

# Person Portmanteaus as a window into referential splits and hierarchies

Corinna Handschuh & Michael Cysouw

Being portmanteau is not a  
yes/no phenomenon

**appointments essential**

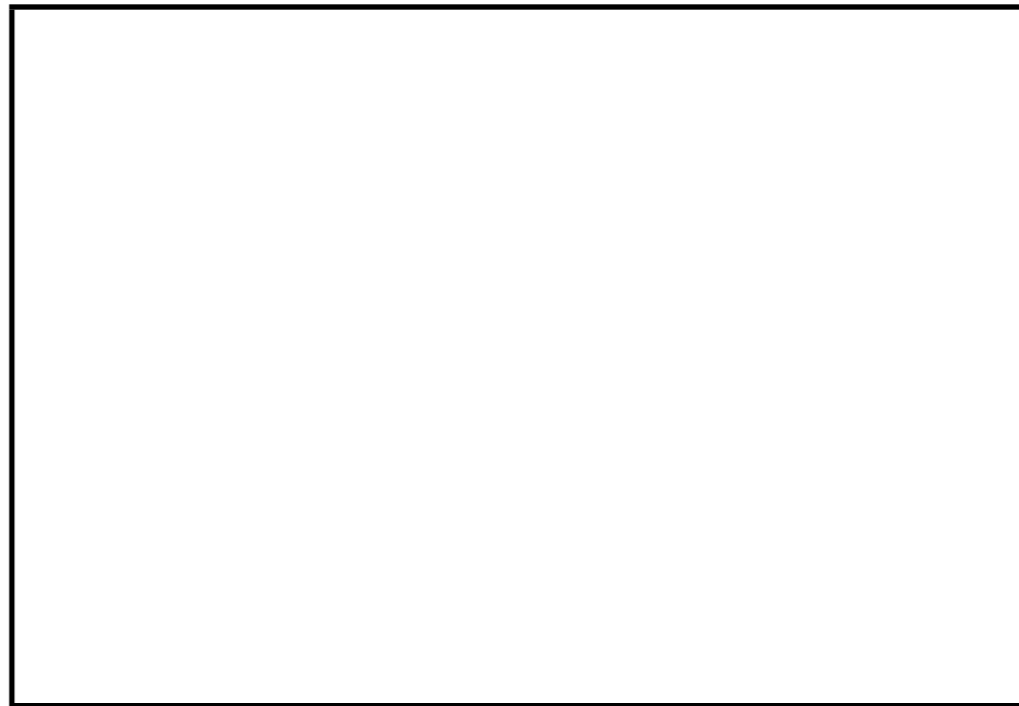
A

1

2

3x

3y



O

1

2

3x

3y

# Transparent

A

1

2

3x

3y

O

1

B+A

C+A

D+A

2

A+B

C+B

D+B

3x

A+C

B+C

D+C

3y

A+D

B+D

C+D

# Hierarchical

A

	I	2	3x	3y
I		D		
2	A		E	
3x		B		F
3y			C	

# Inverse

A

1

2

3x

3y

1

2

3x

3y

O

A				
B	D			
C	E	F		

# Inverse

A

1

2

3x

3y

O

1

2

3x

3y

		A+i	B+i	C+i
	A		D+i	E+i
	B	D		F+i
	C	E	F	

# Inverse

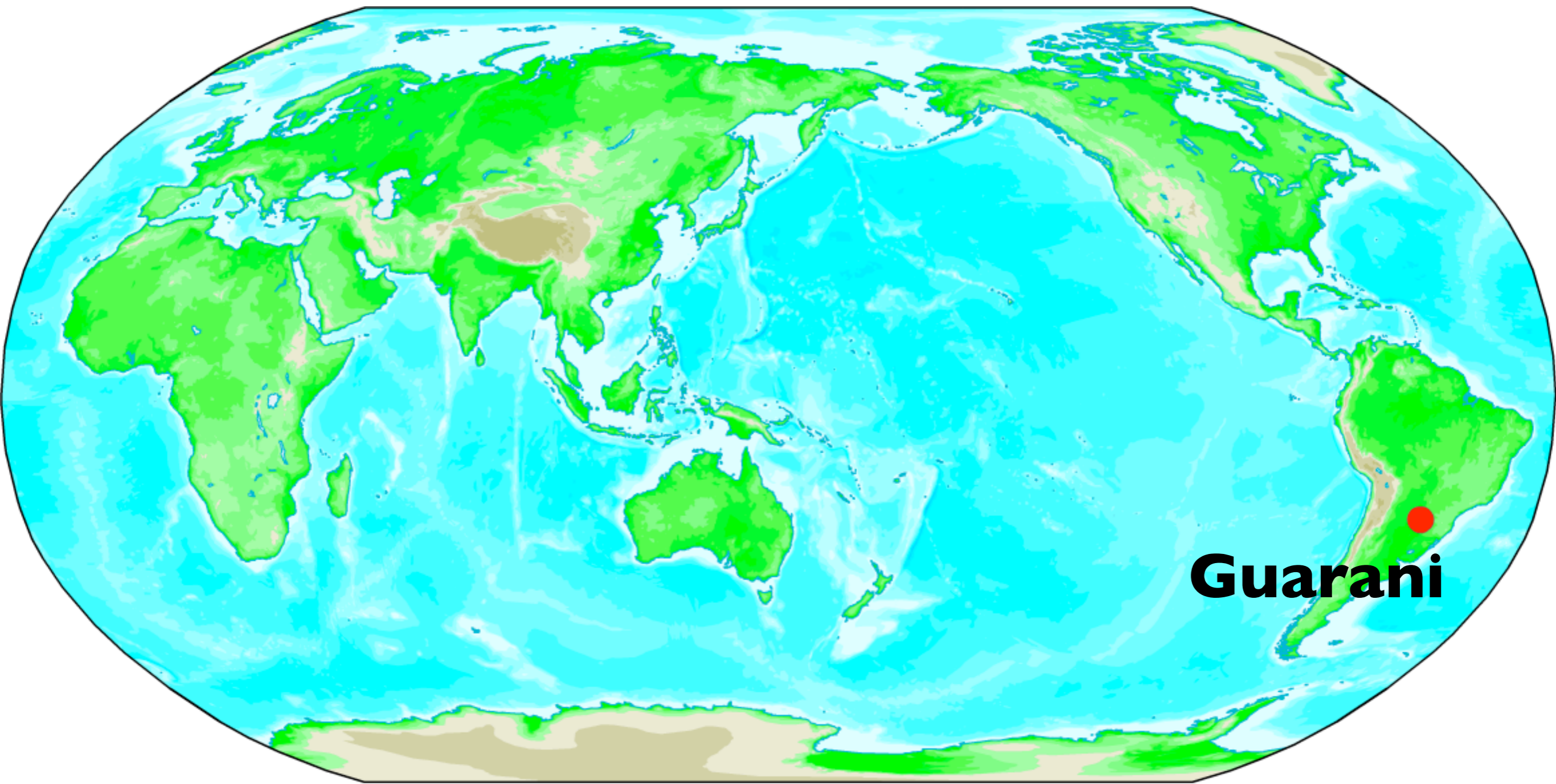
A

1 2 3x 3y

O

1		A+i	B+i	C+i
2	A+j		D+i	E+i
3x	B+j	D+j		F+i
3y	C+j	E+j	F+j	





