (*noun*) quilt; garment; clothes; apparel
- ikyuhkw-** (*noun*) crowd; party; herd
- i[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Dual Agent
- ir-** (*verb*) drink
- iriš** (*noun*) lion
- itarah-** (*verb*) fall
- itaʔw-** (*verb*) sleep
- itrah** (*verb*) put in; put on; go in
- its-** (*noun*) fish

**-iža?** (*verb*) cross; (go) across

**-ižu-** (*verb*) good

**-i?**- See **-i?t-** excrement

**-i?ešr-** (*verb*) drag

**-i?kar-** (*noun*) flank; loin

**-i?t-** (*noun*) excrement

Allomorphs: **-i?-, -i?t-**

**-i?tar-** (*verb*) lie; be lying

**-i?trq-** (*verb*) live; sit; lay down; set; lay in

**-i?trqta-** (*verb*) jump

## k

**-k-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Cislocative

**k-** See **-at-** Semireflexive

**-ka-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Cislocative

**ka-** See **-ya-** Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**kahše-** See **-yahše-** Second Singular acting on Third Non-Singular

**-kahsk-** (*verb*) divide; make a division; part; separate

**-kar-** (*noun*) eye

**-karidyewih** (*verb*) gaze upon; look

**-kaža-** See **-yaža-** eat

- kažat-** (*verb*) bother; trouble
- kaʔ-** (*attributive suffix*) Characterizer
- ke-** See **-ye-** First Singular Agent
- ketq̄hskwaʔyeh** (*noun*) toad
- keṇeʔ** (*suffix*) Past
- ki-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Second Dual
- kq̄-** See **-yq̄-** First Singular acting on Second Singular
- kq̄-** See **-yq̄-** in
- kqhš-** See **-yqhš-** face
- kqres-** See **-yqres-** hand
- kqw-** See **-yqw-** First Singular acting on Second Singular
- kuwa-** (*attributive suffix*) Augmentative
- kw-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural Agent
- kwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural Agent
- kwaʔ** (*suffix*) Past
- kw[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural Agent
- kwist-** (*noun*) metal
- kwistur-** (*noun*) scale
- ky-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Dual Agent
- ky-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Plural Agent
- ky-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Second Dual

**-kyar-** (*noun*) wall bag

**kyeadi?** (*particle*) more

**kyu?dyets-** (*noun*) snake

**n**

**-n-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Temporal

**-n-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Dual Agent

**na** (*particle*) Temporal

**-narihskw-** (*noun*) wolf

**ne** (*particle*) the; that; now

**ne?** (*particle*) now; then; that

**-neḥ-** (*noun*) (grain of) corn

**-neḥskw-** (*verb*) steal

Allomorphs: **-neḥskw-**, **-teḥskw-**

**-neḥst-** (*noun*) seed

**-neṛoḳy-** See **-neṛoṭi-** hunt

**-neṛoṭi-** (*verb*) hunt; go hunting

Allomorphs: **-neṛoḳy-**, **-neṛoṭi-**

**-neṣṣoḳ-** (*verb*) turn over

**-neṣwa-** (*noun*) son-in-law

**-neṣ?** (*noun*) hair

**-nɛʔ** (*suffix*) Past

**-nɛʔɛ-** (*noun*) mother

**-nɔ-** (*suffix*) Distributive

**-nɔdehk-** (*noun*) dirt

**-nɔhkw-** (*noun*) medicine

**-nɔhs-** See **-nɔhš-** house

**-nɔhš-** (*noun*) house

Allomorphs: **-nɔhs-**, **-nɔhš-**

**-nɔht-** (*verb*) give

**-nɔhtɔʔ** (*verb*) get tired waiting

**-nɔhw-** (*verb*) be fond of; like

**-nɔnyɔ-** (*suffix*) Distributive

**-nɔr-** (*noun*) scalp

**-nɔtr-akye-** (*verb*) follow (behind)

**-[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

**-ny-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-nyɛdihš-** (*verb*) finish; complete; accomplish; be through

**-nyɛhti-** (*verb*) young

**-nyɛkw-** See **-Yɛkw-** plant

**-nyɛnɔh** (*noun*) dog

**-nyɛt-** See **-Yɛt-** stick

- nyęteri-** See **-Yęteri-** know
- nyęwih** (*verb*) know how
- nyq-** (*verb*) White
- nyq-** See **-Yq-** arrive
- nyqde-** (*verb*) take (along); bring
- nyqhš-** (*noun*) pumpkin

## Q

- [q]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent
- [q]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent
- q-** See **-Yq-** arrive
- qd-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient
- qdaq-** (*verb*) live (at); home
- qdi-** See **-(hšr- )qdi-** make
- qdu-** (*verb*) rain
- qdy-** See **-(hšr- )qdi-** make
- qi-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient
- qi[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient
- qi[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient
- qki-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on First Non-Singular
- qky-** See **-qti-** pitch

**-qkye-** (*verb*) travel

**-qn-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient

**-qny-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Dual Patient

**-qny-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Plural Patient

**-qnyq-** (*suffix*) Distributive

**-qredi-** (*verb*) starve

**-qt-** (*verb*) tie; fasten; hold (*office*)

**-qtar-** (*noun*) lake

**-qte-** (*verb*) be alive; life

**-qti-** (*verb*) pitch; throw; abandon; toss

Allomorphs: **-qky-**, **-qti-**

**-qtah** (*verb*) put in; put on; go in

**-qw-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Plural Patient

**-qwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Plural Patient

**-qwe-** (*noun*) person

**-qwe-hskw-** (*verb*) like

**-qw[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Plural Patient

**-qwɛts-** (*noun*) land; country

**-qye-** (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on First Singular

**-qʔ-** (*aspect suffix*) Stative

**qʔw-** this way



**r**

**-r-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Singular Agent

**-r-** (*verb*) put away; keep; take

**-ra-** (*noun*) bag

**-rahk-** (*noun*) sun

**-rahka-** (*verb*) try; measure

**-rahkw-** (*verb*) put in; hold up

**-rašruʔte-** (*verb*) pile up

**-rate-** (*verb*) climb

**-raʔto-** (*verb*) fletch; feather; trim; fix feather

**-raʔtu-** useless

**-re-** (*verb*) do

**-re-** (*verb*) walk

**-reda-** (*noun*) rock (wall); stone wall; cave

**-rewa-** (*verb*) tell; reprimand

**-reʔs-** (*noun*) bean

**-re-** (*verb*) put (in)

**-reḏ-** (*noun*) trap

**-reḏ-** (*verb*) sing; song

**-reḥ-** (*noun*) treetop

**-reḥs-** (*noun*) string (of a bow)

**-reṇ-** (*noun*) song

**-rhe-** (*verb*) next day; dawn

**-rhi-** (*noun*) tree

**-rihqdy-** See **-rihw-qdi-** reason

**-rihš-** See **-rihšr-** legging

**-rihšr-** (*noun*) legging

Allomorphs: **-rihš-**, **-rihšr-**

**-rihw-** (*noun*) law; word; custom; thing; reason; office

**-rihw-qdi-** (*complex*) reason

Allomorphs: **-rihqdy-**

**-rise-** (*verb*) spill

**-(ri)žu-** (*verb*) kill

Allomorphs: **-rižu-**, **-žu-**

**-rižuht-** (*noun*) stone

**-rq-** (*suffix*) Distributive

**-rqh-** (*noun*) sky

**-rqhny-** (*noun*) sky

**-rqk-** See **-rqt-** log

**-rqt-** (*noun*) log; tree

Allomorphs: **-rqk-**, **-rqt-**

**-rqw-** (*verb*) remove; take off; undo; peel; come off; skin; tear down

**-runq-** (*attributive suffix*) Populative

**S**

**-s-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual

**-s-** (*noun*) bowl; tray

**-s-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Repetitive

**-s-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Agent

**-s-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Patient

**-s-a-** (*modal prefix*) Repetitive-Factual

**sa-** See **-hsa-** Second Singular Patient

**-sat-** smoke

**sayu-** See **-hsayu-** Masculine Singular acting on Third Non-Masculine

**-saʔw-** (*noun*) feather

**-se-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Patient

**-senɛʔ-** (*noun*) domestic

**-seʔt-** (*noun*) bottle; quart; pint

**-s[ɛ]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular Patient

**-sk-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Repetitive

**sk-** See **-(h)sk-** Second Singular acting on First Singular

**skat** (*particle*) one; once

**ske-** See **-(h)ske-** Second Singular acting on First Singular

**skenq̄t̄q̄?** (*noun*) deer

**-ski-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural acting on First Singular

**-skw-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural

**-skwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural

**skwa-** See **-(h)skwa-** Second Plural acting on First Singular

**-skw[ę]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural

**-sq-** (*verb*) drop

**-sqt-** See **-ahsqt-** night

**sqwaʔah** (*particle*) yourself

**-st-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual

**-st-** (*suffix*) Causative

**-st** See **-(h)st-** Inchoative

**-š-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Repetitive

**š-** See **-hš-** Second Singular Agent

**-ša-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Coincident

**-šaʔ-te-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Coincident-Dual

**-še-** (*suffix*) Benefactive

**še-** See **-hše-** Second Singular Agent

**-še-t-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Coincident-Cislocative

**šedarh** (*particle*) already

**-šęhk-** See **(ah)šęh(k)** three

**-ši-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Distal

**ših** (*particle*) Distal

**-š-qtā-** (*modal prefix*) Coincident-Cislocative.Factual

**-šr-** (*suffix*) Nominalizer

## t

**-t-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Cislocative

**-t-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Dual Agent

**-t-** (*verb*) stand; hold

**t-** See **-at-** Semireflexive

**-ta-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Negative

**-ta-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on First Singular

**-ta-** (*verb*) hire; employ

**-t-a:-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Optative

**tā ?āh** (*particle*) no; not

**-tahkw-** (*verb*) go round

**tak-** See **-atat-** Reflexive

**-take-** (*verb*) run; run away; run back; run about; run up; go around

**-tar-** (*noun*) clan

**-tariḩ-** (*verb*) warm

**-tase-** (*verb*) go around

**tat-** See **-atat-** Reflexive

**tate-** See **-atate-** Reflexive

**-ta-te-k-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Contrastive-Dual-Cislocative

**-taye-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on First Singular

**-t-a?-** (*modal prefix*) Contrastive-Factual

**-ta?-te-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Contrastive-Dual

**-ta?-te-s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Contrastive-Dual-Repetitive

**-t-e-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Future

**-te-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Dualic

**-te-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Negative

**te-** See **-ate-** Semireflexive

**-tedi-** (*verb*) change

Allomorphs: **-tedi-**, **-teny-**

**-te-(h)s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Dualic-Repetitive

**-te-(h)s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Negative-Repetitive

**-te-k-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Dualic-Cislocative

**-teny-** See **-tedi-** change

**-t-e-s-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Future-Repetitive

**tes-** See **-te-(h)s-** Dualic-Repetitive

**tes-** See **-te-(h)s-** Negative-Repetitive

**-te-ts-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Dualic-Repetitive

**-te-ts-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Negative-Repetitive

**-t-e-tsi-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Future-Repetitive

Allomorphs: tetsi-

**-te-tsi-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Negative-Repetitive

**-te-usa-** (*modal prefix*) Negative-Optative.Repetitive

**-te-uta-** (*modal prefix*) Negative-Optative.Cislocative

**-teʔ-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Negative

**-te-ʔš-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Negative-Repetitive

**-teʔt-** (*verb*) pound corn; grind corn

**-teʔ-** (*verb*) stop

**teʔ-** See **-ateʔ-** Semireflexive

**-teʔhskw-** See **-neʔhskw-** steal

**-teʔhtr-** (*verb*) lie; fall

**-teʔr-** (*noun*) fort; fortress; palisade

**-ti-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Cislocative

**-ti-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Inclusive Dual Agent

**tiɛhsqʔ** (*noun*) hawk

**-ti-s-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Contrastive-Repetitive

**-ti-š-** (*prepronominal prefix complex*) Contrastive-Repetitive

**tiwaʔ** (*particle*) that much; as much

**-tiy-** See **-diy-** close

**tižuh** (*particle*) like; that way; always  
**-tqr-** (*noun*) hair  
**-tre-** (*noun*) grandchild  
**trqdi?** (*particle*) much; very; still more  
**-ts-** (*prepronominal prefix*) Repetitive  
**-ts-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual  
**-ts-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural  
**tsawəhuhı?** (*noun*) eagle  
**-tsə-** (*verb*) cure; doctor  
**-tsə-** (*verb*) dip  
**-tsəht-** (*verb*) eat; feed  
**-tsi-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual  
**-tsidwar-** (*noun*) green; gold  
**-tsike?t-** (*noun*) sugar  
**tsi-nəkəʔa** (*noun*) porcupine  
**tsi-nəʔtqʔ?** (*noun*) fox  
**-tsi[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual  
**-tsirut-** (*verb*) closed (in); close; stop up  
**-tsista-** (*noun*) coal  
**-tsi[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Dual  
**-tsiʔts-** (*noun*) flower



