CHAPTER FOUR
PREPRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The prepronominal prefixes are an array of 11 affixes that occur before the pronominal prefixes. They are not obligatory, and may occur in combinations of multiple prefixes. Because of the degree of fusion between prepronominals, prefix combinations are treated separately (see section 4.3 Prefix Complexes). The prepronominals can be divided semantically into modals, locatives, and an irrealis-like category, with the rest not falling into a neat category. The three modal prefixes are the factual (FACT), future (FUT), and optative (OPT). The two locatives are the cislocative (CISLOC) and the translocative (TRANS). The two members of the irrealis-like category are the contrastive (CONTR) and the negative (NEG). The remaining prefixes include the coincident (COINC), dualic (DU), partitive (PART), and repetitive (REP). Chafe (1967), in discussing Seneca, also refers to a modal class, and he places the Cislocative and Repetitive together as the primary prefixes (being closest to the verb), and the Partitive, Coincident and Contrastive as the secondary prefixes (being further from the verb). The other prefixes he treats individually.

4.1 Forms and Meanings

Each individual prepronominal prefix will be addressed in turn before the prefixes are treated in conjunction with one another. The three modals, Future, Optative, and Factual, will be addressed first, followed by the locatives, Cislocative and Translocative. These are
followed by the Negative and Contrastive, the two irrealis-like prepronominals. The remaining prefixes follow in no particular order.

The analysis of forms and meanings presented here is based on that of Lounsbury (1953) for Oneida and Chafe (1967) for Seneca. A more extensive analysis of the prepronominals would require examination of influences from discourse, particles, and meanings of lexical items.

4.1.1 Future (FUT)

The Future, often glossed as 'will', 'shall', or 'must' in the texts, conveys not simply future time, but rather probability of occurrence. In other words, although the term implies a tense category the usage is more properly that of a mood (c.f. Foster 1985, 1986 for a discussion across Northern Iroquoian). The Future prefix always takes the form $e-$, as in 182:

(182) $e\kappa\acute{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{e}\tilde{w}a$
   $e\kappa\acute{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{e}\tilde{w}a$
   e-kay-ate?w-a?
   FUT-1,IN,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
   'will we two escape' ('We will run away')
   TN:27:214:09

In all other Northern Iroquoian languages the cognate Future morpheme is nasalized, $\varphi-$ or $\varphi$-.
4.1.2 Optative (OPT)

The Optative, often glossed with 'would' or 'might' in the texts, or occurring following a previous reference to an intention or desire, expresses conditionality, or the possibility of occurrence (again c.f. Foster 1985, 1986). Example 183 occurs in a section of text where the characters are searching for a means of escape.

(183) ...אַהאָגְּטָרָן?
אַהאָגְּטֶרָרָי?
אַהאָגְּטֶרָרָי?
NOT-NEG-MASC,sg,AGT-know-STAT
'no not he knows'

הֲדֵאַגְּטָרָן?
הֲדֵאַגְּטֶרָרָי?

TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-CAUS-PUNC
'they (should) go'

דָּעַגְּטָרָנ...?
דָּעַגְּטֶרָרָי?

PART-OPT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
'that they two escape'

he knew not where to escape to ('he didn't know where to escape to')

The Optative appears as $a\sim-$, except when the Repetitive or Cislocative is present (see section 4.3 Prefix Complexes), or before pronominal prefixes beginning with Y. In the latter case, there is fusion over the morpheme boundary into $a\tilde{z}-$. 

198
4.1.3 Factual (FACT)

The Factual indicates that the likelihood of occurrence is certain, more likely than the Future (probable) or Optative (possible) (c.f. Foster 1985, 1986). It is often translated in texts with the English narrative past:

(185) ...ngę ḥońtwaŋ̄'a
neh ahótəwaŋ
a-hoťatenəw-a
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
'now they fled
Now they took to flight
TN:40:307:16-19

62Apparently some sort of insult.
Non-past word glosses can also occur outside the narrative context. Note that in 186 the form glossed with a non-past ('they run off') appears as a past in the free translation.

(186) ...né<sub>c</sub> ahõrá'eskwa<sub>c</sub>
néh ahõráhskwah
    a-hq-arahskw-ah
    FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'now they went

ahõ<sub>ó</sub>3'tè<sub>ó</sub>wa3
ahõtè?wa?
a-hq-ate?w-a?
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-run.away-PUNC
they run off

né<sub>c</sub> hõrmàtì-"ga"...
néh hqátìdyah
    hqutì-dya-h
    3,non.sg:MASC,non.sg-chase-STAT
now they them are chasing'

Now then the Senecas started tracking the Wyandots, who ran off.
TN:37:291:50-54

The free translation, however, need not also use the past. Note that although both words with the Factual in 187 are glossed in the past, the free translation avoids the narrative past.

Such a translation might be 'he saw several men who stood there'.

(187) ...né<sub>c</sub> ahàyòñg3
néh ahàyònyç?
a-hqò-yè-?
    FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-see-PUNC
'now he them saw
hēnqʷm bé
hēnqʷwéh
hēn-ᵻwe-h
MASC,pl,AGT-person-NOUN
they people
tuteh-ᵻ-dat...
tuteh:i dat
t-ute-hëd-a-t
DU-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-JOIN-stand.PUNC
there they stood'

TN:02:070:08-11
Several men could be seen standing [at a distance].

Allomorphs of the Factual are a- and aʔ-. Other allomorphs, those occurring with
the Repetitive or Cislocative and another prepronominal, are discussed in section 4.3 Prefix
Complexes. The allomorph aʔ- occurs before vowels:

(188) ...néh ʔé:tuč
dé ț
néh aʔé:tu
de
aʔ-e-tuʔ-h
FACT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-know-PUNC
'now one finds out that

tuʔčehį trqʔ...
tuʔčehįʔtrqʔ?
tu-ᵻhe-hε-iʔtrqʔ?
REM-TRANS-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
there he stays'

('Now they found out that he was staying there')
TN:27:233:13-17
Both allomorphs can occur before glides, h, d, and r. Examples of a- before h can be seen in 185-187. The allomorph aʔ- appears before h in 189:

(189) aʔhɛhɑqʔ
     aʔhɛhɑqʔ
     aʔ-ɛ-ʔɑqʔ
     FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-say-PUNC
     'he said'
     TN:26:203:53

The following examples show both forms before glides in 190 and 191, before d in 192, and before r in 193:

(190) a.  āyɔmáʔɛ•⁴du•tɔ³
          ayɔwáʔɛ:du:taʔ
          a-ʔyw-æ-tædu:taʔ
          FACT-1.sg:2,speak-PUNC
          'I (to) thee want to tell' ('I want to tell you...')
          TN:12:115:22

       b.  aʔyatɛ•³wa³
           aʔyateʔwaʔ
           aʔ-ɛ-æ-teʔw-æʔ
           FACT-1.sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC
           'I self am or go away' ('I ran away')
           IR:15

(191) a.  ñwàtɛ•³wa³
          ñwatɛʔwah
          a-w-æ-teʔw-æh
          FACT-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC
          'she escaped'
          TN:28:237:30

63Note that most variants of this word use the shorter allomorph a-.
b. aŋwärâ kafka
   aŋwanhskwa
   aŋ-w-arahskw-ah
   FACT-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
   'she returned (went) ('she went back')
   TN:22:167:36

(192) a. há·ńdeť
   há:deht
   h·a·r·e·ht
   TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-CAUS.PUNC
   'they went'
   TN:04:085:06

b. aŋdâtarâ·ŋgyâ
   aŋdâtarâdyâ?
   aŋ-ŋ-ŋ-da?tar-ŋdi-ŋ
   FACT-1.sg,AGT-bread-make-PUNC
   'I bread make' ('I make bread')
   IR:16

(193) a. hářeť
   hářeht
   h·a·r·e·ht
   TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-CAUS.PUNC
   'he came'
   TN:27:225:20

b. tâŋriːjʊć
   tâŋriːţúh
   t·aŋ-ŋ-riːţu·h
   CISLOC-FACT-1.sg,AGT-kill-PUNC
   'I killed'
   TN:04:083:01

Other than before vowels, the two allomorphs a and aŋ are probably in free variation.
4.1.4 Cislocative (CISLOC)

The Cislocative indicates simple location, or direction of motion, and is usually glossed in the texts by 'at', 'down', 'here', 'off', 'out', 'over', 'there', 'to', 'towards', 'where', 'whereat', 'wherefrom', or 'yonder'. Complexities of the Cislocative in Oneida are explored in Abbott (1981), and in Mohawk in Bonvillain (1981).

