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THE FORM, FUNCTION AND SEMANTICS OF MIDDLE VOICE IN WENDAT

Mémoire présenté
à la Faculté des études supérieures de l'Université Laval
dans le cadre du programme de maîtrise en anthropologie et linguistique
pour l'obtention du grade de maître ès arts (M.A.)

DÉPARTEMENT D'ANTHROPOLOGIE
FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES SOCIALES
UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL
QUÉBEC

2010

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

1 ....first person
2 ....second person
3 ....third person
M ....masculine
FZ ....feminine zoic
IN ....inclusive
DU ....dual
SG ....singular
AGT ....agent
MID ....middle
REFL ....reflexive
DUPL ....duplicative
REP ....repetitive
FUT ....future
FACT ....factual
JOIN ....joiner
CAUS...causative
BEN...benefactive
REV...reversive
DISTR...distributive
INSTR...instrumental
HAB ....habitual
PUNC ....punctual
STAT ....stative

Abstract

Wendat is a Northern Iroquoian language which has not been spoken since the turn of the 20th century. Like other Iroquoian languages, Wendat contains a morpheme that one can equate to the phenomenon of middle voice. This thesis compares the form and semantics of Wendat middle voice to the parameter of 'relative elaboration of events,' as outlined by Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994). The functions of Wendat middle voice are equally examined in the context of the functions of the 'semi-reflexive' described by Floyd Lounsbury (1953). The diachronic development of the Wendat middle is another subject of discussion in this thesis. The phenomena of transitivity and lexicalization are considered in terms of their relation to the Wendat middle voice. Appendices show sample pages of the corpus as well as the entire set of verified middle data.

Résumé

Le wendat est une langue de la famille iroquoïenne qui ne se parle plus depuis le début du vingtième siècle. Comme les autres langues iroquoïennes, le wendat contient un morphème qui pourrait correspondre au phénomène de la voix moyenne. Ce mémoire compare la forme et la sémantique de la voix moyenne en wendat au concept 'd'élaboration relative des événements,' tel que l'emploie Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994). Les fonctions de la voix moyenne en wendat sont examinées dans le contexte des fonctions du 'semi-réfléchi' que décrit Floyd Lounsbury (1953). Le développement diachronique de la voix moyenne en wendat fait aussi partie des questions discutées dans ce mémoire. Les phénomènes de la transitivité et de la lexicalisation sont examinés à la lumière de leurs relations à la voix moyenne en wendat. Les annexes donnent un échantillon du corpus, ainsi que l'ensemble des données qui se sont avérées relever de la voix moyenne.

Introduction

Middle voice, often confounded with the reflexive, is a distinct phenomenon that has little been treated in its ensemble. The very term 'middle voice' entered into usage to designate a functional category in the study of Classical Greek (see Lyons 1969). Since its first theoretical inception, the phenomenon of middle voice has been defined through a variety of parameters by numerous linguists. In its study in conjunction with Classical Greek, the middle voice was defined as a verb form in which "the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests" (Lyons 1969 : 373). Another traditional definition of middle voice equates the phenomenon with a verb form that "serves to express that the subject is acting on herself/himself (reflexive) or for herself/himself" (Trask 1993 : 171). These definitions echo the same theme : action affecting the Agent or the Agent's interests in some manner. In a similar vein, the linguist Shibatani defines the middle as a voice marker for which the "development of an action is confined within the agent's personal sphere so that the action's effect accrues on the agent itself" (2006 : 234).

In speaking of the origin of the study of middle voice, Jetté describes middle voice as being an analogy of the Greek homonym (Jetté 1906 : cited in Rice 2008). The author goes on to explain that the middle "denotes that the subject of the verb is the agent and to some extent, though not fully, the object of the verbal action" (Jetté 1906 : cited in Rice 2008). In its basic form, the middle is used "whenever the subject affects himself by performing the verbal action, without being properly the object of it, for instance, when he acts to his own advantage" (Jetté 1906 : cited in Rice 2008). Another linguist working in the field of voice and valency, M.H. Klaiman, describes the middle as a form that "implicates the logical subject's affectedness" (Klaiman 1991 : 105). For instance, according to Klaiman, the middle "encodes a range of specific meanings, which vary from system to system, such that the referent of the nominal which a verb assigns as logical subject coincides with the locus of the principal effects of the verbally denoted action" (Klaiman 1991 : 105). As stated by multiple linguists, these definitions indicate that the affectedness of the Agent is one of the central parameters of middle voice.

In Iroquoian linguistics, the term middle voice has been used to describe a similar morpheme in the predicate structure (Lounsbury 1953; Chafe 1967; Mithun, p.c. : 2009).

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Iroquoian middle voice also signals coreference between the Agent and the affected entity. This morpheme, whose basic form in all Iroquoian languages is -at-, has also been termed 'semi-reflexive' (Michelson 2002; Woodbury 2003; Kopris 2000) and 'reflexive' (Chafe 1967). After examining the data, it was found that the Wendat language, like the other Iroquoian languages, has a form that corresponds to this morpheme.

The Wendat language, a Northern Iroquoian language, has been dormant since the beginning of the 20th century. The descendants of the Wendat people live today at Wendake, Québec, a small community outside of Québec City, Québec. Like the other Iroquoian languages, Wendat is a polysynthetic language which has a complex verbal structure. Middle voice in Wendat takes the basic morphological form -at- whereas the reflexive takes the basic form -atat-. These two morphemes, which are both verbal prefixes, indicate that the Agent and the Patient of the construction are in fact the same entity. Although the middle voice in Wendat comes from a reflexive source, the two morphemes are in fact distinct in terms of their functions, effects, and realizations within the predicate structure.

Although the presence of the middle and the reflexive is well documented by Iroquoian linguists, the semantics and the specific functions that separate these two morphemes have not yet been the subject of study for any Iroquoian language (Mithun, p.c., 2008; Chafe, p.c., 2008). Therefore, the objective of this study is to elucidate the nature of middle voice in Wendat in employing the cross-linguistic research parameters of Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994). It is a question of essentially comparing the behaviour of the middle in Wendat with the typological generalizations regarding this subject found by Kemmer.

First, the Wendat middle will be classified in one of the three middle-marking systems identified by Kemmer. The distribution between the reflexive and the middle will be examined in order to ascertain the relation between these two morphemes. Furthermore, each usage of the middle marker will be organized according to the middle situation types described by Kemmer and reproduced here in chapter 3.

As Kemmer shows in her cross-linguistic study, the middle marker has varying effects as to the transitivity of the verbs with which it combines. This study will also examine the phenomenon of transitivity in the context of the middle markers in Wendat. The ability of the middle marker to appear with transitive roots, as well as its capacity to detransitivize such roots, will be yet another component of this study.

The question of lexicalization is also a principal preoccupation of studies of middle voice. The middle morpheme appears always in front of the Wendat verb root, yet a noun root, when one is employed, can be inserted between the middle marker and the verb root. However, if lexicalization took place, the transparency of this string as two consecutive morphemes, the middle marker and the verb root, will be lost. It follows that, in such a case, the noun root will be inserted in front of both the middle marker and the verb root. Therefore, the corpus will also be examined for proof of such lexicalization.

The goal of this study is to relate how middle voice in Wendat conforms or not with the typological proposals of Suzanne Kemmer. How do the forms and functions of middle voice in the Wendat language fit into the typological propositions made by Kemmer (1993; 1994) in her study of middle voice? What is the nature of the relation between the middle and the reflexive in the Wendat language? In a diachronic sense, how did the Wendat middle come to be? What are the relations that the Wendat middle holds with transitivity and lexicalization? The principal parameter of Kemmer, the relative elaboration of events, will be employed as a guide for this study. More specifically, middle voice in Wendat will be examined in terms of its relation with the reflexive, of its relation with transitivity, and of its possible lexicalization with the verb root.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides a review of the literature surrounding middle voice. This chapter also describes the theoretical background used in this study, that of Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994). Equally present in this chapter is a description of the phenomenon of middle voice as it appears in the Iroquoian languages. Chapter 2 gives a background on the Iroquoian language family as well as a short history of the Wendat people. This short history is followed by a section concerning the history of Wendat linguistics as well as another section providing a grammatical sketch of the Wendat language. Chapter 3 begins by describing the methodology used in conducting this study. Following this description, the third chapter treats the Wendat middle voice and its adherence to the parameter of 'relative elaboration of events' and the middle situation types outlined by Kemmer. A look at the Wendat reflexive and its relation to the Wendat middle is equally included in this chapter. Chapter 4 provides another look at the Wendat middle in examining its interaction with transitivity and lexicalization. It also examines in detail the diachronic development of the Wendat middle. The text following this chapter provides a conclusion to the thesis.

1. The Middle Voice : Theoretical Background

1.1 Introduction

The following chapter will outline the various theories surrounding the phenomenon of middle voice. Section 1.2 will give a brief summary of the theoretical background regarding middle voice as it appears in the linguistic literature. Next, sections 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 will provide a detailed account of the theoretical background used in the present study, the semantic and functional theory of Suzanne Kemmer. Section 1.6 will look at the occurrence of the middle voice in the Iroquoian languages.

1.2 The Middle Voice in Linguistic Research

The literature on middle voice can be separated into two principal categories : those that discuss middle voice and voice systems in general and those that are case studies of middle voice in a particular language. A discussion of voice systems in general can be found in the work of M.H. Klaiman (1991). In the author's monograph, entitled *Grammatical Voice*, one can find an in-depth study of active-middle voice systems. Klaiman surveys three active-middle voice systems in trying to characterize the basic functions of voice alternations. In studying these voice systems, Klaiman asserts that those verbs that do alternate between active and middle voices are indeed transitive, not intransitive. Also, with every alternating voice system, one can find a class of exclusively middle verbs in addition to a class of exclusively active verbs. Ingrid Kaufmann (2006) also provides a look at middle voice systems on the basis of data from Fula, an Atlantic Niger-Congo language. Kaufmann asserts that middle verb forms usually display a reduced argument structure in comparison to active verbs. Despite this fact, the author asserts that the middle is conceptually motivated and consists of a morphological device which marks "non-canonical semantic properties of the arguments of verbal stems" (Kaufmann 2006 : 1678). According to the author's analysis, the middle leads to differential readings, a particular property that leads to anticausative, causative reflexive, reflexive, and facilitative readings.

The article of Croft, Bat-Zeev Shydkrot, and Kemmer (1987) discusses the diachronic and semantic processes of middle voice phenomenon. From looking at a range of languages, the authors claim that the middle voice is both a syntactic and a lexical phenomenon. This morphosyntactic marker expresses several configurations of grammatical relations yet it also appears on certain lexical semantic classes. This assertion leads to the authors' next point, which is that the middle is semantic in nature. The authors have found the middle in the same usages across languages, thereby supporting their claim. Another article by Suzanne Kemmer (1995) highlights the use of emphatic and reflexive -self forms in English. Through this article, Kemmer advances her idea that the reflexive is used to signal coreference particularly in situations where one would not expect such coreference. As the reflexive holds this specific property, the middle on the other hand, indicates coreference where it is expected and intrinsic to the situation.

Middle voice is equally mentioned in the work of Anna Siewierska (1984) on the passive construction. In this monograph, Siewierska describes middle voice as it was embraced by various linguists in traditional literature. Therefore, the author puts forth six different prototypes of middle voice : the plain middle, the reciprocal middle, the reflexive middle, the nucleonic middle, the deponent middle, and the passive middle. The nucleonic middle refers to situations in which the object of the action belongs to or moves into the subject's sphere. A deponent middle is an action that indicates the physical or mental disposition of the subject.

In her presentation at the *Workshop on American Indian Languages*, Rice (2008) gave a brief summary of the literature on middle voice and provided a case study of this phenomenon in the Athabascan language family. Rice (2008) adopted the work of Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994), whose work will be described in detail in section 2.3, as the theoretical background for her presentation. Rice also explored the question of voice and valency in the Athabascan family in her article from (2000). Among the voice or valency elements that the author surveyed, Rice looks at the range of consructions in which the middle voice can be found. The author argued for the existence of two major voice or valency entities, the middle voice and the causative. Another case study on Athabascan languages is the M.A. thesis of Andrea Berez (2006) which focuses on middle voice motivation in Dena'ina iterative verbs. The realization of spatial differentiation within the language is pinpointed as the principal motivation for middle voice marking. If the spatial starting point and the spatial ending point are identical within a construction, then these iterative verbs are more likely to contain the Dena'ina middle.

The Na-Dene middle voice, or the so-called 'D-element,' is the subject of an article by Chad Thompson (1996). Instead of the typical reflexive, Thompson advances the argument that the Na-Dene middle voice stems from a case of argument suppression, in particular from a suppressing or dummy morpheme. Donna B. Gerdts and Thomas E. Hukari present a different case study on the Halkomelem middle, which is what they term "a complex network of constructions" (Gerdts & Hukari 2006 : 44). The authors discuss middle voice in Halkomelem, a Central Salish language, in light of Kemmer's cross-linguistic work on middles. In citing a variety of Kemmer's middle situation types, Gerdts and Hukari assert that the 'reflexive' is the central category for the Halkomelem middle from which other uses emanate. The authors also discuss several middle constructions which are syntactically intransitive but semantically transitive such as passives, antipassives, and personal and logophoric reflexives. The middle voice in Somali is explored in detail in the article of John Saeed (1995). The main focus of this article is to exemplify the range of meanings relative to the middle affix. Saeed identifies six principal uses of middle voice in Somali which are not mutually exclusive sets. The author also affirms that the middle affix in Somali does not necessarily have a detransitivizing effect on the syntactic argument structure of a verb. However, Saeed does believe that the middle voice affix changes the semantic argument structure of a base verb.

In a cognitive approach to middle voice, Linda Manney (1993) discusses the middle voice in Modern Greek. This dissertation argues that there is a such a thing as a prototypical middle event and this prototype denotes the noninitiative emotional response of a human experiencer. Her middle prototype comprises three principal elements: high affect, low volition, and low individuation. Manney also explores the so-called passive voice in Modern Greek and shows that this construction is actually part of the middle voice category. The dissertation of Ricardo Maldonado Soto (1992) also uses a Cognitive Grammar approach to discuss the middle *se* in Spanish. In examining the semantic and syntactic composition of the Spanish clitic *se*, Soto claims that all instances of this clitic are motivated and meaningful. In the framework of this study, middles represent a transitivity decrease from transitive constructions and a transitivity increase from intransitive constructions. Soto also works with the proposition of Kemmer that the middle has a low degree of distinguishability of participants.

In his article on the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) middle voice, a Salishan language, David Beck (2000) discusses the use of the middle as a way to denote a 'relatively low elaboration of events.'

In taking the work of Kemmer (1993), Beck examines the middle marker in the context of the unitariness of events and participants. The author asserts that middle marking in Bella Coola appears when the event is presented as nonunitary or when there are nonunitary participants involved. In connection with the work of Suzanne Kemmer, Zarina Estrada Fernández (2005) presents a discussion of the middle marker in Pima Bajo, a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Northwest Mexico. In this paper, the author provides evidence that the middle and the reflexive are both syntactically and semantically different expressions. In addition, Fernández advocates the position that the subject in a middle construction can either be a nonagentive 'executor' or an affected participant. Due to the fact that middle constructions typically emphasize the endpoint or result of an event, it is also the goal of the paper to argue that the preferred aspect for middles in Pima Bajo is the perfect or completive.

Yet another adoption of Kemmer's typological study (1993) is the account of the Creek middle by Donald E. Hardy (1994). In this article, the author discusses mainly the resultative, spontaneous, and facilitative middles in Creek, a Muskogean language. Hardy states that middle events in Creek usually have only one participant which tends to be a resultative, spontaneous, or facilitative undergoer, or a body-action actor. The Creek voice system mainly puts the transitive active verbs in opposition to the middle intransitive verbs, yet there is evidence that there was at one time a productive class of middle transitive verbs as well. The Creek voice system is equally the subject of the (2000) article by Jack B. Martin. Martin argues that the concept of voice as opposed to the concepts of valency increase or valency reduction best describes this system in Creek. Martin also asserts that the middle in Creek causes a shift in attention from cause to effect and that any valency changes are actually side effects of changes in point of view.

In the monograph, *Voice : form and function* (1994), Fox, Arce-Arenales, and Axelrod present a cross-linguistic study of both the active voice and middle diathesis. According to their analysis, there are two types of phrases, active phrases which have active subjects and are not affected by the semantics of the verb and middle diathesis phrases whose syntactic subjects are affected by the semantics of the verb. In using evidence from Spanish, English, and Koyukon Athabascan, the authors propose that middle diathesis is necessarily marked in the verbal morphology and therefore many constructions traditionally analyzed as passive should rather fall into this category. Furthermore, it is proposed that middle diathesis is often associated with certain aspects, notably the punctual and those that indicate a change of state. Another important

article in this monograph concerns middles and passives in Ancient Greek by Egbert J. Bakker (1994). According to Bakker, the notion of Aktionsart is a constraint upon middle voice in Ancient Greek as well as on upon its relationship with aspect. The author proposes that middle semantics should be evaluated in terms of degree of *affectedness* of the subject. The level of *affectedness* held by any one middle construction is determined by classification of the event, which takes into consideration volition, causation, and agentivity. In addition, Bakker also comments that middle verbs are high in transitivity because their level of *affectedness* of the subject is extremely high.

Aside from the literature introduced above, there is also a wealth of literature concerning the middle voice in generative linguistics. For example, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) treat reflexivity and its relation to Principles A and B of Binding Theory. The authors affirm that reflexivity is only permitted under certain conditions, one of which being that there must be at least two arguments that are coreferential. In addition, the predicate must also be marked as reflexive either on its head or on one of its arguments. Therefore, the authors consider that reflexivity is the result of the absorption of one of the theta roles of the theta grid of the verb. Similarly, Markus Steinbach (2002) treats middle voice in German as a result of the interaction between syntax and semantics. According to Steinbach, middle constructions are the result of a syntactic operation that transforms the selectional properties of the underlying predicate. In these constructions, the first semantic argument of the verb is not associated with a syntactic constituent, however it does still exist as an implicit argument. In fact, the second semantic argument is the one which is associated with the subject of the middle construction.

In her monograph *Verb Semantics, Diathesis and Aspect*, Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2006) studies argument alternations in the context of the 'Sign Model,' a theory which presupposes that aspectual and grammatical properties are predictable from the lexical specification of the matrix verb. In examining both the passive and the English middle, the author notes that the verbs which permit a middle construction are more restricted than those that appear with the passive. Furthermore, Dimitrova-Vulchanova adds that the middles in English do not permit a visible reference to the initiator of the action. In yet another monograph, Fagan (1992) discusses the semantics and the syntax of middle constructions in German. According to Fagan, the middle is created from a transitive predicate from which the accusative direct object becomes the nominative subject of the new middle construction. This study also refers to several common

properties of the German middle such as the frequency with which the middle is attested in the present tense.

The article of Thomas Stroik (1995), "On middle formation," concerns the formation of middle voice through the syntax. Contrary to other analyses, Stroik asserts that the theta role of the Agent is not suppressed. According to this analysis, verbs conserve their theta grids in the syntax of middle constructions. The authors Ackema and Schoorlemmer (1994) propose a new analysis of middle constructions concerning the interaction between syntax and semantics. This analysis, evidenced from both English and Dutch, advances the argument that the grammatical subject of a middle verb is in fact its external argument. Unlike a syntactic analysis of movement, Ackema and Schoorlemmer defend a more lexical approach in which the logical object is the subject of the middle verb in the underlying structure. In their article from 1995, the same authors argue again for a non-movement analysis of middles. Ackema and Schoorlemmer admit that the passive and the middle share certain characteristics, yet they claim that these two constructions are not derived in the same manner.

Other literature abounds which pertains in some aspect to the current study of the Wendat middle. Transitivity is one of the key concepts throughout Kemmer's typological study. This aspect of the literature is best understood through the lens of the Hopper and Thompson (1980) article regarding transitivity in grammar and discourse. Transitivity is broken down into ten component parts, all of which can indicate either a high-transitive or a low-transitive event. If a clause contains a feature regarded as highly transitive, then additional features will also show that clause as highly transitive. The authors affirm that morphosyntactic markings are responsive to transitivity as a whole, regardless of whether or not a second participant exists. For these two authors, transitivity is a continuum and not just a question of intransitive or transitive.

As for the concept of lexicalization, the work of Leonard Talmy (in Shopen 1985) examines in detail the question of lexicalization patterns. Talmy discusses, in particular, the concepts of personation and valence as well as the relation of valence to verbs of affect. The notion of satellites and paths are also treated within this article. In their monograph on grammaticalization, Hopper and Traugott (2003) examine the process of morphologization. In particular, Hopper and Traugott look at the creation of bound morphemes by the process of cliticization, and then its uniting with the verb stem, the process of univerbation. The monograph *Lexicalization and Language Change*, by Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, offers

another perspective on lexicalization in the context of its relation to grammaticalization. In particular, Brinton and Traugottt explore the process of demorphologization whereby a morpheme loses most of its semantic and grammatical relevancy and becomes a uniform and indistinguishable part of the construction.

Despite the prevalence of the literature focusing on middle voice, the phenomenon has rare been treated in a true cross-linguistic, typological fashion. The most prominent of these typological studies of middle voice is that of Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994). The author characterizes middle voice from the semantic properties of this marker. For her corpus, the author studied a range of languages, all of which have an overt morphosyntactic marker for middle voice. In order to diversify the data, Kemmer uses principally those voice systems which have developed independent of each other, both in a genetic and an areal sense. The two works of Kemmer (1993; 1994), explained in detail in the following section, will be used as the principal theoretical background for this study.

1.2.1 Conclusion

The literature concerning middle voice is not only varied in terms of its content, but also varied in terms of its approach. The major works on middle voice were described in detail in this section . The following section will broach the subject of the typological theory of Suzanne Kemmer concerning middle voice.

1.3 The Semantic Contexts of Middle Voice

In her cross-linguistic study, Kemmer classifies all of the middle semantics according to their context. Kemmer uses the term 'situation types' to describe these contexts and thus this term will be used in this study. In total, the author identifies thirteen situation types in which the middle marker can be found throughout the world's languages.

1.3.1 Kemmer's Middle Situation Types

Each situation type is a specific semantic class that is associated with middle morphology. The thirteen different situation types, as identified by Kemmer (1993; 1994) are presented here with examples for each context. The segment or cluster in bold represents the middle marker.

The first situation type, 'Grooming & body care,' is attested with verbs such as those for 'washing,' 'bathing,' shaving,' and 'getting dressed.'

1. Grooming and body care :
   Djola   -p**ɔ**s-**ɔ**   'wash'
   Bahasa Indonesia   **ber**-dandan   'get dressed'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 16)

The situation type 'Nontranslational motion' includes verbs that represent movement without an overall change in body position. Unlike motion along a path, this type of movement occurs within the sphere of the body. Some of the actions that are included within this situation type are 'bowing,' 'stretching,' 'twisting,' 'turning,' and 'nodding.'

2. Nontranslational motion :
   Old Norse   snúa-**sk**   'turn'
   German   **sich** verbeugen   'bow'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 17)

The next group of verbs typically include those that specify a change in the posture of the body. Verbs of 'sitting down,' 'standing up,' 'squatting,' 'lying down,' and 'kneeling' have all been attested.

3. Change in body posture :
   Hungarian   emel-**ked**-   'rise'
   Guugu Yimidhirr daga-**adhi**   'sit down'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 17)

Kemmer also refers to the next situation type as the 'Self-benefactive middle' as the Agent of the action is usually also a Recipient or Beneficiary. Some of the middle verbs that

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appear within the 'Indirect middle,' or 'Self-benefactive middle,' category are those of 'acquiring,' 'requesting,' and 'receiving.'

4. Indirect middle :
   Changana   *ku **ti**-tekela*   'take for oneself'
   Turkish   *ed-**in***   'acquire'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 17)

'Naturally reciprocal events' are deemed as such because the reciprocity of the action or state is usually innate. Therefore, the relationship existing between the two or more participants is usually or necessarily reciprocal. Naturally reciprocal verbs, as opposed to ordinary reciprocal events, include 'fight,' 'embrace,' 'meet,' 'converse,' and 'greet.'

5. Naturally reciprocal events :
   Latin   *amplecto-**r***   'embrace'
   Old Norse   *hitta-**sk***   'meet'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 18)

Other verbs that commonly are attested with middle morphology include verbs of translational motion. In opposition to nontranslational motion, as discussed above, the situation type of translational motion refers to motion along a path in space. This motion is typically self-induced and thus involves an animate entity.

6. Translational motion :
   Pangwa   *i-nu-xa*   'climb up'
   Classical Greek *péte-**sthai*** 'fly'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 18)

Middle morphology is often employed with verbs of emotion. This situation type includes all verbs which describe an emotional reaction. Therefore, verbs of being 'happy,' 'sad,' 'angry,' or 'frightened' all appear under the scope of this category.

7. Emotion middle :
   Mohave   ***mat** iθa:v*   'be angry'
   Guugu Yimidhirr *dumba-**adhi***   'get a shock or fright'
   (Kemmer 1993 : 18)

In conjunction with verbs of emotion, the next situation type associates middle morphology with emotive discursive acts. In acts such as 'lamenting,' 'cursing,' 'complaining,' and 'regretting,' middle morphology is widely attested.

8. Emotive speech acts :
    Sanskrit   *kṛpat*-**e**   'lament'
    German   **sich** *beschweren*   'complain'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 18)

Aside from emotional discursive acts, there is also a middle situation type for other sorts of speech actions. Although some of these discursive acts may have emotional overtones, they are not, by nature, emotional actions.

9. Other speech actions :
    Kanuri   *àwùlò-t-în*   'be boastful, be a braggart'
    Mohave   **mat** *kuna:v*   'confess'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 19)

Middle morphology also appears quite frequently with verbs describing mental states or processes. These verbs of cognition can include verbs of 'remembering,' 'forgetting,' 'meditating,' 'thinking,' and 'supposing.'

10. Cognition middle :
    Latin   *medito-***r**   'ponder, meditate'
    Old Norse   *þykkja-***sk**   'think'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 19)

The next middle situation type represents a class of verbs that represent what Kemmer depicts as 'spontaneous events.' These events, which include 'evaporating,' 'becoming,' 'rotting,' and 'growing,' all have a similar thematic structure. These situations all designate changes of state of an entity. The affected entity, the Patient, shows a complete absence of volitional initiation. Within this event, there can be an uncoded Agent but this Agent must be distinct from the affected entity. Instead, the event is treated as if it originated directly from the Patient.

11. Spontaneous events :
    Turkish   *dinl-**en***   'recover'
    Changana   *ku-**ti**-milela*   'germinate, sprout'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 19)

The logophoric middle is not as widespread as the other middle situation types. In fact, it is solely attested in Old Norse and its descendant, Modern Icelandic. In such constructions, the middle marker is found upon verbs of belief, saying, and perception. The Agent or Experiencer of the event, as represented in the dependent clause, is coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb.

12. Logophoric middle :
    Modern Icelandic :
    *þeir sáu-**st**   hlaupa.*
    They saw-MM to-run.
    'They saw themselves run.'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 20)

In the following situation type, the middle marker is used to derive verbs of a different thematic structure than that of the unmarked root verb. In these three related types of middles, 'Passive,' 'Impersonal,' and 'Facilitative,' the subject of the middle-marked verb corresponds with the object of the unmarked root verb. As in the 'Spontaneous events' middle situation, both of these participants are Patients. However, unlike the 'Spontaneous events' type, there is indeed an Agent entity in the event but it is not overt.

13. Passive, Impersonal, Facilitative middles :
    Kanuri   *t-úrúk-ìn*   'I am seen'
    Français   *le livre **se** vend bien*   'the book is selling well'
    German   *der Artikel liest **sich** leicht*   'the article reads easily'
    (Kemmer 1993 : 20)

1.4 Middle-marking systems

Kemmer distinguishes between three principal types of systems regarding middle morphology. These systems differ according to their marking for middle voice in contrast with their marking for reflexive situations.

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1.4.1 One-form middle system

In this middle system, the morphological form of the middle marker is identical to that of the reflexive marker. In the example below, it is possible to see that the middle marker takes the same form as the reflexive marker.

14. German :
    Er sieht sich.   'He sees himself.'   (reflexive meaning)
    Er fürchtet sich.   'He is afraid.'   (middle usage - emotion middle)
    (Kemmer 1993 : 24)

French is another example of a language with a one-form middle system. The middle marker, *se*, as in the construction *s'en aller* 'to leave', shares the same morphological form as the reflexive, as in the construction *se voir* 'to see oneself.' Other languages that have one-form middle systems include Changana, Pangwa and Guugu Yimidhirr. In fact, among the world's languages, one-form systems are the most frequent of the three middle-marking systems.

