CHAPTER FIVE

VERB STEM ELEMENTS

The verb stem consists of several classes of morphemes, some obligatory and others optional. The main slots are shown in chart 98, where obligatory slots are headed in small capitals. Minimally, there is a verb root followed by one of three primary aspect suffixes, Habitual (HAB), Punctual (PUNC), and Stative (STAT),\textsuperscript{74} or a special aspect limited to verbs of motion, Purposive (PURP). Although not semantically a true aspect, the Imperative (IMP) is traditionally treated with them (Lounsbury 1953, Chafe 1967) since it occupies the same distributional slot, and so will be here as well. Another occupant of this slot is the Stative Plural (STAT.PL). Optional expansions include reflexive and nominal positions before the verb root, derivational suffixes after, temporals mixed in with the aspects,\textsuperscript{75} and attributives at the end of the word.

The terms \textit{stem} and \textit{base} have varied definitions in the Iroquoian literature. Chafe (1967), in discussing Seneca, used the term \textit{verb stem} to include all slots from the reflexives to the aspects. Chafe (1967) and Lounsbury (1953) (for Oneida) used the term \textit{verb base} to include just the slots from the reflexives to the derivational suffixes. The temporals and

\textsuperscript{74}The Habitual is an imperfective, the Punctual a perfective. The Stative has many uses, including a perfect.

\textsuperscript{75}Although temporals are optional and aspects are obligatory, they occupy the same morphological slot. Their relative ordering is complex, so in chart (98) they are represented in adjacent cells separated by a dashed line. See section 5.4 \textit{Aspects and Temporals}.
aspects were classed by Lounsbury (1953) as *inflectional suffixes*. Here *verb stem* is simply used to indicate all verbal roots and affixes occurring after the pronominal prefix.

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<th>VERB</th>
<th>Derivational Suffix</th>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
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<td>SEMI REFL</td>
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<td>verb</td>
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<td>HAB</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>AUG</td>
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<td>verb-NOM</td>
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<td>BEN</td>
<td>PUNC</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>DISLOC</td>
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<td>INST</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UNDO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 98: Verb Stem Slots

The reflexives include the Semireflexive (SEMI) and full Reflexive (REFL). The nominal position contains an incorporated noun root, or a verb root followed by the Nominalizer (NOM) (see chapter 6: *Nouns*). Noun incorporation can be recursive.

The group of derivational suffixes after the verb root is referred to as the root suffixes by Chafe (1967), while Lounsbury (1953) divides these into suffixes forming a complex verb stem, case positions, and a purposive position (for his Purposive morpheme, which is currently called the Dislocative). The morphemes concerned are the Inchoative (INCH), Causative (CAUS), Undoer (UNDO), Instrumental (INST), Distributive (DISTR), Benefactive (BEN), and Dislocative (DISLOC).

Temporals are those suffixes which enhance aspect suffixes, occupying the same slot. They are often called post-aspectual suffixes, although they are not completely restricted to
appearing after the aspects. A temporal can allow multiple aspects to appear, in varying orders. The temporals include the Progressive (PROG) and Past (PAST).

Attributives are the Augmentative (AUG), Diminutive (DIM), Characterizer (CHAR), and Populative (POP).

There are additional morphemes found in other Northern Iroquoian languages found in the verb stem slots, but that do not appear in the Wyandot text corpus. These include the Ambulative, Directive, Intensifier (derivational suffixes); Eventuative, Facilitative, Modalizer (temporals); Customary, Decessive, Pluralizer, and Typicalizer (attributives).

5.1 Reflexives

Members of the reflexive slot are the Semireflexive (SEMI) and the Reflexive (REFL).

5.1.1 Semireflexive (SEMI)

According to Lounsbury (1953:74), the Semireflexive (SEMI) in Oneida indicates "semi-reflexive action upon something belonging to the doer". Chafe (1967:26) adds that for the Seneca cognate the "meaning of the base immediately involves or affects the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix.... roughly comparable to the middle voice of some Indo-European languages". Both also indicate that the Semireflexive detransitivizes transitive verbs, and in some instances has idiosyncratic effects. In Wyandot the Semireflexive can be used to indicate action performed by the performer for the performer. In 266 the Semireflexive indicates that the performer of 'wash' is also the recipient of the action.
(266) ...ăstè săáʔtăt
astè saáʔtăt
s=(h)a-Yaʔt=a-t
REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT
'outside he stands

hǎkər'ęsúhāre'...
hakər'ęsuhareh
h-ąt-yqres-uhare-h
MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-hand-wash-HAB
his hands washes'

[he] was washing his hands outside.
TN:38:301:37-39

A second use in Wyandot is as a detransitivizer. Note that the verb -tęʔ- 'cure' takes

a transitive pronominal prefix, -heuyu- 'they: somebody', in 267:

(267) ...nəhər'ęwicə:
nahər'ęwihə:
n-ą-ha-rihw-ihsa:
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-law-look.for.PUNC
now he enquires

hatižə́yůrhú?tę
hatižə́yurihúʔtę
hati-ůyə́-rihw-utę
how-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-law-kind.STAT
what their customs

əhətę́-táhaʔ
əhətę́:táhaʔ
a-ho-atę́-ta-haʔ
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC
they one body hire

255
he inquired about their customs in the hiring of medicine-men
TN:34:279:45-51

When the recipient of curing is not mentioned, an intransitive pronominal prefix is used in combination with the Semireflexive, as in 268:

(268) ..."da·ẹ́? ā·rūrẹ̄hạ̄?
da·ẹ́? ā·rūrẹ̄hạ̄?
a·r·ūrẹ̄-hā?
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-find-PUNC
'that one he found out

dē·rōmẹ̄c
dē·rōqẹ̄h
dē·r·qwe·h
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
the he person

hātē·tsẹ̄-s
hatē·tsẹ̄hs
h-ate·tsẹ̄-hs
MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB
he doctors

hātā·yụ̄c
hā·ta?ūh

yārehọ̄-gā'
yarihọ̄dyā?
ya·rihw-ọ̄di-a?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-law-make-PUNC
what is it the cause

du·catūnāc
duhšatūnāc

d·u·hāšatur·hāc
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT
that she is sick

256
The Indian doctor was the one who had discovered the cause of the young woman's trouble.

TN:34:282:29-38

Notice that haté:itsphs 'he doctors' refers to a habitual activity, rather than specific actions of curing. Instead of a transitive pronominal prefix there is an intransitive and the Semireflexive.

The Semireflexive is also quite common in idiosyncratic uses. The verb -arqto- 'ask' always takes the Semireflexive, as in 269. No instance of this verb without that prefix has been found.

(269) ...úwa’hâ]-yâ]-ra]- tûhusâ-re\0
    uwa?hâ:]râ? tuhusâre?
    tu-h-usa-r-e-?
    REM-TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-go-PUNC

    'another one
    there back he goes

kâñò’câ]-
kanòhšå-?
    t-ya-nqhš-a-Yë-?
    CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT
    the house to
āhātəɾọtq'  "dáʔ-təɾaʔ
ahātəɾọtqʔ  dáʔ-təraʔ
a-h-at-arọtqʔ  daʔ-təɾ-aʔ
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-ask-PUNC  bread-NOUN
he asks  for bread"76

Another one went to the house and asked for some bread.  
TN:03:075:08-12

The primary allomorphs of the Semireflexive are -ste- and -at-. The allomorph -ste- occurs before most consonants, including y (examples 270 - 272):

(270) ......túc  āhákəq'
uh  ahákyəqʔ
    a-h-at-yc-ʔ
    FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-sit.down-PUNC
'there he sits

āhətədáʔ-tsənɛʔ-crəq'...
ahətedáʔ-tsənɛʔ-crəqʔ
a-h-ate-daʔts-a-neʃəʔ-ʔ
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-kettle-JOIN-turn.over-PUNC
he kettle turns over (himself)'

Turning the kettle upside down he hid himself under it.  
TN:37:299:66-69

(271) dehətətsəʔ-skə'
dehatətsəʔ-skə'
de-h-ate-tsəʔ-s-kaʔ
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB-CHAR
'that he self doctor be' ('he is a doctor')
WM:116

76Anomalous missing pronominal prefix.
The allomorph -ag- appears before vowels and r (examples 273 - 275):

(272) tūsajatę-yę
tusajatę-yę
t-usa-ž-ate-yę
DU-REP.FACT-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-see.PUNC
'there again they each other saw' ('they saw each other there again')
TN:20:149:33-34

(273) ...nęc tūsawatą'įtątọcraę
nęh tusawatą'tatọhšrah
t-usa-w-at-a'tatọhs-r-ah
DU-REP.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-basket-put.away-PUNC
'now there again she basket takes
nāhů'sků'craę
deyućáhărę'ą
deyuhšáhăręt
nahúhskųʔšrah
n-a-hu-hskyʔ-ʔš-r-ah
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-love-DILOC-PUNC
now she (to) him goes to make love
now she (to) him goes to make love

e'jărą'seį...
the Y. (n.)
ežarį'seʔ?
e-č-araʔseʔ?
X-MASC,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT
his cousin'

The young woman then took up the basket and went away to make love to
Yucaharet's cousin.
TN:04:080:35-40
(274) ...tūháʔraʔ de
                              taháʔraʔ de
 'that is all only that

hūdáʔṭóm̩tsáta’kwéha’k’keʔ...
hudatwétsatakahkwéha’kye?
hud-at-qwets-a-tahkw-eh-akye-?  
MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-land-JOIN-go.round-STAT-PROG-STAT  
they (2) the land round going’

In the same manner they kept on travelling all about the land.  
TN:04:086:26-29

(275) ...dāe3  it de
                              dae?  it de
          [i]-it
                              1.sg,AGT-mean.STAT
 'that thing I meant the

hāfiJaʔṭadúraʔ de
                                 hatiJaʔtadúraʔ de
                                 hati-Yaʔt-a-dúraʔ-?  
MASC,pl,AGT-body-JOIN-difficult-STAT  
chiefs the

hūdātrihóʔṭóʔ...
hudatrihóʔṭóʔ?
hud-at-rihw-qt-(h)óʔ-?  
MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-law-tie-DISTR-STAT  
they office hold’

I [wanted you to invite] those who stand above the others in rank, that is, the chiefs,  
TN:28:243:05-10

Another allomorph, the result of the rule alternating t and k before glides (see section  
2.15 Further Notes on y), is -ak-, which appears before w, as in 276, and Y, as in 277:
(276) ...cihi
šihi
\[ a^{2}yākwę^{n}dīha^{3} \]
\[ a?yakwedìha? \]
\[ a?=y-at-węd-iha-? \]
\[ 'from a long distance I shouted to \]
yārghétsi'ś
yarğhetsih
ya-reh=etsi-hs
\[ \text{FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-tree.top-long-STAT.PL} \]
the trees tall
kā'hit'oⁿq\[ 3 \]
karhit'o:nyq?
t-ya-rhi-t-(h)qnyq-?
\[ \text{CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT} \]
where trees stand many
tú di\[ 3 \]
kadûr\[ 2 \]t...
tú:di?
kadûr\[ 2 \]
t-ya-duq-?
\[ \text{CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-difficult-STAT} \]
there to the difficult places'

For those to whom I have shouted, from a distance, 'Here is my face!' were only the tall pine trees in the woods and the steep hills.

TN:28:242:45-50

(277) ...daε\[ 3 \]
daε?
\[ \text{ahákatu'ri} \]
\[ \text{ahákya'turi} \]
\[ a=h-at-Ya?t=uri \]
\[ \text{FACT-MASC.sg,AGT-SEMI-body-cover.PUNC} \]
'that one he his body covered

261
he wrapped himself up in the ox's hide
TN:29:258:49-53

The allomorph -ak- can also occur before y. However, in this case this allomorph overlaps the following morpheme, replacing the y, i.e. -a[k]- (see 2.15 Further Notes on y).