The Cislocative in 194, on a non-motion verb, indicates the simple location of the

'finding':

(194) tayêmê-"dûrgēc
    tayewê:dûrzhah
    t-(h)aye-wĕd-ur¬-hah
    CISLOC-MASC.sg:1.sg-voice-find-STAT
    'there he my voice, word finds' ('there he found what I wanted')
    WM:070

In 195 the Cislocative indicates the location of 'planting', also non-motion:

(195) ...nê tê há-reći
    nê tu há:reh
    h=a-r-e-h
    TRANS-FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-go-PUNC
    'now there he goes

    dêtutinê'kwîc...
    detutinyê'kwih
    de-(h)utì-yêkwi-h
    SUBST-CISLOC-MASC.pl,PAT-plant-STAT
    where they two have planted'

He went to look for him in the garden.
TN:26:198:43-47

204
With verbs of motion the Cislocative indicates direction, as in 196, where the verb

-arahskw- 'go out' combined with the Cislocative is glossed as 'come home'.

(196) ...ēkētūmēhāmē-ta
ekyetqēhawēhta?
et-ye-at-qwe-haw-ē-ht-a?
FUT-CISLOC-1.sg,AGT-SEMI-person-carry-INCH-CAUS-PUNC
'I one (of them) brought back

nēg
nēh

tāyārāskwa...
tayarāhskwa?
t-a-y-arahskw-a?
CISLOC-FACT-1.sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'I came home'

when

'[One day] I brought one back with me'
TN:28:244:51-53

In 197 the verb -Yaye- 'go out' bears the Cislocative, and is glossed as 'come out', in reference to the perspective of a group of spectators.

(197) ...tuť tāhīcąyē-ha
 tuh tahiżayę:ha?
t-a-hi-Yaye-ha?
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'there they came out of the water

teńhūdątūtāŋ-q-mi...
tehudątūtanyō:wh

te-hud-at-ut-a-nyq-w-ih
DU-MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-stick.up-JOIN-DISTR-CAUS-STAT
there they were fastened together'

'[the Snake and the Indian maiden] came out of the lake, twisted together'
TN:08:103:53-56
With the verb -e- 'go / come' the Cislocative gives a gloss of 'come':

(198) tāmɛ̀ ñ'dɛ̀
tawɛ̀dɛ̀?
t-a-ŋɛd-e-?
CISLOC-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC
'they come'
TN:12:113:03

Compare the use of the Translocative in section 4.1.5, where the resulting gloss is 'go'. Additionally, the Cislocative can be used as a superlative, 'most' or '-st':

(199) tāyuwàñɛ̀
tayuwàmɛ̀h
t-(h)a-ŋɛwuà-h
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-large-STAT
'big one (oldest)'
TN:23:171:52

Without the Cislocative, this word simply refers to large size in general:

(200) hāyuwàñɛ̀
hayuwàmɛ̀h
ha-ŋɛwuà-h
MASC,sg,AGT-large-STAT
'it is big'
TN:07:100:16

Allomorphs of the Cislocative are t-, k-, ti-, and ka-. Vowels condition the t-allomorph, as in 194 and 198-199 above, while k- occurs before glides, as in 195. The former can also appear before r.
(201) trò·'daŋ
trò·daŋ?
t-r-qdaŋ-?
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
'(where) he lives'
TN:29:268:52

The remaining allomorphs *ti- and *ka-* are less frequent and have distributions that are less clear. *ti-* can show up before glides, as well as *h, r, and s.*

(202) tî·we³
tî·we?
ti-w-e-?
CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PURP
'she walks'
TN:22:165:49

(203) tîhê·"dê³
tîhê·dê?
ti-hêd-e-?
CISLOC-MASC,pl,AGT-go-PURP
'there they come'
TN:23:173:47

(204) tî·re³
tî·re?
ti-r-e-?
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB
'about he (the owl) is walking' ('the owl is walking about')
TN:24:184:41

(205) tiskwâdá·re³
tiskwâdá·re?
ti-skwa-dar-e?
CISLOC-2,pl,AGT-live-STAT
'you live' ('where you live')
TN:20:149:04
The allomorph ka- occurs before h, s, t, and w:

(206) ...ku^nq'é†tsí' ha³̈rqå ayúwàngé̊
kyù?dyëtsīh hë³̈r̥̊å ayüwàné̊h
a-yyuwané̊-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT
it is large

' the snake only

kaháyyó'ê̊h̥̊
kaháyyó:thé̊
ka-ah-yyé-é-?
CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-head-have-STAT
there his head

q̥̊qëdë̊sà'yyè̊
qëdë̊sà?yè̊
[ç]-adès=a-?yè̊
FEM.IND,sg,AGT-lap-JOIN-LOC
her lap on'

It was only a big snake whose head was in her lap.
TN:02:066:26-30

(207) kasá̊ká'ì̊yé̊næ̊
kasakyáʔkynæ̊
ka-s-at-Yàn-ì̊-Yenæ̊
CISLOC-2,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-fall.STAT
'here thou liest down'
TN:04:086:09-10

(208) kàtsídá²̊wàt
kàtsídá?wàt
ka-tsi-da?wàt
CISLOC-2,dl-dig.IMP
'here you dig' ('dig here!')
TN:16:130:11-12
(209) ...yéhe
yehe?
y-ehe-ʔ
1,sg,AGT-think-STAT
'I want

ka-wajə?atə?
ka-wažəʔatə?
ka-way-Yaʔ-a-ʔe-ʔ
CISLOC-1,sg,PAT-body-JOIN-stop-STAT
here I stay (stop)

I wish to stay here
TN:27:217:33-34

It remains unclear why tə- and ka- are sometimes chosen instead of t- and k-, although there
is a tendency for ka- to appear before second person pronominals.

4.1.5 Translocative (TRANS)

The Translocative indicates distant location, or motion away from a referent. It is
usually glossed as 'across', 'at them', 'away', 'here', 'off', 'out', 'there', 'thereof', or 'where' in the
texts.

