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The elaboration of verbal structure: Wendat (Huron) verb morphology

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by

Megan Elizabeth Lukaniec

Committee in charge:

Professor Marianne Mithun, Chair

Professor Eric W. Campbell

Professor Wallace Chafe

Professor Bernard Comrie

Professor Karin Michelson, State University of New York at Buffalo

September 2018

The dissertation of Megan Elizabeth Lukaniec is approved.

_____

Eric W. Campbell

_____

Wallace Chafe

_____

Bernard Comrie

_____

Karin Michelson, State University of New York at Buffalo

_____

Marianne Mithun, Committee Chair

July 2018

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Vita

Megan Elizabeth Lukaniec

September 2018

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts in Native American Studies & French, Dartmouth College, June 2006.

Master of Arts in Linguistics and Anthropology, Université Laval, June 2010.

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2018.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Assistant Professor in Indigenous Language Revitalization, Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria, July 2018 – present.

Director, Wendat Language Office, Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation, August 2018 – present.

Linguist, Wendat Language Project, CDFM huron-wendat (Centre de développement, de formation et de la main-d'œuvre huron-wendat), Fall 2012 – Winter 2018.

Teaching Associate, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara, Summer 2017.

Teaching Assistant, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara, Fall 2014, Winter 2015, Spring 2015, Winter 2017, and Spring 2017.

Research Professional (Linguistics), Project Yawenda (SSHRC CURA grant), Université Laval, Spring 2010 – Fall 2012.

Research Assistant (Linguistics), Project Yawenda (SSHRC CURA grant), Université Laval, Fall 2007 – April 2010.

PUBLICATIONS

2017. *Wendat-French-English online dictionary*. Wendat Kwawennontahkwih [We all speak Wendat, we have the voice of the Wendat Nation]. With the CDFM Huron-Wendat (Centre de développement, de la formation et de la main d'œuvre huron-wendat), Wendake, QC. <wendatlanguage.com>

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2011. *The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat* (Document de recherche Yawenda 9) Québec, QC: Université Laval, Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones.

AWARDS

2018. Award for Best Student Presentation, Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (SSILA).

AY 2017-18. Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Dissertation Completion Fellowship.

AY 2017-18. Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship (declined), Ford Foundation.

AY 2017-18. Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Native American Studies Initiative (NASI) Digital Knowledge Sharing Fellowship, Center for Native American and Indigenous Research (CNAIR), American Philosophical Society.

2016. Humanities in the Community Scholar, Interdisciplinary Humanities Center (IHC), University of California, Santa Barbara.

2012. Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowship, Ford Foundation.

2012. Cota-Robles Graduate Fellowship, University of California, Santa Barbara.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Indigenous language revitalization and reclamation

Iroquoian linguistics with Professors Marianne Mithun, Wallace Chafe, and Karin Michelson

Morphology and typology with Professors Marianne Mithun and Bernard Comrie

Historical linguistics and grammaticalization with Professors Marianne Mithun, Wallace Chafe, and Eric Campbell

Abstract

The elaboration of verbal structure: Wendat (Huron) verb morphology

by

Megan Elizabeth Lukaniec

The Wendat language, also known as Huron or Huron-Wendat, was traditionally spoken in southern Ontario and Quebec. Wendat, and its southern dialect Wyandot, is part of the larger Iroquoian language family, which includes the Six Nations languages (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Tuscarora) as well as Cherokee. Due to a diaspora beginning in the mid-17th century, Wendat and Wyandot communities exist today in Quebec, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Michigan. Wendat and Wyandot are formerly sleeping, or dormant, languages, meaning that there was a complete break in intergenerational transmission of the language. Wendat proper was dormant for well over a century, yet the Wyandot dialect was last spoken in Oklahoma in the late 1960s. Both are undergoing revitalization and reclamation efforts today.

The present work is a comprehensive study of the verb morphology of this Indigenous language of Canada. Wendat is a polysynthetic language, with an elaborate set of pronominal prefixes, extensive derivational affixes, and a productive process of noun incorporation. The introductory chapter presents information about the Wendat people and their language, provides a brief overview of the Iroquoian family and scholarship pertaining to these

languages, and finally, gives details about the legacy materials and methodology used for the present analysis.

Due to its dormancy, research and revitalization are based entirely upon archival records. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the language was documented extensively by missionaries, especially by those of the Jesuit order. During this time, the missionary scholars produced twelve manuscript dictionaries, three Latinate grammars and numerous ecclesiastical texts. All data presented in this study are reconstructed using comparative data from the Northern Iroquoian branch of the family.

A short outline of segmental phonology in Wendat is provided in the second chapter, and the remaining six chapters describe the morphological structure of verbs. These chapters are organized by structural positions in the verbal template. Specifically, Chapter 3 describes the minimal verb in Wendat, which consists of a verb base, a pronominal prefix, and an aspect-mood suffix. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 each pertain to a different part of the complex verb base in Wendat, namely the prepronominal prefixes, the voice prefixes, the incorporated noun, and the derivational suffixes, respectively. The final chapter, Chapter 8, discusses the expanded aspect-mood suffixes.

This work responds both to the lack of modern linguistic research on Wendat and to the need for reference materials for language revitalization purposes. Furthermore, since Wendat (and its dialect Wyandot) constitutes its own branch in the Iroquoian family, reconstructions of Proto-Iroquoian can be further refined with the addition of these data. Finally, Wendat is known to have had linguistic (and cultural) influences on many of its sister languages, and therefore, this study could help elucidate how these languages evolved to their modern states.

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Abbreviations

1	first person		IND	indefinite
2	second persion		INS	instrumental
3	third person		LK	linker
AGT	agent		M	masculine
AMBL	ambulative		MID	middle voice
AMPL	amplifier		N	neuter
BEN	benefactive		NEG	negative
CAUS	causative		NMLZ	nominalizer
CISLOC	cislocative		NSF	noun suffix
COIN	coincident		NSG	non-singular
CONT	continuative		OPT	optative
CONTR	contrastive		PART	partitive
DIR	directive		PAST	past
DISLOC	dislocative		PAT	patient
DISTR	distributive		PL	plural
DU	dual		PFV	perfective
DUPL	duplicative		PROG	progressive
EXCL	exclusive		PROTH	prothetic
FACT	factual		PURP	purposive
FREQ	frequentative		REFL	reflexive
FUT	future		REP	repetitive
FZ	feminine-zoic		REV	reversive
FZ/N	feminine-zoic/neuter		SG	singular
HAB	habitual		STAT	stative
IMP	imperative		STAT.DISTR	stative-distributive
INCH	inchoative		TRANS	translocative
INCL	inclusive			

Chapter 1

Introduction

The present chapter provides an overview about the Wendat people (§1.1) and their language (§1.2), including details about the relationship between Wendat and Wyandot, and the language reclamation processes that are currently underway for both. Section 1.3 discusses the Iroquoian family as a whole, and reports on the available linguistic descriptions of these languages. A summary of the legacy documentation currently available for both Wendat and Wyandot is presented in §1.4. Section 1.5 outlines the sources of data and the methodologies used in the present study, with additional information about the presentation of examples. Finally, a brief conclusion is presented in §1.6.

1.1. The Wendat people

The Wendat are an Iroquoian people, both linguistically and culturally, whose traditional homelands extend eastward from the Georgian Bay area of Lake Huron in Ontario to a wide

region surrounding the reserve of Wendake in Québec.[1] The history of the Wendat people is fairly well-documented, given the early and ongoing relationships with the colonizers and their missionaries. As such, these sections can only provide but a glimpse into the rich record of Wendat history, as there are major works that pertain solely to this topic. Some of the well-known monographs on this topic, in chronological order, include Heidenreich (1971), Trigger (1976), Tooker (1991), Sioui (1994), Vincent (1995), Labelle (2013), and Peace & Labelle (eds., 2016). It should be noted that the authors Sioui (1994) and Vincent (1995) are Wendat themselves, and as such, provide an Indigenous perspective about the history of their people.

1.1.1. The Wendat Confederacy

The Wendat were historically organized into a confederacy of four, or possibly five, nations when the Europeans first arrived in Wendat country. These member nations included the *Attignawantan* (Bear), *Attigneenongahak* (Cord), *Arendahronon* (Rock), *Tahontaenrat* (Deer), and *Ataronchronon* (Bog),[2] the last of which is the group whose membership in the confederacy is unclear in the historical record.

The Jesuit missionaries noted that there were dialects of Wendat among the different nations, yet were quite vague about how these dialect differences manifested themselves. Using the manuscript data available, Steckley (2004) tackles this question, but any assertions regarding the Wendat dialects, however, are difficult to verify. Since most of the manuscript

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[1] For further details about the traditional territory of this people, visit the *Carte du Nionwentsïo* [Map of the Nionwentsïo] on the website of the Huron-Wendat Nation for <http://wendake.ca/services/bureau-du-nionwentsio/carte-du-nionwentsio/>.

[2] Unlike all other language data presented in this work, the names of these members nations, as they are found here, are not reconstructed or standardized. Further research is needed in order to find cognates and reconstruct these words.

sources are not dated, it is difficult to determine whether or not variations in transcription among these sources represent synchronic differences distributed across dialects or gradual, diachronic changes that pertain to the language as a whole.

There are two terms that are commonly used to refer to the Wendat people: Wendat and Huron. The first of the two, *Wendat*, is the endonym for this people, yet its etymology is unclear. Scholars have long debated about the composition and meaning of this word, and a summary of this debate is outlined in Steckley (2007a). The first hypothesis proposes that the word *Wendat* means 'islanders' or 'dwellers of the peninsula,' which Tuscarora scholar J.N.B. Hewitt (1907:584) concedes to be the "most obvious meaning" of this "designation of doubtful analysis and signification". Other scholars such as Floyd Lounsbury (Tooker 1978c; cited in Steckley 2007a) believe that the word consists of the noun root *-wend-* (/węn/) for 'voice, language' incorporated into the verb *-t-* 'to be one,' thus having a meaning similar to 'one language'. The last hypothesis, put forth by researcher Marius Barbeau (n.d.:43), claims that the word *Wendat* (or *Wandat*, in the Wyandot dialect) contains the noun root for 'village, town' *-ndat-* and thus, would mean something akin to 'villagers'.

The French, however, referred to the Wendat people as *Huron*. This exonym was most likely derived from the French word *hure* for 'boar's head', as a common hairstyle of Wendat men during this period resembled a 'boar's head' to the French. An alternative analysis of *Huron* is given by Trigger (1976:27), who notes that *Huron* was a term in Old French that meant 'ruffian' or 'rustic'. However, the historical record created by the Jesuits supports the earlier hypothesis. In a 1639 account made by the Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant (Thwaites, 1896-1901, 16:229-231), he explains his understanding of how this name arose:

Arriving at the French settlement, some Sailor or Soldier seeing for the first time this species of barbarians, some of whom wore their hair in ridges, — a ridge of hair one or two fingers wide appearing upon the middle of their heads, and on either side the same amount being shaved off, then another ridge of hair; others having one side of the head shaved clean, and the other side adorned with hair hanging to their shoulders, — this fashion of wearing the hair making their heads look to him like those of boar [*hures*], led him to call these barbarians "Hurons;" and this is the name that has clung to them ever since.

Both the endonym *Wendat* and the exonym *Huron* are used today by members of the present-day First Nation and its governing body. The official name of this community, as recognized by the Canadian federal government, is the Huron-Wendat Nation, or la *Nation huronne-wendat*. In the past two to three decades, there has been a shift within the community, especially among younger generations, to use the endonym *Wendat* exclusively. Therefore, an increasing number of community members refer to themselves as *Wendat* rather than as *Hurons*. Accompanying this change, the name *Wendake*, instead of *Village huron*, is used with increasing frequency to refer to the Wendat reserve in the province of Québec.

1.1.2. The missionary presence among the Wendat

The Wendat have had missionaries among them since the early colonization efforts of what the settlers called *Nouvelle France*. The majority of the missionaries who stayed among the Wendat people were of the Jesuit order, yet the very first missionaries were Récollet. In 1615, the Récollet brother Joseph Le Caron made an initial visit to the Wendat, then living in the Georgian Bay region in modern-day Ontario. Due to his popular publications about life among the Wendat, including the 1632 work *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* [The long journey to the country of the Hurons], Récollet Gabriel Sagard, however, is the most well-known of

the Récollet brothers to visit this people. He arrived in *Nouvelle France* in 1623 and was stationed in Wendat country until 1624 (Trigger 1976:395).

During these initial years of settlement in *Nouvelle France*, the Récollet missionaries sought to cooperate with the incoming Jesuit missionaries. The first Jesuits to arrive in the years 1625 and 1626 included Jean de Brébeuf and Charles Lalemant, both of whom would soon settle in Wendat country (Hanzeli 1969:19). The first mission in Wendat country, the St. Gabriel mission, was founded by the Jesuit father Brébeuf and others in 1626. However, due to the possession of the colony by the British in 1629, the efforts of both the Récollet and Jesuit missionaries ceased. Three years later, in 1632, upon the negotiation between the invading nations about their supremacy in this colony, the French and their missionaries were able to return to the colony to resume their work (Hanzeli 1969:20).

The decades following this re-entry into *Nouvelle France* represent an intense period of Jesuit missionary work in the region, both with other Iroquoian peoples and with neighboring Algonquian peoples. The Récollets, however, were not able to resume their work, as the Jesuits used political, economic and moral arguments to officials and the French public about their moral and linguistic superiority in the task of evangelizing "les sauvages" (Trigger 1976:403). It is during this lobbying and propagandizing period that Gabriel Sagard decided to publish his account of his time among the Wendat, which became available in Paris in 1632. Through this work, Sagard and his fellow Récollets hoped to garner support for their return to the colony.

Brébeuf continued his work among the Wendat, purporting himself to be an expert in Wendat language and linguistics (Vincent 1995:387). During his first stay among the Wendat, Brébeuf translated a catechism in Wendat, which was then published in France starting in 1630

(Hanzeli 1969:20). Albeit the work was formulated by the burgeoning language skills of a Jesuit missionary and not by a Wendat person, this catechism is the first Wendat text to be published.

The Jesuit re-entry into *Nouvelle France* also began the tradition of the Relations, widely known as the Jesuit Relations due to Thwaites' (1896-1901) popular re-edition of the series. These Relations were compiled annually by the superior of the mission, the first being Père Paul Le Jeune, and were subsequently sent to France to be published and consumed by the public. The Relations ran from 1632 to 1672 and covered the activities of Jesuit missions throughout North America.

The Jesuit presence among the Wendat remained strong through the 20th century. In fact, the Catholic church still stands in the center of *Vieux Wendake*, the old portion of the Wendat reserve located outside of Québec City. Despite the long-standing presence of the Church, it is unclear how effective this missionization continues to be. Older generations of Wendat still frequent the church and attend Mass, yet it is unclear whether or not younger generations are becoming members of the Church. Furthermore, the primary school on the reserve is no longer under the control of the Church. At the same time, there has been a return to traditional ceremonial practices, in the form of longhouse ceremonies, for the past three decades. Therefore, Wendat children are increasingly being exposed to and raised with traditional longhouse practices rather than Catholic ones.

1.1.3. The Wendat diaspora

Due to various consequences of the colonial project, including devastating epidemics and the exacerbation of tensions between the Wendat and Iroquois confederacies, most of the Wendat moved away from the Georgian Bay, the western region of their traditional homelands, starting in 1649. The decision to move out of the area was also influenced by a severe drought in 1649 and 1650, which affected the availability of food sources in the region (Labelle 2013:66).

The resulting diaspora led to the present-day locations of Wendat and Wyandot(te) communities. A group of Wendat moved toward the eastern portion of their traditional homelands, in the region surrounding Québec City, and this same population is known today as the Huron-Wendat Nation. Another group of Wendat people moved south through what is now Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma to become the Wyandot. Still other groups of Wendat joined neighboring Iroquoian communities, especially the Seneca and the Onondaga, and were eventually adopted and assimilated into these societies. A fuller portrait of the 17th century Wendat diaspora is presented in Labelle (2013).

1.1.4. Present-day Wendat and Wyandot(te) communities

The modern Wendat community, headquartered on the reserve in Québec, is home to roughly 1,500 of its approximately 5,000 community members. Due to the history of colonization experienced by this people and the reserve's location in the province of Québec, the vast majority of Wendat are Francophone, with the minority being Anglophone.

The Wyandot are located mainly in three communities in the United States: the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon

(Michigan). The Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, centrally located in the town of Wyandotte, Oklahoma, consists of approximately 5,800 members (Divine n.d.), with much smaller populations in the Kansas and Michigan communities. In contrast to the Québec Wendat, members of these three communities are primarily Anglophone.

1.2. The Wendat language

The Wendat language, also known as Huron or Huron-Wendat, was traditionally spoken in southern Ontario and Québec. Wendat proper was dormant for well over a century, though it is currently undergoing language reclamation efforts. Wyandot, however, was spoken until the end of the 1960s in Oklahoma. Further information about the relationship between Wendat and Wyandot can be found in §1.2.1. A description of the process of language loss and reawakening is found in §1.2.2.

1.2.1. Wendat in relation to Wyandot

As noted in §1.1.3, the split between the Wendat and Wyandot first began in the second half of the 17th century. The word *wyandot* is thought to be an Anglophone rendering of the word *wendat*. However, this group of Wendat turned Wyandot was most likely not homogeneous. Historians, linguists and archaeologists point to different types of evidence to assert that remnants of other Iroquoian peoples joined this southbound Wendat group (see Garrad 2014; also Kopris 2001 and Trigger 1976). In particular, members of groups such as the Petun (also known as the Tionnontati or Tobacco Nation), Neutral, Erie, and Wenro possibly joined this band of Wendat individuals. Unfortunately, there is limited information about these groups or

their languages outside of scattered historical documents. Futhermore, since these Iroquoian peoples most likely fled and assimilated into neighboring groups, these peoples do not exist today as separate bands or nations.

The Wyandot language, lasting approximately a century longer than Wendat, has been analyzed as both a dialect and a sister language to Wendat (see Kopris 2001 for further discussion). There are known phonological, grammatical, and lexical differences between Wendat and Wyandot. In particular, Wyandot has a voiced palatal fricative *ž* as part of its inventory while Wendat does not. This segment descends primarily from historical *ry, *hy, or *ky* clusters (Kopris 2001:67).

Another phonological difference between the two concerns the status of *n* and *d*. Both Wendat and Wyandot share the phonological alternation of /n/ to [d] before an oral vowel, yet remaining [n] before a nasal vowel. In Wyandot, however, the segments *n* and *d* seem to have evolved into a phonemic rather than allophonic difference (see Kopris 2001:69). This partial phonemicization of *d* does differentiate Wyandot from Wendat, but it does not pose a problem for analyses of Wyandot as a dialect of Wendat, as it could be simply a Wyandot innovation.

Certain lexical differences also seem to exist between Wendat and Wyandot. For example, the word for 'porcupine' in Wendat dictionaries is transcribed as *oʻche* or *oche*. However, in Wyandot, we find a non-cognate lexical item. The earliest transcription of this lexical item is found in Potier's 1747 short thematic vocabulary as *ts8nnenhenkaa* (178). Although earlier described as Wendat documentation, since Potier traveled between Quebec and Michigan, this manuscript is arguably a Wendat and Wyandot manuscript. Later Wyandot transcriptions include *tsĭnε̧'ᵋká'ᵃ* (Barbeau 1960:43) and *tsēh-nĕh-käh-äh* (Hewitt n.d.-b:5). This lexical

difference, as well as others, may be due to dialect differences or substratum influences from the other merged Iroquoian groups.

In terms of grammar, the languages are quite similar. Some differences do exist, including the inventory of pronominal prefixes. Kopris (2001:370) demonstrates that Wendat, but not Wyandot, has more distinctions in its pronominal prefix categories. Unlike Wyandot or other Lake Iroquoian languages, the former, for example, has distinct categories for transitives with dual and plural agents. Kopris (2001:373) believes that Wendat innovated these distinctions, whereas Wyandot was more conservative, similar to the other Lake Iroquoian languages.

From an ethnographic perspective, there are differences in the clan systems of Wendat and Wyandot societies. Wendat dictionaries list eight clans: bear, deer, turtle, beaver, wolf, loon, hawk, and fox (Ms FHO n.d.:55). However, the Wyandot clan system historically included nine clans, including: big turtle, prairie turtle, small turtle, hawk, deer, porcupine, beaver, and wolf. Some overlap occurs between the two systems, but the variation suggests different compositions of the two societies. Of note, Barbeau also recorded Wyandot narratives discussing the reorganization of the clans and phratries due to the adoption of individuals from different nations (see Barbeau 1915).

These lexical, grammatical, phonological and societal differences seem to result from the diversity of the Wendat turned Wyandot group. Kopris (2001:362) outlines several possibilities to account for these differences: 1) Wendat and Wyandot descended from different dialects of the original Wendat confederacy; 2) the temporal disparity of the Wendat and Wyandot documentation and geographic separation of the groups led to these differences; or 3) the language recorded as 'Wyandot' is actually Petun or Tionnontati. However, if one relies on the

significance of naming and claiming, the last hypothesis seems unlikely. In other words, the name of this group is Wyandot, which is clearly a variant (or Anglophone distortion) of Wendat. The fact that the name Wyandot was retained by this group points to the fact that Wendat made up the majority of the population and held political power. Finally, Wyandot individuals have historically and still presently claim affiliation to the former Wendat Confederacy. Wendat and Wyandot individuals in Canada and the U.S. consider themselves to be closely related, despite current language barriers (French versus English).

Due to these various pieces of evidence, the differences between Wendat and Wyandot seem minor in comparison to their overwhelmingly similarities and shared innovations. Thus, the current state of research suggests that Wyandot was a dialect of Wendat with substratum (or substrata) influences from the languages of Iroquoian adoptees, including the Petun, the Neutral and others.

1.2.2. Wendat and Wyandot language loss and reclamation

For both Wendat and Wyandot, there has been an interruption in the intergenerational transmission of these languages. These ruptures in transmission were due to a number of historical factors, and most notably, by colonization, missionization, and the subsequent, far-reaching legacies of the two. Due to separation of these groups in the mid-17th century, Wendat and Wyandot experienced different trajectories of language loss, with Wendat becoming

dormant in Québec during the second half of the 20th century (and perhaps even earlier[3]), and

with Wyandot becoming dormant in Oklahoma in the late 1960s.

The gradual loss of Wendat did not go unnoticed by the Wendat people. In 1850, in a

speech made before the Archbishop of Québec, the Chief François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché

laments that:

> Notre race diminue toujours, et notre langue est presque éteinte. Nous nous plaignons, nous autres jeunes, que nos pères ne nous l'aient point montrée, et aussi de ce que nous n'ayons pas eu de missionaires qui auraient pu l'apprendre et nous l'enseigner à leur tour. Il a fallu tout étudier en français, les prières et le catéchisme ; cela a bien aidé à la perdre. [Our race is still diminishing, and our language is almost extinct. We complain, us young ones, that our fathers didn't teach us it, and also that we didn't have any missionaries who could have learned it and then taught it to us. It was necessary to study everything in French, the prayers and catechisms; that really helped to lose it.] (Lindsay 1900:249)

This 1850 statement, which implies that the language was no longer being transmitted to

children, points to Wendat becoming moribund at some point in the previous decades, i.e. most

likely during the first half of the 19th century.

Although it is not possible to discern exactly when the language shifted from being

moribund to becoming dormant, the historical record seems clear on the fact that this occurred

before the turn of the 20th century. Father Jones, in his 1908 analysis of Wendat toponyms,

states that his linguistic work is quite difficult "as Huron became practically a dead language

a score of years ago" (169). Furthermore, the ethnologist Marius Barbeau, who hoped to

document and analyze the Wendat language, was unable to find a speaker of the language when

he visited *Village huron* in 1911. Instead, Barbeau found a few individuals, notably Prosper

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[3] Using historical accounts made by visitors and researchers, Lainé (2010) dates the loss of the language at earlier point in time, and specifically, before 1825.

Vincent and Caroline Gros-Louis, who knew traditional Wendat songs, but who were not speakers. Barbeau subsequently recorded these songs on wax cylinders in the years 1911 and 1912, and he conducted other ethnographic fieldwork, pertaining to Wendat traditional stories and cultural practices, with Wendat individuals in French.[4]

In the last forty years or so, there have been multiple community-led initiatives aimed at reawakening the Wendat language. In the previous decades, some of the major language champions include Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, Linda Sioui, and Michel Gros-Louis. Due to a lack of funding and human resources, these efforts were unable to continue. However, one of the outcomes of these efforts was the creation of a Wendat Language Committee, composed entirely of volunteers from the community. This committee supported the standardization of the language, both in terms of its orthography and its pronunciation. Finally, these early initiatives set the stage for the development of a major language revitalization project.

In 2007, a Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) grant was awarded to Université Laval in collaboration with the Huron-Wendat Nation by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada. The project funded by this five-year grant was entitled Yawenda, or 'the voice,' which began in 2007 and ended in 2012. The initial project goals were to reconstruct the language through the use of Jesuit manuscripts and comparative Iroquoian data; produce materials for learning and teaching the language; train language teachers; and finally, teach the language to community members of all ages.

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[4] The materials resulting from this fieldwork are part of the Fonds Barbeau, which is housed in the Canadian Museum of History (see Barbeau 1911-1964).

It has been over a decade since the beginning of Project Yawenda. During this time, many advances were made in reawakening the language, including training a group of teachers in basic Wendat grammar and vocabulary, revising the standardization of Wendat orthography and pronunciation, and offering language courses to teens and adults through the adult education center, the CDFM Huron-Wendat (Centre de développement, de la formation et de la main-d'œuvre huron-wendat), on the reserve. Wendat language lessons are currently being offered through the combined art, music, language, and culture class at the tribal primary school, École Wahta'. Furthermore, educators at the daycare center, CPE Orak (Centre de petite enfance Orak), on the reserve offer language lessons to preschool children. Five short illustrated lexicons with accompanying audio were developed and published by members of the project. Finally, the reconstruction process, consisting of using comparative data to reconstruct Wendat archival data, continues to this day by the author.

A major addition to the current offerings of the language includes the creation of an online trilingual Wendat-French-English dictionary (wendatlanguage.com), which currently includes over 600 entries, many of which have accompanying multimedia files. Another portion of this site includes interactive language lessons and games in order to meet the needs of the Wendat diasporic population.

While the end of Project Yawenda in 2012 signaled the end of official collaboration with Université Laval on this particular endeavor, revitalization efforts continue to this day and are spearheaded and directed by community members. Since 2012, the language project has been housed in the CDFM Huron-Wendat, a branch of the Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation.

In terms of Wyandot revitalization efforts, there are dedicated individuals, such as Richard Zane Smith (Wyandotte Nation of Kansas) and the linguist Craig Kopris, who lead efforts to relearn and teach this Wendat dialect to members of the three Wyandot communities.

1.3. Iroquoian linguistics and language family

Iroquoian languages were traditionally spoken in communities dotted throughout a large region, extending from the southeastern United States to southern Ontario and Quebec. The family, shown in Figure 1, has two primary branches: Southern Iroquoian and Northern Iroquoian. The Southern branch consists only of Cherokee and its various dialects, but the more diverse Northern branch consists of Tuscarora, Wendat (and Wyandot), and the Five Nations languages.
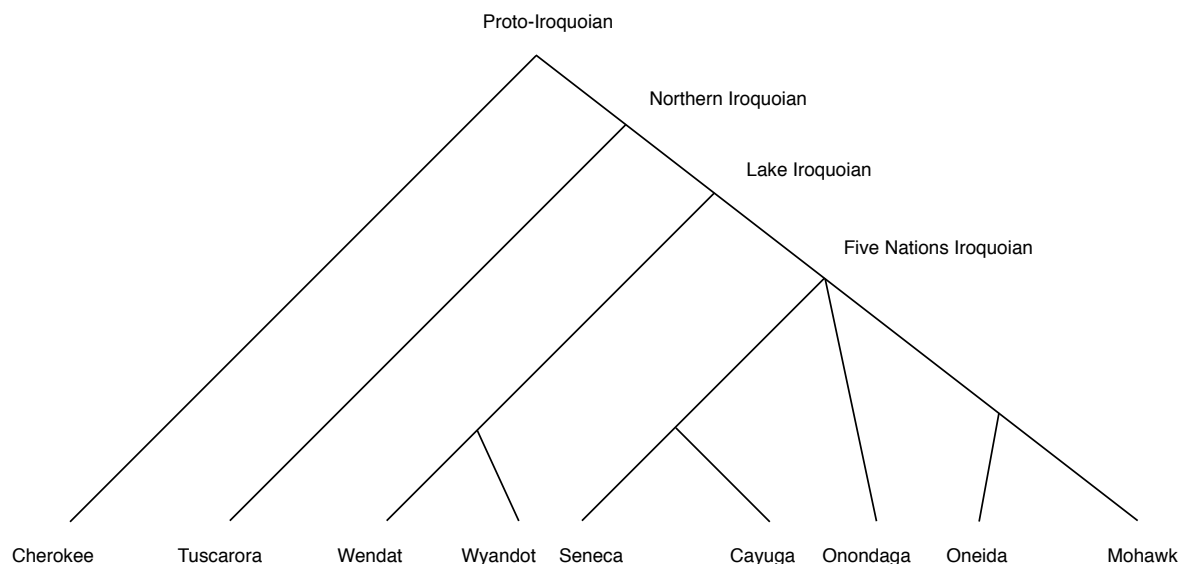
Figure 1: Iroquoian family tree

Albeit there were complete breaks in the transmission of Wendat (and Wyandot), all Iroquoian languages are spoken today, yet with varying degrees of vitality among communities. Linguistic documentation exists for all of these Iroquoian languages. However, as would be expected, there are differences in the breadth, depth, and availability of published resources, and the historical period in which the documentation took place. Major published works concerning these languages date primarily after the second half of the 20th century, beginning with Floyd Lounsbury's (1953) *Oneida Verb Morphology*. The remainder of this section describes these primary modern linguistic works.

Cherokee was traditionally spoken in the southeastern U.S. and is currently spoken in North Carolina and Oklahoma. Several dialects of Cherokee can be found in each region. For North Carolina Cherokee, there are two significant published works: a grammar and dictionary by King (1975) and a grammar by Cook (1979). Oklahoma Cherokee has more recently published scholarship including a grammar by Montgomery-Anderson (2015) and a study on tone by Uchihara (2013). A dictionary of Oklahoma Cherokee was published in 1975 by Feeling and Pulte. Additionally, Scancarelli (1987) discusses grammatical relations and verb agreement in Oklahoma Cherokee.

Tuscarora was the first language to separate from the remaining Northern Iroquoian languages. It was traditionally spoken in North Carolina and Virginia, but modern communities exist in the state of New York and Ontario. Jonathan Napoleon Brinton Hewitt, himself Tuscarora, transcribed texts and compiled a slip dictionary during the late 19th and early 20th century. These manuscripts are housed in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution. Rudes and Crouse 1987 is an edited volume of some of Hewitt's

materials. In 1976, Mithun Williams published a grammar of Tuscarora. Rudes (1999) compiled a dictionary of Tuscarora from his own fieldwork, along with data from various linguists such as Mithun and Hewitt and early collectors such as Lawson. Two interlinear texts are found in an edited volume of Northern Iroquoian texts by Mithun and Woodbury (1980). Additional grammatical information and analyses can be found in Mithun Williams (1973; 1974) and Mithun (1983; 1987b; 1990; 1995b; 2000c; 2002; 2012d; 2013b).

Turning to the Five Nations languages, the westernmost language of this branch is Seneca, which is currently spoken in three communities in New York State. Significant works on the modern language all originate from Wallace Chafe, who began work on this language in the 1950s. Notably, Chafe produced a *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (1967); *A Grammar of the Seneca Language* (2015); and a manuscript English-Seneca dictionary. Interlinearized texts in Seneca can be found in Mithun and Woodbury (eds., 1980), Chafe (1961), and Chafe (2015). Other aspects of the Seneca language, including discourse, information flow, internal reconstruction, ritual language, and speaking styles can be found in Chafe (1959a; 1959b; 1961; 1963; 1964; 1980; 1981; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1993; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2003; 2004; 2012a; 2012b) and Mithun and Chafe (1999).

Cayuga is presently spoken on the Six Nations reserve in southern Ontario. Its specific position within the Five Nations branch has a complicated history (see Chafe and Foster 1981). A pedagogical grammar of the language was created by Mithun and Henry in 1982. Froman, Keye, Keye, and Dyck (2002) compiled a dictionary of Cayuga that includes a brief grammatical sketch. Three short Cayuga texts can be found in Mithun and Woodbury (eds., 1980). Longer ceremonial texts, along with a grammatical sketch, are published in Foster's

(1975) linguistic and ethnographic description of longhouse ceremonies and speeches. Finally, other aspects of Cayuga grammar can be found in Foster (1982) and Mithun (1983; 1984d; 1986a; 1987a; 1988; 1989a; 1989b; 1989c; 1991a; 1991b; 1994).

The Onondaga language is at the center of the Five Nations branch as well as the Iroquois Confederacy. Onondaga communities are located in New York State and Ontario. An extensive dictionary with an adjoining grammatical sketch of the language was created by Woodbury (2003). Chafe (1970) published a semantically based sketch of the language. Woodbury (1992) also re-elicited, edited, interlinearized, and translated a seven-hundred-page text explaining the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy. The text was originally dictated in Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson in 1912. Four short texts can also be found in Mithun and Woodbury (eds., 1980). Other particularities of Onondaga grammar, including topics such as the loss of /r/ and noun incorporation, are found in Woodbury (1974; 1975; 1981) and Michelson (1986).

Oneida communities presently exist in New York State, Ontario, and Wisconsin. Floyd Lounsbury (1953) produced the first modern linguistic research on the language: an analysis of the verb morphology. This work is still regarded as the seminal work on Iroquoian languages and continues to shape modern analyses of these languages. In 2002, Michelson & Doxtator produced a comprehensive dictionary of the language, which includes a grammatical sketch. For Wisconsin Oneida, Abbott has produced various resources that are now available online, including a teaching grammar (2006), a dictionary with Christjohn & Hinton (originally printed in 1996 but later updated online), and short texts with audio files (1980s). Abbott also produced a condensed grammar of the language (2000). Other Oneida texts can be found in Michelson (1981c) and Mithun & Woodbury (eds., 1980). Michelson, Kennedy & Doxtator (2016)

compiled a collection of fifty-two spontaneous texts, entitled *Glimpses of Oneida Life*. This work also contains a significant grammatical sketch. A wide range of topics about Oneida grammar can also be found in Abbott (1984), Michelson (1990; 1991a; 1991b; 2000; 2002; 2006; 2015), Koenig & Michelson (2010; 2015a; 2015b), and Gick, Bliss, Michelson & Radanov (2012).

Finally, the easternmost Five Nations language is Mohawk. Mohawk communities are located in Quebec, Ontario, and New York State. Gunther Michelson (1973) published a grammatical sketch of Mohawk followed by a lexicon. In the same year, Bonvillain (1973) published a grammar of Akwesasne Mohawk. A teaching grammar of the language was produced by Mohawk speakers Nora Deering & Helga Delisle (2007). Two Mohawk texts can be found in Mithun and Woodbury (eds., 1980). A community-centered Mohawk reference grammar is in preparation by Mithun. Mithun also compiled and edited a volume of Mohawk legends (1976) as well as a spelling dictionary (1977). Additional aspects of Mohawk discourse, grammar, and other topics can be found in Mithun (1979a; 1979b; 1983; 1984a; 1984c; 1984d; 1985b; 1986b; 1989b; 1989d; 1989e; 1992a; 1992c; 1992d; 1993a; 1996a; 1996b; 1998a; 1998b; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2001d; 2003b; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; 2006b; 2006c; 2006d; 2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d; 2014a; 2014b), Mithun & Chafe (1979), Mithun & Corbett (1999), and Michelson (1978; 1981a; 1981b; 1989).

A fair amount of research has also been published on historical and comparative Iroquoian linguistics. Notably, Mithun (1979c) published an article that reconstructs the Proto-Iroquoian and Proto-Northern Iroquoian inventories. The article also contains a detailed description of

sources of historical documentation for all languages as well as the major sound changes that have occurred in each one since differentiating from its sister languages. Lounsbury (1978) also examines the historical relationships between the Iroquoian languages. Michelson (1988) published a monograph about Lake Iroquoian accent. The study reconstructs a Proto-Lake Iroquoian accent system and details the morphophonemic processes and accentual systems for each extant Lake Iroquoian language. Michelson (2011) also produced a bibliography of Iroquoian languages. Rudes (1995) examines the vowels of Iroquoian languages in order to reconstruct a Proto-Iroquoian vowel system. Mithun (1980a; 1980b; 1981; 1982; 1984b; 1985c; 1985d; 1986c; 1992b; 1993b; 1995a; 1996c; 2000a; 2000b; 2003a; 2006a) has also examined other topics such as syntax, evidentials, negation, conjunctions, cultural reconstruction, and others in a comparative framework.

Some work on language contact within the Iroquoian family has also been produced. Mithun (1985a; 2013a) examines the influence of Wendat on the other Five Nations languages. Lukaniec & Chafe (2016) looks specifically at the influence of Wendat on late 17th century and modern Seneca. Abbott (2016) describes processes of language contact and change in Oneida. Finally, Chafe & Foster (1981) discuss the historical influences of Cayuga on Seneca and other Northern Iroquoian languages.

1.4. Wendat & Wyandot language documentation and description

The present section gives an overview about the documentation that was produced for Wendat (§1.4.1) and Wyandot (§1.4.2) over several centuries. In addition, §1.4.3 discusses the current state of research regarding Wendat and Wyandot linguistics.

1.4.1. Wendat documentation

The available Wendat documentation primarily originates from missionaries, mostly of the Jesuit order, who attempted to collect, classify, and describe the language during the 17th and 18th centuries. Section 1.4.1.1 describes the process by which these missionaries created the Wendat documentation. The different types of available data – lexical, grammatical, textual, and audio – are detailed in §1.4.1.2 (dictionaries and lexicons), §1.4.1.3 (grammars), §1.4.1.4 (texts), and §1.4.1.5 (audio). Although the present work only makes use of Wendat dictionaries and grammars, the available text collections and audio recordings for Wendat are also described below.

1.4.1.1. Creation of Wendat documentation

Beginning with the scattered vocabulary words in the travel accounts of Jacques Cartier from 1534 and 1536, and continuing through the more meticulous works of the Jesuits in the 17th and 18th centuries, many consider Wendat as one of the first languages of North America to be "l'objet d'une étude linguistique systématique, même si à l'époque celle-ci ne pût être que partielle et donc provisoire [the objet of a systematic linguistic study, even if at the time it could only be partial, and therefore, provisional]" (Vincent 1995:384). Récollet Frère Gabriel Sagard compiled the first dictionary of the language, which followed his travel accounts among the Wendat, and this combined work was published in Paris in 1632. Sagard's dictionary represents the only lasting linguistic documentation from the Récollet presence.

The more significant documentation was created by the Jesuits, who shortly after their arrival found the Wendat language resources of the Récollets to be lacking (Trigger 1976:511).

To their advantage, the Jesuits arrived in *Nouvelle France* with advanced scholarly training. The Jesuits received an extensive education in so-called classical subjects, such as Latin and Greek. In fact, following Jesuit policy, Latin was the language of everyday communication and education during these years (see Hanzeli 1969).

The first task of a newly arrived missionary would be to study the language of the community to which he was assigned. This study consisted primarily of retranscribing the linguistic documentation of his predecessors, including dictionaries and grammars. Once the missionary was sent to his assigned station, he would build upon this work, both adding lexical and grammatical information as well as correcting any previous errors (see Hanzeli 1969 and Campeau 1987 for further discussion).

Despite this linguistic training, the Jesuits still struggled with understanding how the Wendat language worked, especially in terms of morphology and syntax. In grappling with grammatical analysis, the Jesuits often attempted to fit this Iroquoian language into a Latin mold, inventing infinitives to organize lexical entries, creating constructions to approximate the Latin subjunctive, and embarking on other misguided analyses. In his 1636 Relation, Père Brébeuf admits how difficult it is to document, describe, and learn the language, saying that:

> Instead of being a great master and great Theologian as in France, you must reckon on being here a humble Scholar, and then, good God! with what masters! — women, little children, and all the Savages, — and exposed to their laughter. The Huron language will be your saint Thomas and your Aristotle; and clever man as you are, and speaking glibly among learned and capable persons, you must make up your mind to be for a long time mute among the Barbarians. You will have accomplished much, if, at the end of a considerable time, you begin to stammer a little. (Thwaites 1896-1901, 10:91)

In all, the Jesuits developed extensive documentation of the language, including an array of dictionaries, grammars, and texts. Although some of the missionaries seem to have

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developed an appreciation for the Wendat language and the people to whom it belongs, ultimately, these missionaries "viewed the ability to express themselves [in Wendat] as an essential weapon in their battle against Satan" (Trigger 1976:511). It is true that this rich documentation is indispensable for the current revitalization and reclamation efforts, yet the presence of the Jesuits and their evangelizing efforts greatly contributed to the eventual rupture in intergenerational transmission, thereby creating the need to repurpose this documentation today.

1.4.1.2. Wendat dictionaries and lexicons

The Wendat dictionaries and lexicons are the major sources of data for the present grammatical analysis. Missionaries created a total of twelve Wendat dictionaries over two centuries. As mentioned above, the earliest dictionary was published by Sagard in 1632. The dictionary is organized thematically, containing lexical items and short phrases, and it draws upon data which were collected eight years earlier during his brief stay with the Wendat. The orthography used by Sagard differs from the more systematic one later developed by the Jesuits. Unfortunately, the original manuscript and field notes of Sagard have not been found. This is especially problematic given that Sagard (1632:10) admits not only of his own inadequacies in documenting the sounds of the language, but also the lack of characters available at the printing press, which has given rise to errors in the type. The only other non-Jesuit dictionary in the list is one produced by Bruté, entitled *Dictionnaire huron portatif*. Little is known about its author, but he is presumed to have been another missionary. It is dated 1800 and is the only trilingual dictionary produced (French-English-Wendat).

The remaining dictionaries were developed by the Jesuits. These missionaries were much more systematic in their treatment of the language, yet these cumulative linguistic works are still heavily influenced by Latin linguistic structure. The Wendat-French dictionaries were arranged by 'conjugation', based upon the initial segment(s) of the verb stem, which in fact determines the form of the preceding pronominal prefix. The Jesuits created five conjugations: a-stem, C-stem (consonant stem), e-/en-stem, i-stem, and finally, o-/on-stem. Within each conjugation, the verb bases are alphabetized and the head entries consist of an invented 'infinitive' consisting of the third person singular feminine-zoic/neuter agent pronominal prefix and the stative aspect-mood suffix.

Individual verb entries typically contain a large amount of morphological information, including the forms of the aspect-mood suffixes and some expanded aspect-mood suffixes. Alongside sometimes detailed definitions, the Jesuits provided information about which paradigm(s) of pronominal prefixes is used (agent, patient, or transitive). Required or optional prepronominal prefixes are also indicated in these entries. Furthermore, derived verb bases, along with their own morphological details, are listed as sub-entries. These derived bases can contain voice prefixes, incorporated nouns, derivational suffixes or various combinations of these morphemes. Additionally, the Jesuits usually provided examples of each verb base, some of which consist solely of a conjugated verb and others which consist of longer excerpts of speech including the verb in question.

The other parts of speech in Wendat, nouns and particles, were not treated in similar detail by the Jesuits. Particles are typically not found in these dictionaries as separate entries. However, they are scattered throughout the manuscripts as part of longer example phrases or

sentences. Nouns, however, were included as separate entries. In many, they were located in their relevant conjugation alongside of verbs. Yet in perhaps the most recent and most comprehensive dictionary, Potier (1751), the nouns are compiled and organized by conjugation in the final section of the dictionary (totaling eleven pages in comparison to the approximate 284 pages dedicated to verbs). Information about these nouns is limited to their gloss and occasionally, some indication of whether or not they can be incorporated into a verb.

Despite the rich morphological information present in these dictionaries, other aspects of linguistic structure were either lacking in detail or simply absent. As the Jesuits were Francophone, these missionaries had varying degrees of difficulty transcribing laryngeals, including aspiration and glottal stops. Since both /h/ and /ʔ/ are phonemes in Wendat and other Iroquoian languages, comparative reconstruction is necessary to restore these segments. Furthermore, neither prosodic units nor phonological or prosodic prominence were transcribed in these dictionaries.

In summary, there are various confounds to using this documentation, including: the lack of metadata concerning dates and locations of transcription, the cumulative authorship of documents, the existence of dialect differences, and inadequate phonological and prosodic information. The gaps and inconsistencies present in these dictionaries complicate analyses of many aspects of Wendat grammar.

A list of these twelve manuscript dictionaries and lexicons, along with details pertaining to their creation and current location, is presented in Table 1.

Name	Reference citation	No. of pages	Approx. date of creation	Attribution	Place transcribed	Current manuscript location
Dictionnaire de la langue huronne…	Sagard	158	1632	Frère Gabriel Sagard (Récollet)	Ontario (for data collection); Paris (for compilation)	[missing]
Dictionnaire huron portatif	Bruté	~84	1800	S. Bruté	unknown	New York Public Library; New York, NY
Radices linguae huronicae	Ms 59	211	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	unknown	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC
Dictionnaire français-huron	Ms 60	668	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	possibly Lorette, QC	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC
Dictionnaire huron	Ms 62	289	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	unknown	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC
Radices linguae huronicae	Ms 65	264	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	unknown	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC
Dictionnaire huron	Ms 67	228	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	unknown	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC
Dictionnaire français-huron	JCB	271	unknown	Père Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; Providence, RI
Dictionnaire huron & hiroquois onontaheronon	FHO	394	unknown	unidentified Jesuit	unknown	Archives de St-Sulpice; Montréal, QC
Radices linguae huronicae	Potier 1744	579	1744	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC; region of Detroit	Archives des jésuites au Canada; Montréal, QC
Radices huronicae	Potier 1751	295	1751	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC; region of Detroit	Archives des jésuites au Canada; Montréal, QC
Vocabulaire huron-français (Miscellanea)	Potier 1747b	33	1747	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC; region of Detroit	Bibliothèque municipale de Montréal; Montréal, QC

Table 1: Wendat dictionaries and lexicons

1.4.1.3. Wendat grammars

The other major sources of data for the present work are the grammatical descriptions created by the Jesuits. Three manuscript grammars dating from the 17th and 18th centuries exist to this day. These manuscripts are written primarily in Latin, but some example sentences are glossed in French. Potier's two versions of *Elementa grammaticæ huronicæ* seem to be retransciptions of the earlier *Grammatica huronica*, which is attributed to Chaumonot.

As expected, these grammars are Latinate both in organization and analysis. The grammars cover various topics including: verbal structure, pronominal prefixes, independent pronouns, syntax, prepositions, numerals and adverbs (the latter three are analyzed as particles in modern Iroquoian linguistics). In addition, there are sections pertaining to the subjunctive and the infinitive in Wendat, both of which are not grammatical categories in the language.

Despite the somewhat rigid adherence to Latin linguistic structure, many sections of these grammars are extraordinarily useful for modern linguistic analysis. There are full paradigms of pronominal prefixes, as well as descriptions of combinations of certain prepronominal prefixes with these pronominals. Furthermore, there is a list of major particles in the language that are glossed and illustrated in context with examples. The details pertaining to these three manuscript grammars are presented in Table 2.

Name	Reference citation	No. of pages	Approx. date of creation	Attribution	Place transcribed	Current manuscript location
Grammatica huronica	Chaumonot Grammar	544	17th century	Père Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	McGill University Archives; Montréal, QC
Elementa grammaticæ huronicæ	Potier n.d.	172	18th century	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	University of Pennsylvania Archives; Philadelphia, PA
Elementa grammaticæ huronicæ	Potier 1745	157	1745	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	Archives des jésuites au Canada; Montréal, QC

Table 2: Wendat grammars

1.4.1.4. Wendat texts

Several collections of Wendat texts were created during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. All three of these collections are religious in nature, typically being translations of Christian teachings or hymns. It is unclear how these texts were developed. It is possible that the early missionaries attempted to translate these texts through their lexical and grammatical knowledge. However, it is also possible that these missionaries sought help from native speakers. The most recent text, a collection of Wendat hymns, was presumably transcribed by Paul Picard, a Wendat notary. General information about these texts is in Table 3.

Name	Reference citation	No. of pages	Approx. date of creation	Attribution	Place transcribed	Current manuscript location
Cantiques etc. en huron	Chaumonot Cantiques	~ 60	mid to late 17th century	Père Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec; Québec, QC
Extraits de l'évangile	Potier 1747a	231	1747	Père Pierre Potier (Jesuit)	possibly Lorette, QC	Archives des jésuites au Canada; Montréal, QC
Recueil de chants hurons	Ms 66	135	before 1838	Paul Tsa8enhohi Picard (Wendat notary)	Lorette, QC	Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Québec, QC

Table 3: Wendat texts

1.4.1.5. Wendat audio recordings

The only audio recordings of the Wendat language were created in 1911 by the ethnologist Marius Barbeau. During that year, he visited Lorette (an older name for the reserve of Wendake) to perform ethnographic research. As mentioned in §1.2.2, since the language was already dormant by the time of his visit, he was only able to record traditional songs in Wendat. These recordings were made on wax cylinders and thus are limited in both duration and sound quality.

Since the individuals who recorded the songs with Barbeau, such as Prosper Vincent and Catherine Gros-Louis, were not speakers of the language, it is unclear how their rendering of Wendat words and sounds would compare to that of native speakers. On an impressionistic note, Barbeau mentions in his field notes that he played these recordings for Wyandot speakers in Oklahoma in 1912 and the latter were unable to parse the words in these songs. Thus, these

recordings are invaluable for cultural revitalization, but limited in their usefulness for phonetic analysis of the language.

1.4.2. Wyandot documentation

The major documentation of the Wyandot dialect was carried out in the early 20th century by Marius Barbeau. After recording data in Lorette, Québec, Barbeau traveled to Ontario and Oklahoma to record linguistic and cultural information. The collection of his field notes and recordings is now housed in the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau, Québec. During his fieldwork, he succeeded in transcribing forty-two Wyandot narratives, forty of which were published in 1960 with a word-by-word gloss and an accompanying free translation. These narratives include both traditional stories and accounts of historical events. They represent the only existing connected speech from native speakers in either Wendat or Wyandot.

Barbeau also made wax cylinder recordings of Wyandot in 1911 and 1912, including traditional songs and two excerpts of a traditional narrative. The beginning of the narrative, split into two recorded parts, is spoken by Catherine Johnson. Due to the poor quality of the recordings, this recording cannot be used for segmental phonetic analysis. However, it is possible to recover some indications of phonological and prosodic prominence as well as the chunking of intonation units.

Other written documentation of Wyandot exists, much of which was created during the 19th century and the early 20th century by a variety of researchers. Notable works from this period include Connelley (1899; 1900), Gatschet (1881; 1885), Haldeman (1847), and Hewitt (n.d.-b; 1894). Kopris (2001:12) contains a comprehensive list of this written documentation.

Two more recent audio recordings of Wyandot exist, both of which were created in the 1960s. The first recording was made by Wallace Chafe in 1962, and the second was created by Ives Goddard in 1967. The speaker in both recordings, Sarah Dushane, was fluent in Wyandot, Cayuga, Shawnee and English. Both recordings last approximately twenty minutes, during which Chafe and Goddard elicit mainly lexical items and a few longer sentences in Wyandot. These recordings are the only audio data that can be useful for segmental phonetic analysis.

1.4.3. State of Wendat & Wyandot linguistic research

Most likely due to the nature and volume of the manuscript data, little research has been completed concerning the Wendat language as previously spoken in Ontario and Québec. One notable exception is a study of Wendat verb morphology by Pierrette Lagarde (1980), which is based on the 17th century grammar attributed to Chaumonot. Although this study elucidates certain generalizations about Wendat, it misses others due to the use of a single manuscript as the source of data and a significant reliance on the Latin-biased generalizations of the missionary scribe.

Other research based on these manuscript data includes the various publications of the anthropologist John Steckley. Steckley has produced numerous articles about Wendat ethnolinguistics and retranscribed, edited, and published certain manuscript dictionaries.

Mithun (1979c; 1985a; 2013a) has also examined Wendat and Wyandot data to explain contact effects in Five Nations languages as well as reconstruct patterns in Proto-Northern Iroquoian and Proto-Iroquoian. Lukaniec & Chafe (2016) examined Wendat influences on the grammar, lexicon and phonology of 17th century Seneca.

As for Wyandot, Kopris (2001) produced a reference grammar of the language with a list of verb and noun roots. Kopris drew upon data collected by Barbeau, including the latter's published narratives and manuscript dictionary. This work is a significant contribution to our current understanding of the Wyandot language, and especially of its phonology and morphology. Most likely due to the poor quality of the wax cylinder recordings, phonetic analysis was not included in the grammar. Kopris provides a preliminary syntactic analysis, yet he also identifies this topic as an area in need of more research. Finally, as Kopris (2001:361-2) mentions, further research about both Wyandot and Wendat is necessary, given that "there has been little in-depth modern examination of the language". In summary, the present work helps to resolve the lack of modern scholarship about Wendat.

1.5. Data analysis and methodologies

Section 1.5.1 describes the various methodologies using for treating and analyzing the lexical and grammatical data and section 1.5.2 outlines the format of examples as they are presented in this work.

1.5.1. Analysis of lexical and grammatical archival data

In order to make best use of these legacy manuscripts, a transcribed, searchable version of the data is necessary. Much of the legacy dictionaries and lexicons were transcribed, with a good portion of the transcription being accomplished by research assistants at Université Laval during Project Yawenda (2007-2012). Subsequently, in order to reconstruct and analyze the data, the SIL software programs Toolbox and FLEx (Fieldworks Language Explorer), were

used, with some customization in order to accommodate the nature of these archival data. The primary goals of the database are to facilitate historical-comparative reconstruction, categorize grammatical information, and connect roots and bases with their derived and conjugated forms found in examples.

A historical-comparative reconstruction of the Wendat data is a necessary step in order to use these archival materials. Due to errors in missionary transcriptions, each noun, verb, and particle is subject to reconstruction. Each of these data points is reconstructed using cognates of the other Northern Iroquoian languages (Tuscarora, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk). Many verb bases and noun roots have already been reconstructed in the course of ongoing linguistic research since 2007, yet there is much more to be done in this area. Each morpheme in the examples presented in this work has been reconstructed using comparative data, although for some morphemes, cognates could not be found. In these cases, the morpheme was reconstructed as best as possible, given the patterns in Jesuit transcriptions and the phonology of the language.

Finally, given the archival nature of these data and the fact that transmission of the language has been broken for at least 150 years, the conclusions drawn in the present work should be recognized for what they are: hypotheses based on the robust comparative method of historical linguistics and comparative work with sister languages. Although there are no fluent speakers with whom a linguist could tease apart some of the ambiguities in the archival data, the fact remains that these points of grammar need to be fleshed out as well as possible for purposes of language revitalization and reclamation. This is the goal of the present work, although further

research, in terms of the discovery of new archival materials and the advancement of Iroquoian linguistic scholarship, can alter the analyses made here.

1.5.2. Presentation of examples

Each example is presented in a seven-line format. The formatting of these examples line by line is as follows: 1) the manuscript entry, as found in archival materials; 2) the reconstructed form of the entry, transliterated into the standardized orthography adopted by the Huron-Wendat Nation; 3) the morphological analysis; 4) the morphological glossing; 5) the gloss of the entry, as found in the manuscript; 6) the English translation of the entry, as translated by the author; and 7) the citation for the example. The following example found in (1) illustrates this seven-line format.

(1)   *hondarhon*
        höndarhonh
        hǫn-arhǫ-h
        3M.NSG.PAT-rest-STAT
        « ils sont présentement en repos »
        'they are currently resting'
        (Potier 1751: 173)

    Descriptions of the transcription system used by the Jesuit scribes and that of the standardized Wendat orthography are in §2.1 and §2.2.

1.6. Conclusion

The current chapter gave an overview of the history of the Wendat people and language, including a discussion of the relationship between Wendat and Wyandot in §1.2. This is

followed by a description of the Iroquoian family and of the linguistic sources and scholarship pertaining to these languages in §1.3. Section 1.4 discussed the available Wendat and Wyandot documentation, and section 1.5 gave a brief overview of how the data were analyzed in the present work. The following chapters discuss the segmental phonology and verb morphology in Wendat.

Chapter 2
Segmental Phonology

This chapter provides an overview of the segmental phonology in Wendat, including a description of the vowels in §2.1 and of the consonants in §2.2. Each of these sections describes the (reconstructed) realizations of the phonemes, a summary of the symbols used to transcribe these sounds, and the standardized orthographic representations used in the present work.

The Wendat standardized orthography is a system which was decided upon by a committee of Wendat community members and subsequently adopted by the Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation in 2010. This orthography reflects the needs of a predominantly Francophone population (e.g. the representation of nasal vowels as the digraphs *an*, *en*, and *on*). Other criteria that were considered during the standardization process include the transparency of the system for language learning purposes, and its compatibility to be used in a wide range of current and emerging technologies.

Section 2.3 presents a description of the phonological alternations that are present in the historical record of Wendat through the eighteenth century. Finally, a brief conclusion is provided in §2.4.

2.1. Vowels in Wendat

There are six vowel phonemes in Wendat, which are listed below in Table 4. Among these six vowels, there are a total of nine allophones. The vowels are split into two subgroups: oral vowels and nasal vowels. Section 2.1.1 describes the allophones and orthographic representations of the oral vowels, and the corresponding information for nasal vowels is in §2.1.2.

	Front	Back
High	/i/	
Mid	/e/	/o/
Low-mid (and nasalized)	/ę/	/ǫ/
Low		/ɑ/

Table 4: Wendat vowel inventory

2.1.1. Oral vowels

There are four oral vowels in the language, including the high front vowel /i/, the mid front vowel /e/, the mid back vowel /o/, and the low back vowel /ɑ/. The high front vowel /i/ is realized as [i] in all environments and is written with the letter <i> in the standardized orthography. An example of the Jesuit transcription of this vowel is in the top line of example (2), and the standardized orthographic representation of this vowel is in the second line.

(2)   *aˌiren*
        ayihrenh
        wak-ihr-ęh
        1SG.PAT-drink-STAT
        « j'ai bu »
        'I have drunk'
        (Potier 1751:397)

The mid front vowel /e/ has two allophones whose distribution is unclear, but is probably due to the original realization of the phoneme hovering between [e] and [ɛ]. The Jesuits were not consistent in distinguishing [e] from [ɛ] in their transcription. In a few examples, the acute accent was placed over the vowel *e*, as in *é*, to indicate the vowel quality [e], but instances of [ɛ] were not marked with any special diacritic. An example of the allophone [e], transcribed as *é*, is illustrated in (3), and an example of the unmarked allophone [ɛ] is presented in (4). Both of these allophones are written as *e* in the standardized orthography.

(3)　　*i̗ é*
　　　　iye'
　　　　i-k-e-ʔ
　　　　PROTH-1SG.AGT-go-PURP
　　　　« je viens »
　　　　'I'm coming'
　　　　(Potier 1745:5)

(4)　　*i̗ erhe*
　　　　iyerhe'
　　　　i-k-erh-eʔ
　　　　PROTH-1SG.AGT-think.want-HAB
　　　　« volo, puto »
　　　　'I want, I think'
　　　　(Potier 1745:5)

There is similar allophonic ambiguity for the two allophones of /o/, [o] and [u]. The Jesuit transcriptions of the two allophones of /o/ are more consistent than those of /e/, since different symbols were used to transcribe them: *o* for [o] and *ȣ* for [u]. The *ȣ* symbol is actually the ligature *ȣ*, representing the sound [u] as the vowel *u* stacked on top of the vowel *o*. This symbol was used for both the sound [u], when occurring before a consonant, and the glide [w], when occurring before a vowel. The standardized orthography uses the letters *o* and *ou* to represent

[o] and [u], respectively. An example of the [o] allophone is in (5), and an example of the [u]

allophone is in (6).

(5)   *oteratase*
        oterataseh
        yo-ate-ratase-h
        3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-turn-STAT
        « cela est entortillé, corde, lacé »
        'it is twisted, tied up, laced'
        (Potier 1751:183)

(6)   *ˌaront8t*
        yarontout
        ka-rǫt-ot-Ø
        3FZ/N.SG.AGT-tree-be.upright-STAT
        « il y a un arbre sur pié »
        'there is a tree standing up'
        (Potier 1751:437)

The last of the oral vowels is /ɑ/, which is realized as [ɑ] in all environments. The Jesuits

transcribed this vowel as *a* and this symbol is also used in the standardized orthography. An

example of the transcription and standardization of this vowel is in (7).

(7)   *aˌatati*
        ayatatih
        wak-atati-h
        1SG.PAT-talk-STAT
        « j'ai parlé »
        'I have spoken'
        (Potier 1745:7)

The Jesuits sometimes placed a circumflex on the vowel *a* to indicate length. For example,

as shown in (8), the Jesuits would occasionally represent the long vowel of the optative modal

prefix *aa-* ([ɑ:]) as *â*.[5]

(8)   *â¸atatia*
        aayatatia'
        a:-k-ataty-aʔ
        OPT-1SG.AGT-speak-PFV
        « qe je parle ; afin q. je parle ; il faut que je parle ; je parlerois ; je devrois parler »
        'that I (may) speak; so that I speak; I must speak; I could speak; I should speak'
        (Potier 1745:9)

These oral vowel phonemes, their allophones, the symbols used by the Jesuit transcribers,

and their standardized orthographic representations are summarized in Table 5.

Phoneme	Allophone(s)	Distribution of Allophones	Jesuit Transcription	Standardized Orthography
/i/	[i]	---	i	i
/e/	[e]	free variation	e *or* é	e
	[ɛ]		e	e
/o/	[o]	free variation	o	o
	[u]		8 (before a consonant)	ou
/ɑ/	[ɑ]	---	a	a

Table 5: Allophones and orthographic representations of oral vowels

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[5] This is not the sole use of the circumflex by the Jesuit transcribers. In some instances, it signals that a glottal stop occurs immediately after the vowel. Section 2.2.2 contains other examples of the use of this diacritic.

2.1.2. Nasal vowels

There are two phonemic nasal vowels in the language, one of which has two allophones. The first of the two, /ę/, is a low-mid front nasal vowel. This vowel was represented as *en* by the Jesuits and continues to be represented by this digraph in the standardized orthography. An example of this allophone of the vowel is in (9).

(9)   *χa ihotien*
       kha' ihotien'
       khaʔ   i-ho-at-yę-ʔ
       PROX   PART-3M.SG.PAT-MID-lay.down-STAT
       « il est assis ici »
       'he is sitting here'
       (Potier 1751:220)

This phoneme optionally lowers to the low front nasal vowel [ḁ] after the glide *w*. An example of this lowered allophone is in (10).

(10)   *t'e8aˌ rih8a'k8an*
       tewayrihwahkwanh
       te-wak-rihw-a-hkw-ęh
       DUPL-1SG.PAT-matter.affair-LK-take.pick.up-STAT
       « je chante actuellemt »
       'I'm singing right now'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:55)

The low-mid back nasal vowel, /ǫ/, has the single allophone [ɔ̨]. This vowel was transcribed as *on* by the Jesuit missionaries, and is represented by the same digraph in the standardized orthography. An example of the transcription and standardization of this vowel is in (11).

