

Anchored in ink

Pierre-Philippe Potier's *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae* (1745),
a Jesuit grammar of Wendat



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Awažatǫkwerati haekwašėndaę de Wyandot

‘We use this writing for some purpose, we honour their name the Wyandot’
(literal translation)

We honour the Wyandot with this book.

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Abbreviations

AJC	Archive of the Jesuits in Canada (Montreal, Canada)
AVM	Archives de la Ville de Montréal (Montreal, Canada)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, France)
CEAAC	Centre d'Études Acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson (Moncton, Canada)
JCB	John Carter Brown Library (Providence, USA)
KCSC	Kislak Center for Special Collections, Penn Libraries (Philadelphia, USA)
MUL	McGill University Library (Montreal, Canada)
MC	Musée de la Civilisation (Quebec City, Canada)
UCSS	Univers culturel de Saint-Sulpice – Département des archives (Montreal, Canada)

1. Introduction:

A forgotten grammar of a forgotten language?

Toon Van Hal, Zanna Van Loon & Wouter Mercelis

As early as 1510, Spanish and Portuguese members of religious orders set out for the Americas to evangelize local Native communities. When establishing contact with these peoples and attempting to convert them to the Christian faith, the language barrier proved to be one of the most important obstacles. To efficiently teach the religious doctrine to Native groups of people unfamiliar with European culture and religion, the first missionaries therefore attempted to master local Indigenous tongues. This was no easy task, as cultural and linguistic diversity characterized the Americas from Nunavut in present-day Canada to Cape Horn in Chile. In order to pass on key information about the languages to their successors, missionaries zealously codified their acquired knowledge in linguistic works – grammars, vocabularies and phrasebooks – and prepared devotional translations – such as catechisms, sermons and confession manuals. This would herald a new tradition: both Catholic and Protestant missionaries from different European states, operating in colonial contexts in different parts of the world, committed themselves to the study and recording of local languages so as to pursue their proselytizing efforts. Today, their activities help researchers to reconstruct knowledge of Indigenous languages, many of which are on the verge of extinction, dormant, or definitively lost.

The present volume focuses on one of these ‘missionary grammars’: the eighteenth-century *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* by Jesuit Pierre-Philippe Potier (1708–1781), describing the Huron language, nowadays called Wendat.

Missionary linguistics in New France: a controversial legacy

In the early 1600s, the French gained a permanent foothold in North America, initially establishing a colony based on the trade in animal furs with local communities. This is why during the first decades of the seventeenth century only a small number of French colonists migrated to North America, permanently occupying a small region in the St Lawrence Valley with three main colonial centres – Quebec City, Trois-Rivières and Montreal – and naming it New France. The fur traders were granted exclusive rights by the French king and were gradually accompanied by missionaries, who would actively attempt to convert the many Indigenous communities living in the vast areas covering the Hudson Bay in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the east and the Great Lakes in the west for almost two centuries. Throughout the seventeenth century, the colony was able to expand, but it would last until the 1660s before the French crown set up an effective colonial organization and centralized administration (Havard 2001: 31). Of the three principal religious orders active in New France to study local Indigenous languages – the Recollect friars, the Jesuits and the Sulpician priests – the Jesuits created the largest output in linguistic material.

The great linguistic diversity did not facilitate missionary activity. Some basic facts were already known about some Indigenous languages belonging to the Algonquian and Iroquoian language families through Jacques Cartier's (1493–1557) three voyages of exploration (between 1534 and 1542) as well as through the encounters of the French colonist Samuel de Champlain (1574–1635) (Campeau 1967: 70, 187). Far away from all familiar European luxury, the Jesuits settled in the villages of the Native communities to immerse themselves in the local language (Schreyer 1996: 77). Missionaries with good linguistic skills were given the task of focusing primarily on language, while the others concentrated on administration (Hanzeli 1969: 54). It led to alienating scenes on both sides: that the Jesuits questioned the behaviours and rituals of the Natives need not be argued. But those often strangely inept celibatarian men, struggling to paddle in a canoe, also disturbed the Natives (Cushner 2006: 156; Schreyer 1996: 89).

European missionaries' attempts to convert Indigenous populations of the Americas to Christianity irrevocably altered these populations' ways of living forever. The legacy of friars, priests and ministers in the Americas is extremely contentious. Enforcing their beliefs on Native communities, they actively 'aimed to destroy' Native belief systems, life styles and rituals, leaving no or little room for Indigenous expressions of culture. This problematic context inflicted lasting wounds on Native linguistic cultures and caused local languages

to disappear (Rivett 2017: 15). At the time this book went to press, the recovery of multiple mass graves in former residential schools confronted Canadians with the historical horrific treatment of the Native population by members of the church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Bearing this dramatic and damaging episode of European colonialism in mind, present-day scholars can engage in multiple ways with the missionary legacy. Along the lines of postcolonial theory, literary scholars and a new generation of anthropologists vigorously point out that missionary grammars above all reflect problematic power relations: composing a grammar of a non-European language by making use of a Latinate framework – or straitjacket – in a downright colonial context is an act of appropriation (cf. Mignolo 1992). Of course, it cannot be denied that numerous missionary writings testify to an extremely Eurocentric (or Christian) worldview and that colonial systems have indeed instigated language loss, causing many languages to become extinct or threatened. We should ask ourselves whether the entire early modern missionary enterprise should be viewed through this postcolonial lens only. In an important paper, Catherine Fountain (2015: 194) concludes that missionaries as well ‘were in many cases demonstrably affected in their own attitudes and perceptions by the study of the language and the describing of its structures’. Despite their – by today’s standards – questionable incentives, missionaries (and Native collaborators willing to share knowledge) worked hard to commit knowledge of Indigenous languages to paper, and, in a global perspective, these written records are often the only traces we have of some of these languages. We cannot simply disregard the *en masse* production of missionary linguistic texts, the accompanying translations of pastoral texts and the contribution of Native interlocutors in making these texts. ‘Indigenous tongues were not simply erased’, Sarah Rivett (2017: 16) notes, ‘they were also preserved’.

In 2019, UNESCO launched the International Year of Indigenous Languages, encouraging nations to act against the alarming rate of language disappearance. As awareness grows about the decreasing diversity of the world’s languages, affecting numerous local cultures, these missionary texts can help preserve and revitalize knowledge of languages that are already extinct or endangered and have remained ill-documented. Hence, from a rugged past in which missionary Indigenous-language documents used to be one of the manifestations of colonial oppression, these linguistic works can today help make sense of past cultures, and even get adopted as tools of empowerment to re-establish Indigenous cultures.

Wendat studies and Potier's *Elementa*

The linguistic production of early modern missionaries was considerable. Later generations of missionaries gratefully relied on the work of the pioneers: they learned the language by transcribing the writings of their predecessors, and by following 'practical lessons' given by the Indigenous people (Hanzeli 1969: 22, 52). RELICTA, a database of early modern texts in and on non-European languages, estimates a total number of 179 missionary texts produced in New France between 1600 and 1800 that we know of.¹ The vast majority of these texts were never printed. It would take until 1764, shortly after France had ceded its North American colony to England, before the British printers William Brown and Thomas Gilmore installed the first printing press in Quebec City. Previous attempts had proved unsuccessful. For instance, in 1665, the French state had refused to approve the missionaries' request for a printing press (Hanzeli 1969: 50). Despite a contested nineteenth-century source about an eighteenth-century printing press in Michilimackinac brought by the Jesuit Pierre du Jaunay, there are no other direct traces corroborating the existence of a local printing press under the French regime (Melançon 2011: 85, 100). The lack of local presses did not prevent the circulation of missionary knowledge of Indigenous languages, as French friars and clergymen eagerly produced and distributed texts by hand. Among the many linguistic works, the eighteenth-century Latin manuscript *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* stands out as one of the only extant missionary grammars of the Iroquoian languages compiled in the early modern period.

Today, the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada in Montreal and the Kislak Center for Special Collections of the Penn Libraries in Philadelphia (USA) hold two similar copies of the eighteenth-century grammar of the Wendat language.² Both versions, titled *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae*, are bound together with other linguistic documents. The texts are in the hand of Pierre-Philippe Potier, a French-speaking Jesuit who wrote these works to learn the Wendat

1 The RELICTA database (Repertory of Early modern Linguistic & Catechetical Tools of Asia, America and Africa), compiled for the KU Leuven project of which this publication forms part, brings together all metadata of texts on non-European languages produced between 1500 and 1800 and currently encompasses more than 4000 records. Sources included are grammars, vocabularies, chronicles, travel reports, ego documents, correspondence, catechisms, sermon books, confession manuals, bible translations, hymn books, prayer books, manuals for the administering of the sacraments, religious treatises, poetry and plays. See <https://relicta.org> and Van Hal, Peetermans & Van Loon (2018). For a recent overview, see also the third chapter in Kilarski (2021).

2 See ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745); ([KCSJ Item 223] Potier 17xx).

language. What makes these two manuscripts particularly interesting study objects is that they represent one of the few extant pieces of writing documenting the early modern Wendat language.

As most texts produced by French missionaries were manuscripts in the absence of a local printing press, we can only assume that the sources available today are just a fraction of a much larger corpus. In contrast to printed books, usually produced in editions consisting of hundreds or thousands of copies depending on the demand, manuscripts had lesser chances of survival. Several factors can explain why many early modern manuscripts did not survive: intensive use, theft, accidental loss, natural damage (mould, water or moisture damage, an accidental fire), man-made damage (cleaning manuscripts for reuse, mishandling or damaging repairs) and deliberate destruction. Moreover, as most extant French manuscript writings on Indigenous languages are overall stored in local Canadian archives, these handwritten works have only limited availability and are only studied infrequently. This issue led Victor Egon Hanzeli (1908–1991), a pioneer in the field of Missionary Linguistics, to denounce the lack of scholarly editions:

All factors considered, it is indeed regrettable that the bulk of the linguistic works of the French missionaries in New France is still awaiting publication. The few which have been published in Shea's Library of American Linguistics are hardly accessible, owing to the limited number of copies printed. The most substantial publication, the facsimile edition of Potier's records of eighteenth-century Michillimackinac Huron [= Wyandot; Fraser 1920, eds.], may impress the antiquarian, though they do disservice to the linguist who may lack the patience to decipher manuscripts. (Hanzeli 1969: 102)

More than fifty years later, the situation is mostly unchanged. Despite a number of recent initiatives to digitize or publish early modern missionary Indigenous-language texts produced in New France in modern scholarly editions, the majority of the extant material can only be consulted physically in North American libraries and archives.³ The *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* is one of the few documents available in a facsimile edition. However, the edition by Alexander Fraser (1920) dates back a century and is limited to monochrome photographs, which makes it a rather difficult edition to use. Despite the growing interest given to Pierre Potier⁴ and the history of the Wendat people, the inter-

3 Examples of scholarly publications are Day (1975); Daviault (1994); Toupin (1996); Steckley (2004; 2010a); and Cottier & Lambert-Brétière (2018).

4 Toupin (1996) goes into detail about Potier's administrative and sacramental work (wills, baptisms, funerals, marriages etc.), his correspondence and brief autobiography, as well as

est in the *Elementa* has remained overall limited. Lagarde (1980) focuses her attention mainly on a nineteenth-century transcription of a Latin grammar of Wendat, which in the past has been attributed to the Jesuit Father Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot (1611–1693), while solely relying on Potier's *Elementa* to fill in particular gaps. Short mentions can be found in Barbeau (1949), Mithun (1979: 143) and Goddard (1996: 23).

While there are many studies on Huron-Wendat and Wyandot culture and history (see e.g. Trigger 1987, Sioui 1999 and Garrad 2014), the attention given to the language has remained fairly restricted. In addition to the multiple studies by John Steckley (e.g. 1992; 2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2014), Kopriv (2001) obtained a PhD on the language of the Wyandot. His work elaborates on Marius Barbeau's research (see e.g. 1949; 1957), who conducted fieldwork with sound recordings at the beginning of the twentieth century. Lagarde (1980) and Lukaniec (2018) focus on the Wendat verb. Wendat is of course also touched upon in studies dealing with the Iroquoian language family in general (cf. e.g. Mithun 1999).

Potier's grammar against the background of the circulation and oblivion of knowledge

The idea for this publication emerged in the context of two research projects. First, the multidisciplinary KU Leuven project *Evolving views on the world's languages in a globalizing world (1540–1840)* aimed to describe and analyse the complex processes of production, dissemination and reception of linguistic writings created by missionaries, both from a historical and linguistic angle (KU Leuven project 3H150301, 2015–2019, see Behiels et al. 2020). Second, *A Fresh Look Backward: Scholarly Forgetting in the History of the Humanities* was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (2016–2018). As part of a collaboration between the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin and KU Leuven, the goal of this project was to investigate the dynamics that explain how scholarly knowledge can sink into oblivion (Lamers & Van Hal 2020). In 2018, these two projects came together in a small-scale workshop we held in Leuven, during which we discussed Pierre-Philippe Potier's grammar and use of the Wendat language. This book is a follow-up of the workshop, gathering our perspectives combined with an annotated transcription of the grammar.

his travelogues and his description of French in la Nouvelle France – today a significant source for language historians studying the specifics of Canadian French.

Potier’s case – and the case of missionary linguistics in general – is an interesting instance of at least temporary scholarly forgetting, in that it is not entirely clear to what extent ‘scholarly knowledge’ is at stake here. ‘Attempts to classify knowledge (in the sense of that which is known) are often more enlightening than attempts to define it’, Fritz Machlup observed in 1980, adding that ‘[c]lassifications are said to make little sense unless it is stated what purposes they are to serve. Sometimes, however, the purpose may be merely to give an impression of the range and variety of things that are there to think about’ (Machlup 1980: 59). Such classifications help visualize the distinction between basic and applied or general and particular knowledge. Among other oppositions, which are of course gradual and not binary in nature, one can think of distinctions opposing analytical and empirical, enduring and transitory, explicit and implicit, male and female, local and universal knowledge (see Machlup 1980 and Burke 2016). Present-day approaches to the history of knowledge excel in their breadth of scope. The shift in research interests can be visualized as follows (primarily based on Östling et al. 2018):

Before	Now
Learned knowledge	Mundane, practical and artisanal knowledge
Articulated/codified knowledge	Implicit/tacit knowledge
Origin and making of knowledge	Circulation, transformation and societal impact
Texts and books	Objects and images
Western traditions	Native traditions
Contribution of individuals	Contribution of communities
Centre-to-periphery dissemination	Multidirectional dissemination

We see that knowledge related to missionary linguistic writings occupies an interesting in-between position in many regards. For example, today we would consider the study of a language like Wendat a particularly academic subject, whereas in Potier’s time this may rather have been seen as a form of artisanal knowledge. In missionary linguistics, Native traditions and western traditions come together, while it is a matter of debate to what extent missionary linguistic output should be seen as a (cumulative) individual undertaking or as an intrinsically community-based contribution.

We think that missionary linguistic tools therefore constitute a rewarding field for examining the dynamics of the circulation of knowledge (Van Loon Forthcoming), and – ultimately – the possible termination of its circulation. Missionary linguists compiled their works in order to pass on their knowledge

to their successors, so as to ensure and stimulate their evangelization efforts. But their efforts were extremely prone to loss or oblivion, especially due to the absence of a printing press in New France. Some missionaries were well aware of this vulnerability. Jean-Baptiste de la Brosse (1724–1782), the Jesuit author of *Éléments de langue montagnaise* (1768), stated regretfully that, despite their hard work, not much written material by his predecessors was left. A part of the manuscripts had vanished in the fire of Chicoutimi in 1699, while other manuscripts had disappeared in the period during which the mission was deprived of pastors (Cottier & Lambert-Brétière 2018: 5; see also chapter 11; Van Hal 2019 for the South-Asian context and Van Hal 2020 for the modern period).

One of the questions to be asked is what the missionaries thought about a wider dissemination of their tools, e.g. among learned audiences in Europe or among the Native communities. Xavier & Županov (2015) showed that the scientific production of Portuguese missionaries in India was largely appropriated by subsequent English colonizers, without giving credit to the Catholic missionaries. In sociological literature, such a strategy has been called a case of *Vergessenmachen* (Lamers, Van Hal & Clercx 2020): here we see that the produced knowledge remains in circulation, while the knowledge producers fade into oblivion. (Needless to say, the entire European colonial undertaking can be seen as a case of *Vergessenmachen*, viz. of the original Native cultures.)

In many cases, however, both the knowledge preserved in these manuscripts and its producers fell into oblivion, and Potier's *Elementa* is one of these cases. The present Open Access publication therefore aims first and foremost to facilitate the study of an ill-documented language by making available to a wider audience knowledge of the Wendat language in general and Potier's work in particular.

Aims and contents of this volume

This publication complements the 1920 facsimile by offering an annotated transcription of the *Elementa*, together with a number of explanatory chapters zooming in on the historical context, the language and the structure of the grammar – thus engaging with the manuscript from different angles. In so doing, we first and foremost seek to offer a service to historians, linguists, anthropologists, and anyone interested in Wendat and missionary grammar. The work should be seen as a stepping-stone rather than as an endpoint: the study wants to facilitate, but will not eliminate, the work of future scholars. An important and urgent desideratum is of course a full translation of Potier's grammar, but it turned out an unfeasible task to meet this need in the frame of this

short-running side-project. At the publisher's website, the material from the edition will be made available in manageable formats (doc-files) so that colleagues can fruitfully build on it.

The volume falls into three main parts, the first of which is introductory in nature, offering information about the Wendat and Wyandot (which is the topic of chapter 2), the early modern Jesuit mission in New France and the Jesuits' linguistic output related to Wendat. In chapter 3, Zanna Van Loon presents Pierre-Philippe Potier as a representative of eighteenth-century missionary linguistics. We then shift the focus to language. After explaining how the Wendat language relates to Wyandot and situating the languages in their Iroquoian context, John Steckley takes his time to focus on the complicated 'anatomy' of the Wendat verb. From the perspective of a present-day linguist, he discusses the morphemes that can occur in nine positions within the Wendat verb, while at the same time outlining whether and how Potier discussed these elements in his grammar. Chapter 5 offers a summary of Potier's grammar by forging links between the sections in Potier's grammar and the 'Wendat crash course' as presented in chapter 4. This overview can thus be seen as a roadmap of Potier's grammar, somewhat mitigating the lack of a translation.

The second part, the text edition, forms the heart of the volume. It has a separate succinct introduction, explaining the conventions used. The third part brings together a number of specific case studies. In a first study, John Steckley analyses the use of the Wyandot dialect in Potier's Wendat grammar (chapter 6). Chapter 7 by Andy Peetermans and Raf Van Rooy examines how Potier made use of Greek graphemes and grammatical concepts (such as 'augment' and 'aorist') in order to describe Wendat. Subsequently, Andy Peetermans investigates Potier's strategies to tackle what is nowadays called 'object agreement' (chapter 8). Zanna Van Loon then focuses on the specifics of the manuscript culture in New France. She discusses how such manuscripts containing linguistic knowledge were in use among readers (chapter 9). In chapter 10, Wouter Mercelis, Andy Peetermans and Toon Van Hal succinctly describe the similarities and differences between the three manuscripts offering grammatical descriptions of Wendat that are still available. Fannie Dionne, finally, examines in chapter 11 the vicissitudes of Potier's manuscript legacy after his death, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A note on conventions

Keeping the colonialist bias in mind, we have given preference to the use of terms such as 'Native' and 'Indigenous' over 'Indian(s)'. We nonetheless

acknowledge that classifying distinct Indigenous communities as one single entity downplays the societal, cultural and linguistic complexity and diversity among these communities. Furthermore, when referring to the names of specific peoples, we have chosen to adopt the conventional names in order to facilitate reading. For instance, we decided to use ‘Algonquin’ instead of *Anishinaabe* or *Omàamiwinini* and ‘Innu’ instead of *Nêhiraw Iriniw*. If at some point we refer to different ‘degrees of civility’ of Native communities, we do so according to the early modern European criteria of the time. Naming Indigenous communities and languages often presents particular challenges. The description of diverse populations will always take place from a Eurocentric perspective with regard to societal and cultural organization, as many conventional names given to Indigenous communities derive from European languages. A textbook example is ‘Huron’. This is in fact a French name that derives from the rather derogatory term *hure* (‘a boar’s head’), in reference to the Huron’s allegedly bristly hair style (Trigger 1987: 27). Such European terms are nevertheless used for common use and convenience.

This publication refers to the Huron population before and after the 1640s differently. When referring to the Native group before the dispersal of the late 1640s, we use the term ‘Huron-Wendat’. After 1640, we set the Wyandot peoples who descended from the Petun, along with Huron and Neutral refugees, and dispersed eventually to become the current populations in Anderdon (in Michigan), Kansas and Oklahoma, apart from the Huron-Wendat who came to inhabit the area of Lorette (Wendake), near Quebec City. As far as the language is concerned, we systematically adopt the term ‘Wendat’, except when we specifically refer to the varieties spoken by the Wyandot people who came to live in the Detroit area.

Whenever we refer to the contents of the Wendat grammar (edited in this volume) and certain other manuscripts, we do so by referring to Potier as the author for ease of use. Nonetheless, we want to stress that these documents are most likely the product of accumulated interventions made by different hands and with the vital contribution of unidentified Native collaborators.

The bibliography covers all primary and secondary sources consulted. To maintain a clear overview, archival documents have been listed according to their file records. When discussing specific manuscripts in the chapters, we have adopted in-text citations including their call number and the holding institution. Whenever discussing the text of our edition of Potier’s *Elementa* in the chapters, we refer to it as ‘Potier, *Elementa*: [page number]’.

I On the 'Huron',
the languages
and Potier

2. The Huron-Wendat and Wyandot

Zanna Van Loon, John Steckley & Wouter Mercelis

Prior to European contact, the territories later encompassing New France – covering the shores of Hudson Bay in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the east and the areas around the Great Lakes in the west and along the Mississippi River in the south – were mostly inhabited by small independent and egalitarian societies living either sedentarily or semi-nomadically. Several distinct Indigenous communities, having developed their own culture, tended to live in clan-based confederacies of nations, speaking languages of three main (internally varying) language families: Inuit, Algonquian and Iroquoian languages. The Inuit inhabited the northeastern coastline with the Atlantic Ocean in the northeast of present-day province of Quebec and the northwest of present-day Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada.

The semi-nomadic Algonquian hunter-gatherer populations occupied the mainland area along the St. Lawrence River and other lands surrounding the Great Lakes. They mainly consisted of the Anishinaabe peoples – known as Algonquin, Mississauga, Nipissing, Ojibwa and Ottawa – the Innu known as Montagnais (Nehiraw-Iriniw), Naskapi or Papinachois, the Abenaki, Micmac, Etchemin (Malecite) and the Attikamekw. The semi-sedentary Iroquoian population groups lived in the Great Lakes region north and south of Lake Ontario, north of Lake Erie and south of Lake Huron. Iroquoian peoples were horticultural, depending mainly on the cultivation of corn, beans and squash as their food staple, sunflower for oil and tobacco. Living in concentrated villages of

populations that could be larger than 1,000, they had a culture that was matrilineal and matrilocal in residence, and they all spoke different language varieties per community. Of these nations, the Iroquois Confederacy¹, also known as the Iroquois League of Five Nations and probably established in the course of the fifteenth century, had intense, often violent relations with the French and their Indigenous allies. The confederacy consisted of five linguistically, culturally and ethnically related nations living south of Lake Ontario, from east to west Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca – each speaking a distinct Iroquoian language (Mann 2000: 7).

A second particular Iroquoian population to come into contact with the French did so in a less hostile way, viz. as allies and trading partners: the Ontario Iroquoian groups. Even though European missionaries referred to these populations as one unified population group speaking one language, it is important to acknowledge their cultural heterogeneity.² These people consisted of three distinct confederacies: the Petun, the Huron-Wendat and the Neutral, or *Neutres* as they were named by the French. The primary group in terms of relationship with the French, the Huron-Wendat, called themselves Wendat, sometimes spelled as *wendat*, *ouendat* or *wendat*³, for which no meaning has yet been determined. The French named them *Hurons*, referring to their ‘Mohawk’ hairstyle (see chapter 1).

The Huron-Wendat settled on the northern shores of Lake Ontario, but lived by and south of the Georgian Bay (Lake Huron) and near Lake Simcoe. This area, referred to as *Huronie* or *Huronia* by the French, was home to more than twenty thousand people living in thirty communities forming part of four or five different nations (Lozier 2018: 86). Some researchers use *Huronia* and *Wendake* interchangeably to signal specifically the Huron-Wendat territories, but in fact *Wendake* refers to anywhere the Huron-Wendat peoples live (Garrad 2014: 31, 37). Nowadays, their community in Quebec City is known by that name.

- 1 The united people refer to themselves collectively as *Haudenosaunee*, ‘they extend a house’. The basis of this unification was the orally transmitted myth ‘the Great Law’, which narrated how a man, the Peacemaker, had a vision as a child about bringing peace to nations at war with each other, which he as a grown man fulfilled. The Great Law was also intended to involve more nations under their form of government as confederates or to submit other nations by force. In the early eighteenth century they extended the house of their confederacy to include the related Tuscarora (Garrad 2014: 47).
- 2 In fact, most scholars correctly refer to the Huron population as Wyandot or Wendat, but fail to acknowledge that the Petun and the Neutral are distinct population groups, which belong to the Ontario Iroquoian group but are not part of the Huron-Wendat confederacy (Trigger 1985: 221).
- 3 The Jesuits used the Greek ligature *ß* before a vowel to represent the sound [w].

By the late 1500s, the Huron-Wendat formed an alliance or confederacy of at least four nations of which the *Hatinniašenten* or ‘Bear’ made up the majority, who in turn consisted of two ‘ethnic’ groups: the ‘Northern Bear’ and the ‘Southern Bear’ (Steckley 2004: 9). Sometime around the fourteenth century, they had migrated from the south to the lands around the Georgian Bay together with the nation *Hatingeenonniahak* (literally ‘they are making cord people’). There, these two nations coexisted with three other nations, the *Arendaeronon*, or ‘Rock’, the *Atahontaenrat*, or ‘Deer’ (literally ‘he has two white ears’) and the *Ataronchronnon* (literally probably ‘people of the clay or mud’) often referred to now as the ‘Bog’, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. They all spoke different dialects of Wendat. In the late 1630s, the *Wenrôhronons* (literally ‘people of moss in water’, a reference to the large turtle in their origin myth) or Wenro migrated north from Neutral to Huron-Wendat territory, having been soundly defeated in warfare by the Iroquois. They joined the Bear nation and were adopted by the Turtle clan (Garrad 2014: 40–45; Steckley 2007b: 50–52).

The Petun or Tobacco Nation (named in Wendat *Ekyōnqtaterunq* ‘people where there is a hill or mountain’), consisted of a confederacy of the Wolf and the Deer. These two entities may have been clans or originally separate nations – this is not entirely clear. They lived between the Nottawasaga River and Blue Mountain of the Niagara escarpment, south from Georgian Bay of Lake Huron in present-day Ontario.⁴ Related to the Petun in terms of language and culture, were the Neutrals (or *Attishendaronk*, which can be translated as ‘they, their words are distant’), a confederacy of an unknown number of nations inhabiting the lands between the Grand River and the Niagara River in present-day Ontario.

Although the Huron-Wendat and the Petun were the hereditary enemies of the Iroquois Confederacy, they shared similar cultural traits and were descendants of the proto-Iroquoian peoples. The Huron-Wendat diet was preeminent in corn, which they turned into a variety of dishes, primarily soup and bread. Fish appears to have been more important than meat. The Huron-Wendat, mainly the women, practiced slash-and-burn agriculture or horticulture, obtaining fertile fields by cutting down and then burning sections of forest (Lozier 2018: 90). Building new villages close to the water every twelve years (Fenton 1978), the Huron-Wendat lived in longhouses in different clans or groups surrounded

4 European settlers coined the name ‘Petun’ for this population group, because of the association of the people with tobacco (they were, however, traders rather than cultivators of tobacco). In accordance with Charles Garrad, the primary authority on the study of the Petun, we will use this term for matters of convenience (Garrad 2014: 18).



Figure 2.1 Map of Native nations in New France

by palisades. Their society was organized on matrilineal and matrilineal principles (Steckley 2014: 3). The maternal uncle seems to have played a more important role than the father (Heidenreich 1978: 370).

According to early modern Jesuit sources, political decision-making was a task for men, especially the elders (Fenton 1978: 309; Heidenreich 1978: 371). Coming from a patriarchal society in Europe, the Jesuits were not generally very good at recognizing women's political influence. However, Jesuit historian Pierre François de Charlevoix (1682–1721) wrote in 1721:

I have been assured that they [the women] always deliberate first on whatever is proposed in council; and that they afterwards give the result of their deliberation to the chiefs, who made the report to the general council, composed of the elders (cf. Steckley 2014: 173).

Potier also recorded in his mid-eighteenth-century census that the elders' council included both women and men (Toupin 1996: 227–229).

Each clan had a civil chief and a war chief. At least once a year there was a large council with the entire Huron-Wendat confederation. Major decisions could take a long time to arrive at, as unanimity of votes was required. This may help explain in part the slow response to the Iroquois threat in the 1640s and their ensuing defeat (Heidenreich 1978: 372).

In the early modern period, Huron-Wendat life centred around their belief system, given that every activity, such as hunting and fishing, came with rituals of a religious nature (Trigger 1987: 76). The Huron-Wendat believed that all things, animate and inanimate, including natural features like rocks, had an *oki* or spirit in them. They also considered humans to be *oki*, especially shamans and exceptionally strong warriors (Trigger 1987: 75–76). The most powerful *oki* in existence was the sky, being in control of the weather. Another very important *oki* was Yaataensik ('she, her body is old'), who fell from the sky to become the first woman on earth. Her grandchildren were Iouskeha and Tawiskaron, twin brothers who fought each other. In so doing, they changed the world. This is one of the many manifestations of the Huron-Wendat's dualistic view of the world (Steckley 2007b: 15–22). Iouskeha is presented as being the 'good twin' in his responsibility regarding living beings and the weather. Tawiskaron, in turn, is seen as the 'bad twin' in his opposition to his brother, sometimes destroying the 'good' that Iouskeha did. After he was killed by Iouskeha, his blood became flint (*atawiskara*), from which arrowheads and axe and knife blades were made. Strong believers in an afterlife, the Huron-Wendat became very receptive to the Christian view of life after death (Heidenreich 1978: 374).

Warfare characterized the Iroquoian and Algonquian societies (Lozier 2018: 98–99). The mid to late 1640s heralded the start of a growing competition between Native confederacies due to developing trade networks with competing European powers – England, the Dutch Republic and France –, resulting in ethnic conflicts and violence in the St. Lawrence Valley and around the Great Lakes. The Ontario Iroquoian people, after having formed an alliance with the French, experienced increasing warfare with the Iroquois confederacy, who aligned with the Dutch and the English (Steckley 2004: 9). The results of these mid-seventeenth-century battles became known as the Dispersal of the Ontario Iroquoian groups, to indicate the period when the Huron-Wendat, Petun and Neutral were forced to leave their territories in present-day Ontario, with the Bog nation disappearing completely (Garrad 2014: 53). The event led two other nations of the Huron-Wendat alliance to join forces with members of the rival Iroquois Confederacy in the 1650s. The Deer became part of the Iroquois Seneca and moved to an area south of Lake Ontario, and the Rock decided to live in the region of the Mohawk, while the Cord and the Bear first migrated to Sillery and then, in 1697, to the area around the city of Quebec called Lorette (nowadays known as Wendake).⁵

5 The Huron-Wendat in Potier's writing in the 1740s were referred to as *hatindgiabointen Sauvages de Lorette* ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 154), suggesting that there could be a signifi-



Figure 2.2 Migrations of the Huron-Wendat and the Wyandot

Some of the remaining Huron-Wendat people merged with the Petun and became known as the Wyandot. This ‘new’ population group settled in Michilimackinac, nowadays known as Mackinac Island west to Lake Huron, in 1650. After a few migrations and a return to Michilimackinac in 1671, the Wyandot resettled near Detroit in 1704. The following decades, internal conflicts led to a division of the Wyandot in two groups, one of which migrated to the Ohio Valley in the 1740s. After forced relocations by the American government in the nineteenth century, they later dispersed in the present-day states of Michigan, Kansas and Oklahoma in the United States. The other group resettled near Detroit and the French settlement Pointe de Montréal, today’s Windsor, in the mid-1700s, where they stayed.⁶

cant number of descendants of the Bear nation at Lorette. It could also be a traditional pre-dispersal reference, as the Bear were the westernmost of the Wendat nations, the one closest to the Petun.

⁶ This paragraph is largely based on the encyclopedia article by Heidenreich (2011).



Figure 2.3 Pair of moccasins of the Huron culture (1790–1815). Native-tanned and dyed skin, silk, quill, deer and moose hair, metal. Metropolitan Museum New York. Accession Number: 2011.154.90a, b



Figure 2.4 Sash (wool yarn and glass beads; ca. 1830). Possibly made in Ontario or Quebec. Metropolitan Museum New York. Accession Number: 2019.456.24

Today, descendants of the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot people live in distinct areas across North America: the Wyandotte Nation in Wyandotte, Oklahoma (USA), the Huron-Wendat Nation in Wendake, Quebec City (Canada), the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon in Trenton, Michigan (USA) and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas in Kansas City, Kansas (USA).

3. Pierre-Philippe Potier and the Jesuit mission in New France

Zanna Van Loon

An eighteenth-century Jesuit and his predecessors among the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot

Pierre-Philippe Potier (1708–1781), born in Blandain in present-day Belgium in a family of seven children, was one of the last early modern Jesuit priests who left Europe for New France to perform missionary work among local Indigenous communities. Between 1721 and 1727, Potier attended school in the Jesuit college of Tournai, before taking a two-year course in philosophy in Douai. On 30 September 1729, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Tournai. The next step in his training was a year of study in Lille in 1731. From 1732 until 1738, he instructed Jesuit students in the College of Béthune, a town in Northern France, in grammar, poetry and rhetoric. In 1738, he began a four-year study in theology. From his student period, sixteen volumes of study notes in his handwriting have been preserved, which are currently held at the Université de Laval in Quebec City (Toupin 1996: 1162–1163). He then began his tertianship in Armentières and finally took his fourth vow in Tournai in 1743. That same year, Potier left for the French port city of La Rochelle so as to embark on the transatlantic journey to New France. After a week's delay due to dense fog, the priest finally left aboard the *Rubis* on 25 June 1743, following in the footsteps of the Jesuits who had preceded him to New France.

The first generation of Jesuit missionaries to arrive in New France in the early 1620s encountered Native people in two different ways. Some Jesuits would take responsibility for converting Indigenous communities which often paid a visit to permanent mission posts near Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Quebec, Tadoussac and Sillery. These settlements were based on former seasonal meeting points between bands of Algonquian communities (Lozier 2018: 20). The Jesuit houses not only offered missionaries a place to rest and study, they also continued to serve as a meeting place for the visits of trading Algonquian nations, and for Huron-Wendat and Algonquian refugee communities. This enabled the residing Jesuits to study the languages spoken by visiting communities, such as Innu, Algonquin and Wendat, during their stay.

Others went inland to achieve the evangelization of other Native groups, mainly the Huron-Wendat, during the so-called 'flying missions'. By 1626, the Jesuits had actively started to evangelize the Wendat nation in their own territory, which they called Huronia, at Georgian Bay near Lake Simcoe (Steckley 2004: 11). Even though the first Jesuits most likely relied upon the language teachings of Recollect friars, a reformed branch of the Franciscan order, they soon made their own efforts to learn local languages (Schreyer 1996: 97). Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf (1593–1649) in particular managed to develop a high level of proficiency in the Wendat language during his stay among the Huron-Wendat between 1626 and 1629. Meanwhile, tensions rose in Europe between France and England during the Thirty Years' War, resulting in a military conflict between 1627 and 1629. The war impacted New France, as English troops raided Quebec in 1629, forcing Recollect and Jesuit missionaries to return to France. By the time the Jesuits were able to travel back to New France in 1632, Brébeuf had published a Wendat catechism – a translation of the original catechetical text by Jacob Ledesma *en Langage Canadois*. The catechism was printed in Rouen in 1630, and reprinted as part of Champlain's *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale* in 1632 and 1640. (In these later editions, the text included an Innu translation as well – see Steckley 2017a: 132.) Upon his return in New France, Brébeuf continued to work among the Huron-Wendat population together with other Jesuits.

When French settlers met with Huron-Wendat traders during their visits to Quebec in 1633, Samuel de Champlain arranged for Jesuits to travel with them back to their lands. Accordingly, in 1634, following the fur trade routes westwards, these missionary men founded a new mission in Huron-Wendat territory. It is from this moment onwards, Carole Blackburn (2004: 39) notes, that the Huron-Wendat 'became the focus of the Jesuit missionary efforts in New France.' The evangelization efforts intensified, leading more fathers to study the language. Warfare with the Five Iroquoian Nations in the late 1640s led



Figure 3.1 Map of New France and mission settlements

to the death of numerous Huron-Wendat people and eight Jesuit missionaries (who were later called the ‘Canadian martyrs’ and regarded as Jesuit saints). It also caused surviving Huron-Wendat communities to resettle in the area near Quebec City, in the Jesuit mission of Lorette, while another group, the Wyandot, relocated initially in Michilimackinac, in present-day Mackinac Island between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan (Steckley 2004: 12, 16). Pierre-Philippe Potier would work with both communities.

Having arrived in Quebec in October 1743, Potier spent eight months in the nearby Lorette mission while being taught Wendat by Jesuit Father Pierre-Daniel Richer (1682–1770), the superior of the Lorette mission (Toupin 1996: 11). To enhance his learning, Potier was commissioned to copy one of his predecessors’ work on Wendat word roots, the basic units of the language (Toupin 1996: 29). This Jesuit, Étienne de Carheil (1633–1726), had led the mission in Michilimackinac, but could not prevent the Wyandot community from migrating from Michilimackinac to Detroit (Vachon 2003). Despite Potier’s committed efforts, he admitted in a letter sent in the spring of 1747 that after two years he was still struggling with Wendat (Toupin 1996: 624).

In September 1744, Potier joined the Wyandot mission of Jesuit Father Armand de La Richardie (1686–1758) at Bois Blanc Island, near Detroit. Three years later, La Richardie established a new mission post in Pointe de Montréal,

a place the English would later call Sandwich in 1797, but which is currently known as Windsor, Ontario – separated from the city of Detroit only by the Detroit River. There, Potier erected a church in 1749 and founded the first parish of Ontario in 1767, Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption (Toupin 1996: 12). In doing so, Potier came to head the oldest parish in Ontario, where he continued to minister to the Wyandot population and French settlers. During the last years of his life, his health deteriorated, due to age-associated diseases, among which was vertigo. On 16 July 1781, he fell backwards down a ladder and died from the effects of a skull fracture (Toupin 1996: 21, Toupin 2003). After the old Wyandot Church was demolished in 1851, Potier's body was buried next to the new Our Lady of Heaven Church in Windsor (Fraser 1920: xix).

The Jesuits' written material on Wendat

It goes without saying that learning to speak and understand a completely unfamiliar language required an intense effort and dedication for the Jesuit missionaries in New France, particularly because they did not have an ample theoretical basis to rely on. Not being able to resort to European-style language learning, these men were forced to reflect on new approaches. Especially the first Jesuits – and Recollect friars – to arrive in North America could only rely on their own fieldwork and the indispensable help of Native collaborators. Moreover, the first missionaries needed to be constantly exposed to the languages they wanted to learn to achieve a solid degree of proficiency. The contribution of Native informants, tutors and translators was critical to build and extend the missionaries' vocabulary. The techniques they relied upon involved listening, taking notes, asking questions and rehearsing to try out what they had learned – a practice also adopted by fellow missionaries operating in other continents of the world (see, e.g. Huiyi 2015: 209).

After these men had completed their language study in the field, they started developing a corpus of material on Wendat by abundantly producing grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, cantiques, sermon books and confessional manuals. In doing so, they not only facilitated their own study but also contributed to the language learning of newcomers and fellow missionaries.

Most linguistic activities were pursued in the permanent main mission stations along the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Quebec and Tadoussac. These settlements allowed the Jesuits to take some time to rest from their missions and to devote themselves to study, but also to have newly arrived missionaries learn Native languages by studying and copying already produced texts (Hanzeli 1969: 27). As far as we know, the Jesuits and Recollect

friars produced at least twenty different manuscripts dealing with Wendat in the early modern period, which probably is only a fraction of a larger corpus (cf. Table 1).

Pierre-Philippe Potier, like his predecessors, dedicated many hours in mission settlements to writing notes in various prebound books, a number of which recorded information about the Wendat language. These manuscripts in Potier's handwriting have survived to this day, making his works particularly interesting study objects to learn more about early modern missionary linguistics in New France. As the Jesuit order's suppression in France in the 1760s greatly impacted missionary work in North America, Potier is considered to be one of the last known early modern French Jesuits to have written material in Wendat (Hanzeli 1969: 29–30).

During his first years in New France, Potier prepared three compendia of Wendat word roots accompanied by French translations, known as the *Radices linguae Huronicae* of 1743, 1744 and 1751, which are currently preserved in the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada ([AJC MS 017] Potier 1743; [AJC MS 018] Potier 1744; [AJC MS 020] Potier 1751). As an Iroquoian language, Wendat is polysynthetic, meaning that it has complex morphological structures: to build a sentence, a speaker has to combine verb stems (or roots) with noun stems and other morphemes (prefixes and suffixes) (Mithun 2015: 38; see also chapter 4). The polysynthetic nature of the language obliged missionaries to compose vocabularies revolving around verbs. In vocabularies translating Indigenous words to Latin or French, they therefore listed verb roots or *radices* and accompanying morphological combinations next to their French or Latin equivalents. Potier also finished a twenty-page Wendat-French vocabulary appended to a census list of Bois Blancs Island of 1747, which was thematically organized, for instance discussing body parts, kinship terms, fauna and flora and housing. The document is nowadays stored in the Archive de la Ville de Montréal (AVM) as *Vocabulaire huron-français* ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 1744–1752). In addition to these linguistic instruments, Potier completed a 231-page notebook with passages of the Gospel and sermons in 1747, including the *De Religione*, a theological treatise of 53 pages on how to explain Christianity in Wendat. Divided in two columns, the manuscript, now part of the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, helped him preach homilies and sermons to a Wendat-speaking audience ([AJC MS 022] Potier 1747).

Probably Pierre-Philippe Potier's most elaborate work – the subject matter of this publication – is his 82-page Wendat grammar *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* in folio format. Today, two similar autograph copies of the *Elementa* are extant in the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada (AJC) and in the Kislak Center for Special Collections (KCS) respectively (see chapters 9–10). In 1745, two years

Missionary	Work	Date	Medium	Holding institution and call number
Joseph le Caron and Nicolas Viel (O.F.M. Rec.)	[Dictionary of the Wendat language]	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Jean de Brébeuf (S.J.)	[Wendat grammar]	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Jérôme Lalemant (S.J.)	[Principles of the Wendat language]	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Étienne de Carheil (S.J.)	Radices linguae Huronicae	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	[Wendat grammar]	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot and Jean de Brébeuf (S.J.)	[Dictionary and grammar of Neutral-Wendat]	17 th century	Manuscript (lost)	
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	<i>Dictionnaire huron, radices linguae Huronicae; conjugatio</i>	17 th century	Manuscript	MC, MS 62
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	<i>Dictionnaire huron</i>	17 th century	Manuscript	MC, MS 67
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	[<i>Radices linguae Huronicae</i>]	17 th century	Manuscript	MC, MS 59
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot and Jean de Brébeuf (S.J.)	<i>Dictionnaire français-huron</i>	17 th century	Manuscript	MC, MS 60
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	<i>Dictionnaire huron et hiroquois onontaheronon</i>	1670	Manuscript	UCSS, P1: 8A.4/017

Missionary	Work	Date	Medium	Holding institution and call number
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	<i>Radices linguae Huronicae</i>	1675	Manuscript	MC, MS 65
Anonymous, but attributed to Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot (S.J.)	[French-Wendat dictionary and vocabulary]	c. 1690	Manuscript	JCB, Codex Ind 12
Anonymous	<i>Observationes quaedam linguam Huronicam spectantes</i>	1740	Manuscript	AJC, 0100-2001.2.1
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Radices linguae Huronicae</i> [vol 1]	1743	Manuscript	AJC, MS 017
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Radices linguae Huronicae</i> [vol 1]	1744	Manuscript	AJC, MS 018
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Vocabulaire huron-français</i>	17 th century	Manuscript	AVM, CA M001 BM 007-D36
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Elementa grammaticae Huronicae</i>	1745	Manuscript	AJC, MS 019
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Elementa grammaticae Huronicae</i>	18 th century	Manuscript	KCSC, Ms. Coll, 700 item 223
Pierre-Philippe Potier (S.J.)	<i>Radices Huronicae</i>	1751	Manuscript	AJC, MS 020
Anonymous	<i>Grammatica Huronica</i>	18xx	Transcription of a (lost) 17th-century manuscript	MUL, Lande S0648

Table 3.1 Overview of known written linguistic output by missionaries in early modern New France*

* This list is based on the online database RELICTA. It only includes linguistic work, excluding devotional tools, general descriptions of the language in travel reports, historical texts, correspondence and the annually published Jesuit *Relations*.

after arriving in New France, Potier finished the first copy of the *Elementa* (henceforth called the AJC copy), including a large set of linguistic documents on Wendat. In addition to the grammar, the manuscript includes alphabetical lists of pronouns, adverbs and prepositions, a short manual of French phrases with Wendat equivalents (*quelques demandes pour se faire instruire*), a vocabulary on kinship and a compendium of Wendat word roots (*Radices Huronicae*). He also incorporated a census of the Wyandot population in his mission dated 1745, as well as miscellaneous lists, including, for instance, the names of towns in Wendat and French. Notably, Potier added 'III' to the *Radices Huronicae* included in the 1745 grammar, likely implying that it was the third part following the first two compendia of 1743 and 1744, and preceding the fourth *Radices* of 1751. The second copy of the *Elementa* (henceforth called the KCSC copy), counting 81 pages in folio format, also includes a compendium of Wendat word roots and alphabetical lists of pronouns, adverbs and prepositions, but lacks the other texts that are present in the AJC copy.¹

1 An online-consultable digital reproduction is available, see <https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p3804xr4z> (accessed 9 January 2023).

4. The languages: Wendat and Wyandot

John Steckley

Introduction: Wendat, Wyandot and other languages

Wendat does not stand alone as a language. It is not what linguists call a 'language isolate'. It is part of a language family, called Iroquoian. The name of the family comes from the word 'Iroquois', an outsider-imposed term thought to have come from a Basque-based trade or pidgin language (Bakker 1991). Including Wendat there are seven languages in the northern branch of the family; the six others are the languages of the peoples usually referred to as Iroquois, but who use the term *Haudenosaunee*: the Mohawk (*Kanien'keháka* – 'People of at the Flint'), Oneida (*Onyota'a:taka* – 'People of the Standing Stone'), Onondaga ('People of the Hills'), Cayuga (*Ga'yo'ggh'ó:nq'* – 'People of the Pipe'), Seneca (*Onondowagah* – 'Great Hill People') and Tuscarora (*Skarù:rę'* – 'Hemp Gatherers' or 'Shirt-Wearing People'¹). Here and elsewhere in this contribution, the names in brackets are what these indigenous populations call themselves. There were other languages that belonged to this branch in the seventeenth century, including St. Lawrence Iroquoian, Erie, Susquehannock and Wenro, but they did not survive into Pierre Potier's time. The one surviving member of the southern branch of the family is Cherokee (*Aniyvwiya'i* – 'Principal People').

1 Rudes (1999: 223), entry for 'hskar- cloth, linen, shirt'.

The following list of cognates for one noun (‘village, community, camp’) illustrates two of the phonetic differences between Wendat/Wyandot and other Northern Iroquoian languages:

Contrasting Wendat/Wyandot with other Northern Iroquoian Languages

Wendat/Wyandot	<i>yandata</i> ²	
Mohawk	<i>kaná:ta</i> [?]	Michelson (1973: 76)
Oneida	<i>kanata</i> [?]	Michelson & Doxtator (2002: 554)
Onondaga	<i>ganada</i> [?]	Woodbury (2003: 672)
Cayuga	<i>gana:da</i> [?]	Froman et al. (2002: 504)
Seneca	<i>kanata</i> [?]	Chafe (2012: 31)
Tuscarora	<i>kata’na</i> ³	Rudes (1999: 430)
St. Lawrence Iroquoian	<i>Canada</i>	(The St. Lawrence Iroquoian cognate was ‘Canada’, later the country name.)

The language called Wendat here had in the first half of the seventeenth century several dialects, at least four. In *Words of the Huron* (Steckley 2007b: 35–45), the four are labelled: Rock, Southern Bear, Northern Bear and Petun (*Ekyqñqtate-runq* – ‘People of where there is a Mountain’). The Rock was a nation within the Huron-Wendat alliance or confederacy that lived to the east of the others. Their dialect seems to have become standard Wendat in the writing of the Jesuits by the eighteenth century. By contrast, the dialects of Northern and Southern Bear, living farther to the west, died out in Jesuit writing during the seventeenth century. The Petun lived the farthest west and were politically independent of the Huron-Wendat alliance. In 1649–1650, all of these populations were driven out of their homeland (in what is now the province of Ontario), which started a diaspora that lasts until today. The Petun (and other refugees that joined them) became known as the Wyandot, and they have communities today in the states of Michigan, Kansas and Oklahoma. Meanwhile, the remaining Huron-Wendat, who are still known by this name today, went east to Wendake near what is now the city of Quebec.

The Petun dialect shared four characteristic phonetic features with Northern and Southern Bear, as is unsurprising given their relative geographical

2 The -y- here was represented by the Jesuit linguists with a *ç*-, the *iota subscriptum*, and the noun final glottal stop -ʔ- they did not record.

3 The Tuscarora lived apart from the other five nations of the confederacy, joining them in the first part of the eighteenth century. They were invited to ‘join the house’ at that time.

proximity. In diaspora times, these four features (among others) came to distinguish Wyandot from Wendat (see also chapter 6).

Four contrasting dialect features

Wendat		Wyandot		Translation
Feature	Example	Feature	Example	
-tyV- (-V = vowel)	<i>atyēs</i>	-kyV-	<i>akyeēs</i>	She often abandons, quits.
-ndy-	<i>andyā</i> ⁴	-ngy-	<i>angya</i>	finger
-nnr-	<i>sennren</i> ⁵	-ndr-	<i>sendren</i>	Tie it up.
-š-	<i>aša</i> ⁶	-šr-	<i>ašra</i> ⁷	axe

The Wyandot that is found in Potier's grammar he learned beginning in September of 1744, when he went to work and live with the Wyandot of the Detroit area in Michigan, after having first spent eight months at the Lorette mission near Quebec.

The primacy of the verb in Wendat

Languages can be constructed mainly on syntax (word order), typically accompanied by relatively many words in a sentence. Many languages in the Indo-European family, especially English, are built on such a model. Other languages can be constructed mainly on morphology (word structure), typically accompanied by relatively many building blocks called morphemes combined into a single word. Such a language is Wendat, as are the other members of the Iroquoian family and a good number of other Indigenous languages of North America as well (e.g., the Algonquian family, the one with the largest number of member languages).

The main player in the language, and in the morphology game, is the verb. An overwhelming majority of the words in the language are verbs, and they carry within them by far the greater part of the grammatical work. Consequently, most of Wendat grammar (as reflected by Potier's work) entails the

4 For both examples see Fraser (1920: 449), written with *-di-* and *-gi-*.

5 Fraser (1920: 314).

6 For both examples see Fraser (1920: 445), written with *-ch-* instead of *-š-*.

morphology or structure of the verb. The verb can be broken up into nine different meaning-bearing structural positions (called slots), which have a fixed order and most (but not all) of which can only be filled by one morpheme at a time. For phonetic purposes, a joiner vowel sometimes is inserted between elements. It is mandatory that verbs have at least the following three elements (morphemes): pronominal prefix, verb root, aspect suffix.

The nine positions or slots can be visualized as follows (the three obligatory ones are put in bold):

Prefixes			Roots		Suffixes			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
pre-pro-nominal	pro-nouns	voice	noun	verb	root suffix	aspect	aspect suffix	clitics

These slots and the elements that can fill them will be presented one by one, from left to right. From time to time, some remarks are given about how these categories are presented by Potier, a topic that is treated somewhat more systematically in chapter 5.⁷

Slot 1: Pre-pronominal prefixes

These prefixes are called pre-pronominal for the simple reason that they precede the pronominal prefixes of slot 2. Of the pre-pronominal prefixes of Wendat, three stand apart in that they are concerned with the expression of grammatical modality: these are called the modal prefixes. They will be treated separately later on. First, the following subsection will offer an enumeration of those pre-pronominal prefixes that are not of a modal nature. In contrast to what is true of most other slots, this slot can be occupied by more than one morpheme at a time.

7 In this chapter, references to the text of the *Elementa* (which otherwise would have rapidly crowded the page and would moreover have had limited value) have been systematically omitted.

Non-modal pre-pronominal prefixes

The following non-modal pre-pronominal prefixes will be treated here: partitive, translocative, subjunctive, cislocative, negative, dualic and repetitive.

Partitive: *-i-*

The partitive is represented by an *-i-* at the beginning of a word, and it generally has the meaning ‘such’, referring to a particular quantity or other physical characteristic. It first shows up in Potier’s grammar as *i adjectitium seu euphonicum* (p. 2). He writes of this ‘additive or euphonic *i*’ as having no meaning, being there basically for reasons of sound. In certain contexts, its presence or absence depends on the sound situation. In particular, this happens with short verbs, such as in the following one presented by Potier as an example of *i adjectitium*:

<i>i₁erhe</i>	I wish, think. (Fraser 1920: 383)
--------------------------	-----------------------------------

<i>i-</i>		prosthetic vowel
<i>-₁</i>	first person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-erh-</i>	wish, think	verb root
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

If the pronominal prefix of the first person singular agent (*-₁*) in the verb form above were to be replaced by a more phonologically substantial one, the *-i-* would not appear.

In other examples of the *i adjectitium*, however, we in fact encounter the partitive:

<i>ndak iskaatare</i>	Four (bodies) are added.
-----------------------	--------------------------

<i>ndak</i>	four	
<i>i-</i>	partitive – such	non-modal
<i>-s-</i>	repetitive – again	non-modal
<i>-ka-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-at-</i>	body	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-re</i>	add to + stative	verb root + aspect

Translocative: *-e-* or *-a-*

The translocative is about moving away from a location, meaning ‘going’, ‘away’ or ‘there’. In Potier’s grammar, its use is presented most clearly in the section on the *Verbum Môtûs* (p. 27). What Potier does here is take the verb root *-itenr-* ‘have compassion, pity’. He then adds the dislocative (going somewhere) root suffix and shows contrasts between ‘coming’ somewhere and ‘going’. The word refers to ‘coming’ (*viens*) without the translocative. With the translocative added we have ‘going away’ (*vais*):

Without the translocative		With the translocative <i>-a-</i>	
<i>itenrande</i>	je viens avoir pitie I come having pity	<i>a_iitenrande</i>	je vais avoir pitie I go having pity
<i>itenrandes</i>	je viens ordinairement avoir pitie I come ordinarily having pity	<i>a_iitenrandes</i>	je vais ordinairement avoir pitie I go ordinarily having pity
<i>itenrandenn</i>	je venois avoir pitie I came having pity	<i>a_iitenrandenn</i>	j’allois avoir & I went having pity
<i>itenrandesk8a</i>	Je venois ordinaire- ment & I came ordinarily having pity	<i>a_iitenrandesk8a</i>	j’allois ordin: & I went ordinarily having pity

Although the prefix here looks like the factual (which Potier calls ‘aorist’), it is not. In some instances elsewhere in the grammar, in fact, Potier succumbs to just this kind of confusion and erroneously calls forms involving the translocative ‘aorist’.

Subjunctive: *-t(e)-*

The subjunctive puts the verb into a hypothetical situation and is usually translated with ‘if’ and the conditional mood. Generally, Wendat uses parts of verbs to take the place of conjunctions in English and French. Potier describes the subjunctive as being represented by either a *-te-* or a *-de-*. All the examples he presents, however, use *-te-*. Let us analyse the sentence *a_eeθet, te 8annenhaen* ‘I would grind if I had corn’:

<i>aεθet</i>	I would grind.
--------------	----------------

<i>a-</i>	optative	modal
<i>-ε-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-θe-</i>	pound	verb root
<i>-t</i>	causative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

<i>teθannenhaen</i>	if I had corn
---------------------	---------------

<i>teθ-</i>	subjunctive	non-modal
<i>-a-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnenh-</i>	corn	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-en</i>	have + stative	verb root + aspect

Another example: *aiaεbarihθanderaj*, *te aεendakθandet* ‘we would sin, if we had sex’.

<i>aiaεbarihθanderaj</i>	We would be making mistakes in matters.
--------------------------	---

<i>ai-</i>	optative – would	modal
<i>-aεa-</i>	1st person excl. pl. agent – we	pronominal prefix
<i>-rihθ-</i>	matter, affair	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-nderaj</i>	make a mistake + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>te aεendakθandet</i>	if we engaged in sex
-------------------------	----------------------

<i>te-</i>	subjunctive – if	non-modal
<i>-aε-</i>	1st person excl. pl. agent – we	pronominal prefix
<i>-e-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-ndakθ-</i>	sex, marriage	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-ndet</i>	envelope + stative	verb root + aspect

Cislocative: **-(e)ti-** or **-a-**

The cislocative typically refers to a particular location in time or space. When the verb is one of motion, it implies moving or coming towards the speaker at a specific location. Potier engages in a lengthy description of the phenomenon (p. 24–25), referring to it with the term *localitas*. It has the meaning of ‘here’ or ‘where’. To provide what he called the infinitive, there is the ungrammatical *ontakaraskðan*, exhibiting the factual and the stative at the same time. This form was created by the Jesuits. The base form for the cislocative in Wendat is *-et(i)-*, with different forms coming from the phonetic interaction with the pronominal prefixes. These examples are from an *a*-conjugation verb.

<i>etiskðaraskðas</i>	You (pl.) often leave from here.
-----------------------	----------------------------------

<i>eti-</i>	cislocative – here	non-modal
<i>-skð-</i>	2nd person plural agent – you	pronominal prefix
<i>-araskða-</i>	leave	verb root
<i>-s</i>	habitual	aspect

<i>ekaraskðas</i>	I often leave from here.
-------------------	--------------------------

<i>e-</i>	cislocative – here	non-modal
<i>-k-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-araskða-</i>	leave	verb root
<i>-s</i>	habitual	aspect

With the factual and the optative, the cislocative is *-t-* surrounded by two factual or optative morphemes, the first with *-on-* and the second just *-a-*.

<i>ontakaraskða</i>	I left from here.
---------------------	-------------------

<i>on-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-t-</i>	cislocative – here	non-modal
<i>-a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-ɔ-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-araskða</i>	leave + punctual	verb root + aspect

Negative: -t(e)-

The negative prefix has the obvious meaning of negation. Usually it is found after the independent word *stan*. It occurs most often with the future prefix and the dislocative and purposive suffixes (see below) to give a sense of negative intention or prediction of the future.

Potier discusses the negative in the grammar in terms of the ‘future negative’. The negative prefix is separated from the word it affects, and it is attached to the negative particle *stan*. This is not a sure sign that it is in fact part of another word, as the same happens with the very similar dualic (which will be discussed next).

It is strange that Potier never mentions the negative with regard to the habitual and the stative, nor with a non-future punctual. But such forms do exist in the language:

<i>teḡenk</i>	I do not often see. (Fraser 1920: 243)
---------------	--

<i>te-</i>	negative – not	non-modal
<i>-e-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-en-</i>	see	verb root
<i>-k</i>	habitual	aspect

<i>stante innonhḡe...</i>	I do not like it. (Fraser 1920: 310)
---------------------------	--------------------------------------

<i>stan</i>	not	separate word
<i>te-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnonhḡe</i>	like, love + stative	verb root + aspect

<i>t'aontatennonstasen</i>	They would not guard each other. (Fraser 1920: 617)
----------------------------	---

<i>t-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-a-</i>	optative	modal
<i>-on-</i>	indefinite agent	pronominal prefix
<i>-tate-</i>	reflexive	voice
<i>-nnonsta-</i>	keep or guard	verb root
<i>-sen</i>	dative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

As the example below illustrates, it is possible to combine multiple morphemes of slot 1 in a single verb form:

<i>tatechiatatiande</i>	if you will not talk
-------------------------	----------------------

<i>ta-</i>	subjunctive – if	non-modal
<i>-t-</i>	negative – not	non-modal
<i>-e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-chi-</i>	2nd person singular – you	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-and-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

Dualic: *-t(e)-*

The dualic refers either to a concrete twoness – e.g., something done with two eyes (looking, staring) or two legs (running, jumping) – or to a more abstract twoness with negative implications of conflict, danger, uncertainty or emotional disturbance.

Potier presents the dualic *-t(e)-*, which he terms *dualitas*, both alone (p. 26), in combination with the repetitive (*reduplicatio cum te dualitatis*, p. 27) and in combination with the cislocative (*exemplar verbi reduplicativam et locativam simul particulas assumentis*, p. 25). Potier describes this latter combination as combining the cislocative (*particula locativa*) with the repetitive (*particula reduplicativa*) rather than the dualic, presumably because this specific use of the dualic can be translated in the same way as the repetitive.

The example verb root he gives for the dualic (by itself) is *-asenχθ-* ‘cry out’ (see also Fraser 1920: 176):

<i>te₁asenχθas</i>	I often cry out.
-------------------------------	------------------

<i>te-</i>	dualic	non-modal
<i>-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-asenχθ-</i>	cry out	verb root
<i>-as</i>	habitual	aspect

While he goes into great detail as to what forms the dualic takes alone and when in combination with sounds that follow, he and the Jesuits before him spend little or no time in describing in what Wendat semantic groups of situ-

ations it is used. The example given shares the dualic and the situation of ‘loud disturbing noises’ with the verb root *-astraða-* ‘yawn’ (Fraser 1920: 179), *-atsonst-* ‘sneeze’ (Fraser 1920: 206), *-henre-* ‘call out’ (Fraser 1920: 259) and *-ndiawa-* ‘vomit’ (Fraser 1920: 289).

Other such groups include some actions done with two eyes: *-annra-* ‘look at’ (Fraser 1920: 235),⁸ verbs that incorporate *-ak-* ‘whites of the eyes’ (Fraser 1920: 446) or *-ar-* ‘eyes’ (Fraser 1920: 446) such as *-akaken-* ‘open one’s eyes’ (Fraser 1920: 164), *-akaringen-* ‘give a look of anger’ (Fraser 1920: 165)⁹ and *-akarandit-* ‘stare at’ (Fraser 1920: 165).¹⁰ Some verbs that involve two legs or feet also form a dualic group: *-aratat-* ‘run’ (Fraser 1920: 171), *-arate-* ‘go on snowshoes’ (Fraser 1920: 172), *-atsindet-* ‘skate’ (Fraser 1920: 205), *-atsingenron-* ‘bend on knee’ (Fraser 1920: 205), *-atsirhon-* ‘walk on four limbs’ (Fraser 1920: 205), *-atsisten-* ‘have swollen legs’ (Fraser 1920: 205) and *-t-* ‘stand’ (Fraser 1920: 356). There are more such groups (Steckley 2007b: 15–21).

Repetitive: **-(e)(t)s(i)-**

The repetitive typically adds the meaning of ‘again’ or ‘returning to a state’ to a verb. With the negative prefix it gives the meaning of ‘no longer’. It is also used with reference to oneness, either concrete (i.e. with the verb root *-t-*, signifying ‘to be one’) or through a more abstract Wendat notion of returning to the oneness of peace, health, freedom or generally any kind of balance. The base form is *-s-*, which Potier presents in the grammar, calling it *reduplicatio*.

<i>skatatiak</i>	I talk again.	
<i>s-</i>	repetitive – again	non-modal
<i>-k¹¹-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-ak</i>	habitual	aspect

Potier’s focus is much more on the pronunciation than what may be called the abstract thinking of the Wendat of this prefix in the grammar. For instance, he

8 Strangely, this does not include *-en-* ‘see’ (Fraser 1920: 243).

9 This literally means ‘to have one’s eyes go out’.

10 This literally means ‘to strengthen one’s eyes’.

11 One of the sound rules in the language is that a *-y-* after an *-s-* becomes a *-k-*.

at no point makes explicit that the repetitive can take the sense ‘very’, even though he mentions forms that use it in this way, e.g. the following:

<i>ishaatachien</i>	He is a miserable, deformed man.
---------------------	----------------------------------

<i>i-</i>	partitive	non-modal
<i>-s-</i>	repetitive – very	non-modal
<i>-ha-</i>	masculine singular agent – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-at-</i>	body	noun root
<i>-chien</i>	be bad + stative	verb root + aspect

This lack of presenting a general more abstract meaning for a non-modal pre-pronominal prefix is similar to the situation with the dualic.

Modal pre-pronominal prefixes

Modal is a linguistic term used to refer to indicators of intention, prediction and opinion of truth value of a statement. In English modals are the auxiliary verbs *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will* and *would*. In Wendat there are three pre-pronominal prefixes that are modals: **future** (*shall*, *will*), **factual** (relative certainty concerning that which recently happened and will soon happen) and **optative** (*could*, *should* and *would*). They all typically take the punctual aspect. The future and the factual can take the purposive as well, but less often.

The three modals were referred to by the Jesuits as *futurum*, *auristus* and *modus potentialis*, respectively. The future is presented in four different forms. The most common is the *futurum affirmativum*, which takes the punctual aspect.

Future: *-e-*

<i>e_ataitia</i>	I will talk.
------------------	--------------

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-c-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-a</i>	punctual	aspect

Additionally, Potier names two different forms of *futurum continuationis*. The first involves the habitual aspect followed by the punctual aspect. It is encountered rarely in the dictionary:

<i>e₁a[atiahaj]</i>	I will continue to talk regularly.
--------------------------------	------------------------------------

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-ha-</i>	habitual	aspect
<i>-j</i>	punctual	aspect

The next form, which appears much more often, has the dislocative root suffix and the purposive aspect.

<i>e₁a[atatiande]</i>	I am going to continue talking.
----------------------------------	---------------------------------

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-and-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

The fourth example of the use of the future prefix is the *futurum negativum*, which adds the negative pre-pronominal prefix to the last-mentioned combination. The Jesuits separated this prefix from the verb, and often added it to the end of the negative particle *stan* ‘not’, writing, for instance *stant₁e[atatiande]* rather than *stant₁a[atatiande]*.

<i>t₁e[atatiande]</i>	I will not talk. (prediction or intention)
----------------------------------	--

<i>t-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-and-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

The fifth is what is called the *futurum praeterito mixtum*, another form that is rarely found in the dictionary. It involves the stative aspect followed by the punctual.

<i>eḡatatik</i>	I will have talked.
-----------------	---------------------

<i>eḡ-</i>	future	modal
<i>-a-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-i-</i>	stative	aspect
<i>-k</i>	punctual	aspect

The sixth, which involves the negative prefix, the purposive aspect and the past aspect suffix, is labelled by Potier not as *futurum*, but as the *praesens et imperfectum negativum* of the *modus potentialis* (though its similarity with the *futurum negativum* is remarked upon).

<i>teḡatatiandenn</i>	I would not have talked.
-----------------------	--------------------------

<i>t-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-and-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e-</i>	purposive	aspect
<i>-nn</i>	past	aspect suffix

Factual: -a(ḡ)-

The factual is used to refer to the recent and knowable past with the punctual and an immediate future when used with the purposive ('at the point of'). The Jesuits used the term *auristus* to refer to it. This is a linguistic term taken from the study of Classical Greek, which the Jesuits were well-versed in, it being part of their training. The term was used with a simple or undefined situation.

There are two formats in which it is found in Potier's writing. One is called *auristus primus* 'first aorist'. It is the usual form in which the factual appears. It takes the punctual aspect:

<i>q̣atatia</i>	I am going to talk. I have just talked. ¹²	
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<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>̣-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-a</i>	punctual	aspect

Potier also presents an *aoristus secundus* ‘second aorist’, a combination of the factual, the undoer and the punctual.

<i>q̣atatiaska</i>	I am about to talk. I almost talked. ¹³	
--------------------	--	--

<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>̣-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-sk-</i>	undoer	root suffix
<i>-a</i>	punctual	aspect

Optative: *-a-*, *-aδ-*, *-ai-*, *-ae-*

In its basic and most common form, appearing just with the punctual aspect, the optative – named by the Jesuit linguists the *modus potentialis* – is presented as follows:

<i>âatatia</i>	I would, should talk. ¹⁴	
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<i>â¹⁵-</i>	optative	modal
<i>̣-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-a</i>	punctual	aspect

This basic form, called *praesens et imperfectum affirmativum*, is not the only optative form to be found. There is also the *aliud praesens et imperfectum negativum* of the *modus potentialis* (to be contrasted with the *praesens et imper-*

12 ... *je vais parler ... voila q[u]e parle ... je viens de parler ... je parles.*

13 *j'ai pensé parler ... peu s'en est fallus q[u]e je n'ai parle ... j'ai presq[ue] parlé.*

14 *q[u]e je parle ... a[fin]q[ue] je parle ... il faut que je parle ... je parlerois ... je devrois parler.*

15 This symbol refers to a long *-a-*.

fectum negativum mentioned above with regard to the future prefix), which involves the negative non-modal pre-pronominal prefix and the habitual plus the punctual aspect.

<i>t'â_çatatiaska</i>	I should not have been talking. ¹⁶
---------------------------------	---

<i>t'</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-â-</i>	optative	modal
<i>-ç-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-ias-</i>	habitual	aspect
<i>-ka</i>	punctual	aspect

Another form given with the optative is referred to by Potier as the *praeteritum perfectum* of the *modus potentialis*. It has the stative aspect followed by the punctual.

<i>aon_çatitik</i>	I would have talked.
------------------------------	----------------------

<i>a-</i>	optative	modal
<i>-on_ç-¹⁷</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-i-</i>	stative	aspect
<i>-k</i>	punctual	aspect

The combination that Potier calls the *plusquam perfectum* involves the optative, the stative and the past aspect suffix:

<i>aon_çatinnen</i>	I had talked.
-------------------------------	---------------

<i>a-</i>	optative	modal
<i>on_ç-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-i-</i>	stative	aspect
<i>-nnen</i>	past	aspect suffix

16 *j'ai bien affaire de parler ... pourquoi parlerois-je?*

17 The length of the optative has influenced this pronominal prefix form to have *-on-* rather than just *-a-*.

A single example using the progressive root suffix with the habitual appears for the *modus potentialis continuativus*:

<i>aon̄atatihatieska</i>	I would continue to talk.
--------------------------	---------------------------

<i>a-</i>	optative	modal
<i>-on̄-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-i-</i>	stative	aspect
<i>-hatie</i> ¹⁸	progressive	root suffix
<i>-s-</i>	habitual	aspect
<i>-ka</i>	punctual	aspect

Imperatives

Imperatives involve telling people to do something. Imperatives in Wendat/Wyandot add two elements to a verb: a pre-pronominal prefix which alters 2nd person agent forms and an aspect suffix which is identical with the punctual suffix. The four most common forms (as they appear with consonant conjugation roots) are:

Prefix form

<i>sa-</i>	said to one person (with the 2nd person singular agent)
<i>tsi-</i>	said to more than one person (with the 2nd person plural agent)
<i>ti-</i>	Let's (said to one person; with the 1st person dual inclusive agent)
<i>kwa-</i>	Let's (said to more than one person; with the 1st person plural inclusive agent)

<i>sannrawa</i>	Dance! (said to one person)
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<i>sa-</i>	imp. + 2nd person singular agent – you	imperative + pronom. prefix
<i>-nnrawa</i>	dance + imperative	verb root + aspect

18 The *-e-* here might indicate the presence of the purposive aspect.

<i>tsinnrawa</i>	Dance! (said to more than one person)	
<i>tsi-</i>	imp. + 2nd person plural agent – you (pl.)	imperative + pronom. prefix
<i>-nnrawa</i>	dance + imperative	verb root + aspect
<i>tinnrawa</i>	Let's dance. (you and I)	
<i>ti-</i>	imp. + 1st person inclusive dual agent – we two	imperative + pronom. prefix
<i>-nnrawa</i>	dance + imperative	verb root + aspect
<i>kwannrawa</i>	Let's dance. (talking to a group)	
<i>kwa-</i>	imp. + 1st person inclusive plur. agent – we	imperative + pronom. prefix
<i>-nnrawa</i>	dance + imperative	verb root + aspect

Slot 2: Pronominal prefixes in Wendat

Pronominal prefixes are the most complicated part of the morphology of the Wendat verb. The unpublished booklet ('Pronominal Prefixes in Wyandot') I created for a discussion of pronominal prefixes in the Wyandot language is 70 pages. Potier goes into some detail in his presentation of the pronominal prefixes in Wendat. He does not explain so much as present examples. This is in part because he and his predecessors lacked a modern linguistic terminology. Careful analysis of what he presents can lead to more complete explanation.

Agent and patient

There are two grammatical players in the pronominal prefixes. The agent is the one most commonly found. When it occurs in a verb form, it always plays the part of the subject. Sometimes it stands alone, and sometimes it is used in combination with a patient, which then always serves as the object. When the patient occurs without the agent, it is the subject, which usually happens whenever a verb takes the stative aspect. There are a few things to keep in mind: (1) the patient is not always a patient in the sense most linguists would expect

but more like a non-agent; (2) when the agent and the patient occur together (semantically), this does not mean that both are expressed separately (morphologically).

Here are some examples, using the verb root *-hiaton-* ‘mark, write’.

Agent alone as subject

<i>ʔhiatonk</i>	She often writes, is a writer.
-----------------	--------------------------------

<i>ʔa-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – she	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-k</i>	habitual	aspect

Patient alone as subject

<i>ohiaton</i>	She is writing, has written.
----------------	------------------------------

<i>o-</i>	fem.-zoic singular patient – she	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton</i>	mark, write + stative	verb root + aspect

Agent subject and patient object

<i>hohiatondi</i>	She is writing to him.
-------------------	------------------------

<i>ho-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – she + masculine singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-d-</i>	dative	root suffix
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect

Clusivity

With the first person dual and plural agents, there is clusivity – a feature common among North American Indigenous languages but not found in most European languages. It distinguishes between the inclusive ‘we’, which in-

cludes the listener or listeners, and the exclusive ‘we’, which excludes the listener or listeners. The exclusive is always presented first in Potier’s lists.

Exclusive: **-a_i-**

<i>ea_iateβa</i>	We two (excluding the listener) will flee.	
----------------------------	--	--

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-a_i-</i>	1st person excl. dual agent – we 2	pronominal prefix
<i>-ate-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-βa</i>	take + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>eaβateβa</i>	We (more than two, excluding the listeners) will flee.	
-----------------	--	--

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-aβ-</i>	1st person exclusive pl. agent – we	pronominal prefix
<i>-ate-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-βa-</i>	take + punctual	verb root + aspect

Inclusive: **-t- and -k-**

<i>etiateβa</i>	We two (including the listener) will flee.	
-----------------	--	--

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-ti-</i>	1st person incl. dual agent – we 2	pronominal prefix
<i>-ate-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-βa</i>	take + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>ekβateβa</i>	We (including two or more listeners) will flee.	
-----------------	---	--

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-kβ-</i>	1st person incl. pl. agent – we (> 2)	pronominal prefix
<i>-ate-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-βa</i>	take + punctual	verb root + aspect

Number

Wyandot has a three-part distinction of singular, dual and plural. The distinction between dual (two) and plural (more than two) exists mainly with the agent. With the patient it only exists with the first and second person. The dual is often but not always marked with an *-i-*, the plural with a *-8-*, as with the examples just presented.

Gender

There are three grammatical genders: masculine, feminine-zoic (zoic meaning ‘it’) and indefinite (‘somebody’, ‘they’). This is unusual in the Indigenous languages of North America. Most do not distinguish in pronominal forms between the masculine and the feminine.

Masculine

The masculine form is usually marked by the presence of an *-h-*. The masculine plural forms can refer to groups that are all male, or are mixed male and female.

<i>hahiatonk</i>	He often writes, is a writer.
-------------------------	-------------------------------

<i>ha-</i>	masculine singular agent – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-k</i>	habitual	aspect

<i>hathiatonk</i>	They (m.) write, are writers.
--------------------------	-------------------------------

<i>hati-</i>	masc./mixed plural agent – they	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-k</i>	habitual	aspect

The masculine plural generally can refer to a group that is all male, or a group including males and females. Tribal names often use the masculine plural:

hotinnonchondi	They (m) build a house ('Iroquois' or 'Haudenosaunee').
-----------------------	---

<i>hoti</i>	masculine/mixed pl. patient – they	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnonchi</i>	house	noun root
<i>-ondi</i>	build, make + stative	verb root + aspect

Feminine-zoic

The feminine-zoic is often marked by a *-* (-y). The term 'zoic' indicates that the pronominal prefix can refer not just to female humans, but to animals, and generally to anything referred to by the English pronoun 'it'.

ḡanniennon	It barks many times, is a dog.
-------------------	--------------------------------

<i>ḡa-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnien-</i>	bark	verb root
<i>-non</i>	distributive – many times + stative	root suffix + aspect

ḡandataḡaon	It is an old village, community.
--------------------	----------------------------------

<i>ḡa-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-ndat-</i>	village	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-ḡaon</i>	be old + stative	verb root + aspect

Indefinite

The indefinite can be translated with a singular – 'one', 'someone' – or a plural – 'they, them, people' (with no gender reference). The sounds *-e-* and *-ayo-* are often associated with it.

etiesanont	They will give you.
-------------------	---------------------

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-ti-</i>	dualic	non-modal
<i>-esa-</i>	indefinite. agent – they + 2nd pers.	pronominal prefix
	singular patient – you	
<i>-nont</i>	give + punctual	aspect

<i>ehiatonk</i>	One often writes; people often write.
-----------------	---------------------------------------

<i>e-</i>	indefinite agent – they	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-k</i>	habitual	aspect

<i>esa^oio</i>	He will kill them, people.
--------------------------	----------------------------

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-sa^o-</i>	masc. singular agent – he + indefinite patient – them	pronominal prefix
<i>-io-</i>	kill + punctual	verb root + aspect

Conjugations

General overview

Wendat has five conjugations based on the forms taken by the pronominal prefixes. The most common is the consonant conjugation. This name is a bit misleading. Not every root with this conjugation begins with a consonant. Many begin with *-e-*. The other four conjugations are *a*-conjugation (with roots beginning with *a-*), *e*-conjugation (with roots beginning with *e-*), *yen-/i-*conjugation (with roots beginning with either of those two sounds) and *o*-conjugation (with roots beginning with *-o-*). The **bolded** sounds are the initial ones of the roots. The order in which the conjugations are presented was established by the Jesuits and also found in Potier.

A-CONJUGATION

<i>ahaha^e</i>	on the path
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<i>ahah-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it + path	pronom. prefix + noun root
<i>-a-</i>		noun suffix
<i>-^ˀe</i>	external locative – at, on	clitic

CONSONANT CONJUGATION

<i>ahar_oon</i>	It is inside the woods.
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<i>a-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-har-</i>	woods, forest	noun root
<i>-a_oon</i>	be inside + stative	verb root + aspect

E-CONJUGATION

<i>enonk_oat</i>	It is medicine.
----------------------------	-----------------

<i>enonk_oat</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it + be medicine + stative	pronominal prefix + verb root + aspect
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en-/i-CONJUGATION

<i>entson</i>	It is a fish.
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<i>entson</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it be a fish + stative	pronominal prefix verb root + aspect
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<i>a_iren</i>	I have drunk.
-------------------------	---------------

<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-ir-</i>	1st person singular agent – I drink	pronominal prefix + verb root
<i>-en</i>	punctual	aspect

O-CONJUGATION

<i>ontario</i>	It is a large lake.
----------------	---------------------

<i>ontar-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it lake	pronominal prefix + noun root
<i>-io</i>	be large, great + stative	verb root + aspect

Order of the parts of the pronominal prefix

It would be helpful for the language learner if in those forms where agent and patient are combined, their order were fixed (e.g., if the agent always came before the patient). But such is not the case. Gender is significant concerning what comes first. Unfortunately, this was not discussed by Potier or his predecessors.

The masculine almost always comes first

The masculine form almost always comes first, regardless of whether it is agent or patient. This is usually *-h-*, but it is *-s-* before the first person dual or plural with the indefinite. In the following examples of prefixes that contain an agent and a patient at the same time, the masculine form is **bolded**. After the overview, an example of each of the prefixes is given.

<u>Form</u>	<u>Agent</u>	<u>Patient</u>
-h(e)-	first person singular	masculine singular
-ha₁(e)	first person singular	masculine plural
-hek₁a-	first person inclusive plural	masculine singular
-haek₁a-	first person inclusive plural	masculine plural
-hechie-	second person singular	masculine singular
-hachie-	second person singular	masculine plural
-hesk₁a-	second person plural	masculine singular
-haesk₁a-	second person plural	masculine plural
-ho-	fem.-zoic singular	masculine singular
-ha₁on-	fem.-zoic singular	masculine plural
-se¹⁹-	indefinite agent	masculine singular
-hae	indefinite agent	masculine plural

19 This is with the consonant conjugation. Other conjugations have other forms, all beginning with *s-*.

hereḡa'ti	I reprimanded, scolded, opposed him. [consonant conjugation]	
<i>he-</i>	1st person singular agent – I + masculine singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-rewḡa't-</i>	reprimand, scold, oppose	verb root
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect
hayereḡa'ti	I reprimanded, scolded them (m/m) [consonant conjugation]	
<i>haye-</i>	1st person singular agent – I + masculine plural patient – them	pronominal prefix
<i>-reḡa't-</i>	reprimand, scold, oppose	verb root
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect
hekḡaḡannen	He is large to us; he is our chief. [consonant conjugation]	
<i>hekḡa-</i>	1st person inclusive plural agent – we + masculine singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-ḡannen</i>	be large + stative	verb root + aspect
ahaekḡannontra	We put them inside, buried them. [consonant conjugation]	
<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-haekḡa-</i>	1st person inclusive plural agent – we + masculine plural patient – them	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnont-</i>	be inside	verb root
<i>-ra-</i>	transitional + punctual	root suffix + aspect
hechiakarat	You (singular) will take care of him. [a-conjugation]	
<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-hechi-</i>	2nd person singular – you + masculine singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-akarat</i>	take care of + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>heskθannont</i>	You (plural) will give to him. [consonant conjugation]	
---------------------------	--	--

<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-heskθa-</i>	2nd person plural agent – you (pl.) + masculine singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnont</i>	give + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>haeskθachiendaen</i>	You (pl.) are honouring their names. [consonant conjugation]	
--------------------------------	--	--

<i>haeskθa-</i>	2nd person plural agent – you (pl.) + masculine plural patient – them (m.)	pronominal prefix
<i>-chiend-</i>	body	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-en-</i>	put + stative	verb root + aspect

<i>aho_̣en</i>	She saw him. [consonant conjugation]	
---------------------------------	--------------------------------------	--

<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-ho-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – she + masc. singular patient – him	pronominal prefix
<i>-_̣en</i>	see + punctual	verb root + aspect

<i>ha_̣onenq</i>	She has them (m) as children, her sons. [consonant conjugation]	
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<i>ha_̣on-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – she + masc. plural patient – them (m.)	pronominal prefix
<i>-en-</i>	have as child + stative	verb root + aspect
<i>-a</i>	diminutive	aspect suffix

Sometimes the fem.-zoic patient comes first

The fem.-zoic form comes first when it is the plural patient, and the agent is first or second person. The form representing the fem.-zoic plural patient uses *-a-*.

Form	Agent	Patient
<i>ᵃ(e)-</i>	1st person singular	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢ⁻²⁰</i>	1st person dual exclusive	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢᵃ⁻²¹</i>	1st person plural exclusive	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢ-</i>	1st person dual inclusive	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃ-</i>	1st person plural inclusive	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵢᵃ(e)-</i>	2nd person singular	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃ(i)-</i>	2nd person dual	fem.-zoic plural
<i>ᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃᵢᵃ(a)</i>	2nd second person plural	fem.-zoic plural

<i>tonsaᵃᵢtronᵃda</i>	I have not led, placed them back. [i-conjugation]
-----------------------	---

<i>t-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-on-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-s-</i>	repetitive – back	non-modal
<i>-a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-ᵃ-</i>	1st person singular agent – I + fem.-zoic plural patient – them (f.)	pronominal prefix
<i>-itron-</i>	be placed	verb root
<i>-ᵃ-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-a</i>	punctual	aspect

<i>eᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢnont</i>	We two (n) will give to them (f). [consonant conjugation]
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<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-ᵃᵃᵢᵃᵢ-</i>	1st person (n) dual agent – we 2 + fem.-zoic plural patient – them (f)	pronominal prefix
<i>-nont</i>	give + punctual	verb root + aspect

20 This is the form used with both the *a*-conjugation and the consonant conjugation.

21 This is the form used with both the *a*-conjugation and the *e*-conjugation.

<i>e₁aekθanont</i>	We (n) will give to them (f). [consonant conjugation]	
<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-aekθa-</i>	1st person inclusive plural agent – we + fem.-zoic plural patient – them (f)	pronominal prefix
<i>-nont</i>	give + punctual	verb root + aspect
<i>eskachiennionde</i>	You will take them (f) with you again. [consonant conjugation]	
<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-s-</i>	repetitive	non-modal
<i>-kahchie-</i>	2nd person singular agent – you + fem.-zoic pl. pat. – them (f)	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnon-</i>	take along	verb root
<i>-d-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect
<i>eskaetsinondeh</i>	You (dual) will take them (f) with you again. [consonant conj.]	
<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-s-</i>	repetitive – again	non-modal
<i>-kaetsi-</i>	2nd person dual agent – you two + fem.-zoic pl. patient – them (f.)	pronominal prefix
<i>-nyon-</i>	take along	verb root
<i>-d-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-eh</i>	purposive	aspect
<i>e₁aeskθario</i>	You (pl.) will kill them (f). [consonant conjugation]	
<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-aeskθa-</i>	2nd person pl. agent – you (pl.) + fem.-zoic pl. patient – them (f.)	pronominal prefix
<i>-rio</i>	kill + punctual	verb root + aspect

Slot 3: Voice

When linguists use the term ‘voice’, the usual reference is to the distinction between active, with the subject being the doer, and passive with the subject being the one to which the activity of the verb is done (‘patient’) – to be taken in the sense of the general linguist, not the Iroquoianist sense explained earlier. There is also the middle voice, which typically involves the subject as doer and receiver. The middle voice along with passive are two voices expressed with voice markers in Wendat/Wyandot, called the reflexive and semi-reflexive. The reflexive voice can have several functions: reflexive (which is the most common), passive and middle voice. The semi-reflexive voice tends to be passive. It also can represent the middle voice or relate to a common grouping.

Voice is discussed in Potier’s grammar extensively in *De verbo passivo* and *De verbo deponenti* for the semi-reflexive voice, and *De verbo reciproco* for the reflexive.

Reflexive: -atat-

Potier saw the reflexive as a way of expressing what would be nouns in French, the kind of nouns that are necessary for Christian discourse: love, honour, baptism, communion, confirmation, extreme unction, order and marriage. The constructions he presents might be a little artificial in the way that no plural pronominal prefix is used. Two examples are the following. They have no smooth translation; the translation given is the concept they were meant to represent for the missionaries rather than an accurate reflection of the Wendat.

<i>atatendak8aesti</i>	baptism
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<i>atate-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it + reflexive	pronominal prefix + voice
<i>-ndak8-</i>	water	noun root
<i>-ae-</i>	hit, strike	verb root
<i>-st-</i>	causative – instrumental	root suffix
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect

atataχaristiann[h]onχθi communion

<i>atat-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – it + reflexive	pronominal prefix + voice
<i>-aχaristi-</i>	eucharist ²²	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-nnhon(t)-</i>	have in mouth	verb root
<i>-χθ-</i>	instrumental (possibly transitional)	root suffix
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect

‘Normal’ Native use of this form, with a non-singular pronominal prefix, is the following:

a_iatatennonhonk We two are related to each other.

<i>a_i-</i>	1st person exclusive dual agent – we two	pronominal prefix
<i>-atate-</i>	reflexive	voice
<i>-nnnonhon-</i>	be related	verb root
<i>-k</i>	stative	aspect

The passive is structured like this:

hotanditenstandih He is pitiable.

<i>ho-</i>	masculine singular patient – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-tand-</i>	reciprocal	voice
<i>-iten-</i>	have compassion, pity	verb root
<i>-st-</i>	causative-instrumental	root suffix
<i>-ih</i>	stative	aspect

22 This is one of a very small number of French/Latin words borrowed into Wendat at that time.

Semi-reflexive: *-at-*

<i>atiarondi</i>	She made herself a bag. ²³
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<i>ati-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent – she + semi-reflexive	pronominal prefix + voice
<i>-ar-</i>	sack, bag	noun root
<i>-ondi</i>	make + stative	verb root + aspect

<i>otehiaton</i>	It is marked, written on.
------------------	---------------------------

<i>o-</i>	fem.-zoic singular patient – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-te-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-hiaton</i>	mark, write + stative	verb root + aspect

Slot 4: Noun roots

Noun stems are often added to verbs, always immediately before the verb roots. Nouns incorporated into verbs in this way occur much more frequently than they stand on their own. Most noun stems are simply noun roots. However, sometimes they are formed by adding a nominalizer or ‘nounmaker’ *-ch(r)-*, and rarely the instrumental root suffix *-kθ-*, to a verb root. Usually a joiner vowel *-a-* appears between the noun stem and the verb root. By far the most commonly found noun roots in Potier are *-at-* ‘body, living being’ and *-rihθ-* ‘matter (of importance), affair, news’.

Slot 5: Verb roots

The verb root, of course, is the heart of the Wendat verb. There are approximately one thousand different verb roots in the language, most of which can take more than one thousand forms. This tells us something about the productive capacity of Wendat verbs; they are capable, at least hypothetically, of producing over one million words. Consequently, these verb roots are also the

23 *Se faire un sac*. The Jesuits presented fem.-zoic agent forms with usually the stative aspect as a substitute for ‘infinitives’. This word would be translated by Wendat with the feminine – ‘she’.

most important lexical units of the language, and indeed they are the basis of Potier's main lexicographical work, the *Radices* ('Roots').

Slot 6: Root suffixes

One reason why each Wendat verb can generate so many words is that the root suffix position is very productive. There are twelve different root suffixes, most of which occur commonly. More than one root suffix can occur at a time – usually, however, only one appears.

Causative: **-(a)t-**

The causative root suffix is one of the most common of the root suffixes. It adds the meanings 'place', 'cause, make' or 'for some purpose'. Potier discusses and gives examples of this root suffix in several places.

<i>aet</i>	I am going to a place. ²⁴
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<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-i-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-e-</i>	go, come	verb root
<i>-t</i>	causative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

<i>echiastorati</i>	You will cause yourself to go fast (i.e. hurry). (Fraser 1920: 356)
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<i>e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-chi-</i>	2nd person singular agent – you	pronominal prefix
<i>-a-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-stor-</i>	be fast	verb root
<i>-at-</i>	causative	root suffix
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect

²⁴ *je vas, cum designator locus vg Teiotia, je vais a montreal*

<i>a₁qerat</i>	I used it for some purpose.	
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<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>i-</i>	1st person singular agent	pronominal prefix
<i>-er-</i>	do	verb root
<i>-at</i>	causative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

Causative-instrumental: *-st-*

The causative-instrumental and the causative share the meanings of ‘make’, or ‘cause’. For that reason, the two root suffixes never appear in the same verb at the same time. Some examples are found on pages 61 and 62 of the grammar. The following is one example:

<i>a₁endi₁onrato₁ens₁θa</i>	It is what causes me to know.	
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<i>a₁e-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-ndi₁onr-</i>	mind, thoughts	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-to₁en-</i>	know	verb root
<i>-st-</i>	causative-instrumental	root suffix
<i>-ha</i>	habitual	aspect

Dative

The dative root suffix adds the meaning of ‘pertaining to, for the advantage or disadvantage of someone’. Potier does not refer to it with a special name, but merely discusses the forms taken by the dative without summarising the common elements of meaning. An example:

<i>e₁onons</i>	I will arrive at your place.	
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<i>e-</i>	future	pre-pronominal prefix
<i>-on-</i>	1 singular agent + 2 singular patient	pronominal prefix
<i>-on-</i>	arrive	verb root
<i>-s</i>	dative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

Dislocative: **-(c)h-** or **-n(d)-**

The dislocative adds the meaning of motion or generally ‘going to’. Potier refers to it as *verbum motūs*.

<i>harask8ahe</i>	He goes walking.
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<i>h-</i>	masculine singular agent – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-arask8a-</i>	leave, walk	verb root
<i>-h-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

Distributive: **-(an/on)on-** or **-(ai)on-**

The distributive adds the meaning of ‘many times or places’ to the verb. Sometimes, a second distributive is added. It seems to reinforce the meaning, making it ‘very many,’ but the evidence is not clear in every case.

Potier labels it *verbum multiplicativum*. One example given by him shows that there are two degrees that can be illustrated:

<i>onnont8ton</i>	There are multiple mountains. ²⁵
<i>onnont8tonnion</i>	There are innumerable mountains. ²⁶

<i>o-</i>	fem.-zoic singular patient – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnont-</i>	hill, mountain	noun root
<i>-8t-</i>	stand	verb root
<i>-on</i>	distributive + stative	root suffix + aspect

Frequentative: **-skon-**

The (rather infrequent) frequentative means ‘frequently’. It only takes the stative aspect. Potier calls it *verbum frequentativum seu augmentativum*. This is one of the examples he gives:

²⁵ *il y a plusieurs montagnes ...*

²⁶ *il y a des mont:[agnes] sans nombres*

<i>hotendotonskon</i>	He tells stories frequently. ²⁷
-----------------------	--

<i>ho-</i>	masculine singular patient – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-te-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-ndoton-</i>	tell	verb root
<i>-skon-</i>	frequentative	root suffix
<i>-∅</i>	stative	aspect

Inchoative: [effect on slot 7]

The inchoative adds the meaning of ‘coming into being’ to a verb root. In the Jesuit Wendat dictionaries, we find it translated into French as *devenir*, *se trouver* etc. Typically, it does not so much take an independent form as it affects the aspect form that follows it in position seven. You usually detect its presence by the aspect form used (e.g., *-ha-* for punctual, *-ndi-* for stative). In the Jesuit writings it shares forms with the dative, so it is sometimes difficult to know which is being used when translating from Wendat into English. In the dictionary entries, Potier uses *inch*, short for inchoative, to mark inchoative verbs.

<i>ahaskoha</i>	He has sunk into the water, ice.
-----------------	----------------------------------

<i>a-</i>	factual	modal
<i>-ha-</i>	masculine singular agent – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-sk-</i>	body	noun root
<i>-o-</i>	be in water	verb root
<i>-ha</i>	inchoative + punctual	root suffix + aspect

27 *grand raconteur*

Instrumental: *-ak8-*

The instrumental is a root suffix that generally refers to something being an instrument for doing something or a place. The various meanings are discussed by Potier on pages 61–62. The following is an example regarding ‘place’:

<i>ondaonentak8i</i>	The place where the river is made to fall. ²⁸
----------------------	--

<i>o-</i>	fem.-zoic singular patient – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-ndao-</i>	river	noun root
<i>-nnen-</i>	fall	verb root
<i>-t-</i>	causative	root suffix
<i>-ak8-</i>	instrumental	root suffix
<i>-i</i>	stative	aspect

Progressive

The progressive gives the sense of ‘going about doing, or continuing’. Potier presents it as the *verbum motus et continuationis*. An example he gives is the following:

<i>hotrendaentatie</i>	He continues his prayer while walking.
------------------------	--

<i>ho-</i>	masculine singular patient – he	pronominal prefix
<i>-t-</i>	semi-reflexive	voice
<i>-rend-</i>	prayer, song	noun root
<i>-a-</i>		joiner vowel
<i>-en-</i>	put	verb root
<i>-t-</i>	stative ²⁹	aspect
<i>-ati-</i>	progressive	root suffix
<i>-e</i>	purposive	aspect

28 *ou la riviere descend*

29 The progressive is an unusual root suffix in that it always comes after the stative aspect and then has another aspect following it.

Transitional: **-(ra)(h)8/o(i)-**

The transitional makes the semantic content of the verb transitive, enabling it to take an object. One among the several forms taken by the transitional, *-(h)8i-*, is discussed by Potier under *De formatione relativorum* (p. 56). He excludes reference to the *-ra-* form.

Undoer: **-8a- and/or -ska-**

The undoer creates the opposite meaning from that of the verb root. Although many examples are presented in the dictionary (e.g. Fraser 1920: 331), it is not discussed in the grammar. It does, however, probably play a role in the ‘second aorist’ discussed under the factual prefix (slot 1).

Slot 7: Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical feature that differs from tense in that it deals not with the time something happened (i.e., past, present and future), but with what can be called temporal flow. Aspect typically involves contrasts such as completed (sometimes called perfective) versus incomplete (imperfective), single versus repeated action, and action versus state. Along with the pronominal prefixes and the verb roots, the aspects are necessary parts of virtually every Wendat verb. Usually there is only one aspect in a particular verb form, but, sometimes, there can be two (or even more rarely, three).

Habitual: **-ch- or -s- or -ha-**

The habitual aspect is generally used for repeated or continuing action. It can express the idea that some action or state is characteristic or typical. When occurring with other aspects, it goes after the stative and before the punctual.

<i>atatahak</i>	I used to talk.
-----------------	-----------------

ɔ	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
-atati-	talk	verb root
-ha-	habitual	aspect
-k	past	aspect suffix

<i>ɛhiatonhonk</i>	I used to write.
--------------------	------------------

<i>ɛ-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-hiaton-</i>	mark, write	verb root
<i>-hon-</i>	habitual	aspect
<i>-k</i>	past	aspect suffix

<i>ɛhieraskθa</i>	I used to remember.
-------------------	---------------------

<i>ɛ-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-ehiera-</i>	bring to mind	verb root
<i>-s-</i>	habitual	aspect
<i>-kθa</i>	past	aspect suffix

Stative

The stative aspect typically provides one of two types of meaning. One entails being in a particular state (hence the name), the other is the sense of completed action typically associated with the perfective form in other languages (e.g., the verbs taking *to have* or *avoir* as auxiliaries in English and French respectively). The stative aspect commonly appears with a patient as subject when the verb involves just one grammatical player. A number of verb roots take only the stative aspect. In such cases, when there is a need to communicate a different aspect, Wendat relies on a separate auxiliary verb, *-ɛn-*, to which the other aspect attaches. When the stative form occurs with another aspect, it always appears first. The basic rule for morphemes with the stative aspect is that they take *-i-*, unless the verb root ends with another vowel (oral or nasal), and there is no inchoative or dative root suffix following the verb root, in which case there is no morpheme for the stative.

<i>qatatinnen</i>	I had talked.
-------------------	---------------

<i>q-</i>	1st person singular patient – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atat-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-i-</i>	stative	aspect
<i>-nnen</i>	past	aspect suffix

The punctual

The punctual appears with the three modal prefixes, the factual, the future and the optative. In each case it has a sense of completion, in the recent past, in the future and as a prediction. There are a variety of morphemes that the punctual takes. It takes no morpheme at all after the root suffixes causative *-t-*, causative-instrumental *-st-*, verb roots that end with *-t-* and the undoer *-ʒa* (*ehaʒet* ‘he will scratch, scrape’; *horenʒa* ‘he floated’). It takes *-a* after verb roots ending with *-i* (*eʒatatia* ‘I will talk’), *-en* with verb roots ending with a nasal vowel plus *-t-* (*ehatonronte* ‘he will sing’), *-ha* with verb roots ending with *-o-* (*eoʒa* ‘water will arrive’), *-k-* after the inchoative root suffix (*eorak* ‘night will come’), *-s* with the dative root suffix (*auwas* ‘it was short for her’) and *-y-* (written as *-j-*) after a verb root ending with *-e* (*eʒtej* ‘it will burn’).

Purposive: *-ʒ-*

The purposive aspect appears to add the notion of intention or probability, both negative and positive. It typically follows the dislocative root suffix, but also sometimes follows the progressive. The most frequent form the purposive takes is with the negative and future prefixes, but Potier also presents it with the optative and with the subjunctive.

<i>teʒatatiandenn</i>	I would not have talked.
-----------------------	--------------------------

<i>t-</i>	negative	non-modal
<i>-e-</i>	future	modal
<i>-ʒ-</i>	1st person singular agent – I	pronominal prefix
<i>-atati-</i>	talk	verb root
<i>-and-</i>	dislocative	root suffix
<i>-e-</i>	purposive	aspect
<i>-nn</i>	past	aspect suffix

Slot 8: Aspect suffixes

As the name implies, aspect suffixes follow aspects. There are two clear members of this group: the past and the diminutive.

Past: **-nn(en)- or -k(ɔa)- or -n(n/d)-**

The past takes various forms, depending on which aspect it follows. It does not appear with the punctual, because the punctual combined with the factual prefix already signifies the past. It frequently appears in the forms that Potier labels *plusquam perfectum*.

Diminutive: **-a**

The diminutive comes after the stative aspect as *-a*, and it is used in most kin terms. No other suffix can follow it. Like with diminutives in other languages (e.g. Spanish) it does not just mean ‘small, little’ but seems also to mark a kind of familiarity and closeness. It is used with family terms involving brothers and sisters, parents and children, uncles and sister’s children, grandparents and grandchildren (Fraser 1920: 108–109, 216, 219, 243, 387 and 388). It is not discussed as such in Potier’s grammar.

Slot 9: Clitics

Clitics are difficult elements to describe. For purposes of this project, we will just say that they come at the ends of words. There are two that will be discussed here: populative and external locative.

Populative: **-ronnon**

The populative suffix is used to refer to ‘a people’. This usually means a clan or a nation. It is discussed by Potier as a type of noun called *nationalia* (p. 65). One of the examples he gives is the following:

<i>onnontqeronnon</i>	People at the hill, hill people.
-----------------------	----------------------------------

<i>o-</i>	fem.-zoic singular patient – it	pronominal prefix
<i>-nnont-</i>	hill, mountain	noun root
<i>-a</i>		noun suffix
<i>ɛ</i>	external locative	clitic
<i>-ronnon</i>	populative	clitic

External locative: -*e*

<i>ahah_ɛe</i>	On the path/road.
--------------------------	-------------------

<i>ahah-</i>	fem.-zoic singular agent + path – it	pronominal prefix + noun root
<i>-a-</i>		noun suffix
<i>-_ɛe</i>	external locative	clitic

Pronominal prefix chart

Here are the Wyandot pronominal prefixes. The five different conjugation patterns are:

A – roots that begin with *a-*. If another vowel appears at the prefix end, it replaces the *a-*.

C – roots that begin with a consonant, and some roots that begin with a vowel.

E – roots that begin with *e-*.

I – roots that begin with *-i-* or *-en-*. When one of those forms is presented at the end of the pronominal prefix, it represents how the root begins.

O – This includes roots that begin with *o-*.

First person

Legenda:

None: no Patient

P: Patient

p: plural

1: First person

2: Second person

M: Masculine

FZ: Feminine-zoic

Ind: indefinite

Singular agent: -_ɛ-

Cj.	None	2P	2dP	2pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	_ɛ -	_ɛ on-	_ɛ i	_ɛ ʒ-	h-	ha _ɛ -	_ɛ -	_ɛ a _ɛ -	χe-
C	_ɛ e-	_ɛ on(_ɛ)-	_ɛ i-	_ɛ ʒa-	he-	ha _ɛ e-	_ɛ e-	_ɛ a _ɛ e-	χe
E	_ɛ -	_ɛ on-	nd-	_ɛ ʒ-	h-	ha _ɛ -	_ɛ -	_ɛ a _ɛ -	χe-
I	_ɛ i-	_ɛ on-	ndi-	_ɛ ʒen-	hi-	ha _ɛ i-	_ɛ i-	_ɛ a _ɛ i-	χen-
O	_ɛ -	_ɛ on-	ndo-	_ɛ i-	h-	ha _ɛ -	_ɛ -	_ɛ a _ɛ -	χe-

Inclusive dual agent: *-ti-*

<u>Cj.</u>	None	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP
A	ti-	heti-	haeti-	ti-	ˌaeti-
C	ti-	heti-	haeti-	ti-	ˌaeti-
E	t-	het-	haet-	ti-	ˌaet-
I	ti-	heti-	haeti-	ten-	ˌaeti-
O	t-	het-	haet-	t-	ˌaet-

Inclusive plural agent: *-kɔ-*

<u>Cj.</u>	None	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	kɔ-	hekɔ-	haekɔ-	kɔ-	ˌækɔ-	axi-
C	kɔa-	hekɔa-	haekɔa-	kɔa-	ˌækɔa-	axe-
E	kɔ-	hekɔ-	haekɔ-	kɔ-	ˌækɔ-	axe-
I	kɔen-	hekɔen-	haekɔen-	kɔen-	ˌækɔen-	axi-
O	ti-	het-	-haeti-	ti-	ˌaeti-	axi-

Exclusive dual agent: *-i-*

<u>Cj.</u>	None	2P	2pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP
A	a.i-	es-	es-	sa.i-	ha.i-	a.i-	ˌaa.i-
C	a.i-	esa-	esa-	sa.i-	ha.i-	a.i-	ˌaa.i-
E	and-	es-	es-	sand-	hand ³⁰ -	and-	ˌaand-
I	andi-	esen-	esen	sandi-	handi-	andi-	ˌaandi-
O	ando-	es-	es-	sand-	hand-	and-	ˌaand-

30 With pronominal prefixes that end with *-d-*, if a nasal vowel (*-en-* or *-on-*) follows it, the *-d-* is replaced with an *-n-*.