**tsutare?** (*particle*) seven

**tsu?tahi?** (*noun*) beaver

**-tu-** (*anteprenominal prefix*) Remote

**tu** (*particle*) Remote

**-tu-** (*verb*) find out; realize; know; understand; be aware

**-tu-** See **-tu(w)-** door

**tudi?** (*particle*) also

**-tuhkw-** (*verb*) foretell

**tukwežakweh** (*noun*) raccoon

**tunəh** (*particle*) then

**-t-us-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Repetitive.Factual

**-t-u:sa-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Optative.Repetitive

**-t-usa-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Repetitive.Factual

**-t-u:se-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Optative.Repetitive

**-t-use-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Repetitive.Factual

**-t-ut-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Cislocative.Factual

**-t-u:ta-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Optative.Cislocative

**-t-ute-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Cislocative.Factual

**-t-utu-** (*modal prefix*) Dualic-Cislocative.Factual

**-tu(w)-** (*noun*) door

Allomorphs: **-tu-**, **-tuw-**

**-tuyę-** (*verb*) certainly; it is so; sure; surely

**-tuyę-** (*verb*) know; have knowledge

## u

**-u-** (*modal prefix*) Optative

**-[u]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-u-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Patient

**-[u]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Patient

**-u-** (*verb*) throw into water; drop into water; go into water; get into water

**-ud-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-uhare-** (*verb*) wash

**-uhkw-** (*verb*) swallow

**-u(h)se-** (*modal prefix*) Optative.Repetitive

Allomorphs: **-use-**

**-uhš-** See **-uhš(r)-** winter

**-uhš(r)-** winter

Allomorphs: **-uhš-**, **-uhšr-**

**-uhtę-** (*verb*) kind; purpose

**-un-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-urę-** (*verb*) find (out)

**-uri-** (*verb*) cover; wear

**-uri-** See **-už-** drive

**-usa-** (*modal prefix*) Optative.Repetitive

Allomorphs: **usa-**

**use-** See **-u(h)se-** Optative.Repetitive

**-ut-** (*verb*) stick up; stick (out)

**-uta-** (*modal prefix*) Optative.Cislocative

**-utaw-** (*verb*) pull; pull off

**-uti-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-uti[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-uti[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient

**-uwanę-** (*verb*) large; big; great; vast; long

**-uwaʔ** (*verb*) cut

**-(u)yaʔt-** (*verb*) rub

Allomorphs: **-uyaʔt-**, **-yaʔt-**

**-už-** (*verb*) drive; chase

Allomorphs: **-uri-**, **-už-**

**-už-** (*verb*) play

**-uʔtę-** (*verb*) kind; purpose

## **w**

**-w-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-w-** (*suffix*) Causative

**-w-** (*suffix*) Undoer

**-w-** (*verb*) take; carry

**-wa-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

**-wa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**(w)ahšę** (*particle*) ten

Allomorphs: **-ahšę-**, **-wahšę-**

**-wahst-** (*verb*) good; safe; fine; pretty

**-wahts-** (*noun*) meat

**-wanę-** (*verb*) large

**-wa[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

**-wati-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-wati[ny]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-wati[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-way-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

**-waya-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

**-waye-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

Allomorphs: **waye-**, **-aye-**

**-wa[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient

**-(w)a?e-** (*verb*) hit; beat; splash; whip

Allomorphs: **-a?e-**, **-wa?e-**

- waʔk- See -Yaʔt- body
- waʔt- See -Yaʔt- body
- waʔtayu- (*noun*) Cherokee; (under)ground; cave
- waʔtuʔ (*particle*) next; once more; once again; next time
- wed- (*noun*) land; country; island
- weda- See -Yeda- catch
- wehsaʔdih- See -Yehsaʔdih widow
- wehskwa- See -Yehskwa- laugh
- wer- See -Yer- do
- wera- See -Yera- clothing
- weraʔt- See -Yera-ʔt- use
- weri- See -Yeri- cure
- werq- See -Yerq- trick
- wey- (*noun*) marry; spouse; wife; husband; live (together)
- wey- (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient
- weye- (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Patient
- (w)ę- (*verb*) say
- Allomorphs: -ę-, -wę-
- węd- (*noun*) voice; word; desire
- węd- (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent
- wędyeri- (*verb*) be willing; content; consent; accept

**-wɛn-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-wɛt-** See **-Yɛt-** stick

**-wɛteri-** See **-Yɛteri-** know

**-wɛʔah-** See **-Yɛʔah** child

**-wihst-** (*noun*) money

**-wihš-** See **-wihš(r)-** power

**-wihš(r)-** (*noun*) power

**-wihtsatih** (*verb*) be defeated; overpowered

**-winq-** (*verb*) pretty; young

**-wiʔtrɛ-** (*verb*) tie

**-wɔ-** See **-Yɔ-** arrive

## y Y

**-y-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

**-y-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-ya-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

Allomorphs: **ka-**, **ya-**

**-yaeskwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Non-Masculine Non-Singular acting on Second Plural

**-yaeskwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Plural acting on Non-Masculine Non-Singular

**-Yah-** (*verb*) boil

Allomorphs: **-yah-**, **-žah-**

**-(Ya)hkqt-** (*verb*) hang; hang up

Allomorphs: **-hkqt-**, **-žahkqt-**

**-yahkwęʔt-** (*noun*) roasted corn ball

**-yahkweʔd-** (*noun*) eye; eyesocket; eyeball

Allomorphs: **-yahkweʔd-**, **-yahkweʔn-**

**-yahš-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Third Non-Singular

**-yahše-** (*pronominal prefix*) Second Singular acting on Third Non-Singular

Allomorphs: **kahše-**, **yahše-**

**-yanyq-** (*verb*) cook

**-yar-** (*noun*) bark

**-yarat-** (*verb*) look after; care for; take care of

**-Yatq-** (*verb*) eat

Allomorphs: **-atq-**

**-Yatsih** (*verb*) name; called

Allomorphs: **-atsih-**, **-žatsih-**

**-(Ya)yę-** (*verb*) go out; go outside; get out; come out; escape

Allomorphs: **-ayę-**, **-yayę-**, **-yę-**, **-žayę-**

**-yayq-** (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Non-Masculine

Non-singular

**-yayq[w]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Non-Masculine

Non-singular

**-yaža-** (*verb*) eat

Allomorphs: **-kaža-**, **-yaža-**

**-Yaža?** (*verb*) cross; (go) across

Allomorphs: **-aža?-**, **-yaža?-**, **-žaža?-**

**-yaža?-** (*verb*) pay

**-yaža?-** See **-Yaža?** cross

**-yažed-** (*noun*) stripe; spot

**-ya?-** See **-Ya?(k)-** break

**-Ya?(k)-** (*verb*) break; cut

Allomorphs: **-a?k-**, **-ya?-**, **-ya?k-**, **-ža?k-**

**-ya?k-** See **-Ya?t-** body

**-Ya?t-** (*noun*) body

Allomorphs: **-a?k-**, **-a?t-**, **-wa?k-**, **-wa?t-**, **-ya?k-**, **-ya?t-**, **-ža?k-**, **-ža?t-**

**-ya?t-** See **-(u)ya?t-** rub

**-Ya?t-u?te-** (*verb*) be transformed

Allomorphs: **-a?tu?te-**

**-ye-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

Allomorphs: **ke-**, **ye-**

**-Ye-** (*verb*) do

Allomorphs: **-e-**, **-ye-**

**-Yeda-** (*verb*) catch; get hold of; take (hold of); capture



Allomorphs: -eda-, -weda-, -yeda-, -žeda-

**-Yeh-** (*verb*) wake up

Allomorphs: -eh-

**-Yehsaʔdih** (*verb*) widow; widower; orphan

Allomorphs: -wehsaʔdih-, -yehsaʔdih-, -žehsaʔdih-

**-Yehskwa-** (*verb*) laugh

Allomorphs: -wehskwa-, -yehskwa-

**-Yenq-** (*verb*) fall (down)

Allomorphs: -enq-, -yenq-

**-Yer-** (*verb*) do; accomplish; comply; fulfill; do one's wish; word carry out; behave; move;  
keep on

Allomorphs: -wer-, -yer-

**-Yera-** (*noun*) clothing; clothes, wear

Allomorphs: -wera-, -yera-

**-yera-** (*verb*) be together

**-Yera-ʔt-** (*verb*) use

Allomorphs: -eraʔt-, -weraʔt-, -yeraʔt-, -žeraʔt-

**-Yeri-** (*verb*) cure; get well; be well

Allomorphs: -eri-, -weri-, -žeri-

**-Yerih-** (*verb*) straighten; get up

**-yerq-** (*verb*) stay (together); lie down together; be in

**-Yerq-** (*verb*) trick; harmful

Allomorphs: -erq-, -werq-, -yerq-, -žerq-

**-Yesa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Second Singular

Allomorphs: esa-

**-y[ę]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent

**-yę-** (*suffix*) Past

**-yę-** (*verb*) see

**-yę-** See -(Ya)yę- go out

**-Yędya-** (*verb*) beat

Allomorphs: -ędya-

**-yęh** (*suffix*) Past

**-Yęhšr-** (*verb*) skin

**-Yęht-** (*verb*) hit; beat

**-yęhtsi-** (*verb*) be old

**-Yękw-** (*verb*) plant

Allomorphs: -ękw-, -nyękw-, -yękw-

**yęriš** (*noun*) lion

**-Yęšr-** (*verb*) skin

Allomorphs: -ęšr-

**-Yęt-** (*noun*) stick

Allomorphs: -ęt-, -nyęt-, -węt-

**-Yę-** (*verb*) have

Allomorphs: **-ę-**

**-Yę(ta)-** (*verb*) have; be

Allomorphs: **-ę-**, **-ęta-**

**-Yęteri-** (*verb*) know; recognize

Allomorphs: **-ęteri-**, **-nyęteri-**, **-węteri-**, **-yęteri-**

**-Yę?ah** (*noun*) child; daughter; son

Allomorphs: **-wę?ah-**

**-yq-** (*noun*) head

**-yq-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Second Singular

Allomorphs: **kq-**, **yq-**

**-y[q]-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent

**-yq-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Person non-singular

**-Yq-** (*verb*) arrive; go (in); get up; crawl in; come; reach to

Allomorphs: **-nyq-**, **-q-**, **-wq-**

**-yq-** (*verb*) be in; inside; into; on; through

Allomorphs: **-kq-**, **-yq-**

**-yqhš-** (*noun*) face

Allomorphs: **-kqhš-**, **-yqhš-**

**-yqres-** (*noun*) paw; hand; palm

Allomorphs: **-kqres-**, **-yqres-**

**-yqw-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular acting on Second Singular

Allomorphs: **kqw-**, **yqw-**,

**-yqwa-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Feminine-Zoic Singular

**-yqwati-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Singular acting on Non-Masculine Non-Singular

**-yu-** (*noun*) dove

**-yuwa-** (*verb*) large

**-yuwanę-** (*verb*) large; big; great

## ž

**-ž-** (*noun*) wing

**-[ž]-** (*pronominal prefix*) First Singular Agent

**-ž-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Singular

**-:ž-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Masculine Dual Agent

**-ž-** (*pronominal prefix*) Third Non-Masculine Dual Agent

**-ža-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Singular

**-ža-** (*verb*) small; young; little

Allomorphs: **-ža-**

**-žah-** See **-Yah-** boil

**-žahqot-** See **-(Ya)hkot-** hang

**-žahš-** (*noun*) arm

**-žatq-** (*verb*) mark

- žatsih-** See **-Yatsih** name
- žayę-** See **-(Ya)yę-** go out
- žaža?** See **-Yaža?** cross
- ža?k-** See **-Ya?(k)-** break
- ža?k-** See **-Ya?t-** body
- ža?t-** See **-Ya?t-** body
- že-** (*pronominal prefix*) Masculine Singular acting on Second Singular
- žeda-** See **-Yeda-** catch
- žehsa?dih-** See **-Yehsa?dih** widow
- žera?t-** See **-Yera-?t-** use
- žeri-** See **-Yeri-** cure
- žerq-** See **-Yerq-** trick
- žu-** See **-(ri)žu-** kill
- žuhš-** (*noun*) elbow

?

