

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

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

3.1 Distinctive Categories

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

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

⁴⁸i.e., Iroquoian languages are split intransitive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chart 30: Categories Covered by Agent Prefixes

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

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

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

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

Chart 31: Categories Covered by Patient Prefixes

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

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

3.2 Semantic versus Morphological Intransitivity

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

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

tú ^ʕ	aʔyé· ⁿ drɛ ^ʕ	a ^ʔ kɛ́ ⁿ dá ^ʔ skwə...
túh	aʔyé:drɛh	aʔkɛ́dá ^ʔ skwa
	aʔ-ye-drɛ-h	aʔ-t-y-ɛdaʔskw-a
	FACT-1,sg,AGT-tie-PUNC	FACT-DU-1,sg,AGT-jump-PUNC
there	I it tie	I jump'

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

TN:22:159:07-15

c. ...ⁿdǎ^ʔt
daʔí:t
d-aʔ-[i]-it
PART-FACT-1,sg,AGT-mean.PUNC
'this I mean

ǎnàⁿ·ⁿkeⁿdátó·kwɛ́^ʔ
anà^ʔke^ʔdátó:kwɛ́^ʔ
n-aʔ-t-ye-ʔd-atɔhkw-ɛʔ
TEMP-FACT-CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-arrow-shoot-PUNC
I shot on both sides in turn

i:t	nɔn	á ^ʔ ye ⁿ dé· ⁿ ga ^ʕ
it	nɔ	á ^ʔ ye ^ʔ dé:dyah
[i]-it		aʔ-ye-ʔdedy-ah
1,sg,AGT-mean.STAT		FACT-1,sg,AGT-overtake-PUNC
that's it	when	I her overtake

ǎcá· ^a	ⁿ da· ⁿ ɔ ⁿ ɛ́ ^ʕ	kɔ́má ^ʕ
ažá:ʔa	da:nyɔnyɛh	kɔwáh
a-Ø-ʔžá-ʔ		
FACT-1sgA-shoot-PUNC		
I shoot	the bear	the other side

ya^ʔ·ⁿtátéⁿkwí^ʕ...
yatatéⁿkwih
y-at-ateⁿkwí-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-side-STAT
the body side'

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

TN:28:238:34-41

In a parallel fashion to the agent prefixes, patient prefixes also have limited transitive uses. First person singular patient (1,sg,PAT) *-way-* 'me' can also mean 'it' acting on 'me', or 'she' acting on 'me', as in 162. In 162a *-waye-* first singular patient (1,sg,PAT) just refers to the T that is willing, while in 162b *-way-* refers to both the 'it' taking hold and the 'me' that is held. In 162c *-way-* refers to the 'she' doing the catching, and the 'me' that is caught.

- (162) a. ...wǎyèmɛ ʰgériʰ ěskòʰtró·ʰdaʰ
 wayèwɛdyérih eskòʰtró:daʰ
 waye-wɛdyeri-h e-s-yɔ-iʰtrɔ-d-ah
 1,sg,PAT-willing-STAT FUT-REP-1,sg:2,sg-live-DISLOC-PUNC
 'I am willing will I you take there

sàʰdũmɛ·deʰ...
 sàʰduwɛ:deh
 sa-duʰwɛ-deh
 2,sg,PAT-mother-LOC
 thine mother to'

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

b. ...tjju^c nɛ^ʔɛ dɪ^ʔ dǎŋqñěré·da·rà·ha^s
 tižúh nɛ[?] di[?] dinyonyeré:da:rà:ha^s
 di-Yonye-ɾəd-a-rah-ahs
 PART-FEM.IND,sg:1,sg-trap-JOIN-get-HAB
 'that way now me if someone me traps

kǎn·wáyq^t nɛ^ʔɛ
 kaⁿ:wáyqht nɛ[?]
 t-ya-rihw-a-yqht
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-law-JOIN-determine.STAT
 it will surely now

dɪ^ʔ àwǎjé·dà·q^ʔ...
 di[?] àwǎzé:dà:q[?]
 a-way-Yeda-q[?]
 FACT-1,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC
 me it (of) me takes hold of

