

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),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,⁷⁵ and attributives at the end of the word.

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

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

⁷⁵Although temporals are optional and aspects are obligatory, they occupy the same morphological slot. Their relative ordering is complex, so in chart (98) they are represented in adjacent cells separated by a dashed line. See section 5.4 *Aspects and Temporals*.

aspects were classed by Lounsbury (1953) as *inflectional suffixes*. Here *verb stem* is simply used to indicate all verbal roots and affixes occurring after the pronominal prefix.

Reflexive	Nominal	VERB	Derivational Suffix	ASPECT	Temporal	Attributive
SEMI REFL	noun verb-NOM	verb	CAUS BEN DISLOC DISTR INCH INST UNDO	HAB PUNC STAT IMP PURP STAT.PL	PROG PAST	AUG DIM CHAR POP

Chart 98: Verb Stem Slots

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

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

Temporals are those suffixes which enhance aspect suffixes, occupying the same slot. They are often called post-aspectual suffixes, although they are not completely restricted to

appearing after the aspects. A temporal can allow multiple aspects to appear, in varying orders. The temporals include the Progressive (PROG) and Past (PAST).

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

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

5.1 Reflexives

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

5.1.1 Semireflexive (SEMI)

According to Lounsbury (1953:74), the Semireflexive (SEMI) in Oneida indicates "semi-reflexive action upon something belonging to the doer". Chafe (1967:26) adds that for the Seneca cognate the "meaning of the base immediately involves or affects the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix.... roughly comparable to the *middle voice* of some Indo-European languages". Both also indicate that the Semireflexive detransitivizes transitive verbs, and in some instances has idiosyncratic effects. In Wyandot the Semireflexive can be used to indicate action performed by the performer for the performer. In 266 the Semireflexive indicates that the performer of 'wash' is also the recipient of the action.

(266) ...ǎstè sǎáʔtāt
 astè saáʔtat
 s-(h)a-Yaʔt-a-t
 REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT
 'outside he stands

hǎkq̄rèʕsúhǎreʕ...
 hakq̄rèhsúhareh
 h-at-yq̄res-uhare-h
 MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-hand-wash-HAB
 his hands washes'

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

A second use in Wyandot is as a detransitivizer. Note that the verb *-tse-* 'cure' takes a transitive pronominal prefix, *-hayu-* 'they:somebody', in 267:

(267) ...nǎhǎrí·wíʕa·
 naharí:wíhša:
 n-a-ha-rihw-ihša:
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-law-look.for.PUNC
 now he enquires

hatijǎyúríhùʔt̄e	nq̄néʔ
hatizǎyúríhùʔt̄e	nq̄néʔ
hati-Yayu-rihw-uʔt̄e	
how-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-law-kind.STAT	
what their customs	when

ǎh̄q̄t̄e·táhaʔ
 ah̄q̄t̄e:táhaʔ
 a-hq̄-at̄e-ta-haʔ
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC
 they onebody hire

dǎhà·yútsɛ̃ː...
 dahà:yútsɛ̃h
 d-a-hayu-tɛ̃-h
 PART-FACT-MASC,non.sg:FEM.IND,sg,AGT-cure-PUNC
 that they doctor' ('they cure people')

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

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

(268) ...'da·é̃) à·rūrɛ̃hə̃)
 da:é̃? à:rurɛ̃hə̃?
 a-r-urɛ̃-hə̃?
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-find-PUNC
 'that one he found out

dè·rǒmɛ̃ː	hǎtɛ̃ːtsɛ̃ːs
dè:rǒwéh	hatɛ̃tsɛ̃hs
de-r-ǒwe-h	h-ate-tɛ̃-hs
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN	MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB
the he person	he doctors

hǎtǎ̃)úː	yǎrehǒː'ga)
hàta?úh	yarihǒdya?
	ya-rihw-ǒdi-a?
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-law-make-PUNC
what is it	the cause

duːcatúha)
 duhšatúha?
 d-u-hšatur-ha?
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT
 that she is sick

dě yawì·nò'...
 de yawì:nòh
 ya-winò-h
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT
 the she is young'

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

TN:34:282:29-38

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

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

(269)	...ūwaʔhəʔʔrəʔ	tūhusá·reʔ
	uwaʔhá:ʔrəʔ	tuhusá:reʔ
		tu-h-usa-r-e-ʔ
		REM-TRANS-REP.FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC
	'another one	there back he goes

kānò'cǎéʔ
 kanòhšǎéʔ
 t-ya-nòhš-a-Yɛ-ʔ
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-house-JOIN-have-STAT
 the house to

āhātārōtqʷ
ahātārōtqʷ?
a-h-at-arōtq-ʷ?
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-ask-PUNC
he asks

ˈdɑːʷtɑːrɑː
dɑːʷtɑːrɑː?
daʔtar-aʔ
bread-NOUN
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 *-ate-* and *-at-*. The allomorph

-ate- occurs before most consonants, including y (examples 270 - 272):

(270) ...túʷ āhákɣɣʷ
 túh ahákɣɣʷ?
 a-h-at-Yɣ-ʷ?
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-sit.down-PUNC
 'there he sits

āhatēdáʷtsānɛːcrqʷ...
ahatedáʷtsanɛːšrɔʷ?
a-h-ate-daʷts-a-nɛšrɔ-ʷ?
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) **dɛhātētšɛʷskaʷ**
dɛhatetsɛʷskaʷ?
dɛ-h-ate-tšɛ-ʷs-kaʷ?
SUBST-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-cure-HAB-CHAR
'that he self doctor be' ('he is a doctor')
WM:116

⁷⁶Anomalous missing pronominal prefix.

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

The allomorph *-at-* appears before vowels and *r* (examples 273 - 275):

- (273) ...nę^ć tūsawātá^ʼˀtātò^ćcra^ć
 nęh tusawatáʔtatòhšrah
 t-usa-w-at-aʔtatòhs-r-ah
 DU-REP.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-SEMI-basket-put.away-PUNC
 'now there again she basket takes

nāhú^ćsķq^ʼˀcra^ć
 nahúhskyqʔšrah
 n-a-hu-hskyq-ʔšr-ah
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-love-DISLOC-PUNC
 now she (to) him goes to make love

deyu^ćcáhárę^ʼt
 deyuhšáháręt

the Y. (n.)

e·jārá^ʼˀse^ʼ...
 e:žaráʔseʔ
 e-:ž-araʔse-ʔ
 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

(276) ...cihí aʼyǎkwɛ́n̄diháʼ
 šihi aʼyakwɛ́diháʼ
 aʼ-y-at-wɛ́d-ihá-ʼ
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-SEMI-voice-shout-PUNC
 'from a long distance I shouted to

yǎrɛ́hɛ́tsiʼs
 yarɛ́hɛ́tsihs
 ya-rɛ́h-etsi-hs
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree.top-long-STAT.PL
 the trees tall

kǎʼhitó·ñɔʼ
 karhitó:nyɔʼ
 t-ya-rhi-t-(h)ɔnyɔ-ʼ
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT
 where trees stand many

tú·diʼ kadüróʼ...
 tú:diʼ kaduróʼ
 t-ya-durɔ-ʼ
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-difficult-STAT
 there to the difficult places'

For those to whom I have shouted, from a distance, 'Here is my face!' were only the tall pine trees in the woods and the steep hills.
 TN:28:242:45-50

(277) ...daéʼ ahákaturí
 daéʼ ahákyaʼtu:ri
 a-h-at-Yaʼt-uri
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-body-cover.PUNC
 'that one he his body covered

de	ḱātóṣkwěroʔt	yăgó·həʔ...
de	kyutóṣkwerqht	⁷⁷
(with) the	the cattle	its skin'

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

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

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

- (278) ...nĕwáʔtuʔ nɛʕ
newáʔtuʔ nɛh
'once more now

săhɔmăkóʕcütădi·haʔ
sahɔwakóhšutădi:haʔ
s-a-hɔw-at-yqhš-ut-a-di-haʔ
REP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC
again one body (to) him shows (his) face (invites)

dù·săjé·ⁿdrăwaʕ...
dù:săžé:drawah
d-u:sa-Ye-draw-ah
PART-OPT.REP-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-dance-PUNC
that again one-body dances⁷⁸

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

⁷⁷For the reason for the missing phonemicization of this word, see section 2.10 *Further Notes on g*.

⁷⁸It is not clear why *Y* appears as *ž* here, instead of *ø*

In 279 the *t* and *y* (-*yɛ*- 'see') merge into *k*:

(279) ...ayǎkɛ̃ ^ʔ se ^ʔ	dè:	skát	sá ^ʔ da·mɛ̃ ^ʔ ...
ayakɛ̃:ʔseh	dè:	skát	sá ^ʔ da:wɛ̃h
ay-at-yɛ-ʔs-eh			sa-ʔd-awɛ-h
1,sg,PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP			2,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT
'I want to see (let me see it)	that	one	thee arrow hast

Let me see your arrow!