This can be seen in the following examples. In 278 the t of -at- merges with the following y (-yqhš- 'face'), leaving -ak-:

(278) ...newá"tu nəc
newá?tu? nəh
'once more now

səhqməko'cutədi:ha³
səhqwakəhšutədi:ha?
s-a-hqw-at-yqhš-ut-a-di-ha?
REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC
again one body (to) him shows (his) face (invites)

də-səjə:"drəwə'...
də:saţə:drawah
d-usa-Ye-draw-ah
PART-OPT.REP-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-dance-PUNC
that again one-body dances³⁸

Once again a messenger, showing his face, invited the Owl to a dance
TN:24:188:51-189:02

³⁷For the reason for the missing phonemicization of this word, see section 2.10 Further Notes on ŋ.

³⁸It is not clear why Y appears as ŋ here, insteda of ŋ
In 279 the \( r \) and \( y \) ('see') merge into \( k \):

(279) ...ayək'eq-se\(^c\)  
ayak'eq:seh  
ay-at-yeq-\(^s\)-eh  
1,sg,PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP  
'I want to see (let me see it)'

də- skət  sə\(^a\)da-rmj\(^c\)...  
də: skət sə?da:wəh  
\( sa\)-?d-awə-h  
that one thee arrow hast

Let me see your arrow!  
TN:26:202:57-60

The allomorph \(-at\), \(-ate\) appears before some \( d \) and \( t \) roots.\(^79\) In 280 \(-at\) appears before \( d\) ('\( -d\)ing--'buy') while in 281 before \( t\) ('\( -t\)er--'fort'):

(280) ...næ\(^c\)  
neh  
thu-wədyeri-\(h\)  
MASC,sg,PAT-willing-STAT  
now he was content

tuha\(^a\)ra\(^3\)  
saharō-mawa\(^3\)  
saharō:wawa?  
s-a-\(\)a-rq\(\)w-\(a\)-w-\(a\)?  
REp-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-remove-JOIN-CAUS-PUNC  
that is all (therefrom) back he went

dæ\(\)  
a-h\(\)a-tæ-din\(q\)\(^c\)  
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-buy-PUNC

daæ?  
ahətæ-din\(q\)h  
a-h-atæ-din\(q\)-h

that one he it had traded

\(^79\)If this allomorph only appeared before \( d \)-stems, it would be possible to analyze the nasality of \( e \) as spreading phonetic nasalization from \( d \), eliminating this allomorph in favor of \(-ate\). However, this would not account for \( t \)-stems.
Now the boy was willing to barter his ox [with the stranger].
TN:27:222:05-15

(281) dētū'datē'-rō'ndī'
detudatē'rođih
de-{(h)}ud-ate-ter-ödi-h
SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-fort-make-STAT
'that both (vague duality) they (m.pl.) self palisade to make' ('they built a fort')
WM:285

As discussed in chapter 3: Pronominal Prefixes, many pronominal prefixes have forms which overlap A-stems, such as -h[ŋ]- masculine plural agent. This holds for the Semireflexive as much as for other A-stems. So, for each of the forms discussed above, there is a counterpart lacking a. The corresponding form for -at- is -t-. In 282 the feminine-zoic patient -[u]- overlaps the a of -at-, resulting in only t on the surface.

(282) ...ūnē' ūteňē'δ'čā'ně'
unēh utterędjihšā'ih
u-ate-nyędihš-a?-ih
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-finish-JOIN-CAUS-STAT

'now she had finished

ūtōtärō'-ndī'
utōtarōđih
[u]-at-qar-ödi-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-lake-make-STAT
she lake made'

they saw that she had finished making a lake
TN:08:103:44-46

264
Corresponding to -ate- is -te-, as in 283, where the masculine plural agent -h[q]- overlaps the a.

(283) ...nətə  nəmədədə  aŋháti:Δdrá:wa?
nəh  nəwa?de?  aŋháti:drá:wa?
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-dance-PUNC
now  this time  they dance began
diyá=nhi
Part-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN
around the tree
áŋájìtátà:se?
áŋajita:se?
a-h[q]-ate-ase-?
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-go.around-PUNC
they went around'

they began to dance around the tree
TN:03:075:31-36

For -atə- there is -te-, in this word from example 267, where the masculine plural

patient -h[q] overrides the beginning of the Semireflexive.

265
(284) āḥoṭē-tāha³ 
    aḥoṭē-tāha?
    a-ho-atē-ta-ḥa?
    FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC
    'they onebody hire' ('they hire people')
    TN:34:279:49

For -ak- there is just -k-, as in 285 with masculine patient -h[u]e- removing the a:

(285) ...ahūkwē³diḥā'tē³ 
    ahukwēdiḥāhtē?
    a-hu-at-wēd-iha-ht-ē-?
    FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-voice-shout-CAUS-BEN-PUNC
    'she him scolds

de hūdū³mē³
    de hudū?wēh
    hu-du?wē-h
    MASC,sg,PAT-mother-NOUN
    the his mother

de rōmēhē³tē... 
    de rōwenyēhtī³
    r-owe-nyēhtī-?
    MASC,sg,AGT-person-young-STAT
    the he is young'

The [husband's] mother scolded him still more bitterly.
    TN:02:067:13-18

When the following verb begins with y, the t of the Semireflexive is lost (see 2.15

Further Notes on y), leaving just -a-. Combined with certain A-stem pronominal prefixes

that overlap a, the Semireflexive is essentially removed from the surface structure. In 286 the

    266
\( r \) is merged with the \( y \) of the verb, while \( a \) is covered by the pronominal prefix, hence a \( \emptyset \) allomorph.

\[(286) \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{nê} & \text{āhū́datērú'stá} \\
\text{nê} & \text{ahudatērú'sta} \\
\text{a-hud-at-čru-hst-a?} & \text{dāe?} \\
\text{FACT-MASC,pl,PAT-SEMI-friend-INCH-PUNC} & \\
\text{'now} & \text{they became friends} \\
\text{the one} & \\
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{hāhūkaná'ratāt} & \\
\text{hahúka:ná?tat} & \\
\text{h-a-hu-at-yarat-a-h} & \\
\text{TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-look.after-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC} & \\
\text{he (after) him looked} & \\
\text{de} & \text{rōmēč} \\
\text{de:} & \text{rōwēh} \\
\text{r-qwe-h} & \\
\text{MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN} & \\
\text{the} & \text{he person} \\
\end{array}\]

\text{āhūká'ratāt...} \\
\text{ahūká:rahtat} \\
\text{a-h[u]-at-yarat-a-h} \\
\text{FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-look.after-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC} \\
\text{he (after) him looked}'

This is the reason the Lion and the hunter became friends that the Lion looked after the hunter and protected him.


Two additional less frequent allomorphs are \(-č-\) and \(-čd-\). In 287 the Semireflexive takes the form \(-čd-\) before \(-ikWAR-\) 'quilt':

267
(287) ...nε ahęhaq' 
    nε ahęhaq'?
    a-he-haq-?
    FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC

'tnow he said

So he said, "Put a blanket over your head."
TN:28:252:48-50

In 288 the Semireflexive is -ẹ- (−nqs- 'house'):

(288) ...tēnŋeqqesté-yęq' 
    tenŋeqqesté-yęq'
    te-n-ẹ-nqs-eh
    DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-house-close-STAT

'they two have houses close to

hẹ'ŋrą hũ-diiʔyęq' dũwẹ'są'ndiŋ... 
    hẹ'ŋrą hũ-diiʔyęq' dũwẹ'są'ndiŋ... 
    duwẹ'są'ndiŋ... 
    d-u-Yehsa?dih
    PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-widow

only that the same that she is a widow'

They found out that their neighbor was a poor widow

The conditioning factors for these two rare allomorphs are unclear.

5.1.2 Reflexive (REFL)

According to Lounsbury (1953:74) the Reflexive (REFL) in Oneida indicates "action
upon oneself, not simply middle voice or action upon one's possession" as well as "reciprocal
action". Chafe (1967:26) puts it for Seneca as "the total meaning of the base has as both its
performer and its goal the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix". In Wyandot
the Reflexive has two primary functions: a) reciprocity, and b) a more intense, total effect on the undergoer than the Semireflexive.

The first is shown with -yɛ- 'see':

(289) ...nɔ·nɛ³ kãtsi·skwa·ɡ³
nɔmɛʔ katsuiskwaɣʔ
ka·tsi·skwa· Yq·ʔ
CISLOC-REP-2,pl,AGT-arrive-IMP

'the nɔmɛʔ... now then here you come back
tœtsi:katɛtɛyeʔ...
tetsiyatatɛyeʔ?
t-e·tsi·ky·atate-yɛ·ʔ
DU-FUT-REP-1,IN,dl,AGT-REFL-see-PUNC
will again thou me see'

When you come back, you will find me here. (we will see each other again')
TN:20:149:12-15

Here the Reflexive is used to indicate the mutuality of the seeing.

The more intensifying effect of the Reflexive is shown in 290, where the word ahaṭat=x̂ŷaʔ 'he transformed himself' uses the Reflexive on the verb -qdi= 'make'.

(290) ...tutāŷaʔ yɬ·craɬ
tutayʔ yɬ·šraḥah
t-uta·yaʔ dŷqšr-a·hkw
DU-CISLOC.FACT-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-hammer-JOIN-take.PUNC
'there she a hammer picked up

dē yɬ·ric
dɛ yɬ·iriš
yɬ·iriš
FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-lion
the lion's
The witch then took hold of her "lion" club and struck hard, without avail as Tatenri'a had now changed himself into a worm.

TN:23:177:54-178-07

With just the Semireflexive the sense is one of 'prepare' rather than 'transform':

(291) ...né tü""dp  aháté'cró""ga
néh  tü:di?  ahátehšrådyä
    a-h-ate-hšrådyä?

'now also he gets ready
Notice that with the Semireflexive instead of the Reflexive the sense is just that of getting ready.

Another example of the use of the Reflexive for a more complete effect on the argument is the difference between the terms for 'fight' and 'murder'. Example 292 shows the Reflexive attached to -rižu- 'kill', with the result being 'murder'.

(292) ...āc nqadá:e dāŋqtattrjú:ta:...
    åh nqdá:e? dinyqtattržúhta?
    di-Yq-atat-rižu-ht-a?
    'no the same (it is)
    that onebody commits murder with'

[the charms] could not be designed for injuring anybody

When the Semireflexive is used instead the resultant meaning is simply one of fighting:
Tomorrow at noon we must fight together
TN:27:219:15-19

The allomorphy of the Reflexive parallels that of the Semireflexive. The two primary
forms are -amat- before vowels, and -amat- before consonants, including y.

The form -amat- appears before ḥ (̄qdi- 'make') in 290, while -amat- is used
preceding y (ȳf- 'see') in 289.

Before Y the form -amat- appears, due to the t before glide rule (see section 2.15

Further Notes on y), as in 294:

(294) ...kékti̲g̲ā̲*ti̲k̲ cā̲*kwá̲st̲i̲k̲
kédy̲?̲th̲ih̲ ša̲?̲kwá̲h̲st̲i̲h̲
š̲=̲Ya̲?̲t̲=̲wah̲st̲=̲ih̲
2,s̲g̲-̲b̲o̲d̲y̲-̲g̲o̲o̲d̲-̲STAT
'so very much
thou art pretty

əc̲át̲ā̲k̲á̲̄l̲ā̲t̲ā̲=̲”d̲a̲=̲ha̲”
əc̲h̲š̲a̲=̲t̲ā̲k̲y̲á̲̄=̲”a̲=̲da̲=̲h̲ah̲
ə=̲h̲š̲=̲amat̲-̲Ya̲t̲=̲a̲=̲da̲=̲h̲=̲ah̲
F̲U̲T̲-̲2̲,s̲g̲,A̲G̲T̲-̲R̲E̲F̲-̲b̲o̲d̲y̲-̲J̲O̲I̲N̲-̲s̲p̲o̲i̲l̲-̲P̲U̲N̲C̲
thou own body spoilest .