(11)   *innonh8e*
        inonhwe'
        k-nǫhwe-ʔ
        1SG.AGT:3FZ/N.SG-love-STAT
        « j'aime, je l'aime elle »
        'I love (it); I love her'
        (Potier 1751: 310)

A summary of the information regarding these two phonemes, including their allophones

and the symbols used to represent these sounds is in Table 6.

Phoneme	Allophone(s)	Distribution of Allophones	Jesuit Transcription	Standardized Orthography
/ę/	[ɑ̃]	after /w/, optionally	an	an
	[ɛ̃]	elsewhere	en	en
/ǫ/	[ɔ̃]	---	on	on

Table 6: Allophones and orthographic representations of nasal vowels

2.2. Consonants in Wendat

There are nine consonant phonemes in Wendat and these segments are organized by their

manner and place of articulation in Table 7.[6] Details about these phonemes are split into three

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[6] Proto-Northern Iroquoian (PNI) is reconstructed with the alveolar affricate *ts* and the labialized velar stop *kʷ* (Mithun 1979:162). Since these complex segments are phonetically identical to *ts* and *kw* clusters, accent placement and accompanying length, which depends on whether a syllable is open or closed, in some of the modern languages is the only way to discern whether *ts* and *kw* are clusters or reflexes of the complex segments (see Michelson 1988). Since the archival documentation of Wendat provides very little information about stress and prosody, there is no way of knowing how these complex segments evolved over time in Wendat. Therefore, the Wendat reflexes of these PNI complex segments are presumed to have merged with the clusters in the language, so sequences of *ts* and *kw* are considered to be clusters.

sections, including §2.2.1 on oral obstruents, §2.2.2 on laryngeal obstruents, and §2.2.3 on sonorant consonants.

	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Stops	/t/		/k/	/ʔ/
Fricatives	/s/			/h/
Sonorants	/n/ /r/	/y/	/w/	

Table 7: Wendat consonant inventory

2.2.1. Oral obstruents

There are three oral obstruents in the language, including the stops /t/ and /k/, and the fricative /s/. The voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/ has a single allophone [t]. It was transcribed by the Jesuit missionaries as *t* and this symbol continues to be used for this segment in the standardized orthography. An example of the transcription of this sound is in (12).

(12) *stante 8aˌatati*
  stan' te'wayatatih
  stęʔ teʔ-wak-atati-h
  no NEG-1SG.PAT-speak-STAT
  « je n'ai pas parlé »
  'I have not spoken'
  (Potier 1744:50)

The phoneme /k/ is realized as a voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k] in select environments, including after the oral obstruents /t/ or /s/, and before or after the glottal fricative /h/. The realization of /k/ as [k] is illustrated in the following examples: (13) for the environment of /k/ after /t/; (14) for /k/ after /s/; (15) for /k/ before /h/; and (16) for /k/ after /h/. The allophone [k]

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was transcribed as *k* by the Jesuit missionaries and this is also the symbol used in the standardized orthography.

(13)   *ake'k*
         a'kehk
         aʔ-t-ke-hk-Ø
         FACT-DUPL-1SG.AGT-take-PFV
         « je pris »
         'I took [it]'
         (Potier 1751:271)

(14)   *skarih8at*
         skarihwat
         s-ka-rihw-a-t-Ø
         REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-matter.affair-LK-be.one-STAT
         « une seule affaire (une seule chose) »
         'a single matter, a single thing'
         (Potier 1751:357)

(15)   *onsahataχe*
         onsahatakhe'
         ǫsa-ha-takhe-ʔ
         REP.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-move.by.running-PURP
         « il retourne courant »
         'he's coming back running'
         (Potier 1751:359)

(16)   *θo aia8enk*
         tho   aaiawenhk
         tho   a:-yaw-ę-h-k
         thus   OPT-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-happen-INCH-PFV
         « que cela arrive ainsi; ainsi soit il »
         'that it may happen in a such a way; so be it'
         (Potier 1751:375)

The phoneme /k/ is realized as [g] when following the nasal stop /n/. Example (17) shows this allophone and its transcription as *g* in both the Jesuit documentation and the standardized orthography.

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(17)   *a̗ang8enha*
        a'yängwenha'
        aʔ-ka-nkwę-h-aʔ
        FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-snow-INCH-PFV
        « il vient de neiger »
        'it just snowed'
        (Potier 1744:166)

The final allophone of /k/ is reconstructed as a voiceless palatal fricative, [ç]. This lenited allophone of the phoneme occurs in all other environments than those listed for [k] and [g]. The Jesuits transcribed this sound with the Greek letter iota <̗>, and with a left-facing variant of this symbol, resembling the letter *j*, when occurring word-finally. The Jesuits' choice to use the iota to represent this sound suggests that its place of articulation is palatal. Furthermore, this same allophone later merged with the palatal glide [y] in Wyandot (see Kopris 2001:104). However, since the palatal glide /y/ was transcribed consistently by the Jesuits with the vowel *i*, it is presumed that the Wendat allophone was not a glide, otherwise its transcription would be identical to that of the palatal glide. Through these scant clues, this allophone is deduced to be a voiceless palatal fricative, and this realization of the phoneme is written with the letter *y*, as adopted in the standardized orthography. Examples of the transcription of this allophone are in (18) and (19).

(18)   *i̗e̗enk*
        iyeyenhk
        i-ke-kę-hk
        PROTH-1SG.AGT-see-HAB
        « je vois »
        'I see; I'm seeing'
        (Potier 1751:243)

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(19) *ahatīaj*
      ahatia'y
      aʔ-hati-yaʔk-Ø
      FACT-3M.PL.AGT-break-PFV
      « ils ont coupé »
      'they broke [it]'
      (Potier 1751:263)

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ has a single allophone, [s]. The Jesuits transcribed this sound with the letter *s* and this same symbol is used in the standardized orthography. An example of the transcription and orthographic representation of this sound is in (20).

(20) *Sesohare*
      Sesohareh !
      se-s-ohare-h
      2SG.AGT.IMP-dish-wash-IMP
      « Lave le plat »
      'Wash (SG) the dish!'
      (Potier 1751:406)

The details concerning these three oral obstruents are summarized in Table 8.

Phoneme	Allophone(s)	Distribution of Allophones	Jesuit Transcription	Standardized Orthography
/t/	[t]	---	t	t
/k/	[k]	after t or s; before or after h	k	k
	[g]	after n	g	g
	[ç]	elsewhere	ˏ (iota) *or* j (word-final iota)	y
/s/	[s]	---	s	s

Table 8: Allophones and orthographic representations of oral obstruents

In addition to the symbols noted in the table above, the Jesuits also regularly used the Greek letters theta *θ* and chi *χ* to represent the clusters /th/ and /kh/, respectively. Examples of the use of these symbols are in (21) and (22). In the standardized orthography, these clusters are represented as *th* and *kh*.

(21)　*te skatrihôtaθe*
　　　　te'skatriho'tathe'
　　　　teʔ-s-k-atrihoʔt-a-t-h-eʔ
　　　　NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-be.attentive-LK-CAUS-DISLOC-PURP
　　　　« je ne serai pas attentif »
　　　　'I will not pay attention; I don't intend to pay attention'
　　　　(Ms 60 n.d.:24)

(22)   *hoatateχa*
       hoa'tatekha'
       ho-ya?t-atek-ha?
       3M.SG.PAT-body-burn-HAB
       « son corps brule »
       'his body burns; his body is burning'
       (Potier 1751:183)

2.2.2. Laryngeal obstruents

There are two laryngeal obstruents, including the glottal fricative /h/ and the glottal stop /?/.
The fricative /h/, realized only as [h], was regularly transcribed in prevocalic position as *h* by
the Jesuit scribes, as in example (23). However, this segment was not transcribed consistently
in other environments. Before another consonant, the phoneme /h/ was sometimes transcribed
with a right-facing apostrophe <'>, as shown in (24). In other cases, this sound was not
transcribed at all by the Jesuits, as in (25). The standardized orthography uses the letter *h* for
this segment in all positions.

(23)   *hesatsaten*
       Hesahtsatenh !
       hes-ahtsat-ęh
       2SG:3M.SG.IMP-mark.designate-IMP
       « marque le, nomme le, dis que c'est lui »
       'Mark him; name him; say that it's him!'
       (Potier 1744:102)

(24)   *te 8a̧ e'k8an*
       tewayehkwanh
       te-wake-hkw-ęh
       DUPL-1SG.PAT-take.pick.up-STAT
       « j'ai pris »
       'I have taken [it]'
       (Potier 1744:391)

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(25) *onne ˌichiaχe d'ennonk8at*
    öne   **yihchiakhe'**   **de**   **ënonhkwa't**
    one   k-ihsak-h-eʔ   ne   w-enǫhkwaʔt-Ø
    now   1SG.AGT-search.for-DISLOC-PURP AMPL   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-medicine-NSF
    « je vais chercher une medicine »
    'I'm going to go look for medicine'
    (Potier 1751:386)

The other laryngeal obstruent, the glottal stop /ʔ/, is realized as [ʔ]. This phoneme was rarely transcribed by the Jesuit missionaries, as shown by the lack of transcription of three instances of the glottal stop in (26). On occasion, the presence of a glottal stop would be indicated with a circumflex on the immediately preceding vowel, such as with the vowel *â* in (27).[7] In a few cases, the symbol *n̈* marks a following glottal stop, as in (28). This phoneme is transcribed with a right-facing apostrophe <'> in the standardized orthography.

(26) *onn'aˌate8ahe*
    öne   **a'yate'wahe'**
    onę   aʔ-k-ateʔkw-a-h-eʔ
    now   FACT-1SG.AGT-flee-LK-DISLOC-PURP
    « je vais m'enfuir »
    'I'm going to flee'
    (Potier 1751:317)

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[7] The presence of the circumflex may be more indicative of creaky voice rather than the glottal stop itself. It's possible that the Jesuits heard the non-modal phonation, resulting from the following glottal stop, and tried to represent this creakiness with the circumflex.

(27) *θo ihaât8ten nendi i̧ iât8ten*
    tho   ihäa'tou'tenh
    tho   i-ha-yaʔt-oʔtę-h
    how   PART-3M.SG.AGT-body-be.certain.type-STAT

    ne   endi'   iyia'tou'tenh
    ne   ęniʔ   i-k-yaʔt-oʔtę-h
    AMPL   1EMPH   PART-1SG.AGT-body-be.certain.type-STAT
    « il ē fait comme moi »
    'he is built like me'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:139)

(28) *t'onsaoņ 8âta'k8en de hoeña*
    tonsaonywäa'tahkwen'
    t-ǫsa-yǫkwa-yaʔt-a-hkw-ę-ʔ
    DUPL-REP.FACT-1PL.PAT-body-LK-take.pick.up-BEN-PFV

    de   hoen'ah
    ne   ho-yę-ʔ=ah
    AMPL   3FZ.SG:3M.SG-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
    « elle no' vient d'enlever son fils (q. v.g. etoit venu no' visiter) »
    'she just took her son away from us (e.g. who had come to visit us)'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:117)

A summary of these phonemes and their orthographic representations is presented below in Table 9.

Phoneme	Allophone	Jesuit Transcription	Standardized Orthography
/h/	[h]	h *or* ' *or* untranscribed	h
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	ˆ *or* ñ *or* untranscribed	' (left-facing apostrophe)

Table 9: Allophones and orthographic representations of laryngeal obstruents

2.2.3. Sonorant consonants

There are four segments in Wendat that are part of the natural class of sonorant consonants,[8] including the alveolar nasal /n/, the rhotic flap /r/, and the glides /y/ and /w/. The nasal stop /n/ is the only one of the sonorants to have more than one allophone.

The phoneme /n/ becomes the prenasalized voiced stop [^{n}d] before oral vowels, and is realized elsewhere as [n].[9] The Jesuits transcribed the allophone [^{n}d] as *nd* and the allophone [n] as *nn*, the latter used to distinguish the consonant *n* from the digraphs of nasal vowels with a single *n*, as in *en*, *on*, and *an*. The standardized orthography represents the allophone [^{n}d] as *nd* and the allophone [n] as *n*, as in (29) and (38), respectively.

(29) *etiotendatata*
      etiotëndatata'
      et-yo-ate-nat-a-ta-ʔ
      CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-village-LK-be.end-STAT
      « au bout du village »
      'at the end, extremity of the village'
      (Potier 1751:358)

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[8] Analyses of Iroquoian languages typically use the word *resonant* instead of *sonorant* to describe this class of segments. However, the term *sonorant* is more widely used in phonology, and thus, this is the term used in the present work.

[9] This allophonic change is not as robust in certain areas of the grammar. For example, given this allophonic distribution, the benefactive allomorph *-ni-* should be *-ndi-,* but often remains *-ni-* (see §7.3). Another corner of the grammar that works differently with regard to this allophonic change is the past suffix used on purposive stems. This suffix varies between a word-final *-n* and a word-final *-nd* (see §8.3). Since this suffix does not occur before an oral vowel, there is no segment to trigger the denasalization, yet this change was in process during the 18th century.

(30)   ˌannonchietsi
       yänonhchietsih
       ka-nǫhs-ets-ih
       3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.long-STAT
       « longue cabane »
       'long house, longhouse'
       (Potier 1751:385)

This allophonic distribution between [n] and [ⁿd] still holds when a palatal glide /y/ occurs

between /n/ and the following vowel. In other words, the phoneme /n/ is still realized as [ⁿd] in

sequences of /nyV/, as shown in (31), and is realized as [n] in sequences of /nyɣ/, as shown in

(32).

(31)   t'ek8aˌendia8as
       tekwayendia'was
       te-t-wake-nyaʔkw-as
       DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.PAT-vomit-HAB
       « je vomis »
       'I vomit; I'm vomiting'
       (Potier 1751:289)

(32)   honnienhon
       ho'nienhonh
       ho-ʔnyę-h-ǫh
       3M.SG.PAT-gather-DISLOC-STAT
       « il est aller cueillir »
       'he has gone gathering [herbs, seeds, roots, etc.]'
       (Potier 1751:307)

However, Jesuit transcriptions of the sequence *Vnn*, a vowel followed by a double *n*, are

ambiguous.[10] This sequence can represent an oral vowel followed by the consonant *n*, [Vn], as

above in (30), or a nasal vowel followed by the consonant *n*, [ɣn], which occurs twice in

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[10] If the vowel in these sequences is either *i* or *8* ([u]), there is no potential for ambiguity in the interpretation of these sequences. These two vowel symbols can only represent oral vowels, whereas the other vowel symbols *a*, *e*, and *o*, can represent either oral vowels or the first part of the nasal vowel digraphs *an*, *en*, or *on*.

example (33). Due to the inconsistent transcription of the laryngeal segments /h/ and /ʔ/ by the Jesuits, the transcribed sequence, *Vnn*, can also contain an intervening *h* or glottal stop, as illustrated by example (34) where the Jesuit transcribed sequence *Vnn* is actually [Vhn].

(33)　*taˌaênnonnien*
　　　Taya'ennonnienh !
　　　tak-aʔęn-ǫny-ę-h
　　　2SG:1SG.IMP-bow-make-BEN-IMP
　　　« fais moi un arc »
　　　'Make (SG) me a bow!'
　　　(Ms 60 n.d.:18)

(34)　*ˌa8astannonk*
　　　yawahstahnonhk
　　　ka-wahst-a-hnǫ-hk
　　　3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.good.weather-LK-DISTR-HAB
　　　« il fait ordinairem. beau tems »
　　　'it's usually good weather'
　　　(Potier 1751:318)

The same ambiguity holds for the sequence *Vnd*, which could represent an oral vowel followed by the prenasalized stop *nd*, [V^{n}d], as in (35), or a nasal vowel followed by *nd*, [Ṽ^{n}d], as in (36). As is the case with the transcription of *Vnn*, the sequence *Vnd* can also contain an intervening *h* or glottal stop between the vowel and the nasal sonorant, as in (37) and (38), which contain the sequences [Vh^{n}d] and [Vʔ^{n}d], respectively. Due to the numerous possible sequences that all of these transcriptions could represent, historical-comparative reconstruction, using data from sister languages, is crucial in order to resolve this ambiguity.

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(35) *etiontarandeˌen*
      etiontarändeyenh
      et-y-oţar-a-nekȩ-h
      CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lake-LK-join.together-STAT
      « R. de la pointe aux feviers »
      'river at Locust Tree Point'
      (Potier n.d.:212)

(36) *te 8endi8hens*
      tewendihwen's
      te-w-ȩnihwȩʔ-s
      DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lightning.strike-HAB
      « il eclaire »
      'lightning strikes; lightning is striking'
      (Potier 1744:120)

(37) *ekonakatanda*
      ekonwakahtahnda'
      e-kǫw-at-kah-t-a-hn-aʔ
      FUT-1SG:2SG-MID-eye-be.upright-LK-DISLOC-PFV
      « je te viendrai voir »
      'I will come see you (SG)'
      (Potier 1751:241)

(38) *te 8aˌitandi*
      te'wayita'ndih
      teʔ-wak-ita-ʔn-ih
      NEG-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-STAT
      « je n'ai pas dormi »
      'I have not slept'
      (Potier 1751: 389)

With regards to the standardized orthographic representations of these sequences, since nasal vowels are also represented as digraphs (*Vn*) in this orthography, a diacritic is needed in order to clarify sequences of a vowel followed by the letter *n*. In particular, the standardized orthography adopts the use of the diaresis diacritic on vowels, as in $\ddot{V}$. In cases where an oral vowel is followed by either [n] or [ⁿd], the standardized orthography calls for the use of the diaresis to differentiate a sequence of an oral vowel followed by *n*, i.e. /Vn/, from a nasal

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vowel, i.e. /Y̨/. The diaresis is used only on *a*, *e*, and *o*, and not *u* or *i*, since the former set consists of vowels that could either be an oral vowel or part of a nasal vowel. The representations of the sequences /Vn/ as *V̈n* and /Y̨/ as *Vn* in the standardized orthography are shown in (39).

(39)   *te honnennonsteˌen*
        tehönennonhsteyenh
        te-hon-ę-nǫhs-nekę-h
        DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-MID-house-join.together-STAT
        « ils sont tous 2 voisins par la proximité, la contiguité de leurs maisons »
        'they two are neighbors through the proximity of their houses'
        (Potier 1751:282)

In sequences of a nasal vowel followed by the allophone [ⁿd], the standardized orthography represents this sequence as *Vnd* rather than *Vnnd*, so that single *n* represents both the second half of the nasal vowel digraph and the prenasalization of *d*. An example of this sequence and its representation in the standardized orthography is in (40).

(40)   *χe8endaronχa d'aˌoatsi*
        khewendahronkha'   *de*   *ayoatsih*
        khe-węn-ahrǫk-haʔ   ne   yako-yats-ih
        1SG:3IND-voice-hear-HAB   AMPL   3IND.PAT-sing-STAT
        « j'entends du monde chanter »
        'I hear people singing'
        (Potier 1751:209)

Regarding the second of the four sonorant consonants in the language, the alveolar flap /r/ is realized as [ɾ] in all environments. The Jesuits transcribed this phoneme as *r*, and the standardized orthography also uses this symbol, as shown in (41).

(41)   *e8aˌrio*
        ewayrio'
        e-wak-ryo-ʔ
        FUT-(3FZ.SG:)1SG.PAT-kill.fight-PFV
        « elle me tuera »
        'she will kill me'
        (Potier 1751: 269)

The third sonorant consonant in the language, the palatal glide /y/, is realized as [y]. It was transcribed with the vowel *i* by the Jesuit scribes. The standardized orthography also uses the vowel *i* to represent this glide, as shown in (42).

(42)   *tsaˌiatat*
        tsayia'tat
        ts-yaki-yaʔt-a-t-Ø
        REP-1DU.EXCL.AGT-body-LK-be.one-STAT
        « nous ne sommes qu'un lui et moy, elle et moy »
        'we are one, he and I, she and I'
        (Potier 1744: 274)

The last of the sonorant consonants, the labiovelar glide /w/, is realized as [w] in all environments. As is the case for the high back allophone [u] of /o/, the Jesuits used the symbol *8* (the ligature *ȣ*) to represent this sound. Again, when the symbol *8* appeared before a consonant, it represented the vowel [u], but when it occurred before a vowel, it represented the glide [w], as in (43). The Jesuits also occasionally used a diaresis on the letter *n*, as in *n̈*, to mark a following *w*, and especially when *w* occurs after the back nasal vowel /ǫ/, as shown in (44). In some instances, the glide is not transcribed at all, as shown in (45).

(43)   *ska8endat*
       skawendat
       s-ka-węn-a-t-Ø
       REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-voice-LK-be.one-STAT
       « une seule voix »
       'a single voice'
       (Potier 1751:357)

(44)   *te ohoňentonch*
       teohonwen'tonhch
       te-yo-hǫw-ęʔtǫ-hs
       DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-boat.canoe-dangle-HAB
       « le canot branle, va s'agitant de coté et d'autre, est roulant »
       'the canoe is rocking side to side'
       (Potier 1744:242)

(45)   *θo ona'ti eshotaχe'ti*
       tho   on'wahti'   eshotakhehtih
       tho   ǫʔwahtiʔ   e-s-ho-takhe-ht-ih
       there   side   FUT-REP-3M.SG.PAT-move.by.running-DIR-STAT
       « il s'en est retourné courant, il a repris la fuite de ce coté là »
       'he has come back from there running, he started fleeing again from that side'
       (Potier 1751:259)

The details regarding each of these four sonorant consonants are also provided in Table 10.

Phoneme	Allophone(s)	Distribution of Allophones	Jesuit Transcription	Standardized Orthography
/n/	[^{n}d]	before an oral vowel	nd	nd
	[n]	elsewhere	nn	n
/r/	[ɾ]	---	r	r
/y/	[y]	---	i	i
/w/	[w]	---	8 *or* ñ *or* untranscribed	w

Table 10: Allophones and orthographic representations of sonorant consonants

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2.3. Phonological alternations

The following phonological alternations are represented in the historical documentation of Wendat through the 18th century. These alternations are presented as a list, and they are organized primarily by phone. Each phonological alternation is presented as a rule followed by a brief prose explanation of the rule and one or more examples. The standardized Wendat orthography is used in the prose explanations of the rules, but the Americanist Phonetic Alphabet is used in the rules themselves.[11]

The alternations that are attested in the archival documentation of Wendat are presented below.

Ø → i / #_σ# (epenthesis of the prothetic vowel *i* if a verb consists of a single syllable)

(46) *i̗é*
    iye'
    i-k-e-ʔ
    PROTH-1SG.AGT-go-PURP
    « je viens »
    'I'm coming'
    (Potier 1745:5)

ai → ę (the vowel sequence *ai* becomes the nasal vowel *en*)

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[11] The Americanist Phonetic Alphabet (APA) differs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in select ways, and the differences that are pertinent for the Wendat case are minimal. These differences consist of: 1) APA *y* instead of IPA *j* for the palatal glide; 2) APA ogonek diacritic (V̨) instead of IPA tilde diacritic (Ṽ) to indicate nasality on a vowel; and 3) APA s-wedge (š) instead of IPA esh (ʃ) for the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative.

(47) *a'son te kenheonche's*
    ahsonh   te'kenheonhche's
    ahsǫh   teʔ-t-ka-iheyǫ-hs-eʔs
    yet   NEG-CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-die-DISLOC-HAB
    « elle n'est pas encore sur le point de mourir, elle n'en mourra pas encore »
    'she is not yet going to die'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:232)

    t → Ø / _k (loss of *t* before *k*)

(48) *sakenk*
    Sakenhk !
    s-at-kęh-k
    2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-raise-IMP
    « leve toi »
    'Get (SG) up [from lying down]!'
    (Potier 1751:244)

    t → k / _(h)w (*t* becomes *k* before *w* or *hw*)

(49) *t'ek8aͺendia8as*
    tekwayendia'was
    te-t-wake-nyaʔkw-as
    DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.PAT-vomit-HAB
    « je vomis »
    'I vomit; I'm vomiting'
    (Potier 1751:289)

(50) *χa ichien a8eti eenχ8achonk*
    kha'   ihchien'   aweti'   ëenkhwahchonhk
    khaʔ   ihsę̨ʔ   awetiʔ   ye-yęthw-a-hsǫ-hk
    PROX   really   all   3IND.AGT-plant-LK-DISTR-HAB
    « tout le monde fait ici son champ »
    'everyone has their field here'
    (Potier 1751:223)

    optionally, t → k /_h (*t* optionally becomes *k* before *h*)

(51)   *ahokona̗ entendi*
         ahokhonwayentëndi'
         aʔ-ho-at-hǫw-a-kęteni-ʔ
         FACT-3M.SG.PAT-MID-boat-LK-be.dizzy-PFV
         « il fut etourdi du canot »
         'he was dizzy from the canoe'
         (Potier 1751:249)

optionally, t → k / _y (*t* optionally becomes *k* before the glide *i*)

(52)   *at^kia8enrak*
         atiawenhrahk *or* **akiawenhrahk**
         watyawęhrahk
         trout
         « truite »
         'trout'
         (Potier n.d.:180)

k → Ø / _t (loss of *k* before *t*)

(53)   *te 8atientatonch*
         tewatienta'tonhch
         te-w-at-yęt-a-ʔktǫ-hs
         DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-stick-LK-bend.curve-HAB
         « le baton se plie »
         'the stick is bending'
         (Potier 1751:368)

ks → š or s (reduction of the cluster *ks* to *ch* or *s*)

(54)   *i̗ ech*
         iyech
         i-ke-k-s
         PROTH-1SG.AGT-eat-HAB
         « je mange »
         'I eat'
         (Ms FHO n.d.:273)

(55)   ˌon8endichias ti sandiˌonr8ten
       yonwendihchias   **tisa'ndiyonhrou'tenh**
       ko̧-wȩn-ihsak-s   ti-sa-ʔniko̧hr-oʔtȩ-h
       1SG:2SG-voice-search.look.for-HAB   PART-2SG.PAT-mind-be.certain.type-STAT
       « je demande ton avis »
       'I ask for your (SG) advice'
       (Potier 1751:386)

    kw → çw (*kw* cluster reduced to *yw*)

(56)   *tsonˌ8andiˌonratˌen*
       tsonywa'ndiyonrat   **iyenh**
       ts-yo̧kwa-ʔniko̧hr-a-t-Ø   i-ka-i-h
       REP-1PL.PAT-mind-LK-be.one-STAT   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
       « nous n'avons tous qu'un esprit »
       'we (3+) have but one mind'
       (Potier 1744:274)

    optionally, çw → w (*yw* cluster optionally reduces to *w*)

(57)   *saˌohoňa8andihatie*
       shayohonwawändihatie'
       shako-ho̧w-a-kw-a-ni-h-atye-ʔ
       3M.SG:3IND-boat-LK-take-LK-BEN-STAT-PROG-STAT
       « il vient d'acheter un canot d'eux »
       'he just bought a canoe from them'
       (Potier 1751:316)

    k → ç / _r (lenition of *k* to *y* before *r*)

(58)   *iˌrio*
       iyrioh
       i-k-ryo-h
       PROTH-1SG(:3FZ.SG)-kill.fight-STAT
       « tuer…praeteritū ego illam »
       'I have killed her'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:371)

    optionally, ç → Ø / _r (*y* is optionally elided before *r*)

(59) *θo senditaren*
      Tho   senditarenh !
      tho   s-ęn-itakr-ęh
      there   2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-lie.down-IMP
      « couche toi là »
      'Lie down (SG) there!'
      (Potier 1751:390)

   Ø → k / s_(h)w (*k* is inserted between *s* and *w*, or *s* and *hw*)

(60) *stant'esk8ese*
      stan'   the'skwese'
      stę?   the?-s-w-e-s-e?
      no   NEG.TRANS-REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DISLOC-PURP
      « non revertetr de fæmina »
      'she's not going to return'
      (Potier 1745:44)

(61) *Satesχ8at*
      Sateskhwaht !
      s-ate-shw-a-ht-Ø
      2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-smell-LK-CAUS-IMP
      « sens, flaire cela »
      'Smell (SG) it, sniff it!'
      (Potier 1751:354)

   n → t / s_ (*n* becomes *t* after *s*)

(62) *ostore*
      ostore'
      yo-snore-?
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.quick-STAT
      « c'est bientot »
      'it's soon'
      (Potier 1751:356)

   optionally, r → Ø (optional loss of *r*)

(63) *onta8atoïande*
      ontawatoiahnde'
      ǫta-w-at-ori-a-hn-eʔ
      CISLOC.FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-move.agitate-LK-DISLOC-PURP
      « voila la tempete qui vient »
      'the storm's coming [this way]'
      (Potier 1751:433)

(64) *tsatiatachonnia*
      Tsatia'tahchondiah !
      ts-at-yaʔt-a-hsrǫni-ah
      2NSG.AGT.IMP-MID-body-LK-prepare-IMP
      « vo' 2 habillez vo' »
      'Dress yourselves!'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:173)

hs → hšʸ / _V (palatalization of *hs* cluster with off-glide *i*, i.e. *hchie,* before a vowel)

(65) *achiesa̦annens*
      ahchiesayänens
      aʔ-hse-s-a-kanęs-Ø
      FACT-2SG.AGT-plate-LK-lick-PFV
      « tu a leché le plat »
      'you (SG) licked the plate'
      (Ms 60:197)

hs → hš / _r (palatalization of *hs* cluster before *r*)

(66) *̦ia̦enchre*
      yiayenhchre'
      k-yakę-ʔ-hsr-eʔ
      1SG.AGT-go.out-INCH-DISLOC-PURP
      « je vais à mes necessitez »
      'I'm going to tend to my needs, i.e. I'm going to go to the bathroom'
      (Potier 1751:207)

hsrk → hš (reduction of *hsrk* cluster to *hch*)

(67)   *a te ondeche*
       ha'teondehcheh
       haʔ-te-y-onęhsr-ke-h
       TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-land-be.so.many-STAT
       « par toute la terre »
       'in all of the land'
       (Potier 1751:243)

    ʔ → Ø / _h (loss of glottal stop <'> before *h*)

(68)   *ahatiatata*
       ahatia'ta'ta'
       aʔ-h-at-yaʔt-a-ʔkt-aʔ
       FACT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-body-LK-bend.curve-PFV
       « il s'est courbé »
       'he stooped, bent down'
       (Potier 1751:368)

    y → Ø / #_ (the loss of the glide *i* word-initially)

(69)   *on̦8atarihati*
       onywa'tariha'tih
       yǫkw-aʔtarih-a-ʔt-ih
       1PL.PAT-be.hot-LK-CAUS-STAT
       « nous avons du chaud »
       'we (PL) are hot'
       (Potier 1751:182)

    y → Ø / V_V (loss of the glide *i* intervocalically)[12]

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[12] The loss of intervocalic *y* is true in all contexts except for one morphophonological context: an initial /y/ of a pronominal prefix remains in place after the prefixation of the optative modal prefix *aa-* (see §3.4.3.3).

(70) *haat8ten*
      häa'tou'tenh
      ha-yaʔt-oʔtę-h
      3M.SG.AGT-body-be.certain.type-STAT
      « c'est la son naturel…il est naturellement tel »
      'this is his natural type, he is naturally like this'
      (Potier 1751:441)

   y → Ø / ts_ (loss of the glide *i* after *ts* cluster)

(71) *onne tsotrati*
      öne   tsotratih
      onę   ts-yo-at-r-a-t-ih
      now   REP-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-be.in.the.sky-LK-CAUS-STAT
      « la lune est renouvellé »
      'the moon has renewed itself [it's a new moon]'
      (Potier 1751:325)

   w → Ø / #_ (loss of *w* word-initially)

(72) *deχa entate*
      dekha'   entate'
      nekhaʔ   w-ęt-a-te-ʔ
      this.one   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-exist-STAT
      « ce jour »
      'this day'
      (Potier 1751:361)

   w → Ø / _o (loss of the glide *w* before the vowel *o* or *ou*)

(73) *sataronton ti ˌarih8ten*
      Satahrontonh   tiyarihou'tenh !
      s-at-ahrǫtǫ-h   ti-ka-rihw-oʔtę-h
      2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-ask-IMP   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-matter.affair-be.certain.type-STAT
      « vas t'informer (comme la chose est) de la chose »
      'Go (SG) inform yourself about the matter, how the matter is!'
      (Potier 1745:104)

   *wyę → yę *or* nyę (the sequence *wyen* becomes *ien* or *nien*)

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(74) *chiehonaienh8i ?*
     Chiehonwaienhwih ?
     hse-hǫw-a-wyęhwi-h
     2SG.AGT-canoe-LK-know.how-STAT
     « scais tu faire les canots »
     'Do you (SG) know how to make canoes?'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:50)

(75) *Satrih8añiensθa*
     Satrihwänienstah !
     s-at-rihw-a-wyę-st-ah
     2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-matter.affair-know.how-CAUS-IMP
     « apprend cette chose ; etudie là, exerce toi a t'en bien instruire »
     'Learn (SG) this thing, study it, make an effort to instruct yourself well!'
     (Potier 1751:266)

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the segmental phonology in Wendat, including the vowel inventory in §2.1, the consonant inventory in §2.2, and a list of phonological alternations in §2.3. This basic description of Wendat phonology lays the groundwork for the following chapters, all of which pertain to the verb morphology. The next chapter, Chapter 3, discusses the minimal verb in Wendat.

Chapter 3

The Minimal Wendat Verb

The present chapter is an introduction to the verbal structure in Wendat. The first section (§3.1) discusses the terminology used in descriptions of Northern Iroquoian verbs. The sections following the terminological discussion describe the structure of the minimal verb in Wendat (§3.2), and the two obligatory, inflectional components affixed to all verb bases: pronominal prefixes (§3.3) and aspect-mood suffixes (§3.4). Another class of inflectional affixes, the modal prefixes, which are also discussed in §3.4, are obligatory for perfective verbs. Finally, the verb classification schema for Wendat, based on patterns of aspect-mood marking and the selection of pronominal prefix paradigms, can be found in §3.5.

3.1. The Northern Iroquoian verb: Roots, bases, and stems

The Northern Iroquoian verb, first described in modern linguistic practices in Lounsbury's (1953) seminal *Oneida Verb Morphology*, is represented in a template with eight major position classes. Although the terminology for certain morphemes has shifted over time,[13] descriptions of the structure of the Northern Iroquoian verb have essentially remained the same since Lounsbury's analysis.

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[13] Terminological changes for specific morphemes, where they occur, will be discussed in the section concerning the morpheme in question.

Dating back to Lounsbury (1953) and continuing through contemporary descriptions, there are three terms commonly used when describing Iroquoian verbal structure: root, base, and stem. Similar to the general verb template, some of these terms used to delineate units within the verb have remained constant, while others have been reworked and refined over the years. In order to clarify the terminology used here and facililate comparisons with other works on Iroquoian languages, the following discussion provides an overview of the three terms used by Iroquoianists, and concludes with a description of those used in this work to describe the Wendat verb.

3.1.1. Roots

Following common usage in linguistics, Iroquoianists use the term *root* to refer to the minimal, indivisible unit of the word, and the one which carries the semantic weight of the larger word. The present grammar uses the term *root* in the same manner, referring to the morphologically simple, semantic core of a verb.

3.1.2. Bases

With regard to the term *base*, Lounsbury (1953:73) first used this term to refer to the verbal structure which begins with the voice prefixes, and extends through the incorporated noun position, the verb root, the derivational suffixes, and finally, the purposive suffix (a derivational suffix termed the *dislocative* in this work).

The purpose of defining a verb base is to separate the unit containing the verb root and any and all derivational morphemes from the inflectional affixes (the pronominal prefixes and the

aspect-mood suffixes). Furthermore, the combination of the verb root and its accompanying derivational affix(es) is often semantically non-compositional, which provides another reason for identifying the verb base as a separate unit. A schematicization of the verb base, as defined by Lounsbury (1953), is found in Figure 2.[14]

Prepronominal Prefix(es)	Pronominal Prefix	Voice Prefix	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffix(es)	Aspect-Mood Suffix	Expanded Aspect-mood Suffix(es)

Figure 2: Lounsbury's verb base (1953:73)[15]

The most recent grammatical descriptions of Northern Iroquoian languages roughly follow Lounsbury's definition of *base*. In his grammar of Seneca, Chafe (2015:56) uses the term *base* to signify any and all components of the verbal template from the voice prefixes to the derivational suffixes. Similarly, in their grammatical sketch of Oneida, Michelson, Kennedy & Doxtator (2016:343) describe the *verb base* as "the core of the verb", which extends from the voice prefixes to the derivational suffixes. Therefore, the term *verb base* is used to

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[14] The name of each slot indicates whether or not multiple morphemes from the same slot can co-occur. If the name of the slot is singular, such as *pronominal prefix* or *voice prefix*, then only one morpheme from the slot can occur in a single verb. However, if the name is plural, such as *prepronominal prefixes* or *derivational suffixes*, multiple morphemes from this slot can co-occur in the same verb. In addition, the slots in the verb template are primarily formal positions, meaning that morphemes are grouped into each slot due to their position in the verb and not their semantic similarities. Some slots, such as the voice prefix slot, contain morphemes that appear in the same position in the verb and are also semantically similar. However, other slots, such as the derivational suffixes, contain morphemes with very different semantics, but they all appear in the same general position in the verb.

[15] Certain terms used by Lounsbury (1953) have been replaced by terms used in the present work. Lounsbury's term *reflexive position* is replaced by *voice prefixes*, *noun position* by *incorporated noun*, *case suffixes* by *derivational suffixes*, *aspect suffixes* by *aspect-mood suffixes* and finally, *suffixed morphemes* by *expanded aspect-mood suffixes*.

encompass any and all sequences of verbal morphemes beginning with the voice prefixes and ending after the derivational suffixes.

However, the authors of the bilingual dictionaries of two Northern Iroquoian languages, including Oneida (Michelson & Doxtator 2002), and Onondaga (Woodbury 2003), have more nuanced definitions of *base*.[16] In these works, *base* is used to refer to simple verb roots as well as all sequences of verbal morphemes that are unpredictable in form, meaning, or both (Michelson & Doxtator 2002:15). For these Iroquoianists, the non-compositionality, or unpredictability in morphological form or semantics, is a requirement in order for a sequence of verbal morphemes to be considered a *base*.[17] Furthermore, unlike the original definition in Lounsbury (1953), both works allow for verb bases to be discontinuous. That is, if a verb root or complex sequence of verbal morphemes either requires the use of a prepronominal prefix, or uses a prepronominal prefix in a semantically unpredictable way, this structure is also considered to be a *base* (Michelson & Doxtator 2002:16). Finally, sequences of verbal morphemes that include the progressive, considered to be an expanded aspect-mood suffix, are also verb bases.

For the purposes of this grammatical analysis, the term *verb base* is used to refer to the unit containing the verb root and any and all continuous or discontinuous derivational affixes, including voice prefixes, incorporated nouns, and derivational suffixes, as well as prepronominal prefixes. In this respect, the use of the term *base* in this work differs slightly

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[16] Discussions of the term *base* in these works is generalized to all lexical categories, including verbs, nouns, and particles. However, discussion in the present section (and entire work) is limited to verb bases.
[17] However, it should be noted that this criterion of semantic or formal non-compositionality on the part of Michelson & Doxtator (2002) and Woodbury (2003) may only be due to the nature of these works being dictionaries. These criteria were used in order to determine whether or not verbal units should be included as separate entries or rather as sub-entries of a single verb base.

from that of Lounsbury (1953), Chafe (2015), and Michelson, Kennedy & Doxtator (2016), insomuch as prepronominal prefixes, which are also derivational verbal affixes, are included in the (discontinuous) verb base. Furthermore, with regard to examples used in the present work, when complex verb bases are semantically non-compositional, the lexicalized meaning of the base will be noted in the main text discussing the example, yet the base will be fully segmented in the interlinearized example.

3.1.3. Stems

The term *stem* has a much more varied usage in the Iroquoian literature. In Lounsbury's definitions, the verb stem is more expanded than the verb base. Lounsbury's (1953) verb stem includes all of the positions subsumed under his verb base, with the addition of the progressive morpheme. The verb stem, according to Lounsbury (1953) is illustrated in Figure 3.[18]

Prepronominal Prefix(es)	Pronominal Prefix	Voice Prefix	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffix(es)	Aspect-Mood Suffix	Expanded Aspect-mood Suffix(es)
						Stative	Progressive
						Habitual	Past
						Perfective	Continuative
						Purposive	Stative-
						Imperative	Distributive

Figure 3: Lounsbury's verb stem (1953:76)

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[18] Certain terms used by Lounsbury (1953) are replaced by the terms used in the present work. In this table, Lounsbury's term *perfective* is replaced by *stative*, *serial* by *habitual*, *punctual* by *perfective*, and *perfective plural* by *stative-distributive*.

Five additional Northern Iroquoian descriptions — the Seneca dictionary (and morphological description) by Chafe (1967); the Oneida dictionary by Abbott, Christjohn & Hinton (1996); the Tuscarora dictionary by Rudes (1999); the Oneida grammatical description by Abbott (2000); and the Cayuga dictionary by Froman, Keye, Keye & Dyck (2002) — use the term *verb stem* for the verb base as defined by Lounsbury (1953). Since the use of the term *stem* in these works, however, is equivalent to the verb base, these instances of the term *stem* will not be further considered.

In still other works on Iroquoian languages such as Michelson & Doxtator (2002), *verb stem* is used to refer to any and all morphemes in the verbal template beginning with the voice prefixes and continuing through the aspect-mood suffixes. In other words, the verb stem is identical to Lounsbury's (1953) verb base with the addition of the aspect-mood suffixes. The verb stem, however, differs from the verb base, as defined in the present work, since the latter includes the discontinuous prepronominal prefixes. As Michelson & Doxtator (2002) point out, the verb stem is a useful unit to identify insomuch as the initial segment(s) of the verb stem determines the shape of the immediately preceding pronominal prefix.

While the identifying beginning of the verb stem is useful for determining the preceding pronominal prefix, delineating the end of the verb stem is necessary for suffixing one of the four expanded aspect-mood suffixes. These expanded aspect-mood suffixes, discussed in Chapter 8, occur after the aspect-mood suffixes, which is the last part of the verb stem. Therefore, the verb stem is an important unit for determining the shapes of pronominal prefixes and those of the expanded aspect-mood suffixes.

3.1.4. Wendat verb roots, bases, and stems

The terminology used for Wendat verb structure in this grammatical analysis closely follows Chafe (2015) and Michelson, Kennedy & Doxtator (2016). Specifically, the *verb root* is the minimal unit of the verb, which is therefore simple (i.e., not complex) in its structure. The *verb base* is the unit of the verb that contains any or all of the derivational components of the verb beginning with the voice prefixes and ending with the derivational suffixes, in addition to discontinuous prepronominal prefixes. The *verb stem* is yet another unit of the verb, consisting of continuous verb bases (i.e. without any prepronominal prefixes) plus an aspect-mood suffix. These three terms, as used in the present Wendat grammar, and the structures encapsulated by them are illustrated in Figure 4.
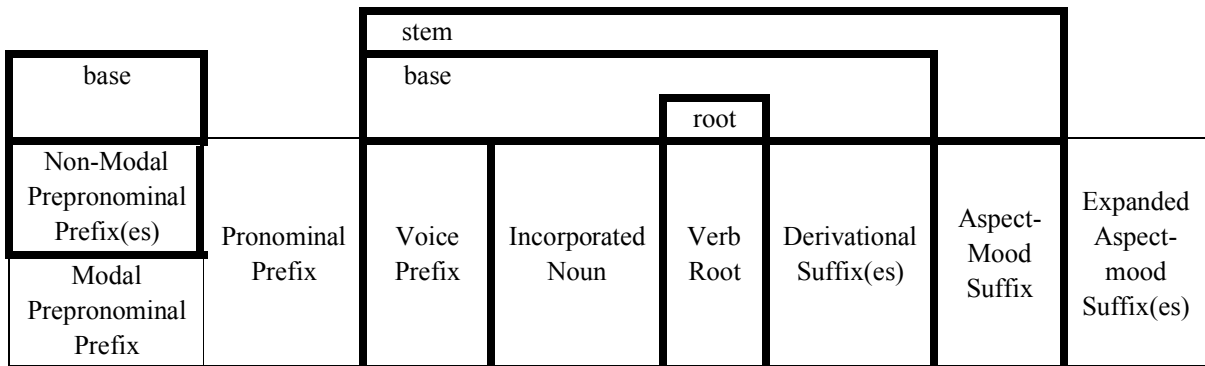
Figure 4: Units of the Wendat verb

3.2. Overview of verbal structure and the minimal verb

There are two types of minimal verbs in Wendat, depending on which aspect-mood is used with the verb. Aspect-mood suffixes, discussed in more detail in §3.4, include the habitual, the stative, the perfective, the purposive, and the imperative. Although the imperative is

technically a mood rather than an aspect, it is often lumped together with the other aspects in Northern Iroquoian languages due to its position in the verb template.

The first type of minimal verb, which is the more general, unmarked verb type, applies to verbs conjugated with any aspect-mood aside from the perfective. With any of these four aspect-moods, the habitual, the stative, the purposive, or the imperative, the general minimal verb in Wendat contains three components: a verb base, a pronominal prefix, and an aspect-mood suffix (see Figure 5).

Pronominal Prefix	Verb Base	Aspect-Mood Suffix

Figure 5: The minimal verb in Wendat

The second type of minimal verb pertains to verbs conjugated in the perfective aspect. As in other Northern Iroquoian languages, the presence of the perfective aspect-mood suffix requires the use of one of three modal prepronominal prefixes: the factual, the future, or the optative.[19] Due to this additional prefix, the minimal verb in the perfective aspect-mood, shown in Figure 6, requires a fourth component.

Modal Prefix	Pronominal Prefix	Verb Base	Aspect-Mood Suffix

Figure 6: The minimal perfective verb in Wendat

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[19] The modal prefixes must be used with the perfective aspect-mood, but are disallowed with the habitual, stative, and imperative aspect-moods. The purposive aspect-mood can optionally appear with one of the three modal prefixes (see §3.4.5). An expanded aspect-mood suffix, the continuative, can be added to a habitual or stative verb stem which then allows for the use of one of the modal prefixes with these imperfective aspect-moods (see §8.4).

The sections remaining in this chapter discuss the affixes of the minimal verb in Wendat, including: the pronominal prefixes (§3.3), the aspect-mood suffixes and the accompanying modal prefixes (§3.4), and the system of verb classification used to describe the selection of pronominal prefix paradigm(s) and aspect-mood(s) (§3.5).

3.3. Pronominal prefixes

Like all other Iroquoian languages, Wendat has an Agent-Patient alignment system, in which core arguments, in the form of pronominal prefixes, are affixed directly to the verb. The selection of agent versus patient prefixes originally depended on semantic factors typical of Agent-Patient systems, such as performance, control, volition, and affectedness. Over time, the Agent-Patient system grammaticalized and became intertwined with the aspect-mood system (see Mithun 1991). In other words, aspect-moods tend to co-occur with specific paradigms of pronominal prefixes, originally due to semantic considerations, but since having been frozen into reoccurring patterns of marking. The specific details regarding these patterns can be found in §3.5. For now, the agent can be considered as the argument that shares either some or most of the following characteristics: volitional, controller, performer, and instigator. With regard to the patient, this argument is more likely to be a non-volitional, affected entity.

The Agent-Patient alignment system is demonstrated through the following four examples. Each of these examples contains an intransitive verb with either a 1SG or 2SG pronominal prefix. The first pair of examples, (76) and (77), show two intransitive verb bases with first person pronominal prefixes. In example (76) with the verb base .ta'-/.ta'nd-/.tah- + DUPL 'to stand up', the individual is a semantic agent, controlling and instigating the action, and thus,

has a pronominal prefix from the agent paradigm, the first person singular agent prefix *ye-*.

Example (77), on the other hand, with the verb base *-ahchi'torathon-* 'to have a sprained foot',

contains a patient pronominal prefix since the individual is a non-volitional, affected entity.

This prefix, whose shape *(w)ay-* differs from the agent prefix *ye-* in (76), is a first person

singular patient prefix.

(76)   *te ˎetas*
         teyeta's
         te-ke-t-a-ʔ-s
         DUPL-1SG.AGT-be.standing-LK-INCH-HAB
         « je me tiens debout »
         'I stand up'
         (Ms 67 n.d.:66)

(77)   *aˎachitoraθon*
         ayahchi'torathonh
         wak-ahsiʔt-oratho̧-h
         1SG.PAT-foot-sprain-STAT
         « j'ai un pié foulé »
         'I have a sprained foot'
         (Potier 1751:428)

The same distribution of agent and patient pronominal forms is found with (78) and (79).

In (78), the second person singular referent is a semantic agent, hence the use of the second

person singular agent pronominal prefix *(h)chi-*, and in (79), the referent is a semantic patient,

explaining the use of the second person singular patient pronominal prefix *(e)sa-*. Again, as

mentioned earlier, this system has grammaticalized, so the use of agent versus patient

paradigms in intransitive verbs depends upon other factors, which are discussed in §3.5.

(78)　*orihierihen echiatatia*
orihierihenh　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**ehchiatatia'**
yo-rihw-yeri-h-ęh　　　　　　　　　　　　e-hs-atati-aʔ
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.right.straight-INCH-STAT FUT-2SG.AGT-talk-PFV
« tu parleras correctemt »
'you (SG) will speak correctly'
(Ms 60 n.d.:260)

(79)　*acha8i etisaâtendi ?*
Ahchawi'　　**etisäa'ten**
ahsawiʔ　　　　eti-esa-yaʔt-ę-ʔn-ih
high　　　　　　CISLOC-2SG.PAT-body-fall-INCH-STAT
« es tu tbé du haut de l'arbre v. de la cab. ? »
'Did you (SG) fall from up high (e.g. from the top of the tree or the roof of the house)?'
(Ms 60 n.d.:36)

In the Iroquoian linguistic tradition, pronominal prefixes are typically categorized into agent, patient, and transitive paradigms. These three paradigms are also further subcategorized according to the mood, or illocutionary force, of the verb, i.e. indicative or imperative.[20] Pronominal prefixes are marked for person (1, 2 or 3), number (singular, dual, plural), gender (masculine, feminine-zoic, neuter) in the third person, and clusivity (inclusive, exclusive) in the first person. An indefinite pronominal category, used for underspecified, backgrounded third persons, is part of the system, yet it is not marked for number. There is also a non-singular category in the patient and transitive paradigms which is used to specify two or more. In the intransitive pronominal paradigms, the neuter and the feminine-zoic singular combine into a single category of pronominal forms. In the transitive pronominal paradigm, the feminine-zoic singular and neuter are distinct categories for certain combinations of third persons on third

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[20] The indicative mood, as used in the present work, covers all uses of the pronominal prefixes that are not imperative. It should also be noted that the purposive is mood-like in its semantics (see §3.4.5), but it is treated as indicative in Wendat (and in other Iroquoian languages), since it is not the imperative.

persons. Other functional distinctions differ across paradigms, the details of which are explained in §3.3.3 (agent), §3.3.4 (patient), and §3.3.5 (transitive).

Within each paradigm, the form of the individual prefix also depends on several factors, including the phonological environment immediately following the pronominal prefix as well as whether or not the pronominal is word-initial or word-medial. In other words, the first segment(s) of the verb stem determines the form of the preceding pronominal prefix, thus creating conjugation classes. Due to various historical phonological changes, the number of conjugation classes varies among Northern Iroquoian languages. In Wendat, there are ten conjugation classes, or distinctive phonological environments, for pronominal prefix forms: a-stem, C-stem (where C is any consonant excluding all sonorant consonants except for *w*), iV-stem (**y*), n(d)V-stem (**nV*, i.e., where *n* or *nd* is immediately followed by a vowel), r-stem, e-stem, en-stem, i-stem, o-stem (including the allophone *ou* [u] of /o/), and on-stem. There are only minimal differences between the sets of pronominal forms for the e-stem and en-stem verbs, and the o-stem and on-stem verbs, primarily due to the allomorphy of /n/, in which /n/ remains [n] before a nasal vowel, but becomes [^{n}d] before an oral vowel.

3.3.1. Agent prefixes

Semantic actors, performers or instigators are typically coded by means of agent prefixes, yet as mentioned earlier, due to processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization, the semantics of these participants and their formal marking do not always align in this manner.

Agent pronominal prefixes are marked for first, second, or third person. There is a singular, dual and plural distinction in all persons, aside from a third person indefinite pronominal.

Examples (80), also discussed in §2.3, (81), and (82) show, respectively, the uses of the singular, dual, and plural pronominal prefixes.

(80)   *i̗ech*
         iyech
         i-ke-k-s
         PROTH-1SG.AGT-eat-HAB
         « je mange »
         'I eat'
         (Ms FHO n.d.:273)

(81)   *te hiχen*
         tehikhenh
         te-hi-kh-ęh
         DV-3M.DU.AGT-join-STAT
         « 2 gemeaux »
         'twins [lit. they two (m.) are joined together]'
         (Ms JCB n.d.:52)

(82)   *ihatich*
         ihatich
         i-hati-k-s
         PROTH-3M.PL.AGT-eat-HAB
         « ils [mangent] »
         'they eat'
         (Ms FHO n.d.:273)

The indefinite pronominal prefix, as shown in example (83), is the only pronominal that is not specified for number. In Wendat and Proto-Northern Iroquoian, this third person indefinite pronominal resembles the use of the French pronoun *on* since it backgrounds a less topical third person.

(83) *te eatate*
      te'ea'tate'
      teʔ-ye-yaʔt-a-te-ʔ
      NEG-3IND.AGT-body-LK-exist-STAT
      « il n'y a personne »
      'there's no one there'
      (Potier 1744:280)

An inclusive and exclusive distinction is made in the first person dual and plural

pronominals; therefore, there is a first person inclusive dual, a first person exclusive dual, a

first person inclusive plural, and a first person exclusive plural. This marking indicates whether

or not the addressee, or the hearer, is included or excluded in the 'we'. In (84), also discussed

in §2.2.3, the dual exclusive form is used, whereby the listener is excluded.

(84) *tsa̱iatat*
      tsayia'tat
      ts-yaki-yaʔt-a-t-Ø
      REP-1DU.EXCL.AGT-body-LK-be.one-STAT
      « nous ne sommes qu'un lui et moy, elle et moy »
      'we are one, he and I, she and I'
      (Potier 1744:274)

In (85), the plural inclusive form is used to indicate that the three or more people includes

the listener.

(85) *tsik8aatat*
      tsikwäa'tat
      ts-ekwa-yaʔt-a-t-Ø
      REP-1PL.INCL.AGT-body-LK-be.one-STAT
      « nous ne sommes tous vous et moy, qu'un »
      'all of you and I, we all are one'
      (Potier 1744:274)

Gender is also marked on the pronominal in the third person and there are three categories:

masculine, feminine-zoic, and neuter. In the singular, the feminine-zoic category is combined

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with the neuter category, which is used for inanimate objects. Feminine-zoic, a term commonly used in Iroquoian linguistics, is the gender typically used in Wendat for all females, animals, and natural phenomena. There are, however, certain exceptions to this usage, some of which can be understood through cultural explanations. One such exception is the gender used for 'star'. As shown in example (86), the third person masculine plural pronominal *hati-* as in *hatironnion'*, must be used in order to refer to the stars in the sky. This masculine reference can be explained through a traditional Wendat legend in which seven brothers become stars in the sky. The masculine pronominal is also required when referring to a group of both masculine and feminine referents.

(86)　ˌaronhiaˌe tichion hatironnion
　　　yaronhia'yeh　　　　**tihchion'**　**hatironnion'**
　　　ka-rǫhy-aʔ-keh　　　　tihšǫʔ　　hati-r-ǫ-nyǫ-ʔ
　　　3FZ/N.SG.AGT-sky-NSF-LOC　star　　3M.PL.AGT-be.in.the.sky-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
　　　« il y a quantité d'etoiles qui paroissent au ciel »
　　　[there is a multitude of stars appearing in the sky]'
　　　(Potier 1751:325)

All of these categories, along with their phonological forms, can be found in the summary of agent pronominal prefixes in Table 11. In this table, parentheses around initial segments indicate that these segments appear only word-medially. Furthermore, the lack of a hyphen following a pronominal form indicates that there is phonological fusion with the following verb base resulting in the loss of the initial segment(s) of the verb base.

Agent Pronominal Categories	Conjugation Classes (by initial segment(s) of verb stem)									
	a-stem	**C-stem**	**iV-stem** (*y-stem)	**n(d)V-stem** (*nV-stem)	**r-stem**	**e-stem**	**en-stem** (ę-stem)	**i-stem**	**o-stem**	**on-stem** (ǫ-stem)
1SG	y-	ye-	y-	Ø- *or* i-	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-	y-
2SG	(h)chi-	(h)chie-	(h)chi	(h)st	(h)ch-	(h)chi-	(h)chi-	(h)ch-	(h)chi-	(h)chi-
3M.SG	h-	ha-	ha	hä-	ha-	h-	h-	hen	h-	h-
3.FZ/N.SG	(w)-	ya-	ya	yä-	ya-	(w)-	(w)-	yen	(i)-	(i)-
3.IND	(i)on	(i)e-	(i)e-	(i)ë-	(i)e-	(i)ay-	(i)ay-	(i)e *or* (i)a-	(i)ay-	(i)ay-
1DU.EXCL	(i)ayi-	(i)ayi-	(i)ayi	(i)ayi-	(i)ayi-	(i)änd-	(i)än-	(i)änd-	(i)änd-	(i)än-
1DU.INCL	(e)ti-	(e)ti-	(e)ti	(e)ti-	(e)ti-	(e)t-	(e)t-	(e)t-	(e)t-	(e)t-
2DU	(e)ts-	(e)tsi-	(e)tsi	(e)tsi-	(e)tsi-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-
3.M.DU	hi-	hi-	hi	hi-	hi-	hnd-	hn-	hnd-	hnd-	hn-
3.FZ.DU	yi-	yi-	yi	yi-	yi-	nd-	n-	nd-	nd-	n-
1PL.EXCL	(i)ayw-	(i)aywa-	(i)aywa	(i)aywä-	(i)aywa-	(i)ayw-	(i)ayw-	(i)aywen	(i)ayi-	(i)ayi-
1PL.INCL	(e)kw-	(e)kwa-	(e)kwa	(e)kwä-	(e)kwa-	(e)kw-	(e)kw-	(e)kwen	(e)ti-	(e)ti-
2PL	(e)skw-	(e)skwa-	(e)skwa	(e)skwä-	(e)skwa-	(e)skw-	(e)skw-	(e)skwen	(e)ts-	(e)ts-
3.M.PL	hon	hati-	hati	hati-	hati-	hend-	henn-	hend-	hend-	henn-
3.FZ.PL	yon	(w)ati-	(w)ati	(w)ati-	(w)ati-	(w)end-	(w)enn-	(w)end-	(w)end-	(w)enn-

Table 11: Agent indicative pronominal prefixes

For agent imperative pronominal prefixes, there are only four pronominal categories: second person singular, second person non-singular (two or more), and first person inclusive dual and plural. There are many similarities between the agent indicative and agent imperative series. In fact, the second person non-singular imperative forms are syncretic with the second person dual indicative forms, and the imperative forms of the first person dual inclusive and the first person plural inclusive are identical to their corresponding categories in the indicative series. The only differences between the two agent series, indicative and imperative, are with regard to the second person singular forms. For example, the second person singular agent imperative prefix is *se-*, as shown in (87), which is in contrast to the corresponding indicative form *(h)chie-*.

(87) *Sehent*
      Sehent!
      se-hẹt-Ø
      2SG.AGT.IMP-lead-IMP
      « va le premier »
      'Go first!; Lead!'
      (Potier 1744:101)

Table 12 summarizes the forms for these agent imperative pronominal prefixes.

Agent Pronominal Categories (Imperatives)	Conjugation Classes (by initial segment(s) of verb stem)									
	a-stem	**C-stem**	**iV-stem** (*y-stem)	**n(d)V-stem** (*nV-stem)	**r-stem**	**e-stem**	**en-stem** (ẹ-stem)	**i-stem**	**o-stem**	**on-stem** (ǫ-stem)
2SG	s-	se-	ts	st	ch-	s-	s-	ts-	s-	s-
2NSG	ts-	tsi-	tsi	tsi-	tsi-	st-	st-	st-	st-	st-
1DU.INCL	ti-	ti-	ti	ti-	ti-	t-	t-	t-	t-	t-
1PL.INCL	kw-	kwa-	kwa	kwä-	kwa-	kw-	kw-	kwen	ti-	ti-

Table 12: Agent imperative pronominal prefixes

3.3.2. Patient prefixes

Patient prefixes typically code entities that participate in conditions or states, although again, the system has been grammaticalized so that most uses of the stative aspect-mood require a patient prefix. In comparison to agent pronominal prefixes, there are fewer distinct categories of patient pronominals. Specifically, there is no inclusive or exclusive distinction in any of the first person patient pronominals. Examples (88) and (89), the latter also discussed in §2.3, show the use of the dual and plural forms for first person, without an inclusive versus exclusive distinction.

(88)   *stan on̗iatsi t'e̗en*
         stan'   onyiatsi'   te'yenh
         stę?   yǫki-atsi-?   te?-ka-i-h
         no   1DU.PAT-be.friend -STAT   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
         « nous ne som. pas 2 amis »
         'we two are not friends'
         (Potier 1751:205)

(89)   *tson̗8andi̗onrat̗en*
         tsonywa'ndiyonrat   iyenh
         ts-yǫkwa-?nikǫhr-a-t-Ø   i-ka-i-h
         REP-1PL.PAT-mind-LK-be.one-STAT   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
         « nous n'avons tous qu'un esprit »
         'we (PL) have but one mind'
         (Potier 1744:274)

Moreover, although the dual and plural categories are maintained in the first and second persons, this is not the case in the third person. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion with the plural category, which in the agent paradigm refers to three or more entities, the patient paradigm has a non-singular category which conveys 'two or more'. In example (90), due to the fact that there is no dual form for third person patients, the feminine-zoic non-singular form refers to two or more females.

(90)   *tsotindi̗onrat i̗en*
         tsoti'ndiyonhrat   iyenh
         ts-yoti-?nikǫhr-a-t-Ø   i-ka-i-h
         REP-3FZ/N.NSG.PAT-mind-LK-be.one-STAT   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
         « dual…plur…elles [n'ont qu'un meme esprit] »
         'they (F, NSG) have but one mind'
         (Potier 1751:358)

The categories and forms of the patient prefixes can be found below in Table 13.