- ?-** (*aspect suffix*) Perfect
- ?-** (*aspect suffix*) Punctual
- ?ah-** (*attributive suffix*) Diminutive
- ?ahš-** (*noun*) box
- ?ahš-** (*noun*) breast

**-ʔar-** (*noun*) veil

**-ʔd-** (*noun*) arrow

Allomorphs: -ʔd-, -ʔn-

**-ʔd-** (*suffix*) Dislocative

**-ʔdahkw-** (*noun*) drum; barrel; bushel; bucket

**-ʔdaʔw-** (*noun*) cotton

**-ʔdeʔdy-** (*verb*) overtake; defeat; capture

**-ʔdiyq-** See **-(ʔ)diyq(r)-** sense

**-(ʔ)diyq(r)-** (*noun*) sense; mind

Allomorphs: -diyq-, -diyqr-, -ʔdiyq-, -ʔdiyqr-

**-ʔdraw-** (*verb*) dance

**-ʔdubšr-** (*noun*) shell; horn

**-ʔdut-** (*noun*) charm; magic; power

**-ʔdwahiʔts-** (*noun*) doll; effigy

**-ʔdy-** (*noun*) finger; ring

**-(ʔ)dya-** (*verb*) eat

Allomorphs: -dya-, -ʔdya-

**-ʔdyad-** time

Allomorphs: -ʔdyad-

**-ʔdyqhšr-** (*noun*) hammer; maul; round magical stone

**-ʔeht-** (*noun*) claw

**-ʔkaž-** (*noun*) breechcloth

**-ʔn-** See **-ʔd-** arrow

**-ʔneʉ-** (*noun*) kettle

**-ʔnq-** (*verb*) bury

**-ʔnqhs-** See **-ʔnqhš-** bag

**-ʔnqhš-** (*noun*) bag

Allomorphs: **-ʔnqhs-**, **-ʔnqhš-**

**-ʔnqht-** (*noun*) leg

**-ʔnyqhkar-** (*noun*) bank

**-ʔr-** night

**-ʔrat-** (*verb*) dark

**-ʔru-** (*noun*) ride

**-ʔru-** (*verb*) chop; cut

**-ʔs-** (*aspect suffix*) Habitual

**-ʔs-** (*suffix*) Benefactive

**-ʔskqhš-** (*noun*) tooth

**-ʔskqt-** (*verb*) roast

**-ʔsku-** See **-ʔskw-u-** enter water

**-ʔskw-u-** (*verb*) throw into water; drop into water; go into water; get into water

Allomorphs: **-ʔsku-**

**-ʔš-** (*noun*) mouth; tongue

- ʔšr-** (*suffix*) Dislocative
- ʔšrq-** (*suffix*) Distributive
- ʔšrqnyq-** (*suffix*) Distributive
- ʔt-** (*suffix*) Instrumental
- ʔtaht-** (*noun*) wood
- ʔtar-** (*noun*) clan
- ʔte-** (*verb*) fall; drop
- ʔti-** (*noun*) cane
- ʔtq-** (*verb*) be old
- ʔtqhts-** (*verb*) hatch
- ʔtraw-** (*verb*) select
- ʔtsehti-** (*verb*) young; boy
- ʔwahts-** (*noun*) meat; flesh
- ʔyeʔaha-** (*verb*) sibling; brother; sister
- ʔyeh-** (*suffix*) Locative
- ʔža-** (*verb*) small; young; little
- ʔža-** See **-ʔža(k)-** shoot
- ʔža(k)-** (*verb*) shoot

Allomorphs: **-ʔža-**, **-ʔžak-**



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**Dislocative -d-, -he-, -hš-, -?d-, -?šr-**

**Distal -ši-**

**Distal ših**

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**excrement** -iʔt-

**exist** -dare-

**extinct** adyah

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**eyesocket** -yahkweʔd-

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**feather -raʔtə-**

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**Feminine Indefinite Agent -[ə]-**

**Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on First Singular -əye-**

**Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Non-Masculine Non-singular -yayə-,**

**-yayə[w]-**

**Feminine-Indefinite Singular acting on Second Singular -Yesə-**

**Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent -aye-**

**field -iht-**

**fierce -at-rihw-ahš-**

**find (out) -urə-**

**find out -tu-**

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**finish -nyədiš-**

**First Dual Patient -qd-, -qi-, -qi[ny]-, -qi[ž]-, -qn-, -qny-**

**First Exclusive Dual Agent -ad-, -ai-, -an-, -až-**

**First Exclusive Plural acting on Masculine Singular -hakw-**

**First Exclusive Plural Agent -any-, -aw-, -awa-, -aw[ə]-, -až-**

**First Inclusive Dual Agent -ky-, -t-, -ti-**

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**First Inclusive Plural acting on Masculine Singular -hekw-, -hekwa-**

**First Inclusive Plural Agent -kw-, -kwa-, -kw[ɛ]-, -ky-**

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**First Singular acting on Second Dual -ki-, -ky-**

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**First Singular Patient -ay-, -wa-, -wa[ny]-, -way-, -waya-, waye-, -waye-, -wa[ž]-,**

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**fish -its-**

**fix feather -raʔtq-**

**fix -(hšr-)qdi-**

**flank -iʔkar-**

**flannel -dehšr-**

**flee -ateʔw-**

**flesh -ʔwahts-**

**flower -tsiʔts-**

**follow (behind) -nqtr-akye-**

**follow -at-a-diy-a-ht-, -dya-**

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**fool -haʔt-**

**foot -ahšiʔt-**

**forest -harh-**

**foretell -tuhkw-**

**fort -teṛ-**

**fortress -teṛ-**

**fortune -atraʔskw-**

**four ɸdahk**

**fox tsi-nɸʔtɔtɔʔ**

**friends -at-ɸru-**

**friendship -at-ɸru-**

**frightened -ahkerɔ-**

**fruit -aža-**

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**Future-Cislocative -ɸ-te-, -e-k-**

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**gaze upon -karidyewih**  
**get away -ate?w-, -e-**  
**get cold -du-**  
**get hold of -Yeda-, -Yeda-**  
**get hungry -at-qreħšahsta?**  
**get into water -u-, -?skw-u-**  
**get married -dyay-**  
**get out -(Ya)yę-**  
**get tired waiting -nqhtq?**  
**get up -Yerih-, -Yq-**  
**get well -Yeri-**  
**gift -dišr-**  
**give up -htawahte?**  
**give -nqht-**  
**glad -atqtare-**  
**(go) across -iža?, -Yaža?**  
**go around -take-, -tase-**  
**go away -arahskw-**  
**go home -arahskw-**

**go hunting -nəṛqti-**  
**go in -itrah, -qtrah**  
**go (in) -Yq-**  
**go into water -u-, -?skw-u-**  
**go out -arahskw-, -(Ya)yə-**  
**go outside -(Ya)yə-**  
**go round -tahkw-**  
**go to -erine-**  
**go -arahskw-, -e-**  
**gold -tsidwar-**  
**gone adyah**  
**good -ižu-, -wahst-**  
**(grain of) corn -nəh-**  
**grandchild -tre-**  
**grandfather -hšuta?**  
**grandmother -hšuta?**  
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**green -tsidwar-**  
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**ground -iht-**  
**grow up -ətu-**



**Habitual** -ahs-, -aʔ-, -eʔs-, -hs-, -s-, -ʔs-  
**hair** -neʔ-, -tqr-  
**half** (ah)ʃenq̄h  
**hammer** -ʔdyq̄hšr-  
**hand** -yq̄res-  
**hang up** -(Ya)hkq̄t-  
**hang** -dinyq̄ht-, -(Ya)hkq̄t-  
**happen** -awę-  
**harmful** -Yerq-  
**hatch** -ʔtq̄hts-  
**hate** -hskwahę-  
**have got** -awę-  
**have knowledge** -tuyę-  
**have** -awę-, -Yęt-, -Yę(ta)-  
**hawk** tidehsq̄ʔ  
**head** -hskuʔt-, -yq-  
**hear** -arq-  
**hell** -dehšũ-  
**help** -dyara-  
**herd** -ikyuhkw-  
**herself** aqwaʔ

**hide -atahse-**

**hide -gqh-** [N.B. see 2.10 *Further Notes on g*]

**high -etsi-**

**himself aqwaʔ, haqwaʔah**

**hire -ta-**

**his stepfather -duʔa-**

**his stepmother -duʔa-**

**hit -(w)aʔe-, -Yəht-**

**hitch -dinyqht-**

**hold (office) -qt-**

**hold up -rahkw-**

**hold -t-**

**hollow -harət-**

**hollowed out -dyaruʔt-**

**home -dare-, -qdaq-**

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**house -nqhš-**

**howl -dy-**

**hungry -at-qreḥšahstaʔ**

**hunt for -ihša(k)-**

**hunt -neḗḗti-**

**husband -wey-**

**ill -hšatu(r)-**

**in -yerq-, -yq-, -yq-**

**Inchoative -ę-, -(h)st-**

**inhabit -dare-**

**inquire (enquire) -at-arqtq-**

**inside -yq-, -yq-**

**Instrumental -hkw-, -ht-, -?t-**

**into -yq-, -yq-**

**island -wed-**

**it is so -tuyę-**

**it is ahše?, ati?**

**it must be ahše?**

**it was ati?**

**itself aqwa?**

**Joiner -a-**

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**just da, hq ?raq**

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**keep -r-**

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**know -tu-, -tuyę-, -Yęteri-**

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**land -huhta-**

**land -qwęts-, -wed-**

**large -uwanę-, -wanę-, -yuwa-, -yuwanę-**

**laugh -Yehskwa-**

**law -rihw-**

**lay down -iʔtrq-**

**lay in -iʔtrq-**

**leaf -draht-**

**leave (behind) -aʔtqti-**

**left behind -atę-**

**leg -ʔnqht-**

**legging -rihšr-**

**lie down together -yerq-**

**lie down -at-Ya?t-Yenq-**

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**live (together) -wey-**

**live together -dyay-**

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**marry -dyay-**

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**-hayqw-**

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**Masculine Singular acting on Second Singular -ž-, -ža-, -že-**