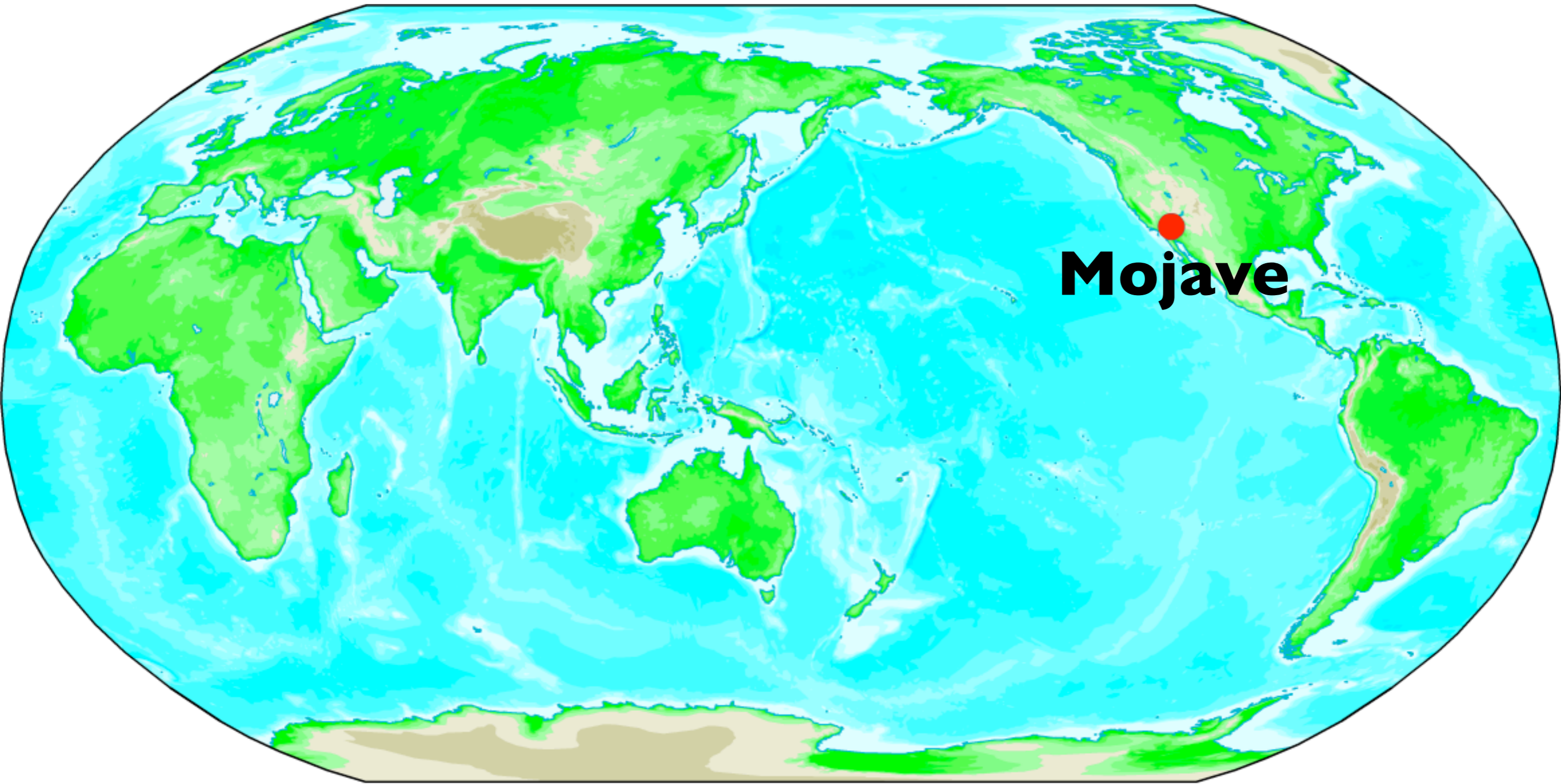
**Guarani**

# Guaraní

	1Sg	1Pl	1Incl	2Sg	2Pl	3	zero
1Sg				che	che	che	che
1Pl				ore	ore	ore	ore
1Incl							ya-ne
2Sg	ro	ro	ne				ne
2Pl	po	po	pe-ne				pe-ne
3	a	ro	ya	re	pe	o	i
zero	a	ro	ya	re	pe	o	

# Guajajara

	1Sg	1Pl	1Incl	2Sg	2Pl	3	zero
1Sg				he	he	he	he
1Pl				ure	ure	ure	ure
1Incl							za-ne
2Sg	uru	uru	ne				ne
2Pl	a-pu	uru-pu	pe				pe
3	a	uru	ci	ere	pe	u	i
zero	a	uru	za	ere	pe	u	



**Mojave**

# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		ʔnʲm-	nʲ-	ʔnʲk-
	2	nʲ-		m-	
	3	ʔ-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		ʔ-	m-	∅-	k-

# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		ʔnʲm-	nʲ-	ʔnʲ <b>k-</b>
	2	nʲ-		m-	
	3	ʔ-	m-	∅-	<b>k-</b>
Intransitive		ʔ-	m-	∅-	<b>k-</b>

# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		?n <sup>ʃ</sup> m-	n <sup>ʃ</sup> ∅-	?n <sup>ʃ</sup> k-
	2	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -		m∅-	
	3	?-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		?-	m-	∅-	k-

# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		ʔn <sup>ʃ</sup> <b>m-</b>	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -	ʔn <sup>ʃ</sup> k-
	2	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -		<b>m-</b>	
	3	ʔ-	<b>m-</b>	∅-	k-
Intransitive		ʔ-	<b>m-</b>	∅-	k-



# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		?n <sup>j</sup> m-	n <sup>j</sup> -	?n <sup>j</sup> k-
	2	n <sup>j</sup> -		m-	
	3	?-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		?-	m-	∅-	k-