Patient Pronominal Categories	Conjugation classes (by initial segment(s) of verb stem)									
	a-stem	**C-stem**	**iV-stem** (*y-stem)	**n(d)V-stem** (*nV-stem)	**r-stem**	**e-stem**	**en-stem** (ę-stem)	**i-stem**	**o-stem**	**on-stem** (ǫ-stem)
1SG	(w)ay-	(w)aye-	(w)ay-	(w)ä-	(w)ay-	(w)ay-	(w)ay-	(w)ay-	(w)ay-	(w)ay-
2SG	(e)s-	(e)sa-	(e)sa	(e)sä-	(e)sa-	(e)s-	(e)s-	(e)sen	(e)s-	(e)s-
3.M.SG	ho	ho-	ho	hö-	ho-	haw-	haw-	ho	ha-	ha-
3.FZ/N.SG	(i)o	(i)o-	(i)o	(i)ö-	(i)o-	(i)aw-	(i)aw-	(i)o	(i)a-	(i)a-
3.IND	(i)ayo	(i)ayo-	(i)ayo	(i)ayö-	(i)ayo-	(i)ayaw-	(i)ayaw-	(i)ayo	(i)aya-	(i)aya-
1DU	(i)onyi-	(i)onyi-	(i)onyi	(i)onyi-	(i)onyi-	(i)ond-	(i)onn-	(i)ond-	(i)ond-	(i)onn-
2DU	(e)ts-	(e)tsi-	(e)tsi	(e)tsi-	(e)tsi-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-	(e)st-
3.M.NSG	hoti-	hoti-	hoti	hoti-	hoti-	hönd-	hön-	hönd-	hönd-	hön-
3.FZ.NSG	(i)oti-	(i)oti-	(i)oti	(i)oti-	(i)önd-	(i)önd-	(i)ön-	(i)önd-	(i)önd-	(i)ön-
1PL	(i)onyw-	(i)onywa-	(i)onywa	(i)onywä-	(i)onywa-	(i)onyw-	(i)onyw-	(i)onywen	(i)onyi-	(i)onyi-
2PL	(e)skw-	(e)skwa-	(e)skwa	(e)skwä-	(e)skwa-	(e)skw-	(e)skw-	(e)skwen	(e)ts-	(e)ts-

Table 13: Patient indicative pronominal prefixes

The imperative patient prefixes are shown in Table 14. In general, patient imperative pronominal prefixes and agent imperative pronominal prefixes are syncretic in form. The sole differences between the two intransitive imperative paradigms are with regard to certain second person singular forms. For example, the patient form of the second person singular imperative prefix in (91) is *sa-*, whereas the agent form for this same category is *se-*, as shown in the earlier example (87).

(91)   *Saãtaten*
         Säa'tatenh!
         sa-yaʔt-a-tę-h
         2SG.PAT.IMP-body-LK-stop-IMP
         « arrete toi »
         'Stop!'
         (Ms 60 n.d.:19)

Patient Pronominal Categories (Imperative)	Conjugation classes (by initial segment(s) of verb stem)									
	a-stem	**C-stem**	**iV-stem** (*y-stem)	**n(d)V-stem** (*nV-stem)	**r-stem**	**e-stem**	**en-stem** (ę-stem)	**i-stem**	**o-stem**	**on-stem** (ǫ-stem)
2SG	s-	sa-	ts	sä-	sa-	s-	s-	ts-	s-	s-
2NSG	ts-	tsi-	tsi	tsi-	tsi-	st-	st-	st-	st-	st-
1DU.INCL	ti-	ti-	ti	ti-	ti-	t-	t-	t-	t-	t-
1PL.INCL	kw-	kwa-	kwa	kwä-	kwa-	kw-	kw-	kwen	ti-	ti-

Table 14: Patient imperative pronominal prefixes

3.3.3. Transitive prefixes

The transitive pronominal paradigm consists of portmanteau prefixes that refer to a particular combination of agent and patient participants. Wendat verbs, like verbs in all other Iroquoian languages, can contain up to two core arguments represented by a single transitive pronominal.

Before delving into the tables of transitive pronominal prefixes, there are further details about transitivity which clarify the use of this paradigm. There are two types of transitivity that are relevant for understanding the Wendat pronominal marking patterns: semantic transitivity and morphological transitivity.[21] Semantic transitivity refers to the number of semantic participants implied by the verb, as a verb can have two semantic arguments, an agent and a patient, and thus be semantically transitive, or it can have only one semantic argument, and therefore be semantically intransitive. Morphological transitivity, on the other hand, refers to the number of arguments that are marked on the verb by means of a pronominal prefix. A verb

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[21] While transitivity is conceptualized as a syntactic phenomenon in the wider field of linguistics, for Wendat, transitivity, as it is used here, pertains to semantics and inflection. Semantic transitivity, however, does have some implications for discourse and syntax in other Iroquoian languages. For example, semantic arguments, whether or not they are marked morphologically on the verb, can be referenced by an external nominal, become a topic of discourse, and participate in other phenomena reserved for core arguments (Michelson 2018, p.c.; Mithun 2018, p.c.). Since Wendat shares the same pronominal system and marking patterns with its sister languages, it is presumed that semantic arguments in Wendat are treated similarly in discourse, yet further research is needed in order to verify this.

can be marked with a prefix from the transitive paradigm, and thus, is morphologically transitive, or with a prefix from the agent or patient paradigms, and therefore, is morphologically intransitive.

Semantic and morphological transitivity do not always align with one another. In other words, a verb may have two semantic arguments, a semantic agent and a semantic patient, but is morphologically intransitive, appearing only with intransitive pronominal prefixes. This mismatch between semantic and morphoogical transitivity has to do with animacy, and specifically, whether or not a verb has a semantic argument that is always inanimate, i.e. a neuter argument.

The neuter is always phonologically null (Ø-), whether it is a semantic agent or a semantic patient, in a semantically transitive verb. Since the form of the neuter is zero, a semantically transitive verb with one inanimate argument, is morphologically intransitive. For example, in (92), also discussed in §2.2.1, the semantically transitive verb *-hkw-/-hk-* 'to take, pick up something' always has an inanimate patient, i.e. a third person neuter patient. Despite its semantic transitivity, since the third person neuter form is zero, the verb is morphologically intransitive and takes prefixes from the intransitive agent and patient paradigms. In (92), the intransitive pronominal prefix used is a first person singular agent.

(92)   *akeꞌk*
         aꞌkehk
         aʔ-t-ke-hk-Ø
         FACT-DUPL-1SG.AGT-take-PFV
         « je pris »
         'I took [it]'
         (Potier 1751:271)

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In summary, semantically transitive verbs with one (consistently) inanimate argument are morphologically intransitive. These verbs do not take prefixes from the transitive paradigm, and therefore, they will be discussed in more detail in §3.5.1.

The transitive pronominal paradigm is used exclusively by morphologically (and necessarily, semantically) transitive verbs. These verbs have two animate semantic arguments, both of which are encoded in a portmanteau transitive pronominal prefix. For example, in (93), also discussed in §2.2.3, the two animate arguments, 1SG and 2SG, are marked by the portmanteau prefix *yonw-*.

(93)   *ekonakatanda*
        ekonwakahtahnda'
        e-kǫw-at-kah-t-a-hn-aʔ
        FUT-1SG:2SG-MID-eye-be.upright-LK-DISLOC-PFV
        « je te viendrai voir »
        'I will come see you (SG)'
        (Potier 1751:241)

As mentioned in §3.3, the feminine-zoic singular and neuter categories are combined in intransitive paradigms, and this joint category is abbreviated as 3FZ/N.SG. The same combined category occurs in much of the transitive paradigm, aside from certain instances of third persons acting on third persons where the neuter and the feminine-zoic diverge from one another. When the two are combined into a single category in the transitive paradigm, the form is phonologically null (∅-). The other argument represented on the transitive prefix, whether it is an agent or a patient, is the only one to be realized phonologically, and thus, transitive prefixes with one of the arguments being a 3FZ/N.SG, are syncretic with forms in the intransitive paradigms. If the third person feminine-zoic/neuter singular argument is the agent, then the portmanteau transitive prefix will be syncretic with the patient pronominal prefix for the other

argument. If the 3FZ/N.SG argument is the patient, then the portmanteau transitive prefix is syncretic with the intransitive agent prefix for the other argument.

Examples (94) and (95) illustrate this syncretism between the intransitive paradigms and portions of the transitive paradigm. In (94), the transitive prefix represents a 3FZ/N.SG agent and a 1SG patient. Due to the 3FZ/N.SG being phonologically null, the form of the portmanteau transitive prefix, *(w)ay-*, is identical to the 1SG prefix *(w)ay-* in the intransitive patient paradigm. In (95), the 3FZ/N.SG argument is the patient and the 1SG argument is the agent. In this case, the transitive prefix *y-* is syncretic with the 1SG agent prefix.

(94) *e8a̹rio*
      ewayrio'
      e-wak-ryo-?
      FUT-3FZ/N.SG:1SG.PAT-kill.fight-PFV
      « elle me tuera »
      'she will kill me'
      (Potier 1751:269)

(95) *i̹rios*
      iyrios
      i-k-ryo-s
      PROTH-1SG:3FZ/N.SG-kill.fight-HAB
      « je la tue »
      'I kill her; I'm killing her'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:371)

As mentioned above, morphologically transitive verbs have two animate semantic arguments. Depending upon the meaning of the verb base, however, one of these arguments can sometimes be an inanimate entity. In other words, this type of verb ordinarily has two animate semantic arguments, but it can also appear with an inanimate argument. The difference between this type of verb and the semantically transitive, morphologically intransitive verb is that the latter has an argument that is always inanimate.

An example of this type of morphologically transitive verb, in which one argument can be (but is not always) inanimate, is -nonhwe- 'to love'. In (96), also discussed in §2.1.2, there is a 3FZ/N.SG semantic patient (phonologically null) which can either be interpreted as a woman or an inanimate entity, yielding the two glosses 'I love her' and 'I love it'.

(96)   *innonh8e*
        inonhwe'
        k-nǫhwe-ʔ
        1SG.AGT(:3FZ/N.SG)-love-STAT
        « j'aime, je l'aime elle »
        'I love (it); I love her'
        (Potier 1751:310)

These characteristics of the transitive paradigm, due to the mismatch between semantic and morphological transitivity and the phonologically null 3FZ/N.SG argument, are shared by all Iroquoian languages and represent relics of the historical development of person marking in the family (see Chafe 1977; 2002; 2015).

In analyses of Iroquoian languages, the transitive pronominal prefixes are typically represented in a large chart, where intersections of the agent and patient form the transitive categories. Due to the large amount of pronominal categories in Wendat, the transitive paradigm is split into four sections. Sections are organized by whether or not agents and patients are speech act participants (i.e. first or second persons). Therefore, the four sections of the transitive paradigm are named as follows: speech act participants acting on speech act participants (i.e. 1, 2 > 1, 2 persons), as found in Table 15; speech act participants acting on non-speech act participants (i.e. 1, 2 > 3 persons), as found in Table 16; non-speech act participants acting on speech act participants (i.e. 3 > 1, 2 persons), as found in Table 17; and

non-speech act participants acting on non-speech act participants (i.e. 3 > 3 persons), as found in Table 18. Finally, transitive imperative pronominal prefixes are in Table 19.

In order to use the transitive pronominal charts, it is necessary to find the right combination of agent and patient categories. Agent categories are listed in the leftmost vertical column of the table and patient categories are listed in the first row of the table. The category that appears at the intersection of the agent and patient categories gives the correct form of the transitive pronominal prefix. Each category will show several forms, which are classified by their conjugation class through the letters appearing in a string immediately after the prefix. Gray cells show that that particular combination of persons is not possible semantically.

Certain transitive combinations have either never developed as distinct forms or have collapsed over time, and this is indicated through the merging of cells in the table. In all, there are 96 different categories of indicative pronominal prefixes in Wendat with an even larger number of allomorphs. The first table of the four, Table 15, shows the transitive pronominals for speech act participants acting on speech act participants.

AGT \ PAT	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	2DU	2PL
1SG				yonw- [a,e,en] yoni- [o,on] yon [i] yon- [C,*y,*nV,r]	yi- [a,C,*nV,r] yi- [*y] nd- [e,i,o] n- [en,on]	yw- [a,e,en] ywa- [C,r] ywa [*y] ywä- [*nV] ywen [i] yi- [o,on]
1DU.EXCL						
1PL.EXCL						
1DU.INCL						
1PL.INCL						
2SG	sk- [a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on] ske- [C] st [*nV]	ski- [a,C,*nV,r] ski [*y] st- [e,en,i,o,on]	skw- [a,e,en] skwa- [C,r] skwa [*y] skwä- [*nV] skwen [i] ski- [o,on]			
2DU						
2PL						

Table 15: Transitive pronominal prefixes, 1st and 2nd persons acting on 1st and 2nd persons (1, 2 > 1, 2)

An example of a transitive pronominal marking a speech act participant acting on another speech act participant is in (97).

(97)   *ekonatrak8i*
        ekona'trahkwih
        et-kǫ-yaʔt-r-a-hkw-ih
        CISLOC-1SG:2SG-body-put.inside-LK-INS-STAT
        « je t'ai fait participant »
        'I've had you (SG) participate'
        (Potier 1751:326)

The table shown below, Table 16, contains the transitive pronominal forms for speech act participants acting upon non-speech act participants, i.e. first and second persons acting on third persons.

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AGT \ PAT	3FZ/N.SG	3M.SG	3IND	3FZ.NSG	3M.NSG
1SG	y- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} ye- ^{C} Ø- ^{*nV} or i- ^{*nV}	h- ^{a,e,en,i,o,on} he- ^{C,*nV} or hi- ^{C} hi ^{*y} h- ^{r} or he- ^{r}	khe- ^{a,C,r,e,en,o,on} khe ^{*y,i} khë- ^{*nV}	yay- ^{a,r,e,en,i,o,on} yaye- ^{C} yay ^{*y}	hay- ^{a,r,e,en,i,o,on} haye- ^{C} hay ^{*y}
1DU.EXCL	(i)ayi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} (i)änd- ^{e,i,o} (i)ayi ^{*y} (i)än- ^{en,on}	shayi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} shayi ^{*y} shänd- ^{e,i,o} shän- ^{en,on}		yäayi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} yäayi ^{*y} yäänd- ^{e,i,o} yään- ^{en,on}	häayi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} häayi ^{*y} häänd- ^{e,i,o} hään- ^{en,on}
1PL.EXCL	(i)ayw- ^{a} (i)aywa- ^{C,r} (i)aywa ^{*y} (i)aywä- ^{*nV} (i)aw- ^{e,en} (i)awen ^{i} (i)ayi- ^{o,on}	shayw- ^{a,e,en} shaywa- ^{C,r} shaywa ^{*y} shaywä- ^{*nV} shaywen ^{i} shayi- ^{o,on}	(i)akhi- ^{a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on} (i)akhi ^{*y} (i)akh- ^{i}	yäayw- ^{a,e,en} yäaywa- ^{C,r} yäaywa ^{*y} yäaywä- ^{*nV} yäaywen ^{i} yäayi- ^{o,on}	häayw- ^{a,e,en} häaywa- ^{C,r} häaywa ^{*y} häaywä- ^{*nV} häaywen ^{i} häayi- ^{o,on}
1DU.INCL	(e)ti- ^{a,C,*nV,r} (e)ti ^{*y} (e)t- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	heti- ^{a,C,*nV,r} heti ^{*y} het- ^{e,en,i,o,on}		yaeti- ^{a,C,*nV,r} yaeti ^{*y} yaet- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	haeti- ^{a,C,*nV,r} haeti ^{*y} haet- ^{e,en,i,o,on}
1PL.INCL	(e)kw- ^{a,e,en} (e)kwa- ^{C,r} (e)kwa ^{*y} (e)kwä- ^{*nV} (e)kwen ^{i} (e)ti- ^{o,on}	hekw- ^{a,e,e,n} hekwa- ^{C,r} hekwa ^{*y} hekwä- ^{*nV} hekwen ^{i} heti- ^{o,on}		yaekw- ^{a,e,en} yaekwa- ^{C,r} yaekwa ^{*y} yaekwä- ^{*nV} yaekwen ^{i} yaeti- ^{o,on}	haekw- ^{a,e,en} haekwa- ^{C,r} haekwa ^{*y} haekwä- ^{*nV} haekwen ^{i} haeti- ^{o,on}
2SG	(h)chi- ^{a,e,en,o,on} (h)chie- ^{C} (h)chi ^{*y} (h)st ^{*nV} (h)ch- ^{r,i}	hehchi- ^{a,e,en,o,on} hehchie- ^{C} hehchi ^{*y} hehst^{*nV} hehch- ^{r,i}	(h)che- ^{a,C,r,e,en,o,on} or (h)she- ^{a,C,r,e,en,o,on} (h)che ^{*y,i} or (h)she ^{*y,i}	yahchi- ^{a,e,en,o,on} yahchie- ^{C} yahchi ^{*y} yahch- ^{r,i}	hahchi- ^{a,e,en,o,on} hahchia- ^{C} hahchi ^{*y} hahch- ^{r,i}
2DU	(e)ts- ^{a} (e)tsi- ^{C,*nV,r} (e)tsi ^{*y} (e)st- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	hehts- ^{a} hehtsi- ^{C,*nV,r} hehtsi ^{*y} hehst- ^{e,en,i,o,on}		yaets- ^{a} yaetsi- ^{C,*nV,r} yaetsi ^{*y} yaest- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	haets- ^{a} haetsi- ^{C,*nV,r} haetsi ^{*y} haest- ^{e,en,i,o,on}
2PL	(e)skw- ^{a,e,en} (e)skwa- ^{C,r} (e)skwa ^{*y} (e)skwä- ^{*nV} (e)skwen ^{i} (e)ts- ^{o,on}	hehskw- ^{a,e,en} hehskwa- ^{C,r} hehskwa ^{*y} hehskwä- ^{*nV} hehskwen ^{i} hehts- ^{o,on}	(i)etsi- ^{a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on} (i)etsi ^{*y,i}	yaeskw- ^{a,e,en} yaeskwa- ^{C,r} yaeskwa ^{*y} yaeskwä- ^{*nV} yaeskwen ^{i} yaets- ^{o,on}	haeskw- ^{a,e,en} haeskwa- ^{C,r} haeskwa ^{*y} haeskwä- ^{*nV} haeskwen ^{i} haets- ^{o,on}

Table 16: Transitive pronominal prefixes, 1st and 2nd persons acting on 3rd persons (1, 2 > 3)[22]

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[22] The following transitive allomorphs for *nV-stems are not attested in the manuscript data and therefore, do not figure in this table: 1SG:3FZ.NSG, 1SG:3M.NSG, 2SG:3IND, 2SG:3FZ.NSG, and 2SG:3M.NSG.

Example (98) displays the use of a speech act participant acting on a non-speech act

participant with the verb base -*yeht*- 'to wake someone up'.

(98)   *ehechie't onh8a eχ'entate*
         ehechieht
         e-hehs-ye-ht-Ø
         FUT-2SG:3M.SG-be.awake-CAUS-PFV

         onhwa'   kha'   entate'
         ǫhwaʔ   khaʔ   w-ęt-a-te-ʔ
         now   PROX   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-exist-STAT
         « tu l'eveilleras aujourd'hui »
         'you (SG) will wake him up today'
         (Potier 1751:217)

Transitive forms for non-speech act participants acting on speech participants (3 > 1, 2)

can be found below in Table 17.

PAT \ AGT	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	2DU	2PL
3FZ/N.SG	(w)ay- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} (w)aye- ^{C} (w)ä- ^{*nV}	(i)onyi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} (i)onyi ^{*y} (i)ond- ^{e,i,o} (i)onn- ^{en,on}	(i)onyw- ^{a,e,en} (i)onywa- ^{C,r} (i)onywa ^{*y} (i)onywä- ^{*nV} (i)onywen ^{i} (i)onyi- ^{o,on}	(e)s- ^{a,e,en,o,on} (e)sa- ^{C,r} (e)sa ^{*y} (e)sä- ^{*nV} (e)sen ^{i}	(e)ts- ^{a} (e)tsi- ^{C,*nV,r} (e)tsi ^{*y} (e)st- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	(e)skw- ^{a,e,en} (e)skwa- ^{C,r} (e)skwa ^{*y} (e)skwä- ^{*nV} (e)skwen ^{i} (e)ts- ^{o,on}
3M.SG	hay- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} haye- ^{C}	shonyi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} shonyi ^{*y} shond- ^{e,i,o} shonn- ^{en,on}	shonyw- ^{a,e,en} shonywa- ^{C,r} shonywa ^{*y} shonywä- ^{*nV} shonywen ^{i} shonyi- ^{o,on}	hi- ^{a,e,en,o,on} hia- ^{C} hien ^{i}	hets- ^{a} hetsi- ^{C,*nV,r} hetsi ^{*y} hest- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	heskw- ^{a,e,en} heskwa- ^{C,r} heskwa ^{*y} heskwä- ^{*nV} heskwen ^{i} hets- ^{o,on}
3IND	(i)ony- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} (i)onye- ^{C}	(i)onkhi- ^{a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on} (i)onkhi ^{*y} (i)onkh- ^{i}	*(spans 1DU–1PL)*	(i)es- ^{a,e,en,o,on} (i)esa- ^{C,r} (i)esa ^{*y} (i)esä- ^{*nV} (i)esen ^{i}	(i)etsi- ^{a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on} (i)etsi ^{*y} (i)ets- ^{i}	*(spans 2DU–2PL)*
3FZ.NSG	yony- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} yonye- ^{C}	yaonyi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} yaonyi ^{*y} yaond- ^{e,i,o} yaonn- ^{en,on}	yaonyw- ^{a,e,en} yaonywa- ^{C,r} yaonywa ^{*y} yaonywä- ^{*nV} yaonywen ^{i} yaonyi- ^{o,on}	yes- ^{a,e,en,o,on} yesa- ^{C,r} yesa ^{*y} yesä- ^{*nV} yesen ^{i}	yaets- ^{a} yaetsi- ^{C,*nV,r} yaetsi ^{*y} yaest- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	yaeskw- ^{a,e,en} yaeskwa- ^{C,r} yaeskwa ^{*y} yaeskwä- ^{*nV} yaeskwen ^{i} yaets- ^{o,on}
3M.NSG	hony- ^{a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on} honye- ^{C}	haonyi- ^{a,C,*nV,r} haonyi ^{*y} haond- ^{e,i,o} haonn- ^{en,on}	haonyw- ^{a,e,en} haonywa- ^{C,r} haonywa ^{*y} haonywä- ^{*nV} haonywen ^{i} haonyi- ^{o,on}	hes- ^{a,e,en,o,on} hesa- ^{C,r} hesa ^{*y} hesä- ^{*nV} hesen ^{i}	haets- ^{a} haetsi- ^{C,*nV,r} haetsi ^{*y} haest- ^{e,en,i,o,on}	haeskw- ^{a,e,en} haeskwa- ^{C,r} haeskwa ^{*y} haeskwä- ^{*nV} haeskwen ^{i} haets- ^{o,on}

Table 17: Transitive pronominal prefixes, 3rd persons acting on 1st and 2nd persons (3 > 1, 2)[23]

An example of a third person acting upon a first person is in (99), in which a third person masculine singular agent has acted upon a first person singular patient.

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[23] The following transitive allomorphs for *nV-stems are not attested in the manuscript data and therefore, do not figure in this table: 3M.SG:1SG, 3M.SG:2SG, 3IND:1SG, 3FZ.NSG:1SG, and 3M.NSG:1SG. The allomorphs of 3M.SG:2SG for *y-stems and r-stems are also not attested.

(99)   *stante θa˛iatrak8i*
         stan'   te'thayia'trahkwih
         stęʔ   teʔ-t-hak-yaʔt-r-a-hkw-ih
         no   NEG-CISLOC-3M.SG:1SG-body-put.inside-LK-INS-STAT
         « il ne m'en a point fait de part »
         'he has not involved me; he did not have me participate'
         (Potier 1751:326)

The final set of indicative transitive pronominals, referencing third persons acting on third

persons (3 > 3), can be found in Table 18.

PAT / AGT	3N.SG	3FZ.SG	3M.SG	3IND	3FZ.NSG	3M.NSG
3N.SG	*(shaded)*	(i)o a,*y,i (i)o- C,r (i)ö- *nV (i)a- o,on (i)aw- e,en	ho a,*y,i ho- C,r hö- *nV haw- e,en ha- o,on	(i)ayo a,*y,i (i)ayo- C,r (i)ayö- *nV (i)ayaw- e,en (i)aya- o,on	(i)önd- a,r,e,i,o (i)oti- C,*nV (i)oti *y (i)ön- en,on	hönd- a,e,i,o hoti- C,*nV,r hoti *y hön- en,on
3FZ.SG	(w)- a,e,en ya- C,r yä- *nV ya *y yen i (i)- o,on				yayonw- a,e,en yayon- C yayon i yayon- o,on	hayonw- a,e,en hayon- C hayon i hayon- o,on
3M.SG	h- a,e,en,o,on ha- C,r hä- *nV ha *y hen i			shayo a,*y,i shayo- C,r shayö- *nV shayaw- e,en shaya- o,on		
3IND	(i)on a (i)e- C,r,i (i)ë- *nV (i)e *y (i)ay- e,en,o,on (i)a- i	yonw- a,e,en yonwa- C,r yonwa *y yonwä- *nV yonwen i yon- o,on	shon a she- C,r she *y shë- *nV shay- e,en,o,on she i or sha- i	yaiw- a,e,en,o,on yaio- C,r yaio *y,i yaiö- *nV	yaon a yae- C,r yae *y yaë- *nV yäay- e,en,o,on yae i or ya- i	haon a hae- C,r hae *y haë- *nV häay- e,en,o,on hae i or ha- i
3FZ.DU	yi- a,C,*nV,r yi *y nd- e,i,o n- en,on		honw- a,e,en honwa- C,r honwa *y honwä- *nV honwen i hon- o,on	yäayo a,*y,i yäayo- C,r yäayö- *nV yäayaw- e,en yäaya- o,on	yonwend- a,e,i,o yonwati- C,*nV,r yonwati *y yonwenn- en,on	honwend- a,e,i,o honwati- C,*nV,r honwati *y honwenn- en,on
3FZ.PL	yon a (w)ati- C,*nV,r (w)ati *y (w)end- e,i,o (w)enn- en,on					
3M.DU	hi- a,C,*nV,r hi *y hnd- e,i,o hn- en,on			häayo a,*y,i häayo- C,r häayö- *nV häayaw- e,en häaya- o,on		
3M.PL	hon a hati- C,*nV,r hati *y hend- e,i,o henn- en,on					

Table 18: Transitive pronominal prefixes, 3rd persons acting on 3rd persons (3 > 3)[24]

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[24] The allomorphs for *y-stems, *nV-stems, and r-stems are not attested for the following transitive combinations: 3FZ.SG:3FZ.NSG, 3FZ.SG:3M.NSG, and 3M.SG:3NSG.

An example of a non-speech act participant acting on another non-speech act participant is found in (100). In this example, the agent is a third person masculine singular and the patient is the indefinite (i.e. underspecified, backgrounded) third person.

(100) *sa̗otatiak*
   shayotatiahk
   shako-atati-ahk
   3M.SG:3IND-speak-HAB
   « il leurs parle »
   'he speaks to them'
   (Ms 59 n.d.:22)

Finally, the transitive pronominal forms in the imperative mood are found in Table 19.

AGT\PAT	1SG	1DU	1PL	3M.SG	3N.SG / 3FZ.SG	3FZ.NSG	3M.NSG	3IND
2SG	tay- ^a,*y,r,e,en,i,o,on taye- ^C tä- ^*nV	tayi- ^a,C,*nV,r tayi ^*y tänd- ^e,i,o tän- ^en,on	tayw- ^a,e,en,o,on taywa- ^C,*y,r taywä- ^*nV taywen ^i	hes- ^a,e,en,o,on hese- ^C hetsï- ^*y *or* hets- ^*y hest ^*nV hehch- ^r hets- ^i	s- ^a,e,en,o,on se- ^C ts ^*y st ^*nV ch- ^r ts- ^i	has- ^a,e,en,o,on hase- ^C hats ^*y hast ^*nV hahch- ^r hats- ^i	yas- ^a,e,en,o,on yase- ^C yats ^*y yast ^*nV yahch- ^r yats- ^i	she- ^a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on sh- ^*y she ^i
2DU				hehts- ^a hehtsi- ^C,*nV,r hehtsï ^*y hehst- ^e,en,i,o,on	ts- ^a tsi- ^C,*nV,r tsi ^*y st- ^e,en,i,o,on	hats- ^a hatsi- ^C,*nV,r hatsï ^*y hast- ^e,en,i,o,on	yats- ^a yatsi- ^C,*nV,r yatsï ^*y yast- ^e,en,i,o,on	tshi- ^a,C,*nV,r,e,en,o,on tshi ^*y,i
2PL								

Table 19: Transitive imperative pronominal prefixes

Example (101), also discussed in §2.2.3, demonstrates the use of a transitive imperative pronominal, specifically, the use of a second person singular agent ordered to act for the benefit of a first person singular patient.

(101) *ta̧ aênnonnien*
       Taya'ennonnienh !
       tak-aʔę̨n-ǫny-ę̨-h
       2SG:1SG.IMP-bow-make-BEN-IMP
       « fais moi un arc »
       'Make (SG) me a bow!'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:18)

On a comparative note, Wendat contains a larger number of pronominal forms than other Northern Iroquoian languages, especially for combinations of third persons as well as combinations of third persons with first and second persons. For example, Seneca has 58 distinct pronominal forms for indicatives (Chafe 2015), whereas Wendat has 95 distinct pronominal categories for indicatives. In other Northern Iroquoian languages, it is presumed that distinct pronominal forms for these particular combinations were never developed (Chafe 1977), so it appears that Wendat innovated these categories.

3.3.4. Summary

This section reviewed the pronominal prefix marking on verbs in Wendat. Wendat has a grammaticalized Agent-Patient system in which intransitive verbs take either an agent or a patient pronominal. Transitive pronominal prefixes, on the other hand, are portmanteau forms that cover the full range of possibilities for agents acting upon patients. The semantic and morphological transitivity of a verb determine whether the verb takes prefixes from the transitive or intransitive paradigms.

3.4. Aspect, mood and modality in Wendat

The expression of aspect, mood, and modality is central to Wendat verbs. Aspect-mood, and modality with the perfective,[25] are essential, obligatory components of the Wendat verb. Tense, on the other hand, only plays a minor role in Wendat and its sister languages. Aspect encodes the shape and internal structure of an event, and how such an event or action unfolds, whereas mood delineates the illocutionary force of a statement. The aspect-mood markers are suffixes, and the allomorphs of the aspect-mood suffixes are lexically-conditioned, meaning that the forms of these suffixes are not phonologically-conditioned and have become lexicalized with verb bases over time.

There are four principal aspect-moods in Wendat: the habitual (§3.4.1), the stative (§3.4.2), the perfective (§3.4.3), and the imperative (§3.4.4). However, for motion verbs (derived or non-derived), there is a fifth aspect-mood: the purposive (§3.4.5). The habitual and the stative are both imperfective aspects-moods, and there is an interaction between the two for a subclass of event verbs (see §3.5).

As noted in earlier sections of this chapter, the imperative is not an aspect, but is in fact a mood since it signals a specific communicative act: an order or command (see §3.4.4). The purposive also has mood-like characteristics, given that it can indicate intention or purpose on the part of the referent (see §3.4.5). Due to the inclusion of both aspect and mood suffixes in this single slot in the verb template, these five morphemes are referred to as aspect-mood suffixes.

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[25] Starting with Lounsbury (1953), the term *punctual* is used to describe this aspect in other Iroquoian languages. However, the present work uses the term *perfective* since it is the widely accepted name for this aspect in the broader field of linguistics.

Modality is expressed obligatorily on the Wendat perfective verb and optionally on the purposive verb. This grammatical category indicates the attitude of the speaker toward the event or action in question, or in other words, how the speaker perceives the event in terms of its certainty or probability of occurring. Further information about the system of modality and the three modal prefixes is in §3.4.3.

3.4.1. Habitual

The habitual aspect-mood "describes a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time" (Comrie 1976:27-28), or according to Chafe's (2015:24) definition for Seneca, it expresses "a habitual or generic event". The habitual aspect-mood, used to signal a regularly occurring event, or an event characteristic of a certain period, is illustrated in examples (102) and (103).

(102) *te e̢ ias*
       teye'iahs
       te-ke-ʔyak-hs
       DUPL-1SG.AGT-play-HAB
       « je joue, je suis joueur »
       'I play, I'm a player'
       (Potier 1744:6)

(103) *harih8a̢ enniaθa*
       harihwayennia'tha'
       ha-rihw-a-kęny-a-ʔt-haʔ
       3M.SG.AGT-affair.matter-LK-surpass-LK-CAUS-HAB
       « il exaggere »
       'he exaggerates'
       (Potier 1751:246)

Example (104), also discussed in §2.2.1, shows the use of the habitual to mark generic events. In this case, the habitual is marking the generic event of 'seeing'.

101

(104) *i̗ e̗ enk*
       iyeyenhk
       i-ke-kę-hk
       PROTH-1SG.AGT-see-HAB
       « je vois »
       'I see (it); I'm seeing (it)'
       (Potier 1751:243)

With a certain class of event verbs, consequential verbs, the habitual aspect-mood can also encode an ongoing action. More details about this verb class and others will be discussed in §3.5. For now, it suffices to mention that when a verb base is of the consequential type, the habitual aspect-mood covers both a generic or habitual event and a progressive event. This ongoing, progressive interpretation of the habitual is 'to be doing such an action in the present moment; for an action or event to be presently ongoing'. This dual function of the habitual, referenced in the English gloss of example (104), is also illustrated in examples (105), also discussed in §2.2.1, and (106), also discussed in §2.2.3. Since the present tense in French can be read as both a habitual and a progessive, the Francophone Jesuit missionaries used the French present tense to convey this aspect-mood in Wendat.

(105) *hoatateχa*
       hoa'tatekha'
       ho-yaʔt-atek-haʔ
       3M.SG.PAT-body-burn-HAB
       « son corps brule »
       'his body burns; his body is burning'
       (Potier 1751:183)

(106) *te 8endi8hens*
       tewendihwen's
       te-w-ęnihwęʔ-s
       DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lightning.strike-HAB
       « il eclaire »
       'lightning strikes; lightning is striking'
       (Potier 1744:120)

As suggested by the examples above, the habitual aspect-mood occurs with present time reference, yet in combination with the past expanded aspect-mood suffix, the habitual can occur with past time reference (see §8.3).

Forms of the habitual vary, but some of the common forms include -*(a)hk*, -*ha'*, -*(a)s*, -*'s*, -*(a)hs*, and -*(a)hch*. The latter two forms, -*(a)hs* and -*(a)hch* are both underlyingly /-(a)hs/, but palatalization of the *hs* cluster has occurred with some verb bases, and not with others. In many cases, in the manuscript Jesuit dictionaries, both -*(a)hs* and -*(a)hch* will be listed as variants of the habitual for the same verb base. The habitual suffix -*'s* is the form used with motion verbs. Finally, some more rare forms of the habitual exist, including -*e'* and -*'*.

3.4.2. Stative

The function of the stative aspect-mood is to express a "continuous action or state without defined temporal limits" (Chafe 1970:12). With stative verbs, i.e. verbs that can only appear with the stative aspect-mood, the stative aspect-mood tends to express states of being. These states can be inherent or given, such as the case with the verb base -*yowänen*- 'to be big, large, grand in size, age, stature, or importance,' as found in example (107), and with the verb base -*atay*- 'to be saturated with color', in (108).

(107) *okendiati haï8annen*
      okendia'tih   **hayowänenh**
      yo-at-kęny-a-ʔt-ih   ha-kowanę-h
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-surpass-LK-CAUS-STAT 3M.SG.AGT-be.big.grand-STAT
      « il est extraordinairement grand »
      'he is extremely big'
      (Potier 1751:254)

(108) *8ta⸜ï*
outayih
yo-atak-ih
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.saturated.color-STAT
« cela est coloré »
'it is colored; it is saturated with color'
(Potier 1751:180)

The stative can also express more transitory states, such as with the verb base *-rihwahndiri-*

'to be a sure, stable matter' in (109), and the verb base *-ia'tahrenhwi-* 'for a body to be stopped,

still' in (110).

(109) *orih8andiri*
orihwahndirih
yo-rihw-a-hniri-h
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-affair.matter-LK-be.hard.firm-STAT
« c'est une chose sur, stable…une affaire reglée, arretée, conclue, terminée »
'it's a sure, stable thing; the matter is settled, concluded'
(Potier 1751:294)

(110) *stante hoatarenh8i, a8entenhaon i'res*
stan'   tehoa'tahrenhwih,
stę?   te?-ho-ya?t-a-hręhwi-h
no   NEG-3M.SG.PAT-body-LK-be.stopped.still-STAT

awentenhaonh   ihre's
yaw-ęt-ęhaǫ-h   i-hr-e-?s
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-day-carry-STAT   PROTH-3M.SG.AGT-go-HAB
« il n'arrete point, il est toujours en voye »
'he doesn't stop at all, he is always traveling'
(Potier 1751:340)

When the stative aspect-mood occurs on event verbs, i.e. verbs that take all three major

aspect-moods, it typically expresses continuous action. The present continuous action of 'being

seated' is expressed through the use of the stative aspect-mood in (111), also discussed in

§2.1.2.

104

(111) *χa ihotien*
       kha'   ihotien'
       kha?   i-ho-at-yę-?
       PROX   PART-3M.SG.PAT-MID-lay.down-STAT
       « il est assis ici »
       'he is sitting here'
       (Potier 1751:220)

Similary, the present continuous action of 'singing' is also marked with the stative aspect-mood, as in (112), also discussed in §2.1.2, with the verb base *.rihwahkw- + DUPL, 'to start a speech, to begin speaking; to start singing, to raise up the song'.

(112) *t'e8a̗ rih8a'k8an*
       tewayrihwahkwanh
       te-wak-rihw-a-hkw-ęh
       DUPL-1SG.PAT-matter.affair-LK-take.pick.up-STAT
       « je chante actuellemt »
       'I'm singing right now'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:55)

Example (113) also illustrates the use of the stative to mark a present continuous action, with the verb base *-atsa'tänion-* 'to eat a meal'.

(113) *a̗ atsâtaion*
       ayatsa'tänion'
       wak-atsa?tanyǫ-?
       1SG.PAT-eat.meal-STAT
       « je le prens actuellemt [le repas] »
       'I'm eating a meal right now'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:319)

The stative aspect-mood can also encode a present perfect interpretation with certain event verbs, which Chafe (1980) has labeled consequential. Further information about this category of verbs and its implications for aspect-mood meaning will be explored in §3.5. Examples

105

(114) and (115), also discussed in §2.1.1, show the use of the stative to encode a perfect with the verbs for 'run' and 'drink'.

(114) *te hondaratati*
       tehöndarahtatih
       te-hon-arahtat-ih
       DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-run-STAT
       « ils ont courru »
       'they (M, NSG) have run'
       (Potier 1751:171)

(115) *aˌiren*
       ayihrenh
       wak-ihr-ęh
       1SG.PAT-drink-STAT
       « j'ai bu »
       'I have drunk'
       (Potier 1751:397)

The stative aspect-mood functioning as a perfect most likely arose gradually through the reinterpretation of resultant states. In his description of the multiple functions of the stative aspect-mood in Seneca, Chafe (1980:44) describes the stative as perfect occurring when the "event results in a new state of affairs that is significantly different from the way things were before the event took place". The semantic differences between a resultative, where the focus is on the result of an event, and a perfect, where the focus is on the present consequences of the result of an event, seem to be slight, and only minor changes in perspective could shift a resultant state interpretation to a perfect interpretation.

For example, it is possible to interpret the meaning of the verb in (116) as either a resultant state, where the sun is presently hidden, or a perfect, in which the sun has hidden itself, and therefore, it is now dark. The difference in interpretation between the two hinges on whether or not the present consequences of the event are being highlighted.

106

(116) *otrak8ase'ti*
otrahkwahsehtih
yo-at-rahkw-ahseht-ih
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-rays.sunlight-hide-STAT
« le soleil est caché »
'the sun is hidden; the sun has hidden'
(Potier 1751:176)

The same ambiguity between a resultant state and a perfect can be found with the meanings

of the verbs in (117) and (118). The first of these two examples, with the verb

base *-akonhchiahseht-* 'to hide one's face', can be interpreted as a resultant state as 'his face

is hidden' or as a perfect 'he has hidden his face', where the focus is on the fact that his face

is no longer visible. In (118), with the verb *-ie-* 'to wake up', the interpretation of the stative

aspect-mood can either focus on the resultant state, i.e. that he is awake, or on the present

consequences of the fact that he has woken up.

(117) *hokonchiase'ti*
hokonhchiahsehtih
ho-at-kǫhšy-ahseht-ih
3M.SG.PAT-MID-face-hide-STAT
« il a le visage cache »
'his face is hidden; he has hidden his face'
(Potier 1751:176)

(118) *ihoe*
ihoeh
i-ho-ye-h
PROTH-3M.SG.PAT-wake.up-STAT
« il est eveillé »
'he is awake; he has woken up'
(Potier 1751:217)

107

The ambiguity between a resultant state and a present perfect is exemplified in the translation given by the Jesuits in example (119), in which 'he has gone hunting', and consequently, 'he is currently hunting'.

(119)   *te hotenda8achon*
        tehotenda'wahchonh
        te-ho-atę-naʔkw-a-hs-ǫh
        DUPL-3M.SG.PAT-MID-go.for.long.hunt-LK-DISLOC-STAT
        « il est allé a la chasse et consequemment il est actuellement »
        'he has gone hunting, and consequentially, he is currently hunting'
        (Potier 1751:278)

Like the habitual, the stative occurs with present time reference, yet it can occur with a past time reference when suffixed with the past morpheme (see §8.3).

Regardless of the specific meaning encoded by the stative aspect-mood, whether it be a state of being, a continuous action, a resultant state, or a perfect, this aspect-mood suffix takes one of the following forms: *-h*, *-'*, *-ih*, *-onh*, *-enh*, *-anh*, and *-e'*. The *-anh* stative suffix is a variant of the *-enh* stative suffix, due to a regular allophonic change in which the nasal vowel *ę* is lowered to become *ą* after *w*. As with the other aspect-moods, each verb base selects the form of the stative aspect-mood suffix with which it appears.

3.4.3. Perfective and modal prefixes

The perfective aspect-mood is used to describe an event or an action in its totality, or in other words, a holistic, bounded event. Comrie (1976:18) describes this aspect as one which "denote[s] a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end…[where] all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole". The perfective is also commonly called the punctual in the Iroquoian literature.

In Wendat and the other Northern Iroquoian languages, the perfective aspect-mood suffix needs to be accompanied by a modal prefix. There are three modal prefixes in Wendat: 1) the factual; 2) the future; and 3) the optative. These prefixes specify the attitude of the speaker toward the event or action in question, and specifically, how the speaker perceives the event's certainty or probability of occurring. These prefixes comprise a realis-irrealis system, with a three-way distinction in terms of the probability of the event or action occurring, schematized below in Figure 7. The prefix on the higher end of the scale, the factual, is the realis marker, encoding events of whose occurrence the speaker is certain. The prefix in the middle of the scale, the future, is an irrealis marker which encodes events that the speaker believes are likely to occur. The last of the three markers, the optative, is another irrealis category which marks events of whose occurrence the speaker believes is only possible.

event is **certain** to occur	↑ +	FACTUAL
event is **likely** to occur		FUTURE
event could **possibly** occur	↓ −	OPTATIVE

Figure 7: Modal prefixes and degree of certainty (according to speaker's knowledge and perception)

In typical realis-irrealis systems, there are only two morphemes which are marked either realis or irrealis. Since Wendat (and the other Northern Iroquoian languages) has a three-way distinction with one realis marker and two distinct irrealis markers, the terms used in the more common binary systems do not adequately handle the Wendat case. Therefore, the terms realis

and irrealis are eschewed in favor of the Iroquoianist terms used here: factual, future, and optative.

The forms of the perfective vary, and as with the other aspect-mood markers, the verb base selects the particular perfective form with which it appears. The forms of the perfective suffix include: *-Ø*, *-(a)'*, *-k*, *-hk*, and *-en'*.

3.4.3.1. The factual and the perfective

The factual modal prefix indicates that the event is certain to occur, i.e. is a fact. An event or action is considered to be a fact if it has already occurred, or if it is occurring at the present moment. In (120), the use of the factual with the perfective verb stem *-atatia'* 'to speak' is glossed in French as an event in the present, recent past, and simple past.

(120)   *aˌatatia*
      a'yatatia'
      aʔ-k-ataty-aʔ
      FACT-1SG.AGT-speak-PFV
      « voila qe je parle; je viens de parler; je parlai »
      'I'm speaking now; I just spoke; I spoke'
      (Potier 1745:8)

Another example of the factual marking an event occurring at the present moment is in (121), also discussed in §2.3, with the verb base *-rhenh-* 'for the day to arrive'.

(121)   *onn'aorhenha*
      öne   a'orhenha'
      one   aʔ-yo-rhę-h-aʔ
      now   FACT-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-day.arrive-INCH-PFV
      « voila le jour qi commence a venir »
      'the day is now just beginning to arrive'
      (Potier 1744:244)

Verbs marked with the factual are often glossed with a recent past interpretation. In addition to the recent past interpretation of (120), the following example of the factual with the verb base *-ngwenh-* 'to snow', in (122), also discussed in §2.2.1, relates that 'it just snowed'.

(122) *a̗ang8enha*
       a'yängwenha'
       aʔ-ka-nkwę-h-aʔ
       FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-snow-INCH-PFV
       « il vient de neiger »
       'it just snowed'
       (Potier 1744:166)

In (123), the event of inquiring about someone's wellbeing is interpreted to have already happened when marked with the factual.

(123) *aesataronton*
       a'esatahronton'
       aʔ-yes-at-ahrǫtǫ-ʔ
       FACT-3IND:2SG-MID-ask-PFV
       « on a demandé de tes nouvelles »
       'they asked how you (SG) were doing'
       (Potier 1751:174)

The basic forms of the factual are *a'-* and *a-*. Following general phonological alternations in Wendat (see §2.3), the glottal stop at the end of the factual prefix is dropped when it occurs before the other laryngeal segment in the language, *h*, leading to the *a-* variant of this prefix. This elision of the glottal stop is illustrated in example (124), also discussed in §2.2.1, before the pronominal prefix *hati-*, and in example (125), also discussed in §2.3, before the pronominal prefix *(h)chie-*.

111

(124) *ahatīaj*
       ahatia'y
       aʔ-hati-yaʔk-Ø
       FACT-3M.PL.AGT-break-PFV
       « ils ont coupé »
       'they broke [it]'
       (Potier 1751:263)

(125) *achiesa˛annens*
       ahchiesayänens
       aʔ-hse-s-a-kanẹs-Ø
       FACT-2SG.AGT-plate-LK-lick-PFV
       « tu a leché le plat »
       'you (SG) licked the plate'
       (Ms 60:197)

When the factual modal prefix occurs with the first person singular patient pronominal prefix *(w)ay(e)-*, the sequence *a'way(e)-* becomes *ony(e)-*, as shown in (126). In combination with pronominal prefixes beginning with *y*, the initial *y* of the pronominal is elided after the factual modal prefix, as shown above in examples (121) and (123).

(126) *te skienteri n'on˛ita*
       te'skienterih   **ne**   **onyita'**
       teʔ-s-k-yẹter-ih   ne   aʔ-wak-ita-ʔ-Ø
       NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-know-STAT   AMPL   FACT-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-PFV
       « je ne sçaurois plus dormir »
       'I do not know how to sleep anymore'
       (Potier 1751: 389)

Furthermore, when the factual co-occurs with the cislocative or repetitive non-modal prepronominal prefixes, there are portmanteau forms for these combinations. The factual-cislocative portmanteau is *onta-* or *ont-* (see §4.1) and the factual-repetitive portmanteau form is *onsa-* or *ons-* (see §4.2).

The historical form of the factual prefix in the Northern Iroquoian languages is *wa'-*. However, the initial *w* does not surface at all in Wendat, due in part to the general elision of *w* word-initially, and the lack of attested prepronominal prefixes preceding this modal (which would have preserved the *w*). Therefore, synchronically, the factual prefix is considered to be *a'-* or *a-*.

3.4.3.2. The future and the perfective

The future prefix is an irrealis marker used when the speaker believes that the event or action is likely to occur. Although a verb containing this marker is typically glossed with a future tense, this prefix, like the other two in this realis-irrealis system, does not make any explicit reference to time. In (127), the event of 'deciding upon a matter' will likely occur, according to the speaker.

(127)   *hati8annens ehatirih8ichien*
       hatiyowänen's   **ehatirihwihchi'en'**
       hati-kowanę-h-ʔs   e-hati-rihw-ihsiʔ-ę?
       3M.PL.AGT-be.big.grand-STAT-STAT.DISTR   FUT-3M.PL.AGT-matter.affair-finish-PFV
       « les anciens determineront cette affaire »
       'The Elders will decide upon this matter'
       (Potier 1751:254)

Other examples of this irrealis marker in use are in (128) with the verb base *-ondout-* 'to rain', and in (129), with the verb base *-atehchienht-* 'to be bad weather'.

(128)   *eond8t*
       eondout
       e-y-ǫnot-Ø
       FUT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-rain-PFV
       « il pleuvera »
       'it will rain'
       (Potier 1751:411)

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(129) *onh8a θaat e8atechien't*
   onhwa'   tho   aaht   ewatehchienht
   ǫhwaʔ   tho   a:ht   e-w-ate-hsyę-ht-Ø
   now   there   extremely   FUT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-be.bad-CAUS-PFV
   « il s'en va bientot faire mauvais »
   'it's soon going to be bad weather'
   (Potier 1751:215)

There is only one form of this modal prefix: -*e*-. For an unknown reason, the form of this prefix deviates from that found in all of the other Northern Iroquoian languages. Where Wendat (and Wyandot) have an oral vowel for this marker, the other languages of this branch have a nasal vowel. The lack of nasality on this Wendat modal marker does not seem to be a transcription error on the part of the Jesuit missionaries. As these individuals were francophone, they were quite adept at transcribing nasal vowels. Furthermore, as seen in (130), Marius Barbeau (yet another francophone) transcribed this same prefix as an oral vowel for the Wyandot dialect over a century later[26].

(130) *ehę̃hă ǫ́*
   ehenhaon'
   e-hę-ihaǫ-ʔ
   FUT-3M.SG.AGT-say-PFV
   'will he say'
   (Barbeau 1960:201)

As of this point, there does not seem to be any historical or synchronic reason, either phonologically or systemically, for this minor divergence from the Northern Iroquoian form.

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[26] It is also worth noting that Bruyas, a Jesuit missionary to the Mohawk, also transcribed the Mohawk cognate as an oral, not nasal, vowel (Michelson 2018, p.c.). This transcription of the Mohawk future prefix could be due to several factors, including contact effects between Wendat and Mohawk, Jesuit transcription practices being heavily influenced by Wendat, or simply errors on the part of the missionary scribes.

3.4.3.3. The optative and the perfective

The optative is the third and final modal prefix in Wendat. It marks an irrealis category, for which an action or event is less likely to occur than an action marked with the future. In using the optative with a verb base, the speaker is indicating that the event could possibly occur. Therefore, the optative is used to express hopes, wishes, desires, and its conveyed meaning is similar to English modal verbs such as should, could, would, may, might, etc. A desired action, 'leaving', is marked with the optative in (131).

(131) *i8erhe aia̗ iarask8a*
     iwerhe'   *aaiayiarahskwa'*
     i-w-erh-eʔ   a:-yaky-arahskw-aʔ
     PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-think.want-HAB   OPT-1DU.EXCL.AGT-leave-PFV
     « elle veut partir avec moi »
     'she would like to leave with me'
     (Potier 1751:384)

    The Jesuit missionaries would often translate an optative-marked verb with a French conditional verb, as in (132), or with a subjunctive construction, as in (133), or with a variety of constructions, as in (134), also discussed in §2.1.1.

(132) *χondaie aieer*
     khondae'   *aaiëer*
     khǫnaeʔ   a:-ye-yer-Ø
     this.one   OPT-3IND.AGT-do-PFV
     « voila comme il faudroit faire ; ce qi faudroit faire »
     'here is how it should be done; this is what one should do'
     (Potier 1744:41)

(133) *aonsahoerik asken*
      aonsahoerihk   **asken**
      aǫsa-ho-yerih-k   askę
      OPT.REP-3M.SG.PAT-be.straight.equal-PFV hopefully
      « dieu veuille qu'il guerisse »
      'hopefully he'll get better'
      (Potier 1751:228)

(134) *â˛atatia*
      aayatatia'
      a:-k-ataty-aʔ
      OPT-1SG.AGT-speak-PFV
      « qe je parle ; afin q. je parle ; il faut que je parle ; je parlerois ; je devrois parler »
      'that I (may) speak; so that I speak; I must speak; I could speak; I should speak'
      (Potier 1745:9)

Like most other Northern Iroquoian languages, the form of the optative is a long vowel *aa-* (/a:-/). When the optative occurs with the first person singular patient pronominal prefix *(w)ay(e)-*, the sequence *aaway(e)-* becomes *aony(e)-*, as shown in (135).

(135) *onsa˛a'ka d'aon˛arask8annen*
      onsayaka'   **de**   **aonyarahskwanhnen'**
      ǫsa-k-atkaʔ-Ø   ne   a:-wak-arahskw-ęh-nęʔ
      REP.FACT-1SG.AGT-leave.behind-PFV AMPL OPT-1SG.PAT-leave-STAT-PAST
      « j'ai quitté la pensée de partir »
      'I abandoned the thought of leaving'
      (Potier 1751:165)

The presence of the optative also causes exceptions to the common phonological rule in which /y/ is lost intervocalically. When the optative precedes a pronominal prefix beginning in /y/, the *y* remains in place, despite its intervocalic environment. The enduring *y* of a pronominal prefix following the optative is illustrated in (131), (132), and below, in (136), also discussed in §2.2.1.

(136) *θo aia8enk*
   tho aaiawenhk
   tho a:-yaw-ę-h-k
   thus OPT-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-happen-INCH-PFV
   « que cela arrive ainsi; ainsi soit il »
   'that it may happen in a such a way; so be it'
   (Potier 1751:375)

The retention of intervocalic *y* in this context is possibly due to the presence of *r* in the historical form of the optative prefix, as evidenced by the synchronic form of this prefix in Tuscarora being *a(r)(a)-* (Rudes 1999:695). The presence of this sonorant consonant would have prevented the intervocalic *y* from being lost, and at a later state, the *r* would be elided, leaving a single long vowel *aa-*.

3.4.3.4. Summary

In summary, by using the perfective aspect-mood, a modal prefix is chosen which is dependent upon the speaker's knowledge and experiences about the event or action. The three modal prefixes — the factual, the future, and the optative — signal a different degree of certainty with respect to the occurrence of the event.

3.4.4. Imperative

As stated earlier, the imperative is not truly an aspect; it is a mood, i.e. it indicates the illocutionary force of the event. However, it is lumped together with the aspectual categories by Iroquoianists because of their shared position in the verb template. The present section describes the standard imperative construction in Wendat, yet there are other imperative

constructions, such as the negative imperative, the optative imperative, and the continuative imperative, which are not discussed in the present work.

The basic imperative in Wendat takes special series of imperative pronominal prefixes for both intransitive and transitive verbs (see §3.3). Example (137), also discussed in §2.2.1, and example (138) show the use of imperative pronominal prefixes with the semantically transitive, morphologically intransitive verb bases *-sohare-* 'to wash dishes' and *-ientahkw-* 'to pick up wood'.

(137)   *Sesohare*
        Sesohareh !
        se-s-ohare-h
        2SG.AGT.IMP-dish-wash-IMP
        « Lave le plat »
        'Wash (SG) the dish!'
        (Potier 1751:406)

(138)   *ti tsenta'k*
        Titsentahk !
        ti-ts-yęt-a-hkw-Ø
        DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-stick.log-LK-take.pick.up-IMP
        « leve ce bois »
        'Pick up (SG) this wood!'
        (Potier 1751:272)

The use of a transitive imperative pronominal prefix is found in (139), also discussed in §2.2.2, with the morphologically transitive verb base *-ahtsat-* 'to mark or designate something or someone'[27].

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[27] This verb base most likely includes the incorporated noun *-ahts-* 'palm of the hand', but the origins of the remainder of the verb base is unclear.

(139) *hesatsaten*
    Hesahtsatenh !
    hes-ahtsat-ęh
    2SG:3M.SG.IMP-mark.designate-IMP
    « marque le, nomme le, dis que c'est lui »
    'Mark him; name him; say that it's him!'
    (Potier 1744:102)

The imperative marker has almost identical allomorphy to the perfective aspect-mood. is identical to the perfective marker aside from final laryngeals. The forms of the imperative marker are *-Ø*, *-h*, *-ah*, *-k*, *-hk*, and *-enh*. The only phonological differences between the perfective and imperative markers are with regard to final laryngeals, in that where a perfective allomorph has a final glottal stop, the imperative allomorph has final aspiration. Verb bases will select identical or almost identical allomorphs for the perfective and the imperative. For example, the perfective marker for the verb base *-sohare-* 'to wash dishes' is *-'* and the imperative marker for this same verb base is *-h*, as shown in (137). Finally, it should also be noted that unlike the perfective aspect-mood, the basic imperative does not co-occur with a modal prefix[28], but it does occur with special sets of imperative pronominal prefixes (see §3.3).

3.4.5. Purposive

The fifth and final aspect-mood in Wendat is the purposive. This aspect-mood only appears on motion verbs, which includes the handful of non-derived motion verbs in the language, and the open class of motion verbs derived with the dislocative suffix. The purposive expresses the fact that the participant in question intends to accomplish a certain action, or that the

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[28] However, other types of imperatives co-occur with the future or optative modal suffixes, but this is not discussed in the present work.

participant's purpose is to do said action. In (140), also discussed in §2.3, the purposive is

shown with the derived motion verb base *-iayenhchr-* 'to go to the bathroom'.

(140)   ˌiaˌenchre
        yiayenhchre'
        k-yakę-ʔ-hsr-eʔ
        1SG.AGT-go.out-INCH-DISLOC-PURP
        « je vais à mes necessitez »
        'I'm going to tend to my needs, i.e. I'm going to go to the bathroom'
        (Potier 1751:207)

Example (141), also discussed in §2.2.2, shows the purposive in use with the derived

motion verb base *-ihchiakh-* 'to go search for something' to express an intention to go look for

medicine.

(141)   *onne* ˌ*ichiaχe d'ennonk8at*
        öne   yihchiakhe'   **de   ënonhkwa't**
        one   k-ihsak-h-eʔ   ne   w-enǫhkwaʔt-Ø
        now   1SG.AGT-search.for-DISLOC-PURP AMPL   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-medicine-NSF
        « je vais chercher une medicine »
        'I'm going to go look for medicine'
        (Potier 1751:386)

Example (142) expresses the intention to not get lost through the use of the purposive with

the verb base *-ia'tahtonhnd-* 'to go get lost; to go lose one's way'.

(142)   *stante* ˌ*iata'tonde*
        stan'   te'yia'tahtonhnde'
        stęʔ   teʔ-k-yaʔt-ahtǫ-hn-eʔ
        no   NEG-1SG.AGT-body-lose-DISLOC-PURP
        « je ne m'egarerai point »
        'I'm not going to get lost'
        (Potier 1751:194)

The most common form of the purposive aspect-mood suffix is *-e'*, which is historically

derived from the stative verb 'to go', *-e-*. This meaning of intention and purpose gradually

evolved over time through the original semantics of a motion verb. In other words, motion

toward a location grammaticalized into an intention to perform an action.

Since the purposive involves intentionality on the part of the referent, this aspect-mood

tends to occur with animate participants. However, in Wendat, this morpheme, along with the

negative prepronominal prefix (see §4.6), is used for a negative future construction[29]. In this

construction, shown below in examples (143) and (144), there is no intentionality on the part

of the referent, and thus, due to this change in meaning, the referent can be an inanimate neuter

argument, as in (144).

(143) *a'son te kenheonche's*
     ahsonh   te'kenheonhche's
     ahsǫh   teʔ-t-ka-iheyǫ-hš-eʔs
     yet   NEG-CISLOC-3.FZ/N.SG.AGT-die-DISLOC-HAB
     « elle n'est pas encore sur le point de mourir, elle n'en mourra pas encore »
     'she is not yet going to die'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:232)

(144) *stante ond8θe*
     stan'   te'ondouthe'
     stęʔ   teʔ-y-ǫnot-h-eʔ
     no   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-rain-DISLOC-PURP
     « il ne pleuvera pas »
     'it's not going to rain'
     (Potier 1751:411)

As stated earlier, the basic form of the purposive aspect-mood is *-e'*, yet with some non-

derived motion verbs that end in *e*, such as *-takhe-* 'to move by running', the form of the

purposive is only a glottal stop, *-'*, as illustrated in example (145), also discussed in §2.2.1.

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[29] This particular combination of the purposive aspect-mood and the negative prepronominal prefix probably arose to fill a functional gap in the language. It is not possible to use the negative prefix with the future modal prefix, and therefore, a speaker can only express that an event is likely to occur.

(145) *onsahataχe*
       onsahatakhe'
       ǫsa-ha-takhe-ʔ
       REP.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-move.by.running-PURP
       « il retourne courant »
       'he's coming back running'
       (Potier 1751:359)

The purposive aspect-mood can also co-occur with the modal prefixes[30], especially with the factual (realis) prefix. As would be expected, the addition of this factual prefix to a purposive verb stem gives a realis interpretation of the action, i.e. the participant is presently in motion completing the action or is on his/her to way to complete the action. This factual purposive construction is in examples (146) and (147). In (146), the factual modal prefix appears with the purposive stem *-atrendaenhnde'* 'to go pray, to intend to pray' and gives the meaning that the participant is currently in motion to pray.

(146) *aˌatrendaeˈnde*
       a'yatrendaenhnde'
       aʔ-k-at-rẹn-a-yẹ-hn-eʔ
       FACT-1SG.AGT-MID-song.prayer.ceremony-LK-lay.down-DISLOC-PURP
       « je vais prier »
       'I'm going praying; I'm on my way to pray'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:10)

Example (147) shows the added realis interpretation to the purposive verb stem *-tsihstahrehche'* 'to go stoke or stir the fire', in which the participant is on his/her way toward stoking the fire.

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[30] No example has yet been found of the optative modal prefix with the purposive aspect-mood. Given the fact that this modal prefix can occur with the purposive in other Northern Iroquoian languages, this does not necessarily mean that this combination cannot occur, but only that it is not attested in the corpus. In fact, in her grammar of Onondaga, Woodbury (2018:156) points out that the factual and future modal prefixes are used more frequently than the optative with this aspect-mood. This relative scarcity, presumably also the case for Wendat, could also be the reason for the lack of examples of this particular combination.

(147) *a˛etsistareche*
       a'yetsihstahrehche'
       aʔ-ke-tsihst-a-hre-hs-eʔ
       FACT-1SG.AGT-fire-LK-push-DISLOC-PURP
       « je vais attiser le feu »
       'I'm going to stoke, stir the fire'
       (Potier 1751:338)

Aside from the factual modal prefix, the purposive can co-occur with the future modal prefix. The future prefix adds an irrealis meaning to the overall action, in that the intended action is probably going to occur, but it is not certain. This use of the future with the purposive stem is shown below in (148) with the past purposive verb stem *-ia'trahche'nd* 'to have been going to attend or be present at some event'.

(148) *onh8a e˛iatrachend*
       onhwa'   eyia'trahche'nd
       ǫhwaʔ   e-k-yaʔt-r-a-hs-eʔ-n
       now   FUT-1SG.AGT-body-put.inside-LK-DISLOC-PURP-PAST
       « j'allois présentement y assister »
       'I was going to go now to attend it'
       (Potier 1751:328)

In summary, the purposive aspect-mood signals that the animate referent is in motion to or intends to perform an action. It can also be used in combination with the negative prefix in order to form a negative future construction, and in this case, the referent can be either animate or inanimate. Finally, the purposive can co-occur with the modal prefixes, and especially the factual and the future, which layers a realis or irrealis interpretation to the purposive.

