

A map of North America with the Iroquoian language area highlighted in red. The highlighted area includes the Great Lakes region, the St. Lawrence Valley, and parts of the Atlantic coast and the Caribbean islands. The rest of the continent is shown in a light brown color.

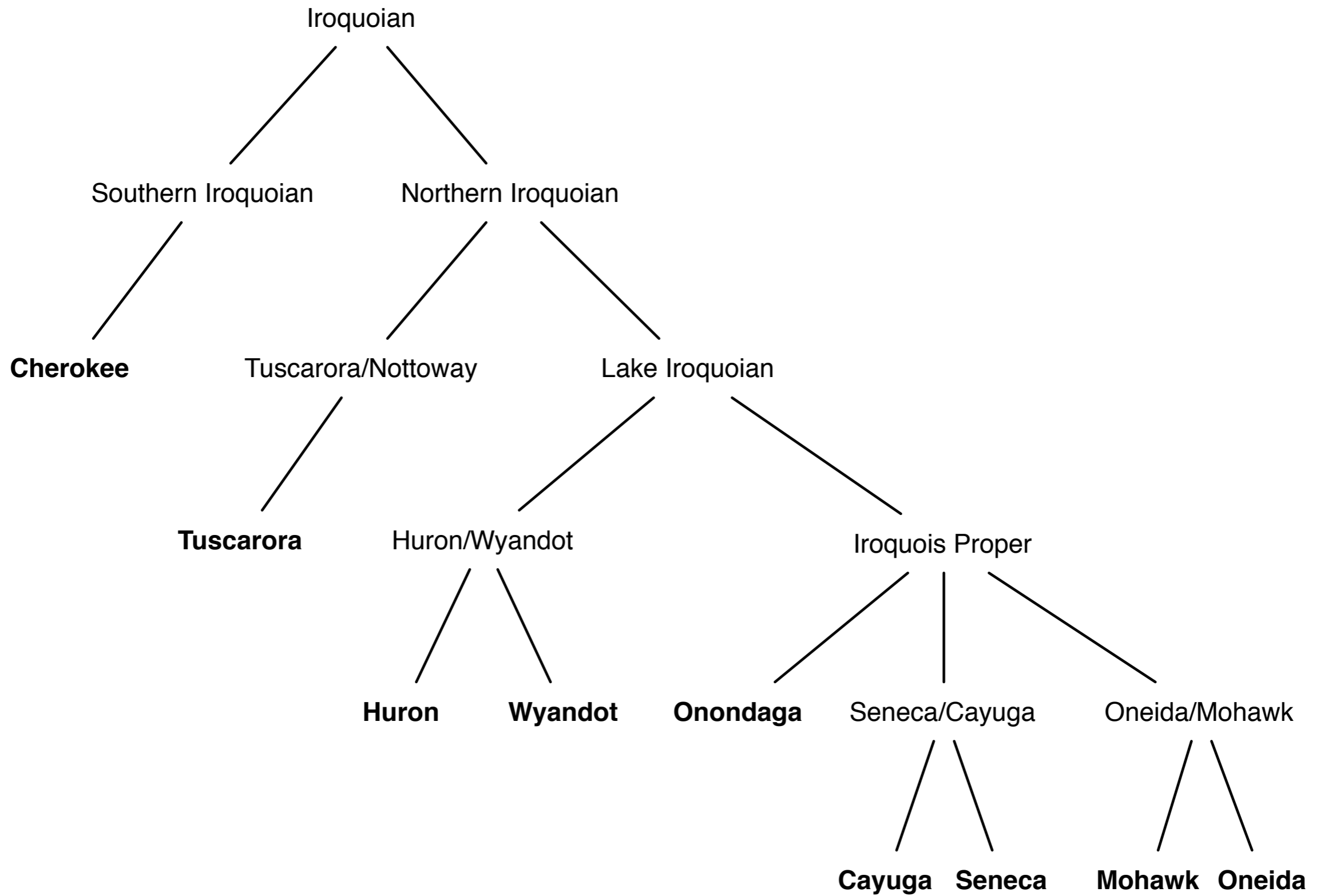
# The ‘inverse’ history of Iroquoian person prefixes

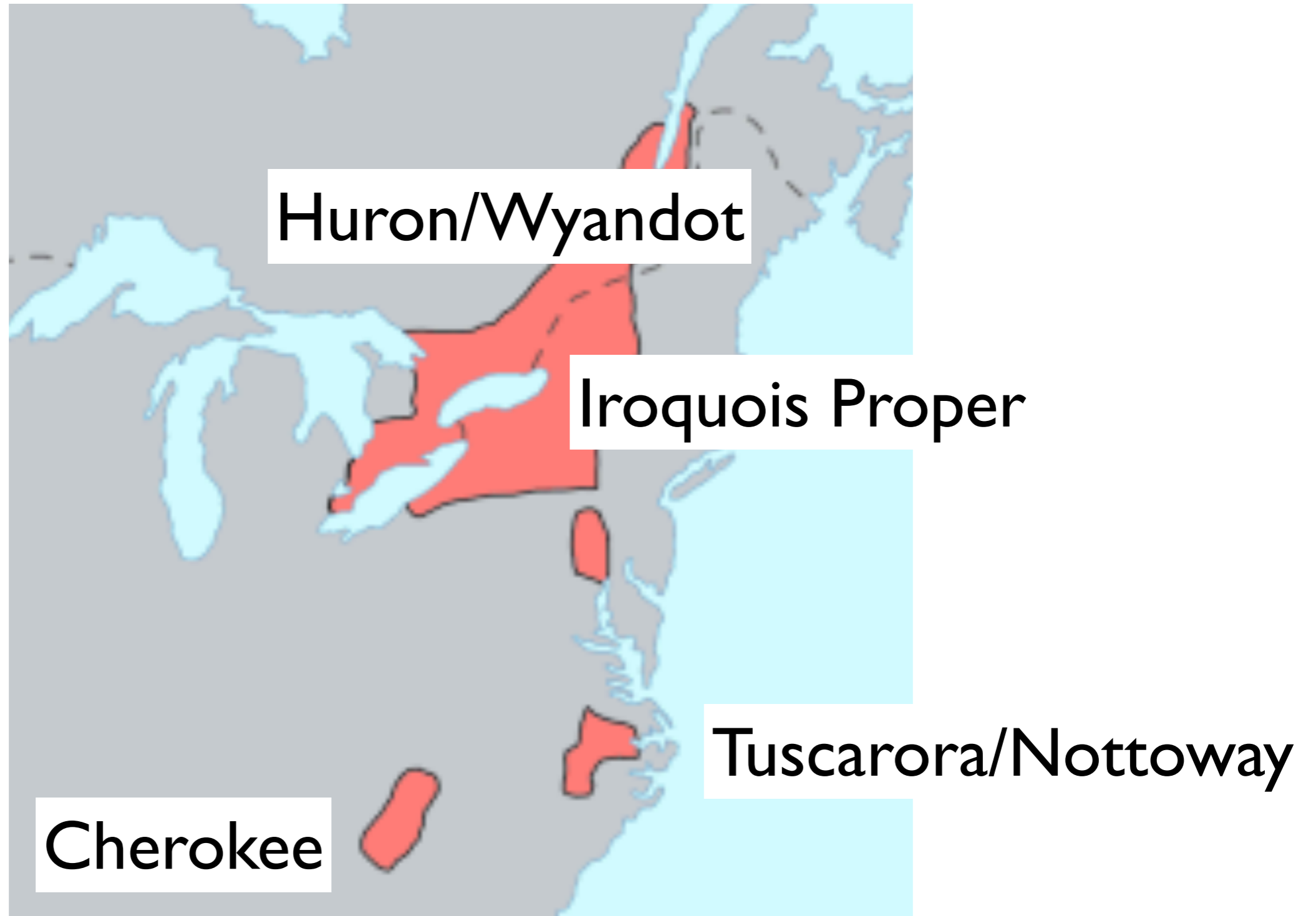
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Iroquoian languages