1.4.2 Two-form cognate middle system

In this type of system, the middle marker and the reflexive marker are in fact distinct. However, despite their different morphological forms, the two markers are historically related. In this language type, the reflexive marker is often a noun or a pronoun and sometimes a verbal affix whereas the middle marker, on the other hand, is regularly a verbal affix. According to Kemmer (1994 : 188), in all of the languages of this category, the middle marker always has less phonological weight in comparison with the reflexive. Therefore, Kemmer uses the terms 'heavy' and 'light' to designate the reflexive marker and the middle marker respectively. Two examples of this system are found below.

15. a.   Russian :
          sebja   heavy (reflexive marker)
          -sja   light (middle marker)
    b.   Djola :
          -ɔrɔ-   heavy (reflexive marker)

15

| -ɔ | light (middle marker) |
| | (Kemmer 1994 : 189) |

As seen in these two examples, the reflexive markers have more phonological weight than the middle markers. It is also possible to see the diachronic relation arising between the reflexive and middle markers in these two languages. As we shall see in due time, Wendat can be placed into this category as the reflexive and middle markers are distinct yet historically related. The discussion of Wendat markers and their connection with Kemmer's typology of middle systems can be found in chapter 4.

1.4.3 Two-form non-cognate middle system

Similar to the last middle system, in the two-form non-cognate middle system, there exist two distinctive markers for the middle and the reflexive. Similar to the previous system, the middle marker also has less phonological weight than that of the reflexive marker. However, unlike the previous middle system, the two voice markers are not related historically. The examples below illustrate this type of middle system.

16.	a.	Turkish :	
		kendi-	heavy (reflexive marker)
		-In-	light (middle marker)
	b.	Latin :	
		se	heavy (reflexive marker)
		-r	light (middle marker)
		(Kemmer 1994 : 189)	

In these two examples, the two voice markers are distinct, both morphologically and historically.

1.5 The semantics of middle voice

Kemmer (1993; 1994) proposes that middle voice should be examined through the lens of a specific semantic property that she terms 'relative elaboration of events.' Relative elaboration of events is a parameter that specifies "the degree to which different schematic aspects of a situation are separated out and viewed as distinct by the speaker" (Kemmer 1993 : 211). The

author separates this phenomenon into two components : the relative distinguishability of participants and the relative distinguishability of events.

1.5.1 Relative distinguishability of participants

The relative distinguishability of participants is based upon the conceptual separation between the initiator of the action, the Agent, and the recipient of the action, or the Patient. This conceptual separation does not apply to intransitive verbs as there is but one participant implicated in the event. However, for transitive verbs, there is a clear conceptual distinction between the two participants of the event. Middle verbs as well as reflexive verbs do not share this clear conceptual separation of participants. Although this separation is not clear cut for the middle and reflexive verbs, Kemmer argues nonetheless that this distinction exists for these two types of verbs. According to the author, the relative distinguishability of participants can be described as "the degree to which a single participant is conceptually distinguished into separate participants, whether body vs. mind, or Agent vs. unexpectedly contrasting Patient" (Kemmer 1993 : 66). Therefore, although the participants are coreferential in middle and reflexive verbs, Kemmer argues that these verbs show some degree of conceptual separation of participants.

17. 'Degree of Distinguishability of Participants' (Kemmer 1994: 209)

| Two participants | Reflexive | Middle | One participant |

+ -- –
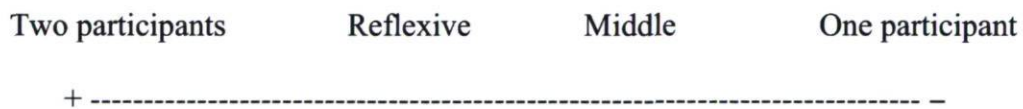
On this scale, each type of verb is judged according to its degree of participant distinguishability. The two-participant, or transitive, verbs are situated at one end of the spectrum and the one-participant events, or intransitive verbs, are located at the opposite end. Kemmer situates the reflexive and middle verbs between the one-participant and two-participant verbs. Furthermore, these two types of verbs, reflexive and middle, are separated on this scale and are placed in two different locations, thereby representing their individual and respective degree of participant distinguishability.

Although the Agent and the Patient are coreferential with a middle marker or a reflexive marker, middle voice cannot be subsumed under the category of reflexives, nor vice versa. The

distinction between these two categories of verbs is demonstrated by the distribution of heavy and light forms with respect to their markers. In two-form middle systems, whether cognate or not, the heavy form is the productive form that gives a reflexive gloss when used with transitive verbs. On the other hand, the light form can not normally be added to an array of transitive verbs. Its distribution is much more restricted as shown in the example below.

18. Russian :

    a.   *Viktor nenavidit **sebja***
           Victor hates   RM
           'Victor hates himself'

    b.   **Viktor nenavidit* + **sja***
           Victor hates + MM
           'Victor hates himself'
           (Kemmer 1993 : 27)

When the middle marker can combine with a transitive verb, it does not necessarily give a reflexive gloss. As demonstrated by the example below, the semantics of such a construction normally fits into one of the middle situation types described above.

19. Russian :

    a.   *On utomil   **sebja***
           He exhausted RM
           'He exhausted himself' (reflexive event)

    b.   *On utomil + **sja***
           He exhausted + MM
           'He grew weary' (spontaneous event)
           (Kemmer 1993 : 27)

Although the reflexive marker and the middle marker both indicate that the Agent and Patient are coreferential in these two sentences, there is a semantic distinction between the use of these two morphemes.

    In the context of grooming actions, one of the middle situation types identified by Kemmer, it is sometimes possible to use the reflexive marker instead of the middle marker.

20. Russian :

    a.   *Ja každyj den' moju+**sja***
            I every day wash + MM
            'I wash every day'
    b.   *Ja myl*   **sebja**
            I washed self
            'I washed *myself*' (not someone else)
            (Kemmer 1994 : 204)

In the example above, once again there is a semantic distinction between the usage of the two markers. The reflexive marker in (20b) emphasizes the coreference between the two participants of the event. It is used as a means of reinforcing this coreference of the two participants in a situation in which this coreference is not expected.

From this data, Kemmer proposes that the reflexive and the middle are in fact two different phenomena. Kemmer describes the reflexive as "a situation type in which some separation of initiating and endpoint entities is maintained, despite the essential coreference of the participants" (1994 : 207). However, Kemmer asserts that there is little conceptual separation between the participants of a middle construction. The author explains that the middle marker "has the basic function of indicating that the two semantic roles of Initiator and Endpoint refer to a single holistic entity without conceptually distinguished aspects" (1994 : 207).

Kemmer visually represents these two phenomena with the schemas found below.

21. 'The direct reflexive event schema' (Kemmer 1993 : 71)

A

19
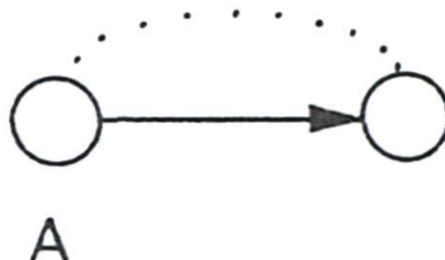
22. 'The body action middle event schema' (Kemmer 1993 : 71)

A
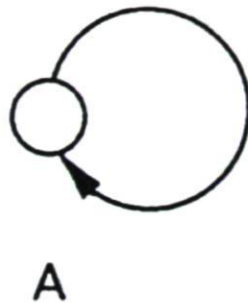
In schema (21), there are two participants, A and B, that are in fact the same entity, demonstrated by the dotted line. The schema (22) demonstrates that there are two participants but they are in fact the same holistic entity. In this schema, there is only one circle present in order to illustrate this holistic entity and show that there is a little to no conceptual separation between these participants.

1.5.2 Relative distinguishability of events

The other aspect of the relative elaboration of events, the relative distinguishability of events, differentiates middle voice from other constructions. The middle voice, according to the author, is also characterized by a lack of distinction between the sub-events of a single situation. Kemmer maintains that naturally reciprocal events, one of the middle situation types identified by the author, are different from ordinary reciprocal events. According to the author, concerning naturally reciprocal events, there is no distinction made between the sub-events of such an action. In English, the naturally reciprocal events do not take any overt marking. However, English uses the marker *each other* to denote an ordinary reciprocal action. In the following example, the use of these two markers is represented.

23. English :

    a.   John and Mary kissed **each other**.
    b.   John and Mary kissed.
           (Kemmer 1993 : 111)

20

With the presence of the marker *each other* in (23a), the event can be conceived as a single action, but also as the result of two sequential actions. In the examples (23b), there is but one interpretation that the actions of the two participants are simultaneous and indistinguishable. As this example demonstrates, the actions of the two participants of a naturally reciprocal event are less distinctive that those of an ordinary reciprocal event.

It is possible to see this same lack of distinction between sub-events with stative verbs that are naturally reciprocal. In Latin, the verb *cōpulo-r*, which means 'be linked' appears with the middle marker *-r*. However, with other ordinary reciprocal events, Latin takes the marker *inter sē* which is closer to the reflexive marker *sē*. Hungarian follows this same model. The middle marker *-kod-* takes the same form as the marker used for naturally reciprocal events, while the reflexive marker is *mag* and the marker for ordinary reciprocal events is *egymás*.

Just like the relations between the reflexive and middle markers, Kemmer finds that the markers for ordinary reciprocal events have more phonological weight that those used for naturally reciprocal events. This tendency is attributed to the fact that the middle marker is often the same marker employed for naturally reciprocal events.

Therefore, the semantics of naturally reciprocal events, which take the middle marker, versus the semantics of ordinary reciprocal events, which take the prototypical reciprocal marker, demonstrates the level of conceptual separation for these two types of actions. The middle voice, used in conjunction with naturally reciprocal events, illustrates a lowered level of distinction between sub-events as compared to that of ordinary reciprocal events.

1.5.3 Conclusion

According to the cross-linguistic study by Kemmer, it is possible to accord certain semantic properties to middle voice. In applying Kemmer's parameter, the relative elaboration of events, middle voice is a phenomenon in which there is a weak distinction between participants and sub-events, which differentiates it from reflexive events as well as from intransitive and transitive events.

Scholarship relating to middle voice in Iroquoian languages dates back to 1953, with the publication of *Oneida Verb Morphology* by Floyd Lounsbury. Lounsbury refers to middle voice as the 'semi-reflexive' and thus defines the terminology for this phenomenon in almost all of the Iroquoian linguistic studies to follow. Lounsbury is well aware of the semi-reflexive being an actual middle voice and does indeed compare it to the reflexive pronouns in modern Indo-European languages. The author comments upon the functions of the Iroquoian middle voice and thus delineates four different functions common to the Oneida semi-reflexive, a sister language to Wendat. The first of these functions according to Lounsbury is "semi-reflexive action upon something belonging to the doer (whether alienable or inalienable possession)" (1953 : 74). The examples below illustrate the use of the semi-reflexive to indicate action upon a possession belonging to the Agent. In these examples, the middle voice marker is indicated in bold face.

24. a. wa?th**ala**htahkwanétane?[1]
       'He put his overshoes on'
    b. wa?th**ani**?nyúhsyahke?
       'He broke his nose'
    c. wa?th**até**swyahke?
       'He broke his back'
       (Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

The second of the functions described by Lounsbury is the semi-reflexive's capability of deriving an intransitive verb from an otherwise transitive root. This function of the Oneida semi-reflexive is demonstrated in example (25) where (a) and (c) are intransitive clauses with the semi-reflexive and (b) and (d) are their transitive counterparts without the semi-reflexive.

25. a. thó wah**á**tyʌ́
       'He sat down there'
    b. thó waha·yʌ́·
       'He set it there'
    c. wa?k**atí**tane?

---

[1] In the Oneida orthography, the symbol ? represents a glottal stop, u represents the back nasal vowel, and ʌ represents the back central nasal vowel.

'I got in'
d. wa?kétane?
'I put it in'
(Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

Another one of the semi-reflexive's functions is to derive a passive verb from an active one. Lounsbury gives two examples, reproduced below, to show the derivation of the passive verb with the use of the semi-reflexive.

26. a. yotnʌstayʌ́thu
'The corn has been planted'
b. yonʌstayʌ́thu
'She has planted the corn'
c. wahathle·wáhte?
'He got punished'
d. wahahle·wáhte?
'He punished her, injured her'
(Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

In the (26a) and (26c) examples, the semi-reflexive combines with the verb root to transform the verb from active to passive. The active equivalents of these verbs can be found in (26c) and (26d). The last and final function of the semi-reflexive as set out by Lounsbury is the semantic shift common to certain verb roots that combine with the middle voice. In the two examples below, the addition of the semi-reflexive causes changes in the semantics of the verb root. The examples (27a) and (27c) show the verb root with the semi-reflexive and the examples (27b) and (27d) demonstrate the same verb roots with their original meaning.

27. a. wahatʌhni·nú·
'He sold it'
b. wahahni·nú·
'He bought it or he bought it from her'
c. wahatʌníha?
'He borrowed it'
d. wahaníha?
'He lent it or he lent it to her'
(Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

These semantic shifts are in fact idiosyncratic and therefore unpredicatable in nature.

Lounsbury not only commented upon the middle voice in Iroquoian, he equally discussed what he termed the 'full reflexive' in Oneida. According to Lounsbury, the full reflexive denotes "true reflexive action (action upon oneself, not simply middle voice or action upon one's possession as with the semi-reflexive), reciprocal action, and…the transitive relation between an indefinite or feminine-dimunitive subject and an indefinite or feminine-diminutive object" (1953 : 74). The true reflexive action, where one entity is acting upon itself, can be seen through the example in (28).

28. a. ahsatatli·yó·
       'for you to kill yourself'
    b. ahsli·yó·
       'for you to kill it, or her'
       (Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

The action in (28a) shows the actor acting upon himself, this time in the act of killing. The example (28b) shows this same verb root but without the reflexive thereby getting rid of the reflexive gloss.

Reciprocal action is another domain of the full reflexive according to Lounsbury. The reflexive, as mentioned in Kemmer, can provide either a reflexive gloss or a reciprocal gloss according to the semantics of the verb root and the context of the utterance. In the example below, the full reflexive in Oneida provides a reciprocal reading to the verb.

29. a. wahyatátkʌʔ
       'They two saw each other'
    b. wahni·kʌ́·
       'They two saw it, or her'
       (Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

Another function of the Oneida reflexive is to indicate a transitive relation between an indefinite subject and an indefinite object. The indefinite subject and object can also be what Lounsbury terms a 'feminine-diminutive' subject or object. The Feminine Indefinite is the more recent term for this type of pronominal prefix in Iroquoian studies. The transitive relation existing between two Feminine Indefinite participants is codified by the use of the Feminine Indefinite agent plus

the full reflexive. The example below, (30), illustrates one of these such situations where both Agent and Patient happen to be Feminine Indefinite participants.

30. wa?utathlo·lí·
     'She (the grandmother) told her (the young granddaughter)'
     (Lounsbury 1953 : 74)

Therefore, both the grandmother and the granddaughter are counted as Feminine Indefinite participants and thus their transitive relationship is expressed by the use of the full reflexive. In concluding his discussion of the voice markers, Lounsbury notes that the full reflexive, in comparison with the semi-reflexive, can be thought of as a reduplicated form of the semi-reflexive.

Lounsbury was not the only scholar in Iroquoian studies to discuss middle voice and the reflexive. Wallace Chafe, studying the Seneca language, yet another sister language of Wendat, provides an additional discussion regarding what he terms the 'reflexive' and the 'reciprocal' morphemes. In Chafe's morphology, his 'reflexive' is equivalent to Lounsbury's 'semi-reflexive' and the present study's middle voice. The author asserts that the 'reflexive' indicates that "the total meaning of the base immediately involves or affects the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix, or the subject of a transitive prefix" (Chafe 1967 : 26). Like Lounsbury, Chafe notes that the 'reflexive' morpheme is comparable to the middle voice in some Indo-European languages (1967: 26). The 'reflexive' in Seneca also can act as a detransitivizer as shown in example (31).

31. a. ?o?twato:wɛ:?[2]
         'It split'
     b. ?o?tko:wɛ:?
         'I split it'
         (Chafe 1967 : 26)

The example (31a) shows the verb -owɛ- 'to split' with the 'reflexive' (middle voice) as an intransitive verb in contrast to (31b) where the verb appears as its underlying transitive root.

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[2] In Chafe's Seneca orthography, the symbol ? represents a glottal stop, ɛ represents the front nasal vowel, and ɔ represents the back nasal vowel.

Chafe also mentions that his 'reflexive,' when added to certain verb roots, can produce specialized semantics.

32.   a.   ʔotɔ:ni:h
              'It is growing'
       b.   -ɔ[:]ni-
              'to make'
              (Chafe 1967 : 26)

In this example, the verb root in (32b), *-ɔ[:]ni-* 'to make,' is subsequently combined with the 'reflexive' (middle voice) to produce a specialized signification of 'it is growing.' Another rare use of the 'reflexive' is to occur in an expanded noun base. In these circumstances, the middle occurs with the nominalizer and the verb in question to form an expanded noun base.

33.   ʔakátaʔti:shæʔ
      'my cane'
      (Chafe 1967 : 27)

Example (33) shows the verb root *-aʔti-* 'to lean' appearing with the 'reflexive' morpheme and the nominalizer thereby creating an expanded noun base.

        Chafe also has a discussion of what he terms the 'reciprocal' morpheme. Chafe's 'reciprocal' morpheme is cognate with the Oneida full reflexive and the present study's reflexive. According to Chafe, the 'reciprocal' morpheme indicates that "the total meaning of the base has as both its performer and its goal the person or thing denoted by the pronominal prefix" (Chafe 1967 : 26). With some verb roots, there is a yet another distinction made based up whether or not the pronominal prefix refers to the same participants or different ones. Chafe refers to the pronominal prefixes as 'subjective' and 'objective' which corresponds with Agent and Patient, respectively. The author asserts that in these cases, if the performer and goal are one and the same, there will be what he terms an 'objective' pronominal prefix. If the performer and goal are not the same participant in the verbal structure, the pronominal prefix will be 'subjective.' However, Chafe does note that there are certain cases where a 'subjective' prefix will be used even if the performer and the goal are identical.

In Wyandot, the closest relative to the Wendat language, middle voice and the reflexive also occur. Kopris (2001) describes the functions and forms of the Wyandot middle and reflexive in his grammar. The author states that in Wyandot, the 'semireflexive,' his term for the middle, can be used "to indicate action performed by the performer for the performer" (Kopris 2001 : 254).

34.   hakǫrèhsúhareh[3]
       h-**at**-yǫres-uhare-h
       3.M.SG.AGT-MID-hand-wash-HAB
       'he hand washes'
       (Kopris 2001 : 255)

In example (34), the actor performs the act of hand-washing for himself.

Another use of the Wyandot semireflexive is detransitivization.

35.   haté:tsęhs
       h-**ate**-tsę-hs
       3.M.SG.AGT-MID-cure-HAB
       'he doctors'
       (Kopris 2001 : 256)

The verb -*tsę*- 'to cure' normally takes transitive pronominal prefixes, yet with the addition of the semireflexive, it now takes intransitive pronominal prefixes.

As with Seneca and Oneida, the semireflexive shows some idiosyncratic uses in Wyandot.

36.   ahàtarǫtǫʔ
       a-h-**at**-arǫtǫ-ʔ
       FACT-3.M.SG.AGT-MID-ask-PUNC
       'he asks'
       (Kopris 2001 : 258)

---

[3] In Kopris' Wyandot orthography, the symbol ʔ represents a glottal stop, ę represents the front nasal vowel, ǫ represents the back nasal vowel, and š represents the voiceless postalveolar fricative.

Example (36) shows the use of the semireflexive with the verb *-arqtq-* 'to ask.' There has been no instance of this verb found without the semireflexive.

The reflexive prefix in Wyandot has two principal functions. The first of these functions, according to Kopris, is to indicate reciprocity.

37. tetsikyatáteyę?
    t-e-tsi-ky-**atate**-yę-?
    DUPL-FUT-REP-1.IN.DU.AGT-REFL-see-PUNC
    'we will see each other again'
    (Kopris 2001 : 269)

Here, in example (37), the reflexive prefix indicates the reciprocity of seeing one another[4]. The second of the functions of the reflexive, as outlined by Kopris, is to provide a "more intense, total effect on the undergoer than the Semireflexive". The verb *-qdi-* 'to make' provides an example of such a total effect on the participant.

38. a. ahátatǫ̀:dya?
       a-h-**atat**-qdi-a?
       FACT-3.M.SG.AGT-REFL-make-PUNC
       'he self had transformed'
    b. ahátehšrǫdya?
       a-h-**ate**-hšrǫdi-a?
       FACT-3.M.SG.AGT-MID-make-PUNC
       'he gets ready'
       (Kopris 2001 : 270)

In (38a), the verb 'to make' is combined with the reflexive morpheme and gives the meaning of 'transform.' However, the same root combined with the semireflexive only provides the signification of 'to get ready.' Therefore, the reflexive morpheme in this context shows that it has a greater effect on the participant than is the case with the semireflexive.

Although the terminology for these two morphemes has differed throughout Iroquoian studies, the functions of the middle and the reflexive are nonetheless described to some extent in the various works. The middle has been found to have some special idiosyncratic usages in

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[4] In order to express a sense of reciprocity, it is common to use the duplicative prepronominal prefix in addition to the reflexive (Mithun, p.c.: 2010).

addition to its general signification of action performed upon the actor. The middle can also be used as a detransitivizer in the various languages. The reflexive, on the other hand, can signify either a greater total effect on the actor or convey a sense of reciprocity. Despite the value of these works, research must still be done on the level of classifying the middle and delineating the exact relationship that the middle shares with the reflexive.

1.6.1 Conclusion of section 1.6

The voice markers in Wendat were discussed in light of the preceding research in Iroquoian studies, starting with the morphology of Lounsbury in 1953. Within Iroquoian linguistics, the notion of the 'semireflexive' as middle voice has long been noticed and commented upon. Despite the immense work conducted on the Iroquoian voice markers, it still stands that more research must be performed to understand the true nature of the middle and of its relation to the reflexive.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided an initial look at the Iroquoian middle voice or 'semireflexive' in the context of previous linguistic studies. The theoretical background of Suzanne Kemmer (1993; 1994), which will be used as the basis of this study, was explored in detail throughout this chapter. The literature surrounding middle voice as a general phenomenon was equally discussed. The next chapter will take an in-depth look at the Iroquoian language family, and most importantly, at the history and linguistics of the Wendat language.

2. Wendat and the Iroquoian Language Family

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the Iroquoian language family as well as Wendat's place within this linguistic family. A brief history of the Wendat people will be followed by a history of Wendat linguistics. Also, a short grammatical sketch of the Wendat language is included in this chapter.

2.2 The Iroquoian language family

In all probability, the first North American language to be recorded by the Europeans was Iroquoian (Mithun 1979 : 133). At the time of the Europeans' arrival in North America, the Iroquoian peoples had settlements from the state of Georgia all the way to the province of Québec. These peoples also resided as far east as the coasts of the Carolinas and Virginia and as far west as Ontario, Pennsylvania, and Ohio (Mithun 1979 : 133). In the narrations of his two voyages to 'New France' in 1534 and 1536, Jacques Cartier recorded two small vocabularies of an Iroquoian language now referred to as Laurentian. The first of these vocabularies, entitled *Le Langage des pays et royaulmes de Hochelage et Canadas*, contains 114 words whereas his second vocabulary counts 156 words. Another small Iroquoian vocabulary by the Italian explorer Ramusio contains 54 words and expressions and can be found in the travel accounts of Cartier. Laurentian, also called Stadaconan and Hochelagan, is widely disputed as to its exact origin. According to Trigger and Pendergast (1978), the Stadaconans and the Hochelagans were distinct peoples and these word lists come from the Stadaconans. The mystery of these word lists was debated frequently in Iroquoian studies as there are works pertaining to this question by Cuoq (1869), Biggar (1924), Hoffman (1959), Barbeau (1959), Lounsbury (1978), and Mithun (1982). Lounsbury (1978) believed that the Laurentian speakers were most likely a mixed group of Wendats, Mohawks, and another unknown group.

An overview of all the Iroquoian languages with their accompanying sound changes can be found in Mithun (1979). Blin-Lagarde produced a diachronical study entitled *Une étude*

historique dans les langues de la famille huronne-iroquoise (1972). A comparative study of accent in the Lake Iroquoian languages can be found in Michelson (1988).

The Iroquoian language family is primarily divided into two branches, Northern and Southern. The Southern branch consists only of Cherokee and its various dialects. Glottochronological evidence suggests that Cherokee split off from the Northern Iroquoian languages 3500 to 3800 years ago (Lounsbury 1961). Cherokee is still spoken today by approximately 1,100 people in western North Carolina and 10,000 people in eastern Oklahoma (Mithun 1979 : 134). A more recent estimate places the total number of Cherokee speakers at 9,000 (Montgomery-Anderson p.c: 2009). Dictionaries and modern grammars of Cherokee can be found in King (1975) and Pulte (1975). Also, a reference grammar of Oklahoma Cherokee was completed by Montgomery-Anderson in 2008. According to King (1975), the Cherokee dialects include Lower (Elati), Middle (Kituhwa), Western (Otali), Overhill, and Snowbird.

In adopting the terminology of Kopris (2001), the Northern Iroquoian branch is also further partitioned into Coast and Lake Iroquoian. The name Coast Iroquoian stems from the fact that the speakers of these languages resided near the Atlantic coasts of modern North Carolina and Virginia. Glottochronological evidence points to the assertion that the Northern Iroquoian languages split off from Tuscarora about 1900 to 2400 years ago (Lounsbury 1961). There are three languages that constitute the Coast Iroquoian sub-branch : Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin. Tuscarora is the only one of these three languages that is still spoken today by a handful of people (Mithun p.c.: 2009). The Tuscarora people reside near Lewiston, New York and on the Six Nations reserve in Ontario. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, notable work on the Tuscarora language was produced by J.N.B. Hewitt, who himself was Tuscarora. Hewitt created a 30,000 slip dictionary and recorded a large number of Tuscarora texts (Mithun 1979 : 138). Other more modern works include a grammar by Mithun (1976), a discussion of subordination by Williams (1973), a study on word order by Williams (1974), and a modern dictionary by Rudes (1999). Unlike Tuscarora, Nottoway and Meherrin are both dormant languages. The only Nottoway data that have survived to the present day includes several town names and two word lists that were reproduced in Gallatin (1836). Meherrin has left even less data as there is only two town names that offer proof of their existence as an Iroquoian people.