Example 210 demonstrates the distal locative sense, referring to the place where a
previous camp had been set up:

(210) dehɛhùtidaθək
dehɛhutidátaθək
de-he-hut-dat-a-Yɛtə-hk
SUBST-TRANS-MASC,non.sg,PAT-camp-JOIN-have-PAST
'where they had camped previously'
TN:19:138:04-05

The Translocative indicates that the direction of throwing is away from the thrower in 211:
(211) hahú-ti₃
   hahú-ti₃?
   h=-a-hu-ati-?= TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-pitch-PUNC
   'he threw (it) away'
   TN:28:250:25

With the verb -e- 'go / come' the Translocative gives a gloss of 'go':

(212) háxe₃
   háxe₃?
   h=-a=x=e-?= TRANS-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-go-PUNC
   'they went'
   TN:16:126:13

Compare the previous use with the Cislocative where the meaning was 'come'. Allomorphs are h- (before vowels), he- (before consonants), and ha?= before the Dualic.

4.1.6 Negative (NEG)

The Negative can be used to indicate simple negation, as in 213 and 214:

(213) ...dæe₃     hëʔ-rq₃      teʔyaŋteʔri₃
     dæeʔ?       hëʔ-rqʔ?      teʔyaŋteʔriḥ
     'that        only (because)

     ãŋq=ʔmāʔ     hú=saweʔ
     anq=ʔwāʔ     hú:saweh
     h=-u:sawep-e-h TRANS-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
     which way     for her to go

     NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-know-STAT
     not she knows
As she had no idea of the way to her mother's home...
TN:02:071:27-34

(214) ...yʃ[tʃʊ] useRefŋʊŋ?
yəhtɨʔ useRefŋʊŋ?
y[ɛ]-ɨht-ɨʔ useRefŋʊŋ?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-good-STAT-POP
'prairie turtle tribe

teʃade tiʃde (<sq)
neʃade tidèhhsq?
and then hawk

'ɑ̃cɛk ɛwâ<scape>
ahɛhk iwâ<brush>
iwɛ?ayeh
i-w-êt-aye-h
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
days

'taʔa stɛ̃tæq
'taʔa stɛʔtaʔu
not anything

teʔsütīɡahay...
teʔsutiđahay
teʔ-š-[h]ut-i-dya-hay
NEG-REP-MASC,pl,PAT-eat-STAT
not they eat'

211
Several men of the Prairie Turtle and Hawk clans... abstained from any food for thirty days

The Negative can also be used for other contrary-to-fact situations. This is shown in 215,
where the speaker is describing what he would do if married.

(215) ...diyé-he³
  diyé:he?
  di-y-ehe=?
PART-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT  I want

  ka·jéha·
  ka:jéha:
  ka-y-Ye-ha
CISLOC-1,sg,AGT-do-HAB  I do this way

  te=wayé³⁹̓gëk
  te?wayé?dyah
  te?=waye-dyay=h
NEG-1,sg,PAT-marrry-STAT  (as) if I were married

  tāyatakɑŋñho³h...
  taya'takanqnyqhoğ
  t=ay=ataky=a=nqnyq=hq̃
CISLOC-1,sg,PAT-talk-JOIN-DISTR-STAT  I (with) her would converse continually'

I wish that, were I married, I would converse like this forever.
TN:04:082:07-10

Allomorphs are te- and teʔ-. Vowels are preceded by teʔ-, while h is almost always
preceded by te-. The latter also occurs before the Optative + Repetitive and Optative +

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Matthew Dryer suggests that the Negative may thus actually be an irrealis morpheme.
Cislocative combinations that start with *u*. They are in free variation before consonants other than *h*. In 216 both allomorphs appear before *w*:

(216) a. ...tewatiʔ-toʔtsaʔs
tewatiʔ-toʔtsahas
te-watiʔ-toʔtsahas
NEG-NON.MASC.pl,AGT-hatch-HAB
'not they hatch

dē yuʔcātəʔ...
dē yuʔhāt̪əʔ?
yuʔ-hāt̪əʔ?
FEM.IND.sg,PAT-ride-STAT
the horse'

horses don't hatch
TN:32:276:10-13

b. te-wâyemęʔ-gériheq'
te?wayewędýeríheq
te?=waye-wędýeri-heq
NEG-1,sg,PAT-willing-STAT
'no I am willing

dusâyátre̍ʔ-dûʔteʔ
dusayátre̍ʔ-dûʔteʔ
d-usa-y-at- whereas-ŋ- uŋ
PART-REP.FACT-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-song-stick.up-PUNC
that again I sing'

No, I am no longer willing to sing.
TN:24:189:04-07

Northern Iroquoian languages differ as to whether the Negative can co-occur with the modals or not.\(^65\) Wyandot patterns both ways, with the Negative able to appear with the

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\(^65\)In Oneida they cannot co-occur, while in Seneca they can.
Optative, but not the Factual or Future. In order to convey a negative meaning with the Factual or Future, the Contrastive is used.

4.1.7 Contrastive (CONTR)

The Contrastive indicates simple negation in instances when the Negative cannot be used, that is, with the Factual or Future.

In 217 the Factual is used in a negated verb. Since the Factual and Negative cannot co-occur, the Contrastive appears instead:

(217) ...həʔə tahə'^dù-rêhə'
   həʔə tahə'dù-rêhə?
   t-a-hêd-urê-ha?
   CONTR-FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-find-PUNC
   'no not they find are able to

dəhə'^tê'tsə's...
   de həj:̂têtsəhs
   həq=ate-tse=hs
   MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB
   the they her are doctoring'

They could not find out what was the matter.
TN:34:278:63-67

The Contrastive is also used to indicate the opposite of what was expected. Example 218 is from a text where Turtle keeps winning races against faster opponents. In this instance he had defeated Raccoon by unexpectedly arriving first.
The Raccoon then competed with the Turtle, but the Turtle reached the island first.

Allomorphs are t- (before vowels), ti- (before consonants), and aʔ- (before the Dualic).

4.1.8 Coincident (COIN)

The Coincident is usually glossed as 'same' in the texts, and indicates that one entity is identical to another. Both 219 and 220 indicate identity of a person:

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66 Lounsbury (1953:46) indicates that the Oneida cognate involves simultaneity, in addition to identity of entities, while Chafe (1967:32) states the Seneca form shows that "what follows coincides in time or space with some other reference."
(219) ...dāētu\3  wé-ti\3  cāhēā\'tāt
daētu?  wē-tih  šahā\'tāt
ša-ħa- Ya\?-a-t
COINC-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT
same one body
‘that too all

dūtahāē-rōnōkē\3 ...
duta\hāē-rōnōk\,ye?
d=ut\,a- Yeq=\,nq=\,ř-akye-?
PART-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-trick-DISTR-STAT-PROG-PUNC
that he me tricked several times’

And the same one has now cheated me ever so many times!

(220) ...tūrkē\3 ca\3  cā-tā\,re\3
tuhšeq\,ša\,?
šqā\,rē?
š-qta\,-r-e-?
COINC-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
‘there it is again yonder he comes

dě-rōmē\3... dērōwēh
de-r-qwe-h
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
the he person’

There, at a distance, he saw the same fellow coming along.
TN:27:223:12-16

In combination with the Dualic, the meaning is ‘half’ or ‘middle’.

(221) ca\,tēyā\,dakhwētsi\,k
ša\,tēyā\,dakhwētsih
ša\,-te-yā\,-dakhwētsih
COINC-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-drum-long-STAT
‘bushel half-way long’
WD:NR:065
(222) ...ca³tēyá-da³wa³
ša³teyá-da³wa³?
ša³-te-ya³-daw-a³?
COINC-DU-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-river-NOUN
'in the middle of the river

né³

hú³sku³k...
hú³skuhk
hu³sku³-Ø-hk
MASC,sg,PAT-enter.water-STAT-PAST
he him dropped in the water

right in the middle of the river he dropped him down
TN:28:249:06-08

Allomorphs are š- (before vowels), ša³- (before consonants), ša³- (before the Dualic), and
še³- (before the Cislocative).

