CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Iroquoian language family is divided into two main branches, Southern and Northern. Southern Iroquoian consists solely of Cherokee in its various dialects. No other Southern Iroquoian language has ever been attested. Modern grammars and dictionaries of Cherokee include King (1975) and Pulte (1975). According to the former, dialects include Lower (or Elati), Middle (or Kituhwa), Western (or Otali), Overhill, and Snowbird.

The Northern branch is also bifurcated. Lake Iroquoian is so named because the entire branch centers around the Great Lakes, particularly Ontario and Erie (both Iroquoian names). The other node, consisting of Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin, is generally unnamed but may be referred to as "Coast" to parallel "Lake", as speakers of these languages were originally located near the Atlantic coasts of modern Virginia and North Carolina. Tuscarora is still spoken. Modern grammars and dictionaries include Williams (1976) and Rudes (1999). According to Hewitt (1910) the three groups making up the Tuscarora were the *Kahtehnuʔá:ka:ʔ, Akawǫ́tša:ka:ʔ,* and *Skarú:rǫʔ* (orthography modernized).

Nottoway is extinct but attested in two word lists (Gallatin 1836) and some town names, including *Cohannehahanka, Cottashowrock, Tonnatora,* and *Rowonte* (Binford 1967:149). Meherrin is also extinct, but has left two town names, *Unote* and *Cowochahawkon* (Binford

1967:153, c.f. Rudes 1981b)[1]. The Meherrin were eventually absorbed into the Tuscarora (Rudes 1981a).

Boyce (1978:282) mentions the possibility that two other languages from the same geographical area might also have been Iroquoian: "Geary [1955] has suggested, on the basis of their ethnic or tribal names, that the Neusiok and Coree were possibly Iroquoian." The actual references to Geary in Boyce are unfortunately a mixture of both an appendix to a volume (Quinn 1955) and sections of that appendix. Neither of the sections nor the appendix as a whole refers to either the Neusiok or the Coree. However, the preceding appendix of that same volume (Quinn 1955), "The Map of Raleigh's Virginia", does refer to both the Coree and Neusiok, with reference to statements by Geary. Quinn (1955:872) gives three relevant entries. Under *Neusiok* we find: "Professor Geary, on linguistic grounds, considers that it was probably Iroquoian." These grounds are not discussed. Under the entry for the name of the Neusiok village, *Newasiwac / Neuusiooc / Neruusiooc / Nesioke / Newciook*, Quinn states: "Professor Geary regards the name as probably Iroquoian, but *Newasiwac* as an Algonquian plural form." Again, the reasoning is unstated. Finally, the entry for the Coree village has: "Professor Geary suggests that while the forms of [*Coree / Cwareuuoc / Cwarcook / Warreã / Waren*] are likely to be Iroquoian there may be an Algonquian word behind one or the other of them." Due to the lack of more tangible evidence Neusiok and Coree will be left out of further discussions.

Details of the sub-grouping within Lake Iroquoian have been debated, with generally another binary branching into Five Nations and Huronian. The Five Nations branch then

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[1] Also spelled *Cowinchahawkon* and *Kawitziokan*.

forms what has sometimes been referred to as a dialect continuum consisting of Laurentian, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Susquehannock, Cayuga, and Seneca. Laurentian (also called Stadaconan, Hochelagan) is extinct but with two extant word lists (Cartier 1545). According to Trigger and Pendergast (1978:357), the Stadaconans and Hochelagans were distinct, and the word lists were taken from Stadaconans. These lists have been discussed repeatedly in the literature (Cuoq 1869, Biggar 1924, Hoffmann 1959, Barbeau 1959, Lounsbury 1978, Mithun 1982, etc). According to Lounsbury (1978:335) the speakers were probably a heterogenous mix of Wendats,[2] Mohawks, and an otherwise unattested group. Modern grammars and dictionaries of Mohawk include Bonvillain (1973) and G. Michelson (1973). For Oneida, there is a verb morphology by Lounsbury (1953), dictionaries by Christjohn and Hinton (1996) and Michelson (2001). A grammar of Onondaga can be found in Chafe (1970). Susquehannock, also called Andaste, Minqua, and Conestoga, is also extinct but has left word lists (Campanius 1696; Holm 1834). Mithun (1981) indicates that Susquehannock is closer to Onondaga than the other languages. Seneca is described in Chafe (1967). Cayuga, often placed between Seneca and Onondaga, seems to have wandered from branch to branch. See Chafe and Foster (1981) for the reasoning behind this. Mithun and Henry

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[2]The "Huron" people referred to themselves as Wendat. The term *huron* was used by the French, and has been linked etymologically to either a term for the native hairstyle (likened to that of a boar) or an old term for *ruffian*. In either case it is considered a derogatory ethnic slur, and so Wendat is used here. *Huronian* will continue to be used for the linguistic sub-grouping.