Lake Iroquoian, the other branch of Northern Iroquoian, consists of two sub-components, the Ontarian branch and the Five Nations branch. The Five Nations branch consists of the Seneca,
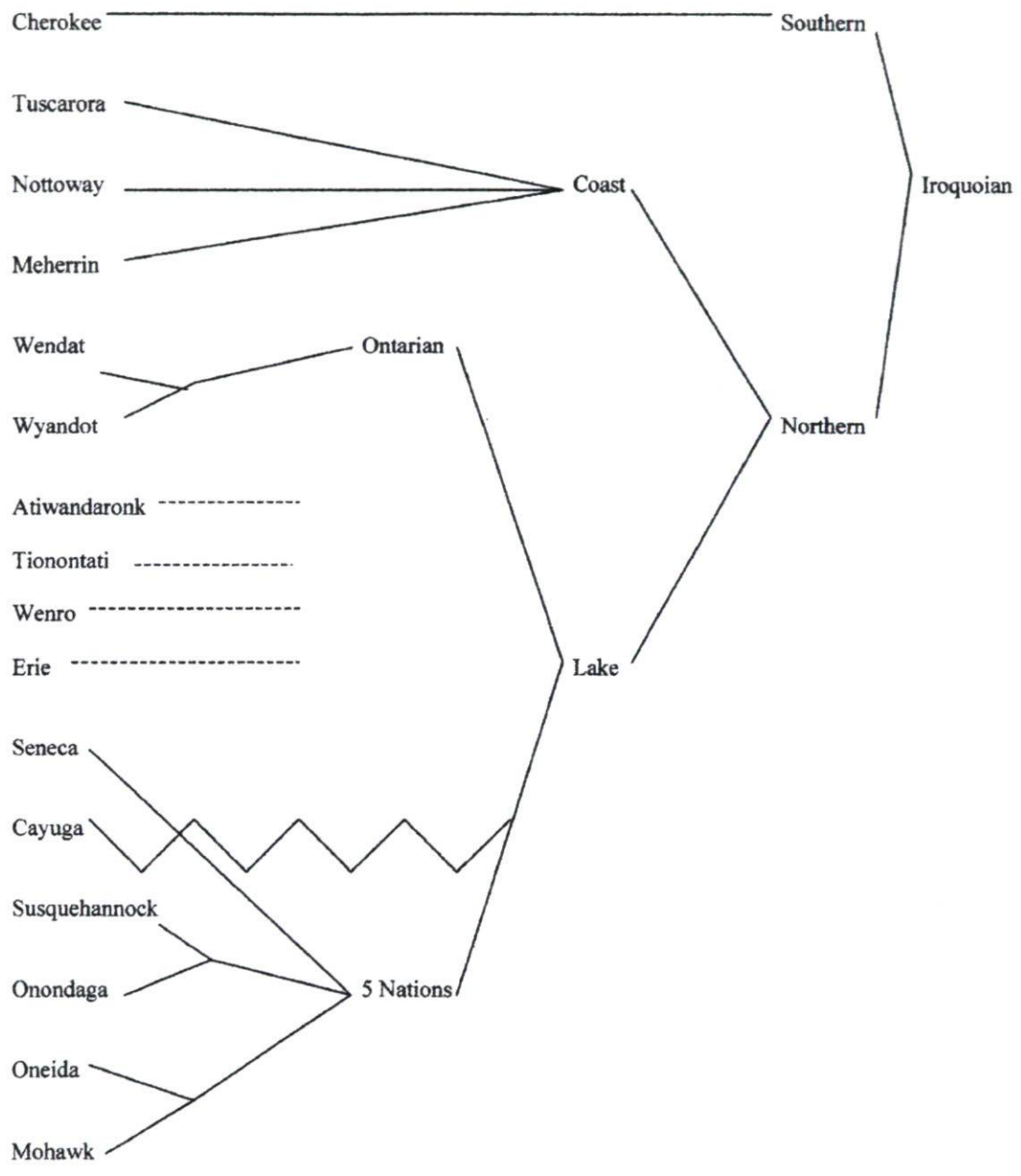
Figure 1 : Iroquoian Language Family
(adapted from Kopris 2009)

Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Susquehannock, and Mohawk languages. All of these languages except Susquehannock are still spoken today. Seneca, the westernmost language of the Five Nations branch, is spoken by approximately 40 fluent speakers (Chafe p.c.: 2009). The Seneca people reside in western New York state, on the Six Nations reserve in Ontario, and in the state of Oklahoma. A description of Seneca morphology along with a dictionary was produced by Chafe (1967). Chafe also produced a handbook of the Seneca language in 1963. Seneca vocabularies can be found in Anonymous (1818), Seaver (1826), Alden (1827), Jackson (1830), Gallatin (1836), Schoolcraft (1846), Morgan (1847), Marshall (1848), and Parker (1847) (Mithun 1979 : 149). J.N.B. Hewitt, the Tuscarora scholar, published an interlinear cosmology text in 1903. Chafe is currently working on a Seneca-English, English-Seneca dictionary.

On the Iroquoian family tree, the Cayuga language is often situated in between Seneca and Onondaga. However, according to Chafe and Foster (1981), Cayuga has seemed to drift from branch to branch and thus is represented differently on the Iroquoian family tree pictured in figure (1). The language is spoken today by approximately 40 fluent speakers (Foster p.c.: 2009). There are three dialects : Upper Cayuga (Six Nations reserve), Lower Cayuga (Six Nations reserve), and the Oklahoma community. Vocabularies of the Cayuga language can be found in Loskiel (1789), Gallatin (1836), Elliot (1846), Schoolcraft (1846), and Smith (1884) (Mithun 1979 : 150). Michael Foster published a grammatical sketch plus a text of the Thanksgiving Address in *From the Earth to the Sky* (1975). There is a discussion of Cayuga constituent ordering in Mithun (1975). Mithun and Henry (1982) produced a Cayuga teaching grammar. Dictionaries of the Cayuga language have been produced by Kick *et al* (1988) and Froman *et al* (2002).

Susquehannock, called Andaste by the Wendat people, is the only language on the Five Nations branch that is dormant. A list of vocabulary was compiled by Johan Campanius (1696) and another was collected by Holm (1834). Mithun (1981) affirms that Susquehannock was closest to Onondaga out of all the Five Nations languages. As there are also no more speakers of the language, the Susquehannock no longer exist as an Iroquoian people.

Onondaga, another Five Nations language, is highly endangered (Woodbury p.c.: 2009). The Onondagas reside in New York state and on the Six Nations reserve in Ontario. This Iroquoian language was first recorded in the 17th century. Notable works include a dictionary by David Zeisberger (1760) and a grammatical description (1780) by the same author. These works

can be found in Horsford (1887) and Zeisberger (1887) respectively. Other vocabularies can be found in Jarvis (1821), Smet (1848), Schoolcraft (1847), Morgan (1871), Marshall (1877), Gatschet (1880), Smith (1881), Beauchamp (1888), and Hewitt (1888) (Mithun 1979 : 151). Hewitt also published interlinear texts on Onondaga cosmology in 1903 and 1928. Chafe (1970) published a semantically based grammatical sketch of Onondaga. Hanni Woodbury (1974) provides a discussion of noun incorporation in Onondaga. Woodbury (2003) also produced a comprehensive Onondaga-English, English-Onondaga dictionary.

The Oneida language is spoken today by fewer than a hundred speakers in the province of Ontario (Michelson p.c.: 2009). The traditional homelands of the Oneida people were in the state of New York, south of Oneida Lake. There are now Oneida communities in London, Ontario; Green Bay, Wisconsin; and on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario. Early vocabularies of the Oneida language include Barton (1797), Gallatin (1836), Schoolcraft (1846), Jones (1851), Skenando (1852), Morgan (1871), and Beauchamp (1887) (Mithun 1979: 151). In 1909, Franz Boas produced a grammatical sketch of the language. Lounsbury (1953) published his *Oneida Verb Morphology*, an extensive description of the Oneida grammar. This work set the standards for all other Iroquoian studies to follow. Clifford Abbott (2000) produced another grammatical sketch of the Oneida language. In 2002, Karin Michelson and Mercy Doxtator published an extensive Oneida-English, English-Oneida dictionary.

The Mohawk language, with between 3,000 to 5,000 people speaking the language, has the most speakers out of all the Northern Iroquoian languages (Mithun p.c. : 2009). The Mohawk today are spread out on reserves in southern Québec, eastern Ontario, and New York state. Some of the more important works on the Mohawk language include a dictionary produced by Jacques Bruyas in the late 17th century. Another Mohawk dictionary was compiled by Jean-Andre Cuoq in 1882. Cuoq also produced a large number of religious texts in the language in 1857 as well as a grammatical treatise in 1866. Other vocabularies include Gallatin (1836), Schoolcraft (1846), Morgan (1871), and Hale (1883) (Mithun 1979 : 154). J.N.B. Hewitt produced interlinear cosmology texts in Mohawk in 1903. A discussion of syntactic rules in Mohawk can be found in Postal (1962). A grammar of Mohawk was published by Nancy Bonvillain (1973). Gunther Michelson (1973) includes a brief grammatical sketch followed by a dictionary. A second edition of a Mohawk teaching grammar by Nora Deering and Helga Delisle appeared in 2007. Mithun is currently working on an exhaustive Mohawk grammar.

The Ontarian branch of the Northern Iroquoian languages can be further divided into Wendat and Wyandot. The Wendat language will be discussed in section 2.4. Unlike previous analyses, Kopris (2001) provides evidence that Wyandot, spoken in northeastern Oklahoma until the early 1960s, is indeed a sister language of Wendat and not its daughter language. Anthropologist Marius Barbeau provided extensive resources on the Wyandot language. Barbeau produced interlinear traditional texts (1960), a classification of Iroquoian pronominal prefixes (1915), and a manuscript dictionary made up of 500 stock cards (n.d.). Other vocabularies and short works containing Wyandot terms include Barton (1797), Johnston (1820), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Schoolcraft (1847), Haldeman (1847, 1850, 1860), Walker (1852), Morgan (1868-70, 1871), Campbell (1879, 1884), Powell (1881), Gatschet (1881, 1885), Hale (1883, 1885), Beauchamp (1893), Hewitt (1894), Connelley (1899, 1900, 1920), Barbeau (1914), Chafe (1962, 1964), Trigger (1969), Rudes (1976), Lounsbury (1978), and Mithun (1979, 1980, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1986) (Kopris 2001 : 12). Kopris (2001) provides a comprehensive grammar of the Wyandot language along with a root list.

The remaining nations which are not attached to any branch within the Iroquoian family are Atiwandaronk, Wenro, Tionontati, and Erie. These four nations are left unknown as to their exact relation within the Iroquoian family because there is too little data to classify them accurately. Atiwandaronk, also called Neutral, left certain names such as *Oronhiaguehre* 'priest' (Mithun 1979 : 160). Interestingly enough, the Jesuits referred to this group as the *Hurons de la Nation Neutre*, thereby hinting at a possible close relationship to the Wendat language. Kopris (2001 : 5) suggests that it was possible that the Neutrals were actually composed of several different groups that were neutral in terms of their alliances with the Wendat and Iroquois confederacies. In regards to the Neutral language, Père Brébeuf stated that Neutral was 'not a little' different from Wendat (Trigger 1976: 141). According to Trigger, the Jesuits also composed a grammar and lexicon of the Neutral language comparing the two languages, which suggests that the split between them was older than two hundred years (Trigger 1976 : 141). The Jesuits also remarked upon the nature of the Wenro language, which they likened to be like Atiwandaronk. This makes sense as the Wenro were originally part of the Atiwandaronk nation. The Eries also left certain place names including *Rigué* and *Gentaienton* (White 1978 : cited in Kopris 2001). After a war with the Senecas, the Erie nation was absorbed into both the Seneca and Wyandot nations (Mithun 1979 : 147). The Tionontatis, or Petuns, were sometimes called the

Hurons de la Nation du Pétun by the Jesuits (Tooker 1978). Their language is undocumented yet the Jesuits never made any mention of the Tionontati language being any different from that of the Wendat Bear nation (Trigger 1976 : 94). According to Kopris (2001), the Tionontati had two principal groups, the Wolves and the Deer. The Tionontatis are supposed to have joined other Wendat refugees in order to form the Wyandot group that exists today. Therefore, Wyandot might be a mid-17th century composite language with a Tionontati or Wendat substratum.

2.3 History of the Wendat people

At the time of first contact with the Europeans, the Wendat people were organized in a confederacy consisting of four, possibly five member nations. These member nations included Attignawantan, Attigneenongahac, Arendahronon, Tahontaenrat, and Ataronchronon which are the Bear, Cord, Rock, Deer, and Bog nations respectively. Each of these member nations spoke a different dialect of Wendat, but the exact dialect differences are unknown at this point. Steckley argues that the Bear were made up of two different dialects, the Northern Bear and the Southern Bear, of which the Northern Bear was closely related to the Cord and the Southern Bear was closer to the Rock nation (Steckley 2004 : 9). Unlike the various nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, Trigger (1976) asserts that both culturally and linguistically the Wendat nations were very similar to one another (174). It is said that only the Tahontaenrat, or Deer nation spoke a significantly different dialect than the rest of the member nations (Trigger 1976 : 174).

The term 'Wendat,' the name that the Wendat people had for themselves, is actually of unknown etymology. There are three principal hypotheses as to the literal meaning of the word Wendat (see Steckley 2007a). The first hypothesis proposes that the word Wendat means 'islanders' or 'dwellers of the peninsula,' as discussed by the scholar J.N.B. Hewitt (Steckley 2007a: 24). Others such as Floyd Lounsbury believe that the word contained the noun root -węn- for 'voice' or 'language' and thus had a meaning similar to 'one language' (Steckley 2007a: 27). The last hypothesis, asserted by researcher Marius Barbeau, claims that the word Wendat means 'villagers' (Steckley 2007a: 27). To the French, however, the Wendats were not called such and were actually known as the 'Huron' people. The word 'Huron' probably was derived from the French word for 'boar's head,' *hure*. This analogy makes reference to a common hairstyle of the

Wendat people during this period. The Jesuit Père Jérôme Lalemant explains the motivation behind this appellation:

> Arriving at the French settlement, some Sailor or Soldier seeing for the first time this species of barbarians, some of whom wore their hair in ridges - a ridge of hair one or two fingers wide appearing upon the middle of their heads, and on either side the same amount being shaved off, then another ridge of hair; others having one side of the head shaved clean, and the other side adorned with hair hanging to their shoulders - this fashion of wearing the hair making their heads look to him like those of boar [hures], led him to call these barbarians "Hurons;" and this is the name that has clung to them ever since (Jesuit Relations 16; cited in Steckley 2007a: 23).

Bruce Trigger (1976) notes that an alternative explanation behind this name is that 'Huron' was a slang term in Old French that meant 'ruffian' or 'rustic' (27).

As the Wendat people were at the centre of a successful trade network, the French were eager to build an alliance with this confederacy. Nearby to the Wendats were many Iroquoian-speaking groups such as the Tionontati people, or Petun Nation. The Atiwandaronks or Neutral Nation existed farther to the south whereas the Wenro, a member nation of the Neutral confederacy, existed close by to the Wendats and eventually joined them (Kopris 2001 : 10). The Wendat people also resided close to the Eries and the westernmost Five Nations group, the Senecas. Although most of the Wendats' neighbors were Iroquoian-speaking groups, the Wendat had also established trade relations with their Algonquian-speaking neighbours to the north and the east (Steckley 2004 : 9).

After the beginning of the alliance between the Wendat and the French, the tension existing between the Wendat and the Iroquois Confederacy was exacerbated. The Iroquois adopted practices such as extermination raids and the destruction of whole villages in order to try and win control of the fur trade (Kopris 2001 : 10). At the same time, during the second half of the 1630s, the Wendats were dealing with several severe epidemics which killed approximately half their population (Kopris 2001 : 10). Due to the Iroquoian raids and the devastating epidemics, the Wendats were forced to leave their traditional homelands in 1649. The Bog Nation completely disappeared whereas the Deer Nation is supposed to have joined the Seneca people. The Rock people, in turn, joined the Onondaga and the Bear moved to Mohawk country in order to join this nation (Steckley 2004 : 9).

According to Steckley, this left the Cord Nation to form the majority of the Wendat community that moved northeast to settle outside of Québec City (Steckley 2004 : 9). However, the Jesuit missionary Père Pierre Potier remarked in his manuscript that the "sauvages de Lorette" were of the *Hatindia8ointan*, or Bear Nation (Potier 1751 : 154). Regardless of the composition of this community, the group of Wendat refugees arrived at Quebec City in 1650. After wandering around for some time, they finally settled in 1697 at La Jeune Lorette, which was subsequently called Village des Hurons. The Huron-Wendat Nation of today is a First Nation of Canada. The reserve of the community is located near the present-day Québec City in the province of Québec. Out of its approximately 3,200 members, 1500 of which reside on the reserve, the vast majority claim French as their mother tongue, the remaining portion claiming English.

Another group of Wendat refugees joined with the Petun (Tionontati) Nation and possibly other destroyed Iroquoian nations such as the Eries and the Atiwandaronks to move south and become the Wyandot. The Wyandot also followed a settlement path that lead them through Michigan, Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma. There are still significant communities of Wyandot people living in these last two states (Steckley 2004 : 10).

2.4 History of Wendat Linguistics

Just as Iroquoian languages were most likely the first language family to be recorded in North America, the Wendat language was equally probably the first North American language to be an object of study. Marius Barbeau, anthropologist, comments that "[Le langage] des Hurons fut le premier de toute les langues d'Amérique à être l'objet d'une étude quelconque, si provisoire fut-elle" (Barbeau 1965; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 416). The true study of the Wendat language began with the arrival of Frère Gabriel Sagard Théodat, a Récollet missionary, in Wendat country in 1623. Following his stay with the Wendat people, the Récollet brother published the first *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* in Paris in 1632. His dictionary, which is a combination of words and expressions, also contains a short description of the language. Concerning the particularities of the Wendat language, Sagard remarks that "Pour les Hurons ou Houandates, leur langue est tellement particulière et différente de toute les autres, qu'elle ne dérive d'aucune" (Sagard 1632; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 386). In noting the difficulty of

learning the language, Sagard comments that "Nos Hurons, et généralement toutes les autres Nations, ont la même instabilité de langage, et changent tellement leurs mots, qui à succession de temps l'ancien huron est presque tout autre que celui du présent, et change encore, selon que j'ai pu conjecturer et apprendre en leur parlant : car l'esprit se subtilise, et vieillissant corrige les choses, et les met dans leur perfection" (Sagard 1632; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 386). Therefore, Sagard found that the language was 'unstable' and thus that prevented him from gaining an easy mastery of Wendat.

Although Sagard had initiated some missionary efforts with the Wendat people, it was not until 1626, with the arrival of the Jesuits, that these efforts were greatly increased. Père Jean de Brébeuf was one of the first Jesuits to enter Wendat country and therefore one of the first to study the language in earnest. Shortly after his arrival, Brébeuf produced a fifteen-page Wendat translation of Father Diego Ledesma's *Doctrina christiana*. Although this was a good effort put forth by Brébeuf, it was evident from his grammatical errors that he had not yet mastered the language. According to Steckley (2004), Brébeuf created more than thirty new nouns in order to express Christian concepts that did not exist in traditional Wendat society (12). Almost all of these fabricated nouns violated the morphology of the language and were contrary to the verb-dominant nature of the language. In spite of this, Brébeuf continued his study of the Wendat language. As Père Bressani describes, "Pour apprendre la langue huronne, il a fallu, outre la grâce de la vocation, un travail excessif. La connaissance de cette langue a été le fruit de l'humilité du Père de Brébeuf qui, à l'âge de près de 40 ans, s'est soumis pendant trois ans aux plus dures humiliations, au milieu de la cendre et de la fumée, pour trouver ce trésor" (Bressani 1653; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 390). Due to Brébeuf's unfailing efforts to learn the language, in addition to the catechism, he was able to produce a grammar of the Huron language along with a 384 page Huron-French dictionary. The former is now lost and the latter has supposedly been conserved from father to son in one of the families of Wendake.

After a brief takeover of the St. Lawrence River by the English, the Jesuits returned to Wendat country to continue their missionary efforts in 1634 (Steckley 2004 : 13). Each missionary that was sent to Huronia was required to learn the Wendat language. They did so not only through interacting with the Wendat people, but also by copying the grammars and dictionaries of the missionaries before them. Brébeuf tried to instill humility in these learners of the language by advising that "The Huron language will be your Saint Thomas and your

Aristotle; and clever man as you are, and speaking glibly among learned and capable persons, you must make up your mind to be for a long time mute among the Barbarians. You will have accomplished much, if, at the end of a considerable time, you begin to stammer a little" (*Jesuit Relations* 10 : 91). The Jesuits recognized the importance of the Wendat language, as it was a *lingua franca* of the region (Trigger 1976 : 65). In 1635, Paul LeJeune spoke of the Wendat language as being key for those who wanted to possess some sort of influence over the region's inhabitants. LeJeune notes that "I am rejoiced to find that this language is common to some twelve other Nations, all settled and numerous; these are, the *Conkhandeenrhonons*, *[K]hionontaterrhonons* [Petuns], *Atiouandaronks* [Neutrals], *Sonontoerrhonons* [Senecas], *Onontaerrhonons* [Onondagas], *Oüioenrhonons* [Cayugas], *Onoiochrhonons* [Oneidas], *Agnierrhonons* [Mohawks], *Andastoerrhonons* [Susquehannocks], *Scahentoarrhonons*, *Rhiierrhonons* [Eries], and *Ahouenrochrhonons* [Wenros]" (LeJeune 1635; cited in Sioui 1999 : 97). It may also be possible that the Wendat language was used by peoples as far west as the Winnebago, a Siouan-speaking group who lived by Green Bay, Wisconsin (Trigger 1976 : 65).

In 1639, the Jesuits established a mission community in the middle of Wendat country called Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons (Steckley 2004 : 14). Père Pierre Joseph Chaumonot, another prominent Jesuit missionary to the Wendats, arrived in this same year. Like other Jesuit missionaries before him, Chaumonot found it a challenge to learn the Wendat language. He comments that "Alors je m'appliquai à faire et à comparer les préceptes de cette langue, la plus difficile de toutes celles de l'Amérique septentrionale...Il n'y a dans le huron ni tour, ni subtilité, ni manière de s'énoncer dont je n'aie eu la connaissance. Comme cette langue est, pour ainsi dire, la mère de plusieurs autres, nomément des cinq iroquoises, lorsque je fus envoyé aux Iroquois, que je n'entendais pas, il ne me fallut qu'un mois à apprendre leur langue" (Chaumonot 1688; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 392). During his stay with the Wendat people, Chaumonot produced several works, one of which being a Wendat grammar. This grammar was later translated in English by John Wilkie and published in the *Mémoires de la Société littéraire et historique de Québec* in 1831. The original grammar is now lost. This missionary also produced a collection of hymnals in the Wendat language. Due to Chaumonot's talent with the language and the legacy of the works he left behind, Père Camille de Rochemonteix asserts that "Tous les Jésuites qui apprendront jamais le huron, l'apprendront à la faveur des préceptes, des racines, des discussions, et de plusieurs autres beaux ouvrages qu'il nous a laissés en cette langue. Les Sauvages eux-

mêmes avouent qu'il la parlait mieux qu'eux, qui se piquent la plupart de bien parler, et qui parlent en effet avec beaucoup de pureté, d'éloquence, et de facilité" (Rochemonteix 1895; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 393). Therefore, Chaumonot was indeed recognized by other missionaries for his tremendous work with the Wendat language.

In addition to these two works, there are equally several manuscript dictionaries that are attributed to Chaumonot. Manuscript 67, at the *Archives du Séminaire de Québec*, is a French-Wendat dictionary supposedly produced by this missionary. Also, the earliest surviving Jesuit Wendat dictionary is attributed to Chaumonot and another missionary, Claude Dablon (Steckley 2004 : 14). It consists of a French-Wendat dictionary that also contains some entries in Onondaga. Other dictionaries written by the Jesuits include three 17th century Wendat-French dictionaries, manuscripts 59, 62, and 65, all of which are located at the *Archives du Séminaire de Québec*. Three other French-Wendat dictionaries exist, two of which can be dated at roughly 1693 and 1697. The last French-Wendat dictionary has not yet been dated. A collection of hymns in Wendat written by a Huron-Wendat community member before 1838 can be found in Picard. All of these manuscripts vary in terms of their condition and legibility.

Some of these dictionaries, written after the fall of the Wendat Confederacy in 1649, were composed at the newer missionary site of Lorette, outside of Québec City. Père Ragueneau, who was present during the confederacy's collapse, was the missionary that accompanied approximately 400 Wendat people towards Québec City. One of the other notable missionaries that worked among the Wendat was Père Etienne de Carheil. From his arrival in 1666 to Lorette, the missionary worked on a two-volume dictionary *Racines huronnes* of 260 and 302 pages each. This dictionary supposedly gave verb roots with derivations along with their classifications according to verb conjugation. However, this two-volume dictionary is now lost. Despite this loss, it is said that Père Pierre Potier copied Carheil's dictionary which then came to be Potier's *Radices huronicae*, also a two-volume work. From Potier's initial arrival at Lorette in 1743, he was put to the task of transcribing the rare linguistic documents possessed by the mission. Potier also completed a grammar of the Wendat language in 1745 which he entitled *Elementa grammaticae huronicae*. Included in Potier's works is a copy of the 17th century document, *De Religione*, which was written in Wendat in order to convert the Iroquois Confederacy to Christianity. According to Steckley, this fifty-three page work was most likely written by the

Père Philippe Pierson and is the longest text ever written in the Wendat language (Steckley 2004 : 3). Steckley (2004) later transcribed and translated this work into English.

The early 19th century also saw another Wendat dictionary, the dictionary of Samuel Bruté de Remur called the *Dictionnaire huron portatif*. This trilingual dictionary, French-English-Wendat, was finished in the year 1800. Other documents are said to have been produced but now are lost. Aside from those mentioned earlier, these works include a Wendat grammar by Garnier, a dictionary by Joseph LeCaron, and a document entitled *Principes de la langue huronne* by Jérôme Lalemant. According to Tehariolina, at the end of the 19th century, Abbé Prosper Vincent, himself Wendat, composed a Wendat dictionary. Despite this citation, the dictionary can no longer be found today.

By the middle of the 19th century, it was clear that the Wendat language was moribund, thereby meaning that children were no longer learning Wendat as their first language. In 1850, François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché states that "Notre race diminue toujours, et notre langue est presque éteinte. Nous nous plaignons, nous autres jeunes, que nos pères ne nous l'aient point montrée, et aussi de ce que nous n'ayons pas eu de missionaires qui auraient pu l'apprendre et nous l'enseigner à leur tour. Il a fallu tout étudier en français, les prières et le catéchisme; cela a bien aidé à la perdre" (Lindsay 1900; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 391). Therefore, the obligation to study in French due to the missionaries was one of the reasons why the language was losing ground. According to her accounts, Tehariolina writes that the last speakers of the language were Chief Nicolas Vincent, Paul Picard (father), Zacharie Vincent, and Thomas Sioui whereas as the last who could speak, read, and write the language were François Xavier Picard, Paul Picard (son), and Abbé Prosper Vincent (1995 : 383). Paul Picard, the notary, reports to the researcher Ernest Myrand that "Nous ne sommes plus que deux, mon cousin l'Abbé Prosper Vincent et moi, qui sachions le huron. À cette exception près, personne, au village ne comprend notre langue nationale, encore moins ne peut la parler couramment" (Myrand 1926; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 383). In fact, in 1911, it was Prosper Vincent who sang traditional songs on his deathbed while Marius Barbeau recorded them on wax cylinders. It is in this situation that Père Jones writes in his work *8endake ˎehen*, that "Les difficultés de la langue sont innombrables étant donné que le huron devint pratiquement une langue morte il y a une vingtaine d'années, et sans maître vivant comment pourrais-je ne pas ajouter que ces difficultés sont presque insurmontables?" (Jones

1908; cited in Tehariolina 1995 : 383). Thus it came to be that approximately around the turn of the 20th century, the Wendat language became dormant.

Since this time, the Wendat language has been the object of many revitalization efforts. One of the most important among these efforts was led by Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, a member of the community of Wendake. In doing research on the Wendat language, Tehariolina hoped to be able to effect the *Rédécouverte et regénération de la langue huronne* (Tehariolina 1995 : 408). A second major concerted effort was led by Linda Sioui, another community member, starting in the 1980s. From these efforts, a language committee was formed out of volunteers from the community of Wendake. However, due to lack of funding and personnel, neither of these efforts succeeded in reviving the language. Despite these early starts, the language still stands to be revived through the means of Project Yawenda, or the 'voice.' This revitalization project, which began in 2007, is a five-year project during which the project members hope to 1) reconstruct the morphological and phonological forms of the language through the use of Jesuit manuscripts; 2) produce pedagogical materials such as a dictionary and a grammar; and 3) train personnel who are capable of teaching the language. As Project Yawenda has just completed its second year, the project has assembled a group of community members who wish to become teachers as well as others who are linguists, linguistic assistants, and educational specialists. A linguist has begun training the future teachers of the language as well as reconstructing the language through the use of the manuscripts. Fortunately, there is already a standardized writing system in place. Project Yawenda also plans to produce booklets for children in the Wendat language in the near future. Therefore, although the language has been lost, it now stands that there is again hope for the future of the Wendat language.

The revitalization of the Wendat language is also made possible through the use of certain recent sources concerning the language. In her 1979 article, "Iroquoian," Mithun provides a short history of the Wendat language along with an explanation of the sound shifts effectuated over time in the Wendat and Wyandot languages. Mithun (1985), "Untangling the Huron and the Iroquois," describes the sound changes that crosscut the Five Nations languages and Wendat. Pierrette Lagarde (1980) wrote a dissertation on Wendat verb morphology entitled *Le verbe huron : étude morphologique d'après une description grammaticale de la seconde moitié du XVIIème siècle*. Over the past thirty years, John Steckley has written numerous articles on various facets of Wendat ethnolinguistics. His monograph, *Words of the Huron* (2007a), is a culmination

of Steckley's past research along with more recent interpretations of the Wendat manuscripts and texts. Steckley (2007b) equally produced a Huron-English, English-Huron dictionary that is based primarily upon the manuscript of Père Pierre Potier, the same manuscript utilized for the present study. In 2009, Steckley also published a transcription and analysis of Sagard's Huron dictionary.