272
yè·ja·jú′ská
yè·ẕa·tú′hska?
e·ẕa·ẕu·hs·ka?
FUT-MASC.sg:2,sg-kill-HAB-CHAR
will he thou kill surely\textsuperscript{81}
dajárá′se\textsuperscript{6}...
dažará′seh
dažará′se-h
SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT
my cousin'

You are really very pretty; and your body shall be wasted [if you stay here], for my cousin will kill you.
TN:04:083:40-084-01

As with the Semireflexive, some A-stem pronominal prefixes overlap and replace the $a$ of the Reflexive, resulting in three corresponding forms without initial $a$. In 292 the feminine-indefinite agent $-[q]-$ overlaps the initial $a$ of the Reflexive, which in turn precedes $r$ ($-řižu$ - 'kill'), leaving just $-tət-$ on the surface.$\textsuperscript{82}$

The corresponding form for $-atate-$ is $-tate-$, as in 295. Here the masculine plural agent $-h[q]-$ overlaps the $a$.

\begin{equation}
\text{(295)} \quad a²⁶tətātè·ye³
a?tó·tətè·ye³?
a?=t-(h)q-atate·ye-?
FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-see-PUNC
'they reach other saw' ('they saw each other')
TN:24:193:60
\end{equation}

Finally, after $q$ or $u$ and before $Y$ the form $-tak-$ appears:

\textsuperscript{81}Anomalous use of Future with Habitual.

\textsuperscript{82}Although no examples of $-atat-$, as opposed to $-bat-$, appear before $r$, presumably this is just a gap in the data and is an allowable combination.
(296) ...dūsahātīngāyē-hā?
dusahati?dyayē:ha?
d=usā-hati=?d-Ya:yē-ha?
PART-REP.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-X-go.out-PUNC
'that again they escaped

dāhōtākēq西北...
dehōtakēqaha
de=ho-atat-Yē?ah
SUBST-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-child.STAT
'that they are relatives'

And the Wyandots again escaped
TN:40:311:16-20

Although no examples of the Reflexive before w have been found, presumably they would
take the -atak=/-tak- forms as well.

5.2 Nominal Position

This position can contain either a simple noun root, or a noun derived from a verb
using the Nominalizer (NOM). In 297 there is a simple noun root, -Ya?c- 'body',
incorporated into the verb -Yō- 'arrive':

(297) ...tūdē'ca
     ahhāqāq西北...
tudē?a?
     aha?kyō?
     a=h=Ya?t=Yō=?
     FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-arrive-PUNC
'therein he her brought (in)'

he brought the young woman in
TN:02:065:29-31

In 298 -?dahkw- 'drum' is incorporated into -a?e- 'hit':

274
(298) ...sáŋtat
   sáŋtat
   s-=(h)a-Ya?a-t-a-t
   REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand,STAT
   'one of them
   hāhē-teā
   hāhē-teʔ
   ha-ḥet-eʔ
   MASC,sg,AGT-lead-HAB
   he leads
   hùŋŋaŋ̓dahwaʔéhakeʔ...
   hùʔdahkwəʔéhakyeʔ
   hu-ʔdahkw-aʔe-h-aky-ʔ
   MASC,sg,PAT-drum-hit-STAT-PROG-STAT
   he the drum goes on beating'
   their leader was beating the drum
   TN:03:076:07-09

In order to break up consonant clusters, the joiner vowel (JOIN) -a- is inserted
between the noun and following verb. In 299 -a- is inserted between the noun -Yaʔ- 'body'
and the verb -du- 'cold':
(299) ...āhāʔa·da·u·st
    ahaʔa·du·hst
    a·ha·Yaʔ-a·du·hst
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-cold-INCH.PUNC
'his body was cold

tuʔú³ nq³dā³ ẖp³dá·ta·̱ë³
tuʔúʔ nqdaʔ hídá·ta·ëʔ
hi·dat-a·Yeʔ-ʔ
MASC,dl,AGT-camp-JOIN-have-STAT
there just so they camped

hāhā³qārə³s
haháʔdyaraʔs
h-a·ha·dyaraʔs
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-help-BEN.PUNC
he her helped

a·játéyəʔ...
a·ziʔeyəht
a·ziʔ·atey-a·ht
FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-burn-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
they two a fire built'

So chilled was he, that they had to build a fire to warm him up.
TN:28:249:28-33

The Joiner is also inserted when the noun -rpt- 'log' is incorporated into -ypt- 'be in':

(300) ... hù·ṉdáte̱·̱męt⁴
hùxdatéʔwəʔ
hud·ateʔ-w·čh
MASC,non.sg,PAT-run.away-STAT
'they escaped the
yārṓtāý qp
yarṓtaý ph
ya-rot-a-ý-ph
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-in-STAT
it log inside
yārṓtālē tra’
yarṓtālē tra?
ya-rot-a-tēhr-a?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-lie-STAT
it log lying'

they hid inside a hollow log lying [on the ground]
TN:40:309:61-64

When -ʔdiyr- 'sense' precedes -hšē- 'eat', as in 301, again the Joiner is added:

(301)  aʔhù́ʔdiyq-rá’çē
ahù́ʔdiyq-rá’hšē
a-ʔdiyr-a-hšē-?
FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-sense-JOIN-eat-PUNC
'he mind is troubled'
TN:29:258:31

The nominal position can also contain a nominalized verb. In this case a verb root is
followed by the Nominalizer (NOM), which is in turn followed by another verb. The
Nominalizer has three allomorphs, -hš-, -hš-, and -š-. In 302 the Nominalizer form -
hšr- is added to the verb -ʔa- 'hire' before the latter is incorporated into the verb -ihšay-
'look for'.

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The r-less allomorph is probably due to the disappearing r phenomenon, and the b-
less form due to Barbeau's inconsistency with laryngeals (see chapter 2: Phonology).

277
(302) yētačćá'ke'
yetahšrišá'ke?
ye-ta-hšr-ihšay-[h]e-?
1,sg,AGT-hire-NOM-look.for-DISLOC-PURP
'I am work (hunting) looking for' ('I am looking for work')
TN:27:225:25

As noted in the introduction to the chapter, the nominal slot can include examples of recursive noun incorporation. That is, not only can a noun root be incorporated into a verb, but that verb root can be followed by the Nominalizer, and thus function as a noun and be incorporated into a second verb.\textsuperscript{84} In 303 the noun root -Ya?t- 'body' is incorporated into the verb -ta- 'hire' (with a Joiner as well).

(303) dēhuka'tātā'cro'mę́
dehukya'tatáhšrawę́
de-hu-at-Ya?t-a-ta-hšr-awę̱-h
SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-JOIN-hire-NOM-have-STAT
'the he hired hand has' ('he has a hired hand')
TN:23:170:50-51

This incorporation is schematized in 304:

\begin{align*}
(304) \quad & -Ya?t- & + & -ta- \\
\text{noun} & \text{body} & \text{verb hire} & = \text{verb complex}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{84} In other Iroquoian languages this process can continue further, although more often in artificial settings.
The resulting noun-verb complex then has the Nominalizer appended to it, resulting in another complex noun, as shown in 305:

\[(305) \quad -Y\hat{a}t\hat{a}- \quad + \quad -h\hat{s}r-\]
body-hire \hfill NOM
verb complex \hfill derivational affix \hfill = \hfill noun complex

This entire structure is then incorporated into another verb, \(-aw\hat{e}-\) 'have', as in 306:

\[(306) \quad -Y\hat{a}t\hat{a}h\hat{s}r- \quad + \quad -aw\hat{e}-\]
hired body \hfill have
noun complex \hfill verb \hfill = \hfill verb complex

As can be seen, noun and verb complexes can nest inside of each other.

5.3 Derivational Suffixes

The next position in the verb stem is for the derivational suffixes. More than one such suffix can be present. These affixes are the Causative (CAUS), Benefactive (BEN), Dislocative (DISLOC), Distributive (DIST), Inchoative (INCH), Instrumental (INST), and Undoer (UNDO).\(^85\)

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\(^85\)Lounsbury (1953) called the Dislocative purposive, giving it its own slot in the verb which preceded that of the aspectual slots. Chafe (1967) used the term purposive for a special aspect (still called the Purposive), though including it in the discussion of his root suffixes, since it requires the Dislocative (which Chafe called the transient). These uses of the same term for two different (but connected) morphemes has been a great source of confusion. See sections 5.3.7 Dislocative and 5.4.6 Purposive.

279
5.3.1 Inchoative (INCH)

The Inchoative indicates a change of state of one sort or another and has the forms


The first is shown in 307, where -hst- follows the verb -wey- 'marry'.

(307) ...skaaʔat  
   sʔaʔ-t- 
   REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-stand  
   'one'  
   only  
   no  

   tēhà:júʔ  
   teʔaʔ:júʔ  
   teʔaʔaʔ-ʔ  
   NEG-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT  
   not he killed  
   that one  
   that it is  

   ahíwéθ-staʔ  
   ahiwéʔhstaʔ  
   a-hi-wey-hst-aʔ  
   FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-marry-INCH-PUNC  
   they two got married  
   dejàʔeʔéʔaʔ-haʔ ...  
   deʔaʔeʔéʔaʔaʔ haʔ  
   deʔaʔaʔ-ʔeʔáʔaʔ-ʔ  
   SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-sibling-STAT  
   the they two are brother and sister'

The only young woman that Tatenri'a had not killed then became his brother's wife.  
TN:23:180:08-17

The cognates for the form -hst- in other Iroquoian languages are not the Inchoative, but rather the Causative and Instrumental (Oneida: Lounsbury 1953; Wendat: Lagarde 1980), or the Causative-Instrumental (Seneca: Chafe 1967). Evidence that -hst- is the Inchoative and not the Causative in Wyandot are given later in this section.
Compare *ahiwe:hsta?* 'they two got married' in 307 to a similar form without the Inchoative, in 308, where only the state of being together or married is indicated by the form *hiwézy* 'they two live together', without the "become" sense of the Inchoative.

![Image](image_url)

(308) ...tu³ kē³'mi  iyā³'ūmte³
tu?  kēdi  iyāf³tu³te³
 i=ya=Ya=t-u³te³-h
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-kind-STAT
'there almost it is body-like (resembles)

dē  kwayāwāngen³
de  kwayūwānēh
 t=wa-yuwanę-h
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT
the she is large elder

de  hā³'da³wawc³  hiwé'y...
de  hada³wah  hiwéry
 ha=da³w=ah  hi=wey
 MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN MASC,dl,AGT-marry,STAT
that he is cotton-like they two live together'

The Horned-Owl's body resembled very much that of the elder wife of the Deer
TN:24:191:41-49

Because the Inchoative in Wyandot is cognate with the Causative and Instrumental elsewhere in Northern Iroquoian, a few more examples will be shown to demonstrate that this is indeed an Inchoative rather than one of the others.

A form with the Inchoative (excerpted from example 286) indicates the inception of friendship. In 309 a form with the Inchoative appears for the verb *-st-uru* 'be friends', with the sense of "become".
(309) ñhū'datērū'sta'
ahudatērū'hsta?
a-hud-at-ēru-hst-a?
FACT-MASC,pl,PAT-SEMI-friend-INCH-PUNC
'they became friends'

In 310 the plain form of the verb appears, but with a simple stative interpretation:

(310) ...nē ñhātē' du-tqō
nē ñhātēdu-tqō?
h-åtēdu-tq-?
MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC
'now he (to) her spoke

tsīgā'kač
tsīdyá:kah
tsi-dyakah
2,dl-marry.IMP
(for) them (to) live together (marry)\(^{77}\)

nōñā"tēru? tūnţāwíidi?a'...
nqnyá'tēru?
tunyéta'wi?di?ah
n-ōny-at-ēru-?
SUBST-1,dl,PAT-SEMI-friend-STAT
my friend T.(n.)'