It is not so with me, for whenever I hit a trap, it always gets hold of me.
 TN:05:091:38-43

c. ...ndǎénq[·] ǎⁿtawǎjèdǎq^ʔ
 daénq[:] ǎtawǎžèdaq[?]
 ǎ-t-a-way-Yeda-q[?]
 NOT-CONTR-FACT-1,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC
 'may be no not she me catches

dě mɛ^ʔye...
 de wɛ[?]ye
 awɛ-?yeh
 water-LOC
 (in) the water'

Perhaps it might not catch me in the water.
 TN:20:147:55-59

This semantic neutralization in the morphology is how the intransitive prefixes form subsets of the transitives. As there is no difference in the forms themselves between those glossed as intransitives and those glossed as transitives with 'it' or 'she', here these prefixes will be

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

3.3 Phonological Conjugation Classes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵³However, cf. section 2.9 *Further Notes on d*.

⁵⁴Recall from 2.15: *Further Notes on y* that *i*+ *Y* results in \check{z} .

hǎtatiǰà' tǔré^c
 haʔtatižàʔturéh
 h-aʔ-t-(h)ati-Yaʔt-urę-h
 TRANS-FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-body-find.out-PUNC
 they investigated

ndaéʔ	ǎhàtijé·rat	dě
daéʔ	ahàtižé:rat	de
	a-hati-Yeraʔt	
	FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-use.PUNC	
this (particular)	they used	the

ya·cúʔ	ndaéʔ
ya:žúʔ	daéʔ
ya-žu-ʔ	
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT	
animals	that

tǐñótuʔtęʔ
 tinyótuʔtęʔ
 ti-y-qt-uʔtę-ʔ
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-life-SEMI-kind-STAT
 what kind of life

dě	ya·cúʔ...
de	ya:žúʔ
	ya-žu-ʔ
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT
(of) the	animals'

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

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

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

Chart 33: Pronominal Allomorphy in Y-stems

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

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

- (164) ...nɛ́ tũ ǎhá:tĩñɔ́...
 nɛ́h tu ahátinyɔ́?
 a-hati-Yɔ-?
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC
 'now there they arrived'

TN:13:117:04-06

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

3.4 Agent Prefixes

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

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

- (166) hǎhá:tĩñɔ́ʔ
 hǎhá:tinyɔ́?
 h-a-hati-Yɔ-?
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC
 'they came'
 TN:08:103:43

⁵⁵The term *actor* is not intended in a theoretical manner.

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

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

(168) ...nɛ' hətiñɛtɛ·ri'
 nɛh hətinyɛtɛ:rih
 hati-Yɛteri-h
 MASC,pl,AGT-know-STAT
 'now they know

dayūdatăɛtò·ñɔ'...
 dayudataɛtò:nyɔ?
 d-ayu-dat-a-Yɛt-(h)ɔnyɔ-?
 PART-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-JOIN-have-DISTR-STAT
 'they have their camp several bodies'

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

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

dǎhatātò·gǎwí·sa'...
dahata tò:dyawí:sa?
d-a-h-atat-qdyawis-a?
PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-REF-swim-PUNC
that he swims'

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chart 34: C-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 35: YV-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 36: YV-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 37: A-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 38: E-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	y- ~ 'ke-	t-	kw-
	EX		an-	aw-
2		š-	st-	skw-
3	MASC	r-	n-	hęn- ~ h[ɔ]-
	FEM.IND	[ɔ]- ~ ay-	n-	węn- ~ y[ɔ]-
	FEM.ZOIC	w-		

Chart 39: ɛ-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 40: O-Stem Agent Prefixes

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

Chart 41: Q-Stem Agent Prefixes

		singular	dual	plural
1	IN	[i]- ~ °k-	t-	hkw[ɛ]-
	EX		ad-	aw[ɛ]-
2		(h)š-	(h)st-	skw[ɛ]-
3	MASC	h[ɛ]-	d-	(h)ɛd-
	FEM.IND	e- ~ ay[ɛ]- ~ a-	d-	(w)ɛd-
	FEM.ZOIC	y[ɛ]- ~ w- ~ °k[ɛ]-		

Chart 42: I-Stem Agent Prefixes

3.5 Patient Prefixes

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

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

⁵⁷The terminology chosen is not intended to be taken theoretically.