3.5. Verb classes in Wendat

Verbs classes in Wendat emerge from patterns of interactions between aspect-mood marking, pronominal prefix paradigm selection, and semantics. Table 20 provides an overview of these verb classes with the list of aspect-moods that each class can take. The two major verb classes are event verbs (§3.5.1) and stative verbs (§3.5.2). There is a third class for motion verbs, containing both derived and non-derived members, which is technically a type of event verb and is treated in §3.5.3.

Verb Class		Aspect-Mood Marking
Event	*Non-Consequential*	HABITUAL (HAB) PERFECTIVE (PFV)
	Consequential	STATIVE (STAT) IMPERATIVE (IMP)
Stative		STATIVE (STAT)
Motion		HABITUAL (HAB) PERFECTIVE (PFV) STATIVE (STAT) IMPERATIVE (IMP) PURPOSIVE (PURP)

Table 20: Classification of Wendat verbs

3.5.1. Event verbs

Event verbs are those which inflect for all four major aspect-moods: the habitual, the stative, the perfective, and the imperative. There are two subclasses of event verbs, consequential and non-consequential, which are based upon the semantics of the imperfective aspect-moods, the habitual and the stative. As mentioned in 3.4.2, in Wendat and other Northern Iroquoian

languages, the semantics of the stative aspect-mood in event verbs varies between a prototypical stative interpretation, describing a state of being or a continuous action, and a present perfect interpretation. Chafe (1980) created the terminology consequential and non-consequential in order to delineate these subclasses. The term non-consequential is used for verbs in which the encoded event has some ramifications, as any action would, yet the event does not produce "perceptible results" and thus, it creates "consequences [that] cannot be seen as immediately present states" (Chafe 1970:17). In these cases, the stative aspect-mood relays the expected and prototypical stative interpretation, i.e. the existence of an ongoing state or a continuous action. However, when an event "results in a new state of affairs that is significantly different from the way things were before the event took place", the event verb is considered to be consequential (Chafe 1980:44). With consequential verbs, the stative aspect-mood encodes a present perfect, i.e. the present consequences of a past event.

The consequentiality of a verb also implies semantic differences for the other imperfective aspect-mood that a verb takes, i.e. the habitual. Regardless of the consequentiality of the verb, the habitual aspect-mood always encodes a regularly occurring, habitual, or iterative action or event. However, if the verb is consequential, the habitual also carries a progressive interpretation. The use of the stative aspect-mood suffix to encode a perfect meaning seems to shift the semantic burden of a non-iterative imperfective action or event onto the habitual.

Table 21 summarizes the semantic differences in the imperfective aspect-moods for consequential and non-consequential verbs. It is also worth noting that the semantics of the perfective aspect-mood does not change with regard to the consequentiality of the verb.

Subclasses of Event Verbs	Imperfective Aspect-Moods	Function(s) of Aspect-Mood Marking
Non-consequential	Habitual	habitual, generic action (HAB)
	Stative	state of being (STAT); present continuous action (PROG)
Consequential	Habitual	habitual, generic action (HAB); present continuous action (PROG)
	Stative	present consequences of a past event (PRF)

Table 21: Consequentiality and functions of imperfective aspect-moods

Examples of imperfective aspect-mood marking in two non-consequential verbs are found below. The non-consequential verb base *-ias-/-iats-* 'to sing' is shown in (149) with the habitual aspect-mood to express 'singing' as a habitual, regularly occurring action, and in (150), also discussed in §2.2.3, with the stative aspect-mood to express 'singing' as a present continuous action.

(149) *i̡ ias*
     iyias
     i-k-yas-Ø
     PROTH-1SG.AGT-sing-HAB
     « je chante quand l'envie m'en prend »
     'I sing when the mood strikes me'
     (Potier 1751:209)

(150) *χe8endaronχa d'a̡ oatsi*
     khewendahronkha'   **de**   **ayoatsih**
     khe-węn-ahrǫk-haʔ   ne   yako-yats-ih
     1SG:3IND-voice-hear-HAB   AMPL   3IND.PAT-sing-STAT
     « j'entends du monde chanter »
     'I hear people singing'
     (Potier 1751:209)

Other examples of the functions of the imperfective aspect-moods with a non-consequential verb are in (151) and (152). The verb base *-arhon-* 'to rest' is shown marked

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with the habitual aspect-mood in (151) to mark the habitual event of resting along a journey, and with the stative aspect-mood in (152) to express a current state of resting.

(151) *stante ˌarhonk de ˌahanientes*
  stan' te'yarhonhk de yahahänien'te's
  stę? te?-k-arhǫ-hk ne k-ahah-a-nyę?t-e?s
  no NEG-1SG.AGT-rest-HAB AMPL 1SG.AGT-path-LK-travel.along-HAB
  « je ne me repose point en chemin »
  'I don't rest at all while traveling'
  (Potier 1751:173)

(152) *onne ichien aˌarhon*
  öne ihchien' ayarhonh
  one ihsę? wak-arhǫ-h
  now really 1SG.PAT-rest-STAT
  « me voila en repos »
  'I'm resting now'
  (Potier 1751:173)

Examples of the imperfective aspect-moods in use with consequential verbs are shown below, specifically with the verb bases *.hkw-/.hk-* + DUPL 'to take, pick up something' and *-aton-/-en-/-ihon-/-ihaon-* 'to say'. In (153) and (155), the habitual aspect-mood has both a habitual and a progressive interpretation, as expected with a consequential verb. The same actions in the stative aspect-mood, shown in (154), also discussed in §2.2.2, and (156), are expressed as present consequences of a past event, i.e. present perfects.

(153) *te ˌeʿk8a*
  teyekhwa'
  te-ke-hkw-a?
  DUPL-1SG.AGT-take.pick.up-HAB
  « je prends »
  'I take [it]; I'm taking [it]'
  (Potier 1744:391)

(154)   *te 8aˌeʻk8an*
      tewayehkwanh
      te-wake-hkw-ęh
      DUPL-1SG.PAT-take.pick.up-STAT
      « j'ai pris »
      'I have taken [it]'
      (Potier 1744:391)

(155)   *ˌatonk*
      yatonhk
      k-atǫ-hk
      1SG.AGT-say-HAB
      « je dis »
      'I say; I'm saying'
      (Potier 1751:372)

(156)   *i8aˌen*
      iwayenh
      i-wak-ę-h
      PROTH-1SG.PAT-say-STAT
      « j'ai dis »
      'I have said'
      (Potier 1751:372)

The consequentiality of a particular verb base is not inherent, as a verb base and those derived from it can differ in terms of consequentiality. For example, although the verb base *.hkw-/.hk-* + DUPL 'to take, pick up something' is consequential, one of the verb bases derived from it, *.rihwahkw-/.rihwahk-* + DUPL 'to start a speech, to begin speaking; to start singing, to raise up the song', is non-consequential. Example (112) shows this derived verb base with the stative aspect-mood interpreted as a present continuous action. This divergence in consequentiality between the related verb bases supports Chafe's (1980) conceptualization of consequentiality as the grammatical realization of semantic considerations. That is, the action of starting a speech or a song does not result in a significantly different state of affairs, and therefore, the verb base is non-consequential.

In addition to the subclasses based upon the functions of imperfective aspect-mood marking, pronominal marking patterns also exist, leading to further classification of event verbs. There are three distinct types of event verbs according to the use of pronominal paradigms: shift event verbs (the unmarked type), patient event verbs, and transitive event verbs. An overview of these subclasses is in Table 22, and detailed descriptions of each subclass follows. It should also be noted that the consequentiality of the verb, either consequential or non-consequential, is independent of the subclasses delineated here according to pronominal marking. In other words, a verb base belonging to any one of the three classes below can be either consequential or non-consequential.

Pronominal ~ Aspect-Mood Verb Classification	Semantic Transitivity	Morphological Transitivity	Aspect-Mood	Pronominal Prefix Paradigm
Shift Event Verb	Semantically Intransitive *or* Semantically Transitive (with one argument that is always an inanimate neuter)	Morphologically Intransitive	Habitual	Agent
			Perfective	
			Imperative	
			Stative	Patient
Patient Event Verb			Habitual	Patient
			Perfective	
			Imperative	
			Stative	
Transitive Event Verb	Semantically Transitive	Morphologically Transitive	Habitual	Transitive
			Perfective	
			Imperative	
			Stative	

Table 22: Classification of Wendat event verbs according to pronominal marking patterns

Shift event verbs, the most frequent category of the three, share a pronominal marking pattern in which agent prefixes are used in the habitual, perfective, and imperative aspect-

moods, but patient prefixes are used in the stative aspect-mood. This particular pronominal marking pattern is the result of the grammaticalization of semantic factors underlying the selection of agent or patient prefixes (see Mithun 1991). The verb -*atati*- 'to speak' is an example of a shift event verb. With the habitual, in (157), the perfective, in (158), and the imperative, in (159), agent prefixes are used, whereas with the stative, in (160), also discussed in §2.2.1, the pronominal paradigm switches to patient.

(157)   *te8atatiak*
      te'watatiahk
      teʔ-w-atati-ahk
      NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-speak-HAB
      « elle ne parle pas encore »
      'she doesn't speak yet'
      (Ms 60 n.d.: 259)

(158)   *te ˌarih8etsi d'eˌatatia*
      te'yarihwetsih   **de**   **eyatatia'**
      teʔ-ka-rihw-ets-ih   ne   e-k-atati-aʔ
      NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-matter.affair-be.long-STAT   AMPL   FUT-1SG.AGT-speak-PFV
      « je ne ferai point un long discours »
      'I won't make a long speech'
      (Potier 1751:183)

(159)   *satatia*
      Satatiah !
      s-atati-ah
      2SG.AGT.IMP-speak-IMP
      « parle, dits ton sentiment, ta pensée »
      'Speak (SG), say what you're feeling, what you're thinking!'
      (Potier 1751:183)

(160)   *stante 8aˌatati*
      stan'   **te'wayatatih**
      steʔ   teʔ-wak-atati-h
      no   NEG-1SG.PAT-speak-STAT
      « je n'ai pas parlé »
      'I have not spoken'
      (Potier 1744:50)

A smaller number of event verbs will select patient prefixes for all aspect-moods. These verbs are classified as patient event verbs. Examples (161), (162), also discussed in §3.4.3.1, and (164), also discussed in §2.2.3, illustrate use of patient prefixes in all aspect-moods with the verb base *-itah-/-ita'nd-/-itah-* 'to sleep'.

(161)　*te hotas*
　　　tehotahs
　　　teʔ-ho-ita-h-s
　　　NEG-3M.SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-HAB
　　　« il ne dort point »
　　　'he doesn't sleep at all'
　　　(Potier 1751: 389)

(162)　*te skienteri n'on˛ita*
　　　te'skienterih　　　　　　**ne**　　**onyita'**
　　　teʔ-s-k-yęter-ih　　　　　　ne　　aʔ-wak-ita-ʔ-Ø
　　　NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-know-STAT　　AMPL　FACT-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-PFV
　　　« je ne sçaurois plus dormir »
　　　'I do not know how to sleep anymore'
　　　(Potier 1751: 389)

(163)　*senta*
　　　Sentah !
　　　sa-ita-h-Ø
　　　2SG.AGT.IMP-sleep-INCH-IMP
　　　« dors »
　　　'Sleep (SG)!'
　　　(Potier 1751:389)

(164)　*te 8a˛itandi*
　　　te'wayita'ndih
　　　teʔ-wak-ita-ʔn-ih
　　　NEG-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-STAT
　　　« je n'ai pas dormi »
　　　'I have not slept'
　　　(Potier 1751: 389)

The last of the three subclasses, transitive event verbs (semantically and morphologically transitive verbs with two animate arguments) appear with transitive pronominal prefixes in all aspect-moods. An example of a transitive verb base with transitive pronominal prefixes is -rio-/-io- 'to kill or fight someone'. Whether appearing with the habitual (165), the perfective (166), the imperative (167), or the stative (168), also discussed in §2.3, transitive pronominal prefixes are used with this verb base.

(165) *hechrios*
hehchrios
hehs-ryo-s
2SG:3M.SG-kill.fight-HAB
« tu le tues »
'you (SG) fight him; you're fighting him'
(Ms 60 n.d.:371)

(166) *ehechrio*
ehehchrio'
e-hehs-ryo-ʔ
FUT-2SG:3M.SG-kill.fight-PFV
« tu le battras »
'you (SG) will fight him'
(Potier 1751:269)

(167) *chrio*
Chrioh !
hs-ryo-h
2SG:3FZ/N.SG.IMP-kill-IMP
« tuer…tu illam »
'Kill (SG) her!'
(Ms 60 n.d.:371)

(168) *i̯ rio*
iyrioh
i-k-ryo-h
PROTH-1SG:3FZ/N.SG-kill.fight-STAT
« tuer…praeteritū ego illam »
'I have killed her'
(Ms 60 n.d.:371)

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Another particularity of the event verb category is a special neuter passive construction. The functions of this construction, in which an event verb takes an agent neuter pronominal prefix (3FZ/N.SG.AGT) with the stative aspect-mood, are similar to those of a passive. As described by Woodbury (2018:14) for the same construction in Onondaga, the semantic agent is suppressed for discourse-pragmatic reasons, either because the speaker does not want to mention the agent of the action, or because the agent is unknown or unimportant. The data in Wendat seem to suggest that this construction cannot be used with any event verb, but with a subset of event verbs which describe actions or processes involving an inanimate argument. The verb base -*hr-/-r-* 'to put something on (top), place above' appears with this special neuter passive construction. For example, the meaning of the construction shown in (169) only describes the result of the inanimate object being put on top of something else, and does not specify the agent of the action. The same is true for the construction in (170), in which the result of putting boards together, and not the semantic agent of the action, is highlighted in this construction.

(169) *θo i̯ara*
      tho   iyahra'
      tho   i-ka-hr-aʔ
      there   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-put.on-STAT
      « cela est dessus »
      'it's above, on top [there]'
      (Potier 1751:332)

(170) *te̯ah8en̯araχen*
      teyahwen'yarakhenh
      te-ka-hwęʔkar-a-kh-ęh
      DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-board.beam-LK-join.together-STAT
      « 2 planches jointes l'une à l'autre »
      'two boards joined to one another'
      (Potier 1751:270)

In summary, there are three subclasses of event verbs, and shift event pronominal marking is by far the most common type. As Mithun (1991) points out, these patterns as well as their relative frequencies are no accident; they are the result of a series of historical changes which led to the grammaticalized system found in Wendat and the other Northern Iroquoian languages.

3.5.2. Stative verbs

Stative verbs can only appear with the stative aspect-mood. They can be categorized as either agent stative or patient stative, depending on which pronominal paradigm is used. A summary of these two stative verb classes is in Table 23.

Pronominal ~ Aspect-Mood Verb Classification	Semantic Transitivity	Morphological Transitivity	Aspect-Mood	Pronominal Prefix Paradigm
Agent Stative Verb	Semantically Intransitive	Morphologically Intransitive	Stative	Agent
Patient Stative Verb			Stative	Patient

Table 23: Classification of Wendat stative verbs according to pronominal marking patterns

As illustrated in (171), the verb base *-rihwahrenhwi-* 'for a matter to be concluded, determined' is an example of a patient stative verb.

(171) *orih8arenh8i*
       orihwahrenhwih
       yo-rihw-a-hręhwi-h
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.thing-LK-be.stopped.still-STAT
       « la chose est conclue, vidée, determinée, arretée »
       'the matter is concluded, emptied, decided, stopped'
       (Potier 1751: 340)

An example of an agent stative verb is in (172) with the verb base *-ndare-* 'to exist, live, dwell'.

(172)   *annen istare ?*
      Hahnen' ihstare' ?
      hahnęʔ   i-hs-nare-ʔ
      where   PROTH-2SG.AGT-live-STAT
      « ou demeure tu? »
      'Where do you (SG) live?'
      (Potier 1751:279)

As is the case with event verbs, there are always exceptions to the two subclasses of agent stative and patient stative. Certain stative verbs can take either agent or patient pronominal prefixes depending upon the animacy of the core argument. The verb base *-store-* 'to be quick, prompt, fast' takes agent prefixes with animate core arguments, such as an individual, shown in (173), or patient prefixes when referring to an inanimate argument such as an event or matter, as shown in (174), also discussed in §2.3.

(173)   *chiestore d'ichiech*
      chiestore'   **de**   **ihchiech**
      hse-snore-ʔ   ne   i-hse-k-s
      2SG.AGT-be.quick-STAT AMPL PROTH-2SG.AGT-eat-HAB
      « tu manges vite »
      'you (SG) eat quickly'
      (Potier 1751:356)

(174)   *ostore*
      ostore'
      yo-snore-ʔ
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.quick-STAT
      « c'est bientot »
      'it's soon'
      (Potier 1751:356)

Some stative verbs also have variable pronominal marking that is dependent on the particular noun base that is incorporated into the verb. While the verb typically selects the pronominal prefix paradigm to be used, in these cases, it appears that the incorporated noun selects the pronominal paradigm. The verb base *-ets-/-es-* 'to be long' is an example of this type of variable stative verb. Without an incorporated noun, the verb takes agent prefixes, as shown in (175).

(175)   *χondaie i8etsi*
        khondae' iwetsih
        khǫnae?   i-w-ets-ih
        this.one   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.long-STAT
        « il est cette longueur »
        'it is of this length'
        (Potier 1751:385)

However, with an incorporated noun, this stative verb can take either agent or patient prefixes. With the incorporated noun base *-rihw-* 'matter, affair, thing', the verb base takes patient prefixes, as shown in (176). With a different incorporated noun base, *-nonhchi-* 'house', the verb base takes agent prefixes, as found in (177), also discussed in §2.2.3.

(176)   *orih8etsi*
        orihwetsih
        yo-rihw-ets-ih
        3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.long-STAT
        « elle est longue, v.g. à venir »
        'it [the matter] is lengthy, e.g. slow to arrive'
        (Potier 1751:385)

(177)   ˌannonchietsi
        yänonhchietsih
        ka-nǫhs-ets-ih
        3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.long-STAT
        « longue cabane »
        'long house, longhouse'
        (Potier 1751:385)

This type of pronominal marking on stative verbs which varies according to the incorporated noun base is due to gradual processes of lexicalization. Mithun (2001) discusses this specific type of lexicalization for stative verbs with incorporated nouns in Northern Iroquoian as a process of headedness reversal, in which the head of this morphological verb shifts from the verb root to the incorporated noun base, and thus, it becomes the incorporated noun that selects the pronominal prefix paradigm used with this complex verb base. Mithun (2001) also notes that this phenomenon occurs only with a subset of stative verbs that are adjectival-like in their semantics and are typically used as syntactic nominals.

In summary, stative verbs typically take either agent or patient prefixes, but not both. However, there are exceptions in which certain verb bases can take prefixes from either intransitive pronominal paradigm depending upon semantic factors.

3.5.3. Motion verbs

Motion verbs, a class first described by Michelson (1995), appear with the same aspect-moods as event verbs — the habitual, the stative, the perfective, and the imperative — in addition to the purposive aspect-mood. In fact, motion verbs are technically a special class of event verbs. The same generalizations regarding consequentiality and pronominal marking hold for these motion verbs, as the semantics and pronominal paradigms vary according to the same

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parameters as event verbs. In terms of pronominal marking, the purposive aspect-mood patterns with the habitual, perfective and imperative aspect-moods in shift event verbs, i.e. agent prefixes are used with the purposive.

Most verbs which comprise the category of motion verbs are derived with the addition of the dislocative suffix, while only a small number of motion verbs are non-derived. The dislocative suffix, discussed in detail in §7.8, adds a sense of movement to the action, indicating that the participant is in motion to initiate or complete the action in question.

Examples of motion verbs appearing with the habitual aspect-mood are found below in (178) and (179), in which the participants are in motion toward a habitual event, such as going to peel birch bark for canoes or praying.

(178) *hatinde'ronhes ˌandatse'k8a*
    hatindehronhe's   **yändahtsehkwa'**
    hati-nehrǫ-h-eʔs   ka-nahtsehkw-aʔ
    3M.PL.AGT-peel.bark-DISLOC-HAB   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-birch-NSF
    « ils vont to' les jours aux ecorce pr faire des canots »
    'they go every day to peel [birch] bark to make canoes'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:107)

(179) *ate8entaˌe ˌatrendaendes χaˌende iˌar*
    ha'tewentayeh
    haʔ-te-w-ęt-a-ke-h
    TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-be.so.many-STAT

    yatrendaenhnde's   **kha'yendeh**
    k-at-ręn-a-yę-hn-eʔs   khaʔkęneh
    1SG.AGT-MID-song.prayer.ceremony-LK-put.down-DISLOC-HAB   this.time

    iyar
    i-ka-r-Ø
    PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.in.the.sky-STAT
    « je viens prier dieu icy tous les jours a l'heure qu'il est »
    'I come here to pray every day at this time'
    (Potier 1744:209)

Motion verbs also appear in the stative aspect-mood, as illustrated in (180), also discussed in 2.2.3, and (181) with the verb bases -'nienh- 'to go gather roots, herbs, etc.' and -iakenhchr- 'to go and get out'.

(180)   *honnienhon*
     ho'nienhonh
     ho-ʔnyę-h-ǫh
     3M.SG.PAT-gather-DISLOC-STAT
     « il est aller cueillir »
     'he has gone gathering [herbs, seeds, roots, etc.]'
     (Potier 1751:307)

(181)   *hoaˌench^ron*
     hoayenhchronh
     ho-yakę-ʔ-hsr-ǫh
     3M.SG.PAT-go.out-INCH-DISLOC-STAT
     « il est à ses necessitez »
     'he is attending to his needs (lit. he has gone out)'
     (Potier 1751:207)

With the imperative series of pronominal prefixes, the derived motion verbs below, in (182) and (183), occur with the imperative suffix.

(182)   *ennonk8at sennienha*
     Ënonhkwa't   **se'nienhah !**
     w-enǫhkwaʔt-Ø   se-ʔnyę-h-ah
     3FZ/N.SG.AGT-medicine-NSF 2SG.AGT.IMP-gather-DISLOC-IMP
     « va cueillir q. herbe ou racine medicinale »
     'Go (SG) gather a medicinal herb or root!'
     (Potier 1751:307)

(183)   *satarontonda*
     Satahrontonhndah !
     s-at-ahrǫtǫ-hn-ah
     2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-ask-DISLOC-IMP
     « va demander des nouvelles »
     'Go (SG) ask for the news!'
     (Potier 1751:174)

As stated above, the distinguishing characteristic of motion verbs is their ability to appear with the purposive aspect-mood. The purposive aspect-mood suffix *-e'* occurs with the derived motion verbs *-atawanhnd-* 'to go bathe' and *-atriho'tath-* 'to go listen, pay attention' in (184) and (185), also discussed in §2.2.1.

(184)   *stant'e ˌata8ande*
        stan'   te'yatawanhnde'
        stę?   te?-k-atawę-hn-e?
        no   NEG-1SG.AGT-bathe-DISLOC-PURP
        « je ne me baignerai pas »
        'I'm not going to take a bath; I don't intend to take a bath'
        (Potier 1751:413)

(185)   *te skatrihôtaθe*
        te'skatriho'tathe'
        te?-s-k-atriho?t-a-t-h-e?
        NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-be.attentive-LK-CAUS-DISLOC-PURP
        « je ne serai pas attentif »
        'I will not pay attention; I don't intend to pay attention'
        (Ms 60 n.d.:24)

Motion verbs occurring with both the purposive aspect-mood suffix and a modal prefix are shown in (186) and (187). The verb base in example (186), also discussed in §3.4.5, *-takhe-* 'to move by running' is an inherent motion verb, meaning that it is not derived as a motion verb through the suffixing of the dislocative morpheme.[31] However, the motion verb *-ate'wah-* 'to go flee', in (187), is derived through the use of the dislocative suffix *-h-*. In both examples, the motion verb bases appear with the factual modal prefix which lends a realis interpretation to

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[31] Although it would be tempting to further segment the verb base *-takh-* as *-tak-h-* with a suffixed dislocative morpheme, there is no such verb root or base *-tak-*. The Oneida and Onondaga cognates for this verb base are also considered to be non-derived motion verbs (Michelson & Doxtator 2003:677 for Oneida; Woodbury 2018:151 for Onondaga).

the motion toward the action, as in (186), or the intention to initiate the action, as in (187), also discussed in §2.2.2.

(186) *onsahataχe*
    onsahatakhe'
    ǫsa-ha-takhe-ʔ
    REP.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-move.by.running-PURP
    « il retourne courant »
    'he's coming back running'
    (Potier 1751:359)

(187) *onn'aˌate8ahe*
    öne   a'yate'wahe'
    onę   aʔ-k-ateʔkw-a-h-eʔ
    now   FACT-1SG.AGT-flee-LK-DISLOC-PURP
    « je vais m'enfuir »
    'I'm going to flee'
    (Potier 1751:317)

The future modal prefix can also occur on a motion verb, as shown in (188).

(188) *onh8a eˌiatracha*
    onhwa'   eyia'trahcha'
    ǫhwaʔ   e-k-yaʔt-r-a-hš-aʔ
    now   FUT-1SG.AGT-body-be.inside.among-LK-DISLOC-PFV
    « j'irai presentement y assister »
    'I will go now to attend it'
    (Potier 1751:328)

Finally, an example of the optative modal prefix on a derived motion verb is shown in (189). The intention 'to go see' is overlaid with an irrealis interpretation, and gives the overall meaning of a desire 'to go see a country'.

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(189) *a̗8erhe aia̗8aka'k8âcha ti hennonh8ents8ten*
       aywerhe'   **aaiaywakahkwahcha'**
       yakw-erh-eʔ   a:-yakw-akahkw-a-hs-aʔ
       1PL.EXCL.AGT-think.want-HAB   OPT-1PL.EXCL.AGT-see-LK-DISLOC-PFV

       tihennonhwentsou'tenh
       ti-hẹn-ọhwẹts-oʔtẹ-h
       PART-3M.PL.AGT-land.country-be.certain.type-STAT
       « no' voulons aller voir coe leur païs est fait »
       'we (PL, EXCL) want to see how their (M, PL) country is made, what their (M, PL)
       country is like'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:253)

In summary, motion verbs appear with all the same aspect-moods as event verbs with the addition of the purposive aspect-mood. Consequentiality and pronominal marking patterns for event verbs also hold for motion verbs.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the basic Wendat verb structure, beginning with a section about terminology (§3.1). Details about the components of the minimal Wendat verb are found in §3.2, followed by descriptions of the pronominal prefix system in §3.3 and of aspect, mood, and modality in §3.4. Finally, §3.5 provides an overview of the various verb classes in Wendat, including classifications pertaining to aspect-mood marking and the interactions between aspect-mood and pronominal marking.

The next chapter, Chapter 4, delves deeper into the verbal structure in Wendat, looking specifically at the first part of the complex verb base, the non-modal prepronominal prefixes.

Chapter 4

The Complex Verb Base: The

Prepronominal Prefixes

This chapter explores one of the several sets of morphemes that can build on a minimal verb base. While the previous chapter discussed the obligatory components of the Wendat verb base — the verb root, the pronominal prefixes, the aspect-mood suffixes, and the modal prefixes — this chapter details the seven non-modal prefixes that can occur before the pronominal prefixes. Due to this position in the verbal template, as shown in Figure 8, the seven non-modal prefixes and the three modal prefixes are called the prepronominal prefixes.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Voice Prefixes	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffixes	Aspect-Mood Suffixes	Expanded Aspect Suffixes

Figure 8: Position of the prepronominal prefixes in the Wendat verb template

The prepronominal verbal prefixes have stable and fixed positions relative to one another. Furthermore, the positions of the non-modal prepronominal prefixes are intertwined with those of the modal prefixes — the factual (or realis), the future, and the optative. In some co-occurrences of non-modal and modal prepronominal prefixes, the morphemes appear sequentially, yet in other cases, combinations of the two yield portmanteau forms. For this reason, two templates of this part of the Wendat verb are necessary: the first depicting only the

order of the non-modal prepronominal prefixes with respect to one another, as shown in Figure 9, and the second illustrating the positions of both the non-modal and modal prefixes, as shown in Figure 10. The latter is discussed further in §4.9.

| Partitive | Coincident | Translocative | Duplicative | Cislocative | Pronominal Prefix |
| | Negative | | | Repetitive | |

Figure 9: The non-modal prepronominal prefix complex in Wendat

| Partitive | Coincident | Translocative | **Factual** | Duplicative | **Future** | Cislocative | Pronominal Prefix |
| | Negative | | | | **Optative** | Repetitive | |

Figure 10: The prepronominal prefixes in Wendat

The non-modal prepronominal prefixes that occur in the same slot of the template are mutually exclusive. For example, the cislocative and the repetitive cannot co-occur since they are in the same position in the prepronominal prefix template. There are other unattested or semantically incompatible combinations of non-modal prepronominal prefixes, and these will be discussed further in §4.9. Furthermore, there are morphophonological changes that occur between prepronominal prefixes, and between prepronominal prefixes and the following pronominal prefixes. The exceptions to the relatively fixed order, the combinations of non-modal and modal prepronominal prefixes, and the morphophonological changes that result from these combinations will also be discussed in §4.9.

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Sections 4.1 through 4.7 describe the forms and functions of each of the seven non-modal prepronominal prefixes, starting with those that occur closest to the pronominal prefixes and ending with those occurring toward the beginning of the Wendat verb. Finally, a note about the contrastive, a prepronominal prefix in the other Northern Iroquoian languages, which does not seem to have morphologized in Wendat, is in §4.8.

4.1. Cislocative

The primary function of the cislocative prepronominal prefix is to signal motion toward the speaker. The primary spatial function of the cislocative is illustrated by a pair of examples, in (190) and (191), which differ only by the presence of the cislocative prepronominal prefix. Example (190) shows an imperative with the verb base *-hent-* 'to lead, walk ahead' which orders the addressee to go ahead. The second example of this pair, example (191), with the same verb base and the cislocative, implores the addressee to come toward the speaker first, i.e. ahead of others.

(190)   *Sehen't*
      Sehent !
      se-hęt-Ø
      2SG.AGT.IMP-lead-IMP
      « va le premier »
      'Go (SG) ahead!'
      (Potier 1751:260)

(191)   *asehen't*
      Asehent !
      a-se-hęt-Ø
      CISLOC-2SG.AGT.IMP-lead-IMP
      « viens le 1er »
      'Come (SG) first!'
      (Potier 1751:260)

The same function of the cislocative, indicating motion toward the speaker, is illustrated in example (192), in which the referent falls from above, and is understood to therefore be moving in a general direction toward the speaker.

(192) *ontahaatenha*
       ontahäa'tenha'
       ǫta-ha-yaʔt-ę-h-aʔ
       CISLOC.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-body-fall-INCH-PFV
       « il est tombé d'en haut »
       'he fell from above'
       (Ms 62 n.d.:4)

Yet another example of this primary function of the cislocative is found in (193), where the use of the cislocative signals that the movement of the eighty ships are in the general direction toward the speaker.

(193) *a'tere i8a'sen i̧ ahona̧ e ̧ ahonïo onta8e'nde*
       a'tere' iwahsenh   **iyahonwayeh**
       aʔtereʔ i-w-ahsę-h   i-ka-hǫw-a-ke-h
       eight   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.ten-STAT   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-boat-LK-be.so.many-STAT

       yahonwïio'   **ontawehnde'**
       ka-hǫw-iyo-ʔ   ǫta-w-e-hn-eʔ
       3FZ/N.SG.AGT-boat-be.big.beautiful-STAT   CISLOC.FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DISLOC-PURP
       « il vient 80 navires »
       'there are eighty ships coming [this way]'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:236)

The cislocative can also seemingly indicate motion toward the addressee, as shown in (194). Although the context in which the statement found in (194) was not included in the archival documentation, the speaker seems to be using the cislocative to notify the addressee, presumably already inside the dwelling, that s/he will only be entering the house, i.e. moving toward the addressee, for a brief period of time.

(194) *ara θo onta̗ akonchi8ten*
hara' tho ontayakonhchiouten'
hara? tho ǫta-k-at-kǫhs-ot-ę-?
only there CISLOC.FACT-1SG.AGT-MID-face-be.upright-BEN-PFV
« je ne viens v.g. dans la cab q. pr un moment »
'I'm only coming into the house for a moment'
(Ms 60 n.d.:229)

Extending the spatial use of the cislocative to temporal uses, the second function of the cislocative is to indicate that an event or a certain time is moving toward or 'coming closer' to the speaker. This temporal use of the cislocative is shown in (195) and (196). In example (195), the cislocative indicates that daylight is arriving. Example (196) shows the use of the cislocative to mark the general event of when corn starts to flower, and 'comes closer' to the generalized, indefinite referent.

(195) *onh8a θ'aat etiorhenha*
onhwa' tho aaht etiorhenha'
ǫhwa? tho a:ht e-t-yo-rhę-h-a?
now there extremely FUT-CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.daylight-INCH-PFV
« le jour va venir tout maintenant »
'the day is going to come right now'
(Potier 1751:343)

(196) *onne ontaen̗ 8iχenhatie*
öne ontaënywikhenhatie'
onę ǫta-ye-nkwikh-ęh-atye-?
when CISLOC.FACT-3IND.AGT-corn.bloom-STAT-PROG-PFV
« quand les blés commencent a fleurir »
'when the corn starts to flower'
(Ms 60 n.d.:34)

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The cislocative is also used as a general locative marker with certain verb bases.[32] These

verb bases tend to be either stative verbs, or event verbs conjugated in the stative. Example

(197), also discussed in §2.2.3, illustrates the use of the cislocative as a general locative marker

with the stative verb root *-ta-* 'to be at the end or the extremity'.

(197)   *etiotendatata*
        etiotëndatata'
        et-yo-ate-nat-a-ta-ʔ
        CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-village-LK-be.end-STAT
        « au bout du village »
        'at the end, extremity of the village'
        (Potier 1751:358)

The cislocative is also commonly found in toponyms, and these instances of the cislocative

are also examples of the general locative function. Example (198), also discussed in §2.2.3,

shows the use of the cislocative in the name of a river.

(198)   *etiontarande̗en*
        etiontarändeyenh
        et-y-o̗tar-a-nek̨e-h
        CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lake-LK-join.together-STAT
        « R. de la pointe aux feviers »
        'river at Locust Tree Point'
        (Potier n.d.:212)

A specialized function of the cislocative is to mark sudden or precipitous events, either as

an optional component of the verb base or as an obligatory part of the (discontinuous) verb

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[32] The position of the cislocative in the prepronominal prefix template, in the slot closest to the pronominal prefixes, suggests that this prefix morphologized at an earlier stage than the other locative prepronominal prefix, the translocative. The translocative, discussed in detail in §4.5, expresses motion away from the speaker. Therefore, it is possible that the general locative use of the cislocative is a remnant of an earlier stage of the language, in which the cislocative was the only locative prepronominal prefix, and therefore, might not have narrowed its semantic scope of motion toward the speaker, in opposition to the translocative's function of indicating motion away from the speaker.

base.[33] For example, the verb base *-ia'ta'tariha't-* 'to have a fever' in (199) can optionally appear with the cislocative in order to emphasize the onset of the fever as being sudden.

(199)   *ontahoatatarihat*
        ontahoa'ta'tariha't
        ǫta-ho-yaʔt-aʔtarih-a-ʔt-Ø
        CISLOC.FACT-3M.SG.PAT-body-be.hot-LK-CAUS-PFV
        « la fievre vient de le prendre, le prend actuellement »
        'the fever just hit him, the fever is hitting him now'
        (Potier 1744:48)

However, the cislocative is an obligatory part of the verb bases *.ndia'w-* + DUPL, CISLOC 'to vomit', shown in (200), also discussed in §2.3, and *.ndehahchatändi-* + CISLOC 'for one's heart to pound', shown in (201). With these verb bases, the cislocative marks the sudden and involuntary nature of the events of 'vomiting' and 'one's heart pounding'. This 'sudden' and 'involuntary' use of the cislocative could be an extension of its primary spatial function, in that an event or an action is construed to be moving toward the speaker or the referent, and that, at a rapid rate and in some cases, without the control of the speaker or referent.

(200)   *t'ek8a̧endia8as*
        tekwayendia'was
        te-t-wake-nyaʔkw-as
        DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.PAT-vomit-HAB
        « je vomis »
        'I vomit; I'm vomiting'
        (Potier 1751:289)

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[33] Lounsbury (1953:48) notes that in Oneida, the cislocative or the translocative with one of the instrumental suffixes marks the event as sudden or precipitous.

(201) *ek8andehachatandik*
   ekwändehahchatändihk
   et-wake-nehahsat-a-ni-hk
   CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG:1SG-heart.pound-LK-BEN-HAB
   « le cœur me bondit »
   'my heart is pounding, leaping, jumping'
   (Potier 1751:283)

Another specialized function of the cislocative is to indicate that an action or an event is done to the extreme, or that a state represents an extreme point. In other words, the action or state is understood to be at a limit or to have reached such a limit.[34] Examples (202) and (203) illustrate this specific function of the cislocative. In (202), the cislocative indicates that the speaker completely consumed the corn. In (203), the cislocative is used to signal that the medicine should be taken in its entirety, and that, in a single swallow.

(202) *n'onta˛e'chiat d'annenha8en˛ehen*
   ne   ontayehchiaht
   ne   ọta-ke-hsaʔ-ht-Ø
   AMPL   CISLOC.FACT-1SG.AGT-finish.consume-CAUS-PFV

   de   änenhawenh   yehen'
   ne   wake-nẹh-a-wẹ-h   kehẹʔ
   AMPL   1SG.PAT-corn-LK-own.belong.to-STAT DEC
   « j'ai epuisé mon blé »
   'I used up all of my corn'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:35)

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[34] On a comparative note, Chafe (2015:47) describes this same function as one expressed by the translocative in Seneca rather than the cislocative.

(203) *aseˎachia'ꞌt de ˎonˎannhonꭓ8as*
     aseyahchiaht
     a-s-ek-a-hsaʔ-ht-Ø
     CISLOC-2SG.AGT.IMP-water.liquid-LK-finish.consume-CAUS-PFV

     de   **yonweyahnhonkhwahs**
     ne   kǫw-ek-a-hnhǫt-hw-ahs
     AMPL   1SG:2SG-water.liquid-have.in.mouth-CAUS-HAB
     « bois tout d'un coup la medecine que je te donne sans qu'il en reste »
     'Drink (SG) the medicine I'm giving you (SG) all in one shot so that none is left!'
     (Potier 1751:212)

As illustrated above with examples such as (200) and (201), the cislocative is often part of verb bases with lexicalized meanings. Another such example is in (204). In this example, the cislocative is an obligatory component of the verb base meaning 'to irritate someone'.

(204) *ondaie eθaˎengentak8a*
     ondaeꞌ   **ethayëngentakhwaꞌ**
     ǫnaeʔ   et-hake-nkęt-a-hkw-haʔ
     that.one   CISLOC-3M.SG:1SG-irritate-LK-INS-HAB
     « il fait, dit cela pour m'irriter »
     'he does this or says this to irritate me'
     (Potier 1751:300)

The forms of the cislocative vary according to its morphological and morphophonological environment. When occurring word-initially, the basic forms of the cislocative in non-modal indicatives are *et-*, *eti-*, and *ek-*. In word-medial positions, these same forms lose the initial *e*, becoming either *-t-*, *-ti-*, or *-k-*. The allomorphs *eti-* and *-ti-* occur before a subset of intransitive pronominal prefixes which includes the second person patient prefixes (singular, dual, and plural), the second person dual and plural agent prefixes, and the first person inclusive dual and plural agent prefixes. The word-initial allomorph before these pronominal prefixes, *eti-* is shown in (205).

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(205) *a'nnen etisk8arhonk*
    Hahnen' etiskwarhonhk ?
    hahnę?   eti-eskw-arhǫ-hk
    when   CISLOC-2PL.AGT-rest-HAB
    « ou vo' etes vo' arrété »
    'Where do you (PL) stop [to rest]?'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:20)

In the imperative mood, the form of the cislocative is *a-*.[35] Finally, portmanteau forms occur when the cislocative combines with either the factual or the optative. The cislocative-factual form is *onta-*, and the cislocative-optative form is *aonta-*. The distribution of these allomorphs is summarized in Table 24, and combinations of the cislocative and prepronominal prefixes will be discussed further in §4.9.

4.2. Repetitive

The repetitive has several functions, but as its name suggests, its primary function is to signal repetition in the sense of performing an action 'again'.[36] This function of the repetitive is illustrated in examples (206), (207), and (208). In (206), the repetitive indicates that the freezing is occurring again. The repetitive is used in example (207) to indicate that the child will reach the anniversary of his birth. This prepronominal prefix is used in (208) to command someone to again add liquid to the bottle.

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[35] The form of the cislocative used in imperatives can be reconstructed to Proto-Northern Iroquoian *-ta-*. This reconstruction suggests that Wendat lost the initial *t* of this prefix.
[36] Lounsbury (1953:44) uses the term *iterative* for this morpheme, but the standard term for this morpheme is the *repetitive*.

(206) *tsondeskarand8sti*
tsöndeskarändoustih
ts-yo-neskar-a-nost-ih
REP-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-ice.icicle-LK-make.cold-STAT
« il regele »
'it's freezing to ice again'
(Ms 60 n.d.:165)

(207) *achietek eshandennia*
ahchietehk   esha'ndënia'
ahsetehk   e-s-ha-ʔneny-aʔ
one.day.from.today   FUT-REP-3M.SG.AGT-trap.catch-PFV
« il aura demain un an, il atteindra le jour de sa naissance »
'He will be one year old tomorrow, he will reach the day of his birth'
(Potier 1744:139)

(208) *onsatse'râta, a'son te ˛asêti*
Onsatsehra'tah !   Ahsonh   te'yashe'tih.
ǫsa-ts-yehraʔt-ah   ahsǫh   teʔ-ka-sheʔt-i-h
REP.FACT-2SG.AGT.IMP-add.missing-IMP yet   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-squash.bottle-fill-STAT
« mets encore de cette liqueur dans la bouteille, elle n'est pas pleine »
'Put (SG) some more liquor in this bottle! It isn't full.'
(Ms 60 n.d.:40)

This function of the repetitive can also be metaphorically extended and lexicalized in certain verb bases. For example, the verb base *. 'iay-* + REP, which is composed of the verb root meaning 'to shoot' and the repetitive prepronominal prefix, can either have the predicted meaning of 'to shoot a second time', or a lexicalized meaning of 'to take revenge on one's enemies'. This lexicalized meaning is illustrated in example (209).

(209) *onsahonaiaj*
onsahonwa'iay
ǫsa-hǫwa-ʔyak-Ø
REP.FACT-3M.PL:3M.SG-shoot-PFV
« on s'est vangé de lui »
'they (M, PL) took revenge on him'
(Potier 1744:5)

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The repetitive also commonly expresses a 'return' or a 'returning' to a location, activity, or state. In example (210), the repetitive indicates a general 'returning' to a distant location, whereas in (211), the repetitive is used to indicate a 'return' to the hunt for Canadian geese. In (212), the repetitive signals that the referent will return to his or her former state of good health.

(210) *eskeθa*
hesketha'
h-es-k-e-ht-haʔ
TRANS-REP-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-HAB
« je retourne souvent là »
'I go back there often'
(Potier 1745:43)

(211) *eskaïâχa ͵ahonk*
eska'iakha'   **yahonhk**
e-s-ka-ʔyak-h-aʔ   kahǫhk
FUT-REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-shoot-DISLOC-PFV   Canadian.goose
« je retournerai à la chasse des 8tardes »
'I will return to the hunt for Canadian geese'
(Potier 1751:264)

(212) *eskatieronk8aha*
eskatieronhkwaha'
e-s-k-at-yerǫ-hkw-a-h-aʔ
FUT-REP-1SG.AGT-MID-body-take.pick.up-LK-INCH-PFV
« les forces me reviendront »
'my strength will come back to me'
(Potier 1751:189)

As with its primary function to indicate repetition in the sense of 'again', the 'return' function of this prefix can also be metaphorically extended and lexicalized. The verb root found in (213), also discussed in §3.4.3.3, means 'to leave behind', but the complex verb base *.aka'-/.aka'w-* + REP means 'to change one's mind; to go back on one's word, promise'. As

part of this lexicalized verb base, the repetitive signals a metaphorical 'return' on one's previous thoughts or intentions.

(213) *onsaˌaʻka d'aonˌarask8annen*
       onsayaka'   ***de***   ***aonyarahskwanhnen'***
       ǫsa-k-atkaʔ-Ø   ne   a:-wak-arahskw-ęh-nęʔ
       REP.FACT-1SG.AGT-leave.behind-PFV   AMPL   OPT-1SG.PAT-leave-STAT-PAST
       « j'ai quitté la pensée de partir »
       'I abandoned the thought of leaving'
       (Potier 1751:165)

The repetitive is obligatorily used as part of the verb base *.t-/.at-* + REP 'to be one'. Although the repetitive's primary function is to signal repetition or a return, this morpheme can also be used as a characterizer. Supported by the French glosses provided by the Jesuits with *seul(e)* 'only, sole' and the *ne…que* construction meaning 'only' or 'just', the repetitive is used in these instances to characterize the singularity of the referent, emphasizing that there is 'just one', or 'only one' of whichever entity or concept represented by the incorporated noun. Examples (214) and (215) illustrate the characterizer function of the repetitive as part of the verb base *.t-/.at-* + REP 'to be one'.

(214) *skarontat*
       skarontat
       s-ka-rǫt-a-t-Ø
       REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-tree-LK-be.one-STAT
       « un seul arbre »
       'one sole tree'
       (Potier 1744:274)

(215) *sk8aˌendiˌonrat*
       skwaye'ndiyonhrat
       s-k-wake-ʔniko̧hr-a-t-Ø
       REP-EXCR-1SG.PAT-mind-LK-be.one-STAT
       « je n'ai qu'une seule pensée, ma pensée n'est qu'une »
       'I have only one thought, my thought is just one'
       (Potier 1744:274)

In fact, the numeral 'one' is a particle formed from this same verb base without an incorporated noun. Although the form is still analyzable as a conjugated verb, it is treated as a particle in analyses of other Iroquoian languages.

(216) *skat*
       skat
       s-ka-t-Ø
       REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.one-STAT
       « une seule chose »
       'one sole thing'
       (Potier 1751:357)

The repetitive also frequently functions as a characterizer in the names of individuals, as shown in (217), of flora, as shown in (218), and of fauna, as shown in (219).

(217) *Sarontaˌenraʿt*
       Sharontayenrat
       s-ha-ro̧t-a-kȩrat-Ø
       REP-3M.SG.AGT-tree-be.white-STAT
       [unglossed]
       (lit. he has a white tree)
       (Potier n.d.:197)

(218) *skandatsek8anneña*
      skändahtsehkowänen'ah
      s-ka-nahtsehkw-owanę-h=ʔah
      REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-birch.bark-be.big.grand-STAT=DIM
      « arbres fruictiers…cerises »
      '[black] cherry tree'[37]
      (Ms 62 n.d.:5)

(219) *tsonnonh8ar8ane*
      tsönonhwarowänenh
      ts-yo-nǫhwar-owanę-h
      REP-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-head-be.big.grand-STAT
      « damoiselle »
      'damselfly'
      (Ms FHO n.d.:21)

Many more names of flora and fauna begin with the segments *ts-* or *s-*, such as *shöndahkwa'* 'eagle', *tsou'niaten'ah* 'mouse', and *shängwa'tränen's* 'raspberry', suggesting the presence of the repetitive. However, the composition of the rest of the word is often unclear due to lexicalization and the gradual phonological erosion of these forms.

The forms of the repetitive for basic indicatives are *s-*, *ts-*, and *tsi-*, and the distribution of these forms is summarized in Table 24. In the imperative mood, the form of the repetitive is *sa-*. Parallel to the cislocative-factual and cislocative-optative forms, when co-occurring with either the factual or the optative, these morphemes fused to become portmanteau forms: *onsa-* for the repetitive-factual combination and *aonsa-* for the repetitive-optative combination. Combinations of this morpheme with other prepronominal prefixes will be discussed in §4.9.

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[37] The literal translation of this word, approximating 'it has big birch bark', with the added diminutive, refers to the fact that the bark of immature black cherry trees resembles the bark of birch trees.

4.3. Duplicative

The duplicative has many different functions, most of which refer to duality in some manner.[38] This prepronominal prefix must be used with the verb root *-ye-* 'to be so many' when counting exactly two entities, as in (220) when referring to two people with the incorporated noun root *-ia't-* 'body', and in (221) when referring to two bands with the incorporated noun root *-itiohkw-* 'clan, group'.

(220) *te a ̧iata ̧e*
     teayia'tayeh
     te-yaki-yaʔt-a-ke-h
     DUPL-1DU.EXCL.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT
     « nous sommes 2 »
     'we (excl) are two; there are two of us'
     (Potier 1751:242)

(221) *tendi te ̧entio'k8a ̧e*
     tëndih teyentiohkwayeh
     tenih   te-ka-itiohkw-a-ke-h
     two   DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-clan.group-LK-be.so.many-STAT
     « deux bandes »
     'two clans, bands'
     (Potier 1751:242)

The duplicative can also signify 'twice', in the sense that an action or event is to occur exactly two times. The 'twice' meaning of the duplicative is illustrated in example (222) with the verb base *.rihwa'ndet-* + DUPL 'to repeat, to say the same thing twice' and example (223) with the verb base *.atehiahchiorennhon-* + DUPL 'to rub oil or liquid on one's arm'.

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[38] The term *dualic* is also used for this morpheme by some Iroquoianists, including Lounsbury (1953:44) for Oneida; Michelson & Doxtator (2002:28) also for Oneida; Rudes (1999:693) for Tuscarora; and Woodbury (2018:207) for Onondaga. Chafe (1967:30) introduced the term *duplicative* for this morpheme, in order to differentiate this prepronominal prefix from the dual pronominal category. Chafe (2015:43) still uses the term *duplicative* for this morpheme in Seneca.

(222) *Ti tsirih8andandeten*
       Titsirihwa'ndetenh !
       ti-tsi-rihw-a-ʔnet-ęh
       DUPL-2NSG.AGT.IMP-matter.affair-LK-double-IMP
       « dites cela 2 fois, chantez a la reprise »
       'Say (NSG) that twice! Sing (NSG) the chorus; sing (NSG) it again!'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:56)

(223) *a te 8enta˛e te chiateiachiorennhon*
       ha'tewentayeh[39]   **tehchiatehiahchiorennhon'**
       haʔ-te-w-ęt-a-ke-h   t-e-hs-ate-hyahs- oręnhǫ-ʔ
       TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-be.so.many-STAT   DUPL-FUT-2SG.AGT-MID-arm-rub.oil-PFV
       « tu te frotteras le bras 2 fois par jour v.g. de cette liqueur »
       'you (sg) will rub your arm (with some liquid or oil) twice a day'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:160)

The duplicative is obligatorily used with events or states which involve two entities, such

as the joining together of two entities, as in (224), or the separation of two entities, as in (225).

(224) *ti tsik8ararij*
       Titsikwarariy !
       ti-ts-ikwar-a-rik-Ø
       DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-blanket-LK-join.ends-IMP
       « joints les 2 bouts de la couverte »
       'Put (SG) the two ends of the blanket together!'
       (Potier 1751:347)

(225) *ti tsaj*
       Titsa'y !
       ti-ts-yaʔk-Ø
       DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-break.cut-IMP
       « coupe le en deux »
       'Cut (SG) it in two!'
       (Potier 1751:264)

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[39] In this word, the duplicative follows the translocative. This particular combination of prepronominal prefixes, the translocative and the duplicative, is discussed in detail in §4.5.

Other examples of the duplicative referring to the union of (two) entities are illustrated in (226) and (227). In example (226), also discussed in §2.2.3, the duplicative indicates that the two residences are close to one another, and therefore, the two individuals or families are neighbors. Example (227) shows the duplicative as part of the verb base *.atont-* + DUPL 'to do together; to join together in an activity', in which the addressees are ordered to eat with one another. The latter example appears with a non-singular pronominal prefix, indicating that the action of 'joining together' requires the duplicative, even when the entities uniting number more than two.

(226)   *te honnennonste̗en*
        tehönennonhsteyenh
        te-hon-ę-nǫhs-nekę-h
        DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-MID-house-join.together-STAT
        « ils sont tous 2 voisins par la proximité, la contiguïté de leurs maisons »
        'they two are neighbors through the proximity of their houses'
        (Potier 1751:282)

(227)   *ti tsaton't, tsindiahaj*
        Titsatont   **tsindiahay !**
        ti-ts-atǫt-Ø   tsi-nyahak-Ø
        DUPL-2NSG.AGT.IMP-do.together-IMP 2NSG.AGT.IMP-eat.entire.meal-IMP
        « mettez vous tous à manger ensemble au meme plat »
        'Join together (NSG) so you can all eat from the same plate!'
        (Potier 1751:197)

In certain instances, when a state or event implies the involvement of a pair of body parts, such as feet, ears, and eyes, the duplicative is found as part of these verb bases. In (228), the presence of the duplicative as part of the verb base *.ri-* + DUPL 'to put on one's shoes' implies that one puts shoes on both feet.

(228) *stanta te sari*
    stan' ta'tesarih
    stęʔ   taʔ-t-esa-ri-h
    no   NEG-DUPL-2SG.PAT-put.on.shoes-STAT
    « tu n'es pas chaussé »
    'you're (SG) not wearing shoes'
    (Potier 1751:346)

In cases where only one of a pair of body parts is affected or involved by the action or state, the duplicative is not used, as found in (229), also discussed in §3.3, when referencing a single sprained foot. However, if both feet are sprained, then the duplicative is used, as in (230).

(229) *aˌachitoraθon*
    ayahchi'torathonh
    wak-ahsiʔt-orathǫ-h
    1SG.PAT-foot-sprain-STAT
    « j'ai un pié foulé »
    'I have a sprained foot'
    (Potier 1751:428)

(230) *te 8aˌachitoraθon*
    tewayahchi'torathonh
    te-wak-ahsiʔt-orathǫ-h
    DUPL-1SG.PAT-foot-sprain-STAT
    « j'ai les 2 piés foulés »
    'I have two sprained feet'
    (Potier 1751:428)

The same use of the duplicative to refer to a pair of body parts is also illustrated through a comparison of examples (231) and (232). With the incorporated noun root for 'mouth', the duplicative does not appear as part of the verb base in (231). However, when the noun root for 'ear' is incorporated with this same verb root, as in (232), the duplicative is used in order to refer to the pair of ears being 'blocked'.

(231) *hask8e̦i*
       hahskweyih
       ha-hs-kwek-ih
       3M.SG.AGT-mouth-close.block-STAT
       « il est muet »
       'he is mute'
       (Potier 1751:320)

(232) *te chiahonta8e̦i*
       tehchiahonhtaweyih
       te-hs-ahǫht-a-kwek-ih
       DUPL-2SG.AGT-ear-LK-close.block-STAT
       « tu es sourd »
       'you (SG) are deaf'
       (Potier 1751:320)

A quite different function of the duplicative is to mark a change of position. The duplicative appears as part of the verb bases *.ten-* + DUPL 'to fly away', as shown in (233), and *.ta'-/.tah-/.ta'nd-* + DUPL 'to stand up', as shown in (234). This change of position function can also be used with inanimate arguments, as illustrated by example (235), also discussed in §2.2.3, in which the verb refers to a canoe changing its position.

(233) *akaten de̦ahonk*
       a'katen'   *de*   *yahonhk*
       aʔ-t-ka-tę-ʔ   ne   kahǫhk
       FACT-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-fly.away-PFV   AMPL   Canadian.goose
       « l'oudarde s'envola »
       'the Canadian goose flew away'
       (Potier 1751:363)

(234) *ti tsataha*
       Titsatahah !
       ti-tsa-t-a-h-ah
       DUPL-2NSG.AGT.IMP-be.standing-LK-INCH-IMP
       « Levez vous »
       'Stand up (NSG)!'
       (Potier 1751:356)

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(235) *te ohoñentonch*
       teohonwen'tonhch
       te-yo-họw-ẹʔtọ-hs
       DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-boat.canoe-dangle-HAB
       « le canot branle, va s'agitant de coté et d'autre, est roulant »
       'the canoe is rocking side to side'
       (Potier 1744:242)

Despite its presence in the three previous examples, the duplicative does not appear with all verbs that indicate a change of position (cf. *-atien-* 'to sit down'). The semantic motivations for the presence versus the absence of the duplicative with this type of verb are not (or perhaps, no longer) evident. For example, the underlying function of the duplicative as part of the verb base *.hkw-* + DUPL 'to take, to pick up' is ambiguous. In this case, the duplicative may be used to imply the use of two hands to pick something up, to refer to the change of position of the object being picked up, or for yet another function that has since been obscured through lexicalization. A derived form of this verb base, *.sahkw-* + DUPL 'to pick up a dish', with the incorporated noun root *-s-* 'dish', is shown in (236).

(236) *ti sesak*
       Tisesahk !
       ti-se-s-a-hkw-Ø
       DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-dish-LK-take.pick.up-IMP
       « prends ce plat »
       'Take (SG) this dish; pick up (SG) this dish!'
       (Potier 1751:272)

The same functional ambiguity is found with the verb base *.arahtat-* + DUPL 'to run', illustrated by example (237). The duplicative could be part of this verb base to imply the use of both legs to run, to signal a change of position, or for another obscure motivation.

(237) *ti sara'tat*
  Tisarahtat !
  ti-s-arahtat-Ø
  DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-run-IMP
  « cours, va promptemt »
  'Run (SG)! Go quickly (SG)!'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:81)

Although the motivation for the presence of the duplicative in the previous two examples is ambiguous, the duplicative occurs as part of even more lexicalized verb bases, as found in (238) and (239). The duplicative is part of the lexicalized verb base *.atonronton-* + DUPL 'to make an exhaustive effort' in (238), which is further analyzable into the middle voice prefix and a verb root *-onronton-* 'to be many, plenty'. The lexicalized verb base in (239), *.atontariht-* + DUPL 'to cry out, whoop', has several components including the duplicative, yet the motivation for the presence of this prepronominal prefix is unclear.

(238) *akatonronton atiaondi ahehetsaron*
  a'katonronton'   **ha'tiaondih**[40]
  aʔ-t-k-at-ǫrǫtǫ-ʔ   haʔ-t-ya-ǫni-h
  FACT-DUPL-1SG.AGT-MID-be.many.plenty-PFV TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-do.make-STAT

  ahehetsaron'
  aʔ-he-hetsarǫ-ʔ
  FACT-1SG:3M.SG-encourage.exhort-PFV
  « j'ai bien pris de la peine à l'exhorter, j'y ai emploié tout mon savoir faire, j'ai tout mis en usage, j'ai pris tous les divers biais, tous les moyens possibles, je me suis en 4 »
  'I really made an effort to encourage him, I used all of my knowhow, I put all of it in use, I made use of all the diverse means, all the possible ways, I wore myself out'
  (Potier 1751:201)

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[40] Although analyzable according to its component morphemes, the word *ha'tiaondih* is listed as a particle by Potier (1751:409) with the meaning 'entirely, perfectly'. The highest degree or totality indicated by this particle is due to the combination of the translocative and the duplicative (see §4.5).

(239) *te hondatontari'ti*
       tehöndatontarihtih
       te-hon-at-ǫtar-i-ht-ih
       DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-MID-lake-fill-CAUS-STAT
       « ils ont fait des huées »
       'they (NSG) have cried out'
       (Potier 1744:162)

The duplicative also fulfills a particular role in combination with the cislocative. The cislocative and the repetitive are mutually exclusive, and their shared slot in the prepronominal prefix complex represents this co-occurrence restriction. However, in order to add the sense of 'repetition' or 'returning' to a verb with the cislocative, the duplicative can be used instead of the repetitive. This function of the duplicative, in combination with the cislocative, is illustrated through examples (240) and (241), where the duplicative is added to give a sense of repetition or returning.

(240) *stanta tek8aˌeti*
       stan' ta'tekwayehtih
       stę?   ta?-te-t-wak-e-ht-ih
       no   NEG-DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.PAT-go-DIR-STAT
       « je ne reviendrai pas de N. »
       'I will not return from [location]'
       (Potier 1745:41)

(241) *t'onta-8aθorate*
       tontawathorathe'
       t-ǫta-w-athor-a-t-h-e?
       DUPL-CISLOC.FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.cold-LK-CAUS-DISLOC-PURP
       « le froid va revenir »
       'the cold is going to return'
       (Potier 1751:202)

Finally, the duplicative has a lexicalized function when in combination with the translocative. This lexicalized combination of the two prepronominal prefixes is discussed in the following section pertaining to the translocative, §4.4.

The basic form of the duplicative in indicatives is *te-*, yet when it appears with any of the three modal prefixes, the form of the duplicative is simply *t-*. In the imperative, the duplicative form is *ti-*. However, when the duplicative appears with the cislocative in an imperative construction, as in (242), these two prepronominal prefixes fuse to become *ta-* or *tonta-*.[41]

(242) *tachrih8a'k8a'nda*
       Tahchrihwahkwahndah !
       t-a-hs-rihw-a-hkw-a-hn-ah
       DUPL-CISLOC-2SG.AGT.IMP-matter.affair-LK-take.pick.up-LK-DISLOC-IMP
       « viens ici chanter »
       'Come here and sing!'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:55)

On another note, when other prepronominal prefixes precede the duplicative (in non-modal indicative verbs), there is a sequence, *-a'-*, that separates the first prepronominal prefix from the following duplicative.[42] For example, the translocative takes the form *ha'-* when it precedes the duplicative, as in (223) and (238), and the negative takes the form *ta'-* in that same position, as in (228). The forms of the coincident and the partitive also include the *-a'-* sequence when preceding the duplicative. The morphophonological changes resulting from combinations of the prepronominal prefixes are discussed further in §4.9.

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[41] The specific motivations for the distribution of *ta-* versus *tonta-* in duplicative and cislocative imperative constructions are unclear at this point in time.

[42] Lounsbury (1953:44) describes this sequence as an "empty morph". According to Lounsbury, the "empty morph" occurring between many prepronominal prefixes and the duplicative is the same as the *-a'-* that is part of the Proto-Northern Iroquoian factual allomorph *-waʔ-* which appears before the duplicative, as shown in (233). For Wendat, however, as explained in §3.4.3.1, synchronically, this "empty morph" is the only piece of the factual morpheme that was left after sound changes eroded the initial *w-*.

4.4. Translocative

The translocative functions to indicate motion away from the speaker or mark a remote or distant location. Therefore, the functions of the translocative are complementary to those of the cislocative, since they express motion in opposing directions. Example (243) illustrates the use of this prepronominal prefix to mark the motion of a third person away from the speaker, whereas example (244) shows the use of the translocative to order someone to carry something far from the speaker.