4.1.9 Dualic (DU)

According to Lounsbury (1953:48-49), the Dualic in Oneida has many uses. It can
be used to indicate 'two' in counting, that "two agents are requisite for the action described
in the verb", that "the verb root implies a change of state or position", that there are "slightly
different specializations in meaning in which there is multiplication of parts or of action", or
to replace the Repetitive if the Cislocative is present (since these two are mutually exclusive,
see section 4.3 Prefix Complexes). In Wyandot the Dualic is used to indicate paired items
or changes of state, in addition to many unclear uses.

The Dualic in Wyandot can indicate two paired entities, as in 223:

217
Here the Dualic refers to the ears being paired. When only one ear is referred to, the Dualic is absent:

(224) UNDLEU-

\textbf{wayahqʰ\textsuperscript{á}tʰqʰ?}
\textbf{wayahqʰáhtʰqʰ?}
\textbf{way-ahqʰt-ahqʰ-ʔ}
1.sg,PAT-ear-lose-STAT
'I my ear lose'
WD:NR:062

Other paired body parts also can appear with the Dualic, such as 'feet' in 225 and 'eyes'

in 226:

(225) UNDLEU-

\textbf{teyaʰcʰ\textsuperscript{á}tʰwʰ\textsuperscript{á}stʰkʰ}
\textbf{teyahšʰi\textsuperscript{á}tʰwʰstʰih}
\textbf{te-y-ahšʰi\textsuperscript{á}t-a-wahst-ih}
1.sg,AGT-foot-JOIN-good-STAT
'my feet pretty' ('my pretty feet')
WD:NR:012

(226) UNDLEU-

\textbf{teyěyá\textsuperscript{á}kʰwe\textsuperscript{á}dʰwʰ\textsuperscript{á}stʰkʰ}
\textbf{teyěyáhkʰwᵉ\textsuperscript{á}dʰwʰstʰih}
\textbf{te-ye-yahkwᵉ\textsuperscript{á}d-a-wahst-ih}
1.sg,AGT-eye-JOIN-good-STAT
'my eyes that are pretty' ('my pretty eyes')
The Dualic can also appear with paired items other than body parts, as in 227:

(227) tehu'ce "da'ë
teuhşèda'ë
te-hu-hşëd-a-Yë
DU-MASC,sG,PAT-name-JOIN-have.STAT
'two names he has got' ('he has two names')
WD:NR:038

The Dualic can also indicate a change of state. In 228 there are two states, one before transfiguration and one as a human:

(228) ...dI hɛ'cë'ë' aňo'gáka
dI hɛhšè'ë'h anyó:dyáka
a-Yq-dyaka
FACT-1,sG:2,sG-marry.PUNC
'me it has been so I you married that
hɔ³rhɔ³ êdá'uráha³
hɔ?rhɔ? êdá?uráha?
e-Ø-da?ura-ha?
FUT-1,sG,AGT-able-PUNC
only will that I be able
detëjá³tu'të
detežá?tu?të
dè-te-ë-Ya?t-u?të
SUBST-DU-1,sG,AGT-body-kind.STAT
that I be transformed as though (like)
dă  yγ̣ṛmê...  
Da  yγ̣ṛwe̊h  
y-qwe-h  
FEM.ZOIC,sg.,AGT-person-NOUN  
the  it person'  

As it is, I will be transfigured into a human being to marry her.  
TN:02:068:13-23  

Two states, one before a camp was set and one after, are indicated with the Dualic in 229:  

(229)  ...ṇe̊  tēhati"datagé...  
    néh  tehatidatagé?  
      te-hati-dat-a-Yē=-?  
    DU-MASC,pl.,AGT-camp-JOIN-have-STAT  
'now  they a camp have'  

So they pitched camp.  
TN:20:145:18-19  

Other examples are less clear. Example 230 may also indicate two states, one before scalping  
and one after. However, the Oneida cognate requires the Dualic lexically, so this may hold  
for Wyandot as well.  

(230)  tēhâyʊṇo:ṛe̊kwa?  
    tehâyuṇo:ṛækwa?  
      te-hayu-nqr-a-hkw-a?  
    DU-MASC,non.sg.,FEM.IND,sg.-scalp-JOIN-take-HAB  
'they onebody scalp' ('they scalp people')  
TN:30:272:42  

However, there are many instances where the purpose of the Dualic is vague or unclear; as  
in the following examples.
I fasten it, and then I leap down

At daybreak they ran to an isolated house
TN:38:301:21-25

'the dawn' then

they ran

tūdē  kānq'cā'ē'

tūde  kanqʰā?):
t-ya-nqʰ-s-a-Ye-?

CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT
to the house'

'the dawn' then

they ran

tūdē  kānq'cā'ē'

tūde  kanqʰā?):
t-ya-nqʰ-s-a-Ye-?

CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT
to the house'

At daybreak they ran to an isolated house
TN:38:301:21-25
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ihá·'nq} & \quad \text{è·rômë\textsuperscript{c}} \ldots \\
\text{ihá:\'nq} & \quad \text{è·nqwëh} \\
i-\text{ha-} \text{?nq-} & \quad \text{e-r-} \text{qwe-} \text{h} \\
\text{PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-bury-STAT} & \quad \text{X-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN} \\
\text{he was buried} & \quad \text{the he person'} \\
\end{align*} \]

before they had dug far into the ground, they found a buried human being
TN:16:130:15-22

It may be the case that these are also lexically determined, in that in other Northern Iroquoian languages the Dualic is obligatory with certain verbs.

Uses for enumeration or repetition as described by Lounsbury (1953) for the Oneida Dualic are not apparent in Wyandot. No example of \textit{tedih} 'two' appears with the Dualic on the following enumerated item, for example. Furthermore, no example glossed with 'again' uses the Dualic and the Cislocative, so it is not possible to see if the Dualic is used to replace the Repetitive in the presence of the Cislocative.

Allomorphs are \(\iota\)- in combination with various other preprononinals, \(\kappa\)- in those same combinations but before glides, and \(\tau\)- elsewhere.

4.1.10 Partitive (PART)

The range of uses of the Partitive does not reduce easily to a single English translation. It often covers 'how', 'how much', 'where', or 'when' in the texts, as well as especially 'to' and 'that'.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{67}Lounsbury (1953:46) refers to the Oneida cognate as used for "the amount of, how much, how many..., manner of, kind of, the way, how..., where, (the place) of..., when, the time when".
Example 234 shows the verb 'give' with the Partitive attached to its intended result, the verb 'plant', adding the gloss 'that' to the latter.

(234) ...a'umóqt
a'umóqt
a?=u=nqht
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC
'she her gave
dækató'skwa'yêh
dekató'skwa'uyêh
de-kuhot'skwa'uyêh
SUBST-toad
the toad
da'yâ'ë'kwa'
da'yâ'ë'kwa?
d=a?-ya-Yêkw-a?
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-plant-PUNC
that she planted (the seeds)
duné:ha'
duné:ha?
d=u-nêh-a?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-corn-NOUN
the corn'
The toad now gave the woman grains of corn [to plant]
TN:01:061:09-12

Example 235 relates a verb of knowing and a verb indicating what action is known, also linked through the gloss 'that':

(235) ...yêñë:ni'CK
yenyë:wihi
ye-nyë:wihi
I,sg,AGT-know.how,STAT
'I know how
dânë'skwa'
d_PRIK:skwa'
d=a?-nëkskwa'
PART-FACT-1,sg,AGT-steal-PUNC
that I steal'
I am a thief
TN:29:262:25-27
Locative relations can also be shown with the Partitive, as in 236, where the verb indicating 'living' or 'dwelling', the goal of the 'go' and 'arrive' event, bears the Partitive.