# Mojave (Yuman)

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		?n <sup>ʃ</sup> m-	<b>n<sup>ʃ</sup>-</b>	?n <sup>ʃ</sup> k-
	2	<b>n<sup>ʃ</sup>-</b>		m-	
	3	?-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		?-	m-	∅-	k-

		<i>Subject</i>					
		<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>3</i>	
		<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>Object</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Sing</i>					ka-...
		<i>Plur</i>					
	<i>2</i>	<i>Sing</i>	ka-...	kɪ-...			kɪ-...
		<i>Plur</i>					
	<i>3</i>		a-...		ɪ-...		ɛ-...
<i>Intransitive</i>							

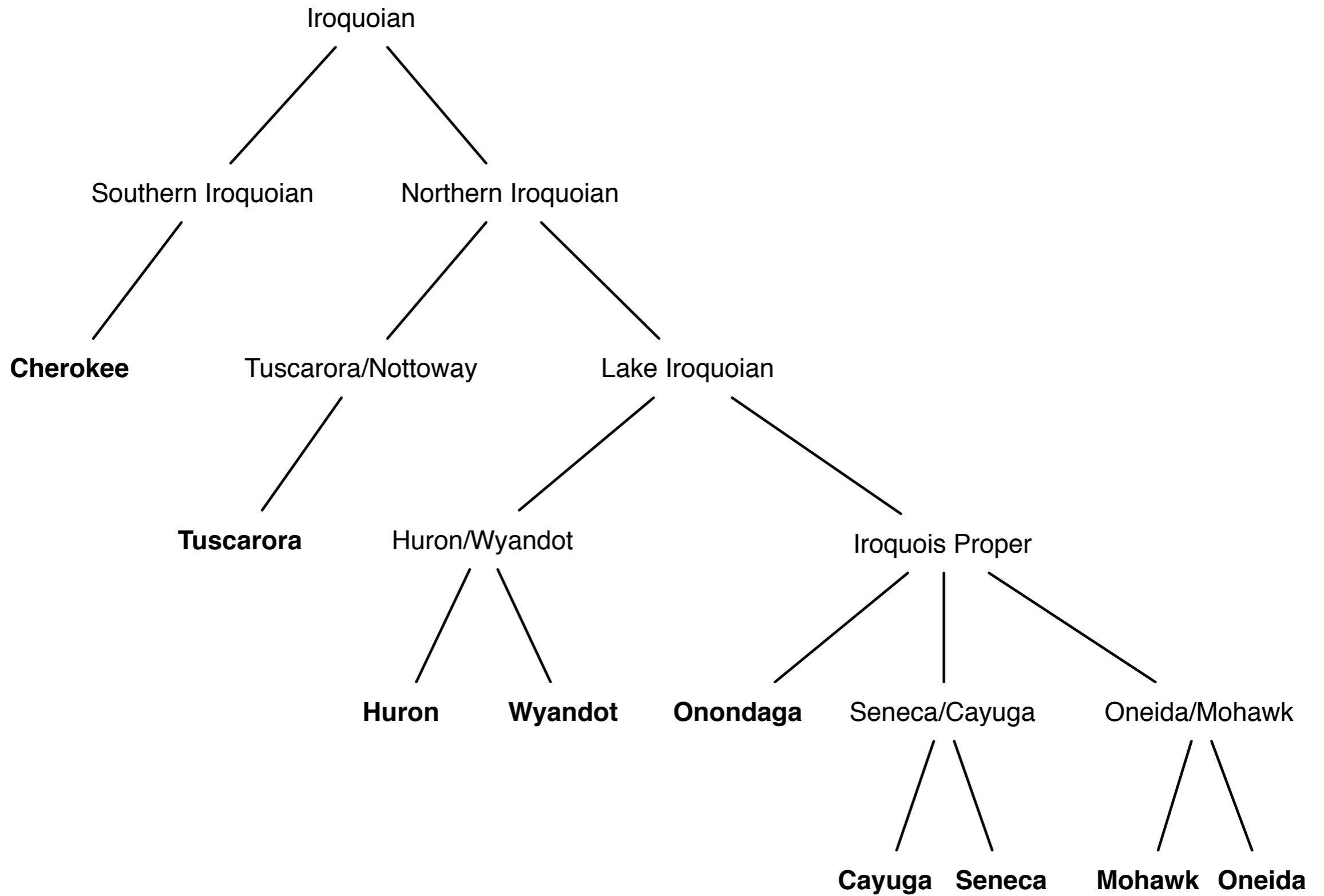
Table 11: Turkana transitive prefixes (Dimmendaal 1991:281-282)