TN:26:202:57-60

The allomorph *-atɛ-* appears before some *d* and *t* roots.⁷⁹ In 280 *-atɛ-* appears before *d* (-*dinq*- 'buy') while in 281 before *t* (-*tɛr*- 'fort'):

(280) ...nɛ̃ ^ʔ	hūmɛ̃ ^ʔ ·gè·ri ^ʔ
nɛ̃h	huwɛ̃:dyè:rih
	hu-wɛ̃dyeri-h
	MASC,sg,PAT-willing-STAT
now	he was content

tūhǎ ^ʔ ·rǎ ^ʔ	sahāró·māwa ^ʔ
tuhǎ ^ʔ rǎ ^ʔ ?	saharó:wawa ^ʔ
	s-a-ha-rǎw-a-w-a ^ʔ
	REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-remove-JOIN-CAUS-PUNC
that is all (therefrom)	back he went

dǎé ^ʔ	ahǎtɛ̃ ^ʔ ·dinq ^ʔ
daé ^ʔ ?	ahátɛ̃:dinqh
	a-h-atɛ-dinq-h
	FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-buy-PUNC
that one	he it had traded

⁷⁹If this allomorph only appeared before *d*-stems, it would be possible to analyze the nasality of *ɛ̃* as spreading phonetic nasalization from *d*, eliminating this allomorph in favor of *-ate-*. However, this would not account for *t*-stems.

daʔkǎtrāhaʔ	dě	kǔtǒʔskwěrqʔt...
daʔkyátrahaʔ	de	kyutǒʔhskwerqht
d-aʔ-ky-atra-haʔ		
PART-FACT-1,IN,dl,AGT-meet-PUNC		
when they two met	the	ox'

Now the boy was willing to barter his ox [with the stranger].
TN:27:222:05-15

- (281) dētũʔdatǎtǎtǎ·rǒʔdǐʔ
 detudatǎtǎtǎ:rǒdih
 de-t-(h)ud-atǎ-tǎr-ǒdi-h
 SUBST-CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-SEMI-fort-make-STAT
 'that both (vague duality) they (m.pl.) self palisade to make' ('they built a fort')
 WM:285

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

- (282) ...ũnéʔ ũteñǎʔdǐʔcǎʔʔ
 unǎh utenyǎdǐhšǎʔih
 u-ate-nyǎdihš-a-ʔ-ih
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-finish-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
 'now she had finished

ũtǒtǎrǒʔ·dǐʔ...
 utǒtǎrǒʔ:dih
 [u]-at-ǒtar-ǒdi-h
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-lake-make-STAT
 she lake made'

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

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

(283) ...nɛʔ nɔmá:ʔaɗeʔ ǎháti·'drà·waʔ
 nɛh nɔwá:ʔdeʔ aháti:drà:waʔ
 a-hati-draw-aʔ
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-dance-PUNC
 now this time they dance began

dīyárhíʔ
 diyárhíʔ
 di-ya-rhi-ʔ
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN
 around the tree

ǎhótètà·seʔ...
 ahótètà:seʔ
 a-h[ɔ]-ate-tase-ʔ
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-go.around-PUNC
 they went around'

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

For *-ate-* there is *-te-*, in this word from example 267, where the masculine plural patient *-hɔ-* overrides the beginning of the Semireflexive.

- (284) **ǎhǒtɛːtáhaʔ**
ahǒtɛːtáhaʔ
a-hǒ-atɛ-ta-haʔ
FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-hire-PUNC
'they onebody hire' ('they hire people')
TN:34:279:49

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

- (285) **...ahǔkwɛːndíháʔtɛʔ**
ahukwɛːdiháhtɛʔ
a-hu-at-wɛd-iha-ht-ɛ-ʔ
FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-voice-shout-CAUS-BEN-PUNC
'she him scolds

de **hǔdúʔmɛʔ**
de **hudúʔwɛh**
hu-duʔwɛ-h
MASC,sg,PAT-mother-NOUN
the **his mother**

de **rǒmɛnɛʔtiʔ...**
de **rǒwenyɛhtiʔ**
r-qwe-nyɛhti-ʔ
MASC,sg,AGT-person-young-STAT
the **he is young'**

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

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

Further Notes on y), leaving just **-a-**. Combined with certain A-stem pronominal prefixes that overlap **a**, the Semireflexive is essentially removed from the surface structure. In 286 the

t is merged with the *y* of the verb, while *a* is covered by the pronominal prefix, hence a \emptyset allomorph.

- (286) ...nĕ ħhũ^hdatĕrú^hsta^h "dàε^h
 nĕ ahudatĕrúhsta^h dàε^h
 a-hud-at-ĕru-hst-a^h
 FACT-MASC,pl,PAT-SEMI-friend-INCH-PUNC
 'now they became friends the one

ħħúka·rà^htāt
 ħħúka:rà^htāt
 ħ-a-hu-at-yarat-a-ht
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-look.after-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
 he (after) him looked

de· rǝmé^h
 de: rǝwéh
 r-qwe-h
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
 the he person

ħhúka·ra^htāt...
 ahúka:rahtat
 a-h[u]-at-yarat-a-ht
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-look.after-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
 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.

TN:13:119:38-45

Two additional less frequent allomorphs are *-ĕ-* and *-ĕd-*. In 287 the Semireflexive takes the form *-ĕd-* before *-ikwar-* 'quilt':

(287)	...nɛ	ahɛhaq'	sɛ' dɪ'kwārù·rɪ'...
	nɛ	ahɛhaq'?	sɛdɪ:kwarù:rih
		a-hɛ-ihaq-?	s-ɛd-ikwar-uri-h
		FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC	2,sg,PAT-SEMI-quilt-cover-IMP
	'now	he said	thou quilts put over (thee)'

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

In 288 the Semireflexive is -ɛ- (-nɔhs'- 'house'):

(288)	...tɛnɛnɔ'stɛ·yɛ'	daɔmɔ'
	tenɛnɔhstɪ:yɛh	daɔwa?
	te-n-ɛ-nɔhs-diy-ɛh	
	DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-house-close-STAT	
	'they two have houses close to	that herself only

há'rá'	tù·dɪ'íyɛ'	dūwe'sá'ndɪ'...
há'rá'?	tù:di'íyɛh	duwehsá'dih
		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
 TN:27:234:59-235:01

The conditioning factors for these two rare allomorphs are unclear.

5.1.2 Reflexive (REFL)

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

the Reflexive has two primary functions: a) reciprocity, and b) a more intense, total effect on the undergoer than the Semireflexive.

The first is shown with *-yɛ-* 'see':

- (289) ...nɔ·nɛʔ kãtsi·skwa·óʔ
 nɔ:nɛʔ katsi:skwa:óʔ
 ka-tsi-skwa-Yɔ-ʔ
 CISLOC-REP-2,pl,AGT-arrive-IMP
 'now then here you come back

tětsikãtátěyɛʔ...
 tetsikyatátěyɛʔ
 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 *ahátatɔ̀:dyáʔ* 'he transformed himself' uses the Reflexive on the verb *-ɔdi-* 'make'.

- (290) ...tutãyãʔ*ɣó·craʔ
 tutayãʔɣó:šrah
 t-uta-ya-ʔdyɔhšr-a-hkw
 DU-CISLOC.FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hammer-JOIN-take.PUNC
 'there she a hammer picked up

dě yɛ·ric
 de yɛ:riš
 yɛ-iriš
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-lion
 the lion's

hù ^u ngó ^c crāmē ^c	de
hù [?] dyóhšrawēh	de
hu- [?] dyóhšr-awē-h	
MASC,sg,PAT-hammer-have-STAT	
he maul has	the
yǎá [?] tǎyó ^c tsi ^c	tú ^c
yaá [?] tayēhtsih	túh
ya-Ya [?] t-a-yēhtsi-h	
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-old-STAT	
she is old	there
à [?] yá [·] wǎ [?] è	tsi [·] nq [·] má [?]
à [?] yá:wa [?] è	tsi: [?] nq:wá [?]
a [?] -ya-wa [?] e	
FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-hit.PUNC	
she hits	a worm
ǎhá [?] tatò [·] 'ga [?] ...	
ahá [?] tatò:dya [?]	
a-h-atat-qdi-a [?]	
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-REF-make-PUNC	
he self had transformed'	

The witch then took hold of her "lion" club and struck hard, without avail as Tatenri'a had now changed himself into a worm.

TN:23:177:54-178-07

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

(291)	...nē ^c	tù [·] 'd [?]	ahá [?] te ^c crq [·] 'ga [?]
	nēh	tù:dí [?]	ahá [?] tehšrōdya [?]
			a-h-ate-hšrōdi-a [?]
			FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-make-PUNC
	'now	also	he gets ready

de	tǎtǝrʔa [◌]		cí·
de	tatǝrʔah		ší:
	t-(h)-atǝr-i-ʔah		
	CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-left-STAT-DIM		
the	one left		yonder
há·re [◌]		yǎhárʔye [◌] ...	
há:reh		yahárʔyeh	
h-a-r-e-h		ya-harh-ʔyeh	
TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PUNC		FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-woods-LOC	
he goes		the woods in'	

Tatenri'a then went to the woods to prepare himself for the game.
TN:23:180:44-51

Notice that with the Semireflexive instead of the Reflexive the sense is just that of getting ready.

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

(292)	...ǎ [◌]	nɔ [◌] dá·ɛ [◌]	dǎñǝtatrǝjú [◌] (ta)...
	ǎh	nɔdǎ:eʔ	dinyɔtatrǝjúhtaʔ
			di-Yɔ-atat-rižu-ht-aʔ
			PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-REF-kill-INST-HAB
'no	the same (it is)		that onebody commits murder with'

[the charms] could not be designed for injuring anybody
TN:21:158:22-24

When the Semireflexive is used instead the resultant meaning is simply one of fighting:

yè:ja·jú'ska'
 yè:ža:žúhska?
 e-ža-žu-hs-ka?
 FUT-MASC,sg:2,sg-kill-HAB-CHAR
 will he thou kill surely⁸¹

dajārá'ase'
 dažará'seh
 d-až-ara'se-h
 SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-cousin-STAT
 my cousin'

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

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

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

(295) a'ʔtótātè·yɛʔ
 aʔtótātè:yɛʔ
 aʔ-t-(h)q-atate-yɛ-ʔ
 FACT-DU-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-see-PUNC
 'they reach other saw' ('they saw each other')
 TN:24:193:60

Finally, after *q* or *u* and before *Y* the form *-ak-* appears:

⁸¹Anomalous use of Future with Habitual.

⁸²Although no examples of *-atate-*, as opposed to *-tate-*, appear before *r*, presumably this is just a gap in the data and is an allowable combination.