(236) ...sahārā'skwač

sahāřaskwah
s-a-h-arahskw-ah
REP-FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'back he goes

hūsahāq[(j)]
husahaq?
h-usa-ha-Yq-?
TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
again he arrives (home)

dikē3'troć
dikē?troć?
di-t-y[ŋ]-i?troć-?
PART-CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-live-STAT
where she stays

hūdū3'mgć
huddu?wēh
hu-du?wē-h
MASC.sg,PAT-mother-NOUN
his mother'

he went back to the home where his mother lived
TN:27:229:08-14

In a parallel fashion, temporal relations can also be found with the Partitive. In 237 the Partitive appears on the verb 'say', connecting it to the time of the verb 'fool'.
(237) ...dāhāyaq'diŋq̡é'č'eq?
dahayaq'diŋq̡é'č?
d=a-hayq'-?diŋq̡-ha?t eq?
PART-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,non.sg-sense-fool-PUNC
'that he them two has fooled

dīhā'čeq?
điŋq̡eq?
di-h-atq=-?
PART-MASC,sg,AGT-say-STAT
when he has said me'
he had only deceived them when he said, 'It is I!
TN:24:190:38-43

The verb marked with the Partitive need not be the first verb following the main verb. In 238
the Partitive form, 'the next day', relates the time of the other verbs, but precedes them.

(238) ...dāeq?
ńōmā'deq?
dāq'ū-rēhāq?
daq'ū-rēhāq?
d=a-?h-rē-ha?
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC
'that one next time the next day

dāeq?
nōmā3
daqwā?
arä+tūkā'sarrú?ta's
a=tūkāhsarū?ta's
a=t-(h)u-akahsaru?t-ahs
FACT-DU-MASC,sg,PAT-watch-HAB
that one that time he him kept on watching68

tēhūyá:dra3
ńō'ńmā

68 Anomalous use of Habitual with Factual.

tehuyā:dra?
ńō'ńwā

te-hu-yadr-a?
DU-MASC,sg,PAT-look.at-STAT
he at him was looking the way

225
The next day Tatenri'a watched his brother and noticed in what direction he went to hunt.
TN:23:172:42-52

The reason for the use of the Partitive on the verb 'kind; type' in 239 is unclear, unless it is related to the enumerative function referred to by Lounsbury (1953) for the Oneida cognate.

(239) ...āwēti3
    tūha3*mē2n-dē't
    awēti?
    tuhaʔwē'sdēht
    tu-h-aʔ-wēd-e-ht
    REM-TRANS-FACT-NON.MASC.pl,AGT-go-CAUS.PUNC
    'all
    there they went

dētauʔto5
    dē
    detauʔto?
    de
    de-t-(h)a-tu-tq-?
    SUBST-CISLOC-MASC.sg,AGT-door-close-STAT
    (where) he was fastened in
    the

hūmē3*tsēʔiʔaʔ
    āwē-ti3
    hōwēʔtsēhiʔa
    awēti?
    h-owéʔ-itsēhiʔ-ah
    MASC.sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM
    boy
    all

tūhā3*wālínq5
    tūhāʔwālínqoʔ?
    tu-h-aʔ-wati-Yq-?
    REM-TRANS-FACT-NON.MASC.pl,AGT-arrive-PUNC
    there they went many
After a while they all assembled at the place where the child was imprisoned, and here they held a council.

TN:19:139:21-36

Although the Oneida cognate of -uʔtė- 'be a kind of' requires the Partitive lexically, this does not hold of Wyandot and so a lexical explanation cannot be as easily adopted here. The following example shows -uʔtė- 'be a kind of' without the Partitive:

(240) ...tewaʔtijáʔtuʔtė?
tewaʔtiʔáʔtuʔtė?
teʔwatiʔYaʔt-uʔtė-?
DU-NON.MASC.pl,AGT-body-kind-STAT
'all kinds (of them)

dē yajúʔ...
deyazíʔ?
yə-žu-ʔ?
FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-kill-STAT
'the game'

'all kinds of game'
TN:36:289:31-34

Other examples are equally obscure:
(241) ...diwentë-he

diwentë?
di-w-ehe-?
PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-think-STAT
'that she wanted' her hair long'

And she had been longing for such fine hair!
TN:22:159:44-45

Allomorphs are d- (before vowels), di- (before consonants), and da?- (before the DU).

4.1.11 Repetitive (REP)

The Repetitive indicates another occurrence or repetition, often glossed as 'back' or 'again' in the texts:

(242) sahādā'tsa-te
sahada?tsa?e
s-a-ha-da?ts-a?e
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-kettle-hit.PUNC
'again he drum beats' ('he beats the drum again')
TN:33:277:35-36

In reference to motion or change of location, the Repetitive indicates a return:

(243) dūsāhaq'
dusahaq?
d-usā-ha-Yq-?
PART-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
'when back he got home' ('when he got back home')
TN:11:111:47-48
In 244 the state of the NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT 'they' having gone out continues to hold:

(244) sūdārāśkwē
sudarāskwēh
s-ud-arahskw-ēh
REP-NON.MASC,non.sg,PAT-go.out-STAT
'they were gone'

'they were no longer anywhere there'
TN:13:117:47

The distribution of the Repetitive allomorphs are difficult to ascertain. The allomorphs are s-, š- (before r), sk- (before w), ts- (before the feminine-zoic singular agent when no modal is present, as well as other unclear uses), tsi- (optionally before the second person), and sa- (in unclear distribution).

4.2 Morpheme Slot Ordering

Chart 87 is based on a similar chart in Lounsbury (1953:45, Table 5: Positional Arrangement of Prepronominal Morphemes) for Oneida. It shows the relative ordering of the prepronominal prefixes, other than the modals. The patterning of the modals is complex, and will be addressed afterwards. No examples of members of the same slot appearing together have been found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER</th>
<th>INNER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>Cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coincident</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translocative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dualic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 87: Non-Modal Prepronominial Morpheme Slot Ordering

As can be seen, the Negative, Contrastive, Partitive, Coincident, and Translocative as a whole precede all other prefixes. The next non-modal is the Dualic, followed by the Repetitive and Cislocative last. The first set of prefixes will be called the outer prefixes, while the last set will be the inner prefixes. This is a departure from the terminology used by Chafe (1967) for Seneca, primary (Cislocative, Repetitive) and secondary (Contrastive, Partitive, Coincident). The difference is based on the Negative and Translocative not being among Chafe's secondary prefixes, but patterning partly with them in Wyandot. When all three slots are filled, outer prefixes precede the Dualic, which precedes the inner prefixes. The only exception is the lack of examples with both the Negative and Dualic. This could be due to either a grammatical prohibition, or be simply a gap in the data. Comparative evidence is not helpful here, since this combination is prohibited in Oneida but allowed in Seneca.