Exclusive plural agent: -aθ-

Cj.	None	2P	2pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	aθ-	on-	etsi-	saθ-	haaθ-	aθ-	aaθ-	aχi-
C	aθa-	on-	etsi-	saθa-	haaθa-	aθa-	aaθa-	aχe-
E	aθ-	on-	etsi-	saθ-	haaθ-	aθ-	aaθ-	aχi-
I	aθen-	on-	etsi-	saθen-	haθen	aθen-	aaθen-	aχi-
O	a_i-	on-	etsi-	sa_i-	ha_i-	a_-	aa_i-	aχi-

Second person

Singular agent: -ch-

Cj.	None	1P	1dP	1pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	chi-	sk-	ski-	skθ-	hechi-	hachi-	chi-	achi-	che-
C	chie-	ske-	ski-	skθa-	hechie-	hachie-	chie-	achie-	che-
E	chi-	sk-	st-	skθ-	hechi-	hachi-	chi-	achi-	che-
I	chi-	ski-	sti-	skθen-	hechi-	hachi-	chi-	achi-	chen-
O	chi-	sk-	st-	ski-	hechi-	hachi-	chi-	achi-	che-

Dual agent: -ts-/-st-

Cj.	None	1P	1pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP
A	ts-	sk-	skθ-	hets-	haets-	ts-	aets-
C	tsi-	ske-	skθa-	hetsi-	haetsi-	tsi	aetsi-
E	st-	sk-	skθ-	hest-	haest-	st-	aest-
I	sti-	ski-	skθen-	hesti-	haesti-	sti-	aesti-
O	st-	ske-	ski-	hest-	haest-	st-	yaest-

Plural agent: *-skw-*

Cj.	None	1P + 1pP ³¹	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	skØ-	skØ-	heskØ-	haeskØ	-skØ-	aeskØ-	etsi-
C	skØa-	skØa-	heskØe-	haeskØa-	skØa-	ǰaeskØa	etsi-
E	skØ-	sk-	heskØ-	haeskØ	-skØ-	ǰaeskØ-	etsi-
I	skØen-	skØen-	heskØen-	haeskØen-	skwen-	ǰaeskØen-	etsi-
O	ts-	ski-	hets-	haets-	ts-	ǰaets-	etsi-

Masculine

Singular agent: *-h(a)-*

Cj.	None	1P	1dP	1pP	2P	2dP	2pP	MP
A	h-	haç-	sonçi-	sonçØ-	hi-	hets-	heskØ-	ho-
C	ha-	haçe-	sonçi	sonçØa-	hia-	hetsi-	heskØa-	ho-
E	h-	haç-	sond-	sonçØ-	hi-	hest-	heskØ-	h(aØ)-
I	hen-	haçi-	sondi-	sonçØen-	hien-	hesti-	heskØen-	ho-
O	h-	haç-	sond-	sonçi-	hi-	hest-	hets-	h(a)Ø-
Cj	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP				
A	haçon-	h-	haçon-	saço-				
C	haçon-	ha-	haçon-	saço-				
E	haçon-	h-	haçon-	saçaØ-				
I	haçon-	hen-	haçon-	saço-				
O	haçon-	h-	haçon-	saça-				

Dual agent: *-hi-/-'nd-*

Cj.	None	This agent form takes no patient forms.
A	hi-	
C	hi-	
E	'nd-	
I	'ndi-	
O	'nd-	

31 Potier neglected to include the second person plural agent, first person singular and plural patient in the list of the pronominal prefixes that take this form.

Plural agent: -ha-

Cj.	None	1P	1dP	1pP	2P	2dP	2pP	MP
A	hon-	hon _ɛ -	haon _i -	haon _ɔ ɔ-	hes-	haets-	haeskɔ-	hon-
C	hati-	hon _e -	haon _i	haon _ɔ ɔa-	hesa-	haetsi-	haeskɔa-	hona-
E	hend-	hon _ɛ -	haond-	haon _ɔ ɔ-	hes	haest-	haeskɔ-	hon-
I	hendi-	hon _i -	haondi-	haon _ɔ ɔen-	hesen	haesti-	haeskɔen-	honen-
O	hend-	hon _ɛ -	haond-	haon _i -	hes-	haest-	haets-	hon-
CJ	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP				
A	honend-	ɔon-	ɔonend-	haa _o -				
C	hoñati-	ɔona-	ɔonati-	haa _o -				
E	honend-	ɔon-	ɔonend-	haa _a ɔ-				
I	hõmendi-	ɔõnen-	ɔonendi-	haa _o -				
O	hoñend-	ɔon-	ɔonend	haa _a -				

Fem.-zoic agent

Singular agent: -ay-

Cj.	None	1P	1dP	1pP	MP	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP
A	root	a _ɛ -	on _i -	on _ɔ -	ho-	ha _o on-	o-	ɔa _o on-	a _o -
C	ɔa-	a _e -	on _i -	on _ɔ ɔa-	h-	ha _o on-	o-	ɔa _o on-	a _o -
E	root	a _ɛ -	ond-	on _ɔ -	haɔ-	ha _o one-	aɔ-	ɔa _o on-	a _a ɔ-
I	root	a _i -	ondi-	on _ɔ ɔen-	ho-	ha _o on-	o-	ɔa _o on-	a _o -
O	root	a _ɛ -	ond-	on _ɛ -	ha-	ha _ɛ -	a-	ɔa _o on-	a _a

Dual agent: -yi/-ndi-

Cj.	None
A	ɔi
C	ɔi
E	nd
I	ndi
O	nd

Plural agent

Cj.	None	1P	1dP	1pP	2P	2dP	2pP	MP
A	on-	on-	aon-i-	aon-Ø-	es-	aets-	aeskØ-	hon-
C	ati-	one-	aon-i-	aon-Øa-	esa-	aetsa-	aeskØa-	hona-
E	end-	on-	aond-	aon-Ø-	es-	aest-	aeskØ-	hon-
I	endi-	oni-	aondi-	aon-Øen-	esen-	aesti-	aeskØen-	honen-
O	end	on-	aond-	aon-i-	es-	aest-	aest-	hon-
Cj	MpP	FZP	FZpP	IndP				
A	honend-	on-	onend-	aa-o-				
C	honati-	ona-	onati-	aa-o-				
E	honend-	on-	onend-	aa-aØ-				
I	honendi-	onen	onendi-	aa-o-				
O	honend-	on-	onend-	aa-a				

Indefinite agent

Cj	None	1P	1pP	2P	2pP	FZP	FZpP	MP	MpP
A	on-	on-	onxi-	es-	etsi-	on-	aon-	son-	haon-
C	e-	one-	onxi-	esa-	etsi-	e-	ae-	se-	hae-
E	a-	on-	onxi-	es-	ets-	a-	aa-	sa-	haa-
I	ai-	oni-	onxi-	esen-	etsi-	ai-	ai-	sai-	haai-
O	a-	on-	onxi-	es-	etsi-	a-	aa-	say-	haa-

5. The structure of Potier's grammar

Andy Peetermans, Toon Van Hal & John Steckley

Introduction: Potier and the model of (Graeco-)Latin grammar

As discussed in chapter 4, Wendat can often express in a single word – a single verb, to be exact – that for which English would need a full-blown sentence. In Wendat as in Latin, information on modality, number and person is included in the verb, while it needs to be expressed through individual words such as *would* and *they* in English. Wendat, however, goes far beyond Latin when it comes to encoding information within the verb. That we mention Latin rather than some other language as a basis of comparison is no accident: like other early modern missionary grammarians of the Americas and Asia, Potier relied on the Graeco-Latin model that was familiar to all educated Europeans. Given that these grammarians' aim was practical and didactic, in that they first and foremost wanted to facilitate language acquisition for their peers, it comes as no surprise that they embraced the period's standard frame of reference in the form of Latin grammar (Zwartjes & Hovdhaugen 2004: 2; Peetermans 2020: 36–39, 296–299).

This approach had of course its limitations. Given that the Graeco-Latin model was designed in order to describe Greek and Latin, it was not always an obvious task to make fruitful use of this traditional apparatus to describe

languages having structures very different from those of the classical languages of Europe. In this context, scholars have sometimes described this Latinate model as a mental straitjacket, with grammatical categories absent from the model being simply cut out, and grammatical categories that were present in the model only – and not in the language under description – being forcefully inserted. Such a view is described, but not adhered to, by Klein (2001) and Zimmermann (2004). Over the past few decades, however, the field of missionary linguistics has convincingly demonstrated that most missionaries did not adopt a narrow-minded approach to this model: rather, they often showed a high degree of creativity in order to be flexible in using it (Zwartjes 1998; Winkler 2016; Peetermans 2020: 302–305).

It is important to recognize that not all of the grammatical concepts or categories that we today believe play a significant role in Latin or Greek were already present in the Graeco-Latin model of grammar. We might, for example, expect Potier to profit from the availability of aspect as a grammatical category in Greek when describing the expression of aspect in Wendat. This expectation is not met, however, for the simple reason that the Greeks themselves interpreted the differences in aspect in their grammatical framework in terms of temporal differences (Versteegh 2013). Indeed, the recognition of aspect as an independent grammatical category would not occur until the nineteenth century, and its introduction into Iroquoian linguistics dates from the 1950s (see also chapter 7 in this volume). More generally, if we are to avoid anachronism, we should not be too quick to assume that a background in Latin or Greek through a ‘traditional’ school grammar gives us direct knowledge of Graeco-Latin grammar as represented in the head of an early modern Jesuit.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine (in broad strokes) how Potier structured his grammar and in what ways he attempted to resolve incompatibilities between the language he described and the language which provided the basis for his grammaticographical model. Since we are following the structure of Potier’s text quite closely here, the chapter also functions as a summary of Potier’s work, and thus as a first means of opening up his work to a wider audience – given that a translation is not yet available. The basic structure of the grammar can be schematized as follows:

- ∴ 1–2: spelling and pronunciation (*De litteris*);
- ∴ 2–64: the verb;
 - 2–45: matters of conjugation (*De verbis*);
 - 46–64: semantic/(morpho)syntactic verb types (*De verbis*);

- ∴ 65–67/74/76: syntax (*De syntaxi*), including treatment of the noun and adjective (65–67), and arguably also of the pronoun (67), adverb (68–74) and preposition (75–76);
- ∴ 77–82: *Miscellanea*.

What immediately catches the eye is the significant attention devoted to the verb, which is dealt with in two sections with identical titles (*De verbis*). Other parts of speech are treated in *De syntaxi*. The reasons underlying this choice will be elucidated further in the following sections. In chapter 10 the specifics of Potier’s approach will be compared with the only other premodern grammar of Wendat that is still extant today.

De litteris: spelling, pronunciation and ‘functional letters’

Much about Potier’s short overview of spelling and pronunciation at the beginning of the grammar is unsurprising, beginning with its presence at the very start of the work – common in early modern grammars, though not universal. Another typical ‘early modern’ feature is the lack of any systematic distinction between phonology and spelling (i.e., between sounds and the letters with which they are written); and in fact Potier’s grammar shares with many grammars of the period (among which those of other Native languages) a more general lack of systematicity when it comes to the description of pronunciation.

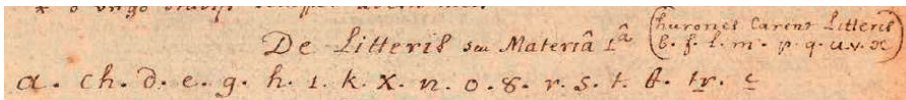


Figure 5.1 Presentation of the alphabet on the *Elementa*’s first page ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 1)

The section’s general ordering principle is not any kind of classification of speech sounds, but the order of the alphabet. At the start, the letters of the alphabet are enumerated, accompanied by a statement that Wendat ‘lacks’ certain letters of the Latin alphabet. (Among these ‘lacking’ letters, we find *b*, *f*, *m*, *p* and *v*, which all represent labials, but alphabetical logic separates them.) Then, some of the letters receive some further comment. Often, the letters that are commented upon are either absent from the Latin alphabet (χ , θ , θ) or

pronounced in ways that do not quite correspond to the intuition of a French-speaking reader. For instance, about the letter *c* (which only occurs in the combination *ch*), it is noted that it can be pronounced either like the French *ch* (i.e. [ʃ], as in the English *Chicago*, *chic* or *sheet*) or like the Italian *c* (i.e. [tʃ], as in the English *cheek* or *cheat*).¹ Also, the French reader needed to be reminded that *h* was never to be silent, and that *s* was always to be pronounced [s] (as in French or English *sermon*), never [z] (as in French *raison* or English *reason*). All of these features are in alignment, it can be noted, with what is commonly observed in Spanish missionary grammars as well.²

A more surprising feature of Potier's *De litteris* is that a number of letters are discussed not so much in terms of their pronunciation, as with regard to the 'functions' they serve in certain parts of the grammar. In the case of the letters *iota*, *i* and *ʒ*, this is done in separate sections added at the end of *De litteris* (*De i seu j (iota)*; *De i adjectitio seu euphónico*; *De ʒ euphónico seu adjectitio*). Here we learn, for instance, that the *iota* 'is useful for distinguishing number, gender [or] persons [of verbs]',³ that numerals are commonly combined with verb forms that start with an *i* and that *ʒ* is often encountered in third person feminine verb forms. We also find similar remarks in the general overview of the letters, such as when it is said that *θ* often results from the concurrence of a *nota localitatis* (cislocative prefix) or *te dualitatis* (dualic/duplicative prefix) with a following *h*. This same kind of 'functional' approach is not so much a feature of Graeco-Latin grammar as it is one of Jewish and Christian Hebrew grammar, where letters are commonly approached both from an articulatory and from a functional point of view.⁴ What we see is that Potier thus from time to time pays attention to 'morphemic' features – especially if these can be linked with one single letter. Nevertheless, as John Steckley has already observed in the previous chapter, this attention overall remains very limited.

For the Jesuits, it was not always very obvious to recognize Wendat sounds and to render them through European graphemes. Let us illustrate this with one example. Potier writes of there being three different pronunciations of *e*, more or less matching the three forms: *é*, *ê* and *è*. The representation using *ê* is

- 1 It seems this case of allophonic variation has not yet been taken up by modern discussions of the language.
- 2 Some further comments on the presence of Greek graphemes in Wendat writing and on the different pronunciations of *r* can be found in chapter 7; see also chapter 6 on what the section *De litteris* can teach us about some of the differences between Wendat and Wyandot.
- 3 Potier (*Elementa*: 2): *utilis est ad distinguendum numerum, genus, personas*.
- 4 On this feature of the Hebrew grammatical tradition and its reception in Spanish American missionary grammars, see Peetermans (2020: 207–215).

flawed, as illustrated by the example given by Potier. He writes *ondaie*, which is the third person pronoun, frequently used in Wendat speech. This is a word represented in several different ways throughout the seventeenth century. In his dictionary of 1632, Recollect Brother Gabriel Sagard recorded it with *onday* and *onde* (Steckley 2010a: 92, 134 and 201 and 208 and 394 respectively). In Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf's catechism published in the same year we have the word presented as *ondée* (Steckley 2017b: 118, 132 and 143–144 passim). In his prayer of 1636, he writes it as *ondayee*. Five years later, in a prayer composed by Huron-Wendat Christian Joseph Chihoatenhwa, we have *ondaie*. In what John Steckley believes to be Brébeuf's oldest surviving dictionary of the early 1640s we have *on'de* and *on'dee* (Steckley 2010b: 116 and 221 and 230 respectively). In 1654, the Jesuit Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot recorded it as *onde* (Thwaites 1898: 166–171 and 173). In the dictionary written circa 1697, we consistently have *ondaie*. This form is also consistently used by Potier in the grammar published in the present edition. John Steckley believes that one reason why there is so much difficulty with this word lies with the Jesuit inability to hear and use a glottal stop, which is a sound that was not part of the recognized orthography of any language that they had previously encountered (an example in English is *button*, often pronounced as [bʌʔn]). In the Wyandot dialect, as written down by early French-Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau, who relied on Wyandot informants, the word was recorded primarily as *ɔdae'*, sometimes as *ɔndae'*, with shorter forms *ndae'* and *dae'* influenced by the vowels at the end of preceding words.

***De verbis*: Latin grammar and the Wendat verb**

Discussion of the verb takes up a very substantial portion of the grammar (2–64). That the description of the verb requires that much space is neither unusual (against the background of Graeco-Latin grammar) nor surprising (in the light of Wendat's heavily verb-oriented nature), but that it is the first part of speech to be discussed is atypical: grammars of the Graeco-Latin tradition, including American missionary grammars, normally begin with the noun. In his 1768 *Éléments de langue montagnaise*, Jean-Baptiste de La Brosse, for instance, started his grammar of Innu, a polysynthetic Algonquian language, with the noun (see Cottier & Lambert-Brétière 2018). Potier's section on verbs falls into two major portions, each of which is preceded by the identical title *De verbis*. The first of these sections (2–45) mostly deals with matters of modality, aspect and person marking – coinciding more or less with what in traditional terminology is known as the 'conjugation' of the verb, and typically involving the

presentation of conjugation tables –, while the second section (46–64) focuses on the various semantic or (morpho)syntactic types of verbs.

The reader who wishes to obtain a general overview of Potier’s approach to the Wendat verb can turn to pages 2 and 46–47 of the grammar, where the two different sections with the same title *De verbis* begin. In the following subsections of the present contribution, we will seek to provide a first orientation to the ways in which Potier adopts and adapts Graeco-Latin terminology and classifications to the description of the Wendat verb. In a number of places, we have provided tables offering rough and sometimes tentative clarifications of the relations between the terminology of Potier and that of present-day Iroquoianists, which itself presents some variation. Rather than to attempt to be exhaustive in our presentation of present-day terminology, we have chosen to contrast the terminology used by John Steckley in chapter 4 in this volume with that of Megan Elizabeth Lukaniec’s recent dissertation on Wendat verb morphology (Lukaniec 2018), hoping that the contrast will sometimes prove instructive. In some cases (though certainly not all), Lukaniec’s terminology will be more readily understood by the (non-Iroquoianist) general linguist.

‘Paradigms’ and ‘conjugations’: describing agent and patient person prefixes

In Potier’s description, Wendat verbs come in two different ‘paradigms’. One he labels with the letter C, which is short for *chi-*, the typical beginning of the second-person-singular form of this paradigm’s ‘present tense’ (*praesens indicativi*). The other he labels with the letter S, in reference to the typical beginning of this paradigm’s second person singular (cf. Table 5.1). To some extent, this recalls the distinction often made in Ancient Greek manuals between *-ô* and *-mi* verbs, based on the first person singular. In the terminology currently employed by Iroquoian linguists, the C paradigm collects those forms in which agent subject prefixes are used, and the S paradigm those which contain patient subject prefixes (which the general linguist may feel more at ease calling ‘non-agents’). Thus, when Potier says that all ‘perfect-tense’ verbs ‘belong to paradigm S’,⁵ this amounts to an observation that there is a strong tendency for verbs with the stative aspect to have patient rather than agent prefixes.

Next, each verb (regardless of its ‘paradigm’) belongs to a ‘conjugation’ (of which there are said to be five, implicitly matching the number of Latin

5 Potier (*Elementa*: 3): *o[mn]ia perfecta pertinent ad p[aradygma] S.*

Label Potier	Chapter 4	Lukaniec
<i>paradygma C, paradygma Ch, paradygma Chi</i>	slot 2: agent as subject	agent prefixes 78–83
<i>paradygma S</i>	slot 2: patient as subject	patient prefixes 83–86
<i>(quinque) conjugationes</i>	(five) conjugations	(ten) conjugation classes 78
<i>prima conjugatio: atati/akerondi</i>	slot 2: a-conjugation	a-stem
<i>secunda conjugatio: ahiaton/atebatandi</i>	slot 2: consonant conjugation	C-stem, iV-stem (*y-stem), n(d)V-stem (*nV-stem), r-stem
<i>tertia conjugatio: ehierandi/eiachendi</i>	slot 2: e-conjugation	e-stem
<i>quarta conjugatio: entenri/entahekenh8i</i>	slot 2: en-/i-conjugation	en-stem (*e-stem), i-stem
<i>quinta conjugatio: oriti/onesk8andi</i>	slot 2: o-conjugation	o-stem, on-stem (*o-stem)

Table 5.1 Labels given by Potier and corresponding places in modern grammars (part 1)

conjugations). This is a way of describing the different allomorphs taken by the (agent or patient) subject prefixes as they precede verb stems starting with different sounds. In the case of the ‘first conjugation’, for instance, this verb stem starts with an /a/, and in the case of the ‘second conjugation’ with a consonant. In other words, this is a purely formal, phonologically conditioned categorization.

Combined, the two ‘paradigms’ and five ‘conjugations’ offer a way of organizing the rich variety of Wendat agent and patient person prefixes, by allowing each single slot of a ‘traditional’ conjugation paradigm (e.g., the first person singular of the present indicative) to take ten different forms (e.g., the first person singular *patient* of the present indicative *of a verb stem starting with a consonant*).

When agent and patient co-occur in one and the same verb form, recourse is taken to a different concept, which will be discussed further on: ‘**relations**’.

Quinque Conjugationes Parad: C

atati <i>loqui</i>	ahiaton <i>scribere</i>	chigrandi <i>meminisse</i>	entenni <i>misereri</i>	oriti <i>condire</i>
indicativus				
Præsent				
tatiak	hiatonk	hioral	tenrha	ritta
S. a	e	e	e	e
chia	chie	chie	chi	chio
ha	ha	he	hen	ho
a	a	e	en	e

Figure 5.2 Start of the presentation of the five ‘conjugations’ of the ‘C paradigm’ ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 3)

‘Moods’ and ‘tenses’: describing modality and aspect

To approach the domain of modality and aspect, Potier starts from the Latin grammar idea that verbs can have different **‘moods’** (such as ‘indicative’, ‘imperative’ and ‘subjunctive’), which themselves can have different **‘tenses’** (such as ‘present’, future’ or ‘pluperfect’). While today it is generally recognized that for Wendat and the other Iroquoian languages aspect is a much more important category than tense, up to the middle of the twentieth century the description of these languages remained dominated by the traditional (Graeco-Latin) terminology of tense, until Floyd Glenn Lounsbury’s (1914–1998) *Oneida Verb Morphology* of 1953 changed the frame of reference (Foster 1985: 403). Describing an aspectual system through the language of tense is bound to be an imperfect fit, and the interpretation of Potier’s categorization presents some difficulties.

Importantly, while the different ‘moods’ can be said to have relatively clear values (e.g., the ‘indicative mood’ refers to factual modality, and the ‘potential mood’ is associated with the combination of the punctual aspect with optative modality), for the ‘tenses’ this is less the case. In the labels ‘present indicative’ and ‘present potential’, for example, ‘present’ does not have the same value: in the ‘indicative’, it refers specifically to habitual aspect (without tense marking), whereas in verb forms in the ‘potential’, habitual aspect is not even a possibility at all. In Table 5.2, only for the ‘indicative’ the values of the different ‘tenses’ are specified; the other ‘moods’ still await elucidation (but see the discussion of the optative prefix in chapter 4 for some clarifications on the different ‘tenses’ of the ‘potential mood’).

Incidentally, in some cases the label ‘preterite’ seems to be used where ‘perfect’ would have been expected (in the Latin grammatical tradition, the ‘perfect’ is chief among the ‘preterite’, i.e. past, tenses).

Label Potier	Chapter 4	Lukaniec
<i>praesens (indicativi)</i>	slot 7: habitual	habitual aspect-mood suffix 101–103
<i>imperfectum (indicativi)</i>	slot 7: habitual + slot 8: past	habitual aspect-mood suffix 101–103 + past expanded aspect suffix 322–328
<i>(praeteritum) perfectum (indicativi)</i>	slot 7: stative (in combination with slot 2: patient as subject)	stative aspect-mood suffix 103–108
<i>plusquam perfectum (indicativi)</i>	slot 7: stative + slot 8: past (in combination with slot 2: patient as subject)	stative aspect-mood suffix 103–108 + past expanded aspect suffix 322–328
<i>aoristus (primus indicativi)</i>	slot 1: factual (in combination with punctual aspect)	factual modal prefix (in combination with perfective aspect) 110–113
<i>aoristus secundus (indicativi)</i>	slot 1: factual + slot 6: undoer (in combination with punctual aspect)	factual modal prefix (in combination with perfective aspect) 110–113 + reverse derivational suffix 298–303
<i>futurum (affirmativum indicativi)</i>	slot 1: future (in combination with punctual aspect)	future modal prefix (in combination with perfective aspect) 113–114
<i>futurum continuationis primum (indicativi)</i>	slot 1: future + slot 7: habitual and punctual	future modal prefix 113–114 + habitual aspect-mood suffix 101–103 + perfective aspect-mood suffix 109–110
<i>futurum continuationis secundum (indicativi)</i>	slot 1: future + slot 6: dislocative + slot 7: purposive	future modal prefix 113–114 + dislocative derivational suffix 305–307 + purposive aspect-mood suffix 119–123
<i>futurum negativum (indicativi)</i>	slot 1: negative and future + slot 6: dislocative + slot 7: purposive	negative prepronominal prefix 173–177 + future modal prefix 113–114 + dislocative derivational suffix 305–307 + purposive aspect-mood suffix 119–123
<i>modus imperativus</i>	slot 1: imperative	imperative pronominal prefix 117–119
<i>modus potentialis</i>	slot 1: optative (in combination with punctual aspect)	optative/irrealis modal prefix (in combination with perfective aspect) 115–117
<i>modus optativus</i>	slot 1: subjunctive (combined with an undeclined particle <i>sen</i> meaning ‘let it be that’)	not discussed
<i>modus subjunctivus</i>	slot 1: subjunctive	amplifier (mentioned <i>passim</i>)
<i>modus infinitivus</i>	slot 2: fem.-zoic singular agent + slot 7: stative	agent prefix of the third person fem.-zoic or neuter singular 82 + stative aspect-mood suffix 103–108

Table 5.2 Labels given by Potier and corresponding places in modern grammars (part 2)

The category of ‘person’: the indefinite person and clusivity

From a cross-linguistic point of view, ‘person’ has been among the more successfully generalizable categories of Graeco-Latin grammar: a very great part of today’s terminology in this regard simply continues patterns that have been in use since antiquity. Potier presents an overview of the different persons that are found in a typical Wendat verb paradigm at the top of page 3 of his grammar; this overview can be schematized as in Table 5.3.

In Potier’s overview, only the indefinite person (*persona indeterminata*) is given a terminological label, while the others are clarified by means of translational equivalents in French. Throughout the grammar, however, labels such as *prima/secunda/tertia persona singularis/dualis/pluralis* are commonly encountered. The difference between inclusive and exclusive forms of the first person, however, is exclusively conveyed through translational equivalents.

First person singular ‘I’	First person dual exclusive ‘he/she and I’	First person plural exclusive ‘they and I’
	First person dual inclusive ‘you and I’	First person plural inclusive ‘you all and I’
Second person singular ‘you’	Second person dual ‘the two of you’	Second person plural ‘you all’
Third person masculine singular ‘he’	Third person masculine dual ‘the two of them’	Third person masculine plural ‘they’
Third person feminine singular ‘she’	Third person feminine dual ‘those two women’	Third person feminine plural ‘those women’
		Indefinite person ‘one’

Table 5.3 The category of ‘person’

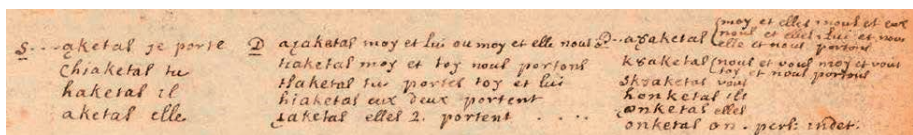


Figure 5.3 Potier’s overview of the different slots found in a verb paradigm ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 3)

The overview above is also the key to the order in which Wendat verb forms are listed throughout the grammar: from the first person singular to the third person feminine plural and the indefinite person, with the dual forms listed between the singular and plural ones.

‘Relations’: describing transitive person prefixes

Earlier on, we have described how Potier made use of the terms ‘C(hi) paradigm’ and ‘S paradigm’ to refer to agent and patient prefixes, respectively. When agent and patient co-occur in one and the same verb form – which, crucially, in Wendat morphology does not take the form of a simple combination of the corresponding agent and patient prefixes, but involves a related yet separate set of *transitive* prefixes –, recourse is taken to a different concept: ‘relations’ (*relationes*). As discussed in chapter 8, the use of this term seems to have been inspired not so much by the framework of Latin grammar as by that of scholastic philosophy (taking advantage of a partial overlap between the two frameworks’ terminologies).

The different ‘relations’ are presented on pages 15–21 of the grammar, after the presentations of the two ‘paradigms’ C (3–7) and S (13–14) (cf. Table 5.4). As is to be expected, the ‘relations’ also have five different ‘conjugations’ (i.e., the transitive prefixes, like the agent and patient prefixes, have different phonologically conditioned allomorphs, depending on the first sound of the verb stem).

The second section *De verbis*: getting a grip on Wendat’s numerous prefixes and suffixes

In addition to the morphology of person (‘paradigms’, ‘relations’, ‘conjugations’), modality (‘moods’: ‘indicative’, ‘potential’...) and aspect (‘tenses’: ‘present’, ‘imperfect’...), the first section *De verbis* also singles out (on pp. 22–27) four other among the categories that can be expressed by a Wendat verb: (1) repetitive, (2) cislocative, (3) dualic/duplicative and (4) dislocative. The last one can occur either by itself (as a suffix), or in combination with the translocative prefix. As such, all of these categories involve the use of a prepronominal prefix; this may help explain their presence in the first section *De verbis*, which through its attention to the category of person (and to a lesser extent through its attention to modality) tends to be centrally involved with the beginnings of verbs (up to slot 2). Indeed, the prepronominal prefixes seem to be seen as a matter of conjugation, with conjugation tables being provided (cf. Table 5.5).

Label Potier	Chapter 4	Lukaniec
<i>relationes, verbum relativum</i>	slot 2: agent subject and patient object	transitive pronominal prefixes 86–99
<i>relatio determinatorum ad indeterminatos, seu relatio indeterminata activa</i>	indefinite person as patient, in combination with some (non-indefinite) agent	first and second persons acting on third (indefinite) persons 93; third persons acting on third (indefinite) persons 97
<i>relatio determinatorum ad indeterminatos, seu relatio indeterminata passiva</i>	indefinite person as agent, in combination with some (non-indefinite) patient	third (indefinite) persons acting on first and second persons 95; third (indefinite) persons acting on third persons 97
<i>relatio primae ad secundam</i>	first-person agent and second-person patient	first persons acting on second persons 92
<i>relatio activa primae ad tertiam</i>	first-person agent and third-person patient	first persons acting on third persons 93
<i>relatio (activa) secundae ad tertiam</i>	second-person agent and third-person patient	second persons acting on third persons 93
<i>relatio (activa) secundae ad primam</i>	second-person agent and first-person patient	second persons acting on first persons 92
<i>relatio passiva primae ad tertiam vel activa tertiae ad primam</i>	third-person agent and first-person patient	third persons acting on first persons 95
<i>relatio passiva secundae ad tertiam vel activa tertiae ad secundam</i>	third-person agent and second-person patient	third persons acting on second persons 95
<i>relatio passiva (vel activa) tertiae ad tertiam</i>	third-person agent and third-person patient	third persons acting on third persons 97

Table 5.4 Labels given by Potier and corresponding places in modern grammars (part 3)

Label Potier	Chapter 4	Lukaniec
<i>reduplicatio, particula reduplicativa seu reiterativa</i>	slot 1: repetitive	repetitive prepronominal prefix 152–157
<i>localitas, particula distantialis seu locativa, nota localitatis</i>	slot 1: cislocative	cislocative prepronominal prefix 145–152
<i>te verbale, te affirmativum, te dualitatis</i>	slot 1: dualic	duplicative prepronominal prefix 158–166
<i>verbum motûs</i>	slot 6: dislocative (and slot 1: translocative)	dislocative derivational suffix 305–307 (and translocative prepronominal prefix 167–170)

Table 5.5 Labels given by Potier and corresponding places in modern grammars (part 4)

Most of the other categories that can be expressed by the Wendat verb's prefixes and suffixes, however, are discussed later on in the grammar, in the second section *De verbis* (pp. 46–64). The section is structured around a traditional notion of Graeco-Latin grammar, the *genera verborum* 'kinds of verbs' (singular: *genus verborum*), which is to say: the various semantic or (morpho)syntactic types of verbs. It is curious to note that while this concept clearly permeates the whole of the section, the associated term *genus verborum* is almost entirely absent. The 'kinds of verbs' that are presented are listed in Table 5.6.

It is interesting to note that the section progresses roughly 'from left to right', starting with person prefixes (slot 2) and ending with root suffixes (slot 6). Also, the 'passive', 'deponent' and 'relative-passive' verb are morphologically identical: all three involve the same semi-reflexive (also: middle voice) prefix. That they are considered to be three different types seems to have been inspired entirely by features of their Latin or French translational equivalents. Something similar is true for the morphologically indistinguishable 'active' and 'neuter' verb. Finally, it should be noted that the *verbum motus et continuationis* is entirely different from the *verbum motûs* discussed in the first section *De verbis*.

Label Potier	Chapter 4	Lukaniec
<i>verbum impersonale</i>	slot 2: fem.-zoic singular (agent or patient) referring to an impersonal 'it'	agent prefix of the third person fem.-zoic or neuter singular 82; patient prefix of the third person fem.-zoic or neuter singular 85
<i>verbum personale*</i>	slot 2: agent as subject or patient as subject or object	agent prefixes 78–83; patient prefixes 83–86; transitive prefixes 86–99
<i>verbum activum seu simplex</i>	slot 2: agent as subject or patient as subject	agent prefixes 78–83; patient prefixes 83–86
<i>verbum relativum</i>	(slot 2: agent subject and patient object;) slot 6: transitional	(transitive prefixes 86–99;) no 'transitional' suffix is identified by Lukaniec**
<i>verbum passivum</i>	slot 3: semi-reflexive	middle voice prefix 202–220
<i>verbum reciprocum seu mutuale</i>	slot 3: reflexive	reflexive voice prefix 220–225
<i>verbum neutrum</i>	slot 2: agent as subject or patient as subject	agent prefixes 78–83; patient prefixes 83–86
<i>verbum commune***</i>	slot 2: agent as subject or patient as subject or object	agent prefixes 78–83; patient prefixes 83–86; transitive prefixes 86–99
<i>verbum deponens</i>	slot 3: semi-reflexive	middle voice prefix 202–220
<i>verbum relativo-passivum</i>	slot 3: semi-reflexive	middle voice prefix 202–220
<i>verbum neutro-acquisitivum</i>	slot 6: dative	benefactive derivational suffix 273–286
<i>verbum motus et continuationis</i>	slot 6: progressive	progressive derivational suffix 319–322
<i>verbum frequentativum seu augmentativum</i>	slot 6: frequentative	frequentative derivational suffix 303–305
<i>verbum multiplicativum</i>	slot 6: distributive	distributive derivational suffix 293–298

* This term is a hyperonym of all the following ones. Cf. Potier (*Elementa*: 47): *verbum pers[onale] est multiplex, sc[ilicet] activum, seu simplex ... relativum ... passivum ... reciprocum seu mutuale ... neutrum ... commune ... deponens relativo-passivum ... neutro-acquisitivum ... verbum motus .. verbum continuationis ... frequentativum ... multiplicativum .. augmentativum.*

** Lukaniec (2018: 257–313) does, however, include scattered remarks on the ways in which different derivational suffixes (a term roughly equivalent to Steckley's 'root suffix', associated with slot 6) can affect a verb's argument structure.

*** The label 'common verb' seems to refer to verb stems that can be used both transitively and intransitively without the need for any root suffixes. Of course, the transitive and intransitive use are still morphologically distinguishable through the use of different person prefixes.

Table 5.6 Labels given by Potier and corresponding places in modern grammars (part 5)

De syntaxi and Miscellanea: Wendat beyond the verb

After the two long sections on the verb, there is a chapter on ‘syntax’ (*De syntaxi*) starting on page 65. Although it is not entirely clear where this section ends, it is certain that it includes all discussion of substantive and adjective nouns (65–67), highly plausible that it includes the remarks on pronouns (67), and quite plausible that it also includes the overviews of adverbs (68–74; these are listed by semantic class) and prepositions (75–76; listed by Latin translational equivalent). In other words, it seems that discussion of all parts of speech with the exception of the verb, and especially discussion of the noun (substantive and adjective), is subsumed under the heading of ‘syntax’, traditionally understood to involve the ordering of words into sentences. Once again, so it appears, the primacy of the verb in Wendat is affirmed: not only is it the first part of speech to be discussed, it is even the only one among the traditional parts of speech thought worthy of a separate treatment. In this regard, the grammar is very different from Spanish missionary grammars, which tend to adhere much more closely to the traditional parts-of-speech model of Graeco-Latin grammar.

Within the ‘syntactic’ sections of Potier’s grammar, the notion of *compositio* ‘compounding’ plays a recurring role. What is expressed in Latin through different words (e.g. adjective and noun, verb and noun) tends to have a one-word equivalent in Wendat; thus, ‘compounding’ assumes some of the roles traditionally associated with ‘syntax’ in Latin grammar. Here, a parallel with Spanish missionary grammars is readily found: in Nahuatl grammar, ‘compounding’ and ‘syntax’ are involved in a similar dialectic, with some grammarians highlighting the connection between the two,⁶ and others denying Nahuatl any ‘syntax’ whatsoever, maintaining that it is built entirely on ‘compounding’ instead⁷ (Suárez Roca 1992: 120–124; Peetermans 2020: 83).

After the overview of the prepositions, a title *Miscellanea* appears (77). It introduces some small sections that are structured around certain Latin or French expressions, asking the question how these can be expressed in Wendat: ‘to be’, ‘to be in the sense of to exist’, ‘to be in some place’, ‘to have’, ‘an adjective with an infinitive’, ‘in order to’, ‘because’... This reliance on translational

6 For Vetancurt (1673: f. 38 recto), for example, ‘syntax’ and ‘compounding’ go hand in hand; or rather, ‘compounding’ is one of the principal means through which ‘syntax’ can be realized.

7 Carochi (1645: f. 46 verso): ‘In the fourth [book], instead of syntax (which this language does not have) there is a treatment of the way in which words are compounded with others.’ [*En el quarto, en lugar de sintaxi (que esta lengua no la tiene) se pone el modo con que vnos vocablos se componen con otros.*]

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Figure 5.4 Unnumbered table of contents in the AJC copy of Potier's *Elementa grammaticae Huronicæ* (AJC MS 019)

equivalents as a structuring principle is of course typical not only of this grammar, but of early modern missionary grammars at large. One might ask the question whether the *Miscellanea* could be interpreted as belonging to the part on 'syntax' as well, but this possibility can probably be safely discarded on the grounds that (1) in the AJC copy, the table of contents presents the titles *De syntaxi* and *Miscellanea* in a comparable size, considerably larger than that of the other titles, and (2) in the KCSC copy the *Miscellanea* appear before the title *De syntaxi* rather than after it, maybe because the section was associated with verbs.

Our laborious attempts to fit the Latin grammatical terms used by Potier into the rather 'morphological-anatomical' framework proposed in chapter 4 show that the traditional Latin model is running up against its limits here. Occasionally, these terms even cause confusion rather than clarification. Yet this is by no means a plea to simply discard the terminology of the Jesuit: today, it is difficult for us to assess whether Potier's contemporaries had significantly less problems in interpreting such labels. In any case, for present-day readers, Potier's work remains a goldmine – first and foremost because of the many elaborate paradigms and the numerous helpful translational equivalents.

II Text edition

Wouter Mercelis, Andy Peetermans & John Steckley

Foreword

As mentioned in chapter 1, Alexander Fraser’s century-old edition of the *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* consists of a low-quality photographic reproduction, which renders many portions difficult or impossible to read. Moreover, a mere reproduction offers little help with the various difficulties that today’s reader may encounter in seeking to interpret the *Elementa*. To render this relatively challenging text more accessible, we have sought to offer the following:

- (1) A full transcription of the text of the grammar as it is found in AJC MS 019 – the same document, dated 1745, that was reproduced by Fraser – thus sharply improving its legibility and digital searchability. For reasons of feasibility, we have not made a transcription of the entirety of AJC. Instead, we have taken as our cut-off point page 82, on the basis of the observation that on page 83, the manuscript starts to take a decidedly lexicographical turn.¹

1 Whereas the grammatical part of AJC (found in this edition) contains sections labelled ‘about pronouns’ (*de pronomibus*) and ‘about adverbs’ (*de adverbis*), from page 83 onwards we encounter labels such as ‘pronouns/adverbs in alphabetical order’ (*juxta ordinem alphabeticum*).

- (2) To further facilitate interpretation, we have sought (i) to solve all abbreviations; (ii) to mark, for each individual word in the text, whether it is to be read as Latin, French or Wendat; (iii) to present the work's many tables in a clear form; and (iv) to clarify the work's structure through the formatting of its headings. As discussed in chapter 5, the structure of the *Elementa* is somewhat open for interpretation, so our choices in this regard should not be taken as certain or definitive.
- (3) A rudimentary 'critical apparatus' indicating the many small and sometimes larger changes that Potier made to the *Elementa*'s text in a later document now preserved in KCSC (Item 223). This apparatus is presented in the form of footnotes. For a general appraisal of the relation between the AJC and KCSC copies, see chapter 10.² Only in an advanced stage of our edition project, Zanna Van Loon brought the existence of the more recent KCSC document to our attention.
- (4) Chapter 5 of this book presents a rough roadmap to the *Elementa*'s structure and some of its Latin terminology. Especially when read in conjunction with chapter 4, it can serve as a basic guide for the linguistically interested reader wishing to better understand the *Elementa*'s explanatory passages.
- (5) As explained in chapter 1, this edition is a starting point. Colleagues interested in elaborating on this work can find the word files on the publisher's website.

2 The reader interested in the fate of these two manuscripts between Potier's time and our own can turn to chapter 11.

Conventions

Latin text is printed in roman, Wendat in **bold**, French in *italics*.

Abbreviations are solved between <angle brackets>, while [square brackets] mark text that is difficult or impossible to decipher.³ When no reasonable conjecture can be made for the compromised text, this is indicated by means of something like [...], with the number of dots between the square brackets giving a rough measure of the quantity of text we believe to be missing.

~~Struck through portions~~ represent text that has been struck through or otherwise cancelled out in the manuscript. Text that has been added between the lines by Potier is shown ^{in superscript}.

The formatting of titles should by no means be taken to faithfully represent how these titles look in the manuscript, especially as regards the presence or absence of underlining.

The beginning of a new page in the AJC manuscript is marked by the insertion of the page number in the way shown below; moreover, every page in the edition contains the number of the corresponding AJC page in its footer text, between square brackets: [1].

[1] This marks the beginning of the first page of AJC.

3 Thus, to give a relatively complex example, ‘non i<ntel>|<e>g[it]<ur>’ should be taken to mean that we believe the manuscript to read ‘non ilgit’, the final ‘it’ being poorly legible, and that we believe this should be interpreted as an abbreviated version of the Latin *non intellegitur*.

Elementa grammaticae huronicae

[1]

- * nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum
- * deus scientiarum, dominus est
- * o virgo studiis semper adesto meis¹

De Litteris seu Materiâ 1â² (hurones carent Litteris

b. f. l. m. p. q. u. v. x)³

a. ch. d. e. g. h. i. k. χ. n. o. 8. r. s. t. θ. tr. ι .

c semper est junctum cum **h** et hae duae litterae simul junctae pronuntiant⟨u⟩r more gallorum⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩g⟨ratia⟩: **chieanɣnionk** *tu fais chaudière* .. et al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do ut **C** italicum ut **chieons** (aegrotas)

- 1 These three lines are absent from KCSC.
- 2 SEU MATERIÂ 1Â: absent from KCSC.
- 3 The parenthetical note is absent from KCSC, which lists the 'lacking' letters next to the row presenting the Huron alphabet. Moreover, in KCSC the letter l is absent from the list of 'lacking letters'.

d al(i)q(uan)do pronuntiat(u)r ut **n** *i*rios: et vicissim **n** ut **d**(,) v(erbi)g(ratia):
onnhe vivere à multis pronuntiat(u)r ut **ondhe** v(el) potius **onthe**
 * commutantur interdum **n** et **d** in 3^a et 5^a conjug(atione) ut videbitur suo loco
 * promiscue etiam in fine quarumdam v(ocum) pronuntiat(u)r(,) v(erbi)g(ratia) **ondaie** **aiâten**^{ha8ind} v(el) **aiatenha8inn** utroque modo scribitur et pronuntiat(u)r...item **t'e,atatiandenn** v(el) **t'e,atatiandend** non loquerer
 * post **n** et ante **i** purum, sonat semper ut apud nos *gui*(,) v(erbi)g(ratia) **andia** digitus dic **anguia**, quasi sit diphtongus..* plura de littera **d** in capite litterae **n**
e potest notari triplici accentu, acuto, circumflexo, gravi; et varie sonat pro vario accentuum sono... q(uan)do notat(u)r acuto, sonat ut **e** masculinum gallicum *divinité*(,) ut *ié je viens* ... si circumflectitur, sonat ut apud gallos *dais monnoye*(,) v(erbi)g(ratia) **ondé**, quasi esset **ondaie** quod si gravem habeat, medium sonat inter utrumque ut *ay* gallicum(,) v(erbi)g(ratia): **i,erhe** volo, puto
g vulgo sonat ut *iota*,¹ al(i)q(uan)do tamen ut apud nos(,) v(erbi)g(ratia): **ochingot**² grus **ochingota** genu³ &c(etera)
h semper consonat, semperque cum aspiratione effertur
i nunquam est consonans al(i)q(uan)do coalescit in diphtongum ut **ondaie**.. alii sonum finalem efferunt ut nos *playe*; alii ut **ondé** ...⁴ **e,hej** moriar ... al(i)q(uan)do supernotat(u)r duobus punctis, et tunc fit diaeresis⁵ v(erbi)g(ratia) **hatientes** cognoscunt
 * memorare quae superius diximus de littera **d**, et ea praesenti litterae applica; nam si coalescit in unam syllabam cum praecedentibus v(el) **d** v(el) **t** v(el) **k** v(el) **n**; et **i** sit purum, fit quasi liquefactio in pronuntiando(,) v(erbi)g(ratia): **andia** dic **ianguia** .. **hatatiak** loquit(u)r dic **hatakiak** .. **eskion** redibo quasi **esguion** **e,annionk** *je fais chaudiere* dic **ieagnionk**, **gn** ut galli *agneau*: .. **onnianni** bene, dic **ogniandi** vel potius **ongiandi**
k et **χ** sonant ut **kh** v(erbi)g(ratia) **χa** hic haec hoc di(c) **kha**
n si sola sit, vocali praecedenti jungat(u)r(,) v(erbi)g(ratia) **atenion** far torrere⁶ *graler du blé* dic **aten-ion**, non vero **ate-nion** ... si geminetur, nil difficultatis est.

1 kcsc: ut *iota* t

2 kcsc: **aθogchingot**

3 kcsc: *genou*

4 alii sonum finalem efferunt ut nos *playe*; alii ut **ondé** ...: absent from kcsc.

5 kcsc: al(i)q(uan)do fit diaeresis et supernotatur duobus punctis

6 far torrere: absent from kcsc.

o semper pronuntiat⟨u⟩r ut apud gallos (* o et θ alii)quando promiscue adhibent⟨u⟩r

θ sonat ut *ou* ... * nota i et θ saepe facere unam tantum syllabam. cum vocali aut diphthongo sequenti v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **kθaraskθa partons** ... **chionθesen tu es libéral** ... **tionθesen nous sommes libéraux**; q⟨u⟩ae omnia trissyllaba sunt at q⟨uan⟩do notant⟨u⟩r duobus punctis, faciunt duplicem syllabam cum sequente vocali aut diphthongo⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **hotiȧi ils ont coupé⟨,⟩** quadrisyllabum ... **hotiȧi il est coupé⟨,⟩** trissyllabum sic **eskion elles rentreront** est trissyllabum, et **eskion je rentrerai** dissyllabum.

r tribus modis effertur ... 1° ut apud nos, sed nonquam¹ geminatur ... 2° lenius pronuntiat, si leni aut nullo notetur accentu v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧronta arbre**, **ȧrenda cérémonie** ... asperius vero, si notet⟨u⟩r spiritu aspero v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧronta pierre⟨,⟩** **ȧrenda rocher** ...² 3° si r praecedatur litteris **d . t . k . n** . ardua fit pronuntiatio vix habiles nos galli³ ad imitandam huronicam pronuntiationem ... ex nostris conatibus, haec habe: applica: fortiter linguam palato, deinde nitere, proferre syllabam⁴ in qua r inest⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **aatra** imago⟨,⟩ **aθendrakθi** obedire⟨,⟩ **te hȧannra** aspicit ... **hatateskθenroskra** barbam ipse tondet⁵ (ab **askθenra** barba et **oskaron** evellere).⁶

s nunquam pronuntiat ut z, licet inter duas vocales;⁷ sed ut⁸ duplex **ss⟨,⟩** v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **a'sara anse de chaudière**

t et θ duplex est: aliud θ pro **th** saepe **t** vulgare coalescit seu⁹ mutatur in θ ob **h** q⟨u⟩ae sequitur in formandis temporibus et aptandis cum localitate; et **te** dualitatis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **aθasenχθa** clamavit, pro **a te hasenχθa**

1 nonquam: sic, sc. nunquam. KCSC offers the same erroneous spelling.

2 In the example **ȧronta**, said to contain a smooth breathing mark (*lenis accentus*), the text in fact offers a rough breathing mark; inversely, in the examples said to contain a rough breathing mark (*spiritus asper*), **ȧronta** and **ȧrenda**, a smooth breathing mark is used instead. The same state of affairs is found in KCSC.

3 KCSC: vix habiles sumus nos galli

4 syllabam: absent from KCSC.

5 KCSC: suam tondet barbam

6 (ab **askθenra** barba et **oskaron** evellere: absent from KCSC.

7 licet inter duas vocales: absent from KCSC.

8 KCSC: sed semper ut

9 coalescit seu: absent from KCSC.

De **ı** seu **j** (iota)

* haec virgula seu semi-littera **ı** v<el> **j** maximi est usus

1° ad pronuntiandum v<erbi>g<ratia> **ı**atatiak dic **ı**atatiak .. **ı**ehiatonk dic **ı**ehiatonk &c<etera> ante alias vocales idem; sed lenius quasi prope i, non vero omnino: usus docebit

2° ad pronuntiandum asperius consonantes, et quasi duplicandas<, > v<erbi>g<ratia>: **ı**aka **ı**k8as aspicio dic **ı**akakk8as: **ı**a'son adhuc, nondum dic **ı**asson

3° affixa litterae r variat pronuntiationem, et facit leniorem<, > v<erbi>g<ratia> **ı**arıti¹ numerare; leniori, non tremulo linguae motu hanc litteram efferas²

[2]

4° ad distinguenda quaedam tempora alia ab aliis<, > v<erbi>g<ratia>: **ı**a8aton-drak8a haec mulier lucrata est: **ı**a8atondrak8a lucratur, tum nil addit pronuntiationi

* quaedam verba habent ex natura sua **ı** ante **8**, et illud **ı** pronuntiat<u>r ut **ı**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ı**anda8randi posse: dic **ı**ıandaı8randi ... **ı**a8annen magnum esse, cum derivatis (non tamen omnibus) dic **ı**ıai8annen – raro pronuntiat in vocibus compositis ab **ı**a8annen: nisi ad exprimendum pluralitatem³

5° utilis est ad distinguendum numerum, genus, personas, ut rerum series docebit

6° insolita et barbara facit quaedam tempora, cum post **n** in fine adjicitur v<erbi> g<ratia> **ı**aronxa audio⁴<, > **ı**earon v<el> **ı**earonj audiam; dic: **ı**earoen⁵

7° utilis est ad discendum idioma iroquaeum, nam scribunt **g**, ubi scribimus **ı** Nota me deinceps dicturum iota, non parvum i ut dicebant et interdum scribebant⁶ veteres

1 **ı**arıti: sic, with rough breathing mark. The same spelling is found in kcsc.

2 leniori, non tremulo linguae motu hanc litteram efferas: absent from kcsc.

3 cum derivatis (non tamen omnibus) dic **ı**ıai8annen – raro pronuntiat in vocibus compositis ab **ı**a8annen: nisi ad exprimendum pluralitatem: absent from kcsc. Rather, kcsc has the following: **ı**a8annen magnum esse &c<etera> dic:

4 **ı**aronxa audio: absent from kcsc.

5 kcsc: **ı**earonen

6 et interdum scribebant: absent from kcsc.

De i adjectitio seu euphonico

i adjectitium ita appellatum quia nihil sensui vocum addit v⟨el⟩ minuit sed euphoniae causa praefigitur quibusdam vocibus¹ et verbis

1° verbis monosyllabis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **i**e *je vais ... ondaie ichit pro chit* de hoc² loqueris a verbo **ent** .. **xa ia** sum hujus aetatis a verbo **a**³

2° verbis dissyllabis **aton** dicere⟨,⟩ **eri** velle⟨,⟩ **ondi** facere⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **i**atonk dico⟨,⟩ **i**erhe volo⟨,⟩ **i**onniak facio

3° verbis anomalis **ann** v⟨el⟩ **and** (1^{is} et 2^{is} personis) v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩: **innontenk** do⟨,⟩ **istontenk** das ... **innonh8e** amo, **iston8e** amas **indare**⟨,⟩ **istare** *je demeure, tu* a verbis **annonten** dare⟨,⟩ **annonh8e** amare .. **andare** habitare⁴

* non affigitur **i** adjectitium his verbis cum aliquod habent augmentum ut **a** in aoristo et **e** in futuro; aut nota relationis **a . ha . a.e . hae . he . xe** &c⟨etera⟩ uno verbo perit semper post **te . 8e . xe . axi** . aliasq⟨ue⟩ similes relationis notas ... item post crementa **a . ai . e . oni** ... deniq⟨ue⟩ cum praecedit aliqua particula v⟨el⟩ praepositio⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **i**atonk dico, **stante** **atonk** non dico.⁵

4° **i** adjectitium praeponitur reduplicativis et numeris binario majoribus nisi sit motus⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ dicitur: **tendi te skare** **achienk ioennhaek**; **ndak iskaatare**⁶ *dans 3 ans, ajoutez 4 mois ou lunes*;⁷ *il y a 3 ans et 4 mois...* * at dices **shodennion** v⟨el⟩⁸ **skat shodennion** *il y a un an ... tendi shodennion* *il y a 2 ans ... achienk eshondennion* *il y a 3 ans ... e . o . i* . ob motum qui significat⟨u⟩r a verbo **andennion** *atteindre ou attraper*, quod junctum reduplicacioni significat *avoir un an* ... illi autem si deinceps alios quoque numeros praefigas, significabit ut supra

5° **i** adjectitium saepe additur compositis ab **8ten** tale esse⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **8o ichiat8ten** sic comparatus es; pro **chiat8ten**⁹

6° dicitur **hatoxa** v⟨el⟩ **ihatoxa**

7° post **a8eti** semper ponitur **i** adjectitium⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **a8eti ihatoxa** omnia videt

1 kcsc: quibusdam nominibus

2 kcsc: de illo

3 a verbo **ent** .. **xa ia** sum hujus aetatis a verbo **a**: absent from kcsc.

4 kcsc: **indare** maneo; **istare** manes... ab **annonten** dare, **annonh8e**, **andare**

5 kcsc: v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **i**atonk dico: dic **stante** **atonk** non dico

6 **achienk ioennhaek**; **ndak iskaatare**: kcsc has: **achienk ioennhe8ek ndak isk8atare** *dans 3 ans, ajoutez 4 mois ou lunes*: absent from kcsc.

8 **shodennion** v⟨el⟩: absent from kcsc.

9 kcsc: sic **ichiat8ten** talis es (pro **chiat8ten**)

De **ʒ** euphonico seu adjectitio

ʒ euphonicum praefigitur 3^{is} personis fem<ininis> tam singularibus quam pluralibus incipientibus ab **a** et **e** parad<ygmatibus> **C**,¹ quoties praecedit **e** v<el> **i**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **atonk** illa dicit adde pro more **i** quia venit a verbo **aton** dicere; et dic **iʒatonk**

* ante negationem perit **i** adject<itium> non vero **ʒ** adject<itium>; dic **stante ʒatonk** **endehieras** recordantur illae, **stante ʒendehieras** non recordantur ... **erhe** vult illa **iʒerhe** duplex euphonia,² **stante ʒerhe** non vult **ti ʒatiatʒten** sic facta sunt pro **ti atiatʒten** **stante ʒatatiak** illa non loquitur
Nota<:> **ʒ** euphonicum semper praeponitur 1^{is} pers<onis> sing<ularibus> p<aradygmatis> **S** q<u>ae semper incipiunt ab **a**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aʒatati** locutus sum **stante ʒaʒatati** non loquar

De verbis

1^o duo sunt modi conjugandorum verborum q<u>os vocamus paradygma; sc<ilicet> par<adygma> **C**, quia 2^a pers<ona> sing<ularis> incipit a littera **C**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **akakʒas** aspicio, **chiakakʒas** aspicias ... alterum dicit<u>r par<adygma> **S**, quia 2^a pers<ona> incipit a littera **S**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aʒakaota** *je suis gueur sakaota* miser es

* discrepant illa duo parad<ygmata>: non solum 2^a personâ sing<ulari>, sed etiam multis aliis ... 1^o paradygma> **S** non admittit secundo 1^{am} pers<onam> in duali et plur<ali>, quas habet par<adygma> **C**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aʒatatiak** loquimur ego et ille v<el> illa; **tiatatiak** ego et tu loquim<u>r en pro duali in paradygmate> **S**: **onʒakerons** metuimus ego et ille, ego et illa, ego et tu in plurali **aʒatatiak** loquimur ego et alii non praesentes, v<el> aliae, v<el> nos et illi v<el> illae: **kʒatatiak** loquimur nos omnes q<u>i hic adsumus ... **onʒakerons** timemus omnes, sive tu et nos, sive ego et vos, sive quicumq<ue>; modo adsit 1^a persona³ ... 2^o duae ultimae pers<onae> dualis et plur<alis> sunt semper similes.

2^o 5^e sunt verborum conjug<ationes> tum p<aradygmatis> **C** tum p<aradygmatis> **S** quae distinguunt<u>r per vocalem initialem infinitivi **a . ʒ . e . e** v<el> **i . o** v<el> **ʒ**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> 1^a **atonnʒhara** gaudere.. 2^a **annʒhaten** desiderare

1 kcsc: **Ch**

2 duplex euphonia : absent from kcsc.

3 timemus omnes, sive tu et nos, sive ego et vos, sive quicumq<ue>; modo adsit 1a persona: kcsc has: timemus omnes sive praesentes sive absentes

regretter.. 3^a **ennonti** accelerare.. 4^a **echia*i*** quaerere v<el> **iren** bibere..
 5^a **onnhonendi** pati v<el> **stensti** sic conformare¹
 3^o modi verborum sunt 6... indic<ativus><,> imper<ativus> .. modus pot<entialis> .. optat<ivus> .. subj<unctivus> .. infin<itivus>
 4^o modorum tempora sunt 9 .. pr<aesens> .. imp<erfectum> .. perf<ectum> .. plusq<uam>perf<ectum> .. aor<istus> 1 .. aor<istus> 2 .. fut<urum> aff<irmativum>, fut<urum> cont<inuationis>, fut<urum> (duplex) nega<tivum>² tempora sunt varia pro modorum varietate, plura in indic<ativo>, pauca in modo pot<entiali>, nulla in imp<erativo> et infin<itivo>, quaedam sunt raro in usu.
 5^o 3 sunt numeri ut apud graecos .. sing<ularis> .. dual<is> .. plur<alis>
 6^o personae plures sunt quam apud graecos

[3]

S	aketas	<i>je porte</i>	D	ajaketas	<i>moy et lui ou moy et elle nous</i>	P	a^haketas	<i>moy et elles, nous et eux, nous et elles, lui et nous, elle et nous portons</i>
				tiaketas	<i>moy et toy nous portons</i>		k^haketas	<i>nous et vous, moy et vous, toy et nous portons</i>
	chiaketas	<i>tu</i>		tsaketas	<i>tu portes toy et lui</i>		sk^haketas	<i>vous</i>
	haketas	<i>il</i>		hiaketas	<i>eux deux portent</i>		honketas	<i>ils</i>
	aketas	<i>elle</i>		jaketas	<i>elles 2 portent</i>		onketas	<i>elles</i>
							onketas	<i>on pers<ona> indet<erminata></i>

Quinque Conjugationes parad<ygmatis> C

atati	ahiaton	ehie^arandi	ent^henri	oriti
loqui	scribere	meminisse	misereri	condire

1 KCSC: comparare

2 KCSC: 2... fut<urum> aff<irmativum>... Neg<ativum>

indicativus

praesens

	tatiak	Hiatonk	hieras ¹	tenrha	riθa
S	̣a	̣e	̣e	̣i	̣o
	chia	Chie	chie	chi	chio
	ha	Ha	He	hen	ho
	a	̣a	E	̣en	o
D	ạia	ại	ande	andi	ando
	tia	Ti	Te	ti	to
	tsa	Tsi	ste	sti	sto
	hia	Hi	ńde	ńdi	ńdo
	̣ia	̣i	nde	ndi	ndo
P	ạθa	ạθa	aθe	aθen	ạjo ańio
	kθa	kθa	kθe	kθen	tio
	skθa	skθa	skθe	skθen	tso
	hon	Hati	hende	hendi	hendo
	̣on	Ati	ende	endi	endo
	on	E	ạe	e v⟨el⟩ ai	ạo

imperfectum *je parlois* &c⟨etera⟩

	tatihak	hiatonhonk	hieraskθa	tenrhak	ritak
S	̣a	̣e	̣e	̣i	̣o

caetera ut praesens

*nota: imperf⟨ectum⟩ format⟨u⟩r a praesenti addita littera et aliq⟨uan⟩do syllaba

praet⟨eritum⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩ *j'ai parlé* &c⟨etera⟩

1 kcsc: hieras. kcsc has a (Wyandot) ⟨a⟩ in all forms of this verb.

	tati	hiaton	hierandi	tenri	riti
S	a,a	a,e	a,e	a,i	a,o
	sa	sa	Se	sen	so
	ho	ho	haße	ho	hao
	a	o	aße	o	ao
D	on _̣ ia dic on _̣ ia ¹	on _̣ i	onde	ondi	ondo
	tsa	tsi	Ste	sti	sto
	honda	hoti	honde	hondi	hondo
	onda	oti	onde	ondi	ondo
P	on _̣ ða	on _̣ ða	on _̣ ðe	on _̣ ðen	on _̣ jo
	skða	skða	skðe	skðen	tso
	honda	hoti	honde	hondi	hondo
	onda	oti	onde	ondi	ondo
	a,o	a,o	a,aße	a,o	a,ao

*nota:² o<mn>ia perfecta pertinent ad p<aradygma> S

*nota:³ in verbis 4^{ae} conj<ugationis> quae habent **he** in 3^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> masc<ulina> praeteriti, habere **e** pro indeterminata praesentis indicativi q<u>ae vero habent **haße**, habere **ai** pro indet<erminata> praes<entis> indicativi talia sunt **iren** bibere **enheon** mori **echiaj** quaerere ... **chi entakði faire expres plusq<uam> perf<ectum> j'avois parlé**

	tatinnen	hiatonnen	hierandinnen	tenrinnen	ritinnen
S	a,a	a,e	a,e	a,i	a,o

caetera ut perf<ectum>

*nota: plusq<uam>perf<ectum> nil differt à perf<ecto> nisi incremento finali **n**nen vel **nen** si perf<ectum> desinit in **n**

1 dic **on_̣ia**: a later addition in different ink. KCSC adopts it as part of its text.

2 KCSC: 1°

3 KCSC: 2°

[4]

aoristus 1^{us}

1° *je vais parler* 2° *voilà que je parle* 3° *je viens de parler* 4° *je parlai*

	tatia	hiaton	hieraha	tenr	rit
S	aꜥ	aꜥe	aꜥe	aꜥi	aꜥo
	achia	achie	achie	achi	achio
	aha	aha	Ahe	ahen	aho
	aꜥa	aꜥa	aꜥe	aꜥen	ao
D	aaꜥia	aaꜥi	aande	aandi	aando
	etia	eti	Ete	eti	eto
	etsa	etsi	Este	esti	esto
	ahia	ahi	ańde	ańdi	ańdo
	aꜥia	aꜥi	Ande	andi	ando
P	aaꜥa	aaꜥa	aaꜥe	aaꜥen	aaꜥo
	ekꜥa	ekꜥa	ekꜥe	ekꜥen	etio
	eskꜥa	eskꜥa	eskꜥe	eskꜥen	etso
	ahon	ahati	ahende	ahendi	ahendo
	aꜥon	aꜥati	aꜥende	aꜥendi	aꜥendo
	aon	ae	aaꜥe	ae v<el> ai ^{aa} i	aaꜥo

*nota:1 aor<istus> saepe usurpat<u>r pro praesenti, et habet aliquid affine cum perfecto et fut<uro>.

*nota:2 aoristi gaudent incremento initiali quod fere semper est **a** exceptis duabus personis post 1^{am} in duali et plurali

1 KCSC: 1°

2 KCSC: 2°

aoristus 2^{us}

1° *j'ai pensé parler* 2° *peu s'en est fallu que je n'ai parlé* 3° *j'ai presq(ue) parlé*

	Tatiaska	hiatonska	Hieraska	tenraska	ritaska
S	a_a	a_e	a_e	a_i	a_o

caetera ut aoristus 2^{us1} *not<a>:² aor<istus> 2^{us} semper desinit in **ska** .. et format<u>r quasi ab imperfecto

*nota:³ si res dudum praeteriit sic exprimitur: olim prope locutus fueram:

tioskenhia a atatinen

futur<um> aff<irmativum> *je parlerai* &c<etera>.

	Tatia	hiaton	hieraha	tenr	rit
S	e_a	e_e	e_e	e_i	e_o
	Echia	echie	echie	echi	echio
	Eha	eha	Ehe	ehen	eho
	eða	e_a	eße	e_en	eo
D	ea_ja	ea_j	eande	eandi	eando
	etia	eti	Ete	eti	eto
	etsa	etsi	Este	esti	esto
	ehia	ehi	eñde	eñdi	eñdo
	e_ja	e_j	ende	endi	endo
P	ea_ða	ea_ða	eaße	eaßen	ea_jo
	ekða	ekða	ekße	ekßen	etio
	eskða	eskða	eskße	eskßen	etso
	ehon	ehati	ehende	ehendi	ehendo
	e_on	eßati	eßende	eßendi	eßendo
	eon	ee	ea_e	ee v<el> ei	ea_o

1 KCSC: caetera ut aor<istus> 1

2 KCSC: 1°

3 KCSC: 2°

futur<um> continuationis 1^{um}

*je continuerai*¹ *de parler* &c<etera>

	tatihaj	hiatonhonj	hieraska	tenrhaj	ritaj
S	e_a	e_e	e_e	e_i	e_o

caetera ut fut<urum> aff<irrativum>

*nota: hoc fut<urum> formatur ab imperfecto: quod si desinat in **skBa**:
fut<urum> cont<inuationis> erit in **ska** ... si desinat in **k**, **k** mutabitur in **j**

futur<um> continuationis 2^{um}

je continuerai *de parler* &c<etera>

	tatiande	hiatonde	hierache	tenrande	ritande
S	e_a	e_e	e_e	e_i	e_o

caetera ut fut<urum> aff<irrativum>

*nota: hoc fut<urum> est fut<urum> neg<ativum> sublata negatione: est etiam
futurum motus

1 kcsc: *continuerai*

[5]

futur<um> neg<ativum> *je ne parlerai pas*

	tatiatande ¹	Hiatonde	hierache	tenrande	ritande
S	stant'e,a v<el> t'e,a	stant'e,e v<el> t'e,e	stant'e,e v<el> t'e,e	stant'e,i v<el> t'e,i	stant'e,o v<el> t'e,o

caetera ut fut<urum> aff<irrativum> praefixâ semper negatione

*nota:² ex hoc fut<uro> formantur 1° fut<urum> continuationis... 2° praesens negat<ivum> modi pot<entialis> 3° verbum motus

*nota:³ hoc fut<urum> semper habet aliquam ex his terminationibus **De . he . xe . se . che . the .**

*nota:⁴ cum verbis q<u>ae carent hoc fut<uro> adhibe fut<urum> aff<irrativum> cum verbo auxil<iari> **en**: sic dices **stant'e,aentas e,enk je n'en aurai pas** a verbo **aen**

aliud futur<um> negat<ivum>⁵ (est perfectum cum nega<ti>o<n>e et 8 euphonicum)

stante 8a,atati je ne parlerai pas et sic de aliis verbis

stante satati tu &c<etera> caetera ut perfectum (nota: q<uan>do ignorat<ur> fut<urum> neg<ativum>)

utere hoc praet<erito> cum neg<atione>

1 Sic.

2 KCSC: 1°

3 KCSC: 2°

4 KCSC: 3°

5 In KCSC, this section on the 'other negative future' is reduced to the following marginal notation: perfectum usurpatur pro fut<uro> negativo.. v<erbi>g<ratia> **stante 8a,atati** non loquar &c<etera>

imperativus

1° parle toy .. 2° parlez plusieurs .. 3° parlons nous 2 .. 4° parlons plusieurs

	tatia	hiaton	hieraha	tenr	rit
1	sa	se	Se	tsi	so
2	t ^s a	t ^s i	St ^e	st ⁱ	st ^o
3	t ⁱ a	T ⁱ	Te	ti	to
4	k ⁸ a	k ⁸ a	k ⁸ e	k ⁸ en	tio

alius imper<ativus> (est praes<ens> aff<irmativum> modi pot<entialis>)

	tatia	hiaton	hieraha	tenr	rit
1	âchia tu	âchie	âchie	âchi	âchio
2	t'aetia nos duo	t'aeti	t'aete	t'aeti	t'aeto
3	âek ⁸ a nos	âek ⁸ a	âek ⁸ e	âek ⁸ en	âetio
4	âesk ⁸ a vos	âesk ⁸ a	âesk ⁸ e	âesk ⁸ en	âetso

imper<ativus> continuationis 1^{us}

continue de parler &c<etera>

	tatihaj	hiatonhonj	hieraska	tenrhaj	ritaj
1	sa	se	Se	tsi	so

caetera ut imperativus

imper<ativus> continuationis 2^{us}

perge loqui &c<etera>

	tatiande	hiatonde	hierache	tenrande	ritande
1	sa	se	se	sti	so

caetera ut imperativus

imper<ativus> ex praet<erito>¹ fut<uro> mixto formatus (ayes parlé)

	tatik asken v<el> tatik aθo	hiatonk asken v<el> hiatonk aθo	hierandik asken v<el> hierandik aθo	tenrik asken v<el> tenrik aθo	ritik asken v<el> ritik aθo
1	sa	sa	se	tsi	so

caetera ut imperat<ivus>

*nota: **asken** signat benevolum imperium<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **satatik asken** *ayes parlé je te prie*<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *quand je reviendrai ... aθo* vero signat invitum quasi consensum, v<el> objurgationem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **satatik aθo** *ayes donc parlé puisq<ue> tu le veux*

*nota: imperativus 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> par<adygmatis> **S** est in **sa** et non in **se**

Modus potentialis

praesens et imperf<ectum> affirmativum

1° *que je parle .. 2° afinq<ue> je parle .. 3° il faut que je parle 4° je parlerois .. 5° je devrois parler*

1 praet<erito>: absent from KCSC.

[6 (starting from line 5 of the table)]

	Tatia	hiaton	hieraha	tenr	rit
S	âçá	âçé	âçé	âçí	âçó
	Âchia	âchie	âchie	âchi	âchio
	Âha	âha	âhe	âhen	âho
	âða	âçá ¹	âðe	âðen	âo
<D> ²	âiaçia	âiaçí	âiande	âiandi	âiando
	Âetia	âeti	âete	âeti	âeto
	Âetsa	âetsi	âeste	âesti	âesto
	Âhia	âhi	âñde	âñdi	âñdo
	âçia	âçí	ânde	ândi	âñdo ³
P	âiaða	âiaða	âiaðe	âiaðen ⁴	âiaçio
	âekða	âekða	âekðe	âekðen	âetio
	âeskða	âeskða	âeskðe	âeskðen	âetso
	Âhon	âhati	âhende	âhendi	âhendo
	âon	âðati	âðende	âðendi	âðendo
	âion âñion	âie	âiaçé	âie v<el> âai	âiaçó

*nota: â initiale producit<u>r, ut distinguatur ab aoristo

praesens et imperf<ectum> negat<ivum>

1° je ne parlerois pas ... 2° je ne devrois pas parler 3° je n'aurois pas parlé

	tatiandenn	hiatondenn	hierachend ⁵	tenrandenn	ritandenn
S	stant'e,a v<el> t'e,a	stant'e,e v<el> t'e,e	stant'e,e v<el> t'e,e	stant'e,i v<el> t'e,i	stant'e,o v<el> t'e,o

caetera ut praesens futurum neg<ativum> indicativi

*nota: illud praesens non differt a fut<uro> neg<ativo> indic<ativi> ni additione **nn v<el> nd**

1 Sic.

2 KCSC: D

3 KCSC: ândo

4 KCSC: âiaða âiaðe âiaðen

5 KCSC: hiarachrend

aliud praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> neg<ativum>

1° *j'ai bien affaire de parler .. 2° pourquoi non¹ parlerois-je?*

	tatiaska	hiatonska	hieraska	tenraska	ritaska
S	t'â_a	t'â_e	t'â_e	t'â_i	t'â_o

non i<ntel>|<e>g[it]<ur>²

caetera ut praes<ens> aff<irmativum> modi pot<entialis> addito ubiq<ue> t³

praeteritum perfect<um>

1° *j'ai dû parler .. 2° j'aurais dû parler ... 3° j'aurais pû⁴ parler 4° j'aurais parlé .. 5° j'eusse parlé*

	tatik	hiatonk	hierandik	tenrik	ritik
S	aon_a	aon_e	aon_e	aon_i	aon_o
	aesa	aesa	aese	aesen	aeso
	aho	aho	ahaße	aho	ahao
	aio	aio	aiaße	aio	aiao
D	añonñia	añon_i	añondi	añondi	añondo
	aion_ia	aion_i	aionde	aiondi	aiondo ⁵
	aetsa	aetsi	aeste	aesti	aesto
	ahonda	ahoti	ahonde	ahondi	ahondo
	aionda	aioti	aionde	aiondi	aiondo
P	añion_ða sic alii				
	aion_ða	aion_ða	aion_ße	aion_ßen	aion_io ⁶
	aesk_ða	aesk_ða	aesk_ße	aesk_ßen	aetso
	ahonda	ahoti	ahonde	ahondi	ahondo
	aionda	aioti	aionde	aiondi	aiondo
	aia_o	aia_o	aia_aße	aia_o	aia_ao

1 non: absent from KCSC.

2 KCSC: illud tempus non e<st> híc in usu

3 addito ubiq<ue> t: absent from KCSC. KCSC adds: *illud tempus non e<st> híc in usu

4 Sic.

5 KCSC: añon_ia (dic añonñia) aion_i (dic añon_i) añionde añiondi añiondo

6 KCSC: añion_ða (dic (aion_ða) aion_ða (dic añion) añion_ße añion_ßen añionñio

plusquam perfectum

1° *j'eusse parlé* .. 2° *j'eusse dû parler* ... 3° *a ce que j'eusse parlé* 4° *j'eusse a en parler*

	tatinnen	hiatonnen	hierandinnen	tenrinnen	ritinnen
S	aon _a	aon _e	aon _e	aon _i	aon _o

caetera ut praet<eritum> perf<ectum>

modus pot<entialis> continuativus

je continuerois encore à parler

aon_aatik ichien v<el> **aon_aatihatieska** et sic de aliis verbis

caetera ut perfectum

*nota: pro modo continuativo neg<ativo> dices **aesaka₈ank de satatihatiend**
tu devrois avoir cessé de parler v<el> *tu n'aurais pas dû continuer a parler*

[7]

futur⟨um⟩ praeterito mixtum (hoc tempus pertinet ad subj⟨unctivum⟩)

*j'aurai parlé*¹

	tatik	hiatonk	hierandik	tenrik	ritik
⟨S⟩	eḡa_a	eḡa_e	eḡa_e	eḡa	eḡa_o
	esa	esa	ese	esen	eso
	eho	eho	ehaḡe	eho	ehao
	eo	eo	eaḡe	eo	ea_o
⟨D⟩	eonñia eon_ja	eon_ji	eonde	eondi	eondo
	etsa	etsi	este	esti	etso
	ehonda	ehoti	ehonde	ehondi	ehondo
	eonda	eoti	eonde	eondi	eondo
⟨P⟩	eon_ḡa	eon_ḡa	eon_ḡe	eon_ḡen	eon_ḡo
	eskḡa	eskḡa	eskḡe	eskḡen	etso
	ehonda	ehoti	ehonde	ehondi	ehondo
	eonda	eoti	eonde	eondi	eondo
	ea_o	ea_o	ea_aḡe	ea_o	ea_a_o

Optativus

praesens	te atatiak asen v⟨el⟩ sen te atatiak utinam nunc loquar * caetera ut praesens indicativi et sic de aliis verbis
imperf⟨ectum⟩	te atatihak sen q⟨u⟩e ne parlois * caetera ut imperf⟨ectum⟩ indic⟨ativi⟩
praeterit⟨um⟩	te ḡa atati sen que n'ai je parlé * caetera ut perf⟨ectum⟩ indic⟨ativi⟩
plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩	te ḡa atatinen sen q⟨u⟩e ne parlois je! * caetera ut plusq⟨uam⟩ perfectum indic⟨ativi⟩
fut⟨urum⟩ aff⟨irmativum⟩	te atatiak ásen utinam al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do loquar * caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩ indic⟨ativi⟩
fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩	ta sen te atatiak utinam non loquar * distinguit⟨ur⟩ ab affirmativo per ta sen te q⟨u⟩ae par⟨ticu⟩lae praeponunt⟨ur⟩ personis; non separant⟨ur⟩ nec postponunt⟨ur⟩

1 kcsc: *quand j'aurai parlé*, in accordance with the 'subjunctive' character claimed in the text.

Subjunctivus

praesens	te .atatiak <i>si je parlois</i> * caetera ut praesens indicativus
imperfectum	te .atatihak <i>si j'eusse parlé</i> * caetera ut imperfectum indicativus
praeteritum ¹	te ɔa.atati <i>si j'avois parlé</i>
plusquamperfectum	te ɔa.atatinnen <i>si j'eusse parlé</i>
futurum affirmativum	de .atatia <i>si je parle</i> * nota: in futuro ponitur de pro te galli <i>si</i> de ondaie th.atatia <i>pour que je parlasse</i> ²
futurum negativum ³	ta te v(ell) onta te .atatia <i>si vous ne &c(etera)</i>
futurum praeteritum mixtum	d'eɔa.atatik <i>quand j'auray parlé</i> vide modum potentialem ⁴

Infinitivus

atati loqui ... **ahiaton** scribere ... **ehierandi** meminisse ... **entenri** misereri . **oriti** condire

Observationes in verba

* 1^a ... **i** in ultimis personis pluralibus 2^{ae} conjugationis producitur in omnibus temporibus et modis, verbi gratia **hatihiatonk(,)** **hatihiatonk(,)** **atihiatonk(,)** **ehatihiaton** &c(etera)

* 2^a .. verba 3^{ae} conjugationis incipientia ab **enn** vel **end** paradygmatis **S**⁵ habent 3^{as} personas plurales in **hon . on . on** vel **g(ratia) [...d]** et non in **hend** ut verba hujus conjugationis, verbi gratia **hondi.on-raenk** il⁶ *délibèrent*, **honnonta** *ils délibèrent* *hâtent* ab **endi.onraen** *délibérer* et **ennonti** *presser*

3^a eadem verba 3^{ae} conjugationis aliquando habent in duali **hiendi.on-raenk** non vero **ndendi.onraenk** – si in genere faeminino⁷

1 kcsc: perfectum

2 kcsc: galli *si de... ondaie de .atatia pour que je parlasse*

3 kcsc lacks this 'future negative subjunctive'.

4 *quand j'auray parlé* vide modum potentialem: absent from kcsc.

5 kcsc: C. However, S appears to be the correct option, with 'hujus conjugationis' referring to the corresponding conjugation of the C paradigm (presented in the previous section).

6 kcsc: *ils*

7 si in genere faeminino: absent from kcsc.

3^{a1} ead⟨em⟩ verba 3^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩ parad⟨ygmatis⟩ **S** non habent **ha8e** in 3^{is} personis singularibus sed **ho** ... q⟨u⟩aedam vero utroq⟨ue⟩ modo conjugant⟨ur⟩: **ho** et **ha8e** – et pro relationibus **sa8o** et **sa8e**, talia sunt **en-noh8indi** *s'empresser ennontandi presser les autres*

4^a ead⟨em⟩ verba 3^{ae} in **enn** et **end** par⟨adygmatis⟩ **Chi**, in 2^a et 3^a persona dualis numeri et in 3^{is} personis pluralibus mutare **nd** in **nn** – dicit⟨ur⟩ v.g. **on-dehieras** – dic **annenta8as**, **'nnenta8as**, **hennenta8as**, non vero **andenta8as** nec **andenta8as** nec **hendenta8as** – in parad⟨ygmate⟩ **S hondehierandi**, dic **honnenta8an** observa hoc verbum e⟨ss⟩e in **ent** non vero in **en[d]**²

5^a q⟨u⟩aedam verba 4^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩ habent in omnibus temporibus quae sequunt⟨ur⟩ paradygma **S ha8e . a8e . a8e** in 3^{is} personis singularibus et in persona indeterminata, non autem **ho . o . a8o** et in relationibus **sa8e a8e** pro **sa8o** et **a8o** haec scilicet 4^{or} verba **8eren** v⟨el⟩ **iren** bibere, **8enheon** mori; **8echiai**³ quaerere, **chi 8entak8i** *faire expres*

[8]

6^a verba 4^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩, q⟨u⟩ae non habent **n** post **e**, non conjugantur ut **8enteri**, non enim accersunt litteram **n** quae est ° propria⁴ verbi⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **he8a** bibit **88era**, **k8era** bibimus -. **8echiaj . hechias** quaerit, **88echias**⟨,⟩ **k8echias** quaerimus – ut **hentenrha**⟨,⟩ **88entenrha**⟨,⟩ **k8entenrha**

7^a pleraq⟨ue⟩ verba 4^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩ habent **te** dualitatis in numero duali et sic conjugant⟨ur⟩: **te anditron**, **t'etitron**, **t'estitron**, **t'enditron**, ego et ille adsumus &c⟨etera⟩ ab **8entron** y *être* ... **te andiheons**, **te tiheons**, **te stiheons**, **te 88diheons** a verbo **8enheon** mori –

* ... 8^a quaedam verba 5^{ae} conjug⟨ationis⟩ incipiunt ab **on** ut **onesk8andi**, alia vero ab **o** ut **oriti** ... q⟨u⟩ae incipiunt ab **on** non habent **and . hend . end . ond** ; sed: **ann**, **henn**, **enn**, **onn**. in duali et plurali, et in utroq⟨ue⟩ paradygmate; v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ ab **onnhe** *vivre*: **anno8nhe** nos duo vivimus: **andori8a** nos duo condimus ... **hennonnhe**, **ennonnhe** vivunt: **hendori8a**, **endori8a** condiunt ... * in perfecto, adeoq⟨ue⟩ in parad⟨ygmate⟩ **S ondoriti** condierunt

1 kcsc corrects the repetition of 3^a but at the end of the list uses 9^a twice.

2 The last letter falls off the margin. kcsc: **end**

3 kcsc: **8echiaj**

4 kcsc: q⟨u⟩ae non est propria

onnoneskðandi *ils ont agréé*, non vero **ondoneskðandi**, forte euphoniae causâ

* ... 9^a ex supra dictis patet hanc linguam scaterere amphibologiis, et verbis sensu ancipiti tum in scriptione tum in pronuntiatione, et in verbis communibus, et in relationibus ut videbitur infra

De imperativo

1° imp<erativus> fo<rm>at<u>r à 2^a pers<ona> singulari futuri, **echi** mutato in **s<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>**

echietet ; seθet pile

2° si post **S** seq<u>it<u>r **i** praefige **t. echihon** dices<,> **tsihon** dic &c<etera>

3° si post **S** reperit<u>r **i** purum et breve, perit<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **echion tson** intra &c<etera>

4. in parad<ygmate> **S** tolle **e<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> esakeronha** timebis, **sakeronha** time

5. v<er>ba in **and** et **ann** brevibus perdunt etiam **e: estaθara** tu v<isiteras> **staθara** visite

6. s<imili>ter verba in **ar** perdunt **e: echrihðanderas** peccabis<,> **chrihðanderas** pecca

7. q<uan>do de duobus est sermo saepe praefigetur **ti** v<erbi> g<ratia> **ti tsatont** *mettez vous 2*

8. in p<ro>po<sition>ibus nega<tiv>is utere **ennonchien** v<el> **te θastato** cum fut<uro>: **te θasta sen θo** quaeso ne &c<etera>

De Modo potentiali

1. modus pot<entialis> signat agendi potentiam non autem actionem, et videtur respondere locutioni gallicae in *rois je parlerois* &c<etera>

2° q<uan>do gallica vox *j'eusse* potest resolvi per *j'aurois*, exprimi debet per modum potentialem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *j'eusse pilé si tu ne m'eusse*¹ *empêché aon,θetinnen onta te skendaθerhandinnen*; si non possit resolvi utere plusq<uam> perf<ecto> indicat<ivi><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *si j'eusse pilé j'eusse fait du pain, aondaθarontak, te θa,etinnen*

1 Sic.

3° ab imperfecto indicativo formatum aliud tempus modi potentialis praefigendo illi notas modi potentialis **â âe ai**¹ &c(etera)>, v(erbi) g(ratia) **aontahonnehk** *il vivoit encore*, **a, aentak** *cela y seroit orast aiond8sk8a il pleuvroit encore*

4° Saepe modus potentialis usurpatur interrogativè ad significandam negationem(>), v(erbi) g(ratia) **âhaienn^dron** *seroit il mechant?* pro **te haiennron** *il n'est pas mechant*

5° modus potentialis saepe etiam usurpatum pro futuro negativo v(erbi) g(ratia) **âhaon atichien** v(el) **tatichien âhaon** pro **stan atiaondi te haonde** *certes il n'arrivera pas* v(el) **t'atichien t'ahaonhonj**

De optativo

1. modus potentialis elegantissime adhibetur:² ut in oratione dominica **aiesachiendaen** honoreris .. **aia, 8ak8as0a sken** beati simus .. **âhe, en sen d'ies8s** videam Jesum: ita galli *q(u) je vous voye Jésus*

2° utuntur particula praepositiva **te** et postpositiva **sen** v(el) **sken** post vocalem et **asen** v(el) **asken** post consonantem : **te hek8a, en sen ti handiangonchr8ten**³ hunc videamus quo lepore sit – **te a, 8atatiak sen d'ies8s dinde marie** utinam jesus et maria simul loquamur :– **te on, 8atatinnen sen d'ies8s dinde marie** : utinam locuti fuissetem &c(etera) *nota: hîc urones⁴ uti indicativo

3° alio modo adhibentur particulae, scilicet cum verbum praecedat, vel nominativus, v(el) casus, tunc enim postpositiva fit praepositiva v(erbi) g(ratia) **isa sken te on, iatattinnen** utinam ego et tu locuti fuissetem – **arih8a8asti sken te on, ihiatontinnen** rem pulchram utinam ego et tu scripsissetem

4° optativus negativus: seu potius negativus aversativus sic exprimitur: **ta sen te a, atatiak** utinam non loquar – **ta sen te 8a, atattinnen** utinam non fuissetem locutus *nota adhiberi tempora indicativi modi

5° verba quae habent **te** duale sic efferuntur **ta sen ta te 8a, asenk8innen** utinam non clamassetem – **ta sen ta te a, seny8as** utinam non clamem

1 kcsc: **âi**

2 kcsc: modus potentialis elegantissime adhibetur pro optativo

3 kcsc: **handiangonchr8ten**

4 kcsc: hurones

De Subjunctivo

1° Subjunctivi t⟨em⟩pora non differunt a temporibus indic⟨ativi⟩ nisi per praefixas par⟨ticu⟩las **te si** v⟨el⟩ **de te** pro futuro v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧeθet, te ʒannenhaen je pilerois si j'avois du blé**

2° **De** solitarie positum signat *quand* v⟨el⟩ *lorsq⟨ue⟩* et tunc regit fut⟨urum⟩⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ *si j'avois ... si je faisais &c⟨etera⟩* non enim reddit⟨ur⟩ huronice per imperf⟨ectum⟩, sed, ut plurimùm, per praesens v⟨el⟩ aor⟨istum⟩ v⟨el⟩ modum pot⟨entialem⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ *nous pécherions, si nous couchions avec des femmes: aiaʒarihʒanderaj, te aʒendakʒandeθa* v⟨el⟩ *t'aabenda-kʒandeten* v⟨el⟩ *t'aiaʒendakʒandeten* – item: *âhaʒeiachendinnen te ʒaʒatinnen* iratus fuisset, si locutus fuisset – *ehaoneskʒen d'echiatatia* illi placebit, si loquaris-

3° propositiones neg⟨ativae⟩ sequentes sic efferunt⟨ur⟩: *si je ne piloïs presentement tu me tancerois, et tu me tancerois si je ne piloïs d'icy à q⟨uelque⟩ temps askakʒendihaten onta te ʒeθeta – onta te ʒeθetandenn askakʒendihaten*

4° cum concurrat par⟨ticu⟩la nega⟨tiv⟩a **te** cum par⟨ticu⟩la **te** signante *si*, tunc illa mutat⟨ur⟩ in **ta** v⟨el⟩ **onta**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ *me protégerois tu si je ne portois tes hardes askiatannonstat atichien ta te* v⟨el⟩ **onta te aketas d'esatendotaʒan** item: *ehahʒeichenk ta te* v⟨el⟩ **onta te chiatatiande** irascet⟨ur⟩, si non loquaris

De infinitivo

verba o⟨mn⟩ia carent participiis supinis et gerundiis quae sic supplentur.

1° infinitivus habet vim participii praeteriti⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧchondi** res facta – unde **ȧchondinnen ėachondik** – **ȧhiaton** res scripta &c⟨etera⟩¹

2° infinitivus al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do supplet vicem gerundivi addendo **e** v⟨el⟩ **ke**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧchienstie** *en faisant festin; annonchie* *pendant qu'on etoit assemblé*⟨,⟩ **atrendaenke** *pendant qu'on prioit dieu* v⟨el⟩ *en priant*

3° Supina in um supplent⟨ur⟩ addendo unam é particulis motus ad verbum v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ȧaraθonde** eo cubitum – **ȧatsatañionde** eo pransum: **ȧake-taθe** v⟨el⟩ **ȧaketatihatie** eo portatum v⟨el⟩ eo ferens

1 kcsc: **ȧchondi** res facta **ȧchondinnen** erat facta.... **ėachondik** &c⟨etera⟩.... **ȧhiaton** res scripta &c⟨etera⟩

4° Supina in u: exprimuntur per praesens infinitivi (vel) indeterminatum modi potestialis) verbi gratia **andoron d'aketati** (vel) **d'ai-onketat**, difficile à porter – **andoron ahiaton** (vel) utere indeterminato, verbi gratia **andoron d'aiehiaton** difficile qu'on écrit per modum potentialem - * potest etiam suppleri per particulas finales **t** (vel) **ti** (vel) **k** (vel) **k8i** quae signant causalitatem verbi gratia **aah8at** cuillier à dresser

5° futurum: portaturum (vel) portatum ire quod gallice sic redditur¹ *je crois qu'il porteras*²; exprimunt hurones quasi esset, *il portera je le crois ehaketat ierhe* –

6° gerundia, et participia, verbi gratia *je suis tombé en portant*, sic efferrunt hurones: **aketask8a st'aitaraha** *je portois, lorsqu'ue je suis tombé* vel utuntur particulis **hatie**, **tie**, **hontie**, verbi gratia: **aitarandi st'aketatihatiend** vel **aketatihatiend st'aitaraha** *j'alloys portant lorsqu'ue je suis tombé*

7° participium praesentis, verbi gratia *portans*; redditur ut gerundium

8° pro futuro in rus: eo precaturus (vel) precaturus sum, si sit motus utere verbo motus **atrendaende**, si non sit motus utere aoristo **atrendaen**

9° participium futuri portaturus non est in usu apud hurones nisi junctum negationi, verbi gratia **stan onaketastha te' en** non sum gestaturus **stansaketastha te' en** tu non es gestaturus

10 participium praeteriti exprimitur per ipsum infinitivum in aliquibus verbis, verbi gratia **achondi** res facta; in aliis vero redditur per praeteritum impersonale, verbi gratia **ondaie aoketati** (vel) **aoketatinnen** *cela a été porté* (vel) *on a porté cela* vide articulum 1°

11 participium futuri passivi effertur per modum potestialis impersonalis, verbi gratia **ondaie d'aoinketat** res gestanda (vel) potius *chose qu'on doit porter*

12. participium futuri passivi (vel) gratia) amandus, suppletur per relativum cum modo potestialis) gratia) **ahonchiendaen** honorandus ... vel per additionem **ti**, **sti k8i hondera8ati** admirandus

13 participium praeteriti (verbi gratia) amatus: suppletur per relativum ut **hoñannonh8e** (vel) **sennonh8e** *on l'aime*

14 infinitivus gallorum quae resolvitur a gallis per particulam *que* sive *que* inter duo verba sic exprimitur: **ierhe 8o ahaer** volo hoc

1 kcsc: redditur

2 Sic. kcsc: *portera*

hoc¹ faciat, loco, facias: quasi esset: volo hoc faciat dominatio vestra italorum more q<u>i honoris causa dicunt volo faciat² – **isa i_onnhas, i_atonk sarask8a** jubeo te proficisci – **a_õnehien, tsihon** mando tibi dicere (ad v<er>b<u>m) tibi mando, dic – **ehiatonk N. ha8eiachens** *on escrit que N. est faché* quibus in exemplis vides *que* supprimi

15 praesens infi<ni>tivi apud hurones accipitur eod modo quo apud gallos: *le boire, le manger* &c<etera> 1° ad signif<i>c<an>dum modum indefinitum v<erbi> g<ratia> *il faut manger* .. 2° pro objecto, seu pro cibo et potu ... 3° pro ipso actu,> v<erbi> g<ratia> pro ipsa manducatione

16° Locutio ista et similes: *il viendra pour se confesser*, ita effertur: *il viendra et il se confessera* **onh8a eshaon, 0o ati esha_oron8as** v<el> **onh8a eshaon chia esha_oron8as** v<el> **ondaie ichien, v<el> ondaie ati** &c<etera>

De persona indeterminata p<aradygmatis> C

<1°>³ persona indet<erminata> dicitur ea quae respondet voci gallicae *on<,>* v<erbi> g<ratia> *on parle* **ontatiak** ... * nota: persona indet<erminata> est obnoxia terminationibus et incrementis propriis cujusq<ue> temporis et modi sicut sunt personae determinatae v<el> **ontatiak eontatiak . t'eontetiande**⁴ <2°> in 1^a conj<ugatione> formatur à 3^a pers<ona> plurali fem<inina> sublato **t**, v<erbi> g<ratia> **ontatiak elles parle** .. **ontatiak on parle** <3°> in 2^a conj<ugatione> format<u>r ab infinitivo **a** infinitivi mutato in **e<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahiaton, ehiaton**⁵ (*on écrit*) <4°> in 3^a conj<ugatione> format<u>r ab infinitivo (a 1^a singulari indicat<ivi>)⁶ illi praefigendo **a<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **ehierandi: a_ehieras** *on se souvient* excipe verba q<u>ae incipiunt ab **enn** v<el> **end** quae habent **on** pro persona indeterminata : v<erbi> g<ratia> **orih8atoéti ondaétak8a** *on profane la chose sainte* ab **endaetak8i**... de 3^{is} pers<onis> plur<alibus> diximus supra eas sequi 1^{am} conj<ugationem>

1 Dittography provoked by page break.

2 In kcsc, this part of the note reads as follows: infinitivus qui resolvitur à gallis per par<ticu>lam *que*, sive *que* inter duo v<er>ba, sic exprimitur: **i_erhe 0o ahaer** volo hoc facias, quasi esset: volo hoc faciat dominatio vestra, italorum more, qui honoris causa dicunt: volo, faciat...

3 In kcsc, these points are thus numbered.

4 kcsc: **t'eontatiande**

5 kcsc: **ehiatonk**

6 a 1a singulari indicat<ivi>: absent from kcsc.

<5°> in 4^a conj<ugatione> ut plurimum sequitur 2^{am} conj<ugationem>, nam paucis exceptis, habent **e** pro initiali ... alia q<u>ae pauciora sunt, formant personam indet<erminatam> ab infinitivo ei praefigendo **a**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **a***ichias* ab *echia***i** quaerere¹ .. **aiheons** ab *enheon* mori²... **chi-ai tak8a** à **chi-** **entak8i** *faire expres*³ – prope dixerim, caetera habent **e**

<6°> in 5^a conj<ugatione> format<u>r a 1^a pers<ona> praesentis, illi praefigendo **a**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **a***onnhe* vivitur ab *onnhe* vivo – **onnhe** vivere.

De persona indet<erminata> p<aradygmatis> **S**

formatur à 3^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> fem<inina> illi praefigendo **a** cum **u**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **otati** locuta est **a***otati on a parlé* ... **a8eiakaen** *elle est lâche*<, > **a***a8eiakaen on est poltron*... **aorichen** *elle a de l'assaisonnement*<, > **a***aori-* **chen on a de l'assaisonnement**

Notanda

1° * persona indet<erminata> cum relatione exprimit<u>r semper per reciprocum<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **st'ontatierha d'a***orih8anderaskon ce qu'on fait aux pêcheurs*

2° * quae exprimunt<u>r per vocem (aut potius) personam indeterminatam determinantur tantum per adjunctas particulas<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> *j'ai vu un cheval, j'ay vu des chevaux* : **a***e***en a***ochiatens* ... **a***e***en ondatonronton d'a***ochiatens*⁴

3° * quando pers<ona> indet<erminata> jungenda est determinatis, habenda est ratio numeri dualis au⁵ pluralis earum : v<erbi> g<ratia> *elle a rencontré N* **a***othatrah***a** N ... *elle a rencontré pierre et jean* **a***thontraha*...

at quando persona q<u>ae est veluti casus verbi est indeterminata, habetur tantum ratio personae q<u>ae locum tenet nominativi<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **a***ondia***i istask8a?** *est ce avec une personne mariée que tu as pèché*

1 kcsc: *on cherche*

2 kcsc: *on meurt*

3 kcsc: *on fait expres*

4 kcsc: v<erbi> g<ratia>: *j'ai vu un cheval a***e****en a***ochiatens*..... **a****e****en ondatonronton d'a***ochiatens j'en ai vu plusieurs*

5 kcsc: aut

*couché?*¹ ... **onn'ak8atraha n'on8e** *elle a rencontré des hom⟨mes⟩* ... haec regula est tantum pro absolutis, non pro relativis.

[11–12]

Pages 11 and 12 blank in the manuscript.

[13]

Quinque Conjugationes parad⟨ygmatis⟩ **S**

akerondi	ate8atandi	eiachendi	entahekenh8i	onesk8andi
timere	taedere	irasci	pro meritis excipi	<i>agréer</i>

Indicativus

praesens

	kerons	te8atandik	iachens	tahekens	nesk8andik
S	a_a	a_e	a_e	a_i	a_o
	sa	sa	se	sen	so
	ho	ho	ha8e	ho	hao
	o	o	a8e	o	ao
D	on_ia (oñia)	on_i	onde	ondi	onno
	tsa	tsi	ste	sti	sto
	honda	hoti	honde	hondi	honno
	onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno

1 kcsc: *couché* (*peché*)

	kerons	teḡatandik	iachens	tahekens	neskḡandik
P	onḡa	onḡa	onḡe	onḡen	onḡio dic oñion ¹
	skḡa	skḡa	skḡe	skḡen	tso
	honda	hoti	honde	hondi	honno
	onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno
	a,o	a,o	a,aḡe	a,o	a,a,o

imperfectum

	keronska ²	teḡa'tandihik	iachenskḡa	tahekenskḡa	neskḡandihik
S	a,a	a,e	a,e	a,i	a,o

caetera ut praesens

perfectum

	kerondi	teḡatandi	iachendi	tahekenhḡi	neskḡandi
S	a,a	a,e	a,e	a,i	a,o

caetera ut praesens

plusquamperfectum

	kerondinnen	teḡatendinnen	iachendinnen	tahekenhḡinnen	neskḡandinnen
S	a,a	a,e	a,e	a,i	a,o

caetera ut praesens

1 dic oñion: seems to be written in different ink.

2 KCSC: **keronskḡa**

aoristus 1

	keronha	ʔeʂaten	iachenk	tahekenk	neskʂen
S	on̄a	on̄e	on̄e	on̄i	on̄o onion ¹
	esa	esa	ese	esen	eso
	aho	aho	ahaʂe	aho	ahao
	ao	ao	aaʂe	ao	aaao
D	aon̄ia	aon̄i	aonde	aondi	aonno
	etsa	etsi	este	esti	esto
	ahonda	ahoti	ahonde	ahondi	ahonno
	aonda	aoti	aonde	aondi	aonno
P	aon̄ʂa	aon̄ʂa	aon̄ʂe	aon̄ʂen	aon̄io
	eskʂa	eskʂa	eskʂe	eskʂen	etso
	ahonda	ahoti	ahonde	ahondi	ahonno
	aonda	aoti	aonde	aondi	aonno
	aāo	aāo	aāaʂe	aāo	aāao

aorist<us> 2

	keronska	ʔeʂatandiska	iachenska	tahekenska	neskʂandiska
S	on̄a	on̄e	on̄e	on̄i	on̄o

caetera ut aor<istus> ¹US

1 **onion**: in different ink.

futur⟨um⟩ aff⟨irrativum⟩

	keronha	teʂaten	iachenk	tahekenk	neskʂen
⟨S⟩	eʂa_a	eʂa_e	eʂa_e	eʂa_i	eʂa_o
	esa	esa	ese	esen	eso
	eho	ehe	ehaʂe	eho	ehao
	eo	eo	eaʂe	eo	ea ¹
⟨D⟩	eon_ia	eon_i	eonde	eondi	eonno
	etsa	etsi	este	esti	esto
	ehonda	ehoti	ehonde	ehondi	ehond ^{no}
	eonda	eoti	eonde	eondi	eond ^{no}
⟨P⟩	eon_ʂa	eon_ʂa	eon_ʂe	eon_ʂen	eon_ʂo
	eskʂa	eskʂa	eskʂe	eskʂen	etso
	ehonda	ehoti	ehonde	ehondi	ehonno
	eonda	eoti	eonde	eondi	eonno
	ea_o	ea_o	ea_aʂe	ea_o	ea_ao

fut⟨urum⟩ contin⟨uationis⟩

	keronska	teʂatandihi	iachenska	tahekenska	neskʂandihi
S	eʂa_a	eʂa_e	eʂa_e	eʂa_i	eʂa_o

caetera ut fut⟨urum⟩ aff⟨irrativum⟩ * vide conj⟨ugationem⟩ par⟨adygmatis⟩ C²

- 1 kcsc only gives the singular forms of this paradigm and adds the note: caetera ut aor⟨istus⟩ ponendo e loco a initiali.
- 2 vide conj⟨ugationem⟩ par⟨adygmatis⟩ C: absent from kcsc.