Huron/Wyandot

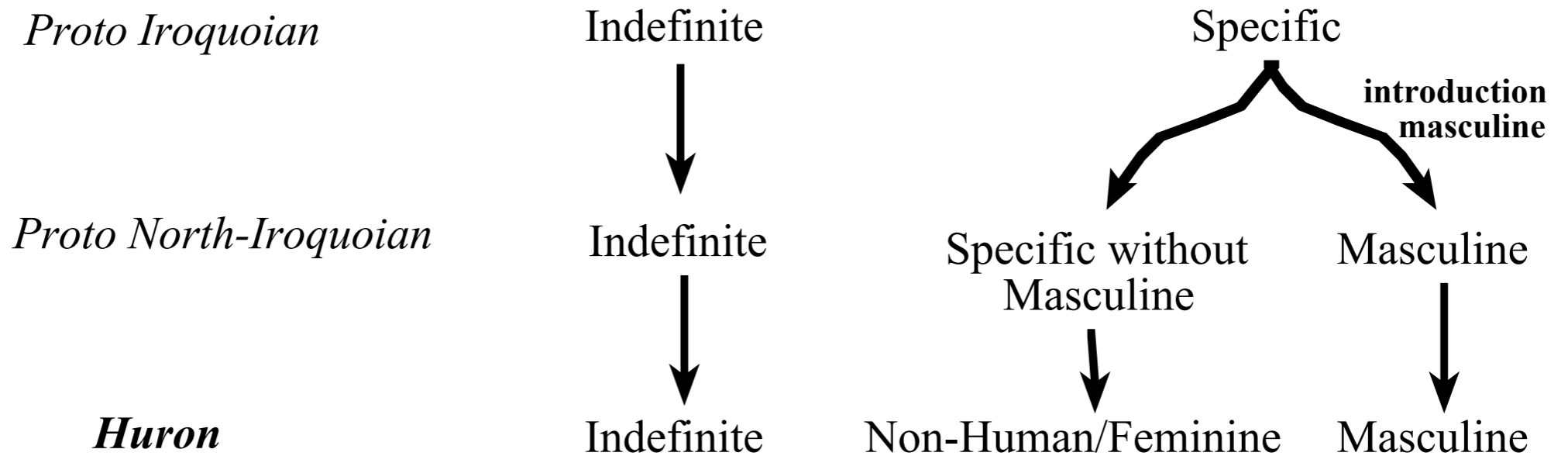
Iroquois Proper

Tuscarora/Nottoway

Cherokee

# Iroquoian History of Gender

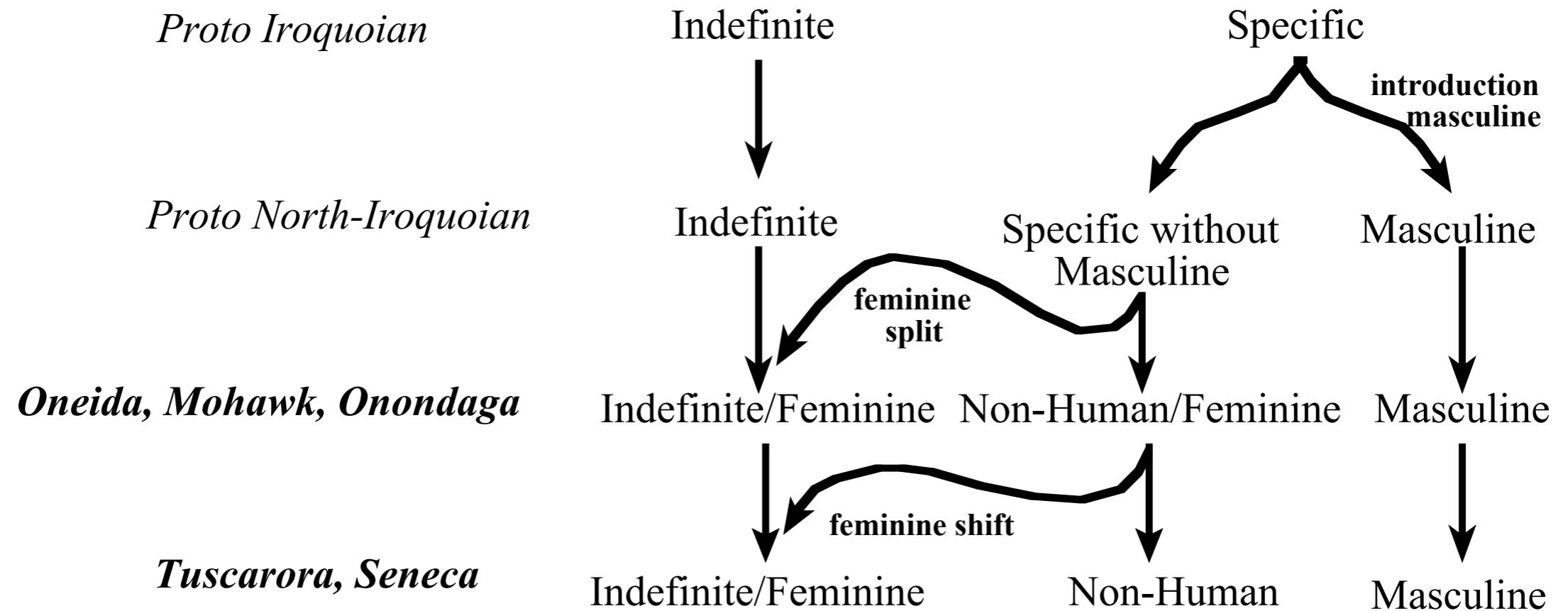
# Iroquoian History of Gender



# Reference to women in Oneida

Context	Non-Human (*KA-)	Indefinite (*YE-)
size/gracefulness	large, awkward, aggressive	small, graceful, dainty, petite
age	older	younger
relationship	indifferent/detached attitude towards referent	empathy towards referent
references in texts	unmarked reference to women	
kinship terms	kin older than ego (distancing when used to refer to younger relatives)	kin younger than ego
citation	male citation form	female citation form

# Iroquoian History of Gender





Obj. Subj.	1 sg			2 sg			O	N	3 sg			3 non-sg		
	1 du	1 pl	2 du	2 pl	FZ sg	M sg			FI sg	FZ du/pl	M du/pl			
1 sg				52. ku- <sup>o,i</sup> /kuy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			1. k- <sup>o,v</sup> /ke- <sup>x</sup>			25. (-h)i- <sup>o,i</sup> /(-h)iy <sup>a,o,o</sup>	39. khe- <sup>o,i</sup> /khey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
1+3 du					53. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>		2. (y)akni- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(y)aky- <sup>a</sup>			26. <sup>h</sup> shakni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>a</sup>				
1+3 pl						54. kwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /kw- <sup>o,a</sup> /ky- <sup>o</sup>	3. (y)akwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)akw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)aky- <sup>o</sup>			27. <sup>h</sup> shakwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>o</sup>	40. (y)akhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)akhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
1+2 du							4. (-e)tni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)tn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)ty- <sup>a</sup>			28. (-h)ethni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>a</sup>				
1+2 pl							5. (-e)twa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)twΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)tw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)ty- <sup>o</sup>			29. (-h)ethwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)ethw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>o</sup>	41. (y)ethi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ethiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
2 sg	55. <sup>h</sup> sk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> ske- <sup>x</sup>						6. (-h)s- <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)se- <sup>x</sup> /s- <sup>j-y</sup>			30. (-h)ets- <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)etse- <sup>x</sup>	42. <sup>h</sup> she- <sup>o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
2 du		56. <sup>h</sup> skni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>a</sup>					7. (-e)sni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>a</sup>			31. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>				
2 pl			57. <sup>h</sup> skwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>o,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>o</sup>				8. (-e)swa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)swΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)sw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>o</sup>			32. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>	43. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