(296) ...dūṣahātʰiŋgāyɛ̄·həʔ
 duṣahatiʔdyayɛ̄:haʔ
 d-usa-hati-ʔd-Yayɛ̄-haʔ
 PART-REP.FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-X-go.out-PUNC
 'that again they escaped'

dāhòtākɛ̄ʔəʔ...
 dehòtakɛ̄ʔah
 de-hò-atat-Yɛ̄ʔah
 SUBST-MASC,pl,AGT-REF-child.STAT
 'that they are relatives'

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

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

5.2 Nominal Position

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

(297) ...tūdɛ̄ʔcaʔ āhāáʔkɔʔ...
 tudɛ̄ʔšaʔ ahaáʔkyɔʔ
 a-ha-Yaʔt-Yɔ-ʔ
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-arrive-PUNC
 'therein he her brought (in)'

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

In 298 *-ʔdahkw-* 'drum' is incorporated into *-aʔe-* 'hit':

(298) ...sáʔtat	hāhə·teʔ
sáʔtat	hahə:teʔ
s-(h)a-Yaʔt-a-t	ha-hət-eʔ
REP-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-stand.STAT	MASC,sg,AGT-lead-HAB
'one of them	he leads

hùⁿdaʔkwāʔéhākeʔ...
 hùʔdahkwaʔéhakyeʔ
 hu-ʔdahkw-aʔe-h-akye-ʔ
 MASC,sg,PAT-drum-hit-STAT-PROG-STAT
 he the drum goes on beating'

their leader was beating the drum
 TN:03:076:07-09

In order to break up consonant clusters, the joiner vowel (JOIN) *-a-* is inserted between the noun and following verb. In 299 *-a-* is inserted between the noun *-Yaʔt-* 'body' and the verb *-du-* 'cold':

(299) ...āhāá'ta·du'ṣt
 ahaá?ta:duhst
 a-ha-Ya?t-a-du-hst
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-body-JOIN-cold-INCH.PUNC
 'his body was cold

tu'tú'	nq ⁿ dāé'	hī ⁿ dá·ta·ḡ'
tuhtú?	nqdaé?	hidá:ta:ḡ?
		hi-dat-a-Yḡ-?
		MASC,dl,AGT-camp-JOIN-have-STAT
there	just so	they camped

hāhá'^agārà's
 hahá?dyarà?ṣ
 h-a-ha-dyara-?ṣ
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-help-BEN.PUNC
 he her helped

a·játēya't...
 a:žáteyaht
 a-:ž-atey-a-ht
 FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-burn-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
 they two a fire built'

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

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

(300) ... hù· ⁿ dāté·) ^a mḡ'	de
hù:daté:ʔwḡh	de
hud-ateʔw-ḡh	
MASC,non.sg,PAT-run.away-STAT	
'they escaped	the

yārǝ·täyǝʕ
yarǝ:tayǝh
ya-rǝt-a-yǝ-h
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-JOIN-in-STAT
it log inside

yārǝtäǝtǝʕtraʕ...
yarǝtatǝʕtraʕ
ya-rǝt-a-tǝhtr-aʕ
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 *-ʔdiyǝr-* 'sense' precedes *-hšǝ-* 'eat', as in 301, again the Joiner is added:

(301) **ahùʕʔdiyǝ·ráʕǝʕ**
ahùʕdiyǝ:ráhšǝʕʕ
a-hu-ʔdiyǝr-a-hšǝ-ʕʕ
FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-sense-JOIN-eat-PUNC
'he mind is troubled'
TN:29:258:31

The nominal position can also contain a nominalized verb. In this case a verb root is followed by the Nominalizer (NOM), which is in turn followed by another verb. The Nominalizer has three allomorphs, *-hšr-*, *-hš-*, and *-šr-*.⁸³ In 302 the Nominalizer form *-hšr-* is added to the verb *-tǝ-* 'hire' before the latter is incorporated into the verb *-ihšǝy-* 'look for'.

⁸³The *r*-less allomorph is probably due to the disappearing *r* phenomenon, and the *h*-less form due to Barbeau's inconsistency with laryngeals (see chapter 2: *Phonology*).

(302) **yěta'críćá'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.⁸⁴ In 303 the noun root *-Yaʔt-* 'body' is incorporated into the verb *-ta-* 'hire' (with a Joiner as well).

(303) **dēhuḱaʔtātá'crōmę'**
 dehukyaʔtātáhšrawęh
 de-hu-at-Yaʔt-a-ta-hšr-awę-h
 SUBST-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-body-JOIN-hire-NOM-have-STAT
 'the he hired hand has' ('he has a hired hand')
 TN:23:170:50-51

This incorporation is schematized in 304:

(304)	-Yaʔt-	+	-ta-		
	body		hire		
	noun		verb	=	verb complex

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) -Yaʔtata- + -hšr-
 body-hire NOM
 verb complex derivational affix = noun complex

This entire structure is then incorporated into another verb, -awę- 'have', as in 306:

(306) -Yaʔtatahšr- + -awę-
 hired body have
 noun complex verb = verb complex

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

5.3 Derivational Suffixes

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

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

5.3.1 Inchoative (INCH)

The Inchoative indicates a change of state of one sort or another and has the forms *-hst-*,⁸⁶ *-st-*, and *-ɸ-*. The first is shown in 307, where *-hst-* follows the verb *-wey-* 'marry'.

(307) ...skaaʔtat	háʔrąʔ	tąʔą
skaaʔtat	háʔrąʔ	tąʔ
s-ya-Yaʔt-a-t		
REP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-stand		
'one	only	no
těhà·júʔ	daɛʔ	nɔʔdaéʔ
tehà:žíʔ	daeʔ	nɔdaéʔ
te-ha-žu-ʔ		
NEG-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-STAT		
not he killed	that one	that it is
ahiwé·(staʔ		
ahiwé:hstaʔ		
a-hi-wey-hst-aʔ		
FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-marry-INCH-PUNC		
they two got married		
dejäteʔyɛʔá·haʔ...		
dežateʔyɛʔá:haʔ		
de-ž-ate-ʔyɛʔaha-ʔ		
SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-sibling-STAT		
the they two are brother and sister'		

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

⁸⁶The cognates for the form *-hst-* in other Iroquoian languages are not the Inchoative, but rather the Causative and Instrumental (Oneida: Lounsbury 1953; Wendat: Lagarde 1980), or the Causative-Instrumental (Seneca: Chafe 1967). Evidence that *-hst-* is the Inchoative and not the Causative in Wyandot are given later in this section.

Compare *hiwé:hsta?* 'they two got married' in 307 to a similar form without the Inchoative, in 308, where only the state of being together or married is indicated by the form *hiwé:y* 'they two live together', without the "become" sense of the Inchoative.

(308) ...tuʔ kɛ́ǣʔdi iyaá·tuʔteʔ
 tuʔ kɛ́adi iyaá:ʔtuʔtɛh
 i-ya-Yaʔt-uʔtɛ-h
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-body-kind-STAT
 'there almost it is body-like (resembles)

dě kwayáwánɛʔ
 de kwayúwánɛh
 t-wa-yuwanɛ-h
 CISLOC-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-large-STAT
 the she is large elder

de	hǣʔdǣʔwaʔ	hiwé·y...
de	hadǣʔwah	hiwé:y
	ha-daʔw-ah	hi-vey
	MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN	MASC,dl,AGT-marry.STAT
that	he is cotton-like	they two live together'

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

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

A form with the Inchoative (excerpted from example 286) indicates the inception of friendship. In 309 a form with the Inchoative appears for the verb *-at-ɛru-* 'be friends', with the sense of "become".

(309) **ǎhũⁿdatḗrú^ʼsta^ʼ**
ahudatḗrúhsta^ʼ
a-hud-at-ḗru-hst-a^ʼ
FACT-MASC,pl,PAT-SEMI-friend-INCH-PUNC
'they became friends'
TN:13:119:39-40

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

(310) **...nḗ hətḗⁿdu^ʼtq^ʼ**
nḗ hətḗdu:tq^ʼ
h-atḗdutq-^ʼ
MASC,sg,AGT-speak-PUNC
'now he (to) her spoke

tsīgá^ʼka^ʼ
tsidyá:kah
tsi-dyakah
2,dl-marry.IMP
(for) them (to) live together (marry)⁸⁷

nqñáⁿtḗru^ʼ
nqnyátḗru^ʼ
n-qny-at-ḗru-^ʼ
SUBST-1,dl,PAT-SEMI-friend-STAT
my friend

tūñtāwⁿdī^ʼa^ʼ...
tunyētawⁿdī^ʼah

T.(n.)'

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

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

⁸⁷Although glossed as 'them' the pronominal prefix is second dual.

Additionally, it is the *-st-* allomorph.⁸⁸ Lack of an Inchoative in 312 leaves a simple stative sense.