"My friend Tawidi'a wishes to marry you."
TN:28:246:04-08

The next pair show the verb -duʔa- 'be a stepson'; 'his stepparent' with and without
the Inchoative. Note the addition of the Inchoative in 311 adds an inchoative meaning.

\(^{77}\)Although glossed as 'them' the pronominal prefix is second dual.

282
Additionally, it is the -st- allomorph. Lack of an Inchoative in 312 leaves a simple stative sense.

(311) ahūdū’asta
     ahudū?asta?
     a-hu-duʔa-st-a?
     FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-stepson-INCH-PUNC
     'he became a son (or stepfather)

     hāmę’tse’təpəc
     howę?tsęhtíʔah
     h-qwe-ʔtsęhtíʔah
     MASC,sg,AGT-person-young,STAT-DIM
     he small boy

     nęc ne’ndăcę hūri:wifcääcę
     neh nędăcę hūri:wihša
     hu-rihw-ihsa
     MASC,sg,PAT-law-look.for,STAT
     now exactly he plan has made

     ndáhūcųu hūskwaʔhę
     dáhuʔu hūskwaʔhe
     d-a-hu-ʔuʔ?
     hu-hškwahę
     SUBST-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-kill-PUNC
     MASC,sg,PAT-hate,STAT
     that he him kills
     he him hates'

A little boy became the stepson of a man who hated him and wanted to kill him.
TN:18:133:01-07

(312) ...ne’ndăcę hātsęʔtäđis
     nęxdaʔi hātsęhtadis
     ha-ʔtsęht-a-di-s
     MASC,sg,AGT-eat-JOIN-BEN-HAB
     'now that one he him feeds

**As with other morphemes, the h-less allomorph may be just an artifact of Barbeau's transcriptions.**

283
The next pair are formed from -\textit{ia?w}- 'sleep.' In addition to the Inchoative, the Joiner -\textit{a}- can also be seen in 313. With the Inchoative, the meaning is one of entering a state of sleeping, whereas without it (in 314) only the simple state of sleep is indicated.

(313) ...\textit{nē}\textsubscript{c} \textit{ú\textquotesingle\textit{ta}wā\textquotesingle\textit{sta}'}
\textit{nēh} \textit{ú\textquotesingle\textit{ta}wāhstâ}?
\textit{u-\textit{ita}w-a-hst-a}?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-JOIN-ENCH-STAT

'now she got sleeping

\textit{tidēhērē}\textsubscript{c} iyā 'dâ\textsuperscript{*}tāwā\textsuperscript{*}stî\textsuperscript{c}...
\textit{tidēher}h iyadâ\textsuperscript{*}tawâhstih
\textit{i-\textit{ya-da\textquotesingle\textit{t-a-wahst-ih}}}
\textsuperscript{PROTH-FEM,ZOIC,sg,AGT-coach-JOIN-good-STAT}

that much her couch is good'

Her coach was so comfortable to be in that she soon fell asleep.

TN:22:166:49-53
(314) ...ayātra*s kwáqtik
    ayatra*skwáhtih
    ay-atma*skw-a-ht-ih
    l,sg,PAT-dream-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
    I dreamt

dā'cèk             īmè tāyeč
dahšèhk            iwétayeh
d-ahšèhk           i-w-çt-aye-h
SUBST-three        PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
that three          days

u·tā³wèk...
u·tāwih
u-ɪw·w-ihi
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-STAT
would she be sleeping

I dreamt that she will sleep three days long.
TN:04:089:11-14

5.3.2 Causative (CAUS)

The Causative adds a meaning of causation, or making. The forms are -ht-, -st-, and
-w-. The selectional restrictions among them are unclear. Example 315 shows the simple
verb -diy- 'be close':

(315) teyahq'adiyèc
    teyahqhtadìyèc
    te-ya-hqht-a-diî-çh
    DU-1,sg,AGT-ear-JOIN-close-STAT
    'both my ears are close together'
    WD:NR:062

285
With the Semireflexive and the Causative *-ht* the meaning becomes 'follow', i.e., 'make oneself close':

(316) ...rieve.tūtahé·'de'  
neh  tuhahé:de?  
t uta-hęd-e-?  
DU-CISLOC.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-go-PUNC  
'now there they are coming'  

hūdətədiyá'tq'  
hudatədiyáhto?  
hud-ate-diya-a-hət-q?  
MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-close-CAUS-STAT  
they are following  

tu sacrificesər'ahə...  
tusahər'ahə?  
t-usa-hə-atra-hə?  
DU-REP.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-meet-PUNC  
there again they met'  

As the soldiers were now on their way back, they came across the fugitives.  
TN:40:310:37-42

Example 317 shows *-həatu(r)* 'sick' without extra derivational morphology:

(317) ...ə sātə'yeʃə  
əh  satə'yəh  
sa-te?-yə-h  
X-NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT  
'no thou not art (my husband)\(^{89}\)

---

\(^{89}\)It is not clear what the initial string *sa* is. It has the same form as both the second singular patient and the Repetitive-Factual complex, neither of which can precede the Negative.

286
hu'cātūha'  n̓q̓o'dāe?  dāi'we-'yə...  
huhšatūna?  n̓q̓daeʔ  dairwēry  
ḥu-ḥšatu(r)-haʔ  d-ai-wey  
MASC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT  SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-marry.STAT  
he is sick  the very one  the my spouse'  

No, this is not he; for he is sick, my husband  

With the Causative added this becomes 'make sick':  

(318)  ...n̓q̓ ahwākōtə̑
    n̓q̓  awāhkəʔ?  
    a-w-ahkəʔ-əʔ?  
    FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-begin-PUNC  
    'that she began  

ā'kwətətə̑cāturə́ʔ...  
əʔwətətəhəsəturə́ht  
əʔ-w-atə-təhəsurə́-a-ht  
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-REFL-sick-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC  
she herself makes sick'  

The old woman pretended to be sick,  
TN:27:212:21-24  

Another allomorph is -st-, identical in form to the Inchoative previously described.  

This can be seen in 319, where -ʔədə-'rain' is followed by the Causative -st-.
(319) ...tsi'útôq̓̓ h̕aq̦̕dústíhâ̱keʔ
tsi'útôq̓̓ h̕aq̦̕dústíhâ̱keʔ
ha-q̦̕du-st-ih-aky̦̕eʔ?
MASC,sg,PAT-rain-CAUS-STAT-PROG-STAT
'Ts.(name) he rain is making'

Tsijutoon, the Wyandot, is making the rain.
TN:02:074:24-25

Compare a non-causativized form of the same verb, where the lack of a Causative morpheme correlates with a lack of a sense of "making" associated with the word:

(320) ...tû háhâ̱q̦̕ôq̓̓
tu háhâ̱q̦̕ôq̓̓
h-a-ha-Yq̓̓-?
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
'there he goes in

tahátasèł̪̊̕c̪̊̕
tahátasèh
t-a-h-atahse-h
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-hide-PUNC
there he hides because
dî̱nq̦̕óůq̓̕dú'c̪̊̕s...
dînq̦̕óůhq̊̕s
dî-y-q̦̕du-hs
PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-rain-HAB
it is raining'

One day, while a storm was raging, he ran for shelter into a hollow tree
TN:15:124:47-51

A third allomorph is -w-. In 321 is an example of the verb -skaht- 'see' with this
Causative allomorph added, and a sense change to 'look':

288
(321) ..."dehèrè< a'sákâ'kwa'...  
dehe:re:  a'sá:kâhkwa?  
a?-s-akaht-w=a?  
FACT-2,sg,PAT-see-CAUS-PUNC  
'at a distance  thou lookest'

Look over there!  
TN:22:163:45-47

The causative meaning is even more evident in the following example, which includes the
Semireflexive and -rihw- 'law':

(322) a'yôtrî:wâka'kwa?  
a?yôtrî:wâkahkwa?  
a?-yô-at-rihw-akaht-w=a?  
FACT-1,sg:2,sg-SEMI-law-see-CAUS-PUNC  
'I made them look out for me'  
TN:36:287:43

Here the speaker refers to a surprising behavior on his part, startling others and causing them
to look at him.
5.3.3 Instrumental (INST)

The Instrumental indicates using something, and is often glossed as 'with'. The allomorphs are \(-hkw-\), \(-ht-\), and \(-?r-\).\(^{90}\) The first allomorph is shown in 323, following the verb \(-m\?tp-\) ‘fletch’, in a reference to trimming arrows:

\[(323)\] ...te\(^3\)sāgt\(^a\)s\(^e\)d\(^c\)
  te?saqt\(^a\)sed\(^h\)
  te?-sa\,-Ye\(^a\)-?se-di-h
  NEG-2.sg,PAT-have-BEN-BEN-STAT
  'no hast thou any left\(^{91}\)

da\(^c\)c\(^a\)t\(^e\)r\(^a\)t\(^\#\)k\(^w\)a\(^t\)
  dah\(^\#\)sat\(^e\)m\(^a\)t\(^\#\)hk\(^w\)a\(^h\)
  d=a\,-h\(^s\)-ate\,-m\(^a\)t\(^\#\)hq\(^w\)-a\,-ht
  PART-FACT-2.sg,AGT-SEMI-fletch-INST-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
  that thou thine arrow feather with'

Have you got any of these feathers left to trim the arrows with?
TN:26:201:08-11

Shortly after is an example referring to an arrow that had been trimmed with the feathers of a particular kind of bird:

\[\]

\(^{90}\)It may be noted that the Inchoative and Causative both have allomorphs in \(-st-\), while the Causative and Instrumental both share \(-ht-\). This is not unusual in Iroquoian, since in Oneida the Causative and Instrumental both have -(h)t- and \(-st-\) (Lounsbery 1953); in Tuscarora the Causative and Instrumental share \(-?t-\) and \(-ht-\) (Williams 1974); and in Wendat (Lagarde 1980) the Inchoative and Causative both use \(-h-\) while the Causative and Instrumental both show \(-bst-\). Here homophonous morphemes are distinguished based on English glosses.

\(^{91}\)Note the unusual instance of a double Benefactive.

290
...<i>q</i> dae³  tê³<yɛ>c  kwê³kwê³kwê³
ah dae?  tê<yɛ>h  kwêhkwêhkwê?
têʔ-y-ɛ-h
NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT

'no that one not it is woodcock

nô³:dae³  uhô³:râ³
nô³:daeʔ  uhô³:nâ?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN
that one his feather

dê³:ca³  tsâmghûhi³
dêʔ:raʔ  tsawęhûhiʔ
this (other) one eagle

uhô³:râ³:  yà³:râ³:tô³:kwï...
uhôrâʔ  yà:râ:tô:hkwï?
u-hôhr-â?
yà:râ:tô:hkwï?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-fletch-INST-STAT
his feather it is feathered with'

[the arrow] was not trimmed with the woodcock's feathers, but with the eagle's, TN:26:202:41-50

Without the Instrumental attached, the glosses lose the sense of 'with', as in 325:

...da·ɛ³  è³:ce·râʔt
daeʔ  èhšemâʔt
FUT-2,sg,AGT-use.PUNC
e-hš-Yeraʔt

'that one must thou use

dê³:câ:tɛ·râ³:tq³
dê:hšat:ɛ:tq³
d-e-hš-ate·râ?q³?
PART-FUT-2,sg,AGT-SEMI-fletch-PUNC
that will thou feather fix on to
For the feathering, pull quills from the tail of the eagle which you own, and use them to fix the arrows.

The Instrumental also has the shape -ht-. The bare form -rižu- 'kill' is shown in 326:
(326) e'eřiǰù?
ešrižù?
e-hš-rižu-?
FUT-2.sg.AGT-kill-PUNC
'will thou her kill' ('you will kill her')
WM:128

When followed by the Instrumental, as in 327 (excerpted from 292), 'with' appears in the gloss:

(327) dāŋōtatriǰū'qta
dinyqatrižúhta?
di-Yq-atat-rižu-ht=a?
PART-FEM.IND.sg.AGT-REF-kill-INST-HAB
'that somebody commits murder with'

('murdering people with the magic charms')
TN:21:158:24

Here the sense changes from just killing to killing through the use of a tool (magic charms).