O	16. wak- <sup>o,v</sup> /wake- <sup>x</sup> /[u]k- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /[u]kw- <sup>a,o</sup> /[u]ke- <sup>x</sup>	17. (y)ukni- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>a</sup>	18. (y)ukwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>o</sup>	19. (-e)sa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)s- <sup>a,o,o</sup>	7a. (-e)sni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sni- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)swΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)sw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>o</sup>			20. (y)o- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(y)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)a- <sup>o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(-h)(l)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup>	22. (y)ako- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(y)akaw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)aka- <sup>o</sup>	23. (y)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(y)on- <sup>v</sup>	24. (-h)(l)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)on- <sup>v</sup>	
N							9. ka- <sup>o</sup> /kΛ- <sup>i</sup> /w- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)- <sup>o</sup> /[u]- <sup>a</sup> /h- <sup>o</sup>							
FZ sg														
M sg	34. (-h)(l)ak- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(-h)(l)akw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)ake- <sup>x</sup>	35. <sup>h</sup> shukni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a</sup>	36. <sup>h</sup> shukwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>o</sup>	37. (-h)ya- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)yΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)yay- <sup>o,o</sup>	31a. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>			10. (-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)Λ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)l- <sup>o,o</sup>					
FI sg	46. (y)uk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uke- <sup>x</sup>			48. (y)esa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)esΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)es- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)esay- <sup>o</sup>					11. (y)e- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ak- <sup>o</sup> /(y)u- <sup>o</sup> /(y)a- <sup>i2</sup> /(y)Λ- <sup>o</sup>	49. kuwa- <sup>o</sup> /kuwa- <sup>i</sup> /kuw- <sup>a,o</sup> /kuway- <sup>o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)uwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway- <sup>o</sup>	58. (y)utat- <sup>o,v</sup> /(y)utate- <sup>x</sup>	50. kuwati- <sup>o</sup> /kuwan- <sup>v</sup>	51. (-h)(l)uwati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)uwan- <sup>v</sup>
FZ du		47. (y)ukhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ukhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			43a. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			12. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>				44. (y)akoti- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akon- <sup>v</sup>		
FZ pl								13. kuti- <sup>o</sup> /ku- <sup>a</sup> /kun- <sup>i,o,o</sup>						
M du								14. (-h)ni- <sup>o</sup> /(h)n- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup>						
M pl								15. (-h)(l)ati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)u- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)(l)Λn- <sup>i,o,o</sup>				45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon- <sup>v</sup>		