(311) ahūdú'asta'
 ahudú'asta?
 a-hu-du?a-st-a?
 FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-stepson-INCH-PUNC
 'he became a son (or stepfather)

hāmɛ'ʔtsɛ'ti'ʔa'
 hɔwɛ'ʔtsɛhti'ʔah
 h-qwe-ʔtsɛhti-ʔah
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM
 he small boy

nɛ'	nɛ'dáɛ'	hūri·wi'cá·ɛ'
nɛh	nɛdáɛ?	huri:wihšá:h
		hu-rihw-ihša
		MASC,sg,PAT-law-look.for.STAT
now	exactly	he plan has made

ndáhūcu' ^u	hūskwá·hɛ...
dáhužu?	huskwá:hɛ
d-a-hu-žu-ʔ	hu-hskwaɛ
SUBST-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-kill-PUNC	MASC,sg,PAT-hate.STAT
that he him kills	he him hates'

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

(312) ...nɛ'ndāɛ'	hātsɛ'tādís
nɛ:daé?	hatsɛhtadís
	ha-tsɛht-a-di-s
	MASC,sg,AGT-eat-JOIN-BEN-HAB
'now that one	he him feeds

⁸⁸As with other morphemes, the *h*-less allomorph may be just an artifact of Barbeau's transcriptions.

dāi·jú ^Ꞁ	dě	hù ^Ꞁ skwáhę ^Ꞁ
dai:žúh	de	hùhskwáhęh
		hu-hskwahę-h
		MASC,sg,PAT-hate-STAT
that is why	that	she him dislikes

dě	hùdú ^Ꞁ a ^Ꞁ
de	hùdú?ah
	hu-du?a-h
	MASC,sg,PAT-stepson-STAT
the	stepson'

[she hated him because he kept feeding that animal]
 TN:27:213:20-26

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

(313) ...nę^Ꞁ ú^Ꞁta^Ꞁwà^Ꞁstá^Ꞁ
 nęh ú^Ꞁ?ta^Ꞁ?wà^Ꞁhstá?
 u-ita?w-a-hst-a?
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-JOIN-INCH-STAT
 'now she got sleeping

tīdèhērę ^Ꞁ	iyā ^Ꞁ "dá ^Ꞁ "tāwà ^Ꞁ sti ^Ꞁ ...
tidèheręh	iyadá?tawàhstih
	i-ya-da?t-a-wahst-ih
	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-coach-JOIN-good-STAT
that much	her couch is good'

Her coach was so comfortable to be in that she soon fell asleep.
 TN:22:166:49-53

(314) ...ayātraʼ^askwáʼti^ʕ
 ayatraʼskwáhtih
 ay-atraʼskw-a-ht-ih
 1,sg,PAT-dream-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
 'I dreamt

daʕcɛʕk	imɛʼtāye ^ʕ
dahšɛhk	iwɛʔtayeh
d-ahšɛhk	i-w-ɛt-aye-h
SUBST-three	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
that three	days

u·táʼ^awi^ʕ...
 u:táʔwih
 u-itaʔw-ih
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sleep-STAT
 'would she be sleeping'

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

5.3.2 Causative (CAUS)

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

(315) teyahqʔtadí·yɛ^ʕ
 teyahqhtadí:yɛh
 te-y-ahqht-a-diy-ɛh
 DU-1,sg,AGT-ear-JOIN-close-STAT
 'both my ears are close together'
 WD:NR:062

hu'cātúha'	nɔ'dǎé'	dǎi-wé-y'...
huhšatúha?	nɔdaé?	dai:wé:y
hu-hšatu(r)-ha?		d-ai-vey
MASC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT		SUBST-1,EX,dl,AGT-marry.STAT
he is sick	the very one	the my spouse'

No, this is not he; for he is sick, my husband
 TN:28:252:18-22

With the Causative added this becomes 'make sick':

(318) ...nɛ' awákɔtɛ'
 nɛh awáhɔtɛ?
 a-w-ahɔt-ɛ?
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-begin-PUNC
 'that she began

ǎ>wātāté'cātùrá't...
 a?watatéhšatùráht
 a?-w-atate-hšatur-a-ht
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-REFL-sick-JOIN-CAUS.PUNC
 she herself makes sick'

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

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

This can be seen in 319, where *-ɔdu-* 'rain' is followed by the Causative *-st-*.

- (319) ...tsijútq' hãqdüstihãke'
 tsižútq' haqdustihakye?
 ha-qdu-st-ih-akye-?
 MASC,sg,PAT-rain-CAUS-STAT-PROG-STAT
 'Ts.(name) he rain is making'

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

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

- (320) ...tũ hãhã·q'
 tu hãhã:q'
 h-a-ha-Yq-?
 TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC
 'there he goes in

tahãta·se ^ç	daijju ^ç
tahãta:seh	daižúh
t-a-h-atahse-h	
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-hide-PUNC	
there he hides	because

dĩñq^ç 'dú's...
 dinyqdúhs
 di-y-qdu-hs
 PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-rain-HAB
 it is raining'

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

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

- (321) ...^hdehè:ré^h a^hsákà^hkwa^h...
 dehè:réh a^hsákà^hhkwa^h?
 a^h?-s-akaht-w-a^h?
 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^hyq^htrí:wàka^hkwa^h?
 a^h?yq^htrí:wàkahkwa^h?
 a^h?-yq-at-rihw-akaht-w-a^h?
 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 *-ʔt-*.⁹⁰ The first allomorph is shown in 323, following the verb *-raʔtə-* 'fletch', in a reference to trimming arrows:

(323) ...teʔsǎʔtáʔsǎʔdǐʔ
teʔsaʔtáʔsǎʔdǐʔ
teʔ-sa-Yǎta-ʔse-di-h
NEG-2,sg,PAT-have-BEN-BEN-STAT
'no hast thou any left'⁹¹

daʔcǎtè-raʔtǎʔkwaʔt...
dahšatè:raʔtǎʔkwaht
d-a-hš-ate-raʔtǎʔhkw-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:

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

⁹¹Note the unusual instance of a double Benefactive.

- (324) ...ḁʰ dǎɛʰ téʰyɛʰ kwɛʰkwɛʰkwɛʰ
 ḁh daeʰ téʰyɛh kwɛhkwɛhkwɛʰ
 teʰ-y-ɛ-h
 NEG-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT
 'no that one not it is woodcock
- nò·daéʰ ùhò·ráʰ
 nò:daéʰ uhò:ráʰ
 u-hqhr-aʰ
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN
 that one his feather
- déʰcaʰ tsǎmɛhúhiʰ
 déʰsaʰ tsawɛhúhiʰ
 this (other) one eagle
- ùhò·ráʰ* yà·raʰ*tóʰkwiʰ...
 uhò:ráʰ yà:raʰ?tóʰkwiʰ
 u-hqhr-aʰ ya-raʰ?tq-hkw-iʰ
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-quill-NOUN FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-fletch-INST-STAT
 his feather it is feathered with'

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

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

- (325) ...da·éʰ èʰce·ráʰt
 da:éʰ èhše:ráʰt
 e-hš-Yeraʰt
 FUT-2,sg,AGT-use.PUNC
 'that one must thou use
- dèʰcǎte·ráʰ*tqʰ
 dèhšate:ráʰ?tqʰ
 d-e-hš-ate-raʰ?tq-ʰ
 PART-FUT-2,sg,AGT-SEMI-fletch-PUNC
 that will thou feather fix on to

da·éʼ	dīsa·éʼ	de
da:éʼ?	disa:éʼ?	de
	di-sa-Yə-ʼ?	
	PART-2,sg,PAT-have-STAT	
that one	that thou hast	the

tsāmḡhú·hiʼ	yǎngéʼraʼ	
tsawḡhú:hiʼ?	yadyéʼraʼ?	
	ya-dyar-aʼ?	
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tail-NOUN	
eagle	its tail	

túʼ	èʼcīhəʼrūdawaʼ	
túh	èhšəhərudawaʼ?	
	e-hšə-həhr-udaw-aʼ?	
	FUT-2,sg,AGT-quill-pull-PUNC	
there at	must thou quills pull off	

dèʼcrá·ʼtəʼ
dèhšrá:ʼtəʼ?
d-e-hš-raʼtəʼ-ʼ?
PART-FUT-2,sg,AGT-fletch-PUNC
that thou feather fixest

dúʼⁿdaʼ...
dúʼdaʼ?
d-u-ʼd-aʼ?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-arrow-NOUN
the arrows'

For the feathering, pull quills from the tail of the eagle which you own, and use them to fix the arrows.

TN:21:154:57-155:13

The Instrumental also has the shape *-ht-*. The bare form *-rižu-* 'kill' is shown in 326:

- (326) ε'crŋjù'
 ehšrižù?
 e-hš-rižu-?
 FUT-2,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC
 'will thou her kill' ('you will kill her')
 WM:128

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

- (327) dāñōtatrījú'ta'
 dinyōtatrīžúhta?
 di-Yq-atat-rižu-ht-a?
 PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-REF-kill-INST-HAB
 'that onebody commits murder with'

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

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

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

(328) ...tè'cātó·'nēwā' nē
 tēhšató:tewah ne
 t-e-hš-ətətew-ah
 DU-FUT-2,sg,AGT-run.against-PUNC
 'must thou him run against the

hāsò·'gá's...
 hasò:dyáhs
 ha-s-ədi-ahs
 MASC,sg,AGT-bowl-make-HAB
 he makes bowls'

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

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

(329) ...na·rūnó'tsiskā' cì'
 na:runóhtsiskya? ših
 n-a-ru-nəhtsi?r-sky-a?
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-cut.off-PUNC
 'now he his head takes off away (yonder)

harūnó'ts'i'rəti' de
 harunəhtsi?rəti? de
 ha-ru-nəhtsi?r-əti-?
 TRANS-MASC,sg:MASC,sg-head-pitch-STAT
 he his head threw away the

yārhi'təñó' tú·
 yarhi'təñó? tú:
 ya-rhi-t-(h)əñə-?
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-stand-DISTR-STAT
 trees stand many (a grove) there

həʔútsiʔkù·tɛʔ
 haʔútsihkù:tɛʔ
 h-aʔ-u-tsihk-ut-ɛʔ
 TRANS-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-knot-stick.up-PUNC
 it... a knot (on a tree) became

hɛhəqʔ	tǎtɛri·ʔaʕ
hɛhaqʔ	tatɛri:ʔah
hɛ-ihaq-ʔ	
MASC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC	
he said	the one left

hɔtɛsqʔgáʔta
 hɔtesqdyáʔta
 hɔ-ate-s-qdi-a-ʔt-a
 MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-bowl-make-JOIN-INST-HAB
 they body bowl make with

dǎwɛʕskwáʕkeʕ	ʔqmɛʕ
dawɛhskwáhkeh	qweh
	[q]-qwe-h
	FEM.IND,sg,AGT-person-NOUN
in the future (afterwards)	the ones

ɔtó·ʔdeʔ...
 ɔtó:deʔ
 [q]-aʔtɔ-d-iʔ
 FEM.IND,sg,AGT-possible-BEN-STAT
 onebody becoming

And cutting the gambler's head off, he threw it away to the woods. The head became a large knot on a tree. Tatenri'a said, "The people thereafter shall make bowls for the stone game out of this kind of knot."

