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ROUGH DRAFT; PLEASE TELL ME ABOUT ERRORS, TYPOS, IDEAS TO MAKE THINGS CLEARER, ETC.

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Cheyenne Reference Grammar

by

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Chief Dull Knife College
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Dedicated to all the Cheyenne teachers who have patiently taught their language
Introduction

This book is an introduction to the Cheyenne language. It will not teach you to speak Cheyenne. But it can be a tool to help you understand how the Cheyenne language works.

The best way to learn a language is by listening carefully to a good speaker of that language. You must imitate the way they speak. And you must be willing to converse in the language even if you do not know all the words or all of the grammar.

To teach Cheyenne successfully you must try to think of what you yourself like to talk about in Cheyenne. Teach your students how to talk about those things. Teach your students to carry on a conversation in Cheyenne. Think of the things you like to tell people about. These kinds of things are what you should teach to others in your Cheyenne classes.

This book describes the structure (grammar) of Cheyenne. This structure is like the main bones of someone's body. Now, to teach the language, you must put "muscles, organs, meat, skin, hair, and clothes," in other words, natural conversational language, on the grammar "bones." Teach Cheyenne to others the way that you yourself learned to speak Cheyenne. You didn't memorize lists of animals or colors or numbers, did you? So don't teach lists of words. Instead, teach others how to talk in Cheyenne, how to carry on a conversation. Use natural Cheyenne sentences and repeat them often. It is necessary to say words and sentences many times for someone so they can hear them and begin to learn them. And be sure to correct them in a nice way when they don't say the words right. Keep repeating the words for them until they say them right.

Please don't try to teach Cheyenne using this book. Don't try to learn to understand or speak Cheyenne from using this book. This book only describes the Cheyenne language. It does not teach you how to understand or speak Cheyenne. You cannot learn a language from reading a book. A language is taught and learned orally, the way babies learn a language.

In some places in this book there will be technical things which will be useful to some people, but not everyone. If you come across technical language in this book that doesn't mean anything to you, don't be concerned about it. Keep going. Hopefully it won't be too long before the book starts making sense again. If you already speak Cheyenne, try to focus on the Cheyenne examples instead of the technical language.

The descriptions of Cheyenne in this book are based on information given by many Cheyenne people. I have tried my best to write down accurately what people have said. But sometimes something you read in this book might not look right. Be patient! Study the book some more. Maybe there is a mistake in the book. Or maybe the book is right but something about the way it is written is confusing. Please keep a list of mistakes you find in this book and tell me them to me so they can be fixed.

You might be able to think of other ways of saying something, different from what is in the book. That is good. Cheyenne people have different ways of saying things.
Acknowledgements

I have been helped by many people as I have studied the Cheyenne language. Some help has come personally. Some help has come from written materials. Sometimes in this book I will tell where an idea came from. Sometimes I cannot remember. Sometimes the way I describe something about Cheyenne may be a little different from how it was first described by someone else.

I have been especially helped in my study of the Cheyenne language by Danny Alford, Maude Fightingbear, Louise Fisher, Don Frantz, Josephine Glenmore, Ives Goddard, Aline Killsontop, Verda King, Elena Leman, Sarah Murray, Happy Old Crow, Donald Olson, Rodolphe Petter, Dick Littlebear, Leroy Pine Sr., Rich Rhodes, Ted Risingsun, Marie Sanchez, James Shoulderblade, Elaine Strangeowl, and Malcolm Wenger.

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There is no standard agreed upon list of Cheyenne names for the months. Instead, English names for months have been regularly used for many decades. However, some knowledge does remain of months or periods of time close to months. It is very possible that there never was a list of exactly twelve month names. Some information seems to suggest that some of the original month names did not correspond exactly to month divisions found on calendars in use today. More common month (or "moon") names may have originally been names for some of the major seasons and weather changes. It has been said that, traditionally, there were only six Cheyenne names for divisions of the years. There is often interest, however, in trying to construct a list of twelve month names. Cheyenne speakers have suggested various alternatives for month names. Sometimes there is disagreement as to which month is referred to by a term.
Here is one list which is in used on a Cheyenne calendar which has been distributed annually for many years. There has never been any official endorsement of this particular set of names, so Cheyennes should feel free to improve upon this list if improvement is possible at this date in history. 306

Hohtseéše’he, Hoop Moon: January 306
Ma'xéhohtseéše’he, Big Hoop Moon: February 306
Pónoma’a'éhasenéeše’he, Drying Up: March 306
Véhpotseéše’he, Leaf Moon: April 306
Énano’éeše’he, Planting Moon: June 306
Méanéeše’he, Summer Moon: July 306
Oenenéeše’he, Harvest Moon: August 306
Tonóeše’he, Cool Moon: September 306
Sé’énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 306
He'koneneéše’he, Hard Face Moon: November 306
Ma'xéhe'koneneéše’he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 306

Some alternative names are: 306
He'koneneéše’he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 306
Tšéške'hohtseéše’he, Little Hoop Moon: February 306
Pónoma'a'éhasénéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 306
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenéhe) 306
Heše'évenéheése’he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 306
Sétoveméanéeše’he, Midsummer Moon: July 307
Hémotséeše’he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 307
Tonóeveéše’he, Cool Moon: September 307
Sé’eneeše’he, Facing Into Moon: October 307
Se’ma’omeveése’he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October 307
Sétoveánéése’he, Midwinter Moon: December 307

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Abbreviations and symbols

Person abbreviations

1  First person (I, we)
2  Second person (you)
3  Third person singular (he, she, or, animate-it)
1PL  First person plural (exclusive) (we: us but not you)
12  First person plural (inclusive) (we: you and me and maybe others)
2PL  Second person plural (you)
3PL  Third person plural (they)
3'  Obviative (he, she, animate-it, they; 4 was used in previous editions of this book)

I  Inanimate singular ("it")
II Inanimate plural ("they")

Pitch symbols

´  high pitch
¯  mid pitch
ˆ  raised high pitch (not marked in this book)
ˇ, `  lowered high pitch (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist)
      low pitch is unmarked

Other symbols

`.*  Voiceless (whispered)
-  Meaning-separation mark (for example, taa'e-éše'he 'moon', literally 'night-sun')
[ ]  symbols indicating a phonetic transcription
//  symbols indicating a phonemic transcription
*  symbol for ungrammatical; with "PA" it marks a Proto-Algonquian form

Other abbreviations

sing., sg.  singular
pl., p.  plural
obv., ob.  obviative
obv'  further removed obviative
excl., ex.  exclusive (used with first person plural)
incl., in.  inclusive (used with first-person plural)
AI  Animate Intransitive (Intransitive verb with Animate Subject)
II  Inanimate Intransitive (Intransitive verb with Inanimate Subject)
TA  Transitive Animate (Transitive verb with Animate Object)

---

1 Mid pitch was marked with the ¯ (umlaut) symbol or ~ (tilde) symbols in earlier publications when the ¯ (macron) symbol was not available. Please do not use the the ¯ and ~ symbols from earlier books.

2 The raised high pitch was marked with the ´ (circumflex) symbol in earlier editions of this book. It is marked with the regular high pitch park ´ in this edition. We could write 'he ate' with the raised high symbol, émêsehe, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to émésehe in this edition of the book. One reason not to use the ´ symbol is that it was used (when the ´ symbol was not available) to mark voiceless vowels in some earlier publications and we do not want to confuse readers with the use of the ´ symbol for two different purposes.

3 A lowered high pitch was marked with theˇ (caron) or ` (grave) symbols in earlier publications. I included the lowered high pitch in my pitch rules article (Leman 1981), but I now believe I was wrong. Further study has convinced me that there is no lowered high pitch in Cheyenne.

4 Dot above (`) or ring above (`) can be used to mark Cheyenne voiceless vowels. Some linguists use other symbols to indicate voicelessness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>Transitive Inanimate (Transitive verb with Inanimate Object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anim., an.</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inan., in.</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relational (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>preterit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Proto-Algonquian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>for example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>namely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>independent noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc.n</td>
<td>incorporated noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>relative root</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Cheyenne language

Cheyenne is a member of the large Algonquian family of languages spoken in Canada and the United States. Cheyenne is spoken in Oklahoma and southeastern Montana. Following are maps on which communities appear where Cheyenne has been spoken in post-reservation times. The communities are listed with both their English and Cheyenne names.

Northern Cheyenne Country:
http://www.cheyennelanguage.org/maps/Northern%20Cheyenne%20Country.htm

Oklahoma Cheyenne Country:
http://www.cheyennelanguage.org/maps/Oklahoma%20Cheyenne%20Country.htm

Language viability

Cheyenne is an endangered language. In 1979, when the first edition of this book was printed, there were approximately 2,000 speakers of Cheyenne in Montana and Oklahoma. In 2014, as this new edition of the book is being revised, there are approximately 300 speakers of Cheyenne in Montana. They are adults with the average youngest age of approximately 55 years. There are probably fewer than 20 Cheyenne speakers in Oklahoma.

Cheyenne dialects

Cheyennes refer to two dialects, Southern Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma, and Northern Cheyenne spoken in Montana. These two versions of the Cheyenne language only differ lexically, with fewer than 20 words said differently in the two locations. The two dialects do not differ syntactically, morphologically, or in pronunciation. Speakers in both areas understand all the words spoken by those in the other area. The differences make for good-natured teasing between Northern and Southern Cheyennes. See the Cheyenne Dictionary and the later section of this book on Cheyenne dialect differences for words which differ between Southern Cheyennes and Northern Cheyennes.

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

There are a few Cheyenne words which are pronounced slightly differently depending on which family a speaker is a member of. There are also said to be some words which are pronounced differently depending on which district a speaker is from. There are also some idiolectal (individual) speech differences. It is often unclear whether differences in pronunciation of a word are due to district, family, or simply idiolect. Following are some pronunciation differences, regardless of their source. The first pronunciation listed for a word is more common.

---

5 Some other Algonquian languages are Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cree, Fox, Massachusetts, Menominee, Miami, Mikmaq, Ojibwe, and Shawnee.
Old man speech

An older style of speech among some men has been characterized by palatalization, specifically, the pronunciation of "tʃ" instead of "k" before the vowel "e". A few men today still have some of this old man speech. Some examples of old man speech words are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>k pronunciation</th>
<th>old man pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha'ẽ</td>
<td>hóhtšéha'ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkeehe</td>
<td>hóhtšeehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female twin</td>
<td>hestáhkéhá'ẽ</td>
<td>hestáhkéhá'ẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regularly</td>
<td>ohke-</td>
<td>ohtše-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Suhtai dialect

Many years ago Cheyennes were about to fight a band of people called the Suhtaio. But they stopped when they could understand what the Suhtaio were saying. So the Suhtaio and Cheyennes became friends and began to camp together. "When this took place the old Suhtai dialect began to be lost. Though it was still spoken by the old people, the children who were born and reared in the Cheyenne camp naturally spoke the dialect of their fellows, and today few old men or women remain who can recall any of the old Suhtai who spoke that dialect." (Grinnell 1928:9) There are Cheyennes today who claim descent from the Suhtaio.

Cheyennes continue to hope that remnants of the Suhtai language can still be discovered. Some believe that Suhtai words may be retained in the Sacred Hat (Esevone) ceremony which the Suhtaio people brought with them when they united with the Cheyennes.

History of Cheyenne language research

The earliest known records of Cheyenne language come from the work of ___ $$COMPOSE THIS SECTION

---

6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóše- meaning 'again'.
7 Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.
8 Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtaio is mentioned by Mrs. Albert Hoffman in her Cheyenne story, "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice", found in the Texts section near the end of this book. Mrs. Hoffman refers to the Suhtaio as xaevó'èstaneo'o 'Indians' in sentence 3 of the story.
9 Spelled as Issiwun by Grinnell.
Cheyenne sounds

There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>letter</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>as in English &quot;father&quot;</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>as in English &quot;pit&quot;</td>
<td>ehane</td>
<td>our father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>as in English &quot;happy&quot;</td>
<td>hese</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>as in English &quot;skip&quot;</td>
<td>kosa</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>as in English &quot;Uh-oh!&quot;</td>
<td>he'e'o</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>as in English &quot;man&quot;</td>
<td>me'ko</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>as in English &quot;never&quot;</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>as in English &quot;note&quot;</td>
<td>okohke</td>
<td>crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>as in English &quot;spoon&quot;)</td>
<td>poeso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>as in English &quot;say&quot;</td>
<td>semo</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>as in English &quot;shirt&quot;</td>
<td>še'še</td>
<td>duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>as in English &quot;stop&quot;</td>
<td>tosa'e</td>
<td>Where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>as in English &quot;van&quot;</td>
<td>vee'e</td>
<td>dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>as in German &quot;Achtung!&quot;</td>
<td>xao'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheyenne vowels

The Cheyenne vowels a, e, and o sound much as they do in the English words in the preceding chart. Each of the Cheyenne vowels is phonetically lax.

Cheyenne a

The letter "a" is pronounced as a phonetic [ɑ]. Sometimes it is close in pronunciation to the "u" of English "gum", phonetic [ʌ]. This probably explains why Cheyennes sometimes write it with the letter "u", for instance, writing "um" for the word for pemmican (officially spelled ame).

Cheyenne e

The letter "e" usually has the so-called short "i" English sound, written with the phonetic symbol [ɪ] or [i]. But sometimes Cheyenne "e" sounds more like a short "e" as in English "pet". For instance, the verb meaning 'It's good' is officially spelled épêhéva'e. However, it usually sounds more like ipeva'i, phonetically [ípʰévɑʔɪ], with the last vowel whispered.

Cheyenne o

The letter "o" is sometimes pronounced a little more lax than the long "o" sound of English "note". It is almost, but not quite, pronounced as the "oo" sound of English "good", phonetic [ʊ].

Diacritics

Cheyenne vowels can be marked with diacritics to indicate two features: voicelessness and pitch.

---

10 This grammar book uses the Cheyenne alphabet which has been officially adopted by the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council.
Many Cheyenne vowels are whispered (voiceless). Various symbols can be used to indicate voicelessness. In this book the most common symbol for voicelessness is a dot over a vowel: à, è, ô.

Each Cheyenne vowel is pronounced with either a high, raised high, mid, or low pitch. Pitches are level, not falling or rising.

There is no discernible stress (accent) in Cheyenne, other than a barely perceptible increase in stress that seems to occur with high and especially raised high pitches. There is no word stress (accent), as in English.

**Cheyenne h**

Cheyenne h sounds the same as English h. However, Cheyenne h occurs in more sound environments than English h does. So anyone who has learned to speak and/or read English before Cheyenne needs to pay special attention to all the environments where Cheyenne h occurs in order to pronounce Cheyenne words correctly.

English h only occurs at the beginning of syllables, as in the following English words:

- hat
- horse
- heavy
- rehearsal

Cheyenne h also occurs at the beginning of syllables, as in these Cheyenne words:

- hatseške 'ant'
- náháeana 'I'm hungry'

But unlike English h, Cheyenne h also occurs at the end of syllables, as in these Cheyenne words:

- mahpe 'water'
- póhkéso 'kitten'
- évóhko 'it's bent'
- méhne 'water serpent'
- séhpató'öhēō'o 'tepee pin, safety pin'
- hehpeto 'later'

**Cheyenne m and n**

Cheyenne m and n are pronounced the same as English m and n, except when they precede a voiceless vowel. When Cheyenne m and n precede a voiceless vowel, they are also voiceless. It is important to learn to whisper m and n when the Cheyenne language requires them to be whispered:

- émane [ˈi m a ni] 'he drank'
- máhpēva [ˈm a p i f a] 'in the water'
- máhtamáhááhe [ˈm a t a m h aː h ] 'old woman'
Cheyenne s
Cheyenne s is pronounced the same as English s in all environments.

Cheyenne p, t, and k
Cheyenne p, t, and k\footnote{Linguists call p, t, k stops.} are voiceless and unaspirated. They sound like the English letters p, t, and k when they follow the letter "s", as in the English words "spill", "still", and "skill."

Cheyennes usually perceive p, t, and k as sounding like b, d, and g of English words. So it is easier for them to read and write Cheyenne words with b, d, and g. Easier writing is helpful. But the disadvantage of writing Cheyenne with b, d, and g is that in many words these letters can change to sounds which Cheyennes clearly hear as p, t, and k, with no change in meaning.

For instance, we can write the word for 'bear' as it sounds to Cheyennes, as nahgo. That's easy. But then it's harder to recognize that what we have written as nahgo still has the meaning of 'bear' when we add the ending to make the word 'bears', nahkohe'o'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoyo'o). As perceived, the "g" sound of 'bear' changes to a "k" sound even though the meaning of 'bear' remains the same when we add the ending to make the word for 'bears'.

English p, t, and k are aspirated (having a puff of air after them) when they are the first letter of a word, as in "poor", "ten", and "kill". English p, t, and k are unaspirated, without this puff of air, when they are not the first letter of a word, as in "spot", "stick", "skip", and "letter". English b, d, and g are actually different from what is perceived as b, d, and g in Cheyenne in that the English letters are voiced, that is, our vocal cords vibrate when we say them, as in the English words "bird", "dog", and "girl". Our vocal cords never vibrate when we say Cheyenne p, t, and k (which are perceived as b, d, and g).

There are thousands of other examples like this where the meanings of words and parts of words in Cheyenne remain the same even though the sound of p, t, and k changes. Some English letters change in a similar way. For instance, we add the letter "s" in English to make many words plural, such as "cats", "sticks", and "pigs". The plural for "s" in "cats" and "sticks" sounds like "s". But notice that when we add "s" to English "pig" to make the word "pigs" the letter "s" changes to a "z" sound.

Here are some Cheyenne words with unaspirated p, t, and k sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ashes, powder</td>
<td>paa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitten</td>
<td>pohkeso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top</td>
<td>taxeto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the middle</td>
<td>setove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'èškone</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kohkonòhe'o'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheyenne š
The š symbol has the same sound as the two English letters "sh". The š symbol has been used to write Cheyenne for more than 100 years, since the late 1800s when Rodolphe Petter developed an
alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It's fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "š" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "š" represent different sounds in Cheyenne. It's better to use the letters "sh" if those who are reading your writing do not know how to pronounce the symbol "š".

Authors who write books about Cheyennes often like to include some Cheyenne words. You may be asked to help them spell some Cheyenne words for their book. If their book is for a popular (non-technical) audience, spell the Cheyenne words with "sh" instead of "š". For instance, if an author asks you to spell the word for 'snake' for a novel, consider spelling it as shi'shinofots instead of the official spelling še'senovőts.

Do not give a Cheyenne name with the letter "š" to a newspaper for an obituary if the newspaper will substitute the letter "s". Here are some Cheyenne names which have the š sound, with suggestions for simplified newspaper spellings. The "/" symbol indicates another option. And you may be able to think of other spellings when it is necessary to avoid the symbol "š".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>newspaper spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Walking Woman</td>
<td>Ešeaméhe’e</td>
<td>Ishiamhi’i / Ishiamhi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Woman</td>
<td>Ešeeva’e</td>
<td>Ishi’va’i / Ishi’va’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising Sun</td>
<td>Eš’he Ōhme’ehněstse</td>
<td>Ishi’ Ohmi’ihnsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš’he Ōhněshěstse</td>
<td>Ishi’ Ohnishists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heše’eveesehe</td>
<td>Hish’iviisih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškověstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On the Clouds</td>
<td>Ho’eváhtoesěstse</td>
<td>Ho’ivahtoists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho’nehešéeše</td>
<td>Ho’nihishii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamáxevéšeo’o</td>
<td>Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Matšěškome</td>
<td>Machgom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxšěsha’e</td>
<td>Moxshiha’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ōhnešese</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ohnishis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šeheso</td>
<td>Shihiso / Shihis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Woman</td>
<td>Šestoto’a’e</td>
<td>Shistota’i / Shisdoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Creek</td>
<td>Tšěške’eo’he’e</td>
<td>Chki’io’hi’i / Chki’io’hi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: aměške 'grease' (simpler spelling amshk), eš’ehe 'sun' (simpler spelling ishi’), meškeso 'bug' (simpler spelling mishkis), neše 'two' (simpler spelling nish), náčšeméšehe 'I already ate' (simpler spelling naishimisih), and ėověše 'he went to bed' (simpler spelling iowish).

Glottal stop

The glottal stop occurs frequently in Cheyenne words. It is the quick stopping "sound" between the two syllables of the English exclamation, "Uh-oh!" The phonetic symbol for the glottal stop is [ʔ]. The glottal stop is written in this book with the apostrophe (’). The apostrophe is also used to represent the glottal stop in other languages.

12 Some linguists transcribe this sound with the IPA system [ʃ] symbol.
Some pairs of Cheyenne words are different only by the presence or absence of a glottal stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with glottal stop</th>
<th>without glottal stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he'ama 'above'</td>
<td>heama 'on the side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’e’hame 'mares'</td>
<td>heehame 'her husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’estoo:o 'pillow'</td>
<td>maestoo:o 'throat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ešé’šoetse 'he woke up'</td>
<td>ešéšoetse 'it came loose'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have noticed that it is easy to confuse the letters "h" and glottal stop. People may clearly perceive the presence of a glottal stop but they are unsure how to write it (because it is not written in English), so they write it with an "h". Both "h" and glottal stop are pronounced in the back of the mouth. But they are different in that "h" is a breathy sound that continues for a short while. There is no breathy sound in a glottal stop. It is just a quick stopping sound.

Contrast these two words: náhkohe 'bear' and náhko‘e 'Mother!' Notice that there is a quick stopping sound at the end of the word 'Mother!' (used to address your mother). There is no quick stopping sound at the end of the word for 'bear'.

**Cheyenne x**

Cheyenne "x" has the same sound as the German letter "x". It is a voiceless velar fricative, raspier than English "h". "x" is a frequent sound in Cheyenne words, as in: xao’o 'skunk', eovaxe 'he dreamed’, nexe 'twice’, hoxeono 'socks', noxa’e 'Wait!', and voaxaa’e 'bald eagle'.

**Cheyenne v**

Cheyenne "v" is typically pronounced like an English "v" when it comes before or after an "e" vowel. It often sounds like English "w" when it comes before or after an "a" or "o" vowel. Sometimes it sounds more like a labiodental fricative [β], halfway between English "v" and "w". It is still the same sound unit (phoneme), however, whether it is pronounced as [v], [w], or [β]. Some Cheyenne words with "v", along with a phonetic transcription of how the "v" of each word is typically pronounced, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>spelling</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dwelling, tepee</td>
<td>vee’e</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>veťšēške</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for four days</td>
<td>névéē’ešē</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's on the go</td>
<td>ééva’xe</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>vá’vanohēo’o</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo’e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vóaxáa’e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He fell over</td>
<td>éává’o</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dreamed</td>
<td>náovaxe</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's white</td>
<td>évó’komo</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went to bed</td>
<td>éověše</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Pitch marks are not included here to make it easier to focus on the glottal stops.
**Voicelessness**

Our vocal cords vibrate for many sounds. These sounds are called voiced. If you place your fingers on the front of your throat (specifically, on your Adam's apple), you can feel these vibrations. Try to feel the vibrations while pronouncing the English letters b, d, g, m, n, and v and all the vowels in words such as "bear", "dot", "mother", and "never". Now try to feel the same vibrations when pronouncing m, n, and v in the Cheyenne words maahē 'arrow', naa 'and', and vetšēške 'fat'.

When we pronounce sounds but our vocal cords are not vibrating, these sounds are called voiceless. We can make any sounds, or even entire words, voiceless by whispering them. Place your fingers on your Adam's apple and pronounce the word māhpēva 'in the water'. Notice that you feel no vibration until you get to the "e" in this word. When a sound that is normally voiced is whispered we say that it has been devoiced. There is widespread devoicing in Cheyenne.

Devoicing is predictable in Cheyenne. There are rules which Cheyenne speakers automatically follow that cause them to whisper sounds in certain contexts. For instance, one of the rules is that the last syllable of any word will be voiceless if the word is pronounced by itself. You can read more about these Cheyenne devoicing rules in the phonological rules section at the back of this book. Because voicelessness is predictable in Cheyenne, it is not phonemic.

**Voiceless vowels**

Cheyenne is famous for its many whispered (voiceless) vowels. The preferred symbol to indicate that a vowel is whispered is a dot over the vowel: à, è, ő. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: ā, ē, ŏ. It's best not to copy the circumflex symbol from the earlier publications.

Cheyennes often write a word without putting a mark over whispered vowels and can still read it fine. This shows that whisper marks may not be needed by them. We have already mentioned that a dot is put over a Cheyenne vowel if it is whispered. But we don't mark every whispered vowel with a dot. For instance, if you say only one Cheyenne word the last vowel of that word will be whispered. If you say several words before taking a breath, the last vowel before you take a breath will be whispered. These vowels that are whispered, at the end of a word or before you take a breath, are not marked with a dot because it is something that happens automatically.

But whispered vowels in the middle of words are marked with a dot so those who read the words will know which vowels to whisper. Here are some words with whispered vowels:

- māhpēva in the water
- ka'ēškone child
- semonōtse boats
- tāhpeno flute

**Voiceless consonants**

Cheyenne consonants m, n, and v, which are normally voiced, are whispered (voiceless) preceding a voiceless vowel. For instance, the first two letters, a consonant and a vowel, of the word māhpēva 'in the water' are both voiced. However, when the locative suffix –va is added to this word, both the "m" and "a" are devoiced (whispered), māhpēva 'in the water', phonetic [māhpēva]. Notice that the word-final final syllable is also whispered, making the "v" sound like English "f". The "n" is whispered in the first syllable of the word for 'diaper', nēhe'ēhestōtse, because the "e" that
follows it is whispered.

**Singing and voicelessness**
Cheyenne singing often voices syllables which are voiceless in speaking. This demonstrates that voiceless vowels and consonants are psychologically real to Cheyenne speakers.

Compare the spoken and sung versions of the following song:

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as spoken:**
Kásovaahæséstse, nèstooheonane, nèsto'ane, nemehohtanone.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:**
Kásovaahæséstse, nestooheonane, nesto'ane, nemehohtanone.

Notice that the second person possessor prefix ne- is voiceless (whispered) in the spoken version but voiced in the sung version. This voiceless syllable nè- is difficult to hear in the spoken words nèstooheónane **$RECHECK PITCH** 'our (incl) flag' and nèsto'ane 'our (incl) land', but it is clearly heard when sung.

**Pitch marks**
Cheyenne is a pitch language. Every vowel has either a phonemic high or low pitch. High pitch vowels are marked with the acute accent mark: á, é, ó. Low pitch vowels are not marked.

A vowel in the penultimate (next-to-the-last) syllable of a word can have a mid pitch\(^\text{14}\). Mid pitch vowels are marked with a macron like this: ā, ē, ō.

Notice the pitches in these words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he’e</th>
<th>liver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hé’e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóoma</td>
<td>mosquito (or blanket)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoóma</td>
<td>on the other side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoéstôtse</td>
<td>dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoéstôtse</td>
<td>Read it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’ho’e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’hó’e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenése</td>
<td>you who are singers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>those who are singers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cheyenne reading and writing classes I have noticed that Cheyenne speakers do not need to use pitch marks. However, in this book I usually will indicate the pitches so that anyone using this book, whether or not they are a speaker of Cheyenne, can pronounce the pitches correctly. Remember,

\(^{14}\) Mid pitches occur on a penultimate syllable if there is no preceding high pitch and the word-final vowel is phonemically high pitched. This high pitch is no longer heard when the word-final vowel is whispered.
if you are already a Cheyenne speaker, you probably will not need to use pitch marks but it is fine to use them if you find it helpful.

Double vowels

Two identical vowels in a row are pronounced as one long sound, without any interruption between them. Such so-called double vowels are pronounced twice as long as a single vowel is pronounced. However, in Cheyenne, unlike in some other languages (including some Algonquian languages), there are no actual (phonemic) double-length vowels. Compare Cheyenne ho’e 'land' which has just one metrical beat for its one "o" vowel with ēhoo’e 'he’s (here)’ which has two metrical beats for its two "o" vowels. The two "o" vowels of ēhoo’e sound like an "o" pronounced twice as long, but phonologically they are two separate vowels.

Do not confuse Cheyenne double vowel sequences "aa", "ee", and "oo" with English double vowel sequences. For instance, do not pronounce the "oo" sound of Cheyenne ēhoo’e 'he is (here)' the same as you pronounce the letters "oo" in the English word "good". And do not pronounce "ee" of ēnéé’e 'he is standing' the same as the letters "ee" in the English word "meet". Cheyenne double vowel sequences are pronounced twice as long as a single vowel. English double vowel sequences are not. And the English double vowels do not have the same sound as the Cheyenne double vowels. Cheyenne "oo" is phonetically [o:] while English "oo" is phonetically [ʊ]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [ɪː] while English "ee" is phonetically [i].

Complex syllables

A Cheyenne consonant is aspirated when it occurs before a voiceless vowel, followed by "h", followed by a vowel, which is followed by another syllable. This is one of the most difficult things to learn about Cheyenne pronunciation. Two syllables get squeezed together and pronounced as a single syllable. We call this a complex syllable. The second syllable of the two syllables must begin with an "h". This "h" becomes aspiration on the consonant of the first syllable. Linguist Danny Alford wrote an article (1976) about Cheyenne complex syllables.

The required parts of a complex syllable can be written in a formula like this:

\[ C \mathcal{V} h V > C^h V / \_ $ \]

This formula means that a consonant (C) followed by a voiceless vowel (\(\mathcal{V}\)), then h, then another vowel (V) becomes an aspirated consonant followed by a vowel when preceding a syllable (\$_\$). The vowel that follows the newly aspirated consonant is pronounced as a single vowel, that is, a combination of the two initial vowels.

Here are some Cheyenne words with their complex syllables underlined, along with phonetic transcriptions of what the words sound like:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It’s good</td>
<td>épēhéva’e</td>
<td>[ɨ pʰ ɛ v a ʔ i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.)</td>
<td>épēhévéa’o</td>
<td>[ɨ pʰ ɛ vʰ a ʔ o ʔ o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>pāhoešéstotse</td>
<td>[pʰ ɑ: s i t ᵽ o c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tôhôhko</td>
<td>[tʰ o h k ᵽ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>tâh₂ovêšéstse</td>
<td>[tʰ ɑ ʰ ʰ o w t ʰ s c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m tired</td>
<td>nákahaneotse</td>
<td>[n á kʰ a n i ʰ o c]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Aspirated consonants

We said earlier that (regular) Cheyenne p, t, and k are unaspirated. Because they lack the "h" aspiration sound, they are perceived by Cheyennes as sounding like English b, d, and g. In contrast, when Cheyenne p, t, and k are the consonants of a complex syllable, they are aspirated. So Cheyennes perceive p, t, and k of complex syllables as sounding like English p, t, and k, because English p, t, and k at the beginnings of words are aspirated.

Aspirated nasals sound unusual to anyone who has never heard them before. They are pronounced more through your nose. Notice the difference in the letter "m", the first letter of these two words:

shoes mo'kéhanó'tse [m o ? kʰə a ŋ ō c]
Then they are proper éonó'áheo'o [í o n ò á o' o õ]
House máheó'o [mʰ ā ŋ ō õ]
Then néhe'se [nʰ i ŋ ŋ]
I caught it nánáha'ëna [n á nʰ a ŋ n å]
Bears náhóheo'o [n á h kʰ o õ ō]
They are eating éméšeheo'o [í m í sʰ v ō ŋ ō]

They are proper éónó'âheo'o [í o n ŋ ŋ o õ]
House máheó'o [mʰ ā ŋ ō ŋ]
Then néhe'se [nʰ i ŋ ŋ]
I caught it nánáha'ëna [n á nʰ a ŋ n å]
Bears náhóheo'o [n á h kʰ o õ ŋ]
They are eating éméšeheo'o [í m í sʰ v ŋ ŋ]

Even though the stops in these words can be either aspirated or unaspirated, the part of the word (block or morpheme) in which they appear does not change its meaning. Cheyenne -ta'pahe means 'weak' whether or not we add the plural suffix -o'o to it, as we did here. Cheyenne -no'kahe means 'be single' whether or not we add the question suffix -he to it, as we did for the list. And Cheyenne -nétahe means 'be other' whether or not we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

It is a positive thing that by keeping the spelling of the meaning parts (morphemes) the same, we can more easily see that these word parts keep their meaning whenever they are spoken. It is a negative thing that when the stops change from being aspirated to unaspirated, it is more difficult to spell them, when we think of spelling as we have learned the sounds of English letters.

Cheyenne stops are not the only consonants that become aspirated in complex syllables. We see in the list on page 8 (§§CHANGE TO NUMBERED OUTLINE??) that the nasal sounds m and n also become aspirated in complex syllables:

Aspirated nasals sound unusual to anyone who has never heard them before. They are pronounced more through your nose. Notice the difference in the letter "m", the first letter of these two words:
Ma’heo’o\textsuperscript{15} ‘God’
măhēō’o ‘house’

In the first word the "m" sounds like an English "m". But in the second word more of the "m" sound goes through your nose when you say it.

Cheyenne "v" undergoes a similar sound change when it is aspirated in a complex syllable:

énóvahe ‘he is slow’
énóvāheo’o ‘they are slow’

In the first word, énóvahe, the letter "v" sounds like an English "w". In énóvāheo’o the letter "v" has a different sound, halfway between English "v" and "f". Again, it is the aspiration in the complex syllable that causes the change in sound. And, again, the meaning of the part of the word in which sound changes stays the same. The Cheyenne letters –nóvahe mean 'be slow' regardless of whether the letter "v" sounds unaspirated or aspirated.

**Phonemes**

Although there are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only 13 phonemes. The letter "x" is not a phoneme in Cheyenne. Instead, it is derived from other phonemes in the language.

The phoneme /š/ becomes [x] when it precedes /a/ or /o/\textsuperscript{16}:

néš ‘Grandchild! (vocative)’, néxahe 'my grandchild'  
énèšēgévééne 'he washed his (own) face', énèšē'xāhtse 'he gargled'  
énéšo’o 'there are two of them (an.)', énéxánéstse 'there are two of them (inan.)'  
šē'še 'duck', še'xo 'duck' (obviative)

The phoneme /h-/ becomes [x] when it precedes /h/\textsuperscript{17}:

Éhnéméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'  
Néhmetséstse! 'Give it to me!, Néxhéstànōhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

\textsuperscript{15} Ma'heo’o (simplified spelling Maheo) does not literally mean All Father, as claimed by Petter (1915) and repeated by Powell (1969). This meaning is not possible because Ma'heo'o begins with a regular "m" sound. The morpheme meaning 'all' is found in the complex syllable máhe- in which the "m" is aspirated, sounding quite different from the "m" of Ma'heo'o. Furthermore, the Cheyenne noun stem meaning 'father' is –héh. The "he" sequence of Maheo superficially looks like –héh, but lacks the high pitch of 'father' as well as the morpheme-final /h/ of –héh. It appears that Petter erred in his analysis of the meaning of Maheo because of lack of phonetic accuracy in his writing to differentiate the first syllable "ma" of Maheo and the complex syllable of máhe- 'all'. Petter's analysis led to interesting, but false, theological speculations.

\textsuperscript{16} This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

\textsuperscript{17} This phonological rule is called h-Dissimilation.
Cheyenne alphabets

Official alphabet

This grammar book uses the Cheyenne alphabet which has been officially adopted by the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council. This alphabet was developed by linguist Danny Alford and the Title VII Bilingual Education committee with whom he worked in Lame Deer, Montana, in the early 1970s. This alphabet fits the patterns of the Cheyenne language perfectly, both in Oklahoma and Cheyenne. It is only slightly different from the alphabet developed by Rodolphe Petter.

Petter alphabet

Rodolphe Petter was a Mennonite missionary from Switzerland. He started studying the Cheyenne language in Oklahoma in 1891. He became a fluent speaker of the language. In 1916 he moved to Montana to work with Cheyennes there. He died there in 1947.

Petter gained a thorough knowledge of the Cheyenne language. He developed an alphabet for Cheyenne which included the a, e, h, k, m, n, o, p, s, s, t, v, x, and z, as well as some additional letters which he sometimes used. Petter was a native speaker of German. So he naturally used the letter "x" of the German alphabet for the Cheyenne [x] sound which linguists call a voiceless glottal fricative. He also used the letter "z" of the German alphabet which has the same sound as the two letters "ts" in English.

Petter used several diacritics to indicate modifications to sounds. He used the acute accent mark ` over a vowel to indicate that a glottal stop followed that vowel. He used the grave accent mark ` over a vowel to indicate that the sound "h" occurred between that vowel and a following consonant. He used the ring symbol ¨ above a vowel to indicate that it is voiceless (whispered). He indicated that a vowel sound was longer than one vowel length with the macron symbol ¯ above the vowel. But Petter was inconsistent in his use of these diacritical marks over vowels; he often omitted them. Here are some words from Petter's massive dictionary (1126 pages), along with how they are spelled in the official orthography used in this book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>Hàkota</td>
<td>hahkota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>Hetan</td>
<td>hetane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>Hée</td>
<td>he'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>hē'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup</td>
<td>Hōhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>Nāko</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>Māp</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma'heo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>Mhayo</td>
<td>måheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>Eszemae</td>
<td>estsema'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>Mōesz</td>
<td>mo'e'ēstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>Nasz</td>
<td>na'ēstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>Noz</td>
<td>notse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>Veho</td>
<td>ve'ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>Vehoa</td>
<td>ve'ho'a'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>Voe</td>
<td>vo'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
body  mavōxōz  mavoxōtse
Cheyennes  Zezestassō  Tssetsēhēstāhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes  honeōnoz  hone’oonotse
my son  nāha  nae’ha
his son(s)  bēhya  hec’haho
teepee  vē  vee’e
dress  hōstoz  hoestōtse
it’s moist  ehekōva  ehe’koova
he barked  emāe  emaa’e
it’s empty  evēpeha  evehpeha
it’s bad  ehavseva  ehavēseva’e
he’s bad  ehavsevae  ehavēsevahe

**Holliman alphabet**

Another alphabet was developed by Lenora Hart Holliman of Weatherford, Oklahoma. Words spelled with her alphabet are found in a booklet she produced about 1976, titled Ni Zhi Si Ni Ss Zi meaning ‘I talk Cheyenne’. Here are some Holliman spellings compared with the spellings used in this grammar book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>book spellings</th>
<th>Holliman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>no'ka</td>
<td>no ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>nexa</td>
<td>ni khi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>na’ha</td>
<td>na ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>aa’e</td>
<td>ah i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa’eva</td>
<td>dii i vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>hetoeva</td>
<td>hi doi vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my child</td>
<td>naneso</td>
<td>nii niss sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your child</td>
<td>neneso</td>
<td>ni niss sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
<td>na go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bears</td>
<td>nahkōhe'o</td>
<td>na ko yoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>aenoehe</td>
<td>ii noo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawks</td>
<td>aenōhe'o</td>
<td>ii nho yoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>poeso</td>
<td>boi sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma’eno</td>
<td>ma i no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>eše'he</td>
<td>i sshi i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trees</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
<td>ho zi do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>še’senovōtse</td>
<td>sshi no vo zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>mha yoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Phonetic spelling**

Some Cheyennnes like what they call "phonetic spelling"\(^{18}\). This is spelling words as they hear the sounds, based on English letter sounds. Phonetic spelling is often easier to read than the official Cheyenne spelling, at least when we are beginning to read. Sometimes I refer to these phonetic spellings as simplified spellings. The two terms mean the same thing.

But phonetic spelling can miss important patterns of how a language works. If we wrote

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\(^{18}\) This is different from what linguists call phonetic spelling, which uses international phonetic alphabets. The word Cheyennnes call themselves can be spelled like this using international phonetic symbols: [tsits’isthəs] or [cit’isthəs]. The Cheyenne phonetic spelling of Tsitsistas is easier to read, isn't it?
English plural endings with both phonetic "s" and "z", we would miss the important pattern that many English words are made plural with the letter "s", even though the sound of this plural letter "s" changes to a phonetic "z" in many words. (These are words where the letter before the plural "s" is voiced, that is, the vocal cords in our throats vibrate when we say voiced sounds.)

In contrast to phonetic spelling, writing according to the sound patterns of a language can be called "phonemic" writing. The official spelling of Cheyenne is nearly "phonemic". It is used in this grammar book. The official spelling works better than phonetic spelling to help us see the sound and grammar patterns of the Cheyenne language. It's good to have an official alphabet. It can standardize spelling.

Use the official alphabet if it is required. You may be required to use the official alphabet to pass a bilingual teacher's test.

Sometimes it can be helpful to use phonetic spellings instead of official Cheyenne spellings. Often it works better to use phonetic spelling for license plates for your car. It can be better to use phonetic spelling for newspapers or when authors write about Cheyennes in their novels and want to include a few Cheyenne words.

I personally recommend using the phonetic spelling of Tsitsistas for the name the Cheyennes call themselves. This spelling is much easier to read than the official spelling of Tsetsêhéstâhese, or with pitch marks, Tsêséséstâhese. If newspapers or other publishers or signmakers leave off the dots over the vowels of the official spelling and write the name for Cheyennes as Tsetsehestahese, that is very inaccurate. No one would pronounce this very word correctly if it is spelled as Tsetsehestahese. This is one of the most important words for Cheyennes and it needs to be pronounced correctly. By the way, Grinnell's spelling of Tsistsistas (with the extra "s") is inaccurate. Cheyennes do not call themselves Tsistsistas. Instead, in both Oklahoma and Montana they call themselves Tsitsistas. If you have Internet access and can view links in this book, click on this word, Tsistsistas, to hear it.

It is better to write with a phonetic spelling that will be pronounced correctly than to write with the official spelling and have it be pronounced incorrectly. This is especially true if you are writing for people who do not read Cheyenne and people who do not speak it. The official spelling is better for those who want to see the patterns of the Cheyenne language. And it is better for people who have taken the time to learn the official spelling. The official spelling does fit the Cheyenne language better, but sometimes in life it is better to do something that works than to do something which is more accurate but doesn't work.

It's fine to write with phonetic spellings if they work better for you. It's fine to write namshim for 'my grandfather' instead of the official spelling namêšeme. It is better to spell with "sh" instead of "s" if a newspaper or other publisher will not print the "s" letter and, instead, changes it to a regular "s". That would really be inaccurate. In the Cheyenne Dictionary we include phonetic ("simplified") spellings for many words, along with the official spellings.

Here are some phonetic spellings which you may find useful, along with the official spellings and the meanings of the Cheyenne words. (Often more than one phonetic spelling is possible. For instance, you could spell 'pemmican' phonetically either as am or um.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonetic</th>
<th>official</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

51
um (or am) amshk ame amēške pemmican
boysk (or boiso) poeso poeso cat
gashgon ka'ēškone child
gi'iih ke'ehee grandma
Ipiva. Epēheva'e. It's good.
Idonit. Etoneto. It's cold (weather).
Itsisinists. Etsēhesenestse. He (or She) speaks Cheyenne.
Itsisda. Etsēhestahe. He (or She) is a Cheyenne.
hiss hese sinew
hochk ho'tšēške fly
khao xao'o skunk
machk ma'tšēške bow
Maheo. Ma'heo'o God
mhayo máheo'o house
mochk motšēške knife
nahgo nahkohe bear
nahkoyo nahkōhe'o bears
Nahka Nahkōha'e Bear Woman
Nahkos o Nahkōheso Littlebear
nahgo'iih nahko'eehe my mother
namshim namēšeme my grandfather
Natsisdah. Natsēhestahe. I'm Cheyenne.
niho'iih neho'eehe my father
nish neše two
nishgi'iih neške'eehe my grandmother
nits netse eagle
Nidonshif? Netonēševe? What are you doing?
Nidonshivih? Netonēševehe? What is your name?
Nitsistaha? Netsēhestāhehe? Are you Cheyenne?
Niya'ish Nea'eše Thank you
okom o'kohome coyote
oishkis oeškese dog
shi'sh še'se duck
Tsitsistaists Tsetsēhestaestse Cheyenne (person)
Tsitsistas Tsetsēhestāhese Cheyennes
Tsisinistsisistots Tšēhesenéstsestötse Cheyenne language
vich vetšēške fat
waodzif vaotseva deer
Wohihif Vooheheve Morning Star

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19 Vooheheve was the Cheyenne name of Chief Dull Knife.
Cheyenne pitches
Cheyenne is a tone language. Unlike English, Cheyenne does not have stress, also known as accent. Cheyenne is not a pitch-accent language (cf. Frantz 1972).

Phonemic pitch
There are two phonemic pitches (also called tones), low and high. Frantz (1972) correctly observed that Cheyenne high pitch originates from Proto-Algonquian long vowels.

Derived pitches
Pitch rules adjust Cheyenne pitches, creating derived pitches. Following is an introduction to some pitch rules that create derived pitches. Cheyenne pitch rules are described in greater detail in the last section of this book, Phonological rules.

**Mid pitch**
A mid pitch is derived from a low pitch that precedes a word-final phonemic high pitch:

hē'e /he'é/ 'woman'
kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'

**Raised high pitch**
A high is raised slightly when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high. A high is also raised slightly when it is the last of a series of high pitches preceding a low pitch.

šē'se /šē'sé/ 'duck'
émēšehe /émēšehe/ 'he is eating'
émōna'e /émōna'e/ 'it's new'
mônésō'hâeanáme /mônésō'háeanámé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'

**Derived low pitches**
Phonemic high pitches are pronounced as low pitches in certain environments which are described in the phonological rules.

pe'e /pé'e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšēške /móťēhk/ 'knife'
némēhotone /némēhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'

**Impermanent antepenultimate high**
Certain phonemic low pitched vowels are pronounced with high pitch if they are in the antepenultimate syllable of a word. This high pitch is not derived by a phonological pitch rule. This high pitch only occurs in certain singular forms of the words in which these special high pitches occur. This high pitch disappears in other forms of these words. Because of the impermanent nature of these high pitches, I have called them impermanent antepenultimate high pitches, abbreviated as IAH. Impermanent high pitches occur on all parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and particles. Following are Cheyenne words with impermanent antepenultimate high pitches:

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20 The last syllable of a word is called the ultimate syllable. The syllable preceding the last syllable is called the penultimate syllable. The syllable preceding the penultimate syllable is called the antepenultimate syllable.
hóma' e /homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homā' e 'beavers')

$$RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES$$

tšéške' e /tehke' e/ 'a little' (cf. étš'éškó' 'it's little')
éné'ta' e /énta' e/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta' e he 'Is it important?')
hótame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotáme 'dogs')

koohkóva' e /koohkova' e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohková' e 'quails, bobwhites')
hésta'se /hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'se' 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' (cf. nomá' ne 'fish (plural)')

má'omet /ma'omet/ 'ice' (cf. má'oméva 'on the ice')
o'ohe' e /o'he' e/ 'river' (cf. o'hé' e 'at the river', o'hé'estse 'rivers')
má'xeme /ma'xemen/ 'apple, plum' (cf. má'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'xemen'ȯtse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne))

héska'he /hehta'he/ 'umbilical cord'
oónaha' e /oónaha' e/ 'frog' (cf. oóna'he 'frogs')
héla'me /hela'me/ 'blanket/mosquito' (cf. héla'me 'blankets/mosquitos')

hó'me /ho'me/ 'a little' (cf. étšéshkó' 'it's little')
hénta'he /hehta'he/ 'goose' (cf. hená' e 'geese')
héško' e /hehko' e/ 'leech' (cf. héshkó' e 'leeches')

hést /hést/ 'twin' (cf. héstah 'twin')
mó'óhta' e /mo'óhta' e/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá' éne 'turnips')
mó'óna' e /mo'óna' e/ 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)' (cf. mó'óna'ëno 'my aunt')

hotame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotáme 'dogs')

This is an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly used word for has been oeškēse. Since it was displaced by oeškēse, hótame has largely shifted in meaning to something like 'domesticated animal'. It is mostly used in compound nouns today, such as éškēse-hótame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-domesticated animal)'

The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
énó’ka’e /éno’ka’e/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno’ka’he 'Is there one (inan.)?', éno’kahe 'there one (an.)'

At this point we are unable to account for which words receive an antepenultimate high pitch. We can note that if an antepenultimate high occurs on a verb, it only occurs on inanimate intransitive (II) verbs, and only on II verbs with singular subjects and in the indicative mode. Nouns which receive antepenultimate high pitches are old, typically with known Proto-Algonquian source words (etyma).

**Proper name high pitches**

Some proper names are pronounced with an unexpected high pitch on their first vowel. This vowel is pronounced with a low pitch in related forms that are not proper names. Examples with proper name high pitches follow:

Námoséstse 'Lefty' (cf. henamósésto 'on the left side')
Táhpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étáhpéta 'he is big')
Táhpée’e’see ‘Big Nose’
Má’e’e’see ‘Red Nose’ (cf. éma’eëse ‘he has a red nose’)
Pá’e’e’see ‘Lump Nose’ (cf. épa’eëse ‘he has a lump nose’)
Á’ee’see ‘Pug Nose’ (cf. éa’eëse ‘he has a pug nose’)
Mámahke ‘Curly’ (cf. émamáhkā’e ‘he has curly hair’)

**Parts of speech**

Cheyenne has three main parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and particles. In the next section we will examine Cheyenne nouns. A large section in the middle of the book is devoted to Cheyenne verbs. Particles are basically any words other than nouns and verbs. There are subtypes of particles. Some subtypes referred to in this book are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), and location particles. We will examine Cheyenne particles more closely after the large section on verbs. For now, here are a few examples of particles:

tsé’tóhe this, these (animate)
heitóhe this, these (inanimate)
tá’tóhe that, those (animate)
há’tóhe that, those (inanimate)
naa and
máto also
oha but, only
nóxa’e Wait!
nóheto Let’s go!
na’éstse one
neše two
no’ka once
nexa twice
hēva maybe
móhe Really?
Nouns

Cheyenne nouns, like nouns in other languages, refer to people, animals, and many other things. Some Cheyenne nouns are hetane 'man', mo'ehno'ha 'horse', hotohke 'star', Ma'heo'o 'God', amēške 'grease', mahpe 'water', ho'evohkse 'meat', and vétséškévahonoo'o 'frybread'.

Does Cheyenne have pronouns? (put in TOC??)

English has pronouns such as "he", "she", "they", "you", "we", "them", "us", "her", and "their". These are individual words in English. Some Algonquian language have separate (independent) word pronouns similar to these English pronouns. These separate words have special functions, such as emphasis, that communicate more than English pronouns. Unlike these other Algonquian languages, Cheyenne does not have independent pronouns. Cheyenne only has affixes (prefixes and suffixes) on verbs which communicate the same meanings as English pronouns. Cheyenne does have some words that are full verbs which might sometimes we translated almost like English pronouns. They are not actually pronouns. They are listed on pages 125 and 200 in this book. For now, here are some examples:

Nánéehove 'I am the one.'

tséhnéehovëse 'as for him/her'

So, does Cheyenne have pronouns? If we are asking about separate word pronouns, then, no, Cheyenne does not have pronouns. If, however, we are asking about the meanings of pronouns, like the meanings of English pronouns, then, yes, Cheyenne communicates the same meaning as English pronouns through the prefixes and suffixes on Cheyenne verbs.

tse'tohe and he'tohe words

The English word "this" can be used with many English words, for example: this man, this girl, this ball, this stick, this tree, this money, this dog, this airplane, this tomato, this finger, this ring, this car, this tooth, this shirt, this belt, this rope, this rock.

But in Cheyenne there are two words that mean 'this': tse'tohe and he'tohe23. If we say these words with Cheyenne nouns, we quickly discover that something is different from English. If we say tse'tohe with all Cheyenne nouns, Cheyenne speakers will tell us that we are not speaking Cheyenne correctly. And if we try to say he'tohe with all Cheyenne nouns, Cheyenne speakers will tell us the same thing: we are not speaking Cheyenne right.

We soon learn that Cheyenne nouns are separated into two groups. The two Cheyenne words meaning 'this' cannot be said with both groups of nouns. The word tse'tohe can only be said with

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23 These words also mean 'these' if they are said with a group of things. Some people consider these spellings easier: zido and hido. With pitch marks the official spellings are: tsé'tóhe and hé'tóhe.
nouns from one of the groups, and the other word he'tohe can only be said with nouns from the other group. Here are some Cheyenne words from these two groups:

**tse'tohe things:**

- oeškese
- poesonono
- vaotseva
- he'eka'ëškone
- hoohtéstse
- néxo'mevehe
- eše'he
- hotohke
- mo'eško
- hestahpe
- hestsetato
- ho'honaeo'o
- estse'he
- hone'komono
- hohtseme
- heevaho

**he'tohe things:**
Can you figure out why the first group of things goes with tse'tohe and why the second group goes with he'tohe? If you can't, it's all right. You can keep reading the next section of this book to learn the difference between the two groups of Cheyenne things. You will learn about something called animacy, which is a way to talk about which words can be said with tse'tohe and which ones can be said with he'tohe.

**Animacy**

According to Cheyenne grammar, every noun is either animate or inanimate. Biologically, we think that if something is animate it is living, and if something is inanimate it is non-living. But the grammatical categories of animate and inanimate do not line up exactly with what is biologically living or non-living.
In the Cheyenne language, most things we would think of as living, such as people, animals, and trees, are grammatically animate. But even if objects have biological life, not all of them are grammatically animate. In Cheyenne trees are grammatically animate but bushes are inanimate, as is grass.

Some objects that are not biologically alive are grammatically animate, perhaps because of some spiritual function they have had, such as the sun, moon, stars, and rocks.

Some articles of clothing are animate but others are inanimate. Articles of clothing made from fibers are animate, such as dresses, shirts, scarves, pants, socks, and gloves. Other clothing is inanimate, such as shoes, hats, and belts.

Some body parts are animate but others are inanimate. Kidneys are animate but the liver and lungs are not. The brain is animate but the head is not. Fingers are animate but arms are not. Breasts are animate but nipples and a vagina are not. Testicles are animate but a penis is not.

Fruit is animate. But apples are inanimate in Oklahoma while they are animate in Montana. Names of berries have the same word root as names of fruit, yet berries are inanimate in both Oklahoma and Montana.

There probably were some cultural or spiritual reasons in the past why Cheyenne nouns were assigned to either the animate or inanimate categories. But today we do not know what all those reasons were. So we simply must recognize that Cheyenne nouns are assigned to either the animate or inanimate category on the basis of Cheyenne grammar. Linguists call such grammatical animacy a kind of grammatical gender.

Here are lists of some animate and inanimate nouns:

**Animate nouns**

- vo’estane: person
- hē’e: woman
- hetane: man
- ka’eškóne: child
- póéso: cat
- vāótséva: deer
- vē’késo: bird
- netse: eagle
- vôhkóóhe: rabbit
- ma’heono: sacred powers
- méstaéo’o: spooks
- hoohtséstse: tree
- maxe: log
- méséhéóstse: potatoes
- henene: tomato
- éše’he: sun
- taa’e-éše’he: moon
- hotohke: star
- ho’honáeo’o: rocks
- hestahpe: brain
hestsétato  kidneys
mo'ěškono  fingers
héta'e  gland
heévaho  rope
éstse'he  shirt, coat
hóoma  blanket, mosquito
hoestoto  dresses
héva'kéhestótse  scarf
néhe'hestótse  diaper
tseene'éheono  combs
hone'kómo  button
mata  peyote
hóhtséme  ball
ma'xemenö  apples (but inanimate ma'xemenö in Oklahoma)
móxe'entséstótse  picture

**Inanimate nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpe</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'évohkótse</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méséhestótse</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xemenö</td>
<td>apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemenö in Montana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanémenö'e</td>
<td>juneberry bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ě'ěstse</td>
<td>hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heséóvó'e</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestáto</td>
<td>belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káhamaxe</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évo'sésēo'ō</td>
<td>toy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ěškonótse</td>
<td>rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'ko</td>
<td>head, hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ěxánéstse</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maāhe</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'e</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'po</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'ěsta</td>
<td>fire, stove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motšëške</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'ta'öhō'o</td>
<td>key</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some languages classify their nouns according to feminine and masculine, and sometimes neuter, genders. Some language classify their nouns according to whether they are human or non-human. Other languages classify their nouns according to their shapes. Other languages classify their nouns according to whether or not they are grammatically animate or inanimate. Cheyenne is one of these languages. Linguists consider animate and inanimate to be classes of grammatical gender.

Animacy is pervasive throughout Cheyenne grammar. It determines the gender class of every Cheyenne noun. Animacy is marked on verbs and on other parts of speech such as demonstratives ('this' and 'that'). Learning how to correctly say the animate or inanimate parts of Cheyenne grammar is one of the most important parts of becoming a Cheyenne speaker.
**Plurals**

Cheyenne adds a plural suffix to nouns if they refer to more than one thing. Notice the difference between the singular and plural nouns in the following lists:

### Animate plural nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hâtseške</td>
<td>hâšëškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mó'ëševôtse</td>
<td>mó'ëševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkohe'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hâhnomoa</td>
<td>hâhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'këse</td>
<td>vé'këseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póëso</td>
<td>póësono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ëškkóne</td>
<td>ka'ëškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexovo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseeene'éheo'o</td>
<td>tseeene'éheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškéseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost²⁴</td>
<td>seo'ôtse</td>
<td>séoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hoestôtse</td>
<td>hoestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>mééno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>mo'ëško</td>
<td>mo'ëškono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>hése'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>méhne</td>
<td>méhne'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pé'eo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipe</td>
<td>he'ohko</td>
<td>he'óhkonó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcupine</td>
<td>heškovéstse</td>
<td>heškóveto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkóóhe</td>
<td>vóhkooheho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
<td>éstse'h</td>
<td>éstse'heno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomato</td>
<td>henene</td>
<td>heneno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>hóva</td>
<td>hovahne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokóhéáxa</td>
<td>kokóhéaxáne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>váotseváhne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kósa</td>
<td>kósáne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>mešé</td>
<td>méšéne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'ëno</td>
<td>ma'ënóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xâó'o</td>
<td>xaóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>ma'háhk'o'e</td>
<td>ma'hakhk'o'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>homá'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>héna'e</td>
<td>hená'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white man</td>
<td>vé'ho'e</td>
<td>vé'hó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ëhno'ha</td>
<td>mo'ëhno'háme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cougar</td>
<td>nanóse'hame</td>
<td>nanóse'háme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate plural nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

²⁴ The word seo'ôtse refers to the spirit of a dead person.
How many plural suffixes are there?

When we first examine Cheyenne nouns, it looks like there is a bewilderingly large number of ways to mark them as plural. Changing a noun from singular to plural appears to require the following suffixes: -otse, -nótse, -ehtse, and -néstse.

It looks like there are even more plural suffixes for animate nouns, including -ho, -no, -o'o, -ne, and -hne. We can see from mo'éhno'ha 'horse' and mo'éhno'hāme 'horses' that some spelling changes are required to make some plurals. And there are pitch changes that make some nouns plural, as with hóma'e 'badger' and homā'e 'badger'.

It looks like a difficult job to learn how to make Cheyenne noun plurals from singulars, doesn't it? But the job becomes less confusing if we do it in a different way. Instead of starting with singular nouns and adding to them to make plurals, let's start with plurals and derive singulars from them. If we do this, we can reduce the number of Cheyenne plural suffixes to two for animate nouns and two for inanimate nouns.

The two animate pluralizers are -o and -é. The two inanimate pluralizers are -ot and -ét. (Because of a phonological rule of Cheyenne, these last two will actually be pronounced as -otse and -ehtse.) If we create an "abstract" spelling for a noun "stem" we can get by with just these four pluralizers. The abstract spelling is either the same as the singular spelling or else halfway between the singular and plural spellings. The abstract spellings can be supported on technical grounds, especially from how the noun stems are spelled in some other words such as equative verbs. We will not discuss the technical issues further now, but it is enough to point out that there are good reasons from a study of the patterns (morphology) of Cheyenne to believe the abstract noun stems allow us to view pluralization of Cheyenne nouns as being simpler than it at first appears. Let's see how this works in

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25 And when we study the phonological history of Cheyenne within the Algonquian language family, we see that these four pluralizers actually descend from just one animate Proto-Algonquian pluralizer, *-aki, and one inanimate pluralizer, *-ali.
the following lists with abstract noun stem spellings. The column for the abstract stem spellings is simply labeled "stem" in these lists, to save space, but there is enough evidence to consider the abstract stem spellings as the actual spellings of the stems. So we will refer to these abstract spellings as stem spellings from now on.

Animate noun stems

**Plurals ending in -o**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>háťšeške</td>
<td>háťšeškeh</td>
<td>háťšeškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’eševótse</td>
<td>mé’eševot26</td>
<td>mé’eševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>móneške</td>
<td>móneške</td>
<td>móneškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkóheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnomá</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
<td>háhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kése</td>
<td>vé'keséh</td>
<td>vé'késeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póešo</td>
<td>póesón</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'eskóne</td>
<td>ka'eskóneh</td>
<td>ka'eskóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene'éhe'o'o</td>
<td>tseene'éheon</td>
<td>tseene'éheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé še</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méen</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>yöhkóóhe</td>
<td>yöhkoohé</td>
<td>yöhkooheho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plurals ending in -e**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>höva</td>
<td>hováhn</td>
<td>hováhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokóhéáxa</td>
<td>kokóhéaxán</td>
<td>kokóhéaxáne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kósa</td>
<td>kosán</td>
<td>kosáne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xao'o</td>
<td>xaón</td>
<td>xaóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>meše</td>
<td>méšen</td>
<td>méšene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'ëno</td>
<td>ma'enón</td>
<td>ma'enóne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate noun stems

**Plurals ending in -ötse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>ma'ahtse</td>
<td>ma'ahtsen</td>
<td>ma'ahtsenötse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hohköxe</td>
<td>hóhkoxeh</td>
<td>hóhkoxehötse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'kon</td>
<td>he'konötse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'keha</td>
<td>mo'kahan</td>
<td>mo'kahanötse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plurals ending in -éstse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestáto</td>
<td>hoestátón</td>
<td>hoestátónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>ma'kaata</td>
<td>ma'kaatan</td>
<td>ma'kaatánéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>höhkéha'e</td>
<td>höhkéha'</td>
<td>höhkéhá'estse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Whisper marks are omitted in the abstract Cheyenne spellings since voicelessness predictably. Cheyenne devoicing (whispering) occurs predictably by phonological rules listed at the end of this book (Leman and Rhodes 1978). Pitch changes which are seen in these lists also occur according to phonological rules (Leman 1981).
Deriving singulars and plurals from noun stems

Singular and plural nouns can be derived from noun stems. Let’s look at a few examples to see how this is done.

Deriving animate singulars and plurals

The stem for 'bird' is vé’keséh. If we add the pluralizer -o to this stem, we get the proper pronunciation for the plural, vé’késeho 'birds'. If we subtract -h from the end of the stem, we get the pronunciation for the singular vé’kése.\(^{27}\)

Including the -h at the end of the stem for 'bird' is not simply an ad hoc solution to derive the singular and plural pronunciations easily. There is additional support from Cheyenne grammar for the spellings of the noun stems.\(^{28}\) The presence of the stem-final -h for 'bird' is found in so-called equative verbs. In the story of The Bat (included in the texts section of this book), a bat is told, "Névé'késéheve," meaning 'You are a bird.' In this verb the pronominal prefix is né- 'you' and the equative suffix is -éve meaning 'be'. The remaining part of this verb is the noun stem we have listed for 'bird', vé’kesé-. Equative verbs support the spelling of other animate and inanimate noun stems also.

If we add the -o pluralizer to póesón, the stem for 'cat', we get póesono, the correct plural pronunciation. If we subtract the letter -n from the stem we get the correct pronunciation for the singular, póéso 'cat'.

The stem spelling of šé'šé for 'duck' is the same as its singular spelling šé'še, except for the stem-final high pitch. (The stem-final high pitch cannot be heard when the word is pronounced since the last vowel of a word is whispered and pitch cannot be heard on a whispered vowel.). If we add the pluralizer -o to the stem we get šé’séo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šé’séo'o.\(^{29}\)

Vowel-stretching

Why are the two extra letters '-o added to the -o pluralizer of šé’séo’o? There is a restriction in Cheyenne phonology that does not allow a word to end with two or more vowels. Instead, if a stem ends in two or more vowels, something we call vowel-stretching occurs, stretching out one of the two last vowels of a stem and inserting a glottal stop. This creates a kind of echo sound at the end of a word. Algonquianist Ives Goddard first discovered and described Cheyenne vowel-stretching (1978:79, fn. 14). See the Vowel-Stretching section of the phonological rules later in this book for further explanation of this important phonological process.

Deriving inanimate singulars and plurals

We have stated that there are two pluralizers for inanimate nouns, -ót and -ét. But inanimate noun plurals actually end with "phonetic" spellings -óťse and -ěstse, as seen in the preceding list. (The two letters -se are added to these pluralizers by phonological rules described at the end of this book.

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\(^{27}\) Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé’késo.

\(^{28}\) Historical and comparative evidence from Proto-Algonquian and other Algonquian languages should also support Cheyenne noun stem spellings.

\(^{29}\) A High Push-Over rule lowers the second high pitch. This rule is described in the Phonological rules section of this book.

\(^{30}\) Because of this important observation by Goddard, I called this process Goddard’s Law in my early publications. Later I used the descriptive term, vowel-stretching.

\(^{31}\) The rule of e-Epenthesis adds "e" to the end of any word that ends in a consonant, such as /t/ of the inanimate
An "s" is inserted between the /é/ and /t/ of the /-ét/ pluralizer by another phonological rule.)

If we add the first inanimate pluralizer, -ótse, to the stem for 'ax', hóhkoxeh, we get the spelling hóhkoxehótse. The second "o" is devoiced to ó by a phonological rule, giving us the actual pronunciation spelling of the plural, hóhkoxehótse. If we subtract -h from the hóhkoxeh stem, we get the spelling, hóhkoxe. The the second "o" is again devoiced to ó by phonological rule. Finally, the high pitched first ó is lowered, resulting in the actual pronunciation spelling of the singular hóhkóxe.

If we add -ótse to the stem for 'shoe', we get the plural spelling mo'kéhanótse. A phonological rule causes the first /e/ to devoice, giving us the actual plural spelling, mo'kéhanótse. Interestingly, this "n" must have been pronounced in the singular word in the early 1900s, since Petter wrote the singular in his dictionary (1915:714, 963) as "mocan". That "n" is no longer pronounced in the singular but it is still heard in the equative verb émo'kéhanéve 'it is a shoe'.

If we add the other inanimate pluralizer to the stem for 'belt', hoestátón, we get the correct spelling for the plural, hoestátónéstse. When we subtract the -n from the stem, we get the proper spelling for the singular, hoestáto 'belt'.