# Active/ Agent

# Stative/ Patient

Obj. Subj.	Active/Agent						3 sg					3 non-sg	
	1 sg	1 du	1 pl	2 sg	2 du	2 pl	FZ sg	M sg	FI sg	FZ du/pl	M du/pl		
1 sg				52. ku- <sup>o,i</sup> /kuy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>				25. (-h)i- <sup>o,i</sup> /(-h)iy <sup>a,o,o</sup>	39. khe- <sup>o,i</sup> /khey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>				
1+3 du					53. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>			26. <sup>h</sup> shakni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>a</sup>					
1+3 pl						54. kwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /kw- <sup>o,a</sup> /ky- <sup>o</sup>		27. <sup>h</sup> shakwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>o</sup>			40. (y)akhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)akhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>		
1+2 du								28. (-h)ethni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>a</sup>					
1+2 pl								29. (-h)ethwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)ethw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>o</sup>		41. (y)ethi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ethiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
2 sg	55. <sup>h</sup> sk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> ske- <sup>x</sup>							30. (-h)ets- <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)etse- <sup>x</sup>		42. <sup>h</sup> she- <sup>o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
2 du		56. <sup>h</sup> skni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>a</sup>						31. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>					
2 pl			57. <sup>h</sup> skwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>o,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>o</sup>					32. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>		43. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			
		(y)ukni- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>a</sup>	18. (y)ukwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>o</sup>	19. (-e)sa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)s- <sup>a,o,o</sup>	7a. (-e)sni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sni <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)swΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)sw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>o</sup>		20. (y)o- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)a- <sup>o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup>	22. (y)ako- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)aka- <sup>o</sup>	23. (y)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(y)on- <sup>v</sup>	24. (-h)(l)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)on- <sup>v</sup>	
FZ sg							9. ka- <sup>o</sup> /kΛ- <sup>i</sup> /w- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)- <sup>o</sup> /[u]- <sup>a</sup> /h- <sup>o</sup>						
M sg	34. (-h)(l)ak- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(-h)(l)akw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)ake- <sup>x</sup>	35. <sup>h</sup> shukni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a</sup>	36. <sup>h</sup> shukwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukwΛ- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>o</sup>	37. (-h)ya- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)yΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)yay- <sup>o,o</sup>	31a. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>		10. (-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)Λ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)l- <sup>o,o</sup>			38. <sup>h</sup> shako- <sup>o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka- <sup>o</sup>		
FI sg	46. (y)uk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uke- <sup>x</sup>			48. (y)esa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)esΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)es- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)esay- <sup>o</sup>				11. (y)e- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ak- <sup>o</sup> /(y)u- <sup>o</sup> /(y)a- <sup>i2</sup> /(y)Λ- <sup>o</sup>	49. kuwa- <sup>o</sup> /kuwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /kuw- <sup>a,o</sup> /kuway- <sup>o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)uwΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway- <sup>o</sup>	58. (y)utat- <sup>o,v</sup> /(y)utate- <sup>x</sup>	50. kuwati- <sup>o</sup> /kuwΛn- <sup>v</sup>	51. (-h)(l)uwati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)uwΛn- <sup>v</sup>
FZ du		47. (y)ukhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ukhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>						12. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>					
FZ pl								13. kuti- <sup>o</sup> /ku- <sup>a</sup> /kun- <sup>i,o,o</sup>					
M du								14. (-h)ni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)n- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup>					
M pl								15. (-h)(l)ati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)u- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)(l)Λn- <sup>i,o,o</sup>					
											44. (y)akoti- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akon- <sup>v</sup>		
												45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon- <sup>v</sup>	

	6. (-h)s <sup>-v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>	42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>		
	7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>			
	8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		32. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	43. (y)etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy <sup>-a,e,o</sup>		
ni <sup>-o</sup> sni <sup>i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>	20. (y)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)a <sup>-o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup>	22. (y)ako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)aka <sup>-o</sup>	23. (y)oti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)on <sup>-v</sup>	24. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)
	9. ka <sup>-o</sup> /k <sup>Λ-i</sup> /w <sup>-a,o</sup> /(y) <sup>-o</sup> /[u] <sup>-a</sup> / <sup>ʔ</sup> h <sup>-e</sup>					
etsni <sup>-o</sup> n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	10. (-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)l <sup>-e,o</sup>		38. <sup>h</sup> shako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw <sup>-e</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka <sup>-o</sup>		
	11. (y)e <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)ak <sup>-e,o</sup> /(y)u <sup>-a</sup> /(y)a <sup>-i2</sup> /(y) <sup>Λ-e</sup>	49. kuwa <sup>-o</sup> /kuwa <sup>-i</sup> /kuw <sup>-a,o</sup> /kuway <sup>-o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(i)uw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway <sup>-o</sup>	58. (y)utat <sup>-o,v</sup> /(y)utate <sup>-x</sup>	50. kuwati <sup>-o</sup> /kuwan <sup>-v</sup>	51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy <sup>-a,e,o</sup>	12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</sup>			44. (y)akoti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)akon <sup>-v</sup>		
	13. kuti <sup>-o</sup> /ku <sup>-a</sup> /kun <sup>-i,e,o</sup>					
	14. (-h)ni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)y <sup>-a</sup>					
	15. (-h)(l)ati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)u <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)(l)			45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti <sup>-o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon <sup>-v</sup>		