(243) *an'neñ eha8e'ti ?*
Hahnen' hehawehtih ?
hahnę? he-haw-e-ht-ih
where TRANS-3M.SG.PAT-go-DIR-STAT
« ou est il allé »
'Where has he gone?'
(Ms 60 n.d.:11)

(244) *chi aseha8it*
Chi hasehawiht !
tshi ha-se-hawi-ht-Ø
DIST TRANS-2SG.AGT.IMP-carry-DIR-IMP
« porte la loin »
'Carry (SG) that far away!'
(Potier 1744:95)

The translocative marks a distant location, either the continuation of a path far from the present location as in (245), or the place far away from the present location which the speaker's mother visits, as in (246).

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(245) *θo ichien eohahontion*
       tho   ihchien'   heohahontionh
       tho   ihsę?   he-yo-ahah-ǫty-ǫh
       there   really   TRANS-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-path-abandon.throw-STAT
       « le chemin va la, a pris a tourné de ce coté la »
       'the path goes there, the path took a turn toward that side'
       (Potier 1751:425)

(246) *θo ichien a˛ et e8eθa d'annennen*
       tho   ihchien'   ha'yeht   hewetha'
       tho   ihsę?   h-a?-k-e-ht-Ø   he-w-e-ht-ha?
       there   really   TRANS-FACT-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-PFV   TRANS-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DIR-HAB

       de   änen'enh
       ne   wak-nę?ęh
       AMPL   3FZ/N.SG:1SG-be.mother.STAT
       « je vas ou ma mere a coutume d'aller »
       'I'm going there, to where my mother usually goes'
       (Potier 1745:43)

Example (247) contains the translocative in order to indicate that the items had been placed

in a distant location.

(247) *steniesθa te 8a'tonhonk de θo he8a˛ientak esondaon*
       sten'iestha'   te'wahtonhonhk
       stę?yestha?   te?-w-ahtǫ-hk-Vhk
       nothing   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lose-HAB-PAST

       de   tho   hewayientahk   esondaon'
       ne   tho   he-wak-yęt-Ø-ahk   i-es-ǫnaǫ-?
       AMPL   there   TRANS-1SG.PAT-lay.down-STAT-PAST   PART-2SG.PAT-have.house-STAT
       « rien ne se perdoit de ce que j'avois mis dans ta maison »
       'nothing was lost from all that I had put in your house'
       (Potier 1744:79)

The distance conveyed by the translocative can also be metaphorical, as illustrated by

example (248), in which the end of one's life is believed to be far away.

(248) *e8aˌonnhontion*
       hewayonnhontionh
       he-wak-ǫnh-ǫty-ǫh
       TRANS-1SG.PAT-life-abandon.throw-STAT
       « j'ai encore long tems a vivre »
       'I still have a long time to live'
       (Potier 1751:425)

As mentioned in §4.3, the translocative and the duplicative, often combined with the verb root *-ye-* 'to be so many', indicate the totality of an entity. This meaning could refer to the whole as in the sense of 'all', or all instances of an entity, in the sense of 'every' or 'each'. Examples (249), also discussed in §2.3, and (250) illustrate the lexicalized meaning of these two prepronominal prefixes to indicate 'all of the land' and 'all of the houses', respectively.

(249) *a te ondeche*
       ha'teondehcheh
       haʔ-te-y-onęhsr-ke-h
       TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-land-be.so.many-STAT
       « par toute la terre »
       'in all of the land'
       (Potier 1751:243)

(250) *a te ˌannonske*
       ha'teyänonhskeh
       haʔ-te-ka-nǫhs-ke-h
       TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.so.many-STAT
       « dans toutes les cabanes »
       'in all of the houses'
       (Potier 1751:243)

In examples (251), previously discussed in §4.3, and (252), the translocative and duplicative are used together to mean 'every day'.

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(251) *a te 8enta̧e te chiateiachiorennhon*
  ha'tewentayeh   **tehchiatehiahchiorennhon'**
  haʔ-te-w-ȩt-a-ke-h   t-e-hs-ate-hyahs-orȩnhǫ-ʔ
  TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-be.so.many-STAT   DUPL-FUT-2SG.AGT-MID-arm-rub.oil-PFV
  « tu te frotteras le bras 2 fois par jour v.g. de cette liqueur »
  'you (sg) will rub your arm (with some liquid or oil) twice a day'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:160)

(252) *ata̧akatandeska à te 8enta̧ek*
  Atayakahtahnde'skah
  a-tak-at-kah-t-a-hn-eʔs-k-ah
  CISLOC-2SG:1SG.IMP-MID-eye-be.upright-LK-DISLOC-HAB-CONT-IMP

  ha'tewentayehk !
  haʔ-t-e-w-ȩt-a-ke-h-k
  TRANS-DUPL-FUT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-be.so.many-STAT-CONT
  « viens me visiter tous les jours »
  'Come (SG) visit me every day!'
  (Potier 1751:241)

As illustrated by these immediately preceding examples, the translocative and duplicative sequence occur most often with the verb root *-ye-* 'to be so many'. However, these two prepronominal prefixes can co-occur as part of other verb bases, as in the case with the lexicalized particle *ha'tiaondih* 'entirely, perfectly', as found in the earlier example (238).

As is the case with the other prepronominal prefixes, the form of the translocative depends upon its morphophonological environment. In indicatives without a modal prefix, the form of the translocative is *he-*, but before any of the three modal prefixes — the factual, the future, or the optative — the form of the translocative is simply *h-*. Before the duplicative, the translocative allomorph is *ha'-*. Finally, in imperatives, the translocative form used is *ha-*.

4.5. Coincident

The function of the coincident is to indicate sameness or similarity of an entity to another. Examples (253) and (254) show the coincident used as part of the verb base *.t-/.at-* + COIN 'to be the same one(s)'.[43]

(253) *chi'a8e̤at*
       chia'weyat
       tsh-aʔ-w-ek-at-Ø
       COIN-FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-water-be.one-STAT
       « la meme eau »
       'the same water'
       (Potier 1751 :358)

(254) *chiaeatat*
       chia'ea'tat
       tsh-aʔ-ye-yaʔt-at-Ø
       COIN-FACT-3IND.AGT-body-be.one-STAT
       « ce sont les memes personnes »
       'they are the same people'
       (Potier 1751:358)

With the duplicative, the coincident functions to mark the similarity or sameness of two entities, as illustrated by example (255) in which two individuals are asked if they are the same age. In example (256), the coincident and the duplicative co-occur as part of the verb base *.aht-* + COIN, DUPL 'to divide in two'.

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[43] Although this verb root can only appear in the stative aspect-mood, when the coincident is part of the expanded verb base, the factual is also used. It is unclear why the factual appears after the coincident with this stative verb in Wendat, but it behaves the same way in other Northern Iroquoian languages, such as Seneca (Chafe 2015:50) and Onondaga (Woodbury 2018:201).

(255) *chia te sta*[44]
   Chia'testa' ?
   tshaʔ-t-est-a-ʔ
   COIN-DUPL-2DU.AGT-be.a.size-STAT
   « etes vo' de meme age ? »
   'Are you (DU) the same age?'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:8)

(256) *chia ti sa'ʻt*
   Chia'tisaht !
   tshaʔ-ti-s-a-ht-Ø
   COIN-DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-be.a.size-CAUS-IMP
   « divise cela en 2 parties egales, prens-en la moitie »
   'Divide (SG) this in two equal parts; take (SG) half of it!'
   (Potier 1751:161)

The use of the coincident in a particular verb base can also be lexicalized. For example, the

coincident is part of the lexicalized verb base *.itahkw-* + COIN 'to do intentionally, on purpose',

as shown in (257).

(257) *stan chi-ˌitaʻk8a teˌen*
   stan'   chiyitahkwa'   **te'yenh**
   stę̨ʔ   tshi-k-itahkw-aʔ   te?-ka-i-h
   no   COIN-1SG.AGT-do.intentionally-HAB   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
   « ce n'est point a dessein que je le fais »
   'it isn't at all my intention that I do this'
   (Potier 1744:151)

The form of the coincident in non-modal indicative verbs is *chi-* (**tshi-*), as shown in (257).

As in examples (255) and (256), before the duplicative, the coincident allomorph used is

chia'- (**tshaʔ-*). The form of the coincident before any of the three modal prefixes is *chi-*[45]

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[44] Although the verb base *.a-* + COIN, DUPL 'to be the same size' begins with *a*, this verb does not take a-stem pronominal prefixes, but follows the allomorphy of other oral vowel-initial stems, such as e-stem, i-stem, and o-stem. The cognate verb base in Oneida also takes pronominal prefix forms that are unexpected (Michelson & Doxtator 2002:59-60).

[45] Unlike the high front vowel *i* found in the basic allomorph of the coincident *chi-* (**tshi-*), the final *i* of this coincident allomorph represents a palatal off-glide resulting from the palatalization of this sequence.

(*tsh-), as illustrated in (258) in which the coincident precedes the factual modal prefix, and in

(259) in which it precedes the optative modal prefix.

(258) *chi ahentak aharih8ase't*
      chiahentahk   **aharihwahseht**
      tsh-aʔ-ha-itahkw-Ø   aʔ-ha-rihw-ahseht-Ø
      COIN-FACT-3M.SG.AGT-do.intentionally-PFV   FACT-3M.SG.AGT-matter.affair-hide-PFV
      « c'est tout exprès qu'il a caché cette chose »
      'he hid this matter intentionally'
      (Potier 1751:389)

(259) *stan te˛en de chi-aon˛itak8ik*
      stan' **te'yenh**   **de**   **chiaonyitahkwihk**
      stęʔ   teʔ-ka-i-h   ne   tsh-a:-wak-itahkw-ih-k
      no   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT   AMPL COIN-OPT-1SG.PAT-do.intentionally-STAT-MOD
      « ce n'est pas que je l'ai fait exprès »
      'it's not the case that I would have done it intentionally'
      (Potier 1751:389)

It is unclear what the form of the coincident is in imperatives without a duplicative, since

the historical corpus of Wendat does not include any such examples. Following the patterns of

allomorphy found in these prepronominal prefixes, the imperative form for the coincident

would be *chia-*, and is listed as such in Table 24. However, in imperative constructions before

a duplicative prepronominal prefix, as in (256), the coincident allomorph is *chia'-*, which is

the same form found in indicatives in this morphophonological environment.

4.6. Negative

The function of the negative preponominal prefix is to mark negation. Unlike the other

prepronominal prefixes discussed in this chapter, the negative is an inflectional morpheme

rather than a derivational morpheme. The negative freely occurs with verb bases (although

only with the habitual, stative, or purposive aspect-moods) to mark negation. As such, the negative prepronominal prefix is not considered to be or treated as part of a complex verb base, when examples of particular verb bases are discussed.

The negative prepronominal prefix can occur with imperfective verbs, i.e. verbs appearing in either the habitual or stative aspect-moods. In example (260), the negative prefix appears with the verb base -*ion*- 'to arrive, enter', which is conjugated in the stative aspect-mood.

(260) *stan θo χa teθoon N.*
   Stan' tho   kha'   te'thöonh   N. ?
   stę?   tho   kha?   te?-t-ho-yǫ-h
   no   there   PROX   NEG-CISLOC-3M.SG.PAT-arrive.enter-STAT   [name]
   « N. n'est il point entré ici ? »
   '[name], he hasn't entered here at all?'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:121)

Example (261), discussed previously in §3.4.2, also shows the use of the negative prepronominal prefix with a verb base conjugated in the stative aspect-mood.

(261) *stante hoatarenh8i, a8entenhaon i'res*
   stan'   tehoa'tahrenhwih,
   stę?   te?-ho-ya?t-a-hręhwi-h
   no   NEG-3M.SG.PAT-body-LK-be.stopped.still-STAT

   awentenhaonh   ihre's
   yaw-ęt-ęhaǫ-h   i-hr-e-?s
   3FZ/N.SG.PAT-day-carry-STAT   PROTH-3M.SG.AGT-go-HAB
   « il n'arrete point, il est toujours en voye »
   'he doesn't stop at all, he is always traveling'
   (Potier 1751:340)

Examples (262) and (263) illustrate the use of the negative prefix with the habitual aspect-mood. In example (262), the negative is used with the verb base .*th*-/.*tah*-/.*ta'nd*- + DUPL, REP 'to stand up again; to get back up', which is conjugated in the habitual aspect-mood. Example

(263), which was previously discussed in §3.5.1, also shows the negative used with a habitual verb stem.

(262) *a'son ta te s'aθas*
       ahsonh   ta'teshathas
       ahsǫh   taʔ-te-s-ha-t-h-as
       yet   NEG-DUPL-REP-3M.SG.AGT-be.standing-INCH-HAB
       « il ne se releve point encore, de aegroto »
       'he is not yet getting back up (from being sick)'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:199)

(263) *stante ˏarhonk de ˏahanientes*
       stan'   te'yarhonhk   de   yahahänien'te's
       stęʔ   teʔ-k-arhǫ-hk   ne   k-ahah-a-nyęʔt-eʔs
       no   NEG-1SG.AGT-rest-HAB   AMPL   1SG.AGT-path-LK-travel.along-HAB
       « je ne me repose point en chemin »
       'I don't rest at all while traveling'
       (Potier 1751:173)

Aside from the two imperfective aspect-moods, this prepronominal prefix can also co-occur with verbs conjugated in the purposive aspect-mood. In example (264), the negative prefix marks negation on the complex verb base *-ndatahren'sennih-* 'to go and visit someone'.

(264) *o'ndaie ionniak stan te tsindaθarensennihe*
       ondae'   ïonniahk
       ǫnaeʔ   i-y-ǫni-ahk
       this.one   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-do.make-HAB

       stan'   te'etsindatahren'sennihe'
       stęʔ   teʔ-yetsi-natahr-ęʔsęni-h-eʔ
       no   NEG-3IND:2PL-visit-BEN-DISLOC-PURP
       « voila ce q. fait q. no' ne venons pas vous visiter »
       'this is the reason that we do not come to visit you (PL)'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:138)

Example (265), also discussed in §3.4.5, illustrates another instance of this prefix with a verb base conjugated in the purposive aspect-mood.

(265) *stante ˌiataʻtonde*
     stanʼ te'yia'tahtonhnde'
     stęʔ   teʔ-k-yaʔt-ahtǫ-hn-eʔ
     no   NEG-1SG.AGT-body-lose-DISLOC-PURP
     « je ne m'egarerai point »
     'I'm not going to get lost'
     (Potier 1751:194)

Although it can appear with the stative, habitual, and purposive aspect-moods, the negative prepronominal prefix cannot occur with the perfective aspect-mood. As described in §3.4.3, the perfective requires the use of one of three modal prefixes — the factual, the future, or the optative — which specify the speaker's beliefs as to the certainty or probability of an event or action to occur. However, negation, at least in Wendat, is semantically incompatible with the concepts underlying these modal prefixes, as a speaker cannot (or would not) judge the likelihood of an event *not* to occur. This incompatibility is especially apparent for the realis marker — the factual — which marks that the speaker knows the event or action to be true or realized, which cannot be negated.

Aside from the perfective aspect-mood, the negative prefix also cannot be used in the imperative mood. Negative imperatives, i.e. commands used to prohibit someone from something, do occur in the language, yet these imperatives are a special construction which does not involve the use of the negative prepronominal prefix.

The most common form of the negative prefix is *te'-*, which is used in all environments except for before the duplicative prepronominal prefix or before a pronominal prefix beginning in *h*. Before the duplicative, the form of the negative is *ta'-*, as shown in example (262). Preceding a pronominal prefix that begins in the laryngeal *h*, the glottal stop of the negative prefix is elided, and the form of the negative is simply *te-*. Example (261) shows the loss of

the glottal stop in the negative prefix when preceding the masculine singular patient pronominal prefix -*ho*-. The allomorphy of this prepronominal prefix is summarized in Table 24.

4.7. Partitive

The partitive prefix is used when referring to the degree, manner or quality of an event or an entity. It can often be translated into English as 'how', 'how much', 'how many', or 'how it is'. Example (266), also discussed in §2.3, shows the partitive used to indicate the nature or quality of the matter, as in 'how the matter is'.

(266) *sataronton ti ˌarih8ten*
     Satahrontonh   **tiyarihou'tenh !**
     s-at-ahrǫtǫ-h   ti-ka-rihw-oʔtę-h
     2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-ask-IMP   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-matter.affair-be.certain.type-STAT
     « vas t'informer (comme la chose est) de la chose »
     'Go (SG) inform yourself about the matter, how the matter is!'
     (Potier 1745:104)

In (267), the partitive is used to signal that it is snowing to a high degree, and so much so, that it is not possible to see one another.

(267) *stan ta te ontateˌenk ti ˌang8ens*
     stan' **ta'teontateyenhk**   **tiyängwen's**
     stęʔ   taʔ-te-yǫ-atate-kę-hk   ti-ka-nkwę-ʔ-s
     no   NEG-DUPL-3IND.AGT-REFL-see-HAB   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-snow-INCH-HAB
     « on ne s'entrevoit point, tant il nege »
     'one cannot see one another at all, that's how much it's snowing'
     (Potier 1745:104)

This function of the partitive, to mark manner, degree, or quality of some entity, is also found in the lexicalized verb turned particle meaning 'thank you' or 'thank you very much'.

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(268) *ti à8enk*
       tiawenhk
       ti-yaw-ę-hk
       PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-happen-HAB
       « grandmerci »
       'thank you very much'
       (Ms JCB n.d.:60)

Example (269) contains two instances of the partitive prepronominal prefix. Both uses of

the partitive are as part of the verb base .*wendou'ten-* + PART 'for a voice to be of a certain

type'. The verb root *-ou'ten-* 'to be of a certain type', which often has an incorporated noun

root, requires the use of the partitive. Although both instances of the partitive in (269) occur

as part of the same verb base, the forms of the partitive differ, with *i-* being the first form and

ti- being the second form. Possible explanations for this allomorphy are found at the end of the

present section.

(269) *θo iha8end8ten ti chie8end8ten*
       tho   **ihawendou'tenh**   **tihchiewendou'tenh**
       tho   i-ha-węn-oʔtę-h   ti-hse-węn-oʔtę-h
       how   PART-3M.SG.AGT-voice-be.certain.type-STAT   PART-2SG.AGT-voice-be.certain.type-STAT
       « il parle com. toy »
       'he speaks like you (SG)'
       (Potier 1745:72)

Another principal use of the partitive is with enumeration. Mentioned in the above sections,

the repetitive is used to signal exactly one of some entity and the duplicative is used to indicate

exactly two of an entity. The partitive, then, is used when counting three or more of an entity.

This use of the partitive is shown in (270), when counting three pieces of metal.

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(270) *achienk io8hista˛e*
     ahchienhk   **ïohwihstayeh**
     ahsęhk   i-yo-hwihst-a-ke-h
     three   PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-fish.scales.metal-LK-be.so.many-STAT
     « trois pieces de metail »
     'three pieces of metal'
     (Potier 1751:242)

Furthermore, the partitive is used in interrogative constructions, where the number of some

entity is unknown. This use is illustrated in example (271).

(271) *θo i8a˛e ?*
     Tho iwayeh ?
     tho   i-w-ake-h
     how.many   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.so.many-STAT
     « combien y a t'il de choses »
     'How many things are there?'
     (Potier 1751:242)

Example (272) shows the use of the partitive for enumeration and the comparison of the

quantity of two entities, here, being the number of soldiers to the amount of leaves in the

woods.

(272) *θo i̧ aata̧ e d'hotiskenra̧ etak, ti ondrata̧ e de χa sk8arhäenton*
      tho   **iyäa'tayeh**
      tho   i-ka-yaʔt-a-ke-h
      how.many   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT

      de   **hotisken'rayehtahk**[46]   **tiöndrahtayeh**
      ne   hoti-skęʔrakeht-ahk   ti-yo-nraht-a-ke-h
      AMPL   3M.PL.PAT-be.warrior-HAB   PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-leaf-LK-be.so.many-STAT

      de   **kha'**   **skwarhaenton'**
      ne   khaʔ   skwa-rh-a-yęt-ǫ-ʔ
      AMPL   PROX   2PL.PAT-forest-LK-lay.down-DISTR-STAT
      « il y a autant de soldats que de feuilles dans vos bois »
      'there are as many soldiers as there are leaves in your (PL) woods'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:28)

The partitive can be used to indicate a particular location or time. Example (273), which also appeared in §3.4.2, shows the partitive used as part of the verb base *.atien-* + PART 'to sit down'. In this example, the partitive indicates that the sitting down occurs in a particular location.

(273) *χa ihotien*
      kha'   **ihotien'**
      khaʔ   i-ho-at-yę-ʔ
      PROX   PART-3M.SG.PAT-MID-lay.down-STAT
      « il est assis ici »
      'he is sitting down here'
      (Potier 1751:220)

This same use of the partitive is found below in (274), an example first discussed in §3.5.2, in which this prepronominal prefix references a particular location for one's residence.

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[46] The verb base *-sken'rayeht-* 'to be a warrior' seems to contain the verb root *-yeht-* 'to carry on one's back' with an incorporated noun *-sken'r-* whose meaning is unknown. This would explain the use of the patient pronominal prefix, since *-yeht-* is a patient stative verb, i.e. it only appears in the stative aspect-mood with patient pronominal prefixes. However, if this is indeed the case, it appears that the entire unit *-sken'rayeht-* has been reanalyzed as an active verb, since it appears in this example with the habitual aspect-mood suffix, *-ahk*.

(274)   *annen istare ?*
     Hahnen' ihstare ?
     hahnę?   i-hs-nare-?
     where   PART-2SG.AGT-live-STAT
     « ou demeure tu? »
     'Where do you (SG) live?'
     (Potier 1751:279)

Example (275) shows this prepronominal prefix as part of the verb base *.atre-* + PART, DUPL

'to be at a certain distance from something else'.

(275)   *tioskeñia a te hontre*
     tiosken'nia'   ***a'tehontre'*[47]**
     ti-yo-skę?nya-?   ta?-te-hǫ-at-re-?
     PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.tiny-STAT PART-DUPL-3M.PL.AGT-MID-be.a.distance-STAT
     « ils sont peu eloignés les uns des autres »
     'they (PL) are not far from one another'
     (Potier 1751:330)

The partitive is used as part of the verb base *.ia'tata-* + PART 'to be next to someone'. In

this case, the partitive is used to indicate that something or someone is in a lateral position to

the entity referenced by the verb.[48]

(276)   *ti i̧ iatata*
     tiyia'tata'
     ti-k-ya?t-a ta-?
     PART-1SG.AGT-body-LK-be.end-STAT
     « à coté de moi, auprès de moi (là ou mon corps finit) »
     'next to me, close to me (there where my body ends)'
     (Potier 1751:359)

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[47] The loss of the initial *t* of the partitive is parallel to the loss of the initial *t* of the cislocative imperative allomorph.

[48] This particular use of the partitive as a lateral locative is also true for the Cherokee cognate *ni-* (Pulte & Feeling 1975:245, cited in Montgomery-Anderson 2015:284).

A temporal extension of the partitive is illustrated in example (277), in which the partitive

marks a particular point in time, specifically, when the corn plants are flowering.

(277) *θo ti ˌanˈˌ8iχas*
       tho   tiyänywikhas
       tho   ti-ka-nkwikh-as
       then.there   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-corn.bloom-HAB
       « quand les blés st en fleur »
       'when the corn is flowering, blooming'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:34)

Finally, the partitive can be used to mark a duration of time, such as found in example

(278), as part of the word *tiwentetsihk* 'during the entire day'.

(278) *stan ichien te 8atechientande ti 8entetsik*
       stan'   ihchien'   te'watechienhtahnde'
       stę?   ihsę?   te?-w-ate-ksę-ht-a-hn-e?
       no   really   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-be.bad-CAUS-LK-DISLOC-PURP

       tiwentetsihk
       ti-w-ęt-etsi-h-k
       PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-be.long-STAT-CONT
       « il ne fera pas mauvais de toute la journee »
       'it will not be bad weather during the entire day'
       (Potier 1751:215)

The forms of the partitive in Wendat are closest to those found in Tuscarora (*ti-*), and unlike

those that are found in the Five Nations branch of the family (*ni-*) or in Cherokee (*ni-*).[49] The

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[49] As reconstructed by Mithun (1979:164), in Tuscarora, Proto-Northern Iroquoian (PNI) **n* became *t* in most environments (aside from before a nasal vowel, or a laryngeal or **y* followed by a nasal vowel). The form of the Wendat partitive shows that Wendat also participated in this sound change, yet only in specific pockets of the language. For example, the basic allomorph of the duplicative prepronominal prefix, reconstructed to PNI **-te-* is also *-te-* in Wendat. However, PNI **n* regularly becomes *t* after *s* in Wendat, e.g. *-store-* 'to be quick, prompt, fast' is **-snore-* in PNI and reflexes in the modern Five Nations languages also show this *sn* cluster. It is possible that Wendat and Tuscarora were once a separate branch in Northern Iroquoian. During that time, the PNI **n* to *t* sound change was set in motion, but had not spread throughout the lexicon before Wendat and Tuscarora split. Further research on this particular sound change could shed light on reconstructions of the Northern Iroquoian languages.

basic forms of the Wendat partitive, i.e. those occurring in non-modal indicative verbs, vary between *ti-* and *i-*. The motivation or motivations for the distribution of *ti-* versus *i-* are unclear. The variant *-ti-* tends to occur when the preceding word ends in a consonant other than a glottal stop, as shown in (266), (267), and (269). However, examples such as (277) and (278) go against this tendency. The immediately following phonological environment also does not seem to provide any clues as to this distribution. For example, both variants, *ti-* and *i-*, can appear before the same allomorph of the third person feminine-zoic/neuter agent pronominal prefix *-w-*, as shown in (271) and (278).

Moreover, this distribution does not seem to be due to lexicalization, or in other words, it is not the case that particular forms of the partitive appear as part of certain verb bases. Example (269), in which both variants of the partitive appear as part of the same verb base, indicates that the allomorphy is not somehow selected by the lexical verb base.

There are, however, tendencies for the two allomorphs to be distributed across the various functions of the partitive. For example, the *ti-* variant is often used in comparative constructions, in which the *ti-* allomorph is prefixed to the standard to which the first entity is being compared. In example (269), his speaking style or voice, *ihawendou'tenh*, prefixed with the *i-* partitive allomorph, is compared to the addressee's speaking style or voice, *tihchiewendou'tenh*, prefixed with the *ti-* partitive allomorph. Another use of *ti-* for a comparative construction is shown in example (272). The *ti-* also tends to be used for temporal functions of the partitive, as shown in (277) and (278). Finally, the *ti-* variant seems to be used for manner, quality, and degree functions of the partitive, as illustrated by examples (266),

(267), and (268). The *i-* variant has a tendency to be used for purposes of enumeration, as shown in (270) and (271), and for marking general location, as in (273) and (274).

However, these functional distributions are only tendencies. Contrary to the tendencies mentioned above, the *ti-* variant also marks a general (lateral) location in (276), and the *i-* variant can be used in both verbs of a comparative construction, as shown below in (279), also discussed in §2.2.2.

(279) *θo ihaât8ten nendi i̧ iât8ten*
     tho   ihäa'tou'tenh
     tho   i-ha-yaʔt-oʔtę-h
     how   PART-3M.SG.AGT-body-be.certain.type-STAT

     ne   endi'   iyia'tou'tenh
     ne   ęniʔ   i-k-yaʔt-oʔtę-h
     AMPL 1EMPH PART-1SG.AGT-body-be.certain.type-STAT
     « il ē fait comme moi »
     'he is built like me'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:139)

While the other Northern Iroquoian languages aside from Wendat only have either the *ni-* or the *ti-* variant of the partitive, Cherokee has two allomorphs, including *ni-* and *ii-*, in which the latter is used on infinitive stems and derived verbs (Montgomery-Anderson 2015:287). The Cherokee partitive appears prefixed on a number of frozen particles, also with variation between the two allomorphs. The *ii-* variant appears on the particles relating to units of time, referring to 'years', 'minutes', 'hours', 'time(s)' and 'weeks', whereas the *ni-* variant appears on the particles meaning 'all' and 'always'. This distribution in Cherokee parallels that found in Wendat, with the *i-* variant occurring with enumeration and the *ti-* variant occurring in other contexts.

These examples in Wendat, along with the Cherokee evidence, point toward this allomorphy having been originally functionally motivated. Over time, it seems that the functional motivations underlying this distribution have been eroded in Wendat, leaving remnants of the distribution (now only occurring as tendencies) and a certain degree of free variation between the two allomorphs. Due to its presence in both Wendat and Cherokee, it is possible that these allomorphs and their functional distribution were present in Proto-Iroquoian, and the Iroquoian languages aside from Wendat and Cherokee regularized this allomorphy. It is also possible that this was an innovation shared by Wendat and Cherokee, and only traces of the former robust functional distribution remain in the two languages.[50]

In contexts other than non-modal indicatives, the form of the partitive is typically *Ø-*. For example, preceding any of the three modal prefixes, the form of the partitive is *Ø-*. The parallels between examples (280) and (281), which differ minimally in that the first includes a non-modal indicative verb with the partitive and the second includes a modal indicative verb with the partitive, display the distribution of these two allomorphs, *i-* and *Ø-*.

(280)   *te hiâto˛en ihatienk*
   tehia'toyenh   **ihatienhk**
   te-hi-yaʔt-okę-h   i-h-at-yę-hk
   DUPL-3M.DU.AGT-body-be.between-STAT PART-3M.SG.AGT-MID-lay.down-HAB
   « il est assis au milieu de ces 2 hões »
   'he is sitting in the middle of these two men'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:22)

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[50] Wendat and Cherokee do not form a separate branch of the family. If this hypothesis is true, it could alter the reconstruction of the family.

(281) *te tiâtoˌen âhatien*
    tetia'toyenh   **aahatien'**
    t-eti-yaʔt-okę-h   Ø-aː-h-at-yę-ʔ
    DUPL-3M.DU.AGT-body-be.between-STAT PART-OPT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-lay.down-PFV
    « q'il s'assoie au milieu de toi & de moi »
    'so that he may sit in the middle of you (SG) and me'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:22)

The form of the partitive is also *Ø-* in imperatives, as illustrated through example (282)

with the verb base *.atien-/.atient-* + PART 'to sit down'.

(282) *χa θo satien*
    Kha'   **tho**   **satienh !**
    khaʔ   tho   Ø-s-at-yę-h
    prox   there   PART-2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-lay.down-IMP
    « assois toi là »
    'Sit down (sg) there!'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:22)

Finally, as shown in (275), the form of the partitive is *a'-* when preceding the duplicative

in a non-modal indicative verb.

4.8. A note about the contrastive

The contrastive is a prepronominal prefix found in the other Northern Iroquoian languages.

However, this particular morpheme does not seem to be part of the prepronominal prefix

complex in Wendat. The function of the contrastive, as found in the other Northern Iroquoian

languages, is to signal that some event, action, or idea "is different, unusual, abnormal,

unexpected, or extreme" (Chafe 2015:51). Another of its functions is to mark negation in

contexts in which the negative prefix cannot occur, i.e. with the modal prefixes in perfective

verbs. Its basic form in the Northern Iroquoian languages is *thi-*, although before modal prefixes, its form is *th-*.

Wendat only displays traces of a particle that is the probable source of the contrastive prefix. This particle, *tha'*, is found in only a select number of examples in the corpus, and it has a contrastive meaning in the sense of 'but' or 'however'. Thus, *tha'* occurs at the beginning of the clause that introduces an event or action that is contrary to one's expectations. In these examples, this particle always appears before a verb prefixed with the partitive and negative. This rigidity in position suggests that this is a special construction used to express a contrastive meaning. Furthermore, since this form does not occur in other positions and is restricted to this one case, it seems that this morpheme has not morphologized to the verb.

This particle is found in the four examples below: (283), (284), (286), and (285). In example (283), the *tha'* particle introduces the abnormal or unusual state that individuals are not grateful, despite the generosity of the speaker.

(283) *askennonia χ'ennontenk, ta ti te onton8es*
    ahskennon'nia   khënonhtenhk   tha'   titeonton'wes
    ahskęnǫʔnya   khe-nǫhtę-hk   thaʔ   ti-teʔ-yǫ-at-ǫʔwes-Ø
    peace   1SG:3IND-give-HAB   CONTR   PART-NEG-3IND-MID-be.joyful.grateful-HAB
    « je leurs donne pr rien, sans dessein, en paix, & neanmoins ne sont pas reconnoissans »
    'I give it to them for nothing, without an ulterior motive, in peace, and nevertheless, they are not grateful'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:102)

Examples (284) and (285) both use the particle *tha'* to introduce clauses expressing behaviors that are contrary to custom or expectations. In example (284), the *tha'* particle marks the unexpected or unusual behavior of the referent not listening to the speaker, despite the speaker's commands for him to act in some manner. In example (285), the same particle

introduces the abnormal or unusual fact that the addressees are not treating someone as their

leader, despite the fact that they put him in that leadership position.

(284) *ihennhas ichien ta ti te hatrihotas*
      ihënha's   **ihchien'**
      i-he-nhaʔ-s   ihsęʔ
      PART-1SG:3M.SG-order.someone-HAB   really

      tha'   **titehatriho'tats**
      thaʔ   ti-teʔ-h-atrihoʔt-ats
      CONTR PART-NEG-3M.SG.AGT-be.attentive-HAB
      « je lui commande, mais il n'ecoute pas »
      'I order him, but he doesn't listen'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:108)

(285) *hesk8endaˌerati haondecheʻte ta ti te hesk8endaˌeraθa d'ihatonk θo atsier*
      heskwenda'yerahtih   **Haondehchehte'**
      heskw-ę-naʔker-a-ht-ih   ha-ǫnehs-keht-eʔ
      2PL:3M.SG-MID-imitate-LK-CAUS-STAT   3M.SG.AGT-land-carry.on.back-STAT

      tha'   **titeheskwenda'yeratha'**
      thaʔ   ti-teʔ-heskw-ę-naʔker-a-ht-haʔ
      CONTR PART-NEG-2PL:3M.SG-MID-imitate-LK-CAUS-HAB

      de   **ihatonhk**   **tho**   **atsier**
      ne   i-h-atǫ-hk   tho   Ø-a-tsi-yer-Ø
      AMPL PART-3M.SG.AGT-say-HAB how PART-CISLOC-2NSG.AGT.IMP-do-IMP
      « vous avez fait haondecheʻte votre capitaine et cependant vous ne le traitez pas en
      capitaine (vous ne l'imitez pas) maintenant qu'il vous dit de faire cela »
      'you (PL) have made Haondehchehte' your leader, however you don't treat him as a
      leader (you don't imitate him) now that he tells you to do so'
      (Potier 1751:274)

    Finally, the *tha'* particle is used in (286) to mark the fact that the addressee was not in the

expected location.

(286) *ˌonâtichiâʻχonʻnen, ta ti te chitontak*
      yona'tihchiakhonhnen'   **tha'**   **titehchi'trontahk**
      kǫ-yaʔt-ihsak-h-ǫh-nęʔ   thaʔ   ti-teʔ-hs-iʔtrǫt-Ø-ahk
      1SG:2SG-body-search-DISLOC-STAT-PAST CONTR PART-NEG-2SG.AGT-be.in.place-STAT-PAST
      « je suis allé te chercher, mais tu n'y etois pas »
      'I went to look for you (SG), but you (SG) weren't there'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:205)

Unlike its cognates in the other Northern Iroquoian languages, this particle did not morphologize and then analogize its forms to fit the phonological patterns of the prefixes found in its shared position, the coincident and partitive. Although the contrastive is not a prepronominal prefix in 17th and 18th century Wendat, if intergenerational transmission of the language had not been interrupted, it is possible that the source particle *tha'* could have later grammaticalized as it did in the other Northern Iroquoian languages.

4.9. Prepronominal prefix combinations

While previous sections of this chapter treated the forms and functions of each individual non-modal prepronominal prefix, this section discusses combinations of prepronominal prefixes with one another as well as combinations of non-modal and modal prepronominal prefixes. The basic non-modal prepronominal prefix complex, schematicized in Figure 9, shows the positions of the seven non-modal prepronominal prefixes in relation to one another. However, the positions of the three modal prefixes — the factual, and the future and the optative — are interspersed among these seven prefixes. The positions of both the non-modal and modal prepronominal prefixes are schematized in Figure 11.

Partitive	Coincident	Translocative	**Factual**	Duplicative	**Future**	Cislocative	Pronominal Prefix
	Negative				**Optative**	Repetitive	

Figure 11: The prepronominal prefixes

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Forms of the prepronominal prefixes in all of the various environments are summarized in Table 24. The first row of the table shows the basic forms of the modal prefixes, i.e. the forms without any attached non-modal prefix. The remaining rows of the table display forms of the seven non-modal prefixes in non-modal indicatives, in combination with each modal prefix, and finally, in the imperative mood.

Prepronominal Prefix	Non-modal Indicative	With the Factual Modal Prefix	With the Future Modal Prefix	With the Optative Modal Prefix	Imperative
[none]	---	a'-, a-^{h}, Ø-^{2}	e-	aa-, a-^{2}	---
Cislocative	et-, eti-^{2}, ek-^{w}	onta-, ont-^{2}	et-, eti-^{2}, ek-^{w}	aonta-, aont-^{2}	a-
Repetitive	s-, ts-^{y}, tsi-^{2}	onsa-, ons-^{2}	es-, ets-^{y}, etsi-^{2}	aonsa-, aons-^{2}	sa-, onsa-[51]
Duplicative	te-	a't-, a'ti-^{2}, a'k-^{w}	te-	taa-, ta-^{2}	ti-
Translocative	he-	ha'-, ha-^{h}, h-^{2}	he-	haa-, ha-^{2}	ha-
Coincident	chi-	chia'-, chia-^{h}, chi-^{2}	chie-	chiaa-, chia-^{2}	chia-
Negative	te'-, te-^{h}	---	---	---	---
Partitive	ti-, i-	a'-, a-^{h}, Ø-^{2} (same as modal alone)	e- (same as modal alone)	aa-, a-^{2} (same as modal alone)	Ø-

Table 24: The forms of the prepronominal prefixes

Superscripts next to individual forms in the table indicate particular environments in which those forms occur. The superscript with the numeral 2 indicates that that form occurs before a subset of intransitive pronominal prefixes which includes the second person patient prefixes (singular, dual, and plural), the second person dual and plural agent prefixes, and the first

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[51] The distribution of *sa-* versus *onsa-* is unclear since the variants occur with the same imperative pronominal prefixes.

person inclusive dual and plural agent prefixes.[52] The superscripts *y, w,* and *h* indicate that those allomorphs occur before pronominal prefixes beginning in those segments. In other words, forms marked with *y* occur before pronominal prefixes beginning with /y/ (with the subsequent loss of /y/), those marked with *w* occur before pronominal prefixes beginning in *w,* and finally, the forms marked with *h* occur before pronominal prefixes beginning in *h.*

There are fifteen combinations of two or three non-modal prepronominal prefixes that are attested in the corpus of Wendat. The phonological forms of these combinations are summarized in Table 25 and the meanings assigned to the superscripts remain the same as those found in the previous table.

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[52] As mentioned in §4.2 with respect to the allomorphy of the cislocative, this subset of intransitive pronominal prefixes contains an initial *e* in word-medial environments, which causes this special allomorphy for certain prepronominal prefixes and combinations of prepronominal prefixes and modal prefixes.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Non-modal Indicative	With the Factual	With the Future	With the Optative	Imperative
Duplicative and cislocative	tet-, teti-^{2}, tek-^{w}	tonta-, tont-^{2}	tet-, teti-^{2}, tek-^{w}	taonta-, taont-^{2}	ta-, tonta-
Duplicative and repetitive	tes-, tets-^{y}, tetsi-^{2}	tonsa-, tons-^{2}	tes-, tets-^{y}, tetsi-^{2}	taonsa-, taons-^{2}	tonsa-
Translocative and repetitive	hes-, hets-^{y}, hetsi-^{2}	honsa-, hons-^{2}	hes-, hets-^{y}, hetsi-^{2}	haonsa-, haons-^{2}	---[53]
Translocative and duplicative	ha'te-	ha't-, ha'ti-^{2}, ha'k-^{w}	ha'te-	ha'taa-, ha'ta-^{2}	ha'ti- or hati-
Coincident and duplicative	chia'te-	chia't-, chia'ti-^{2}, chia'k-^{w}	chia'te-	chia'taa-, chia'ta-^{2}	chia'ti-
Negative and cislocative	te't-, te'ti-^{2}, te'k-^{w}	---	---	---	---
Negative and repetitive	te's-, te'ts-^{y}, te'tsi-^{2}	---	---	---	---
Negative and duplicative	ta'te-	---	---	---	---
Negative, duplicative and cislocative	ta'tet-, ta'tek-^{w}	---	---	---	---
Negative, duplicative and repetitive	ta'tes-	---	---	---	---
Negative and translocative	the'-	---	---	---	---
Negative, translocative, and repetitive	the's-, the'ts-^{y}, the'tsi-^{2}	---	---	---	---
Partitive and repetitive	(t)is-, (t)its-^{y}, (t)itsi-^{2}	onsa-, ons-^{2} (same as repetitive and modal)	es-, ets-^{y}, etsi-^{2} (same as repetitive and modal)	aonsa-, aons-^{2} (same as repetitive and modal)	sa- (same as repetitive alone)
Partitive and duplicative	a'te-	a't-, a'ti-^{2}, a'k-^{w}	a'te-	a'taa-, a'ta-^{2}	a'ti- or ati-
Partitive and negative	tite'-, tite-^{h}	---	---	---	---

Table 25: The forms of prepronominal prefix combinations

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[53] The translocative and repetitive do not seem to co-occur in imperatives. Instead, an alternative construction seems to have been used. For example, the construction *θo saset*, reconstructed to *tho saseht*, is listed in the manuscript grammar of Potier (1745:45) and means 'Go (SG) back there!'. The only prepronominal prefix on this verb is the repetitive *sa-*, but the particle *tho* 'there' signals that the motion is toward a distant location.

Examples of each of these attested fifteen prepronominal combinations are found below. The ordering of the examples, as well as the ordering of the combinations in Table 25, follows the prepronominal prefix complex, starting with the slots closest to the pronominal prefixes and moving toward the edge of the verb. The first of these combinations is the duplicative and the cislocative. As mentioned in §4.3, the duplicative is used with the cislocative as a substitute for the repetitive. In these combinations, the duplicative adds a sense of 'returning', as shown in examples (287), (288), and (289).

(287) *tontasehent*
       Tontasehent !
       tǫta-se-hęt-Ø
       DUPL.CISLOC.IMP-2SG.AGT.IMP-lead-IMP
       « reviens le premier »
       'Come back first, in first place!'
       (Potier 1744:101)

Examples (288) and (289) have the same phonological form, but were given two possible glosses in the manuscript. These two examples can indeed be parsed differently, the first as a purposive construction, and the second as a modal purposive construction with the future modal prefix.

(288) *θo aat t'eke*
       tho   aaht   teke'
       tho   a:ht   te-t-k-e-ʔ
       then   extremely DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.AGT-go-PURP
       « je reviens toute à l'heure »
       'I'm coming back soon'
       (Potier 1745:39)

(289) *θo aat t'eke*
    tho   **aaht**   **teke'**
    tho   a:ht   t-e-t-k-e-ʔ
    then   extremely   DUPL-FUT-CISLOC-1SG.AGT-go-PURP
    « je reviendrai »
    'I will come back soon'
    (Potier 1745:39)

The duplicative can also co-occur with the repetitive, as shown in example (290), also discussed in §2.2.2, in which the duplicative and repetitive are part of the verb base *.ia'tahkwen-* 'to take someone away from someone else'.

(290) *t'onsaon˛8âta'k8en de hoeña*
    tonsaonywäa'tahkwen'
    t-ǫsa-yǫkwa-yaʔt-a-hkw-ę-ʔ
    DUPL-REP.FACT-1PL.PAT-body-LK-take.pick.up-BEN-PFV

    de   **hoen'ah**
    ne   ho-yę-ʔ=ah
    AMPL   3FZ.SG:3M.SG-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
    « elle no' vient d'enlever son fils (q. v.g. etoit venu no' visiter) »
    'she just took her son away from us (e.g. who had come to visit us)'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:117)

Moving to combinations with the translocative, this prepronominal prefix can co-occur with the repetitive, as in (291), an example previously discussed in §4.2.

(291) *eskeθa*
    hesketha'
    h-es-k-e-ht-haʔ
    TRANS-REP-1SG.AGt-go-DIR-HAB
    « je retourne souvent là »
    'I go back there often'
    (Potier 1745:43)

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The translocative and duplicative co-occur with a lexicalized signification of 'all' or 'every'. Example (292), previously discussed in §4.4, shows the translocative and duplicative combining to mean 'all of the houses'.

(292) *a te ˌannonske*
       ha'teyänonhskeh
       haʔ-te-ya-nǫhs-ke-h
       TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.so.many-STAT
       « dans toutes les cabanes »
       'in all of the houses'
       (Potier 1751:243)

In the Wendat corpus, the coincident only appears in combination with one other non-modal prepronominal prefix, the duplicative. Example (293), also discussed in §4.5, illustrates this attested combination.

(293) *chia ti saʿt*
       Chia'tisaht !
       tshaʔ-ti-s-a-ht-Ø
       COIN-DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-be.a.size-CAUS-IMP
       « divise cela en 2 parties egales, prens-en la moitie »
       'Divide (SG) this in two equal parts; take (SG) half of it!'
       (Potier 1751:161)

The negative morpheme, the only inflectional morpheme of the prepronominal prefixes, occurs with many of the non-modal prepronominal prefixes. It co-occurs with the cislocative prepronominal prefix in example (294), with the repetitive in (295), previously discussed in §3.5.1, and with the duplicative in (296), previously discussed in §4.3.

(294) *a'son te kenheonche's*
       ahsonh   te'kenheonhche's
       ahsǫh   teʔ-t-ka-iheyǫ-hs-eʔs
       yet   NEG-CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-die-DISLOC-HAB
       « elle n'est pas encore sur le point de mourir, elle n'en mourra pas encore »
       'she is not yet going to die'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:232)

(295) *te skienteri n'on̜ ita*
       te'skienterih   **ne**   **onyita'**
       teʔ-s-k-yęter-ih   ne   aʔ-wak-ita-ʔ-Ø
       NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-know-STAT   AMPL   FACT-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-PFV
       « je ne sçaurois plus dormir »
       'I do not know how to sleep anymore'
       (Potier 1751:389)

(296) *stanta te sari*
       stan'   ta'tesarih
       stęʔ   taʔ-t-esa-ri-h
       no   NEG-DUPL-2SG.PAT-put.on.shoes-STAT
       « tu n'es pas chaussé »
       'you're (SG) not wearing shoes'
       (Potier 1751:346)

The negative, duplicative, and cislocative prepronominal prefixes appear together in

example (297), with a derived form of the verb root *-e-* 'to go'.

(297) *stanta t'eketande*
       stan'   ta'tekehtahnde'
       stęʔ   taʔ-te-t-k-e-ht-a-hn-eʔ
       no   NEG-DUPL-CISLOC-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-LK-DISLOC-PURP
       « je ne reviendrai pas »
       'I'm not coming back'
       (Potier 174X:35)

The negative, duplicative, and repetitive co-occur in example (298), also discussed in §4.6.

(298) *aʻson ta te sʻaθas*
  ahsonh   taʼteshathas
  ahsǫh   taʔ-te-s-ha-t-h-as
  yet   NEG-DUPL-REP-3M.SG.AGT-be.standing-INCH-HAB
  « il ne se releve point encore, de aegroto »
  'he is not yet getting back up (from being sick)'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:199)

The negative and translocative can also co-occur, as illustrated by example (299).

(299) *stantʻe̗ eʻtandend*
  stanʼ   theʼyehtahndend
  stę̨ʔ   theʔ-k-e-ht-a-hn-eʔ-n
  no   NEG.TRANS-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-LK-DISLOC-PURP-PAST
  « je n'irois pas là »
  'I wasn't intending to go there'
  (Potier 1745:45)

Additionally, the negative, translocative, and repetitive can combine. Examples (300) and

(301), also discussed in §2.3, show the combination of these three prepronominal prefixes.

(300) *stantʻesketande*
  stanʼ   theʼskehtahndeʼ
  stę̨ʔ   theʔ-s-k-e-ht-a-hn-eʔ
  no   NEG.TRANS-REP-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-LK-DISLOC-PURP
  « non eo revertar »
  'I'm not going to go back there'
  (Potier 1745:44)

(301) *stantʻesk8ese*
  stanʼ   theʼskweseʼ
  stę̨ʔ   theʔ-s-w-e-s-eʔ
  no   NEG.TRANS-REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DISLOC-PURP
  « non revertetr de fæmina »
  'she's not going to return'
  (Potier 1745:44)

The last of the seven non-modal prepronominal prefixes, the partitive, can combine with

the repetitive, the duplicative, and the negative. The partitive and repetitive combination is

shown in example (302). Example (303), also discussed in §4.7, shows the co-occurrence of the partitive and the duplicative, and example (304), discussed in §4.8, shows the partitive and negative combination.

(302)   *θo itsorhendi ti shoon ?*
       Tho   itsorhen'ndih
       tho   i-ts-yo-rhę-ʔn-ih
       how.many   PART-REP-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-day.arrive-INCH-STAT

       tishöonh ?
       ti-s-ho-yǫ-h
       PART-REP-3M.SG.PAT-arrive.enter-STAT
       « depuis combien de jours est il de retour »
       'How many days has it been since he returned?'
       (Potier 1751:343)

(303)   *tioskeñia a te hontre*
       tiosken'nia'   **a'tehontre'**
       ti-yo-skęʔnya-ʔ   taʔ-te-hǫ-at-re-ʔ
       PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.tiny-STAT   PART-DUPL-3M.PL.AGT-MID-be.a.distance-STAT
       « ils sont peu eloignés les uns des autres »
       'they (PL) are not far from one another'
       (Potier 1751:330)

(304)   ˌ*onâtichiâˈχonˈnen, ta ti te chitontak*
       yona'tihchiakhonhnen'   **tha'**   **titehchi'trontahk**
       kǫ-yaʔt-ihsak-h-ǫh-nęʔ   thaʔ   ti-teʔ-hs-iʔtrǫt-Ø-ahk
       1SG:2SG-body-search-DISLOC-STAT-PAST   CONTR   PART-NEG-2SG.AGT-be.in.place-STAT-PAST
       « je suis allé te chercher, mais tu n'y etois pas »
       'I went to look for you (SG), but you (SG) weren't there'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:205)

These fifteen combinations of non-modal prepronominal prefixes are the only ones attested in the Wendat corpus. However, further combinations are possible and attested in other Northern Iroquoian languages. For example, the partitive can co-occur with the cislocative and the translocative in the related languages, yet the partitive does not seem to occur with either

of these locative prepronominal prefixes in Wendat.[54] Also, unlike the other Northern Iroquoian languages, the Wendat partitive cannot co-occur with two other non-modal prepronominal prefixes in the same verb base, yet the combination of the partitive, duplicative, and repetitive can occur in these languages. The Wendat translocative also displays this same restriction, as it does not appear with the duplicative and repetitive in the same verb base, but can in the other languages. The coincident also co-occurs with other non-modal prepronominal prefixes in the Northern Iroquoian languages aside from Wendat, including the repetitive and the cislocative. However, the Wendat coincident only occurs with the duplicative.

On the other hand, in Wendat, the partitive and negative can co-occur in the same verb base. However, in the other Northern Iroquoian languages, neither the negative nor the contrastive can co-occur with the partitive.

Other combinations of non-modal prepronominal prefixes are incompatible in both Wendat and the other Northern Iroquoian languages, either for semantic reasons or for position restrictions. For example, the translocative and the cislocative do not co-occur because their meanings contradict one another. The negative does not occur with any modal prefix since negation is semantically incompatible with the concepts underlying modality in these languages.[55] The negative, translocative, and duplicative do not co-occur, although it is a logical possibility. This is most likely due to the fact that the lexicalized meaning of the translocative and duplicative, indicating the totality of a referent or referents, is semantically incompatible with negation. Finally, prefixes that appear in the same position in the

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[54] It is possible that the partitive does not appear with these locative prepronominal prefixes because this prefix itself has locative functions, specifically to mark a lateral position or a general location.
[55] Seneca is an exception to this rule since the negative prefix can occur with the factual and the optative modal prefixes (Chafe 2015:52).

prepronominal prefix template, such as the cislocative and the repetitive, cannot co-occur either.

In summary, while these fifteen combinations of non-modal prepronominal prefixes and the larger set of combinations of non-modal and modal prepronominal prefixes are presented as they appear in the Wendat corpus, it is possible that further additions to the Wendat corpus, i.e. through the discovery of additional archival documentation, will change the portrait of these prepronominal prefix combinations.

4.10. Conclusion

The present chapter discussed the seven non-modal prepronominal prefixes that are found in Wendat. These non-modal prepronominal prefixes are part of the complex verb base in Wendat. The following chapters treat the other components of the complex verb base, including the voice prefixes, discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 5), noun incorporation (Chapter 6), and the derivational suffixes (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5

The Complex Verb Base: The Voice

Prefixes

The present chapter describes the two voice prefixes in Wendat — the middle voice (§5.1) and the reflexive (§5.2) — with respect to their forms, functions, and semantics. The position of these prefixes in the verb template is immediately after the pronominal prefixes, as shown in Figure 12.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Voice Prefixes	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffixes	Aspect-Mood Suffixes	Expanded Aspect Suffixes

Figure 12: Position of voice prefixes in Wendat verb template

Synchronically, these voice prefixes are mutually exclusive, meaning that the middle voice prefix cannot be preceded by the reflexive prefix or vice versa. The basic forms of these prefixes, the middle voice *-at-* and the reflexive *-atat-*, however, suggest a diachronic development involving reduplication. A more detailed discussion of the development of these prefixes is in §5.3.

5.1. Middle voice

Middle voice is a notoriously difficult category to define, due to its wide range of functions and semantic interpretations both in individual languages and typologically. This prefix, called the semi-reflexive in most of the Iroquoian literature, was first described as a middle voice marker by Lounsbury (1953:72).[56]

The functions of the Wendat middle voice marker closely adhere to Kemmer's (1993) cross-linguistic analysis of this phenomenon. In this work, Kemmer (1993:238) describes middle voice as primarily a semantic category, rather than a grammatical one, stating that "the semantic middle is a coherent but relatively diffuse category that comprises a set of loosely linked semantic subdomains centering roughly around the direct reflexive". In other words, for both the middle voice and the reflexive, the initiator of the action, or the agent, is coreferential with the entity affected by the action, or the patient. Middle voice is differentiated from the reflexive, however, since there is a "greater conceptual fusion" between the initiator of the action and the endpoint of the action (94). Thus, the initiator and the affected entity, or endpoint, are distinguished to a lesser degree than is the case with reflexives. Kemmer points out that this may be due to the fact that middle verbs typically have *expected* or *necessary* coreference between these two participant roles.

The middle voice marker in Wendat follows the cross-linguistic analysis of Kemmer (1993) with some added wrinkles regarding semantic domains (cf. Lukaniec 2011). This

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[56] The middle voice prefix is still called the *semi-reflexive* or *semireflexive* by many Iroquoianists, e.g. Michelson & Doxtator (2002:124) for Oneida; Rudes (1999:696) for Tuscarora; and Woodbury (2018:237) for Onondaga. In an earlier analysis, Chafe (1967:26) uses the term *reflexive* for this morpheme in Seneca. Chafe (2015:56), however, uses the term *middle voice* for this morpheme.

middle marker occurs in the verbal structure after the pronominal prefix but before any incorporated noun root and the verb root.

For Wendat, the general function of the middle voice marker is to indicate that the agent is initiating the action for himself or herself, and that these actions are typically ones in which it is expected, or even necessary, that the agent and patient of the action are the same entity. Semantically, the types of actions and events encoded by middle verbs fall into various categories, most of which have been identified typologically by Kemmer (1993). The following examples touch upon the various semantic categories that are encoded by the Wendat middle voice. A more detailed discussion of the Wendat middle voice marker and its semantics can be found in Lukaniec (2011).

One of the major semantic domains in which middle markers typically appear, as identified through Kemmer's (1993) cross-linguistic study, is body actions, including grooming and body care. The Wendat middle indeed appears as part of verb bases pertaining to grooming and hygiene, including verbs meaning 'to wash oneself', as in (305), 'to wash one's hands', as in (306), and 'to dress oneself', as in (307), also discussed in §2.3.

(305)   *Satiâtohare*
        Satia'tohareh !
        s-at-yaʔt-ohare-h
        2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-body-wash-IMP
        « lave toi »
        'Wash (SG) yourself!'
        (Ms 60 n.d.:197)

(306) *i̱erhe â̱akonꞌrêsoharej*
iyerhe'   **aayakonhresohare'**
i-k-erh-eʔ   aː-k-at-kǫhres-ohare-ʔ
PROTH-1SG.AGT-think.want-HAB   OPT-1SG.AGT-MID-hand-wash-PFV
« je veux laver mes mains »
'I want to wash my hands'
(Ms 60 n.d.:197)

(307) *tsatiatachonnia*
Tsatia'tahchondiah !
ts-at-yaʔt-a-hsrǫni-ah
2NSG.AGT.IMP-MID-body-LK-prepare-IMP
« vo' 2 habillez vo' »
'Dress yourselves!'
(Ms 60 n.d.:173)

Similarly, the middle marker is also commonly used in verbs relating to natural processes or actions of the body. Example (308) shows the middle voice prefix as part of a verb base denoting a natural process of the body: *-atonni-* 'to breathe'. In (309), the middle prefix is part of the verb base *-atiehwat-* representing a natural bodily state, 'to stay awake'.

(308) *ak8eθa i8aia shatonies*
akwe'tha' iwa'ah   shatonnie's
akweʔthaʔ   iwaʔah   s-h-at-ǫny-eʔs
barely   little   REP-3M.SG.AGT-MID-breathe-HAB
« a peine respire t'il encore un peu »
'he is barely still breathing'
(Potier 1744:215)

(309) ˌandata8eti aˌotïëh8at !
      yändataweti'   **ayotiehwat**[57]
      ka-nat-a-weti-ʔ   yako-at-yehwat-Ø
      3FZ/N.SG.AGT-village-LK-be.all.everything-STAT   3IND.PAT-MID-stay.awake-STAT
      « tout veille dans le village »
      'everyone is staying awake in the village'
      (Potier 1751:218)

Within the body actions domain, the Wendat middle voice occurs with certain verbs signifying motion, either non-translational or translational.[58] Non-translational motion is typically contained in the immediate space of the body and does not involve moving along a defined path through space. Non-translational motion verbs, such as *-atehiahchiondiat-* 'to extend one's arm(s)' in (310), and *-atia'ta't-/-atia'ta'ton-* 'to bend down or over, to stoop' in (311), also discussed in §2.3, contain the middle voice marker.

(310) *sateiachiondiat*
      Satehiahchiondiat !
      s-ate-hyahs-yǫni-a-t-Ø
      2SG.AGT-MID-arm-extend-LK-CAUS-IMP
      « etends [ton bras] »
      'Extend your (SG) arm!'
      (Potier 1744:167)

(311) *ahatiatata*
      ahatia'ta'ta'
      aʔ-h-at-yaʔt-a-ʔkt-aʔ
      FACT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-body-LK-bend.curve-PFV
      « il s'est courbé »
      'he stooped, bent down'
      (Potier 1751:368)

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[57] The verb root *-iehwat-* is probably a complex verb base containing the verb root *-ie-* 'to wake up' and the causative suffix *-hw-*. The final segments of this sequence could contain another causative suffix *-t-*, yet the aspect-mood suffix allomorphy following this derivational suffix is not what would be expected if such a causative suffix were attached. The stative suffix, analyzed here as *-Ø-*, is also a rare allomorph for this aspect-mood.

[58] Kemmer (1993:56) adopted the terms *translational motion* and *nontranslational motion* from Talmy (1985).

The referent of a middle-marked non-translational motion verb can also be non-human, as in (312), also discussed in §2.3, where the entity in motion is a piece of wood.

(312)　*te 8atientatonch*
　　　　tewatienta'tonhch[59]
　　　　te-w-at-yęt-a-ʔktǫ-hs
　　　　DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-stick-LK-bend.curve-HAB
　　　　« le baton se plie »
　　　　'the stick is bending'
　　　　(Potier 1751:368)

Translational motion verbs, many of which are affixed with the Wendat middle marker, describe motion along a path. In example (313), the middle voice allomorph *-at-* is part of the verb base *.atokhw-* + DUPL which describes the translational motion of diving. Another example of a middle-marked verb of translational motion is *-atondehchatase-* 'to go around the land', as shown in (314).

(313)　*te ontoχ8as ̦entson*
　　　　teontokhwas　　　　　　　**yentsonh**
　　　　te-yǫ-at-othw-as　　　　　　　ka-itsǫ-h
　　　　DUPL-3IND.AGT-MID-dive-HAB　3FZ/N.SG.AGT-fish-NSF
　　　　« les poissons plong. »
　　　　'the fish are diving [into the water]'
　　　　(Potier 1751:194)

(314)　*ahatondechatase*
　　　　ahatondehchatase'
　　　　aʔ-h-at-ǫnehs-a-tase-ʔ
　　　　FACT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-land-LK-turn-PFV
　　　　« il a fait le tour »
　　　　'he went around the land'
　　　　(Potier 1751:360)

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[59] There are two variants of the verb root 'to bend, curve', the first being *-'t-* which appears in the perfective, as shown in (311), and the second being *-'ton-*, shown in this example, which appears in all other aspect-moods.

Finally, verbs indicating a change in body posture, the last component of the body action semantic domain, also appear frequently with middle markers. Example (315), also discussed in §2.3, shows the middle voice prefix as part of the verb base -akenh- 'to get up (from a horizontal position)', and example (316), previously discussed in §3.4.2, shows the same middle marker as part of the verb base .atien-/.atient- + PART 'to sit down'. Example (317), also discussed in §2.3, illustrates the use of the middle marker in the verb base -enditar- 'to lie down'.

(315) *sakenk*
       Sakenhk !
       s-at-kẹh-k
       2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-raise-IMP
       « leve toi »
       'Get (SG) up [from lying down]!'
       (Potier 1751:244)

(316) *χa ihotien*
       kha'   ihotien'
       khaʔ   i-ho-at-yẹ-ʔ
       PROX   PART-3M.SG.PAT-MID-lay.down-STAT
       « il est assis ici »
       'he is sitting down here'
       (Potier 1751:220)

(317) *θo senditaren*
       Tho   senditarenh !
       tho   s-ẹn-itakr-ẹh
       there   2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-lie.down-IMP
       « couche toi là »
       'Lie down (SG) there!'
       (Potier 1751:390)

The second major domain of middle marking cross-linguistically is related to cognition, and middle markers commonly appear on verbs describing cognitive, sensory, linguistic, and

emotive events (Kemmer 1993:127). The Wendat middle appears with certain verbs of emotion, including the verb 'to rejoice', as shown in (318), and the verb 'to be happy; to be rich', as shown in (319).

(318) *ehatonnharen*
       ehatonnhahren'
       e-h-at-ǫnh-a-hr-ę?
       FUT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-life-LK-put.on-PFV
       « il se rejouira »
       'he will rejoice'
       (Potier 1744:257)

(319) *a˛ok8asti*
       ayokwahstih
       yako-at-wahst-ih
       3IND.PAT-MID-be.good.beautiful-STAT
       « ils sont dans un etat de bonheur »
       'they are in a state of happiness'
       (Potier 1751:169)

The middle voice prefix also appears on some verbs denoting emotive speech acts. Example (320) illustrates the middle marker occurring as part of the verb base 'to mock someone', and example (321), previously discussed in §4.3, shows the middle prefix as a component of the verb base 'to cry out, whoop'.