2.5 Wendat linguistics

The following grammatical sketch will outline the phonology and morphology of the Wendat verb. Section 2.5.1 pertains to the phonemic inventory of Wendat consonants as well as the vowel system in the language. Section 2.5.2 will provide a brief overview of the Wendat verb and its morphology. This grammatical sketch was put together according to the research of other Iroquoianists such as Chafe (1967), Lounsbury (1953), Mithun (p.c.: 2008) and Kopris (2001) as well as through my own personal research.

2.5.1 Wendat phonology

The Wendat language has a relatively small phonemic inventory. It counts seven consonants, two glides, and six vowels. The Wendat phonemic inventory can be found in figure (2). There are three voiceless stops : /t/, /k/, and /ʔ/. As for the fricatives, there are three segments that are voiceless : /s/, /ʃ/, and /h/. There are no voiced fricatives in the series. There is but one nasal consonant in the language which is /n/ and there is also one rhotic, an alveolar /r/.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
voiceless stop		t		k	ʔ
voiceless fricative		s	ʃ		h
nasal		n			
rhotic		r			
glide	w		y		

Figure 2 : Wendat Phonemic Inventory

The two glides are the labiovelar /w/ and the palatal /y/. There are also four oral vowels and two nasal vowels in the Wendat phonemic inventory.

$$i \qquad\qquad u$$
$$e$$
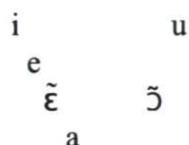$$\tilde{\varepsilon} \qquad \tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$$
$$a$$

Figure 3 : Wendat Vowel Phonemes

There is a high back vowel /u/ and a high front vowel /i/. The vowel /e/ is realized as a mid-front vowel and the vowel /a/ as a low front vowel. The two nasal vowels are /$\tilde{\varepsilon}$/ and /$\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$/, front mid nasal vowel and back mid nasal vowel.

2.5.2 The Wendat verb

The Wendat language is polysynthetic and it contains three parts of speech : verbs, nouns and particles. The Wendat verb is the most important structure in the language and therefore is also the most complex. The verb obligatorily contains a verb root, a pronominal prefix, and an aspectual suffix. The Wendat verb is the equivalent of a syntactic phrase, however it can also serve as a syntactic noun. There are five principal verb conjugations in Wendat which are classified according to the phonological form of the verb root, or actually, of the first segment of the verb stem. Therefore, the verb conjugations are a-stem, C-stem (consonant stem)[1], e- and ę-stem, i-stem, and o- and ǫ-stem.[2]

_____

[1] The C-stem conjugation can be further divided into several different conjugations, including a y-stem and resonant stem conjugation. However, in the Jesuit manuscripts, all of these conjugations were regrouped under the category of consonant stem.

[2] The nasal vowels in Wendat, represented by the symbols /$\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$/ and /$\tilde{\varepsilon}$/ in the vowel chart, are the same nasal vowels as those represented by ǫ- and ę- respectively in the verb conjugation discussion.

45

modal prefix	pronominal prefix	voice prefix	noun root	verb root	derivational suffixes	aspectual suffix	expanded aspect suffix	attributive
prepronominal prefixes[3]								

Figure 4 : The Wendat Verb

Modal prefixes :
Factual
Future
Optative

Prepronominal prefixes :
Partitive
Coincident
Contrastive
Translocative
Duplicative
Cislocative
Repetitive
Negative

Pronominal prefixes :
Agent
Patient
Transitive

Voice prefixes :
Middle
Reflexive

Derivational suffixes :
Causative
Instrumental
Benefactive
Reversive
Inchoative
Distributive
Dislocative
Frequentative

Aspectual suffixes :
Imperative
Habitual
Punctual
Stative
Purposive

Expanded aspect suffixes :
Progressive
Continuative
Past

Attributives :
Augmentative
Decessive
Pluralizer
Diminutive
Characterizer
Populative

---

[3] The modal prefixes and prepronominal prefixes do not occur in complementary distribution. Modal prefixes can occur with prepronominal prefixes, and vice versa. They are placed in this fashion because the two types of prefixes are intermixed with one another in the morphology.

2.5.3 The morphology of the Wendat verb

The Wendat verb template, as pictured in figure (4), demonstrates the major aspect of Wendat morphology. As discussed earlier, the three obligatory parts of the Wendat verb, the pronominal prefix, the verb root, and the aspectual suffix, are represented in bold face in the template. The following is an example of a simple Wendat verb with the three obligatory constituents.

39.   yatatiahk
        k-atati-ahk[4]
        1.SG.AGT-speak-HAB
        'I speak'

In this example, the first person singular Agent pronominal prefix combines with the verb root 'to speak' and the Habitual aspect, which will be discussed later. In the following section, each part of the Wendat verb will be discussed in turn and presented with examples.

The first portion of the Wendat verb contains the modal prefixes. These modal prefixes, which appear with the Punctual aspect, designate the probability of the occurrence of the event (Kopris 2001: 197). The Factual modal prefix indicates that the event will definitely take place, either because the event has already happened or because the event is taking place at this very moment. The Future prefix denotes that the event will most likely take place in the future. The third and final modal prefix, the Optative, indicates that is only possible that the event will happen.

40.   eyehiaton
        e-ke-hiaton

---

[4] The *y* used in the modern Wendat orthography corresponds to that represented by the iota in the Jesuit orthography. This sound is an allophone of the phoneme /k/ in all environments where /k/ is not protected by a preceding consonant such as /s/ or /t/. As it was represented by the iota, it is unclear exactly what its pronunciation was at the period of the transcription of these dictionaries. Due to the fact that this sound is historically a [k] and became a full-fledged [y] in Wyandot, its pronunciation in Wendat must have been intermediate between these two sounds. Potier (1745) mentions that the iota is similar in pronunciation to the palatal glide. This indicates that that most likely the place of articulation of this sound was the palate. In order to keep this sound distinctive for the Wendats, the Comité sur la langue huronne-wendat recently decided in 2010 to pronounce this sound as a voiceless palatal fricative.

FUT-1.SG.AGT-write.PUNC
'I will write'

In the example above, the Future is shown with the verb 'to write' and in the Punctual aspect.

The next group of prefixes, the prepronominal prefixes, are large in number. There are eight total prepronominal prefixes. These prefixes are presented and explained in no particular order. The Cislocative, one of these prepronominal prefixes, indicates simple location or the direction of motion (Kopris 2001: 204). If there is a change in location, the Cislocative denotes that the event will take place in a direction towards the speaker. If there is no change in location, the Cislocative indicates the simple location of the event (Chafe 1967: 29). The other locative prefix, the Translocative, indicates also both simple location and direction of motion. Instead of the action moving towards the speaker, when there is a change of location, the Translocative indicates that the event takes place away from the speaker. Again, if there is no change in location, the Translocative denotes that the event takes place far from the speaker (Chafe 1967: 31).

The next prepronominal prefix is the Negative. As its name suggests, the Negative indicates simple negation. Among the Northern Iroquoian languages, it differs as to whether or not the Negative can appear with modal prefixes (Kopris 2001: 213). It is unknown at this point which modal prefix, if any, can appear with the Negative in Wendat. However, if the Negative can not appear with a modal prefix, another prepronominal prefix is employed - the Contrastive (Kopris 2001: 214). The Contrastive also designates the opposite of what is expected or a contrast or difference. The Coincident, another prepronominal prefix, indicates that an entity is identical to another. It can also indicate that that event coincides in time or space with another (Chafe 1967: 32). The Duplicative can be used to indicate paired items, a change of state, or a change in position. When it is employed with the Cislocative, its meaning approaches that of the Repetitive (Lounsbury 1953: 48-49).

41. a. k8-achra « etre double, etre doublé »
t-w-achra
DUPL-3.FZ.SG.AGT-double.STAT
'to be double, to be doubled'
(Potier 1751 : 162)

b. k8-atrak8an « se lever »
t-w-**at**-rakwan
DUPL-3.FZ.SG.AGT-MID-get.up.STAT

'to get up'
(Potier 1751 : 202)

c.   tonta8arask8an « repartir du lieu ou l'on etoit alle[5] »
t-onta-w-arahskw-ę
DUPL-CISLOC-3.FZ.SG.AGT-leave-STAT
'to leave again from the place where we went'
(Potier 1751 : 27)

In (41a), the Duplicative represents 'two' whereas in (41b), this same morpheme indicates a change in position. In (41c), the Duplicative is combined with the Cislocative to give a signification close to the Repetitive. The Repetitive designates that there is another occurrence or repetition of the event (Chafe 1967: 29). If the Repetitive is used in reference to motion or a change in location, it indicates a return (Kopris 2001: 228). The last and final prepronominal prefix, the Partitive, is ambiguous as to its meaning. Often, it can be translated as 'how,' 'how much,' 'where,' 'when,' and 'this' (Kopris 2001: 222). It is also used in enumeration with numbers of three and more.

The pronominal prefixes are the first obligatory part of the Wendat verb. In the Iroquoian language family, the arguments of the verb are represented by these pronominal prefixes. There are three distinct categories of pronominal prefixes : Agent, Patient, and Transitive. Transitive prefixes have both Agent and Patient arguments, but most often these arguments can not be distinguished from one another morphologically. Pronominal prefixes are distinguished according to first, second, and third persons. These prefixes are also differentiated by number, either singular, dual or plural, and by gender in the third person, either masculine, feminine, or indefinite. In the first person Agent forms, the dual and plural forms demonstrate a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. This distinction between dual and plural does not exist for Patient prefixes in the third person. The phonological forms of the pronominal prefixes change according to the category of the prefix, Agent, Patient, or Transitive, and also according to the conjugation of the verb stem. Therefore, one can identify the category of a certain pronominal prefix from its distinctive phonological form.

The next category of prefixes is the voice markers, the reflexive and middle voice. These two prefixes are the subject of this study and therefore they will be discussed in chapter 4.

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[5] The French glosses presented with the Wendat examples are shown as they appear in the Potier manuscript. In consequence, these glosses reflect 18th century French and can be lacking certain vocabulary or accentuation that is present in modern French.

As in all Iroquoian languages, the Wendat verb has the capacity of incorporating noun roots or stems directly into the verbal structure. There are certain noun roots that occur often within the verbal structure such as the noun root for body, -ya?t- and the noun root for voice, -węn-.

42. ak8enda'tonti « se taire »
     at-węn-ahton?t-i
     MID-voice-make.someone.lose.something-STAT
     'to quiet oneself'
     (Potier 1751 : 195)

In the example above, the noun root for voice, -węn-, is incorporated into the verb before the verb root and after the voice marker. There are certain constraints relative to noun incorporation. It is not all verbs that can incorporate nouns and it is not all noun roots that can be incorporated into verbs. Some verb roots require an incorporated noun in their structure, whereas for others, noun incorporation is optional. The verb roots follow these noun roots and they give the principal signification of the entire verb structure.

The derivational suffixes are the next category in following the Wendat verb template. There are eight different derivational suffixes that attach to the verb just following the verb root. Like the prepronominal prefixes, these derivational suffixes are presented and explained in no particular order. The first derivational suffix, the Inchoative, indicates a change of state (Kopris 2001: 280). The Causative suffix gives the verb a signification of causation (Kopris 2001: 285). The Instrumental, as its name suggests, indicates the utilization of something. It is often defined as 'with' (Kopris 2001: 290). With the Reversive, the signification of the verb becomes the opposite of the signification of the verb root alone (Chafe 1967: 23). It indicates a reversing of the action or state denoted by the verb.

43. ᵢahiaton8an « effacer l'ecriture »
     ka-hiaton-w-ę
     3.FZ.SG.AGT-write-REV-STAT
     'to erase the writing'
     (Potier 1751 : 261)

In (43) the verb root means 'to write' yet with the addition of the Reversive, the verb now means 'to erase the writing.' The Distributive specifies that several objects or locations are implicated in the meaning of the verb root (Chafe 1967: 24). It is used to indicate 'many' or 'a lot' especially when referring to the occurrences of a particular action (Kopris 2001: 302). The Benefactive indicates that the action is for or to someone or something. Despite its name, the action need not necessarily be beneficial in a literal sense (Kopris 2001: 307). The Dislocative adds a sense of motion to the verb root. It usually makes reference to movement from one location to another (Chafe 1967: 25). The last and final derivational suffix, the Frequentative, is cognate with the Facilitative in the other Iroquoian languages (Chafe 1967: 27). The Frequentative implies that the action in question takes place often.

The next suffixes that occur in the Wendat verb template are the obligatory aspect suffixes. There are three major grammatical aspects in the Iroquoian languages : the Stative, the Habitual, and the Punctual. The Habitual is used in conjunction with repeated or periodic events. This aspect restricts the meaning of the verb root to an event in progress that is capable to continue for an indefinite amount of time (Chafe 1967: 12). In the example below, the Habitual aspect is used to denote an action that takes place continually.

44.   ha'ki8as « il va ordinairement en guerre »
        h-ahki?w-as
        3.M.SG.AGT-go.to.war-HAB
        'He ordinarily goes to war'
        (Potier 1751 : 167).

The Punctual limits the signification of the verb to one particular event (Chafe 1967: 15). The Punctual requires the use of one of the three modal prefixes that are described above in order to indicate the probability of the occurrence of the event. The Stative aspect is used for either continued events or states. These events or states do not have any temporal limits (Chafe 1967: 12). The Stative can also be used as a Perfect (Kopris 2001: 328). The Imperative is technically not a true aspect (Kopris 2001: 320), yet it appears in the same location in the template as the other aspect suffixes and therefore will be treated as such for the purposes of this study. The Imperative indicates an order or a request. The Purposive, the final aspect, indicates an intention or a goal (Chafe 1967: 25). This aspect attaches only to verbs of motion.

There are three expanded aspect suffixes that can occur after the aspect suffix. The Progressive, the first of these three, denotes the progression of the event (Chafe 1967: 27). It is also a way in which one can derive active verbs from stative verbs. It can be followed by any aspect, but it must appear after the Stative (Kopris 2001: 332). The example below shows that the Progressive comes after the Stative which is then followed by yet another Stative suffix.

45.   ho˷ihatie « il mange continuellement »
           ho-k-ih-atye-ʔ
           3.M.SG.PAT-eat-STAT-PROG-STAT
           'He eats continually'
           (Potier 1751 : 252)

Another expanded aspect suffix is the Past. It describes a situation or an action that takes place in the past (Chafe 1967: 28). The Past suffix only appears after the Habitual or the Stative (Kopris 2001: 334). It does not take another aspectual suffix. The Continuative, the last of the expanded aspect suffixes, gives a signification of continuation (Chafe 1967: 28). It is a way to derive a Punctual verb from a Habitual or Stative verb (Mithun p.c.: 2008). Therefore, it also requires the use of a modal prefix.

The attributives are in fact enclitics which can attach syntactic nominals (Mithun p.c.: 2008). There are six major attributive suffixes, some of which have not been yet attested in the Wendat language. However, their presence throughout the other Iroquoian languages suggests their presence in Wendat as well and thus they are included in this grammatical sketch. The Augmentative adds a sense of importance or greatness in size (Kopris 2001: 336). The Diminutive is the opposite of the Augmentative and therefore it gives a sense of smallness or youth (Kopris 2001: 337). The Characterizer is used to indicate traits or characteristics of a person or of a people (Kopris 2001: 337). The Populative enclitic is used to characterize the inhabitants of a region (Kopris 2001: 338). It appears often in the names of ethnic groups. The Decessive makes reference to someone or something that formerly existed, yet exists no more (Chafe 1967: 29). The last attributive, the Pluralizer, indicates plurality (Chafe 1967: 29).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed look at the Iroquoian language family as well as a short history of the Wendat people. The question of Wendat linguistics throughout history was also explored. A brief grammatical sketch of the Wendat language with examples illustrating these points was equally provided within this chapter. The following chapter will take a look at the Wendat middle and its relations to the parameter of the 'relative elaboration of events.'

3. The Wendat Middle

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the middle voice in the Wendat language as well as the methodology through which this research was conducted. Section 3.2 deals with the corpus used in conjunction with this study. Section 3.3 discusses data collection, whereas section 3.4 takes a look at data organization. Section 3.5 will discuss the criteria used in the present analysis.

Most aspects of the Wendat middle will be examined in function of Kemmer's cross-linguistic study of middle voice. The forms of the Wendat middle will be outlined and presented with examples in section 3.6. Section 3.7 will take a look at the semantics of middle voice in Wendat in conjunction with the middle situation types identified by Kemmer. Section 3.8 will present the functions of the Wendat middle in the context of those identified by Lounsbury.

This chapter will equally bear upon middle voice and its relation with the reflexive marker. Section 3.9 will examine the forms and functions of the Wendat reflexive marker. Furthermore, section 3.10 will take this information about the reflexive and thus compare to middle voice. An exploration of the relationship between the middle and reflexive will be part of this section.

3.2 The corpus

In order to reach the objectives of this study, there will be one principal manuscript that will serve as the corpus. This principal resource is a manuscript written by Père Pierre Philippe Potier in 1751. Potier, a Jesuit missionary who lived among the Wendat people in the 18th century, composed a dictionary and grammar of the Wendat language as a means of converting these same people to Christianity. Among all of the manuscripts and documents treating the Wendat language, the dictionary of Potier, *Radices huronicae* (1751), is the most exhaustive and the most systematic. This manuscript consists of a list of verb and noun roots that are ordered according to conjugation. Each Wendat root is followed by its French translation, by the phonological forms for its derivational suffixes, and by several constructions that illustrate its

usage. There is equally a marking system that indicates for each entry the use of its pronominal prefixes, whether it be Agent, Patient or Transitive, the dialectal variants, and even the use of noun incorporation.

3.3 Data collection

In order to identify all of the verb stems containing a middle or reflexive, the entire manuscript of Potier was examined. Each verb root was observed in order to try and find the presence of a middle or a reflexive morpheme. The middle and reflexive morphemes both start with the letter *a*. Since the verbs are ordered by conjugation, the a-stem conjugation proved to be the most fruitful for the efforts of finding both middles and reflexives. The basic form of the Wendat middle is *-at-* while the basic form of the Wendat reflexive is *-atat-*. Although these are not the only two forms of these morphemes, the other related forms are simple variants of the basic phonological shapes. For example, *-ate-* is another common form of the Wendat middle and *-atate-* is another common form for the reflexive. Aside from the a-stem conjugation, all of the four remaining conjugations of the Potier manuscript were also verified for the presence of the Wendat middle or reflexive. Each verb stem with either the middle or the reflexive was marked in the manuscript to be later organized in the database. In all, there were 558 verb stems found with a middle marker and 201 verb stems found with a reflexive marker. However, as explained below, not all of these verb stems will be used in the analysis.

3.4 Data organization

For the purposes of organizing the data, the database *Toolbox*, developed by the *Summer Institute of Linguistics*, was employed. With this program, one can create specific and customized fields for purposes of this study. It is equally possible to use a customized font in *Toolbox* to display the special characters in the manuscript. Therefore, in order to better display the data, *Rotinonhsonni Sans*, a specialized Iroquoian font, was used. Fields were also added to the database permitting the classification of the data according to voice type. Each piece of data was therefore coded in the database as to whether it contained either a middle or a reflexive

morpheme. Aside from the voice type, there is equally a specialized field for providing the exact voice allomorph used with the verb root.

46.   **atenda8an**[1] « etre chaud d'une chaleur mediocre, moderée, temperée… »
        ate-nawę
        MID-be.warm.STAT
        'to be moderately warm'
        Voice Prefix : Middle
        Voice Allomorph : -ate-
        (Potier 1751 : 277)

Therefore, as it appears in example (46), this verb stem is codified as to its voice prefix, middle, and voice allomorph, -*ate*-. In addition to the voice information, each verb stem was examined to find its unmarked root, or in other words, the same verb root yet without a voice marker. There are specialized fields for providing information on the unmarked root, when found and pertinent to the situation.

3.5 Criteria for analysis

In order to utilize the data, each verb root had to be verified as to its presence of a voice marker. Therefore, it had to be proved that the verb stems contained one of the voice markers in order to be considered for the analysis. There are three principal routes through which the verb stem could be proven to contain a middle. The first method of verifying the data is to see whether or not an unmarked root corresponding to the verb stem in question exists. An unmarked root is the same verb root as the example with the middle but without the presence of this voice marker.

47.   a.   **aterahaχ8i** « se renverser, tourner sens dessus dessous bout pour bout, se tourner de l'autre cote »
                ate-rahakhw-i
                MID-turn-STAT

---

[1] The Jesuits used certain special symbols in their transcriptions of the Wendat language. The symbol 8, which is actually an *o* with a *u* on top, is used to represent the labiovelar glide [w] before vowels and the back high vowel [u] before consonants. The Greek letter χ is used to represent an aspirated *k*, or [kh]. The theta, θ, was used to represent an aspirated *t*, or [th]. The iota was used to represent the phonetic realization of the phoneme /k/ in all contexts where it is not preceded by another consonant.

'to turn oneself to the other side'
(Potier 1751 : 335)

b.　　　ˌarahaχ8i² « tourner d'un coté sur l'autre, tourner ses dessus dessous,
renverser »
ka-rahakhw-i
3.FZ.SG.AGT-turn-STAT
'to turn from one side to the other'
(Potier 1751 : 335)

In example (47a), the middle voice marker is present along with the verb stem -*rahaχ8i* 'to turn from one side to the other' which yields a gloss of 'to turn oneself to the other side.' The example (47b) shows the same verb stem except without the middle marker, thereby verifying that the example (47a) does indeed contain a middle.

Another method of verifying the presence of the middle marker is the use of cognates. Verbs that could be not found to have an unmarked root of the like in (47b) were then compared to other Iroquoian languages in order to validate the existence of the middle. In order to validate the middles, the Oneida-English, English-Oneida dictionary of Karin Michelson and Mercy Doxtator (2002) and the Onondaga-English, English-Onondaga dictionary by Hanni Woodbury (2003) were employed. These two Iroquoian dictionaries are extensive and provide thousands of entries to be examined. If no cognate could be found in these two sources, other Iroquoian dictionaries were then employed in order to try and find proof of a middle marker. These other sources include the Tuscarora-English, English-Tuscarora dictionary of Blair Rudes (1999), the dictionary included in *A Thousand Words of Mohawk* by Gunther Michelson (1973), and the Seneca-English dictionary in Wallace Chafe's *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (1967). In addition, the glossary of *Watęwayę́stanih : A Cayuga Teaching Grammar* by Marianne Mithun and Reginald Henry (1982) was also used for this purpose.

48.　　a.　　　Wendat :
akense « regarder, consider q.c. ou q. »
at-kę?se

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² In their transcriptions of the Wendat language, the Jesuits attempted to create some sort of infinitive equivalent to those found in French or Latin. In order to generate this infinitive, the Jesuits used the 3.FZ.SG.AGT pronominal prefix and the Stative Aspect suffix. We can see this 'infinitive' formula clearly in this example. Although there is no overt pronominal prefix on examples with the middle, this is due to the fact that the 3.FZ.SG.AGT prefix for a-stems, *w-*, falls word-initially. The Stative aspect suffix is still present on all of these a-stem examples.

MID-consider.STAT
'to consider, examine'
(Potier 1751 : 166)
b.   Oneida :
-atkʌʔse-/-atkʌʔs-
'examine, look to find out, tell the future'
(Michelson & Doxtator 2002 : 219)

In example (48), the Wendat middle can be verified by the presence of the middle in the Oneida cognate.

The third method of verifying the middle marker is the presence of an incorporated noun root. An incorporated noun root normally appears in between the middle marker and the verb root. Therefore, if it can be proved that an incorporated noun root is present, then it consequently validates the presence of the middle marker.

49.   **at**iatannon[3] « garder q. person »
at-yaʔt-annon[4]
MID-body-guard.STAT
'to guard someone'
(Potier 1751 : 378)

In this example, the incorporated noun root for 'body,' -*yaʔt*-, appears before the verb root and after the middle. This therefore validates the hypothesis that the -*at*- present before the noun root is truly a middle marker. These three methods were those that were employed to verify the presence of the middle marker in the data collected. Out of 558 middle verbs found, 393 of them could be verified and thus used in the present study. The rest of the 558 middle verbs were discarded.

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[3] When the morphological analysis (second line) differs from the Jesuit transcription (first line), that means that the element of the example was linguistically reconstructed in accordance with cognates in other Northern Iroquoian languages. The majority of the examples in this thesis, however, are not reconstructed.

[4] As in the Oneida, Seneca, and Wyandot transcriptions, the symbol ʔ represents a glottal stop in Wendat. The symbol ę represents the front nasal, ǫ represents the back nasal, and š represents the voiceless postalveolar fricative. These symbols are only present in the morphological analysis when some sort of reconstruction has been effectuated. Otherwise, the morphological analysis follows the Jesuit transcription.

3.6 Forms of the Wendat middle

The Wendat middle takes several forms. The most basic of these forms is *-at-*. It is possible to see this form in the following example for 'to adorn oneself.'

50. **-at**iatachonni « s'orner »
    at-yaʔt-a-hšǫni
    MID-body-JOIN-prepare.STAT
    'to adorn oneself'
    (Potier 1751: 217)

This form is also present in example (51).

51. **-at**aronton « s'informer de q.c. »
    at-arǫtǫ
    MID-question.someone.STAT
    'to inform oneself'
    (Potier 1751: 174)

Another common form of the Wendat middle is *-ate-* before consonant clusters. This form is presented in example (52) with the verb stem *-atechienda̗eʻtati*.

52. **-ate**chienda̗eʻtati « prendre soi-meme un nom »
    ate-hšęn-a-kehtat-i
    MID-name-JOIN-make.carry-STAT
    'to take a name'
    (Potier 1751: 251)

Example (53) also shows the use of the form *-ate-* as a middle.

53. **-ate**ndinnon « vendre...acheter »
    ate-ninǫ
    MID-desire.STAT
    'to buy or sell'
    (Potier 1751: 292)

Another form of the Wendat middle is *-ar-* before an a-stem. This form is much more rare, yet this is one of the very old forms of the middle in Iroquoian languages (Mithun, p.c.: 2009). In the

example below, it is possible to see the old middle marker -ar- with the noun stem for 'foot' and the verb stem for 'tread.'

54. **-ar**achitaronk8i « fouler avec pies....*metaphorice surpasser q. »
    ar-ahši?t-a-ronkwi
    MID-foot-JOIN-tread.STAT
    'to surpass someone'
    (Potier 1751: 170)

In addition to these basic forms noted above, there are also some phonological changes that occur when the middle combines with the verb stem. One of these changes involves the loss of *t* before a *k*. When a *k* is not protected by another consonant preceding it, it turns into its allophone, a sound which is represented by the Jesuits as an iota. Thus, when the basic middle form -*at*- combines with a stem beginning in *k*, the *t* protects the *k* from becoming iota. However, the *t* is dropped as a result. This phonological change is represented in example (55).

55. t → Ø / _k
    -akonhentak8i « se tourner soi-meme et se coucher de l'autre coté »
    at-konhentakwi
    MID-turn.someone.STAT
    'to turn oneself over and sleep on the other side'
    (Potier 1751: 256)

Another instance of this sound change is shown in example (56).

56. t → Ø / _k
    -akonresatati « avancer, presenter sa main »
    at-konres-a-tati
    MID-hand-JOIN-present.STAT
    'to present or advance one's hand'
    (Potier 1751: 362)

One of the other major sound changes affecting the Wendat middle involves again the *t* of -*at*-. When a *t* appears before the semi-vowel w, the *t* changes from alveolar to velar, thus it becomes a *k*. This sound change is illustrated in example (57).

57. t → k / _w
-ak8asti « devenir riche hureux... etre riche, hureux, à son aise »
at-wahst-ih
MID-be.beautiful-STAT
'to become or be rich, happy'
(Potier 1751: 169)

Yet another example of this sound change can be found in example (58).