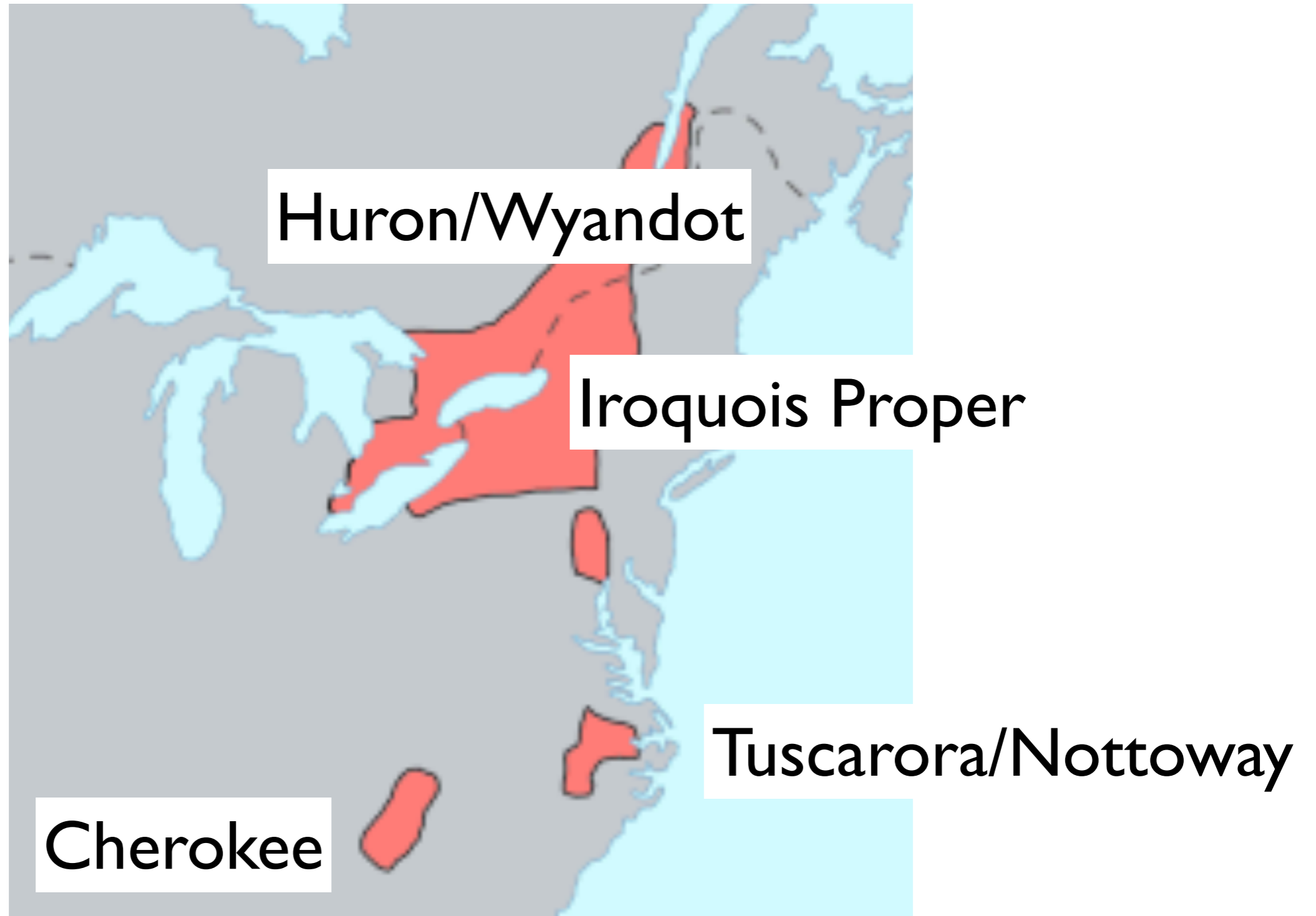
		<i>Subject</i>					
		<i>1</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>3</i>	
		<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>	<i>Sing</i>	<i>Plur</i>
<i>Object</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Sing</i>			kí-...	áa-...	
		<i>Plur</i>			í-...	é-...	
	<i>2</i>	<i>Sing</i>	áá-...	kí-...		kí-...	
		<i>Plur</i>					
	<i>3</i>		á-...		í-...	é-...	
<i>Intransitive</i>							