		6. (-h)s <sup>-v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>		42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>
		7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>		
		8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		32. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>		43. (y)etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)
ni <sup>-o</sup> sni <sup>i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		20. (y)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)a <sup>-o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup>	22. (y)ako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)aka <sup>-o</sup>	<div style="border: 2px solid black; padding: 5px; background-color: #ffe6e6;"> <p>-o/ _ [C,i,a]</p> <p>-aw/ _ [e]</p> <p>-a/ _ [o]</p> </div>
		9. ka <sup>-o</sup> /k <sup>Λ-i</sup> /w <sup>-a,o</sup> /(y) <sup>-o</sup> /[u] <sup>-a</sup> / <sup>ʔ</sup> h <sup>-e</sup>				
etsni <sup>-o</sup> n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	10. (-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)l <sup>-e,o</sup>				38. <sup>h</sup> shako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw <sup>-e</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka <sup>-o</sup>
		11. (y)e <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)ak <sup>-e,o</sup> /(y)u <sup>-a</sup> /(y)a <sup>-i2</sup> /(y) <sup>Λ-e</sup>	49. kuwa <sup>-o</sup> /kuwa <sup>-i</sup> /kuw <sup>-a,o</sup> /kuway <sup>-o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(i)uwa <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway <sup>-o</sup>	58. (y)utat <sup>-o,v</sup> /(y)utate <sup>-x</sup>	50. kuwati <sup>-o</sup> /kuwan <sup>-v</sup>
		12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</sup>				51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
		13. kuti <sup>-o</sup> /ku <sup>-a</sup> /kun <sup>-i,e,o</sup>				
		14. (-h)ni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)y <sup>-a</sup>				
		15. (-h)(l)ati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)u <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)(l)u <sup>-i,e,o</sup>				
etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy <sup>-a,e,o</sup>					44. (y)akoti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)akon <sup>-v</sup>	
					45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti <sup>-o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon <sup>-v</sup>	

	6. (-h)s <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>		42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>
	7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>		
	8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		32. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>		43. (y)etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)
ni <sup>-o</sup> sni <sup>i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		20. (y)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)a <sup>-o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup>	22. (y)ako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)aka <sup>-o</sup>
	9. ka <sup>-o</sup> /k <sup>Λ-i</sup> /w <sup>-a,o</sup> /(y) <sup>-o</sup> /[u] <sup>-a</sup> / <sup>ʔ</sup> h <sup>-e</sup>				
etsni <sup>-o</sup> n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	10. (-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>Λ-i</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)l <sup>-e,o</sup>			38. <sup>h</sup> shako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw <sup>-e</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka <sup>-o</sup>
	11. (y)e <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)ak <sup>-e,o</sup> /(y)u <sup>-a</sup> /(y)a <sup>-i2</sup> /(y) <sup>Λ-e</sup>	49. kuwa <sup>-o</sup> /kuwa <sup>-i</sup> /kuw <sup>-a,o</sup> /kuway <sup>-o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)uwa <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway <sup>-o</sup>	58. (y)utat <sup>-o,v</sup> /(y)utate <sup>-x</sup>	50. kuwati <sup>-o</sup> /kuwan <sup>-v</sup>
	12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</sup>				51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
	13. kuti <sup>-o</sup> /ku <sup>-a</sup> /kun <sup>-i,e,o</sup>				
	14. (-h)ni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)y <sup>-a</sup>				
	15. (-h)(l)ati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)u <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)(l)u <sup>-i,a,o</sup>				
				44. (y)akoti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)akon <sup>-v</sup>	
				45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti <sup>-o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon <sup>-v</sup>	

-o/ \_ [C,i,a]  
-aw/ \_ [e]  
-a/ \_ [o]

-a/ \_ [C]  
-Λ/ \_ [i]  
-∅/ \_ [a,o]

2

etsi



Patient » Agent

-o/\_ [C,i,a]  
-aw/\_ [e]  
-a/\_ [o]

-a/\_ [C]  
-Λ/\_ [i]  
-∅/\_ [a,o]

Agent » Patient

	6. (-h)s <sup>-v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>		42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>
	7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>		
	8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)swΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		32. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>		43. (y)etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)
ni <sup>-o</sup> sni <sup>i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)swΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		20. (y)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)a <sup>-o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup>	22. (y)ako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)aka <sup>-o</sup>
	9. ka <sup>-o</sup> /kΛ <sup>-i</sup> /w <sup>-a,o</sup> /(y) <sup>-o</sup> /[u] <sup>-a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> <sup>-e</sup>				
etsni <sup>-o</sup> n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	10. (-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)Λ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)l <sup>-e,o</sup>			38. <sup>h</sup> shako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw <sup>-e</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka <sup>-o</sup>
	11. (y)e <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)ak <sup>-e,o</sup> /(y)u <sup>-a</sup> /(y)a <sup>-i2</sup> /(y)Λ <sup>-e</sup>	49. kuwa <sup>-o</sup> /kuwa <sup>-i</sup> /kuw <sup>-a,o</sup> /kuway <sup>-o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)uwa <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway <sup>-o</sup>	58. (y)utat <sup>-o,v</sup> /(y)utate <sup>-x</sup>	50. kuwati <sup>-o</sup> /kuwan <sup>-v</sup>
	12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</sup>				51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
	13. kuti <sup>-o</sup> /ku <sup>-a</sup> /kun <sup>-i,e,o</sup>				
	14. (-h)ni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)n <sup>-i,e,o</sup>				
				44. (y)akoti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)akon <sup>-v</sup>	
				45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti <sup>-o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon <sup>-v</sup>	





# “Inverse”

-o/ \_ [C,i,a]  
 -aw/ \_ [e]  
 -a/ \_ [o]

-a/ \_ [C]  
 -Λ/ \_ [i]  
 -∅/ \_ [a,o]

# “Direct”

# Inverse in Oneida ?

	6. (-h)s <sup>-v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>		42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>
	7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>		
	8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)swΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		32. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>		43. (y)etsi <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)
ni <sup>-o</sup> sni <sup>i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	8a. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)swΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-e)sw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-o</sup>		20. (y)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)a <sup>-o</sup>	21. (-h)(l)o <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw <sup>-e</sup> /(-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup>	22. (y)ako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw <sup>-e</sup> /(y)aka <sup>-o</sup>
	9. ka <sup>-o</sup> /kΛ <sup>-i</sup> /w <sup>-a,o</sup> /(y) <sup>-o</sup> /[u] <sup>-a</sup> / <sup>ʔ</sup> h <sup>-e</sup>				
etsni <sup>-o</sup> n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> y <sup>-a</sup>	32a. (-h)etswa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)etsw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-o</sup>	10. (-h)(l)a <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(l)Λ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l) <sup>-a</sup> /(-h)l <sup>-e,o</sup>			38. <sup>h</sup> shako <sup>-o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw <sup>-e</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka <sup>-o</sup>
	11. (y)e <sup>-o,i</sup> /(y)ak <sup>-e,o</sup> /(y)u <sup>-a</sup> /(y)a <sup>-i2</sup> /(y)Λ <sup>-e</sup>	49. kuwa <sup>-o</sup> /kuwa <sup>-i</sup> /kuw <sup>-a,o</sup> /kuway <sup>-o</sup>	33. (-h)(l)uwa <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)(i)uwΛ <sup>-i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw <sup>-a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway <sup>-o</sup>	58. (y)utat <sup>-o,v</sup> /(y)utate <sup>-x</sup>	50. kuwati <sup>-o</sup> /kuwan <sup>-v</sup>
	12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</sup>				51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
	13. kuti <sup>-o</sup> /ku <sup>-a</sup> /kun <sup>-i,e,o</sup>			44. (y)akoti <sup>-o</sup> /(y)akon <sup>-v</sup>	
	14. (-h)ni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)n <sup>-i,e,o</sup> h)y <sup>-a</sup>				