TN:23:182:51-183:08

5.3.4 Undoer (UN)

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

(330) *dēya·rəʔdī·ñqʔt*

deya:radí:nyqht

de-ya-ra-dinyqht

SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-bag-hang.STAT

'the it bag hangs (up)' ('the bag is hanging up')

WM:229

(331) *...teʔyé·he·*

teʔyé:he:

teʔ-y-ehe-:

NEG-1,sg,AGT-think-STAT

'don't I want to

ajáyəhəqʔ

ažayəhaqʔ

až-Yayə-ihəq-?

OPT-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-say-PUNC

anybody to say

męřəʔdīñqʔt...

węradinyqht

w-er-a-dinyqht

FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-moss-hang.STAT

it moss hangs'

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

TN:22:167:13-15

Compare them to the following examples with the Undoer added. The noun *-Yaʔt-* 'body' is incorporated in 332, while 333 incorporates *-tu(w)-* 'door'.

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) ...dǎhú'hęhǎ'
 dahúręhǎ?
 d-a?-u-ręh-ǎ?
 PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-day-PUNC
 'the next morning

hatūwadiñǎ "tǎwa"ª
 hatuwadinyǎta wa?
 ǎ-tuw-ǎ-dinyǎht-ǎ-w-ǎ?
 MASC,sg,AGT-door-JOIN-hang-JOIN-UN-PUNC
 he the door took off

sǎhá'wa'
 sahǎ'wa?
 s-ǎ-hǎ-w-ǎ?
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-take-PUNC
 back he carried

ūsahǎǎ'	de
usahǎǎ'	de
usa-hǎ-Yǎ-?	
OPT.REP-MASC,sg,AGT-arrive-PUNC	
back he came home	(to) the

hutenǎǎ'	ētrǎ "dǎǎ"...
hutenǎǎ'	etrǎǎǎ?
hu-atenǎǎ'	e-t-r-ǎǎǎ-?
MASC,sg,PAT-uncle.STAT	X-CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-live-STAT
his uncle	(to) his house'

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

All four examples use the same verb root *-dinyǎht-* 'hang', but the addition of the Undoer changes the sense to 'unhanging' or 'unhitching'.

The next example incorporates *-Yaʔt-* 'body' into *-qt-* 'tie'. Together they refer to tying something up.

(334)	...ědaʔurá·haʔ	e·ri·júʔ
	edaʔurá:haʔ	e:ri:žúʔ
	e-Ø-daʔura-haʔ	e-Ø-rižu-ʔ
	FUT-1,sg,AGT-able-PUNC	FUT-1,sg,AGT-kill-PUNC
	'will I be able	will I him kill

dehěskwá·ʔtqť...
deheskwá:ʔtqť
d-e-heskwa - Yaʔt-qt-ę
PART-FUT-2,pl:MASC,sg-body-tie-PUNC
you him tie'

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

When the Undoer is added, however, the meaning changes to untying someone:

(335) ...tā·wátq
 tā:wáʔtq
 t-a-w-aʔtq-ʔ
 CONTR-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-possible-PUNC
 'impossible'

du(śāhóka)ʔə·tāwa) ...
 dusahókyaʔə:tawaʔ
 d-usa-hq-at-Yaʔt-qt-a-w-aʔ
 PART-REP.OPT-MASC,pl,AGT-SEMI-body-tie-JOIN-UN-PUNC
 that they body unfasten'

They could not extricate themselves
 TN:37:293:64-66⁹¹

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

(336) ...tù(ħāhūwá)ʔkqʔt
 tūhahuwáʔkqht
 tu-h-a-hu-Yaʔt-yq-ht
 REM-TRANS-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-body-in-CAUS.PUNC
 'there he him placed in'

nāhātsi·ru·tqʔt
 nahātsi:ru:tqʔ
 n-a-ha-tsirut-qtʔ
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-PUNC
 that he closed (it)

⁹¹The *t* of *-Yaʔt-* is missing in Barbeau's transcription since this page of the text is missing many of the characters along the left margin. This word continued on two lines, allowing the middle of the word to be on the left margin.

'düredǎhářǣ't...
 duredahářǣt
 d-u-reda-harǣt
 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) ...nǒ:nǣ' tǎyù:kǣ'sti'
 nǒ:nǣh tǎyù:kyéhstih
 t-ayu-at-Yehst-ih
 CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-SEMI-gather-STAT
 'now then the crowd gathered

tahǎtsi:rutáwa'
 tahatsi:rutáwa?
 t-a-ha-tsirut-a-w-a?
 CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-close-UN-PUNC
 that he (it) uncorked'

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

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

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

(338) aʎé·drɛ̆
 aʎyé:drɛ̆h
 aʎ-ye-drɛ̆-h
 FACT-1,sg,AGT-tie-PUNC
 'I tie' ('I tied it')
 WD:VR:189

(339) ayeʎdrɛ̆'skaʎ
 ayeʎdrɛ̆hskaʎ
 aye-drɛ̆-hsk-aʎ
 1,sg,PAT-tie-UN-STAT
 'I untie' ('I've untied it')
 WD:VR:189

5.3.5 Distributive (DISTR)

The Distributive indicates 'several' or 'many', especially in reference to occurrences of an action. The allomorphs are *-hq-*, *-ʎʎrɔ-*, *-hqnyɔ-*, *-hʎqnyɔ-*, *-nyɔ-*, *-qnyɔ-*, and *-ʎʎrɔnyɔ-*. As may be noted, several allomorphs are apparently two iterations of the Distributive, if *-nyɔ-* is also considered an allomorph⁹². In related languages this construction is called the Double Distributive. However, since these doubled forms are the norm for Wyandot, and since *-nyɔ-* does not appear separately, they will be treated as individual allomorphs.

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

⁹²This would be expected from cognates.

(340) ...nɛʔ awātiʔcéʔcrɔʔgaʔ
 nɛh awatihšéhšrɔdyaʔ
 a-wati-hšehšr-ɔdi-aʔ
 FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-feast-make-PUNC
 'now they hold a feast

daʔutɛ·du·tɔhɔ·
 daʔutɛ:du:tɔhɔ:
 d-aʔ-u-atɛdutɔ-hɔ
 PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-speak-DISTR.PUNC
 that she her spoke

dě yòmăyuwá·nɛʔ...
 de yòwayuwá:nɛh
 yɔwa-yuwanɛ-h
 MASC,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-large-STAT
 the she person big (leader)ʔ

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 *-iʔtrɔta-* 'jump' in 341 is followed by the allomorph *-ʔšrɔ-*. Note the addition of
 'severally' to the gloss:

(341) ...túʔ haʔtɛʔdìʔtrɔtáʔcrɔʔ
 túh haʔtedìʔtrɔtáʔšrɔʔ
 h-aʔ-te-d-iʔtrɔta-ʔšrɔ-ʔ
 TRANS-FACT-DU-MASC,dl,AGT-jump-DISTR-PUNC
 'there (to) they jumped down severally (one by one)

de sǎyɛ̃'tsúwat hũkú'kwa'...
 de sayɛ̃htsúwat hukyúhkwa?
 hu-ikyuhkw-a?
 MASC,sg,PAT-crowd-NOUN
 the (n.) his crowd'

Now then, Sayentsuwat and his warriors leaped down one at a time
 TN:37:294:04-08

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

(342) ...nɛ̃' a'yɛ̃hǎɔ'
 nɛ̃h a'yɛ̃hǎɔ'
 a?-yɛ̃-ihǎɔ-?
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-say-PUNC
 'now she said

satsǎrá'skwǎhɔ̃·ñɔ̃'	ǎwé·ti'...
satsaráhskwahɔ̃:nyɔ̃?	awé:ti?
s-a-ts-arahskw-a-hɔnyɔ̃-?	
REP-FACT-2,dl-go.out-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC	
back you go many	all'

And she declared, "You may all now go back to your homes!"
 TN:26:203:09-12

The next example is adjoined to *-Yɛkw-* 'plant', using the form *-hšɔnyɔ-*, which again has the gloss 'several' added to it, referring to many different things planted:

(343) ...nɛʕ aʷwäyɛːrəʔ
 nɛh aʔwayɛːraʔ
 aʔ-wa-yɛ-raʔ
 FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-summer-put.away-PUNC
 'now it summertime is

nahíñĕkwaʕcõñòʔ...
 nahínyĕkwahšõnyòʔ
 n-a-hi-Yɛkw-a-hšõnyò-ʔ
 TEMP-FACT-MASC,dl,AGT-plant-JOIN-DISTR-PUNC
 'they two are planting several (things)'

In the spring time, they sowed the seeds of several plants in their garden.
 TN:26:197:26-29

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

(344) dĕtejätāká·nõñòʕ
 dĕtežatakýá:nõnyòh
 de-te-ž-atakya-nõnyò-h
 SUBST-DU-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-talk-DISTR-STAT
 'the he (with) him conversing several'
 TN:18:133:41-42

The verb *-hšatu(r)-* 'sick' can also be followed by the Distributive, in this case the form *-õnyò-*. In 345 sickness is spread among members of a population.