32 Dropping of word-final sounds (called apocope) has been part of historical phonological changes in Cheyenne and other Algonquian languages for a long time.
33 Phonemic /-ét/, with a pronunciation spelling of –éstse.
**CHECK TO SEE IF THIS INFO IS ADEQUATELY INCLUDED IN WHAT PRECEDES THIS:**

**ANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -o**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>nőtse</td>
<td>nőtseo?o</td>
<td>nőte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien (female)</td>
<td>nőtá?a</td>
<td>nőtá?ec?o</td>
<td>nőtá?é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátkíšēka</td>
<td>hátkíšēkheo</td>
<td>hátehknó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>voʔkaee?a</td>
<td>voʔkaeh</td>
<td>voʔkaeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>maʔxemō</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>méʔʔeʔevoʔte</td>
<td>méʔʔeʔevoʔto</td>
<td>méʔʔeʔevot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>hóhtséme</td>
<td>hóhtsemóno</td>
<td>hóhtamón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandit</td>
<td>šéʔenováhe</td>
<td>šéʔenováheo?o</td>
<td>šéʔenováhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>móneʔka</td>
<td>móneʔkheo?o</td>
<td>móneʔkhó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beer</td>
<td>nákhōkohe</td>
<td>nákhōkoheo?o</td>
<td>nákhōkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnomá</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beetle</td>
<td>hámęško</td>
<td>hámęškonō</td>
<td>hámęškonó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>věʔkísō</td>
<td>věʔkísōho</td>
<td>věʔkísáh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>hoʔma</td>
<td>hoʔmaho</td>
<td>hoʔmah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bride</td>
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PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é in pluralizer

Nouns which drop -n word-internally in certain forms:

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Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

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<td>māhōkēko</td>
<td>māhōkōkōne</td>
<td>mahōkōkon</td>
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<tr>
<td>salamander</td>
<td>hēo?ōhtātō</td>
<td>hēo?ōhtātōnē</td>
<td>hēo?ōhtātōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xōō?ō</td>
<td>xōōnē</td>
<td>xōōn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nouns with pitch change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>ma?hāhanōke</td>
<td>ma?hāhanōkō</td>
<td>ma?hāhko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hōma?ē</td>
<td>homē?ē</td>
<td>homē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedbug</td>
<td>hexōva?ē</td>
<td>hexōvē?ē</td>
<td>hexōvē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hōtame</td>
<td>hotāme</td>
<td>hotam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nōma?he</td>
<td>nomē?he</td>
<td>nomēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oōnāha?ē</td>
<td>oōnāhē?ē</td>
<td>oōnahē</td>
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<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>hēnā?ē</td>
<td>hanē?ē</td>
<td>hanē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>ēstēmea?ē</td>
<td>ēstēmea?ē</td>
<td>ēstēma</td>
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<tr>
<td>leech</td>
<td>hēško?ē</td>
<td>heško?ē</td>
<td>heško</td>
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</table>

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo?ēhē&quot;no?ha</td>
<td>mo?ēhē&quot;no?hāme</td>
<td>mo?ēhē&quot;no?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male horse</td>
<td>hētanē?hāme</td>
<td>hētanē?hāme</td>
<td>hētanē?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>nēnōšē?hāme</td>
<td>nēnōšē?hāme</td>
<td>nēnōšē?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>underlying stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>améʔháhtótse</td>
<td>améʔháhtotótse</td>
<td>améʔháhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answer</td>
<td>noʔéstáhtótse</td>
<td>noʔéstáhtotótse</td>
<td>noʔéstáhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple (So. Ch)</td>
<td>maʔxeme</td>
<td>maʔxemenótse</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>maʔahtse</td>
<td>maʔáhtsenótse</td>
<td>maʔáhtten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>matseno</td>
<td>matsenonótse</td>
<td>matenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>maʔhne</td>
<td>maʔhótse</td>
<td>maah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>hokhóxe</td>
<td>hokhóxhótse</td>
<td>hokhóxvén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>maʔpeʔo</td>
<td>maʔpeʔonótse</td>
<td>maʔpeʔon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>méʔhahtse</td>
<td>méʔhahtsenótse</td>
<td>méʔhahten</td>
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<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>šešéséstótse</td>
<td>šešéséstotótse</td>
<td>šešéséhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berry</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>mënótse</td>
<td>mën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boar</td>
<td>sémo</td>
<td>sémonótse</td>
<td>sémén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>heʔko</td>
<td>heʔkonotse</td>
<td>heʔkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>maʔtšéške</td>
<td>maʔtšéškenótse</td>
<td>maʔtšékenah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch (tree)</td>
<td>hestaaʔe</td>
<td>hestaʔntse</td>
<td>hestaʔnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkonóneñoʔo</td>
<td>kóhkonóneñoňótse</td>
<td>kóhkonóheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breech-cloth</td>
<td>hóxaso</td>
<td>hóxasonótse</td>
<td>hóxason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>máxhíchaoʔo</td>
<td>máxhíchaoňótse</td>
<td>máxhíchaoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broom</td>
<td>mëʔšéško</td>
<td>mëʔšéškonótse</td>
<td>mëʔšéškon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buckskin</td>
<td>mëʔšéško</td>
<td>mëʔšéškonótse</td>
<td>mëʔšéškonon</td>
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<td>dish</td>
<td>hétÓko</td>
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<td>dish</td>
<td>hétuʔo</td>
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<td>door</td>
<td>heʔnéťooʔo</td>
<td>heʔnéťoonótse</td>
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<td>ear</td>
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<td>hósošésesótse</td>
<td>hósošes</td>
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<td>máhtséʔoonótse</td>
<td>máhtéʔoon</td>
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<tr>
<td>flute</td>
<td>tâhpeno</td>
<td>tâhpenonótse</td>
<td>tâhpenon</td>
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<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tâhchko</td>
<td>tâhchkonótse</td>
<td>tâhchkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair/bed</td>
<td>mëʔko</td>
<td>mëʔkonótse</td>
<td>mëʔkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hesta</td>
<td>hesthótse</td>
<td>hestáh</td>
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<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheńótse</td>
<td>máheńótse</td>
<td>máheńón</td>
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<tr>
<td>shed</td>
<td>máheńótse</td>
<td>máheńótse</td>
<td>máheńón</td>
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<td>mëʔtšéške</td>
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<td>heʔpo</td>
<td>heʔpónótse</td>
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<td>cigarette</td>
<td>heʔpótótse</td>
<td>heʔpótotótse</td>
<td>heʔpótot</td>
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<td>hoʔévohkoťse</td>
<td>hoʔévohkoťótse</td>
<td>hoʔévohkot</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hoʔévooťotse</td>
<td>hoʔévooťótse</td>
<td>hoʔévooť</td>
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<tr>
<td>dry meat</td>
<td>honóvóhko</td>
<td>honóvóhoňótse</td>
<td>honóvokó</td>
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<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>véheńotse</td>
<td>véheńotótse</td>
<td>véheńot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>heʔtótse</td>
<td>heʔtótóte</td>
<td>heʔtót</td>
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<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>maʔavo</td>
<td>maʔavotótse</td>
<td>maʔavot</td>
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<td>maʔavonótse</td>
<td>maʔavon</td>
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<td>kaʔámëšotse</td>
<td>kaʔámëšotótse</td>
<td>kaʔámëšhtó</td>
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<td>moʔaškonótse</td>
<td>moʔaškonon</td>
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<tr>
<td>road</td>
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<td>móʔonótse</td>
<td>móôn</td>
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<td>roast</td>
<td>honóoʔo</td>
<td>honóonótse</td>
<td>honóon</td>
</tr>
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<td>shoe</td>
<td>mëʔkêhah</td>
<td>mëʔkêhenótse</td>
<td>mëʔkêhahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>áæʔe</td>
<td>aënótse</td>
<td>aën</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -êt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>hohkoxe</td>
<td>hohkoxêstse</td>
<td>hohkox(êh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onéhavo?ke</td>
<td>onéhavo?késtse</td>
<td>onéhavo(êk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestâtô</td>
<td>hoestâtônêstse</td>
<td>hoestâtôn(êh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ma?têšêke</td>
<td>ma?têšêkéstse</td>
<td>ma?têhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma?tanô</td>
<td>ma?tanônêstse</td>
<td>ma?tanôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch (tree)</td>
<td>hestaa?e</td>
<td>hestaaêstse</td>
<td>hestaa(ên)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo?e</td>
<td>vo?êtse</td>
<td>vo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>ma?kæta</td>
<td>ma?kætânêstse</td>
<td>ma?kætân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw corn</td>
<td>hoköhtse</td>
<td>hoköhtsêstse</td>
<td>hoköht</td>
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<td>corral</td>
<td>méné?o?e</td>
<td>méné?o?êtse</td>
<td>méné?o?</td>
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<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>éshe</td>
<td>ésheêstse</td>
<td>éshe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma?êxa</td>
<td>ma?êxânêstse</td>
<td>ma?êxân</td>
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<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ho?êsta</td>
<td>ho?êstânêstse</td>
<td>ho?êhtân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishhook</td>
<td>nonônö?e</td>
<td>nonônö?êtse</td>
<td>nonônöé</td>
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<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hókhêha?e</td>
<td>hókhêha?êtse</td>
<td>hókhêha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>mo?e?e</td>
<td>mo?e?êtse</td>
<td>mo?e?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>ne?hanêne</td>
<td>ne?hanênestse</td>
<td>ne?hanên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>ho?e</td>
<td>ho?êtse</td>
<td>ho?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?e</td>
<td>hê?êtse</td>
<td>hê?(êh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?e</td>
<td>hê?êstse</td>
<td>hê?ênt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>hesêec?ôtse</td>
<td>hesêecôtstse</td>
<td>hesêecot</td>
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<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?êtse</td>
<td>taa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?êtônêstse</td>
<td>taa?ên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hê?pe</td>
<td>hê?pêstse</td>
<td>hê?p(êh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>ô?he?e</td>
<td>ô?he?êtse</td>
<td>ô?he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>vôhtânêne</td>
<td>vôhtônêstse</td>
<td>vôhtân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?têa?e</td>
<td>ma?têa?êtse</td>
<td>ma?têa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>ââ?e</td>
<td>ââ?êtse</td>
<td>âe(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Some problems are apparent with the underlying stems listed on this and preceding pages. Those given here, however, are a good start toward understanding how the basic pluralization strategies are carried out.)
Obviatives

In Algonquian languages, including Cheyenne, only one third person (he or she or they) can be in the spotlight (in focus) at a time. Any other third persons, including nouns which refer to them, must be out of focus. Linguists who study Algonquian languages call the out-of-focus persons obviatives. The obviated form of a noun marks it as being out of focus. In this section we examine obviated nouns. In the next section we will examine obviation on animate nouns possessed by a third person. Later, we will examine verb suffixes which refer to obviated third persons.

Many obviated nouns are identical to the plurals of those nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesono</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškōne</td>
<td>ka'ěškōneh</td>
<td>ka'ěškōneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hoohtsěstse</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>sé'šenovōtse</td>
<td>šé'šenovoto</td>
<td>šé'šenovoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>hāhkota</td>
<td>hāhkotahoh</td>
<td>hāhkotahoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>ma’heō’o</td>
<td>ma’heono</td>
<td>ma’heono34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>má’xeme</td>
<td>ma’xemen35</td>
<td>ma’xemen35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>nāhtona</td>
<td>nāhtónahoh</td>
<td>nāhtónahoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótšēva</td>
<td>váótsevahnh</td>
<td>váótsevahnh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xāō’o</td>
<td>xaōne</td>
<td>xaōne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For some nouns, the plural and obviative forms are different:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hē’e</td>
<td>he’eo’o</td>
<td>he’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé’še</td>
<td>šé’šeo’o</td>
<td>šé’xo36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ėš’ehe</td>
<td>ėš’heo’o</td>
<td>ėš’hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāhkoke</td>
<td>nāhkōheo’o</td>
<td>nāhkōhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho’honáá’è</td>
<td>ho’honáe’o</td>
<td>ho’honaa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé’ho’a’è</td>
<td>vé’ho’há’eo’o</td>
<td>vé’ho’a’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that the plural and obviative forms are identical if the underlying (abstract) noun stem ends in -h, -n, or –t. If the underlying noun stem ends in a vowel, this vowel changes to –o in the obviative. In some cases an additional –ho is added.

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

Hetane évóomóho še’xo. The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
Éonóomaevóho henésonnéhvo’ho. Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškēso ématómóho xaóné. The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).

---

34 Or ma’heōneva
35 This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma’xemenōtse.
36 An alternate pronunciation is šé’xóho.
Oeškéseho ématómovo xáone. The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Émehótóho³³ náhtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'ëskóne évéstáhmóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstáhémáá'e. Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

**Possessives**

Possessives are nouns which refer to things which belong to one or more people. Cheyenne indicates possession with prefixes on nouns, as shown with the noun mähēō'o 'house':

namähēō'o 'my house'
nemähēō'o 'your house'
hemähēō'o 'his/her house'

The prefixes indicating possession are:

na- 'first person'
ne- 'second person'
he- 'third person'

We will study verbs in the next section of this book, but for now notice that the possessor prefixes are low pitched while the person prefixes on verbs are high pitched:

Ná-mésehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.')</n
Né-mésehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate.')</n
É-mésehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate.')

**Possessee pluralization**

Possessed nouns take the same plural suffixes that unpossessed nouns do:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unpossessed</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sémo 'boat'</td>
<td>hesémo 'his boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sémonôtse 'boats'</td>
<td>hesémonôtse 'his boats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'keha 'shoe'</td>
<td>namo'keha 'my shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kêhanôtse 'shoes'</td>
<td>namo'kêhanôtse 'my shoes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Possessor pluralization**

If a possessor is plural, this is indicated by suffixes on the possessed nouns, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namähēō'o 'my house'</td>
<td>namähēonáne 'our (excl) house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e 'your tepee'</td>
<td>neveēnēvé 'your (pl) tepee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'e 'his land'</td>
<td>hestō'êstse 'their lands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenėso 'your child'</td>
<td>nenēsōnéhēvo 'your (pl) child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

37 Or Émēhoto.
38 The high pitches on verb prefixes become low pitches when the future tense is used. Cf. námésehe 'I'm eating (or 'I ate') with náhtsemésehe 'I will eat.'
In English, without other clues, we cannot tell whether or not the word "our" includes the person someone is speaking to. In Cheyenne there is no such ambiguity. If Cheyennes say 'our' which includes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' inclusive pronominal affixes. If Cheyennes say 'our' that excludes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' exclusive pronominal affixes. So, nemáheónâne means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And namáheónâne means 'our house' (which excludes you as owner). Some other inclusive and exclusive first person possessors (corresponding to English 'our') are:

**inclusive 'our'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee</th>
<th>navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'héstóname 'our (incl) car'</td>
<td>namáho'héstóname 'our (excl) car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésonehâne 'our (incl) child'</td>
<td>nánèsónêhâne 'our (excl) child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstotséhâne 'our (incl) pet'</td>
<td>náhtotséhâne 'our (excl) pet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheyenne has the same exclusive and inclusive difference for "we" and "us" in verbs:

**inclusive 'we'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'</th>
<th>nánémenême 'we (excl) sang'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>névóomone 'we (incl) saw him'</td>
<td>návóomóne 'we (excl) saw him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhetañene 'he told us (incl)'</td>
<td>náhetañene 'he told us (excl)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So the two different first person plurals, whether for possessive nouns or verbs, are called inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.

**Obviated possessives**

When an animate noun is possessed by a third person the ending of the noun changes:

| nanéso 'my child' | nenéso 'your child' | henésono 'his/her child(ren)'
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|

In the word henésono both the child and the parent are grammatical third persons. In Cheyenne, as in other Algonquian languages, only one third person can be in the grammatical spotlight at any one time. For possessed nouns, the possessor third person remains in the spotlight. The third person that is possessed (called the possessee) must move out of the spotlight. This move out of the spotlight is called obviation. In the word henésono the possessor (the parent) remains in the grammatical spotlight. The child is obviated, moving out of the grammatical spotlight.

An obviated noun is unspecified for number, that is, a possessed obviative may refer either to a single or plural entity. Remember that gender is also unspecified in the third person in Cheyenne. So, the word henésono can mean any of the following: 'his child', 'his children', 'her child', or 'her children'.

---

39 Pronominal affixes are prefixes and suffixes that act like pronouns, telling us which grammatical "person" is referred to.
Inanimate possessives

Many Cheyenne nouns can be possessed. Nouns that are possessed can be either inanimate or animate. Here are some inanimate possessives:

**INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES AND WORD TEMPLATES DISCUSSION

māhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive 1st person</th>
<th>Possessive 2nd person</th>
<th>Possessive 3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namāhēō'o</td>
<td>my house</td>
<td>namāheonótse</td>
<td>my houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhēō'o</td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>your houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemāhēō'o</td>
<td>his house</td>
<td>hemāheonótse</td>
<td>his houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāheonāne</td>
<td>our (excl) house</td>
<td>namāheonanótse (ōtse??)</td>
<td>our (excl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāheonane</td>
<td>our (incl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonanótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāheonévo</td>
<td>your (pl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonévótse</td>
<td>your (pl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemāheonévo</td>
<td>their house</td>
<td>hemāheónévótse</td>
<td>their houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive 1st person</th>
<th>Possessive 2nd person</th>
<th>Possessive 3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navee'e</td>
<td>my tepee</td>
<td>navéénótse</td>
<td>my tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e</td>
<td>your tepee</td>
<td>nevéénótse</td>
<td>your tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevee'e</td>
<td>his tepee</td>
<td>hevéénótse</td>
<td>his tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéenāne</td>
<td>our (excl) tepee</td>
<td>navéenanótse(ōtse??)</td>
<td>our (excl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéenane</td>
<td>our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>nevéenanótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéenévo</td>
<td>your (pl) tepee</td>
<td>nevéenevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéenévo</td>
<td>their tepee</td>
<td>hevéenevótse</td>
<td>their tepees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive 1st person</th>
<th>Possessive 2nd person</th>
<th>Possessive 3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namo'keha</td>
<td>my shoe</td>
<td>namo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>my shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'keha</td>
<td>your shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>your shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'keha</td>
<td>his shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>his shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo'kéhanāne</td>
<td>our (excl) shoe</td>
<td>namo'kéhananótse(ōtse??)</td>
<td>our (excl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kéhanane</td>
<td>our (incl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhananótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kéhanēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhanévótse</td>
<td>your (pl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'kéhanēvo</td>
<td>their shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kéhanévótse</td>
<td>their shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

amāho'héstōtse 'car' (possessed)

Words creating by nominalizing a verb can be possessed. The word for 'car' is composed of the verb stem –amāho'he + -htōtse nominalizer. (The /h/ of the nominalizer changes to [s] between the letters "e" and "t").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive 1st person</th>
<th>Possessive 2nd person</th>
<th>Possessive 3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naamāho'héstōtse</td>
<td>my car</td>
<td>naamāho'héstotótse</td>
<td>my cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāho'héstōtse</td>
<td>your car</td>
<td>neamōho'héstotótse</td>
<td>your cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamāho'héstōtse</td>
<td>his car</td>
<td>heamōho'héstotótse</td>
<td>his cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naamāho'héstōnāne</td>
<td>our (excl) car</td>
<td>naamāho'héstotonótse</td>
<td>our (excl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāho'héstotonane</td>
<td>our (incl) car</td>
<td>neamāho'héstotonótse</td>
<td>our (incl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāho'héstōvévo</td>
<td>your (pl) car</td>
<td>neamāho'héstovevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamāho'héstōvévo</td>
<td>their car</td>
<td>neamāho'héstovevótse</td>
<td>their cars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that these lists contain all person and number combinations for each of these nouns. Such lists are called paradigms.

---

40 From this point on, we will only include the masculine words 'his', 'he', or 'him' in paradigms to save space. Always remember, however, that third person singular in Cheyenne can also be translated with the feminine words 'her' and 'she'.

75
Dependent stems

The unpossessed form of each of the preceding words can be pronounced as individual words. The Cheyenne word for 'land' is an individual word, ho'e. But if this word for 'land' is possessed, it cannot be pronounced as an individual word. Nouns which are possessed and cannot be pronounced by themselves are called dependent stems. We mark dependent stems, as we do any bound morphemes, with a hyphen (_) to indicate that they cannot be pronounced by themselves. Here are some dependent stems, along with their possessed forms which can be pronounced as individual words:

-hto'ë 'land', náhto'e 'my land', nésto'ë 'your land', hesto'ë 'his/her land'
-htōtse 'pet', nāhtōtse 'my pet', nēstōtse 'your pet', hestōtseho 'his/her pet(s)'
-ˈéxa 'eye', naˈéxa 'my eye', naˈéxānēstse 'my eyes', heˈéxānēstse 'his/her eyes'
-ˈevo 'nose', naˈevo 'my nose', neˈevo 'your nose', heˈevo 'his/her nose'
-me 'older sister', name 'my older sister', hemeho 'his/her older sister'

Dependent stem ma- prefix

Some possessive noun stems require the prefix ma- for them to be pronounced as complete words. This prefix has no meaning, unlike my claim in earlier editions of this book that it referred to an unspecified possessor, 'someone'. So, ma'ëxa simply means 'eye', not 'someone's eye', as I previously claimed. I also erred previously when I wrote this word with a raised high pitch, maˈèxa. It does have a phonemic high pitch /é/, but it is lowered by pitch rule in the singular possessor forms.

Some other nouns that require the ma- prefix with a dependent stem are:

maˈevo 'nose'
maˈahtse 'arm'
manēstāne 'knee'
māhtāme 'food'

Doublets with the ma- prefix

Some nouns have an independent form as well as a dependent stem which takes the ma- prefix (as well as person possessor prefixes). We call such pairs of nouns lexical doublets. The independent form always begins with the letter "h".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>independent form</th>
<th>ma- form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>heˈko</td>
<td>māhtseˈko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>māhtsēstahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>hētaˈe</td>
<td>māhtsētaˈe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hēsta</td>
<td>māhtsēsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hēnōme</td>
<td>māhtsēnōme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ma-forms in word formation

A word composed of a ma- prefix plus dependent stem can function just like any other independent noun. It may be pluralized with a normal plural suffix:

maˈexa  eye  maˈéxānēstse  eyes
māhtsēsta heart  māhtsēstahōtse  hearts

A ma-prefixes noun behaves like an independent noun. For instance, it can take a prenoun to create a compound word:
amáho'hé-máhtse'ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

**Possession suffix -am**

Some nouns require a special possession (inalienable??) suffix when they are possessed. The suffix is spelled –am⁴¹:

ka'ēskóne 'child', naka'ēskónéhame⁴² 'my child'
ma'heō'o 'god', nama'heóname 'my god'
mé'éševótse 'baby', namé'éševotame 'my baby'

When the word for 'knife' is possessed, it can occur either with or without this –am suffix:

motšēške 'knife', namotšēške 'my knife', namótšēkame 'my knife'

**Inanimate dependent stem possessives**

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

hóhkékha'e 'hat' (possessive stem –vóhkékha'e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto'e</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td>náhtó'éstse my hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'e</td>
<td>your hat</td>
<td>něsto'éstse your hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'e</td>
<td>his hat</td>
<td>hesto'éstse his hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto'âne</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>náhto'anótse our (excl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'âne</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>něsto'anótse our (incl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>něsto'evótse your (pl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'ëvo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>hesto'evótse their hats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto'e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhtó'éstse my lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>něsto'éstse your lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>hesto'éstse his lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto'âne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>náhto'anótse our (excl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'âne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>něsto'anótse our (incl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>něsto'evótse your (pl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'ëvo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>hesto'evótse their lands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma'ëxa 'eye' (possessive stem –'ëxa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'ëxa</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma'ëxánéstse eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náëxa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
<td>ná'ëxánéstse my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ëxa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
<td>he'ëxánéstse his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ëxáëne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
<td>na'ëxaenótse our (excl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'ëxaenëne</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
<td>ne'ëxaenótse our (incl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèëxaëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
<td>nèëxaevótse your (pl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hëëxaëvo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
<td>hëëxaevótse their eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

máhtáme 'food' (possessive stem –htáme) $$\text{RECHECK PLURALS}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtáme</td>
<td>my food</td>
<td>náhtamótse my foods⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁴¹ Cheyenne–em is a reflex of the PA possessive suffix *-am.

⁴² The letter "e" is added to this suffix if the suffix is at the end of a word.

⁴³ The word for 'hat' is hóhkékha'e. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -vóhkékha'e. Bound noun stems can only be pronounced as words by themselves if possessor prefixes are included with them.

⁴⁴ The plural could refer to corn which is plural in Cheyenne, because there are individual kernels. Perhaps a more
Animate possessives

Most inanimate nouns require only a possessive prefix to be possessed. But possessed animate nouns require not only a possessive prefix, but also either the possessive suffix –am or they must be dependent stems. For instance, it would not be grammatical to take an animate noun, such as oeškēse 'dog' and only add a possessive prefix, such as na- 'my', creating the word *naoeškēse⁴⁵, intended to mean 'my dog'. Following are the correct ways to speak about a dog that is possessed, as well as other possessives:

### Animate possessives with the -am suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive Form 1</th>
<th>Possessive Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse⁴⁶ 'dog' (possessed)</td>
<td>nāoēškēsehame</td>
<td>my dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēoēškēsehame</td>
<td>your dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heoēškēsehame</td>
<td>his dog(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nāoēškēsehamāne</td>
<td>our (excl) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēoēškēsehamāne</td>
<td>our (incl) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heoēškēsehamevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veho 'chief' (possessed)</td>
<td>navēhoname</td>
<td>my chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nevēhoname</td>
<td>your chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hevēhonamo</td>
<td>his chief(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>navēhonamāne</td>
<td>our (excl) chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nevēhonamāne</td>
<td>our (incl) chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nevēhonamevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hēō'o 'god, sacred power' (possessed)</td>
<td>nama'heóname</td>
<td>my god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēma'heóname</td>
<td>your god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he'ma'heónamo</td>
<td>your god(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nama'heónamāne</td>
<td>our (excl) god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēma'heónamāne</td>
<td>our (incl) god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nēma'heónamevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (possessed)</td>
<td>naka'ēškōnéhame⁴⁷</td>
<td>my child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁵ The asterisk * is typically used to indicate that something is ungrammatical. In this book, with the letters "PA," the asterisk also marks a Proto-Algonquian form (and it is not ungrammatical).

⁴⁶ Another pronunciation is oeškēso.

⁴⁷ The difference between –néso and –ka'ēškōnéhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological

Accurate gloss of this plural would be 'my pieces of food'. $$RECHECK
neka'ēšköněhame your child neka'ēšköněhame your children
heka'ēšköněhame his child(ren) heka'ēšköněhame his child(ren)
naka'ēšköněhama'ne our (ex) child naka'ēšköněhameaneo'o our (ex) children
neka'ēšköněhama'ne our (in) child naka'ēšköněhameaneo'o our (in) children
neka'ēšköněhame'vo your (pl) child neka'ēšköněhame'veovo'o your (pl) children
heka'ēšköněhame'veo'ho their child(ren) heka'ēšköněhame'veo'ho their child(ren)

mów'ēotséstőse 'picture' (possessed)
name'w'ēotséstőse my picture namów'eotséstoto my pictures
nemów'ēotséstőse your picture namów'eotséstoto your pictures
hemów'ēotséstőto his picture(s) namów'eotsóstoto his picture(s)
namów'ēotséstönâne our (excl) picture namów'eotséstonaneo'o our (excl) pictures
nemów'ēotséstonane our (incl) picture namów'eotséstonaneo'o our (incl) pictures
nemów'ēotséstõvøvo your (pl) picture nemów'eotsésto'veovo'o your (pl) pictures
hemów'ēotsésto'veo'ho their picture(s) hemów'eotsésto'veo'ho their picture(s)

Animate dependent stem possessives
Other possessed animate nouns are composed of dependent stems plus the regular possessive
prefixes na-, ne-, and he-:

child (biological; possessed)
nanéso my child nanésonêneho my children
nenéso your child nenésonêneho your children
henésono his child(ren) henésonêneho his child(ren)
nanésônêhane our (ex) child nanésônêhaneo'o our (ex) children
nenésônêhane our (in) child nenésônêhaneo'o our (in) children
nenésônêhêvo your (pl) child nenésônêhêvo'o your (pl) children
henésônêhêvo'ho their child nenésônêhêvo'ho their children

son (possessed)
nae'ha my son nae'haho my sons
nee'ha your son nee'haho your sons
hee'haho his son(s) hee'haho his son(s)
nae'ha'hâne our (excl) son nae'ha'hâneo'o our (excl) sons
nee'ha'hane our (incl) son nee'ha'haneo'o our (incl) sons
nee'ha'hêvo your (pl) son nee'ha'hêvo'o your (pl) sons
hee'ha'hêvo'ho their son(s) hee'ha'hêvo'ho their son(s)

daughter (possessed)
nâhtona my daughter nâhtónaho my daughters
néstonâ your daughter nêstónaho your daughters
hestónâho his daughter(s) hestónâho his daughter(s)
nâhtónâhane our (excl) daughter nâhtónâhaneo'o our (excl) daughters
nêstonâhane our (incl) daughter nêstonâhaneo'o our (incl) daughters
nêstonâhêvo your (pl) daughter nêstonâhêvo'o your (pl) daughters
hestonâhêvo'ho their daughter(s) hestonâhêvo'ho their daughter(s)

pet (possessed)
nâhtôtse my pet nâhtotseho my pets
néstôtse your pet néstotseho your pets

child, while –ka'ēšköněhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'ēšköněhame 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésonêneho 'my children'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hestotseho</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotseho</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtotséháne</td>
<td>our (excl) pet</td>
<td>náhtotséhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (excl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstotséháne</td>
<td>our (incl) pet</td>
<td>néstotséhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (incl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstotséhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) pet</td>
<td>néstotséhevoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestotséhevóho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotséhevóho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Brother (possessed by female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanéme</td>
<td>my brother</td>
<td>náhtatanemo</td>
<td>my brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanéme</td>
<td>your brother</td>
<td>néstatanemo</td>
<td>your brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanemo</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanemo</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanémane</td>
<td>our (ex) brother</td>
<td>náhtatanémaneoo’o</td>
<td>our (ex) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémane</td>
<td>our (in) brother</td>
<td>néstatanémaneoo’o</td>
<td>our (in) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) brother</td>
<td>néstatanéméveoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanémévo</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanémévo’o</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Grandfather (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naméšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>nemšíemo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neméšéme</td>
<td>your grandfather</td>
<td>nemšíemo</td>
<td>your grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heméšemo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemšíemo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméšémane</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfather</td>
<td>nemšíemanéo’o</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neméšémane</td>
<td>our (in) grandfather</td>
<td>nemšíemanéo’o</td>
<td>our (in) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neméšémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfather</td>
<td>nemšíemevoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heméšémévo</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemšíemevo’o</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Brother (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā’ne</td>
<td>my older brother</td>
<td>na’neho</td>
<td>my older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē’ne</td>
<td>your older brother</td>
<td>ne’neho</td>
<td>your older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’néhane</td>
<td>our (ex) older brother</td>
<td>na’nëhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (ex) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néhane</td>
<td>our (in) older brother</td>
<td>ne’nëhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (in) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néhevo</td>
<td>your (pl) older brother</td>
<td>ne’nëheveoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’néhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’nëhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Sister (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>my older sister</td>
<td>nameho</td>
<td>my older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neme</td>
<td>your older sister</td>
<td>nemeho</td>
<td>your older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméhane</td>
<td>our (ex) older sister</td>
<td>naméhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (ex) older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neméhane</td>
<td>our (in) older sister</td>
<td>neméhaneo’o</td>
<td>our (in) older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neméhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) older sister</td>
<td>neméhevoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heméhevóho</td>
<td>their older sister(s)</td>
<td>heméhevóho</td>
<td>their older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mother (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko’éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neško</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heške</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēškane</td>
<td>our (incl) mother</td>
<td>nēškaneo’o</td>
<td>our (incl) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēškevo</td>
<td>your (pl) mother</td>
<td>nēškevoo’o</td>
<td>your (pl) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heškevóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>heškevóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

48 No plurals are known for plural 'mothers' possessed by singular possessors.
49 No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. $$RECHECK
relative (possessed) $$\text{RECHECK}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my relative</td>
<td>navóohestóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>nevóohestóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his relative</td>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) relative</td>
<td>navóohestonāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) relative</td>
<td>nevóohestonane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) relative</td>
<td>nevóohestovevěvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their relative(s)</td>
<td>hevóohestovevěho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular possessives

Some possessives have irregular prefixes. These prefixes reflect changes that occurred in the historical development from Proto-Algonquian (PA) to Cheyenne. Irregular possessive prefixes developed when regular PA prefix vowels lengthened as they coalesced with following stem-initial vowels. This resulted in reflexes in Cheyenne with a change of prefix vowels and high pitch on these vowels instead of the regular low pitch on possessor pronominal prefixes.

brother-in-law (of a male; possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>nétóvo'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>étov'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>hevétovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc excl) bros-in-law</td>
<td>nétovane'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc pl) bros-in-law</td>
<td>étovévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (masc) bro(s)-in-law</td>
<td>hevé'tovevého</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

brother-in-law (of a female; possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my (fem) brother-in-law</td>
<td>nétame'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem) brother-in-law</td>
<td>étame'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
<td>hevétame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem excl) brother-in-law</td>
<td>nétamane'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem incl) brother-in-law</td>
<td>étamane'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem pl) brother-in-law</td>
<td>étamevévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
<td>hevé'tamevévo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (male friend of a male; possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my (masc) friend</td>
<td>nésene'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your friend</td>
<td>éson'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
<td>hevésenóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc excl) friend</td>
<td>néesenehane'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc incl) friend</td>
<td>éseenéhaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc pl) friend</td>
<td>éseenéhevo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
<td>hevéseenhévevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (female friend of a female; possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my (fem) friends</td>
<td>nése' e'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem) friends</td>
<td>ése'e'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50 These brother-in-law words can only have male possessors.
51 These words are traditionally said only about friendship between males. But in recent years some Cheyenne women have been saying these words also, perhaps due to influence from English where the word "friend" can be used about friends who are not of the same gender.
52 Said only between females.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hevése'óho</td>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nése'ane</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése'ño'o</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevése'evóho</td>
<td>their (fem) friend(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nése'ane</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése'ño'o</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevése'evóho</td>
<td>their (fem) friend(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nése'aneo'o</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése'ño'o'o</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevése'evóho</td>
<td>their (fem) friend(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**father (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ného'éehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eho</td>
<td>your father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heho</td>
<td>his father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>our (excl) father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhane</td>
<td>our (incl) father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néháneo'o</td>
<td>our (excl) fathers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhaneo'o</td>
<td>our (incl) fathers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhévo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) fathers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**grandmother (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néske'éehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éskeme</td>
<td>your grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéskemo</td>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něškemáne</td>
<td>our (ex) grandmo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškemáne</td>
<td>our (in) grandmo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškemávo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandmo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéškemávo</td>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (excl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (incl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhávo</td>
<td>your (pl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemáhávo</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mixed paradigm**

The possessed word for 'younger siblings' include most of the irregular possessive prefixation we have just seen but use a high-pitched ná for first person possessives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
<th>English Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (excl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (incl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhávo</td>
<td>your (pl) younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemáhávo</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

53 Alternate forms are nése'éháne and navése'áne.
54 Alternate forms are ése'éháne and nevése'áne.
55 As with the possessive of 'mother', no plurals are known for plural 'fathers' possessed by singular possessors.
56 The words for 'grandchild' are also used to mean 'child-in-law'. For example, néxahe means 'my grandchild', 'my son-in-law', or 'my daughter-in-law'.
57 Alternate pronunciation, éxávo
Regularized possessives

Irregular forms are more difficult to learn than regular forms. Speakers of languages with irregular paradigms often try to regularize them to regular paradigms. Cheyennes have been regularizing irregular possessives, creating new paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older word</th>
<th>newer word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my lodge/home</td>
<td>nénóve</td>
<td>navénove(^{58})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my body??</td>
<td>nétove</td>
<td>navétove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>né'tóve</td>
<td>nevé'tóve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your brother-in-law</td>
<td>étóve</td>
<td>nevé'só</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my sibling(^{59})</td>
<td>néséso</td>
<td>nevé'só</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your sibling</td>
<td>éséso</td>
<td>nevé'só</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the process of regularization is occurring, both irregular and regular forms exist. Cheyenne speakers are aware that there are these competing irregular and regular forms.

Diminutives

Cheyenne marks some nouns as diminutives. A diminutive is a word that is modified so that it refers to something that is smaller than a larger thing referred to by a regular form of that word. For instance, the Cheyenne word for 'cat' is póéso. If the letters "hk" are inserted into the middle of this word, we get the diminutive word, póhkéso which mean 'kitten'.

Diminutives sometimes have a teasing meaning, with an affectionate connotation. For instance, you can call a 50-year old man ma'háhkéséhésó 'little old man' with a sense of teasing and/or affection. Calling him this double diminutive would contrast with how one would normally call an older person, say 70-years old, an old man, with the diminutive ma'háhkéso. And you could call an even older man a ma'háéso, which is less diminutive than ma'háhkéso.

\(/-{(h)}k/ \text{ diminutives}\)

Some other diminutives are also marked by addition of of /k/ or /hk/\(^{60}\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>améstó'eeseo'o</td>
<td>travois</td>
<td>améstó'keeseo'o</td>
<td>little travois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amó'enéé'o</td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>amó'kenéé'o</td>
<td>children's wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao'éseto</td>
<td>hailstone</td>
<td>ao'késeto</td>
<td>little hailstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hásoo'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hásohko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó'xo'enéé'o</td>
<td>sled</td>
<td>hesó'xo'eneško</td>
<td>children's sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma'ke</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásó'ee'e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>kásó'eške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máheó'o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhóó'o</td>
<td>melon(^{61})</td>
<td>máhóhko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'éševôtse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'éškevôtse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méstaa'e</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>méstahke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{58}\) An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is náhtóo'ôhtéstötse 'my home'.

\(^{59}\) The Cheyenne words for 'sibling' refer to a cousin, brother, sister, step-brother, or step-sister.

\(^{60}\) Phonemic /hk/ is pronounced as [šk] following the vowel "e".

\(^{61}\) This refers to a larger melon. In Oklahoma it specifically refers to a watermelon.
mó'ësá'e | calf | mó'késá'e | calf (dim)
tohoo'o | club | tohohko | hammer
ó'he'e | river | ó'he'ke | creek
oónáha'e | frog | oonáha'kēso | little frog
ho'honáá'e | rock | ho'honáhke | stone
sásóóvéta | watersnake | sásóhkóvéta | watersnake (dim)
šéštótó'e | pine | šéštótó'ke | little pine
tse'némoo'o | tobacco | tsé'némohko | tobacco (dim)
váótséva | deer | váhkótséva | little deer
vé'ho'e | whiteman | vé'ho'ke | little white boy
vé'ho'séō'o | suitcase | vé'ho'seško | purse, small suitcase

/-só(n)/ diminutives
 Other nouns are marked as diminutives by addition of the diminutive suffix /-só(n)/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É'ometāā'e</td>
<td>Greasy River</td>
<td>É'ometaēso</td>
<td>Little Greasy River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heávohe</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>heávohéso</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ehe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'élheśo</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkkehe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkkehēso</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkóxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxēso</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>hó'néhēso</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ēškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ēškōnéhēso</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'ēēhe</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>káse'ēēhēso</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásovéháhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásovéhāhēso</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhkónōhēō'o</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkónōheonēso</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokohéáxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokohéaxāeso</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhēso</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gméstaa'e</td>
<td>owl</td>
<td>gméstaēso</td>
<td>little owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'éhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohēso</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'kēso</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēsēhēso</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kēse</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kēshēso</td>
<td>little bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Double diminutives
 Some nouns are marked with both the /(h)k/ and /-só(n)/ diminutive markings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>homa'kēso</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'éno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'enō'kēso</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhēso</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhkēso</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'kēhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62 The /n/ appears in diminutive plurals, such as vé'ho'kēsono 'little white boys'.

84
nóma'he  fish  nomá'héškéso  minnow
šé'še  duck  šé'šéškéso  duckling
vé'ho'e  whiteman  vé'ho'késó  little white boy
vé'ho'á'e  white woman  vé'ho'ká'késó  little white girl
xāō'o  skunk  xaóhkésó  little skunk

Vocatives

Vocatives are forms of words used to address people. Here are some nouns Cheyennes use to speak about people (regular nouns) along with their vocative forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>vocative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko'éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>Náhko'e</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ného'éehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>Ného'e</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néške'éehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>Néške'e</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméséme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Náméséme</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméšemo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td>Naméšemaséstse</td>
<td>My grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéškemo</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>Néške'éehéhaséstse</td>
<td>My grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškó'eho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka'ěškónéhaséstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanéšo'eho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Nésonéhaséstse</td>
<td>My children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td>Nae'ha</td>
<td>My son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>Náhtse</td>
<td>My daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>Náhtónáhaséstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Néše</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He'eeséstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetaneséstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásóváheho</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásóváahéhaséstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásé'eeheho</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Kásééehéhaséstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'tóvé</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>Né'tovaséstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo'o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Véhonáséstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'honá'eo'o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho'honáeséstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáháheho</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Máhtamáháahéhaséstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ha'hkéseho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma'ha'hkéséhéhaséstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésésono</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Nésésnéhaséstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navó'estanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navó'éstanémaséstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohe'stoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navóohe'stonáséstse</td>
<td>My relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'he'ono</td>
<td>sacred spirits</td>
<td>Ma'he'ónaséstse</td>
<td>Sacred spirits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOCATIVES

Locatives are nouns which refer to a location. **DISCUSS SUFFIXES**
Another form of nouns are the names Cheyennes have given to places:

Vášétaéno – no suffix
Vóhpoométanéno White River Place
É'ëxováhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)

ETC.$$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE
**Proper names**

**COMPOSE SECTION ON THE GRAMMAR OF CHEYENNE** proper names, Òh- form participles, etc.

**Noun phrases**

Cheyenne nouns may be preceded by quantifiers and demonstrative pronouns or discourse pronouns. Otherwise, Cheyenne does not have adjectives or other parts of speech which can belong to noun phrases.

**Quantifier noun phrases**

**Quantifiers**

Quantifiers can modify nouns, specifying the number of the noun:

- na'ëstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'ëškóneho 'many children'
- tóhkomo kähámáxëstse 'a few sticks'

**Demonstratives**

Demonstratives point to a noun, either physically in the speech situation or to a previous mention of a noun in a discourse:

- tsé'tóhe póéso 'this cat'
- tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha 'that horse'
- hé'tóhe móxe'êstoo'o 'this book'

We will describe demonstratives and discourse pronouns more fully in the section on Deictics.

**Discourse pronouns**

Discourse pronouns point to a noun previously mentioned in a discourse:

- néhe hetane 'that man' (the one being talking about)
- héne móxe'êstoo'o 'that book' (the one being talked about)

**Adjectival prenouns**

Cheyenne does not use adjectives in noun phrases. Instead, it uses prenouns which attach to nouns to indicate adjectival qualities:

- mo'õhtávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'ë-ho'évho'kõte 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'xè-háhñoma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- heóve-amáho'hestõtsë 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-méséhestõtsë 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

Compound words composed of prenouns plus nouns, such as those in this list, are commonly used in the language. Cheyenne speakers seem only to use a prenoun with a noun to create a new lexical term in the language. If Cheyenne speakers need to express other non-lexicalized adjectival meanings with nouns, such as for 'tall boy', 'skinny child', 'rich man', or 'smart woman', they use participle phrases. We will examine Cheyenne participle phrases shortly.
Nominal prenouns

Cheyennes also create many new words by combining two nouns. The first noun is converted to a prenoun with a morpheme-final /e/ when it acts as an adjectival prenoun:

- ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
- matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman]
- móxe'estóné-máhéó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séotsé-amáho'héstótse 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
- vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
- vé'ho'é-mahpe 'whiskey' (literally, whiteman-water)
- véhpotse-hohpe 'tea' (literally, leaf-broth)

Verbal prenouns

New words are also created by combining a verb stem with a noun:

- ame'häuser-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-whiteman)
- hohtóva-máhēó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- móxe'estóné-máhēó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- òhtaené-máhēó'o 'motel' (literally, overnight-house)

Participle phrases

Cheyennes do not productively use adjectival prenouns to create equivalents to English noun phrases with adjectives, such as "the tall man" or "the little baby". Instead, Cheyennes use participle phrases to express adjectival ideas, as in these examples: ('$$RECHECK MY CLAIM AND THE EXAMPLES; should "the" be included in the glosses??)'

- hetane tséhéné'enovaestse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
- kásóvááhe tséháaéstaaestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
- ma'hákésó tséhe'kéoméstse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
- amáho'héstótse tséháoe 'expensive car' (lit., car that is expensive)

Definiteness

There are no definite or indefinite articles in Cheyenne. Instead, nouns are definite or indefinite depending on their speech context (pragmatics). Typically, first mention of a noun in a discourse is indefinite. Subsequent references to that noun are definite. In the following story the first mentioned (definite) nouns are underlined and subsequent mentions (definite) are boldfaced:

The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk
by Jeannette Howlingcrane

1. Nétáhóhta'haovátse.
   Let me tell you a story.

2. Náhkohe éstaamenénheohsté'tanoho meo'o.
   A bear was following a path.

3. Hápóe náháohe ó'kóhóme móhnénhéheohsté'tohéhe.
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Néhe'še éstóó'e'ováhtséhoono.
   Then they met.

5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhoono ó'kóhomeho,
   The bear said to the coyote,

6. "No'héhnéstse!
   "Move aside!

7. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
   This is my path,"

8. éxhetóhoono.
   he told him.

9. "Hova'âhane,
   "No,

10. hápó'e no'héhnéstse!
   likewise you move aside!

11. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
    This is my path,"

12. éxhetæhoono.
    he (obviative, the coyote) told him.

13. Tséxhe'éšeóo'evotáhtsevöse éxhe'kemé'éhnéhoo'o xao'o.
    While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.

14. "Háhtome!
    "Scram!

15. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
    This is my path,"

16. éxhetóhoono.
    he (the skunk) told them.

17. Exhe'kenéma'evonéhnéhoo'o.
    He slowly turned around.

18. Exhe'kæhešëhosóhnéhoo'o.
    He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovöse éstanéšëhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
    When they saw him they scattered in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesestøó sàë tséhešëasetà'xevöse.
    No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.
**Discourse pronouns and definiteness**

Discourse pronouns, such as néhe 'that one (animate) that we have been talking about', its inanimate counterpart héne, and the pointing pronouns tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)' and hé'tóhe 'this one (inanimate)' indicate marked definiteness of a noun.

**EXAMPLES**

Deictics
In this section words, or parts of words, which "point" are examined. The forms may point to show where something is, or the "pointing" may refer to a point in time, or to entities in a discourse.

**Demonstratives**

We introduced Cheyenne demonstratives in the Noun phrases section earlier in this book. Here we describe the demonstratives more fully. Cheyenne demonstratives are inflected for animacy and distance from the speaker. Demonstratives can modify a noun, to which they phonologically attach as clitics, or they can stand alone as a noun phrase. If they attach to a noun they lose their word-final –he, so, for instance hé'tóhe + motšéške is pronounced as hé'tó=motšéške 'this knife', where the "=" symbol represents the phonological attachment with its smooth flow from the end of the demonstrative to the beginning of the noun.

- tsé'tóhe: this, these (animate)
- tá'tóhe: that, those (animate)
- hé'tóhe: this, these (inanimate)
- há'tóhe: that, those (inanimate)

**Discourse demonstratives**

Discourse demonstratives refer to old or new things in discourse. Like the regular demonstratives, they are inflected for animacy and distance, in this case, how far away the referent is in the discourse. **RECHECK GLOSSES**

- néhe: this, these (animate)
- héne: this, these (inanimate)
- náhe: that, those (animate)
- háne: that, those (inanimate)

**Locative particles**

Locative particles refer to a location. Locative particles are inflected for distance from the speaker, new or old location (cataphoric vs. anaphoric??) in a discourse, and another parameter not well understood but translated by the English word 'over'. **INCLUDE ENDOPHORIC AND EXOPHORIC CATEGORIES FROM PRONOUNS PAPER**

Currently used locative particles

- tséhéóhe: here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
- hétséhéóhe: over here **RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS ??
- néhéóhe: there (previously mentioned location)
- hénéhéóhe: over there (previously mentioned)
Older locative particles

The following set of locative particles were commonly used in the past, but are not so commonly used today. They correspond to the set of locative particles just described. These older particles end with the locative suffix /-nó/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāháóhe</td>
<td>farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hátaháóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāháóhe</td>
<td>farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánaháóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predicative pronouns

Predicative pronouns are inflected for animacy, number, obviation, distance (proximal vs. distal), and whether they are new or old (cataphoric vs. anaphoric) in a discourse. They are not inflected for person as verbs are, but they function something like verbs, with glosses that sound like verbs. Predicative pronouns correspond to the distance and discourse values of the locative particles. There are full forms of predicative pronouns and contracted (more colloquial) forms.

Inanimate predicative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heta'háanéhe</td>
<td>that's the one (proximal cataphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetá'hanéhe</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heta'háanevótse</td>
<td>those are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hena'háanéhe</td>
<td>it's the one, that's it (proximal anaphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hená'hanéhe</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hena'háanevótse</td>
<td>there they are; they are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hata'háanéhe</td>
<td>that's the one (distal cataphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatá'hanéhe</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hata'háanevótse</td>
<td>there they are; those are the ones (farthest cataphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hana'háanéhe</td>
<td>there it is; that's the one (distal anaphoric)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
haná'hanéhe  (contracted form)
hana'háanevótse  those are the ones

**Animate predicative pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsea'hánéhe</td>
<td>here he is; he's the one (proximal cataphoric/pointing at??)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsea'hánéhe?</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsea'háanevóhe</td>
<td>here they are; they are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neá'hánéhe</td>
<td>he's the one (proximal anaphoric??)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neá'hánéhe??</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nea'háanevóhe</td>
<td>there they are; they are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táa'hánéhe</td>
<td>he's the one (distal cataphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táa'hánéhe??</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táa'háanevóhe</td>
<td>there they are; they are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa'hánéhe</td>
<td>he's the one (distal anaphoric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náa'hánéhe</td>
<td>(contracted form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naa'háanevóhe</td>
<td>they are the ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevá'hanéhe</td>
<td>he is the one (only about a hero)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Predicative pronouns in sentences**

"Ameto nevá'hanéhe," tséhevoōne.  "From now on (the young man) will be known as the (hero) one," they will say. ($$SOURCE??)

**Temporal deictics**

Temporal deictics are particles which point in time. They are inflected for whether they refer back in time (anaphoric) or forward in time (cataphoric).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nēhe'se</td>
<td>then (marks temporal sequence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tśhe'se</td>
<td>at this time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēhe'xóvéva</td>
<td>at that time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tśhe'xóvéva</td>
<td>at this time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēhetáa'e</td>
<td>from then on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tśhetáa'e</td>
<td>from this time forward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Deictic preverbs**

The deictic preverbs nē- and tś- point back (anaphorically) or forward (cataphorically) within discourse. Deictic preverbs must be immediately followed by a relative preverb, initial, or root.

nē- examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>é-né-hetóhoono</td>
<td>he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é-né-hetóhta'hāne</td>
<td>that's how he told the story</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
é-né-hešenéméne  that's the way he sang  
éné-he'xóvéva  at that time

tsé- examples 
   é-tšé-hešenéméne63  he sang like this
   tsé-he'xóvéva  at this time

Speech functions
Cheyenne speakers perform the same functions of speech that speakers of any other language do, including to inform, question, command, entertain, comfort, rebuke, tease, pray, and perform ceremonies. Among these, the first three reflect major grammatical patterns in Cheyenne. They correlate with the major sentence types of Cheyenne.

Sentence types
The major sentence types of Cheyenne and the speech functions to which they correspond are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sentence types</th>
<th>speech functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>statements</td>
<td>inform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogatives</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperatives</td>
<td>command</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next we examine these sentence types and how they are expressed in the Cheyenne grammatical system.

Statements
Cheyennes inform through statements. Statements typically are composed of a verb which may be accompanied by one or more nouns which the verb tells about. Statements may, however, be other parts of speech, such as a noun or particle which is a response to something someone else says. The particles héehe'e 'yes' and hová'aháne 'no' can serve as complete statements in answer to some questions. A significant part of this grammar will describe Cheyenne verbs which are used to inform. As a preview, they are verbs which are in the indicative, inferential, reportative, and preterit modes.

Questions
There are two kinds of questions which can be asked in Cheyenne:
1. Yes/No questions
2. Content questions

Yes/No questions
Yes/No questions (also known as polar questions) are questions for which a "yes" or "no" answer is requested. There are two ways to form yes/no questions in Cheyenne:
1. Add the –he interrogative suffix to a verb
2. Add the interrogative particle móhe to the beginning of a word to be questioned

---
63 The cataphoric preverb tsé- is pronounced as tšé- preceding /š/ of the relative preverb heše-.
The following verbs are changed to question words by adding the –he suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>question</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émane.</td>
<td>He drank.</td>
<td>Émane-he?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éeto.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>Ého’éeto-he?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kōho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Éhoo’kōho-he?</td>
<td>Is it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomo.</td>
<td>You saw him.</td>
<td>Névóomo-he?</td>
<td>Did you see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nēhestāna.</td>
<td>You took it.</td>
<td>Nēhestana-he?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nâméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Nâméhotaene-he?</td>
<td>Does he love us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$mó$-questions

The interrogative particle $mó$he can be attached to the beginning of several categories of words to question them. When it attaches to a word, it shortens to $mó$- and acts like a prefix to the word. Questions formed with $mó$- have an assumption that the answer will be positive, unlike questions formed with the interrogative suffix $-he$. Cheyenne $mó$- questions are similar in function to English tag questions, such as "You’ve eaten, haven’t you?"

Here are examples of Cheyenne $mó$- questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>questioned word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé’tóhe</td>
<td>this one (animate)</td>
<td>Mó-tsé’tóhe?</td>
<td>This one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanéka’ěskóne</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>Mó-hetanéka’ěskóne?</td>
<td>The boy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néšéšésoo’e.</td>
<td>You’ve already danced.</td>
<td>Mó-Néšéšésoo’e?</td>
<td>You’ve already danced?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nâméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Mó-Nâméhótáéne?</td>
<td>He loves us?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kōho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Mó-Éhoo’kōho?</td>
<td>It’s raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe’āna.</td>
<td>You cleaned it.</td>
<td>Mó-Néhóxe’āna?</td>
<td>You cleaned it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$mó$-questions and evidential modes

Sarah Murray (p.c.) has discovered that in certain contexts $mó$- can question verbs in the reportative and preterit modes:

Mó’-éhoo’kōhónése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Mó’-éxhó’taheváhoo’o? Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?
Content questions

Content questions are questions that ask for information other than "yes" or "no" answers. Content questions are created with question words (called interrogative pronouns) or meaning parts (morphemes) inside verbs (called preverbs and initials).

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask Cheyenne questions that correspond to English questions that begin with "What", "Who", "When", "Where", "Why", and "Which". An interrogative pronoun precedes the verb that accompanies it. We will study verbs and their categories in the next section of this book. In that section we will examine two main categories (called orders) of verbs, independent and dependent (called conjunct), which take different prefixes prefixes and suffixes from each other. For now we simply observe that What, Who, Why, and Which questions in Cheyenne require that verbs that go with them be dependent (that is, in the conjunct order). When and Where questions require that verbs that go with them be independent. Interrogative pronouns are inflected for number and obviation. How questions are expressed with preverbs and initials within verbs whose manner is questioned.

What questions

What questions use the interrogative pronoun hénová'e 'what?' or one of its related inflected forms, followed by a conjunct participle:

Hénová'e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová'e tséméséstse? What did he eat?
Hénová'e tsého'áheto? What do you want?
Hénová'e tsého'aestse? What does he want?
Hénová'e tsého'tseto? What do you have?
Hénová'e tsého'ostse? What are you cooking / boiling?
Hénová'e tséhonóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
Hénová'e tsépéenomo? What are you grinding?
Hénová'e tsémanéstseto? What are you making?
Hénová'e tsémôxe'ohomo? What are you writing?
Hénová'e tsétoenomo? What are you holding?
Hénová'e tsévé'hoohtomáse? What are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'ehótsé tsétoenomo? What (plural things) are you holding?
Hénová'ehótsé tsévé'hoohtomáse? What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'ehótsé tsémetóhtse? What did you give him?
Hénová'etotse tsémétóhtse? What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
Hénová'etotse tséno'ňesédstse? What (relational) is he carrying?

Who questions

Who questions use the interrogative pronouns névááhe 'who?' and névááso 'who?' or a related inflected form, followed by a conjunct participle:

Névááhe tsénéménéstse? Who is singing?
Névááhe tséháóénéhtse? Who is praying?
Neváaseo'o tséháoenase? Who (plural) are praying?
Névááhe tsévéstoemóhtse? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Neváasóho tsévéstoemose? Who (obviative) is his spouse?
Neváasóho tséméhotovose? Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse? Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxé’ānóhtse? Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsémétata’e? Who gave it to you?
Neváasóho tséméttaa’ēse? Who (obviative) gave it to him?

Whose questions
Who questions followed by a verb with the he- ‘have' preverb can be translated either as 'Whose ___?’ or ‘Who has ___?’, which essentially mean the same thing. The he- ‘have' preverb is boldfaced in these examples to make it easier to see:

Névááhe tsé-he-vóhkăhā’ēstse? Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mo’kēhānēstse? Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestōvēstse? Whose dress is this? / Who has on the dress?

Which questions
Which questions use the interrogative pronoun táaso ‘which?’ and its inflected forms, followed by a noun or verb. The verb must be a conjunct participle. These interrogative pronouns are inflected for animacy and number.

Táaso67 vôhpoma’ōhtse? Which one is the salt?
Táasévooněstse nemōšēškehōtse? Which are your knives?
Táasévoo’e tsévéstomōhtse? Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséoomata’ōse? Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanēhōse? Which shawls did you make?

Why questions
Why questions are composed of a what question word, followed by a verb in the conjunct order. This verb contains the causal preverb hése- or initial hést-, boldfaced in the following examples. The what question is hénová’e ‘what?’ or hénáá’e ‘what?’ or one of their related inflected forms. Literally, why questions can be translated to English as ‘For what reason ____?’

Hénová’e tsé-hésē-oomōhtse? Why did you hit him?
Hénová’e tsé-hésē-háóénahētse? Why is he praying?
Hénová’éto tsé-hésē-a’xaneto? Why are you crying?
Hénáá’e tsé-hésē-aseohōtse? Why did you (plural) leave?

When questions
When questions are composed of a time question word, typically tóne’sē ‘when?’ followed by a verb in the independent order.

Tóne’sē ého’eohtse? When did he arrive?
Tóne’sē nééváho’eohe? When did you return?
Tóne’sē nětō’seaseohōtse? When are you going to leave?

How long questions
How long questions consist of the preverb or initial tóne’ēsē- within a verb of the independent order.

67 Alternate pronunciations are táase, tóáse, and tóaso.
Néta-tóne'ěšé-háomóhtahe? How long have you been sick?
Étaohke-tóne'ěšé-ohénove He'konemáhoéve'ho'éno? How long does it take to get to Hardin?

Where questions
Where questions are composed of the question word tósa'ẽ 'where?' followed by a verb in the independent order.

- Tósa'ẽ néto'sehe'ōhtse? Where are you going to go?
- Tósa'ẽ néohkheatse'ohe? Where do you work?
- Tósa'ẽ éhoo'e? Where is he?
- Tósa'ẽ néhohtóva? Where did you buy it?
- Tósa'ẽ névóómó? Where did you see him?
- Tósa'ẽ ého'ta namóxe'estoo'o? Where is my book?
- Tósa'ẽ éto'semóheehotséstove? Where is the meeting going to be?
- Tósa'ẽ nénxhéstaha? Where are you from?

How questions
How questions are expressed by the preverb tóněšé-, initials tónet-, tóněst-, and related initials, all meaning 'how?' (or 'what?' with some finals). These initials and preverb appear within verbs of the independent order. The preverb and initials question how something about the verb is done. The How question roots, stems, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

- Né-tónešé-véhe? What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
- Né-tónešé-ho'ehne? How did you come?
- Né-tónešé-héne'enovo-o'o? How do you know them?
- Né-tónešé-táno? How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
- Né-tónet-omóhtahe? How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$RECHECK GLOSS$$
- Né-tónés-étésésta? What do you think of it?
- Né-tónés-étámó? What do you think of him?
- É-tónet-áho'ta? How is it cooked? (e.g. Is it cooked yet?)
- É-tónet-oeme? How much does it cost?
- É-tónet-aeta? What size is he?
- É-tónet-aó'o? What size is it?
- É-tónet-ónóto? How thick is it?
- É-tónet-o'etame? How deep is it? (water)
- É-tóne-'éhótoo'e? How deep is it? (a hole or cave)
- É-tóne-'ého'ōesta? How high is it hanging?
- É-tóne-'ého'ōése? How high is he hanging?
- É-tóne-'éstaha? How tall is he?
- É-tóne-'éhahe? How old is he?
- É-tóne'xóv-anánó? How much does it weigh?
- É-tóne'xóv-aneta? How much does he weigh?
- É-tónet-aa'ene'hóta? How much room is there?
- É-tóne-'ého'o'e? How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
- É-tónet-otse'ohe? What is his work?
- É-tóne-'éhoma'o'e? How far away it it?
-tónet-ohtáheve?  What color / design is it/he?  
- tônē'-éno’e?  How does it taste?  
- tôné'-énehe?  How does he taste?  
- tônet-ātamáno’e?  How is the environment?  
- tônet-oéstomo’he?  What kind of personality does he have?  
- tônést-āhevónô’e?  What kind (or type) is it?  
- tônést-á’e?  How long is his hair?  
- tônéś-é’a’e?  How does it feel (in texture)?  
- tônéś-e’šeme?  What sound does he make?  
- tônéś-evone?  What sound does it make?  

What root and stem questions

Questions formed from question roots and stems behave like the preceding How questions. However they are often best translated with the English question word "What".

- tônéso?  What is its condition?  
- tôněsta?  What is his condition?  
- tônéšé'tovóho?  What did he do to him?  

-tóneševe 'What is/are __ doing?'

Questions asking what someone is doing are formed with the interrogative stem -tóneševe. This stem is inflected for person, number, obviation, and mode, like any other AI verb stem:

Ná-tóneševe?  What did I do?  
Né-tóneševe?  What did you do?  
É-tóneševe?  What did he/she do?  
É-tónešévóho?  What did he/she (obv) do?  
Ná-tónešévéme?  What did we (exclusive) do?  
Né-tónešévéma?  What did we (inclusive) do?  
Né-tónešévéme?  What did you (plural) do?  
É-tónešéveo'o?  What did they do?  

'How many' questions

Questions asking how many are formed with the interrogative particle tônešto 'how many?' or the preverb tôneštôhe-, or the initial tônést-.  

Tônešto néoö'hamoo'o?  How many (fish) did you catch?  
Né-tôneštôhe-aénáma?  How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)  
É-tôneštôhe-éše’hama?  How many months old is he?  
Né-tôneštôhe-enó’tse?  How many nights did you camp?  
É-tôneštôhe-éno’e?  What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?)  
É-tônest-óxeo’o?  How many of them (an.) are there?  
É-tônest-óhánéstse?  How many of them (inan.) are there?  

'How many times' questions

Questions asking how many times something happened begin with the interrogative particle tônestoha ‘How many times?’  

Tônestoha ného'soo’o?  How many times did you dance?
Tónéstoha éamo'ahéotseo'o?  How many times did they run?

**To what degree questions**
To what degree questions consist of the preverb tóne'xóve- within an independent order verb.

É-tóne'xóvé-háomóhtahe?  How sick is he?
Né-tóne'xóvé-méhóto?  How much do you love her?

**Other question forms**
Some content questions are created with forms unrelated to the tóněš(e)- / tóněst- preverbs, initials, and roots.

Nénéévá'eve?  Who are you?
Éhová'eve?  What gender is he/she?
Éhóva'evóéhne?  What child did she bear?
Éhová'éšeenotseve?  What kind of a tree (bush) is it?
Éhová'évenotseve?  What kind of tribe is he?
Éhová'évé'ho'eve?  What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tóněšééšeeve, with the same meaning)
Éhová'ééšeeve?  What kind of a tree (bush) is it?

'What say' questions
Verbs of saying can take a preverb óxò- which questions what someone said:

Ná-óxò-heve?  What did I say?
Né-óxò-heve?  What did you say?
É-óxò-hevoo'o?  What did he/she say?
É-óxò-hevoône?  What did they say?
É-óxò-henove?  What is said?
Né-óxò-hétó?  What did you say to him?
É-óxò-hetóho?  What did he say to him (obviative)?

**naa questions**
The conjunction naa 'and' can function as a kind of question word. In the appropriate speech context if naa precedes a noun, it can function as asking about that noun's location or well-being.

Naa Amé'há'e?  How's Flying Woman?
Naa ma'háésó?  Where's the old man?
Naa neamáho'hestótsé?  How's your car?

**Question words and indefinite meanings**
When, Where, How many, and How question forms have indefinite meanings in sentences which are not asking questions. **$\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION};** include tóne'še 'sometime', tósa'e 'somewhere', tóněše- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá'énèse 'something', etc.

Tóne'še mōho'ehotséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'
Tósa'e nóháso móstáněšema'xetóněšéhe'ame-pónenenéhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up
in the air.' (1987:277)
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa' he'konahétse hétshéöhé náho' manéstséñóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
Naa héna'hanehe náéshëhóhta'háne tónetá'a'e tséhéne'enómo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97)

$SCAN tónetá'a'e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD?? (perhaps Tónetá'a'e némeše? 'How much did you eat?)

Hēā'e étō'sé- tónéstá'otse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)
Móhmóne-tónéstōhēa' énamáhéhé. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)
Naa mós-tónéstōxëhevóhe mōtaaschétoo'èhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)
Naa nēhe'se me'ko móhns- tónēšësōhpo' eohétôhanëhé. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)
Naa vé'ho'e mósta-tonēšenéstomóñēhéhé. 'And the whiteman must have heard it somehow.' (Croft 1988:20:4)

How forms and negatives
How forms have an indefinite negative meaning in negative verbs:

| Násáa-tónēšévëhe | I'm not doing anything. |
| Násáa-tónēšetānohéhe | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Násáa- tónëxóvomóhtëhëhe | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Ésáa-tónëstāhe | There's nothing wrong with him. |
| Ésáa-tónësôhëhëne | There's nothing wrong with it. |
| Ésáa-tónësôotsëhëhe | Nothing happened. |
| Násáa-tónëstā'tovëhe | I didn't do anything to him. |

Content of saying questions and negatives
The verb of saying has an indefinite negative meaning with the preverb óxo- in negative contexts, including prohibitives:

| Násáah o' óxōhëhe | I didn't say anything. |
| Nèstsevë'e- óxōhëto! | Don't say anything to him! |

hovā'ëhe and negatives
The indefinite pronoun hovā'ëhe 'something' has a negative meaning in a negative context:

$KEEP HERE OR MOVE TO ANOTHER SECTION OF THE BOOK??

| Násáah o' hovā'ëhe | I don't want anything. |
| Násáavóóhtóhe hovā'ëhe | I didn't see anything. |

'someone' indefinite particles
Who question words themselves never function as indefinite particles, but words which sound much like them and probably are semantically related to them, are indefinite particles in both form and function.

| Hovánee'e ésāahoëhe | No one was there. |
Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions have the forms of questions but do not function as questions. Typically they function as emphatic statements, such as rebukes. RECHECK THE EXAMPLES AND GLOSSES

Nésáahe'évéhehe! Are you not a woman!
Névé'hétónéšéve! Why did you do that!
Névé'hénéméné! ?? Why did you sing! RH Q??
Névé'héoxóhotoo'o! Why did you sing that to them!
Mónáme'hétoote'stse! ?? Nothing would happen to me!
Mónéme'hé-tone'oéto. You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)
Ésáatóniéšéénô'étohane! How does it not stop snowing!

Commands

There are several kinds of Cheyenne forms that function as commands. Further details about some of the forms in this section can be found in other parts of this book which focus on those forms themselves. For instance, we must introduce imperative mode verbs in this section devoted to commands. But description of full paradigms of imperative mode verbs will be found in the imperative mode subsections under discussion of the main verb types.

Commands can be either "positive" (e.g. Tie your shoes!) or "negative" (e.g. Don't cross the street!). Positive and negative commands are grammatically different in Cheyenne. (They belong to different modes.) Commands can be singular (said to one person) or plural (said to more than one person).

Positive commands

Positive commands tell people what to do. Negative commands, which we will illustrate shortly, tell people what not to do.

Imperative mode commands

The most common way of communicating a positive command is by use of the imperative verb mode.

Singular addressees

Imperative mode commands may be said to a single person (singular addressee). The imperative suffix for a command said to a single person is -stse / -htse (phonemically /-ht/). Here are some commonly used commands said to one person:

Háméstoo'éstse! Sit down!
He'kotoo'éstse! Be quiet! / Sit still!
Méseestse! Eat!
Né’éstsehnéstse! Come in!
Né’tóhkéhá’ah! Take your hat off!
E’seéstse’héhnáhtse! Put your coat on!
Né’seéstse’héhnáhtse! Take your coat off!
E’ehá’ohhtse! Put your shoes on!
Né’tó’éhhtse! Take your shoes off!
Tahéovééhéstse! Go to bed!
Áahtovééhéstse! Listen to me!
Né’hmanoxéhéstse! Give me a drink!
Né’sévéénéstse! Wash your face!
Né’sévéhé’ónáhtse! Wash your hands!
Vé’hóóhtóhtse! Look at it!