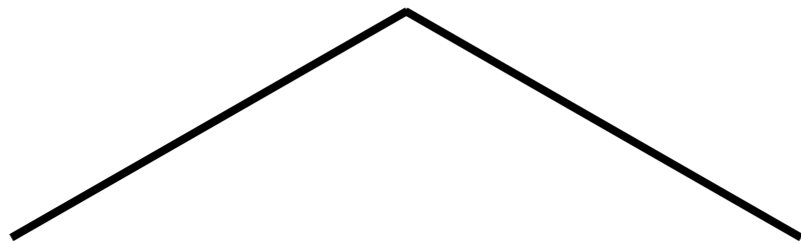
# Inverse in Cherokee ?

# Inverse in Cherokee ?

- Prefix choice determined by:
  - Relative animacy of subject vs. object
  - Discourse prominence, information flow

	Oneida	Mohawk	Seneca	Cayuga	Onondaga	Wyandot	Huron	Tuscarora	Cherokee
<b>*KA</b>	ka/_[C] kʌ/_[i] w/_[a] (y)/_[o] ʔh/_[e]	ka/_[C, y] kʌ/_[i] w/_[a, e] y/_[o, u]	ka/_[C] kɛ/_[i, (y)ɔ] w/_[a, e, ɛ] y/_[o, ɔ] k/_[o]	ga/_[C] gɛ/_[i] w/_[a, e, u]	ga/_[C] gɛ/_[i] w/_[a, e, ɛ] (-y)/_[o, ɔ]	ʔka/_[C, yV] ʔkɛ/_[i] w/_[a, e, ɛ] (y)/_[o, ɔ]	ʔa/_[C] ʔe/_[n] 8/_[a, e]  ɪ/_[o]	ka/_[C] kv/_[i] w/_[V]	ka/_[Reson.] k/_[V] ø/_[e]  a:/_[Obstr.]
<b>*YO</b>	(y)o/_[C, i, a] (y)aw/_[e] (y)a/_[o]	yo/_[C]  y/_[V]	ʔo/_[C, i, a] ʔaw/_[e, ɛ] ʔa/_[o, ɔ]	o/_[C, i, a] aw/_[e] a/_[o]	(-y)o(w)/_[C, i, a] (-y)aw/_[e] (-y)a/_[o, ɔ]	u(w)/_[C, i, a, o] aw/_[e, ɛ] a/_[ɔ]	o/_[C, i, a] (i)a8/_[e] a/_[o]	(y)o/_[C, i, a] (y)aw/_[e, o, v]	u:/_[C, a, v] u:w/_[V, v] u:wa/_[: , v]
<b>*KUWA</b>	kuwa/_[C] kuwʌ/_[i] kuw/_[a, e] kuway/_[o]	kuwa/_[C] kuwv/_[i] kuw/_[V]	kɔwɔ/_[C] kɔwɛ/_[(y)ɔ, i] kɔw/_[a, e, ɛ] kɔwɔy/_[o, ɔ]	—  (gowa-dí, gowa-n <i>di/n</i> = plural affix)	gɔwa/_[C] gɔwɛ/_[i] gɔw/_[a, e, ɛ] gɔway/_[o, ɔ]	yɔwa/_[C]  yɔw/_[a]	ʔoña/_[C, i]  ʔoñ/_[a, e, o]	—	kv:wa/_[C]  kv:w/_[V, a, h]
<b>*YE</b>	(y)e/_[C, i] (y)ak/_[e, o] (y)u/_[a] (y)ʌ/_[e]  (y)a/_[‘ihey’]	ye/_[C, i, y] yak/_[o, u] yu/_[a] y(ʌ)/_[e]	ye/_[C, i] yak/_[o, ɔ] yɔ/_[a] yɛ/_[e] y/_[ɛ] ya/_[‘iey’]	(y)e/_[C, i] (y)ag/_[e, o, u] q/_[a]	(-y)e/_[C, i] (-y)ag/_[e, o, ɔ] (-y)u(w)/_[a, ɛ] (-y)ɛ/_[e]  (-y)a/_[‘ie’]	(y)e/_[C, yV] a(y)(ɛ)/_[e, ɛ, o, ɔ, i] q/_[a, ɛ]	(i)e/_[C, i] a/_[e, o, i] on/_[a]	ye/_[C, i] yak/_[e, o, v]  yv/_[a, e, y]  ya/_[‘ihey’]	a:tsi/_[C] a:k/_[V]
<b>*YE + *YO</b>	(y)ako/_[C, i, a] (y)akaw/_[e] (y)aka/_[o]	yako/_[C] yakaw/_[e, ʌ] yak/_[V]	(ya)ko/_[C, i, a] (ya)kaw/_[e, ɛ] (ya)ka/_[o, ɔ]	go/_[C, i, a] gaw/_[e] ga/_[o]	(-ya)go(w)/_[C, i, a] (-ya)gaw/_[e] (-ya)ga/_[o, ɔ]	(ay)u(w)/_[C, i, a] ayaw/_[e, ɛ] aya/_[o, ɔ]	a,ʔo/_[C, a, i] a,ʔa8/_[e] a,ʔa/_[o]	—	—
<b>*HR + *(K)A</b>	(-h)(l)a/_[C] (-h)(l)ʌ/_[i] (-h)(l)/_[a] (-h)l/_[e, o]	la/_[C] lv/_[i] (h)l/_[u] l/_[V]	ha/_[C] hɛ/_[i, (y)ɔ] h/_[V]	ha/_[C] hɛ/_[i] h/_[a, e, o, u]	ha/_[C] hɛ/_[i] h(R)/_[a, ɛ, ɔ] h/_[e, o]	ha-/_[C] h(ɛ)/_[i] (h)/_[a] r/_[e, ɛ, o, ɔ]	ha/_[C, i]  hr/_[V] h/_[a,e,o]	(-h)ra/_[C] (-h)rv/_[i] (-h)r/_[V]	—
<b>*HR + *YO</b>	(-h)(l)o/_[C, i, a] (-h)(l)aw/_[e] (-h)(l)a/_[o]	lo/_[C] law/_[e, ʌ] l/-[V]	ho/_[C, i, a] haw/_[e, ɛ] ha/_[o, ɔ]	ho/_[C, i, a] haw/_[e] ha/_[o]	ho(w)/_[C, i, a] haw/_[e] ha/_[o, ɔ]	(h)u(w)/_[C, i, a] haw/_[e, ɛ] ha/_[o, ɔ]	ho/_[C, a, i] ha8/_[e] ha/_[o]	(-h)ro/_[C, i, a] (-h)raw/_[e, o, v]	—
<b>*HR + *(K)UWA</b>	(-h)(l)uwa/_[C] (-h)(l)uwʌ/_[i] (-h)(l)uw/_[a, e] (-h)(l)uway/_[o]	luwa/_[C] luwv/_[i] luw/_[V]	hɔwɔ/_[C] hɔwɛ/_[(y)ɔ, i] hɔw/_[a, e, ɛ] hɔwɔy/_[o, ɔ]	hɔ:wá:/_[C] hɔwɛ/_[i] hɔw/_[a, e] hɔway/_[o]	hɔwa/_[C] hɔwɛ/_[i] hɔw/_[a, e, ɛ] hɔway/_[o, ɔ]	(h)ɔwa/_[C] hɔw(ɛ)/_[i] hɔw/_[a]  hɔwɔy/_[o, ɔ]	hoña/_[C, i]  hoñ/_[a, e, o]	—	—
<b>*SH + *YE + *YO</b>	<sup>h</sup> shako/_[C, i, a] <sup>h</sup> shakaw/_[e] <sup>h</sup> shaka/_[o]	(h)sako/_[C] (h)ak/_[V] (h)saka/_[u]	shako/_[C, i, a] shakaw/_[e, ɛ] shaka/_[o, ɔ]	sha:gó:/_[C, i, a] shakaw/_[e] (h)shága/_[o]	shago(w)/_[C, i, a, ɛ] shagaw/_[e, ɛ] shaga/_[o, ɔ]	(h)sayu/_[C, a]	sa,ʔo/_[C, a, i] sa,ʔa8/_[e] sa,ʔa/_[o]	—	—
<b>*SH + *YE</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	se/_[C,i] sa/_[e, o] son/_[a]	—	—
<b>*RU</b>	—	—	—	—	—	ru/_[C] ru(w)/_[V]	—	—	—
<b>*YE + ATAT</b>	(y)utat/_[C, V] (y)utate/_[x]	yutat/_[C, V] yutate/_[l, n, w, ?] yutak/_[y]	(?)ɔtat/_[V, Reson.] (?)ɔtate/_[Obstr.] (?)ɔtah/_[n, t, ? n]	adad [?]	(-y)ɔdat/_[C] (-y)ɔdade/_[CC] (-y)ɔdad/_[V, r]	[?]	atat/_[C] atand/_[V]	yvʔnaʔn/_[V, y, w] yvʔnaʔ/_[r, t] yvʔnat/_[k, s, ?]	PNG + ata:t/_[V] PNG + ata:/_[C]