[14]

fut<urum> negat<ivum>

	keronche	teḡatandihe	iachenche	tahekenh8e	nesk8andihe
S	t'eḡa _a	t'eḡa _e	t'eḡa _e	t'eḡa _i	t'eḡa _o

caetera ut fut<urum> aff<irmativum> * dicitur etiam **stante eḡa_a** &c<etera>

imperativus

	keronha	teḡaten	iachenk	tahekenk	nesk8en
	sa	sa	se	tsi	so
	tsa	tsi	ste	sti	sto
	tia	ti	te	ti	to
	k8a	k8a	k8e	k8en	tio

alius imp<erativus> (est praesens modi pot<entialis>)

	keronha	teḡaten	iachenk	tahekenk	nesk8en
1	âesa	âesa	âese	âesen	âeso

vide praesens modi pot<entialis>

* pro tribus aliis imper<ativis> exemplum sit par<adygma> C

Modus potentialis

praes<ens> et imperf<ectum> affir<mativum>

	keronha	teḡaten	iachenk	tahekenk	neskḡen
S	âon _ḡ a	âon _ḡ e	âon _ḡ e	âoni ¹	âon _ḡ o
	âesa	âesa	âese	âesen	âeso
	âho	âho	âhaḡe	âho	âhao
	âio	âio	âiaḡe	âio	âiao
D	âion _ḡ ia	âion _ḡ i	âionde	âiondi	âionno
	âetsa	âetsi	âeste	âesti	âesto
	âhonda	âhoti	âhonde	âhondi	âhonno
	âionda	âioti	âionde	âiondi	âionno
P	âion _ḡ ḡa	âion _ḡ ḡa	âion _ḡ e	âionḡen ²	âion _ḡ io
	âeskḡa	âeskḡa	âeskḡe	âeskḡen	âetso
	âhonda	âhonda	âhonde	âhondi	âhonno
	âionda	âionda	âionde	âiondi	âionno
	âia _ḡ o	âia _ḡ o	âia _ḡ aḡe	âia _ḡ o	âia _ḡ ao

aliud praes<ens> et imp<erfectum>³

	keronska	&c<etera>
S	t'âon _ḡ a	caetera ut praes<ens> af<firmativum> * vide par<adygma> C

1 KCSC: âon_ḡi

2 KCSC: âion_ḡḡen

3 In KCSC, this 'other present and imperfect of the potential mood' is called 'other negative present' and is given after the 'negative present' of the type t'eḡa_ḡakeronchend rather than before it

praes⟨ens⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

	keronchend	te8atandihenn	iachenchend	tahekenh8end	nesk8andihend
S	t'e8a_a	t'e8a_e	t'e8a_e	t'e8a_i	t'e8a_o

caetera ut fut⟨urum⟩ indicativi

perfectum

	kerondik	te8atandik	iachendik	tahekenh8ik	nesk8andik
S	aon_a	aon_e	aon_e	aon_i	aon_o

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩ af⟨firmativum⟩ modi pot⟨entialis⟩

plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩

	kerondinnen	te8atandinnen	iachendinnen	tahekenh8innen	nesk8andinnen
S	aon_a	aon_e	aon_e	aon_i	aon_o

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩ af⟨firmativum⟩ modi pot⟨entialis⟩

Mod⟨us⟩ pot⟨entialis⟩ contin⟨uationis⟩

	kerondihatiaska¹
S	aon_a

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩ af⟨firmativum⟩ modi pot⟨entialis⟩ * vide p⟨aradygma⟩ C

1 KCSC gives both **aon_akerondihatieska** and **aon_akerondik ichien** (the second of these being mentioned first).

fut<urum> praet<erito> mixt<um>

	kerondik	teʒatandik	iachendik	tahekenhʒik	neskʒandik
S	eʒa_a	eʒa_e	eʒa_e	eʒa_i	eʒa_o

caetera ut perf<ectum> indicativi, addito ubiq<ue> e initiali¹
pro optativo, subjunctivo et infinitivo (vide par<adygma> C

[15]

Relatio determinatorum ad indeterminatos

seu Relatio indeterminata activa

ego illos .. tu illos .. ille illos .. &c<etera>

aʒaratandi	askʒahendi	endae takʒi	entenri	onnhonti
bene facere alicui	odisse aliquem	irridere aliquem	misereri alicujus	<vi>vivificare ² aliquem

Indicativus

praesens

	ʒaratandik	skʒahens	ndaetakʒa	tenrha	nn'hons
S	Xea	xe	xee	xe	xeo
	Chea	che	chee	che	cheo
	sa_o	sa_o	sa_aʒe	sa_o	sa_ao
	a_o	a_o	a_aʒe	a_o	a_ao

1 kcsc has another note: ut fut<urum> aff<irmativum>

2 kcsc: vivificare

	θaratandik	skθahens	ndaetakθa	tenrha	nn'hons
P	Aχīa	aχi	aχīe	aχi	aχio
	Etsia	etsi	etsīe	etsi	etsio
	haa,ο	haa,ο	haa,aθe	haa,ο	haa,aο
	aa,ο v⟨el⟩ aiθ, aiθ	aa,ο v⟨el⟩ aiθ	aa,aθe v⟨el⟩, atθe	aa,ο v⟨el⟩, aiθ	aa,aο v⟨el⟩, aiθo

imperfect⟨um⟩

	θaratandihik	skθahenskθa	ndae takθak	tenrhak	nnhonskθa
S	Xea	χe	χee	χe	χeo

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩

perfectum

	θaratandi	skθahendi	ndaetakθi	tenri	nnhonti
S	Xea	χe	χee	χe	χeo

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩

plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩

	θaratandinnen	skθahendinnen	ndaetakθinnen	tenrinnen	nnhontinnen
S	Xea	χe	χee	χe	χeo

caetera ut praes⟨ens⟩

aorist<us> 1

	θaraten	skθahenk	ndaetak	tenr	nnhont
	aχea	aχe	aχee	aχe	aχeo
	achea	ache	achee	ache	acheo
	asa_o	asa_o	asa_aθe	asa_o	asa_ao
	aa_o	aa_o	aa_aθe	aa_o	aa_ao
P	aaχia	aaχi	aaχie	aaχi	aaχio
	aetsia	aetsi	aetsie	aetsi	aetsio
	ahaa_o	ahaa_o	ahaa_aθe	ahaa_o	ahaa_ao
	a_aa_o	a_aa_o	a_aa_aθe	a_aa_o	a_aa_ao

aorist<us> 2 vide par<adygma> C¹

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>

	θaraten	skθahenk	ndaetak	tenr	nnhont
S	eχea	eχe	eχee	eχe	eχeo

caetera ut aor<istus> 1. ponendo ubiq<ue> e loco a

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

	θaratandihe	skθaenche	ndaetakθande	tenrande	nnhonθe
<S>	t'eχea	t'eχe	t'eχee	t'eχe	t'eχeo

caetera ut fut<urum> af<firmativum> * forte etiam **stant'eχea** &c<etera>

1 κsc: vide par<adygma> S

Imperativus

	θaraten	skβahenk	ndaetak	tenr	nnhont
⟨S⟩	sea	se	see	se	seo
	tsia	tsi	tsie	tsi v⟨el⟩ sti	tsio

*modus pot⟨entialis⟩ usurpat⟨u⟩r pro imperativo

Modus potent⟨ialis⟩

praes⟨ens⟩ et imp⟨erfectum⟩ aff⟨irmativum⟩

	θaraten	skβahenk	ndaetak	tenr	nnhont
S	âχea	âχe	âχee	âχe	âχeo
	âchea	âche	âchee	âche	âcheo
	âsa_o	âsa_o	âsa_aβe	âsa_o	âsa_{ao}
	âi_{ao}	âi_{ao}	âia_aβe	âi_{ao}	âia_{ao}
P	âiaχia	âiaχi	âiaχie	âiaχi	âiaχio
	âietsia	âietsi	âietsie	âietsi	âietsio
	âhaa_o	âhaa_o	âhaa_aβe	âhaa_o	âhaa_{ao}
	âiaa_o	âiaa_o	âiaa_aβe	âiaa_o	âiaa_{ao}

praes⟨ens⟩ et imp⟨erfectum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

	θaratandihenn	skβahenchenn	ndaetakβandenn	tenrandenn	nnhonθenn
⟨S⟩	t'εχea	t'εχe	t'εχee	t'εχe	t'εχeo

caetera ut fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ indicativi

[16]

perfectum

	θaratandik	sk8ahendik	ndaetak8ik	tenrik	nnhontik
S	âχea	âχe	âχee	âχe	âχeo

caetera ut praes<ens> af<firmativum> modi pot<entialis>
plusq<uam> perf<ectum>

	θaratandinnen	sk8ahendinnen	ndaetak8innen	tenrinnen	nnhontinnen
S	âχea	âχe	âχee	âχe	âχeo

caetera ut praes<ens> modi pot<entialis>

fut<urum> praet<erito> mixt<um>

	θaratandik	sk8ahendik	ndaetak8ik	tenrik	nnhontik
S	eχea	eχe	eχee	eχe	eχeo

caetera <ut futurum indicativi>¹
pro optativo, subjunctivo &c<etera>² vide par<adygma> C

Relatio determin<at>orum³ ad indeterminatos

seu Relatio indeterminata passiva
ego ab illis .. tu ab illis .. ille ab illis .. &c<etera> v<el> illi me &c<etera>

aronasenni	aienstandi	endihatendi	entenri	on8e ti
respondere	docere	commodare	misereri	décourager q<uel- qu'un>

1 kcsc: &c<etera> ut fut<urum> ind<icativi>

2 kcsc: pro optativo, subjunctivo, et infinitivo

3 kcsc: determinatorum

Indicativus

praesens

	ron ₁ asennik	nienstandik	ndihatandik	tenrha	n8e 0a
S	on ₁ a esa hona ona	on ₁ e v<el> oññie esa hona ona	on ₁ e ese hone one	on ₁ i esen honen onen	on ₁ o eso hono ono
P	on ₁ χia etsia hoñienda onenda	on ₁ χi etsi honati onati	on ₁ χie etsie honende onende	on ₁ χi etsi honendi onendi	on ₁ χio etsio honenno onenno

imperfectum

	ron ₁ asennihik	ienstandihik	ndihatandihik	tenrhak	n8e 0ak
S	on ₁ a	on ₁ e	on ₁ e	on ₁ i	on ₁ o

caetera ut praes<ens>

perfectum

	ron ₁ asenni	ienstandi	ndihatandi	tenri	n8e ti
S	on ₁ a	on ₁ e	on ₁ e	on ₁ i	on ₁ o

caetera ut praes<ens>

plusq(uam) perf(ectum)

	ron _̣ asenninnen	ienstandinnen	ndihatandinnen	tenrinnen	n8e _̣ tinnen
S	on _̣ a	on _̣ e	on _̣ e	on _̣ i	on _̣ o

caetera ut praes(ens)

aorist(us) 1

	ron _̣ as	iensten	ndihatēn	tenr	n8et
S	aon _̣ a	aon _̣ e	aon _̣ e	aon _̣ i	aon _̣ o
	aesa	aesa	aese	aesen	aeso
	ahona	ahona	ahone	ahoñen	ahono
	a _̣ ona	a _̣ ona	a _̣ one	a _̣ oñen	a _̣ ono
P	aonχ _̣ ia	aonχ _̣ ia	aonχ _̣ ie	aonχ _̣ i	aonχ _̣ io
	aetsia	aetsia	aetsie	aetsi	aetsio
	ahonenda	ahonati	ahonende	ahonñendi	ahonneno
	a _̣ onenda	a _̣ onati	a _̣ onende	a _̣ onendi	a _̣ onnenno ¹

fut(urum) aff(irmativum)

	ron _̣ as	iensten	ndihâten	tenr	n8ét
S	eon _̣ a	eon _̣ e	eon _̣ e	eon _̣ i	eon _̣ o

caetera ut aor(istus) 1, a initiali mutato in e

1 kcsC includes a note: aor(istus) 2. vide p(aradygma) C

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

	ron_asennihe	ienstandihe	ndihatandihe	tenrande	n8etande
S	t'eoṅ _a	t'eoṅ _e	t'eoṅ _e	t'eoṅ _i	t'eoṅ _o

caetera ut aor<istus> 1 &c<etera>

Modus potentialis

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> aff<irmativum>

	ron_as	iensten	ndiháten	tenr	n8e't
S	aion _a v<el> âoṅ _a	aion _e v<el>	aion _e v<el>	aion _i v<el>	aion _o v<el>
	aiesa	aiesa	aiese	aiesen	aieso
	âhona	âhona	âhone	âhonen	âhono
	âona	âona	âone	âonen	âono
P	âion _x ia	âion _x i	âion _x ie	âion _x i	âion _x io
	âietsia	âietsia	âietsie	âietsi	âietsio
	âhonenda	âhonati	âhonende	âhonendi	âhonneno
	â _o nenda	â _o nati	â _o nende	â _o nendi	â _o nenno

[page 17 started on the penultimate line of the singular forms of the preceding table]

praes<ens> neg<ativum>

	ron _{asennihenn}	ienstandihenn	ndihatandihenn	tenrandenn	8e'tandenn
S	t'eon _a	t'eon _e	t'eon _e	t'eon _i	t'eon _o

caetera ut fut<urum> neg<ativum> indicativi

praeteritum

	ron _{asennik}	ienstandik	ndihatandik	tenrik	n8e'tik
S	âon _a	âon _e	âon _e	âon _i	âon _o

caetera ut mod<us> pot<entialis>

plusq<uam> perf<ectum>

	ron _{asenninnen}	ienstandinnen	ndihatandinnen	tenrinnen	n8e'tinnen
<S>	âon _a	âon _e	âon _e	âon _i	âon _o

fut<urum> praet<erito> mixt<um>

	ron _{asennik}	ienstandik	ndihatandik	tenrik	n8e'tik
<S>	eon _a	eon _e	eon _e	eon _i	eon _o ¹

1 kcsc includes a note: pro optativo, subjunctivo, et infinitivo... vide parad<ygma> C

[18]

Relationes¹

Relatio 1^{ae} ad 2^{am}

1 ^a akak̄ði	2 ^a ann^hhandi	3 ^a ehierandi	4 ^a ɟentenri	5 ^a onnhonti	
<i>regarder q<uel- qu'un></i>	<i>commander à q<uelqu'un></i>	<i>se souvenir de q<uelqu'un></i>	<i>pitoyer q<uel- qu'un></i>	<i>vivifier q<uel- qu'un></i>	
	kak̄ðas	nn^hhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ego te	ɟona	ɟon v<el> ɟo	ɟone	ɟon	ɟono
nos duo te v<el> plures	esa	esa	ese	esen	eso
nos plur<es> vos plur<es>	etsiä	etsi	etsie	etsi	etsio
ego vos duo	ja	i	nde	ndi	ndo v<el> nno
ego vos plures	ða	ða	ðe	ðen	jo

Relatio activa 1^{ae} ad 3^{am}

	kak̄ðas	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ego illum	ha	henn ^h has ²	he	hi	ho
ego et tu illum	hetia	heti	hete	heti	heto
ego et vos illum	hek̄ða	hek̄ða tas ³	hek̄ðe	hek̄ðen	hetio
ego et ille illum	sa ₁ ia	sa ₁ i	sande	sandi	sanno v<el> sando
ego et illi illum	sa ₁ ða	sa ₁ ðatas ⁴	sa ₁ ðe	sa ₁ ðen	sa ₁ jo
ego illos	ha ₁ a	ha ₁ e	ha ₁ e	ha ₁ i	ha ₁ o
ego et tu illos	haetia	haeti	haete	haeti	haeto
ego et vos illos v<el> ego et tu illos	haek̄ða	haek̄ða	haek̄ðe	haek̄ðen	haetio
ego et ille illos	haa ₁ ia	haa ₁ i	haande	haandi	haanno v<el> haando
ego et illi illos v<el> nos et illi illos	haa ₁ ða	haa ₁ ða	haa ₁ ðe	haa ₁ ðen	haa ₁ jo

1 kcsc: Relationes. determinatae &c<etera>

2 In kcsc, this prefix is given as **he**.

3 In kcsc, this prefix is given as **hek̄ða**.

4 In kcsc, this prefix is given as **sa₁ða**.

	kakȝas	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ego illam	ȝa	ȝe	ȝe	ȝi	ȝo
ego et tu illam	tia	ti	ti	te	to
ego et vos illam v⟨el⟩ nos et tu illam	kȝa	kȝa	kȝe	kȝen	tio
ego et ille illam	aia	ai	ande	andi	anno v⟨el⟩ ando
ego et illi illam v⟨el⟩ nos et ille illam	aȝa	aȝa	aȝe	aȝen	aȝio
ego illas	ȝa	ȝe	ȝe	ȝi	ȝo
ego et tu illas	aetia	aeti	aete	aeti	aeto
ego et vos illas v⟨el⟩ nos et tu illas	aekȝa	aekȝa	aekȝe	aekȝen	aetio
ego et ille illas	aaia	aa_i	aande	aandi	aanno v⟨el⟩ aando
ego et illi illas v⟨el⟩ nos et ille illas	aaȝa	aaȝa	aaȝe	aaȝen	aaȝio
ego aliquem v⟨el⟩ al⟨i⟩q⟨u⟩os indet⟨erminatos⟩	ȝea	ȝe	ȝee	ȝe	ȝeo
nos aliquem v⟨el⟩ al⟨i⟩q⟨u⟩os indet⟨erminatos⟩	aȝia	aȝe	aȝie	aȝi	aȝio

Relatio activa 2^{ae} ad 3^{am}

tu illum	hechia	hechie	hechie	hechi	hechio
vos duo illum	hetsa	hetsi	heste	hesti	hesto
vos plures illum	heskȝa	heskȝe	heskȝe	heskȝen	hetso
tu illos	hachia	hachie	hachie	hachi	hachio
vos 2 illos	haetsa	haetsi	haeste	haesti	haesto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ illos	haeskȝa	haeskȝa	haeskȝe	haeskȝen	haetso
tu illam	chia	chie	chie	chi	chio
vos 2 illam	tsa	tsi	ste	sti	sto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ illam	skȝa	skȝa	skȝe	skȝen	tso
tu illas	aichia	aichie	aichie	aichi	aichio
vos 2 illas	aetsa	aetsi	aeste	aesti	aesto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ illas	aeskȝa	aeskȝa	aeskȝe	aeskȝen	aetso

tu aliquem, aliquos v⟨el⟩ aliquas indet⟨erminatas⟩	chea	che	chee	che	cheo
vos aliquem, aliquos v⟨el⟩ aliquas indet⟨erminatas⟩	etsia	etsi	etsie	etsi	etsio

[19]

Relationes¹

Relatio 2^{ae} ad 1^{am}2

1 ^a akak̄i <i>regarder</i> <i>q⟨uelqu'un⟩</i>	2 ^a annhandi <i>commander à</i> <i>q⟨uelqu'un⟩</i>	3 ^a ehierandi <i>se souvenir de</i> <i>q⟨uelqu'un⟩</i>	4 ^a ęntenri <i>pitoyer</i> <i>q⟨uelqu'un⟩</i>	5 ^a onnhonti <i>vivifier</i> <i>q⟨uelqu'un⟩</i>
---	--	--	---	---

	kak̄as	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
tu me	ska	ske	ske	ski	sko
tu nos duo	skia	ski	ste	sti	sto
tu v⟨el⟩ vos duo nos plures	sk̄a	sk̄a	sk̄e	sk̄en	skio

Relatio passiva (v⟨el⟩ activa) 1^{ae} ad 3^{am} v⟨el⟩ 3^{ae} ad 1^{am}3

	kak̄as	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ego ab illo v⟨el⟩ ille me	ha_a	ha_e	ha_e	ha_i	ha_o
nos duo ab illo v⟨el⟩ ille nos duo	son_ia	son_i	sonde	sondi	sonno v⟨el⟩ sondo
nos plur⟨es⟩ ab illo v⟨el⟩ illo nos pl⟨ures⟩	son_̄a	son_̄a	son_̄e	son_̄en	son_io

- 1 In kcsc, the 'relation' from second to first person precedes rather than follows that from second to third, and there is no title 'Relationes' separating them.
- 2 kcsc: Relatio activa 2^{ae} ad 1^{am}
- 3 kcsc: Relatio passiva 1^{ae} ad 3^{am}... v⟨el⟩ activa 3^{ae} ad 1^{am}

	kak̄as	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ego ab illis v⟨el⟩ illi me	hoñ_a	hoñ_e	hoñ_e	hoñ_i	hoñ_o
nos duo ab illis v⟨el⟩ illi nos duo	haonia	haon_i	haonde	haondi	haonno v⟨el⟩ haondo
nos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illis v⟨el⟩ illi nos pl⟨ures⟩	haon̄a	haon̄a	haon̄e	haon̄en	haon̄io
ego ab illa v⟨el⟩ illa me	a_a	a_e	a_e	a_i	a_o
nos 2 ab illa v⟨el⟩ illa nos 2	on̄ia	on̄_i	onde	ondi	onno v⟨el⟩ ondo
nos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illa v⟨el⟩ illa nos pl⟨ures⟩	on̄a	on̄a	on̄e	on̄en	on̄io
ego ab illabus v⟨el⟩ illae me	on̄a	on̄_e	on̄_e	on̄_i	on̄_o
nos 2 ab illabus v⟨el⟩ illae nos duo	aon̄ia	aon̄_e	aonde	aondi	aonno v⟨el⟩ aondo
nos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illabus v⟨el⟩ illae nos pl⟨ures⟩	aon̄a	aon̄a	aon̄e	aon̄en	aon̄io
ego ab al(i)q(u)o v⟨el⟩ al(i)q(u)â v⟨el⟩ aliquibus &c⟨etera⟩ me	on̄a	on̄_e	on̄_e	on̄_i	on̄_o
ego ab al(i)quibus v⟨el⟩ aliq(u)i me	on̄ia	on̄_i	on̄ie	on̄_i	on̄io

Relatio passiva (v⟨el⟩ activa) 3^{ae} ad 2^{am}¹

tu ab illo v⟨el⟩ ille te	hia	hia	hie	hien	hio
vos 2 ab illo v⟨el⟩ ille &c⟨etera⟩	hetsa	hetsi	heste	hesti	hesto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illo v⟨el⟩ ille &c⟨etera⟩	hesk̄a	hesk̄a	hesk̄e	hesk̄en	hetso
tu ab illis v⟨el⟩ illi te	hesa	hesa	hese	hesen	heso
vos 2 ab illis v⟨el⟩ illi ...	haetsa	haetsi	haeste	haesti	haesto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illis v⟨el⟩ ...	haesk̄a	haesk̄a	haesk̄e	haesk̄en	haetso

1 kcsc: Relatio passiva 2^{ae} ad 3^{am}... v⟨el⟩ activa 3^{ae} ad 2^{am}

tu ab illa v⟨el⟩ illa te	sa	sa	se	sen	so
vos 2 ab illa v⟨el⟩ ...	t_sa	t_si	ste	sti	sto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illa v⟨el⟩ ...	sk_θa	sk_θa	sk_θe	sk_θen	tso
tu ab illabus v⟨el⟩ illae te	̣esa	̣esa	̣ese	̣esen	̣eso
vos 2 ab illabus v⟨el⟩ ...	̣aetsa	̣aetsi	̣aeste	̣aesti	̣aesto
vos pl⟨ures⟩ ab illabus v⟨el⟩ ...	̣aesk_θa	̣aesk_θa	̣aesk_θe	̣aesk_θen	̣aetso
te ab aliquo v⟨el⟩ ... aliquibus v⟨el⟩ aliqui &c⟨etera⟩	esa	esa	ese	esen	eso
vos ab aliquo v⟨el⟩ aliquibus v⟨el⟩ aliqui vos	etsia	etsi	etsĩe	etsi (esti)	etsio

[20]

Relatio passiva (v⟨el⟩ activa) 3^{ae} ad 3^{am}¹

	kak_θas	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
ille illum v⟨el⟩ ...	ho	ho	he (alibi ha_θe)	ho	ho (alibi hao)
ille illos v⟨el⟩ ...	ha_θona	ha_θon	ha_θone	ha_θon	ha_θono
illi illum v⟨el⟩ ...	hoñia	hona	hone	honen	hono
illi illos v⟨el⟩ ...	hoñenda	hoñati	hoñende	hoñendi	hoñenno v⟨el⟩ hoñendo
ille illam	ha	ha	he	hen	ho
ille illas	ha_θona	ha_θon	ha_θone	ha_θon	ha_θono
illi illam	̣ona	̣ona	̣one	̣oñen	̣ono
illi illas	̣oñenda	̣onati	̣onende	̣onendi	̣onenno v⟨el⟩ ̣onendo

1 kcsc: Relatio 3^{ae} ad 3^{am}

	kakθas	nnhas	hieras	tenrha	nnhons
illa illum v<el> ille ab illa	ho	ho	haθe	ho	hao
illa illos v<el> ...	ha_ona	ha_on	ha_one	ha_on	ha_ono
<illae> illum v<el> ...	hoña	hona	hone	hoñen	hono
<illae> illos v<el> ...	honenda	hoñati	honende	honendi	honenno v<el> honendo
illa illam v<el> ...	o	o	aθe	o	ao
illa illas	a_ona	a_on	a_one	a_on	a_ono
illae illam	ona	ona	one	onen	ono
illae illas	onenda	oñati	onende	onendi	onenno v<el> onendo
ille al<i>q<u>os indet<er- minatos>	sa_o	sa_o	sa_aθe	sa_o	sa_aao
illi al<i>q<u>os indet<er- minatos>	haa_o	haa_o	haa_aθe	haa_o	haa_aao
(est persona indet<erminata> par<adygmatis> S cum increm<ento> initiali v<el> sine)					
illa al<i>q<u>os indet<er- minatos>	a_o	a_o	a_aθe	a_o	a_aao
illae al<i>q<u>os indet<er- minatos>	aa_o	aa_o	aa_aθe	aa_o	aa_aao
ille ab aliquib<u>s indet<erminatis>	son	se	sa_e	se v<el> sai	sa_o
illi ab aliquib<u>s indet<erminatis>	haon	hae	haa_e	hae v<el> haai	haa_o
(est persona indeterminata) par<adygmatis> C cum al<i>q<u>o increm<ento> init<i>ali v<el> sine)					
illa ab aliquib<u>s indet<erminatis>	on	(i)e (i ad- ject<itium>)	a_e	e v<el> ai	a_o
illae ab aliquib<u>s indet<erminatis>	aon	ae	aa_e	a_e v<el> aai	aa_o

Imperativus

	akakʁa	nn'haha	hieraha	tenr	nnhont
tu me	ta_a	ta_e	ta_e	ta_i	ta_o
tu, nos 2 v<el> vos 2 me v<el> nos	ta_ia	ta_i	tande	tandi	tanno v<el> tando
tu, nos v<el> vos me v<el> nos	ta_ʁa	ta_ʁa	ta_ʁe	ta_ʁen	ta_ʁo
tu illum	hesa	hese	hese	hetsi	heso
vos illum	hetsa	hetsi	heste	hesti	hesto
tu illos	hasa	hase	hase	hatsi	haso
vos illos	hatsa	hatse	haste	hasti	hasto
tu illam	sa	se	se	tsi	so
vos illam	tsa	tse	ste	sti	sto
tu illas	_asa	_ase	_ase	_atsi	_aso
vos illas	_atsa	_atse	_aste	_asti	_asto
tu al<i>q<u>os &c<etera> indet<erminatos>	sea	se	see	se	seo
vos al<i>q<u>os &c<etera> ind<eterminatos>	tsia	tsi	tsie	tsi (alibi sθi)¹	tsio

finis

1 kcsc: **tsi v<el> sti**

Notae in Relationes

in praesenti, imperfecto, perfecto, et plusquamperfecto, futuro negativo, et modo potentiali negativo nil mutatur in affixis initialibus, sed finales tantum mutantur pro diversitate temporum. Sicque dices: **onendiθa . onendiθak . onenditi onenditinnen . stan te onenditonde, . te onenditandenn**

nota **eθa akakθa** ego videbor ab illa –

in reliquis personis verbi relativi antepones pro futuro **e**, pro aoristo **a** et pro modo potentiali **â** exceptis sequentibus quibus in modo potentiali praepositur **ai**, **aiayiakakθa nous les verrions**, **aionyiakakθa on nous regarderait**, **aiesakakθa on te verroit**, **aietsiakakθa on vous verroit**, **aionakakθa on me verroit**, **aionkakθa on le verroit**, **aiakakθa elle verroit le monde**. indeterminate –

Reiteratio: **aonsaiayiakakθa nous devrions les voir derechef**, **aonsaionyiak**, **aonsaiesak**, **aonsaietsiak**

Localitas **taontaionyiakakθacha qu'on nous revienne voir ... tontaiesak**, **tontaietsiak**

in aoristo autem **onsa** tantum pro reduplicatione et **onta** vel **tonta** pro localitate praepositur omnibus personis relativis his exceptis quae singularem numerum femininum denotant. istae enim sequuntur regulas verbi simplicis

in imperativo dic pro reduplicatione **onsata akakθa regarde moy derechef**.. **onsataiak**, **onsataθak**

pro localitate **ata ahakθa regarde moy de là .. ataiak .. ataθak**

localitas juncta reduplicationi **tontata akakθacha reviens moy voir de là icy**, **tontataiak tontataθak**

extra aoristum, modum potentialem affirmativum et imperativum: reduplicatio¹ per litteram **S**, ita ut quando praecedit littera **y** sive parvum **t** ista mutetur in **k** ut **skonakakθas** ego te rursus specto **skiakakθas** ego vos 2 & cetera **skθakakθas** ego vos plur(es)

in relatione 2^{ae} ad 1^{am} pro reduplicatione² mutat^{ur} **k** in **χ** diciturque **sχakakθas**, **sχiak**, **sχθak** pro **skakakθas** & cetera

1 kcsc: reduplicatio fit

2 kcsc: pro relatione

item in anomalis 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> inchoatis ab **and** v<el> **ann**: **t** mutatur in **θ**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **istontenk** tu mihi das **isθontenk** tu mihi reddis quando **S** apponenda est personae inchoatae ab **S** non additur nova littera **S** ut **sa_iakakθa** nos 2 ab illo rursus videm<u>s **sa_iθak**¹ nos plures rursus &c<etera> .. **son_iakakθas** nos 2 ab illo rursus videm<u>r **son_iθak**² nos pl<ures> &c<etera>

reliquis personis inchoatis a vocali, praefigitur **ts** v<erbi> g<ratia> **tsesakakθas** *on te revoit tsetsiakakθas, tsaxiak, tsonxiak, tson_a* &c<etera>

localitas extra aorist<um> &c<etera> exprimit<ur> per particulam **et** hoc modo: quando praefigitur **ι** istud **ι** mutatur in **k** et **t** perit ut **ekonakakθacha** pro **etkonakakθacha** *je te viendrai voir de là* .. **ekiak, ekθak** quando **et** praecedit litteram **h**, **t** coalescens cum **h** evadit in **θ** ut **eθa_iakakθacha** *il me viendra voir de là eθiak* *il te viendra voir de là* quando autem praeponi debet personae inchoatae ab **s**, haec supplet vicem **t**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **eson_iakakθacha** *il nous viendra voir nous 2 eson_iθak³*

reliquis personis inchoatis a vocali praeponitur **eti**,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **etiesakakθas** *on te regarde de là etionxiak* *on nous regarde de là*

[22]

De Reduplicatione

1° in omni reduplicatione reperitur littera **S** : potest ergo haber<i> pro notâ reduplicationis – gaudet aliquando littera al<i>q<u>â praecedente, aliquando littera sequente –

2° aoristus, omnis parad<ygmatis>, in omni numero et persona habet **ons** praefixum initio vocabuli

3° modus pot<entialis> in omni tempore, numero et persona, excepto futuro ex praesenti neg<ativo> habet **aons** praefixum initio vocabuli

4° imperativo praefigitur **sa** v<el> **onsa**

5° vocabulo incipienti ab **ι** seu iota, praefigitur **sk**, dempto **ι**

* praecedentes regulae nulli exceptioni sunt obnoxiae

1 KCSC: **sa_iθakakθa**

2 KCSC: **son_iθakakθas**

3 KCSC: **eson_iθakakθacha** *il nous viendra voir tous* (ex hoc loco)

2° in relationibus indeterminatis **χea, χe, χee, χe, χeo** reduplicaciones habent **sχea, sχe** &c<etera> (v<el> **tsia**<,> **tse** &c<etera>) ... at pro **chea**<,> **che** &c<etera> habent **sea**<,> **se** &c<etera> (v<el> **tsia, tse** &c<etera>)

[23]

Exemplar verbi particulam reduplicativam seu reiterativam assumentis

infinit<ivus>: **onsa8atati** *reparler ou parler pour la 2^{de} fois*

Indicativus

praesens

S... **ska** **tatiak sa s'a** v<el> **sha sk8a**
D... **tsa₁ia tsitia tsitsa ts'a** v<el> **tsha skia**
P... **tsa₂8a tsik8a tsisk8a s'on** v<el> **shon skon tson**

imp<erfectum>

S... **ska** **tatihak** caetera ut praesens

perf<ectum>

S... **sk8a₁a** **tati tsisa s'o** v<el> **sho tso**
D... **tson₁ia tsitsa s'onda** v<el> **shonda tsonda**
P... **tson₂8a tsisk8a s'onda** v<el> **shonda tsonda tsa₁o**

plusq<uam> perf<ectum>

S... **sk8a₁a** **tatinnen** caetera ut perf<ectum>

aorist<us>¹

S... **onsa**a **tatia onsachia onsaha onsa**ða
D... **onsaa**ia on**setia onsetsa onseh**ia on**sa**ia
P... **onsaa**ða on**sek**ða on**sesk**ða on**seh**on on**sa**on on**sa**on

fut<urum> affirm<ativum>

S... **eska** **tatia esa es**'a v<el> **esha esk**ða
D... **etsa**ia **etsitia etsitsa es**'a v<el> **esha esk**ia
P... **etsa**ða **etsik**ða **etsisk**ða **es**'on v<el> **eshon eskon etson** *nota: e prae-
poni particulis reduplicativis

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

S... **t'eska** **tatiande t'esa** &c<etera> ut fut<urum> aff<firmativum>

Imperativus

sa v<el> **onsa** **tatia satsa** v<el> **onsatsa satia** v<el> **onsatia sak**ða v<el>
onsakða pro quibus personis 1^o- 2^{is} crebrius usurpant<ur> illae
âonsetia âonsekða

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> aff<firmativum>

S... **âonsa**a ... **tatia âonsachia âonsaha** **âonsa**ða
D... **âonsaa**ia **âonsetia âonsetsa âonseh**ia **âonsa**ia
P... **âonsaia**ða **âonsek**ða **âonsesk**ða **âonsäh**on **âonsa**on **âonsa**ion

1 KCSC: aoristus 1

praes⟨ens⟩ et imp⟨erfectum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

S... **t'eska** **tatiandenn t'esa** &c⟨etera⟩ ut fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ indicati-
cativi

perf⟨ectum⟩

S... **âonsonça** **tatik âonsesa âonsaho âonsaio**

D... **âonsaionja âonsetsa âonsahonda âonsaionda**

P... **âonsaionça âonseskça âonsahonda âonsaionda âonsaïao**

Plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩

S... **âonsonça** **tatinnen** caetera ut perf⟨ectum⟩

fut⟨urum⟩ praet⟨erito⟩ mixt⟨um⟩

S... **eskça** **tatik etsisa es'o** v⟨el⟩ **esho etso**

D... **etsonja etsista es'onda** v⟨el⟩ **eshonda etsonda**

P... **etsonça etsiskça es'onda** v⟨el⟩ **eshonda etsonda etsa**o nota e prae-
poni par⟨ticu⟩lis redupl⟨icativis⟩

Finis

[24]

De localitate

pro tempore et loco

1° aoristus in omni parad⟨ygmate⟩, pers⟨ona⟩ et numero habet **ont** praefixum
initio

2° modus pot⟨entialis⟩ in omni parad⟨ygmate⟩ pers⟨ona⟩ et n⟨ume⟩ro (excepto
fut⟨uro⟩ et praes⟨ente⟩ neg⟨ativo⟩) habet **aont** initio

3° imperativo praefigit⟨ur a⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **asaraskça** *parts de la*

4° vocabulo incipienti ab **ɪ** (iota) praefigitur **ek** dempto **ɪ**

*hae regulae nulli exceptioni sunt obnoxiae

5° verbo incipienti a consonante praefigitur **eti**

*nota 1°:<> vocabula incipientia a **chi** v<el> **che** mutant **chi** et **che** in **es**<,>

v<erbi> g<ratia> **chiatatiak** *tu parles esatatiak* *tu parles là*¹

*nota 2°:<> dualia in **nd** aspirata² abeunt in **eth** non aspirata in **et**

6° vocabulo incipienti à vocali vel **h**, praefigitur **et**, et **h** pro nihilo habetur vel restat vel suppletur per apostrophen

*nota 1°:<> 1^a pers<ona> sing<ularis> parad<ygmatibus> **S** et 3^{ae} pers<onae>

sing<ulares> par<adygmatis> **Ch** incipientes

ab **a** v<el> **e**, et indeterminatae habent praefixum **ek**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

ek̂⁸**a**̂^{atati} *j'ai parlé là ... ek̂⁸**a**̂^{tatiak} *elle parle là* * nota 2°:<> ante **o** et **a**̂⁸**e***

loco **o** ponitur **eti**

Appendix de localitate

Quando hae relationes **ska**, **skia**, **sk**̂⁸**a** adhibentur pro localitate habent **e** initio<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **eska**, **eskia**, **esk**̂⁸**a** sic etiam **esa**̂⁸**ia**, **esa**̂⁸**a**̂<,> **eson**̂⁸**ia**, **eson**̂⁸**a** pro **saj**̂⁸**ia**, **sa**̂⁸**a**, **son**̂⁸**ia**, **son**̂⁸**a**

Appendix de localitate et reduplicatione

quando simul concurrunt

1° q<uan>do localitas et redup<licatio> simul concurrunt, solius localitatis habenda est ratio; illi tamen localitati praefigitur **t** quae littera tunc est nota reduplicationis, poniturq<ue> ante **es**, **et**, **eti**, **ek**, **etsi**<,> **ont**, **aont**, quae sunt localitatis notae et dicitur **t'es**<,> **t'et** &c<etera>

2° ante vocabulum notatum reduplicatione et localitate, si praesit negatio, pro **te** v<el> **stante** ponitur **ta** v<el> **stanta** propter euphoniā idem dicas de nega<ti><on>e ante **te** dual<itatis> v<el> **te** verbale

1 kcsc: *tu parle de là*

2 kcsc: in **nd** aspirata

[25]

Exemplar verbi particulam distantialem seu locativam assumentis

infinitivus: **onta δ arask δ an** *partir du lieu ou on etoit* p<aradygma> **C**

Indicativus

praesens

S... **eka ... rask δ as** (*je pars de là*) **esa e θ a ek δ a**

D... **etia \grave{a} etitia etitsa e θ ia ekia**

P... **etia δ a etik δ a etisk δ a e θ on ekon etion**

imp<erfectum>

S... **eka ... rask δ ask δ a** caetera ut praesens

perf<ectum>

S... **ek δ a \grave{a} ... rask δ an etisa e θ o etio**

D... **etion \grave{a} etitsa e θ onda etionda**

P... **etion δ a etisk δ a e θ onda etionda etia \grave{a} o**

plusq<uam> perf<ectum>

S... **ek δ a \grave{a} ... rask δ annen** caetera ut perf<ectum>

aorist<us>

S... **onta \grave{a} ... rask δ a ontachia ontaha onta δ a**

D... **ontaa \grave{a} ia ontetia ontetsa ontahia onta \grave{a} ia**

P... **ontaa δ a ontek δ a ontesk δ a ontahon onta \grave{a} on ontaon**

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>

S... **eka** **rask8a** caetera ut praes<ens>

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

S... **t'eka** **rask8ahe** caetera ut praes<ens>

Imperativus

asa **rask8a** tu **atsa** ... vos **âontetia** ... nos 2 **âontek8a** ... nos

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> aff<irmativum>¹

S... **âontaça** **âontachia** **âontaha** **aonta8a**

D... **aontaiaja** **aontetia** **aontetsa** **aontahia** **aontaja**

P... **aontaia8a** **aontek8a** **aontesk8a** **aontahon** **aontaon** **aontaion**

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> neg<ativum>

S... **t'eka** ... **rask8ahenn** caetera ut praes<ens> indic<ativi>

perf<ectum>

S... **aontaonça** ... **rask8ank** **aontesa** **aontaho** **aontaio**

D... **aontonja** (forte **aontaionja**) **aontetsa** **aontahonda** **aontaionda**

P... **aonton8a** (forte **aontaion8a**) **aontesk8a** **aontahonda** **aontaionda**
aontaiaç

1 kcsc adds: ...**rask8a**

Plusq(uam) perf(ectum)

S... **aontaona ... rask8annen** caetera ut perf(ectum)

fut(urum) praet(erito) mixt(um)

S... **ek8a8a rask8ank etisa** &c(etera) ut perf(ectum) indic(ativi)

Exemplar verbi reduplicativam et locativam simul particulas assumentis

infini(tivus): **tonta8arask8an**¹ *repartir du lieu ou l'on etoit allé* nota: praefige
t' o(mn)ib(us) temporibus et personis²

Indicativus

praesens

S... **t'eka ... rask8a** (*je pars de là*) **t'esa t'e8a t'ek8a**

D... **t'etia8a** &c(etera) praefixo ubiq(ue) t'

*nota: in fut(uro) neg(ativo) non dicitur **stante** sed **stanta t'** v(el) **ta t'e**,
v(erbi) g(ratia) **stanta t'eka** &c(etera)³

Imperativus

non dicitur **t'asarask8a** sed **t'ontasarask8a** &c(etera)

1 kcsc: **t'onta8arask8an**

2 In kcsc, this note is found after the present indicative forms rather than before them. Moreover, kcsc only mentions the first two forms by way of example.

3 In kcsc, this note is numbered 1, and the imperative is presented as note 2. The potential mood is omitted.

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> aff<firmativum>

t'aonta,a &c<etera>

[26]

De te verbali seu te Dualitatis

1° circa infinitivum quod incipit ab **ι** (iota) pro **ι** quod perit, praefige **k** v<erbi> g<ratia> **kakʒan** pro **te akʒan** ... idem dic de 4^a conj<ugatione>

2° circa infinitivum quod incipit a vocali, illi praefige **kʒ<**> v<erbi> g<ratia> **kʒ-asenχʒi**¹ pro **te asenχʒi**² ... praefige **ti** infinitivis 5^{ae} conj<ugationis> et imperativis omnium conjugationum

3° circa aoristum, quod unum tempus difficile est, utere regulis supra datis de localitate, mutando **e** in **a** nullam habendo³ rationem modi⁴ praefigendi **ont<**> v<erbi> g<ratia> pro **te a,asenkʒa** *je vais ou viens de crier*: s<ingularis> **akasenχʒa asas, aθas**⁵ ... dual<is> **atia,ias** &c<etera> pl<uralis> **atia,ʒas** &c<etera>

4° caeteris temporibus et modis nihil mutat<u>r, sed praefigitur **te**, quod ante vocalem eliditur cum apostrophe

5° si negatio immediate praeit verbo: **te** v<el> **stante** abit in **ta** v<el> **stanta<**> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ta** v<el> **stanta te chiasenχʒas** non clamas

1 KCSC: **kʒ-asenkʒi**

2 KCSC: **te akʒan**

3 KCSC: adhibendo

4 KCSC: modo

5 KCSC: **akasenχʒa.. asasenχʒa.. aθasenχʒa akʒas<enχʒa>**

Exemplum **te** dualitatis par<adygmatis> **chi**

infinit<ivus>: **k8-asenχ8i** clamare ex dolore ut aegroti &c<etera>

Indicativus

praesens

S... **te a** **senχ8as**¹ **te chia te ha** **te 8a**

D... **te a ja te tia** **te tsa te hia te ja**

P... **te a 8a te k8a te sk8a te hon te on te on**

imp<erfectum>

S... **te a** ... **senχ8ask8a**² caetera ut praesens

perf<ectum>

S... **te 8a a** ... **senχ8i te sa** &c<etera> semper **te**

plusq<uam> perf<ectum>

S... **te 8a a** ... **senχ8innen**

aorist<us>

S... **aka** **senχ8a asa aθa ak8a**

D... **atia ja atitia atitsa aθia akia**

P... **atia 8a atik8a atisk8a aθon** **akon ation**

1 KCSC: **senk8as**

2 KCSC: **senk8ask8a**

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>

S... **t'e,a** **senχ8a** &c<etera>¹

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

S... **stanta t'e,a** ... **senχ8ache ta t'echia** &c<etera>

Imperativus

ti sa ... **senχ8a ti tia ti tsa ti k8a**

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> aff<irmativum>

S... **atâa** ... **senχ8a atachia ataha** **ataïa** (alibi **ata8a**)²

D... **ataïaïa atetia** &c<etera> praefixo ubiq<ue> **at**

praes<ens> et imp<erfectum> neg<ativum>

S... **stanta ta t'e,a** .. **senχ8achenn**

perf<ectum>

S... **ataonãa** ... **senχ8ik ataesa ataho** **ataïo**

D... **ataionïa atâtsa** (forte **ataetsa**)³ **atahonda ataionda**

P... **ataion8a atask8a** (forte **ataesk8a**)⁴ &c<etera> praefixo ubiq<ue> **at**

1 kcsc adds: sp<e>r t'

2 kcsc: **ata8a** (alibi **ataïa**)

3 kcsc: **ataetsa** (alibi **atâtsa**)

4 kcsc: **ataesk8a** (alibi **atâsk8a**)

Plusq(uam) perf(ectum)

S... **ataona ... senχδinnen** &c(etera) ut perf(ectum)

Exemplum **te** affirmativi seu dual(itatis)
par(adygmatis) **S**

k8-atonharenron *etre malade*

Indicativus

praesens

S... **te 8a_a ... tonharenronk te sa te ho** **te o** v(el) ubiq(ue) **te**

imp(erfectum)

S... **te 8a_a ... tonharenronhonk** &c(etera) ut praes(ens)

perf(ectum)

S... **te 8a_a ... tonharenron** &c(etera) ut praes(ens)

plusq(uam) perf(ectum)

S... **te 8a_a .. tonharenronnen** &c(etera)¹ sic **t²** praefigit(ur) omnibus
t(em)poribus n(umer)is et pers(onis) praeter aor(istum)

1 KCSC: &c(etera) ut praes(ens)

2 KCSC: **te**

aorist⟨us⟩

S... **ak8a_a ... tonharenron atisa aθo atio**
D... **ation_ia atitsa aθonda ationda**
P... **ation_8a¹ atisk8a aθonda ationda ... atia_o**

fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

S... **stanta t'e8a_atonharenronde² &c⟨etera⟩**

Modus pot⟨entialis⟩

praes⟨ens⟩ et imp⟨erfectum⟩ aff⟨firmativum⟩

S... **t'aon_a tonharenron t'aesa t'aho t'aio &c⟨etera⟩** praefixo ubiq⟨ue⟩ **t**

praes⟨ens⟩ et imp⟨erfectum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

S... **stanta t'e8a_a tonharenrondenn**

Nota: si verbum p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **S** cui **te** praefigitur sit in **ann**, **and** v⟨el⟩ **ar** breve, sic 1^{am} pers⟨onam⟩ inflectit: **te 8andiⁿⁱentosennik³** non autem **te 8a^endientosennik⁴** in aor⟨isto⟩ vero **ak8andientos**, **atisandientos**, **aθondientos⁵** Modus pot⟨entialis⟩: **t'aondientos⁶**, **t'aesandientos⁷** &c⟨etera⟩ ... a verbo **k8andientosenni⁸** lumine oculos percelli

1 KCSC: **ation8a**

2 KCSC: **...tonhareronde**

3 KCSC: **te 8andiⁿⁱentosennik**

4 KCSC: **te 8a^endiⁿⁱentosennik**

5 KCSC: **ak8endinientos; atisandinientos aθondinientos** (above the last **o** of each of these forms, an **8** has been added)

6 KCSC: **t'aondiⁿⁱentos** (above the last **o** of this form, an **8** has been added)

7 KCSC: **t'aesandinientos**

8 KCSC: **k8-andinentosendi**

[27]

Reduplicatio cum **te** dualitatis

Nota: in omnibus modis, temporibus, numeris et personis, praefigitur reduplicatiōni **te** si praecedat consonans, et **t'** si praecedat vocalis

exemplum

te onsaḡ**asen**χḡ**i** iterum clamare

Indicativus

praes⟨ens⟩

S... **te ska** ... **sen**χas¹ **te sa te s'a** **te sk**ḡa &c⟨etera⟩ semper **te**

imp⟨erfectum⟩

ut prae⟨sens⟩

perf⟨ectum⟩

S... **te sk**ḡaḡa ... **sen**χḡ**i te tsisa** &c⟨etera⟩ ubiq⟨ue⟩ **te**

aorist⟨us⟩

S... **t'onsa**ḡa ... **sen**χḡ**a t'onsachia** &c⟨etera⟩ ubiq⟨ue⟩ **te**

1 kcsc: **sen**χḡas

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>

S... **te ska** &c<etera> ubiq<ue> **te**

Imperativus¹

tonsa ... senχ̂ba tonsatsa taonsetia taonsek̂ba

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens>

S... **taonsa_a² ... senχ̂ba taonsachia** &c<etera> ubiq<ue> **te**

perf<ectum>³

S... **t'aonsaon_a ... senχ̂dik t'aonsetsa** &c<etera> ubiq<ue> **t'**

Fut<urum> praet<erito> mixt<um>

S... **te sk̂ba_a te tsitsa** &c<etera> ubiq<ue> **te**
finis

Verbum Môtûs

* formatur a futuro neg<ativo> simplicis conj<ugationis><, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **en-**
tenri⁴ fut<urum> neg<ativum>

entenrande, unde **entenrannon** *aller ou venir avoir pitie*

1 In KCSC, all these imperative forms start with **t'**.

2 KCSC: **t'aonsa_a**

3 The sections on the 'potential perfect' and 'potential of the future mixed with past' are absent from KCSC.

4 KCSC: **enteri**

Indicativus

praes<ens>	itenrande	<i>je viens avoir pitié<,></i> chitenrande tu<,> hentrande ¹
	itenrandes	<i>je viens ordinairement avoir pitié</i>
	aitenrande	<i>je vais avoir pitié<,></i> achit<enrande><,> ah<enrande> ²
	aitenrandes	<i>je vais ordinairement avoir pitié</i>

*Nota 1° illud praes<ens> cum **a** initiali, habetur etiam pro aor<isto>

*Nota 2° illud **a** motûs adjici cum signat: *je vais* non autem cum dicitur *je viens* quia motus jam confectus est.

imp<erfectum>	itenrandenn	<i>je venois avoir pitié</i>
	itenrandesk̄a	<i>je venois ordinairement &c<etera></i>
	aitenrandenn	<i>j'allois avoir &c<etera></i>
	aitenrandesk̄a	<i>j'allois ordin<airement> &c<etera></i>

perf<ectum>	ēa_itenrannon	<i>je suis aller</i> ³ <i>avoir pitié</i>
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plusq<uam> perf<ectum>	ēa_itenrannonnen	<i>j'étois alle avoir pitié</i>
------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>	aitenranda ⁴	<i>j'iray avoir pitié</i>
	ekitenranda	<i>je viendray avoir pitié</i>
	t'ekitenranda	<i>je reviendrai avoir pitié</i> ⁵

fut<urum> n<egativum>	stanta t'ekitenrande	<i>je ne viendrai point avoir pitié</i>
	t'e_itenrandese	<i>je n'iray point &c<etera></i>

1 kcsc: **hent<enrande>** *il*

2 kcsc: **achit<enrande>** *tu..* **ahent<enrande>** *il &c<etera>*

3 kcsc: *allé*

4 kcsc labels this form an 'aorist' rather than an 'affirmative future'.

5 kcsc has the following addition: **e_itenranda** *j'irai <avoir pitié>*

Imperativus

atsitenranda	<i>viens avoir pitie</i>
tsitenranda	<i>vas avoir pitie</i>

Modus pot<entialis>

pr<aesens> aff<irrativum>	âitenranda	<i>que j'aille avoir pitie</i>
pr<aesens> n<egativum>	t'ekitenrandesenn¹	<i>je ne voudrois² pas avoir &c<etera></i>
perf<ectum>	aonitenrannonk³	<i>que j'ai été avoir pitie</i>
fut<urum> p<raeterito> m<ixtum>	e8aitenrannonk⁴	<i>quand j'auray été avoir pitie</i>

[28]

De verbis auxiliaris⁵ **en** esse et **aton** fieri

De verbo **en** esse

1^o verbum **en** est quasi impersonale, et supplet vices verbi substantivi sum, es, est adjuvat verba seu nomina quae carent inflectionibus temporum et modorum

praesens **endi e8endïo ien** ego dominus sum **isa chie8endïo ien** tu dominus es; dicitur etiam **endi e8endïo** **a8innon ien** *elle est nubile* ... **ha_otsindachia ien** senex est ... **on_8andi_onr_8annens ien** praestantes ingenio sumus

imp<erfectum>, perf<ectum> et plus<quam> perf<ectum> **iennen** v<el> **ehen** ... **chie8endïo iennen** dominus eras ... **hennon8enienti iennen** adolescentes erant v<el> fuerunt v<el> fuerant

1 KCSC: **t'ekitenrandenn**

2 KCSC: *viendrois*

3 KCSC: **a_itenrannonk**

4 KCSC: **8_aitenrannonk**

5 KCSC: auxiliariis

aor<istus> idem est ac praesens<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **onne N. onnontio i_{en} voila**
donc N qui va etre gouverneur general

fut<urum> **e_{enk}, isa chie_{endio} e_{enk}** tu dominus eris¹ v<el> **chie_{endio}**
e_{enk} dominus eris

Modus pot<entialis> praes<ens> et imp<erfectum>: **â_{enk} ... e_{endio} a_{enk}**
essem dominus ... **isa chiechiend_{annen} a_{enk}** esses magnum nomen

orast hachiaaha² a_{enk} adhuc infans esset vel sit

perf<ectum> et plus<quam> perf<ectum> **a_{ennen} ... hechon son_âisten**
a_{ennen}, hechon auroit³ eté notre pere... **â_{innon onne a_{ennen}}** nubilus illa
fuisset

2° pro negatione sic se habet ... **endi e_{endio} te _{en}** non sum d<omi>nus ...
isa chie_{endio} te _{ennen} non fuisti dominus – unde vice **te** esse adjectitium
in **i_{en} i_{ennen}** &c<etera>

3° pro negatione tamen melius sit efferre⁴ hoc modo: **stan e_{endio} te_{en} ...**
stan isa chie_{endio} te _{ennen} ob ancipitem⁵ sensum, quia **te** etiam signat si<,>

v<erbi> g<ratia> **endi e_{endio} te_{en}** si essem dominus: .. **endi e_{endio} t'_aenk**
que je sois le maitre ... isa chion_{en}ienti te_{ennen} si juvenis fuisset⁶<,> **de**

e_{endio} e_{enk} si dominus fuero, nam ante fut<urum> **de** ponitur pro **te**

4° bene multa verba carent fut<uro> neg<ativo>, cujus vices gerit fut<urum>

aff<irmativum> cum negatione et futuro verbi **en, e_{enk}<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia>

a_{en} <paradygmatis> **C y avoir i_{aen}<,> i_{aentak}, i_{aentaj}, t'_eaentaj e_{enk}**
non erit **a_{en}** <paradygmatis> **S⁷ posseder, avoir, i_âa_{ien} j'ai,⁸ e_âa_{ientaj},**

t'_eâ_{ientaj} e_{enk} non habebō **at il y a⁹ dedans i_âat, e_âataj, t'_eâ_{ataj}**

e_{enk} il n'y aura pas dedans¹⁰

5° hurones utunt<ur> vocabula¹¹ **e_{hen}** ad exprimendam vocem gallicam

feu ... hechon e_{hen}, feû hechon ... a_{isten} e_{hen}, feu mon père * ean-

dem vocem usurpant¹² ad signandum omnia quae ipsi perierunt<,> v<erbi>

g<ratia> **ti e_{nk}â_{ar}t_{ennen} senk_âara_ân¹³ e_{hen}** sic vestis erat tua: vestis

1 tu dominus eris: absent from kcsc.

2 kcsc: **hachiaha**

3 kcsc: *eut*

4 kcsc: melius efferes

5 kcsc: ancipitem

6 kcsc also has fuisset rather than the expected form fuisses.

7 **S**: absent from kcsc.

8 kcsc: **i_âa_{ien}** (dic **i_âa_{ien}**) *j'ai*

9 In kcsc, *a* has been crossed out and replaced by *avoit*.

10 kcsc: **i_âat il y a, e_âataj il y aura t'_eâ_{ataj} e_{enk} il n'y aura point dedans**

11 kcsc: vocabulo

12 kcsc: adhibent

13 kcsc: **de senk_âara_ân**

quasi defuncta ... **sasennena** **ehen ton** (quasi) defunt animal domestique ... **8endake** **ehen** la defunte huronie ... **sannonchia8an** **ehen ton** ancienne cabane (la cabane q<u>i ta perie<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> q<u>i t'a brulé) ... **otentondi hondi onra** **ehen** il a perdu l'esprit ad v<er>b<u>m son defunt esprit a peri ab **atentondi** perire¹

6° saepe ad exprimenda tempora modi pot<entialis> utuntur temporibus indicatiui, eisq<ue> adjiciunt quasdam voces verbi **en<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **andeia** **ehen**, stante **hotondinnen aennen** bonum erat si natus non fuisset: omnia observa: bene erat v<el> fuisset **ehen** cum adverbio **andeia**, **hotondinnen** est in indicativo, et fit quasi tempus modi pot<entialis>: per additionem vocis **aennen** q<u>ae aliquando adjicitur etiam tempori modi pot<entialis>

7° ad exprimendum modum aversativum, utuntur verbo sequenti **aton** (sic appello optativum negativum) <> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ta sen te 8atonk** utinam aliter sit v<el> fiat ... **ta sen te otonnen**, utinam non factum fuisset

[29]

De verbo **aton** fieri

illud verbum gemino gaudet sensu, altero quidem omnino impersonali, altera² partim impersonali partim personali

1° habe verbum absolute impersonale ... **a8aton** fit v<el> fieri potest ...

i8atonk fit ... **te 8atonk** fieri non potest ... **ioton** factum est ... **stante oton**, non factum est, fieri non potuit ... **andeia e8aton** bene eveniet ... **stante**

8atonde fieri non poterit ... **8o a8aton** v<el> **aia8enk**³ sic fiat ... **te 8aton-**

denn fieri non posset ... **stante otonk aenk** v<el> **aennen**, fieri non potuisset ... **aiotonk** v<el> **aiotonnen** factum fuisset ... **8aton**⁴ **atichien**, **aiotonnen**

atichien? *ah vrayement cela, se pourroit il faire, cela auroit il pû se faire* ... **te 8atonk asken** utinam fiat ... **te oton sen** v<el> **te otonnen sen** utinam factum fuisset * de modo aversativo vide pag<ina> praecedenti⁵

1 ab **atentondi** perire: absent from KCSC.

2 KCSC: altero

3 KCSC: **8o a8aton** v<el> **8o aia8enk**

4 KCSC: **a8aton**

5 KCSC: vide supra n<ume>ro 7°

2° partim personale: est cum pertinet ad personas, etsi ponatur impersonaliter⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩: **on8eienti e8aton**¹ fiam juvenis ... **chie8tsindachia e8aton** senex fies **hoki aiotonnen** daemon factus fuisset ... **a8ak8astis e8aton**² fiamus pulchri ... **stan hoatato8eti te 8atonde** non fiet sanctus **chie8endio ioton** factus es dominus **ondi8on8annen**³ fiet ingeniosa

3° partim impersonale est cum ipsum verbum personaliter ponitur, et vox quae adjungit⟨u⟩r impersonaliter verbo adhaeret⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **on8e**⁴ **echiaton** homo fies⟨,⟩ **eak8astis ea8aton** fiamus pulchri ... **hoatato8eti te chiatonde** non fies sanctus * observa usum hujus verbi numero 2° enodatum communiorem esse

4° cum verbum **en** careat futuro neg⟨ativo⟩ adeoq⟨ue⟩ praesenti neg⟨ativo⟩ modi pot⟨entialis⟩ haec tempora mutuatur à verbo **aton**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **chie8endio e8enk** eris dominus **chie8endio te 8atonde**, non eris dom⟨inus⟩ ... **isa chie8endio a8enk** dominus esses vel sis: **isa chie8endio te 8atondenn** non fores dominus

5° aliquando, non tamen semper, **aton** et **en** promiscue usurpant⟨u⟩r **chie8endio e8enk** v⟨el⟩ **e8aton** eris dominus ... **sa sken chie8endio a8enk** v⟨el⟩ **a8aton**⁵ fias v⟨el⟩ sis v⟨el⟩ esto dom⟨inus⟩, nam modus pot⟨entialis⟩ ut vulgo, ponitur pro imperativo ut supra diximus .. **ta sen te 8endio te8en** utinam non essem dom⟨inus⟩

Nota tamen **en** proprie significare esse et **aton** fieri

1 KCSC: **on8eñienti a8aton**

2 KCSC: **a8aton**

3 KCSC: **ondi8on8annen e8aton**

4 KCSC: **on8e**

5 KCSC: **a8aton**

De verbis anomalis

anomala 1^{ae} conj<ugationis>

verbum a p<aradygmatis> C

in 1^a conj<ugatione> verbum **a** *etre de telle grandeur ou age* anomalum est et quoad modum conjugandi (nam in sing<ulari> sequitur 1^{am} conj<ugationem> .. in dual<i>, 3^{am} et in plurali aliquid mixtum) et quoad formationem temporum, nam in sing<ulari> et duali praes<entis> **a**, imperfectum et o<mn>ia perfecta **ak**, fut<urum> **aha**, neg<ativum> **ache** – in plurali praes<entis> **as**, perfecta **askɔa**, fut<urum> **aska** neg<ativum> **aska e₂enk** * est semper p<aradygmatis> C indicativi praesens

S	χ ₁ ia	χ ₁ ichia	χ ₁ ira	χ ₁ iɔa			
D	chiate anda	chiat'eta	chiat'esta	chiateñda	chiatenda		
P	ea ₂ as	ekɔas	eskɔas	ehendas	eɔendas	ea ₂ as	et de inanimatis eɔas

omnia perfecta

S	χ ₁ iak	ichiak	irak	iɔak ¹	
D	te andak	tetak	testak	teñdak	tendak ²
P	e ₂ askɔa ³	ekɔaskɔa	eskɔaskɔa	ehendaskɔa	eɔendaskɔa ⁴

1 KCSC: χ₁iak χ₁ichiak χ₁irak χ₁iɔak

2 KCSC: chiate andak chit'etak chiat'estak chiateñdak chiatendak

3 KCSC: ea₂askɔa

4 KCSC adds: ea₂askɔa (et &c<etera> eɔaskɔa – presumably, this is to be understood as follows: ea₂askɔa (et de inanimatis eɔaskɔa

aorist<us>¹

S	aaha	achiaha	a'aha	e8aha ²	
D	te andaha	t'etaha	testaha	ta'ndaha	tandaha
P	aa8aska	ek8aska	esk8aska	ahendaska	a8endaska ³

futur<um> aff<irrativum>

S	eaha	echiaka	e'aha	e8aha	
D	t'eandaha	t'etaha	testaha	te'ndaha	tendaha
P	ea8aska	ek8aska	esk8aska	tehendaska	te8endaska ⁴

fut<urum> neg<ativum>

S	t'eache ⁵	t'echiache	t'e'ache	t'e8ache	
D	teandache	tetache	testache	te'ndache	tendache ⁶
P	t'ea8aska e,enk	te k8aska e,enk	te sk8aska e,enk	tehendaska e,enk	te8endaska e,enk ⁷

Modus pot<entialis> **âaha âchiaha** &c<etera> ut in aoristo

Optativus **θo sen te a** utinam sim talis magnitudinis &c<etera> tempora indicati-
cativi

Nota 1° adjungitur huic verbo al<i>q<u>a particula in sing<ulari> et duali **χa ia**
v<el> potius **χīa** sum talis magnitudinis ... **θo ichiak**⁸ eras &c<etera> ... **chia**
te anda nous sommes de meme age ou grandeur

2° **S** est quasi nota pluralitatis<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ehendas** s<un>t aeq<u>ales
q<u>idam dicunt **chiat'ehendas**

1 KCSC: aor<istus> 1us

2 KCSC: **a8aha**

3 KCSC adds: **eaaska** (v<el> &c<etera>) **a8aska** – presumably, this is to be understood as follows:
eaaska (v<el>) de inanimatis **a8aska**

4 KCSC: **te hendaska te 8endaska**

5 KCSC: **t'eachre**

6 In KCSC, these all start with **t'e** rather than **te**.

7 KCSC: **t'ea8aska e,enk t'ek8aska e,enk t'esk8aska e,enk te hendeska e,enk te 8endeska e,enk**

8 KCSC: **χ'ichiak** eras &c<etera>

3° transfert<u>r sign<ific>a<ti>o hujus verbi ad signandas varias quantitatis spe<ci>es<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **θo iandatsa** *la chaudiere est grand¹ comme cela ...* **θo iandatsak** *etoit ...* **θo eandatsaha** *sera ..* **stan θo t'eandatsache** *ne sera ..* v<el> de pluribus dic **χα iandotsas** *les chaudières sont &c<etera> ..* de duobus **chiate andatsa** *2 chaudières> sont égales v<el> ...* * **chiaennen² onnenha** *gros grain de blé, ionnenhak* in plur<ali>

4° sumit<u>r etiam impersonaliter et extra compositionem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **χα v<el> θo i8a** *cela est de cette grosseur, grandeur, quantité ...* **θo i8ak** *etoit ..* **θo isk8a** *il en reste encore comme cela (isk8a est redup<licativum> addita i8a) ..* **stan θo t'e8ache³** *il n'y en aura pas tant* **a8aska** *il y en auroit trop ...* **θo θo a8aska** *qu'il y en ait cette quantité ...* vel... *bon, en voila assez.....* **stan θo te 8a d'istontenk de onnontennen** vel **θo i8a d'istontenk ti 8ak de onnontennen**, *tu ne m'en donne pas tant que je t'en avois donné*

5° hoc v<er>bo exprimunt<u>r numerus et copia<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **θo i8a d'ok8istandoron?** *combien y a t'il d'argent?* **θo i8ak** *avoit il?*⁴ <,> **θo e8aska?** *aura? <,> θo i8a d'onnenha?* *combien y a t'il de blé*

6° pro rerum venditione et pretio adhibet<u>r dualis, quia duae t<an>t<um> res agunt<u>r, merces et pretium ... **chiatenda and8cha⁵ din d'ohonra8enta**, *une robe vaut un fusil<,> stan chia tenda⁶ te,en*, *non cela n'est pas d'egal prix*

7° v<er>b<u>m **a** per se signat praecise magnitudinem v<el> aetatem – additione litterae **S** rem saepe magnam dicit – addito in fine **aia** est v<er>b<u>m diminutivum unde adverbium **i8aia** v<el> **isk8aia** redup<licativum>⁷... potest componi<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **annonchiaia andatsa ia, i8asaia** *petite cabane, chaudiere, plat* in pluribus⁸ dicitur **asa** pro **aia**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **iannonchiasa, iandatsasa⁹** &c<etera> *de petites cabanes, chaudières &c<etera>*

8° a verbo **a** derivant<u>r .. 1° **a8ak** *etre court* pr<aesens><,> **ak** fut<urum><,> **aha** neg<ativum><,> **ache** impersonaliter<,>¹⁰ **i8a8ak** v<el> **i8a8aha** *cela est trop court ..* **arih8a8aka** *petit discours<,> ionda8aka¹¹ petit moment <,> aionda8aka âtatia¹² que je parle un moment* 2° **a8ati θa . t . tande** <paradigmati>

1 KCSC: *grande*

2 KCSC: **chie,annen**

3 KCSC: **t'e8achre**

4 KCSC: *combien y en avoit il?*

5 KCSC: **and8ch'a**

6 KCSC: **chiatenda**

7 KCSC: unde **i8aia** adverb<ium> *peu*, et **isk8aia** *fort peu* (est redup<licativum>)

8 KCSC: de pluribus

9 KCSC: **annonchiasa, andatsasa**

10 KCSC: **a8ak** *etre court* **ak, aha, ache** impersonal<it>er

11 KCSC: **iñioda8aka**

12 KCSC: **añionda8aka âtatia**

C faire court ...3° **a8atandi** f<uturum> **ten** faire court¹ pour q<uelqu'un>...
 4° **a8asenni** f<uturum> **as** <paradygmatis> **S** sembler court a q<uelqu'un> ...
 5° **a8asenniti** <paradygmatis> **S** causale praecedentis 6° **áti . 0a . t²** faire
 de telle grandeur... 7° **k8-ati . 0a . t³** (diviser - **chia ti sat** divise en 2 parties
 egales

[31]

anomala 2^{ae} conj<ugationis>

haec conjug<atio> longe plura verba, longe plures et majores continet difficul-
 tates quam reliquae 4^{or}

De verbis in **a⁴** purum

agitur tantum de verbis in **aa**, **ae** et **ao**; non vero de verbis **ai**, etsi pariter
a⁵ purum sit. – **h** et **i** iota faciunt etiam ne **a** sit purum<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
aannion faire chaudiere, et regulariter conjugant<u>r **eannionk** coquo<,>
chieannionk⁶&c<etera>

1° verba in **a** puro in 1^a persona o<mn>ium temporum habent **i** pro **e**<,>
 v<erbi> g<ratia> **iatannonstas** non **eat**: ab **aatannonstati** servare ... **ierha**
 non **eerha** ab ab⁷ **aeren** facere ... **ionk** non **eonk** ab **aon** intrare
 2° in 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> p<aradygmatis> **C** habent **chi** pro **chie**, suppri-
 mendo **e**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **chiatannonstas** servas non **chieat**: **ichierha**
 facis, non **ichiee**: ... **ichionk** intras, non **chieonk**: **echiatannonstat**
 servabis, non **echieat**: ... **echier** facies, non **echieer** .. **echion** intrabis, non
echieon .. * idem servatur in omnibus temporibus et modis ejusdem paradig-
 matis **Ch**

1 KCSC: court

2 KCSC: ati 0a t tande

3 KCSC: k8-ati 0a t tande <paradygmatis> C

4 KCSC: a

5 KCSC: a

6 KCSC: chieannionk coquis

7 This dittography is absent from KCSC.

3° in par<adygmate> **S** **ɷ** etiam mutatur in **ɷ** in 1^a persona<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aɷieren** feci vel melius **i8aɷieren** cum **i** et **8** euphonicis, et non **aɷeeren**

i8aɷion intravi non **aɷeon**<,> **aɷiatannonstati** non **aɷeat** .. in modo pot<entialem> pariter **onɷiatannonstatik** ... **e8aɷiatan-nonstatik**, non **onɷea: e8aɷea** – et sic de aliis 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> quae habent **ɷa** purum

4° ead verba in relatione 2^{ae} pers<onae> sing<ularis> ad 1^{am} sing<ularem> (tu me, tu mihi) habent **ski** pro **ske** ex usu communi dicit<u>r **skehiatondik**, mihi scribis; at vero dicitur **skieritindik** me remuneras a v<er>bo **ɷaeritendi**, et sic de aliis in **ɷa** puro

5° imperativus sing<ularis> non format<u>r a 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> futuri ut in aliis verbis nisi mutando **chi** in **ts** **echiatannonstat** servabis, **tsatannonstat** serva ... **echier** facies, **tser** fac ... **echion** intrabis, **tson** intra ... **echiek tu sera eveillez**,¹ **tsek eveille toy** ... **echient** feries, **tsent**, feri (**stont da**)² **tsaɷenha sors** .. **tсен mets** ab **ɷaen**

6° circa verba par<adygmatis> **S**, imperativus format<u>r a 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> futuri tollendo **e**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **esaatannonnen** felix eris<,> **saatannonnen** felix esto

7° quoad personas plurales imperativi, nostra verba non discrepant ab aliis verbis communibus 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> **tsihiaton** scribite, ita etiam **tsiatannonstat** servate, **tsier** facite, **tson** intrate, **tsient** ferite (ab **ɷaenti**)³ ... (**tsihon** dic à verbo heteroclitico alterius heteroclitatis⁴)

De verbis in **ɷann** v<el> **ɷand**

1° in 1^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> omnium temporum ac modorum rejiciunt **ɷe** in utroq<ue> paradigm<mate><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ɷandaθaron** visitare, **ndaθare** visito, non **ɷendaθare**<,> **ɷandera8an** mirari <paradygmatis> **S** dicitur **andera8as** miror, non **ɷandera8as**

2° in 2^a sing<ulari> in o<mn>ibus temporibus et modis par<adygmatis> **C** mutant **chie** in **st** verba par<adygmatis> **S** nil habent peculiare circa hanc personam – doceberis verbo sequenti quod integrum refero⁵

1 kcsc: *tu seras eveillé*

2 (**stont da**): in kcsc, this is positioned at the very end of the note.

3 (**ab ɷaenti**): absent from kcsc.

4 alterius heteroclitatis: absent from kcsc.

5 quod integrum refero: absent from kcsc.

andoronk8i aestimare¹

praes<ens>	ndoronk8a storonk8a	pro	end chiendo
imp<erfectum>	indoronk8ak storonk8ak	pro	end chiendo
praet<eritum>	andoronk8i sandoronk8i	pro	aend nil mutat<u>r
aor<istus>	andoronk8a astoronk8a	pro	aendo achiendo
imperativ<us>	storonk8a	pro	sendo
perf<ectum> modi pot<entialis>	aondoronk8ik aesandoronk8it ²	pro	aoend nil immutat<u>r
fut<urum> modi pot<entialis>	e8andororok8ik esanderonk8ik	pro	e8aendi nil immutat<u>r

3° saepe apponitur **i** adjectitium initio harum contractionum<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **innontenk** dono pro **nnontenk** ab **annonten** dare ... **istontenk** das pro **stontenk** &c<etera> non tamen o<mn>ia verba in **ann** et **and** subi-
ciunt<u>r his observationibus<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **anderetsi etre grand chien-**
deretsi tu &c<etera> cum multis aliis sequitur regulam co<mmun>em

4° in relationibus ponitur **st** pro **ske**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **storonk8a** me aesti-
mas, et non **skendoronk8a** ... **st8en** tu es mater mea et non **skend8en** <(>ab
and8en e<ss>e matrem)

5° pro reduplicatione nil additur his personis quae incipiunt a **st**<,> v<erbi>
g<ratia> **stontenk** donas, **stontenk** redonas, **stontenk** mihi das

6° pro relatione imperativi 2^{ae} pers<onae> sing<ularis> ad 1^{am} sing<ularem> tu
me v<el> mihi, non dicitur **tae** sed **e** omnino perit<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **tannont**
da mihi et non **taennont**

1 KCSC: **astimare**

2 KCSC: **aesandoronk8ik**

De verbis in **ar** brevibus

1° haec verba in 1^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> utriusq<ue> parad<ygmatis> rejiciunt
ē initiale in omnibus modis et temporibus<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **rih8anderas**
 pecco, pro **erih**

2° in 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> par<adygmatis> **C** tollunt **ie** et servant tantum
chr<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **chrihanderas** peccas, pro **chierih** &c<etera>

3° imperativus formatur a 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari> futuri, tollendo **e**<,> v<erbi>
 g<ratia> **echrih8anderaj** peccabis<,> **chrih8anderaj** pecca

4° in verbis relativis, imperativus etiam differt a ratione communi<,> v<erbi>
 g<ratia> **taehiatonhons**¹ scribe pro me – dic tamen **taṛa8as** pro **taera8as**
choisis pour moy sataṛon8as pro **sataer** *confesse moy* ubi vides **ē** perire

5° quaedam verba in **ar** non sunt obnoxia his exceptionibus<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
are8ati corrigere, **ere8aθa** corrigo, **chiere8aθa** corrigis, non **re8aθa**, non
chre8aθa

exemplum verbi in **ar** brevis**arih8anderai** peccare

praes<ens>	rih8anderas chrih8anderas	pro pro	erih chierih
imp<erfectum>	rih8anderask8a chrih8anderask8a	pro pro	erih chierih
perf<ectum>	aṛih8anderaj sarih8anderaj	pro nil	aerih mutat<u>
aor<istus>	aṛih8anderaj achrih8anderaj	pro pro	aerih achierih

1 KCSC: **taehiatons**

fut<urum> aff<irmativum>	e_ɕrih₈anderaj echri₈anderaj¹	pro pro	e_ɕerih echierih
imperativ<us>	chrih₈anderaj tsirih₈anderaj	pro nil	serih₈ immutat<u>r
perf<ectum> modi pot<entialis>	aon_ɕrih₈anderai_k aesarih₈anderai_k	pro nil	aon_ɕerih immutat<u>r
<futurum praeterito mixtum>	e₈a_ɕrih₈anderai_k² esarih₈anderai_k³	pro nil	e₈a_ɕerih immutat<u>r

6° quaedam verba in **ɕar** singularem habent anomalitatem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
ɕarao bucher ɕarhation aller en embassy ... ɕarhonchondi⁴<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

S	i_ɕraos	ichraos	iharos	i_ɕaros⁵	<i>je buche, tu &c<etera></i>
D	a_ɕiros	tiros	tsiros	hiros	i_ɕros⁶
P	a₈aros	k₈aros	sk₈aros	hatiros	atiros⁷

*nota: quidam vere hurones dicunt **ɕeraos .. chieraos** &c<etera>⁸

S	ɕrahationk	chrahationk	harhationk	ɕarhationk &c<etera>	<i>je vais</i> &c<etera> ⁹
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S	ɕrahonchoniak	chrahonchoniak	harhonchoniak	&c<etera> ¹⁰
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* vides anomalitatem horum verborum &c<etera> spectare tantum duas
1^{as} personas

De verbo **ɕaio** vel **ɕario**

verbum **ɕaio** v<el> **ɕario** hoc habet difficultatis quod quibusd<am> in locis in-
terserat **r** in aliis autem sequatur usum communem verborum 2^{ae} conj<uga-
tionis>

1 KCSC: **echrih₈anderaj**

2 KCSC: **e₈a_ɕrih₈anderai_k**

3 KCSC: **esarih₈anderai_k**

4 KCSC: **ɕarhonchonn^{ai}** *faire un berceau*

5 KCSC: **i_ɕraos ichraos ihar^{os} i_ɕar^{os}**

6 KCSC: **a_ɕir^{os} tir^{os} tsir^{os} hir^{os} i_ɕr^{os}**

7 KCSC: **a₈ar^{os} k₈ar^{os} sk₈ar^{os} hatir^{os} atir^{os} er^{os}**

8 KCSC adds: et ita dicitur hic

9 KCSC adds: *nota: hîc dicitur: **ɕrahationk .. chierhationk** &c<etera>

10 KCSC adds: *je fais* *nota : hîc d<ici>t<u>r: **ɕerhonch: ... chierh:** &c<etera>

haec disce ex oculis: unica observatio complectetur caetera ... **aiō** autem signat ferire, percutere, occidere, vexare, dicitur de taedio, morbo, molestia usurpaturque in sensu phisico et morali

praesens	S	irios	ichios	ihaios	iaios	
	D	aios	tios	tsios	hiios	iiios
	P	aḡaios	ikḡaios	iskḡaios	hatios	atios eios
imperfectum	S	irioskḡa	ichrioskḡa	haioskḡa	&c(etera) ut praesens	
perfectum	S	iḡario	isaio	ihoio	ioio	
	D	oḡio	tsio	hotio	otio	
	P	oḡaio	iskḡaio	hotio	otio	aio
aoristus	S	ario	achrio	&c(etera)		
futurum affirmativum	S	erio	echrio	ehaio	eaiō	
	D	eaio	etio	etsio	ehio	eio &c(etera)
futurum negativum	S	stanteriohe v(erb) stanterioche &c(etera)				

verbum **aiō** est relativum; et interseritur **r** in omnibus relationibus quae includunt 1^{am} personam vel agentem vel patientem, si haec excipias **aonio** te feriam¹: .. **aio** vos duo ferio ... **aḡaio** vos plures ferio ... * idem dicas de praesenti **onios** .. **ios** .. **ḡaios** .. vel futuro **eonio** **eio** **eḡaio** ... item **χeios**² ... **axeio** ... **exeo** &c(etera) in aliis personis non interseritur **r** (etiam **onxeios** Nota <: > **onrios** ferior ab aliis ... **arios** ab illa ... **aharios** ab illo **ehonrio** percutiar ab illis ... **eḡario** ab illa .. **ehario** ab illo **erio**³ eum feriam ... **eskrio** me feries ... **iskrios** me feris

De verbo **at** *etre debout*

1° verbum **at** multiplicem habet anomalitatem ...

1° caret multis temporibus quae sumit a v(erb)bo **katendi se lever** ...

2° habet **te** dualitatis, dicendumque est in infin(itivo) **kat** pro **te at** ..

3° in sing(ulari) sequitur 2^{am} conj(ugationem) in duali et plurali sequitur 1^{am}, exceptis 3^{iis} pers(onis) pluralibus et indeterminatâ quae sequuntur 3^{am} conj(ugationem)

1 KCSC: te ferio

2 KCSC: **χeio**

3 KCSC: **erio**

2° verbum **kat** est par<adygmatis> **C**, habetq<ue> pr<aesens> **t**, imp<erfectum> **tak**, fut<urum> **taj**, neg<ativum> **taj e_čenk**, sed haec duo futura vix sunt in usu et consimilia tempora quae melius deducunt<ur> a verbo **katendi se lever, se mettre, se tenir debout**

3° verbum **katendi** aliud signat quam primitivum **kat** ... habetq<ue> pr<ae-sens> **tas** imp<erfectum> **task₈a** .. fut<urum> **taha** .. neg<ativum> **tache** ... sequitur heteroclitatem primitivi **kat**

indicativus

praes<ens> v<er>bi kat	S	te _čet	te chiet	te hat	te _{at}	
	D	te a_iiat	te tiat	te tsat	te hiat	te _iiat
	P	te a₈at	te k₈at	te sk₈at	te hendat	te ₈endat
imper<ectum>	S	te _četak	te chietak	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>		
praes<ens> v<er>bi katendi	S	te _četas	te chie	te ha	te _ia	adde tas ¹
	D	te a_iia	te tia	te tsa	te hia	te _iia
	P	te a₈a	te k₈a	te sk₈a	te hendas	te ₈endas te endas ²
imper<ectum>	S	te	te chie	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>		
praet<eritum>	S	te ₈a_e	te sa	te ho	te o	adde ubi<que> tandi
	D	te on_ia	te tsa	te honda	te onda	
	P	te on₈a	te sk₈a	te honda	te onda	
aor<istus>	S	ake	ase	a₈ata_ha	aka	adde ubi<que> taha
	D	atia_i³	atitia	atitsa	a₈ia	akia
	P	atia₈a⁴	atik₈a	atisk₈a	a₈enda	ak₈enda atia_e
fut<urum> af<firmativum> ⁵	S	t'e_e	t'e chie	t'e ha	t'e_a	adde ubi<que> taha
	D	t'e_aia⁶	t'etia	t'etsa	te hia	t'e_iia
	P	t'ea₈a	t'ek₈a	te sk₈a	te henda	te ₈enda
fut<urum> neg<ativum>	S	stanta t'e_eetache &c<etera> ut fut<urum> af<firmativum>				

- 1 The kcsc copy gives these 'present tense' forms in full (**te _četas, te chietas, te hatas**, etc.), and hence has no need for 'adde **tas**'.
- 2 The full forms in the kcsc copy do not possess the cluster /st/ suggested here. Instead we read: **te hendatas te ₈endatas te endatas**.
- 3 kcsc: **atia_ia**
- 4 kcsc: **atia₈a**
- 5 In the kcsc copy, all of these 'affirmative future' forms begin with **t'e**; moreover, they contain no spaces.
- 6 This form is absent from kcsc.

imperativus

ti se ti tsa ti tia ti k̄ba adde ubi⟨que⟩ taha

optativus¹

praes⟨ens⟩ S ta te ̄et asen v⟨el⟩ ta te ̄etas asen v⟨el⟩ vide indicativum

Modus potentialis

praes⟨ens⟩ S t'â_e t'achie t'âha t'â_a adde ubi⟨que⟩ taha
 D t'âiaia t'âetia t'âetsa t'âhia t'â_ia
 P t'âia_̄ba t'âek̄ba t'âesk̄ba t'âhenda t'â_̄benda t'âia_e
⟨praeteritum⟩² S t'âon_e t'âesa &c⟨etera⟩ adde ubi⟨que⟩ tandik

4° katāban pro te ̄atāban se retirer de la place ou on etoit debout a verbo kat cum par⟨ticu⟩la destructiva āban sequitur modum conjugandi primitivi kat. ̄sas ̄sa ̄sahe v⟨el⟩ ̄sache ⟨paradygmatis⟩ C ti ³setāba recede ti tsatāba recedite

De verbo ̄ahaon porter &c⟨etera⟩

̄ahaon et in comp⟨ositione⟩ enhaon porter sur soy, avoir sur soy, difficile est propter voces etiam gallice prope similes sono et sensu diversas ... porter ferre ... apporter afferre ... emporter efferre ... rapporter referre ... reporter reportare ... in his verbis valde attendere par est ad localitatem quae fere semper adhibet⟨ur⟩ ad signandum en deça ̄aro ... ad reduplicationem ... ad utramq⟨ue⟩ simul mixtam ... ad terminationem quae al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do ead⟨em⟩ est etsi alius sit sensus ... ad quaedam tempora, quae singula et multis et diversis aequivalent.

1 In KCSC, the 'optative' is listed after the 'potential' rather than before it.

2 KCSC: praeter⟨itum⟩

3 KCSC: C ... ti

ahaon ferre¹

praes<ens>	S	i_e	ichie	iha	i_a	adde ubiq<ue> h8a
	D	a_j	ti	tsi	hi	j
	P	a_8a	k8a	sk8a	hati	ati ie
imperf<ectum>	S	i_eh8ak &c<etera> ut praes<ens> * vicem habet omnium praeteritorum, nisi et rarissime dicat<u>r a_ehaon tuli a_ehaonnen tuleram ²				
aor<istus>	S	a_e	achie	aha	a_a	adde ubiq<ue> h8a
	D	aa_j	eti	etsi	ahi	a_j
	P	aa_8a	ek8a	esk8a	ahati	a8ati ae
fut<urum> aff<irmativum>	S	e_e	echie	eha	e_a	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> h8a
fut<urum> n<egativum>	S	stant'e_e ³	t'echie ⁴	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> ha8ise		

imperat<ivus>

se **ti** **tsi** **k8a** adde ubiq<ue> **h8a**

- 1 The kcsc copy incorporates all the forms of **ahaon** into one single table, in which this table devoted to the forms possessing a translational equivalent '*porter ferre*' is reduced to a single column. The four remaining columns are devoted to the translational equivalents '*apporter afferre*', '*rapporter referre*', '*emporter efferre*', and '*remporter ou reporter*', respectively. With regard to the 'optative' forms, the following note is added: 'vide tp<o>ra indicativi, et his utere pro optativo et subjunctivo cum par<ticu>lis congruis'.
- 2 In kcsc, **a_ehaon** and **a_ehaonnen** are listed as 'perfect' and 'pluperfect' respectively.
- 3 kcsc: **stant' e_e** v<el> **t'e_e**
- 4 kcsc: **stant' echie** v<el>

optativus

S **te_eh8a sen*** **te_eh8aka sen** &c<etera>

* modi pot<entialis> tempora vel desumit ex verbo sequenti *apporter*, vel prae-sentis tempora accommodat usui necessario

ahaon afferre

praes<ens>	S	_e	chie	ha	_a	adde ubiq<ue> ha8i
	D	ai	ti	tsi	hi	_i
	P	a_8a	k8a	sk8a	hati	ati e
imper<ec-tum>	S	ę	chie	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> ha8ind v<el> ha8inn ¹		
perf<ectum>	S	ek8a_e	etisa	eθo	etio	adde ubiq<ue> haon
*nota loca-litatem	D	etion_i	etitsi	eθoti	etioti	
	P	etion_8a	etisk8a	eθoti	etioti	etia_θ
plus<quam> perf<ectum>	S	ek8a_e	etisa	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> haonnen		
aor<istus> *local<ita-tem>	S	onta_ehia v<el> onta_eha8i v<el> a_eha8i cum v<el> sine localitate <i>j'apportai ou j'apporte</i>				
	S	onta_e²	ontachie	ontaha	onta_a	adde ubi<que> ha8i v<el> h8a
	D	ontaa_i	onteti	ontetsi	ontahi	onta_i
	P	ontaa_8a³	ontek8a	ontesk8a	ontahati	onta8ati ontae
fut<urum> af<firma-tivum>	S	eke	ese	eθa	eka	adde ubiq<ue> h8a v<el> ha8it ⁴
*local<ita-tem>	D	etia_i	etiti	etitsi	eθi	eki
	P	etia_8a	etik8a	etisk8a	eθati	ek8ati etie
fut<urum> neg<ativum>	S	stant_eke	stant_ese	&c<etera> adde ubi<que> ha8ise		

1 kcsc does not mention **ha8inn** as a possibility, only **ha8ind**.

2 kcsc: **onta_e** .. *<cum> loc<alitate> v<el> **a_e** sine loc<alitate>

3 kcsc: **ont_8a**

4 kcsc does not mention **h8a** as a possibility, only **ha8it**.

imperativ<us>

aseh8a v<el> **aseha8it** *apporte* **atsih8a** *apportez* ... **aontetih8a** v<el>
aetih8a nos duo **aontek8ah8a** v<el> **aek8ah8a** nos plures
optativus¹

praes<ens>	S	te_eha8i sen	&c<etera> ut praes<ens> indicativi
imper<fectum>	S	te_eha8ind asen	&c<etera>
praet<eritum>	S	t'ek8a_ehaon sen	&c<etera>

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> af<irma- tivum>	S	aontâ_e	aontâchie	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue>	h8a v<el> ha8it
praes<ens negati- vum>	S	stant'eke	t'ese	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue>	ha8isenn ²
per<fectum>	S	aonton_e ³	aontesa	aontaho	aontaiio adde ubiq<ue> haonk
	D	aonton_i ⁴	aontetsi	aontahoti	aontaioti
	P	aonton_8a ⁵	aontesk8a	aontahoti	aontaioti aontaiã_o
plusq<uam> per<fectum>	S	aonton_e	&c<etera> ut per<fectum>	adde ubiq<ue>	haonnen
fut<urum> pr<aete- rito> mi<x>tum>	S	ek8a_e	etisa	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue>	haonk ⁶

1 In KCSC, the 'optative' is listed after the 'potential' rather than before it.

2 KCSC adds a note: ut fut<urum> indicat<ivi>

3 KCSC: **aont^aon_e**

4 KCSC: **aont^aon_i**

5 KCSC: **aont^aon_8a**

6 KCSC adds a note: ut per<fectum> indicat<ivi>

ahaon referre *rapporter*

praes<ens> redup<licativum>	S	ske	se	s'a v<el> sha	ska	adde ubiq<ue> ha8i
	D	tsa_i	tsiti	tsitsi	isi ¹	ski
	P	tsa8a ²	tsik8a	tsisk8a	shati	sk8ati tse
imperf<ectum>	S	ske	se	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>	adde ubiq<ue>	ha8ind
perf<ectum> *loc<alitem> et redup<licationem>	S	t'ek8a_e	t'etisa	t'e0o	(ut perf<ectum> ek8a_ehaon) ad- dendo t initio adde ubiq<ue>	haon
plus<quam> perf<ectum>	S	t'ek8a_e	t'etisa	&c<etera> ut perf<ectum>	adde ubiq<ue>	haonnen
aor<istus>	S	t'onta_eha8i	&c<etera> ut onta_eha8i	praefigendo t ob redup<licationem> v<el> t'aonta_eh8a ³		
fut<urum> af<fir- mativum>	S	t'eke	t'ese	ut ekeh8a ..	adde ubiq<ue>	h8a v<el> ha8it
fut<urum> neg<ati- vum>	S	stanta	t'ekeha8isind	&c<etera> ut fut<urum> af<firmativum>		

imperat<ivus>

t'ontase **t'ontatsi** **t'aonteti** **taonték8a** adde ubiq<ue> **h8a**

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> af<firmativum>	S	t'aonta_e	&c<etera> ut aor<istus> ...	adde h8a v<el> ha8i
praet<eritum> ⁴	S	taonton_e	&c<etera> ...	adde haonk
plus<quam> perf<ectum>	S	t'aonton_e	&c<etera> ...	adde haonnen
fut<urum> pr<aeterito> mi<xtum>	S	t'ek8a_e	&c<etera> ...	adde haonk

1 KCSC: **tsi**

2 KCSC: **tsa8a**

3 **t'aonta_eh8a**: absent from KCSC.

4 KCSC: perfectum

ahaon efferre *emporter, porter au loin*

praes<ens>	S	a_e	achie	aha	a_a	adde ubiq<ue> ha8it
	D	aa_i	eti	etsi	ahi	a_i
	P	aa_8a	ek8a	esk8a	ahati	a8ati ae
imperf<ectum>	S	e_e .. &c<etera>	adde ha8ind v<el>	ha8itandend	<i>j'emporto</i> is ou <i>j'allois emporter</i>	
praet<eritum> ¹	S	e8a_e	esa	eho	eo	adde ubiq<ue> haon ²
	D	eon_i	etsi	ehoti	eoti	
	P	eon_8a	esk8a	ehoti	eoti	eoti ea_o
plusq<uam perfectum>	S	e8a_e &c<etera>	adde ubiq<ue> haonnen ³			
fut<urum> aff<irmativum>	S	e_e	echie	&c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> ha8it v<el> h8a		
fut<urum> n<egativum>	S	t'e_e ⁴ ha8ise &c<etera>				
aor<istus> ⁵	idem est ac praesens, quia praesens est aoristus					

[Page 35 started with the preterite forms in the preceding table]

imperativ<us>

chi ase **chi atsi** &c<etera> adde ubiq<ue> **ha8it** *emporte* &c<etera>

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens>	S	â_eh8it ⁶	&c<etera>
perf<ectum>	S	aon_ehaonk	&c<etera> ... <i>j'aurois emporté</i>
plusq<uam> perf<ectum>	S	aon_ehaonnen	&c<etera>
fut<urum> pr<aeterito> mi<x>tum	S	e8a_ehaonk	&c<etera> ... <i>j'aurai porté la</i>

1 kcsc: perfectum

2 kcsc only mentions the forms **e8a_e** and **esa**, adding a note 'ut **a_ehaon** addito ubiq<ue> **e** initio'.

3 kcsc adds a note: ut perf<ectum>

4 kcsc: **t'e_e** v<el> **stant'e_e**

5 In kcsc, the 'aorist' is listed between the 'pluperfect' and 'affirmative future'.

6 kcsc has this form ending in **ha8it**.

ahaon remporter onsa ꞑ *ahaon remporter v<el> reporter*

praes<ens>	S	onsaꞑ	onsachie	&c<etera> adde haꞑit
imperf<ectum>	S	eske	&c<etera> adde haꞑind <i>je remportoīs ou reportois</i>	
perf<ectum>	S	eskꞑaꞑ	etīsa¹	es'o² etso adde haon
	D	etsonꞑ	etsitsi	es'oti³ etsoti
	P	etsonꞑa	etsiskꞑa	es'oti etsoti etsao⁴ <i>on a remporté</i>
plus<quam> perf<ectum>	S	eskꞑaꞑehaonnen	&c<etera> ut perf<ectum>	
fut<urum> af<firmativum>	S	eskehꞑa v<el> eskehaꞑit	&c<etera> <i>je remporterai ou reporterai</i>	
fut<urum> neg<ativum>	S	stant'eskehaꞑise	&c<etera>	

imperat<ivus>

sase v<el> **onsase** **satsi** v<el> **onsatsi** **aonsaekꞑa⁵** adde **hꞑa⁶** v<el> **haꞑit**

Modus pot<entialis>

	S	âonsaꞑehaꞑit	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>	
praet<eritum> ⁷	S	aonsonꞑe⁸	aonsesa aonsaho	&c<etera> ... adde haonk
plus<quam> perf<ectum>	S	aonsonꞑe	aonsesa	&c<etera> ut perf<ectum> ... adde haonnen
fut<urum> pr<aeterito> mi<xtum>	S	eskꞑaꞑehaonk	&c<etera> ⁹ <i>j'aurai remporté ou reporté</i>	

1 KCSC: **etsisa**

2 KCSC: **esho**

3 KCSC: **eshoti**

4 KCSC: **etsaꞑo**

5 KCSC: **aonsaetia aonsaekꞑa**

6 KCSC: **haꞑa**

7 KCSC: perfectum

8 KCSC: **aons^aonꞑe**

9 KCSC adds a note: ut perf<ectum> indicativi

ᶇahaon in compo<sitione> cum ᶇaata

ᶇahaon v<el> potius **enahaon** compositum cum ᶇaata signat quod galli dicunt *mener, amener ... hurones alia utunt<u>r metaphorâ porter, apporter ... voila ce qui m'amene ici ... voila ce qui me mene la ... hurones c'est ce qui me porte la .. c'est ce qui m'apporte icy*¹ diversa sunt tempora ejusd verbi juxta diversum terminum hûc et illuc - utramq<ue> significationem breviter exequor

* **aatenhaon** huc adducor

praes<ens> ²	S	ondaie aᶇia	saa	hoa	oa	&c<etera> (adde tenhaᶇi) voila ce qui m'amene ici
	D	oᶇᶇia	tsia	hotia	otia	
	P	oᶇᶇaa	skᶇaa	hotia	otia	aᶇoa
imperf<ectum>	S	aᶇiatenᶇaᶇind &c<etera>				
praet<eritum> ³	S	ekᶇaᶇia	etisaa	eᶇoa	etioa	adde tenhaon
	D	etioᶇᶇia	etitsia	eᶇotia	etiotia	
	P	etioᶇᶇaa ⁴	etiskᶇaa ⁵	eᶇotia	etiotia	etiaᶇoa
plusq<uam perfectum>	S	ekᶇaᶇiatenᶇaonnen ut praet<eritum>				
fut<urum> aff<ir-mativum>	S	ekᶇaᶇia	esaa	eᶇoa	etioa	adde hᶇa v<el> haᶇit ⁶
	D	etioᶇᶇia	&c<etera>			

1 kcsc: hurones : *c'est ce qui m'apporte ici ... c'est ce qui me porte là*

2 kcsc: praes<ens> et aor<istus>

3 kcsc: perfectum

4 kcsc: **etioᶇᶇa**

5 kcsc: **etiskᶇa**

6 kcsc: **tenhᶇa** v<el> **tenhaᶇit**

* **aa**tenhaon illuc adducor

praes<ens> ¹	S	ondaie onja ²	esaa	ahoa	aoa	(adde tenh8i ³) <i>voila ce qui me mene la</i>
	D	aonja	etsia	ahotia	aotia	
	P	aon8aa	esk8aa	ahotia	aotia	aa_oa
imperf<ectum>	S	e8a_jatenha8ind ⁴				
perf<ectum>	S	e8a_jatenhaon				
plusq<uam perfectum>	S	e8a_jatenhaonnen				
fut<urum>	S	e8a_ja	esaa	ehoa	&c<etera>	adde h8a v<el> ha8it ⁵

aha8isenni⁶ ext<ra compositionem> enha8isenni in compo<sitione> *porter pour q<uelqu'un>, a q<uelqu'un> f<uturum> is r<elativum> ta_eha8is porte moy cela ... ata_eha8is apporte moy cela ... heseha8is porte cela à lui ... seha8is porte cela a elle ...* * in comp<ositione>: *ta_echarenha8is porte pour moy ce collier ... ata_echarenha8is apporte moy ce ce⁷ collier ... tand8ihenha8is porte pour moy cette robbe ... atand8chenha8is apporte moy cette robbe.*
aha8isennion v<er>bum motus et relativum
ta_eha8isenniha *vas me porter cela .. ata_eha8isenniha* *viens m'apporter cela* **tand8chenha8isenniha** *vas porter pour moy cette robbe* **ata_echarenha8isenniha** *viens m'apporter ce collier* &c<etera>

1 KCSC: praes<ens> et aor<istus>

2 KCSC: **ondaie e8a_ja** v<el> **on_ja**

3 KCSC: **tenha8i**

4 KCSC: **e8a_ja** v<el> **on_ja**

5 KCSC: **tenh8a** v<el> **tenha8it**

6 KCSC renders this section as follows:

aha8isenni f<uturum> **is** ext<ra> comp<ositionem> **ta_eha8is** *porte moi cela* **ata_eha8is** *apporte moi cela* **heseha8is** *porte lui* **celaseha8is** *porte cela à elle*
aha8isendihon **ta_eha8isenniha** *vas me porter cela* **ata_eha8isenniha** *viens m'apporter*

enha8isenni f<uturum> **is** r<elativum> ext<ra> comp<ositionem> **ta_echarenha8is** *porte moi ce collier* **ata_echarenha8is** *apporte moi ce collier* **tand8chrenha8is** *porte moi cette robbe* **tand8chrenha8is** *apporte moi cette robbe*
enha8isennihon in comp<ositione> r<elativum> mot<us> **tand8chrenha8isenniha** *va moi porter cette robbe* **ata_echarenha8isenniha** *viens m'apporter ce collier*

7 Dittography.

De verbo **en** dicere

en tribus quasi verbis utitur, ad formanda sua tempora .. **en aton** et **enhon** v<el> **enhaon** ... sola tempora quae pertinent ad parad<ygma> **S** derivant<u>r à verbo **en**, sed melius docebunt oculi quam praecepta¹

Indicativus

praes<ens>	S	i a	ichia	i ha	i ða	adde tonk je dis
	D	a ia	i tia	i tsa	i hia	i ia
	P	a ða	i kða	i skða	i hon	i on ion
imper- fectum)	S	i atonhonk &c<etera> ut praes<ens> ²				
perf<ec- tum>	S	i ða en	i sen	i ha en	i a en	<i>j'ai dit</i>
	D	i onnen	i sten	i honnen	i onnen	
	P	i on en	i sk en	i honnen	i onnen	a a en
plusq<uam perfectum>	S	i ða ennen	i sennen	&c<etera> <i>j'avois</i> ³		
aor<istus>	S	a ihon	a chion ⁴	a henhaon	a enhaon	<i>je dis</i>
	D	a andihon	e tihon	e stihon	e ndihon ⁵	e ndihon ⁵
	P	a a en haon	e k en haon	e sk en haon	a hendihon	a ðendihon a a en haon
fut<urum> aff<irmati- vum>	S	e ihon	e chihon	e henhaon	e enhaon	<i>je dirai</i>
	D	e andihon	e tihon	e stihon	e ndihon	e ndihon
	P	e a en haon	e k en haon	e sk en haon	e hendihon	e ðendihon e a en haon
fut<urum> cont<inua- tionis>	S	e a	e chia	&c<etera> ut e atatia ⁶ .. adde tonhonj		
<futurum negativum> ⁷	S	stant'e a	te chia	&c<etera> ut t'e atande .. adde tonde		

1 KCSC: sed melius doceberis oculis quam praeceptis

2 KCSC adds: *je disois*

3 KCSC: *j'avois dit*

4 KCSC: **achihon**

5 KCSC: **andihon andihon**

6 KCSC: ut **e**atatia**haj**

7 KCSC: fut<urum> neg<ativum>

Imperativus

tsihon ... dic **stihon** dicite .. **satonhonj** perge dicere .. **tsatonhonj** pergite¹

Modus pot<entialis>

praes<ens> af<firmati- vum>	S	âihon	âchihon	âhenhaon	âenhaon ²	<i>que je dise, je dirois</i>
	D	âiandihon	âetihon	âestihon	ândihon	ândihon
	P	âiaÿenhaon	âekÿenhaon	aeskÿenhaon	ahenÿdihon	aÿendihon aiaÿenhaon
praes<ens> neg<ativum>	S	stant'e,a	t'echia	&c<etera> ut fut<urum> neg<ativum> ³ : adde tondenn		
alter prae<sens> ⁴	S	âa	âchia	âha	âÿa	adde tonhonj ⁵ <i>que je continue a dire, je continuerois a dire</i>
	D	aiaja	âetia	aetsa	âhia	aia
	P	aiaÿa	âekÿa	âeskÿa	âhon	âon aion
perf<ec- tum>	S	âonÿenk	aesenk	ahaÿenk	aiaÿenk	<i>j'aurois dit</i>
	D	aionnenk	aestenk	ahonnenk	aionnenk	
	P	aionÿenk	aeskÿenk	ahonnenk	aionnenk	aiaÿenk
plusq<uam perfectum>	S	âonÿennen	aesennen	&c<etera> ut perf<ectum> <i>j'eusse dit</i>		
<futurum praeterito mixtum> ⁶	S	eÿaÿenk	esenk ⁷	&c<etera> <i>quand j'aurai dit</i>		

1 KCSC: *imperat<ivus> contin<uationis> **satonhonj** perge dicere **tsatonhonj** **tiatonhonj** **kÿa-tonhonj**

2 KCSC: **aÿenhaon**

3 KCSC: ut **e,atatianden**

4 KCSC: praes<ens> contin<uationis>

5 KCSC adds a note: ut **a,atatia**

6 KCSC: fut<urum> praet<erito> mixtum

7 KCSC: S.. **eÿaÿenk** **esenk** **ehaÿenk** D.. **eonnenk** **estenk** **ehonnenk** **eonnenk** P.. **eonÿenk** **eskÿenk** **ehonnenk** **eonnenk** **eaÿenk**

ennon, éti aller venir (venir, revenir)¹

portentosum verbum memoriae onus gravissimum, hoc stat distinguere in duo verba, quae licet difficilia, facilius disjuncta vincentur – primum ergo unam significationem prosequor q<u>ae utroq<ue> verbo exprimit<u>r, etsi in significando al<i>quid diversitatis intersit²

indicativus³

praesens

1° **χa i_e** voila icy, me voila icy⁴... signat etre venu en q<uelque> lieu<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **χa ichie**⁵ ah te voila icy, venu icy ... * nota: **inde** in duali cum accentu pro masculinâ, et sine accentu pro faem<inina> persona, ut vox masculina aspiret<u>r

S	i_e	ichie	ire	i8e		
D	iande	ite	isite ⁶	inde	inde	
P	ia8e	ik8e	isk8e	iheñde	i8ende	ien inien ⁷

2° **iske** me voila revenu est redup<licatio> - ita se salutant cum alteruter al<i>q<u>o profectus fuerat . redux ita salutatur<u>r **onne ise** redux es; responde **onne iske** redux sum

1 KCSC: De verbis **ennon** et **éti**... *aller, venir, revenir*

2 The part starting from 'primum ergo' is absent from KCSC.

3 Penn extracts the paradigms from the numbered notes 1° and 2° on page 36 and notes 1° and 3° on page 41(!), combining them into a single table. This table starts as follows:

<i>venir</i>	<i>revenir</i>	<i>aller</i>	<i>retourner</i>
indicativus			
praesens			
1° S... i_e veni	2° iske ... en redi	3° a_e ... eo	4° onsa_e revertor
ichie	ise	achie	onsachie

4 KCSC: **χ' i_e** me voila ici

5 KCSC: **χ' ichie**

6 KCSC: **iste**

7 KCSC: **ien** (dic **inien**)

S	iske	ise	ichre	iskðe		
D	itsande	itsite	itsiste	isθe	iste	
P	itsaðe	itsikðe	itsiskðe	ishende	iskðende	itsen

[37]

3° signat quasi degere, manere⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **a_osaannen iens** *il y a des abnakis askennonnia t'ichies? te portes tu bien? ⟨,⟩ inðes ces 2 person⟨nes⟩ sont ou vont ensemble*¹

S	i_es	ichies	ires	iðes		
D	iandes	ites	istes	inðes	indes	
P	ia_ðes	ikðes	iskðes	ihendes	iðendes	iens iniens

4° idem sensus ac **i_es**, sed additur reduplication⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **orast istes** v⟨el⟩ **orast indes** *vous allez, ils vont encore ensemble* – de duobus

S	iskes	ises	ichres	iskðes		
D	istandes	itsites	itsistes	isθes	istes	
P	itsa_ðes	itsikðes	itsiskðes	ishendes	iskðendes	itsens

5°² **i_esonk** signat *aller et venir, roder, se promener* **ara θo i_esonk** *seulement je vas et viens, je me promene*

S	i_e	ichie	ire	iðe	adde sonk
D	iande	ite	iste	inðe	inde
P	ia_ðe	ikðe	iskðe	ihende	iðende ien

6°³ **eke** est localitas addita **i_e**, et signat proprie: *je viens de*, ut superiora verba signant *venir en q⟨uelque⟩ lieu ... eke* adhibetur etiam pro futuro

1 After notes 3° and 4° (which are relabelled 1° and 2°), KCSC adds notes 2° and 4° of page 41(!), relabelling them 3° and 4°. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 2°.