(1982) provides a pedagogically oriented grammar and dictionary, while Kick *et al* (1988) is a thematically arranged dictionary.[3]

Huronian consists of Wendat, Wyandot, and probably several other unattested languages reported by Jesuit missionaries (Thwaites 1896-1901) as similar to Wendat, all extinct. Wendat has left several manuscript dictionaries from the 17th century. Lagarde (1980) is a modern interpretation of one of the old manuscripts. Members of the Wendat Confederacy included the Attignawantan (Bear), Ataronchronon, Tahontaenrat (Deer), Attigneenongahac (Cord), and Arendahronon (Rock).

Wyandot, the focus here, has no previous grammar, although Barbeau (1960) includes texts, and Barbeau (n.d.) is a dictionary (to be discussed in more detail later). According to Barton (1797), the Wyandots were also called Wanats and Junúndats. The modern Wyandots are descendants of refugees from the various Huronian groups, especially the Tionontatis (see section 1.2 *History of the Wyandot People*). The last speakers were alive in the early 1960s (Chafe 1962).

The unattested Huronian languages include Atiwandaronk, Wenro, Erie, and Tionontati. Atiwandaronk, or Neutral, has left various names. Mithun (1979:160) reports:

> On the basis of the Neutral name given to Père Chaumonot in
>
> 1641, Roy Wright has deduced that Neutral was closer to the
>
> Five Nations languages than to Huron. The name

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[3]Grammars and dictionaries of all the living Northern Iroquoian languages will be published through the University of Toronto Press in the near future. Rudes (1999) and Michelson (2001) are part of this series.

Oronhiaguehre "heaven bearer" or "priest" cited in the Jesuit

Relations (Thwaites 1896-1901, 1841) indicates that Neutral

did not share the Huron sound shift g > y > Ø.

Conversely, the Jesuits sometimes referred to them as the *Hurons de la Nation Neutre*. It is

possible that the Neutrals were several different groups, sharing political neutrality between

the Iroquois and Wendat confederacies. White (1978a:409) gives the following Neutral

groups: Attiragenrega, Ahondihronon, Antouaronon, Onguiaronon, Kakouagoga, and Wenro.

The Wenro speech was said by the Jesuits to be like Atiwandaronk. Originally part of the

Neutrals, they became temporarily independent.

The Eries were another confederacy, and have left some town names, including *Rigué* and

Gentaienton (White 1978b:412). According to McConnell (1996:182) they may have been

the ancestors of the Westos of the Carolinas. Wright (1974) discusses terms for the Eries.

The Tionontatis, or Petuns, were said to be like the Wendats (specifically, the

Attignawantan group), according to Jesuit missionaries. They had two groups, the Wolves

and Deer. The Tionontatis were sometimes called *les Hurons de la Nation du Pétun* by the

French (Tooker 1978:405).[4]

The classification of Iroquoian languages is summarized in chart 1 below, adapted from

Lounsbury (1978).

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[4]Additional terms for Iroquoian groups are known, such as Honniasont. See Wright
(1974) for examples.