Because the modals have a complex interaction with the other prepronominial prefixes, several small charts will be presented before one large complete chart. In the following charts the modals will be indicated with *italics*, and fused slots by dashed lines. The Future appears before the inner prefixes, and after the Dualic and outer prefixes:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER</th>
<th>Dualic</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>INNER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Chart 88: The Future with Other Prepronominal Prefixes

The Optative follows the outer prefixes and Dualic, but fuses with the inner prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER</th>
<th>Dualic</th>
<th>INNER</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Chart 89: The Optative with Other Prepronominal Prefixes

The Factual has the most complicated distribution. With just the inner prefixes, or with just the outer prefixes, the Factual follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER</th>
<th>INNER</th>
<th>Factual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Chart 90: The Factual with Inner or Outer Prepronominal Prefixes

With just the Dualic, the Factual precedes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factual</th>
<th>Dualic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Chart 91: The Factual with the Dualic

With an outer prefix and the Dualic, the Factual is in the middle.
Chart 92: The Factual with the Dualic and an Outer Prepronominal Prefix

With the Dualic and an inner prefix, the Factual fuses with the inner prefix, and the fused complex follows the Dualic.

| Dualic | INNER | Factual |

Chart 93: The Factual with the Dualic and an Inner Prepronominal Prefix

With both an outer and an inner prefix, the Factual fuses with the inner prefix, and the fused complex follows the outer prefix.

| OUTER | INNER | Factual |

Chart 94: The Factual with an Outer and an Inner Prepronominal Prefix

When the Factual appears with an outer, an inner, and the Dualic, then the Factual fuses with the inner, and the fused complex follows the Dualic, which in turn follows the outer.

| OUTER | Dualic | INNER | Factual |

Chart 95: The Factual with Other Prepronominal Prefixes
Chart 96 shows the complete prepronominal prefix slot orders. The modal prefixes are in *italics* due to their complex patterning. Solid lines separate slots, while dashed lines indicate fusion between adjacent slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTER</th>
<th>INNER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG CONTR</td>
<td>DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COINC TRANS</td>
<td>REP CISLOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FUT OPT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FACT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 96: Prepronominal Morpheme Slot Ordering

4.3 Prefix Complexes

As seen in the previous examples, the prepronominal prefixes can occur in clusters as well as singly at the beginnings of words. These are shown in chart 97, based on the equivalent chart in Lounsbury (1953:36-37, Table 3: Pre-pronominal Prefixes) for Oneida. Across the top are four columns, one for no modal prefix and three for the modals. The rows list non-modal prepronominals and their combinations. For instance, the combinations of Dualic, Repetitive, and Factual are *t*-us-, *t*-use-, and *t*-use-. It will be noticed that many of the possibilities are not indicated. For instance, no example is given for Translocative, Dualic, Repetitive and Optative occurring together. In this instance the reason is that no such form appears in the corpus. Other forms are missing because they are not allowed in the
grammar. In Wyandot the Negative can appear with the Optative (at least when the Cislocative or Repetitive is present) but not the Factual or Future.

In the Factual and Optative columns, in rows containing the Cislocative or Repetitive and at least one more prefix, as well as the Cislocative or Repetitive and the Optative alone, there is one fewer morpheme segmented than named. This is because the Factual and Optative fuse with the Repetitive and Cislocative (see section 4.2 Morpheme Slot Ordering).

Whereas the Dualic, Repetitive and Future is easily segmented into $t-e-s-$, with each morpheme clearly separated, the Dualic, Repetitive and Factual $t-usa-$ has only the Dualic as a clearly separate morpheme. Within the $-usa-$ string, the $-s-$ can be seen as the Repetitive. However, this leaves $-u...a-$ as a discontinuous morpheme for the Factual. The same holds for the Dualic, Cislocative, and Factual, which would then consist of $t-$ Dualic, $t-$ Cislocative, and $-u...a-$ Factual.

Lounsbury (1953), in discussing Oneida, divides the prepronominals into a series of smaller morpheme partials, allowing all phonological segments to be assigned particular positions. The Factual and Optative are analyzed as discontinuous morphemes in which the Repetitive and Cislocative are infixed. This type of analysis has the advantage of accounting for all segments among the prepronominals, as well as allowing for a relatively clear arrangement of morpheme slots. However, there are also disadvantages. The Factual shows up in two slots, separated by five other slots. The Optative also appears in two slots, though separated by merely two other slots. Additionally, this analysis results in five separate empty

69The other modal prefix, Future, does not fuse, occurring before the Cislocative and Repetitive while after the other prefixes.
morphemes consisting of a single vowel each, covering four of the six vowels available in Oneida.

Hopkins (1988) avoids this same problem in Mohawk by dividing the prepronominal prefixes into two groups, inflectional and derivational. The inflectional prefixes are Partitive, Coincident, Contrastive, Negative, Factual, Future, and Optative. In terms of Chafe (1967)'s classification for Seneca, these are the secondary and modal prefixes, plus the Negative. The derivational prefixes are the Repetitive, Cislocative, Dualic, and Translocative. For Chafe, these are the primary prefixes plus the Dualic and Translocative. Hopkins' inflectional and derivational affixes provide two different templates, depending on whether the Cislocative or Repetitive is present. That is, there is a morpheme slot template that includes the Cislocative and Repetitive slot, and another template that lacks such a slot. The string -a?- is treated not as part of one or more morphemes, but as a "hinge" linking the templates. This approach eliminates the need for morpheme partials and places all examples of -a?- together, but on the other hand creates multiple morpheme slot templates while not clearly defining why certain prepronominals are inflectional and others derivational.

Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989), in discussing Iroquoian in general, treat each prepronominal prefix complex as a unit. Although this loses detail as to morpheme boundaries, it avoids the problem of the interaction between the Cislocative and Repetitive and the modal.

The analysis presented here blends the approaches of Lounsbury (1953) and Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989). The Cislocative and Repetitive are treated as fused with
the Factual and Optative, while the other easily segmentable morphemes are indicated separately. Instead of

\[(245) \quad \text{tusa-} \]
\[\text{t-u-s-a-} \]
\[\text{DU-FACT}_1\text{-REP-FACT}_2\text{-} \]

where the modal and Repetitive are treated separately, causing the Factual to be placed in two positions, the morphemes are segmented as

\[(246) \quad \text{tusa-} \]
\[\text{t-usa-} \]
\[\text{DU-REP.FACT-} \]

where the Repetitive and Factual are treated as a single portmanteau morpheme, with the Dualic indicated. This allows more detail to be shown than for Foster, Michelson and Woodbury (1989), without the discontinuous morphemes of Lounsbury (1953).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>FACT</th>
<th>OPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>s(e)~ s~'~ ts(i)~ ~ sk~&quot;</td>
<td>e-s(a)~ ~ e-tsi~</td>
<td>e(a?)~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CISLOC</td>
<td>k(a)~ ~ t(i)~</td>
<td>e-t~ ~ e-k~&quot;</td>
<td>t-a(?)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>te-</td>
<td>t-e-</td>
<td>a?(e)= ~ a?k~&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS</td>
<td>he(?)= ~ ha-</td>
<td>h-e=</td>
<td>h-a(?)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU, REP</td>
<td>te-(h)s-</td>
<td>t-e-s~ ~ t-e-tsi~</td>
<td>t-us~ ~ t-usa~ ~ t-use~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU, CISLOC</td>
<td>te-t~ ~ te-k~&quot;)</td>
<td>t-e=t~</td>
<td>t-ut~ ~ t-uta~ ~ t-ute~ ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS, REP</td>
<td>he-(h)s~ ~ he-x~'~ he-tsi~</td>
<td>h-e-tsi~</td>
<td>h-usa~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS, DU</td>
<td>ha?-t(e)-</td>
<td>h-e-tsi~</td>
<td>h-a?=t(e)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANS, DU, REP</td>
<td>ha?-te-tsi~</td>
<td>ha?=t-usa~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>d(i)-</td>
<td>d-e=</td>
<td>d=a(?)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART, REP</td>
<td>di-s-</td>
<td>d-e-t=</td>
<td>d-usa~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART, CISLOC</td>
<td>di-t~</td>
<td>d-e-t=</td>
<td>d-uta~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART, DU</td>
<td>da?-te-</td>
<td>d-e-t=</td>
<td>d-a?-t=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COINC</td>
<td>ša-</td>
<td>š-e=</td>
<td>š-a?=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COINC, CISLOC</td>
<td>ŋe-t-</td>
<td>ŋ-oŋa- (^70)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COINC, DU</td>
<td>ŋa?-te-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR</td>
<td>ti-s- (\rightarrow) ti-ŋa-</td>
<td>t-a(?)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR, REP</td>
<td>m?-te-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR, DU</td>
<td>m?-te-s-</td>
<td>t-a?-t-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR, DU, REP</td>
<td>m?-te-s-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR, DU, CISLOC</td>
<td>m-te-k- (^71)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>te(?)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG, REP</td>
<td>te-(b)s- (\rightarrow) te?-s- (\rightarrow) te?-ŋa- (\rightarrow) te-ts(?)-</td>
<td>te-usa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG, CISLOC</td>
<td>te-usa-</td>
<td>te-uta-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 97: Prepronominal Prefix Combinations