2 KCSC: 3°

3 Notes 6° and 7° are relabelled 1° and 2° and subordinated to a 'supernote' 4°.

S	eke	ese	eθre	ekθe		
D	etiande	etite	etiste	eθe	ete	
P	etiaθe	etikθe	etiskθe	eθende	ekθende	etien

7° localitati additur reduplicatio *je reviens* – est etiam fut<urum><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **onhθa θo aat**¹ **t'eke** *je reviens toute a l'heure* v<el> *je reviendrai*

S **t'eke** **t'ese** &c<etera> ut praecedens addito ubiq<ue> **t'** initiali²

8°³ localitas propria aoristi annotanda est: **N ontare**, *N vient ici* dicitur de homine adhuc in via – vix ergo 1^{ae} et 2^{ae} personae possunt esse in usu

S	onta_e	ontachie	ontare	ontaθe		
D	ontaande	ontete	onteste	ontañde	ontande	
P	ontaaθe	ontekθe	onteskθe	ontahende	ontaθende	ontaen

9°⁴ sequens in eo tantum differ a superiori⁵ quod locus unde venit, appelle- tur<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **Teotiaï**⁶ **ontaret** *il vient de Montreal*

S **onta_et** **ontachiet** &c<etera> ut praecedens addito ubiq<ue> **t** in fine⁷

10° localitati additur reduplicatio<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **annen tontachie**⁸ *d'ou reviens tu?* nos dicimus de homine domum redeunte: *d'ou viens⁹ tu?* – hurones vero has voces valde apposite adhibent: **t'ontaen** *on revient* – **tontahende** *redeunt*

S **t'onta_e** **t'ontachie** &c<etera> ut **onta_e** addendo ubiq<ue> **t'** initio¹⁰

1 KCSC: **θ' aat**

2 KCSC: **t'eke t'ese t'eθre** &c<etera> ut **eke**

3 Notes 8° and 10° are relabelled 1° and 2° and subordinated to a 'supernote' 5°.

4 Notes 9° and 11° are relabelled 1° and 2° and subordinated to a 'supernote' 6°. Consequently, note 9° is placed after note 10° rather than before it.

5 KCSC: **onta_et** in eo tantum differt ab **onta_e**

6 KCSC: **te otia_i**

7 KCSC: &c<etera> ut **onta_e**

8 KCSC: **t'ontachie**

9 KCSC: *reviens*

10 ut **onta_e** addendo ubiq<ue> **t'** initio: absent from KCSC.

11° est localitas cum reduplicatione: *je revient*¹ *de* &c(etera) appellando locum unde reditur

S t'ontæt t'ontachiet &c(etera) ut ontæt addito ubiq(ue) t' initio²

12°³ 4. **aro** *en deça* saepe venio ventito<, > v(erbi) g(ratia) **aðentenhaon aro ekeθa** *je viens continuellement icy* – v(el) *je viens dela*⁵<, > v(erbi) g(ratia) **onn'aesaenk de satonn'haratie, ahente de N ondaon ese θa** *quand on te voit joyeux, il paroît que tu viens de la maison de N*

S	eke	ese	eθre	ekðe	adde θa
D	etiande	etite	etitse	eθe	ete
P	etiaðe	etikðe	etiskðe	eθinde	ekðende etien

13°⁶ **eke tande** *je suis venant d'icy* – de loco intelligit(ur) quo proxime adveniendum est – re ipsa rerò⁷, sed aliquando hoc utunt(ur) verbo

S eke tande ese tande eθretande &c(etera) ut praecedens

14°⁸ quaedam personae, non singulae, hujus verbi usurpant(ur), quaedam usurpari nequeunt – **stante kðes**⁹ *elle ne vient pas* de obstetrice accersitâ **stan θo t'eθres** *il ne vient point* .. eod(em) sensu ipsas voces audivi

S	ekes	eses	eθres	ekðes	
D	etiandes	etites	etistes	eθes	etes
P	etiaðes	etikðes	etiskðes	eθendes	ekðendes etiens

1 kcsc: *reviens*

2 kcsc: &c(etera) ut t'ontæt

3 After notes 12° and 15° (which are relabelled 1° and 2°), kcsc adds notes 7° and 8° of page 41(!), relabelling them 3° and 4°. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 7°. Consequently, note 15° is placed before notes 13° and 14° rather than after them.

4 kcsc adds the following (taken from note 15°): **ekeθa** *je viens ici en deça*

5 kcsc: *de là*

6 After note 13° (which is relabelled 1°), kcsc adds notes 5° and 6° of page 41(!), relabelling them 3° and 4°. In between these, an extra note is added: '2°.. t'eketande (nihil dico)'. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 8°.

7 kcsc: raro

8 kcsc: 9°

9 kcsc: **stant'ekðes**

15° parum extra ordinem¹ **t'ek̄eθa** – est reduplicatio addita localitati **ek̄eθa**
*je viens ici en deça*² **t'ek̄eθa** *je reviens en deça icy*

S **t'ek̄eθa** **t'eseθa** **eθreθa** **t'ek̄eθa** &c<etera> vide numero 12³

imperfectum

non indiget explicatione, scitur enim imp<erfectum> crescere v<el> al<i>q<u>â
syllaba v<el> aliquibus litteris et à praesenti formari, similiterq<ue> conjugari

*Nota: **ontāe**, **t'ontāe**, **ontāet**, **t'ontāet** non posse habere imperfectum quia

1 parum extra ordinem: absent from KCSC.

2 **ek̄eθa** *je viens ici en deça*: absent from KCSC (but see footnote to note 12°).

haec 4^{or} tempora sunt veri aoristi cum reduplicatione v<el> cum reduplicatione et localitate simul et pro imperfecto sibi respondente vel adhiberi alia imperfecta infra posita vel praeterita perfecta

1 ^{o1}	χa iend ²	<i>je venois ici &c<etera> ut praes<ens></i> ³	7 ^o	ekeθandend	<i>j'etois en chemin venant icy</i>
2 ^o	χa iskend ⁴	<i>je revenois icy</i> ⁵	8 ^o	t'ekeθandend	<i>j'etois en chem<in> reven<ant> icy</i>
3 ^o	ekend ⁶	<i>je venois de la</i>	9 ^o	θo⁷ ieskba	<i>je demeuroids la, j'etois encore</i> ⁸
4 ^o	t'ekend ¹¹	<i>je revenois de la</i>		orast iesθs⁹ n'ondende	<i>lā<> v<erbi> g<ratia></i>
5 ^o	eke θak	<i>je venois souvent ici en deça</i>		ireskba	<i>jesus etoit v<el> alloit v<el> conversoit encore sur la terre</i> ¹⁰
6 ^o	t'eke θak	<i>je revenois souvent ici en deça</i>	10 ^o	iesonhonk	<i>je rodois, me promenois, j'allois</i> ¹²

perfectum

1^{o13} **ekbaeti** *je suis venu dela* nominando locum unde venit ... signat etiam patriam, nec alio modo hurones hanc exprimunt: **annen etise ti?** *d'ou viens tu? v<el> d'ou es tu?* **ennion enhake ekbae ti** *je suis venu de france ou je suis*

- 1 After notes 1^o and 2^o, kcsc adds notes 1^o and 2^o of page 41(!), relabelling them 3^o and 4^o. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 1^o. kcsc relabels notes 3^o and 4^o as 1^o and 2^o and subordinates them to a 'supernote' 2^o. After notes 5^o and 6^o (which are relabelled 1^o and 2^o), kcsc adds notes 5^o and 6^o of page 41. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 3^o. After notes 7^o and 8^o (which are relabelled 1^o and 2^o), kcsc adds notes 3^o and 4^o of page 41. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 4^o. Notes 9^o and 10^o are relabelled 5^o and 6^o.
- 2 kcsc: **χ'iend**
- 3 kcsc: &c<etera> ut pr<aesens> **ie**
- 4 kcsc: **χ'iskend**
- 5 kcsc: &c<etera> ut **iske**
- 6 kcsc adds: &c<etera> ut **eke**
- 7 **θo**: absent from kcsc.
- 8 *encore*: absent from kcsc.
- 9 kcsc: **iesθs orast**
- 10 kcsc: *jesus etoit e<n>core sur la <terre>* **ichieskba** &c<etera> ut **ie**
- 11 kcsc adds: &c<etera> ut **t'eke**
- 12 kcsc: *j'allois et venois ... je rodois ... me promenois* **ichiesonhonk** &c<etera> ut **ie**
- 13 After note 1^o, kcsc inserts note 3^o, relabelling it 2^o; moreover, it adds the following two notes: '3^o.. **eθaeti** *j'ai été ou je suis allé là ... vide eθaennon* infra 4^o.. **eskbaeti** *je suis retourné là ... vide eskbaennon* infra'. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 1.

de france ... dicunt etiam pro patria **tsinneronnon?** **aannenronnon**^{1?} *d'ou est il venu?* **nda8a,eronnon** du Saunt S<aint> Louis

S	ek8a,e	etise	e0a8e	etia8e	adde ti
D	etionde	etiste	e0onde	etionde	
P	etion,8e	etisk8e	e0onde	etionde	etia,a8e

2^{o2} **ek8a,ennon** *je suis venu* praecise sine respectu ad locum quo adventum est v<el> unde ventum est.

S	ek8a,e	etise	&c<etera> ut praecedens – adde ubiq<ue> nnon
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3^o **tek8a,éti** *je suis revenu* (si sensus sit de re praeterita) nam si sensus sit: *me voila revenu*, dic **tonta,e** &c<etera> – interdum dicunt **tek8a,étinnen** ubi dicimus *j'ay été* dicunt *j'avois été* * nota: **stan andeia, aro t'ek8a,éti** nonquam hûc veni: **t'ek8a,eti** pro **stante ek8a,éti**

4^o **tek8a,ennon** *je suis revenu*, est redup<licatio> addita localitati

S	tek8a,e	tetise	&c<etera> ut ek8a,ennon adde nnon
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Nota: **tek8a,eti** et **tek8a,ennon** in eo tantum differunt quod **te0a8ennon** significet *il est revenu*, sine designatione loci unde reditur **Teotia,i te0a8éti**³ *il est revenu de Montreal* designando locum

1 kcsc: **aannenronnon?** (non: **tsennenronnon**)

2 After note 2°, kcsc inserts note 4° (including the note starting with '**tek8a,eti** et **tek8a,ennon** in eo tantum differunt'), relabelling it 2°; moreover, it adds notes 1° and 2° of page 42(!), relabelling them 3° and 4°. These four notes are subparts of a 'supernote' 2.

3 kcsc: **te otia,i t'eta8éti**

plusq(uam) perfectum¹

nota: plusq(uam) perfectum aliquando usurpatur pro praeterito ut supra dixi

S	ek8a_e	etise	e0a8e	etia8e	adde tinnen
D	etionde	etiste	e0onde	etionde	
P	etion8e	etisk8e	e0onde	etionde	etia_a8e

S	ek8a_ennonnen	&c(etera) ut praecedens
S	tek8a_étinnen	&c(etera) ut praec(edens) est red(uplicatio) addita loc(alitati)
S	tek8a_ennonnen	&c(etera) ut praec(edens)

auristus

auristi vices gerunt praesentia incipientia ab **onta** v(el) **tonta**,² quae sunt unius et solius auristi particulae propria; unde loco auristi dici potest **onta_e tonta_e; onta_et t'onta_et** &c(etera) quia auristus est tempus commune praesenti et praeterito **onh8ati xa etisetinnen, honnonh8ask8a de hiena**

- 1 Penn incorporates the notes on the 'pluperfect' found on page 42 as follows:

1°..S... ek8a_etinnen	2°.. t'ek8a_étinnen	3°.. e8a_etinnen	4° esk8a_etinnen
etisetinnen	t'etisetinnen &c(ete-	esetinnen &c(etera)	etsisetinnen &c(etera)
&c(etera) ut ek8a_éti	ra) ut t'ek8a_éti	ut e8a_eti	ut esk8a_eti

3°.. **8a_etinnen** *j'étois allé ...* * nota loco **ek8a_eti** *j'étois venu de là*, saepius utuntur plusquam perfect(ecto) v(erbi)g(ratia) **annent'ontachie ? annenen de 8a_etinnen** *d'ou viens tu j'avais été chez ma mere, j'ai été chez ma mere*

4°.. **esk8a_etinnen** *j'étois retourne*

1°.. **ek8a_etinnen** *j'étois venu delà ...* * nota plusquam perfect(um) al(i)q(uan)do usurpatur pro praeterito

2°.. **t'ek8a_etinnen** *j'étois revenu de la*

1°.. S.... ek8a_ennonnen	2°.. t'ek8a_ennonnen	3°.. e8a_ennonnen	4° esk8a_ennonnen
nen etisenonnen	nen t'etisenonnen	esennonnen &c(e-	etsisenonnen &c(e-
&c(etera)	&c(etera)	tera)	tera)

1°... **ek8a_ennonnen** *j'étois venu*, ut sic |

2°.. **t'ek8a_ennonnen** *j'étois revenu*, ut sic | vide annot(ationem) perfecti

3°... **e8a_ennonnen** *j'étois allé*, ut sic |

4° **esk8a_ennonnen** *j'étois retourne* ut sic |

- 2 KCS: **t'onta**

v<el> **χa isenn** &c<etera> *quand tu viens ici, il y a long'temps, mon fils etoit malade*¹ – veniebas – venisti, veneras

hoc verbum caret aoristo, quia praesens multiplex ipsius vices gerit significat venio, seu in via adhuc sum, seu in termino constitutus<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **χa iε²** *me voila venu ... ont,ae je viens, j'arrive, je me rend icy* – unde si quando est operosum mentem exprimere convertat<u>r modus loquendi<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *quand je viens ici*, dicere est *j'etois venu icy* **χa ekθ,ae²tinnen**, v<el> utunt<u>r al<i>q<uan>do imperfecto si conveniens et aptum e<ss>e po<ss>it.³

futurum affirm<ativum>

1^{o4} futurum **eke** signat etiam *je viens de la, icy je viendrai* – observa quae immediate sequunt<u>r⁵

2^o 1^{ae} et 2^{ae} personae in futuro **eke** non possunt e<ss>e in usu sine redup<licatione> addita local<itati>, quia homo in aliquo loco situs non emendate diceret: huc veniam: nec de praesentibus, huc venies, sed: redibo, redibitis – haec tibi perpendenti clara fient: **eθre** *il viendra*, bene: at **ese**, *tu viendras icy* perperam, sed **tese**⁶ *tu reviendras* haec regula applicanda est etiam futuro frequentativo **eketaj** dic tantum **tekeθaj**⁷ *je reviendrai*

S	eke	ese	eθre	ekθe	<i>je viendrai</i> 2 ^{ae} 1 ^{ae} personae non sunt in usu in o<mn>i n<ume>ro	
D	etiande	etite	etiste	eθe	ete	
P	etia,θe	etikθe	etiskθe	eθinde	ekθende	etien

1 KCSC: *que mon fils etoit malade*

2 KCSC: **χ'ie**

3 KCSC adds the notes on the 'aorist' of page 42.

4 KCSC joins notes 1^o and 2^o into a single note 1^o. The unmarked note on top of page 39 is labelled 2^o. Notes 1^o and 2^o on the 'affirmative future' of page 42 are added and relabelled 3^o and 4^o. These four notes are subordinated to a 'supernote' labelled 1^o.

5 KCSC: **eke** signat *je viendrai*, signat etiam: *je viens de la* * Nota :

6 KCSC: **t'ese**

7 KCSC: **t'eketaj**

[39]

S	teke	tese ¹	&c<etera> ut praeced<ens> addito ubiq<ue> t initio <i>je reviendray</i> ²
S	ekeθaj		&c<etera> ut eke <i>je viendrai souvent</i>
S	tekeθaj		&c<etera> ut eke <i>je reviendrai souvent</i> ³

futurum neg<ativum>

⁴ S	stant'ekese	t'esese	&c<etera> ut fut<urum> af<firmativum> <i>je ne viendrai pas</i>
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collige ex supradictis has solas personas e<ss>e in usu: **stant'eθrese** non veniet **stant'ekβese** illa non veniet, **stant'eθese**, **stant'eθendese**, **stant'ekβendese**, **stant'etiense** ... ⁵**stanta t'ekese** &c<etera> *je ne reviendrai pas*

^{1°6} **stanta** ponitur pro **stante** ob euphoniā⁷

- 1 kcsc: **t'eke t'esese**
- 2 At this point, kcsc inserts notes 3° and 4° on the 'affirmative future' of page 42 (without relabelling them), subordinating them to a 'supernote' labelled 2°.
- 3 kcsc combines this with notes 5° and 6° on the 'affirmative future' of page 42 into a 'supernote' labelled 3°, as follows: '1°.. **eketaj je viendrai souvent** v<el> *ordinairement* est fut<urum> cont<inuationis> * vid<e> annot<ationem> **eke** 2°.. **t'eketaj.. je reviendrai souvent** v<el> *ordinairement* ... est fut<urum> cont<inuationis> 3°...**e.eθaj** pergām eo ire ... * [.....] **θo e.eθaj** eō saepius ibo ... **eretaj** ibit 4° **esketaj** pergām eō reverti ... * **satitaβaten, θo e.entakβi esketaj**, despera, pergām eo reverti'. After this, kcsc inserts a reorganised version of note 7° on page 42, relabelling it as a supernote 4°, as follows: '3° **e.eska** pergām eō circumcursare ; ibi degam, vivam, manebo ... * **anniaten eenska n'onβe** quocumq<ue> ibunt homines'.
- 4 kcsc adds: 1°
- 5 kcsc adds: 2°
- 6 1°: absent from kcsc.
- 7 To the preceding parts, kcsc adds notes 1° and 2° on the 'negative future' found on page 42, relabelling them 3° and 4°. The four notes are subordinated to a 'supernote' 1°. After this, it inserts part of note 6° ('**stant'eketande je ne viendrai pas**'), relabelling it 1°, after which it comes a note '2°... **stanta t'eketande je ne reviendrai pas**', based on another part of note 6°. Then, notes 5° and 6° of page 42 are added (relabelled 3° and 4°). The four notes are subordinated to a 'supernote' 2°. Subsequently, kcsc's 'supernote' 3° consists of four 'subnotes', comprising the following material: 1° note 5° of page 39; 2° a strongly stripped-down version of note 3° of page 39 ('**stanta t'ekβ,ēti je ne reviendrai pas**'); 3° part of note 3° of page 42; 4° part of note 4° of page 42. Finally, kcsc's 'supernote' 4° consists of four 'subnotes', comprising the following material: 1° a strongly modified version of note 4° of page 39 ('**stant'ekβa,ennon je ne viendrai pas**, non designando locum ... h<abe>t s<en>sum ancipitem'); 2° note 2° of page 39; 3° part of note 3° of page 42; 4° part of note 4° of page 42.

2° perfectum cum negatione ponitur pro futuro neg<ativo><, > v<erbi> g<ratia>
stanta tek8a_ennon *je ne reviendrais pas*

S **stanta tek8a_ennon** **stanta tetisennon** &c<etera> vide perfectum

3° idem dicas de verbo **stanta tek8a_éti** quod differt à **stanta tek8a_ennon** in eo quod prius verbum usurpetur si locus unde venit, designatum est contra vero de 2°

S **stanta tek8a_éti** &c<etera> *je ne reviendrais pas de N* vide perfectum

4° ex supradictis nil difficultatis habet haec 4^a observatio

S **stante k8a_ennon** **stant'etisennon** &c<etera> *je ne viendrais pas*¹

5° haec 5^a observatio nil habet difficultatis: hic usus habet semper sensum anticipem, quia potest signare *je ne suis pas venu* v<el> *je ne viendrais pas*

S **stant'ek8a_éti** &c<etera>

6° futurum positivum unde sequens derivat<u>r non est in usu, non enim dicitur **eke_tande** *je viendrais*, sed tantum **teketande** *je reviendrais* &c<etera>

S **stanteketande** **stant'esetande** &c<etera> *je ne viendrais pas* vide fut<urum>

S **stanta teke_tande** &c<etera> *je ne reviendrais pas* vide fut<urum>

imperativus

1° dicitur per crasim et simul per diaeresim **a8ase** pro **aro ate**² ... **a8aste** pro **aro aste**, et maximi est usus – dicitur etiam al<i>q<uan>do **aro aset** et **tontaset** *viens icy – reviens* .. * nota<:> tempora modi pot<entialis> optime usurpantur loco temporum imperativi propriorum<, > v<erbi> g<ratia>

1 KCSC adds: perfectum cum negatione ponitur pro fut<uro> neg<ativo>

2 KCSC: **aro a te**

âontahendet v<el> **âontahende** *qu'ils viennent* vide modum pot<entialem> pro aliis personis

aro ase v<el> a8ase	viens icy	aro aontahende	veniant plures
aro aste v<el> a8aste	venez icy	aro aonta8ende	veniant multae
aro âontande	veniant duo	aro antesk8e ¹	venite plures

2° localitati adjungitur reduplicatio, nec operae pretium duxi subjungere omnia tempora et personas modi pot<entialis>²³

aro tontase	reviens	aro tontesk8e	revenez de faem<ina>
aro tonteste ⁴	revenez	aro taonta ⁿ ient ⁵	qu'on revienne

Modus potentialis

praesens aff<irmativum>

1° praesens hoc affim<ativum>, ut in aliis verbis respondet aoristo **onta_e**, quod vulgo pro praesenti adhibetur: **aro âontaient**⁶ *qu'on vienne icy en deça*

* notas modi pot<entialis> observa: **aontaiandet**, **aontaia8et** *nous 2 ... nous plusieurs reviendrions .. v<el> .. que nous revenions*⁷

S	âontâet ⁸	aontachiet	aontaret	aonta8et	<i>je viendrois v<el> que je vienne</i>
D	aontaiandet	aontetet	aontestet	aontandet	aontandet
P	aontaia8et	aontek8et	aontesk8et	aontahendet	aonta8endet aontaient ⁹

1 KCSC: **aontesk8e**

2 nec operae pretium duxi subjungere omnia tempora et personas modi pot<entialis>: absent from KCSC.

3 After these two notes, KCSC adds the material on the imperative found on page 43, labelling it '3°... et 4°...'.¹

4 KCSC: **aro t'onte^aste** (with the first e crossed out)

5 KCSC: **aro tontaⁿient**

6 KCSC: **aro aontaⁿient**

7 **aontaiandet**, **aontaia8et** *nous 2 ... nous plusieurs reviendrions .. v<el> .. que nous revenions*: KCSC has: **aontaiandet** *nous 2* **aontaia8et** *nous plusieurs reviendrons* [sic] v<el> *que nous revenions*

8 In KCSC, the forms of this paradigm lack their final t (e.g. **aonta_e aontachie**).

9 **aontaient**: KCSC has: **aontaⁿient**

2° localitas additur redup<licatio>¹ **taontaient**² *on reviendrait* (forte **taontaient**)³ **ondøende taontaret** *qu'il revienne de chez sa mere .. aro aontaøet*
qu'elle vienne

S **taontaet**⁴

&c<etera> *je reviendrais ou que je revienne* ut **aontaet**⁵

praesens neg<ativum>⁶

3° **stant'eketande** per crasim pro **stante eketande** * nota<:> non conjugari regulariter forte error est

S	stant'eke	t'ese	t'eøre	t'ekøe	adde tandenn <i>je ne viendrais pas</i>	
D	t'etiande	t'etite	t'etiste	t'eøe	t'eke	
P	t'etiaøe	t'etikøe	tetiskøe	t'eøende	t'ekøende	t'etien

4° ponitur **stanta teketandenn** pro **stante teketandenn** ob euphoniā ne bis repetat<u>r **te** – est redup<licatio> addita localitati: **køiøti aøatonde stanta tesetandenn** *quoy seroit il possible que tu ne reviendrais point?*

S **stanta t'eketandenn**

&c<etera> ut praec<edens> *je ne reviendrais pas*

1 In KCSC, the 'as' of 'localitas' is crossed out and replaced by an 'i', suggesting a reading 'localiti' [sic], probably to be understood as 'localitati'.

2 **taontaient**: KCSC has: **t'ontañient**

3 forte **taontaient**: absent from KCSC.

4 KCSC: **t'onta_e**

5 After this point, KCSC adds the following (based on material from notes 1° and 5° about the 'affirmative present and imperfect of the potential mood' on page 43): '3° **a_e j'irois, que j'aille** 4° **aonsa_e je retournerois, que je retourne aostorenk aonsa_e** brevi reversurus sum'. Together with the two previous notes, this is subordinated to a 'supernote' 1°. Subsequently, KCSC adds three more 'supernotes', comprising material taken from the notes about the 'affirmative present and imperfect of the potential mood' on page 43.

6 KCSC has a section on the 'negative present and imperfect of the potential mood', which combines material from this section on the 'negative present' with material on the 'negative present and imperfect' that can be found on page 43.

praeteritum perfect<um>¹

1° *serois venu icy, si &c<etera>* **aro atichien aonton_εetik, te &c<etera>**²

S	aonton_ε	aontese	aontah₈e	aontaia₈e	adde ubiq<ue> tik <i>que je soye ou serois venu</i>
D	aonta_ion	aonteste	aontahonde	aontaionde	
P	aontaion₈e	aontesk₈e	aontahonde	aontaionde	aontaia₈a₈e

2° *seroient ils venu?* **χα aontahondennonk**

S **aonton_ε'nnonk** **aontese'nnonk** &c<etera> ut praec<edens> *je serois venu &c<etera>*

3° *serions nous revenu? vel nous serions revenu* **taontaion₈etik v<el> taontaion₈ennonk**

S **taonton_εetik** &c<etera> ut praec<edens> addito **t** initio *je serois revenu &c<etera>* nominando locum

S **taonton_εennonk** &c<etera> ut praec<edens> ad<dito> *je serois revenu* non nominando locum

- In kcsc, this section (and the similar one found on pages 43–44) is rendered as follows (excluding the paradigms): Supernote 1°: '1°... **aonton_εetik** *je serois venu, que je sois venu...* * **aro atichien aonton_εetik, te &c<etera>** *je serois venu ici, si &c<etera>* 2°.. **t'aonton_εetik** *je serois revenu, nominando locum* 3°.. **aon_εetik** *je serois allé là* 4°.. **aonsonetik** *je serois retourné la*. Supernote 2°: '1° **aonton_εennonk** *je serois venu* (non appellando locum) * **aontahondennonk?** *seroient ils venu?* 2° **t'aonton_εennonk** *je serois revenu*, non nominando locum 3° **aon_εennonk** *je serois alléz &c<etera>* 4°.. **aonson_εennonk**.. *je serois retourné &c<etera>*'
- kcsc: **aro atichien aonton_εetik, te &c<etera>** *je serois venu ici, si &c<etera>*

plusquam perfectum¹

4° *tu aurois du venir si on t'avoit averti* **aro aontesétinnen de tesatendotondinnen**

S **aontonétinnen** &c<etera> ut praet<eritum> *je fusse venu* nominando locum

S **aontonennonnen** &c<etera> ut praet<eritum> *je fusse venu*

5° *serois tu revenu si ta mere t'en avois prie?* **k8iotti taontesétinnen, de sand8en aesahetsaronnen?** * nota: verba derivata ab **éti** et **ennon** semp<er> idem signant: sed cum designatur locus, melius usurpant<u>r derivata ab **éti**

S **taontonétinnen** &c<etera> ut perf<ectum> *je fusse revenu*

S **taontonennonnen** &c<etera> ut perf<ectum> *je fusse revenu*

futurum praet<erito> mixtum²

6° observa: localitas in illo fut<uro>: non est **aonta** ut in aliis temporibus modi pot<entialis> sed similis est localitati additae perfecto indicativi – *je serai revenu avant qu'il soit nuit*: **a'son tetioratik tek8aennonk**

S **ek8aε** **etise** **eθa8e** **etia8e** adde **tik** *je serai venu*

D **etionde** **etiste** **eθonde** **etionde**

P **etion8e** **etisk8e** **eθonde** **etionde** **etia,a8e**

1 In kcsc, this section (and the similar one found on page 44) is rendered as follows (excluding the paradigms): Supernote 1°: '1° **aontonétinnen** *je fusse venu* nominando locum ... **aro aontesétinnen de t'esatendotondinnen**, *tu aurois du venir; si on t'avoit averti* 2° *je fusse revenu* .. **k8iotti t'aontesétinnen, de sand8en aesahetsaronnen?** *seroit tu revenu si ta mere t'en avoit prie*... *Nota v<er>ba derivata ab **éti** et **ennon** sp<e>r idem signant; sed cum designatur locus, melius usurpantur derivata ab **éti** 3°.. **aon,etinnen** *je fusse allé* 4° **aonson,etinnen** *je fusse retourné*'. Supernote 2°: '1°.. **aontonennonnen** *je fusse venu* 2°.. **t'aontonennonnen** *je fusse revenu* 3°.. **aon,ennonnen** *je fusse allé* 4°.. **aonson,ennonnen** *je fusse retourné*'. Finally, this is followed by '* Nota ... (3° et 4°) praecedentia tempora' and the rest of the portion on page 44 starting with 'Nota: praecedentia tempora'.

2 kcsc also includes information from the section on the 'past future of the potential mood' on page 44.

S	ekθa_aennonk	ut praecedens> <i>je serai venu</i>
S	tekθa_aetik	<i>je serai revenu</i> ut praecedens>
S	tekθa_aennonk	<i>je serai revenu</i> ut praecedens>

Optativus

Verbum illud nil habet heteroclitatis in optativo, sequitur regulas de optativo quas tradidimus: scilicet modus indicativus> unice adhibetur cum qui¹ quibusdam> particulis, nisi adhibeatur modus potentialis> ut ibidem> praenotavimus v(erbi) g(ratia) **aro N aontaret** v(el) **aro sen N teθre**, *que N vienne ici* v(el) utinam N huc veniat

χα sen te keθa v(el) **te keθa sen** *que ne viens ici ... que je vienne ici*

χα sen te seθa *que ne viens tu ici?*

ondaie sen teθre utinam veniat!²

ta sen ta teθre utinam non redeat

χα sen ta tese *que ne reviens tu ici*

ta sen ta tese utinam non redeas

χα sen te keθak v(el) **te keθak sen** v(el) **ketandenn** *que ne venois*

χα sen te kθa_aéti *que ne suis venu?*³

endī sen te kθa_aéti utinam venerim

χα sen te kθa_aétinnen *que n'étois venu?*⁴

ta sen te kθa_aétinnen utinam non venissem

ta sen aro ta tekθa_aétinnen utinam non rediissem

*hactenus de **ennon** et **éti** significantibus *venir ... revenir* &c(etera)⁵

1 qui: absent from KCSC.

2 **ondaie sen teθre** utinam veniat!: KCSC has: **χα sen t'eθre** utinam redeat

3 KCSC: *que ne suis-je venu*

4 KCSC: *que n'étois je venu*

5 hactenus de **ennon** et **éti** significantibus *venir ... revenir* &c(etera): absent from KCSC. After this point, KCSC adds the material on the 'optative' found on page 44.

[41]

ennon et **éti** *aller ... retourner* &c<etera>

1° **a_e** *je vas* non dicitur proprie de viâ et itinere, sed quod dicimus *je vas y aller, je m'y trouverai* v<erbi> g<ratia> **au festin ndeheren a_re** *il est déjà loin* est vere aoristus¹

S	a_e	achie	a_re	a_ŕe	<i>je vas</i> &c<etera>
D	aande	ete	este	a_ñde	ande
P	aa_ŕe	ek_ŕe	esk_ŕe	ahende	a_ŕende aen²

2° **a_et** *je vas*, cum designatur locus<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **Teotia_i a_et** *je vais a Montreal* **θo a_et** *j'y vas, je vais là.*

S	a_et³	achiet	&c<etera> <i>je vas là</i> – ut praec<edens> addito t in fine		
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3° **onsa_e** *je m'en revas, je m'en retourne*, non designando quo redeatur, unde dicunt se mutuo visitando: **onne onsachie?** *tu t'en vas ou revas ou tu retourne?* **onn'onsa_e** *je m'en vas* proprie *je m'en revas onn'onseste* *vous vous en allez vous 2?* **onn'onseste** *nous nous en allons nous 2 onn'onseste* *vous vous en allez plusieurs?* **onn'onseste** *nous nous en allons plusieurs* si tu visitans prior loquaris et dicas: **onn'onseste** dicunt **ndio sase** *vas t'en .. saste* de pluribus abite

S	onsa_e	onsachie	onsa_re	onsa_ŕe	<i>je m'en retourne</i> ⁴
D	onsaande	onsete	onseste	onsa_ñde	onsande
P	onsaa_ŕe	onsek_ŕe	onsek_ŕe	onsahende	onsa_ŕende onsaen⁵

1 Concerning the position of notes 1° and 3° in kcsc, see the footnote to page 36. Concerning the position of notes 2° and 4° through 8°, see the footnotes to page 37.

2 kcsc: **aen** (dic **a_ñien**) forte **a_eaen**

3 kcsc adds: eo illuc

4 kcsc: revertor

5 kcsc: **onsaen** (forte **onsa_eaen**)

4° **onsa_{et}** *je retourne là* **θo onsa_{et}** designando locum

S **onsa_{et}**¹ &c<etera> ut **onsa_e**

5° **a_{ét}ande** *je vas, je suis sur le point d'aller, je suis meme sur le chemin pour aller là ... sic se hurones compellunt mutuo, obvij in itinere **Te_{iatontari_e}**² a_{chiet}ande? tu vas donc v<el> vas tu à Quebec? θo a_{ét}ande oui, je vas là*

S **a_{ét}ande** &c<etera> ut **a_e** addito ubiq<ue> **tande** *je <suis> sur le point d'aller là*

6° **onsa_{ét}ande** est redupl<icatio>: *je retourne, ou je dois, ou je vas retourner, ou je suis en chemin pour retourner là*

S **onsa_{ét}ande** &c<etera> *je vas retourner là*

7° **θo ichien a_{et} e_{θe}θa d'annennen**³ *je vas ou ma mere a coutume d'aller θo θo onsaret, e_{entak}θi, e_{re}θak .. il s'en retourna ou il avoit coutume d'aller*

S	e_eθa	echieθa	e_{re}θa	e_{θe}θa	<i>je vas souvent la</i>
D	eandeθa	eteθa	esteθa	e_{nde}θa	endeθa
P	ea_{θe}θa	ek_{θe}θa	esk_{θe}θa	ehendeθa	e_{θe}ndeθa eenθa

8° **eskeθa** redupl<icatio> *je retourne ordinairement*

S	eskeθa	eseθa	eschreθa ⁴	esk_{θe}θa	<i>je retourne souvent là &c<etera></i>
D	etsandeθa	etsiteθa	etsisteθa	esteθa	esteθa
P	etsa_{θe}θa	etsik_{θe}θa	etsik_{θe}θa	eshendeθa	esk_{θe}ndeθa etsienθa

1 KCSC adds: eo revertor

2 KCSC: **te_{iatontari_e}**

3 KCSC: **annennen**

4 KCSC: **echreθa**

imperfectum¹

1° heteroclitum foret hoc tempus nisi diceretur esse junctum cum **e** motus² (*l'e de mouvement*) nam futuro simile est³

S	e end	echiend	eřend	eðend	<i>j'allois</i> ⁴
D	eandend	etend	estend	eñdend	endend
P	eaðend	ekðend	eskðend	ehendend	eðendend eend

2° redup<licatio> sola est observanda⁵

S	eskend	esend	echrend	ekðend	
D	etsandend	etsitend	etsistend	esðend	estend
P	etsaðend	etsikðend	etsiskðend	eshendend	eskðendend etseend

3° hoc imp<erfectum> derivatur a verbo **etannon** quod videtur esse verbum motus derivatum ab **éti** et signat proprie *etre sur le point d'aller* v<el> in motu ad eundum **Teotiaj eřetandend j'allois a Montreal**⁶ **annen achietandenn?** *ou allois tu?*

S	e e	echie	eře	eðe	adde tandend
D	eande	ete	este	eñde	ende
P	eaðe	ekðe	eskðe	ehende	eðende een v<el> ee

4° additur redup<licatio>

S	esketandend	ese	echre	eskðe	(adde tandenn j'allois ordin<airement> la)
D	etsande	etsite	etsiste	esðe	este
P	etsaðe	etsikðe	etsiskðe	eshende	eskðende etseen

1 Concerning the position of notes 1° through 6° in KCSC, see the footnotes to page 38.

2 KCSC: motûs

3 KCSC adds: ut **a**e ...e loco **a**

4 KCSC adds: ibam

5 KCSC adds 'revertebar' and '*je retournois*'.

6 KCSC: **te otiaj ařetandend il alloit a montreal**

5° sequens tempus derivat<u>r quasi **e'tak8i**¹ ire aliquo pro aliquâ causâ²

S **e,eθak** *j'étois sur le point d'aller là* ut **e,eθa** supra addito **k** in fine

6° est redup<licatio> addita praecedenti

S **eskeθak** *j'étois sur le point de retourner là* v<el> *j'y retournois ordin<airement>* ut **eskeθa** supra

[42]

praeteritum perf<ectum>³

1° praet<eritum> derivatum ab **ennon**, non tam de via: quam de societate in viâ adhibetur ... **haonh8a eha8ennon** *il est allé seul* ... **hiatio ehondennon** *il est allé avec son beau frere* (in duali) ... **a,onh8a e8a,ennonnen** *j'avois été seul* **onnonh8a etsondennon**⁴ *elles sont retournées*⁵ *seules*

2° cum proprié de via seu viae termino agitur: melius adhibetur **e8a,éti<**> v<erbi> g<ratia> **θo on,8akate eon,8étinnen** *nous avions*⁶ *été la plusieurs* ... **te θennondaon**⁷ **orast etson,8étinnen** *nous etions encore allez*⁸ *dans leur maison*, debet in simili loco apponi rela<ti>o

S	e8a,éti	eséti	eha8éti	ea8éti ⁹	<i>j'ai été ou je suis allé la</i>
D	eondéti	estéti	ehondéti	eondéti	
P	eon,8éti	esk8éti	ehondéti	eondéti	ea,8éti

1 KCSC: quasi ab **etaki**

2 ire aliquo pro aliquâ causâ: absent from KCSC.

3 Concerning the position of these notes on the 'preterite perfect' in KCSC, see the footnotes to page 38.

4 KCSC: **ets8ndennon**

5 KCSC: *retournées*

6 KCSC: *avons*

7 KCSC: **t'eθennondaon**

8 KCSC: *allé*

9 KCSC: **e8a,éti**

S	esk8aeti	etsisėti	esha8ėti	etsa8ėti	<i>je suis retourné là</i>
D	etsondėti	etsisiteti	eshondėti	etsondėti	
P	etson8ėti	etsisk8ėti	eshondėti	etsondėti	etsa8ėti
S	e8a,ennon	esennon	&c<etera> ut e8aeti – <i>j'ai été, je suis allé</i>		
S	esk8a,ennon	etsisenon	&c<etera> ut esk8aeti – <i>je suis retourné</i>		

plusq(uam) perfectum¹

nota: loco **ek8aėti** *je suis venu de là*, saepius utunt(u)r plusq(uam) perfectum>, v(erbi) g(ratia) **annen**

ontachie? ... annenen de e8aétinnen, *d'ou viens tu? .. j'avois été chez ma mere*, pro *je viens de chez ma mere, j'ai été chez ma mere*

S	e8aétinnen	esétinnen	&c<etera> ut e8aėti – <i>j'étois allé</i>
S	esk8aetinnen	etsisetinnen	&c<etera> ut esk8aeti <i>j'étois retourné</i>
S	e8a,ennonnen	esennonnen	&c<etera> ut e8a,ennon <i>j'étois allé</i>
S	esk8a,ennonnen	ut esk8a,ennon	<i>j'étois retourné</i>

aoristus²

1° aor(istus) locum non habet: nam in verbis motûs non differt à praesenti: dicitur ergo **aet** &c<etera>

2° aoristi loco optime utaris **aetande**³ *je vas aller*, quod etiam in praesenti dicitur nam aoristus bene dicitur tempus commune

1 Concerning the position of these notes on the 'pluperfect' in KCSC, see the footnotes to page 38.

2 Concerning the position of these notes on the 'aorist' in KCSC, see the footnotes to page 38.

3 KCSC: **aétande**

futur⟨um⟩ affirm⟨ativum⟩¹

1° **eaðe aðatate ena** *j'irai avec mes freres*, idem ac si dicas *je serai avec mes freres*

S	e,e	echie	ere	eðe	ibo	
D	eande	ete	este	eñde	ende	
P	eaðe	ekðe	eskðe	ehende	eðende	een

2° **onhða ðo aat² echre** ex templo revertetur

S	eske	ese	echre	eskðe		
D	etsande	etsite	etsiste	esðe	este	
P	etsaðe	etsikðe	etsiskðe	eshende	eskðende	etseen

3° **aronhia e ekðet** *nous irons ensemble au ciel*, quia appellat⟨u⟩r viae terminus

S	e,et	echiet	&c⟨etera⟩ ut e,e ... ibo eo ³
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4° **nondende teðret** v⟨el⟩ **echret iesðs teðendi onraenda**, rursus revertetur
jesus super terram, iudicaturus

S	esket	eset	echret &c⟨etera⟩ ut eske ... eo revertar
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5° **ðo e,etaj** eo saepius ibo .. **ereðaj** ibit &c⟨etera⟩

S	e,etaj	echietaj	&c⟨etera⟩ ut e,et ... pergam eo ire
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6° **satitaðaten, ðo e,entekði esketaj**, despera, pergam eo reverti

S	esketaj	esetaj	&c⟨etera⟩ ut esket... pergam eo reverti
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1 Concerning the position of these notes on the 'affirmative future' in KCSC, see the footnotes to page 38.

2 KCSC: &c⟨etera⟩ ut **ontae**

3 ibo eo: KCSC has: *j'irai là*

7° **ann^siaten eenska n'onðe** quocumq⟨ue⟩ ibunt homines

S	e_eeska	echieska	e_reska	e_ðeska	pergam eo circumcursare; ibi degam, vivam, manebo	
D	eandeska	eteska	esteska	e_ñdeska	endeska	
P	ea_ðeska	ek_ðeska	esk_ðeska	ehendeska	e_ðendeska	eenska

futur⟨um⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩¹

1° **stant'ea_ðese d'a_ðatiena** non ibo cum parentibus

S **stant'e_eese** **t'echiese** &c⟨etera⟩ ut **e_e** addita **se** ... non ibo

2° **stant'esk_ðese** non revertet⟨u⟩r de faemina

S **stant'eskese** **t'esese** &c⟨etera⟩ ut **eske** non revertar

3° 4° 5° 6°² de caeteris patet esse amphibologiam⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **stan θo te_ða_eeti** non eo ibo v⟨el⟩ non eo profectus sum; ad tollendum vero dubium sensum dicunt **stan θo te_ða_eetinnen**³, raro **e_ða_eeti** nisi pro futuro

3°	S	stan θo t'e_ða_eeti ⁴ v⟨el⟩	stan θo t'e_ða_eennon ⁵	non ibo
4°	S	stan θo te sk_ða_eeti ⁶ v⟨el⟩	stan θo te sk_ða_eennon ⁷	non revertar
5°	S	stant'e_eetande	t'echietande	&c⟨etera⟩ ut e_e .. non ibo eo
6°	S	stant'esketande	t'esetande	&c⟨etera⟩ ut eske non eo revertar

- Concerning the position of these notes on the 'negative future' in kcsc, see the footnotes to page 39.
- These four notes are rendered almost unrecognizable in their kcsc reworking. See the footnotes to page 39 for some additional detail.
- kcsc adds: non ivi istuc
- kcsc: **stant' θo t'e_ða_eeti** non ibo illuc
- kcsc: **stante θo e_ða_etannon** non ibo eo.. non ibo
- kcsc: **stan θo t'esk_ða_eeti** non revertar illuc
- kcsc: **stan θo t'esk_ða_eennon** non revertar

Imperativus

se .. i .. **ste** . ite .. * **ete** eam<u>s 2 .. **ande** eant 2 .. * **ek8e**¹ eamus .. **ahende** eant

θo se va là **θo ste allez la** &c<etera>

sase abi² **saste** . abite³

1° cum determinatur locus quo imperatur eundum, hae voces vulgo adhibentur .. **set** .. **stet** * **andet** .. **etet** .. * **ek8et** .. **ahendet**

2° littera **a** characteristicam localitatis quae solet adhiberi ad signandum venire cis, est ad manum huronibus ut expriment actionem procul eundi maxime si viae terminus appelletur<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **jerusalem astet** ite jerusalem<,> **chi aset** secede procul ... **θo astet allez la** ... **θo saset** eo revertere ... **onnon-chiato,eti,e sastet** redite in templum ... **θo θo aonsaret, e8aétinnen** *qu'il s'en retourne d'ou je viens* (ad verbum) *ou j'avois été*, ita invertunt ad facilius exprimendum: saepe etiam invertendum est verbum ut facilius exprimas in hac phrasi est verbum *aller loco venir, ou j'avois été* pro *d'ou je viens*

3° modus pot<entialis> (ut dixi) eleganter adhibet<u>r loco imperativi, more latinorum qui dicunt i v<el> eas .. ite v<el> eatis ... **aek8e** v<el> **ek8e allons** : forte melius **esk8e** ad vitandam amphibologiam, nam **ek8e** pertinet etiam ad fut<urum>, *nous irons*

Modus potent<ialis>

praes<ens> et imperf<ectum> affirm<ativum>

1° si non designetur viae terminus utere **aε j'irois** .. *que j'aille*

S	âε	âchie	âre	â8e	<i>j'irois ... que j'aille</i>	
D	aiande	aete	âeste	ânde	ande	
P	âia8e	aek8e	aesk8e	âhende	aia8ende	âien

1 KCSC: **aek8e** v<el> **ek8e**

2 KCSC: abi revertere

3 KCSC: abite, redite

2° si nominetur viae terminus utere **âçet**

S **θo âçet** **θo âchiet** &c<etera> ut **aç** *j'irois la que j'aille la*

* 3° regula patris *Chomonot*: quando habitus v<el> frequentatio actuum exprimitur in verbis motum includentibus, tunc praesenti indicativi addit<u>r **S<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **çā iç** *je viens ici, je suis ici ... çā içes je vas et viens ici, je marche par ici ...* et et¹ pro imperfecto **çā içeskða** ... et pro futuro contin<uationis> additur **ska: içeska** pro praeterito modi pot<entialis> adhibetur imperfectum indicativi praefigendo initiale incrementum **aç ai** v<el> **ae<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **çā ichien orast açeskða** *j'aurois encore eté ici*

S **âçeskða** **âchieskða** &c<etera> ut **aç** .. *j'aurois eté .. j'irois*

4° **âçeska** melius exemplis quam praeceptis i<nte>lligetur² **haonhða a çeska n'onðe dex'ondechate** sit solus homo in terra (de adamo) ... **din de ç'ondechate a son aienska**³ dum viverent v<el> irent super terram

S **âçeska** **âchieska** &c<etera> ut **aç** *j'irois encore là, ire pergerem v<el> pergam*

5° cum nullus est motus seu viae terminus, dic **âonsaç** .. si sit motus vel viae terminus, utere **âonsaçet<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> adveniens in casam dices **aiostorenk**⁴ **aonsaç** brevi reversurus sum at vero: dic: **aiostorenk onnonchiatoçetiç aonsaçet** ex templo in ecclesiam debeo reverti

S **âonsaç** *je retournerois ou que je retourne* * debet poni post num<erum> 2°

S **âonsaçet**

1 Dittography.

2 melius exemplis quam praeceptis i<nte>lligetur: absent from KCSC.

3 KCSC: **añienska**

4 KCSC: **aoistorenk**

praes<ens> et imperf<ectum> neg<ativum>

S	stant'e,e	t'echie	t'e're	t'eðe	adde ubiq<ue> t'andend ¹ je n'irois pas là
D	t'eande	t'ete	t'este	t'e'nde	t'ende
P	t'eaðe	t'ekðe	t'eskbðe	t'ehende	t'eðende t'eaen

S stan θo t'esketandend² je ne retournerois pas³

stan θo on_etak v<el> **stan n'endi θo on_étak te_çen** je ne suis pas homme a
aller la ou je ne dois pas aller là... * Nota: illud praesens idem est ac imperfec-
tum modi indicativi – sed cum transit ad parad<ygma>⁴ modum pot<entialem>
fit paradigmatis S **stan n'endi θo on_etak te_çen** eo⁵ non irem

praeteritum perf<ectum>

S	âon_e	âese	ahaðe	aiaðe	adde t'ik je serois allé la
D	aionde	easte	âhonde	aionde	
P	aionðe	aeskðe	ahonde	aionde	aia_aðe

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S	aonson_e	aonsese	aonsahaðe	aonsaiaðe	adde t'ik je serois retourne
D	aonsaionde	aonsaeste	aonsahonde	aonsaionde	
P	aonsaion_ðe	aonsaeskðe	aonsahonde	aonsaionde	aonsaia_aðe

S aon_ennonk aesennonk &c<etera> ut aon_étik je serois allé
S aonson_ennonk &c<etera> ut aonson_etik je serois retourné

- 1 KCSC: tandenn
- 2 KCSC: t'esketandenn
- 3 KCSC: je ne retournerois pas là
- 4 parad<ygma>: seems to be crossed out.
- 5 KCSC: eð

plusq(uam) perfectum

S	aonĕtinnen	&c(etera) <i>je fusse allé</i>	conjugantur ut perfecta
S	aonsonĕtinnen	&c(etera) <i>je fusse retourné</i>	
S	aonĕnnonnen	&c(etera) <i>je fusse allé</i>	
S	âonsonĕnnonnen	<i>je fusse retourne</i>	

Nota: praecedentia tempora saepe usurpantur ad signandum hunc loquendi modum: *je devrois, tu devrois* &c(etera)<, > v(erbi) g(ratia) **andeia sonĕaisten de aesĕtinnen** bene convenisses vel adiisses patrem nostrum: *tu aurois bien fait d'aller chez notre père* – idq(ue) valde nostris barbaris convenit qui nullam norunt obligationem seu agendi rigidum debitum, jussa nulla absoluta, nec libenter audiunt, nec perficiunt ... **kĕioti âhaĕnonnk?** *s'en seroit il allé* ... **de aro¹ aonsesĕtinnen endi ichien esondaon aonĕtinnen** *si tu etois venu ici, j'aurois été chez toy* **aiostorendinnen aiaĕnnonnen de te aondĕtinnen² aĕnnon**, *on seroit allé de bonne heure s'il n'avoit pas plu* ... **ĕo ĕo aonsaret d'eĕaĕtinnen** *qu'elle s'en retourne ou j'avois été v(el) ou j'etois allé* ... **ĕo ĕo eskĕaĕtinnen d'eĕaĕtinnen** *j'etois retourné au meme lieu ou j'avois été*

futur(um) praet(erito) mixtum

S	eĕaĕtik	esĕtik	&c(etera) ut eĕaĕti pag(ina) 42 <i>je serai allé</i>
S	eskĕaĕtik	&c(etera) ut eskĕaĕti pag(ina) <42> <i>je serai retourné</i>	
S	eĕaĕnnonk	&c(etera) ut eĕaĕnnon pag(ina) <42> <i>je serai allé</i>	
S	eskĕaĕnnonk	&c(etera) ut eskĕaĕnnon pag(ina) <42> <i>je serai retourné</i>	

1 KCSC: **isa de aro**

2 KCSC: **ondĕtinnen**

optativus

endi sen te,e	<i>que ne vais-je la</i>	θo sen te ,eθak v<el> ,etandend¹	<i>que n'allois je la</i>
isa sen chie	<i>que ne vas tu?</i>	θo sen te θa,éti	<i>que n'ai-je été la</i>
ondaie sen te ré	<i>que ne va t'il?</i>	θo sen te θa,étinnen	<i>que n'avois été la²</i>
θo sen te ,eθa v<el> ,eθande	<i>que j'aille la, que ne vais je la</i>	te θa,étinnen sen de θo	<i>que n'avois je été la</i>
ta³ sen te ,eθa de θo	<i>que je n'aille pas la .. utinam eo⁴ non proficiscar</i>	ta sen te θa,étinnen	<i>utinam eo non ivissem</i>

nota **ennon** et **éti** non tam saepe usurpari apud hurones, quam apud nos, ob verba motûs quae omni verbo adjiciuntur<,> v<erba> g<ratia> *j'aurois été precher a Montreal, si on m'en avoit prié* **Teotiaj⁵ aχeatatiannonen n'onχenn'handinnen** **atati** parler dicitur pro *parler en public* ... **atatiannon aller parler** ... his verbis motûs utuntur loco futuri rus quod apud latinos ad manum habemus

De verbo **étannon**

videtur derivatum a fut<uro> neg<ativo> ut o<mn>ia alia verba motûs – **étannon** est verbum motûs et multip<licativum>, quod de numero quasi innumero format aliud **étannonnion**

étannon ut verbum motûs et ut verbum mult<iplicativum> adsciscit sibi notas localitatis &c<etera> ut verba **ennon** et **éti**

étannon quatenus verbum motûs signat rem proxime inchoandam vel perficiendam ... tolit usum ancipitem **ennon** et **éti** ... duo tantum habet tempora sc<ilicet> praesens, quod aoris<t>i vices gerit: **a,etande achiétande** &c<etera> et imperfectum **e,etandend echietandend** &c<etera>⁶

étannon quatenus verbum mult<iplicativum>: seu significans multos simul euntes habet, pr<aesens> **nonk**, imp<erfectum>, **nonhonk**, fut<urum> **non** v<el> **nonhonj**, neg<ativum> **nonde** p<aradygmatis> **C**⁷

1 KCSC: **θo sen te ,etak v<el> ,etandenn!**

2 KCSC: *que n'avois-je été là*

3 KCSC: **θa**

4 KCSC: eθ

5 KCSC: **te otiaj**

6 KCSC: **a,etandend** &c<etera>

7 KCSC: h<abe>t **onk, onhonk, on, onde C**

anomala 4^{ae} conj<ugationis>De verbo **i**

1° verbum **i** signat *etre deux ensemble* – usurpat<u>r ta<ntum>¹ in duali, et semper cum **te** dualitatis

praes<ens>	te andi	teti	testi	teñdi	tendi	<i>nous sommes 2 ensemble</i>
o<mn>ia praet<erita>	te andinnen	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>				
fut<urum> af<fir- mativum>	te andik²	&c<etera> ut praes<ens>				
fut<urum> neg<a- tivum>	stanta te andistande	t'etist	t'etsist	t'endist	t'andist	adde ande
Mod<us> pot<en- tialis>	t'âiandik	t'âetik	taestik	ta'ndik³	&c<etera> vices habet im- perativi	

isti se mettre ensemble⁴ ... * praes<ens> et fut<urum> *nous nous mettons ou mettrons ensemble*⁵ **te andisθa ... tetisθa ... testisθa ... teñdisθa ... t'endisθa**
te andistinnen &c<etera> ut praesens pro omnibus praeteritis
⁶**stanta te andistande** ut supra .. *nous ne nous mettrons pas 2 ensemble*
istande quasi verbum motus à fut<uro> neg<ativo> verborum praecedentium:
hechon te andistande *nous allons nous mettre ensemble hechon et moy*
 2° verbum **i** juxta aliam significationem, vel melius **iha** additum nomini
 ̣**aata**, signat *etre seul, sans pareil, etre l'unique<, >* v<erbi> g<ratia> **endi**⁷ ̣**iatiha**
 ̣**eðendïo** *je suis le seul maitre ...* **ichiatiha sandi onrðannen** *tu es le seul bel esprit* – ita de caeteris personis et numeris nomini ̣**aata**

1 KCSC: t<an>t<um>

2 KCSC: t'eandik

3 KCSC: t'ândi

4 KCSC: *se mettre 2 ensemble*

5 *nous nous mettons ou mettrons ensemble*: absent from KCSC.

6 KCSC adds: fut<urum> neg<ativum>

7 KCSC: **nendi**

anomala 5^{ae} conj<ugationis>

De verbo **on** p<aradygmatis> C

on *etre plusieurs ensemble*, caret sing<ulari> et duali, saepe huic verbo addit<ur> **i** iniziale **on** ... **onnen** pro praeteritis ... **onk**¹... sine fut<uro> neg<ativo>

ŋo itson quot estis? **ndak ia ion**² quatuor sumus[^]

ŋo eŋennonk? quot erunt illae? **tsŋtare ehennonk** illi septem erunt

ŋich ia ionnen³ quinque eramus v<el> fuimus

Quand on est seul, on dit

S	a_onh8a	sonh8a	haonh8a	aonh8a	<i>je suis seul .. tu . il. elle</i> p<aradygmatis> S
D	onnonh8a	stonh8a	honnonh8a	onnonh8a	
P	on_ionh8a⁴	tsonh8a	honnonh8a	onnonh8a	

Quand on est deux, on dit

te andi	teti	testi	teñdi	tendi	<i>nos 2 .. ego et tu .. vos 2 .. illi 2 illae 2</i>
dicitur etiam	a_iŋei	t_iŋei	tsiŋi	hiŋei	ŋei
imp<erfectum>	te andinnen ⁵	tetinnen	&c<etera> ut praec<edens>	nous etions 2	&c<etera>
fut<urum>	te andik ⁶	tetik	testik	tendik	<i>ego et ille erimus</i> &c<etera>
mod<us> pot<entialis>	taiandik	taetik	taestik	tandik	tandik <i>nous serions lui et moy</i> &c<etera>

1 kcsc: praes<en> **on** ... imperf<ectum> et praet<eritum> **onnen** fut<urum> **onk**

2 kcsc adds: (dic **iañion**)

3 kcsc adds: (dic **iañionnen**)

4 kcsc: **on_ionh8a**

5 kcsc: **tandinnen**

6 kcsc: **t'eandik**

Quand on est plus de deux on dit **iaion**

a'tere	iaion	ition	itson	ihennon	iʃennon	<i>nous sommes &c<etera></i>
imp<erfectum>	iaionnen	itionnen	isonnen ¹	ihennonnen	iʃennonnen ²	
fut<urum>	eaionk	etionk	etsonk	ehennonk	eʃennonk ³	

[46]

De verbis

verborum simplicium 5^e sunt conj<ugationes> quae per initialem infinitivi syllabam distinguunt<u>r ... 1^a est in **a** ut **aketati** *porter* ... 2^a in **a** ut **aθeti** *piler* ... 3^a in **e** ut **ehierandi**⁴ *se souvenir* ... 4^a in **e** ut **enheon** *mourir* ... 5^a in **o** ut **oriti** *assaisonner* ... * nota: hurones carent infiniti<vo>, sed nos sumimus perfect<um> pro infin<initivo>

duplex est verborum genus, ut apud Latinos, personale et impersonale duplex distinguit<u>r parady<g>ma, seu ratio inflectendi verbum integrum aut certe aliqua ejus⁵ tempora ... unum dicitur par<adygma> **Chi** q<uan>do 2^a persona incipit per **chi** ... alterum dicit<u>r par<adygma> **S** cum 2^a persona incipit per **s**

De verbo impersonali

1^o impersonale duplex est ... * 1^{um} signat aliquid non pendens ab arbitrio et cooperatione hominis ut **iok8as** *il fait du vent*⁶ ... **ondennon**⁷ *il fait doux* **oθore**⁸ *il fait froid* ... **otarihati**⁹ *il fait chaud* &c<etera> haec inflectunt<u>r

- 1 KCSC: **itsonnen**
- 2 KCSC adds: **nous etions* &c<etera>
- 3 KCSC adds: **nous serons* &c<etera>
- 4 KCSC: **ehiarandi**
- 5 KCSC: aut certa ejus
- 6 KCSC: *il vente*
- 7 KCSC: **8ndennon**
- 8 KCSC: **8θore**
- 9 KCSC: **8tarihati**

ad instar 3^{ae} personae sing(ularis) fem(ininae): v(erbi) g(ratia) **iond8s**¹ pluit .. **ond8sk8a** pluebat **eond8t** pluit **aond8ti** pluit .. **aond8tinnen** pluerat .. **eond8t** pluet(,) **t'eond80e** non pluet(,) **aond8st** mox pluet ... **orast aiond8sk8a** il pleuvroit² encore &c(etera) ... **i,anh8ens** ningit(,) **i,anh8ensk8a** ningebat .. **onh8endi** ninxit ... **e,ah8enha** ninget ... **te,anh8ench**³ non ninget &c(etera) .. **i8at** *il y a dedans* .. **i8atak** .. **e8ataj** .. **t'e8ataj e,enk**⁴ *ioste cela est pesant* &c(etera) .. **o8asti** *il fait beau temps* &c(etera) **otechienti** *il fait mauvais temps* &c(etera) .. **a8asti** pulchrum est ... p(aradygmatis) **S**⁵...

* 2^{um} in sua significatione involvit aliquem vel aliquos homines indeterminate, v(erbi) g(ratia) **e0e0a** teritur formaturq(ue) ab omni personali servando tamen conjugationem ipsius et parad(ygma)(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **e0e0ak** terebatur, juxta par(adygma) **C** – **a,00eti** tritum est, juxta par(adygma) **S** **aonesk8at** gratum est ... **i8achen** v(el) **8,kaot** malum est, foedum, injucundum

2° quaedam impers(onalia) fiunt personalia(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **iond8s** *il pleut*, **a,ond8s** *il pleut sur moy* .. **sond8s**⁶ *sur toy* &c(etera) .. **eond8t** *il pleuvra* : **e,ond8t** *il pleuvra*⁷ *sur moy* .. **esond8t** *sur toy* &c(etera) .. * hoc verbum (**iond8s**) et prope o(mn)ia ejusmodi verba cum fiunt personalia mutant parad(ygma)(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **iond8s** pluit est p(aradygmatis) **chi** .. **a,ond8s** *il pleut sur moy* est par(adygmatis) **S**

3° a verbis p(aradygmatis) **S** impersonalia formantur à 3^a pers(ona) sing(ulari) fem(inina), praefigendo ipsi **a** et **ι** (iota)(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **a,oras-k8an** *on est parti* ... **a,oteiensti**⁸ *on a appris* **a,00arati** *on a bien fait* ... **a,okerons** *on a peur* ... **a,0atannondandi** *on a fait une bonne rencontre* ... **a,a8eiachens**⁹ *on est en colere* ... **a,a8enheon** *on est mort*(,) **a,oriti** *on a assaisonné le pot*¹⁰

4° à verbis p(aradygmatis) **C**¹¹ 1^{ae} et 3^{ae} incipientibus¹² ab **end** v(el) **enn** fiunt impersonalia à 3^a fem(inina) plur(ali), sublato **ι** (iota)(,) v(erbi) g(ratia)

1 kcsc: **iond8s** (dic **iñiond8s**)

2 kcsc: *pluveroit*

3 kcsc: **te,ang8enchre**

4 kcsc: **i8atak** *il y avoit* &c(etera).. **e8ataj** *il y aura* &c(etera).. **t'e8ataj e,enk** *il n'y aura pas* &c(etera)

5 p(aradygmatis) **S**: absent from kcsc.

6 kcsc: **sand8s**

7 kcsc: *pluvera*

8 kcsc: **a,oteñiensti**

9 kcsc: **a,a8eiachiens**

10 *le pot*: absent from kcsc.

11 kcsc: **Chi**

12 kcsc: incipientes

onteiensθa¹ *on apprend ... oraskθas on part .. onθaraθa on fait bien ... on-
diŋonraenton on pense .. onnonches on va en traite*

4^{o2} à verbis p<aradygmatis> C 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> formant<u>r impers<onalia>, à 1^a pers<ona> sing<ulari>, **ε**, mutato in **e**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **eθeθa on pile ..
ehiatonk on écrit .. endatare on visite .. eenteri on conoit**³ .. **erihθanderas
on peche**

5^o plurima verba 4^{ae} conj<ugationis> imitant<u>r verba 2^{ae}, retento **e** figura-
tiva. infinitivi<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ietron on y est ab εtron**⁴ .. **eθiach on porte,
on passe par terre le canot**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *ou il y a une chute d'eau* ab
εθθiaj eθθas on change de demeure⁵ : ab **εntoθan ... etara on est gisant**
ab **εntara ... etenθa on fait tomber le poil** ab **εntenti .. ekθaronniak on fait
du drap**: ab **enkθarondi**<,> **eretsonniak**⁶ *on fait des nasses* ab **εnretsondi ..
ennonniak**⁷ *on fait des robes de peaux*⁸ ab **εnnondi** - * vide art<iculum> de
persona ind<eterminata> pag<ina>10⁹

6^o in verbis p<aradygmatis> C¹⁰ 3^{ae} 4^{ae} communiter et 5^{ae} fiunt impers<ona-
lia> a 1^a pers<ona>, ipsi praefigendo **a**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aεhieras**¹¹ *on se
souvient ... aihεons on est malade aεoriθa on assaisonne* .. * in 4^a non pro-
nuntia<tu>r ι (iota)

7^o o<mn>ia omnino impers<onalia> habent ead prorsus tempora, quae
reperiuntur in personalibus a quibus derivantur<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> ab
araskθan aller partir,¹² fit **onraskθas**<,> **onraskθaskθa**<,> **aεraskθan ..
aεraskθannen ... aonraskθa on va partir .. eonraskθa aionraskθa**¹³ *on
partiroit .. aiaεraskθan on seroit parti*¹⁴ .. **aiaεraskθannen on fut parti**
&c<etera> – quae singula sequunt<u>r personale à quo formantur tam quoad
finalem quam quoad parad<ygma> -

1 KCSC: **onteñiensθa**

2 KCSC corrects the numbering mistake, relabelling this note 5^o and adjusting the following ones accordingly.

3 KCSC: *connoit*

4 KCSC: **εtron**

5 KCSC: *on change de gite de demeure*

6 **eretsonniak**: KCSC adds a **g** above the second **n**.

7 **ennonniak**: KCSC adds a **g** above the last **n**.

8 *de peaux*: absent from KCSC.

9 10: absent from KCSC.

10 KCSC: **chi**

11 KCSC: **aεhieras**

12 KCSC: *partir, aller*

13 KCSC: **añionraskθa**

14 KCSC: **aiaεraskθankon seroit parti**

De verbo personali

⟨1°⟩ verbum per⟨sonale⟩ est illud quod numeros¹ et personas inflectitur ut

aketati *porter*

2° modi verborum sunt sex ... indicat⟨ivus⟩ ... imperat⟨ivus⟩ ... modus pot⟨en-
tialis⟩ ... optat⟨ivus⟩ subjunct⟨ivus⟩ ... infinit⟨ivus⟩

3° modorum tempora sunt novem .. praes⟨ens⟩ ... imp⟨erfectum⟩, perf⟨ec-
tum⟩, plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩, aor⟨istus⟩ 1^{us} aor⟨istus⟩ 2^{us} .. fut⟨urum⟩
af⟨firmativum⟩, fut⟨urum⟩ cont⟨inuationis⟩, fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ quod du-
plex est²

4° tres sunt numeri ut apud graecos sing⟨ularis⟩ .. dual⟨is⟩ .. plur⟨alis⟩

5° verbum pers⟨onale⟩ est multiplex, sc⟨ilicet⟩ activum, seu simplex ... relati-
vum,⟨,⟩ passivum ... reciprocum seu mutuale ... neutrum ... commune ... de-
ponens relativo-passivum ... neutro-acquisitivum ... verbum motūs .. verbum
continuationis ... frequentativum ... multiplicativum .. augmentativum

De verbo activo

verbum activum seu simplex, duplex est: ... unum signat actionem sine re-
spectu ad ullam personam ut **ahiaton** scribere ... alterum cum respectu ut
achiendaen colere aliquem

De formatione temporum

quatuor sunt primitiva tempora a quibus alia formantur, sc⟨ilicet⟩ 2° prae-
s⟨ens⟩ indicativi ... 3° fut⟨urum⟩ af⟨firmativum⟩ ... 4° fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ ..
1° praes⟨ens⟩ infinitivi³

à praes⟨enti⟩ infinitivi format⟨u⟩r praes⟨ens⟩ indic⟨ativi⟩, et perfectum cujus
finalis ead⟨em⟩ est ac infinitivi

1 κcsc: quod per numeros

2 κcsc: fut⟨urum⟩ aff⟨firmativum⟩.. fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩... fut⟨urum⟩ cont⟨inuationis⟩, quod
duplex est

3 κcsc: sc⟨ilicet⟩ praes⟨ens⟩ infinitivi... praes⟨ens⟩ indicativi... fut⟨urum⟩ aff⟨firmativum⟩...
fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩

à praes<enti> indic<ativi> format<u>r imperf<ectum> addito al<i>q<u>o cre-
mento¹ finali ... * ab imperf<ecto> autem format<u>r fut<urum> contin<ua-
tionis><, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **e.eteθaj** *je continuerai de piler*, ab imperf<ecto>
eteθak², **k** transeunte in **j** diminutivum ... item **e.araskθaska** *je continuerai*
de marcher, ab **araskθaska**, **skθa** transeunte in **ska** * porro praes<ens>
indic<ativi> imperf<ectum> ... fut<urum> cont<inuationis> ... aor<istus> 2 .. sunt
cognata tempora, tum quia posteriora derivant<u>r a prioribus, tum quia sunt
ejusq<ue>³ parad<ygmatis>

à perfecto derivant<u>r plusq<uam> perf<ectum>, et fut<urum> praet<erito>
mixtum, suntq<ue> cognata tempora ob rationes modo dictas ... plusq<uam>
perf<ectum>, ut plurimum addit **n**en post finalem perfecti ... fut<urum>
praet<erito> mixtum, ut et praeteritum conditionatum, seu modi pot<en-
tialis>, addit tantum **k** – sic ab **a.eθeti** trivi format<u>r **a.eθetinnen** triveram ..
eθa.eθetik trivero<, > **aon.eθetik**⁴ trivissem ... * à 2^a pers<ona> sing<ulari>
praet<erito> fut<uri> mixti, fit imper<ativus> praet<erito> mixtus<, > v<erbi>
g<ratia> **saθetik** *ayes pilé* &c<etera>

aor<istus> (2^o) 1 ... fut<urum> aff<irmativum> (1^o) ... imperativus⁵, praes<ens>
aff<irmativum> modi pot<entialis> sunt cognata tempora quia sunt ejusdem
terminationis ut **a.eθet** **e.eθet**⁶ .. **seθet** .. **â.eθet** ... quare à fut<uro> alia sic
derivant<u>r, ut aor<istus> 1 mutet **e** in **a** breve .. modus pot<entialis> in **â** lon-
gum seu diphtongum resolubilem in **ae** v<el> **ai** ... at imperativus format<u>r
a 2^a fut<uri> v<el> aor<isti> 1, ablato incremento, et mutato ut plurimum **ch** in
s, sic **echieθet** v<el> **achieθet** fit **seθet**

fut<urum> neg<ativum> duplex est ... unum quod idem est cum perf<ecto>
indicativi negativo hoc est, cui praemissa est particula neg<ativa>: **stante**<, >
v<erbi> g<ratia> **stante θa.aketati** non feram ... alterum q<uo>d formatur a
praesenti, assumpto augmento, additaq<ue> aliqua ex particulis motum de-
signantibus sc<ilicet> **nde** .. **he** .. **che** .. **se** .. **θe** .. **xe** .. ut **t'e.θande**⁷ non
teram ... * porro si omittat<u>r **te** v<el> **stante** fiet fut<urum> con<tinuationis>
tum in indic<ativo>: , ut **e.eθande**⁸ .. tum in imperat<ivo>: ut **seθeθande**⁹ *con-*
tinue de piler ab hoc fut<uro> neg<ativo> formatur praes<ens> neg<ativum>

1 KCSC: incremento

2 KCSC: **eθeθak**

3 KCSC: ejusd

4 KCSC: **eon.eθetik**

5 KCSC: fut<urum> aff<irmativum>... aor<istus> 1... imperat<ivus>

6 KCSC: **e.eθet**.. **a.eθet**

7 KCSC: **t'e.θande**

8 KCSC adds: pergam terere

9 KCSC: **seθeθande**

modi pot<entialis>, addendo **nd** v<el> **nn** (q<uo>d idem est) in fine<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **t'e,eθeθandend**¹ non tererem –

Regulae de formatione communes omnibus verbis

1^a à praes<enti> indic<ativi> desinente in **a . e . o** format<ur> imp<erfectum>, addito **k**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **θo ierha** *je fais ou dis comme cela* imp<erfectum> **θo ierhak** .. **aεεete** *je porte*,² **aεεetek** ... **iεonnhe** *je vis*<,> **iεonnhek** .. **haatate** *il est*<,>³ **haatatek** *il étoit*⁴ ... **iθo** *il y a quelque*> *liqueur*, imp<erfectum> **iθok** *avoit*⁵ .. **aronto** *il y a un arbre dans l'eau*<,> imp<erfectum> **arontok** * excipe vocabula numeralia<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **tendi teθentaε**⁶ *2 jours*, **tendi te θentaεennen** *il y avait 2 jours* ... **achiεnk arih8aε** *il y a 3 affaires* **i arih8aεennen** **achiεnk itson** *ils sont*⁷ *3 ensemble*<,> **itsonnen** ... **ndak ihonsen** *ils sont 40*, **ihonsennen tendi a te θendiaθe**⁸ *il y en a 200*, **tendi a te θendiaennen**⁹ -

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2^a praesentia in **i** addunt **nnen** in imp<erfecto><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ienteri** ¹⁰*je connois*, **ienterinnen εienh8i** *je sçais*¹¹, **εienh8innen** **tendi**¹² *ils sont 2*, **tendinnen** ... **ondiri** *cela est fort*, **ondirinnen** &c<etera> ... sic et quaedam infli<ni>tiva usurpari solita loco 3^{ae} personae passivae<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **achondi**¹³ *cela est fait*, **achondinnen**¹⁴ ... **stan θo te aeren** *cela n'est pas fait*

- 1 KCSC: **t'e,eθeθandend**
- 2 KCSC adds: imp<erfectum>
- 3 KCSC adds: imp<erfectum>
- 4 *il étoit*: absent from KCSC.
- 5 *avoit*: absent from KCSC.
- 6 KCSC: **tendi te θentaε**
- 7 KCSC: *vous etes*
- 8 **θendiaθe**: KCSC adds a **g** above the **d**.
- 9 KCSC: **θendiaθennen** (with a **g** added above the **d**)
- 10 KCSC adds: (dic **nienteri**)
- 11 KCSC: *je sçais*
- 12 KCSC: **t'endi**
- 13 KCSC: **achrondi**
- 14 KCSC: **achrondinnen**

ainsi, stan 0o te aerennen ... *excipe arihondi, c'est un conte fait a plaisir, imp<erfectum>¹ arihondi ehen²

3^a a praesenti in ak . ek . enk . ik . onk . fit imperf<ectum> inserendo ha<,> he . hi . hon ante k<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> hachonniak³ il accommode, hachonniahak⁴ ... hatrendahenk il prie, hatrendaenhak ... hatsiheniek⁵ il brule la terre,⁶ hatsiheniehek⁷ ... onnhek⁸ je prends ton parti, onnehek ... a^{en}giann^ditandik je suis pressé,⁹ a^{en}giann^ditandihik hahiatonk il escrit, hahiatonhonk

4^a à praes<enti> in ch v<el> S fit imperf<ectum> in sk8a<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> harask8ach il parte¹⁰ harask8ask8a ... aketas je porte aketask8a

5^a a praes<enti> in t fit imp<erfectum> addito ak<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> i8at il y a q<uelque> c<hose>¹¹ i8atak ... haatont il est captif¹²<,> haatontak ... haatit il est dans un canot haatitak

5^{a13} ab imperf<ecto> in k format<u>r fut<urum> cont<inuationis> mutando k in j minutum<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> e8e8ak je pilojs e8e8aj pergam &c<etera>¹⁴ ... chiehiatonhonk tu ecrivois<,> sehiatonhonj perge scribere .. echonniahak¹⁵ j'accommodois<,> e8echonniahaj¹⁶ pergam &c<etera> * cum dicitur e8e8et je pileraï intellegitur de una vice, sed cum dicitur e8e8etaj, intellegit<u>r de pluribus vicibus –

6^a ab imp<erfecto> in sk8a format<u>r fut<urum> cont<inuationis> in ska<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> hachiask8a il consumoit<,> ehachiaska

7^a a fut<uro> neg<ativo> format<u>r praes<ens> neg<ativum> modi pot<entialis> addito nn<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> stante harask8ahe: stante harask8ahenn¹⁷ il ne

1 imp<erfectum>: absent from kcsc.

2 kcsc adds: c'etoit &c<etera>

3 kcsc: hachronniak (with a g added above the second n)

4 kcsc: hachronniahak (with a g added above the second n)

5 kcsc: hatsiheniek

6 kcsc: il brule le chaume

7 kcsc: hatsiheniehek

8 kcsc: ionnhek

9 kcsc: je travaille, je suis empêché

10 kcsc: il part

11 kcsc adds: dedans

12 kcsc adds: (lié)

13 kcsc: 6^a (and consequently, 6^a and 7^a are relabelled 7^a and 8^a)

14 pergam &c<etera>: absent from kcsc.

15 kcsc: echronniahak (with a g added above the second n)

16 kcsc: e8echronniahaj (with a g added above the second n)

17 kcsc: stant'eharask8ahenn

partiroit pas &c<etera> *vide de imper<ativo> modo pot<entiali> .. opt<ativo> et subj<unctivo> pag<ina> 8 &c<etera>¹

8^{a2}hurones utunt<u>r praesenti indic<ativi> addito **ska** in fine, et **â³** initio ad exprimendos sequentes loquendi modos: *j'ai pensé .. il ne s'en est guerres fallu .. j'ai presq<ue> ou j'ai été sur le point de faire, de dire* &c<etera><, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **a_iiheonska** *j'ai pensé mourir ..* **achiheonska** *tu as* &c<etera> ... **8kaot a_onniaska⁴** *j'ai pensé tout gater ..* **a_iitaraska** *j'ai pensé tomber* * at quando agitur de re remota dudum et praeterita⁵ utunt<u>r plusq<uam> perf<ecto> modi pot<entialis><, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **aon_iiheonnen** v<el> **tioskehen⁶** **ehen d'aon_iiheonnen** *peu s'en est fallut⁷ que je mourusse*

9^a hurones utunt<u>r fut<uro> neg<ativo> sublatâ negatione et adjunctâ localitate ad exprimendum: imminet, impendet mihi<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> periculum mortis v<el> alterius, ut **onta_iiheonche⁸** mors mihi imminet ...⁹ **ontaon_iriohe** *je prevois, je presens qu'on me doit tuer ...* hîc in bonam: **ontax_eiohe n'on₈e** *je prevois que je ferai coup en guerre, que je tuerai des hom<mes>: ...* **hatitokak hotiatato_eti ies₈s on₈e¹⁰** **e₀otonhatienn** *les saints voioient q<u>e jesus etoit pour se faire hom<me>: *porro haec verba conjugant<u>r ut caetera verba motus cum particulis* **t ont aont** &c<etera> sic dices **stante kiheonche¹¹** mors non mihi imminet ... **ekiheonchenn¹²** mihi mors imminebat ... **etsiheonchenn** tibi &c<etera>¹³

10^a multa verba quae usurpantur ad exprimendum tum habitum seu officium tum actum, ponuntur praesentis temporis cum exprimitur habitus seu officium praeteriti vero cum designatur actus<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **hatrendaenk** *il a coutume de prier dieu il en fait profession ...* imperf<ectum> **hatrendaenhak** ... * **hatsatanionk entiek onn'a₈atren** *il mange, ou il dine ordinairement quand il s'en va midy* imp<erfectum> **hatsatinionhonk** ... * **ha₈annionk** *il est*

1 kcsc: * pro imperat<ivo>... modo pot<entiali>... optativo.. et subjunct<ivo>... vide pag<ina> 9

2 kcsc adds a title 'observationes' and relabels notes 8^a through 10^a as 1^a through 3^a.

3 kcsc: **a**

4 **a_onniaska**: kcsc adds a **g** above the second **n**.

5 kcsc: de re remotâ, et dudum p<rae>teritâ

6 **tioskehen**: kcsc has **tioskeña**

7 kcsc: *peu s'en fallut*

8 kcsc: **onta_iiheonchre**

9 kcsc adds: **ontachiheonchre** mors tibi & c<etera>

10 kcsc: **ies₈s on₈e**

11 kcsc: **stant'ekiheonchre**

12 kcsc: **ekiheonchrenn**

13 kcsc: **etsiheonchrenn** mors tibi imminebat &c<etera>

cuisinier, imp<erfectum> **ha^gannionhonk**¹ * **stante hahachenk**² *il n'est pas pretre (ne dit pas la messe)* <, > imp<erfectum> **stante hahachenhak**³ in sequentibus designatur actus: **hotrendaen** *il est en priere*, imp<erfectum> **hotrendaentak** .. * **hotsatanion** *il dine* imp<erfectum> **hotsatanionk** ... * **ho^gannion** *il fait (actu) la cuisine ou la chaudiere*,⁴ imp<erfectum> **ho^gannionk** .. * **hohachen** ... (**tak**)⁵ contrarium fit in aliquibus verbis<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **rih8ios0a** *je crois cet article là* imp<erfectum> **rih8ios0ak**⁶ .. **arih8iosti**⁷ *je suis fidele et chretien* ...⁸ * **stan n'ondaie te ak8as** *je ne me couvre pas de cela* ... **ondaie a^gak8atsi** *je suis couvert de cela*

⁹aliqua verba habent duplex fut<urum>: proximum et remotum<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **d'e8a^gatonnahtaj**¹⁰ **teskasaonk8ichias**¹¹ *si je suis arrivé au bout de ma vie je n'ai plus besoin de medecine*: ecce fut<urum> prox<imum> q<uo>d est p<aradygmatis> **S** .. * **esk8a^gendi^gonr8tak8a d'a^grih8andera^gi d'e^gatonnahten**, *lorsq<ue> je serai au bout de ma vie je me repentirai d'avoir peche*, en fut<urum> remotum p<aradygmatis> **C**

Observationes¹²

1° futura quae sunt usui in propositionibus aff<irm>a<tiv>is, non usurpant<u>r in negativis, sed futura negativa * quod attinet ad **e8a^ge0etik** *j'aurai pilé* dicit<u>r in negativo<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **a^gson te 8a^ge0etik e^genk** *je n'aurai pas encore pilé*

1 kcsc: **ha^gannion** (with a **g** added above the first **n**)

2 kcsc: **hahachienk**

3 kcsc: **hahachientak**

4 kcsc: *il fait* (actu) *chaudiere, la cuisine*

5 kcsc: **hohachien** *il dit* (actu) *la messe* imp<erfectum> **hohachientak**

6 kcsc: **rih8iostak**

7 kcsc: **arih8iosti**

8 kcsc adds: imp<erfectum> **arih8iostinnen**

9 In kcsc, this paragraph is labelled 4^a.

10 **d'e8a^gatonnahtaj**: kcsc adds a **t** above the second **n**

11 kcsc: **t'eskasaonk8ichias**

12 Given that kcsc lets this section 'observations' start earlier in the text, notes 1° through 3° are relabelled 5^a through 7^a.

2° aoristi nullus est usus in propositionibus negativis, sed loco aoristi usus est praesens v<el> imp<erfectum>; quia aor<istus> habet al<i>q<uan>do significationem praesentis al<i>q<uan>do perfecti v<el> imperfecti, al<i>q<uan>do etiam futuri, v<erbi> g<ratia> **aonrik8esen** *je te ferme la bouche, je te fermerai la bouche ...* * at in propositionibus negativis dicitur **stante skrik8eindik** v<el> **stante skrik8eindihe** *tu ne me fermera pas la bouche* aor<istus> exprimitur saepe loco imperfecti, et praesens loco imperfecti, v<erbi> g<ratia> **ies8s a8en,e harask8ask8a** *jesus marchoit sur les eaux ...* * **t'haa8en andiske aen**¹ *comme il arriveroit, si on alloit sur la glace* aor<istus> nonquam² adhibet<ur> junctus negationi, v<erbi> g<ratia> non dicitur: **te aaketat** *je n'ai pas porté*, sed **te 8aaketati**

3° in compositione quaedam inchoata ab **a** mutant **a** in **on**, sic dicitur: **onnhon,annondi** moliri in vitam alicujus ab **onhe**³ et **a,annondi** -

Regulae formandi tempora primitiva in omnibus verbis

1^a verba quorum infin<itivus> desinit in **a** habent praesens **a**, imp<erfectum> **ak**, fut<urum> **en**, neg<ativum> **ande**⁴, ut **ka,annra** *regarder* **ak8ennra** *dire q<uelque> c<hose>* **ara** *mettre dessus* **arih8ara** *mettre q<uelque> c<hose> sur une table*, v<erbi> g<ratia> ... **ora** *emmancher*, **kannhontra** *mettre bout a bout ...*⁵* excipe 1° **aatra** act<ivum>⁶ *peindre* f<uturum> **aren** neg<ativum> **arande** ... **kaerontra** *reprenter* f<uturum> **aren** neg<ativum> **arande**

2° **annontra** sive **ennontra** *suivre q<uelqu'un>* f<uturum> **tren** neg<ativum> **trande**

3° **ehiera** *etre sur ses gardes* f<uturum> **raha** v<el> **raj** neg<ativum> **raj e,enk**

4° **aatra** neut<rum> *etre present, assister* f<uturum> **traha** neg<ativum> **trache 8o ia** *je suis grand com<me> cela* f<uturum> **aha** neg<ativum> **ache** .. **annea-tentra** *etre gisant* f<uturum> **traha** neg<ativum> **trache**

1 KCSC: **t'aa8enk**, **andiske aen**

2 KCSC: nunquam

3 KCSC: **onnh**

4 **ande**: absent from KCSC.

5 KCSC: **ak8ennra** *dire q<uelque> c<hose>* (with a **d** added above the second **n**), **arih8ara** *mettre q<uelque> c<hose> sur* v<erbi> g<ratia> *une table* **kannhontra** *mettre bout à bout* **ka,annra** *regarder* **ara** *mettre dessus* **ora** *emmancher*

6 act<ivum>: absent from KCSC.

5° **ak8a giter** <paradygmatis> **S** pr<aesens> **hoka8ha** *il gite .. imp<erfectum>, perf<ectum>, et plusq<uam> perf<ectum>* **0o ihok8ak** *il a gité la*¹ fut<urum> **ehok8a** *il gitera .. neg<ativum>* **stante hotande**
 2^a finita in **e** habent pr<aesens> **e** . f<uturum> **ej** neg<ativum> **ej e.enk** – ut²

aatate C	<i>etre present</i>	a8endate C	<i>la parole de q<uelqu'un> etre engagée</i>
arih8ate	<i>une affaire y etre comprise</i>	ondechate C	<i>y avoir une terre</i>
annonste S	<i>etre avare</i>	aronhiate C	<i>y avoir un ciel</i>
ontare	<i>y avoir un lac C</i>	arhate	<i>y avoir une foret</i>
ioste 2 ^{ae} S	<i>cela est pesant</i>	atsikaste S	<i>etre patient etc * excipe</i>
a.enre	<i>il y en a disette</i>	astore	<i>elle depeche &<etera> * excipe</i>

1°³ **atsihenie** *bruler les champs* pr<aesens> **iek<, >** imp<erfectum> **iehek<, >** fut<urum> **ie<, >** neg<ativum> **ieche ohare** *laver* . **rek** . **rehek** . **rej** . **rende** ...
annhe *proteger* **ek** . **ehék** . **e** . **ehe** **a.a8e** *ramer* **ek** . **ehék** . **e** . **ehe**⁴ **karhate (S)** *faire clair* **0ek** . **0ehék** . **0ej** . **tej e.enk**⁵

2° sequentia habent tantum pr<aesens> et imp<erfectum> in usu

hotriote ⁶	<i>il est attentif</i> imp<erfectum> tek	hoe'te ⁷ S	<i>il port</i> ⁸ imp<erfectum> tek
80ore (S)	<i>il fait froid</i> imp<erfectum> rek	a8enchre ⁹	<i>la nege porte</i> imp<erfectum> chek
handare (C)	<i>il demeure</i> imp<erfectum> rek ... alia vero tempora mutantur ab		
atrihotati .. o0orati .. enchat ¹⁰ .. enderati			

1 KCSC: *là*

2 KCSC: 2^a finita in **e** h<abe>nt **e**, **ek**, **ej**, **ej e.enk**

3 Before this note, KCSC adds: '1° **astore** *elle depeche*'. Consequently, notes 1° through 3° are re-labelled 2° through 4°. Note 4° erroneously keeps its original label.

4 **a.a8e** *ramer* **ek** . **ehék** . **e** . **ehe**: absent from KCSC.

5 KCSC: **tek** . **tehek** . **0ej** . **0ej e.enk**

6 KCSC: **hotrihote**

7 KCSC: **hoe'te**

8 KCSC: *il porte*

9 KCSC: **a8enchre S**

10 KCSC: **enchrati**

3° sequentia habent **ech** v⟨el⟩ **es** .. **esk̄a** . **e** . **eche** v⟨el⟩ **īes** **̄e** . **̄eche**¹ si desinit in **̄e**

at̄iāe	<i>uriner</i>	̄anḡae	<i>battre du blé</i>
̄ah̄ae	<i>frapper du marteau</i>	ētare	<i>rechausser² le blé</i>
̄atsistare	<i>remuer³ le feu ..</i>	* excipe ̄ae <i>etre éveillé</i> iech iesk̄a f⟨uturum⟩ ⁴ ēiek ⁵ v⟨el⟩ eahek . aechē	

4° q⟨uand⟩o **āe** jungitur in fine nominum numeralium sic inflectitur **tendi te ̄entāe** 2 jours ... **te ̄entāennen** *il y avoit 2 jours* ... fut⟨urum⟩⁶ **te ̄entāek** *d'icy a 2 jours*⁷ ... **achīenk ēentāek** *dicy a 3 jours* ... * **achīenk īaatāe** 3 lunes ... * **ndak īāennāe** 4 étés ... * **̄ich ihatinnien̄e** *ils sont 5 canots* **̄asen ihatiat̄āe** *ils sont 10* ... * nota: q⟨uelques⟩ *verbes de cette terminaison n'ont ni parfait ni plusq⟨ue⟩ parfait, mais ils prennent leur parfait, mettant l'initial du praeterit.*

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3^a finita in **i** significante plenitudinem habent⁸ **i** . **innen** . **ik** . **iche** . ⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **annonchi** *la cabane est pleine* ... habet aliud fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ **chindi** * finita in **ai**⁹ habent **ias** v⟨el⟩ **īach** . **īask̄a** . **ien** . **īahe**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **achiāi** *faire* cum compositis ut **annonchichiai** *faire cabane* **ateñiendichiai** *faire proprement* * **̄echiāi** *quaerere* 4^{ae} **as** .¹⁰ **aj** . **āxe**

- 1 KCSC: v⟨el⟩ **es** .. **esk̄a** .. **e** .. **eche**
- 2 KCSC: *rechausser*
- 3 KCSC: *attiser remuer*
- 4 f⟨uturum⟩: absent from KCSC.
- 5 KCSC: **ei ek**
- 6 fut⟨urum⟩: absent from KCSC.
- 7 KCSC adds: *(il y aura 2 jours)*
- 8 habent: absent from KCSC.
- 9 KCSC: **ai**
- 10 KCSC adds: **ask̄a**

4^a desinentia in **andi endi** .. **indi** . **ondi** penultima lingua¹ habent **as** ... **es** ... **is** ... **os** ... fut<urum> **ha** .. n<egativum> **che** .. imperf<ectum> **ask8a** . **esk8a** .. **isk8a** .. **osk8a**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

annhandi	<i>commander</i>	katandi	<i>etre debout</i>
atenrandi	<i>partager</i>	aesandi	<i>etre pauvre</i>
ehierandi ²	<i>se souvenir</i> ... * excipe		

* 1^o **entandi** *dormir* (S) fut<urum> **ta** neg<ativum> **ta8ache**³ ... **senta dors stante hotandi** non dormit

* 2^o **aaendi** *sortir* **ens** .⁴ **enha** . **enche** ..⁵ **andiaendi** *s'echaper* **aatingendi** *sortir d'un lieu ou en etoit cache* ... **aendi** *se nettoyer* **onnhonendi** *se peiner* .. quae omnia habent **ens** . **enha** . **enche** ... imp<erfectum> **ensk8a**⁶

3^o sequentia habent **ens** . **ensk8a** . **enk** . **enche**

atehendi	<i>etre honteux</i>	aterendi S	<i>laisser q<uelque> c<hose> par oubli</i>
ask8ahendi C	<i>hair</i>	eiachendi ⁷ S	<i>se mettre en colere</i>
andi,onrato,endi S	<i>scavoir</i> ⁸	andi,onrhendi S	<i>oblivisci</i>

4^o **achiatorendi** <paradygmatis> **S torha** . **torhak** . **toren** . **torande** *sentir de la douleur*

5^o **aienh8indi** *scavoir*⁹ **h8is** . **h8isk8a** . **h8iha** . **h8iche** **arindi** *etre repandu* (de liquore) **ris** .¹⁰ **riha** . **riche** **eienh8i**¹¹ scio de re actuali .. **eienh8is**¹² de habituali v<el> de pluribus **annsiann^dindi** <paradygmatis> **S tarder** .. **ann^di** .. **ann^dinnen** (**annisk8a**) . **ann^dik** . **ann^diche** **e8aenniannik**¹³ *je tarderai*⟨,⟩ **onnianni** *il tarde* non autem **anniannis**¹⁴

1 KCSC: longa

2 KCSC: **ehiarandi**

3 KCSC: *dormir*... **tas**, **task8a**, **ta**, **ta8ache**

4 KCSC adds: **ensk8a**

5 **andiaendi** *s'echaper*: absent from KCSC.

6 quae omnia habent **ens** . **enha** . **enche** ... imp<erfectum> **ensk8a**: absent from KCSC.

7 KCSC: **eiachiendi**

8 KCSC: *scavoir*

9 KCSC: *savoir*

10 KCSC adds: **risk8a**

11 KCSC: **eñienh8i**

12 KCSC: **enienh8is**

13 **e8aenniannik**: KCSC adds a **g** above the second **n**.

14 **anniannis**: KCSC adds a **d** above the last **n**.

achondi¹ C² *accommoder, praeparer ...* **ateiennondi**³ C⁴ *faire proprement*<,> **k8-atronhiondi** *gronder, se quereller &c*<etera>
 6^a finita in **i** habent **as** .⁵ **aj . aye** **es . ej . eye**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **arih8anderaj** *pecher*<,> **ras . raj . raye** ... **annonaj** *avoir envie de manger*<,> **as . aj . aye** **askarah8aj** *balier*<,> **as . aj . aye** sic etiam **endatij** *manger par excès* , et **aa** *rompre, couper*⁶ **aj** *manger*<,> **iech** ... **iesk8a** ... **ej . eye**
 excipe 1^o **ari** *verser*<,> **ris**⁷ **rik riche**
 excipe 2^o **ennon**⁸ *aller querir* . **nons** v<el> **nonch**⁹ . **nonj** . **nonche**
 7^a finita in **senn**¹⁰ tam relativa quam absoluta, faciunt futurum ablato **enni** reliqua vero tempora ut verba in **andi**<,> **endi** penult<ima> brevi **ik . ihik** **ihe eiachiasenni**¹¹ *hair q'uelqu'un*<,> **eskerachias** *tu me hairas asensenni*¹² **S** *tomber a q'uelqu'un*<,> **asensenni**¹³ *cela m'est tombé* .. **e8a** *asens cela me tombera*

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8^a finita in **ri** variant ... 1^o sequentia habent **i . innen . irha . iche ondiri** *chose affermie* cum compositis **orih8andiri**<,> **diri . dirinnen** ... **eorih8andirha** res erit firmata – **stant'eorih8andiche**¹⁴
 2^o **ori** *remuer* cum compos<itis> habet **oia**k v<el> **oies** . **oiahak** v<el> **oiesk8a** .. **oia** .. **oia**nde<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **annonh8arori**¹⁵ *chanter sa chanson de mort* ...

- 1 KCSC: **t'eandik**
- 2 **C**: absent from KCSC.
- 3 KCSC: **ateniennondi**
- 4 **C**: absent from KCSC.
- 5 KCSC adds: **ask8a**
- 6 *couper*: absent from KCSC.
- 7 KCSC adds: **risk8a**
- 8 KCSC: **ennon****i**
- 9 v<el> **nonch**: absent from KCSC.
- 10 KCSC: **senni**
- 11 **eiachiasenni**: KCSC adds a **d** above the second **n**.
- 12 **asensenni**: KCSC adds a **d** above the last **n**.
- 13 **asensenni**: KCSC adds a **d** above the last **n**.
- 14 KCSC: **t'eorih8andiche**
- 15 KCSC: **onnonh8arori**

angori remuer la sagamité⟨,⟩ **atontarori** un lac etre agité ... **atori** chasser *
ori signans couvrir, habet **ores** ..¹ **rej** .. **rej eenk**

3° sequentia habent **enrha** . **enrhak** . **enr** . **enrande**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **en-**
tenri avoir pitié .. **tenrha** . **tenrhak** **tenr** . **tenrande** **enri** laisser, omettre,
enrha . **enrhak** . **enr** . **enrande** cum compositis ut **arih8enri** omettre une
affaire

9^a finita in **sti** . **ti** . **tsi** . significantia causalitatem habent **s0a** v⟨el⟩ **0a** ... **st**
v⟨el⟩ **t** ... **stande** v⟨el⟩ **tande**⟨,⟩² v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

arih8iosti	<i>croire</i>	asti	<i>se servir de q⟨uelque⟩ c⟨hose⟩</i>
askorasti	<i>delivrer q⟨uelqu'un⟩, faire ou souffrir pour lui³</i>	atestenti	<i>descendre</i>
endaonntenti C⁴	<i>descendre une riviere</i>	aondati	<i>augmenter</i>
ateati C⁵	<i>aller⁶ du feu</i>	&c⟨etera⟩	

*porro finita in **sti** ... **ti** .. **tsi** non significantia causalitatem et quorum pe-
nult⟨ima⟩ brevis est habent prae⟨sens⟩ **as** .. **es** .. **is** .. **ons**⁷ fut⟨urum⟩ **at** ..
ent .. **it** .. **ont** neg⟨ativum⟩ **a0e** .. **en0e** .. **i0e** .. **on0e**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

a0orati S	<i>avoir froid</i>	atrihotati	<i>ecouter C</i>
anda8ati	<i>fouir C</i>	atsenti (R⟨elativum⟩)	<i>penser medeciner</i>
aeriti	<i>achever accomplir C</i>	k8-atonti	<i>se mettre ensemble⁸ ..</i>
		te hontons	<i>ils sont ensemble a meme travail, a meme plat</i>

skannonti *manquer son coup* (semper cum redup⟨licatione⟩)⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩
g⟨ratia⟩ **onsahannont** *il a manqué &c⟨etera⟩⁹* **stante sae8endannons** *il ne*
manque pas une de mes paroles, aucune ne lui echappe

endarati C	<i>s'habiter¹⁰</i>	ochati C	<i>l'hyver venir</i>
onnhonti	<i>donner la vie</i>		

1 kcsc adds: **resk0a**

2 kcsc: h⟨abe⟩nt **0a** . **0ak** . **t** . **tande**

3 kcsc: *delivrer q⟨uelqu'un⟩ de q⟨uelque⟩ mal*

4 **C**: absent from kcsc.

5 **C**: absent from kcsc.