- (345) ...nɛʔ̣ əyucắtú·ròñɔʔ̣...
 nɛh ayuhšatú:rònyɔh
 ayu-hšatur-qnyɔ-h
 FEM.IND,sg,PAT-sick-DISTR-STAT
 'now they-body got sick many'

all of them fell ill with smallpox
 TN:06:096:38-9

The final allomorph is *-ʔ̣šrɔnyɔ-*, demonstrated with the verb *-w-* 'hire' in 346. In this case several doctors were hired, each one individually in turn:

- (346) ...nɛʔ̣ e·jătě "tə"̣^acròñɔʔ̣'s
 nɛh e:žatɛtə:ʔ̣šrɔnyɔhs
 e-:ž-atɛ-tə-ʔ̣šrɔnyɔ-hs
 FUT-MASC,dl,AGT-SEMI-hire-DISTR-HAB⁹³
 'now must they be hiring several in turns

de	yõmá·ʔ̣ ^a tsɛʔ̣'s	de
de	yɔwá:ʔ̣tsɛhs	de
	yɔwa-tɛ-hs	
	3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-cure-HAB	
the	they her are doctoring	the

yawí:nɔʔ̣	du'cắtúha) ^a ...
yawí:nɔh	duhšatúha?
ya-winq-h	d-u-hšatur-ha?
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pretty-STAT	SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-sick-STAT
she is young	that she is sick'

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

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 *-di-*, *-ʔs-*, *-has-*, and *-ɛ-*.

A basic use of the Benefactive is shown in example 347, where a group is receiving the law:

- (347) *sɔmɔriwaɕta^hdi^h*
sɔwariwaɕtadih
sɔwa-rihw-a-Yɕt-a-di-h
MASC,sg:1,pl-law-JOIN-have-JOIN-BEN-STAT
'the law to us is given' ('the law is given to us')
WD:NR:032

The most frequent form, *-di-*, as shown again in 348 with the verb *-ut-* 'stick' incorporating *-yɔhš-* 'face'. The sense is of presenting one's face to the Owl:

- (348) ...*tsinɕ^h* *ti·nɕ^h* *nɔmɔ^hde^h*
tsinɕh *ti:nɕ:* *nɔwáʔdeʔ*
'who is it who now the next time

ɛsũkɔ^hcútádi·ha
esukɔhšútádi:ha
e-s-(h)u-at-yɔhš-ut-a-di-ha
FUT-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-SEMI-face-stick-JOIN-BEN-PUNC
'will again one (to) him show (his) face (invite)

dē yúʷkuʷ...
 de yúʷkuʷ
 y-uʷkuʷ
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-owl
 the owl'

Who will go and show his face to the Owl?
 TN:24:192:47-193:04

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

(349) ...tūŋɕʰ dīñɕʰ(tàɕʰ)
 tunɕh dinyɕhtàɕʰ?
 dinyɕht-a-Yɕ-?
 snow-JOIN-have-STAT
 'when it had snowed

dāijúʰ yēwastá·diʰ
 daižúh yewastá:dih
 ye-wahst-a-di-h
 1,sg,AGT-good-JOIN-BEN-STAT
 that's why I found it good

daʷyājàʰ(sé·mɔʰ)	du·déʰ(tōtaʰ)
daʷyažàhsɕ:waʰ?	du:déhtɔtaʰ?
d-ayay-Yahsɕ-waʰ?	d-u-dehtɔtaʰ?
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 plaît*.

A meaning of "indirectness" is shown in 350, where the same allomorph appears with the verb *-atɕhkw-* 'shoot' incorporating *-ʔd-* 'arrow'. Instead of shooting the Bear directly, the arrows are shot towards the Bear:

(350) ...kǎhɛ̀ʔ
 kahɛ̀ʔ
 'first

tɛyɛ́ ʰdǎlɔ́kwǎdi-
 teyeʔdatɔ́hkwadi:h
 te-ye-ʔd-atɔ́hkw-a-di-h
 DU-1,sg,AGT-arrow-shoot-JOIN-BEN-IMP
 one side then the other

"da·ñɔ́ñɛ́ʔ...
 da:nyɔ́nyɛ́ʔ
 d-anyɔ́nyɛ́ʔ
 SUBST-bear
 the bear'

Run after the bear, and stick arrows all around its body.
 TN:28:237:48-50

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

(351) ...nɛ́ húkɛ́rɔ̀·hə
 nɛ́ húkɛ́rɔ̀:ha
 hu-ahkerɔ̀-*ha*
 MASC,sg,PAT-scared-STAT
 'now he got scared

ǎháɛ̀·ʔwaʔ...
 aháɛ̀:ʔwaʔ
 a-h-ateʔw-aʔ
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-run.away-PUNC
 he runs off'

the man was so frightened that he ran away
 TN:11:109:11-13

(352) ...ǎháʔkaʔ
 aháhkaʔ
 a-h-ahk-aʔ
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-stop-PUNC
 'he stopped

huʔkɛ́rɔ́ ʰdiʔ...
 huhkerɔ́diʔ
 hu-ahkerɔ́-di-ʔ
 MASC,sg,PAT-scared-BEN-STAT
 he being scared'

No longer frightened, he stopped crying
 TN:18:133:28-29

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

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

(353) ...ayǎkɛːʔseː	dɛː	skát
ayakɛːʔseh	dɛː	skát
ay-at-yɸ-ʔs-eh		
1,sg,PAT-SEMI-see-BEN-IMP		
'I want to see (let me see it)	that	one

sáːdaːmɛː...
 sáːdaːwɛh
 sa-ʔd-awɛ-h
 2,sg,PAT-arrow-have-STAT
 thee arrow hast'

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

Compare the following example of *-yɸ-* 'see' without the Benefactive, which retains the simple undirected sense of 'see':

nē háʹtɔʹ...
 ne háʹtɔʹ?
 ha-ʹtɔʹ-ʹ
 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 *-ɸ-* is shown in 356, an excerpt from example 285, where the literal meaning is 'she raises her voice at him':

(356) ahūkwɛ̃ʹdīháʹ(tɛ̃ʹ)
 ahukwɛ̃diháhtɛ̃ʹ
 a-hu-at-wɛ̃d-ihá-ht-ɛ̃-ʹ
 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-*, *-ʹd-*, *-he-*, *-hš-*, and *-ʹšr-*. Examples of the first, using the verb *-atɛ̃dutɔ-* 'speak', include:

(357)	...naʹú:rhɛ̃həʹ	nɛ̃ʹ
	naʹú:rhɛ̃həʹ	nɛ̃h
	n-aʹ-u-rhɛ̃-həʹ	
	TEMP-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-next.day-PUNC	
	'the next day	now

āhātɛ·ⁿdútóda
ahatɛ:dútóda
a-h-atɛdutɔ-d-a
FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC
he went to speak (tell) at

děkó'ɔmɔ^c dǎkɛⁿ·daré'
dekó'wah dekyè:daré?
de-t-Ye-dare-?
SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-live-STAT
that this way that they body live at

ayūⁿdà'tāwéti'...
ayudàtawéti?
ayu-dat-aweti?
FEM.IND,sg,PAT-camp-all
one's village all'⁹⁴

The young man went the next day to another village not very far away where some people were living
TN:21:156:39-48

⁹⁴This word ends in the particle *aweti'*'all', rather than a regular verbal form.

sahāká(ʔà)ᵀdaᵀ
 sahakáhàʔdaʔ
 s-a-h-akaht-a-ʔd-aʔ
 REP-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC
 back he goes to see

tūyʔtù·rá·	īyḗʔtrḡʔ	dě
tuʔtù:rá:	iyḗʔtrḡʔ	de
	i-yḗ-iʔtrḡ-ʔ	
	PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live-STAT	
at the same place	she sits (stays)	the

kūʔᵁgḗᵀtseᵀ	wáskḗʔñḗʔḗ...
kyuʔdyḗtseh	wáskḗʔnyaʔa
	wa-skḗʔny-a-ʔa
	FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-pet-JOIN-DIM
snake	she pet small'

The next day, he went to see the imprisoned snake.
 TN:21:150:47-151:01

(361) ...sāká(ʔà)ᵀdaᵀ
 sakáhàʔdaʔ
 s-akaht-a-ʔd-aʔ
 2,sg,PAT-see-JOIN-DISLOC-IMP
 'thou there looketh

ūsetiwí·hākàᵀ
 usetiwi:hakyaʔ
 use-ti-w-ih-akyeʔ
 OPT.REP-1,IN,dl,AGT-take-STAT-PROG.IMP
 thou cometh along

tūháʔseᵀt
 tuháʔseht
 tu-h-aʔ-s-e-ht
 REM-TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-CAUS-PUNC
 there thou goest

dětu tǎyǎtɔʼtsaʼ...
 detu tayaʼtɔhtsaʼ
 t-a-ya-ʼtɔhts-aʼ
 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) ...tũháʼcaʼ nǎhǒmàʼtũrǎhǎʼ
 tuháhšaʼ nahǒwàaʼtũrǎhaʼ
 n-a-hǒwa-Yaʼt-urǎ-haʼ
 TEMP-FACT-3,non.sg:MASC,sg-body-find-PUNC
 'until that they him find

dí:wì:nóʼ dě
 dí:wì:móh de
 d-i-winq-h
 SUBST-NON.MASC,dl,AGT-pretty-STAT
 the young women (pretty) that

hǒmǎʼtĩcǎke
 hǒwǎtĩhšake
 hǒw-at-ihšay-(h)e
 3,non.sg:MASC,sg-SEMI-look.for-DISLOC.PURP
 they two him look for

ne hǎʼdáʼwǎʼ...
 ne hadǎʼwǎʼ
 ha-dǎʼw-aʼ
 MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN
 the he is cotton-like'

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

The allomorph *-hš-* is illustrated in 363:

- (363) ...tūháʼ^ase^ʿ
tuháʼseh
tu-h-aʼ-s-e-h
REM-TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-PUNC
'there thou go
- sę "díhaʼcę"...
sędíhahšę?
s-ę-dih-a-hš-ę?
2,sg,PAT-SEMI-borrow-JOIN-DISLOC-PUNC
thou borrow (it)
- Go over there, and borrow [it]!
TN:29:261:13-14