(172) ...udĕrínĕċ
 uderínĕh
 ud-erineĥ-h
 NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-intend-STAT
 'they two had wanted'

ajejǎtĕ)wá...
 ežǎtĕ)wáh
 e-ž-ate)w-ah
 FUT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
 (for) them to escape'

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

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

"dǎtĕ)skǒ)gá)ta)
 dutĕhskyǒdyá)ta?
 d-u-atehskyǒdy-a-?t-a?
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-dress-JOIN-INST-STAT
 that her clothing to dress with

de yǎwá)sti...
 de yawáhstih
 ya-wahst-ih
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT
 the it is nice'

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

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

(174) ěwǎñĕrǒ·ti'
 ewanerǒ:ti?
 e-wa-nerǒti-?
 FUT-1,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC
 'will I go hunting'
 TN:28:252:40

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

(175) yeⁿdrǎwá(škĕ·nĕ)
 yedrawáhskĕ:nĕ?
 ye-draw-ahs-kĕnĕ?
 1,sg,AGT-dance-HAB-PAST
 'I danced as a rabbit past'
 TN:25:194:25a-26

(176) hǎsǒ·ⁿgǎ's
 hasǒ:dyáhs
 ha-s-ǒdi-ahs
 MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB
 'he makes bowls'
 TN:28:240:43

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

(177) **ǎwátiʔⁿdrà·waʔ**
awátiʔdrà:waʔ
a-wati-draw-aʔ
FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-dance-PUNC
'they two danced'
TN:27:222:54

(178) **ǎhàti·crǒⁿgaʔ**
ahàti:šrǒdyaʔ
a-hati-hšrǒdi-aʔ
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-make-PUNC
'they make'
TN:07:100:40

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

(179) **ǎyù·ⁿdrāmǎʔ**
ayù:drawǎh
ayu-draw-ǎh
FEM.IND,sg,PAT-dance-STAT
'they are dancing'
TN:37:299:40

(180) **hǔtiʔcrǒⁿdíʔ**
hutihšrǒdíʔ
huti-hšrǒdi-ʔ
MASC,pl,PAT-make-STAT
'they had made'
TN:37:293:59

This prefix alternation occurs in all Northern Iroquoian languages.

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

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

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

Chart 43: C-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 44: YV-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 45: YŸ-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 46: A-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 47: E-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 48: Ę-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 49: O-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 50: Q-Stem Patient Prefixes

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

Chart 51: I-Stem Patient Prefixes

3.6 Transitives

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

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

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

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

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

Chart 52: Categories Covered by Pronominal Prefixes

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

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,sg				yq ^{-ca} yqw ^{-a} ^c kq ^{-ci} ^c kqw ^{-a}	^c ki ^{-c} ky ^{-a}	
1,X,dl						
1,X,pl					hsa ^{-c}	
1,I,dl						
1,I,pl						
2,sg	hš(e) ^{-c} (h)ske ^{-c} (h)sk ^{-yai}		hskwa ^{-c}			
2,dl	hskwa ^{-c}					
2,pl	ski ^{-c} sk ^{-o}					

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

Superscript letters after an allomorph indicate the conjugation class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
∅ ~ N,sg	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
FEM.ZOIC sg	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
MASC sg	ha ^{-c} (h)aye ^{-c} ha[ž] ^{-y} hahš ^{-y} haw ^{-a}	hsqi ^{-c}	(h)sqwa ^{-c} hsq[w] ^{-y}	ža ^{-c} ž ^{-a}	hehtsi ^{-c} hehtsi[ž] ^{-y}	hehskwa ^{-c} hehskw ^{-a}
FEM.IND sg	qye ^{-c} (Y)qnye ^{-c} (Y)q[ny] ^{-y} qny ^{-a}	qki ^{-c} qki[ž] ^{-y}		Yesa ^{-c}	yaeskwa ^{-c} yaesk ^{-y}	
FEM.ZOIC dl	hqye ^{-c}			hesa ^{-cy} hes ^{-a}		
FEM.ZOIC pl						
MASC dl						
MASC pl						