(320) *asa˛otiesk8en d'echiaha*
       a'shayotieskwen'   *de*   **echia'ahah**
       a?-shako-at-yeskw-ę-?   ne   ye-ksa-?=ah=ah
       FACT-3M.SG:3IND-MID-laugh-BEN-PFV AMPL   3IND.AGT-child-STAT=DIM=DIM
       « il se moque des enfans…il s'en est pris aux enfans »
       'he mocked the children'
       (Potier 1751:232)

(321) *te hondatontari'ti*
tehöndatontarihtih
te-hon-at-ǫtar-i-ht-ih
DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-MID-lake-fill-CAUS-STAT
« ils ont fait des huées »
'they (NSG) have cried out'
(Potier 1744:162)

In addition to emotive speech acts, the middle marker occurs with some verbs signifying

speech actions, as in (322) with *-akwendierih-* 'to speak honestly, directly' and in (323)

with *-akwendöndaht-* 'to speak louder, to raise one's voice'.

(322) *sakwendierik*
Sakwendierihk !
s-at-węn-yeri-h-k
2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-voice-be.right.straight-INCH-IMP
« parle franchement, rondement, sans tourner au tour du pot, sans biaiser »
'Talk (SG) frankly, directly, without beating around the bush, or biasing it!'
(Potier 1751:229)

(323) *Sak8endonda't*
Sakwendöndaht !
s-at-węn-onaht-Ø
2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-voice-enlarge-IMP
« parle plus haut, grossis ta voix »
'Speak (SG) louder, make your voice bigger!'
(Ms 60 n.d.:170)

Verb bases denoting cognitive events, such as *-atrihwänienst-* 'to learn; to study' in (324),

also discussed in §2.3, and *-en'ndiyonhraen-/-en'ndiyonhraent-* 'to deliberate; to ponder about

something; to apply one's mind to a matter' in (325), also commonly occur with the middle

voice marker.

(324) *Satrih8añiensθa*
       Satrihwänienstah !
       s-at-rihw-a-wyę-st-ah
       2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-matter.affair-know.how-CAUS-IMP
       « apprend cette chose ; etudie là, exerce toi a t'en bien instruire »
       'Learn (SG) this thing, study it, make an effort to instruct yourself well!'
       (Potier 1751:266)

(325) *ahondi˛onraen d'hatih8annens*
       ahon'ndiyonhraen'[60]   ***de***   ***hatiyowänen's***
       aʔ-họ-ę-ʔnikọhr-a-yę-ʔ   ne   hati-kowanę-h-ʔs
       FACT-3M.PL.AGT-MID-mind-LK-lay.down-PFV   AMPL   3M.PL.AGT-be.big.grand-STAT-STAT.DISTR
       « les anciens deliberent »
       'the Elders are deliberating'
       (Potier 1751:219)

A final category within the cognitive domain of middle marking pertains to verbs of perception. For example, the verb base *-ateskhwaht-* 'to smell, sniff' contains the middle voice prefix, as illustrated in (326), also discussed in §2.3. A verb base denoting visual perception, *-akahnr-* 'to look (at)', also contains the middle marker, as shown in (327).

(326) *Satesχ8at*
       Sateskhwaht !
       s-ate-shw-a-ht-Ø
       2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-smell-LK-CAUS-IMP
       « sens, flaire cela »
       'Smell (SG) it, sniff it!'
       (Potier 1751:354)

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[60] The verb base *-en'ndiyonhraen-/-en'ndiyonhraent-* 'to deliberate; to ponder about something; to apply one's mind to a matter' takes a-stem pronominal prefixes instead of en-stem forms. The reasons for this irregular pronominal allomorphy are not clear at this time.

(327)   *ti saka'nnren*
        Tisakahrenh !
        ti-s-at-kahnr-ęh
        DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-look-IMP
        « regarde cela »
        'Look (SG) at that!'
        (Ms 60 n.d.:315)

The indirect middle, a term developed by Kemmer (1993:78), is another semantic domain of middle marking which pertains to "actions that one *normally* or *necessarily* performs for one's own benefit". In other words, in indirect middles, the agent acts for his or her own benefit. This type of middle marking is most evident with verbs pertaining to acquiring or coming into possession of some entity. For example, in (328), the middle marker is a component of the verb meaning 'to take over, to take possession of someone's house'. In (329), the middle marker is part of the verb base *-atrihohkwändaht-* 'to appropriate a public or common good for oneself'. Finally, example (330) shows the middle marker occurring as part of the verb base *-atenhndinon-* 'to buy or sell'.

(328)   *skennonchiostandik*
        skennonhchïoständihk
        sk-ę-nǫhs-iyo-st-a-ni-hk
        2SG:1SG-MID-house-be.big.beautiful-CAUS-LK-BEN-HAB
        « tu t'approprie ma maison »
        'you're taking over my house'
        (Potier 1744:167)

(329)   *ahatrihok8anda't*
        ahatrihohkwändaht
        aʔ-h-at-rihw-ohkwan-a-ht-Ø
        FACT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-matter.affair-swallow-LK-CAUS-PFV
        « il a soustrait un present public, se l'est approprié »
        'he took away a common good, he appropriated it for himself'
        (Potier 1751:374)

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(330) *taoten chiatendinnonk ?*
       Ta'ohten' chiatenhndinonhk ?
       ta?ohtę?   hs-atę-hninǫ-hk
       what   2SG.AGT-MID-desire-HAB
       « que veux tu acheter ? »
       'What do you (SG) want to buy?'
       (Potier 1751:292)

Events which are naturally reciprocal, also described by Kemmer (1993:95), commonly appear with a middle voice marker. For example, the naturally reciprocal events of 'quarreling' and 'fighting' appear with the middle voice prefix in Wendat, as illustrated in (331) and (332), respectively.

(331) *ahiak8e*
       ahiakwe'
       a?-hi-at-we-?
       FACT-3M.DU.AGT-MID-quarrel-PFV
       « ils se sont querellés tous 2 »
       'they (M, DU) quarreled with one another'
       (Potier 1751:273)

(332) *hachiend8annen a̧iatrioch*
       hahchiendowänenh   **ayiatriohch**
       ha-hsęn-owanę-h   yaki-at-ryo-hs
       3M.SG.AGT-name-be.big.grand-STAT   1DU.EXCL.AGT-MID-kill.fight-HAB
       « je me bats contre un considerable »
       'I'm fighting against an important person'
       (Potier 1751:270)

Similarly, naturally collective events, in which the action is performed or achieved by a group rather than an individual or individuals, are other instances in which the semantics of the event lend itself well to middle marking (Kemmer 1993:123). For example, the naturally collective verb base *-atiest-* 'for people to assemble, gather' contains the middle voice marker *-at-*.

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(333) *aˌotiesti*
       ayotiestih
       yako-at-yest-ih
       3IND.PAT-MID-amass.assemble-STAT
       « ils sont assemblés »
       'they are assembled, gathered together'
       (Potier 1751:233)

The semantics of middle voice, in which not only is there expected coreference between the agent and patient of the action, but these semantic roles are actually minimally distinguished from one another, has clear implications for the argument structure of the verb. Grammatically, the middle voice marker, when prefixed to a transitive verb base, detransitivizes the verb base. When affixed to an intransitive verb base, the valency of the verb base remains intransitive. While most middle verbs are semantically and morphologically intransitive, and thus take intransitive pronominal prefixes, not all verbs with a middle voice marker are intransitive, semantically or morphologically. Two of the preceding examples in this section, (320) and (328), contain middle-marked verbs with transitive prefixes. These instances of transitivity are caused by further derivations of the middle-marked verb, in which a valency-increasing suffix adds an argument to the (middle-marked) intransitive verb. Indeed, the transitive middle-marked verb bases in examples (320) and (328) both contain the benefactive applicative, which adds a core argument (grammatical patient) to the verb.[61]

Aside from grammatically encoding the expected, and often necessary, coreference between the agent and the patient, the valency-decreasing function of the middle voice marker can also serve to background the agent. This function of the middle voice marker is similar to that of a passive, in which the agent is defocused. In this passive-like construction, the single

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[61] Further details about the benefactive applicative are in §7.3.

argument of the verb must be encoded with the third person feminine-zoic/neuter singular pronominal prefix.[62] This passive-like function of the middle marker occurs in (334), (335), and (336), where the agent in each of these examples is backgrounded.

(334)   *otehiaton'non*
       otehiatonhnon'
       yo-ate-hyatǫ-hnǫ-ʔ
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-write-DISTR-STAT
       « cela est ecrit en plusieurs endroits en plusieurs facons »
       'this is written in multiple places, in multiple ways'
       (Potier 1744:12)

(335)   *ak8atechira8a*
       a'kwatehchirawa'
       aʔ-t-w-ate-hsir-a-kw-aʔ
       FACT-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-plug.up-LK-REV-PFV
       « cela est debouché »
       'it is unblocked, unplugged'
       (Potier 1751:216)

(336)   *a8atiaj*
       a'watia'y
       aʔ-w-at-yaʔk-Ø
       FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-break.cut-PFV
       « cela s'est rompu »
       'it's broken, it broke itself'
       (Potier 1751:263)

The backgrounding function of the middle voice marker can be extended further, and so much so that the agent is not just defocused, but not even implied in the particular action or event denoted by the verb. Kemmer (1993:142) uses the term *spontaneous event* in order to describe these instances of middle marking in which there is no implied agent who would have

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[62] The particular pronominal paradigm, agent or patient, that is used in this passive-like middle, however, depends upon its particular verb class (see §3.5).

initiated or caused the action. The event of 'being born', illustrated in (337) and conceptualized as 'to make oneself', is one such example of a middle-marked spontaneous event. Example (338) also shows the middle marker in use with a verb base meaning 'for the sky to open up', which is yet another action for which there is no implied agent.

(337) *ason te satondi'nnen*
      ahsonh te'satondihnen'
      ahsǫh te?-es-at-ǫni-h-nę?
      yet NEG-2SG.PAT-MID-make-STAT-PAST
      « tu n'etois pas encore né »
      'you (SG) had not yet been born'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:234)

(338) *ak8atronhiaχaska*
      a'kwatronhiakhahskawa'
      a?-t-w-at-rǫhy-a-kh-a-hs-a-kw-a?
      FACT-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-sky-LK-join-LK-REV-LK-REV-PFV
      « le ciel s'est entrouvert »
      'the sky opened up'
      (Potier 1751:271)

Additionally, weather phenomena, such as those represented in examples (339) and (340), also discussed in §2.3, do not have an implied agent that initiated the weather, and thus are often marked with the middle voice prefix.

(339) *onnen ichien i8aia atechienθa*
      önen ihchien' iwa'ah atehchientha'
      onę ihsę? iwa?ah w-ate-hsyę-ht-ha?
      now really little 3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-be.bad-CAUS-HAB
      « voila le temps qi devient mauvais »
      'the weather is getting bad now'
      (Potier 1744:16)

(340) *onta8atoïande*
ontawatoiahnde'
ǫta-w-at-ori-a-hn-e?
CISLOC.FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-move.agitate-LK-DISLOC-PURP
« voila la tempete qui vient »
'the storm's coming [this way]'
(Potier 1751:433)

In other verbs, the middle marker can be used to background the patient, i.e. have an antipassive-like function. This particular function only occurred in one example in the corpus, shown in (341), and therefore does not seem to have been a frequent function of the middle marker. The manuscript definition of this antipassive-like verb base "arreter le monde en general sans marquer aucune person en particulier [to stop people in general without targeting any person in particular]" (Potier 1751:173) suggests a defocusing of the patient. In line with backgrounding of the patient, there is only one core argument of this middle verb, as the verb base takes intransitive prefixes.

(341) *hotaristi*
hotahristih
ho-at-ahrist-ih
3M.SG.PAT-MID-stop.detain-STAT
« il a arreté le monde »
'he stopped people [in general]'
(Potier 1751:173)

As the limited number of semantic domains and grammatical functions of the middle voice suggests, this marker cannot be freely integrated into any verb base. Semantically, the middle voice occurs as part of verb bases in which the agent and the patient are expected to be coreferential, and grammatically, as part of verb bases which background the agent, and to a lesser extent, background the patient.

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Furthermore, many middle verb bases have undergone gradual semantic change, leading to an overall meaning that cannot be predicted from the meaning of its parts, i.e. the verb bases are semantically non-compositional. For example, the non-compositional verb base *-atori-/-atoi-*, shown in (340), refers to a storm brewing or a storm forming on a body of water. However, the only components of this verb base are the middle voice marker *-at-* and the verb root *-ori-/-oi-* 'to move, agitate, stir, trouble'. Other semantically non-compositional verb bases containing the middle voice prefix include (318), (319), (321), (328), (329), (330), (337), and (339).

A middle verb base can be heavily lexicalized, to the extent that the presence of the middle marker is no longer semantically salient or formally transparent. In some of these cases, a second middle marker can be affixed to the verb in a subsequent derivation of the verb base. In (342), the middle marker *-at-* became so semantically fused with the following verb root *-ier-* 'to do' that an incorporated noun and a second middle marker were added to derive a new verb base .*atonnhatier-* + REP 'to have similar lives'.

(342)   *skontonnhatierens*
    skontonnhatieren's
    s-kǫ-at-ǫnh-at-yer-ęh-ʔs
    REP-3FZ.PL.AGT-MID-life-MID-do-STAT-STAT.DISTR
    « leurs vies sont semblables (à elles) »
    'their lives (F, PL) are similar'
    (Potier 1751:189)

Some middle verb bases have both a compositional and a non-compositional meaning. Many of these less transparent meanings are metaphorical extensions of the compositional meaning. For example, in (343), the verb base *-atow-* can mean 'to take oneself out of the water', a meaning that is constructable from its three components, the middle voice marker *-at-*,

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the verb root *-o-* 'to be in water', and the reversive suffix *-w-*. However, through metaphorical extension, this verb base can also have the non-compositional meaning 'to escape from danger'.

(343) *achiato8a*
       ahchiatowa'
       aʔ-hs-at-o-kw-aʔ
       FACT-2SG.AGT-MID-be.in.water-REV-PFV
       « tu la echappé de belle »
       'you (SG) escaped it'
       (Potier 1744:186)

Not all middle-marked verb bases have a non-compositional meaning. For example, as shown in (306), the meaning of the verb base *-akonhresohare-* 'to wash one's hands' is completely derivable from the meaning of its parts: the middle voice marker *-at-*, the incorporated noun *-yonhres-* hand', and the verb root *-ohare-* 'to wash'. As suggested by these examples, the degree of semantic compositionality of a middle-marked verb base is variable, reflecting the communicative needs of speakers, the tendency toward metaphorical extension, and natural processes of gradual semantic change.

In terms of allomorphy, the middle voice marker has several variants including *-at-*, *-ak-*, *-a-*, *-ate-*, *-aten-*, *-en-*, *-end-*, and *-ar-*.[63] The basic form of the middle

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[63] Other Northern Iroquoian languages, such as Seneca (2015:58), Oneida (Michelson & Doxtator 2002:124), and Onondaga (Woodbury 2018:237), also have the middle allomorph *-an-*, which occurs before certain i-stem verb roots. However, this particular allomorph was not found in the Wendat corpus. The absence of this separate allomorph in Wendat, however, may be due to the historical sound change by which *n* became *t* (as is the case with the partitive prepronominal prefix). The *-an-* allomorph may have simply become *-at-*, and thus, indistinguishable from the basic *-at-* middle allomorph. There is, however, evidence that the absence of *-an-* is simply a gap in comparison to Wendat's sister languages. An allomorph of the reflexive is *-atand-* which occurs before certain i-stem verbs. If the sound change of *n* to *t* leveled the two allomorphs of the middle marker, it is unclear why the reflexive marker *-atand-* would not have also undergone the same sound change, to become *-atat-*. The reflexive is believed to have developed after the middle marker, and the different stages at which these two morphemes developed may have caused these different outcomes. It is possible that the *n* to *t* sound change was no longer productive at the time of the development of the reflexive marker.

marker is -at- which occurs before most vowels or a single sonorant *r*, *w*, or *i* (*y*), as shown in examples such as (305), (318), and (324). Before the glide *w*, the form -at- becomes -ak-, as in (319), (322), and (323). Before the stops *t* and *k* or certain clusters such as *hs* or *sk*, the middle voice prefix -at- is reduced to -a-, as shown in (306) and (315). The variant -ate- occurs before most consonant clusters, and more specifically, before consonant clusters not containing the sonorant *n*, as shown in (310) and (326). The allomorph -aten- occurs before the consonant cluster -hn-, as in (330), and the variant -en- appears before the consonant cluster - ʼn-, as in (325). Either of the two allomorphs -aten- and -en- can appear before *n*, as illustrated by examples (328) and (344). In these examples, both allomorphs occur before the same incorporated noun root -nonhchi- 'house', and therefore, the motivations for one variant over another are presently unclear.

(344) *chiatennonchiondiak*
chiatennonhchiondiahk
hs-atę-nǫhs-ǫni-ahk
2SG.AGT-MID-house-do.make-HAB
« tu te fais une cab. »
'you're (SG) making yourself a house'
(Ms 60 n.d.:45)

The variant -end- occurs before certain verb bases beginning with the vowel *i*, as shown in (317). Finally, the variant -ar- appears in a small number of verb bases which contain the incorporated noun root -ahchiʼt- for 'foot'. This allomorph is shown in (345).

(345) *te8aˏarachitaraʻk8i*
tewayarahchiʼtarahkwih
te-wak-ar-ahsiʔt-a-hr-a-hkw-ih
DUPL-1SG.PAT-MID-foot-LK-put.on-LK-INS-STAT
« jʼai les 2 piés dessus v.g. bois »
'I have both feet on top, e.g. of some wood'
(Ms 60 n.d.:276)

In conclusion, most of the distribution of these variants can be explained phonologically, yet there are some cases in which the synchronic phonological environment does not elucidate the choice of one allomorph over another. As is the case with the gradual semantic change leading to lexicalization of middle-marked verbs, diachronic change seems to have obscured the full extent of the lexical and phonological factors that motivated the choice of middle voice allomorph. The diachronic development of the middle is discussed further in §5.3, and the following section describes the reflexive marker.

5.2. Reflexive

The reflexive, the other voice prefix in Wendat, is a valency-decreasing marker that is also used to signal coreferentiality between the agent and patient of a verb base.[64] Unlike the middle voice, however, the reflexive voice is used when this coreferentially is not natural or expected through the semantics of the action or event. As Kemmer (1993:66) explains, the reflexive voice prefix "is there simply to signal the unusual fact that the different participant roles happen to be filled by the same entity". For example, the verb base *-ataten'ndiyonhrori-/-ataten'ndiyonhroi-* 'to entertain or distract oneself' contains the reflexive marker, as the patient of the verb 'to entertain' is normally expected to be different from the agent.

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[64] In order to differentiate this morpheme from the term *semi-reflexive* used for the middle voice marker, Lounsbury (1953:74) uses the term *full reflexive* for this morpheme. Woodbury (2018:243) also uses the term *full reflexive*. Many other Iroquoianists simply use the term *reflexive* for this marker, e.g.. Chafe (2015:59) for Seneca; Michelson & Doxtator (2002:133) for Oneida; and Rudes (1999:695) for Tuscarora. An earlier analysis of Seneca by Chafe (1967:26) uses the term *reciprocal* for this morpheme.

(346)   *satatêndi̧ onroia*
        Sataten'ndiyonhroiah !
        s-atatȩ-ʔnikǫhr-ori-ah
        2SG.AGT.IMP-REFL-mind-move.agitate-IMP
        « desennuie toi l'esp. divertis toi un peu (tu es trop triste) »
        'Relieve (SG) your boredom, distract yourself a bit (you're too sad)'
        (Ms 60 n.d.:118)

The same unexpected coreferentiality of the semantic agent and patient is also illustrated

through example (347) with the verb base *-atandiht-* 'to talk about oneself'.

(347)   *haonh8a hatandi ͑t*
        haonhwa' hatandiht
        ha-ǫhwa-ʔ   h-atan-iht-Ø
        3M.SG.PAT-be.alone-STAT   3M.SG.AGT-REFL-talk.about-STAT
        « c'est de soi-meme dont il parle »
        'he talks [only] about himself'
        (Potier 1751:388)

The reflexive marker *-atat-* is also part of the verb bases *-atatia'toreht-* 'to examine one's

own state, mood' in (348) and *-atatrio-* 'to kill oneself' in (349), and functions to mark the

unexpected coreferentiality of the entity performing the action and the entity affected by the

action.

(348)   *ti satatiatore ͑t*
        Tisatatia'toreht !
        ti-s-atat-yaʔt-oreht-Ø
        DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-REFL-body-examine.consider-IMP
        « examine et considere bien l'etat ou tu es, ta propre disposition »
        'Examine (SG) and think carefully about the state you are in, your own mood!'
        (Potier 1751:430)

(349) *ahatatrio*
ahatatrio'
aʔ-h-atat-ryo-ʔ
FACT-3M.SG.AGT-REFL-kill.fight-PFV
« il s'est tué lui-meme »
'he killed himself'
(Potier 1751:270)

Furthermore, the reflexive marker can also have emphatic undertones in particular instances. The reflexive in (350) is used in an almost identical context to that of the middle marker in (344). In (344), the middle marker signals that the house building is done for one's own benefit. However, in (350), the reflexive occurs with the benefactive applicative, which adds a semantic beneficiary (grammatical patient) argument to the verb. This new core argument, of course, is not expected to be coreferential with the agent. Therefore, the reflexive morpheme and benefactive appearing in the same verb base provides the meaning 'to build a house completely for oneself, all by oneself', thereby emphasizing the unusual fact that the agent and patient are the same individual.

(350) *chiatatennonchionniannik sonh8â ? stan te hiândiarasennik de hechieïa*

Chiatatennonhchionniänihk	**sonhwa' ?**
hs-atatę-nǫhs-ǫny-a-ni-hk	s-ǫhwa-ʔ
2SG.AGT-REFL-house-do.make-LK-BEN-HAB	2SG.PAT-be.alone-STAT

Stan'	**tehia'ndiara'sennihk**
stę ʔ	teʔ-hya-ʔny-a-r-a-ʔsęni-hk
no	NEG-3M.SG:2SG-finger-LK-put.inside-BEN-HAB

de	**hehchien'ah ?**
ne	hehs-yę-ʔ=ah
AMPL	2SG:3M.SG-have.as.child-STAT=DIM

« tu te fais une cab. tte seule, ton fils ne t'aide pas »
'Are you (SG) building your house all by yourself? Your son isn't helping you?'
(Ms 60 n.d.:45)

This example, shown in (350), also illustrates the valency-decreasing function of the reflexive marker. The benefactive verb base, with two core arguments, was subsequently detransitivized with the addition of the reflexive marker.[65] Therefore, an intransitive pronominal prefix is used with this verb base. In fact, all of the reflexive-marked verbs exemplified in the present section are intransitive.

Finally, the reflexive marker in Wendat can also be used in reciprocal contexts. The reciprocity of the actions of 'reconciling with one another' and 'greeting one another' are marked with the reflexive voice, as shown in (351) and (352).

(351)   *onsatsatatêndi̧ on'rachondia andiare*
      Onsatsataten'ndiyonhrahchondiah   **ändiare'**
      ǫsa-ts-atatę-ʔnikǫhr-a-hsrǫni-ah   anyareʔ
      REP.IMP-2NSG.AGT.IMP-REFL-mind-LK-prepare-IMP   before
      « Reconciliez vous ensemb. auparavant »
      'Reconcile (NSG) with one another beforehand!'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:312)

(352)   *te ontatennon'ron'k8annionk*
      teontatennonhronhkwänionhk
      te-yǫ-atatę-nǫhr-ǫhkw-a-nyǫ-hk
      DUPL-3IND.AGT-REFL-scalp-grease-LK-DISTR-HAB
      « on s'entresalue »
      'they greet each other'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:336)

The reciprocal nature of a reflexive-marked event can also be metaphorical, as in (353), in which two different thoughts are pushing one another in the speaker's mind.

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[65] The ordering of the affixation, discernable through both semantic and grammatical factors, determines the transitivity of the verb base. For example, in this case, the reflexive marker was added after the benefactive applicative, thereby detransitivizing this verb base. However, example (328) in the previous section shows the opposite ordering of affixation, in which the benefactive was added after the middle voice marker, thereby leading to a transitive verb base. Further discussion about the ordering of affixation is in Chapter 7.

(353) *te ˌiatatrechʳonk aˌendiˌonraˌe*
       teyiatatrechronhk   **aye'ndiyonhra'yeh**
       te-ki-atat-hrek-shrǫ-hk   wake-ʔnikǫhr-aʔ=keh
       DUPL-3FZ.DU.AGT-REFL-push-DISTR-HAB   1SG.PAT-mind-NSF=LOC
       « 2 pensées differentes s'entrepoussent, se combattent dans mon esprit »
       'two different thoughts are pushing each other, fighting each other in my mind'
       (Potier 1751:338)

In summary, the reflexive voice occurs on verbs in which coreference between the agent and the patient is unexpected. It can also be used to emphasize unusual coreferentiality, as in example (350), or to indicate reciprocity, as in examples (351) and (352). Like the middle voice marker, the reflexive is also a valency-decreasing prefix. Additionally, the semantic domains with which the reflexive marker appears are not as limited as those of the middle marker. Given these characteristics, this voice marker is considered to be more productive than the middle marker.

The forms of the reflexive are very similar to those of the middle voice, in that most of the reflexive allomorphs are reduplicated forms of the middle allomorphs.[66] The basic form of the reflexive prefix is *-atat-*, and other variants of this morpheme are *-atak-*, *-ata-*, *-atate-*, *-ataten-*, and *-atand-*.[67] The form *-atat-* occurs before most vowels, a single sonorant *r* or *i* (**y*), or a cluster with the sonorant *r*, such as *hr*. This allomorphy is illustrated through examples (348), (349), and (353). The variant *-atak-* occurs before the glide *w*, and the variant *-ata-* occurs before the stops *t* or *k*. The allomorph *-atate-* occurs before consonant clusters, although the variant *-atat-* appears before the *hr* cluster in (353). The variant *-ataten-* occurs before the

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[66] Although the forms of the reflexive marker appear as reduplicated forms of the middle voice marker, there is no synchronic process of reduplication in which middle markers are reduplicated to become reflexive markers. This represents a historical process which will be discussed further in §5.3.

[67] Unlike the rare allomorph of the middle voice marker *-ar-*, there is no parallel reflexive allomorph which contains *r* or *ar*.

sonorant *n* or before a cluster containing a laryngeal followed by *n*, such as *'n* or *hn*, as illustrated by examples (346), (350), (351), and (352). Finally, the variant *-atand-* occurs before the vowel *i*, as shown in (347).

5.3. Historical notes about the voice prefixes

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the middle voice and reflexive morphemes cannot co-occur in the same verb. However, the similarities across their forms suggest that the two markers originated as a single morpheme. The middle most likely originated as a reflexive, with both the semantics of prototypical reflexives, i.e. the single participant is both the initiator and recipient of the action, or the agent is performing the action for himself or herself, and the valency-decreasing grammatical function. Over time, the middle became more grammaticalized or frozen in its functions, being used for backgrounding arguments, either the agent in passive-like constructions and spontaneous actions and or the patient as in some more rare antipassive-like constructions.

Due to grammaticalization and lexicalization, the middle marker was no longer salient enough as a marker for reflexivity. Renewal of this morpheme, satisfied through the reduplication of its form, occurred, thereby reinforcing the coreferentiality of the agent and patient, and allowing for its more emphatic uses. As Kemmer (1993:196) mentions, reflexive markers are typically heavier phonologically, and this is due to renewal of the original reflexive marker. Indeed, the Wendat reflexive morpheme has more phonological weight than that of the middle marker, e.g. the reflexive *-atat-* versus the middle *-at-*, again suggesting the development of this system through renewal. Both the reduplicated forms of the reflexive

marker and its higher degree of productivity point toward the current reflexive having been a later development in the Wendat voice system.

Finally, a formal split, i.e. the difference in allomorphy, was reanalyzed as a functional split, with the middle being used in cases of expected or necessary coreferentiality between the agent and the patient, and the reflexive being used in cases where this coreferentiality is unexpected, unusual, or needs emphasis.

As both the middle voice and reflexive morphemes occur in all Northern Iroquoian languages and Cherokee, the sole extant Southern Iroquoian language, this development must have predated the split between the Northern and Southern Iroquoian languages. The distribution of forms and functions in the Wendat voice prefixes supports the hypothesis of this historical development of the two voice prefixes through grammaticalization and renewal.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter described the voice system in Wendat, including the middle voice marker (§5.1) and the reflexive marker (§5.2), both of which are derivational prefixes. Details about the possible diachronic development of this system are in §5.3. The following chapter, Chapter 6, describes the process of noun incorporation, another derivational component of the complex verb base.

Chapter 6

The Complex Verb Base: Noun Incorporation

The present chapter describes the phenomenon of noun incorporation, a productive derivational process by which a noun root or base is integrated into the Wendat verb. The incorporated noun occurs immediately before the verb root and immediately after a voice prefix, if there is one, and the pronominal prefix. This position in the Wendat verb template is schematized below in Figure 13.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Voice Prefixes	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffixes	Aspect-Mood Suffixes	Expanded Aspect Suffixes

Figure 13: Position of incorporated noun in Wendat verb template

This chapter begins with a description of the various functions of noun incorporation (§6.1) followed by an overview of the semantic roles filled by these incorporated nouns (§6.2). The process of noun incorporation is described in §6.3, and a conclusion is presented in §6.4.

6.1. Functions of noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a derivational process that qualifies or narrows the meaning of the verb base. At its core, it is a morphological process, yet noun incorporation has specialized semantic, grammatical, and discourse functions. Mithun (1984) discusses the functions of noun incorporation and the evolution of such systems in a wide range of languages, including Wendat's sister language, Mohawk. The following discussion of the functions of noun incorporation in Wendat closely follows Mithun's (1984) classification.

The primary and most fundamental function of noun incorporation is to create a lexical compound that encapsulates an "institutionalized activity or state" (Mithun 1984:856). The new complex verb base derived from incorporation designates "a recognizable, unitary concept, rather than the chance co-occurrence of some action or state and some entity" (Mithun 1984:849). For example, the activities of making snowshoes, in (354), and gathering fruit and berries, in (355), are recognizable, holistic concepts.

(354) *chiennionronniak*
   chiënionhronniahk
   hse-nyǫhr-ǫni-ahk
   2SG.AGT-snowshoe-make-HAB
   « tu en fais [des raquettes] »
   'you (SG) make [snowshoes] ; you're making [snowshoes]'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:310)

(355) *sahionta8a*
   Sahiontawah !
   s-ahi-ǫt-a-kw-ah
   2SG.AGT.IMP-fruit.berry-attach-LK-REV-IMP
   « cueille [du fruit] »
   'Gather (SG) some fruit, berries!'
   (Potier 1751:421)

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Examples (356) and (357) also contain lexical compounds denoting institutionalized activities. The first of these two examples, also discussed in §3.4.5, contains the lexical compound -*tsihstahrehch*- 'to go stoke, stir the fire', and the second contains the complex verb base -*nda'taront*- 'to put the bread on the fire, in the oven'. Both of these actions are identifiable, established activities.

(356) *aˌetsistareche*
a'yetsihstahrehche'
aʔ-ke-tsihst-a-hre-hs-eʔ
FACT-1SG.AGT-fire-LK-push-PURP
« je vais attiser le feu »
'I'm going to stoke, stir the fire'
(Potier 1751:338)

(357) *e8andatarontak eˌiaˌenha*
ewända'tarontahk   **eyiayenha'**
e-wak-naʔtar-ǫt-Ø-ahk   e-k-yakę-h-aʔ
FUT-1SG.PAT-bread-put.in.fire-STAT-PAST   FUT-1SG.AGT-go.out-INCH-PFV
« je sortirai dès que j'aurai mon pain au feu »
'I will go out as soon as I have my bread on the fire'
(Potier 1751:421)

Another function of noun incorporation, as identified by Mithun (1984:858), is to alter the grammatical roles in a clause. This manifests in Wendat with regard to the incorporation of body part nouns. Specifically, by incorporating the body part noun directly into the verb, the possessor of the body part can then become a core argument of the verb, expressed through either an agent or a patient pronominal prefix (depending upon the pronominal marking pattern of the verb). This manipulation of grammatical roles is illustrated by the pair of examples (358) and (359). In (358), without an incorporated noun, the single core argument of the verb refers to the entity that fell in the water. However, in (359), the entity that fell into the water, a foot,

is incorporated into the verb, and the possessor of the foot is realized as the single core argument of the verb.

(358) *θo ichien a̦oha*
 tho   ihchien'   a'ayoha'
 tho   ihsę?   a?-yak-o-h-a?
 there really   FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.in.water-INCH-PFV
 « cela est tombé dans l'eau la »
 'that fell in the water there'
 (Ms 62 n.d.:32)

(359) *achiachitoha*
 ahchiahchi'toha'
 a?-hs-ahsi?t-o-h-a?
 FACT-2SG.AGT-foot-be.in.water-INCH-PFV
 « ton pied est allé glissé dans l'eau »
 'your foot slipped into the water'
 (Ms 62 n.d.:32)

Another example of body part incorporation is illustrated in (360), which was first discussed in §5.1. Along with the middle voice marker, the body part in question, *-yonhres-* 'hand', is incorporated into the verb *-ohare-* 'to wash', and the possessor of the body part is the core argument of the verb.

(360) *i̦erhe â̦akon'rêsoharej*
 iyerhe'   **aayakonhresohare'**
 i-k-erh-e?   a:-k-at-kǫhres-ohare-?
 PROTH-1SG.AGT-think.want-HAB   OPT-1SG.AGT-MID-hand-wash-PFV
 « je veux laver mes mains »
 'I want to wash my hands'
 (Ms 60 n.d.:197)

Incorporated nouns can also be used as generic classifiers. In this type of incorporation, termed classificatory incorporation by Mithun (1984:863), external nouns or nominals further delineate and identify the generic referent denoted by the incorporated noun. In Wendat, four

different nouns are commonly incorporated into verbs: *-ia't-* for 'body', *-wenn-/-wend-* for 'voice, language, word', *-rihw-* for 'matter, affair', and *-'ndiyonhr-* for 'mind'. When incorporated into a verb, these generic nouns and the complex verb bases which they form often co-occur with external, independent noun phrases. In many of these instances, the external noun phrase, consisting of a morphological noun, a syntactic nominal or a demonstrative, with or without additional particles, serves to qualify the particular referent implied by the generic incorporated noun. For example, in (361), the generic noun root *-ia't-* 'body' is incorporated into the complex verb base *-ia'tenht-/-ia'tent-* 'to make someone fall, to let someone fall'. This verb is followed by the syntactic nominal *chëen'ah* 'your (SG) child', which serves to identify the specific referent implied by the incorporated noun *-ia't-* 'body'.

(361) *tsateñiensθa, echeatent de cheena*
  Tsatënienstah   **ehchea'tenht**
  ts-ate-wyę-st-ah   e-hse-yaʔt-ę-ht-Ø
  2NSG.AGT.IMP-MID-know.how-CAUS-IMP   FUT-2SG:3IND-body-fall-CAUS-PFV

  de   **chëen'ah !**
  ne   hse-yę-ʔ=ah
  AMPL   2SG:3IND-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
  « prends gar tu laissera tomber ton enfant »
  'Be (NSG) careful, you'll (SG) let your child fall!'
  (Potier 1751:375)

Similarly, in (362), also discussed in §2.3, the syntactic nominal *tisa'ndiyonhrou'tenh*, meaning 'your mindset, your thoughts' serves as the specific referent of the generic, underspecified incorporated noun root *-wenn-/-wend-* 'voice, language, word'.

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(362) ˌon8endichias ti sandiˌonr8ten
  yonwendihchias   ***tisa'ndiyonhrou'tenh***
  kǫ-węn-ihsak-s   ti-sa-ʔnikǫhr-oʔtę-h
  1SG:2SG-voice-search.look.for-HAB PART-2SG.PAT-mind-be.certain.type-STAT
  « je demande ton avis »
  'I ask for your (SG) advice'
  (Potier 1751:386)

The generic noun *-rihw-* 'matter, affair' can also be used for classificatory incorporation. In (363), this noun root is incorporated into the complex verb base *-rihwenta's-* 'to finish, achieve a matter for someone'. The specific matter that was finished is identified by the following syntactic nominal *kherihwaienständihihk*, translated as 'the teaching I was doing'.

(363) onn' onˌrih8entas de χerih8aienstandihik
  öne ***onyrihwenta's***
  onę aʔ-wak-rihw-ęt-a-ʔs-Ø
  now FACT-(3FZ.N.SG:)1SG-matter.affair-be.used-LK-BEN-PFV

  de ***kherihwaienständihihk***
  ne khe-rihw-a-wyę-st-a-ni-hk-Vhk
  AMPL 1SG:3IND-matter.affair-LK-know.how-CAUS-LK-BEN-HAB-PAST
  « je viens de finir l'instruction q. je faisois »
  'I just finished the teaching I was doing'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:151)

Although these generic noun roots can participate in classificatory incorporation, these noun roots do not always or necessarily co-occur with qualifying or identifying noun phrases. For example, in (364), the incorporated generic noun root *-'ndiyonhr-* 'mind' is used here to describe the specific action of thinking or pondering, which is literally 'laying one's mind down'. The following syntactic nominal, meaning 'those who have left', does not qualify or identify the particular 'mind' that is being used; it simply provides details about the subject matter of those thoughts. Therefore, as exemplified in (364), while these generic noun roots

allow for this classificatory function of noun incorporation, not all occurrences of these generic noun roots are part of classificatory incorporation constructions.

(364) *aχendiˌonraentons d'aˌorask8an*
       a'khen'ndiyonhraenton's   ***de***   ***ayorahskwanh***
       aʔ-kh-ę-ʔnikǫhr-a-yęt-ǫ-ʔs-Ø   ne   yako-arahskw-ęh
       FACT-1SG:3IND-mind-LK-lay.down-DISTR-BEN-PFV   AMPL   3IND.PAT-leave-STAT
       « je pense à ceux qui sont partis »
       'I think about those who have left'
       (Potier 1751:371)

In addition to the three functions described above, Mithun (1984:859) also discusses how noun incorporation can be used to manipulate discourse structure. Specifically, once a referent has been introduced into the discourse, becoming given information, this referent can then be backgrounded and incorporated into a verb.

Moreover, Mithun (1984:874) describes the development of noun incorporation as moving along on a unidirectional path, in which each of the four functions paves the way for the development of the next. The four functions, in order of development, are: (1) lexical compounding; (2) manipulation of grammatical roles; (3) manipulation of discourse structure; and (4) classificatory incorporation. Since this is an implicational hierarchy, languages that display classificatory incorporation, such as Wendat, should also show evidence of the three other functions. Additionally, Mithun (1984:869) illustrates this discourse function in the related Northern Iroquoian language, Mohawk, further supporting the existence of this function in Wendat. Further research about discourse structure in Wendat is expected to show evidence of this particular function of noun incorporation.

Aside from the semantic and grammatical functions of noun incorporation outlined by Mithun (1984) and described above, there are other common uses of noun incorporation in

Wendat. The first of these additional functions is enumeration. When counting tokens of some entity, the entity in question is incorporated into one of the small set of verbs used to quantify referents. The most common of these verbs is *-ye-/-aye-* 'to be so many', which requires the use of either the duplicative or the partitive prepronominal prefix. The incorporated noun can either be a generic noun root, such as *-ia't-* 'body', used when counting people or animals, as in (365) and (366), or a specific referent, such as *-nda'ts-* 'kettle', as in example (367) below.

(365) *ndak ia˛8aata˛e*
　　　ndahk　　ïaywäa'tayeh
　　　nahk　　　i-yakwa-yaʔt-a-ke-h
　　　four　　　PART-1PL.EXCL.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT
　　　« nous som. 4 »
　　　'we (EXCL) are four [people]'
　　　(Potier 1751:242)

(366) *θo i˛aata˛e sanda8i-hatie saaroh8innen ?*
　　　Tho　　　iyäa'tayeh
　　　tho　　　　i-ka-yaʔt-a-ke-h
　　　how.many　PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT

　　　sändawihatie'　　　　　　　sa'arohwihnen' ?
　　　sa-nawi-h-atye-ʔ　　　　　　s-aʔar-o-hw-ih-nę?
　　　2SG.PAT-catch.trap.net-STAT-PROG-PURP　2SG.PAT-net-be.in.water-CAUS-STAT-PAST
　　　 « combien as tu pris de poissons dans les rets que tu avois tendus ? »
　　　'How many fish did you (SG) catch in the nets you had cast?'
　　　(Potier 1751:242)

(367) *achienk i˛andatsa˛e*
　　　ahchienhk　　iyända'tsayeh
　　　ahsęhk　　　　i-ka-naʔts-a-ke-h
　　　three　　　　PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-kettle-LK-be.so.many-STAT
　　　« trois chaudieres »
　　　'three kettles'
　　　(Potier 1751:242)

Noun incorporation is also commonly used to specify the position of an entity using one of the small number of positional verbs in the language. In (368), the noun root *-nont-* 'mountain'

is incorporated into the verb *-ot-/-out-* 'to be upright', and in (369), the noun root *-ndat-* 'village, town' is incorporated into the verb *-ien-/-ient-* 'to lay down, to place; to have'. Example (370) illustrates the use of noun incorporation with both of these positional verbs with respect to trees.

(368) *onnont8t*
      önontout
      yo-nǫt-ot-Ø
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-mountain-be.upright-STAT
      « il y a une montagne »
      'there's a mountain'
      (Potier 1751:437)

(369) ˌ*andataen*
      yändataen'
      ka-nat-a-yę-ʔ
      3FZ/N.SG.AGT-village-LK-lay.down-STAT
      « il y a un village »
      'there's a village'
      (Potier 1751:221)

(370) ˌ*aront8ton ichien d8a* ˌ*arha*ˌ*on, 8a de* ˌ*arontaentonnion*
      yarontouton'   **ihchien'**
      ka-rǫt-ot-ǫ-ʔ   ihsę?
      3FZ/N.SG.AGt-tree-be.upright-DISTR-STAT   really

      dowa'   **yarha'yonh**
      nowaʔ   ka-rh-aʔ=kǫh
      the.other(s)   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-forest-NSF=INT.LOC

      wa'   **de**   **yarontaentonnion'**
      waʔ   ne   ka-rǫt-a-yęt-ǫ-nyǫ-ʔ
      other   AMPL   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-tree-LK-lay.down-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
      « il y a dans le bois des arbres, les uns debout, les autres renversés par terre »
      'in the woods, there are some trees standing up, others knocked down on the ground'
      (Potier 1751:222)

Although more of an existential rather than positional verb, the verb root *-te-* 'to exist; to be present' also commonly incorporates nouns. For example, the noun roots *-ondehch-* 'land'

and -*ahsont*- 'night' appear with this verb root in order to mean 'land', in (371), and 'night', in (372). The same verb root co-occurs with the incorporated noun -*ent*- 'day' in example (373), an example previously discussed in §3.3.3.

(371) *deχ'ondechate*
       dekha'   ondehchate'
       dekhaʔ   y-ǫnehsr-a-te-ʔ
       this.one   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-land-LK-exist-STAT
       « cette terre »
       'this land'
       (Potier 1751:361)

(372) *deχ'asontate*
       dekha'   ahsontate'
       dekhaʔ   w-ahsǫt-a-te-ʔ
       this.one   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-night-LK-exist-STAT
       « cette nuit »
       'this night'
       (Potier 1751:361)

(373) *ehechie't onh8a eχ'entate*
       ehechieht
       e-hehs-ye-ht-Ø
       FUT-2SG:3M.SG-be.awake-CAUS-PFV

       onhwa'   kha'   entate'
       ǫhwaʔ   khaʔ   w-ęt-a-te-ʔ
       now   PROX   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-exist-STAT
       « tu l'eveilleras aujourd'hui »
       'you (SG) will wake him up today'
       (Potier 1751: 217)

As the generalized glosses of the examples above suggest, e.g. 'there's a mountain' in (368), 'this land' in (371), rather than appearing as independent, external nouns, the incorporation of nouns into positional or existential verbs seems to be a standard way in which

these nouns appear in discourse.[68] Although a more detailed study regarding the use of nouns in Wendat discourse is needed, this generalization seems to hold in related languages such as Seneca (see Chafe 2015:87).

In further support of this generalization, it is also possible to indicate possession of an entity by means of noun incorporation. For example, in (374), previously discussed in §4.1, the noun root *-nenh-* 'corn' is incorporated into the verb *-awen-/-awan-* 'to own something; for something to belong to someone', in order to indicate possession of the corn.

(374) *n'onta̧e'chiat d'annenha8eņehen*
     ne   **ontayehchiaht**
     ne   ǫta-ke-hsaʔ-ht-Ø
     AMPL   CISLOC.FACT-1SG.AGT-finish.consume-CAUS-PFV

     de   **änenhawenh**   **yehen'**
     ne   wake-nęh-a-wę-h   kehęʔ
     AMPL   1SG.PAT-corn-LK-own.belong.to-STAT DEC
     « j'ai epuisé mon blé »
     'I used up all of my corn'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:35)

Possession can also be expressed using positional verbs. Examples (375) and (376), the latter previously discussed in §4.7, respectively, contain the positional verb root *-ien-/-ient-* 'to lay down, to place; to have' with the incorporated nouns, *-ondehch-* 'land' and *-rh-* 'forest'. Instead of using a singular feminine-zoic/neuter pronominal prefix with these verbs, patient pronominal prefixes are used which identify the possessors of the alienable 'land' and the 'forests'.[69]

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[68] For Mohawk and its closely related languages, Mithun (2018, p.c.) notes a strong tendency for large or immobile objects to be incorporated into positional verbs.
[69] Patient pronominal prefixes are commonly used for alienable possessions, whereas agent pronominal prefixes are commonly used for inalienable possessions, such as body parts.

(375) *stan anniaten te 8atarihaθa de χa tsondechen*
    stan'   **a'niänihten'**   **te'wa'tariha'tha'**   **de**   **kha'**
    stę?   a?nyanihtę?   te?-w-a?tarih-a-?t-ha?   ne   kha?
    no   sometimes   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.hot-LK-CAUS-HAB   AMPL   PROX

    tsondehchen'
    ts-ǫnehsr-yę-?
    2PL.PAT-land-lay.down-stat
    « il ne fait jamais chaud ici dans votre pais (quasi dicas) jamais le tems, la saison, la
    nature, le soleil n'echauffe l'aire »
    'it is never warm here in your (PL) country; the weather, the season, nature, the sun
    never warms the air'
    (Potier 1744:47)

(376) *θo i˛aata˛e d'hotiskenra˛etak, ti ondrata˛e de χa sk8arhäenton*
    tho   **iyäa'tayeh**
    tho   i-ka-ya?t-a-ke-h
    how.many   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT

    de   **hotisken'rayehtahk**   **tiöndrahtayeh**
    ne   hoti-skę?rakeht-ahk   ti-yo-nraht-a-ke-h
    AMPL   3M.PL.PAT-be.warrior-HAB   PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-leaf-LK-be.so.many-STAT

    de   **kha'**   **skwarhaenton'**
    ne   kha?   skwa-rh-a-yęt-ǫ-?
    AMPL   PROX   2PL.PAT-forest-LK-lay.down-DISTR-STAT
    « il y a autant de soldats que de feuilles dans vos bois »
    'there are as many soldiers as there are leaves in your (PL) woods'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:28)

Finally, incorporated nouns often occur in adjectival-like constructions, in which a stative

verb describes a certain quality of the referent of the incorporated noun. This adjectival-like

use of noun incorporation is illustrated in examples (377) and (378), which are discussed in

§3.5.2 and §4.1, respectively. In (377), the noun root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair' is incorporated into

the stative verb *-ets-* 'to be long' in order to describe the matter as lengthy or slow to arrive. In

(378), the noun root *-honw-* 'boat, canoe' is incorporated into the stative verb *-ïio-* 'to be big,

beautiful, magnificent' in order to describe the boats as large vessels, i.e. ships.

(377) *orih8etsi*
 orihwetsih
 yo-rihw-ets-ih
 3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.long-STAT
 « elle est longue, v.g. à venir »
 'it [the matter] is lengthy, e.g. slow to arrive'
 (Potier 1751:385)

(378) *a'tere i8a'sen i˛ahona˛e ˛ahonïo onta8e'nde*
 a'tere' iwahsenh   **iyahonwayeh**
 aʔtereʔ i-w-ahsę-h   i-ka-họw-a-ke-h
 eight   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.ten-STAT PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-boat-LK-be.so.many-STAT

 yahonwïio'   **ontawehnde'**
 ka-họw-iyo-ʔ   ǫta-w-e-hn-eʔ
 3FZ/N.SG.AGT-boat-be.big.beautiful-STAT CISLOC.FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DISLOC-PURP
 « il vient 80 navires »
 'there are eighty ships coming [this way]'
 (Ms 60 n.d.:236)

In summary, while the essential function of noun incorporation is to create lexical compounds for identifiable, established activities and events, this process has several other functions in the language. Following Mithun's (1984) classification of these functions, Wendat also uses noun incorporation for altering the grammatical roles in a clause and for purposes of classificatory incorporation. In addition, this morphological process is frequently used for enumerating entities, specifying the position of entities, indicating the possession of entities, and describing the quality of an entity. Finally, it is also likely that noun incorporation has discourse functions in Wendat, yet a further exploration of this topic is needed to outline the role(s) this process has in shaping discourse.

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6.2. Semantic roles of incorporated nouns

While the previous section discussed and illustrated the various semantic and grammatical functions of noun incorporation, the present section delves into the semantic relationships between the incorporated noun and the verb base as a whole. The incorporated noun narrows or refines the meaning of the verb base, and this qualification can be categorized according to the specific semantic role that the noun fills. In particular, the incorporated noun can hold one of four semantic roles: patient, location, path, or instrument.

The first of these semantic roles, the patient, is the entity affected by the action, event or state described by the verb. This semantic role is the most common role filled by the incorporated noun. Examples (379) and (380), previously discussed in §3.4.1 and §3.4.4, illustrate this role. In (379), the incorporated noun root -*s*- for 'plate, dish' is the entity affected by the action of 'licking', and in (380), the incorporated noun root -*ient*- for 'stick, log' is affected by the action of 'picking up'.

(379) *achiesaˌannens*
      ahchiesayänens
      aʔ-hše-s-a-kanęs-Ø
      FACT-2SG.AGT-plate-LK-lick-PFV
      « tu a leché le plat »
      'you (SG) licked the plate'
      (Ms 60:197)

(380) *ti tsentaʻk*
      Titsentahk !
      ti-ts-yęt-a-hkw-Ø
      DUPL-2SG.AGT.IMP-stick.log-LK-take.pick.up-IMP
      « leve ce bois »
      'Pick up (SG) this wood!'
      (Potier 1751:272)

Body part nouns are also semantic patients with respect to the meaning of the overall verb base. For example, the incorporated noun root *-ia't-* for 'body' appears in both (381) and (382). In example (381), discussed earlier in §3.4.1, the noun root for 'body' is the entity being burned, and thus affected, and in example (382), discussed earlier in §4.1, the body is the affected entity that fell from above.

(381) *hoatateχa*
       hoa'tatekha'
       ho-yaʔt-atek-haʔ
       3M.SG.PAT-body-burn-HAB
       « son corps brule »
       'his body burns; his body is burning'
       (Potier 1751:183)

(382) *ontahaatenha*
       ontahäa'tenha'
       ǫta-ha-yaʔt-ę-h-aʔ
       CISLOC.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-body-fall-INCH-PFV
       « il est tombé d'en haut »
       'he fell from above'
       (Ms 62 n.d.:4)

The incorporated noun can also fill the semantic role of location. For example, in (383), previously discussed in §4.1, the incorporated noun *-ndat-* 'village, town' supplies the location for the stative verb root meaning 'to be at the end, extremity'. In (384), also discussed in §4.1, the incorporated noun root *-ontar-* 'lake, body of water' specifies where the 'joining together' occurs.

(383) *etiotendatata*
      etiotëndatata'
      et-yo-ate-nat-a-ta-ʔ
      CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-village-LK-be.end-STAT
      « au bout du village »
      'at the end, extremity of the village'
      (Potier 1751:358)

(384) *etiontarandeˌen*
      etiontarändeyenh
      et-y-ǫtar-a-nekę-h
      CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lake-LK-join.together-STAT
      « R. de la pointe aux feviers »
      'river at Locust Tree Point'
      (Potier n.d.:212)

With verbs describing some sort of motion, the incorporated noun can fill the semantic role

of path. For example, in (385), also discussed in §3.5.1, the incorporated noun

root *-ahah-* 'path' both lexically refers to and semantically represents (in the sense of semantic

role) the path along which the individual travels. Similarly, in (386), previously discussed in

§4.9, the incorporated noun root *-ontar-* 'lake, body of water' also fills the semantic role of

path, referring to the path which the referent has crossed over.

(385) *stanteˌarhonk de ˌahanientes*
      stan' te'yarhonhk   **de**   **yahahänien'te's**
      stę?   teʔ-k-arhǫ-hk   ne   k-ahah-a-nyęʔt-eʔs
      no   NEG-1SG.AGT-rest-HAB   AMPL   1SG.AGT-path-LK-travel.along-HAB
      « je ne me repose point en chemin »
      'I don't rest at all while traveling'
      (Potier 1751:173)

(386) *te sʻaontariaˌi*
      teshaontarïa'yih
      te-s-ha-ǫtar-iyaʔk-ih
      DUPL-REP-3M.SG.AGT-lake-cross.over-STAT
      « il a repassé la mer »
      'he has recrossed the ocean'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:319)

Incorporated noun roots can take different semantic roles with the same incorporating verb base. For example, with incorporating variant of the verb root *-tase-* 'to turn', the incorporated noun can fill either the semantic role of path or patient. In (387), also discussed in §5.1, the incorporated noun root *-ondehch-* 'land' represents the path along which the individual turns. However, in example (388), the incorporated noun root *-'ndiyonhr-* 'mind' is the entity affected by the turning motion, i.e. the patient.

(387)   *ahatondechatase*
      ahatondehchatase'
      aʔ-h-at-ǫnehs-a-tase-ʔ
      FACT-3M.SG.AGT-MID-land-LK-turn-PFV
      « il a fait le tour »
      'he went around the land'
      (Potier 1751:360)

(388)   *ara θo ti hondi̧ onratases*
      ha'ra'   **tho**   **tihon'ndiyonhratases**[70]
      haʔraʔ   tho   ti-hǫ-ę-ʔnikǫhr-a-tase-s
      only   there   PART-3M.PL.AGT-MID-mind-LK-turn-HAB
      « ils extravaguent dans la fievre »
      'they (M, PL) are delirious from the fever'
      (Potier 1751:360)

Less commonly, the incorporated noun takes the semantic role of instrument. For example, in (389), also discussed in §2.3, the incorporated noun root *-honw-* 'boat, canoe' is the semantic instrument used to cause the dizziness. Similarly, in (390), the incorporated noun root *-nda'tar-* 'bread' is the entity used to satiate the individual.

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[70] This verb base *-en'ndiyonhratase-* 'for one's mind to turn; to be delirious' takes an a-stem pronominal prefix form here, *hon* 3M.PL.AGT, instead of the expected en-stem form, *henn-* 3M.PL.AGT. The reasons for this irregular pronominal allomorphy are unclear at this time.

(389) *ahokonaˌentendi*
       ahokhonwayentëndi'
       aʔ-ho-at-hǫw-a-kęteni-ʔ
       FACT-3M.SG.PAT-MID-boat-LK-be.dizzy-PFV
       « il fut etourdi du canot »
       'he was dizzy from the canoe'
       (Potier 1751:249)

(390) *hondataraχ8indi*
       hönda'tarakhwi'ndih[71]
       ho-naʔtar-a-khwi-ʔn-ih
       3M.SG.PAT-bread-LK-be.satiated.full-INCH-STAT
       « il est saoul de pain »
       'he is satiated, full from bread'
       (Potier 1751:273)

In summary, incorporated nouns qualify the verb base in various manners, and the particular semantic relationship held between the incorporated noun and the verb base can often be described in terms of semantic roles. While the patient semantic role is the most frequent of the four, incorporated nouns can also occur in the semantic roles of location, path, and instrument.

6.3. Process of noun incorporation

The above sections of this chapter described the functions and semantics of noun incorporation, and the present section discusses the morphological and morphophonological details pertaining to this process.

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[71] The sequence analyzed as the verb root in this example, *-khwi-* 'to be satiated, full', is most likely composed of the noun root *-khw-* 'food, meal' and the verb root *-i-* 'to fill'. If this is the case, this unit underwent significant lexicalization, so much so that the noun root was no longer salient to speakers and the sequence was reanalyzed as a single verb root. This lexicalization and reanalysis allowed for the incorporation of a second noun root, such as the root for 'bread' shown in this example.

First, since the result of incorporating a noun into a verb is a new complex verb base, this is a derivational process. Furthermore, the incorporated noun is not a core argument of the verb, though it does qualify the meaning of the verb and can hold a semantic role in relation to the overall verb base. Therefore, the incorporated noun is not a syntactic object of the clause. For example, in (391), also discussed in §4.2, the incorporated noun root *-ndeskar-* 'ice, icicle' is not the syntactic object of the verb root *-ndoust-* 'to make cold, cool'. The noun root 'ice, icicle' simply qualifies the low temperature denoted by the verb root, narrowing the meaning of the overall verb base to mean 'to freeze to ice'.

(391) *tsondeskarand8sti*
       tsöndeskarändoustih
       ts-yo-neskar-a-nost-ih
       REP-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-ice.icicle-LK-make.cold-STAT
       « il regele »
       'it's freezing to ice again'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:165)

Further support of the incorporated noun not being a syntactic object is the intransitivity of verb bases with incorporated nouns. Most of the verb bases with incorporated nouns are indeed intransitive, as illustrated through the use of intransitive pronominal prefixes, as is the case in example (391) above. It is possible, however, for a complex verb base with an incorporated noun to be transitive. In these cases, an applicative such as the benefactive adds a core argument to the verb thereby transitivizing the verb. Example (392) illustrates a transitive verb base with the incorporated noun root *-a'tatonhch-* 'basket' and the benefactive applicative suffix.

(392) *ti taˌatatonchak8en*
Titaya'tatonhchahkwenh !
ti-tak-aʔtatonhsr-a-hkw-ẹ-h
DUPL-2SG:1SG.IMP-basket-LK-take.pick.up-BEN-IMP
« aide moi à lever ma manne »
'Help (SG) me pick up my basket!'
(Potier 1751:272)

The incorporated noun does not affect pronominal marking patterns, except with regard to a subset of stative verbs. For a small number of stative verbs that have adjectival-like semantics, the incorporated noun can determine the intransitive pronominal prefix paradigm used, either agent or patient. This phenomenon, described by Mithun (2001) as headedness reversal, and discussed with respect to Wendat in §3.5.2, is illustrated in (393) and (394). These two examples, also discussed in §3.5.2, show the same stative verb root *-ets-* 'to be long' with different incorporated nouns, *-nonhchi-* 'house' and *-rihw-* 'matter, affair', and consequently, different pronominal prefix paradigms.

(393) ˌ*annonchietsi*
yänonhchietsih
ka-nọhs-ets-ih
3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.long-STAT
« longue cabane »
'long house, longhouse'
(Potier 1751:385)

(394) *orih8etsi*
orihwetsih
yo-rihw-ets-ih
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.long-STAT
« elle est longue, v.g. à venir »
'it [the matter] is lengthy, e.g. slow to arrive'
(Potier 1751:385)

Since the result of incorporation is a new complex verb base, it is also common for these verb bases to develop non-compositional meanings. For example, in (395), also discussed in §3.4.1, the incorporated noun root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair' and the verb base *-yennia't-* 'to surpass something or someone' produces the non-compositional meaning 'to exaggerate, overstate, magnify something'. Another example of this type of non-compositional meaning is in (396), also discussed in §3.4.2, where the combination of the duplicative prepronominal prefix, the same incorporated noun root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair', and the verb root *-hkw-/-hk-* 'to take, to pick up' yields the overall non-compositional meaning 'to sing'.

(395) *harih8aˌenniaθa*
 harihwayennia'tha'
 ha-rihw-a-kęny-a-ʔt-haʔ
 3M.SG.AGT-affair.matter-LK-surpass-LK-CAUS-HAB
 « il exaggere »
 'he exaggerates'
 (Potier 1751:246)

(396) *t'e8aˌrih8aʻk8an*
 tewayrihwahkwanh
 te-wak-rihw-a-hkw-ęh
 DUPL-1SG.PAT-matter.affair-LK-take.pick.up-STAT
 « je chante actuellemt »
 'I'm singing right now'
 (Ms 60 n.d.:55)

The nominal segment that is incorporated can either be a noun root, as seen in the two examples immediately above with the incorporated root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair', or a complex noun base. Complex noun bases are nominalized units composed of a verb base and a nominalizer suffix. The most common forms of the nominalizer suffix are *-hchr-* or *-hch-*, both

descended from *-hsr-, where the r can be elided.[72] The incorporated complex noun base for 'paper, writing, book' in (397) is composed of the verb root -hiaton- 'to write' and the nominalizer -hch-. Another incorporated complex noun base, composed of the verb root -arhon- 'to rest' and the nominalizer suffix -hch-, in (398), is used for 'cradle'.

(397) *Sehiatonchata'k8a*
       Sehiatonhchatahkwah !
       se-hyatǫ-hsr-a-t-a-hkw-ah
       2SG.AGT.IMP-write-NMLZ-LK-be.inside-LK-REV-IMP
       « tire l'ecriture hors du coffre v.g. pr me la donner »
       'Take (SG) the writing out of the chest, e.g. to give to me!'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:326)

(398) *arhonchontaθa*
       arhonhchonta'tha'
       w-arhǫ-hsr-ǫta?t-ha?
       3FZ/N.SG.AGT-rest-NMLZ-move.shake-HAB
       « elle berce, remue le berceau »
       'she rocks, moves the cradle'
       (Potier 1744:227)

Other allomorphs of the nominalizer suffix include -t- and -hkw-. These forms are syncretic with certain derivational verbal suffixes, and seem to have descended from the causative suffix -t- and the instrumental suffix -hkw- (see Mithun forthcoming). For example, the verb root -onhr- 'to weed, hoe' and the causative turned nominalizer suffix -t- form an incorporated complex noun base for 'shovel' in (399). In (400), the combination of the verb root -hiaton- 'to write' and the instrumental turned nominalizer -hkw- refers to a writing utensil, which is incorporated as a whole into the verb -t- 'to be inside'.

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[72] The segment r can be elided in various phonological environments in Wendat. A discussion of the elision of this sonorant is in §Part I2.3.