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                                                                         Cherokee
          ┌ Southern ──────────────────────────────────── Cherokee
          │                              ┌───────────────── Tuscarora
          │                   ┌ Coast     ├───────────────── Nottoway†
 Iroquoian │                  │           └───────────────── Meherrin†
          │                   │                  ┌────────── Wendat†
          │                   │                  ├────────── Wyandot†
          │                   │      ┌ Huronian   ├────────── Tionontati†
          └ Northern          │      │            ├────────── Atiwandaronk†
                   └ Lake      │      │            ├────────── Wenro†
                              │      │            └────────── Erie†
                              │                  ┌────────── Mohawk
                              │                  ├────────── Oneida
                              └ 5 Nations         ├────────── Onondaga
                                                 ├────────── Susquehannock†
                                                 └────────── Seneca
                                                             Cayuga
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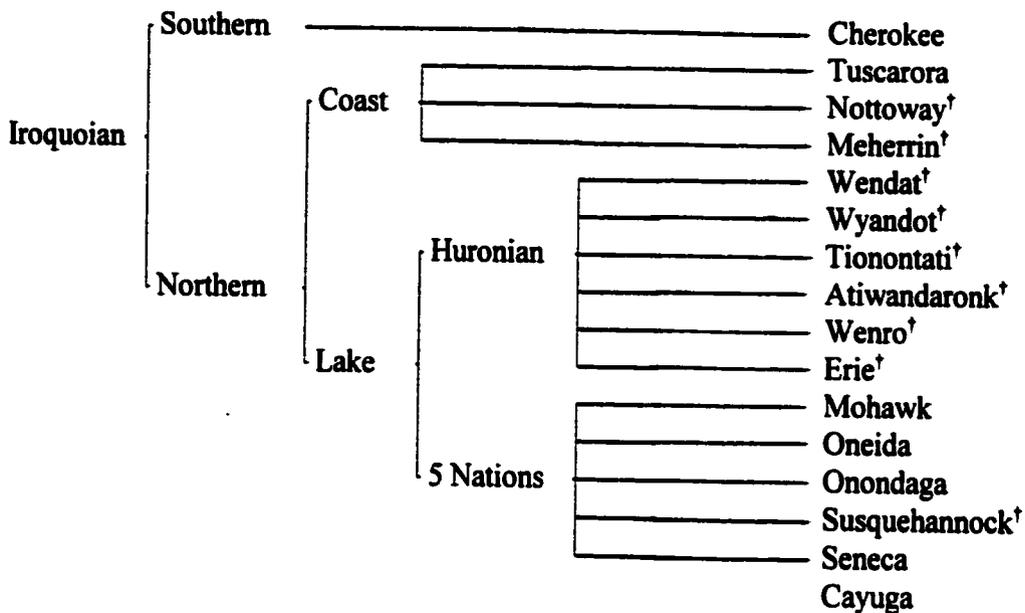
Chart 1: Iroquoian Family Tree

Cayuga is not linked to a higher node due to its idiosyncratic history (Chafe and Foster 1981). Laurentian is not indicated due to its probably being several languages. Dead languages are indicated by †.

What should be noted here is that Wyandot is in a separate branch of Iroquoian, Huronian, from any of the living languages. Only Lagarde (1980) provides an extensive grammatical analysis of a language in the Huronian branch, Wendat. That analysis is based on a single 17th century manuscript purported to be by Chaumonot, augmented by the works of Potier in Fraser (1920).

Lounsbury (1961) provides an alternate sub-grouping into outer languages (Cherokee, Tuscarora, Laurentian, Wendat, and Wyandot) versus inner languages (easternmost 5 Nations). This is based on what were probably dialectal variants in Proto-Iroquoian that were overridden by the later division into Northern and Southern groups.

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1.1 History of Wyandot Linguistics

Iroquoian languages were first recorded in the 16th century (Cartier 1545). During the 17th and 18th centuries much work was done by Jesuit missionaries in New France, resulting in several manuscript grammars and dictionaries, primarily focussing on Wendat. A description of many of these manuscripts on both Wendat and Mohawk (among others) can be found in Hanzeli (1969). Further references can be found in Pilling (1888), Lindsay (1900), Barbeau (1957), Tehariolina (1984), and the various works of Steckley in *Arch Notes*. The manuscripts include Brébœuf (1630), Sagard (1632), Brébœuf (1636), Carheil (1744), Potier (1751), and various anonymous and frequently undated works, such as the *French-Huron Dictionary* of 1663, *Radices linguæ huronicæ* (late 17th century), and the *Dictionaire huron & hiroquois onontaheronon*. The early 19th century saw further dictionaries and grammars of Wendat, including Bruté de Rémur (1800) and Chaumonot (1831). Manuscripts that have not been lost or already published can be found scattered in several archives, including the Archives Indiennes, Notre-Dame de Montréal, Place d'Armes, Montreal; Archives of Laval University; Archives de Montserrat, Saint-Jérôme, Québec; Archives des Pères Jésuites, Collège Saint-Marie, Montréal; Archives du Séminaire de Québec; Bibliothèque de la Législature, Province de Québec; Bibliothèque National in Paris; and the New York Public Library. Later manuscripts tend to focus on other Iroquoian languages, and many are to be found in the American Philosophical Society library and the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

Other manuscripts are said to have existed, but are now lost, including Wendat grammars by Chaumonot and Garnier; a dictionary by Joseph LeCaron; *Principes de la*

langue huronne by Jérôme Lalemant; *Marie de l'Incarnation* (Lindsay 1900); and a 150 page Wyandot dictionary by William E. Connelley (*Wyandot Manuscript* n.d.).