58. t → k / _w
-ak8endïosti « se rendre maitre »
at-węn-iyo-st-i
MID-voice-big.or.good-CAUS-STAT
'to make oneself master, boss'
(Potier 1751: 396)

Two other sound changes occur with the Wendat middle that are quite rare. The first of these sound changes involves the simplification of the cluster *tsk* to *sk*. In this example, the middle is added to the root which begins in the cluster *sk*. The combination of *tsk* is subsequently reduced to *sk*. This root was verified as containing a middle by its Oneida cognate, which is *-atskwek-* (Michelson 2002). This sound change is only attested with this one root.

59. t → Ø / _sk
-ask8e˛i « se fermer la bouche »
at-skwek-i
MID-close.mouth-STAT
'for the mouth to close'
(Potier 1751: 320)

Another rare sound change involves the reduction of the cluster *thš* to *hš*. For our corpus, this sound changes takes place only in the following stem.[5]

60. t → Ø / _hš
-achondi « s'accommoder, s'abiller, s'ajuster, se parer »
at-hšǫni

---

[5] Outside of the middle domain, this same sound change can be found with the prepronominal prefix Coincident. A possible historical form of the Coincident is *ths, yet the form transcribed by the Jesuits is *chia-* (Potier 1751: 358).

MID-prepare.STAT
'to dress oneself, to prepare oneself, to adjust oneself'
(Potier 1751: 217)

Therefore, the surface forms of the Wendat middle vary between -at-, -ate-, -ar-, -ak-, and -a-
with -at- being the most basic of the forms. The form -an- was not found in the corpus. However,
this is a regular allomorph of the middle in other Iroquoian languages as it always appears before
an i-initial verb. We assume that the form -an- is another possible form of the Wendat middle
even though it did not appear in this corpus.[6]

3.7 Semantics of the Wendat middle

In this section, the semantics of the Wendat middle will be explored in connection to
Kemmer's typological description of the middle. Each middle situation type, as identified by
Kemmer, will be examined in the context of the Wendat language. The first of these situation
types is 'Grooming and body care.' In Wendat, the verb 'to wash' appears with the middle and
the incorporated noun root for body.

61.   -atiatohare « se laver soi-meme »
        at-ya?t-ohare
        MID-body-wash.STAT
        'to wash oneself'
        (Potier 1751: 406)

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[6] There is another possible form of the Wendat middle that was not discussed. This possible
middle takes the phonological shape of -ęd-. In the manuscript of Potier (1751 : 389-90), the verb
root -itara- which means « coucher q., le mettre, l'etendre sur son lit », has as its derivation the
verb stem -enditara- which means in turn « se coucher, s'alliter, se mettre à reposer, en se
couchant s'etendant sur q.c. qui serve de soutient, ou à platte terre ». The semantics of this
derivation of the initial verb root versus that of the following verb stem leads us to believe that
the change is due to the addition of a middle prefix. Kopris (2001) also found this rare allomorph
in addition to another related allomorph, -ę-, in the Wyandot corpus. Kopris (2001 : 268)
concedes that it is unclear what conditions this allomorphy. According to Mithun (p.c.: 2010), in
the western Iroquoian languages, the older form of the middle, -ar-, evolved into the nasalized
front vowel. As there was no clear method of verifying the presence of this middle allomorph
with cognates from other Iroquoian languages, this particular form was left out of the discussion.

The second verb stem illustrating the category 'Grooming and body care' has to do with cleaning or dusting off the body. This stem also has a metaphorical meaning of clearing oneself of any doubt or accusation.

62.   -atiatah8a̩i « s'epousseter soi-meme, se nettoyer... se purger, se justifier, se decharger de q. soupcon, de q. accusation »
      at-ya?t-ahwaki
      MID-body-dust.STAT
      'to clean oneself, to dust oneself off; to clear oneself of any suspicion or accusation'
      (Potier 1751: 263)

Another example of this middle category is the verb for 'shear or crop hair.'

63.   -ateïeskonsen « se tondre, se faire le poil »
      ate-ïeskonsen
      MID-crop.STAT
      'to crop or shear one's hair'
      (Potier 1751: 267)

Closely related to 'Grooming and body care' is the middle category of 'Other body actions.' In this category are natural processes and actions of the body[7].

64.   -aket « se gratter »
      at-ket
      MID-scratch.STAT
      'to scratch oneself'
      (Potier 1751: 250)

The verb stem -atoχ8annen, 'to swallow,' also pertains the to category of 'Other body actions.'

65.   -atoχ8annen « avaler, engloutir »
      at-okhwannen
      MID-swallow.STAT
      'to swallow'

---

[7] This category was not mentioned by Kemmer in her description of the middle situation types. However, this category is included in her checklist of middle semantics, a document at the end of her 1993 book (267). The author gives the following examples for this middle situation type : 'scratch,' 'sneeze,' 'cough,' 'breathe,' 'relieve oneself,' and 'masturbate.'

Yet another example of this category is the verb stem for 'wink.'

> 66. -akatsitien « cligner l'oeil comme on fait pour attirer »
> **at**-kat-sitien
> MID-eye-wink.STAT
> 'to wink'
> (Potier 1751: 165)

Equally found with middle voice is the category of 'Nontranslational motion.' This includes any type of motion that is located within the sphere of the body and which does not follow a path. One example of this type of motion with the Wendat middle voice is the verb for 'bend.'

> 67. -ate8aχ8i « se tordre...se plier...se courber »
> **ate**-wakhwi
> MID-bend.STAT
> 'to bend, twist, bow'
> (Potier 1751: 262)

Another type of 'Nontranslational motion' is 'to stretch.'

> 68. -ateïha8isti « s'etendre, s'allonger, s'elager, se dilater, se deployer »
> **ate**-ïhawisti
> MID-stretch.STAT
> 'to elongate oneself, to stretch out'
> (Potier 1751: 268)

The act of turning around oneself can equally be considered an act of 'Nontranslational motion.'

> 69. -atiatatase- « se tourner de tout cote, tournoier à l'entour de soi-meme »
> **at**-yaʔt-a-tase
> MID-body-JOIN-turn.STAT
> 'to turn around oneself'
> (Potier 1751: 360)

A change in body posture is another area in which the Wendat middle appears. Below, in example (70), we can see the use of the middle voice with the verb 'to sit down.'

70. -**at**ien « se mettre, se placer, s'asseoir »
at-yę
MID-put.STAT
'to sit down'
(Potier 1751: 189)

The Wendat middle is also attested with the verb 'to stand up.'

71. -**at**ierihen « se lever de bout »
at-yerih-ę
MID-become.straight-STAT
'to stand up'
(Potier 1751: 229)

Yet another use of the Wendat middle is when this morpheme appears with the verb 'to get out of bed.'

72. -**ak**enhen « se lever du lit »
at-kenhen
MID-raise.high.STAT
'to get up out of bed'
(Potier 1751: 166)

The 'Indirect' middle is a type of middle situation where the actor acts for the benefit of himself/herself. We can see this middle situation in the context of the verb 'to appropriate.'

73. -**at**ïostandi « s'approprier q.c., s'en attribuer le domaine, la propriété, s'en saisir, s'en emparer, l'usurper »
at-iyo-st-a-ni
MID-be.big.or.good-CAUS-JOIN-BEN.STAT
'to appropriate something, to take ownership of something'
(Potier 1751: 396)

The Wendat verb which signifies the receiving or taking of a name also is part of this middle situation type.

74. -**at**iatsi « prendre, recevoir un nom »
at-yatsi

MID-name.STAT
'to take, receive a name'
(Potier 1751: 208)

Another example of the 'Indirect' middle situation type is the Wendat verb 'to heat oneself.'

76.   -**atiatatarihati** « se chauffer »
       at-yaʔt-aʔtarih-a-t-i
       MID-body-be.warm-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
       'to heat oneself'
       (Potier 1751: 182)

75.

The next middle situation type, 'Naturally reciprocal events,' designates those actions that are necessarily or naturally mutual. In example (76), we see this middle situation type in use with the verb -*ak8e*.

76.   -**ak8e** « s'entrequereller »
       at-kwe
       MID-scold.STAT
       'to quarrel with one another'
       (Potier 1751: 273)

Another naturally reciprocal event is the act of fighting, which is illustrated in example (77).

77.   -**atrio** « se battre, combattre »
       at-rio
       MID-beat.STAT
       'to fight, combat'
       (Potier 1751: 270)

The act of joining together is also necessarily a mutual event, therefore it also falls into this category.

78.   -**ak8eˌi** « se mettre ensemble, se joindre »
       at-kweki
       MID-be.together.STAT
       'to put oneselves together, to join together'
       (Potier 1751: 319)

The next category of middle situation types regards motion. This category involves motion that is situated along a path in space, therefore it is called 'Translational motion.' Example (79) illustrates this type of motion with the verb *-atiata̗arennion*.

79.   **-at**iata̗arennion « s'eloigner »
         at-ya?t-a-karennion
         MID-body-JOIN-remove.STAT
         'to go away, to move away'
         (Potier 1751: 237)

Another type of 'Translational motion' is the act of 'crawling.'

80.   **-at**iata8innon « se trainer, ramper, marcher sur le ventre comme font les serpens »
         at-ya?t-a-winnon
         MID-body-JOIN-drag.STAT
         'to crawl or drag oneself along on one's belly like a snake'
         (Potier 1751: 323)

The verb 'to run' is also attested with the Wendat middle.

81.   **-ar**atati « courir »
         ar-ahtati
         MID-run.STAT
         'to run'
         (Potier 1751: 171)

Emotive verbs also typically contain a middle in Wendat. One of these such verbs is the verb 'to suffer.'

82.   **-ate**ndi̗onratsirati- « souffrir q. chagrin »
         ate-?nikǫhr-atsirati
         MID-mind-make.suffer.STAT
         'to suffer from grief and sorrow'
         (Potier 1751: 370)

Another emotion verb that contains the Wendat middle is the verb 'to be ashamed.'

83. -atrih8atehendi « avoir honte de dire ou faire q.c. »
at-rihw-atehendi
MID-affair-be.ashamed.STAT
'to be ashamed to do or say something'
(Potier 1751: 184)

The verb 'to be delighted' is an emotion verb in Wendat that also contains the middle.

84. -atonnhara « se rejouir »
at-ǫnh-a-ra
MID-life-JOIN-put.on.top.STAT
'to be delighted'
(Potier 1751: 332)

Closely related to the emotion verbs are the verbs of 'Emotive speech acts.' Some of these verbs contain a middle in Wendat, including the verb 'to laugh at.'

85. -ak8aesati « railler, dire par jeu en riant, ne faire que rire, se moquer »
at-w-a-es-a-t-i
MID-voice-JOIN-be.cruel-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
'to laugh at, to make fun of'
(Potier 1751: 232)

The act of speaking in a hostile manner is equally attested with a middle in Wendat.

86. -ak8endachati « faire sa voix mauvaise...parler mal »
at-węn-a-ch-a-t-i
MID-voice-JOIN-be.bad-JOIN-CAUS-STAT
'to speak with a mean voice, to speak badly'
(Potier 1751: 211)

Example (87) illustrates the verb for 'speaking with force' with the Wendat middle.

87. -ak8enda‿aston « affermir la voix; parler avec force, vehemence, empire »
at-węn-a-kaston
MID-voice-JOIN-strengthen.STAT
'to strengthen one's voice, to speak with force or vehemence'
(Potier 1751: 240)

Yet another middle situation type is the category 'Other speech actions.' In this category, one can find the verb for the act of 'ordering.'

88. -ak8endaen « ordonner q.c. la defendre ou commander »
     at-węn-a-yę
     MID-voice-JOIN-put.STAT
     'to order, defend or command something'
     (Potier 1751: 219)

The act of 'speaking clearly and truthfully' is also a verb that takes the Wendat middle.

89. -ak8endierihen « dresser sa voix, faire sa voix droite, parler, clairement, nettement, franchement, sans rien deguiser »
     at-węn-yerih-ę
     MID-voice-become.straight-STAT
     'to speak clearly and truthfully'
     (Potier 1751: 229)

Example (90) shows the Wendat middle with a verb that means 'to diversify one's voice.'

90. -ak8ennontonk8annon « gronder, murmurer, dire choses et autres, faire le mutin, user de quantité de repliques...diversifier sa voix »
     at-węn-ontonkwannon
     MID-voice-diversify.STAT
     'to murmur, to roar, to diversify one's voice'
     (Potier 1751: 421)

Verbs of cognition constitute another category considered to be a middle situation type by Kemmer. One of the verbs of cognition that appears with the Wendat middle is the verb 'to forget.'

91. -atrih8a'tontandi « oublier q.c. »
     at-rihw-ahton?t-a-ni
     MID-affair-lose.something-JOIN-BEN.STAT
     'to forget something'
     (Potier 1751: 195)

The verb which means 'to expand one's mind' appears also with the Wendat middle.

92. -atendi‚onhiondiati « etendre son esprit, le porter tout le long de q.c. pour
l'examiner, la connoitre, la comprendre »
ate-ʔnikǫhr-hiondiati
MID-mind-expand.STAT
'to expand one's mind in order to examine, know, and understand it'
(Potier 1751: 397)

Another example of a verb of cognition is the verb 'to examine one's conscience.'

93. -atendi‚onraiannonton « examiner sa conscience »
ate-ʔnikǫhr-a-iannonton
MID-mind-JOIN-look.for.openings.STAT
'to examine one's conscience'
(Potier 1751: 265)

The Wendat middle is equally attested with verbs of perception[8]. These verbs include the verb for 'look at.'

94. -akannra « regarder »
at-kannra
MID-look.STAT
'to look at'
(Potier 1751: 235)

Another verb of perception is the verb 'to smell.'

95. -atesχ8ati « flairer q.c., se la faire sentir à soi-meme »
ate-skhwati
MID-make.smell.STAT
'to smell something, to make oneself smell it'
(Potier 1751: 354)

Example (96) illustrates the verb 'to stare' with the Wendat middle.

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[8] Like the category 'Other body actions,' Kemmer does not mention this middle situation type in her initial discussion. However, it is present among the middle situation types in her checklist for middle semantics (1993 : 267). Kemmer provides the examples 'see,' 'hear,' 'touch,' 'taste,' and 'smell' for this category.

96. -akarandit « fixer sa vue sur q. sur q. objet »
at-karandit
MID-stare.STAT
'to stare at someone, something'
(Potier 1751: 165)

The next middle situation type, 'Spontaneous events,' refers to the fact that there is no Agent coded within the event structure. The event is treated as if it emanated directly from the Patient. One such verb is the verb 'to be born.'

97. -atondi « naitre »
at-ǫni
MID-make.STAT
'to be born'
(Potier 1751: 410)

Another such event which appears with the Wendat middle is the verb 'to grow.'

98. -ato'tia̗i « croitre, augmenter »
at-ohtiaki
MID-grow.STAT
'to grow, augment'
(Potier 1751: 202)

In addition to the last two verbs, the event of the sky opening up can equally be seen as a 'Spontaneous event' where the event emanates directly from the Patient.

99. -atronhiaχaska8an « le ciel s'entrouvrir »
at-rǫhy-a-khaskawan
MID-sky-JOIN-join.REV.STAT
'for the sky to open up'
(Potier 1751: 271)

The last middle situation type found in Wendat is the 'Passive middle.' In these type of events, there is an Agent entity involved yet it is not coded. One can find this type of event with the verb 'to receive life.'

100. -atonnhonti « recevoir la vie »
at-ǫnh-ǫ-t-i
MID-life-give-CAUS-STAT

71

'to receive life'
(Potier 1751 : 415)

Another verb that could be considered the 'Passive middle' type is the verb meaning 'for something to write itself.'

101. -atehiaton « s'ecrire, se marquer, s'imprimer »
      ate-hiaton
      MID-write.STAT
      'for something to write itself, mark itself or print itself'
      (Potier 1751 : 261)

Equally, the verb meaning 'for something to break itself' is also a 'Passive middle.'

102. -atia͜i « q.c. se rompre »
      at-ya?k-i
      MID-break-STAT
      'for something to break itself'
      (Potier 1751 : 263)

These examples all involve the Wendat middle and its relation to the middle situation types laid out by Kemmer (1993; 1994). In comparison to Kemmer's typological study, the Wendat language does have a middle that appears in most of the middle situation types. However, the Wendat language does not appear to have any 'Logophoric' middles, 'Impersonal' middles, or 'Facilitative' middles. Concerning the 'Logophoric middle,' this evidence makes enough sense considering that only Modern Icelandic and Old Norse were found to possess such a form. Thus, the semantics of the Wendat middle hold as to the basic semantic parameters outlined by Kemmer.

3.8 Functions of the Wendat middle

According to Floyd Lounsbury, the Oneida 'semi-reflexive' or middle possesses four principal functions. Each of these functions will be described according to its role in the Wendat language. The first of these functions regards what Lounsbury termed 'semi-reflexive action' which incurs upon something that belongs to the Agent. This object or entity could be either of

alienable or of inalienable possession. In Wendat, we can see that this function appears with certain middle verbs. One of these verbs concerns 'stretching one's arm.'

103. -**ate**iachiondiati « etendre son bras »
     ate-hyahš-ondiati
     MID-arm-stretch.STAT
     'to stretch one's arm'
     (Potier 1751: 397)

The arm is an inalienable possession of the Agent, therefore the 'semi-reflexive' action bears upon this possession. Another such verb involves the act of 'clothing oneself.'

104. -**ati**atori « se couvrir, se vetir »
     at-ya?t-ori
     MID-body-cover.STAT
     'to cover oneself, to clothe oneself'
     (Potier 1751: 431)

In these circumstances, the clothes, an alienable possession of the Agent, are affected. The last example of this function of the Wendat middle concerns the 'closing of a hand.'

105. -akonresa8ennondi « fermer la main, la plier en forme de poing »
     at-konres-a-wennondi
     MID-hand-JOIN-make.round.STAT
     'to close one's hand, to make a fist'
     (Potier 1751: 321)

Again, the hand is the inalienable possession of the Agent which receives the 'semi-reflexive' action.

The second function of the middle identified by Lounsbury is the transformation of a transitive verb into an intransitive verb. Thus, the middle reduces the valency of the verb in thereby taking away an argument. We can see such a process with the Wendat middle as well. In Wendat, the middle can reduce the valency of a verb by one argument, making a transitive verb subsequently intransitive. In the following example, the middle appears with an intransitive verb in (106a). In (106b), the same verb appears except without the middle and it is transitive.

106. a.   -**atrih8annontra** « une affaire suivre l'autre »
           at-rihw-a-nqtra
           MID-affair-JOIN-follow.STAT
           'for one affair to follow another'
           (Potier 1751: 313)

    b.   ˌannontra « suivre q., aller après »
           ka-nqtra
           3.FZ.SG.AGT-follow.someone.STAT
           'to follow someone'
           (Potier 1751: 313)

The same phenomenon occurs with the verb 'to put on one's leggings.' In (107a), the verb appears as intransitive and referring to someone 'putting on one's own leggings.' However, in (107b), the same verb is shown as transitive meaning 'to put on someone else's leggings.'

107. a.   -**atri** « se chausser »
           at-ri
           MID-put.on.leggings.STAT
           'to put on one's leggings'
           (Potier 1751: 346)

    b.   kari « chausser q. (lui mettre des mitasses) »
           t-ka-ri
           DUPL-3.FZ.SG.AGT-put.on.leggings.STAT
           'to put on someone's leggings'
           (Potier 1751 : 346)

This same function is illustrated in example (108). In (108a), it is possible to see that the verb there is intransitive and means 'running from one side to another.' On the other hand, in example (108b), the root verb remains transitive and guards its original meaning of 'to lead, make go.'

108. a.   -**atrentinnon** « courir d'un bord et d'un autre, de cabane en cabane »
           at-rent-innon
           MID-leg-lead.STAT
           'to run from one side to another, from house to house'
           (Potier 1751: 323)

    b.   innon « trainer, faire aller, mener, conduire »
           innon
           lead.STAT
           'to lead, make go'
           (Potier 1751: 323)

The third function of the Oneida middle, to render an active verb passive, also occurs in the Wendat language. With the addition of the middle, an active verb has the possibility of becoming passive. We can see this same transformation in example (109). For the example (109a), the verb appears in its passive form with the Wendat middle. In the example (109b), the same verb occurs in its basic form, which is active.

109.   a.   -**at**oriti « etre assaisonné »
                  at-oriti
                  MID-season.STAT
                  'to be seasoned'
                  (Potier 1751: 434)

       b.   -oriti « assaisonner tout ce que l'on mange »
                  y-oriti
                  3.FZ.SG.AGT-season.STAT
                  'to season what one eats'
                  (Potier 1751 : 434)

The Wendat middle also appears with the verb 'for a mistake to be made.' This verb is passive, as shown in example (110a), whereas its active form appears in example (110b).

110.   a.   -**at**rih8andera̗i « une meprise, une erreur, une faute se faire, etre faite »
                  at-rihw-a-nderaki
                  MID-affair-JOIN-make.mistake.STAT
                  'for a mistake to be made'
                  (Potier 1751: 285)

       b.   ̗andera̗i « se tromper, se meprendre par inadvertance, ou sans faire reflexion »
                  ka-nderaki
                  3.FZ.SG.AGT-make.mistake.STAT
                  'to make a mistake'
                  (Potier 1751 : 284)

The passive verb, meaning 'for something to be ignored,' is illustrated in example (111a). Its active counterpart, 'to ignore,' is shown in example (111b).

111.   a.   -**at**onnhiti « une chose se faire ignorer….reduire à ne la scavoir [sic] faire »
                  at-onnhiti
                  MID-ignore.STAT
                  'for something to be ignored, to not know how to do something'

(Potier 1751 : 416)

b.   -onnhiti « faire ignorer…q.c. etre difficile à comprendre, & à faire, à dire »
y-onnhiti
3.FZ.SG.AGT-ignore.STAT
'to ignore, for something to be difficult to understand'
(Potier 1751 : 416)

The fourth and final function of middle voice according to Lounsbury is "to make various other changes in meaning" (Lounsbury 1953 : 74). Thus, when the middle combines with the verb stem, it can sometimes create idiosyncratic meanings. In example (112), we can see that the verb 'to present' is combined with the middle and an incorporated noun root and it now means 'to invite someone to a feast.'

112. a.   -akonchi8tandi « inviter q. au festin »
at-kǫhš-ot-a-ni
MID-face-stand-JOIN-BEN.STAT
'to invite someone to a feast'
(Potier 1751 : 438)

b.   -8tandi « presenter q.c. à q. la lui faisant paroitre, la lui montrant »
y-ot-a-ni
3.FZ.SG.AGT-stand-JOIN-BEN.STAT
'to present something to someone, to show someone'
(Potier 1751 : 438)

Another completely idiosyncratic meaning is created when the Wendat verb 'to examine' is combined with the middle. This new signification is shown in example (113a).

113. a.   -ak8endore'tandi « hontoyer q., lui faire une extreme honte »
at-węn-oreht-a-ni
MID-voice-examine-JOIN-BEN.STAT
'to shame someone'
(Potier 1751: 430)

b.   ti-oretandi « examiner pour »
ti-oreht-a-ni
DUPL-examine-JOIN-BEN.STAT
'to examine for'
(Potier 1751 : 430)

When the Wendat middle is combined with a verb that means 'cause to be beautiful, big,' another idiosyncratic meaning is attested. We can see the result of the middle added to this verb in example (114a) and its counterpart without the middle in example (114b).

114.   a.   -**ata**honchiosti « faire semblant de ne point entendre....faire la sourde oreille »
         at-ahǫht-š-iyo-st-i
         MID-ear-X-be.big.or.good-CAUS-STAT[9]
         'to pretend not to hear'
         (Potier 1751 : 396)

     b.   -ïosti « cause…etre beau…bon…grand »
         iyo-st-i
         be.big.or.good-CAUS-STAT
         'to cause to be beautiful or large'
         (Potier 1751 : 396)

Therefore, the Iroquoian middle has four principal functions, as demonstrated in Oneida by Lounsbury. As illustrated by the examples above, the Wendat middle also possesses these four major functions.

3.9 The Wendat Reflexive

In conjunction with the Wendat middle, the reflexive makes up the second half of the voice markers in the Wendat language. In this section, the different forms of the Wendat reflexive will be discussed along with its two principal functions. The Wendat reflexive takes four major forms. As the reflexive could be treated as a construction containing two middle morphemes (Lounsbury 1953 : 74), it is no surprise that the most common form of the Wendat reflexive is -*atat*-. This is a reduplicated form of the basic middle allomorph -*at*-. This form is demonstrated below in example (115).

115.   -**atat**re8ati « s'entrecorriger...critiquer, condamner, corriger...item se retenir soi-meme, s'empecher de dire ou de faire q.c. »
     atat-rewati
     REFL-reprimand.STAT

---

[9] The X in the morphological analysis means that the string in question can not be identified at this point in time.

'to critique, to correct, to restrain oneself or one another from doing or saying something'
(Potier 1751: 342)

Here, the most basic of the reflexive forms is used with the verb *-rewati-*. Below, the same form of the Wendat reflexive is shown with an example meaning 'to move away from one another.'

116. **-atat**iata῾arennion « s'entr'eloigner, s'ecarter les uns les autres »
atat-ya?t-a-karennion
REFL-body-JOIN-move.away.STAT
'to move away from one another'
(Potier 1751: 237)

Another common form of the Wendat reflexive before consonant clusters is the allomorph *-atate-*. This form can be seen with the verb for 'encouraging one another or oneself.'

117. **-atate**hetsaron « s'entrehorter les uns les autres.....s'animer s'encourager soi-meme »
atate-hetsaron
REFL-encourage.STAT
'to encourage one another, to encourage oneself'
(Potier 1751: 260)

This form can also be seen with the verb *-ndoton-* in example (118).

118. **-atate**chiendandoton « publier le nom de q. soit en bonne part pour le faire estimer, soit en mauvaise pour le decrier »
atate-hšẹn-a-ndoton
REFL-name-JOIN-tell.STAT
'to publish or put up the name of someone for either good or bad intentions'
(Potier 1751: 297)

There is a certain allomorph of the Wendat reflexive which only appears before verbs that start with *-i-*. This allomorph takes the form *-atand-*. In example (119), one can see the result of adding the reflexive to an i-initial verb.

119. **-atand**it « se vanter...parler de soi-meme »
atan-it

REFL-speak.STAT
'to speak of oneself, to boast'
(Potier 1751: 388)

Another example of this same allomorph with the verb *-itahekenh8i* can be found in (120).

120. **-atand**itahekenh8i « se traiter soi-meme comme le merite, se punir »
atan-itahekenhwi
REFL-be.treated.as.one.deserves.STAT
'to treat oneself as one deserves, to punish oneself'
(Potier 1751: 388)

Just as the Wendat middle, there are certain phonological changes that occur when the reflexive is added to the verb stem. In the case of the reflexive, a *t* drops before a *k* and therefore protects it from becoming iota. Therefore, when the reflexive is added before the noun root *-konchi-* 'face,' as in example (121), the final *t* of the reflexive falls.

121. t → Ø / _k
-atakonchio « se voir dans l'eau »
atat-kǫhš-o
REFL-face-be.in.water.STAT
'to see oneself in water'
(Potier 1751: 402)

This same sound change occurs when the verb *-konhen* combines with the reflexive as in example (122).

122. t → Ø / _k
-atakonhen « 2 personnes etre l'une celle qu'on met à la place de l'autre, et l'autre celle en la place de qui elle est mise....un chose etre en la place d'une autre, tenir sa place, avoir eté donné pour elle, etre le prix qu'elle a couté, un chose valoir l'autre »
atat-konhen
REFL-replace.someone.STAT
'for two people to switch places, for something to hold the place of another'
(Potier 1751: 256)

The four major allomorphs of the Wendat reflexive are demonstrated in the examples above.

Taking a look at the Wendat reflexive also leads us to a discussion of its functions. As stated in Lounsbury's verb morphology, there are three main functions of the reflexive in Iroquoian. The reflexive is used, first and foremost, as a means to express true reflexive action, "action upon oneself, not simply middle voice or action upon one's possession" (Lounsbury 1953: 74).

123. **-atate**keniensti « se faire petit, s'humilier »
atate-keniensti
REFL-make.small.STAT
'to humiliate oneself, to make oneself feel small'
(Potier 1751: 271)

In the example above, the action, completed by the Agent, also bears upon the Agent. Therefore, the action is truly reflexive. The example (124) also shows this same true reflexive action.

124. **-atat**entsti « s'elever soi-meme…se nourrir…se faire croitre »
atat-entsti
REFL-raise.child.or.animal.STAT
'to raise oneself, to feed oneself, to make oneself grow'
(Potier 1751: 382).

The example shows that the Agent is acting upon him/herself by raising or feeding him/herself, thereby being a true reflexive action.