6 kcsc: *allumer*

7 kcsc adds: imp⟨erfectum⟩ **ask0a** &c⟨etera⟩

8 kcsc adds: *à faire q⟨uelque⟩ c⟨hose⟩*

9 kcsc: *il a manqué son coup*

10 kcsc: *s'habiter*

excipe 1° **andiatentsi** *appeller* pr<aesens> et fut<urum> **tens<,>** n<egativum>
tende C

excipe 2° **onatsi** pr<aesens> et fut<urum> **onas ..** n<egativum> **onase** <para-
dygmatis> **C chionas** *tu ramasse*

excipe 3° **atati tiak . tia. tiande**¹

10^a ... finita in **h8i** mutant **h8i** in **S** pro pr<aesenti> ... in **k** pro fut<uro> in **8he**
pro neg<ativo>

otrah8i	<i>parcourrir tras . trak . tra8he</i>	arihotrah8i	<i>reciter une priere &c<etera></i> ²
annontrah8i	<i>enterrer</i>	ennenchonh8i	<i>couvrir q<uelque> c<hose><,></i> <i>v<erbi> g<ratia> un coffre</i>
askotrah8i	<i>mattachier, peindre ou faire de diverses couleurs<,></i>	<i>v<erbi> g<ratia> une robbe</i>	
aaenh8i	<i>mettre q<uelque> utencil³ dehors<,></i>	<i>v<erbi> g<ratia> la cabane (*aaendi s<e>q<ui>t<u>r v<er>ba in endi)⁴</i>	
aatingenh8i	<i>mettre un hom<me> hors la cabane (*aatingendi sortir dehors vide endi)⁵</i>		
atitrah8i	<i>se mettre en canot C⁶</i>	asoh8i C⁷	<i>teindre q<uelque> c<hose></i>
atonroh8i⁸	<i>plonger</i>		

11^a finita in **a8i** habent **as ..⁹ ia,¹⁰ a8e<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **achiendia8i¹¹**
dédaigner . dias . dia . dia8e .. óka8i gater q<uelque> c<hose> **chiokas ..**
echioka<,> n<egativum> **a8e ateraka8i C** *marquer designer*

excipe 1° **anda8i S** *pêcher*¹² pr<aesens> et fut<urum> **a8i**

excipe 2° **a8i** *donner* in comp<ositione> pr<aesens> **a8ha<,>**¹³ f<uturum> **on<,>**
n<egativum> **a8ihe**

1 KCSC: **atati** *parler .. tiak .. tiahak .. tia .. tiande*

2 KCSC: *reciter q<uelque> c<hose> v<erbi>g<ratia> une priere*

3 KCSC: *q<uelque> c<hose>*

4 v<erbi> g<ratia> *la cabane (*aaendi s<e>q<ui>t<u>r v<er>ba in endi)*: absent from KCSC.

5 KCSC: **aatingenh8i** *mettre q<uelqu'un> dehors.. le chasser*

6 KCSC: *se mettre dans un canot (embarquer)*

7 **C**: absent from KCSC.

8 KCSC adds: **C**

9 KCSC adds: **ask8a**

10 KCSC: **a**

11 KCSC adds a **g** above the **d** in all of these verb forms.

12 KCSC: *prendre q<uelque> c<hose> a la peche, a la chasse &c<etera>*

13 KCSC adds: imp<erfectum> **a8hak**

12^a finita in **k8i** et causalia **k8a ... k8ande**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩¹
 (caetera **k8as**⟨,⟩² **k8a**⟨,⟩ **k8ache**³) **andoronk8i** *estimer priser .. storonk8a tu*
estimes⟨,⟩ f⟨uturum⟩ **estoronk8o**⟨,⟩ n⟨egativum⟩ **te storonk8ande**⁴
 13^a finita in **χ8i . χ8ach** v⟨el⟩ **χ8as . χ8a . χ8ache**⟨,⟩⁵ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

˘aenχ8i	<i>faire ou avoir des champs</i>	˘annhony8i	<i>mettre en la bouche</i>
˘askonχ8i	<i>mettre dans le feu</i>	k8-atoχ8i	<i>le soleil se coucher</i>
k8-asenχ8i	<i>crier .. pleurer</i>		

14^a finita in **O** variant
 - **˘aio** v⟨el⟩ **˘ario** *frapper blesser tuer*⟨,⟩ **rios . riosk8a . rio . riohe** v⟨el⟩ **rioche**
 - **˘aro** v⟨el⟩ **˘arao** *bucher faire du bois*⟨,⟩ **raoch . raosk8a . rao . raoche**
 - **o** v⟨el⟩ **io** *il y avoir q'uelque* c⟨hose⟩ *de liquide ... pr<aesens> iο*⟨,⟩ imp⟨erfec-
 tum⟩ **iok**⟨,⟩ f⟨uturum⟩ **e˘oha** . f⟨uturum⟩ n⟨egativum⟩ **e˘oande** ... vide **ondi**
tomber dans l'eau, de re inanimata quasi esse oondi ad distinctionem ondi
faire
 - **˘andio**⁶ *germer pousser*⟨,⟩ **dios . diosk8a . diok . dioche**
 - **˘andio** *passer q'uelqu'un* en canot, semper jungitur verbo motus **hon**⟨,⟩
 v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ hoc modo **˘andiohon** *aller passer q'uelqu'un* en canot . **he** .⁷
ha . hese
 - **˘a8endio** *etre maitre* sic inflectitur . **stan chie8endio te˘en** *tu n'es pas*
maitre⟨,⟩ **stan chie8endio te˘ennen** *tu n'etois isa chie8endio e˘enk* v⟨el⟩
e8aton *tu seras*⟨,⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ **te 8atonde**⁸

- 1 kcsc: finita in **k8i**... si causalia, h⟨abe⟩nt **k8a.. k8ak.. k8a** v⟨el⟩ **k.. k8ande**
- 2 kcsc adds: **k8ask8a**
- 3 kcsc: **k8achre**
- 4 kcsc: **andoronk8i** ⟨paradigmatis⟩ **C k8a.. k8ande.. estimer**
- 5 kcsc: finita in **χ8i**, h⟨abe⟩nt **χ8ach** v⟨el⟩ **χ8as. χ8ask8a ... χ8a .. χ8achre**
- 6 **˘andio**: kcsc adds a **g** above the **d**.
- 7 kcsc adds: **hend**
- 8 kcsc: **isa chie8endio t'e8atonde** *tu ne seras pas*

15^a finita in **ḡan** (dic **ḡen**)¹ habent .. **ach** v<el> **as** .. **askḡa** .. **a** .. **ahe**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

akḡan	<i>pillar voler C</i>	askoḡan C ²	<i>retirer de l'eau q<uelqu'un> ou q<uelque> a<nim>al</i>
ann^draḡan	<i>danser C</i>	astakḡan	<i>promettre</i>
entaḡan	<i>passer un jour</i>		

excipe 1^o **ka kḡan** *enlever* . **te akḡa** .. f<uturum> **te^{ek}** *j'enleverai* .. n<egativum> **kḡande**³

excipe 2^o **askaḡan** *macher* .. **skaḡas** v<el> **skaḡha** .. ⁴**ska** .. ⁵**skaḡache** v<el> **skaḡhande**

16^a finita in **en** .. **hen** ... **ien** .. **n^{nen}** .. **ren** .. **sen** .. **χen** v<el> **ken**

1^o verba in **en** habent pr<aesens> **χa**<,> fut<urum> **j**<,> n<egativum> **ande**<,>⁶ v<erbi> g<ratia>

aronen *ecouter, entendre dire, concevoir*<,> **ronχa** . **ronj** . **ron^{ande} C ato^{en}** *appercevoir, pressentir* . **toχa** . **toj** . **to^{ande} C ate^{en}** *bruler, y avoir du feu*⁸<,> **teχa**⁹ . **tej** . **te^{ande} S and^{aen}**¹⁰ *semer*<,> **indaχa** *je seme*<,> f<uturum> **enda^j**<,> n<egativum> **enda^{ande}**¹¹

excipe 1^o **o^{en}** *faire eau* (de cymba v<el> navi) **io^{as}** *il fait eau*<,> f<uturum> **eo^{χa}**<,> n<egativum> **stante eo^{ache}**¹²

excipe 2^o verbum auxiliare: **en** *etre*<,> **ien** .. **ien^{nen}** .. **e^{enk}** .. **a^{enk}** .. **a^{ennen}**

Nota<:> **a^{en}** *y avoir*<,> **ia^{en}**¹³ *il y a* .. **a^{entak}**¹⁴ *il y avoit* .. **e^{aentaj}** *aura* ..

t^eaentaj e^{enk} sic **and^{ataraen}** *y avoir du pain* .. * nota<:> quaedam composita ab **a^{en}** addere **t** in infin<itivo><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **atrendaent** *prier dieu*

1 (dic **ḡen**): absent from KCSC.

2 **C**: absent from KCSC.

3 KCSC: **t^eekḡande**

4 KCSC adds: f<uturum>

5 KCSC adds: neg<ativum>

6 KCSC: h<abe>nt **χa**... **χak**... **j**... **ande**

7 **ronχa** . **ronj** . **ron^{ande}**: absent from KCSC.

8 *y avoir du feu*: absent from KCSC.

9 KCSC adds: **teχak**

10 KCSC adds: **C**

11 KCSC: **daχa**... **daχak**... **daj**... **da^{ande}**

12 KCSC: **stant^eo^{achre}**

13 KCSC: **ia^{en}**

14 KCSC: **ia^{entak}**

pro **atrendaen** pr<aesens> **atrendaenk** imp<erfectum> **atrendaenhak** ..
 perf<ectum> **aatrendaen** ... plusq<uam> perf<ectum> **aatrendaentak** ..
 fut<urum> **eatrendaen** neg<ativum> **t'eatrendaende** * sic etiam dicitur
atient pro **atien** sedere ; et **ahachent** pro **ahachen** *tenir conseil* .. et formant
 sua tempora ut **atrendaen**

2° verba in **hen** variant

- **aerihen S** *se porter mieux, se guerir* &c<etera> . **rihas** .. **rihask8a** .. **rik** .. **rihase**

- **ohiahen** *fendre du bois* **C hiahas** v<el> **hiahach** ..¹ **hiahak** (**hiahenk**)<,> **hiohase**

- **ah8ichatihen S**<,> **tihen** . **tihennen** . **tihenk** . **tihase** *etre faible*

3° verba in **ien** variant .. sequentia habent **iak** .² **ia** . **iande**

annien C *aboyer* pr<aesens> **iandiak**³ ..⁴ f<uturum> **eandia**⁵ .. n<egativum>

t'eandiande **ataien C** *petuner* pr<aesens> **etaiak** ..⁶ f<uturum> **eataia**⁷ ..

n<egativum> **t'etaiande**

excipe **aaien C** *manger*<,> **ias** .⁸ **ia** . **iahe**, t<an>t<um> est in usu in com-

pos<itione><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **andataraien** *manger du pain*

4° verba in **nne** pr<aesens> **n'nha**<,> f<uturum> **and**<,> n<egativum> **ande**<,>

v<erbi> g<ratia> **aennen** aliquid suum vindicare *disputer a q<ui> aura une*

chose<,> **enn'thak** . **enn'tahak**⁹ **enn't'aha** v<el> **ennhahaj**<,> **enn'thande**<,>

ak8aannen *parler mal une langue* <paradygmatis> **C** .. **ann'tha** . **ann** .

andande<,> **asaannen C** *parler a la façon des étrangers* **a(nn'tha** . **ann** .

ann'dande¹⁰<,> **atiatoχ8annen C** *engloutir un a<nim>al* (sorbere a<nim>al)<,>

ann'tha &c<etera> **aendennen S** in comp<ositione> <,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aondecha**

andennen¹¹ *la terre a tremblé* pr<aesens> **d'enn'tha**<,> f<uturum> **denn** .

n<egativum> **denn'dande**

* **aatennen S** *etre delicat*<,> **tannen** . **tannennen** . f<uturum> **tannenk**

* **arannoien S** *etre mouille* pr<aesens> **en**<,> imp<erfectum> **ennen**<,> f<utu-

rum> **enk**<,> tantum) caret caeteris temp<oribus>

1 kcsc adds: **hiask8a**

2 kcsc adds: **iahak**

3 kcsc: **i'anniak** (with a **g** added above the second **n**)

4 kcsc adds: **i'anniahak**

5 **eandia**: kcsc adds a **g** above the **d**.

6 kcsc adds: **etaiahak**

7 kcsc: **e'etaia**

8 kcsc adds: **iask8a**

9 kcsc: **ennhahak** (with a **t** above the **n**)

10 kcsc: **andande**

11 kcsc: **aondechraandennen**

5° verba in **ren** variant

- **āeren**¹ *faire q<uelque> action dire q<uelque> c<hose> &c<etera>* **ierha** *je fais* .. f<uturum> **eier** .. n<egativum> **t'eierande**

- **ānnren C** *lier<,>* p<raesens> **enn^dren** .. imp<erfectum> **enn^drennen** .. f<uturum> **eennrenn** .. n<egativum> **t'eenn^drenche**

6° verba in **sen** variant

- **osen** *passer une peau* .. pr<aesens> et fut<urum> **os** ... n<egativum> **ose** v<el> **osen**

- **atonesen** *remercier* .. pr<aesens> et fut<urum> **toñes<,>** n<egativum> **tonese** v<el> **tonesen**

7° verba in **χen** v<el> **ken** variant **kaxen** *etre gumaux*^{2<,>} **χen<,>** imp<erfectum> **χennen** . **te hixeri** sunt gemelli – in comp<ositione><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **kandeh8axen** *coudre 2 peaux<,>* **χas** . **χα** . **χase** 17^a finita in **on** variant * 1° sequentia habent<,> **onk<,>**³ **on<,>** **onde**

ādoton R<elativum>	<i>raconter</i>	āhiaton	<i>ecrire C</i>
astaron	<i>pleurer C</i>	aronton	<i>interroger C</i>
āon	<i>arriver &c<etera></i>	āndoron	<i>avoir de la peine C</i>

⁴* **aton** *etre possible<,>* **on<,>** **onnen C** sed

* **a ton** *etre perdu<,>* **tonk** . **ton** . **tonde** regulariter

⁵* **āendaon** *recevoir prendre<,>* **daons** . **daon** . **daonde** 2° sequentia mutant **on** in **a** pro fut<uro> **āenchon** *ecorcher C<,>* **chons** . **cha** . **chon8he** (v<el> **chonhe**)

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āh8ichennion *surmonter C<,>* **nnions<,>** **nnia**⁶ . **nnionhe** (et caetera comp<osita> a **āennion**)

āāennion . **nnion** . **nnia**⁷ . **nnionhe C** *detourner*

1 kcsc adds: <paradigmatic> C

2 kcsc: *jumaux*

3 kcsc adds: **onhonk**

4 kcsc adds: excipe 1°

5 kcsc adds: <excipe> 2°

6 kcsc: **nnia** (with a **g** above the second **n**)

7 kcsc: **nnia** (with a **g** above the second **n**)

̣atentaron<,> f<uturum> **tentra** pro **tentara**<,> pr<aesens> **tarons**<,> n<egativum> **taronhe C etaler**<,>

8skaron C arracher couper tout<,> pr<aesens> **oskarons**¹ .. f<uturum> **8skra** pro **8skara**<,> n<egativum> **8skaronhe**

onharon C sarcler<,> **onharons**<,> fut<urum> **onhra** pro **onhara**<,> ne<gativum> **onharonhe**

kandiontearon ouvrir l'esprit a quelqu'un<,> **tearons**<,> f<uturum> **teara** pro **teara**<,> n<egativum> **tearonhe**

sic etiam **k8-endiontearon avoir l'esprit ouvert**²<,> **k8-enton C aller et venir en un jours**³<,> **tons** .. f<uturum><,> **ta** n<egativum> usurpat<u>r praet<eritum> cum neg<atione>⁴

ateenta je reviendrai aujourd'hui .. diray-je en partant

kaentaton ... plier un baton<,> pr<aesens> **tatons** . f<uturum> **tata * te jentata je plierai**

excipe 1° **ennion passer**<,> **ennions** .. f<uturum> **endi**<,> n<egativum> **ennionhe** – sic etiam **enditennion C crepare**⁵<,> **tennions** .. **tendi** .. **tennionhe atennion changer**<,> **tennions . tendi** .. **tennionhe * setendi verse, change de vaisseau**

excipe 2° **enheon . C⁶ mourir**<,> **heons**<,> f<uturum> **hej**<,> n<egativum> **heonche**⁷

excipe 3° **ation S jeter**<,> **aaties**<,> f<uturum> **e8aati**<,> n<egativum> **e8aatie** – sic composita ab **ontion**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aatontion**⁸ *abandonner quelqu'un*

18^a verba motûs in **on** habent duplex praesens; unum in **e** q<uan>do actu et defacto⁹ itur, aut etiam quando tenetur terminus ... alterum in **es** ad significandam consuetudinem et habitum - . unde duplex habent imperf<ectum>: unum in **enn** v<el> **end** respondens praesenti in **e** alterum in **esk8a** respondens praesenti in **es** verba motûs ut plurimum in aoristo differunt a terminatione futuri; et habent **e . o . a** – v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahatrendaende, il va prier dieu**¹⁰, quando est in itinere v<el> saltem in procinctu ad iter

1 kcsc: **8skarons**

2 *avoir l'esprit ouvert*: absent from kcsc.

3 kcsc: *jour*

4 kcsc: pro fut<uro> neg<ativo> usurpatur praet<eritum> cum nega<ti>o<n>

5 kcsc adds: *peter*

6 **C**: absent from kcsc.

7 kcsc: **heonchre**

8 kcsc adds: R<elativum>

9 kcsc: de facto

10 *dieu*: absent from kcsc.

atrendaennon *aller prier dieu, ...* pr<aesens> **atrendaende** *je viens actuellement prier, ou, j'arrive au terme ou je dois prier ..* vel .. **atrendaendes** *je vais habituellement prier dieu, ou, j'ai coutume d'y aller ...* imp<erfectum> **daendenn** v<el> **daendask8a**¹ ... fut<urum> **daenda** v<el> **daendaska**² ... neg<ativum> **daendese** - . sic **annontration** *suivre q<uelqu'un>* R<relativum>

atannon *aller coucher*

k8-atenda8achon *aller a la chasse*

endihachion *aller emprunter*

ennonchion *aller querir q<uelqu'un> ou q<uelque>* c<hose>

entronnon *aller mener q<uelqu'un>* ab **entron**

* sequentia differunt in fut<uro> affirm<ativo><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahenton** **C** *aller devant<,>* f<uturum> **ehent**³

annionnon⁴ **C** *mener<,>* f<uturum> **nniond**

annentraienton⁵ **C** *aller le long du bord de l'eau<,>* f<uturum> **traient**⁶

ask8innon⁷ *courir* f<uturum><,> **ehask8indet** *curret*

19^a finita **ar**⁸ *habent* **r .. rak .. raj .. raj eenk**⁹<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ar** *sol est, lucet*¹⁰ .. imp<erfectum> **iarak** ... f<uturum> **earaj** .. n<egativum> **tearaj**

eenk arih8ar *res est .. r .. rak .. raj . raj eenk*¹¹

20^a finita in **ent, ont .. at .. et .. it .. 8t** *activ<um><,>* **8t** *passivum*

1^o **ent<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **kaakarent** *avoir 2 yeux* pr<aesens> **t<,>** imp<erfectum>

tak<,> f<uturum> **ten<,>** n<egativum> **tande** **C** **eskarent** *ma bouche<,>* imp<erfectum>

tak<,> f<uturum> **ten<,>** n<egativum> **tande**

ehekarent *podex meus<,>* imp<erfectum> **tak<,>** f<uturum> **ten<,>** n<egativum>

tande

2^o **ont** *active* **8a ten . tande**¹² ... *passivé* **t .** imp<erfectum> **tak<,>** f<uturum>

taj<,> n<egativum> **taj eenk<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **askont** *rotir<,>* **an8a ontent** :

ontande askont *etre roti<,>* **ont<,>** im<perfectum> **ontak<,>** f<uturum> **ontaj<,>**

n<egativum> **ontaj eenk**

1 KCSC: **daendesk8a**

2 KCSC: **daendeska**

3 KCSC adds: *j'irai &c<etera>*

4 KCSC: **annionnon** (with a **g** above the first **n**)

5 KCSC: **annentraienton**

6 KCSC: **traient**

7 KCSC adds: <paradymatis> **C**

8 KCSC: finita in **ar**

9 KCSC: **eenk**

10 KCSC: **iar** *sol lucet*

11 KCSC: **eenk**

12 KCSC: **8a tak tenr tande**

askont se rotir<,> pr[o]¹ askont cela est roti .. f<uturum> easkontaha cela se rotira<,> n<egativum> teaskontache² ne se rotira pas ab askontandi tas . taha . tache se bruler

atsista e aontaha cela vient de tomber dans le feu, dicitur enim hoskontandi il est brulé

aatont etre lié, etre captif<paradigmaticis> C .. haatont il est lié .. f<uturum> ehaatontaha il tombera dans les pieges .. n<egativum> t'ehaatontache³ dicitur enim hoatontandi il est tombé &c<etera>⁴ * q<uan>do haec et similia verba sumuntur active ut andi⁵ont v<el> aakont suspendre q<uelque> c<hose> en l'air, habent in fut<uro> ehaatonten il la lieri⁶ ehaaskonten il la rotira<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> l'anguille ehandionten⁷ v<el> ehaakonten il suspendra cela en haut, et tunc in praeterito non dicitur hoskontandi, hoatontandi sed hoskontak<,> hoatontak il l'a ou l'avoit roti

aendi⁵ont S j'ai de l'esprit<,> imp<erfectum> aendi⁵ontak ... fut<urum> e8aendi⁵ontaha .. n<egativum> te 8aendi⁵ontache dicitur enim⁸ aendi⁵ontandi l'esprit m'est venu (neutrum)⁹

annont C etre dans le sepulchre<,> pr<aesens> ihannont<,> imp<erfectum> annontak<,> f<uturum> annontaj .. neg<ativum> nontache neut<rum>:

annhont avoir q<uelque> c<hose> dans la bouche<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> hondatarannhont il y a¹⁰ du pain dans la bouche .. hondatarannhonta'atie il va portant du pain en bouche

eannontandi S faire bonne chere<,> f<uturum> taha<,> n<egativum> tache

atiront C tirer q<uelque> c<hose><,> pr<aesens> t v<el> 0a . ten . tande

3° at i8at il y a q<uelque> c<hose> dedans ... imp<erfectum> i8atak<,>

alia tempora non sunt in usu onneat il y a un os la dedans ... imp<erfectum>

onneatak

hondiat il a mis une natte<,>¹¹ hondiatak

1 kcsc: pro

2 kcsc: t'eakontachre

3 kcsc: t'ehaatontachre

4 kcsc: il est tombé dans les pieges

5 kcsc: andiⁿⁱont

6 kcsc: liera

7 kcsc: ehondiⁿⁱonten

8 kcsc: etiam

9 neutrum: absent from kcsc.

10 kcsc: il a

11 kcsc adds: imp<erfectum>

hakonchiat *il tient le devant* .. imp<erfectum> **hakonchiatak**
ꞥenrat *cela est blan<c>*, imp<erfectum> **ꞥenratak<eꞥenrataha¹**
cela blanchira<, <negativum> **t'eꞥenratache²**
atsat *C montrer active<*, **ihotsat** *il montre actu ...* et **hatsaθa** *il a coutume de*
montrer<, f<uturum> **ehatsaten** .. n<egativum> **t'ehatsatande**
4° **et ... endakθandet** *C fornicari ...* pr<aesens> est 2plex sc<ilicet>: **ondakθan-**
det³ est in flagranti delicto fornicationis ... et **endakθandeθa⁴** solet fornicari
5° **it ... akθarit** *C embarquer des paquets<*, **θa . ten . tande atit** *s'embarquer*
passive C<, pr<aesens> **ihotit** v<el> **hatiθa** .. imp<erfectum> **hotitak** *il etoit*
actu<, **hatitak** habitu
6° **θt ... ꞥaentθt** *ꞥy avoir un baton, ou mettre un baton fiché en terre⁵ ...* juxta
priorem significationem dicit<u>r: ꞥaentθt<, imp<erfectum> **ꞥaentθtak<**,
f<uturum> **eꞥaentθtaha** *le baton se fichera<*, v<erbi> g<ratia> *en tombant ..*
fut<urum> cont<inuationis> **eꞥaentθtaj⁶** .. neg<ativum> **t'eꞥaentθtache** .. juxta
*posteriorem significationem dicit<u>r haentθθa *il plante⁷ ..* imp<erfectum>
tθtak . f<uturum> **tθten<**, n<egativum> **tθtande**
ꞥateiachiθt *C etre en peine<*, v<erbi> g<ratia> *des absens⁸* pr<aesens> **ꞥateia-**
chiθt v<el> **ꞥateiachiθθa<**, imp<erfectum> **θak** . f<uturum> **ten** . n<egativum>
tande sic **atiatθt** *se mettre en sentinelle* **C**
ꞥannenhθt *il y a du blé formé dans l'epi<*, **θa . θak . ten . tande**
Nota 1° multorum verborum actio actualis exprimitur per praeteritum et actio
quasi habitualis per praesens<, v<erbi> g<ratia> **hoꞥannion** *il fait actu la cui-*
sine⁹<, **haꞥannion** habitu, seu *son office est d'etre cuisinier ...* **hotsatanion**
il dine¹⁰<, **stante hatsatanionk ꞥaꞥende** *ce n'est pas l'heure de son diner, ou il*
n'a pas coutume de diner a l'heure qu'il est
Nota 2° terminatio futuri neg<ativi> in **che** scribitur per majus **h** et penultima
v<el> producitur v<el> aspiratur ut **stante stonθeche¹¹** *tu ne m'aimeras pas<*,
stant'eθaꞥonnhiche *je n'ignorerai pas cela* * terminatio ejusd fut<uri>
in **se** semper aspiratur, v<erbi> g<ratia> **stant'eꞥese** *je n'iray pas**

1 KCSC: eꞥenrataha

2 KCSC: t'eꞥenratache

3 KCSC: hondakθandet

4 KCSC: hendakθandeθa

5 KCSC: y avoir un baton ou mettre un baton debout, fiché en terre

6 KCSC: eꞥaentθtaj

7 KCSC: il plante un baton

8 v<erbi> g<ratia> des absens: absent from KCSC.

9 KCSC: il fait actu la chaudiere, la cuisine<

10 KCSC: il dine actu

11 KCSC: stonθeche

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De verbo relativo

relativum est illud quod respicit aliquem duplex est: unum quod ex natura sua respicit aliquam personam ut **ᶗachiendaen** colere aliquem, alterum quod ex absoluto, fit relativum per additionem finalis incrementi ut **ᶗaṯetandi** molere alicui ab **ᶗaṯeti** molere * est etiam relativum ab alio relativo derivatum, ut **ᶗaatiᶗandi** scindere alicui frustrum¹ animalis, à relativo **ᶗaatiᶗai** animal in partes secare ... * porro verbum non dicitur relativum nisi respiciat rem viventem ... relativum est utriusq̄ue parad̄ygmatis pro exigentia vocis per illud exprimendae sive passivae sive activae: vox activa exigit p<aradygma> **C**, ut **hachiendaenk** ille illum colit .. passiva vero exigit p<aradygma> **S** ut **hochiendaenk**, ille ab illa colitur

De formatione relativorum

Relativorum alia sunt per se relativa, de his non agitur – sed de verbis absolutis quae fiunt relativa – de iis has habeto regulas

1^a ex verbis absolutis fieri possunt relativa additione particularum **ti . sti . kṣi** . v<erbi> g<ratia> **ateṣan** *fuir* .. **ateṣāti** *faire fuir q̄uelqu'un* ... **atehendi** *etre honteux*, **atehati** *hontoyer q̄uelqu'un*<,> **aatachendi**² *etre laid*<,> **aatachati** *rendre q̄uelqu'un* *laid* * finita ab his particulis fiunt relativa mutando **i** finale in **andi** pro praet<erito> et **en** pro fut<uro><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ᶗaṯeti** *piler*<,> **ᶗaṯetandi** *piler pour q̄uelqu'un* **ᶗarihṣiosti** *croire* .. **ᶗarihṣistandi** ³*croir q̄uelque* c<hose> de *q̄uelqu'un*<,> **ᶗarakṣi** *mettre dans un plat* .. **ᶗarakṣandi** *mettre dans un plat q̄uelque* c<hose> à *manger pour q̄uelqu'un*

1 frustrum: sic (also in KCSC), sc. frustum

2 KCSC: **ᶗatchiendi**

3 KCSC: **ᶗarihṣiostandi**

2^a **a** .. verba in **a** addunt pro praet(erito) **ndi** pro fut(uro) **has**<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **ara mettre dessus**, **arandi** <,> f(uturum) **e₂erahas** .. **annhontra mettre bout a bout**<,> **e₂onnhontrahas**¹

3^o **8an** .. verba in **8an** addunt **di** ... pro fut(uro) mutant **n** in **s**<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **ara8an oter de dessus** ... **ara8andi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂era8as**

4^o **8i** . **h8i** . **i** fiunt rel(ativa) addendo pro **ndi**,² et pro fut(uro) mutando ultimam syllabam in **sen**<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **ate^haka8i marquer** .. **ateraka8indi** .. **e₂aterakasen ontrah8i mettre dedans** .. **ontrah8indi** .. **e₂ontrasen**

* his adijunge verba in **ti** quod **ti** pro fut(uro) mutat<u>r in **sen**<,> v(erbi) g(ratia)

anda8ati four<,> **anda8atindi**<,> f(uturum) **enda8asen**

aeriti achever³, **completter** . **aeritindi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂erisen**

k8-atonti etre plusieurs a faire une meme chose<,> **k8-atontindi**<,> f(uturum) **aθonatonsen**

enri laisser ejusque comp(osita) ut asenri laisser son plat: **asenrindi** f(uturum) **e₂ensen**

* excipe **endeoh8indi infecter qu(quelqu'un)**<,> f(uturum) **e₂endeohas**

arih8andera i pecher<,> **arih8andera indi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂rih8anderasen**

5^a **χ8i** v(el) **k8i** verba absoluta in **k8i** &c(etera) addunt pro inf(initivo) **ndi** et pro fut(uro) aff(irmativo) mutant **i** finale in **as**<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **astaenχ8i faire praes(ent)**⁴ **astaenk8indi**⁵<,> **e₂estaenχ8as**

6^a **on** verba in **on** fiunt relativa addendo **di** pro inf(initivo) **ons** pro fut(uro)<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **ahiaton ecrire**<,> **ahiatondi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂ehiatonhons**

* excipe **atendoton dire** quod habet fut(urum) **e₂atendoton** licet in inf(initivo) habeat **atendotandi**⁶

8^{a7} **ondi** et **ori** verba in **ondi** et **ori** cum compositis, quando fiunt relativa mutant illud **ondi** in **onnianni**⁸ et **ori** in **oranni** .. et pro fut(uro) **eonnienn** ... et **eoien**

* his adde **aeren faire** .. **aerandi faire pour q(quelqu'un)**<,> f(uturum) **e₂ieren atonn^hien nier**<,> **atonn^hhiandi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂onatonnhien**

* excipe **atro^{en} faire (cajoler) l'amour**⁹<,> **atro^{en}andi**<,> f(uturum) **e₂atro^{en}as**

1 kcsc: <praeteritum> **annhontrandi** f(uturum) **trahas**

2 kcsc: addendo pro praet(erito) inf(initivo) **ndi**

3 *achever*: absent from kcsc.

4 kcsc: *faire present*

5 kcsc: **astaenχ8indi**

6 kcsc: **atondotondi**

7 kcsc relabels this note 7^a and adjusts the following note numbers accordingly.

8 **onnianni**: kcsc adds a **g** above the second **n** and a **d** above the fourth one.

9 kcsc: *cajoler, faire l'amour*

ataien *petuner*<,> **ataiandi**<,> f<uturum> **eataias**
andaen *semer*<,> **andaandi**<,> f<uturum> **endaas** ..
aronen *raconter, dire, entendre*¹<,> **aronasenni**<,> f<uturum> **earonas**
 9^a **ent** verba in **ent** addunt pro inf<initivo> relat<ivo> **andi** pro f<uturo> **has**
 loco **t**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
ahachent *tenir conseil*<,> **ahachentandi**<,> f<uturum> **ehachenhas**
atrendaent *prier dieu*<,> **atrendaentandi**<,> f<uturum> **eatrendaenhas**
atient *s'asseoir*<,> **atientandi**<,> f<uturum> **eatienhas** ... * his² **aen** et ejus
 composita<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
aen *mettre* .. **aentandi**<,> f<uturum> **ejenhas**
arihientandi *s'en rapporter a q<uelqu'un*<,> f<uturum> **erihienhas**³
endi onraen *deliberer*<,> **endi onraentandi** f<uturum> **eendi onraenhas**
 * caetera verba in **t** fiunt relativa addendo pro inf<initivo> **andi** et f<uturo>
0as<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ateiachi8t** *etre en peine*<,> **ateiachi8tandi**<,> f<uturum>
eateiachi80as

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andandet *redoubler, reïterer* : **andandetandi**<,> f<uturum> **eendande0as**
atsat *montrer*<,> **atsatandi**<,> f<uturum> rel<ativum> **ex0eatsa0as** illis osten-
 dam
aakont *pendre a q<uelque> c<hose>*<,> **aakontandi** <,> f<uturum>⁴ **ex0eakon0as**
 10^a verba his regulis non comprehensa fiunt relativa addendo **enn^{di}**
 v<el> **senn^{di}** terminationi praesentis v<el> infinitivi,⁵ et tollendo **enni**⁶ ad
 formandum fut<urum><,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
atrios *elle se bat* : **atriosenni**<,> f<uturum> **eatrios**
aaens *elle sort*<,> **aaensenni**<,> f<uturum> **ejaens**
oker0ons *elle craint* : **okeronsenni** : f<uturum> **eokerons**
atsihenie *bruler les champs*<,> **atsiheniesenni**<,> f<uturum> **e0etsihenies** ...
 sic **ohare** *laver* ... **a0a8e** *ramer* &c<etera>

- 1 kcsc: **aronen** *entendre* &c<etera>
- 2 kcsc: his adde
- 3 kcsc: **erihienhas**
- 4 kcsc: **âkontandi** fut<urum> Rel<ativum>
- 5 kcsc: terminationi praesenti
- 6 **enni**: kcsc adds a **d** above the second **n**.

11^a alia verba non tantum addunt **endi**,¹ sed finalem syllabam illius in **en** v⟨el⟩**on**, mutant in **a**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

atehens *elle est honteuse* : **atehasenni**⟨,⟩ f⟨uturum⟩ **eatehas** pudebit me ob eum

a8eiachens *elle est en colere* : **eiachiasenni** : **e8eiachias**² illis irascar

enheons *elle est malade* : **enheasenni** ... **a8heasenni** **anniennon**³ mihi mortuus canis est

annhat8skaron *ebrancher* : **annhat8srasenni** per contr⟨actionem⟩

onharon *sarcler* : **onharasenni** ... **aenchon** *ecorcher*⟨,⟩ **aenchasenni** &c⟨e-tera⟩

12^a omnia praedicta verba inter se conveniunt quoad infinitivum pr⟨aesens⟩, imp⟨erfectum⟩, perf⟨ectum⟩, plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩, fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩, et modum pot⟨entialem⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ sicq⟨ue⟩ inflectunt⟨u⟩r inf⟨initivus⟩

di... pr⟨aesens⟩ **ik** ... imp⟨erfectum⟩ **ihik** ... perf⟨ectum⟩ **di** ... plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩ **dinnen** fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ **dihe** ... fut⟨urum⟩ cont⟨inuationis⟩ **dih**i fut⟨urum⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ **dih**i **eenk** ... modus pot⟨entialis⟩ neg⟨ativus⟩ **dihenn** ... et aoristus improprius in **ska**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **aska8aratan-diska** *tu m'a presq⟨ue⟩ obligé .. tu as pensé m'obliger*

* praedictae regulae de formatione relativorum non tantum conveniunt verbis derivatis et simplicibus, sed etiam passivis reciprocis et deponentibus⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

ataseti *etre caché*⟨,⟩ **atasetandi** *etre cache a q⟨uelqu'un⟩*⟨,⟩ **haatasétandik** *il se cache a moy*

atatasetandi *se cacher les uns aux autres*

atiatatonti *s'egarer, s'evader* : **atiatatontandi** *s'echaper a q⟨uelqu'un⟩*⟨,⟩ **haatiatátontandik** *il m'est échappé*

* juxta easd⟨em⟩ regulas formantur quaedam verba neutro-acquisitiva ab ab⁴ aliis neutris absolutis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩: **ohiahens** *cela bout*⟨,⟩ **ohiahasennik** *Le pot bout pour elle*

ori *cela est cuit*⟨,⟩ **orisenni** *cela est cuit pour elle*

a8aonk *cela est vieux*: **a8aonsenni** *cela est vieux pour elle*

* ita etiam formantur quaedam neutro-passiva v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

otendoronk8i *cela est difficile*⟨,⟩ **otendoronk8andik** *elle trouve difficile*

otrih8achati *L'affaire est gaté*⟨,⟩ **otrih8achatandi** *L'affaire est gaté a elle*

1 kcsc: **enni**

2 kcsc: fut⟨urum⟩ **e8eiachias**

3 kcsc: **anniennon**

4 Dittography, absent from kcsc.

otahaha8e *Le chemin est bouché* : **otahaha8e** *Le chemin est bouché pour elle*.

Nota 1°<:> dupliciter utim<u>r verbis relativis, sub diverso sensu, v<erbi> g<ratia>

ha_e0e0a *il pile ou il marche sur moy ..* et **ha_e0e0andik**¹ *il pile q<uelque> c<hose> pour moy*

ha_ienchons *il m'ecorche* **ha_ienchasennik** *il ecorche pour moy*

ha_oka8i *il m'a barbouillé ...* **ha_oka8andi** *il m'a barbouillé q<uelque> c<hose>*

Nota 2°<:> cum plures occurrunt relationes eid affixae verbo: v<erbi> g<ratia>

prie le pour moy, repetunt verbum relativum bis: vel dicunt: *parle lui et prie pour moy*: **hesatatia ta_ehetsaronhons aha_itenr** ...

vel **ti tsatatia** v<el> **hesehetsaronda**, **tsihon hetsitenr d'aiataxen**, **endi es-kiten** *entreparez vous ... ou ... vas exhorter N. dis lui, ayes pitie de mon frere en parlant de moy ou me nommant*

[58]

De verbo passivo

passivum est quod format<u>r ab activo vel per crementum initiale **at** vel per mutationem conjugationis verbi activi in aliam<, > v<erbi> g<ratia>

ataseti abscondi ab **aseti** abscondere

atehiaton *etre écrit* ab **ahiaton** *ecrire*

atiarondi *se faire un sac* ab **arondi** *faire un sac*

atrih8aiensti² *s'apprendre* ab **arih8iensti**³ *docere*

otendoronk8i <paradigmati> **S** *La chose est rendu difficile* ab **andoronk8i** *estimer la chose d'importance*

k8-atennontra *s'entresuivre* ab **ennontra** *suivre*

atehien *donner commission* ab **ehien**

ote_08an *l'eau est oté* ab **e_08an** *oter l'eau*

1 KCSC: **ha_e0e0andik**

2 KCSC: **atrih8a_iensti**

3 KCSC: **arih8iensti**

otoriti *cela est assaisonné* ab **oriti** *assaisonner*

hotonnhonti *il est mis au monde* ab **onnhonti** *mettre au monde*

hotokak8i *il est barbouillé* ab **okak8i** *linire*

achondi *s'accommoder, s'habiller* ab **achondi**¹ *accommoder* mutatur conjugatio

ennenhichiaj *granum perfici* ab **annenhichiaj** *facere granum* et ita de multis verbis in **an**² excipiunt<u> ab hac regula ... 1° verba 2^{ae} conj<ugationis> inchoata ab **a** v<erbi> g<ratia> **sakak8end8ten** *mets là ton oeil pour voir ce qui se passe* pro **sateak8end8ten** ab **oak8enda** *Le rond de l'œil*

sakonchi8ten *montre ton visage* pro **sateonchi8ten** .. ab **aonchia** *visag<e>*

2° inchoata ab **ah**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ak8endori** *battre une île pour lancer et tuer le gibier* .. pro **ateh8endori** ab **ah8endori**

ak8ichoton *s'efforcer avoir de la force* .. pro **ateh8ichoton** .. ab **ah8ichoton** *avoir de la force*³ **akonandaen**⁴ *Les canots sont proches les uns des autres* pro **atehondeen** *mettre des canots proches les uns des autres*⁵

3° inchoata ab **a8** ut **ak8endaen** *etre obei*⁶ pro **ate8endaen** ab **a8endaen**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **hona8endaenk** *on lui obeit*

ak8endiosti *etre pris pour maitre* ab **a8endiosti** *prendre pour maitre*

4° verba 4^{ae} conj<ugationis> quae loco **at** praefigunt **end** 1^{ae} personae indicativi ablato **iota**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **endinnondi** *se faire une robbe* .. ab **en-nondi** *faire une robbe*

endik8arichiaj *se faire un habit* ab **enk8arichiaj** *faire un habit*

5° quaedam fiunt passiva addendo, praeter mutationem conjugationis, syllabam **di** in medio ut **ahendicha8a** *il est descendu de sa place* ab ab⁷ **aecha8an**⁸

Nota⁹ **sask8i**:¹⁰ *ferme la bouche* pro **satechia8i**¹¹ ab **ask8ej** transit a 2^a ad 1^{am}¹²

1 KCSC: **achrondi**

2 KCSC: **ann**

3 KCSC: **ak8ichoton** *s'efforcer* ... pro **ateh8ichoton** ab **ah8ichoton** *avoir de la force*

4 KCSC: **akonondaen**

5 KCSC: pro **atehonandaen** ab **ahonandaen** *mettre les canots proche à proche*

6 KCSC: *etre obei* (*etre opiniatre*)

7 Dittography.

8 KCSC: ab **engenchra8an**

9 KCSC: Nota .. 1°

10 KCSC: **sask8ej**

11 KCSC: **satechia8ej**

12 transit a 2^a ad 1^{am}; absent from KCSC.

Nota:¹ est passivum valde irregulare q̄(u) d fit à q̄(ui) b̄(u) sdam 2^{ae} conj̄ugationis) ut **asāi** *etre tué* (de pluribus² ab **achāi** *tuer consommer* – et **asarinnon** *etre trainé* ab **acharo** *collier* et inde *trainer*, quasi esset *trainer son collier*

De verbo Reciproco seu mutuali

Reciprocum formatur à passivo per additionem **at** initio(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **atataséti** *s'entrecacher* ab **ataseti** *etre caché*
atatehiaton *se mattachier ou s'entremattachier* ab **atehiaton** *etre mattachié, coloré*
atatrih̄8aiensti³ *s'entr'instruire*: ab **atrih̄8iensti**⁴ *etudier*
atatonnhonti *se donner la vie a soy meme, ou, s'entredonner la vie ...* ab **atonnhi**⁵ *recevoir la vie*

Nota⁶ in 4^a conj̄ugatione): addit̄(u)r quidem **at**, sed **e** sequens mutat̄(u)r in **a**(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **atanditenri** *avoir compassion de soy meme, ou des uns et des autres* ab **enditenri** *faire pitie*

Nota 2^o reciproca frequentissima sunt in verbis relativis ad significandum infinitivum(,) v(erbi) g(ratia): **atiesen d'atatehiatondi**, *il est facile de s'entre-ecrire*(,) **atiesen d'atatrih̄8anienstandi** *de s'entr'instruire*⁷

* item ad significanda substantiva relativa

andoron d'atatrih̄8anienstandi *L'instruction est difficile*
tē eienh̄8i⁸ **d'atataratati** *je ne scais pas soigner les autres*

1 KCSC: Nota 2^o

2 KCSC: (de pluribus)

3 KCSC: **atatrih̄8aiensti**

4 KCSC: **atrih̄8aniensti**

5 KCSC: **atonnhonti** (with a **t** added above the second **n**)

6 KCSC: Nota .. 1^o

7 KCSC: *il est facile de s'entr'instruire*

8 KCSC: **tē eienh̄8i**

atatennonh8indi	<i>l'amour</i>	atatechiendaen	<i>l'honneur</i>
atatendek8aesti	<i>le bateme</i>	atatendi,onranditi	<i>la confirmation</i>
onsa8atatron8andi	<i>la confession</i>	k8 atatiatorenn'hon	<i>l'extreme onction</i>
atataχaristiannonχ8i	<i>la communion¹</i>	atatendi,onrachondi	<i>l'ordre sc<ilicet> d'onn'aontrihonten</i>
ahachent d'ohachato,eti ²		atatendiatandi ³	<i>le mariage</i>

Nota 3° persona indet(erminata) cum relatione exprimit(ur) semper per reciprocum(,) v(erbi) g(ratia)

s'ontatierha d'a,orih8anderaskon *ce qu'on fait aux pecheurs*

[59]

De verbo neutro

Neutrum est quod non signat actionem seu active(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **annonh8indi** <paradygmatis> **S** aegrotare **enheon** mori⁴

De verbo communi

Commune est quod duplicem habet significationem, unam simplicem ut **onnhe** vivere ... alteram relativam ut **onnhe** vitam dare alicui

De verbo deponenti

Deponens est quod licet habeat notam passivae vocis signat tamen active(,) v(erbi) g(ratia): **atennhandi**⁵ conducere operarios ab **annhanti**⁶ imperare

1 kcsc: **atataχaristiannonχ8i** *la communion l'eucharistie*

2 kcsc: **atatendi,onrachondi** (sc<ilicet> **d'onn'aontrihonten ahachient d'ohachrato,eti**) *lordre*

3 **atatendiatandi**: kcsc adds a **g** above the first **d**.

4 kcsc: *mourir*

5 **atennhandi**: kcsc adds a **t** above the second **n**.

6 kcsc: **annhandi** (with a **t** added above the second **n**)

ateiensti¹ discere ab **aiensti**² docere

atehien *donner commission* ab **ehien** relat<ivo>

hatetsens *medecin* ab **atsenti** act<ivo> *medeciner*

hatrios *il combat* ab **ario** rel<ativo> *battre, tuer q<uelqu'un>*

atanditenri p<otes>t *signare avoir pitie, compassion d'autrui ... v<el> se plaindre soy meme de ses propres misereres*

* Porro quod dictum est de verbis reciprocis aut passivis, dicendum est de nominibus in compositione positis, quorum initiales perinde ac verborum suscipiunt **at** v<el> **atat**. Sic: ab **arih8a** fit **atatrih8a** per contractionem pro **ataterih8a** – quod si componas cum **aienstandi**³ fit **atatrih8anienstandi** *s'instruire*.

De verbo relativo-passivo

Relativo-passivum est quod relative potest significare habens notam passivae vocis<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **atendoton** narrare alicui ab **andoton** narrare **ataronton** *s'informer de l'etat de q<uelqu'un>* ab **aronton** *interroger q<uelqu'un>*

atiantonta8andi *s'echaper à q<uelqu'un>* ab **aatonta8andi** *enlever a q<uelqu'un> des captifs*

De verbo neutro-passivo acquisitivo

Neutro-acquisitivum est verbum a neutro derivatum, quo significatur aliquid contingere in commodum v<el> incommodum alicujus<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> ab **ateen** ardere<, > **ateasenni** ardere alicui ... hujusmodi verba sunt p<aradygmatis> **S**

Nota 1. quaedam impersonalia ut **iond8s** *pluit*, **ianh8ens**⁴ *ningit* &c<etera> quae quando in commodum v<el> incommodum hominum eveniunt, fiunt personalia p<aradygmatis> **S** ut **eoniond8t** *nobis pluet .. eon8ah8enha* *nobis ninget* &c<etera>

1 KCSC: **ateñiensti**

2 KCSC: **añiensti**

3 KCSC: **añienstandi**

4 KCSC: **iang8ens**

Nota 2° hurones ab unico verbo primitivo possunt derivare multa alia quae novam aliquam significationem addunt primitivae significationi⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ ab **ate, en** ardere, derivantur **ate, asenni** ardere alicui .. **ate, ati** accendere ignem⟨,⟩ **ate, atandi** accendere ignem alicui ... **aatate, ati** urere aliquod animal⟨,⟩ **aatate, atandi**¹ urere aliquod a⟨nim⟩al alicui ... **aatate, aθakθi** *se servir de q̄uelque⟩ c⟨hose⟩ pour bruler une chose vivante*

De verbis motus et continuationis

verba motum involventia v⟨el⟩ significantia sunt duplicis generis alia adsciscunt post se unam ex particulis **hon, non, χon, ron, son, θon**, .. alia finali infinitivi addunt **tion** v⟨el⟩ **hation**² ut **ahiatontion, araskθanhation** &c⟨etera⟩

1° motus continuatus fit a fut⟨uro⟩ neg⟨ativo⟩ sublata negatione⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **haraskθahe** *il va marchant, il continue de marcher* .. **hahiatonde** *il va écrivant ... sehiatonde* *tu as coutume d'écrire*

2° quando actio continuata jungitur motui, exprimitur per **tie** v⟨el⟩ **atie** v⟨el⟩ **hatie** additum syllabae finali infinitivi⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **hotrendaentatie** *il continue sa priere en marchant* .. imp⟨erfectum⟩ **hotrendaentatienn**⟨,⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩ **hotrendaentation**⟨,⟩ plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩ **hotrendaentationnen**³⟨,⟩ fut⟨urum⟩ **ehotrendaentatia**⟨,⟩ neg⟨ativum⟩ **stant'ehotrendaentatiense** v⟨el⟩ **te hotrendaentation** – sic **s'otierontie**⁴ *il revient aiant fait prise d'ennemis*⁵ ... imp⟨erfectum⟩ **s'otierontienn** &c⟨etera⟩

hoatitatie *il le mene en canot* .. imp⟨erfectum⟩ **hoatitatiend** -

aiheonhatie *langueo v⟨el⟩ je viens a demi mort*

akerondihatie *je viens en grande crainte*

Nota 1°⟨:⟩ haec verba sunt semper p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **S** exceptis **aθe, ihatie** et **onhatie** ab **aθe, i** et **on** quae sunt p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **C**

1 KCSC: **aatate, aθandi**

2 KCSC: **tion** v⟨el⟩ **ation**

3 KCSC: **hatrendaentationnen**

4 KCSC: **shotierontie**

5 KCSC: *il vient, ayant fait coup sur l'ennemi*

Nota 2°<:> * verba quorum infinitivus desinit in **t** addunt **atie**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahachent** .. **atrendaent** .. **aatont** .. **andiont** .. **akont** &c<etera>

* desinentia in **on** addunt t<an>t<um> **tie**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahiaton** .. **atieron** . **atendoton** ... &c<etera> excipe **haßenheonatie** .. **ihennonhatie** - * reliqua verba addunt **hatie** terminationi infinitivi

Nota 3°<:> si motus jungitur nominibus substantivis, tunc iis postponit<ur> **ontie**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **aentontie** *le baton marche ou va marchant* .. **ariontie** *l'affaire continue*

Nota 4°<:> praecedentibus verbis additur **S**, ad exprimendos frequentes actus<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **hatißeihaties** *ils vont tous ensembles* ... **hatißeihatieskða** ... **ehatißeihatieska** &c<etera> quod etiam est in usu in caeteris verbis motus ut: **atrendaendes** *j'ai coutume d'aller prier dieu* .. at **atrendaende** *je viens prier dieu*, de unico actu i<ntel>l<e>gitur

Nota 5°<:> haec additio littera **S** non solum significat frequentationem actuum, sed aliquando etiam pluralitatem<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **haßannen**¹ *ancien*, **hatißannens** *les anciens* ... **handachiaθen** sitit : **hatindachiatens** sitiunt ... **hatiatannens** sunt delicati ... **hatindachißannens** mentiuntur ... &c<etera> . sic **θo iandatsa** *la chaudiere est comme cela*; **θo andatsas aßeti** *ces chaudières sont toutes de cette grandeur* –

De verbo frequentativo seu augmentativo

frequentativa seu aug<mentativa> fiunt a praesenti addendo **kon** si desinat in **S** v<el> **skon**² et sunt semper p<aradygmatis> **S** imperf<ectum> **onnen**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **hotatiaskon** *un grand parleur* ab **atatiak**

aßenskon³ *il ne fait que dire cela* ab **ihen** *il dit*

horihßanderaskon *grand pecheur* ab **horihßach**⁴

hotendotonskon *grand raconteur* imp<erfectum> et plusq<uam> perf<ectum> **onnen**

hotroaskon *grand impudiq<ue>* ab **atro,en** *faire l'amour* pr<aeteritum> **oχα, χα** mutato in **ιota**⁵

1 kcsc: **haißannen**

2 kcsc: addendo **kon**, si desinit in s.. v<el> **skon** si non desinit in s

3 kcsc: **haßenskon**

4 kcsc: ab **horihßanderach**

5 pr<aeteritum> **oχα, χα** mutato in **ιota**: absent from kcsc.

De verbo multiplicativo

Multiplicativa seu ea q(u)ae sunt circa multiplex objectum – formant(u)r à fut(uro) neg(ativo) **e** mutato in **on** ; et sequunt(u)r paradygma verbi primitivi(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **a8entenhaon harih8anderakonk**¹ a fut(uro) neg(ativo) **te hari8anderaxe** non peccabit(,) pr(aesens) **onk**(,) praet(eritum) aor(istus) et fut(urum) **on**(,) imp(erfectum) **onhonk**(,) plusq(uam) perf(ectum) **onk**(,) neg(ativum)² **onde** unde majus multip(licativum) **harih8anderaxonniok** tempora format ut praecedens * ab hac regula excipe **atesk8et vieillir**(,) fut(urum) **tande**(,) mult(uplicativum) **tannion** pro **tannon**

alia sunt multiplicativa deducta à verbis desinentibus in **t**, multiplicantq(ue) objectum et formant(u)r à praesenti infinitivi addito **aion**³; sequunt(u)r etiam paradygma sui verbi(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) ab **atit s'embarquer** fit **atitaion**⁴ *s'embarquer plusieurs*

ak8arit embarquer q(uelque) c(hose) ak8aritaion⁵ *embarquer plusieurs choses vivantes inanimées*⁶ per jocum dicerem v(erbi) g(ratia) **aatitaionnion**⁷ *embarquer plus(ieurs) choses animees*⁸ ab **atit embarquer q(uelque) c(hose) animée** et **aatitaion**⁹ *embarq(uer) plus(ieurs) chos(es) &c(etera)*¹⁰

Nomina composita ab **8t** etiam componuntur .. sed addito tantum **on**(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **onnont8t** *il y a une montagne*(,) **onnont8ton** *il y a plusieurs montagnes* : superaddi potest **onnont8tonnion** *il y a des mont(agnes) sans nombre*

Composita ab **aen avoir ou y avoir**, habent **ton** pro multip(licativo)(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **aen** .. **aenton** *y avoir* p(aradygmatis) **C** ... *avoir a soy* p(aradygmatis) **S ondechenton** pro **ondechaenton** : ut **ondechon** pro **ondechaon** ab **ontare** *il y a un lac* fit **ontaronk8annion** *il y a plusieurs lacs* ab **i8ache**¹¹ *il y a de l'eau* fit **achonk8annion**¹² *il y a quantité d'eaux* – sic etiam ab

1 KCSC: **harih8anderaxonk**

2 KCSC: fut(urum) neg(ativum)

3 KCSC: **aion** (dic **añion**)

4 KCSC: **atitaion** (**atitañion**)

5 **ak8aritaion**: KCSC adds an **ñ** above the **ai**.

6 KCSC: *embarquer plusieurs choses inanimées*

7 **aatitaionnion**: KCSC adds an **ñ** above the **ai**.

8 *animees*: KCSC has: *vivantes*

9 KCSC: **aatitanion**

10 KCSC: *embarquer plusieurs choses vivantes*

11 KCSC: **i8achre**

12 KCSC: **achronk8annion**

atendotonk f<eminino>¹ *elle dit* fit **atendotonk8annionk** ab **ar** v<el> **ara** fit **ondar** *il y a une espace*: et ab hoc **ondaronnon** plus<ieurs> *endroits d'espace en espace du temps ou du lieu*²

ab **onn̄iann̄di** *bien* fit **onniandihaton**³ *toute sorte de bonté* ... * sunt et alia q<u>ae fo<rm>ant<u>r a finali infinitivi addendo **haton**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **hotindiajhaton** variis in locis nupserunt

ab **annonten** fit **annontenharon** *donner plus<ieurs> choses* cum sit relat<ivum> est utriusq<ue> p<aradygmatis>

* sunt et alia q<u>ae quasi collectione signant collectionem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *les normans, les gascons, tout*⁴ *les autres françois*: **a8eti de sten a8atiasontie d'hatinnionenhak** pro fem<inino> **ak8atiasontie**⁵

* est et aliud mult<iplicativum> seu freq<uentativum> respondens nostrae locutioni gallicae: *prie et reprieras tu haye et haye au bout .. regrette et regretteras tu* &c<etera><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **asennhaten, asennhaten** pro uno **atsinnhaten ichien atsinnhen** pro pluribus ... * **asatrendaen ichien asatrendaen** &c<etera>⁶

[61]

De particulis finalibus **ti** ... **sti** ... **k8i**

istae particulae addunt<u>r vocibus ad significandam causam, aliquando materialem aliq<uan>do fo<rm>alem v<el> efficientem v<el> finalem ... vel instrumentum &c<etera> ut exemplis patebit ... porro hujusmodi par<ticu>lae finales non admittunt<u>r promiscue cuilibet verbo sed aliis verbis **ti** postponitur aliis **sti** aliis vero **k8i**

* ti postponitur verbis modo sequenti

1 f<eminino>: absent from KCSC.

2 KCSC: *plusieurs endroits ; d'espace en espace (du tems ou du lieu)*

3 KCSC: **onniannihaton** (with a **g** added above the second **n** and a **d** above the fourth one)

4 KCSC: *tous*

5 KCSC: **d'hatinnionenhak** ... et pro faem<inino> **ak8atiasontie**

6 v<erbi> g<ratia> **asennhaten, asennhaten** pro uno **atsinnhaten ichien atsinnhen** pro pluribus ... * **asatrendaen ichien asatrendaen** &c<etera>: KCSC has: **asatrendaen ichien asatrendaen** ... **asennhaten, ichien, asennhaten** pro uno et pro pluribus **atsinnhaten ichien, atsinnhaten** &c<etera>

1° verba quorum infinitivus in **e**, **adde Ti**¹ v<erbi> g<ratia>
atsihenē *bruler un champ* **atsihenîēti** *bruler avec telle chose*
ohare *laver* **ohareti** *laver avec telle chose*
a.æe *ramer* **a.æeti** *ramer avec telle chose*
2° verba in **i** mutant **i** in **ti**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>²
arih8anderai *pecher* **arih8anderâti** *pecher en cela*
3° desinentia in **8i** et **h8i**, quod in praesenti mutat<u>r in **ch**
okak8i³ *peindre ..* **okach** *elle peint<,>* **okati** *peindre avec cela*
arih8trah8i⁴ *reciter ..* **arih8trach**⁵ *elle ...* **arih8trati**⁶ *reciter avec cela*
* excipe **asoh8i** *teindre* **asohôti** *teindre avec q<uelque> c<hose>*
4° compositis ab **ondi** *faire* et **ori** *remuer*, addendo **a** ante **ti**<,> v<erbi>
g<ratia> **achrondi**⁷ *faire* **achronniati**⁸ *faire avec cela* **atori** *effaroucher chasser*
atoiati *faire fuir avec* : **atoiaθa** *elle fait fuir avec cela*
annonh8arori *chanter ...* **annonh8aroiati** *chanson de mort*; sine relatione⁹
5° **achiaj** *consommer*¹⁰ *finir*, cum compositis habent ... **achiati** *finir accom-*
plir **eθaondechachiati**¹¹ *il a parcourru la terre*
6° **atati** *parler ..* **atatiak** *je parle ..* **atatiaθa** *je parle ce langage la*
7° **ondiri** *cela est ferme* **anditi** *affermir*
8° **aïo** *tuer ..* **aïôti** *tuer avec q<uelque> c<hose>*
9° verba in **andi** .. **endi** .. **indi** .. **ondi** penulti<ma> longa habent **ati** .. **eti**
v<el> **enti** . **iti** . **onti**

annhandi *commander ..* **annhâti**
aentendi *connoitre ..* **aentêti** *connoitre par*
q<uelque> indice
aïenh8indi¹² *scavoir* **aïenh8iti**¹³
akerondi *avoir peur* **akeronti**

- 1 The following has been added above the line: 'addit[.] ad formandum indicat<ivum> habent **ti**'. kcsc simply has 'adde **ti**'.
- 2 The following has been added above the line: 'quorum praesens est in **ch**'. kcsc simply has 'v<er>ba in **i**, mutant **i** in **ti** v<erbi> g<ratia>'.
- 3 kcsc: **oka8i**
- 4 kcsc: **arih8trah8i**
- 5 kcsc: **arih8trach**
- 6 kcsc: **arih8trati**
- 7 kcsc: **achrondi**
- 8 kcsc: **achronniati**
- 9 kcsc: *chanson de* (sine relatione)
- 10 kcsc: *consumer*
- 11 kcsc: **eθaondechrachiati**
- 12 kcsc: **aïenh8indi**
- 13 kcsc: **aïenh8iti**

* sed **eiachendi**¹ irasci habet **eiachati**²

onnhonendi *peiner* .. **onnhonenti**

10° quaedam in **en** sumunt **ati**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ateen** y *avoir du feu*
ateati *faire du feu* **aronen** *ecouter* &c<etera> **aronati** **andaen** *semer* ... **andaati** *oiahen* *cela bout* **aahati** *faire bouillir*
arih8achen³ *chose mauvaise* .. **arih8achati**⁴ *rendre une chose mauvaise*
annonraandennen *etre fou* .. **annonraandendati** *faire devenir fou* **kaxen**⁵
etre joint ensemble **kaxati** *joindre ensemble, comparer* **ataien** *petuner* ...
ataiati *petuner avec q<uelque> c<hose>* **aerihen** *se guerir* **aerihati** *se guerir*
avec q<uelque> remede
aeren *faire* **aerati** *faire avec q<uelque> c<hose>*

* sequentia assumunt **S** ante **ti**

arannoien *etre mouillé* .. **arannonasti** *mouiller* et non **arannonati**
atoïesen *remercier* .. **atonesti** *remercier de q<uelque> c<hose>*
katen *voler* .. **katenstiah8annhen** *lier, bander* **ah8annhasti**
andiannhen⁶ *cingere digitum* **andiannhasti**⁷ **annhaten**⁸ *regretter* **annhatensti**⁹

11° relativa in **senni** addunt **ti**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

eiachasenni *hair* **eiachasenniti** *hair a cause de q<uelque> c<hose>*¹⁰

12° acquisitiva in **andi** . **endi** . **indi** . **ondi** penultimâ brevi, mutant<u>r
particulas causalitatis à suo primitivo derivativo¹¹ simplici, illis addendo figurativam finalem relationis quae est in **andi**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

ateatandi accendere alicui ignem, recurrit ad suum derivativum¹² **ateati**
quod habet **ateatak8i** accendere alicui ignem ex aliqua materia -
endihandi mutuari ab aliquo .. **endihatandi**¹³ mutuari ab al(i)q(u)o aliquid a
prim<itivo> **endihati**

arih8anderaindi peccare in aliquem .. **arih8anderatandi** ab **arih8anderati**

1 KCSC: **eiachiendi**

2 KCSC: **eiachati**

3 KCSC: **arih8achiën**

4 KCSC: **arih8achiati**

5 KCSC: **χaken**

6 KCSC: **andsiannhen**

7 KCSC: **andsiannhasti**

8 KCSC: **annhaten** (with a **t** above the second **n**)

9 KCSC: **annhatensti** (with a **t** above the second **n**)

10 KCSC: **eiachi'asenni** *hair q<uelqu<un>* **eiachi'asenn^diti** *hair à cause de q<uelque> c<hose>*

11 KCSC: derivato

12 KCSC: derivatum

13 KCSC: **endiha'tandi**

askarondi sternere alicui askaronk8andi sternere aliq<ui>d alicui
13° verba in 8an k8an v<el> χ8an habent 8ati k8ati χ8ati<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
tia>

ate8an fuir .. ate8ati faire fuir

kak8an¹ prendre .. kak8ati prendre avec q<uelque> c<hose> ou à cause de q<uel-
que> c<hose>

ak8an piller ak8ati piller a cause ou avec²

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Nota: q<u>aedam in on quod pro fut<uro> mutat<u>r in a v<el> i sumunt ati<,>
v<erbi> g<ratia> enheon mori .. e.enhej elle mourra .. enheati a.arennon de-
tourner .. a.arenniati³

* sti postponit<u>r verbis modo sequenti

1° verbis in ti quod ad formandum praesens indicativi mutat<u>r in s<,>
v<erbi> g<ratia>

anda8ati fouir . anda8as elle fouis : anda8asti

arati coucher . aras elle couche .. arasti coucher sur q<uelque> c<hose>

* excipe atsendi⁴ penser .. atsentak8i quamvis in praes<enti> habeat atsens
elle pence⁵

2° compositis ex io significante magnitudinem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> a8endio
la grande, la maitresse voix a8endiosti relativum< > prendre pour maitre
arih8io chose affaire d'importance⁶ .. arih8iosti faire etat d'une chose; l'am-
plifier,⁷ l'exagérer

3° quibusdam verbis habentibus ens in praes<enti><,> v<erbi> g<ratia>
andi onrato endi faire scavoit .. andi onrato ensti faire scavoit a cause de
q<uelque> c<hose>

ondaie a endi onrato ens0a voila ce q<u>i me fait scavoit ondaie tson0a ens0a
on se demarie à cause de cela

1 kcsc: ka k8an

2 kcsc: piller avec .. à cause &c<etera>

3 kcsc: a.arenniati (with a g above the second n)

4 kcsc: atsenti

5 kcsc: pense

6 kcsc: chose, affaire d'importance

7 l'amplifier : absent from kcsc.

* item ab **atia** ē mingere fit **atia** est *faire uriner*

annhaten *regretter* **annhatensti** *faire regretter* &c<etera> vide pag<ina> praec<edenti> N<otam> 10¹

* **k8i** postponitur

1° verbis quorum² infin<itivus> est in **a**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ara** *etre dessus* .

arak8i *ce sur quoi q<uelqu'un> ou q<uelque> c<hose> est*

ora *etre emmanché ... orak8i* *ce dont une chose est emmanché*

2° verbis quorum infin<itivus> et praes<ens> indicativi desinunt in **e**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **onnhe**³ *vivre .. onnhek8i⁴ *ce de quoi on vit**

haatate *il est present .. haatatek8i* *il est present pour cela -*

3° verbis in **on** quorum praes<ens> indicativi est in **onk**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ahiaton** ... **ahiatonk** *elle écrit .. ahiatonk8i* *écrire avec cela*⁵

* excipe **a ton** *etre perdu .. aton* *devenir, dire ... aon* *arriver* quae sibi ad-sciscunt **ti** loco **k8i** .. sic dicit<ur> **atonti**⁶ *faire egarer q<uelqu'un> atonti* **aonti** *faire entrer*

4° verbis quorum infin<itivus> desinit in **t**, post quod **t** addit<ur> **a** ante **k8i**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

atrendaent *prier ... atrendaentak8i* *prier pour cela*

ahachent *tenir conseil ... achentak8i*⁷ *elle tient conseil pour cela*

5° verbis quorum praesens desinit in **θa**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

aθeθa *elle pile aθeθak8i* *piler avec cela*

Nota: eidem voci al<i>q<uan>do postponitur 2plex particula<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ate** **en** *y avoir du feu ... ate **ati** *faire du feu ... ate **atak8i** *faire du feu avec q<uelque> c<hose>***

finita in **ti** praes<ens> **θa** fut<urum> **t** n<egativum> **tande**

finita in **sti** praes<ens> **sθa** .. fut<urum> **st** n<egativum> **stande**

finita in **k8i** praes<ens> et fut<urum> **k8a** .. n<egativum> **k8ande**⁸

1 &c<etera> vide pag<ina> praec<edenti> N<otam> 10: absent from KCSC.

2 KCSC: quibus

3 KCSC: **onnhe** (with a **t** above the second **n**)

4 KCSC: **onnhek8i** (with a **t** above the second **n**)

5 KCSC: *écrire avec q<uelque> c<hose>*

6 KCSC: **aton** **ti**

7 KCSC: **ahach**¹**entak8i**

8 KCSC: finita in **k8i**.. **k8a**.. **k8a** v<el> **k8at**.. **k8ande**

Variae significationes particularum **ti ... sti ... k8i**

1° significant causam, modum &c(etera)<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **andahia**¹
haeraθa utit<u>r cultro, causa instrumentalis

8endat hatatiaθa *il parle huron* ab **atati** *parler*² .. modus exprimitur

hate,aθa *il fait du feu* ab **ate,en** *y avoir du feu*, **θa** signat causam efficien-
tem³

ondaie hate,atak8a *il fait du feu avec cela*, **k8a** signat causam materialem
ondaie a,akeronθa *voila ce qui me fait peur*, causa objectiva

ondaie ,arih8iostak8i *voila pourquoi je crois*, causa finalis

2° significant celeritatem actionis<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **aharhiaθa** *il se tût in-*
continent **onsaha,ent** *il ressortit incontinent*⁴ ... **eoonti** *on y arrive en un jour*,
ab **aon**

3° signant perennitatem<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) **ehandarek8i** *il demeure tou-*
jours

ehentrontak8i *il est toujours*<,> v(erbi) g(ratia) *au logis* ... **ehonn^hhek8i** *il*
vit toujours

* nota **e** ubiq(ue) poni initio

4° significatur locus per hujusmodi particularas<,> v(erbi) g(ratia)

tetietchonn^siaθa *ou l'on satisfait, le purgatoire*

θo hatientak8a *il demeure la ... etia8atsatanionk8a* *ou nous prenons*
*notre repas*⁵

θo haenχ8aθa *là ou il fait ses champs*⁶ .. **θo etieontak8a** *on entre par la*
icy dedans

askati atsontak *entre par l'autre coté*

*Nota: quando locus est immobilis, usurpendum⁷ est **k8i**, non **k8a** .. **ti**
non **ta** v(erbi) g(ratia) **θo st'on,8eiachiontak8i** *ou nous avons le cœur*; nam
locus est immobilis, non pendens ab arte, sed a natura

1 **andahia**: kcsc has: **oenench^ra**

2 ab **atati** *parler*: absent from kcsc.

3 kcsc: **hate,aθa** *il fait du feu* causa efficiens

4 kcsc adds: *aussitot*

5 kcsc adds: *le refectoir*

6 kcsc: *son champ*

7 kcsc: *usurpandum*

askati anda8atek8i *de l'autre coté de la riviere*

ondaonentak8i¹ *ou la riviere descend ... circa fluminis cursum v<el> secundo flumine*

haienh8iti onáti² *a sa droite*

* cum autem locus pendet a voluntate hominis usurpari debet **sθa . θa** v<el>

k8a : non **sti . ti . k8i**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **θo ichien handaθareθa**³ *c'est la le lieu ou il visite*

θo ereθa eò vadit ... **θo k8aencheθa** *le lieu ou nous allons pour nos nécessités*⁴

θo k8atiaesθa ubi mingimus ... membra illa etiam significat⁵

5° junctae negationi signant impossibilitatem<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

stan hotirih8iosθa te,en *ils ne croiront jamais*

stan harih8anderaθa te,en *il n'est pas pour pecher*

stan a,iheaθa te,en *je ne suis point pour mourir*

stan hotrihotasθa te,en *il n'est pas pour ecouter*

6° significant id quod gallice dicitur: *il va disant, faisant, - a mesure que* &c<etera>

θeahiatonk8ande *il va ecrivant a mesure qu'on lui dicte*

etik8atontande o'ra'8an⁶ *nous devenons meilleurs a mesure que nous faisons du*⁷ *bien*

7° significant quod dicimus *fais cela et cela*⁸ *tout ensemble, tout à la fois, tout d'un train, par un meme voyage, par meme moyen*<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

achiatrendaentak8ande *tu vas par meme moyen prier dieu*<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *allant en un lieu qui est au dela de l'eglise*

ahaiatande *il va chassant en chemin faisant*

8° significant *digne de* &c<etera> et multa alia<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

onn'hatenstandi *chose digne d'etre regretté*

hotanditenstandi *hom<me> digne de compassion* (ab **atanditanri** *porter compassion, etre misericordieux*)

1 KCSC: **aondaonentak8i**

2 KCSC: **hanienh8iti onati**

3 KCSC: **handaθaraθa**

4 KCSC adds: item membrum ipsum (podex)

5 membra illa etiam significat: KCSC has: item ipsum membrum quo mingimus (veretrum)

6 **etik8atontande o'ra'8an**: KCSC has: **ora8an etik8atontande**

7 KCSC: *le*

8 *et cela*: absent from KCSC.

oteiachistakbandi chose q<u>i merite bien qu'on en soit en peine (ab **ateiachist** *etre en peine*)

aoneskbat chose agreable ab **oneskbandi** *agreer*

ha8eiachiat q<u>i merite d'etre hai, com<me> un hom<me> facheux ab **eia-chendi** *etre en colere*

hosk8ahat il est mechant, digne d'aversion (ab **askbandi** *avoir aversion*)

atak chose mangeable, manducable ab **ai** *manger* et similia quae videntur supplere participia et alia nomina a verbis derivata ut amandus, amabilis hujusmodi enim carent hurones<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **orihierihatande** *ce q<u>i est de raison* (2 chose juste, conclue com<me> bonne 1 ab **orihierihen**)¹

oatatarihatande la fievre (ab **oatatarihaθa** *ella la fievre*² et **oatatarihen** *elle est chaude*)

aotand8stakbande le froid (ab **aatand8sti** *le froid*³)

orih8anderatande le peché (ab **arih8andera,i** *pecher*⁴)

Variae observationes

1° par<ticu>la *depuis* sive exprimatur in oratione gallica, sive subaudiatur, exprimitur ab huronibus per par<ticu>lam localitatis **et** v<el> **est** et per par<ticu>lam redup<licationis> **t**⁵

t'etiotondechondi *depuis que la terre est faite*

t'ek8a,atonnhonti *depuis que j'ai ressuscité*

achi,enk atonθa dex'entate tetia8entato,etinnen⁶ *c'est aujourd'hui le 3^e jour que le dimanche est passé*

tendi aθenta8a ti annont, achi,enk atonθa onsahtonnhont, *il a passé 2 jours ainsi gisant et le 3^{me} il est ressuscité ...* dici etiam potest:⁷

achi,enk aθenta8a te θ'onaio onsahtonnhont. entron onta,iataton *depuis cela il y a 9 mois*

2° vox **8ten** juncta substantivo signat modum, v<el> qualitatem v<el> materiam ex qua<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

1 kcsc: **orihierihatande** *ce qui est de raison* (ab **orihierihen** *chose just, conclue comme bonne*)

2 kcsc: *elle a la fievre*

3 kcsc: *avoir froid*

4 After this point, kcsc inserts the section on the 'various meanings of the particles **ti**, **sti** and **k8i**' that is found on page 81–82 of the Quebec copy.

5 kcsc: **t'**

6 kcsc: **t'etia8entato,etinnen**

7 dici etiam potest: absent from kcsc.

taot ichiat8ten *comment est tu fais* (modus
te onnianni¹ **ti chiat8ten** v<el> **chie8end8ten** *je n'approuve pas ta facon de
faire ou de dire*

taoten ti arih8ten de sarih8a8an² *comment est fait ton livre*

o8hista³ **aaset8ten** *bouteille de metal*

3° hurones exprimunt suum conceptum cum verbis *vouloir, prier* &c(etera)>
je vous prie de prier pour moy: 8endi0a ondaie d'ierhe ahon,atrendaenhas
dieu m'a fait pour l'honorer: ondaie ha8eri de di8 st'aha jatichien v<el> **de
haiatichia i; ahaechiendaen**

4° Nomen est masculini generis, quando incipit per **h . t . 0** &c(etera)><, v<erbi>
g<ratia> **tichion** *l'etoille ... 0entinh8ita*⁴ *l'etoille du matin ...* * at q<uan>do in-
cipit per **a . e . i . o** v<el> j^{ota} est feminini g<ene>ris<, v<erbi> g<ratia> **i ar soleil**
endiskara *pirouette onn'hetien ... femme ... andicha*⁵ *astre*

5° adverte ex hac phrasi usum particulae **a** praefixae vocibus ad

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significandam causam: **taot a aat8ten d'oki?** *de qu'elle*⁶ *nature est un esprit?*
stan 0o te aat8ten ti k8at8ten *il ne sont pas comme nous*⁷

* post negationem **te**, post **ti** et alias hujusmodi par<ticu>las, **a** illud initiale
tollitur

6° cum haec gallica locutio et similis: *ils ne disent plus*, importent reitera-
tionem, exprimunt<u>r per notam reduplicationis cum negatione<, v<erbi>
g<ratia> **stante shontonk**

7° saepe in verbis desinentibus in **ti** v<el> **sti** omittunt **i** finale⁸<, v<erbi>
g<ratia>

1 KCSC: **onnianni** (with a **g** above the second **n** and a **d** above the fourth one)

2 KCSC: **taoten ti ahiatonchr8ten de sahiatonchra8an**

3 KCSC: **ok8ista**

4 KCSC: **0entenh8ita**

5 KCSC: **andichra**

6 *qu'elle*: sic, also in KCSC.

7 KCSC: **taot a aat8ten d'oki?.. stan 0o te aat8ten ti k8aat8ten** *de qu'elle nature est un esprit? il
n'est pas comme nous*

8 KCSC: **i** initiale

k8-endiannhast¹, pro **k8-endiannhasti**,² *ce q<u>i entoure le doigt, anneau* (ab **andia**³ *doigt* et **annhasti** v<el>⁴ **kannhasti** *ceindre, entourer*⁵

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De syntaxi

De nominibus

1° nomina non inflectuntur per casus, adeoq<ue> non patiuntur ab alio nomine aut verbo ullam alterationem, nisi in compositionem cum illo intrent <, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **onnenha** *blé* sive praeponatur sive postponatur v<er>bo **aieh8as** *j'ai besoin*; idem semper et eodem modo manet, dicesq<ue> **onnenha aieh8as** v<el> **aieh8as onnenha** *j'ai besoin de blé* in * ad pluralem numerum exprimendum saepe additur s<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **chieannen ionnenhas** v<el> **onnenh8annens** *ce sont de gros grains de blé*, nam in singulari dicitur: **chieannen onnenha** *gros grain*<, > sic **ha8ennen**⁶ *c'est un ancien* .. **hati8annens**⁷ *ce sont des anciens*

2° hurones saepe praeponunt substantivis particulam **de** quae respondet gallicae *de* v<el> *du*<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ieh8a d'onnenha**⁸ *je porte du blé* ... **eha8i d'onnenha** *j'apporte du blé* .. **te 8ajen 8añien d'onnenha** *je n'ai pas de blé*<, > **andeia d'o8en8a** *c'est de bon petun* ... **o8arhie d'o8en8a** *c'est du petun qui est fort*⁹

3° duo substantiva simul juncta sic exprimuntur: **hechon hohiatonchra8an**¹⁰ *le livre d'hechon*; quasi esset *hechon a ce livre a son pouvoir*¹¹<, > **kierre hondaon** *la maison de pierre* v<el> potius *pierre demeure la*

1 kcsc: **k8-endiannhast** (with a **g** above the **d** and a **t** above the third **n**)

2 kcsc: **k8-endiannhasti** (with a **g** above the **d**)

3 kcsc: **andia** (with a **g** above the **d**)

4 **annhasti** v<el>: absent from kcsc.

5 After this point, kcsc inserts the sections of 'miscellanea' that are found on page 77–81 of the Quebec copy.

6 kcsc: **hai8annen**

7 kcsc: **hati8annens**

8 kcsc: **ieh8a d'onnenha**

9 kcsc: *c'est un petun qui est fort*

10 kcsc: **hechon hohiatonchra8an**

11 kcsc: *hechon a ce livre en son pouvoir*

4° materia ex qua aliquid componitur sic redditur: **ari8'ta haoten ʒannonchia**¹ v<el> melius **ari8'ta ʒannonchi8ten** *maison de pierre* v<el> *qui est de pierre ... haoten* quod est ... **oh8ista haoten ʒandachia**² v<el> melius **a8hista ʒandachi8ten**³ *gladius ex ferro ... o8hista aaset8ten⁴ *flacon de metal**

5° Locus unde aliquid asportatur sic exprimitur:

ʒan8nion ʒenhake haon ʒandatarondi *pain de France*

ʒannien ʒe haon ʒenk8ara⁵ *couverte d'agniers*

6° appellativa sic exprimuntur ...

hatin8[n]ion ʒenhak ho8endae ʒerati⁶ *le capitinaie des francois (les franc<ois> l'ont pour capit<aine>)*

hechon ha8enh8aten *le neveu d'hechon*

hechon hiatax8n *le frere d'hechon (hechon et lui sont freres)*

hatinnion ʒenhak hontrios *les ennemis des francois (les franc<ois> et eux se battent)*

7° Nationalia formantur à nomine proprio addendo **ronnon**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

onnonta ʒe .. onnont ʒaeronnon *les habitans des Montagnes*

ʒaronhia ʒe .. ʒaronhi ʒaeronnon⁷ *ange habitant du ciel*

etiorhenchtronnon⁸ *anglois – habitans du levant*

ʒaio8en . ʒaio8enronnon⁹

8° Verbalia<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *l'amour .. la crainte &c<etera>* exprimuntur, vel per infin<i>t<ivum>: v<erbi> g<ratia>

dieu hait le peché di8 hochiensenn^dik ʒarih8andera ʒi ... vel per impersonale<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

*dieu hait ce qu'on peche di8 hochiensennik d'erih8anderas*¹⁰ ... vel per personale<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>

dieu hait ce que nous pechons di8 hochiensennik d'a8arih8anderas

9° Derivata ab adjectivis ut *beauté laideur richesses &c<etera>*, sic redduntur **ʒxinnonh8e d'eak8astis** amamus pulchros (pro pulchritudinem)

nous aimons les beautés<,> ʒxinnonkon8a eatachens v<el> **d'eatachenta**¹¹

1 ʒari8'ta haoten ʒannonchia

2 KCSC: ok8ista haoten 8ennenchra

3 KCSC: ok8ista 8ennenchr8ten

4 KCSC: ok8ista aaset8ten

5 KCSC: ʒan8nien ʒe haon ʒenk8ara

6 KCSC: hatinnion ʒenhak ho8endae ʒerati

7 KCSC: ʒaronhi ʒe .. ʒaronhi ʒaeronnon

8 KCSC: etiorhenchtronnon

9 KCSC adds a translation: *les gaiogois* (the Cayuga people).

10 KCSC: di8 hochiensenn^dik d'erih8anderas

11 KCSC: ʒxinnonkon8a eatachiens v<el> d'eatachenta

deformes temnimus¹ (id est) deformitatem *nous meprisons les laids ...* scilicet per impersonale adjectivorum quae signant *beau . laid*.

10° à verbis et adjectivis formantur aliquando vera substantiva⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

8kaota *gueux* **8kaochra** *geuserie* **hannaendae** *orgueilleux* **annaendae-cha** *orgueil* **ahiaton** *ecrire* **ahiatoncha** *écriture* **ak8enraji** *voler* **ak8en-racha** *vol*

atsirandi *etre pauvre* **atsiracha**² *misere* **annenh8ak** *avoir un beau père*³

annenh8aecha **aisten** *etre père* **aistencha**⁴ *paternité* **and8en** *etre mere* **and8encha**⁵ *maternité* hinc **annenh8achen** *j'ai un beau père ...*

a8istenchen⁶ *j'ai mon père ...* **end8enchen**⁷ *j'ai ma mere* &c⟨etera⟩

Nota: nonnumquam etiam formant substantiva ab appellativis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ ab **onn8hetien**⁸ *femme ..* **onnhetiencha** *qui sent la femme ...* quae derivata sive à substantivis sive a verbis, fiunt addito **cha** unde iterum fiunt verba addito **chen**⁹⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **anniennon** *chien* **anniennoncha** *qui sent le chien ...* **anniennonchachen**¹⁰

Syntaxis substantivorum cum adjectivis

Cum substantivorum alia compositionem habeant, alia minime: diversa syntaxis est proponenda –

1° Substantiva quae componuntur in hoc tantum conveniunt cum adjectivis quibuscum junguntur, quod saepe induunt naturam eorum paradygmatis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **annonchia** *cabane*, si componatur cum **a8asti** *beau* dices **annonchia8asti** *belle cabane* p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **C** quia **a8asti** est par⟨adygmatis⟩ **C** ... si vero componatur cum adjectivo **ondiri** *fort* ⟨paradygmatis⟩ **S** di⟨ces⟩¹¹

1 KCSC: temnimus deformes

2 KCSC: **atsirachra**

3 KCSC: *beau père*

4 KCSC: **aistencha**

5 KCSC: **and8encha**

6 KCSC: **a8istenchien**

7 KCSC: **end8enchien**

8 KCSC: **onnhetien**

9 KCSC: omission of 'unde iterum fiunt verba addito **chen**'. The following examples are placed before 'quae derivata sive a verbis, fiunt addito **cha**'.

10 KCSC: **anniennonchachen** *mauvais chien*

11 KCSC: dices

onnonchiandiri *cabane forte* p<aradygmatis> **S**, quia **ondiri** est p<aradygmatis> **S**

2° substantiva q<u>ae non componuntur; concordant cum suo adjectivo in genere numero et persona<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **atieronk8a** *robuste*, si adhaeret substantivo **handihaon** mas dices **hatieronk8a** cum initiali h, quae est nota 3^{ae} pers<onae> masculinae ... si vero **onnhetien** sit subjectum istius praedicati, dices **atieronk8a** sine h quae est nota 3^{ae} pers<onae> fem<ini>nae> quod si vis huronice dicere *tu est 1^a une femme forte*: dices: **chiatieronk8a de sannhetien** concordante substantivo cum adject<ivo>, non quoad par<adygma> **chiatieronk8a de chion8e** tu es homo fortis

3° si cum unico substantivo compositionis capaci, jungantur duo vocabula quorum aliud est adjectivum, aliud verbum; leporis seu elegantiae est si substantivum cum utroque seorsim componatur seu bis repetatur<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **annonchia8asti** **annonchiorendi** *trouver une belle cabane .. orendi trouver*

annonchia8asti de sannonchia8an *tu as une belle cabane* ~~**andihia8asti de sandahia8an**~~ v<el> **sandahiaen** *tu as un beau couteau* **8ennenchra8asti de sannonchra8an** v<el> **sannenchraen**

4° quando substantivum non potest subire compositionem adjectivi, quod de ipso praedicatur, saepe nomen genericum ejusd substantivi componit<ur> cum isto adject<ivo> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aronta8asti** **erohi**² *beau chene* ubi **aronta** *arbre*, nomen g<ene>ricum, c<om>p<oni>t<ur> cum **a8asti haatachen d'hachiaaha** *un enfant laid .. aata* *substance* nomen genericum

Quaedam observanda in compositione substantivi cum adjectivis et verbis

1° substantivum semper praeit³

2° ultima vocalis substantivi perit, et consonans adjectivi v<el> verbi q<u>ae initialis est, eliditur sive (quod idem est)perit vel ultima primi verbi littera, vel 1^a littera 2ⁱ verbi

1 Sic!

2 KCSC: **aronta8asti enrohi**

3 KCSC: substantivum saepe praeit

3° substantivum sequitur naturam adjectivi v⟨el⟩ verbi quoad parad⟨yigma⟩ non quoad conj⟨ugationem⟩, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **enta** *jour*, componatur cum verbo **ᶗᶗan** *appartenir*, sive cum verbo **ondi** *faire* semper est 3^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩, quamvis **ᶗᶗan** sit 2^{ae} et **ondi** 5^{ae}; sed quia **ᶗᶗan** est p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **S**, et **ondi** p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **C**; ideo **enta** junctum **ᶗᶗan** conjugatur juxta p⟨aradygma⟩ **S**, et junctum **ondi** juxta p⟨aradygma⟩ **C**

4° si adjectivum extra compositionem sumptum, inchoatur ab alia vocali, quam a propria infinitivi suae conjug⟨ationis⟩; tunc ut aptum reddat⟨u⟩r ad compositionem cum substantivo praecedente, debet sumere vocalem propriam infinitivi suae conjug⟨ationis⟩, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ondiri** *fort* 2^{ae} conjug⟨ationis⟩: ut possit componi cum substantivo, debet mutare **on** in **an**, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **onnonchiandiri** *cabane forte*; non vero **onnonchiondiri**

5° vocabula 3^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩ cum subeunt compositionem, loco initialis infinitivi, sumunt 3^{am} personam sing⟨ularem⟩ fem⟨ininam⟩ par⟨adygmatis⟩ **S**, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **hokaochraᶗeiachiat**¹ *le facheux gueux* ab **okachra**² *gueuserie* et **eiachiat** *facheux* – sic **hoataᶗendi** *il lui est arrivé q⟨uelque⟩ c⟨hose⟩* ab **ᶗata** et **endi** *arriver* . . . item: **tsaonhᶗentsaᶗentondi** *le país est repeuplé* ab **onhᶗentsa** *terre* et **entondi** *croitre*

6° multa verba à duplici vocali inchoata, mutant 1^{am} vocalem in **i**, q⟨uan⟩do componuntur, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ᶗai** *couper*, si componat⟨u⟩r cum **ᶗenta** *baton*; dicitur **ᶗentiaᶗi** *couper un baton*, non vero **ᶗentaaᶗi**

7° aliquando 2plex aut 3plex vocalis eliditur in substantivo, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ᶗarhiaᶗi** *dechirer un papier, un livre &c⟨etera⟩* pro **ᶗarihᶗaaᶗi** ab **ᶗarihᶗa** et **ᶗai**³ ... sic **orihierihen** *l'affaire est conclue*, pro **orihᶗierihen** .. ab **ᶗarihᶗa** et **ᶗerihen**

8° saepe fiunt crases unius v⟨el⟩ plurium syllabarum, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **haakᶗasti** *il est beau* pro **haataᶗasti** **ᶗannonᶗᶗeᶗi**⁴ *cabane bouchée* pro **ᶗannonchiaᶗeᶗi**.... **te hiennonsteᶗen**⁵ *ils ont leurs cabanes proches l'une de l'autre* pro **te hiennonchiandeᶗen** *hoate* *il port un sac* pro **hoaraᶗete**⁶– **ᶗara** *sac* in comp⟨ositione⟩ et **ᶗannenhᶗan** ext⟨ra compositionem⟩⁷ **ondechen** *il y a une terre* pro **ondechaen**

1 KCSC: **hokaochraᶗeiachiat**

2 KCSC: **okachra**

3 KCSC: **ᶗai**

4 KCSC: **onnonᶗᶗeᶗi**

5 KCSC: **te hiennensteᶗen**

6 KCSC: **hoaraᶗete**

7 KCSC: omission 'in com⟨positione⟩ et **ᶗannenhᶗan** ext⟨ra compositionem⟩'

9° verbum non componitur cum alio verbo v⟨el⟩ cum adjectivo, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ non dices¹: **akensahiaton**, sed **ehiatonch²aenk²** v⟨el⟩ **atehiaton-chrakensek** *je regarde l'écriture akense regarder* exigit passivam vocem in compos(itione)

10° quaedam verba exigunt passivam vocem nominum, quibuscum junguntur⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **atiahetati** *se charger d'un sac* ab **aara** *sac* et **aete³** **atondechatak⁸an** *faire le tour de la terre ... k⁸-atiataton* *environner q⟨uel- qu'un⟩*

ennonchionotannon *faire tour de la cabane a⁸onennendataton⁴* *on assiege le bourg⁵*

k⁸-enditiok⁸aton *environner une bande*

De comparativis et superlativis pag⟨ina⟩ 71

Comparativo carent hurones, utuntur circonlocutione⁶ ad illud exprimendum⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **hechon** *est plus liberal que toy*: dicunt: **hechon** *est liberal*, et tu ne l'es pas v⟨el⟩ tu es avare: **hechon hon⁸esen**, stante **chion⁸esen desa** v⟨el⟩ **isa⁷ sannonste** *hechon est plus grand que toy* v⟨el⟩ **hechon** *est grand et tu es petit* **hechon ha⁸enne**, **isa sakenie⁸** v⟨el⟩ **hechon ha⁸enne**, stante **chia⁸enne desa⁹**

Superlativo etiam carent, sic exprimunt: *hechon est le plus liberal des francois*: dicunt: *les francois ne sont pas liberaux*, **hechon**

1 KCSC: dicas

2 KCSC: **ehiatonchraenk**

3 KCSC: omission: ab **aara** *sac* et **aete**

4 KCSC: **a⁸onennendataton**

5 KCSC: *on a assiégué leur village*

6 KCSC: circumlocutione

7 KCSC: omission 'isa'

8 KCSC: **hechon ha⁸ennen**, **isa sakenie**

9 KCSC: **hechon hai⁸ennen stante chiei⁸ennen desa**

*seul est liberal stante hennon8esen hati8eti d'hatinnion,enhak, haonh8a aat hon8esen hechon*¹ ... vel *les francois sont des chiches le seul hechon est liberal hatinnonste d'hatinnion,enhak, haonh8a hon8esen hechon*² ... aliter: *les francois sont liberaux, mais hechon l'est extremement hennon8esen hatinnion,enhak, onek ichien daat echi etsonderati de hechon* - . *hechon est fort liberal daat echi s'onh8esen hechon*³ per redup<licatio-nem> . - . v<el> *ce n'est pas peu de chose comme il est liberal stan o,enhon t'e,enti hon8esen*⁴ . - v<el> *daat echi aat, v<el> etsonderati excessivement v<el> okendiati hon8esen*, licet saepe in malam partem addatur hoc superlativum * superlativum etiam exprimitur optime per particulas **ara i8o ti** v<el> **ara i8ochien** junctas adjectivo<,v> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ara i8o ti hon8esen** *c'est la seule chose comme il est liberal* **ara i8o ti a,ondi,onrachens**⁵ *on est tres triste* * **on8esenchr8skon haat8ten**⁶ talis est pura liberalitas * **te 8atonk ti hon8esen** v<el> **atiaondi hon8esen** dici non potest quantum sit liberalis v<el> est valde liberalis

De pronomibus

pronomina primitiva et rel<ativa>

pronomina non inflectunt<u>r, sed omni numero et generi inserviunt absq<ue> ulla variatione<,v> v<erbi> g<ratia>
endi ego . nos 2 . nos plures
sa v<el> **isa** v<el> **desa** tu . vos 2 . vos plur<es>
ondaie ille illa illud .. illi illae illa &c<etera>
xa v<el> **dexa** v<el> **decha** hic, haec, hoc .. hi hae haec
xondaie⁷ iste ista istud &c<etera> * **xondaie**⁸ *c'est justement cela de* qui quae quod &c<etera>

1 KCSC: **stante hennon8esen hati8eti d'hatinnion,enhak, haonh8a aat hon8esen hechon**

2 KCSC: **hotinnonste d'hatinnion,enhak, haonh8a hon8esen hechon**

3 KCSC: **daat echi shonh8esen hechon**

4 KCSC: **stan o,enhon t'e,enti hon8esen**

5 KCSC: **ara i8o ti a,ondi,onrachiens**

6 KCSC: **on8esenchr8skon haat8ten**

7 KCSC: **x'ondaie**

8 KCSC: **x'ondaie**

tsinnen quis? quae fem<inini> g<ene>ris (**tsinnen** v<e>l **tša ten iaon** v<el> **χa iðend** quis venit huc?¹ **tša ten**² aliquis, aliqua fem<inini> g<ene>ris **sannenronnon?** cujus es v<el> estis 2 v<el> plures?³

pronomina possessiva

1° Possessiva meus tuus suus exprimuntur 1° per verbum **aðan S<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **endi andahiaðan**⁴ *mon couteau* (id est) *je possède ce couteau ... isa sandahiaðan⁵ *ton couteau ... ondaie hondahiaðan⁶ *son couteau* &c<etera> in duali et plur<ali>⁷**

2° vocibus impossibilibus (seu q<u>ae non componunt<u>r cum **aðan**, addit<u>r finale **a endi aennaoa**⁸ *ma chaudiere ... isa sannaoa⁹ *ta* &c<etera> ... **ondaie honnaoa**¹⁰ *sa* &c<etera>)*

Nota: fere omnia nomina duplicia sunt quorum alterum aptum est compositioni, alterum ineptum<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **anna**¹¹ *chaudiere* non componit<u>r **andatsa** quod idem signat potest componi **andatsaðan** *ma chaud<iere>* &c<etera> (non utunt<u>r)

atoen *hache* extra comp<ositionem> **satoena**¹² *ta hache ... aha*¹³ in comp<ositione> **achrio**¹⁴ *grande hache .. ahaðasti*¹⁵ *belle hache ... taachon*¹⁶ da mihi securim

3° saepe fiant possessiva absque adiectione istius **a** per solam usurpationem p<aradygmatis> **S** loco p<aradygmatis> **C** **sannonchiaðasti** *ta maison est belle ... sandðchachen*¹⁷ *ta robbe est vilaine*

1 KCSC: omission 'quae fem<inini> g<ene>ris (**tsinnen** v<e>l **tša ten iaon** v<el> **χa iðend** quis venit huc?', addition: **tsihen** mascul<ini>generis

2 KCSC: **tsaten**

3 KCSC: omission: '2 plures'

4 KCSC: **endi ainnenchraðan**

5 KCSC: **isa saennenchraðan**

6 KCSC: **ondaie hoennenchraðan**

7 KCSC: omission '&c<etera> in duali et plur<ali>'

8 KCSC: **nendi aennenoa**

9 KCSC: **isa sannenoa**

10 KCSC: **ondaie honnenoa**

11 KCSC: **anneno**

12 KCSC: **satoena**

13 KCSC: **ach'a**

14 KCSC: **achrio**

15 KCSC: **achraðasti**

16 KCSC: **taachon**

17 KCSC: **sandðchachien**

* excipe **ondaon** avoir une maison, q⟨uo⟩d conjugatur juxta p⟨aradygma⟩ **C**, licet signet possessionem⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **endi ondaon ma maison .. isa chiondaon ta maison .. ondaie hondaon sa maison &c⟨etera⟩**

* quod attinet ad partes corporis main⟨,⟩ bras &c⟨etera⟩ utimur p⟨aradygmate⟩ **C** v⟨el⟩ **S** prout illae habent p⟨aradygma⟩ **C** v⟨el⟩ **S** ex na⟨tur⟩â sua -. sic quia **ãonresa la main aiachia le bras .. ãondia¹ le nez** sunt p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **C** dices: **chieonresa ta main . chierachia ton bras .. chieondia² ton nez** - ... sed quia **aøerochia les cheveux oskota la tete .. oachia** pectus sunt p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **S** dicitur **serochia tes cheveux .. saskota ta tete .. saachiae** v⟨el⟩ **saaske ta poitrine te fait mal**

4° haec possessiva *mon ton son ses leurs* saepe exprimunt⟨u⟩r per vocem **aonh8a** 5^{ae} conj⟨ugationis⟩ **ãatendotontion d'ãonh8a ãatendota8an j'ai jetté mes hardes .. satendotontion de sonh8a satendota8an, tes &c⟨etera⟩ hotendotontion d'haonh8a hotendota8an, il³ &c⟨etera⟩**

5° ista possessiva *je .. me .. tu . te . il . se* conjuncta cum verbis, exigunt vocem passivam⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ pro **chiennionronniak⁴ tu fais des raquettes**, dic: **chiatennionronniak⁵ tu te fais des raquettes** sic pro⁶ **achik8arichien tu fais un habit**, dic: **achiendik8arichien tu te fais un habit** (ab **enk8ara etoffe** et **ichia i faire**

6° cum per neutro-passiva signatur aliquid q⟨uo⟩d est in damnum possidentis tunc finalis illorum verborum, mutatur in **sennik⁷** q⟨u⟩ae semper verbo dat par⟨adygmatis⟩ **S**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ ab **ak8entas les souliers s'usent**, dic: **ãak8entasennik⁸** quasi esset: *les souliers s'usent a moy* ab **ak8a soulier**, et **entandi s'user** unde **entasenni, s'user a q⟨uelqu'un⟩** - item ab **ond8chateχa⁹ la robbe se brule¹⁰**, dic **ond8chateχasennik¹¹ sa robbe brule a elle¹²**

1 KCSC: **ãondsia**

2 KCSC: **chieondsia**

3 KCSC: *il a jetté ses hardes* etc.

4 KCSC: **chiensñionronnsiak**

5 KCSC: **chiatensñionronnsiak**

6 KCSC: omission 'pro'

7 KCSC: **senn^dik**

8 KCSC: **ãak8entasenn^dik**

9 KCSC: **ond8chateχa**

10 KCSC: omission 'se brule'

11 KCSC: **hond8chateχasennik**

12 KCSC: omission 'a elle'

and̆chate,asennik¹ *a moy sand̆chate,asennik² *a toy* &c<etera> ab **ate,en**
*bruler and̆cha*³ *robbe**

* idem fit in possessivis quando finalis illorum mutatur in notam relationis figurativam<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> ab **otaseti** *cela est caché*, dic **otasétandi**⁴ *cela est cache a elle* . **a,atasétandi**⁵ *a moy satasetandi a toy*, **hotasetandi** *a lui* &c<etera>

[68]

De adverbiiis

adverbia loci

añnen⁶ ubi, quo, qua, unde

annén sachiatorha? *ou as tu mal*

xa v<el> **eja** v<el> **dexe**⁸ hic huc hac hinc ..

xa xa'ao'tae a,echiatorha⁹ *j'ai mal icy*

θo *istic illic . istac . illac ... isthuc istinc* &c<etera>

ndeheren *procul*

steheren *redup<licatione> fort . loin*¹⁰ **tioskenhen** v<el> **tioskenhnia**¹¹ *prope, fere parum abest*

aro *cis, en deça*

chi v<el> **echi** *trans, au dela*

1 KCSC: **and̆chrate,asennik**

2 KCSC: **sand̆chrate,asennik**

3 KCSC: **and̆chra**

4 KCSC: **otasetandi**

5 KCSC: **a,atasetandi**

6 KCSC: **annén**

8 KCSC: **dexe**

9 KCSC: **xa'ao'tae a,echiatorha**

10 KCSC: (**steheren** *fort loin*: non)

11 KCSC: **tioskenia**

chi skat a8atenrati au dela de la palissade¹ **chi skat a_anda8ati** de l'autre cote de la riviere
 dic **askati a_anda8ati** v<el> **skat a_anda8ati**² **skat a_ontarati** au dela du lac³

aondatenke onh8entsorake⁴ dans un lieu ecarté ou il n'y avait rien
askati de l'autre coté

askate a_anda8ati v<el> **a_anda8ataki**^{5 6} **ondaonnetak8i** la cote de beaupré⁷ ab ab **onneti** descendre

etiondi v<el> **etiondiondi** ou il y a une pointe (ab **iondi**)⁸ **te-tionñionh8entsa8oin**⁹ en notre pais

ekandaotrah8i (etioskonet)¹⁰ au sault de montmorenci

ab **otrah8i** accrocher¹¹ **etioskonchia_i** v<el> **etio8oinda8oindi** sault a piq¹²
andata_e au village, bourg, ville¹³

andatraye au vieux village¹⁴ **a te ondeche** en chaque pais

a te eata_e a chaque homme

a te _annonske pro **_annonchia_e**¹⁵ a chaque cabane

1 KCSC: instead of '**chi**', written: non: **chi a8atenrati**

2 KCSC: **skat a_anda8ati** au dela de la riviere v<el> **askati a_anda8ati** de l'autre coté de la riv<ière>

3 KCSC: au dela du lac, de la mer

4 KCSC: non **onh8entsorake**

5 KCSC: **askati a_anda8atek8i** de l'autre coté de la riv<ière>

6 KCSC: **askati** and **askati a_anda8atek8i** are placed before **aondatenke**

7 KCSC: la cote de beaupré (là ou l'on descend), omission 'ab **onneti** descendre'

8 KCSC: **etiondiñiondi** là ou il y a une pointe

9 KCSC: **t'etionñionh8entsa8an**

10 KCSC: omission '(**etioskonet**)'

11 KCSC: '**ekandaotrah8i** ... accrocher' is placed before **etiondi**

12 KCSC: là ou il y a un sault à pique

13 KCSC: omission 'bourg, ville'

14 KCSC: addition of two lines: '**8ochingoke** chez les miamis' and '**8endake** chez les hurons'

15 KCSC: omission 'pro **_annonchia_e**'

onn̄siann̄di diu, long temps v<el> *cela est bien*¹ **eonn̄siann̄dik**² *il faudroit bien du temps v<el> cela seroit bien*

ets̄nn̄siann̄dika **echiaron̄xa** brevi dans peu³ **onh̄8a θo θ'aat** mox, modo toute a l heure⁴ **chie_{nn}** **eondesa** *cela durera longs temps*⁵ **aonda8aha θo** v<el> **iaonda8andiha** *cela ne durera que fort peu* . { [⟨n⟩o⟨n⟩] i⟨ntel⟩k(i)g[i] t⟨ur⟩}⁶ **onh̄8a** nunc⁷ **onh̄8ati añion** v<el> **ek8añion** jam pridem adveni

achia θo v<el> **onh̄8a achia** nunc primum⁸ **achia θo** v<el> **achia aharonj** *c'est la iere fois qu'il l a oui*⁹ **achietek** cras .. heri¹¹ **chi achitek** nudius tertius et apres demain¹² **enn̄hiek** *l an passé (a midy)*

ehi-enn̄hiek (e 8enn̄ha)e *il y a 2 ans*

xaende *a l'heure ou a la saison qu'il est*

xaende ihotondi natus est hac tempestate

θo haon̄e *c'etoit en ce temps ou cette saison la tum alors* **θo ichien ihotondi**