The available works present a wealth of data on the Wendat language, though not without difficulties of accessibility, legibility, consistency, and soundness of transcription. For the most part these works have been unanalyzed in detail, with the notable exceptions of Lagarde (1980) and Norwood (forthcoming), which each deal with a detailed analysis of a single work, and the various works by Steckley (e.g., 1988, 1993), which deal with particular forms in a variety of manuscripts. Some of the early works are still highly regarded and used, especially Sagard (1632), and the collection of Potier (1745, 1747, 1751) in Fraser (1920). These are also the most readily available, having been published.

Modern studies of Iroquoian languages began with Lounsbury (1953), a morphological study of Oneida verbs. This important work set the standard for morphological analyses of Iroquoian languages, a pattern which was continued in Chafe (1967), which examined morphological structure in Seneca. These two standards present the morpheme slot-ordering methodology found in most grammatical studies of Iroquoian languages.

Barbeau (1915a) preceded, and perhaps enabled, the later descriptions by analyzing the interaction of pronominal prefixes and following morphemes in Mohawk, Oneida, and Wyandot. His analysis pointed out the five phonologically-conditioned conjugation classes found in Northern Iroquoian languages.

Further references on Iroquoian languages can be found in Foster (1996), and Mithun (1979, 1999). A comprehensive annotated bibliography of older material can be found in Pilling (1888).

1.2 History of the Wyandot People

The history of the Wyandot people begins with contact between their ancestors, the Wendats, and French traders and explorers. Although Iroquoian speakers were first encountered by Cartier in 1534 (Trigger 1978b:344), it was not until 1609 that the Wendats in particular encountered the French, through Champlain's raid on the Mohawks (Trigger 1978b:349). This history then weaves through epidemics and wars that resulted in mixed groups of refugees from several Huronian groups, who eventually were the first to be called Wyandot. Moving from territory to territory, the refugees laid the foundation for the current state of affairs, with Huronian descendants spread from Quebec to Oklahoma. The four surviving groups of Wendat and Wyandot descendants are the Nation Huron-Wendat in Lorette, Quebec; the Wyandot Band of Anderdon, in Anderdon, Ontario; the Wyandot Nation of Kansas; and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

In the early 1600s the Wendats consisted of a loose confederacy of five different groups. In many ways this confederacy paralleled that of the Five Nations to their southeast. The Attignawantan, Attigneenongahac, Arendahronon, Tahontaenrat, and Ataronchronon each spoke a different dialect, though to what exact extent they differed is unknown. Steckley (1996) suggests a split between Northern and Southern dialects of Attignawantan, with the Southern variety more closely related to Attigneenongahac, and the Northern closer

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to Arendahronon. The territory the Wendats lived in, covering parts of modern Ontario north of Lake Ontario and east of Lake Huron, was called Huronia, or Wendake.

The neighbors of the Wendats who lived between the Wendat Confederacy and the hostile Iroquois League were mostly other Iroquoian-speaking groups. Nearby were the friendly Tionontatis. Farther away to the south were the Atiwandaronks (Neutrals). One member of the Neutral Confederacy, the Wenro, eventually lost membership, spending some time as an independent nation before joining the Wendat.[5] They bordered on the Senecas. Finally, also bordering on the Senecas, were the Eries.

In the second half of the 1630s the Wendats suffered from several epidemics, which killed about half the people. The hardest hit were the elders, political and cultural leaders (Heidenreich 1978:387). At the same time the Iroquois changed military tactics from hit-and-run raids to extermination, wiping out and / or adopting whole villages at a time, in an attempt to win control of the fur trade. By 1649 the Wendats were forced to leave their country. Some went east into French territory, some were captured and adopted by the Iroquois, some headed west and north to join the Ottawas, and others joined the Tionontatis.