The second major function of the Iroquoian reflexive is to express reciprocal action.

125. **-atate**ndera8an « s'admirer soi-meme…s'entradmirer »
atate-nderawan
REFL-admire.STAT
'to admire oneself, to admire one another'
(Potier 1751: 285)

In example (125), the verb takes two meanings, one being reflexive and the other being reciprocal thereby highlighting the first two major functions of the Wendat reflexive. In example (126), on the other hand, there is but the reciprocal meaning of the verb that is exemplified.

126. **-atate**nnonronk8annion « s'entresaluer »
atate-nǫr-ǫhkw-a-niǫ

REFL-scalp-grease-JOIN-DISTR.STAT
'to greet one another'
(Potier 1751: 311)

Kemmer also makes mention of these two functions of the reflexive by stating that "in many languages reciprocal and reflexive situations are encoded by the same marker" (Kemmer 1993: 98). In both situations, each coded participant acts as both an Initiator and an Endpoint (Kemmer 1993: 98). Kemmer goes on to explain that the "difference is that in the case of the reciprocal, two separate entities are linked in a pair of inverse relations, whereas the reflexive involves a relation in which the Initiator and the Endpoint are the same entity" (Kemmer 1993: 98).

There is a third function of the Iroquoian reflexive that Lounsbury identified. As outlined in his *Oneida Verb Morphology*, Lounsbury asserts that the reflexive is also used to codify a transitive relation between an indefinite subject and an indefinite object (1953: 74). Despite its presence in Oneida, this third function of the reflexive was not found in Wendat.

Therefore, the Wendat reflexive, the remaining half of the Wendat voice markers, takes four principal forms. The two major functions of the Wendat reflexive were also outlined. The third function of the 'semi-reflexive,' as identified by Lounsbury, was not found in the Wendat corpus.

3.10 Relative elaboration of events

Relative elaboration of events is the parameter described by Kemmer as the defining point between the middle marker and the reflexive. This parameter is defined by Kemmer as "the degree to which the participants and the component subevents in a particular verbal event are distinguished" (Kemmer 1993: 121). Kemmer asserts that any variation found in the elaboration of events is due to speaker conceptualizations of the event in question. The speaker has the choice either to represent the event as an undifferentiated whole or as a combination of various components and subevents (Kemmer 1993: 121).

As for Wendat, there are two different possible markers to make reference to an event, the middle and the reflexive. In (127), we have an example of a middle use in Wendat, more specifically an example of nontranslational motion.

127. -akenhen « se lever du lit »
      at-kenhen
      MID-raise.high.STAT
      'to get out of bed'
      (Potier 1751: 166)

The middle interacts with a verb meaning 'to raise high' and the signification of the combination becomes 'to get out of bed.' In example (128), a verb with a similar meaning combines with the reflexive in order to produce a meaning of 'to get oneself up.'

128. **-atat**iataratati « se lever soi-meme »
      atat-ya?t-aratati
      REFL-body-raise.high.STAT
      'to get oneself up'
      (Potier 1751: 172)

We can see here that although the two morphemes are attached to verbs of similar meanings and that both signal coreference between the Initiator and the affected entity, the outcome of their attachment produced two different, yet related significations, 'get out of bed' versus 'get oneself up.' Therefore, we can hypothesize that the middle and reflexive have different functions or roles within the general category of voice.

In the typological study of Suzanne Kemmer, the author explains that middle voice is a semantic category which is characterized by two properties: the first is that the initiator and the endpoint are coreferential. The second property of a middle is that there is a low elaboration of events (Kemmer 1993: 238). A low elaboration of events refers to the level of distinction made between both participants and subevents of the main event. The speaker has a choice of whether or not to represent the event as an undifferentiated whole or as a complex event with distinct components. Therefore, according to this theory, the middle has a low elaboration of events, meaning that the participants and components of the event are minimally distinguished.

Kemmer also argues that both the middle and the reflexive are intermediate in transitivity. This property of the middle and reflexive is represented on the scale shown in (129). On each end of the transitivity cline, we see the prototypical events of one participant and of two participants.

129. 'Degree of Distinguishability of Participants' (Kemmer 1994: 209)

Two participants	Reflexive	Middle	One participant

+ --- –

Because the middle and the reflexive are both intermediate in transitivity, they are situated between these two prototypical events. The reflexive is closer to a two-participant event as the Agent and Patient roles, or Initiator and Endpoint, are distinguished. The middle, on the other hand, is closer to a prototypical one-participant event because there is a tighter relation between the Agent and Patient roles than there is with the reflexive. Therefore, as the participants and any subevents are minimally distinguished, the middle is considered to have a low elaboration of events.

In taking the same two examples as before, 'to get out of bed' and 'to get oneself up', we see that indeed there is a difference between reflexive and middle marking. In the first example, the middle marker signals that the Initiator is also the affected entity. However, there is little distinction made between the two roles. The Agent and Patient roles in this case are not separated conceptually.

130. -akenhen « se lever du lit »
     at-kenhen
     MID-raise.high.STAT
     'to get out of bed'
     (Potier 1751: 166)
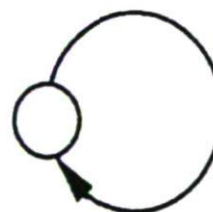
A

(Kemmer 1993: 71)

We can see in Kemmer's diagram for body action middles that both the Initiator and the Endpoint are represented by a single circle. This indicates that the two roles are not differentiated and are viewed as one holistic entity. The arc represents the action, emanating from the Agent, and subsequently affecting this same Agent.

131. -**atat**iataratati « se lever soi-
meme »
atat-yaʔt-aratati
REFL-body-raise.high.STAT
'to get oneself up'
(Potier 1751: 172)

A
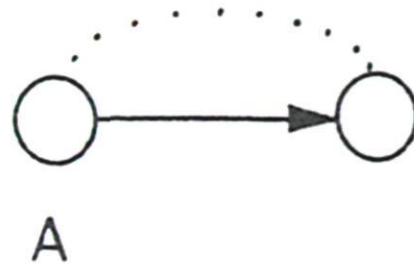
However, in the reflexive example 'to get oneself up', there are two separate circles, one for each role. The dotted line represents coreference between the two roles of Agent and Patient. Conceptually, the Initiator and the Endpoint are differentiated.

Kemmer also argues that there is a correspondence between phonological weight and the type of marking, middle or reflexive. Not only does the middle have a lower distinguishability of participants and events, it also has less phonological weight. The middle, in its basic form, is -*at*- whereas the reflexive is -*atat*-. This represents light and heavy marking respectively. The reflexive has a greater phonological weight which corresponds to its higher distinguishability of participants and events. In the example shown here, we have the same verb root, -*yer*- 'to perform an action,' with both the middle and the reflexive morphemes.

132. a. -**at**ieren « faire q. action de corps ou d'esprit »
at-yer-ę
MID-to.do-STAT
'to perform an action of the body or mind'
(Potier 1751 : 227)

b. -**atat**ieren « s'entrefaire q.c. l'un a l'autre reciproquement, se faire du mal
à soi-meme vg se couper »
atat-yer-ę
REFL-to.do-STAT
'to do harm to oneself, to do something to one another'
(Potier 1751 : 228)

With the middle, the verb stem has a signification of 'to perform an action of the body or mind.' In this type of action, it is hard to distinguish the initiator from the affected entity. The conceptual separation does not exist. As for the verb root with the addition of the reflexive, the stem now

means 'to do harm to oneself or to do something to one another.' In example (132b), we can see that there is a conceptual separation between the Agent and Patient. The Agent does harm to the Patient, which in this case, is actually the same entity.

The conceptual separation of participants and events for the reflexive versus the middle can also be seen in the following examples. With the verb stem *-ont* 'to have', the middle plus the noun root *-rihw-* yields a meaning of 'to have a job.' Unlike the middle, the reflexive combined with this same root means 'to usurp someone else's position.' The Initiator and the affected entity in this case are clearly distinct.

133. a. **-atrihont** « avoir q. emploi par etat, q. charge »
       at-rihw-qt
       MID-affair-hold.office.STAT
       'to have a job'
       (Potier 1751: 419)
    b. **-atatrihont** « usurper un emploi qi ne nous appartient pas »
       atat-rihw-qt
       REFL-affair-hold.office.STAT
       'to usurp someone else's position'
       (Potier 1751: 419)

In the second example, we see that when the middle combines with the verb root 'to beat,' the verb means 'to fight, combat'. However, the same root attached to the reflexive means 'to commit suicide.' In comparison to the reflexive 'to commit suicide,' it is difficult to make a distinction between the Agent and the Patient when talking about the verb stem 'to fight'.

134. a. **-atrio** « se battre, combattre »
       at-rio
       MID-beat.STAT
       'to fight, combat'
       (Potier 1751: 270)
    b. **-atatrio** « se tuer soi-meme »
       atat-rio
       REFL-beat.STAT
       'to commit suicide'
       (Potier 1751: 270)

In the last example, the verb root *ondi*, 'to make' combines with the middle to mean 'to be born' whereas with the reflexive, this same root means 'to make oneself, one's being.'

135. a.   -**at**ondi « naitre…etre né »
                     at-ǫni
                     MID-make.STAT
                     'to be born'
                     (Potier 1751: 410)

      b.   -**atat**ondi « faire son etre, se faire soi-meme »
                     atat-ǫni
                     REFL-make.STAT
                     'to make oneself, one's being'
                     (Potier 1751: 410)

Again, we can see that the middle and the reflexive are different in their relative elaboration of events, or in other words, on the level of conceptual separation between their participants.

Therefore, the middle and the reflexive differ according to their relative elaboration of events. The middle marker, which takes the basic form -*at*- in Wendat, signals a low elaboration of events. There is no true conceptual separation between participants or subevents. The reflexive, on the other hand, takes a higher elaboration of events than the middle, yet lower than that of a prototypical transitive event. In this case, the participants are coreferential yet there is some separation between them on a conceptual level.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the different forms that both the Wendat middle and the Wendat reflexive take. It also outlined the various functions performed by both of these voice markers. In comparing the two markers, we come to notice that they behave unlike one another. This is due to the parameter of the relative elaboration of events. The middle, because its participants and subevents are minimally distinguished, is said to have a low elaboration of events. The reflexive, on the other hand, has a higher elaboration of events. This is due to the fact that the reflexive implies some sort of conceptual separation between its participants. The origin of the Wendat middle as well as the addition of certain middle situation types will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. Another Look at the Wendat Middle

4.1 Overview of the Wendat Middle Analysis

This section will take a further, more in-depth look at the Wendat middle. Section 4.2 will give an overview of the diachronic development of the Wendat middle. The third section will deal with the phenomenon of lexicalization and its intersection with the Wendat middle. The fourth section will concern the addition of semantic middle types to those of Kemmer. More specifically, the Wendat middle has certain semantic traits that must be reflected in the range of middle situation types. Section 4.5 will take a look at transitivity effects concerning the Wendat middle.

4.2 Diachronic development of the Wendat middle

According to Kemmer, middle markers often arise diachronically from a reflexive marker (Kemmer 1993 : 151). The Wendat middle marker is no exception to this tendency. In fact, the middle marker -at- was originally the reflexive marker in the language. As time went on, the morpheme -at- began in turn to encroach upon middle semantic areas. As the distribution of -at- widened and its forms became more and more lexicalized, the salience of the marker as a reflexive diminished. In response to the reduced saliency of the original reflexive, the morpheme -at- was reduplicated. As a result, -atat- became the principal reflexive and reciprocal marker while -at- now functions solely as the Wendat middle marker (Mithun p.c.: 2009).

As the same reflexive and middle marker occurs in even the Cherokee language, we can tell that this is a very old change in the roles of the markers. These changes had to have occurred before Cherokee split off from the rest of the Iroquoian languages (Mithun, p.c.: 2009). Therefore, Proto-Iroquoian was the language to have witnessed these developments. Being so, there is no direct evidence found within the Wendat manuscripts which corroborates this hypothesis. The changes occurred long before the Jesuit missionaries started to transcribe the Wendat language.

Despite the lack of direct evidence, there are certain semantic areas which Kemmer highlighted as possible starting points for the development of a middle marker from a reflexive

marker. The first of these semantic areas is 'self-protection' or 'self-preservation.' In Wendat, we find the following verb in (136).

136.   -atase'ti « se cacher...q.c. etre cachee....cacher q. partie de soi-meme »
       at-ahseht-i
       MID-hide-STAT
       'to hide, to be hidden'
       (Potier 1751: 176)

Although this action may not exactly correlate with 'self-preservation,' the act of 'hiding' does approach this semantic area. The second semantic area identified by Kemmer as a starting point for the development of a middle marker is 'readiness.'

137.   -atiatannhachon « s'appreter, s'equiper, s'habiller, s'accommoder, prendre sur soi
       tout ce qu'il faut, se mettre en etat vg de faire voiage »
       at-yaʔt-a-nhachon
       MID-body-JOIN-put.on.STAT
       'to equip or prepare oneself'
       (Potier 1751: 304)

In example (137), the act of 'preparing oneself' fits as an event of 'readiness.' For the third semantic area, Kemmer identifies the domain of 'self control.' The example in (138) illustrates this semantic area.

138.   -akenrati « se moderer, se contenir, agir avec retenue, reserve, moderation »
       at-kenrati
       MID-diminish.STAT
       'to control oneself, to act with reserve'
       (Potier 1751: 248)

The fourth semantic area concerns 'license' and 'indulging oneself.' One can consider the act of 'treating oneself well' as an act of 'license.'

139.   -atronhiaenton « se conjouir soi-meme...etre hureux »
       at-rǫhy-a-yęt-ǫ
       MID-sky-JOIN-put-DISTR.STAT
       'to treat oneself well, to be happy'
       (Potier 1751 : 371)

The fifth semantic area that is identified by Kemmer is the act of suicide. In Wendat, the act of committing suicide is equally codified with a middle marker.

140.   -**atak8aeron** « se tuer soi-meme »
        at-akwaeron
        MID-kill.STAT
        'to commit suicide'
        (Potier 1751: 168)

The last semantic area that is highlighted for its diachronic relevance is 'involuntary self-harm.' This semantic domain was not found within the Wendat corpus. Thus, although no direct evidence of the diachronic origin of the Wendat middle can be provided, there is indirect evidence that is provided by Kemmer's analysis. Five of the six semantic areas identified by Kemmer as starting points for the development of the middle marker from a reflexive source were found in Wendat.

4.3 Lexicalization of the Wendat middle marker

Lexicalization is a process in which there is a fossilization or petrification of certain forms into units that are inseparable. In this same sense, Brinton and Traugott define lexicalization as "the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96). The authors add that after a certain amount of time "there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96). Thus, lexicalization is a gradual process and it often involves some sort of fusion. In Wendat, a most common form of lexicalization is univerbation, or the unification of a syntactic phrase or construction into a single word. Univerbations differ in terms of their relative age. The older among them typically are opaque in terms of their semantics and morphology and often see some sort of phonological reduction. Other univerbations, which were developed more recently, can often be transparent in terms of their meaning and form.

In the context of the Wendat middle marker, the concept of demorphologization is most pertinent. Demorphologization is a type of lexicalization in which there is loss of grammatical and semantic content on the part of the morpheme. The morpheme loses these aspects of its contribution to the word and becomes "indistinguishable" from the rest of the construction (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 52). Although some of the semantic and grammatical aspects of the morpheme are lost, this morpheme does keep at least some of its original phonological form. Just as Givón asserted that "[t]oday's morphology is yesterday's syntax" (Givón 1971: cited in Brinton & Traugott 2005: 53), it is also quite possible that "today's grammar may become tomorrow's lexicon" (Ramat 1992: cited in Brinton & Traugott 2005: 54).

Due to the structure of Wendat verb morphology, it is easy to see the effects of lexicalization of the middle morpheme. Over time, the middle marker becomes lexicalized to the point where the grammatical information and semantics are no longer transparent. This leads to the lexicalization of the verb root. Consequently, Wendat verb morphology adapts accordingly and treats the verb stem as a single inseparable unit. Normally, when there is an incorporated noun root, it is placed between the middle and the verb root. Now, due to the lexicalization of some verb roots, sometimes the incorporated noun root appears before the middle marker instead of after it (Mithun, p.c. : 2009).

141.

Voice marker	Noun root	Verb root

↓

Lexicalization

↓

Noun root	Voice marker	Verb root
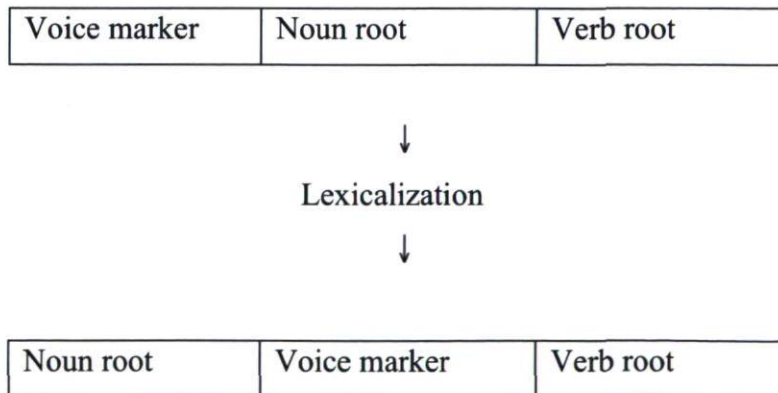
In the schema in (141), the transformation of the Wendat verb morphology due to lexicalization is illustrated. Because the voice marker fuses to the verb root, the noun root subsequently inserts itself before the voice marker, instead of after.

142. -**atiatat**ondi « q. person ou autre chose vivante apparoitre à q. »
      at-ya?t-**at**-ǫni
      MID-body-MID-make.STAT
      'for a person or another living thing to appear to someone'
      (Potier 1751 : 197)

In the example shown here, the verb stem *-ǫni* 'to make' is attached to the middle marker *-at-*. Due to lexicalization, the middle marker plus the verb root is now treated as a single indivisible unit. Therefore, when the noun root for body, *-ya?t-* is attached, it occurs before the middle marker instead of after it (Mithun, p.c. : 2009). In addition to the incorporated noun root, there is now another middle subsequently attached to the verb stem. The loss of transparency of the middle marker caused this change in the verb morphology (Mithun p.c.: 2009). This example in Wendat shows that lexicalization is a "diachronic process that leaves idiosyncratic traces" (Brinton & Traugott 2005 : 50). Over a certain period of time, the middle marker lexicalized with the verb root and produced this idiosyncratic root.

It is especially idiosyncratic for Wendat to have a form of lexicalization pertaining to this root. In other Iroquoian languages, such as Oneida and Onondaga, this verb root did not lexicalize with the middle. In fact, the middle was added to the root, as shown in example (143), but there is no evidence of adding further elements to this construction.

143. a. Oneida :
          -**atuni**- / -**atuny**-
          'make, fix, or prepare for oneself'
          (Michelson 2002 : 756)
      b. Oneida :
          -**atuni**-
          'grow'
          (Michelson 2002 : 756)
      c. Onondaga :
          -**adųny**- / -**adųni**-
          'grow, form oneself'
          (Woodbury 2003 : 851)

In (143a) and (143b), we see that the verb root *-uni-* combines with the middle *-at-* to form two different, yet related verbs. In (143c), we have the same verb root added to yet again the middle morpheme to create a signification of 'to grow, form oneself.' In all of these cases, there is no

incorporated noun root that inserts itself before the middle morpheme, as it does in Wendat. This exemplifies the fact that lexicalization is in fact an idiosyncratic process.

4.4 Additions to Kemmer's middle situation types

Although Kemmer's middle situation types can explain the semantics of the vast majority of the Wendat data, there are still certain semantic areas which are unfortunately left out of the analysis. Therefore, after compiling and sorting the data, three principal semantic categories came to be evident for the analysis of the Wendat middle. These new middle situation types include : 'Activity' middles, 'Existential' middles, and 'Imperfective' middles.

The 'Activity' middle is a category that is founded upon the work of David Beck (2000) on the middle in the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) language. In his analysis of middle voice, the author found that there were a group of typical uses of the middle that he termed 'middles of activity' (Beck 2000 : 231). This usage of the middle involves "the 'defocusing' or reduced saliency of some participant other than the initiator, typically the endpoint" (Beck 2000 : 231). In other words, there is a lack of elaboration on the part of the endpoint. This confers with Kemmer's description of the middle as a marker that designates a low elaboration of events. In 'middles of activity,' there is indeed an affected semantic endpoint yet the identity of this endpoint is defocused (Beck 2000 : 234). In a sense, the 'middles of activity' are the converse of the 'Spontaneous events' situation type, because in this middle situation type, the semantic agent is the one that is unelaborated (Beck 2000 : 234). Beck adds that the denominal forms of the 'middles of activity' in Bella Coola typically represent culturally important activities (Beck 2000 : 232).

There are certain middles in Wendat that present the same type of pattern as those 'middles of activity' in Bella Coola. These instances of 'activity middles' show a defocused endpoint. We can see the defocusing of a such an endpoint in example (144).

144. -**at**aristi « arreter le monde en general sans marquer aucune person. en particulier »
      at-aristi
      MID-stop.someone.STAT
      'to stop the world (in general)'
      (Potier 1751 : 173)

The endpoint in this example is people in general, thus there is a reduced saliency of this participant. Another 'Activity middle' concerns the act of fishing. As this is a culturally important activity for the Wendat people, this middle also fits in well with this category described by Beck.

145. -**at**iaroh8i « pecher avec un sac qu'on met dans l'eau »
     at-yar-ohwi
     MID-sack-put.in.water.STAT
     'to fish with a sack that is put in the water'
     (Potier 1751 : 402)

In example (145), there is a defocusing of the endpoint. The endpoint in this activity is essentially unelaborated. The example below shows another activity in which the endpoint shows reduced saliency.

146. -**a**θon8innon « trainer son canot »
     at-hqw-winnon
     MID-canoe-drag.STAT
     'to drag or pull one's canoe'
     (Potier 1751 : 323)

There is no endpoint of dragging the canoe which is envisaged by this verb stem. Thus, this instance of the Wendat middle can also serve as an 'Activity middle.'

The second type of middle situation type that was created out of a response to the Wendat data is the 'Existential middle.' This is in some respects an offshoot of Kemmer's category labeled 'Spontaneous events.' In her checklist for middle semantics, a document found at the end of Kemmer (1993), the author breaks down the middle situation type of 'Spontaneous events' into various categories. One of these categories is the "existential change/denaturement" of inanimate beings (Kemmer 1993 : 270). This category includes verbs which can signify 'vanish,' disappear,' 'evaporate,' and 'dissolve' (Kemmer 1993 : 270). In spite of the existence of such a category in 'Spontaneous events,' there is still no category left for animate beings which undergo an existential change or denaturement. The new situation type of 'Existential middle,' attempts to fulfill this need. In such a category, we find a variety of verbs that signify 'appear,' 'disappear,'

'transform,' 'show,' or 'change.' In example (147), it is possible to see the use of this 'Existential middle' with the verb -*tennion*.

147. -**at**iatatennion « se changer, se transfigurer…changer de bien en mal; ou de mal en bien »
      at-yaʔt-a-teni-q
      MID-body-JOIN-change-STAT
      'to change oneself, to transform oneself, to change from good to bad or from bad to good'
      (Potier 1751 : 188; 365)

The act of 'transforming oneself' can be seen as an existential change or denaturement. Example (148) also shows the 'Existential middle' and its role in Wendat.

148. -**at**iat8tensti « etre fait de telle façon »
      at-yaʔt-otę-st-i
      MID-body-be.a.certain.form-CAUS-STAT
      'to be made in a certain manner'
      (Potier 1751 : 442)

When one is 'made' or 'developed,' there is a sense of existential change in this signification. In example (149), one can also see the use of the 'existential middle' with the verb for 'make appear.'

149. -**at**iat8taska8an « q. person ou q. aal se montrer »
      at-yaʔt-otaskawan
      MID-body-make.appear.STAT
      'for a person or animal to show itself'
      (Potier 1751 : 436)

Here, the person or the animal shows itself and thus exists as an existential change. Therefore, the category of 'existential middles' comprises those middles that deal with any existential change concerning animate beings.

The third new middle situation type created for the Wendat data is the 'Imperfective' middle. The 'Imperfective' middle concerns those middles that pertain to the internal structure of an event. Comrie (1976) describes the difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity in asserting that

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the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end (4).

In Wendat, there are two imperfective aspects, the Habitual and the Stative. Those verbs that seem to coincide with the general significations of these two aspects, and that did not fall into any other of Kemmer's middle situation types, were considered to be 'Imperfective' middles. Most of these 'Imperfective' middles involve a state of being. In example (150), the participant is implicated in a state of being 'docile.'

150. -ataronͺen « etre docile »
      at-aronken
      MID-understand.STAT
      'to be docile'
      (Potier 1751 : 173)

Therefore, this example of an 'Imperfective' middle has a Stative reading. The example (151) shows the same sort of reading, except with a verb meaning 'to be cruel.'

151. -**at**iataesati « faire le cruel, exercer q. cruaute »
      at-ya?t-a-esati
      MID-body-JOIN-mistreat.someone.STAT
      'to be cruel'
      (Potier 1751 : 232)

Other 'Imperfective' middles have more of a Habitual reading. The verb in (152) shows this type of Habitual meaning.

152. -**at**iatontak8i « se façonne soi-meme à q.c., s'en remplir, s'y habituer »
      at-ya?t-qt-a-hkw-i
      MID-body-to.form-JOIN-INSTR-STAT
      'to habituate oneself to something'
      (Potier 1751 : 420)

Therefore, the 'Imperfective' middle is such that it portrays the internal structure of a situation, instead of looking at the event as an undifferentiated whole. For Wendat, this means that the verb stem can either have a Habitual or a Stative reading.

The three categories added to the middle situation types represent the instances where Wendat differed from the typological generalizations of Kemmer. These three categories, 'Activity' middles, 'Existential' middles, and 'Imperfective' middles, serve to cover the vast majority of the remaining data left to be categorized. Therefore, it was necessary to add these middle situation types in order to account for more of the data present in the corpus.

4.5 Transitivity Effects

According to Kemmer, on a scale of transitivity, the middle is situated close to one-participant, or intransitive, events. In fact, Kemmer states that intransitivity is "naturally associated" with middle marking due to the proximity of middle situations to this end of the scale (Kemmer 1993 : 24). In spite of this fact, there are certain cases in which middle-marked verbs are actually grammatically transitive. Kemmer also confirms that in some languages certain middle verbs are transitive (Kemmer 1993 : 22). The author cites examples such as Latin *vereo-r* 'fear,' Hungarian *üt-köz-* 'bump into,' and Old Norse *minna-sk* 'remember' (Kemmer 1993 : 22). These transitive verbs are diachronic products of grammaticalization. When a middle-marked verb is grammaticalized, in some cases, it comes to be that the middle marker no longer designates any sort of referential entity. Instead, the middle marker denotes only middle semantics (Kemmer 1993 : 34).

In the Wendat language, as in many other middle-marking languages, the vast majority of middle verbs are intransitive. However, there is one middle-marked verb in our corpus that is indeed transitive. This verb is the Wendat verb *-atechenti* 'to hit.' In example (153), the usage of this verb is shown in context.

153.   skate**kate**chrent « tu me frappe »
        sk-atek-**ate**-hšr-yeht

2.SG:1.SG-X-MID-blow-strike.STAT[1]
'you hit me'
(Potier 1751 : 183)

Here, we can see the transitive use of this verb in the act of one participant hitting another participant. Due to the presence of this verb, and following Kemmer's hypothesis, most likely this middle-marked verb grammaticalized so that it is no longer represents a referential entity, or in other words, coreference between the Agent and the affected entity. Now, the middle marker serves only to mark middle semantics.

Taking this analysis one step further, we can also compare this instance of a transitive middle verb to the transitivity parameters set out by Hopper & Thompson (1980). The various components of transitivity are laid out in figure (5).

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A & O	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Figure 5 : Transitivity Components
(Hopper & Thompson 1980 : 252)

In comparing example (153) with the transitivity components in figure (5), one can determine the relative degree of transitivity of this phrase. The example clearly demonstrates the presence of two participants, an A (Agent) and an O (Object). The act of hitting also implies a form of kinesis

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[1] The X in the morphological analysis indicates that the string in question can not be identified at this time.