**Masculine Singular acting on Third Non-Masculine -hsayu-**

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**maybe daenq**

**me d-iʔ**

**measure -rahka -**

**meat -wahts-, -ʔwahts-**

**medicine -nqhkw-**

**meet -atra -**

**metal -kwist-**

**middle (ah)šenqh**

**mind -(ʔ)diyq(r)-**

**money -wihst-**

**monster -hsti-**

**more araʔyehēʔ, kyēadiʔ**

**moss -er-**

**mother -duʔwē-, -neʔē-**

**mother -ētū-**

**mouth -ʔš-**

**move -Yer-**

**much trōdi?**

**name -hšēd-**

**name -Yatsih**

**Negative anteprenominal -a?-**

**Negative particle a?**

**Negative-Optative.Cislocative -te-uta-**

**Negative-Optative.Repetitive -te-usa-**

**Negative-Repetitive -te-(h)s-, -te-ts-, -te-tsi-, -te-ʔš-**

**Negative -ta-, -te-, -teʔ-**

**next day -rhe-**

**next time wa?tu?**

**next wa?tu?**

**night -ahsqt-**

**no tʔʔh**

**Nominalizer -hš-, -hšr-, -šr-**

**Non-Masculine Non-Singular acting on Second Plural -yaeskwa-**

**not here adyah**

**not tʔʔh**

**notify -atēdutq-**

**Noun Suffix -a-, -ah-, -aʔ-**



**now** ne, ne

**nowhere** adyah

**office** -rihw-

**old** -yehtsi-, -?tq-

**on a war expedition** -ahki?w-

**on** -dye?šr-, -yq-, -yq-

**once again** wa?tu?

**once more** wa?tu?

**once** skat

**one** skat

**only** ha?ra

**Optative.Cislocative** -uta-

**Optative.Repetitive** -u(h)se-, -usa-

**Optative** -a:-, -u-

**orphan** -Yehsa?dih

**other side** -ati-

**outside** aste

**outwit** -ha?t-

**overpowered** -wihtsatih

**overtake** -?de?dy-

**own -awę-**

**palisade -tę-**

**palm -yqres-**

**part -kahsk-**

**Partitive-Cislocative -di-t-**

**Partitive-Dual -da?-te-**

**Partitive-Factual-Dual -d-a?-t-**

**Partitive-Factual -d-a-, -d-a?-**

**Partitive-Optative.Cislocative -d-u:ta-**

**Partitive-Optative.Repetitive -d-u:sa-, -d-u:se-**

**Partitive-Optative -d-a:-**

**Partitive-Repetitive.Factual -d-usa-**

**Partitive-Repetitive -di-s-**

**Partitive -d-, -di-**

**party -ikyuhkw-**

**Past -hk, -kęę?, -kwa?, -nę?, -yę-, -yęh**

**past adyah**

**paw -yqres-**

**pay -yaža?-**

**peel -rqw-**

**peeled -deręh**

**peep -akęnyatq-**

**Perfect Plural -hs-**

**Perfect -?-**

**person -qwe-**

**pick up -hkw-**

**pile up -rašru?tę-**

**pine tree -deht-**

**pint -se?t-**

**pitch -qti-**

**plant -Yękw-**

**play -uż-**

**Populative -runq-**

**porcupine tsi-nęka?a**

**Pottawatomie hatqwa?tadi?**

**pound corn -te?t-**

**power -diřr-, -dut-, -du?t-, -wińš(r)-, -?dut-**

**prairie chicken -hkwe-sęhużah**

**prairie -iht-**

**pretty -wahst-, -winq-**

**Progressive -akye**

**pull off -utaw-**

**pull -atirq̄t̄-, -utaw-**

**pumpkin -nyqh̄š-**

**Punctual -a-, -ah-, -aʔ-, -h-, -ha-, -haʔ-, -ʔ-**

**purchase -dinq̄-**

**purpose -uht̄t̄-, -uʔt̄t̄-**

**Purposive -h-**

**put (in) -r̄t̄-**

**put away -r̄-**

**put in -itrah, -q̄trah, -rahkw-**

**put on -itrah, -q̄trah**

**quart -seʔt-**

**quill -hq̄hr-**

**quilt -ikwar-**

**raccoon tukwežakweh**

**race -atadihskw-**

**rain -q̄du-**

**raise one's voice -iha-**

**raise -q̄tu-**

**reach to -Yq-**  
**realize -tu-**  
**reason -rihw-**  
**reason -rihw-qdi-**  
**recognize -Yęteri-**  
**Reflexive -atat-, -atate-**  
**remain -atę-**  
**Remote -tu-**  
**Remote tu**  
**remove -rqw-**  
**Repetitive-Factual -s-a-**  
**Repetitive -s-, -š-, -sk-, -ts-**  
**reply -ihaq-, -ihq-**  
**report -atędutq-**  
**reprimand -rewa-**  
**reside -dare-**  
**return -arahskw-**  
**ride (on horseback) -hšatę-, -hše?**  
**ride -?ru-**  
**ring -?dy-**  
**river -da-**

**road -hah-**

**roast -ʔskot-**

**roasted corn ball -yahkwet-**

**rock (wall) -reda-**

**root -hkar-**

**round magical stone -ʔdyqhšr-**

**rub -(u)yaʔt-**

**run a race -atadihskw-**

**run about -take-**

**run away -ateʔw-, -take-**

**run back -take-**

**run from -ateʔw-**

**run off -ateʔw-**

**run up -take-**

**run -araht-, -ateʔw-, -take-**

**safe -wahst-**

**say -atędutq-, -atq-, -ihaq-, -ihq-, -(w)ę-**

**scale -kwistur-**

**scalp -nqr-**

**scared -ahkerq-**

**scold -iha-**

**scout -ahkiʔw-**

**Second Dual acting on Masculine Singular -hehtsi-, -hehtsi[ž]-**

**Second Dual -st-, -ts-, -tsi-, -tsi[ny]-, -tsi[ž]-**

**Second Plural acting on First Singular -(h)skwa-, -ski-**

**Second Plural acting on Masculine Singular -hehskw-, -hehskwa-**

**Second Plural acting on Non-Masculine Non-Singular -yaeskwa-**

**Second Plural -skw-, -skwa-, -skw[ɛ]-, -ts-**

**Second Singular acting on First Singular -hše-, -(h)sk-, -(h)ske-, -ta-, -taye-**

**Second Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular -hesa-**

**Second Singular acting on Masculine Singular -hehš-, -hehša-, -hehše-, -hehse-**

**Second Singular acting on Third Non-Singular -yahš-, -yahše-**

**Second Singular Agent -hš-, -hše-, -s-**

**Second Singular Patient -hsa-, -s-, -se-, -s[ɛ]-**

**see -akaht-, -yɛ-**

**seed -neḥst-**

**select -ʔtraw-**

**sell -dinq-**

**Semireflexive -at-, -ate-, -atɛ-, -ɛ-, -ɛd-**

**sense -(ʔ)diyq(r)-**

**separate -kahsk-**

**set fire -ate(y)-**  
**set -i?trq-**  
**seven tsutare?**  
**shell -?duhšr-**  
**shoot -atqhk-, -a?a-, -?ža(k)-**  
**shout -iha-**  
**sibling -?yę?aha-**  
**sick -hšatu(r)-**  
**sing -draw-, -ređ-**  
**sister -?yę?aha-**  
**sit down -at-Yę-**  
**sit up -dyę?šr-**  
**sit upon -dyę?šr-**  
**sit -i?trq-**  
**skin robe -dušr-**  
**skin -gqh- [N.B. see 2.10 *Further Notes on g*]**  
**skin -rqw-, -Yęhšr-, -Yęšr-**  
**skirt -dye?r-**  
**sky -rqh-, -rqnny-**  
**slaughter -hš-**  
**slay -hš-**



**sleep -itaʔw-**  
**small -ža-, -ʔža-**  
**smallpox -dyuhkw-**  
**snake kyuʔdyets-**  
**snow -dinyəht-**  
**so ayəh**  
**son-in-law -nəwa-**  
**son -Yəʔah**  
**song -rəd-**  
**song -rən-**  
**soup -dyah-**  
**speak -atədutq-, -atrɔny-**  
**spear -ateʔdar-**  
**spill -rişə-**  
**splash -(w)aʔe-**  
**spoil -dah-, -ehša-**  
**spot -yažed-**  
**spouse -wey-**  
**sprinkle at arm's length -etsikeʔtr-**  
**stalk -her-**  
**stand -t-**

**start -arahskw-**

**starve -qredi-**

**Stative -eh-, -h-, -ih-, -q?-**

**stay (together) -yerq-**

**stay overnight -a?kw-**

**steal -neḥskw-**

**stepson -du?a-**

**stick (out) -ut-**

**stick around or across -atqhkq-**

**stick up -ut-**

**stick -Yeṭ-**

**still more tṛqdi?**

**stone wall -reda-**

**stone -rižuht-**

**stop up -tsirut-**

**stop -te-**

**straighten -Yerih-**

**string (of a bow) -reḥs-**

**stripe -yažed-**

**strong -atętsi-**

**Substantive -de-**

**Substantive de**

**Substantivizer -d-**

**sugar tree -aht-**

**sugar -tsikeʔt-**

**sun -dihšr-, -rahk-**

**sure -tuyę-**

**surely -tuyę-**

**swallow -dehkw-, -uhkw-**

**switch -hskwir-**

**sword -ateʔdar-**

**tail -dyar-**

**take (along) -nyqde-**

**take (hold of) -Yeda-**

**take away -hkw-**

**take care of -yarat-**

**take from -hkw-**

**take hold of -Yeda-**

**take off -rǝw-**

**take -hawi-, -hkw-, -r-, -w-**

**talk together -atrǝny-**

**talk -atakya-, -atędutq-**

**tall -etsi-**

**tear down -rqw-**

**tell -atędutq-, -ihaq-, -ihq-, -rewa-**

**Temporal -n-**

**Temporal na**

**ten (w)ahšę**

**thank atq?węsq**

**that much tiwa?**

**that one dae?**

**that way tižuh**

**that da, dae?, da?, du, ne, neę**

**the da, du, ne**

**then ati?, neę, tunęh**

**thick -atętsi-, -etsi-**

**thing -rihw-**

**think -ęhe-, -ęhq-, -ehe-, -ehq-**

**Third Dual Agent -d-, -n-**

**Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent -ø-, -a-, -ay-, -ay[ę]-, -e-, -[q]-**

**Third Feminine-Indefinite Singular Patient -ayaw-, -ayu-, -ay[u]-, -ayu[w]-**

**Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent -a-, -ny-, -[q]-, -[u]-, -w-, -wa-, -y-, -ya-,  
-y[ɛ]-**

**Third Feminine-Zoic Singular Patient -a-, -aw-, -u-, -[u]-**

**Third Masculine Dual Agent -hi-, -:ž-**

**Third Masculine Non-Singular Patient -hud-, -hun-, -huti-, -huti[ny]-, -huti[ž]-**

**Third Masculine Plural Agent -hati-, -hati[ny]-, -hati[ž]-, -hɛd-, -hɛn-, -h[q]-**

**Third Masculine Singular acting on Third Masculine Singular -h-**

**Third Masculine Singular acting on Third Masculine Singular Patient -hu-**

**Third Masculine Singular Agent -h-, -ha-, -h[ɛ]-, -r-**

**Third Masculine Singular Patient -ha-, -haw-, -h[u]-, -hu-**

**Third Non-Masculine Dual Agent -i-, -i[ny]-, -ž-**

**Third Non-Masculine Non-Singular Patient -ud-, -un-, -uti-, -uti[ny]-, -uti[ž]-**

**Third Non-Masculine Plural Agent -ati-, -ati[ny]-, -ati[ž]-, -wati-, -wati[ny]-,  
-wati[ž]-, -wɛd-, -wɛn-, -y[q]-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Feminine-Indefinite Singular -hayq[w]-, -hayqw-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Feminine-Zoic Singular -yqwa-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on First Non-Singular -qki-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on First Singular -hoye-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Non-Singular -hqwati-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Masculine Singular -hqw-, -hqwa-, -hqw[ɛ]-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Non-Masculine Non-Singular -yqwati-**

**Third Non-Singular acting on Second Singular -hes-, -hesa-**

**Third Person non-singular??? -yq-**

**three (ah)šeh(k)**

**through -nyędihš-, -yq-**

**throw into water -u-, -?skw-u-**

**throw -ati-, -qti-**

**thus ayeh**

**tie -dre-, -qt-, -wi?trę-**

**tired -atowę-, -durq?**

**toad ketqhs kwa?yeh**

**together -yera-**

**tongue -?š-**

**tooth -?skqhš-**

**toss -qti-**

**town -dat-**

**trade -ata?t-, -dinq-**

**trail -hah-**

**transformed -a?tu?tę-**

**Transitive-Optative.Repetitive -h-u:sa-**

**Translocative-Dualic-Repetitive.Factual -ha?-t-usa-**

**Translocative-Dualic-Repetitive -ha?-te-tsi-**

**Translocative-Dualic -haʔ-t-**  
**Translocative-Factual.Dualic -haʔ-ta-**  
**Translocative-Factual -h-a-**  
**Translocative-Future-Repetitive -h-e-tsi-**  
**Translocative-Future -h-e-**  
**Translocative-Optative -h-ae-**  
**Translocative-Repetitive -he-(h)s-, -he-š-**  
**Translocative -he-, -heʔ-**  
**trap -rəd-**  
**travel -qkye-**  
**tray -s-**  
**tree -dwir-, -rhi-, -rqt-**  
**treetop -rəh-**  
**trick -Yerq-, -Yerq-**  
**trim -raʔtq-**  
**trouble -kažat-**  
**trough -dyaruʔt-**  
**try -rahka-**  
**turkey dehtqtaʔ**  
**turn over -nešrq-**  
**turtle dyaʔwiš**