The final allomorph has the form *-ʔšr-*. The following examples demonstrating this allomorph are from texts where women are sent to court potential husbands. Example 364, without the Dislocative, describes being or falling in love:

- (364) húʼskọhąʼ
húhskyọhąʼ
hu-hskyọ-hąʼ
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) ...tũ há'ªse[◌]
 tu háʔseh
 h-aʔ-s-e-h
 TRANS-FACT-2,sg,PAT-go-PUNC
 'there thou goest

he[◌]se[◌]skʷ[◌]ªcra[◌]
 hehséhskyʷʔšrah
 hehse-hskyʷ-ʔšr-ah
 2,sg:MASC,sg-love-DISLOC-IMP
 (to) him thou goest to make love

dě yu[◌]cáhárę[◌]t e:járá'ªse[◌]...
 de yuhšáháręht e:žaráʔseh
 e-:ž-araʔse-?
 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) ...he[◌]tsí:skʷ[◌]ªcra[◌] dě
 hehtsí:skyʷʔšrah de
 hehtsi-hskyʷ-ʔšr-ah
 2,dl:MASC,sg-love-DISLOC-IMP
 'you two (to) him make love yonder the

hă[◌]ªdá'ªwa[◌] ñę[◌]ªtá'ªye[◌]...
 hadáʔwa[◌] nyęhtáʔyeh
 ha-daʔw-a[◌] n-yę-iht-a-ʔyeh
 MASC,sg,AGT-cotton-NOUN TEMP-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-JOIN-LOC
 he is soft (cotton-like) 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 *-ʔ-*, as with *-atɛdutɔ-* 'speak' in 367, where someone is told to ask someone else to do something:

- (367) ...sǎtɛ·^hdūtɔʔ
sǎtɛ:dutɔʔ
s-atɛdutɔ-ʔ
2,sg,PAT-speak-IMP
'thou (to) her speak
- ǎñɔynɛ^h(hūyɛ)ʔəs
inyɔnyɛ^hhuyɛʔəhs
i-Yɔny-ɛhuyɛʔ-a-hs
PROTH-1,dl,PAT-shell.corn-JOIN-STAT.PL
she (for) us corn shells
- ǎñɔñǎtɛ^hñūhɔs
inyɔnyatɛ^hnyɔhɔs
i-Yɔny-atɛ^hny-ɔhɔ-hs
PROTH-1,dl,PAT-cook-DISTR-STAT.PL
she (for) us corn cooks

àʔ^acewáʔt
 àʔšewáht
 a-ʔšewaht
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-sieve
 a sieve

ěyaʔǫmíʔ...
 iyaʔqwiḥ
 i-ya-ʔqw-ih
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-full-STAT
 it is full'

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

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

(368) ...hé·kweʔ
 hé:kweh
 he-kw-e-h
 TRANS-1,IN,pl,AGT-go-IMP
 'let us go

tũ hè·kwāné·rǎḗʔ...
 tu hè:kwané:raḗʔ
 he-kwa-nęraḗ-ʔ
 TRANS-IN,pl,AGT-watch-IMP
 there must (shall) we wait'

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

5.4.2 Habitual (HAB)

The Habitual "restricts the meaning of the verb root to repeated or periodic events, or to an episodic event in progress but incapable of indefinite prolongation" according to Chafe (1967:12) for Seneca. In Oneida, according to Lounsbury (1953:85), it is used to "represent actions which take place at repeated points in time". In Wyandot the Habitual is used for repetitive, on-going, or continuing activities. It is an imperfective.

The Habitual allomorphs often, though not always, have an *s* in them. Forms include *-s-*, *-ahs-*, *-hs-*, *-ʔs-*, and *-eʔs-*. The following example shows the *-s-* allomorph for the verb *-dyay-* 'marry':

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(369) ...ahātʔkəriʔk
 ahatiʔkyerihk
 a-hati-ʔt-Yerih-k
 FACT-MASC,pl,AGT-X-straighten-PUNC
 'they straightened out</p> | <p>täjúʔtiʔ
 tižúhtiʔ
 ti-žuhti-ʔ
 3,non.sg-rules-NOUN
 the way (rules)</p> |
|---|---|

dětàgũⁿgás...
detàyudyás
de-t-ayu-dyas
SUBST-CISLOC-FEM.IND,sg,PAT-marry.HAB
that they get married'

There they settled their marriage customs.
TN:07:098:43-45

The allomorph *-ahs-* appears in 370, using *-Yękw-* 'plant':

- (370) dęękwaʔs
deękwahs
d-e-Yękw-ahs
PART-FEM.IND,sg,AGT-plant-HAB
'what one plants'
TN:04:091:01

The verb *-žu-* 'kill' demonstrates the *-hs-* Habitual allomorph:

(371) Ihà·ju's
 ihà:žuhš
 i-ha-žu-hš
 PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-kill-HAB
 'he kills habitually'
 TN:23:170:61

The allomorph *-ʔs-* is shown with the verb *-e-* 'go' in 372:

(372)	...cè· ⁿ dá·	cí·	hé'rè)°s
	šè:dá:	cí:	héʔrèʔs
			heʔ-r-e-ʔs
			TRANS-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB
	'now then	thereat	about he is going

tú^c ehătè)diyó·rù·ja)'
 túh ehatèʔdiyó:rù:žā?
 e-h-ate-ʔdiyqr-už-a?
 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) tēhù'sq̄ke)s
 tehùhsq̄kyeʔs
 te-hu-hš-qti-eʔs
 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: *Prepronominal Prefixes*). In Wyandot the Punctual is most often used with complete events. It is a perfective.

The Punctual allomorphs are : *-a-*, *-haʔ-*, *-ah-*, *-h-*, *-Ø-*, *-aʔ-*, *-haʔ-*, and *-ʔ-*.

They are shown in the following examples, starting with *-a-* and the verb *-atɛdutɔ-* 'speak' plus Dislocative *-d-*. This is taken from example 357:

- (374) *āhăɛ·dúťóda*
ahatɛ:dúťóda
a-h-atɛdutɔ-d-a
 FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-speak-DISLOC-PUNC
 'he went to speak (tell) at' ('he went to a place to tell people')
 TN:21:156:42

The next shows *-haʔ-* with *-Yayɛ-* 'go out':

- | | | |
|-------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (375) | <i>...skăt</i> | <i>á'cɔʔ</i> ⁹ |
| | <i>skat</i> | <i>áhšɔʔ</i> |
| | 'one | at a time |

tāwati·jáyɛ·həʔ*
 tawati:žáyɛ:haʔ
 t-a-wati-Yayɛ-haʔ
 CISLOC-FACT-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-go.out-PUNC
 they came out

dětija'á·ha'...
 detiža ʔá:haʔ
 de-ti-ža-ʔ-a-haʔ
 SUBST-3,non.sg-young-STAT-JOIN-DIM
 the they are small'

The little bears crawled out, one at a time
 TN:19:143:55-59

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

(376) ...dǎenǫʰ yǎwáʰstiʰ
 daenǫ:h yawáhstih
 ya-wahst-ih
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-good-STAT
 'may be it is good (better)

dù·saʰcǎráʰskwaʰ...
 dù:sahšaráhskwah
 d-u:sa-hš-arahskw-ah
 PART-OPT.REP-2,sg,AGT-go.out-PUNC
 that back thou goest'

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

-h- is shown using *-e-* 'go':

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

The ~~Ø~~- allomorph appears with *-nqht-* 'give':

(378) ...ǎwé·tiʼ tahúnóʼt
 awé:tiʼ tahunóht
 t-a-hu-nqht
 CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,PAT-give.PUNC
 'all she (to) him gives

dūyéʼteʼ
 duyéhteʼ
 d-u-yehte-ʼ?
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-carry-STAT
 what back hangs on

daʼstéʼʼtsijà·męʼ...
 duhstéʼʼtsižà:weʼ?
 d-u-hstéʼʼtsiž-awę-ʼ?
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-have-STAT
 what she owns (her property)ʼ

she turned the finery that hung from her neck over to him
 TN:22:166:13-18

Using *-Yękw-* 'plant', the allomorph *-aʼ-* can be shown:

- (379) **da'yǎǎ'kwa'**
daʔyaǎkwaʔ
d-aʔ-ya-Yǎkw-aʔ
PART-FACT-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-plant-PUNC
'that she planted (the seeds)' ('so she would plant the seeds')
TN:01:061:11

The allomorph **-ʔ-** is used in an example with the verb **-raʔ-** 'climb':

- (380) **...túʔ diyá:rhiʔ**
túh diyá:rhiʔ
di-ya-rhi-ʔ
PART-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-tree-NOUN
'there the tree

tǎhará:tǎʔ...
tǎhará:tǎʔ
t-a-ha-raʔ-
CISLOC-FACT-MASC,sg,AGT-climb-PUNC
there he climbed up'

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

The allomorphs **-h-** and **-ʔ-** appear after vowels. The other allomorphs can appear after either vowels or consonants.

5.4.4 Stative (STAT)

The Stative "restricts the meaning of the verb root to a continuous action or state without defined temporal limits" (Chafe 1967:12 on Seneca). According to Lounsbury (1953:85 on Oneida), the Stative is used to "represent states; some of these are the results of

actions." That is, the Stative functions as a perfect. In Wyandot the Stative also represents states, describes situations, and performs as a perfect.