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so therefore it can be considered an 'action.' Since the act of hitting is viewed from the perspective of its endpoint and it is carried out with no inherent transitional phase, it is a telic and punctual event. One can also assume that the action in this case is volitional. In looking at the nature of this event, one can state that this is both an affirmative and a realis action. When one considers the relative agency of the A (Agent), one can say that the A is high in potency. In regards to the O (Object), this action completely affects the O and it is clearly distinct from the A. The O is individuated because it is animate, human, concrete, and referential.

Therefore, after taking a look at all of the components of transitivity, it is possible to see that the action in question is high in transitivity. Since middle-marked verbs are 'naturally' associated with intransitive events, the outcome of this analysis comes as somewhat of a surprise. This middle-marked verb is not only transitive, but it is extremely high in transitivity according to the parameters laid out by Hopper & Thompson (1980). Therefore, as the middle marker grammaticalized with the verb stem, it completely lost its sense as a referential entity. The verb subsequently adopted a highly transitive signification.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter concentrated on the effects of different phenomena associated with the Wendat middle. We first looked at the diachronic development of the middle and reflexive markers followed by a discussion on the process of lexicalization. In order to account for most of the data present in our corpus, three new middle situation types were added to those of Kemmer. These middle situation types include 'Activity' middles, 'Existential' middle, and 'Imperfective' middles. The last section of this chapter took a look at the Wendat middle marker in relation to transitivity.

Conclusion

The Wendat language, like other Northern Iroquoian languages, contains a morpheme that we can consider to be middle voice. This morpheme, whose basic phonological shape is *-at-*, appears with a variety of verb roots and stems within the language. In order to classify those verb roots and stems that appear with the middle morpheme, Kemmer's middle situation types were employed. These middle situation types, as laid out by Kemmer (1993; 1994), represent a certain delineated semantic area within the lexicon. In laying out the correspondences between Kemmer's middle situation types and the instances of the middle within Wendat, it was found that Wendat satisfies almost all of those categories described by Kemmer. Aside from three categories, at least more than a handful of examples were found for each of Kemmer's middle situation types. These three categories, the 'Logophoric middle,' the 'Impersonal middle,' and the 'Facilitative middle,' were not found within the Wendat corpus.

In discussing the properties of each of the middle situation types, Kemmer (1993) created a 'semantic map' in order to display the relations holding between these categories. A reproduction of this 'semantic map' can be found in figure (6). Each node on this map represents the 'semantic space' taken by each middle situation type. The solid lines indicate the direct semantic connections that are hypothesized by Kemmer. These semantic connections are based upon shared semantic properties of each situation type. Therefore, relative semantic proximity between two middle situation types, evidenced by their shared semantic properties, can be represented through their placement on this semantic map. The direct reflexive is placed within the center of this semantic map because, according to Kemmer (1993 : 203), the various subdomains of the middle relate to one another through the direct reflexive. At each end of the diagram, there are the two types of active events, two-participant, or transitive, events and one-participant, or intransitive, events. Therefore, they represent two ends of a single transitivity continuum that extends from transitive to intransitive events while situating direct reflexive events as well as all other middle events as intermediary in transitivity. This graphic representation accords well with the proposition of Kemmer that both the reflexive and the middle are intermediate in transitivity, with reflexive events being closer to transitive events and

ACTIVE

Two-Participant
Events

Indirect
Middle

Logophoric
Middle

Indirect
Reflexive

Logophoric
Reflexive

Passive
Middle

Natural
Reciprocal
Events

Reciprocal

Direct
Reflexive

PASSIVE

Emotion
Middle

Non-Translational
Motion

Grooming

Cognition
Middle

Change In
Body Posture

Spontaneous
Action or Process

Translational
Motion

One-Participant
Events

ACTIVE

Figure 6 : "Semantic relations among the middle and other situation types" (Kemmer 1993: 202)

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middle events being closer to intransitive events. The passive node is placed to the side of this continuum because it is viewed as a type of opposition to active events in general. Again, the passive is placed midway between two-participant and one-participant events because it is also intermediary in transitivity. Although there are two participants involved in the passive, there is only one participant in the event that is given grammatical focus. The two-participant, one-participant, direct reflexive, and passive nodes are circled because they represent hypothesized prototype categories.

By mapping out the relations held between middle situation types and the hypothesized prototype categories, it is possible to codify the semantic range of the middle voice in any given language. In highlighting the usage of middle voice among the middle situation types, one is left with a visual representation of the extent to which the middle has infiltrated the language. In the case of the Wendat language, the semantic range of this middle morpheme is outlined directly on the semantic map of Kemmer. A reproduction of the semantic map as it relates to the Wendat language can be found in figure (7). Looking at the Wendat semantic map, one can see the differentiation between the range of the reflexive and range of the middle morpheme. The reflexive domain is represented in the lighter shade whereas the middle domain is represented with the use of the darker shade. The Wendat reflexive covers all of those areas identified as reflexive aside from the 'Logophoric reflexive,' a reflexive situation type that was not found in the language. As for the Wendat middle, it is possible to see that the semantic range of this morpheme is much wider than that of the reflexive. As stated earlier, the Wendat middle covers almost all of the middle situation types that were outlined by Kemmer. The 'Logophoric middle' was unshaded on the semantic map as it was not attested in our corpus. The 'Impersonal' and 'Facilitative' middles were not found either in Wendat. Due to the design of the semantic map, Kemmer did not place the 'Impersonal' or 'Facilitative' middles in their own separate nodes. It may be assumed that Kemmer lumped these two situation types in with the 'Passive middle,' an amalgamate that she effectuated also in her initial discussion of middle situation types.

By looking at the Wendat semantic map, it is possible to discern that this language fits well into Kemmer's model, in spite of the three missing middle situation types. The middle domain in Wendat covers the majority of the middle situation types identified by Kemmer on this semantic map. Although this analysis of middle voice proved to be fruitful for the Wendat language, there were still certain aspects of our corpus that were not treated through the analysis

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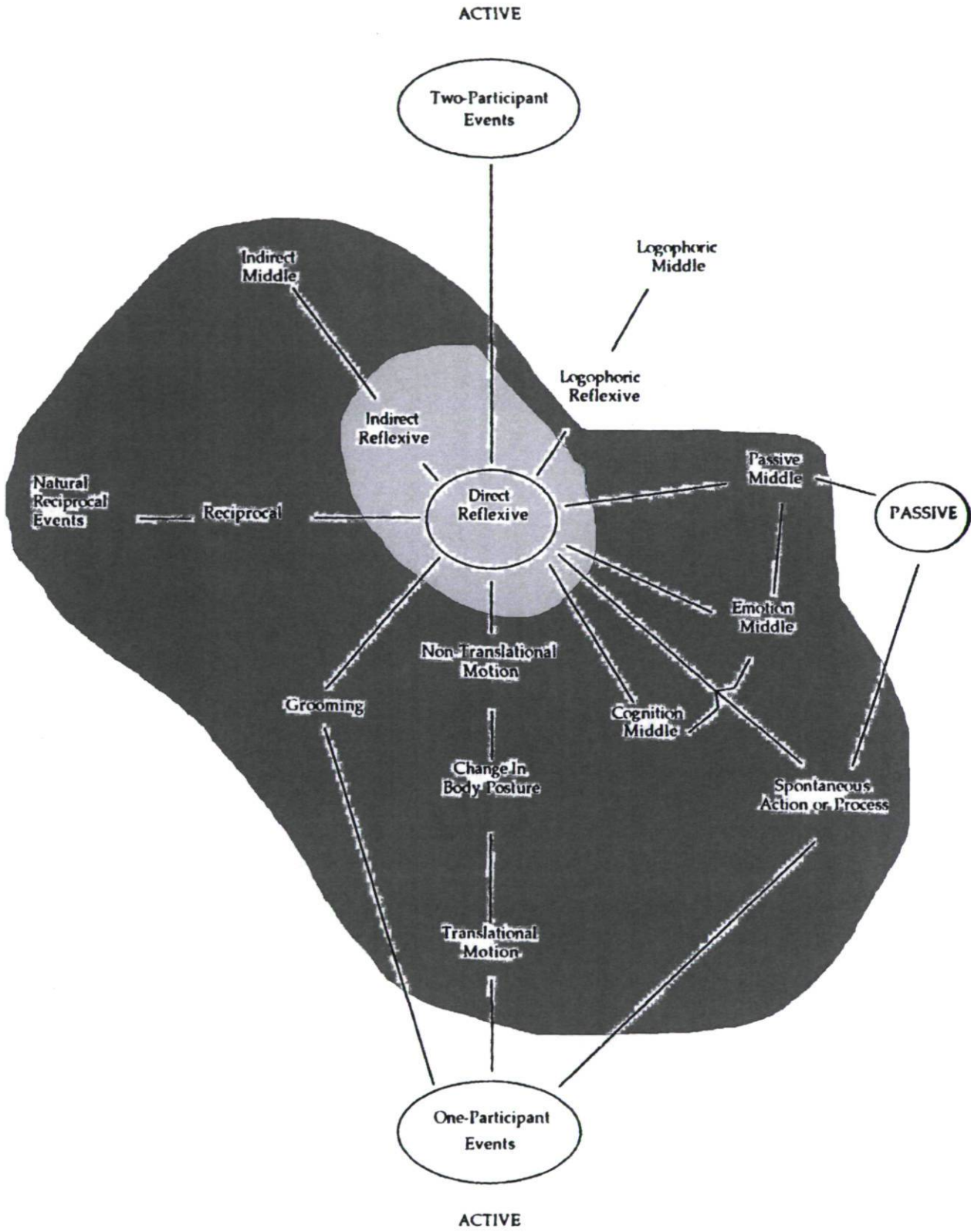
Figure 7 : Semantic map of Wendat

provided by Kemmer. These aspects were instead treated by adding three new middle situation types to those already offered through Kemmer's discussion. These three new middle situation types include the 'Activity middle,' the 'Existential middle,' and the 'Imperfective middle.' The 'Activity middle' pertains to those middles for which there is a 'defocusing' or reduced saliency of the Endpoint. The 'Existential middle' concerns middles that involve an animate being undergoing existential change or denaturement. The 'Imperfective middle,' on the other hand, provides a middle situation type for those middles that are imperfective in nature. Therefore, these middles refer to the internal structure of an event and have either a Habitual or a Stative reading in Wendat. Through using these three additional situation types, the vast majority of our corpus could be placed into one or another of these categories[1]. There were very few middles that could not be verified as to their inclusion into one of these categories.

With the adjustments made to the range of middle situation types, it can be said as a whole that Kemmer's model was transposed well onto the Wendat data. Not only did the middle situation types resonate with the Wendat middles, but the entire parameter of 'relative elaboration of events' was successful in explaining the distribution of the Wendat reflexive as opposed to that of the Wendat middle. As the diachronic development of the Wendat middle dates back to Proto-Iroquoian, it is probable that other Iroquoian languages, both Southern and Northern, will display similar correspondences with Kemmer's theory. Most likely, the distribution of the Wendat middle, as represented through the data and the semantic map, is comparable to those of the other Iroquoian languages. Despite these similarities, in demonstrating that Wendat shows lexicalization where other Northern Iroquoian languages do not, it is possible that the interactions between lexicalization and the middle morpheme played out differently in each of the languages. It is also questionable what the interaction is between transitivity and the middle morpheme. As there was one transitive stem found with the middle morpheme in Wendat, it stands to hypothesize that perhaps other Iroquoian languages underwent similar changes. The results of this research lend themselves to further studies within the field of middle voice.

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[1] The entire verified corpus for this study is located in appendix (B).

Appendix A : Sample Pages of Potier Manuscript

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MS No. II.

Radices huronicæ

1a Conjugatio

Centuria 1a

1.. a in ſing ht. a . ak . aha ; ache -- in plur: at, alkȣa, alka, alka ȩenk
pari C ect et int (vide grammaticam) varia ſignificat

a etre de telle grandeur ou groſſeur .... etre de tel age
x'ia ȣ x: ạndereſſi je ſuis grand com: cela . x'chia, tu & . x'ia il & . x'ȣa elle
chiat'anda nous ſommes 2 & chiateta moi et toi & chiat'elta vous . chiat'enda ils ou elles
eaȣal nous ſom: : ekȣal vous et moi ; elkȣal ; chendal ; eȣendal ; eaqs (et eȣas) de maſki
to eaqs d'echiaaha ? eaqs . combien grands ſont les enfans ? ils ſont auſſi grands l'un que l'autre.
eȣal les parts ſont egales . at ?
chiat'enda vel chiate ȣa l'une est auſſi grande que l'autre

a.. nombre , quantité &c et ponitur impersonaliter
xa ȣ to iȣa . cela est de cette groſſeur, grandeur, quantité
to iȣak . cela etoit de cette groſſeur &c
to ilkȣa . il en reste encore gros comme cela (ilkȣa est redup: addita vbo iȣa)
to eȣaha . tantum erit
stan to t'eȣache . il n'en aura pas tant
aȣalka . il y en auroit trop
to to aȣalka . qu'il en ait cette quantité (ou) bon bon en voila assez
stan to te ȣa d'istontenk de ǫnnontennen . tu ne m'en donne pas autant que je t'en avois donné
to iȣa d'istontenk ti iȣak de ǫnnontennen . tu m'en rend autant que je t'en avois donné
to to ekȣaha ti iȣak elannontennen . il en aura autant qu'il en vendra autant qu'on l'en avoit
to iȣa d'okȣiſtandoron ? . combien y a t'il d'argent ? . to iȣak ! combien y en avoit il &c
to iȣa d'onnenha ? . combien y a t'il de blé ?

a prix . valeur -- uſurpari ſolet in duali
chiat'enda ạndȣcha d'ind'ohonraȣointa . une robbe vaut un fusil
stan chiat'enda t'eqn ſandetſi dinde enkȣara . une épée ne vaut point une couverte
k. chiatenda ? stan chiatenda t'eqn . ces choses sont-elles d'egal prix ? non.

a in comp: ſequitur ſuum ſimplex
chieqnnen iạndatla . c'est une grande chaudiere . iạndatlak c'etoit &c . eạndatlaha ce ſera .
stan xa t'eạndatlache . la chaudiere ne ſera pas de cette grandeur
xa iạndatlal . ces chaudieres ſont d'egale grandeur . xa iạndatlalkȣa, etoient . eạndatlalka ſeront
stan xa te ạndatlalka ȩenk . les chaud... ne ſeront pas de meme grandeur
chieqnnen ihaȣenda ȣ ehaȣendaha . il crie ou il criera bien fort
chieqnnen ihatiȣendal ȣ ehatiȣendalka . ils crient ou ils crieront bien haut
chieqnnen ihonnenha . un gros grain de blé
chieqnnen ihonnenhal . de gros grains de blé

aia ȣ ilkaia diminut formatum à præcedenti ect et int. in comp ptr aia pro ſing, in plur: l'aala
liȣaia ȣ iȣaia to . il y en a un peu (ou) il y en a peu ... ilkȣaia . fort peu est reſ
iạndatlaia (dic ạndatlalkȣi) petite chaudiere ... iạndatlala . de petites chaud.
iannonchiaia . une petite maiſon ... iannonchiala de petites maiſons
iȣalaia . un petit plat

ati . ata , at . atande . caus. faire q. c. d'une certaine grandeur
xa eſtatlat . tu fera la chaudiere de cette grandeur

kȣ-ati pro te ȣati diviſer en deux
chiat ti ſat . diviſe cela en 2 parties egales , prent-en la moitié
achiennonk ch lat ȣ kchiennonk ti ~~ttaj~~ ttaj . partage en 2

[1]

11 A

2 - aꙋak . at . aꙋah . aha . achi ꙉ eꙉt et int . a evreꙉcourt de yeuꙋ de dureꙉ
iꙋꙋk ꙉ ꙉꙋaꙋaka ꙉ cela eſt fort court · ꙉ ꙉondaꙋaha aꙉtara ꙉ que je parle un moment
iarihꙋaꙋak ꙉ iarihꙋaꙋak-a ꙉ diſcourt de courte dureꙉ ꙉ ꙉarihꙋaꙋaha . Le diſcourt ſera court
iꙋaꙉontaꙋak ꙉ la nuit eſt courte ꙉ eꙋaꙉontaꙋaha ſera ꙉ aꙋaꙉontaꙋaché la nuit ꙉ la raccourciꙉ
ꙉhonderaꙋak-a ꙉ homꙉ deꙉ petiteꙉ taille . ꙉ ꙉhanderotti hom de grande taille . olinguꙉ

aꙋaꙉenniti . hik . aꙉ . ꙉike . ꙉel ꙉ · ꙉembler court à ꙉ
aaꙉontaꙋaꙉennhik ꙉ je trouve la nuit courte
aꙉentaꙋaꙉennhik ꙉ je trouve le jour court ꙉ

aꙋaꙉenniti · ꙉa . t . tande . ꙉel cauꙉ ꙉ ꙉꙉ ꙉembler court a ꙉ pour telle cauꙉe ꙉ
ondaie aꙉꙉontaꙋaꙉennika ꙉ voila ce qui me fait trouver la nuit courte

aꙋati · ꙉa . t . tande C (die aꙉkꙋati ꙋ aꙉkoi) abreger ꙉ ꙉ
ꙉrihꙋaꙋati abreger ſon diſcourt , dire en peu de mott ꙉ chrihꙋaꙋat die paucis
aꙋaꙉellaꙋat . l'écorce ſeꙉt raccourcie
Saꙉonꙉhaꙋaꙉa é die , d'aꙉtieronnonꙉhon ꙉ dieu abrege la vie deꙉ pecheurꙉ

aꙋatandi . dik . tonꙉdike . ꙉel ad finem cuꙉ ꙉ raccourcir ꙉ c à ꙉ , lui faire courꙉ
ꙉarihꙋaꙋatandi ꙉ dire ꙉ c à ꙉ en peu de mott ꙉ ꙉarihꙋaꙋaten die mihi pauciꙉ
l'aꙉkrihꙋaꙋaten diciꙉti mihi pauciꙉ

3 . . . kꙋ-achá . neutrum . etre double . etre doublé . eſt eꙉ int .
te ꙋachá n'ondaie ꙉ Cela eſt double . ꙉ te ꙋachá ti kꙋantſten ꙉ notre etre eſt double
k anꙉonchiachá ꙉ Cabane à 2 . etageꙉ
te enkꙋarachá ꙉ couverte double , doublée
te ꙋontꙋchá d'aꙉentatoꙉti ꙉ 2 fériꙉ ꙉ

. achion ꙉ achionnion . mult . ꙉ etre aꙉ pluſieurꙉ doubleꙉ
anꙉonchiachronnion ꙉ maiſon à pluſieurꙉ etageꙉ

* . . . kꙋ-achá . chá . chen . chande . activum . in comp ꙉ doubler , redoubler .
karihꙋachá ꙉ reiterer une choſe (die karihꙋandandet)
aꙉarihꙋachen ꙉ il a encore fait la meme choſe la mem faute . . . ꙉ ꙉarihꙋacha ꙉ ꙉepiuꙉ idem fecit .
achronnion faire à pluſieurꙉ doubleꙉ
anꙉonchiachronnion ꙉ etꙉonchiachronnion ꙉ tu feraꙉ la maiſonꙉ à pluſieurꙉ etageꙉ

kꙋ-achaꙋan ꙉ cum parla reit : l'onlaꙋ-achaꙋaꙋ . ꙋat . ꙋa . ꙋahe C ꙉ ſatiſfaire .
pour un mauvaiꙉ Coup (redoubler) — in Comp cum aꙋihꙋa
· l'onꙉaꙋrihꙋachaꙋan ꙉ ſatiſfaire pour quelꙉ mauvaiꙉ Coup . ꙉ mauvaiꙉe action ꙉ
ꙉꙋꙉꙋꙉ iſa te chrihꙋachaꙋat d'aꙉihꙋanderaꙉ ꙉ jeſuꙉ vouꙉ ſatiſfaiteꙉ pour meꙉ pechéꙉ

kꙋ-achaꙋati . in cum parla reit : l'onꙉaꙋrihꙋachaꙋati . ꙉa . t . tande . cauꙉ Dolor cum
in comp cum aꙋihꙋa ꙉ ſatiſfaire par le moyen de telle ou telle choſe
onne aꙉnataꙋakaꙉen l'aꙉontachrihꙋachaꙋat de ꙉarihꙋanderaꙉ ꙉ je vait te donner la penitence

4 . . . kꙋ-achar . die kaꙉonchar . . . ꙉ te hꙉonchar iꙉ eꙉ hꙉ te chꙉoꙉꙉ nchar
te hochar ꙉ il eſt chauve . . . . ꙉ te honꙉdachar ꙉ il ſont chauve

5 . . . achahaꙋon ꙋ achahaꙋonhꙋi . tonꙉ, ꙋonꙋkꙋa, ton, ꙋonhꙋe , C ꙉ remuer
avoir du mouvement , le pouli battre (die atoiannonꙉ . onk , on , ande ꙉ ori 2ꙉ)
achahaꙋonꙉti . ſta . ſtande . couꙉ ꙉ ꙉe remuer par le moyen de ꙉ ꙉ (die atoiannonkꙉi)
n'onꙋꙉennonkꙋat kꙋahahaꙋonꙉꙋa ꙋ kꙋatoiannonkꙋa de tioneꙉ ꙉ notre ame nouꙉ donne le mouvement

6 . . . . kꙋ-achandieꙉ . ꙋa . t . tande . faire du feu avec du boiꙉ (die aꙉꙉiꙉaꙉri vie ai)
ꙉi ꙉachandieꙉ ꙋ ꙉenꙋiꙋaeꙉ ꙉ battꙉ du feu
kꙋ-achandieꙉenni . dik . et . ꙋike . ꙉ faire du feu à ꙉ avec du boiꙉ (die aꙉꙉiꙉaꙉenni)
ꙉi ꙉaꙉchandieꙉ ꙋ ꙉaꙉꙉiꙉaeꙉ ꙉ fait moi du feu

7 . . . ꙉachandi . chaꙉ . chalꙋa , chaha , chaché , C . eſt ꙉ mettre le pie en ꙉ endroit
marcher deſſuꙉ (die (aꙉachitaen) ꙉ Xn ꙉo ꙉachaha ꙋ ꙉaꙉachitaen ꙉ marche la deſſuꙉ

8 . . . . . kꙋ-achiatandꙉchon . onk , onhonk , on , onde . ꙉ . ꙉtr . ꙉ gemir avec force , ſe plaindre
ꙉꙋvement de ꙉ mal . ꙉ oꙉonꙉenhaon aꙉachiatandichon ꙉ il n'a fait que ſe plaindre touté la nuit

9 . . . . achie die iꙉachie . muet . ꙉ il y a de l'eau , ꙉ liqueur . ꙉ te ꙋachie ꙉ il n'y a paꙉ d'eau ꙉ
achionkꙋannuon ꙉ quantité de petiteꙉ maveꙉ · (valu)

The following document contains all of the verified middle data found in the Wendat corpus. The data is arranged by middle situation type. These middle situation types include those that are identified by Kemmer and those that were added to this study in order to account for more of the Wendat data. Each piece of data includes the verb stem as found in Potier's manuscript along with the definition provided in this source. A group of data that does not seem to fit within one of these categories can be found at the end of this document.

I. Activity Middles

A. Confirmed Activity Middles

1. -akaïa8esen « faire des coupeaux des morceaux de bois, les doler en frapper dessus »
2. -ake'torat « porter avec un collier de charge »
3. -akotrah8i « mettre ses souliers, les pendre, les accrocher à une perche »
4. -ak8aeron « tuer, assassiner q. »
5. -ak8ari « faire un paquet, empaqueter q.c. »
6. -atachora « emmancher sa hache »
7. -ataristi «arreter le monde en general sans marquer aucune person. en particulier »
8. -atechenti « frapper »
9. -atechia'ti « tuer, defaire l'ennemi [par la sorcellerie] »
10. -atehachandïeti « faire du feu avec une petite buchette qi leur sert d'instrument pour en faire à force de l'agiter et faire tourner avec leurs 2 mains dans un petit trou de bois propre à s'echauffer par son agitation et a prendre feu...se frotter du feu, de la flamme »
11. -ate'k8an « se charger d'un fardeau »
12. -atendatsa ̜etati « charger q. d'un chaudiere... s'en charger soi-meme »
13. -atenda8an « aller a la chasse des betes qu'on tache de rencontrer, et que souvent on est long tems sans pouvoir rencontrer, le chausseur allant d'un coté et la bete de l'autre »
14. -atendora « emmancher son epee »
15. -ateskara ̜e'tati « prendre son lit et l'emporter »
16. -atiahe'tati « donner un sac à porter à q., l'en charger....s'en charger soi-meme »
17. -atiaroh8i « pecher avec un sac qu'on met dans l'eau »
18. -atiarondi « se faire un ret....ou se l'etre fait »
19. -atiase'tati « donner une quaisse à q., a porter, l'en charger...s'en charger soi-meme »
20. -atiatandet « porter, avoir, tenir un enfant dans son sein »
21. -atiatannon « garder q. person »
22. -atiatatieronk8andi « enlever q. person. ou q. animal par force »
23. -atiata ̜etati «donner q. aal ou q. personne à porter à un autre band... s'en charger soi-meme »
24. -atiat8t « se mettre en sentinelle...etre en sentinelle »
25. -atieren « faire q. action de corps ou d'esprit »

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26. -atieron « faire q. mauvaise action, q. mauvais coup, q. crime que ce soit à l'egard de qui que ce soit... faire q. coup sur les ennemis en guerre »

27. -atonnhontak8an « se repentir (quasi dicas) retirer sa vie de q. objet »

28. -atrenge'tati « donner une charge, un fardeau à porter à q...s'en charger soi-meme »

29. -atrênda'k8an « se charger d'une charge de bois »

30. -atri'ke'tati « charger q. de q. affaire, lui en donner la soin la commission...s'en charger soi-meme, en prendre le soin »

31. -atronse'tati « se charger d'un berceau »

32. -aθon8innon « trainer son canot »

33. -atienta ̣e'tati « se charger de perches »

B. Possible Activity Middles

1. -akak8endorennhon « se frotter les yeux de q. liqueur, graisse, huille »

2. -akasar8tandi « epier q. »

3. -akenniati « le porter haut, faire les choses avec exces, en faire trop »

4. -ak8atorien « fouler q. aux pieds »

5. -atechondi « prendre sa visée (et metap.) prendre ses mesures »

6. -atehïen « donner commission »

7. -ateniendandorati « hater sa besogne, sa maniere de travailler, se presser de l'achever »

8. -atetsistok8annen « avaler du feu »

9. -atiatandorati « se hater de faire q.c., se depecher, se diligenter »

10. -atiatrak8i « s'addonner à q.c...plutot au mal qu'au bien »

11. -atientori « s'armer ou etre arme »

12. -atiesati « prodiguer, profaner, mal-emploier q.c...mepriser q.c., la negliger, en faire peu d'etat, s'en priver, s'en passer aisement, la prodiguer »

13. -atochon « hyverner q. »

14. -atra'tichro ̣enasenni « arracher à q. dequoi faire des nippes »

15. -atrihente'ti « faire son principal de q.c. sa 1ere necessité »

16. -atrih8achondi « disposer ses affaires »

17. -atrih8a ̣enniati « faire q.c. d'etonnant, de surprennant, de merveilleux, surpasse la maniere ordinaire d'agir soit la sienne propre soit celle des autres...faire que son action surpasse les communes et les ordinaires...agir avec exces...en faire trop »

II. Change in Body Posture Middles

A. Confirmed Change in Body Posture Middles

1. -akatiri « s'asseoir en guenon sur ses cuisses, les genoux etant comme debout; s'accroupir »

2. -akenhen « se lever du lit »

3. -akeron « se placer plusieurs proche les uns des autres, se placer, s'asseoir, se loger ensemble, les uns près des autres »

4. -akesara « s'asseoir »

5. -atiata ˌarenra8an « q. person. courbée, penche, couché d'un coté se redresser, se relever »

6. -atiatiennondi « se prosterner, se jetter à terre »

7. -atiat8ta ˌenhen « se soulever...etre souleve »

8. -atien « s'asseoir, se placer »

9. -atierihen « se lever de bout....etre dans une situation droite »

10. -atondisatiri « s'agenouiller »

11. -atsingenron « faire la reverence pliant le genou com; les fem »

III. Cognition Middles

A. Confirmed Cognition Middles

1. -akense « regarder, consider q.c ou q. »

2. -atendi ˌonhiondiati « etendre son esprit, le porter tout le long de q.c. pour l'examiner, la connoitre, la comprendre »