**Plural addressees**

Some imperative mode commands may be said to a more than one person (plural addressee):

Hámésetoo’e! Sit down!
He’kotoo’o! Be quiet! / Sit still!
Méseh! Eat!
Né’éstsehné! Come in!
E’tóhkéhá’a! Put your hat on!
Né’tóhkéhá’a! Take your hat off!
E’sééstse’héna! Put your coat on!
Né’sééstse’héna! Take your coat off!
E’ehá’o! Put your shoes on!
Né’tó’o! Take your shoes off!
Tahéovéé! Go to bed!
Áahtovéé! Listen to me!
Né’hmanoxé! Give me a drink!
Né’sévéhé’o! Wash your hands!
Vé’hootome! Look at it!

Note that there is no command suffix added when the command is said to more than one person.

**Delayed imperatives**

Speakers who issue the commands we have just seen expect the person addressed to perform the action immediately. Those commands are called immediate imperatives.

Other suffixes can be added to verb stems to indicate that the action commanded is to be done later. These commands are called delayed imperatives. The suffix for a delayed imperative said to a single person is phonemically /-o/. The suffix for a delayed imperative said to more than one person is phonemically /-hén/.

Háméstoo’o! Sit down later! (singular addressee)
Háméstohé! Sit down later! (plural addressee)
Néhmétseoo’o! Give it to me later! (singular addressee)
Néhmétséhéne! Give it to me later! (plural addressee)
Né’évahósého’èhneoo’o! Come again later! (singular addressee)
Né’évahósého’ènhéhéne! Come again later! (plural addressee)

'should' commands
Verbs with the preverb me'- 'should' function as mild commands:

Né-me’-mésehe. You should eat.
Né-mé’-méschéame. You (plural) should eat.
Né-me’-hestâna. You should take it.
Né-mé’-méhotâhtséme. You should love each other (or, yourselves).

'should' impersonal commands
Impersonal verbs with the preverb me'- function as even milder commands. Even though these verbs are in the impersonal, they are often intended for one or more individuals. Their impersonal natural mitigates the directness of the command, sounding more polite in some speech contexts.

É-me’-mésché-stove. There should be eating.
É-me’-méhotâhtsé-stove. There should be love for one another.

Negative commands
Negative commands tell people what not to do.

Prohibitives
A command telling more or more people not to do something is called a prohibitive. A prohibitive command is composed of the prohibitive preverb vé'(e)- in a verb with a second person ("you") subject. The preverb is pronounced as vé'e- if the next letter in the word is a vowel. Otherwise, it is pronounced as vé’-.

Né-vé’-néhevé! Don’t do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)
Né-vé’-néhevévéme! Don’t do that! (said to more than one person)
Né-vé’e-a'xaame! Don’t cry! (singular addressee)
Né-vé’e-a'xaamémé! Don’t cry! (plural addressee)
Né-vé’e-oome! Don’t hit me! (singular addressee)
Né-vé’e-vé’hóóhta! Don’t look at it! (singular addressee)
Né-vé’-vé’hóóhtánóvo! Don’t look at it! (plural addressee)
Né-vé’e-óxôheve! Don’t say anything! (singular addressee)

Negative 'should' commands
The 'should' and 'not' preverbs can be used together to create a negative command milder than a prohibitive. $$RECHECK THAT CLAIM AND FOLLOWING DATA

Né-mé’-sáa-néhevé! You (singular) shouldn’t do that.
Né-mé’-sáa-néhevévéme. You (plural) shouldn’t do that.
Né-
mé'-sáa-tsèhe'õhtse. You (singular) shouldn’t do there.

Negative 'should' impersonal commands

The 'should' and 'not' preverbs can be used with impersonal verbs to create statements that function as commands even milder than the negative 'should' commands in the preceding section. Even though the impersonal verb form is used, a speaker typically intends a single individual (or sometimes a group of individuals) to be impacted by the impersonal statement which functions as a mitigated command. $$RECHECK DATA

É-
mé'-sáa-néhešévé-stovè-hane. That shouldn’t be done.
É-
mé'-sáa-méôtàhtsé-stovè-hane. There shouldn’t be fighting one another.
É-
me'-sáa-néhenóvé-hane. That shouldn’t be said.

Negative impersonal commands

The mildest (most mitigated) commands are those which use the negative preverb in impersonal verbs: $$RECHECK THAT CLAIM

É-
sáa-néhenóvé-hane. That is not said.
É-
sáa-néhešévé-stovè-hane. That is not done.

Rhetorical question commands

$$RECHECK THIS SECTION, INCLUDING THE DATA AND GLOSSES/ CLAIMS ABOUT FUNCTIONS

Some Cheyenne rhetorical questions can function as commands. These include negative interrogatives and negative prohibitives:

Negative interrogatives

Negative interrogatives include the sáa- negative preverb (with its negative suffix /-hé/) and the word-final –he interrogative (question) suffix. For further details, see lists with negative interrogatives in the main Verbs section of this book. Here are a few examples of negative interrogatives:

Né-
sáa-mésèhe-he-he-?!
Né-
sáa-’-ovèná-he-he-?!
Né-
sáa-naóotsé-he-he-?!

Aren't you eating?!
Didn't you go to bed?!
Aren't you asleep?!

Negative prohibitives

Negative prohibitives function as a kind of command. They combine the negative preverb sáa-(with its negative suffix /-hé/) and the prohibitive preverb vé'(e)- in a single verb:

Né-
sáa-vé'-mésèhe-he-?
Né-
sáa-vé'-néhešévé-he-?
Né-
sáa-vé'-néhešévé-hé-me-?

Shouldn't you eat?!
Shouldn't you do that?!
Shouldn't you (plural) do that?!

Hortatives

Cheyenne hortatives are commands which tell someone to let someone else do something. Cheyenne hortatives are created by adding the hortative suffix –ha to a verb stem. More details about hortatives can be found in the hortatives sections of the main Verbs section of this book. Here are a few examples of Cheyenne hortatives:
Némeneha! Let him sing!
Vé'hoootoha! Let him look at it!

Némenévoha! Let them sing!
Vé'hoootomávoha! Let them look at it!

**First person hortatives**

First person hortatives are formed by inserting a preverb ta- after the person prefix of a verb:

Ná-ta-mésehe! Let me eat!
Ná-ta-vé'hóóhta! Let me look at it!
Né-ta-évò'sóémáne! Let's play!
Né-ta-nèšeasema! Let's just leave!

The preverb hé- is often included also. It adds a meaning something like 'for the purpose of':

Né-tå-hé-mèséhémáne! Let's eat!
Né-tå-hé-ve'hoosanémáne! Let's go look on! (for example, at a powwow)

**Command particles**

Some short words called particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa'e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa'e! Let's see!

**Mitigation of commands**

It has been noted that some command forms are mitigated (milder). They are less direct, for instance, than the most direct commands, such as Méseestse! 'Eat!' and Tahéověšéstse!'Go to bed!' We must note, however, that, unlike in some other languages, including English, more direct commands are not impolite or rude to use in Cheyenne. It is culturally appropriate to use a direct command with an elderly parent, for instance. Instead of degree of politeness determining the degree of mitigation of a command, it appears that degree of mitigation of Cheyenne commands is determined by degree of social closeness, how familiar a speaker is to the person being addressed by a command.

So, if you are not a Cheyenne and someone tells you Méseestse! 'Eat!', understand this use of the most direct command to be a kind of compliment. It means that you have gained a good level of acceptance within the social circle of that Cheyenne speaker.

In contrast, if someone says the mitigated command, Émé'méséhéstove 'There should be eating!' there is some social distance intended. Such a mitigated command might be used, for instance, by a woman, who is trying to get her son-in-law to eat, but she cannot speak to him directly due to the Cheyenne taboo against her speaking to her son-in-law.
Verbs

An understanding of its verbs is essential to a proper understanding of Cheyenne. In a real sense the verb is the heart of the Cheyenne language. A Cheyenne verb is often like a complete sentence, all wrapped up in a single word. For instance, Éhoo'kôho means 'It's raining.' Ênéméne means 'He's singing.' Návóómo means 'I saw him,' and Êohkésá’aáhtomónéhe means 'He regularly does not listen.' We can add nouns to give more information. We can say "Hetane ënémëne" which means 'The man is singing.' Návóómo váótséva means 'I saw a deer.'

Much of this section of this book is devoted to paradigms (grammatical lists) of verbs. The lists are organized according to various categories. The categories are given technical labels. It is more important that you understand what kinds of verbs are in a category than that you understand what a technical label means. A person can, of course, easily learn a language without knowing any technical labels. Some people, on the other hand, find labels helpful. If you wish to understand more about the meaning of a label, and there is not enough explanation for it in this book, you might get some help from an English dictionary or by searching for the technical term on the Internet.

Transitivity

A transitive sentence has an "object", something or someone that is affected by the subject of the sentence. For instance, the words "He wrote a letter" form a transitive sentence. The object of the sentence is "a letter". An intransitive sentence does not have an object. The English sentence "She is cooking" has a subject, "She". There is no object telling what is cooked, so this sentence is intransitive.

Cheyenne verbs indicate whether they are intransitive or transitive, even if there is no separate noun which tells what the object is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive meaning</th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>Émese.</td>
<td>He's eating it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóósáne.</td>
<td>Návóóhta ame.</td>
<td>I see pemmican.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs and animacy

To understand Cheyenne grammar it is important to know whether the subject of a verb is animate or inanimate. And, if a verb is transitive, it is necessary to know whether the object is animate or inanimate. So, we can divide Cheyenne verbs into four main classes, (1) intransitive verbs having animate subjects, (2) intransitive verbs having inanimate subjects, (3) transitive verbs having animate objects, and (4) transitive verbs having inanimate objects. People who study Algonquian languages, such as Cheyenne, abbreviate these four classes as:

- AI (Animate Intransitive)
- II (Inanimate Intransitive)
- TA (Transitive Animate)
- TI (Transitive Inanimate)

This classification reflects an ergative pattern\(^{68}\). That is, animacy is marked for absolutes, i.e.,

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\(^{68}\) This does not mean that Algonquian languages are ergative, per se, only that they mark animacy on verbs according to an ergative pattern.
subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs.

Here are these four classes of Cheyenne verbs with examples of each:

### AI

- Épéhévahe. 'He's good.'
- Êtãhpéta. 'He's big.'
- Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing?'
- Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'
- Náováxe. 'I dreamed.'
- Éhenésone. 'She had a child.'
- Émésehe. 'He's eating.'

### II

- Épéhévá'e. 'It's good.'
- Êtãhpé'o. 'It's big.'
- Éhoo'kóho. 'It's raining.'
- Éma'ohé. 'Is it red?'
- Ésétovésté. 'It's noon.'
- Éháohó'ta. 'It's hot.'
- Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.'

### TA

- Nápéhéváno. 'I fixed him up.'
- Návóómo. 'I saw him.'
- Néhoxomohé. 'Did you feed him?'
- Náméhota. 'He loves me.'
- Áahtovéstit! 'Listen to me!'
- Násáa'oomóhe. 'I didn't hit him.'
- Émevo. 'He ate him (obv).'

### TI

- Nápéhévána. 'I fixed it.'
- Névóohtáhe? 'Did you see it?'
- Násáahestanóhe. 'I didn't take it.'
- Éhótse. 'He has it.'
- Náááhta. 'I'm listening to it.'
- Násáa'oohtóhe. 'I didn't hit it.'
- Émese. 'He ate it.'

There are also other important categories for Cheyenne verbs. Let's examine them.

**Polarity**

Cheyenne verbs are either positive or negative. This is called polarity. Negative verbs are marked with the negative preverb sáa- and a negative suffix. Positive verbs are unmarked for polarity. The negative suffix is -hane for Inanimate Intransitive verbs and /-hé/ for all other verbs.

- Námésehe. I ate.
- Násáaméséhéhe. I did not eat.
- Émá'o. It's red.
- Ésáama'óhane. It's not red.

**Interrogatives**

Verbs can be marked as questions, also known as interrogatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Énéméne.</td>
<td>He's singing.</td>
<td>Énémenehe?</td>
<td>Did he sing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étãhpé'o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Étãhpé'o?</td>
<td>Is it big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestána.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Néhestanahe?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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69 Also called affirmative.
Náméhóto.  I love him.  Néméhotohe?  Do you love him?

**Imperatives**
Cheyenne verbs can tell people to do things. These verbs are called commands, also known as imperatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>imperative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>He is eating.</td>
<td>Méseestse!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestāna.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Hestānōhtse!</td>
<td>Take it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later, when we give more details about Cheyenne imperatives, we will show that imperatives can tell someone to do something immediately or at some later time.

**Independent verbs**
Cheyenne verbs are marked for whether or not they can stand alone. Verbs which can stand alone are translated as complete English sentences. Verbs which can stand alone are called independent verbs. Here are some independent verbs:

Énaóotse.  He's sleeping.
Námese.  I'm eating it.
Éoseepéhévééno'e.  It tastes really good.
Nátséhésenéstseme.  We speak Cheyenne.
Nésáatšēhe'nevōomatsēhe.  I never see you.

**Dependent (conjunct) verbs**
Verbs which do not stand alone are called dependent verbs. It is traditional with people who study Algonquian languages to call dependent verbs conjunct verbs. We will use the label conjunct in this book but feel free to use the label dependent if it is more meaningful to you. Some Cheyenne conjunct verbs are:

tséhnaóotsēse  when he was sleeping
tséhvóonā'o  when it was morning
ma'énésétovoésta  when it's afternoon

**Orders**
The last three categories of verbs, independent, conjunct, and imperatives, are called orders in Algonquian languages. The term order comes from the foundational work of Leonard Bloomfield (1946) on Algonquian languages. We will examine many verbs of each order in the next sections of this book. For now, here are a few examples:

**Independent order verbs**
Some examples of independent order verbs are:

Náho'soo'e.  I danced.
Néméséhehe?  Did you eat?
Móxháeanāhevóhe.  They must have been hungry.
Ésáavé’hoohtóhe. He didn't look at it.

**Conjunct order verbs**
Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméeseese when he ate
- tsénémenese those who are singing
- éóháóénávóhtse whether they were hungry
- máxho’êhnéstse when he comes

**Imperative order verbs**
Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Háméstoo’èstse! Sit down!
- T’ahéovéšéstse! Go to bed!
- Né’évahó’êhno’o! Come again (later)!

**Modes**
Each order has two or more subtypes. These subtypes are called modes. A mode tells us something about how a speaker views the action or state of a verb. For instance, if a speaker does not know if something happened, he can ask whether it happened. As we noted earlier, an asking verb is in the interrogative mode.

**Evidentials**
Some Cheyenne modes indicate how speakers came by the information that they are sharing. Modes that are used to indicate the source of evidence for a speaker's information are called evidentials. If a Cheyenne speaker personally experienced something, they tell about it using what is called the indicative mode. Cheyenne indicative mode verbs do not receive any evidential marking. Cheyenne does marks three evidential modes on verbs: reportative, inferential, and preterit.

**Indicative mode (should we change this to eye witness mode?)**
As just noted, the indicative mode indicates information which a speaker has personally witnessed, that is, personally experienced either by seeing, hearing, tasting, or feeling. Even though a verb in the indicative mode does not receive any evidential marking, the lack of marking clearly indicates personally witnessed evidence. For this reason, Sarah Murray ($$xxxx:xx) labels this the witness mode. Each of the following verbs must have been personally witnessed in order for a Cheyenne speaker to say them properly. This is an important point which can be difficult for English speakers to learn when they begin to speak Cheyenne:

- Énaóotse. He's sleeping.
- Néhósema. He told about you.
- Ého'ëéto. It's snowing.
- Épëhévééño’e. It tastes good.

**Reportatives**
If Cheyenne speakers have been told that something has happened (but have not seen it for themselves), they would use a reportative evidential. Such verbs can be translated with English words like "It is said that ____ " or "____, they say".
Némanémáse.  It is said that you drank.
Éhnévéatamósesto.  It is said that he took pity on him.

**Inferentials**

A commonly used evidential is the inferential mode. Inferential verbs are used by speakers who have not personally seen what happened, nor been told it by others, but concluded what happened based on other evidence available to them.

Verbs in the inferential mode begin with mó-71, and can be translated with words like "He must have ___" or "It must be _____________":

- Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe  It must have rained
- Mónéméséhehéhe  You must have eaten

**Preterit mode**

Another mode is the preterit (called mediate mode by Petter 1951 and I used Petter's term in earlier editions of this book). Petter (1951:68) wrote that "The expression Mediate denotes here a separation by time or distance or mind not direct or present." I remember an elder telling me that when he heard something told in this mode he felt "distant" from the events that were being narrated.

**Use in legends**

The preterit mode can also be considered a kind of evidential. The preterit marks actions which occurred long ago. No one living has any personal memory of them. The preterit has been used extensively when Cheyennes narrate legends, stories passed on down through many generations.

Because this mode has so often been used when a storyteller narrates legends, Sarah Murray (xxxx:xxxx) has used the informative label narrative for it.

I use the label preterit now because the Cheyenne suffixes of this mode are cognate with the preterit mode of other Algonquian languages, as Pentland (1984) has observed. Semantically, the "separation by time" semantics of this mode aligns with the past tense idea of the preterit mode in other Algonquian languages.

**Mirative usage**

The preterit is also used in contemporary settings to indicate surprise or exclamation on the part of a speaker. An older Cheyenne lady once heard me speaking some Cheyenne at a basketball game. She exclaimed, "Nooo, étséhésenéstésho'o'o!" which could be translated to English as 'Wow, surprisingly he speaks Cheyenne! It is possible that the narrative and mirative functions share the same semantics, namely, some kind of "distancing," in the case of a narrative a distancing where the speaker claims no source of information what they are saying, and in the case of a surprise, where the speaker has been so uninformed ("distanced", perhaps) from prior knowledge of what they are saying that they are surprised.

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70 Called the dubitative mode in earlier editions of this book. Sarah Murray (2010) calls it a conjectural mode, an accurate label.

71 A shortened form of the particle móhe meaning "Really?"
Linguists use the label miratives for forms indicating surprise. We will continue to use the Algonquianist term preterit but mirative or narrative can also be used.

**Interrogative mode**

The interrogative mode, marking yes/no questions (also known as polar questions), is a non-evidential mode. The suffix -he marks the interrogative mode:

- Nénémene-he? Did you sing?
- Émésèhevo-he? Did they eat?
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb would be called a "dependent" verb. It has become traditional with people who study Algonguian languages to use another label for this type, "conjunct". In these notes, the label "conjunct" will be used. But, remember that you can use the label "dependent" if it is more meaningful to you. Here are some examples of some independent verbs and some conjunct verbs:

**INDEPENDENT VERBS**

náho' soc'a
némésáhe
mómnohon'éhe (hetane'o)
észavé' hoohéhe

I danced.
Did you eat?
There must have been five (men).
He didn't look at it.

**CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS**

tzáneménésa
tzánemenese
édzándénte
méhó'enésa
tzáneménésa

when he sang
those who are singing
whether he prayed
when he comes

We will call the major categories, Independent, Conjunct, and Imperative "Orders". Each order has two or more main subtypes. We will call these subtypes "modes". A mode serves to tell us something about how the speaker views the "action" of a verb. For instance, if a speaker does not know if something has happened, he can ask a question. We will say that an "asking" verb is in the "interrogative mode". If a speaker knows that something has happened, usually having seen it with his own eyes, he simply makes a statement telling about the action. We say that a verb of this type, for instance, émásehe 'he ate', is in the indicative mode.

Modes are very important in Cheyennes. Verbs will be of different modes depending on how a speaker has come by his knowledge. For instance, if he has been told that something has happened (but has not seen it for himself), he can use verbs in the "Attributive Mode". Such verbs can be translated with English words like "It is said that ___" or "they say that ___". Here are some examples: émánešáte 'It is said that he drank,' and édómdéséste 'It is said that he hit him.'

A commonly used mode type is the "Dubitative Mode". Using this mode appears to "tone down" an assertion, so that it doesn't sound too strong. Verbs in the dubitative mode begin with mó-, and can be translated with English words like "I guess ___" or "It must be that ___." A speaker may be quite sure that some action took place, but he can still use the dubitative mode so that what he says about the action will not sound too strong. Here are some examples of verbs in the dubitative mode: móho' kókóhanehe 'it must have rained', mónešeméséhehehe 'you must have eaten already', and móho'móhóháhehehehe 'he must be sick'.

Another mode is the "Mediate Mode". Using this mode seems to give an impression of "distance in space, concepts, or time". Verbs of the
mediate mode are often used in legends and folk-tales. Some examples of verbs in the mediate mode are ëhëëmënhoo' o 'he sang' and ëhëëhëvë'ëneho 'it was good'.

There are a variety of different modes as subtypes of the Conjunct Order. We will not discuss these types in this introduction. Some of the various Conjunct Modes are illustrated on following pages entitled OVERVIEW OF CHEYENNE VERB SYSTEM when examples of Conjunct verbs are given. There are further illustrations of the various Conjunct modes later in these notes.

Before turning to the actual paradigms (lists) of verbs, we need to be sure we understand some things about the "person" system of Cheyenne. English is one language that commonly uses pronouns to tell what "person" is doing the action of a verb. In English grammar it is common to say that 'I' is first-person singular; 'you' is second-person, and it can be either singular or plural; 'we' is first-person plural, 'he, she, or it' are third-person singular, and 'they' is third-person plural. Cheyenne, and many other languages of the world, shows this same information by prefixes and suffixes attached directly to a verb. In a way, we can say that the "pronouns" are a part of the verbs—in technical language we say that Cheyenne verbs have pronominal affixes (affixes can be either prefixes or suffixes).

To start out, we need to know that the basic first-person verb prefix is ná-, the basic second-person prefix is në-, and the basic third-person prefix is ë-. Notice how similar these are to the prefixes which we saw used on possessed nouns a few pages earlier. One difference is that the possessive prefixes, na-, ne-, and he-, have low pitches on their vowels. The basic verb person prefixes have high pitches on their vowels. (The high pitch will be gone with certain future tense verbs.)

Here are some examples using the verb prefixes:

námësahë I ate.
nëmësahë you (singular) ate.
ëmësahë He (or She) ate.

To conserve space, number abbreviations are used for the various "persons" throughout these notes. It would be very helpful for you if you would memorize these abbreviations:

1 first-person singular ("I")
2 second-person singular ("you")
3 third-person singular ("he" or "she")
11 first-person plural (exclusive) ("we") (US but not YOU)
12 first-person plural (inclusive) ("we") (YOU and ME, maybe others)
22 second-person plural ("you")
33 third-person plural ("they")

In the discussion preceding the lists of possessed nouns, earlier, it was mentioned that an animate noun becomes "obviated" (moved out of the spotlight) when it is possessed by a third-person. We will call the
obviated person a "fourth-person". For all of the other persons there 
can be a singular or a plural. But, the fourth-person can be either 
singular or plural. It was pointed out, earlier, for instance, that 
hee'haho means either 'his son' or 'his sons'. We will abbreviate the 
fourth-person with "4". If a fourth-person does some action, the verb 
describing that action must be a little different from a verb with a 
regular third-person. For instance,

| énéméne | he sang |
| hee'haho | 3    |
| ēnāmenōho | 4    |
| his son sang |

The "regular" third-person is sometimes called a "proximate" person, 
while the fourth-person is sometimes called the "obviated" person, or 
"obviative".

Obviation will also occur when two third-persons are referred to 
by the same verb, such as 'see'. The proximate forms of 'man' and 'woman' 
are ēnēnē and ēne, respectively. Their obviative forms are ēnāmenōho 
and he'e, respectively. Notice what happens in the following sentences 
when there are two third-persons. Look for obviation changes on the 
nouns and on the verbs.

1-3 Nēvōōmo ēnēnē. I saw a man.
1-3 Nēvōōmo ēne. I saw a woman.
2-3 Nēvōōmo ēnēnē. You saw a man.
3-4 Ēnēnē ēvōōmōho ēne. The man saw a woman.
3-4 He'e ēvōōmōho ēnāmenōho. The woman saw a man.

Sometimes the fourth-person does the action to the third-person. In 
such a case, the transitive verb will look a little different from the 
verb ēvōōmōho, above, with the "3-4" person combination. For instance,

4-3 Nēvēkē ēvōōma'ē ēnēnē-ke'ēkōne. His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Nēvēkē ēvōōmōhēnā'ē. Her big sister helped her.

Transitive verbs give information as to what persons are the subjects 
and objects. The pronominal (person) affixes on transitive verbs follow 
a typical Algonquian "person-hierarchy". Whenever a first-person or 
second-person does something to a third-person (or fourth-person), the 
affix for the first- or second-person appears as the verb prefix, and 
the part that tells us that there is a third- or fourth-person object 
looks something like a "suffix" on the verb. But, when the third- or 
fourth-person acts on the first- or second-person, the first- or second-
person is still marked by the prefix, and the third- or fourth-person is 
marked by a different "suffix". This kind of person combination is called 
"inverse" (the object is marked by the verb prefix); the first kind of 
person combination mentioned is called "direct" (the subject is marked by 
the verb prefix):

1-3 Nēvōōmo (direct) I saw him.
2-3 Nēvōōmo (direct) You saw him.
3-1 Nēvōōma (inverse) He saw me.
3-2 Nēvōōma (inverse) He saw you.
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

Verbs which only involve first- and second-persons are said to be "local" forms. The Cheyenne person-hierarchy applies with local forms, just as it does with the above-mentioned direct and inverse forms. Whenever a second-person is either the subject or object of a Cheyenne verb, that verb receives the second-person prefix, né-. This means that second-person is the "highest" person on the Cheyenne person-hierarchy. Note the following local forms:

nèvod'ome  You saw me.
nèvot'ósí  I saw you.
nèvot'sáma  I saw you (plural).
nèvot'tone  You (plural) saw me.

Each of these local forms has a second-person prefix, even though for two of the forms second-person is the object of the verb.

Throughout these notes an inanimate "thing" is abbreviated by "I" (for "Inanimate"). Singular inanimate will be abbreviated as "I", while inanimate plural will be abbreviated by "II". Whenever animate persons and inanimate "persons" interact in transitive verbs, in Cheyenne, verb prefixes mark the animate persons, not the inanimate persons. This is another way of saying that animate persons are higher on the person-hierarchy than inanimate persons. Look at these examples:

I-I náho'éhóta  I came to it.
I-II náho'éhóta'sí  I came to them (inanimate).
I-I náho'éhó'táa'é  It came to me.

In the third form, here, the singular inanimate "thing" being talked about is the "subject" of the verb, but, because it is lower on the person-hierarchy than "me", the first-person "object" receives the prefix marking. We can now show the order of persons on the Cheyenne person-hierarchy:

2  second-person  
1  first-person  
3  third-person  
4  fourth-person  
I  inanimate-person  

Whenever action goes from a person higher on the hierarchy to one lower, we can say that the action is "direct"--in this case the verb prefix will mark the subject of the verb. Whenever action goes the other way, from a person lower on the hierarchy to one higher, we can say that the action is "inverse"--in this case the verb prefix will mark the object of the verb.

The basic structure of a Cheyenne verb is as follows:

prefix-(tense)-(directional)-(preverb(s))-(root)-(medial)-final

Elements in parentheses ( ) are optional; some verbs do not have them. A "directional" marker tells whether the action of the verb is coming
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

"toward" (often, toward the speaker) or going "away" (often, away from the speaker). If it is "toward", one of the following will be present: -neh-, -nes-, -ne'-, or -nes-. If it is "away", there will be a -ta-.

The reader should turn to the topics sections in the later parts of these notes for further information on TENSE, PREVERBS, ROOTS, MEDIALS, and FINALS. Each of these categories is an important part of Cheyenne verbs. Briefly, TENSE tells "when" some action took place, PREVERBS modify the main idea of the verb in a kind of "adverbial" fashion. The ROOT is the core, the main idea, of a verb. MEDIALS give special noun-like information about something that is associated with the ROOT.

All verbs have FINALS. The section which concentrates on FINALS, later, deals mostly with "concrete" finals, finals which, for instance, tell whether some action was done with your hand, your foot, a tool, heat, etc. It would be appropriate here to point out some of the "abstract" finals which appear in Cheyenne verbs.

A common Inanimate Intransitive (II) final is -ó, seen as the last vowel of the following II verbs:

átnáh'lo It is big.
áho'koh It is raining.
átonáto It is cold.
áho'kóvo It is yellow.
ámo'ó It is red.

A common Animate Intransitive (AI) final is -e, seen as the last vowel of the following AI verbs:

ámışáho He ate.
ámane He drank.
áho'koo'á He danced.
áho'kátomáshá He taught.
áho'kátóshá He is good.

There are several important Transitive Animate (TA) abstract finals. Most Transitive Inanimate (II) end in either -ó or -e. In the following list the root English meaning will be given, then TA and II verbs with their finals in parentheses, ( ). We will consider the part in parentheses before a hyphen to be the actual "final" and the part after the hyphen to be an "Object Agreement Marker" (or, in the case of inverse TA forms, a "Subject Agreement Marker")—OAM's and SAM's give us information about the persons involved in the verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>1-3:</th>
<th>1-I:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>návóómo (m-ó)</td>
<td>návóómta (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>námátso ('t-ó)</td>
<td>námátsoše (t-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>námáho'to ('t-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'tto (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be good to</td>
<td>náphévé'tóvo ('tov-ó)</td>
<td>náphévé'ta ('t-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saka</td>
<td>námámáho (h-o)</td>
<td>námámáho (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>náhá'sô'hó (h-ó)</td>
<td>náhá'sô'tse ('t-é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dampen</td>
<td>náhá'kóovó'to ('tov-ó)</td>
<td>náhá'kóovó'tse (ht-é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>náhá'móvo (ov-ó)</td>
<td>náhá'móše (ó-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have</td>
<td>náhá'ho (ov-ó)</td>
<td>náhá'ho (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb is called a "dependent" verb. It is traditional with people who study Algonquian languages to use another label for this type of verb, "conjunct". In these notes, the label "conjunct" will be used. But, remember that you can use the label "dependent" if it is more meaningful to you.

Here are some examples of some independent order verbs and some conjunct verbs:

INDEPENDENT VERBS

when he sang
those who are singing
whether he prayed
when he comes

Modes

There are two basic categories of modes in Cheyenne, evidential and non-evidential.

Outline of the Cheyenne verb system

This outline summarizes the major categories of Cheyenne verbs. Roman numbers (I, II, III) in the outline designate the three orders, Independent, Conjunct (that is, Dependent), and Imperative. Capital letters (A, B, C, etc.) designate modes. In general, each mode has all the positive/negative, transitivity, and animacy categories listed in the outline for the Independent Indicative.

I. Independent order
   A. Indicative
      1. Positive
         a. Intransitive
            (1) Animate subject (AI)
            (2) Inanimate subject (II)
         b. Transitive
            (1) Animate object (TA)
            (2) Inanimate object (TI)
      2. Negative
         a. Intransitive
            (1) Animate subject (AI)
            (2) Inanimate subject (II)
         b. Transitive
            (1) Animate object (TA)
            (2) Inanimate object (TI)
   B. Reportative mode
   C. Inferential mode
   D. Preterit mode
   E. Interrogative mode
II. Conjunct (Dependent) order
   A. Indicative mode
   B. Potential mode
   C. Iterative mode
   D. Generic mode
   E. Interrogative mode
   F. Obligative mode
   G. Optative mode
   H. Inferential Negative mode
   I. Participles

III. Imperative order
   A. Direct
      1. Immediate
      2. Delayed
   B. Hortative

Examples of verb types
Cheyenne verbs in this chart are given with an English translation. ... POS abbreviates Positive and NEG abbreviates Negative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>outline category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épêhévahe.</td>
<td>He's good.</td>
<td>I.A.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhévahéhe.</td>
<td>He's not good.</td>
<td>I.A.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhévâhehe.</td>
<td>Is he good?</td>
<td>I.B.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhévâhehehe.?</td>
<td>Isn't he good?</td>
<td>I.B.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môpêhévâhehêhe.</td>
<td>He seems to be good.</td>
<td>I.C.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nôpéhevaestse.</td>
<td>He seems to be not good.</td>
<td>II.I.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...$CORRECT AND REVISE THE FOLLOWING SCAN-fix character spacing

I fixed him (by hand). I didn't fix him up.
Did you fix him up?
He must have fixed him up.
He is said to have fixed him.
He fixed him up.
Fix him up!
Let him fix him up!

when he was good
when he is good (unrealized)
whenever he is good
when he is good (in general)
the one who is good
whether he is good
he ought to be good
I wish he would be good.
no doubt he is not good

when it was good
when it is good (unrealized)
when it rains (unrealized)
whenever it is good
whenever it rained
when it rains (in general)
when it's good (in general) the one which is good whether it is good
it should be good
it should rain
I wish it would be good.
I wish it would rain.
no doubt it was not good
no doubt it did not rain

when I fixed him up
when I fix him up (unrealized)
whenever I fix him up
when I fix him up (in general)
the one who I fix up whether you fixed him up
you ought to fix him up
I wish you would fix him up.
no doubt he did not fix him up

when I fixed it up
when (unrealized)
whenever I fix it up
when I fix it up (in general)
what I fixed it up
whether you fixed it up
you ought to fix it up
I wish you would fix it up.
no doubt he did not fix it up

Independent Order morphology summary
Cheyenne affixes in this section are spelled before pitch rules apply to words.

Independent order formula:
 PERSON-TNS-[PREVERB(S)]-STEM-(FINAL)-VOICE-(NEG)-MODE-OBVIATIVE/NUMBER

(OBVIATIVE/NUMBER appears after the REPORT and PRET mode markers; otherwise OBVIATIVE/NUMBER precedes them.)

$$REVISE$$ the following
**PERSON:**
ná- 1
né- 2
é- 3

**Tense**
h- PST (remote past)
htse- FUT

**VOICE:**
-ô DIR
-a(e) INV
-e LOCAL.DIR (2:1)
-ate (-atse) LOCAL.INV (1:2)
-e PSV
-man (LOCAL.PSV)
-ahts(e) REFL

**NUMBER:**
-o 3PL (AI and with DIR voice)
-é 3PL (with INV voice)
-mé 1/2PL
-ma 12PL
-vo 2/3PL
-no 1PL (with local voice)
-ét II.PL
-ot TI.PL
-est RPT.PL.FINAL (follows the /-s/ reportative suffix)
-on PRET.PL.FINAL

**NEG (negative):**
Requires sá- preverb plus following suffixes:

-hé (non-II)
-hanéh (II)

**OBVIATIVE:**
-(h)ó ~ -(h)o

**MODE:**

Interrogative

*Yes/No Question with suffix*
-he INTERROG (occurs after NUMBER)

*Yes/No Question with prefix*
mó=
Imperative

Immediate:
  -t IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

Delayed
  -o IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE
  -hené IMPV.PL.ADDRESSEE

Hortative

Reportative:
  -s
  [-má LOCAL.REPORT.FINAL]
  [-est RPT.PL.FINAL (follows the /-s/ reportative suffix)]

Preterit
  -ho PRET
  [-on PRET.PL.FINAL]

Inferential:
  mó- ... NEG-hé
Animate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

- méšehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náméšehe</th>
<th>I ate / I am eating **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES for AI, II, TA, TI, &amp; MODES &amp; VERB TEMPLATES DISCUSSION (INNER &amp; OUTER AGREEMENT, FROM OXFORD), ETC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néméšehe</td>
<td>You ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméšehe</td>
<td>He ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehóho</td>
<td>He (obv) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésehéme</td>
<td>We (excl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehema</td>
<td>We (incl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehéme</td>
<td>You (pl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméseheo'o</td>
<td>They ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mané 'drink'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námáne</th>
<th>I drank / I am drinking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némáne</td>
<td>You drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméane</td>
<td>He drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanóho</td>
<td>He (obv) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námámené</td>
<td>We (excl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanema</td>
<td>We (incl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanéme</td>
<td>You (pl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émaneo'o</td>
<td>They drank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/nomené/ 'sip'

-/nomené/ 'sip' refers to consuming a liquid that has been heated, such as coffee, tea, or soup:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nánoméne</th>
<th>I drank (heated liquid)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némoméne</td>
<td>You drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énoméne</td>
<td>He drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énoménóho</td>
<td>He (obviative) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénoménéméme</td>
<td>We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénomenenema</td>
<td>We (inclusive) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénoménéméme</td>
<td>You (plural) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomeneo'o</td>
<td>They drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/hotse'óhe/ 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náhotse'óhe</th>
<th>I worked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néhotse'óhe</td>
<td>You worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotse'óhe</td>
<td>He worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotse'óhóho</td>
<td>He (obv) worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse'óhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhotse'óhema</td>
<td>We (incl) worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhotse'óhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotse'óheo'o</td>
<td>They worked</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/hoe/ 'be at'

This verb, like the following verb /-ho'sóe/ 'dance', and many others, undergoes vowel-stretching when the phonemic verb stem ends in at least two vowels:

It is difficult to tell if this penultimate pitch is high or mid, especially if there are one or more preceding low pitches. This difficulty is increased by that fact that relative pitches on Cheyenne words drift slightly lower from the beginnings to the ends of word, unless there is some pitch context that keeps the pitches high.
Náhoo'e  I'm (here)  /ná-hoe/
Néhoo'e  You're (here)  /né-hoe/
Éhoo'e  He's (here)  /é-hoe/
Éhoëho ??  He (obv) is (here)  /é-hoe-hó/
Náhoëme  We (excl) are (here)  /ná-hoe-mé/
Néhoema  We (incl) are (here)  /né-hoe-ma/
Néhoëme  You (pl) are (here)  /né-hoe-mé/
Éhoëo'o  They are (here)  /é-hoe-o/

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'
Náho'so'o'e  I danced
Ného'soo'e  You danced
Ého'soo'e  He danced
Ého'sóóho  He (obv) danced
Náho'sóéme  We (excl) danced
Ného'sóema  We (incl) danced
Ného'sóéme  You (pl) danced
Ého'sóeo'o  They danced

/-háéána/ 'hungry'
Náháéána  I am hungry
Néháéána  You are hungry
Éháéána  He is hungry
Éháéánaho  He (obv) is hungry
Náháéánáme  We (excl) are hungry
Néháéanama  We (incl) are hungry
Néháéánáme  You (pl) are hungry
Éháéanao'o  They are hungry

/-háóéna/ 'pray'
Náháóéna  I prayed
Néháóéna  You prayed
Éháóéna  He prayed
Éháóénaho  He (obv) prayed
Náháóénáme  We (excl) prayed
Néháoénama  We (incl) prayed
Néháóénáme  You (pl) prayed
Éháoenao'o  They prayed

-oveše 'go to bed' and -óváxe 'dream'
These verbs add /ná/ to their stems except when their AI final –eše 'lie' is word-final:

Náovëše  I went to bed  Náováxe  I dreamed
Néovëše  You went to bed  Néováxe  You dreamed
Éovëše  He went to bed  Éováxe  He dreamed
Éovëšënaho  He (obv) went to bed  Éováxënaho  He (obv) dreamed
Náovëšëname  We (excl) went to bed  Náováxëname  We (excl) dreamed
Néovëšëname  We (incl) went to bed  Néováxëname  We (incl) dreamed
Néovëšëname  You (pl) went to bed  Néováxëname  You (pl) dreamed
Éovëšënao'o73  They went to bed  Éováxënao'o  They dreamed

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovëšëne and éovëšëna.
-véstahe 'help'
  Návéstahe  I helped
  Névéstahe  You helped
  Évéstahe   He helped
  Évéstahóho He (obv) helped
  Névéstähème We (excl) helped
  Névéstähèma We (incl) helped
  Névéstähème You (pl) helped
  Évéstäho'o They helped

-/méó'é/ 'fight'
  Náméó'e   I fought
  Néméó'e   You fought
  Éméó'e    He fought
  Éméó'óho  He (obv) fought
  Náméó'éme We (excl) fought
  Néméó'ema We (incl) fought
  Néméó'éme You (pl) fought
  Éméó'eo'o  They fought

-/naa'é/ 'doctor'
  Nánaa'e   I doctored
  Nénaa'e   You doctored
  Énaa'é 74  He doctored
  Énaa'óho  He (obv) doctored
  Nánaa'ème We (excl) doctored
  Nénaa'ema We (incl) doctored
  Nénaa'ème You (pl) doctored
  Énaa'eo'o 75 They doctored

-naóotse 'sleep'
  Nánaóotse  I slept
  Nénaóotse  You slept
  Énaóotse   He slept
  Énaóotóho  He (obv) slept
  Nánaóootsème We (excl) slept
  Nénaóotsema We (incl) slept
  Nénaóootsème You (pl) slept
  Énaóotseo'o They slept

-/némené/ 'sing' and /-néményé/ 'have a crooked face'
  Cheyennes enjoy pointing out that énéményé can mean either 'he sang' or 'he has a crooked face'. They enjoy suggesting that these words sound the same because a person may have a crooked face while they are singing. This homophony is actually coincidental, as can be seen from differences in pronunciation in some of these words' other person and number combinations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I sang</th>
<th>I have a crooked face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánéményé</td>
<td>Nánéményé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénéményé</td>
<td>Nénéményé</td>
<td>you have a crooked face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéményé</td>
<td>Énéményé</td>
<td>He has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énénemónóho</td>
<td>Énénemónóho</td>
<td>He (obv) has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 Cf. énaa'e 'he died'.
75 Cf. énae'o'o 'they died'.
-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

One of the most important verbs for a Cheyenne person to learn is nátséhéstahe 'I am Cheyenne' and the related forms for other persons and numbers of persons. If you prefer to write this word more simply, consider using the spellings in the list on the right side (or some other spellings that make sense to you):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>simpler spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéstahe</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahe</td>
<td>You're Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahe</td>
<td>He's Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahóho</td>
<td>He (obv) is Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéståhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéståhema</td>
<td>We (incl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéståhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéståheo'o</td>
<td>They are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/he/ 'say'

The verb meaning 'say' is used at the end of a quote. It has a few irregularities in the spelling of its stem:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náheve</td>
<td>I said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néheve</td>
<td>You said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevo'o</td>
<td>He said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoône</td>
<td>He (obv) said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhema</td>
<td>We (incl) said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoône</td>
<td>They said</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-nëehove 'be the one'

This verb asserts that a person or persons is the one(s) under consideration. It can be questioned and negated like any other verb. It can occur in any order or mode.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánëehove</td>
<td>I am the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénëehove</td>
<td>You are the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéehove</td>
<td>He is the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéehóvóho??</td>
<td>He (obviative) is the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánëehóvéme</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénëehóvéma</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénëehóvéme</td>
<td>You (plural) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéehóveo'o</td>
<td>They are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-he 'have'

A Cheyenne verb may consist of the morpheme -he, meaning 'have', plus an incorporated noun that refers to what the subject of the verb has. 'Have' verbs with incorporated nouns are intransitive.

76 An alternative pronunciation for some speakers is énémeno. SRECHECK
They are different from the transitive verbs –ho'tse 'have (something)', -ho'h 'have (someone)', or – á'en 'own (something or someone)'. Here is the paradigm for the intransitive verb that means 'have a child':

**-he-nésone 'have a child'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésone</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónéhóho</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésónéhémé</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhémé</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhémé</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónéhemo'o</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-he-voestove 'have a dress'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestove</td>
<td>I have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestove</td>
<td>You have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestove</td>
<td>She has on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestovême</td>
<td>We (excl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovemá</td>
<td>We (incl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovémé</td>
<td>You (pl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestovemo'o</td>
<td>They have on dresses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other examples of verbs constructed with -he 'have' are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhemótšeške</td>
<td>I have a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheamáho'héstove</td>
<td>He has a car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevéxahe</td>
<td>I have a grandchild(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestónaha</td>
<td>He has a daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhee'hahe</td>
<td>He has a son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestotsehe</td>
<td>I have a pet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáamanéhe</td>
<td>I did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhe</td>
<td>You did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéhe</td>
<td>He did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáamanéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhemá</td>
<td>We (incl) did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéheo'o</td>
<td>They did not drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>I did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>You did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>He did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhémá</td>
<td>We (incl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéheo'o</td>
<td>They did not eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### -hotse'ohe 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>I did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>You did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>He did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahotse'óhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahotse'óhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahotse'óheme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óheo'o</td>
<td>They did not work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /ho'sóé/ 'dance'

The negatives of this verb stem always add at least the negative suffix /-hé/ to the end of the stem. So the vowels /óe/ of this verb stem never appear word-finally, as they do in the singular subject positive verbs, listed earlier, which require vowel-stretching:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'sóéhe</td>
<td>I did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóéhe</td>
<td>You did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóéhe</td>
<td>He did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóeheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'sóhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóéhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóheo'o</td>
<td>They did not dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### oveše 'go to bed'

Verbs with the AI final –eše add /ná/ to their stems except when–eše is word-final:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ovešenáhe</td>
<td>I did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovešenáhe</td>
<td>You did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovešenáhe</td>
<td>He did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovešenáheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ovešenáhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovešenáhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovešenáhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovešenáheo'o</td>
<td>They did not go to bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ováxe 'dream'

The extra /ná/ of the 'lie' final also appears in the negative forms of the verbs for 'dream':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>I did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>You did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>He did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ováxenáhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáheo'o</td>
<td>They did not dream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /hé/ 'say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéhe</td>
<td>I did not say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéhe</td>
<td>You did not say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéhe</td>
<td>He did not say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Násáahhéme  We (excl) did not say
Nésáahhéhema  We (incl) did not say
Nésáahhéhéme  You (pl) did not say
Ésáahhéheo'o  They did not say

-he-nésone 'have a child'
Násáahenésónhéhe  I do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhe  You do not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéhe  He does not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéheho  He (obv) does not have a child
Násáahenésónhéhéme  We (excl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhéhema  We (incl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhéme  You (pl) do not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéheho'o  They do not have a child

**Animate Intransitive equative verbs**

The formula (or frame) for equative verbs consists of the personal prefix é-, an incorporated noun, and an equative suffix /-vé/ which means 'be'. For example, the animate Cheyenne noun hoohtsetse means 'tree'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is éhoóhtsetsevé which means 'it (animate) is a tree'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other AI verbs. So éhoóhtsetsévéo'o means 'they are trees.'

Equative verbs are not very useful for beginning Cheyenne language learning. But they are very useful for discovering the spelling of Cheyenne noun stems and their phonemic pitches. Inanimate nouns can also be incorporated into the equative frames and we will see examples of them later in the section of this book devoted to II verbs. Here are some AI equatives:

| Éhováheve | It is an animal. | Éhováhevo'o | They are animals. |
| Émé'ëšvo'tseve | He is a baby. | Émé'ëšvo'tsevéo'o | They are babies. |
| Ênáhkóheve | It is a bear. | Ênáhkóhevéo'o | They are bears. |
| Éhoma'ève | It is a beaver. | Éhoma'èvéo'o | They are beavers. |
| Évé'késéheve | It is a bird. | Évé'késéhevéo'o | They are birds. |
| Éhotóave | It is a buffalo. | Éhotóaveo'o | They are buffaloes. |
| Êpóesónheve | It is a cat. | Êpóesónhevéo'o | They are cats. |
| Évéheoneve | He is a chief. | Évéheonevéo'o | They are chiefs. |
| Éka'ëškónéheve | He is a child. | Éka'ëškónéhevéo'o | They are children. |
| Éó'köhaméheve | It is a coyote. | Éó'köhaméhevéo'o | They are coyotes. |
| Éváotsevéheve | It is a deer. | Éváotsevévéo'o | They are deer. |
| Éhoestove | It is a dress. | Éhoestóvéo'o | They are dresses. |
| Éšé'ševe | It is a duck. | Éšé'ševéo'o | They are ducks. |
| Énetseve | It is an eagle. | Énetsévéo'o | They are eagles. |
| Évóaxaa'ève | It is a bald eagle. | Évóaxaa'èvéo'o | They are bald eagles. |
| Émo'èheve | It is an elk. | Émo'èhevéo'o | They are elks. |
| Émo'ëškoneve | It is a finger. | Émo'ëškonévéo'o | They are fingers. |
| Énomá'heve | It is a fish. | Énomá'hevéo'o | They are fishes. |
| Éhésève | It is a fly. | Éhésèvéo'o | They are flies. |
| Éma'heóneve | It is a sacred power. | Éma'heónevéo'o | They are sacred powers. |
| Émo'ëño'haméheve | It is a horse. | Émo'ëño'haméhevéo'o | They are horses. |
| Êhétaneve | He is a man. | Êhétanévéo'o | They are men. |
Émo'e'háheve  It is a magpie.  Émo'e'háhevo'o  They are magpies.
Épé'ève  It is a nighthawk.  Épé'èveo'o  They are nighthawks.
Éma'hákhéséheve  He is an old man.  Éma'hákhéséhevo'o  They are old men.
Éšéstotó'ève  It is a pine.  Éšéstotó'èveo'o  They are pines.
Évókhooheve  It is a rabbit.  Évókhoohéveo'o  They are rabbits.
Éxaóneve  It is a skunk.  Éxaõneveo'o  They are skunks.
Éhotóhkeve  It is a star.  Éhotóhkeveo'o  They are stars.
Éhoóhtseve  It is a tree.  Éhoóhtsetséveo'o  They are trees.
Énótaxeve  He is a warrior.  Énótáxéveo'o  They are warriors.
Évé'ho'ève  He is a whiteman.  Évé'ho'éveo'o  They are whitemen.
Éhe'ève  She is a woman.  Éhe'éveo'o  They are women.

**Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs**

There are two ways to create yes/no questions in Cheyenne:

(1) add the interrogative suffix -he to the end of a verb
(2) add the prefix mó- to the beginning of a word

(1) is the older method; (2) is newer. The prefix mó- is a contracted form of the question particle móhe meaning 'Really?' Mó- can attach to many Cheyenne words to question them, including nouns, demonstrative and discourse pronouns, and verbs.

Verbs with third person plural and obviative subjects require addition of the syllable "vo" before the -he suffix is added. The syllable "ma" is added to verbs which have first plural inclusive subjects, before the -he suffix is added.

**-he suffix yes/no questions**

- **mane 'drink'**
  
  | Námánehe? | Did I drink? |
  | Némánehe? | Did you drink? |
  | Émánehe? | Did he drink? |
  | Émánevohe? | Did he (obv) drink? |
  | Námánerméhe? | Did we (excl) drink? |
  | Némánerméhe? | Did we (incl) drink? |
  | Némánerméhe? | Did you (pl) drink? |
  | Émánevohe? | Did they drink? |

- **mésehe 'eat'**
  
  | Náméséhehehe? | Did I eat? |
  | Néméséhehehe? | Did you eat? |
  | Éméséhehehe? | Did he eat? |
  | Éméséhevohe? | Did he (obv) eat? |
  | Náméséhéméhehe? | Did we (excl) eat? |
  | Néméséhéméhehe? | Did we (incl) eat? |
  | Néméséhéméhehe? | Did you (pl) eat? |
  | Éméséhevohe? | Did they eat? |

---

77 Also called polar interrogatives.
-oveše 'go to bed' interogatives

The same /ná/ is added to the AI final –eše 'lie' that we saw in previous paradigms, except when verbs have singular subjects and are in the indicative positive mode:

Náověšenahe? Did I go to bed?
Néověšenahe? Did you go to bed?
Éověšenahe? Did he go to bed?
Éověšenavoho? Did he (obv) go to bed?
Náověšenamehe? Did we (excl) go to bed?
Néověšenámanehe? Did we (incl) go to bed?
Néověšenámehe? Did you (pl) go to bed?
Éověšenavavohe? Did they go to bed?

-he-nésone 'have a child' interogatives

Náhenésonéhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésonéhevohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonémanehehe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonémehehe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

-he 'say' interogatives

Náhehe? Did I say?
Néhehe? Did you say?
Éhehe? Did he say?
Éhevohe? Did he (obv) say?
Náhemehe? Did we (excl) say?
Néhemehe? Did we (incl) say?
Néhemehe? Did you (pl) say?
Éhevohe? Did they say?

mó- prefix yes/no questions

In these yes/no questions mó- is added to the beginning of an indicative verb. If a verb has a third person subject, a glottal stop is inserted between the mó- prefix and the verb prefix -é.

Some examples of yes/no questions with the mó- prefix are:

Mónééšemésehe? Did you already eat?
Mónéháána? Are you hungry?
Mónéstsenoméne? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónéménevéao'eohe? Did you just get back?
Mó'éháomóhtahe? Is he sick?
Mó'énéméne? Did he sing?

Mó-tsé'tóhe?²⁷⁸ This one?
Mó-néhe? You mean that one?

²⁷⁸ This is an example of a yes/no question where the mó- prefix questions something other than a verb.
Animate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

Negative Interrogative questions are formed by the usual sáa- preverb and negative suffix /-hé/ plus the word-final interrogative suffix /-he/:$$RECHECK

-he suffix negative questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhehehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovésenáhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahotse'óhehehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáanaóotséhehehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) sleep?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatáhpetáhehe?</td>
<td>Isn't he big?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mó- prefix negative questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáa'éšemésehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you eat yet?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'ésáa'ovésenáheo'o?</td>
<td>Didn't they go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'ésáanémenéheo'o?</td>
<td>Didn't they sing?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs

The inferential mode is very frequently used by Cheyennes. It is used to tell about something which you have concluded but have not directly observed or had told to you by someone else.

For someone whose first language is not Cheyenne, it can be difficult to learn to use the inferential mode. In English I can easily say "My daughter made frybread yesterday" whether or not I actually saw her making it. But I can't say the same thing in Cheyenne if I didn't actually see her making the frybread. Instead, if I saw the frybread after it was made and figured out that my daughter was the one who made it, I must say the Cheyenne equivalent of "My daughter must have made frybread yesterday."

Inferential formula

Cheyenne inferential verbs have a complicated structure. At a minimum, they have the following parts:

mó- + PERSON + VERB STEM + NEGATIVE SUFFIX + INFERENTIAL SUFFIX

The mó- prefix is the same prefix we saw in one of the ways to make yes/no questions in Cheyenne.

The personal prefix is either first person ná- or second person né-. The third person prefix é- is not used in the inferential mode.

As with any independent order verb, tense can be marked next.

There can be one or more preverbs.

There must be a verb stem.

There must be the either the negative suffix /-hé/ with animate subjects, or /-hane/ with inanimate subjects.

Inferentials take the usual suffixes for plural subjects and/or objects as well as direct or inverse voice.
Finally, there will be the inferential suffix /-hé/.

Following Petter (xxxx:xxx) I called this the dubitative mode in earlier editions of this book. I have come to believe that that label is not accurate. Unlike my earlier claim, this mode does not indicate doubt on the part of a speaker, for which the label dubitative would be appropriate. Instead, this mode indicates that speakers infer what they are saying based on evidence available to them that is not from other speakers.

Some Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs

/-máne/ 'drink'

Mónámanéhéhe⁷⁹  I must have drunk.
Mónémanéhéhe  You must have drunk.
Mómanéhéhe  He must have drunk.
Mómanéhevóhe  He (obv) must have drunk.
Mónámanéhemanéhe  We (excl) must have drunk.
Mónémanéhemanéhe  You (pl) must have drunk.
Mómanéhevóhe  They must have drunk.

/-háéaná/ 'be hungry'

Mónaháéanahéhe  I must be hungry.
Mónéháéanahéhe  You must be hungry.
Móháéanahéhe  He must be hungry.
Móháéanáhevóhe  He (obv) must be hungry.
Mónáháéanáhemanéhe  We (excl) must be hungry.
Mónéháéanáhemanéhe  You (pl) must be hungry.
Móháéanáhevóhe  They must be hungry.

/-háóéená/ 'pray'

Mónaháóéenahéhe  I must have prayed.
Mónéháóéenahéhe  You must have prayed.
Móháóéenahéhe  He must have prayed.
Móháóéenáhevóhe  He (obv) must have prayed.
Mónáháóéenáhemanéhe  We (excl) must have prayed.
Mónéháóéenáhemanéhe  You (pl) must have prayed.
Móháóéenáhevóhe  They must have prayed.

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

Móntáháoehehéhe  I must have ridden.
Mónétáháoehehéhe  You must have ridden.
Mótáháoehehéhe  He must have ridden.
Mótáháoehevóhe  He (obv) must have ridden.
Móntáháoehehemanéhe  We (excl) must have ridden.
Mónétáháoehehemanéhe  You (pl) must have ridden.
Móétáháoehehemanéhe  They must have ridden.

⁷⁹ It is uncertain whether this penultimate pitch on inferential verbs is mid or high.
/-he/ 'say’

All grammatical persons can be used with verbs of saying in the inferential mode, although third person subjects are most frequently used.

Mónánëhehēhe.80
Mónënéhehēhe.
Móhehēhe.
Móhevohe.
Mónâhéhehemanëhe??
Mónëhéhehemanëhe??
Mónënéhehemëhe??
Móhehevohe.

I must have said that.
You must have said that.
He must have said.
He (obv) must have said.
We (excl) must have said.
We (incl) must have said.
You (pl) must have said.
They must have said.

Inferential pitch template

Some pitches behave differently in inferentials than they do in other Cheyenne modes. There is a special inferential template that modifies pitches near the end of inferential verbs. $$ DETAILS?

Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs

Negative inferentials require a negative preverb ho’nó-81, instead of the usual sáa- negative preverb. They take the suffixes of the conjunct order, rather than the affixes of the independent order used by positive inferentials. Negative inferentials optionally use the prefix mó- of independent order positive inferentials. They do not have intensive meaning as claimed in earlier editions of this book. Following are two paradigms of AI negative inferential verbs. See other examples under Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential.

-mésehe 'eat'

(Mó)ho’nómëshëto
(Mó)ho’nómësheto
(Mó)ho’nómëseestse
(Mó)ho’nómëshëtse
(Mó)ho’nómëshëse
(Mó)ho’nómëshëvöhtse

I must not have eaten.
You must not have eaten.
He must not have eaten.
He (obv) must not have eaten.
You (pl) must not have eaten.
They must not have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

(Mó)ho’ñoëmanëto
(Mó)ho’ñoëmaneto
(Mó)ho’ñoëmanëstse
(Mó)ho’ñoëmanëstse
(Mó)ho’ñoëmanëse
(Mó)ho’ñoëmanëvöhtse

I must not have drunk.
You must not have drunk.
He must not have drunk.
He (obv) must not have drunk.
You (pl) must not have drunk.
They must not have drunk.

80 Mónánëhehēhe, with the anaphoric preverb nē-, sounds more natural than Mónáhehēhe. Móhehēhe, with a third person subject and without that preverb, does sound natural.
81 Cheyenne ho’nó- appears to function parallel to Cree pwa’a, which, like ho’nó-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs.
82 There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.
Animate Intransitive Reportative verbs

Cheyenne speakers use the reportative mode to communicate information they heard from other people. Following Petter (xxxx:xxx), I previously called this the attributive mode. Some linguists call this a hearsay mode.

-mésehe 'eat'

Náméséhémáse I am said to have eaten.
Néméséhémáse You are said to have eaten.
Éméséheséstse He is said to have eaten.
Éméséhésesto He (obv) is said to have eaten.
Náméséhémánése We (excl) are said to have eaten.
Néméséhémánése We (incl) are said to have eaten.
Néméséhémése You (pl) are said to have eaten.
Éméséhésesto They are said to have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

Námanémáse I am said to have drunk.
Némanémáse You are said to have drunk.
Émaneséstse He is said to have drunk.
Émanésesto He (obv) is said to have drunk.
Námanémánése We (excl) are said to have drunk.
Némanémánése We (incl) are said to have drunk.
Némanémése You (pl) are said to have drunk.
Émanésesto They are said to have drunk.

/-he/ 'say'

Náhémáse I am said to have said.
Néhémáse You are said to have said.
Éheséstse He is said to have said.
Éhésesto He (obv) is said to have said.
Náhémánése We (excl) are said to have said.
Néhémánése We (incl) are said to have said.
Néhémése You (pl) are said to have said.
Éhésesto They are said to have said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

Násáméséhéhémáse I am said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhémáse You are said to have not eaten.
Ésáméséhéheséstse He is said to have not eaten.
Ésááméséhéheséstse He (obv) is said to have not eaten.
Násáméséhéhémánése We (excl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhémánése We (incl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhémése You (pl) are said to have not eaten.
Ésááméséhéheséstse They are said to have not eaten.
**Animate Intransitive Preterit verbs**

The preterit mode is used by Cheyennes for telling about things which happened before the memory of anyone currently living. The preterit and reportative have traditionally been the most common modes used to narrate legends and folktales. The preterit is also used for exclamations of surprise. Following Petter (xxxx:xx) I previously used the label mediate for this mode.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhnémenéhoo'o</td>
<td>He sang</td>
<td>Éhnémenéhoono</td>
<td>They sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhonónéhoo'o</td>
<td>He baked</td>
<td>Éxhonónéhoono</td>
<td>They baked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxháoenáhoo'o</td>
<td>He prayed.</td>
<td>Éxháoenáhoono</td>
<td>They prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxháeanáhoo'o</td>
<td>He was hungry.</td>
<td>Éxháeanáhoono</td>
<td>They were hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhováneehehoo'o</td>
<td>He was gone.</td>
<td>Éxhováneehoono</td>
<td>They were gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhnæehoo'o</td>
<td>He died.</td>
<td>Éhnæehoono</td>
<td>They died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhnæa'éhoo'o</td>
<td>He doctored.</td>
<td>Éhnæa'éhoono</td>
<td>They doctored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmééséhéehoo'o</td>
<td>He ate.</td>
<td>Éhmééséhéhoono</td>
<td>They ate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhéhoo'o</td>
<td>He said.</td>
<td>Éxhéhoono</td>
<td>They said.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanénëhëehoo'o</td>
<td>He did not sing</td>
<td>éssánénënhëehoono</td>
<td>They did not sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahonónëhëehoo'o</td>
<td>He did not bake</td>
<td>éssáahonónëhëhoono</td>
<td>They did not bake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaháoenáhëehoo'o</td>
<td>He did not pray.</td>
<td>éssáaháoenáhëhoono</td>
<td>They did not pray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaháeanáhëehoo'o</td>
<td>He was not hungry.</td>
<td>éssáaháeanáhëhoono</td>
<td>They were not hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahováneeëhëehoo'o</td>
<td>He was not gone</td>
<td>éssáahováneeëhëhoono</td>
<td>They were not gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanaehëëhoo'o</td>
<td>He did not die.</td>
<td>Éssáanaehëëhoono</td>
<td>They did not die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanaaëëhëëho'o</td>
<td>He did not doctor.</td>
<td>Éssáanaaëëhëëhoono</td>
<td>They did not doctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaméséhëëhëëho'o</td>
<td>He did not eat.</td>
<td>Éssáaméséhëëhëëhoono</td>
<td>They did not eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahëëhëëho'o</td>
<td>He did not say.</td>
<td>Éssáahëëhëëhoono</td>
<td>They did not say.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animate Intransitive Imperative verbs

The imperative mode communicates commands through imperative suffixes on verbs. There are two kinds of imperatives: (1) those commanding immediate action; (2) those commanding delayed action.

Animate Intransitive Immediate Imperative

An immediate imperative addressed to a single person takes suffixes spelled -htse or -stse, both phonemically /-ht/\(^3\). An immediate imperative addressed to more than one person takes no suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat!</td>
<td>Méseestse!</td>
<td>Mésehe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down!</td>
<td>Háméstoo’éstse!</td>
<td>Háméstoo’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance!</td>
<td>Ho'soo’èstse!</td>
<td>Ho’soo’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Tähéovéšéstse!</td>
<td>Tähéovéše!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray!</td>
<td>Háóénāhtse!</td>
<td>Háóéna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing!</td>
<td>Néménèstse!</td>
<td>Néméne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work!</td>
<td>Hotse’óestse!</td>
<td>Hotse’óhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tō’èstse!</td>
<td>Tō’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy!</td>
<td>Pēhévetānòhtse!</td>
<td>Pēhévetāno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look!</td>
<td>Tsēhetóó’ointse!</td>
<td>Tsēhetóó’o!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

A delayed imperative addressed to one person takes an –o’o suffix, phonemically /-o/. A delayed imperative addressed to more than one person takes a phonemic /-hené/ suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat (later)!</td>
<td>Méséheo’o!</td>
<td>Méséhéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Háméstooeo’o!</td>
<td>Háméstooehe!$$$RECHECK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance (later)!</td>
<td>Ho’sóeo’o!</td>
<td>Ho’sóéhêne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed (later)!</td>
<td>Tähéovéšenaø’o!</td>
<td>Tähéovéšen héne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Háóenao’o!</td>
<td>Háoénahêne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Némeneø’o!</td>
<td>Néménéhêne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse’óheo’o!</td>
<td>Hotse’óhêne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>Tọ’ëo’o!</td>
<td>To’ëhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanoo’o!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanóhêne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tsēhetóó’o’o!</td>
<td>Tsēhetóó’óhêne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\) We consider the word-final "e" of this command suffix to be epenthetic.
Animate Intransitive Hortative verbs

A hortative is similar to a command. In Cheyenne a hortative tells what you want someone besides the person you are addressing to do. A hortative can state what you want a single person to do. Or it can state what you want more than one person to do. We can translate Cheyenne hortatives with the English words "Let him (or her, or them) _____!" where the blank space is filled in whatever it is we want him (or her, or them) to do.

**hortatives said about one person**
- Ho'sóeha!
- Méséheha!
- Táhóévéšenaha!
- Háöenaha!
- Némeneha!
- Hotse'òheha!

**meaning**
- Let him dance!
- Let him eat!
- Let him go to bed!
- Let him pray!
- Let him sing!
- Let him work!

**hortatives said about more than one person**
- Ho'sóevoha!
- Méséhévoha!
- Táhóévénévoha!
- Néménčvoha!
- Hotse'òhevoha!

**meaning**
- Let them dance!
- Let them eat!
- Let them go to bed!
- Let them sing!
- Let them work!

Animate Intransitive Negative Hortative verbs

Negative hortatives state what you don’t want someone else to do. A negative hortative is composed of the sáa- negative prefix, a verb stem, the negative suffix /-hé/, and, finally, a suffix –ha said about one person or –voha said about more than one person:

**hortatives said about one person**
- Sáaho'sóehëheha!
- Sáaméséhéheha!
- Tásáa'ovëšenæheha!
- Sáanémëñëheha!
- Sáahotse'òheheha!

**meaning**
- Don’t let him dance!
- Don’t let him eat!
- Don’t let him go to bed!
- Don’t let him sing!
- Don’t let him work!

**hortatives said about more than one person**
- Sáaho'sóehëvoha!
- Sáaméséhéhevoha!
- Tásáahéóvéšenáhevoha!
- Sáanémëñëhevoha!
- Sáahotse'òhehevoha!

**meaning**
- Don’t let them dance!
- Don’t let them eat!
- Don’t let them go to bed!
- Don’t let them sing!
- Don’t let them work!
Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Subject</th>
<th>Verbal Component</th>
<th>Equative Component</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhó’ta.</td>
<td>It's (there).</td>
<td>Ého’tánéstse.</td>
<td>They are (there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva’e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
<td>Épéhéva’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhávééséva’e.</td>
<td>It's bad.</td>
<td>Éhávééséva’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étāhpé’o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Étāhpé’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étsēškë’o.</td>
<td>It's small.</td>
<td>Étsēškë’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésēeso.</td>
<td>It's the same.</td>
<td>Ésēesonéstse.</td>
<td>They are the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhó’éeto.</td>
<td>It's snowing.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kōho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évō’kómo.</td>
<td>It's white.</td>
<td>Évō’komónéstse.</td>
<td>They are white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’óvo.</td>
<td>It's yellow.</td>
<td>Éhe’ovónéstse.</td>
<td>They are yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émā’o.</td>
<td>It's red.</td>
<td>Éma’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É’ó.</td>
<td>It's dry.</td>
<td>É’ó’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’kóova.</td>
<td>It's wet.</td>
<td>Éhe’kóovánéstse.</td>
<td>They are wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāënāno.</td>
<td>It's heavy.</td>
<td>Éhāënánónéstse.</td>
<td>They are heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éstōvo.</td>
<td>It's sharp.</td>
<td>Éstovónéstse.</td>
<td>They are sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhévééno’e.</td>
<td>It tastes good.</td>
<td>Épéhévééno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They taste good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhévéeméá’ha.</td>
<td>It smells good.</td>
<td>Épéhévéemá’hánéstse.</td>
<td>They smell good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive equative verbs

The formula for equative verbs consists of the personal prefix é-, an incorporated noun, and an equative suffix /-vé/ which means 'be'. For example, the inanimate Cheyenne noun máhéō’o means 'house'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is émáheōneve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émáheōnévénéstse means 'they are houses.'