Table 15: Maasai transitive prefixes (Payne et al. 1994:290-298, Tucker et al. 1953:71-72)



Iroquoian languages





# Hierarchical system in Cherokee

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

# Active/ Agent

# Stative/ Patient

Obj. Subj.	1 sg			2 sg			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>						25. (-h)i- <sup>o,i</sup> /(-h)iy <sup>a-<sup>o,o</sup></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>	40. (y)akhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)akhiy- <sup>a,o,o</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>					
1+2 du									28. (-h)ethni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>a</sup>	41. (y)ethi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ethiy- <sup>a,o,o</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>					
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>	43. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>				
2 pl									32. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>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,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>	
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,o</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>	47. (y)ukhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ukhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>		48. (y)esa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)esΛ- <sup>i</sup> /(y)es- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)esay- <sup>o</sup>	43a. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>				11. (y)e- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ak- <sup>o</sup> /(y)u- <sup>a</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> /kuwan- <sup>v</sup>	51. (-h)(l)uwati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)uwan- <sup>v</sup>
FZ du												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>				45. <sup>h</sup> shakoti- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakon- <sup>v</sup>		



# Pat "Inverse" ent

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

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

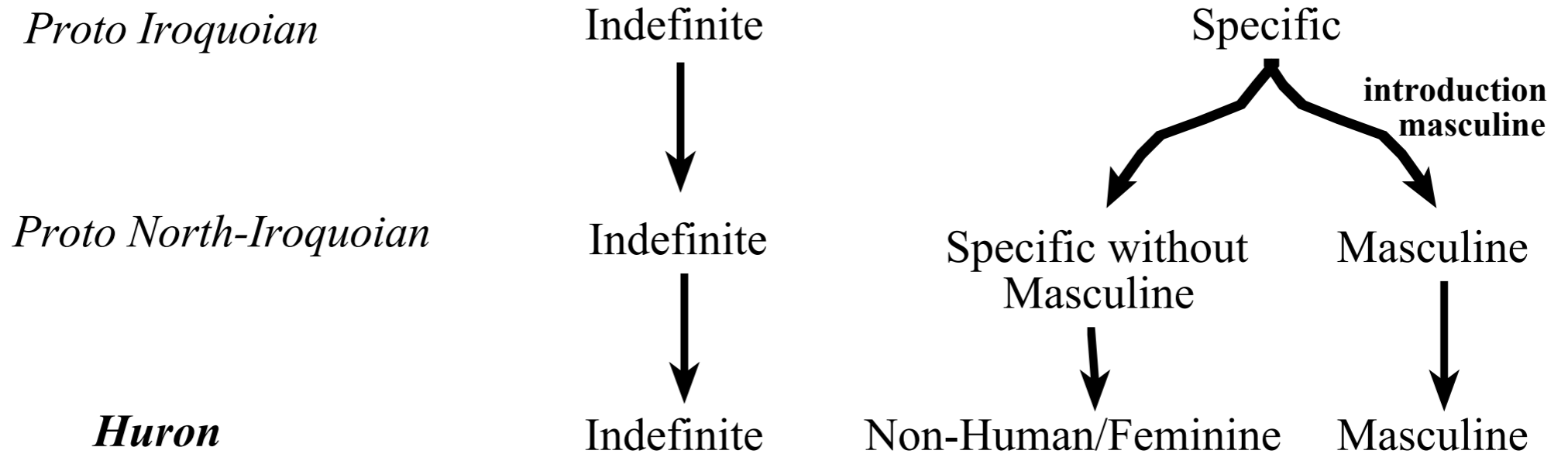
# Age "Direct" ent

# Inverse in Oneida ?

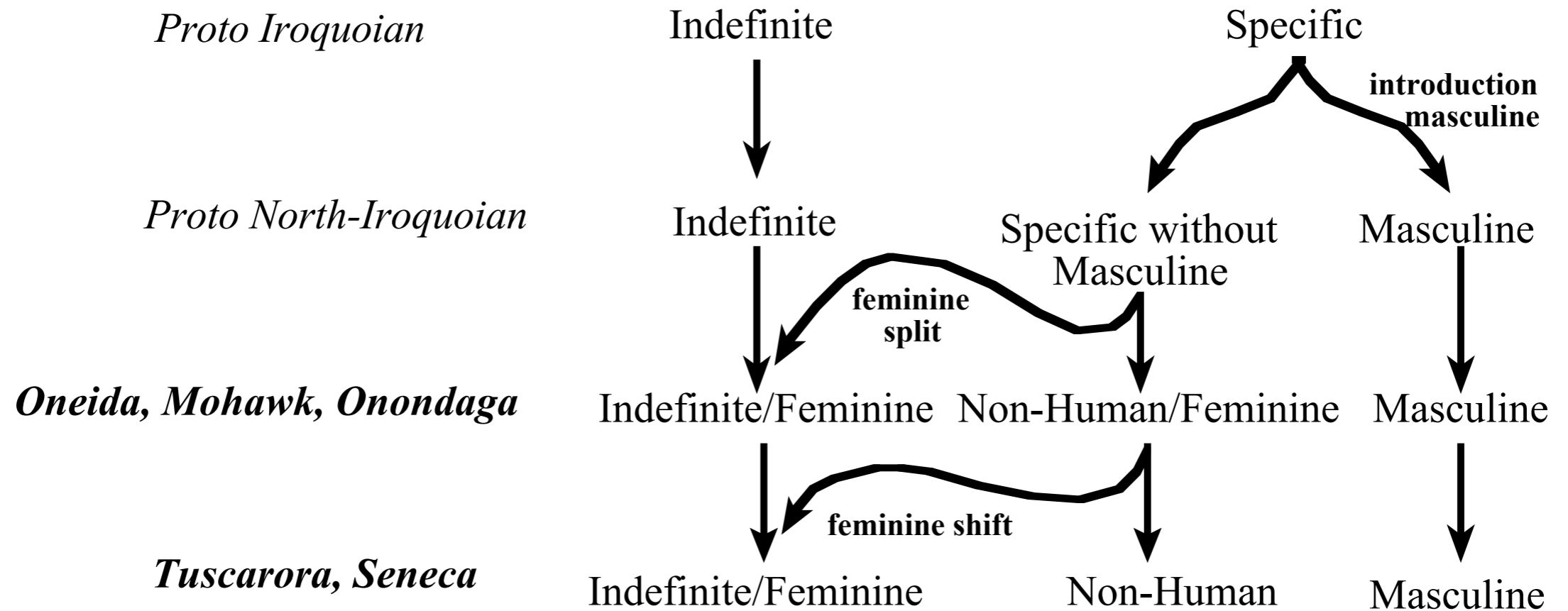
	6. (-h)s <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)se <sup>-x</sup> /*j <sup>-y</sup>		30. (-h)ets <sup>-o,v</sup> /(-h)etse <sup>-x</sup>	42. <sup>h</sup> she <sup>-o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey <sup>-a</sup>		
	7. (-e)sni <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)sn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-e)jy <sup>-a</sup>		31. (-h)etsni <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)etsn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /(-h)etsy <sup>-a</sup>			
	8. (-e)swa <sup>-o</sup> /(-e)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>	2	
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>	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> h <sup>-e</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>		
etsi	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>	51. (-h)(l)uwati <sup>-o</sup> /(-h)uw
	12. kni <sup>-o</sup> /kn <sup>-i,e,o</sup> /ky <sup>-a</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>					

	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]  hɔw/_[a]	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]

# Iroquoian History of Gender



# Iroquoian History of Gender



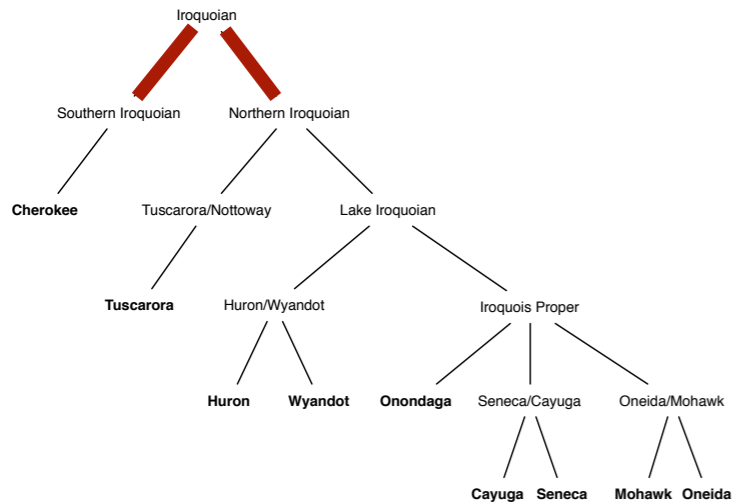
		Patient	
		3rd	∅
Agent	PL	<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE</b>	
	3rd	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅		