N s'ondaherontiend tunc natus est N cum milites rediere victores

annen haon̄e ahatonnia? q⟨uan⟩donam natus est

achienk onna i8enta_e *il y a 3 jours*

θo in'nonh̄8a *peuetre q⟨u⟩e* cola est *ainsi* **in** cum **nonh̄8a** signat dubium

a'son orah̄8i_e mane

a'son eorah̄8ik¹³ cras mane

a'son orah̄8innen¹⁴ erat mane

entiek i_ar *il est midy* vide **_ar**

askate i_arak8i *il est apres midy*

askate e_arak8ik *il sera apres midy*

1 kcsc: addition 'onnianni θo *cela est fort bien*'

2 kcsc: **eonniannik**

3 kcsc: **8nn̄siann̄dika** *un moment*, **ets̄nn̄siann̄dika echiarons** brevi intelliges

4 kcsc: **onh̄8a θ'aat** v<el> **onh̄8a achia** mox, modo, *tout à l'heure*

5 kcsc: placed after 'añionda8aha v<el> **ionda8aka**'

6 kcsc: **añionda8aha** v<el> **ionda8aka** *un petit moment*, placed after 'onh̄8ati añion'

7 kcsc: addition 'onh̄8ande *à l'heure qu'il est*'

8 kcsc: **onh̄8a achia** v<el> **achia θo**, placed after 'onh̄8a'

9 kcsc: **onh̄8a achia** v<el> **achia θo aaronj** *c'est la iere fois que je l'ai entendu*

10 kcsc: several extra lines: **onh̄8a ex̄entate** *ce jour-ci* **onh̄8ati** *il y a long tems* **onh̄8ati** **chi** *il y a fort long tems*

11 kcsc: *demain, hier*

12 kcsc: nudius tertius, *avant hier, après demain*, addition of extra lines 'chi **ets̄rhenha** *apres demain*', 'achitek **haon** *depuis hier*', 'achitek **ek8a_e_innen** *je n'ai point mangé depuis hier*'

13 kcsc: **ason eorah̄8ik**

14 kcsc: **ason orah̄8innen** erat, fuit v<el> fuerat mane

onn'a₂aratie *la nuit approche*
d'e₂aratie *ce soir*
te₂enre *q<uelque> temps dans la nuit*
a'son *nondum*
a'son i₂ochien te sk₂a₂jerihen *je ne suis pas encore bien guerri*
eti₂randi *bien avant dans la nuit*
asontenk (pro **asonta'ahenk** *au milieu*) *a minuit* dic **te ₂asontetsi**
ontaotratie *mane v<el> le soleil va se lever* (**onta** *signat proximitatem rei futu-*
rae v<el> advenientis)
onne i₂ar *le soleil est levé*
aondech^ren₂haon *toujours eternellement*
aondech^ren₂haon a₂atien *ab aeterno fuit*
osonten₂haon *toute la nuit*
o₂enn^then₂haon (sic pron<untiaandum>) *tout l'été*
a₂ent₂en₂haon *tout le jour*
a₂och^ren₂haon *tout le long de l hyver*
a te ₂enta₂e *quotidie*
ate₂on v<el> **a te ₂a₂e** *toutes les fois*
atenta₂en₂ra₂θat v<el> **on₂arhench^re** v<el> **e₂a onsaorhen₂ha, a₂erhe onh₂a**
iaon *de jour en jour nous pensons qu'il reviendra aujourd'hui*
aon₂arhen₂ha n'on₂arhach^rentak *nous avons passé la nuit au conseil*
achitek aon *depuis hier*
tsis'oon haon *depuis son retour*
eshaon *de jour en jour*
aonngiann^di₂ka aennonh₂arochichien *on a bientôt fait un chapeau*
annngiann^dni t'ennonh₂arochonniak *on est longs temps a faire un chapeau*
aiostoreska *ce seroit bientôt*
ostore *cito* **aoistorenk** *citius*
d'e₂en₂hatie *dein<c>eps ...* **isken₂hatie** *identidem*
sáh₂en *attends, attendre*
andiare *antea ..* **sah₂en andiare**
*Tempestates
o₂enrake v<el> **o₂enrakende** *au printemps* v<el> *durant le printemps*
d'eā₂a₂en₂ra *quand le printemps sera venu*
i₂a₂ennhe₂e *pendant l'été*
d'es₂k₂a₂enn^thas – *cum veniet aetas*
de e₂a₂ennhe esk₂aton *l été prochain*
annenda₂e v<el> **annenda₂ende** *pendant l automne*
ochré *l'hyver prochain* v<el> **ochrende**
d'e₂och^rat *quand l hyver viendra, dic: chi koch^ret*

de etsonjoch^rat *l'hyver prochain*
achitek ek8a_eeinnen *je n'ai pas mangé depuis hier*
chi etsorhenha *apres demain*
ôrak .. etio_eandiha ... asontenk ... ta8aienn[...]_i *brune ... un peu avant ...*
vers 10 h<eures> ... minuit

[Words blurred or faded at the foot of the page]

tioskenia orhendihatie ... ontr8ointiatie
onta8ante

ten

ak8oin0atrahā *grand jour ... atie ... orhenha* *grand jour vient de luire*

[69]

adverbia numeri¹

skat unus una &c<etera> v<el> semel

s'aatat unus homo .. **skiatat** sum solus

skaatat una mulier

skarontat una arbor

skarati *d'un coté* vide **arati**

tsk8istarati v<el> **ska8endarati**, *il tinte ou sonne d'un cote .. (a8istontati*
tinter)

skenk8ararati *habit simple*

sk8endarati etie8histonta0a *on sonne une seule cloche*

sk8entaratichon a_eorask8anhatie *on marche chaq<ue> jour sans se reposer*

tendi *deux* v<el> bis * **te** al<i>q<uan>do adjungit<u>r<, > v<erbi> g<ratia>

tendi te hotech^renti bis percussit (**atecha** ictus pass<ivum> **acha** act<ivum>

enti *faire tomber*

te pro **tendi te<, >** v<erbi> g<ratia> **te hiata_e** duo viri

te a_ennonske duae domus

8a 0o bis v<el> rursus iterum v<el> adhuc

achi_eenk 3

ndak 4

8ich 5

1 For a full transcription of the equivalent section in KCSC, see Appendix 1.

ðahia 6

tsðtare 7

átere 8

entron 9

asen 10 vide **ásen**

eisak v<el> **etsak iðochien** v<el> **etsak iðo** v<el> **aθo** pluries

θora aliq<uan>do idem signat quod **etsak**

θora iðia,e pluries

θora multi multae multa

θora ia,ien (iañion) multi sumus

θora ahatatia saepe locutus e<st>

θoia θo *peu souvent*

θoia pauci paucae pauca

θoia ia,ien (iañion) pauci sumus

ç,æon aoskon S solum; *sans (ðseta,æon bouteille vuide) melange, pur vuide*

o,æon n'ondaie *il n'y a que cela* (nescit (valet?) pater)

o,æon ire *il va sans charge*

aondech,æon pro aondech,æon *le país est destitué de monde*

stante oatðskon (v<el> **o,æete**) non est sola (id est) gravida est

stante saatðskon non es foeta gravida (valet)

a,æon est intus **chiata,æon** dans ton ventre v<el> doles ventre

(**a te ð'a,e** v<el> **chieskðæon**)

ate,æon *chaque fois ...* * **a te ðenta,e** quotidie

a te ondeche *en chaque país*

aðentroneke *dans un lieu écarté, ou il n'y a avait person*

taik i,æn *dru et menu*

te ðarati *sans nombre*

achi,ænk a,æenk[o]n (a,ænonnen), aðeti ichien aðaskða; *il y en devoit avoir 3 qui devoient etre d'egale grosseur*

adverbia qualitatis¹

ç,ændeiaa v<el> **onni,æiann,ði** v<el> **oraðæn** v<el> **orehierihen**² bene, recte, aequum est

skandeia v<el> **tsoraðæn** *fort bien*³ **a,æandeïäasθa** bene esset, bene sit

1 kcsc: first adverbia quantitatis, then adverbia qualitatis

2 kcsc: **ç,ændeia** v<el> **onnianni θo** v<el> **orihierihen**

3 kcsc: **iskandeia** v<el> **tsoraðæn** v<el> **ç,ændeia innen** *fort bien, cela est tres bon*

ara iθo ti onn̄siann̄di omnino bene
θkaot te andeiaa te onn̄siann̄di ¹ &c<etera> male
itsθkaot pessime² **ara iθo ti θkaot** *fort mal*³ **ondaie ondieraθa** v<el> **ekandieratakθa** quod pejus est (vide **andierati** &c<etera>⁴)
ondaie onendieraten *c'est ce q<u>i augmente mon mal*
ondi onhia i (dic **ondi onñia i**)⁵ perperam, frustra, *qui ne sert a rien, mal a propos, sans ordre, sans raison*⁶ **ka on** *sans ordre, pêle-mêle*, (valet)
ka on iθochien haθendaratie *il parle* ab hoc et ab hac (non i<ntel>|k(i)git)⁷
he enk v<el> **hengen** v<el> **engen** specie tenus *en apparence*^{8 9} **engen ichien onek** *en apparence seulement* ore tenus¹⁰ **hoθendθskon onek hatatiak**¹¹ voce tenus loq<u>it<u>r
ti hatatiaka onek¹² *il n'a q<u>e des paroles*
hatatiak ichien onek¹³ v<el> **ara iθochien ti hatatiak** *il parle a la volée* **hastra e echtra e onek** labiorum tenus¹⁴ **ti aθennonti** per transennam, *en passant*, obiter¹⁵ **atanditenr** *c'est par compassion, charité* **oeri ondi** *helas! heu! me miserum!*¹⁶ **aon e θo palam**¹⁷ **aondaon e** *sur la terre, sur la dure*
oatsoion e¹⁸ *sur la chaire nue*
otaseti e¹⁹ *clam en cachette*
anda on *dedans* (vide **a on** C²⁰)
etiorati *il fait obscur* (v<ide> **arati**)
te orhate *il fait clair* (v<ide> **karhate**)

- 1 KCSC: **θkaot te andeiaa te onn̄siann̄di**
- 2 KCSC: **itsθkaot** v<el> **θkaot innen** pessime, *cela est tres mauvais*
- 3 KCSC: **ara θo θkaot**
- 4 KCSC: vide **andierati** v<el> **onderati**
- 5 KCSC: **ondi onhia i**, omission of 'dic **ondi onñia i**'
- 6 KCSC: addition '**ondi onhia i hatatiak** *il parle en vain*'
- 7 KCSC: omission 'non i<ntel>|k(i)git'
- 8 KCSC: **engen** v<el> **hengen** specie tenus, *en apparence ... le haut* v<erbi> g<ratia> *d'une riviere, d'une [...]*
- 9 KCSC: addition '**oñek**, ore tenus, *du bout des levres*'
- 10 KCSC: **engen ichien oñek** *en apparence seulement*, omission 'ore tenus'
- 11 KCSC: **haθendθskon oñek hatatiak**
- 12 KCSC: **ti hatatiak'a onek**
- 13 KCSC: **hatatiak ichien oñek**
- 14 KCSC: **echtra e oñek hotatinnen** labiorum tenus locutus fuerat
- 15 KCSC: **ti aθennonti** v<el> **etionnonties** obiter, per transennam, *en passant*
- 16 KCSC: **oeri ondi** v<el> **areisa en** heu! me miserum
- 17 KCSC: **palam** ext<erior> et int<erior>
- 18 KCSC: **oatsoion e**
- 19 KCSC: **otaseti e**
- 20 KCSC: omission 'C'

askenñoia¹ *doucement paisiblement* &c<etera>
ato,en² sane, certe
daak ato,en aak³ *tout de bon*
8ten in comp<ositione> signat modum v<el> qualitatem<, > v<erbi> g<ratia>
ora8an haat8ten bonus est
8kaot haat8ten malus est
andeia ti hañiend8ten bona est tua agendi ratio⁴
te andeia ti hañiend8ten mala est tua &c<etera>⁵
taot ichiat8ten? qualis es tu? *comment es tu fais?*⁶ **taoten ti a,arih8ten** v<el>
a,ahiatonchr8ten quis est tuus liber v<el> qualis?⁷

adverbia quantitatis et excessûs

aiokoñieska? *serois je content de si peu?*⁸ (utunt<u>r hac loquendi formula
dum repugnant res propositae⁹
okenie parum .. parvus¹⁰
aiokenienchre¹¹ *cela va en diminuant*
i8aia .. modicum, parum, **ioste i8aia** *je suis [mo]d<icum> un peu pesant*¹²,
i8aia eienh8i¹³ *je scais un peu*
isk8aia *fort peu*
a'son isk8aia d'iaen¹⁴ *il y en a encore tres peu*
a'son (onne)¹⁵ *encore, il n'y en a pas assez*
skat a'son tannont *donne moy encore un*

- 1 KCSC: **askennoña**
- 2 KCSC: **ato,en** v<el> **0o**
- 3 KCSC: **daak ato,en aat** v<el> **atiaondi**
- 4 KCSC: bona est ejus agendi ratio
- 5 KCSC: mala est [...] agendi ratio
- 6 KCSC: qualis es? cujus indolis?
- 7 KCSC: **taot i,ahiatonchr8ten** qualis e<st> liber
- 8 KCSC: *serois-je content (ce seroit trop peu)*
- 9 KCSC: placed after '**aiokenienchre** *cela va en diminuant*'
- 10 KCSC: parvus a um + addition '**its8kenie** *fort peu*'
- 11 KCSC: **aiokenienchre**
- 12 KCSC: *il est un peu pesant*
- 13 KCSC: **i8aia eñienh8i**
- 14 KCSC: **onne isk8aia d'ia,en**
- 15 KCSC: omission '**onne**'

otonronton *beaucoup* vide **atoronton**¹
iḡannen² *beaucoup*
aiḡannenk³ *il en faudroit beaucoup*
iḡannen aiotiendiska⁴ *il faudroit que cela rendit beaucoup pour en avoir de*
reste
atrondi *en voila assez, suffisamment*
atrondi hañienhḡi⁵ *il scait assez bien*⁶ **onne onnen onna iaon** *satis*
aṛe *rursus* – **onne aṛe shatatiak** *hom⟨me⟩ (skḡaatatiak fem⟨me⟩)*
*id est s'atatiak ... iterum loquitur*⁷
ḡo iṛa ti chia⁸, *il est aussi grand que toy*
ḡo iḡa? *combien y en a t'il gros?*
ḡa ioḡant *large com⟨me⟩ cela* vide **aḡant**
ḡa iḡntsi iñiontsi *long comme cela ostendendo aliquid*⁹
ti aḡtsietaḡiro¹⁰ *long comme la surcroissance des ongles*
ti ostontra *long comme la 1^{ere} jointure des doigts*¹¹ **te ostontra** *long comme*
la 2^{de} jointure des doigts
ti endḡietsi *long com⟨me⟩ le doigt*¹²
ti eḡonretsetsi *v⟨el⟩* **ti eḡonresann'hontra**¹³, *lon⟨g⟩ com⟨me⟩ la main – le poi-*
*gnet*¹⁴
te eiachia *i le demi bras*
ti eiachietsi *v⟨el⟩* **ti eiachiatiri** *long comme le bras*
eondiatḡtakḡan *demi brasse (aḡondia gosier)*¹⁵ **tsennenchiati iohonraḡen-**
tetsi *jusqu'a l'epaule de l'autre bras*
tetieiachia *i*¹⁶ *jusqu'a l autre coude*

1 **atonronton**, KCSC: vide radices

2 KCSC: **iḡannen**

3 **aiḡannenk**, KCSC: **aiḡannenk**

4 KCSC: **iḡannen aiotiendiska**

5 KCSC: **atrondi hañienhḡi**

6 KCSC: addition: 'atĩaondi *entierement, tout a fait*'

7 KCSC: from **aṛe** up to iterum loquitur : **aṛe** *rursus*, iterum (v⟨el⟩ **ḡa ḡo**) **onne aṛe shatatiak** *rursus ille loquitur* **onne aṛe skḡatatiak** *rursus illa loquitur*

8 KCSC: **ḡo iṛa ti chia**

9 KCSC: omission 'ostendendo aliquid'

10 KCSC: **ḡo iñiontsi ti e'taḡiro** (non: **aḡtsietaḡiro**)

11 KCSC: addition: '(subaud⟨i⟩: **ḡo iñiontsi**)'

12 KCSC: addition: '(subaud⟨i⟩: &c⟨etera⟩)'

13 KCSC: **ti eḡonretsetsi** *v⟨el⟩* **ti eḡonresann'htra**

14 KCSC: *long comme la main, jusqu'au poignet* (subaud⟨i⟩ &c⟨etera⟩)

15 KCSC: **aḡondia**, this line is placed between 'ḡahia a te aten ti aḡnonchietsi' and 'katenchon'

16 KCSC: **t'etieiachia** *i*

etia_onrestontra¹ jusqu'a l'autre poignet
etia_osk₈ennondi² jusqu a l'autre main fermée

[70]

katen te _{aten} brasse 2^{ae} pro **te _{aten}³ skatench^rat** une brasse
tendi a te _{aten} 2 brasse
achi_{enk} a te _{aten}⁴ 3 brasses &c<etera>
8ahia a te _{aten} ti _{annonchietsi} v<el> hiannonchietsi⁵ la cabane est longue
de 6 brasses⁶
ti setench^ron⁷ mesure par brasses
8o iaon ihanderetsi chia _{aentate} il est haut comme ces 2 perches⁸
8o etionnonchiara ti _{arenhetsi}
ta cabane est haute com<me> un grand arbre⁹
achi_{enk} iotrentatennion tetionnonchiara¹⁰ la cabane est haute com<me>
3 arbres les uns sur les autres (on change 3 fois les arbres
8o etionnonchiara tetiotenrara de_{xa} atenrate¹¹ la maison est haute com<me>
cette palissade
oentask₈i petit baton (pour la grosseur)¹² **_{aenta8ak}** baton court
atiaondi entierement¹³
ondera^ti trop (vide **_{anderati}**)¹⁴
daat echi_{etsonderati} ondera^ti beaucoup plus¹⁵
ekanderatak_{8a} ce q<u>i est encore pis (ce q<u>i augmente)

- 1 KCSC: **etia_onrestonn^thra**
- 2 KCSC: **etia_osk₈ennondi**
- 3 KCSC: **skat a te _{aten}** (non **skatenchr^tat**) une brasse
- 4 KCSC: **achi_{enk} a te _{aten}**
- 5 KCSC: omission '**hiannonchietsi**'
- 6 KCSC: addition: '**katenchon** mesurer par brasses'
- 7 KCSC: **ti satench^ron**
- 8 KCSC: **il est haut (grand) comme cette perche**
- 9 KCSC: **sa cabane est haute comme un grand arbre**
- 10 KCSC: **achi_{enk} iotrentatennion t^tetionnonchiara**
- 11 KCSC: **8o etionnonchiara t^tetiotenrara de_{xa} atenrate**
- 12 KCSC: **baton mince, grele**
- 13 KCSC: omission '**atiaondi** entierement'
- 14 KCSC: **onderati** trop, beaucoup, pis
- 15 KCSC: **ets₈nderati** (non dic **onderati**) beaucoup plus

iskandeia v<el> **andeia**¹ **innen** *cela est tres bon*

its8kaot *cela est tres mauvais*

is'osk8ahat *il est tres malin*

is'okii8en *il est tres riche*

ondaie dat e0a8endio v<el> **e0arontio** *c'est la grande maitre*

ene 0o onek *ce n'est que graisse*² **a'atieronk8aska** *j'augmenterai en force*

* Nota redupl<icatio> et al<i>q<uan>do localitas, notant excessum, habes exempla paulo superius, vide insuper regulam de comparativo et superlativo³

adverbia interrogandi

k8iotti? v<el> **aoni?** v<el> **i?** an, utrum

k8iotti v<el> **aoni chiatonrichas0a**, vel **chiatonrichas0a i?** *as tu fais?*

nd8ia8eron uter ultra utrum⁴

ndia8eraten⁵ alteruter, tra, trum

taoten v<el> **taot haoten?** quid? **ondaie**

haoten (Responsio) * **taot** saepe ut ponit<u>r ante vocal⁶ **taot i0ti?**

quare?⁷ (*qu'y a t il?*) **ondaie i0ti**⁸ responsio

taot ex'i0ti?⁹ *pourquoi cela*

taot i0ti de andataon quid fit in pago, quid est in pago

taot ex'iotti te 8atonde? cur fieri non poteris?¹⁰

sataronron taot i0ti de andatae quare quid fiat in vico

taot haoten v<el> **taot i'arih8ten?** q<ui>d rei est? **tsinnen** quis¹¹

tsaten aliquis (utraque vox femini<na>)¹²

tsinnen v<el> **tsaten de x'i8e** quis huc venit

1 **andeia**

2 KCSC: omission 'iskandeia ... ce n'est que graisse'

3 KCSC: omission 'Nota ... superlativo'

4 KCSC: uter ultra utrum v<el> quisnam

5 KCSC: **nd8ia8eraten**

6 KCSC: **taoten** vel **taot haoten** quid, quid vis &c<etera> quomodo? responsio: **ondaie haoten** c'est cela nota **taot** saepius p<oni>t<u>r ante vocalem

7 KCSC; omission 'quare'

8 KCSC: **ondaie iotti**

9 KCSC: **taot ex'i0ti?**

10 KCSC: **taot ex'i0ti te 8atonde?** cur fieri non poterit? This line is placed after **sataronron taot i0ti de andatae**

11 KCSC: **tsinnen** v<el> **tsihen** quis quae &c<etera>

12 KCSC: **tsaten** aliquis vel quis ... utraq<ue> vox fem<inini> g<ene>ris

atichien post unam vocam (quasi *ah vrayement*)¹ **a_onnont atichien!** *ah vrayement je t'en donnerois*
endi atichien a_eenk? *serois-ce bien moy! v<el> ah vrayement ce seroit bien moy*
t'a_onnioska (t'a_onnioska)² v<el> **t'atichien t'a_onnionska?**³ *pourquoi conti-
nuerois-je de te frapper? cur te cederem? (non)*^{4 5}

adverbia dubitandi⁶

onh₈ande ahaon θ o *il pourroit bien venir maintenant (non i<ntel>l<e>git)*
etsa_on sen ehotionk (saterat sakarat orih₈ato_eti) *il pourroit bien avoir
fait le coup (non i<ntel>l<e>git)*
stan i θ ochien haoten *je ne scais ce que c'est*
ann₈iaten i θ ochien *je ne scais ou*
anniaten i θ ochien iontsi ([e]niontsi) *je ne scais de qu'elle longueur*
ts₈aten i θ ochien (te nient[...]) *je ne scais q<u>i c'est*
stan δ enchtra i θ ochien θ o ea δ enk v<el> **stan i θ ochien eo'tik ehaon** *forte
veniet (non)*
stan i θ ochien haatsi *nescio q<u>o<m>o<d>o vocetur*
anniaten i θ ochien \hat{a} δ aska tannont i. *donnez moy une telle quantité (indeter-
minata)*
 θ o innoh₈a p
innoh₈a *peu etre*
hechon innoh₈a a_eenk *c'est peut etre hechon*
 \grave{a} ato_en innoh₈a a_ok δ asti *on est peuetre (dic certainement) a son aise*
 δ enchtra i θ ochien *peuetre*
chieske? *que scais je?*
a_eato_eenk *il pourroit bien etre vray*
taieron- θ o *pourquoi non vox insultantis et minime dubitantis) non (dic)*
taoten nondaie te \grave{a} ato_en? *pourquoi non?*

1 KCSC: post unam vocem signat quasi *ah vrayement* v<erbi> g<ratia>

2 KCSC: t'a_onnioska

3 KCSC: t'atichien t'a_onnionska?

4 KCSC: omission 'cur te cederem'

5 KCSC: addition ' **δ enchtra echrio d'oskennonton?** quot occides cervulus

6 For a full transcription of the equivalent section in KCSC, see Appendix 2.

7 **\grave{a} ato_en**

adverbia affirmandi

aôita etiam¹

ato.en etiam, vere, sane

ndae, θo voces assentientis² **daak ato.en aat**³ *tout de bon*

θoo-pr<aesens> aô cedo videam

adverbia negandi

stan v<el> **stena**⁴ non (solitarie)

stante v<el> **te** non (junctum alicui voci⁵)

modus pot<entialis>: saepe habet vim negandi interrogative pronuntiatu<s>
v<erbi> g<ratia>

âhentrontaj? *il n'y est point* pro **stante hentron**

te θastaθo v<el> **aeri-θo** (**annsiann^{di} θo** v<el> **atarati**) nolo

annsiann^{di} θo d'echiatiten⁶

ennon, sine v<erbo> d<a>t<u>r **ennonchien** cum verbo ne vox prohibentis
(regit fut<urum>)⁷

kθe de te⁸ *de peur que* (regit aor<istum>)⁹

tse de peur q'ue (regit fut<urum>)

ndioharon appage (non dicitur hîc)

ta.aketaska v<el> **a.aketat** dic **te aketasen atichien** pro fut<uro> neg<ativo>

j'ai bien affaire de porter (id e<st>) non feram^{10 11}

1 KCSC: **aô** v<el> **heñ** ita, etiam, *oui*

2 KCSC: **ndak θo** is placed before **ato.en**

3 KCSC: **daak ato.en aat**

4 KCSC: **st^aena**

5 KCSC: junctum voci

6 KCSC: **te θastaθo** v<el> **aθastaθo** (vox prohibentis), noli ... ne facias – regit fut<urum>

7 KCSC: **ennon** (solitarie) noli ... ne facias (vox prohib<entis>) **ennonchien** (junctum voci)
noli ... ne facias (vox prohib<entis>) - regit futurum

8 KCSC: **kθe de**

9 KCSC: regit fut<urum>

10 KCSC: placed after '**âhentrontaj?** *il n'y est point* pro **stante hentron**' **t'â.aketaska** v<el>
a.aketat atichien? *j'ai bien affaire de porter* (id est) non feram (non dic<itur> **te a.ketasen**)

11 KCSC: addition '**oëri θo** (vox prohib<entis>) noli (non est in usu)' + addition '**onnsiann^{di} θo**
v<el> **aθarati** bene (et non: noli, ne facias)' + addition '**onnianni θo d'echiatiten** noli cymbam
conscendere'

adverbia optandi

te ato_{en} sen! *q⟨u⟩e cela n'est il vrai!*
te aketas asen¹ *utinam feram v⟨el⟩ ferrem*²
te aketask_{8a} sen v⟨el⟩ te _{8a}aketati sen *que ne portois-je*
ta sen te aketas *utinam non feram*

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te ato_{en} sen *utinam verum sit*³ **θo** *videam que je voye*⁴
θo θo iotik⁵ *que cela soit ainsi*
θo chien *etsi etiamsi*
θo chien de chion_{8en}ienti nonh_{8a} echihej⁶

adverbia hortandi

nd_{8ioh}8i *age, agite*
ndio sen *quaeso, age*^{7 8} **etsa_{on}** *macte animo (vide ato_{en})*^{9 10}
estenhia_{on}¹¹ *macti estote animo*

1 KCSC: **te aketas sen**

2 KCSC: **te aketas sen** *utinam feram*

3 KCSC: omission '**te ato_{en} sen** *utinam verum sit*'

4 KCSC: **θo** ... *que je vois* (dic: **a_{8a}ak_{8a}**)

5 KCSC: **θo θo iotik**

6 KCSC: **θo chien de chion_{8en}ienti nonh_{8a} echihej**, *etiamsi juvenis nunc sis, morieris*

7 KCSC: **nd_{8io} sen** *age, age quaeso* + placed before **nd_{8ioh}8i**

8 KCSC: addition: '**nd_{8ioh}8i nd_{8ioh}8i**' *courage courage* (vox hortantis)

9 KCSC: **setsa_{on}** *prends courage* v⟨ide⟩ **ato_{en}**

10 KCSC: addition: '**setsa_{on}, sa_{8arat} sakaratat d'orih_{8ato}eti**'

11 KCSC: **estenn_{8ia}on**

adverbia congregandi

chiate hotĩñion (si utaris aor<istum> dic
chiaθatĩñion) simul venerunt^{1 2}
otsinnēn testi? *avec q<u>i es tu? ... resp<onde>*
n te andi *je suis avec N * at de pluribus*³
θo itson? *combien etes vous? ... resp<onde>*
ndak iaⁿion⁴ v<el> **aḡaḡei** *nous sommes* 4
n.iaⁿion v<el> **aḡaḡei**⁵ *nous sommes avec N.*
ondaie eḡeḡik enkḡara⁶ v<el> **okḡarandeⁿenk**⁷
enkḡara *cela ira avec l'etoffe<, > la couverte*⁸
tsiḡeḡhatia *allez de compagnie*
ti tsatont *mettez vous ensemble*⁹
ti tsatrandeⁿ¹⁰ *mettez vous l'un aupres de l'autre*¹¹
ondatonronton v<el> **ondakate de aḡhonk**
il y a bien des outardes
aḡotiokḡoin¹² *il y a beaucoup de monde*
vide in Rad<icibus> ... **i** ... **aḡei**... **kḡ-atonti** ...
on ... **kḡ-atrandeⁿ**¹³ in **andeⁿ**¹⁴ ...
aḡennen¹⁵ ... **aḡate**
skat simul¹⁶

- 1 KCSC: addition before **chiate hotĩñion**: 'skat simul, idem ... skat iⁿ idem est'
- 2 KCSC: **chiate hotĩñion** (et si utaris aor<istum> dic **chiaθatĩñion**) simul venerunt
- 3 KCSC: **tsinnen testi? N te andi** *avec qui es tu? je suis avec N*
- 4 KCSC: **ndak iaⁿion**
- 5 KCSC: **n iaⁿion** v<el> **aḡaḡei**
- 6 KCSC: **ondaie eḡeḡik enkḡara**
- 7 KCSC: **oorandeⁿenk**
- 8 KCSC: *cela ira avec la couverte*
- 9 KCSC: *mettez vous ensemble à faire, à manger*
- 10 KCSC: **ti tsâtrandeⁿ**
- 11 KCSC: addition: 'dicitur etiam de uxoribus separatis'
- 12 KCSC: **aḡotiokḡoin**
- 13 KCSC: **kḡ-trandeⁿ**
- 14 KCSC: omission 'in **andeⁿ**'
- 15 KCSC: **aḡannen**
- 16 KCSC: omission 'skat simul'. See the first line of this paragraph.

adverbia similitudinis et identitatis¹

θo ióti veluti

θo eotik sic erit

θo aiotinnen sic res fuisset²

θo ihaat8ten, ti chiat8ten *il est de meme naturel, humeur*

θo iha8end8ten ti chie8end8ten *il parle com⟨me⟩ toy*

8a ihaat8ten *il est autrement fait*

8a iha8end8ten *il parle autrement*

stan θo te 8aendi, onr8ten ti sandi, onr8ten

je n'ai pas le meme sentiment que toy³

chiate arih8ten⁴ *c'est la meme chose c'est la meme affaire*

chiate óti⁵ *c'est tout de meme, l'un vaut l'autre, l'un vaut autant q⟨u⟩e l'autre⁶*

chiate hiaat8ten sunt ejusdem indolis, de 2

8a ate hiat8ten sunt diversae indolis, de 2

chiate on, iondi, onr8ten⁷ *nous avons tout 2*

l'esprit fait de meme façon actu et habitu

nous avons tous 2 la meme pensée, meme avis⁸

chiate hotindi, onr8ten s⟨un⟩t ejusdem indolis

8a a te hontindi, onr8ten s⟨un⟩t divorsi &c⟨etera⟩

* Nota de rebus inanimatis usui est 3^a pers⟨ona⟩ sing⟨ularis⟩ fem⟨inina⟩⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

chiate a, tsit8ten⁹ *les 2 feux sont de meme nature*

8a ate a, tsit8ten¹⁰ *c'est un feu different de l'autre*

chia a, jatat¹¹ *sumus idem (de duobus)*

etson, i, ndi, onrat *nous avons tout 2 le meme esprit*

1 KCSC: adverbia similitudinis, dissimilitudinis ... identitatis seu aequalitatis

2 KCSC sic fuisset

3 KCSC: *je n'ai point le meme sentiment que toi*

4 KCSC: **chiate i, arih8ten**

5 KCSC: **chiate ióti**

6 KCSC: omission 'l'un vaut autant q⟨u⟩e l'autre'

7 KCSC: **chiate on, i, ndi, onr8ten**

8 KCSC: *nous avons tous 2 l'esprit fait de meme façon, nous avons meme pensée, sentiment, avis &c⟨etera⟩*

9 **a, tsist8ten**, KCSC: **a, tsist8ten**

10 **a, tsist8ten**, KCSC: **a, tsist8ten**

11 KCSC: **chia a, jata t**

haat8ten v⟨el⟩ **ahañiend8ten** *voila la coutume*¹
ahonnondech8ten *c'est la coutume, la mode de leur païs*^{2 3}

aequalitas

* **ia** . **ichia**, **ira**, **i8a** vide pag⟨ina⟩ 30⁴

hechone ia⁵ *je suis grand com⟨me⟩ hechon*

endi 8o ichiak *tu etois grand com⟨me⟩ moy*

isa 8o 8a ira *il est grand comme toy*⁶

ondaie 8o e8a8etondi *il est environ de
de l'age de celui la*⁷

* Nota cum fit comparatio inter res
animatas, duali utendum est si duae
sint plurali⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩⁸

chiate hiak8asti *ils sont eux 2 egalelement beaux*⁹

ehatiak8astis *eux 3*¹⁰

* Nota q⟨uan⟩do fit comparatio inter res ina⟨nim⟩atas praefigit⟨u⟩r **chiate**
3^{ae} sing⟨ularis⟩ fem⟨ininae⟩⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

chiate andatsa *les 2 chaudières sont egales*

chiate annonchia *les 2 cabanes sont egales*

* at de pluribus dicis

heandatsas *les chaud⟨ieres⟩ sont egales*¹¹

heandatsa8astis *sont egalelement belles*¹²

* Nota haec 3^a dualis **chiatenda**¹³ de rebus ina⟨nim⟩atis ad signandum aequalitatem, valorem,
non autem magnitudinem⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

1 KCSC: *c'est sa coutume*

2 KCSC: **ahonnondech8ten** *c'est la coutume de leur païs*

3 KCSC: **haat8ten** ... *de leur païs* is placed after **8o aiotinnen** sic res fuisset'

4 KCSC: **ia** . **ichia**, **ira**, **i8a** &c⟨etera⟩ vide pag⟨ina⟩

5 KCSC: **hechon e ia**

6 KCSC: **isa 8o ira**

7 KCSC: omission **ondaie 8o e8a8etondi** *il est environ de de l'age de celui la*'

8 KCSC: si duae s⟨in⟩t res, vel plurali si plures v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

9 KCSC: *ils sont tous 2 egalelement beaux*

10 KCSC: **chiate hatiak8astis** *ils sont tous &c⟨etera⟩*

11 KCSC: **chiate andatsas** *les chaudières sont egalelement grandes* (v⟨el⟩ **heandatsas**)

12 KCSC: **heandatsa8astis** (forte : **chiate andatsa8astis**) *les chaudières sont egalelement belles*

13 KCSC: **chiat'enda**

chiatenda de (enmond)and8[ch]ra chia aanna(eno)¹ une robbe
et une chaudiere sont de meme prix

stan chiatenda te en non son aequalis pretii²
comparatif et superlatif pag<ina> 66³ 4

* 1° comp<arativus>

N. est plus liberal que toy; N. hon8esen, stan
ichien desa chion8esen [...]

N. est plus grand que toy; N hai8ennen isa sakenie

* 2° super<ativus>

N. est le plus liberal des françois (sic reddit<u>r)

stante hennon8esen d'atinnion enhak

haonh8a aat hon8esen N .. vel

hatinnonste hatin: haonh8a hon8esen N .. vel

N haonh8a hon8esen d'atinnion enhak⁵ vel

hennon8esen hationnion enhak, onek ichien

N skanderata ... vel

N aat onderati hon8esen d'hatinnion enhak N

N aat handera8as ti hon8esen v<el> de

ond[<aie>] aat te haskenheata v<el>

ond[<aie>] aat etso k8etak8i hon8esen v<el>

ond[<aie>] etsokenhiati hon8esen es'on8esen

il est le plus beau de tous haak8asti

haonh8a handare v<el> ihentron v<el> ires

hati8eti hatindi onr8annont, onek ichien N

chie annen ihondi onra v<el> chie annen d8a

e8otindi onrannenta i v<el> e8otirannenta i

es'on di onr8annen *il a tres grand esprit*

* Nota: 1° super<ativus> exprimit<u>r per redup<licationem> praefigendo **e esk8a endi onr8annen** *je suis un grand esprit* **etsisandi onr8annen** *tu es &c<etera>*

* 2° sup<erlativus> exp<rimitur> per local<itatem> subjungendo nomini particulam **are<, >** v<erbi> g<ratia>

1 kcsc: **chiatenda de and8ch^ra chia anneño**

2 kcsc: non s<un>t aequalis pretii

3 kcsc: placed after 'se invicem superare' + 'vide pag<inam> ... et haec adde'

4 kcsc: omission of 1° and 2°, only 'Nota' remains

5 **d'hatinnion enhak**

ek8aesk8ahat are *je suis trop méchant*. **esask8ahat are** *tu es &c<etera>*
 * 3° exp<rimitur> per aor<istum> quoad initialis retentis finalibus prae-
 sentis si propositio sit de praesenti<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **on8esk8ahat esask8a-
 hat .. ahosk8ahat** *je suis fort méchant, tu es*
ahon8esen *il est fort libéral*, hac utunt<u>r
 ratione loquendi in fine periodi ad
 confirmanda praedicta – sic etiam sequentia
a8echiensennik iti¹ hoeren, d'8'kaot, odi quod
 factum est, nimis malum est
aesata8a atichien? ahiannonh8e *seroit*
tu refusé? il t'aime trop –
etsokenniati hondi onr8annen

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se invicem superare²

skat ihonntrah8ihatie, *ils se devancent d'un jour, l'un est parti un jour*
d'avant l'autre
achi8enk ihotindenn8iacharah8i³ *ils ont 3 ans de distance en âge*
ndak ihe8enn⁴h8tandi *je le surpasse de 4 ans* v<el> **ndak ion8e^{in8ionent}nnha-
 rah8i⁴ 8ich a te 8aten ti 8annonchietsi de8a, oten de8a achi8enk⁵ ate 8aten ti
 8annonchietsi**
8o etionnonchia8i v<el> **etiotennonchia8i** v<el> **etiotennonchia8a** *tendi a te*
8aten otench8ti⁶ cette cabane a 2 brasse plus que l'autre
ndeheren etiotennonchia8a⁷ ondaie ehati8enda8entet *leurs presens sur-
 passent ceux des autres*
ondaie chiehente8a hoc praefers

1 ti

2 kcsc: placed after 'pretium'

3 kcsc: **achi8enk ihotindenn8ionchrah8i**

4 kcsc: **ndak in8ionenn⁴harah8i**

5 kcsc: **achi8enk**

6 kcsc: omission 'otench8ti'

7 kcsc: addition 'il y a beaucoup de difference entre la grandeur de ces cabanes'

chiatate henteθa te praefers aliis
ah8ichennion superare **ah8icha** *force* et **aennion** ⁻¹

pretium pag<ina> 74

on a donne une chaudiere pour une vieille robbe **atiatrio aanna^{en}o chia de and8cha²** *on donne un couteau pour un pain de petum* **te atatrioθa de 8ennenchre andahia de 8en8a³** *une robbe et une chaudiere sont de meme prix* **chiatenda de and8chre⁴ ennondi chia annao⁵**

adverbia proximitatis et distantiae

tioskehen v<el> **oskehen** v<el> **tioskeheñia**

proche ... aliq<uan>do presque peut s'en faut, bientôt⁶

tioskehenia a te jatre desa sk8andare, chia de N andare *votre bourg est proche de celui de N⁷*

tioskehen^{ia} ichie de chrih8iost⁸ *tu croiras bientôt*

achienñonk *au milieu*

te on8atandatande, en *notre bourg (de votre) est proche⁹*

te on, iondesθe, en¹⁰ *notre país est limitrophe du votre*

1 KCSC: omission 'ah8icha force et aennion', addition 'vide aennion ... et aentandi in rad<ices>'

2 KCSC: **atiatrio aanneño chia de and8chra** *on a donné une chaudiere pour une robbe*

3 KCSC: **te atatrioθa de 8ennenchra chia de 8en8a** *on donne un couteau pour une carotte de tabac*

4 **and8chre**

5 KCSC: omission 'une robbe et une chaudiere sont de meme prix **chiatenda de and8chre ennondi chia annao**', addition of several lines: **ohonra8enta ondatatriosti** v<el> **atiatrios de and8chra** *le fusil a été acheté une robbe* **skande8at te ondatatrio** (non: **atiatatr[...]**) neque **te ondeñnion** neque **te hondatak[...]** *cela a été acheté ou vendu 4 francs (un [castor])* **arich** v<el> **te jatatrios** (non **tendennions** [...]) **te jatakohens** **skande8at** *une pa[...]* *de mitasse vaut 4 francs (un castor)* **θo** v<el> **taoten eonnont** v<el> **θo i8a** v<el> **te jatatrio** (non **taoten eoio** neque **taoten eθendi**) *que coutera, que vaudra, que vendra-t-on cela?* **θo** v<el> **taoten jatatrio** (non **ioios**) **de chiatendinnonsθa** *que vaut ce que tu veux vendre* **taot i8erha de8a** *que vaut cela (valet)* vide **aio, ennion, aeren** &c<etera> in rad<ices>

6 KCSC: **tioskeñnia** (et non: **tioskenhen** v<el> **oskenhen**) *proche, bientôt, presq<ue>, peu s'en faut*

7 KCSC: **tioskennia a te jatre desa sk8andare chia de N. handare** *votre village est proche de celui de N.*

8 KCSC: **tioskeñnia ichie de chrih8iost**

9 KCSC: **te on8ata^{en}datande, en** *notre village est proche du votre*

10 KCSC: **te on, iondeste, en**

te onḡannonste_{en} *notre maison est proche la votre*¹ **te hiendihoken** *les portes des 2 maisons sont vis a vis* (ab **annh8a** seu **andihoa** et **oken**)²
te k8endioka³ *mettons nos portes vis-à-vis*
eoonti chadataen *on y va en un jour* (alibi **eoonti**)⁴
eokak8i dex'andataen *on le voit d'icy* (nescit pater)⁵
skat e^aoto8an *il n'y a qu'une couchée un gîte*⁶
v<el> **skat eto8as**
te otito,eti d'onnot8t *il y a une mont<agne> vis a vis*
etiont[erok]^{enroketa}**taj d'eeias**⁷ *en tirant<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> d'un bastion, on aura vis a vis ceux qui seroient le long de la courtine .. on rasera toute la courtine*
en tirant ab oketi tirer droit
te ondo_{en} *au millieu de la place*
te on8andato_{en} *au millieu de nos bourgs*⁸
te onḡionh8entso_{en} *au millieu de notre païs*
chiato_{ennen} *dans ton sein*
te onḡitsenhia_i⁹ *nous sommes tout 2 vis-à-vis aiant le feu qui nous separe* (non aud<ivi>)
te aḡatakann^drak *sumus 2 e conspectu face a face*¹⁰
te aḡatrande_{enk} *nous sommes proches l'un de l'autre*
11
8enstran (8enchtra) v<el> **8o hi**_{en} **de**ḡa **indeheren**¹² **tetisk8andare** *combien y a-t-il d'ici a votre village?*¹³

- 1 KCSC: **te on**ḡannonste_{en} *notre maison joint la votre*
- 2 KCSC: **te hiendio**ḡen *les portes des 2 maisons sont vis à vis* (ab **endioha** pass<ivum> et **annh8a** porte)
- 3 KCSC: **te k8endioka**
- 4 KCSC: **skat eoonti ekandataen** *on va en un jour à ce village*
- 5 KCSC: *on voit ce village d'ici*, omission 'nescit pater'
- 6 KCSC: **skat a**ḡota8an v<el> **skat e**ḡo8as *il n'y a qu'une couchée, qu'un gîte*
- 7 KCSC: **etiontenroketaj d'eeias**
- 8 KCSC: *au milieu de nos villag<es>*
- 9 KCSC: **te on**ḡitsenhia_i
- 10 KCSC: *nous sommes 2 face à face*
- 11 KCSC: addition 'ndeheren loin'
- 12 **ndeheren**
- 13 KCSC: **8enchtra** v<el> **8o indeheren t'etisk8andare ?** *combien y a t'il d'ici a votre village?*

aonj iðenti ti-en? indeheren¹ aenj entiek a-araj aieeon? y a-t-il pour un jour; pour un demi jour de chemin²
θo ichien hien indeheren³ d'etionnontate⁴, chia xa il y a loin com<me> d'icy a etionnontate
θo iotoðan dexa de estiaj⁵ combien y a t'il de journees (couchées) d'icy au sault
θo iaon ahonaio ekandatraxe chia xa⁶ on l'a tué loin dela com<me> d'icy au viel village
θo iaon ekandaðate chia ekannonchiaen il y a aussi loin du dit lieu a la riviere que d'icy a cette maison
θo iaon ontare d'ekandaðate chia xa v<el> ontare iaon ekandaðate chia xa, ou il venoit vers nous, et en etoit aussi pres que d'icy a cette riviere⁷
onne ichien onðaonhatiend; onne ichen a-on-e tekðatenratek nous etions pres d'arriver, nous etions a la vue de village⁸

horae⁹

annen i-ar? quota est? ou est le soleil?
θo i-ar est haec hora ... le soleil est la
annen i-arak? quota erat? **θo i-arak** &c<etera>
xondaie eðatren chiatetson tu viendras icy a telle heure
xondaie eðatren chiateke je viendrai icy a telle heure
askati arakði eðatrakðat il sera apres midy
ekðatren eðatrahās andiare ce sera apres se lever
aiostorenska ce seroit de bonne heure
[i_n]a_ðaraθonkða a l'heure de notre coucher
áson te ekarak le soleil n'etait pas encore levé
etionnonties de (valet) temps en temps (ab **onda** spatium)

- 1 **ndeheren**
- 2 **kcsc: k: iðenti indeheren; entiek e-araj aieeon?** y a t'il pour un jour; pour un demi jour de chemin?
- 3 **ndeheren**
- 4 The place where the Petun lived.
- 5 **kcsc: θo io toðan dexa de estiaj**
- 6 **kcsc: θo iaon ahonaio ekandatraxe chia xa**
- 7 **kcsc: θo iaon ontare dex'andaðate chia xa v<el> ontare iaon ekandaðate chia xa,** il venoit vers nous, et il en etoit aussi proche que d'icy a cette riviere
- 8 **kcsc: onne ichien onðaonhatiend⁴; onne ichien a-on-e tekðatenratek** nous etions proche d'arriver, nous etions a la vue de village
- 9 **kcsc:** included in 'adverbia temporis', no separate section

aḡentenhaon aḡo onne tioskenhia orhendihatie v<el> **ontaotratie** v<el>
ontaḡatren onne v<el> **oronkḡa te** *le point du jour*
áson orahḡie . nnen . ḡik mane **onn'aorhenha** *il fait jour*
ason t'eorhendik eḡenk chia t'ekḡaraskḡa *je partirai de la avant le jour*
ason te kḡatrahak v<el> **ason te tiorhenskḡa** *le soleil n'étoit pas encore levé*
d'onne ontiek *a mon reveil*, **oneskḡek** *a votre reveil*
tontaoḡhatie *quand on se leve*
ḡo iḡar ti aaiaḡenk *environ les 9 heures, quand la rosee est seche*
ḡo ti skḡatsatañionk *a l'heure q'>u>e vous dinez*
ḡenteḡ haon ishaon *il est revenu sur le midy*
entiek onna iḡar *il est midy* **ḡentiek aḡatien**
iḡaia askati arakḡi *il est un peu apres midy*
t'oronhiaḡenchʳon *le soleil decline*
eonatentaḡasta v<el> **ekḡentondej onne** *le grand matin*
atitokḡihatie *le soleil va se coucher*
onn'akḡatóχḡa v<el> **aḡandichʳenha** *le soleil se couche*
onn'onḡasonta *est je ne vois plus goute à travailler*
onne orahḡi *nox est*

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adverbia temporis vide pag<ina> 68¹

te ḡenteḡek *d'icy a 2 jours*
achiḡenk eḡenteḡek *d'icy a 3 jours*
isoon haon *à suo reditu*
ndak iḡentaḡe esoon *a 4or diebus redijt*
ekoček *l'hyver prochain*
achiḡenk onna ^{iskḡakḡa} **onsonḡakḡa** *j'ai couché 3 nuits*
achiḡenk onna onsaonḡataḡi *nous avons couché 3 nuits*
ndak onne iḡentaḡe ti haon deχa *il est arrivé il y a 4 jours*
ḡo onna iḡennaḡe dic iḡoinnḡhaḡe χa ti saón *combien combien y a t'il d'an-
nees que vous etes arrivé icy?*

1 kcsc: included in 'adverbia temporis', no separate section

asen χα ti i8aⁿ ιον *il y a 10 ans* vel **asen onna ake**εnnⁿhⁿiaj **asen onni akochria**j decem hyemes egi
θo e8entaεk es 'aon quot intra dies redibit
onh8ati onne ti sarandi, jam diu aegrotas?
ndak onne aεnta8a de te 8aⁿatonha- renron v<el> **ndak onne i8enta**ε atek8ârⁿandi *il y a 4 jours*
achienk onna ahenta8a de hatihononnⁿsiak *il y a 5 jours qu'ils font un canot*
ts8tare ahenta8a chia ahatennonchichien *il a mis 7 jours a faire la cabane*

Observationes in adverbia

1° pleraq<ue> adverbia inflectunt<u>r per tempora ad instar verborum impersonalium<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **onderati** trop, valde .. **onderatinnen** erat valde .. **e**anderat erit valde ... **â**anderat esset valde .. **anionderatik** esset valde¹ ... **anionderatinnen**² fuisset valde v<el> *auroit été bien autre chose*

- **atrondi i**en *c'est assez* .. **atrondi** εhen *c'etoit* .. **atrondi e**enk *ce sera* &c<etera> **θo ioti**³ sic se res habet ... **θo eotik** habebit⁴ .. **θo iôtinnen** sic res fuerat⁵ .. **θo aiotinnen** sic res fuisset .. **eotis** v<el> **chiateoti**⁶ *toutes ces choses sont dememe prix* &c<etera>

- **ndeheren** procul **ndeherennen** procul erat v<el> fuerat⁷ * **iskeheren** *il y a trop loin* &c<etera>⁸ - **tioskeheñia** propehe⁹ **tioske[henia]** εhen prope est v<el> fuit^{10 11}&c<etera> * **χα ti oskenia**

itsoskenen *il ny a q<u>e trop proche* &c<etera>¹² **iskandeia** *cela n'est q<u>e trop bien*¹³ &c<etera> **its8kaot** *cela n'est que trop mauvais* &c<etera>¹⁴

1 kcsc: fuisset valde

2 kcsc: **añionderatinnen**

3 kcsc: **θo io 'ti**

4 kcsc: **θo eo 'tik** sic erit, sic se res habebit + placed after '**θo iôtinnen**'

5 kcsc: sic res erat v<el> fuerat

6 kcsc: **chiate ôti**

7 kcsc: omission 'v<el> fuerat'

8 kcsc: omission '**iskeheren** *il y a trop loin* &c<etera>'

9 kcsc: '**tioskennia** prope'

10 kcsc: '**tioskennia** εhen prope erat v<el> fuerat'

11 kcsc: addition '**isteheren** *fort loin* (non) dic **okenniati ndeheren**)

12 kcsc: '**itsoskennia** *fort proche* (non) dic **χα tioskennia**'

13 kcsc: '*fort bien*'

14 kcsc: '*fort mal*'

2° nonnulla adverbia transeunt in nomina, atque adeo conjugantur per personas⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **sanderat** *tu es excessif (importun, insolent) en ce q⟨u⟩e tu veux ... **honderat** &c⟨etera⟩ il est ... **stante ɖanderat** je ne suis point excessif, soit a demander soit a reprendre &c⟨etera⟩ ab adverbio **onderati**¹ **eonɖatis** nous sommes egaux .. **eskɖatis** vous .. **chiate onditi** elles sont de meme qualite ²(ab **ióti**)*

e.etsaon je prendrai courage .. **echietsaon** tu, **ehatsaon** il ... **eaistenniaon** estenniaon prennon courage nous ³.. **etistennsiaon** **ekɖastennsiaon** prennon⁴ . **âhatistennsiaon** qu'ils (ab **ætsaon**⁵)

3° adverbia al(i)q⟨uan⟩do subeunt compositionem⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩: **harihɖanderatannonk**⁶ (*il exaggere, non, sed*) *c'est un grand pecheur*

4° quaedam regunt post se fut⟨urum⟩: talia sunt **sahɖen** *attends* v⟨el⟩ *attendez*⁷ .. **atoen** *afinque*: .. **chieskechien** *afinque*: .. **ennon** v⟨el⟩ **ennonchien** *ne* (vox prohibentis- .. **te ɖastaθo** *ne faites pas*⁸⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ ... *nolo* ... vox recusantis ... **andiare**⁹ *auparavant*⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

sahɖen echiaraskɖa *attends a partir*

heshetsaron haɖendio ¹⁰v⟨el⟩ **de diɖ atoen**¹¹ v⟨el⟩ **chieskechien** (*valet*)¹² **ehientenr** *prie dieu afinqu'il ait pitie de toy*

ennonchien v⟨el⟩ **te ɖastaθo echiaraskɖa** *ne pars pas*

N. ehaon andiare, chia desa echiaraskɖa *apres que N sera venu, tu partiras*

5° quaedam exigunt post se aor⟨istum⟩, talia sunt **kɖe de te** *de peur que, afinq⟨ue⟩, peutetreq⟨ue⟩*: ... **tse** *de peur que* ... **aro** *en deça*⟨,⟩ *apres* .. **chi** *au dela, avant*⟨,⟩¹³ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩

N hesenditanda kɖe de t'ahientenr *va t'en prier N, peutetre qu'il qu'il*¹⁴ *aura pitie de toj*

1 KCSC: '**stante ɖanderat** je ne suis pas excessif à demander &c⟨etera⟩ (ab **onderati**)

2 KCSC: addition '(valet)

3 KCSC: **aetistennsiaon** prennon courage tous 2

4 KCSC: **ækɖastennsiaon** prennon courage

5 KCSC: **etsaon**

6 KCSC: **harihɖanderatannonk**

7 KCSC: '*attendez*'

8 KCSC: omission '*ne faites pas*'

9 KCSC: **andsiare**

10 **hoɖendia**

11 KCSC: **e diɖ atoen**

12 KCSC: omission '(valet'

13 KCSC: addition '*dic skat au dela*'

14 KCSC: omission 'qu'il'

ennonchien echrih8anderaj, k8e nondechon t'achiatetsirat¹; *ne peche pas de peur que*

tu ne sois damné ... v<el> **tse** &c<etera>

aro aanda8ati *au dela de l'eau*² **aro andek8ati** *apres le bapteme*³ **ehi skat aanda8ati** *au de la de l'eau*⁴ **chia aiatet**⁵ *nous ne sommes tous 2 qu'un* * **chi [...]****etiatat**, *nous ne sommes tous 2 qu'un*⁶ **ehi skat itannonchiati** *au dela de la cabane*⁷ * eodem <m>o<d>o construitur **acha8i**⁸.<.> v<erbi> g<ratia> **acha8i aaachingotati** *au dessus du genou* (non) dic **achingotati**⁹

6° q<uan>do duo simul adverbialia, v<el> nomen cum adverbio praeest verbo, utrum illorum praecedere debeat immediate verbum, exempla sequentia ostendunt **stan i8aia te onatandik** v<el> **stan atiaondi** ^{i8aia} **te onrak8anon** *te timeo prorsus (je ne me soucie pas de toy)*¹⁰

i8annen te saen askatenraha ^{aostont} v<el> **aski tenraha astont**¹¹ *si tu en avois beaucoup tu men ferois part*

stan 8o te aeren *id non ita factum est*¹² **stan xa te 8a te sk8añien**¹³ *je n'en ay pas plus de la grosseur de cela*.<.> v<erbi> g<ratia> *du bout du doigt*

te ato8en te s'oon, <n>o<n> est verum quod redierit * in quibus exemplis vides **te** sive significet non sive si, verbo immediate adhaerere

* excipe q<uan>do illud **te** negativum concurrit cum **chi** significante *auparavant* nam tunc **chi** immediate adhaeret verbo, et **te** mutatur in **ta**.<.> v<erbi> g<ratia> **stan ta chi 8aien (8anien)**¹⁴ *je n'en ai jamais eu.*

stan ta chi onate 8aakeronchend, d'ason te 8arih8iosti¹⁵ *je n'aurais pas meme peur quoiq<ue> je n'eusse pas la foy*

* attamen **chi** in concursu cum affirmativo praeit illi, interseritur a<.> v<erbi> g<ratia> **chia te hasenx8ask8a** *il pleurroit auparavant* (Pater dixit: **chi**

1 KCSC: **ennonchien echrih8anderaj, k8e n'ondechon t'achiatetsirat**

2 KCSC: *en deça de la riviere*

3 KCSC: *avant le batême*

4 KCSC: *au dela de la riviere*, addition '**skat aontarati** *au dela du lac ... skat aandatati* *au dela du village*'

5 KCSC: **chia aiatat**

6 KCSC: omission '**chi [...]****etiatat**, *nous ne sommes tous 2 qu'un*'

7 KCSC: placed before **chia aiatat**: '**skat aannonchiati** *au dela de la cabane*'

8 KCSC: **achra8i**

9 KCSC: **achra8i aachingotati** *au dessus du genou* (dic: **achingotati**)

10 KCSC: **stan i8aia te onatandik** non te timeo prorsus, addition : '**stan i8aia te onrak8a** *je ne me soucie pas de toy ... te saorak8a* ille illos non cura[t]

11 KCSC: **i8annen te saen, askatenraha** v<el> **askitenrhaj** v<el> **astont**

12 KCSC: omission '**stan 8o te aeren** *id non ita factum est*'

13 KCSC: **stan xa te 8a; te sk8añien**

14 KCSC: **stan ta chi 8añien** (dic: **stan chi onati 8añien**)

15 KCSC: **stan chi onatei te 8aakeronch'eñd', d'a [son] te 8arih8iosti**

hasenχ8ask8a¹ * .. item q⟨uan⟩do **chi** signans *loin*, concurrat cum **te** seu affirmativo, seu negative

tunc **chi** non adhaeret immediate verbo, v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **stan chi te 8aeti**
je n'iray pas loin (valet)²

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stan chi te řeθa *il ne va pas loin*

* q⟨uan⟩do **te** neg⟨ativum⟩ concurrat cum **te** affirm⟨ativo⟩ v⟨el⟩ cum **te** signante si, tunc **te** neg⟨ativum⟩ praebet **te** affirmativo, et mutat suum **_e** finale in **a⟨,⟩** v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **a_oniθ aonñio ta de te chrache**³ *je te tue si tu ne consens*

ondechon echiatetsirat ta te chrih8iostande (valet) v⟨el⟩ **onta te sari-h8iosti**, *tu seras malheureux dans l'enfer si tu ne crois point*⁴ **stante o_enron ta te hasenχ8as** v⟨el⟩ **stante o_enron sta te hasenχ8as** *ce n'est pas pour peu* qu conicunctivus) *il pleure, ou s'il pleure inconsolablement*

* q⟨uan⟩do **ti** v⟨el⟩ **sti** praecedunt **te** mutant finale **i** in **a⟨,⟩** v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **stan θo te tseerha ta te tistentondi** *on ne fait plus ainsi à l'age ou vous etes tous deux*⁵ * q⟨uan⟩do **te** neg⟨ativum⟩ concurrat cum verbo **chi_entak8i** *faire tout expres*, tunc sic postponitur: **stan chi 8_aitak8 te_en** *je n'ay pas fait cela expres*⁶

7° q⟨uan⟩do aliquod verbum caret tempore futuro neg⟨ativo⟩, tunc utendum est affirmativo potentiali⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ *je ne le ferai pas expres* **stan chi â_ítak atiehien?**⁷ *Le ferois exprés chi-aon_ítak8ik atichien? L'aurois je fais expres?*

8° **tsinnen** et **tša'ten**⁸ quis, quae, sunt semper feminini g⟨ene⟩ris et singularis n⟨ume⟩ri **tsinnen** v⟨el⟩ **tsaten onta8e** *q⟨u⟩i est cela q⟨u⟩i vient en deça*⁹

1 KCSC: dic: **te hasenχ8ask[8a]**

2 KCSC: **stan chi te 8a_éti** *je n'irai pas loin*, omission 'valet'

3 KCSC: **a_oniθ ta te chr_ache** (dic **a_oniθ de te chrachre**)

4 KCSC: **ondechon echiatetsirat ta te** v⟨el⟩ **onta te** (dic: **de stante**) **chrih8iostande** v⟨el⟩ **sari-h8iosti**, *tu seras malheureux dans l'enfer si tu ne crois*

5 KCSC: *on ne fait plus ainsi à l'age ou vous etes* (valet)

6 KCSC: **stan chi-8a_ítak8i t'e_en**

7 KCSC: **stan chi-â_ítak** (non dic: **stan chi â_ítak atichien**)

8 KCSC: **tsaten**

9 KCSC: quis v⟨el⟩ q⟨uo⟩d venit

* **annenronnon**¹ potest esse utriusque g⟨ene⟩ris et numeri⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **annenronnon d'axichien** v⟨el⟩ **annenronnon d'ahaon 8achien** (non) **aonxichien** *de quel país sont ceux q⟨u⟩e nous avons tués*²

9° quaedam particulae semper postponuntur ut **asen .. sken** v⟨el⟩ **asken .. ati**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **tajitenr asen** v⟨el⟩ **asken** *de graces ayes pitie de moy*³ **ondaie ati** *taot ex'ioti? quare?*⁴ .. **t'atichien** v⟨el⟩ **θo ichien** *cela est ainsi (alibi eh quoi donc)? ihatonk ati, il dit donc*⁵ * **sen** et **onek** al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do praecedunt, al⟨i⟩q⟨uan⟩do postponuntur⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **ta sen te aketas** *Dieu veuille que je ne porte pas ... te aketask8a? que ne portois-je?*⁶ **onek harihonn8iak** *il fait un conte a plaisir orih8skon onek atendot*⁷ *il raconte l'affaire sans raison*

ene θ'onek *ce n'est que graisse* (alibi **one θ'onek**)⁸

10° multa adverbia gallica efferuntur, apud hurones, per verba⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩: **saθarat tarih8añiensten** *enseigne moy bien ...* ubi **aθarati** supplet vicem adverbiis bene⁹ **sak8ichoton xa hatser**: *efforce toy; fait de cette façon* (alibi: *fait cela genereusement*)

hatser pro **tser ha** ob emphasim¹⁰ **sateiennondia** (**sateniennoronia**) *fait proprement (ti sehataton de ventre molun)*¹¹ **sateia taha de chiatrío**¹² *combas genereusement* (

hati8ejhatie¹³ *ils vont ensemble*

achi8enk ihenñonhatie *ils sont 3 ensemble*

aatetsirati, aendi onr8annen, *je suis bien malheureux moy q⟨u⟩i ai de l'esprit* (alibi *j'ai un grand esprit*) v⟨el⟩ *j'ai effroiablement de l'esprit*¹⁴ **oki decha haoten ti ondi onr8annen** *elle a un grand esprit*¹⁵ **eθaonda'en8ati** v⟨el⟩ **eθotondore**

1 KCSC: **annenron non**

2 KCSC: omission 'v⟨el⟩ **annenronnon d'ahaon 8achien** (non) **aonxichien**' + addition: 'non **8achien**, neq⟨ue⟩ **tsinnen d'axichien**' + addition: '**annenronnon d'aonxichien** ? *qui sont ceux qui nous ont tué* ?

3 KCSC: *ayes pitie de moy*

4 KCSC: **ondaie ati** *c'est pourquoi taot ex'ioti?* quare

5 KCSC: addition: **t'atichien** v⟨el⟩ **θo ichien** sic est ... et alibi: *eh quoi donc*

6 KCSC: **te aketask8a sen!** *que ne portois-je*

7 KCSC: omission '**atendot**'

8 KCSC: **eñe θ'onek** *ce n'est que graisse, huile*

9 KCSC: omission 'ubi **aθarati** supplet vicem adverbiis bene'

10 KCSC: **hatser** pro **tser** ob emphasim

11 KCSC: **sateniennonn8ia** *fais proprement* (v⟨el⟩ **ti sehataton**)

12 KCSC: **sateiataha de chiatrío**

13 KCSC: **hati8ejhatie**

14 KCSC: omission '(alibi *j'ai un grand esprit*) v⟨el⟩ *j'ai effroiablement de l'esprit*'

15 KCSC: **oki haoten ti hondi onr8annen** *il a un grand esprit (il a de l'esprit com⟨me⟩ un demon)*

hondi_onrask₈i vel: **otentondi** (penitus) **te hondi_oont** ... vel **ande₈ate te annenniate te hondi_oont**, *il n'a point d'esprit, c'est un pauvre hom<me> tous a fait* (ab **a_oen₈ati** *tournoyer* et **onda** *espace*)¹ **ondaie haoten te hiat₈ten d'âsetenrha, d'atennonh₈eha**² *il est digne de compassion ou d'amour*

11° aliquae voces accipiuntur declinabiliter et indeclinabiliter<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> .. **on₈e** .. **oki** .. **etsihenstatsi** ut .. **on₈e saton**² *faits toy hom<me>* ... **oki satatonn₈ia**⁴ *faits du diable* ... **etsihenstatsi e₈oton achienk onne ochre** *il est jesuite depuis &c<etera>*⁵

12° nomina signantia res a<nim>atas conjugantur, non autem alia; sic non dicitur **achienk atinnonchia**, sed **achienk iannonchia_e<,>** seu potius **iannonske** 3 *cabanes*⁶ **achienk ehatind₈iahon**⁷ 3 *males* * dicitur tamen **achienk i_oaata_e de tia₈enron_o**⁸ *trois anguilles* **θo i_oaata_e tia₈enron_o** *combien d'anguilles* -. ? **ach ion**⁹

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onra₈ointe¹¹ **te on₈dannion** **te ondatatriosti de and₈chra** *un fusil vaut un robe*

ondaie te ondennion ... **ondaie te iatatrios** v<el> **te iatatrios** ... **ondaie tendennions, ondatak_onhen ondatat₈i_θ atiatatrios skande_hat** *cela vaut 4 francs*

taoten [Joio eonnont v<el> **to . i₈a** v<el> **te iatatrio** v<el> **taaten θo e_onnant e₈endi?** *q<u>e coutera, q<u>e vaudra, q<u>e vendra t'on cela?*

skande₈at te ondennion ... **te ondatatrio** ... **akiatatrio** 4 *fr<ancs>*: *cela a été vendu ou acheté 4 fr<ancs>*

1 KCSC: **e₈aonda_ienti hondi_onrask₈i** (non : **e₈otondore**) v<el> **otentondi** (penitus) **te hondi_oont** v<el> **te en₈enni₈iate te hondi_oont**, *il n'a point d'esprit du tout* (ab **a_oen₈ati** *tournoyer* et **onda** *espace*)

2 KCSC: **ondaie haoten** v<el> **ti haat₈ten d'âsetenrha, d'atennonh₈eha**

4 KCSC: **on₈e saton**

4 KCSC: **oki sat₈atonn₈ia**

5 KCSC: **etsihenstatsi e₈oton achienk onne ochre** *il est jesuite depuis 3 ans*

6 KCSC: **achienk hatinnonchia**, sed **achienk iannonchia_e** v<el> **achienk iannonska** 3 *cabanes*

7 KCSC: **achienk hatind₈iahon**

8 KCSC: **achienk i_oaata_e de tia₈enron_o**

9 KCSC omission **'ach ion'**

10 KCSC: omission of entire paragraph, but see footnotes to page 72

11 **ahonra₈ointa**

taoten iøies iatatrio de chiatendinnonsθa? *q<u>e vaut ce q<u>e tu veux vendre*

θo iøerha deχa? *valet q<u>e vaut cela .. vide ennion .. aio v<el> ario .. aeren .. * aeren mos e<st>*

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De praepositionibus

ex particulis q<u>ae praeponuntur, aliae sunt separabiles **eta** ^{e^{inta}e¹} infra **ach^ra^θi** supra sursum, alia sunt inseparabiles ut 1° **S** quam vocamus particulam reiterationis unitatis et excessûs .. 2° **T** quam vocamus notam distantiae, temporis v<el> loci ... 3° **te**² q<u>o<d> vocamus affirmationis, dualitatis, divisionis v<el> notam perennitatis, et totalitatis ... 4° **chiate**³ nota aequalitatis Quo <m>o<d>o p<rae>po<sition>es latinae efferuntur per par<ticu>las quae postponuntur

ad .. apud .. in exprimuntur per aliquam ex par<ticu>lis **e . ke . ske . nde** . - .

vocabulis desinentibus in **t** v<el> **k** postponitur **ke** loco dictarum litterarum ut **θtenrθke**⁴ *chez θtenrθt* ..⁵ **handotonke** *chez handotonk* .. **aatonn^hatake** *a la fin de ma vie ahach^renke* *pendant le conseil* ..⁶ **orihθentandie**⁷ *a la fin de l'affaire* ... * vocabulis terminatis in **S** v<el> **Ch**. loco illarum ponitur, **ske**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **andachiaske** *chez andachiach*⁸ ... * vocabulis aliter terminatis, nunc **e**, nunc **de** v<el> **nde** postponitur<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **hechonde** *chez echon* ... **ondθa^onde**⁹ *chez sa mere* ... **arenhondi nde** *chez arenhondi* ...¹⁰

1 KCSC: e^tae (inta^e)

2 KCSC: T

3 KCSC: chia te

4 KCSC: addition '(dic: θtenrθtke)'

5 KCSC: addition 'θochingoke chez les mis'

6 KCSC: ahachienke pendant le conseil, dans le cons<eil>

7 KCSC: orihθa^ontandie

8 KCSC: handachiaske chez handachiach, addition 'matthiaske chez matthias'

9 KCSC: hondθe^onde

10 KCSC: addition 'ondechraθasti-nde chez ondechraθasti'

onsa8atatron 8a^{oia}ndie,¹ *en confession ... kierre de v<el> kierre ande chez pierre*² *

sub .. intus .. super, saepe per easdem par<ticu>las exprimuntur, ut **annen-
h8aŋe i8at**³ *cela est dans le sac* **annonchiae iara** *dessus la cabane* ...
a8eŋe aoha⁴ *cela vient de tomber dans l'eau* ... **atsistae aontaha** *cela est
tombé dans le feu* ... **ondende a8entontraha**⁵ *il repose sur la terre*

* eadem par<ticu>lae affiguntur particulis q<u>ae numerantur ut **te
8enta**⁶ *2 jours* ... **achienk i8enta**⁶ *3 jours* ... **ndak i annonske** *4 cabanes* ...
asen io,ake iara⁷ *10 mailles pro io,ara⁷ ... **te aronta**⁷ *2 arbres**

* ad 4^{or} quaestiones loci ubi unde quo et quà, respondetur eodem
<m>o<d>o per istam finalem **andatae**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>: **annen ihentron?** *ou
est il?*⁸ **andatae** *il est au village*⁹ **annen tontare?** *dou vient il?*¹⁰ **andatae**
*du village*¹¹ ... **annen aretandi?** *ou va il?* **and[atae]** *au village*¹² ... **annen
arēndi** *par ou a t'il passé?* **andatae** *par le village*¹³

intus *dedans* **andaon** ext<ra> comp<ositione>: .. **aon** in comp<ositione>
ut **chiataon** v<el> **chiesk8aon** *dans ton ventre* ... **annonaon**¹⁴ *sous l'eau, au
fond de l'eau* ... **arhaon** *dans le bois* ... **ondechon** *dans l'enfer*¹⁵ ... **andataon**
v<el> **andatae** *dans le village* .. **annonskon** *dans la cabane* **aronhia**¹⁴ *dans
le ciel* ... **asetaon** *dans la bouteille &c<etera>* ... * q<uan>do **aon** signat va-
cuitatem est p<aradymatis> **S**, ut: **oon nondaie** *cela est vuide*¹⁶ ... **osetaon/
oset8skon** *courge vuide*¹⁷ .. **onnonskon** *cabane vuide*

- 1 KCSC: placed after **onnontioe, onsa8atatrondi**
- 2 KCSC: omission 'chez pierre', addition 'onnontioe, chez onnontio'
- 3 KCSC: **annenh8a^{oia}ŋe i8at**
- 4 KCSC: **a8e^{oia}ŋe aoha**
- 5 KCSC: **n'ondende a8entontraha**
- 6 KCSC: **achienk i8enta**
- 7 KCSC: **asen io,ara** *10 mailles de rets* (non: **ioa,ke**)
- 8 KCSC: ubi est?
- 9 KCSC: in vico
- 10 KCSC: **annen t'ontare** unde venit?
- 11 KCSC: ex pag[o]
- 12 KCSC: **annen aretande? andatae** quo vadit? in pagum
- 13 KCSC: **annen arendi? andatae** qua transit? per pagum
- 14 KCSC: **annoñaon**
- 15 KCSC: *sous terre, en enfer*
- 16 KCSC: omission 'oon nondaie cela est vuide'
- 17 KCSC: **oset8skon** (pro **osetaon**) *courge, bout<eille> vuide*

extra ¹**heenk** .. **hengenk** v<el> **hegenk** ^{ara} *au dehors* .. v<el> potius **engen** *en apparence*²

ultra ³**chi**⁴<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>: **chi** ^{skat} **aandaŝati**⁵ *au dela du fleuve* dic **skat aandaŝati**

citra⁶ **aro**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>: **aro aandaŝati** *en deça de la riviere* (ipse ultro decrevit)⁷

ultro **chi** ⁸<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **chi** ^{onhŝat chi irerhe}⁹ **hotonnhonannondi** *il etoit determine a cela avant qu'on lui en parlat*¹⁰

prae et ante **chi**¹¹<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>: * **chi henton** est ante omnia saecula .. * **chi aiaehiaraha** v<el> **ndeheren aontaiaehiaraha** praecavendum est¹²... * **chieont onati** *du coté de devant toy*¹³ * **aondechenhaon aŝatien**¹⁴ *il est de toute eternité..* * **ondaie eŝarontio**¹⁵ * **eŝaŝendio**¹⁶ est dominus prae aliis ... * **N. eŝaatsinnen**, N vocabatur antea ... * **ondaie d'eŝenchon** *celui q<u>i s'appelloit hechon*¹⁷ ... * **eŝonontio**¹⁸ *le gouverneur d'aparavant* ... * **ondaie ekŝaen**, hoc ante dixi .. * **stante kŝarandinnen** nolueram antea¹⁹ .. * **nendi eont isa chieont, haont nondaie** devant moy . toy . lui ..²⁰*

echioatenk, chiechioatenk &c<etera> *derriere moy toy* &c<etera>²¹

prope, juxta, brevi ... * **ontaonriohe** *je suis sur le point d'etre tue*²²... * **onni tioskënia eihēj** ... * **onta,ihonchre** *les jongleurs je suis sur le point de mourir*²³... * **ti andatata** *proche le bourg* .. * **ti annonchiata** *proche la cabane* ... * **stan**

1 kcsc: addition 'au dehors'

2 kcsc: **engenk** v<el> **engen** ... **ara** ... *au dehors* ... *en apparence seulement*

3 kcsc: addition 'au dela'

4 kcsc: addition 'dic **skat**'

5 kcsc: **skat aandaŝati**

6 kcsc: addition 'en deça'

7 kcsc: omission '(ipse ultro decrevit)'

8 kcsc: addition 'dic **onhŝati chi**'

9 kcsc: omission '**onhŝat chi irerhe**'

10 kcsc: addition: 'dic **onhŝati chi**'

11 kcsc: addition: 'per localitatem'

12 kcsc: **chi aiaehiaraha** v<el> **ndeheren aontaiaehiaraha** praevaeavendum est

13 kcsc: **chieont onati** *devant toi; du coté* &c<etera>

14 kcsc: **aondechenhaon aŝatien**

15 kcsc: omission '**ondaie [eŝarontio]**'

16 kcsc: **eŝaŝendio** (non : **eŝarontio**)

17 kcsc: **ondaie d'eŝenchron** *celui qui s'appelloit hechon* (dic **d'eŝenchron ehen**)

18 kcsc: **eŝonontio**

19 kcsc: **stante kŝarandinnen** nolueram prius

20 kcsc: placed after '**ontaiaehiarahae**', **nondaie haont**

21 kcsc: placed after '**chieont onati**', **chiechioaŝenk**, addition : 'non d<ici>t<u>r'

22 kcsc: **ontaonriohe** (v<el> **onne tioskënia eihēj**) *je suis sur le point d'etre tue* dic de mourir

23 kcsc: **onta,ihonchre** v<el> **tioskënia eihēj** *je suis sur le point de mourir...*

tiosken^{ia}nnen te ʒarihʒate il n'y a nulle apparence que telle chose arrive¹ .. *
tiosken^{ia}nen a iohie de chrihʒiost^{2 3} tu croiras bientôt

procul . * chie,annen eʒaatate d'âharihʒiost il est bien éloigné de croire ..
* ndeheren ekate de ʒarihʒiosti la foy est bien loin de lui ..⁴* ta chi tsokar-
ratati elle ne gardoit plus cela il y a long temps⁵ v<el> stan chi tsokaratati ..
* chie,annen eʒohʒicheñnion il la infiniment surpassé ...⁶* chie,annen a te
hiatre valde hi duo distant (a v<er>bo kʒ-aite)⁷

circa * andaʒatatie⁸ le long du fleuve .. * annentratatie⁹ le long du ri-
vage¹⁰ ab (ʒaiatie infini) vide ʒata)¹¹

in medio achienñonk v<el> te ondoen * akario,enhatie satrendaen prie
dieu entre d eux¹²

vis à vis¹³ * te ʒanda, en, te sanda, en 2^{ae} p<aradygmatis> S vis a vis de la
porte de la maison¹⁴ te skʒanda, en vis a vis de votre potre

post et postquam .. * d'aʒeskʒak apres, par apres, derriere,¹⁵ .. * aoskʒaj
te skachitenh^aʒis skangʒati valet d'aʒeskʒak haon tu m'apporteras un pied
d'elan du coté gauche de derriere¹⁶.. * sahʒan echiaraskʒa tu partiras apres
.. * sahʒen d'e, ihej¹⁷ apres ma mort ... * N. andiare es 'aon apres q<u>e N sera
de retour¹⁸

versus onāti ... * andaʒatekʒi onāti vers le fleuve, du coté qui regarde
la riviere .. * andataentakʒi onāti du coté ou est le bourg ... * te ʒatoχʒaθa
onāti¹⁹ vers l'occident ... * kʒatrakʒat onāti²⁰ vers le levant ... * entiek onāti²¹

1 KCSC: stan tioskennia te ʒarihʒate il ny a aucune apparence que cela arrive

2 echrihʒiost

3 KCSC: tioskennia d'echrihʒiost

4 KCSC: placed after 'chie,annen a te hiatre'

5 KCSC: onhʒati chi te tsokaratati il y a long temps qu'elle ne gardoit point cela

6 KCSC: placed after 'chie,annen eʒaatate d'âharihʒiost'

7 KCSC: omission 'a v<er>bo kʒ-aite'

8 KCSC: addition: 'v<el> andaʒatatia'

9 KCSC: annenti'ratatia

10 KCSC: le long du lac, du rivage

11 KCSC: omission: 'ab (ʒaiatie infini) vide ʒata)', addition '(non : annentratatia)

12 KCSC: achiennonk v<el> te ondo, en akario,enhatie satrendaen prie entre (valet) deux

13 KCSC: addition: kända, en

14 KCSC: vis à vis de ma porte, vis à vis de sa porte

15 KCSC: addition 'dans la suite'

16 KCSC: aoskʒaj te chitenh^aʒis skangʒati d'aʒeskʒak haon tu m'apporteras un pié d'original du
coté gauche de derriere (valet)

17 KCSC: sahʒen d'e, ihej

18 KCSC: onsa haon and, iare d'aniena apres que mon fils sera de retour

19 KCSC: te ʒatoχʒaθa onāti

20 KCSC: kʒatrakʒat onāti

21 KCSC: entiek onāti

vers le midy ... * **atsihise onáti**¹ vers le septentrion ... * **andatae onáti** vers le bourg *² **chierenh8iti**³ vers ton coté droit ... *⁴ **θo ichien etie8endrak8i anñien,e** la parole est du coté des agniens, on est pour eux⁵... * **θo a,a8et onta,annenrontie**⁶ nous allons du coté de l'armée
sub v<el> **infra** dessous, sous **étae** à bas ..⁷ * **ondechon** sous la terre
 ... * **enk8aro,ennen** dessous la couverte ... * **ah8en,aro,ennen hotaseti** il s'est caché **anonto,ennen** sub arbore⁸ **andatso,ennen**⁹ sous la chaudiere
 &c<etera>

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sous la table¹⁰... * **chie,annen etiorannenta,i** cela est bien au dessous (dessus) en matiere de prix

super .. supra .. * **endichrae i,ara** cela est sur le buffet .. * **ieron,e a,aen-taha** cela est tombé sur moy .. * **hechon ahoatannonnen v<el> ahoatan-nonh8eha** le sort, est tombé sur hechon (sors illum amavit) * sursum **acha8i**¹¹
de .. e .. ex * **andatae tonta,e**¹² venio ex vico ... * **annion,enhake haon**¹³
 ex gallia .. * **ah8endo,e** d'angleterre .. * **hechone ek8a,ia,endinnen**¹⁴ exi-veram ex domo hechonis
quoad .. quatenus * **andak8a,e v<el> andak8a,e haon** quant a l'impureté, pour ce q<u>i regarde l'impureté ..

- 1 kcsc: **atsihise onáti**
- 2 kcsc: placed after '**andataentak8i onáti**'
- 3 kcsc: **chieñenh8iti**
- 4 kcsc: addition: '**seng8ati** vers ta gauche'
- 5 kcsc: **θo ichien etie8ennrak8i anñien,e** la parole est du coté des anniens (on est pour eux ... on leur obei)
- 6 kcsc: **θo aa,8ét onta,annenrontie**
- 7 kcsc: addition: '**inta,e** dans la prairie'
- 8 kcsc: **ah8en,aro,ennen** sous la planche ... **aronto,ennen hotaséti** il est caché sous l'arbre
- 9 kcsc: **andatsoennen**
- 10 kcsc: omission 'sous la table'
- 11 kcsc: separate paragraph, **achra8i** + addition '**acha8i hatia8ehatie** ils voguent au large'
- 12 kcsc: **andata,e t'onta,e**
- 13 kcsc: **anñion,enhake haon**
- 14 kcsc: **henchron,e ek8a,ia,endinnen**

* **andak8a de atiaondi te n̄ ienteri**¹ *quant a l'impureté je ne scais ce q<u>e c'est ..* * **hechon de?** *quant a hechon? ou est il?* &c<etera> vel: **haatae de hechon** v<el> **de hechon haoten ..**²* **ondaie ihontonk iniontonk isa chiatatae**, *on dit cela de toy*³

usque ad .. * **eijej aθo, e8arih8iostihatie**⁴ . v<el> **θo t'eonn'hesa e8arih8iostik**⁵ v<el> **eonnhontie e8arih8iostihatie**⁶ v<el> **e8arih8iostik oont eatonnhaten**⁷ . v<el>: **e8arih8iostik iθochien eijej**⁸ *je garderai vos commandements jusqu'a la mort ..* * **etiotendatata: echion** *tu arriveras jusqu'au bout du bourg ..* * **ek8aendeiata**⁹ *je n'arrive pas jusqu'e> la*

tenus * **chiate ennontetsi iond8te**¹⁰ *il a de l'eau jusqu'a mi-jambe* * **θo iond8teti end8iasont**¹¹ *il a de l'eau jusqu'au cou* * **t'ate eatiaj iond8te**¹² *de l'eau jusqu'a la ceinture (iond8te creux)*¹³ .. * **θo eotiati** non i<ntel>k<e>git<u>r **te ostontrae**¹⁴ *cela arrive jusqu'a la jointures des doigts .. vel .. te ostonstrannhontra* (>) v<erbi> g<ratia> *la playe est profonde de la longueur d'un article de doigt ...*¹⁵ * **te otonoti** *la balle est passé jusques en lave*¹⁶ **andaon eatiati** non i<ntel>k<e>git<ur> **de anda** *la fleche penetre jusques au dedans*¹⁷ ... * **etio ton** *cela n'arrive pas jusques la, il y manque*

au milieu .. a moitie, chiate¹⁸ ... * **chiate annonchietsi** *au milieu de la cabane ..* * **chiate aontsi**¹⁹ *egalement long*

sine²⁰* **oon nondaie**²¹ *cela est sans melange ..* * **oskenagon** *sagamité sans poisson, sans assaisonnement ..* * **aondechon** p̄r̄θ **aondech'aon** v<el>hah8entsaon

1 KCSC: **andak8a de atiaondi te n̄ ienteri**

2 KCSC: **hechon de ...** v<el> **haataae de hechon** v<el> **hechon haoten ...** *quant à hechon*

3 KCSC: **ondaie iniontonk** v<el> **iaenk isa chiatatae** *on dit cela de toi* (non: **ihontonk**)

4 KCSC: **eijej aθo, e8arih8iostihatie**

5 KCSC: **θo t'eonnhesa e8arih8iostik**

6 KCSC: **eonnhontie e8arih8iostihatie**

7 KCSC: **e8arih8iostik oont eatonnhaten**

8 KCSC: **eijej aθo e8aakaratahatie ti chie8end8ten**

9 KCSC: **ek8aendeiaθa**

10 KCSC: **chiate ennontetsi i8nd8te**

11 KCSC: **θo iond8te ti end8iasont**

12 KCSC: **ti eatiaj iond8te** (non : **t'ate eatiaj**)

13 KCSC: omission '(iond8te creux)'

14 KCSC: addition 'v<el> **ostontrañion**'

15 KCSC: **te ostontrae** v<el> **te ostonstrannhontra** *cela arrive jusqu'a la jointures des doigts*

16 KCSC: **te (θo) otonoti** *la balle* v<erbi> g<ratia> *a penetré jusque là*

17 KCSC: *la fleche penetre* (non)

18 KCSC: omission 'chiate'

19 KCSC: **chiate ontssi**

20 KCSC: addition: 'sans, desistué de &c<etera>, vuide'

21 KCSC: **a8skon n'ondaie** (non: **aon**)

pais sans monde .. *1 **te aatra nondaide sans cela, cela n'en est pas** ..2 * **stan te esenditi nous ferons sans toy** .. * **onn̄siann^d ̄o, te on̄ñennon desa³,**
nous irons sans toy ... * **etisaton^enen v<el> te chiatrak v<el> te chiatatek de on̄ḡahachientak⁴** nous avons tenu conseil sans toy
cum avec ... * **ondaie te andi je suis avec lui** * **ondaie te andi . aek̄8e viens avec nous** .. * **ondaie aḡentenhaon indes il va toujours avec lui**
coram ..2* **te chie₂ann^drak v<el>⁶ chie₂á₂tak⁷ ichitrontak** en ta presence,
 te vidente, praesente &c<etera>
palam * **aon₂e v<el> aon₂e ḡ ahente⁸** cela est a la vue de tous⁹ ... * **stan iḡaia te otonn^hiti** cela n'est point ignoré
clam * **andaon¹⁰: otase¹¹ .. hosaḡennenhatie** il va en cachette .. * **v<el> haotsahonkḡaen il parlent en cachette¹² hotetsahonkḡaen il parlent¹³ hosaḡenre** il craint d'etre decouvert ... * **on̄dech̄on honhḡentsa₂en iḡe de arihḡa** c'est une affaire cachée¹⁴... * **hatsahonkḡindeḡa** il parle en cachette
pro more &c<etera> **ientendi .. aōt .. e₂entakḡi¹⁵** cela est ordinaire * **ahaḡendḡten** c'est sa façon de parler ... * **ahañiendḡten** c'est sa façon de faire .. * **aoren¹⁶** mos est .. * **ondaie¹⁷ te ondennion v<el> te ondatakonhen** cela est au lieu de &c<etera>¹⁸ ... * **sonḡaerisen¹⁹ diḡ aroñhia₂e, ondaie eha-tenda₂erat: ti on̄ḡaḡaratihatiend,** deus nos compensabit pro meritis nostris .. * **ondaie hatenda₂eraḡa diḡ d'haonhḡa ti hokiḡḡen d'onn^h asonḡatenraha de tionnhekḡi : itsokenie d'asonḡannont n'on̄ḡonhḡa, te**

- 1 KCSC: **aondechra₂on v<el> aonhḡentsa₂on** pais sans monde, destitué d'habitans
- 2 KCSC: **te aatra n'ondaie** cela n'en est point
- 3 KCSC: **onn̄siann^d ̄o, te on̄ñennon desa**
- 4 KCSC: **etisatonnen v<el> te chiatrak v<el> te chiatatek de on̄ḡahachientak**
- 2 KCSC: addition 'en presence'
- 6 KCSC: addition 'chiatrak'
- 7 KCSC: **chie₂atak**
- 8 KCSC: **aon₂e v<el> ḡahente v<el> te ḡkarote**
- 9 KCSC: *cela est de l'aveue de tous*
- 10 KCSC: **andaon**
- 11 KCSC: **otaseti₂e**
- 12 KCSC: **hotsahon kḡaen** il parle en cachette **hotitsahonkḡaen** ils parlent en cachette, placed after 'hotsahonkḡindeḡa'
- 13 KCSC: **hotsahonkḡindeḡa** il parle à l'oreille, placed after 'hosaḡenre'
- 14 KCSC: **onhḡentsa₂en iḡe de arihḡa** c'est une affaire cachée (qui marche sous terre)
- 15 KCSC: * loco alterius * &c<etera> **a₂onnoñate v<el> e₂entakḡi** (non **oentendi** neq<ue> **aot**)
- 16 KCSC: **a₂onnonate** (non: **oeren**)
- 17 KCSC: addition 'ontatrio'
- 18 KCSC: addition 'vaut cela'
- 19 KCSC: **esonḡaerisen**

son̄akarātati te on̄andīont¹ deus pro dignitate sua et divitiis nobis imper-
tit bona: nimis modicum esset, q̄<uo>d nobis donaret, si tantum haberet nos-
tra tenuiatis rationem; nec enim aliquid meremur ... * **ēthesk̄8ann̄the** v<el>
θo ichien ehaatrak̄8i sa sk̄8āeron̄e² *il est pour vous ..* * **endi hāechonni-
an̄nik**³ *il travaille pour moy*

à .. ab .. **haon ..** * **annion̄enhake haon**⁴ *de france, ex gallia ..* * **is̄'oon
haon** v<el> **ti s̄'oon** *depuis qu'il est arrivé*⁵ ... * **enn̄hiek haon**⁶, ab anno
praeterito ... * **te θentāe ek̄8āēinnen** non manducavi a 2 diebus⁷... * **is̄
'orask̄8an haon**, **hatrendaentandihes**⁸ ab ipsius discessu semper venio ora-
tum pro illo –

propter ... propterea non exprimunt<u>r nisi per verba ... * **ondaie
haondi** *c'est pour cela* ... * **son̄h̄8a achierhon** v<el> **iseri** v<el> **ison̄di** *c'est
pour l'amour de toy* ... * **sarask̄8a sen, tāitenr parts** *pour l'amour de moy* ...
* **ondaie aondi aro etsise ti st̄'ī8āen**⁹ **aro as̄et** propterea huc venisti, quia
dixi veni ... * **ondaie χ'īóti** v<el> **ondaie īóti** *c'est pour cela*

contra per verbum exprimitur * **hāesk̄8ahens** *il est contre moy*¹⁰ .. * **ha-
rasennik**¹¹ *il est pour moy, scilicet, de mon avis* ... * **hāereθaθa** v<el> **hāenda-
chion daθa** *il n'est pas de mon avis, il me reprend, me dement*

adeo ut sic exprimitur * adeo bonae sum indolis ut oblitus fuerim o<mn>es
inurias quas ab eo accepi **etsak iθochien ahāiatōat, onek**¹² **ichien . ā8eti
sk̄8āendīonrhendi**, ¹³**on̄endīonk̄8asti** v<el> **ti θāendīonk̄8asti** *il est si me-
chant qu'il se fut fâché et l'eut tué* **ahā8eiachendinnen ahoionnen**¹⁴ **atiaondi
ahosk̄8ahat** v<el> **ti hosk̄8ahat**.

1 KCSC: **ondaie hatendāeraθa dī8 d'haonh̄8a ti hokīī8oin d'onne ason̄8atenraha de tion̄he-
k̄8i ; its̄8keñie d'ason̄8annont n'oon̄ īonh̄8a de son̄8akarātati te on̄8andīont**

2 KCSC: **sk̄8aeron̄e**

3 KCSC: **endi hāechronn̄siannik**

4 KCSC: **annion̄enhake haon**

5 KCSC: **ti shoon** (non **ishoon haon**) **hotetsirati** *il est malade depuis son arrivée*

6 KCSC: **enn̄h̄iek haon**

7 KCSC: omission **'te θentāe ek̄8āēinnen** non manducavi a 2 diebus'

8 KCSC: **ishorask̄8an hatrendaentandihes** (non : **ishorask̄8an haon**)

9 KCSC: **d'ī8āen**

10 KCSC: *il est fâché contre moi*

11 KCSC: **hārasennik**

12 KCSC: **on̄iek**

13 KCSC: **sk̄8āendīonrhendi**

14 KCSC: **ahā8eiachiendinnen ahoionnen**

Miscellanea¹

sum es est &c<etera>

sum &c<etera> involvitur in no<min>ibus tam substantivis q<uam> adjectivis<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> * **annonchia** *c'est une cabane* .. * **hosk8ahati** *il est merchant* .. * **annonchia ehen** *c'etoit* ..² * **on8e ehen** (ho<mo> erat) * tamen in p<rae>po<sition>ibus negativis exprimitur per **t'e.en<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> **stanannonchia te.en**³ non est domus .. * **stan nendi te.en**⁴ *ce n'est pas moy* + cum no<min>ibus adjectivis dicunt: **stan hosk8ahati te.en** *il n'est pas merchant* .. v<el> **stante hosk8ahati** .. v<el> **te hosk8ahati**

sum signans existere

exprimitur per **onnhe**⁵ de rebus a<nim>atis ... **andare** de utrisque ... **aen y avoir** de ina<nim>atis<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> * **chi onnhe de di8, áson te k8aata-tek**⁶ *dieu etoit avant nous* .. * +⁷ **chi andare, áson**⁸ **te ha8entronnen N**; *il y a long temps qu'il existe, N n'etoit pas encore* ... * **ason te starek, ahonaio**⁹, *tu n'etois pas encore lorsqu'il fut tué* ... * **te andare andahia (8ennenchra**¹⁰)¹¹ *il n'y a point de couteau* + **iaen** *il y en a* * **8o ekaen** *il y en a la* .. * **te skaen** *il n'y en a plus* .. * **de8aannonchiaen** *cette cabane que voila* ... * **stan ichien te skannonchiaentaj áenk**¹² non erit¹³

1 KCSC: entire chapter 'Miscellanea' is placed before 'De Syntaxi'

2 KCSC: *c'etoit une maison*

3 KCSC: **stanannonchia t'e.en**

4 KCSC: **stan n'endi t'e.en**

5 KCSC: **onnhe**

6 KCSC: **chi honnhe de di8, ason te k8aatatek**

7 KCSC: the text between the + signs is placed at the end of the paragraph

8 KCSC: **ason**

9 KCSC: **ahonaio**

10 **i8ennenchra**

11 KCSC: **te andare 8ennenchra**

12 KCSC: **e.enk**

13 KCSC: *il n'y aura plus de cabane*

esse in loco

entron v<el> **ᵛaeron**¹ de rebus a<nim>atis in sing<ulare> et plur<ale> * **ᵛandare** v<el> **ᵛaen** de rebus ina<nim>atis **ᵛandare** v<el> **ᵛaen** *il y en a*²

adesse

ᵛaat ... **ᵛa**atate .. **ᵛa**atrandi ... * **ᵛatiatek** aderant: * **ᵛatiatrak** v<el> **ᵛotia-trandi d'ᵛo**chiennen aderant convivio + de rebus ina<nim>atis d<icitu>r **ate** finale<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>³ **ᵛdex'ondechrate**⁴ haec terra v<el> est terra .. **ᵛondechratek**⁵ .. erat, fuit, fuerat .. **ᵛeᵛatondech(r)atat**⁶ erit .. **ᵛaᵛatondechratat**⁷ sit ... **ᵛe skᵛatondechrataᵛe**⁸ non erit amplius terra

etre dans le nombre .. parmi .. dedans

ᵛandea **ᵛoia ᵛo** **ᵛandahiae** de **ᵛandahiaᵛastis**⁹ *il n'y a parmi gueres de beau couteaux*

ᵛar v<el> **ᵛara**¹⁰f<uturum> **ren** * **ᵛanniaten ti iᵛentra d'ᵛaᵛentatoᵛeti**¹¹ *il y a q<uelque> jours de fete parmi les autres ..* * **ᵛanniaten ti iᵛasontra**¹² *il y q<uelques> nuits parmi ..* * **ᵛennonchien eᵛentraha** *qu'il n'y ait de jour au dela du jour donné ..* * **ᵛachienk iaᵛentrandi** *il y a 3 jours au dela ...* * **ᵛndak ihon-nentrahᵛihatie** *ils sont eloignez 4 jours l'un de l'autre* * **ᵛstan ondaie**¹³ **ᵛe atra** *cela n'en est point*

1 KCSC: **ᵛaeron**

2 KCSC: omission **ᵛandare** v<el> **ᵛaen** *il y en a*

3 KCSC: 'de rebus ina<nim>atis d<icitu>r **ate** finale<,> v<erbi> g<ratia>' placed after 'ᵛaatrandsi'

4 KCSC: **ᵛdex'ondechrate**

5 KCSC: **ᵛondechratek**

6 KCSC: **ᵛeᵛatondechratat**

7 KCSC: **ᵛaᵛatondechratat**

8 KCSC: **ᵛe skᵛatondechrataᵛe**

9 KCSC: **ᵛoia ᵛo ᵛennenchraen de oennenchraᵛastis**

10 KCSC: **ᵛar** v<el> **ᵛara**

11 KCSC: **ᵛanniaten ti iᵛentra d'ᵛaᵛentatoᵛeti**

12 KCSC: **ᵛasontra**

13 KCSC: **ᵛn'ondaie**

araŝan oter du nombre ... aataraŝan v<el> aatraŝan de re vivente
atsenę ahŝentaha le poisson est dans le plat .. * **ŋo tsataren** mets ce poisson
 dedans faits le etre dedans .. * **tsataraŝa** otes l'en¹

ont et ŝt * aonchiont il y a un visage .. aonchiontak .. eąonchionten ..
te aonchiontande ... * **onnenhŝt** il y a du blé .. **tak . ten . tande** * **as** (**onnen-**
hota achia to le blé)²

etre dedans ... **at** de a<nim>atis et ina<nim>atis ... **atakŝan** tirer dehors de
 ina<nim>atis **annont** de viventibus³ **annontakŝan**⁴ ... * **iŝat** il y a q<uelque>
 c<hose> dedans ... * **te skŝat** il n'y a plus rien de dans le sac⁵ ... * **ŋo acharat**
 le collier est la dedans ... * **setakŝa** tire de dedans **te skare** il n'y en a plus dans
 la chaudiere

etre debout, fiché, ficher .. **ŝt** **ŝtaŝan** arracher .. aentŝt pieu fiché ...
tsentŝten fiche ce pieu .. **tsentŝtaŝa** arrache ce pieu

ondi de multis cum nota passivae formationis * **ondaie d'otrahondi** les
 forests **ondaie d'otondi** aenχŝake celui qui est sur le pied<, > v<erbi> g<ratia>
 le blé

etre dessus ... mettre dessus ... **ara** f<uturum> **ren** de ina<nim>atis
araŝan⁶ angencha⁷ f<uturum> **chen**⁸ de a<nim>atis .. **angenchaŝan**⁹
 * **endichraę**¹⁰ asara le plat est sur l'andichon ... * **ŋo sesaren** mets le plat la
 dessus¹¹.... + **endichaę hangencha**¹² il est sur l'andichon ... * **endichraę he-**
sengenchen¹³ mets sur l'andichon ... * **endichaę sendienchen**¹⁴ mets toy *
(sat esten) ŝondi enchaŝa descends te toy de dessus v<el> **sengenchaŝa** de-
 scend de l'echafour¹⁵

etre dans liqueur ... y avoir liqueur dedans ... mettre

1 KCSC: slightly different structure: **atsenę ahŝentaha ŋo tsataren** .. **ndsio tsataraŝa** mets ce poisson dans le plat .. ça ote le

2 KCSC: **onnenhoŋa achia ŋo** le blé ne fait que de se former

3 KCSC: etre dedans de a<nim>atis

4 KCSC: annontakŝan tirer

5 KCSC: omission 'le sac'

6 KCSC: addition 'oter de dessus: de ina<nim>atis'

7 KCSC: angenchra

8 KCSC: **chren**

9 KCSC: **angenchraŝan**

10 KCSC: endichraę

11 KCSC: addition '**sesaraŝa** ote le plat'

12 KCSC: **endichraę hangenchra**

13 KCSC: **endichraę hesengenchen**

14 KCSC: **endichraę sendigenchen**

15 KCSC: **sendigenchraŝa** (dic **satesten**) descend &c<etera> **sengenchraŝa** descend

o de ina<nim>atis ... **oðan oter** de ... * **asko** de a<nim>atis .. **askoðan**¹ * **i_o** il y en a dedans l'eau² ... * **θo ti eko iondðte**³ il y en a jusque la ... * **ækðahoñok**⁴ mettons le canot a l'eau (ab **ohði**) ... * **ækðahonoða** tirons le canot de l'eau + **hoskohði** il la mis dans l'eau<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> la tortue **kohos** f<uturum> **kok** act<ivum> * **hoskondi** il est enfoncé dans l'eau ... **kos** f<uturum> **koha** neut<rum>

etre en nombre .. **on** 5^{ae} p<aradygmatis> **C**⁵ * **te andi** .. **teti** .. **testi** .. **tendi** nous sommes 2 *⁶ **achienk iañion** .. **ition** ... **itson** ... **iheñnon** nous sommes 3 &c<etera>⁷ * **asen iheñnonhatie**⁸ ils sont 10 de compagnie + **ðich atonða** il est le 5^e * **ðich eðatont**⁹ il sera le 5^e * **ðahia ãtonθa** v<el> **ðahia endi atonθa**¹⁰ je suis le 6^e

avoir habeo

æen 2^{ae} S at **æen C** y en avoir * **iðajien** (iðahien¹¹) .. **isaen** .. **ihoen** &c<etera> j'en ay .. tu .. il **eðañientaj**¹² j'en auray * **andahiaen sandahiaen hondahiaen**¹³ j'ay un couteau; tu, il

andare 2^{ae} S ... at **andare** 2^{ae} C y en avoir * **onðandare d'onnenha onðannenha atendi**¹⁴ nous avons du blé .. * **te tsaxindare d'aonnhetien** nous n'avons plus de femme<, > v<erbi> gr<atia> en notre famille

arandi 15pr<aeteritum> **ras** f<uturum> **raha** 2^{ae} S venir à quelqu'un¹⁶ * **de eðaraha steniesθa**¹⁷ quand q<uelque> c<hose> me viendra, quand j'aurai

1 KCSC: addition 'oter de dedans la liqueur v<erbi> g<ratia>'

2 KCSC: il y a &c<etera> dans l'eau &c<etera>

3 KCSC: **θo eko** (dic **θo ti iondðte**)

4 KCSC: **ækðahonok**

5 KCSC: 5^{ae} ... i 4^{ae}

6 KCSC: **tandi** nous sommes 2 ... **teti** ... **testi** ... &c<etera>

7 KCSC: **achienk iañion** nous sommes 3 &c<etera>

8 KCSC: **asen ihennonhatie**

9 KCSC: **ðich eðaton t**

10 KCSC: **ðahia n'endi atonθa**

11 KCSC: dic **iðañien**

12 KCSC: **eðañientaj**

13 KCSC: **ajennenchraen** ... **saenn** ... **hoenn**

14 KCSC: **onðandare d'onnenha** (dic: **onðannenha atendi**)

15 KCSC: **arandi**

16 KCSC: addition: 'en avoir dans la suite'

17 KCSC: **d'eðaraha steñiensθa**

q<uelque> c<hose> ... * **de esk8aoricharaha**¹ quand il me reviendra de l'assaisonnement

hoistenchen il a son père p<aradymatis> **S** * **sand8enchen**?² as tu-encore ta mere? ... * **horonchren**³ il a une sœur * **te s'onnonhonk8achen**⁴ il n'a plus de parens

huc pertinent verba neutra conjugata secundum p<aradyma> **S e8aond8t** j'aurai de la pluie ... **esatoia** tu auras de la tempeste sur le lac .. * **ehondoron** il aura de la peine a cela **eon8ang8enha** nous aurons de la nege * **esk8annien8atase**⁵ vous aurez poudrerie .. * **ehondaθorat** ils auront du froid

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videri *sembler*

hurones utunt<u>r verbis acquisitivis ad exprimendum quod communiter dicimus *cela me semble*<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **hotinnonchiasχ8asennik**⁶ *la cabane leur semble trop petite* ... * **hotihonasχ8asennik** *le canot leur semble petit* .. * **hatateondasennik** *il se trouve trop agé*<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *pour se marier*⁷ .. * **haondasennik** *il la trouve trop agée* .. * **aenta8asennik** *je trouve le jour trop court* ... * **asontestasennik** *je trouve la nuit trop longue* ... * **aondestasennik** *je trouve l'espace trop long*: ... * **ondaie arih8achiasennik** id mihi displicet **hiatachiasennik**⁸ *je le trouve mal fait* .. * **aenn8iann^disennik**⁹ *je trouve le temps trop long*

1 KCSC: **d'esk8aoricharaha**

2 KCSC: **sand8enchen**

3 KCSC: **horonchien**

4 KCSC: **te shonnonhonk8achien**

5 KCSC: **esk8annien8atase**

6 KCSC: **hotinnon chiasχ8asennik**

7 KCSC: omission 'v<erbi> g<ratia> *pour se marier*'

8 KCSC: **hiatachiasennik**

9 KCSC: **aenn8iann^disenn^dik**

doleo

Quod latini dicunt: doleo capite, pedibus &c(etera), hurones exprimunt ad-
dendo **ke** v<el> **ske** nominibus tales corporis partes significantibus<,> v<erbi>
g<ratia> **chie_onske** *tu as mal au visage ...* * **chieiaske**¹ *au bras ...* * **chiachi-
taske** *au pied ...* * **chiennontaske** *a la jambe ..* * **chie_onresaske** *a la main ...*
* **chie_ondiaske**² *au nez ..* * **chie_ata_e**³ *aux yeux ..* * **sa_oaske** *a la poitrine*
(**o_achia S**) **sannontsike** *a la tete* + haec et similia non habent diversam
terminationem pro diversitate temporum, sed ea supplet<u>r, adjuncto verbo
i_{en} .. e_{en}k .. e_oaton<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **onne tsisaerihen de sannontsike**
e_{en} *est tu guerri de ton mal de tete? ..* * **sando_aiach**⁴ *as tu mal aux dents* (ab
ando_ai_ai S) v<el> **ond_oke and_oaias sachiatorha**⁵ ... * **chiata_on** *tu as mal*
*au ventre*⁶

un infinitif apres un nom adjectif

atiesen d'ae_oe_oa d'aie_oe_oa d'aia_osa_oe_oa v<el> **d'aek_osa_oe_oa de a_osa_oe_oa ..**⁷
haec et similia exprimunt per impersonalia, saepe etiam per tempora indica-
tivi<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **andeia d'aonkak_oa, d'aionkak_oa**⁸, **d'aia_osa_okak_oa** v<el>
d'aek_osa_okak_oa, onne a_osa_okak_oas *cela est beau a voir*
- **a_oe_oa_oi t'aondek_oand**⁹ *cela est de bon gout quand on l'avale*
- **andoron de so_oes** tritu difficile est v<el> non teritur (à neutro **a_oendi**)
- **ondiri, de aris** *cela est dur a cuire* ad verbum *cela est dure, il ne cuit pas*
aonn_osiann_odika a_oarik *il sera bientot cuit ...* - **honn_osiann_od_oi**¹⁰ **ichien ha_oe_oa**
il est long temps a piler

1 KCSC: **chie_oaske**

2 KCSC: **chie_ond_osi_oaske**

3 KCSC: **chie_oaeta_oe**

4 KCSC: addition 'S'

5 KCSC: **ond_oke sachiatorha** (dic **sand_oaias**)

6 KCSC: *as tu mal au ventre* (dic **sachiahari_on**)

7 KCSC: addition 'il est facile de piler'

8 KCSC: **d'a_onionkak_oa**

9 KCSC: **a_oe_oa_oi t'aondek_oand'**

10 KCSC: **honn_osianni**

ehotinn^gsiann^dik ehati^θe^θa *ils seront long temps à piler .. * echiatiesaha de chie^θe^θa tu auras de la facilité a piler ... * arih^θetsi d'aia^θannonch^ronia¹* *c'est une longue besogne de faire une cabane*

*N n'est pas sujet à ... n'est pas capable de ... n'a pas de disposition à ... il n'y a point d'apparence qu'il doive .. il ne scait ce que c'est de ... il n'est pas homme a jamais pecher, partir &c<etera> has et similes loquendi formulas in multis verbis explicant per **θa** et **k^θa** verbis superaddita in aliis accipitur praesens indicativi sine ulla alia mutatione, nisi quod conjugari debeat juxta par<adygma> **S**, sublatis si adessent litteris finalibus **ch** .. **S** .. et **k***

Regula generalis: accipit<u>r praes<ens> indic<ativi>, sublatis, si adsint, litteris finalibus **ch** . **s** . **k**.

stan horask^θa te^{en}² *il n'est pas hom<me> à partir .. harask^θach<,>*

stan horak t'e^{en}³ *il n'est pas hom<me> a le vouloir ... haras valet<,>*

stan hotatia te^{en}⁴ *il n'est pas hom<me> à parler (non)<,>*

stan horih^θios^θa te^{en}⁵ *il n'est pas hom<me> a croire<,>*

exceptiones ...