Equative verbs are not very useful for Cheyenne language learning. But they are very useful for discovering the spelling of Cheyenne noun stems and their phonemic pitches. Animate nouns can also be incorporated into the equative frames and examples of them are listed earlier in this book in the section devoted to AI verbs.

Here are some II equatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Subject</th>
<th>Verbal Component</th>
<th>Equative Component</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émáticoskeve.</td>
<td>It is a knife.</td>
<td>Émáticoskevénéstse.</td>
<td>They are knives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhé’eve.</td>
<td>It is liver.</td>
<td>Éhé’événéstse.</td>
<td>They are livers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheséootseve.</td>
<td>It is medicine.</td>
<td>Éheséootsévénéstse.</td>
<td>They are medicines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émó’eskonove.</td>
<td>It is a ring.</td>
<td>Émó’eskonévénéstse.</td>
<td>They are rings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméoneve.</td>
<td>It is a trail/road.</td>
<td>Éméonévénéstse.</td>
<td>They are trails/roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’xe.</td>
<td>It is a scalp.</td>
<td>Éméta’xévénéstse.</td>
<td>They are scalps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émó’kéhanove.</td>
<td>It is a shoe.</td>
<td>Émó’kéhanévénéstse.</td>
<td>They are shoes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 This sounds the same as Éhe‘eve 'she is a woman'.
85 This sounds the same as Émó’eškonove 'it (animate) is a finger'.

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**Impersonals**

Impersonals consist of the personal prefix é-, an AI verb stem, and the impersonal suffix /-htove/ (or an alternate pronunciation /-nove/). Impersonal verbs do not refer to specific people doing some action. Instead, they focus on the action itself. Impersonal verbs can take plural suffixes, indicating that an action has occurred more than once.

Émanéstove. There is drinking. Émanéstóvén. There are drinkings.

Éméséhéstove. There is eating. Éméséhéstovén. There are eating.

Éháeanáhtove. There is hungering. Éháeanáhtóvén. There are hungerings.

Éháoënhtove. There is praying. Éháoënhtóvén. There are prayings.

Éméhóhtse'o'o. They love themselves/each other.

Éméhóhtséstove. There is love for themselves/one another.

Éoó'evótáhtseo'o. They argued with each other.

Éoó'evótáhtséstove. There is arguing with each other.

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns with third person possessors are not marked for obviation. However, II verbs which have subjects possessed by third persons act like they are marked for obviation. But there are some important differences between animate obviation and what could be called inanimate obviation. Because of these differences, those who study Algonquian languages differ on whether to use the label inanimate obviation. Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs relational verbs. I use the label relational verbs in this book. The Cheyenne relational suffix is –tse. In the following sentence pairs the second sentence has a relational verb:

Namâhē'o étáhpē'o 'My house is big'; Hemâhē'o étáhpē'otse 'His house is big (rel).'

Neamâhö'hestó'tse émá'o 'Your car is red'; Heamâhö'hestó'tse éma'otse 'His car is red (rel).'

Namâx'estoo'o éhō'ta 'My book is here'; Hemòxe'estoo'o ého'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

Unlike AI obviated verbs, II relational verbs are marked for number of their subjects:

Namahe évóhko 'My arrow is bent.'

Hemaahe évóhkotse 'His arrow is bent (rel).'

---

86 Reflexives refer to action toward oneself. Reciprocals refer to action toward one each other. Remember that Cheyenne reflexives and reciprocals are pronounced the same. We can only tell the difference between them from the speech context or if there is some other word, such as the reciprocal particle nonâmé'tó'e 'toward each other', included.

87 Some who have used the label inanimate obviates are Ellis (1971), Frantz (1991), Valentine (2001), and Wolfart (1973).

Namaahótse évóhkónéstse 'My arrows are bent.'
Hemaahótse évóhkonetótse 'His arrows are bent (rel).'

**Inanimate Intransitive Indicative Negative verbs**

II verbs take the usual sáa- negative preverb. They take -hane as negative suffix, rather than the /-hé/ suffix found in the AI, TA, and TI paradigms. There are pitch variations among speakers as to whether the II negative suffix is phonemically spelled /-hané/ or /-hane/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tlaa'</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tlaa'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not (here).</td>
<td>Ésáaho'táháne.</td>
<td>They are not (here).</td>
<td>Ésáaho'táhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not good.</td>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'áháne.</td>
<td>They are not good.</td>
<td>Épéhéva'éhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not bad.</td>
<td>Ésáahávéseva'éháne.</td>
<td>They are not bad.</td>
<td>Ésáahavéseva'éhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not big.</td>
<td>Ésáatáhpe'óháne.</td>
<td>They are not big.</td>
<td>Ésáatáhpe'óhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not small.</td>
<td>Ésáatšéske'óháne.</td>
<td>They are not small.</td>
<td>Ésáatšéske'óhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not the same.</td>
<td>Ésáaséesésíóháne.</td>
<td>They are not the same.</td>
<td>Ésáaséesésíóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not snowing.</td>
<td>Ésáaho'éétáháne.</td>
<td>They are not snowing.</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not raining.</td>
<td>Ésáahoo'kóhóháne.</td>
<td>They are not raining.</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not white.</td>
<td>Ésáavó'komóháne.</td>
<td>They are not white.</td>
<td>Ésáavó'komóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not yellow.</td>
<td>Ésáahévéóháne.</td>
<td>They are not yellow.</td>
<td>Ésáahévéóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama'óháne.</td>
<td>They are not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama'óhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not dry.</td>
<td>Ésáa'ó'óháne.</td>
<td>They are not dry.</td>
<td>Ésáa'ó'óhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not wet.</td>
<td>Ésáahe'kóvóháne.</td>
<td>They are not wet.</td>
<td>Ésáahe'kóvóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not heavy.</td>
<td>Ésáahááenóháne.</td>
<td>They are not heavy.</td>
<td>Ésáahááenóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not sharp.</td>
<td>Ésáa'éstovóháne.</td>
<td>They are not sharp.</td>
<td>Ésáa'éstovóhanehóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It tastes good.</td>
<td>Ésáapéhévééno'éháne.</td>
<td>They do not taste good.</td>
<td>Ésáapéhévééno'éhanehóte. $$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonal Negative verbs**

Impersonals may be negated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tlaa'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is not eating.</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are not eatings.</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovhéhóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not hungering.</td>
<td>Ésáaháéanánóháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are not hungerings.</td>
<td>Ésáaháéanánóhtovhéhóte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not said.??</td>
<td>Ésáahenóvéháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not loving each other.</td>
<td>Ésáaméhotáhtséstovháne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative Negative relational verbs**

II negative verbs are marked as relational verbs, as their positive counterparts are, if their subjects are possessed by a third person. For example, we can say namáehéo' ésáama'óháne 'my house is not red'. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemáehéo' ésáama'óhanéhetse 'his house is not red (rel)'. Some other examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tlaa'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not (here) (rel).</td>
<td>Ésáaho'táhanehétse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are not (here) (rel).</td>
<td>Ésáaho'táhánehétsetótse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáheóvóhanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
Ésáheóvóhanéhenetótse. They are not yellow (rel).

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse. It is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenetótse. They are not good (rel).

Ésáa'ó'óhanéhetse. It is not dry (rel).
Ésáa'ó'óhanéhenetótse. They are not dry (rel).

Ésáamanéstovéhanéhetse. There is not drinking (rel).
Ésáamanéstovéhanéhenetótse. There are not drinkings (rel).

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetse. There is not eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenetótse. There are not eatings (rel).

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not hungering (rel).
Ésáaháeanóhtovéhanéhenetótse. There are not hungerings (rel).

Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not praying (rel).
Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhenetótse. There are not prayings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative verbs
II verbs become yes/no questions in the same two ways that AI verbs do:

1. add the interrogative suffix –he to the end of a verb
2. add the prefix mó- to the beginning of a word

-he suffix II Interrogative verbs
The –he interrogative suffix is not seen in the spelling of II verbs which have plural subjects. However, this suffix actually was a part of the formation of II yes/no questions with plural subjects. Let's examine the formation of II yes/no questions with the verb stem –péhéva'e 'be good'. Here are the forms of the verb with singular and plural subjects:

Épéhéva'e. It's good.
Épéhéva'énéstse. They are good.

The suffix –he is added to the singular subject form to create this pronunciation:

Épéhéva'ehe? Is it good?

Formation of the yes/no question with a plural subject is more complicated. The question verb requires the third person prefix é-, the verb stem –péhéva'e, plural suffixation, plus the interrogative suffix –he. Here is the phonemic spelling of all these parts:

/é-pehéva'e-nevot-he/ Are they good?
A phonological rule causes the second "e" to devoice. Other phonological rules cause the "h" of the -he suffix to be absorbed as the word-final "e" causes the "t" before it to assimilate to "ts". After the phonological rules apply, we get this pronunciation spelling of the word:

Épèhéva'enevotse? Are they good?

Some other II interogatives are:

Ého'tahe? Is it (there)? Ého'tanevotse? Are they (there)?
Étähpe'ohoe? Is it big? Étähpe'onevotse? Are they big?
Ého'ëtohe? Did it snow? -----
Éháoo'kóhohe? Did it rain? -----
Évó'komohe? Is it white? Évó'komonevotse? Are they white?
Éheóvohe? Is it yellow? Éheóvonevotse? Are they yellow?
Éhavéséva'ehoe? Is it bad? Éhavéséva'enevotse? Are they bad?
Éó'ohe? Is it dry? Éó'onevotse? Are they dry?
Éma'oehe? Is it red? Ema'onevotse? Are they red?
Éstohoe? Is it sharp? Eóstovonevotse? Are they sharp?
Émanéstovehe? Is there drinking? Émanéstovenevotse? Are there drinkings?
Émésèhééstovehe? Is there eating? Émésèhééstovenevotse? Are there eatings?
Éháeanáhtovehe? Is there hungering? Éháeanáhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings?

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative relational verbs

Relational verbs occur in the interrogative mode when the subject of an II verb is possessed by a third person. Compare these two sentences in which the second and third sentences have relational verbs because 'book' and 'books' are possessed by a third person:

Nemoxe'estoo'o ého'tahe? Is your book there?
Hemoxe'estoo'o ého'tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemoxe'estoonótshe ého'tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éháeanáhtovetsotehe? Is there hungering (rel)?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

Ésāaho'táhanehe? Isn't it (there)?
Ésāaho'táhanevotse? Aren't they (there)?
Ésāapèhéva'èhanehe? Isn't it good?
Ésāapèhéva'éhanevotse? Aren't they good?
Ésátāhpe'òhanehe? Isn't it big?
Ésátāhpe'òhanevotse? Aren't they big?
Ésāaho'ëtehanehe? Isn't it snowing?
Ésāhoo'kohóhanehe? Isn't it raining?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehe? Isn’t there hunger?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanévotse? Aren’t there hungerings?

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs**

Ésáahó'táhanéhetsehe? Isn’t his __ (there) (rel)?
Ésáahó'táhanéhetotsehe? Aren’t his __ (there) (rel)?

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsehe? Isn’t his __ good (rel)?
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsehe? Aren’t his __ good (rel)?

Ésáahó'vóhanéhetsehe? Isn’t his __ yellow (rel)?
Ésáahó'vóhanéhetotsehe? Aren’t his __ yellow (rel)?

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetsehe? Isn’t there hungering (rel)?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetotsehe? Aren’t there hungerings (rel)?

**mó- prefix Inanimate Intransitive yes/no questions**

As with other indicative verbs (AI, TA, TI), mó- can attach to the beginning of an II verb to create a yes/no question:

Mó'épéhéva'e? Is it good?
Mó'épéhéva'énéstse? Are they good?

Mó'ésáapéhéva'èhane? Isn’t it good?
Mó'ésáapéhéva'èhanéhótse? Aren’t they good?

Mó'éhó'ta? Is it (here/there)?
Mó'ého'tánéstse? Are they (here/there)?

Mó'éhoo'kóho? Is it raining?
Mó'éhoo'kóhóhane? Isn’t it raining?

Mó'ého'ééto? Is it snowing?
Mó'éméséhéstove? Is there eating?

**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs**

Mópéhéva'éhanéhe. It must be good.
Mópéhéva'éhanévótse. They must be good.

Móma'óhanéhe. It must be red.
Móma'óhanévótse. They must be red.

Móheóvóhanéhe. It must be yellow.
Móheóvóhanévótse. They must be yellow.

Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe. It must have rained.
Mómésèhéstovéhanēhe. There must have been eating.
Mómésèhéstovéhanevōtse. There must have been eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs**
Heamāho'hestótse móma'ōhanetsēhe. His car must be red (rel).
Heamāho'héstotótse móma'ōhanetsevōtse. His cars must be red (rel).

Hemōxe'èstoo'o mōpēhēva'ēhanetsēhe. His book must be good (rel).
Hemōxe'èstōonótse mōpēhēva'ēhanetsevōtse. His books must be good (rel).

Hemāhēo'o mōheōvōhanetsēhe. His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemāheonótse móheōvōhanetsevōtse. His houses must be yellow (rel).

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs**
Ého'tánēse. It's said to be (here/there).
Ého'tánēsestótse. They are said to be (here/there).

Éhoo'kohónēse. It's said to be raining.
Évōhkónēse. It's said to be bent.
Évōhkónésestótse. They are said to be bent.

Éma'ónēse. It's said to be red.
Éma'ónésestótse. They are said to be red.

Éheóvónēse. It's said to be yellow.
Éheóvónésestótse. They are said to be yellow.

Épēhēva'énēse. It's said to be good.
Épēhēva'énésestótse. They are said to be good.

Émésèhéstovenēse. It's said there is eating.
Émésèhéstovenésestótse. It's said there are eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs**
Ého'tátsénēse. It's said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).
Ého'tátsenésestótse. It's said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).

Évōhkótsénēse. It's said his ___ is bent (rel).
Évōhkōtsenésestótse. It's said his ___ are bent (rel).

Éma'ótsénēse. It's said his ___ is red (rel).
Éma'ótsenésestótse. It's said his ___ are red (rel).

Éheóvótsénēse. It's said his ___ is yellow (rel).
It’s said his ___ are yellow (rel).
It’s said his ___ is good (rel).
It’s said his ___ are good (rel).
It’s said there is eating (rel).
It’s said there are eatings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs
Ésáaho’тáhanéhénése. It’s said it is not (here/there).
Ésáaho’тáhanéhenéstotse. It’s said they are not (here/there).
Ésáahoo’кóhóhanéhénése. It’s said it's not raining.
Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhénése. It’s said it's not good.
Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhenéstotse. It’s said they are not good.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhénése. It’s said there is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenéstotse. It’s said there are not eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs
Ésáaho’táhanéhetotsénése. It’s said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáaho’táhanéhetotséntotse. It’s said his ___ aren't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáahoo’кóhóhanéhetotsénése. It’s said it's not raining (rel).
Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetotsénése. It’s said his ___ is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetotséntotse. It’s said his ___ are not good (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsénése. It’s said there isn't eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotséntotse. It’s said there aren’t eatings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs
Ého’táneho! Surprisingly, it’s (here/there)!89
Ého’tánéhoonótsé! Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!
Éhoo’кóhóneho! Surprisingly, it’s raining!
Épéhéva’éneho! Surprisingly, it’s good!
Épéhéva’énéhoonótsé! Surprisingly, they are good!
Éméséhéstoveneho! Surprisingly, there is eating!

89 English translations are given here with the meaning of surprise, to show that there is a difference in meaning between the II preterits and II indicatives. But the preterits can also have a non-surprisal meaning, as they occur in legends with the past tense, e.g. Vee’e éxho’táneho ‘(Once upon a time) a tepee was there.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs</th>
<th>Surprisingly, there are eatings!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tátseného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tátsenéhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo'kóhótseného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'ětseného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'ětsenóhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhééstovetséneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhééstovetsénóonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs</th>
<th>Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'táhanéheného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'táhanéhenéhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's not raining!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'ěhanéheného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's not good!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'ěhanéhenóhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, they are not good!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéheného!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there is not eating!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéhenóhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there are not eatings!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs</th>
<th>Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'táhanéhetotséneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'táhanéhetotsénéhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'ěhanéhetotséneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'ěhanéhetotsénóhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéhetotséneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéhetotsénóhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there are not eatings (rel)!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

Transitive Animate verbs are verbs which refer to a subject and an object. Several different TA verbs are included to illustrate various changes which occur with some verb stems, depending on their stem-final consonants and some other factors which are noted before each appropriate paradigm. These changes reflect similar changes which occurred in the Algonquian language from which Cheyenne descends.

/-vóom/ 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA Verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>TA Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návéomahtse</td>
<td>I saw myself</td>
<td>névéóomóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéomáte</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
<td>névéóomamovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómo</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
<td>névéóomemeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóomamóho</td>
<td>I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névéóomáhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóomatséme</td>
<td>I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>névéóomóvo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóomo'o</td>
<td>I saw them</td>
<td>návéóomahtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéóome</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
<td>névéóomahtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéomamóho</td>
<td>you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névéóomáhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéóomemeno</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>névéóomaevo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéóomo'o</td>
<td>you saw them</td>
<td>névéóomaa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóoma</td>
<td>he saw me</td>
<td>névéóomaa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéóma</td>
<td>he saw you</td>
<td>évóomovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomahtse</td>
<td>he saw himself</td>
<td>névéómaeneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomóho</td>
<td>he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névéómaeneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómaène</td>
<td>he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>névéómaene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómaævo</td>
<td>he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>névéómaævo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóomaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>névéóomaa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóomaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>névéóomaa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomahtse</td>
<td>he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>évóomaevo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>návéóomaævo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómaæne</td>
<td>he (obv) saw us (excl)</td>
<td>návéómaævo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómaænovo</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>návéómaævo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomaævóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>návéómaævo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéómatsemenoto</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéómone</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómamone</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómahtsema</td>
<td>we (excl) saw ourselves</td>
<td>we (excl) saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóméneo'o</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéómone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him</td>
<td>névéómamone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómamone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návéómamone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómahtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) saw ourselves</td>
<td>návéómahtsema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéóméneo'o</td>
<td>we (incl) saw them</td>
<td>návéóméneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návéómème</td>
<td>you (pl) saw me</td>
<td>návéómème</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90 Cheyenne reflexives and reciprocals have identical morphology. So, outside some speech context, this Cheyenne verb can mean either 'they saw themselves' or 'they saw each other'. A reciprocal particle, nonámé'tó'e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.
/-méót/ 'fight (someone)'

The stem-final "t" (from PA *θ) of /-méót/ becomes "x" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem-final "t" becomes "h" before "e" in the passive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>I fought myself</td>
<td>néméótóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatse</td>
<td>I fought you</td>
<td>néméotamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméoto</td>
<td>I fought him</td>
<td>néméoxemenó</td>
<td>you (pl) fought us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamóho</td>
<td>I fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotáhtsémé</td>
<td>you (pl) fought yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatsémé</td>
<td>I fought you (pl)</td>
<td>néméotovoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméootoo'o</td>
<td>I fought them</td>
<td>náméotáá'e</td>
<td>they fought me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxe</td>
<td>you fought me</td>
<td>néméótáá'e</td>
<td>they fought you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>you fought yourself</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>they fought him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoto</td>
<td>you fought him</td>
<td>néméotaeneo'o</td>
<td>they fought us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotamóho</td>
<td>you fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotaeneo'o</td>
<td>they fought us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxemenó</td>
<td>you fought us (excl)</td>
<td>néméotaevoo'o</td>
<td>they fought you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméootoo'o</td>
<td>you fought them</td>
<td>éméotáhtséo'o</td>
<td>they fought themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméota</td>
<td>he fought me</td>
<td>néméotáne</td>
<td>I was fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméota</td>
<td>he fought you</td>
<td>éméotáne</td>
<td>you were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméotahltse</td>
<td>he fought himself</td>
<td>éméohe</td>
<td>he was fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótóho</td>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotanémé</td>
<td>we (excl) were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaéné</td>
<td>he fought us (incl)</td>
<td>néméotanéma</td>
<td>we (incl) were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaene</td>
<td>he fought us (incl)</td>
<td>néméotanéme</td>
<td>you (pl) were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotáévo</td>
<td>he fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméoheo</td>
<td>they were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought me</td>
<td>náméotáá'e</td>
<td>they fought each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you</td>
<td>éméotáá'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméotáa'e</td>
<td>he (obv) fought him</td>
<td>éméotáa'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméotáhtóho</td>
<td>he (obv) fought himself</td>
<td>náméotanémé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) fought us (excl)</td>
<td>náméotanéma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) fought us (incl)</td>
<td>néméotanéme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaetsenóvo</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméotáhtséo'o</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>éméotaevoóho</td>
<td>he (obv) fought them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotatsemenó</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>náméotóne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotóne</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>náméotamone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>náméotathtseme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotathtseme</td>
<td>we (ex) fought ourselves</td>
<td>náméotatsemeno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotatsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>náméotoneo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought them</td>
<td>náméotone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>náméotamone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotáhtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) fought ourselves</td>
<td>náméotoneo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him</td>
<td>néméoxéme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91 The Cheyenne stem /-méót/ reflects PA *mi:ka:θ.
92 Some speakers pronounce this as éméoto because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.
93 Or 'they fought each other'
/-het/ 'tell (someone)'

The stem-final 't' of /-het/ becomes "š" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem changes to /-hestóh/ in the third person passive forms.

náhetahstse  I told myself
náchetse  I told you
náhto  I told him
náhetamóho  I told him (obv)
nénhetatsème  I told you (pl)
náhetoo'o  I told them
nêheší  you told me
nêhetahstse  you told yourself
nêhéto  you told him
nêhetamóho  you told him (obv)
nêhešeméno  you told us (excl)
nêhetoo'o  you told them
náheta  he told me
nêhéto  he told you
éhetahtse  he told himself
éhetóho  he told him (obv)
náhetaene  he told us (incl)
nêhetaévo  he told you (pl)
nêhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told me
nêhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told you
éhetáší'ë  he (obv) told him
éhetahóho  he (obv) told himself
nêhetaetsenone  he (obv) told us (excl)
nêhetaetsenone  he (obv) told us (incl)
nêhetaetsenővo  he (obv) told you (pl)
éhetaevóho  he (obv) told them
nêhetañemeno  we (excl) told you
nêhetañënë  we (excl) told him
nêhetañone  we (excl) told us (excl)
nêhetañone  we (excl) told us (incl)
nêhetone  we (incl) told him
nêhetañë  we (incl) told us (excl)
nêhetañë  we (incl) told us (incl)
nêhetone  we (incl) told them
nêhëñëme  you (pl) told me
nêhetovó  you (pl) told him
nêhetamovó  you (pl) told him (obv)
nêhešenëno  you (pl) told us (excl)
nêhetahñëme  you (pl) told yourselves

94 Or 'they told each other'
/-a'tas/ 'accidentally cut (someone)'

The stem-final "s" (from PA *š) of /-a'tas/ becomes "x" before "e". First person subject local forms, as well as reciprocal/reflexive forms, take suffixes that begin with "e" rather than the usual "a".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náa'táxestse</td>
<td>I acc. cut myself</td>
<td>náa'táxeme</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'xéstse</td>
<td>I acc. cut you</td>
<td>néra'tásóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náa'táso95</td>
<td>I acc. cut him</td>
<td>néra'táxamo'ovo</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náa'táxamóho</td>
<td>I acc. cut him (obv)</td>
<td>néra'táxamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'táxetsème</td>
<td>I acc. cut you (pl)</td>
<td>néra'táxetsème</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náa'tásoo'o</td>
<td>I acc. cut them</td>
<td>néra'tásóvo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) acc. cut them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'taxe</td>
<td>you acc. cut me</td>
<td>néra'táxée'e</td>
<td>they acc. cut me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'táxestse</td>
<td>you acc. cut yourself</td>
<td>néra'táxé'e</td>
<td>they acc. cut you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'táso</td>
<td>you acc. cut him</td>
<td>éa'tásóvo</td>
<td>they acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra'táxamóho</td>
<td>you acc. cut him (obv)</td>
<td>néra'táxamovo</td>
<td>they acc. cut us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra' táxemen</td>
<td>you acc. cut us (excl)</td>
<td>néra'táxamovo</td>
<td>they acc. cut us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra' tásoo'o</td>
<td>you acc. cut them</td>
<td>éa'táxamovo</td>
<td>they acc. cut you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra' taxe</td>
<td>he acc. cut me</td>
<td>néra' táxene</td>
<td>they acc. cut themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néra' taxe96</td>
<td>he acc. cut you</td>
<td>néra' táxé'e</td>
<td>I was acc. cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éa'táxestse</td>
<td>he acc. cut himself</td>
<td>néra' táxéne</td>
<td>you were acc. cut</td>
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<tr>
<td>éa' tástóho</td>
<td>he acc. cut him (obv)</td>
<td>éa'taxe</td>
<td>he was acc. cut</td>
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<tr>
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<td>néra'táxéneemo</td>
<td>we (ex) were acc. cut</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táxéne</td>
<td>he acc. cut us (incl)</td>
<td>néra'táxéneema</td>
<td>we (in) were acc. cut</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táxéëvo</td>
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<td>néra' táxetseno'oto</td>
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<td>néra' táxamone</td>
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<tr>
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<td>néra' táxamone</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táxetsême</td>
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<td>néra' táxetsême</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táso'ô</td>
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<td>néra' táso'ô</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táson</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut him</td>
<td>néra' táson</td>
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<td>we (in) acc. cut him (obv)</td>
<td>néra' táson</td>
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<tr>
<td>néra' táson</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut ourselves</td>
<td>néra' táson</td>
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<td>we (in) acc. cut them</td>
<td>néra' táson</td>
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<td>néra' táson</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut them</td>
<td>néra' táson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 This is phonemically /náa' tasó/. It reflects PA *nepe?tešwa:wa.

96 This is pronounced the same as the verb meaning 'you accidentally cut me'.
"-vovéstomev 'teach (someone)'

The stem-final "-ev" of verb stems, such as –vovéstomev, contracts to "óe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "e" of "-ev" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

návovéstomévahtse I taught myself
návovéstomevátse I taught you
návovéstomévo I taught him
návovéstomévamóho I taught him (obv)
návovéstoméveséme I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o I taught them

névovéstomev you taught me
névovéstomeváhtse you taught yourself
névovéstomóvo you taught him
névovéstomóvamóho you taught him (obv)
névovéstomememo you taught us (excl)
névovéstomevoo'o you taught them

návovéstomeva he taught me
návovéstomeva he taught you
évovéstomévahtse he taught himself
evovéstomevévo he taught (obv)
návovéstoménee he taught us (excl)
névovéstomóöevo he taught you (pl)
návovéstoméetsenoto he (obv) taught me
névovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
évovéstomóöe he (obv) taught him
évovéstoméváhtóho he (obv) taught himself
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
névovéstomóetsenoeve he (obv) taught us (incl)
névovéstomóetsenövo he (obv) taught you (pl)
évovéstomóevo he (obv) taught them

névovéstomévatsemeno we (excl) taught you
névovéstomévo we (excl) taught him
návovéstomévamone we (ex) taught him (obv)
návovéstoméváhtsemewe (ex) taught ourselves
névovéstomévatsemeno we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstoméváhtse I taught myself
návovéstomévahtse I taught you
evovéstomóo'óne'o we (excl) taught them
návovéstoméváhtse I taught yourself
návovéstomévahtse you taught me
evovéstomóo'ovo you (pl) taught him
návovéstomévahtse you taught yourself
evovéstomóo'ovo you (pl) taught them

návovéstomévo I taught him
návovéstomévo he taught you
evovéstomóvo you (pl) taught him
návovéstomévo you taught (obv)
evovéstomóvo you (pl) taught us (excl)
evovéstomóvo you (pl) taught you

návovéstomóöe e they taught me
návovéstomóöe e they taught you
evovéstomóöe e they taught him
návovéstomóöe e they taught us (incl)
evovéstomóöe e they taught you (pl)
evovéstomóöe e they taught themselves

návovéstomóöe e they taught me
evovéstomóöe e they taught you
návovéstomóöe e they taught him
návovéstomóöe e they taught us (incl)

návovéstomóone I was taught
návovéstomóone you were taught
évovéstomohe he was taught
návovéstomónema we (excl) were taught
návovéstomónema we (incl) were taught
évovéstomóheo'o they were taught

návovéstomóone I was taught
návovéstomóone you were taught
évovéstomohe he was taught
návovéstomónema we (excl) were taught
návovéstomónema we (incl) were taught
évovéstomóheo'o they were taught

other verbs ending with -ev
námé'estomévo I explained to him.
námé'estomó'o e They explained to me.
émé'estomóöevo He (obv) explained to them.
éhoéstomévo He read to him (obv).
-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

The stem-final "ov" of verb stems such as –héne'enov contracts to "óe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "o" of "ov" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

náhéne'énóvahtse I know myself
náhéne'énovatse I know you
náhéne'énóvo I know him
náhéne'énóvamóho I know him (obv)
náhéne'énóvatsême I know you (pl)
náhéne'énovoo'o I know them

náhéne'enove you know me
náhéne'énóvahtse you know yourself
náhéne'énóvo you know him
náhéne'énóvamóho you know him (obv)
náhéne'énovameno you know us (excl)
náhéne'énovoo'o you know them

náhéne'enova he knows me
náhéne'enova he knows you
éhéne'énóvahtse he knows himself
éhéne'énovóho he knows him (obv)
náhéne'énóene he knows us (excl)
náhéne'énóévo he knows you (pl)
náhéne'énóetsenoto he (obv) knows me
náhéne'énóetsenoto he (obv) knows you
ehéne'énóó'e he (obv) knows himself
náhéne'énóetsenone he (obv) knows us (excl)
náhéne'énóetsenôvo he (obv) knows you (pl)

ehéne'énóetsemeno we (ex) know you (pl)
náhéne'énóvatemeno we (ex) know them
náhéne'énóvóneo'o we (incl) know him
náhéne'énovone we (incl) know him
náhéne'énóvamone we (in) know him (obv)
náhéne'énóváhtsême we (in) know ourselves
náhéne'énóvóneo'o we (incl) know them
náhéne'énóvóvo'o you (pl) know me
náhéne'énóvóvo'o you (pl) know him
náhéne'énovemeno you (pl) know us (excl)
náhéne'énóvóvoo'o you (pl) know them

náhéne'énóe he (obv) knows me
náhéne'énóe he (obv) knows you
ehéne'énóe he (obv) knows himself
náhéne'énóe he (obv) knows him (obv)
náhéne'énóe he (obv) knows us (excl)
náhéne'énóe he (obv) knows them

náhéne'énóvého he listened to him (obv)
eáahtovóho he listened to him

other verbs ending with -ov

náhéne'énovône we (excl) know him
eáahtóó'e he (obv) listened to him
náhéne'énóvamone we (ex) know him (obv)
náhéne'énóvahtse we (ex) know ourselves
/taeváhn/ 'measure (someone)'

Stem-final "n" of consonant clusters in verb stems such as /taváhn/ deletes word-medially in the inverse voice and certain other person combinations.$$RECHECK ANALYSIS OF DELETION ENVIRONMENT.$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Person Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahestse</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>you (pl) m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaestse</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>you (pl) m. us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>you (pl) m. yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamóho</td>
<td>I measured him (obv)</td>
<td>you (pl) measured them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetsême</td>
<td>I measured you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnno'o</td>
<td>I measured them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhe</td>
<td>you measured me</td>
<td>they measured me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhéstse</td>
<td>you measured yourself</td>
<td>they measured us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhno</td>
<td>you m. him (obv)</td>
<td>they measured us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhemeno</td>
<td>you measured us (ex)</td>
<td>they measured you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhnehne</td>
<td>you measured them</td>
<td>they m. themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhe</td>
<td>he measured me</td>
<td>I was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátevahnej</td>
<td>he measured you</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étaeváheitse</td>
<td>he measured himself</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étaeváhnoho 97</td>
<td>he measured him (obv)</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhénne</td>
<td>he measured us (excl)</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
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<td>náteváhejene</td>
<td>he measured us (incl)</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
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<td>he measured you (pl)</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
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<td>náteváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
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<tr>
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<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
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<td>náteváheetsenone</td>
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<td>náteváheetsenôvo</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
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<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
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<td>náteváheetsenemo</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náteváhnno'eo'o</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
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<tr>
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<td>we (in) measured him</td>
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<tr>
<td>náteváhnejene</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náteváhejstœma</td>
<td>we (in) m. ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>náteváhnëneo'o</td>
<td>we (incl) m. them</td>
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<td>you (pl) measured me</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>náteváhñôvo</td>
<td>you (pl) measured him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 Some speakers say étaevahno because the penultimate syllable is phonemically high-pitched.
/-moné'tov / 'choose (someone)'

The transitivizing final –tov changes to /-no(t)/ in the direct voice when the vowel preceding this suffix is phonemically high-pitched. The "ov" of the transitivizing suffix contracts in the inverse voice like other TA verb stems ending in "ov". 

$RECHECK PARADIGM

námoné'tovahhtse  I chose myself
némoné'továtssee  I chose you
némoné'tovatsème  I chose him
némoné'tovato  I chose you (pl)
némoné'tovato  I chose them

némoné'tove  you chose me
némoné'tovahhtse  you chose yourself
némoné'tovono  you chose him (obv)
némoné'tovoo  you chose us (ex)
némoné'tovono  you chose us (in)
némoné'tovono  you chose you (pl)
némoné'tovono o  they chose themselves

némoné'tova  he chose me
énémoné'tovakhte  he chose you
éémoné'tovatse  he chose himself
émoné'tovato  he chose him (obv)
émoné'tovato  he chose us (ex)
émoné'tovato  he chose us (in)
émoné'tovato  he chose you (pl)
émoné'tovato  he chose them
némoné'tovatenono  we (excl) chose me
némoné'tovatenono  we (excl) chose you
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose him (obv)
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose us (ex)
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose us (in)
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose you (pl)
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose them

némoné'tovato  we (excl) chose you
émoné'tovato  we (excl) chose him (obv)
éémoné'tovato  we (excl) chose us (ex)
éémoné'tovato  we (excl) chose us (in)
éémoné'tovato  we (excl) chose you (pl)
éémoné'tovato  we (excl) chose them

némoné'tovene  we (incl) chose me
émoné'tovoo  we (incl) chose you
émoné'tovono  we (incl) chose him (obv)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose us (ex)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose us (in)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose you (pl)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose them

némoné'tovene  we (incl) chose you
émoné'tovoo  we (incl) chose him (obv)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose us (ex)
éémoné'tovono  we (incl) chose you (pl)
éémoné'tovono  you (pl) chose me
émoné'tovono  you (pl) chose him
émoné'tovono  you (pl) chose you
émoné'tovono  you (pl) chose us (ex)
éémoné'tovono  you (pl) chose yourselves

other verbs with the –tov final:

náne'tamé'tova  He depends on me
náne'tamétnote  I depend on him
náho'ahéntse  I want him
nápéhe've'tova  He was good to me
nápéhe've'tovi99  I was good to him
náméntse  I gave him away
náménné  We (excl) gave him
émé'tó'e  He (obv) gave him
náno'evéhe'tova  He is named after me
náno'evéhenótse  I am named after him
náa'máx'é'tova  He carried me on his back
náa'máxenótse  I carried him on my back
náno'máhtsenótse  I stole him
náno'máhtsé'tó'o  They stole me

náhenétnahé'tova100  I am his/her daughter
náhe'tonahéntso  She is my daughter
náhe'heháhe'tova  I am his/her son
náhe'heháhenótse  He is my son
náhe'heháhénoto  They are my sons

98 Also éémoné'tovóho
99 This direct form does not change to /-not/ because the vowel preceding –tov is not phonemically high-pitched. The stem is /-pehéve'tov/ 'do good to'.
100 Literally, 'she has me as daughter'
### Transitive Animate Independent Indicative negative verbs

TA verbs become negative with the addition of the sáa- preverb and /-hé/ negative suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'not see (someone)'</th>
<th>I did not see myself</th>
<th>you (pl) did not see yourselves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>I did not see myself</td>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhéme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhe</td>
<td>I did not see you</td>
<td>yésáavóomóhe</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhé</td>
<td>I did not see him</td>
<td>yésáavóomóhe</td>
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<td>násáavóomamóheho</td>
<td>I did not see him (obv)</td>
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<td>násáavóomatséhéme</td>
<td>I did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>násáavóomamóheho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheo o</td>
<td>I did not see them</td>
<td>násáavóomóheo o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóoméhe</td>
<td>you did not see me</td>
<td>násáavóoméhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you did not see yourself</td>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhé</td>
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<td>násáavóomóhé</td>
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<td>you did not see us (ex)</td>
<td>násáavóoméhemeno</td>
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<td>násáavóomóheo o</td>
<td>you did not see them</td>
<td>násáavóomóheo o</td>
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<td>he did not see me</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehémeno</td>
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<tr>
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<td>he did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehémeno</td>
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<td>he did not see himself</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehémeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>ésáavóomóheho</td>
<td>he did not see him (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehémeno</td>
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<td>násáavóomaehéne</td>
<td>he did not see us (excl)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehémeno</td>
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<td>násáavóomaehévéo</td>
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<td>nésáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
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<td>násáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
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<td>nésáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
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<td>násáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
<td>(obv) did not see us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
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<td>nésáavóomaehétsenone he (obv)</td>
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<td>násáavóomaehétsenov he (obv)</td>
<td>(obv) did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaehétsenov he (obv)</td>
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<td>ésáavóomaehévo</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see them</td>
<td>ésáavóomaehévo</td>
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<td>násáavóomatséhémeno we (ex)</td>
<td>did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóomatséhémeno we (ex)</td>
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<td>we (ex) did not see him</td>
<td>nésáavóomóhéne</td>
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<td>we (ex) did not see him (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóomamóhene</td>
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<td>we (excl) did not see ourselves</td>
<td>nésáavóomatséhéme</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheneo o</td>
<td>we (ex) did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóomóheneo o</td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóoméméhéne</td>
<td>we (incl) did not see him</td>
<td>nésáavóoméméhéne</td>
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<td>nésáavóoméméhene</td>
<td>we (in) did not see him (obv)</td>
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<td>we (in) did not see ourselves</td>
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<td>we (incl) did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóoméméhene</td>
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<td>you (pl) did not see me</td>
<td>nésáavóomégéhé</td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóoméhévéo</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóoméhévéo</td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóoméméhemo</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see him (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóoméméhemo</td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóoméméhemo</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see us (ex)</td>
<td>nésáavóoméméhemo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'not know (someone)'

TA verb stems that end in "ov" experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhsehé</td>
<td>I do not know myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahénéne'enóváhtséhé</td>
<td>I do not know you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhe</td>
<td>I do not know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhtséhé</td>
<td>I do not know you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóvóheo'o</td>
<td>I do not know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhe</td>
<td>you do not know me</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhte</td>
<td>you do not know yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváheho</td>
<td>you do not know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváhtséhé</td>
<td>you do not know us (ex)</td>
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<td>násáahéne'enóvóheo'o</td>
<td>you do not know them</td>
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<tr>
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<td>he does not know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóeháhe</td>
<td>he does not know you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáahéne'enóváhtséhe</td>
<td>he does not know himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóváheho</td>
<td>he does not know him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóehéhehe</td>
<td>he does not know us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóehéheho</td>
<td>he does not know us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóehéhevo</td>
<td>he does not know you (pl)</td>
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<td>násáahéne'enóehéhtsenotohe (obv)</td>
<td>do not know me</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóehéhtsenotohe (obv)</td>
<td>do not know you</td>
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<tr>
<td>ésáahéne'enóehéheho</td>
<td>he (obv) does not know you</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóehéhtsenone (obv)</td>
<td>does not know us (ex)</td>
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<td>does not know us (in)</td>
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<td>násáahéne'enóehéhtsenovohe (obv)</td>
<td>does not know you (pl)</td>
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<td>násáahéne'enóváhtséhemenoe (we)</td>
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<td>násáahéne'enóvóheho</td>
<td>you (pl) do not know me</td>
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<tr>
<td>ésáahéne'enóvóheho</td>
<td>they do not know you</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóvéheho</td>
<td>they do not know him (obv)</td>
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<td>they do not know us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ésáahéne'enóvéhéhe</td>
<td>you are not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóvéhéhe</td>
<td>he is not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóvéhéhe</td>
<td>we (ex) are not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáahéne'enóvéhéhehema</td>
<td>we (incl) are not known</td>
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<td>ésáahéne'enóvéhéheho</td>
<td>you (pl) are not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáahéne'enóvéhéheo'o</td>
<td>they are not known</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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'not choose (someone)'

```plaintext
násáamoné'tóvháhtséhe  I did not choose myself
násáamoné'tohtséhe   I did not choose you
násáamoné'hénóto??  I do not know him (obv)
násáamoné'továhshéme I did not choose you (pl)
násáamoné'hénoto     I did not choose them
násáamoné'tóehé   you did not choose me
násáamoné'tohtséhe you did not choose yourself
násáamoné'hénote?? you did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (ex)
násáamoné'hénote?? you did not choose us (incl)
násáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
násáamoné'tóehé he did not choose me
násáamoné'tohtséhe he did not choose you
ésáamoné'tóvaksháhe he did not choose himself
ésáamoné'hénento?? he did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
ésáamoné'tóehé he did not choose himself
ésáamoné'tohtséhe he did not choose yourself
éšáamoné'hénento?? he did not choose himself
ésáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (ex)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé he did not choose me
ésáamoné'tohtséhe he did not choose you
ésáamoné'hénóto?? he did not choose him (obv)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'hénote?? he did not choose himself
ésáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (ex)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé he did not choose me
ésáamoné'tohtséhe he did not choose you
ésáamoné'hénóto?? he did not choose him (obv)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé he did not choose me
ésáamoné'tohtséhe he did not choose you
ésáamoné'hénóto?? he did not choose him (obv)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé he did not choose me
nesáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose him
nesáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose yourself
nesáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose ourselves
nesáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose us (incl)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé you (pl) did not choose me
nesáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose him
nesáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose yourself
nesáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose ourselves
nesáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose us (incl)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé you (pl) did not choose me
esáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose him
nesáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose yourself
nesáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose ourselves
nesáamoné'hénóto?? you (pl) did not choose us (incl)
esáamoné'továhshémeno you (pl) did not choose us (in)
esáamoné'továhshémeneno you (pl) did not choose you (pl)
esáamoné'tóehé you (pl) did not choose me
nesáamoné'tonéhe?? I was not chosen
nesáamoné'tónéhe?? you were not chosen
ésáamoné'tonéhe?? he was not chosen
ésáamoné'tonéhe?? we (pl) were not chosen
ésáamoné'tonéhe?? we (excl) were not chosen
ésáamoné'tonéhe?? we (incl) were not chosen
ésáamoné'stováhe?? they were not chosen
ésáamoné'stováhe?? you were chosen
ésáamoné'stováhe?? they were chosen
ésáamoné'stováhe?? we (pl) were chosen

Other negative verbs with the '-tov final:

násáapéhéve'tóvéhe I was not good to him
násáapéhéve'tóvéhe he was not good to me
násáaméahenóte I did not give him (away)
násáaméahénoto I did not give them (away)
násáane'étáshémenóte I do not depend on him
násáane'étáshémenóte I do not depend on me
násáahó'ahéhénóte I do not want him
násáahó'ahéhénóte I do not want him (obv)
násáahó'bó'héhénóte I do not give them (away)
násáahó'bó'héhénóte I do not give him (away)
nesáamoné'máhtshéheno'tóéhe I did not steal him
nesáamoné'máhtshéheno'tóéhe I did not steal me
nesáamoné'máhtshéheno'tóéhe I did not steal him (obv)
esáamoné'máhtshéheno'tóéhe I did not steal themselves
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not her daughter
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not his daughter
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not her daughter
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not his daughter
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not her mother
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not my mother
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not my mother
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not my father
nesáahé'éháhó'tóéhe I am not my father
```
Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

Yes/no questions are formed with TA verbs in the same two ways that they are formed with AI verbs:

(1) Add the interrogative suffix –he
(2) Prefix the indicative form of the verb with mó-

Note that interrogative verbs with third person plural subjects or objects substitute "vo" for phonemic /o/ before the interrogative suffix –he.

-voóm 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóomáhtehe?</td>
<td>Did I see myself?</td>
<td>Névóomamonehe? Did we (in) see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomátesehe?</td>
<td>Did I see you?</td>
<td>Névóomáhtsémanehe? Did we (in) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him?</td>
<td>Névóomovohoe? Did we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did you (pl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did I see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomemenehe? Did you (pl) see yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomovohoe?</td>
<td>Did I see them?</td>
<td>Névóomovohoe? Did you (pl) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomehe?</td>
<td>Did you see me?</td>
<td>Névóomovohoe? Did they see me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomáhtehe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourself?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did they see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomohe?</td>
<td>Did you see him?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did they see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did you see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did they see themselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did you see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did you (pl) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomemenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see us (excl)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did I see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomovohoe?</td>
<td>Did you see them?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did I see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomahe?</td>
<td>Did he see me?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did they see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomahe?</td>
<td>Did he see you?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did you (pl) see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomáhtehe?</td>
<td>Did he see himself?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did you (pl) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomoveho?</td>
<td>Did he see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohoe? Did you (pl) see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Návóomahe? | Did he see me? | Névóomanehe? Was I was seen? |
Névóomahe? | Did he see you? | Névóomanehe? Were you seen? |
Évóomáhtehe? | Did he see himself? | Évóomanehe? Was he was seen? |
Évóomoveho? | Did he see him (obv)? | Návóomanémanehe? Were we (excl) seen? |
Návóomamenohe? | Did he see us (excl)? | Névóomanémanehe? Were we (incl) seen? |
Névóomahe? | Did he see you (pl)? | Névóomanehe? Were you (pl) seen? |
Évóomenehe? | Did he see them? | Évóomenehe? Were they seen? |
Návóomahtsémehe? | Did he see ourselves? | Mónévóo’mo? Did you see him? |
Návóomenehe? | Did he see you? | Mónévóomoo’o? Did you see them? |
Návóomamenohe? | Did he see him (obv)? | Mónévóomóvo? Did you (pl) see him? |
Návóomamenohe? | Did he see ourselves? | Mónévóomóvo’o? Did you (pl) see them? |
Návóomamenohe? | Did you (ex) see him (obv)? | Mónéméhóto? Do you love him? |
Návóomamenohe? | Did you (pl) see you (pl)? | Mónéhoxómo? Did you feed him? |

Návóomonehe? | Did we (incl) see him?

---

101 This can also be said as návóomahtsémanehe.
-héne'enov 'see (someone)'

TA verb stems that end in "ov", such as -héne'enov, experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice. $$ \text{(added this page 6/6/22; recheck red highlighted forms)}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Yes/No Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtsehe?</td>
<td>Do I do know myself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsehe?</td>
<td>Do I know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do I know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohoe?</td>
<td>Do I know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsemehe?</td>
<td>Do I know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovovohoe?</td>
<td>Do I know them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you know me?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvahtsehe?</td>
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<td>Do you know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamenohe?</td>
<td>Do you know us (excl)?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enovovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you know them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóehe?</td>
<td>Does he know me?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóehe?</td>
<td>Does he know himself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóvahtsehe?</td>
<td>Does he know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Does he know us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóenehe?</td>
<td>Does he know us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóevohe?</td>
<td>Does he know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsenotohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsenotohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóevohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know him?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsenonehe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
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<td>Does he (obv) know us (incl)?</td>
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<td>Does he (obv) know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóevohe?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsemehe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovonehe?</td>
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</tr>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamónehe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
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<td>Do we (excl) know ourselves?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enovovonehe?</td>
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<td>Do we (incl) know him?</td>
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<td>Do we (incl) know ourselves?</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Do you (pl) know him?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Do you (pl) know him (obv)?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enovomenohe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know us (excl)?</td>
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<td>Do you (pl) know yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some 'know' mó- prefix yes/no questions:

Mónéhéne'enóvo?  You know him?
Mónéhéne'enovoo'o?  You know them?
Mónéhéne'enovóne'o?  We know them?
--moné’tov 'choose (someone)'

The interrogative suffix –he combines with the /-no(t)/ final of the direct voice of verbs which have –tov transitivizing finals. When this happens, a verb which ends with –nóże in its indicative form ends with –notse in its interrogative form. $$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námoné’tovahtsehe?</th>
<th>Did I choose myself?</th>
<th>Námoné’tovahtsehe?</th>
<th>Did you (pl) choose yourselves?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did I choose you?</td>
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<td>Did you (pl) choose them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonenotse?</td>
<td>Did I choose him?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonéévenotohe?</td>
<td>Did I choose him (obv)?</td>
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<td>Did they choose you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némoné’tovatsemehé?</td>
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<td>Émonéénovvohe?</td>
<td>Did they choose (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonéntotohe?</td>
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<td>Námoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némoné’tovetsehe?</td>
<td>Did you choose me?</td>
<td>Némoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Émoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námonéévenotohe?</td>
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<td>Némoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némoné’tovemenohé?</td>
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<td>Did he choose me?</td>
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<td>Did they choose (obv)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némoné’tovetsehe?</td>
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<td>Námoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose (obv)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Émoné’tovathtsehe?</td>
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<td>Námoné’tovatsehe?</td>
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<td>Námoné’tovatsehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose (obv)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs with the –tov final:

| Náho’ahé’toehé? | Does he want me? |
| Ného’ahenotse?  | Do you want him? |
| Náne’éämé’toehé? | Does he depends on me? |
| Némonenotse?    | Do you depend on him? |
| Néphéve’toehé?  | Was he good to you? |
| Néphéve’tovohé? | Were you good to him? |
| Néméanotse?     | Did he give him? |
| Néméanovvohe?   | Did you (pl) give him? |
| Néno’evéehé’toehé? | Did he (obv) give him? |
| Néno’evéhenotse? | Is he named after you? |
| Nénomáhtsenotse? | Did you stole him? |
| Néhestónahé’toehé? | Are you his/her daughter? |
| Néhestónahenotse? | Is she your daughter? |
| Néhe’ahé’toehé? | Are you his/her son? |
| Néhe’ahenotse?  | Is he your son?    |
| Néhe’ahénotse?  | Are they your sons? |
| Néhe’ské’toehé? | Are you his/her mother? |
| Néhe’skenotse?  | Is she your mother?|

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### 'not see (someone)'

**RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóómáhtséhehe?</th>
<th>Didn't I see myself?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómatséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómohéhe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómamóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómatséhemehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómohevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóméhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómáhtséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóómohéhe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóómamóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see him (obv)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Násáavóómaméhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómaméhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómaméhótáéhe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (excl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómhenehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (pl) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómhenehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Násáavóómhenehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómhenehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see himself (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómhenehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Násáavóómohenehe? | Didn't we (incl) see him? |
| Násáavóómamohenehe? | Didn't we (pl) see him (obv)? |
| Násáavóómhenehe? | Didn't we (ex) see them? |
| Násáavóómhenehe? | Didn't we (ex) see themselves? |

| Násáavóómohenehe? | Didn't we (in) see him (obv)? |
| Násáavóómhenehe? | Didn't we (in) see ourselves? |

### Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

**RECHECK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónésáavóómóhe?</th>
<th>Didn't you see him?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóómóheo’o?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóómóbévo?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne’eno’véhe?</td>
<td>Don't you know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne’énó’héhe?</td>
<td>Doesn't he know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáaméhótóhe?</td>
<td>Don't you love him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónásáaméhótáéhe?</td>
<td>Doesn't he want him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahoxomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you feed him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáamonénó’he?</td>
<td>Didn't you choose him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáamonéhónó’vo?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) choose him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ésáaho’áhénó’vo?</td>
<td>Doesn't he want him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ésáanéhó’heho?</td>
<td>Didn't he chase him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Animate Inferential verbs

The TA inferential paradigm looks much the same as the preceding negative interrogative paradigm with the following differences:

1. The sā- negative preverb does not occur in inferentials (instead, the conjunct is used).
2. Inferentials have a high-pitched ending instead of a low-pitched ending.

---

-vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monévóomáhtséhēhe</th>
<th>I must have seen myself</th>
<th>Mónévóomáhevōhe</th>
<th>You (pl) must have seen him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monévóomatséhēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you</td>
<td>Mónévóomamáhevōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomáhehēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévóoméhemenonēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomamáhevōhe</td>
<td>I must have seen (obv)</td>
<td>Mónévóomáhtséhemenonēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomatséhemenonēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Mónévóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>You must have seen me</td>
<td>Mónévóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónévóomáhtséhēhe</td>
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<td>Mónávóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen you</td>
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<td>Mónávóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (ex)</td>
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<td>Mónévóomamáhevōhe</td>
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<td>Mónávóomáhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (in)</td>
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<td>Mónévóomáhehēhe</td>
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<td>You (pl) must have seen him</td>
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<td>He (obv) must have seen you (pl)</td>
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<td>They must have seen themselves</td>
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<tr>
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<td>They must have fed him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónávóomáhehēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have freed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomáhehēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen them</td>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have killed him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen him</td>
<td>Mótho'etōhevōhe</td>
<td>He must have tied him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen (obv)</td>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>He must know him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen ourselves</td>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must know him</td>
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<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen them</td>
<td>Móhéstaháhevōhe</td>
<td>He must have chased him (obv)</td>
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### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/:

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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>It's said you (pl) saw me</td>
<td>It's said they saw me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomatséméase</td>
<td>It's said I saw you</td>
<td>Névóomóvoséste</td>
<td>Návóomáeséste</td>
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<td>Névóomamóvóosesto</td>
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<td>Návóomamáosesto</td>
<td>It's said I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomemenóse</td>
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<td>It's said I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóomáhtsémése</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
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<td>Névóomóvóosesto</td>
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<td>Návóomaeséste</td>
<td>It's said they saw me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóomáhtsémáse</td>
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<td>Návóomaeséste</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw you</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Évóomóvóosesto</td>
<td>It's said they saw him</td>
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<td>Névóomámsésto</td>
<td>It's said you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Návóomaenésésto</td>
<td>It's said they saw us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóomasenósesto</td>
<td>It's said you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Návóomaenémáne</td>
<td>It's said they saw us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóománesésto</td>
<td>It's said you saw us (incl)</td>
<td>Návóomaenémáne</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) were seen</td>
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<td>Névóománesésto</td>
<td>It's said he saw me</td>
<td>Névóománesésto</td>
<td>It's said they saw themselves</td>
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<td>Návóomámóvóese</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>Návóománesésto</td>
<td>It's said I was seen</td>
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<td>It's said he loves him (obv)</td>
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<td>Névóomasésto</td>
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<td>Névóomáhtséméñóse</td>
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<td>Évóamasésto</td>
<td>It's said he told him (obv)</td>
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<td>Návóomámenóse</td>
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<td>It's said he (obv) told them</td>
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<td>Návóomámenóse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw them</td>
<td>Námoné'toesésto</td>
<td>It's said he chose me</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némonénoñósesto</td>
<td>It's said you chose him</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'áhénósesto</td>
<td>It's said you want him</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ého'áhénósesto</td>
<td>It's said he wants him (obv)</td>
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<td>It's said he gave him (away)</td>
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<td>Námonétaesésto</td>
<td>It's said he hates me</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Éoamaesésto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) hit me</td>
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<td>Éáatovóosesto</td>
<td>It's said he heard him (obv)</td>
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<td>Évéstahémósesto</td>
<td>It's said he helped him (obv)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Éheshanóvosésto</td>
<td>It's said they took him (obv)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Éhoxomóvosésto</td>
<td>It's said they fed him (obv)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Éšéxanósesto</td>
<td>It's said he freed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some other TA reportative verbs:

- Eméhotósesto: It's said he loves him (obv)
- Némého'taséste: It's said he loves you
- Éhetósesto: It's said he told him (obv)
- Ehetóvóosesto: It's said they told him (obv)
- Éhetaeséto: It's said he (obv) told them
- Námoné'toeséstos: It's said he chose me
- Némonénoñósesto: It's said you chose him
- Ného'áhénósesto: It's said you want him
- Ého'áhénósesto: It's said he wants him (obv)
- Néménoñósesto: It's said you gave him (away)
- Éménoñósesto: It's said he gave him (away)
- Námonétaesésto: It's said he hates me
- Éoamaesésto: It's said he (obv) hit me
- Éáatovóosesto: It's said he heard him (obv)
- Évéstahémósesto: It's said he helped him (obv)
- Éheshanóvosésto: It's said they took him (obv)
- Éhoxomóvosésto: It's said they fed him (obv)
- Éšéxanósesto: It's said he freed him (obv)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhémáse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see myself</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáavóomáhtséhémáse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhesestso</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him (obv)</td>
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<td>Nésáavóomatséhémése</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you (pl)</td>
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<td>Násáavóomóheséstso</td>
<td>It's said I did not see them</td>
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<td>It's said you did not see him (obv)</td>
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<td>It's said you did not see us (excl)</td>
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<td>Nésáavóomóheséstso</td>
<td>It's said you did not see them</td>
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<td>It's said he did not see you (pl)</td>
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<td>It's said he (obv) did not see me</td>
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<td>Nésáavóomaehétnóeséstso</td>
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<td>It's said he (obv) did not see himself</td>
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<td>Násáavóomaehétnóvóeséstso</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)</td>
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<td>Násáavóomaehénësesto</td>
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<td>It's said they did not see you (pl)</td>
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<td>It's said they did not see themselves</td>
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<td>Násáavóomanëhémëse</td>
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Some other TA negative reportative verbs:

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<td>Nésáamëhotaehehësesto</td>
<td>It's said he does not love you</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáahótëhesësto</td>
<td>It's said he did not tell him (obv)</td>
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<td>It's said he did not chose me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáamëtënëhësestës?</td>
<td>It's said you did not chose him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahó'ahëhësestës??</td>
<td>It's said you do not want him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáahó'ahëhësestës??</td>
<td>It's said he does not want him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáamëhënahësestës??</td>
<td>It's said you did not give him (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamëhënahësestës??</td>
<td>It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáapëtëahehësesto</td>
<td>It's said he does not hate me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'oomëhësesto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) did not hit him</td>
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<td>Ésáá'aahtëvëhësesto</td>
<td>It's said he did not hear him (obv)</td>
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<td>Ésáavëstëhëhemësesto??</td>
<td>It's said he did not help him (obv)</td>
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<td>Ésáahëstënëhëvësesto</td>
<td>It's said they did not take him (obv)</td>
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<td>Ésáahoxëmëhëvësesto</td>
<td>It's said they did not feed him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáá'ashënëhësesto</td>
<td>It's said he did not free him (obv)</td>
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Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

As previously explained (xxx??), Cheyenne verbs in the preterit mode occur mostly in legends. They can also occur in contemporary contexts when a speaker wishes to convey surprise (what some linguists call miratives).

The preterit mode usually occurs with third person subjects and objects, but the verbs in the following examples from texts are mirative usages of the preterit occurring with local (first and second person) arguments:

Náéšého'éhnémoho káhkése o'hé’e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

"Nétaéšéhevéxahé’tovatsémoho!” náhéto.
"You are already now my son-in-law!” I told him. (The Brothers-in-law)

Óméso néstanâha’enatsémoho!
Soon I will catch you (plural)! (Bear Tepee.115)

The examples below will be given with the past tense morpheme /h/ (with its allomorphs x, s, š, and ’) since this is how preterit verbs are heard in Cheyenne legends.

English translations of the example verbs include the words "Once upon a time" to try to show a difference in meaning between these preterit verbs in legends and regular Cheyenne indicate verbs which have the remote past tense morpheme /h/. But be aware that the English words "Once upon a time" are only used in English fairy tales or other make-believe stories which everyone knows did not actually happen. Actions conveyed by the Cheyenne preterit mode may similarly be make-believe fairy tales, but they may also actually have happened. They may just have happened so long ago that no one alive today knows anyone who saw the actions, inferred the actions (inferential mode), or to whom the actions were reported (reportative mode).

Some example verbs are included which indicate surprise.

| Éhvóomóhoono  | Once upon a time he saw him (obv) |
| Éhvóomaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw him |
| Éhvóomaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw them |
| Éhvóomóvóhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Evóomóhoono  | Surprisingly, he saw him! |
| Éxhetóhoono  | Once upon a time he told him (obv) |
| Éxhetaeahoono | Once upon a time he (obv) told him |
| Éxhetaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) told them |
| Éxhetóvóhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Éhetóhoono  | Surprisingly, he told him! |
| Éhmévóhoono  | Once upon a time he ate him (obv) |
| Éhmévaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate him |
| Éhmévaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate them |
| Éhmévovóhoono | Once upon a time they ate him (obv) |
Émévōhoono! Surprisingly, he ate him!

Éhvonáho'nóhoono Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up
Éhvonáho'heehoono Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
Éhvonáho'heevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
Éhvonáho'nóvóhoono Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
Évono'hóhoono! Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

É'a'tásóhoono Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)
É'a'táxeehoono Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him
É'a'táxeevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them
É'a'tásóvóhoono Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv)
É'a'tásóhoono! Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

Éxho'áhénóhoono Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)
Éxho'áh'ètoehoono Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him
Éxho'áh'ètovóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them
Éxho'áhénovóhoono Once upon a time they wanted him (obv)
Éh'óahénóhoono! Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!

Éššéxanóhoono Once upon a time he freed him (obv)
Éššéxanaeahoono Once upon a time he (obv) freed him
Éššéxanaevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) freed them
Éššéxanóvóhoono Once upon a time they freed him (obv)
Éšéxanóhoono! Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáavóomóméhooono Once upon a time he did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomáehéhooono Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him
Éssáavóomáehévóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them
Éssáavóomóméhvóhoono Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomóméhooono! Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)!

Éssáahetohehoono Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetetahehoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him
Éssáahetahevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them
Éssáahetohevóhoono Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetohehooono! Surprisingly, he did not tell him!

Éssáa'a'tásóhehoono Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Éssáa'a'táxehehéhooono Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him
Éssáa'a'táxehevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them
Éssáa'a'tásóhevóhoono Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Transitive Animate Imperative

Immediate and delayed commands occur with TA verbs, just as they do with AI and TI verbs.

### Transitive Animate Immediate Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomèstse!</td>
<td>Vé'hoome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtsèstse!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomeha!</td>
<td>Vé'hooma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv)!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomameha!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemo!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemeno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomenáno!</td>
<td>Vé'hooma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me!</td>
<td>Méhoxèstse!</td>
<td>Méhoxe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself!</td>
<td>Méhotahtsèstse!</td>
<td>Méhotahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him!</td>
<td>Méhoxeha!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv)!</td>
<td>Méhotameha!</td>
<td>Méhotama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us!</td>
<td>Méhoxemeno!</td>
<td>Méhoxemeno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them!</td>
<td>Méhoxenáno!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovèstse!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Pèheve'tovahtsèstse!</td>
<td>Pèheve'tovahtse!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'toveha!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tove!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovameha!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovama!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovemo!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovemo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tovenáno!</td>
<td>Pèhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaestse!</td>
<td>Taevahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself!</td>
<td>Taeváhestse!</td>
<td>Taeváhe!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváheha!</td>
<td>Taeváha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváhameha!</td>
<td>Taeváhama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemo!</td>
<td>Taeváhemo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them!</td>
<td>Taeváhenáno!</td>
<td>Taeváha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me!</td>
<td>Ševátamèstse!</td>
<td>Ševátame!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself!</td>
<td>Ševátamahtsèstse!</td>
<td>Ševátamahtse!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take pity on him!</td>
<td>Ševátameha!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamameha!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamemo!</td>
<td>Ševátamemo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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102 As explained earlier in this book, verbs with third person reflexives can also have a reciprocal meaning. So the command for this verb said to more than one person can mean either 'Look at yourselves!' or 'Look at each other!'

103 An older pronunciation is Néševátamèstse! The whispered syllable at the beginning of this pronunciation is difficult to hear, but it can be heard clearly when something else precedes it as in Nánéševátámo 'I pity him'.

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### Transitive Animate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomeo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hooméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtse'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hooménoo'!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me later!</td>
<td>Méhoxeo'o!</td>
<td>Méhóxéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself later!</td>
<td>Méhotahtse'o!</td>
<td>Méhotáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him later!</td>
<td>Méhotoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Méhotamoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us later!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhóxemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them later!</td>
<td>Méhótóóono!</td>
<td>Méhótóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'toveo'o!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'toáhtse'o!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'toahtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovo'o!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovamoo'o!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovóóono!</td>
<td>Pèhe've'tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me later!</td>
<td>Taevahoeo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself later!</td>
<td>Taevahésteo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhamoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhñoóono!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me later!</td>
<td>Ševátameo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátaméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself later!</td>
<td>Ševátamése'tse'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him later!</td>
<td>Ševátamoo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamamoo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamenoo!</td>
<td>Ševátameno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenánano!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

Notice that hortative suffixes –áta'e, -ata'öse, and –aëtse look like conjunct order suffixes, which we will see later.

| Vé'hooma'eha! | Let him look at me! | Vé'hooma'évoha! | Let them look at me! |
| Vé'hoomáta'e! | Let him look at you! | Vé'hoomátase'o! | Let them look at you! |
| Vé'hoomahtseha! | Let him look at himself! | Vé'hoomahtsévohaftse! | Let them look at themselves! |
| Vé'hoomóha! | Let him look at him (obv)! | Vé'hooomaëtse! | Let them look at us! |
| Vé'hoomata'öse! | Let him look at you (pl)! | Vé'hoomataöse! | Let them look at you (pl)! |
Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs

TI verbs have animate subjects but inanimate objects. They are marked for person of their subjects and number of their objects.