The eastward-moving group of Jesuit-led Wendat refugees arrived at Quebec in 1650. After some wandering they settled in 1697 at Lorette, now officially called Village-des-Hurons. Their descendants remain at Lorette, constituting the Nation Huron-Wendat. According to Steckley (1995), they may be mostly descended from the Attigneenongahac.

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[5]According to Steckley (1985), the Wenro became the Wyandot Turtle clan. The term Wenro itself is cognate with the Wyandot name of the moss-back turtle clan, *ămẽrúreʾ ñgyáʾ°wic,* or *awẹrúriʔ dyáʔwiš.*

Those that joined the Tionontatis did not escape from the Iroquois, since the Tionontatis were then destroyed in war. Wendat and Tionontati refugees joined the Atiwandaronks in 1649. However, by the 1650s the Atiwandaronks were in turn annihilated. Survivors had two fates. Many ended up captives of the Iroquois, who were also absorbing the remains of the Eries. The others, including fleeing Eries, headed northwest to modern Michigan, where they ended up at Mackinac around 1650 (although other Eries headed south to become the Westos, according to McConnell 1997:182).

According to Tooker (1978), around 1652 this mixed refugee group travelled southwest to modern Wisconsin, at Huron Island near Green Bay. Between the late 1650s and mid 1660s they continued northward on to Chequamegon (Wisconsin), before returning eastward to Mackinac in 1671. Between 1701 and 1704 they then settled to the south near Detroit, Michigan and Anderdon, Ontario. Their descendants there are known today as the Wyandot Band of Anderdon.

In 1738 some Wyandots began moving south to Sandusky (Ohio). Between 1795 and 1807 the Wyandots sold most of their land in Ohio. In 1843 the Indian Removal Act was passed and the Wyandots were pushed westward on to Kansas, in what was to become the area of Kansas City. Their descendants are known today as the Wyandot Nation of Kansas.

As white demand for the Kansas area grew, some Wyandots began moving southward onto Seneca reservations in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). This occurred between 1855 and 1870. Those that made this trip are known today as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

On August 27, 1999 representatives of these four surviving groups met and renewed the Wendat Confederacy.

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Since most of the refugee population ancestral to the Wyandots consisted of Tionontatis rather than Wendats, it has been suggested that the Wyandot language is actually Tionontati, and not the modern form of Wendat (Lounsbury 1978; Steckley 1993, 1996). Differences and similarities between classical Wendat, as evidenced primarily by the 16th and 17th century Jesuit works, and modern Wyandot, as evidenced by the 20th century works of Barbeau, will be addressed in chapter 8: *Further Research.*

1.3 Status of Wendat / Wyandot Research

Aside from the manuscript dictionaries and grammars previously mentioned, and other than Lagarde (1972, 1980) and Steckley (various), modern work on this branch of Iroquoian has consisted mostly of diachronic phonological investigation, rather than grammatical analysis.

Short word lists and scattered terms appear in many works, including Adelung (1816), Allen (1931), Assall (1827), Balbi (1826), Barbeau (1914, 1915b, 1915c), Barton (1797), Beauchamp (1893), Biggar (1924), Buschmann (1853), Campbell (1879, 1884), Cass (1823), Chafe (1962, 1964), Connelley (1899, 1900, 1920), Finley (1840, 1859), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Gatschet (1881, 1885), Haldeman (1847, 1850, 1860), Hale (1883, 1885), Hewitt (1894), Howse (1850), Johnston (1820), Latham (1846), Lounsbury (1978), McIntosh (1843), Mithun (1979, 1980, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1986), Morgan (1868-70, 1871), J. Parsons (1767), S. Parsons (1793), Powell (1881), Rousseau (1945), Rudes (1976), Schoolcraft (1847), Slight (1844), Taylor (1973), Trigger (1969), and Walker (1852). These works use a variety of orthographies of varying quality.

Short texts appear in *Wyandot Language: Papers* (n.d.). and Munn (n.d.). This latter consists of approximately 63 pages of hand-written hymns, without translation. The legibility varies, but is not as clear as that of Barbeau. Other texts tend to be little more than a paragraph, usually the Paternoster.

Some modern work has used Wyandot data in sorting out the subgrouping within Iroquoian, including Mithun (1981, 1985) and Rudes (1981b).

Wyandot data have also been used for historical work by Rudes (1976) on Tuscarora phonology, Mithun (1986) on development of evidentials, and Chafe (1977) on pronominal distinctions.