The next allomorph is -ɾ-. The verb -qdi- 'make' incorporating the noun -s- 'bowl' appears in 328 below. Without the Instrumental, there is no mention of what the bowls consist of.

293
(328) ...tē'cātō 'tēwa'c
 tēhšātō newah
 t-e-hš-altqtew-ah
 DU-FUT-2,sg,AGT-run.against-PUNC
 'must thou him run against
 the

hāsōq' 'gā'z'...
hasōq'dyahs
ha-s-oqdi-ahs
MASC.sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB
he makes bowls'

Then pass by your uncle Bowl Maker.
TN:28:240:40-43

Compare this to when the Instrumental is added, and where there is reference to what the
bowls are made out of:

(329) ...nà-rūŋōq'sisksa³
 nà runqōhtskya?
 n-a-ru-nqhtsi?r-sky-a?
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-cut.off-PUNC
 'now he his head takes off
 away (yonder)

harūŋq'tsi?roti³
harunqoths?roti?
ha-ru-nqhtsi?r-qi-?
TRANS-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-pitch-STAT
he his head threw away
the

yārhiptō年产³
yarhi?tonqō?
ya-rhi-t-(h)onq-?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT
trees stand many (a grove)
there
haʔútsiʔkù·tɛ
tahútsihkù·tɛ?
h-aʔ-u-tsihk-ut-ɛ?
TRANS-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-knot-stick.up-PUNC
it... a knot (on a tree) became

hēhāq’
tātɛɾiʔa’c
tatɛɾiʔah
hɛ-ihaq-ʔ
MASC,sg.AGT-say-PUNC
he said
the one left

hōt’esʔo’gaʔta
hōtesʔodʔaʔta
hq-ate-s=qdi-aʔ-t-a
MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-bowl-make-JOIN-INST-HAB
they bowels make with

dāwē’eskwá’kəc
qwěh
[ʔ]-qwe-h
FEM.IND,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
in the future (afterwards) the ones

dawēhskwá’kəh

qōmɛc

qtō’ndɛʔ...
qtō:de?
[q]-aʔtq-d-iʔ
FEM.IND,sg,AGT-possible-BEN-STAT
onebody becoming

And cutting the gambler's head off, he threw it away to the woods. The head became
a large knot on a tree. Tatenri'a said, "The people thereafter shall make bowls for the
stone game out of this kind of knot."
TN:23:182:51-183:08
5.3.4 Undoer (UN)

The Undoer -w- or -hsk- indicates the reversal or undoing of the action or state indicated by the verb. Following are examples of the verb -dinyqht- 'hang', 330 incorporating -m- 'bag', and 331 incorporating -er- 'moss':

(330) dêya:râ'dîŋqâ't
    deya:radînyqht
    de=ya=ra=dînyqht
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-hang,STAT
'the it bag hangs (up)' ('the bag is hanging up')
WM:229

(331) ...te'yé:he-
    te?yé:he:
    te?=y=ehe=:
NEG-1.sg,AGT-think-STAT
'don't I want to

mêrâ'dîŋqâ't...
wrâdînyqht
w=er=a=dînyqht
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-moss-hang,STAT
it moss hangs'

'I will not suffer anybody to say that the moss hangs'

Compare them to the following examples with the Undoer added. The noun -Ya?t- 'body'
is incorporated in 332, while 333 incorporates -tu(w)- 'door'.
(332) ...tūhá'ca³  nó:
tuháhša?  nó:
'that only (the only way)  if so

äwayätzəjérı̂ha³  "ditu'c
awayatzəjeriha?  dituh
a-way-attrižeri-ha?
FACT-1.sg.PAT-believe-PUNC
I believe  thereto

čhé'ca³tādínq̱tawà³
ehēšaʔadínq̱tawàʔ
e-hehš-Yaʔt-a-dinynqht-a-w-a?
FUT-2.sg:MASC.sg-Join-Join-UN-PUNC
thou unhitchest
de'rá³'ta³  de
dehráʔta?
de
d-e-Yerat-a?
SUBST-FEM.IND.sg.AGT-use-HAB
that (which) one uses  the

kátó'ekwɛr̥ot  aísɛn̪e'təc
kyutóhkwerot  aísɛn̪e'tah
ay-sen̪e't-ah
1.sg.PAT-domestic-NOUN

cattle  my stock

eɾǫ'³dà³rāhá'kwa³  de
erǫ:dəʔrahā'kwə?
de
e-r-qd-a-mah-a-hkw-a?
FUT-MASC.sg.AGT-dirt-Join-get-Join-INST-PUNC
the dirt turns over  that

hārə́³ta...
ha'ráʔta
ha-Yerat-a
MASC.sg.AGT-use-HAB
he it uses'
I will believe you only if you unyoke the oxen with which my servant is now ploughing my field.
TN:29:262:41-55

(333) ...dāhūˈhəɣhə?
dahūhrəɣha?
d-a?-u-rhə-ha?
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC
'the next morning

hatuwadiŋoˈtāwa?
hatuwadinyotawa?
ha-tu-w-a-dinγht-a-w-a?
MASC,sg,AGT-door-JOIN-hang-JOIN-UN-PUNC
he the door took off

sāhāwə?
sahāwə?
s-a-ha-w-a?
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-take-PUNC
back he carried

ūsahəqə?
usahəqə?
usa-ha-Yʊʔ-
OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
back he came home

hutəŋrə? ětɾoˈdəqʔ...
hutəŋrə?
etɾədəq?
hu-atenqə?
e-t-r-ʊdaqʔ-
MASC,sg,PAT-uncle.STAT X-CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
his uncle

(to) the

he came down in the morning, and took the door off to his uncle's house
TN:28:245:17-24

All four examples use the same verb root -dinγht- 'hang', but the addition of the Undoer changes the sense to 'unhanging' or 'unhitching'.
The next example incorporates -Ya?- 'body' into -qt- 'tie'. Together they refer to tying something up.

(334) ...édáʔúraʔha' eʔri:júʔ.
edáʔuráʔha? eriri:žúʔ.
e-Ø-daʔuraʔha? e-Ø-rižuʔ.
FUT-1,sg,AGT-able-PUNC FUT-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC
'will I be able

will I him kill

dehetskwáʔ'tqɪʔ... dehetskwáʔ'tqɪʔ
d-e-hetskwa-Yaʔt-qt-ɛ PART-FUT-2,pl:MASC,sg-body-tie-PUNC
you him tie'

I'll kill [the animal], if you tie it first.
TN:27:213:40-43

When the Undoer is added, however, the meaning changes to untying someone:
...tà-wátq
tà:wá?tq
t-a-w-a?tq-?
CONTR-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC
'impossible

du'sähôkä'èq:täwa'...
dusahôkä'èq:tawa?
d-usa-hq-at-Ya?t-qt-a-w-a?
PART-REP.OPT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-body-tie-JOIN-UN-PUNC
that they body unfasten'

They could not extricate themselves
TN:37:293:64-66

A final pair of examples is based on the verb root -tsirut- 'close':

...tù'hähuwà'èq:ot
tùnahùwà'èkóht
tu-ha-hu-Ya?t-yô-h't
REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-body-in-CAUS.PUNC
'there he him placed in

nähátsi-ru'tè
nähátsi-rutè?
n-a-ha-tsirut-è?
TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-PUNC
that he closed (it)

---

9'The t of -Ya?t- is missing in Barbeau's transcription since this page of the text is missing many of the characters along the left margin. This word continued on two lines, allowing the middle of the word to be on the left margin.
"dūredāhārt... dūredahārēt d-u-reda-harēt
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-rock-hollow.STAT
the hole (in the rock)'

[he] shut him up in a rocky cavern
TN:18:133:14-18

When the Undoer is added to -tsirut- 'close' the meaning changes to 'open'. In 337 the reference is to a bottle containing smallpox:

(337) ...nō'ńēc tāyù'kēstići
nō'mēh tayù:kēyēstih
 t-ayu-at-Yehst-ih
CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-SEMI-gather-STAT
't now then the crowd gathered
tahātsi-rutāwa³
tahatsirutāwa?
t-a-ha-tsirut-a-w-a?
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-UN-PUNC
that he (it) uncorked'

So he uncorked the bottle in the midst of a large crowd [of his people, whom he had] called together.
TN:06:096:29-31

Adding the Undoer to 'close' results in opening the bottle.

The allomorph -hsk- is shown with -drp- 'tie', where the addition of -hsk- to -drp- changes the meaning from 'tie' to 'untie':

301
5.3.5 Distributive (DISTR)

The Distributive indicates 'several' or 'many', especially in reference to occurrences of an action. The allomorphs are -hq-, -ʔšiq-, -hqyq-, -hʔqyq-, -ŋqyq-, -ŋqyq-, and -ʔšqyq-. As may be noted, several allomorphs are apparently two iterations of the Distributive, if -ŋq- is also considered an allomorph\(^{92}\). In related languages this construction is called the Double Distributive. However, since these doubled forms are the norm for Wyandot, and since -ŋq- does not appear separately, they will be treated as individual allomorphs.

The form -hq- appears below with the verb -aʔɛduq- 'speak':

---

\(^{92}\)This would be expected from cognates.
(340) ...ŋɛ' awâl'té'cèreŋ'ga'
        nēh awâtîhšēhšôdyô?
        a-wati-hšehšr-ôdî-ô?
        FACT-NON.MASC.pl,AGT-feast-make-PUNC
        'now they hold a feast

da'utɛ-dû-tôhô:
da'utɛ:du:tôhô:
d-ô?-u-âtêduô-hô
        PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC.sg,PAT-speak-DISTR.PUNC
        that she her spoke

dô yômâyuwâ'ŋɛ'...
de yôwayuwâ'mêh
        yôwa-yuwanô-h
        MASC.non.sg:FEM.ZOIC.sg-large-STAT
        the she person big (leader)

now the people hold the [Ustura] feast to comply with the command given the woman
by the leading one
TN:10:107:18-23

Interestingly, the literal gloss is unaffected. With other forms, however, there is a change.

The verb ~iʔôra~ 'jump' in 341 is followed by the allomorph ~ʔʂr̥~. Note the addition of
'severally' to the gloss:

(341) ...tô' ha'îô'dî'trô tô a'cô'
tûh ha?tedî'trô tô aʔsô?
h-ô?=te-d=î'trô aʔsô?
        TRANS-FACT-DU-MASC,dl,AGT-jump-DISTR.PUNC
        'there (to) they jumped down severally (one by one)

303
Now then, Sayentsuwat and his warriors leaped down one at a time

The following examples show the longer forms cognate with the Double Distributive
in the other languages. Example 342 is based on the verb -arhskw- 'go out'. It shows the
allomorph -honyq-, adding the gloss 'many' in reference to many people returning to their
separate homes:

(342) ...ňə ə’yəhəq̓?
  néh ə’yəhəq̓?
    aʔ-ye=ihəq̓-?
      FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC

'she said

satsərə’skwəhóʔ-ŋə̱ əwé̱təʔ... 
satsərə’skwəhóʔmyə̱ awé̱ntəʔ
  s-a-ts-arhskw-a-honyq̓-?
  REP-FACT-2,dl-go.out-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC

back you go many

And she declared, "You may all now go back to your homes!"

The next example is adjoined to -Yəkw- 'plant', using the form -hənyq̓-, which
again has the gloss 'several' added to it, referring to many different things planted:
In the spring time, they sowed the seeds of several plants in their garden.