/vóohtá/ 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>II plural suffix</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>3rd person singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhta</td>
<td>I see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanôtse</td>
<td>I see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhta</td>
<td>You see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanôtse</td>
<td>You see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtanôtse</td>
<td>He sees it</td>
<td>Névóohtanôtse</td>
<td>He see’s them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtotse</td>
<td>He (obv) sees it</td>
<td>Évóohtosinôtse</td>
<td>He (obv) see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtánone</td>
<td>We (excl) see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanôstse</td>
<td>We (excl) see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtanone</td>
<td>We (incl) see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanôstse</td>
<td>We (incl) see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánovo</td>
<td>You (pl) see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanôvôtse</td>
<td>You (pl) see them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóóhtánovo</td>
<td>They see it</td>
<td>Évóohtanôvôtse</td>
<td>They see them</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Évóome

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>II plural suffix</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>3rd person singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námése</td>
<td>I ate it</td>
<td>Námésenôtse</td>
<td>I ate them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némése</td>
<td>You ate it</td>
<td>Námésenôtse</td>
<td>You ate them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Êmése</td>
<td>He ate it</td>
<td>Êmésenôtse</td>
<td>He ate them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmésetse</td>
<td>He (obv) ate it</td>
<td>Êmésetsenôtse</td>
<td>He (obv) ate them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námésénône</td>
<td>We (excl) ate it</td>
<td>Námésenôstse</td>
<td>We (excl) ate them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némésenone</td>
<td>We (incl) ate it</td>
<td>Námésenôstse</td>
<td>We (incl) ate them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Êmésenôvo</td>
<td>They ate it</td>
<td>Êmésenôvôtse</td>
<td>They ate them</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Émésetôve</td>
<td>It was eaten</td>
<td>Émésetôvôstse</td>
<td>They were eaten.</td>
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</table>

/-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
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<th>1st person singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tse</td>
<td>I have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsenôtse</td>
<td>I have them</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tse</td>
<td>You have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsenôtse</td>
<td>You have them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êho'tse</td>
<td>He has it</td>
<td>Êho'tsenôtse</td>
<td>He has them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êho'tsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) has it</td>
<td>Êho'tsêtsenôtse</td>
<td>He (obv) has them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náho'tsenône</td>
<td>We (excl) have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsênonôstse</td>
<td>We (excl) have them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ného'tsênône</td>
<td>We (incl) have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsênonôstse</td>
<td>We (incl) have them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ného'tsênôvo</td>
<td>You (pl) have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsênovôtse</td>
<td>You (pl) have them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ého'he</td>
<td>It is had</td>
<td>Ého'hêstôse</td>
<td>They are had</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

/-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

<table>
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<th>Stem</th>
<th>II plural suffix</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>3rd person singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'ahe</td>
<td>I want it</td>
<td>Náho'âhenôtse</td>
<td>I want them</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahe</td>
<td>You want it</td>
<td>Ného'âhenôtse</td>
<td>You want them</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Êho'ahe</td>
<td>He wants it</td>
<td>Êho'âhenôtse</td>
<td>He wants them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êho'âhe'tse</td>
<td>He (obv) wants it</td>
<td>Êho'âhe'sênôtse</td>
<td>He (obv) wants them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Náho'âhé'nône</td>
<td>We (excl) want it</td>
<td>Náho'âhé'nôstse</td>
<td>We (excl) want them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ného'âhé'nône</td>
<td>We (incl) want it</td>
<td>Ného'âhé'nôstse</td>
<td>We (incl) want them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ného'âhé'nôvo</td>
<td>You (pl) want it</td>
<td>Ného'âhénovôtse</td>
<td>You (pl) want them</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'âhé'nôvo</td>
<td>They want it</td>
<td>Ého'âhénovôtse</td>
<td>They want them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'âhé'stôve</td>
<td>It is wanted</td>
<td>Ého'âhé'stôvôstse</td>
<td>They are wanted</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104 The /vóohtá/ and –ho’tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.
105 The /-mése/ and –ho'ahe stems take the AI /-htôve/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.
-hóxe'ená 'clean (something)'
Náhóxe'āna I cleaned it Náhóxe'ananótse I cleaned them
Néhóxe'āna You cleaned it Néhóxe'ananótse You cleaned them
Éhóxe'āna He cleaned it Éhóxe'ananótse He cleaned them
Éhóxe'anotse He (obv) cleaned it Éhóxe'anótsenótse He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe'anánóne We (excl) cleaned it Náhóxe'anánótsenótse We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóne We (in) cleaned it Néhóxe'anánótsenótse We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóvo You (pl) cleaned it Néhóxe'anánótsenótse You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe'anánóvo They cleaned it Éhóxe'anánótsenótse They cleaned them
Éhóxe'ané It was cleaned Éhóxe'ané'nótse They were cleaned

-hestá 'say (something)'
Náhésta I said it Náhestánótse I said them
Néhésta You said it Néhestánótse You said them
Éhésta He said it Éhestánótse He said them
Éhestotse He (obv) said it Éhestótsenótse He (obv) said them
Náhestánóne We (excl) said it Náhestánánótsenótse We (excl) said them
Nénestánone We (in) said it Néhestánátsenótse We (in) said them
Néhestánóvo You (pl) said it Néhestánátsenótse You (pl) said them
Éhestánóvo They said it Éhestánótsenótse They said them
Éhestrohe It was said Éhéstóhénéstse They were said

-mané 'drink (something)'
Námane I drank it Námanénótse I drank them
Némáne You drank it Némanénótse You drank them
Émane He drank it Émanéntse He drank them
Émanetse He (obv) drank it Émanétsenótse He (obv) drank them
Námanénóne We (excl) drank it Námanéntsnótse We (excl) drank them
Némanénóne We (in) drank it Némanéntsnótse We (in) drank them
Némanénóvo You (pl) drank it Némanéntsnótse You (pl) drank them
Émanénóvo They drank it Émanéntsnótse They drank them
Émanéstove It was drunk Émanéstóvénéstse They were drunk

-é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'
Náé'e'ó'tse I broke it Náé'e'ó'tsenótse I broke them
Né'é'e'ó'tse You broke it Náé'e'ó'tsenótse You broke them
É'é'e'o'tse He broke it É'é'e'ó'tsé He broke them
Éé'e'ó'tsetse He (obv) broke it Éé'e'ó'tsetsenótse He (obv) broke them
Náé'e'ó'tsé'áno We (excl) broke it Náé'e'ó'tsé'áne We (excl) broke them
Né'é'e'ó'tsé'ání We (in) broke it Náé'e'ó'tsé'ání We (in) broke them
Náé'é'e'ó'tsé'ánóvo You (pl) broke it Náé'é'e'ó'tsé'ánov We (pl) broke them
É'é'e'ót'ánóvo They broke it É'é'e'ó'tsé'ánov They broke them
Éé'e'ó'he It was broken Éé'e'ó'hénéstse They were broken

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106 Námáne, Némáne, and Émane are identical in pronunciation to the AI verbs meaning 'I drank', 'You drank', and 'He drank', respectively.
107 This is identical in pronunciation to the impersonal verb meaning 'There is drinking'.
108 That is, 'They (some inanimate plural liquids) were drunk' not the meaning 'They (some people) were drunk'.

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Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

- Náa’táxa. I accidentally cut it.
- Éhestána. He took it.
- Náhó’xátsésta. I'm used to it.
- Émé’a. He found it.
- Nápěhévéatsésta. I like it.
- Návoná’ó’tse. I lost it.
- Návonetanó’ta. I forgot it.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

Here we point out some differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs with interesting grammatical ways to express semantic relationships, see the end of the section in the middle of this book on Inanimate Subject Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs.

-háamá’tá

The Cheyenne TI verb /-háamá’tá/ grammatically treats an inanimate body part that hurts as the direct object of the verb. This is a perfectly logical way to express the meaning intended. 'My nose hurts' is how the meaning of the first sentence, Náháamá’ta na’evo, below, is naturally translated to English. This verb could literally be translated to English as 'I hurt to my nose.' (It does not literally mean 'I hurt my nose'.) This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. It is simply a different grammatical method to express the same semantic relationship of the equivalent English sentence. Neither grammatical method is inferior.

Náháamá’ta na’evo. My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamá’tanıtse na’ékán estse. My eyes hurt. (lit., I hurt to my eyes)

We already noted the same grammatical relationships in the corresponding TA verbs at the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs:

Náháamá’tóvo namo’ēško. My finger hurts. (lit., I hurt to my finger)
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ēškono. My fingers hurt. (lit., I hurt to my fingers)

-táá’a ’fit (something)’

This Cheyenne verb treats a part that fits someone as the object of the verb. Again, this is a perfectly logical way to express the intended meaning. The English wording 'The cap fits me' is grammatically correct for the English language and the corresponding Cheyenne sentence is grammatically correct for the Cheyenne language. Neither language is "backwards" in how they express meaning about fitting; they simply express the same meaning using different grammar.

Nátáá’a hóhkēha’e. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anıtse hóhkēhá’estse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
Nátáa’ovo éstse’he. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa’ovo’o éstse’heno. The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'

In Cheyenne food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb -pèhèvé’áhtá:

Nápèhèvé’áhta ho'évōhkôtse. The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative relational verbs

A TI relational verb refers to action done to something owned by a third person.

-vóoh tomóv 'see his _'

Návóoh tomóvo I see his ___ Návóoh tomóvon tse I see his ___ (plural)
Névóoh tomóvo You see his ___ Névóoh tomóvon tse You see his ___ (plural)
Évóoh tomóvo He sees his (obv) ___ Évóoh tomóvon tse He sees his (obv) ___ (pl)
Návóoh tomóvonóne We (ex) see his ___ Návóoh tomóvonónestse We (ex) see his ___ (pl)
Névóoh tomóvonone We (in) see his ___ Névóoh tomóvonónestse We (in) see his ___ (pl)
Névóoh tomóvonóvo You (pl) see his ___ Névóoh tomóvonovótestse You (pl) see his ___ (pl)
Évóoh tomóvonóvo They see his ___ Évóoh tomóvonovótestse They see his ___ (pl)
Évómetse His ___ is seen Évóomenetôtse His ___ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his _'

Náhestanomóvo I took his ___ Náhestanomóvonótestse I took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvo You took his ___ Néhestanomóvonótestse You took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv) ___ Éhestanomóvonótestse He took his (obv) ___ (pl)
Náhestanomóvonóne We (ex) took his ___ Náhestanomóvonónestse We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonone We (in) took his ___ Néhestanomóvonónestse We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonóvo You (pl) took his ___ Néhestanomóvonovótestse You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanomóvonóvo They took his ___ Éhestanomóvonovótestse They took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanetse His ___ was taken Éhestanetôtse His ___ (pl) were taken

-é’e’ótov 'break his _'

Náé’e’ó’tóvo I broke his ___ Náé’e’ó’tovóntse I broke his ___ (pl)
Née’e’ó’tóvo You broke his ___ Née’e’ó’tovóntse You broke his ___ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’tóvo He broke his (obv) ___ Éé’e’ó’tovóntse He broke his (obv) ___ (pl)
Náé’e’ó’tovóntone We (ex) broke his ___ Náé’e’ó’tovóntonestse We (ex) broke his ___ (pl)
Née’e’ó’tovóntone We (in) broke his ___ Née’e’ó’tovóntonestse We (in) broke his ___ (pl)
Náé’e’ó’tovóntovo You (pl) broke his ___ Náé’e’ó’tovóntovótestse You (pl) broke his ___ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’tovóntovo They broke his ___ Éé’e’ó’tovóntovótestse They broke his ___ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’hetse His ___ was broken Éé’e’ó’henetôtse His ___ (pl) were broken
**Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

TI negatives require the sáa- preverb and –hÉ suffix, as do AI and TA verbs. Traditionally, a TI inanimate object agreement marker /-á/ changes to /-ó/ in negatives. Younger speakers are regularizing the TI negative paradigm so that they keep the /-á/ in both positive and negative verbs.

### 'not see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóóhtóhe</th>
<th>I did not see it</th>
<th>Násáavóóhtóhénótsè</th>
<th>I did not see them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>You did not see it</td>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>You did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>He did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>He did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhétse</td>
<td>He (obv) did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhétsehénótsè</td>
<td>He (obv) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) did not see it</td>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>We (ex) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóne</td>
<td>We (in) did not see it</td>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>We (in) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) did not see it</td>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>You (pl) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo</td>
<td>They did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénótsè</td>
<td>They did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóméhane</td>
<td>It was not seen</td>
<td>Ésáavóóméhéhótsè</td>
<td>They were not seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáamésèhe</th>
<th>I did not eat it</th>
<th>Násáamésèhénótsè</th>
<th>I did not eat them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamésèhe</td>
<td>You did not eat it</td>
<td>Nésáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>You did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamésèhe</td>
<td>He did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>He did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamésèhetse</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáamésèhetsehénótsè</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáamésèhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) did not eat it</td>
<td>Násáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>We (ex) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamésèhénóne</td>
<td>We (in) did not eat it</td>
<td>Nésáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>We (in) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáamésèhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat it</td>
<td>Násáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamésèhénóvo</td>
<td>They did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáamésèhénótsè</td>
<td>They did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséstovéhane</td>
<td>It was not eaten</td>
<td>Ésáaméséstovéhótsè</td>
<td>They were not eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáaho’tsèhe</th>
<th>I do not have it</th>
<th>Násáproto’sèhénótsè</th>
<th>I do not have them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tsèhe</td>
<td>You do not have it</td>
<td>Nésáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>You do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tsèhe</td>
<td>He does not have it</td>
<td>Ésáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>He does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tsèhetse</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have it</td>
<td>Ésáproto’sèhetsehénótsè</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tsèhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) do not have it</td>
<td>Násáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>We (ex) do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tsèhénóne</td>
<td>We (in) do not have it</td>
<td>Násáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>We (in) do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tsèhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have it</td>
<td>Násáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tsèhénóvo</td>
<td>They do not have it</td>
<td>Ésáproto’sèhénótsè</td>
<td>They do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’héhane</td>
<td>It is not had</td>
<td>Ésáproto’héháhótsè</td>
<td>They are not had</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáaho’ahéhe</th>
<th>I don’t want it</th>
<th>Násáaho’ahéhótsè</th>
<th>I don’t want them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’ahéhe</td>
<td>You don’t want it</td>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>You don’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhe</td>
<td>He doesn’t want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>He doesn’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhetse</td>
<td>He (obv) doesn’t want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhetsehótsè</td>
<td>He (obv) doesn’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) don’t want it</td>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>We (ex) don’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’ahéhénóne</td>
<td>We (in) don’t want it</td>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>We (in) don’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) don’t want it</td>
<td>Násáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>You (pl) don’t want it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhénóvo</td>
<td>They don’t want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéhótsè</td>
<td>They don’t want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéstovéhane</td>
<td>It is not wanted</td>
<td>Ésáaho’ahéstovéhótsè</td>
<td>They are not wanted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'not clean (something)'
Násáahóxe'ánóhóe I didn’t clean it Násáahóxe'ánóhóte I didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe'ánóhóe You didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe'ánóhóte You didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe'ánóhóe He didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe'ánóhóte He didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe'ánóhóhóe He (obv) didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe'ánóhóhóte He (obv) didn’t clean them
Násáahóxe'ánóhóhóone We (ex) didn’t clean it Násáahóxe'ánóhóhónestse We (ex) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe'ánóhóhóone We (in) didn’t clean it Násáahóxe'ánóhóhónestse We (in) didn’t clean them
Násáahóxe'ánóhóhóovo You (pl) didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe'ánóhóhóvóte You (pl) didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe'ánóhóhóovo They didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe'ánóhóvóte They didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe'ánóhóhóhóhóe It was not cleaned Ésáahóxe'ánóhóhóhóte They were not cleaned

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not see (something)'
Násáavóohtomóvóhe I didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohtomóvóhóte I didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohtomóvóhe You didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohtomóvóhóte You didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohtomóvóhe He didn’t see his (obv) ___ Ésáavóohtomóvóhóte He didn’t see his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáavóohtomóvóhóne We (ex) didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohtomóvóhónestse We (ex) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohtomóvóhóne We (in) didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohtomóvóhónestse We (in) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Násáavóohtomóvóhóovo You (pl) didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohtomóvóhóvóte You (pl) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohtomóvóhóovo They didn’t see his ___ Ésáavóohtomóvóhóvóte They didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóoméhanéhetse His ___ was not seen Ésáavóoméhanéhóte His ___ (pl) were not seen

'not take his (something)'
Násáahestanomóvóhe I did not take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhóte I took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhe You did not take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhóte You took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahestanomóvóhe He didn’t take his (obv) ___ Ésáahestanomóvóhóte He took his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáahestanomóvóhóne We (ex) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhónestse We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhóne We (in) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhónestse We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Násáahestanomóvóhóovo You (pl) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhóvóte You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahestanomóvóhóovo They didn’t take his ___ Ésáahestanomóvóhóvóte They took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanéhanéhetse His ___ was not taken Ésáahestanéhanéhóte His ___ (pl) were not taken

'not break his (something)'
Násáa’é’o’tovóhe I didn’t break his ___ Násáa’é’o’tovóhóte I didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésáa’é’o’tovóhe You didn’t break his ___ Násáa’é’o’tovóhóte You didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáa’é’o’tovóhe He didn’t break his (obv) ___ Ésáa’é’o’tovóhóte He didn’t break his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáa’é’o’tovóhóne We (ex) didn’t break his ___ Násáa’é’o’tovóhónestse We (ex) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésáa’é’o’tovóhóne We (in) didn’t break his ___ Násáa’é’o’tovóhónestse We (in) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Násáa’é’o’tovóhóovo You (pl) didn’t break his ___ Násáa’é’o’tovóhóvóte You (pl) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáa’é’o’tovóhóovo They didn’t break his ___ Ésáa’é’o’tovóhóvóte They didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáa’é’o’hehanéhetse His ___ wasn’t broken Ésáa’é’o’hehanéhóte His ___ (pl) weren’t broken
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative verbs

TI yes/no questions are formed the same two ways as yes/no questions for AI, II, and TA verbs:

(1) Add the interrogative suffix -he
(2) Prefix mó- to the indicative form of the verb

As with TA verbs, if the indicative form of a verb ends in whispered -ôtse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "o" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>I did see it?</th>
<th>Is someone else doing it?</th>
<th>We did see it?</th>
<th>They did see it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtahe?</td>
<td>Návóohtanotse?</td>
<td>Návóohtanotse?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtahe?</td>
<td>Névóohtanotse?</td>
<td>Névóohtanotse?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóohtahe?</td>
<td>Évóohtanotse?</td>
<td>Évóohtanotse?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtotshe?</td>
<td>Évóohtotsonotse?</td>
<td>Évóohtotsonotse?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtanonehe?</td>
<td>Névóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td>Névóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td>Névóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtanonehe?</td>
<td>Évóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td>Évóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td>Évóohtanonevotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomehe?</td>
<td>Évóomevotse?</td>
<td>Were they seen?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>I want it?</th>
<th>Is someone else willing?</th>
<th>We want it?</th>
<th>They want it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ného'âhenonehe?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenonevotse?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenonevotse?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenonevotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'âhenovohe?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenovoventse?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenovoventse?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenovoventse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>I take it?</th>
<th>Is someone else doing it?</th>
<th>We take it?</th>
<th>They take it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanaha?</td>
<td>Éhestananotse?</td>
<td>Éhestananotse?</td>
<td>Éhestananotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanotsehe?</td>
<td>Éhestanotsonotse?</td>
<td>Éhestanotsonotse?</td>
<td>Éhestanotsonotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestananonehe?</td>
<td>Náhestananonevotse?</td>
<td>Náhestananonevotse?</td>
<td>Náhestananonevotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some mó- prefix TI questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>You did it?</th>
<th>Is someone else doing it?</th>
<th>We did it?</th>
<th>They did it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóóhta?</td>
<td>Mónévóóhtanotse?</td>
<td>Mónévóóhtanotse?</td>
<td>Mónévóóhtanotse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'éhestâna?</td>
<td>Mó'éhestânantse?</td>
<td>Mó'éhestânantse?</td>
<td>Mó'éhestânantse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'émèséstóvéñéstse?</td>
<td>Mó'émèséstóvéñéstventse?</td>
<td>Mó'émèséstóvéñéstventse?</td>
<td>Mó'émèséstóvéñéstventse?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'realized'
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'See his (something)'

Návóhohtomóvohe? Did I see his ___?
Névóhohtomóvohe? Did you see his ___?
Évóhohtomóvohe? Did he see his (obv) ___?
Návóhohtomóvononehe? Did we (ex) see his ___?
Névóhohtomóvononehe? Did we (in) see his ___?
Évóhohtomóvonvoiehe? Did you (pl) see his ___?

Ésáavooméhehe? Wasn't his ___ seen?
Ésáavohtomehehe? Didn't you see his ___?
Nésáavohtomehehe? Didn't they see his ___?
Násáavohtomehehe? Didn't you (pl) see his ___?
Nésáavohtomehehe? Didn't we (in) see his ___?
Násáavohtomehehe? Didn't we (ex) see his ___?
Ésáavohtomehehe? Didn't he see his (obv) ___?

'Take his (something)'

Náhestanomóvohe? Did I take his ___?
Néhestanomóvohe? Did you take his ___?
Éhestanomóvohe? Did he take his ___?
Náhestanomóvononehe? Did we (ex) take his ___?
Néhestanomóvononehe? Did we (in) take his ___?
Éhestanomóvonvoiehe? Did you (pl) take his ___?

Ésáavoomethehe? Wasn't it seen?
Ésáavomóvohehe? Didn't they see it?
Nésáavomóvohehe? Didn't you (pl) see it?
Násáavomóvohehe? Didn't we (in) see it?
Nésáavomóvohehe? Didn't we (ex) see it?
Ésáavomóvohehe? Didn't he see his (obv) ___?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

Some younger speakers regularize the paradigm by not changing the TI inanimate object agreement marker /-á/ to /-ó/ in negative verbs. So they pronounce 'Didn't you see it?' as Nésáavóóhothehe?

Násáavóóhothehe? Didn't I see it?
Nésáavóóhothehe? Didn't you see it?
Ésáavóóhothehe? Didn't he see it?
Násáavóóhothehehe? Didn't he (obv) see it?
Nésáavóóhothehehe? Didn't we (ex) see it?
Nésáavóóhothehehe? Didn't we (in) see it?
Násáavóóhothehehe? Didn't you (pl) see it?

Ésáavóóhothehehe? Wasn't it seen?

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáahatothehe? Didn't you take it?
Nésáaméséhenothehe? Didn't you (plural) eat them?
Ésáaméséstovéthehe? Weren't they (inanimate) eaten?
Ésáahohéstovéthehe? Wasn't it wanted?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Násáavóhohtomóvohehe? Didn't I see his ___?
Nésáavóhohtomóvohehe? Didn't you see his ___?
Ésáavóhohtomóvohehe? Didn't he see his (obv) ___?
Násáavóhohtomóvohehehe? Didn't he (obv) see his ___?
Nésáavóhohtomóvohehehe? Didn't we (ex) see his ___?
Nésáavóhohtomóvohehehe? Didn't we (in) see his ___?
Násáavóhohtomóvohehehe? Didn't you (pl) see his ___?

Ésáavóóhothéthehehe? Wasn't his ___ seen?
## Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

$\text{CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónévóohtáhe??}$

### 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónávóohtóhēhe</th>
<th>I must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónávóohtóhēnōtse</th>
<th>I must have seen it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtóhēhe</td>
<td>You must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtóhēnōtse</td>
<td>You must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtóhēhe</td>
<td>He must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtóhēnōtse</td>
<td>He must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtōhētsēhē</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtōhētsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtōhēnōnēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónávóohtōhēnōnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtōhēnōnēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtōhēnōhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtōhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtōhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtōhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtōhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>They must have seen it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónáhestanōhēhe</th>
<th>I must have taken it</th>
<th>Mónáhestanōhēnōtse</th>
<th>I must have taken it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēhe</td>
<td>You must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēnōtse</td>
<td>You must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanōhēhe</td>
<td>He must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanōhēnōtse</td>
<td>He must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanōhētsēhē</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanōhētsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhestanōhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanōhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanōhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanōhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>They must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanōhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>They must have taken it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónáho'tsēhēhe</th>
<th>I must have it</th>
<th>Mónáho'tsēhēnōtse</th>
<th>I must have seen them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móného'tsēhēhe</td>
<td>You must have it</td>
<td>Móného'tsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>You must have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'tsēhētsēhē</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
<td>Móho'tsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'tsēhētsēhē</td>
<td>He (obv) must have it</td>
<td>Móho'tsēhētsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáho'tsēhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho'tsēhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného'tsēhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
<td>Móného'tsēhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného'tsēhēnōvēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
<td>Móného'tsēhēnōvēhēnōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'tsēhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>They must have it</td>
<td>Móho'tsēhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>They must have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recheck inferential paradigm for -hēne'énā

### 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónáhéne'enōhēhe</th>
<th>I must know it</th>
<th>Mónáhéne'enōhēnōtse</th>
<th>I must know them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēhe</td>
<td>You must know it</td>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēnōtse</td>
<td>You must know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhéne'enōhēhe</td>
<td>He must know it</td>
<td>Móhéne'enōhēnōtse</td>
<td>He must know it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhéne'enōhētsēhē</td>
<td>He (obv) must know it</td>
<td>Móhéne'enōhētsēhēnōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must know it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhéne'enōhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must know it</td>
<td>Mónáhéne'enōhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must know it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēnēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must know it</td>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēnēhēnōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must know it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēnōvēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must know it</td>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōhēnōvēhēnōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must know it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhéne'enōhēnōvōhe</td>
<td>They must know it</td>
<td>Móhéne'enōhēnōvōhēnōtse</td>
<td>They must know them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'see (something)'

Návóóhtánose  I am said to see it  Návóóhtánosestótse  I am said to see them
Névóóhtánose  You are said to see it  Névóóhtánosestótse  You are said to see them
Évóóhtánose  He is said to see it  Évóóhtánosestótse  He is said to see them
Évóóhtóséñóse  He (obv) is said to see it  Évóóhtóséñósestótse  He (obv) is said to see them
Návóóhtánóñése  We (ex) are said to see it  Návóóhtánóñésestótse  We (ex) are said to see them
Névóóhtánóñése  We (in) are said to see it  Névóóhtánóñésestótse  We (in) are said to see them
Névóóhtánóñése  You (pl) are said to see it  Névóóhtánóñésestótse  You (pl) are said to see them
Évóóhtánóñése  They are said to see it  Évóóhtánóñésestótse  They are said to see them

'take (something)'

Náhestánose  I am said to have taken it  Náhestánosestótse  I am said to have taken them
Néhestánose  You are said to have taken it  Néhestánosestótse  You are said to have taken them
Éhestánose  He is said to have taken it  Éhestánosestótse  He is said to have taken them
Éhestánóñése  He (obv) is said to have taken it  Éhestánóñésestótse  He (obv) is said to have taken them
Náhestánóñése  We (ex) are said to have taken it  Náhestánóñésestótse  We (ex) are said to have taken them
Néhestánóñése  We (in) are said to have taken it  Néhestánóñésestótse  We (in) are said to have taken them
Néhestánóñése  You (pl) are said to have taken it  Néhestánóñésestótse  You (pl) are said to have taken them
Éhestánóñése  They are said to have taken it  Éhestánóñésestótse  They are said to have taken them

'have (something)'

Náho’tsénose  I am said to have it  Náho’tsénosestótse  I am said to have them
Ného’tsénose  You are said to have it  Ného’tsénosestótse  You are said to have them
Ého’tsénose  He is said to have it  Ého’tsénosestótse  He is said to have them
Ého’tséñóñése  He (obv) is said to have it  Ého’tséñóñésestótse  He (obv) is said to have them
Náho’tséñóñése  We (ex) are said to have it  Náho’tséñóñésestótse  We (ex) are said to have them
Ného’tséñóñése  We (in) are said to have it  Ného’tséñóñésestótse  We (in) are said to have them
Ného’tséñóñése  You (pl) are said to have it  Ného’tséñóñésestótse  You (pl) are said to have them
Ého’tséñóñése  They are said to have it  Ého’tséñóñésestótse  They are said to have them

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

Návóóhtomóvónose  I am said to have seen his __ (rel).
Évóóhtomóvónose  He is said to have seen his (obv) __
Évóóhtomóvónosestótse  He is said to have seen his __ (plural)

Náhestanomóvónose  I am said to have taken his __
Éhestanomóvónose  He is said to have taken his (obv) __
Éhestanomóvónosestótse  He is said to have taken his (obv) __ (plural)

Náé’e’ó’tóvónose  I am said to have broken his __
Éé’e’ó’tóvónose  He is said to have broken his (obv) __
Éé’e’ó’tóvónosestótse  He is said to have broken his (obv) __ (plural)

Náho’tomóvónose  I am said to have his __
Ého’tomóvónose  He is said to have his (obv) his __
Ého’tomóvónosestótse  He is said to have his (obv) his __ (plural)

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### Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

#### 'not see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhétsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóohtóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>I am said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>You are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>He is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhétsenóvósetótse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóohtóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóvóvósetótse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhénóvóvósetótse</td>
<td>They are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'not take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhétsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
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<tr>
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<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken it</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvósetótse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken them</td>
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<td>Ésáahesanóhétsenóvósetótse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvóvósetótse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvóvósetótse</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'not have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhétsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhenósetótse</td>
<td>I am said not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhenósetótse</td>
<td>You are said not to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáaho'tséhenósestótse  He is said not to have them
Ésáaho'tséhtesónestótse  He (obviative) is said not to have them
Násáaho'tséhénónésestótse  We (exclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséhénónésestótse  We (inclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséhénóvónestótse  You (plural) are said not to have them
Ésáaho'tséhénóvónestótse  They are said not to have them

'not eat (something)'
Násáamésóhénósestótse  I am said not to have eaten it
Nésáamésóhénósestótse  You are said not to have eaten it
Ésáamésóhénósestótse  He is said not to have eaten it
Ésáamésóhétséshéntósestótse  He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
Násáamésóhénónésestótse  We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáamésóhénónésestótse  We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáamésóhénóvésectótse  You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
Ésáamésóhénóvésectótse  They are said not to have eaten it

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs

Ésáavóohtomóvóhénósestótse  He is said not to have seen his __ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénóvónestótsestótse  They are said not to have seen his __ (pl) (rel).
Ésáahestanóvéhénósestótse  He is said not to have taken his __ (rel).
Ésáahestanóvéhénóvónestótsestótse  They are said not to have taken his __ (pl) (rel).

Transitive Inanimate Preterit verbs
Verbs are listed with remote past tense /h-/ and its allomorphs [s], [š], [x], and ['] since this is how preterit verbs most often occur. English meanings of the preterit verbs appropriately include the words "Once upon a time" since text in the preterit mode typically refer to legends. Unlike English legends and folktales which begin with the words "Once upon a time", however, Cheyenne texts in the preterit may refer to historical characters and events. Preterit verbs can also be used in contemporary settings where a speaker communicates surprise. As with AI, II, and TA verbs, TI verbs only take third person subjects in the preterit mode.

'see (something)'
Éhvóohtanoho  Once upon a time he saw it
Éhvóohtanóhóonothó  Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Éhvóohtanóhóonotse  Once upon a time they saw it
Éhvóohtanóhóonotse  Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)
Éxhestanahó  Once upon a time he took it
Éxhestanánóhóonotse  Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanávó  Once upon a time they took it

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Éxhestanánovóhoonótse  Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)

Éxho'tsénóho  Once upon a time he had it
Éxho'tsénóhoonótse  Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Éxho'tsénovoho  Once upon a time they had it
Éxho'tsénovoho  Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)

Éhméseñóho  Once upon a time he ate it
Éhméseñóhoonótse  Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)
Éhméseñovoho  Once upon a time they ate it
Éhméseñovoho  Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)

É'amó'enánóho  Once upon a time he rolled it
É'amó'enánóhoonótse  Once upon a time he rolled them (inanimate)
É'amó'enánovoho  Once upon a time they rolled it
É'amó'enánovoho  Once upon a time they rolled them (inanimate)

Transitive Inanimate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáavóhohtóheho  Once upon a time he did not see it
Éssáavóhohtobóhoonótse  Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Éssáavóhohtobóhovoho  Once upon a time they did not see it
Éssáavóhohtobóhovohonótse  Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)

Éssáahestanóhénóho  Once upon a time he did not take it
Éssáahestanóhénóhoonótse  Once upon a time he did not take them (inanimate)
Éssáahestanóhénovoho  Once upon a time they did not take it
Éssáahestanóhénovohonótse  Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Transitive Inanimate Imperatives

As with the AI and TA verbs, Cheyenne commands are for either immediate or delayed action. The same word is used to command someone to do something to one thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé'hóoh'tóhtse! can mean either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

Transitive Inanimate Immediate Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them!</td>
<td>Vé'hóoh'tóhtse!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestánóhtse!</td>
<td>Hestanome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them!</td>
<td>Meséstse!</td>
<td>Mese!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséststse!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotsestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up!</td>
<td>Vonáho'hóhtse!</td>
<td>Vonáho'home!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them!</td>
<td>Manéstse!</td>
<td>Mane!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxóhtse!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them!</td>
<td>Hóxe'änóhtse!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Manéstéststse!</td>
<td>Manéstse!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtomeo'o!!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hestanomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them later!</td>
<td>Méséo'o!</td>
<td>Méséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstseo'o!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up later!</td>
<td>Vonáho'homeo'o!</td>
<td>Vonáho'homáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them later!</td>
<td>Manéo'o!</td>
<td>Manéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them later!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomeo'o!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them later!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them later!</td>
<td>Manéstseo'o!</td>
<td>Manéstséhéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Hortative verbs

As with the TI imperatives, a TI hortative can be about action toward a single thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé'hoohtoha! means either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

| Vé'hoohtoha! | Let him look at it/them! | Vé'hoomévéha! | Let them look at it/them! |
| Hestanoha!!  | Let him take it/them!    | Hestanomévéha!| Let them take it/them!    |
| Néxho'eotséstseha! | Let him bring it/them! | Néxho'eotséstsévoha! | Let them bring it/them! |
| Manéstseha!  | Let him make it/them!    | Manéstsevéha! | Let them make it/them!    |
| Ho'tseha!    | Let him have it/them!    | Ho'tsévohëa!  | Let them have it/them!    |
| Méseha!      | Let him eat it/them!     | Mésevoha!     | Let them eat it/them!     |
| Maneha!      | Let him drink it/them!   | Manévohëa!    | Let them drink it/them!   |
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

Inanimate referents can occur as subjects of TA verbs, acting on animate referents. We abbreviate these as ITA verbs (TA verbs with Inanimate subjects):

-a’ta’ov 'accidentally hit (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Subject</th>
<th>Transitive Animate</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit me</td>
<td>Náa’ta’óenótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit you</td>
<td>Néa’ta’óenótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit him</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óenótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’oétse</td>
<td>It acc. hit him (obv)</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óetsenótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’óénóne</td>
<td>It acc. hit us (excl)</td>
<td>Náa’ta’óenoséntse</td>
<td>They acc. hit us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óénóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit you (pl)</td>
<td>Néa’ta’óenovótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óénóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit them</td>
<td>É’ta’óenovótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe éa’ta’oo’etane

The stick accidentally hit the man

Náa’ta’óenóne

The bones accidentally hit me

Háomóhtáhe’tóotsé’éhóëhótaetse héške

Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

Some grammatical relationships different from English

At the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs we listed several examples of TA verbs for which Cheyenne and English differ in how they assign grammatical relationships to the same semantic relationships. In this section we observe the same kinds of differences between grammatical and semantic relationships for Inanimate Subject Transitive Animate verbs:

-hóonósé’ot 'miss (something)'

In English a thing which is missed by someone is treated as the direct object of the verb 'miss'. In Cheyenne a thing which is missed by someone is treated as the semantic subject (causer of the feeling of missing) of the verb. Both kinds of grammatical relationships for the same semantic relationships are perfectly logical.

Náhóonósé’ota’aé naamáho’héštótse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')

Náhóonósé’otaéntse sómenótse. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

-péhéveahtám 'like to listen to'

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –péhéveahtám. This is a different, but logical and appropriate, way of expressing the same semantic relationship that English expresses by having the person who likes a sound be the
grammatical subject of a sentence.

Épèhevéahťamaa'e. He likes to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to him.')
Épèhevéahťamaenóvo. They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.')

- *taa'ov 'fit (someone)'* **ADD TO TOC**

É-taa'ovóho heéstse'henó. His shirt fits him. (lit., 'He fits to his shirt.')
Nátáa'ovoo'o navoxóheono. My socks fit me. (lit., 'I fit to my socks.')

**Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative relational verbs**

An inanimate subject possessed by a third person can act upon an animate object. Throughout this book we are calling a verb that reflects an action by something possessed by a third person a relational verb.

| Náa'.ta'óetse | His __ acc. hit me | Náa'.ta'óetsenóte | His __ (pl) acc. hit me |
| Néa'.ta'óetse | His __ acc. hit you | Néa'.ta'poetsenóte | His __ (pl) acc. hit me |
| Éa'.ta'óetse | His __ acc. hit him | Éa'.ta'óetsenóte | His __ (pl) acc. hit him |
| Náa'.ta'óetsenone | His __ acc. hit us (ex) | Náa'.ta'óetsenonéte | His __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex) |
| Néa'.ta'óetsenone | His __ acc. hit us (in) | Néa'.ta'óetsenonéte | His __ (pl) acc. hit us (in) |
| Né'á.ta'óetsénóvo | His __ acc. hit you (pl) | Né'á.ta'óetsenóvóte | His __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl) |
| Éa'.ta'óetsénóvo | His __ acc. hit them | Éa'.ta'óetsenóvóte | His __ (pl) acc. hit them |

Náho'èhótaetsente His __ (pl) came to me | Náho'èhótaetsenóte | His __ (pl) came to me |
Ného'èhótaetsente His __ (pl) came to you | Ného'èhótaetsenóte | His __ (pl) came to you |
Ého'èhótaetsente His __ (pl) came to him | Ého'èhótaetsenóte | His __ (pl) came to him |
Náho'èhótaetsenone His __ (pl) came to us (ex) | Náho'èhótaetsenonéte | His __ (pl) came to us (ex) |
Ného'èhótaetsenone His __ (pl) came to us (in) | Ného'èhótaetsenonéte | His __ (pl) came to us (in) |
Né'ho'èhótaetsenovo His __ (pl) came to you (pl) | Né'ho'èhótaetsenóvóte | His __ (pl) came to you (pl) |
Ého'èhótaetsenovo His __ (pl) came to them | Ého'èhótaetsenóvóte | His __ (pl) came to them |

Examples in sentences

Náa'.ta'óetse hemoxé'éstónestóte His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemoxé'éstóonevóte náho'èhótaetsenónestóte Their books came to us

**Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs**

*not accidentally hit (someone)*

| Nássá'a.ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit me | Nássá'a.ta'óéhenóte | They did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit you | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhenóte | They did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa'a.ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit him | Ésáa'a.ta'óéhenóte | They did not acc. hit him |
| Ésáa'a.ta'óéhetse | It did not acc. hit him (obv) | Ésáa'a.ta'óéhenóte | They did not acc. hit him (obv) |
| Nássáa'a.ta'óéhénoné | It did not acc. hit us (ex) | Nássáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | They did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénoné | It did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | They did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonovo | It did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóvóte | They did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa'a.ta'óéhénonovo | It did not acc. hit them | Ésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóvóte | They did not acc. hit them |

**Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs**

| Nássáa'a.ta'óéhe | His __ did not acc. hit me | Nássáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhe | His __ did not acc. hit you | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa'a.ta'óéhe | His __ did not acc. hit him | Ésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit him |
| Nássáa'a.ta'óéhénoné | His __ did not acc. hit us (ex) | Nássáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénoné | His __ did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonovo | His __ did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóvóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa'a.ta'óéhénonovo | His __ did not acc. hit them | Ésáa'a.ta'óéhénonóvóte | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit them |
Examples in sentences

Kåhámáxe násáa'ata'o'éhe
The stick did not accidentally hit me

Ésáa'a'ta'óehetsonótse hemóx'ééstónéstotótse
His (another's) pencils did not accidentally hit him

Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho'óehótaehetse hee'haho
Sickness didn't come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

- a’ta’ov 'accidentally hit (someone)'

Náa’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit me? Náa’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit me?
Né’a’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit you? Néa’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit you?
Éa’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit him? Éa’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit him?
Éa’ta’óetshe? Did it acc. hit him (obv)? Éa’ta’óetsenotse? Did they acc. hit him (obv)?
Náa’ta’óenonehe? Did it acc. hit us (excl)? Néa’ta’óenonevotse? Did they acc. hit us (excl)?
Néa’ta’óenonehe? Did it acc. hit us (incl)? Néa’ta’óenonevotse? Did they acc. hit us (incl)?
Néa’ta’óenovohe? Did it acc. hit you (pl)? Néa’ta’óenovotse? Did they acc. hit you (pl)?

- ho’éhót ‘come to (someone)’

Náho’éhótaehe? Did it come to me? Náho’éhótaenotse? Did they come to me?
Ného’éhótaehe? Did it come to you? Ného’éhótaenotse? Did they come to you?
Ého’éhótaehe? Did it come to him? Ého’éhótaenotse? Did they come to him?
Ého’éhótaetshe? Did it come to him (obv)? Ého’éhótaetsenotse? Did they come to him (obv)?
Náho’éhótaenonehe? Did it come to us (ex)? Náho’éhótaenonevotse? Did they come to us (ex)?
Ného’éhótaenonehe? Did it come to us (in)? Náho’éhótaenonevotse? Did they come to us (in)?
Ného’éhótaenovohe? Did it come to you (pl)? Náho’éhótaenovotse? Did they come to you (pl)?

Examples in sentences
Káhámáxe né’ta’óehe? Did a stick accidentally hit you?
Péhétanohótsé ého’áhótaehehehéstónahó? Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
Néa’ta’óenotse he’konótse? Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

Náa’ta’óetshe? Did his __ acc. hit me? Náa’ta’oetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit me?
Né’a’ta’óetshe? Did his __ acc. hit you? Néa’ta’oetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit me?
Éa’ta’óetshe? Did his __ acc. hit him? Éa’ta’oetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit him?
Éa’ta’óetsenonehe? Did his __ acc. hit us (ex)? Náa’ta’óetsenonevotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)?
Néa’ta’óetsenonehe? Did his __ acc. hit us (in)? Náa’ta’óetsenonevotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (in)?
Néa’ta’óetsenovohe? Did his __ acc. hit you (pl)? Néa’ta’óetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)?
Éa’ta’óetsenovohe? Did his __ acc. hit them? Éa’ta’oetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit them?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

Násá’a’ta’óehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit me? Násá’a’ta’óehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit me?
Nésá’a’ta’óehehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit you? Nésá’a’ta’óehehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit you?
Ésá’a’ta’óehehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit him? Ésá’a’ta’óehehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit him?
Ésá’a’ta’óehehetshe? Didn’t it acc. hit him (obv)? Ésá’a’ta’óehehetsenotse? Didn’t they acc. hit him (obv)?
Nósá’a’ta’óehehehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit us (ex)? Nósá’a’ta’óehehehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit us (ex)?
Nésá’a’ta’óehehehehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit you (pl)? Nésá’a’ta’óehehehehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit you (pl)?
Ésá’a’ta’óehehehehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit them? Ésá’a’ta’óehehehehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit them?

Examples in sentences
Hemóxé’estónestótsé néa’ta’óetshe? Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?
Káhámáxe nésá’a’ta’óehehehehehehe? Didn’t the stick accidentally hit you (plural)?
Ditransitive verbs are marked for two objects. One object, called the primary object, is the person affected by the action of the subject. The other object, called the secondary object, is what or whom the subject used to relate to the primary object. For instance, if I say, in English, (1) "I gave my son a horse", "I" is the subject, "my son" is the primary object, and "a horse" is the secondary object. I can also say in English, (2) "I gave a horse to my son". In this sentence "my son" is considered an indirect object in English grammar. "A horse" is the direct object (what was given). Cheyenne does not have both options, (1) and (2), for speaking about two objects. Cheyenne only has option (1). A technical way of saying this is that Cheyenne obligatorily advances indirect objects (recipients/datives) to direct objects.

Cheyenne ditransitive verbs are marked for person, number, and animacy of their subject and primary and secondary objects. The primary object is always animate. The secondary object can be either animate or inanimate. Examples of verbs with both animate and inanimate secondary objects will be given.

Ditransitive paradigms look similar to Transitive Animate paradigms, with additional suffixes for animacy and number of secondary objects.

\[-mét/ 'give (something to someone)'

These ditransitive verbs refer to when a single inanimate object is given to someone.

| Námétahtse  | I gave it to myself           | Námétaetsenone | He (obv) gave it to us (ex) |
| Némétátse    | I gave it to you              | Némétaetsenone | He (obv) gave it to us (in) |
| Náméto       | I gave it to him              | Némétaetsenôvo | He (obv) gave it to you (pl) |
| Námétamôhô   | I gave it to him (obv)        | Èmétaenôvo     | He (obv) gave it to them    |
| Némétatsênôvo| I gave it to you (pl)         |                 |                             |
| Nâmétônôvo   | I gave it to them             | Némétatsemeno  | We (ex) gave it to you      |
|              |                                | Nâmétône\(^{111}\) | We (ex) gave it to him      |
| Némêtse      | You gave it to me             | Nâmétamone\(^{112}\) | We (ex) gave it to him (obv) |
| Nâmétathtse  | You gave it to yourself       | Nâmétahtsênône| We (ex) gave it to ourselves|
| Néméto       | You gave it to him            | Nâmétaetsenôvo | We (ex) gave it to you (pl) |
| Némétamôho   | You gave it to him (obv)      | Nâmétonôvo\(^{113}\) | We (ex) gave it to them    |
| Némétsemeno\(^{109}\) | You gave it to us (ex)   |                 |                             |
| Nâmétônôvo   | You gave it to them           | Néméto\(^{114}\) | We (in) gave it to him      |
|              |                                | Nâmétonône     | We (in) gave it to him (obv) |
| Nâmétta’e    | He gave it to me              | Nâmétahtsênône| We (in) gave it to ourselves|
| Nâmétta’e    | He gave it to you             | Nâmétonôvo\(^{115}\) | We (in) gave it to them    |
| Èmétahtse    | He gave it to himself         |                 |                             |
| Èmêto\(^{110}\) | He gave it to him (obv)     | Némétsênôvo    | You (pl) gave it to me     |
| Nâmétaenône  | He gave it to us (excl)       | Némétônôvo     | You (pl) gave it to him    |
| Nâmétaenone  | He gave it to us (incl)       | Némétamonovo   | You (pl) gave it to him (obv) |
| Nâmétanôvo   | He gave it to you (pl)        | Nâmétnômenôvo  | You (pl) gave it to us (in) |
|              |                                | Nâmétahtsênôvo| You (pl) gave it to yourselves|
| Nâmétanôvo   | He (obv) gave it to me        | Nâmétnôvo      | You (pl) gave it to them   |
| Nâmétatse    | He (obv) gave it to you       |                 |                             |
| Nâmétetsenô  | He (obv) gave it to you       |                 |                             |
| Èmêtáá’e     | He (obv) gave it to him       |                 |                             |

\(^{109}\) Also Némétsemenône
\(^{110}\) Younger speakers say Èmê tôhô.

\(^{111}\) Also Nâmétônône
\(^{112}\) Also Nâmétamonône
\(^{113}\) Also Nâmétonône
\(^{114}\) Also Nâmétonône
\(^{115}\) Also Nâmétonône
Námétaenōvo They gave it to me
Émétónóvo They gave it to him (obv)
Námétaenone They gave it to us (ex)
Némétáenone They gave it to us (in)
Námétaenóvo They gave it to you (pl)
Émétáhtsénóvo They gave it to themselves

Námétáne I was given it
Némétáne You were given it
Émetse He was given it
Námétanénóne We (ex) were given it
Némétanénóne We (in) were given it
Námétanénóvo You (pl) were given it
Émétsénóvo They were given it

'give (some things to someone)'
These ditransitive verbs refer to when plural inanimate objects are given to someone.
Námétáhtsénóte I gave them to myself
Némétatse I gave them to you
Námétatse I gave them to him
Némétatse I gave them to him (obv)
Námétatse I gave them to you (pl)
Émétsénóte They gave them to themselves

Námétáne I was given it
Némétáne You were given it
Émetse He was given it
Námétanénóne We (ex) were given it
Némétanénóne We (in) were given it
Námétanénóvo You (pl) were given it
Émétsénóvo They were given it

Námétanenōvo They gave it to me
Émétanenōvo They gave it to you
Námétanenote They gave it to him (obv)
Némétanenote They gave it to us (ex)
Némétanenote They gave it to us (in)
Námétanenote They gave it to you (pl)
Émétanenote They gave it to themselves

Námétanone They gave it to me
Émétanone They gave it to you
Námétanone They gave it to us (ex)
Némétanone They gave it to us (in)
Námétanone They gave it to you (pl)
Émétanone They gave it to themselves

Námétáne I was given it
Némétáne You were given it
Émetse He was given it
Námétanénóne We (ex) were given it
Némétanénóne We (in) were given it
Námétanénóvo You (pl) were given it
Émétsénóvo They were given it

Námétanone They gave it to me
Émétanone They gave it to you
Námétanone They gave it to us (ex)
Némétanone They gave it to us (in)
Námétanone They gave it to you (pl)
Émétanone They gave it to themselves

These ditransitive verbs refer to when plural inanimate objects are given to someone.
**/-mét/ 'give (someone to someone)'**

These ditransitive verbs refer to when an animate object is given to someone. The abbreviation obv' refers to a third person obviated further than a third person (obviative).

| Námétāhtsenôte | I gave him to myself | Námétaenôte | They gave him (obv) to me |
| Némétatsenôte | I gave him to you | Némétaenovo | They gave him (obv) to you |
| Námétomototo | I gave him (obv) to him | Émétonovo | They gave him (obv') to him (obv) |
| Némétam PropertyValue | I gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Némétaménóne | They gave him (obv) to us (ex) |
| Námétatsenóvó | I gave him to you (pl) | Némétaménóvo | They gave him (obv) to you (pl) |
| Námétomono | I gave him (obv) to them | Emétaenovo | They gave him (obv) to themselves |
| Némétenséte | You gave him to me | Námétanénóte | I was given him |
| Némétanésete | You gave him to yourself | Námétanénóto | You were given him |
| Némétamóne | You gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Emétsenoto | He was given him (obv) |
| Némétsemeno | You gave him to us (ex) | Némétaenénóne | We (ex) were given him |
| Némétamovó | You gave him (obv') to them | Námétanénóvo | We (in) were given him |
| Námétanenoto | He gave him (obv) to me | Námétanenóvo | You (pl) were given him |
| Némétanoto | He gave him (obv) to you | Némétanenovo | They were given him (obv) |
| Émétaenoto | He gave him (obv) to himself | Émétsenoto | He was given (obv) |
| Námétamóneno | He gave him (obv) to us (ex) | Némétaménóne | We (ex) were given him |
| Némétamónovo | He gave him (obv) to us (in) | Némétaménóvo | We (in) were given him |
| Námétaménovo | He gave him (obv) to you (pl) | Némétaménovo | You (pl) were given him |
| Námétaménovo | He gave him (obv) to you (pl) | Némétaménovo | They were given (obv) |

**$\text{RECHECK PROX/OBV of secondary object}??:**

| Námétaetsemenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to me |
| Némétaetsemenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you |
| Émétsenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to himself |
| Námétaetsemenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (ex) |
| Némétaetsemenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (in) |
| Némétaetsemenovo | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you (pl) |
| Émétaenovo | He (obv) gave him (obv') to them |
| Námétaenono | We (ex) gave him to you |
| Némétoono | We (ex) gave him (obv) to him |
| Némétamónene | We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv) |
| Námétahtsénenéne | We (ex) gave him to ourselves |
| Némétatsemenono | We (ex) gave him to you (pl) |
| Némétoono | We (ex) gave him (obv) to them |
| Némétoono | We (ex) gave him (obv) to him |
| Némétamónene | We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv) |
| Némétoono | We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex) |
| Némétoono | We (ex) gave him (obv) to themselves |
| Némétnóvo | You (pl) gave him to me |
| Némétoono | You (pl) gave him (obv) to him |
| Némétamovo | You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv) |
| Némétoono | You (pl) gave him to us (ex) |
| Némétoono | You (pl) gave him to yourselves |
| Némétoono | You (pl) gave him (obv) to them |

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116 Also Námétamónone
117 Also Némétamónone
/-mét/ ‘give (plural animate objects to someone)’

These ditransitive verbs refer to when more than one animate object is given to someone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešénoto</td>
<td>I gave them to myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonoto</td>
<td>You gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešénóne'</td>
<td>I gave them to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešénovoo'</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešénovoo'</td>
<td>I gave them to (obv') to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešénovoo'</td>
<td>You gave them to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtešénovoo'</td>
<td>You gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtešénovoo'</td>
<td>He gave them to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
<td>You gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
<td>You gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
<td>You gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtešenone</td>
<td>He gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
<td>He gave them to (obv') to him</td>
</tr>
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<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
<td>He gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you</td>
</tr>
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<td>Námétahtešenone</td>
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<td>We (pl) gave them to (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to (obv')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (in) gave them to (obv')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (in) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtešenone</td>
<td>We (pl) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{RECHECK PROX/OBV status of secondary object??}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv') gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to (obv') to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to (obv') to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to (obv') to (obv')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to (obv') to us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétahtešáhne'</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

118 This can also be translated as 'him (obv') since obviatives can be either singular or plural.
119 Also Námétahtešáhne'
120 Also Námétahtešáhne'
Ditransitive primary and secondary objects (insert in TOC)

Explain. Cite Rhodes (1990a) cited in Oxford "Algonquian" (p. 10)

Discuss and show examples:

Ná-ho'eotséstomótáho. 'I brought it to him.'

Ná-ho'eotséstomótahónoto oeškéséhesono. 'I brought a puppy (obv) to him (obv).'</n

Né-ho'eotséstomótahátséhónó. 'I brought it to you (pl).'</n

Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Návóo'séhonótse I showed them (inan) to him
Évóo'shéhónoto He showed them (obv') to him (obv)
Návóo'séhaenóne He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návóo'séhaenoto He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtséhaenótse He stole them (inan) from me
Nánomáhtséhaenoto He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

Násáamétóhe I didn't give it to him
Násáamétaaehe He didn't give it to me
Násáavóo'séhaehé He didn't show it to me
Násáamétóhenótse I didn't give them (inan) to them
Ésáamétaehénóvo He (obviative) didn't give it to them
Násáamétóhénónestse We (exclusive) didn't give them (inan) to him
Násáamétaehénovóto They didn't give them (inan) to you
Násáamétaehénovoto They didn't give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomáhtséhóhenótse I did not steal them (inan) from him

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

Némétohe? Did you give it to him?
Émétovohe? Did he give it to him (obviative)?
Némétovonohe? Did you (plural) give it to him?
Émétovohe? Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némétaenótse? Did he give them (inan) to you?
Némétaenohe? Did he give him (obviative) to you?
Névóo'séhónovotse?? Did you (plural) show them (inan) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáamétóhénovotohe?? Didn't you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamétaehénovotse?? Didn't he give them (inan) to you?
Ésáamétaehénotohe?? Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him?

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs

Mómétóhèntse He must have given them (inan) to him (obv)
Mónávóo'séhaenhótohe?? He must have shown him (obviative) to me
Mónánomáhtséhaehéhe  He must have stolen it from me

**Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs**
Métséha!  Give it to him!
Néhmetséstse!  Give it to me!

**Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs**
Métóha!  Let him give it/them to him (obv)!
Vóo'séhóvoha!?  Let them show it/them to him (obv)!

**Overview of Conjunct Order modes**

The conjunct order is used for dependent verbs and a few verb types which function as independent verbs. Conjunct modes express a variety of modal relationships that the action or state of a conjunct verb has to an independent verb to which it has a syntactic relationship. Conjunct modes are differentiated by mode prefixes. In the conjunct order, animacy, person, number, and obviation of subjects and objects are marked only by suffixes. Here is an overview of conjunct modes:

**Indicative**

The conjunct indicative refers to an action or state which a speaker assumes to have occurred or be true. The conjunct indicative prefix is tsé-. It is most commonly followed by the morpheme /h-/, which appears to be the same morpheme as the past tense /h-/ of the independent order. However, this /h-/ has a wider semantic range in the conjunct order than it does in the independent order. In the independent order this /h-/ only refers to past tense (farther back in time than English past tense). In the conjunct order, however, this /h-/ can also function to indicate location and a generic form of causality.

- tséhnéménèse\(^{123}\) when/where/since he sang
- tséhmanéto when/where/since I drank
- tséhvóonā'o when/since it was morning

**Potential**

The conjunct potential mode refers to an action or state which has not yet occurred, but, typically, a speaker expects to occur. The prefix for the potential mode is máh-. Suffixes in the potential for third person subjects require an /ht/ whereas third person suffixes in the indicative are usually /s/.

- máhméovóonā'o when it is morning
- máhnéxho'ēhnéstse when he arrives

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\(^{121}\) This includes the cislocative preverb néh-, which is the most common way of saying this command. This preverb is high-pitched in commands, but low-pitched elsewhere.

\(^{122}\) A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligative mode. There are some conjunction indicatives which function as independent verbs, if they include an oh- preverb following the tsé- conjunct indicative prefix. This oh- preverb is obsolescing and is not well understood. $$\text{RECHECK AND NOTE DIC'Y AND TEXT EXAMPLES??}.$$ The few Cheyenne conjunct forms that can function as independent verbs may reflect earlier wider usage of pre-Cheyenne conjuncts functioning as independents, since some conjunct verbs still function as independent verbs in some other Algonquian languages.

\(^{123}\) Some speakers also say tséhnéménèstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménèse and tséhnéménéstse.
Conditional
This mode uses the potential prefix and adds the preverb vé’- to it, creating a conditional:

máhvé’néménéstse  if he sings
máhvé’háomóhtahévéhtse if they are sick

Irrealis
The irrealis mode uses just the vé’- preverb and refers to action or a state which is contrary to reality. This preverb is used in independent verbs to refer to an action which is prohibited, which is semantically related to its meaning in conjunct order verbs.

vé’néménéstse  if he were a singer / or, if he had sung
vé’hetanéveto  if you were a man

Iterative
Iterative verbs refer to action which occurred repeatedly. This mode uses the hó’- prefix:

hó’néménése  whenever he sang
hó’tonéto  whenever it was cold

Habitual
The habitual mode refers to how things typically occur. Its prefix is ōh-, but this prefix is difficult to hear and is often omitted. The habitual mode suffix /-ht/ is added after person and number suffixes.

Épēhévoéstomo’he. 'She is kind.' Response: ōhnaóotseséstse! 'when she's asleep'
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)
ōhméovóona’oo’éstse  in the mornings

Concessive
The concessive mode refers to a something which might be expected to cause something else not to happen, but it happens anyway. The concessive uses the iterative prefix hó’- plus the preverb –néše and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

hó’néšenéménéstse  even if he sings, even though he sang
hó’néšé-hoháetonéto  even if it is really cold

Contraindicative
The contraindicative refers to a condition that a speaker had assumed was true but wasn’t. It uses the particle maa’séóhe which may cliticize to the beginning of the verb as a prefix.

Máa’séóhe néménéstse.  I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).
Máa’séóhe háomóhtaheto.  I thought you were sick (but you aren’t).

Optative
The optative expresses a wish. Its prefix is momóxe-.

Momóxenéménéstse  I wish he would sing.
Momóxéhéne’enómo.  I wish I understood it.
Interrogative

The conjunct interrogative refers to a condition that the speaker wonders is true or not. Its prefix is éó-. Note that this use of the term interrogative is different from, although related to, its more common usage referring to a question. The use of the term interrogative for a conjunct mode is established in Algonquian language study. It refers to a kind of embedded question, dependent on some independent order verb.

éónéménéstse  whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
Násáahéne'enóhe éóhoo'kóho  I don't know whether/if it rained

Obligative

The obligative uses the prefix áh-. This conjunct mode may be nearly obsolescent. Its meaning is now commonly expressed with the me'- 'should' preverb in a verb of the independent order.

Áhnémeneséstse  He should sing (cf. Éme'néméne 'He should sing')

Oratio Obliqua

The term oratio obliqua comes from Petter (1952:105). This mode is marked by a word-final conjunct suffix –vo. It is difficult to characterize the meaning of this mode suffix. Petter stated that it "refers or relates to a place or time removed from one" (1952:106). It is possible that this –vo suffix is related to the –vo suffix of absentative participles. The spiritual song "Jesus Above" (from the book Tsese-ma’heone-nemeotótse, page _____) has a verb in the oratio oblique mode:

The verb is tséhméhaevoneotsevo 'when I used to be lost (removed)'. Note that the –vo suffix contrasts with the /-tó/ suffix of the regular conjunct indicative verb, tséhméhaevoneotséto 'when I was lost'.

The verb is tséhvoneotse-vo when I was lost (removed)

Infinitive

éme’heše-néménéstse  how he should sing

Negative Inferential

A negative inferential functions as an independent order verb, but has the form of a conjunct order verb. A negative inferential takes an old negative prefix ho'nó-. It optionally takes the inferential prefix mó-.

(Mó)ho’nó-néménéstse  He must not have sung
Ho’nó-hoo'kóhóhane?  It must not have rained

Participles

Participles require conjunct suffixes but act as nouns rather than verbs. They can be translated as relative clauses in English. The two most common participle prefixes are tsé- and néh-.
THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES INTO AI, II, TI, and TA and indicate the underlying morphology. Show the differences between 3rd person participles and regular conjunct forms (-ht vs. -s, -se vs. -vós)

tsénéménéstse the singer (i.e. the one who sings)
tsénémemenese the singers (those who sing)
tséheškese the one who is his mother
Tsétséhéstáhese (Tsitsistas) Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)
tséháóénáhtse the one who prays
tsépéhéva’ee'estse those things (inanimate) which are good
tséa'kásétoo'estse those things (inanimate) which are round
tsévéstoemo my spouse (lit. the one I sit with)
tséameohtséhaesee'e those who are leading you
tséohkééhánhane'oevose those (obv) who are close to them
tséméhotaase those (obv) who love him
tséhóó'xevomotahóvose Ma'heónevá those who announce for God
tsénéheséháta'óse those who depend on you
tséméhótó those who I love

néhnéšése the two of you
néhno'kahéto I alone
néstóxéte all of us

Participles are required when a verb is needed to ask Cheyenne questions about 'What?' (e.g. Hénáá'e) and 'Who?' (e.g. Névéáhe):$$RECHECK

Névéáhe tsénéménéstse? Who is singing?
Névéáhe tséméseestse? Who is eating?
Néváase'o tsénaóotsese? Who (plural) are sleeping?
Névéáhe tséhestánóhtse? Who took it?
Névéáhe tsého'aase? Who wants it?
Névááhe tsého'tséstse? Who has it?
Névááhe tsévéstoemóhtse? Who are you married to?
Névááhe(??) tsévéstoemose? Who is he married to?
Néváase'o tsépéhévatsést__ Who (plural) likes them?
Hénáá'e tsévéhóhtomo? What do you see?
Hénáá'e tsého'áheto? What do you want?
Hénová'ehótse tsémésése? What (plural) did you (plural) eat?

Conjunct Order morphology summary
("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

(´ without a segment specified indicates word-final phonological high pitch)

AI

-tó [tó(n)??]
-to 2 [-to(s)?]
-s′ 3
-et 3′ (obviative)
-tsé /-té/ 1PL
-sé 2PL
-vós 3PL

AI participles
-tó 1
-to 2
-h’t 3
-tsé-se /-te-se/ 3′
-tsé 1PL
-sé 2PL
-se 3PL

AI iterative
-tó 1
-to 2
-h’t
-tsé-h’t 3′ (= 3′-3)
-tsé 1PL
-sé 2PL
-vóht 3PL (vó + -ht?)

AI habitual
-tón + -oht 1
-tos + -eht 2
-s + -eht 3
-tse + -eht 3′
-tsé + -eht 1PL
-sé + -eht 2PL
-vós + -eht 3PL

II
There is no sg. suffix, same as independent order.

-et II.PL

TA (needs further analysis and correlation with historical data)
(The appropriate voice morpheme for the person combination precedes the conjunct suffix. A suffix without a segment refers to a tone which affects the preceding vowel.)

-´ 1:2
- 1:3 (i.e. High pitch on the DIR voice morpheme /-ó/ does not occur, unless other segments follow.)
-am + - 1:3’ (i.e. an obviative suffix preceding a null suffix that lowers the high pitch of DIR /-ó/)
-esé 1:2PL
-nó 1:3PL
-s 2:3
-to 2(2):1(PL)
-sé 2(2):3(PL)
-aé’ + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3:1
-áta’e 3:2 (INV.2.CJT) 3:2
-s’ 3:3’
-tsé 3(PL)’(‘)1PL
-sé 3(PL)’(‘)2PL
-aé + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3’:1
-áta’ + -osé 3(PL)’-2
-ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3’:3
-aé + -vo + -s’ (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

Conjunct Order TA Habituals and Participles take the -ht suffix instead of -s:

-ht 2:3
-aé + -ht 3:1
-ht’ 3:3’
-ae + -ht 3’:3
-aé + -vo + -ht’ 3PL:1

TI

(These take the FTI theme of /-ó(m)/ instead of /-á(n)/ of the Independent Order.)

-é ~ -ó 1:I(PL) (Or is the /-m/ part of the FTI theme?)
-e ~ -o 2:I(PL)
- (no additional suffix)
-tse + -s (OBV-3.CJT) 3’:I(PL)
-a + -tse 1PL:I(PL) (What is -a here?)
-a + -sé 2PL:I(PL)
-e + -vó + -s 3PL:I(PL)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

tséhnemenéto when I sang

\[\text{124 It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.}\]
tsénéméneto | when you sang
-----|---------
tséhnménénése | when he sang
tséhnéménetsése | when he (obviative) sang
tséhnéménétse | when we sang
tséhnéménése | when you (plural) sang
tséhnéménévóse | when they sang

**-mane 'drink'**

| tséhmanéto | when I drank
-----|---------
tséhmaneto | when you drank
tséhmanése | when he drank
tséhmanetsése | when he (obviative) drank
tséhmanétse | when we drank
tséhmanése | when you (plural) drank
tséhmanévóse | when they drank

**-/háóéná/ 'pray'**

| tséxháóénáto | when I prayed
-----|---------
tséxháoenato | when you prayed
tséxháóénése | when he prayed
tséxháoenatsése | when he (obviative) prayed
tséxháóénátse | when we prayed
tséxháóénése | when you (plural) prayed
tséxháóénávóse | when they prayed

**-mésehe 'eat'**

| tséhméséhéto | when I ate
-----|---------
tséhméséheto | when you ate
tséhmésséese | when he ate
tséhméséhetsése | when he (obviative) ate
tséhméséhétsé | when we ate
tséhméséhése | when you (plural) ate
tséhméséhévóse | when they ate

**-/sévanó/ 'ski, skate'**

| tséssévanóto | when I skated
-----|---------
tséssévanoto | when you skated
tséssévánése | when he skated
tséssévanotsése | when he (obviative) skated
tséssévánótse | when we skated
tséssévanóse | when you (plural) skated
tséssévanóvóse | when they skated

**/-oveš(e)ná)/ 'go to bed'**

| tsé'ovešenáto | when I went to bed
-----|---------
tsé'ovešenato | when you went to bed
tsé'ovešése | when he went to bed
tsé'ovešenatsése | when he (obviative) went to bed
tsé'ovešenátse | when we went to bed
tsé'ovešenásé | when you (plural) went to bed
tsé'ovešenávóse | when they went to bed

---

125 There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive 'we' subjects of Cheyenne Al conjunct verbs.
/-néé/ 'be standing'

- when I was standing
- when you were standing
- when he was standing
- when he (obviative) was standing
- when we were standing
- when you (plural) were standing
- when they were standing

/-hoo'e/-hoe/ 'be at'

- when I was (here/there)
- when you were (here/there)
- when he was (here/there)
- when he (obviative) was (here/there)
- when we were (here/there)
- when you (plural) were (here/there)
- when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'

- when I spoke
- when you spoke
- when he spoke
- when he (obviative) spoke
- when we spoke
- when you (plural) spoke
- when they spoke

/-émá/ 'take a sweat'

- when I took a sweat
- when you took a sweat
- when he took a sweat
- when he (obviative) took a sweat
- when we took a sweat
- when you (plural) took a sweat
- when they took a sweat

-néehove 'be the one'

Conjunct forms of the verb –néehove take the conjunct indicative third person suffixes and /h- marker following the tsé- prefix, but have meanings more like participles:

- as for myself
- as for you
- as for him/her
- as for him/her (obviative)
- as for us
- as for you (plural)
- as for them

néh- prefix conjunct verbs

Some conjunct forms take a néh- prefix and conjunct indicative third person suffixes but have

---

126 It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is high or mid when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
meanings more like participles:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'the one alone'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhéto</td>
<td>I alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kaheto</td>
<td>you alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kaese</td>
<td>he/she alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhetsése??</td>
<td>he/she (obviative) alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhétse??</td>
<td>we alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhése??</td>
<td>you (plural) alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhévose</td>
<td>they alone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                |
|----------------|--------|
| 'both of'      |        |
| néhnéšétse     | both of us|
| néhnésése      | both of you|
| néhnésévose    | both of them|
| néhnésetsése?? | both of them (obviative)|

|                |
|----------------|--------|
| 'all of'       |        |
| néstôxétse     | all of us|
| néstôxése      | all of you (plural)|
| néstôxévose    | all of them|

**Animate Intransitive Conjunct Potential verbs**

The conjunct potential requires a phonemic /ht/ in third person suffixes which the conjunct indicative does not. This /ht/ is pronounced as [st] following the vowel /e/. Here is a full sentence illustrating how the conjunct potential can be used: Mâhnémeneto nähtapéhévetanóotse 'When you sing I’ll be happy'.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-némené/ 'sing'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnémenéto</td>
<td>when I sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnéneneto</td>
<td>when you sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnéménéstse</td>
<td>when he sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnémênetséstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnémenétse</td>
<td>when we sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnémenése</td>
<td>when you (plural) sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnénenévöhtse</td>
<td>when they sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-háóéná/ 'pray'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháóénáto</td>
<td>when I pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháoenato</td>
<td>when you pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháóénátse</td>
<td>when he prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháoenatséstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháóénátse</td>
<td>when we pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháóénáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxháóénávohtse</td>
<td>when they pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-nemené/'sing'

tsessaanemenéhenéto when I did not sing
tsessaanemenéheto when you did not sing
tsessaanemenéëse when he did not sing
tsessaanemenéhetsëse when he (obviative) did not sing
tsessaanemenéhétse when we did not sing
tsessaanemenëhëse when you (plural) did not sing
tsessaanemenëhëvëse when they did not sing

/-mesehe 'eat'

tsessaabamësëhëheto when I did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëheto when you did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëhëse when he did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëhëstëse when he (obviative) did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëhëtëse when we did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëhëse when you (pl) did not eat
tsessaabamësëhëhëvëstëse when they did not eat

/-háoëné/'pray'

tsessaaaháöenëhëto when I did not pray
tsessaaaháöenëhëto when you did not pray
tsessaaaháöenëëse when he did not pray
tsessaaaháöenëhëstëse when he (obviative) did not pray
tséssáaháóénahétse when we did not pray
tséssáaháóénahése when you (plural) did not pray
tséssáaháóénahévóse when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

tséssáanééhéto when I was not standing

tséssáahnéehehto when you were not standing

tséssáanéeéése when he was not standing

tséssáanéehetsése when he (obviative) was not standing

tséssáanééhétsése when we were not standing

tséssáanééhéése when you (plural) were not standing

tséssáanééhévévése when they were not standing

-hoo‘e /-hoe/ 'be at'

tséssáahoëhehto\textsuperscript{127} when I was not (here/there)

tséssáahoëhto when you were not (here/there)

tséssáahoéeése when he was not (here/there)

tséssáahoëhtése when he (obviative) was not (here/there)

tséssáahoëhetsése when we were not (here/there)

tséssáahoëhése when you (plural) were not (here/there)

tséssáahoëhévóse when they were not (here/there)

\textsuperscript{127} It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Potential verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

másáanémenéhéto when I do not sing
másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
másáanémenééstse when he does not sing
másáanémenéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
másáanémenéhétse when we do not sing
másáanémenéhése when you (plural) do not sing
másáanémenéhévňõhtse when they do not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

másáaméséhéhéto when I do not eat
másáaméséhéheto when you do not eat
másáamésééestse?? when he does not eat
másáaméséhéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
másáaméséhéhétse when we do not eat
másáaméséhéhése when you (pl) do not eat
másáaméséhéhévňõhtse when they do not eat

-/háoéná/ 'pray'

másáaháoénahéto when I do not pray
másáaháoenaheto when you do not pray
másáaháoénáéstse when he does not pray
másáaháoenáhetséstse when he (obviative) does not pray
másáaháoénahétse when we do not pray
másáaháoénahése when you (pl) do not pray
másáaháoénahévňõhtse when they do not pray

-/néé/ 'be standing'

másáanéhéhéto when I am not standing
másáahnéeheto when you are not standing
másáanéééstse when he is not standing
másáanéhéhetséstse when he (obviative) is not standing
másáanéhéhétse when we are not standing
másáanéhéhése when you (plural) are not standing
másáanéhéh国网htse when they are not standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'

másáahoehéto128 when I am not (here/there)
másáahoeheto when you are not (here/there)
másáahoeéstse when he is not (here/there)
másáahoehetséstse when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
másáahoehétse when we are not (here/there)
másáahoehése when you (plural) are not (here/there)
másáahoehéh国网htse when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

This mode refers to action which habitually occurs. The ôh- prefix is difficult to hear and is

128 It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
often omitted. Conjunct habitual verbs require suffixes in addition to the normal AI person and number suffixes.