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

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

	∅ ~ N sg	FEM.ZOIC sg	MASC sg	FEM.IND sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
∅ ~ N,sg	[AGT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]	[PAT]
FEM.ZOIC,sg				(h)sayu ^{-cy}	hsayu ^{-c} hsayu[w] ^{-y} yqwa ^{-c} yqw ^{-a}	hayq ^{-ci} hayq[w] ^{-y} hayq[ny] ^{-y} hayqw ^{-a} hayu ^{-c} hayu[w] ^{-y}
MASC,sg	[AGT]	[AGT]	ru ^{-c} ru[w] ^{-y}			
FEM.IND,sg	[AGT]	yqwa ^{-cy} yqw ^{-a}	(h)qwa ^{-cy} hqw ^{-a} hqw[ɛ] ⁻ⁱ		yayq ^{-c} yayq[w] ^{-y}	
FEM.ZOIC,dl	[AGT]					
FEM.ZOIC,pl	[AGT]				(y)qwati ^{-c} (y)qwati[ž] ^{-y}	(h)qwati ^{-c} hqwati[ž] ^{-y}
MASC,dl	[AGT]					
MASC,pl	[AGT]			hayu ^{-c}		

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.7 A Closer Look at Barbeau's Conjugation Classes

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

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

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

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

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

Conjugation II consists of C- and Y-stems. IIA and IIB in paradigm A (i.e., agents) cover stems beginning with <t- ts- s- g- gw- gy- k- y- j- n- h- m- w-> (Barbeau 1915a:11). The difference between sub-conjugations IIA and IIB is that A has <ya-> and B <wa-> for the feminine-zoic agent (FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT). Paradigm B (i.e., patients) lacks sub-conjugation IIB. Barbeau refers to subconjugations IIC¹ and IIC² as "contracted sub-conjugations". Apparently this is a reference to how some of the prefixes (especially first person singular agent) fuse with the stem (or, are Ø in a different analysis). IIC¹ includes <d- n- r- j- kw-> stems. IIC² apparently covers YV- and YY-stems. Paradigm B (patients) lacks sub-conjugation IIB.

Conjugation III includes I-stems.

Conjugation IV covers E- and Ė-stems. Sub-conjugation IVA¹ is for <e-> while IVA² is for <ė->. IVB and IVC are for verbs that alternate between classes. IVB is a small

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

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

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

Thus, the modern C-stem class joins Barbeau's IIA, IIB, and IIC¹. Modern E-stems cover Barbeau's conjugations IVA¹, IVA, and IVB. ɛ-stems collapse together Barbeau's IVA² and IVC. Conversely, Barbeau's IIC² neutralizes the YV-stems and YV-stems.

3.8 Transitive Prefixes According to Barbeau

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

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

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

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

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

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,sg	hay- way- yq- ^c			yq- ^c yqw- ^c yqwaʔ- ^c yqʔ- ^c yqwa- ^c nyqwa- ^a yan- ^o	tʃi- ^c tei- ^c iʔ- ^c iʒa- ^{ca} i- ^a iny- ^a ki- ^a	iwa- ^c wa- ^{ca}

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,EX,dl	skwi- (s)qi-	haqi- ^c	aʔwa-	sai- qki- ski- ^c esa- ^{ca} sa- ^a	itsi- ^c etsi- ^{ca}	

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,EX,pl	(s)qwa - skwa - ^c			hekwa - aʔki - esa - ^{ca}	etsi - ^c aitsi - ^c etsiža - ^a	

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,IN,dl	skwi - (s)qi -	esa: - ^c	aʔwa -	heti - (e)sa - ^{ca}	etsiž - ^c etsi - ^{ca}	aitsiž - ^c aitsiny - ^c aitsi - ^{ca}

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
1,IN,pl	(s)qwa - skwa - ^c esa - ^c			hekwa - aʔki - esa - ^{ca}	aitsi - ^c	

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2,sg	ža- sa:- stri- ^c sk- ^c sky- ^c ske- ^c st- ^c ska- ^a	ski- ^c skwi- ^c skya- ^a (ski)ža- ^a	skwa- ^{ca} wa- ^a			

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2 dl	(h)etsi- ski- ^c skiž- ^c skiny- ^c skya- ^a skiža- ^a	haqi- ^c taji- ^c kyqki- ^c taskiža- ^a	haqwa- ^c	etsi- hqri- ^c ski- ^c	haetsi- ^c	