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

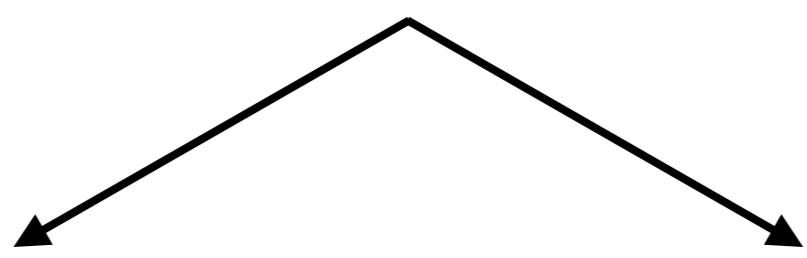
		Indefinite	Patient	
			3rd	∅
Agent	PL	(plur)	<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>	<b>YE</b>	
	3rd	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>
	∅			

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

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



		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>

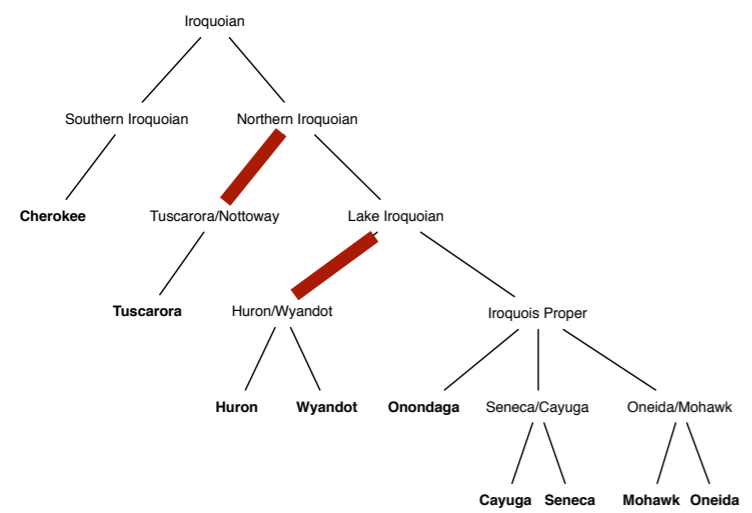


		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL		(plur)		<b>KUWA</b>	(plur)
	Indef	<b>YE+ATAT</b>		<b>YE</b>	
Agent Masc				<b>HR+(K)A</b>	
	Anim ∅	<b>YE+YO</b>	<b>HR+YO</b>	<b>YO</b>	<b>KA</b>

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

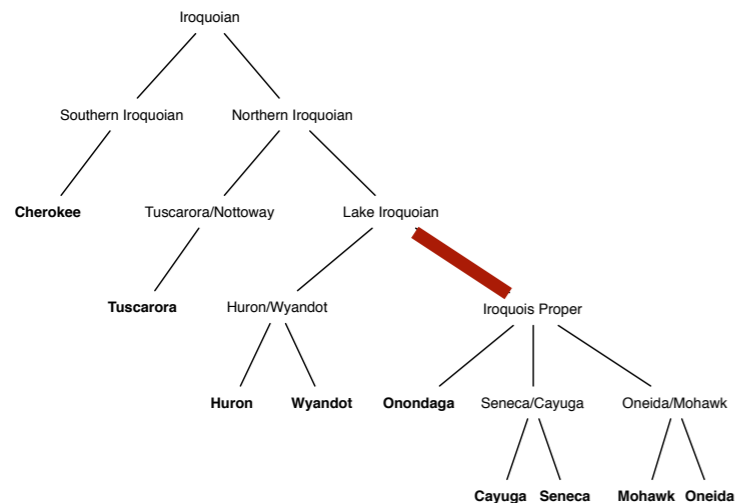
		Patient			
		Indefinite	Masculine	Animate	∅
PL	(plur)			KUWA	(plur)
	Indef	YE+ATAT		YE	
Agent Masc				HR+(K)A	
	Anim ∅	YE+YO	HR+YO	YO	KA

		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

		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

		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



# Hierarchy or Inverse ?

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