-naóotse 'sleep'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsétonóhtse</td>
<td>when I sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsétoséstse</td>
<td>when you sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotseséséstse</td>
<td>when he sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsétseséséstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotséteé'éstse</td>
<td>when we sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsésee'éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsévoséséstse</td>
<td>when they sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetonóhtse</td>
<td>when I dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetoséstse</td>
<td>when you dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóeséséstse</td>
<td>when he dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetseséséstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóéétsee'éstse</td>
<td>when we dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóósee'éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóévoséséstse</td>
<td>when they dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséhétoneóhtse</td>
<td>when I’m going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséhetoséstse</td>
<td>when you are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséheséséstse</td>
<td>when he is going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséhétseé'éstse</td>
<td>when we are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséhéeésee'éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'seméséhévéšéséstse</td>
<td>when they are going to eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhetoñóhtse</td>
<td>when I do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhtoséstse</td>
<td>when you do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséheséséstse</td>
<td>when he does not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhétseé'séstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) does not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotsésee'éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotsévoséséstse</td>
<td>when they do not sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>句子</th>
<th>释义</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ôhnaóotséstoséstse néohkenésó'ênome.</td>
<td>When(ever) you sleep you snore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xho'sóetotneóte néohkéhóháste'too'ê he'eo'o.</td>
<td>When I dance the women laugh at me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsévéstoemo éohkéhéné'êna to'seméséhétoneóhtse.</td>
<td>My wife knows when I’m going to eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'heo'o éohképêhavaatséstá ôhméhohanéétsee'éstse.</td>
<td>God likes it when we love.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

129 Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó'ênome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'
130 Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóéto néakhóháhsé'too'ê he'eo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laugh at me.'
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

The prefix for the conjunct iterative is hó’-. The conjunct iterative refers to specific instances of repeated actions while the conjunct generic states a general rule of action.

/-némené/ 'sing'

hó’némenéto  whenever I sang/sing  
hó’némeneto  whenever you sang/sing  
hó’néménëstse  whenever he sang/sings  
hó’némenetsëstse  whenever he (obviative) sang/sings  
hó’némenëtse  whenever we sang/sing  
hó’némenëse  whenever you (plural) sang/sing  
hó’néménëvëhtse  whenever they sang/sing

-a’xaame 'cry'

hó’e’a’xaamëto131  whenever I cried/cry  
hó’e’a’xaameto  whenever you cried/cry  
hó’e’a’xaämëstse  whenever he cried/cries  
hó’e’a’xaametsëstse  whenever he (obviative) cried/cries  
hó’e’a’xaamëtse  whenever we cried/cry  
hó’e’a’xaamëse  whenever you (plural) cried/cry  
hó’e’a’xaamëvëhtse  whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

Hó’némenéto éhohátseo’o he’eo’o  Whenever I sang, the women laughed  
Hó’e’a’xaameto néohkevéstahëmatanë’tovätse  Whenever you cried, I wanted to help you

131 It is uncertain whether the penultimate pitch is mid or high.
Negative inferentials take the forms of the conjunct order but function like verbs of the independent order. They are the negative counterparts to the animate intransitive independent order positive inferentials, seen earlier in the independent order verbs section of this book. Note that these negative inferentials require an old negative preverb ho'nó-, rather than the usual negative preverb sáa-. Ho'nó- seems to appear only in negative inferentials. The inferential prefix mó- may optionally appear on negative inferentials. In previous editions of this book negative inferentials were translated as intensives. For instance, Móho'nónemenéto was translated as 'No doubt I did not sing'. The claim of intensive meaning was incorrect. Instead, negative inferentials have the same meaning as positive inferentials (taking the independent order), except that they have a negative meaning.

**/-némené/ 'sing'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemenéto</td>
<td>I must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemeneto</td>
<td>You must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónéménéstse</td>
<td>He must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemenetséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemenétsé</td>
<td>We must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemenése</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have sung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**/-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómèséhéto</td>
<td>I must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséheto</td>
<td>You must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméseestse</td>
<td>He must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhetséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhétse</td>
<td>We must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhévóhtse</td>
<td>They must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**/-háoéná/ 'pray'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháoéntáto</td>
<td>I must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóhaoenato</td>
<td>You must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháoéntáhtse</td>
<td>He must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóhaoenatséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháoéntátsé</td>
<td>We must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháoéntásé</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháoéántávhtse</td>
<td>They must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

**/-némené/ 'sing'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéto</td>
<td>I who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>you who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéstse</td>
<td>he who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenétse</td>
<td>we who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenése</td>
<td>you (plural) who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>they who sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévéto</td>
<td>I who am a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévéto</td>
<td>you who are a man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséhetanevèstse he who is a man
tséhetanèvetse he (obviative) who is a man
tséhetanèvètse we who are men
tséhetanèvése you (plural) who are men
tséhetanèvese they who are men

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
tséhaóénáto I who pray
tséhaóenato you who pray
tséhaóènáhtse he who prays
tséhaóenatsese he (obviative) who prays
tséhaóènátse we who pray
tséhaóénáse you (plural) who pray
tséhaóenase they who pray

-tséhéstahahe 'be Cheyenne'
Tsétséhéstahèto I who am a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstaheto you who are a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstaaestse he who is a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstahètsese he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)
Tsétséhéstahètse we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats)
Tsétséhéstahèhe you (plural) who are Cheyennes
Tsétséhéstahèse they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)

-hotse'ohé 'work'
tséhotse'óhèto I who work
tséhotse'óheto you who work
tséhotse'óestse he who works
tséhotse'óhetsese he (obviative) who works
tséhotse'óhétse we who work
tséhotse'óhèse you (plural) who work
tséhotse'óhese they who work

Examples in sentences
Tsénémenese étséhéstahahe'o'o The singers are Cheyennes
Hóhtséme tséheóvaaestse étahpèta The ball that is yellow is big
Hetane tséhotse'óestse?? ékahaneotse The man who is working is tired

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-nénénè/ 'sing'
tsqasánénénèhèto I who do not sing
tsqasánénèheto you who do not sing
tsqasánénènèèstse he who does not sing
tsqasánénènèhètsese he (obviative) who does not sing
tsqasánénènèhètse we who do not sing
tsqasánénènèhèse you (plural) who do not sing
tsqasánénènèhèse they who do not sing

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'
tsqaahetanèvéhèto I who am not a man
ntsqaahetanèvéheto you who are not a man
ntsqaahetanèvéèstse?? he who is not a man
| tsésáahetanéhevese | she (obviative) who is not a man |
| tsésáahetanévēhētse | we who are not men |
| tsésáahetanévēhēse | you (plural) who are not men |
| tsēhetanévēhēse   | they who are not men |

/ -háóéná/ ‘pray’

| tsésáaháóënāhēto  | I who do not pray |
| tsésáahāoenēheto   | you who do not pray |
| tsésáaháóenāéstse?? | he who does not pray |
| tsésáahāoenahētse?? | he (obviative) who does not pray |
| tsésáahāoēnāhēse   | we who does not pray |
| tsésáahāoēnēhēse   | you (plural) who does not pray |
| tsésáahāoehehēse   | they who does not pray |

-hotse’ohe ‘work’

| tsésáahotse’ōhēhēto | I who do not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōhēhēto | you who do not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōééstse?? | he who does not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōhēhētse | he (obviative) who does not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōhēhētse | we who do not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōhēhēse   | you (plural) who does not work |
| tsésáahotse’ōhehēse   | they who does not work |

Examples in sentences

Nánọhtsevátámo tsésáahōēéstse?? I miss the one who isn't here
Nánēševátámo tsésáahāōēnāéstse I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáta’ehohevōhe hetanōho tsésáahotse’ōhehētse He must be angry at the man (obviative)
who isn't working

---

132 A participle does not need to have a noun that it modifies.
**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs**

- tséhvóonā'o when it was morning
- tséxhoo'kóho when it rained
- tséxhó'ta when it was (here/there)
- tséxho'taa'ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
- tse’ó'o when it was dry
- tse’ó’oo’ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

**Examples in sentences:**

Tséhvóonā'o nátats ėhe'ōhtse É'ėxováhtóva This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóóhta môxe'ėstoo'o tséxhó'ta máheóne I saw the book when/where it was in the house

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs**

- tséhvóona'otse when it was morning (relational)
- tséxhoo'kóhotse when it rained (relational)
- tséxho'tatse when it was (here/there)
- tséxho'tatsee'ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

**Examples in sentences**

In the following sentences the conjunct verb is marked as relational because there is already a third person in the sentence, and the Cheyenne language permits only one third person to be in focus at a time within a sentence (or even a larger discourse span).

Móhe'kêšenáhêhe tséhvóona'otse He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Ēaseōhtse tséxhoo'kóhotse He left when it was raining (relational)

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs**

- tséssáahoo'kóhóhane when it did not rain
- tséssáaho'táhane when it was not (here/there)

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs**

II conjunct generics refer to actions or states which habitually occur.

- ōhvóona'oo'ėstse in the mornings
- ōhtonétoo'ėstse when it's cold
- xhoo'kóhoo'ėstse when it rains
- xo'ęeto'ėstse when it snows
- to'séháoho'taa'ėstse when it's going to be hot
- ōhmêséhéstovee'ėstse when there is eating

**Examples in sentences**

 Hátsêskeho ēohkêhêne'enánóvo to'séhoo'kóhoo'ėstse Ants know when it's going to rain
(Ôx)háoho'taa'ėstse nâohkeametó'hóna When it's hot I swim

---

133 Some speakers use the singular subject forms to refer to both singular and plural inanimate subjects.
Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning (relational)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ó)xho'ëetotsee'ëstse</td>
<td>when it snows (relational)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'semésëhéstovetsee'ëstse</td>
<td>when there's going to be eating (relational)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

(Ó)xho'ëetotsee'ëstse éohkevá'nenaóotse ma'háhkéso  When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Éphëhévanoo'o òhmésëhéstovetsee'ëstse  They are happy when there's eating (rel)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

These function as independent order inferential mode verbs but take the affixes of the conjunct order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nóhoo'kóho</td>
<td>It must not have rained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nópëhëva'ë</td>
<td>It must not be good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nópëhëva'eeëstse</td>
<td>They (inanimate) must not be good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nómëhéstov</td>
<td>There must not have been eating</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nópëhëva'ë</td>
<td>It (relational) must not be good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nómëhéstov</td>
<td>There must not have been eating (relational)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvé</td>
<td>that which is yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvoo'ëstse</td>
<td>those which are yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvëstséavó'o'ë</td>
<td>yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvëstséavo'o'eeëstse</td>
<td>yellow flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéeesévó'ta</td>
<td>that which boils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéeesévó'taa'ëstse</td>
<td>those (inanimate) which are boiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsépëhéva'ë</td>
<td>that which is good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsépëhéva'eeëstse</td>
<td>those (inanimate) which are good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaho'táhane</td>
<td>that which is not (here/there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaho'táhanëhee'ëstse</td>
<td>those which are not (here/there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahëovöhë</td>
<td>that which is not yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahëovöhënhëeëstse</td>
<td>those which are not yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapëhéva'ëhë</td>
<td>that which is not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapëhéva'ëhanëheeëstse</td>
<td>those which are not good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvotse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheóvotsee'ëstse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéeesévó'tatse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is boiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéeesévó'tatsee'ëstse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are boiling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tsépéhéva'etse  that (relational) which is good  
tsépéhéva' étsee' étstse(??)  those (relational) which are good

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles**

- tsésáaho'táhanéhetse  that (relational) which is not (here/there)
- tsésáaho'táhanéhetsee' étstse  those (relational) which are not (here/there)

- tsésáaheóvóhanéhetse  that (relational) which is not yellow
- tsésáaheóvóhanéhetsee' étstse  those (relational) which are not yellow

- tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse  that (relational) which is not good
- tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsee' étstse  those (relational) which are not good

**Examples in sentences**

Éhestāna ho'évohkotch tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse  He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.
Nátavóóhta hemahē ō' o tsésáaheóvóhanéchetse  I saw his house, the one that (rel) isn't yellow.
Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs

Unlike with independent order verbs, the distinction between exclusive and inclusive 'we' is lost in some person combinations of conjunct verbs (including participles). So when an English translation is given only as 'we', it can mean either exclusive 'we' or inclusive 'we'. Note, also, that some number distinctions are lost in conjunct verbs. For instance, tséhvóomōtse can mean either 'when we saw him' or 'when we saw them'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-vóom 'see (someone)'</th>
<th>tséhvóomação</th>
<th>when I saw myself</th>
<th>tséhvóomáevó</th>
<th>when they saw me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatse</td>
<td>when I saw you</td>
<td>tséhvóomatavé</td>
<td>when they saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomo</td>
<td>when I saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomovó</td>
<td>when they saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamoo</td>
<td>when I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhvóomaé</td>
<td>when they saw us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsése</td>
<td>when I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhvóoma</td>
<td>when they saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōno</td>
<td>when I saw them</td>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsévó</td>
<td>when they saw themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóometo</td>
<td>when you saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomané</td>
<td>when I was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóómáhtseto</td>
<td>when you saw yourself</td>
<td>tséhvóomaneto</td>
<td>when you were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomóse</td>
<td>when you saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomé</td>
<td>when he was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamóse</td>
<td>when you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhvóometsé</td>
<td>when he (obv) was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomemenoto</td>
<td>when you saw us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhvóomanetse</td>
<td>when we were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomóse</td>
<td>when you saw them</td>
<td>tséhvóomané</td>
<td>when you (pl) were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomá'ése</td>
<td>when he saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomévó</td>
<td>when they were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáta'ë</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsése</td>
<td>when he saw himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomése</td>
<td>when he saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaëtse</td>
<td>when he saw us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaëse</td>
<td>when he saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaëtsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'etsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'atsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaáhtsetsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaëtnése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaënteése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaëtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomótse</td>
<td>when we saw you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamótse</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsétse</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsemenotó</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomótse</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomése</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomóse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamóse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomemenoto</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsése</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomóse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw them</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

tséhvéstahéma'ëse | when he (obv) helped him |
tséhméota'ëse   | when he (obv) fought him |
tséxhéné'enötése | when he knew us |
tséhvovéstomótésë134 | when he taught us |
tséhmaneheo     | when I made him |
tséhmaneose      | when you made him |
tséhmanése       | when he made him (obv) |
tséxh'oeotsëho   | when I brought him |
tséxh'oeotsëse   | when you brought him |
tséxh'oeotsëhótse | when he brought him |
tséxh'nénemé'sëno | when I made him sing |
tséxh'nénemé'sëóse | when you made him sing |
tséxh'nénemé'sëóse | when he made him (obv) sing |
tsé'ovéstomó'ëse  | when he taught me |
tsé'ovéstomoo'ëse | when he (obv) taught them |

134 Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomóétse
–héne'enov 'know (someone)'

The "ov" at the end of TA verb stems contracts in the inverse voice.

RECHECK PARADIGM

tséxhéne'enóvāhtsėto when I knew myself
tséxhéne'enovātse when I knew you
tséxhéne'enovo when I knew him
tséxhéne'enóvamo when I knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvatsėse when I knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovōno when I knew them

tséxhéne'enoveto when you knew me
tséxhéne'enóvāhtseto when you knew yourself
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enovemenoteto when you knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enovōse when you knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovōsē when you (pl) knew me

tséxhéne'enóoa'etsēse when he (obv) knew me
tséxhéne'enovāta'ē when he knew you
tséxhéne'enóvahtsesē when he knew himself
tséxhéne'enovōmōse when he knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enōeťse when he knew us
tséxhéne'enōeše when he knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enova'etsēse? when he (obv) knew me
tséxhéne'enata'ōse?? when he (obv) knew you
tséxhéne'enoo'ēse when he (obv) knew him
tséxhéne'enōvāhtsėtsetēse when he (obv) knew himself
ntséxhéne'enoētse when he (obv) knew us
tséxhéne'enōeše when he (obv) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovoēvōse when he (obv) knew them

tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto when we (ex) knew you
tséxhéne'enovōtse when we knew him
tséxhéne'enóvamōtse when we knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvāhtsėtse when we knew ourselves
tséxhéne'enóvatemoenotowen when (ex) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovētsete when we knew them

tséxhéne'enovēsē when you (pl) knew me
tséxhéne'enovōsē when you (pl) knew him
ntséxhéne'enóvamōsē when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enōvāhtsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you

tséxhéne'enóoa'ēvōse? when they knew me
ntséxhéne'enovātata'ē when they knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōmōse when they knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enōetsē when they knew us
ntséxhéne'enōeše when they knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovemenoterto when they knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enovēse when you (pl) knew me
ntséxhéne'enovīse when you (pl) knew him
ntséxhéne'enovamōse when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enōvāhtsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you

tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto when we (ex) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōtse when we knew him
ntséxhéne'enóvamōtse when we knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvāhtsėtse when we knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatemoenotowen when (ex) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovētsete when we knew them

tséxhéne'enova'etsēse? when he (obv) knew me
tséxhéne'enata'ōse?? when he (obv) knew you
tséxhéne'enoo'ēse when he (obv) knew him
ntséxhéne'enōvāhtsėtsetēse when he (obv) knew himself
ntséxhéne'enoētse when he (obv) knew us
ntséxhéne'enōeše when he (obv) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovoēvōse when he (obv) knew them

tséxhéne'enonēto when I was known
ntséxhéne'enoneto when you were known
ntséxhéne'enoeše when he was known
ntséxhéne'enōhetsēse?? when he (obv) was known
ntséxhéne'enonētse when we were known
ntséxhéne'enonēse when you (pl) were known
ntséxhéne'enonēhēvōse when they were known
Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

máhvóomahtsëto when I see myself
máhvóomatse when I see you
máhvóomo when I see him
máhvóomamo when I see him (obv)
máhvóomatsëse when I see you (pl)
máhvóoomônò when I see them
máhvóometo when you see me
máhvóomáhtseto when you see yourself
máhvóomohôtse when you see him
máhvóomamôhtse when you see him (obv)
máhvóomemenenotse when you see us (ex)
máhvóómôse when you see them
máhvóomá'estse when he sees me
máhvóomá'ta'e when he sees you
máhvóomáhtsëtse when he sees himself
máhvóomôhtse when he sees him (obv)
máhvóomäaëtse when he sees us
máhvóomaëse when he sees you (pl)
máhvóoma'etsëse when he (obv) sees me
máhvóomaata'õse when he (obv) sees you
máhvóomaa'ëstse when he (obv) sees him
máhvóomáhtsetsëse when he (obv) sees himself
máhvóoamâëtse when he (obv) sees us
máhvóomaëse when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvóomaëvôse when he (obv) sees them
máhvóomatsemenotse when we (ex) see you
máhvóomôtse when we see him
máhvóomamôtse when we see him (obv)
máhvóomátsëtse when we see ourselves
máhvóomatematsemenotse when we (ex) see you (pl)
máhvóomôse when we see them
máhvóomëse when you (pl) see me
máhvóomôse when you (pl) see him
máhvóomamôse when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvóomemenotse when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvóomáhtsëse when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvóomôse when you (pl) see them
máhvóoma'évohtse when they see me
máhvóoma'asëse when they see you
máhvóomahtsëvôhtse when they see themselves
máhvóomañëto when I am seen
máhvóomanëto when you are seen
máhvóomëstse when he is seen
máhvóometsëse when he (obv) is seen
máhvóomanëtse when we are seen
máhvóomanëse when you (pl) are seen
máhvóomëvohtse when they are seen

Other examples

máhvéstahémaa'ëstse when he (obv) helps him
máhmëotaa'ëstse when he (obv) fights him
máxhëne'ënëétse when he knows us
máhvovéstomôëtse when he teaches us
máxho'ëotsëho when I bring him
máxho'ëotsëse when you bring him
máxho'ëotsëóse when he brings him (obv)
máxhëotsëhôtse when we bring him
máxhëne'enô'ëtse when he knows me
máxhëne'enoo'ëtse when he (obv) knows him
ma'ovéstomôö'ëtse when he teaches me
ma'ovéstomoo'ëtse when he (obv) teaches him
máxhëne'enôëvôhtse when he (obv) knows them
má'ovéstomôëvôhtse when he (obv) teaches them
ma'ëestsësto when I speak to him
máxheto when I tell him
máxhâoena'tovo when I pray to him
máxhëse when I throw him in

Examples in sentences

Máhnôhtsëvôhtse nêstsevêstahëma. When you ask him, he’ll help you.

Máhmëôtôhtse náhtsëaseôhtse. When he fights him (obv), I’ll leave.

Máhvéstahémaa'ëstse náhtsepêhëvëtânô. When he (obv) helps him, I’ll be happy.

135 Also pronounced as ma'ovéstomôëtse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

tséssáavóomáhtséheto when I did not see myself

tséssáavóomáhetse when I did not see you

tséssáavóomáhevo when I did not see him (obv)

tséssáavóomatséhése when I did not see you (pl)

tséssáavóómohévóno when I did not see them

tséssáavóoméheto when you did not see me

tséssáavóomáhtséheto when you did not see yourself

tséssáavóomomhévése when you did not see him (obv)

tséssáavóomohévése when you did not see you (pl)

tséssáavóomáhemeneto when you did not see (ex)

tséssáavóomáhése when you (pl) did not see me

tséssáavóomohése when you (pl) did not see him

tséssáavóomáhév when you (pl) did not see them

Other examples

tséssáavést tóvahtséheto when he (obv) did not help him

tséssáavóst óvamáhtséheto when he (obv) did not fight him

tséssáavóst tóvamáhtséhésa when he (obv) did not know us

tséssáavóst tóvamahévtso when he (obv) did not teach us

tséssáavóst óvamáhtsóho when he (obv) did not fight him

tséssáavóst tóvamáhtsóhése when he (obv) did not help us

tséssáavóst tóvamáhtsóhésa when he (obv) did not teach us

136 Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomóétsé
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

hó’vóomáhtsēto whenever I saw myself
hó’vóomāte whenever I helped you
hó’vóomo whenever I saw him
hó’vóomamó whenever I saw him (obv)
hó’vóomatsēse whenever I saw you (pl)
hó’vóomōno whenever I saw them

hó’vóometo whenever you saw me
hó’vóomāhtseto whenever you saw yourself
hó’vóomōhtse whenever you saw him
hó’vóomamōhtse whenever you saw him (obv)
hó’vóomemenoto whenever you saw us (ex)
hó’vóomōse whenever you saw them

hó’vóomā’āstse whenever he saw me
hó’vóomāta’ā whenever he saw you
hó’vóomāhtstsē whenever he saw himself
hó’vóomātse whenever he saw us
hó’vóomamē whenever he saw you (pl)
hó’vóomamēse whenever he saw them

hó’vóomatsemenoto whenever we (ex) saw you
hó’voomē whenever we saw him
hó’vooamētse whenever we saw ourselves
hó’voomahtsemeno whenever we (ex) saw you (pl)
hó’voomēstse whenever we saw them

Other examples
hó’ve’hóomōhtse whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó’méótōtse whenever we fought him
hó’méótā’ēstse whenever he fought me
hó’tōxemātse whenever he discussed you
hó’hoxomē whenever he fed us
hó’mé’ō’ēstse whenever I found him
hó’oomā’ēstse whenever he hit me
Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative mode. The generic mode is similar to what has been called a generic aspect for some languages, although the Cheyenne generic need not state an action that is continuously occurring. The oh- prefix is often omitted.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomáhstétonóhts-te</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
<td>when they see us, when they see you (pl), when they see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvómatsétoséntse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
<td>when I am seen, when you are seen, when he is seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóoomoo'ěstse</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
<td>when you (pl) are seen, when they are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomatsésee'ěstse</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomótonóhts-e</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóométoséntse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomáhtsétoséntse</td>
<td>when you see yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomoséntse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomamoséntse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomemenoséntse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvóomósee'ěstse</td>
<td>when you see them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóoma'ěstse</td>
<td>when he sees me</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvómata'oséntse</td>
<td>when he sees you</td>
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<td>ohvóomáhtséoséntse</td>
<td>when he sees himself</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomadoséntse</td>
<td>when he sees him (obv)</td>
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<td>ohvóomaetsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when he sees us</td>
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<td>ohvóomaese'ěstse</td>
<td>when he sees you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóoma'ětsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when (obv) sees me</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvómata'Ọtsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when (obv) sees you</td>
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<td>ohvóomáhsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when (obv) sees him</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomapásee'ěstse</td>
<td>when (obv) sees us</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomaevoséntse</td>
<td>when (obv) sees them</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomatsémenoséntse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvómóttésee'ěstse</td>
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<td>ohvóomósee'ěstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see him</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomamoo'ěstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see (obv)</td>
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<td>ohvóomamenoséntse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see us (ex)</td>
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<td>ohvóomáhtsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see yourselves</td>
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<td>ohvóomásee'ěstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see them</td>
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<td>ohvóoma'évovoséntse</td>
<td>when they see me</td>
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<td>ohvómama'űsee'ěstse</td>
<td>when they see you</td>
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<tr>
<td>ohvóomóvovoséntse</td>
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Other examples

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<tr>
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<tbody>
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</table>

$RECHECK:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ohvó'ęoomo'ěstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxho'eotséhoo'ěstse</td>
<td>when I bring him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’véstomóó’ěstse</td>
<td>when he teaches me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvovéstomóó'ěstse</td>
<td>when he teaches us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’véhéné'enó'ěstse</td>
<td>when he knows me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxhéné'enéo'ěstse</td>
<td>when (obv) knows him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohvéstahámaestse</td>
<td>when he (obv) helps him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’véstomóo’ěstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxhéné'enévéoséntse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knows them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’véstomóevoséntse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

### 
- **méhót/ 'love (someone')**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotóhtsěto</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
<td>tséméhohetsese??  the one (obv) who is loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotátsēse</td>
<td>I who love you</td>
<td>tséméhotanėtse  we who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto</td>
<td>the one I love</td>
<td>tséméhotanėsė  you (pl) who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamōošō</td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
<td>tséméhosehėse  those who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatšēšēe</td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxyōto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatšēšōt</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotokohtsē</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamōošōtsē</td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšmenošō</td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōtošē</td>
<td>the ones you love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšē</td>
<td>the one who loves me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōt</td>
<td>the one who loves (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšātsōt</td>
<td>the one who loves him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōtšōt</td>
<td>the one who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšātsōtšōt</td>
<td>the one who loves (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōtošōtšōt</td>
<td>he (obv) who loves them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōtošōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>we (ex) who love you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>we who love him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>we who love ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšatšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>we who love them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who love me</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who love yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you (pl) who love them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>the one (obv) who loves him (obv')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>I who am loved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaxšōšōtšōtšōtšōtšōtšōt</td>
<td>you who are loved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoystēšē</td>
<td>the one who is loved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévōomo</td>
<td>the one I see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōomōno</td>
<td>those I see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōomōšōtsē</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōomōšōtsē</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees (obv')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōomōšōtsē</td>
<td>he (obv) who is seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one I fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those I fight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who fight me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one I teach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the ones I teach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who sit with me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who teaches us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach you (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who knows me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who knows us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach you (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who sit with me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one I teach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the ones I teach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>those who sit with me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
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<td>the one who knows us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
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<td>the one who teaches me</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévōmošōtsē</td>
<td>those who teach you (plural)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

137 Literally, 'the one who I sit with', i.e. 'the one I am married to'
Transitive Animate Conjunct Participle kinship terms

SOME OF THESE SHOULD BE MOVED TO THE AI Participle section, e.g. my father, etc.?

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning 'my father' is ného'éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as 'my father'. But a more accurate translation of the participle is 'the one who I have as father'. Tséhestónahétóse is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>father</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhéto</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>tséhéhetono</td>
<td>my fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshéhéto</td>
<td>your father</td>
<td>tséhéhétóse</td>
<td>your fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhese</td>
<td>his father(s)</td>
<td>tséhéhese</td>
<td>his father(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhéstee</td>
<td>our father</td>
<td>tséhéhetseee'e</td>
<td>our fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhéstöo</td>
<td>your (plural) father</td>
<td>tséhéhesee'e</td>
<td>your (plural) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhéstoono</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td>tséhéheevose</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mother</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséheškéto</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>tséheškétono</td>
<td>my mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešketo</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>tséheškétóse</td>
<td>your mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškese</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
<td>tséheškése</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškéstöo</td>
<td>our mother</td>
<td>tséheškéstsee'e</td>
<td>our mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškése</td>
<td>your (plural) mother</td>
<td>tséheškéseee'e</td>
<td>your (plural) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškéstoono</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>tséhešévose</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daughter</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahéto</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónahétorno</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestonahueto</td>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónahétóse</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahése</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
<td>tséhestónahése</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahéstöo</td>
<td>our daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónahéstsee'e</td>
<td>our daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahéstöo</td>
<td>your (plural) daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónahéstsee'e</td>
<td>your (plural) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestonahuése</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>tséhestónahévo'o</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other participle kinship term person combinations

Kinship terms exist in full TA participle paradigms, with person combinations besides those just listed. Following are some other person combinations for kinship term participles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséheškétoveto</th>
<th>you who have me for a mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétovése</td>
<td>you (plural) who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétóó' étse</td>
<td>the one who has me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétoese</td>
<td>those who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétovätse</td>
<td>I who have you for a mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

| tséhéhevo'o     | the one who is my absent father |

---

138 It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséheškévoo'o</th>
<th>The one who is my absent mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsétó'omemáxamoo'o</td>
<td>The one (obviative) who I shot stiff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{RECHECK} \ ?\ ? \ \text{the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhéhevóse</th>
<th>The one who is your absent father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévótse</td>
<td>The one who is our absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévóse</td>
<td>The one who is your (plural) absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéheoomoo'o</td>
<td>Those who are my absent fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškévoomoo'o</td>
<td>Those who are my absent mothers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómo</td>
<td>tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when I saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohtomó</td>
<td>tséhvóohhtóme</td>
<td>when you saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtotsé</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he (obviative) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtomátse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when we saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtomáse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when you (plural) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtomévóse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóome??</td>
<td></td>
<td>when it was seen??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomeéestse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were seen??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'listen to (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtómo</td>
<td>tsé'áahtóme</td>
<td>when I listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomó</td>
<td>tsé'áahtome</td>
<td>when you listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he/she listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtotsé</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he (obviative) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomátse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when we listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomáse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when you (plural) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomévóse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtohe ??</td>
<td></td>
<td>when it was listened to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtoheéstse ??</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were listened to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when I ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméseto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when you ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he/she ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésetséase</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he (obviative) ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td></td>
<td>when we ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td></td>
<td>when you (plural) ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésévóse</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstové</td>
<td></td>
<td>when it was eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstoveéstse??</td>
<td></td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tséto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when I had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tseto</td>
<td></td>
<td>when you had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsése</td>
<td></td>
<td>when he/she had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsetséase</td>
<td></td>
<td>he he/she (obviative) had it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanómo / tséxhanóme</td>
<td>when I took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanomo / tséxhanome</td>
<td>when you took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhánto</td>
<td>when he took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanotsése</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanomátsé</td>
<td>when we took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhanomévôse</td>
<td>when they took it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxháhêto</td>
<td>when I wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhëheto</td>
<td>when you wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhëse</td>
<td>when he/she wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhësëse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhëhête</td>
<td>when we wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhësêse</td>
<td>when you (plural) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhëhêvôse</td>
<td>when they wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences:

- Tséhvóóhtóm e ho'évohkôtse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'
- Tsé'éšeááhto nénemenestôtse náéestséstôvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs

TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the ōh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.

'**see (something)**'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomonōtse</td>
<td>when I see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomosēstse</td>
<td>when you see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóoohtosēstse</td>
<td>when he/she sees it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtotsesēstse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) sees it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomásee’ėstse</td>
<td>when we see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomévosēstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) see it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'**take (something)**'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomonōhtse</td>
<td>when I take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomosēstse</td>
<td>when you take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanosēstse</td>
<td>when he/she takes it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanōtsestse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) takes it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomásee’ėstse</td>
<td>when we take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomomévosēstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) take it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'**cook (something)**'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestsétomonōhtse</td>
<td>when I cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestsétosēstse</td>
<td>when you cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestsēstse</td>
<td>when he/she cooks it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestséstesēstse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestséetsee’ėstse</td>
<td>when we cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestsésee’ėstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho’oestsévosēstse</td>
<td>when they cook it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences
Öhvóohtomonōhtse vėtsėškévahonoo’o nāohkevé’šepēhévetāno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho’oestsēsēstse váotsevāheho’évohkötse nāohkema’xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Participles

Unlike with other conjunct verb modes, conjunct participles are inflected for number of their objects by some speakers. Other speakers, however, use the singular object forms to refer to both singular and plural objects.

### 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>What I saw</th>
<th>tsévóohtomóthó</th>
<th>those that I saw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohtómo</td>
<td>what you saw</td>
<td>tsévóohtomósé</td>
<td>those that you saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohtóhtó</td>
<td>what he saw</td>
<td>tsévóohtótsé</td>
<td>those that he saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohtóttese</td>
<td>what (obv) saw</td>
<td>tsévóohtóttesés</td>
<td>those that he (obv) saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohtomátse</td>
<td>what we saw</td>
<td>tsévóohtomátseé</td>
<td>those that we saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohtomévósse</td>
<td>what you (pl) saw</td>
<td>tsévóohtomévósseé</td>
<td>those that you (pl) saw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>What I ate</th>
<th>tséméséto</th>
<th>those which I ate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméséto</td>
<td>what you ate</td>
<td>tséméséto</td>
<td>those which you ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésésé</td>
<td>what he ate</td>
<td>tsémésésés</td>
<td>those which he ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméséséses</td>
<td>what (obv) ate</td>
<td>tsémésésésés</td>
<td>those which he (obv) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésésee</td>
<td>what we ate</td>
<td>tséméséseeé</td>
<td>those which we ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésésee</td>
<td>what you (pl) ate</td>
<td>tsémésésee</td>
<td>those which you (pl) ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>What I took</th>
<th>tséhestanómóthó</th>
<th>those which I took</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanómó</td>
<td>what you took</td>
<td>tséhestanómósé</td>
<td>those which you took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanóhtó</td>
<td>what he took</td>
<td>tséhestanósé</td>
<td>those which he took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanóttese</td>
<td>what (obv) took</td>
<td>tséhestanóttesés</td>
<td>those which he (obv) took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanomátse</td>
<td>what we took</td>
<td>tséhestanomátseé</td>
<td>those which we took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanomévósse</td>
<td>what you (pl) took</td>
<td>tséhestanomévósseé</td>
<td>those which you (pl) took</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>What I want</th>
<th>tsého'áhótonóthó</th>
<th>those that I want</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áheto</td>
<td>what you want</td>
<td>tsého'áhétosé</td>
<td>those that you want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áhésé</td>
<td>what he wants</td>
<td>tsého'áhésésé</td>
<td>those that he wants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áhéséses</td>
<td>what (obv) wants</td>
<td>tsého'áhésésés</td>
<td>those that he (obv) wants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áhésésee</td>
<td>what we want</td>
<td>tsého'áhéséseeé</td>
<td>those that we want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áhésésee</td>
<td>what you (pl) want</td>
<td>tsého'áhésésee</td>
<td>those that you (pl) want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'make (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>What I made</th>
<th>tsémanéstótonóthó</th>
<th>those which I made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what you made</td>
<td>tsémanéstósé</td>
<td>those which you made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what he made</td>
<td>tsémanéstósé</td>
<td>those which he made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what (obv) made</td>
<td>tsémanéstótosé</td>
<td>those which he (obv) made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what we made</td>
<td>tsémanéstótosé</td>
<td>those which we made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what you (pl) made</td>
<td>tsémanéstótosé</td>
<td>those which you (pl) made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstóto</td>
<td>what they made</td>
<td>tsémanéstótosé</td>
<td>those which they made</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

139 Another pronunciation is tsévóohtóme. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".
Examples in sentences
Hénová'e tsévóohatómo?  
What did you see
Hénová'e tséméseto?  
What did you eat?
Hénová'ehótse tsémanéstsetonóhtse?  
What (plural) did you make?
Nápéhévátséstá tséhót'séstse.  
I like what he had.
Tsémanéstseto épéhévá'e.  
What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'

tsésáavóóhtohémémo  
what I didn't see

tsésáavóóhtohémohemo  
what you didn't see

tsésáavóóhtóéstse  
what he/she didn't see

tsésáavóóhtohétsèsés  
what he/she (obviative) didn't see

tsésáavóóhtomáhétse  
what we didn't see

tsésáavóóhtomáhésé  
what you (plural) didn't see

tsésáavóóhtomáhéséhésé  
what they didn't see

'see (plural object)'

tsésáavóohtóhemonóhtse  
those that I didn't see

tsésáavóohtohéséséstse  
those that you didn't see

tsésáavóohtohéstseséstse  
those that he/she didn't see

tsésáavóohtomáhétseéstse  
those that we didn't see

tsésáavóohtomáhéséséstedéstse  
those that you (plural) didn't see

tsésáavóohtomáhéséséstse  
those that they didn't see

'make (singular object)'

tsésáamanéstsehétó  
what I didn't make

tsésáamanéstseheto  
what you didn't make

tsésáamanéstseto  
what he/she didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéstseto  
what he/she (obviative) didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehésés  
what we didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehésetse  
what you (plural didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhésé  
what they didn't make

'make (plural object)'

tsésáamanéstsehétonóhtse  
what I didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehétonóhtse  
what you didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhéséséstse  
what he/she didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhéséséstse  
what he/she (obviative) didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhéséséstse  
what we didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhéséséstedéstse  
what you (plural) didn't make

tsésáamanéstsehéhéséséstse  
what they didn't make

Other examples

tsésáahéstehtahémó  
what I didn't take

tsésáahésteinóhtohémoheséstse  
those which he/she didn't take

tsésáaméshéhétó  
what I didn't eat

tsésáaméshéheto  
what you didn't eat

tsésáaméshéstse  
what he/she didn't eat
Examples in sentences $\$\$\$RECHECK/#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"??

Tsésáaméséheto ṕseguepēhēvéno'ē.  What you didn't take tastes very good.
Tsésáahes-tanóéstse ęsó' hô'ta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóóhtanótsé ęsésáahó' tséhevoséstse.  I'm looking for those (in) that they don't have. ??

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. ($\$\$\$RECHECK THAT). Ditransitive conjunct verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjunct ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them (inanimate or animate)".

$\$\$RECHECK??

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>2SG give to self</th>
<th>3SG give to self</th>
<th>2SG give to unknown 1sg</th>
<th>3SG give to unknown 1sg</th>
<th>2SG give to someone else</th>
<th>3SG give to someone else</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétahstséto</td>
<td>when I gave it to myself</td>
<td>tséhmétatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when I gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétótsése</td>
<td>when you gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétótsése</td>
<td>when you gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétótsése</td>
<td>when you gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmeto</td>
<td>when I gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when I gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétáhstséto</td>
<td>when you gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétáhstséto</td>
<td>when you gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétáhstséto</td>
<td>when you gave it to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatsése</td>
<td>when I gave it to (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétótsése</td>
<td>when I gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétótsése</td>
<td>when I gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

tséhmeto očeskésho  when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) $\$ADD MAIN VERBS

tséhmeto motšéške  when I gave him a knife

tséhmeto motšéškehótse  when I gave him knifes

tséhmétóno ęxo  when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)
when I gave them boats (inanimate)
when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)
when you gave him boats
when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
when you (sg/pl) gave us boats
when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
when he gave me a knife
when he gave him (obviative) a dog/dogs (obviative)
when he gave him (obviative) a duck/ducks (obviative)
when he gave him (obviative) boats
when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv)
when his son (obv) gave me a boat
when I did not give myself a boat
when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)
when you gave his ____ to me
when you (pl) gave his ____ to me / us (ex)
when I gave his ____ to you
what I gave myself
what I gave you
what I gave him
what I gave him (obv)
what I gave you (pl)
what I gave them
what you gave me
what you gave yourself
what you gave him
what you gave him (obv)
what you gave us (ex)
what you gave them
what you gave me
what he gave you
what he gave himself
what he gave him (obv)
what he gave us
what we (ex) gave you
what we gave him
what we gave him (obv)
what we gave ourselves
what we gave them
what you (pl) gave me
what you (pl) gave him
what you (pl) gave him (obv)
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsémetsemenoto</th>
<th>What you (pl) gave us (ex)</th>
<th>Tsémétotsese</th>
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<td>Tsémétáhtsése</td>
<td>What you (pl) gave yourselves</td>
<td>Tsémétseestse</td>
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<td>Tsémétanētse</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Tselmētaëse??</td>
<td>What they gave you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tselmētaëtse</td>
<td>What they gave themselves</td>
<td>Tselmētētse</td>
<td>What you (pl) were given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tselmētaëtse??</td>
<td>What they gave you</td>
<td>Tselmētsētse</td>
<td>What they were given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complex sentences

Now that we have examined independent and dependent (conjunct) verbs, we can study complex sentences in Cheyenne. A complex sentence contains at least two verbs, one of which is dependent upon the other, typically called the main (or matrix) verb.

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

**$\text{EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS}$**

Less frequently and probably much less frequently than in English, Cheyennes utter sentences in which the dependent verb is a complement of the main verb. A complement verb acts something like an object to the main verb. In English we might say, "I'm know that you've been sick." The clause "that you've been sick" is the complement to the main verb "know." This complement acts as an object to "know", tell us what it is that the speaker knows.

Here are some examples of sentences with complement verbs found in Cheyenne texts:

**$\text{EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS, INCLUDING FROM THE BROTHERS-IN-LAW TEXT}$**

If you are studying Cheyenne, trying to obtain complex sentences with complements, be cautious in your study. Try not to ask Cheyenne speakers to directly translate English sentences with complements to Cheyenne. It may be possible to get literal translations of such English sentences, but they may not be natural sentences. It is better to study enough Cheyenne so that you will learn which verbs can naturally take complements and what kinds of verbs can naturally be their complements. It is often better to record and study natural Cheyenne texts and look for examples of complement sentences in those texts than to try to directly elicit complex sentences in Cheyenne.
Complex verbs
Some complex sentence semantic relationships are expressed in Cheyenne by single verbs with a part of those verbs being in a complex subordinate relationship to another part of those verbs. One of the most common Cheyenne finals for such verbs is –tanó which means 'want to' when it acts as the matrix verb in a complex semantic relationship. I have referred to verbs which take this final as desiderative verbs.

Námésêhétánó. I want to eat.
Nánaóotsétánó. I want to sleep.
Éháóenátánó. He wants to pray.
Éo'èhnétánó. He wants to defecate.

Transitive complex verbs
Transitivizing suffixes can be added to the –tanó final creating a kind of transitive semantically dependent verb within the complex verb structure:

Návóomátanó’tóvo. I want to see him.
Návóomátanó’tova. He wants to see me.
Návóohtatanó’ta. I want to see it.
Návóomáhtsétánó. I want to be seen.
Évóomáhtsétanoo’o. They want to be seen.
Návéstahémáhtsétánó. I want to be helped.
Návéstahémáhtsétanó’tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
Véstahémáhtsétanó’tovehá! Want to be helped by him!
Návéo’séhátanó’tovo. I want to show it to him.
Náhestanátanó’ta. I want to take it.
Námésetanó’ta. I want to eat it.
Námésetanó’tanó’tse. I want to eat them (inanimate).

Word order
It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker's mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating
something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

**Fixed word orders**

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

- **haesto** ka'ēškóneho 'many children'
- **na'èstse** amāhó'hestótse 'one car'
- **neše** he'eo'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

- **Hénová'e** tséméseto? 'What did you eat?'
- **Névááhe** tsévéhonestse? 'Who is the boss?'
- **Tóne'se** néévaho'èhoo'õhtse? 'When did you get back home?'
- **Tósa'e** néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

**STUDY NATURAL TEXTS TO SEE IF THERE MIGHT BE A PREDOMINANT ORDER OF CONJUNCT VERBS PRECEDING INDEPENDENT VERBS**

**Word order and speech context**

Cheyenne subject and object nouns occur in an order determined by the speech context. That is, their order is pragmatically determined. Elena Leman (1999) has researched the pragmatic factors that determine word order in Cheyenne. $(GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK)$ She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy" occurs as the first element in a Cheyenne sentence.

A word is newsworthy if it receives some special attention such as if it is emphasized or contrastive. $(RECHECK THAT SENTENCE)$ The newsworthy word in a sentence may be a subject or object noun, a verb, or some other sentence element. The first word in each of the following sentences is newsworthy:

- Mé'èstse néohkenèheto'ètahe! 'Always you're doing that!'
- Naa mösēškanetséหนอนāhe mōstö'sevéseetsēhe'ōhtsēhēhe tsēhmōheeeohtsētovetse. 'And the bat (in contrast to the animals and birds mentioned in the preceding sentences in this story) was also going to go to where there was a meeting.' (The Bat story, in the Texts section of this book)

$(OTHER EXAMPLES?)$

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow their verbs. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the

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140 The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).
141 Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

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best word order unless it follows the natural order for words as a Cheyenne conversation or other discourse progresses.

**Free word order**

Linguists often refer to languages such as Cheyenne as free word order (or nonconfigurational) languages. In such languages subject and object nouns, verbs, and sometimes other sentence elements can occur in any order. But what these linguists actually mean by the term free word is that the order of words is not determined by the syntax (grammar) of the language. Instead, Cheyenne, like many other languages, has word order which is determined by the speech context (known as pragmatics), rather than syntax.

**Basic word order and naturalness**

Linguists refer to basic word order in languages in terms of the abbreviations S, V, and O, where S = Subject, V = Verb, and O = Object. English is an SVO language because in a typical English sentence the subject comes before the verb and if there is an object it comes after the verb. For instance, if there is a man we’ve been talking about and he shot a deer we could say what happened in English as "The man shot a deer." "The man" is S (Subject). The verb (V) is "shot". And the O (Object) is "a deer".

Sometimes linguists ask if Cheyenne is an SVO language, or if it has some some other basic word order, such as SOV. To answer this question, we must return to the observations just made, that overall Cheyenne word order in sentences is not determined by syntax, but, instead, by speech context (pragmatics). So we really cannot say that Cheyenne has a basic word order such as SVO.

Next, it should be noted that it is rare in Cheyenne for both a subject and object noun to occur with a verb. If you study natural Cheyenne texts, such as those which appear in the Texts section of this book, you will find very few sentences with subject and object nouns along with a verb. So it’s basically a moot question to ask what is the basic word order in Cheyenne, in terms of linguistic symbols such as S, V, and O.

It is important for Cheyenne sentences to be grammatically correct as well as natural. So, if you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you to translate an English sentence with both a subject and object noun, hesitate before simply translating the English sentence word for word. For instance, hesitate before translating an English sentence such as "The man saw a deer" to Cheyenne. It is possible to translate this sentence directly to Cheyenne as: Hetane mohvomohvehe váotseváhne. That is a grammatical sentence in Cheyenne. But this sentence would not occur naturally in Cheyenne as often as it might in English.

Instead, in natural Cheyenne, speakers would more likely express the same meaning in more than one sentence. Typically, a Cheyenne speaker would introduce the man in a sentence such as: Hetane mó'ameohstsêhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvomohvohvoh váotseváhne 'He saw a deer.' (The Cheyenne word for 'man', hetane, would not usually be repeated in the second sentence.)

It’s just not natural to try to get too much information into a single Cheyenne sentence. For that matter, it probably isn’t natural in English either, at least not for a sentence uttered by itself without any preceding context.

An important principle for translation of anything into any language, including Cheyenne, is to
avoid asking (and answering) the question "Can you say this in your language?" Instead, it is better to ask the question, "Is this said in your language?" or "How do you naturally express this meaning in your language?" It is not only important to say things grammatically correct in a language, but also to say them naturally.

Study of natural texts, including conversations, speeches, and stories, in Cheyenne can help us understand natural ways of speaking Cheyenne. We must always be cautious about directly translating anything from English, or any other language, to Cheyenne. Instead, we must try to say things in Cheyenne as they would be said if they were part of a natural conversation between fluent Cheyenne speakers.

**Default pragmatic word order**

Even though we cannot speak of a basic word order in Cheyenne, there is a strong tendency for certain word orders to occur. These word orders are pragmatically determined, but so prevalent that some people might like to refer to them as basic word orders.

Subject nouns which are non-contrastive and definite (already established in a discourse) occur following the verb they are associated with much more often than they do preceding that verb. Notice that in the following text there 72 "sentences," including the title and ending (which is not a full sentence). Of the 72 sentences, only 6 have SV order, while there are 20 sentences with VS order. 36 sentences have no subject noun at all. In most of (count them??) the VS occurrences of the subject noun are definite and non-contrastive. Subject nouns that precede verbs are boldfaced in this text. Subject nouns that follow verbs are boldfaced and italicized.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.001

A chief when he went to look for a young man to be his son-in-law, who would marry his daughter.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

éxxaemáhé	ánése
é- h- xae- máhétá -né -s
3- PST- simply- all.camped -FII -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -mode
There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.003

naa hó'óxe táháóhe tséstánoneo'tséstove mâhtamáhááhe
naa ho'oxé táháóhe tsé- h- ta- énoneotse -htóve máhtamáhááhé
and end there CNJ- OBL- TRL- end.camp -IMPERS old.woman
p p p pfx- tns- dir- vai -fii na

éhvéeséstse
é- h- vée -sest
3- PST- camp -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
And at the edge there where the camp ended an old lady camped.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.004

hevéxaho éhnéše'enásesto
he- véxah -o é- h- nése'ená -sest -o
3PS- grandchild -OBV 3- PST- live.with -RPT -OBV
pro- na -num pro- tns- vai -mode -num
Her grandson lived with (her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.005

éxhoháeanáhtóvéñése
é- h- ho- háeaná -htóve -né -s
3- PST- very- hungry -IMPERS -FII -RPT
pro- tns- REDUP- vai -fii -sfx -mode
There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.006

tsé'tóhe kásovááhe néseé'eše naa
tsé'tóhe kásovááhé néseé'eše naa
this young man 2.days and
pro na p

na'héé'eše
na'héé'eše
3.days
p

éstaohkevoneotséstse
é- h- ta- ohke- voneotse -sest
3- PST- TRL- HABIT- disappear -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vii -mode
For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.007

hévámóhe móstaokkéhénése'néváhehé
hévá=móhe mó- h- ta- ohke- hé- nése'névá -hé -hé
Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

He would bring home game at night.

The old lady would slice the meat.

They had plenty to eat.

Then she would make pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

é'óhkého'o'xeséstse
é- h- ohke- ho'o'xe -sest
3- PST- HABIT- arrive.carrying.game -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

taa'eva
taa'e -vá
night -OBL
ni -sfx

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

é'óhkeó'ésóvaséstse  máhtamáhááhe
é- h- ohke- ó'esóvá -sest máhtamáháahéh
3- PST- HABIT- slice -RPT old.woman
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode na

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.010

éxhoháeesenéhésesto
é- h- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o
3- PST- very- have plenty food -RPT -3PL
pro- tns- REDUP- vai -mode -num

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.011

néhé'she ame
néhe'sé ame
then pemmican
p ni

mó'óhkemanéstshéhe
mó- h- ohke- manest -é -hé -hé
INF- PST- HABIT- make -FTI -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- pv- vti -theme -sfx -sfx

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.012

mó'óhkemésehenovóhe  néhnéşévóse
mó- h- ohke- mése -hé -nó -vo -hé néh- néšé -vó -s
INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX CJT.PPL- two -3PL -3
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx pfx- vai -num -pro

hevéxaho
he- véxah -o
They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.013

They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.014

Along the edge of camp he walked.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.015

"A person (?), ... the chief has invited you (plural),..."

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.016

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.017

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.018
A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

Then they gathered, young men, men.

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

"Go to listen!" he told her.

"Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

he'tóhe ame tano'oehtse'o
he'tóhe ame ta- no'oehtse -o
this pemmican TRL- walk.carry -IMPV.DEL
pro ni dir- vai -mode

éxhetósesto
é- h- het -ó -sest -o
3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

vá'netšéške'e nēšea'kóestséo
vá'ne- tšéške'e nēše- a'kóestsé -o
just- a little continue- bundle -IMPV.DEL
pv- p pv- vti -mode
"Just a little one, make a package!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

mȧhto'seéšeénestéstove
mäh- to'se- éšé- éne- ěstse -htóve
IRREAL- PROS- already- stop- speak -IMPERS
px- pv- pv- pv- vai -fii

maněsto'shöehneto o'ha'ënomeo'o
mäh- neh- to'se- höehné -to o'ha'en -om -e -o
IRREAL- PROS- emerge -CNJ.SFX drop -FTI -IMPV.SFX -IMPV.DEL
px- dir- pv- vai -sfx vti -sfx -sfx -sfx -mode

éxhetósesto
é- h- het -ó -sest -o
3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

naa éxhoháeanáhtóvénëse
naa é- h- hoháeaná -htóve -né -s
and 3- PST- very hungry -IMPERS -FII -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -fii -sfx -sfx -mode
And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

néhē'še
néhe'šë
then
p
móstavésēšë'ōhtsēhëhe
mó- h- ta- vése- tsēhe'ōhtsé -hé -hé
INF- PST- TRL- with- go.to -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.032

Then exactly what she had been told, she did it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.033

When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.034

"I'm going to cook for my grandson," she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035
She got up.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.036

She came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.037

She dropped that (thing).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.038

When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.039

"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.
She turned around.

She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

"Wait!" this chief told her.

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.
It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

Oh! It tasted good.

That man unwrapped it.

He ate it.

That old woman let's see
Then he told that old lady,

"Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him."

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.049

"I'm going to see him," he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.050

"Let him come over!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.051

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.052

"I have done what you told me.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.053
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

That young man went there.

He arrived.

He was asked by the chief.

"You (pl) have plenty to eat.

Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

You are invited," she told him.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

"Yes," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.063

And that young lady was beautiful.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.064

estaevahoo'ohhtsesestse
e- h- ta- eva- hoo'ohhtse -rest
3- PST- TRL- back- go home -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode

He went back home.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.065

heveshkemo
he- veskem -o
3PS- grandmother -OBV
pro- na -num

mostanahetohvehohe
mo- h- ta- neh- hte- o- h- vo -h
INF- PST- TRL- ANA- tell -DIR -NEG.SFX -OBV -INF.SFX
mode- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -sfx -pro -sfx

He told that to his grandmother.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.066

estano've'ohhtsemosestse
e- h- ta- no'- ve'ohhtsem -o -rest -o
3- PST- TRL- also- accompany -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -mode -num

tsiohkhoo'oxevatsese
ts- oihke- hoo'oxeva -tse -se
CNJ- HABIT- announce -OBV -OBV
pfx- pv- vai -pro -pro

He went with the one who announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.067

ehnexho'o'oxevasestse
neh- exo- hoo'oxeva -rest
3- PST- CIS- announce -RPT
pro- tns- dir- vai -mode -num

That man announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.068

nennoh'to'enohtse
neh- nohto'en -o -ht
CIS- fetch.by.wagon -FTI -IMPV
dir- vta -theme -mode
"Come after it!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.069

nemehnhnestse
neh- amehne -ht
CIS- walk -IMPV
dir- vai -mode
Walk toward (me)!

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Come after your food!" the chief was told.

And then that's how this young man received the young lady who was beautiful.

Word formation
Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks, so we informally call them blocks.

Noun formation
A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

ame 'pemmican'
hē'e 'woman'
hetane 'man'
Prenoun compounds
A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun that can exist as a single word by itself:

ma’aatae-meo’o ‘railroad, train’ (literally, iron-road)
mo’ohtáe-vé’hó’e ‘Negro’ (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he’é-ka’ěškóne ‘girl’ (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka’ěškóne ‘boy’ (literally, man-child)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus a noun final that cannot exist by itself:

vé’ho’e-otóa’e ‘cow’ (literally, whiteman-buffalo)

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun final:

Óoe-tane ‘Crow’ (literally, crow-person)
món-é’e ‘bride’ (literally, new-woman)

Noun-verb compounds
A noun may consist of a verb plus a noun:

mòxe’éstóne-máhëö-o ‘school’ (literally, writing-house)
ame’há-ve’ho’e ‘pilot’ (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homósé-ve’ho’e ‘cook’ (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

éškóse-esé-hotame a pig (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-énë-hótame ’bulldog, cat’ (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-ó’ha ‘white horse’ (literally, white-horse)
to-óom-ašë’sé-stótse ‘soda pop, cold drink’ (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo’ohtáv-áhahtá-tane ‘Blackfeet Indian’ (lit., black-foot-person)

142 Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oeškëse was used to mean ‘dog’. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a ‘hound’ (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

143 Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka’ënéhotame to refer to a cat. They also use the word póéso for a cat, perhaps borrowing it from Northern Cheyennes, who themselves may have borrowed it as a sound translation from the English word “pussy”. Petter (1915:215) lists the word ka’eséhotame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for ’cat’. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka’ënéhotame and ka’eséhotame for a cat.

144 The Cheyenne noun final /-o’há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant ‘dog’. Over time, the final came to mean ‘horse’ in Cheyenne.
Nominalization
A noun may be a consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

- ame'ha-htôte 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)
- méséé-stôte 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
- éskós-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
- tséhé'ése-ésé-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
- vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
- hoéstóné-he 'student' (literally, writing-being)

Verb formation
As we have already seen in discussion of verbs, Cheyenne verbs can be long, consisting of many morphemes. Independent order verbs typically are made up of a pronominal prefix, optional tense markers, preverbs that have aspectual and adverbial meanings, then a verb stem, then one or more suffixes which typically give information about person, number, and mode.

Pronominal prefixes
Pronominal prefixes are high pitched except when they precede the future tense marker:

- ná- first person (e.g. I, we)
- né- second person (you, you plural)
- é- third person (he, she, animate it)

Pronominal prefixes plus future tense –htse
- náhtse- first person + future tense
- néstse- second person + future tense
- tse- third person + future tense

Tense
Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- ‘remote past’ and –htse ‘future’ on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense refer to the present or recent past. (check that further??) Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

Unmarked tense
The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

- Návóómo. 'I see him', or 'I saw him'.
- Énéméne. 'He's singing', or 'He sang'.
- Ého'sóeo'o. 'They are dancing', or 'They danced'.

Past tense
Past tense is marked with phonemic /h-/ , which has the following pronunciations:

---

145 This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nous from verbs.
146 The suffix /-hé/ is another animate nominalizer. It seems to have a more specialized meaning than /-htot/ that is difficult to characterize semantically, perhaps something like 'being'. It often acts as a personifier, as in the common word vovéstomósanéhé 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.
147 The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.
1. [s] preceding [t] or [s] (with [ss] pronounced twice as long as a single [s])
2. [š] preceding [k]
3. ['] preceding a vowel
4. [x] preceding [h]
5. [h] before any other sounds

Past tense is farther past in time than recent past. But it need not be distant past. Whether or not a verb is marked with past tense depends on the relative time frame in the mind of the speaker. There is no simple rule that says, for instance, that a verb will be marked with the past tense if it refers to a time more than a month ago or more than a year ago.

Notice the past tense markers immediately following the person prefixes ná-, né-, and é- in the following verbs:

Ná-h-vóómo. I saw him.
Né-s-tšēhe'késtahë. You were short.
É-h-néméne. He sang.
É-'a'xaame. He cried.
É-s-séváno. He skied.
É-x-ho'soo'e. He danced.
É-s-tsēhētōsesto. He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
É-š-koká'a'xesēstse. He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
É-x-hetōhoono. He said that to him (preterit mode).

**Far past tense**

$$RECHECK TO DETERMINE IF /neh-/ WAS IN ERROR AS FAR PAST IN THE EARLIER GRAMMAR??$$

Ná-nēh-vóómo. I saw him a long time ago.
É-nēh-mēsehe. He ate a long time ago.
É-nēx-ho'soo'e. He danced a long time ago.

**Future tense**

Future tense is marked by htse-. Instead of their usual high pitch, pronominal prefixes are pronounced with low-pitched vowels preceding future tense. Because the low-pitched vowel precedes /h/, the vowel is also whispered (devoiced). The third person prefix /é-/ is omitted before the future tense marker and then the future tense marker is shortened to tse-. Examples of verbs with the future tense follow:

Nā-h-tse-mēsehe. I shall eat.
Nē-stse-vē'nēhešëve! Don’t do that (in the future)!
Tse-nēvéohtä. (The cow) will have four legs. (said by Sweet Medicine)

**Future tense plus translocative**

If the future tense marker precedes the ta- translocative directional, the two morphemes combine as /hta-/ which retains both the future tense and translocative meanings.

Nā-h-ta-vē'hâhtse. I will go along.
Nē-sta-évahósevómätse. I will see you again.
**Directionals**

Directionals occur after the tense slot in the verb and before preverbs. Directionals indicate whether action is coming toward or away from a speaker.

**Cislocative**

The directional that indicates action toward a speaker is called a cislocative. It is phonemically spelled /neh-/h/. The /h/ has various alternates depending on the sound that follows it. The cislocative has high pitch in imperatives and low pitch in all other orders.

**Non-imperative cislocatives**

- É-néx-ho’ehne. He’s coming.
- É-ne’t-amoo’kōho. Rain is approaching.
- É-nēs-tsēheta’hāhtse. He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

**Imperative cislocatives**

- Néh-metsèstse! Give it to me!
- Néx-héstánōhtse! Bring it to me!
- Nēs-tsēhe’ooestse! Come here quickly!

**Translocative**

The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

- É-tā-hēmanohe. He went for water.
- É-ta’-ēšeta’ēhne ēšēhe. The sun has set.

**Preverbs**

Preverbs give aspctual and adverbiai information about the action or state expressed by the verb stem. Preverbs occur near the beginning of verbs, between any tense markers and the verb stem. In the following verbs the preverbs are boldfaced to make them easier to see. Except for the first two sentences, all of these sentences come from stories told by Cheyennes. Sentence 1 is a common way of saying "good-bye" today. Sentence 2 was said in a natural Cheyenne conversation by a fluent speaker who believed he did not speak Cheyenne as well as others. A glottal stop is inserted (epenthetically) after the negative preverb sāa- before anything else that begins with a vowel. This glottal stop is not itself a preverb.

**Examples of verbs with preverbs**

1. Nē-sta-év-a-hōse-vōo-m-ātse.
   2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
   I will see you again.

   1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
   I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.

   Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{148} Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).
That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nés-sá-a'-'évá-ho'e-anóhe-ohtsé-he.
   He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-néšé-hétóse-ame-néhov-ó-sest-o.
   3-FUTTRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
   It's said he kept on following them.

   2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
   He is going to come to scare you.

   2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
   He is only going to try to scare you.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-ée-néšé-to-táha'háhtsé-nó-se.
   3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
   It's said he began to throw it on.

   2-FUT-ANAREL-give.s.t.-PSV
   It will again be given to you this way.

10. É-s-ta-éva-né-hešé-ho'-hóo'-óhtsé-sest-o.
   3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
   It's said they arrived back home that way.

11. Tse-méo-hóe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tsé-s-tá-hóse-hé-manoe-se
    CNJ-PST-TRL-again-PURP-fetch.water-3
    when she went again to get water

    Q-CIS-how-again-through-roll-motion-FII-NEG.II-INF
    Somehow it must have rolled through again.

14. Ná-to'se-vá'ne-tšéške'-mé'ést-á.
    3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
    I'm just going to explain it a little.
15. tsé-ohke-ée-méhae-ne'étam-ése
   CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
   what you (plural) used to depend on

   3-PST-TRL-already-big-explain-DTRANS-RPT
   It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)

17. É-k-nsáane-másó-ame-méohé-sest-o.
   3-PST-CIS-commence-all.group-along-run-RPT-3PL
   It's said they all started running.

   3-PST-TRL-simply-all.group-in-pile-FTA-RECIPT-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-he'ké-hešé-hosó-hn-hoo'o.
   3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
   Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.

    3-PST-TRL-already-necessarily(??)-complete-by.heat-IOAM-IOAM-PRET
    Once upon a time he had to finish cooking it.

    3-PST-TRL-HAB-out-PURP-play-PRET
    Once upon a time he used to go out to play.

22. É'-ôhké-sáa-s'é'hove-évá-ho'-èhné-he-hoo'o.
    3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRET
    Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

23. Ná-ta-móne-éva-asé-hóó'-ôhtsé-me.
    1-TRL-soon-back-start-home-go-1PL
    We soon started to go back home.

Preverbs list
Here are some of the most commonly occurring preverbs. In this list a vowel which is in parentheses ( ) will occur if the next morpheme begins with a vowel.