Allomorphs of the Stative include *-h-*, *-ɸh-*, *-ih-*, *-ʔ-*, and *-qʔ-*. The first form is shown by the verb *-uwanɸ-* 'large' (also representing an example of a state):

- (381) *yārɔ̄tūwá·nɛ̄ʔ*
yarɔ̄tuwá:mɛ̄h
ya-rɔ̄t-uwanɸ-h
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-large-STAT
 'logs large' ('big logs')
 TN:27:224:52

The allomorph *-ɸh-* can be demonstrated with the verb *-draw-* 'dance' (also representing the Stative as describing a situation):

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (382) | <i>...tuʔ</i> | <i>hũ̀tì·drá̄mɛ̄ʔ</i> | <i>ũ̀sé·mɛ̄ʔtà̄ʔyeʔ...</i> |
| | <i>tuh</i> | <i>hutì:drá̄wɛ̄h</i> | <i>usé:wɛ̄ʔtà̄ʔyeh</i> |
| | | <i>huti-draw-ɸh</i> | <i>u-sewɛ̄ʔt-a-ʔyeh</i> |
| | | MASC,non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT | FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-stomach-JOIN-LOC |
| | 'there | they dance | his belly on' |

people were dancing upon his bosom
 TN:24:186:61-63

With the verb *-Yɸkw-* 'plant' the Stative allomorph is *-ih-*:

(383) ...nɛ̃ isɛ̃nɛ̃ nɔ̃· uːsáwátíʔcɛ̃ʔ
 nɛ̃ isɛ̃nɛ̃ nɔ̃: u:sawátíhšɛ̃ʔ
 usa-wati-hš-ɛ̃ʔ
 OPT.REP-NON.MASC,pl,AGT-kill-PUNC
 'now surely it might be they it eat up

dɔ̃ĩñɛ̃ ʔkwíʔ
 dɔ̃ĩnyɛ̃kwih
 d-ɔ̃i-Yɛ̃kw-ih
 PART-1,dl,PAT-plant-STAT
 that we two have planted'

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

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

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

(384) ...káhɛ̃ ʔdɛ̃ʔcaʔ hɛ̃sùtĩñóʔ dɛ̃
 kahɛ̃dɛ̃ʔšaʔ hesùtinyóʔ de
 he-s-(h)uti-Yɔ̃-ʔ
 TRANS-REP-MASC,non.sg,PAT-arrive-STAT
 'there those back they go that

tutĩwʔ hàːkɔ̃ʔ...
 tutiwíʔ hàːkyɔ̃h
 t-(h)uti-w-iʔ h-at-Yɔ̃-h
 CISLOC-MASC,non.sg,PAT-take-STAT MASC,sg,AGT-SEMI-arrive-STAT
 they with him had come'

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

The -ɔ̃ʔ- allomorph appears with -nɛ̃rɔ̃ti- 'hunt':

- (385) hūnɛ̃:rɔ̃kɔ̃ʔ
 hunɛ̃:rɔ̃kyɔ̃ʔ
 hu-nɛ̃rɔ̃ti-ɔ̃ʔ
 MASC,sg,PAT-hunt-STAT
 'he hunted' ('he was hunting')
 TN:23:177:21

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

5.4.5 Stative Plural (STAT.PL)

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

- (386) yārɔ̃tūwá·nɛ̃ʔ
 yarɔ̃tuwá:nɛ̃h
 ya-rɔ̃t-uwanɛ̃-h
 FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-log-large-STAT
 'a big tree'
 TN:19:141:58

The Stative Plural appears in 387 for comparison. The same state holds as for 386, but the argument is in this case plural:

(387) **yarijú(‘tūwāŋ)’s**
yarižúhtuwanę?s
ya-rižuht-uwanę-?s
FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-stone-large-STAT
'rocks big'
TN:19:136:38

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

5.4.6 Purposive (PURP)

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

<p>(388) ēr̥·méʼ er̥:wéʼh e-r-qwe-h X-MASC,sg,AGT-person-NOUN 'he person (man)'</p>	<p>í·reʼ í:reʼ? i-r-e-ʼ? PROTH-MASC,sg,AGT-go-PURP he walks</p>
<p>sáyùwě́r̥ʼs sayùwer̥óhs sayu-Yer̥q-hs MASC,sg:FEM.IND,sg-trick-HAB he is a trickster'</p>	

'A man was travelling. He was a trickster.'
 TN:22:158:27-29

Note that the lack of a modal prefix (see chapter 4: *Prepronominal Prefixes*) precludes this example from being in the Punctual. The form of the aspect suffix also precludes the possibility of the Habitual, as the verb *-e-* 'go / come' has a different Habitual:

- (389) tí·re's
 tí:re?s
 ti-r-e-?s
 CISLOC-MASC,sg,AGT-go-HAB
 'he walks'
 TN:27:226:33; TN:27:231:48

5.4.7 Progressive (PROG)

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

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

- (390) hūti"drāmèhà·kè'
 hutidrawèhà:kye?
 huti-draw-eh-akye-?
 MASC,non.sg,PAT-dance-STAT-PROG-STAT
 'they dancing go on' ('they went on dancing')
 TN:03:075:47

The Progressive followed by the Habitual is shown in 391, using *-rɔw-* 'remove', its Stative *-ɕh-*, and the Habitual *-ʔs*.

- (391) ...háʔrə dēsũrõmɕhá·kɛʔs...
 háʔrə desũrõwɕhá:kyeʔs
 de-s-(h)u-rõw-ɕh-akye-ʔs
 SUBST-REP-MASC,sg,PAT-remove-STAT-PROG-HAB
 'only that it is undoing'

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

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

- (392) ...túnɕʰ úwaʔ tuhũhãhõkɛʔ
 túnɕh úwaʔ tuhuhahõkɛʔ
 tu-hu-hah-õkɛʔ-ʔ
 REM-MASC,sg,PAT-road-travel-STAT
 'just then someone there he road comes along

ayõmãtũríhã·kɛʔ
 ayõwatũríhã:kɛʔ
 a-yõw-at-urih-akye-ʔ
 FACT-3,non.sg:FEM.ZOIC,sg-SEMI-drive.STAT-PROG-PUNC
 he them is driving

dudĩkũʰkũwã·nɕʰ
 dudikyũhkuwã:nɕh
 d-u-d-ikyuhkw-uwanɕ-h
 SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-SEMI-crowd-large-STAT
 that crowd large

kũtõʰskẽrõʰt...
 kyutõhskwerõht

(of) cattle'

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

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

5.4.8 Past (PAST)

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

- (393) *hũⁿdatēté·rɔⁿdĩ·nĕ^ʔ*
hudateté:rɔdi:nĕh
hud-ate-ter-qdi-neʔ
 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) *hĕyadáre^ʔk*
heyadárehk
he-ya-dare-hk
 TRANS-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-live.STAT-PAST
 'here many lived'
 TN:36:287:54

The allomorph *-kwaʔ-* only appears after the Habitual⁹⁵, and is cognate with Lounsbury's Former-Past. It is demonstrated here with the Habitual form of *-ihša(y)-* 'look for':

- (395) ye'e(ʔicákè·)skwaʔ
 yeʔehtišákè:ʔskwaʔ
 ye-ʔeht-ihšay-(h)e-ʔs-kwaʔ
 1,sg,AGT-claw-look.for-DISLOC-HAB-PAST
 'I clawmarks [of the bear] hunt for used to'

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

The form *-kɕɛɕʔ-* is interesting in that it appears to include the allomorph *-nɕʔ-*. It also only appears after the Habitual. The example here uses the Habitual form of *-draw-* 'dance':

- (396) ye'drāwá(ʔskɕ·nɕ)
 yedrawáhskɕ:nɕʔ
 ye-draw-ahs-kɕɕʔ
 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 *-nɕʔ-* 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 **-yɕɕʔ-* has been found, *-yɕh-* does appear. In 397 the Past follows the Stative *-hay-* of the verb *-dya-* 'eat':

⁹⁵This may only be due to the dearth of examples.

(397) ...daʔk ĩmĕ·^htāye^h
dahl iwĕ:tayeh
 i-w-ĕt-aye-h
 PROTH-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-day-number-STAT
'four days in

tĕhùtĭgāhá·ĩñĕ^h...
tehùtidyahá:inyĕh
te-huti-dya-hay-yĕh
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 *-yĕh-* makes the allomorph *-kĕnĕʔ-* appear as perhaps a double Past, sequencing *-yĕh-* and *-nĕʔ-*.

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

⁹⁶The Augmentative can be followed by *-ʔ -;* *-h,* or *-ʔ,* apparently in free variation with *-h* being the most frequent.

- (398) kūrá'kūwà'c
 kurá'kūwà'h
 kurah-kuwah
 X-AUG⁹⁷
 'wealthy man'
 TN:29:264:14

5.5.2 Diminutive (DIM)

The Diminutive is used for small size or young age. The form is *-ʔah*, as in 399 where the Diminutive is added to a verb meaning 'young':

- (399) hōm̄tse'tʔa'c
 hōwetsēhti'ʔah
 h-qwe-ʔtsehti-ʔah
 MASC,sg,AGT-person-young.STAT-DIM⁹⁸
 '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:

⁹⁷The first part of this word is unclear. The cognate morpheme in Seneca, *-kowæ-*, as in *kówæhko:wá:h* 'king', is left unglossed in Chafe (1967).

⁹⁸*-qwe-* 'person' anomalously takes variant pronominal prefixes.

(400) ʎoːdúˈskaʔ
qduːhskaʔ
qdu-hs-kaʔ
rain-HAB-CHAR
it is rainy
TN:02:074:18

Professional habits often use the Characterizer, as in example 271, repeated here:

(401) deħătětséˈskaʔ
deħatetséʔskaʔ
de-h-ate-tse-ʔs-kaʔ
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, *-runq*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) **dědë'cú·rūnq'**
dedèhšú:runq?
de-dehšu-runq?
SUBST-hell-POP
'that the underground is a dweller of ('underground dweller; devil')
WM:051

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

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

(404) **"deyɛ'tijú·ru·nq'**
deyɛhtižú:ru:nq?
de-ya-iht-ižu-runq?
SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,AGT-field-good-POP
'the it field or land big as a dweller' ('Prairie people')
WM:086