**uncle to -atəŋqɔʔ**

**uncle -atəŋqɔʔ**

**underground -dehʃu-**

**(under)ground -waʔtay-**

**understand -tu-**

**undo -rɔw-**

**Undoer -hsk-, -w-**

**use -Yera-ʔt-**

**valuable -durɔ-**

**vast -uwanɛ-**

**veil -ʔar-**

**very trɔdiʔ**

**village -dat-**

**voice -wɛd-**

**wake up -Yeh-**

**walk -e-, -re-**

**wall bag -kyar-**

**want -ɛhe-, -ɛhɔ-, -che-, -ehɔ-, -erine-**

**warm -dawɛ-, -tarihe-**



**wash -uhare-**  
**watch -akahsaru-**  
**wear -uri-**  
**wear -Yera-**  
**well -Yeri-**  
**whip -(w)a?e-**  
**white -dinyəht-**  
**White -nyq-**  
**who da**  
**widow -Yehsa?dih**  
**widower -Yehsa?dih**  
**wife -wey-**  
**willing -wədyeri-**  
**wing -ž-**  
**wolf -narihskw-**  
**wonderful -deraw-**  
**wood -hkar-, -?taht-**  
**woods -harh-**  
**word carry out -Yer-**  
**word -rihw-, -wəd-**

**year -de?ny-**

**young -nyęhti-, -winq-, -ža-, -?tsęhti-, -?ža-**

**younger -hkęnye?**

**yourself sqwa?ah**

<p>194</p> <p>HURON-WYANDOT TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES</p>	<p>1 now / 2 they inquired / 3 that / 4, 5 they two said / 6 where          is it / 7 where he lives / 8 the / 9 he is cotton-like / 10 here          really / 11 he said / 12 me / 13 that is / 14 my name /          15 also / 16, 17, 18 he them fooled / 19 the (two) young women /          10 I onebody / 11 found / 12 that / 13, 14 back onebody him          fooled / 15 ythael</p> <p>25. [The Rabbit and the Wolf]</p> <p>16 now / 17 his feet spread out (rabbit) / 18 thereto /          19 thou me ferry across / 20 that one / 21 (for) the reason          why / 22 that / 23 my feet are spreading out / 24 that / 25          the crowd large in / 25a I danced / 26 as a rabbit past /          27 he said / 28 he has two ears together (wolf) / 29 there /          30 thou me ferry across / 31 that one / 32 it is the reason /          33 two my ears / 34 are close together / 35 the eagle /          36 I feather stick up / 37 used to formerly</p>	<p>ngi' s'j'at'a r-o'i' t'e'i' na'a' o'i' h'e' s' d'..          n'e'i' t' h'i' r'o'i' o'aq'i' n'e' h'a' o'a' n'a' k'i.          e'i' n' o'a' r' o' h'i' h'i' e'n' o'i' o'a'i' j'e' h'i' ..          t'u' o'i' .. e' h'a' y'e' o' i' y'e' h'e' h'i' o' u'i' n'e' ..          a' .. k'e'a' k'u' r'i' h'a' o' o'u' s'a' h'e' m'e' o' i' y'e' h'e' h'i' ..          y'e' h'e' ..</p> <p>h'e' .. k'o' e' i' k'e' n' t' .. h'a' .. h'e' y'e' p'u' h'a' ..          o'a' .. y'e' r'i' h'e' n' g'o' .. t'e' y'a' e' r' k'a' h'i' n' e' ..          o' e' y'e' k'u' k'u' j'u' .. y'e' y'e' o' r'a' w'a' s'e' e' h'i' ..          h' e' h'e' t'o' h'e' w'a' k'a' o' e' y'e' o' .. t'u' h'a' y'e' g'u' ..          h'a' .. o'a' .. y'a' r'i' h'e' p' g'o' .. t'e' y'a' h'e' l'o' o' y'e' ..          t'e' s' m'g' h'a' h'i' .. y'e' h'e' r'a' k'o' .. s'h'i' .. h'e' ..</p>
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<sup>114</sup>Barbeau, Marius. 1960. *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives: In Translations and Native Texts*. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 165, Anthropological Series 47, p.194. Reproduced by permission of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

- ge -ga'ro' : to be wicked / he-ga'ro' : he is wicked  
 -geg-, gek- : to eat up  
 kagēgē : eaten up / t-yek : I am eating  
 [Cartier: kagacē : gros mill]  
 -gē'er- : to ride about  
 yagē'crākē'sq : I am riding about  
 -guja's : to stir (it) / jhajujo' : he  
 { is stirring it  
 -gūñē's : to drop  
 e kū-gūñē's : he drops  
 -gweñyū : bloodstained  
 te'ungwēñyū : it was bloodstained  
 -gwa'es : to whip with  
 ahū'gwa'es : he him whips with  
 -gweñē'tp' : the tree top to shake  
 a'akingwē'ñē'tp' : I the tree top shake  
 ta'ngwē'ñē'tp' : he " / a'kagwē'ñē'tp' : she...

g

- nga  
 -nga-, -gga' : to make, to build  
 na tu'gga : town building, has been making  
 he-te'ng' cū'gga : he is to self (a town) building

<sup>115</sup>Barbeau, Marius. "Huron-Wyandot Dictionary", Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archives, Ethnology records Collection, Ms: III-I-160M, p. 235. Reproduced by permission of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

## Appendix D: Sample Texts

The following sample texts are taken from Barbeau (1960). Each text is referenced by number and title, followed by information given by Barbeau about informants and time and place of elicitation.

The interlinear format used follows the same basic pattern as in previous chapters. Source codes, however, are shortened in that redundant information (TN and text number) is left out. Further, each word has its source code indicated separately, rather than one code per line. Due to physical constraints of paper size, Barbeau's lines have not been retained. However, each "paragraph" break (see section 7.1 *Barbeau's Structures*) is indicated by ¶. Barbeau's uncertainties about word boundaries are retained here in the first line, his transcription. Corrections are made in the phonemicization. A colon is used to indicate where Barbeau glossed a single word as more than one. The free translations given by Barbeau separately from the texts are inserted within the texts, attempting to match them where possible to the Wyandot forms.

### #11: The Eagle and the Hunter

Recorded in May 1912, from Catherine Johnson, with Mary Kelley as translator. C.f. Barbeau (1915b:98-100).

¶  
'I will now tell a story of events that have really happened long ago.'

hã<sup>h</sup>di<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>  
 hadi:q<sup>h</sup>  
 ha-di<sup>h</sup>-q<sup>h</sup>  
 MASC,sg,AGT-kill.game-STAT  
 he kills game  
 107:26

de  
 de  
 de  
 SUBST  
 the  
 107:27

rõmé<sup>h</sup>  
 rqwéh  
 r-qwe-h  
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN  
 man  
 107:28

dae<sup>h</sup>      dē      hũŋ:rõ<sup>h</sup>ke<sup>h</sup>s  
 dae<sup>h</sup>      de      hunę:rõkye<sup>h</sup>s  
 dae<sup>h</sup>      de      hu-ŋęrti-e<sup>h</sup>s  
 that.one      SUBST      MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-HAB  
 that one      the      he a hunting goes  
 107:29      107:30      107:31

'A man was in the habit of hunting game.'

hãq<sup>h</sup>męskwá:de<sup>h</sup>  
 haqweskwá:dih  
 ha-qwehskw-a-d-ih  
 MASC,sg,PAT-like-JOIN-BEN-STAT  
 he likes to  
 107:32-33

ãha:jú<sup>h</sup>  
 aha:žú<sup>h</sup>  
 a-ha-žu-<sup>h</sup>?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC  
 he kills  
 107:34

du<sup>h</sup>skęńq<sup>h</sup>tq<sup>h</sup>  
 duhskenq<sup>h</sup>tq<sup>h</sup>?  
 d-u-hskenq<sup>h</sup>tq<sup>h</sup>?  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-deer  
 the: deer  
 107:35-36

ãhãę:cra<sup>h</sup>  
 ahaę:šra<sup>h</sup>?  
 a-ha-Yęšr-a<sup>h</sup>?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-skin-PUNC  
 he it skins  
 107:37

'He was fond, above all, of killing deer.'

atęńę<sup>h</sup>di<sup>h</sup>cę<sup>h</sup>  
 atenyędih<sup>h</sup>ę<sup>h</sup>?  
 ate-nyędih<sup>h</sup>ę<sup>h</sup>?  
 SEMI-finish-STAT  
 when he is finished<sup>113</sup>  
 107:38

naháyú<sup>h</sup>ga<sup>h</sup>atę<sup>h</sup>s  
 naháyú:dya<sup>h</sup>tęhs  
 n-a-hayu-dya<sup>h</sup>t-ęhs  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg-call-PUNC  
 that he them calls  
 107:39

<sup>113</sup>Note lack of a pronominal prefix.

'After he had killed and skinned them, he used to shout,'

tsāmḡhú·hi	húwǎʼε	tsīgá·ha·
tsawḡhú:hi	húwaʼe	tsidyá:ha:
tsawḡhuhi?	huwaʼe	tsi-dya-ha
eagle	Come.here!	2,dl-eat-IMP
the eagles	Here!(come here!)	you eat!
107:40	107:41 <sup>114</sup>	107:42

"O you eagles, come and have something to eat!"

¶		
nḡʼ	těkwe 'dė'taʼ	
nḡh	tekwėdėhtaʼ	
nḡh	te-t-wėd-e-ht-aʼ	
now	DU-CISLOC-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go-CAUS-PUNC	
now	there they come	
107:43	107:44	

ǎwá·tiʼgà·ha  
awá:tidyà:ha  
a-wati-dya-ha  
FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
they eat  
107:45

'The eagles, it is said, would gather there,'

¶		
nahǎyǒʼcḡʼ		ne
nahayǒhšḡʼ		ne
n-a-hayǒ-hš-ḡʼ		ne
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT:MASC,non.sg-kill-PUNC		the
now he kills		the
108:01		108:02

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<sup>114</sup>This word looks like it could be *hu-waʼe* 'MASC,sg,PAT-hit' morphologically, although the meaning does not fit.

tsǎmɛ́hú·hiʔ	tutíçùʔtíçúʔ		tíwáʔ	de
tsawɛ́hú·hiʔ	tutižùh	tižùh	tiwáʔ	de
tsawɛ́huhíʔ	tutižuh	tižuh	tiwaʔ	de
eagle	always	like	that much	SUBST
eagles	that way all the time <sup>115</sup>		whenever	that
108:03	108:04-05		108:06	108:07

'only to be slain by the hunter. And it always happened in the same manner;'

hūnɛ́rɔ́kɛ	dě	kwáʔkɔ́táʔ
hunɛ́rɔ́kye	de	kwáhkɔ́táʔ
hu-nɛ́rɔ́ti-eʔs	de	t-w-ahkɔ́t-aʔ
MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-HAB	SUBST	CIS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-begin-STAT
he goes hunting <sup>116</sup>	the	first one
108:08	108:09	108:10

'time and again the man went out hunting,'

ěhá·juʔ	dúʔ	skĕnɔ́·tɔʔ
ehá:žuh	dúhskɛnɔ́:tɔʔ	
e-ha-žuh	d-uhskɛnɔ́tɔʔ	
FUT-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC	SUBST-deer	
will he kill	the: deer	
108:11	108:12-13	

ěhayũʔgáʔtɛʔs	dě	tsǎmɛ́hú·hiʔ
ehayudyáʔtɛhs	de	tsawɛ́hú:hiʔ
e-hayu-dyaʔt-ɛhs	de	tsawɛ́huhíʔ
FUT-MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg-call-PUNC	SUBST	eagle
will he call	the	eagle
108:14	108:15	108:16

'and after killing and skinning deer, he would call the eagles'

<sup>115</sup>The gloss is numbered 4, without a gloss 5. Instead of two separate particles, this may be an example of a restart.

<sup>116</sup>Note the missing *ʔs* from the Habitual morpheme.



ně watīgá·ha·  
newatidyá:ha:?  
n-e-wati-dya-ha?  
TEMP-FUT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
now: they eat  
108:17-18

dū' wá'tsa'  
du?wáhtsa?  
d-u-?wahts-a?  
PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-meat-NOUN  
that: meat  
108:16

'to eat the venison with the fixed purpose of killing them.'