- áah'tse'- simultaneously
- áhane- extremely
- a'ene- forever
- ame- along
- anhóhe- down
- ase- start
- e'(e)- upward
- e'se- afraid to
- é'moose- secretly
- éne- end, stop
- ése- in, into
- éše- already
Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

Aspectual preverbs

$ADD GLOSES$: 

év-a- back
há-anae- heavy, respected
háe- much
hávésé- badly
he- have
hé- for the purpose of
hehe- more
he'ame- up
he'aná- easily
he'ke- slowly, softly
he'kone- hard
heóme- too much
hé- for such reason
heóme- manner
hetóe- in evening
hetóse- continually
hetaa'- to such extent
hóe- out from
ho'(e)- arrive
hóose- go home
hoove- mistakenly
hóse- again
hóxe'- cleanly
kánome- although
mae- all over
má-he- all
máhove- tiredly
ma'heóne- sacredly
má-se- complete
ma'xe- big, much
másó- suddenly, in a group
méhae- used to
me'- should
mé'(e)- appear
méo- early morning
móne- recently
ne- referring back
neh- toward, cislocative
nésta- previously
néše- continue
néšená- while
néševe- fast
nétahvé- differently
nóhtove- know how to
no'- also, included
no'hé- aside
nó'se- over
nonáháxe- might
ohke- regularly
ó'ome- bypass
ó'se- mistakenly
onáxe- might
oné'seóme- truly
onése- try to
onó'e- proper
osáane- commence
osee- intense
paháve- good, well
péhéve- good, well
sáa- not
sé'e- down into
sé'hove- suddenly
sé'tove- middle
sóhpe- through
só'(e)- still
taa'vé- at night
tae- exactly
ta'e- disappear
taome- by self
táve- slightly
táxe- on top
to'se- going to
tónéše- how?, somehow
tóxe- along the edge
tse- referring forward
tšéhe'se- never
tšéške'- little
váhtome- nevertheless
vá'ne- just
vá'ose- complete
vé'(e)- prohibit
vése- with
xae-, xamae simply, ordinarily
xanove- straight
ase-
 éne-
éš-
méhae-
hetőse-
móne-
nèš-
ohke-
ösåane-
má'se-
onäháxe-/onäháxe-/onáxe-
to'se-

Examples with aspeсtual preverbs
Måheameöstse nèhëno é-méhae'-éevó'estanëhëve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonäháxe-pe'pe'etse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
É'-ösáane-asënoovósesto. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

Path preverbs
Other preverbs indicate a path for the action of the verb:

anòhe-
e'(e)-
éš-
he'amè-
hòe-
no'hè-
sé'e- 
së'hove-
sòhe-
sò'(e)-
tåxe-
tòxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs
Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
måhe-
Examples with quantity preverbs

Quality preverbs
Other preverbs focus on quality:

hávéséve-
hóxe'e-
pēhēve-
véhone-
xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

Temporal preverbs
Some preverbs focus on time:

a'ene-
hetóeve-
méo-
taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

Important preverb combinations
Some combinations of preverbs coalesce (contract together):

ta- + to'se- > tao'se-
Tšéške'e né-tao'se-vá'néhóhta'haovatsénóvo namēšéme. 'I'm going to tell you (pl) a little about my (great) grandfather.' (1987:17)

Certain combinations of preverbs communicate unique information about aspect and modality:

éšé-hó'ko-: of necessity
É-éšé-hó'ko-mésehe. 'He HAD to eat.' (for example, he said he wasn't going to eat, but I told him to stay and eat, so he had to eat).

éšé-to'se-: on the verge of
Mó-éšé-to'sé-hestsevévēšēhéhe. 'He's about to grow horns.' (fig. =he's "crazy")

me'-hé-: emphatic
Né-me'-hé-vonetanó'továtse! 'I would NEVER forget you!'

me'-hó'ke-: should have
Né-me'-hó'ke-mé'ēstomeve. 'You should have told me.'
oh-to'se:- almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněše:- cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tóněšé-tséhe'ôhtséhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'</nosubhead
És-sáa-tóněšé-éne-e'kóó'óheséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšéhe'se:- never
Né-sáa-tšéhe'se-vóomatséhe. 'I never see you.' (= I haven't seen you in ages)

tó'e-ase:- almost
Náhóhpo éhešé'hāna; mó-tó'e-ase-ávoonéhéhe. 'He ate up absolutely all of his food; he must have been (almost) starved.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a'xaame</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ase</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-émá/</td>
<td>take a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-émohóne</td>
<td>hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-he'ke</td>
<td>be tender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-hoe/</td>
<td>be at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ho'ahe</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ho'sóe/</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-homosóe/</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-hotse'óhe/</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-mae/</td>
<td>bark (of a dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mane</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mésehe</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/-mó'é/  invite to a meal
/-naa' é/  doctor
/-nae/  die
/-née/  be standing
/-némené/  sing
/-néne/  nurse (of a baby)
.nomáhtse  steal
/o haé/  arise
/-sévanó/  skate, slide
/-tö'é/  get up (from bed)
/-véé/  camp

Examples of verbs with roots
Éa'xaame.  He's crying.
É-éma.  He's having a sweat.
Ná-ho'ahe.  I want (it).
Ná-hoo'e.  I'm (here).
É-mane.  He's drinking.
É-méshe.  He's eating.
É-mó'e.  He's inviting to a meal.
É-né'é'e.  He's standing.

Initials
Initials are the first meaning part of many Cheyenne verb stems. An initial requires at least a medial or final to be a complete verb stem. Here are some of the most commonly used Cheyenne initials:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>initial</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>á'(k)av-</td>
<td>droop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhan-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áv-</td>
<td>fall over</td>
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<tr>
<td>a'e'-</td>
<td>separate (be)</td>
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<tr>
<td>a'enó'n-</td>
<td>dark</td>
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<tr>
<td>a'k-</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kón-</td>
<td>squat</td>
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<tr>
<td>a't-/a's-</td>
<td>accidentally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae'ta'é-</td>
<td>face</td>
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<tr>
<td>aé stom-</td>
<td>false</td>
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<tr>
<td>ahko'-</td>
<td>roll</td>
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<tr>
<td>ahto('h)-</td>
<td>under</td>
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<tr>
<td>am-</td>
<td>along</td>
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<tr>
<td>ames(t)-</td>
<td>crosswise</td>
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<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane'k-</td>
<td>prick</td>
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<tr>
<td>ase(t)-</td>
<td>away/start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe-</td>
<td>scratch</td>
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<tr>
<td>é'(k)om-</td>
<td>oily</td>
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<tr>
<td>é'-</td>
<td>break</td>
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<tr>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
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<tr>
<td>én-</td>
<td>end</td>
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<tr>
<td>ést-</td>
<td>into</td>
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<tr>
<td>éstov-</td>
<td>blow</td>
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<tr>
<td>éš-/éx-</td>
<td>already/finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškos-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
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<tr>
<td>év-</td>
<td>about</td>
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<tr>
<td>éxov-</td>
<td>warm</td>
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<tr>
<td>e'(k)os-</td>
<td>turn over</td>
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<td>e'-</td>
<td>up</td>
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<tr>
<td>e's-</td>
<td>dress</td>
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<tr>
<td>e't-/e's-</td>
<td>fear</td>
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<tr>
<td>e'xov-</td>
<td>peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há-</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háa'es(t)-</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háahk-</td>
<td>small (very)</td>
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<tr>
<td>háahp-</td>
<td>large</td>
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<tr>
<td>hánoht-/hános-</td>
<td>back (head posture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávésév-</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahé-</td>
<td>rub</td>
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<tr>
<td>hahp-</td>
<td>fasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hešk)-</td>
<td>wrinkled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hée sev-</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héhnov-</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
héhpoh- frighten
héne’h- stiff
héstov- both sides
héšk- nick
hévoe- wring
he'am- up/above
he'aná- easy
he’e(n)- spare
he’hem- sprinkled
he’k(e)- soft
he’k- pierce
he’kon- hard
he’kot- quiet
he’né- separate
he’xóv- degree
heamá- side
hehp- beyond
heóm- excessive
heów- yellow
hesé- ridge
hes(e)- cramp
hesó’x- slippery
hest- take
hestóx- last/behind
hesto’to(n)- braid
hestom- hinder
heškóv- thorny
het- /heš- thus
hetóm- true/correct
hó’os-/hó’oht- against (lean)
hó’tah- defeat
hó’tová- extinguish
hó’x- accustomed to
hóe’tó- back/behind
hóe- out
hóhee- swaddle/wrap
hóhp- melt
hóm- disembark
hómest- escape
hóna’(ov)- add
hóné()- pile
hóoht-/hó’- home
hóom- shelter/protect
hótoaná- difficult
hótoxá- crisscross
hóvoht-/hóvos- store
hóx-/hóht- around (tie)
hóxe'- clean
hóxov- across
ho'- arrive
ho'óx- last
ho'sot- dirty
ho'tov- loose
ho'xès(t)- belong
ho'xo'- against (press)
hohát- laugh
hoham- prefer
hohkó's- purple
hohpé- sweat
hohpo'- gather
homóhe- noisy
honát- subside
honó- roast/bake
hoô'h- overheard
hoó'sot- unskilled
hoón- shut
hoon- restrain/forbid
hosó- backwards
hosotóm- rest
hotám- turn around
hovéo'(k)- shade
hovo'e- envelope/surround
hox- rotten
hoxo'ohtsév- green
kás- short
káhan- tired
káhko(n)- thin
ka'- short
kó'kon- peck/knock
kóe(n)- hit (with s.t.)
koom- still
má't-/má's- complete/finish
máhe(t)- all
máhov- tired of
ma'(k)- red
ma'(k)es(t)- forward
ma'haa'- big
ma'heón- sacred
mamahk- curly
mamée- rub
mano'- together
max- touch
mé'- appear  
méš-/mé'h- hairy  
mén- dig  
me'to'- exchange  
móhe- gather  
món- new  
mo'(k)ohtá(v)- black  
mo'on- beautiful  
momáta'- angry/mean  
moméh- lumpy/curdled  
moméno'- bunched  
momése- sort  
mòx- brush  
ná'som- wither/stale  
náno't/-náno's- supreme/best  
náha'- catch  
náhah- wild  
náhahk- energetic  
náhest- avoid/forbid  
ae- numb  
nanévesév- clear/transparent  
né't/-né's- extract/doff  
néhov- stand/arise  
ném- slanted  
néma'- circular/revolve  
né's/-néš- two  
nétáhév- different  
név- four  
nèh(e)- wipe  
nehp- cover/obstruct  
neó'k- tight fit  
nes/-neš- heat/hot  
nèše'(h)- wash  
nèšev- rapid  
nèxahp- dull  
néxoóht- cute  
nó'es(t)- over  
nó'oes- hide  
nóht- approach  
nóon- dried up/brown  
nóv- slow/late  
no'- include  
no'hé- aside  
no'k- one/alone  
nohtóv- know how  
nomon- drowsy
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noné'k-</td>
<td>smeared/streaked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonótov-</td>
<td>hurry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonom-</td>
<td>quiver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noón-</td>
<td>brown (faded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nooht-</td>
<td>omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'-</td>
<td>dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'oht-</td>
<td>cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'x-</td>
<td>split/half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónést-</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ónêš-</td>
<td>pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'a'-</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'ha'-</td>
<td>miss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'hém-</td>
<td>scarce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'om-</td>
<td>bypass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'otóm-</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oéhnov-</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oév-</td>
<td>scabby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oes-</td>
<td>discharge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohas-</td>
<td>shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omóm-</td>
<td>cry/tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oné'xov-</td>
<td>peel (thin surface)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oné(st)-</td>
<td>test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onéha'-</td>
<td>untie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oném-</td>
<td>twisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onénêš-</td>
<td>break/damage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onésova-</td>
<td>apart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onéstahk-</td>
<td>round/circular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one'seóm-</td>
<td>true/real</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onó-</td>
<td>ashore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono'-</td>
<td>proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ononés(t)-</td>
<td>confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ononov-</td>
<td>confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo'(k)-</td>
<td>bare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo'há-</td>
<td>examine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otá'tav-</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ota-</td>
<td>pierce through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otó'xov-</td>
<td>skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ov-</td>
<td>prostrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ová'k-</td>
<td>round (formed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ována'xa-</td>
<td>peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ováne'-</td>
<td>stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxés(t)-</td>
<td>side/other way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páháv-</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páho(n)-</td>
<td>stuck to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'(k)-</td>
<td>lump/knob/hump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páhpon-</td>
<td>flat on top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóv-</td>
<td>stubborn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóva-</td>
<td>imitate/pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóx-</td>
<td>edge/around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhovó-</td>
<td>gap (cf. slit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to(n)-</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toést-</td>
<td>string (e.g. bead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toe(n)-</td>
<td>hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhkom-</td>
<td>few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomõht-/tomõs-</td>
<td>raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toox-</td>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tovó’k-</td>
<td>slit (cf. gap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséo’-</td>
<td>sprawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséva(n)-</td>
<td>dusty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhés(t)-</td>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe’és(t)-</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe’kés(t)-</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšéške’-</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá’óht-/vá’ós-</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’h-</td>
<td>contain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’ke-</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’ôhk-</td>
<td>bitter/sting/pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’s-</td>
<td>rapid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhon-</td>
<td>chiefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhp-</td>
<td>empty/hollow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vén-</td>
<td>disagreeable/cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vés(t)-</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve’ev-</td>
<td>concave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vó(k)om-</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vó’ho’-</td>
<td>light/shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vó’n-</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vó(hp)-</td>
<td>light (color)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóeše-</td>
<td>rejoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóhk-</td>
<td>bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóho’oes-</td>
<td>discard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóhpon-</td>
<td>strict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóon-</td>
<td>all night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vós-</td>
<td>hole/depression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóvo’k-</td>
<td>naked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>von-</td>
<td>remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vonó-</td>
<td>lift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vovéh-</td>
<td>scarred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vovó’h-</td>
<td>spotted (white)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vovó-</td>
<td>first/ahead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xá’xán-</td>
<td>massage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanov-</td>
<td>straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo’-</td>
<td>salve (put on)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\[
\text{xo'xon-} \quad \text{dent}
\]

**Initials and medials**

We will study medials more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a medial:

- É-momóht-óhtá. He has diarrhea. (lit., he-move-stomach)
- É-nèse'x-ächtse. He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
- É-péhévé'-éxáne. He has nice eyes. (lit., he-good-eye)

**Initials and finals**

We will also study finals more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a final:

- É-ém-óéna. He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
- É-he'kon-osé. He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
- É-péhévé'-o'o'e. It's a good field. (lit., it-good-vegetation)

**Initials, medials, and finals**

A verb stem may consist of an initial, medial, and final:

- É-háahpe'-éen-o'o'e. The snow is deep. (lit., it-deep-snow-lie)
- É-am-óov-á'a. He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by.foot)
- Ná-to-óom-áan-a. I cooled the liquid by hand. (lit., I-cool-water-by.hand-IOAM)

**Medials**

Medials are noun-like meaning parts that are included in some verbs. Many body parts have medial forms in Cheyenne. Sometimes the spelling of a body part medial is unrelated to the spelling of the noun for that same body part. Some other things have medial forms, as well. Some medials have no noun counterpart.

**Body part medials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>-noná</td>
<td>honono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>-na'evá</td>
<td>ma'ahtse49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-'pa'oná</td>
<td>ma'pa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>-asé</td>
<td>matonéše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>-ma'emá</td>
<td>ma'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast, udder</td>
<td>-tanahá</td>
<td>matána</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>-sevá</td>
<td>hésevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-'éstá</td>
<td>máhtovóó'øtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>-htsé'ooná</td>
<td>máhtsé'oo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>-'éxáne</td>
<td>ma'ëxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>-éné</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>-(hk)osé</td>
<td>mo'ëško</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot / feet</td>
<td>-hahtá</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

149 Ma'ahtse includes the hand and forearm.
Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

Nánémo-noná-otse. I twisted my ankle.
Náé'e-škóhtá-xe. I fell and broke my leg.
Énéxóós-éne. He has a cute face.
Éma'e-esé-vose. He has a red nose from the cold.
Néše'sé-he'óná-htse! Wash your hands!
Éhese-na'éva-otse. He has cramps in his arms.
Éhese-nomá-otse. He has cramps in his thigh.
Éóxókheve-notóva. He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Étséhe'se-na'éva. He has long arms.
Étotšéške'e-ésta. His ears stick out.
Évóhpe-tanéva. He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápóe-stséá-hno. I punched him in the head.
Étáhepe-ase. He has a big belly.
Éó-óhta. He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Náxové-hautá-ho'he. I'm warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by-heat)
Éhésk-onéné-o. He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néstsevé'hetséhéno éše'he! Néstsematse-ôse. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.'
Taa'eva néstevé'nov'oehotséme! Méstaa'e nésteñem-áhtsená-o'haëvo. 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

---

150 Rarely used as a noun.
Other medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground, land</td>
<td>-óma'</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>-éhamá</td>
<td>naéhame\textsuperscript{51}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>-éen</td>
<td>hésta’se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strand</td>
<td>-ón(e)</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water, liquid</td>
<td>-óom</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>-ó'(e)</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>-'evá</td>
<td>náhtse'eme\textsuperscript{52}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée'-óma'-o'e. It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp-een-oo'e. The ground is covered with white snow.
Éanôh-óné-ána. He lowered it with a rope.
Éto-óom-ȧše'še. He's drinking a cool liquid.
Évon-ó'é-ma. He was lost in thick bushes.
Énéše-éva. He has two wives.

Finals

Finals are the last meaning part of many verb stems before any grammatical suffixes occur referencing person, number, animacy, obviation, and mode. Finals can be categorized into two groups, concrete finals and abstract finals.

Concrete finals

Concrete finals specify what kind of an instrument, position, or action was used to carry out what the verb, as a whole refers to, such as whether the action was done by hand, foot, mouth, heat, cutting, standing, sitting, lying down, flying, or running. Here are some common concrete finals in Cheyenne:

Instrumental finals

Instrumental finals tell what kind of an instrument was used to perform the action of the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by foot</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by hand</td>
<td>-an, -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cutting</td>
<td>-as (TA), -es (TA), -ax (TI), -ex (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by mouth</td>
<td>-óm (TA), -oht (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by tool</td>
<td>-oh(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by heat</td>
<td>-(a)ho’h(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cold</td>
<td>-ose (AI), -ohta (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by liquid</td>
<td>-óová</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by speaking</td>
<td>-em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{51} Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévëstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

\textsuperscript{52} Literally, 'my woman'. This word is obsolescent, replaced by tsévëstoemo. Today náhtse'eme sounds vulgar since the related verb stem -hestse'eme is so close in pronunciation and means 'to have sex' (lit., to have a woman).
by thinking, regard -átam (TA), -átsest (TI)
by hearing -aht

Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

Nápo'-óhn-o. I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'-éš-o. I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by切割-him)
Éa't-áx-a. He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)
Nápéhévéátam-o. I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étséške'-óóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-óhta. It’s frozen. (lit., it-hard-by.cold)
Návon-ahō'h-a. I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énomon-e'hāna. He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápéhévéém-o. I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>-oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>-eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>/-oe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>/-óé/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with positional finals

Ésétovéósta. It’s noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-éše. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Nábéhpéšimo. I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éháóéná-óó'e. He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Énomon oo'e. He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit)

Action finals

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carry on back</td>
<td>-o’xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>-ohomó’he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>-asé’še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-e’haná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>-a’ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>’sevó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>-e’há</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housework</td>
<td>-mosé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerk</td>
<td>-a’xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of verbs with action finals

É-én-o'xe. He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back)
Éam-ó'-éna. He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it)
Éhosó-hne. He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)
Énèhe-móse. She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)
Énóhe-'sévo. It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)
Éhahpe-nó'e. She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)
Námá's-énome. I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep)

Abstract finals

Abstract finals convey less specific information than do concrete finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AI characteristic</td>
<td>-ahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II characteristic</td>
<td>-a'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II marker</td>
<td>-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI action final</td>
<td>-sané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI physical condition</td>
<td>-omóhtahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detransitivizer</td>
<td>-ósané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
<td>-stove / -htove / -nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mental state</td>
<td>-tanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>-otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slow process</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA object agreement (TAOM)</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI object agreement (TIOM)</td>
<td>-ht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA object agreement (TAOM)</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA final</td>
<td>-ov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitivizer (TR)</td>
<td>-'tov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA causative</td>
<td>-seh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with abstract finals

The abstract finals in the following verbs are preceded by hyphens and boldfaced:

Épèhév-áhe. He is good.
Épèhév-a'e. It is good
Éhe'kot-áhe. He is a quiet person.
Relative roots

In Algonquian language relative roots, preverbs, and initials relate the verb they are in to something preceding or following in the speech context. Cheyenne heše- functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial heš-/het-\textsuperscript{153} performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heše-relative preverb. The preverb né- can precede a relative root or initial to further specify that it refers back to something preceding in the speech context. That is, it is an anaphoric marker. The preverb tsé- can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, tsé- is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

$$\text{MORE}$$

**Examples with relative roots**

Oóxésta ná-hešta. 'Same as always, that's how I am.'
Névé'-né-hešéve! 'Don't do that!'
"Nápélhévomóhtahe," é-hevoo'o.\textsuperscript{154} "I'm feeling good," that's what he said.
é-hešó 'it's that way'

**Examples with the relative preverb**

Kovááhe ná-heše-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'
Täháohé hákó'ě tósa'ė hoháá'ēše móstá-hešé-hētoo'ēhehöhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' \textsuperscript{1987:185}

**Examples with the relative initial**

Mónáoseeháeanahéhe; náhahpo ná-heš-e'hána. 'I must have been very hungry; everything,

\textsuperscript{153} The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".
\textsuperscript{154} The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that’s what I ate.'

ná-\texttt{het}-áhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'

é-\texttt{het}-óhta'háne 'he told the story that way.'

'have' stems

he- $$\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION OR COMBINE IT WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION ON 'have' stems UNDER AI VERBS}

\textbf{Instrumentals}

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé’še-
2. Instrumental suffix –vá

Ná-vé’šé-mésehe ane’kôhomó’héstôtse. I ate with a fork.
Námésehe ane’kôhomó’héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

$$\text{ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.}

\textit{Instrumental preverb vé’še-}

The preverb vé’še- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé’šé-ooma kâhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.

Ho’évohkôte ná-vé’šé-háomóhtähéotsé. The meat made me sick.

Kokôhéáxa ná-vé’šé-háomóhtähéotsenôte. The chicken (animate) made me sick. $$\text{IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??}$$. Use of both the instrumental preverb and suffix

It is possible for both the instrumental preverb and instrumental suffix to be used in the same sentence: $$\text{HOW NATURAL IS THIS??}

Ná-vé’šé-oó’xoemahâne hóhkôxé-vá. I chopped wood with an ax. $$\text{RECHECK}$$. Other examples

Náoo’xoemahâne hóhkôxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.

Návé’šeoó’xoemahâne hohkôxe. I chopped wood with an ax.

\spout{155}{Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.}
This makes me happy.

I ground meat with a rock.
I ground corn with a rock.

Benefactives
Cheyenne verbs can indicate that an action was done for the benefit of someone. There are several TA verb endings which can express such a benefactive meaning.

-vomotah 'for the benefit of'
The TA final –vomotah expresses a benefactive meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náháóéna</td>
<td>I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháoenavomotáho</td>
<td>I prayed for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháoenavomotahtse</td>
<td>I prayed for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháoenavomotatsemeno</td>
<td>We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-vomotah can also express a substitutive meaning, which is a kind of benefactive meaning. A substitutive meaning communicates the idea that someone does something in place of someone else.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’óhevomotáho</td>
<td>I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The English sentence "I worked for him" is ambiguous in that it can mean that I worked in his place. Or, it can also mean that I worked for someone who would earn money. Cheyenne uses a different ending on its verb for 'work' to express the idea of working for someone as employment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’ota</td>
<td>I worked for him (that is, he employed me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’óto</td>
<td>He worked for me (that is, I employed him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátotse’óto'o</td>
<td>They worked for me (that is, I employed them)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other benefactive finals
Some abstract TA finals can express a benefactive meaning with certain verb stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánéméne.</td>
<td>I sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánémeóvo.</td>
<td>I sang for him (benefactive).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánémeova.</td>
<td>He sang for me (benefactive).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhta.</td>
<td>I baked it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomévo.</td>
<td>I baked it for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomevonótse.</td>
<td>I baked them (inan) for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomóenótse.</td>
<td>He baked them (inan) for me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causatives
Some TA verb endings express the idea of causing someone to do something.

-'seh
The TA final –'seh can be added to many TA verb stems to create causatives:

---

156 Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.
Nánémené'sého. I made him sing. (without the final, Énéméne = He sang)
Nánémené'seha. He made me sing.

Náméséh'é'sého. I made him eat.
Náovéséná'sého. I made him go to bed.
Nánaótsé'sého. I made him sleep.
Náhotse'óhë'sého.?? I made him work.
Náhomosë'sého. I made him cook.

Náméséh'é'séhatsenötse.?? I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).
Náméséh'é'séhatsénoto.?? I made you eat them (animate).
Éméséh'é'séhónoto.?? He made him (obv) eat him (obv).
Néméséh'é'séseötse.?? You made me eat him.

Návóó'sého. I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).
Návóó'séhonötse I showed them (inan) to him.

Other causative finals
Some other, more abstract finals, combine with some verb roots to have a causative kind of meaning:

-m abstract TA final
Some TA verbs with an abstract final sometimes communicate a causative meaning:

Éhohatsemóho. He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed)
Éhetótaemóho. He made him (obv) rejoice.
Éháestáhémóho. He angered him (obv).

Reduplication
$\$CREATE THIS SECTION, REFERRING TO ELENA'S PAPER ON reduplication

Particles
In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles.$\$REVISE AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION

$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION

Conjunctions
Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

naa and
máto also
oha (óvahe??) only
nēhe'še then
nonohpa so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto and also
naa oha but

GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

tsé'tóhe this (animate)
hé'tóhe this (inanimate)
tá'tóhe that (animate)
há'tóhe that (inanimate)

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

tsé'tóhe ka'ēškóne this child
hé'tóhe māheonōtse these houses
tá'tóhe mo'ēhno'ha that horse
há'tóhe māhēō'o that house

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

tsé'tóhe this one (animate)
hé'tóhe this one (inanimate)
tá'tóhe that one (animate)
há'tóhe that one (inanimate)

Discourse demonstratives

Another set of demonstratives refer to things which have already been spoken about in some speech context. We call these discourse demonstratives. Discourse demonstratives can modify a following noun or stand alone.

néhe this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate)
héne this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate)
náhe that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate)
háne that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate)

Indefinite pronouns

hová'éhe something, nothing
hovánee'e no one
nevá'eséstse someone
nevá'esëesto include glosses for this and following forms??
nésëhoo'o
Interrogative particles
Interrogative particles ask questions: $$GLOSS THESE PARTICLES

névááhe
névááso
neváaseo’o
neváasóho
hénová’e
hénová’ehótse
hénová’éto
hénová’etotse
hénová’etse
hénová’etsénése
hénová’etotsénése
hénáá’e
hénáá’énése
tóne’së
tósa’e

Command particles
Some particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa’e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa’e! Let's see! ($$FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??)

Location particles
Location particles refer to locations:

áhtóno’e under
anöheto below
he’ama up
heama side
táxeto top
tóxeha edge
Epistemic particles

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define.

$\text{o}t\text{á}m\text{a}$ especially
$\text{hot\text{á}htse}$ unexpectedly, lo and behold
$\text{aose}$ right?
$\text{ta'se}$ like
$\text{hám\text{o}'\text{htse}}$ for instance
$\text{m\text{é}'\text{t\text{o}}'\text{e}}$ on the other hand
$\text{ón\text{é}t\text{á}htse}$ instead
$\text{óts\text{é}h\text{á}m\text{ó}h\text{e}}$ oops
$\text{hé}$ Oh, I made a mistake
$\text{ta'sótse}$ I mistakenly thought (contracted from $\text{ta'se hót\text{á}htse}$)
$\text{hé\text{́}v\text{a}}$ maybe
$\text{hé\text{́}\text{e}}$ maybe
$\text{hé\text{́}\text{é}h\text{á}m\text{á}}$ maybe
$\text{tá's\text{é}h\text{á}m\text{á}}$ maybe
$\text{n\text{óh\text{á}se}}$ anything, whatever
$\text{n\text{óh\text{á}s\text{é}h\text{á}m\text{á}}}$ just any way
$\text{hév\text{á}m\text{ó}h\text{e}}$ I guess, apparently

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.

$\text{Š\text{a}}a! / \text{É\text{a}}a!$ Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
$\text{N\text{á}o\text{o}}o! / \text{N\text{ó}o}\text{o}$ Wow! (said only by females)
Emphatic particles

Some particles are created by adding the suffix -to to a preverb. These particles have a more emphatic meaning than the preverbs they are created from.

- ameto as time goes on
- anôheto down
- hehpeto later
- hóseto again
- onêséómeto truly
- sôhpeto through
- táxeto on top

Examples with emphatic particles

- hehpeto tsé'éšéeméose Tséhe'ėsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)
- Naa néhé'še hóseto, "Amẽške néstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."' (Croft 1988:18)

Numbers

There are several different sets of Cheyenne numbers. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles (stand-alone words). Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems.

Cheyenne teachers often teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity—and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. But it is an interesting activity. We do need to know our numbers.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: Make language teaching natural. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don't understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névé'néhešéve!" or thousands of other words in
whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let’s now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

**Number particles**

Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not marked for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Numbers of things**

The first set of numbers tells how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or shoes. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it goes with is animate or inanimate. This set of number is sometimes called cardinal numbers.

For numbers 11-19 we can include or leave out the word for 'ten,' mâhtohto. Fluent speakers have said these numbers both ways. For instance, we can say '12 (things)' as either mâhtohto hóhta neše or just hóhta neše.

The word hóhta in a number indicates that we add the following number. For instance, the word for '11 (things)' is mâhtohto hóhta na’êstse, literally meaning something like '10 plus 1'.

We do not know if the words for added numbers, such as 11, are separate words or all one word. The added number words have pitches which indicate that they might be all one word. For instance, the word for 11 is pronounced mâhtóhtohóhtáhná’êstse, with high pitches on each of the voiced vowels. You can write the added numbers as separate words or one complete word. It doesn’t matter either way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1na’êstse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2neše</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3na’he</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4neve</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5noho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6naesohhto</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7nésohto</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8na’nohto</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9sóohto</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtohto) hóhta na’êstse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtohto) hóhta neše</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtohto) hóhta na’he</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'êstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'êstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta na'êstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta neše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta na'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta neve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta noho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta naesohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta nésohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta na'nohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhta sóohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'êstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'êstse??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of numbers of things
na'êstse hetane  one man
na'ëstse kâhámáxe  one stick
neše máheonôtse  two houses
neve he'eo'o     four women
noho ka'ëskôneho  five children
naesohto pôesonô  six cats
nésó'e mo'kéhanôtse twenty shoes

Numbers of times
This set of numbers tells how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10. These numbers are sometimes called multiplicative numbers:

no'ka  once
nexa  twice
na'ha  3 times
neva  4 times
néhôna  5 times
naesohto  6 times
naesohto  7 times
na'nohto  8 times
sóhto  9 times
máhtóhto  10 times
(máhtóhto) hóhta no'ka  11 times
(máhtóhto) hóhta nexa  12 times
nésó'e  20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
no'ka máhtóhtôhnô'e  100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
no'ka vonoéstônéstóva  1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

Examples of numbers of times
1. Nó'ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no'ka ho'ne'ëstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámôhtsêñnéstóva tsênëhe'ësêvoënéstse 'Twice tepee raising that's how long his face is' (This is a funny phrase said by a lady related to a man who had a long face, whom she wished to shame for having beaten his wife. It can be paraphrased as something like "His face is so long he could pitch two tepees on it").
4. Neva náhoxéhé'ëséva.?? 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.'

Numbers of groups
These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

nó'kóve  one group
nésóve  two groups
ná'nóve  three groups
névóve  four groups
nóhônóve  five groups
naesohtôhnóve  six groups
nésóhtôhnóve  seven groups
na'nohtôhnóve  eight groups
sóohtóhnóvé nine groups
máhtóhtóhnóvé ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo’kéhanótse two pairs of shoes
névévé xamaeo’éstanéo’ó four tribes of Indians
nóhónóvé nótaxeo’ó five bands of warriors

**Numbers of days**
A number preverb can occur with a noun suffix /-éš/ meaning 'day' to indicate how many days (actually overnights) of time have elapsed.

- no’kēē’éše one day\(^{157}\)
- néšéé’ėše two days
- na’hēē’ėše three days
- névéé’ėše four days
- nóhonéé’ėše five days

Examples in sentences:
Névéé’ėše móhnéma’eméohehevéhé. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

**Days of a month (Calendar days)**

Days of a month use the numbers for number of times plus a verb that literally means 'it has come to that amount.' For example, the first day of a month is no’ka ého’oeme, literally meaning "once (the day) has come to that amount:

1. No’ka ého’oeme
2. Nexa ého’oeme
3. Na’ha ého’oeme
4. Neva ého’oeme
5. Nóhona ého’oeme
6. Naesóhtoха ého’oeme
7. Nésóhtoха ého’oeme
8. Na’nóhtoха ého’oeme
9. Sóóhtoха ého’oeme
10. Máhtóhtoха ého’oeme
11. Máhtóhtoха hóhta no’ka ého’oeme
12. Máhtóhtoха hóhta nexa ého’oeme
13. Máhtóhtoха hóhta na’ha ého’oeme
14. Máhtóhtoха hóhta neva ého’oeme
15. Máhtóhtoха hóhta nóhona ého’oeme
16. Máhtóhtoха hóhta naesóhtoха ého’oeme
17. Máhtóhtoха hóhta nésóhtoха ého’oeme

\(^{157}\) That is, one overnight.
Numbers in verbs
Cheyenne numbers appear in several verb constructions. They can occur as preverbs, initials, and roots of verbs.

Number preverbs
Here are some number preverbs:

- no'ke- one
- néše- two
- na'he- three
- néve- four
- nóhone- five

Examples with number preverbs
- Ná-no'ke-ene. I stayed one night.
- Ná-néše-ene. I stayed two nights.
- É-néše-éno'e. It's the second day of the week.
- Nána'he-enō'tse. I camped three nights.
- É-na'he-némeneo'o. There are three of them singing.
- É-néve-éno'e. It was four overnights ago.
- Vé'ho'éotóá'e tse-néve-ôhta. The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
- É-nóhone-aénáma. He is five years old.

Number initials
Here are some number initials:

- no'k- one
- nés- two
- na'n- three
- név- four
- nóhon- five
Examples with number initials

É-néso'eme. He/It costs two (dollars).
É-na'noéséne. Three hang. (e.g of three stars in a constellation)
É-névanêne. He did it four times.
É-nóhon-o'eme. He/It costs five (dollars).

Number roots

Number roots occur with both animate and inanimate subjects. Animate subjects can be of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate subjects

É-no'kahe. There is one of him/her.
É-néšeo'o. There are two of them (animate).
Ná-néšéme. There are two of us (exclusive).
É-na'heo'o. There are three of them (animate).
É-néve'o. There are four of them (animate).
É-nóhoneo'o. There are five of them (animate).
É-naesóhtóxéo'o. There are six of them (animate).
É-na'nohtóxéo'o. There are eight of them (animate).
É-sóohtóxéo'o. There are nine of them (animate).
É-máhtóhtóxéo'o. There are ten of them (animate).
É-néso'o'heo'o. There are twenty of them (animate).
É-néso'o'ënéstse. There are twenty of them (inanimate).

Inanimate subjects

É-nó'ka'e. There is one of it.
É-néxánéstse. There are two of them (inanimate).
É-na'hánéstse. There are three of them (inanimate).
É-névanéstse. There are four of them (inanimate).
É-nóhonánéstse. There are five of them (inanimate).
É-naesóhtóhánéstse. There are six of them (inanimate).
É-nésohtóhánéstse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
É-na'nohtóhánéstse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
É-sóohtóhánéstse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
É-máhtóhtóhánéstse. There are ten of them (inanimate).

Numbers as participles

Number roots occur in participles that refer to either animate or inanimate things. The participles can take subjects of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate Intransitive participles

tsé-no'kaestse the one (animate) which is one in number
tséh-no'káhêto by myself, I alone
néh-no'káhêto I alone
néh-néšése both of you (plural)
tsé-néšese the two of them (animate)
tsé-na'hese the three of them (animate)
tsé-névese the four of them (animate)
tsé-nóhonese the five of them (animate)
tsé-naesóhtoxese the six of them (animate)
hotóhke'o tsé-nésóhtoxese the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
tsé-na'nóhtoxese the eight of them (animate)
tsé-sóohtoxese the nine of them (animate)
tsé-máhtóhtoxese the ten of them (animate)

Inanimate Intransitive participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé-nó'ka'e</td>
<td>that which is number one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé-néxa'e</td>
<td>that which is number two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé-na'ha'e</td>
<td>that which is number three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé-néva'e</td>
<td>that which is number four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé-na'nóht hatse tséhoéstose</td>
<td>eighth graders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sequence numbers (Ordinal numbers)**

Sequential numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. These are also sometimes called ordinal numbers. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónéto/ indicates number sequence. Sequential numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

- É-no'ka'ónéto. It is the first one.
- tsé-no'ka'ónéto the first one
- É-néxa'ónéto. It is the second one
- tsé-néxa'ónéto the second one
- tsé-na'ha'ónéto the third one
- É-néva'ónéto. It is the fourth one.
- tsé-nóhona'ónéto the fifth one
- tsé-naesóhtóhna'ónéto the sixth one
- tsé-nésóhtóhna'ónéto the seventh one
- tsé-na'nóhtóhna'ónéto the eighth one
- tsé-sóohtóhna'ónéto the ninth one

$\$CHECK FOR EXAMPLES WITH ANIMATE SUBJECTS, e.g. 'he is the second one'

**Group number verbs**

Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátó/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

- É-nésováhe'o. There are three groups (animate).
- É-névoahe'o. There are four groups (animate).
- É-névovátónéstse. There are four groups (inanimate).

Numbers in days of the week

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:
Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:

Éno'keén'oe. Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
Énéšééno'oe. Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
Éna'heén'oe. It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day. ')
Énévéén'oe. It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day. ')
Étšëške'ma'heónééšeeve. It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day. ')
Éma'heónééšeeve. It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holdy day. ')
Éénema'heónééšeeve. It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day. ')

Montana days of the week

No'ka éšéeva Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšéeva Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na'ha éšéeva Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšeeva Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhona éšeeva Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšëške'ma'heónééšeeva Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heónééšeeva Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Language change

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let’s outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
hē'e (PA **eθkwe-ya, "woman")
hetane (PA *er$senjiwa, "man")
matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
§é'se
sémo

158 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
PA: Cheyenne correspondences

Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More recent Cheyenne sound changes

We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition

We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>modern Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>azesc</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>oxzem</td>
<td>hōhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho’óhomo’eo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxooxzz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo’ohtsév’éstse 'grass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simplification

Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.

Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:
Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns.

**Obviation regularization**

Cheyenne obviatives have been undergoing some regularization. Remember that Cheyenne, like other Algonquian languages, allows only one third person to be in focus at any one time. Any other third person is moved out of focus. It is called an obviative. A third person which remains in focus is called a proximate. Obviated nouns take an obviative suffix. Verbs which have obviated objects take obviative suffixes, as well.

Some proximate and obviative nouns, along with the phonemic spelling of the proximate, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Traditional Pronunciation</th>
<th>Younger Speaker Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>mahtamaháháhe</td>
<td>tamaháháhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe‘éstoo’o</td>
<td>xe‘éstoo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánohtséstóvo</td>
<td>nánéstóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>menéstse ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>néstótse</td>
<td>stótsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kills On the Water</td>
<td>Mähpevana’hâne</td>
<td>Pevana’hâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>névómátse</td>
<td>névóméstse ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization

Regularization

Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns.

**Examples**

Some proximate and obviative nouns, along with the phonemic spelling of the proximate, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>/he‘é/</td>
<td>hē’e</td>
<td>he’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>/hetane/</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clock</td>
<td>/éše’he/</td>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>éše’hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>/ho’óho’mo‘é/</td>
<td>Ho’óhomō’e</td>
<td>Ho’óhomo’óho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the obviative suffix on these nouns is –óho. However, if a noun ended with a phonemic high pitch, it traditionally would take a low pitched suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hésé</td>
<td>heso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho’honáé/</td>
<td>ho’honáá’e</td>
<td>ho’honaa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/nóte/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>noto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé’e/</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>pe’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé’šé/</td>
<td>šé’šé</td>
<td>še’xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel. For several decades many fluent speakers have been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

By the 2020’s most Cheyenne speakers no longer use any obviative endings on nouns.

The same regularization is occurring with verbs which are marked for obviation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic stem</th>
<th>older</th>
<th>newer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is praying</td>
<td>/-háóéná/</td>
<td>éháoenaho??</td>
<td>éháóénáho ??$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he loves her (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/</td>
<td>éméhoto</td>
<td>éméhótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méót/</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>éméótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he ate him (obv)</td>
<td>/-mév/</td>
<td>émevo</td>
<td>émévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) invited to feast</td>
<td>/-mó'é/</td>
<td>émó'ó</td>
<td>émó'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she suckled him (obv)</td>
<td>/-néh/</td>
<td>éneho</td>
<td>énéhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is nursing</td>
<td>/-néne/</td>
<td>éneno</td>
<td>énénóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are two of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-nése/</td>
<td>énexo</td>
<td>énéxóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are four of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néve/</td>
<td>énevo</td>
<td>énévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he hates him (obv)</td>
<td>/-péót/</td>
<td>épéoto</td>
<td>épéótóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older pronunciation has a low-pitched ending if the stem-final vowel is high-pitched. The regularized pronunciation has a high pitch on the first vowel of the obviative suffix, regardless of the pitch of the stem-final vowel.

**Regularization of the TI theme sign**

A increasing number of speakers regularize the TI theme sign to /á/ instead of retaining the older /ó/ theme sign which occurred in TI negative verbs. The theme sign vowels are underlined in these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>positive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older negative</th>
<th>newer negative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóóhta</td>
<td>I saw it</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>I did not see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhestaña</td>
<td>he took it</td>
<td>ésáahestanóhe</td>
<td>ésáahestanóhe</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne’ena</td>
<td>I know it</td>
<td>násáahéne'enóhe</td>
<td>násáahéne'enóhe</td>
<td>I do not know it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Regularization of irregular possessives**

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>irregular</th>
<th>regular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénove 'my home'</td>
<td>navénove ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nétőve</td>
<td>navétőve ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Idiolectal changes
Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change
Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of words do also. $$
vé'ho'e trickster ~ creator > whiteman ~ job role$$
-o'ha dog > horse
hótame dog > domesticated animal

Borrowing
Cheyenne includes words borrowed from other languages.

Sound translations
A sound translation is a kind of borrowing that adapts the sounds of a word in one language to the sounds of another language.

The Cheyenne word heávohe 'devil' appears to be a borrowing from Spanish, from contact with Mexicans, of their word for the devil, "diablo". This kind of borrowing is sometimes called a sound translation. The sounds of "diablo" have been adapted to sound more like a Cheyenne word.

One Cheyenne word meaning '25 cents' is tôhëvetse, phonetically [tʰoʊvɪc]. This is a sound translation from the English term "two bits" which was used commonly in the past to refer to a 25 cent coin.

A century or so ago Cheyennes adapted the name of the capital of the United States, Washington, pronouncing it as Vášétaēno. This is a sound translation of the word "Washington" plus the Cheyenne locative suffix –no which means 'place'.

Loan translations
Cheyennes traditionally had no greetings or leavetakings. After bilingualism with English increased, Cheyennes literally translated English greetings and leavetakings to Cheyenne. These have been used for several decades by at least some Cheyenne speakers.

Greetings
Pévevúona'o 'Good morning'
Péveéšeeva 'Good day'
Pévéhetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa'ēva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:

Épévevúonā'o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévēhetōeve 'It's a good evening'
Épēvetaa'eve 'It's a good night'

**Good-bye**

The English leavetaking 'good-bye' (historically shortened from "God be with you") has not been literally translated to Cheyenne. Instead, Cheyennes have borrowed English "See you later!" as a leavetaking used by many speakers for many decades. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as the following fully inflected verb:

Nêstaévhōhōsōomståse 'I'll see you again later.'

**Other loan translations**

The Cheyenne verb náē’ahē means 'I am out of money' (literally, 'I - broken'). This appears to be a semantic borrowing from the English idiom "I am broke". The Cheyenne sign that accompanies this verb is the same sign used for something that is literally broken.

Other semantic borrowings are: $$

Cheyennes enjoy translating other English idioms literally to Cheyenne and then laughing about how silly they sound. Some examples are:

Né(tó'eta)pónōhta $$$?? toóneho'o! You hit the nail on the head!

We're scraping the bottom of the barrel.$$

During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-mā'xemenē-he'anačto 'It's plum easy'

The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /-he'anačto/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma'xenēhotoanāčto 'It's plum difficult'. Cheyennes enjoy playing with words.

If enough Cheyennes like the literally translated idioms they sometimes become more widely used.

**Creation of new words**

Cheyennes create new words when the need arises. Most new words are descriptive, made up of smaller meaning parts. Some created words have been used for so long that they are no longer thought of a new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.

**Older created words**

Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>vé'ho'é-ōtōa'e</td>
<td>whiteman-buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stable</td>
<td>mo'ēhno'hamé-máchō'o</td>
<td>horse-house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recently created words

Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more Cheyennes knew about them:

$$ (see file DKMC signs.doc)$$
$$ (see file Medical Terms.doc)$$

Storybook
Bulletin board
Computer
Blender
microwave
High pitch mark
Mountain Dew
Wrist watch
RV

The Cheyenne lexicon

The lexicon of a language is its entire inventory of words (vocabulary) and other important meaning parts (morphemes). The lexicon also should indicate relationships among the words. The Cheyenne lexicon is found in dictionaries of Cheyenne. The most recent dictionary is titled Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to include all the words and lexical relationships among them in the Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to write the words in the dictionary are accurately as
possible. An online version of this dictionary can be accessed at this Internet address:

http://cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index.html

The online dictionary includes links to audio files so that thousands of the words and other morphemes in the dictionary can be heard.

Study of the Cheyenne lexicon is very interesting. Through study of the Cheyenne lexicon we can learn so many interesting things about how Cheyenne speakers say words.

One word or two words

An interesting thing to learn when studying the lexicon of a language is whether it uses one or more words for something. Different languages use different numbers of words to refer to the same thing. Such differences between languages are interesting. If all the flowers in the world had the same color and shape, flowers would be a little boring. It’s the same way with languages. If all languages said everything the same way, they would not be as interesting as they are. Differences among flowers, animals, people, cultures, and languages are interesting and beautiful. Just because one language says something one way and another language says it a different way is not a cause for shame or a feeling that one language is better than another language, regardless of what you might have been taught about your language by schoolteachers or others.

Monomials

If a language uses a single word for something, that word is called a monomial. Some English monomials are "baby", "child", "dog", "water", "tree", and "always". Cheyenne has monomials (single words) that match those English words: mé’ëševotse 'baby', ka’ëškóne 'child', oeškëse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtsëstse 'tree', and mé’ëstse 'always'.

Binomials

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kásovááhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka’ëškóne, literally "male-child". For now, we will consider a compound word as a kind of binomial (double word). Which is the better way of referring to a boy, the single English word "boy" or the Cheyenne double word, "hetané-ka’ëškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>binomial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kásovááhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'éehe</td>
<td>young woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’hāhkéso</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáhááhe</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes a language can say something with a single word that is said by an entire sentence in another language. Cheyenne verbs are single words (monomials), often with several smaller parts (morphemes). But Cheyenne single word verbs usually must be translated as entire sentences in English. Neither way is better than the other. Both ways of saying the same thing are good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékóka'xe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháéána.</td>
<td>I'm hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nééséméshéhe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo'kóho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáatséhe'ševóomatséhe.</td>
<td>I never see you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantic ranges

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. $$\text{DESCRIBE THE DETAILS, TRY TO SHOW THEM WITH SEMANTIC RANGE CIRCLES}$$

$$\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION}$$ Even if something cannot be said as concisely in one language as it is said in another language, usually there is some way to express the same meaning, even if it takes more words than another languages uses to do so.

It isn't said

Some things are simply not said, at least not yet, in a language. That does not mean, however, that they cannot be said in that language. I am often asked how to say something in Cheyenne. Sometimes I have to answer, "I don't know. I have never heard that said. But if Cheyennes decide to say that in Cheyenne, it can be said and it might become a regular part of the language." Here are some things which I don't think are said yet in Cheyenne:
Happy birthday!  
Merry Christmas!

Again, just because these things are not said in Cheyenne, does not mean that English is a better language than Cheyenne. It just means that Cheyennes have not felt a need yet, or a strong enough need, to say these things in Cheyenne. In the case of "Merry Christmas!", the concept of Christmas was brought to the Cheyennes, probably in the 1800s. So, obviously, Cheyennes would not have said "Merry Christmas!" before they knew about Christmas. Cheyennes do just fine today saying things like "Merry Christmas!" in English and other things, if they wish, in Cheyenne.

Lexical relationships

Lexical relationships are systematic relationships among the words of a language. Following are descriptions of some of the most important lexical relationships in Cheyenne.

Plurals

Animacy pairs

Diminutives

Antonyms

Synonyms

Hyponyms

Figurative language

Figurative language is the use of speech to express meanings different from the literal meanings of words used. Cheyenne figurative language includes metaphors, similes, and idioms. In examples that follow, the literal meaning of an expression is given in parentheses after its figurative meaning.

Énéšetaneva.??  He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).
Éhéstova'kehe.  He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)
Ého'néhevēhōhtse.  She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)
Épeeēse.  He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)
Éhesō'xo'ěsta.  He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)
Énéhestáha.  He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)
ó'kohóme  sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)
Éó'kóhoméheve'ěxáne.  He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)
Énéhpöése ma'ěno.  It’s foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)
Náméváá'e.  They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)
Heávohe nětáxe'há'tova.  You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)
Hesevávónó'e a'ě hestonovónó'e!  Wow, that’s amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)
Vó'kéme éhonóva.  It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit.,

Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)
oonáhā'ě máxhevéesěvōhtse  never (lit., when frogs have teeth)
Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé’hó’e (white people) and their educational, business, and entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman, 1984), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers (combine with the numbers on pages 281ff)

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.

Birds

Trees

$OTHER SEMANTIC DOMAINS
Colors

Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. $$FILL\ OUT\ THIS\ SECTION\ AND\ INCLUDE\ COLOR\ SECTION\ FROM\ THE\ FIRST\ EDITIONS\ OF\ THIS\ BOOK$$
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>étónetóhtáhave</td>
<td>What color is he? What color is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étónetóhtáhávavo?o</td>
<td>What color are they (an)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étónetóhtáhávávenéstse</td>
<td>What color are they (inan)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étónetova</td>
<td>What color is his fur, How is he furred?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étóneto?évæva</td>
<td>What color is his skin?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>It is ___</th>
<th>He is ___</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>émo?óhtávæo</td>
<td>émo?óhtávéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>émo?ókóhtávæo</td>
<td>émo?ókóhtávéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>éctá?távæo</td>
<td>éctá?távéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>émo?ómcsékánøo</td>
<td>émo?ómcsékanæhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, tan</td>
<td>éno?óno</td>
<td>éno?óna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>épó?óo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>éhoxo?óhtsévo</td>
<td>éhoxo?óhtsévahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>éma?éheóvo</td>
<td>éma?éheóva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple</td>
<td>éhoxo?óhkhó?so</td>
<td>éhoxo?óhkhó?sææhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>éma?ó?ó</td>
<td>éma?óta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évo?ó?ómo</td>
<td>évo?otmahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évo?ó?ókómo</td>
<td>évo?ókomæhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white, light</td>
<td>évo?ó?óho</td>
<td>évo?óhopæhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>éheó?óvo</td>
<td>éheó?óvæhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| éheó?óvæva     | He is yellow-furred.      |
| épsæ?éphæva    | He has nice fur.          |
| évo?o?né?óvæva | He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored. |
| éhoxo?óhkhó?sóva | He is chestnut-colored. |
| éma?óvéphæ?etæ?óvæva | He is buckskin. |
| éno?ó?óvæ?óvæva | He is tan-colored.       |
| évo?ó?óphæ?asa   | He is pinto.              |

COLOR PARTICIPLES:
- tsé?óvævo: the yellow one (inan)
- tsé?óvævo?o?éstæse: the yellow ones (inan)
- tsé?óvæøëstæse: the yellow one (an)
- tsé?óvæ?óvæhæse: the yellow ones (an)
- tsé?óvæ?óøtæse: the red ones (an)

COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":
- heó?ovëæ?æ: yellow feather
- vó?he?næk?hæ: polar bear (white-bear)

COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:
- éheó?ovë?ë: He has yellow hair.
- éma?ó?ë: He has a red nose.
**Kinship terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the one who is ___</th>
<th>the one who is my ___</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhestovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéhétó</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéškéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéškéto</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméšéméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheméšéméto</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéškenéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéškenéto</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhee?hahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhee?hahéto</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónáhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestónáhétó</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéxahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéxahéto</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestatanéméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestatanéméto</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméxhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheméhétó</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheváseméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheváseméto</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?néhestovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?néhétó</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéšsónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéšsónéto</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheaxáa?éheméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheaxáa?éhéméto</td>
<td>sister (man's), sis-in-law (fem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéxestovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéxétó</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheškamónéto</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheštaméto</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevé?tovéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevé?tovéto</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?haméhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?haméhétó</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?haméhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?haméhétó</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhesténotahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhesténotahéto</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestse?éméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestse?éméto</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehaméto</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehamónéto</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?hamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?hamónéto</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehamónéto</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhenésónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhenésónahéto</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)*
Medical terms

Neto'sev'hoomatse.
Tosa'e nëhâama'ca?
Tosa'e nënësìohtse?
Nëhâamâ'tahe nëtonêye?
Nëhośe'eh?
Nëtonëštohësë'e'hamache?
Nënonësìohtsehe hetsëohe?
Nësonëoñeohtsehe, OR,
Nëanëyënohe?
Në'seëtexthe'henëtse! 
Në'to'xõtvahtse!
Në'tse-omotëmëstse!
Enëmotômëstëstse!
Nëto'sev'hóóôta nëstovoo'ôtse.
Nëto'sësönoomëane.
Nëhoveo'ëstse!
Hâmëstoo'ëstse!
Nëto'seëahëta nëstëstësta.
Nëstëstësta epëhëva'e.
Nëtonëstëhësëahëna?
Etonëstëhësëshë'hama?
Nëta'tëne'ëmëhâmëmëhtësta?
Nëtonëtomënochtahe?
Nëhësësëvënomëhtëhënahe?
Hëhe'e, nëhësësëvënomëhtëtahe.
Nëhâmëmëhtëhënahe.
Nëtonëstëhësëhënohe?
Nëhâmëm'ëvahësehe?
Nëto'ëxvëvëmëhtëtahe?
Nëto'hëkaka'hëmëhtëtëhe.
Nëhëmëhësëhëmëhtëtahe.
Nëvë'ëkëmëhëmëhtëhënahe?
Nëvë'ëkëmëhëmëhtëtahe.
Nëmësë'hahëhë?
Nëohepëhëvënaëhtësehe, OR,
Nëohepëhëvëvënomëanehe?
Nëdëo'ëhëtahe?
Nënomëohtëhëtahe?
Nënomëohtëtëhta.
He'ëhëta hësëco'ôtse nëmëhëtanëmëo'ô!
He'ëhëta hësëco'ôtse amëmëmëamëne'ô!
No'ëka hëstëtanëmëo'ô
mësëa'ëkëmëshëhëto!
Nëxëa hëstëtanëmëo'ô
mësëa'ëkëmënaëotsëhëto!
Na'sëtsë hëstëtanëmëo'ô nëvë
no'ëka-eësëva!
Evé'ëhëhe'hëto?
Nëohepëhëhehtësehe?
Na'tëse'mëme 'he'ëmëmësta.
Nëhe'ëhëhëhë?
Nëhe'ëhëhëhë.

I'm going to check you.
Where do you hurt?
Where do you have pain?
Does your belly hurt?
Are you pregnant?
How many months (pregnant) are you?
Does it hurt here?

Have you started labor?
Take your shirt, coat, off!
Take your pants off?
Take a deep breath!
Stop breathing!
I'm going to look at your ear.
You are going to have an x-ray.
Stand up!
Sit down!
I'm going to listen to your heart.
Your heart is good.
How old are you?
How many months old is he?
How long have you been sick?
How do you feel?
Do you feel bad?
Yes, I feel bad.
I feel sick.
How many children have you borne?
Did you hurt yourself?
How sick do you feel?
I'm a little sick.
I'm really sick.
Are you a diabetic?
I'm a diabetic.
Do you have a fever?

Do you sleep well?
Are you constipated?
Do you have diarrhea?
I have diarrhea.
Take this medicine!
Drink this medicine!

Take one before you eat!

Take two before you sleep!

Take one four times per day!
Is it a sharp pain?
Do you vomit?
My blood pressure is high.
Do you cough?
I cough, have a cold.
Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since éšé'he 'sun' is animate, any verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the position of the sun required animate subjects. Cheyennes extended use of the word for 'sun' to refer to clocks. Oklahoma Cheyennes also adopted an additional word for 'clock', kó'ko'éhasēō'o, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

Tóne'še ého'óése éšé'he? ?? What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)
Tóne'še ého'óésta? What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)
Étóne'ého'óése (éšē'he)? What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?] for days of the week.
Étóne'ého'óésta? What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)

Times of the day

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

Éasevō'néoh'tse. It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)
Éhosóvoomáño'e. It's dawn.
Éhosóvoomaēoh'tse. It's dawning.
Éméovóonā'o. It's early morning.
Évōonā'o It's morning.
Émésēhēvoésta. It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)
Ésétovoésta. It's noon.
Éšē(hehpē)sétovoésta. It's afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]
Éhomọ́ẹ. It's almost sunset time.
Ékāhoése. It's close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]
Éhetóeve. It's evening.
Étaa'ee. It's night.
Ésétohtaa'eeve. It's midnight. (lit., it's middle-night)

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

tséhméovóonā'o when it was early morning
ntséhvóonā'o when it was morning
ntséssétovoésta when it was noon
ntséxhetóeve when it was evening
tséstaa'ève  when it was night
tséssétõhtaa'ève  when it was midnight

**Future times**
Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovónā'o  when it is early morning
máhvónā'o  when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovóésta  when it is noon
máxhetõeève  when it is evening
??  when it is night
mássétõhtaa'ève  when it is midnight

**Time nouns**
There are some Cheyenne time nouns, although they are not used as commonly as English time nouns are:

ešé  day
táa'e  night

**Temporal particles**
The temporal / locative suffix /-vá/ is added to time nouns to refer to periods of time:

éšēevā  in the daytime, yesterday
hetōevā  in the evening
taa'ēvā  at night
sétōhtaaēvā  at midnight, in the middle of the night
oéšēevā  daily
totāaēvā  nightly

**Hours**
There are commonly used forms for telling time by hours. The forms occur as independent or conjunct order verbs. Conjunct verbs occur either in the indicative mode to refer to time which is past, or the potential mode to refer to time which is in the future.

**Independent order time verbs**
Ééšeno'kõxe'oehe.  It’s 1 o’clock.
Ééšenēsõxe'oehe.  It’s 2 o’clock.
Ééšena'nõxe'oehe.  It’s 3 o’clock.
Ééšenēvõxe'oehe.  It’s 4 o’clock.
Ééšenōhonõxe'oehe.  It’s 5 o’clock.
Ééšenaesõhtõxe'oehe.  It’s 6 o’clock.
Ééšenēsõhtõhnõxe'oehe.  It’s 7 o’clock.
Ééšena'nõhtõxe'oehe.  It’s 8 o’clock.
Ééšesõohtõxe'oehe.  It’s 9 o’clock.
Ééšemāhtõhtõxe'oehe.  It’s 10 o’clock.
Ééšehōhtahnōkõxe'oehe.  It’s 11 o’clock.
Ééšehōhtahnēsõxe'oehe.  It’s 12 o’clock.
It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
It's 10 o'clock at night.
It's 4:30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past hours</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhno'kóxe'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 1 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhnésóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 2 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhna'nóxe'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 3 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhnévóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 4 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhnóhonóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 5 o'clock</td>
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<td>tséssóóhtóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 9 o'clock</td>
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<td>tséhmáhtóóhtóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 10 o'clock</td>
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<td>máxhóhtahnó'kóxe'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 11 o'clock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máxhóhtahnsóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it was 12 o'clock</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future hours</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máhno'kóxe'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 1 o'clock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhnésóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 2 o'clock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhna'nóxe'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 3 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>máhnévóóxé'ohe</td>
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<td>máhna'nóhtóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 8 o'clock</td>
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<tr>
<td>másoóhtóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 9 o'clock</td>
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<td>máhmáhtóóhtóóxé'ohe</td>
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<td>máxhóhtahnsóóxé'ohe</td>
<td>when it's 12 o'clock</td>
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</table>

Seasons
Names for the seasons are constructed from a noun stem and the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

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<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aénéva</td>
<td>winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matsé'oméva</td>
<td>spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méanéva</td>
<td>summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tónóéva</td>
<td>fall, autumn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Months

There is no standard agreed upon list of Cheyenne names for the months. Instead, English names for months have been regularly used for many decades. However, some knowledge does remain of months or periods of time close to months. It is very possible that there never was a list of exactly twelve month names. Some information seems to suggest that some of the original month names did not correspond exactly to month divisions found on calendars in use today. More common month (or "moon") names may have originally been names for some of the major seasons and weather changes. It has been said that, traditionally, there were only six Cheyenne names for divisions of the years. There is often interest, however, in trying to construct a list of twelve month names. Cheyenne speakers have suggested various alternatives for month names. Sometimes there is disagreement as to which month is referred to by a term.

Here is one list which is in used on a Cheyenne calendar which has been distributed annually for many years. There has never been any official endorsement of this particular set of names, so Cheyennes should feel free to improve upon this list if improvement is possible at this date in history.

In the following lists a Cheyenne name for a month is given first, then its literal meaning, then a month on the "white" calendar that it may correspond to:

- Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January
- Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasenéeše'he, Drying Up Moon: March
- Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April
- Énano'eše'he, Planting Moon: June
- Méanéeše'he, Summer Moon: July
- Oenenéeše'he, Harvest Moon: August
- Tonóeše'he, Cool Moon: September
- Sé'énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
- He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November
- Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:

- He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
- Tšé'khohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasenéehe, Drying Up: March (or April)
- Heš'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heš'évenéhe)
- Heš'évéñehёéše'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
- Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
- É'omeéše'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
Sétovémanéše'he, Midsummer Moon: July
Hémotséése'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
Tonóevése'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé'eneése'he, Facing Into Moon: October
Se'ma'omevése'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
Heše'kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
Sétovéaénéése'he, Midwinter Moon: December

Days of the week
In Oklahoma the first day of the week begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Following are Cheyenne names for days of the week.

Montana days of the week
No'ka éšéeva  Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšéeva  Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na'ha éšéeva  Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšéeva  Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhona éšéeva  Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšéške'ma'heóneése'eva  Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heóneése'eva  Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Oklahoma days of the week
Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:160
Éno'keéno'e.  Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
Énëšééno'e.  Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
Éna'heéno'e.  It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
Énévééno'e.  It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')
Étsëške'ma'heóneéseve.  It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
Éma'heóneéseve.  It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')
Éénema'heóneéseve.  It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')

Montana past days of the week
No'ka tsé'éšéeve when it was Monday
Nexa tsé'éšéeve when it was Tuesday
Na'ha tsé'éšéeve when it was Wednesday
Neva tsé'éšéeve when it was Thursday
Nóhona tsé'éšéeve when it was Friday
Tšéstšëške'ma'heóneéseve?? when it was Saturday
Tséhma'heóneéseve when it was Sunday

Montana future days of the week
No'ka ma'éšéeve when it is Monday
Nexa ma'éšéeve when it is Tuesday
Na'ha ma'éšéeve when it is Wednesday

160 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Overnights
Cheyennes refer to the passage of time both in terms of how many overnights have occurred and in terms of how many days have gone by.

Some particles and verb finals /-éno/e/ and /-éno'tse/ refer to time spent as overnights:

-éno/e final
The verb final –éno/e refers to how many overnights have gone by:

Étanéšeéno/e. It was two days (lit., overnights) ago.

É-améstóheéno/e. It is a week.
ma'taaméstóheéno/e in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma’tahóseaméstóheéno/e next week

-éno’tse final
The verb final –eno’tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenō'tse. He camped one night.
Énéšeenō’tse. He camped two nights.

Numbers of days
Numbers of days can refer to how many days ago something happened or how many days it will be until something happens in the future:

no'kéé’ėše one day
néšée’ėše two days
na’heé’ėše three days
névéé’ėše four days
nóhonée’ėše five days
naesóhtóhéé’ėše six days
nésóhtóhéé’ėše seven days
na’nóhtóhéé’ėše eight days
sóóhtóhéé’ėše nine days
máhtóhtóhéé’ėše ten days

Numbers of weeks
$$??$$

Numbers of months
$$??$$

A number preverb plus the verb stem -éše'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??
Éno'keéše'hāma.  He's one month old.
Énéveéše'hāma.  He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étonéstōhe-éše'hāma?  How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énēhestōhe-éše'hāma.  That's how many months she has (= her months are up; she is due to deliver her child).

Numbers of years

$\$He's so many years old, etc.

Énō'keaénáma.  He's one year old.
Énéšeaénáma.  He's two years old.

A number plus the noun stem –aa'e 'year' tells how many years something occurred or how many years ago something occurred:

no'keāā'e  for one year
néšēāā'e  for two years
na'heāā'e  for three years

No'keāā'e étanēhe'xove.  It's been one year ago.

Temporal particles

Some particles refer to time:

á'e  soon\textsuperscript{161}
ta'ë  until
hehpeto  later
nenōveto  shortly, a little while later
maato  in the future\textsuperscript{162}
hákō'ë  far in the past\textsuperscript{163}
tōtseha  long ago
evaveto  back then
nōmōse  a long time
sētō'e'sē  at the same time
vétséno  right then

Temporal suffix particles

Some time particles referring to the length of time have the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

kášē'xóvéva  for a short time
hāë'xóvéva  for a long time

\textsuperscript{161} Á'e can also refer to being physically close.
\textsuperscript{162} Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
\textsuperscript{163} Hákō'ë can also refer to far distance.
Temporal preverbs

Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

- háa'éše- for a long time, late
- nenóve- for a short while
- he'ěše- as long as
- he'še- during
- éše- already
- móne- recently
- nésta- previously
- voněše- for a long time
- vóone- all night
- sē'hove- suddenly

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs

Examples from dictionary

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Onomatopoeia

Some words sound like the things they refer to. This association between the sounds of things and activities and words that refer to them is called onomatopoeia. There are a number of words in Cheyenne which are onomatopoeic. Often the onomatopoeia is found in repetition of Cheyenne sounds, related to as reduplication. Onomatopoeic words need to appear in a thorough lexicon of the Cheyenne language.

šéšeno  rattle
šéšenovôte  snake
Évávahee.  He's swinging.
heváhkema  butterfly
po'po'ho'hóvahtôte  firecracker, motorcycle
Épó'ého'he.  He was fired / He had a blowout.
pó'ého'hémahpe  beer (lit., exploding water)
pó'po'ho'hémáhaemenötse  popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)
Épá'panestse.  He repeatedly farted.
kokhéáxa  chicken
kó'konóxeéstónestótse  typewriter (lit., pecking thing)
kó'ko'èhaseë'o  clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)
hevovetāso  whirlwind, dragonfly

Translation

$DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE. Describe literal and idiomatic translation. (Include mention of the late Tom Gardner's stating that we needed "thought translation", which would be a good way of referring to idiomatic translation.) Include translation of figures of speech. Address the issue that some things said in one language sometimes do not have a translation equivalent in another language, e.g. Merry Christmas, Happy Birthday. Address the difference between: (1) Can this be said? vs. (2) Is this actually said? Discuss the CAN(A) acronym standard for acceptable translation: Clear, Accurate, Natural, (Acceptable). $DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.

Literal translation

A literal translation translates the form of the individual parts of an expression in the source language (the language you are translating from). All around the world many people assume that a literal translation is the best and most accurate kind of translation. But literal translation often are not adequate. Often they communicate a different meaning from the meaning of the original source language expression. And one of the most basic principles to follow for accuracy in translation is not to change the meaning during translation.

Cheyennes find great humor in literal translations which have some translations have made which do not communicate the right meaning. $INCLUDE EXAMPLES FROM PAPER ON CHEYENNE TRANSLATION HUMOR, INCLUDING THE STORY OF "slide home" Cheyennes laugh at these stories because they recognize that the literal translation was not adequate to translate the intended meaning. So what principles should be followed to make a translation that is adequate? We try to answer this important question in the next section.
Translation equivalence

Literal translations are often not adequate because they sound unnatural. And they often do not communicate the original meaning very well. Instead of translating literally, better translation may be found by using translation equivalents which are already in use in the language and function as close as possible to how an expression functions in the translation source language.

When translating from one language to another, it is helpful to try to find the closest natural translation equivalent as possible. By this we mean that a translation should be natural in the target language and also has the same meaning as what you are translating from in the source language. Translation equivalence is a complicated topic that deserves much more attention that we can give it here.