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

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
2 pl	skwa ^{-c}	haqi ^{-c} qki ^{-c} qkiny ^{-c} qkiža ^{-a}	qki ^{-c}	hqri ^{-c}	haetsi ^{-c}	

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

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,sg	y ^{-acc} ye ^{-c} Ø ^{-c} [ž] ^{-c} [ny] ^{-c} [i] ⁻ⁱ	iža ^{-c} eri ^{-c} i ^{-c} ye ^{-c} ž ^{-c} ny ^{-c} Ø ^{-c} ya ^{-a}	eri ^{-c} eža ^{-c} ha(?) ^{-c} i ^{-c} Ø ^{-c} ž ^{-c} he ^{-c} ny ^{-c} ha ^{-a}	ške ^{-c} (i)ke ^{-c} ke(a) ^{-c} k ^{-c} kea ^{-a}	yari ^{-c} yaža ^{-c} wa ^{-c} yaye ^{-c} (y)jaž ^{-c} yany ^{-c} kaya ^{-c} kaye ^{-c} ya ^{-c} yaya ^{-a}	hari ^{-c} haža ^{-c} ha ^{-c} haye ^{-c} (h)jaž ^{-c} hany ^{-c} taye ^{-c} hate ^{-c} haya ^{-a}

Chart 67: Transitive Prefixes with First Person Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,EX,dl	až- ^a aj- ^c ad- ^{coi} an- ^{co}	etsi- ^c ai- ^c aiž- ^c ainy- ^c (a)ža- ^a	qki- esa- hetsi- ^c (s)ai- ^c saiž- ^c sainy- ^c (sa)ža- ^a	etsi- ^c aki- ^c kiž- ^c ki- ^{ca} kiža- ^a	ahš- aʔtay- aʔyay- yait(s)i- ^c yai- ^c yaiž- ^c yainy- ^c yaža- ^a	ahš- aʔtay- aʔhay- hait(s)i- ^c hai- ^c haiž- ^c hainy- ^c haža- ^a

Chart 68: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,EX,pl	awa- ^c aw- ^{ac} až- ^o any- ^o aw[ɛ]- ⁱ	skwa- ^c awa- ^{ca}	ekwa- skwa- ^c sawa- ^{ca}	etsi- ^c aki- ^c kiž- ^c ki- ^{ca} kiža- ^a	yae(s)kwa- ^c yawa- ^c yaewa- ^c	hae(s)kwa- ^c hawa- ^c haewa- ^c

Chart 69: Transitive Prefixes with Exclusive Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,IN,dl	ti ^{-c} ky ^{-a} t ^{-coi}	ati ^{-c} eti ^{-c} etiž ^{-c} etiny ^{-c} ekya ^{-a}	eti ⁻ hati ^{-c} hatiž ^{-c} heti ^{-c} hetiž ^{-c} hetiny ^{-c} hekya ^{-a}	(a)ki ^{-c} aikiž ^{-c} aikiny ^{-c} kiža ^{-a} ekya ^{-a}	ahš ⁻ aʔtay ⁻ aʔhay ⁻ yai(s)i ^{-c} kai(ti) ^{-c}	ahš ⁻ aʔtay ⁻ aʔhay ⁻ hai(s)i ^{-c} tai(ti) ^{-c} tatiž ^{-c} taitiny ^{-c} hai(tiny) ^{-c} taikya ^{-a} haikya ^{-a}

Chart 70: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
1,IN,pl	kwa ^{-c} kw ^{-ac} ky ^{-o} kw[ɛ]-i	awa ^{-c} ikwa ^{-c} ekwa ^{-ca}	sa wa ⁻ (h)ekwa ^{-ca}	(a)ki ^{-c} aikiž ^{-c} aikiny ^{-c} kiža ^{-a} ekya ^{-a}	yawa ^{-c} yaikwa ^{-c} yaekwa ^{-ca}	ha(e)wa ^{-c} haikwa ^{-c} haekwa ^{-ca}