1° desinentia in **ha** amittunt **h**: **stan hotenditenra te^{en}⁶** *il n'est pas hom<me> a avoir compassion*

2° praesentia in **onch** v<el> **on⁷** quorum futurum desinit in **a** accipiunt fut<urum> loco praes<entis><,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **stan ha^θondennia te^{en}⁸** *il n'est pas pour les attraper<,> f<uturum> eha^θondennia his adde **stan xa hondennia te^{en}⁹** *ils ne sont pas pour passer ici (hendennionch¹⁰ f<uturum> dendi)<,> stana^θotrih^θatennion te^{en}¹¹* *cela ne peut se deguiser alterer (hattenionch f<uturum> tendi)<,> stan ha^θenhea te^{en}* *il n'est pas hom<me> a mourir (henheons f<uturum> hej)<,> stan esaatontia te^{en}* *nous ne sommes pas a t'abandonner (onties f<uturum> onti)**

3° praesentia ab infinitivis in **i** . **θi** . **h^θi** . **ri** mutant suam finalem **ch** in **θa<,>**

1 KCSC: * arih^θetsi d'aia^θannonchronn^gia

2 KCSC: stan horask^θa t'e^{en}

3 KCSC: stan ho^rak t'e^{en}

4 KCSC: stan hotatia t'e^{en}

5 KCSC: stan horih^θios^θa te^{en}

6 KCSC: stan hotenditenra t'e^{en}

7 KCSC: on'

8 KCSC: stan ha^θondenn^gia t'e^{en}

9 KCSC: stan xa hondenn^di te^{en} (dic hondennⁿion)

10 KCSC: endennionch

11 KCSC: stan otrih^θatenn^di te^{en} (dic stante otrih^θatenn[...])

stan horih8andera0a te.en¹ non is est qui peccet (**arih8andera*j***)²
 p<raeteritum> **derach**³)<, > **stan hotokaa0a te.en**⁴ *il n'est pas hom<me> a se
 mattachier (ato'ka8i⁵ pr<aeteritum> **kach**)<, >⁶ **stan horih8tra0a (dic te
 ond8t) te.en**⁷ *il n'est pas hom<me> a lire**

4° praesentia in **ch** v<el> **S** ab infinitivis in **ti** et **t*si***, addunt **0a** post finalem
 suam<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **stan aond8s0a te.en**⁸ *le temps n'est pas pour pleuvoir
 (ond8ti pr<aeteritum> 8[s])<, > **stan saond8iatens0a te.en**⁹ *il n'est pas pour
 appeller les autres (andiatentsi¹⁰ pr<aeteritum> **ens**)**

5° praesentia in **xa** ab infinitivis in **en** mutant **xa** in **a0a**<, > **stan horonaa0a
 te.en**¹¹ *il n'est pas a repondre (aron.en¹² pr<aeteritum> **ronxa**)*

6° praesentia in **a** ab infinitivis in **a**, et praesentia in **onk** ab infinitivis in
on addunt **k8a**<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **stan aatonnharak8a te.en**¹³ *je ne suis pas
 pour me rejouir (atonnhara)* <, >

stan hohiatonk8a te.en¹⁴ *il n'est pas hom<me> a ecrire*

7° sequentia mutant **k** praesentis in **0a** <, > **stan hohachen0a te.en**¹⁵ *il n'est
 pas a tenir conseil (hahachenk)¹⁶<, > **stan hotrendaen0a te.en**¹⁷ *il n'est pas à
 prier (hatrendaenk)* (dic **stante ontrendaen** et sic de aliis non [.]¹⁸)<, > **stan 0o
 onshatien0a te.en**¹⁹ *à redemeurer la (hatienk)²⁰<, > **stan ok8iraen0a te.en**²¹ *a
 faire des petits (ak8iraenk)*²²**

1 KCSC: **stan horih8andera0a t'e.en**

2 KCSC: omission ' **arih8andera*j***'

3 KCSC: **rach**

4 KCSC: **stan hotoka0a t'e.en**

5 KCSC: **atoka8i**

6 KCSC: addition '(non)'

7 KCSC: **stan horih8tra0a t'e.en**

8 KCSC: **stan aond8s0a t'e.en** (dic: **t'eond8t**)

9 KCSC: **stan saond8iatens0a t'e.en**

10 **andiatentsi**, KCSC: **andiatentsi**

11 KCSC: **stan horonaa0a t'e.en**

12 KCSC: **aron.en**

13 KCSC: **stan aatonnharak8a t'e.en**

14 KCSC: **stan hohiatonk8a t'e.en**

15 KCSC: **stan hohachen0a t'e.en**

16 KCSC: addition: '(dic: **stante hohachien**)'

17 KCSC: **stan hotrendaen0a t'e.en**

18 KCSC: et sic de infra positis usq<ue> ad num<erum> g^m exclusive

19 KCSC: **stan 0o onshatien0a t'e.en**

20 KCSC: addition 'dic &c<etera>'

21 KCSC: **stan ok8iraen0a t'e.en**

22 KCSC: addition 'dic &c<etera>'

8° sequentia servant **S** praesentis⟨,⟩ **stan horihondes te.en** *il n'est pas pour finir son discours*⟨,⟩¹ **stan hotas te.en**² *il est insatiable* v⟨el⟩ *il n'est pas a se rassasier* (ab **atandi**)⟨,⟩³ **stan 8ris te.en**⁴ *cela n'est pas a se cuire*⁵ 9° sequentia mutant **S** praesentis in **θa**⟨,⟩ **stan honnonh8aθa te.en**⁶ *il n'est pas a etre malade* (**annonh8indi**)⁷ p⟨aeteritum⟩ **8as**⟨,⟩ **stan horihonda te.en, isá8eikaen** *il n'est pas pour devenir* (, **arih8anni** ab , **arihondandi**)⁸

Nota 1°⟨,⟩ quando his verbis praefigitur particula reduplicationis aut

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localitatis, ea praefigitur quae aoristi propria est, non praesentis⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **stan onsaħaka8a te.en**⁹ *il n'est pas a quitter*⟨,⟩ **stan aθoatoren te.en**¹⁰ *il n'est pas hom⟨me⟩ a examiner* (utere aliis formulis)¹¹

Nota 2°⟨,⟩ ista verba semper fiunt p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **S**, quando de persona seu de re a⟨nim⟩ata praedicantur⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **stan hotonnhonsθa te.en** valet¹² *il n'est pas hom⟨me⟩ q⟨u⟩i on doit donner la vie -** at cum de re aliqua ina⟨nim⟩ata praedicantur active, jam fiunt par⟨adygma⟩ **C**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩, **stan onsa8atitak8a te.en**¹³ *ce canot ne peut plus servir à s'embarquer ... ** **stan ,andihiaθa te.en**¹⁴ *ce couteau n'est plus propre a couper du cuir* + dixi ejusmodi verba fieri p⟨aradygmatis⟩ **C** quando active praedicantur de re aliqua ina⟨nim⟩ata, id est, quando nullam habent notam formationis passivae, ut videre est in exemplis supra allatis, si enim passive praedicentur

1 KCSC: addition 'dic &c(etera)'

2 KCSC: **stan hotas t'e.en**

3 KCSC: addition 'dic &c(etera)'

4 KCSC: **stan 8ris t'e.en**

5 KCSC: addition 'dic &c(etera)'

6 KCSC: **stan honnonh8aθa t'e.en**

7 ,**annonh8indi**, KCSC: **onnonh8indi**

8 KCSC: **stan horihonda t'e.en, isha8eikaen** *il n'est pas pour devenir considerable, c'est un paresseux* (, **arihondandi**)

9 KCSC: **stan onsaħoka8a te.en**

10 KCSC: **stan aθoatoreθa t'e.en**

11 KCSC: omission 'utere aliis formulis'

12 KCSC: omission 'valet'

13 KCSC: **stan onsa8atitak8a t'e.en**

14 KCSC: **stan ,andihiaθa t'e.en**

de re aliqua ina⟨nim⟩ata, id est, si habeant praefixam notam formationis passivae, jam fient par⟨adygmatis⟩ S

Deux verbes de suite

il faut piler **aieθet**¹, il eut fallu piler **aia_oθetik**

il faudroit visiter **aⁿionkatanda**²⟨,⟩ il eut fallu aller visiter **aia_okatannonk**
je le vois piler **ihe_enk haθeθa** ... * je le vois piler **ihe_enhak haθeθak**
nous le verrons piler **esa_θa_en d'ehaθeθ**³ ... * je ne l'ai pas vu piler **te hia-**
tato_en d'ahaθet⁴ .. * je lui ai entendu dire cela **a_atrihotek st'ondi_ahenti**
je vais piler **a_eθeθande achie**⁵ * je viens de piler **a_eθeθannonnen**⁶ ..
utunt⟨u⟩r aoristo ad signandum je vais, et plusq⟨uam⟩ perf⟨ectum⟩ ad signan-
dum je viens **seθeθande**⁷ continue de piler .. * **seθeθanda**⁸ va piler

Nota⟨:⟩ futura, modus pot⟨entialis⟩ et imperativus retinent **e** finale cum
signat⟨u⟩r continuatio ut illud exprimant: je vais faisant, j'allois faisant, utun-
t⟨u⟩r fut⟨uro⟩ neg⟨ativo⟩, ablato **e** initiali et par⟨ticu⟩la **stante**⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩
hahiatonde il va écrivant, il continue d'écrire postponunt **hatie** v⟨el⟩
atie praeterito ad significandum: venir de faire ou partir aller faisant .. aller
avoir fait ... aller être fait⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ **hotokaθihatie** il vient de se
massachier

s'otatronθandihatie horihθanderinnen ra_innen⁹ il vient de se confesser
horihθandera_ihatie il vient de pecher ... * **sondθtihatie** tu viens d'avoir
de la pluye ... *

hoñanθñionchiaθihatie il vient aiant reçu une citrouille v⟨el⟩ il vient ap-
portant une citr⟨ouille⟩

hoθaratihatie il va faisant bien * **satrendaentatie** vas priant ... *

hotsistandinnotatie¹⁰ il va ayant du feu attaché⟨,⟩ v⟨erbi⟩ g⟨ratia⟩ a sa
robbe

1 KCSC: aieθét

2 KCSC: aⁿionkatandi

3 KCSC: esa_θa_en d'ehaθet

4 KCSC: te hiatato_en d'ahaθet

5 KCSC: a_eθetande achie

6 KCSC: a_eθetannonnen

7 KCSC: seθetande

8 KCSC: seθetanda

9 KCSC: shotatronθandihatie horihθandera_innen

10 KCSC: hotsistandinñiontatie

onne ichien hosaꞥastihatie *il aura bientôt vidé son plat ..* * **honnonchichiaihatie**¹ *il a quasi achevé de faire sa cabane ...* * at **ontahonnonchichiaihatie**² *cum adhuc plus superest laboris* * **onne ichien hoteiendiechiaihatie**³ *il va avoir achevé ..* * **onne ichien skꞥaꞥendiꞥonrhendi d'ikꞥaꞥenhatien**⁴ *j'ai oublié ce que j'allois dire* **ontaorhendi hatie** *le jour, va venir* * **ontaondoarihatie** *le blé va être mûr ...* * **ontaꞥenronhatie** *le printemps vient*

hurones addunt **atie** verbis quorum infin<itivus> desinit in **t**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ꞥahachent atrendaent .. ꞥaatont**⁴ .. **ꞥandiont**⁵ .. **akont**⁶ &c<etera> et **tie** tantum, verbis in **on** ut **ꞥahiaton .. atendoton** &c<etera>.. excipe **haꞥenheonhatie** et **ihenñonhatie**⁷ .. quando vero motus jungitur nominibus postponitur illis **ontie** ut **ꞥaentontie** *le baton marche ...* **ꞥariontie** *le discours continue*

verba quibus postponitur **hatie ontie** &c<etera> sunt semper p<aradygmatis> **S**, exceptis **hatiꞥeihatie**⁸ .. **achienk ihennonhatie**⁹ hurones non utuntur praesenti sed aoristo ad signandum praesens aut verius paulo post futurum<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> *voilà que je vais partir* **onne aꞥaraskꞥa** .. *j'allois partir* **ekꞥaꞥaraskꞥanhatien**¹⁰ ... *je vais écrire* **onne aꞥhiaton** * *j'étois sur le point d'écrire* **ekꞥaꞥehiatonhatien**¹¹ ... * **ontonꞥenhatie** *je l'ai sur le bout de la langue ..* * **ontaꞥiheonch**^{re}¹² *je suis sur le point de mourir* – illud q<uo>d latini efferunt per voces imminet, impendet mihi periculum, sive mortis sive alicujus incommodi, vel etiam commodi, illud hurones exprimunt per par<ticu>las localitatis junctas futuris negativis, omissâ tamen par<ticu>lâ negativa **stante**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ontaonꞥriohe** *je prévois que l'on me doit tuer* sic in bonam partem: **ontaꞥeiohe n'onꞥe** *je prévois que je tueray des hommes en guerre*

illud quod gallice effertur *j'ai pensé faire .. il ne s'en est gueres fallu* &c<etera> hurones exprimunt per praesens indic<ativi> addendo personis **ska**<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **aꞥiheonska** *j'ai pensé mourir ..* * **ꞥkaot aꞥonnꞥiaska** *j'ai pensé*

- 1 **honnonchichiaꞥihatie**, KCSC: **honnonchichiaꞥihatie**
- 2 **ontahonnonchichiaꞥihatie**, KCSC: **ontahonnonchichiaꞥihatie**
- 3 KCSC: **onne ichien hoteñiendichiaꞥihatie**
- 4 KCSC: different order: 'ꞥakont .. ꞥandiñiont .. ꞥaatont'
- 5 KCSC: **andiñiont**
- 6 KCSC: **akont**
- 7 KCSC: **ihennonhatie**
- 8 KCSC: **hatiꞥeꞥhatie** *ils vont ensemble*
- 9 KCSC: addition: 'ils sont 3 de compagnie'
- 10 KCSC: **ekꞥaꞥaraskꞥanhatien**^d
- 11 KCSC: **ekꞥaꞥehiatonhatien**^d
- 12 KCSC: **ontaꞥiheonch**^{re}

tout gater + sed cum de re jam pridem remota agitur, utuntur praet(erito) plusq(uam) perf(ecto) modi pot(entialis): v(erbi) g(ratia) **aon̄iheonnen** v(el) **tioskenhenia ehen d'aon̄iheonnen**, *il ne s'en est gueres fallu que je ne mourusse* + al(i)q(uan)do etiam illud **ska** usurpatur de re consummata(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **andeia d'askakonchi8tandiska**, *cela est bien que tu m'as invité quoique je n'y aille pas*

* *je scais piler* **enienh̄i de āθeti**¹ v(el) **d'ēθeθa**, v(el) **d'aēθeθ**² v(el) **d'aiēθet**³ v(el) **de āθeθa**⁴ **eienh̄i de ehiatonk**⁵ scio scribere .. **chieienh̄i de chiehiatonk**⁶ tu ... **haien̄h̄i de hahiatonk**⁷ &c(etera) **saka de chrih̄8anderas** cessa peccare (cessa quod peccas)⁸ **sk8aendi onrhendi te 8āēθeti** oblitus sum terere (oblitus sum, non trivi) **tsisandi onrhendi te sāθeti** oblitus es terere &c(etera)

* *je pense qu'il est malheureux* **īerhe hotetsirati** *je crains qu'il ne soit malheureux* **īerhe ehatetsirati**⁹ ... + **īerhe** signat velle conjunctum cum modo pot(entiali), quia voti et imperii nota est signat timere conjunctum cum futuro ... signat cogitare conjunctum indifferenter cum omnibus temporibus(,) v(erbi) g(ratia) **īerhe āhenhej** . volo, cupio, in a(nim)o habeo moriatur .. *

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īerhe ehenhej timeo ne moriatur v(el) credo quod morietur .. * **īerhe ha8enheon** .. v(el) **ha8enheonnen īerhe** credo mortuus est ... * **onne ichien ahenhej īerhe** *je crois qu'il va mourir, ou, qu'il vient de mourir* * **onh8a ehenhej īerhe**¹⁰ *je crois qu'il mourra aujourd'hui* –

1 KCSC: **en̄ienh̄i de āθeti**

2 **d'aēθet**, KCSC: **d'aēθet**

3 KCSC: **d'aiēθet**

4 KCSC: addition '&c(etera)'

5 KCSC: **en̄ienh̄i de [...], ehiatonk**

6 KCSC: **chiēienh̄i de chiehiatonk**

7 KCSC: **hāien̄h̄i de hahiatonk**

8 KCSC: omission '(cessa quod peccas)'

9 KCSC: **īerhe ehatetsirat**

10 KCSC: **onh8a ehenhej ierhe**

je veux, tu veux, il veut (piler) i_{er}he . ichierhe . irerhe (a_eθeθ¹) nous voulons<,> vous voulez<,> ils veulent (piler) a₈erhe².. isk₈erhe. henderhe (aia₈aθeθ³)

je veux que tu piles; qu'il pile . i_{er}he ahaθeθ⁴

je veux q<u>e nous pilions i_{er}he aia₈aθeθ⁵

je veux q<u>e vous piliez .. qu'ils pilent i_{er}he ahatīθet

tu veux q<u>e je pile .. qu'il pile ichierhe ahaθeθ⁶

tu veux q<u>e nous pilions .. qu'ils pilent .. ichierhe . ahaiīθeθ⁷

je crains, tu crains, il craint (de piler) i_{er}he . ichierhe . irerhe (e_eθeθ⁸)

*je pense qu'il pile haθeθa i_{er}he ... * tu pense q<u>e je pile ichierhe ha-θeθa .. * je pense q<u>e tu piles chieθeθa, i_{er}he*

*sic cum verbis relativis * je veux qu'on l'honore, i_{er}he ahonachien-daen⁹.. je veux t'honorer i_{er}he ahechiendaen¹⁰ ... * veux tu m'honorer ichierhe ahechiendaen*

*je pense q<u>e tu dis vray i_{er}he ato_en d'ihatonk d'ichiatonk¹¹ .. * credo illum hodie rediturum i_{er}he onh₈a es'aon ... * credo ita esse i_{er}he θo ichien ióti v<el> θo i_{er}arih₈ten credebam te .. illum e<ss>e domi i_{er}erhonhonk ihentron ... * je crains qu'il ne se blesse i_{er}he ehosteraj*

*je ne veux pas piler; q<u>e tu piles; qu'il pile te ₈astaθo e_eθeθ¹², echie-θeθ¹³, ehaθeθ¹⁴ ... + te ₈astaθo regit post se fut<urum>, et ordinarie habet ante se i_{er}he je pense v<el> i_{er}atonk je dis<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> tu ne veux pas piler ichierhe te ₈astaθo e_eθet ... * tu ne veux pas q<u>e je pile, ichierhe te ₈astaθo ehaθeθ¹⁵ ... * nous ne voulons pas piler a₈erhe te ₈astaθo*

1 a_eθet, KCSC: a_eθet

2 KCSC: addition 'ik₈erhe'

3 aia₈aθet, KCSC: aia₈aθ[et]

4 ahaθet, KCSC: ahaθet

5 aia₈aθet, KCSC: aia₈aθet

6 ahaθet, KCSC: aha[θet]

7 ahaiīθet, KCSC: ahatīθet

8 e_eθet, KCSC: e_eθet

9 KCSC: i_{er}he ahoñachiendaen

10 KCSC: i_{er}he ehechiendaen

11 KCSC: d'ihatonk (dic: d'ichiatonk)

12 e_eθet, KCSC: e_eθet

13 echieθet, KCSC: echieθet

14 ehaθet, KCSC: ehaθet

15 ehaθet, KCSC: e_eθet (dic : ehaθet)

eaḡaḡeḡ¹... * nous ne voulons pas q<u>e vous piliez ; qu'ils pilent² **aḡerhe te ḡastaḡo ehatiḡeḡ³**

*je ne veux pas qu'on l'honore te ḡastaḡo ehonachiendaen⁴ .. * je ne veux pas aller en enfer te ḡastaḡo ondechon eḡeḡ⁵*

Nota aliter dicitur **te ḡastaḡo** interrogative, quasi significaret: non vis<, v<erbi> g<ratia> **kḡiḡoti te ḡastaḡo eharaskḡa⁶** qu'en pense tu, veux tu qu'il parte; quasi diceretur: pense tu je ne veux pas qu'il parte

je n'ay pas voulu partir com<me> il me disoit te (nolui) ḡaḡrandi d'ihatonhonk (quod diceret) **saraskḡa** (proficiscere)⁷

te sarandi d'iḡaen chrihḡiost tu n'as pas voulu croire, com<me> je te le dis **te horandi d'aḡatonk, ennonchien isaskḡahataha**, non vult q<uo>d dicimus, ne malum sit

stante hotirandinnen d'iḡaennen, sahḡen eskḡatiten, ils n'avoient pas voulu me croire quand je disois, ne vous embarquez pas si tot

aharaha atichien? d'achihon chrihḡiost obediret ne? &c<etera>⁸

stan te harachrenḡd⁹, d'achihon, chrihḡiost, nollet, etsi diceres, crede.

j'ay dis q<u>e je ne le connoissois pas iḡaen stan te hienteri nienteri¹⁰

ḡo sēt, echiendoton, ^{faemina} **echihon, ahenhaon** ^{achiatendoton} **ḡaro** ^{deviens} **aontaret¹¹**. Vas là, tu lui diras, que j'ai des qu'il me vienne trouver

je ne puis raconter stante ḡatonk diḡerhe aḡatendoton¹² (non p<otes> q<uo>d volo, ut narrem)

il n'a pu venir icy stante oton d'iherrhonhonk¹³ ḡo haḡet (q<uo>d volebat illuc eam)

stante ḡatonde, de ehendihon ndio¹⁴ tsaraskḡa, fieri non poterit, etsi dicant, ite **eḡaton d'ichierhe aḡrihḡiost** credes si voles

1 **eaḡaḡeḡ**, KCSC: **eaḡaḡeḡ**

2 KCSC: omission 'qu'ils pilent'

3 **ehatiḡeḡ**, KCSC: **ehatiḡeḡ**

4 KCSC: **ehonachiendaen**

5 KCSC: **te ḡastaḡo n'ondechon eḡeḡ**

6 KCSC: **kḡiḡoti te ḡastaḡa eharaskḡa**

7 KCSC: omission 'nolui ... quod diceret ... proficiscere'

8 KCSC: obediret ne etsi diceres crede

9 KCSC: **stan te harachrenḡd**,

10 KCSC: **hienteri** (dic: **nienteri**)

11 KCSC: **aontarēt**, omission (faeminina, **achiatendoton**, *deviens*), addition: nota **echiendoton** d<ici>t<u>r de faemi<ni>nis **echiatendoton** de viris

12 KCSC: **stante ḡatonk d'ierhe aḡatendoton**

13 KCSC: **d'irerhonhonk**

14 KCSC: **ndḡio**

eḡaton d'aḡerhe aiaḡatiten¹ *nous pourrons nous embarquer (si nous le voulons)*

*il se pourroit bien faire q<u>e je pile stan iḡochien eaḡenk . e.eḡeḡ*²

forte nollet **ḡanchra**³ iḡochien eaḡenk te harache⁴

forte non poterit fieri **stan iḡochien eaḡenk te ḡatonde**

je ne scais ce qu'il en sera stan ḡanchra iḡochien et sic de aliis **eaḡenk**⁵ * nescio ut id accidit **stan iḡochien iaḡendi**⁶ ... * *je ne scais pas son nom stan iḡochien haatsi*⁷ ... * nescio q<u>ae sit illius mens **stan iḡochien ihondiḡonrḡten**⁸ ... * nescio quo abiit **anniaten iḡochien haḡéti**⁹

*lorsq<u>e je n'y pensois pas, il vint a moy aḡendiḡak, onne ichien ontare*¹⁰

*lorsq<u>e tu n'y pensois pas, il vint a toy (id est) tu fus surpris achiendḡak onne ichien ontare*¹¹ *lorsque il n'y pensoit pas il vint a lui ahandiḡak &c<etera> il fut surpris* -¹² *lorsq<u>e nous y penserons le moins, il mourra, ekḡandiḡak, onne ichien haḡenheon* id est, *nous serons surpris, voila un homme mort*

vous me verrez mort lorsq<u>e vous n'y penserez pas eskḡandiḡak, onne ichien haḡenheon

*on me tuera lorsqu'ils y penserent le moins ehatindiḡak onne ichien ahoḡaio*¹³ (id est) *ils seront surpris, on l'a tué .. à verbo andiḡan*¹⁴ * **andiḡati**¹⁵ *faire q<u>e quelqu'un soit surpris* * **askendiḡat**¹⁶ *tu m'as surpris . -*

aḡakakḡa, onne ichien onḡe ontare¹⁷ *je fus tout etonné de voir un hom<me> venir*

junguntur ak(i)q<uan>do duo verba idem significantia,< > v<erbi> g<ratia>
iḡerhe endiḡonraentonk v<el> **endiḡonraentonk iḡerhe, ḡo aḡet** *je désire aller là*
ihatonk ahatatia v<el> **ahenhaon ahatatia** dicit ... * **ihaḡen hotati** dicit

1 KCSC: aiaḡatiten

2 e.eḡeḡ, KCSC: e.eḡeḡ

3 ḡanchra, KCSC: ḡanchra

4 KCSC: harachre

5 KCSC: ḡanchra iḡochien iaḡendi (non stan iḡochien iaḡendi)

6 KCSC: ḡanchra iḡochien iaḡendi (non stan iḡochien iaḡendi)

7 KCSC: ḡanchra iḡochien haatsi (non stan iḡochien haatsi)

8 KCSC: ḡanchra iḡochien ihondiḡonrḡten (non stan iḡochien ihondiḡonrḡten)

9 KCSC: anniaten iḡochien v<el> ḡanchra iḡochien haḡéti

10 KCSC: aḡendiḡak, onne ichien ontare

11 KCSC: achiendḡak onne ontare

12 KCSC: omission 'lorsque il n'y pensoit pas il vint a lui ahandiḡak &c<etera> il fut surpris'

13 KCSC: ehatindiḡak onne ichien ahoḡaio

14 aḡandiḡan, KCSC: aḡandiḡan

15 aḡandiḡati, KCSC: aḡandiḡati

16 KCSC: askendiḡat

17 KCSC: aḡakakḡa, onne ichien onḡe ontare

Duo haec verba inter se consequentia communiter ejusd temporis<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **hoθarati horih8iosti** *il croit bien ..* * **hastiaronk te harataθa** *il court vite*

chiestore d'ichiech *tu manges vite ./.* * **honteiaata hontrioch**¹ *ils combattent vaillamment*

ihach ichien haθeθa *il pile en mangeant ..* * **hatatiak ichien haθeθa** *il parle en pilant*

hotrendaentak d'ahotiatatonhons v<el> **d'aotieronnonhons oki** *orabat cum apparuit spiritus*

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supplet gerundia in do per infinitivum ei addendo **ε** in fine **akatannonε haθenheon**, visitando mortuus est + al<i>q<uan>do hoc infinitivum conjugatur per o<mn>es personas<,> v<erbi> g<ratia> **ajitarandie moy en tombant .. sentarandie toy hotarandie lui** &c<etera> **k8a,atatihatie d'ajitaraha**² *je parle en tombant*

afinque exprimitur per **ierhe<,>** v<erbi> g<ratia> *je vais prier dieu afin-qu'il ait pitie de moy . atrendaendes, ondaie d'ierhe ahaitenr e di8* * *il est allé la pour parler a N. θo eha8éti iherhe*³ **t'aia,iatatia de N.** v<el> **θo eha8éti ondaie ehoatenhaon, d'ierhe t'aia,iatatia de N** * *jesus s'est fait hom<me> afin de satisfaire pour les pechez des hom<mes>* **ies8s on8e ihoton, ha8eri aonsa,echonna d'a,orih8andera,i n'on8e**^{4<,>} *il a pris beaucoup de peine pour me faire chretien* **aθatonnhontaion8a**⁵, **ondaie d'ierhonhonk**⁶ **te horih8iosti sen!**

ideo ex gallia venimus ut crederetis **ondaie ichien etion8arask8ati anion,enhake n'on8eri aierih8iost**⁷ **de 8endat**

1 KCSC: **honteiaθa hontrios**

2 KCSC: **ek8a,atatihatie d'ajitaraha**

3 KCSC: **irerhe**

4 KCSC: **ies8s on8e ihoton, ha8eri aonsa,echronn8ia d'a,orih8andera,i n'on8e**

5 KCSC: **aθatonnhontaion8a**

6 KCSC: **irerhonhonk**

7 KCSC: **aierih8iost**

cur hoc dicis? **taot ichierhe ondaie ichiatonk?** .. * cur adhuc non credunt? **taot henderhe áson te hotirih8iosti** *cur venis huc? **taot ichierhe de χ'ichie** v<el> **taot haoten saatenha8i deχa ichie**

pour .. afinq<ue>: ak<i>q<ua>ndo exprimunt<u>r par **aia8enk** v<el> **aeren** in modo pot<entiali> v<el> per solum modum po<tentialem>, idque in interrogationibus<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> q<u>e *faudroit il faire pour le guerir de son mal de tete?* **taoten¹ aia8enk** v<el> **taoten aieer² ahonatsent d'onnontsike** v<el> **taoten aieer d'aia8nrhon aonsa hoerik** * **taoten aia8enk, ask8endihaten³ de ia** q<u>e *faudroit il pour que tu me pretât le canot*

parceque * je suis vetu parcequ'il fait froid **ondaie inionniak⁴** **aak8atsi d'88ore⁵ ...** v<el> **ondaie χa ióti aak8atsi d'88ore⁶ ...** v<el> **aak8atsi a8rhon 88ore ...** v<el> **aak8atsi 8ade 88ore ..** v<el> **ondaie χa aa8enk** **aak8atsi d'88ore ...** v<el> **aak8atsi ondaie d'88ore**

puisque 8ade ... * honorons dieu *puisque'il nous aime* **aek8achiendaen de di8, a8rhon son8annonh8e** **ondaie aek8achiendaentak8a de son8annonh8e**

propositiones conjunctae * *si tu m'eusse dit, donne moy du pain je t'en eusse donné* **aondataia indinnnen, te sennen, tandata asen<, >** *je vous l'enseignerai si vous me le demandés* **e8arih8añiensten d'esk8enhaon ta8arih8aniensten** * *je n'enseigne personne si on ne me le demande* **stan ichien te χerih8anienstandik onta te ontonk ta8arih8añiensten⁷ ..** * *dieu a dit cela et partant je crois que cela est vray* **ondaie iha8en de di8, ondaie ati i8erhe ato8en**

1 KCSC: **taot**

2 KCSC: **aieer**

3 KCSC: **ask8endihaten**

4 KCSC: **ionniak** (dic: **iñionniak**)

5 KCSC: **d'8tore**

6 KCSC: **d'8tore**

7 KCSC: **stan ichien te χerih8anienstandik, de stante ontonk ta8arih8añiensten**

variae significationes particularum **ti** .. **sti** . **k8i** &c<etera>¹

1° signant *par meme moyen* *chemin faisant se servir de l'occasion pour autre chose*<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **asenn^thatenha8it²** *en venaⁿt apporte du bois* ... * **sennhataestanda³** *en allant fais du bois* ... * **ehahiatanda** *en chemin faisant il cueillera des fruits* .. * **stenstariθandent^d?** *en venant cueillois tu des prunes?* .. * **e^zatrendaentak⁴** *par meme raison je prierai dieu* ... * **eonkonchi8tonk8at⁵** *par meme moyen ils inviteront au festin* .. * **e^zatiahétasθa⁶** *par meme moyen je porterai un sac* –

2° signant *motum*<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **sastiaronk8at⁷** *vas vite* ... * **ondaie a^zietak8a⁸ach⁸** **de atrendaenk** *en m'veillant je prie* ... * **ondaie aesenta8aθa d'achiatrendaen** *tu devrois prier dieu en t'endormant*

3° signant *aussi tot, des lors* * **ek8aenienh8iti⁹** *je le scus des lors* **ehorask8ati** *statim profectus est*

4° signant *perpetuitatem cum e initiali*<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ehorih8anderati** *il est (valent o<mn>es)¹⁰ toujours en faute* . * **e8a^zennhek8i erontak8i** *il y est toujours* &c<etera>¹¹ * **eorati n'ondechon** *il fait toujours sombre en enfer* .. * **eo^zch^rati¹²** *perpetua est hyems* ... * **eote^zatak8i** *semper ardet* .. * **e^zentak8i** *perpetuo* ... * **ate a^zosenx8ati** *on crie toujours* .. * **ehondi^zonr8tak8ati** *il est toujours en repentance* ... * **ehotieronk8i** *il fait toujours q<uelque> mauvais coup*

5° **ti¹³** .. **k8i** . **tandi** ... **k8andi** signant *merite, capable, digne* et varia alia adjectiva<, > v<erbi> g<ratia> **ara θo ti hoatoñesk8ati¹⁴** *agreable a voir* * **hao-nesk8ati** *il est d'une bonne humeur* + **hosk8ahat** *edibilis est* .. * **askandati¹⁵**

1 On the position of this section in the KCSC copy, see footnote to page 63.

2 KCSC: **asenn^thaetenh8it**

3 KCSC: **senn^thaetaestañda**

4 KCSC: **e^zatrendaentak**

5 KCSC: **eonkonchi8tonk8at**

6 KCSC: **e^zatiahétaska**

7 KCSC: **sastiaronk8at**

8 KCSC: **a^zietak8a**

9 KCSC: **ek8a^zenñienh8iti**

10 KCSC: omission 'valent omnes'

11 KCSC: **e8a^zennhek8i** *été perpetues*

12 KCSC: **eo^zch^rati**

13 KCSC: omission **ti**

14 KCSC: **hoatonesk8ati**

15 KCSC: **oskan^tdati**

res optanda .. * **otehati** res pudenda * **stan te otoꝥati d'hatatiak** *ce q<u>i dit n'est pas concevable* * **otonn'hiti st hatatiak**¹ **ondiꝥonroiatandi** proclive **e** id omittere .. * **ondiꝥonrachatandi** v<el> **ti iaꝥih8ten t'ióti**² *cela est affligent* * **ha8eiachatandi**³ **ti haat8ten** *il est capable de mettre en colere* * **ondise8atandi n'onde haoten**⁴ *on est sujet a differer cela ..* * **oteiachí8**⁵ **oteiachí8tak8andi** *c'est un juste sujet d'etre en peine* * **otonnharak8andi**⁶ *chose rejouissante, ..* * **ondiꝥonr8tak8andi**, *on a sujet, cela merite bien de s'en repentir ..* * **otoñétak8andi**⁷ *cela est sujet au desesper*

6° **tande** et **k8ande** respondent nonnullis substantivis, quorum **tandi** et **k8andi**, de quibus supra, videntur esse adjectiva – sicut enim ab adjectivo amabilis fit substantivum amabilitas, sic ab **ondiꝥonrachatandi**⁸ *cela est affligent*

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oatarih8atande *la fievre*⁹ fit **ondiꝥonrachatande**¹⁰ *l'affliction, la facherie* **ondiꝥonrachatande**¹¹ **haoten hatatia8a** *il dit des choses capables d'affliger il dit la facherie meme ...* * **horih8anderatande deeha**¹² **te hat** *voila le peché debout, id est*¹³ *le pecheur ...* * **ondaie i8ochien ꝥatiatiak oriherihatande**¹⁴ **haoten** *pacem ipsam loquor ...* * **oatarih8atande**¹⁵ *fievre ...* * **oiatande pleurasié** **otoñétak8ande haoten sk8atronhio8an**¹⁶ *vous parlez le desesper* (id est) *vous tenez des discours a faire perdre courage*

- 1 KCSC: **otonn'hiti d'hatatiak**
- 2 KCSC: **ondiꝥonrachatandi t'ióti** v<el> **ti ꝥarih8ten**
- 3 KCSC: **ha8eiachatandi**
- 4 KCSC: omission 'n'onde haoten'
- 5 KCSC: omission 'oteiachí8'
- 6 KCSC: **otonn'harak8andi**
- 7 KCSC: **aton8étak8andi**
- 8 KCSC: **ondiꝥorachatandi**
- 9 KCSC: omission 'oatarih8atande la fievre'
- 10 KCSC: **ondiꝥonrachatande**
- 11 KCSC: **ondiꝥonrachatande**
- 12 KCSC: **deꝥa**
- 13 KCSC: *il est*
- 14 KCSC: **orihierihatande**
- 15 KCSC: **oatarih8atande**
- 16 KCSC: **aton8étak8ande haoten sk8atronhio8an**

7° **θa .. θannonk .. tandik** cum passivo aut reciproco signat simulationem **hatandiheaθa** *il fait le mort ...* * **hatennonra, andendaθa** *il fait semblant d'etre fou*
hatahonchiosθa¹ *il fait la sourde oreille* * **ha, atahonchiostandik** *il me fait la sourde oreille*
hatehekenθa *il fait semblant d'etre foible* * **ha, atehekentandik** *il me fait semblant d'etre foible* **hatate, ondaθa** *il fait l'hom<me> agé ..* * **hatate, otsendasθa hatakondasθa**² *il fait le viellard*
hateiachatanonk³ *il fait le faché ..* * **aha, ateiachaten**⁴ *il a fait semblant (entre moi) d'etre faché*
ara θo ti hatenn, siann^d itannonk *il fait semblant d'etre empeché*
hatandita, 8atandik *il fait semblant de dormir*
hatatieh, 8atandik *il fait semblant de rien avoir*⁵
8° **ti** et **k8i** signant locum * **θo etiontatechiaθa** *la ou l'on tue coupe-gorge ..* * **ondaie honhanienteθa** *honhaenteta*⁶ *le chemin qu'ils tiennent ..* * **θo hatia, enθa** *par ou ils sortent ...* * **θo hatiraensθa** *là ou ils abordent ..* * **θo ichien a, ota, 8-haθa** *là ils couchent*
9° **ti** et **k8i** signant tempus ... * **ondaie de hoñatichiati**⁷ *le jour qu'on les a tue ...* * **ondaie hotonn, siati** *le jour qu'il est né ...* * **ondaie d s'otonnhonti** *le jour qu'il est ressuscité ...* * **ondaie de hondatitak8i** *le jour qu'ils se sont embarqués ...* * **ondaie s, onti** *le jour qu'il est arrivé,* **endi on, 8arask8ati** *nous partimes alors ..* v<el> *il est revenu le jour que nous partimes*

1 KCSC: **hatahonchiosθa**

2 KCSC: (dic: **hatakondasθa**)

3 KCSC: **hateiachiatannonk**

4 KCSC: **aha, ateiachiaten**

5 KCSC: *il fait semblant de veiller*

6 KCSC: **ondaie honhanienteθa** (dic: **honhaenteθa**)

7 KCSC: **honatichiati**

Appendix 1: The section on the *adverbia numeri* (69),
as found in KCSC (68–69)

skat unus v⟨el⟩ **una** v⟨el⟩ **semel** ... 1
tendi v⟨el⟩ **te** ... 2
achienk ... 3
ndak ... 4
ɖich ... 5
ɖahia ... 6
tsɖtare ... 7
a ʔere ... 8
entron ... 9
a ʔen ... 10
a ʔen skat iskare ... 11
a ʔen tendi ʔeskare ... 12
a ʔen achienk iskare &c⟨etera⟩ ... 13
tendi te ɖasen ... 20
tendi te ɖasen skat iskare ... 21
achienk iɖasen ... 30
ndak iɖasen ... 40
ɖich iɖasen ... 50
ɖahia iɖasen ... 60
tsɖtare iɖasen ... 70
a ʔere iɖasen ... 80
entron iɖasen ... 90
ennɖio ʔ iɖasen v⟨el⟩ **skat a te ɖe^ondɖiaɖe** ... 100
ennio ʔ iɖasen skat iskare ... 101
skɖendiaɖechrat *une centaine* ... 100
tendi te ɖendiaɖe ... 200
achienk a te ɖendiaɖe &c⟨etera⟩ ... 300
skat a te ɖendɖiaɖe ɖich iskɖasenchrare ... 110
tendi te ɖendɖiaɖe entron iskɖasenchrare ... 290
sangɖat v⟨el⟩ **skat a te ʔangɖaɖe** v⟨el⟩ **asen a te ɖendɖiaɖe** ... 1000
asen a te ɖendiaɖe achienk iskɖendiaɖechrare ... 1300
s ʔangɖat ndak iskɖendɖiaɖechrare tendi te skɖasenchrare ɖich iskare ... 1425
te ʔangɖaɖe v⟨el⟩ **tendi te ʔangɖaɖe** ... 2000
achienk ʔangɖaɖe v⟨el⟩ **achienk a te ʔangɖaɖe** ... 3000
skat un simul

a'son te 8a₂atsi de skat *je n'ai point encore pris une de mes jarretieres*
stan skat te a₂rih₂8ten *il n'y a aucune affaire*
skat on₂8a₂istenchien *nous avons tous le meme pere*
okend₂siati te hondi₂onra₂8asti, a'son skat te otieren d'aiotechentik,
chi'ahatriest, te 8atonk ti hotrihestaskon *il a extremement l'esprit mal-fait!*
avantqu'on ait rien fait capable de le choquer, il boude: il n'est point croiable
combien il est facile à se choquer
shaatat solus homo
skaatat una mulier
skiatat sum solus, sola
skarih₂8at una res
skarontat una arbor
skochrat una hyems
sk₂8entat una dies
skah₂8atsirat una familia
tsok₂8istarati v<el> **ska₂8endarati** *il tinte la cloche (sonne d'un coté)*
ska₂8endarati etie₂8histonta₂8a *on sonne une seule cloche*
skenk₂8ararati *habit simple*
sk₂8entaratichon a₂orask₂8anhatie *on marche chaq<ue> jour sans se reposer*
tendi v<el> **tendi te** v<el> **te ... deux**
tendi t'ontahastak₂8a *il parla par 2 fois*
tendi t'etiostak₂8an ti a₂8endetsi de ia *il y a 2 syllabes dans le mot de ia*
tendi, achienk &c<etera> **aton₂8a** *cela fait 2, 3 &c<etera>*
tendi 8otenchrenti bis percussit (ab **atechra** ictus et **enti** faire tomber)
te hiata₂e duo viri
te a₂nnonske 2 cabannes
achienk .. trois achienk ihennonnen d'aho₂iatontiesten *ils etoient 3 qui se*
jetterent sur lui
ndak .. quatre ndak echiatont *tu feras le 4^{me}*
etsak v<el> **etsak i₂8ochien** v<el> **etsak a₂8o** v<el> **i₂8o** pluries, *plusieurs fois*
8ora aki>q<uan>d idem signat q<uo>d **etsak**
8ora i₂8a₂e pluries
8ora multi multae
8ora ia₂ñion multi sumus
8ora ahata₂tia saepe locutus est
8oia *peu souvent*
8oia pauci paucae
8oia ia₂jon (dic **ia₂ñion**) pauci sumus
a₂on v<el> **askon** solum, *sans melange, pur vuide* &c<etera>
8seta₂on *bouteille vuide*

oꝝon n'ondaie *il n'y a que cela (valet)*
oꝝon n'ondaie v<el> **ʒatʒskon** *il va sans charge*
stan oatʒskon v<el> **oꝝe ʒe** *non est sola (id est) grvida est*
stante saatʒskon *grvida es* **chiataꝝon** *dic* **chieskʒaꝝon** *dans ton sein, ventre*
 &c<etera>
a te ʒaꝝe *à chaque fois*
a te ʒentaꝝe *chaq<ue> jour*
a te ondeche *en chaque pais*
a te ʒannonske *en chaq<ue> cabane*
a te ʒandataꝝe *à chaq<ue> village* &c<etera>
aondatenke v<el> **aʒenk** *dans un lieu ecarté*
taik iꝝen *dru et menu*
te ʒarati *sans nombre*
 vide **otonronton**, **okenie**, **iʒaia** &c<etera>

Appendix 2: The section on the *adverbia dubitandi* (70),
as found in KCSC (71)

8enchtra iθōchien (v<el> **8enchtra**) *peutetre*
8enchtra iθochien θo ea8enk , ehaon forte veniet
θo innoh8a *peutetre que cela est ainsi*
atoen innoh8a aok8asti *on est peutre (ou: certainement) à son aise*
indecha *peutetre, il est probable que*
tsinnen eshoon? aēñons indecha *qui est arrive? il y a apparence que c'est*
eñons
k8atieraθa eang8enha &c<etera> forte ninget
chiesk' ... end8iaeten θo? *que scais-je ... peutetre*
te 8ahente (v<el> **8karote**) *res non est clara*
stan iθochien haoten *je ne sçais ce que c'est*
ann8iaten iθochien *je ne sçais ou*
ann8iaten iθochien iñiontsi *je ne scais de quelle longueur*
ann8iaten iθochien a8aska tannont *donne moi une telle quantite (indeter-*
minate) **stan iθochien haatsi** *nescio q<u>o-<m>o<d>o vocetur* **stan iθochien te**
ñienteri *je ne sçais q<u>i c'est*
aatoenk *il pourroit bien etre vrai* **taoten n'ondaie te atoen?** *pourquoi non*
onh8ande ahaon θo *il pourroit bien venier maintenant (non) i<ntel>k<e>git<ur>*

III Toward
a deeper study
of Potier's grammar:
selected topics

6. The Wyandot dialect in Potier's grammar

John Steckley

Potier lived with the people who came to be known as the Wyandot, after spending eight months with the Huron-Wendat in Quebec in 1743–4. He came to see that the dialects spoken by the two descendent groups were somewhat different. When he was rereading his linguistic works, he used superscript writing to indicate what he was hearing among the Wyandot. Part of the significance of this is that the Wyandot dialect was not recorded in such depth with such accuracy by non-Jesuits in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Only when French-Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau recorded forty narratives or stories of the Wyandot in 1911 and 1912, did we see a recording of the language in a thorough way (Barbeau 1960; Steckley 2020). With my work as the Tribal Linguist of the Wyandotte of Oklahoma, 2015–2020, I was confronted by a few shortfalls in the vocabulary owing to the limited range of examples used in the stories. Drawing upon the Wyandot forms recorded in Potier's grammar and dictionary helped make up for some of those shortfalls. We do not know how far back in time the dialect distinctions between Wyandot and Wendat went. In *Words of the Huron*, I discussed how during the 1620s–1640s an almost identical set of distinctions existed among the different nations of the Huron-Wendat (Steckley 2007b: 35–45).

Potier had a keen linguistic sense of dialects. He ably demonstrated this in his own native tongue. Born in the French-speaking area of the Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium), once he arrived in New France in 1743, he

started collecting words and expressions in the dialect he was then experiencing. This culminated in 1758 with his *Façons de parler proverbiales*, a much-valued resource on the history of that dialect.

As you will see in what follows, in Potier's opening discussion *De Litteris* (on the letters of the alphabet) he presents almost all of the distinctions between Wyandot and Wendat pronunciation, often using *dic*, the imperative of the Latin verb for 'to say', before giving the Wyandot form. That part of his version of the grammar involves significant change from the grammar he was copying from.¹

-chr- versus -ch-

One difference between Wyandot and Wendat that Potier noticed was that Wyandot had an *-r-* after a *-ch-* (i.e., *-š-*) in certain circumstances.² He indicated this with a superscript *-r-*. This occurred with *-ch-* that came at the end of noun roots, as with *-ach(r)-* 'axe' and *-ndšch(r)-* 'robe' below. The *-ch(r)-* can also be a nominalizer, creating noun stems out of verb roots, such as *-ondech(r)-* 'country'. It is constructed from the verb root *-onde-* 'to have as country'. There are verb roots that have the sequence as well. In Potier's grammar this is found most frequently in the verb root *-ch(r)ondi-* 'to prepare' and with the dislocative root suffix *-ch(r)-* following the verb root and preceding the purposive aspect *-e-*.

As with the other Wyandot features that he presents, Potier is inconsistent with his use of this dialect form, with both Wendat and Wyandot versions appearing. Generally speaking the Wendat forms that he was copying tend to outnumber the Wyandot forms that he was hearing. In his rewriting/recording of the dictionary, he was more consistent in his use of Wyandot superscripts. Here are examples in which both forms are found in the grammar:

- 1 In this chapter, references to the text of the *Elementa* (which otherwise would have rapidly crowded the page and would moreover have had limited value) have been systematically omitted.
- 2 See Steckley (2007b: 41) for a discussion of this distinction in Wendat dialects. The *-chr-* (i.e., *-šr-*) form is conservative in the language, the *-ch-* (i.e., *-š-*) innovative. This can be seen in the fact that in the related language of Oneida the nominalizer is *-hsl-* and the verb root for 'to prepare' is *-hsluni-* (Michelson & Doxtator 2002: 405, 406), the Oneida *-l-* corresponding to the Wyandot *-r-*.

Words/Noun roots	Wendat	Wyandot
-ach(r)- 'axe'	<i>acha</i> 'axe' <i>achaʁasti</i> 'it is a good axe'	<i>achrïo</i> 'it is a large axe'
-ndðch(r)- 'robe'	<i>andðcha</i> 'robe'	<i>andðchra</i> 'robe'
-ondech(r)- 'country'	<i>ondechon</i> 'inside the country'	<i>aondechrenhaon</i> 'for the duration of the country'
-ach(r)on- 'to prepare'	<i>achondi</i> 'to prepare'	<i>achrondi</i> 'to prepare'

-nth- versus -nnh-

Another Wyandot addition that appears in some of the appropriate forms in the grammar is having *-nth*³ rather than the Wendat *-nnh*- (see discussion of this distinction in Wendat dialects in Steckley 2007b: 39–40). One example in the grammar is the verb root *-on(n/t)he*- 'to live'. In his discussion of the letter *-d*, he presents it as taking the forms '*onnhe...ondhe...onthe*,' the latter being the preferred form. *Onthe* is the form usually used in the dictionary (Fraser 1920: 415). In contrast, it appears less often than *onnhe* in the grammar.

-ngui- versus -ndi-

In the entry on the letter *-d*, Potier writes in the grammar that after *-n*- and before *-i*-, the *-ndi*- becomes *-ngu*- (see the discussion of this distinction in Wendat dialects in Steckley 2007b: 39).⁴ This occurs when the *-i*- is followed by an oral vowel. For *-e*-, see *en(d/g)ietsi* 'finger is long'. For *-o*-, see the particle *n(d/g)ioharon* 'withdraw, go away from it'. In presenting the latter without the *-g*-, Potier has the word 'Lorette' follow, signifying how the word is said in the Huron-Wendat community of that name (Fraser 1920: 98). One example that he gives for the *-ngu*- is the noun for 'finger', which in Wendat is *andia*, but when said among the Wyandot speakers he heard it was *anguia*. Again, this is not completely consistent usage.

- 3 In this case the Wendat form is conservative, the Wyandot one innovative. This can be seen in the fact that cognate verb roots for 'to command' in the related languages of Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Tuscarora do not have the *-t*- (see Steckley 2007a: 187), and the cognate verb roots for 'to live' in Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga take the *-nh*- form.
- 4 Both forms differ from cognates in related languages (Steckley 2007a: 155–156).

-ndr- versus -nnr-

The Wyandot form here is *-ndr-*, which is innovative to the conservative Wendat *-nnr-*.⁵ Again the use of the Wyandot dialect form is not completely consistent, as can be seen with the examples with the verb root *-an(n/d)ra-* ‘to look at’, and with the examples of one entry with reference to the verb root *-n(n/d)ren-* ‘to tie’.

-oin- versus -en-

Potier used *-oin-* after a *-ð-*, a Wyandot form. It would replace that which would usually be written as *-en-* (i.e. *ɛ*) or *-an-* (i.e. *ɑ*). The exact sound he was trying to represent is not clear to me. There are two examples in which the verb root plus stative aspect form being replaced was *-ðan-* ‘to own’:

Tetionnionhðentsaðoin ‘in our country, land’

Sandðchraðoin ‘your robe’

In another instance, a Wendat form *iðennhæe* is crossed out and replaced by a superscript ‘*dic iðoin(n/t)/hæe*’. It is noted that here, the word presents another Wyandot feature.

-ki- versus -ti-

In his discussion of the letter *-i-*, Potier pointed out that for the Wendat entry *hataⁱkiak* ‘he talks (often)’ *hata^{ki}kiak* is said in the community in which he lived (see Steckley 2007b: 39 for a discussion of this distinction in Wendat dialects). He then uses the verb root *-atati-* ‘to talk’ as the example for the *a*-stem-conjugation verbs, without once using the *-ky-* form. This follows as well later in the grammar.

5 The Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora cognates for the verb root ‘to look at’ do not have the *-d-* (see Steckley 2007a: 107).

-nni- versus -ngi- and -ndi-

In his discussion of the letter *-i-*, Potier wrote the following:

„e₁annionk je fais chaudiere dic ïeiagnionk, gn ut galli agneau [-gn- like in the French word agneau]

Again, this is not how he tends to write the word later in the grammar. A closer relationship between initial statement and following examples exists with the next part of the entry under *-i-*:

Onnianni bene, dic ogniandi vel potius [or rather] ongiandi.

The same applies to the homophonous or identical-sounding verb *onnianni* ‘it is a long time’, where the Wyandot alternative is systematically indicated.

-nien- versus -ien-

Wyandot *-nien-* corresponds with Wendat *-ien-* in the verb root meaning ‘to have ability, skill, knowledge, skill, knowledge’. Potier introduced this with an example in the verb form charts (*n*)*ienstandi* ‘to instruct’, but he is not consistent with that form there, or elsewhere.

-8- versus -o-

One significant difference between the Wyandot of the speakers recorded by Barbeau early in the twentieth century and the Wendat of Potier’s time is the complete replacement of oral (i.e. non-nasal) *-o-* by *-u-*. There seems only to have been a partial replacement in the Wyandot of Potier’s time (see Steckley 2007b: 40–41).

I

In his discussion of the character *-i-*, Potier engages, without saying that he is doing so, in a contrast between the Wendat and the Wyandot dialects. He is writing about what happens to certain letters *-d-*, *-t-*, *-k-* and *-n-* when followed by an *-i-*.

Letter	Wendat	Potier's Wyandot	Barbeau's Wyandot	Meaning
-d-	<i>andia</i>	<i>ianguia</i>	<i>ya'ngya'</i>	'finger'
-t-	<i>hatatiak</i>	<i>hatakiak</i>	<i>hatakyah</i>	'He often talks.'
-n-	<i>onnianni</i>	<i>ogniandi</i> ⁶	<i>oṅgyandi'</i>	'It is good.'

K

In his discussion of the letter *-k-* all Potier mentions is that when a *-k-* has what linguists call post-aspiration (like a *-k-* followed by an *-h-*) it is represented by a *-χ-*. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wyandot texts use *-k-* and not *-χ-*. This could be a dialect difference.

The problem here is that there are a good number of examples of the letter *-k-* where Wyandot has a glottal stop. A case in point is with the verb root written by Potier as *-aton-*. He writes the habitual form of the verb, the only aspect this verb takes, as follows: *īatonk* 'I say', *ichiatonk* 'you say', *ihatonk* 'he says', *iḡaton* 'she says' (Fraser 1920: 196).

In the Wyandot recorded by Barbeau in 1911–2, we see the same words written as follows:

- yatoq*⁷ I say (Barbeau 1960: 174).
- išatoq*⁷ You (s) say (Barbeau 1960: 209).
- ihatoq*⁷ He says (Barbeau 1960: 188).
- iwatoq*⁷ She says (Barbeau 1960: 144).

D

d al[i]q[uan]do pronuntiat[u]r ut *n* [...] et vicissim *n* ut *d* v[erbi]g[ratia] *onnhe* vivere à multis pronuntiat<u>r ut *ondhe* vel potius *onthe*

[*D* is sometimes pronounced as *n*, and in turn *n* as *d*, for example *onnhe* 'to live' is pronounced by many as *ondhe*, or rather *onthe*.]

- 6 He uses the Latin word *potius* 'rather' for this, indicating that it is the preferred form, which it was with the Wyandot, but not the Wendat.
- 7 There are also examples when the final character is ' , signifying an *-h-*. Barbeau's texts are inconsistent in when a glottal stop and when a ' is used.

The *-d-* form was first recorded in the Northern and Southern Bear dialects (Steckley 2007b: 39–40). There are Wendat language sources available from 1632 to 1697 that have examples of words in which both *-ndh-* and *-nnh-* occur. The former is an innovation from the north and south dialects of the Bear nation of the Huron-Wendat with which the Jesuits had the most early contact, prior to the dispersal of 1649–50 (see discussion in Steckley 2010b: 30–33). Having examples of both forms is true of sources of the 1630s, such as Recollect Brother Gabriel’s dictionary published in 1632 (Steckley 2010a), and Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf’s Catechism published the same year (Steckley 2017b). In a French-Wendat dictionary of the 1640s, possibly the oldest surviving Jesuit dictionary, there are seven instances of *-ndh-* and six of *-nnh-* (see Steckley 2010a: 8 for discussion). In the dictionary of 1697, there are 10 instances of *-nnh-*, only three of *-ndh-*. In Potier’s dictionary, there is consistent use of *-nnh-* with a superscript *-t-*. This is a Wyandot dialect form added by Potier. It being what he heard in his work with the Wyandot makes it for him the ‘preferable’ form.

Not mentioned in this discussion of an innovative *-d-* is the one that appears before *-r-* like it does before *-h-* in Potier’s examples. It appears in Sagard’s dictionary, but not otherwise in the early sources. By the 1690s it is the dominant form. Potier uses a superscript *-d-* over the *-nnr-* in the dictionary (see Fraser 1920: 451–452), but *-nnr-* and *-ndr-* with a superscript in the grammar. Again it is a Wyandot dialect form. Also not mentioned is the superscript Wyandot *-d-* he writes when there are two n’s before an *-i-*.

Here we have discussed ten phonetic differences between standard Wendat of the eighteenth century and Wyandot. There were a few semantic differences as well, but these are found not in the grammar, but in the dictionary. Bracketed alternatives, with the first word within the brackets being *dic* for ‘say’ is one form in which this kind of difference is recorded:

k8-achandieti...faire du feu avec du bois (dic ,atsistaesti – vide -ae) (Fraser 1920: 162).

The alternative uses the noun root *-tsist-* ‘fire’ and the verb root *-ae-* ‘to strike’.

7. When Latin is found lacking: the role of Greek in Potier's Wendat grammar

Andy Peetermans & Raf Van Rooy

We have seen in chapter 5 that Pierre Potier's Wendat grammar complies with the general early modern tendency of sticking to the Latin grammatical model. Given, however, that the study of Ancient Greek grammar was part and parcel of Jesuit education ever since the sixteenth century, it is far from unreasonable to expect Potier, when describing Wendat grammar, to have derived some inspiration from elements of Greek grammar he recalled from his schooldays. Moreover, the fellow Jesuits that were his target audience could readily be expected to understand references to such elements. And indeed, faced with certain phenomena of the Wendat language that could not expediently be captured by traditional Latin grammar, Potier sometimes found that resorting to terms closely associated in the first place with the study of Greek offered a helpful solution.

The Wendat verb through a Greek lens: explicit comparisons and implicit terminological borrowings

At first sight, the extent of Potier's indebtedness to the Greek tradition might seem minimal, since the Greek language is only mentioned explicitly in two brief general considerations concerning the verb found at the bottom of the grammar's second page:

5° There are three numbers, as among the Greeks: singular, dual, plural.

6° There are more persons than among the Greeks.¹

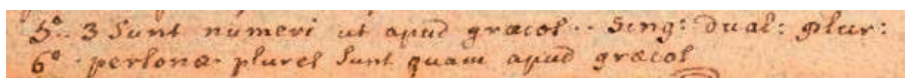


Figure 7.1 The one passage where Potier mentions Greek ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 2)

In the first of these notes, Potier draws attention to the fact that Wendat, like Ancient Greek, counts among its grammatical numbers not only a singular and a plural, but also a dual, associated with pairs rather than individuals or larger sets. While it is true that Potier could have known the dual number from Latin grammaticography, where it was a kind of ghost category (Denecker 2019), the Jesuit connected the phenomenon explicitly with Ancient Greek. To understand what is meant by the second remark, ‘There are more persons than among the Greeks’, it helps to continue reading at the top of the facing manuscript page, where an overview is given of the different forms that are found in a typical Wendat verb paradigm.² (A schematization of Potier’s overview, illustrating how the Wendat verb’s person and number system functions, can be found in the section devoted to the category of person in chapter 5 and will not be repeated in full here.) While the Greek verb distinguishes between first, second and third person in singular, dual and plural, resulting in a paradigm that can be represented in a three-by-three grid,³ Wendat makes some additional distinctions: (1) in the third person, between masculine and feminine forms, and (2) in the first person dual and plural, between exclusive and inclusive forms (i.e. excluding or including the addressee). Moreover, the paradigm also contains a separate form for the indefinite person. Given that Latin and Greek share the same Indo-European three-person verb system and that Latin grammar counts as the standard point of reference, it may seem somewhat surprising that Greek is mentioned at all in this context. Presumably, however, Potier

1 (Potier, *Elementa*: 2):

5° 3 sunt numeri ut apud graecos .. sing<ularis> .. dual<is> .. plur<alis>

6° personae plures sunt quam apud graecos.

The first of these two notes is repeated verbatim later on in the grammar (Potier, *Elementa*: 47).

2 This description is applicable to both the AJC copy and the KCSC copy.

3 Admittedly, the first person dual in Greek, being vanishingly rare, is not usually included in verb paradigms.

takes ‘person’ to mean a combination of person and number – and, in the case of Wendat, gender – that shows up as a single slot in the paradigm (e.g. first person singular; third person feminine dual): from such a viewpoint, Latin can be said to possess six persons, Greek nine⁴ and Wendat fifteen.

In addition to *dualis*, Potier adopted some other terms which modern classicists would intuitively associate with Greek, but this time without branding them as such. In some cases, most notably *optativus*, this lack of association with Greek can be easily explained; traditional Latin grammar had already taken over this term from its Greek model, even though Latin formally lacked an optative mood. Instead, Latin grammarians used the term *optativus* to describe the periphrastic construction *utinam* + subjunctive, which expresses wishes.⁵ In this case, then, Potier was simply not relying on Greek grammatical scholarship because a more obvious source of inspiration was available. But this mediation through Latin cannot be maintained for terms such as *aoristus* and *augmentum*, which were never incorporated into mainstream Latin grammaticography. Before discussing these two terms, however, one other ‘false positive’ should briefly be dispensed with: the term *reduplicatio*, as used by Potier, has little to do with the Greek-derived notion of morphological reduplication, which consists in the repetition (doubling) of part of a word. Rather, it refers to a prefix whose semantic value is ‘repetition’.⁶ One could argue that Potier transferred the term from Greek grammar with no regard to its original meaning, but the gap between the formal phenomenon covered by the term in Greek grammar and the semantic value attributed to it by Potier seems too wide to maintain this hypothesis.

A much more convincing case is *aoristus*, which, in the Greek grammatical tradition, referred in the first place to a past tense formation. According to ancient doctrine, the *aoristus* marked that the event expressed by the verb had occurred at an undetermined point in the past – hence its name *a-oristus* (<ἀ-όριστος), ‘indeterminate’. Yet, the standard Jesuit school grammar of Greek, authored by the German Hellenist Jakob Gretser (1562–1625) and first published in 1593, questioned this interpretation of the aorist, because he was not able to read it into the usage of ancient authors.⁷ Instead, Gretser (1593: 138–139)

4 Or eight if you do not count the first person dual.

5 Both the Latin (*modus*) *optativus* and the original Greek phrase εὐκτική (ἐγκλισις) *euktikḗ (éγκλισις)* derive from verbs meaning ‘to wish’ (Latin *opto*, Greek εὐχομαι *eúkhomai*).

6 See especially Potier (*Elementa*: 22–23).

7 Gretser (1593: 138): DICIMVS *Aoristus* & *Aoristum*, *illud subintelligendo χρόνος, hoc subintelligendo tempus, & nihil aliud significat ex vi nominis χρόνος ἀόριστος, quàm tempus indefinitum. Respondent Aoristi præteritis Latinorum. Licet enim nonnulli tradant incertam esse si-*

preferred to conceive of the aorist as referring, like the Latin perfect tense, to a determined point in time, and moreover adopted the following alternative explanation for the term's etymology (allegedly introduced by other unnamed scholars):

these tenses are called 'aorist' or 'indefinite' because they have a meaning which, in fact, is sometimes past, sometimes future, sometimes present.⁸

Indeed, the aorist stem in Ancient Greek did not only feature in past tense verb forms but could, in non-factual modalities, also refer to non-past events. Modern linguistics has, in fact, revealed that the Greek aorist stem had first and foremost a perfective-punctual aspectual value, meaning that it describes events and states as completed actions.

It was common in Greek grammar to make a distinction between 'first' and 'second aorists' (*primus aoristus*, *secundus aoristus*). This distinction was usually regarded as purely formal, as in *étupsa* (ἔτυψα) vs. *étupon* (ἔτυπον), the first (sigmatic) and second (thematic) aorist of the verb *túptō* (τύπτω), 'to beat':

The second aorist signifies the same as the first, and it has not been invented and used by the Greeks out of necessity but for abundance.⁹

Rather artificially, Greek grammarians such as Gretser distinguished these two aorist forms for all verbs, even though, in fact, most verbs only occurred in one formation – in the case of *túptō* this was *étupsa*. From a present-day perspective, this conceptualization of the 'split' Greek aorist, which postulates a great quantity of forms that never actually existed, is rather flawed, but it was pervasive in the early modern period.

To which Wendat verb phenomena did Potier apply the term *aoristus*? What the forms that Potier labels 'aorist' have in common, is that they possess a modal prefix (typically *a-*)¹⁰ that, as current scholarship understands it,

gnificationem, paulóne antè res præterierit an multò, id tamen vix obseruatur ab auctoribus, vt exemplis passim obuiis ostendi potest.

8 *Probabilius est quod alij dicunt, hæc tempora vocari Aorista seu indefinita, quod habeant significationem, interdum quidem præteritam, aliquando futuram, nonnunquam præsentem.*

9 Gretser (1593: 145): *Idem autem significat Aoristus secundus, quod primus, neque necessitatis, sed copiae causa inuentus & vsurpatus est à Græcis.*

10 Potier (*Elementa*: 4): *aoristi gaudent incremento initiali quod fere semper est a.*

serves as a marker of the factual (or *realis*),¹¹ a type of modality which ‘indicates that the event is certain to occur, i.e. is a fact’ (Lukaniec 2018: 110). It is typical of Wendat modal prefixes that they are normally employed only in association with the punctual (also: perfective) verb aspect, ‘used to describe an event or an action in its totality, or in other words, a holistic, bounded event’ (Lukaniec 2018: 108).¹² In other words, Potier’s ‘aorist’ forms combine punctual aspect with factual modality. In this light, it is unsurprising that his use of the term is restricted to the indicative mood, the normal expression of factual modality in Greek and Latin grammar. Since tense is not a factor in this equation, the ‘aorist’ is not restricted to past actions, as Potier’s remarks and his French equivalents for it reflect (see below).

Given that both the Greek aorist and the Wendat verb forms involving the factual modal prefix *a-* labelled ‘aorist indicatives’ by Potier are analysed by modern linguists as expressing punctual aspect, one might be tempted to conclude that Potier intuitively sensed the aspectual value of the Greek aorist – intuitively, since aspect as a linguistic category would only be conceptualized outside of the Slavic-speaking world in the nineteenth century (Klein 1974: 76) – and transferred it to the Wendat verb system, to which, as Lukaniec (2018: 100) notes, ‘[t]he expression of aspect, mood, and modality is central’, whereas ‘[t]ense [...] only plays a minor role’. If true, this might mean that Potier can be hailed as a revolutionary linguistic mind anticipating the concept of aspect. But is this indeed the case?

Two considerations lead us to suggest that the Jesuit grammarian did not operate with a clear-cut aspect concept. First, Potier associated *aoristus* with forms involving the factual prefix *a-*, rather than with all Wendat perfective formations – notably, these also include forms involving the modal prefixes *e-* (future) and *a-* (optative), which Potier labels ‘future tense’ and ‘potential mood’ (*modus potentialis*), respectively. Second, it seems highly likely that it was another quality of the Greek aorist concept which motivated its adoption: its *passe-partout* quality, the fact that it was indeterminate in terms of tense, as highlighted by early modern grammarians of Greek such as Gretser. Indeed, this quality of the Wendat ‘aorist’ was highlighted more than once by Potier:

11 See also chapter 4. On the precise relation between the near-equivalent terms *factual* and *realis*, see Lukaniec (2018: 108–109).

12 On Wendat’s modal prefixes and their association with the punctual aspect, see Lukaniec (2018: 108–117). In addition to the factual, Wendat possesses two other modal prefixes: the future (*e-*), ‘used when the speaker believes that the event or action is likely to occur’ (Lukaniec 2018: 113), and the optative (typically *a-*, similar to the factual), ‘indicating that the event could possibly occur’ (Lukaniec 2018: 115). The punctual aspect itself can be encoded by means of a variety of suffixes or, in many cases, be left unmarked.

The aorist is often used instead of the present, and has a certain kinship with the perfect and the future.¹³

Because the aorist is a tense common to present and past.¹⁴

The Huron use not the present but the aorist to signify a present, or rather a near future.¹⁵

Potier not only borrowed the Greek idea of a temporally polyvalent aorist tense, but also adopted the distinction between formally divergent ‘first’ and ‘second aorists’. Two elements of the traditional conceptualization of the split Greek aorist appealed to Potier: (1) the idea that there was a formal difference between the first and second aorist and (2) the idea that both aorist formations could be applied to every Wendat verb stem. Potier innovated and exploited the intrinsic vagueness of the Greek aorist concept by intuitively attributing a difference in meaning to the two aorist formations, as his French translations suggest. The first aorist *aqtatia* is rendered as

1° je vais parler. 2° voila q[u]e je parle. 3° je viens de parler. 4° je parlai

Potier translated the second aorist form *aqtatiaska* as

1° j'ai pensé parler. 2° peu s'en est fallu q[u]e je n'ai parlé 3° j'ai presq[ue] parle.

What Potier wrote as *-ska* perhaps reflects *-hsk-a'*, a combination of the perfective suffix *-a'* preceded by a variant of the doubled reversive suffix, the so-called undoer, which ‘derives a new verb base with the opposite meaning of the original verb base’ (Lukaniec 2018: 298); this could explain why the Jesuit grammarian’s translations all suggest that the action of speaking was never realized.

The prefix *a-*, the typical marker of the ‘aorist’, Potier dubbed *augmentum*, in another clear borrowing from Greek verbal terminology. As with *aoristus*, Potier was not looking for a strict correspondence between the phenomenon covered by the term in Greek grammar and the morphemes it came to designate in

13 Potier (*Elementa*: 4): *aor<istus> saepe usurpat<u>r pro praesenti, et habet aliquid affine cum perfecto et fut<uro>*.

14 Potier (*Elementa*: 38): *quia aoristus est tempus commune praesenti et praeterito.*

15 Potier (*Elementa*: 79): *huronos non utuntur praesenti sed aoristo ad signandum praesens aut verius paulo post futurum.*

his Wendat grammar. Potier's Wendat *augmentum* was a prefixed morpheme of either the 'aorist' (a-) or the 'future' (e-) (Potier, *Elementa*: 2), whereas the Greek augment was generally interpreted as a marker of past tense, featuring in indicative aorist and other verb forms. The grammarian, therefore, was guided by the position of these Wendat morphemes in the verb; like the Greek augment, it preceded the verbal stem. Again a superficial similarity warranted a terminological transfer, although it was no doubt encouraged by the initial transfer of the term *aoristus*. The fact that Potier (*Elementa*: e.g. 4) elsewhere used the alternative *incrementum initiale*, 'initial addition', a paraphrase which called up fewer Greek associations than *augmentum*, might suggest that he was not entirely content with the latter option, perhaps especially in association with the future.

The adoption of Greek graphemes

In addition to the terminological borrowings discussed so far, an especially conspicuous trace of Greek inspiration in Potier's grammar consists in the use of Greek graphemes to render some Wendat sounds or sound clusters. Two Greek letters, theta <θ> and chi <χ>, which in the ancient language represented the aspirated stops /t^h/ and /k^h/, respectively, are used to express the similar-sounding Wendat clusters /th/ and /kh/ (Lukaniec 2018: 47). Greek also possessed a labial aspirated stop /p^h/, represented by the letter phi <φ>; but since Wendat possesses no labial stops, the cluster /ph/ cannot occur and thus needs no representation. Given that Potier's usage of theta and chi at first sight seems to presuppose a reconstructed pronunciation of Greek in which the original aspirated stops are realized as such, rather than the later Byzantine pronunciation, in which they were realized as fricatives – phi as /f/, theta as /θ/ and chi as /x/ or /ç/ – , we have to ask the question how seventeenth- or eighteenth-century French speakers would have pronounced their Greek.

The early humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth century used a pronunciation that was essentially Byzantine. In the sixteenth century, a new style of pronunciation commonly called Erasmian, essentially an attempt to revive the original ancient pronunciation, appeared alongside the Byzantine one and would eventually replace it almost entirely. Crucially, however, the Erasmian reconstruction did not pass beyond the Byzantine pronunciation with regard to phi, theta and chi, which retained their fricative values (Barnard 2017: 112). Over the course of the early modern period, the Erasmian pronunciation evolved into a variety of 'school pronunciations' (*Schulaussprachen*) influenced by the different European vernaculars, a historical process that is in need of

further study.¹⁶ In the case of French, the fricative value of phi could easily be retained, since the language possesses a phoneme /f/; doing the same for theta and chi, however, would have required students of Greek to learn to produce sounds that were absent from their native language's phonology, and it seems that the dental and velar fricatives were replaced with the corresponding stops /t/ and /k/. Those are the sounds that the Jesuit missionaries of New France would probably have used in practice when pronouncing Greek.

From their grammar lessons, however, they would have remembered that the letters phi, theta and chi were customarily described (in imitation of ancient grammarians) as 'aspirated' (*aspiratae*),¹⁷ and that their usual representations by means of the Latin alphabet consisted of a combination of letters representing their corresponding voiceless stops and <h>,¹⁸ a letter whose value was also often described by means of the term 'aspiration' (*aspiratio*).¹⁹ Presumably, this tradition provided the inspiration to employ theta and chi, which would probably have been realized as /t/ and /k/ when pronouncing Greek, to represent /th/ and /kh/ in Wendat. Since Wendat possesses no labial stops, we will unfortunately never know for certain whether the letter phi would have been employed by analogy to render the impossible cluster /ph/; in any case, this would have been a somewhat less natural fit, as it was normally pronounced /f/.

The Greek ligature <ϛ>, resembling the number eight and combining the omicron <ο> and upsilon <υ> in one symbol, renders the vowel [u], which in Wendat counts as an allophone of the phoneme /o/, and the semivowel [w] (Lukaniec 2018: 38–39). While this ligature will be unfamiliar to most present-day learners of Ancient Greek, it was frequently used in both Byzantine manuscripts and early modern printed texts. In French orthography, the basic point of reference for the Jesuits' Wendat spelling, <u> is typically used for the close front rounded vowel [y], which explains why the need was felt for some alternative means for representing the close back rounded vowel [u].

When discussing the pronunciation of the letter <r>, Potier mentioned the following:

16 Overall, the history of Greek pronunciation is in need of a closer investigation, as Drerup's (1930–32) two-volume overview has become outdated.

17 Cf. Gretser (1593: 7).

18 For instance, Gretser (1593: 1–2) renders the values of phi, theta and chi as *ph*, *th* and *ch*, respectively.

19 For instance, the standard Jesuit work of Latin grammar, Manuel Álvares' (1526–1582) *De institutione grammatica libri tres*, referred to <h> as *aspirationis nota* (Álvares 1648: 420).

2° It is pronounced more smoothly, if it is written with a smooth accent (*lenis accentus*) or without an accent [...] but more roughly, if it is written with a rough breathing (*spiritus asper*) [...].²⁰

In this passage, reference is made to a typical element of Greek spelling, the breathing marks (*spiritus*). In Greek, these marks are used at the beginning of words starting with a vowel or /r/, represented by the letter rho <ρ>, in order to mark aspiration – in which case the rough breathing mark (*spiritus asper*) <ϝ> is used – or its absence – by means of the smooth breathing mark (*spiritus lenis*) <Ϙ>. Surprisingly, the breathing marks in Potier’s example words are written the wrong way around with reference to the Greek model, with the breathing mark that is characterized as ‘smooth’ opening to the right rather than the left, and vice versa for the ‘rough’ breathing mark.²¹ Another source of perplexity is that while in the rest of the grammar, the <ř> with ‘smooth’ breathing has a few dozen occurrences, the <ṛ̌> with ‘rough’ breathing has none, a fact at odds with Potier’s statement that it is the ‘smooth’ pronunciation that can be left unmarked rather than the ‘rough’ one. All in all, Potier’s remarks on the combination of the letter <r> with Greek breathing marks bring more confusion than clarity.

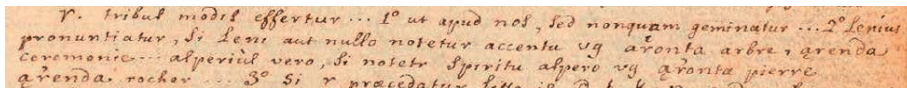


Figure 7.2 Potier on the ‘rough’ and ‘smooth’ versions of the letter <r> (AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 1)

Finally, Potier eagerly employed the Greek letter iota <ι>, or rather ‘half-letter’ (*semi-littera*) in his terminology, to various ends. It is a half-letter because it figures in his grammar only as a subscript or superscript symbol. As a subscript symbol, it mainly expresses that the vowel under which it is written is preceded by the voiceless palatal fricative [ç], an allophone of /k/ (Lukaniec 2018: 45). Potier qualified the sound of the subscript iota as ‘smooth’, approximating the sound of the letter <i> but not entirely, a vague description of its

20 Potier (*Elementa*: 1): 2° *lenius pronuntiatur, si leni aut nullo notetur accentu v̄(erbi) ḡ(ratia) ar̄onta ar̄bre, ar̄enda c̄er̄onomie ... asperius vero, si notet̄ur̄ spiritu aspero v̄(erbi) ḡ(ratia) ar̄onta pierre<ϝ>, ar̄enda rocher ...*

21 This description is applicable to both the AJC copy and the KCSC copy.

actual pronunciation which the reader, he said, should learn from usage.²² The subscript iota additionally serves to distinguish different verb forms from each other, without expressing any actual sound.²³ In its superscript form, the iota could express a ‘rougher’ pronunciation and even the doubling of certain consonants.²⁴ In sum, Potier attributed an impressive functional load to this sub- and superscript symbol, which he intentionally called ‘iota’ and not ‘small i’ as some of his predecessors did, perhaps to show off his Greek learning.²⁵ Also, Potier notes that in Iroquois (*idioma iroquaeum*), the letter <g> corresponds to the Wendat iota.

Particularly interesting is Potier’s claim that the superscript iota can be combined with the letter <r>, marking a ‘smoother’ pronunciation that does not involve trilling of the tongue.²⁶ Possibly, this can be taken to mean that whereas the unmarked <r> represents an alveolar trill [r], the variant with superscript iota marks the corresponding tap sound [r].²⁷ The crucial fact that should be noticed here is that this iota-marked ‘smooth’ <ṛ> is absolutely indistinguishable from the <ṛ> with ‘smooth breathing mark’ (oriented the ‘wrong’ way around) discussed above. Combined with the fact, also noted above, that the <ṛ> with ‘rough breathing mark’ is never actually used, this gives rise to the hypothesis that the mark on the <ṛ> indicating its ‘smooth’ pronunciation was not originally meant to be a Greek breathing mark but was only reinterpreted as such at a later stage by one of Potier’s predecessors, either due to an honest mistake or in a conscious attempt to give this element of Wendat spelling a Greek pedigree. At this point, the representation of the ‘rough’ /r/ by means of <ṛ> was introduced by analogy but subsequently remained a grammarian’s fiction without real-life application. If true, this interpretation would explain why the orientation of the breathing marks does not match Greek expectations. It must in all fairness be conceded that for this interpretation to be correct, it still needs to be assumed that Potier’s suggestion that use of the ‘smooth’ breathing mark is optional (while the same is not said of the ‘rough’ breathing mark) is either mistaken or worded in a highly confusing manner.

22 Potier (*Elementa*: 1): *sed lenius quasi prope i, non vero omnino: usus docebit.*

23 Potier (*Elementa*: 2): *ad distinguenda quaedam tempora alia ab aliis [...] tum nil addit pronuntiationi.*

24 Potier (*Elementa*: 1): *ad pronuntiantum asperius consonantes, et quasi duplicandas.*

25 Potier (*Elementa*: 2): *Nota me deinceps dicturum iota, non parvum i ut dicebant et interdum scribebant veteres.*

26 Potier (*Elementa*: 1): *affixa litterae r variat pronuntiationem, et facit leniorem [...] leniori, non tremulo linguae motu hanc litteram efferas.*

27 It is to be noted that Lukaniec (2018: 55) does not mention Potier’s remarks about the different pronunciations of the Wendat /r/ and does not allow for any allophonic variation.

Understanding Potier's practice against the background of (Jesuit) missionary grammar

As noted at the beginning of this section, Potier's Jesuit education would have equipped him to actively use Greek as a complementary grammaticographical point of reference besides Latin. Crucially, however, Potier was not the pioneer of Wendat grammar, but rather built on more than a century's worth of previous work on the language. The earliest grammatical notes on Wendat that have come down to us, authored by the renowned Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf (see chapters 3 and 8), already laid the groundwork for many of the Greek references that appear in Potier's work. For instance, Brébeuf mentioned Greek with regard to the grammatical categories of number (implying the existence of a dual)²⁸ and tense (paving the way for the inclusion of an 'aorist').²⁹ Moreover, he briefly discussed the use of the letter chi³⁰ and made use of the 8-ligature in several of his Wendat examples to render [u] and [w].³¹ In other words, many – and possibly all – of the Greek elements in Potier's grammar were not first introduced by him, but inherited from the existing tradition of Jesuit Wendat grammar. Given, however, that this tradition is relatively sparsely documented, with the chronology and authorship of the known extant manuscripts still being quite poorly understood (see chapter 9), identifying original contributions by Potier – if any – is far from an evident task.

There is plenty of evidence that this tradition of Jesuit Wendat grammar did not exist in isolation from Jesuit grammatical activity in other parts of New France.³² The use of Greek elements is, for instance, also evident in the Innu grammar of the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste de La Brosse (1724–1782), dated 1768.³³ This

28 Brébeuf (1636: 80): 'They [i.e. the Huron] have diversity of gender like us [i.e. the French, i.e. masculine/feminine], [and] of number like the Greeks [i.e. singular/dual/plural]' [*Ils ont diversité de genres comme nous, de nombre comme les Grecs*].

29 Brébeuf (1636: 82): 'They [i.e. the Huron] vary their tenses in as many ways as the Greeks' [*Qu'ils varient leurs temps en autant de façons que les Grecs*].

30 Brébeuf (1636: 79): 'They have a letter unlike any that we have, [and] we express it by means of khi, [and] they share its use with the Montagnais and Algonquin' [*Ils ont vne lettre dont nous n'auons point la pareille, nous l'exprimons par khi, l'usage en est commun aux Montagnés & Algonquins*]. It is highly probable that the fact that this letter is consistently rendered by means of a small-caps <κ> rather than the expected Greek <χ> is entirely due to technical constraints involved in the printing process (see also the quotation of Jean-Baptiste de La Brosse below).

31 Cf. Brébeuf (1636: 48–49, 79–84).

32 On missionary linguistics in New France, see Hanzeli (1969), Cottier & Lambert-Brière (2018) and Van Loon (2020).

33 Innu-aimun or Montagnais is a language spoken in Labrador and Quebec belonging to the Algonquian family. Like Potier's Wendat grammar, La Brosse's grammar is written in Latin and contains the qualification 'elements' (*elementa*) in its title.

author noted that it was customary to use the Greek <ϑ> to render [u],³⁴ a practice which he condemned on both linguistic and practical grounds – and indeed his spelling of Innu, in contrast to that of his predecessors, makes exclusive use of the Latin alphabet:³⁵

The letter *u* retains its proper sound, not that which the French alone attribute to it [i.e. [y]], but that which it receives among the English, Germans and all other peoples [i.e. [u]]. And we do not render it by means of the Greek ϑ that most have used wrongly, for ϑ is a diphthong, *u* a simple vowel; and since until now many books have been ordered to be printed and are to be ordered in the future, and Greek characters do not fit well with Roman ones with regard to the height of lines, it would be very difficult for books to be printed with this character. Indeed, the easier and shorter the printing and reading of books, the more it should be welcomed.³⁶

A century before the first French Jesuits started their activities in New France, Spanish missionaries were already involved in writing grammars of Indigenous languages of Middle and South America. Spanish missionary linguistics was different from its younger French sibling in more than one respect,³⁷ and it seems this is also reflected in their respective attitudes towards the incorporation of elements from Greek grammar. As concluded in Peetermans (2020: 301), in Spanish American missionary grammars,

Greek grammar [...] stands out mostly for its absence. [...] Tell-tale terms like ‘augment’ and ‘aorist’ appear to be entirely absent, except in the Mapudungun grammar of the Jesuit Bernhard Havestadt (1777) – a late work to which the Greek component may very well have

34 Among modern scholars, Hanzeli (1969: 73) noted that the use of the ϑ-ligature ‘soon became generalized [among the missionaries of New France] for both the Algonquian and Iroquoian languages’.

35 Cottier & Lambert-Bretièrre (2018: 31) note that the ϑ-ligature was used in the seventeenth-century Innu dictionaries of the Jesuits Antoine Silvy (1638–1711; *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, 1678–1684) and Bonaventure Fabvre (*Racines montagnaises*, 1696).

36 La Brosse (1768: 4 [= Cottier & Lambert-Bretièrre 2018: 28]): *Littera u proprium sonum retinet, non qualem soli Galli illi attribuunt, sed qualem apud Anglos, Germanos, caeterosque populos omnes sortitur. Nec eam reddimus per ϑ graecum quo perperam usi sunt plerique, ϑ enim diphthongus est, u, vocalis simplex, cumque multi hactenus typis mandati sint libri, in posterumque mandandi, caracteribusque graecis non conveniat cum romanis, linearum altitudine, difficile admodum cum hoc caractere excuderentur libri. Impressio verò librorum, et lectio, quo simplicior, et brevior, eo est admittenda magis.*

37 For characterizations of early modern Spanish American missionary linguistics, see Suárez Roca (1992), Peetermans (2020).

been added with the specific goal of catering to the expectations of an audience of European scholars.

In addition to the special case of Bernhard Havestadt's Mapudungun grammar, another exception might be mentioned: not only in Havestadt's work, but also in the Mapudungun grammars of the Jesuits Luis de Valdivia (1606) and Andrés Febrés (1765), this major Chilean language is said to possess a dual.³⁸ Given, however, that (in contrast to what we saw for Potier) Greek is not explicitly mentioned in this regard, and that the dual also appeared as a ghost category in grammars of Latin, it is not necessary to suppose a strong Greek influence here.

The fact that Greek elements are rare is unsurprising, since the framework of Latin grammar practically coincided with that of Greek grammar, and most terms used in Potier's Wendat grammar can be understood by directly resorting to Latin grammar alone. As such, the descriptive and didactic gain to be won from applying Greek terms was not very high. Moreover, not every language possesses traits that motivate the use of Greek terminology. A language that does not possess a dual, for instance, has no need for a term for this category; and it might be hard to defend the didactic value of adopting a term as specific as *augmentum* for a morpheme that could more easily be called, e.g., *nota*, *particula* or *additio*. Such and other terminological choices suggest that the prospective readership of the French Jesuit grammarians of Wendat was very much limited to an audience of peers, most – if not all – of whom had studied Greek.

All in all, Potier's 'Greekness' should not be overestimated. The terms he drew directly from Greek grammar are – understandably, in the light of the previous paragraph – scarce, and in many – and perhaps all – cases they are remnants of an earlier tradition of Wendat grammar. As we have seen, the Greek elements are limited to the Wendat verb system and orthography. Perhaps Potier and his predecessors felt that both Greek and Wendat displayed a greater complexity in these two domains than Latin, thus warranting a Greek-inspired description of Wendat phenomena. We might even speculate that the Jesuits, when confronted with Wendat and attempting to produce an adequate description of the language, recalled their experience as young students trying to wrap their head around the unfamiliar sounds and verbal morphology of

38 In addition to a dual, Havestadt (1777) also distinguished a first and second aorist for Mapudungun. On this grammar's atypical status within Spanish missionary linguistics, see Peetermans (2020: 102, 289).

Greek. This experience, then, might have fostered the transfer of Greek terminology to Wendat linguistic features, resulting in hybrid grammatical descriptions, which were very demanding for the uninitiated.

8. Of love, reciprocity and other relations: the terminology of Wendat object agreement in Jean de Brébeuf and Pierre Potier

Andy Peetermans

The ‘double conjugation’ of Wendat

The earliest grammatical notes on the Wendat language that survive to this day were written by the Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf,¹ as part of his report on the mission among the Huron-Wendat for the year 1636. The report, which was printed in the following year, contains a brief chapter on the Huron-Wendat’s language (Brébeuf 1637: 79–84), which according to its author ‘merely aim[ed] to give a little foretaste and note some particularities, awaiting a grammar and a full dictionary.’² Among the other impressions contained in this chapter, we find the following passage:

Moreover, it can be noted that there is a double conjugation, and I believe that this is common to American languages: one [conjugation] is simple and absolute, similar to our Latin and French conjugations – for example, the verb *ahiaton*, which means ‘to write’, is conjugated absolutely as follows: *iehiaton* ‘I write’, *chiehiatonc* ‘you (singular) write’, *ihahiatonc* ‘he writes’, *aðihiatonc* ‘we write’, *seðahiatonc* ‘you (plural) write’, *attihiatonc* ‘they write’.

1 On Brébeuf, see chapters 3 and 7.

2 Brébeuf (1637: 79): *Ce n’est que pour en donner quelque petit auant-goust, & en marquer quelques particularitez, attendant vne Grammaire, & vn Dictionnaire entier.*

The other way of conjugating can be called reciprocal, given that the action signified by the verb always has as its destination some person or thing; so that instead of when we [i.e. French speakers] say in three words *je m'aime* 'I love myself', the Huron say only *iate-nonnhðé*; [for] 'I love you (singular)' [they say] *onnonhðé*; [for] 'I love the two of you' *inonhðé*; [for] 'I love you all' *ðanonhðé*; and so on.³

Brébeuf presents a dichotomy between two different kinds of conjugation: a 'simple' or 'absolute' one, and a 'reciprocal' one. The first, he explains to the European reader, is similar to the way verbs are conjugated in familiar languages such as Latin and French (implying that the second is not) and associated with French translational equivalents that consist of a subject pronoun and verb (as do their English translations). Meanwhile, the second, 'reciprocal', conjugation is associated with three-word sentences involving not only a subject pronoun and a verb, but an object pronoun as well. In all cases, what is being translated is a single Wendat verb form; thus, the 'reciprocal' conjugation makes it possible to render the English sentence *I love you* in a single word as *onnonhðé*.⁴

A century later, the rather more voluminous grammatical materials assembled by Pierre Potier presented a dichotomy very similar to Brébeuf's, even if it is never articulated quite as explicitly. This can be gleaned from the following passages:

This rule [concerning the indefinite person] is applicable only to absolute [verbs], not relative ones.⁵

3 Brébeuf (1637: 83): *Outre tout cela il se remarque double coniugaison, & ie croy que cecy est commun aux langues Americaines: l'vne est simple & absoluë, semblable à nos coniugaisons Latine & Française; Par exemple, ce verbe ahiaton, qui signifie escrire, se coniugue absolument de ceste façon; iehiaton, i'escris, chiehiatonc, tu escriis, ihahiatonc, il escrit, ahihiatonc, nous escriuons, seðahiatonc, vous escriuez, atihiatonc, ils escriuent. L'autre façon de coniuguer se peut nommer reciproque, d'autant que l'action signifiée par le verbe se termine tousiours à quelque personne, ou à quelque chose; de sorte que au lieu que nous disons en trois mots ie m'ayme, les Hurons disent seulement iatenonhðé, ie t'ayme, onnonhðé, ie vous ayme tous deux, inonhðé, ie vous ayme vous plusieurs, ðanonhðé, & ainsi du reste.*

4 The printed text actually has *onnonhðé* rather than *onnonhðé*. Presumably, the subscript iota <̣> (on which see chapter 7) or something similar to it was already commonly used to represent the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] in handwritten Wendat but was simply left out by the Parisian typesetter wherever it occurred in Brébeuf's text.

5 Potier (*Elementa*: 10): *haec regula est tantum pro absolutis, non pro relativis.*

[Verbs] ending in *senni*, both relative and absolute ones, form their future [in a certain way].⁶

[A certain rule concerning 'relative' verbs applies] to all relative persons, except those that denote a feminine singular; for these follow the rules of the simple verb.⁷

A 'common [verb]' is that which has two different meanings, one simple [...] and the other relative [...].⁸

A relative [verb] is that which regards someone. There are two kinds: one that regards some person by virtue of its own nature [...] and a second that from absolute becomes relative through the addition of a final increment [...].⁹

[The verb of motion] is formed on the basis of the negative future of the simple conjugation.¹⁰

The verbs Potier describes as 'simple' or 'absolute' correspond to Brébeuf's 'simple' or 'absolute conjugation', while those that Potier labels 'relative' correspond to Brébeuf's 'reciprocal conjugation'. In Potier's terminology, the conjugation pattern followed by 'relative verbs', presented on pages 15 to 20 of his grammar, is commonly referred to by means of the term 'relations' (*relationes*).¹¹

	Verb forms that do not encode object pronouns	Verb forms that do encode object pronouns
Brébeuf (1637)	simple/absolute	reciprocal
Potier (<i>Elementa</i>)	simple/absolute	relative (relations)

6 Potier (*Elementa*: 50): *finita in senni tam relativa quam absoluta, faciunt futurum [...]*.

7 Potier (*Elementa*: 21): *omnibus personis relativis his exceptis q[u]ae singularem numerum femininum denotant. istae enim sequunt[ur] regulas verbi simplicis.*

8 Potier (*Elementa*: 59): *Commune est quod duplicem habet significationem, unam simplicem [...] alteram relativam [...]*.

9 Potier (*Elementa*: 56): *relativum est illud quod respicit aliquem duplex est: unum quod ex natura sua respicit aliquam personam [...] alterum quod ex absoluto, fit relativum per additionem finalis incrementi [...]*.

10 Potier (*Elementa*: 27): *formatur a futuro neg[ativo] simplicis conj[ugationis]*.

11 Meanwhile, the example verb Brébeuf uses to illustrate the 'simple conjugation' follows the pattern that Potier calls the 'C paradigm'. Presumably, Brébeuf would also have considered Potier's 'S paradigm' an example of 'simple conjugation'. On Potier's C and S paradigms, see chapter 5.

In this contribution, I will try to come to a better understanding of the two Jesuits' terminological choices by situating them against two broader linguistic-historiographical contexts: early modern American missionary grammar writing on the one hand (sections 2 and 4), and the evolution of Latin grammatical terminology since antiquity on the other (section 3).¹² Towards the end of section 3, it will turn out to be necessary to take in an even broader intellectual-cultural context in order to come to a full understanding of Potier's terminology.

Object agreement and its description in the early modern Americas

The verb forms that our two Jesuits called 'simple' or 'absolute' were similar to Latin, French or English verbs in that they had information about their subjects encoded in them: this is a familiar phenomenon termed *subject agreement*, perhaps better known to the non-specialist as *grammatical concord*. To put it simply, subject agreement is the reason why **we eats* or **he am* are not possible in English, or why no subject pronoun needs to be added in order to know that the Latin verb form *amamus* 'we love' is first person plural: the verb itself contains information about the grammatical person and number of its subject. Meanwhile, the 'reciprocal' or 'relative' verb forms contained information not only about their subjects, but about their objects as well; this phenomenon is known as *object agreement*. Object agreement can basically be understood in ways largely analogous to subject agreement: in the same way that no subject pronoun is needed to know that the Latin *amamus* 'we love' has a first-person-plural subject, no subject or object pronoun is needed to know that the Wendat verb form *onnonhðé* 'I love you' has a first-person-singular subject and a second-person-singular object. However, object agreement is nowhere near as familiar to speakers of Western European languages at home in the Latin tradition of grammar. Moreover, the precise mechanics of how object agreement presents itself in a specific language can be characterized by different kinds and degrees of complexity, often having to do with different ways in which subject and object agreement can interact within a single verb form,

12 In chapter 7, something similar is done with regard to Brébeuf and Potier's adoption of elements from Greek grammar.

a challenge for which the frameworks of Latin grammar do not offer ready-made solutions.¹³

Long before Brébeuf or Potier sought to come to grips with object agreement in Wendat, the missionaries of Spanish America had already encountered it in languages as diverse and geographically dispersed as Nahuatl and P'urhepecha in central Mexico, the Andean languages Quechua and Aymara, and Chilean Mapudungun.¹⁴ In Peetermans (2020: 252–254), I have proposed a unified framework for engaging with early modern missionary grammarians' basic strategies in employing the familiar categories of Latin grammar for the description of object agreement. An important element underlying this framework is the general observation that these grammarians routinely used translational equivalents as cognitive crutches. In other words, when engaging with verb forms such as Nahuatl *nimitztlazohtla*, Quechua *khuyayki* or Wendat *onnonh8é*, all of them meaning 'I love you', they would naturally translate these into one of their reference languages (e.g. Latin, Spanish or French) and seek to somehow turn the equivalence between the verb form and its translation to their (and their readers') advantage, using it as a tool to get a handle on the 'exotic' phenomenon. Starting from this general observation, three basic possible strategies present themselves:¹⁵

1) Given that a verb form involving object agreement can be translated by means of what is basically a complete sentence (such as *I love you*), one might consider looking at the phenomenon in terms of constructing sentences and consequently treat it in a chapter about syntax. However, it does not seem feasible to describe the phenomenon with any degree of adequacy without somehow describing the verb form from a morphological point of view as well.

2) Given that by comparing a verb form involving object agreement with similar forms of other verbs and other forms of the same verb it may be possible to identify smaller elements, one might consider treating these smaller elements (which today we would call morphemes) separately. As the translational equivalents of the subject marker ('I') and

13 For an introduction to object agreement and the kinds of complexities its description can entail (from the point of view of an early modern educated European), see Peetermans (2020: 245–252).