Most work has been on historical phonology, exploring the sound changes between Wendat, Wyandot, and the other Iroquoian languages. This is especially explored in Lounsbury (1978), Mithun (1979), Lagarde (1972), and Rudes (1995). The first article concentrates on the entire Iroquoian family, giving rules for phonological changes on p. 338. The second article concentrates more on Northern Iroquoian, giving Wendat and Wyandot sound change rules on pp. 166-168. These rules are usually similar, though often not the same. Lagarde (1972) is an MA thesis with more specialization in Wendat than the articles, although also dealing with all of Northern Iroquoian. Rudes (1995) reconstructs the Proto-Iroquoian phonemic inventory, and stress and lengthening rules.

1.4 Marius C. Barbeau and his Works

Although a few hundred pages of mostly untranslated Wendat texts appear in Fraser (1920),[6] for Wyandot there are extensive collections of translated texts. These are the primary sources for this analysis. Barbeau (1960) is a collection of approximately 253 pages of legible handwritten transcription of Wyandot and typed word glosses, with an additional 51 typed pages of free translation. The orthography used by Barbeau is a semi-regular phonetic one. A long list of lexical items is available in Barbeau (n.d.). A few of his sound recordings exist, stored at the Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

Brief biographies of Barbeau's consultants can be found in Barbeau (1960). Barbeau used both informants and interpreters in recording the texts, transcribing the Wyandot and clarifying through interpreters who spoke both Wyandot and English.[7]

Barbeau (1915a) uses Wyandot, Oneida and Mohawk data to define the five phonologically-conditioned conjugation classes found in Northern Iroquoian languages.

Barbeau (n.d.) is a manuscript dictionary containing 500 stock cards of entries. This manuscript also contains many terms from earlier works, such as Cartier, Chaumonot, Sagard,

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[6]Fraser (1920) contains slightly under 200 pages of untranslated Wendat text, plus an additional 30 pages of Wendat and Latin in parallel columns, and another eight of Wendat with interlinear French glosses.

[7]It should be noted that despite being the last speakers of a dying language, their texts show little signs of morphological or phonological loss, especially considering the complexity of Iroquoian morphology and morphophonemics. There are instances of decay in the use of the intrusive glottal stop (see section 2.16 *Epenthesis and Prothesis*), possible collapse of the distinction between aspirated clusters and unaspirated stops (see section 2.3 *Under-differentiation*), possible simplification of derivational suffixes (see section 5.3.1 *Inchoative*), and uncertainty about the status of particles versus clitics versus prefixes (see sections 4.4 *Word Boundaries* and 4.5 *Anteprepronominals*). Elaboration of which of these are due to decay and which are due to Barbeau are beyond the scope of the present work.

Potier, Hale, and Rabelais' *Pantagruel*. The organization of Wyandot entries is by English word class (e.g., adjectives, adverbs, etc). Some orthographic distinctions are ignored in the sort order for entries within a category (e.g., there is no distinction alphabetically between <e> and <ɛ>, although these are kept distinct in transcription). Alphabetical order is often ignored, and laryngeals might or might not be considered in the alphabetizing. Inconsistencies abound, both within and across entries. A root may appear with different renderings in different examples, beyond standard Iroquoian morphophonemics. The same single example word may be used for several different morpheme cuts, not including allomorphy. Furthermore, Barbeau had difficulties in ascertaining word boundaries (see section 4.4 *Word Boundaries*). Individual words were often broken up into two or more parts. In the texts the parts are adjacent, and so the words are recoverable. In the dictionary, however, the parts are not in context and so the actual original words are not easily recoverable.[8]

According to Lagarde (1972:27), Marius C. Barbeau himself was born March 5, 1882, in Ste-Marie de Beauce, Quebec. According to Hand *et al.* (1950) his birth date was 1883. The latter also states that he went to primary school at the Collège des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes. He received his B.A. in 1903 from the Collège Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, studied at Laval for law (and was admitted to the bar), received his B.Sc. in Anthropology from Oxford in 1910, and studied as well at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes de la Sorbonne and the Ecole d'Anthropologie in Paris. Lagarde (1972) gives his death date as February 28,

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[8]The analytical differences apparent between Barbeau (n.d.) and Barbeau (1915a) are difficult to reconcile with both works having the same author.