(399) *te 8a˛onrataen*
       te'wayonhrataen'
       teʔ-wak-ǫhr-a-t-a-yę-ʔ
       NEG-1SG.PAT-weed.hoe-LK-NMLZ-LK-lay.down-STAT
       « je n'ai point de pele »
       'I don't have any shovel'
       (Potier 1751:413)

(400) *a˛etsihensta8en ˛ehiatonk8at*
       ayetsihenhstawenh   **yehiatonhkwat**
       wake-tsihęhst-a-wę-h   ke-hyatǫ-hkw-a-t-Ø
       1SG.PAT-charcoal-LK-own.belong.to-STAT   1SG.AGT-write-NMLZ-LK-be.inside-STAT
       « mon encre »
       'my ink'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:115)

Furthermore, some nouns have restrictions with regard to incorporation. In particular, some nouns must be incorporated into a verb base. For example, the noun root *-s-* for 'plate, dish' must be incorporated into a verb base, as shown in (401). A different noun stem *-tsen'*, also meaning 'plate, dish' but derived from a different historical source, can be used as an independent, external noun for this object, as illustrated in (402).

(401) *Sesohare*
       Sesohareh !
       se-s-ohare-h
       2SG.AGT.IMP-dish-wash-IMP
       « Lave le plat »
       'Wash (SG) the dish!'
       (Potier 1751:406)

(402) *aͺe8atsaraꞌk8inꞌnen de χaͺatsen*
       aye'wahtsarahkwihnen'
       wake-ʔwahts-a-r-a-hkw-ih-nęʔ
       1SG.PAT-meat-LK-put.inside-LK-INS-STAT-PAST

       de   kha'   yatsen'
       ne   khaʔ   ka-tsęʔ
       AMPL   PROX   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-plate.NSF
       « j'avois mis de la viande dans ce plat »
       'I had put some meat on this plate'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:224)

In other cases, nouns are optionally incorporated into a verb base, but can also appear as independent nouns (with the affixation of a pronominal prefix and a noun suffix). In some of these cases, the noun root has two variants, one of which is used for incorporation and the other of which only occurs in the independent noun. These forms typically have small phonological differences from one another, suggesting that they descended from the same root. For example, the noun for 'fruit, berry' has two variants. Example (403), also discussed in §6.1, shows the incorporating variant of this noun, *-ahi-*, whereas example (404) shows the non-incorporating variant of this noun, *-hihk*, prefixed with a feminine-zoic/neuter pronominal.

(403) *sahionta8a*
       Sahiontawah !
       s-ahi-ǫt-a-kw-ah
       2SG.AGT.IMP-fruit.berry-attach-LK-REV-IMP
       « cueille [du fruit] »
       'Gather (SG) some fruit, berries!'
       (Potier 1751:421)

(404) ˌarhitonton ˌahik etiotondi
  yarhi'tonton'   ***yahihk***
  ka-rhiʔt-o̧-to̧-ʔ   ka-hihk
  3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.fruit.tree-DISTR-DISTR-STAT   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-fruit.berry.NSF

  etiotondih
  et-yo-at-o̧ni-h
  CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-do.make-STAT
  « il y a quantité d'arbres fruitiers »
  'there are many fruit trees'
  (Potier 1751:344)

With respect to the constraints on verb bases and incorporation, verb bases vary as to their ability to incorporate nouns. Some verb bases cannot incorporate any noun, whereas others must incorporate a noun. For example, the verb root *-ïïo-* 'to be big, beautiful' must have an incorporated noun. In (405), this verb root appears with the incorporated noun root *-wend-* 'voice'.

(405) *stan nendi ˌe8endïo teˌen deχa ekaenton*
  stan' ***ne*** ***endi'*** ***yewendïio'***
  stȩʔ   ne   ȩniʔ   ke-wȩn-iyo-ʔ
  no   AMPL 1EMPH 1SG.AGT-voice-be.big.beautiful-STAT

  te'yenh   ***dekha'***   ***ekaenton'***
  teʔ-ka-i-h   dekhaʔ   et-ka-yȩt-o̧-ʔ
  NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT these.ones CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lay.down-DISTR-STAT
  « je ne suis pas le maitre des meubles v.g. q. st en cette cab. »
  'I am not the owner of these pieces of furniture, e.g. the ones that are in this house'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:226)

Some verb bases optionally incorporate a noun. In instances where a verb base can either take an incorporated noun or not, some of these verb bases have two variants: one that cannot incorporate a noun, and another that must incorporate a noun. In many of these cases, the non-incorporating variant of the verb base contains a 'dummy' noun root which is empty of semantic content. This 'dummy' noun root, often in the form of *-n-*, *-nd-*, or *-r-*, acts as a

placeholder for where an incorporated noun would have appeared. For example, in (406), the non-incorporating variant of the verb base for 'to cool, make cold', *-ndandoust-*, begins with the semantically empty, dummy noun root *-nd-* followed by the linker vowel *-a-* (see below for further information about this vowel). Example (407), however, illustrates the use of the incorporating variant of the verb base *-ndoust-* 'to cool, make cold' with the incorporated noun root *-ia't-* 'body'.

(406) *tandand8sten*
       Tändändoustenh !
       tak-nanost-ę-h
       1SG:2SG-make.cold-BEN-IMP
       « refroidis moi cela »
       'Cool (SG) this for me!'
       (Potier 1751:276)

(407) *hoatand8sti*
       hoa'tändoustih
       ho-yaʔt-a-nost-ih
       3M.SG.PAT-body-LK-make.cold-STAT
       « son corps est froid »
       'his body is cold'
       (Potier 1751:276)

Another verb base of this type is *-randeyen-/-ndeyen-* 'to be superfluous',[73] whose non-incorporating variant, shown in (408), contains the dummy noun root *-r-*, but its incorporating variant, shown in (409), does not contain this semantically empty morpheme.

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[73] This verb base is related to *-ndeyen-* + DUPL 'to join together'. Without the duplicative prepronominal prefix, this verb base means 'to be superfluous, extra; to be added in excess'.

(408) *taoten eorande̦enk*
       Ta'ohten' eorändeyenhk ?
       taʔohtęʔ   e-yo-ranekę-h-k
       what   FUT-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.superfluous-STAT-CONT
       « qu'y aura t'il par dessus »
       'What more will there be there?'
       (Potier 1751:282)

(409) *ondaie eorih8ande̦enk*
       ondae'   eorihwändeyenhk
       ǫnaeʔ   e-yo-rihw-a-nekę-h-k
       that.one   FUT-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-LK-be.superfluous-STAT-CONT
       « cela s'ajoutera par dessus »
       'that will be added on top'
       (Potier 1751:281)

If the incorporated noun ends in a consonant and the following verb root begins in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel *a* is inserted between the two.[74] This vowel, called the linker vowel in the present work and abbreviated as LK in the interlinearization, has also been called the stem-joiner vowel or the joiner vowel in other Iroquoianist literature (e.g., Chafe 2015; Michelson, Kennedy, & Doxtator 2016; and Woodbury 2018). Example (410), also discussed in §3.5.2, shows the linker vowel occurring between the noun root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair' and the verb root *-hrenhwi-* 'to be stopped, still'. Similarly, example (411), previously discussed in §5.1, shows the linker vowel between the noun root *-ndat-* 'village, town' and the verb root *-weti-* 'to be all, everything'.

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[74] This linker vowel is also used to break up consonant clusters between morphemes in other parts of the verb template. From the incorporated noun slot onwards, this linker vowel occurs, when necessary, between the verb root and derivational suffixes, between combinations of derivational suffixes, and between aspect-mood suffixes and expanded aspect-mood suffixes. Further discussions of this linker vowel are in Chapter 2 and Chapter 7.

(410) *orih8arenh8i*
    orihwahrenhwih
    yo-rihw-a-hrẹhwi-h
    3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.thing-LK-be.stopped.still-STAT
    « la chose est conclue, vidée, determinée, arretée »
    'the matter is concluded, emptied, decided, stopped'
    (Potier 1751: 340)

(411) *ˌandata8eti aˌotiëh8at !*
    yändataweti'   **ayotiehwat**
    ka-nat-a-weti-ʔ   yako-at-yehwat-Ø
    3FZ/N.SG.AGT-village-LK-be.all.everything-STAT   3IND.PAT-MID-stay.awake-STAT
    « tout veille dans le village »
    'everyone is staying awake in the village'
    (Potier 1751:218)

Some morphophonological environments do not take the linker vowel despite the presence of consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries. For example, the linker vowel does not occur between the noun root *-ia't-* 'body' and the verb root *-r-* 'to put inside, among' in (412), also discussed in §3.5.3.

(412) *onh8a eˌiatracha*
    onhwa'   eyia'trahcha'
    ọhwaʔ   e-k-yaʔt-r-a-hs-aʔ
    now   FUT-1SG.AGT-body-put.inside-LK-DISLOC-PFV
    « j'irai presentement y assister »
    'I will go now to attend it'
    (Potier 1751:328)

Similarly, a linker vowel does not break up the consonant clusters found between the noun root for 'house', *-nonhchi-*, and the verb root *-ndeyen-* 'to join together, to lay side by side' in (413), also discussed in §4.3, or the verb root *-ye-* 'to be so many' in (414), also discussed in §4.4.

(413) *te honnennonste‿en*
     tehönennonhsteyenh
     te-hon-ę-nǫhs-nekę-h
     DUPL-3M.NSG.PAT-MID-house-join.together-STAT
     « ils sont tous 2 voisins par la proximité, la contiguité de leurs maisons »
     'they two are neighbors through the proximity of their houses'
     (Potier 1751:282)

(414) *a te ‿annonske*
     ha'teyänonhskeh
     haʔ-te-ka-nǫhs-ke-h
     TRANS-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-house-be.so.many-STAT
     « dans toutes les cabanes »
     'in all of the houses'
     (Potier 1751:243)

In addition, the linker vowel does not consistently appear between the same incorporated noun and verb root. Examples (415) and (416) contain the same incorporated noun root *-rihw-* 'matter, affair' and the same verb root *-yenni-* 'to surpass, overcome, have an advantage'. The linker vowel indeed occurs between the noun root and the verb root in example (415) (and also in example (395) earlier in this section), but it does not appear in the same phonological environment in example (415). The verb bases only differ in terms of their surrounding derivational affixes: example (416) occurs with the duplicative prepronominal prefix and example (415) occurs with the middle voice prefix and the causative suffix. If the sole factor determining the presence versus the absence of the linker vowel were the need to break up consonant clusters, then the linker vowel would occur in both examples. Therefore, this pair of examples suggests that other factors play a role in the use of the linker vowel.

(415)   *achiatrih8a̧ enniat*
     ahchiatrihwayennia't
     aʔ-hs-at-rihw-a-kęny-a-ʔt-Ø
     FACT-2SG.AGT-MID-matter.affair-LK-surpass-LK-CAUS-PFV
     « tu as fait un grand, un beau coup, une action merveilleuse »
     'you (SG) made a grand, great move, a marvelous action'
     (Potier 1751:246)

(416)   *te hirikennies*
     tehirihkennie's
     te-hi-rihw-kęny-eʔs
     DUPL-3M.DU.AGT-matter.affair-surpass-HAB
     « ils disputent tous 2 »
     'they (M, DU) argue'
     (Potier 1751:245)

In summary, the prototypical function of the linker vowel is to break up consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries in the latter half of the verb template. However, as shown above, for Wendat, the factors determining the need for this linker vowel may be beyond the segmental phonological level. It is possible that word-level prosody, especially in terms of accent placement, interacts with the segmental restrictions on permissible consonant clusters, which together determines whether or not this epenthetic vowel appears. Further research on this topic could elucidate the specific factors governing the use of the linker vowel.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the derivational process of noun incorporation, including the morphological and morphophonological details of this process. Furthermore, the present chapter described the functions of noun incorporation along with the possible semantic roles held between the incorporated noun and the verb base. The next chapter, Chapter 7, discusses the final component of the complex verb base: the derivational suffixes.

Chapter 7

The Complex Verb Base: Derivational Suffixes

The derivational suffixes are the last set of affixes that form the complex verb base. There are ten different derivational suffixes in Wendat, most of which have several allomorphs. These suffixes occur after the verb root, but before the aspect-mood suffix, and this position in the Wendat verb template is illustrated in Figure 14.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Voice Prefixes	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffixes	Aspect-Mood Suffixes	Expanded Aspect Suffixes

Figure 14: Position of derivational suffixes in Wendat verb template

The following sections describe each of the derivational suffixes, including the causative (§7.1), the instrumental (§7.2), the benefactive (§7.3), the inchoative (§7.4), the distributive (§7.5), the reversive (§7.6), the frequentative (§7.7), the dislocative (§7.8), the ambulative (§7.9), and finally, the directive (§7.10).

The derivational suffixes tend to select specific allomorphs of the aspect-mood suffixes. In other words, following a certain allomorph of a derivational suffix, verb bases tend to take the same aspect-mood allomorphs. The specific allomorphs or allomorph sets for each derivational

suffix and the corresponding aspect-mood suffixes are summarized at the end of each respective section.

Finally, section 7.11 describes the various ways in which an event verb can be derived from a stative verb, section 7.12 provides details about possible combinations of these suffixes, and section 7.13 contains a brief conclusion.

7.1. Causative

The causative suffix adds a sense of causation to the verb base, so that the action or event expressed by the underived verb base is understood to be caused by an agent or stimulus of some kind. Cross-linguistically, causatives often increase the valency of a verb, adding a causer as the agent argument of a verb. However, in Wendat, the causative suffix does not always increase the valency of the verb base. The precise grammatical effects of the causative suffix vary according to the morphological transitivity of the original, underived verb base and the animacy of the new causer and causee arguments.

The causative suffix can attach to both stative verbs and event verbs. When the causative attaches to a stative verb, the newly derived verb base is an event verb, which is able to appear in all four basic aspect-moods. Depending upon the animacy of the arguments, however, the newly derived event verb base may still be morphologically intransitive, i.e. the same morphological transitivity as the erstwhile stative verb base. For example, when the stative verb base *-hndiri-* 'to be hard, firm', shown in (417), is suffixed with the causative marker, the causative verb base is still morphologically intransitive, as shown in (418). There is an animate causer of the verb, yet an inanimate causee. Since the inanimate, neuter argument is always

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null in transitive combinations, this verb base is a semantically transitive, morphologically intransitive shift event verb, taking agent prefixes in the habitual, perfective, and imperative aspect-moods, and patient prefixes in the stative aspect-mood (see §3.5.1). The semantic transitivity, but morphological intransitivity of this verb base is evident through the use of a patient pronominal prefix (rather than a transitive pronominal prefix) with the stative aspect-mood suffix in (418).[75]

(417) *ondiri*
       ohndirih
       yo-hniri-h
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.hard.firm-STAT
       « cela est ferme »
       'it's firm'
       (Potier 1751:294)

(418) *hotinnhotonk, hotinditinnen*
       hotinhotonhk   **hotihndihtihnen'**
       hoti-nhotǫ-ʔ-hk   hoti-hniri-ht-ih-nęʔ
       3M.NSG.PAT-close.door-STAT-PAST   3M.NSG.PAT-be.hard.firm-CAUS-STAT-PAST
       « ils avoient fermé la porte fortement »
       'they had closed the door forcefully'
       (Potier 1751:294)

Related to the verb base in (417), when the causative attaches to the stative verb base *-ia'tahndiri-* 'to be strong, vigorous', as in (419), the newly derived verb base is an event

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[75] As is the case with all neuter arguments in transitive combinations, the inanimate neuter causee of the verb is phonologically null. When a semantically transitive verb has one argument that is always an inanimate neuter, as is the case here, the verb takes intransitive pronominal prefixes, behaving like a shift event or patient event verb (see §3.5.1 for a detailed discussion). If this causative verb base were morphologically transitive with an animate agent and a neuter patient, the expected pronominal form used would be *hati-* 3M.PL:3FZ/N.SG, which is syncretic with the 3M.PL.AGT pronominal form. However, the pronominal used in the present example is from the patient pronominal paradigm (*hoti-* 3M.NSG.PAT), thereby excluding the possibility of there being an inanimate causee represented on the pronominal prefix.

verb. Since the causer and causee arguments are both animate, the causative also increases the

valency of the verb base, yielding a morphologically transitive verb, as shown in (420).

(419) *hoatandiri*
       hoa'tahndirih
       ho-yaʔt-a-hniri-h
       3M.SG.PAT-body-LK-be.hard.firm-STAT
       « c'est un hom. robuste, vigoureux, fort, d'une bonne santé »
       'he's a man that is robust, vigorous, strong, in good health'
       (Potier 1751:294)

(420) *ta ̗iatandiθa*
       Tayia'tahndihtah !
       taki-yaʔt-a-hniri-ht-ah
       2DU:1SG.IMP-body-LK-be.hard.firm-CAUS-IMP
       « soutenez moi, affermissez-moi, tenez moi ferme »
       'Support (DU) me, strengthen me, keep me strong!'
       (Potier 1751:294)

Finally, when attached to the agent stative verb *-toyen-* 'to be certain, true, sure', shown in

(421), the causative suffix adds an inanimate causer argument. Since the causer is a neuter

argument, which is phonologically null in transitive contexts, the pronominal marking of the

causative verb base is reanalyzed as a patient event verb, as shown in (422). In other words,

the causative verb base takes patient pronominal prefixes with all aspect-moods.

(421) *te ̗ato ̗en n'ondaie*
       te'yatoyenh   **nondae'**
       teʔ-ka-tokę-h   nǫnaeʔ
       NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.certain-STAT   that.one
       « cela est faux »
       'that's false'
       (Potier 1751:366)

(422) *ondaie sandi̧onrato̧ensθa*
     ondae'   **sa'ndiyonhratoyenstha'**
     ǫnaeʔ   sa-ʔnikǫhr-a-tokę-st-haʔ
     the.one   2SG.PAT-mind-LK-be.certain-CAUS-HAB
     « voila ce qui te fait connoitre, ce qui te donne assurance »
     'here's what makes you know it, what gives you assurance of it'
     (Potier 1751:367)

The derivation of causative verb bases from morphologically intransitive event verbs has grammatical effects that parallel those found for stative verbs. The verb base in (423), *-ia'tenh-* 'for someone to fall', is an example of a semantically and morphologically intransitive shift event verb. When the causative is added to this verb base, the meaning of the verb becomes 'to make someone fall, to let someone fall', and the verb is semantically transitive. Since the causer and the causee are both animate arguments, the valency of the verb base is also increased, and the verb now takes transitive pronominal prefixes, as illustrated in (424), an example previously discussed in §6.1.

(423) *ontahaatenha*
     ontahäa'tenha'
     ǫta-ha-yaʔt-ę-h-aʔ
     CISLOC.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-body-fall-INCH-PFV
     « il est tombé de là haut »
     'he fell from up there'
     (Potier 1751:375)

(424) *tsateñiensθa, echeatent de cheena*
     Tsatënienstah   **ehchea'tenht**
     ts-ate-wyę-st-ah   e-hse-yaʔt-ę-ht-Ø
     2NSG.AGT.IMP-MID-know.how-CAUS-IMP   FUT-2SG:3IND-body-fall-CAUS-PFV

     de   **chëen'ah !**
     ne   hse-yę-ʔ=ah
     AMPL   2SG:3IND-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
     « prends gar tu laissera tomber ton enfant »
     'Be (NSG) careful, you'll (SG) let your child fall!'
     (Potier 1751:375)

The same semantic change and valency increase is shown in examples (425), (426) and (427). In (425) and (426), also discussed in §3.4.2, without the causative suffix, the shift event verb base -*ie*- 'to wake up, to be awake' is semantically and morphologically intransitive. However, as shown in (427), previously discussed in §3.3.3, the causer and causee arguments are both animate, and thus, the causative suffix increases the valency of the verb, making the verb both semantically and morphologically transitive. This morpheme also changes the semantics of the verb base from 'to wake up, to be awake' to 'to wake someone up'.

(425) *ihaes*
       ihaehs
       i-ha-ye-hs
       PROTH-3M.SG.AGT-wake.up-HAB
       « il s'eveille »
       'he wakes up, he's waking up'
       (Potier 1751:217)

(426) *ihoe*
       ihoeh
       i-ho-ye-h
       PROTH-3M.SG.PAT-wake.up-STAT
       « il est eveillé »
       'he is awake; he has woken up'
       (Potier 1751:217)

(427) *ehechie't onh8a eχ'entate*
       ehechieht
       e-hehs-ye-ht-Ø
       FUT-2SG:3M.SG-be.awake-CAUS-PFV

       onhwa'   kha'   entate'
       ǫhwaʔ   khaʔ   w-ęt-a-te-ʔ
       now   PROX   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-day-LK-exist-STAT
       « tu l'eveilleras aujourd'hui »
       'you (SG) will wake him up today'
       (Potier 1751: 217)

When a derived causative verb base has an inanimate causee, the verb base is reanalyzed as a shift event verb, and therefore, semantically transitive, but morphologically intransitive. This occurs when the causative is suffixed to the patient event verb *-rihierih-* 'for a matter to be reasonable, just, true', shown in (428), also discussed in §3.3. The new causative verb base, with an inanimate causee, is morphologically intransitive and has the pronominal marking of a regular shift event verb, as shown in (429).

(428) *orihierihen echiatatia*
    orihierihenh   **ehchiatatia'**
    yo-rihw-yeri-h-ęh   e-hs-atati-aʔ
    3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.right.straight-INCH-STAT FUT-2SG.AGT-talk-PFV
    « tu parleras correctemt »
    'you (SG) will speak correctly'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:260)

(429) *stan te sarihieriha'ti*
    stan'   **te'sarihierihahtih**
    stęʔ   teʔ-esa-rihw-yeri-h-a-ht-ih
    no   NEG-2SG.PAT-matter.affair-be.right.straight-INCH-LK-CAUS-STAT
    « tu n'as pas parlé sinceremt »
    'you have not spoken sincerely, honestly'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:259)

Overall, the animacy of the causer and causee arguments determines the morphological transitivity of the newly derived causative verb base. If both the causer and the causee arguments are animate, then the derived base is a transitive event verb, appearing in all four basic aspect-moods with transitive pronominal prefixes. If there is an animate causer and an inanimate causee, since the causee is a neuter argument that is phonologically null, the derived verb base is reanalyzed as a morphologically intransitive shift event verb, taking agent prefixes in the habitual, perfective, and imperative aspect-moods and patient prefixes in the stative aspect-mood. If there is an inanimate causer, such as a stimulus, and an animate causee, again,

since the inanimate neuter argument is phonologically null, the verb base is reanalyzed as a patient event verb base, taking patient prefixes in all aspect-moods. In all instances, the suffixation of this morpheme causes the verb base to become semantically transitive. These generalizations hold for all underived, morphologically intransitive verb bases, i.e. the verb bases that are morphologically intransitive before the affixation of the causative.

When the causative attaches to existing transitive event verb bases, there are slight differences in the way in which the transitivity and verb class are affected by the affixation of this morpheme. Since transitive event verb bases have animate grammatical agents and patients, the causee derived from the affixation of this marker is also animate. The animacy of the new causer argument, however, does have implications for the morphological transitivity and verb class of the newly derived verb base.

When the causative adds an animate causer argument to a transitive event verb base, the causative verb base remains morphologically transitive. The pair of examples (430) and (431) illustrate this context. These two examples share the same arguments, yet in the derived causative base in (431), the grammatical agent is interpreted as a causer and the grammatical patient as a causee.

(430) *te χendare de χeeña aˌenk*
    te'khëndare'   **de**   **khëen'ah**
    teʔ-khe-nare-ʔ   ne   khe-yę-ʔ=ah
    NEG-1SG:3IND-have.kin-STAT   AMPL   1SG:3IND-have.as.child-stat=dim

    aayenhk
    a:-ka-i-h-k
    OPT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT-CONT
    « je n'ai persone qi soit a moy en qualité d'enfant – je n'ay pas d'enfans »
    'I don't have anyone who is like my child, I don't have any children'
    (Potier 1744:132)

(431) *te χendarati on¸8e*
  te'khëndaretih   **onyweh**
  te?-khe-nare-t-ih   ǫkweh
  neg-1SG:3IND-have.kin-CAUS-STAT   person
  « je n'ay pas mis d'homme au monde, je n'ai pas eu d'enfant »
  'I have not put any man into the world, I have not had children'
  (Potier 1744:132)

If the causer argument added to the transitive event verb base is inanimate, there are two possible outcomes for the derived causative verb base. In some cases, the generalizations found for inanimate causers added to originally morphologically intransitive verbs also hold here. For example, when the causative is attached to the transitive event verb base *-rio-/-io-* 'to kill, fight someone' in (432), also discussed in §3.5.1, it adds an inanimate causer, as shown in (433). Because the inanimate causer is phonologically null, the causative verb base is semantically transitive, but morphologically intransitive, and it is reanalyzed as a patient event verb using patient pronominal prefixes for all aspect-moods.

(432) *ehechrio*
  ehehchrio'
  e-hehs-ryo-?
  FUT-2SG:3M.SG-kill.fight-PFV
  « tu le battras »
  'you (SG) will fight him'
  (Potier 1751:269)

(433) *Taoten tsisaioʿθa ?*
  Ta'ohten' tsisaiotha' ?
  ta?ohtę?   tsi-esa-ryo-ht-ha?
  what   REP-2SG.PAT-kill.fight-CAUS-HAB
  « qu'est ce qi t'afflige ? de quoi est ta pensee qi te tue et retue »
  'What's afflicting you (SG); what is the thought that kills and rekills you?'
  (Potier 1744:113)

In other instances when the causative adds an inanimate causer, then the affixation of the causative does not change the argument structure. The two animate arguments found in the original transitive event verb base remain the grammatical agent and patient of the new causative verb base, and the inanimate causer is not represented in the pronominal prefix. This phenomenon is illustrated in examples (434) and (435). The arguments represented on the transitive pronominal prefix are the same, with or without the causative suffix. Since the animate arguments take precedence over any inanimate arguments, the inanimate causer added by the causative suffix in (435) is not referenced on the verb base. This particular outcome of the affixation of the causative may only occur when the original verb base contains the benefactive applicative (see §7.3), seeing that this marker adds an animate, grammatical patient.

(434)   ˌonakeronsennik
        yonwahkeron'sennihk
        kǫw-ahkerǫ-ʔsęni-hk
        1SG:2SG-fear-BEN-HAB
        « je crains pour toy »
        'I fear for you (SG)'
        (Potier 1751:166)

(435)   ˌonakeronsenniθa
        yonwahkeron'sennitha'
        kǫw-ahkerǫ-ʔsęni-ht-haʔ
        1SG:2SG-fear-BEN-CAUS-HAB
        « voila ce qui me fait craindre pour toi »
        'here's what makes me fear for you (SG)'
        (Potier 1751:166)

As suggested by the discussion of inanimate causers, the causer of any given action is not necessarily an agent, in the sense of an individual or individuals, but it can be a reason, circumstance, or inanimate entity that causes the action or event to occur. Woodbury

(2018:262) mentions that a semantic stimulus can also be interpreted as a causer in Onondaga. This type of causation, in which a stimulus causes the event to occur, lends itself to interpretation as an instrument used to cause the action. The "semantic slippage" between the causative and the instrumental, noted by Chafe (2015:65) for the same phenomenon in Seneca, is most likely due to a reinterpretation of the stimulus causer as an instrument.[76]

With some verb bases in Wendat, the causative suffix can be interpreted as an instrumental marker, due to this reanalysis of the inanimate, stimulus causer as an instrument.[77] For example, the causative verb base in (436) refers to the object used to wipe one's face, and the causative verb base in (437) refers to the instrument used to row a canoe, i.e. a paddle. Furthermore, in these cases, the pronominal marking of the derived causative-instrumental verb bases changes to follow those found with the instrumental applicative. As noted above, when the causative adds an inanimate causer, such as a stimulus, the verb base is most often reanalyzed as a semantically transitive, but morphologically intransitive patient event verb, taking patient prefixes in all aspect-moods. However, when this inanimate causer is reinterpreted as an (inanimate) instrument, the pronominal marking pattern is that of a semantically transitive, morphologically intransitive shift event verb, as illustrated in (436) and (437) with the use of agent pronominal prefixes in the habitual aspect-mood.

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[76] The reinterpretation of a stimulus causer as an instrument is unusual typologically. Cross-linguistically, causatives add an agent (causer) argument to the clause and applicatives, such as instrumentals, add a patient (instrument) argument to the clause. Since these two morphemes add different types of arguments, the "semantic slippage" between the causative and instrumental is unexpected. However, this is a common phenomenon in Northern Iroquoian languages and was first described by Lounsbury (1953:80) for Oneida.

[77] This instrumental usage of the causative suffix also explains how the causative allomorph -t- became a nominalizer suffix (see §6.3). The transition from causative suffix to nominalizer most likely occurred on an individual basis, meaning that the causative derived a new verb base in which the stimulus causer was reinterpreted as an instrument. The causative verb base itself was then reanalyzed as a complex noun base with the causative suffix as the nominalizer morpheme.

(436) *χ'ondaie aˌ8akonchia8eˌaθa*
khondae' aywakonhchiaweyatha'
khǫnae? yakw-at-kǫhs-a-wek-a-t-ha?
this.one 1PL.EXCL.AGT-MID-face-LK-wipe-LK-CAUS-HAB
« nous nous essuions le visage avec cela »
'we (PL, EXCL) wipe our faces with that'
(Potier 1751:319)

(437) *ondaie ˌeˌa8e'θa*
ondae' yeyawetha'
ǫnae? ke-kawe-ht-ha?
the.one 1SG.AGT-row-CAUS-HAB
« voila ma rame, mon aviron »
'here's my paddle, my oar'
(Potier 1751:236)

The causative suffix occurs in a variety of forms, including *-ht-/-t-*, *-st-*, *-t-*, *-'t-*, and *-hw-*. The verb base selects the form of the causative with which it appears, and the aspect-mood allomorphs that follow the causative vary in shape. For most of the causative allomorphs, the aspect-mood suffixes are *-ha'* for the habitual, *-ih* for the stative, and *-Ø* for the perfective and imperative. For the *-ht-/-t-* causative allomorph set, the *-t-* variant occurs before the habitual aspect-mood suffix, and the *-ht-* variant appears elsewhere. The causative and aspect-mood suffix allomorphy is summarized below in Table 26.

Causative Allomorphs	Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-ht-/-t-	-ha'	-ih	-Ø	-Ø
			-a'	-ah
-st-	-ha'	-ih	-Ø	-Ø
			-a'	-ah
-t-	-ha'	-ih	-Ø	-Ø
	-s			
-'t-	-ha'	-ih	-Ø	-Ø
-hw-	-ahs/-ahch	-ih	-a'	-ah

Table 26: Causative allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.2. Instrumental

The instrumental suffix derives a verb base denoting an event in which an instrument used to perform or accomplish an action. The instrumental is an applicative marker which adds a semantic instrument to the existing verb base, and most often deriving a semantically transitive, morphologically intransitive shift event verb. For example, the instrumental verb base in (438) is a shift event verb in which the individual using the instrument is represented by the agent pronominal prefix, and the medicine used to treat an ailment is the phonologically null inanimate instrument.

(438) *ondaie ̧atetsentak8a*
    ondae'   ***yatetsen'takhwa'***
    ǫnaeʔ   k-ate-tsyęʔt-a-hkw-haʔ
    this.one   1SG.AGT-MID-heal-LK-INS-HAB
    « je me pense, me medecine avec cela »
    'I'm healing myself, treating myself with this'
    (Potier 1751:369)

In (439), previously discussed in §6.3, the event denoted by the instrumental verb base points to the object on which the individual had placed the meat. Again, the individual who

had placed the meat on the plate is the grammatical agent, the sole arugment represented on the intransitive pronominal prefix, and the plate itself is the inanimate instrument added by this suffix. A pronominal prefix is used with the stative aspect-mood, thereby illustrating that this semantically transitive, morphologicallly intransitive instrumental verb base follows shift event pronominal marking.

(439) *aˌe8atsaraˈk8inˈnen de χaˌatsen*
aye'wahtsarahkwihnen'
wake-ʔwahts-a-r-a-hkw-ih-nęʔ
1SG.PAT-meat-LK-put.inside-LK-INS-STAT-PAST

de   kha'   yatsen'
ne   khaʔ   ka-tsęʔ
AMPL   PROX   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-plate.NSF
« j'avois mis de la viande dans ce plat »
'I had put some meat on this plate'
(Ms 60 n.d.:224)

The instrument argument of the newly derived verb base does not necessarily have to be an object or tool. In fact, the instrument of the verb base can be other inanimate entities, including abstract concepts. For example, the instrument argument of the verb base in (440) is the space used to accomplish an action. In (441), the instrumental argument is the time period used to eat meals, and in (442), the instrument denoted is the particular cuisine used for the meals. Finally, in (443), the instrument of the newly derived verb base is the reason used for eating meals regularly.

(440) *θo aˌ8atsatañionk8a*
tho   aywatsa'tänionkhwa'
tho   yakw-atsaʔtanyǫ-hkw-haʔ
there   1PL.EXCL.AGT-eat.a.meal-INS-HAB
« c'est le lieu ou nous prennons notre repas…c'est le refectoir »
'it's the place we eat our meals; it's the dining hall'
(Potier 1751:205)

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(441) *χaˌende n'onh8a aˌ8atsatanionk8a*
kha'yendeh   ne   onhwa'   aywatsa'tänionkhwa'
kha?kęneh   ne   ǫhwa?   yakw-atsa?tanyǫ-hkw-ha?
this.time   AMPL   now   1PL.EXCL.AGT-eat.a.meal-INS-HAB
« voici l'heure de notre repas »
'this is the hour for our meal'
(Potier 1751:205)

(442) *χ'ondaie aˌ8atsatañionk8a*
khondae'   aywatsa'tänionkhwa'
khǫnae?   yakw-atsa?tanyǫ-hkw-ha?
these.ones   1PL.EXCL.AGT-eat.a.meal-INS-HAB
« voila nos mets, de quoi nous faisons nos repas »
'here are our dishes, of which we make our meals'
(Potier 1751:205)

(443) *ondaie ˌatsatañionk8a d'iˌerhe aonsa8atieronk8aha de ˌieronˌe*
ondae'   yatsa'tänionkhwa'   de   iyerhe'
ǫnae?   k-atsa?tanyǫ-hkw-ha?   ne   i-k-erh-e?
the.one   1SG.AGT-eat.a.meal-INS-HAB   AMPL   PROTH-1SG.AGT-think.want-HAB

aonsawatieronhkwaha'   de   yieron'yeh
aǫsa-w-at-yerǫ-hkw-a-h-a?   ne   k-yerǫ-?=keh
REP.OPT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-body-take.pick.up-LK-INCH-PFV   AMPL   1SG.AGT-body-NSF=LOC
« je prends mes repas pour reparer les forces de mon corps…pour que mon corps
redevienne fort »
'I eat my meals to restore the strength in my body, so that my body becomes strong
again'
(Potier 1751:205)

The instrumental applicative most commonly attaches to morphologically intransitive

verbs. As illustrated by the examples above, since the instrumental always adds an inanimate

neuter patient, it does not increase the valency of the verb base, but it does add a semantic

instrument, making these verbs semantically transitive.[78] When the instrumental is attached to

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[78] Mithun (2002) discusses the origin and development of the instrumental applicative in Iroquoian, using
examples from Tuscarora and Mohawk. In this work, Mithun explains that since the semantic instrument is
always grammatically neuter and phonologically null in transitive combinations, the derived instrumental verb
bases do not show the semantic instrument as a core argument. However, instrumental nominalizations that are
derived from instrumental verb bases demonstrate that this instrument is a core argument.

an existing transitive verb base, the transitive pronominal prefix still represents the animate core arguments of the erstwhile verb, yet the semantics of the newly derived instrumental verb base reflect the use of this applicative. For example, the transitive pronominal prefix used on the instrumental verb base in (444), also discussed in §4.1, refers to the two animate core arguments. The grammatical agent is the individual doing the bothering, the grammatical patient is the individual being bothered, but the instrument used to accomplish the bothering is not represented on the pronominal prefix.

(444) *ondaie eθaˌengentak8a*
     ondae'   ethayëngentakhwa'
     ǫnaeʔ   et-hake-nkęt-a-hkw-haʔ
     that.one   CISLOC-3M.SG:1SG-irritate-LK-INS-HAB
     « il fait, dit cela pour m'irriter »
     'he does this or says this to irritate me'
     (Potier 1751:300)

Another example of the affixation of the instrumental suffix to a transitive verb is in (445), also discussed in §3.3.3. Although the instrumental applicative is attached to the verb, the grammatical agent and patient represented in the transitive pronominal prefix are individuals, and the semantic instrument is only signaled by presence of the instrumental suffix.

(445) *stante θaˌiatrak8i*
     stan'   te'thayia'trahkwih
     stęʔ   teʔ-t-hak-yaʔt-r-a-hkw-ih
     no   NEG-CISLOC-3M.SG:1SG-body-put.inside-LK-INS-STAT
     « il ne m'en a point fait de part »
     'he has not involved me; he did not have me participate'
     (Potier 1751:326)

The allomorphs of the instrumental suffix are *-hkw-* and *-hk-*.[79] The *-hkw-* allomorph occurs before the habitual and stative aspect-moods and before other derivational suffixes. The *-hk-* variant occurs with the perfective aspect-mood and the imperative mood.[80] The aspect-mood allomorphs that follow the instrumental suffix are: *-ha'* for the habitual suffix, *-ih* for the stative suffix, and *-Ø* for the perfective aspect-mood and imperative mood. Finally, the combination of the *-hkw-* instrumental allomorph and the *-ha'* habitual suffix becomes *-khwa'*. This allomorphy is summarized in Table 27.

Instrumental Allomorphs		Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-hkw-/-hk-	INS	-khwa'	-hkw-	-hk-	-hk-
	ASPECT-MOOD		-ih	-Ø	-Ø

Table 27: Instrumental allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.3. Benefactive

The benefactive suffix expresses the fact that an action or event is done for someone or done on behalf of someone.[81] Thus, the action or event is often construed to be for someone's benefit. Example (446), also discussed in §3.3.3, shows the benefactive used to express the fact that the making of the bow is to be done for the speaker, and presumably, for the speaker's benefit.

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[79] In certain contexts, however, the causative suffix is also used as an instrumental suffix (see §7.1).

[80] Noted by Lounsbury (1953) and Mithun (2002), the instrumental suffix is descended from the verb root *-hkw-/-hk-* 'to take, pick up'. This same verb root is also the source of the instrument nominalizer, which is discussed in §6.3.

[81] Earlier grammatical analyses of Iroquoian languages used the term *dative* for this morpheme (e.g. Lounsbury 1953 for Oneida and Chafe 1967 for Seneca).

(446) *ta̧ aênnonnien*
       Taya'ennonnienh !
       tak-a?ȩn-ǫny-ȩ-h
       2SG:1SG.IMP-bow-make-BEN-IMP
       « fais moi un arc »
       'Make (SG) me a bow!'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:18)

The use of the term benefactive, however, is misleading since this suffix can also express that an action or event is performed to someone's detriment. The malefactive function of this marker is illustrated in example (447), where an agent stops and breaks up the group of patients, which is to their detriment.

(447) *ason̦ 8atiaten*
       a'shonywatia'ten'
       a?-shǫkw-at-ya?k-t-ȩ-?
       FACT-3M.SG:1PL-MID-break-CAUS-BEN-PFV
       « il nous a arreté, nous a rompu, fait finir notre action »
       'he stopped us (PL), broke us up, made us stop our actions'
       (Potier 1751:264)

The use of the benefactive can be interpreted in multiple ways, even with the same verb base. The examples in (448) and (449) are both formed from the same verb base, yet there are slightly different interpretations of the benefactive allomorph between the two. In example (448), the benefactive signals that the agent leaves the group for his benefit, whereas in example (449), the benefactive indicates that the agent's leaving will be enacted for or on behalf of the group. This benefactive verb base, *-arahskwändi-/-arahskwa's-*, in fact, can be interpreted as either 'to leave someone' or 'to leave for someone'.

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(448) *ason̦8arask8as*
a'shonywarahskwa's
aʔ-shǫkw-arahskw-a-ʔs-Ø
FACT-3M.SG:1PL-leave-LK-BEN-PFV
« il est parti d'avec nous, il nous a quitte »
'he left from being with us, he left us'
(Potier 1751:171)

(449) *eson̦8arask8as*
eshonywarahskwa's
e-shǫkw-arahskw-a-ʔs-Ø
FUT-3M.SG:1PL-leave-LK-BEN-PFV
« il partira pour nous »
'he will leave for us'
(Potier 1751:171)

In other instances, the same verb root can take different benefactive allomorphs yielding different benefactive semantics.[82] The benefactive allomorph set *-n(d)i-/-has-* occurs with the verb root *-ont-* 'to put in the fire, oven', creating a benefactive verb base meaning 'to put in the fire, oven for someone'. The related verb base *-nda'tarontändi-/-nda'taronthas-* 'to put bread on the fire, in the oven for someone', with the benefactive allomorph *-has-* of the *-ndi-/-has-* set, is shown in (450). The same verb root *-ont-* also combines with the benefactive allomorph set *-'senni-/-'s-* which together form the verb base *-onta'senni-/-onta's-* 'for someone's possession to fall in the fire'. The related verb base *-ndahionta'senni-/-ndahionta's-* 'for someone's knife to fall in the fire' is shown in (451). As illustrated in these examples, when attached to related verb bases, these two benefactive allomorph sets produce different meanings.

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[82] As demonstrated in Mithun (2002), the semantic differences arising from the different benefactive allomorphs are due to the historical sources of these allomorphs.

(450)   *tandataronθas*
     Tända'taronthas !
     tak-naʔtar-ǫt-has-Ø
     2SG:1SG.IMP-bread-put.in.fire-BEN-IMP
     « mets moi du pain au feu, au four »
     'Put (SG) the bread on the fire, in the oven for me!'
     (Potier 1751:422)

(451)   *hondahiontasenni*
     höndahyonta'sennih
     ho-nahy-ǫt-a-ʔsẹni-h
     (3FZ/N.SG:)3M.SG-knife-put.in.fire-LK-BEN-STAT
     « son couteau est tombé dans le feu »
     'his knife has fallen in the fire'
     (Potier 1751:422)

     The verb base *-atati-* 'to speak' also co-occurs with two different benefactive allomorph

sets. The first set is *-ni-/-en-* which creates the benefactive verb

base *-atatiäni-/-atatien-* meaning 'to speak for someone, to speak in someone's favor', as

shown in (452). The second set is *-'senni-/-'s-*, which creates the verb

base *-atatia'senni-/-atatia's-* meaning 'to interpret for someone, to speak on someone's

behalf', as in (453). This pair of examples also demonstrates that a single verb root or base

may combine with different sets of benefactive allomorphs to yield slightly different

benefactive meanings.

(452)   *ta̧ atatien*
     Tayatatienh !
     tak-atati-ẹ-h
     2SG:1SG.IMP-speak-BEN-IMP
     « parle pour moi ; en ma faveur »
     'Speak (SG) for me; speak in my favor!'
     (Potier 1744:50)

(453) *ta¸atatias*
       Tayatatia's !
       tak-atati-a-ʔs-Ø
       2SG:1SG.IMP-speak-LK-BEN-IMP
       « parle »
       'Speak (SG) on my behalf!'
       (Potier 1751:183)

The benefactive suffix is an applicative, meaning that it adds a grammatical patient (semantically, a beneficiary or recipient) to the verb base. When attached to a morphologically intransitive verb, this applicative derives a new transitive event verb base. For example, when the benefactive suffix combines with the morphologically intransitive stative verb base -*skhw*- 'to be (too) small', the derived benefactive verb base is morphologically transitive, as evidenced by the use of transitive pronominal prefixes. An example of the original stative verb base is in (454), and an example of the derived transitive verb base with the benefactive suffix -*'senni*- is in (455).

(454) *onnonchiasχ8i*
       önonhchiaskhwih
       yo-nǫhs-a-sthw-ih
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-house-LK-be.small-STAT
       « maison trop petite »
       'the house is too small'
       (Potier 1751:354)

(455) *annonchiasχ8asennik*
       änonhchiaskhwa'sennihk
       wak-nǫhs-a-sthw-a-ʔsẹni-hk
       (3FZ/N.SG:)1SG-house-LK-be.small-LK-BEN-HAB
       « cette maison me paroit petite, trop petite »
       'this house seems small to me, too small'
       (Potier 1751:354)

The benefactive marker has the same grammatical effects when suffixed to a morphologically intransitive event verb. For example, when the benefactive is added to the morphologically intransitive event verb in (456), *-nda'y-* 'to sow seeds', the derived verb base, shown in (457), becomes semantically and morphologically transitive with the beneficiary as the grammatical patient.

(456) *handaχa*
       hända'kha'
       ha-naʔk-haʔ
       3M.SG.AGT-SOW-HAB
       « il seme »
       'he sows [seeds]'
       (Potier 1751:274)

(457) *hesta̧andik*
       hehsta'yändihk
       hehs-naʔk-a-ni-hk
       2SG:3M.SG-SOW-LK-BEN-HAB
       « tu semes pour lui »
       'you (SG) sow [seeds] for him'
       (Potier 1751:274)

Finally, the benefactive can also be added to transitive event verb bases. Since Wendat verbs contain a maximum of two core arguments, the benefactive cannot increase the valency of this existing transitive event verb. Instead, the benefactive applicative signals that the grammatical patient of the verb is the beneficiary of the action. The pair of examples (458) and (459) illustrate the use of the benefactive with the transitive event verb base, *-'ndëni-* 'to trap or catch, to catch up with someone'. Example (458) contains the original, underived transitive event verb base, whereas example (459) shows the benefactive verb base with the first person non-singular beneficiary as the grammatical patient.

(458) *ason̞8andennia*
       a'shonywa'ndënia'
       aʔ-shǫkwa-ʔneny-aʔ
       FACT-3M.SG:1PL-trap.catch-PFV
       « ils nous a ratrapé, il nous a joint »
       'he caught up with us (PL), he joined us'
       (Potier 1751:283)

(459) *onχindennianni*
       onkhi'ndëniänih
       yǫkhi-ʔneny-a-ni-h
       3IND:1NSG-trap.catch-LK-BEN-STAT
       « on a eu l'avantage sur nous »
       'they've (IND) have the advantage on us (NSG)'
       (Potier 1751:283)

The presence of a benefactive suffix in a verb base, however, does not necessarily mean that the overall verb base is morphologically transitive. Although the benefactive suffix does transitivize a morphologically intransitive verb by adding a grammatical patient, subsequent derivations may detransitivize the verb base. For example, the complex verb base -*ennonhchïoständi*- 'to appropriate or take ownership of someone's house' in (460), also discussed in §5.1, contains both the detransitivizing middle voice marker -*en*- and the transitivizing benefactive applicative -*ndi*-. Given that this verb base is morphologically transitive, as illustrated through the use of the transitive pronominal prefix *sk*-, it is clear that the middle voice marker was prefixed first, and the benefactive subsequently attached itself to this middle-marked, morphologically intransitive verb base.

(460) *skennonchiostandik*
       skennonhchïoständihk
       sk-ę-nǫhs-iyo-st-a-ni-hk
       2SG:1SG-MID-house-be.big.beautiful-CAUS-LK-BEN-HAB
       « tu t'approprie ma maison »
       'you're taking over my house'
       (Potier 1744:167)

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Example (461), however, shows the opposite sequencing of affixation. This example, also discussed in §5.2, contains the complex verb base *-atatennonhchionniäni-* 'to make a house for oneself' which is morphologically intransitive. Therefore, the benefactive was added first to this verb base, deriving a morphologically transitive verb, and subsequently, a reflexive marker was prefixed, thereby detransitivizing the verb.

(461) *chiatatennonchionniannik sonh8â ? stan te hiândiarasennik de hechieňa*
      Chiatatennonhchionniänihk   **sonhwa' ?**
      hs-atatę-nǫhs-ǫny-a-ni-hk   s-ǫhwa-ʔ
      2SG.AGT-REFL-house-do.make-LK-BEN-HAB   2SG.PAT-be.alone-STAT

      Stan' **tehia'ndiara'sennihk**
      stę̨ʔ   teʔ-hya-ʔny-a-r-a-ʔsęni-hk
      no   NEG-3M.SG:2SG-finger-LK-put.inside-BEN-HAB

      de   **hehchien'ah ?**
      ne   hehs-yę-ʔ=ah
      AMPL   2SG:3M.SG-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
      « tu te fais une cab. tte seule, ton fils ne t'aide pas »
      'Are you (SG) building your house all by yourself? Your son isn't helping you?'
      (Ms 60 n.d.:45)

As hinted at earlier, the allomorphs of the benefactive occur in sets that are distributed according to the particular aspect-mood that follows, either the habitual, the stative, the perfective, or the imperative. One of the common sets of benefactive allomorphs is *-n(d)i-/-en-*, for which the *-n(d)i-* allomorph occurs before the two imperfective aspect-moods, the habitual and the stative, and the *-en-* allomorph occurs before the perfective and imperative aspect-moods. The verb base *-rihoriani-/-rihoiäni-/-rihorien-/-rihoien-* 'to interrupt someone, to disturb someone's work' contains this set of benefactive allomorphs. Example (462) shows the *-ni-* allomorph before the habitual suffix, and example (463) shows the *-en-* allomorph before the perfective suffix.

(462) *skrihoiannik*
       skrihoiänihk
       sk-rihw-ori-a-ni-hk
       2SG:1SG-matter.affair-move.agitate-LK-BEN-HAB
       « tu me trouble mon discours, tu me detourne de mon travail »
       'you disturb my speech, you divert me from my work'
       (Potier 1744:242)

(463) *a͜onrihoien*
       aayonrihoien'
       a:-kǫ-rihw-ori-ę-ʔ
       OPT-1SG:2SG-matter.affair-move.agitate-BEN-PFV
       « que j'interrompe ton discours »
       'if I were to interrupt your (sg) speech'
       (Potier 1744:242)

The next set of benefactive allomorphs is *-n(d)i-/-has-*, where *-n(d)i-* occurs before one of

the two imperfective aspect-moods, and *-has-* occurs before the perfective or the imperative.

The verb base *-ientändi-/-ienhas-* 'to put something in front of someone; to put something

away, on reserve for someone' contains these benefactive allomorphs. The *-ndi-* benefactive is

shown before the stative aspect-mood suffix in (464), and the *-has-* benefactive appears before

the perfective aspect-mood suffix in (465).

(464) *honaentandi*
       honwaentändih
       hǫwa-yęt-a-ni-h
       3IND:3M.SG-lay.down-LK-BEN-STAT
       « on lui a gardé sa part »
       'they (IND) have saved him his share'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:224)

(465) *isa ichien aetsïenhas*
       isa'   ihchien'   a'etsienhas
       isaʔ   ihsę̨ʔ   aʔ-yets-yę-has-Ø
       2EMPH   really   FACT-3IND:2NSG-lay.down-BEN-PFV
       « c'est pr vo' autres qu'on met cela la, v.g. ce plat »
       'it's for all of you (NSG) that they (IND) put that there, e.g. this plate'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:224)

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A similar set of benefactive allomorphs is *-n(d)i-/-hons-*, in which *-hons-* is the allomorph that appears before the perfective or imperative and *-n(d)i-* occurs before the habitual or the stative. This allomorphy is illustrated by examples (466) and (467) with the verb base *-rihwaentonhondi-/-rihwaentonhons-* 'to give others advice, to preach to others'. In (466), the *-ndi-* allomorph occurs before the habitual aspect-mood suffix, whereas in (467), the *-hons-* allomorph appears before the imperative mood suffix.

(466)   *son̗8arih8aentondik*
        shonywarihwaentondihk
        sho̧kwa-rihw-a-yȩt-o̧-ni-hk
        3M.SG:1PL-matter.affair-LK-lay.down-DISTR-BEN-HAB
        « il nous donne des avis »
        'he gives us (PL) advice'
        (Potier 1751:220)

(467)   *ta̗rih8aentonhons*
        Tayrihwaentonhons !
        tak-rihw-a-yȩt-o̧-ho̧s-Ø
        2SG:1SG.IMP-matter.affair-LK-lay.down-DISTR-BEN-IMP
        « dis moi ta pensée »
        'Tell (SG) me your thought!'
        (Potier 1751:220)

The *-n(d)i-/-hons-* benefactive allomorphs tend to attach to verb bases ending in the nasal vowel *on*, such as after the distributive *-on-* in (467) or after the verb root *-hiaton-* 'to write, mark' in (468).[83]

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[83] Since this benefactive allomorph occurs in this particular phonological context, i.e. *-hons-* after *on* in the verb base, it is possible that the *-hons-* allomorph developed through harmonizing tendencies between the immediately previous vowel of the verb base and the vowel of this benefactive allomorph.

(468) *ta˛ehiatonhons*
       Tayehiatonhons !
       take-hyatǫ-hǫs-Ø
       2SG:1SG.IMP-write-BEN-IMP
       « faits moy credit »
       'Give (SG) me credit!'
       (Potier 1751:261)

Another set of benefactive allomorphs is *-n(d)i-/-'s-*, for which the *-n(d)i-* allomorph is used with the imperfective aspect-moods and the *-'s-* allomorph is used before the perfective or imperative. The verb base *-nda'yändi-/-nda'ya's-* 'to sow seeds for someone' contains these allomorphs of the benefactive. The earlier example (457) shows the use of the *-ndi-* benefactive before the habitual aspect-mood suffix, and example (469) illustrates the use of the benefactive allomorph *-'s-* with the perfective aspect-mood.

(469) *ehenda˛as*
       ehënda'ya's
       e-he-naʔk-a-ʔs-Ø
       FUT-1SG:3M.SG-sow-LK-BEN-PFV
       « je semerai pour lui »
       'I'll sow seeds for him'
       (Potier 1751:274)

The *-n(d)i-/-'sen-* benefactive allomorph set is illustrated in examples (470) and (471). In (470), the *-ndi-* benefactive is used with the habitual aspect-mood, and in (471), the *-'sen-* benefactive is used with the perfective aspect-mood.

(470) *stante ˛onk8enda8e˛indik*
       stan' te'yonkwendaweyindihk
       stęʔ   teʔ-kǫ-at-węn-a-weki-ni-hk
       no   NEG-1SG:2SG-MID-voice-LK-block-BEN-HAB
       « je ne te refuse rien »
       'I don't refuse you (SG) anything; I'm not refusing you anything'
       (Potier 1751:320)

(471) *askak8enda8esen*
       a'skakwendawe'sen'
       aʔ-sk-at-węn-a-wek-ʔsę-ʔ
       FACT-2SG:1SG-MID-voice-LK-block-BEN-PFV
       « tu m'as refusé…tu ma bouché ta voix »
       'you (SG) refused me, you blocked your voice from me'
       (Potier 1751:320)

The verb base *-ya'wa'senni-/-ya'wa's-* 'to like the taste of something' contains the benefactive allomorph set *-'senni-/-'s-*. The *-'senni-* allomorph is shown in (472) before the habitual aspect-mood, and the *-'s-* allomorph is shown in (473) before the perfective aspect-mood.

(472) *stan n'ondaie te 8a̗e̗a8asennik*
       stan'   nondae'   te'wayeya'wa'sennihk
       stęʔ   nǫnaeʔ   teʔ-wake-kaʔw-a-ʔsęni-hk
       no   that.one   NEG-(3FZ/N.SG:)1SG-be.tasty-LK-BEN-HAB
       « je ne trouve pas cela à mon gout »
       'I don't like the taste of this'
       (Potier 1751:236)

(473) *on̗e̗a8as de sketsentandi*
       onyeya'wa's   de   sketsentändih
       aʔ-wake-kaʔw-a-ʔs-Ø   ne   ske-ts-yęt-a-ni-h
       FACT-(3FZ/N.SG:)1SG-be.tasty-LK-BEN-PFV   AMPL   2SG:1SG-plate-lay.down-LK-BEN-STAT
        « je trouve bon ce que tu m'as présenté à manger »
       'I like the taste of what you've (SG) given me to eat'
       (Potier 1751:236)

The final set of benefactive allomorphs is *-en'senni-/-en's-*, where the *-en'senni-* form occurs before the imperfective aspect-moods and the *-en's-* form occurs before the perfective and imperative aspect-moods. Example (474), also discussed in §4.6, shows this allomorph of the benefactive occurring before the dislocative suffix.

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(474) *o'ndaie ionniak stan te tsindaθarensennihe*
    ondae'   **ïonniahk**
    ǫnaeʔ   i-y-ǫni-ahk
    this.one   PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-do.make-HAB

    stan'   **te'etsindatahren'sennihe'**
    stęʔ   teʔ-yetsi-natahr-ęʔsęni-h-eʔ
    no   NEG-3IND:2PL-visit-BEN-DISLOC-PURP
    « voila ce q. fait q. no' ne venons pas vous visiter »
    'this is the reason that we do not come to visit you (PL)'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:138)

The aspect-mood allomorphs that follow the benefactive sets are most commonly: *-hk* for the habitual, *-h* for the stative, either *-'* or *-Ø* for the perfective, and either *-h* or *-Ø* for the imperative. These aspect-mood allomorphs along with the benefactive allomorph sets are listed in Table 28.

Benefactive Allomorph Sets		Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-n(d)i-/-en-	BEN	-n(d)i-		-en-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-'	-h
-n(d)i-/-has-	BEN	-n(d)i-		-has-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-Ø	-Ø
-n(d)i-/-hons-	BEN	-n(d)i-		-hons-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-Ø	-Ø
-n(d)i-/-'s-	BEN	-n(d)i-		-'s-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-Ø	-Ø
-n(d)i-/-'sen-	BEN	-n(d)i-		-'sen-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-'	-h
-'senni-/-'s-	BEN	-'senni-		-'s-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-Ø	-Ø
-en'senni-/-en's-	BEN	-en'senni-		-en's-	
	ASPECT-MOOD	-hk	-h	-Ø	-Ø

Table 28: Benefactive allomorph sets and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

The common *-n(d)i-* allomorph of the benefactive, phonologically /ni/, varies between *-ni-* and *-ndi-* among verb bases. This variation is due to the regular sound change in Wendat (see §2.3), whereby /n/ becomes the prenasalized stop [ⁿd] before an oral vowel. Given that this benefactive allomorph can and frequently does appear as *-ni-*, this indicates that this sound change was still working its way through this corner of the language at the time of these later transcriptions, i.e. during the 18th century.

7.4. Inchoative

The inchoative suffix adds a sense of 'becoming' to the action or event denoted by the verb base. In other words, the inchoative signals the entry into a state. In addition, when attached to stative verbs, this morpheme also derives an event verb base. For example, the stative verb base *-atieronhkw-* 'to be strong, hardworking', shown in (475), comes to mean 'to become strong, restore one's strength' when the inchoative is suffixed. The newly derived event verb base, *-atieronhkwah-*, appears in (476).

(475) *hatieronk8a*
    hatieronhkwa'
    h-at-yerǫ-hkw-aʔ
    3M.SG.AGT-MID-body-take.pick.up-STAT
    « c'est un hom. robuste, fort, de fatigue, de service »
    'he's solidly-built, strong, hardworking, fit for service'
    (Potier 1751:189)

(476) *satieronk8aha*
    Satieronhkwahah !
    s-at-yerǫ-hkw-a-h-ah
    2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-body-take.pick.up-LK-INCH-IMP
    « prends courage, anime toi, mets toi en train, en humeur »
    'Take (SG) heart, liven yourself up, set yourself in motion, in a good mood!'
    (Potier 1751:189)

The inchoative also derives an event verb base -*ahsen'*- 'to amount to ten' from the stative

verb base -*ahsen*- 'to be ten'. Example (477) shows the use of the original, underived stative

verb base, whereas example (478) contains the derived event verb base which signifies the

entry into the state of 'being ten'.

(477) *achienk ihonsen*
       ahchienhk   ihonhsenh
       ahsẹhk   i-họ-ahsẹ-h
       three   PART-3M.PL.AGT-be.ten-STAT
       « ils sont 30 »
       'they are 30 [people]'
       (Potier 1751:175)

(478) *iosens*
       ïohsen's
       i-yo-ahsẹ-ʔ-s
       PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.ten-INCH-HAB
       « cela monte au nombre de 10, vaut 10 »
       'that adds up to a total of 10, has a value of 10'
       (Potier 1751:175)

The inchoative is more commonly suffixed to a stative verb base, yet this morpheme can

also attach itself to an event verb. When suffixed to an event verb base, the inchoative also

signals an entry into the state denoted by the verb base. For example, the verb base -*ont*- 'to

put in the fire or oven', shown in (479), is already an event verb, as evidenced by a derivation

of this verb base with the incorporated noun -*nda'tar*- 'bread' and the perfective aspect-mood

suffix in (480). With the inchoative suffix -*h*-, the verb base remains an event verb and its

meaning changes from 'put in the fire' to 'fall in the fire', as shown in (481).

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(479) *stante ont*
      stan' te'ont
      stęʔ   teʔ-y-ǫt-Ø
      no   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-put.in.fire-STAT
      « il n'y a rien dans le feu »
      'there's nothing in the fire'
      (Potier 1751:421)

(480) *onn'andataronten*
      öne   a'nda'taronten'
      onę   aʔ-k-naʔtar-ǫt-ęʔ
      now   FACT-1SG.AGT-bread-put.in.fire-PFV
      « je vais mettre [du pain au feu] »
      'I'm going to put the bread on the fire'
      (Potier 1751:421)

(481) ˌatsistaˌe aontaha
      yatsihsta'yeh   **a'ontaha'**
      ka-tsihst-aʔ=keh   aʔ-y-ǫt-a-h-aʔ
      3FZ/N.SG.AGT-fire-NSF=LOC FACT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-put.in.fire-LK-INCH-PFV
      « cela est tombé dans le feu »
      'it fell in the fire'
      (Potier 1751:422)

The allomorphs of the inchoative occur in sets before the aspect-mood allomorphs. In other words, these allomorphs of the inchoative occur with the same verb base, but are distributed among the four major aspect-moods. One of the common sets of inchoative allomorphs is *-h-/-'nd-/-'-/-h-*, , as shown with the verb base *-itah-/-ita'nd-/-ita'-/-itah-* 'to sleep' in examples (482), (483), (484), and (485), all of which were previously discussed in §3.5.1. The inchoative allomorph *-h-* occurs before the habitual aspect-mood suffix, as in (482). Before the stative aspect-mood suffix, the allomorph of the inchoative is *-'nd-*, as shown in (483). Finally, with the perfective aspect-mood, the inchoative is *-'-*, as shown in (484), and with the imperative aspect-mood, its form is *-h-*, as shown in (485).

(482) *te hotas*
     tehotahs
     teʔ-ho-ita-h-s
     NEG-3M.SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-HAB
     « il ne dort point »
     'he doesn't sleep at all'
     (Potier 1751:389)

(483) *te 8a˛itandi*
     te'wayita'ndih
     teʔ-wak-ita-ʔn-ih
     NEG-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-STAT
     « je n'ai pas dormi »
     'I have not slept'
     (Potier 1751:389)

(484) *te skienteri n'on˛ita*
     te'skienterih   **ne**   **onyita'**
     teʔ-s-k-yęter-ih   ne   aʔ-wak-ita-ʔ-Ø
     NEG-REP-1SG.AGT-know-STAT   AMPL   FACT-1SG.PAT-sleep-INCH-PFV
     « je ne sçaurois plus dormir »
     'I do not know how to sleep anymore'
     (Potier 1751:389)

(485) *senta*
     Sentah !
     sa-ita-h-Ø
     2SG.AGT.IMP-sleep-INCH-IMP
     « dors »
     'Sleep (SG)!'
     (Potier 1751:389)

Another common set of inchoative allomorphs is *-h-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-*, as in the verb base *-itarah-/-itara'nd-/-itarah-/-itarah-* 'to come to be lying down'. These inchoative allomorphs differ only from the previous set with regard to the inchoative allomorph with the perfective and the forms of the perfective and imperative aspect-moods. With this inchoative set, the form of the corresponding perfective aspect-mood suffix is *-a'* and that of the

imperative aspect-mood suffix is *-ah*. Example (486) illustrates a variant of this verb base, *-itarah-*, with the following perfective aspect-mood suffix, *-a'*.