We can find some guidance in the search for natural translation equivalents by looking at how Cheyennes have created new words in the past. You might want to review the preceding section titled "Creation of new words". Cheyennes created a fine word for an airplane. They could have tried to literally translate the English word "airplane" so that the translation would include the Cheyenne word for air, omotome. But that is not what Cheyennes did. Instead, they created a word that describes what an airplane does. They used the verb stem –ame'há 'fly', already widely used by Cheyenne speakers, and turned it into a noun, ame'hahtȯtse, literally 'flying thing'. The Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amaho'he 'to go along by heat' and turned it into nouns, animate amâhohéhe and inanimate amâho'hestȯtse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in use in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let's think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa'ẽ ẽmōna'ẽ which literally means "The year is new." Now, this expression doesn't initially sound like it has the same meaning as English "Happy New Year!" But it is what Cheyennes have said at the beginning of a new year, for as long as they have known about the ending and beginning of a year. Even though the English and Cheyenne expressions do not literally mean the same thing, the Cheyenne saying can be at least a first candidate as a translation equivalent, since it performs much of the same cultural function. For both English and Cheyenne, the two expressions are what people say to note the beginning of a new year. The two expressions are as close as we can find without creating a new expression that would literally mean "Happy New Year!" But how would one even try to say in Cheyenne that a new year is happy? Translation is difficult. Of course, Aa'ẽ ẽmōna'ẽ says nothing about "happy" and for some Cheyennes it might be important to include the meaning of "happy" in a translation of "Happy New Year!" So, we can consider revising the Cheyenne expression already in use
by adding Pevetano! 'Be happy!' to it. Would the final expression of Aa’e émôna’e, pevetano! Sound natural in Cheyenne. I think it would. Does it include the idea of happiness? Yes. Does it include the idea of a new year. Yes, it does. It is worth testing this new translation to see how acceptable it is to other Cheyenne speakers.

Translation adequacy

Here are two of the most important principles to follow when translating.

Accurate

Does the translation have the same meaning as the original? Accuracy is not a matter of keeping the form of the original, but, rather translating the original meaning however it is actually said in the translation language.

Translation of Ó’kôhomôxháaheta to English as Little Wolf was clear and natural, but not accurate. Its meaning was actually Little Coyote.

Natural

The literal translation of "Hang around!" to Cheyenne was perhaps accurate, but it was not natural. It is not how Cheyennes would actually express the meaning of the English expression.

In order for a translation to be both clear and natural, it must respect the grammatical patterns of the both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

'-háamá’tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb –háamá’tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

Náháamá’tóvo namo’ēško. My finger hurts.
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ēškono. My fingers hurt.

The first example can be literally translated as 'I hurt to my finger." This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and
administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each
language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses
something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language
backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

'fit (something)'
This Cheyenne verb treats that part that fits as the object of the verb. Again, this is a perfectly
logical way to express the intended meaning. The English wording 'The cap fits me' is correct for the
English language and the corresponding Cheyenne sentence is correct for the Cheyenne language.
Neither language is "backwards" in how they express meaning about fitting; they simply express the
same meaning using different grammar.

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá’e hóhkéha’e, an accurate and
natural translation in English would be "The cap fits me," even though the literal translation would be
'I fit to the cap.' This literal translation would be accurate in English, but not natural. A translation
must be both accurate and natural for it to be an adequate translation.

Nátáá’a hóhkéha’e. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anótse hóhkéhá’éstse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáá’ōvo éstse’hé. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáá’ovoo’ó éstse’héno. The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'
In Cheyenne the food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the
TI verb –péhévé’ahtá:

Nápéhévé’ahta ho’évohkótse. The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

'think well of (someone)'
In Cheyenne the person who is thought well of is grammatically the semantic subject (causer of
the thinking well) of the TA verb –péhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.,'

Nápéhévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me. ')
Nápéhévoemēho. He thinks well of me. (= 'I am of good value to me. ')

The translation process
If you are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne, here are the steps we
recommend that you follow to make the translation as natural as possible while communicating the
same meaning:

1. Figure out what the meaning of the English is. This is often always easy. You need to find out if
the English expression is figurative or not. If it is figurative, you should try to translate its
figurative meaning, not its literal meaning. You can use an English dictionary if you are not
sure what the English expression means. For instance, if someone asks you to translate "He
blew a fuse," ask yourself if you know what meaning is intended by that English sentence. If it
is referring to blowing a fuse in a fuse box, it should not be too difficult to translation the
sentence to Cheyenne. But if the sentence is not really referring to blowing a fuse but to something else, you need to know what that something else is, and translate meaning, so that the Cheyenne will mean the same thing as the English expression does.

2. Figure out how the meaning is actually expressed in Cheyenne. Do not try to find a literal way to say the same thing in Cheyenne, since literal translations often turn out sounding strange or even humorous instead of communicating the same meaning. Often people want to know how to say something in Cheyenne. For people all over the world, the first reaction when there is a request to translate something is to try to say it the same way in their own language. But saying it the same way may not be how it is actually said in Cheyenne. So, if you are asked "How do you say ____ in Cheyenne?" stop and think a while before answering. Ask yourself: "What do Cheyennes actually say to communicate that same meaning?" Another way of getting at this point is to avoid answering the question "Can you say ____ in Cheyenne?" Instead, try to change the question to: "How is actually it said in Cheyenne?" Try to focus on what fluent Cheyenne speakers actually say to communicate the same meaning.

3. Test your translation with other Cheyenne speakers. Ask them what it means. Ask them if fluent speakers would actually use the translation expression. If the translation does not pass these tests, try a different way to express the translation. Keep trying until you find a way to say something in Cheyenne that has the same meaning, including emotional connotations, and also sounds like what a fluent Cheyenne speaker would actually say.

The common temptation is to translation literally whenever you are asked to translate from English to Cheyenne. But a literal translation is often not the most accurate translation. And most of the time a literal translation is not how fluent Cheyenne speakers would actually say something with the meaning of the English expression you are trying to translate. Of course, if enough Cheyenne speakers prefer a literal translation and they can, in time, get the same meaning from it that the English expression has, it is fine to use a literal translation. But a literal translation should only be used if it comes to be accepted and used by a good number of Cheyenne speakers.

**Language and social interaction**

Like every other language, Cheyenne is used for a variety of social purposes. Some of the most common uses for language is to inform, question, command, exclaim, entertain, and rebuke.

Cheyennes speak their language following the norms of Cheyenne culture. These cultural norms influence which Cheyenne language forms are used.

One traditional Cheyenne cultural norm is that a woman must not speak to her son-in-law. She should not even say his name, especially in front of him. And a man must not speak to his sister after she has reached puberty. And he should not speak to his daughter-in-law either.

If a woman wants to communicate something to her son-in-law, she can do so through her daughter, the wife of her son-in-law. Or she can speak indirectly to her son-in-law in his hearing (and usually the hearing of someone else also) using third person verbs, rather than direct speech with second person verbs.

A humorous story is told about a woman who unwittingly said her son-in-law’s name, breaking the cultural norm:
Frogs Say "Kovaahe", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'èstse kàse'èhe éhnóhtséstovósesto hešeke,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoóne oonàhá’e óhmónenéstoohevévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkéhevoóne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaahe,' they say," she said.

naa éxhohátse’tóheséstse máhtamáhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevéxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law164

Tséhéno he’ameo’hé’e éhéstahe hetane. Aénóhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'émhántséme165. Néhestoha óhvóomoo'èstse tséhóhe máhoévé'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,

he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

É'tóve ééveota'hóáóéne," náohkhéheta. "Nésáa'áéstonóvhévotévé'tovatséhe,
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkhéheta.
he tells me.

164 This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft's spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.
165 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétóñésevéhevé'tove'továtse néhe'še?" náheto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevéstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne'eno vátsé," náheta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"Hová'áháne, né'évenetsé'éná, "náheto.
"Mónéohkevá'nenéhe'sétaméhéhe," náheto.
"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"Hová'áháne, néótá'péhévéhéné'eno vátsé. Némáhevéstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo," náheta.
"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhémanóxehe é'tóvé!" náheta. "Náota'évéhááoéne," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'éstane ohtsévéhé'óhto'atsee'éstse tséohkévéhése'méno'ë'estové
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches
tséhó'he máhoéve'ho'eno nóohkéhó'osema, "Tsé'tóhe né'tóvé," nóohkéheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,
"émáhevéstoemóho naaxaa'éhemo. Hená'hanetséhe / náníhé'séhevé'tovenó'tse," nóohkéheta.
"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néhe'se hó'ótova táchóhe Nomá'heo'he'é mótaétséhe'óhtséhéhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher166 he must have gone.

Násáanahaxéevávóomóhe. Étanés'éhá'a'xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótova nóhóseéevavóomo. Tsehéno éne'ameóhtse háp'o'é
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just
tséstaameohtsevo. Sé'ea' éne'éexaéméné'ó. Naa nóho'ëhóto,
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa'ë néa'enéháse?" náheto. "Nésáatšéhe'sevóomátséhe," náheto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa táchóhe Nomá'heo'he'é nótaétséhe'óhtse. Nóahó'he / náévea'enoo'é," náheto.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáá'e néháho'he tse'táhéséa'Benoo'to? Heë' néháho'he láho'ëtánó tósa'ë
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nómá'heo'he'é," náheto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánéhoo'ëstse! Heë' néhéne'enóvo Kéhaené'ë. Nóahó'he ného'ëhóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

166 Literally, 'Fish River'.

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náhé'haméhenótsé, mónétaéšéhevéxahé'tovatséhéhe, náhé. "Né'tóve, is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law, néohkevé'eéváhe. Naméséme né'ókhéhešéstse néhe'se. don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaéšéhevéxahé'tovatsémo"h1
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'áháne," éhevoo'o. "Nééšetá'hóxéhev'é'tove'továtse, "No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you, ésáatócóšéévanetá'éhevéova'etséhane, náhe. it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hé'tóhe émóná'é, nétaéšémonenohóoeve," náhé. "Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Néstatséenéséhevéxahé'tovatsé. 'É'tóve, hémanóxéha!' "You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!"

eókhóhešé, náhé. "Naa néhe'se háp'o'e hétsetsha, Hémanóxéha you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to neméséme!'

Nétaéšéhó'tsešéstse tséhéóhe your father-in-law!' let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here pó'ého'hé-máhpé-máheóne néhe'se néhma'xéhómanoxé'stse!" náhé. to the saloon168 then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Heé, táxó'e néstsésáa'énenéhéhe, vo'estane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone nétsenéstova. Néstaé'avó'estomo'he (?), will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

náhtsenóhpaohkeéemaenésétamáne. Nává'neohkeévééestéstövo tsé'tóhe Kéhaéné'e," I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman," éhevoo'o. he said.

167 This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.

168 Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.
"Heé, nééšetaomevé'néhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéheto'o tsé'tóhe tséohke'évévéhne ne vo'éstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

tsetamáhehéne'enohe tséhešéhevéxahé'továtse," náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáátó'néšenónaháxe'tanóhe," náhéto.
"Ohkeépephévé'tovéstse, ohkeéehmanóxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'óhkevóometo nonóha néstanéhešépévévéxahé'továtse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Taxó'e néesta'avó'estomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

něsenó'ka něheše'ha!" náheta //
Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, néšenó'ka néheše'ha!" náheta //

tséohke'evéhetóhta'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'se'oméhetóme, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névááhe tsémáhehéne'éno? Névá'ne'ée'ohoné'kenéheve
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

náa," náhéto. "Vo'éstane náohkesáa'éetšéhe'senéheta'he," náhéto.

Nátaéenéšeameo'ó'evótâhtséme.
Hená'hanéhe héné
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeéenéhešená'so'eémáhtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, A'énohenéstoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler, tséohkéhestoestse.
as he is called.

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169 These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.
170 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéenó'kenéheve.
Speech styles

Baby talk
Some words are simplified and used as baby talk. These words have traditionally been said by and to young children. Keé'ehe 'grandma' and mémééhe 'grandpa' are also affectionally used by older people speaking about their grandparents.

keeso 'puppy'
keéehe 'grandma'
kókó'e 'bread'
mánóóhe 'I want a drink'
mémééhe 'grandpa'
nénéhe 'bottle, nurse'
pápááhe 'ride on back'

etc??

Affected speech
Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration
A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tótseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Néváaáhé? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Néváaááso? 'Who?! (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Noóoo! Wow! (emphasized form of Nóoo! 'Wow!')
Véetséno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétséno 'right then')

Tight mouth ?? speech
Sometimes speakers, especially women, tighten their mouths and make them rounder to pronounce some words. This creates a special effect that indicates ___ ??

Cheyenne dialects

Cheyenne speakers and non-Cheyenne researchers sometimes refer to two of Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne (spoken in Montana) and Southern Cheyenne (spoken in Oklahoma). Some people go even farther and speak of the "Northern Cheyenne Language." Many Cheyennes speak of language differences between Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma and Montana. Some "Northerners", for instance, say that you can spot a speaker from Oklahoma after listening to just a few words of their speech.

My own research confirms that there are some slight differences in Cheyenne spoken in these two locations. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no differences in pronunciation or grammar. There are, however, a few words which are different between Montana and Oklahoma. Speakers from one location perfectly understand these words spoken in the other location. Are these word differences enough to say that there are two different dialects of Cheyenne? The answer to this
question depends on whether you want to look only at technical linguistic data or also at how speakers of the language actually feel about their language differences.

Because Cheyenne speakers from Montana and Oklahoma so strongly perceive there to be a dialect difference, and because they tease each other so much about those differences, these perceptions themselves create a sociological reality of a dialect difference. It would not be proper to say, therefore, that there is not a Northern versus Southern dialect of Cheyenne. We simply need to be aware what we are referring to when we speak of these "dialects." These are real dialects in the minds of the speakers, themselves, and that is a very important sociological (and sociolinguistic) reality.

On the other hand, we can also point out that there are very few actual linguistic differences between the Cheyenne spoken in Montana and that spoken in Oklahoma. In fact, it is more likely that there are some greater differences in the Cheyenne spoken by different Cheyenne families than there are between speakers from the North and South but these, also, are rather minimal, and often consist of little more than whether or not some people have a slight lisp, pronounce one vowel of a morpheme differently from other speakers, or have some similar small phonetic differences.

I have not heard any Northern vs. Southern dialectal differences in the morphology (grammar) of nouns or verbs. And I am not aware of any differences in the way words or morphemes are pronounced between Oklahoma and Montana speakers.

There are, however, a few individual words which are generally recognized to be used differently by Oklahoma and Montana speakers, even though they are not pronounced differently. Following is the entire list of such words which I have been given by Cheyenne speakers so far. But even in this list there are some words for which it is uncertain that it can be said that the words are different based on the location of the speakers.

1. clock: od: kó'ko'êhase'o'o (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)  
   md: éšē'he (orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od: má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenôtse 'apples'  
   md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemeno 'apples'
3. watermelon: od: māhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')  
   md: nēxó'mévéhe (lit. raw eating thing)
4. cucumber: od: heškóve-māhoo'o (lit. thorny-melon)  
   md: mata (the same word used for 'peyote'; some md speakers may use heškóve-māhoo'o for 'cucumber', also ??)
5. 25 cents: od: tohóvetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')  
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'éne-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškósee-se-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')  
   md: póéso (we suspect this s a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhóoetse-sane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxohemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)

8. crackers: od: tôhkonave-kôhkonôheonôtse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
md: mo'ôhkonave-kôhkonôheonôtse (lit. dried little breads)

9. potatoes: od: aéstome-mêséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
md: mêséhéstoto (lit. eating things)

10. washboard: od: nêška'ösé'o or hahéhaseo'o (lit. rubbing-thing)
md: nêškéhásé'o

11. He's really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
   od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
md: éhoháema'heónevého'eve (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)

12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amáho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amáho'héstôtse, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.

13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'éné-hótame, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog'!" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response póéso, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as nâhtotse, literally, 'my pet'. But this claim is incorrect. There is abundant evidence in the fieldnotes of several researchers, whose work spans numerous decades, that both Oklahoma and Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha and, likewise, speakers in both areas will sometimes refer to their own horse (or, less generally, a dog or cat) calling it 'my pet'. Which term will be used is not a matter of a geographical difference but rather a difference in a speaker's personal intentions when they are speaking. That is, when a Cheyenne speaker, regardless of where they live, refers to their horse, do they intend to indicate a pet relationship with their horse?
**MISCELLANEOUS**

$$DON'T INCLUDE THE ORIGINAL SCANNED PAGED IN THE REVISED EDITION, BUT DO MAKE SURE THAT SOME OF THE DATA IS INCLUDED IN EARLIER SECTIONS, SUCH AS THE indefinite pronouns nevá’eséstse and nevá’ésesto with reportative suffixes.

**Cheyenne discourse**

Discourse is ___ $$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE. MONOLOGUES (náto’séh’sémo, etc.), DISCOURSE—FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything? That’s the way it lies, hena’hóanéhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

**Dialogue**

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. $$SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE".

**Topic continuity**

**Questions and answers**

$$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH.

**Single word utterances**

**Common utterances and responses ($$copy from dictionary, etc.)**

$$Etc.

**Monologues**

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologues are prayers, instructions, sermons, and stories. Many of the same patterns followed in dialogues are followed in monologues, except that all elements of the patterns are provided by a single individual in monologues. Sometimes what people say are called texts.

Following are texts which were told by Cheyennes in Oklahoma and Montana:

**When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice**, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\_sh v3.0 400 Cheyenne Interlinear

\_ref 001
\t hóóma máhvo'éstanéhevéhevóhe
\m hóóma mó- h- vo'éstanéheve -hé -vo -hé
\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p - tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx

\t tósa’e.
\m tósa’e
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

They did not visit them.

And one day they visited them.

Then all of a sudden they heard them.

They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.
And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

They moved together.

And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).
"We'll turn over.

They would say.

They quit making them.

And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

It was frozen thick.
They moved across.

And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

It was terrible.

The ice broke up.

Some turned back.
And some had already come across.

ref 023
ref 024
ref 025

They did not know where those others were.

Maybe they drowned.

And those kept moving across.
That's how the old men tell the story.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heónéve. This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'éšëho'ěnhévévóse hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe. Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapévévéhéne'enóhe. And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkeéevá'néhetáhtomónéto náhtanéhéseme'esta. And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme oha násáahéne'envóhe / -héne'enóhe / He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Motsé'óeve3, éohkêhevoône, mó'ohkeévééestséstóehevovóhe, vé'hó'e Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen
tséssáa'éšëho'ěnhévévóse. before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkeéemé'estomóehenvóhe hová'ëhe, héva tsésto'sého'ěhnétotse, And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,
hová'ëhe. something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'se=tšëške'mé'esta4 // hetoo // And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ô'tóëvo // vo'ëstane éxhesaneséstse // "He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemáhevé'senohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///
   "He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évötse tseohkékhestohe éxheséstse //
   "Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tósa'e ésáapo'vé'senóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'éstane
   Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person
   tséto'sého'á'o'tóése.
   who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'ôhkeéene'étamése5 //
   He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'seáhevonéanóhtse," éxhetósesto.
   "He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sého'á'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
   "And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha,"6 néstseohkékhetóvo éxheséstse, "hóva."
   "Horse," you will call it," he said, "(this) animal."

17) tsenéveohta / (tse)néxanetotse hestovootötse
   It will have four legs. There will be two, his ears.

18) naa he'émáñéstse máto tsenéxanetotse, énéxanetotse.
   And his eyes also there will be two, there are two.

19) naa hestse'konótse tsenévéóhta //
   And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'éše
   You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketséhe'ôhtséháiévo,
   He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkékhetóvo //
   this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkésó'tó'ome'ého'oése éše'he
   It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nêstseohkêho'eohéme hákô'e / ëxhesanesêstse /
you will arrive far away," he said.

25) nêstsenêheše/vo'èstanêhévéme
"You will live like that.

26) nêstsenêhešesëva'xëme / tsê'tôhe mo'éhno'ha tsêhešëévoa'xëse / ëxhesanesêstse /
You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e nêstseohkêhetóvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenévéóhta //
Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenëšë'esta
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátô=he'ëxánêstse tsenëxanetotse /
And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestsêhëvá'xe / tseohkemâhexôneehatse / ho'ëva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenësôhkonávéhâhta // hestôohevono tsenësôhkonaho / ëxhesëstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsê'tôhe hóva nêstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vé'ho'éotóá'e nêstseohkêhetóvo /
Ve'ho'eotoa'e you will call it.

35) hoháá'ëše tseohkhëhešëmëa'xe ëxhesëstse /
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Ëxhetôsesto néhe hovâhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tsëôhkëhetôse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsê'tôhe tsêto'sêho'á'o'tôése
And this one who will come to you

tsemahehtâeotsë'ta ho'e tsêxhetaa'ôma'ô'e /
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totôsa'e nêstseohkeevemë'a'éëme.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kohtávéstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /
"You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamáséhánéeše / máśáa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése / nésta "But if you are
tséheševo'éstanéhévése, néstamóhkévóhpá'éme," éxhesaneséstse.
crazy, if you do not think about the way previously
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'éševótsé tséhóehevésese7 /
And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Ėstaéšéhetósema'xemé'éstomósaneséstse.
He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'néhetaa'mé'éstomóvo.
I am just telling this much about him.

44) Néhe'še
The end.

FOOTNOTES:

1This text was first collected by Donald Olson during 1963-1964 in Oklahoma. It appeared in print
in a previous collection of Cheyenne texts (W. Leman 1980b). It appears here with spelling slightly
updated. Some slight changes to bring the transcription closer in line with the taped recording have
been made. Original clause numbers are retained.

2Usually, this word would indicate that something is "just a story". The word hóhta'heo'o 'story'
should not be applied to accounts of history. On the whole, Cheyennes regard the story of Sweet
Medicine to be of more credible historicity than the usual legend or folktale, for which the label
hóhta'heo'o is appropriate. However, here it is probable that the narrator is not casting doubt on the
historicity of the account. Hesitation on the tape may indicate that the narrator wasn't quite sure what
to say at this point but used a word which fit grammatically here.

3Sweet Medicine is the most important prophet in Cheyenne history. For other accounts of Sweet
Medicine’s prophecy, see the following:

Powell, Sweet Medicine, Vol. II, p. 466.
Standsintimber and Liberty, Cheyenne Memories, p. 40.

4The condensed preverb to'- here is pronounced to'se- by most other Cheyennes. It is said that
the pronunciation here is a characteristic of (some) Southern Cheyenne speech. It can be seen, as in the
next clause, 9), that this narrator also uses the full form of the preverb, to'se-.

5The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeéeméhæ.

6The historical etymology of this word is something like 'elk-dog' with the 'dog' final /-o'h[am] itself undergoing historical extension to refer to a 'domesticated animal'.

7The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

The Corn and Meat, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\name The Corn and Meat
\ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxho'hooné'tánése taa'ëva.
\m é- h- ho'hooné'tá -né -s taa'ëva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx obl
\f There was a camp at night.

\ref The Corn and Meat 002
\t é'ováxenásestøo hetaneo'o.
\m é- h- ováxená -s est -o hetane -o
\g 3- PST- dream -REPORT -PL man -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx
\f Men dreamed.

\ref The Corn and Meat 003
\t naa tséhvóona'o é'ahkóheohtséstøo
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- ahkóheohtsé -s est -o
\g and REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL
\p p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
\t kásováheheho.
\m kásováahéh -o
\g young_man -PL
\p na -sfx
\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o éxhoháetanevoo'énëse.
\m netao'o - é- h- ho- háetanevoo'e -né -s
\g everywhere 3- PST- very- be_big_crowd -FII -REPORT
\p p pro- tns- RED- vii -sfx -sfx
\f Everywhere there was a big crowd.

\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'së éhváxeéstøo.
And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

"Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"And likewise I dreamd," (said the second man).

"Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

"And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, nánéhešeováxe.)

Well, let's go there!" they said.

And they stopped playing the hoop game.

They suddenly sat down.
They went to where that water ran down.

They went in.

Here, the old woman was there.

"I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

They sat down.
"Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

They were in a hurry (to eat).

They got full.

Here, the meat and corn remained the same (in amount).
It stayed the same amount.

And then, "Look over there!" she told them.

They looked over there.

Corn was simply waving.

It was already tasseled.

And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.
They looked again.

A buffalo herd was standing.

"And take this out!

Feel (the herd) first!

Call (the herd)!

An old man will announce.
The old men will eat first.

And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

All the old men came to the center.

They ate.

And step-by-step according to their ages.
And the children ate next.

This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
"And look toward here early in the morning!

A calf will come out to play," she told them.

And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger.
And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.
And then a buffalo came out last.

And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

And there they all chased (buffalos).

In this way they had plenty to eat.

That's all that I know of (the story).

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Naa hetóéva éxhonótovósesto še’xo ho’éstava.
And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé’éšééxáho’hetsése é’áhto’hohnóvósesto páéva.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa móto'seovéšenáhevéhóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'še vé'ho'e éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

“Tsépéhéveováxéstse hésetseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,”
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane é'amàhtovósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'še é'ovéšenásesto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstanóhe é'éšaáhtse'tótoéšenásesto.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'osehóhta'hanétnanósesto.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho, “Nátavóóehóšestā
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell
naováxeéstqo!" éxhetósesto.
my dream!” he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane éhpéhévéatséstánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxenáto vé'ho'á'eo'o tséhetsénoonese éhne'anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'ésého'ósévéxqo e'venóhó'o éhne'anóheneoetse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.
"Naa néhe'še nátaasee'eoh'tse,"
"And then I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa néhéohe tséstašého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevó'èstane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'éstó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxénáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétsério to'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

móñáováxénähéhe," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevó'èstane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéóhe nétávoomátse. E'vevonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaame'eoh'tse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésá'a'éväh'o'eanóheohtséhe,' néhóovèhesétamátse,"
"'And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'še náhestano, námévo," éxhetósesto.
"This duck I took it, I ate it," he told him.

Hená'hanehe.
That's it.

The Bat, by Edward Riggs (Oklahoma)

1. no'ka tótseha éhmóheohtséhoono hovahne
   Once long ago they met, animals.
   Once long ago the animals met.

2. naa mato hapo'e móhmóheohtséhevóhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eamé'hávóse
   And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
   And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'sevéseetse'öhtséhēhe
   And bat was also going to go to
   And a bat was also going to go to

4. tséhmóheeohtséstovetse
   where there was a meeting.
   the meeting.

5. éstatséhe'öhtséhoo'o hováhne tséhmóheeohtsetsése
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hováhne éstsēhetaesesto nésáahováhvéhe névé'késéheve
   Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
   The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.

7. tatséhe'öhtséstse vé'késého tséhmóheeohtsévöse
   Go over to birds where they are meeting!"
   Go to where the birds are meeting!"

8. éxhestóhehoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe
   he was told, bat.
   the bat was told.

9. naa épéhéva'e éxhetóhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. nāhtaévatséhe'öhtse vé'késého tséhmóheohtsévöse éxhéhoo'o
    "I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,
    "I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said

    móséškanetsénoonáhe
    bat.
    the bat.

11. éstatséhe'öhtséhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeohtsetsése
    He went to bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.

    vé'késého
    birds.

12. naa hánáháohe tséstáho'ëhtsése énèxhósepéohehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe’ōhtséstse hováhe tséhmóheeohotsévôse
   "Go over to animals where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavékéséhévěhévěh mováheve éxhestóhehoo’o
   You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.
   You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.

15. éhne'evaaseohotséhoo'o
   He came away.
   He left.

16. náa náme'tatónéšévémáse
   And "What should I do?
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'e náho'xéstahémáse éxhešetanóhoo’o
   Where do I belong?" he thought.
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tá'sé=hótahtsé náhováheve
   "I thought I was an animal,
   "I thought I was an animal,

19. náa vé'késo náhetane
   and 'bird’ I am called.
   but I am called a bird.

20. náa tséhešésáavékéséhévěhéto
   And since I am not a bird,
   But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'e náho'xéstahémáse
   where do I belong?
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxahéné'enóhe
   I just do not know."
   I just don't know."

23. tsé'tóhe hôhta'ahê'o éhešenêhetôsêséšē
   This story thusly lies (is told that way).
   That's how this story is told.
Someplace he does not belong, bat.
The bat doesn't belong anywhere.

That must be why he hides in daytime.
That must be why he hides in the daytime.

Someplace maybe in forest or leaves he is said to hide.
Someplace, maybe in the forest or in leaves, he is said to hide.

Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

And that's all. It is thusly told.
And that's how the story is told.

The Frog and Her Brothers, by Ed Riggs (Oklahoma)

Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

She sat singing.
\tx E'ohketséhéhoo'o,
\mr é-h -ohke -tsé-hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-CAT-say-PRET

\ft She would say,

\ref FROG2 clause 4

\tx "Nahtatanemó óhpéhévenenoohé'sevoséstse
\mr \ na -hatataném-o oh -péhéve-nenoohé'sé-vó -s-et
\mg \ 1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevóešetáno,"
\mr ná-ohke -vóeše -tanó
\mg 1 -HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 5

\tx é'ohkéhéhoo'o.
\mr é-h -ohke -hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she would say.

\ref FROG2 clause 6

\tx Exho'sóehoono nešé kásováahého.
\mr é-h -ho'sóe-hoon-o néšé kásováahéh-o
\mg 3-PST-dance -PRET-PL two young.man -PL

\ft The two young men danced.

\ref FROG2 clause 7

\tx Néhnéšévóse votónéstse éhnéestsenójvósestötse
\mr né-h-néšé-vó -s vóton -ét é-h -néestšé-n -óvó-sest -ot
\mg CJT-two -3PL-3 tailfeather-PL 3-PST-stand(?)-FTI-3PL-REPORT-PL

\tx hem'ékonévo néhe tsého'sóese.
\mr he -m'ékonévó néhe tsé-ho'sóe-se
\mg 3POSS-head -3PL these CJT-dance -3PL:PART

\ft Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

\ref FROG2 clause 8

\tx Tséhnéšenáamého'sóévóse
\mr tsé-h -néšená-ame -ho'sóe-vó -s
\mg CJT-PST-while -along-dance -3PL-3
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"Nahtatanemo ḍepéhevénenoohéševoséstse
na -htataném-o oh -péheve-nenoohéšé-vó -s-et
1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER
náohkevóešetâno,"

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

she said.

Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.
The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana)

1. Éxhóhta’hane tséméhavéstóemo.
   He told a story, the one who was my spouse.

2. Éxhósemóho henā’e.
   He told about geese.

3. “Éhma’xeame’hao’o,”
   “They were a lot of them flying,”

4. éxhetóhta’héne.
   he told the story that way.

5. “Nēhe’še ma’aetano’e náxhéseváána.
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Náhtae’eamoo’o tséhñé’shema’xeametónove’hávóše.
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

7. Hótáhtse na’ěstse náhtaa’táno.
   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omemáso.
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’ameanā’o.
   He was falling down.

10. Nēhe’še éhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o néhe henā’e.
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’évaanòheneheóhe’tovovo néhe na’ěstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanáha’enovo.
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaaséhe’ame’hao’o.
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaévâhe’amen’̣éhe’hánovo.
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévató’néseasevéseame’ha néhe tséméhaeto’omemaso,”
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’hâne.
   he told the story that way.

I’m Beading Moccasins, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’ēhneto náoxa’ōhēne.
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kėhanötse nánánéstsenötse.
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nāhtaéxananötse.
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’tóhe mo’kėhanötse nánánéstootâhahtsenötse.
   These moccasins I’m making for myself.

5. Náto’setanimēhemo’kėhanenötse,
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. ná màtö=héva vo’èstane máxho’aestse náhtanēšěhohtōvanötse.
   or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’héhaomēnēstse.
   They surely won’t be expensive.

8. Éohkevá’nemâhtōhtōhanoemēnēstse.
   They just cost ten (dollars).

How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

   Naa tséheškéto nánöhtsėtōvo hé’tóhe tséhmano’éevůse Oévemanahéno
   And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,
   tséhestohe. Hénova’e tséohkēhēsenëhestohe hé’tóhe Oévemanahéno, nāhēto.
   as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

   Naa hákóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa’ēšemano’éehévůse vo’èstaneo’o,
   “Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,”
   éhevoo’o, netao’o háa’ēše móméhaenonó’kevo’èstanéhevēhevěvohe tsé’tóhe Oévemanaho,
   she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,
   tséohkēhéstóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa’ēšemano’éehévůse, éhevoo’o.
   as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
It first used to be called Longfoot Town,
mó'ohkeméhae'ovójëhehanéhe. Hetane néhédhe móhvójëstanëhevëhehe.
it used to be called that. A man lived there.
Móxhoháa'estáhehanéhe naa móhtó'ëshëtåhtëshëhéhe. Tó'ëshëhtamáhóëve'ho'ëno,
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,
éöhkeméhae'ovójëshëho'ë. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnehësevëhehehe
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named
Oévemana. Naa hétsetseha Oévëmanâhëno tsétaohkëhësëshëteho, éheveo'o. Naa
Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And
néhe'xóvéva ésáa'ëshëmëhëstovëhane hëtshëhëhe, éheveo'o. at that time there was not a town here," she said.

(Note: Birney is the southernmost town on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation of Montana.)

The Grasshopper and the Ant, by Hrs. Allen Flyingout (Oklahoma)

\ref GRASSHOP clause 1
\tx Háhkota naa hâtšëške.
\mr háhkota naa hâtšëške
\mg grasshopper and ant
\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2
\tx Hâtšëške éhma'xëhotse'ôhësëstse.
\mr hâtšëške é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhë-sest
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT
\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3
\tx éhnëšëma'xëstovëhtsënëse hëstáme hemâheóne.
\mr é-h -nësë-ma'xe-ëstovëhtsë -nó -s hé -htamë he -mâheó-n-ë
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC
\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4
\tx Méanëva hová'ëhe mó'éëho'ëtsëhehe
\mr méane -vá hová'ëhe mó-h -ée -ho'tsé -hë -hë
\mg summer-OBLE something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM
In the summer she had something where she had her house.

And this grasshopper sang.

And this grasshopper sang.

He would just dance during summer.

"Likewise you should work."

Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,"
He was told by the ant.

"Hová’aháne," he said. The ant replied, "No, I won't dance."

"I'm gonna dance."

"And also I'm gonna sing."

"I don't want to work."

"It's too sunny."
Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

"Oh yes,

the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

I want to go eat,"

he said.

He went to eat.
\ref GRASSHOP clause 22
\tx E'ěšeméhaeněhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -ėše -méhæ -né -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previously-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV
\ft She had already told him,
\ref GRASSHOP clause 23
\tx "Něstšésáahoxomséhe máxháeanato,"
\mr \ ne -htse-sáa-hoxom -atse-hé máx -háeaná -to
\mg \ 2POSS-FUT -NEG-feed.s.o.-1:2 -NEG CJT.IRREAL-be.hungry-2
\ft "I'll not feed you when you're hungry."
\ref GRASSHOP clause 24
\tx Naa éstaněšěševátamósesto hátšeške
\mr naa é-h -ta -něše-ševátam-ó -sest -o hátšeške
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant
\tx háhkotaho
\mr háhkotah -o
\mg grasshopper-OBV
\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.
\ref GRASSHOP clause 25
\tx éxhoxomósesto.
\mr é-h -hoxom -ó -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV
\ft She fed him.
The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

1) nėtato?séhôséstkomêtomàvèsáno?o ṣé?šenôvôtse naa hónkehesono I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
2) ṣé?šenôvôtse éståamévonénhôhoo?o 3) éståhô?évônhôntanôc?e vôxe A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
4) naa éståâsévônhôhoo?o 5) hotâsê éxôhôehoono hónkehesono And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
8) hónkehesono éstsêhêtôhoo?o henésono tse?tohe nemesâmêvo The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.
9) nêhe?nâhô?ôntsaévévo éxhêtôhoo?o 10) nêhe?i tsêstaâsênenôvoné?xôvetse He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while éstsêhêtôhoo?o na?ôstse henésono nêxhô?êstamomôvëha kâhâmâxêtse she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!
11) nahtâmôhôntáoo?tôvo nemesâmêvo éxhêtôhoo?o I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.
12) éståsâanânôhôva?xôhoo?o 13) tsêsaâsênenôvoné?xôhôntsê He went outside. After he had been gone a little while éxhôsênéhêtôhoo?o na?ôstse nêxhô?ênohômôvëha mëhpe she told one (child), "Go fetch water!
16) éståsâanânôhôsa?xôhoo?o 17) tsêstaâsêhôsênôvoné?xôhôntsê He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while éxhôsêtsêhêtôhoo?o tsénsêhe?eotse?tsêse henésono tâhônôhtse?vôma she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!
26) tsêstaâsêhôvônhêntsêse tsê?etse?dô?ôse éxamaâhôvâhôehôhoo?o After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.
27) hena?hânehe hapôy?etêvëta tsêbhôkhôhêhôhôsêstomồhëto he?tôhe hôntsêhëhëto?o That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story, tsêstê?kâhêhëto 28) hena?hânehe when I was young. That is all.
Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xesto ha

2) máheemenôtse eeséstahonohantanôtse hononêstova

3) tse'ešeexáho'tatse eevaononanôtse

4) epeenanôtse

5) naa néhe'se ehohpe'ha amêške

6) eaesto'enanôtse máheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa néhe'se amêške

7) eova'kanenêstse

Eesetahonohantotse Sheput
mahaemenotse hononestova. corn in the oven.
Tse' geexahotatse men shetook it out.
Eepenanotse. Naanehe'ge ehohpe'ha arnegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.
Eaesto'enanotse Shemixed together
mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.
Eova'kanenestse. They were formed into balls.

The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Nétahóhta'haovátse.
Let me tell you a story.
Let me tell you a story.

2. Náhkohe éstaamenéheohstsé'tanohmo meo'o.
bear followed it path
A bear was following a path.

3. Hápó'ë náháóhe ó'kóhóme móhnéhñéheohstsé'tóhéhe.
Likewise there coyote followed it
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Nèhe'se êstáo'o'eváhtséhoono.
Then they met
Then they met.
5. Náhkohe éstaséhetóhoono ó'kóhomeho,  
   bear told coyote  
The bear said to the coyote,

6. "No'héhnéstse!  
   Move aside  
"Move aside!

7. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,  
   this my path  
This is my path,"

8. éxhetóhoono.  
   he told him  
he told him.

9. "Hova'ánhane,  
   no  
"No,

10. hápó'e no'héhnéstse!  
    likewise move aside  
likewise you move aside!

11. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,  
    this my path  
This is my path,"

12. éxhetaehoono.  
    he told him  
he told him.

13. Tséxhe'éšéoo'evotáhtsevose éxhe'kemé'éhnéhoo'oxao'o.  
    while they argued slowly appeared skunk  
While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.

14. "Háhtome!  
    scram  
"Scram!

15. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,  
    this my path  
This is my path,"

16. éxhetóhoono.  
    he told them.  
he told them.

17. Exhe'kenéma'evonéhnéhoo'o.  
    he slowly turned around  
He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnëhoo'o:
   he slowly backed up
   He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóse éstanéšéhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
    when they saw him they took off in two directions
    When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óomíhesesto tósa'è tséhešéase'xevóse.
    they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
    No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Making Chokecherry Patties, by ElvaKillsontop (Montana)

1) to'seo'ëšemee'ëstse menótse

2) eohkeovoheo'enenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse

4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátò=héva eohkepenóhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kanenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'ëšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokakhése

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa öhtšešeo'eotsee'ëstse
   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'è tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

$$$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN

   To'seo'èMemee'ëstse menotse eohkeovoheo'enenestse
   When they are going to be dried, chokecherries, they are first-picked
   naa eohkehóxe'änënestse.  Eohkepeenenëstse naa mato eohkepenóhenëstse.
   and they are cleaned.  They are ground or they are pounded (with a tool).
   Eohkeova'kanënestse.  HeMeeMe
   They are made into patties.
COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

I have attempted to have a wide variety of texts from several viewpoints. There is geographical variety.

Speakers who live in Montana have (mt) after the author's name, speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok).

Some stories are told by men, others by women. Some stories are historical first-person eyewitness accounts while others are popular folktales.

There are other categories of "historicity", too, for instance, first-person accounts which were made up for pedagogical purposes for bilingual programs. I have tried to select texts for inclusion which illustrate the various verbal modes. In this section I will briefly comment on various aspects of the texts.

Two of the texts, "The Drumming Owls" and "The Whiteman and the Indian" illustrate the popular motif of tension between the Indian (xamae-vo'estane, 'ordinary-person') and a trickster. Around the world it is very common to find that different groups of people have stories illustrating the tension they feel as they come into contact with other kinds of people. In some Indian groups of Mexico stories first spoke of the tension between the Indians and the conquering Spaniards. Today the same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican national landowner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricks the oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote.

It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is 'hèhok. The Arapaho word is nih?oo8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today, the term "vé'hó'e" first triggers the meaning 'white man' in the mind of the Cheyenne speaker. The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts. Interesting folk etymologies have developed around the term "vé'hó'e". Today I8 speakers know that vé'hó'e means both 'white man' and 'spider'. Some people say that the white man was given the same name as the spider because he arrived on Indian land and fenced in the range land so that it like a spider's web. Others point to Sweet Medicine's prophecy of the coming "person"
who would be tsemâhevê's enoho ('he will be all sewed up'). A related word is eve'hoo'e 'he is all wrapped up (as a baby in a blanket)', which is close to eve'ho'eo. Because of the similarity in sounds between the verb roots for 'wrapped up' and 'be a white man', some say that the word ve'ho'e is a shortened form of the terminology that Sweet Medicine used.

This is perhaps as good a place as any to point out that Cheyennes divide the human world into three basic types of peoples:

(1) Tsêtsêhéstâhe'hese 'Cheyennes', (2) nôtse'eo 'other tribes' and (3) vé'hô'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamaa-vo'estane'o'o (or xaa-vo'estane'o'o) 'ordinary people' (namely, 'Indians'). The terms v 'h 'e various ways to refer to specific groups of non-Indians. For instance, ma'e-v 'ho'e 'Germans' (red-ve'hô'e), me'gees -v 'hb'e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'hô'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'hô'e). The term v 'ho'e meaning of 'white' in it, but because of its most common usage to refer to 'white men', it has developed a strong association with the meaning of 'white'--so strong, in fact, that many Cheyennes point out the humor in a term like mo'ohtae-v 'hb'e to them, sounds like 'black-white man'. From an analytical viewpoint, it is probably most accurate to translate v'ého'e, today, as something like 'non-Indian'.

Now, for some comments on specific texts.

The recipe "Making Chokecherry Patties" is interesting in that the verbs forms use passives. There are some generic conjunct verbs, e.g. to'seo'egemee'estse 'when they are going to be dried' and ohtge eo'eotsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects.

This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, to Crows or Siouxs!).

There are some conjunct intensive negative (RENAME??) verbs, e.g.

ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nexhohtamaevotse.
The story about Sweet Medicine and his prophecies is a very important one to Cheyennes. The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow.

There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. éxheséstse 'he is said to have said' and ýxhetóssésto 'he is said to have told them'.

There are some verb forms with body-part medicinals, e.g. tšenévéóhta 'he will have four legs' and tšenéšé'ësta 'he will have two ears. There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamášáneése 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and mäsa'ávéatóxetanó'tomáhése 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tséméhaetó'omemáxamoo'o. This appears to be an example of an "absentative" conjunct participles.

"The Frog and Her Brothers" uses several independent order preterit verb forms, a verb type commonly used in legends and folklore in Cheyenne, for instance éståho'konoeoo'o and éhnémonéehoo'o. The verb ohpéhévenóohévoséstse (?) a Conjunct Generic verb type. It appears to contain the body-part medial for 'face', -ene. The high pitches are not found in the present surface form due to the effect of the pitch rule, "High Push-Over". An interesting point to note is that this story shows that nouns can receive a kind of preterit inflection, seen in the word _____ (?) Note the identity between the noun suffix on this word -(ha)hoono and the plural preterit verb suffix -hoono, as in éhnémonéehoono 'they were singing'.

"I'm Beading Hoccasins" is a brief first-person account. Study of the verb forms would be useful for everyday conversational ability in Cheyenne. The strong verbal construction, môme'héhaoemenéstse is interesting. This is an example of a negative inferential, which takes conjunct suffixes instead of the usual independent order affixes for inferentials.

Stories which give reasons for certain present conditions are popular all over the world. "How Birney Got the Name 'Oevemanàheno'" is one of this type. Note the predominance of inferential verb forms. Also, note the repetition, not uncommon in Cheyenne stories.

It is said that the story of a crossing on ice is common to some of the Algonquian languages. "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice" fits into this motif. Note the inanimate plural Conjunct Participle, tseohkevé'14(??)eamoohestestovetsee'ëstse. The verb is made "relational" because it is the object of a verb with a third-person subject.

There are first-person plural (inclusive) Independent Indicative verb forms with the longer first-plural (inclusive) suffix /-mane/, i.e. ______________________ (??) 'We will turn over' and nestsememestanemane 'we will drown'. The verb hëváméhéméstanohevéóhe (?) has a suffix like an inferential verb, but lacks the usual inferential particle turned prefix, mó-. Instead it has a different particle, heva-which can be translated as 'maybe'.

The text about "Lame Deer School Children" (??$KEEP??) contains regular Independent Indicative verb forms. This would be a good text on which to study the use of PREVERBS (see page 179ff.). For example, in the verb eevahoseaméehohtseo'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb eanó hesevanoo'o (?) contains the preverb –anohe- 'down', and the verb évéhósevohe Meanaha'xeo'oo(??) besides having the preverbs -eva- and -hose-, contains the preverb –voheMe(??)– which means 'anew'.
The next text, "The Whiteman and the Indian", illustrates the tensions between Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is a question and answer dialogue in henaa'etseohkee tome? and hová'ehé náohkésáa'e'tóhe... The latter form is interesting in that it is an example of a word which takes on different meaning depending on whether it is in a "positive" or "negative" environment.

The sentence hova'e'eh nae'ta would mean 'I am afraid of something' but if '-le' add hová'ehé to the verb nasaa I e I tohe 'I am not afraid of it'; we get hova'e'eh nasaa'etohe 'I'm not afraid of anything' (the verb in the text also contains the preverb -ohke-'regularly'). This is one story where the trickster gets the best of the Indian. But the next story turns the tables on the trickster in a delightful plot. Note the formality and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The Whiteman and the Indian". But, in the end, the cleverness and intelligence of the Indian wins out.

The story of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" is a familiar one from Aesop's Fables. But the Cheyenne version puts a strong cultural statement on the conclusion. In the English version, the grasshopper is not fed, but he is, in the end, in the Cheyenne version. It is very much against Cheyenne tradition to turn a needy person out, even if much of their trouble is self-inflicted.

"The Snake and Hice" shows how cunning can rescue one from danger. It is another story of the victory of the "underdog" over the oppressor.

The last two texts are self-explanatory. "Corn Pemmican" is a kind of recipe, told in an eyewitness form. "The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk" always brings a laugh from those who hear it.

(Note: the "Oklahoma" texts were first transcribed by Donald Olson, the text by James Shoulderblade was first transcribed by linguist Danny Alford.)
Phonological rules

This section of the book describes the sound system of Cheyenne and how the sounds and tones interact with each other when words are pronounced. Much of this section will be quite technical. Feel free to skip reading anything that is confusing to you. But it would be good to at least try to understand what is described in the example words. It is necessary to learn the technical explanations about the sound changes, but it is necessary to learn how to correctly pronounce words which have experienced the sound changes.

Although there are fourteen letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only thirteen phonemes. The letter "x" is always phonologically derived from some other sound.

The Cheyenne alphabet is mostly phonemic, but not entirely so. It is intended to be a "pronunciation orthography", that is, a writing system that allows readers to correctly pronounce any word. In general, official Cheyenne spellings reflect the stage in derivations after phonological rules have applied.

Following are the most important phonological rules of Cheyenne. We have tried to describe the rules in a way that individuals with a moderate amount of training in phonology can understand them, regardless of any particular phonological model that they might prefer. Abbreviations are given for the names of most of the phonological rules.

1. t-Assibilation (TA)
   Phonemic /t/ is pronounced as "ts" [phonetic [c]] preceding "e":

   \[ t \rightarrow ts / \_ e \]

   nótá'e /nóta'é/¹⁷¹ 'woman from another tribe'
   notse /nóte/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)
   Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

   \[ h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] \quad [-\text{voiced}] \]

   éssóhpeohtsésétle /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanénémehté /té-h-sáa-nénéné-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tséshéshé /té-h-shéshé-s/ when he was lying prone'

3. h to s Fronting (HSF)
   Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [s] when it occurs between "e" and "t":

   \[ h \rightarrow s / e \_ t \]

¹⁷¹ As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [ɪ]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].
Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstsehé'ooestse! /néh-tehé'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstona /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

néspáháveameotšéšemenos! ~ néhpáháveameotšéšemenos! 'Lead us well!'

All speakers pronounce the sequence [sp] in words with the morpheme ho'esp- 'rare, not done'. It is unclear whether this morpheme is phonemically /ho'ehp-/ or /ho'esp-/. If it is /ho'ehp-/ this would be another example of h to s Fronting. If it is /ho'esp-/ it would be the only form in Cheyenne with a phonemic /sp/ sequence.

ého'espahō'ta 'it's not done'
ého'espemásōho 'he shot him but only wounded him'

4. **h to š Fronting (HŠF)**
Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [š] when it occurs between "e" and "k":

\[ h \rightarrow š / e \_\_ k \]

náhko'éehe /ná-hko'éehe/ 'my mother'
neško /ne-hko/ 'your mother'

5. **š-Backing (š-Back)**
Phonemic /š/ is pronounced as [x] when it precedes a back vowel, /a/ or /o/:

\[ š \rightarrow x / \_\_ V [+back] \]

še'xo /šé's-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. šéšše 'duck')
néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)']
éháóénáxe /héháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
énéše'xahtse /néneše'šahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énéše'sévóéne 'he washed his face')
énéxánéstse /nénešánét/ 'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéšeo'o 'there are two of them (animate)']

6. **s to š Assimilation**
/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

\[ š \rightarrow š / \_\_ e š \]

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
éameotšešemenö /néameotešemenö/ 'you led us'
éxhénetse /náhehóhtse/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
théxhonónévéns /théh-honóñév-ños/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
ánexhenë'ëna /náhehóhéená-á/ 1-PST-know-IOAM 'I knew it (far past)'
atedissimilation (h-diss)
a phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:
\[
x \rightarrow \text{h}
\]
nánexhé'óhtse /ná-ne-hé-ohté/ 'I came from there'
néxhóstánóhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-hó/ CJS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
tséxhonónévéns /téh-honóñé-vós/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
ánexhëné'ëna /náhehóhéená-á/ 1-PST-know-IOAM 'I knew it (far past)'

The vowel /a/ is pronounced as a phonetic [ɔ] before the back vowel /o/. A glottal stop or

\[
a \rightarrow \text{ɔ} / \text{(ʔ/h) o}
\]
énaóóóóte /ínhɔ / 'he's sleeping'
éma'c /ímɔʔo / 'it's red'
héstóxhó /hístónɔ̃h / 'his/her daughter'
páxhoesestó /pahóxhésetí / 'cradleboard'

This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y"

\[
Ø \rightarrow \text{y} / \text{e __ [back vowel]}
\]
Náháxiâna /náháixá nthá / 'I'm hungry'
Néa'ëna /néyiá nthá / 'You own it'

This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y"
glide at the beginning due to a preceding "e". If we wrote 'you own it' as néyá'ëna the "y" would make it more difficult to see that this verb has the usual né- second person prefix, the verb stem -á'en, and the inanimate object agreement marker /-á/.

A phonetic [w] glide occurs between "o" and a following "a":
\[
Ø \rightarrow \text{w} / \text{o __ a}
\]
hotóá'e /ho t ówáʔ / 'buffalo'
Nóávóse /nówáw os / 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešéve [í n ɔ w a ʰʃ ʃ f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [v] glide and the [w] sound of a phonemic /v/ that appears between "o" and "a". But it is often possible to tell whether a "w" sound is phonemic or not by listening to morphological alternations. For example, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [v] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóvahéo'o [í nóφ h ɔ v o ṭ o] 'they are slow'. The phonetic [f] in this plural can only exist because it is the voiceless pronunciation of phonemic /v/ in the complex syllable of this word.

11. **Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD)**
   All word-final vowels devoice before a pause:

   \[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \_ \_ \& \]

   Phrase-medially, phonological characteristics vary a little from those of phrase-final phenomena. Complex Syllable Formation occurs across word boundaries in natural speech. Phrase-medially, word-final vowels which precede other words often are not devoiced in natural, connected speech.

   This rule is illustrated by each Cheyenne word written in this book, if it is pronounced with a pause after it. **DELETE SENTENCE AND GIVE EXAMPLES??**

12. **Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD)**
   A low-pitched vowel is devoiced if it is followed by a voiceless fricative and not preceded by /h/:

   \[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C \_ \_ [-\text{voiced}] \ C_0 \ V \ C_0 \ V \]

   \[ [-\text{high}] \quad [+\text{cont}] \]

   PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

   tâhpeno /tahpenon/ 'flute'
   kôsânè /kosâné/ 'sheep (plural)'
   môxè'ëstoo'o /mošè'ëhtóon/ 'paper, book'
   namëșëmé /namešëmé/ 'my grandfather'
   mâhnòhshëstovòtse /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. **Penultimate Devoicing (PD)**
   V → [-voiced] / C (h) C #

   Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstruent which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

   hohkôxe /hôhkoš/ 'ax'
   tsétâhpëtâhtse /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
   tsëxhononëvòse /tëhhononévòs/ 'when they baked'
   êšënëstse /éšenët/ 'days'
   vôhpoma'òhtse /vóhpoma'oht/ 'salt'

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éheóváheséstse /éheóvaheseht/ 'he is said to be yellow'
motšéške /mótehk/ 'knife'

14. Consonant Devoicing (CD)
A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

C → [-voiced] / __ [-voiced]

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [í m a h ū] 'he drank'
máhtamáháhe [m à t a m h á h] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h ū f ō] 'it's yellow'

15. Special a and o Devoicing (SD)
Non-high /a/ and /o/ devoice at least partially if preceded by a voiced vowel and followed by /h/, a consonant, and two or more syllables:

V [+back] → [-voiced] / V __ h C $2
[-high]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo’e 'I regularly dance'
émóheeóhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóáhtsenáhrno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing
Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

V → [-voiced] / + __ C
[-voiced]

ééšépëhëva’e ~ ééšepëhëva’e /ééše+pëhëva’e/ it's already good'
énëšépëhëva’e ~ énëšepëhëva’e /éneše+pëhëva’e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:

($$COMBINE RULES??)

éasët’a xe ~ éaseta’xe /éase+ta’së/ 'he started to run'
asët’añóhtse ~ aset’añóhtse /ase+tañóht/ 'Pass it!'
nánëhešétäno ~ nánëhešétäno 'I'm thinking that way'

17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp)
A glottal stop is optionally inserted between a preverb ending in a vowel and an immediately following vowel:
This rule is obligatory with the preverb sáa-:

ešáa'a’xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa’éšeméséhéhe 'I did not eat yet'

For other preverbs the rule appears to apply mostly when there is hesitation in speech after the preverb.

18. **e-Epenthesis (e-Ep)**
An "e" is added to the end of a word ends with a phonemic obstruent:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow e / C \_ \_ \_ # \]

See examples of e-Epenthesis under the preceding rule, PPD.

19. **Non-obstruent Deletion (ND)**
Nasals are deleted when they are phonemically word-final:

\[ C [-\text{obs}] \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \_ # \]

mée’e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo’keha /mó’kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo’kéhanótse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo’éhno’ha /mo’éhno’ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo’éhno’hâme /mo’éhno’hamé/ 'horses'

20. **s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)**
/h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow h / e \_ \_ t \_ \_ # \]

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá’êtse /hóhkeha’öt/ 'hats'
ého’tánëstse /ého’tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. **Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)**
A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

\[ C \rightarrow C^h / \_ \_ V \_ h \ \_ \_ V^{172} \]

tóhohko /tohohkon/ [tʰ o h k o] 'hammer'
máheón /maheón/ [mʰ ā' o o ? o] 'house'
énóváheo'o /énóváheo/ [ɪ nófʰ a² o o ? o] 'they are slow'

\[ 172 V \] stands for a voiceless vowel here.
páhoešestótse /páhoešéstot/ [pʰ ʃ ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ V \rightarrow [-syl] / \_\_\_ V \]

mo'kēhanótse [m o kʰ ø a n ɔ c] 'moccasins, shoes'
náohkéhomóse [ná o kʰ o m ō s] 'I regularly cook'
páhoešestótse [pʰ ɔ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'
nátáhéovéše [n á tʰ áv o w ʃ ō s] 'I'm going to lie down'
máheő'o [mʰ ōv ɔ ō] 'house'
Náhkóhá'e [n á h kʰ ˈ ɪ] 'Bear Woman'
énahahkahe [i nʰ a h k a h] 'he's energetic'

23. h-Absorption (h-Ab)
A phonemic /h/ is absorbed by a preceding or following voiceless vowel:

\[ h \rightarrow Ø / V \]

tsééna'héstse [c iː na s c] 'the one who is old'
tséháónahtse [c i h ɔː n a c] 'the one who is praying'
Hestánóhtse! [h ɪʃ tān ɔc] 'Take it!'
Vonáhó'hohtse! [v o nʰ ʃ ɔ ō c] 'Burn it up!'

24. High-Raising (HR)
High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks used in these rules are: ˈ (high), ˈ (raised high), ˌ (mid), and ` (low)\textsuperscript{173}.

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[ ˈ \rightarrow ˈ / \{#\} \_\_ ˈ # \]

\[ ˈ šeʃe /ʃeʃé/ 'duck' \]

\[ ˈ sémo /sé món/ 'boat' \]

\[ ˈ éma'ovése /éma'ovésé/ \]

25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR)
A low is raised to a high if preceded by a high and followed by a word-final phonemic high:

\[ ˈ \rightarrow ˈ / ˈ \_\_ ˈ # \]

\[ méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks' \]

\[ návóómo /návóomó/ 'I see him' \]

\textsuperscript{173} The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
éméhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
éśaāšéśévéhe /ésaašéšévéhe/ 'he is not a duck'
émá'o /éma'ó/ 'it is not red'

26. High-Leveling (HL)
A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches:

\[ \rightarrow \acute{'} / \acute{'} (\acute{V}) (\acute{$}) \acute{'} \# \]

One or more more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL.

éávóónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éstsénėhé'e 'swamp'
ého'néhénóne /ého'néhenoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'
náhtóóhevón /nahtóohevón/ 'my fingernail'
onéhávó'ke 'bead'

27. Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR)
A low is raised to a mid when it precedes a phonemic word-final high and is not preceded by a high. (This second condition can be eliminated from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

\[ \rightarrow \acute{'} / \_ \acute{'} \# \]

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
hē'e /he'é/ 'woman'
éhomōse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
étahpe'āse /étahpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)
A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

\[ \rightarrow \acute{'} / \acute{'} ( (C \ V \ [-\text{voiced}] ) C_o )_o \_ \_ C_o V \]

[-high] [+cont]

One or more voiceless syllables may come between the two highs. (A devoiced vowel in this process must be phonemically low, not a phonemic high vowel which has been devoiced by the HPO rule.) Many verbal prefixes and preverbs are affected by WMHR.

éhâmèstoo’e /éhâmehtoe/ 'he sat down'
émēsehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna’e /émôna’e/ 'it's new'
29. Stem-final Raising (SFR)
A stem-final low pitch is raised to a high pitch word-medially (i.e. antepenultimate or before in a word):

\[ V \rightarrow \acute{\,}/ \, \text{stem } $2^\# \]

As written, SFR applies to any stem-final vowel that is antepenultimate or earlier in a word. It applies vacuously to a stem-final vowel which is already high-pitched. Here are examples of words in which SFR applies to stem-final vowels which have underlying low pitches.

émané-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
éta'posé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
námêséhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
mésêh-stoto 'potatoes'
amâhohé-stotótsé 'cars' (cf. émâhohé 'he's going along by car')
esáanaóotsé-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaóotse 'he is sleeping')
esáapéhéva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épéhéva'e 'it is good')
tápéhéva'é-tseè'éstse 'those (things) which are not good'
ehé'kotáhè-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhé'kotáhe 'he is quiet)
é'ameohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
esáapéhévenóóhè-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épéhévenóóhe 'he looks good')

30. High Push-Over (HPO)
A high is realized as a low if it is preceded by a high and followed by a phonetic low:

\[ \acute{\,} \rightarrow \, / \, \acute{\,} \, \text{stem } $2^\# \]

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néháóenama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némêhóntone /némêhóntóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
námêhosanême /námêhosanêmé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low174 preceding a word-final low:

---

174 I perceived this as a “hanging low” pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.
` → ` / __ #

pe'e /pé'e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšēške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhe'ewe /éhe'éve/

32. Word-Final Lowering (WFL)
A word-final vowel is realized as a low pitch. If the word-final vowel is pre-pause, it will be devoiced by the Phrase-Final Devoicing Rule (PFDR).

V → ` / __ &
návôomo#náhkohē 'I saw a bear'
evôohta#mâhéō'o 'he saw a house'

33. Glottal Raising (GR)
A glottal stop can raise the pitch of a preceding vowel. The amount of elevation in pitch, if there is any, varies depending on the word and the speaker.

` → `{´} / __ ?
{ ´ }

ó'óséó'o /ó'oéseon/ 'clothesline'
óová'hasēó'o /óova'haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó'tonóhnóho. /éhehtótonóhnóhó/ 'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tséévéhestá'amáxese /téevéhehta'amašese/ 'who had gunshot wounds' (1987:107)

34. Vowel-Stretching (VS)
Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.175


VS applies if a voiceless obstruent (/s/, /ʃ/, or /t/) follows the phonemic word-final vowel sequence. Subsequent to Vowel-Stretching, a rule of Vowel Assimilation assimilates /e/ to an immediately preceding vowel.

meo'o /méon/ 'road, trail'
honoo'o /honóon/ 'roast'
vee'e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
xā'o /šaón/ 'skunk'

175 This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néséé’ēše /néšeéš/ 'for two days'

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea’a# or oa’a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea’e# and oa’e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā’e /heá/ 'maybe', instead of expected hēā’a
émea’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a
hotóá’e /notóá/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóá’a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

véé’ėse /véées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee’ėse
séo’ôtse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’ôtse

$\$ IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)? $

Note: not all surface (pronounceable) forms which end with two vowels, a glottal stop, and a word-final vowel have undergone Vowel-Stretching. Such forms which have not undergone VS are:

énaā’e /énnaa’ē/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énae/ 'he died')
náné’póó’o /náné’póó’o/ 'I peeked over'
éméó’e /éméó’ē/ 'he fought'

35. Vowel Assimilation

An "e" assimilates to take on the phonetic value of an immediately preceding vowel when that "e" is followed by a consonant:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V[-\text{back}] & \rightarrow & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\
& & \divides \divides \divides \\
& [\beta \text{ high}] & \divides \divides \divides \\
\end{array}
\]

Sometimes this assimilation is not total, but usually it is nearly so. Assimilation occurring to vowels which have undergone Vowel-Stretching is total, and so I write the second vowel in its assimilated form. I do not write non-Vowel-Stretched sequences in their assimilated forms, since they are sometimes not totally assimilated and also since their underlying (phonemic) forms can be more easily recovered from their written forms.

návóomāā’e [náwóomáːʔɪ] 'they saw me'
névóomaene [níwóomaːfǐ] 'he saw us (incl)'
éhó’oéstse [íhoʔōːsc] 'he cooked it'

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36. **h-Loss**

Phrase-medially, an /h/ which is preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final vowel is lost by syncope:

\[ h \rightarrow \emptyset / V \_\_ V \# X \]

Vowel Assimilation applies to the vowel sequence produced by h-Loss. Vowel-Stretching does not, hence it must be ordered before the rule of h-Loss.

Námôxe'oha môxe'êstoo'o. [ná nô xô ? ò ã # ñô xô ? ò s t ò: ? ò] 'I wrote a book.'

Násáavóomôhe nähkohe. [nássâawô:mô:#nâhko] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [ím ìa:maní] 'he used to drink'
étšëhe'këhahe [ëch í k í ah] 'he is young'
ëhoháetonëto [ën á:to ò] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. **Labialization**

The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow w / o [+back] \_ \_ [+high] [+cont] \]

oha [ohwa] 'only'
namôxe'êstoo'o [nâxw ô t ô] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow y / e h \_ \_ [+high] [+cont] \]

eho /ého/ [é y ó] 'your father'

39. **h-Metathesis (h-Met)**

A phonemic /h/ and a vowel exchange places when they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final /ht/:

\[ V_i h V_2 \rightarrow V_i V_2 h / \_\_ h t \# \]

Mëseestse! /mësehe-ht/ 'Eat!'
Në'ësto'haahzte! /në'ëto'haha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'ôôhtse! /po'ô-ô-ht/ 'Break it off (by tool)!
Tsënoñaahtse /tsë-nôvahe-ht/ 'the one who is slow'
40. Cliticization
Particles phonologically attach to a word with which they have a grammatical relationship. The particles become "glued" to that word. This attachment process is called cliticization. We indicate cliticization with the "=" sign.

Proclitics attach to the beginnings of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \_ \_ \# X \]

hévá=móhe 'apparently, maybe'
hévá=hméméstanéhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \# X \_ \_ \_ \]

tá'sè=háma 'Isn't that right?'
nóhásè=háma 'any way'
heá'è=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

\[ \{h e\} \rightarrow = / \_ \_ \# X \]

In the following examples, compare the particles as they are pronounced as single words with their cliticized forms:

tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; tsé'tó=méševóte 'this baby'
ché'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mahéó'o 'this house'
éné 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'ěškóne 'that (referred to) child'
móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néhá'éána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'
néhéóhe 'there'; néhéó=Nóávóse 'there at Bear Butte'

41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp)
A glottal stop is inserted between a clitic and a following vowel:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ? / = \_ \_ \_ V \]

tsé'tó='éstse'he 'this shirt'
mó='éháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'
mó='éšépèhéva'e 'Is it good already?'

42. Contraction
We have referred several times in this book to a rule of contraction which affects some Transitive Animate (TA) verbs. If a TA stem ends with either of two abstract TA finals, -ov or -ev, these finals contract in the inverse voice if anything follows these finals:
\{ov\} \rightarrow \acute{o} / \_\_ X
\{ev\}

The /o/ of these two finals becomes high-pitched during contraction. Cheyenne contraction reflects vowel coalescence which occurred in Proto-Algonquian and continues to occur in other Algonquian languages. Examples of Cheyene contraction follow:

náhéne'enóó'e 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
nánéhóó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánehova 'he chased me')
nénéhoehe? 'Did he chase you?'
néhéne'enohe? Does he know you?
návovéstomóéne 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
névovéstomóene 'he taught us (incl)'
tséhvovéstomóó'ése 'when he taught me'
tséxhéne'enóétse 'when he knew us'

43. Inferential mode pitches

Suffixes of inferential mode verbs take a unique pitch template. Basically, each suffix after the verb stem becomes low pitched except for the word-final /-hé/ suffix of each inferential verb and the syllable that precedes it. Some examples are:

Móhmanéhéhe /mó- h- mane –hé –hé/ 'He must have drunk'
Móhnaóotséhevóhe /mó- h- naóotse –hé –vó –hé/ 'They must have slept'
Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe /mó- hoo'kohó –hane –hé/ 'It must have rained'
Móhvóomóhevóhe /mó- h- vóom –ó –hé –vó –hé/ 'He must have seen him (obv)'
Móhvóohtóhéhe /mó- h- vóóht –ó –hé –hé/ 'He must hav seen it'

$$Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h \rightarrow s / \_ \_[+obs, -lab] \ (i.e., t, s, k, š)
s \rightarrow š / \_ \_[+obs, +back] \ (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h \rightarrow s / \_ \_[+obs]

But there is also an /x/, which should get swept up in the first rule, and writing /x/ out isn't straightforward.

However, the dictionary examples make it look like there is also a rule, h \rightarrow \emptyset / \_x, i.e., there seem to be some examples in the x section that have past meanings but have no h before the x, and listening to them they seem not to be xx.
As for the /hh/ as [xx], a Stampean phonologist would count that as a fortition, rather than as a kind of assimilation, and say that it happens as a single process.

hh ==> xx
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