\(^70\)The nasalization here is anomalous. The cognates for the Future in other Lake Iroquoian languages use the front nasal vowel, ę or ę́, while Wyandot has denasalized this to ę. In the other languages, the Factual and Optative, when fused with the inner prefixes, use the back nasal vowel, ơ or ớ, while Wyandot has denasalized these to ơ. There is only one example of Coincident-Cislocative.Factual, transcribed with \(<\text{ŋ} >\). Based on the denasalization in the other prefixes, the expected form here would be ŋ-usña-.

\(^71\)The single example of this prefix cluster lacks ? at the end of the Contrastive, *ta?-te-k-*, as would be expected from the presence of the Dualic.
4.4 Word Boundaries

One of the primary difficulties in ascertaining the forms of the prepronominal prefixes is Barbeau's inconsistency in indicating word boundaries. At times individual words would be written as such, as in 247 where all morphemes are written together as a unit.

(247) sahūŋ-e-rōti
    sahunērōti
    s-a-hu-nērōti
    REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC
    'again he goes out hunting' ('he goes out hunting again')
    TN:21:152:04

At other times sections of words would be transcribed as if they were separate words themselves:

(248) sa hūŋ-e-rōti³
    sa hunērōti?
    s-a-hu-nērōti-?
    REP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-PUNC
    'again: he goes out hunting' 72 ('he goes out hunting again')
    TN:21:151:46-47

In 248 the Repetitive-Factual prefix complex <sa> is written separately from the rest of the word, as well as being glossed on its own ('again'). Furthermore, sometimes what is written as a single word is numbered and glossed as if more than one:

72 The colon in the gloss indicates the separation between separate glosses in the text. Although such split glosses occur frequently, in general they will not be indicated.
(249) sāwarā'skwə?
sawarāhskwa?
 s-a-w-arashkwə?
REP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'back home she goes' ('she went back home')
TN:34:278:22-23

Although written as one word, <sə> is numbered separately, as well as having its own gloss ('back home').

The location of the false word boundaries can also vary. In the following example

(250) tūta hé-n'de³
   tutahēndē?
t-uta-hēd-e-?
DU-CISLOC_FACT-MASC.pl,AGT-go-PUNC
'there: they are coming'
TN:40:310:38-39

the Dualic-Cislocative.Factual prefix complex <tūta> 'there' is written and glossed separately,

whereas in

(251) tū tahē-n'dēk
   tutahēndēk
   t-uta-hēd-e-h
DU-CISLOC_FACT-MASC.pl,AGT-go-PUNC
'there: they came'
TN:12:113:36-37

it is just <tū> 'there' which is separated.

Since Barbeau does not explain his methodology, it is not clear whether separating
prefix parts and clusters was done by the informants or by Barbeau himself.

240
4.5 Antepreponominals

In addition to the ambiguity in Barbeau’s transcription involving known prepositional prefixes being written either as prefixes or as separate particles (see the discussion of <sa> in 4.4 Word Boundaries), there are additional forms that also alternate. Since they appear before the prepositional prefixes, they are referred to here as the antepreponominals. These are ši(h) Distal, tu(h) Remote, d(e) Substantivizer, n(a) Temporal, and q NOT. Note that cognates of the antepreponominals are particles in other Iroquoian languages.

4.5.1 Distal (DISTAL)

The Distal anteprepositional (DISTAL) is glossed as 'yonder', 'at a distance', 'away', 'there(at)', 'way', 'then', 'along', 'far', 'already', 'much', and so on. It indicates 'at a great distance'. It is written as a particle 27 times and as a prefix 29 times, with six ambiguous instances.

In 252 ši(h) is written as a prefix:

(252) ...dæʔ daeʔ  de  hātē’teʔ  h-ate-teʔ-teʔ-h  MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-STAT
     the one the he doctors

cihá’reʔ
šihá’reh
ši-h-a-r-e-h
DISTAL-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
over there he went
yāhā·ryō·t...
yahā·rhyōːt
ya-ḥrh-yō-t
FEM.ZOIC,sG,AGT-woods-in-X
it woods into'

The medicine man went into the woods
TN:34:280:35-39

On the other hand, it also appears as a separate word, as in 253:

(253) ...de  tātɛn'āc
     de  tātɛn'ah
t-(h)-aṭer-i-ʔah
     CISLOC-MASC,sG,AGT-left-STAT-DIM
' the one left

cǐː  hā·rēc
šǐː  hā·reh
     h=a=r=e=h
DISTAL  TRANS-FACT-MASC,sG,AGT-go-PUNC
yonder  he goes

yāhār'yeːc...
yahār'yeːh
ya-ḥrh-ʔyeh
FEM.ZOIC,sG,AGT-woods-LOC
the woods in'

Tatenri'ʔa then went to the woods
TN:23:180:47-51

Note that there is no difference in the form hā·reh in 252 and 253 other than the affixation or not of ši.
4.5.2 Remote (REM)

The same ambiguity between affix and particle holds for the Remote antepreponominal, *tu(h)* (REM). It is glossed as 'there', 'here', 'in', 'then', 'thereat', 'therein', 'thereto', 'to', '(to) where', etc. It is used as a generic locative at an unspecified distance. Compare the fourth word in 253, *háreh* 'he goes', starting with the Translocative and lacking *tu(h)*, with the second word in 254, which starts with *tu(h)*.

(254) ...ǹg₃ tūhà-re₃
něh tuhàreh
*tu-h-a-r-e-h*
REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
'now there he goes

dé dàtį₃'dārą-wi₃
tëtį₃'daŋ̃...'
dé datį₃dārį:rih
tëtį:daŋ̃?
d-ate?dār-a-w-ih
te-t-r-qdaŋ̃?
X-spear-JOIN-take-STAT FUT-CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-PUNC
that onebody spear carries (to) his home'

The next day he looked for the spear-man.
TN:27:233:48-52

Example 255 shows the same verb where the Remote antepreponominal is a separate particle.

(255) ...ǹg₃ tū hā-re₃...
něh tu hāreh
*h-a-r-e-h*
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
'now there he goes'
TN:34:279:36-38
Again, the only difference in the forms for 'there he goes' in 254 and 255 is whether \textit{tu(h)} is an affix or particle.