3. -atendi ˌonrachondi « preparer disposer son esprit »

4. -atendi ˌonraiannonton « examiner sa conscience »

5. -atendi ˌonrate8an « distraire son esprit, chasser une pensée »

6. -atrih8a'tontandi « oublier q.c. »

7. -atrih8atatindi « repasser q. affaire dans son esprit...penser à q.c. »

B. Possible Cognition Middles

1. -atendoronk8andi « trouver q.c. difficile....q.c. etre difficile à q. »

2. -atonnhichia ˌi « chercher sa vie »

3. -atrih8andoronk8andi « q.c. etre difficile à q. »

IV. Emotion Middles

A. Confirmed Emotion Middles

1. -ataskandandi « desirer [quelqu'un], souhaiter vivement, passionnement »

2. -ateiachi8t « etre en peine de q. »

3. -atendi ˌonratsirati « etre chagrin inquiet...souffrir q. chagrin »

4. -atengaronk8i « faire le mechant, se mettre à faire le mechant »

5. -atennonhianditi « faire le mechant, le terrible, l'epouvantable, menacer...etre terrible, furieux, affreux »

6. -atetsikaston « souffrir patiamment »

7. -atetsirati « etre malheureux...etre malade »

8. -atiataesati « faire le cruel, exercer q. cruaute »

9. -atiatatsirati « souffrir q. mal fort sensible dans sa person »

10. -atonnhara « se rejouir »

11. -atrih8atehendi « avoir honte de dire ou faire q.c. »

B. Possible Emotion Middles

1. -ak8atsirori « effaroucher »
2. -ak8endore'tandi « hontoyer q., lui faire une extreme honte »
3. -ak8ichenniati « faire q.c. de tout son coeur »
4. -atehencha8an « avoir la deshonneur le blame de q.c. »
5. -aton8e'ti « changer de resolution, se decourager, ceder aux empechemens et aux raisons contraires; perdre courage, n'oser pas...item etre honteux »

V. Emotive Speech Actions

A. Confirmed Emotive Speech Actions

1. -akehetsaron « exhorter »
2. -ak8aesati « railler, dire par jeu en riant, ne faire que rire, se moquer...rendre sa voix mutile, parler pour parler »
3. -ak8endachati « faire sa voix mauvaise »
4. -ak8enda ֻ aston « affermir la voix; parler avec force, vehemence, empire »
5. -ak8endiha'ti « gronder, blamer, tanur »
6. -atiesk8andi « se moquer de q., le traiter avec mepris. item le mari et la fem etre infidele....prendre l'ascendant sur q., le traiter de haut ou...avec mepris, fierte, imperieusement sans garder de mesures; sans le menager, le mepriser, le gourmander, le dominer avec autorité...s'en prendre à lui...plus faible...abuser de sa deference et de sa dependance »
7. -atontariti « faire des huées (remplir un lac de clameurs) »
8. -atoñesen « avoir, temoigner de la reconnoissance, remercier...temoigner de la joye, du contentement, de la satisfaction, de la reconnoissance de q.c. qu'on nous a fait par q. marque exterieure, ou de paroles ou d'action qui marque qu'on s'estime obligé »
9. -atrendaen « se mettre en prieres »

VI. Existential Middles

A. Confirmed Existential Middles

1. -akonchiont « montrer son visage...faire son propre visage »
2. -akonchi8tandi «presenter q.c. à q. la lui faisant paroitre, la lui montrant...inviter q. au festin »
3. -atiatatennianni « se deguiser, se travestir, se transfigurer à q. »
4. -atiatatennion « se changer, se transfigurer »
5. -atiatatondi « q. person. ou autre chose vivante apparoitre à q. (apparitions de revenants) »
6. -atiat8taska8an « q. person. ou q. aal se montrer »
7. -atierontrak8andi « se representer à q., se peindre à lui »
8. -atierontra8an « perdre sa figure...etre tout changé, tout defiguré »

9. -atrih8atondi «paroitre, apparoitre à q., lui etre montré, representé; q.c. lui venir, lui etre mise en vue, dans l'esprit, la pensée, l'idee, l'imagination; se former l'idee l'image de q.c. »

10. -atron8an « s'effacer, disparoitre, s'evanouir, disparoitre »

11. -at8tandi « q.c. se presenter, se montrer, se decouvrir à q. lui paroitre »

B. Possible Existential Middles

1. -akenrist « changer de place de situation »
2. -atase'ti « se cacher...etre cachee »
3. -atatakonhen « remplacer une personne de q. maniere que ce soit perdue, morte, tuée »
4. -atiat8tensti « etre fait de telle façon »
5. -atonnhontanion8an « la vie se retirer elle-meme des divers endroits du corps, ou perdre q.c. de ses divers degrés, se diminuer... soufrir, endurer divers peines ou tourments »
6. -atrih8ate8an « deguiser une chose la dissimuler...tergiverser, tourner alentour du pot; chercher un faux-fuiant, un alibiforain, une defaite, elduer, se jetter à quartier »

VII. Grooming and Body Care Middles

A. Confirmed Grooming and Body Care Middles

1. -achrondi « s'accommoder, s'abiller, s'ajuster, se parer »
2. -akonchia8e ˌati « s'essuier le visage avec q.c. »
3. -akonresa8e ˌati « s'essuier les mains avec q.c. »
4. -ak8acharon « se mettre des pendants d'or »
5. -ak8ichon « prendre un brayer, s'en mettre un »
6. -ata8an « se baigner »
7. -atenderori « se couvrir d'une cuirasse....en etre couvert »
8. -atendorensketati « donner des bretelles à porter à q... en prendre soi-meme, et les porter »
9. -atend8se'tati « donner un robbe à q. a porter...la prendre soi-meme pour la porter »
10. -atetrori « prendre des culotes...en avoir »
11. -ateïeskonsen « se tondre, se faire le poil...etre tondu, avoir le poil fait »
12. -atiatachondia8an « oter ses ornemens »
13. -atiatachonni « s'orner »
14. -atiatah8a ˌi « s'epousseter soi-meme, se nettoyer...metap: se purger, se justifier, se decharger de q. soupcon, de q. accusation, ou que l'on a fait ou que l'on pourroit faire »
15. -atiatannhen « se ceindre le corps de q.c...avoir le corps ceint »
16. -atiatochon8an « se nettoyer, se purger »
17. -atiatohare « se laver soi-meme »
18. -atiatori « se couvrir, se vetir »
19. -ato'ka8i « se mattachier...etre mattachié »

20. -atrenske'tati « donner un collier d'ornement, un chapelet pour qu'il le porte... le porter soi-meme »
21. -atri « se chausser »
22. -atrichora « mettre ses mitasses, chausses »
23. -atriska8an « se dechausser »

B. Possible Grooming and Body Care Middles

1. -atiatannhachon « accingore se, s'appreter, s'equiper, s'habiller, s'accommoder, prendre sur soi tout ce qu'il faut, se mettre en etat vg de faire voiage »
2. -atiatoreska8an « se depouiller soi-meme »
3. -atrichondi « se faire des chausses, bas, mitasses »

VIII. Imperfective Middles

A. Confirmed Imperfective Middles

1. -akaen « etre lent »
2. -akate « etre plusieurs, beaucoup, grand nombre »
3. -akona ˎentennion « etre etourdi du canot »
4. -akont « demeurer à perpetuité, a jamais pour toujours dans q. etat ou l'on est actuellement »
5. -ak8ichrihati « etre de bonne complexion »
6. -ak8itsannenti « etre foibl de complexion »
7. -ataron ˎen « etre docile »
8. -atehenchaste « etre impudent o[u] effronté »
9. -atenda8an « etre chaud, frais »
10. -ateniendatsirati « etre mal adroit au possible »
11. -ateniendorendi « se faire à q.c., s'y habituer, s'y accoutumer...y etre fait, habitué, accoutumé »
12. -atennonskate « y avoir quantité de maisons de cabanes...y avoir quantité de familles qi ont chacune leur maison separée »
13. -atenre'k8andet « couver etre sur son nid »
14. -atesoh8an « etre deteint & decoloré »

15. -atetsenti « etre medecin....etre medicinale, etre un bon remede pour q. mal, etre bonne pour remedier à q. douleur, peine, incommodité, pour guerir »
16. -ate ˎa ˎentennion « etre etourdi de boisson, entete »
17. -atiatontak8i « se façonne soi-meme à q.c., s'en remplir, s'y habituer »
18. -atienchon « etre ecorché »
19. -atiesen « etre aisé, facile, etre possible »
20. -atondechen « s'habituer en q. lieu pour y demeurer, s'y etablir »
21. -atonrisk8e't « etre hors d'haleine, se mettre hors d'haleine...boucher son haleine »
22. -atotieñe « etre retrecie, reserré, replié, ridé »
23. -atotrah8i « etre suspendu, accroché à q.c. »

24. -atrihori « etre un querelleux, se brouiller avec tout le monde »
25. -atrih8aton « etre faisable, possible, probable »
26. -atrih8a ̣entennion « etre enchanté de q.c....etre etourdi a force de parler, crier, chanter »
27. -aθorachaste « etre patient à souffrir le froid; y etre peu sensible »

B. Possible Imperfective Middles

1. -akentandi « etre préferé »
2. -ateechoron8an « avoir la peau ecorchée, enlevée »
3. -atohie « 2 choses etre melees »
4. -atrih8andet « etre porteur d'affaires secrettes...avoir dans son sein q. collier, q. present d'affaire »

IX. Indirect Middles

A. Confirmed Indirect Middles

1. -ak8enra ̣i « derober, voler »
2. -ataronton « s'informer de q.c...s'informer de q....de sa santé »
3. -atechienda ̣e'tati « prendre soi-meme un nom »
4. -atehonïostandi « s'approprier le canot de q. »
5. -ate'tondi « se faire un champ....ou se l'etre fait »
6. -atendinnon « vendre...acheter »
7. -ateniensti « apprendre q.c., s'en instruire, la faire avec soin et selon les regles et mesures qu'il faut...la faire avec moderation, la menager, l'epargner, etre sur les gardes »
8. -atetatieronk8andi « s'emparrer du champ de q. par force; le prendre malgre lui »
9. -atiatatarihati « se chauffer »
10. -atiatsi « prendre, recevoir un nom »
11. -atiennenchatieronk8andi « oter à q. son couteau par force »
12. -atondaon « se faire une maison, se loger, se cabaner »
13. -atondechatieronk8andi « enlever à q. sa terre, son pais par force »
14. -atrak8atarihati « se chauffer au soleil »
15. -atrihoχ8andati « s'approprier une present d'affaires publiques, s'en emparer...s'en saisir, le retenir, le supprimer »
16. -atrihondi « forger q.c. à plaisir »
17. -atrihont « avoir q. emploi par etat, q. charge, q. dignite...parvenir à un emploi, l'aquerir...l'excercer actuellement, en faire les fonctions »
18. -atrih8aniensti « s'exercer à des choses qui regardent l'esprit, s'etudier à faire q.c., apprendre à la faire, s'instruire »
19. -atronhia ̣enton « se flatter, se caresser, se mitonner, se choier, avoir grand soi du fils de sa mere...se conjouir soi-mem...etre hureux »
20. -atïostandi « s'approprier q.c., s'en attribuer le domaine, la proprieté, s'en saisir, s'en emparer, l'usurper »

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B. Possible Indirect Middles

1. -ak8endachondi « preparer ce qu'on a à dire, son discours »
2. -atechiaton8an « une cache se decouvrir...prendre ce qui est dans une cache »
3. -atendaha'ti « se causer une perte...faire une perte par sa faute, son imprudence, sa mauvaise conduite »
4. -atenda ̣erati « se servir de q.c. pour regle actuelle »
5. -atennhandi « louer »

X. Naturally Reciprocal Events Middles

A. Confirmed Naturally Reciprocal Events Middles

1. -ak8e « s'entrequereller »
2. -ak8e ̣i « se mettre ensemble, se joindre, se mettre ensemble »
3. -atrande ̣en « se mettre, s'asseoir, se placer l'un pres de l'autre...etre l'un près de l'autre...etre mari et fem »
4. -atrandi « deux ou plusieurs personnes s'entrerencontrer en chemin, se mettre à l'opposite l'un de l'autre par le mouvement different »
5. -atrio « se battre, combattre »

B. Possible Naturally Reciprocal Events Middles

1. -ateiakennion « disputer à qui aura le plus de courage, s'entredefier à qui aura le plus de coeur...vaincre q. en courage »
2. -atenda8an « 2 ou plusieurs personnes s'entremanquer en chemin, ne pas se rencontrer comme elles pretendoient »
3. -atennontra « deux personnes ou deux choses s'entresuivre; aller, venir, etre l'une après l'autre »
4. -atiesti « s'assembler...etre assemblé »
5. -atre « deux ou plusieurs choses ou person. etre distantes l'une de l'autre, etre eloignées de q. distance, de lieu ou de tems »
6. -atrih8annontra « une affaire suivre l'autre »

XI. Nontranslational Motion Middles

A. Confirmed Nontranslational Motion Middles

1. -akat « se tourner de q. coté, y porter les yeux, la vue, l'y tenir tournée...regarder un malade comme font les jongleurs, pour dire la cause de son mal et tout les evenmens »
2. -akenhiaton « se pancher pour voir, ecouter »
3. -akonchientonk8i « se pendre la tete en bas...avoir la tete pendue en bas »
4. -akonhentak8i « se tourner soi-meme et se coucher de l'autre coté »

5. -atase « tournoyer, aller tournoyant autour de q.c., en faire le tour »

6. -ateiachioiannon « remuer ses bras »

7. -ateiachiondiati « etendre son bras »

8. -ateiachiont « les 2 bras de q. se former...montrer ses 2 bras, les etendre »

9. -atendao'kati « se repandre s'etendre tout le long d'une riviere »

10. -aterahaχ8i « se renverser, tourner ses dessus dessous bout pour bout, se tourner de l'autre cote »

11. -ate8aχ8i « se tordre se plier se courber...etre plié, tordu, courbé »

12. -ateïha8isti « s'etendre, s'allonger, s'elager, se dilater, se deployer...etre etendu »

13. -atiatarahaχ8i « se tourner d'un coté sur l'autre vg etant couché...calbuter tomber de haut en bas, la tete la 1ere »

14. -atiatarahatendisti « se rouler de coté et d'autre »

15. -atiatatase « se tourner de tout cote, tournoier à l'entour de soi-meme...pour eviter un coup »

16. -atiatia8isti « s'etendre, etendre son corps com on fait après le sommeil »

17. -atiationdiati « s'etendre se coucher de tout son long »

18. -atiat8tanionh8i « s'entortiller au tour de q.c...y etre entortillé »

19. -atra ̗enie « se rouler, se tourner de tout coté, se vautrer en q. endroit »

B. Possible Nontranslational Middles

1. -akonresatati « avancer, presenter sa main »

2. -akonresa8ennondi « fermer la main. la plier en forme de poing »

3. -ateiachiatati « presenter son propre bras »

4. -ateiachia ̗aston « roidir son bras »

5. -aterh8sti « se mettre se fourrer dans q.c. »

6. -atondechokati « se repandre dans l'etendue de la terre »

XII. Other Body Actions Middles

A. Confirmed Other Body Actions Middles

1. -akaken « ouvrir les yeux...avoir les yeux ouverts »

2. -akatsitien « cligner l'oeil comme on fait pour attirer...etre bigle »

3. -aket « se gratter »

4. -ask8e ̗i « se fermer la bouche »

5. -atennhont « prendre q.c. en bouche, la mettre en bouche »

6. -atiaton ̗oti « avoir la courante »

7. -atoχ8annen « avaler, engloutir »

8. -atonion « respirer »

B. Possible Other Body Actions Middles

1. -akonchianionsti « faire signe du visage, comme on fait pour marquer qu'on approuve ou qu'on desapprouve, que l'on consent ou que l'on ne consent pas »

2. -akondiont « former son propre nez, montrer son nez »

3. -akora « chausser q., lui mettre ses souliers....avoir des soulier »

4. -ak8iraen « engendrer (de aalibus) »

5. -atiatok8annen « avaler q. »

6. -atiëh8at « se tenir eveille...s'eveiller, se mettre en etat d'un hom qui veut veiller, se mettre à veiller, hors d'etat de s'endormir »

XIII. Other Speech Actions Middles

A. Confirmed Other Speech Actions Middles

1. -ak8aenton « haranguer »

2. -ak8a . annen « parler une langue mal, avoir l'accent etranger »

3. -ak8endaen « ordonner q.c. la defendre ou commander...etre opiniatre...mettre sa voix »

4. -ak8endaniensti « menager sa voix, la régler »

5. -ak8endannhontron « parler tantot d'une façon tantot de l'autre »

6. -ak8endari . i « diverses personnes joindre leurs sentimens, leurs voix ensemble pour une meme chose; convenir, s'accorder »

7. -ak8endata « finir de parler, achever son discours »

8. -ak8endatennion « une langue changer »

9. -ak8endatiri « appuier en parlant sur q.c.; y appuier sa voix, sa parole, la rebattre souvent...medire...etre toujours à rebattre q.c.; etre sur la fripperie de q.c. »

10. -ak8endierihen « preparer son discours...dresser sa voix, faire sa voix droite, parler, clairement, nettement, franchement, sans rien deguiser; dire la verité »

11. -ak8endondati « parler haut, plus haut »

12. -ak8end8tensti « parler de telle maniere...rendre, faire sa voix de telle façon »

13. -ak8ennontonk8annon « gronder, murmurer, dire choses et autres, faire le mutin, user de quantité de repliques...diversifier sa voix »

14. -ak8ennra « se meler de parler sur q.c., s'ingérer, prendre la parole »

15. -atati « parler, parler à q. »

16. -atendoton « raconter q.c. »

17. -atronhiondi « murmurer »

B. Possible Other Speech Actions Middles

1. -ak8enda'tonti « supprimer sa voix, se taire »

2. -ak8enda8e . indi « refuser q., ne point lui accorder ce qu'il demande »

3. -ak8endiosti « avoir la principale voix sur q...se rendre maitre de q. »

4. -ak8ennontak8i « s'apprendre soi-meme à parler q. langue...se mettre a la parler actuellement, la parler »

5. -atonnhon . annondi « prendre une resolution...decernere »

6. -atre8ati « s'opposer à q.c. la contradire, y etre contraire, la nier, y resister, y trouver a redire »

7. -atrih8a . asti « une chose etre dite tout entiere, d'un bout à l'autre »

8. -atronhi8tak8i « s'en faire accroire par tel motif....se choier, se mitonner, se dorloter par tel moyen »

XIV. Passive Middles

A. Confirmed Passive Middles

1. -atatiri « q.c. etre appuie »
2. -atehiaton « s'ecrire, se marquer, s'imprimer...q.c. etre ecrite marquée, imprimé »
3. -ate'k8an « q.c. se prendre, se tirer, proceder, venir d'un tel endroit »
4. -atia i « q.c. se rompre »
5. -atohiahen « se fendre en 2...etre fendu en 2 »
6. -atonnhiti « une chose se faire ignorer...reduire à ne la scavoir faire; impossible »
7. -atonnhonti « recevoir la vie »
8. -atrih8andera i « une meprise, une erreur, une faute se faire, etre faite »
9. -atrih8aresti « q.c. se differer, se remettre...item retourner en arriere, reculer, se retirer »
10. -atrih8asχ8ati « une affaire etre diminuée...s'abaisser au dessous de sa condition, deroger à sa propre grandeur »
11. -atrih8iostandi « le mauvais succes de q.c. etre attribué à q. »
12. -at8taska8an « q.c. se decouvrir, se manifester »

XV. Perception Middles

A. Confirmed Perception Middles

1. -aka'k8i « regarder q.c. ou q. »
2. -akannra « regarder »
3. -akarandit « fixer sa vue sur q. sur q. objet »
4. -atesχ8ati « flairer q.c., se la faire sentir à soi-meme »
5. -atrihote « etre...attentif »

B. Possible Perception Middles

1. -atahonchiosti « faire semblant de ne point entendre....faire la sourde oreille »
2. -atechaniensti « prendre sa visee; mirer, viser droit au but »
3. -atieronnondi « avoir une vision, une apparition »

XVI. Spontaneous Events Middles

A. Confirmed Spontaneous Events Middles

1. -ak8asti « devenir riche hureux...etre riche, hureux, à son aise »
2. -ak8ate en « q.c. bruler...q.c. etre brulée »
3. -ak8eti « terminer, finir »

4. -atahiati « se mettre à trembler »

5. -atechienti « se faire mauvais, devenir mauvais »

6. -atechira8an « q.c. se deboucher »

7. -atendandetaska8an « se dedoubler »

8. -atendiska8an « q.c. se decoudre...q.c. etre decousu »

9. -atennho8ta ֺenhen « la porte se soulever, s'entrouvrir....etre soulevé »

10. -atennontrah8i « etre conçu, commençant de vivre...entrer se fourrer dans q.c. »

11. -atennrenska8an « q.c. se delier...q.c. etre delié »

12. -aterhoreska8an « un paquet se defaire, s'ouvrir, se developper »

13. -atestontra8an « un os se demettre; la jointure, l'articulation d'un os se defaire »

14. -ateta « finir...etre fini »

15. -atiata ֺasti « le corps, la substance, l'etre de q. se consumer, etre consumé »

16. -atiatichia ֺi « viellir, etre viellard, usé, a bout de ses forces »

17. -atientaton « un baton se plier ou etre plié »

18. -atieraχon « quantité de choses etre melees ensemble »

19. -atiera ֺi « 2 choses se meler »

20. -ato « q. partie du corps s'enfler, une enflure s'y former...y avoir une enflure....une enflure s'y etre formée, y etre venu »

21. -ato'tia ֺi « croitre, augmenter »

22. -atondechatati « la terre se produire, se montrer, et paroitre faite »

23. -atondi « naitre...etre né »

24. -atondi « q.c. s'achever, se terminer...etre achevé, terminée »

25. -atonnhata « finir sa vie »

26. -atontarori « le lac s'agiter...le lac etre agité »

27. -aton8enientichichia ֺi « devenir jeune, arriver à l'age d'un jeune homme fait...etre devenu, etre arrivé a cet age »

28. -atori « s'agiter, se former de l'agitation sur l'eau; un tempete s'exciter »

29. -atrahit « un arbre fruitier pousser, se produire, paroitre avec des fruits »

30. -atrande ֺaron « q.c. s'ouvrir, s'entr'ouvrir eclater...q.c. etre crevée »

31. -atrannentaska8an « q.c. se detacher »

32. -atratson « q.c. se dechirer...etre dechiré »

33. -atrens8tari « une corde etre bandée »

34. -atrihohie « deux sortes de choses etre melées »

35. -atrihondi « une affaire se terminer ou l'etre »

36. -atrih8achati « les affaires se brouiller, se gater »

37. -atrih8arahaχ8i « une affaire se renverser, tourner tout autrement qu'on ne pens »

38. -atrih8ata « une chose finir, s'achever »

39. -atrih8atennianni « une affaire se changer à l'egard des person. qui y ont interest; avoir une issue toute contraire à celle qu'ils esperoient »

40. -atrih8ichia ֺi « q.c., q. affaire se determiner, se conclurre....ou etre determine »

41. -atri'k8eonta8an « un affaire se demeler, s'eclaircir »

42. -atronhiaχaska8an « le ciel s'entrouvrir »

43. -atrontoren « un bois se fendre.....ou: etre fendu »

B. Possible Spontaneous Events Middles

1. -ateʻto8an « un champ, une terre s'epuiser ou etre epuisée n'avoir plus de sec d'humidité de graisse »
2. -ateχaska8an « 2 choses ou 2 personnes se separer l'une d'avec l'autre, se diviser, se disjoindre »
3. -atonharenron « etre malade; etre entre la vie et la mort...etre dans un grande peine et inquietude d'esprit »
4. -atonh8entsatennion « les coutumes, les moeurs & d'un païs changer »
5. -atra « q. astre se faire paroitre, se montrer sur l'horizon »
6. -atron « venir a diverses distances l'une de l'autre, naitre, croitre par eloignement...se mettre se multiplier par q. distance »

XVII. Translational Motion Middles

A. Confirmed Translational Motion Middles

1. -akarennion « s'eloigner, se retirer »
2. -arachitaronk8i « fouler avec pies....*metaphorice surpasser q. »
3. -aratati « courir...s'enfuir d'avec q.; s'echaper de lui à la course »
4. -arate « aller en raquettes....marcher sur q.c. d'élevée v.g. des echasses, galoches »
5. -ata8enrati « passer par dessus q.c....se passer soi-meme par dessus »
6. -ateʻk8ati « se laisser tomber tout d'un coup »
7. -ateskoh8i « se mettre, se jetter à l'eau »
8. -atestenʻti « descendre »
9. -atetsenhaton « se mettre autour du feu, entourer, environner le foyer...tourner autour du feu en jonglant »
10. -atiatarahatennion « se precipiter soi-meme »
11. -atiataton « entourer q. »
12. -atiata ̣arennion « s'eloigner »
13. -atiata8innon « se trainer, ramper, marcher sur le ventre comme font les serpens »
14. -atiatieraθon « aller derrier »
15. -atiatiteʻti « prendre le devant; partir aller avant les autres, devancer, prevenir, preceder, aller plutot que les autres »
16. -atiatonnenti « se precipiter soi-meme »
17. -atiatïechon « se trainer se trainer soi-meme »
18. -atiennondi « tomber par terre, à la renverse »
19. -atondechataʻk8an « faire le tour de la terre »
20. -atondechatase « faire le tour de la terre »
21. -atontarataʻk8an « faire le tour d'un lac »
22. -atontaratase « faire le tour d'un lac »
23. -aton ̣oti « passer au travers au milieu de q.c. »
24. -atotrah8i « parcourir, aller d'un bout à l'autre, aller partout »
25. -atra8an « sortir du chemin, s'en ecarter, s'en eloigner, s'en detourner, prendre un autre chemin, se separer en chemin faisant chacun de son coté »
26. -atrentinnon « courir d'un bord et d'un autre, de cabane en cabane »

B. Possible Translational Motion Middles

1. -atenda8aentandi « ne pouvoir passer une riviere »
2. -atenrarandi « monter, monter aller a l'assaut d'une place...attaquer une palissade »
3. -atiata'tonti « s'evader, se derober a la vue du monde, se cacher, disparoitre »
4. -atiatandi « etre arrete en q. endroit...faire finir l'action de q. »
5. -atiatatontandi « quitter la compagnie...une personne etre affreuse »
6. -atiatonta8an « s'echapper des fers, se degager des liens, des pieges, rets »
7. -atiatontrah8i «se mettre dedans »
8. -atiatra « se mettre avec, se mettre parmi du nombre du coté de q...se meler d'une chose »
9. -atiatra8an « se retirer de q. lieu, de q. compagnie, de q.c., y renoncer, l'abadonner, y renoncer »
10. -atiatra8andi « se separer entierement de q. par boude, pique »
11. -atit « s'embarquer...etre embarqué »
12. -atontaraentandi « ne pouvoir passer un lac...le lac s'opposer au passage de q. »
13. -ato8an « retirer de l'eau....metaph: echapper d'un danger ou l'on etoit »
14. -atrek8hati « se mettre à l'ombre...etre a l'ombre s'y etre mis »

XVIII. Miscellaneous Middles

1. -atrahatatindi « le bois, la foret se trouver devant q., et empecher vg de pouvoir passer outre »
2. -akenrati « se moderer, se contenir, agir avec retenue, reserve, moderation...s'epargner, se menager, aller doucement en besogne »
3. -ak8a « giter en q. lieu, y passer la nuit »
4. -arachitont « les 2 pieds de q. se former »
5. -atendiahaonsti « imiteri viros pour les manieres »
6. -atendoronk8i « se rendre difficile, resister, faire de soi-meme un empechement, faire le retif »
7. -ateniendichia ˏi « achever, ou avoir achevé de faire une ouvrage »
8. -atenrandoron « ne pouvoir forcer, enlever une palissade, un fort »
9. -atentaresti « le jour se differer »
10. -atiaton ˏotak8i « une medecine qui fasse aller par le bas »
11. -atrih8k8andati « supprimer un present public...l'absorber, l'avaler »
12. -atrira « se debatre, parler haut dans un soulaison...les choses se mettre en tel etat qu'elles s'accordent »
13. -atronhiara8an « decheoir, perdre de son credit, son autorité, sa reputation, sa vogue, etre dans le decri »
14. -at8tari « prendre ses manches, y passer ses bras...avoir ses manches passees au bras »

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