¶		
tūŋɛ'	a'é·tu·	dū wá'·de
tunɛh	a?é:tu:	duwá?de
tunɛh	a?-e-tuy	duwa?de?
then	FACT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-know.PUNC	some.other
now then	they begin to find out	the: some of them
108:21	108:22	108:23-24

'Some people found out what he was in the habit of doing.'

năhǝmàtɛ "dūtǝ·hǝ  
nahǝwàtɛdūtǝ:hǝ  
n-a-hǝw-atɛdūtǝ-hǝ  
TEMP-FACT-MASC,non.sg:MASC,sg-speak-DISTR.PUNC  
now: they (to) him spoke  
108:25-26

na'ăyehaǝ'  
na?yɛhaǝ?  
n-a?-y[ɛ]-ihaǝ-?  
TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
now: she said  
108:27-28

'So they warned him.'

ẽnɔʔ <sup>117</sup> ẽci'cé'ha		dě
ɛnɔh	ešihšé:ha	de
ɛnɔh	e-š-ihše-ha	de
many	FUT-2,sg,AGT-give.up-PUNC	SUBST
must (doing) that way that givest up		that
108:29		108:30

'You had better give up'

ya'cé'ca's	dě	tsāmɛhúhi	mɛ <sup>117</sup> táé'ca'
yahšéhšahs	de	tsawɛhúhi	wɛtaé?ša?
yahše-hš-ahs	de	tsawɛhuhí?	wɛtae?ša?
2,sg:3,non.sg-kill-HAB	SUBST	eagle	possible
thou killest	the	eagles	they might
108:31	108:32	108:33	108:34

'killing eagles, for'

ěyèsăcú)	tą'ą
eyèsazú?	ą?ą
e-Yesă-žu-?	ą?ąh
FUT-FEM.IND,sg:2,sg-kill-PUNC	no
they you kill <sup>117</sup>	no
108:35	108:36

'they will destroy you!'

těhùtrihú)<sup>118</sup>te  
 tehùtrihú?tɛ  
 te-hu-at-rihu?t-ɛ  
 NEG-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-listen-STAT  
 not: he minded  
 108:37-38

'He did not mind'

---

<sup>117</sup>The morphophoneme *Y* anomalously appears as *y* here, instead of the expected *ɛ*. Use of *y* implies \**k*. However, compare Cayuga *-kaesa-* '3,non.sg:2,sg' and Tuscarora *-kayeθa-* '3,pl:2,sg'.

nàhõmàré·wa'  
 nàhõwàré:wah  
 n-a-hõwa-rewa-h  
 TEMP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-tell-PUNC  
 when they him told  
 108:39

tũwì'turá·  
 tui?turá:  
 tui?tura?  
 still  
 there: he keeps on  
 108:40-41

ǎyó'ca'  
 ayúhša?  
 ayu-hš-a?  
 FEM.IND,sg,PAT-kill-STAT  
 killing  
 108:42

de  
 de  
 de  
 SUBST  
 the  
 108:43

tsámé'huh'  
 tsawé'huhí?  
 tsa wé'huhi?  
 eagle  
 eagles  
 108:44

náwá'·tu'  
 nawá?tu?  
 nawa?tu?  
 once.more  
 once more  
 108:45

'their advice and kept on'

sáhájüdü's  
 sahážu  
 s-a-ha-žu  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-kill.PUNC  
 again he kills<sup>118</sup>  
 108:46

skēnóṭo'  
 dùhskēnóṭo?  
 d-u-hskēnóṭo?  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-deer  
 deer  
 108:47

'slaying eagles, skinning and cutting up the deer'

ahǎé·cra'  
 ahaé:šra?  
 a-ha-Yéšr-a?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-skin-PUNC  
 he it skins  
 108:48

atēñé'dí'cɛ'  
 atenyéđihšé?  
 ate-nyéđihš-é?  
 SEMI-finish-STAT  
 he is finished<sup>119</sup>  
 108:49

---

<sup>118</sup>The final syllable of Barbeau's transcription of this word actually belongs to the next word.

<sup>119</sup>No pronominal prefix, but presence of Semireflexive.

na hẹ́haq'  
 nahẹ́haq'  
 n-a-h[ẹ]-ihaq-?  
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 now: he said  
 108:50-51

tsámǵhúhi  
 tsawẹ́húhi  
 tsawẹ́huhi?  
 eagle  
 eagles  
 108:52

'and calling out, O you eagles!'

u'wà'tsa'  
 u?wàhtsa?  
 u-?wahts-a?  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-meat-NOUN  
 meat  
 108:53

tsǐgá·ha·  
 tsidyá:ha:  
 tsi-dya-ha  
 2,dl-eat-IMP  
 you eat!  
 108:54

'Come here and have some meat to swallow!''

¶ daē	hẹ́'ra	dǐré·he
dae	há?ra	diré:he
dae?	hẹ́?ra?	di-r-ehe
that.one	only	PART-MASC,sg,AGT-think.STAT
that one	just	that he wants
108:55	108:56	108:57

'And, as usual, it was only with the intent'

ayǎn'ju'  
 ayǎn:žuh  
 a-ya-rižu-h  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC  
 he kills  
 108:58

de  
 de  
 de  
 SUBST  
 the  
 108:59

tsamǵhúhi'  
 tsawẹ́húhi?  
 tsawẹ́huhi?  
 eagle  
 eagles  
 109:01

ka·nẹ  
 ka:nẹ  
 kanẹh  
 now  
 herenow  
 109:02

'of killing them.'

tà <sup>3</sup> ya <sup>3</sup> aq <sup>3</sup>	nɛ	á <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup>
tà <sup>3</sup> ya:q <sup>3</sup>	nɛ	á:ti <sup>3</sup>
t-a <sup>3</sup> -ya-Yq- <sup>3</sup>	nɛh	ati <sup>3</sup>
CISLOC-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC	now	then
there she comes home	now	just
109:03	109:04	109:05

'One day,'

tá<sup>3</sup>ya<sup>3</sup>aq<sup>3</sup>  
 tá<sup>3</sup>ya:q<sup>3</sup>  
 t-a<sup>3</sup>-ya-Yq-<sup>3</sup>  
 CISLOC-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
 she comes home  
 109:06

dīyò <sup>3</sup> māyuwá <sup>3</sup> nɛ	de	tsaméhúhi <sup>3</sup>
dīyòwayuwá <sup>3</sup> nɛ	de	tsawé <sup>3</sup> húhi <sup>3</sup>
di-yqwa-yuwanɛ	de	tsawé <sup>3</sup> huh <sup>3</sup> i <sup>3</sup>
PART-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-large.STAT	SUBST	eagle
the: it the person big (leader)	the	eagle
109:07-08	109:09	109:10

'the chief of the eagles herself came there,'

¶	
ne	hú <sup>3</sup> kerò <sup>3</sup> ha
nɛ	hú <sup>3</sup> kerò <sup>3</sup> :ha
nɛh	hu-ahkerò <sup>3</sup> -ha
now	MASC,sg,PAT-scared-STAT
now	he got scared
109:11	109:12

'and the man was so frightened'

āhátè <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	nɛ	kù <sup>3</sup> ské <sup>3</sup> ñɛ <sup>3</sup>
ahátè <sup>3</sup> :wa <sup>3</sup>	nɛ	kyù <sup>3</sup> hské <sup>3</sup> :nye <sup>3</sup>
a-h-ate <sup>3</sup> w-a <sup>3</sup>	nɛh	kyuhskénye <sup>3</sup>
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC	now	very.near
he runs off	now	very near
109:13	109:14	109:15

'that he ran away. As she was just about to'

ehūwɛ́ˀdǎˀqˀ  
ehuwɛ́dǎˀqˀ?  
e-hu-Yeda-qˀ?  
FUT-MASC,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC  
he him caught  
109:16

'catch him, he ran toward'

yǎ̀rǒtǎ́tǎ́(traˀ  
yarǒtǎ́tǎ́htraˀ?  
ya-rǒt-a-tǎ́htr-aˀ?  
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-lie-STAT  
a log lying (on the ground)  
109:18

'a hollow log lying close by'

tūhahǎˀqˀ  
tuhahǎˀqˀ?  
tu-h-a-ha-Yq-?  
REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
there: he crawled in  
109:20-21

'and crawled into it.'

tǎˀˀyǎ́qˀ  
tǎˀˀyaqˀ?  
t-aˀˀya-Yq-?  
CISLOC-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
too she came  
109:22

'The eagle came down'

nàˀrūrǎ́ˀhǎˀ  
nàˀ:rūrǎ́ˀhaˀ?  
n-a-r-urǎ́-haˀ?  
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-find-PUNC  
now he found  
109:17

skwǎˀˀráˀhǎ́ǎ́ˀt  
skwǎ́ˀarǎ́ˀharǎ́ˀt  
skwǎ́ˀar-a-harǎ́ˀt  
tree-JOIN-hollow.STAT  
it was hollow<sup>120</sup>  
109:19

tsǎ́mǎ́húhíˀ  
tsawǎ́húhíˀ?  
tsawǎ́huhíˀ?  
eagle  
eagle  
109:23

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<sup>120</sup>Note lack of a pronominal prefix.

aʔkārɔːtaː  
 aʔkarɔːtah  
 aʔ-t-ya-rɔt-a-hkw  
 FACT-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-lift.PUNC  
 she log lifted  
 109:24

'and seizing the log in her talons,'

àʔyáːwaʔ	tuː	ˈdē
àʔyáːwaʔ	tuh	de
aʔ-ya-w-aʔ	tu	de
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-take-PUNC	REM	SUBST
she carried (it)	there	(to) the
109:25	109:26	109:27

'she carried it to'

kùʔdrɛkwáːɛʔ  
 kyùʔdrehkwáːɛʔ  
 t-Yu-ʔdrehkw-a-Yɛ-ʔ  
 CIS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-nest-JOIN-have-STAT  
 her nest  
 109:28

'her nest,'

tɛkwàː(ɬiyéːrɔʔ)  
 tekwàːɬiyéːrɔʔ  
 te-t-wati-yerɔ-ʔ  
 DU-CIS-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-stay-STAT  
 they are in there  
 109:29

dēyàʔq̄mɛʔa  
 deyàʔq̄wɛʔa  
 de-yayɔ-Yɛʔa  
 SUBST-FEM.IND,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg-child.STAT  
 the: her children  
 109:30-31

'in which two young ones were sitting.'

te'di'	tūhə'	āyá·hāwí'c
tedih	tuha?	ayá:hawihš
tedih	tuha?	a-ya-hawi-hš
two	thereat	FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-carry-DISLOC.PUNC
two	over there	she carried <sup>121</sup>
109:32	109:33	109:34

de	yāró·ta'
de	yaró:ta?
de	ya-rqt-a?
SUBST	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-NOUN
the	log
109:35	109:36

'She had taken the log to her nest'

¶  
 iwé·he·  
 iwé:he:  
 i-w-ehe-:  
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-think-STAT  
 she wanted  
 109:37

awāfí·gāha	de
awatí:dyaha	de
a-wati-dya-ha	de
FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC	SUBST
them (to) eat	the
109:38	109:39

'for the little ones to eat'

tīhé'·trq'	yārqtāyq'
tihé?trq?	yarqtayqh
ti-h[ɛ]-i?trq-?	ya-rqt-a-yq-h
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-in-STAT
inside he sits	the log
109:40	109:41

---

<sup>121</sup> Anomalous ØPunctual suffix instead of the expected -a?.



ā'úgādi'  
 a?údyadih  
 a?-u-dyadi-h  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-elapse-PUNC  
 a long time  
 109:42

tu<sup>c</sup> ěhě'trɔ'  
 tuhehě'trɔ?  
 tu-he-h[ɛ]-i'trɔ-?  
 REM-TRANS-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 there: he sits  
 109:43-44

'the man inside it.'