Chart 71: Transitive Prefixes with Inclusive Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2,sg	še- ^c s- ^c š- ^{ca:coi}	š(r)j- ^c hše- ^c st- ^c hša- ^a	šri- ^c hehš(e)- ^c hehst- ^c hehša- ^a	še(:)- ^c šea- ^a	ya(?)šri- ^c yahšri- ^c yahš(e)- ^c yahst- ^c yaitsi- ^c yaya- ^a yahš(a)- ^a	ha(h)šri- ^c ha hše- ^c hahst- ^c haitsi- ^c (h)ahš- ^c haya- ^a ha hša- ^a

Chart 72: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2,dl	tsi- ^c ts- ^a st- ^{coi}	hqwa- ^c (e)tsi- ^c etsiž- ^c (e)tsa- ^a	hesa- ^c hetsi- ^c hetsiž- ^c hetsiny- ^c hetsa- ^a	hayu- ^c etsi- ^c etsiž- ^c ažetsi- ^c tsiny- ^c etsiža- ^a	yqwa- ^c yaitsi- ^c yaitsiny- ^c yqwati- ^c yactsa- ^a yaitsa- ^a	hqwati- ^c haitsi- ^c haitsiž- ^c haitsiny- ^c haetsa- ^a haitsa- ^a

Chart 73: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Dual Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC,non.sg
2,pl	skwa ^{-c} skw ^{-ac} ts ^{-o} skw[ɛ] ⁻ⁱ	hqwa ^{-c} (e)hskwa ^{-c} askwa ^{-a}	hesa ^{-c} skwa ^{-c} hehskwa ^{-ca}	hayu ^{-c} eisi ^{-c} atsiža ^{-a}	yqwa ^{-c} yaeskwa ^{-c} yaɛskwa ^{-c}	haɛkwa ^{-c} hqwati ^{-c} haeskwa ^{-c} haɛskwa ^{-c}

Chart 74: Transitive Prefixes with Second Person Plural Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl	
Ø ~ N,sg	(w)(a)ye ^{-c} (w)ɲ ^{-ci} (w)ɲ[ʒ] ^{-c} wa[ny] ^{-c} (w)(a)y ^{-ac} wey ^{-a} (wa)y ^{-o}	qi ^{-c} qi[ʒ] ^{-c} qi[ny] ^{-c} qny ^{-a} qd ^{-ci} qn ^{-co}	qwa ^{-c} qw ^{-ac} qny ^{-o} qw[ɛ] ⁻ⁱ	sa ^{-c} s ^{-aco} s[ɛ] ⁻ⁱ	tsi ^{-c} tsi[ʒ] ^{-c} tsi[ny] ^{-c} ts ^{-a} st ^{-coi}	skwa ^{-c} skw ^{-ac} ts ^{-o} skw[ɛ] ⁻ⁱ	

Chart 75: Transitive Prefixes with Zero or Neuter Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
FEM.ZOIC,sg	ša -		qwa - ^{ca}	aʔye -	(e)tsi - ^c	iskwa - ^c
	ha -	qdi - ^c		(e)sa - ^{ca}	etsiž - ^c	(e)skwa - ^{ca}
	way -	qi - ^c			etsiny - ^c	
	u: -	qiž - ^c			etsa - ^a	
	ari - ^c	qiny - ^c				
	waye - ^c	qnya - ^a				
	wa - ^c					
waž - ^c						
wany - ^c						
waya - ^a						

Chart 76: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
MASC,sg	hehš-	sodi- ^c	sowa- ^{ca}	ahe-	(h)etsi- ^c	heskwa- ^c
	hu[:]-	sqi- ^c		ža- ^c	hitsi- ^c	hahskwa- ^c
	hari- ^c	sqiž- ^c		eža- ^c	hitsiny- ^c	(heh)skwa- ^{ca}
	(h)aye- ^c	sqn- ^c		aže- ^c	hetsa- ^a	
	hay(a)- ^c	sqnya- ^a		(h)ža- ^{ca}	hitsa- ^a	
	ha- ^c					
	haž- ^c					
	hany- ^c					
	haya- ^a					

Chart 77: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
FEM.IND,sg	še-	qki- ^c		a?keh-	etsiž- ^c	
	(sa)yu-	qkiny- ^c		etsi-	etsiny- ^c	
	qri- ^c	qkiž- ^c		esa- ^{ca}	skwa- ^c	
	qy(e)- ^c	qkiža- ^a			etsi- ^{ca}	
	qny(e)- ^c	skwa- ^a			etsiža- ^a	
	qya- ^a					
	qnya- ^a					