The next form is -nonyo-. Here in 344 the verb is -atakya- 'talk', referring to conversation between a boy and a porcupine:

The verb -hšatu(r)- 'sick' can also be followed by the Distributive, in this case the form -ṇonyo-. In 345 sickness is spread among members of a population.
The final allomorph is -ʔfryŋy-, demonstrated with the verb -m- 'hire' in 346. In this case several doctors were hired, each one individually in turn:

(346) ...nêc' e:jâ'tê ʰtâ-ʔsroŋo's
         nêh  e:žatętâʔfryŋyhs
             e-u-ʔtę-ta-ʔsroŋy-ʔs
         FUT-MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-hire-DISTR-HAB₉³
     'now  must they be hiring several in turns

de  yōmâ-ʔtsę'ss  de
de  yōwâʔtsęhs  de
yōwa-ʔtsę-ʔhs
3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-cure-HAB
the  they her are doctoring  the

yawâːnőc'
yawâːmôh
ya-\-wínq-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-prett-STAT
she is young
duːcâːtuːha²...
duhšatûha?
d-u-ʔhâːtəɾ-ʔha?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT
that she is sick'

Her parents then hired several white man's doctors, in turn, to attend her.
TN:34:278:54-62

₉³The Future with the Habitual instead of the Punctual is anomalous.
5.3.6 Benefactive (BEN)

The Benefactive generally indicates that an action is 'to' or 'for' someone or something. That is, the Benefactive sometimes adds a sense of indirectness. It is not necessarily beneficial in a literal sense. The allomorphs are -\textit{di}-, -\textit{j}\textit{a}s-, -\textit{has}-, and -\textit{e}-. A basic use of the Benefactive is shown in example 347, where a group is receiving the law:

\begin{verbatim}
(347) səməriwə\text{̣}a\text{̣}`\textit{di}c
səwariwə\text{̣}a\text{̣}dih
sə\textit{w}ə-\textit{rih}w-a-Yə\textit{t}a-a-di-h
MASC,s\textit{g}:\text{̣}1,pl-law-JOIN-have-JOIN-BEN-STAT
'the law to us is given' ('the law is given to us')
WD:NR:032
\end{verbatim}

The most frequent form, -\textit{di}-, as shown again in 348 with the verb -\textit{ut}- 'stick' incorporating -\textit{yph}ə- 'face'. The sense is of presenting one's face to the Owl:

\begin{verbatim}
(348) ...tsin\text{̣}c ti\text{̣}n\text{̣}: nəmə\text{̣}də
tsin\text{̣}h tim\text{̣}: nəwə\text{̣}də?
'who is it' 'who now' the next time

ěsūk\text{̣}c\text{̣}út\text{̣}a\text{̣}di-ha
esuk\text{̣}h\text{̣}út\text{̣}a\text{̣}di-ha
e-s-(h)u-at-yəh\text{̣}ut-a-di-ha
FUT-REP-MASC,s\textit{g},PAT-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC
'will again one (to) him show (his) face (invite)
\end{verbatim}
dē yúʔkuʔ...
dē yúʔkuʔ
y-uʔkuʔ
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-owl
the owl'

Who will go and show his face to the Owl?

The Benefactive can be used for certain psychological states, as in 349:

(349) ...tung' dīneʕ'taʕ'
dinēh ŋhāʔ
dinēħt-a -Yeʕ-?
snow-JOIN-have-STAT
'when it had snowed
dājjuʕ yēwastādič
daižūń yēwastādih
ye-wahst-a -di-h
l,sg,AGT-good-JOIN-BEN-STAT
that's why I found it good
daʕyājā(se:mą) du'deʕ'tota'
daʔyaʕâhsērwa? du:dētotaʔ
d-ayay-Yahse-wa? du-u-dehtotaʔ
PART-1,sg:3,non.sg-track-HAB SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-turkey
that I them track the feathers-stick-out (turkeys)'

'after a snow-fall [I liked to] follow their tracks in the snow'
TN:36:286:23-29

Compare German es gefällt mir, or French ça me plait.

A meaning of "indirectness" is shown in 350, where the same allomorph appears with
the verb -atphkw- 'shoot' incorporating -ʔd- 'arrow'. Instead of shooting the Bear directly,
the arrows are shot towards the Bear:
(350) \...kāhë\¹
kahë?
'first

tēyg⁰dātōkwādī⁴
teye?datōkwadi:th
damyonye?

tê-yê-ʔd-aqkwa-ago-di-h
DU-1.sg.AGT-arrow-shoot-JOIN-BEN-IMP
d-anye?yonye?

one side then the other

SUBST-bear
the bear'

Run after the bear, and stick arrows all around its body.

Examples can be found of pairs where one word has the Benefactive and the other
does not. In 351 -ahkerq- 'scared' appears without the Benefactive, while in 352 the verb
has the suffix:

(351) \...ne\ húkër?q-ha
nê húkherq:ha
hu-ahkerq-ha
MASC.sg.PAT-scared-STAT

'now he got scared

āhâtë⁵iwa\²...
ahâtê?wa?

a-h-ate?wa?

he runs off

the man was so frightened that he ran away

(352) \...ahá'k'a\¹
aháhka?
a-h-ahk-a?
FACT-MASC.sg.AGT-stop-PUNC

'he stopped

hu'kërq?d?i\¹...
hu'kherq?di?

hu-ahkerq?di?

he being scared'
The presence or absence of the Benefactive in 351 and 352 does not lead to translations with 'to' or 'for' in the gloss. The purpose of the Benefactive here is unclear.

The following example shows the allomorph -.sd-, using the verb -yf- 'see'. The addition of the Benefactive changes the meaning from 'see' to 'show to'. The verb -at-yf-?s- 'SEMI-see-BEN' in 353 is used when the seeing is for the benefit of the one doing the seeing:

(353) ...ayākē:seć  
    ayakē:seh  
    ay-at-yf-?s-eh  
    1.sg.PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP  
    'I want to see (let me see it)  
    dē:  
    skāt  
    dē:  
    skāt  
    that  
    one

sā*yda:mić...  
sā?da:wēh  
sa-?d-awē-h  
2.sg.PAT-arrow-have-STAT  
thee arrow hast'

Let me see your arrow!
TN:26:202:57-60

Compare the following example of -yf- 'see' without the Benefactive, which retains the simple undirected sense of 'see':
...hůyê¹ cêťê³trô³
huyê? šetê³trô?
hu-ye?-? še-t-(h)(ê)-i?trô-?
brhô-see-STAT COIN-CISLOC-MASC.sg,AGT-live-STAT
he him saw sitting

hastê³ nê³
hastêh nêh
out of doors now

hâwâ³traha...
huwâ?traha
hu-Ya?t-rah-a
MASC.sg,PAT-body-get-STAT
he him knocked down (ran against)'

As he saw his uncle sitting out of doors, he ran against him and knocked him down.
TN:28.242.22-26

In 355 the action is directed for the 'old man':

...da-ê³ ndê kwâywâ³nê³
da-te? de kwâywâ³nêh
t-ya-yuwanë-h
CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-large-STAT
the one the she is large (the eldest)

âhû'tătq'sêhâs
ahû?tatqhsêhâs
a-hu-a?tatqhs-ê-has
FACT-MASC.sg,PAT-basket-have-BEN.PUNC
she (before) him basket lays down
nē hā³ʔ postpon?
ne hāʔ postpon?
haʔ postpon?
MASC, sg, AGT- old-STAT
the he is old'
'the elder of the two young women laid down her basket near the old man'
TN:26:203:34-39

The allomorph -e- is shown in 356, an excerpt from example 285, where the literal
meaning is 'she raises her voice at him':

(356) ahūkwɛ̣t' dīhā'teq
ahukwɛ̣diháhteq?
a-hu-at-wəd-iha-h-t-eq-?
FACT-MASC, sg, PAT-SEMI-voice- shout-CAUS- BEN- PUNC
'she him scolds'
TN:02:067:13

5.3.7 Dislocative (DISLOC)

The Dislocative adds a sense of motion or change of location to the meaning of the
verb, usually glossed as 'go to' or 'there(at)'. The allomorphs are -d-, -ʔd-, -he-, -hʔ-, and
-ʔʔr-. Examples of the first, using the verb -at̥ɛ̄dup- 'speak', include:

(357) ...nə̣uʔ-r̥hɛ̣hə
nəʔú-r̥hɛ̣hə?
n-aʔ- u-r̥hɛ̣-ha?
TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC, sg, PAT- next. day- PUNC
'the next day'

312
āhātē: "dūtōda
ahatē:dūtōda
a-h-ateqtq-d-a
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC
he went to speak (tell) at

dēkō'omąc  dēkē"-darē?
dekō'wah    dekyē:darē?
de-t-Ye-dare-?
SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-live-STAT
that this way    that they body live at

ayū"dē'qawētįi...
ayudatăwētįi?
ayu-dat-awetįi?
FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-all
one's village all" *4

The young man went the next day to another village not very far away where some
people were living

*4This word ends in the particle awetįi'all', rather then a regular verbal form.
The Eagle said, "Go and call the Korenhkomen, the Buzzard, and the Otter as well!"

TN: 19:139:01-12

Note that both forms using the Dislocative in 357 and 358 involve going someplace to do the speaking.

Compare the previous examples to the following example, 359, of -a[đ]du[ŋ] - 'speak' without the Dislocative, and thus lacking a sense of motion. Although there is a word present meaning 'I go out', the reference is to exiting a nest rather than travelling to a different place.
(359) ..."di<j> di:j<¿> ajâyêhâc
a-y=Yayê-hah
FACT-1.sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
'I first I go out

ahâtê-"dûtçê
ahatê:dutçh
a-h-atêdutç-h
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC
'I him (will) speak'

wâfsta<kùtu>u e:jâ:júc...
wa:hsta?tu? e:ža:žúh
FUT-MASC,sg:2,sg-kill-PUNC
cannot be must he thee kill'

"let me go out first, so that I may tell him not to kill you!"
TN:19:143:16-21

The allomorph -?d- is demonstrated with the verb -akâht- 'see', in examples 360 and 361. Note that the meaning of both includes motion ('go to') to another location ('there') in order to 'see'.

(360) ...ú:rêhêhâa tu
ú:rêhêha tu
u-rhe:-ha
FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-STAT
'the next day there

hûsâ-re³
husâ:re?
h=usa-r-e-?
TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
he goes
sahākāʔtəʔ daʔ
sahakāháʔ ?daʔ
s=a-h-akaht-a-ʔd-aʔ
REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC
back he goes to see

tūʔtu-ráʔ
iʔgę̃trqą̃
dē
tuʔtuːnáʔ
iʔgę̃trqʔ
de
i-ʔɣẽ-ʔtrq̕-=ʔ
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
at the same place
she sits (stays)
the

kuʔgę̃tseʔ wákę̃ʔaʔa...
kyuʔdyēʔseh wákę̃ʔnyaʔa
wa- skę̃ny-a-ʔa
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pet-JOIN-DIM
snake
she pet small'
The next day, he went to see the imprisoned snake.
TN:21:150:47-151:01

(361) ...sākāʔtəʔ daʔ
sakaháʔ ?daʔ
s=akaht-e-ʔd-aʔ
2,sg,PAT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-IMP
thou there looketh

ūsetïwíʔhą̃kəʔ
usetiwiʔshakyəʔ?
use-ʔt−w−ih-akyəʔ
OPT.REP-1,IN,dl,AGT-take-STAT-PROG.IMP
thou cometh along

tūhaʔseʔ
tuʔhaʔseht
tu-h-aʔ=ʔs-e-ʔht
REM-TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-CAUS-PUNC
there thou goest

316
dētu  tāyātcp'tsa³...
detu  taya'tqhtsa?
t-a-y-a'=tqhts-a?
CISLOC-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hatch-PUNC
where  it hatched'

Go to the place where it was hatched and look carefully. Let me go with you!
TN:32:276:23-29

In 362, showing the allomorph -he-, two young women are travelling around looking for
the Woolly-One:

(362) ...tūhá'ca³    nāhōmā*tūr'ha³
              tubáhša?      nahqωwa?tūr'ha?
                             n-a-hqωwa-Ya?=t-urę-ha?
                             TEMP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-body-find-PUNC
                             'until
                             that they him find

di'wi'nə gatherings  dē
di:wi:nəh  de
d-i-wiŋ-h
SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-pretty-STAT
the young women (pretty)  that

hɔmək'mkčəkc
hqwàtihšake
hqw-á-t-ihšay-(h)e
3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-look.for-DISLOC.PURP
they two him look for

ne  hₐ₄'dₐ₄'wa³...
ne  hadₐ₄wa?
       ha-da?=w-a?
       MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN
the he is cotton-like'

Until then, the two young women had taken the Owl for the real Woolly-One, whom
they had been looking for.
TN:24:188:09-19

317
The allomorph \( -h\char'128 \) is illustrated in 363:

(363) ...tūhā\char'128 se  
\[\text{tuhā?seh} \]
\[\text{tu-h-a?-s-e-h} \]
\[\text{REM-TRANS-FACT-2.sg.PAT-go-PUNC} \]
'there thou go

s\( \char'128 \)dih\( \char'128 \)c\( \char'128 \)
\[\text{sēdihah\( \char'128 \)c\( \char'128 \)} \]
\[\text{s-e-dih-a-h\( \char'128 \)-c\( \char'128 \)} \]
\[\text{2,sg.PAT-SEMI-borrow-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC} \]
thou borrow (it)'

Go over there, and borrow [it]!
TN:29:261:13-14

The final allomorph has the form \( -\frac{\char'128 f}{\char'128 f} \). The following examples demonstrating this allomorph are from texts where women are sent to court potential husbands. Example 364, without the Dislocative, describes being or falling in love:

(364) hū\( \char'128 \)sk\( \char'128 \)h\( \char'128 \)
\[\text{hūskhy\( \char'128 \)h\( \char'128 \)} \]
\[\text{hu-hskyq-ha\( \char'128 \)} \]
\[\text{MASC.sg.PAT-love-STAT} \]
'she (with) him fell in love' ('she fell in love with him')
TN:02:063:24

With the Dislocative added, the reference is to going and courting someone to cause them to fall in love, as in 365 and 366:
(365) ...tú há³ґ se⁴
   tu háʔseh
   h-aʔ-s-e-h
   TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-PUNC
   'there thou goest

   heš'séšskφ⁹ cra⁴
   hehséhskyφʔšrah
   hehses-hskyφʔšr-ah
   2.sg:MASC,sg-love-DISLOC-IMP
   (to) him thou goest to make love

dé yu'cáhárg'et e:järá³ґ se⁴...
dé yuhšáhárg⁴ht e:žanáʔseh
e-iž-amʔseʔ
   X-MASC,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT
to Y.(n.) his cousin'

There, you must go and make love to the cousin of Yucaharet
TN:04:078:16-20

(366) ...heštsíšskφ⁹ cra⁴
dé
   hehtsíšskyφʔšrah
de
   hehtsisskyφʔšr-ah
   2,dl:MASC,sg-love-DISLOC-IMP
   'you two (to) him make love yonder
   the

   hā"dá³ґ wa³
   hadáʔwaʔ
   ha-daʔw-a?
   MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN
   he is soft (cotton-like)

   ňeq'tá³ґ ye⁴...
   nyeqtaʔyeh
   n-yeq-iht-aʔyeh
   TEMP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-JOIN-LOC
   now the field on'

Be off and make love to him, the prairie-dweller whose fur is soft like wool!
TN:24:183:29-33
5.4 Aspects and Temporals

There are five members of the aspect slot: Habitual (HAB), Punctual (PUNC), Stative (STAT), Purposive (PURP), and Imperative (IMP). The Stative Plural also appears in this slot. Temporals are also called post-aspectual suffixes, and are treated by Chafe (1967) as expansions of the aspects. Included are the Progressive (PROG) and the Past (PAST). The forms used for each aspect vary widely. Representative examples will be shown.

5.4.1 Imperative (IMP)

The Imperative, as the name implies, indicates a command or request. As stated previously, the Imperative is not a true aspect, but does occupy the same morphological slot.

A common allomorph is -?-, as with -at?dut?-'speak' in 367, where someone is told to ask someone else to do something:

(367) ...sátɛ·"dutq?
satɛ:dutq?
s-at?dutq-?
2.sg,PAT-speak-IMP
'thou (to) her speak

âñqynɛ(h)uyɛqɔs
inyqnyɛhuyɛqɔhs
i=Yɔny-ɛhyuq?-a-hs
PROTH-1,dl,PAT-shell.corn-JOIN-STAT.PL
she (for) us corn shells

âñqynatɛ[j]ũhɔs
inyqnyatɛ[n]qɔs
i=Yɔny-atɛ?ny-qhɔ-hs
PROTH-1,dl,PAT-cook-DISTR-STAT.PL
she (for) us corn cooks
à*cëwåt'  
éya'qmi'...
à?šëwåht  
iya?qwih
a-?šewåht  
i-ya-ʔqw-ih
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-sieve  
PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-full-STAT
a sieve  
it is full'

ask her to shell and parch a bark trayful of corn for us
TN:28:246:21-25

Example (368) shows the Imperative allomorph -h- with the verb -e- 'go'. Note that
this is a first person imperative (hortative), rather than second:

(368)  ...hë:kweč
hë:kwæh
he-kw-e-h
TRANS-1,IN,pl,AGT-go-IMP
'let us go

Let us go there and wait!
TN:39:306:21-23

5.4.2 Habitual (HAB)

The Habitual "restricts the meaning of the verb root to repeated or periodic events,
or to an episodic event in progress but incapable of indefinite prolongation" according to
Chafe (1967:12) for Seneca. In Oneida, according to Lounsbury (1953:85), it is used to
"represent actions which take place at repeated points in time". In Wyandot the Habitual is
used for repetitive, on-going, or continuing activities. It is an imperfective.
The Habitual allomorphs often, though not always, have an *s* in them. Forms include

- *-s*-, *-abs*-, *-hs*-, *-ʔs*-, and *-eʔs*-.

The following example shows the *-s*- allomorph for the verb *-dyə*- 'marry':

(369) ...ahätiʔkeriʔk
täjuʔti̍p
ahatiʔkyeriʔk
tiʔúhtíʔ
a- hati-ʔt- Yerih- k
ti- ŋuhtíʔ-
FACT-MASC.pl, AGT-X-straighten-PUNC
3, non.sg-rules-NOUN
they straightened out
the way (rules)

dētāgū′gás...
3, non.sg-rules-NOUN
detāyudyáς
that they get married'
de- t- ayu-dyas
SUBST-CISLOC-FEM. IND, sg, PAT-marry. HAB
There they settled their marriage customs.
TN: 07: 098: 43- 45

The allomorph *-abs*- appears in 370, using *-ʔəkw-* 'plant':

(370) dēʔkwa′s
 PART-FEM. IND, sg, AGT-plant-HAB
 de¬- ŋkwa- ahs
 'what one plants'
 TN: 04: 091: 01

The verb *-žu*- 'kill' demonstrates the *-hs*- Habitual allomorph:
The allomorph -ʔs- is shown with the verb -e- 'go' in 372:

(372) ...ći·cà· cिःひれí-s
śe·dā: cिः hiʔreí-s
heʔ-r-eʔ-s
TRANS-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB

'now then thereat about he is going

túč ehátèʔdiyóʔ-rùːjaʔ...
túh ehatèʔdiyóʔrùːzaʔ
e-h-ateʔ?diyóʔ-uʔ-ʔaʔ
FUT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-sense-play-PUNC
there he is playing'

After playing at some distance...
TN:29:256:08-12

The last allomorph containing s, -eʔs-, is demonstrated with the verb -qti- 'pitch', in reference to a game played by tossing seeds painted black on one side and white on the other:

(373) tēhúšókēʔs
tēhūshókyeʔs
te-hu-ʔs-qti-ʔeʔs
DU-MASC,sg,PAT-bowl-pitch-HAB
'he seeds plays (seed player) habitually' ('he plays the seed game')
TN:23:182:35
Allomorphs beginning with a vowel appear after consonant-final verb roots, while those beginning with a consonant appear after vowel-final roots.

5.4.3 Punctual (PUNC)

The Punctual "restricts the meaning of the verb root to one unique event" (Chafe 1967:15 on Seneca), or describes "actions which take place at some particular point in time" (Lounsbury 1953:85 on Oneida). It also requires the addition of a modal prefix: Factual, Future, or Optative (see chapter 4: Prepronominial Prefixes). In Wyandot the Punctual is most often used with complete events. It is a perfective.

The Punctual allomorphs are: "-a-, -ha?-", "-ah-, -h-, -∅-, -a?-", "-ha?-", and "?-". They are shown in the following examples, starting with "-a-" and the verb "atėdutq- 'speak'" plus Dislocative "-d-". This is taken from example 357:

(374) āhātːeː"dū토da
    ahatə:dū토da
    a- h-atėdutq δ= a
    FACT-MASC.sg.AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC
    'he went to speak (tell) at' ('he went to a place to tell people')
    TN:21:156:42

The next shows "-ha?-" with "Yaye- 'go out':

(375) ...skāt  āɬeqə^x
    skat  āhoʔ?
    'one  at a time
The little bears crawled out, one at a time
TN:19:143:55-59

The allomorph -ah- is demonstrated with the verb -arahskw- 'go out':

(376) ...dārəñɨ̍ c yāwáˈsti
     daenəːh yawáhstih
          ya-wahst-ih
     FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT
'may be
    it is good (better)

duˈsaˈcərəˈskwaˈ...
duːsaˈhərəskwah
d-ʉsa-hə-arahskw-ah
PART-OPT.REP-2,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
that back thou goest'

· It might be better for you to go back home
TN:04:083:36-39

-əh- is shown using -e- 'go':

325
(377) hú-sāweɬ
hú-saweh
h-ul-sa-w-e-h
TRANS-OPT.REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
'for her to go' ('she should go back')
TN:02:071:31

The -ʔ- allomorph appears with -nqht- 'give':

(378) ...āwé-ti³
tahūnq̌t
awéti?
tahunq̌t
t-a-hu-nqht
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC
'all she (to) him gives

dūyé(ʔe³)
duyéhte?
d-u-yehe=?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-carry-STAT
what back hangs on

du'sťe³-tsiʔá-ṛe³...
dušťeʔtsiʔá-ṛeʔ?
d-u-hsťeʔtsiʔá-awc=?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT
what she owns (her property')
she turned the finery that hung from her neck over to him

Using =Ỵpkẉ-'plant', the allomorph -aʔ- can be shown:
(379) da'yä'ë "kwa³
   da?ya'çkwa?
   d=a?-ya=Yëkw=a?
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-plant-PUNC
'that she planted (the seeds)' ('so she would plant the seeds')
TN:01:061:11

The allomorph -?- is used in an example with the verb -ra'ñe- 'climb':

(380) ...tú³ diyärhi³
   tüh    diyärhi?
   di=ya=rhi=?
PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN
'there the tree

táhará'te³...
	ará'te?
t=a-ha-ra'ñe=?
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-climb-PUNC
there he climbed up'

There he climbed a tree
TN:29:258:60-62

The allomorphs -h- and -?= appear after vowels. The other allomorphs can appear
after either vowels or consonants.

5.4.4 Stative (STAT)

The Stative "restricts the meaning of the verb root to a continuous action or state
without defined temporal limits" (Chafe 1967:12 on Seneca). According to Lounsbury
(1953:85 on Oneida), the Stative is used to "represent states; some of these are the results of
actions." That is, the Stative functions as a perfect. In Wyandot the Stative also represents states, describes situations, and performs as a perfect.