<b>Cherokee</b>		<i>Patient</i>	
		3rd	∅
<i>Agent</i>	PL	<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE</b>	
	3rd	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅		



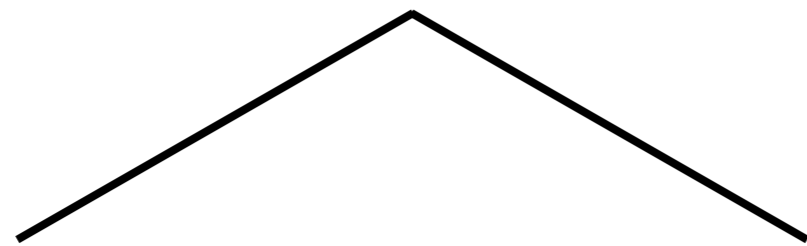
		<i>Patient</i>	
		3rd	∅
<i>Agent</i>	PL	<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE</b>	
	3rd	<b>KA</b>	
	∅	<b>YO</b>	

		Indefinite	<i>Patient</i>	
			3rd	∅
<i>Agent</i>	PL		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef		<b>YE</b>	
	3rd		<b>KA</b>	
	∅		<b>YO</b>	

		Patient	
		3rd	∅
Agent	PL	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE	
	3rd	KA	
	∅	YO	

		Indefinite	Patient	
			3rd	∅
Agent	PL		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef		YE	
	3rd		KA	
	∅		YO	

		Indefinite	Patient	
			3rd	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT	YE	
	3rd	YE+YO	KA	
	∅	YO		



		Patient	
		3rd	∅
Agent	PL	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE	
	3rd	YO	KA
	∅		

		Indefinite	Patient	
			3rd	∅
Agent	PL		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef		YE	
	3rd		YO	KA
	∅			

		Indefinite	Patient	
			3rd	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT	YE	
	3rd	YE+YO	YO	KA
	∅			

		Indefinite	Patient			
			Masculine	Animate	∅	
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)	
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE		
	Masc	YE+YO		YO	KA	
	Anim					
∅						



		Patient	
		3rd	∅
Agent	PL	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE	
	3rd	KA	
	∅	YO	

		Patient		
		Indefinite	3rd	∅
Agent	PL		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef		YE	
	3rd		KA	
	∅		YO	