Chart 78: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
FEM.ZOIC,dl	yahš- tayq- kayq- yqwa- yqri- ^c	yaqi- ^c	yaqwa- ^c	(y)esa- ^c		yaeskwa- ^c
FEM.ZOIC,pl						

Chart 79: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Non-singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	1,sg	1,dl	1,pl	2,sg	2,dl	2,pl
MASC,dl	hahš- hayq- tayq- hesa- həwa- hqi- həye- ^c həri- ^c həny(e)- ^c hə- ^c	(ha)qi- ^c hqi- ^c hqiž- ^c həjiny- ^c raqi- ^c haqnya- ^a	yaqwa- ^c qki- ^c haqwa- ^{ca}	yesah- ^c hesa- ^{ca}	ha(?)etsi- ^c haitsi- ^c etsi- ^a etsiža- ^a hatsiža- ^a hetsiža- ^a	yaeskwa- ^c haeskwa- ^{ca}
MASC,pl						

Chart 80: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Non-singular Agent Acting on SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
∅ ~ N,sg		u ^{-c} [u]- ^{ai} aw ^{-c} a ^{-o}	hu ^{-c} h[u]- ^{ai} haw ^{-c} ha ^{-o}	ayu ^{-c} ay[u]- ^{ai} ayaw ^{-c}	uti ^{-c} uti[ž]- ^c uti[ny]- ^c ud ^{-aci} un ^{-o}	huti ^{-c} huti[ž]- ^c huti[ny]- ^c hud ^{-aci} hun ^{-o}

Chart 81: Transitive Prefixes with Zero or Neuter Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	∅ ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.ZOIC,sg	ya ^{-c} wa ^{-c} w ^{-ac} [u]- ^o [q]- ^o iny[q]- ^o y[ɛ]- ⁱ	ye ^{-c} uw ^{-c} žu ^{-c} u ^{-ca}	huw ^{-c} hu ^{-ca}	ayuw ^{-c} ayu ^{-ca}	(y)ayq ^{-c} yayqw ^{-c} (y)ayqwa ^{-a}	(h)ayq ^{-c} (h)ayqw ^{-c} (h)ayqwa ^{-a}

Chart 82: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
MASC,sg	ha ^{-c} h ^{-a} r ^{-co} h[ɛ]- ⁱ	ha(:)- ^{ca}	han ^{-c} huw ^{-c} hu ^{-ca}	yu ^{-c} sayu ^{-ca}	(h)ayq ^{-c} hayqw ^{-c} (h)ayqwa ^{-a}	(h)ayq ^{-c} (h)ayqw ^{-c} (h)ayqwa ^{-a}

Chart 83: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.IND,sg	e ^{-cci} [q]- ^{aco} ay ^{-co} a ⁻ⁱ ay[ɛ]- ⁱ	yqwa ^{-ca}	hqwa ^{-ca}	qki-	kqwa ⁻ yqwa ^{-c} yqwati ^{-c} yqwatiž ^{-c} yqwatin ^{-c} yqwada ^{-a} yqweđa ^{-a}	tqwa ⁻ hqwa ^{-c} hqwati ^{-c} hqwatiž ^{-c} hqwatin ^{-c} hqwada ^{-a} hqweđa ^{-a}

Chart 84: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Indefinite Singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
FEM.ZOIC,dl	i ^c i[ž]- ^c i[ny]- ^c ž ^a d ^{coi} n ^{co}	ekwa ^c yqwa ^c	yaitsi- hekwa ^c hqwa ^c	yayu ^c	yq ^c yqwati ^c	hqwati ^c
FEM.ZOIC,pl	(w)ati ^c wati[ž]- ^c wati[ny]- ^c y[φ]- ^{ac} wəd ^{coi} wən ^c ən ^o əd ⁱ					

Chart 85: Transitive Prefixes with Feminine-Zoic Non-singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