4.5.3 Substantivizer (SUBST)

The third antepreponominal is \textit{d(e)}, the Substantivizer (SUBST). It is glossed as 'the', 'that', or 'those'. \textit{d(e)} is a type of nominalizer, creating noun phrase-like structures. When before a verb, the Substantivizer indicates that the verb that follows functions as a nominal unit:

\begin{verbatim}
(256)  ...nə  sahətɛ·“dʊtə”
       nə  sahətɛdutə?
       s=a-h-ətɛdutə-?
       REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC
       now  he her told

       deyəwinq'o<
       deyawinq’h
       de-ya-winq=h
       SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT
       the she is pretty

       dəhəhaq’...
       dahəhaq?
       d=a-hə-ihaq-?
       PART-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
       that he said

       Then the Thunder spoke again to the young woman, and said...
       TN:02:074:01-05
\end{verbatim}

The use of \textit{d(e)} is not restricted to nominalizing verbs, but can be used for any type of nominal:

244
(257) ...dë yë·ric
dë ya·riš
y[f]-iiriš
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion
'the' lion

töró tô?
töró tô?
a great many

u·sàhùñô't
dë hú·ñó't...
usàhùñô't
de
hú·myqht
usa-hu-no;ht
OPT.REP-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC
again he him gives
the
dereer charm'

He also gave him a large number of hugnton
TN:13:120:18-23

Here both instances of dë precede morphological nouns.

As with the other anteprepronominals, d(e) is also written seemingly arbitrarily as
either a prefix or as a separate particle. In 258 d(e) appears as a prefix to the verbs 'he is old'
and 'she is pretty' while separate from 'he thunders'.

(258) ..."dàë'
dë "dàë'
usàhàñò'ô't
usàhanyô't
usa·ha·nyqht
OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-take.PUNC
'that one
back he her took
the
he thunders

dëhá·qô'
dëhá·qô'
"dëyawi·ñô'..."dëyawi·ñô'
de yawi·ñô'
de·ya·winq-h
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-old-STAT
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT
the he is old
she is pretty'

The old man [Thunder] took the young woman along with him.
TN:02:070:43-071:01
The exact phonetic string \textit{dēhā^3tq}'the he is old' with \textit{de} as a prefix also occurs with \textit{de} separate:

\begin{verbatim}
(259) ...hatě-ta-terrorism
   h-ate-ta-?sqonyq-hs
MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-hire-DISTR-STAT.PL
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
'he hires several times
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(hā^3tq)^3 \hspace{1cm} \begin{array}{ll}
\text{dē} & \text{yōma-tse}s \\
\text{de} & \text{yōwa-tse}s \\
\text{ha-}tq-? & \text{yōwa-tse-}? \\
\text{MASC,sg,AGT-old-STAT} & \text{3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-cure-HAB} \\
\text{he is old} & \text{the they body her doctor}'
\end{array}
\end{verbatim}

[her husband] called medicine-men to doctor her
TN:27:212:25-29

Note that aside from the word boundary, the strings are identical.

4.5.4 Temporal (TEMP)

The Temporal antepreposition \textit{n(a)} is usually glossed as 'now', 'then', or 'when'.

In 260 it is written as an affix:

\begin{verbatim}
(260) ...nāhūtē-tuq'...
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
nahūtē-duq?
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
n-a-hu-atdutq-?
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-speak-PUNC
'now he (to) him spoke'
\end{verbatim}


In 261, however, the Temporal is written as a particle:
(261) ...na hûtê-'du'tq'?...
na hûtê:du'tq?
-temp-fact-
u-atêdu'tq-
'then MASC,sg,PAT-speak-PUNC
he him told'
'then he told him'
TN:32:276:35-36

In most cases the a of the Temporal appears to be the Factual. In a few cases it is unclear whether this is true. Thus, it is possible that all instances of n(a) can ultimately be resolved to just n-.

4.5.5 Negative (NOT)

The negative anteprepronominal a (NOT) is usually glossed in the texts as 'no', although it is actually used as a general negative 'not'. It often occurs before the Negative prefix, as in 262. Note that in this example it is also an affix.

(262) ...ka'?ûk  nêg a?q-te'satînê-têrik
ka?ûh nêh a?q-te?satînyê:terih
a?q-te?-(h)atî-Yêteri-h NOT-NEG-REP-MASC,pl,AGT-know-STAT
'thereat now no not they know
The Senecas really no longer knew where the Wyandots lived.


Of course, $\varphi$ NOT can also appear as a separate particle. In 263 $\varphi$ NOT appears as a separate particle, not a prefix.
(263) ...ahęhąq̑
ahęhaq̑?
a-hę-ibaq̑-?
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
he said no
tusayá̄ʔtròʔ-dā
tusayaʔtródaʔ
t-u:sa-ya-iʔtrò-d-aʔ
DU-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-DISLOC-PUNC
there I (will) them give?

díkaʔ tědīk̑ di:wí̄nó̄c̑...
díkaʔ tědīh di:wí̄mό̄h
d-i-wɨnq̑-h
PART-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-pretty-STAT
these two the two (are) pretty'

The Deer said, "I will never give him back these two young women..."
TN:24:193:49-56

Although in 262 the Negative prefix follows NOT, it is not required. Recall from section
4.1.6 that the Factual and Negative cannot co-occur. In these cases the Contrastive is used
instead. Example 264 shows NOT used before the Contrastive:

73The pronominal prefix here is anomalous, since ya- results in ya. However, cf.
Cayuga -kæ- feminine non-singular, for which a putative Wyandot cognate would be -yaæ-, avoiding the problem of phonological fusion.
(264) ...ndāēnō'...  a₂²tawayëdaq'ᵀ
  daēnō:  a₃tawaʔedaqʔ
a-₄way-êdaq
  NOT-CONTR-FACT-1,sg,PAT-catch-PUNC
'may be  no not she me catches

dë  më³⁴ye...
d  wëʔye
awë-ʔye
water-LOC
(in) the  water'

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

Neither the Negative nor the Contrastive is required after NOT:

(265) ...ajɪmë³⁴ye'  té³⁴ye'T
  aʔawëʔyeh  téʔyëh
  aʔ-awë-ʔyeh  teʔ-y-e-h
  NOT-water-LOC  NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT
've no the water on  not it is

wē₃⁴ja  hē₃⁴rä')
wäʔža  hēʔrä'
waʔ-ža
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-small.stat
a little  only

kāhē₃⁴rä')  yādékʷatétsi...  
kahēʔrä)
yadékʷatétsih
ya-dehkʷ-átsi-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-liquid-thick-STAT
that (is) just so  that water deep,thick'

There is hardly any water there.
TN:29:269:38-46

Note that NOT in 265 is followed by neither the Negative nor the Contrastive.
There are three ways to deal with these ambiguous affixal status of these morphemes. One is to treat them as separate words, ignoring Barbeau's habit of transcribing affixes as particles. In this case šii(h) Distal, tu(h) Remote, d(e) Substantivizer, u(a) Temporal, and q NOT would be of the same status as clear particles like atti? 'once', 'ever', 'which', 'will be'; wai?tu? 'once more', 'again'; or kwamph 'often'. The second method is to assume the influence of Barbeau's mistranscriptions, and treat them as prefixes. This would necessitate a new initial morpheme slot preceding the outer prepronominals. The third alternative is to set these forms up as a type of clitic, loosely adhering to following words. The approach used here is to treat each case as it appears in Barbeau's transcription, whether affix or particle.