¶  
 nɛ'dé'ja'  
 nɛ dé?ša?  
 nɛh de?ša?  
 now the.other  
 now too  
 109:45

awără'skwa'	de
awaráhskwa?	de
a-w-arahskw-a?	de
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC	SUBST
she went off	the
109:46	109:47

tsamɛhúhi'	něcihěwé'ta'	
tsawɛhúhi?	nɛ	šihewéhta?
tsawɛhúhi?	nɛh	ši-he-w-e-ht-a?
eagle	now	DISTAL-TRANS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-CAUS-HAB
eagle	when	off: she goes
109:48	109:49-51	

'After quite a while the eagle started off'

děyāwá·he's	
de	yawá:he?s
de	ya-w-a-he-?s
SUBST	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-take-JOIN-DISLOC-HAB
what	she gets
109:52-53	

děwǎtǐgá·ha  
 dewatidyá:ha  
 d-e-wati-dya-ha  
 SUBST-FUT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
 the: (for) them to eat  
 109:54-55

'in search of food'

dě	tǐcǎ'áha·	dě
de	tiža'áha:	de
de	ti-ža-?-a-ha	de
SUBST	3,non.sg-young-STAT-JOIN-DIM	SUBST
the	little ones	the
109:56	109:57	109:58

yayǒmé'ǎ'  
 yayǒwǎ'ah  
 yayǒ-Yǎ'ah  
 FEM.IND,sg:NON.MASC,non.sg-child.STAT  
 her children  
 109:59

de	tsǎmǎhúhi'
de	tsawǎhúhi?
de	tsawǎhuhí?
SUBST	eagle
the	eagle
109:60	109:61

'for her brood; while she was away,'

¶		dě
nǎhá·yǎhǎ'		de
nahá:yǎha?		de
n-a-ha-yǎ-ha?		SUBST
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC		the
then he gets out		110:02
110:01		

tihɛʔʔtrɔʔ  
 tihɛʔʔtrɔʔ  
 ti-h[ɛ]-iʔtrɔ-ʔ  
 CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 he sits  
 110:03

yārɔ·tāyɔʔ  
 yarɔ:tayɔh  
 ya-rɔt-a-yɔ-h  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-in-STAT  
 the log inside  
 110:04

'the hunter crawled out of the log, now his dwelling.'

¶		
dǎɛʔ	hǎʔʔrǎʔ	hǎgá·hac
daèʔ	hǎʔʔrǎʔ	hadyá:haš
daeʔ	hǎʔʔrǎʔ	ha-dya-haš
that.one	only	MASC,sg,AGT-eat-HAB
that one	just	he eats
110:05	110:06	110:07

dēyawá·heʔs  
 deyawá:heʔs  
 de-ya-w-a-he-ʔs  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-take-JOIN-DISLOC-HAB  
 what:she has carried in  
 110:08-09

'and ate some of the meat to be found there.'

duʔ<sup>u</sup> wáʔ(tsaʔ)  
 duʔwáhtsaʔ  
 d-u-ʔwahts-aʔ  
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-meat-NOUN  
 that: meat  
 110:10-11

dǎijúʔ  
 daizúh  
 daizuh  
 because  
 that is how  
 110:12

irɔtɛʔ  
 irɔtɛʔ  
 i-r-ɔte-ʔ  
 PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-alive-STAT  
 he (stays) alive  
 110:13

dǎ  
 da  
 hǎɔmǎʔǎʔ  
 haɔwáʔ  
 ha-ɔw-aʔ  
 MASC,sg,AGT-self-NOUN  
 that  
 himself  
 110:14  
 110:15

'That is really how he managed to keep himself alive.'

ahāyqñò'mə'cɛ' dré·  
 ahayqnyò'wahšedré:  
 a-hayq-nyq'wahše-dre-:  
 FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-bill-tie-PUNC  
 he their bills tied up  
 110:16

dētija'áha	dě
detiža'áha	de
de-t-i-ža-?-a-ha	de
SUBST-DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-young-STAT-JOIN-DIM	SUBST
(of) the:small ones	the
110:17-18	110:19

'Then he tied the young eagles' bills.'

tsamɛhúhi'	cɛ'kímɛ'täye'	
tsawɛhúhi?	šɛhk	iwɛtayeh
tsawɛhuhí?	ahšɛhk	i-w-ɛt-aye-h
eagle	three	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
eagles	three	days <sup>122</sup>
110:20	110:21-22	

na' ú'ke:ròhə'	de
na'úhke:ròha?	de
n-a?-u-ahkerq-ha?	de
TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-scared-PUNC	SUBST
then: she got scared	the
110:23-24	110:25

'After three days, the eagle mother began to worry.'

tsamɛhúhi'	dāijú'	ta-wátq'
tsawɛhúhi?	daižuh	ta:wá'tq?
tsawɛhuhí?	daižuh	t-a-w-a'tq-?
eagle	because	CONTR-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC
eagle	because	impossible
110:26	110:27	110:28

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<sup>122</sup>Although numbered and glossed as two words, this was originally written as two words and then changed to one.

'because her children could no longer'

du<sup>c</sup> sǎwátì·ga·há·

dusawátì:dya:há:

d-usa-wati-dya-ha

PART-REP.FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC

that: again they eat

110:29-30

na<sup>ʔ</sup>·yɛhǎq<sup>ʔ</sup>

na<sup>ʔ</sup>yɛhǎq<sup>ʔ</sup>

n-a<sup>ʔ</sup>-y[ɛ]-ihaq-<sup>ʔ</sup>

TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC

now: she said

110:31-32

a<sup>c</sup>skǎté·<sup>ʔ</sup>dütq<sup>ʔ</sup>

ahskǎté:dutq<sup>ʔ</sup>

a-hsk-atɛdutq-<sup>ʔ</sup>

FACT-2,sg:1,sg-speak-PUNC

thou (to) me speakest

110:33

'eat. She spoke to the hunter, saying, "Pray, tell me'

hǎ<sup>ʔ</sup>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>·<sup>ʔ</sup>jé·

ha<sup>ʔ</sup>ta:žé:

ha<sup>ʔ</sup>-t-a:-y-<sup>ʔ</sup>Ye

TRANS-DU-OPT-1,sg,AGT-do.PUNC

what I do

110:34

dusǎjútiǐjè·rí<sup>c</sup>

dusažútižè:rih

d-usa-Yuti-Yeri-h

PART-REP.FACT-NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-cure-PUNC

that: again they get well

110:35-36

ütí<sup>c</sup>cǎtùhǎnq<sup>ʔ</sup>

utihšatùhonyq<sup>ʔ</sup>:

uti-hšatur-honyq<sup>ʔ</sup>

NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-sick-DISTR.STAT

they are sick now

110:37

'what to do, for they are quite sick now'

ta·wáʔq  
 ta:wáʔq  
 t-a-w-aʔq-?  
 CONTR-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC  
 impossible  
 110:38

du·sǎ wǎti·gà·ha  
 du:sawáti:dyà:ha  
 d-u:sa-wati-dya-ha  
 PART-OPT.REP-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-eat-PUNC  
 that again: they eat  
 110:39-40

'and unable to swallow anything. How can they ever recover?''

¶  
 ahɛhaqʔ  
 ahɛhaqʔ  
 a-h[ɛ]-ihaq-?  
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 she said  
 110:41

tèʔya ʔdūróʔ  
 tèʔyaduróʔ  
 teʔ-ya-duró-?  
 NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-difficult-STAT  
 not: difficult  
 110:42-43

dǎè	háʔrəʔ
daè	háʔrəʔ
daeʔ	háʔrəʔ
that.one	only
that	only
110:44	110:45

'The man replied; "It is very simple;'

du sǎyǒí: ʔtrò·daʔ  
 dusayǒí:trò:daʔ  
 d-usa-yǒ-iʔtrò-d-aʔ  
 PART-REP.FACT-1,sg:2,sg-live-DISLOC-PUNC  
 if: back thou me takest  
 110:46-47

ũmɛ ʔgè·riʔ
uwɛdyè:rih
u-wɛdyeri-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-willing-STAT
she is willing
110:48

'take me back home!" She was now willing;'

nūsa:jātrí'wa<sup>c</sup>      cə'gà<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 nusa:žatrí:wahšrədyà?  
 n-usa-:ž-at-rihw-a-hšrədi-a?  
 TEMP-OPT.REP-MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-law-JOIN-make-PUNC  
 that again they two in agreement: made  
 110:49-50

'so they agreed'

du	tsaməhúhi <sup>ʔ</sup>	nəjǎ <sup>ʔ</sup> de·	
du	tsawəhúhi?	nəhša	de:
du	tsawəhuhí?	nəhša?	de
the	eagle	now.then	SUBST
that	eagle	now too	the
110:51	110:52	110:53-54	

'that the eagle'

rəmé <sup>c</sup>	ǎhù·nə <sup>ʔ</sup> t	dě
rəwéh	ahù:məht	de
r-əwe-h	a-hu-nəht	de
MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN	FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC	SUBST
he person	she (to) him gives	the
110:55	110:56	110:57

yadú'ta <sup>ʔ</sup>	ə(stə)'ta'ú <sup>c</sup>
yadú:ta?	əhstə?ta?úh
ya-dut-a?	əh-stə?ta?uh
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-charm-NOUN	NOT-something
charm	anything
110:58	111:01

'would give the man a charm'

tahütə·<sup>ʔ</sup>dürə'kwə<sup>ʔ</sup>  
 tahütə:dürəhkwa?  
 t-a-hu-atə-durə-hkw-a?  
 CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-difficult-INST-PUNC  
 he is able to do  
 111:02

dē	hàtǎ'ú <sup>ć</sup>	ε·réhò <sup>ʔ</sup>
de	hàtǎʔúh	ε:réhòʔ
de	hataʔuh	e-r-ehq-ʔ
SUBST	whatever	FUT-MASC,sg,AGT-think-PUNC
the	whatever	will he wish
111:03	111:04	111:05

'to bring about the realization of all'

awára·ha <sup>ʔ</sup>	hệhặ <sup>ʔ</sup>
awára:ha <sup>ʔ</sup>	hệha <sup>ʔ</sup> ʔ
a-wa-ra-ha <sup>ʔ</sup>	h[ɛ]-ihaq-ʔ
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-get-PUNC	MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
to do	he said <sup>123</sup>
111:06	111:07

ǎ'wá<sup>ʔ</sup>\*tù<sup>ʔ</sup>u  
aʔwáʔtò<sup>ʔ</sup>  
aʔ-w-aʔtq-ʔ  
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC  
it won't be  
111:08

'his wishes, and the hunter, on his part, promised'

tù·sǎri·ju <sup>ć</sup>	de
tù:sarí:žuh	de
t-u:sa-Ø-rižu-h	de
DU-OPT.REP-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC	SUBST
there:again I kill	the
111:09-10	111:11

tsǎmẹhú·hi <sup>ʔ</sup>	nɛ <sup>ć</sup>
tsawẹhú:hi <sup>ʔ</sup>	nẹh
tsawẹhuhi <sup>ʔ</sup>	nẹh
eagle	now
eagles	now
111:12	111:13

---

<sup>123</sup>Missing modal prefix.



sãhqmǿ'ʔtrɔ'da'  
 sahqwǿʔtrɔda?  
 s-a-hqw[ǿ]-iʔtrɔ-d-a?  
 REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-live-DISLOC-PUNC  
 back they him took  
 111:14

'never again to kill eagles. That is why the eagle then took him back'

¶  
 dǿke'dǎré'  
 dekyedaré?  
 de-t-ye-dare-?  
 SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-live-STAT  
 wherefrom: he lived  
 111:15-16

dǿtuñǿ'dé'ti'	daé'
detunyǿdéhth	daéʔ
de-t-(h)u-nyǿde-ht-ih	daeʔ
SUBST-CIS-MASC,sg,PAT-take-CAUS-STAT	that.one
there: they him had taken	the one
111:17-19	111:20

'to the place where he belonged.'

ʔdǿtĩcǎ'á'ha	tu'
detižaʔá:ha	tuh
de-ti-ža-ʔ-a-ha	tu
SUBST-3,non.sg-young-STAT-JOIN-DIM	REM
the: little ones	[unglossed] <sup>124</sup>
111:21-22	111:23

---

<sup>124</sup>The gloss given for this word, 'back they him put', probably goes with 111:26-27.

ʔdětù ñq ʔdétʔ  
 detùnyqdehtih  
 de-t-hu-nyqde-ht-ih  
 SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,sg,PAT-take-CAUS-STAT  
 [unglossed]<sup>125</sup>  
 111:24-25

tuhūsàhǝmá·kaʔ  
 tuhūsàhǝwá:hkaʔ  
 tuh-usa-hǝwa-hkw-aʔ  
 REM-OPT.REP-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-take-PUNC  
 [unglossed]  
 111:26-27

tūháʔcaʔ  
 tuháhšaʔ  
 tuháhšaʔ  
 and then  
 until  
 111:28-29

sǎhǎráʔskwaʔ  
 saharáhskwaʔ  
 s-a-h-arahskw-aʔ  
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC  
 back he went home  
 111:30

tuhūsá·reʔ  
 tuhúsá:reh  
 tu-h-usa-r-e-h  
 REM-TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC  
 there: back he walked  
 111:31-32

ʔdē	trǝ·ʔdǎqʔ
de	trǝ:daqʔ
de	t-r-qdaq-ʔ
SUBST	CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
where	his home
111:33	111:34

---

<sup>125</sup>Written and numbered as two words, neither being glossed.