1969, in Ottawa. His fieldwork on Wyandot was performed in the summers of 1911 and 1912.

1.5 Methodology

The bulk of the material available is in the form of texts (Barbeau 1960), and these are the primary sources for the analysis presented here. Supplemental sources are Barbeau (1914, 1915a, 1915b, 1915c, n.d.) and Barbeau's archived notes on Wyandot. The latter consist of vocabulary items, partial paradigms, and miscellaneous other notes located at the Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

The original format of the texts by Barbeau included only Wyandot words and word glosses. These were arranged in parallel columns, rather than interlinearly. Words and glosses were co-indexed by numbers. Free translations were placed in a separate section, preceding the parallel texts, and indexed with them by title and text number. These translations are almost identical to the English texts found in Barbeau (1915b). Appendix B contains a sample page from the texts (Barbeau 1960), while Appendix C contains a sample page from Barbeau (n.d.).

In order to make them more useful for the analysis presented here, each text was typed into a separate interlinear database, using the Linguist's Shoebox program, from SIL. On a word by word basis, each of the Wyandot words was linked to an entry in a separate vocabulary database. Difficulties immediately appeared in that there were frequently discrepancies between numbering, glossing, and writing of words. A string of text might be

written by Barbeau as two words, but glossed as one; written as one word, but numbered as two; or any combination of the three factors.

Each vocabulary item had Barbeau's transcription[9], his word gloss[10], and the addition of a code to indicate exact source. At this stage, a typical lexical item appeared as:

(1)   ⁿdu³ⁿdá³
        the.arrow
        TN:21:154:51

The Shoebox program was used to line up glosses and Wyandot forms in the text databases. Furthermore, each line of text was given a source code for reference, based on the index numbers of the first and last words on the line.[11] The line of text for this word appeared as:

(2)   TN:21:154:49-53
        ẽnǫmɛˢ   dɛ̨³ɛca³   ⁿdu³ⁿdá³   ɛ̨ˢceˢcrǫ̨ⁿgaˢ   tĕdl³
        a.black.locust the.other the.arrow must.thou.make two

After this, the free translation given separately by Barbeau was added to the texts, trying to match the free translation and the word glosses as closely as possible. In many cases,

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[9]Although generally fairly legible, word boundaries were not always clear. That is, the amount of space between words was sometimes non-existent. Furthermore, certain characters, including ⁽ ⁾ and ·, were difficult to distinguish from each other.

[10]Barbeau did not indicate whether the word glosses were from the speakers, or were of his own devising. The glosses used non-colloquial English, often re-arranging English word order to roughly parallel Wyandot morpheme order. Archaic phrasing, such as use of *thou* and *thee*, is also frequent.

[11]See chapter 8: *Syntax* for a discussion of the nature of these lines.

different ordering of elements between English and Wyandot forced glosses and translations to be on separate lines. In this stage the texts looked like:

(3)   TN:21:154:49-53
ɛ̨nǫ́mɛᶜ   dɛ́ᵉɛca⁾   ⁿduᵘⁿdá⁾   ɛ̨ᶜceᶜcrǫ́ⁿgaᶜ   tĕdï⁾
a.black.locust   the.other   the.arrow   must.thou.make two
black locust wood, and two arrows

As can be seen, one of the word glosses, 'must thou make', does not appear in the free translation. When adjacent lines are added the relationship of the glosses to the free translation becomes clearer:

(4)   TN:21:154:46-48
ayɨ̨hą̨ǫ́⁾   sătá⁾ɛ̨nǫ́ⁿgaᶜ   naᵃǫ́ᶜ
she.said   thou.a.bow.makest   that.kind
Make a bow of

       TN:21:154:49-53
ɛ̨nǫ́mɛᶜ   dɛ́ᵉɛca⁾   ⁿduᵘⁿdá⁾   ɛ̨ᶜceᶜcrǫ́ⁿgaᶜ   tĕdï⁾
a.black.locust   the.other   the.arrow   must.thou.make two
black locust wood, and two arrows

       TN:21:154:54-57
hą́ᵉrą⁾   uᵐgǫ́hą̈rą⁾   uᶜskwi·ra⁾   da·ɛ̨⁾
only   dogwood   a.switch   that.one
out of a switch of dogwood.