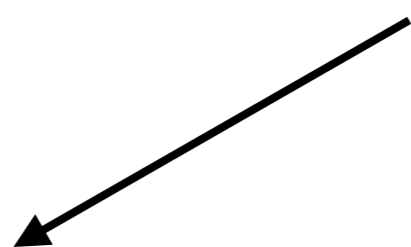
		Patient		
		Indefinite	3rd	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT	YE	
	3rd	KA		
	∅	YE+YO	YO	

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			KA	
	Anim	YE+YO		YO	
∅					

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
∅					

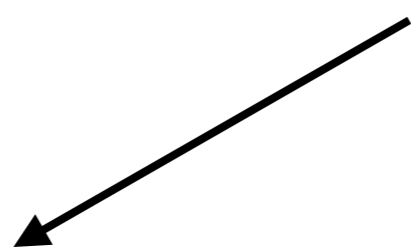
		<b>Proto-North IroquoianV</b>			
		Indefinite		Patient	
			Masculine	Animate	∅
PL		(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
Indef		<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
Agent Masc				<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
Anim		<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
∅					

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT			YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT			YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

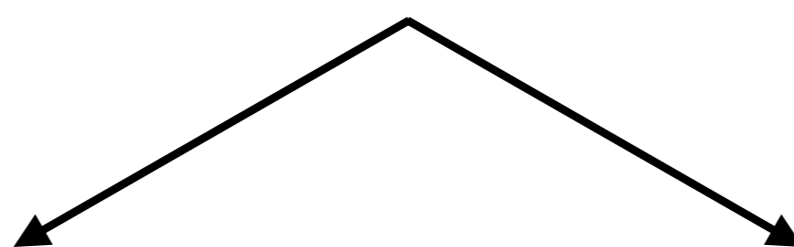


		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		(plur)	
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc	YE+ATAT		HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅	KA			

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

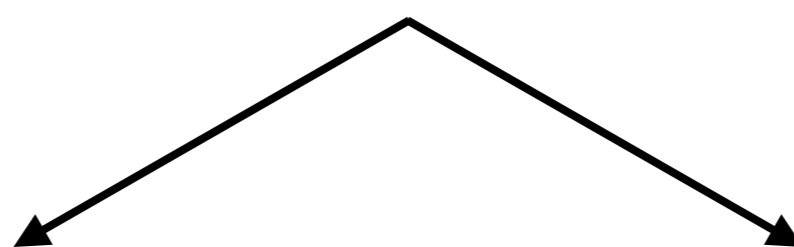


		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		(plur)	
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc	YE+ATAT		HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅	KA			

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
	Masc			<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅				



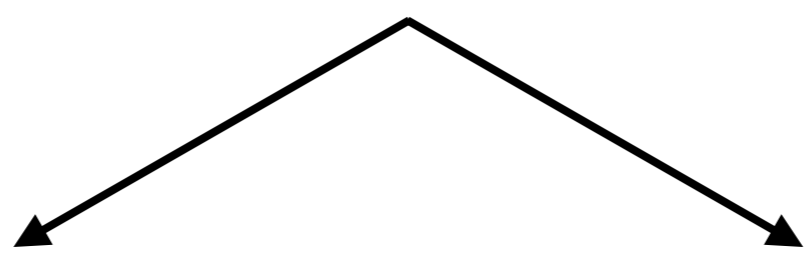
		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
	Masc			<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
	Masc			<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		(plur)	
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
	Masc			<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅	<b>KA</b>			

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	<b>HR+(K)UWA</b>	<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<i>ai8</i> [?]	<b>SH+YE</b>	<b>YE</b>	
	Masc	<b>SH+YE+YO</b>		<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		(plur)	
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅	KA			

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	ai8 [?]	SH+YE	YE	
	Masc	SH+YE+YO		HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		<i>Proto-North IroquoianV</i>			
		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL		(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
Indef		<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
Agent Masc				<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
Anim		<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT			YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT				YE
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT			YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					

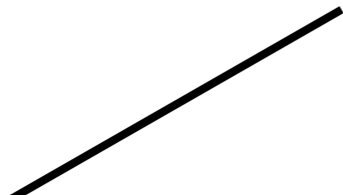


		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
Indef	YE+ATAT				YE
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA	
∅					

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)		KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	[?]			YE
Agent	Masc	SH+YE+YO	RU	HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



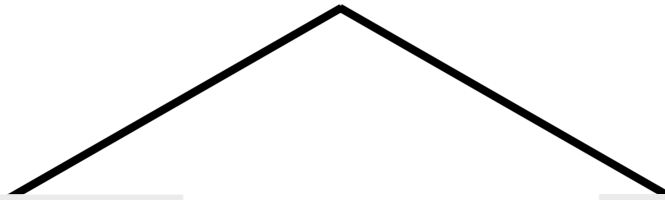
		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)	HR+(K)UWA	KUWA		(plur)
	Indef	[?]			YE
Agent	Masc	SH+YE+YO	RU	HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT			YE
Agent	Masc	SH+YE+YO	HR+(K)UWA	HR+(K)A	
	Inan	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent	Masc			HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				



		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)	HR+(K)UWA	KUWA		(plur)
	Indef	[?]			YE
Agent	Masc	SH+YE+YO	RU	HR+(K)A	
	Anim	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)		HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT			YE
Agent	Masc	SH+YE+YO	HR+(K)A		
	Inan	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA
	∅				

**Proto-North IroquoianV**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

**Proto-Lake Iroquoian**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

**Wyandot**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)		HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	[?]			YE
Agent Masc		SH+YE+YO	RU	HR+(K)A	
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

**Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)		HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT			YE
Agent Masc		SH+YE+YO	HR+(K)A		
	Inan ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

**Cayuga**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT	HR+(K)UWA	KUWA	YE
Agent Masc		SH+YE+YO	HR+(K)A		
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

**Seneca**

		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT	HR+(K)UWA	YE	
Agent Masc		SH+YE+YO	HR+(K)A		
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	KUWA	KA

# Inverse in Iroquoian ?

- In the coding of transitive 3Subj-3Obj verbs originally there was some hierarchical/inverse-like organisation (cf. Cherokee).
- Through the subsequent diachronic extensions of the paradigm, recurrent coding arose that looks like an inverse system in some languages (cf. Oneida).

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