14 When Brébeuf, in the quotation that opened this contribution, voiced the belief that the phenomenon was 'common to American languages', his frame of reference was probably limited to the Algonquian and Iroquoian languages spoken in New France.

15 The description of these strategies has been taken almost verbatim from Peetermans (2020: 253–254).

object marker ('you') are clearly part of the traditional category of the pronoun, it would seem plausible that these markers would be treated under this heading.

3) Given that a verb form involving object agreement seems to behave in all respects like a single word, one might consider treating it as a manifestation of the traditional part of speech 'verb'. While the first two solutions are translationally or semantically inspired, this one gives more weight to the morphological side of things.

Summarized: object agreement can be thought of in terms of syntax, pronouns or verb forms.

Of course, as mentioned earlier, the expression of object agreement, especially in relation to that of subject agreement, is organized in different ways in different languages, a fact that we should also expect to have a discernible impact on the phenomenon's description. In this respect, the following hypothesis can be formulated:

If a language marks the object on the verb in such a way that the object marker can with reasonable ease be distinguished from the rest of the verb form morphologically, it will tend to be analysed as a pronoun. If the object marker is barely or not at all recognizable morphologically (for example because it fuses with the subject marker or because it takes on various forms that are used according to criteria that are not easily grasped by someone with a 'European' linguistic background), it will tend to be analysed as part of the verb form, or not to receive any explicit identification at all.

Or, to put it in less nuanced (and perhaps overly Eurocentric) terms: if the system is straightforward, transparent and regular, it will invite an analysis in terms of pronouns (option 2 above); if it is complicated or irregular, it will invite one in terms of verb forms (option 3). (Peetermans 2020: 254)

As it turns out, the descriptive practices of the Spanish missionaries can indeed be seen to be in line with this expectation. In Nahuatl, the main language spoken in the former Aztec empire, subject and object agreement are encoded quite straightforwardly, by means of separate prefixes.¹⁶ The hypothesis above would lead us to expect that the subject and object person prefixes of Nahuatl were described as 'pronouns', which is indeed the approach univer-

16 A verb form such as *nimitztlazohltla* 'I love you', for example, can be neatly separated into a prefix *ni-* indicating that its subject is first person singular ('I'), a prefix *mitz-* signalling that its object is second person singular ('you') and the verb root *tlazohtla* 'to love'.

sally adopted (albeit with interesting variations) by the various early modern friars and clergymen who wrote grammars of the language (Peetermans 2020: 256–277). In Quechua, the colonial lingua franca of the Andes, by contrast, the expression of object agreement can be less straightforward. (Much of the complexity is brought about by Quechua’s tendency to privilege second-person participants over first-person or third-person ones. This is an example of a more general cross-linguistic phenomenon known as *prominence hierarchies*, which often interacts with subject and object agreement; for a first introduction and some further references, cf. Peetermans 2020: 247.)¹⁷ Consequently, we are not surprised to learn that in this case treatments of object agreement were incorporated in broader discussions on the morphology of the verb. More in particular, Jesuit grammarians of Quechua made use of a concept generally known by the name *transiciones del verbo* ‘transitions of the verb’ (Peetermans 2020: 277–289). By doing so, they repurposed the ancient grammatical (more precisely: syntactic) notion of *transitio*, which in Priscian referred to the ‘going across’ or ‘passing over’ of an action from one person to another: if I love you, the action expressed by the verb ‘love’ has *me* as its starting point or origin and *you* as its destination.¹⁸ Building on this notion, the Jesuits chose to label, for example, the Quechua verb form *khuyayki* ‘I love you’ as ‘transition from the first [person] to the second’ (*transición de la primera a la segunda*).¹⁹ Within a few decades, all verb forms expressing object agreement came to be known as *transiciones*, in the plural, and concurrently this term spread to the description of other languages of Spanish South America, becoming an emblematic feature of the region’s grammatical metalanguage.

17 Consider the verb form *khuyasunkichik*, which expresses that some unspecified number (one or more) of third persons (‘he/she/they’) love multiple second persons (‘you all’). To the verb root *khuya* ‘to love’, three suffixes are added:

- (1) *-su*, which marks that the object is second person, but only when the subject is third person (and thus simultaneously marks that the subject is third person);
- (2) *-nki*, which primarily marks second person subjects, but is also used when the object is second person (preventing the actual subject from being expressed); and
- (3) *-chik*, a plural marker used only for verbs involving a second-person subject or object, expressing that second person’s plurality (preventing the other participant’s number from being expressed).

18 For such actions capable of ‘going across’ from one person to another, and the verbs expressing them, Priscian used *transitio*’s derived adjective, *transitivus*. It is from this that – through the intermediary of early modern humanist grammar – the modern linguistic terms *transitive* and *transitivity* are derived.

19 While the term *transiciones* is only encountered in grammars written by Jesuits or inspired by Jesuit-authored grammars, all the important conceptual groundwork had in fact already been laid down by the Dominican Domingo de Santo Tomás in his grammar of 1560 (Peetermans 2020: 280–282).

Given that Brébeuf and Potier describe the opaque and complex realization of object agreement in Wendat in terms of verbs and their conjugations, never once mentioning the term ‘pronoun’ in this context, we can conclude, for the time being, that the predicted pattern holds. Before looking at Brébeuf and Potier’s terminology in greater detail, it is worth noting in passing that the modern term *object agreement* itself can, like its various early modern precursors, be understood within the Latin-based framework outlined above. In fact, it can be categorized quite neatly as an instance of the first of the three strategies: *agreement* (or *concord*) originated as an English rendering of *concordantia*, a concept central to the humanist approach to Latin syntax.²⁰ Apparently, the intuition underlying the modern term – the analogousness between subject and object agreement – does not seem to have occurred to the missionaries of Spanish and French America, or if it did, they do not seem to have thought it didactically convenient.

This intuition does, however, play an important role in the English Puritan John Eliot’s (ca. 1604–1690) *The Indian Grammar begun: or, An Essay to bring the Indian Language into Rules* of 1666. In his treatment of object agreement in a now extinct Eastern Algonquian language of Massachusetts – known as Wampanoag, Massachusett or Natick – *concordances* serve a function similar to that of the Andean *transiciones* or Potier’s *relationes* (Swiggers 2007: 51; Fountain 2009: 283). As becomes clear from the way in which they are introduced by Eliot himself, the missionary embraced his term’s close relationship to the domain of syntax with full conviction:

There be *five Concordances* of the *Suffix form Active*, wherein the Verb doth receive a *various formation*. I think there be some more, but I have beat out no more.

The reason why I call them *Concordances*, is, Because the *chief weight* and *strength* of the *Syntaxis* of this Language, lyeth in this eminent manner of *formation of Nouns and Verbs*, with the *Pronoun persons*.

(Eliot 1666: 17; italics in the original)

20 Together with *regimen* ‘government’, *concordantia* ‘agreement’ made up the core of the humanist conception of syntax (*syntaxis/constructio*). Cf. Despauterius (1537: 186): ‘How many properties are there to syntax? Two: agreement and government. What is agreement? The due concord of parts of speech in gender, number, case or person. [...] What is government? The demanding of a certain case [...], such as the demanding of the accusative in the verb *amo* ‘I love’ [...] [Syntaxi siue constructioni quot accidunt? Duo, Concordantia & Regimen. Concordantia quid est? Debita partium orationis co[n]uenientia in genere, numero, casu vel persona. [...] Regimen quid est? Certi casus exigentia [...]: vt exigentia accusatiui in verbo amo [...].’

Eliot's examples of some of the five *concordances* (e.g. 'Koowadchansh, *I keep thee*') and their association with the category of the *Pronoun persons* make it abundantly clear that the phenomenon he is discussing does indeed centrally involve object agreement. Nonetheless, it is clear that in order to come to a full appreciation of Eliot's role in the history of the description of object agreement, the details of his *concordances* (and of the *suffix forms* of which they are subcategorizations) still need a study of their own. Based on the conclusions of such a study, it may prove necessary to emend or amend the expectation pattern regarding 'verb-based' and 'pronoun-based' approaches to the description of object agreement formulated above, since Eliot seems to combine elements of both.²¹

How 'reciprocity' gave way to 'relation': a historical-conceptual perspective

That Brébeuf and Potier referred to verb forms that do not encode object agreement as 'absolute' is easily understood against the background of the Latin grammatical tradition that formed their frame of reference. Already in ancient Roman grammar, the adjective *absolutus* 'finished, complete' was commonly used for certain kinds of words that could in one way or another be seen as 'complete by themselves' and thus 'self-sufficient' or 'independent' (cf. Schad 2007: 5–6, entry *absolutus*). For example, around 500 CE the *Institutiones grammaticae* of the influential Latin grammarian Priscian spoke of an 'absolute noun' (*nomen absolutum*), 'which is understood by itself and does not need to be joined with a second noun'.²² Similarly, and importantly, Priscian in several

21 A note for the linguist: to understand Eliot's term 'suffix forms', one should think not so much of the present-day linguistic term *suffix* as of the 'suffix pronouns' that were a staple of seventeenth-century Hebrew grammar (themselves merely a relabelling of the 'affix pronouns' encountered in sixteenth-century grammars of the language). A note for the historian of linguistics: the relation between the present-day terms *prefix*, *suffix*, *affix* and *root* and the similar-sounding ones found in early modern Hebrew grammars is less straightforward than is sometimes believed; cf. Peetermans (2020: 216–217, 255–256). It may be hypothesized that the introduction of pronoun-based elements by Eliot was motivated by a wish to elevate the prestige of his object language (or, alternatively, to demonstrate his own learning) by likening it to the sacred (and scholarly) language Hebrew.

22 Priscian (*Institutiones* 2.31 [GL 2: 62]): *Absolutum est, quod per se intellegitur et non eget alterius coniunctione nominis, ut 'deus', 'ratio'*. This echoes a passage from the quintessential ancient Greek grammar, the one ascribed to the Alexandrian scholar Dionysius Thrax (*Tekhnē* § 12 [GG 1.44]): Ἀπολελυμένον δὲ ἔστιν ὁ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοεῖται, οἷον θεός λόγος. ('An absolute [noun] is that which is thought by itself, such as *god* [or] *reason*.')

instances referred to intransitive verbs (i.e., verbs that do not take objects) as being ‘absolute’, given that they ‘do not need oblique cases²³ [...] to render a complete idea’.²⁴ Much later, the immensely popular sixteenth-century grammarian Ioannes Despauterius presented an opposition between the ‘transitive verb’, which ‘claims some case as its own’, and the ‘absolute verb’, which ‘does not claim a case of its own’.²⁵ In other words, by associating the label ‘absolute’ with intransitivity, and thus with the absence of grammatical objects, the grammarians of Wendat took a firmly established terminological convention of Latin grammar and subtly extended its range of application (‘verbs that do not take objects’ > ‘verb forms that do not encode objects’). Thus, the Jesuits’ shared association of verb forms lacking object agreement with a term ‘absolute’ raises few questions.

Brébeuf and Potier’s differing terminological practices with regard to those verb forms that do possess object agreement, however, warrant some closer attention. Strikingly, Brébeuf’s use of ‘reciprocal’ (*reciproque*) was outright incompatible with the expectations of earlier grammatical tradition, where the term *reciprocus* applied to reflexivity and reciprocity. (In Latin, and even more so in French, these are closely related categories. The Latin reflexive pronoun can be used to convey reciprocity, as in *amant inter se* ‘they love each other’. In French, the two categories are blurred to an even larger extent: *ils s’aiment* can mean either ‘they love each other’ [reciprocal] or ‘they love themselves’ [reflexive], depending on context.) Even worse, since the days of Priscian *reciprocatio* had been generally considered to be *in explicit contrast* with the notion of transitivity: whereas *transitio* was taken to involve the ‘passing over’ of some action from one person to another – and thus necessarily to involve more than one person –, a reflexive action need only involve a single participant acting on him- or herself (Peetermans 2020: 278–279). In other words: if anything resembling the traditional range of meaning of the term is to be maintained, only Brébeuf’s first example *je m’aime* ‘I love myself’ can rightly be labelled

23 In Latin grammar, the so-called ‘oblique’ noun cases (accusative, genitive, dative, ablative) are the ones that can be used to encode the object of a verb (as opposed to the nominative and vocative, which cannot serve this function).

24 Priscian (*Institutiones* 17.83 [GL 3: 154–155]): [...] *ut si dicam ‘ambulat homo, vivit, currit, sedet’, similia, quae sunt absoluta, non egent obliquis casibus; sin dicam ‘accusat, videt, insimulat’, imperfecta sunt et egent obliquorum casuum adiunctione ad perfectionem sensus.*

25 Despauterius (1537: 303): *Quotuplex est verbum adiectivum? Duplex: Tra[n]sitivum, & absolutum. Quod est transitivum? Quod post se aliquem casum vt proprium petit [...] Quod verbum est absolutu[m]? Quod post se proprium casum non petit [...].*

réci-proque,²⁶ while most of the other verb forms he wished to capture with that label remain far out of bounds.

From this perspective, it is not surprising that Brébeuf's successors did not follow his lead in this regard.²⁷ But rather than to take a route similar to that of the grammarians of the Andes and replace Brébeuf's *conjugaison réci-proque* with a *conjugatio transitiva*, an entirely different terminological path was followed: the *verbum absolutum* was joined by a *verbum relativum*; and accordingly the corresponding conjugation patterns were called not *transitiones* but *relationes*. This is the state of affairs we encounter in Potier's grammar. Even if from a present-day perspective contrasting 'absolute' to 'relative' seems like a self-evident terminological course of action, the choice deserves some careful attention.

First of all, it should be noted that even though both *absolutus* and *relativus* were part of the usual metalanguage of Latin grammar, an association or contrast between the two terms was not (the 'absolute noun' mentioned above, for example, did not have a 'relative' counterpart). Furthermore, in grammatical discourse the adjective *relativus*, like the noun *relatio* from which it was derived, was used first and foremost with regard to the referential function of pronouns (cf. Schad 2007: 346–347, entry *relatio*; 347, entry *relativus*):²⁸ in a sentence such as *he loves her*, each of the third-person pronouns *refers to* some

26 The specific Wendat form used by Brébeuf in his example, *iatenonh8é*, involves the prefix *at-*, commonly known in Iroquoianist literature as the semi-reflexive (cf. chapter 4). It has also been described as a middle voice marker in some of the more recent literature (Lukaniec 2018: 202). Potier would presumably have labelled the form 'passive' (cf. chapter 5).

27 Indeed, Potier (*Elementa*: 58) only uses the term *verbum reciprocum* in a way quite close to the traditional meaning of the term, to refer to verb forms involving the prefix *atat-*, which Iroquoianists commonly call reflexive (cf. chapters 4 and 5). He also characterizes these verbs as expressing mutuality (*verbum mutuale*) and generally provides them with French translational equivalents that can be rendered in English by means of 'oneself' or 'each other' (respectively expressing reflexivity and reciprocity), e.g.: '*atatonnhonti* 'to give life to oneself' or 'to give life to each other' [*atatonnhonti se donner la vie a soy meme, ou, s'entredonner la vie*].

28 In fact, *relativus* 'expressing reference' and the related noun *relatio* 'reference' derive from the verb *refero* 'bring back, repeat, recall, mention, report', which underlies the English *to refer* and *reference*. When first presenting the topic, Priscian (*Institutiones* 12.16 [GL 2: 586]) noted that 'reference (*relatio*) is the repeated presentation (*re-praesentatio*) of previously mentioned (*latae*) knowledge' [*relatio enim est cognitionis ante latae repraesentatio*]. The etymological connection between *relatio* and *refero* is hinted upon more clearly in the following words of Priscian (*Institutiones* 17.57 [GL 3: 142]): 'the referential (*relativum*) pronoun, which is carried back to (*refertur ad*) a noun that was mentioned earlier' [*pronomen relativum, quod ad praedicatum nomen refertur*].

specific human being.²⁹ From this point of view, to label a verb, rather than a pronoun, as ‘relative’ might (hypothetically) be taken as a formulation of the view that any (personal) verb in some way points to some human being that is implied by it – a statement that might, of course, be applied to object agreement, but could hardly serve to distinguish it from subject agreement (to which this claim is equally applicable). Even if Potier himself presents his use of *relatio* and *relativus* as if it were self-evident, viewed against the background of the Latin grammatical tradition it is startling.

With these caveats in mind, we are better equipped to turn a critical yet constructive eye on Potier’s terminological pair. Even if the opposition absolute-relative was not a natural part of Latin grammar, it would have been all too familiar to Potier’s well-educated Jesuit audience from philosophical or theological contexts, a persistent part of the legacy of medieval scholasticism. Indeed, it is instructive to compare the following passage from a seventeenth-century compendium of Thomas Aquinas:

Relatio is that by which something is said to regard some other thing (*respicere aliud*) or be ascribed to it, like fatherhood is that by which a father is ascribed to a son.³⁰

to this formulation by Potier:

A relative [verb] is that which regards someone (*respicit aliquem*).³¹

This link between Wendat grammatical terminology and scholastic philosophy can be further corroborated by taking a look at the naming pattern which Potier employed when labelling the specific *transitiones*.³² By way of example, in order to describe verb forms expressing an action whose subject is a first person and whose object is a second person (e.g. ‘I love you’), he uses the label *relatio primae [personae] ad secundam [personam]*, which can be rendered as ‘*relatio* of the first [person] to the second [person]’. This same pattern was regularly employed in philosophical discourse as well. In the previously cited compendium of Thomas Aquinas, for example, we find a mention of ‘the *relatio* of

29 An important sidenote for the present-day reader: *pronomem relativum* ‘pronoun that expresses reference’ does not equal the modern category of the relative pronoun, but also includes personal pronouns.

30 *Totius doctrinae philosophicae compendiosa tractatio* (1669: 60): *relatio est id quo aliquid dicitur respicere aliud, seu referri ad illud; ut paternitas est quâ pater refertur ad filium.*

31 Potier (*Elementa*: 56): *relativum est illud quod respicit aliquem.*

32 For an overview of these names, see chapter 5.

the father to the son'.³³ The correspondence between these terminological patterns can be summarized as follows:

<i>relatio</i>	genitive 'of' ³⁴	preposition <i>ad</i> 'to(wards) + accusative
<i>relatio</i>	<i>primae</i> 'of the first [person]'	<i>ad secundam</i> 'to the second [person]'
<i>relatio</i>	<i>patris</i> 'of the father'	<i>ad filium</i> 'to the son'

This grammatical detail of the Latin also helps highlight the quite different conceptions lying behind Potier's 'relation *of* one person to another' and Priscian's 'transition [of an action] *from* one person to another', despite the superficial similarity in the naming patterns yielded by these two conceptions in Canada and the Andean realm, respectively.³⁵ The fact is, however, that *relatio* does readily yield these useful and intuitive naming patterns; moreover, its derived adjective *relativus* enters naturally – from the early modern intellectual's point of view, if not quite from the grammarian's – into opposition with the *absolutus* introduced by Brébeuf (and reaching back to Priscian). This combination of factors does much to commend this inventive transfer of terminology from philosophy to grammar, or rather, this partial 'projection' of a terminological complex from philosophy onto three homonymous grammatical terms.

An additional feature of Potier's naming pattern that strengthens its philosophical-theological associations – and, consequently, the case for its didactic usability –, is the use he makes of the phrases *relatio activa* and *relatio passiva*, another staple of scholastic terminology. Moreover, as the qualifications 'active' and 'passive' were themselves taken from the terminology of ancient grammar, they introduce little to no extra cognitive cost or strain when used in a grammatical context. In a *relatio activa*, the first entity (in the genitive) is the agent of an action affecting the second entity (the 'ending point' of the *relatio*); when, for instance, a father (first, acting entity) begets a son (second, acted-

33 *Totius doctrinae philosophicae compendiosa tractatio* (1669: 430): *relationem Patris ad filium*.

34 A grammatical note for Latinists: this genitive is to be understood as a so-called objective genitive (*pater refertur ad filium* 'the father is ascribed to the son' > *aliquis refert patrem ad filium* 'someone ascribes the father to the son' > *relatio patris ad filium*).

35 In Spanish, the lingua franca of Andean missionary grammar, both 'of' and 'from' are rendered as *de*. This probably helps explain why the eighteenth-century Mapudungun grammar of the Jesuit Bernhard Havestadt, which atypically is written in Latin (cf. Peetermans 2020: 101–102, 289, 301), only twice offers the expected construction of the type *transitio a prima [persona] ad secundam [personam]* 'transition *from* the first person to the second person' (Havestadt 1777: 54: [*transitio*] à *2da ad 1mam* [...] a *3tia ad 1mam*), instead preferring the construction *transitio primae [personae] ad secundam [personam]* 'transition *of* the first person to the second person'. Havestadt's preference for the genitive renders his naming pattern highly similar to Potier's.

upon entity), that can be described as a *relatio activa patris ad filium*, i.e. an ‘active *relatio* of the father to the son’.³⁶ Similarly, a Wendat verb form expressing the meaning ‘I love him’ can be described as an ‘active *relatio* of the first person to the third’, as Potier indeed does.

<i>relatio activa</i>	genitive ‘of’	preposition <i>ad</i> ‘to(wards) + accusative	illustration
<i>relatio activa</i>	<i>primae</i> ‘of the first [person]’	<i>ad tertiam</i> ‘to the third [person]’	‘I love him’
<i>relatio activa</i>	<i>patris</i> ‘of the father’	<i>ad filium</i> ‘to the son’	‘the father begets the son’

In a *relatio passiva*, by contrast, the first entity is the patient (the acted-upon) of an action performed by the second entity. When, for instance, a son (acted-upon entity) is begotten by his father (acting entity), that can be described as a ‘passive *relatio* of the son to the father’, and this principle can again be extended to (the translational equivalents of) Wendat verb forms.

<i>relatio passiva</i>	genitive ‘of’	preposition <i>ad</i> ‘to(wards) + accusative	illustration
<i>relatio passiva</i>	<i>primae</i> ‘of the first [person]’	<i>ad tertiam</i> ‘to the second [person]’	‘I am loved by him’ (= ‘he loves me’)
<i>relatio passiva</i>	<i>fili</i> ‘of the son’	<i>ad patrem</i> ‘to the father’	‘the son is begotten by the father’ (= ‘the father begets the son’)

As Potier more than once points out, each passive *relatio* is semantically equivalent to the inverted active one: if I am loved by him, that also means that he loves me, and therefore, a passive relation of the first person to the third (roughly) equals an active one of the third to the first.³⁷ In other words, it is

36 *Totius doctrinae philosophicae compendiosa tractatio* (1669: 64): ‘Agency (*actio*) and patiency (*passio*) establish *relationes* of a cause to its effect, and of an effect to its cause; such as [that] of a father to his son, etc.’ [**Actio & passio fundant relationes causae ad effectum, & effectus ad causam; vt patris ad filium, &c.**].

37 Potier (*Elementa*: 19): *Relatio passiva (v[el] activa) 1^{ae} ad 3^{am} v[el] 3^{ae} ad 1^{am} [...] ego ab illo v[el] ille me*. The kcsc copy gives the somewhat enigmatically phrased first part in a more readily digestible way: *Relatio passiva 1^{ae} ad 3^{am} ... v[el] activa 3^{ae} ad 1^{am}*. Taking this reading into account, the whole can be rendered in English as follows: ‘passive *relatio* of the first [person] to the third, or active [*relatio*] of the third to the first [...] ‘I [undergo some action] by him’ or ‘he [does something to] me’.

in each individual case left to the discretion of the grammarian to describe one and the same Wendat form as either an ‘active’ or a ‘passive’ one. This, of course, raises the question if and how Potier took advantage of any possibilities offered by this terminological elbow room by deliberately preferring the label ‘active’ for some forms and ‘passive’ for others; a question which, however, will be for future research to answer. In any case, any comprehensive account of the matter will need to take into account not only the slight variations between the AJC and KCSC copies of Potier’s grammar as to the labels assigned to the individual *relationes*, but also the occurrence of similar terminology in the extant work of earlier Jesuit grammarians of New France, specifically in that of Louis Nicolas – a topic to which we will now turn.

The *relationes*: the *transiciones* of New France?

The *relationes* were not restricted to Potier’s work, or even to Wendat grammar, but knew a wider use among the Jesuits of New France, a use first documented decades before Potier’s activities. Around 1673, the Jesuit Louis Nicolas (1634–1682) wrote a grammar of Algonquin titled *Grammaire de la langue des sauvages de l’Amerique Septentrionale*,³⁸ containing the following passage, which is nothing short of fascinating in the light of our discussion thus far:

Rules concerning the marker of *reciprocation*, or rather of *relation of one third person to the other*, or rather of three third persons together, and, in a word, of all persons to each other.³⁹

Reference is made to both ‘reciprocity’ and ‘relation’, the latter label being expressly preferred to the former; it is almost as if we were, so to speak, ‘catching in the act’ the process of Brébeuf’s terminology being abandoned in favour of that which we know from Potier’s grammar. In contrast to the later praxis of Potier, however, Nicolas did not make use of *relationes* (in the plural) as a categorization tool, nor did he speak of ‘relative verbs’. Furthermore, when

38 Hanzeli (1969: 69) and Daviault (1994: 6) date Nicolas’s grammar 1672–1674.

39 ([BNF Américain 1] Nicolas 1672–1674: 89): *Regles sur la marque de reciprocation, ou pour mieux dire de relation d’une troisieme personne à lautre, ou plustot de 3 troisiemes personnes ensemble et en un mot de toutes les personnes les unes aux autres*. (The emphasis in the English translation is mine). According to Daviault (1994: 178), the confusingly worded (at least to a non-Algonquianist) part starting with ‘or rather of three third persons together’ clearly refers to a grammatical feature of Ojibwe called the obviative.

presenting verb paradigms he abstained entirely from taking recourse to the concept of *relatio*, instead using terminology of a more eclectic nature.⁴⁰ While he – similarly to Potier – did employ an ‘active’-‘passive’ distinction as part of his labelling system,⁴¹ it was not, however, embedded into a broader system in the same organic way. All in all, it is only in the presentation we have observed in Potier’s grammar, with its distinctions between ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ verbs, and between ‘active’ and ‘passive’ *relationes*, that the analogy between object agreement and the philosopher’s *relatio* is fully realized.

In Father Louis André’s (1631–1715) notes on Ottawa (which like the closely related Algonquin described by Nicolas belongs to the Ojibwe group of the Central Algonquian languages), written around 1690,⁴² *relatio* is only mentioned in passing, and there are no discernible clues providing a direct link to scholastic thought:

Note 10. I will briefly say something on the *relatio* that is added in the middle or at the end [of verb forms], e.g. *nitiberima* ‘I govern him’.⁴³

- 40 For verbs involving only first and second persons, Nicolas uses *verbe je te* ‘I-you verb’ or *verbe tu me* ‘you-me verb’, depending on which person is agent and which is patient. Verbs involving a third person animate are called *noble*, and those involving a third person inanimate *ignoble*; to these two labels he adds a qualification ‘active’ or ‘passive’, depending on whether the animate or inanimate third person is agent (‘passive!’) or patient (‘active!’). For instance, ‘I love it’ is an ‘ignoble active’ (third person inanimate patient) and ‘he loves me’ is a ‘noble passive’ (third person animate agent).
- 41 Nicolas’s use of ‘active’ and ‘passive’ with regard to the ‘noble’ and ‘ignoble’ verbs (discussed in the previous footnote), which at first would seem to be ‘the wrong way around’, can be explained by referring to Algonquian languages’ tendency (highlighted, e.g., in Macaulay 2005: 2) to grammatically prioritize first and second persons over third persons. It can be noted that Potier does something similar in his labels for those *relationes* which have the indefinite person as a participant: in these labels, it is always the other participant that determines whether ‘active’ or ‘passive’ should be used: ‘I love someone’, for instance, is a *relatio indeterminata activa*, whereas ‘someone loves me’ (equivalent to ‘I am loved by someone’) is a *relatio indeterminata passiva*. Thus, the indefinite person is disadvantaged in Potier’s description of Wendat in much the same way as the third person is in Nicolas’s description of Ojibwe.
- 42 Hanzeli (1969: 69, 127) dates this document 1688–1691. According to Cottier & Lambert-Bretière (2018: 6), it is preserved at the Archive of the Jesuits in Canada (Montreal).
- 43 Since I was not able to consult the original manuscript, my discussion of it is based on Hanzeli’s (1969: 123) faulty transcription of it, which reads as follows: *Nota 10. Breviter dicam aliquid de relatione quae interferit vel ponit in fine, v.g. nitiberima ‘je le gouverne.’* Awaiting a chance to check against the manuscript text itself, I propose the following conjectural emendation: *Nota 10. Breviter dicam aliquid de relatione quae interserit[ur] vel ponit[ur] in fine, v.g. nitiberima ‘je le gouverne.’* My translation in the main text reflects this hypothetical reading; in any case, the question whether or not the details of this emendation are correct has no bearing on my argument.

Nonetheless, it presents a special interest of its own in that, whereas Nicolas's text seems to present *relatio* as a functional-semantic entity (an abstract category) – the relevant morphemes being referred to not as *relation*, but as *marque de relation* ‘*relatio* marker’⁴⁴ –, André seems to have felt *relatio* could be used to refer to a formal entity (a morphological marker).⁴⁵

Much later, ‘relative verbs’ still appear in Father Jean-Baptiste de La Brosse’s (1724–1782) *Montanicae linguae elementa*,⁴⁶ a grammar of Innu, another Central Algonquian language,⁴⁷ written some two decades after Potier began engaging with Wendat:

8. If the action [expressed by a verb] is understood to be transmitted (*referrri*) from the second person to the first, then [that] verb is relative of the second to the first, e.g. *tiberimin* ‘you govern me’.

9. When, on the other hand, the action is transmitted (*refertur*) from the first person to the second, then the verb is relative of the first to the second: *tiberimitin* ‘I govern you’.⁴⁸

Notably, this passage associates *relativum* with passive forms of the verb from which it is derived, *refero*, used to express the idea of an action ‘being transmitted’ from one person to another, in a turn of phrase highly reminiscent of the classic formulation of *transitio*, according to which an action ‘passes over’ from one person to another. In La Brosse’s presentation, the conceptual gap between *relatio* and *transitio* becomes so small as to be almost negligible, the former term’s origin in scholastic philosophy betrayed only by the use of the genitive *primae* ‘of the first [person]’ rather than the prepositional phrase à *primâ* ‘from the first’.

Hopefully, future research, involving the close and systematic study of a wider array of manuscript sources, will shed more light on the emergence and

44 Similarly, the missionaries of Spanish America made use of the phrase *nota/señal/partícula de transición*.

45 As discussed in Peetermans (2020: 280, 285), a similar use of *transición* in a formal rather than a semantic sense is found in the 1753 Quechua grammar ascribed to the Jesuit Tomás Nieto Polo del Águila (1695–1777), whereas it is not found in other Andean grammars.

46 On La Brosse, see also chapter 7 in this volume.

47 It is worthy of note that the ‘Central Algonquian’ grammars of Nicolas ([BNF Américain 1] Nicolas 1672–1674: 52), André and La Brosse all make use of the same example verb *-tiberi-* ‘to govern’.

48 La Brosse (1768: 57 [Cottier & Lambert-Bretière 2018: 118]): 8. *Si actio intelligatur referrri à secundâ personâ ad primam, tunc verbum est relativum 2 ad 1, v.g. tiberimin, ‘tu me gubernas’.* | 9. *Cum autem actio refertur à primâ personâ ad secundam, tunc verbum est relativum primæ ad 2: tiberimitin, ‘ego te governo’.*

development of the *relationes* in the grammars of the Jesuits of New France, and on the precise nature of the role played by Potier's grammar and Wendat in this story. One exciting conclusion of such a study will likely be that the *relationes* not only share a similar look and feel to the Andean *transiciones*, but that they were, moreover, as much a defining feature of the missionary grammars of New France as the latter were of those of Spanish South America.

9. Developing linguistic knowledge in writing: the vibrant manuscript culture in New France

Zanna Van Loon

Potier's copying practices

While the first Jesuits in New France were pioneers in creating a corpus of material on for them previously unknown Native languages, their successors were able to rely on their efforts to better study these languages, producing their own knowledge in new grammars, vocabularies and devotional translations. Copying earlier linguistic material clearly formed part of their missionary activities, and they often created manuscripts for reuse and revision.

There are some clear and valid indications that Pierre-Philippe Potier in particular copied his manuscript texts dealing with the Wendat language from his predecessors.¹ First, he compiled these linguistic documents during his first years in New France as a means to learn Wendat, transcribing them from earlier texts in the same neat and regular handwriting. It is, for instance, clear that the two first separately bound *Radices linguae Huronicae* ([AJC (MS 017)] Potier 1743; [AJC (MS 018)] Potier 1744) are manuscript copies, considering Potier explicitly recorded that he had finished the two documents in December 1743 and February 1744 respectively. These months correspond to the period he lived in

1 Parts of this chapter have been reproduced from my doctoral dissertation (Van Loon 2020: 315–354).

the Lorette mission in Quebec before he started his mission work and before he had obtained the chance to master Wendat well enough to compose these instruments ([AJC (MS 017)] Potier 1743; [AJC (MS 018)] Potier 1744). During Potier's first eight months in Quebec, Pierre-Daniel Richer (1682–1770), the Jesuit superior of the Lorette mission, had given him introductory lessons, and it is probably only afterwards he began to gain a rudimentary understanding of the Indigenous language. Indeed, in his *Gazettes*, a handwritten compilation of travel reports, letters and chronologies, Potier recalled how he was taking intense notes during his time at Lorette:

16 October 1743 until 24 June 1744, that is eight months and eight days, during all this time Father Richer had all the possible attention for me. He complained a few times that I was writing too much.²

Moreover, in these *Radices*, Potier explicitly recorded that he had transcribed his writings from earlier works. By writing *Transcripta à P[ère] Potier Ex P[ère] Careil* ('transcribed by Father Potier from Father Carheil') Potier made it clear that he had based his transcription on the writings of seventeenth-century Jesuit Father Étienne de Carheil (1633–1726) ([AJC MS 017] Potier 1743: 1). Carheil, hence, was probably the original author of the first volume of the *Radices linguae Huronicae*. In the second volume of his *Radices linguae Huronicae*, Potier added a paragraph under the title *Addita à P[ère] Richet* [sic] ('added by Father Richer'), likely referring to passages that his superior Pierre-Daniel Richer had added to the manuscript ([AJC MS 018] Potier 1744: 301–302). Likewise, Potier explicitly attributed several sermons to Richer and to the seventeenth-century Jesuit Philippe Pierson (1642–1688) in his compilation of sermons in Wendat. On pages 79, 82, 96 and 110, he named Philippe Pierson under headings of evangelical excerpts that were translated to Wendat, and on page 169, he attributed the *De Religione* to Pierre-Daniel Richer ([AJC MS 022] Potier 1747: 79, 82, 96, 110, 169). It is, however, likely that Philippe Pierson wrote it (Steckley 2004: 5–6).

It seems safe to assume that also Potier's *Elementa* was based on another document of his previous peers. On page 145 of the AJC copy, Potier recorded that he finished his text on 21 May 1745, only eleven months after having left Quebec. This indicates that he had completed the grammar, the *Radices* and the phrase book before this date. There are some clues that confirm he was still learning Wendat when transcribing these texts. Indeed, as mentioned in chap-

2 [...] le 16 oct: 1743 juqu'a 24 juin 1744, ce qui fait 8 mois et 8 jours, pendant tout ce tems le P. Richet [sic] eut toutes les attentions possibles pour moy. Il se plaignit quelques fois de ce que j'écrivois trop ([AJC, MS 011] Potier 16xx: 54).

ter 3, Potier admitted in 1747, two years after completion, that he still struggled to speak Wendat, and that all what he could do was stammer a few words (Toupin 1996: 624). Two years later, he again complained to Gabriel Marcol (1692–1755), the rector of the Jesuit college in Quebec City, that despite his efforts, his progress in the study of Wendat was still not substantial (Toupin 1996: 627). However, because Potier did not add the name of the original author to his 1745 grammar, like he had done in his other manuscripts, we remain in the dark about the identity of the person on whose text Potier based his transcription. What is clear is that an earlier Wendat grammar, only available to us in a nineteenth-century transcription, seems to have formed the basis of his manuscript, as is further established in chapter 10.

The difficulty of attributing authorship to lost manuscripts

Some scholars believe Potier had relied upon a grammar composed by Jesuit Father Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot because of the many striking similarities his *Elementa* shares with a nineteenth-century transcription of an earlier Wendat grammar, which has been attributed to Chaumonot since the nineteenth century (e.g. Mithun 1979: 143 and Lagarde 1980: 17–18; see also chapter 10). The handwritten anonymous transcription in Latin, nowadays preserved in the McGill University Library, dates from 1833 and consists of 534 pages ([MUL Lande So648] Anonymous 1833).³ Hardly anything is known about this nineteenth-century transcription. It does not bear any references to a manuscript original, a date or an author's name. In addition, no known Wendat grammar by Chaumonot has been preserved. True, some contemporary sources do refer to a seventeenth-century Wendat grammar Chaumonot is said to have compiled.⁴ But, scholars are on shaky ground when claiming that the nineteenth-century transcription is supposedly based on a manuscript produced by the Jesuit in 1640.⁵ The only reasons to assume Chaumonot would

3 An online-consultable archival microfilm is available, see 'Lawrence Montague Lande Collection: H-1122' (2021).

4 For instance, fellow Jesuit Sébastien Râles (1657–1724) referred to the Wendat grammar by Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot in a letter to his brother from 1723, saying that the document 'was very useful for those who newly arrive in that mission' [*est fort utile à ceux qui arrivent nouvellement dans cette Mission*] (Râles 1738: 163–164).

5 Examples of nineteenth-century studies that mention Chaumonot as the author are Pilling (1888: 37), Shea (1888: 105). Examples of studies that attribute the authorship to Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot based on these nineteenth-century secondary sources are Hanzeli (1969:

have written the manuscript original of this transcription are its very existence and Chaumonot's known linguistic expertise of the language.

After a turbulent childhood filled with poverty in Burgundy, Chaumonot ended up joining the Jesuits in Rome at the age of 21. Fellow Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf's account of the events at the Huron-Wendat mission made him decide to end his studies early and apply to leave for New France, where he reached the land of the Huron-Wendat people in 1639. When the Iroquois Five Nations caused the dispersal the Huron-Wendat people, Chaumonot led a small group of Huron-Wendat to the vicinity of Quebec, founding the Lorette mission where Potier would later gain his first experiences with the Huron-Wendat and their language. From 1655 to 1658, he stayed with the Onondaga, one of the Iroquois nations. After devoting the rest of his life mainly to the Huron-Wendat community of Quebec, Chaumonot died of an illness on 21 February 1693 at the age of almost 82 years (Steckley 2007b: 237). He was considered to be the most skilled Jesuit speaker of Wendat, second only to Brébeuf (Hanzeli 1969: 23; Surprenant 2003).

Because the manuscript original on which Potier based his transcription did not survive, and since we only have the nineteenth-century transcription at our disposal, it is impossible to verify whether this transcription was based on a grammar written by Chaumonot or by someone else. It is just as likely that someone other than Chaumonot wrote the manuscript original underlying the nineteenth-century copy or that later adaptations were made to an earlier version of the text, neither of which can be inferred from inspecting the nineteenth-century copy. In a similar vein, Chaumonot is credited with having authored multiple other extant documents, despite the absence of direct traces in these texts to confirm so. The Musée de la Civilisation in Quebec City houses four early modern manuscript dictionaries dealing with Wendat, one dictionary on an unspecified Iroquoian language and one translation of a sermon book in an unspecified Iroquoian language. The John Carter Brown Library in Providence (USA) holds a French-Wendat dictionary, and the archive of the Univers culturel de Saint-Sulpice in Montreal (Canada) preserves a Wendat catechism bound together with Algonquin linguistic material and a French-Onondaga-Wendat dictionary.⁶ What these documents all have in common is that

22, 130), Mithun (1979: 143), Lagarde (1980: 15, 17–18, 25), Sioui (1999: 111), Kilarski (2013: 113) and Garrad (2014: 196).

6 The manuscripts mentioned are the following ones: ([MC MS 58] Anonymous 16xx); ([MC MS 59] Anonymous 16xx); ([MC MS 60] Anonymous 16xx); ([MC MS 61] Anonymous 16xx); ([MC MS 62] Anonymous 16xx); ([MC MS 65] Anonymous 1675); ([MC MS 67] Anonymous 16xx); ([UCSS, P1: 8A.4/014], Anonymous c. 1670); ([UCSS, P1: 8A.4/017], Anonymous c. 1670).

library and archive catalogues ascribed them to Chaumonot without direct evidence. Moreover, these texts all bear different handwritings. Assuming that the original author of these texts was indeed Chaumonot, the different hands in which these documents have been prepared at least reveal that they were not originals but copies. An additional difficulty we face is that paratextual information or other explanatory notes are lacking, making it impossible to attribute these documents to certain authors, given that most texts immediately start with the actual content.

One could argue that by studying the handwriting of a document we could establish details about the author at work. However, such an analysis depends on the comparison of other available sample documents showing the same handwriting (Davis 2007: 255). One such an example – and an exception in the case of French missionary linguistics – is Potier's oeuvre, created in the same distinct handwriting and signed with his name. Claiming identity of a missionary author based on a shared handwriting is complicated because the large majority of all manuscript texts are unsigned. And even though every writer has a unique hand, one has to keep in mind that a handwriting can naturally vary – over time, in different circumstances, depending on the medium or the pen used, the writer's mood and state of health, the example copy used, the environment – elements that hinder the process of identification (Davis 2007: 260–261). Only when we can compare different samples of handwriting, these complexities can be resolved, which is not the case here. What can look like similar or identical hands could have in fact been prepared by different missionaries with similar handwritings, and two different-looking hands may have been the work of one author whose writing changed by the time he reached an advanced age. Without any further information available, it is, thus, impossible to identify the copyist and the original author of texts.

Finally, bearing these complexities in mind, it is important to note that copied documents are not just reproductions of the underlying original texts: Potier went beyond merely transcribing his texts by revising the main body text. Hence, we should always view such transcriptions as objects in their own right and be aware of possible additions that may have been made by a copyist, a contemporary user or a later owner, especially when the original text is no longer extant.

Studying manuscripts as objects in their own right

When French Jesuits relied on earlier produced linguistic material to study Native languages, it is worth mentioning that those missionaries also actively annotated these texts so as to memorize their subject matter. Annotating material on paper was a method commonly used by early modern missionaries for later retrieval – note-taking practices facilitated memory during language study – or to help process and structure the linguistic knowledge they had acquired (Blair 2004: 85). The practice resembled the established European humanist tradition of note-taking by students recording what the teacher dictated. Jesuits, for instance, followed years of studies in European colleges during which they ‘developed advanced note-taking techniques’, as Paul Nelles (2010: 324) states, which helped them to comprehend subject matter easier as well as to recall passed teachings in their notebooks.

Such annotations, thus, formed an integral part of the linguistic texts to facilitate the process of learning. Manuscripts were only seldom produced by one individual in an uninterrupted and linear sequence of writing (Bland 2013: 123). Moreover, not only could a text have been prepared in distinct stages at different locations or on multiple occasions, it is also possible that more than one author could have been at work, or two or more different contributors might have revised and/or replicated the text. Determining the intellectual authorship of missionary manuscripts based on the script(s) they contain is difficult, considering that these texts were distributed through copies, which were used, reworked and emended by other people and/or successors. Many anonymous hands replicated texts without giving any indication of identity, making it impossible for us to determine the role of the author and the copyist(s). Nor is it easy to determine the date or place of compilation, considering how these Jesuit missionaries worked for years to collect and codify material for their texts, indicated by the annotations in different ink or handwriting.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we should take into account the particular transcription processes when studying the contents of missionary Indigenous-language documents. This is also acknowledged by George F. Aubin (2015) in his study of two manuscripts in UCSS attributed to Jean-Claude Mathevet. Scholarship on early modern missionary linguistics has yet to explore the full breadth of the significance of manuscript copies as objects of study in their own right. Adaptations, corrections and additions implemented in multiple hands in a single manuscript attest to the cumulative effort missionary linguistics really was. Simply labelling copies as reproductions of original texts by individual authors overlooks the textual alterations in form and content applied by copyists and readers, in particular when the perceived manuscript original

is no longer extant. During the transcription of manuscript originals and other copies copyists may have also checked and corrected the work, thus providing an informal seal of quality. In other words, we should step away from the idea that early modern missionaries merely replicated a text, as they in fact set in motion a dynamic process of adaptation, correction and further development of linguistic knowledge.⁷

Potier's *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* is a case in point. Studing his oeuvre, we can find multiple (in)direct traces of other texts Potier (may have) relied upon while writing. For instance, the undated 385-leaf French-Wendat dictionary catalogued as MS 60 in the Musée de la Civilisation (MC) contains several sections we can recover in extant documents in Potier's handwriting. As a matter of fact, Potier had copied entire passages of this manuscript in his *Elementa* (1745). An example is the page with the phrasebook part of the AJC copy, titled *quelques demandes pour se faire instruire*, which he appears to have

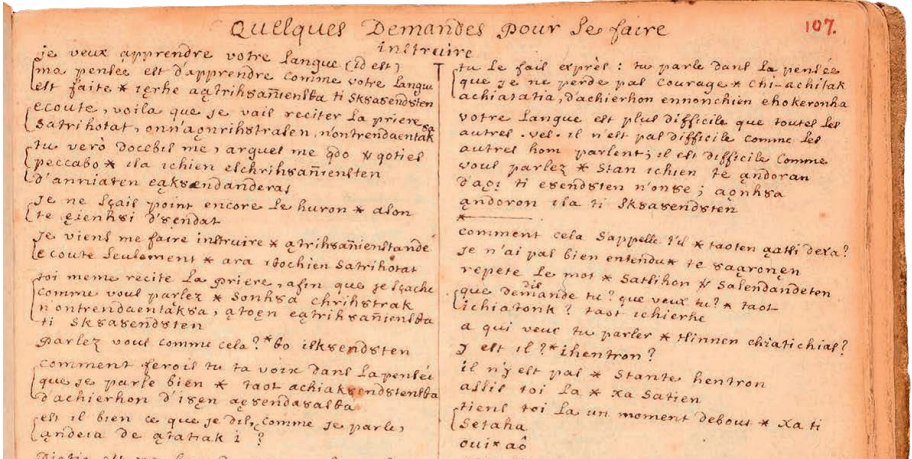


Figure 9.1 A list of French phrases and questions with their Wendat equivalents on page 107 of Potier's grammar ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 107)

copied word for word from the MC dictionary ([MC MS 60] Anonymous 16xx: f. 187 verso; [AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 107; cf. Fig. 9.1). However, he does seem to have made changes to the spelling and structure. For example, whereas the

7 Wu Huiyi (2015: 204, 206) has come to a similar conclusion for seventeenth-century missionary linguistics in the Chinese Jesuit mission.

original author or copyist who created the MC dictionary had translated the French question ‘*quoi se peut il faire p[our] j’aprenne Le huron?*’ into ‘*K8aiöti â8aton d’i,erhe qeienh8iha d’8endat?*’, Potier wrote: ‘*quoi se peut-il faire que j’aprenne Le huron! *k8iöti a8aton d’i,erhe eñienh8iha d’8endat!*’. Potier had thus adapted a number of words, possible due to the spelling conventions of his time or because of the changes the language underwent in the eighteenth century. Similarly, the list of kinship terms (*les parentées*) on f. 256 recto of the MC dictionary matches closely to the list included at the end of the AJC manuscript as well ([MC MS 60] Anonymous 16xx: f. 256 recto; [AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 108–109). A marginal note on f. 319 recto establishes that the French-Wendat dictionary was most likely in use in the replaced Jesuit mission at *Jeune Lorette*, near Quebec City, to which the Huron-Wendat moved in 1697 ([MC MS 60] Anonymous 16xx: f. 319 recto; Trigger 1987: 818). Bearing in mind that Potier had learned the basics of the Wendat language at this particular mission post, this was probably the place where he had gained access to this dictionary.

The dictionary seems to have been a work in progress, considering the large blank spaces and empty pages to fill up afterwards, which later users extensively used to incorporate annotations into existing entries and to add new entries. Potier himself made notes in the manuscript dictionary too. For example, he referred to Pierre-Daniel Richer on f. 30 verso, when providing the translation of an entry *mettre bas, accoucher* (‘to give birth to’) without the Wendat equivalent, possibly because he had another document composed by Richer at his disposal that did offer the translation for this entry. The handwriting referring to Pierre-Daniel Richer in the seventeenth-century French-Wendat dictionary ([MC MS 60] Anonymous 16xx: f. 30 verso) corresponds precisely to Pierre-Philippe Potier’s hand in his autograph material.

Such elements can also be observed in other manuscripts by Potier’s hand. For instance, f. 114 recto of a seventeenth-century French-Wendat dictionary nowadays preserved in the John Carter Brown Library (JCB) contains a section on 51 *Animaux terrestres* in Wendat with their French translation, of which 26 entries correspond to the 58 terms listed in the list of *Animaux terrestres* of the AVM *Vocabulaire* ([JCB Codex Ind 12] Anonymous 16xx: f. 114 recto). In fact, the wordlist on land animals in Potier’s AVM *Vocabulaire* is not only more extensive than the JCB dictionary, but is also supplemented by separate lists for birds, snakes, fishes and insects, in which other entries listed separately in the JCB copy can be found together ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 178–181). This implies that Potier gained physical access to this particular document or to a copy. It also reveals that Potier did not mechanically reproduce the original text but worked to restructure and advance the knowledge provided in the document.

That Pierre-Philippe Potier did not reproduce the knowledge of other manuscripts in a merely mechanical vein can also be inferred from contemporary and later revisions in his own manuscripts. Whereas Potier prepared his texts in the same neat regular handwriting, they frequently include corrections and additions made during the revision of his transcriptions, as the adaptations are made in the same handwriting and pen. On page 8 of the *Elementa*, in the section on the optative mood, Potier for instance corrected the Latin word *negativus* by crossing out the word and writing *aversativus* above ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 8). On page 10, discussing verb forms expressing an indeterminate person, he changed the French question *est-ce avec une personne mariée que tu as peché?* to *est-ce avec une personne mariée que tu as couché?* in a similar fashion ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745: 10). Such minor changes also occur in his other copies: both the three-volume set of *Radices* as well as his sermon book and his AVM *Vocabulaire* contain many similar corrections and additions.

The manuscripts also display several later annotations in the same handwriting but in a differently coloured ink, showing how Potier had put his language study into practice: after learning new information about Wendat during his mission, Potier used it to correct, to make additions or to adjust the original text. For instance, his wordlist on land animals, part of his AVM *Vocabulaire*, contains several corrections and additions. Whereas he originally translated *boeuf ilinois* ('Illinois cattle') as *ts8teeriai*, he added the Wendat equivalent for a small cow, *ts[8]te[er]iai tats8k8aa*, in subscript in a later stage ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 178). Likewise, he improved the French translation for the Native *te 8actia* – signifying a *moyen ours* ('average bear') – by adding in superscript that it concerned a bear of two years old ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 178).

In addition to the corrections and additions he made, Potier occasionally added Latin words in superscript that referred to his experience in the field speaking with Natives while relying on his copies. In his two first *Radices* and his grammar, Potier, for example, repeatedly added *non aud[itur/ivi]* next to a Wendat expression that likely referred to the fact that he had not (yet) heard the word described in the document among the Wyandot community he administered ([AJC MS 017] Potier 1743: 30; [AJC MS 018] Potier 1744: 106). He also included similar variations of this phrase, such as *non est in usu* ('this is not in use'), *non utuntur* ('[the Natives] do not use [it]') and *non dicu[n]tur hic* ('[these words] are not said here').⁸ Finally, Potier frequently incorporated *non ilgit* in superscript to a Wendat phrase, which is likely an abbreviation for *non intelli-*

8 See ([AJC MS 017] Potier 1743: 62, 63, 74, 116; [AJC MS 018] Potier 1744: 19, 25, 133).

gitur ('[this] is not understood'), indicating that the Native population failed to understand this specific written expression.⁹ Such notes testify to the fact that Potier actively used his linguistic manuscripts to establish contact with Wyandot-speakers.

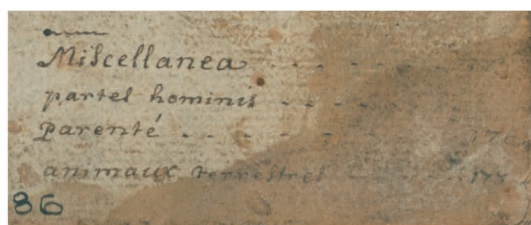
Based on his transcription work of earlier writings (which may have been the product of various missionary writers) Potier also made new copies, in which he further elaborated on the newly acquired knowledge. Indeed, the Wendat grammar stored in the Kislak Center for Special Collections (KCSC) was in fact a reworked version of the AJC *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* (see also chapter 10). An additional important thing to note here is that Potier's AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français* forms an integral part of the KCSC copy. Not only does the page numbering of the AVM *Vocabulaire* start with 175, following the last page (174) of the KCSC copy, the document's title *Miscellanea* is mentioned in the table of contents of the KCSC copy, and both share similar water damage (Fig. 9.2).

Finally, just like the KCSC copy, the AVM *Vocabulaire* too incorporates sections part of the AJC copy, such as the census and the vocabulary on kinship terms, titled *parenté*. In other words, these two manuscripts used to belong together.

The entire manuscript – the KCSC copy and the AVM *Vocabulaire* together – can be dated to 1752 at the earliest; seven years after Potier finished his earlier version, the AJC copy. For instance, the entries for household goods in the AVM *Vocabulaire* on page 188 repeatedly refer to pages in a *Radices* document, which – after close comparison – correspond to the same pages of Potier's *Radices III* of 1751 ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 188; [AJC MS 020] Potier 1751: 295). Furthermore, the census of the Wyandot community, present in the AVM *Vocabulaire*, is an updated version of the AJC copy: in the new version, Potier added the date 1747, and put crosses before particular names, indicating that by the time of writing the people who still lived when writing the AJC copy had died ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 196). Moreover, on page 210 of the AVM *Vocabulaire*, Potier mentioned the date 1752 when discussing the Frenchmen residing in Detroit ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 210).

A close comparison confirms that Potier reworked the first AJC manuscript Wendat grammar into a new version – the KCSC document – while following the AJC copy for the structure and organization of the grammatical sections. First and foremost, the table of contents shows the same headings as the AJC copy – despite slightly different phrasing –, but includes additional chapters grouped together under *Miscellanea*, including the thematical glossaries in

9 See ([AJC MS 017] Potier 1743: 41, 257; [AJC MS 018] Potier 1744: 300)



oiseaux - - - - -	179	Maladies... Remedes - - - - -	192
Boissons - - - - -	180	Present... superstition... priere...	
Serpens... insectes - - - - -	181	Ciel... terre... air... feu... eau... Meteres	
arbres - - - - -	182	Saisons... tems... jours de la semaine ¹⁹³	
arbrisseaux - - - - -	183	fetes... pertinentia ad ecclesiam	
plantes... herbes - - - - -	184	Couleurs	
		mixta	
Ble vinde... ble. françois & - - - - -	185	Nomina huronum - - - - -	195
Cabane... maison françoise...		Nations Barbares et bene morata	209
meubles d'une maison - - - - -	186	urbes et arces - - - - -	210
habillemens & ornemens - - - - -	189	variorum nomina - - - - -	210
canot... jeux... chasse et armes - - - - -	190	Rivieres et pointes - - - - -	212
guerre... pesche... * pertinentia ad - - - - -	191		
hominem... parente... condition ocula...			
provison... menqelle, boisson - - - - -			

Figure 9.2 The table of contents of the kcsc copy with an explicit reference to the AVM Vocabulaire as *Miscellanea* ([kcsc Item 223] Potier 17xx)

Wyandot and a census report ([kcsc Item 223] Potier 17xx: n. p.) Moreover, several elements that Potier had later added to the original AJC copy had been duly processed in the kcsc copy. For example, the first page in the AJC copy includes the Latin sentence in the margins *hurons carent Litteris b.f.l.m.p.q.u.v.x* between brackets, whereas in the kcsc copy Potier incorporated the information in the body of the text (Fig. 9.3). Likewise, while he had added a second Wendat verb form *onñio* for the indicative present tense plural *onjo* in a different pen and ink in the margins in the AJC copy (this is the form taken with the stative aspect), he had incorporated the new verb form as part of the body text in the kcsc copy (Fig. 9.4).

Furthermore, in the AJC copy Potier regularly left white space, which is absent in the kcsc copy, implying that Potier modified the structure afterwards in a neat and clean copy. Finally, the short manual of French phrases *quelques demandes pour se faire instruire* and the wordlist on kinship terms following the

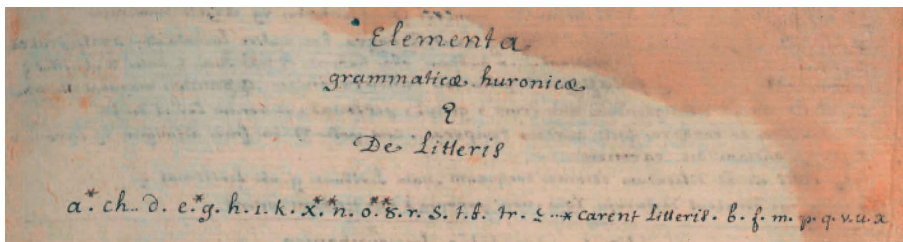
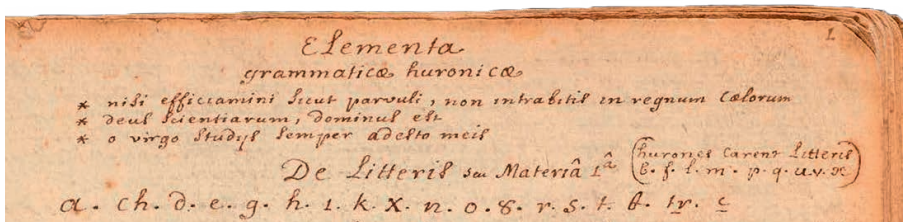


Figure 9.3 First page of the AJC and KCSC copy of Potier’s *Elementa grammaticae huronicae* ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745; [KCSC Item 223] Potier 17xx)

grammar in the AJC copy, is absent from the KCSC copy, while the AJC compendium of Wendat word roots (*Radices Huronicae III*) attached to the grammar differs significantly from the *Radices* included in the KCSC copy, as Potier listed different word roots.

All things considered, it is quite exceptional that Potier transcribed his own copies, and his motivations remain to be discovered. Because he was an arduous note-keeper, engaging in many writing projects, such as transcribing European *gazettes*, he may have liked to record all kinds of information (see also the epilogue of this book).¹⁰ Moreover, note-taking encouraged and facilitated language study: Potier may have aimed to process the linguistic data by revising and transcribing his first copies. Finally, he might have wanted to prepare a neat and corrected copy to hand over to fellow missionaries in the field so as to help them study the Wyandot language.

In sum, this case shows how manuscripts reflect the missionaries’ rapidly growing knowledge of Indigenous languages. Each manuscript instrument should be considered as the best possible state of linguistic knowledge at a given time, being altered, reworked and complemented by other users or owners of the same manuscript when their knowledge evolved. Hence, adap-

10 Robert Toupin (1996: 73–724) provides for an extensive overview of all of Potier’s extant writings, including an autobiography, travel reports, correspondence, missionary indigenous-language material and administrative mission documents.

Quinque Conjugationes par S 13

akeronidi ... aševatandik ... iachendi ... entakekenkvi ... onekšaridi
 timere ... sedere ... irati ... pro meritis dāy ... agrēer

indicativus
 praesens

keronid ... ševatandik ... iachent ... tahkent ... nekšvandik

S...	aq	ae	ae	aj	ag
sa	sa	se	sen	so	
ho	ho	have	ho	hao	
o	o	ave	o	ao	

D...

onia (onia)	oni	onde	ondi	onno	
ša	ši	še	ši	šo	
honda	hosi	honde	hondi	honno	
onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno	

P...

onša	onša	onše	onšen	onšo	dic onior
šša	šša	šše	šššen	ššo	
honda	hosi	honde	hondi	honno	
onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno	
ao	ao	ave	ao	ago	

imperfectum

indicativus
 praesens

keronid ... ševatandik ... iachens ... tahkent ... nekšvandik

S...	aq	ae	ae	aj	ag
sa	sa	se	sen	so	
ho	ho	have	ho	hao	
o	o	ave	o	ao	

D...

onia (onia)	oni	onde	ondi	onno	
ša	ši	še	ši	šo	
honda	hosi	honde	hondi	honno	
onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno	

P...

onša	onša	onše	onšen	onšo (onšio)	
šša	šša	šše	šššen	ššo	
honda	hosi	honde	hondi	honno	
onda	oti	onde	ondi	onno	
ao	ao	ave	ao	ago	

Figure 9.4 Comparison of page 13 of the AJC copy and page 7 of the KCSC copy of Potier's *Elementa grammaticae huronicae* ([AJC MS 019] Potier 1745; [KCSC Item 223] Potier 17xx: 7)

tations and corrections in different pens should not be seen in isolation from the original text: they are important clues of how the manuscript was used to develop knowledge and was an object in use instead of a mere reference tool.

10. Comparing the three extant grammars of Wendat

Wouter Mercelis, Andy Peetermans & Toon Van Hal

To the best of our knowledge, three substantial premodern grammatical descriptions of the Wendat language have come down to us – some more succinct, narrative grammatical sketches aside (see chapter 3). Two of these are transmitted in Potier’s hand and make up the core of this publication. Another grammatical work, also written in Latin, is known to us only thanks to a nineteenth-century copy. From chapter 9, we know that this copy is generally attributed to Potier’s seventeenth-century predecessor Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot. Wallace Chafe (1976: 19) describes Potier’s work ‘as the culmination of all the Jesuits’ linguistic work among the Huron’, while stating that his writings were largely based ‘on earlier manuscripts, especially Chaumonot’s’. This chapter explores how these extant grammars relate to each other. What do we know with certainty and what remains speculation? This chapter thus concentrates on the relationship between the three remaining manuscripts, and as such it elaborates on chapter 9. It also adduces some elements regarding the chronology and authorship of the text represented by the nineteenth-century copy. This in turn involves a brief exploration into the history of this copy; the fate of Potier’s linguistic manuscripts after his death is discussed by Fannie Dionne in chapter 11.

The AJC and KCSC copies of Potier's *Elementa*

Let us start comparing the two manuscripts in the hand of Potier. The text edition in this volume offers a fairly detailed comparison, taking the AJC copy as the starting base while recording the variants in the KCSC copy in footnote. Several elements allow us to safely conclude that the KCSC copy is a more recent work and can be regarded as an improved version of the AJC manuscript. Zanna Van Loon has observed that the KCSC copy, while mostly respecting the general organization and contents of the AJC copy,¹ properly incorporated elements that in the AJC manuscript present themselves as later additions, and that, furthermore, the white spaces that are prominently present in the AJC copy are absent from the KCSC copy (cf. chapter 9 and Van Loon 2020: 347–348). A study of the textual contents offers many more elements corroborating Van Loon's argument for the KCSC copy's posteriority.

For instance, we see that Potier – wishing to illustrate that the distinction between first person (dual/plural) inclusive or exclusive is absent from the S paradigm (whereas it is present in the C paradigm) – in the AJC copy resorts to a somewhat cumbersome enumeration to define the first person's range of meaning, whereas the KCSC copy characterizes it quite neatly and succinctly.² Another example of such an improved formulation is found in Potier's presentation of the *futurum praeterito mixtum* of the *modus potentialis*: while the AJC copy gives as translational equivalent *j'aurai parlé* (p. 7), the KCSC copy proposes *quand j'aurai parlé*, in accordance with the 'subjunctive' character claimed for this tense in the text.

In addition, we notice some modest reorganization (mostly reduction) of verb categories.³ When it comes to object agreement, we see that in the KCSC copy the 'relation of second to first person' precedes rather than follows that

1 It is worth noting, however, that in the KCSC manuscript, the *Miscellanea* (77 ff. in the AJC manuscript) precede the section on syntax (65 ff. in the AJC copy).

2 Potier (*Elementa*: 2): *timemus omnes, sive tu et nos, sive ego et vos, sive quicumque[ue]; modo adsit ita persona*. The KCSC copy has: *timemus omnes sive praesentes sive absentes*.

3 P. 5: in the KCSC copy, the section on the 'other negative future' of the AJC copy is reduced to a marginal notation.

P. 7: KCSC does not list the 'future negative subjunctive'.

P. 14: In KCSC, the 'other present and imperfect of the potential mood' is called 'other negative present' and is given after the 'negative present' of the type *t'ebaakeronchend* rather than before it.

P. 27: The sections on the 'potential perfect' and 'potential of the future mixed with past' are absent from KCSC.

P. 27: KCSC labels the *verbum motus* form *q'itenranda* an 'aorist' rather than an 'affirmative future'.

‘of second to third’; and the title *Relationes* that (for unclear reasons) separates them in the AJC copy is absent from the KCSC one. Furthermore, the wording of the titles given to the *relationes* is much clearer in the KCSC copy: for example, what is called a ‘passive (or active) relation of the first to the third or of the third to the first’ in the AJC copy, in the KCSC copy becomes a ‘passive relation of the first to the third or an active one of the third to the first’. The verbs meaning ‘to carry’ (33–35) and ‘to come/go’ (36–44) are reorganized. The KCSC copy incorporates all the forms of *ḗahaon* ‘to carry’ into one single table, in which the forms pertaining to a specific translational equivalent (‘porter/ferre’, ‘apporter/afferre’, ‘rapporter/referre’, ‘emporter/efferre’, ‘remporter/reporter’) are reduced to columns rather than separate tables. The AJC manuscript has two sections on the verb ‘to come/go’ (pp. 36–40 and 41–44), while the KCSC copy incorporates these into one single structure in relatively complex ways (detailed in the footnotes of the edition). Also, in the overview of the adverbs (pp. 68–73 in the AJC manuscript) the entries are often thoroughly reordered in the KCSC manuscript, which offers a more sensible order.

Finally, the KCSC copy throughout the whole of the text changes very many details of the Wendat example words and sentences, with the overall effect of giving the language a more pronouncedly Wyandot (i.e. ‘Petun’ rather than

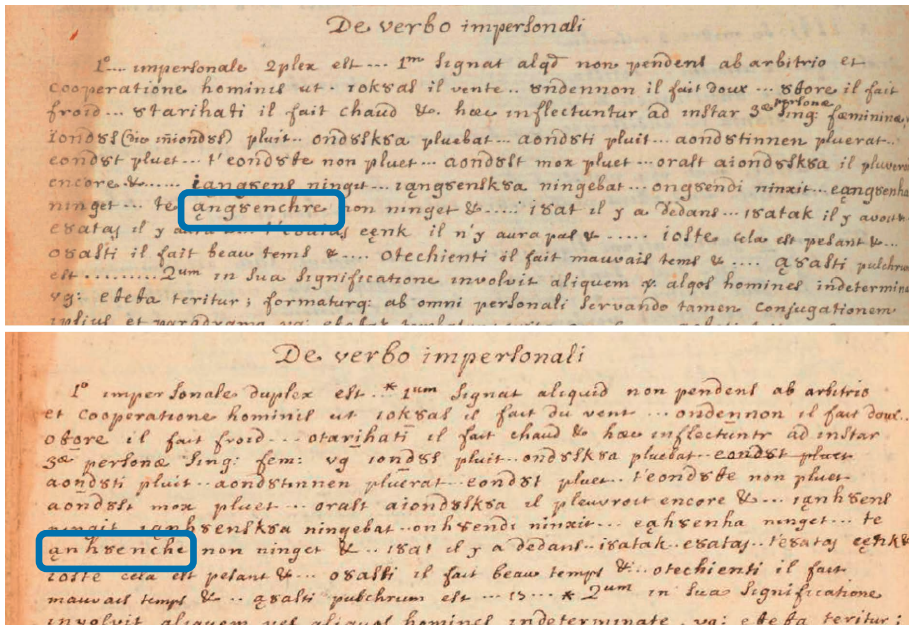


Figure 10.1 Comparison of Wendat and Wyandot words in the AJC (above; p. 46) and KCSC copy (below; p. 40)

‘Rock’, cf. chapter 4) character than that of the AJC copy. For instance, there are many instances of <ch> being replaced by the typically Wyandot <chr> (cf. chapter 6). Considering the facts of Potier’s biography, the kcsc copy’s higher ‘Wyandot-ness’ offers a final argument in favour of its posteriority to the AJC copy, which is dated 1745, mere months after Potier arrived at the Wyandot mission of Detroit after having left the Huron-Wendat mission of Lorette near Quebec (see also chapter 9).

The nineteenth-century manuscript attributed to Chaumonot and its translation by John Wilkie

Besides Potier’s grammars, there is another Latin grammar, which in the past has been attributed to the seventeenth-century Jesuit Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot (for more information, cf. chapter 9). In 1831, John Wilkie (1809–1862), a young amateur scholar, published an English translation of a ‘Grammar of the Huron Language, by a Missionary of the Village of Huron Indians at Lorette, near Quebec, found amongst the papers of the Mission, and Translated from the Latin.’⁴ This is the title of Wilkie’s contribution and at the same time the only information he offers about the source of his translation – in other words, no author or date is proposed. Thanks to Wilkie’s translation (which Roy Wright-Tekastiaks 2004: 151 and Lagarde 1980: 15 however characterized as being ‘flawed’ and ‘useless’ respectively),⁵ this work has been a major source

4 John Wilkie was the son of the famous Dr. (or Rev.) Daniel Wilkie (ca. 1777–1851), who has earned a place in the national galleries of both his native Scotland and adoptive Canada. Having studied law, John Wilkie was admitted to the bar a year after publishing the English translation of the grammar and started practicing in Quebec City and subsequently in New-Carlisle (Anon. 1936: 59).

5 Our own research has shown that Wilkie’s knowledge of Latin was by no means flawless. For example, he interprets ‘licet’ in ‘licet in infinitivo habeat **atendotann**’ as the impersonal verb, whereas it is a conjunction here (Wilkie 1831: 162). The result is a very twisted construction: ‘it may have in the infinitive **atendotondi**’. A correct translation is, for example, ‘even though the form is in the infinitive **atendotann**.’ Occasionally Wilkie offers incorrect readings. Wendat **onnhe** ‘live’ (Steckley 2010a: 477) is rendered as *je ris* (‘I laugh’) instead of *je vis* (‘I live’). Furthermore, he interprets Wendat words as Latin or French words, and vice versa (frequently reading the Wendat **etsi** as the Latin conjunction *etsi*). See also Lagarde (1980: 177). Wilkie’s printer is another ‘agent’ of errors. Wilkie (1831: 192) translates **hoataßendi**, *il lui est arrivé quelque chose* correctly as ‘something has happened to him’. After that, however, things go wrong. In analysing this compound, Wilkie must have written ‘ąąta and endi’. The printer made from this the non-sensical word ***ąątaandendi**. Despite all these problems, the significance of Wilkie’s contribution must not be underrated, as he offers one of the few viable accesses to Wendat grammar.

for many students of Wendat. A late nineteenth-century commentator described it as follows:

It is a work evidently of great labor, and is devoted chiefly to the variations of the verbs; yet its lack of completeness may be judged from the single fact that the ‘transitions,’ or in other words, the combinations of the double pronouns, nominative and objective, with the transitive verb, which form such an important feature of the language, are hardly noticed; and, it may be added, though the conjugations are mentioned, they are not explained. The work, indeed, would rather perplex than aid an investigator, and gives no proper idea of the character and richness of the language. (Hale 1883: 101)

Wilkie’s English translation is based on a copy of a Latin grammar, currently preserved in the McGill University Library. No mention is made of a date or an author in this Latin manuscript either. A look at the manuscript’s handwriting, combined with the fact that an online catalogue specifies that the watermark of the manuscript is dated 1822 (Anon. 2011: 2), makes it clear that we are dealing with a nineteenth-century document, presumably copied from an early modern original, which is currently lost. The twentieth-century bibliographical sheet preceding a microfilm reproduction of the document ascribes authorship of the original to Chaumonot and accordingly dates it around 1640, the period in which Chaumonot started engaging with the language.⁶ This attribution would seem in accordance with Chafe’s (1976: 18) judgement that Chaumonot’s grammar ‘was evidently the source’ of Wilkie’s translation.

Nor was Chafe or the anonymous cataloguer at McGill the first to ascribe this Latin text to Chaumonot. In 1858, the *Historical Magazine* offers a short overview of the language of the Huron-Wendat, including a list of the transmitted source materials:

Chaumonot’s Grammar, written in Latin, and long preserved at the Mission of Lorette, near Quebec, where one portion of the nation settled after their expulsion from Huronia. This work was the great authority with the French missionaries, and was studied by all intended for the Huron-Iroquois missions, the dialectic variations being subsequently acquired. It is consequently often referred to in published and unpublished letters during the

6 MG 52 A 28 | Chaumonot, Pierre-Joseph-Marie (1611–1693). *Prêtre missionnaire spécialiste de la langue huronne*. | Photocopies, vers 1640. 544 pages. | [...] Photocopié du facsimilé se trouvant dans la salle Lande à l’Université McGill. Cette copie de la grammaire avait été présentée à la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, le 5 novembre 1866. L’oeuvre originale se trouve à la bibliothèque John Carter Brown. | Copie d’une grammaire attribuée à Pierre-Joseph Marie Chaumonot intitulé *Grammatica Huronica* vers 1640.

last century. This important work was translated by John Wilkie, Esq., and published [...] (Anon. 1858: 198)

The later-nineteenth- and twentieth-century attributions to Chaumonot (see chapter 9 and Van Loon 2020: 326) may be based on this anonymous – yet relatively well-informed – testimony. But the question marks remain – even literal ones. This is what we read in a detailed historical overview of the *Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette en la Nouvelle France*:

Sauf quelques plaquettes, reproduites plutôt à titre de curiosité bibliographique que pour leur utilité, sauf la réimpression du Voyage de Sagard, avec le dictionnaire quasi-énigmatique qui termine son livre, et l'impression, en 1831, d'une traduction anglaise de la grammaire huronne du P. Chaumonot (?) par John Wilkie, la bibliographie de cette langue ne se compose que de manuscrits du 17^e et du commencement du 18^e siècle. (Lindsay 1900: 250)

The question is, of course, what evidence could be adduced for attributing the authorship of this anonymous and undated text to Chaumonot. From chapter 9, we know that there have been contemporary allusions to Chaumonot as being the author of a Wendat grammar. At the end of his life, moreover, Chaumonot himself wrote a short autobiography (Chaumonot 1858), where he states the following:

When it became clear that I had a good command of the Huron language, I was given full responsibility for two different missions. At the same time I applied myself to making and comparing the precepts of this language, the most difficult of all those of North America. It pleased God to give my work so much blessing that there is no turn or subtlety in Huron, nor any way of expressing oneself that I did not learn, and that I did not, so to speak, discover.⁷

This explicit and also rather confident statement – we can only speculate what Chaumonot may have understood by ‘comparing the precepts of the Huron language’ (comparing the language with other Iroquoian languages? Collating older descriptions of the language?) – may explain why modern scholars have attributed not only this grammar, but also some lexicographical works, to

7 *Lorsqu'on vit que je savois bien la langue Huronne, on me donna entièrement le soin de deux différentes missions. En même tems je m'appliquai à faire et à comparer les préceptes de cette langue, la plus difficile de toutes celles de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Il plut à Dieu de donner à mon travail, tant de bénédiction, qu'il n'y a dans le Huron ni tour ni subtilité ni manière de s'énoncer dont je n'ai eu la connoissance, et fait pour ainsi dire la découverte* (Chaumonot 1858: 60).

Chaumonot (Hanzeli 1969: 127; 130). It is of course possible that they had good other reasons for assigning authorship to Chaumonot, but that we no longer know the grounds underlying this attribution. However, we should – as indicated in chapter 9 – not rule out the possibility that there may have been other missionaries who might have composed such a grammar, Étienne de Carheil being another logical suspect.

It is quite clear that Chaumonot must have written some kind of Wendat grammar, but what reasons do we have to state with any certainty that he is the author of the specific grammar found in the nineteenth-century copy? Crucially, the whereabouts of the early modern manuscript on which this copy is based are unknown; while the previously cited bibliographical sheet seems to suggest that at the time the original manuscript could be found in the John Carter Brown Library, this does not seem to be the case today. What, in fact, do we know about this lost manuscript, and is there any way in which we could date it?

In 1837, the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, the same journal in which Wilkie's translation was first published in 1831, published a list of donations to the library of this Society in the period starting from 27 December 1830. In this list, we read that the Canadian lawyer and politician Andrew Stuart (1785–1840) donated a manuscript 'Grammatica Huronica' somewhere in this period ('Donations to the Library' 1837: 407). In fact, both Stuart and Wilkie (and even more so his father, Daniel Wilkie) were closely involved with this Society, which has played an important part in this grammar's history. It is highly likely that the grammar donated by Stuart is in fact our missing manuscript, the document found in 'the Village of Huron Indians at Lorette' whose text Wilkie's translation claims to represent. In 1873, a 'Huron Grammar' manuscript in folio still belonged to the Society's Library (Anon. 1873: 13). What happened to it after this is unclear; in any case, it seems that it is no longer found at this library, which has reoriented itself as a centre for English-language culture (in which, presumably, there was no longer room for a Latin text). At least for now, this document remains beyond our grasp. Arguably, the nineteenth-century copy that we do have at our disposal was made around 1830, in direct connection with Stuart's donation and Wilkie's translation (as mentioned earlier, the paper has a watermark dated 1822). Most probably, it was made especially to facilitate Wilkie's work (and quite possibly he wrote it in his own hand), so that he might make his translation outside of the library. Presumably, Wilkie kept his copy among his possessions throughout the remainder of his life. A few years after his death, in 1866, it was presented to the Society (as testified by the bibliographical sheet cited before), where it did however not remain, as it is now of course found at McGill. It is to be hoped

that a better understanding of this manuscript's itinerary will provide some clues as to the possible whereabouts of the lost one.

Even in the absence of the early modern document, however, clues as to the date at which the text may have been written are not completely absent. One strong indication is found in the character of its Wendat example words and sentences, which contain some features that seem to be restricted to seventeenth-century texts. In particular, there are some instances of <chiri> being syncopated to <chri>, a phenomenon that has so far only been encountered in texts dating before 1700 (John Steckley; personal communication). In the following section, we will explore whether a comparison between the structure and contents of Potier and the nineteenth-century grammar allows us to draw any further conclusions, after which the question of Chaumonot's potential authorship will be taken up again.

The relationships

The relationships between the documents involved can be tentatively visualized as follows:

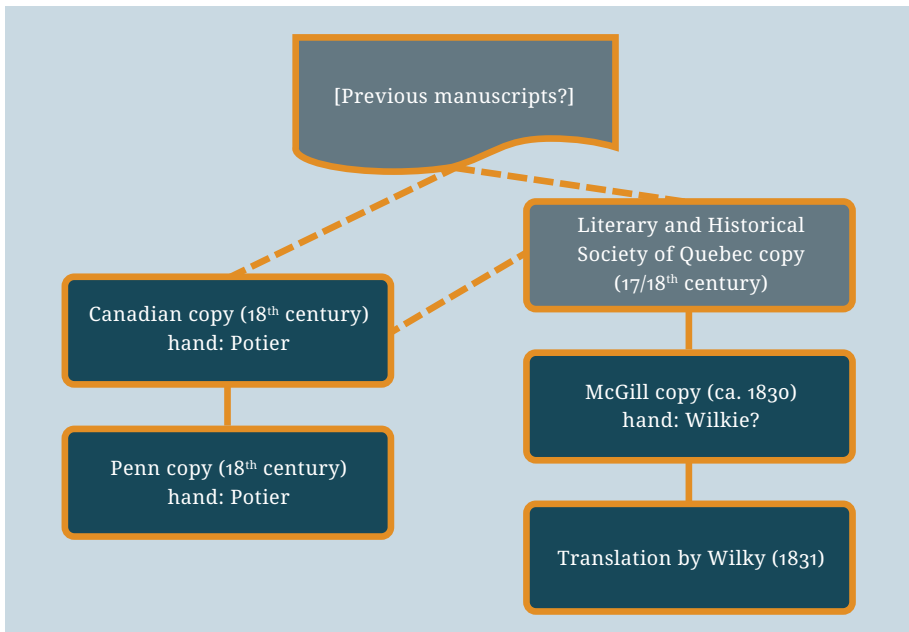


Figure 10.2 Schematic representation of the interrelation between the preserved grammars (green) and the lost manuscripts (grey)

Table 10.1 visualizes the correspondences between Potier's grammar (based on the AJC manuscript) and the other Latin grammar (based on the English translation by Wilkie, given that the digital reproduction of the Latin grammar is hard-to-decipher) through a colour code indicating the degree of similarity. The comparison is based on the headings in Potier's text. However, because some sections are extensive, while other sections cover only a few lines, Potier's page numbers are also incorporated into the comparison, so as to offer a balanced figure. We have opted to distinguish three degrees of green, all of which indicate that Potier treats a particular theme more extensively than the anonymous grammar. Light green represents limited similarities, whereas dark green represents paragraphs that are almost identical.

'An Average Missionary Grammar (AMG), which is a theoretical category, since no existing works satisfy all the criteria', Zwartjes (2018) states, 'follows the traditional Greco-Latin structure, starting from the smallest entity, the letter (*littera*), followed by the syllable (*syllaba*), the word (*dictio*), and the phrase (*oratio*) [...] The final sections of the grammars are generally devoted to syntax [...]'. The anonymous grammar conforms reasonably well to this structure. The work starts with an introduction to letters and pronunciation. The vast majority of the grammar deals with the word level, with nouns and pronouns covered only very briefly. The section on adverbs is broader in scope, although the main part of the work is clearly devoted to verbs. The anonymous grammar lacks a separate treatment of syllables (much like Potier and many other missionary grammarians). The work concludes with a few pages on syntax, which also cover the use of prepositions (see chapter 5).

If we are to take Zwartjes' ideal structure of an Average Missionary Grammar as a point of reference, Potier can be said to adopt a more idiosyncratic approach. He too begins with an introductory section on letters and pronunciation. After that, however, Potier immediately moves on to the verbs, which take up more than half of the grammar. Besides the prepositions, the nouns, adverbs and pronouns are discussed in the part on syntax too. He concludes his grammar with some chapters that are completely absent from the anonymous grammar; some lexical hints on family relationships (not included in this edition) bridge the gap to the dictionary that follows the grammar. In what follows, we will zoom in on some of the similarities and differences, while not claiming to be exhaustive.

The **part on spelling and pronunciation** is very similar in structure. Only the chapter on the so-called 'added iota', included in Potier's introduction, is found in a completely different place in the anonymous grammar.

As to the **first major part** on verbs in Potier, the following observations can be offered. Tables of conjugations, prominently present in Potier, are ab-

ELEMENTA GRAMMATICAE HURONICAE		page	Wikie
De Litteris (seu Materiâ iâ)	De i seu j (iota)	1	94–96
De i adjectitio	De ð euphonicò	2	145
5 conjugationes par C	De verbis	3–6	116, 119, 120
Observationes in verba		7	153, 154
Imp.	Mod. pot.	8	147–148
Subj.	Inf.	9	149
De persona indeterminata		10	121–122, 149–150
5 conjugationes par S		13–14	152, 153
Rel. determinatorum ad indeterminatos activa		15	
Rel. determinatorum ad indeterminatos passiva		16–17	
Relationes		18–20	
Notae in Relationes		21	169, 170–172
De reduplicacione		22–23	167–169
De localitate		24–25	167–169
De te verbali seu te dualitatis		26	172, 173, 174
Reduplicatio cum te dualitatis	Verbum motus	27	173
De verbis auxiliaris en esse et aton fieri		28–29	159
Anomala 1ae conjugationis		30	155, 156
An. 2ae conj.	v. in à purum	31	156
v. in àr brevibus	v. àio/àrio	32	156, 157
De verbo àhaon porter &cetera	v. àt etre debout	33–35	157
An. 3ae conj.	De verbo en	36	157–158
ennon, éti, aller venir (venir, revenir)		37–40	174–175, 176, 177, 178
ennon et éti, aller ... retourner &cetera		41–44	175 (cf. also <i>supra</i>)
An. 4ae conj.	De verbo i	45	158
De verbis	An. 5ae conj.	46	158
V. pers.	De v. impers.	47	116, 118–119, 160–161
Observationes	V. act.	48	116, 120–121
	Form		140–145
	Regulae		150–151

sent from the anonymous grammar. Potier's chapter *Observationes in verba*, followed by a discussion of the moods, is largely identical with the anonymous grammar, enhanced with some additional paragraphs. Anonymous' remarks on the moods are found in Potier in a more systematic way. Especially the treatment of the optative is completely different in the two works. Anonymous gives only morphological explanations, followed by a number of examples. Potier also gives instructions for the use of the optative, while offering more extensive examples too. There are other instances where Potier seems to have worked with the same structure, while offering different contents. The section devoted to the 'verb of motion', which follows in both works the chapter on *te dualitatis*, has a different treatment in Potier's work. The two grammarians also disagree on the fourth conjugation of the verb. What anonymous calls the fourth conjugation, Potier considers part of the third conjugation, while Potier's fourth conjugation is considered by anonymous to be part of the fifth conjugation. Both works insert a section on the verb of motion, but the subject matter covered is completely different in both grammarians.

The **second part on verbs** is very similar in both grammars, even though there are several smaller differences too. What is striking is that Potier sometimes starts with a generic chapter that the anonymous grammarian saves until last, such as the 'rules common to all the verbs'. Potier also makes the distinction between the frequentative and the multiplicative verb, which are under one category in the anonymous grammar.

The section on **syntax** is the last substantial part shared by the anonymous author and Potier: Potier's *Miscellanea* do not have a counterpart in the anonymous copy. Potier's introduction to the syntax of the noun and pronoun bears great resemblance to the first part following the orthography section in the anonymous grammar – after all, Potier had not dealt with nouns and pronouns at all until this stage. Furthermore, the sections in both grammars are similar, although Potier is more comprehensive on some topics, e.g. comparatives and superlatives. Furthermore, in Potier's work we see a slightly different organization here and there, and some sections, such as the adverbs of time and price, are absent from the anonymous grammar. Anonymous and Potier end the syntactic section with a part on prepositions. Potier is somewhat more comprehensive, while the anonymous grammar offers far less structure. There are minor differences in order, and Potier offers remarkably more information on *pro more* and *tenuis*.

What are the general observations that can be made? Potier tends to explain the general rules first in order to specify them further afterwards. In general, he also provides more extensive information, more examples and exceptions, as well as more structure. He makes frequent use of numbered and unnum-

bered notes and tables (always respecting the same order of persons), while the anonymous grammar in general consists of continuous text.

By way of conclusion: Potier and Chaumonot(?)

The similarities between Potier and the nineteenth-century copy are unmistakable. *A priori*, given that the anonymous grammar only exists in a copy made around 1830 (connected, so it seems, to Wilkie's translation), one might wonder whether it is not possible that the anonymous grammar is posterior to, or even a summary of, Potier's work. Based on our comparison, however, it seems most likely that the anonymous text represents an earlier stage, on which Potier could build – either directly through the work of the anonymous grammarian, or through another representative of the same tradition. For the additions Potier was either responsible himself and/or could rely on other source material. An additional argument for the anonymous grammar's anteriority is found in the character of its Wendat example words and sentences: not only are these decidedly un-Wyandot (pleading against the possibility of dependence on Potier), they also, as discussed earlier, contain some features that seem to be restricted to seventeenth-century texts in the language.

Of course, the fact that the nineteenth-century copy almost certainly represents an earlier, and quite possibly seventeenth-century, stage in the development of Jesuit Wendat grammar does not automatically imply that it must necessarily be equated with the work of Chaumonot (even if, given the modest size of the individual Jesuit missions in North America, the number of other potential candidates cannot be very high). At present, the most important elements that might plead in favour of the traditional attribution are these:

- (1) based on its contents and the language of its examples, it probably dates from the seventeenth century;
- (2) according to Wilkie, the early modern document from which the nineteenth-century manuscript was copied was found at the mission of Lorette, which was founded by Chaumonot after the dispersion, and where he spent much of his life;
- (3) this early modern document seems to have been present (following Andrew Stuart's donation of it) at the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for most of the nineteenth century, which means that it is possible that at least some of the scholars responsible for the traditional attribution

had actually consulted it and gleaned information from it that is inaccessible to us today (one might think, for instance, of matters of codicology or palaeography).

11. The circulation of Potier's written linguistic legacy

Fannie Dionne

After a fatal fall, resulting in a skull fracture, Pierre-Philippe Potier passed away on 16 July 1781, 73 years old. Since 1749, he had been working at the Pointe de Montréal (Lajeunesse 1960: 124; Gros-Louis & Jacques 2018: 106–108). Until his death, Potier probably had all his manuscripts with him. While the *Jesuit Relations*, Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot's autobiography and other Jesuit documents and letters are precious primary sources to understand how the missionaries learned the Wendat language, Potier's case is particularly interesting since numerous of his notes, letters and linguistic manuscripts, unmistakably from his hand, were preserved until today (Toupin 1996). They allow us to trace how a mid-eighteenth-century Jesuit already interested in language before his travel across the Atlantic came to master a complex Indigenous language.¹ The manuscripts – grammars, dictionaries, sermons etc. – were used together, thus constituting an ecosystem of language learning. What studying his written legacy reveals is that more than a century after the first documents in Wendat were written, it was still difficult to learn that language, even with the help of native speakers, older Jesuits and multiple manuscripts designed to transmit linguistic knowledge.

1 For example, the Musée de la Civilisation stores a French dictionary organized according to subject matter (see [MC MS 95] Potier 1743).

But what was the fate of Potier's manuscript legacy after his death? Despite the many uncertainties – the reconstruction of their circulation presented here is largely based on nineteenth-century hearsay witnesses – we can see how the later use of Potier's works fits into a broader context of collecting Indigenous objects at the turn of the twentieth century. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, scholars, institutions and some wealthy individuals were eager to acquire Native artifacts, sometimes resorting to quite aggressive methods. The founder of the McCord Museum in Montreal, David McCord, for instance, requested several correspondents to obtain Indigenous artifacts and manuscripts for his museum.² These colonial actors and institutions felt attracted to the 'exotic' nature of Indigenous objects, which also included books in Native languages. At first perceived as nostalgic testimonies of the First Nations, they served only later as material for scientific inquiries (Robitaille 2014: 40). For instance, the books and artifacts obtained from the Huron-Wendat village of Lorette, near Quebec City, circulated among local networks (see in this respect Lainey 2004), while Potier's manuscripts passed through the hands of collectors based around Detroit.

The AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français*

After his death, Potier's manuscripts were secured by Detroit's commander, Arent Schuyler DePeyster (1736–1822). Six days later, an inventory of the Jesuit house where Potier had resided was made, in which 39 manuscripts were listed, but without any name or description (Toupin 1996: 715). DePeyster considered them to be 'nothing of any consequence' (Lajeunesse 1960: 124). Richard R. Elliott (1823–1908), the author of multiple papers relating to the Detroit-Windsor region's history (Elliott 1874), investigated what happened after DePeyster's examination: only the register (*Registre des Hurons*) and a census were restored to the Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption church, where the secular priest Jean-François Hubert (1739–1797) had replaced Potier. A convention signed in September 1781 stated that Hubert could make use of all previous belongings of the late Jesuit. He seems to have used at least the *Registre*, as would his next two successors do (Elliott 1891: 323; Toupin 1996: 722). Hubert also seems to have had in his possession several other of Potier's documents (some of which he later brought to Quebec City), including the Jesuit's *Dictionnaire français* and

2 See for example McCord Museum (1986), especially file 5330, 'Indian languages: miscellaneous', containing a wide range of letters concerning the acquisition of artifacts.

his study notebooks. This can, for instance, be inferred from the ex libris on Potier's *Dictionnaire: A la Cure de Quebec, Bibliothèque de Monseigr. HUBERT* ([MC MS 95] Potier 1743).

Might the census returned by DePeyster to Hubert's church be the one (dated 1747) included in the AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français* (Toupin 1996: 180)? This seems to be the case, since we see the date of Potier's death and the Wyandot name of Hubert (*Harih8a8a i*) written by the same hand in the census report part of *Vocabulaire huron-français* ([AVM CA M001 BM 007-D36] Potier 17xx: 211). Possibly, the vocabulary was separated from the preceding grammar at an early stage (cf. chapter 9, where this manuscript is given an in-depth discussion). Hubert left the parish in 1784, while the AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français/census* (and the grammar, separately stored) remained at Sandwich.

Decades later, according to Elliott, the census 'is said to have been given by Bishop Pinsonneault to Monsieur Rameau, a writer on the colonial settlements of New France' (Elliott 1891: 322). Pierre Adolphe Pinsonneault (1815–1883) became bishop of the London Diocese in 1856 (Choquette 2003). Three years later, he transferred his see to Sandwich, where he probably found the AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français/census*. In 1866, Pinsonneault had to resign as the bishop of London and he left the city to live in Albany, New York. 'Monsieur Rameau', in turn, can with certainty be identified as François-Edme Rameau de Saint-Père (1820–1899), a French historian who became very popular in North America. During one of his travels, he gave a lecture at Windsor on April 1st, 1861 (Rameau de Saint-Père 1861). He may very well have met Pinsonneault around that date, who may have provided him with Potier's AVM *Vocabulaire*. But for now, there is no evidence for all of this except Elliott's statement.

The next known owner of the Jesuit's AVM *Vocabulaire* is Philéas Gagnon (1854–1915), a well-known Montrealer who started as a tailor before becoming a politician, an author and a book collector, owning one of the biggest collections in Canadiana (Olivier 2003). Gagnon possessed an undated letter from Rameau (addressed to a certain Abbot Bolduc) and a newspaper clipping about the death of the French historian. However, when exactly Gagnon came into possession of Potier's *Vocabulaire* and whether he received it directly from Rameau is unknown.³ James Pilling, an American ethnologist famous for his series of extensive bibliographies about the cultures and languages of Indigenous peoples, does not mention this manuscript in *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, published in 1888. Why? Only once Pilling was in touch with

3 He had a letter from Rameau de Saint-Père ([AVM CA M001 BM007-1-D22-P0004] Rameau de Saint-Père 1860) and a letter written by the Bishop ([CA M001 BM007-1-D20-P0022] Pinsonneault 1853).

Gagnon, Gagnon informed him of two dictionaries kept at the Huron-Wendat village of Lorette. Gagnon described the *Vocabulaire huron-français* himself in his *Essai de bibliographie Canadienne* (1895). After many unsuccessful attempts, he finally succeeded in selling his library in 1910. The city of Montreal purchased his books, along with the *Vocabulaire* and another manuscript fragment from Potier, the *Façons de parler proverbiales, triviales, figurées, etc.* (Olivier 2003). Both documents were later transferred to the Archives de la Ville de Montréal (AVM).

***Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* – Kislak Center for Special Collections (KCSC)**

I assume that Potier's other linguistic documents, viz. his *Radices* and grammar, were handed over to the Wyandot living around Sandwich. Something similar happened at Lorette, where most of the dictionaries and *Radices* went to community members and passed down through generations. For example, in one manuscript we read on its first page that 'this book belongs to Etienne, Huron of Lorette',⁴ while another, written by the Huron-Wendat Paul Picard Tsa8enhohi states the following:

This document was bequeathed to me by my Father, 'Paul Tahourhenché' Grand Chief of the Huron Tribe established in 1697 at N. D. de la Jeune Lorette, near Quebec. My father got it from his mother 'La8inonkie' wife of Paul 'Onda8enhont' [...].⁵

What also supports the circulation of at least some part of Potier's written legacy amongst Indigenous communities is the fate of *Le livre des comptes de la mission huronne de Détroit*, which was sold to Elliott by an 'Indigenous Canadian' in 1866 (Elliott 1891: 323).

What happened next with the document is unclear. The first certain trace of the *Elementa grammaticae Huronicae* (once containing the AVM *Vocabulaire huron-français*, cf. supra) after Potier is again, Philéas Gagnon, but there are no traces about how or when he acquired the grammar. Gagnon sold the manuscript in 1887 to Daniel Garrison Brinton (1837–1899), an American physician

4 *Ce livre apar tien aetienne hurron de lorette* ([MC MS 59] Anonymous 16xx: n.p.)

5 *Ce document m'a été légué par mon Père, "Paul Tahourhenché" grand-chef de la Tribu Huronne établie en 1697 à N. D. de la Jeune Lorette, près Québec. Mon père le tenait de sa mère "La8inonkie" épouse de Paul "Onda8 enhont" [...]*. ([MC MS 62] Anonymous 16xx: n.p.)

and scholar interested in Indigenous archaeology, language and culture.⁶ This transaction was not to the taste of everybody. In a letter to Charles-Octave Gagnon (1857–1926) dated January 18, 1888, the priest Hospice-Anthelme Verreau (1828–1901) complained: ‘So please tell me how this Huron grammar is going to the United States? Has it been sold? Who committed this abomination?’⁷ Finally, on October 27, 1899, Brinton donated his library to the University of Pennsylvania (Weeks 2002: 5).

***Elementa grammaticæ Huronicæ* – The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada (AJC)**

According to Elliott (1891: 321–322), the AJC copy of the *Elementa grammaticæ Huronicæ* was sold by an Indigenous Canadian to James V. Campbell (1823–1890), a member of the Michigan Supreme Court, before 1855. Campbell recognized the value of the grammar, saying it was worth its weight in gold ([AJC Q, 0100-667] Burton 1891). Before passing away in 1890, the judge lent ‘this precious relic to a Canadian copyist’ (Elliott 1891: 322). The burning question is: who? In a letter to Richard Elliott dated May 24, 1891, C. M. Burton declared that the grammar was borrowed and never returned by a certain Mr. Prudhomme of Sandwich, and that the manuscript was never found after Prudhomme’s death ([AJC Q, 0100-667] Burton 1891).

The first name of Prudhomme is clouded in mystery. But we know that a certain Prudhomme, also from Sandwich, Ontario, possessed a handwritten (or perhaps printed) copy of a text by French explorer Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), which he had annotated (Doughty 1905: 52). In addition, there is a letter by Hector Prud’homme from Detroit, writing to Rameau in March 1882 about a matter of land grants made by the Wyandot of Sandwich to missionaries for churches in the eighteenth century ([CEAAC Correspondance 2. 1-21] Prud’homme 1882). If these two men are one and the same person, Hector Prud’homme seems to have had an active interest in Canadiana and the history of the region. Moreover, this assumption matches with a ‘M. H. Pred’homme [sic], of Windsor, Ontario, at Detroit, Mich. who has kindly loaned’ a ‘Grammar of the Huron language’ by Potier to Pilling (Pilling 1888: 88). Pilling hinted that Prud’homme had access to another of Potier’s manuscripts, the *Registre des enfants des François*

6 For more information, see Berendt-Brinton Linguistic Collection (n.d.).

7 *Dites-moi donc s’il vous plait comment cette grammaire huronne s’en va aux États-Unis? Est-elle vendue? Qui a commis cette abomination?* ([MC Séminaire 116 no 18] Verreau 1888).

baptises à la Mission des Huron de La Pointe du Montréal, 1742: he was thus well connected and knew the value of those manuscripts.

What happened after Prud'homme's death is, again, uncertain, but the manuscript was brought to St. Mary's College, the Jesuit college in Montreal, no later than September 1891, as this was the moment when the Jesuit Arthur Jones (1838–1918), in charge of the College's archive since 1882, showed it to Elliott (Elliott 1891: 457–461).⁸ Jones was interested in Potier's manuscripts (and other Jesuit manuscripts in Indigenous languages), as is shown by his work *Wendake Ehen' or Old Huronia* (Fraser 1909). In 1893, the grammar was part of an exhibition of some of the manuscripts selected from the College's archives (Collège Sainte-Marie 1894: 6). Potier's grammar remained with the Jesuits and is now stored in the Archives of the Jesuits in Canada.

Conclusion

Towards the end of his life, Potier most likely no longer relied as much on his Wendat grammars and vocabularies, since he had become fluent in this language. Shortly after his death, his manuscripts principally became objects of collection. It would take until the twenty-first century before these manuscripts were used again as linguistic tools in, e.g., revitalization projects of Iroquoian languages (see, e.g., Lukaniec 2011). From what is known, the documents did not serve as linguistic writings in the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot (or other Indigenous) communities. Then, why did they preserve those manuscripts? Did they consider them to be important heritage documents passed on from the Jesuits? Did they view this material as significant records of their language? Finally, why they finally sold them to outsiders is a subject to be developed.⁹

As for the other owners of Potier's manuscripts, their interest towards them varied greatly. Hubert, the secular priest, Potier's successor and possessor of some of his works, probably did not learn much of the Native language in the short time span he was at Sandwich. We know, however, that Potier's manuscripts were highly valued by their later owners – whether Elliott, Campbell, Prudhomme or Gagnon. Nevertheless, the significance attached to these manuscripts was based on their materiality (as relics of the past) rather than on their contents (linguistic knowledge). The Jesuit archivists, Félix Martin and Arthur Jones, relied on the manuscripts of their predecessors in order to write the his-

8 See also a note by Jesuit Pierre Point, explaining that fellow Jesuit Félix Martin (1804–1886) received the manuscripts ([AJC Q, 0100-667] Point 1891).

9 See the work of Jonathan Lainey (2004) for a history about Wendat wampum belts.

tory of the Society of Jesus in New France and to build the archives of their order. Only Pilling (as an ethnologist) seems to have had a real interest in the content of Potier's grammars when writing his *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*. Thus, both the linguistic knowledge of Wendat speakers and the Jesuit documents in which it was recorded have circulated widely, in multiple circles, since the seventeenth century.

12. Anchored in ink: an epilogue

Andy Peetermans

To Potier, writing was like breathing. Somewhere over the course of his sprawling manuscript oeuvre, we find these enigmatic, incantation-like words:¹

Bonne ancre
Melliftua
andeia
bonne ancre

When Robert Toupin, toiling away on his monumental edition of Potier's writings, stumbled upon these words, they must have made him pause and ponder.² It seemed to him that Potier was engaging in a French play on words involving *ancre* 'anchor' and the similar-sounding *encre* 'ink'. Perhaps, so Toupin mused (or so we imagine him musing), the mixed-language reference to good³ ink that flows like honey⁴ was meant to evoke the sweetness and smoothness that for Potier was inherent to the act of writing, while the extra layer of meaning introduced by the *jeu de mots* subtly hinted at the vital role this act played in

1 Toupin (1996: 306).

2 See Toupin (1996: 7, 22–23).

3 French *bonne* and Wendat *andeia* both mean 'good'.

4 Latin *melliflua* 'flowing like honey'.

anchoring the Jesuit's life. The anchor, it is well known, is firmly associated with security, steadfastness and faith. Indeed, the early Flemish printer Dirk Martens, who included an anchor in his printer's mark – following in the footsteps of the Italian Aldus Manutius –, had the following Latin distich accompany it:

*Ne tempestatum vis auferat, Ancora sacra
Quo mentem figas, est iacienda tibi.*

Potier (we keep on musing) would no doubt have agreed with the sentiment expressed by these verses: *if your mind is not to be carried adrift by the force of storms, you should secure it by throwing out a holy Anchor*. For Potier, we may imagine, time spent with pen in hand offered a fixed point around which the often overwhelming experiences of a missionary's existence could be ordered. His mind was, so to say, anchored in ink.

We can go further. Regardless of the personal value that the act of writing may have held for Potier, his linguistic writings most certainly served as an anchor for both him and his fellow Jesuits, lest they go adrift on the vast seas (or Great Lakes) of Wendat. In later times, these writings also came to serve as an anchor for Wendat itself, preventing it from drifting off into oblivion, thus enabling encounters with ever new generations of wholly unsuspected audiences. If only this book may in some sense become an anchor for Potier's Wendat grammar and provide its readers with some reliable coordinates as they enter its largely unexplored waters and probe its textual and contextual depths, then its editors will have little more to wish for. Except perhaps this: that these inquisitive minds may derive from this grammar some of the sweetness Potier (so we imagine) felt while writing it down, and that they themselves may take up their scholarly pens to make it breathe through their own writings.

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* Potier, Pierre, S.J. *Elementa grammaticae huronicae*, 1745. Archives des jésuites au Canada/The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, 0100-0875. With digitization support from Dr. Guy Poirier and Research Group "Textes missionnaires dans l'espace francophone", University of Waterloo; with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

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This book serves as a gateway to the *Elementa grammaticae huronicae*, an eighteenth-century grammar of the Wendat ('Huron') language by Jesuit Pierre-Philippe Potier (1708–1781). The volume falls into three main parts. The first part introduces the grammar and some of its contexts, offering information about the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot, the early modern Jesuit mission in New France and the Jesuits' linguistic output. The heart of the volume is made up by its second part, a text edition of the *Elementa*. The third part presents some avenues of research by way of specific case studies.



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