The lexical database was then used to develop the phonological analysis (see chapter 2: *Phonology*). The resulting phonemicizations were then added to the lexical database, resulting in entries such as:

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(5) ⁿduꞋuⁿdáꞋ
     duꞋdáꞋ
     the.arrow
     TN:21:154:51

The last stage in the development of the lexical database was the morphological analysis.

Morphemes and related information were placed in a third type of database, which included

both glosses and full translation possibilities. The latter refer to the range of glosses given for

a particular form. The entry for 'arrow', for instance, looked like:

(6) -Ꞌd-
     arrow
     arrow
     noun

There are two rows containing 'arrow' since no other gloss is given in the texts for words with

this morpheme. The rows can be different:

(7) -Ꞌdahkw-
     drum
     drum; barrel; bushel; bucket
     noun

Here the gloss used is 'drum', as it appears as the most frequent gloss in the texts. However,

other glosses given include 'barrel', 'bushel', and 'bucket'. With the morphological information

added, the resulting lexical entry became:

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(8)   ⁿduᵘⁿdá⁼

(interlinear glosses)

(8)   ⁿduᵘⁿdáᵓ
       du?dá?
       d-u-?d-a?
       SUBST-FEM.ZOIC,sg,PAT-arrow-NOUN
       the.arrow
       TN:21:154:51

A morphological breakdown was then added to each lexical entry individually.[12]

The morphological breakdown was obtained both by the traditional method of comparing variant forms of words with similar meanings, and by the use of comparative evidence. This has proven especially useful in cases where only a limited number of similar forms were available. Without native speakers to ask questions of, cognate forms from other Iroquoian languages have been compared instead.

Although previous modern work has been mostly diachronic in nature, the orientation here is synchronic. The analysis presented is based on surface forms rather than underlying historical reconstructions.

1.6 Organization

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of Wyandot, starting with Barbeau's orthography and the difficulties in using it. This is followed by sections detailing consonants, vowels, morphophonemics, and stress.

The next four chapters all deal with aspects of morphology, based on morpheme slot order. A verb minimally consists of three slots:

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[12]Although the Shoebox program was designed to function both as a database and as a parser, the parsing function could not be made to work.

Pronominal Prefix	Verb	Aspect Suffix

Chart 2: Minimal Verb

Additional morpheme slots can be added at either end of the word:

Prepronominal Prefixes	Pronominal Prefix	Verb	Aspect Suffix	Attributive Suffix

Chart 3: Expanded Verb

Chapter 3 addresses the pronominal prefixes, giving conjugation classes and charts of the prefixes themselves. Chapter 4 examines the prepronominal prefixes. Chapter 5 discusses verb stem elements, covering the slots for the verb and the aspect suffixes. This includes reflexives, derivational suffixes, temporal suffixes, and the attributives.

Chapter 6 moves on to nouns, which are morphologically simpler than verbs, although noun structure is parallel to that of a minimal verb.

Chapter 7 moves beyond the single word in a brief discussion of syntax.

Finally, chapter 8 examines questions for further research, especially the relationship between Wendat and Wyandot.

Appendices include a Wyandot-English morpheme list, an English-Wyandot index, examples of pages from Barbeau (1960) and Barbeau (n.d.), and sample interlinearized texts.

1.7 Morpheme Names

Terminology has varied among Iroquoianists, both in the use of different terms for the same morpheme, and in the use of the same term for different morphemes. Differences between usages here and those of Lounsbury (1953) and Chafe (1967) are shown in chart 4 below. Cf. Foster (1986) for a fuller discussion.

Here	*Lounsbury (1953)*	*Chafe (1967)*
Benefactive	dative	dative
Dislocative	purposive	transient
Dualic	dualic	duplicative
Factual	aorist	indicative
Habitual	serial	iterative
Optative	indefinite	optative
Purposive	-----	purposive
Reflexive	full reflexive	reciprocal
Repetitive	iterative	repetitive
Semireflexive	semi-reflexive	reflexive
Stative	perfective	descriptive
Undoer	infective	oppositive

Chart 4: Divergent Terminological Usage

The choice of using the current set of terms is to avoid confusion with the earlier standards, since in some cases they used the same term differently: Lounsbury and Chafe use both purposive and iterative for completely different morphemes. The terminology used here is based on that currently used in Iroquoian studies. Morpheme names are capitalized to distinguish them from generic uses. For example, "the Causative morpheme has a causative meaning" capitalizes the morpheme name but not the general term.