	Ø ~ N,sg	FEM.ZOIC,sg	MASC,sg	FEM.IND,sg	NON.MASC non.sg	MASC non.sg
MASC,dl	hi ^{-c} hi[ʒ] ^{-c} hi[ny] ^{-c} ʒ ^{-a} d ^{-coi} n ^{-co}	yqwa ^{-ca}	haisi ⁻ hqwa ^{-ca} hesa ^{-c}	(y)ayu ^{-c} hayuw ⁻ hayu ^{-ca}	yqwati ^{-c} yqwatiʒ ^{-c} yqwada ^{-a} yqwəda ^{-a}	yqri ^{-c} hqwati ^{-c} hqwatiʒ ^{-c} hqwatiny ^{-c} hqwada ^{-a} hqwəda ^{-a} haqwada ^{-a}
MASC,pl	hati ^{-c} hati[ʒ] ^{-c} hati[ny] ^{-c} h[ɔ] ^{-cc} heɗ ^{-coi} heŋ ^{-co}					

Chart 86: Transitive Prefixes with Masculine Non-singular Agent Acting on Non-SAPs, According to Barbeau

There is some agreement between the forms found in the texts and those given by Barbeau: both charts 53 and 59 have *yq-* as first singular acting on second singular, while charts 53 and 64 have a variant of *sk-* as second singular acting on first singular. However, the first on first and second on second forms are found only in Barbeau's list: there are none in the texts. Additionally, in related languages such categories involve the Semireflexive morpheme and would not appear in the chart anyway.

Some of the discrepancies can be attributed to misparsing on the part of Barbeau. For example, in his notes he gives the forms <*-yq-*, *-yqm̄-*, *-yq'>*, and <*-yan->* for first singular acting on second singular, whereas only the first allomorph appears in the texts or is expected from comparative Iroquoian. Fortunately, in this case Barbeau gives the words these forms were taken from:

- (180) *iyōjúj'* 'I have killed thee'
yōm̄à'ti'cáĩ' 'I have looked for thee'
yq'gyārà'sé'di' 'I have helped thee'
yānōtē' 'I have given thee'

All of the unexpected forms involve parsing the beginning of the verb or incorporated noun root as the end of the pronominal prefix. The form <*-yqm̄-*> misplaces part of the morpheme <*-m̄à't->* (*-Ya?t-*) 'body' onto the prefix <*-yq->*, with the *Y* of *-Ya?t-* alternating as expected with *w* after a back vowel, and phonetically nasalized after a nasal vowel, resulting in <*m̄*>. Similarly, the <'> of <*-yq'>* belongs to the verb <*-'gyara->* (*-?dyara-*) 'help'. The last word is more complicated. The <*n*> belongs to <*-nqt->*

(-nqht-) 'give', leaving <yā-> as the prefix. However, considering that the back vowels have large vowel space (see section 2.12 *Vowel Allophones*), this is easily seen as a mishearing of yq- before a nasal.

There is also some similarity with the forms under inclusive plural acting on masculine singular, second plural on masculine singular, and second plural on non-masculine non-singular. There is some resemblance as well with masculine singular acting on first singular, masculine singular on first plural, masculine singular on second singular, masculine singular on second dual, masculine singular on second plural, and feminine-indefinite singular on second singular.

In the texts (as well as the other languages) forms for SAPs acting on non-SAPs do not distinguish between dual and plural non-SAPs. However, in Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau's notes, sometimes such a distinction is indicated. For instance, exclusive plural acting on non-masculine non-singular (1,EX,pl:3, NON.MASC,non.sg) <-yaewa-> is explicitly given as only with a dual patient, not a plural. <-yawa-> is contradictively given as only dual or only plural, with disagreement between Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau's notes, as well as between one note and another. <-yaeskwa-> has no number indicated. This occasional splitting of the non-masculine non-singular and masculine non-singular into dual and plural occurs with the exclusive plural, inclusive plural, second dual, second plural, feminine-indefinite singular, and masculine non-singular.

An interesting question is why there is such a discrepancy between the forms asserted by Barbeau and those actually found in the texts. Clearly, the pronominal tokens appearing in the texts are likely not to cover the full paradigm, either in categories or in allomorphy.

However, even the structure and arrangement of categories given by Barbeau is different from the texts. The texts, in turn, are corroborated by comparative examination of other Iroquoian languages. At present this difference remains a mystery.