Allomorphs of the Stative include -\textit{h}-, -\textit{ph}-, -\textit{ih}-, -\textit{p}-, and -\textit{p}-. The first form is shown by the verb -\textit{uwan}- 'large' (also representing an example of a state):

(381) yārōtūwā·nē\textsuperscript{c}  
    yarōtuwānēh  
    ya-rot-ulan-e-h  
    FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-log-large-STAT  
    'logs large' ('big logs')  
    TN:27:224:52

The allomorph -\textit{ph}- can be demonstrated with the verb -\textit{draw}- 'dance' (also representing the Stative as describing a situation):

(382) ...tu\textsuperscript{c}  
    hūti-drām\textsuperscript{c}  
    tuh  
    hutidraw\textsuperscript{e}h  
    huti-draw-e-h  
    MASC.non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT  
    'there they dance  
    üsē·mē\textsuperscript{b}tā'ye\textsuperscript{c}...  
    usérwē\textsuperscript{a}tā'ye\textsuperscript{h}  
    u-sewē\textsuperscript{t}-a-\textit{p}-ye\textsuperscript{h}  
    FEM.ZOIC.sg,PAT-stomach-JOIN-LOC  
    his belly on'  
    people were dancing upon his bosom  
    TN:24:186:61-63

With the verb -\textit{Ypkw}- 'plant' the Stative allomorph is -\textit{ih}-:

328
Surely the crows by now must have eaten up all that we have sown.
TN:26:198:29-33

Example 383 also demonstrates the use of the Stative as a perfect.

The -ʔ- allomorph can be demonstrated with the verb -Yʔ- 'arrive':

When his [envious] companions reached home...
TN:13:121:01-04

The -ʔʔ- allomorph appears with -nəpəti- 'hunt':
(385) hūnɛ-rókɔ̥
    hunɛ-rókɔ̥yɔ?
    hu-nɛrɔti-ŋɔ?
MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-STAT
'he hunted' ('he was hunting')
TN:23:177:21

As with the Punctual, the -h- and -ŋ- allomorphs occur after vowels, while the other
allomorphs are not so restricted.

5.4.5 Stative Plural (STAT.PL)

The Stative Plural, -ɔs-, indicates both a state or condition as well as multiplicity of
the entities in that state or condition. A simple Stative suffix appears in 386, indicating the
size of a -rɔt- 'log':

(386) yarɔtɔwɔwá-ŋɛ́
    yarɔtɔwɔwá-heh
    ya-rɔt-ʊwɔnɛ-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-large-STAT
'a big tree'
TN:19:141:58

The Stative Plural appears in 387 for comparison. The same state holds as for 386, but the
argument is in this case plural:
(387) yarijú’túwáŋ’ís
yarižúhtuwané’s
ya-rižuht–uwané’?s
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-stone-large-STAT
'rocks big'
TN:19:136:38

The Stative Plural need not be used instead of the simple Stative. The motivation for specifically choosing the Stative Plural is unclear.

5.4.6 Purposive (PURP)

According to Chafe (1967:25) the Purposive "indicates purpose or intention" in Seneca. It only attaches to verbs of motion. Unlike Seneca, the Dislocative is not required preceding the Purposive. In 388 the verb -e- 'go / come' appears with the Purposive:

(388) ërq’rmé’
erq’wéh
e-r-ówe-h
X-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
'the person (man)

sáýùwérgó’s
sayùwegro’hs
sayu-Yerq-hs
MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg-trick-HAB
he is a trickster'

'i-re’
i-re?
i-r-e-?
PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PURP
he walks

'A man was travelling. He was a trickster.'
Note that the lack of a modal prefix (see chapter 4: Prepronominal Prefixes) precludes this example from being in the Punctual. The form of the aspect suffix also precludes the possibility of the Habitual, as the verb \textit{-e} 'go / come' has a different Habitual:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(389)] tī\textit{re}s
\item[ti\textit{r-e}]
\item[CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB]
\item[he walks]
\item[TN:27:226:33; TN:27:231:48]
\end{enumerate}

5.4.7 Progressive (PROG)

For Chafe (1967:27) the meaning of the Progressive is "one of progression, often translatable as \textit{along or all along}". In the Wyandot texts the gloss is often based on \textit{go on}, or uses the English progressive.

The Progressive appears after the Stative, and can be followed by any aspect. Thus it is a means of deriving active verbs from stative ones. It has the shape \textit{-akye\textdagger}. In 390 the verb \textit{-draw\textdagger} 'dance' appears, followed by the Stative \textit{-ph}, the Progressive, and another Stative \textit{-?}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(390)] hūti\textit{\textdagger}drām\textdaggerhā\textdaggerke\textdagger
\item[hutidraw\textdaggerhā\textdaggerkye\textdagger]
\item[huti-draw-\textit{ph-akye}\textdagger]
\item[MASC,non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT-PROG-STAT]
\item[they dancing go on ('they went on dancing')]
\item[TN:03:075:47]
\end{enumerate}
The Progressive followed by the Habitual is shown in 391, using -r̥w- 'remove', its Stative -ʔḥ-, and the Habitual -ʔ%

(391) ...hāʔra
dēsurōmēhāʔkeʔs...
hāʔra
desurōqwēhā:kyeʔs
de-s-(h)u-r̥w-ʔḥ-akyeʔ-ʔs
SUBST-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-remove-STAT-PROG-HAB

'only

that it is undoing'

he only cared for ruin
TN:01:062:02-03

Finally, a Punctual form appears, based on the Stative form of 'drive', -uรห-, and the Punctual -ʔ%

(392) ...tūŋč'
úwaʔ
tu huhāhōʔkeʔ
tūŋč'
tu huhahō:kye?
tu-hu-hāh-ʔkyeʔ-
REM-MASC,sg,PAT-road-travel-STAT

'just then

someone

there he road comes along

ayõmatūrīhāʔkeʔ
ayõwatūrīhā:kye?
a -y̥w-at-uรห-akyeʔ-
FACT-3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-SEMI-drive-STAT-PROG-PUNC
he them is driving

dudikūkwā:nč'
dudikyūhkwa:męh
kūtq̥sk̥r̥t... 
d-u-d-ikyuhkw-uwâ:nč-h
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-crowd-large-STAT
kuyutq̥shkwre:ht

(of) cattle'

Someone came along the road, driving a herd of cattle.
TN:29:267:31-38

333
Note that in 392 the addition of the Progressive to a Stative form allows it to appear in the Punctual and thus bear a modal prefix, the Future.

5.4.8 Past (PAST)

The Past has the meaning the name implies. The Past appears after the Habitual or Stative, but not the Punctual. The forms are -hk-, -kwa?-, -nɛ?-,-yɛh-, and -kɛnɛ?-. It is usually glossed as 'past', 'used to', or using the English past perfect 'had Xed'. The first example of the Past is the allomorph -nɛ?-, cognate with Lounsbury (1953)'s Remote-Past. Here it appears after the verb -qdi- 'make', in its Stative form -qdi-:

(393) hū=a-datē=ted-qo=di=nɛ?
    hudatē=te=rdimēh
    hud=ate=tēr=qdi=nɛ?
    MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-fort-make.STAT-PAST
    'they a palisade (fortress) had built' ('they had built a fort')
    TN:40:312:09-10

The form -hk- is shown in 394 using -dare- 'live; dwell':

(394) hēyadāre=k
    heyadārehk
    be-ya-dare-hk
    TRANS-FEM.ZOIC.sg,AGT-live.STAT-PAST
    'here many lived'
    TN:36:287:54

334
The allomorph -kwa? only appears after the Habitual\textsuperscript{95}, and is cognate with Lounsbury's Former-Past. It is demonstrated here with the Habitual form of -iḥša(y)- 'look for':

(395) ye'ẽɨcãkẽ-skwa\’
yeʔehtĩskẽ:skwa?
yeʔ-eht-ihšay-(h)eʔ-s-kwa?
1,sg,AGT-claw-look.for-DISLOC-HAB-PAST
'I clawmarks [of the bear] hunt for used to'

I used to go out and hunt for the bear's claw
TN:28:235:34

The form -kẽŋ?- is interesting in that it appears to include the allomorph -nẽ?- It also only appears after the Habitual. The example here uses the Habitual form of -drəw- 'dance':

(396) ye'drəwá'skẽ-nẽ'
yedrawá:skẽ:nẽ?
ye-draw-ahs-kẽŋ?
1,sg,AGT-dance-HAB-PAST
'I danced as a rabbit past' ('I used to dance as a rabbit)
TN:25:194:25a-26

This allomorph also only appears after s, whereas the plain -nẽ?- form does not occur after s. Because y alternates with k after s (see 2.14 Phonemic Alternations), the existence of a form with y in place of k might be inferred. Although no form *-yẽŋ?- has been found, -yẽb- does appear. In 397 the Past follows the Stative -hay- of the verb -dya- 'eat':

\textsuperscript{95}This may only be due to the dearth of examples.
(397) ...da'k  īmē-'tāye'c
   dahk    iwē:tayeh
       i-w-qt-aye-h
     PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
  'four    days in

  tēhūṭigāhā-iinēc...
 te-huti-dya-hay-yēh
 NEG-MASC,non.sg,PAT-eat-STAT-PAST
 since they eat they had'

they ate for the first time in four days
TN:37:295:44-48

The existence of -yēh- makes the allomorph -kēnē?- appear as perhaps a double Past,
sequencing -yēh- and -nē?-.

5.5 Attributives

The final set of affixes are the attributives, which can appear on either verbs or nouns.

They include the Augmentative (AUG), Diminutive (DIM), and Populative (POP).

5.5.1 Augmentative (AUG)

The Augmentative adds a meaning of importance or large size. It has the form

-kuwa-.\(^{96}\)

\(^{96}\)The Augmentative can be followed by -∅, -h, or -ʔ, apparently in free variation
with -h being the most frequent.
5.5.2 Diminutive (DIM)

The Diminutive is used for small size or young age. The form is -ʔah, as in 399

where the Diminutive is added to a verb meaning 'young':

(399) hɔmɛtsetəʔaʔ
     hɔwetsəhʔah
     h-ʔoweʔ-ʔtəhʔiʔah
     MASC,sg,AGT-person-young,STAT-DIM\
     'he is small'
     TN:27:216:16

5.5.3 Characterizer (CHAR)

The Characterizer is used to indicate characteristic features, as in this description of

when it is raining:

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97 The first part of this word is unclear. The cognate morpheme in Seneca, -kowɛ-, as in kowɛhko:wa:h 'king', is left unglossed in Chafe (1967).

98 -qwe- 'person' anomalously takes variant pronominal prefixes.
Professional habits often use the Characterizer, as in example 271, repeated here:

(400) o'dú'śka
qdúhska?
qdu-hs=ka?
"rain-HAB-CHAR"
"it is rainy"
TN:02:074:18

(401) dehátetsé'śka
dehatetsé'ska?
de-h-ate-tsé-s=ka?
SUBST-MASC.sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB-CHAR
'that he self doctor be' ('he is a doctor')
WM:116

5.5.4 Populative (POP)

Although attributives may appear on nouns or verbs according to Chafe (1967:29), they primarily appear on verbs in Wyandot. This may simply be due to the overwhelming number of verbs compared to nouns.

An exception is the Populative, -ruŋp-99, used to characterize inhabitants of an area, and frequently appearing in names of ethnic groups. It usually appears on nouns:

99The terminations are the same as for the Augmentative, except that -ʔ is the most frequent. See section 5.5.1 Augmentative.
(402) dēdē'cú·rūnq̓
  dedēhšú·runq̓?
  de-dehšu·runq?
  SUBST-hell-POP
  'that the underground is a dweller of ('underground dweller; devil')
  WM:051

(403) dēwatāyú·ru'nq̓
  dewatayú·runq̓?
  de-watayu·runq?
  SUBST-cave-POP
  'that hole in the ground or cave is a dweller (Cherokees)'
  WM:280

However, the Populative does occasionally appear on verbs in Wyandot, as in 404 where it follows the verb -ižu- 'good':

(404) 'deyé'fjú·ru'nq̓
  deyéhtžú·runq̓?
  de-ya-iht-ižu·runq?
  SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-good-POP
  'the it field or land big as a dweller' ('Prairie people')
  WM:086