ˈdɛʔkaʔ      ǎyɛːheʔ  
 déʔkaʔ      ayɛːheʔ  
 deʔkaʔ      ay-ɛhe-ʔ  
 then      FEM.IND,sg,AGT-think-STAT  
 this one      they thought  
 111:35      111:36

'His folk were quite surprised upon seeing him again and were quite glad.'

ˈdàʔũnɔːməʔ <sup>ʔ</sup>		ũməːjúː
dàʔ	unɔːwàʔ	ɔwàːʒúh
daʔ	u-nɔw-aʔ	qwa-ʒu-h
the	FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-family-NOUN	FEM.IND,sg:M-kill-STAT
the	his family	his is killed (by)
111:37	111:38	111:39

de	tsǎmɛhúːhiʔ	táʔə
de	tsawɛhúːhiʔ	táʔəh
de	tsawɛhuhíʔ	təʔəh
SUBST	eagle	no
the	eagles	no
111:40	111:41	111:42

'for they had thought that the eagles had destroyed him.'

teʔhɔməjúː	húsàhəʔ
teʔhɔwáʒuh	husàhəʔ
teʔ-hɔwa-ʒu-h	h-usa-ha-Yɔ-ʔ
NEG-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-kill-STAT	TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
not: they him killed	back he got home
111:43-44	111:45

ǎ  
 àʔɔtɔʔtáːrɛʔ  
 àʔɔtɔʔtáːrɛʔ  
 aʔ-ɔ-atɔtəʔ-ʔ  
 FACT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-glad-PUNC  
 they him were glad to see  
 111:46

dū sāhaq'  
 dusahaq'  
 d-usa-ha-Yq-?  
 PART-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC  
 when: back he got home  
 111:47-48

"dētrq "dáo'	nɛ
detrqáo'	nɛ
de-t-r-qdaq-?	nɛh
SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT	now
the: his home	now
111:49-50	111:51

sāhūnɛ·rōti'	nɛ'
sahunɛ:rōtih	nɛh
s-a-hu-nɛrōti-h	nɛh
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC	now
again he went hunting	now
111:52	111:53

'Soon the hunter started again for the hunt.'

sāhá'cu'	ahǎé'crá'
sahážu?	ahaǎšrà?
s-a-ha-žu-?	a-ha-Yǎšr-a?
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-kill-PUNC	FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-skin-PUNC
again he killed	he skinned
111:54	111:55

'and as was his habit, he killed and skinned the deer.'

a'tēñɛd'cɛ'	tsi"gá·ha·
atenyɛdihšɛ?	tsidyá:ha:
ate-nyɛdihš-ɛ?	tsi-dya-ha:
SEMI-finish-STAT	2,dl-eat-IMP
when it was finished	thou comest to eat
111:56	111:57

'and again he called: "Come to eat,'

tsāmḡhúhiʰ	təʰə	wá·ʰtuʰ
tsawḡhúhiʰ?	təʰə	wá:ʰtəʰ?
tsawḡhuhíʰ?	təʰəh	w-aʰtəʰ-ʰ
eagle	no	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-STAT
eagle	not	to be done
111:58	111:59	111:60

'O you eagles, because'

tu sǎrí:juʰ	de	tsamḡhúhiʰ
tusarí:žuʰ?	de	tsawḡhúhiʰ?
t-usa-Ø-rižu-h	de	tsawḡhuhíʰ?
DU-REP.FACT-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC	SUBST	eagle
there again: I kill	the	eagles
111:61-62	111:63	111:64

'I won't kill eagles any longer!" And so it happened;'

¶	
ǎʰúʰ(tǎhàʰ)	da·éʰ
aʰúhtahàʰ?	da:éʰ?
aʰ-u-ah̄ta-haʰ?	daeʰ?
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-eat.enough-PUNC	that.one
they got enough (to eat)	that is
112:01	112:02

àʰyǎrí:hò·ʰgaʰ  
 àʰyarí:hò:dyaʰ  
 aʰ-ya-rihw-ḡdi-aʰ  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-law-make-PUNC  
 the reason  
 112:03

'the eagles came down and had plenty to eat, for the man'

dēsù de trīwá·'cǒ"de  
 desùdatrīwá:hšǒdih  
 de-s-ud-at-rihw-a-hšrǒdi-h  
 SUBST-REP-NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-law-JOIN-make-STAT  
 that: they had an agreement  
 112:04-06<sup>126</sup>

dèyǒmǎyuwá·nǚ?	de	tsǎmǝhúhi?
dèyǒwayuwá:nǚ?	de	tsawǝhúhi?
de-yǒwa-yuwanǚ-?	de	tsawǝhuhi?
SUBST-3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-large-STAT	SUBST	eagle
the: he person great (leader)	the	eagles
112:07-08	112:09	112:10

'complied with the pact made with the chief of all the eagles'

### #31: The Dogs and the Wild Cotton

Recorded at Seneca, Missouri, in May 1912, from Catherine Johnson, with Mary Kelley and Allen Johnson as translators. C.f. Barbeau (1915b:251-252).

This short text is about a pun on the words for 'liver' and 'wild cotton', which are apparently different though similar. Unfortunately, Barbeau writes neither consistently enough to be sure what the difference is. However, since the free translations give *u'ndaa'wa* 'liver' and *unda'wa* 'wild cotton', the morphemes are tentatively set as *-?da?w-* 'liver' and *-da?w-* 'wild cotton'.

---

<sup>126</sup>Gloss comes from 4 and 5, with no gloss given numbered 6.

¶  
 hūtiʔjākqʰ  
 hutiʔžákqʰ  
 huti-ʔžákqʰ  
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-shoot.STAT  
 they hunting went  
 273:14

'A hunter, his wife, and their child went to the woods for the hunting season.'

haĕjātq·"dāqʰ  
 haežátq:daqʰ  
 h-ae-ž-at-qdaqʰ-ʔ  
 TRANS-OPT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-live-PUNC  
 they self build a dwelling  
 273:15

'There they built a house [with a fire and a smoke-hold in the center. There was a scaffold in the lodge upon which to dry meat].'

¶	
skātā	yumĕ·'ą
skat	ayuwĕ:ʔa
	ayu-Yĕʔa
	FEM.IND,sg.PAT-child.STAT
one	her child <sup>127</sup>
273:16	273:17

ijumĕʔʰ	u'dá'ʰwa
ižuwĕʔ	udáʔwa
i-Yu-awĕ-ʔ	u-daʔw-a
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-have-STAT	FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-cotton-NOUN
she has got	(wild) cotton
273:18	273:19

'As they had some *unda'wa* (wild cotton)'

---

<sup>127</sup>Note that the initial vowel of 'her child' is written by Barbeau as the final vowel of 'one'.

yānò'cāyó'cí·ya·r  
 yanòhšayó  
 ya-ʔnòhš-a-yq  
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-JOIN-in  
 it bag inside  
 273:20

ší:ya:rh  
 yonder is *or* that is in<sup>128</sup>

'in a bag,'

aʔyèhəó'  
 aʔyèhəó'  
 aʔ-y[ɛ]-ihaq-ʔ  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
 she said  
 273:21

kà'ªskānó'  
 kàʔskanó'  
 here: should be  
 273:22-23

'the woman said,'

īja'kó·tɛ'  
 ežahkó:tɛ'  
 e-y-Yahkót-ɛ'  
 FUT-1,sg,AGT-hang-PUNC  
 I it hang  
 273:24

du sājú'cstātɛ'  
 dusažúhstātɛh  
 d-usa-Yu-hstat-ɛ-h  
 PART-REP.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-dry-INCH-PUNC  
 that: where to (to) dry  
 273:25-26

ta'ªyá·kq'ªta  
 taʔyá:hkqta  
 t-aʔ-y-ahkót-a  
 CISLOC-FACT-1,sg,AGT-hang-PUNC  
 there I it hang  
 273:27

"I must hang the *unda'wa* (wild cotton) up there on the scaffold, that it may dry." And she hung it up.'

---

<sup>128</sup>Note that both words were originally written as one.



kāha'            ayɛhǎ́ǒ'  
kaha?            ayɛhaǒ?  
                    a-y[ɛ]-ihaǒ-?  
                    FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC  
there             she said  
273:28            273:29

tewǎhǒ'té·tsi'	ayɛhǎ́ǒ'
tewahǒhté:tsih	ayɛhaǒ?
te-w-ahǒht-etsi-h	a-y[ɛ]-ihaǒ-?
DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-ear-long-STAT	FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
she ears-long (dog)	she said
273:30	273:31

'The long-eared [hound, having overheard her remark, spoke to the other dogs,] saying,'

tsi'neṅ·nǒ·	ayà'"da'ǔrá·ha'
tsihneṅ·nǒ:	ayà'da?urá:ha?
	a-ya-da?ura-ha?
	FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-able-PUNC
who: can or could <sup>129</sup>	she is able (to do it)
273:32-33	273:34-35

nǎyá'kǒtá·wa'  
náyáhkǒtá:wǎ?  
n-a-y-ahkǒt-a-w-a?  
TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hang-JOIN-UNDO-PUNC  
that: she dehangs (or unhangs)  
273:36-37

'''Who could unhook'

---

<sup>129</sup>This word may possibly be either two separate particles:

tsineṅ:	nǒ:
'who is it	may be'

or a semi-analyzable noun:

tsi-nyenǒ  
ZOIC-dog

The noun interpretation would be an interesting replacement of the feminine-zoic agent by the simple zoic used in many animal names.

dù<sup>u</sup>dá<sup>u</sup>wa  
 dù?dá?wa  
 d-u-?da?w-a  
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-liver-NOUN  
 the: liver (cotton)  
 273:38-39

ayèhăq <sup>u</sup>	dî <sup>i</sup>	skănó
ayèhaq?	di?	skanó
a-y[ç]-ihaq-?		
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC		
she said	I	may be
273:40	273:41	273:42

' the u'ndaa'wa (the liver)?' [Another] replied, "It is I, no doubt!"

¶  
 tūhakwe<sup>u</sup>dá<sup>u</sup>skwa<sup>u</sup>  
 tuha?kwèdá?skwa?  
 tu-h-a?-t-w-ç-da?skw-a?  
 REM-TRANS-FACT-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-jump-PUNC  
 there: she jumped  
 273:43-44

ăyá<sup>u</sup>kq<sup>u</sup>tăwá<sup>u</sup>  
 ayáhkqtawá?  
 a-y-ahkqt-a-w-a?  
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hang-JOIN-UNDO-PUNC  
 she dehangs (or unhangs)  
 273:45

de	tăwăhç <sup>u</sup> té <sup>u</sup> tsi <sup>u</sup> s
de	tewahçté:tsihs
de	te-w-ahçht-etsi-hs
SUBST	DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-ear-long-STAT.PL
the	she ears-long (dog)
273:46	273:47

yǎñǰ·nɔʼ	aʼ <sup>a</sup> yaáʼkɔʼ
yanyé:nɔh	aʼyaáʼkɔʼ?
ya-nyɛnɔh	aʼ-ya-Yaʼy-hɔ-ʼ
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-dog	FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-break-DISTR-PUNC
dog	she tore it up
273:48	273:49

'The long-eared-one leaped, unhooked the bag, 'and tore it to pieces.'

dē	yaʼnɔʼcaʼ	dae
de	yaʼnɔʼhǰaʼ?	dae
de	ya-ʼnɔʼhǰ-aʼ	daeʼ
SUBST	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-NOUN	that.one
the	it bag	this
274:01	274:02	274:03

hǰ <sup>a</sup> ʼrǰʼ	dũdáʼ <sup>a</sup> wa
hǰʼrǰʼ?	dudáʼwa
hǰʼrǰʼ?	d-u-daʼw-a
only	SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-cotton-NOUN
only (or all)	yihe! <sup>133</sup>
274:04	274:05

'It was only the *undaʼwa* (the wild cotton).'

---

<sup>133</sup>The actual gloss is probably 'cotton'. The word *yihe!* is a formulaic expression usually appearing at the ends of texts.

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