(486) *a̜ itaraha*
       a'yitaraha'
       aʔ-k-itakr-a-h-aʔ
       FACT-1SG.AGT-be.lying.down-LK-INCH-PFV
       « je viens de tomber, je suis tombe »
       'I just fell, I fell'
       (Potier 1744:154)

With this same set of inchoative allomorphs, *-h-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-*, the habitual aspect suffix can take the shape *-as* instead of *-s*. The habitual suffix *-as* in combination with this inchoative allomorph set is illustrated in (487), with the verb base *.th-/.ta'nd-/.tah-/.tah-* + DUPL, REP 'to stand up again; to recover from an illness'.

(487) *a'son ta te s'aθas*
       ahsonh   ta'teshathas
       ahsǫh   taʔ-te-s-ha-t-h-as
       yet   NEG-DUPL-REP-3M.SG.AGT-be.standing-INCH-HAB
       « il ne se releve point encore, de aegroto »
       'he is not yet getting back up (from being sick)'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:199)

As is the case with the other derivational suffixes with multiple allomorphs, it is the verb base, but not necessarily the verb root, that selects the particular inchoative allomorphs. For example, the verb bases *.th-/.ta'nd-/.tah-/.tah-* + DUPL, REP 'to stand up again; to recover from an illness' and *.ta'-/.ta'nd-/.tah-/.tah-* + DUPL 'to stand up' contain the same verb root *.t-* + DUPL 'to be standing'. Despite sharing the same verb root, these complex verb bases select different inchoative allomorph sets. As mentioned above, example (487) shows the use of the inchoative allomorph *-h-* before the habitual aspect-mood suffix in the verb base meaning 'to

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stand up again; to recover from an illness'. However, example (488), with the same verb root, but a different verb base meaning 'to stand up', shows the use of the *-'-* inchoative allomorph before the habitual aspect-mood. The verb base *.ta'-/.ta'nd-/.tah-/.tah-* + DUPL 'to stand up' appears with the inchoative allomorph set *-'-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-*.

(488) *k8ïoti onne te hatas d'hechiena ?*
     Kwïohti   **öne**   **tehata's**
     kwiyohti   onę   te-ha-t-a-ʔ-s
     Q.POL   now   DUPL-3M.SG.AGT-be.standing-LK-INCH-HAB

     de   **hehchien'ah ?**
     ne   hehs-yę-ʔ=ah
     AMPL   2SG:3M.SG-have.as.child-STAT=DIM
     « ton fils se tient-il debout sur ses piés »
     'Does your (SG) son stand up on his feet?'
     (Potier 1751:357)

In addition to the inchoative allomorph sets above, some verb bases take the inchoative allomorph *-h-* with all aspect-moods. The related verb bases *-akwendieri-* 'to speak honestly, clearly, directly' and *-wendieri-* 'to give one's word, to commit' take this allomorph of the inchoative. Examples (489) and (490), the latter also discussed in §5.1, illustrate the use of the inchoative allomorph *-h-* with the habitual aspect-mood suffix and the imperative mood suffix, respectively. Example (491) shows the same allomorph of the inchoative used with the stative aspect-mood suffix.

(489) *te onk8endierihas*
     te'onkwendierihas
     teʔ-yǫ-at-węn-yeri-h-as
     NEG-3IND.AGT-MID-voice-be.right.straight-INCH-HAB
     « ils ne parlent point clairement »
     'they (IND) do not speak clearly at all'
     (Potier 1751:229)

(490) *sakwendierik*
     Sakwendierihk !
     s-at-węn-yeri-h-k
     2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-voice-be.right.straight-INCH-IMP
     « parle franchement, rondement, sans tourner au tour du pot, sans biaiser »
     'Talk (SG) frankly, directly, without beating around the bush, or biasing it!'
     (Potier 1751:229)

(491) *aˌe8endierihen*
     ayewendierihenh
     wake-węn-yeri-h-ęh
     1SG.PAT-voice-be.right.straight-INCH-STAT
     « j'ai donné ma parole, je suis engagé (ma voix est droite) »
     'I have given my word, I am committed (my voice is straight)'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:261)

Finally, the last set of inchoative allomorphs is *-en'-/-en'nd-/-enh-/-enh-*, which is identical to the *-'-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-* set except for the presence of the vowel *-en-* at the beginning of the morpheme. This inchoative allomorph set is illustrated in example (492) with the event verb base *-atehen'-/-atehen'nd-/-atehenh-/-atehenh-* 'to be ashamed'. This example contains two allomorphs of this inchoative set: *-enh-* with the perfective aspect-mood and *-en'-* with the habitual aspect-mood.

(492) *âchiatehenk chionˌ8e teˌen, o'ndaie io'ti te chiatehens de chienniennon iˌen*

     aahchiatehenhk   **chionyweh**   **te'yenh,**
     a:-hs-ateh-ęh-k   hs-ǫkwe-h   teʔ-ka-i-h
     OPT-2SG.AGT-shame-INCH-PFV   2SG.AGT-be.human-STAT   NEG-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT

     ondae'   **ïohtih**   **tehchiatehen's**
     ǫnaeʔ   i-yo-ht-ih   teʔ-hs-ateh-ęʔ-s
     the.one   PART-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-be.so-STAT   NEG-2SG.AGT-shame-INCH-HAB

     de   **chiëniennonh**   **iyenh**
     ne   hse-nyę-nǫ-h   i-ka-i-h
     ampl   2SG.AGT-bark-DISTR-STAT   PROTH-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT
     « tu aurois honte si tu etois hôe, ce q. fait q tu n'as pas honte, c'est q. tu es un chien »
     'you (SG) would be ashamed if you were a man, what makes you not ashamed is the fact that you're a dog'
     (Ms 60 n.d.:179)

A summary of the inchoative allomorphs described above and their distribution with the four major aspect-moods (habitual, stative, perfective, and imperative) is in Table 29. The aspect-mood allomorphs that follow each of these inchoative forms are also listed in this table.

Inchoative Allomorph Sets		Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-h-/-'nd-/-'-/-h-	INCH	-h-	-'nd-	-'-	-h-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-s	-ih	-Ø	-Ø
-h-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-	INCH	-h-	-'nd-	-h-	-h-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-as	-ih	-a'	-ah
		-s			
-'-/-'nd-/-h-/-h-	INCH	-'-	-'nd-	-h-	-h-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-s	-ih	-a'	-ah
-h-	INCH	-h-	-h-	-h-	-h-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-as	-enh	-k	-k
-en'-/-en'nd-/-enh-/-enh-	INCH	-en'-	-en'nd-	-enh-	-enh-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-s	-ih	-k	-k

Table 29: Inchoative allomorph sets and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.5. Distributive

The distributive suffix indicates that the action or event is distributed in some manner, whether the action is distributed through space, performed by a variety of agents, or pertains to various kinds or types of agents. For example, in (493), also discussed in §5.1, the distributive signals that the writing is not only distributed across various locations, but it also consists of various types.

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(493) *otehiaton'non*
       otehiatonhnon'
       yo-ate-hyatǫ-hnǫ-ʔ
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-write-DISTR-STAT
       « cela est ecrit en plusieurs endroits en plusieurs facons »
       'this is written in multiple places, in multiple ways'
       (Potier 1744:12)

Other examples of this suffix used to indicate action distributed over space are in (494) and

(495). The two distributive suffixes in (494), *-shon-* and *-nion-*, indicate that the individual is

running around multiple locations, and the single distributive suffix in (495), *-hchon-*, signals

that the entity is spread throughout multiple locations.

(494) ˌataχesonnionk
       yatakheshonnionhk
       ka-takhe-shǫ-nyǫ-hk
       3FZ/N.SG.AGT-move.by.running-DISTR-DISTR-HAB
       « elle ne fait que courir ça et la »
       'she just runs around here and there'
       (Potier 1751:359)

(495) *orichon*
       ohrihchon'
       yo-hrik-hsǫ-ʔ
       3FZ/N.SG.PAT-spill-DISTR-STAT
       « cela est repandu ça et là »
       'it's scattered, spread out here and there'
       (Potier 1751:346)

On occasion, the distributive can also be used to indicate that an action or event is

distributed through time.[84] For example, in (496), also discussed in §2.2.3, the distributive

suffix is used to signal that the good weather is distributed through time.

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[84] The distribution of an action or event through a temporal period is more often signaled by the use of the progressive suffix, an expanded aspect-mood suffix (see §8.2). For states, the stative-distributive suffix, another expanded aspect-mood suffix, indicates that a state of being is distributed across time or space (see §8.1).

(496) ˌa8astannonk
       yawahstahnonhk
       ka-wahst-a-hnǫ-hk
       3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.good.weather-LK-DISTR-HAB
       « il fait ordinairem. beau tems »
       'it's usually good weather'
       (Potier 1751:318)

The distributive can also signal that the action or event is distributed across multiple participants or entities. Example (497), also discussed in §2.3, illustrates the use of the distributive to indicate that a variety of individuals are participating in the planting.

(497) χa ichien a8eti eenχ8achonk
       kha'   ihchien'   aweti'   ëenkhwahchonhk
       khaʔ   ihsęʔ   awetiʔ   ye-yęthw-a-hsǫ-hk
       PROX   really   all   3IND.AGT-plant-LK-DISTR-HAB
       « tout le monde fait ici son champ »
       'everyone has their field here'
       (Potier 1751:223)

This function of the distributive can also be used for entities, such as 'thoughts', as opposed to individuals. In (498), the distributive is used to signal that the action of 'pushing' is distributed between the two thoughts.

(498) te ˌiatatrechʳonk aˌendiˌonraˌe
       teyiatatrechronhk   **aye'ndiyonhra'yeh**
       te-ki-atat-hrek-shrǫ-hk   wake-ʔnikǫhr-aʔ=keh
       DUPL-3FZ.DU.AGT-REFL-push-DISTR-HAB   1SG.PAT-mind-NSF=LOC
       « 2 pensées differentes s'entrepoussent, se combattent dans mon esprit »
       'two different thoughts are pushing each other, fighting each other in my mind'
       (Potier 1751:338)

The distributive can have both meanings — the distribution of an action through space and across participants — in a single verb base. For example, in (499), there is a variety of children participating in the race, and it is implied that they are also running through various locations.

(499) *te honʻratâθoňk d'hatichiaïaha*
   tehonrahtathonhk   **de**   **hatichia'ahah**
   te-hǫ-arahtat-hǫ-hk   ne   hati-ksa-ʔ=ah=ah
   DUPL-3M.PL.AGT-run-DISTR-HAB   AMPL   3M.PL.AGT-child-STAT=DIM=DIM
   « les petits enfans courent a qui coura le plus vite »
   'the little children race to see who runs the fastest'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:80)

As illustrated earlier in (494), it is common for there to be two allomorphs of the distributive co-occurring in the same verb base in Wendat. The doubling of the distributive morpheme serves to intensify or emphasize this distribution. For example, the sole formal difference between (500) and (501) is the presence of the second distributive suffix *-nion-*. This additional distributive intensifies the distribution of the laughter, changing the meaning of the overall verb from 'he was laughing' to 'he was laughing frequently'.

(500) *höesonhonk*
   hoeshonhonhk[85]
   ho-yes-hǫ-hk-Vhk
   3M.SG.PAT-laugh-DISTR-HAB-PAST
   « il rioit »
   'he was laughing'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:228)

(501) *höesonnionhonk*
   hoeshonnionhonhk
   ho-yes-hǫ-nyǫ-hk-Vhk
   3M.SG.PAT-laugh-DISTR-DISTR-HAB-PAST
   « il rioit…frequent. »
   'he was laughing frequently'
   (Ms 60 n.d.:228)

Examples (502) and (503) also differ solely in the presence of a second distributive marker. Due to the addition of the distributive suffix *-nion-*, the distribution of the mountains is

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[85] The verb root *-ies-* 'laugh' has another variant, *-ieskw-*, which appears in example (320) of §5.1.

increased, changing the meaning of the verb from 'there are several mountains' to 'there are countless mountains'.

(502) *onnont8ton*
   önontouton'
   yo-nǫt-ot-ǫ-ʔ
   3FZ/N.SG.PAT-mountain-be.upright-DISTR-STAT
   « il y a plusieurs montagnes »
   'there are several mountains'
   (Potier 1745:61)

(503) *onnont8tonnion*
   önontoutonnion'
   yo-nǫt-ot-ǫ-nyǫ-ʔ
   3FZ/N.SG.PAT-mountain-be.upright-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
   « il y a des mont. sans nombre »
   'there are countless mountains'
   (Potier 1745:61)

As suggested by the examples above, in a double distributive construction, the first distributive allomorph can vary: *-shon-* in (494), *-hon-* in (501), and *-on-* in (503). However, the second distributive allomorph must be *-nion-*. This allomorphy is also illustrated in example (504), discussed previously in §3.3.1, and in example (505), discussed previously in §6.1, where the second distributive marker in each of these verb bases is *-nion-*.

(504) ˌaronhiaˌe tichion hatironnion
   yaronhia'yeh   **tihchion'** **hatironnion'**
   ka-rǫhy-aʔ-keh   tihšǫʔ hati-r-ǫ-nyǫ-ʔ
   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-sky-NSF-LOC star 3M.PL.AGT-be.in.the.sky-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
   « il y a quantité d'etoiles qui paroissent au ciel »
   'there is a multitude of stars appearing in the sky'
   (Potier 1751: 325)

(505) ˌaront8ton ichien d8a ˌarhaˌon, 8a de ˌarontaentonnion

     yarontouton'   ***ihchien'***
     ka-rǫt-ot-ǫ-ʔ   ihsęʔ
     3FZ/N.SG.AGt-tree-be.upright-DISTR-STAT   really

     dowa'   ***yarha'yonh***
     nowaʔ   ka-rh-aʔ=kǫh
     the.other(s)   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-forest-NSF=INT.LOC

     wa'   ***de***   ***yarontaentonnion'***
     waʔ   ne   ka-rǫt-a-yęt-ǫ-nyǫ-ʔ
     other   AMPL   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-tree-LK-lay.down-DISTR-DISTR-STAT
     « il y a dans le bois des arbres, les uns debout, les autres renversés par terre »
     'in the woods, there are some trees standing up, others knocked down on the ground'
     (Potier 1751:222)

The distributive allomorphs are *-hchon-*, *-hchron-*, *-hnon-*, *-hon-*, *-nion-*, *-on-*, and *-shon-*. These seven allomorphs all select the same forms of aspect-mood suffixes, including the habitual suffix *-hk*, the stative suffix *-'*, the perfective suffix *-'*, and the imperative suffix *-h*. This allomorphy is summarized in Table 30.

Distributive Allomorphs	Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-hchon-				
-hchron-				
-hnon-				
-hon-	-hk	-'	-'	-h
-nion-				
-on-				
-shon-				

Table 30: Distributive allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.6. Reversive

As its name suggests, the reversive morpheme derives a new verb base with the opposite meaning of the original verb base. In a sense, it undoes the action denoted by the underived

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verb base, and therefore, this suffix has been called the *undoer* in other Iroquoianist literature, e.g. Abbott (2000:37) for Oneida and Chafe (1996) for Seneca.[86] For example, the verb base *-atehnhont-* without the reversive means 'to put in one's mouth', as shown in (506). With the reversive suffix *-w-* (/kw/), the derived verb base *-atehnhontaw-* refers to the opposing action, meaning 'to take out of one's mouth', as shown in (507).

(506) *taoten satennhont ?*
     Ta'ohten' satehnhont ?
     taʔohtẹʔ   s-ate-hnhọt-Ø
     what   2SG.PAT-MID-have.in.mouth-STAT
     « qu'a tu en ta bouche ? qu'y as tu mis »
     'What do you (SG) have in your mouth? What did you put there?'
     (Potier 1751:305)

(507) *satennhonta8a d'isannhont*
     Satehnhontawah   *de*   *isahnhont !*
     s-ate-hnhọt-a-kw-ah   ne   i-sa-hnhọt-Ø
     2SG.PAT-MID-have.in.mouth-LK-REV-IMP AMPL PROTH-2SG.PAT-have.in.mouth-STAT
     « ote ce que tu as dans la bouche »
     'Take out what you (SG) have in your mouth!'
     (Potier 1751:305)

The pair of examples (508) and (509) also illustrates this function of the reversive suffix. The underived verb base *-hiaton-* 'to write, mark', shown in (508) is in contrast to the derived verb base *-hiatonwah-* containing the reversive suffix *-w-*. The reversive suffix specifies the undoing of the action of writing, or in other words, the erasure of writing. As exemplified in (509), the action of erasing writing can also refer to the paying of debts, referencing the erasure

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[86] Lounsbury (1953:78) used the term *infective* for this morpheme in Oneida. Another common term is *reversative* which is used by Michelson & Doxtator (2002:38) for Oneida and Woodbury (2018:268) for Onondaga. In an earlier work on Seneca, Chafe (1967:23) uses the term *oppositive*, but in more recent work he uses the term *reversive* (2015:75). The Cayuga pedagogical grammar by Mithun & Henry (1982:504) uses the term r*eversive*, but also mentions the term *undoer*.

of one's name in account books, a practice begun in Wendat country by the French settlers and

missionaries.

(508) ˌehiatonk
       yehiatonhk
       ke-hyatǫ-hk
       1SG.AGT-write-HAB
       « j'ecris »
       'I write, I'm writing'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:107)

(509) ˌehiaton8ahe de skehiatondi
       yehiatonwahe'   **de**   **skehiatondih**
       ke-hyatǫ-kw-a-h-eʔ   ne   ske-hyatǫ-ni-h
       1SG.AGT-write-REV-LK-DISLOC-PURP AMPL   2SG:1SG-write-BEN-STAT
       « me voici je te viens payer ma dette »
       'here I am, I'm coming to you to pay my debt'
       (Potier 1751:261)

In rare instances, the reversive can also indicate the completion of an action. This function

of the reversive is illustrated in examples (510) and (511), where the verb base *-atsa'tänion-* 'to

eat a meal' comes to mean 'to finish one's meal' when suffixed with the reversive *-w-*.

(510) *sah8en d'eˌatsatañion8a*
       sahwenh   **de**   **eyatsa'tänionwa'**
       sahwęh   ne   e-k-atsaʔtanyǫ-kw-aʔ
       wait   AMPL   FUT-1SG.AGT-eat.a.meal-REV-PFV
       « attends que j'acheve de prendre mon repas »
       'wait until I finish eating my meal'
       (Potier 1751:205)

(511) *aˌotsatanion8anhatie*
       ayotsa'tänionwanhatie'
       yako-atsaʔtanyǫ-kw-ęh-atye-ʔ
       3IND.PAT-eat.a.meal-REV-STAT-PROG-PURP
       « ils sont sur la fin de leur repas, ils arrivent aiant pris leur repas »
       'they (IND) are at the end of their meal, they are arriving having eaten their meal'
       (Potier 1751:205)

Similar to the distributive, a single verb base can contain two allomorphs of the reversive, yet with the doubling of this derivational suffix, there does not seem to be an intensification of the reversive meaning.[87] In these instances, the reversive allomorph *-hs-* is followed by the *-w-* (/kw/) allomorph, separated by the linker vowel *a*. The combination of the *-hs-* reversive and the *-w-* (/kw/) reversive yields *-hskaw-* when followed by the habitual, the stative, as shown in (512), or another derivational suffix, as shown in (513), discussed earlier in §7.3. The double reversive form is reduced to *-hsk-* when followed by either the perfective, as shown in (514), or the imperative, as shown in (515).

(512) *te onˌ8ateχaska8an*
        teonywatekhahskawanh
        te-yǫkw-ate-kh-a-hs-a-kw-ęh
        DUPL-1PL.PAT-MID-join-LK-REV-LK-REV-STAT
        « nous sommes separés »
        'we (PL) are separated'
        (Potier 1751:271)

(513) *ti taˌeχaska8as*
        Titayekhahskawa's !
        ti-take-kh-a-hs-a-kw-a-ʔs-Ø
        DUPL-2SG:1SG.IMP-join-LK-REV-LK-REV-LK-BEN-IMP
        « separe moi cela »
        'Separate (SG) this for me!'
        (Potier 1751:271)

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[87] Chafe (1967:24) notes that in Seneca, the use of both reversive suffixes has a multiplicative meaning. The glosses of the same double reversive constructions in Wendat do not provide any indication of an intensified or multiplied meaning. However, given the pattern in Seneca and the function of the double distributive in Wendat, intensification was most likely the original motivation of this construction.

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(514) *ak8atronhiaχaska*
    a'kwatronhiakhahska'
    aʔ-t-w-at-rǫhy-a-kh-a-hs-a-kw-aʔ
    FACT-DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-MID-sky-LK-join-LK-REV-LK-REV-PFV
    « le ciel s'est entrouvert »
    'the sky opened up'
    (Potier 1751:271)

(515) *sennonh8aroriska*
    Sennonhwarorihskah !
    s-ę-nǫhwar-ori-hs-a-kw-ah
    2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-head-cover-REV-LK-REV-IMP
    « decouvre toi la tete »
    'Uncover (SG) your head!'
    (Potier 1751:432)

The most common allomorph of the reversive is *-w-*, which is phonologically /kw/. As is the case for many /kw/ clusters (see §2.3), the *k* of the /kw/ form gradually lenited and eventually deleted leaving only the *w* of the original cluster as a reversive allomorph. The other allomorphs of the reversive, *-hs-* and *-kw-* (also phonologically /kw/), only appear in conjunction with one another in the double reversive construction as *-hskaw-* and *-hsk-*. The aspect-mood forms following either the *-w-* reversive allomorph or the *-hsk-* or *-hskaw-* double reversive construction are the same. These aspect-mood allomorphs are as follows: *-as* for the habitual suffix, as shown in (516); *-a'* for the perfective suffix; *-ah* for the imperative suffix; and *-anh* or *-enh* for the stative suffix.

(516) ˎ*ra8as*
    yrawas
    k-r-a-kw-as
    1SG.AGT-put.inside-LK-REV-HAB
    « je choisis »
    'I choose, I'm choosing'
    (Potier 1751:331)

The reversive allomorphy and the aspect-mood allomorphs that co-occur with this morpheme are summarized in Table 31.

Reversive Allomorphs		Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative
-w-	REV	-w-	-w-	-w-	-w-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-as	-anh *or* -enh	-a'	-ah
-hskaw-/-hsk-	REV	-hskaw-	-hskaw-	-hsk-	-hsk-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-as	-anh *or* -enh	-a'	-ah

Table 31: Reversive allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.7. Frequentative

As its name suggests, the frequentative suffix indicates that an action is done frequently. For example, with the verb root *-atati-* 'to speak', the frequentative signals that the individual was continually talking, as shown in (517).

(517) *hotatiaskonnen*
    hotatiaskonhnen'
    ho-atati-a-sk-ǫh-nę?
    3M.SG.PAT-speak-LK-FREQ-STAT-PAST
    « il ne faisoit que parler continuellement »
    'he was speaking nonstop'
    (Potier 1744:50)

The frequentative is also commonly used to characterize individuals who perform a certain action more often than would be expected. Examples (518) and (519) illustrate this characterizing use of the frequentative. In (518), the frequentative signals that the individual often informs himself or herself about others, and therefore, is deemed to be especially curious

to hear the news of others. In (519), when the frequentative attaches to the verb

base *-ndoton-* 'to tell, to tell stories', the individual is understood to be a storyteller.

(518) *okendiati satarontonskon*
      okendia'tih   **satahrontonskonh**
      yo-at-kęny-a-ʔt-ih   s-at-ahrǫtǫ-sk-ǫh
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-surpass-LK-CAUS-STAT   2SG.PAT-MID-ask-FREQ-STAT
      « tu es etrangement curieux de nouvelles »
      'you are oddly curious for news'
      (Potier 1751:174)

(519) *hotendotonskon*
      hotëndotonskonh
      ho-ate-notǫ-sk-ǫh
      3M.SG.PAT-MID-tell-FREQ-STAT
      « grand raconteur »
      '[he's a] big storyteller'
      (Potier 1745:61)

A marginal function of the frequentative suffix is to indicate that an entity is prone to do

something, or the entity does something with ease.[88] This facilitative reading of the

frequentative is quite rare in Wendat, and is illustrated in example (520), where this suffix

indicates that the entity in question breaks easily.

(520) *otiaskon ichien n'ondaie*
      otia'skonh   **ihchien'**   **nondae'**
      yo-at-yaʔk-sk-ǫh   ihsęʔ   nǫnaeʔ
      3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-break-FREQ-STAT   really   that.one
      « cela se rompt aisément »
      'that breaks easily'
      (Potier 1751:264)

---

[88] The facilitative use of this suffix is the prominent one found in related languages, and as such, this morpheme is called the *facilitative*, and not the *frequentative* in analyses of these languages (e.g. Chafe 2015 for Seneca).

The frequentative suffix derives stative verbs, as evidenced by the fact that this morpheme can only co-occur with the stative aspect-mood suffix. The form of the frequentative is *-sk-* and the following stative aspect-mood suffix takes the shape *-onh*.

7.8. Dislocative

The dislocative suffix signals that the referent is in motion, yet the direction of the motion is not specified. Since the direction of motion is not implied by this suffix, its use can be interpreted as either coming or going in conjunction with some action.[89] For example, the dislocative suffix in (521), an example also discussed in §3.5.3, indicates that the individuals are in motion to go peel bark. Example (522), also discussed in §3.3.3, shows the dislocative used to indicate that the speaker will be in motion coming toward the addressee to visit him or her.

(521) *hatinde'ronhes ˌandatse'k8a*
       hatindehronhe's   **yändahtsehkwa'**
       hati-nehrǫ-h-eʔs   ka-nahtsehkw-aʔ
       3M.PL.AGT-peel.bark-DISLOC-HAB   3FZ/N.SG.AGT-birch-NSF
       « ils vont to' les jours aux ecorce pr faire des canots »
       'they go every day to peel [birch] bark to make canoes'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:107)

---

[89] The dislocative is called the *andative* in some analyses of other Iroquoian languages (e.g. Chafe 2015 for Seneca). Since this suffix in Wendat can have either an andative or venitive meaning, the term *dislocative* is used instead.

(522) *ekonakatanda*
ekonwakahtahnda'
e-kǫw-at-kah-t-a-hn-aʔ
FUT-1SG:2SG-MID-eye-be.upright-LK-DISLOC-PFV
« je te viendrai voir »
'I will come see you (SG)'
(Potier 1751:241)

As discussed in §3.5.3, the dislocative suffix derives a motion verb. Therefore, in addition to the four basic aspect-mood allomorphs that appear with event verbs, verb bases suffixed with the dislocative also appear with the purposive aspect-mood. Example (523), also discussed in §4.9, shows the dislocative in use before the purposive aspect-mood suffix.

(523) *stant'esk8ese*
stan'   the'skwese'
stęʔ   theʔ-s-w-e-s-eʔ
no   NEG.TRANS-REP-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-go-DISLOC-PURP
« non revertetr de fæmina »
'she's not going to return'
(Potier 1745:44)

The allomorphs of the dislocative suffix include *-h-*, *-hch-*, *-hchr-*, *-hn(d)-*, and *-s-*. Examples (521), (522), and (523) contain the dislocative allomorphs, *-h-*, *-hn(d)-*, and *-s-*, respectively. The *-hch-* allomorph of the dislocative is shown in (524), also discussed in §3.5.3, and the *-hchr-*allomorph is shown in (525), also discussed in §3.5.3.

(524) *onh8a e˛iatracha*
onhwa'   eyia'trahcha'
ǫhwaʔ   e-k-yaʔt-r-a-hs-aʔ
now   FUT-1SG.AGT-body-put.inside-LK-DISLOC-PFV
« j'irai presentement y assister »
'I will go now to attend it'
(Potier 1751:328)

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(525) *hoaˌenchʳon*
       hoayenhchronh
       ho-yakę-ʔ-hsr-ǫh
       3M.SG.PAT-go.out-INCH-DISLOC-STAT
       « il est à ses necessitez »
       'he is attending to his needs (lit. he has gone out)'
       (Potier 1751:207)

The aspect-mood suffixes that appear after any allomorph of the dislocative are as follows:

-e's for the habitual, *-onh* for the stative, *-a'* for the perfective, *-ah* for the imperative, and *-e'*

for the purposive. These forms are summarized below in Table 32.

Dislocative Allomorphs	Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative	Purposive
-h-					
-hch-					
-hchr-	-e's	-onh	-a'	-ah	-e'
-hn(d)-					
-s-					

Table 32: Dislocative allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.9. Ambulative

The ambulative suffix indicates that some action occurs while walking. This suffix occurs

infrequently in the language. Furthermore, its allomorphs are syncretic with some of the

dislocative allomorphs, and in particular, *-h-* and *-hnd-*. Given this syncretism, the only way to

distinguish uses of the ambulative versus uses of the dislocative is semantically. While the

dislocative adds motion to the action or indicates that the referent or entity is in motion to

perform some action, the ambulative only qualifies the action as something that is occurring

while walking along a path.

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Examples (526) and (527) illustrate the use of the ambulative. In (526), the ambulative allomorph *-hnd-* indicates that the individual falls down over and over while walking. In example (527), the ambulative allomorph *-h-* is used to indicate that the action of carrying is done while walking.

(526) *henta˛rachon'de*
       hentayrahchonhnde'
       ha-itakr-a-h-shǫ-hn-eʔ
       3.M.SG.AGT-be.lying.down-LK-INCH-DISTR-AMBL-PURP
       « il va tombant et retombant »
       'he's going along falling again and again'
       (Ms 62 n.d.:15)

(527) *honaha8îsennihe*
       honwahawi'sennihe'
       hǫwa-hawi-ʔsęni-h-eʔ
       3.NSG:3.M.SG-carry-BEN-AMBL-PURP
       « on lui va portant, v.g. son paquet »
       'they (NSG) are going along carrying it for him, e.g. his package'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:287)

The two allomorphs of the ambulative are *-h-* and *-hnd-*. Given the use of the purposive aspect-mood suffix *-e'* with these ambulative verb bases, like the dislocative, the ambulative also derives motion verbs. Only the purposive aspect-mood is attested after the ambulative, yet this may be due to the overall scarcity of this morpheme in the corpus rather than the existence of semantic or grammatical restrictions.

7.10. Directive

The directive suffix indicates that the action or event in question takes place from, at, or toward a particular location. The directive is in fact an applicative marker, adding a semantic source

or destination to the verb base. A demonstrative, a syntactic nominal, or combinations of the two commonly appear with the directive verb base and serve to specify the location implied by the directive suffix. It is also common, although not necessary, for the directive to co-occur with either the cislocative or translocative prepronominal prefixes.

Example (528), also discussed in §3.4.5, contains the motion verb root *-takhe-* which expresses the motion of running, but without any mention of a source or destination. When the directive applicative is added to this verb root, the new verb base also refers to the location from which the individual was running, as shown in (529), also discussed in §2.2.3. This location is further delineated through the use of the demonstrative particle *tho* 'there' and the spatial particle *on'wahti'* 'side; way'.

(528) *onsahataχe*
       onsahatakhe'
       ǫsa-ha-takhe-ʔ
       REP.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-move.by.running-PURP
       « il retourne courant »
       'he's coming back running'
       (Potier 1751:359)

(529) *θo ona'ti eshotaχe'ti*
       tho   on'wahti'   eshotakhehtih
       tho   ǫʔwahtiʔ   e-s-ho-takhe-ht-ih
       there   side   FUT-REP-3M.SG.PAT-move.by.running-DIR-STAT
       « il s'en est retourné courant, il a repris la fuite de ce coté là »
       'he has come back from there running, he started fleeing again from that side'
       (Potier 1751:259)

In (530), also discussed in §4.2, the directive suffix adds a destination to the verb base *-e-* 'to go', and this destination is also referenced by the translocative prepronominal prefix *h-*.

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(530) *eskeθa*
  hesketha'
  h-es-k-e-ht-ha?
  TRANS-REP-1SG.AGt-go-DIR-HAB
  « je retourne souvent là »
  'I go back there often'
  (Potier 1745:43)

The directive suffix in (531), also discussed in §4.4, co-occurs with both the translocative

prefix and the distal demonstrative particle *chi*, which further specify the destination implied

in this directive verb base.

(531) *chi aseha8it*
  Chi   hasehawiht !
  tshi   ha-se-hawi-ht-Ø
  DIST   TRANS-2SG.AGT.IMP-carry-DIR-IMP
  « porte la loin »
  'Carry (SG) that far away!'
  (Potier 1744:95)

Finally, the particular source location added by the directive suffix in (532) is elaborated

upon by the cislocative prepronominal prefix and the syntactic nominal (but morphological

verb) that is the Wendat name for the city of Montreal.

(532) *Teotiaï ontaret*
  Teotia'yih   ontahreht
  te-yo-at-ya?k-ih   ǫta-hr-e-ht-Ø
  DUPL-3FZ/N.SG.PAT-MID-break-STAT   CISLOC.FACT-3M.SG.AGT-go-CAUS-PFV
  « il vient de montreal »
  'he's coming from Montreal'
  (Potier 1745:39)

The form of the directive applicative varies between *-ht-* and *-t-*. The allomorph *-t-* occurs

before the habitual suffix *-ha'*, but the allomorph *-ht-* appears elsewhere. This suffix derives a

motion verb, and therefore, the directive can co-occur with all aspect-moods, including the

purposive. The aspect-mood allomorphs that follow the directive applicative marker are: *-ha'*
for the habitual aspect-mood, *-ih* for the stative aspect-mood, *-Ø* for the perfective aspect-mood
and the imperative mood, and *-e'* for the purposive aspect-mood. The distribution of the
directive allomorphs *-ht-* and *-t-* and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs are outlined
in Table 33.

Directive Allomorphs		Habitual	Stative	Perfective	Imperative	Purposive
-ht-/-t-	DIR	-t-	-ht-	-ht-	-ht-	-ht-
	ASPECT-MOOD	-ha'	-ih	-Ø	-Ø	-e'

Table 33: Directive allomorphs and their corresponding aspect-mood allomorphs

7.11. Derivation of event verbs from stative verbs

Many derivational suffixes presented in this chapter can derive an event verb from a stative
verb. In other words, by suffixing one of these specific derivational affixes, the stative verb
base, which could previously only appear with the stative aspect-mood, can now appear in the
four aspect-moods — habitual, stative, perfective, and imperative — as an event verb.

Out of the ten total derivational suffixes, four of these morphemes regularly derive event
verbs from stative verbs, including the causative, the instrumental, the benefactive, and the
inchoative. The derivation of event verb bases from three of these suffixes is illustrated with
the stative verb base *-hrenhwi-* 'to be stopped, still'. A derived form of the original stative verb
base, *-rihwahrenhwi-* 'for a matter to be concluded, determined' is in (533), also discussed in
§3.5.2.

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(533) *orih8arenh8i*
orihwahrenhwih
yo-rihw-a-hrẹhwi-h
3FZ/N.SG.PAT-matter.thing-LK-be.stopped.still-STAT
« la chose est conclue, vidée, determinée, arretée »
'the matter is concluded, emptied, decided, stopped'
(Potier 1751: 340)

Example (534) shows the causative suffix attached to a derived form of this original stative

verb base. The newly derived verb base, with the incorporated noun root *-ia't-* for 'body', is a

transitive event verb, taking transitive pronominal prefixes in all four aspect-moods, and means

'to stop someone, to make someone stay still'.

(534) *hetsatarenh8i't*
Hetsa'tahrenhwiht !
hets-yaʔt-a-hrẹhwi-ht-Ø
2SG:3M.SG.IMP-body-LK-be.stopped.still-CAUS-IMP
« arrete le, fais la demeurer en repos, tiens le en repos »
'Stop (SG) him, make him stay still, keep him still!'
(Potier 1751:340)

With the benefactive applicative and the incorporated noun root *-rihw-* for 'matter, affair'

added to the original stative verb base, the meaning of the new transitive event verb base,

shown in (535), becomes 'for a matter to be determined, established, concluded for someone'.

(535) *te horih8arenh8isennik*
tehorihwahrenhwi'sennihk
teʔ-ho-rihw-a-hrẹhwi-ʔsẹni-hk
NEG-3M.SG.PAT-matter.affair-LK-be.stopped.still-BEN-HAB
« il ne determine rien, ne conclut rien…la chose, l'affaire ne demeure point arreté
dans son esprit »
'he doesn't determine, conclude anything; the thing, the matter doesn't stop or stay
still in his mind'
(Potier 1751:340)

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Finally, when the inchoative suffix attaches to the original stative verb in (536), the new event verb base means 'to stop oneself, to hold still'.

(536) *tsa̧ orenh8indi*
       tsayohrenhwi'ndih
       ts-yako-hrȩhwi-ʔn-ih
       REP-3IND.PAT-be.stopped.still-INCH-STAT
       « ils ont demeurez restez…ont pris le parti de ne point partir »
       'they (IND) have remained, they have decided not to leave'
       (Potier 1751:340)

The six remaining derivational suffixes either cannot or do not normally derive event verbs from stative verbs. The dislocative, ambulative, and directive derive motion verbs, rather than event verbs, when suffixed to a verb base. The distributive and the reversive do not typically change the verb class of the original verb base. Consequently, these two suffixes often appear in conjunction with other derivational suffixes which can do this grammatical work. Finally, the frequentative derives a stative verb base from verb bases of other classes.

7.12. Combinations of derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes often appear in conjunction with one another, and verb bases can, in fact, contain up to three derivational suffixes. When more than one derivational suffix is attached to a single verb base, this suffixation is not simply an additive process. Since each of these suffixes derives a new lexical verb base, the addition of a second derivational suffix must take the entire existing lexical base as the semantic and grammatical source for the new derived verb base. Therefore, although these morphemes are represented one after another in the interlinearization like beads on a string, the derivation of a new verb base is more akin to

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adding a layer of paint to an already painted wall. Each derivational suffix represents a new layer and gives a new color to the overall verb base.

This layering effect is illustrated through the successive derivations of the verb base -ienhwi- 'to know how'. The original verb base, shown in (537), is first derived through the suffixation of the directive. This newly derived verb base, shown in (538), means 'to have one's know-how, movement, dexterity, actions to be from a certain side', which is then interpreted as 'to be someone's right side'. The subsequent suffixation of the distributive marker derives a new verb base, which is layered upon the existing directive verb base. The new distributive verb base, shown in (539), means 'to be ambidextrous, to know how to do things from both sides'.

(537) ˌeñienh8i
       yëniehwih
       ke-wyẹhwi-h
       1SG.AGT-to.know.how-STAT
       « je scais faire cela »
       'I know how to do that'
       (Potier 1751:266)

(538) hañienh8i'ti ona'ti
       hänienhwihtih   **on'wahti'**
       ha-wyẹhwi-ht-ih   ọʔwahtiʔ
       3M.SG.AGT-to.know.how-DIR-STAT   side.way
       « à sa droite vers sa droite »
       'to his right, toward his right'
       (Potier 1751:266)

(539) hañienh8i'tannon
       hänienhwihtahnon'
       ha-wyẹhwi-ht-a-hnọ-ʔ
       3M.SG.AGT-to.know.how-DIR-LK-DISTR-STAT
       « il est ambidextre, il scait faire les choses des 2 cotés, des 2 mains »
       'he is ambidextrous, he knows how to do things from both sides, with both hands'
       (Potier 1751:266)

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There are various possible combinations of derivational suffixes and the combinations of two suffixes attested in the Wendat corpus, are marked with an *x* in Table 34. The first column of the table represents the first derivational marker attached to the verb base, and the first row of the table represents the second derivational marker. Additionally, a combination of the inchoative, causative, and instrumental suffixes is attested in the corpus.

1 ⟍ 2	CAUS	INS	BEN	INCH	DISTR	REV	FREQ	DISLOC	DIR	AMBL
CAUS		X	X		X			X		
INS					X					
BEN	X							X		X
INCH					X			X		
DISTR			X		X					X
REV	X		X		X	X		X		
FREQ										
DISLOC										
DIR					X			X		
AMBL										

Table 34: Attested combinations of derivational suffixes

7.13. Conclusion

The present chapter surveyed the ten derivational suffixes found in Wendat. Each of these morphemes derives a new lexical verb base, and the specific semantic and grammatical effects brought about by each of these suffixes are discussed in their respective sections. Finally, multiple derivational suffixes can appear on the same verb base, yet each suffix builds upon the existing derived base, layering new semantic and grammatical information onto the derived lexical base.

The derivational suffixes are the final morphemes that are part of the complex verb base. The next chapter looks at another set of suffixes, namely, the expanded aspect suffixes, which are not part of the complex verb base.

Chapter 8

Expanded Aspect-Mood Suffixes

The expanded aspect-mood suffixes consist of four morphemes that occur after the aspect-mood suffixes. The term *expanded aspect(-mood)* derives from the fact that the meanings of these suffixes elaborate and expand upon the semantics of the preceding aspect-mood suffixes. Since these suffixes attach to the verb after the aspect-mood suffix, they attach to stems rather than bases, and thus, are also not considered to be part of the complex verb base. The position of these suffixes in the Wendat verb is shown in Figure 15.

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefixes	Voice Prefixes	Incorporated Noun	Verb Root	Derivational Suffixes	Aspect-Mood Suffixes	Expanded Aspect-Mood Suffixes

Figure 15: Position of expanded aspect-mood suffixes in Wendat verb template

Each morpheme is described in a separate section, including the stative-distributive marker in §8.1, the progressive in §8.2, the past in §8.3, and the continuative in §8.4. A brief conclusion is presented in §8.5.

8.1. Stative-Distributive

The stative-distributive marker indicates that a particular state is distributed through space, time, or among entities. Its function is similar to the distributive derivational suffix, but this

morpheme refers specifically to the distribution of a state of being and only occurs after the stative aspect-mood suffix. In (540), the stative-distributive indicates that the state of being beautiful is shared by all of the trees.

(540) *hatironta8astis*
       hatirontawahsti's
       hati-rǫt-a-wahst-ih-ʔs
       3M.PL.AGT-tree-LK-be.good.beautiful-STAT-STAT.DISTR
       « de beaux arbres »
       'some beautiful trees'
       (Potier 1744:199)

In (541), also discussed in §3.4.2, the state of being eminent, important people is distributed among the individuals by the suffixing of the stative-distributive marker.

(541) *hati8annens ehatirih8ichien*
       hatiyowänen's   **ehatirihwihchi'en'**
       hati-kowanę-h-ʔs   e-hati-rihw-ihsiʔ-ę?
       3M.PL.AGT-be.big.grand-STAT-STAT.DISTR   FUT-3M.PL.AGT-matter.affair-finish-PFV
       « les anciens determineront cette affaire »
       'The Elders will decide upon this matter'
       (Potier 1751:254)

Finally, the stative distributive suffix in (542), also discussed in §5.1, indicates that the resemblance extends across various individuals.

(542) *skontonnhatierens*
       skontonnhatieren's
       s-kǫ-at-ǫnh-at-yer-ęh-ʔs
       REP-3FZ.PL.AGT-MID-life-MID-do-STAT-STAT.DISTR
       « leurs vies sont semblables (à elles) »
       'their lives (F, PL) are similar'
       (Potier 1751:189)

The form of the stative-distributive suffix is -'s. When the preceding stative aspect-mood suffix ends in *h*, the *h* is elided due to the following glottal stop of the stative-distributive suffix, as shown in (541) and (542).

8.2. Progressive

The progressive suffix indicates that an action or event is in progress. Thus, the action or event is construed to be distributed through time and space. This expanded aspect-mood suffix is different from the distributive derivational suffix or the stative-distributive expanded aspect-mood suffix in that "the separate events or states are arrayed along a temporal or spatial continuum" (Chafe 2015:81).

In (543), when the progressive suffix is attached to this stative verb stem, the arrival of spring is not interpreted as an instantaneous event, but rather it is treated as an event that occurs over an extended period of time.

(543) *stan ta te skarâ'te'che d'o̧ enronhatie*
    stan'   ***ta'teska'ratehche'***
    stę?   ta?-te-s-k-a?rate-hs-e?
    no   NEG-DUPL-REP-1SG.AGT-snowshoe-DISLOC-PURP

    de   ***oyenronhatie'***
    ne   yo-kęrǫ-h-atye-?
    AMPL   3FZ/N.SG.PAT-spring.arrive-STAT-PROG-STAT
    « je ne me servirai plus de raq. au printemps »
    'I will no longer need snowshoes in the spring'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:310)

Similarly, the progressive used with the imperative mood in (544) implores the addressee to continue speaking or performing an action throughout a period of time.

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(544) *sa'kontatie*
       Sakontatieh !
       s-at-kǫt-Ø-atye-h
       2SG.AGT.IMP-MID-start-STAT-PROG-IMP
       « continue ce que tu as commencé, continue ton discours ou ton action »
       'Continue (SG) what you started, continue your speech or your action!'
       (Potier 1744:85)

When the progressive is attached to a stative verb stem containing the root *-yen-* 'to see',

this expanded aspect-mood suffix signals that the event occurs around several locations.

(545) *ontatiaskenhatie*
       ontatia'skenhatie'
       yǫ-atat-yaʔs-kę-h-atye-ʔ
       3IND.AGT-REFL-track-see-STAT-PROG-STAT
       « on vient de voir des pistes »
       'they've (IND) just seen tracks'
       (Potier 1751:243)

In addition to distributing an event through either time or space, the progressive suffix can

also situate an event along temporal and spatial continua simultaneously. For example, the

progressive suffix in (546) indicates that the individual is in the process of carrying something

in his or her mouth, and thus, is doing so through space and within a period of time. The

progressive suffix is used for the same purpose in examples (547) and (548), where the actions

of 'carrying' and 'being together' are understood to be occurring through time and space.

(546) *taoten sannhontatie ?*
       Ta'ohten' sahnhontatie' ?
       taʔohtę   sa-hnhǫt-Ø-atye-ʔ
       what   2SG.PAT-have.in.mouth-STAT-PROG-STAT
       « que porte tu en ta bouche »
       'What are you (SG) carrying in your mouth?'
       (Potier 1751:305)

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(547) *taoten hoti̧e'tontie*
       Ta'ohten'   hotiyehtontie'
       taʔohtę̨ʔ   hoti-keht-ǫ-ʔ-tye-ʔ
       what   3M.PL.PAT-carry-DISTR-STAT-PROG-STAT
       « que vont-ils portant »
       'What are they (M, PL) going along carrying?'
       (Potier 1751:251)

(548) *hati8ȩihaties*
       hatiweyihatie's
       hati-wek-ih-atye-ʔs
       3M.PL.AGT-be.together-STAT-PROG-HAB
       « ils vont habituellement ensemble »
       'they (M, PL) habitually go together'
       (Potier 1751:319)

The allomorphs of the progressive are *-atie-* and *-tie-*, where *-atie-* occurs after any consonant except for a glottal stop, and *-tie-* occurs after a vowel or a glottal stop. When the *-tie-* variant occurs after a glottal stop, the glottal stop is elided, as shown in (547). The progressive can only occur after the stative aspect-mood suffix. Since the progressive marker derives a new event verb base, another aspect-mood suffix, either the habitual, stative, perfective, or imperative, must be subsequently affixed to the verb.

When the perfective attaches to the derived progressive verb base, a modal prefix also occurs on this verb base, as is always the case with the perfective aspect-mood. An example of the factual modal prefix with a derived progressive base is in (549), and an example with the future modal prefix is in (550).

(549) *ontaon8a̧en'ronhatie*
       ontaonywayenronhatie'
       ǫta-yǫkwa-kęrǫ-h-atye-ʔ
       CISLOC.FACT-1PL.PAT-spring.arrive-STAT-PROG-PFV
       « no' voila bien tot au printems »
       'it will soon be spring for us (PL)'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:297)

321

(550) *an'nen'ona'ti a̗anda8ate'k8i esk8achatihatie*
Hahnen' on'wahti' hayahndawatehkwih
hahnę? ǫ?wahti? ha-ka-hnaw-a-te-hkw-ih
where side TRANS-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-river-LK-exist-INS-STAT

eskwahchatihatie'
e-swa-hs-a-t-ih-atye-?
FUT-2PL.PAT-pour.into-LK-CAUS-STAT-PROG-PFV
« de quel coté monterez vous la riviere »
'From which side will you (PL) go upriver?'
(Potier 1744:11)

Finally, the aspect-mood allomorphs that follow the progressive are: *-'s* for the habitual, as in (548); *-'* for the stative, as in (543) and others; *-'* for the perfective, as in (549) and (550); and *-h* for the imperative, as in (544).

8.3. Past

The past suffix locates an event or state in the past. This suffix can appear after either a purposive stem or an imperfective aspect-mood suffix, i.e. after a habitual aspect-mood stem or a stative aspect-mood stem.[90] When the past suffix occurs on a habitual stem, the habitual action denoted by the verb stem is now interpreted as a past habitual action. For example, in (551), also discussed in §6.1, the past suffix attaches to a habitual aspect-mood stem, which situates the recurring action of teaching in the past.

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[90] The past suffix cannot be used after either the perfective or imperative aspect-moods.

(551)　*onn' on̠rih8entas de χerih8aienstandihik*
　　öne　　onyrihwenta's
　　onę　　aʔ-wak-rihw-ętaʔ-s-Ø
　　now　　FACT-1SG.PAT-matter.affair-finish.achieve-BEN-PFV

　　de　　kherihwaienständihihk
　　ne　　khe-rihw-a-wyę-st-a-ni-hk-Vhk
　　AMPL　　1SG:3IND-matter.affair-LK-know.how-CAUS-LK-BEN-HAB-PAST
　　« je viens de finir l'instruction q. je faisois »
　　'I just finished the teaching I was doing'
　　(Ms 60 n.d.:151)

Similarly, the habitual event in (552), 'raining on and off', is located in the past through

the use of the past suffix *-kwa'*.

(552)　*etiond8tesk8a*
　　etiondouthe'skwa'
　　et-y-ǫnot-h-eʔs-kwaʔ
　　CISLOC-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-rain-DISLOC-HAB-PAST
　　« il pleuvoit par reprises »
　　'it was raining on and off'
　　(Potier 1751:411)

When the past suffix is attached to a stative aspect-mood stem, the state denoted by the

verb is understood to be a past, not present, state. In (553), the state of 'being together, being

in someone's company' is placed in the past when the past suffix *-nen'* is attached.

(553)　*tsinnen tsi8e̠innen*
　　Tsinen'　　tsiweyihnen' ?
　　tsinęʔ　　tsi-weki-h-nęʔ
　　who　　2DU.AGT-be.together-STAT-PAST
　　« avec qui etois tu ? »
　　'With whom were you (SG)?'
　　(Potier 1751:319)

In contexts where the stative aspect-mood suffix is interpreted as a perfect marker, i.e. the

verb base is consequential, then the use of the past suffix derives a past perfect construction,

as in (554), also discussed in §5.1, with the stative verb stem *-atondih* 'to have been born'. Another example of the past perfect construction is in (555), also discussed in §6.1, which contains the stative verb stem *-a'arohwih* 'to have cast nets for fishing'. With the past suffix, the verb is now interpreted as a past perfect.

(554) *ason te satondiʻnnen*
  ahsonh te'satondihnen'
  ahsǫh teʔ-es-at-ǫni-h-nęʔ
  yet NEG-2SG.PAT-MID-make-STAT-PAST
  « tu n'etois pas encore né »
  'you (SG) had not yet been born'
  (Ms 60 n.d.:234)

(555) *θo i˛aata˛e sanda8i-hatie saaroh8innen ?*
  Tho iyäa'tayeh
  tho i-ka-yaʔt-a-ke-h
  how.many PART-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-body-LK-be.so.many-STAT

  sändawihatie' sa'arohwihnen' ?
  sa-nawi-h-atye-ʔ s-aʔar-o-hw-ih-nęʔ
  2SG.PAT-catch.trap.net-STAT-PROG-PURP 2SG.PAT-net-be.in.water-CAUS-STAT-PAST
  « combien as tu pris de poissons dans les rets que tu avois tendus ? »
  'How many fish did you (SG) catch in the nets you had cast?'
  (Potier 1751:242)

In certain cases, a modal prefix may be used with a past marker. In (556), the optative modal prefix in combination with the past suffix allows for the verb to denote a past desire or wish, as in a past desire to leave. In (557), also discussed in §6.1, the future modal prefix occurs with the past suffix *-ahk* in order to create a future perfect construction. This combination expresses that the event of 'putting bread on the fire' will have occurred before another event, which in this example is 'going out'.

(556) *onsa͵a'ka d'aon͵arask8annen*
 onsayaka'   ***de***   ***aonyarahskwanhnen'***
 ǫsa-k-atkaʔ-Ø   ne   aː-wak-arahskw-ęh-nęʔ
 REP.FACT-1SG.AGT-leave.behind-PFV AMPL OPT-1SG.PAT-leave-STAT-PAST
 « j'ai quitté la pensée de partir »
 'I abandoned the thought of leaving'
 (Potier 1751:165)

(557) *e8andatarontak e͵ia͵enha*
 ewända'tarontahk   **eyiayenha'**
 e-wak-naʔtar-ǫt-Ø-ahk   e-k-yakę-h-aʔ
 FUT-1SG.PAT-bread-put.in.fire-STAT-PAST   FUT-1SG.AGT-go.out-INCH-PFV
 « je sortirai dès que j'aurai mon pain au feu »
 'I'll go out as soon as I'll have put my bread on the fire'
 (Potier 1751:421)

Finally, the past suffix can also be attached to purposive stems. The use of the past with
the purposive signals either past motion to achieve an action or a past intention or purpose.
The use of the past marker on the purposive stem in (558) signals that the motion of 'walking
ahead' or 'leading' was in the past.

(558) *endi͵ehentend, N. d'a8esk8ak*
 endi' **yehente'nd**   **N.**   **de**   **aweskwahk**
 ęniʔ   ke-hęt-eʔ-n   ne   aweskwahk
 1EMPH 1SG.AGT-lead-PURP-PAST   [name] AMPL after
 « je marchois le 1r, N. marchoit le 2d »
 'I was walking first, N. was walking second'
 (Ms 60 n.d.:212)

The past suffix plus purposive stem in (559), an example previously discussed in §4.9,
expresses a past intention to travel to a particular location.

(559) *stant'e ̡e'tandend*
       stan' the'yehtahndend
       stę the?-k-e-ht-a-hn-e?-n
       no   NEG.TRANS-1SG.AGT-go-DIR-LK-DISLOC-PURP-PAST
       « je n'irois pas là »
       'I wasn't intending to go there'
       (Potier 1745:45)

Finally, the use of the past suffix with the purposive in (560) marks the past motion toward the action of 'hunting'.

(560) *aθontenda8âchend de ts8tai*
       a'thontenda'wahche'nd   **de**   **tsou'tayi'**
       a?-t-họ-atę-na?kw-a-hs-e?-n   ne   tso?taki?
       FACT-DUPL-3M.PL.AGT-MID-go.for.long.hunt-LK-DISLOC-PURP-PAST AMPL beaver
       « ils alloient, venoient a la chasse du castor »
       'they were going, coming to hunt beaver'
       (Ms 60 n.d.:59)

The allomorphs of the past suffix vary according to the particular aspect-mood stem to which they attach. The past allomorph *-kwa'* is used exclusively with habitual aspect-mood stems that end in *s*. The past suffix *-nen'* is used only with stative aspect-mood stems.

Both the habitual and stative aspect-mood stems appear with the past allomorphs *-ahk* and *-hk*. The variant *-ahk* occurs after any consonant except for a glottal stop, and the variant *-hk* occurs after a vowel or a glottal stop. If the form of the habitual aspect-mood suffix is *-hk*, then the final *k* of the habitual suffix is elided when the past allomorph *-ahk* is attached. When the habitual or stative suffix ends in a glottal stop, the glottal stop is elided before the *-hk* past allomorph. The elision of the final glottal stop of the verb stem is shown in (561), also discussed in §7.10, and in (562), also discussed in §7.1.

(561) *ondaie de on˛8enta8aθak*
    ondae'   **de**   **onywenta'wathahk**
    ǫnaeʔ   ne   yǫkwa-itaʔw-a-ht-haʔ-hk
    the.one   AMPL   1PL.PAT-be.sleepy-LK-CAUS-HAB-PAST
    « ce qui nous faisoit dormir »
    'what was making us sleep'
    (Potier 1751:289)

(562) *hotinnhotonk, hotinditinnen*
    hotinhotonhk   **hotihndihtihnen'**
    hoti-nhotǫ-ʔ-hk   hoti-hniri-ht-ih-nęʔ
    3M.NSG.PAT-close.door-STAT-PAST   3M.NSG.PAT-be.hard.firm-CAUS-STAT-PAST
    « ils avoient fermé la porte fortement »
    'they had closed the door forcefully'
    (Potier 1751:294)

A similar allomorph of the past morpheme, *-Vhk*, occurs with certain habitual aspect-mood stems ending in *-hk*. When the past suffix *-Vhk* is attached to the habitual stem, the *k* of the *-hk* habitual suffix is elided. The last vowel of the habitual stem is then reduplicated as the vowel of the past suffix *-Vhk*. This morphophonological process is illustrated in (551) above, and in (563), which is also discussed in §7.5.

(563) *höesonhonk*
    hoeshonhonhk
    ho-yes-hǫ-hk-Vhk
    3M.SG.PAT-laugh-DISTR-HAB-PAST
    « il rioit »
    'he was laughing'
    (Ms 60 n.d.:228)

Finally, the form of the past suffix used on purposive stems is either *-n* or *-nd*, as in examples (558), (559), and (560). The phonological alternation whereby *n* becomes *nd* ([ⁿd]) before an oral vowel (see §2.2.3) seems to have been gradually extending and expanding to include this morpheme. Since this allomorph of the past suffix is word-final, no following oral

vowel is triggering the denasalization of this segment, yet the *n* to *nd* alternation still occurs in many instances. Purposive verb stems freely select either allomorph, *-n* or *-nd,* of the past suffix.

8.4. Continuative

The continuative marker signals that an event or state continues through an unspecified period of time. The continuative attaches to habitual and stative stems. The continuative suffix, however, can only be followed by the perfective aspect-mood suffix or the imperative aspect-mood suffix. Since the continuative can derive a new perfective verb base, the affixation of the continuative allows for the prefixation of a modal marker. In particular, when followed by the perfective suffix, the continuative must co-occur with one of the two irrealis markers, either the future or the optative.[91] Due to this function of the continuative, this morpheme has also been called a *modalizer* (e.g. Woodbury 2002).

The use of this suffix to mark a continuing event is illustrated in examples (564) and (565). In both examples, the continuative is attached to a habitual stem, yet the future modal prefix occurs in example (564) to express a future habitual event, and the optative modal prefix occurs in (565) to mark a hypothetical habitual action.

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[91] Like Onondaga (Woodbury 2018:173), Oneida (Lounsbury 1953:88), and other Northern Iroquoian languages, the continuative in Wendat does not co-occur with the factual (i.e. realis). In Seneca, however, the factual modal prefix can occur on continuative verbs attached to stative stems, but not when it is attached to habitual stems (Chafe 2015:85).

(564)   *t'e8endi8henska*
         tewendihwen'ska'
         t-e-w-ęnihwęʔ-s-k-aʔ
         DUPL-FUT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-lightning.flash-HAB-CONT-PFV
         « il continuera d'eclairer »
         'there will continue to be lightning'
         (Potier 1744:120)

(565)   *aon˛atatihatieska*
         aonyatatihatie'ska'
         a:-wak-atati-h-atye-ʔs-k-aʔ
         OPT-1SG.PAT-talk-STAT-PROG-HAB-CONT-PFV
         « je continuerois encore a parler »
         'I would still continue to talk'
         (Potier 1745:10)

When attached to a stative stem, the continuative marker and the future modal prefix refer

to a future state, as in (566).

(566)   *te haatatej e˛enk*
         tehäa'tate'y   **eyenhk**
         teʔ-ha-yaʔt-a-te-ʔ-k-Ø   e-ka-i-h-k
         NEG-3M.SG.AGT-body-LK-exist-STAT-CONT-PFV   FUT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-to.be-STAT-CONT
         « il ne sera pas present »
         'he will not be present'
         (Potier 1751:361)

With the optative modal prefix, the continuative marker attached to a stative stem is used

to express a hypothetical state, as shown in (567).

(567)   *a˛ato˛enk aθo*
         aayatoyenhk   **atho**
         a:-ka-tokę-h-k-Ø   atho
         OPT-3FZ/N.SG.AGT-be.certain-STAT-CONT-PFV   that.there
         « cela pourroit bien etre vrai »
         'that could very well be true'
         (Potier 1751:366)

Finally, in the imperative aspect-mood, the continuative suffix is used to express a command to continue or prolong an action, as illustrated in (568), (569), and (570).

(568) *satatiahaj*
Satatiahay !
s-atati-ahk-Vk-Ø
2SG.AGT.IMP-talk-HAB-CONT-IMP
« continue de parler »
'Keep (SG) talking!'
(Potier 1745:9)

(569) *sehiatonhonj*
Sehiatonhony !
se-hyatǫ-hk-Vk-Ø
2SG.AGT.IMP-write-HAB-CONT-IMP
[unglossed]
'Continue (SG) writing!'
(Potier 1745:9)

(570) *soritaj*
Sorhitha'y !
s-orhit-haʔ-k-Ø
2SG.AGT.IMP-season-HAB-CONT-IMP
[unglossed]
'Keep (SG) seasoning it!'
(Potier 1745:9)

The allomorphs of the continuative suffix are *-k-*, *-y-*, and *-Vy-*, all of which are phonologically /(V)k/. The allomorph *-k-* occurs after a stem ending in the fricative *s* or *h*, as shown in in (564) and (567), and the lenited allomorph *-y-* occurs after a final glottal stop in a habitual or stative stem, as in (566) and (570). The continuative allomorph *-Vy-* occurs after a habitual stem whose allomorph of the habitual aspect-mood suffix is *-hk*. As is the case with the past suffix allomorph *-Vhk*, the *k* of the *-hk* habitual suffix is elided, and the last vowel of the preceding habitual aspect-mood suffix is reduplicated in the continuative suffix. This

process is illustrated in examples (568) and (569), where the last vowel of each habitual stem is copied into the continuative suffix.

As stated earlier, the continuative attaches to either habitual or stative stems, and derives a new verb base that can then be inflected for the perfective or imperative aspect-mood. The aspect-mood allomorphs following the continuative suffix are: -*a'* or -*Ø* for the perfective, and -*ah* or -*Ø* for the imperative. The perfective allomorph -*a'* and the imperative allomorph -*ah* only occur when a habitual or stative stem ends in *s*, as in (564) and (565). The -*Ø* allomorph for both the perfective and the imperative is used in all other environments.

8.5. Conclusion

The current chapter discussed the four expanded aspect-mood suffixes in Wendat, including the stative-distributive, the progressive, the past, and the continuative. All of the suffixes attach to verb stems rather than bases, but the progressive and continuative markers derive new verb bases which are then inflected with another aspect-mood suffix.

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